

THE COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ISBUBUKUN

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This study intends to investigate the comparative constructions in Isbubukun Bunun. We ascertain that there are six types of comparative constructions, to wits, the ‘-ka’ type, the ‘-staan’ type, the ‘ka-...-un’ type, the ‘ki-...-an’ type, the event comparison, and the ‘masi-’ type. In this work, we decipher the character of each type morphologically. In addition, following Stassen (1985), we meet his set of criteria for diagnosing comparative constructions in this paper. In order, they are Standard NP, Comparee NP and Case assignment. Consequently, a language whose Standard NP receives various case marking, depending on the semantic role of the Compare NP, is termed as derived-case type. On the other hand, a language whose Standard NP always gets invariable case marking regardless of the case assigning to the compare NP is treated as fixed-type. We manage to categorize the six types under Stassen’s case making method. Moreover, threefold classification brought about by Sung (2008) is added in the end.

Key words: comparative construction, Bunun, case assignment, Juxtaposition, Addity type.

1. Introduction

This study aims to investigate the comparative constructions in Bunun with special reference to Isbubukun dialect, spoken in Baoshan village, Taoyuan district, Kaohsiung city. Judging from Stassen (1985), case assignment plays a substantial part in his model. Accordingly, it is good for us to review his main concepts as well as classifications at first.

If two objects are placed into a comparison, the one which serves as the yardstick for the comparison will be described as Standard NP. The other object, on the contrary, will be depicted as Comparee NP. The predicate in the comparative sentence which assigns the different cases to Standard NP and Compare NP is deciphered as comparative predicate. Take (1) for instance.

(1) Alice is prettier than Maria.

In this comparative construction, Maria serves as the yardstick of the beauty for the comparison and hence is termed as the Standard NP while Alice plays the role of Compare NP. The word, pretty, serves as a comparative predicate, i.e., the quality being compared. Moreover, Stassen hypothesizes two major types of comparative constructions based on the case on the Standard NP. Under his hypothesis, the case marking on the Standard NP is at the core of the discussion. More specifically, a language whose Standard NP receives various case marking, depending on the semantic role of the Compare NP, is termed as derived-case type. On the other hand, a language whose Standard NP always gets invariable case marking regardless of the case assigning to the compare NP is treated as fixed-type. These two major groups can be both subdivided. We will, however, merely introduce fixed-case type¹, which comprises separative, allative, the locative, and exceed comparative.² Now focus the attention on each comparative. Brief explanation of each type will be provided as below.

(2) Separative comparative: MUNDARI (Stassen 1985:39)

Sadom-ete hati mananga-i
horse- from elephant big-PRES.3SG
‘The elephant is bigger than the horse.’

(3) Allative comparative: BRETON (Stassen 1985:41)

Jazo bras-ox wid-on
he big-PRT for-me
‘He is bigger than me.’

¹ We just neglect the derived-case type for the time being because it has little to with our language at issue.
² To maintain the original writer’s glossary in his book, we do not do any adjustment to these terms.

(4) Locative comparative: CHUCKCHEE (Stassen 1985:41)

Gamga-qla'ul-ik qetuvu-ci-um

all-men –on strong-more-1st

'I am stronger than all men. '

(5) Exceed comparative: VIETNAMESE (Stassen 1985:43)

Vang qui hon bac

gold valuable exceed silver

'Gold is worth more than silver. '

2. Comparative Constructions In Isbubukun Bunun

It is found that there are six different types of comparative constructions in Isbubukun Bunun during my field trips. Each one will be briefly deciphered. First, *-ka* type is introduced.

2.1.-*ka* type

In Isbubukun, *-ka* serves as a heteronym³ and when it comes to comparative construction, *ka* indicates slightly literally. Let us consider the following.

(6) a. Ma-nauaz a Malia-a.

AV--pretty NOM Malia-INV.S.NOM

'Malia is pretty.'

b. Ma-ka Ma-nauaz (mas **PRO**) a Malia-a

AV-slightly AV-beautiful (OBL PRO) NOM Malia-INV.S.NOM

³ *-ka* can be denoted several meanings related to its syntactic nature. Such as verbal prefixes, negator and stativity...etc.

‘Malia is slightly bit prettier (than someone).’

- c. Ma-ka Ma-nauaz a
 AV--slightly AV--beautiful NOM
 Malia-a mas ’Aping-tia.
 Malia-INVS.NOM OBL Aping-INVS.-OBL

‘Malia is slightly bit prettier than that Aping is.’

In the declarative as shown in (6a), *Malia* serves as the subject and is modified by the satativity predicate *manauaz*. In (6b), a comparative predicate *ka* is infixed to constitute a comparative construction. There is one thing worthy of our notice that the Standard NP in (6b) can be omitted if it is unspecific.

Accordingly, we can see (6c) as a fully-developed construction. Following Leon Stassen, *manauaz* serves as the comparative predicate in this sentence while *Malia* is termed as the Comparative NP and *Aping* as its overt Standard NP.

In the meantime, (6c) can also be topicalized as demonstrated in (7).

- (7) Maz a Malia-a hai Ma-ka
 what NOM Malia-INVS.NOM TOP AV--slightly bit
 Ma-nauaz mas Aping-tia.
 AV--pretty OBL Aping-INVS.ACC

‘As for Malia, she is slightly bit prettier than that Aping.’

2.1 –*staan* comparative

Another comparative morpheme found in AF Form is –*staan* with the denotation of doing something grandly. See the following examples.

- (8) a. Ma-taikas a Salizan-a at
 AV--intelligent NOM Salizan-INV.S.NOM CONJ
 amin a Pasulang-a
 too NOM Pasulang-INV.S.NOM
 ‘Salizan is intelligent and so is that Pasulang ’
- b. Ma-staan Ma-taiklas
 AV--grandly more AV--intelligent
 a Pasulang-a mas Salizan-tia.
 NOM Pasulang-INV.S.NOM OBL Salizan-INV.S.NOM
 ‘Pasulang is more intelligent than Salizan is.’

As apparently presented in (8a), ‘*at*’ functions as the marker of the conjunction to express the statement that Salizan is smart and so is Asulang. To the contrary, in (8b), there is no any marker of the conjunction whereas the comparative morpheme *-staan* exists to indicate an event that *Pasulang* is more intelligent than *Salizan* is. Following Stassen, we term *mataiklas* as a comparative predicate. At the same time, *Pasulang* performs the role of the comparee NP while *Salizan* acts as the part of the standard NP. Just like its counterpart *-ka* comparative, *-staan* comparative can also be raised to the initial to undergo topicalization as follows:

- (9) Maz a Asulang-a hai Ma-sta-s
 What NOM Asulang-INV.S.NOM TOP AV--grandly-OBL
 Salizan-tia Ma-taiklas .
 Salizan-INV.S.ACC AV--intelligen
 ‘As for Asulang, he is grandly intelligent than Salizan is.’

Furthermore, *-staan* comparative allows more flexible word order while it is fixed in *-ka*

type .We demonstrate the diverse word orders as in from (10) to (12)⁴.

(10) Comparative- Comparee NP - Standard NP –Comparative predicate.

Ma-staan - a Asulang-a - mas Salizan-tia – mataiklas

(11) Comparative- Comparative predicate –Comparee NP - Standard NP

Ma-staan – mataiklas - a Asulang-a - mas Salizan-tia

(12) Comparative- Comparee NP –Comparative predicate - Standard NP.

Ma-staan - a Asulang-a – mataiklas - mas Salizan-tia

2.3 *Ka...-un* type

As illustrated in the preceding section, *ka* can be denoted as a stativity marker despite its diverse meanings in *Isbubukun*. Thus, the *ka* accompanied with verbal elements as presented in the following examples should also be regarded as a maker of stativity. Before taking a step towards PV constructions, let us see what are depicted below.

(13) a. Ma-daidaz=ik ma-suu at Ma-daidaz=ik

AV--love-1SG OBL-2SG CONJ AV--love-1SG

amin mas masinauba-tia.

too OBL younger sibling-INVS.ACC

‘I love you and I love (your) younger brother too.’

b. Ma-staan=ik Ma-daidaz ma-suu

AV--grandly-1SG AV--love OBL-2SG

⁴ Although we propose that ‘-staan’ type displays more flexible word order when compared to ‘-ka’ type, it seems that the comparative marker ‘mastaan’ always occupies the first slot and cannot be moveable.

mas masinauba-tia.

OBL younger sibling-INVS.ACC

‘I love you better than (your) younger brother.’

(13a) is a bi-causal sentence. In the first sentence, the predicate ‘*madaidaz*’ is a two argument predicate, it selects ‘*ik*’ as its Agent and ‘*masuu*’ Patient. It is the same with following sentence. However, in addition to Agent ‘*ik*’ and Patient ‘*masinauba*’, another word shows up, to wit, ‘*amin*’. Different from (13a), (13b) is apparently a comparative construction, with the comparative marker ‘*mastaan*’. As a predicate, *mastaan* selects *ik* as its Agent and then together with another predicate ‘*madaidaz*’ reforms a predicate mixture. Next, the verbal compound chooses ‘*masuu*’ as Patient role. It could have ended here. However, an adjunct ‘*masinauba*’ is added to. Thus we may acquire the final reading that I love you better than your brother. Through explanation given above, we can perceive with ease that (13) is an AV Form and now let us have a look at its counterpart in PV Form as shown (14).

(14) Ka-staan-un=ku a ka-su Ma-daidaz

STAT-grandly-PV=1SG.OBL NOM NOM-2SG AV--love

mas masinauba-tia.

OBL younger sibling-INVS.ACC

‘I love you better than (your) younger brother.’

Take a closer look at this sentence; we may observe two interesting phenomena. First, the Voice is changed. The AV comparative marker ‘*mastaan*’ in (13) has transformed into ‘*Kastaan*’, to wit, the LV form. Secondly, case makers. The original case of ‘*masuu*’ is ‘*ma-*’, an oblique as demonstrated (13b) while it is turned into ‘*kasu*’, a nominative case with ‘*ka*’ in (14). Moreover, based on one of my informants’ intuition, sentence (14) can be paraphrased as

AV--love CONJ NEG COMP younger-INVS.ACC

‘It is you that I love better, and not the younger brother.’

As shown clearly in (17), *su* is raised to the head of the structure, and then followed by a pseudo-cleft marker *a* to designate its identity. Meanwhile, we also find that there cannot be any case maker preceding *su*.

2.4 *Ki-...-an* type

Before making a description about the LV construction introduced by *ki-...-an*, it will benefit us to make a retrospect on the Comparative Construction in Amis (Sung 2006). In this article, *ki* is incorporated with the comparative predicates to indicate an exceed sense (Sung 2006). Let us see (18).

(18) Mi-ki-lalok ci Panay ci-Aki-...-an
AV-exceed-diligent NOM Panay OBL-PN-OBL
‘Panay is more diligent than Aki.’

As shown in sentence (18), we may discover that ‘*ki*’ appears and is inserted in the predicate compound ‘*mi-ki-lalok*’ to express a comparison in the AV construction. Thus, with the help of case marker as well as Agent Voice, we now acquire that Panay is more diligent than Aki.

Coincidentally, the morpheme *ki* also appears in the comparative construction in Isbubukun even though it is restricted in the LV construction. Nevertheless, the identity of *ki* is yet to be accounted for. But based on my field data, the morpheme *ki* maybe can denote either a comitativity prefix or passive voice. In order not to trap into a puzzle for the time being, let us term this morpheme as comitativity or passive voice depending on circumstances

where it exists and leave it to future exploration⁵.

After a quick look at *ki*, let us now back to the LV comparative construction introduced by *ki*. See the followings.

- (19) a. Ki-s(*<ta>)taan-an a saikin ma-suu.
KI-grandly<RED>grandly-LV NOM 1SG-NOM OBL-2SG
'You are taller than I am.'
- b. Ki-s*(<ta>)taan-an=ik ma-suu.
KI-grandly<RED>grandly-LV NOM=NOM.1SG OBL-2SG
'You are taller than I am.'
- c. Ki-s*(<ta>)taan-an=ik=su.
KI-grandly<RED>grandly-LV= NOM.1SG=OBL.2SG
'You are taller than I am.'

This is typical expression when it relates to LV construction. It is apparent that *ki* along with reduplicated form of *staan* and then combines with LV marker *an* to

⁵ Now consider the parallel. Sentence (i) has comitativity reading while sentence (ii) carries passive reading.

- (i) a. Ma-saiv=ik tama=tia sui.
AV-give-1SG father-INVS.ACC money
'I give money to father.'
- b. Ma-ki-saiv=ik tama=tia sui.
AV-COM-give-1SG father-INVS.ACC money
'I beg father to give me money.'
- (ii) Ki-<lav>lavi-an=ik asu tu na-asa
PASS<RED> follow-LV-1SG dog COMP FUT-Ø-want
pa-kaun-a-s ma<i>babu
CAUS-Ø-eat-LV-OBL AV<PAST>pig
"LIT.: I am followed by the dog that wants to be fed by pork."
'I am followed by the dog that wants to eat meat.'

form a comparative complex. Then the predicate compound selects *saikin* as its Agent role and *masuu* Patient role.

Sentence (19b) displays the same structure as (19a) does. However, the Agent, *saikin* is turned into bound form ‘-ik’ and attached to comparative compound.

Sentence (19c) can be described as the ultra-agglutinate type when it comes to bound form of personal pronouns in Isbubukun. We discover that not only Agent role but also Patient role is attached to the super comparative compound.

The paradigm shown in (19) exhibits two facts: the first fact is that the comparative morpheme *-staan* must be reduplicated, or it will be slightly bit odd or ungrammatical while it cannot not be reduplicated in AV construction. The second is that the *Ki-...-an* type seems to be restricted in the expression of height comparison. See the parallel presented below:

- (20) a. Ki-s*(<ta>)taan-an a saikin ma-suu.
 KI-grandly<RED>grandly-LV NOM 1SG.NOM OBL-2SG
 ‘You are taller than I am.’
- b. Ma-s(*<ta>)taan Ma-lauskav a ka-su ma-zaku.
 AV--grandly AV—tall NOM 2SG.NOM OBL-1SG
 ‘You are taller than I am.’

Since we have discussed sentence a, thus let us focus on sentence b instead. As depicted, ‘*mastaan*’ associates with the stative verb ‘*malauskav*’, literally being tall, to create a comparative mixture. Then the comparative predicate starts to perform its comparative mechanism: to appoint who will be the Standard NP as well as Comparee NP. Last, this form is also subject to both topicalization and pseudo-cleft. The instances are given as in (21) and (22) respectively.

- (21) Saik-in hai ki-s<ta>tan-an=ik

1SG-NOM TOP. COM-grandly-RED-grandly-LV=NOM-1SG
 ma-suu.

OBL-2SG

‘As for I, you are grandly taller than I am.’

We may regard this structure as a topicalization thanks to the presence of the topic marker ‘*hai*’ in this structure.

(22) (*Ma)Zaku a ki-s<ta>tan-an
 1SG NOM COM-grandly-RED-grandly-LV
 ma-suu ni tu sai-tia.
 OBL-2SG NEG COMP 3SGINVS.ACC

‘It is I that shorter than you are, not he.’

As shown clearly in (22), *zaku* is raised to the head of the structure, and then accompanied by a pseudo-cleft marker ‘*a*’ to designate its identity. At the same time, we also find that there cannot be any case marker preceding ‘*zaku*’.

2.5 Event Comparison

Just exactly like we have discussed in the preceding sections, event comparison construction in *Isbubukun* adopts the same mechanism, that is to say, *-ka* comparative and *-stan* comparative, to state event that being compared. In the following examples, we may observe that the so-called event comparison shares the same forms with the verbs. See instances in (23) and (24).

(23) a. Laupang=ik na-Ma-i-taluh.
 just=NOM.1SG Fut.-AV--in-descend
 ‘I am just about to go downhill.’

- b. Maz a Ma-i-taluh hai
 What NOM AV--in-descend TOP
 Ma-sta-s Ma-<na>nakis Ma-'aipi.
 AV--grandly-OBL AV-<RED>slope AV--easy
 'As for going downhill, it is grandly easier than going uphill.'

In sentence (23a), we can easily see that *namaitaluh* follows the first predicate *Laupang*. As we take apart *namaitauh*, it will be not hard for us to find that the future tense marker *na* in *Isbukun* prefixes to the word *maitaluh* and this usually happens under the condition where the host functions as a verb as well as predicate.

As for (23b), however, it is another story. As written above, here *mailahuh* serves as a NP or an event, and thus it is designated nominative case *a*.

- (24) a. K(a)udip-a-as Ma-damu-s 'ivut-tia .snake
 Ø-go-IMP=NOM.2SG AV--catch-OBL snake-INV.S.ACC
 'You go catch that snake!'

- b. Maz a Ma-damu-s ivut hai
 What NOM AV--catch-OBL snake TOP
 Ma-sta-s Mat-kakalang ka-pising-un.
 AV--grandly-OBL AV-catch-crab STAT-scared-PV
 'As for catching snakes, it is grandly scarier than catching catching crabs.'

This is an imperative. The predicate *kaudip* attaches both imperative marker *a* as well as the bound form of 1st person and then follows a mixture *madamus ivut tia*. When we dissect the mixture, we may acquire the following segments. That is, the AV predicate *madamu* and the oblique case *-s* and Patient NP *ivut tia*. Hence, when they are put together, a VP appears.

To the contrary, the mixture '*madamus ivut*' in sentence (b) serves as another role. In this

structure, it behave more like an event or an NP because it is both preceded and followed by topicalization markers ‘*maz*’ and ‘*hai*’. Consider the following.

Via the sentences instantiated above, we may be aware of that the morphemes, *maitaluh* and *madamus ivut*, serve as predicates or VP to denote motions: go downhill and to catch a snake in the (23a) and (24a) separately. But when we turn our focus to (23b) and (24b), these verbs are transformed into NPs preceded by a Nominative case to undergo topicalization. Therefore, we may proclaim that verbs and nouns share the similar forms. And this can be firmly strengthened by the parallel as follows:

- (25) Ma-staan Ma-’aipi a [Ma-i-taluh]
 AV.-STAT-grandly AV--easy NOM AV--in-decedent
 mas [Ma-<na>-nakis].
 OBL AV--RED-slope
 ‘Going downhill is grandly easier that going uphill.’

Here *mastaan* appoints *maitaluh* as the Comparee NP and gives it nominative case *a* while it designates *mananakis* as Standard NP and assigns it oblique case *mas*.

2.5 Masi-comparative

In fact, *masi* a bi-morpheme and it comprises *ma* AV-ivity and *si* towards. Before having a discussion about the structure, there is one thing worthy of our attention. Let us have a look at the sentences below.

- (26) Ma-daidaz=ik ma-suu at
 AV--love-1SG OBL-2SG CONJ
 Ma-daidaz=ik amin mas masinauba-tia.

AV--love-1SG too OBL younger sibling-INV.S.ACC
 ‘I love you and I love (your) younger brother too.’

In this coordination structure, two clauses are connected by the coordinator *at*. In the first clause, *madaidaz* functions as the predicate and is attached by 1st person bound pronoun *-ik*. Last, follows the object of the predicate *masuu*. The following clause also performs the same structure; nevertheless, the object of the predicate in this clause is ‘*masinauba*’, younger siblings in Isbubukun.

(27) Ka-staan-un=ku=as	Ma-salpu
STAT-grandly-PV-1SG.OBL-2SG.NOM	AV--worry
mas masituhastia	i ni-ang=as
OBL older sibling-INV.S.ACC	CONJ NEG-DUR-2SG.NOM
s<in>iza-s maluspingaz.	
Ø-take-PAST-take-OBL woman	

‘I worry about you than your brother because you are unmarried.’

Different from the previous structure being a coordination clause, this case is more like a subordinate clause due to the presence of *i*. As we can notice, this is *ka-...-un* type comparative construction. Being a predicate, *kastaanun* is attached by *-ku* and *-as* at the same time and then comes the second predicate *masalpu*, which selects *masituhastia* as its objective. Through the explanation, we may understand that These two morphemes, *masinauba* and *masituhastia*, serve as NPs actually, which can be denoted as siblings. And this type of comparative is used to express a comparison of age between two individuals. See (28) and (29).

- (28) Ma-si-tuhas=ik ma-suu.
 AV--towards-elder=1SG OBL-2SG
 ‘I am older than you are.’

In the case, *masituhas* plays the role of predicate, being attached by 1st person bound pronoun *-ik*. At the same time, *masuu* is selected as the objective to the predicate. Thus, a comparison justifies.

- (29) Ma-si-nauba=ik ma-suu.
 AV--towards-younger=1SG OBL-2SG
 ‘I am younger than you are.’

And in this case, it displays the structure exactly the same as (28). Nevertheless, the predicate *masituhas* is displaced by ‘*masinauba*’ instead.

Meanwhile, there is another expression related to bound morphemes as shown in (30) and (31)⁶.

- (30) Masi-tuhas=ik=su.

⁶ According to my informant, (*Niun Bainkinuan* , 2009), what we discussed above amounts to what are presented in (i) and (ii).

- (i) Ma-staan=ik ma=suu Ma-daingaz.
 AV--grandly=NOM.1SG OBL-2SG AV--old.
 ‘I am grandly older than you are.’
- (ii) Ma-ka-uvaaz=ik=su
 AV--slightly-kid-NOM-1SG-2SG.
 ‘I am slightly bit younger than you are.’

AV-towards-the elder-NOM.1SG-2SG.OBL..

‘I am order/elder than you are.’

(31) Masi-nauba=ik=su.

AV-towards-the younger-NOM.1SG-2SG.OBL.

‘You are younger than I am.’

Via these two cases, we may acquire the following findings: First, Isbubukun does manifest being an agglutinating language through the phenomenon of its bound personal pronouns. Second, the clitics are subject to fixed order: the first bound personal pronoun takes superiority, and the 2nd bound personal pronoun comes in second. Third, ‘masi’ type has nothing to do with both ‘ka’ and ‘-staan’ type. And the last, it only relates to age comparison.

3. Classification

Under Stassen’s model, we have an interim table below.

Table 3.1 the comparative constructions in Isbubukun

	predication ⁷	Comparee NP’s case	Standard NP’ case	category
-Ka type	AV-ka-P complex	NOM	OBL	Exceed-1
-staan type	AV-staanPcomplex			Exceed-1
Ka-...-un type	Ka-P- complex-PV			Exceed
Ki-...-an type	Ki-<RED>P-LV			unclear
Event ompaison	Pseudo-cleft			Exceed-1
Masi- type	Masi-NPs			unclear

3.1 Other Issues

⁷ P in this table stands for predicate.

Through the classification of Leon Stassen, we acquire the big picture of Isbubukun comparative constructions. However, we cannot help but wonder:

(a) Should the classification of Stassen's be modified to harmonize Formosan languages?

(b) In addition to case marking, that is Exceed Type, do we have other options? Such as Juxtaposition type in Saisyat⁸ or Addity type in Kavalan⁹.

(c) What are we going to cope with *Ki-...an* type and *masi-* type? Can *Ki-...an* type be categorized as Locative comparative thanks to the presence of *-an*?

These issues need further explorations.

(1) ⁸ Juxtaposition Type <Saisyat>

Obay ibabaw, Maya okik ibabaw.

PN tall PN NEG tall

(2) ⁹ Addity Type <Kavalan>

m-sanem (ya) singsi 'nay tu pataqsian 'nay

AF-smart NOM teacher that OBL student that

'That teacher is smarter than that student.'

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郡社群布農語的比較句結構

大海 伊斯坦大 伊斯巴利達著

高雄市立茂林國小

本篇研究旨在調查郡社群布農語的比較句句型。經過調查，我們認為在郡社群布農語中至少有六種與比較句相關的句型。分別為：第一、*ka-* 比較句句型；第二、*staan-* 比較句句型；第三、*ka-...un* 比較句句型；第四、*Ki-...an* 比較句句型；第五事件比較句句型；第六則是 *masi-*比較句句型。我們根據 Leon Stassen 在 1985 年著述中得知，他認為比較句結構裡，有三個重要元素，分別是：標準名詞詞組、比較名詞詞組以及格位指派。他認為當該語言的標準名詞詞組之格位會隨著比較名詞詞組之語意角色而有所變化時，該語言就被定位為衍生格位型態。反之；倘若該語言的比較名詞詞組之格位指派不管如何變化，而標準名詞詞組的格位卻依舊一成不變，該語言便是固定格位型態。我們就照這樣的標準將郡社群布農語的六種比較句分類。此外；我們也在文末提到宋立心於 2008 年提出的三種比較句分類法來補強本篇不足之處。

關鍵字：比較句結構、布農語、格位指派、並列型比較句、增置型比較句。