Grammaticalization of *HAN* in Sakizaya: a look from the tree model
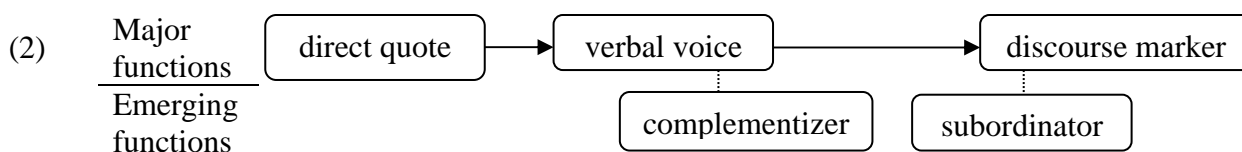Chihkai Lin

Keywords: tree model, linear model, grammaticalization, Sakizaya, Formosan language

This paper investigates the grammaticalization process of *HAN* in Sakizaya, a Formosan language spoken in Hualien County, Taiwan. This paper dwells on Smirnova's (2015) tree model of grammaticalization, which differs from the linear model (Givón 1991, Traugott and Dasher 2002). In this paper, I argue that the tree model portrays more detailed undergoing processes than linear model in the functions of *HAN*.

The grammatical functions of *HAN* are discussed in great detail by Sung (2010, 2012, 2014). Sung (2010) initially proposed three major grammatical functions for *HAN*: (a) undergoer voice, (b) speech verb 'to say/speak' and (c) pragmatic discourse marker of speakers. Sung (2012) further suggested two other minor functions of *HAN*: reason and conditional mood. The minor functions are associated with different contextual interpretations. A linear representation of the grammaticalization process of *HAN* is proposed by Sung (2014), as shown in (1).

(1)   direct quote > verbal voice > complementizer > subordinator > discourse marker

Although the pathway in (1) might present the degree of grammaticalization, it does not faithfully capture changes. Given that in Sakizaya the two minor functions of *HAN* are context-dependent, a linear model suggests a feeding order: complementizer > subordinator > discourse marker, without taking context into account. Besides, the two minor functions are not necessarily arranged in a feeding order. Thus, I propose a new pathway based on tree model (Smirnova 2015) for the grammaticalization of *HAN*, as shown in (2).

(2)

The tree model in (2) is divided into two layers: major and emerging functions. The model in (2) is similar to (1) in the ordering in which verbal voice precedes complementizer, which precedes subordinator as well. Nevertheless, (2) is significantly different from (1) in how the two minor functions are emerged. Since the two minor functions are context-dependent, I suggest that there are two independent emerging processes. Complementizer emerges from verbal voice, and subordinator from discourse marker.

References
Givón, T., 1991. The evolution of dependent clause morpho-syntax in Biblical Hebrew. In: Traugott, E.C., Heine, B. (Eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization: Volume II. Types of grammatical markers*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 257-310.
Smirnova, Elena. 2015. When secondary grammaticalization starts: a look from the constructional perspective. *Language Sciences* 47: 215-228.
Sung, Li-May. 2010. The undergoer voice -*HAN* in Sakizaya. Presentation at Workshop on Pragmatic Markers in Asian Languages, Pre-CLDC 2010 workshop, Taipei, Taiwan.
Sung, Li-May. 2012. Grammar of *HAN* 'say; said' in Sakizaya: a Corpus-based Perspective. Presentation at the First Asia Pacific Corpus Linguistics Conference, New Zealand.
Sung, Li-May. 2014. Developing from a quotative marker *say* to a discourse marker: a corpus-based study of Sakizaya. Presentation at (Re)presenting the Speech of Others, Groningen, the Netherlands.
Traugott, E.C., Dasher, R.B., 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.