The TMA system of Squiq Atayal (Austronesian language of Taiwan) has never been a subject of a thorough study. It is normally assumed that Atayal has a perfective/imperfective distinction (with the former infixed in <in>, the later unmarked, see [Liu 2004: 7-8, with reference to Zeitoun & Huang 1997]), or three-way tense opposition (with the form in <in> considered as past tense form, see [Rau 1992]). Atayal is also known to have a number of periphrastic constructions, one of which seems to be restricted to past time reference. The subject of the current study is, whether any of the forms with dubious semantics has to do with the perfect or its relatives (in terms of [Dahl 1985]). Our survey is based on field work in Pyanan (Nanshan tribe, Yilan county, Taiwan).

Our data shows, that there are two forms in Pyanan variety of Squiq Atayal closely connected with the perfect. Those are a construction with an auxiliary *wa* (<wayal ‘go, leave’) and the infixed form mentioned above. Both forms are not typical perfects, but in our opinion both can be an interesting material for a study of perfect variability.

The construction with *wa* is normally used in typical ‘perfect of result’ contexts like that in (1). It can be easily demonstrated, that we are not dealing with pure resultative here, by adding the phasal continuative particle *na* ‘still’. As is shown in (2), it is incompatible with the *wa*-construction, and the construction cannot therefore be viewed as resultative. Apart from the ‘perfect of result’ usage, however, this form has nothing to do with the perfect gram. It is a strongly perfectivizing construction, making inchoatives from some states (3) and adding a completive implicatures otherwise (4). It is almost never used in experiential contexts and it is unclear whether it can be used in pure ‘hot-news’ context.

The form in *<in>* , on the other hand, is a perfect relative, for it is mainly used as experiential as in (5) and pluperfect. It seems to be a manifestation of some other gram than perfect, although closely related to it, but encountering contrasting implicatures. Apart from the experiential and pluperfect usage, it is also widely used as so-called discontinuative past (in terms of [Plungian & van der Auwera 2006]). It encodes a state or a process which used to take place in the past but no longer does, as in (6). According to [ibid.], the pluperfect and experiential often belong to the same gram, together with aniresultatives. Indeed, the infixed form in Pyanan variety of Atayal does have aniresultative meaning, as in (7). In a way, therefore, the semantics of the infixed form seems to be opposite to that of perfect, for perfect implies a present relevance of the result, whereas the *<in>*-form can imply exactly the opposite.

Finally, both those forms can be used in a typically perfect context – the ‘perfect of persistent situation’, as in (8) and (9). However, it is the function of phasal particle *la* ‘already’ to bring up the ‘persistent’ reading. Without it, both the examples would be describing situations no longer having place.
To sum up, the Pyanan variety of Atayal provides us with a case of two forms, closely related to perfect, and yet as far from the typical perfect forms as possible.

**Examples**

1. \( wa=ku \), \( m-lukus \), \( la \)
   
   PRF=1SG.NOM  AF+VRB-dress  DCNT
   
   ‘I have dressed up’ (Context: ‘Can I come in? – Yes, …’)

2. \( wa=mu \), \( s-\text{quji} \), \( (*na) \), \( lukus \)
   
   PRF=1SG.GEN  NAF-hang  CNT  dress
   
   ‘I (*still) have hung the clothes’

3. \( wa=ku \), \( baq \), \( pnet \), \( quleh \), \( la \)
   
   PRF=1SG.NOM  (AF)can  (AF)angle  fish  DCNT
   
   ‘I have learned to angle’

4. \( wa=ku \), \( s<\text{m}>liap \), \( miquy \), \( la \)
   
   PRF=1SG.NOM  <AF>weed  grass  DCNT
   
   ‘I have weeded out all the grass’

5. \( yat=ku \), \( m-in-\text{gilis} \), \( qnxan=mu \), \( qani \)
   
   NEG=1SG.NOM  AF-FP-cry  life=1SG.GEN  DEM
   
   ‘I have not cried in my life’

6. \( m-in-\text{smoya}=ku \), \( tigah \), \( gal-an \), \( pcbaq \), \( biru \)
   
   AF-FP-wish=1SG.NOM  a.little  take-NAF  teach  book
   
   ‘I wanted to be a teacher (now I don’t)’

7. \( m-in-\text{shreq} \), \( likuy=nia \), \( qu \), \( kneril \), \( qasa \)
   
   AF-FP-desert  man=3SG.GEN  DEF  woman  DEM
   
   ‘That woman deserted him (but now they are back together)’

8. \( tiuwal \), \( riax \), \( p-in-lukus=mu \), \( lukus=mu \), \( qani \), \( la \)
   
   three  day  VRB-FP.NAF-dress=1SG.GEN  dress=1SG.GEN  DEM  DCNT
   
   ‘I have been wearing this clothes for three days’

9. \( tiuwal \), \( riax \), \( wa=mu \), \( p-lkus-un \), \( lukus=mu \), \( qani \), \( la \)
   
   three  day  PRF=1SG.GEN  VRB –dress-NAF  dress=1SG.GEN  DEM  DCNT
   
   ‘I have been wearing this clothes for three days’

**References**

