Adverbial Verb Constructions in Truku Seediq

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13 ICAL
7/21/2015
Adverbial verb constructions (AVCs)

• Formosan languages in general lack adverbs and use verb-like elements to express adverbial meanings (Starosta 1988)

• “Adverbial verbs” constitute an in-between category that does not demonstrate the full range of properties typically associated with verbs
Purposes

• To present the first analysis of Truku Seediq (Atayalic) adverbial verb constructions
  • As serializing verbs and;
  • As manner/frequency preverbs

• To explore their historical and typological implications
  • Manner/frequency preverbs are a result of grammaticalization
  • Adverbial verbs in serial verb constructions remain highly ‘verbal’
  • Possibly pairs of homophonous items in two lexical categories
Truku Seediq

• A variation of Seediq (Atayalic)
• Spoken in eastern Taiwan
• Ethnic population: 29,555 as of 2014 (Council of Indigenous Peoples)

 Basics of Truku syntax

- Philippine-type voice system (AV, PV, LV, CV), predicate initial
- Voice marking corresponds to thematic role of Nominative subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AV</th>
<th>PV</th>
<th>LV</th>
<th>CV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matrix</td>
<td>-m-, m-</td>
<td>-un / -an</td>
<td>-n-, n-</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis/imperative</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Case marking

- NOMinative (*ka* NP)
- GENitive (unmarked NP)
- OBLique (optional –*an* on human NPs/personal names)
- Second place pronominal clitics for NOM and GEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>OBL</th>
<th>Indep’t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>=ku</td>
<td>=mu</td>
<td>knan</td>
<td>yaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>=ta</td>
<td>=ta</td>
<td>tnan</td>
<td>ita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>=nami</td>
<td>=nami</td>
<td>mnan</td>
<td>yami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>=su</td>
<td>=su</td>
<td>sunan</td>
<td>isu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>=namu</td>
<td>=namu</td>
<td>munan</td>
<td>yamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>=na</td>
<td>hiyaan</td>
<td>hiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>=dha</td>
<td>dhiyaan</td>
<td>dhiya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(1) s<\text{m}>bug=ku kingal bowyak shoot<\text{AV}>=1\text{SG.NOM} one wild.pig.\text{OBL} ‘I hunted a wild pig.’

(2) biq-un=ta lqi-an ka patas give-PV=1\text{PL.INCL.\text{GEN}} child-\text{OBL} \text{NOM} book ‘We will give the book to a child.’

(3) krt-an qsurux bubu ka puy-an cut-LV fish.\text{OBL} mother.\text{GEN} \text{NOM} cook-NMLZ.L ‘Mother cut the fish in the kitchen.’

(4) s-krut=mu qsurux ka yayu nii CV-cut=1\text{SG.\text{GEN}} fish.\text{OBL} \text{NOM} knife PROX ‘I cut fish with this knife.’
Adverbial modification in Truku

• The language has a limited number of adverbs

• Adverbial modification strategies
  • Clausal juxtaposition (eg., luckily → ‘his luck (being) strong, …’)
  • Nominalization (eg., carefully → ‘(the manner of) his V-ing was careful’)
  • Serial verb constructions (SVCs) with stative verbs
  • Two adverbial verb constructions
Adverbial verbs in Truku

• A small set of items placed before an action verb
• Denote manner or frequency
• Have an *ability* to take verbal inflection
• Largely lack predicative functions and cannot stand alone
• Many have an ordinary verb counterpart that they seem to originate from
  • Semantic relationship between the two is unpredictable
  • Some adverbial verb forms seem to have fossilized morphology
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic type</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Lexical counterpart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>hmut</td>
<td>merely, randomly, as one pleases, at will,</td>
<td>m-hmut: (dynamic) to behave as one pleases, to do immoral things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sprang</td>
<td>intentionally</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tgmlux</td>
<td>randomly, for no reason</td>
<td>m-gmlux: (dynamic) to not talk, to be quiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyux</td>
<td>forcefully</td>
<td>m-iyux: (stative, of a space) to be small, narrow, or cluttered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>knteetu</td>
<td>frequently, repeatedly</td>
<td>t&lt;m&gt;eetu: (dynamic) to cut, of hard materials such as bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ensuil</td>
<td>sometimes, occasionally</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Serial verb constructions

• *Two or more verbs juxtaposed without any intervening coordination marker or complementizer that have a single argument structure*

• V1 may be freely inflected for voice and TAM, and host pronominal clitics. V2 and all following verbs may only carry AV morphology → **AV-only restriction**

• Thus, the nominative-marked pronoun / NP is associated thematically to V2 (and optionally to V1), but syntactically the subject of V1.
• Manner modification is often achieved by stative verbs serving as V1 of an SVC
(5) Em-biyax=ku bi
STAT.REAL-strong=1SG.NOM INT
‘I am well (strong).’

(6) Em-biyax=ku bi s<m>ipaq laqi=mu
STAT.REAL-strong.AV=1SG.NOM INT hit<AV> child=1SG.GEN
‘I hit my child hard.’

(7) Kn-biyax-an=mu s<m>ipaq ka laqi=mu
STAT.IRR-strong-PV=1SG.GEN hit<AV> NOM child=1SG.GEN
‘I hit my child hard.’
Adverbial Verb Constructions I: SVCs

• Like stative verbs, adverbial verbs can serve as V1 of SVCs.

(8)  \textbf{Hmut}=ku m-imah sinaw randomly.\textbf{AV}=1\text{SG.}NOM AV-drink wine.\text{OBL}

‘I drank wine as I pleased.’

(9)  \textbf{Hmt}-an=mu m-imah ka sinaw randomly-\textbf{PV}=1\text{SG.}GEN AV-drink NOM wine

‘I drank wine as I pleased.’
• When negated with *ini* (negative auxiliary), the adverbial verb takes on irrealis morphology as regular verbs do

(10) Ini=mu hmc-i s<m>ipaq
    NEG=1SG.GEN randomly-PV.IRR hit<AV>
    ka huling
    NOM dog
    ‘I didn’t randomly hit the dog.’

(11) Ini thiy-i m-taqi bubu=na
    NEG accompany-PV.IRR AV-sleep mother=3SG.GEN
    ka laqi
    NOM child
    ‘The mother doesn’t sleep with the child.’
• Unlike ordinary verbs, “adverbial verbs” may also function as preverbs (→ **AVC II**)
Preverbs

- Preverbs are functional items (often expressing TAM information, etc.) which do not inflect or determine argument structures
  - No verbal morphology
  - Followed by voice and TAM inflected verbs
  - Host clitic pronouns

(12) Jima=na g<n>guy-an ka pila=mu
    already=3SG.GEN steal<PRF>-PV NOM money=1SG.GEN

‘He already stole my money.’
• Preverbs are located above verbal negation \textit{ini}

$\textbf{(13)} \quad \text{Ida}=\textit{su} \quad \textit{ini} \quad \textit{iyah} \quad \text{m}-\textit{iing} \quad \textit{knan}$

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
EPIS=2SG.NOM & NEG & come.AV.IRR & AV-search & 1SG.OBL \\
\end{tabular}

‘You surely never came to find me.’
Adverbial Verb Constructions II: Manner/frequency preverbs

• The same adverbial verbs used in AVC I can be used as preverbs:

(14) \textbf{Hmut}=ku m-ne-imah sinaw
randomly=1SG.NOM AV-PRF-drink wine.OBL
‘I drank wine as I pleased.’

(15) \textbf{Hmut}=mu mah-an ka sinaw
randomly=1SG.GEN drink-PV NOM wine
‘I drank wine as I pleased.’
• Located above negative auxiliary *ini

(16) *Ini=mu hmut paq-an ka huling
    NEG=1SG.GEN randomly hit-PV NOM dog

IM: ‘I didn’t hit the dog for no reason.’ (Preverb)

Compare:

(17) Ini=mu hmc-i s<m>ipaq ka huling

(=10) NEG=1SG.GEN randomly-PV.IRR hit<AV> NOM dog

‘I didn’t hit the dog for no reason.’ (SVC)
## Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stative verbs in SVCs</th>
<th>Adverbial verbs in SVCs (AVC I)</th>
<th>Manner/frequency preverbs (AVC II)</th>
<th>Other preverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent usage</strong></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voice/TAM inflection</strong></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voice/TAM inflection on following verb</strong></td>
<td>AV only</td>
<td>AV only</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negation with auxiliary <em>ini</em></strong></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Historical implications

• Manner/frequency preverbs are the result of grammaticalization from adverbial verb SVCs

• Adverbial verbs in Truku initially functioned as the V1 in SVCs used as figurative collocations
  → Hence the idiosyncratic semantic relationship between adverbial verbs and corresponding ordinary verbs

• They have since been reanalyzed as preverbs, losing its inflectional abilities (decategorization)

• Yet their use in SVCs is maintained (bifunctional / homophonous)
Seediq m-n-g-**hmut** ka hiya
‘He is a bad person.’

**Hmt**-an=mu m-imah ka sinaw
‘I drank wine as I pleased.’

**Hmut**=mu mah-an ka sinaw
‘I drank wine as I pleased.’
Source of reanalysis

- Surface identity between SVCs with zero-marked AV V1 and preverbs followed by AV-marked verbs

(18) Sprang  \textit{g\textless m\textgreater rung pratu ka Masaw intentionally.\textit{AV break<AV> bowl.OBL NOM Masaw}}
‘Masaw broke the bowl on purpose’

(19) Wada  \textit{g\textless m\textgreater rung pratu ka Masaw da PRF break<AV> bowl.OBL NOM Masaw PART}
‘Masaw has broken the bowl.’
(20) **Sprang** g<\textit{m}>rung pratu ka Masaw (=18)

\[ \text{a. intentionally.}\textit{AV} \quad \text{break}<\textit{AV}> \quad \text{bowl.OBL} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{Masaw (SVC)} \]

\[ \text{b. intentionally break}<\textit{AV}> \quad \text{bowl.OBL} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{Masaw (preverb)} \]

‘Masaw broke the bowl on purpose.’

• As a result, (21b) becomes available:

(21) **Sprang** grm-an Masaw ka pratu

\[ \text{a. *intentionally.}\textit{AV} \quad \text{break-PV} \quad \text{Masaw.GEN} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{bowl (SVC)} \]

\[ \text{b. intentionally break-PV} \quad \text{Masaw.GEN} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{bowl (preverb)} \]
Comparison with other Formosan languages

• At least some adverbial verbs in Truku have a four-way voice distinction, just as ordinary verbs do
  • Formosan adverbial verbs generally have a reduced, two-way voice distinction of AV vs. PV (Chang 2010)
(22) **Ensuil-an=mu** m-imah sinaw occasionally-**LV=1SG.GEN** AV-drink wine.OBL ka sapah Rubiq NOM house Rubiq

‘Occasionally, I treat Rubiq’s house as a place to drink wine.’

(23) **S-tmlux=na** s<**m>ipaq** huling **CV-randomly=3SG.GEN** hit<**AV**> dog.OBL ka qhuni nii NOM wood PROX

‘He hit dogs with this stick for no reason.’
• Although few in absolute number, many of the adverbial verbs observed so far have dual functions
  • Bifunctionality is found in a subset of adverbial verbs in other Formosan languages
  • In others, lexical and grammatical modes of preverbal modification show no overlap
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<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>More lexical</th>
<th>More grammatical</th>
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<td>Stative verbs in SVCs</td>
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<td>Preverbs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tgdaya Seediq (Holmer 2010)</td>
<td>Low adverbs</td>
<td>High adverbs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mayrinax Atayal (Yu 2008)</td>
<td>Predicate-like adverbs</td>
<td>Non-predicate like adverbs</td>
</tr>
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<td>Paiwan (Wu 2006)</td>
<td>Non-finite complementation</td>
<td>Finite complementation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Modal (denotic)/emphatic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kavalan (Chang 2006)</td>
<td>SVC-I (manner, etc.)</td>
<td>SVC-II (epistemic), etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of lexical vs. grammatical modes of preverbal modification in five Formosan languages
Conclusion

• Adverbial verbs in Truku serve as:
  • AVC I: V1s of SVCs
  • AVC II: Manner / frequency preverbs

• AVC II was derived from AVC I via reanalysis

• AVC I and II possibly involve pairs of homophonous items belonging to two lexical categories – adverbia

and preverbs
Acknowledgment

• Taiwan Fellowship, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (July – December 2014)

• Dr. Elizabeth Zeitoun and the Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica