

Adverbial Verb Constructions in Truku Seediq

Mayumi Oiwa

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

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Adverbial verb constructions (AVCs)

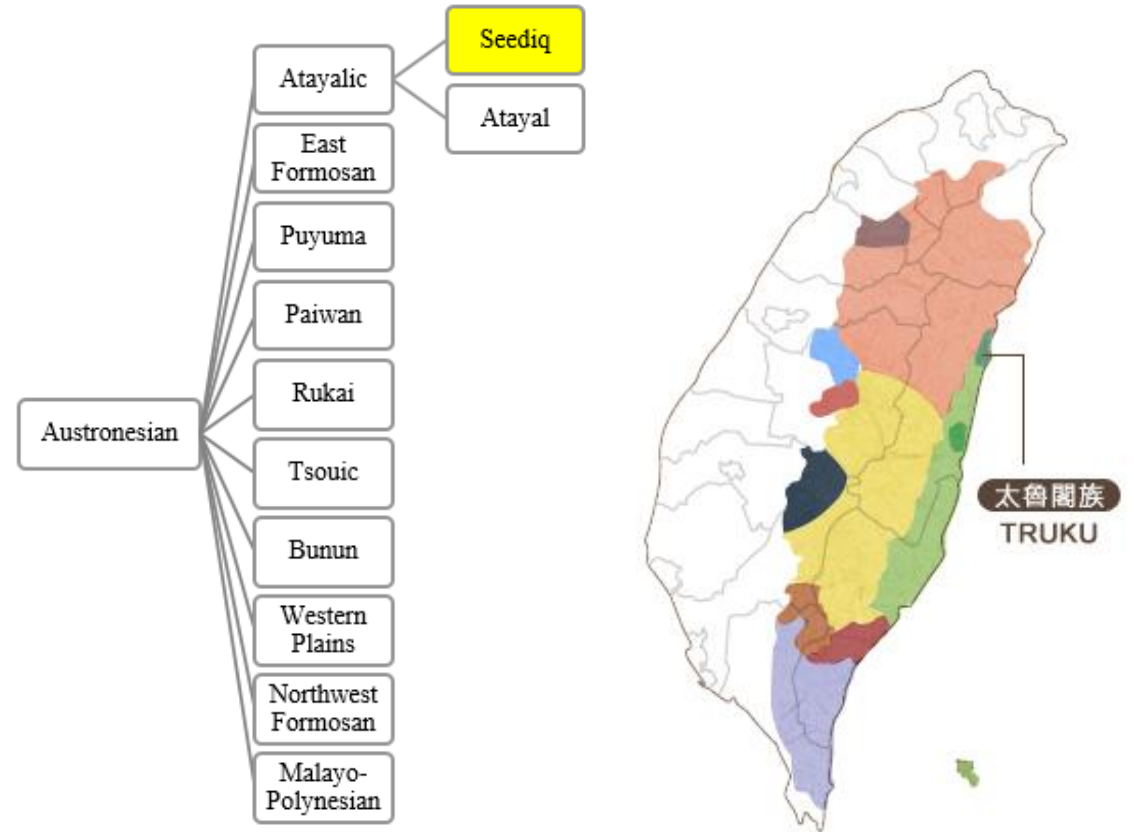
- Formosan languages in general lack adverbs and use verb-like elements to express adverbial meanings (Starosta 1988)
- “Adverbial verbs” constitute an in-between category that does not demonstrate the full range of properties typically associated with verbs

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)



*Image taken from Formosan Aboriginal Culture Village website
<http://www.nine.com.tw/webc/html/introduction/05-11.aspx>

Basics of Truku syntax

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

	AV	PV		LV	CV
		non-perfective	perfective		
Matrix	-m-, m-	-un / -an	-n-, n-	-an	s-
Irrealis/ imperative	∅	-i		-i	-ani

Case marking

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

	NOM	GEN	OBL	Indep't
1SG	=ku	=mu	knan	yaku
1PL.INCL	=ta	=ta	tnan	ita
1PL.EXCL	=nami	=nami	mnan	yami
2SG	=su	=su	sunan	isu
2PL	=namu	=namu	munan	yamu
3SG	∅	=na	hiyaan	hiya
3PL	∅	=dha	dhiyaan	dhiya

- (1) s<m>bug=ku kingal bowyak
 shoot<AV>=1SG.NOM one wild.pig.OBL
 'I hunted a wild pig.'
- (2) biq-un=ta lqi-an ka patas
 give-PV=1PL.INCL.GEN child-OBL NOM book
 'We will give the book to a child.'
- (3) krt-an qsurux bubu ka puy-an
 cut-LV fish.OBL mother.GEN NOM cook-NMLZ.L
 'Mother cut the fish in the kitchen.'
- (4) s-krut=mu qsurux ka yayu nii
 CV-cut=1SG.GEN fish.OBL 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

Semantic type	Root	English translation	Lexical counterpart
Manner	hmut	merely, randomly, as one pleases, at will,	m-hmut: (dynamic) to behave as one pleases, to do immoral things
	sprang	intentionally	n/a
	tgmlux	randomly, for no reason	m-gmlux: (dynamic) to not talk, to be quiet
	(k)iyux	forcefully	m-iyux: (stative, of a space) to be small, narrow, or cluttered
Frequency	knteetu	frequently, repeatedly	t<m>eetu: (dynamic) to cut, of hard materials such as bones
	ensuil	sometimes, occasionally	n/a

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.'

- 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 *ini*

(13) **Ida**=su ini iyah m-iing knan
EPIS=2SG.NOM NEG come.AV.IRR AV-search 1SG.OBL
'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) **Hmut**=ku m-ne-imah sinaw
randomly=1SG.NOM AV-**PRF**-drink wine.OBL
'I drank wine as I pleased.'

(15) **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

	Stative verbs in SVCs	Adverbial verbs in SVCs (AVC I)	Manner/frequency preverbs (AVC II)	Other preverbs
Independent usage	yes	no	no	no
Voice/TAM inflection	yes	yes	no	no
Voice/TAM inflection on following verb	AV only	AV only	yes	yes
Negation with auxiliary <i>ini</i>	yes	yes	no	no

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)

Stage 1

Ordinary verb

Seediq m-n-g-**hmut** ka
hiya
'He is a bad person.'

Stage 2

Adverbial verb
(SVC)

Hmt-an=mu m-imah ka
sinaw
'I drank wine as I pleased.'

Stage 3

Manner/frequency
preverb

Hmut=mu mah-an ka
sinaw
'I drank wine as I pleased.'

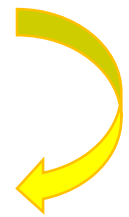
Source of reanalysis

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

(18) **Sprang** g<m>rung pratu ka Masaw
intentionally.**AV** break<**AV**> bowl.OBL NOM Masaw
'Masaw broke the bowl on purpose'

(19) **Wada** g<m>rung pratu ka Masaw da
PRF break<**AV**> bowl.OBL NOM Masaw PART
'Masaw has broken the bowl.'

(20)	Sprang	g<m>rung	pratu	ka	Masaw (=18)
a.	intentionally. AV	break< AV >	bowl.OBL	NOM	Masaw (SVC)
b.	intentionally	break<AV>	bowl.OBL	NOM	Masaw (preverb)



‘Masaw broke the bowl on purpose.’

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

(21)	Sprang	grm-an	Masaw	ka	pratu
a.	*intentionally. AV	break- PV	Masaw.GEN	NOM	bowl (SVC)
b.	intentionally	break-PV	Masaw.GEN	NOM	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

	More lexical	More grammatical
Truku Seediq	Adverbial verbs	
	Stative verbs in SVCs	Preverbs
Tgdaya Seediq (Holmer 2010)	Low adverbs	High adverbs
Mayrinax Atayal (Yu 2008)	Predicate-like adverbs	Non-predicate like adverbs
Paiwan (Wu 2006)	Non-finite complementation	Finite complementation
	Modal (denotic)/emphatic	
Kavalan (Chang 2006)	SVC-I (manner, etc.)	SVC-II (epistemic), etc.)
	Frequency	

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 – adverbial verbs proper and preverbs

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