Adverbial Verb Constructions in Truku Seediq

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Adverbial verb constructions (AVCs)

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

• “Adverbial verbs” constitute an in-between category that do 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-,</td>
<td>non-</td>
<td>-n-</td>
<td>an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>perfective</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis/imperative</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Case marking

- NOMinative (ka NP)
- Actor of Non-AV sentences = 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>⊥</td>
<td>=na</td>
<td>hiyaan</td>
<td>hiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>⊥</td>
<td>=dha</td>
<td>dhaan</td>
<td>dha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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) krut-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-kruit=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

• Other 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
  • Preverbs encoding TAM information

• Adverbial verbs serve both as (1) the V1 of SVCs and (2) preverbs
Adverbial verbs

• A small set of items denoting manner or frequency
• Unlike stative verbs, adverbial verbs largely lack predicative functions and cannot stand alone
• If an independent usage is available, it is highly idiosyncratic
  • It obtains a different meaning
  • Some behave like action verbs and others as stative verbs
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic type</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Independent usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>hmut</td>
<td>merely, randomly, as one pleases, at will,</td>
<td>m-hmut: behave as one pleases, do immoral things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tgmlux</td>
<td>randomly, for no reason</td>
<td>m-gmlux: to not talk, to be quiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sprang</td>
<td>intentionally</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyux</td>
<td>forcefully</td>
<td>kiyux: narrow, small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>knetteu</td>
<td>frequently, repeatedly</td>
<td>t&lt;m&gt;eetu: 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>

List of Truku adverbial verbs
Serial verb constructions

• In SVCs, 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, arguments are associated thematically to V2 but syntactically to V1.
‘I shot a wild pig.’

‘I went and shot a wild pig.’
(7) N-bu-an=mu ka bowyak da
PRF-shoot-PV=1SG.GEN NOM wild.pig.OBL PART
‘I shot a wild pig.’

(8) N-sa-an=mu s<m>bu / *s<m><n>bu / *bu-an
PRF-go-PV=1S.GEN shoot<AV> / shoot<AV><PRF> / shoot-PV
ka bowyak
NOM wild.pig
‘I went and shot a wild pig.’
SVCs in adverbial modification

- Manner modification is often achieved by stative verbs serving as V1 of an SVC
(9) Em-biyax=ku bi
STAT.REAL-strong=1SG.NOM INT
‘I am well (strong).’

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

(11) 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.

(12)  Hmut=ku m-imah sinaw
       at.will.\text{AV}=1\text{SG. NOM} AV\text{-drink} wine
       ‘I drank wine as I pleased.’

(13)  Hmut-an=mu m-imah ka sinaw
       at.will-\text{PV}=1\text{SG. GEN} AV\text{-drink} NOM wine
       ‘I drank wine as I pleased.’
Unlike most stative verbs, adverbial verbs are usually unmarked in their AV form

(14)  **Em-biyax**=ku  
      bi  s<sm>ipaq  laqi=mu  (=10)  
      **STAT.REAL**-strong.**AV**=1SG.NOM  INT hit<AV>  child.OBL=1SG.GEN  
      ‘I hit my child hard.’

(15)  **Hmut**=ku  
      m-imah  sinaw  (=12)  
      **at.will.****AV**=1SG.NOM  AV-drink  wine  
      ‘I drank wine as I pleased.’
• When negated with *ini* (negative auxiliary), the adverbial verb takes on irrealis morphology as regular verbs do

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

(17) Ini thiy-i m-taqi bubu=na ka laqi
    NEG accompany-PV.IRR AV-sleep mother=3SG.GEN NOM child
    ‘The mother doesn’t sleep with the child.’
Preverbs

- Preverbs are functional items which do not inflect or determine argument structures
  - No verbal morphology
  - Followed by voice and TAM inflected verbs
  - Host clitic pronouns

(18)  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*

(19)  **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:
  • No verbal morphology
  • Followed by voice and TAM inflected verbs
  • Host clitic pronouns

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

(21) \textbf{Hmut} = mu mah-an ka sinaw
    at.will=1SG.GEN drink-PV NOM wine
    ‘I drank wine as I pleased.’
Cannot be subsumed under negative auxiliary \textit{ini}

(22) \begin{align*}
*\text{Ini}=\text{mu} & \quad \text{hmut} \quad \text{paq-an} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{huling}=\text{mu} \\
\text{NEG}=\text{1SG.GEN} \text{ randomly} & \quad \text{hit-PV} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{dog}=\text{1SG.GEN}
\end{align*}

‘I didn’t randomly hit my dog.’
## Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<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>Independent usage</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice/TAM inflection</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice/TAM inflection on following verb</td>
<td>AV only</td>
<td>AV only</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negation with auxiliary <em>ini</em></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Historical implications

• AVC II (manner/frequency preverbs) are the result of reanalysis of AVC I (SVCs)

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

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

• Yet their use in SVCs is still maintained (bifunctional / homophonous)
Source of reanalysis

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

(23) **Sprang**  
  g<m>rung  pratu ka  Masaw  (SVC)  
  intentionally.**AV**  break<AV>  bowl  NOM  Masaw  
  ‘Masaw broke the bowl on purpose’

(24) **Wada**  g<m>rung  pratu ka  Masaw  da  (preverb)  
    **PRF**  break<AV>  bowl  NOM  Masaw  PART  
  ‘Masaw has broke the bowl.’
(25) Sprang g<em>rung</em> pratu ka Masaw (=25)

a. intentionally. <em>AV </em>break<em>AV</em> plate NOM Masaw (SVC)

b. intentionally break<em>AV</em> plate NOM Masaw (preverb)

‘Masaw broke the plate on purpose.’

• As a result, (28b) becomes available:

(26) Sprang grm-an Masaw ka pratu

a. *intentionally. <em>AV </em>break-PV Masaw NOM plate (SVC)

b. intentionally break-PV Masaw NOM plate(preverb)
Comparison with other Formosan languages

• At least some adverbial verbs in Truku has a four-way voice distinction, just as regular verbs do
  • Formosan adverbial verbs generally have a reduced, two-way voice distinction of AV vs. PV (Chang 2010)

• Although few in number, many of the adverbial observed so far has dual functions
  • Bifunctionality is only found in a subset of adverbial verbs in other Formosan languages (Chang 2010 for Kavalan; Wu 2006 for Paiwan)
Four-way voice distinction

(27) **Ensuil-an**=mu m-imah sinew ka sapah Rubiq occasionally-**LV=1SG.GEN AV**-drink wine **NOM** house Rubiq ‘Occasionally, I treat Rubiq’s house as a place to drink wine.’

(28) **S-tmlux**=na s<m>ipaq huling ka qhuni nii **cv-randomly=3SG.GEN hit<AV> dog **NOM** wood **PROX** ‘He hit dogs with this stick for no reason.’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>More lexical</th>
<th>More grammatical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Truku Seediq</td>
<td>All adverbial verbs??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stative verbs</td>
<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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<td>Mayrinax Atayal (Yu 2008)</td>
<td>Predicate-like adverbs</td>
<td>Non-predicate like adverbs</td>
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<td>Paiwan (Wu 2006)</td>
<td>Non-finite complementation</td>
<td>Finite complementation</td>
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<td></td>
<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>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

- Adverbial verbs in Truku serve as:
  - V1s of SVCs (lexical)
  - Manner / frequency preverbs (functional)

- Manner / frequency preverbs are a result of reanalysis
- AVC I and II possibly involve pairs of homophonous items belonging to two lexical categories – adverbial verbs proper and preverbs
References


