

Adverbial Verb Constructions in Truku Seediq

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Adverbial verb constructions (AVCs)

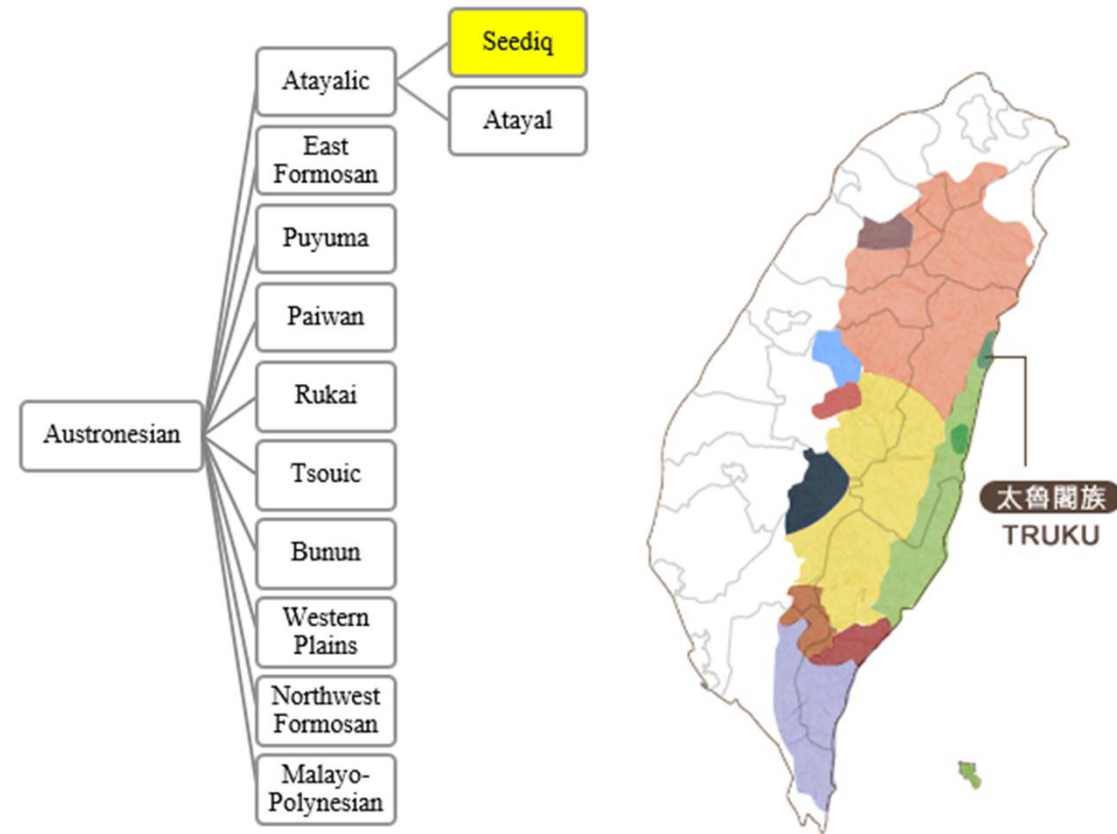
- Formosan languages in general lack adverbs and use verb-like elements to express adverbial meanings
- “Adverbial verbs” constitute an in-between category that do not demonstrate the full range of properties typically associated with verbs

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)



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

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	-i	-ani

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

	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	dhaan	dha

- (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-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
- 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

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

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.

(5) S<m><n>bu=ku bowyak
shoot<AV><PRF>=1SG.NOM wild.pig.OBL
'I shot a wild pig.'

(6) M-n-sa=ku s<m>bu / *s<m><n>bu bowyak
AV-PRF-go=1SG.NOM hit<AV> / hit<AV><PRF> wild.pig.OBL
'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.'

- Unlike most stative verbs, adverbial verbs are usually unmarked in their AV form

- (14) **Em-biyax**=ku bi s<m>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) **Hmut**=ku m-n-imah sinaw
at.will=1SG.NOM AV-**PRF**-drink wine.OBL
'I drank wine as I pleased.'

(21) **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 *ini*

(22) *Ini=mu **hmut** paq-an ka huling=mu
NEG=1SG.GEN randomly hit-**PV** NOM dog=1SG.GEN
'I didn't randomly hit my dog.'

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

- 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<m>rung pratu ka Masaw (=25)
 a. intentionally.AV break<AV> plate NOM Masaw (SVC)
 b. intentionally break<AV> 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.AV 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.'

	More lexical	More grammatical
Truku Seediq	All adverbial verbs??	
	Stative verbs	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 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

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