The encoding of adverbs of manner in the Formosan language
Seediq
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Seediq - Basic typological facts

· VOS word order (a, c)
· “focus” / voice (b)
· connegatives (c, e, f, h)
· pronominal clitics on 1st head (d, e, f, g, h)

a) Q-m-ita dapa Awi.
   -AF-see buffalo Awi
   ‘Awi sees a buffalo.’

b) Q-n-ta-an na Awi ka Pawan.
   -PST-see-LF GEN Awi NOM Pawan
   ‘Awi saw Pawan.’ / ‘Pawan was seen by Awi.’

c) Ini qita dapa Awi.
   NEG see.AF.CONNEG buffalo Awi
   ‘Awi does / did not see a buffalo.’

d) Q-m-n-ita -ku huling.
   -AF-PST-see -1sNOM dog
   ‘I saw a dog.’

e) Ini -ku qita huling.
   NEG -1sNOM see.AF.CONNEG dog
   ‘I don’t / didn’t see a dog.’

f) Ini -mu qta-i ka huling.
   NEG -1sGEN see-PF.CONNEG NOM dog
   ‘I don’t / didn’t see the dog.’

g) Wada -ku -na qta-un.
   PST -1sNOM -3sGEN see-PF
   ‘He saw me.’

h) Netun -ku -na wada ini qta-i...
   if -1sNOM -3sGEN PST NEG see-PF.CONNEG
   ‘If he didn’t see me...’
Superordinate verbs?:

- control verbs, directional coverbs, resultatives;
- precede main verb
- all V morphology on “superordinate”
- other verbs in citation form (AF)
- clitics on “superordinate” (unless COMP, TNS, NEG etc)

Control: **Control verb - embedded verb**

i) ini -ku **kela** r-m-engo kari seediq
   NEG -1sNOM know.AF.CONNEG -AF-talk word person
   ‘I can’t speak Seediq.’

j) ye -su **m-kela** r-m-engo kari seediq
   Q -2sNOM AF-know -AF-talk word person
   ‘Do you speak Seediq?’

k) ini -mu **knkel-i** m-apa rulu,
   NEG -1sGEN physically.able.PF.CONNEG AF-carry car
   anisa **knkel-un** -mu m-apa kingan kulu hlama
   but physically.able-PF -1sGEN AF-carry 1 box steamed.rice
   ‘I can’t carry a car, but I can carry a rice steamer.’

l) ini -ku **kmekul** d-m-eka tlahi
   NEG -1sNOM physically.able.AF.CONNEG -AF-split pomelo
   ‘I haven’t the strength to split a pomelo.’

Verb serialization: **Directional coverb - main verb**

m) sa-an -daha **m-lawa** ka dadan
   go-LF -3pGEN AF-call NOM relatives
   ‘They go to call their relatives.’

Resultatives: **Resultative - main verb**

n) **hde-un** m-ekan ngiyo ka qolic
   finish-PF AF-eat cat NOM rat
   ‘All the rats will be eaten up by cats.’

o) Ma **h-m-edu** m-ekan damac laqi nii!
   and -AF-finish AF-eat food child this
   ‘But this child ate up all the food!’

p) wada -mu **hde-un** m-ekan damac nii
   PST -1sGEN finish-PF AF-eat food this
   ‘I ate up all this food.’
The phenomenon - “Manner-Adverbial-Verbs” (MAV)

- a. Adverbs of manner expressed verbally (“Manner-Adverbial-Verbs”, MAV)
- b. MAVs precede main verb - superordinate?
- c. All verbal morphology on MAVs - superordinate?

1. tte-un -daha t-m-ekan ka macu
to.pieces-PF -3pGEN -AF-pound NOM millet
‘They pound the millet to pieces.’

2. tkan-un -daha ka macu
pound-PF -3pGEN NOM millet
‘They pound the millet.’

3. *tte-un -daha tkan-un ka macu
to.pieces-PF -3pGEN pound-PF NOM millet
Intended reading = (1)

4. quyu mlehe sa, ini -daha mhmet-i s-m-ipaq sa
100-pacer QUOT NEG -3pG needlessly-PF.CONNEG -AF-kill QUOT
‘it is said that they don’t kill 100-pacer snakes needlessly’

5. skret-an -daha m-ekuy quwaq salo
tight-LF -3pGEN AF-tie mouth pot
‘They tie the mouth of the pot tightly.’

6. bleq-un -daha g-m-emuk s-kiicu -daha sburo da bsiyaq
well-PF -3pGEN -AF-cover IF-fear -3pGEN rot if long.time
‘They cover it well for fear of it rotting if left a long time.’

7. tting-un -daha qhuni ka qmegi, nme-un -daha t-m-uting...
beat-PF -3pGEN tree NOM soapwort, to.powder-PF -3pGEN -AF-beat
‘They beat the soapwort berries off the tree and pound them to powder.’

8. gguy-un -misu s-m-n eru
secretly-PF -1s->2s -AF-tell
‘I’ll startle you.’

9. ini burux m-ekan ka seediq cbeyo
NEG alone.CONNEG AF-eat NOM person long.ago
‘They people of old didn’t eat alone.’

10. Ini -daha kntte-i m-ekan beras baso,
NEG -3pGEN often-PF.CONNEG AF-eat grain baso
pcnga-un -daha m-ekan
sometimes-PF -3pGEN AF-eat
‘They don’t eat baso grain often, they eat it occasionally.’
They don’t eat the chili on its own, because it’s so hot.’

‘As for qlmuqun taro, they don’t cook it too long.’

‘Eat some more! / Eat until you are more full.’

‘We ate together yesterday.’ (op.cit 90)

‘We ate together yesterday.’ (op.cit. 90)

‘It examined (it) carefully.’ (op.cit. 90)?

‘I have finished washing the clothes.’ (op.cit 193)

‘Yumin has finished eating the fish.’ (op.cit 193)

‘Yumin went to see his mother.’ (op.cit 193)

‘I run fast.’ (op cit 195)
21. **si-iwan**  'i' **ma-quwas** nii **yumin'i** limuy
   IF-replace LINK AF-sing GEN Yumin NOM Limuy
   ‘Yumin sang instead of Limuy.’ (op.cit. 194)

2.2 Paiwanic

2.2.1 Bunun (Jeng 1977)

- serial V constructions (22)
- at least one MAV (23, 24)
- often invariant adverbs (synt. V, morph. ADV) (25, 26)

22. **tindangkal-un** ?ista **ma-baliv** davus
   run-PF 3s AF-buy wine
   ‘He runs to buy wine.’ (op cit. 79)

23. **qasmav-un** ?ista **ma-tas?i?** palangan
   diligent-PF 3s.GEN AF-make rattan-basket
   ‘He is diligent making rattan baskets.’ (op.cit. 210)

   AF-diligent 3s.NOM AF-make rattan-basket
   ‘He is diligent making rattan baskets.’ (op.cit. 205)

25. **qamqam** ?aipa? **tantungu?** ?iti?
   careless 3s play-around here
   ‘He plays around carelessly here.’ (op.cit. 53)

   indeed 3s die-COMPL
   ‘He indeed died.’ (op.cit. 53)

27. “most English adverbs correspond to Bunun class I verbs” (op.cit. 160)

2.2.2 Paiwan (Egli 1990, Tang 1999)

- MAVs limited or marginal (some morph. variation)
- ADVs (optionally or obligatorily) postverbal

28. **masengseng** a **rhavats**
   work COMP much
   ‘He works a lot.’ (Egli 1990:158)

29. **pa-rhavats** a **masengseng**
   X-much COMP work
   ‘He works a lot.’ (Egli 1990:158)

30. **tjalures** a **mangetjez**
    always COMP come
    ‘He comes all the time.’ (Egli 1990:158)

31. **pa-tjalures** a **mangetjez**
   X-always COMP come
   ‘He comes all the time.’ (Egli 1990:158)
32. mangetjez a tj-em-alures
   come COMP -AF-always
   ‘He comes all the time.’ (Egli 1990:158)

33. *g-em-alu a k-em-an ti Kai
   -AF-slowly COMP -AF-eat NOM Kai
   Intended reading: ‘Kai is slow in eating.’ (Tang 1999:575)

34. nu k-em-an g-em-alu ti Kai
   TOP -AF-eat -AF-slow NOM Kai
   ‘Kai is slow in eating.’ / ‘As for eating, Kai is slow.’ (Tang 1999:575)

35. *nu k-in-an g-em-alu ti Kai
   TOP -PF-eat -AF-slow NOM Kai
   Intended reading: ‘Kai is slow in eating.’ (Tang 1999:575)

36. “The adverb inventory in Paiwan is very limited, since adverbial meaning is
    predominantly expressed with verb serialization. Some of the adverbs therefore
    also realize verbal morphology.” (Egli 1990: 158)

2.3 Tsouic (Tsou); (Szakos 1994)

   · voice agreement between all V-heads
   · MAVs bear V morphology

37. o'a Ø-i-si aht-a p-eel-a atpit-a'e cmoi
   NEG UF-PRES-3 ever-UF UF-can-UF ART bear
   ‘He can never defeat the bear.’ (op.cit.3)

38. o'a te-s'a aht-u o'te taso na meoi-no euansou
   NEG FUT-only ever-AF NEG strong.AF ART big-DEM animal
   ‘The big animal will always be the stronger one...’ (op.cit.3)

39. Ø-o-si-cu aha'-va eh-tothom-neni le-tothom-neni
   UF-PR-3-PF sudden-UF against-fight-BF hit-fight-BF
   na 'e eatatiskova ART DEM person
   ‘She suddenly attacked the man and fought him.’ (op.cit.2)

40. m-oh-cu aha'o mi-hcihci ho mi-se'u to ti'nı
   AF-PRET-PF sudden-AF AF-teethbare & AF-grimace LOC cliff
   ‘Suddenly she bared her teeth and grimaced towards the cliff.’ (op.cit.6)
2.4 Extra-Formosan (Tagalog); Schachter & Otanes (1972)

- optional ordering, linked by ligature
- no evidence of MAVs?

41. **mabilis** na **naglakad** si **Pedro**
quick LIG walk NOM Pedro
‘Pedro walked quickly’ (op.cit. 436)

42. **naglakad** si **Pedro** nang **mabilis**
walk NOM Pedro LIG quick
‘Pedro walked quickly’ (op.cit. 436)

**What’s going on?**
**Possible structures (43, 44):**

43. $V_{FIN} \quad [(V-V-V) \quad ARGs] \quad ka \quad SUBJ$

44. ? $V_{FIN} \quad [(V-V-V) \quad ARGs \quad ka \quad ARG]$

**Analysis?**

45. *tindangkal-uni* ?iesta [ma-baliv davus]$_i$
run-PF 3s AF-buy wine
‘He runs to buy wine.’ (Jeng’s analysis, cf structure in 44)

**My suggestion:**

46. *tindangkal-uni* ?iesta [ma-baliv] davus$_i$
run-PF 3s AF-buy wine
‘He runs to buy wine.’ (structure in 43)

**Evidence for (43) contra (44):**

- no ACC marker, cf (47)
- word order variation (cf 48, 49)
- *ka* (NOM) = SUBJ marker? (cf 48, 49)
- relativization evidence (subject-sensitive relativization) (cf 50, 51)
- wh-question formation (subject-sensitive) cf (52, 53)

47. *tindangkul* Pai?an *ma-baliv* i davus
run.AF Pai?an AF-buy ACC wine
‘Pai?an runs to buy wine.’ (Jeng 1977: 205) **Bunun**
48. **yah-un** (*ka) m-ekan qolic ka bunga
   come-PF (*NOM) AF-eat rat NOM sweet.potato
   ‘Rats will come and eat the sweet potatoes.’ **Seediq**

49. **m-eyah** (*ka) m-ekan bunga ka qolic
   AF-come (*NOM) AF-eat sweet.potato NOM rat
   ‘The rats come to eat sweet potatoes.’ **Seediq**

50. m-ekan -mian qcurux؛ [n-sa-an -daha plaling _i]
    AF-eat -1pEXCL.NOM fish PST-go-LF -3pGEN (AF).catch
    ‘We eat fish which they have gone to catch.’ **Seediq**

51. tunux؛ [n-sa-an -daha s-m-ipaq _i]
    head PST-go-LF -3pGEN -AF-kill/cut
    ‘heads which they have gone to cut off...’ (i.e. head-hunting) **Seediq**

52. simaq **kaôav-un** -su'u baôbaô
    who shy-PF -2s talk
    ‘Who are you shy to talk to?’ (op.cit. 68) **Bunun**

53. simaq **sihal-un** -su'u baôbaô
    who good-PF -2s talk
    ‘Who do you feel good to talk to?’ (op.cit.69) **Bunun**

So far:
· control V, AUX and directional coverbs: superordinate (cf 47-51)
· evidence for structure (43) not clearly MAV
· what about MAV?

2 possible solutions:
· a) uniform superordinate verb solution:
  · MAV are superordinate, like control verbs, directional coverbs etc
· b) non-uniform solution:
  · control V, AUX and directional coverbs: superordinate
  · MAV: something else

**Solution a): ADVs as “verbal” heads**
· where is MAV located structurally?
· shortest move to INFL° -> X°, outside VP (above V°)

54. XP
   MAV°
   VP
     V° Spec
     V° O
Cinque 1997: · ADVs located in functional Specs (outside VP)

55. [Diagram]

Must ADV be AdvP (in Spec)? cf NegP:

56. German:

57. a. Er arbeitet nicht.
   c. He works.
   b. ...daß er nicht arbeitet.
   d. *He works not.
   e. He does not work.

58. Seediq MAV’s:

   [Diagram]

Problems:
· only manner ADVs realized as heads?
· no clear evidence of structure (43) with MAVs
· MAVs clearly lexical - in functional category?
**Solution b): Differences in encoding**

59. Underlying meaning: \[ \text{Arg1} \quad \text{Arg2} \quad \text{Action} \quad \text{Manner} \]

- -> English: SUBJ: Arg1  
  PRED: Action, Arg2, Manner  
- -> Seediq: SUBJ: Arg1, Arg2, Action  
  PRED: Manner

English - what becomes SUBJ? (1 element extracted from VP) “subject-centered”  
Seediq - what becomes PRED? (1 head extracted from VP) “predicate-centered”

**Semantically, ADV, not V, is negated by negator**

60. He doesn’t walk fast. (=He walks, but not fast.)  
   He doesn’t work well. (=He works, but not well.)  
   He doesn’t drive slowly. (=He drives, but not slowly.)

   (≠ He doesn’t walk)  
   (≠ He doesn’t work.)  
   (≠ He doesn’t drive.)

**Further evidence for Seediq as predicate-centred:**

61. Underlying meaning: \[ \text{[Mod} \quad \text{Arg1}] \quad \text{Arg2} \quad \text{Action} \]

- -> English: SUBJ: [Mod Arg1]  
  PRED: Action, Arg2  
- -> Seediq: SUBJ: [REL Action Arg1 Arg2]  
  PRED: Mod

62. ini baka [t-n-qi-an -mu]  
   NEG sufficient -PST-sleep-LF -1sGEN  
   ‘I haven’t slept enough.’  
   (‘My sleep has not been sufficient.’)

63. biciq [kari na seediq]  
   small word GEN seediq  
   ‘The Seediq speak softly.’  
   (‘The voice of the Seediq is small.’)

64. egu [ka preko m-eyah q-m-iyuc]  
   much NOM mosquito AF-come -AF-bite  
   ‘Many mosquitoes have come to bite.’  
   (‘The mosquitoes which have come to bite are many.’)

65. netun egu [macu k-n-etuy kiya]...  
   if much millet -PST.PF-harvest there  
   ‘If they have harvested a lot of millet...’  
   (‘If the millet they have harvested is much...’)

   (...continued...
66. **m-beyax riung** [mngihur -na]
   AF-strong very bitter / bitterness -3sGEN
   ‘It is very bitter.’
   (‘Its bitterness is very strong.’)

67. **nima** [ka sapah q-n-ta-an -su]?
   who.GEN NOM house -PST-see-LF -2sGEN
   ‘Whose house did you see?’
   (‘Whose is the house that you saw?’)

68. **ini ke-egu** [ka seediq m-eyah hini]
   NEG CONNEG-much NOM person AF-come here
   ‘Not many people have come here.’
   (‘The people who have come here are not many.’)

69. **uka** [rupun -mu]
   not.exist tooth -1sGEN
   ‘I have no teeth.’
   (‘My teeth do not exist.’)

70. **uka** [pila -mu]
   not.exist money -1sGEN
   ‘I have no money.’
   (‘My money does not exist.’)

*Cross-linguistic patterns:*

71. We **don’t** have **enough** money

72. **ini baka** [pila -ta]
   NEG sufficient money -1pINCL.GEN
   ‘We don’t have enough money.’
   (lit. ‘Our money is not sufficient.’) 
   **Seediq**

73. [wo-men de qián] **bú-gòu**
   1p POS money NEG-sufficient
   ‘We don’t have enough money.’
   (lit. ‘Our money is not sufficient.’) 
   **Mandarin Chinese**

*Stylistic option:*

74. **Many’s** [the lad fought on that day...] 
   **Skye Boat Song**
References:


Tang, Jane Chih-chen. 1999. ‘On clausal complements in Paiwan’. In: Elizabeth Zeitoun & Paul Jen-Kuei Li (eds.). Selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics. Taipei: Academia Sinica