

Adverbials in Paiwan

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It has been known that in many European languages like English adverbial modifiers syntactically occur as adverbs. However, this observation is not attested among Austronesian languages in Taiwan. In Formosan languages adverbial modifiers mostly surface as verbs, as was been first pointed out by Starosta (1988). Chang's (2005) study further reveals that in Kavalan, a Formosan language, adverbials usually occur as matrix verbs and involve two types of serial verb construction (SVC). Complement types vary according to different adverbial patterns. Following Chang's framework, this study explores the syntax of adverbial expressions in Paiwan, a Formosan language spoken in Southern Taiwan. It is observed that like Kavalan, manner and modal adverbials in Paiwan are primarily coded as verbs. Unlike Kavalan, however, frequency adverbials in Paiwan are usually coded as verbal affixes. In Paiwan adverbial modifiers which surface as verbs typically involve three types of complex predicate construction. These adverbial modifiers usually serve as matrix verbs (V1), taking the modified lexical verbs or clauses (V2) as their complements. Manner adverbials (AF/NAF) and the modified verbs combine in Type A: 'V1-a-V2 (AF)' construction, which is subject to AF-only restriction, as in (1a). Modal adverbials can be associated with three types of complex predicate construction. NAF modal adverbials involve only Type A construction, while AF modal adverbials may involve Type B: 'V1-a-V2 (AF/NAF)' and Type C: 'V1-V2 (AF/NAF)', both of which may bypass AF-only restriction, as in (2a-b). Zero-marked modal expressions entertain only Type C construction, as in (3a). These complementation types form a spectrum ranging from non-finiteness to finiteness. The syntax of adverbials in Paiwan looks quite different from canonical perspectives, while it coincides to a certain extent with grammatical behaviors of adverbial modifiers in Kavalan. Adverbial modifications which are normally expressed by means of adjunction in familiar languages like

English are largely expressed through complex predication/ complementation in Paiwan and Kavalan. In these languages, adverbial modifiers may function as lexical heads leading verbal or clausal complements, rather than as specifiers of functional heads or as functional heads by themselves (cf. Cinque 1999).

EXAMPLES

(1) Paiwan

- a. na-galu-aken/ ku-g<in>alu a
 perf-slowly<AF>-1s.NOM/1s.GEN-slowly<PERF.PF> LNK
 kim tua/a hung
 search<AF> OBL/NOM book
 'I searched a book slowly.'

(2) Paiwan

- a. sikuta a v<en>cilj-aken /
 unnecessarily (AF) LNK leave<AF>-1s.NOM/
 ku-vecilj-in tua/a acilay
 1s.GEN-lift up-PERF.PF OBL/NOM stone
 'I didn't need to lift up the stone.'
- b. sikuta v<en>cilj-aken /
 unnecessarily (AF) leave<AF>-1s.NOM/
 ku-vecilj-in tua/a acilay
 1s.GEN-lift up-PERF.PF OBL/NOM stone
 'I didn't need to lift up the stone.'

(3) Paiwan

- a. madu (*a) na-pa-veli-anga timadju tua watu
 possibly LNK PERF-CAUS-buy (AF)-COS 3s.NOM OBL dog
 'Possibly, he has sold a dog.'

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