

Applicativizing Adverbial Verbs in Mayrinax Atayal

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Based on Pylkkänen's (2002) framework, it has been known that in some Formosan languages the high applicative head *si-* can productively combine with unergative verbs or static verbs (Chang 2004, Cheng 2007). However, this study will show that the high applicative head *si-* can not only combine with unergative verbs or static verbs, as in (1b), but also apply to the higher-level predicates: adverbial verbs as in (2b, 3a, 4a) in Mayrinax Atayal, an Austronesian language spoken in Northern Taiwan. Mayrinax Atayal applicativizes the category of adverbial verbs by means of the three morphosyntactic processes: *si-?ana-*, *si-ka-* and *si-* applicatives. These applicative morphemes pattern respectively with specific subclass of adverbials and serve to promote oblique arguments which denote benefactor, instrument, concomitant and cause in the embedded clauses, as in (2b, 3a). In combination with the adverbial inchoative *?ana-*, the high applicative head *si-* applies to typical adverbial verbs which bear the least verbal properties, as in (2b). The adverbial verbs inflected by *si-?ana* cannot independently assign nominative case, as in (2c). In combination with the static inchoative *ka-*, *si-* applies to adverbial verbs which bear properties of static verbs, as in (3a). The adverbial verb inflected by *si-ka-* is able to assign nominative case independently just like a static verb, as in (3b, 3c). *Si-* itself can combine with adverbial verbs which bear nature of lexical verbs. Like a lexical verb as in (1b), the adverbial verb can assign nominative case in terms of *si-* applicative only, as in (4a). The study has the following implications: (i) Applicative alternation is productive in Mayrinax Atayal. It may occur on active verbs, static verbs, and adverbial verb constructions, as in (1a-b) and (2a-b). The observation is different from Huang and Huang's research in Tsou, whereby they claims that applicative alternation does not exist. (ii) In contrast to other Formosan languages such as Tsou, Kavalan and Paiwan whereby adverbial verbs take only two voices (AV and PV) (Chang 2007), in Mayrinax Atayal adverbial verbs can take up to three voices (AV, PV and B/IV). (iii) In Mayrinax Atayal the high applicative head *si-* can combine with inner adverbial verbs such as manner, subject-oriented and frequency ones as in (2b) but fails to apply to outer adverbials such as epistemic or deontic auxiliaries as in (5b). That fact indicates that the high applicative movement can be accessed by the inner linker (*?i? I*) but blocked by the outer linker (*?i? II*).

Examples

- (1) a. m-aktaliyum=cu? ni watan
 AV-run=1S.NOM OBL Watan
 'I run for Watan.'

- b. **si-paktaliyum=mi?** (ʔi?) watan
 BV-run=1S.GEN=1S.GEN NOM Watan
 ‘I runs for Watan.’
- (2) a. [m-ʔana-bibui=ci? [ʔi? kabalai na? ulaqi? cu? siatu?]]
 AV-ANA-quickly=1S.NOM LNK I make (AV) OBL child OBL clothes
 ‘I quickly make clothes for children.’
- b. [**si(x)-ʔana-bibui=mi?** [ʔi? *tx*-kabalai *ti* cu? siatu?] ku? ulaqi?(i)]
 BV-ANA-quickly=1S.GEN LNK I make (AV) OBL clothes NOM child
 ‘I quickly make clothes for the child.’
- c. *si-ʔana-bibui=mu? ku? ulaqi?
 BV-ANA-quickly=1S.GEN NOM child
 ‘I am slow for the child.’
- (3) a. [**si-ka-uhum=mi?** [ʔi? x<um>ab cu? bauwak] ʔi? watan]
 BV-INCHO-bravely=1S.GEN LNK I stab<AV> OBL wild.pig NOM Watan
 ‘I stab a wild pig bravely for watan.’
- b. si-ka-uhum=mi? (ʔi?) watan
 BV-INCHO-bravely=1S.GEN NOM Watan
 ‘I am brave for Watan.’
- c. si-ka-uway=mi? (ʔi?) watan
 BV-INCHO-be.tired=1S.GEN NOM Watan
 ‘I was tired because of Watan.’
- (4) a. **si-panabaq=mu?** ku? huil
 BV-be.careful=1S.GEN NOM dog
 ‘I am careful of the dog.’
- (5) a. kii=mi? ʔi? si-usa? ʔi? taipak ku? kuru
 EPIST=1S.GEN LNK II BV-go LOC Taipei NOM car
 ‘I will probably go to Taipei by car.’
- b. *si-kii=mi? ʔi? m-usa? ʔi? taipak ku? kuru
 BV-EPIST=1S.GEN LNK II AV-go LOC Taipei NOM car

Selected References:

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