Verbs or Adverbs in Thao*

Paul Jen-kuei Li

Academia Sinica

One may expect that concepts, such as 'all', 'only', 'again', 'very', 'first', 'next', and 'tomorrow', are adverbs or nouns, yet they all behave like verbs in Thao. Are there any genuine adverbs at all in Thao? There must be at least a few. For example, the form *mani* 'also' is always invariable and its occurrence in a sentence is relatively free. Similarly, the form *maʃna* 'even' is also invariable and it usually occurs before a noun or subject of a clause. The same is true of the time word *tiɬa* 'yesterday'. The same or very similar phenomena may also be found in other Formosan languages. It is interesting to see how similar or dissimilar the adverbial verbs and adverbs in Thao behave in other languages. I have compared them to those in a closely related language, Favorlang, in this paper.

Key words: Thao, verb, adverb, adverbial, invariable, Favorlang

1. Introduction

Linguists who have worked with Formosan and western Austronesian languages generally recognize verbs, nouns and some grammatical particles in these languages. Adjectives in English are stative verbs in these languages. They have also found that many adverbial concepts in Chinese and English are expressed using verbs in these languages (Starosta 1988). One may wonder if there are any genuine adverbs in these languages at all.

The form of an adverb is usually invariable and its position in a sentence is relatively free. On the contrary, the form of a verb usually varies and its position in a sentence is usually fixed.

Since the function of an adverb is to modify a verb or adjective, it may not occur in a sentence without a verb, whereas a true verb may occur in a sentence without any other verb. A verb is usually obligatory, while an adverb is optional.

Verbs in Formosan languages can be derived for different foci and take aspect markers. Many adverbial concepts in Chinese and English are expressed using verbs that manifest different foci and take aspect markers in Formosan languages. These words include manner, scope, and time words. When words function as the main verb in a sentence, they may attract bound personal pronouns, nominative or genitive, in some Formosan languages.

Previous studies of Thao relevant to syntactic studies include F.K. Li, Chen & Tang (1956), Blust (2003), Wang (2004), and Paul Li (2011, 2014). Li (2011:3-18) gives a sketch of Thao grammar, covering case markers, personal nouns, the focus system, mood, tense and aspect; that is perhaps the most relevant to the problems discussed in this paper.

2. Verbs or adverbs in Thao?

Adverbs of manner in Chinese and English are realized as the main verbs in Thao sentences, as in the following:

(1) numawan   sa   ʃlilitun *maɬu*   k<m>ari   sa   pruq.   (31-25)[1]
    therefore   DET[2]   pygmy   AF.hard   dig<AF>   DET   earth
    'Therefore, the pygmies dug the ground very hard.'

(2) *kit-na-na-haðiʃ-an*   θiθu   m-armuð   s<m>uqum   pun-tuða-an.   (32-20)
    KIT-RED-to-far-LF   he   AF-dive   check<AF>   catch-eel-LF
    'He dived very far to check bamboo pipes for eels.'

(3) ma-θuaw   maʃtay   *ma-kariʃkiʃ*   ma-ɬa-ɬuyða   sa   numa-numa.   (34-9)
    STA-very   AF.all   STA-work.hard   AF-RED-plant   DET   RED-thing
    'All people worked very hard planting all sorts of things.'

(4) maʃtay   sa   parhaway   *mi-raw-riuq*   t<un>maða.   (34-20)
    AF.all   DET   young   MI-RAW-quiet   listen<AF>
    'All the young men listened quietly.'

Moreover, adverbs of scope in Chinese and English are also expressed using verbs in Thao. Thao has three different items, *mu-ɬkið, maʃtay* and *aðʔað* to indicate 'all', and they all function as main verbs, as illustrated below.

(5) a. iðáy ayuði masa ayuði a   aðaðak *mu-ɬkið* mu-súy   pakamumu
       that man   and man   LIG child   AF.go-all AF.go-there name
       maqa   a-tiʃ-an.   (39-38)
       for   IRR-wipe-LF
       '(All) men and boys had to go to the Pakamumu family to get wiped there.'

---

[1] Most examples are taken from *Thao Texts and Songs* (Li 2011). For example, (31-25) indicates that it is taken from Thao text 31, Sentence 25.
[2] In addition to the Leipzig Glossing Rules, abbreviations used in this paper are: AF, Actor-focus; ALR, already; Ca, Ca-reduplication; DEF, definite; LF, Locative-focus; LIG, ligature; NEU, neutral; PF, Patient-focus; PM, personal marker; Q, question marker; RED, reduplication; RF, referential-focus; STA, stative.

b. numa-numa *pu-łkið-in* pu-sáy pakamumu a danʃiqan,
RED-thing CAUS-all-PF CAUS-there family.name LIG courtyard

a-tiʃ-an i-ðáy pakamumu a t<m>a-ti-tiʃ. (39-65)
IRR-wipe-LF LOC-there family.name LIG Ca<AF>RED-wipe

'All sorts of things should all be left in the courtyard of the Pakamumus in order to be wiped by the one in charge of wiping.'

c. numa-numa *pu-łkið-in* pu-yutu a-maqa day a-ma-bahi. (39-67)
RED-thing CAUS-all-PF CAUS-there IRR-because ? IRR-AF-bless

'Various sorts of objects were all placed there so that it would be a fruitful hunting.'

(6) a. *maʃtay* mu-sún k<m>an s<in>apuk ʃnawluman a łkaribuʃ.
AF.all AF.go-together eat<AF> catch<PFV> name LIG wild

'All people gathered together to eat (the meat of) the wild animals caught by ʃnawluman.' (32-10)

b. sa ma-ʃi-tan-tuqaʃ m-ðay, "*paʃtay* k<m>an sa rusaw!" (4-84)
DET STA-SI-TAN-elder AF-say all eat<AF> DET fish

'The old man said, "All (of you) eat fish!"'

c. *paʃta-an* iðáy ka-faðaq-in a pruq a łanað piʃ-taqu. (39-74)
all-LF that KA-know-PF LIG land LIG name PIS-chant

'All known place names should be chanted.'

(7) a. *aðʔað-iða* łka-na-náy a θaw. (31-42)
all-ALR live-to-here LIG Thao

'All people who lived here already were Thao.'

b. qabiðay ʃawna-tusi kariawan *aðʔað* tu θaw a pruq. (36-20)
place get-there Puli all DET Thao LIG land

'All the lands from Qabiðay to Puli belonged to the Thao people.'

c. *aðʔað* kalawa-n θiθu pun-tuða-an. (32-13)
all make-PF he catch-eel-LF

'All (bamboo pipes) to catch eels were made by him.'

The English concepts 'only, just', 'always, often, frequently', and 'nothing but' are expressed by main verbs in Thao, as in:

(8) a. antu θaw ma-dadú s tuali, *m-uqay* pa-kaθu-an p<in>anʃa.
not Thao STA-like DET money AF-only CAUS-bring-LF gift<PFV>

'Thao people did not care for money, and they accepted only gifts.' (36-33)

b. *uqay* maniun k<m>an takiθ a bunłað. (34-64)
only you.PL eat<AF> muntjac LIG meat

'You(pl) eat only the meat of muntjac!'

c. *uqay* pia-qitan   małinuna, ata   tu   paʃa-tuðus-i,
only make-nice AF.speak   don't DET PASHA-point-IMP
a-mim-buqnur. (Blust 2003:629)
IRR-get-angry
'Just speak nicely, don't point (at them) or (they) will get angry.'

(9) a. *m-yaqay*   sa   parhaway   k<m>it-na-qua-quał   sa   łkaribuʃ   a
AF-always DET young.men KIT<AF>to-RED-near DET wild.animal LIG
qnuan.   (34-38)
deer
'The young men were always following closely behind the deer.'

b. *yaqay*   yuhu   ł<uŋ>qizi   θiθu!
always you.OBL take.care<AF>   him
'You always take care of (look after) him!'

c. a-mu-naur   mani *a-m-yaqay*   p-untal   kahiwan a   kaðaʃ.
IRR- AF.go-origin also IRR-AF-always CAUS-follow ancient LIG festival
'(We) also have to frequently observe the traditional customs.' (38-147)

(10) a. miŋ-ka-kurað   na   bu-but   day *m-yarain* małus.   (32-54)
INCH-RED-bruised DET RED-body ?   AF-do.but AF.sleep
'He had bruises all over his body, and could do nothing but sleep.'

b. ata   tu   *yarain* ł<m>ułuk!
don't DET do.but   hiccup<AF>
'Don't do anything but hiccup!'

c. *m-ya-rai-rain*   m-aŋ-qtu-qtu   miku-yanan-iða sa   aðaðak. (35-4)
AF-YA-RED-do.but AF-AN-RED-think wish-have-ALR DET child
'There is nothing in (her) mind but the desire to have a baby = (She) would
like to have a baby very much.'

English words, such as 'again' and 'enough', and words that have to do with
concepts of quantity, such as numerals, cardinals, and times are often expressed using
verbs in Thao:

(11) a. simaq-iða *m-uqða*   sa   atu q<m>aqutił a   łkaribuʃ   a   qnuan.
next-ALR AF-again DET dog chase<AF> LIG wild.animal LIG deer
'The next day the dog resumed chasing the deer.' (34-29)

b. numa s   iðáy paru-paru   a   θaw *a-m-uqða-wan*   pin-tuða.
then DET that knock.teeth LIG person IRR-AF-again-yet make-eel
'The one who knocked out teeth had to make rice cake in the shape of an eel
again.' (39-134)

c. ua, *a-p-uqða-n*   tata wa baruku ðaʃuq.   (Blust 2003:788)
OK IRR-CAUS-again-PF one LIG bowl   rice
'O.K., one cup of rice will be added again.'

(12) a. yaku ma-ʃi-tan-tuqaʃ,   *a-k<un>hala*   k<m>an sa rusaw. (34-64)
I   STA-SI-TAN-elder IRR-eat<AF>first eat<AF> DET fish
'Let me, an older man, eat them first.'

b. *m-ya-háy* mu-sáy   tata wa yanan   m-ya-kbit   małus.
AF-do-first AF.go-there one LIG bedroom AF-do-separate AF.sleep
'(He) should go to bed in a separate room first.' (38-12)

(13) a. numa niða tu ʃdu   yanan θayθuy puði a pruq. (34-163)
then   never DET enough exist they   white LIG land
'They never had enough land in the White Mountain.'

b. *ʃdu-iða*   rusaw.
enough-ALR   fish
'The fish is enough.'

c. *ʃdu-an*   rusaw, antu paʃani.
enough-LF fish   not   greasy
'The fish is (fine) enough. It's not greasy.'

Notice that the lexical items illustrated above take focus affixes and aspect markers. For instance, the root *ʃdu-* 'enough' not only takes *-an* and *-iða*, but also can be derived as *maʃa-ʃdu* 'to agree,' *mak-ʃa-ʃdu* 'to be well matched' (see Blust 2003:905-906). The derived verb form of *ʃdu-* is the only verb in sentence (13b) and in the first clause in (13c).

The main verb usually occurs clause-initially in spontaneous speech in Thao. It may be followed by a personal pronoun and another verb, as in (14) below. The intensifier *ma-θuaw* 'very, excessive' functions as a main verb in the following sentences:

(14) a. *a-ma-θuaw*   yaku ma-qaran, a-ma-daydað aðaðak. (35-7)
IRR-STA-very I   STA-happy IRR-AF-love   child
'I'll be very happy and love my baby.'

b. *ma-θuaw* ʃ<uŋ>kaʃ   maqa   ma-θuaw ma-rutaw. (6-11)
STA-very frighten<AF> because STA-very STA-high
'(They were) very frightened because (it went) very high.'

In fact, the root *θuaw* can be used to derive many different verb forms: *iʃ-θuaw* 'to do something to excess,' *kat-θuaw* 'worsen,' *k<un>-θuaw* 'to overeat,' *min-θuaw* 'to

increase,' *pia-θuaw* 'to do something harder;' see Blust (2003:348-349) for illustration of these derived forms in sentences.

Another intensifier *dadu* 'really' also behaves like a main verb in the sentences below:

(15) a. *dadu* maniun ma-θuaw ma-ʔaruðʔuð a parhaway. (34-93)
  really you.PL STA-very STA-vigorous LIG young
  'You are really very vigorous young men.'

 b. *dadu-iða* sa θaw maʃtay ʃ<m>i-qaɬiw sa fafuy a a-ktała.
  real-ALR DET Thao AF.all PAST<AF>roast DET pig LIG IRR-eat.with
  'It is true that all the Thao people roasted pigs in order to eat (pork on the way).' (34-110)

 c. *ała-dadu-iða* yuhu kan-in sa ʃiquiʃ ya antu yaku mu-náy
  about-real-ALR you eat-PF DET kestrel if not I AF.come-here
  θuyni ma-kawi. (35-29)
  today AF.gather-wood
  'You would have been eaten by the common kestrel if I had not come to gather firewood today.'

The syntactic position of the root form *dadu* in (15a) indicates that it is the main verb of the sentence although it has no focus or aspect marker.

Interestingly, even time words such as *simaq* 'tomorrow, the next day' may behave like a verb by taking the Patient-focus marker *-in* or the aspect marker *-iða* 'already' (see also (11a) above), as illustrated below:

(16) a. a-kuna sa *simaq-in* a m-uʃa. (Blust 2003:870)
  IRR-until DET tomorrow-PF LIG AF-leave
  'The leaving will be put off until tomorrow = (We) shall leave tomorrow'

 b. *simaq-iða* ma-qa-qða pu-ʔatu p-uʃa sa atu k<m>iɬim. (34-36)
  next-ALR AF-RED-again CAUS-dog CAUS-go DET dog seek<AF>
  'The next day they made the dogs search for (the deer) again.'

 c. numa tu *simaq-iða* mu-ɬkið sa θaw mu-sáy dadú a taun.
  then DET next-ALR AF.go-all DET Thao AF.go-there chief LIG house
  'All the people went to the chief's house the next day.' (34-118)

Similarly, the time word *ʃaʃanu* 'morning' may take the irrealis marker *a-* and aspect marker *-iða* at the same time, as in:

(17) *a-ʃaʃanu-iða*   patin-humhum   kił-ʔa-kan-in.   (35-42)
     IRR-morning-ALR   PATIN-dark   seek-IRR-eat-PF
     'Search for food early in the morning before daybreak!'

Also similarly, the time word *isisua* 'at that time' not only appears in the clause-initial position, but also takes the aspect marker *-iða* 'already,' as in (18):

(18) *isisua-iða*   myaqay sa   ʃlilitun mu-náy   ðintun.   (31-10)
     that.time-ALR often   DET pygmy AF.come-here Sun.Moon.Lake
     'The pygmies often came here to Sun Moon Lake.'

However, the form of the word *tiła* 'yesterday' is invariable and its occurrence in a sentence is relatively free, as shown in (19). In fact, it may appear sentence-initially or finally, or simply be left out in all the examples in (19). It behaves like an adverb.

(19) a. m-ya-kuða   ihu   *tiła*   k<m><in>an   sa   rusaw a   bunłað?
        AF-YA-how you yesterday eat<AF><PFV> DET fish   LIG meat
        'How have you been since you ate fish yesterday?' (34-82)
    b. ʃi-ntua   ihu   *tiła*?
        go-where you yesterday
        'Where did you go yesterday?'
    c. haya wa aðaðak ma-faðaq *tiła*   qaruta k<m>an rumfað.
        this LIG child   AF-know yesterday cat   eat   bird
        'This child knows that the cat ate a bird yesterday.'
    d. θiθu *tiła*   m-in-riqað θiθu wa ina   paynan.
        she   yesterday AF-PFV-see her   LIG mother perhaps
        'Perhaps she saw her mother yesterday.'

    A problem with analyzing all the words we have discussed so far as verbs is that not all of them can appear as the only verb in a sentence; they may require co-occurrence with another verb and serve as adverbial adjuncts. Although syntactically they function as the main verb in a sentence, semantically they require another verb which they modify, so they are adverbial verbs. The same thing is also found in some other Formosan languages, though different terms have been used, such as "adverbial modifiers" in Kavalan (Chang 2006) and "adverbial heads" in Seediq (Holmer 2006).

    Are there any noncontroversial adverbs in Thao? There must be a few at least.

For example, the word *mani* 'also'[3] is always invariable and its occurrence in a sentence seems to be relatively free:

(20) a. numa yanan i-tantu   *mani* waðaqan takrahað. (32-91)
        Then   exist   LOC-there   also   lake   spirit
        'There was also another water spirit in the lake.'
    b. numa sa   atu   *mani* mu-farið   q<m>aqutił. (34-46)
        then   DET dog   also   AF.go-wade   chase<AF>
        'The dogs were also swimming across to chase (the deer).'
    c. iðáy takrahað kił-ʔa-kan-in   a-ma-kan   rusaw *mani,* numa
        that spirit   seek-IRR-eat-PF   IRR-AF-eat fish   also   then
        ma-tiłdú ʃnawluman. (32-40)
        AF-meet   name
        'The water spirit was also searching for fish to eat, so he came across ʃnawluman.'
    d. atu *mani* ʃulʃul-in p-yutu-n   *mani* maqa   a-tiʃ-an   *mani*.
        dog also   lead-PF   CAUS-there-PF also   because   IRR-wipe-LF also
        'Dogs also had to be taken there because they also had to be wiped.' (39-68)

Notice that the word *mani* may occur before a noun, as in (20a), before a verb, as in (20b), or after a verb phrase, as in (20c). In fact, it occurs in three different positions in (20d). See also (9c) above for an instance of the word *mani* appearing between two verbs.

Similarly, the form of the word *maʃna* 'even' is invariable, usually occurring before a noun or the subject of a sentence, and it can occur more than once, as in:

(21) *maʃna* tana-tuqaʃ, *maʃna* a-ʔaðaðak ma-θuaw ma-qaran   ya
      even   TANA-old   even   RED-child   STA-very   STA-happy when
      m-riqað ʃnawluman. (32-8)
      AF-see   name
      'Even old people and children were very happy to see ʃnawluman.'

The lexical form *la* 'quite, too' is also invariable in form, and it precedes and modifies a stative verb in a negative construction, as in (22) to (24) below: (All the examples below are taken from my field notes.)

---

[3] Bunun has the form *mani* 'to seem, to look like' and it is used as an adverb (Motoyasu Nojima, pers. comm.). Thao has borrowed not only nouns and verbs, but also an adverb *mani* and a pronominal form *nak* 'my' from Bunun.

(22) antu *la*   ma-ʔalahʔa θiθu.
    not quite STA-happy he
    'He is not quite happy.'

(23) ani yaku tu   *la*   ma-faðaq mataʃ.
    not I   DET quite STA-know AF.write
    'I don't quite know how to write.'

(24) niða   tu   *la*   mu-na-nay   θiθu.
    no.more   DET quite AF.come-to-here he
    'He does not often come here any more.'

3. Verbs or adverbs in Favorlang

Thao belongs to the Western Plains subgroup of languages (Blust 1999), and it is the only language within this subgroup that still has a few speakers. Fortunately, Dutch missionaries in the 17th century left some written documents for Favorlang (Campbell 1896), a dialect of Babuza that belongs to the same subgroup. It may be interesting to see if similar lexical items are verbs or adverbs in this closely related language.

(25) ta Deos machó *tapos* o   atite o   mini-ʂar. (3)[4]
    PM God AF.speak all   OBL word OBL these-just
    'God spoke all these words.'

Unlike Thao in which three lexical items glossed as 'all' behave like verbs, the Favorlang form *tapos* 'all' is invariable and functions like an adverb, as in (25).

(26) ja oa mai t<um>boel *baak*-ʂar? (10)
    Q you come visit<AF>   only-just
    'Have you come only to visit us?'
    maini; paḡaḡa   *baak*-ʂar. (10)
    no   by.no.means   only-just
    'No, not only to visit you.'

(27) mampa po *baak*-ʂar. (10)
    bird   sing only-just
    'The birds sing without discrimination.'

---

[4] The number in parentheses indicates the text number (Campbell 1896) in which the example appears.

(28) autat   o   *baak* ja   micho. (10)
    belief OBL only NOM that
    'That is only a belief (=a very foolish idea or belief).'

Again, unlike Thao in which the lexical form *muqay* 'only' is a verb, the form *baak* 'only' is invariable and functions like an adverb, as illustrated above.

(29) ṣo-o aarpan-ni o   *tattaul'*-o na-a tsjes. (13)
    and   unite-IRR OBL again-OBL my   soul
    'and (my body) will be again united with my soul.'

Again, unlike Thao in which the lexical form *muqða* 'again' is a verb, the form *tattaula* 'again' in Favorlang is invariable and functions like a noun or an adverb, as shown above.

Yet more like Thao, the following Favorlang forms for 'enough' all appear sentence- or clause-initially and seem to function as the main verb or adverbial verb in each sentence, although there are no overt focus markers.

(30) *ochal*   p-ab'-o   tapos choa airab ṣo-o atillo.   (16)
    enough CAUS-know-OBL all   his   will   and   command
    'This is enough to show to all the will and commandments (of God)'

(31) *ka-ochal*   paita moeda ba-bosa ṣai   pana ta Deos. (17)
    DEF-enough show   how   Ca-man   come   to   PM God
    'This is enough to show how mankind comes to God.'

(32) *chauḡe* m-ikkil, chauḡe paan   icho. (10)
    enough AF-fear   enough   sacrifice him
    '(You) have feared and sacrificed to him enough'

It is clear the same lexical items or concepts in Favorlang may not behave in the same manner as in Thao. However, like *mani* 'also' in Thao, the Favorlang form *channumma* 'also' is invariable and its position in a sentence is relatively free, as in:

(33) i-pá-rara   *channumm'*-o torroa   tsjes. (4)
    RF-CAUS-enlighten.IMP also-OBL   our   soul
    'Enlighten also our souls!'

(34) na-a   umm-ior   *channumma*. (10)
    I.GEN AF-follow also
    'I also agree to this.'

(35) ṣo-o porích torro boa *channumma.* (12)
   and feed our body also
   'And He also who supports us.'

(36) inau *channumma* namo m-abo no roman a cho
   because also we AF-forgive OBL other LIG people
   ṣabanno pa-rapies i namo decho-noë. (12)
   when CAUS-evil OBL us they-NEU
   'Because we also forgive other people, when they do evil to us.'

Notice that the form *channumma* 'also' appears right after the main verb in (33) and (34), in the sentence-final position in (35), and precedes the nominative pronoun in (36). In so doing, it seems to function as an ordinary adverb.

   Another invariable lexical form in Favorlang is *gagil* 'true, truly', which may be preceded by an oblique marker, much like a noun, as in (38) and (39) below. It may also function as a verb or adverb, as in (37):

(37) *gagil* pagá.
   true exist
   'Certainly, there is.'

(38) inni na-tta da boa paga Deos o *gagil,* ṣo-o *gagil* o
   in NUM-one LIG person be God OBL true and true OBL
   ba-bosa ta Christus.
   Ca-man PM Christ
   'Christ is in one person: truly God and truly man.'

(39) autat o *ḡaḡil* ṣo-o ai-acha ma-babat a rorró.
   faith OBL true and prayer AF-walk LIG together
   'True faith and prayer go hand in hand.'

4. Summary and conclusion

   Many adverbial concepts in English are expressed using verbs in Formosan languages such as Thao. Are they verbs or adverbs? This is an interesting issue.

   These forms manifest different foci and take aspect markers, and they may also attract bound personal pronouns, just like ordinary main verbs.

   One problem with analyzing all these words as verbs is that not all of them can appear as the only verb in a sentence. They may require co-occurrence with another verb and thus serve as adverbial adjuncts in function. Although syntactically they function as the main verb in a sentence, semantically they require another verb which

they modify, so they are adverbial verbs, not adverbs.

Are there any noncontroversial adverbs in Thao? There are a few at least. For example, the words *mani* 'also', *mafna* 'even' and *la* 'quite' are always invariable in form, and their position in a sentence is relatively free. They have the typical features of an adverb.

The same or similar phenomena have also been found in other Formosan languages. It will be interesting to see how similar or dissimilar the words coordinating with the adverbial verbs and adverbs in Thao behave in these languages. I have compared them in a closely related language, Favorlang, and they are mostly dissimilar.

References

Blust, Robert. 1999. Subgrouping, circularity and extinction: Some issues in Austrone-sian comparative linguistics. *Selected Papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, ed. by Elizabeth Zeitoun and Paul Li, 31-94. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.

Blust, Robert. 2003. *Thao Dictionary*. (Language and Linguistics Monograph Series Number A5). Taipei: Institute of Linguistics (Preparatory Office), Academia Sinica.

Campbell, Rev. William. 1896. *The Articles of Christian Instruction in Favorlang Formosan, Dutch and English from Vertrecht's Manuscript of 1650*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.

Chang, Henry Yungli. 2006. The guest playing host: Adverbial modifiers as matrix verbs in Kavalan. *Clause Structure and Adjuncts in Austronesian Languages*, ed. by Hans-Martin Gärtner, Paw Law and Joachim Sabel, 43-82. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Holmer, Arthur J. 2006. Seediq—Adverbial heads in a Formosan language. *Clause Structure and Adjuncts in Austronesian Language s*, ed. by Hans-Martin Gärtner, Paul Law and Joachim Sabel, 83-124. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Li, Fang Kuei, Chi-lu Chen, and Mei-chun Tang. 1956. *Shaoyu jilue* [Notes on the Thao language]. *Guoli Taiwan Daxue Kaogu Renlei Xuekan* [Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, National Taiwan University] 7:23-51.

Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 2011. *Thao Texts and Songs*. (Language and Linguistics Monograph Series No.44). Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.

Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 2014. Conjunction in Thao. *Argument Realisations and Related*

Constructions in Austronesian Languages, ed. by I. Wayan Arka and N. L. K. Mas Indrawati *Papers From 12-ICAL*, 2:401-409. Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.

Starosta, Stanley. 1988. A grammatical typology of Formosan languages. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 59.2:541-576.

Wang, Shan-shan. 2004. *An Ergative View of Thao Syntax*. PhD dissertation, University of Hawaii at Manoa, the United States of America.

Institute of Linguistics
Academia Sinica
Taipei, TAIWAN
Paul Jen-kuei Li: paulli@gate.sinica.edu.tw

邵語的動詞還是副詞？

李壬癸

中央研究院

　　研究臺灣南島語言的人都知道，除了動詞跟名詞以外還一些語法詞，但是很少談到有沒有副詞這個詞類。學者也注意到英語跟漢語的副詞在南島語言常以主動詞來呈現，那麼南島語言到底有沒有真正的副詞？這是本文所要探討的問題，並以邵語作為研究的題材。

　　「所有」、「只有」、「經常」、「再」、「很」、「首先」、「其次」、「明天」等這幾個語詞在英語都是副詞（或名詞），可是在邵語卻都當主動詞用，只不過常需要其他動詞才能成為合語法的句子，這一類的語詞我們可以管它們叫作狀語的動詞(adverbial verbs)，其實也是動詞的一分類。

　　邵語到底有沒有真正的副詞？本文認為至少有這幾個：「昨天」、「也（是）」、「即使，甚至」、「（不）太」，在邵語都只用來修飾動詞，它們的形式固定不變，在句子中的位置也相對地自由，也就是說它們具有副詞的特性。

　　本文也考察跟邵語關係密切的費佛朗(Favorlang)語，是否也有類似的現象。結果我們發現這兩種語言的差異頗大。不像邵語，費佛朗語的「所有」、「只有」、「再」等語詞都當副詞用。不過，費佛朗語的「也（是）」也跟邵語一樣當副詞用。

關鍵詞：邵、動詞、副詞、狀語、費佛朗、固定不變