

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION IN AMIS

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Abstract

This study examines the serial verb construction in Amis, a Formosan language, in terms of the interface between semantic relationship and syntactic manifestations. In this study, we demonstrate that, in the serial verb construction with different types of verbs, various degrees of tightness existing between events and participants are reflected syntactically. Such correspondence is displayed in a semantic/syntactic tight/loose continuum postulated at the end of this paper.

Keywords: Amis, serial verb construction, syntax, semantics

1. Introduction

Amis is a Formosan language spoken by 130,000 people in the eastern part of Taiwan Island stretching from Hualien County to Taitung County and a small area in Pingtung County. According to Tsucida (1982), Amis can be subdivided into five dialects: Sakizaya (or sakivaya), Northern (or Nanshi Amis), Tavalong-Vataan, Central (Haian Amis and Hsiukulan Amis excluding Tavalong-Vataan), and Southern (Peinan Amis and Hengchun Amis). This paper deals with the serial verb construction (SVC hereafter) of this language, a construction, according to Foley and Olson (1985:18), in which events/states coded by "verbs sharing a common actor or object are merely juxtaposed, with no intervening conjunctions."¹ The dialect investigated here is spoken in Changpin, Taitung County, which belongs to the Central dialect.² The following discussion of SVC aims to show that certain tight/loose semantic relationship existing between participants denoted by nouns and events/states manifested by verbs is reflected syntactically. To facilitate the discussion of this main issue, we are going to introduce the framework adopted in this paper and present a sketch of some Amis structures relevant to the discussion of serial verb construction in the following two sections.

1.1 The Framework

The framework applied to the present analysis basically follows Givon (1980) and Huang (1993 & 1995a). Givon (1980) explores the typology of complements and stipulates a "binding hierarchy" (Givon 1980:369) to demonstrate various "binding strength" (Givon 1980:337) of complement-taking verbs over their complements and how such semantic strength is reflected in the syntactic coding of the complement sentences. Ac-

cording to him, "the 'binding strength' of a verb roughly correlates to *the degree to which its complement appears syntactically like an independent/main clause*" (Givon 1980:337, emphasis remained). Three parameters are provided for observing such independence of a clause (Givon 1980:338); namely, the case marking of the agent, the tense-aspect-modality marking of the verb, and the presence of predicate-raising from the complement to the main clause. That is, the more binding strength possessed by a complement-taking verb, the less is the agent of the complement to exhibit case marking characteristic of main-clause agent and the less is the verb to display the tense-aspect-modality markings characteristic of main-clause verbs. Under such circumstances, the verb in the complement is likely to be raised to the main clause. The fundamental idea for postulating the above-mentioned criteria will be referred in the present discussion.

Huang (1993 & 1995a) explores the complex sentences, including the serial verb construction, in two Atayal dialects, Wulai and Mayrinax, in a view to show "the existence of a relationship between the participants and events that varies in 'tightness' " (Huang 1995a:190). In the investigation of SVC in Amis, we find the existence of certain tight/loose relationship, similar to what Huang discovers in the Atayal data, between the serial verbs, and its correlation to the structures of SVC. On the semantic ground, such relationship is defined by the speakers' perception of the serial verbs as a whole. Its correspondence to the syntactic coding, based on what Givon (1980:337) reports, can be stated as: the tighter the relationship is, the less is the SVC likely to be coded as the combination of two independent clauses. The independence in question, revealing the syntactic tight/loose relationship between the serial verbs, can be observed by means of the following features: the repetition of the agent of the serial verbs, the control of the case marking of the participants to the second verb, and the coding constraint of the second verb. Each of the features will be examined in our exploration, but

before that, we would like to give an introduction to some Amis structures relevant to the study of SVC in the next section.

1.2 Brief Sketch of Some Amis Structures

The Amis structures discussed in this section primarily concern the observation of the formal constraint of the second verb in an SVC. Such constraint is demonstrated in the focus marker of this verb in affirmative declarative sentences, imperative sentences, and negative declarative sentences. Therefore, in the following, we will briefly talk about the focus system, the imperative construction, and the negative construction in Amis.

1.2.1 The Focus System

Observe the examples below:

- (1)a. mi-palu ci aki (i) ci panay-an³
 [AF-beat Nom Aki Prep Acc1 Panay-Acc2]⁴

"Aki is going to beat Panay."

- b. ma-palu ni aki ci panay
 [PF-beat Gen Aki Nom Panay]
 "Panay was beaten by Aki."
 "Aki beat Panay."

Compare sentences (1a) and (1b). There seems to be some agreement between the selection of the grammatical subject (marked by the nominative case⁵ or the nominative pronouns⁶) and the verbal affixes (i.e. mi- and ma-). Such a phenomenon is known as "focus" existing in some Formosan languages. These verbal affixes are called "focus markers". There are more than one set of focus markers for different types of sentences in Amis such as affirmative declarative sentences, negative declarative sentences,

causative sentences, and imperative sentences. Below we only present the focus markers appearing in affirmative declarative sentences as these markers are what we are going to observe in the discussion of SVC.

Table 1 Focus Markers in Affirmative Declarative Sentences

Agent Focus	Patient Focus	Instrument Focus	Locative Focus
mi-; ma-; -um-; ϕ ⁷	ma-; -en	sa- ⁸	-an

Examples illustrating different focus markers are presented

below:⁹

- (2)a. mi-la'op ku wacu tu wawa ni aki
[AF-chase Nom dog Acc child Gen Aki]
"The dog is chasing Aki's child."

- a'. ma-ulah ci ofad (i) ci lakaw-an
[AF-like Nom Ofad Prep Acc₁ Lakaw-Acc₂]
"Ofad likes Lakaw."

- a". k<um>aen kaku tu pawli
[eat<AF>eat 1S.N Acc banana]
"I am eating a banana."

- a'''. ϕ tayra tu ci aki i taypak
[go Asp Nom Aki Prep Taipei]
"Aki has gone to Taipei."

- b. ma-lisu' ni aki ci panay
[PF-visit Gen Aki Nom Panay]
"Aki visited Panay."
"Panay was visited by Aki."

- b'. fafa -en aku kisu
[carry:on:the:back-PF 1S.G 2S.N]
"I am going to carry you on the back."

- c. pa-tli-an ni ina tu wawa kuni cananuyan
 [Cau-put-LF Gen mother Acc child this.Nom cradle]
 "This cradle is where mother put the child."
- d. sa-pi-dohdoh aku tu titi ku falah
 [IF-PI-roast 1S.G Acc meat Nom coal]
 "The coal is what I will roast the meat with."

In the investigation of SVC, we will observe how the above-displayed focus affixes, especially the AF and PF markers, of the serial verbs are coded in imperative and negative sentences.

1.2.2 Imperative Construction

Consider the following examples:

- (3)a. ka-tayra i taypak
 [KA-go Prep Taipei]
 "Go to Taipei!"
- b. ka-taya
 [KA-work]
 "Work!"
- c. ka-k<um>aen kisu tunini a sikaen
 [KA-eat<AF>eat 2S.N this.Acc Lin dish:of:food]
 "You have to try this dish."
- c'. *ka-kaen kisu tunini a sikaen
 [KA-eat 2S.N this.Acc Lin dish:of:food]
- c". kaen-en (ku titi)
 [eat-PF Nom meat]
 "Eat (the meat)!"
- d. pi-nengneng kisu
 [PI-see 2S.N]
 "You look!"

d'. nengneng-en isu
 [see-PF 2S.G]
 "You look!"

Compare the examples in (3) with the declarative sentences in (1) and (2). As we observe, in the AF imperative construction (e.g. [3a-c]), the verbs preceded by mi-, ma-, etc. in the affirmative declarative sentences now are prefixed with pi- or ka-. In the PF imperative sentences (e.g. [3c"-d']), verbs are suffixed with -en.¹⁰ Notice that verbs following pi- or ka- appear in their root forms except the -um- verbs, which still reserve their focus marker in the affirmative sentences (i.e., -um-). The formal alternation of declarative verbs in imperative construction is one of the criteria to test the degree of constraint in coding the second verb in an SVC. similar change of a declarative verb can also be seen in the negative declarative sentences discussed in the following section.

1.2.3 Negative Construction

There are at least four negators in Amis: awa, aka, na'ay, and ca'ay.¹¹ While awa is the negator for existential, possessive, and locative sentences, aka negates the imperative construction. The negator na'ay occurs in sentences expressing volition. The word ca'ay is the negator for other declarative sentences. In this section, we focus our discussion on the negator ca'ay. Observe the following examples:

(4)a. mi-tangtang kaku tu futing
 [AF-cook 1S.N Acc fish]
 "I am cooking the fish."
 "I will cook the fish."

a'. ca'ay pi-tangtang kaku tu futing
 [Neg PI-cook 1S.N Acc fish]
 "I did not cook fish."

b. ma-fula kaku
 [AF-stupid 1S.N]

"I am stupid."

b'. ca'ay ka-fula kaku
[Neg KA-stupid 1S.N]
"I am not stupid."

c. k<um>aen kaku inacila
[eat<AF>eat 1S.N yesterday]
"I ate yesterday."

c'. ca'ay ka-k<um>aen kaku inacila
[Neg KA-eat<AF>eat 1S.N yesterday]
"I did not eat anything yesterday."

c''. *ca'ay ka-kaen kaku inacila
[Neg KA-eat 1S.N yesterday]

d. tayni tu ci aki i ci panay-an
[come Asp Nom aki Prep Acc1 Panay-Acc2]
"Aki has come to Panay's place."

d'. ca'ay ka-tayni ci aki i ci panay-an
[Neg KA-come Nom aki Prep Acc1 Panay-Acc2]
"Aki did not come to Panay's place."

e. ma-palu ni ina kaku
[PF-beat Gen mother 1S.N]
"I was beaten by Mother."

e'. ca'ay ka-stig ni ina kaku
[Neg KA-beat Gen mother 1S.N]
"I was not beaten by Mother."

Observe the affirmative-negative pairs in (4). Following the negator ca'ay, the verb prefixed with mi- in the corresponding affirmative declarative sentence will be preceded by pi- while a verb marked with ma- (AF or PF), -um-, φ, or -en will take ka-. Note that, again, -um- verbs must retain their focus marker (i.e., -um-) after ka-, as is evident from

the comparison between (4d) and (4d').

In the above, we briefly discuss the focus system, the imperative construction, and the negative construction in Amis. We also observe how the marking of a verb varies in the affirmative declarative, the imperative, and the negative declarative sentences. As we will see in the following exploration, these various markings reveal the syntactic tight/loose relationship between the serial verbs.

2. Serial Verb Construction

Let us first consider the example below:

- (5)a. mi-lingatu mi-nanam ci aki tu cacyaw nu amis
 [AF-begin AF-learn Nom Aki Acc language Gen Amis]
 "Aki began to learn the language of Amis."

In this example, the verb mi-lingatu "to begin" is followed by another verb mi-nanam "to learn", both of which share the same agent (denoted by ci aki). In this section, we will investigate sentences similar to (5a). As mentioned in the beginning of this paper, the discussion centers around the semantic/syntactic interface exhibited between events denoted by the verbs and participants manifested by nouns appearing in the sentences with SVC. In other words, the structures of the SVC vary with the tight/loose relation existing between the events expressed by the serial verbs. Formally speaking, there are three types of them, each of which is discussed in the following.

2.1 Serial Verb Construction with Phasal Verbs, Manner Verbs and Psychological Attitude Verbs

In the sentence (5a), the string of verbs occupies the sentence initial position, generally reserved for the verb in an Amis sentence,¹² and precedes the noun manifesting the agent. This structure can be alternated as (5b), in which the noun in question appears between the two verbs:

- (5)b. mi-lingatu ci aki mi-nanam tu caciyaw nu amis
 [AF-begin Nom Aki AF-learn Acc language Gen Amis]
 "Aki began to learn the Amis language."

What the two sentences denote is the same. However, the noun or pronoun manifesting the same agent cannot be repeated after the second verb, as observed in (5c):

- (5)c. *mi-lingatu ci aki mi-nanam cingra tu caciyaw nu¹³ amis
 [AF-begin Nom Aki AF-learn 3S.N Acc language Gen Amis]

Another particular point concerning the SVC with the verb mi-lingatu is shown in the imperative sentences exemplified in (6):

- (6)a. pi-lingatu tu¹⁴ r<um>adiw
 [PI-begin Asp sing<AF>sing]
 "Start to sing!"
- a'. *pi-lingatu tu ka-r<um>adiw
 [PI-begin Asp KA-sing<AF>sing]
- b. pi-lingatu tu k<um>aen tu futing
 [PI-begin Asp eat<AF>eat Acc fish]
 "Start to eat the fish!"
- b'. *pi-lingatu tu kaen-en ku futing
 [PI-begin Asp eat-PF Nom fish]
- c. lingatu-en tu k<um>aen ku futing
 [begin-PF Asp eat<AF>eat Nom fish]
 "Start to eat the fish!"

c'.*lingatu-en tu ka-k<um>aen tu *futing*
 [begin-PF Asp KA-eat<AF>eat Acc fish]

Examples in (6) are imperative sentences for SVC, where we can see that two verbs sharing the same agent are juxtaposed. As we can see, only the first verb takes the imperative form and the second verb, the declarative form,¹⁵ which suggests that the form of the second verb seems to be more constrained than that of the first verb. Also note that in (6c), while the first verb is a PF verb, the second verb can take the AF form, but the patient participant to the event manifested by this AF verb agrees with the first verb and takes the nominative case marker. Such agreement implies the control from the first verb over the case marking of the patient to the second verb.

The above-mentioned coding constraint of the second verb is also observed in the negative sentences in (7), where, following the negator ca'ay, only the first of the serial verbs appears with the pi- or ka- form:

(7)a. ca' ho pi-lingatu mi-nanam cingra tu caciyaw nu amis
 [Neg Asp PI-begin AF-learn 3S.N Acc language Gen Amis]
 "He has not begun to learn the language of Amis yet."

a'.*ca' ho pi-lingatu pi-nanam cingra tu caciyaw
 [Neg Asp PI-begin PI-learn 3S.N Acc language
 nu amis
 Gen Amis]

b.*ca' ho pi-lingatu cingra pi-nanam tu caciyaw nuamis
 [Neg Asp PI-begin 3S.N PI-learn Acc language GenAmis]

b'. ca' ho pi-lingatu cingra mi-nanam tu caciyaw
 [Neg Asp PI-begin 3S.N AF-learn Acc language
 nu amis¹⁶ Gen Amis]
 "He has not begun to learn the language of Amis yet."

In (7), we present the negative sentences with SVC, where we find the phenomenon

similar to that in the imperative construction; that is, after the negator, only the first of the serial verbs is converted into the form following the negator ca' while the second verb is coded as the form present in the affirmative declarative sentences.

The following are more examples illustrating SVC constructed similar to those with mi-lingatu. That is, in the sentences appearing in (8-9), the noun designating the agent of the serial verbs cannot be repeated after the second verb as the ungrammaticality of (8c) and (9c) shows:

- (8)a. mi-lepun mi-tangtang kaku tu hemay
 [AF-finish AF-cook 1S.N Acc rice]
 "I will finish cooking rice."
- b. mi-lepun kaku mi-tangtang tu hemay
 [AF-finish 1S.N AF-cook Acc rice]
 "I will finish cooking rice."
- c. *mi-lepun kaku mi-tangtang kaku tu hemay
 [AF-finish 1S.N AF-cook 1S.N Acc rice]
- (9)a. mi-liyaw mi-ninguy ci aki
 [AF-start:again AF-take:a:bath Nom Aki]
 "Aki will start to take a bath again."
- b. mi-liyaw ci aki mi-ninguy
 [AF-start:again Nom Aki AF-take:a:bath]
 "Aki will start to take a bath again."
- c. *mi-liyaw ci aki mi-ninguy cingra
 [AF-start:again Nom Aki AF-take:a:bath 3S.N]

Furthermore, when appearing in the imperative sentences and the negative sentences, the second verb must be coded in the AF form of the affirmative declarative sentences as is evident from the unacceptability of (8d'), (8d''), (9d') and (9d'').

- (8)d. pi-lepun mi-tangtang tu hemay

[PI-finish AF-cook Acc rice]
 "Finish cooking rice!"

d'.*pi-lepun pi-tangtang tu hemay
 [PI-finish PI-cook Acc rice]

d".*pi-lepun tangtang-en ku hemay
 [PI-finish cook-PF Nom rice]

(9)d. pi-liyaw mi-nginguy
 [PI-start:again AF-take:a:bath]
 "Start to take a bath again."

d'.*pi-liyaw pi-nginguy
 [PI-start:again PI-take:a:bath]

d".*pi-liyaw tangtang-en ku hemay
 [PI-start:again cook-PF Nom rice]

Moreover, the noun manifesting the patient to the second verb agrees in case marking with the focus affix of the first verb as illustrated in (8e-8e'), (9e-e'), and (9f-9f'):

(8)e. lepun-en mi-tangtang *ku hemay*
 [finish-PF AF-cook Nom rice]
 "Finish cooking the rice!"

e'.*lepun-en mi-tangtang *tu hemay*
 [finish-PF AF-cook Acc rice]

(9)e. ma-liyaw tu ni ina mi-tangtang *ku hemay*¹⁷
 [PF-start:again Asp Gen mother AF-cook Nom rice]
 "Mother started to cook the rice again."

e'.*ma-liyaw tu ni ina mi-tangtang *tu hemay*
 [PF-start:again Asp Gen mother AF-cook Ac crice]

f. liyaw-en mi-tangtang *ku hemay*
 [start:again-PF AF-cook Nom rice]
 "Start to cook the rice again!"

f'.*liyaw-en mi-tangtang tu hemay
[start:again-PF AF-cook Acc rice]

Notice that all of the predicates involved (including mi-lingatu) in these examples are "phasal predicates" (Noonan 1985:129), which refer to the class of predicates functioning as "the phase of an act or state: its inception, continuation, or termination" (Noonan 1985:129), or "modality verbs" in Givón's (1980:342) term.

Besides referring to the phase of the second verb, the first verb can manifest certain events/states modifying the second verb by indicating its manner. Observe the following examples:

(10)a. harakat r<um>akat ci aki
[fast walk<AF>walk Nom Aki]
"Aki walks fast."

(11)a. ma-laluk ma-tayal ci panay
[AF-diligent AF-work Nom Panay]
"Panay works diligently."

In both sentences, the agent, instead of appearing in the sentence final position, can occur between the two verbs:

(10)b. harakat ci aki r<um>akat
[fast Nom Aki walk<AF>walk]
"Aki walks fast."

(11)b. ma-laluk ci panay ma-tayal
[AF-diligent Nom Panay AF-work]
"Panay works diligently."

However, like in the serial verb constructions beginning with mi-lingatu "to begin", mi-lepun "to finish", and mi-liyaw "to start again", the agent cannot be repeated:

(10)c.*harakat ci aki, r<um>akat cingra
[fast Nom Aki walk<AF>walk 3S.N]

- (11)c. *ma-laluk ci panay ma-tayal cingra
 [AF-diligent Nom Panay AF-work 3S.N]

Similarly, in the imperative construction with such serial verbs, only the first verb is changed into the corresponding imperative form while the second verb is coded in the AF affirmative declarative form. Observe:

- (12)a. ka-harakat r<um>akat
 [KA-fast walk<AF>walk]
 "Walk faster!"
- a'. *ka-harakat ka-r<um>akat
 [KA-fast KA-run<AF>run]
- b. ka-kalamkam mi-tilid tu tilid
 [KA-quick AF-write Acc letter]
 "Write the letter quickly."
- b'. *ka-kalamkam pi-tilid tu tilid
 [KA-quick PI-write Acc letter]
- b". *ka-kalamkam tilid-en ku tilid
 [KA-quick write-PF Nom letter]
- (13)a. ka-laluk mi-tilid
 [KA-diligent AF-write]
 "Study hard!"
- a'. *ka-laluk pi-tilid
 [KA-diligent PI-write]
- b. ka-laluk mi-litek tu kilang
 [KA-diligent AF-chop:wood Acc tree]
 "Chop trees diligently!"
- b'. *ka-laluk pi-litek tu kilang
 [KA-diligent PI-chop:wood Acc tree]

b".*ka-laluk litek-en ku kilang
[KA-diligently chop:wood-PF Nom tree]

SVC with verbs describing psychological attitudes such as ma-talaw "to be afraid of", ma-ulah "to like", ma-osi' "to dislike" and tararikor "to regret" are structured similarly to those with phasal verbs and manner verbs. In other words, in (14-15), we again find the disallowance to repeat the agent of the serial verbs after the second verb (e.g. [14c], [15c], [16c], and [17c]) :

(14)a. ma-talaw mi-pacuk kaku tu fafuy
[AF-afraid AF-kill 1S.N Acc pig]
"I am afraid of killing pigs."

b. ma-talaw kaku mi-pacuk tu fafuy
[AF-afraid 1S.N AF-kill Acc pig]
"I am afraid of killing pigs."

c.*ma-talaw ci aki mi-pacuk cingra tu fafuy
[AF-afraid Nom Aki AF-kill 3S.N Acc pig]

(15)a. ma-ulah mi-adup kaku
[AF-like AF-hunt 1S.N]
"I like to hunt."

b. ma-ulah kaku mi-adup
[AF-like 1S.N AF-hunt]
"I like to hunt."

c.*ma-ulah kaku mi-adup kaku
[AF-like 1S.N AF-hunt 1S.N]

(16)a. ma-osi' mi-pacuk kaku tu fafuy
[AF-dislike AF-kill 1S.N Acc pig]
"I don't like to kill pigs."

b. ma-osi' kaku mi-pacuk tu fafuy
[AF-dislike 1S.N AF-kill Acc pig]

"I don't like to kill pigs."

- c. *ma-osi' kaku mi-pacuk kaku tu fafuy
[AF-dislike 1S.N AF-kill 1S.N Acc pig]

- (17)a. tararikor mi-palu kaku ci panay-an
[regret AF-beat 1S.N Acc1 Panay-Acc2]
"I regret beating Panay."

- b. tararikor kaku mi-palu ci panay-an
[regret 1S.N AF-beat Acc1 Panay-Acc2]
"I regret beating Panay."

- c. *tararikor ci aki mi-palu cingra ci panay-an
[regret Nom Aki AF-beat 3S.N Acc1 Panay-Acc2]

Besides, we also observe that the coding of the second verb can only be the AF form occurring in the affirmative declarative sentences no matter what kind of sentences the SVC appears in:

- (14)d. aka ka-talaw mi-pacuk tu fafuy
[Neg KA-afraid AF-kill Acc pig]
"Don't be afraid of killing pigs!"

- d'. *aka ka-talaw pi-pacuk tu fafuy
[Neg KA-afraid PI-kill Acc pig]

- d". *aka ka-talaw pacuk-en ku fafuy
[Neg KA-afraid kill-PF Nom pig]

- e. ca'ay ka-talaw kaku mi-pacuk tu fafuy
[Neg KA-afraid 1S.N AF-kill Acc pig]
"I am not afraid of killing pigs."

- e'. *ca'ay ka-talaw kaku pi-pacuk tu fafuy
[Neg KA-afraid 1S.N PI-kill Acc pig]

- (16)d. aka ka-osi' k<um>aen tu futing
[Neg KA-dislike eat<AF>eat Acc fish]
"Don't dislike to eat fish!"

d'.*aka ka-osi' ka-k<um>aen tu futing
[Neg KA-dislike KA-eat<AF>eat Acc fish]

d".*aka ka-osi' kaen-en ku futing
[Neg KA-dislike eat-PF Nom fish]

e. ca'ay ka-osi' k<um>aen kaku tu futing
[Neg KA-dislike eat<AF>eat 1S.N Acc fish]
"I like to eat fish very much."

e'.*ca'ay ka-osi' ka-k<um>aen kaku tu futing
[Neg KA-dislike KA-eat<AF>eat 1S.N Acc fish]

(17)a. aka ka-tararikor mi-palu ci panay-an
[Neg KA-regret AF-beat Acc1 Panay-Acc2]
"Don't regret beating Panay!"

d'.*aka ka-tararikor pi-palu ci panay-an
[Neg KA-regret PI-beat Acc1 Panay-Acc2]

d".*aka ka-tararikor palu-en ci panay
[Neg KA-regret beat-PF Nom Panay]

e. ca'ay ka-tararikor kaku mi-palu ci panay-an
[Neg KA-regret 1S.N AF-beat Acc1 Panay-Acc2]
"I don't regret beating Panay."

e'.*ca'ay ka-tararikor kaku pi-palu' ci panay-an
[Neg KA-regret 1S.N PI-beat Acc1 Panay-Acc2]

In the SVC with phasal verbs, manner verbs, and psychological attitude verbs, we observe a rather constrained syntactic coding of the second verb; that is, unlike the first verb, there is not much freedom for this verb to exhibit various codings to cope with the sentence types (i.e., the imperative and the negative) it occurs in. Furthermore, this verb does not exert the control over the case marking agreement of its participants; instead, it is the first verb that affects the case marking in question. Below, let us examine

another type of SVC.

2.2 Serial Verb Construction with Motion Verbs and Verbs Sharing Purpose Relationship

Motion verbs such as tayra "to go" and tayni "to come" are often followed by another verb denoting an event performed by the same agent as that of the preceding motion verb to show a sequential action or purpose. Examine the examples below:

- (18)a. tayra i taypak mi-aca kaku tu cudad
 [go Prep Taipei AF-buy 1S.N Acc book]
 "I will go to Taipei to buy a book."

- (19)a. tayni mi-ninguy ci aki
 [come AF-take:a:bath Nom Aki]
 "Aki will come to take a bath."

In the above two sentences, events manifested by mi-aca "to buy" and mi-ninguy "to take a bath" seem to indicate the purpose for the preceding events tayra "to go" and tayni "to come". Again, the agent participants in both sentences, denoted by kaku "I" and ci aki, can appear before mi-aca and mi-ninguy respectively.

- (18)b. tayra kaku i taypak mi-aca tu cudad
 [go 1S.N Prep Taipei AF-buy Acc book]
 "I will go to Taipei to buy a book."

- (19)b. tayni ci aki mi-ninguy
 [come Nom Aki AF-take:a:bath]
 "Aki will come to take a bath."

Nevertheless, unlike the sentences we have discussed in Section 2.1, the agent is allowed to be repeated after the second verb. The retaining of this participant makes the serial verb constructions, exemplified below, seem to be composed of two independent utter-

ances:

(18)c. {tayra kaku i taypak}{mi-aca kaku tu cudad}
 [go 1S.N Prep go AF-buy 1S.N Acc book]
 "I will go to Taipei to buy a book."

(19)c. {tayni ci aki }{mi-ninguy cingra_i}
 [come Nom Aki AF-take:a:bath 3S.N]
 "Aki will come to take a bath."

While uttering the above two sentences, the informant pauses between taypak and mi-aca in (18c), and aki and mi-ninguy in (19c).

In imperative SVCs with motion verbs, when the patient to the second event is not in focus, the second verb will take the declarative AF marker (e.g. mi- in [20a] and [20b]). However, when the patient in question is in focus (i.e., preceded by the nominative case marker), the second verb will take the imperative PF -en (e.g. [20a'']):

(20)a. ka-tayra i taypak mi-aca tu cudad
 [KA-go Prep Taipei AF-buy Acc book]
 "Go to Taipei to buy books!"

a'. *ka-tayra i taypak pi-aca tu cudad
 [KA-go Prep Taipei PI-buy Acc book]

a''. ka-tayra i taypak aca-en ku cudad
 [KA-go Prep Taipei buy-PF Nom book]
 "Go to Taipei to buy the book!"

b. ka-tayni mi-ninguy
 [ka-come AF-take:a:bath]
 "Come to take a bath."

b'. *ka-tayni pi-ninguy
 [KA-come PI-take:a:bath]

What we have seen in (20) is quite different from the imperative SVCs with phasal

verbs (e.g. [6b'] and [8d']), manner verbs (e.g. [12b"] and [13b"])] and psychological attitude verbs (e.g. [14d"] and [16d"])]), the second verb in which, repeated below, can only appear with the affirmative declarative AF marker no matter the patient to this verb is in focus or not:

(6)b'. *pi-lingatu tu kaen-en *ku futing*
[PI-begin Asp eat-PF Nom fish]

(8)d". *pi-lepun tangtang-en *ku hemay*
[PI-finish cook-PF Nom rice]

(12)b". *ka-kalamkam tilid-en *ku tilid*
[KA-quick write-PF Nom letter]

(13)b". *ka-laluk litek-en *ku kilang*
[KA-diligently chop:wood-PF Nom tree]

(14)d". *aka ka-talaw pacuk-en *ku fafuy*
[Neg KA-afraid kill-PF Nom pig]

(16)d". *aka ka-osi' kaen-en *ku futing*
[Neg KA-dislike eat-PF Nom fish]

In negative serial verb constructions, only the first verb after the negator ca'ay changes its shape into ka- form while the second verb remains in affirmative declarative AF form (i.e. mi- in the examples):

(21)a. ca'ay ka-tayra i taypak ci aki mi-aca tu cudad
[Neg KA-go Prep Taipei Nom Aki AF-buy Acc book]
"Aki did not go to Taipei to buy a book."

a'. *ca'ay ka-tayra i taypak ci aki pi-aca tu cudad
[Neg KA-go Prep Taipei Nom Aki PI-buy Acc book]

b. ca' ho ka-tayra mi-nginguy ci aki
[Neg Asp KA-go AF-take:a:bath Nom Aki]
"Aki has not gone to take a bath yet."

b'.*ca' ho ka-tayra pi-nginguy ci aki
 [Neg Asp KA-go PI-take:a:bath Nom Aki]
 "Aki has not gone to take a bath yet."

Below are more sentences with structures similar to those in (19-21). Notice that though these sentences do not begin with motion verbs, the relationship between the first verb and the second one is also purpose.¹⁸ In the following examples, we can find the repetition of the agent of the serial verb in (22a") and (23a"):

(22)a. mi-ala tu alapit k<um>aen kaku tu futing
 [AF-take Acc chopsticks eat<AF>eat 1S.N Acc fish]
 "I will go get chopsticks to eat fish."

a'. mi-ala kaku tu alapit k<um>aen tu futing
 [AF-take 1S.N Acc chopsticks eat<AF>eat Acc fish]
 "I will go get chopsticks to eat fish."

a". mi-ala kaku tu alapit k<um>aen kaku tu futing
 [AF-take 1S.N Acc chopsticks eat<AF>eat 1S.N Acc fish]
 "I will go get chopsticks to eat the fish."

(23)a. tatuy tu sapalu mi-palu ci aki ci panay-an
 [hold Acc stick AF-beat Nom Aki Acc1 Panay-Acc2]
 "Aki is holding a stick to beat Panay."

b. tatuy ci aki tu sapalu' mi-palu' ci panay-an
 [hold Nom Aki Acc stick AF-beat Acc1 Panay-Acc2]
 "Aki is holding a stick to beat Panay."

c. tatuy tu sapalu ci aki, mi-palu cingra, cipanay-an
 [hold Acc stick Nom Aki AF-beat 3S.N Acc1 Panay-Acc2]
 "Aki is holding a stick to beat Panay."

In addition, (22b') and (23b') show the allowance for the second verb to appear in imperative PF form when its patient is in focus.

(22)b. pi-ala tu alapit k<um>aen tu futing

[PI-take Acc chopsticks eat<AF>eat Acc fish]
 "Go get chopsticks to eat the fish!"
 (I'm eating the fish now.)

b'. pi-ala tu alapit kaen-en *ku futing*
 [PI-take Acc chopsticks eat-PF Nom fish]
 "Go get chopsticks to eat the fish!"
 (I'm not eating the fish yet.)

(23)b. pi-tatuy tu sapalu mi-palu *ci aki-an*
 [PI-hold Acc stick AF-beat Acc1 Aki-Acc2]
 "Hold a stick to beat Aki!"

b'. pi-tatuy tu sapalu palu -en *ci aki*
 [PI-hold Acc stick beat-PF Nom Aki]
 "Hold a stick to beat Aki!"

b'. *pi-tatuy tu sapalu pi-palu *ci aki-an*
 [PI-hold Acc stick PI-beat Acc1 Aki-Acc2]

Moreover, the form of the second verb is constrained to be the affirmative declarative form in a negative sentence as is evident from (22c'):

(22)c. ca' ho pi-ala tu alapit k<um>aen tu futing ci aki
 [Neg Asp PI-take Acc chopsticks eat<AF>eat Acc fish Nom Aki]
 "Aki has not taken the chopsticks to eat the fish yet."

c'. *ca' ho pi-ala tu alapit ka-k<um>aen tu futing ci aki
 [Neg Asp PI-take Acc chopsticks KA-eat<AF>eat Acc fish Nom Aki]

Compared with the type of SVC discussed in Section 2.1, the syntactic manifestation of the second verb in the SVC with motion verbs or verbs sharing a purpose relationship seems to be less constrained as it is no longer limited to the affirmative declarative AF form in the imperative sentences. In addition, the agent of the serial verbs is allowed to be repeated after the second verb. This is significant in two aspects. First, such repetition, as mentioned earlier, makes the SVC seem to be combined by two seemingly in-

dependent clauses. Second, the occurrence of this agent after the second verb suggests that this verb reserves certain control over the case marking of this participant; the first verb is no longer the sole controller. All of the above contributes to a more independent status of the structure beginning with the second verb in an SVC. Such independence is even more obvious in another type of SVC, dealt with in the next section.

2.3 Serial Verb Construction with Verbs Sharing Temporal Relationships

Serial verb constructions can also code the situation in which only temporal relationships such as sequentiality and simultaneity exist between two same-agent/experiencer events/states, without indicating the above-mentioned purpose relationship. Consider:

- (24)a. mi-kaketer ci panay-an mi-palu ci dung-i-an ci aki
 [AF-scold Acc1 Panay-Acc2 AF-beat Acc1 Dung-i-Acc2 Nom Aki]
 "Aki is scolding Panay and beating Dung-i."
- b. mi-kaketerci aki ci panay-an mi-palu ci dung-i-an
 [AF-scold Nom Aki Acc1 Panay-Acc2 AF-beat Acc1 Dung-i-Acc2]
 "Aki is scolding Panay and beating Dung-i."
 "Aki scolded Panay and then beat Dung-i."
- c. mi-kaketerci aki ci panay-an mi-palu cingra ci dung-i-an
 [AF-scold Nom Aki Acc1 Panay-Acc2 AF-beat 3S.N Acc1 Dung-i-Acc2]
 "Aki is scolding Panay and beating Dung-i."
 "Aki scolded Panay and then beat Dung-i."

In (24c), note that the agent is allowed to be repeated. Also, notice that while both sequential and simultaneous interpretations are appropriate for (24b) and (24c), (24a) only accepts the latter. The major difference between such SVC and the previous two

types explored in Section 2.1 and 2.2 is illustrated in the imperative (e.g. [25]) and negative (e.g. [26]) constructions below:

(25)a. ka-sakero' tu ka-r<um>adiw tu
 [KA-dance Asp KA-sing<AF> sing Asp]
 "Sing and Dance!"

a'. *ka-sakero' tu r<um>adiw tu
 [KA-dance Asp sing<AF> sing Asp]

b. kaketer-en palu -en cingra
 [scold-PF beat-PF 3S.N]
 "Scold and beat him!"

b'. *aka kaketer-en mi-palu cingra
 [Neg scold-PF AF-beat 3S.N]

(26)a. ca'ay pi-icep ca'ay pi-'epah ci aki
 [Neg PI-chew:betle:nut Neg PI-drink:wine Nom Aki]
 "Aki does not chew betle nuts nor does he drink wine."

a'. *ca'ay pi-icep ci aki ca'ay mi-'epah
 [Neg PI-chew:betle:nut Nom Aki Neg AF-drink:wine]

b. ca'ay pi-icep pi-'epah ci aki
 [Neg PI-chew:betle:nut PI-drink:wine Nom Aki]
 "Aki does not chew betle nuts nor does he drink wine."

b'. *ca'ay pi-icep ci aki mi-'epah
 [Neg PI-chew:betle:nut Nom Aki AF-drink:wine]

(25a') and (25b') indicate that in the imperative constructions, both verbs must be converted into the corresponding imperative forms. Furthermore, in the negative sentences, although the negator does not have to be retained for the second verb, the form of the second verb must be changed into the corresponding pi- or ka- form fol-

lowing the negator ca'ay. The various codings of the second verb observed in (24-26) present a remarkable difference from the SVCs investigated in Section 2.1 and Section 2.2.

Simultaneous states can also be manifested by SVCs in Amis, as the following examples show:

- (27)a. takaraw ma-kuli ci aki
 [tall AF-thin Nom Aki]
 "Aki is tall and thin."
- b. takaraw ci aki ma-kuli
 [tall Nom Aki AF-thin]
 "Aki is tall and thin."
- c. takaraw ci aki, ma-kuli cingra,
 [tall Nom Aki AF-thin 3S.N]
 "Aki is tall and thin."

The structure of (27b), however, becomes unacceptable when the two verbs both denote "psychological states". Observe the following sentences:

- (27)d. ma-keter lipahak ci aki
 [AF-angry happy Nom Aki]
 "Aki is angry and happy."
- d'. *ma-keter ci aki lipahak
 [AF-angry Nom aki happy]
- d". ma-kter ci aki, lipahak cingra,
 [AF-angry Nom Aki happy 3S.N]
 "Aki is angry and happy."

According to the informant, the noun manifesting the experiencer must follow these "psychological states" or this sentence will become hard to understand. Further investigation is needed.¹⁹

Undoubtedly, the syntactic coding of the second verb in the SVC with verbs sharing temporal relationships displays the highest degree of freedom as it can be converted into the corresponding imperative or negative form in the imperative or negative sentences. Such freedom implies the combination of two seemingly independent clauses in an SVC.

3. Conclusion: A Semantic/Syntactic Continuum

At the beginning of this paper, we mentioned the purpose of the present discussion is to show various degrees of semantically and syntactically tight/loose relationship existing between participants and events/states. The framework adopted in the analysis is in the light of Givon (1980) and Huang (1993 and 1995a).

From the examination of different types of verbs involved in SVC, we know that there exist different degrees of "closeness" between these verbs in terms of the speakers' perception of them as a whole. Such perception may be defined by the degrees of "time separation" (Givon 1980:371) between the two events/states manifested by the serial verbs. Therefore, semantically speaking, the closest relationship exists between the so-called phasal (or modality) verbs and their consecutive verbs, manner verbs and their consecutive ones, and psychological attitude verbs and their consecutive ones since there is no "time separation" between the two events manifested by such serial verbs. As for the the SVC with motion verbs and verbs sharing a purpose relationship, and the SVC

with verbs sharing temporal relationships, in spite of the "time separation" existing between the serial verbs of both types, verbs in the former type seem to share a closer relationship as their connection is composed of sequentiality and purpose. In other words, the loosest semantic relationship is found between two verbs denoting two events/states only with sequential/simultaneous relation.

The above-mentioned hierarchy of semantic relationships is reflected syntactically. Structurally speaking, the formal representation of affirmative declarative SVC can be classified into three types labeled as V(erb)1-V(erb)2- A(gent/experiencer), V(erb)1-A(gent)-V(erb)2, and V(erb)1-A(gent)₁-V2-A(gent)₁. considering the basic structure of an Amis sentence, we may arrange the syntactic "tightness" of the three types of SVC into a continuum as represented in Figure 1:

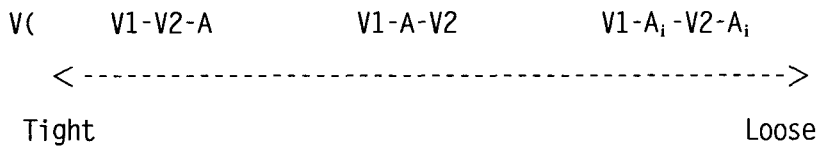


Figure 1 The Syntactic Tight/Loose Continuum
for the Serial Verb Construction

The V1-V2-A type is treated as the tightest because of the juxtaposition of the two verbs in the sentence-initial position, generally reserved for a verb in a sentence, which

makes them look like a single verb. No doubt, the $V_1-A_i-V_2-A_i$ type is the loosest one as the whole structure seems to consist of two independent clauses.

Examining the examples in this paper, we find that the closer the events are perceived, the tighter the structures are chosen to code them. For example, the loosest structure (i.e., the $V_1-A_i-V_2-A_i$ type) is not allowed to code the SVCs containing "phasal" and "manner" verbs. Hence, the correspondence between semantic manifestation and syntactic coding is obvious. Although sometimes the affirmative declarative SVCs cannot explicitly reveal the different tight/loose relationship exhibited between the events manifested by the serial verbs, we can observe the relationship in question via the discussion of their corresponding imperative and negative constructions. The tightness between two events is indicated by the fact that the coding of the second verb in an imperative or a negative sentence is more constrained as it cannot be converted into the imperative or negative form. Such constraint is not required when the relationship is the loosest and the second verb can appear in the imperative or negative form. Another piece of evidence revealing the tightness is the control of the case marking of the participants to the second verb, which is only exerted by the first verb in the tightest type of SVC.

To sum up the study, we postulate a continuum in Figure 2 to present the semantic/syntactic interface discussed so far:

tight extreme *	structure		type of the first verb	
	declarative		imperative	
	affirmative	negative		
	V1-V2-A V1-A-V2	Neg <i>pi/ka</i> V1-V2 _{aff}	V1 _{imp} -V2 _{dec.aff}	{Phasal Manner Psychological attitude
↓	V1-V2-A V1-A-V2 V1-A _i -V2-A _i	Neg <i>pi/ka</i> V1-V2 _{aff}	V1 _{imp} -V2 _{dec.aff} V1 _{imp.Aff} -V2 _{imp.pff}	Motion V1- <u>Purpose</u> -V2
	V1-V2-A V1-A-V2 V1-A _i -V2-A _i	Neg <i>pi/ka</i> V1- <i>pi/ka</i> V2	V1 _{imp} -V2 _{imp}	V1- <u>Temporal</u> -V2
↓				
loose extreme				

Figure 2 The Syntactic/Semantic Tight/Loose Continuum for
the Serial Verb Construction in Amis

NOTES

1. However, sometimes, a linker a can optionally appear between the serial verbs in Amis. As its appearance is not required, we do not discuss such sentences in this paper.
2. The author would like to express her gratitude to the Amis informant, Mr. Chen Jin-long (Ofad in Amis), for providing the data in this paper and sharing the knowledge of his mother tongue with great generosity. The anonymous reviewer of this paper and Dr. Lillian M. Huang are also deeply appreciated for the valuable comments and suggestions.
3. The phonetic symbols used in the transcription throughout this paper follows the system proposed by Li (1992:4-8), where /e/ stands for a schwa, /d/ for a voiceless lateral, /ʔ/ for a glottal stop, /q/ for a pharyngealized glottal stop with aspiration, and /ng/ for a velar nasal.
4. The following abbreviations and symbols are used in this paper:
 - 1S.N: 1st Person Singular Nominative Pronoun
 - 1S.G: 1st Person Singular Genitive Pronoun
 - 1S.P: 1st Person Singular Possessive Pronoun
 - 1S.A: 1st Person Singular Accusative Pronoun
 - 1P.N.Excl: 1st Person Plural Exclusive Nominative Pronoun
 - 1P.N.Incl: 1st Person Plural Inclusive Nominative Pronoun
 - 2S.N: 2nd Person Singular Nominative Pronoun
 - 2S.G: 2nd Person Singular Genitive Pronoun
 - 2S.A: 2nd Person Singular Accusative Pronoun

3S.N: 3rd Person Singular Nominative Pronoun

3S.G: 3rd Person Singular Genitive Pronoun

3S.A: 3rd Person Singular Accusative Pronoun

Acc: Accusative Case AF: Agent Focus Aff: Affirmative

Asp: Aspect Cau: Causative Dec: Declarative

Gen: Genitive Case IF: Instrument Focus Imp: Imperative

LF: Locative Focus NAF: Non-agent Focus

Neg:Negator;Negative Neu: Neutral Case

Nom: Nominative Case PF: Patient Focus Prep: Preposition

< > : Angle brackets < > enclose infixes and their glosses

5.Concerning the forms and functions of the case markers in Amis, please refer to Huang (1995b) and Wu (1995:15-17).

6.Concerning the discussion the pronominal system in Amis, please see Huang (1995c) and Wu (1995:17-21).

7.Notice that there are four AF markers cooccurring with different types of verbs in Amis. Yan (1992:84-85) claims that the classes of verbs, attached with different focus markers, often exhibit various degrees of "transitivity", a notion proposed by Hopper & Thompson (1980).

8.The IF marker sa- and the LF marker -an often cooccur with another two affixes pi- and ka-, of which the properties are not very clear to us. The selection between pi- and ka- depends on the type of verb root these markers are attached to. Generally speaking, verbs taking mi- as the AF marker will take sa-pi in the IF structure and pi..an- in the LF structure while verbs taking ma- and -um- will take sa-ka- and ka..an. As for the verbs taking ϕ as the AF marker, since most of them manifest "motion" such as tayra "to go" and tayni "to come" or "location" such as maroq "to live; to sit"

and ira "to exist", we do not find them appearing in IF construction in our data. Thus, the IF marker for such a type of verb remains unclear to us. Nevertheless, such a type of verb takes ka..an in LF construction. Notice that while mi-, ma-, and ϕ verbs do not keep their AF markers in IF and LF constructions, the -um- verbs still retains their AF affix -um-. Thus, the -um- verbs take sa-ka-um- in IF sentences and ka-um-an in LF ones.

9.The NPs serve as the grammatical subjects are italicized in each example.

10.While -en is treated as the PF marker of the imperative sentences, properties of pi- and ka- remain unclear. However, we do not regard the two affixes as the AF markers of the imperative construction. For the discussion, please see Wu (1995:27-30).

11.This negator has two phonetic variations ca' and ca'ay-ay. The three forms share the same syntactic behaviors. However, as remarked by the informant, semantically, ca'ay-ay seems to be more emphatic.

12.The predominant word order in Amis is V-S-O. Here, "S" and "O" refer to semantic subject and object respectively instead of grammatical ones. Therefore, semantically speaking, the predominant word order in Amis is event-agent-patient.

13.The subscripts in the examples throughout the paper indicate coreference.

14.Recall that in the discussion of imperative and negative constructions in Amis, we point out that a verb in an AF imperative sentence is either preceded by pi- or ka- while is suffixed with -en in a PF imperative sentence.

15.The aspectual marker tu is required here, though the semantics of this marker is not clear yet.

16.Both (7a) and (7b') can not cooccur with the first person singular pronoun as the following examples show. I have no explanation for this.

(7)a".*ca' ho pi-lingatu mi-nanam kaku tu caciyaw nu amis
[Neg Asp PI-begin AF-learn 1S.N Acc language Gen Amis]

b".*ca' ho pi-lingatu kaku mi-nanam tu caciyaw nu amis
[Neg Asp PI-begin 1S.N AF-learn Acc language Gen Amis]

- 17.Note that in this sentence, which is a declarative, like that in (6c), the patient participant to the second event manifested by mi-tangtang "to cook (AF)" agrees with the first event denoted by a PF verb, and takes the nominative case marker.
- 18.The purpose relationship is observed from the meaning of the serial verbs, which may also be viewed as the manifestation of two sequential events. However, with a careful comparison with the sequential events designated by the serial verbs discussed in 2.3, the serial verbs appearing in (22) and (23) seem to imply a closer relationship than merely a temporal one. Such closeness is further confirmed by the greater formal constraint of the second verb in (22) and (23) than that in (25) and (26).
- 19.An anonymous reviewer of this paper suggests that the inadequacy of this sentence may be resulted from the semantic incompatibility of the two verbs involved (i.e. angry and happy). The substitution of two semantically compatible verbs such as "angry" and "heart-broken" may yield a different result. However, as the data is not available for the time being, we leave it for future research.

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阿美語的連動結構

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摘 要

本文從語意關係與語法表徵相互影響的觀點，探究阿美語的連動結構。阿美語是臺灣南島語的一支，使用者主要分佈於花蓮縣至臺東縣一帶，並包含屏東縣的一小塊區域。本文的語料採自阿美語的中部方言。文中闡述，在包含不同種類動詞的連動結構中，由動詞所表示的事件／狀態之間，在語意關係上具有緊密到鬆散的連續性質，此種語意緊密——鬆散之關係亦可見於在語法結構上。文末並以一緊密——鬆散之連續圖來呈現此種語意與語法間的相互對應。

關鍵詞：阿美語、連動結構、語法、語意