

Comitative and Coordinate Constructions in Truku Seediq*

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This paper focuses on the comitativity-related constructions and coordination in the Truku dialect of Seediq, a Formosan language belonging to the Atayalic group. Regarding comitativity and coordination, three morphemes are found to be structurally involved: *deha* as the comitative preposition, *ka* as the comitative case marker, and *ni* as the conjunctive coordinator. *deha* in comitativity-related constructions belongs to different grammatical categories. The *deha* in inclusory constructions is analyzed as the numeral 'two'. *deha* is in complementary distribution with the comitative case marker *ka* and their occurrence depends on the pronominal status of the subject. This paper also presents both conjunctive and disjunctive coordination. The syntactic distribution of the preposition *deha* and the coordinator *ni* is also compared. The coordinator *ni* is used as monosyndeton and polysyndeton. Typologically speaking, coordination in Truku Seediq shows that the position of the coordinator *ni* in relation to the other coordinands is the type of [A co][B], based on the criterion of intonational phrasing. Following Stassen's (2000) typological study on noun phrase conjunction, this paper concludes that Truku Seediq is an AND-language.

Key words: Truku Seediq, comitativity, coordination, inclusory constructions, coordinate constructions, AND-languages

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the constructions which encode comitativity and coordination in Truku Seediq, a dialect of the Seediq language spoken mainly in the eastern part of Taiwan. Seediq is a Formosan language belonging to the Atayalic group (Li 1981),

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which consists of three main dialects: Paran (Tgdaya), Truku, and Toda.

Early studies of the Seediq language are mostly concerned with the Paran dialect in terms of phonology (Yang 1976, Li 1977, 1991) and syntax (Holmer 1996, C. Chang 1996, Y. Chang 1997, 2000). In recent years the Truku dialect has been described by Tsukida (1999, 2000, 2005, 2006, 2009), who provides a series of descriptions of its morphosyntax, by Lee (2009, 2010) on its phonology, and by Chiang & Chiang (2005) on its phonetics.¹

So far as the constructions related to comitativity and coordination in Seediq are concerned, previous studies do not provide any thorough discussion of this topic, thus this paper intends to fill that gap.²

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. First, the notions and the relationship of comitativity and coordination in general are reviewed, followed by a discussion of the constructions related to comitativity, including the functions of *deha* and *ka*, as well as the inclusory constructions. Next, both conjunctive and disjunctive coordination are presented. Finally, the coordinate constructions in Truku Seediq are discussed from a typological perspective.

2. Comitativity and coordination

In this paper we restrict the study of comitativity to the expressions used to encode ACCOMPANIMENT relations. Semantically, an ACCOMPANIMENT relation is a situation in

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- (1) Aki Pitay (楊玉梅, born in 1937, Female, Mowrisaka village—Wan-jung, Wanjung, Hualien);
- (2) Tusi Yudaw (李季生, born in 1955, Male, Tkijig village—Chung-teh, Hsiulin, Hualien);
- (3) Jiro Ubus (陳春光, born in 1955, Male, Ciakang village—Hsi-lin, Fenglin, Hualien).

¹ In Truku Seediq there are eighteen consonants /p, b, t, d, k, q, ʔ, s, x, ɣ, h, m, n, ŋ, ʃ, r, j, w/, four vowels /i, ə, a, u/, and three diphthongs /aj, aw, uj/. The phonemes /t, d/ undergo palatalization when preceding the vowel /i/ and the glide /j/. The data presented here follow the orthographic system issued in 2004 by the Ministry of Education, Taiwan. In the orthographic system the palatalized /t/ (the allophone [c]) and /d/ (the allophone [j]) are written as *c* and *j*. The phonemes /ɣ, ŋ, h, ʃ, r, j/ are written as *g, ng, h, l, r, and y*, respectively. The vowel /ə/ is *e* in Truku Seediq, but in Paran Seediq the letter *e* is pronounced as [e]. Two vowels [e] and [o] are in complementary distribution with /aj/ and /aw/. The former two occur at word-medial position, and are written as *ey* and *ow*. For more details on the phonology of Truku Seediq, see Tsukida (2005, 2009) and Lee (2009, 2010).

² Tsukida's (2009) dissertation provides a comprehensive grammar of this dialect. Although she describes the coordinate construction and the functions of *ni*, she does not tackle coordination as opposed to comitativity, nor does she discuss the comitative functions of *deha* and the marker *ka*.

which at least two participants are involved (Stolz et al. 2006:17). According to Stolz et al. (2006), such a situation usually comprises three components: the ACCOMPANEE, the COMPANION, and a relator. The two participants (i.e. the ACCOMPANEE and the COMPANION) are associated by the relator, which establishes the ACCOMPANIMENT relation.

A relator is a conceptual element, which can also be realized as a morpheme with a distinctive function, such as the preposition *with* in English. In some languages its function can be semantically incorporated into the verb. For example, in the sentence {*The President is being escorted to the palace.*}, the relator and the COMPANION are incorporated in the verbal phrase *being escorted*, as they are assumed in the meaning of the lexical verb *escort* (Stolz et al. 2006:18).

It is necessary to note that the semantic roles of ACCOMPANEE and COMPANION may not always correspond to the syntactic subject and object in a comitative sentence. Such a distinction is demonstrated by the following German examples:

(1) German (Stolz et al. 2006:19)

a. rhematic ACCOMPANEE, relator=preposition and mobile prefix

COMPANION		\mathfrak{R}	ACCOMPANEE	\mathfrak{R}
<i>Peter</i>	<i>kommt</i>	<i>mit</i>	<i>Robert</i>	<i>mit</i>
Peter	comes	X/Y	Robert	X/Y
	[V	[PREP	NP] ^{rheme}	prefix]

‘Peter accompanies Robert.’

b. rhematic COMPANION, relator=preposition

ACCOMPANEE		\mathfrak{R}	COMPANION	
<i>Peter</i>	<i>kommt</i>	<i>mit</i>	<i>Robert</i>	
Peter	comes	X/Y	Robert	
		[PREP	NP] ^{rheme}	

‘Peter takes Robert along.’

The subject *Peter* is the COMPANION in (1a) and the ACCOMPANEE in (1b). The addition of another relator in (1a) makes the reading different. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish the semantic aspects of comitativity from the syntactic structure of a comitative construction.

Syntactically, a comitative sentence generally includes two arguments (i.e. two noun phrases) as the participants of the event, and one of which is comitativity-marked. We shall term the participant who is syntactically the subject in a comitativity-related sentence as PARTICIPANT₁, and the remaining participant(s) as PARTICIPANT₂, which is usually linked with PARTICIPANT₁ by a morpheme indicating comitativity. For example,

the subject *Peter* in (1a) and (1b) is PARTICIPANT₁, whereas the object *Robert* is PARTICIPANT₂.

The comitative construction which encodes the notion of ACCOMPANIMENT is linked semantically with coordination. Coordination, as defined by Haspelmath (2007: 1), ‘refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements.’

This semantic similarity is exemplified by the two English sentences: the comitative sentence {*John is watching TV with his son.*} and its coordinate equivalent {*John and his son are watching TV.*}. However, for a coordinate sentence the notion of ACCOMPANIMENT is not necessarily subsumed. The sentence {*John and his son are watching TV.*} could be the situation that John and his son are watching TV at the same time but in different rooms.

In his typological study of noun phrase (NP) conjunction in 260 languages Stassen (2000) distinguishes two types of languages: AND-languages and WITH-languages. The former are the languages which adopt both Comitative and Coordinate Strategies for NP conjunction, whereas the latter only adopt Comitative Strategy (see also the discussion in §5.2).

Stassen (2000) also observes that there is a tendency for WITH-languages to drift towards AND-type. The reason for this development is iconic. He notes that ‘pure WITH-languages are not iconic in the sense of Haiman (1980)... From the point of view of iconicity, AND-languages can be rated as optimal.’ (p.38). A WITH-language will gradually develop an equivalent coordinate structure for the corresponding comitative construction, so that the two NPs are mirrored as being balanced in rank.

Based on the discussion above regarding the relationship between comitativity and coordination, in this paper we will study the comitative and coordinate constructions in Truku Seediq. Then we shall echo our findings with the review in this section.

3. Comitativity-related constructions

In this section we discuss three kinds of structures related to the encoding of comitativity. The first is the *deha* construction. The second is inclusory constructions, including both phrasal and split types. Finally, the discussion of inclusory constructions leads to the identification of the comitative function of the marker *ka*, which stands for comitative relation when the subject is a dependent pronoun.

3.1 The *deha* construction

In Truku Seediq one way of encoding comitativity is by *deha*, which is also the numeral ‘two’. Stassen (2000:16) notes that ‘there are languages in which a coordinating particle for NPs clearly arises from numerals or quantifies like “two”, “both”, or “all”, which are grammaticalized to a greater or lesser degree.’ However, we do not suggest that *deha* in Truku Seediq is a coordinating particle.

To express comitativity, *deha* functions as a preposition,³ which forms an adjunct with its following noun phrase. It is considered as a preposition based on the following observations. First, the *deha*-adjunct serves to give additional information, and its position in the sentence is rather free. The whole constituent can be placed before or after the main verb, as shown in (2) to (4). It can occur before or after the subject NP, as shown in (5).

- (2) iya deha ima ka wada ngangut ka biyang?
 IYA with who COMP be.gone outside NOM Biyang
 ‘Exactly with whom has Biyang gone out?’

Or

- wada nganguts ka biyang iya deha ima?
 be.gone outside NOM Biyang IYA with who
 ‘Exactly with whom has Biyang gone out?’

- (3) A: deha ima gaga m-ke’kan ka ubus?⁴
 with who PROG AF-fight NOM Ubus
 ‘With whom is Ubus fighting now?’
 B: ubus ga m-ke’kan deha laqi siaw sapah=na.
 Ubus PROG AF-fight with child side house=3SG.GEN
 ‘Ubus is fighting with the child next door.’

- (4) A: m-ita=su ubus?
 AF-see=2SG.NOM Ubus
 ‘Have you seen Ubus?’
 B: m-ita=ku; deha huling=na wada dgiyaq.
 AF-see=1SG.NOM with dog=3SG.GEN be.gone mountain
 ‘I have seen (him); (He) has gone to the mountains with his dog.’

³ We follow Tsukida (2009:353) and one reviewer’s suggestion to treat *deha* as a preposition. In this paper we provide more data for a detailed discussion.

⁴ The following are the abbreviations used in this paper which are not included in the Leipzig Glossing Rules (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>): AF=actor focus; PF=patient focus; LF=locative focus; NEWSIT=new situation (following Tsukida 2005).

Or

m-ita=ku; wada dgiyaq deha huling=na.
 AF-see=1SG.NOM be.gone mountain with dog=3SG.GEN
 ‘I have seen (him); (He) has gone to the mountains with his dog.’

- (5) ini p-t-tuhuy kjiyax deha ubus ka biyang.
 NEG AF-REFL-be.together often with Ubus NOM Biyang
 ‘Biyang seldom hangs out with Ubus.’

Or

ini p-t-tuhuy kjiyax ka biyang deha ubus.
 NEG AF-REFL-be.together often NOM Biyang with Ubus
 ‘Biyang seldom hangs out with Ubus.’

Secondly, as shown in sentence (6), it is inappropriate to gloss *deha* as ‘two’ because there are more than two participants—Ubus, his father, and his relatives—taking part in the event. Besides, the occurrence of *deha* in sentence (6) is optional, so that the NP *tama=na ni lutut=na* ‘his father and his relatives’ becomes the object of the main verb *m-seupu* if *deha* is not present.

- (6) m-seupu m-usa t-m-samat (deha) tama=na
 AF-be.together AF-go CATCH-AF-beast with father=3SG.GEN
ni lutut=na ka ubus.
 and relatives=3SG.GEN NOM Ubus
 ‘Ubus went hunting with his father and his relatives.’

Next, *deha* as a comitative preposition cannot occur in a *be together* sentence if the subject is a dependent pronominal. Instead, the comitative case marker *ka* fills the slot (see §3.3, also cf. sentence (43) and (44)) or the slot remains empty. This shows that *deha* is in complementary distribution with the comitative case marker *ka* for encoding comitativity and their occurrence depends on the pronominal status of the subject.

- (7) *tuhuy=ku m-uyas kjiyax deha biyang.
 be.together=1SG.NOM AF-sing often with Biyang
 ‘I don’t often sing with Biyang.’
- (8) *ini=ku sekuxul deha ubus tuhuy matas.
 NEG=1SG.NOM like with Ubus be.together AF.study
 ‘I don’t like studying with Ubus.’

The preposition *deha* cannot precede an independent pronoun. The following sentence is grammatical if *deha* is replaced by the coordinator *ni*.

- (9) *rahuq na isu deha yaku, mowsa kana da.
 exclude NA 2SG.NOM with 1SG.NOM AF.FUT.go all NEWSIT
 ‘Except for you and me, all (the others) are going.’
- (10) rahuq na isu ni yaku, mowsa kana da.
 exclude NA 2SG.NOM and 1SG.NOM AF.FUT.go all NEWSIT
 ‘Except for you and me, all (the others) are going.’

When PARTICIPANT₁ is at topic position and followed by a *deha*-NP, it appears that *deha* is conjoining two non-pronominal NPs, as the same position can be filled by the coordinator *ni*. However, a closer look reveals that their underlying structures are different. We shall compare *deha* and the coordinator *ni* in §4.1.4 after the distribution of the coordinator *ni* is presented.

- (11) ubus deha laqi=na m-usa dgiyaq.
 Ubus with child=3SG.GEN AF-go mountain
 ‘Ubus went to the mountains with his child.’
- (12) ubus ni laqi=na m-usa dgiyaq.
 Ubus and child=3SG.GEN AF-go mountain
 ‘Ubus and his child went to the mountains.’

Moreover, it is necessary to distinguish *deha* as a comitative preposition and *deha* as a numeral functioning as a verb. As discussed in Li (2006:142), numerals can function as verbs, which occur at predicate position with or without aspectual marking. This is evidenced by the following sentences.

- (13) rahuq na deha=ta, meha kana da.
 exclude NA two=1PL.INCL.NOM AF.FUT.go all NEWSIT
 ‘Everyone is going except for two of us.’
- (14) deha=nami laqi=mu ka m-usa kalingku.
 two=1PL.EXCL.NOM child=1SG.GEN COMP AF-go Hualien
 ‘It is two of us, my child and I, that (we) went to Hualien.’
- (15) biyang ni ubus m-d~deha=deha m-uyas m-usa baraw.
 Biyang and Ubus AF-PL~two=3PL.NOM AF-sing AF-go above
 ‘They, both Biyang and Ubus, were singing on stage.’

It appears that *deha* in Truku Seediq belongs to different grammatical categories. As a numeral verb, verb agreement is necessary so that *deha* only attracts plural enclitics or precedes an NP denoting two entities. When it is a preposition, the agreement is not required. Also as a numeral verb, *deha* can be replaced with another numeral like *teru* ‘three’, as shown in (16). However, it is impossible to do so for the sentences where *deha* functions as a preposition. Take sentence (2) as (17) for example.

- (16) rahuq na teru=nami, meha kana da.
 exclude NA three=1PL.EXCL.NOM AF.FUT.go all NEWSIT
 ‘Everyone is going except for three of us.’
 Or
 rahuq na yami teru, meha kana da.
 exclude NA 1PL.EXCL.NOM three AF.FUT.go all NEWSIT
 ‘Everyone is going except for three of us.’
- (17) *iya teru ima ka wada ngangut ka biyang?
 IYA three who COMP be.gone outside NOM Biyang
 ‘Exactly with whom has Biyang gone out?’

As a numeral, *deha* can also occur in nominal constructions. Compare the following sentences. In sentence (18) the subject of the complement clause is (*ka deha biyang ni ubus* ‘both Biyang and Ubus’ with the nominative marker *ka* omitted, so that *deha* is a modifying numeral ‘two’ for *biyang ni ubus* ‘Biyang and Ubus’; whereas in sentence (19) *deha biyang* ‘with Biyang’ is a prepositional adjunct, which can also be placed after the subject NP *ka ubus*. Sentence (20) shows that *deha* as a numeral implies the existence of the other unknown person.

- (18) m-pahang=ku m-ke’kan quwaq deha biyang ni ubus.
 AF-hear=1SG.NOM AF-fight mouth two Biyang and Ubus
 ‘I heard that both Biyang and Ubus were quarrelling.’
- (19) m-pahang=ku m-ke’kan quwaq deha biyang ka ubus.
 AF-hear=1SG.NOM AF-fight mouth with Biyang NOM Ubus
 ‘I heard that Ubus was quarrelling with Biyang.’
- (20) m-pahang=ku m-ke’kan quwaq ka deha biyang.
 AF-hear=1SG.NOM AF-fight mouth NOM two Biyang
 ‘I heard that Biyang and someone (two of them) were quarrelling.’

Following this analysis, we suggest that the *deha* which occurs between the independent inclusory pronoun and the included NP in phrasal inclusory constructions (see §3.2) functions as the numeral ‘two’ rather than as the comitative preposition. The occurrence of *deha* in the phrase is optional. As a numeral, *deha* is structurally closer to its following noun, as the restriction is imposed on what type of NP can follow it. This explains why sentence (24) is ungrammatical as it cannot precede an independent inclusory pronoun.

- (21) yami deha ciwang ka m-usa kalingku.
 1PL.EXCL.NOM two Ciwang COMP AF-go Hualien
 ‘It is two of us, Ciwang and I, that (we) went to Hualien.’
- (22) yamu deha ima ka meha q<m>pah?
 2PL.NOM two who COMP AF.FUT.go <AF>work?
 ‘With whom are you (SG) two going to work?’
- (23) isu deha biyang m-usa=namu yayung mahu lukus.
 2SG.NOM two Biyang AF-go=2PL.NOM river AF.wash clothes
 ‘Both you and Biyang went to the river to wash clothes.’
- (24) *deha yami ciwang ka m-usa kalingku.
 two 1PL.EXCL.NOM Ciwang COMP AF-go Hualien
 ‘It is two of us, Ciwang and I, that (we) went to Hualien.’

3.2 Inclusory pronominal construction

Another comitativity-encoding structure is the inclusory construction (Lichtenberk 2000, Haspelmath 2004, Reid 2009) or inclusory conjunctions (Haspelmath 2007). Inclusory constructions refer to the expressions in which ‘personal pronouns show dual or plural forms when occurring in coordinated noun phrases, even though they denote only a single individual’ (Bhat 2004:89). Citing from Schwartz (1988), Bhat (2004: 92) also notes that ‘there is a preference for first and second person pronouns to occur as inclusory pronouns.’

Commonly seen in Austronesian languages, inclusory constructions usually involve the conjunction or apposition of a plural personal pronoun with an NP or another pronoun. The plural personal pronoun is the inclusory conjunct, which denotes the total set. The other NP or pronoun is the included conjunct, which specifies the other participant.

In Truku Seediq, the inclusory pronominal and the included NP are simply juxtaposed. There is no particle or comitative marker of any kind in-between. See the following sentences:

- (25) A: yamu ima gaga sapah=su hiya ga?
 2PL.NOM who PROG house=2SG.GEN there Q
 ‘With whom are you (SG) at home now?’
 B: yaku ni lupung=mu, deha=nami.
 1SG.NOM and friend=1SG.GEN two=1PL.EXCL.NOM
 ‘My friend and I (are at home); (it’s just) two of us.’
- (26) A: yamu ima ka m-usa me-uyas?
 2PL.NOM who COMP AF-go AF.FUT-sing
 ‘With whom are you (SG) going to sing?’
 B: yami ubus (ka m-usa me-uyas).
 1PL.EXCL.NOM Ubus (COMP AF-go AF.FUT-sing).
 ‘(I am going to sing) with Ubus. / It is with Ubus (that we are going to sing).’
- (27) A: yamu ima?⁵
 2PL.NOM who
 ‘Who (did) you (SG) (come) with?’
 B: yaku nanak kingal.
 1SG.NOM self one
 ‘I am on my own.’
- (28) m-ke’kan=nami quwaq ka yami laqi=mu.
 AF-fight=1PL.EXCL.NOM mouth NOM 1PL.EXCL.NOM child=1SG.GEN
 ‘I quarreled with my child.’

The sentences above constitute what Lichtenberk (2000) terms as ‘phrasal inclusory construction’, in which the inclusory pronominal forms a phrase with its included NP. The word order is that the inclusory pronominal must precede the included NP, both in subject and object positions. The reverse word order is ungrammatical.

- (29) *m-usa=nami trima ulay ka ubus yami.
 AF-go=1PL.EXCL.NOM bathe hot spring NOM Ubus 1PL.EXCL.NOM
 ‘Ubus including me went to bathe in the hot spring.’
- (30) *biyang yamu m-usa=namu yayung trima.
 Biyang 2PL.NOM AF-go=2PL.NOM river bathe
 ‘Biyang including you went swimming in the river.’

⁵ The reverse word order *ima yamu* renders the meaning ‘Who are you (people)?’.

- (31) *g<me>alu bi biyang yami ka baki.
 <AF>love⁶ very Biyang 1PL.EXCL.NOM NOM grandfather
 ‘Grandfather loves me including Biyang very much.’

Phrasal inclusory construction [inclusory pronominal __ included NP] is equivalent to [singular pronominal *ni* NP], so that *yami Ubus* ‘we (including) Ubus’ can also be expressed as *yaku ni Ubus* ‘I/me and Ubus’ or *Ubus ni yaku* ‘Ubus and I/me’. The positional order of the singular pronominal and the other NP in a coordinate construction is interchangeable.

The other type, ‘split inclusory construction’ (Lichtenberk 2000), is also found in Truku Seediq. Unlike ‘phrasal inclusory construction’, in this type the inclusory pronominal is usually a clitic, and does not form a phrase with the included NP (see also §3.3).

This type also occurs when PARTICIPANT₁ is pronominal. The subject pronoun must be plural, despite PARTICIPANT₁ being singular semantically. In the following sentences, the plural subject pronouns *nami* and *namu* are used even though PARTICIPANT₁ refers to a singular individual. Moreover, the singular subject pronouns are not accepted to express the same meaning.

- (32) m<n>ke’kan=nami ka hiya/dhiya.
 AF<PFV>fight=1PL.EXCL.NOM COM 3SG.NOM/3PL.NOM
 ‘I have fought against him/them.’
- (33) m<n>ke’kan=namu ka hiya hug?
 AF<PFV>fight=2PL.NOM COM 3SG.NOM Q
 ‘Have you (SG) fought against him before?’
- (34) *m<n>ke’kan=ku ka hiya.
 AF<PFV>fight=1SG.NOM COM 3SG.NOM
 ‘I have fought against him.’
- (35) *m<n>ke’kan=su ka hiya hug?
 AF<PFV>fight=2SG.NOM COM 3SG.NOM Q
 ‘Have you (SG) fought against him before?’
- (36) m-ke’kan=ku quwaq dhiyaan.
 AF-fight=1SG.NOM mouth 3PL.OBL
 ‘I quarreled with them.’

⁶ This verb is used to indicate the non-romantic love such as that between parents and children. For romantic love, the verb *skuxul* is used.

As the sentences above show, PARTICIPANT₂, which can be singular or plural, is *ka*-marked. If the subject pronoun is singular, *ka hiya* or *ka dhiya* must be replaced by the oblique case form *hiyaan* or *dhiyaan*. Given that there is no agreement relation between the free nominative pronoun (PARTICIPANT₂) and the subject (PARTICIPANT₁), the *ka* here stands for comitative relation.

In his study on inclusory pronominals in Toqabaqita, an Oceanic language, Lichtenberk (2000) argues that the inclusory construction in the language is a construction *sui generis*. It is neither comitative nor coordinate. However, the presence of the comitative case marker *ka* (see more details in §3.3) in inclusory constructions in Truku Seediq may suggest that the structure is closer to comitative constructions.

3.3 The comitative case marker *ka*

As shown in the previous section, the COMPANION in split inclusory constructions is preceded by *ka*, which is thus analyzed here as the comitative case marker. Compare the following sentences:

(37) ini=ku skuxul m-imah sinaw kjiyax ka ubus.
 NEG=1SG.NOM like AF-drink alcohol often NOM Ubus
 ‘I don’t like (the situation) that Ubus often drinks.’

(38) ini=nami skuxul m-imah sinaw kjiyax ka ubus.
 NEG=1PL.EXCL.NOM like AF-drink alcohol often COM Ubus
 ‘I/We don’t like to drink with Ubus too often.’

Sentence (37) contains a complement clause *mimah sinaw kjiyax ka Ubus* ‘Ubus often drinks’, which is the object of the verb *skuxul* ‘to like, fancy’. On the contrary, sentence (38) is a serial verb construction. The *ka* before the COMPANION *Ubus* establishes the comitative relation with the ACCOMPANEE, which is encoded by the inclusory pronominal *nami* ‘we’. The NP *ka Ubus* is syntactically obligatory to encode the semantic role of COMPANION, thus *ka* functions as the comitative case marker.

Sentence (38) is ambiguous, as the subject can be either in singular or plural reading. It is possible to analyze sentence (38) as a complementation construction like sentence (37), in this way the sentence means ‘we don’t like (the situation) that Ubus often drinks’, where the case marker *ka* is nominative.

A similar instance is found with the following two sentences, where the subject is the plural third person pronominal. Sentence (39) is a complementation construction, so that the case marker *ka* is nominative. The structure of sentence (40) is similar to that of sentence (38), in which the case marker *ka* can be either comitative or nominative.

- (39) ini skuxul ka dhiya m-imah sinaw kjiyax ka laqi=na.
 NEG like NOM 3PL.NOM AF-drink alcohol often NOM child=3SG.GEN
 ‘They don’t like (the situation) that his/her child often drinks.’
- (40) ini=deha skuxul m-imah sinaw kjiyax ka laqi=na.
 NEG=3PL.NOM⁷ like AF-drink alcohol often COM child=3SG.GEN
 ‘They don’t like drinking with his/her child.’

To obtain an ACCOMPANIMENT reading with a singular pronominal subject, the COMPANION NP is either zero-marked or in oblique case.

- (41) ini=ku skuxul m-imah sinaw ubus.
 NEG=1SG.NOM like AF-drink alcohol Ubus
 ‘I don’t like drinking with Ubus.’
- (42) ini=ku tuhuy kjiyax m-imah sinaw dhiyaan.
 NEG=1SG.NOM be.together often AF-drink alcohol 3PL.OBL
 ‘I don’t often drink with them.’

However, with the verb *tuhuy* ‘be together’, *seupu* ‘be together’ or *tqenay* ‘to follow’, when the subject pronoun is singular, the marking of *ka* before the COMPANION NP is optional. The COMPANION NP can also be in oblique case, as in (45) and (47).

- (43) tuhuy=ku m-uyas kjiyax ka biyang.
 be.together=1SG.NOM AF-sing often COM Biyang
 ‘I often sing with Biyang.’
- (44) A: ini=ku skuxul tuhuy matas ka ubus.
 NEG=1SG.NOM like be.together AF.study COM Ubus
 ‘I don’t like studying with Ubus.’
 B: h<m>uya ni, ini=su skuxul tuhuy ubus matas?
 <AF>why NI NEG=2SG.NOM like be.together Ubus AF.study
 ‘Why don’t you like studying with Ubus?’
- (45) tuhuy=ku dhiyaan (ka) m-usa p-ngahi qsurux.
 be.together=1SG.NOM 3PL.OBL (COMP) AF-go AF-hooks fish
 ‘I went fishing with them.’

⁷ As a pronominal enclitic *deha* is both the nominative case form and the genitive case form of the third person plural.

- (46) emp-seupu=su yumin m-usa m-aduk.
 AF.FUT-be.together=2SG.NOM Yumin AF-go AF-hunt
 ‘You are going hunting with Yumin.’
- (47) wada tqenay bus-an m-usa taipei ka laqi=su.
 PFV follow Ubus-OBL AF-go Taipei NOM child=2SG.GEN
 ‘Your child has already gone to Taipei with Ubus.’

The case maker *ka* in a *be together* sentence is comitative only if the subject is a dependent pronominal. When the subject is a lexical NP or a proper noun, the marker *ka* is nominative. The sentences are not comitative constructions. See the following examples:

- (48) ini skuxul tuhuy pai=na ni
 NEG like be.together grandmother=3SG.GEN and
 baki=na ka ina=na.
 grandfather=3SG.GEN NOM daughter-in-law=3SG.GEN
 ‘The daughter-in-law doesn’t like being together with her husband’s parents.’⁸
- (49) k-m-usa bi tuhuy m-aduk lowking ka ubus,
 DESIRE-AF-go very be.together AF-hunt Lowking NOM Ubus
 kiya ni, ini sruwa tuhuy m-aduk ka lowking.
 however NEG agree be.together AF-hunt NOM Lowking
 ‘Ubus wants to go hunting with Lowking. However, Lowking does not agree to go hunting (with Ubus).’
- (50) me-seupu dhiyaan m-usa siaw gsilung ka yumin.
 AF-be.together 3PL.OBL AF-go side sea NOM Yumin
 ‘Yumin went to the seashore with them.’

4. Types of coordination

This section presents the coordinate constructions in Truku Seediq. Two types of coordination are discussed: conjunctive and disjunctive coordination. The distribution of *ni* and *deha* is compared in §4.1.4.

⁸ A daughter-in-law in Seediq addresses her husband’s father as *baki* ‘grandfather’ and mother as *pai* ‘grandmother’ instead of *tama* ‘father’ and *bubu* ‘mother’.

4.1 Conjunctive coordination

In Truku Seediq the conjunctive coordinator is *ni*, which is productive in use, being able to link the following categories: noun phrases, verb phrases, and clauses. In this section we discuss its distribution as a conjunctive coordinator linking phrases and clauses.

4.1.1 Noun phrase conjunction

The coordinator *ni* is used to conjoin two noun phrases, be they proper nouns, common nouns, or free pronouns, as illustrated in the following sentences:

- (51) m-ke'kan kari ka haru ni yabung.
 AF-fight words NOM Haru and Yabung
 'Haru and Yabung are quarrelling.'
- (52) t<m>abug=ku deha huling ni kingal ngiyaw.
 <AF>keep=1SG.NOM two dog and one cat
 'I keep two dogs and one cat.'
- (53) wada=mu uq-un ka blebul ni sari=na da.
 PFV=1SG.GEN eat-PF NOM banana and taro=3SG.GEN NEWSIT
 'His/Her banana and taro have already been eaten by me.'
- (54) rahuq na isu ni yaku do, meha kana da.
 exclude NA 2SG.NOM and 1SG.NOM ADV AF.FUT.go all NEWSIT
 'Except for you and me, all of them are going.'
- (55) m-sluluy kenan ni laqi=mu ka kuyuh gaga.
 AF-quarrel 1SG.OBL and child=1SG.GEN NOM woman there
 'That woman there quarreled with my child and me.'

The coordinator *ni* is mostly used as a polysyndeton, as shown in (56) and (57).

- (56) yaku o p-klawa-un maku q~qsurux
 1SG.NOM TOP CAUS-manage-PF 2PL.NOM+1SG.GEN PL~fish
ni q~qbheni ni kana mlgelug me-udas.
 and PL~bird and all animals AF-live
 'As for me, I want you to take care of my fish, birds, and all living creatures.'
 (Truku Bible, Smnlaan 1-2)

- (57) A: me~me-ima ka meha m-aduk?
 PL~AF-who NOM AF.FUT.go AF-hunt
 ‘Who are (the people) going hunting?’
 B: ubus ni tama=na ni mnswai=na.
 Ubus and father=3SG.GEN and younger.sibling=3SG.GEN
 ‘(They are) Ubus, his father, and his younger sibling (brother).’

It is possible for the coordinator *ni* to function as a monosyndeton. In discourse when enumeration is intended, *ni* can occur only before the last coordinand.

- (58) ubus lala bi n-arig=na, sinaw pajiġ
 Ubus much very NMLZ-sell=3SG.GEN alcohol vegetables
 lumak satu ni cimu.
 tobacco sugar and salt
 ‘Ubus is selling a lot (of things), (such as) alcohol, vegetables, tobacco, sugar, and salt.’

The coordinator *ni* also conjoins two nouns which then function as a modifier for the head noun. As the following sentence shows, *yumin ni rimuy* modifies the head noun *laqi* to mean ‘Yumin and Rimuy’s child’.

- (59) q<m><n>iut laqi yumin ni rimuy ka huling gaga.
 <AF><PFV>bite child Yumin and Rimuy NOM dog that
 ‘That dog has bitten Yumin and Rimuy’s child.’⁹

4.1.2 Verb phrase conjunction

In Truku Seediq the same conjunctive coordinator *ni* is used to link two verb phrases as shown below.

- (60) iya m-kesa ni m-kan.
 NEG.IMP AF-walk and AF-eat
 ‘Don’t walk and eat (at the same time).’

⁹ This sentence only denotes a collective possession. To denote a distributive possession, i.e. ‘Yumin’s and Rimuy’s children’, the Seediq phrase is *laqi yumin ni laqi rimuy*.

- (61) me-ekan n-hapuy ni me-imah.
 AF.FUT-eat NMLZ-cook and AF.FUT-drink
 ‘...(going to) eat meals and drink.’
- (62) ..wada kingal jiyax m-kesa, ini kan n-hapuy, me-uwit
 be.gone one day AF-walk NEG eat NMLZ-cook AF-tired
ni me-uray da.
 and AF-hungry NEWSIT
 ‘...Having walked one day, without eating meals, (they are) tired and hungry.’
- (63) kuyuh gaga o, m-sluluy kenan ni, deha laqi=mu.
 woman there TOP AF-quarrel 1SG.OBL and with child=1SG.GEN
 ‘As for the woman over there, (she) quarreled with my child and me.’

4.1.3 Clause conjunction

The coordinator *ni* also occurs for clausal conjunction, linking two equivalent clauses.

- (64) spug=ku ni, me-kan=ku.
 <AF>read=1SG.NOM and AF-eat=1SG.NOM
 ‘I am reading and eating.’
- (65) h<m>rinas ka keeman ni, dehuq ka mgrebu,
 <AF>go.pass NOM night and arrive NOM morning
 nii o tg-kingal jiyax.
 this TOP TOWARDS-one day
 ‘(Thus) the night passed and the morning arrived. This is the first day.’
 (Truku Bible, Smnlaan 1-2)

Tsukida (2009:802) mentions that *ni* also serves to indicate causal, concessive, contrastive, or sequential events between clauses. For example, in the following sentences *ni* signals the reason for its following clause.

- (66) asaw laqi pawan ni, m-usa m-aduk ka ubus.
 for child Pawan and AF-go AF-hunt NOM Ubus
 ‘Ubus went hunting for Pawan’s child.’

- (67) m-imah sinaw kjiyax ka lupung=na ni,
 AF-drink alcohol often NOM friend=3SG.GEN and
 ini skuxul tuhuy lupung=na da.
 NEG like be.together friend=3SG.GEN NEWSIT
 ‘Because his/her friend often drinks, (he/she) doesn’t like being with him/her.’

4.1.4 The coordinator *ni* vs. *deha*

In §3.1 we mention that the preposition *deha* occurring between two lexical NPs when PARTICIPANT₁ is in topic position can be replaced by the coordinator *ni*. In this section we argue that their underlying structures are different despite having the same surface structure, as shown in the following two sentences:

- (68) Ubus deha laqi=na m-usa dgiyaq.
 Ubus with child=3SG.GEN AF-go mountain
 ‘Ubus went to the mountains with his child.’
- (69) Ubus ni laqi=na m-usa dgiyaq.
 Ubus and child=3SG.GEN AF-go mountain
 ‘Ubus and his child went to the mountains.’

Sentence (68) is comitativity-encoded. The preposition *deha* with the following NP forms an adjunct. The topicalized NP *Ubus* does not form a constituent with the *deha*-NP. Sentence (69) is a coordinate construction, in which the subject is *Ubus ni laqi=na* ‘Ubus and his child’. The alternative expressions for sentence (68) and (69) are shown in (70) and (71), respectively.

- (70) deha laqi=na m-usa dgiyaq ka ubus.
 with child=3SG.GEN AF-go mountain NOM Ubus
 ‘Ubus went to the mountains with his child.’
- (71) m-usa dgiyaq ka ubus ni laqi=na.
 AF-go mountain NOM Ubus and child=3SG.GEN
 ‘Ubus and his child went to the mountains.’

In sentence (70) only the ACCOMPANEE *Ubus* is the subject; whereas in a coordinate construction like (71), both the ACCOMPANEE *Ubus* and the COMPANION *laqi=na* ‘his child’ form the subject.

The following NP of the coordinator *ni* cannot be extracted. This is called the

coordinate structure constraint (Ross 1986, cited in Haspelmath 2007). In coordination, neither of its conjuncts can be extracted, and Truku Seediq is no exception. To make sentence (73) grammatical, the coordinator *ni* must be deleted.

- (72) **ima m-usa mahu lukus yayung ka ciwang ni ___?*
 who AF-go AF.wash clothes river NOM Ciwang and
 ‘Who did Ciwang go to wash clothes by the river with?’
- (73) **deha ima m-usa mahu lukus yayung ka ciwang ni ___?*
 with who AF-go AF.wash clothes river NOM Ciwang and
 ‘With whom did Ciwang go to wash clothes by the river?’
- (74) *deha ima m-usa mahu lukus yayung ka ciwang?*
 with who AF-go AF.wash clothes river NOM Ciwang
 ‘With whom did Ciwang go to wash clothes by the river?’

When *deha* is followed by two NPs conjoined by the coordinator *ni*, it refers to the numeral ‘two’, as in sentence (75), where the phrase *deha Ciwang ni Ubus* forms a verbal predicate. On the contrary, in sentence (76) *deha Ciwang* and *ka Ubus* are different constituents, as the former is an adjunct.

- (75) *deha ciwang ni ubus m<en>sa kalingku da.*
 two Ciwang and Ubus AF<PFV>go Hualien NEWSIT
 ‘Ciwang and Ubus (two of them) have been to Hualien.’
- (76) *deha ciwang ka ubus wada kalingku.*
 with Ciwang NOM Ubus be.gone Hualien
 ‘Ubus has gone to Hualien with Ciwang.’

Unlike sentence (75), *ni* in sentence (77) is not a coordinator. It functions more like a topic marker here. See also the conversation in (78). The *ni* from A is a coordinator, whereas that from B is like a topic marker, which can also be replaced by the topic marker *o*.

- (77) *ubus ni, deha ciwang meha kalingku.*
 Ubus NI with Ciwang AF.FUT.go Hualien
 ‘As for Ubus, (he) is going to Hualien with Ciwang.’
- (78) A: *gaga hini ka ciwang ni ubus hug?*
 PROG here NOM Ciwang and Ubus Q
 ‘Are Ciwang and Ubus here now?’

B: ubus ni, deha bubu=na wada ngangut;
 Ubus NI with mother=3SG.GEN be.gone outside
 ciwang ni, deha lupung=na m-usa trima.
 Ciwang NI with friend=3SG.GEN AF-go bathe
 ‘As for Ubus, he went out with his mother; whereas Ciwang went swimming with her friend.’

4.2 Disjunctive coordination

Regarding disjunctive coordination in Truku Seediq, the fixed phrase *aji uri o* is used to express the meaning ‘or’. The phrase is composed of the declarative negator *aji* ‘(be) not’, the adverbial particle *uri* ‘too, also’ and the topic marker *o* [ʔu]. It can coordinate NPs and VPs or clauses. See the following examples:

- (79) kingal bi ka ngal-i, hiyi bowyak, aji uri o
 one very COMP take-IMP.PF meat wild boar or
hiyi pada.
 meat pigmy deer
 ‘(You) only take one: either meat of wild boar or meat of pigmy deer.’
- (80) m-tduwa=su miing yabung, aji uri o laqi pawan
 AF-be able to=2SG.NOM AF.seek Yabung or child Pawan
 tqenay sunan m-usa.
 follow 2SG.OBL AF-go
 ‘You can seek Yabung or Pawan’s child to go with you.’
- (81) ubus mowsa kalingku qpah, aji uri o me-niq
 Ubus AF.FUT.go Hualien <AF>work or AF-exist
nanak alang=na hini qpah.
 self village=3SG.GEN here <AF>work
 ‘Ubus can go to work in Hualien, or stay in his own village working here.’

It is noted that the fixed phrase *aji uri o* in the sentences above can be replaced by *ni*. The semantic interpretation thus depends on the contexts.

5. Discussion from a typological perspective

In this section we discuss the coordinate constructions in Truku Seediq from a typological perspective. Two parameters are taken into account: (1) The position of the

coordinators, and (2) whether Truku Seediq is a WITH-language or an AND-language, following Stassen’s (2000) typological study on noun phrase conjunction.

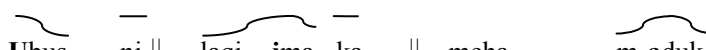
5.1 The position of the coordinator

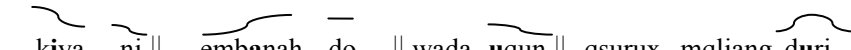
Four logically possible types of position for a coordinator to occur in monosyndetic coordination are listed as follows (Haspelmath 2004:6). The first type has the highest cross-linguistic frequency, whereas the third type seems to be rare and the fourth type is so far unattested. Note that A and B stands for the two coordinands and ‘co’ for the coordinator.

- (82) Four types of position of the coordinator
- a. [A][co B]
 - b. [A co][B]
 - c. [A][B co] (seems rare)
 - d. [co A][B] (so far unattested)

Based on the three criteria for constituency test—clisis, intonational phrasing, and extraposition (Haspelmath 2004:7)—it is suggested that in Truku Seediq the position of the coordinator is closer to the second type than the first.

Since the coordinators *ni* ‘and’ and *aji uri o* ‘or’ are not clitics, the first criterion clisis does not apply here and no phonological process incurs in context. The second criterion, intonational phrasing, provides a clue to determine the position of the coordinators in Truku Seediq as the second type [A co][B]. In discourse, usually a high level pitch occurs at the coordinator *ni* followed by a pause, and a falling pitch occurs after the phrase *kiya ni*, whereas a pause with a high level pitch occurs at the marker *ka* and the topic marker *o*. This is indicated in the following sentences with the symbol || marking the pause. The stressed vowels are bold-faced.

- (83) 
 Ubus ni || laqi ima ka || meha m-aduk
 Ubus and child who NOM AF.FUT.go AF-hunt
 ‘Whose child is Ubus going hunting with?’

- (84) 
 ...kiya ni || embanah do || wada uqun || qsurux mqliang duri
 ...however red ADV PFV eaten fish blue agai
 ‘...however, the red (one) has been eaten by the blue fish again.’

5.2 Truku Seediq as an AND-language

Regarding noun phrase conjunction, Stassen (2000) examines around 260 languages and concludes that languages can be shown to contrast typologically in two formal strategies, Coordinate Strategy and Comitative Strategy, to encode noun phrase conjunction, which leads to a differentiation between AND-languages and WITH-languages. To define what these two types of languages are, it is necessary to present the two aforementioned formal strategies. This is shown in the following table.

Table 1: Contrasts between the two strategies (Stassen 2000:21)

COORDINATE STRATEGY	COMITATIVE STRATEGY
NPs have same structural rank	NPs differ in structural rank
Unique coordinate particle	Unique comitative marker
NPs form a constituent	NPs do not form a constituent
Plural/dual agreement on verbs	Singular agreement on verbs

Stassen (2000:21) notes that the contrast between these two strategies cannot be stated with clear-cut precision, thus it should be regarded as ‘a formulation of the extreme, and focal, positions on a continuum.’

Languages which employ Comitative Strategy as the only way to encode noun phrase conjunction are called WITH-languages. Languages with a clear differentiation between the comitative and the coordinative encoding of the domain are called AND-languages. To exemplify, the former can be represented by Mandarin Chinese, whereas the latter by English. Some examples are as follows:

- (85) Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)
 Lu Wenyi gen wo qu hua-chuan.
 Lu Wenyi with 1SG go row-boat
 ‘Lu Wenyi and I went rowing. / Lu Wenyi went rowing with me.’ (Li & Thompson 1981:657, cited in Stassen 2000:22)
- (86) English (Indo-European, West Germanic)
 Mary and John went to see the movie.
 Mary went to see the movie with John.

Following this line of thought and the data presented in the previous sections, we suggest that Truku Seediq is categorized as an AND-language. This language employs two types of strategies for noun phrase conjunction, namely, Comitative Strategy with *deha* and *ka*, and Coordinate Strategy with *ni*.

6. Conclusion

This paper investigates comitative and coordinate constructions in Truku Seediq. Given the semantic relationship between comitativity and coordination, we found that three morphemes are structurally involved: *deha* as the comitative preposition, *ka* as the comitative case marker, and *ni* as the conjunctive coordinator.

As for *deha* which encodes comitativity, we conclude that *deha* in comitativity-related constructions actually belongs to different grammatical categories based on its functions and syntactic distribution. As a preposition, *deha* forms an adjunct with its following NP. The position of the *deha*-adjunct in a sentence is free which can occur before or after the main verb or the subject NP. On the other hand, the *deha* in inclusory constructions is the numeral verb ‘two’. It can occur at clause-initial position as predicate and attract enclitics, sometimes with aspectual markings. In phrasal inclusory constructions *deha*, whose occurrence is optional, is placed between the inclusory pronominal, an independent pronoun, and the included NP.

Inclusory constructions in Truku Seediq can be divided into two types: phrasal and split, following Lichtenberk’s (2000:3-4) typology. In phrasal inclusory constructions, the independent inclusory pronominal must precede the included NP. In split inclusory constructions, the comitative function of the case marker *ka* is identified. The occurrence of the comitative case marker *ka* suggests that inclusory constructions in Truku Seediq are closer to the structure of comitative constructions.

The case marker *ka* in a *be together* sentence is comitative only if the subject is a dependent pronominal. A plural dependent pronominal subject makes the sentence ambiguous. If the marker *ka* is nominative, the sentence is a complementation construction. If the marker *ka* is comitative, the sentence encodes comitativity, and the plural subject can be semantically either in singular or in plural reading. However, with the lexical verbs such as *tuhuy* ‘be together’, *tqenay* ‘follow’, or *seupu* ‘be together’, in which the notion of comitativity is semantically implied, the occurrence of the marker *ka* is optional.

As for coordinate constructions, this paper presents two basic types: conjunctive and disjunctive. In Truku Seediq, the conjunctive coordinator is *ni*, which conjoins noun phrases, verb phrases, and clauses. Given that conjunctive coordination is usually associated with comitative constructions in languages, the distribution of *deha* and *ni* is compared. It is argued that despite having the same surface structure at topic position, i.e. [NP₁ *deha* NP₂] and [NP₁ *ni* NP₂], their underlying structures are different. *deha* as a preposition is structurally closer to NP₂, whereas the two NPs between the coordinator *ni* are equally ranked. On the other hand, like the conjunctive coordinator *ni*, the disjunctive coordinator *aji uri o* can conjoin phrases and clauses.

From a typological perspective, the conjunctive coordinator *ni* in Truku Seediq is structurally closer to its preceding coordinand, exhibiting the position type of [A co][B]. This is evidenced by intonational phrasing, showing that a pause occurs between the coordinator *ni* and its following coordinand.¹⁰

Finally, based on Stassen's (2000) typological study, this paper concludes that Truku Seediq is categorized as an AND-language, which uses both comitative and coordinating strategies for noun phrase conjunction. The former strategy is expressed by the preposition *deha* and the case marker *ka* in comitative constructions, while the latter is expressed by the coordinator *ni*, which conjoins equivalent syntactic constituents.

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¹⁰ This is consistent with the pattern in Paran Seediq, in which the coordinator *ma* always follows its preceding coordinand in enumeration, such as X *ma*, Y *ma*, Z *ma* (Arthur Holmer, p.c.)

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賽德克語太魯閣方言之「伴同」與「並列」結構

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本文探討賽德克語太魯閣方言之伴同與並列結構。賽德克語屬於台灣南島語泰雅語群之亞群。我們觀察到這些結構相互關聯的三個詞素：即前置詞 *deha*，伴同格位標記 *ka*，以及並列連接詞 *ni*。文中提出在伴同相關結構中出現的 *deha* 屬於不同的語法範疇，區分作為前置詞的 *deha*，以及可當動詞或名詞之數詞 *deha*「二」；並分析出在包含式結構中的 *deha* 乃屬於數詞。前置詞 *deha* 與伴同格位標記 *ka* 在句法上呈互補分布，後者在主詞為附著代名詞時出現。其次介紹本方言中的對等及對比並列結構。前置詞 *deha* 與連接詞 *ni* 在分布上之差異亦有所比較。本方言最常使用的對等並列連接詞 *ni* 可以出現在所連接的名詞之間或只出現在最後連接的名詞之前。從類型學的角度而言，本方言之連接詞在名詞組中的位置屬於 [A co][B] 之類型。再者，依據 Stassen (2000) 研究並列名詞組所提出的分類，賽德克語太魯閣方言乃屬於 AND-語言類型。

關鍵詞：賽德克語太魯閣方言，伴同結構，包含式結構，並列結構，AND-語言