

Demonstratives in Takivatan Bunun

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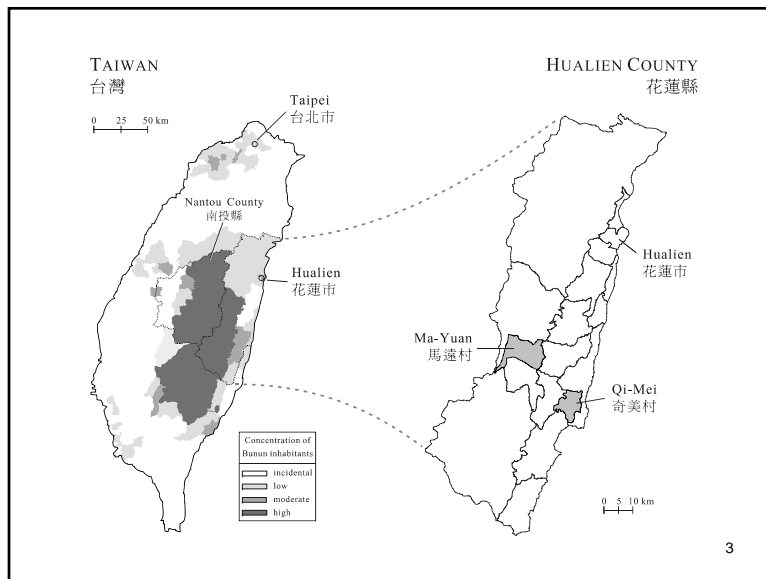


Introduction

- Austronesian, Taiwan
- approx. 50,000 ethnic members
- no more than 60% still fluent in Bunun
- heartland in Nantou Province
- migration to Taidong and Hualien

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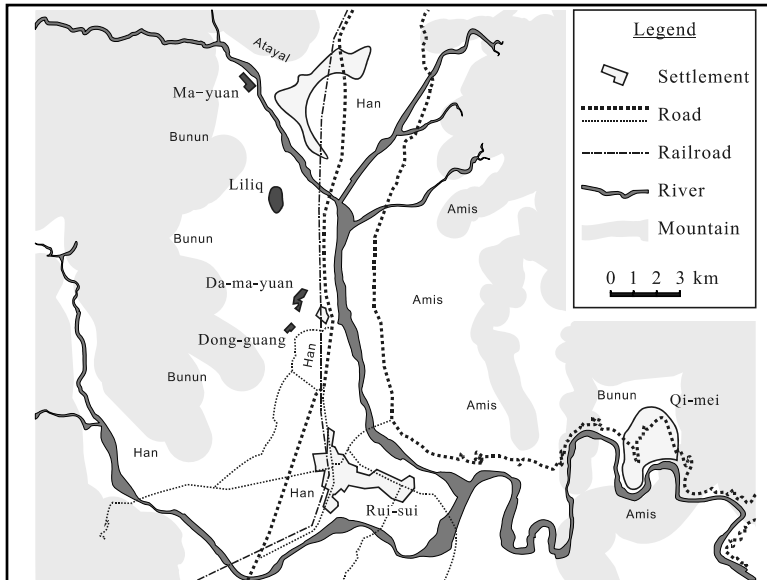


Introduction

- Five dialects:
 - Isbukun
 - Takbanuað
 - Takivatan
 - Takituduh
 - Takibakha
- Takivatan mainly spoken in Hualien

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Introduction

- Highly agglutinative; very rich verbal morphology (200+ affixes)
- Verb-initial (~ VAO)

V (AG) (BEN/INSTR) (PAT) (LO)
 AUX (AG) V (BEN/INSTR) (PAT) (LO)

Introduction

- Open word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives
- No adverbs; most adverbial concepts expressed by auxiliary verbs

Spatial deixis: place words

?iti 'here' 'at this moment'
 ?itun 'there (medial)' 'at that moment (medial)'
 ?ita 'there (distal)' 'at that moment (distal)'

- Sometimes verbal, sometimes nominal

Spatial deixis: place words

- Verbal use

(1) ?iti?ak

{?iti}[-?ak]_{AG}

here-1S.F

'I am here.' (adaptation of BNN-N-002:52)

(2) Maisna?isaq amu mun?iti?

{maisna-?isaq} [amu]_{AG} {mun-?iti}

ABL-where 2P.F ALL-here

'From which places did you all come here?' (BNN-N-002:51)

Spatial deixis: place words

- Nominal use

(3) Madas qaimaŋsuð han ?ita.

{madas} [qaimaŋsuð] [han ?ita]

carry thing to there.DIST

'[He] carries some stuff over there.' (constr.)

Spatial deixis: demonstratives

- Singular

(4) Mintun aipun minsuma?a, [...]

{mintun}_{AUX} [aipun]_{AG} {minsuma-a}

sometimes DEM.S.MED.VIS come.here-SUBORD

'From time to time this person comes here, [...]' (TVN-008-001:9)

Spatial deixis: demonstratives

- Vague plural

(5) Aituða aiŋki tu madadauk pakasihal

{aituða}_{AUX} [aiŋki]_{CSR} tu

be.real DEM.PV.PROX.VIS COMPL

{ma-(da)dauk}_{AUX} {paka-sihal}

STAT-⟨INTENS⟩-slow CAUSE-good

'And as such I could see that these men were really making things slowly better for us.' (TVN-008-002:39)

Spatial deixis: demonstratives

- Paucal

(6) tama tina akita, painanainta, [...]

(a) [tama tina aki-ta]
father mother grandfather-DEF.REF.DIST

(b) {paina-nainta}
rightfully.belong-DEM.PA.DIST.VIS

'There were his father and mother and grandfather, he would give them their rightful share, [...]' (TVN-012-001:119)

Spatial deixis: demonstratives

- Inclusive generic

(7) naitun qabas haqulka sia duʔun

[naitun]_{AG} {qabas}_{AUX} {haqul-ka}
DEM.IG.MED.NVIS old.times trap-DEF.SIT.DIST

[sia duʔun]_{UNINSTR}
ANAPH thread

'In the old days, our people [i.e. the Bunun] used strings for setting hunting traps.' (TVN-012-002:93)

Spatial deixis: 3P pronouns

	Singular	Plural
Proximal	<i>isti</i>	<i>inti</i>
Medial	<i>istun</i>	<i>intun</i>
Distal	<i>ista</i>	<i>inta</i>

(8) Nastuqas istuna

[nas-tuqas [istun-a]_{PSR}]
deceased-older.sibling 3S.MED-LNK

'his deceased older sibling' (TVN-008-003:122)

Definiteness markers

	Referential	Situational
Proximal	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-ki</i>
Medial	<i>-tun</i>	<i>-kun</i>
Distal	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-ka</i>

- Optional
- No clearly identifiable semantics
- Sometimes mutually exchangeable
- On nouns and verbs

Definiteness markers

- Mutually exchangeable

- (9) (a) Samuta! (b) Samuka!
- samu-**ta** samu-**ka**
 taboo-**DEF.REF.DIST** taboo-**DEF.SIT.DIST**
 'It is a taboo!' *id.*

Definiteness markers

- On nouns and verbs: *-ta*

- (10) siða maduqta
 {siða} [maduq-**ta**]_{UN}
 take millet-**DEF.REF.DIST**
 'Go there when it is still small and] take some millet' (TVN-012-001:69)
- (11) Haiða tupata, [...]
 {haiða}_{AUX} {tupa-**ta**}
 have tell-**DEF.REF.DIST**
 'Having said (**those things**), [...]' (TVN-003-xxx:18)

Definiteness markers

- On nouns and verbs: *-ka*

- (12) Maq a maitamaka, [...]
 maq a [mai-tama-**ka**]
 DEF LNK deceased-father-**DEF.SIT.DIST**
 'As far as my deceased father is concerned, [...]' (TVN-012-003:11)
- (13) Maqai tantujuka, [...]
 maqai {tantuju-**ka**}
 if visit-**DEF.SIT.DIST**
 'If you visit (over there), [you have to sleep there, you can't immediately return.]' (TVN-012-002:20)

The distance dimension

- **Proximal** ⟨i⟩: 'close'; near deictic centre
- **Medial** ⟨un⟩: 'delineated'; not near and not very far away; in a delineated space, typically either in the same space as the deictic centre or within visible range.
- **Distal** ⟨a⟩: 'far'; away from deictic centre; outside visible range and/or in a vague, non-delineated distance.

The distance dimension

(14) Asa pishalun itu Kalinꞑuti, pishalunti, na asa tunhan Nantuta

(a) {asa}_{AUX} {pi-sihal-un} [itu Kalinꞑu-ti]_{LO}
 have.to CAUS.STAT-good-UF this.here GeoName-DEF.REF.PROX

(b) {pi-sihal-un-ti}
 CAUS.STAT-good-UF-DEF.REF.PROX

(c) na {asa} {tun-han} [Nantu-ta]_{PLACE}
 CONS have.to PERL-go GeoName-DEF.REF.DIST

'You have to put everything in order here in Kalinꞑu, and when it is in order here, you have to go over there to Nantou.' (TVN-012-002:49)

The distance dimension

(15) Tudip tu ihan Damaiantun [...]

{tudip}_{AUX} tu {i-han} [Damaian-tu]_{PLACE}
 in.those.days COMPL STAT-go GeoName-DEF.REF.MED

'In those days I was in Da-Ma-Yuan [...]' (TVN-008-002:66)

Referential vs. situational

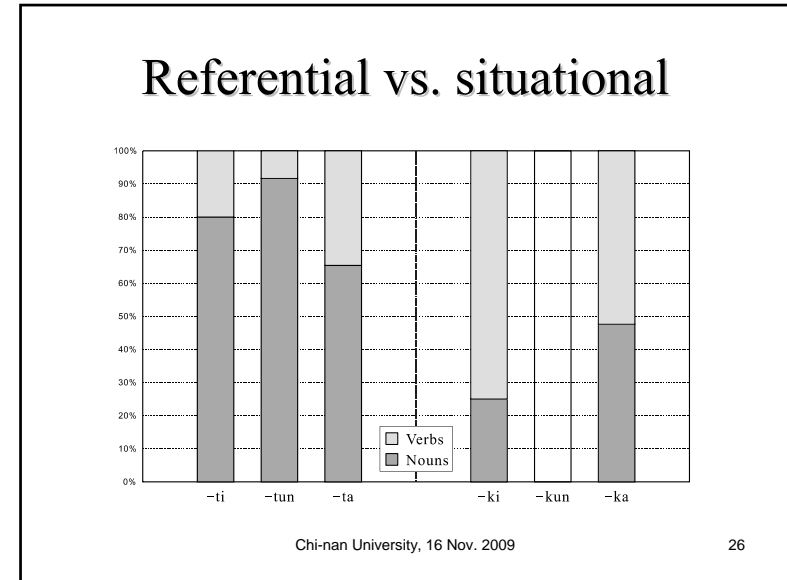
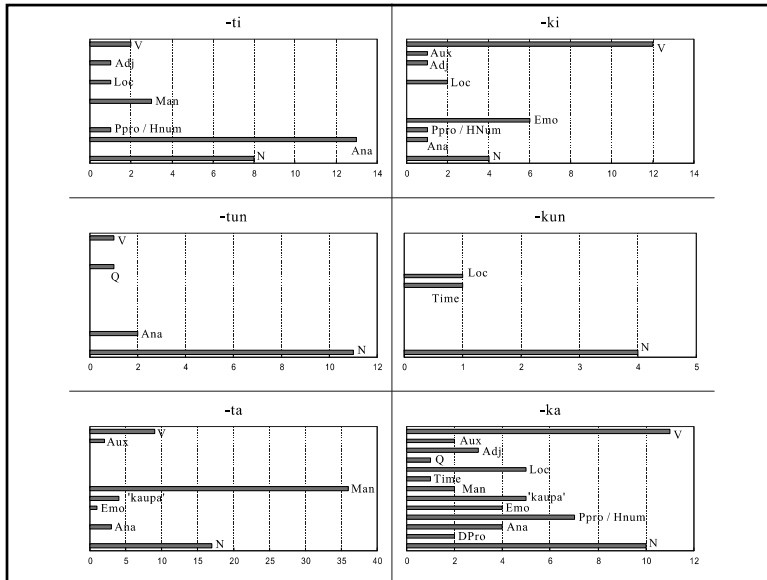
- *t*-forms vs. *k*-forms
- roughly equally common
- both on nouns and verbs

Referential vs. situational

- Possibly similar forms in Isbukun, according to Zeitoun (2000)

		Nominative	Oblique
Proximal	speaker-oriented	-in	-tin
	hearer-oriented	-ʔan	-tan
Distal		-aʔ	-tiaʔ

- In Takivatan: no correlation between *t/k*-alternation and case



Referential vs. situational

- Medial forms only on nouns

(16) Tamakun niaŋ mataða

[tama-kun-a] {ni-aŋ}_{AUX} {mataða-a}

father-**DEF.SIT.MED**-LDIS NEG-PROG die + UF-SUBORD

‘[And almost immediately afterwards, my younger sister died, at a time when] my dear father had not died yet.’ (TVN-008-002:63)

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Referential vs. situational

- *k*-forms = situational:
 - focus on conceptualization as events
 - unfolding in spatio-temporal setting
 - changeable qualities

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Referential vs. situational

- Referential *-ti* with noun:

(17) Pian munhan inak lumaqti

[Pian]_{AG} {mun-han} [inak lumaq-ti]_{PLACE}
 PersName.M DIR-go 1S.POSS home-DEF.REF.PROX

'Pian came to my house (here)' (TVN-008-001:2)

Referential vs. situational

- Referential *-tun* with noun:

(18) Haiða laupaku paun tu sia padantun ma?uvul [...]

{haiða} [laupaku]_{TIME} [paun tu
 have now call.UF COMPL

sia padan-tun ma-?uvul]_{AG}
 ANAPH reed-DEF.REF.MED STAT-flexible

'And now there is this flexible kind of reed [which is called taqnas]'
 (TVN-012-001:44)

Referential vs. situational

- Referential *-ta* with noun:

(19) Paukin aipun tu: "Na, samuta."

{pauk-in} [aipun]_{AG} tu: c1|_{COMPL2}
 say-PRV DEM.S.MED.PROX COMPL

na {samu-ta}
 INTER taboo-DEF.REF.DIST.VIS

'He said: "well, that is forbidden."' (TVN-008-002:189)

Referential vs. situational

- Referential *-ti* with verb:

(20) [...] tunadanti ?ata

{tunadan-ti} [?ata]_{AG}
 cross.road-DEF.REF.PROX 1LFA

'[And since it was over there,] we crossed this road.' (TVN-008-002:178)

Referential vs. situational

- Referential *-ta* with verb:

(21) Namusaupata tuða

{na-mu-saupata-**ta**} {tuða}
IRR-ALL-go.in.direction-**DEF.REF.DIST** really

'We will really go in that direction' (TVN-008-002:142)

Referential vs. situational

- Situational *-ki* with verb:

(23) Na, muqnaŋ sak laupaku taquki [...]

na {muqna-aŋ}_{AUX} [sak]_{AG} {laupaku}_{AUX} {taqu-**ki**}
INTER next-PROG 1S.FA now tell-**DEF.SIT.PROX**

'And next I will tell now/here [about how my life was in the old days when I was still a child.]' (TVN-006-001:2)

Referential vs. situational

- Situational *-ka* with verb:

(24) A tupaka maitama tu: [...]

a {tupa-**ka**} [mai-tama]_{AG} tu
INTER say-**DEF.SIT.DIST** deceased-father COMPL

'And then my now-deceased father said: [...]' (TVN-012-003:20)

Referential vs. situational

- Situational *-ki* with noun:

(26) Lumaqki akia.

[lumaq-**ki**]_{LO} [aki-a]_{AG}
home-**DEF.SIT.PROX** grandfather-LNK

'Grandfather is at home (here).' (BNN-N-002:239)

Referential vs. situational

- Situational *-kun* with noun:

(27) Na maq a siðikuna, [...]

na maq a [siði-**kun**]_{AG}-a
INTER DEFIN LNK mountain.goat-**DEF.SIT.MED**-SUBORD

‘As far as **that** mountain goat is concerned, [it moved to the drinking spot.]’
(TVN-xx2-003:24)

Referential vs. situational

- Situational *-ka* with noun:

(28) Maqai haiða qumaka, [...]

maqai {haiða} [quma-**ka**]_{AG}
if have land-**DEF.SIT.DIST**

‘If there is a plot of land (**over there**), [you cannot randomly transgress its boundaries]’ (TVN-013-001:24)

Conclusion

- Many spatial deictic paradigms, all centre around *-i/-un/-a* distinction
- Two sets of definiteness markers in Takivatan with a number of interesting properties: optional, mark nouns and verbs, ...
- Quantitative comparison shows that they can best be analysed as referential vs. situational

Uninaŋ
miqumisaŋ!