The role of Bunun deixis in information structure: An initial assessment

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In this talk

- Takivatan Bunun
- Spatial deixis ↔ Topicality
- Topicality
  - Clause-level topicality
  - Discourse-level / Textual topicality

Takivatan Bunun

- Bunun (ISO 639-3: bnn)
- Austronesian Taiwan
- Central dialect
- Philippine-type alignment
- Highly productive verbal morphology
- Data from Bahuan (Mayuan village)

Cross-linguistic functions of deixis

- Himmelmann (1996:218ff):
  - Situational:
    This *is a humongous tree.*
  - Discourse deixis:
    That's the end of ***that*** *story.*
  - Tracking:
    Red, blue and white. **These** are the colours of the flag.
  - Recognitional use:
    Do you remember ***that*** *strange man in Calgary?*

Spatio-temporal

Anaphoric deixis

Exophoric

Functions of deixis in Takivatan

"Many studies on spatial deixis put great stress on the use of deictic markers for anaphoric reference and discourse deixis […]. In Takivatan**, the distance dimension in any of the deictic paradigms is rarely used unambiguously for anaphoric reference**, most likely because of the existence of the anaphoric marker *sia* […]."

(De Busser 2009:425)

Austronesian deixis and information structure

- Association of definiteness and clausal topic, e.g. Tagalog:

"Formally, the topic is marked either by the use of a topic pronoun form or by a prenominal topic marker. Notionally, the topic is always interpreted as definite."

(Schachter 1976:494)

Functions of deixis in Takivatan

- Deictics are the only explicit morphological markers of definiteness.
- No absolute correlation between definiteness and topicality.
- Indefinite topics:

(14) Sauðunin ðaku.
suað-un-in ðaku
sow-UF-PRV 1S.N
'Many were planted by me.' (TVN-xx2-003:39)

Functions of deixis in Takivatan

- Primary function
  - ~~Anaphoric deixis~~
  - ~~Clause-level topicality~~

- So deictic markers are not involved in information structure at all???

Deictic paradigms

Triple distance distinction:

- Definiteness markers (bound)
- Third person pronouns (free)
- Demonstratives (free)
- Place words (free)

Discourse function:

- Manner word *(m)aupa* (free)
- Anaphoric marker *sia* (free)

Definiteness markers

	Referential	Situational
Proximal	*-ti*	*-ki*
Medial	*-tun*	*-kun*
Distal	*-ta*	*-ka*

- Nominal and verbal hosts
- Referential vs. situational (see De Busser 2009)

Definiteness markers

(5) … laʔadusduki Qusunsubali sia Maiata tama.

la-adus-du-**ki**			Qusunsubali
COVER-carry-EMO-**DEF.SIT.PROX**			Q.
sia	Maia-**ta**	tama	
ANAPH	M.-**DEF.REF.DIST**	father	

‘[…] **from here** we went together to (**that**) Qusunsubali, to the father of Maia.’ (TVN-008-002:69)

Third person pronouns

	Singular	Plural
Proximal	*isti*	*inti*
Medial	*istun*	*intun*
Distal	*ista*	*inta*

- Human and higher animate reference

(6) Hanʔak daiða maluskun inta.

han-ʔak	daiða	ma-luskun	**inta**
be.at-1S.TOP	over.there	DYN-together	**3P.DIST**

‘I am there with them together.’ (TVN-008-vxxx:1)

Demonstratives

Visibility	ROOT	Plurality	Distance
Ø- ‘VIS’	*ai*-	-*p*- ‘singular’	-*i* ‘PROX’
n- ‘NVIS’		-*ŋk*- ‘vague plural’	-*un* ‘MED’
		-*nt*- ‘paucal’	-*a* ‘DIST’
		-*t*- ‘inclusive generic’	-*Ø* ‘USPEC’

Demonstratives

(7) Na, ukin aipa ʔita namudanin, musbai naipa maqmut

na	uka-in	**aipa**	ʔita
INTER	NEG.have-PRV	**DEM.S.DIST.VIS**	there.DIST
na-muda-in			
IRR-walk-PRV			
musbai	**naipa**		maqmut
run.away	**DEM.S.DIST.NVIS**		night

‘**It [the deer, visible]** wasn’t there anymore, it had gone, **it [non-visible]** had run away during the night.’

(TVN-008-002:135)

Place and manner

- Place

		Spatial	Temporal
PROX	*ʔiti*	‘here’	‘at this moment’
MED	*ʔitun*	‘there (medial)’	‘at that moment (medial)’
DIST	*ʔita*	‘there (distal)’	‘at that moment (distal)’

- Manner
  - *(m)aupa* ‘thus, in such a way’

Place and manner

(9) I**ʔiti**ʔak.
i-**ʔiti**-ʔak
STAT-**here**-1S.F
'I am **here**.' (BNN-N-002:52)

Verbal

(10) Mun**ʔita** madas pudaku atikisunaŋ **ʔita**
mun-ʔita madas pu-daku
ALL-there.DIST take place-ritual.object
tikis-un-aŋ **ʔita**
little-EMPH-PROG **there.DIST**
'[The shaman] has to **go there** and put a little bit of the ritual token **over there**.' (TVN-012-001:44)

Verbal

Adverbial

Anaphoric marker

- *Sia* ‘aforementioned’

Nominal

(12) Ma, samantukandu siatun [...].
ma samantuk-an-du **sia**-tun
INTER spy.on-LF-EMOT ANAPH-DEF.REF.MED
‘[The deer…] I kept a close watch on **it**
[in order to shoot it]’ (TVN-008-002:184)

Verbal

(13) Siata.
sia-ta
ANAPH-DEF.REF.DIST
‘[I will now explain how we Bunun in former days
were, …] It was **like that**.’ (TVN-013-001:4)

Deixis and information structure

- No clausal topicality
- Phoricity is not the primary function

- Establishment of discourse cohesion (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976):
  - Establishing topical chains
  - Marking topical progression

Example

- TVN-008-002:130-134
- Story of a deer hunt

- Topical chains

(15) [A] Aupa tuða... niaŋ tu nanu sanavan minsumina ... Tiaŋ, minabaʔav tupa naip tu:

[A1] aupa tuða ni-aŋ tu nanu sanavan min-suma-in-a Tiaŋ
thus real NEG-PROGCOMPL really evening INCH-return-PRV-LNK T.

[A2] mina-baʔav tupa naip tu
ABL-high.location say DEM.S.NVIS COMPL

'But, when it wasn't really evening yet, Tiang had returned, he had come back from the mountain and told us:'

[B] Na, maqtu laqbiŋina, naʔasa dusa ta matiskun, maluʔumi han baʔav daiðaki, pinkaunun isian baʔavta, ŋabul.

[B1] na maqtu laqbiŋin-a na-asa dusa ta ma-tiskun
well be.possible tomorrow-LNK IRR-have.totwo COMPL DYN-in.a.group

[B2] maluʔum-i han baʔav daiða-ki
disperse-PRT be.at high.location there-DEF.SIT.PROX

[B3] pinkaun-un i-sia-an baʔav-ta ŋabul
go.up-NR.INSTR LOC-ANAPH-LF high.location-DEF.REF.DIST deer

'Well, tomorrow is possible, two of us will have to go together, and disperse when we get to this place, and we will climb upwards to the deer that is in that place above.'

[C] A, namaqaisaq dauka, saqnutai du sia ʔukai laqaiban.

[C1] a na-ma-qaisaq dau-ka
INTER IRR-DYN-in.that.direction EMO-DEF.SIT.DIST

[C2] saqnut-ai-du sia ʔuka-i laqaiban
get.stuck-PRT-EMO ANAPH NEG.have-PRT route

'A, if he will go in that direction, he will get stuck there, without a way out.'

[D] Ansaisaŋa Atul Daiŋ tu “nis, matiŋmutin tamudana madav.”

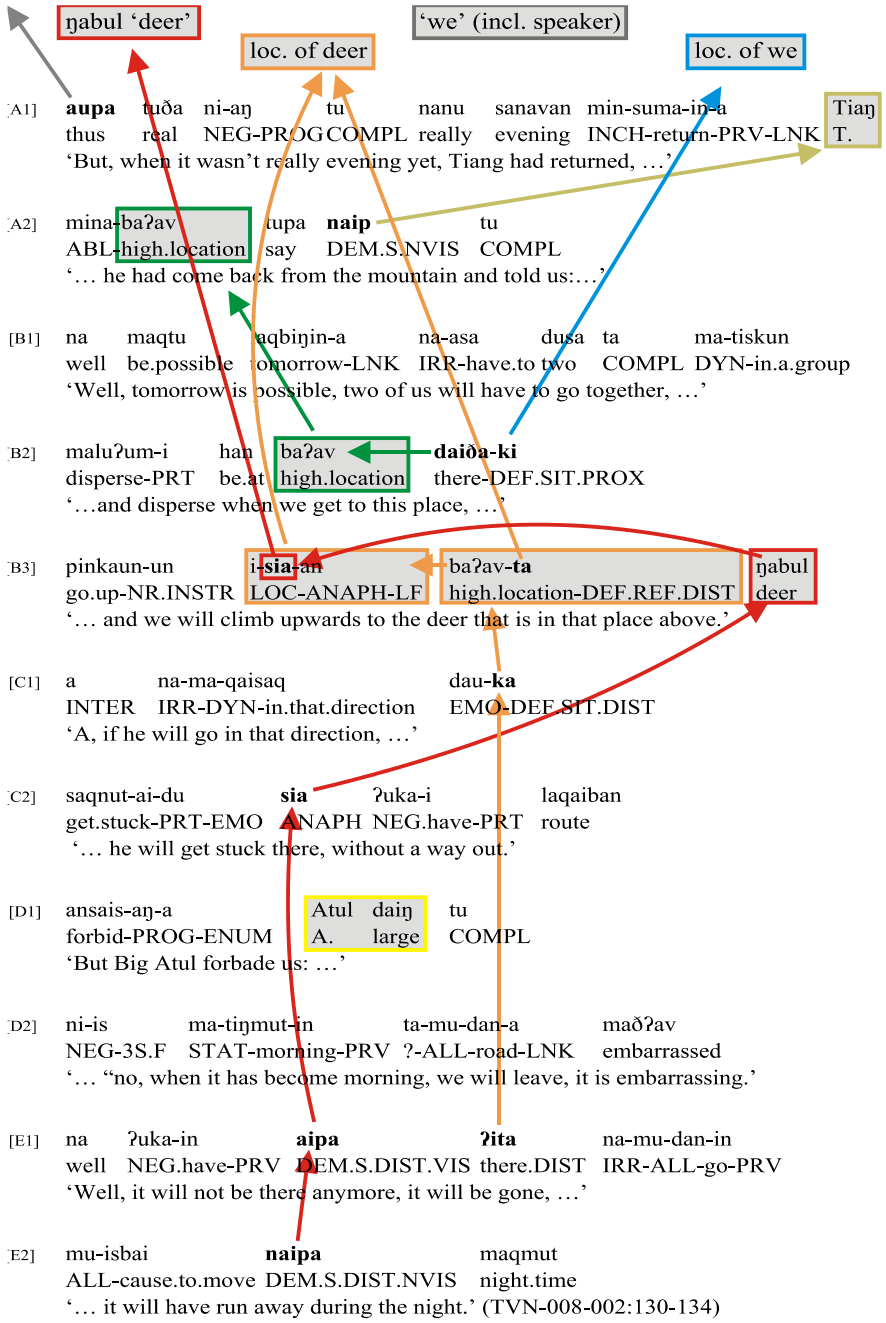
[D1] ansais-aŋ-a Atul daiŋ tu
forbid-PROG-ENUM A. large COMPL

[D2] ni-is ma-tiŋmut-in ta-mu-dan-a maðʔav
NEG-3S.F STAT-morning-PRV ?-ALL-road-LNK embarrassed
‘But Big Atul forbade us: “no, when it has become morning, we will leave, it is embarrassing.’

[E] Na... s… ʔukin aipa ʔita namudanin, musbai naipa maqmut.

[E1] na ʔuka-in aipa ʔita na-mu-dan-in
well NEG.have-PRV DEM.S.DIST.VIS there.DIST IRR-ALL-go-PRV

[E2] mu-isbai naipa maqmut
ALL-cause.to.move DEM.S.DIST.NVIS night.time
‘Well, it will not be there anymore, it will be gone, it will have run away during the night.’ (TVN-008-002:130-134)



[A1] **aupa** tuða ni-aŋ tu nanu sanavan min-suma-iŋ-a
thus real NEG-PROG COMPL really evening INCH-return-PRV-LNK
‘But, when it wasn’t really evening yet, Tiang had returned, …’

[A2] mina-baʔav tupa **naip** tu
ABL-high.location say DEM.S.NVIS COMPL
‘… he had come back from the mountain and told us:…’

[B1] na maqtu ʔaqbiŋin-a na-asa dusa ta ma-tiskun
well be.possible tomorrow-LNK IRR-have.to two COMPL DYN-in.a.group
‘Well, tomorrow is possible, two of us will have to go together, …’

[B2] maluʔum-i han baʔav **daiða-ki**
disperse-PRT be.at high.location there-DEF.SIT.PROX
‘…and disperse when we get to this place, …’

[B3] pinkaun-un i-**sia**-an baʔav-**ta** ŋabul
go.up-NR.INSTR LOC-ANAPH-LF high.location-DEF.REF.DIST deer
‘… and we will climb upwards to the deer that is in that place above.’

[C1] a na-ma-qaisaq dau-**ka**
INTER IRR-DYN-in.that.direction EMO-DEF.SIT.DIST
‘A, if he will go in that direction, …’

[C2] saqnut-ai-du **sia** ʔuka-i laqaiban
get.stuck-PRT-EMO ANAPH NEG.have-PRT route
‘… he will get stuck there, without a way out.’

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[D2] ni-is ma-tiŋmut-in ta-mu-dan-a maðʔav
NEG-3S.F STAT-morning-PRV ?-ALL-road-LNK embarrassed
‘… “no, when it has become morning, we will leave, it is embarrassing.’

[E1] na ʔuka-in **aipa** **ʔita** na-mu-dan-in
well NEG.have-PRV DEM.S.DIST.VIS there.DIST IRR-ALL-go-PRV
‘Well, it will not be there anymore, it will be gone, …’

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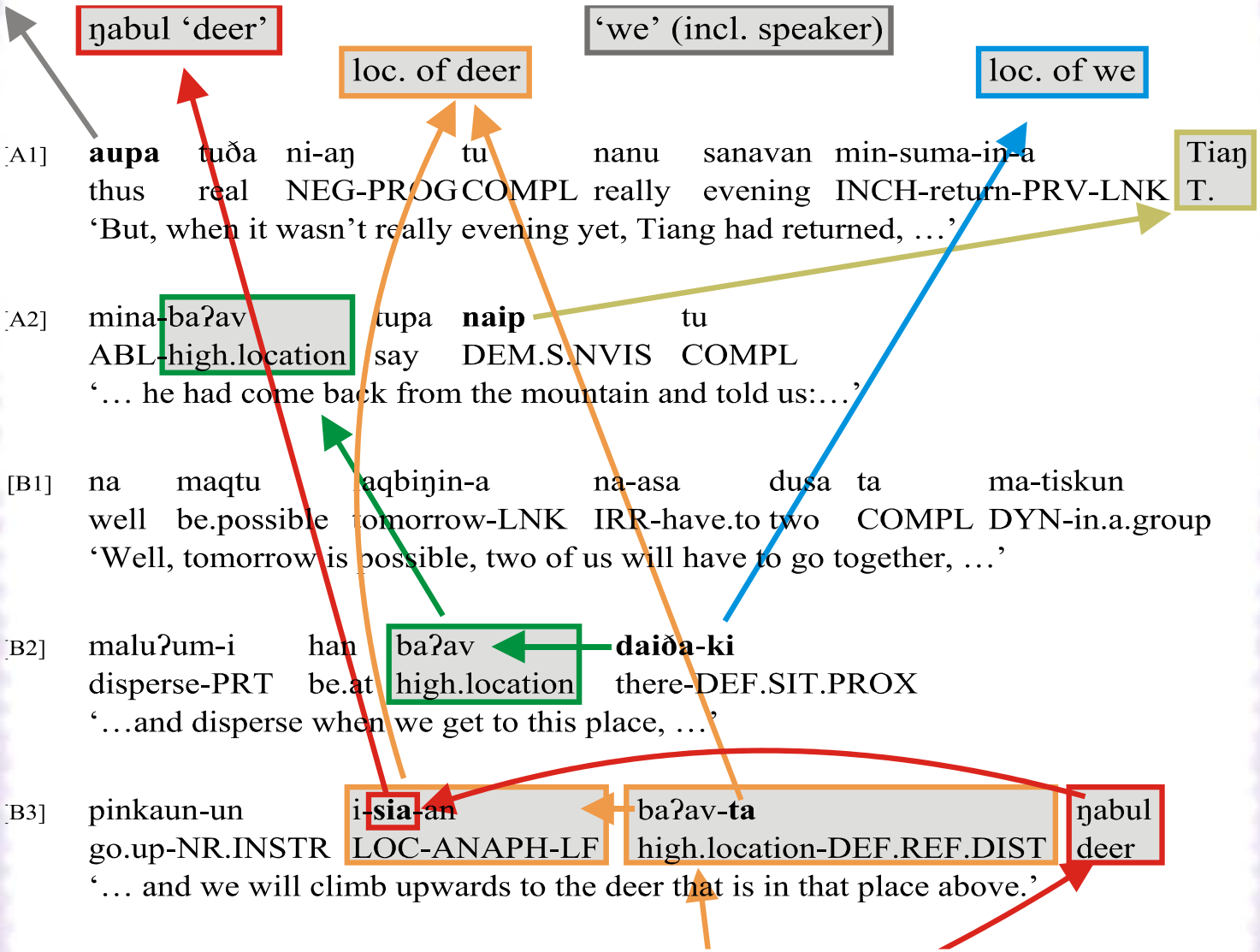
ŋabul ‘deer’
loc. of deer
‘we’ (incl. speaker)
loc. of we
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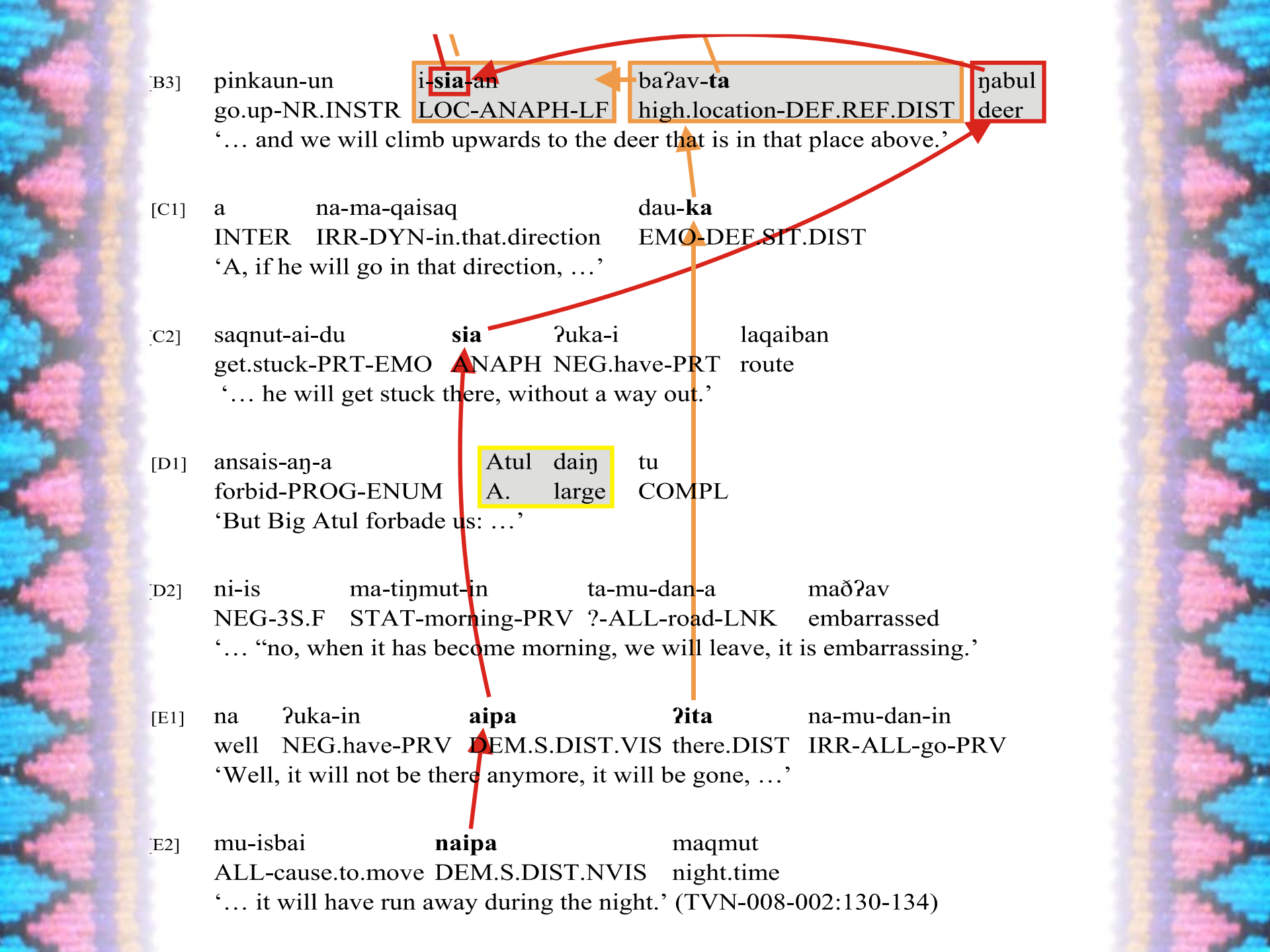

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'… it will have run away during the night.' (TVN-008-002:130-134)

Example

- Noun:
  - Establish a discursive topic
  - Contrast or reinforcement (Reiteration in Halliday & Hasan 1976: 279's terms)

Example

- Deictic words:
  - Primary function is deixis (except for *sia* and *maupa*)
  - Maintaining topical chains: anaphoric or exophoric reference as secondary function
  - Co-interpretation:

    deictic elements link back to a previous reference in the text, but the anaphor and the anaphoric target do not necessarily refer to identical semiotic denotata (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976: 314)

Conclusion

- Takivatan spatial deictics:
  - Primary function: spatio-temporal deixis (or a metaphorical extension)
  - Overlaying function: discourse cohesion
  - Complex interaction between deictic paradigms, manner words and anaphoric marker

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Uninaŋ miqumisaŋ!

Functions of deixis in Takivatan

- Metaphorical extensions of deixis
  - Space
  - Time
  - Delineation
  - Animacy
  - Endearment
  - Endorsement

De Busser (2009: Table 48)

		spatial deixis	temporal deixis	delineation	animacy	endearment	endorsement
definiteness markers	prox.	+++	+	—	—	+	—
	med.	++	+	++	++	++	—
	dist.	+++	+	—	—	—	—
place words	prox.	+++	++	—	—	—	—
	med.	++	++	++	—	—	—
	dist.	+++	++	—	—	—	—
demonstratives	prox.	+++	—	—	++	—	++*
	med.	++	—	—	+++	++	++*
	dist.	+++	—	—	++	—	++*
3rd person personal pronouns	prox.	+++	—	—	++	—	—
	med.	++	—	—	++	++	—
	dist.	+++	—	—	++	—	—