

Some aspects of Takivatan-Bunun

Rik De Busser

Research Centre for Linguistic Typology

La Trobe University, Australia

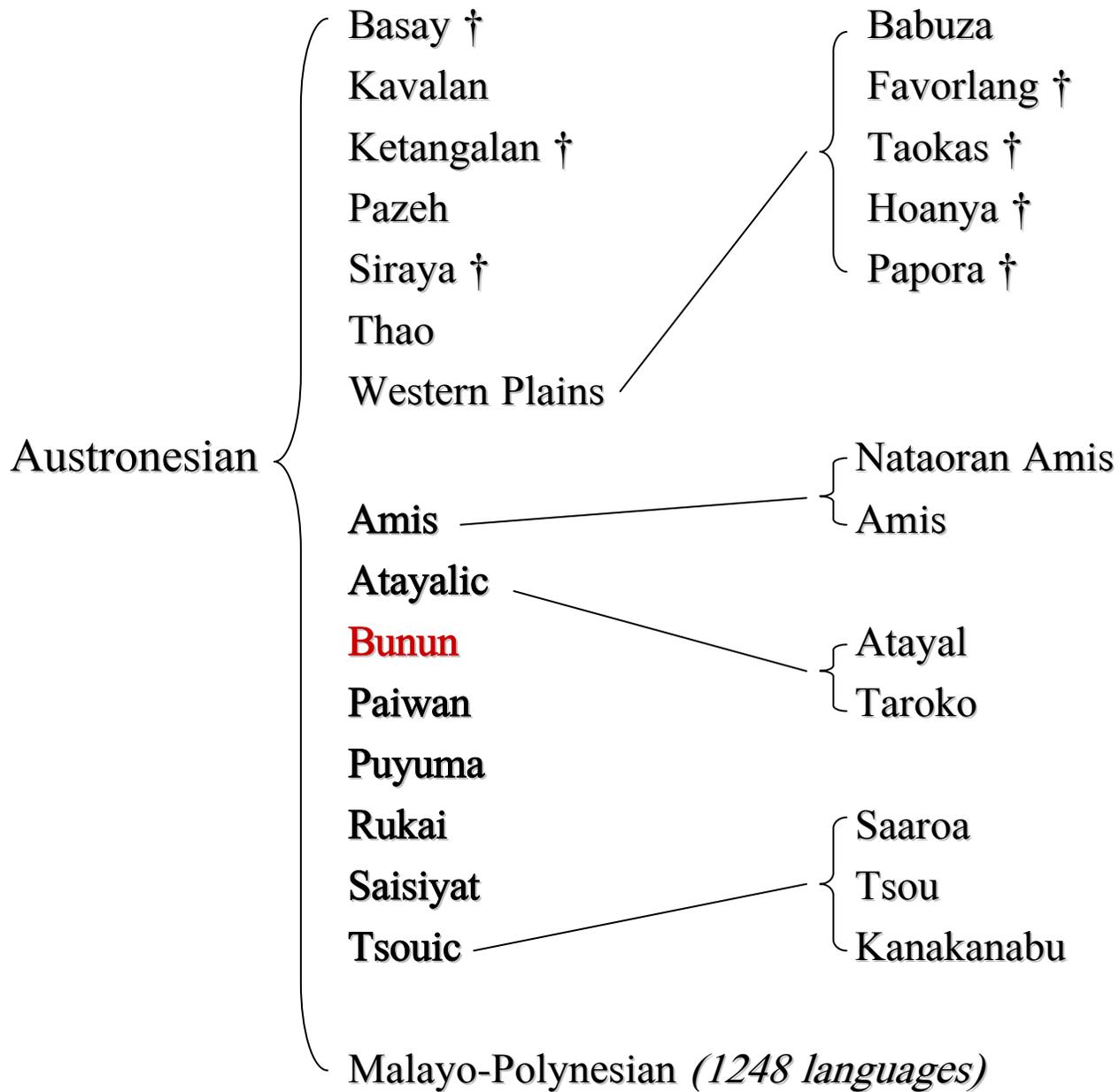


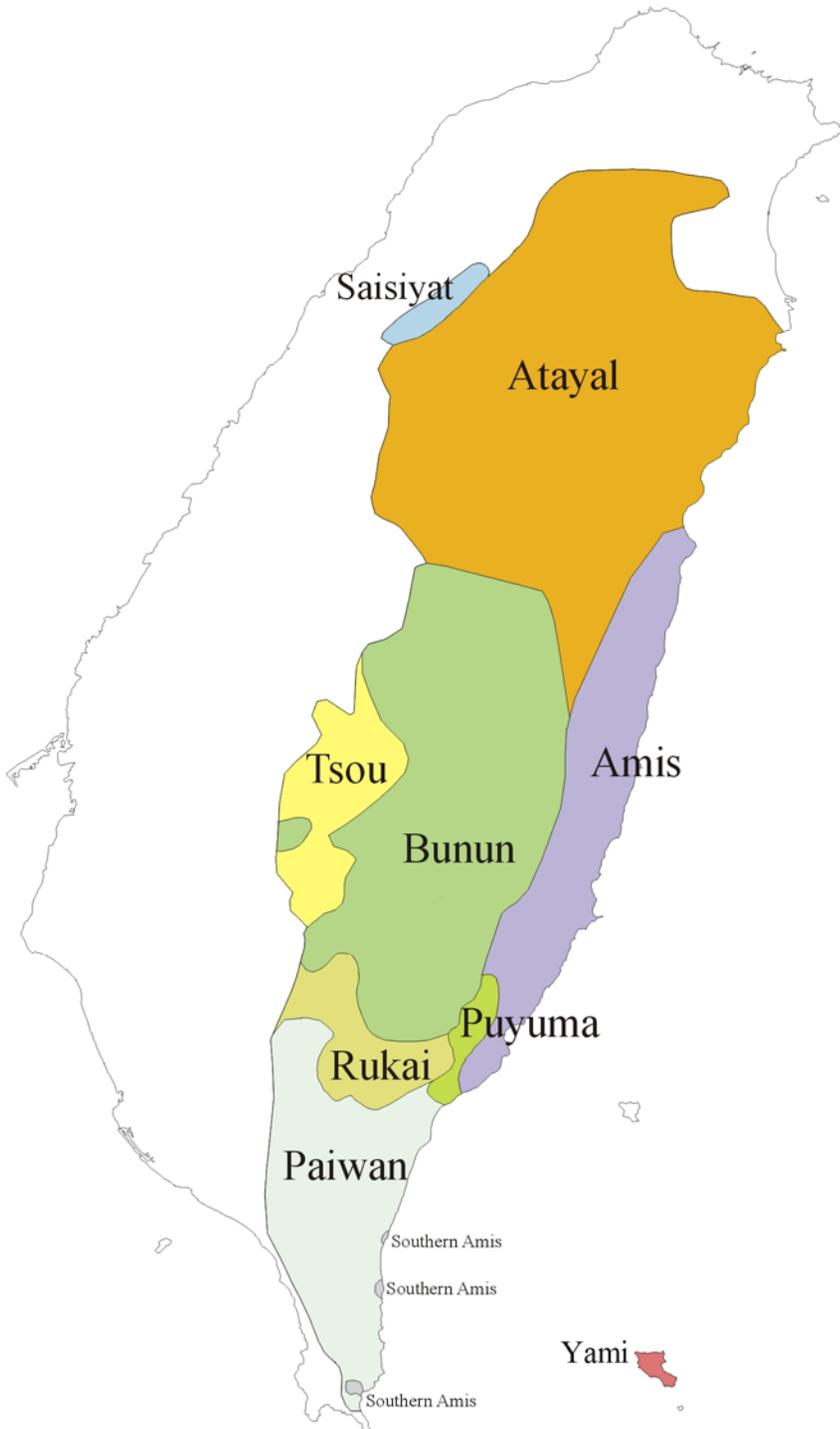
Introduction

Introduction (1)

Formosan languages

- Austronesian languages in Taiwan:
 - 349,120 indigenous people or $\pm 2\%$ of the population.
 - “Formosan” languages
 - exact subdivision unclear
 - Probably all first-level subbranches of the Austronesian language family
 - Austronesian homeland hypothesis





| | |
|--------------|---------|
| Amis | 137,651 |
| Atayal | 84,330 |
| Paiwan | 66,084 |
| Bunun | 37,989 |
| Rukai | 10,543 |
| Puyuma | 8,487 |
| Taroko | 4,750 |
| Saisiyat | 4,750 |
| Yami | 3,384 |
| Tsou | 2,127 |

Introduction (2)

Bunun

- Spoken by approx. 38,000 people, but...
- Five dialects:
 - Isbukun
 - Takbanuað
 - **Takivatan**
 - Takibaka
 - Takitudu
- Isbukun is dominant dialect and standard

Nantou - 南投縣

Takbanuað
Takibaka
Takitudu

Hualien

— 花蓮縣

Central Hualien

Takivatan

In the south

Takbanuað

Kaohsiung

— 高雄縣

Isbukun

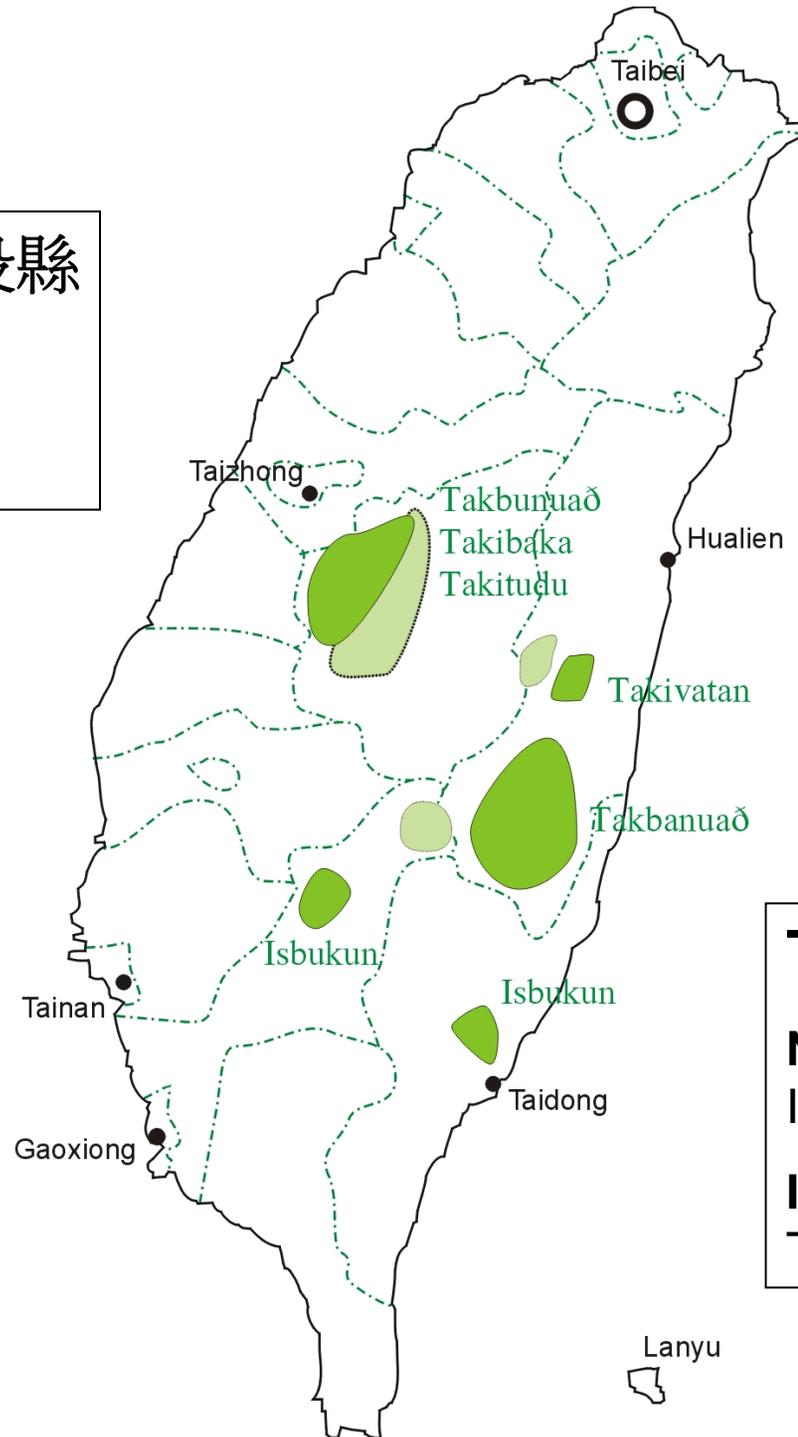
Taidong - 台東縣

Near Taidong City

Isbukun

In the north

Takbanuað



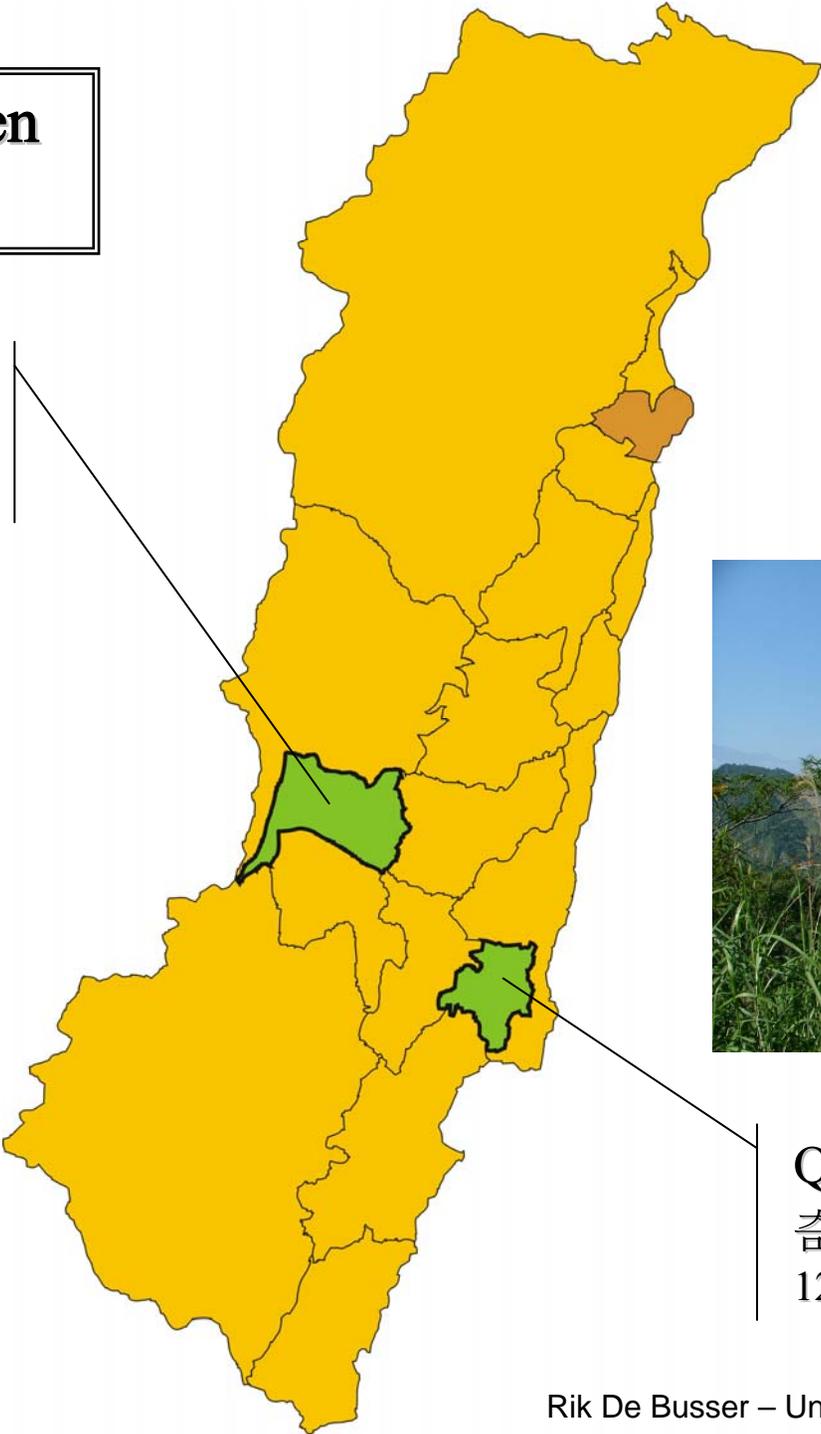
Introduction (3)

Takivatan-Bunun

- Minor dialect: less than 1600 speakers
- Spoken in two villages of Hualien County
 - 萬榮鄉馬遠村
 - Less than 1492 speakers
 - Actually three separate villages
 - 瑞穗鄉奇美村
 - Less than 192 speakers

County Hualien
花蓮縣

Ma-Yuan
馬遠村
1492 Takivatan-Bunun



Qi-Mei
奇美村
129 Takivatan-Bunun

Introduction (4)

Sociolinguistic situation

Bunun

- Originally:
 - Hunter-gatherers
 - Slash-and-burn agriculture
 - Mountain villages in the Central Mountain Range
 - Small family groups, hostile towards outsiders
 - Headhunters
 - Elaborate system of taboos

Introduction (4)

Sociolinguistic situation

Bunun

- Japanese occupation (1895-1945)
 - Concentrated into lowland villages
 - ⇒ Family unit replaced by village
 - Introduction wet rice cultivation
 - Conversion to Christianity
(Protestantism/Catholicism)
- Present:
 - Sinification

Introduction (4)

Sociolinguistic situation

Takivatan

- Original homeland in Nantou
- Migrated to Hualien ± 100 years ago.
- Separate Bunun sub-clans/villages often led a fairly isolated existence
- \Rightarrow split Takivatan-Takbanuađ happened more than 100 years ago

Introduction (5)

Linguistic profile of Takivatan

- 3 vowels, 14 consonants
- 2 implosives: /ɓ/ and /ɗ/
- ‘Pseudo-diphthongs’
- Penultimate stress
- Two types of reduplication: CV and stem
 - Can occur together
 - E.g., babaɗbaɗ ‘to have a conversation’
CV-STEM-baɗ

Introduction (5)

Linguistic profile of Takivatan

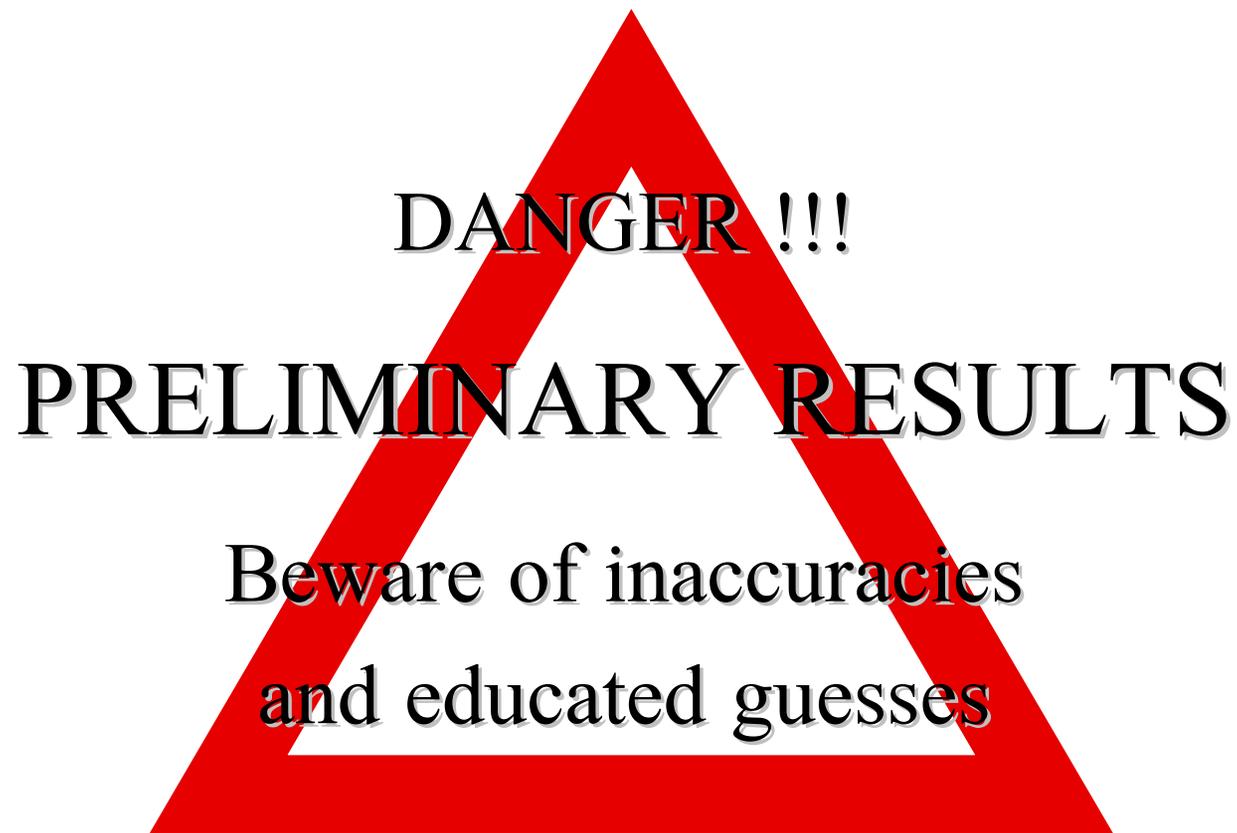
- Agglutinative
- Very rich system of prefixes, suffixes, infixes and circumfixes (**See later**)
- Pronouns: clitics and free pronouns
 - Tendency to have bound pronouns \Leftrightarrow Isbukun
 - Demonstrative / 3rd person
- Big set of auxiliary verbs that express a.o.: TAM, relative time, modality, negation, ...

Introduction (5)

Linguistic profile of Takivatan

- Mixture head- and dependent-marking
- VAO/VS
- Productive system of left-dislocation
- Focus system (**See later**)

Some linguistic aspects of Takivatan



Some linguistic aspects of Takivatan

- Derivational morphology
- Focus
- Wordclass fluidity

Linguistic aspects (1)

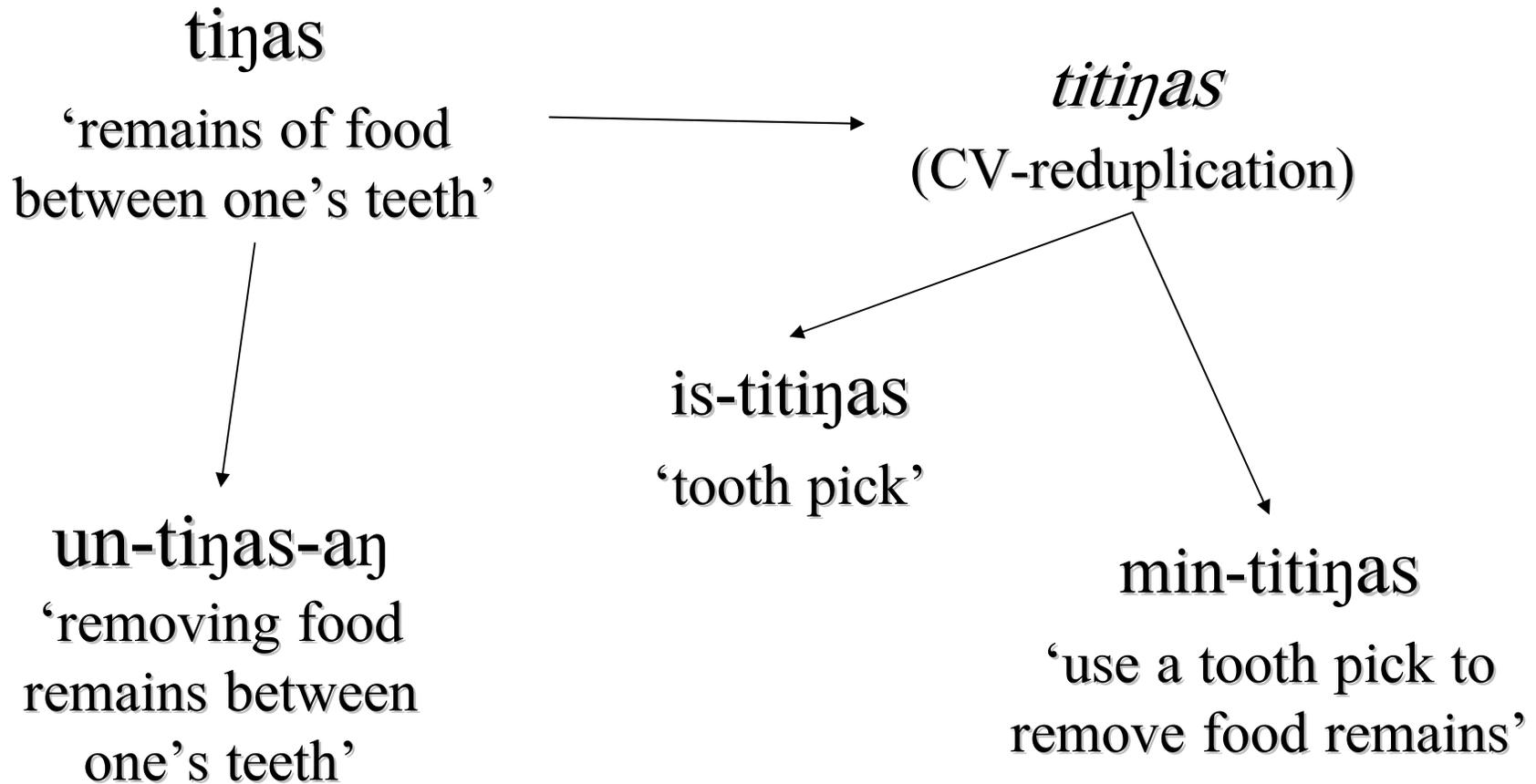
Derivational morphology

- Very rich derivational morphology
 - Current count: over 80 affixes
 - Many combinatory possibilities
 - Many affixes have very abstract or vague meanings
 - Some wordclass-defining
- Examples:
 - tiŋas
 - locational prefixes

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| PREFIXES | main- | pin- | ki- | taismi- | VR (3) |
| VR (48) | maisi- | pis- | lak- | taki- | -ʔan |
| atan- | maisna- | pun- | maisi- | vaivi- | -ʔi |
| bit- | man- | san- | masi- | | -un |
| bu- | maqan- | sin- | nas- | Others (5) | |
| dal- | maqu- | tail- | sin- | kid- (?) | CIRCUM- |
| i- | mas- | tal- | taimi- | lis- (?) | FIXES |
| in ₂ - | matu- | tali- | tal- | pal(a)- (?) | NUM (1) |
| is ₁ - | mi- | tim- | tan- | tas- (?) | ma- -un |
| is ₂ - | min- | tin- | tastu- | um- (?) | |
| ka- | mu- | tiŋ- | | | |
| ka ₂ - | mun- | tum- | ADJR (10) | SUFFIXES | |
| kan- | pa- | un- | a- | NR (5) | |
| kat- | paka- | | ma- | -an ₂ | |
| kin- | pali- | NR (14) | malas- | -an ₃ | TOTAL |
| kis- | pan- | i ₂ - | mali- | -aǾ | (87) |
| kun- | pas ₁ - | in ₁ - | mata- | -un | |
| ma- | pas ₂ - | is ₃ - | paŋka(l)- | -tun | |
| | pasi- | kai- | tai- | | |

Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology



Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

- Locational affixes (verbalizing)
 - i- : be at
 - mu- : go towards
 - mun- : go to (implies intentionality)

Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

- Combinatory possibilities: affix + ...
 - + common noun (i-/mu-/mun-)
 - i-lumaq ‘be at home’
 - mu-lumaq ‘go home’
 - mun-lumaq ‘go to some home with bad intentions’
 - + geographical name (mun- // *mu-/*i-)
 - mun-Kaliŋku ‘go to Hualien’

Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

- Combinatory possibilities: affix + ...
 - + locative words (i-/mun- // *mu-)
 - i-baʔav ‘be in a high spot’
 - mun-baʔav ‘go up to a higher spot’
 - + locative demonstratives (i-/mun- // *mu-)
 - i-[ʔ]iti ‘be here’
 - mun-[ʔ]ita ‘go there’

Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

- Combinatory possibilities: affix + ...
 - + verbs (i-/mu-/mun-)
 - i-saan ‘be at’
 - mu-qalqal ‘fall down’
 - mun-haan ‘go to’
 - + Q-words (mun- // *i-/*mu-)
 - mun-isaq ‘where to’

Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

- Compounding is rare; there is only:
 - *Exception 1*: N + ADJ idioms with some very common adjectives
 - e.g., iđuq daiŋ – iđuq tikis
< iđuq ‘orange’ + {daiŋ ‘big’, tikis ‘small’}
 - *Exception 2*: N + N compounds in plant and animal terms
 - e.g., iskan ivuđ < iskan ‘fish’ + ivuđ ‘snake’

Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

⇒ Derivation and syntax influence each other quite extensively

(1) Derivation ⇒ Syntax

- Things that are usually expressed in other languages by syntactic subsystems (such as aspect, tense, valence, ...) are in Takivatan-Bunun expressed by derivation.

Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

- Example: causatives

Eng.: You understand



I *will make* you understand.



Tak.: ...

Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

Maupa -ta sia,

Such -DEF.DIST ANAPH

na- is- pin- qansiap

FUT- give- make- understand

istun -a, sia -ti nak a mastaʔan tu

3S.HUM -PF ANAPH -DEF 1S.??? ??? utmost COMPL

‘And as such, I will do my utmost best to make him understand.’

Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

(2) Syntax \Rightarrow Derivation

- Use of grammatical markers as derivational affixes.
 - Focus markers (see later)
 - TAM markers

Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

Example:

taunqu vali ‘reach.zenith’ + ‘sun’ > noontime

⇒ taunqu ‘noontime’

taunqu-in ‘noontime-PRF’ > ‘It has become noon.’

t<in>aunqu vali ‘<PRF>-reach.zenith’ + ‘sun’

⇒ t<in>aunqu ‘afternoon’

Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

- Relations between the verb phrase and its obligatory arguments are determined by pragmatic salience.
- Implications:
 - No Nom/Acc or Abs/Erg distinction;
no (anti-)passivization
 - Focus operates on a syntactic level
(\neq pragmatic focus)

Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

- Very Austronesian phenomenon
- Tagalog (Philippines)
- Often seems to coincide with flexible wordclasses (see later)

Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

- Syntactic realization:

- Verbal suffixes

-an₁ : Actor focus

-un : Patient focus

? -an₂ : Locative focus

-∅ : Unmarked focus

- Pronominal case

- Optional post-NP particles

Linguistic aspects (2)
Focus system

Example 1: maun / kaun

1. Anak aipi **maun**
self DEM.PROX eat + AF
‘He (here) is eating by himself.’

2. Ma- hansum **kaun -un**
ADJR- tasty eat + PF -PF
‘It is tasty to eat.’

Linguistic aspects (2)
Focus system

Example 1: maun / kaun

3. Ma- sihal kaun titi

ADJR- good eat + PF meat

‘This meat / the meat is nice to eat.’

4. Ma- sihal = ak maun titi

ADJR- good = 1S.NOM eat + AF meat

‘I like to eat this meat.’

Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

- Focus as a derivative process

Maq a kaunun -a kaupa -ki:

What COP edible -ACC every -DEF.PROX

hutan -a, tai, salaað

yam -ACC taro sort.of.millet

‘All of the following here are edibles: yams, taro and salaath.’

Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

Some predictions about focus

- Focus is more relevant for actions than for states
- Focus is more often overtly expressed in ambiguous contexts

E.g., **Masihal kaunun.** ‘It is nice to eat.’
 Maunak masihal. ‘I eat happily.’

Linguistic aspects (2)
Focus system

Example 1: Maun/kaunun

Ma- sihal kaun -un

ADJR- good eat + PF -PF

It is good to eat.

Ma- sihal maun

ADJR- good eat + AF

You eat it in a tasty way.

Linguistic aspects (2)
Focus system

Example 2: mataǎ ‘to die’ / pataǎ ‘kill’

Uk[a] -in amin tina, uk[a] -in amin tama.
NEG + have-PRF all mother NEG + have-PRF all father

Amin -in mataǎ

all -PRF die + PF

‘Neither my mother nor my father is still alive. They
have both passed away.’

Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

- Lots of questions remain:
 - Pronominal ‘case’ system: case or focus?
 - Optionality of the markers
 - Interaction with phenomena like definiteness
 - Interaction focus and topicalization / left-dislocation
 - ...

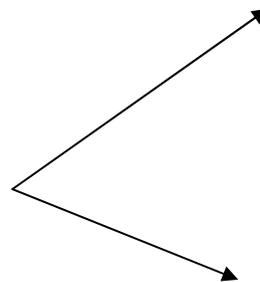
Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

- Multi-functional affixes: both grammatical and derivational
 - Patient focus suffix –un

E.g.,

-iqdi-
'hardship'



iqdi(?)un

'worries, problems'

in-[?]iqdi[?]-an

'have problems'

Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

- Ambiguous status of minor wordclasses:
question word, time words, TAM auxiliaries,
negation all have verb-like properties

E.g.,

Sanavan -in ma- sabaq -in

Evening -PRF ACT- sleep -PRF

‘When evening falls, we go to bed.’

Lit.: ‘when the evening has come, we will have gone to sleep’

Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

- TAM and some derivational affixes to a wide variety of concepts and wordclasses
 - Auxiliaries of negation and TAM
 - Time words
 - Question words
 - Demonstratives and locative words
 - Personal pronouns

Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

Examples:

... ma- laupa -dau -k mastaan masihal-i,
... ACT- now -EMO -??? most good -DEF?
'... and (this situation) now is most excellent...'

Aupa, siatia tu miliskin tu, na aduq pishal -un
But he ??? think COMPL well of.course act.good -PF

taqu -ki maupa ma- [a]ipun mun -iti a nanu?tu
Teach -DEF because ACT- DEM.HUM DIR -here ??? needs

'So, I think that of course I should to this person teach well because he came here with these needs.'

Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

- Takivatan word morphology
STEM
deriv + STEM
[deriv + STEM] + (Focus) + (TAM)
- Stem originally indifferentiated or nominal
 - Lots of verbalizing prefixes
- Derivation ‘instantiates’ the stem

Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

- Dynamic N-V continuum
 - prototypical V and N, instantiations of concepts spread out in the space between
 - Wordclass fluidity seems to be somehow related to the focus systems (cf. Tagalog)
- Differences with indifferentiation in Mandarin-Chinese

Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

Example: Wordclass differentiation in
Mandarin-Chinese

愛 n/v love/to love

VS.

樹 n tree

Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

- **Chinese:** isolating language / poor morphology
⇒ indifferentiation is consequence of the absence of word morphology
- **Takivatan:** extremely rich morphology
⇒ wordclass fluidity is a pragmatic strategy

The bigger picture

The bigger picture (1)

The 'five dialects'

- The Bunun themselves distinguish 5 subgroups:
Isbukun, Takbanuaǝ, Takivatan, Takibaka, Takitudu
- Based on clan-divisions
E.g., Taki- Vatan
 originate.in- PersName.M

The bigger picture (1)

The ‘five dialects’

- Attempted subdivision:
 - Northern: Takitudu, Takibaka
 - Central: Takbanuað, Takivatan
 - Southern: Isbukun
- Dialects or almost different languages?
 - Mutual intelligibility \Rightarrow dialect chain?
 - Development of Isbukun ‘standard’

The bigger picture (2)

Linguistic discriminants

Isbukun vs. Takivatan

- /h/ vs. /q/
 - Systematic difference between South and Central
 - E.g.,
 - Tama Dihanin tu Haliŋa
 - Tama Diqanin tu Qaliŋa
- /dʒ/ vs. /t/
 - E.g., taidʒini vs. tatini ‘alone, single’

The bigger picture (2)

Linguistic discriminants

Isbukun vs. Takivatan

- Pronominal paradigm
 - E.g., first and second person

| | 1.AG | 1.PT | 1.POSS | 2.AG | 2.PT | 2.POSS |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|------|--------|--------|
| Isb.: | saikin | mađaku | (i)nak | kasu | su | (i)su |
| Tak.: | = ak | đaku | (i)nak | = as | su(ʔu) | (i)su |

The bigger picture (2)

Linguistic discriminants

Isbukun vs. Takivatan

- Left-dislocation
 - Shift in personal pronouns: Ag vs. Pt
 - Different marker: hai vs. a/∅
 - Difference in use: more frequent in Isbukun

The bigger picture (2)

Linguistic discriminants

Isbukun vs. Takivatan

- Left-dislocation: Example Isbukun

Kasu **takna** **hai** **ma-** **haltsis** **ismuuð.**

2S.NOM yesterday L-DIS ACT- clip greens

‘You were trimming the hedge yesterday.’

The bigger picture (2)

Linguistic discriminants

Isbukun vs. Takivatan

- Left-dislocation: Example Takivatan

| | | | | | |
|--------|-------|--------|--------|-----|----------|
| ǎaku | ∅ | madima | suʔu, | ni | musbai |
| 1S.ACC | L-DIS | like | 2S.ACC | NEG | run.away |

‘I like you, I will not run away.’

The bigger picture (2)

Linguistic discriminants

Isbukun vs. Takivatan

- **Lexicon**

– E.g.,

| <i>Isb.</i> | <i>Tak.</i> | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| malaita | maiŋa | ‘lazy’ |
| kuisa | munisaq | ‘where to?’ |
| kutun | laqbiŋin | ‘tomorrow’ |

- **Conclusion: substantial differences**

The bigger picture (4)

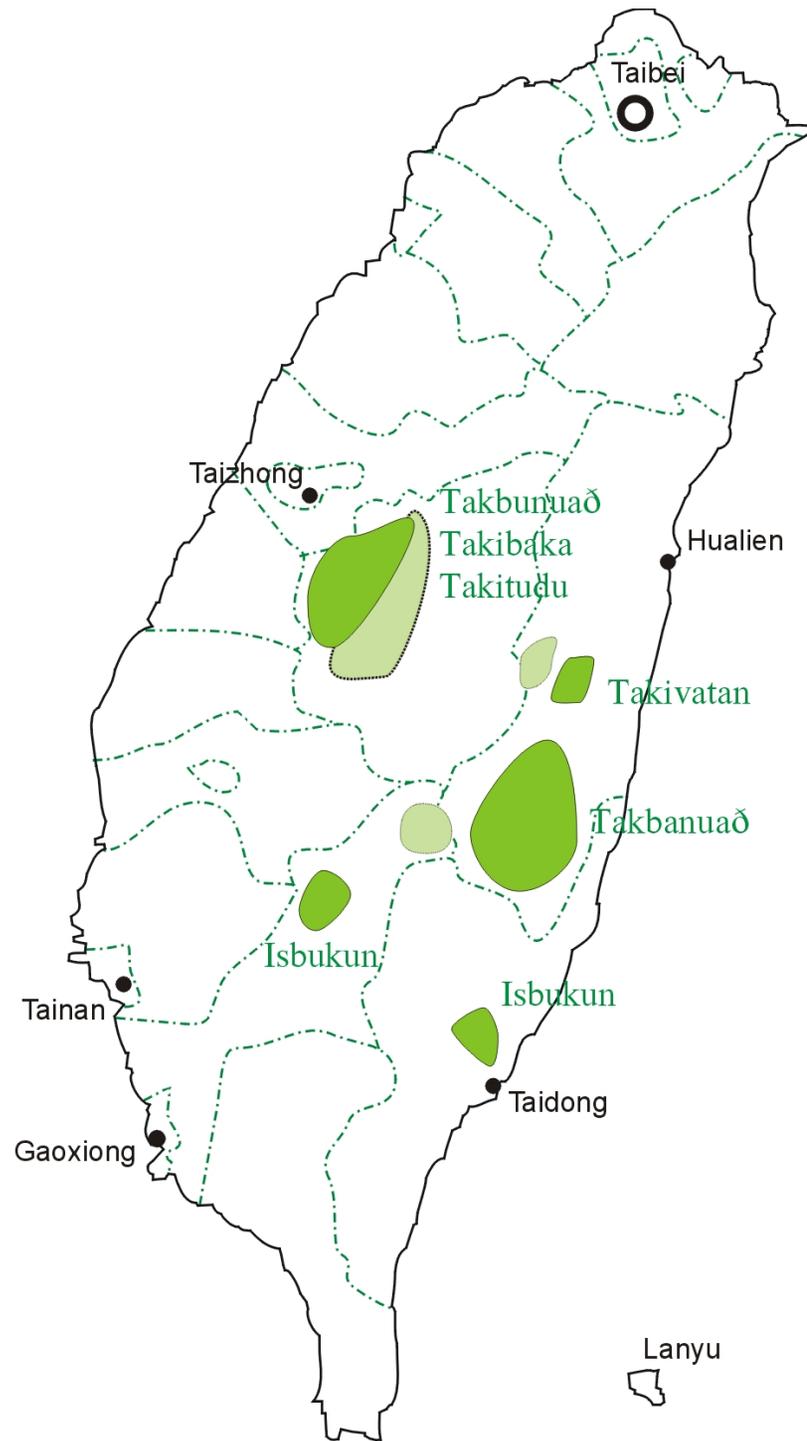
Dialect continuum

- **Explanation:** dialect chain/dialect continuum?
- **Yes:**
 - Group of dialects / languages
 - Some mutually understandable, some not

The bigger picture (4)

Dialect continuum

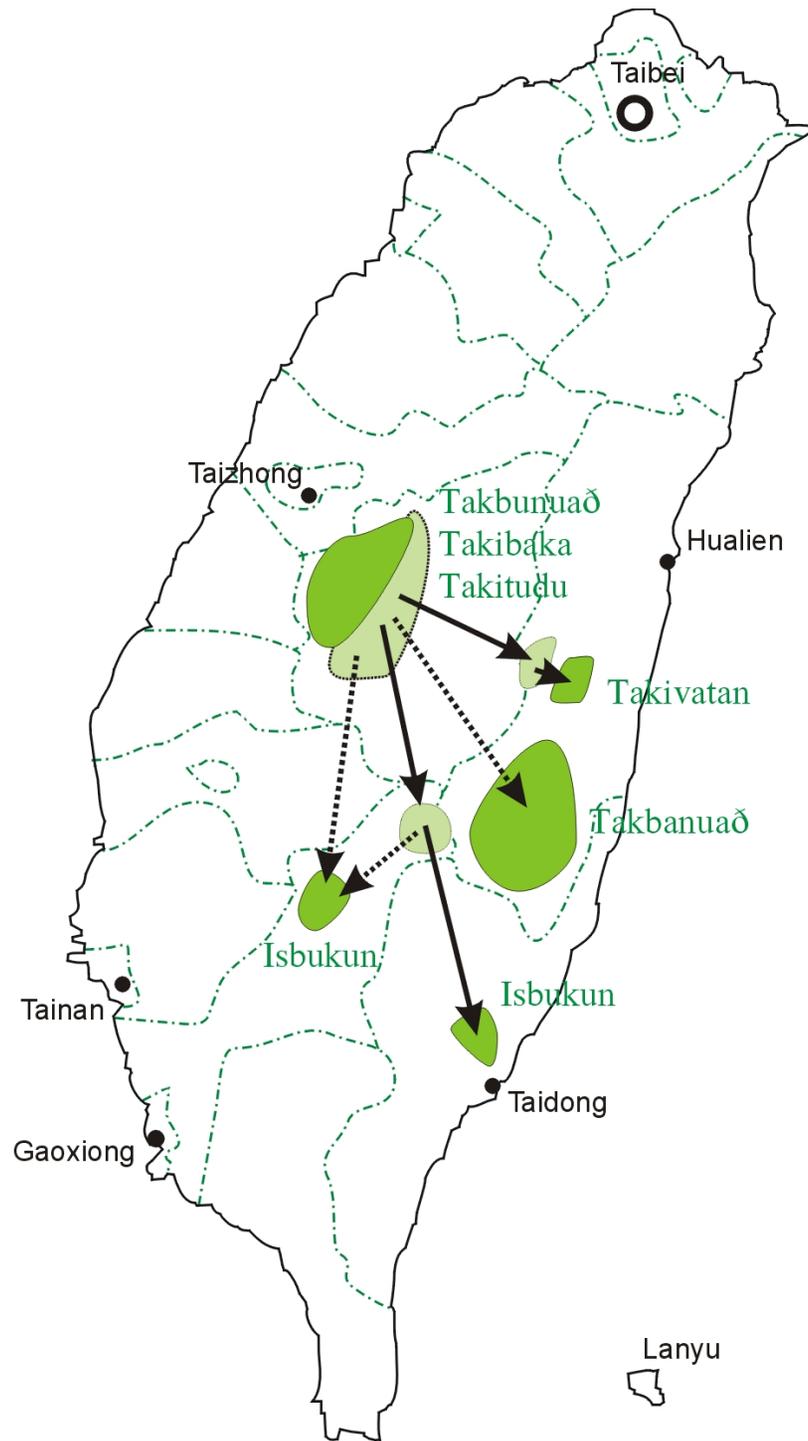
- No, because:
 - Dialect chain:
 - “a range of dialects spoken across a large geographical area, differing only slightly between areas that are geographically close, and gradually decreasing in mutual intelligibility as the distances become greater”
(Wikipedia)
 - Example: Belgian-Dutch-German border



The bigger picture (3)

Migration patterns

- Historical clan movements
 - Family-based living communities
 - Hostile towards outsiders
- ⇓
- Relative isolation of dialects
 - Changed only recently:
 - Christianity
 - Development of infrastructure, modern transport



The bigger picture (3)

Interaction vs. isolation

- Dialect chain:
 - Result of mutual interaction
- Dialectal differentiation
 - Result of relative isolation
- Bunun: history of clan-based movements
⇒ dialect differentiation

Thank you!
Uninang !