

Bunun auxiliaries in a Formosan perspective

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Introduction

- Bunun, Austronesian, Taiwan
- Takivatan dialect (De Busser 2009)
- Corpus:
 - Transcription of real-world narrative discourse
 - Elicited sentences based on free association
 - Attestation > grammaticality

Auxiliaries

- What are auxiliaries?
- How can we identify them?
- How are they distinct from:
 - Full verbs functioning in serial verb constructions?
 - Full verbs function in complementation constructions?
- How can we compare them in a Formosan perspective?

Auxiliaries

- Working definition:

“ ‘Auxiliary verb’ is here considered to be an item on the **lexical verb-functional affix continuum**, which tends to be at least somewhat semantically bleached, and **grammaticalized to express one or more of a range of salient verbal categories**, most typically aspectual and modal categories, but also not infrequently temporal, negative polarity, or voice categories. [...]”

(Anderson 2006:4–5)

Auxiliaries

- Working definition:

“Auxiliary verbs can thus be considered to be an element that **in combination with a lexical verb forms a monoclausal verb phrase** with some degree of (lexical) semantic bleaching that performs some more or less definable grammatical function; [...]

(Anderson 2006:4–5)

Auxiliaries

Auxiliary verb:

- Part of a complex VP
 - Shared arguments
 - Shared grammatical marking
- Grammatical function
 - Not the (one of the) lexical head of the VP
 - Expresses a grammatical function
- Evidence of grammaticalisation

Auxiliaries

- Problems:
 - Following these criteria, Takivatan would have an unusually large and diverse set of auxiliaries
 - Do these all belong to a single wordclass (AUX)? Or to different subclasses?
 - How do they fit into the general Formosan picture?

Takivatan Bunun auxiliaries

- Negator

(1) *Nianʔak pasiða nauʔaǎ*
ni-aŋ-ʔak pa-siða nauʔaǎ
NEG-PROG-1S.F RECIP-take woman

Lexical head of the VP

Part of a complex VP

Shared arguments

Shared grammatical marking (TAM)

Grammatical function

Takivatan Bunun auxiliaries

- Modals

(2) *naʔasaun pinqansiap isia*
na-asa-un pin-qansiap i-sia
IRR-must-UF CAUS.INCH-understand POSS-ANAPH
We must make him understand (TVN-008-001:4)

(3) *Na maqtu aipun maqansiap tu*
na maqtu aipun ma-qansiap tu
CONS may DEM.S.MED.VIS DYN-understand COMPL
May he therefore understand [...] (TVN-008-001:16)

Takivatan Bunun auxiliaries

- TAM

- (4) *Qanaqtuŋinʔak taldanav.*
qanaqtuŋ-in-ʔak taldanav
be.finished-PRV-1S.F wash
I did already wash my face. (TVN-xxx-xx1:165)
- (5) *Nakitŋa kuḁakuḁa*
na-kitŋa kuḁakuḁa
IRR-begin work
They would start to work (TVN-012-001:42)

Takivatan Bunun auxiliaries

- Comparative and quantitative expressions

(6) *Muađak taqu isti maupa siatia mastaʔan*
muađ-ak taqu isti maupa sia-ti-a mastaʔan
merely-1S.F tell 3S.PROX thus ANAPH-DEF-LDIS most
I only told him this thing in this such a complete way.
(TVN-008-002:235)

(7) *Masmuavin Bantalaŋ madaqvas*
masmuav-in Bantalaŋ ma-daqvas
more-PRV Amis STAT-high
'The Amis are very tall' (TVN-xx2-004:41)

Takivatan Bunun auxiliaries

- Participant-related expressions

(8) *Namuskun ʔata maun*
na-m-uskun ʔata maun
IRR-DYN-together II.F eat
‘We will eat together’ (TVN-xx2-001:66)

(9) *Nahamun qaimaŋsuð matakunav.*
na-hamu-un qaimaŋsuð ma-takunav
IRR-take.together-UF thing DYN-throw.away
‘Take these things together with other things and throw
them away.’ (TVN-xx2:005:34)

Takivatan Bunun auxiliaries

- Manner expressions

- (10) *Daukdaukun qaimaṅsuḍtun maʔuman.*
daukdauk-un qaimaṅsuḍ-tun ma-uman
slowly-UF thing-DEF DYN-take.away
‘Take these things away slowly.’ (TVN-xx2-005:41)

Takivatan Bunun auxiliaries

- Conjunctors

- (11) *Qaʔal tu pusunkaʔa [...]*
qaʔal tu ~~pu-sunka-ʔa~~
although COMPL CAUS.ALL-fill-SUBORD
‘Although one had filled it to the brim, [if somebody died in those days, you could not eat any millet.]’ (TVN-008-002:61)
- (12) *Muska Lini tupa tu:*
muska Lini ~~tupa tu~~
but L. say COMPL
‘But Lini said: ...’ (TVN-008-002:181)

Feature-based analysis

- Classification based on grammatical features
 - Problem 1: unusually large set of phenomena is classified as auxiliaries
 - Problem 2: exhaustive feature set must be large, especially for cross-linguistic comparison
 - Problem 3: contradictory and counterintuitive results

Feature-based analysis

Morphological criteria

1. Negation of CAUX has/has not been attested
2. Clitic pronouns
 - 2.1. CAUX can attract bound pronouns
 - 2.2. The pronouns on CAUX are shared with the lexical head
 - 2.3. CAUX does not attract clitic pronouns
3. TAM
 - 3.1. TAM marking can be expressed on CAUX
 - 3.2. TAM expressed on CAUX has scope over the entire VP
4. Verbal affixes
 - 4.1. Various verbal affixes can be expressed on CAUX
 - 4.2. ... have scope over CAUX alone / over the entire VP
5. Focus morphology
 - 5.1. ... occurs on CAUX
 - 5.2. ... has scope over CAUX alone / over the entire VP
 - 5.3. ... foreshadows the focus morphology on the lexical verb
 - 5.4. ... has a nominalising function
6. Vowel contraction of CAUX and affixes

Feature-based analysis

Syntactic characteristics

1. Obligatoriness: CAUX obligatorily expresses a grammatical category
2. Paradigmaticity: CAUX is part of a paradigm
3. Topic attraction: Topic/SUBJ appears after CAUX rather than after V
4. Complementation
 - 4.1. CAUX ... COMP ... V
 - 4.2. ... and there is / is no Same Subject constraint
 - 4.3. ... and COMP is obligatory / optional
5. Retention in ellipsis
6. Order of CAUX and V can be inverted
7. Transitivity
 - 7.1. CAUX can categorize for DO
8. Cooccurrence
 - 8.1. CAUX can co-occur with other AUX
 - 8.2. CAUX is in complementary distribution with attested AUX

Feature-based analysis

	<i>asa</i>	<i>maqtu</i>
	<i>'must'</i>	<i>'can'</i>
Attracts topic	✓	✓
TAM marking		
PRV <i>-in</i>	✗	✓
PROG <i>-ang</i>	✓	✓
Focus marking	✓	✗
Bound pronouns	✗	✗
COMP constructions	✓	✗

Feature-based analysis

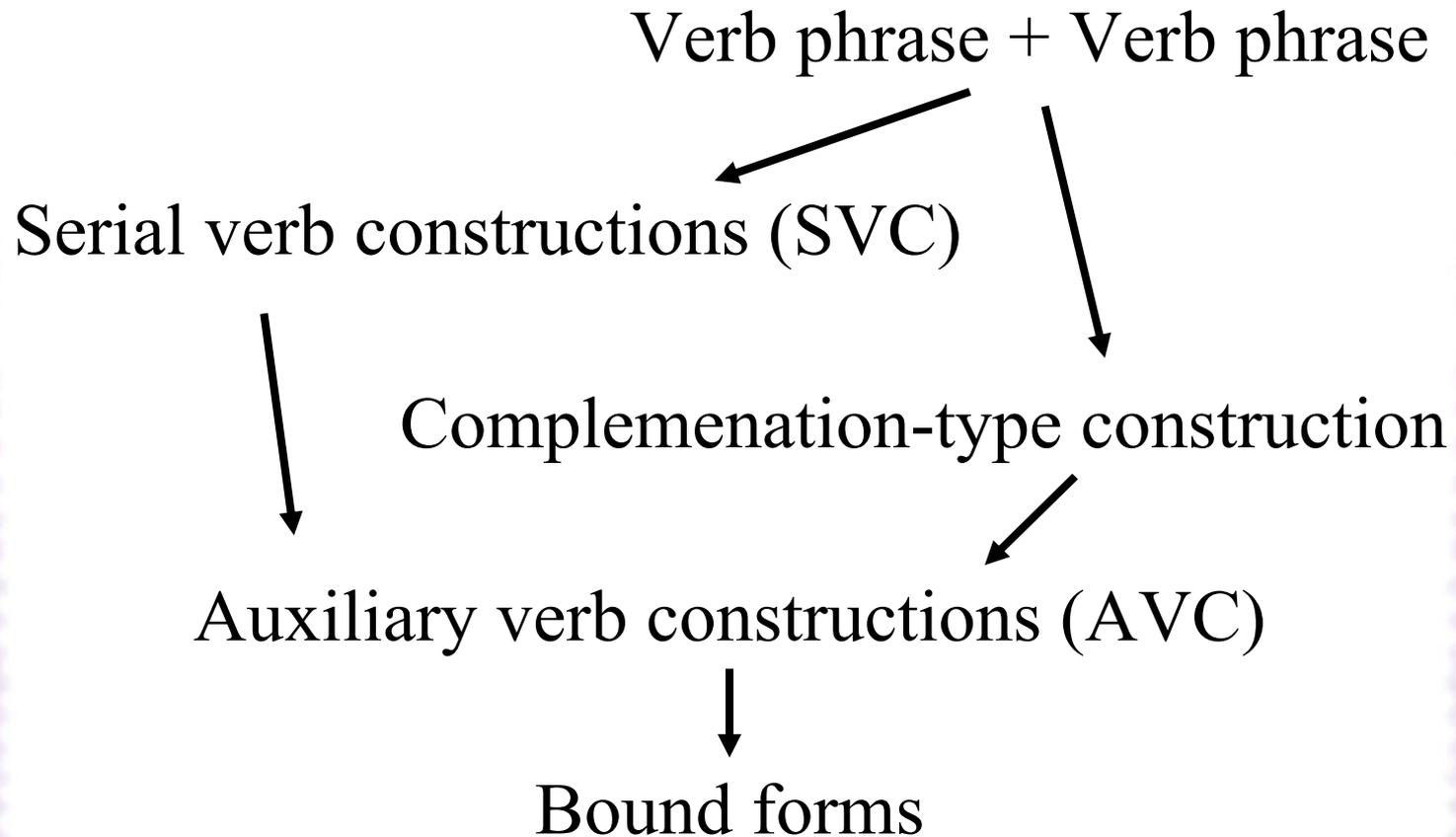
	asa	maqtu
	<i>'must'</i>	<i>'can'</i>
Attracts topic	✓	✓
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PRV <i>-in</i>	✗	✓
PROG <i>-ang</i>	✓	✓
Focus marking	✓	✗
Bound pronouns	✗	✗
COMP constructions	✓	✗

Grammatical continuum

- For language-internal analysis
- Auxiliary constructions are one step in a fluid grammaticalisation continuum

(Heine 1993)

Grammatical continuum



Anderson (2004:5); Heine (1993: 48-69)

Conceptual analysis

- Classification based on comparative concepts (cf. Haspelmath 2011)
 - In the absence of evidence, assume no cross-linguistically grammatical categories
 - Delineate useful concepts for comparison based on similar semantic and grammatical features
 - There might be a discrepancy between language-internal and comparative concepts

Conclusion

- Formosan auxiliaries are like teenagers:
 - They are annoying because they are fickle, don't like to follow rules, constantly contradict themselves, and often behave irrationally
 - They are by nature in a state of constant flux
 - In order to understand and compare them we might need to give up entrenched ideas

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Uninaŋ
Miqumisaŋ!



<http://www.rdbusser.com/afla19.html>

