

Information structure in Takivatan Bunun Topicality and the role of ellipsis

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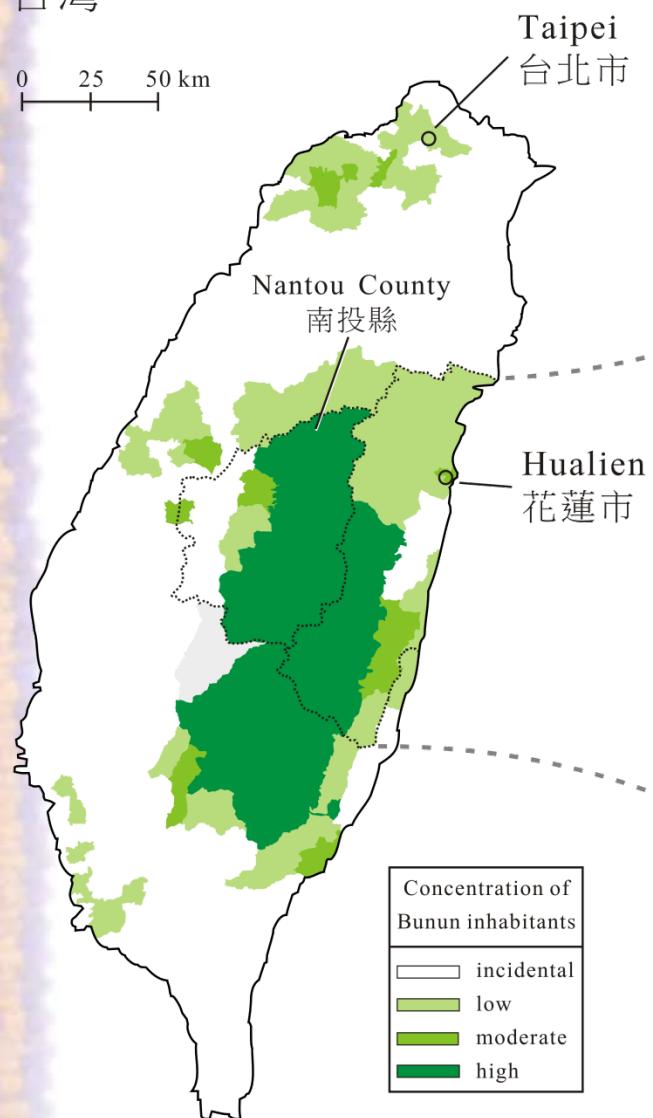


Introduction

- Bunun, Austronesian, Taiwan
- Takivatan dialect
- Approx. 50,000 ethnic members
- Predicate-initial
- Over 200 affixes, most of which are verbal prefixes

TAIWAN
台灣

0 25 50 km



HUALIEN COUNTY
花蓮縣

0 5 10 km

Ma-Yuan 馬遠村

Today's topics

- Topicality
 - Clause-internal
 - Clause-external / extraposed
- Ellipsis'
- Note:
 - Focus

Cf. Osumi: multiple topics per clause

The clause-internal topic

- Verbal alignment morphology
(‘focus’ suffixes)
- Argument order
- Pronominal marking
- (Definiteness marking?)
- (Ellipsis?)

The clause-internal topic

- ✓ Verbal alignment morphology
(‘focus’ suffixes)
- ✓ Argument order
- ✓ Pronominal marking
 - (Definiteness marking?)
- ✓ (Ellipsis?)

Verbal alignment morphology

- Actor focus (AF): no suffix

(1) *siða maljanjaus-ta maduq-ta*
take shaman-DEF.REF.DIST millet-DEF.REF.DIST
The shaman took millet (simplified from TVN-012-001:69)²

- undergoer focus (UF): *-un*

(2) *siða-un asik*
take-UF shrub
they gathered the shrubs (simplified from TVN-012-001:24)

Verbal alignment morphology

- locative focus (LF): *-an*

(3) *maqtu pa-siða-an-in* *ŋabul vanis*
can CAUS.DYN-take-LF-PRV antler wild.boar
We could [in that place] catch deer and wild boar (TVN-008-002:4)

Verbal alignment morphology

- Grammatical properties of the privileged argument
 - left-dislocation with *-a* (see 3.1).
 - TOP form of bound pronoun (see 2.3).
 - TOP.AG form of the free pronoun in AF constructions; N form in other focus types

Argument order

VERB < AGENT < INSTRUMENT
< BENEFICIARY < PATIENT
< LOCATION < PERIPHERAL

- Max. 3 arguments per clause
- Typically 1

Argument order

- (5) *na-is-kalat-un* *đaku* *tuqnađ-i* *asu*
IRR-INSTR-bite-UF 1S.N bone-PRT dog
 ACTOR INSTRUMENT BENEFICIARY
I want to give the bone to a dog to bite it (TVN-xx2-005:65)

- (6) *maqtu-?as* *pa-simul* *đaku* *qaimansuđ*
can-2S.TOP CAUS.DYN-borrow 1S.N thing
 (ACTOR) BENEFICIARY PATIENT
Can you lend me the thing? (TVN-xx2:004:4)

Pronouns

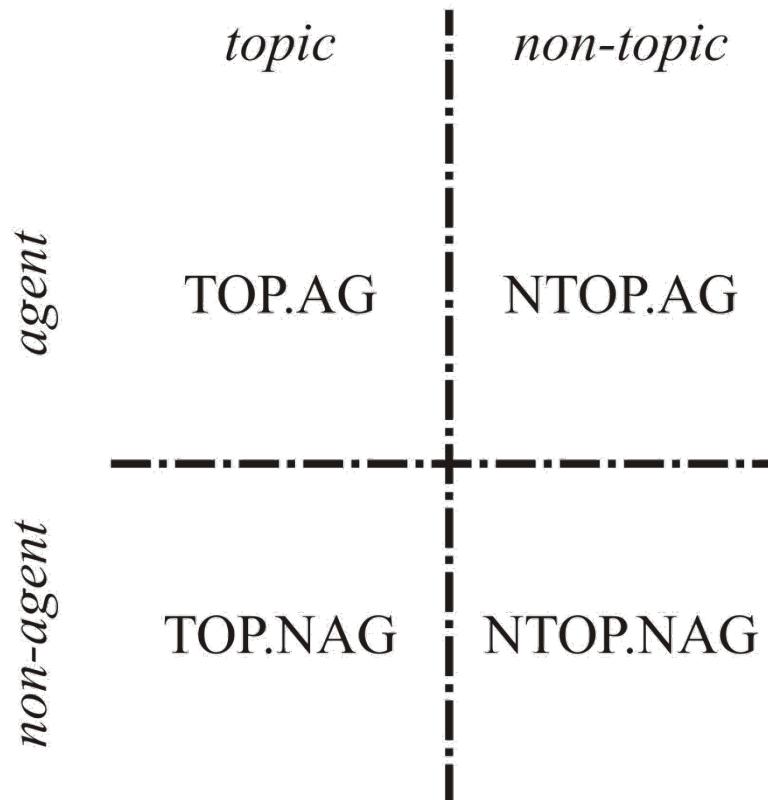
Table 2.1 - Takivatan Bunun pronouns

	Bound		Free				
	Topic (TOP)	Non-topical agent (NTOP.AG)	Neutral (N)	Topical agent (TOP.AG)	Locative (LO)	Possessive pre-nominal (POSS)	Possessive post-nominal
1S	-(?) <i>ak</i>	-(?) <i>uk</i>	ðaku, nak	sak, saikin	ðaku?an	<i>inak</i>	<i>nak</i>
2S	-(?) <i>as</i>	—	su?u, su	—	su?u?an	<i>isu</i>	<i>su</i>
II	—	—	mita	?ata, in?ata	mita?an	<i>imita</i>	—
1E	-(?) <i>am</i>	—	ðami, nam	ðamu, sam	ðami?an	<i>inam</i>	<i>nam</i>
2P	-(?) <i>am</i>	—	mu?u, mu	amu	mu?u?an	<i>imu</i>	<i>mu</i>

Pronouns

	Bound			
	Topic (TOP)	Non-topical agent (NTOP.AG)	Neutral (N)	Topical agent (TOP.AG)
1S	-(<i>?ak</i>	-(<i>?uk</i>	<i>ðaku, nak</i>	<i>sak, saikin</i>
2S	-(<i>?as</i>	—	<i>su?²u, su</i>	—
1I	—	—	<i>mita</i>	<i>?ata, in?²ata</i>
1E	-(<i>?am</i>	—	<i>ðami, nam</i>	<i>ðamu, sam</i>
2P	-(<i>?am</i>	—	<i>mu?²u, mu</i>	<i>amu</i>

Pronouns



Pronouns

	Bound			
	Topic (TOP)	Non-topical agent (NTOP.AG)	Neutral (N)	Topical agent (TOP.AG)
1S	-(?) <i>ak</i>	-(?) <i>uk</i>	ð <i>a</i> ku, <i>nak</i>	<i>sak</i> , <i>saikin</i>
2S	-(?) <i>as</i>	—	<i>su?</i> u, <i>su</i>	—
1I	—	—	<i>mita</i>	? <i>ata</i> , <i>in?</i> <i>ata</i>
1E	-(?) <i>am</i>	—	ð <i>ami</i> , <i>nam</i>	ð <i>amu</i> , <i>sam</i>
2P	-(?) <i>am</i>	—	<i>mu?</i> u, <i>mu</i>	<i>amu</i>

Bound pronouns

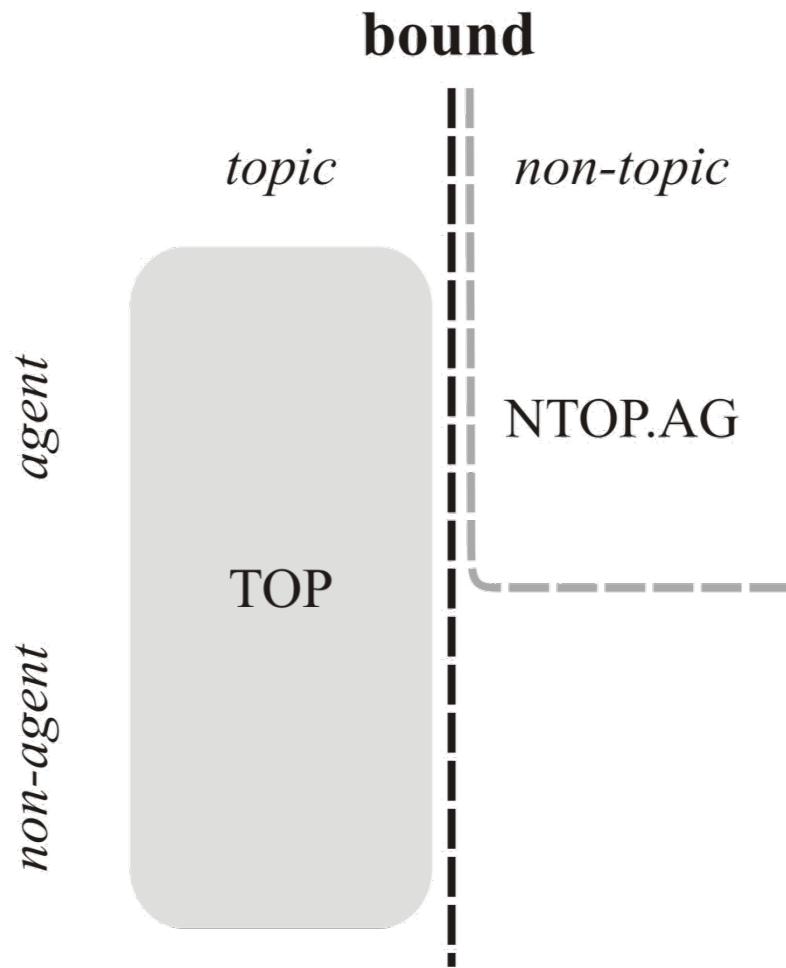
- Actor, AF construction

(14) *laupan̡-?ak* *taldanav-in*
a.moment.ago-1S.TOP wash-PRV
I just finished washing. (TVN-xxx-xx1:166)

- Patient, UF construction

(15) *hasul-un-?ak* *ma-ludaq*
together-UF-1S.TOP DYN-beat
I have been beaten by many people (TVN-xx2-005:48)

Pronouns



Pronouns

	Bound			
	Topic (TOP)	Non-topical agent (NTOP.AG)	Neutral (N)	Topical agent (TOP.AG)
1S	-(<i>?ak</i>	-(<i>?uk</i>	<i>ðaku, nak</i>	<i>sak, saikin</i>
2S	-(<i>?as</i>	—	<i>su?u, su</i>	—
1I	—	—	<i>mita</i>	<i>?ata, in?ata</i>
1E	-(<i>?am</i>	—	<i>ðami, nam</i>	<i>ðamu, sam</i>
2P	-(<i>?am</i>	—	<i>mu?u, mu</i>	<i>amu</i>

Free pronouns

- Non-topical agent; Patient topic

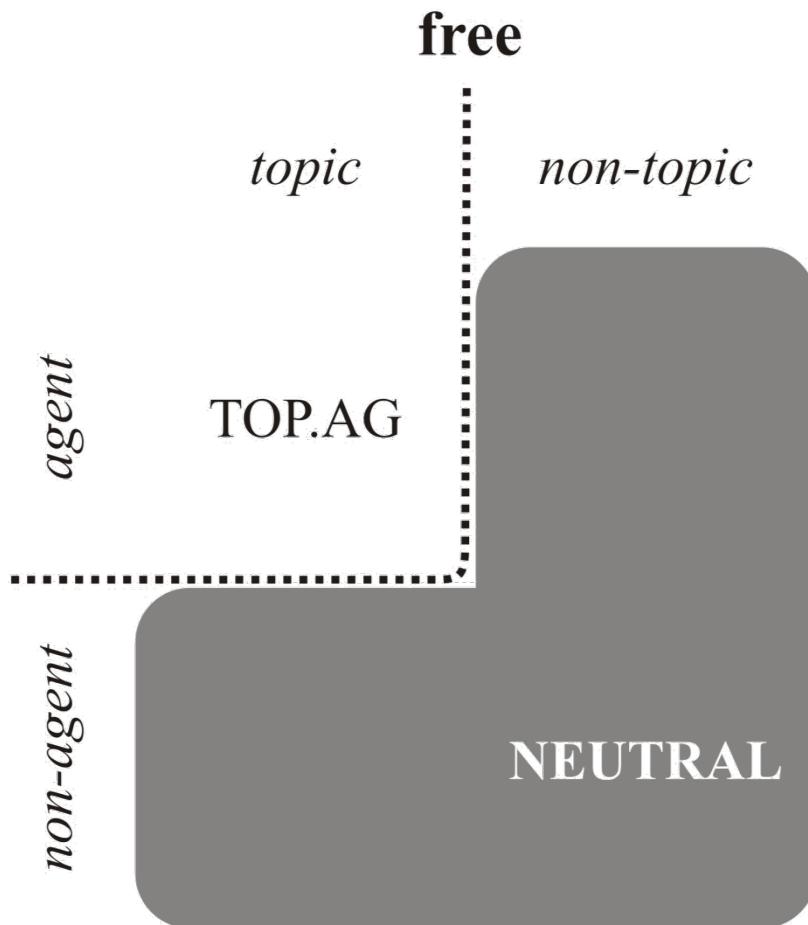
(20) *antalam-un* *đaku* *suʔu*
answer-UF 1S.N 2S.N
I answer you. (TVN-xx2-001:3)

- Non-topical patient

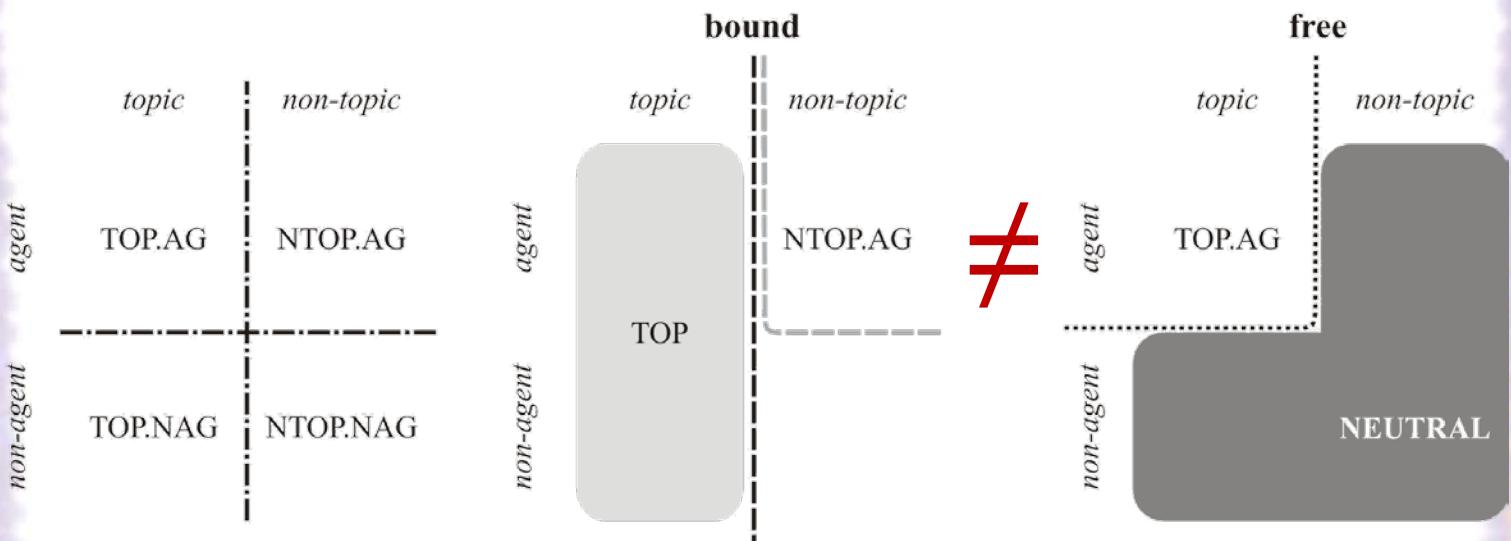
(18) *antalam-ʔak* *suʔu*
answer-1S.TOP 2S.N
I answer you (TVN-xx2-001:2)

- Person hierarchy

Pronouns



Pronouns



Clause-external topic

- Two left-dislocation constructions
 - *-a*: extraposition of internal topic
 - *maq (a) ... a*: extraposition of any core argument
 - (Neutral form of free personal pronoun)

Internal topic: -a

- Actor, dyadic AF construction

(21) *tini Tiaŋ-a haiða sia dusa p<in>anaq*
alone T.-LNK have ANAPH two <PST>shoot
Tiang by himself already managed to shoot two (TVN-008-002:11)

- Actor, monadic AF construction

(22) *aki-a matað-in*
grandfather-LDIS die-PRV
Grandfather, he has died (TVN-xxx-xx1:230)

Internal topic: -a

- Patient, UF construction

(24) *ma-aipi-a* *ka-pisiŋ-un*
DYN-DEM.S.PROX.VIS-LDIS ASSOC.DYN-afraid-UF
This here is a dangerous place (TVN-xx2-001:56)

- Location, LF construction

(25) *kahanj-a* *ma* *ni* *sadu-an*
high.grass-LDIS INTER NEG see-LF
In the high grass, I did not see [the deer] there.

Internal topic: *-a*

- **Isbukun** dialect:

- Internal topic: *hai*

- (29) *tama hai ma-ludah ðaku*
father LDIS DYN-beat me
'Father, he beats me.'

- Non-topical arguments: *-a*

- (30) *ðaku a ma-ludah tama*
me LDIS DYN-beat father
'I, father beats me.'

Core argument: *maq* (*a*) ... *a*

- Topic

- (31) *maq* *aiŋka-a* *taki-han* *ludun*
DEFIN DEM.P.DIST.VIS-LNK LIVE.IN-be.at mountain
As for them, they are living in the mountains. (TVN-xx2-003:55)

- Non-topic

- (33) *a* *maq* *a* *Haul Madaiŋ?aðan-a*
INTER DEFIN LNK H.M.-LNK
haiða-dau-ka *tan-<di>dip*
have-EMO-DEF.SIT.DIST DIR-INTENS-then
qabas *matað-a*
in.former.times die-LNK
As for H. M., somebody had died there
in those days long ago, ... (TVN-012-002:158)

Core argument: *maq* (*a*) ... *a*

- Resumption

(36) *maq a banan?að-a pan-qailað aiŋka*
DEFIN INTER man-LNK ITIN-come.together DEM.P.DIST.VIS
'As for the men, they came together' (TVN-012-001:60)

Core argument: *maq* (*a*) ... *a*

- Possible grammaticalization pathway
 1. Question word



2. Indefinite pronoun



3. Definitional constructions



(in subordinating constructions)

4. Topic extraction

Cf. Brill: topicalisation of arguments and clauses

Omission

- Topical arguments

(42) *sauðunin ðaku*
suað-un-in ðaku
sow-UF-PRV 1S.N
[Did you plant a lot of sweet potatoes? –]
A: I planted [many sweet potatoes]. (TVN-xx2-003:39)

Cf. Schnell: Low lexicality
of subjects / topics

Omission

- All arguments that are recoverable

- (44) a. *maupa-ta* *qa< i>-qansiap-an tudip-i*
thus-DEF.REF.DIST understand-LF that.time - PRT
As such, [I] formed an impression of [the situation] in those days, ...
- b. *aupa matqas-i ma-qansiap*
thus clear-PRT DYN-understand
so that [I] clearly understand [it]. (TVN-008-002:32)

Omission

- Many affixes that are recoverable (!)

- (46) *mun-?ita-?as* ?
ALL-there.DIST-2S.TOP
Do you want to go there? (TVN-xx2-005:23)
- (47) *?ita-?as* ?
there.DIST-2S.TOP
Do you want to go there/to that place? (TVN-xx2-005:22)

‘Ellipsis’

- (48) *ni-aŋ-Ɂak pa-siða nauɁað*
NEG-PROG-1S.TOP RECIP-take woman
I didn't marry to a girl yet. (TVN-xxx-xx1:101)
- (49) *ni-aŋ-Ɂak pa-siða bi-<na>nauɁað*
NEG-PROG-1S.TOP RECIP-take NMZ-INTENS-beautiful
I didn't marry to a girl yet. (constructed)
- (50) *ni-aŋ pa-siða*
NEG-PROG RECIP-take
I didn't marry yet. (constructed)
- (51) *ni-aŋ siða*
NEG-PROG take
I didn't marry yet. (constructed)

‘Ellipsis’

- (48) *ni-aŋ-ɻak pa-siða nauɻað*
NEG-PROG-1S.TOP RECIP-take woman
I didn't marry to a girl yet. (TVN-xxx-xx1:101)
- (49) *ni-aŋ-ɻ~~a~~ pa-siða ~~ni-*<ŋ>*nauɻað~~*
NEG-PROG-1S.TOP RECIP-take NMZ-INTENS-beautiful
I didn't marry to a girl yet. (constructed)
- (50) *ni-aŋ ~~ɻ~~-siða*
NEG-PROG RECIP-take
I didn't marry yet. (constructed)
- (51) *ni-aŋ siða*
NEG-PROG take
I didn't marry yet. (constructed)

‘Ellipsis’

- Minimal clause: predicate root
 - minus arguments
 - minus any bound morphology
- Efficiency: speed vs. comprehensibility
- Ellipsis / omission or optionality?

Conclusion

- Clause-internal vs clause-external topic
- Non-complementarity of grammatical subsystems
- Possible omission of (almost) everything except for the predicate root
- Optional expression rather than ellipsis
- No hard relationship between topicality and argument omission

Uninan
miqumisan!

