

# Towards a grammar of Takivatan Bunun

## Selected Topics

Submitted by

Rik L.J. De Busser

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Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

La Trobe University  
Bundoora, Victoria 3086  
Australia

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For Pima,

who tried to make this world a better place

but left it far too soon



“If a man does not keep pace with his companions,  
perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer.  
Let him step to the music which he hears,  
however measured or far away.”

Henry Thoreau, *Walden*



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# Lists of Abbreviations

## List of Interlinear Glosses

???	meaning uncertain
1E	first person exclusive
1I	first person inclusive
1S	first person singular
2P	second person plural
2S	second person singular
3P	third person plural
3S	third person singular
ABL	ablative locative prefix, indicating movement away from: <i>maisna-</i> , <i>maisna-</i> , <i>main-</i> , ..., <i>taka-</i>
ABL.TEMP	temporal allative prefix: <i>maisi-</i>
AF	agent focus: - $\emptyset$ (only marked for contrastive reasons)
AFCT	classificatory prefix indicating that something is affected: <i>pas-</i>
AG	agentive case (in Siraya, not Takivatan)
AGIT	verbal prefix indicating agitation
ALL	allative locative prefix, indicating a direction towards: <i>mu-</i> , <i>mun-</i>
ANAPH	anaphoric marker: <i>sia</i>
APPLY	classificatory prefix indication the application of an object for a specific purpose: <i>pu-</i>
AS	anticipatory sequence
ASSOC.ALL	associative form of the allative locative prefix: <i>ku-</i> , <i>kun-</i>
ASSOC.BECOME	associative form of the inchoative prefix: <i>kin-</i>
ASSOC.DYN	associative form of the dynamic verbal prefix: <i>ka-</i>
ASSOC.INSTR	associative form of the instrumental orientation prefix: <i>kis-</i>
AT.SIDE	verbal prefix indicating ‘at the ... side’: <i>pan-</i>
ATTR	attributive marker: <i>tu</i>
BE	prefix indicating a stative event that expresses that somebody has a certain capacity or property expressed by the root: <i>mas-</i>
BECOME	inchoative prefix: <i>min-</i>
BELONG	patient-incorporating prefix indicating belonging: <i>tastu-</i>

BEN	beneficiary orientation prefix: <i>ki-</i>
BLOOM	patient-incorporating prefix indicating the production of flowers or fruits
BURN	verbal prefix indicating an event involving burning
CAUS	causative form
CAUS.ABL	causative form of the ablative locative prefix: <i>paina-, paisna-, paisqa-</i>
CAUS.ALL	causative form of an allative prefix: <i>pu-, pun-</i>
CAUS.BECOME	causative form of the inchoative orientation prefix: <i>pin-</i>
CAUS.DYN	causative form of the dynamic verbal prefix: <i>pa-</i>
CAUS.INSTR	causative of instrumental prefix: <i>pis-</i>
CAUS.STAT	causative of stative prefix (adjectives): <i>pi-</i>
CL	classifier
COMPL	complementizer <i>tu</i>
CONS	consequence: particle <i>na</i>
CONT	continuative reduplication
COVER	verbal prefix indicating act of covering: <i>la-</i>
DEF	definiteness marker (subclass SIT/REF): <i>-ti, -tun, -ta, -ki, -kun, -ka</i>
DEFIN	participle marking a definitional clause
DIR	directional locative prefix: <i>tan-, tana-</i>
DISC	discourse marker
DIST	distal (property of DEF, DEM and locatives): <i>-ta, -ka</i>
DRINK	patient-incorporating prefix indicating acts of drinking
DRIVE	patient-incorporating prefix indicating acts of driving
DYN	dynamic verb marker: <i>ma-</i>
DYN.EMO	verbal prefix that turns an emotive event into a dynamic action: <i>matu-</i>
EMOT	emotive marker: <i>dau, -du</i>
EMPH	emphatic marker
ENUM	enumerator: <i>-a</i>
F	female (property of PersName)
F	focused argument
FALL.DOWN	classificatory or patient-incorporating prefix indicating downward, falling movements: <i>mu-</i>
FLOW	patient-incorporating prefix indicating a flow of fluids
FORK	verbal prefix indicating a forking movement
GeoName	toponym, geographical name
GIVE	verbal prefix indicating acts of giving (in Siraya, not Takivatan)
GIVE.BIRTH	patient-incorporating prefix indicating acts of giving birth
GL	glottal ligature consonant
GNR	generic reduplication
GRAB	verbal prefix indicting grabbing movements: <i>mati-</i>
GRADE	numeral prefix indicating progressive levels ( <i>n</i> -th grades): <i>pun-</i>
GRASP	classificatory prefix indicating a grasping movement: <i>kat-</i>

HABIT	habitual reduplication
HARVEST	verbal prefix indicating acts of harvesting: <i>ka-</i> , <i>tin-</i>
HAVE.TRAIT	patient-incorporating prefix indicating distinctive characteristic or trait: <i>tapu-</i>
HI.AG	semantically specific prefix indicating high agency: <i>ka-</i> , <i>pa-</i>
HON	honorific pronoun: <i>itu</i>
HR	harmonic reduplication
HUM	human reduplication
HUNT	patient-incorporating prefix indicating an act of hunting: <i>pu-</i>
IG	inclusive generic (property of DEM)
INSTR	instrumental orientation prefix: <i>is-</i>
INTENS	intensifying reduplication
INTENS	intensifying reduplication
INTER	interjection
IRR	irrealis marker: <i>na-</i>
ITIN	itinerary locative prefix: <i>pan-</i> , <i>pana-</i>
KICK	verbal prefix indicating kicking movements: <i>kan-</i>
LDIS	left-dislocating topicalizer: <i>-?a</i> , <i>-a</i>
LF	locative focus: <i>-an</i>
LIGHTNING	verbal prefix indicating lightning
LNK	linker, general linking particle: <i>-a</i>
LOC	stationary locative prefix: <i>i-</i> , <i>man-</i>
M	male (property of PersName)
MAKE	verbal prefix indicating an action that involves making or constructing something: <i>ka-</i>
MED	medial (property of DEF, DEM and locatives): <i>-tun</i> , <i>-kun</i>
MOT	prefix indicating motion (in Siraya, not Takivatan)
N	neutral form of the personal pronoun
NEG	negator: <i>ni</i>
NEG.EV	classificatory prefix marking negative, destructive events: <i>mu-</i>
NFA	non-focused agent form of the personal pronoun: <i>-?uk</i>
NMZ	nominaliser
NOM	nominative case (not in Takivatan)
NVIS	non-visual (property of DEM)
OBL	oblique case (not in Takivatan)
PA	paucal (property of DEM)
PERL	perlative locative prefix, indicating a movement through or into: <i>tauna-</i> , <i>tuna-</i> , <i>tun-</i>
PersName	proper name, first name
PERSON	nominalising suffix creating a person: <i>-?aθ</i>
PL	plural reduplication
PLAY	verbal prefix indicating an action that involves playing an instrument or game: <i>pis-</i>
PLOP	verbal prefix marking actions that involve a plopping sound: <i>kin-</i>
POSS	possessive case of personal pronouns or possessive prefix: <i>i-</i>

PREPARE	verbal prefix expressing acts of preparing: <i>kit-</i>
PRODUCE	verbal prefix expressing that something is produced: <i>ka-</i>
PROG	progressive marker: <i>-aŋ</i>
PROX	proximal (property of DEF, DEM and locatives): <i>-ti, -ki, ?iti</i>
PRT	particle: <i>-i</i>
PRTC	participatory prefix: <i>pain-</i>
PRV	perfective marker: <i>-in</i>
PST	past/resultative marker: <i>&lt;in&gt;, &lt;i&gt;</i>
PURP	purposive marker: <i>tu</i>
PV	vague plural (property of DEM)
REC	recursive reduplication
RECIP	reciprocal: <i>paka-</i>
REF	referential definiteness marker (property of DEF): <i>-ti, -tun, -ta</i>
REP	repetitive reduplication
RES	resultative infix: <i>&lt;in&gt;</i>
RES.OBJ	resultative object orientating prefix: <i>sin-</i>
RETURN	verbal prefix indicating an action that causes the return to an original state: <i>pis-</i>
S	singular (property of DEM)
SEE	patient-incorporating prefix indicating acts of seeing
SEPARATE	verbal prefix indicating a movement involving separation
SHOCK	verbal prefix indicating that an action involves a (often repeated) shocking movement or a swift radiating movement from a center: <i>tin-</i>
SIT	situational definiteness marker (property of DEF): <i>-ki, -kun, -ka</i>
SPEAK	patient-incorporating prefix indicating acts of speaking
SPIT	patient-incorporating prefix indicating acts of spitting
STAT	stative verb marker: <i>ma-, a-, pank-</i>
SUBORD	subordinator: <i>-?a</i>
TERM	terminative locative prefix, indicating a movement until: <i>sau-</i>
THINK	verbal prefix marking acts of thinking
TRANSFER	verbal prefix indicating a transfer: <i>is-</i>
UF	undergoer focus suffix: <i>-un</i>
USE	patient-incorporating prefix indicating acts of using
USPEC	underspecified for distance (property of DEM)
VBZ	verbaliser
VERY	verbal prefix indicating a superlative
VIA	viative locative prefix, indicating a movement along: <i>in-, malan-</i>
VIS	visual (property of DEM)
VL	vocalic ligature
WALK	patient-incorporating prefix indicating acts of walking
WASH	patient-incorporating prefix indicating acts of washing
WEAR	verbal prefix expressing wearing of clothing: <i>kun-</i>

## Markers of the predicate argument structure

{ } <sub>n</sub>	predicate; verb phrase
[ ] <sub>m</sub>	argument; noun phrase or phrase nested within an NP
[...]	an irrelevant segment has been omitted from the example
( )	optional element
A B	clause boundary between clause A and B

### A. Values for subscript n and m

AG	agent (core argument)
ATTR	attribute, NP modifier (for phrases nested within an NP)
AUX	auxiliary verb
COM	peripheral phrase expressing commutative / accompaniment (adjunct with <i>sin</i> )
CSE	cause (core argument)
CSR	causer (core argument)
FOC	focused participant (e.g. UN:PAT/FOC)
LO	locative phrase (core argument)
MNR	manner phrase (adjunct or auxiliary, e.g. AUX/MANR)
NFOC	non-focused participant (e.g. UN:PAT/NFOC)
PLACE	place phrase (adjunct or auxiliary)
PSR	possessor (noun phrase)
TIME	time phrase (adjunct or auxiliary)
UN	undergoer, subtype left unspecified (core argument)
UN:BEN	undergoer, beneficiary (core argument)
UN:INSTR	undergoer, instrument (core argument)
UN:PAT	undergoer, patient (core argument)
LDIS	left-dislocated argument (e.g. AG/LDIS)

### B. Values for subscripts A and B

C <sub>n</sub>	main clause n (e.g. C <sub>1</sub>  C <sub>2</sub> ‘clause C1 is followed by a coordinated clause C2’)
COMPL <sub>n</sub>	complement clause n (e.g. C <sub>1</sub>  COMPL <sub>2</sub> ‘C1 has a complement clause COMPL2’)
PURP <sub>n</sub>	purposive clause n (with <i>tu</i> ‘PURP’; e.g. C <sub>1</sub>  PURP <sub>2</sub> ‘C1 is followed by a purposive clause C2’)
SUBORD <sub>n</sub>	subordinate clause n (with <i>-ʔa</i> ‘SUBORD’; e.g. SUBORD <sub>1</sub>  C <sub>2</sub> ‘C1 is a subordinated clause of the main clause C2’)

## List of markers used in the transliteration

<pause>	normal pause or hesitation
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<backtrack> backtracking; pause or hesitation after which part of the preceding utterance is repeated

### **List of markers used in the translation**

- [ ] (1) ellipted or otherwise implied element added in the translation by the translator
- (2) translation of a relevant text segment not given in source text
- [...] an irrelevant segment has been omitted from the example
- ( ) optional element

## Summary

Bunun is a language spoken by one of the Austronesian minority groups on the island of Taiwan. Its most marked characteristics are its complex verbal morphology and its unusual argument alignment system. Takivatan Bunun is the third-largest of its five extant dialects and is spoken by a number of small settlements in two counties in the central mountains and at the east coast of the island.

Based on more than one year of field work data, this dissertation explores aspects of the grammar of Takivatan as spoken by the people of the villages Ma-yuan and Qi-mei in Hualien County. It is intended as a preliminary to a full descriptive grammar. After an introductory chapter and an overview of Takivatan phonology, Chapter 3 discusses how words and affixes can be defined in Takivatan and gives a general overview of word building processes. Chapter 4 is a concise treatment of compounding, an uncommon and unproblematic process in Takivatan. Chapter 5 discusses TAM affixes. Chapter 6 concisely describes the grammatical and derivational uses of focus suffixes. Chapter 7 is an elaborate discussion and classification of the large set of verbal prefixes in Takivatan. The final chapter concludes with an overview of definiteness markers, personal pronouns, demonstratives and other pronominal forms.



## Statement of Authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

The thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree of diploma in any other tertiary institution.

(Signature)

(Date)

Rik De Busser



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## Chapter 1. Introduction

This work is a description of Takivatan Bunun, the language of the Bunun people as it is spoken by the Takivatan clan on the island of Taiwan. The Bunun are one of the fourteen officially recognized aboriginal tribes<sup>1</sup> that live on the island of Taiwan as minority groups alongside three distinct Sinitic linguistic groups – Southern Min, Hakka and Mandarin Chinese. The aboriginal languages of Taiwan, which are often subsumed under the term *Formosan languages*, all belong to the Austronesian language family.

This introductory chapter will concisely describe the Bunun people and their environment (1.2) and give a genetic and typological profile of the Takivatan Bunun dialect (1.3). Section 1.5 is a concise overview of important publications on the Bunun language. The final section justifies the scientific methodology for data gathering and linguistic description that underpins this work.

### 1.1. Austronesian people in Taiwan

#### 1.1.1. Geography and demography

According to the latest population statistics, there are around half a million aboriginals in Taiwan. Together, they make up around 2.1 % of the total population

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<sup>1</sup> At the time of writing (March 2009), according to the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan (行政院原住民委員會). See <http://www.apc.gov.tw> for the most up-to-date information.

of Taiwan.<sup>2</sup> At the time of writing, the Taiwanese government officially recognizes fourteen groups, although the exact number of tribes still is a matter of much political and ideological dispute and might not have been settled yet.

<b>Tribe</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Tribe</b>	<b>Population</b>
Amis	178,067	Sediq	(10,000) <sup>3</sup>
Paiwan	85,718	Tsou	6,585
Atayal	71,452	Saisiyat	5,698
Bunun	50,156	Yami	3,513
Truku	24,578	Kavalan	1,172
Rukai	11,684	Thao	647
Puyuma	11,367	Sakizaya	343
		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>494,318</b>

**Table 1 – Taiwanese aboriginal groups ordered according to population size.<sup>3</sup>**

Table 1 gives the population numbers of each of the fourteen recognized tribes. Although no precise figures are available, it is certain that the actual number of speakers of the Austronesian languages associated with each group is much lower, depending on the local situation and the definition of language fluency probably between 10 and 60 % of the actual population number.

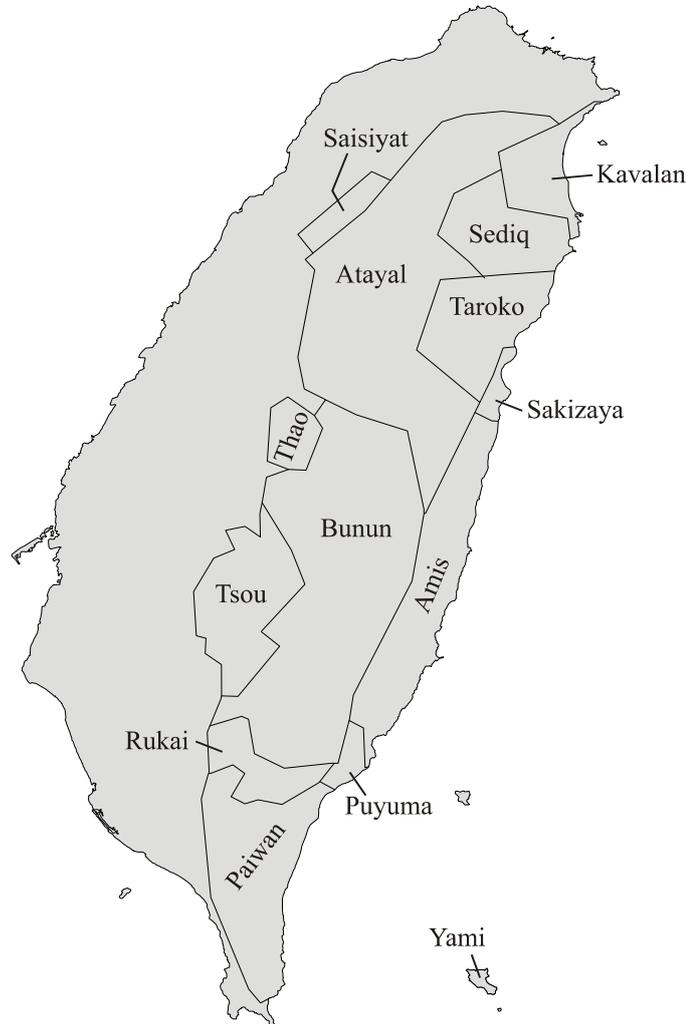
Map 1 marks the approximate geographical distribution of each tribe. More detailed geographical information can be found on Academia Sinica (s.d.-b). At the moment,

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<sup>2</sup> According to DGBAS (2009), the total population of Taiwan in January 2009 was 23,046,000 people.

<sup>3</sup> Data from CIP (2009: Table 7). No separate data is as yet available for Sediq, but the Council of Indigenous Peoples says their population is around 10,000. Together with the Truku, they were previously considered to be Atayal, but got official recognition in 2008 (see Shih & Loa (2008)). I will therefore subtract their number from the Atayal population.

most indigenous settlements are either in the Central Mountain Range of Taiwan or at the east coast, both places with a relatively low population density.



**Map 1 – Approximate distribution of the fourteen recognized indigenous tribes of Taiwan<sup>4</sup>**

### 1.1.2. Taiwan and the Austronesian dispersal

All indigenous tribes of Taiwan speak Austronesian languages and have been living in Taiwan for at least 5000 years (Bellwood (1997)). The dust has still not settled in the ardent discussions about how they exactly came there and whether they are at

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<sup>4</sup> Loosely based on Li (2004), with the addition of Sakizaya, Sediq and Taroko (or Truku).

the historical source of the dispersal of the Austronesian people throughout the Pacific, eventually resulting in their settlement of most of the Pacific area from present-day Malaysia to Hawai'i and with outlying settlements as far west as the island of Madagascar. The discussion tends to revolve around two extreme hypotheses about the colonization of the Pacific by the Austronesian people.

The first, often referred to as the *out-of-Taiwan hypothesis*, postulates that the Austronesian expansion in the Pacific was a relatively swift process that started about 6000 BP with the Asian ancestors of the present-day indigenous people of Taiwan crossing the Taiwan Strait from Southern China. Around 5000 BP, after a gestation period of a millenium, the original colonists had probably split up into a number of separate population groups and some of them had developed the necessary seafaring technologies to make the cross-over to Luzon in the Northern Philippines. Their settlements slowly expanded into the Southern Philippines, where they mixed with pre-existing non-Austronesian populations, and around 4000 BP they started their expansion into the unpopulated islands of Oceania. Originally, the out-of-Taiwan scenario was mainly based on evidence from historical linguistics and archaeology (e.g. Bellwood (1984-1985), Bellwood (1997), Blust (1999), Rollett et al. (2000), Bellwood & Dizon (2005) , Gray et al. (2009)), but especially during the last few years an increasing amount of evidence from population genetics was found to prove additional support (e.g. Trejaut et al. (2005), Moodley et al. (2009), Renfrew (2009)).

The contrary position, termed the *slow boat hypothesis* after Oppenheimer & Richards (2001), assumes that the Austronesian expansion in the Pacific was a

much more gradual process and started from somewhere in Island Southeast Asia. In general, its proponents (e.g. Meacham (1995), Terrell & Welsch (1997), Oppenheimer & Richards (2001), Terrell (2004), Hill et al. (2007), Kayser et al. (2007)) are relatively vague about the exact temporality of the sequence of events, but most assume a much greater time-depth than the out-of-Taiwan hypothesis.

The outcome of this ongoing academic battle will have some implications for the status of Bunun and the other Austronesian languages of Taiwan. In the out-of-Taiwan hypothesis, the Formosan languages are spoken in the homeland of the Austronesian people and have as a result a special status as the oldest remnants of proto-Austronesian at the trunk of the Austronesian language tree. In the slow-boat model, Taiwan is merely “an Austronesian backwater” (Oppenheimer & Richards (2001:164)), its Austronesian population a result of back-migration from the Philippines, and the status of its languages not very different than that of other Austronesian languages of the Philippines.

It is fair to say that a considerable majority of scholars are presently inclined towards the out-of-Taiwan scenario and the combined body of evidence from archaeology and linguistics as well as other sciences has been growing in recent years. We cannot go into detail here, but the distribution of Austronesian languages across the Pacific was one of the main reasons behind the out-of-Taiwan hypothesis (see Bellwood (1984-1985), Blust (1984-1985), and Bellwood (1997: Ch. 4 & 7)). Most Austronesianists would agree that it would be hard to explain the present distribution of Austronesian languages across the Pacific without assuming that

some kind of eastward expansion similar to the out-of-Taiwan model has taken place.

### **1.1.3. A short history of Taiwanese indigenous groups**

When exactly modern humans first arrived on Taiwan is not entirely clear, but it is generally assumed that it should have been at the latest between 6000 and 5000 B.P. Spriggs (1989) mentions a single pottery-associated radiocarbon date of 6300 B.P. from the east coast of Taiwan as the oldest evidence for the existence of a modern human society, but there appears to be no definitive proof that this is associated with an Austronesian people.

#### **A. Early Chinese sources**

Taiwan was known to the Chinese at least since the 3th century B.C., but subsequent Chinese emperors do not seem to have taken a great interest in the island and accounts in the imperial chronicles were few and far between. Two additional problems for historians are that Chinese navigators often confused the islands to the east of Fujian Province and that in early times at least a dozen names were used to refer to Taiwan (Hsu (1980b)).

In the spring of 230 A.D., the ruler of Wu, Sun Quan (孫權), is reported to have sent an expedition to the island Yi-zhou (夷洲), which is believed to refer to Taiwan but might as well have been another island east of Fujian. During the Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.), imperial ships were occasionally sent to the island of Liú-qíú (流求), a name that was inconsistently used to refer to one or more of the islands east of Fujian. In the case of the Sui dynasty expedition it might have

referred to Taiwan, but it could equally well have been present-day Okinawa (Hsu (1980b:5-6)).

The description of the islanders in the *Annals of the Sui Dynasty* (Wei-Zhi (s.d.:book 81, bio. 46) is somewhat at odds with later accounts and with what we know about Taiwanese aboriginal culture. It gives an account of a relatively stratified society with a king, ministers and military commanders, while most aboriginal tribes in Taiwan had and have a relatively egalitarian society, and various aspects of material culture (cave dwellings with protective palisades, the use of iron, the use of palaquins shaped like animals, etc.) do not agree well with our knowledge of Taiwanese aboriginal culture.

Next is Wāng Dà-yuān (汪大淵), who in the first part of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, during the Yuan dynasty, travelled by boat to two countries, Liú-qiú (流求) and Pí-shè-yé (毗舍耶), which are both believed to refer to locations in present-day Taiwan. In his relatively short *Brief Accounts of the Island Barbarians* (島夷誌略), written around 1350, he describes encounters with inhabitants that were unlike the Chinese and – from their description – might very well have been ancestors of the present-day Taiwanese aborigines (see Thompson (1964) for a translation).

More than 200 years later, in 1603, The Ming official Chén Dì (陳第) was sent to Taiwan as a military commander in a campaign against Japanese pirates that used the island as a base to ravage the Southern Chinese coast. In his *Account of the Eastern Barbarians* (東番記),<sup>5</sup> he paints an idyllic picture of a diversified social landscape of many different tribes living in large villages of up to a thousand

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<sup>5</sup> See Thompson (1964).

people. Many of the cultural characteristics he mentions – such as head-hunting, the absence of a central leader, a ten-month moon calendar and marriage customs – are reminiscent of what we know about the history of the Austronesian tribes that today inhabit Taiwan, but it is impossible to identify any ethnic groups in his account.

### **B. The Dutch period (1624 to 1662)**

The *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Dutch East India Company) landed on the Penghu islands west of Taiwan on 27 July 1622, but under the Chinese pressure they soon withdrew to Taiwan, where they built Fort Orange (later named Fort Zeelandia) on a sandbank close to present-day Tainan. They extended their control over a considerable portion of the south-western plains by the mid-1630s. As Hauptman & Knapp (1977) point out, they were primarily interested in opening up trade with China and Japan and they intended to use Formosa in the first place as a trading post. Besides a number of Chinese farmers, they found on their arrival that the landscape was dotted with villages inhabited by Austronesian people belonging to at least five different tribes (Ferrell (1971) mentions Siraya, Taivoan, Makatau, Pangsola-Dolatok and Lungkiao). They were aware of the presence of other tribal populations in the mountainous interior beyond the Western Plains, but – probably out of well-grounded safety concerns – they restricted their territorial expansion to the Western Plains and never attempted to establish any real contact or venture into the more mountainous territories of Central Formosa.

Dutch relations with the aboriginal populations came only second to the trade with China and the East India Company actively encouraged Chinese farmers from Fujian and the east of Guangdong to settle under their command in the western

plains of Taiwan. There are quite some indications that relationships with the local population, both aboriginal and Chinese, were often strained, mainly due to the often insensitive mercantile attitude of the Dutch and their one-sided imposition of rules and regulations. Nevertheless, they had a relatively profitable trade in hides with the aboriginals and often recruited aboriginal warriors to suppress uprisings of other tribes or Chinese farmers.

Especially the Siraya seem to have been eager to establish friendships with the Dutch colonists. Already when the Dutch first came to Taiwan on a reconnaissance mission from the Penghu islands to the mainland in October 1623, they were invited to the village of Soulang to conclude bonds of friendship. The Dutch military commanders sent over two trade emissaries, who wrote down a short account of their contact with Siraya culture, and later that year another – anonymous – writer made a trip to the same village (English translations of both accounts are in Blusse & Roessingh (1984)).

They paint a picture of a society without any significant social stratification and centralized leadership. Its Austronesian inhabitants lived in large towns and built wooden houses “more or less like an upturned ship” (Blusse & Roessingh (1984:72)) and elevated on a clay foundation more than a meter high. Many aspects of their society and culture (egalitarianism, council of elders, frequent inter-village warfare, headhunting, skull altars, shamanism) are reminiscent of how Bunun and Atayal society was till the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but it is an open question to what extent the observations of the Dutch visitors are accurate reflections of their actual

observations and to what extent they just repeated other sources or the general ideas that their Chinese guides had of the aborigines.

The Dutch occupiers made a priority of establishing an orderly system of government in their patch of South Taiwan. They commanded the aborigines to appoint one or more headmen for each village, forbade migration between villages, and regulated and taxed land use. From very early on, they also brought missionaries to Taiwan in order to convert the Taiwanese aborigines to Christianity. The first was George Candidius, who in 1627 established himself in the Siraya village of Sinkan and tried to educate them and convert them to Christianity. After 16 months, he wrote his *'Discours ende cort Verhael van 't Eylant Formosa'* (*'A short account of the Island of Formosa'*)<sup>6</sup>, a short treatise, based on his personal experiences, of the inhabitants of eight Siraya villages two days travel north of the Dutch settlement.

In contrast to many other Dutch accounts of aboriginal populations, his is remarkably neutral in tone. It describes a good-natured people who lived in large seaside villages, inhabited impressive houses made of bamboo and decorated with skulls of hunted animals and of human enemies, and had a non-stratified social order in which decisions were made by general consent of all the village members after consultation with a council of twelve elders. Women worked in the fields and went fishing, while man spent much of their time hunting and waging wars. The valour of warriors was measured by the number of human skulls they could bring back to their family altar. Men and women lived separately and remained childless

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<sup>6</sup> See Candidius (1732) for an English translation.

after marriage until the woman was 35 years old. If the wife became pregnant before that time, she was forced to have a mandatory abortion (see Shepherd (1995) for a detailed analysis of this unusual practice). Like many indigenous groups in Taiwan, they buried their deceased inside the family house. They had an animist religious system with exclusively female shamans, but unlike what is known about the past practices of present-day aboriginal tribes, they appear to have had a pantheon of distinct gods rather than the conception that all objects in nature are endowed with some kind of spirit (*qanitu* in Bunun).

Of particular interest to linguists is that many of the missionaries that followed Candidius to Taiwan were instructed to produce various language materials, in part to enable them to better fulfil their missionary tasks but also by the order of the administrative powers to establish a written language for administrative purposes. One of these missionaries, Gilbertus Happart, was in the 1640s stationed in the district of Favorlang in the central western plains of Taiwan, where he died in 1647 (van Toorenenbergen (1892:56)). His *Woord-boek der Favorlangsche Taal* (*Dictionary of the Favorlang language*) is dated 1650, but the dictionary was only published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Happart (1840) in English and Happart (1842) in Dutch). His successor, Jacob Vertrecht, translated the *Articles of Christian Instruction* into Favorlang (published in Campbell (1896)), giving us some idea of what the language might actually have looked like.

We have a fair amount of knowledge of Siraya, the language spoken by the aboriginal group that were in closest contact with the Dutch. Unfortunately, a Siraya wordlist compiled by Candidius is now no longer extant. In 1647, Daniel

Gravius was sent to the Siraya village of Soulang, but he was forced to leave the country in 1651 because of his explosive relationship with the Dutch authorities on the island. Upon his return to Holland, he published a Siraya translation of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John (Gravius (1661), recently republished by Campbell (1996); an interlinear version of Matthew is available in Chen (2007)) and *'t Formulier des christendoms, met de verklaringen van dien, inde Sideis-Formosaansche Tale* (*The Christian Formulary, with Annotations, in the Sidean-Formosan Language*; Gravius (1662), republished in Chen (2005)).

### **C. Koxinga and the Qing dynasty (1662-1895)**

On 30 April 1661, Zheng Cheng-Gong (鄭成功), a rebel pirate bent on overthrowing the Qing dynasty and known to the West as Koxinga, landed near the Dutch Fort Zeelandia with an army of several thousands of soldiers. His main aim was to wrestle Taiwan from the Dutch to use it as a base for his naval raids against the Qing dynasty. His army, reportedly helped by 25,000 settlers and a sizeable force of Siraya braves, greatly outnumbered inhabitants of Zeelandia and Zheng did not even bother to attack them but simply settled in the city of Tainan (Hsu (1980b)). Only after nine months were the Dutch able to buy their way out of what effectively was a siege and they left the island in the beginning of 1662. Zheng Cheng-Gong died in the summer of the same year, but his son and grandson continued his military dynasty for another twenty years. In 1683, Taiwan was ceded to the Qing court and the island would be part of the Chinese empire for the next two centuries.

The Zhengs installed a harsh military regime and crippling taxes, but nevertheless managed to attract poor Chinese farmers, mainly from the coasts of Fujian, who desperately wanted to escape the even harsher regime of the Manchus. During their 21-year reign, the Chinese population doubled. Mainly in order to maximize tax revenues, agricultural land reclamation of the Western Plains in areas inhabited by indigenous populations was actively promoted. This caused some plains aborigines to migrate to central Taiwan or to the east coast (Wang (1980:40,42)), but most were gradually assimilated into the Chinese population.

When the Qing administration took over Taiwan, they initially restricted migration from the mainland, but these restrictions were lifted in 1760 and from that moment on Chinese population numbers gradually grew from 100,000 around 1660 to more than 3 million in 1887 (Wang (1980:43)). Chinese expansion into the central and northern plains already led to a number of conflicts with the relatively benign aborigines in the plains, but as soon as Chinese farmers started to encroach on the territory of the mountain aborigines, they met with fierce resistance. To prevent a potential escalation of the situation, the government set up a demarcation line in 1739 and forbade any Chinese to enter the mountain areas, which were considered to be beyond the pale and inhabited by people that were barely human. This ban effectively isolated the aborigines living in the mountains from Chinese incursions and lasted for almost one and a half centuries. In the final years of the Qing government in Taiwan, the ban was lifted, resulting in a rapid expansion of Chinese farmers into the mountain regions and, as a result, a large number of violent aboriginal uprisings, especially by the Atayal and Paiwan.

In 1770, Chinese colonists also attempted for the first time to move into the fertile plains around present-day Yi-lan (宜蘭) on the north-east coast of Taiwan. Initially, they met with strong resistance from the indigenous population and it would take almost three decades, the lives of hundreds of Chinese soldiers, the building of three forts, and a small-pox epidemic before a stable peace was reached (Hsu (1980a)). From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the number of Chinese colonists in the Yi-lan plain gradually increased, prompting a portion of the Kavalan people that were living there to migrate southwards. Others chose to stay under Chinese rule and gradually became Sinicized.

Our knowledge of aboriginal society during the first Chinese period is considerably more fragmentary than under the Dutch, as is the contribution that the Chinese settlers made to the documentation of aboriginal languages. The explanation for this change in attitude is probably twofold. Whereas the Dutch had the explicit goal to document aboriginal languages and develop written variants in order to use them as languages of local administration and of the church, the Chinese administration was mainly interested in developing the plains into agricultural land for their settlers. They built some local schools in aboriginal villages, but these used Chinese as a language of instruction.

A second reason for the different attitude of Dutch and Chinese administrators to aboriginal culture and language might be connected to the nature of their interactions with the indigenous inhabitants. The Dutch administration tended to send soldiers and Protestant missionaries into aboriginal settlements and of these two, only the latter were actually stationed in the villages and were in continued

close contact with the aborigines. These men had usually received a good education and were motivated by idealism. Gravius, for example, even got into serious trouble with the Dutch authorities when he tried to protect the indigenous population from exploitation by the East India Company (see e.g. Campbell (1903:270-6)).

Contact between the Qing administration and the aborigines, on the other hand, happened through Chinese middlemen who functioned as translators. They were usually adventurers, often with a shady background, who had come to Taiwan in search for fortune and were mainly interested in maximizing their own profit. It was therefore in their interest to keep the other parties, the aborigines and the Chinese officials, as uninformed as possible in order not to undermine their own position.

This is clear from the accounts of Yu Yong-he (郁永河), an official and business man that in 1697 started on a dangerous trip from Tainan to the north-western plains and wrote his adventures down in the *Small Sea Travel Journal* (裨海記遊; see Thompson (1964:183-199) for an English translation of relevant passages). After a lengthy description of the different kinds of Barbarians he encountered on his trip, he raises the issue of the maltreatment of aborigines by opportunistic Chinese “village bullies”, as he calls them (Thompson (1964:197-198)), and states that most conflicts between Chinese officials and aborigines are actually caused by the deceptive behaviour of these individuals.

Yu Yong-he was not the earliest Qing official that wrote about the Formosan aborigines. That honour goes to Lin Qian-guang (林謙光), who went to Tawain just after it was transferred to the authority of the Qing court, and in 1685 wrote his

*Sketch of Peng-hu and Taiwan* (澎湖臺灣紀略). He includes a sizeable section on the Taiwanese barbarians, a “stubborn, stupid people, without family names or ancestral sacrifices” (Thompson (1964:180)). Interestingly, in his description the influence of Dutch colonization on aboriginal culture is still clearly visible, most notably in the fact that some aborigines now apparently developed the habit to tattoo themselves “all over with their writing, which is in the characters of the Redheads [i.e. the Dutch]” (id.). Another interesting fact is that he talks about going to Da-wu Qun-she (大武群社), a village in the present-day County Ping-dong (屏東縣) that was inhabited by Paiwan.

Another long account of Taiwanese aboriginal life is the *Record of Inquiry into the Savage Customs* (臺海使槎錄; see Thompson (1969) for an English translation), written by Huang Shu-jing (黃叔璥) in 1724 and first published in 1736. In it, the author gives elaborate summaries of aboriginal material culture, and to a lesser extent social habits, as observed in more than a hundred aboriginal settlements. Most of his accounts concern the pacified aborigines living in the western and northern plains (on the basis of village names, Thompson identifies seven groups: Babuza, Hoanya, Ketagalan, Papora, Siraya, Taivoan and Taokas) and appear to be based on personal observations. For descriptions of the more dangerous mountain areas, where the present-day Bunun must have lived, he relies on hearsay. Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify with certainty any of the mountain tribes on the basis of his account, although typical aspects of Atayal, Amis and maybe Rukai culture catch the eye in some passages. Most of his descriptions are supplemented by quotations of previous Chinese works and often also by

transliterations and translations of indigenous songs. Apart from these three works, our knowledge of aboriginal culture during the Qing period is mainly restricted to side notes in historical annals that mainly focus on the Chinese matters on the island.

#### **D. The Japanese era (1895-1945)**

On 17 April 1895, at the end of the First Sino-Japanese War, the Qing court was forced to cede Taiwan to the Japanese empire in the Treaty of Shimonoseki. This caused widespread outrage among the Chinese inhabitants of Taiwan and during the first year of their occupation of the island, the Japanese administration had its hands full suppressing widespread Chinese revolts. After about five months the situation settled down, but disturbances were never very far below the surface for most of the Japanese period (see Lamley (1999)).

The simmering antagonism to the Japanese overlords had much to do with the strict and often discriminatory attitude of the Japanese administration which alienated its Chinese subjects. Especially before 1920, Taiwan was effectively governed as a colony and the Taiwanese treated as second-rate citizens. They were subjected to even higher taxes than under the Qing administration, had limited access to educational resources, intermarriage with Japanese was forbidden, Taiwanese companies needed to have Japanese partners, and an ever-changing and often draconian legislative system was installed to keep unruly elements under control. It was especially the coming and going of restrictive and often unreasonable rules and legislation that created a lot of anxiety among the Taiwanese about their eventual fate in Japanese hands. This was itself caused by the changing attitudes of

subsequent governor-generals towards Taiwan's function within the Japanese empire, which wavered from a colonialist two-tier model in which Taiwan would forever be a subservient society of second-class citizens to a vision of total assimilation, in which all inhabitants of Taiwan would eventually be turned into Japanese citizens.

Despite all the friction and ambiguities, the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the rise of a young generation of urbanized Taiwanese that became gradually acculturated to the way of living that was introduced by the Japanese occupier. As a result, Japanese rule became much more moderated during the 1920s and some of the more discriminating rules, such as the segregation of Japanese and Taiwanese in education, were lifted. In the 1930s, a growing nationalist attitude in Japan and the resulting expansionist plans of the Japanese military caused the return of full-blown military rule to Taiwan, as the island and its inhabitants were prepared to fulfil their function in the Imperial army. During the Second World War, the island was turned into a southerly operating base for attacking enemy positions in the Philippines and Southeast Asia and many Taiwanese, including several thousand aboriginal inhabitants, would fight for the Japanese emperor.

It must be stressed that, however harsh and paternalistic the attitude of the Japanese military administration, Japan's intentions towards its 'first colony' (Hishida (1907)) was in general relatively humanistic and well-intended within the historical context. They developed the educational system and in later years even attracted Taiwanese to study in Japan. The Japanese occupiers also went to great effort to modernize Taiwan's infrastructure. In an impossibly high tempo, they planned and built the

road and railway network that would enable Taiwan to turn into an efficient market economy. In 1895 alone, during the first year of their occupation, they had already constructed 428 kilometers of roads, and by 1925 their road and rail network completely encircled the island (Hsu et al. (1999:171-174)). Admittedly, this was done in the first to maximize economic return for the motherland, but it nevertheless had far-reaching effects for the development of many parts of Taiwan, especially in previously inaccessible regions.

The combination of ideological and economic thinking had far-reaching implications for the aboriginals. Unlike the Qing administration, who tried to minimize conflict between Chinese settlers and the aboriginal tribes whose land they encroached upon by isolating the mountain areas, the new military administration actively tried to submit the rebellious tribes to Japanese control. One economic aspect that had a great impact on the aboriginal tribes living in the Central Mountain Range was the Japanese interest in timber harvesting and especially the exploitation of precious camphor wood.

Often, this meant the intrusion into the territory of high-mountain tribes and triggered violent attacks from the latter, in which many – often Chinese – lumber workers were killed and valuable property was destroyed. Especially the Atayal, but also some Bunun and Paiwan groups resisted violently. The Japanese retaliated by sending military expeditions into the mountains, which led a considerable amount of bloodshed on both sides. From 1889 till 1901, more than 500 people per year died on the Japanese side as a result of aboriginal attacks (Anonymous (1911:45)); we have no exact data on aboriginal casualties but the 1911 *Report on the Control*

*of the Aborigines in Formosa* (Anonymous (1911)) mentions twelve large punitive expeditions against aboriginal groups between 1909 and 1911, which could take up to two months and in many of which entire villages were razed to the ground.

Attempting to prevent extreme violence from overflowing into pacified areas, the Japanese also built police stations in many relatively peaceful areas and constructed a defensive guard line around the more problematic areas, which consisted of a walking path through the jungle with guard posts at regular intervals and in some areas protected by mines or even electric fencing (see Wang (1980:46-47) and Anonymous (1911)). From 1897 till about 1915, they gradually advanced this protective border into aboriginal territory, thus restricting the movement of their enemies. At the same time, they tried to encourage the groups that still offered resistance to move into Japanese-controlled territory in exchange for trading rights and medical care, built schools near police outposts to educate aboriginal children, and offered help with agricultural development.

Eventually, this carrot-and-stick approach proved successful and violence seems to have been drastically reduced after 1901. In the 1920s, the situation was sufficiently stable for the administration to impose an aboriginal reservation system that was designed to definitively protect the aboriginal tribes against unwanted Chinese intrusions. Many aboriginal groups, especially those living in small groups in inaccessible regions, were forced to resettle in designated villages, built around Japanese police stations. This led to another isolated but serious incident in 1930, when an Atayal group attacked a police station in Wu-she (霧社), killing over a hundred people and wounding more than 300.

In answer, the Japanese intensified their efforts to resettle the entire aboriginal population to easily controllable areas and to open up the inaccessible centre and east coast of Taiwan. Wang (1980:48) mentions that between 1920 and 1935, more than 35,000 aborigines were reported to have relocated. Among them, the Bunun formed a disproportionately large group: by 1929, 62 percent of the entire population had been relocated from small family groups high up in the mountains to villages under Japanese control. The Japanese introduced wet-rice cultivation and other modern agricultural methods, made villages more accessible by constructing roads, built schools in which aboriginal children were educated in Japanese, and developed modern medical facilities.

A very interesting development during the Japanese era was the emergence of the first modern studies of the indigenous communities and languages of Taiwan. Valuable information can already be gleaned from military reports such as the *Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa* mentioned above, but great breakthroughs came when anthropologists like Kanori Ino (伊能嘉矩) came to Taiwan and for the first time studied aboriginal and Chinese culture and language for their own sake rather than with a political or economic motive in mind. As early as 1900, he published the *Stories of Taiwanese Aborigines* (台灣蕃人事情) with Awano Denojo (粟野伝之丞) and his research in subsequent years would include a diverse array cultural and linguistic aspects of Taiwan's Chinese and aboriginal population. In linguistics, most memorable are the publications of Naoyoshi Ogawa (小川尚義) and Erin Asai (淺井惠倫), culminating in their monumental *The Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes* (Ogawa & Asai (1935)), a work

containing almost 800 pages of interlinearised translations of traditional stories in twelve Taiwanese indigenous languages, with linguistic introductions. The fact that this work is today, more than 70 years after its appearance, still frequently quoted says a lot about the academic rigour with which it was compiled.

#### **E. Modern Taiwan (1945 to present)**

The end of World War II meant another great turn in Taiwan's history. On 25 October 1945 Japan, by then a defeated nation, handed Taiwan officially back to the Nationalist government in China, headed by Chiang Kai-Shek (蔣介石). Taiwan's inhabitants looked upon the shift of power with ambivalence and apprehension. On the one hand, most Taiwanese were glad to get rid of what effectively was a brutal dictatorship in which they were treated like second-class citizens. On the other hand, they soon became aware of the fact that Japanese rule had brought them a level of educational, economic and societal development that was not going to be matched by the Chinese newcomers. The relatively well-educated Taiwanese (in 1943, primary school attendance was 81% for males and 61% for females)<sup>7</sup> were dismayed to see what they perceived as backward, unorganized and corrupt riffraff take the place of the strict but organized Japanese police state or, as it was put then, "the dogs left but the pigs came" (狗去豬來). This dismay would grow in the following years when mainlanders monopolized the political and economic system and set as its main political goal the eradication of all Japanese influences and political opposition in Taiwan.

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<sup>7</sup> See Phillips (1999:279)

By the end of the 1940s, the Kuomintang (KMT) was losing the Chinese civil war against Mao's army and this led to an evacuation of all Nationalists from the mainland to Taiwan between 1948 and 1950. Chiang Kai-shek was appointed President of the Republic of China and would remain so until his death in 1975. Under his rule, Taiwan was effectively a military dictatorship and access to political positions was severely restricted for native Taiwanese, both Chinese and aboriginal. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Taiwanese economy, which was almost in tatters after the loss of the war in China, was rebuilt and drastically modernized and Taiwan became one of the economic powerhouses of Asia (see Wang (1999:326-335)).

It was only under Chiang Kai-shek's son Chiang Ching-kuo (蔣經國), who was president from 1978 until 1988, that military rule relaxed somewhat and it became possible for native Taiwanese to move into higher political offices. His successor, Lee Teng-hui (李登輝), himself a native Taiwanese, finally transformed Taiwan into a full democracy in 1991. In 2000, he was also the first leader in the history of Taiwan that allowed himself to be succeeded by a democratically elected president from an opposition party, Chen shui-bian (陳水扁).

During the post-war period and much of Chiang Kai-shek's reign, political focus was on turning Taiwan into a unified Chinese nation under a unified national language and culture. This left little room for cultural or linguistic diversity: education was all in Mandarin Chinese and speaking other languages – Chinese or Austronesian – in public could even be severely punished. Oral and written language competence in Mandarin became a sign of adherence to the cultural norms of the republic. In this view, aborigines were defective citizens and Hsieh

(1994:405) indicates that until the 1980s the main discussion points between ideologues was whether the indigenous population should be actively assimilated or whether the pressure of a superior Chinese culture would automatically ‘naturalize’ the Austronesian inhabitants of the mountains.

During this period, aboriginal groups continued to live in reservations, which were officially designed to restrict Chinese intrusions into their territory. Nevertheless, contact between the aboriginal populations and the Chinese, often to the detriment of the former, increased due to the construction and improvement of the road network in central and east Taiwan, the resettlement of retired veterans from the Chinese civil war in mountainous areas, often in aboriginal territory, and illegal land developments in protected aboriginal territory. Nominally, the aboriginal population had the same political and legal rights as the Taiwanese population, but in the practical reality of a militaristic dictatorship this amounted to very little. On top of all that, the discriminatory attitude of many Chinese towards the aboriginal population was a widespread problem. Since aborigines make up not much more than two percent of the population of Taiwan, this made it as good as impossible for any attempts to raise aboriginal issues in the political arena to get widespread support.

Two organizations which each in their own way had a considerable positive influence on the aboriginal population were the Catholic Church and the Scottish Presbyterian Church. Catholic missionaries had been coming to the island since the second decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when a number of Spanish Dominican missionaries landed in the north of the country (Borao (2001)). In the second half of

the twentieth century it appears to have been especially French missionaries that were active in aboriginal territory, especially on the east coast of the country. Protestant missionaries first came to the country around the same time with the Dutch East India Company, but the Presbyterian Church of England started operating in Taiwan from 1865 onwards (Johnston (1897)).

The Chinese received them rather sceptically and sometimes were even openly hostile, but the missionaries had great success once they moved into aboriginal territory (see e.g. Johnston (1897:177ff) for a contemporary account). Both groups were (and often still are) in direct competition with each other. One can debate about what the introduction of Christianity meant for the demise of traditional aboriginal life styles, but both churches had a decidedly positive influence on the development of an aboriginal self-image and the preservation of aboriginal languages. It became a widespread habit to conduct mass in the local aboriginal language, and priests, ministers and members of the indigenous congregation often went to great lengths to translate religious works in the local language.

The influence of the Presbyterian Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary (玉山神學院), on the east coast in Hualien County, was particularly strong and the new generations of indigenous ministers that had received their education there played an important role in the rise of the aboriginal rights movement in the 1980s. Together with indigenous graduates from National Taiwan University, they founded the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines on 29 December 1984 (Hsieh (1994)). Its membership turned to the streets to make the wider population aware of aboriginal problems and started to campaign for political recognition for the indigenous

population. They lobbied for the ideologically and racially charged Chinese term for Taiwanese aborigines 山胞 (shān baō ‘mountain compatriots’) to be replaced by the more neutral 原住民族 (yuán zhù mín zú ‘indigenous people’, lit: ‘original inhabitants’); they argue that the aboriginal reservation system, in which government-owned land is rented out to aboriginal groups, should be reformed and indigenous groups should have actual land rights; and they wanted a high-level government agency to be established to enable aboriginal people to have some form of self-government (see Stainton (1999)).

The wider appeal of this movement among the general aboriginal population was rather limited, partly because its Mandarin-educated members were perceived as elitist and out of touch with daily aboriginal life and partly because efficient communication among the multiple ethnic groups that all spoke different languages and had sometimes conflicting goals proved difficult. Nevertheless, their incessant campaigns started to yield tangible political results in tandem with the democratisation movement of the early 1990s and in December 1993 the Taiwanese government officially recognized that Taiwan was a multi-ethnic state in which aboriginal people should be “involved in the planning and policy-making, out of respect for their sovereignty” (Stainton (1999:426)). Aboriginal land rights were acknowledged and in 1996 the Council of Indigenous Peoples (原住民族委員會) was established under the Executive Yuan and was given the right to formulate policies regarding the administration of indigenous peoples (CIP (2003:9)).

Originally, the ten groups traditionally distinguished by Japanese and Chinese scholars were granted official status, but there is a legal provision that allows

smaller groups to argue that they are culturally and linguistically distinct ethnic entities and therefore deserve official recognition. As Table 1 above indicates, fourteen tribes are presently recognized. The two last tribes to be added to the official list, the Sakizaya (formerly known as Nataoran Amis) and the Sediq, got their recognition only in 2007 and 2008 (see Tsai (2007) and Shih & Loa (2008) respectively). At the moment, an effort is underway to give the descendants of the Siraya official status.

For most of the smaller tribes any future political recognition might come too late, since over the last half century most tribes, and especially those living in the densely populated west, have assimilated with the Chinese majority and have lost most – if not all – of their culture and language. The larger aboriginal groups, mostly living in the sparsely populated east Taiwan, have managed to resist the cultural onslaught up to this day, but at the present day younger generations are educated in Mandarin-Chinese only and are drawn towards the cities in search of job opportunities and a better life. Tsukida & Tsuchida (2007)'s assertion that most people under twenty have completely lost knowledge of their mother tongue, while only the elderly over sixty years still regularly use it in daily life seems from my personal experience not be too far off the mark.

## **1.2. The Bunun people**

### **1.2.1. The Bunun and their five clans**

With 50,156 ethnic members, the Bunun are the fourth-largest of the Taiwanese indigenous tribes. Traditionally, the Bunun lived in the deep mountainous interior

of Taiwan and small family groups roamed the Central Mountain Range that runs from north to south through the island. In the past, they had a reputation as skilful hunters, and head-hunters, and were fierce warriors hostile towards almost all outsiders. Of all aboriginal tribes they and the Atayal were the last to succumb to the pacification campaigns of the Japanese government, but in the end they were forced to come down from the high mountains into lowland villages, so that they could be more easily subjected to the control of the colonial government.

Many modern Bunun still feel a connectedness to the mountains and live in villages in central or east Taiwan, but in recent years a gradual shift to the cities has taken place. Map 2 gives an indication of how the Bunun population is distributed across Taiwan. Note that indigenous population figures in Taiwan should be taken with a pinch of salt. For many years, aboriginal populations were considerably underreported in the statistics but recent governments try to rectify this situation and population statistics are as a result not completely stabilized yet. Also, many aborigines are officially registered in their home village, but actually spend most of their time in Taipei or one of the other big Taiwanese cities in order to secure a fixed job.

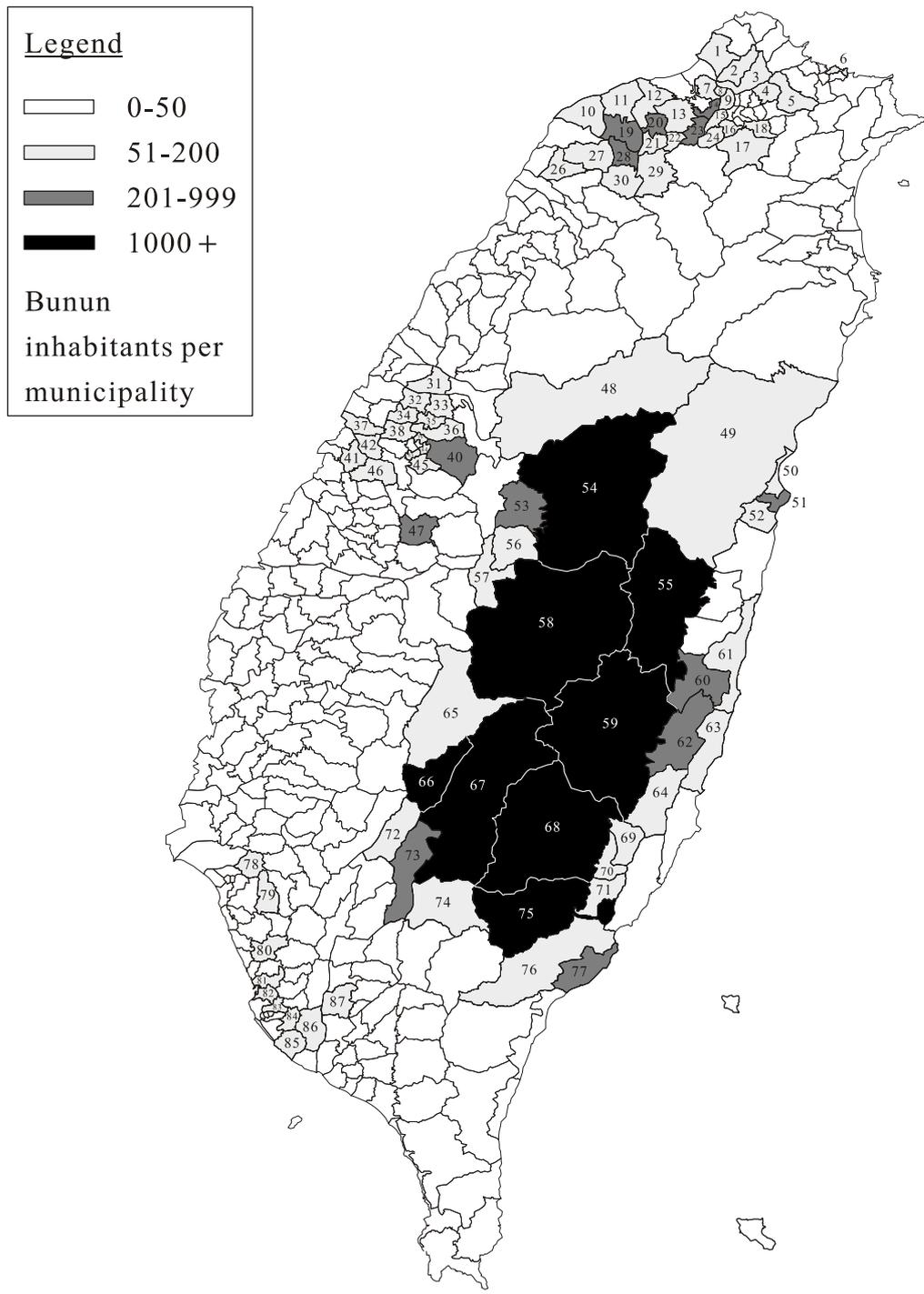
The Bunun heartland (the black area on the map) stretches from the township Ren-ai (仁愛鄉; no. 54 on Map 2) in the county Nantou in the north to Yan-ping (延平鄉; no. 75 on the map) in the county Taitung in the South. All of these areas are in or at the base of mountains, have a low population density and were until recently relatively inaccessible. The three light gray clusters in the north and west of Taiwan are the result of modern Bunun migrations into Taiwan's big industrial centres:

Taipei (台北; cluster 1-30 on Map 2), Taichung (台中; 31-40) and Kaohsiung (高雄; 78-87).

The Bunun tribe is subdivided into five clans (Isbukun, Takbanuað, Takivatan, Takituduh and Takibakha) that have settled throughout central Taiwan and speak five distinct dialects (see Figure 4 on p. 85 below) that are to a varying extent mutually understandable. Bunun culture, however, has remained fairly unified due to intensive intermarriage between clans and most tribe members generally consider themselves to be members of the Bunun tribe rather than of a particular clan.

It is believed that originally the Bunun tribe was all settled in the Xinyi District of the County Nantou (南投縣信義鄉; Map 2 no. 58). From there, the various Bunun clans gradually expanded their territory south- and eastwards from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century onward (see Li (2001) and Palalavi (2006)).

1.2 – THE BUNUN PEOPLE



Map 2 – Distribution of the Bunun in Taiwan<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Based on CIP (2003).

Bunun inhabitants per municipality				51-200		51-200				
	No.	Chinese name	Hanyu Pinyin transliteration							
1000 +	54	仁愛鄉	Ren-ai	9	三重市	San-chong	45	大里市	Da-li	
	55	萬榮鄉	Wan-rong	10	觀音鄉	Guan-yin	46	彰化市	Zhang-hua	
	58	信義鄉	Xin-yi	11	大園鄉	Da-yuan	48	和平鄉	He-ping	
	59	卓溪鄉	Zhuo-xi	12	蘆竹鄉	Lu-zhu	49	秀林鄉	Xiu-lin	
	66	三民鄉	San-min	13	龜山鄉	Gui-shan	50	新城鄉	Xin-cheng	
	67	桃源鄉	Tao-yuan	15	板橋市	Ban-qiao	51	花蓮市	Hua-lian	
	68	海瑞鄉	Hai-rui	16	中和市	Zhong-he	52	吉安鄉	Ji-an	
	75	延平鄉	Yan-ping	17	新店市	Xin-dian	56	魚池鄉	Yu-chi	
	201-999	14	新莊市	Xin-zhuang	18	文山區	Wen-shan	57	水里鄉	Shui-li
		19	中壢市	Zhong-li	21	八德市	Ba-de	61	豐濱鄉	Feng-bin
20		桃園市	Tao-yuan	22	鶯歌鎮	Ying-ge	63	長濱鄉	Chang-bin	
23		樹林市	Shu-lin	24	土城市	Tu-cheng	64	富里鄉	Fu-li	
28		平鎮市	Ping-zhen	26	湖口鄉	Hu-kou	65	阿里山鄉	A-li-shan	
40		太平市	Tai-ping	27	楊梅鎮	Yang-mei	69	池上鄉	Chi-shang	
47		南投市	Nan-tou	29	大溪鎮	Da-xi	70	關山鎮	Guan-shan	
53		埔里鎮	Pu-li	30	龍潭鄉	Long-tan	71	鹿野鄉	Lu-ye	
60		瑞穗鄉	Rui-sui	31	后里鄉	Hou-li	72	甲仙鄉	Jia-xian	
62		玉里鄉	Yu-li	32	神岡鄉	Shen-gang	74	茂林鄉	Mao-lin	
51-200	73	六龜鄉	Liu-gui	33	豐原市	Feng-yuan	76	卑南鄉	Bei-nan	
	77	台東市	Tai-dong	34	大雅鄉	Da-ya	78	永康市	Yong-kang	
	1	淡水鎮	Tan-shui	35	潭子鄉	Tan-zi	79	歸仁鄉	Gui-ren	
	2	北投區	Bei-tou	36	台中市北屯區	Tai-zhong Northern Village	80	岡山鎮	Gang-shan	
	3	士林區	Shi-lin	37	龍井鄉	Long-jing	81	楠梓區	Nan-zi	
	4	內湖區	Nei-hu	38	台中市西屯區	Tai-zhong Western Village	82	左營區	Zuo-ying	
	5	汐止市	Xi-zhi	39	台中市北區	Tai-zhong North	83	三民區	San-min	
	6	中正區	Zhong-zheng	41	和美鎮	He-mei	84	鳳山市	Feng-shan	
	7	五股鄉	Wu-gu	42	大肚鄉	Da-du	85	小港區	Xiao-gang	
	8	蘆洲市	Lu-zhou	43	台中市南區	Tai-zhong South	86	大寮鄉	Da-liao	
			44	台中市東區	Tai-zhong East	87	屏東市	Ping-dong		
						0-50	(All other municipalities)			

Map 2 – Distribution of the Bunun in Taiwan (place name index)

### A. Isbukun

The Isbukun are presently the largest clan and live in the southern regions of the Bunun heartland. One dialectally distinct group lives in the inaccessible mountainous districts San-min (三民鄉) and Tao-yuan (桃源鄉), in the east of Kaohsiung County (高雄縣; Map 2 nos. 66 and 67); another large group lives in the adjacent districts of Yan-ping (延平鄉) and Hai-duan (海端鄉) in the mountains to the east and north east of Taitung city. Both originally came from a settlement in the south of the Central Mountain Range to which they had come from Nantou

probably sometime in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Palalavi (2006:169-170)). A number of Isbukun families live in the County Nantou (南投縣), usually in mixed villages with other clans, with the exception of one village in the north-east of Xin-yi District (map no. 58).

### **B. Takbanuaǰ**

The Takbanuaǰ are the second largest Bunun clan and speak a conservative dialect that is distinctly different from Isbukun, but closely related to Takivatan. Together with the Takivatan, they were probably the first to migrate out of the original Bunun settlements in Xin-yi District. According to Palalavi (2006), a number of Takbanuaǰ families decided around the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century that they would migrate to the east and south east, deep into the Central Mountain Range of the County Hualien and the northern part of the County Taitung (台東縣). During the Japanese era, most families still living up in the mountains were forced to resettle in low-land villages. Today, a sizeable group of Takbanuaǰ still lives in Xin-yi in the County Nantou (Map 2 no. 58). Most of the group that migrated to the east ended up in the southern part of the County Hualien, more particularly in a number of remote villages in Zhuo-xi District (卓溪鄉; no. 59). Another segment lives now in between Isbukun in the north of Taitung County (nos. 68 and 75).

### **C. Takivatan**

The Takivatan are the third-largest clan. Linguistically, they are very closely related to the Takbanuaǰ. At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, they started moving eastward from their original villages in Xin-yi (Map 2 no. 58) to a

number of settlements deep in the mountains of Hualien. Again, it was the Japanese that resettled this eastern group into villages in the plains and today they mainly live in two villages in Hualien, Ma-yuan in Wan-rong District (no. 55) and Qi-mei in Rui-sui District (no. 60), the latter being a mixed village of Bunun and people from the Amis tribe. Some isolated families are dispersed in small settlements all over Hualien County. In Xin-yi district, three villages still have Takivatan populations, all of them mixed with other clans.

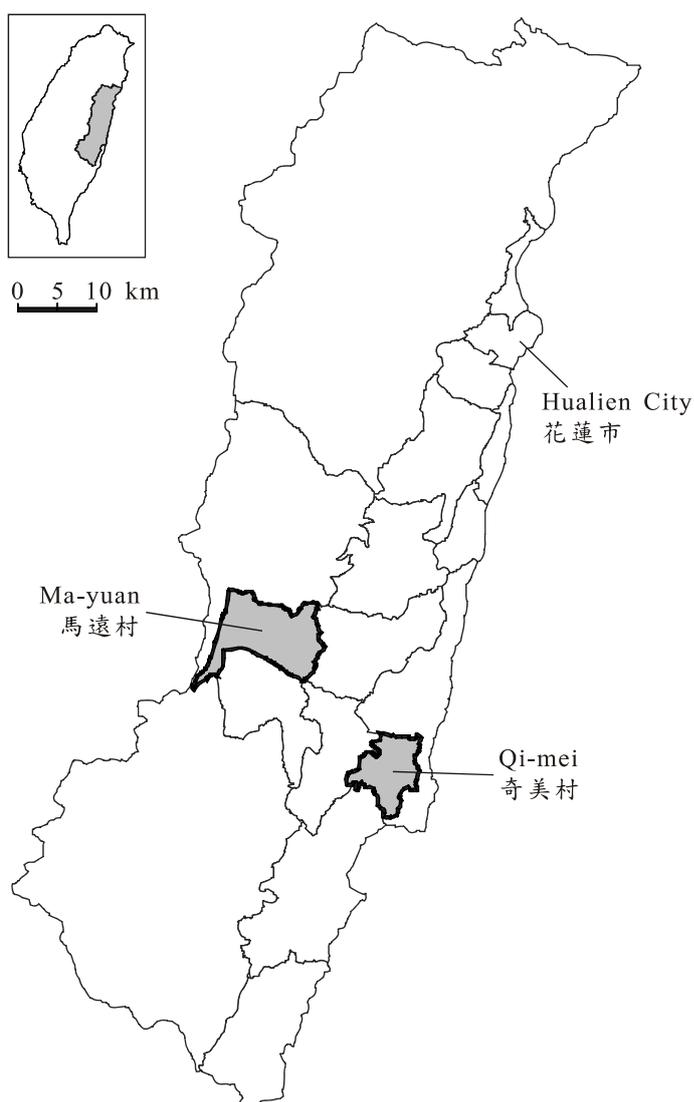
#### **D. Takibakha and Takituduh**

The Takibakha and Takituduh are both smaller clans. Relatively little is known about their dialects, except that they are closely related, are quite different from the adjacent Takbanuað dialect, and are probably nearly extinct due to the influence of Takbanuað and Chinese. The Takituduh live in three villages in the south of the Ren-ai District (仁愛鄉) in Nantou County (Map 2 no. 54) and in one or two mixed villages in Xin-yi (no. 58). There is still one village in Xin-yi that is exclusively inhabited by Takibakha families and a second in which the Takibakha live together with Takbanuað, Takibakha and Takivatan families.

#### **1.2.2. The Takivatan Bunun in Hualien**

This work will be primarily concerned with the Bunun language as it is spoken by the Takivatan that are living in the county Hualien in two villages, Ma-Yuan (花蓮縣萬榮鄉馬遠村) and Qi-Mei (花蓮縣瑞穗鄉奇美村). Both are indicated on Map 3; they are part of Map 2 nos. 55 and 60 respectively.

## 1.2 – THE BUNUN PEOPLE



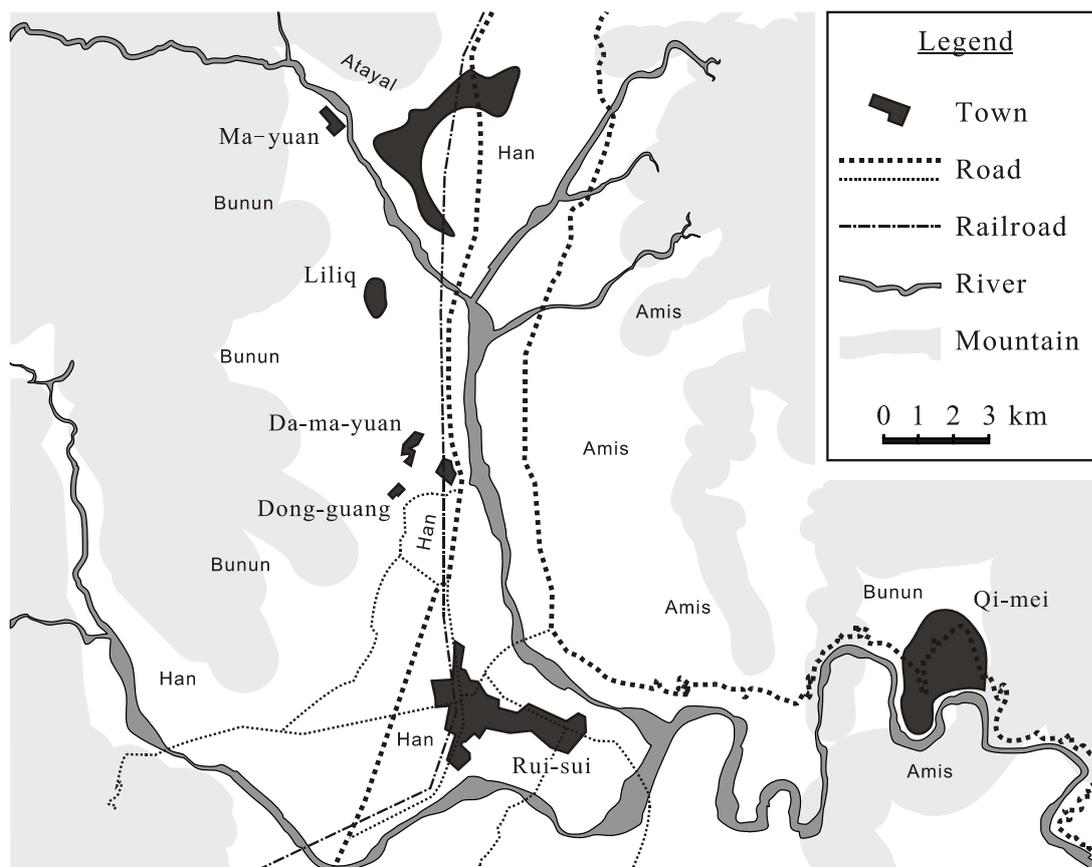
**Map 3 – Administrative boundaries in the County Hualien with Ma-yuan and Qi-mei marked in gray.**

As I mentioned above, the Takivatan lived in the County Nantou until the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in the same geographical area as the Takbanuað, Takibakha and Takituduh. Historically, it is very likely that together they branched off from the proto-Bunun with the Takbanuað clan and later split into two distinct clans (and dialects). Exactly when this happened is not entirely sure, but it certainly happened

well before the 17<sup>th</sup> century, since Palalavi (2006:143ff) gives indications that the clan distinctions might already have existed during the Dutch occupation.

I already mentioned that some Takivatan started migrating to the mountains to the west of present-day Ma-yuan from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century onward. These groups were fairly small and settled in locations fairly high up in the mountains. In the first half of the twentieth century, part of the clan moved from the mountains in east Nantou to Hualien County to escape overpopulation and in search of new hunting grounds. They were initially told by the Japanese occupiers to settle around Liliq, a settlement with a Japanese police station and school approximately three kilometres north of present-day Ma-yuan. Eventually, they moved down to Ma-Yuan village in the plains at the foot of Taiwan's Central Mountain Range, where they spread out to two new hamlets: Dong-guang (東光) and Da-ma-yuan (打馬遠). Some decades later, a small group of hunters moved to the mountains bordering the Pacific Ocean and settled in Qi-Mei village, where they now peacefully coexist with a prior population of Amis, another aboriginal tribe.

The Takivatan dialect is one of the minor Bunun dialects and is closely related to Takbanuað. Whereas all minor clans in Nantou are slowly being assimilated into the larger Takbanuað community, the Takivatan communities in Hualien have been living in relative isolation and have been remarkably resilient to outside influences from other dialects. Table 2 below gives an overview of all main settlements with Takivatan inhabitants in Hualien and Nantou, their Bunun names and – wherever available – the number of Takivatan inhabitants. Most data is based on Palalavi (2006), except for Qi-mei, which is from Xie (2005).



**Map 4 – Location of the Takivatan settlements in Hualien**

There are considerable dialectal variations among the five Bunun clans, but Bunun people will usually refer to themselves as *Bunun* and to their language as *malasbunun* ‘the Bunun language’. We will follow them in this habit, as far as cultural issues are concerned and no finer distinctions are required.

### 1.2.3. Traditional Bunun culture and society

In the days before the Japanese, the Bunun were semi-nomadic and lived in small family groups in loosely structured villages scattered across the Central Mountain Range. Intertribal warfare involving headhunting used to be very common, as in

other indigenous tribes of Taiwan, but this habit has died out with the coming of Christianity. Bunun society is patrilineal and patrilocal.

County	Romanized name	Chinese full name	Bunun name	TVN inhab.
Hualien	Ma-yuan	花蓮縣萬榮鄉馬遠村	Bahuan / Kunuan	1456
	<i>three hamlets:</i>			
	<i>Ma-yuan</i>	馬遠	<i>Bahuan</i>	
	<i>Da-ma-yuan</i>	打馬遠	<i>Tamaian</i>	
	<i>Dong-guang</i>	東光	<i>Dauŋquan</i>	
	Qi-mei	花蓮縣瑞穗鄉奇美村	Kivit	129
			TOTAL H	1585
Nantou	Di-li	南投縣信義鄉地利村	Tamađuan	?
	Tan-nan	南投縣信義鄉潭南村	<i>various</i> <sup>9</sup>	?
	Shuang-long	南投縣信義鄉雙龍村	Tibaun	?
	Xin-xiang	南投縣信義鄉新鄉村	Sinabalan	86
			TOTAL N	± 100
			TOTAL H+N	± 1685

**Table 2 – Takivatan villages**

Hunting took then – as it still does – a central place in Bunun life, not only as a food resource, but also as an important cultural activity. Participation in the hunt was restricted to the male members of the population and it was a strict taboo for women to be involved in any hunting activities. Besides game, they relied for their food supplies on the cultivation of millet, yams, sweet potatoes, beans and peanuts; on gathering wild plants and fruits; and on breeding chicken and domestic pigs.

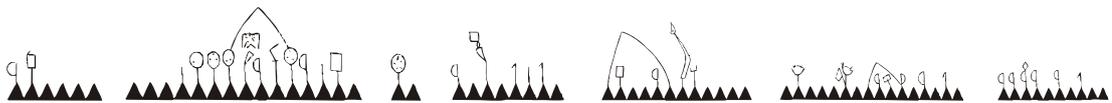
<sup>9</sup> Tan-nan and its hamlets are referred to by the following Bunun names: *Laiđuan*, *Masulili*, *Malavi* and *Maŋudavan*.

Both men and women tended to work in the field and domestic work was usually done by women.

Many Bunun lived in loosely organized, semi-permanent settlements that were abandoned when overpopulation, conflict or depletion made it necessary to move to new hunting grounds. They had a preference to live in relatively inaccessible mountainous areas and villages were usually stretched out over a relatively large area. Traditionally, Bunun preferred to build their houses from slates and – uncommon among Taiwanese aborigines – even the roof was constructed from large slabs of shale. When stone was not available, houses were built from bamboo with thatched roofs (see Anonymous (2003: ch. 2 & 3) for some examples). There was no strong concept of individual land ownership: although land was inherited in the male line, arable land could be redivided yearly according to the needs and abilities of individual families and if anyone owned more land than he could till, the excess could be utilized by other tribal members.

The Bunun did not have a stratified society or centralized leadership, but – like the Siraya as described by the Dutch (1.1.3.B) – made important decisions by consensus, after consultation with a selected group of elders. For war and hunting expeditions, leadership was taken up by the most experienced person, whose status depended on his success as a warrior or hunter and was usually derived from the number of human or animal skulls he had acquired in previous expeditions (Huang (1995b) refers to this as the great man model). This leader made decisions which needed to be approved by common consent and could be replaced if his decisions turned out ineffective.

In the absence of strong centralized authority, social order was maintained through a very strict system of social taboos (*samu*) that governed every aspect of life from the selection of marriage partners to rules about what could and could not be eaten at a certain time during the year and when you could wash yourself. Transgression of a taboo was believed to bring death or adversity on the family or group, was considered to be a mortal sin, and could be severely punished. Many acts related to agriculture or the hunt could not be performed unless a number of fixed rituals were followed. For instance, it was forbidden to start preparing the field in the beginning of the agricultural calendar before a certain ritual was performed by the (male) head of the family to avert adversity. The Bunun are unique among the indigenous groups of Taiwan in that they independently developed a writing system to note down lunar calendars with important periods in each year. These calendars were originally carved in strips of wood. An example, based on a mural at Ma-yuan's Presbyterian Church, is given below; each triangle represents one day, the triangular arches refer to times of the month when hunting is allowed, geometrical figures on sticks indicate that certain agricultural actions are allowed or forbidden.



**Figure 1 – Example of a Bunun lunar calendar.**

All taboos and rituals were embedded in an animist religion that centred on moon worship (see Text 2 in Appendix 1) and a belief that all creatures and objects in the universe are possessed by an immortal soul (*qanitu* ‘spirit’). There seem to have been few other distinct deities in the Bunun pantheon: most natural phenomena

were seen as the result of impersonal forces of nature. Central to Bunun religious experience was the concept of *matibahi*, the interpretation of prophetic dreams performed by elders before every significant moment in one's life. Before one went out to work, before a hunting expedition, before building a house, etc., elders had to wait till they had a prophetic dream to determine whether one could go ahead as planned or should postpone one's plans to avoid impending adversity. Before the coming of Christianity and modern medicine, there used to be a special group of female shamans (witches) that mediated between men and the supernatural and worked as healers.

The family group (*tastulumaq* 'family') was the main social unit in Bunun structure and most settlements consisted of one or a small number of extended families. Although individual groups had relatively great autonomy, family relationships across settlements were (and still are) considered extremely important, as can be seen from the centrality of the concept of *tais?an* 'relative', which literally refers to a group of people from the same paternal lineage, but also includes good friends and anybody who is accepted in the group. In the absence of social classes, seniority was the primary determinant of a person's status in the group. Elders played a crucial role in passing on traditions to younger generations, in enforcing social rules, and in interpreting prophetic dreams. It was – and still is – considered very bad form to treat the elders of the community with disrespect and up to this day, children are taught to be respectful and obedient to everybody older than them, whatever their family relationship. Conversely, raising children was seen as the

responsibility not only of the parents but of all senior members (including older children) in the village.

Bunun personal names consist of a first name and one or two family names (the second referring to the family and the first to a subgroup within that family). In recent times, some people tried to promote the habit of adding the clan name (in the case of my informants usually *Takivatan*), but since it is usually clear to which clan a family belongs, clan names are almost never expressed. Interestingly, there are only a limited number of first names in Bunun, which are handed down from the paternal male or female relatives to sons and daughters respectively in order of seniority. The oldest son will get the first name of his paternal grandfather, the second son of his oldest paternal uncle, the third of the second-oldest paternal uncle, and so on. If all male candidates on the father's line are exhausted, the naming system skips over to the maternal grandfather. Daughters are named according to an analogous system starting from the paternal grandmother. In pre-Christian times, the first name of a person was changed by a shaman in case of life-threatening illness in order to deflect the evil influence of a disease, and some people over sixty still have two first names. Family names are inherited in the paternal line. They indicate the family's lineage and either refer to an illustrious common ancestor or to a location associated with the family. For instance, one of the more famous family names within the Takivatan clan, *Tanapima*, is derived from the prefix *tana-* 'at the side of' and *Pima*, a male first name, and probably refers to a group of people that at a decisive point in Bunun history sided with Pima or lived in the neighbourhood of Pima's house.

The family name of both father and mother played an important role in determining a potential marriage partner, since Bunun are prohibited from marrying anybody that was related to them until the third degree on mother's or father's side to prevent inbreeding. Marriages were normally agreed upon by the parents and older brothers of the two parties, and girls generally wedded into their husband's family, sometimes from a very young age on. Marriage scenarios in which eight-year olds were sent to their future husband's home and raised by him and his family till they reached an appropriate age, are not uncommon among the elderly women in Ma-Yuan village.

All the above is a sketch of traditional Bunun life as it was *before* modernity and Christianity made their entrance. The twentieth century has radically transformed all Taiwanese ethnic groups, even though the Bunun, and especially the Takivatan, have always been quite conservative in comparison to other indigenous tribes and many values and customs still survive in some form today.

#### **1.2.4. Modern Bunun society**

The earliest recollection the Takivatan have of their own migration history is that somewhere at the beginning of the twentieth century, a sizeable group amongst them decided to leave their former homes in the mountains of Nantou and go to the County Hualien on the other side of the Central Mountain Range that crosses Taiwan from north to south. The elders of Ma-Yuan still fondly recall how in 1931 the final and largest troop of settlers crossed the impenetrable Central Mountain Range in only five days, on foot and carrying their children on their backs. In accordance with the wishes of Japanese authorities, the migrants settled in Liliq, a

now-abandoned settlement on the mountain slopes three kilometers south of Ma-Yuan village. According to Palalavi (2006) this was the last of a number of movements of Takivatan that had started at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but the earlier groups were much smaller. It is certain that Bunun hunters already knew the site from their long hunting expeditions throughout the interior of Taiwan. The Takivatan were not the first settlers in the area: the Amis tribe had a number of settlements in the nearby plains and the Atayal were living on the mountain slopes north of Ma-yuan.

The Takivatan settlement in Bunun was concentrated around the Japanese police post and school, and all Takivatan children were compelled to receive Japanese education. The Takivatan became de facto second-class citizens of the Japanese empire and were subject to the severe colonial government for the next decades. However, Japanese strictness brought advantages and, strange as it may seem, some of the older people remember the period with some nostalgia. After countless ages of tribal warfare, the Japanese brought law-and-order, started infrastructure works, and greatly improved sanitation and medical standards. All in all, living conditions for the Takivatan improved drastically. Agriculture became increasingly important in the lives of the Takivatan. The Japanese introduced wet rice culture and over the next decades white rice would gradually replace millet and yams as a main food source. Hunting was severely restricted, mainly because the Japanese wanted to control the use of fire arms. However, it was too deeply ingrained in the cultural awareness of the Bunun and even today many Bunun men proudly call themselves hunters.

The beginning of the twentieth century brought another major change to Takivatan society with the arrival of a new wave of Christian missionaries. While animism was still dominant in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, almost all Takivatan would be gradually converted to either Roman Catholicism or the Presbyterian Church. While it goes beyond doubt that Christianity was a deathblow for traditional religion and culture, the missionaries incorporated some elements of traditional culture in their local religious practices and, in strong contrast with the Japanese and especially the Kuomintang government, churches in Taiwan have always been staunch protectors and supporters of the aboriginal languages. At present, all aboriginal churches in Taiwan are fully indigenized and work with local people and in the local language. At the time of writing, almost all Bunun in Ma-Yuan village either belong to the Bunun Presbyterian Church (布農基督長老會) or to the Catholic Church (at a 50/50 ratio). Qi-Mei only has a Presbyterian church, as does Dong-guang.

The last century has radically transformed Bunun society. Under the military dictatorship of the Kuomintang and later under Taiwan's democratic governments, the Bunun – as with most aboriginal groups – became gradually modernized, but this happened much more slowly than one might have expected. Even 15 years ago, there were still people in Ma-yuan who lived in bamboo houses, although at present most new buildings are made of concrete and stone or of the typical Taiwanese mix of concrete, wood and corrugated iron. All people have access to electricity, cable television, telephone, the mobile phone network and high-speed internet, and most families have their own car.

Nevertheless, there are still many social disparities between Bunun and other aboriginal groups on the one hand and mainstream Taiwanese society on the other. According to Wen et al. (2004), for example, the average life expectancy at birth for a person living in an aboriginal village was still considerably lower than that of the general Taiwanese population (an average difference of 13.5 years for males, 8.4 years for females), despite a considerable increase over the preceding two decades. The same study found that infant mortality was about twice as high as in the general population. In most aboriginal villages, alcoholism has in recent decades grown into a serious problem. There are indications that this situation has somewhat been changing in recent years, as more and more young people have access to higher education, churches have started to put health issues on their agenda, and governments and medical institutions have gone to great lengths to bring healthcare into the villages and educate the general population.

The Bunun have become part of modern society and many aspects of their traditional culture have disappeared or changed beyond recognition. In search of better job opportunities or higher education, many people have moved to the cities in recent decades. This has considerably increased their standard of living, but it also meant that they came into close contact with the Sinitic population of Taiwan and that their culture and language has further eroded. Despite this flight to the cities, many Bunun maintain close bonds with their village of origin and all Bunun villages in Hualien are almost mono-ethnic. Bunun and other aborigines living in rural settings have a tendency to remain culturally and socially distinct from the surrounding Sinitic population. This is partly a relic of the politics of segregation in

the past, partly also a result of an almost inborn distrust of the Sinitic groups, after centuries of conflict and strained relationships, and partly because of the relatively large proportion of mono-ethnic marriages.

### **1.3. The Takivatan Bunun language**

#### **1.3.1. Austronesian languages in Taiwan**

The Bunun language is one of the Austronesian languages spoken on the island of Taiwan. The Taiwanese government currently recognizes fourteen population groups, but more languages are still in existence and a lot more are known to us from the historical records. Below is a list of languages that commonly comes up in the literature; data on some of the extinct languages is often scarce or non-existent and their status as separate languages is sometimes in dispute. Some linguists are inclined to classify Truku as a dialect of Sediq and in the past both would be considered to be dialects of Atayal, although it has been argued that Sediq and Atayal are quite distinct from each other. Similarly, The Sakizaya language was previously classified as the Nataoran dialect of Amis, but it has recently been argued that the two are in fact separate languages.

These languages are often commonly referred to as Formosan languages, although there is quite some doubt as to whether they should be grouped together in a single Formosan language group or just be considered as individual branches on the Austronesian language tree. Except for the Yami language, which is referred to as Tao by its speakers and is related to the Batanic languages spoken in the Northern

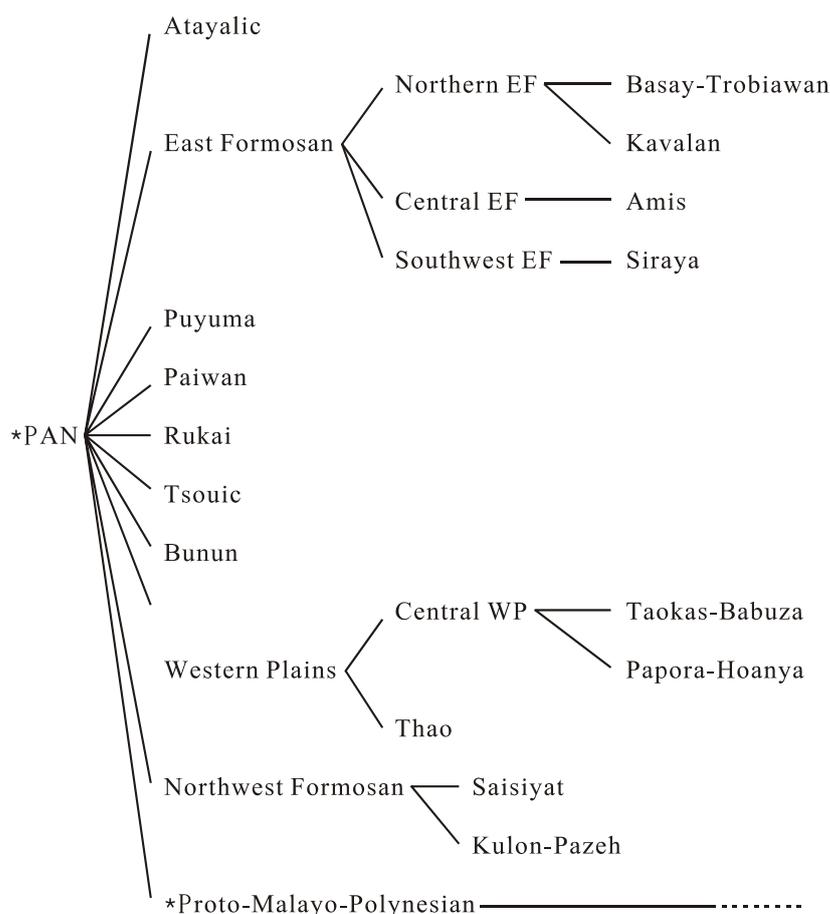
Philippines (see Rau & Dong (2006)), the Austronesian languages of Taiwan are in all likelihood the oldest remaining descendants of Proto-Austronesian.

Amis*	Makatao‡	Seediq*
Atayal*	Paiwan*	Siraya†
Babuza / Favorlang‡	Pazeh‡	Taivoan‡
Basay‡	Popora‡	Tao / Yami*
Bunun*	Puyuma*	Taokas‡
Hoanya‡	Qautqaut‡	Thao*
Kanakanabu†	Rukai*	Trobiawan‡
Kavalan†	Saaroa†	Tsou*
Ketagalan‡	Saisiyat*	Truku / Taroko*
Liulang‡	Sakizaya*	

(\*: officially recognized / †: moribund (less than 10 speakers) / ‡: extinct)

**Table 3 – List of Formosan languages**

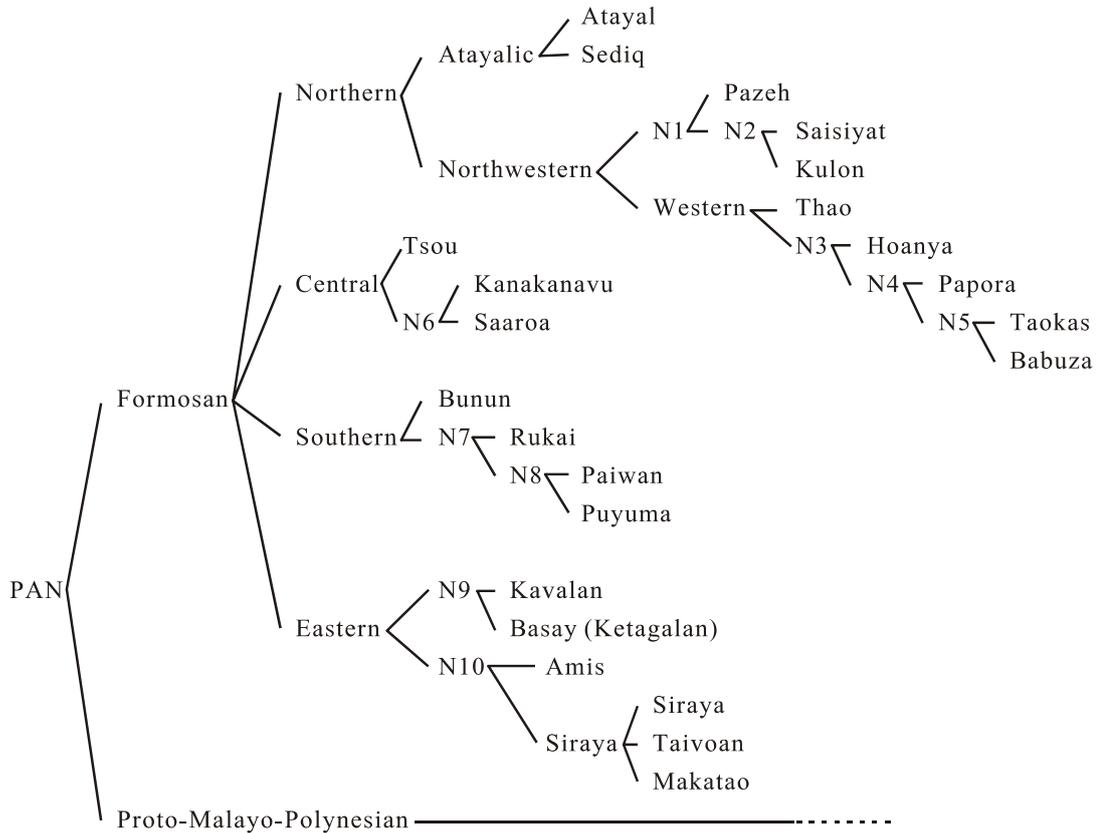
Attempts to classify the Formosan languages often focus on the wider context of the Austronesian language family (an overview of a number of influential classifications up to 1995 can be found in Tryon (1995)). The present consensus among most scholars is that the Austronesian languages of Taiwan belong to a number of first-order subgroups of proto-Austronesian, although the debate continues about the exact number of subgroups, their internal relationships, and their relationship to the rest of the Austronesian family. One of the most influential classifications is Blust (1999), who, based on shared phonological innovations, posits that the Formosan languages constitute nine subgroups at the trunk of the Austronesian language tree, the tenth being the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian branch that was the source of all other Austronesian languages.



**Figure 2 – Classification of Formosan languages according to Blust (1999).**

Blust indicates that classifications like that cannot be more than an approximation of historical reality, but his main point is that the Formosan languages constitute a disproportionately large number of primary sub-branches of the Austronesian language tree and that there is little evidence for the existence of higher-order nodes and especially not for a hypothetical Proto-Formosan branch which would subsume all Austronesian languages in Taiwan as a separate subgroup of proto-Austronesian. He also believes that Proto-Malayo-Polynesian is a primary subbranch of Proto-Austronesian, in contrast with people like Starosta (1995), who had tried to argue –

mainly on the basis of morphosyntactic evidence – that what is called the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup might actually be the result of a number of Formosan migrations to the Philippines.



**Figure 3 –Classification of Formosan languages according to Li (2006)**

Li (2006) accepts some of Blust’s conclusions, but objects that Blust only takes into account phonological evidence and is sceptical that proto-Formosan would have immediately split up into nine basic subgroups. He tries to incorporate morphosyntactic data and ends up with a preliminary classification that is not unlike the one proposed by Starosta, with proto-Formosan reinstated as a hypothetical

ancestor of all Taiwanese Austronesian languages (note that, like Blust, he explicitly states the preliminary nature of his classification).

Various other classifications have been attempted, some looking similar to the two above and others quite different. Given the relative scarcity of linguistic data on some of the Formosan languages and the fact that few or none of the classifications takes into account the sometimes considerable dialectal variation within some of the languages, it is not surprising that none can be considered definitive. Ross (1995a) has questioned the validity of a neat genetic classification for the Formosan problem and argues that it might be more appropriate to see the Formosan languages as some sort of dialect continuum or area.

He also correctly remarks that most reconstructions involving the comparative method do not – or only cursorily – take into account contact phenomena. This is problematic for the Austronesian languages of Taiwan, since they have been crammed into a very restricted geographical area for at least 5000 years and it is certain that there must have been a large amount of linguistic contact. The importance of contact becomes clearer if we consider that even in the last four centuries, many tribes have undertaken considerable migrations, sometimes leading to mixed tribal villages, and that tribes like the Bunun and the Atayal were traditionally semi-nomadic and swarmed out all over the island.

As far as it is useful now or in the future to cram all Formosan languages into a neat tree-shaped cabinet, we should probably refrain from trying to do so at the moment, given the present lack of evidence. All we can say today is that Formosan languages are Austronesian and that, with the exception of Yami, they are probably

more closely related to each other than to other Austronesian languages outside Taiwan.

### 1.3.2. Bunun dialects

The Bunun language is traditionally subdivided in five distinct dialects (see Figure 4), corresponding to the five Bunun clans discussed in 1.2.1.<sup>10</sup>

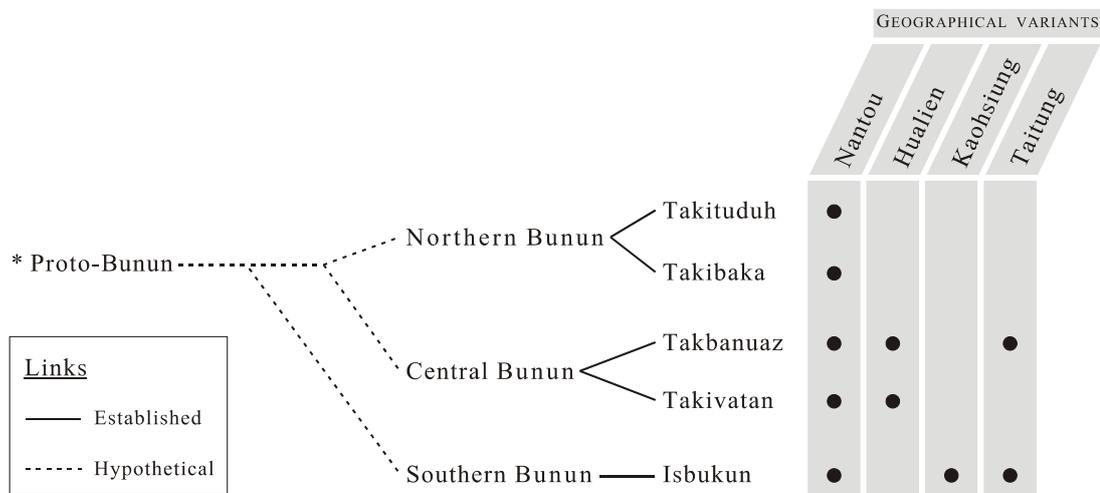


Figure 4 – Subgrouping of Bunun dialects

Traditionally, the dialects are grouped into a northern, a central, and a southern dialect branch, as indicated above. This classification was made in Ogawa & Asai (1935), probably based on a combination of linguistic information and stories about the clan movements of the Bunun, although – as far as I am aware of – no extensive comparative study has so far been conducted to confirm or refute it (apart from the relatively concise Li (1988)).

<sup>10</sup> This distinction has been made since the Japanese era; see Ogawa & Asai (1935:585ff)

Lexical, phonological and grammatical dialect differentiation is considerable and dialects are only to a certain degree mutually understandable. Most other clans are able to understand the Isbukun dialect, but this is mainly because it has developed to some extent into a super-dialectal standard and has been the major influence for two recent Bible translations. Isbukun speakers tend to have difficulties understanding other dialects.

#### **A. Isbukun**

Isbukun is the largest Bunun dialect and is spoken in the counties Kaohsiung and Taitung. Speakers indicate that there are substantial differences between the Isbukun dialects spoken in Taitung and Kaohsiung, probably due to the relative isolation of the Kaohsiung subgroup. Lexical, phonological and morphosyntactic divergences between Isbukun and the other four dialects are considerably larger than the mutual divergence between the other dialects. Lexical differences are manifold, but it would take us too far to go into detail. Some of the most striking phonological differences include:

- Isbukun often has a uvular fricative /χ/ or zero in final and post-consonantal position and a glottal fricative /h/ in initial and intervocalic positions where Takivatan and Takbanuað have the uvular stop /q/.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Data from Li (1988) and from my own data.

<u>Isbukun</u>	<u>Takbanuað</u>	<u>Takivatan</u>	<u>Takituduh</u>	<u>Takibakha</u>	
<i>bitvaχ</i>	<i>bitvaq</i>	<i>bitvaq</i>	<i>bitvaq</i>	<i>bitvaq</i>	‘thunder’
<i>dihanin</i>	<i>diqanin</i>	<i>diqanin</i>	<i>diqanin</i>	<i>diqanin</i>	‘sky, heaven’
<i>haisiŋ</i>	<i>qaisiŋ</i>	<i>qaisiŋ</i>	?	?	‘rice, food’

- Intervocalic glottal stops that are obligatory or optional in other dialects are often not present in Isbukun.

<u>Isbukun</u>	<u>Takbanuað</u>	<u>Takivatan</u>	<u>Takituduh</u>	<u>Takibakha</u>	
<i>mapais</i>	<i>mapaʔis</i>	<i>mapaʔis</i>	<i>mapaʔis</i>	<i>mapaʔis</i>	‘bitter’
<i>su</i>	<i>suʔu / su</i>	<i>suʔu / su</i>	<i>suʔu</i>	<i>suʔu</i>	‘you’

- On the other hand, Isbukun sometimes has a glottal stop where other dialects tend to have a glottal fricative /h/.

<u>Isbukun</u>	<u>Takbanuað</u>	<u>Takivatan</u>	<u>Takituduh</u>	<u>Takibakha</u>	
<i>luʔum</i>	<i>luhum</i>	<i>luhum</i>	<i>luhum</i>	<i>luhum</i>	‘cloud’
<i>ʔuknav</i>	<i>huknav</i>	<i>kuknav</i>	<i>huknav</i>	<i>huknav</i>	‘leopard’

- Isbukun often has /ɕʒ/ were Takbanuað and Takivatan have /t/.

<u>Isbukun</u>	<u>Takbanuað</u>	<u>Takivatan</u>	
<i>ɕina</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>tina</i>	‘mother’
<i>aɕikis</i>	<i>atikis</i>	<i>atikis</i>	‘small’

At present, a lack of accurate data means that we have no good overview about the exact morphological and syntactic differences between the various Bunun dialects,

but there are marked morphological and syntactic differences between Isbukun on the one hand and Takivatan and/or Takbanuað on the other. Some of these are:

- Isbukun has *hai* for left-dislocation marker, whereas Takivatan and Takbanuað have *a*. The exception is the Nantou variety of Isbukun, where both *hai* and *a* occur (cf. Zeitoun (2000:66)).

(1)	<u>Isbukun:</u>	<i>kasu</i>	<i>hai</i>	<i>maun</i>	<i>haisij</i>
	<u>Takivatan:</u>	<i>suʔu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>maun</i>	<i>qaisij</i>
		2S.N	LDIS	eat	rice

‘As for me, I am eating’ (constr.)

- The pronominal paradigms of Isbukun and Takivatan are markedly different (as exemplified by *kasu* vs. *suʔu* in the example above) and Isbukun still appears to have a full set of bound personal pronouns, whereas Takivatan has lost the third-person forms. (No information is presently available for Takbanuað.)
- Takivatan has an elaborate set of bound deictic markers on nouns and verbs (see Chapter 9, section 9.1). These are absent in Isbukun. (No information is presently available for Takbanuað.)
- Isbukun has noun-phrase-initial particles *a* for marking subject and *mas* for marking oblique case (see Zeitoun (2000:70-72)). These are completely absent in Takivatan and Takbanuað.

### B. Takbanuað and Takivatan

The central dialects Takbanuað and Takivatan are mainly spoken in geographically adjacent or partially overlapping regions in the counties Nantou and Hualien. They are closely related and are to a large degree mutually understandable. From my limited observations, I have not been able to distinguish systematic phonological differences between the two, but there are quite a number of lexical differences.

### C. Takituduh and Takibakha

The northern dialects Takituduh and Takibakha are spoken in a small number of villages in the county Nantou. Both are in danger of imminent extinction due to the pressure of Takbanuað and Mandarin-Chinese, and Takibakha is almost entirely assimilated by Takbanuað. Unfortunately, we have very little information on either of the two dialects, but informants told me that they sound significantly different both from Isbukun and from the central dialects and that they are hardly understandable for outsiders. From the examples in Li (1988), I could extract one systematic phonological difference: Takituduh and Takibakha often have /ɕ/ where the three other dialects have /s/:

<u>Isbukun</u>	<u>Takbanuað</u>	<u>Takivatan</u>	<u>Takituduh</u>	<u>Takibakha</u>	
<i>las</i>	<i>las</i>	<i>las</i>	<i>laɕ</i>	<i>laɕ</i>	‘red meat’
<i>susu</i>	<i>susu</i>	<i>susu</i>	<i>ɕuɕu</i>	<i>ɕuɕu</i>	‘breast’

#### 1.3.3. Number of speakers and language fluency

Table 2 on page 71 indicates that the upper limit for the number of Takivatan speakers is lower than 1700. I already indicated above that this study will not

include the Takivatan as it is spoken by approximately 100 people in villages in Nantou, because of the long interaction mainly with Takbanuað speakers. The remaining 1600 Takivatan live in the County Hualien, which means that they are unlikely to have undergone a dialect shift to the Takbanuað dialect. There is no difference between the Takivatan dialect of Ma-Yuan and that of Qi-Mei.

Unfortunately, not all members of the Takivatan clan still speak their ancestral tongue. To get an indication of the number of fluent speakers, one has to take into account several social factors such as age and education. As far as I know, there are no monolingual speakers of Takivatan (or Bunun in general) anymore. In Ma-yuan and Qi-mei, only some elders over eighty have no knowledge of Mandarin-Chinese at all and use Takivatan as their main means of communication. However, most grew up during the Japanese occupation and were therefore educated in Japanese.

People between 50 and 75 were usually educated in Mandarin, but would still only have spoken Takivatan at home and would generally not have had the opportunity to move out of the village in search of a better job. As a result, they speak their mother tongue fluently, although most might use a mixture of Bunun and Mandarin, even among family and friends. The population group between 40 and 50 is worse off and a significant portion will use Mandarin when speaking with peers, although they are usually able to converse in Bunun with elders.

It is rare for people in the age group between 30 and 40 to consistently use Bunun in conversations with peers, although they might still speak it at home with their parents and other elders. Fluency in Bunun among this class varies. I have met thirty-year-olds that can still hold a complex conversation in Bunun (although their

language is usually impoverished), but other people – especially those that are higher educated – might only have a passive knowledge of Bunun. The youngest generations have no active knowledge of their ancestral tongue anymore, except for some isolated vocabulary and simple sentences. They exclusively use Mandarin-Chinese in daily conversation and have little interest in the language of their parents and grandparents. Depending on how language fluency is exactly defined, I would estimate that not more than fifty to sixty-five percent of the Takivatan have still an active knowledge of their dialect.

There are no official figures on the number of Bunun speakers in general. If we accept that competence in the native tongue per age group for the Bunun language as a whole is similar to that of the Takivatan dialect, we can assume that there are presently between 25,000 and 32,500 Bunun speakers left. This might be an optimistic estimate, since in comparison to the Takivatan villages in Hualien, many other Bunun settlements are geographically less isolated and culturally less conservative.

## **1.4. A typological profile of Takivatan**

### **1.4.1. Phonology**

Takivatan Bunun has four phonemic vowels /i e u a/. These can occur in six vowel combinations that on a phonetic level often behave like diphthongs but are distinct phonemes from a morphological and phonotactic point-of-view (see Chapter 2).

There are seventeen consonants: the plosives /p t k q ʔ/, the implosives /b d/ (represented in the examples below as <b d>), the nasals /m n ŋ/, the fricatives /v

ð s h/, an affricate /dʒ/ and a lateral /l/. Apart from rare instances of vowel contraction and deletion and, even more rarely, of metathesis or epenthesis, very few morpho-phonemic processes occur. There are three dominant types of reduplication. Stem-reduplication and word-initial CV-reduplication occur frequently, while word-initial Ca-reduplication is more uncommon. In general, words have penultimate word stress. Takivatan Bunun is uncommon compared to other Bunun dialects in that it tends to have rising intonation even in declarative clauses.

#### 1.4.2. Morphology and syntax

Takivatan Bunun is an agglutinative language and is predominantly head-marking. As in all Bunun dialects, most of its morphological complexity is on the verb and I have so far recorded more than 250 distinct verbal affixes, the vast majority of which (over 200) are prefixes. The rest is a mixture of suffixes, infixes and circumfixes.

There are three open word classes: nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The latter can be analysed a subclass of stative verbs. There is a larger number of closed word classes, including pronouns, prepositions, question words, numerals, discourse markers, and conjunctive particles. Apart from the discourse markers and the conjunctive particles, most other word classes can be defined in terms of how nominal or verbal they are and most lexical items in Takivatan can occur as the head of arguments or predicates or – more commonly – both. There is no class of adverbs. Concepts that are in a language like English typically expressed by adverbs (time, manner, degree, similarity, etc.), many temporal, aspectual and

modal concepts, and also negation are in Takivatan and other Bunun dialects expressed by a large class of auxiliary verbs. At the moment, it is not clear whether auxiliaries form an open or a closed word class.

- (2) Daukdaukʔas mudadan!

{daukdauk}<sub>AUX</sub>[-ʔas]<sub>AG</sub> {mu-<da>dan}

slowly-2S.F ALL-<REP>-go

‘You have to go slowly.’ (i.e. ‘you have to drive slowly when you go.’)

- (3) Muqnaŋ sak laupaku taquki [...]

{muqna-aŋ}<sub>AUX</sub> [sak]<sub>AG</sub> [laupaku]<sub>TIME</sub> {taqu-ki}

next-PROG 1S.F now tell-DEF.SIT.PROX

‘And next I will tell [a little bit about how my life was in the old days.]’

(TVN-006-001:2)

As has been observed for many Austronesian languages (see e.g. Himmelmann (2006) on Tagalog or Gil (1994) on Riau Indonesian), word class distinctions are rather fluid in Takivatan. It is for instance possible for words that one would think of as nominal to occur in verbal slots or vice versa.

Takivatan has a free and a bound paradigm of personal pronouns, four distinct demonstrative paradigms, and a separate marker *sia* for general anaphoric reference, which can be used both in nominal and verbal slots (see 9.5). Personal pronouns distinguish between a 1st, 2nd and 3rd person in the singular and between a 1st inclusive, 1st exclusive, 2nd and 3rd person in the plural. Third person reference is

often expressed by demonstrative pronouns or by the anaphoric marker, and third person personal pronouns are relatively uncommon.

Takivatan has verb-initial argument order and, like most Austronesian languages in Taiwan, an unusual argument alignment system that is often called a Phillipine-style voice system or a focus system (see 1.4.3 below for a concise discussion, and 7.1.2 and 7.1.3 for a discussion of why prefixes are best not analysed as part of the focus system in Takivatan Bunun). There is a fairly productive system of topic left-dislocation with the marker *a*.

(4) Akia mataðin.

[ <b>aki-a</b> ] <sub>AG</sub>	{matað-in}
<b><u>grandfather-LDIS</u></b>	die-PRV

‘Grandfather, he has died.’ (TVN-xxx-xx1:230)

Ellipsis, both of constituents and of affixes, occurs frequently, especially in information registers and in the right pragmatic context it is often possible to strip a clause of all its content except for the verbal root and still have a grammatical sentence. For instance, if all speech participants would be aware that the person talked about is grandfather in the above sentence, the same proposition could be expressed simply as *Matað*. Only personal pronouns are marked for case. The syntactic status of all other noun phrases is indicated by their position in the clause or by pragmatic inference.

There is a generic complement clause marker *tu*, which is used by complement-taking verbs, such as verbs of speech and thought, and also occurs with some auxiliaries.

- (5) Tupa tu naʔasa maupata

{tupa} tu            C1|COMPL    {na-asa}<sub>AUX</sub>    {maupa-ta}<sub>AUX</sub>  
say            COMPL                    IRR-must            thus-DEF.REF.DIST

‘And he said: “You have to do it like that.”’ (TVN-012-001:32)

- (6) Asa tu mananulu miqumis

{asa}<sub>AUX</sub>    tu            {ma-nanulu}<sub>AUX</sub>    {m-iqumis}  
must            COMPL    STAT-attentive    DYN-live

‘You have to live attentively.’ (TVN-013-001:3)

Causative and purposive complementation strategies do not require any overt marking and are typically realized as serial verb constructions. Adjectives and stative verbs can also occur in serial verb constructions.

- (7) Itaʔina kidʔain minpantu

{ita-in-a}                            SUBORD1|C2    {kitʔa-in}<sub>AUX</sub>    {min-pantu}  
there-PRV-SUBORD                            start-PRV            BECOME-student/study

‘When we had arrived there, we became students (or: we started to study)’

(TVN-008-002:14)

The two prevalent clause linking mechanisms in Takivatan are apposition, often in combination with time auxiliaries, and the subordination marker *a*, which is mainly used for temporal clauses expressing anteriority. An example of the latter is given in (7).

### 1.4.3. Argument alignment

As mentioned above, Takivatan has a Philippine-style focus system and is typically verb-initial. This thesis will assume that argument alignment in Takivatan cannot be reduced to either a nominative-accusative or an ergative-absolutive system (contrary to the approaches of Liao (2004) and Ross & Teng (2005)). I think I have solid arguments for such an approach, but unfortunately time and space limitations mean that it is not possible to work them out in detail within the scope of this dissertation. Note that the term ‘focus’ does in this work not refer to the concept of pragmatic focus as it is used in many branches of modern linguistics, but goes back to an old tradition in Austronesian linguistics and refers to a system of verbal affixes that is used in many Austronesian languages of Taiwan and the Philippines to cross-refer to a set of syntactic-semantic participant roles associated with the verb.

Takivatan Bunun distinguishes three focus types: agent focus (AF), undergoer focus (UF; includes patient, beneficiary and instrument), and locative focus (LF). Focus is marked on the verb by suffixes,  $\emptyset$  for AF, *-un* for UF and *-an* for LF (see Chapter 6 for an elaborate discussion). One example for each focus type is given in (8)-(10) below.

- (8) Siða malŋaŋausta maduqta.

{siða-Ø} [malŋaŋaus-ta]<sub>AG</sub> [maduq-ta]<sub>UN</sub>

take-AF shaman-DEF.REF.DIST millet-DEF.REF.DIST

‘The shaman took millet.’ (adapted from TVN-012-001:69)

- (9) Siðaʔun asik.

{siða-un} [asik]<sub>UN</sub>

take-UF shrub

‘they gathered the shrubs’ (adapted from TVN-012-001:24)

- (10) Maqtu pasiðaʔanin ŋabul, vanis.

{maqtu pa-siða-ʔan-in} [ŋabul vanis]<sub>UN</sub>

can CAUS.DYN-take-LF-PRV antler wild.boar

‘We could [in that place] catch deer and wild boar.’ (TVN-008-002:47)

I will discuss in Chapter 7 why I do not analyse certain prefixes, such as INSTR *is-*, as belonging to the focus system (see especially 7.1.2-7.1.3). Focus marking on the verb cross-references the pragmatically most prominent argument in a clause. We will say that this argument is *in focus* and call it the *focused participant*. This participant may or may not be explicitly expressed and, in fact, the focused participant is commonly omitted because it can often be inferred from the context. This is clear from (10), where the verb has a locative focus marker, but the locative argument is not expressed because it is clear in the story where the hunters wanted to go to catch deer and boar.

All arguments that have the potential to be cross-referenced by focus suffixes are core arguments of the verb, in the sense that they are constituents in a clause that are seen as required by a verb (cf. Matthews (2005:24)). Only core arguments can be topicalized with the left-dislocation marker *a*. Interestingly, this means that locative participants are also core arguments of the verb, since they can be cross-referenced on the verb (see (10) above) and it is grammatically possible – though relatively rare – to left-dislocate them. This happens in the example below, where *kahaŋ* ‘grass’ is the topicalized locative argument of *saduan* ‘see’.

(11) *Kahaŋa ma nei saduan*

[kahaŋ-a] <sub>LO</sub>	ma	{ni} <sub>AUX</sub>	{sadu-an}
high.grass-LDIS	INTER	NEG	see-LF

‘In the high grass, I did not see [the deer] there.’ (TVN-008-002:201)

In contrast, other locative phrases are peripheral constituents that do not belong to the intrinsic valency of the verb and are therefore not core arguments. In Takivatan, place, time and manner phrases (PTM phrases) belong to this category. For instance, peripheral place phrases accompanying locative verbs are always peripheral arguments: they cannot be cross-referenced on the verb with LF *-an* and they cannot be left-dislocated with LDIS *-a*, as the examples below illustrate.

(12) (a) munhanin ʔasaŋta

{mun-han-in} [ʔasaŋ-ta]<sub>PLACE</sub>

ALL-go-PRV village-DEF.REF.DIST

‘[The people] had gone to the village.’ (TVN-012-002:28)

(b) \* mun-han-an-in asaŋta

ALL-go-LF-PRV village-DEF.REF.DIST

(c) \* ʔasaŋ-a mun-han-in

village-LDIS ALL-go-PRV

Free personal pronouns distinguish between a neutral form and a focused agent form. The neutral form marks (1) focused and non-focused undergoers, (2) non-focused agents, (3) left-dislocated arguments, and (4) possessors in post-nominal positions (see 9.2). Below are examples with the neutral forms *su* and *suʔu* of the second person singular (there are no examples in the corpus of a left-dislocated second person singular).

(13) 2S.N suʔu = focused undergoer:

Antalamun ðaku suʔu

{antalam-un} [ðaku]<sub>AG</sub> [suʔu]<sub>UN</sub>

answer-UF 1S.N 2S.N

‘I answer you.’

- (14) 2S.N su = non-focused undergoer:

Maðimaʔak su.

{maðima}[-ʔak]<sub>AG</sub> [su]<sub>UN</sub>

like-1S.F 2S.N

‘I like you.’ (TVN-xx2-007:58)

- (15) 2S.N suʔu = non-focused agent:

Duq ludaqun suʔu?

duq {ludaq-un} [suʔu]<sub>AG</sub>

whether hit-UF 1S.N

‘Did you maybe/by any means hit it?’ (TVN-xx2-001:97)

- (16) 2S.N su = post-nominal possessor:

Lumaq su

[lumaq su]

house 2S.N

‘your house’ (TVN-xx2-004:11)

If there is a single bound pronoun on a verb, it typically marks the focused agent, as 1S *-ʔak* does in (14) above. The only systemic exception is the form *-uk*, which marks non-focused first person agents in undergoer focus constructions. Very exceptionally, two bound pronouns are stacked onto the same verbal root. In these cases, the first normally refers to the agent and the second to the undergoer.

(17) Nadasukʔas han daiða.

{na-das}[-uk][-ʔas]    [han    daiða]<sub>PLACE</sub>  
 carry-1S.NFA-2S        to        over.there

‘I take you to that place.’ (TVN-xx2-005:20)

The syntactic function of other arguments is determined by their position in the clause and by pragmatic inference. For free noun phrases, the unmarked constituent order is typically as below (although it is not uncommon for the locative argument to move to a position closer to the verb, i.e. to the left):

Agent – Beneficiary/Instrument – Patient – Location

However, it is very uncommon that more than one free noun phrase argument occurs on a single predicate and it is almost impossible to express more than two arguments on the same verb. Two or more arguments can more easily occur when one is a bound pronoun or when one is left-dislocated. An example of the former can be found in (18); speakers would find it awkward if *-ʔak* would here be replaced by a free form equivalent *sak*.

(18) Namasaiʔak aiŋkun tilas.

{na-ma-saiʔ}[-ʔak]<sub>AG</sub>    [aiŋkun]<sub>UN:BEN</sub>    [tilas]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>  
 IRR-DYN-give-1S        DEM.PV.MED    cereal

‘I want to give them rice.’ (TVN-xx2-003:52)

In complex predicates, the agentive argument is often not expressed on the main verb but on a preceding auxiliary; in some instances, this is also a mechanism to reduce the argument complexity on any single verb.

(19) Aupa nakitŋa sak laupaku baðbað tu [...]

aupa	{na-kitŋa}	<sub>AUX</sub>	[sak]	<sub>AG</sub>	[laupaku]	<sub>TIME</sub>	{baðbað}	tu	<sub>CI</sub>	<sub>COMP</sub>
thus	IRR-start		1S.F		now		talk			COMPL

‘And thus I will start now to tell [how the Bunun came into existence...]’

(TVN-012-001:10)

### 1.5. Existing literature on Bunun

Taking into account the special status of the Formosan languages as the oldest relics of Proto-Austronesian, it is surprising that relatively little research has been done on some of them; even less is available to the international linguistic community. As far as I know, no publications on the Takivatan dialect are readily available to the linguistic community, although Li (1988) mentions the dialect in his article-length comparative study of the five Bunun dialects. Duris (1987) is a Bunun-French word list of Takivatan as it is spoken in Ma-Yuan, but it has never been published.

There is some material generally available on the other Bunun dialects. During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, a number of researchers developed an interest in the indigenous people of Taiwan. A number of publications on Bunun appeared, all in Japanese and none easily available.

**A. Vocabularies**

A number of Bunun vocabularies were produced by Japanese researchers. Nihira (1988) compiled them into a useful English translation. Unfortunately the work was privately published, spread only in a small circle of researchers and is now certainly not available to the general public. Two French Catholic missionaries who lived in Ma-Yuan with the Takivatan produced Bunun-French word lists (Flahutez (1970) and Duris (1987)). Both works are only available as manuscripts.

**B. Text collections**

During the Japanese occupation, Ogawa & Asai (1935) published a groundbreaking collection of texts from various aboriginal groups preceded by a short linguistic introduction. It includes 77 pages of interlinearized Bunun texts from the Takbanuað, Takivatan, Takibakha and Isbukun dialects with Japanese translation and a short linguistic introduction to the language.

In recent years, a number of literary publications in Bunun have appeared. Two Bunun Bible translations have so far been published. I have no access to the oldest one, but general consent is that the quality of its translation was rather bad. The new Bunun Bible (Bible Society (2000)) is a very handsome translation of the entire New Testament and a selection of the Old Testament in a simplified version of the Isbukun dialect. Its language is somewhat removed from spoken Isbukun, but it is influential among Protestant Christians, who make up at least 50% of the Bunun population.

An amazing piece of work is Lin et al. (1998), a story collection of more than 450 pages in Isbukun Bunun with informal glosses and translations in Mandarin Chinese.

These texts are now available as a part of the Formosan language archive, which aims at compiling a comprehensive text corpus of Austronesian languages in Taiwan (Academia Sinica (2007)). At the moment, these are the only texts available for Bunun.

A number of publications with Bunun song texts are available. Lin (1998) is most interesting here, not only because it is the best edited volume, but also because it records songs of the Takbanuað and Takivatan from the County Hualien and Nantou. All songs have musical notation and Bunun and Chinese texts. Lin (1997), by the same author, is a similar collection with songs of all but the Takivatan dialect. Linguistically less interesting is Lin (1999). It contains a rather random set of Bunun proverbs and songs, some of the latter only in Chinese translation.

### **C. Phonology**

Li (1987) published a study of pre-glottalized stops in all five Bunun dialects. Li (1988) is a short comparative study of the phonology of the five Bunun dialects. In recent years, Hui-chuan Huang published a number of detailed phonological studies, all in the framework of optimality theory (Huang (2004a); Huang (2004b); Huang (2005a); Huang (2005b); Huang (2006) and Huang (2008)). They are mainly about the Isbukun dialect, but the last publication also contains information on Takituduh Bunun.

### **D. Morphology and syntax**

A larger variety of work has been published on Bunun morphology and syntax but up to this date Jeng (1977) is the only linguistic monograph on Bunun available in

the English language. Jeng (1999) is an analysis of the Bunun tense and aspect system. It is a generative account of predicate-argument structure of the Takbanuað dialect. There are two descriptive sketch grammars of Bunun, Zeitoun (2000) and He et al. (1986), the former based on Takbanuað Bunun data and the latter on Isbukun Bunun. Both are in Mandarin Chinese, contain useful information, but are rather concise.

Nojima (1996) is an often-quoted article on anticipation of prefixes on auxiliaries preceding the main verb, which I discuss in section 7.12. Lin et al. (2001) is a book-length work in Mandarin on the morphology of Isbukun Bunun as spoken in the county Kaohsiung, but contains not much more than a superficial overview of reduplicative patterns and affixes with examples. Zeng (2006) is an article, also in Mandarin, also on Isbukun Bunun, and much in the same vein as the previous work. Li & Mahasang (1990) is an article in Mandarin on the derivational functions of the locative focus suffix *-an*. As the two previous articles, it is rather short and superficial.

#### **E. Cultural and anthropological descriptions**

Especially in recent years, a number of cultural and anthropological descriptions of the Bunun people or some aspects of their culture have appeared. Useful for historical linguistic research is Palalavi (2006), which is written in Chinese and contains amongst other things a very thorough overview of the clan migrations of the Bunun. An English-language publication on the social structure of traditional Bunun society is Huang (1995b). Chung (2002) is an anthropological study of a

Bunun village school and its struggle to integrate traditional knowledge into the curriculum.

Here is not the place for a comprehensive overview of all popular descriptions of the Bunun people. As far as I am aware, all are written in Mandarin Chinese and there is a considerable overlap of content between many publications. During the last two decades, some educational materials in Bunun have been published, but most are for primary school and none go beyond basic vocabulary and simple sentences.

## **1.6. Research methodology**

### **1.6.1. Fieldwork**

The research on which this work is based was conducted between June 2005 and April 2009 while based at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology, La Trobe University, Australia. All data was collected in Ma-Yuan and Qi-Mei village during two long field trips in Taiwan, the first one from October 2005 till August 2006 and the second from October till December 2007.

I spent the first month of the first field trip (October 2005) in Pasikau (台東縣海端鄉桃源村), an Isbukun Bunun village in the county Taitung, trying to get in touch with the Takivatan community and recording some Isbukun data. For the remaining nine months of the trip, I lived with a Takivatan family in Ma-yuan village (花蓮縣萬榮鄉馬遠村), but I made regular trips to Qi-mei village (花蓮縣瑞穗鄉奇美村), where there was another Takivatan community. Since all Bunun dialects are in steady decline and younger generations exclusively use Mandarin-

Chinese, real language immersion was impossible, but after a while older people found it appropriate to speak Bunun to me. During this first fieldtrip I mainly focused on eliciting a vocabulary list, recording real-world texts, and interlinearizing some of the texts with the help of my informants.

The main part of my second fieldtrip in 2007 was spent on interlinearizing and interpreting a number of other texts and on the elicitation of examples concerning grammatical problems that had arisen when writing a first draft of this thesis. I also spent a considerable amount of time generating a first draft of a Takbanuað Bunun vocabulary, with the help of Iluŋ Naŋavulan (F; 53 y.) a Takbanuað Bunun informant who lived near Hualien.

My main Takivatan informants during the two field trips were:

- (1) Vau Taisnunan, male, 75 y.
- (2) Tulbus Manququ, male, 75 y.
- (3) Uli Ululuŋku, female, 65 y.
- (4) Liban Tanapima, male, 65 y.
- (5) Maia Istanda, female, ± 75 y.
- (6) Tianŋ Istasipal, male, ±45 y.
- (7) Pasuq Manququ, male, 42 y.

The majority of the recordings used in this work are by Vau, Tulbus and Uli. Group recordings were made in Qi-mei church and by the Taisnunan family. Uli and Liban have been of great help in generating an initial word list, but many others in Ma-yuan and Qi-mei have contributed as well. Most of the linguistic interpretation and

translations were done with the help of Vau, my father-in-law and main informant, Tian, Maia and Pasuq.

### 1.6.2. Data recording

Audio recordings were made with a high-definition MiniDisc device (Sony Hi-MD RZ-MH10) in an uncompressed wave format (PCM wave at 1411kbps, 44.1kHz, 16 bits). In most cases, I used a study-grade recording microphone (Røde NT3), although for some recordings a smaller semi-professional microphone (Sony EMC-MS907) was used. Before or after each recording, informants were asked for oral permission to disseminate the audio data and were informed that:

- (1) The data would be disclosed to third parties.
- (2) They have the right to revoke their permission or alter its conditions at any time.
- (3) If they revoked their permission, the data would be destroyed.
- (4) They could ask for copies of the recordings at any time and use them as they saw fit.

In the case of group recordings, the main actor was asked for permission. None of the informants had any problems with a full disclosure of the recorded material. All recordings have an associated introductory file containing basic metadata and information about permissions of use.

At the end of a field trip, a number of copies of the recordings were given to the informants and the village. After the completion of this research, all recorded material will be freely available for non-commercial purposes, with the exception of

(1) material that would violate the privacy of any of the parties involved and (2) songs, which will only be released with explicit permission of the performers or their representatives.

### 1.6.3. Fieldwork methodology

For learning the language and interpreting the data, I largely relied on a handful of largely elderly informants (see 1.6.1). The first two months in the village were mainly spent on constructing a base vocabulary. Afterwards I started working on recorded material. I followed a fixed procedure:

- The recorded material was transcribed and interlinearized, and a partial translation was produced.
- The transcription was presented to an informant. He or she was asked to translate or explain the text and problematic words and constructions into Mandarin Chinese. Notes on grammar are added.
- New vocabulary was entered into the vocabulary database for future interlinearizations. The partial translation and notes from the informants are consolidated and a full translation is produced. Notes on grammar are added.
- The second and third step was repeated once or twice until the quality of the transcription was satisfying.

During most vocabulary and grammar elicitation sessions, I used both Takivatan and Mandarin-Chinese, except for the recording sessions, which were obviously in Takivatan Bunun. A number of general principles were adhered to:

- Except for some of the initial vocabulary elicitation sessions, I always translated from Bunun to Mandarin and never the other way around. As far as I am concerned, direct elicitation from a helper language into the language of study is only reliable and useful for the translation of individual lexemes referring to concrete concepts for which synonymy is restricted.
- Informants were asked to improvise and given as much creative freedom as possible. Even in the case of vocabulary sessions, I found it most productive to engage in some kind of role play, of the kind: “If you meet a friend in the street, how would you talk to each other?” Such an approach makes the outcome of individual sessions unpredictable, but it prevents data from getting skewed towards the researcher’s expectation patterns and in the end, serendipity will produce most of the necessary data anyway.

#### **1.6.4. Language description**

The analyses in this work are all inspired by the general descriptive framework of basic linguistic theory (see Dixon (to appear) and Dryer (2006)) and has also profited from the principles laid out in Payne (1997). This implies that as much as possible I have tried to work largely inductively, on the basis of real-world textual data, and without making prior assumptions about the language. Also importantly, my description of Takivatan is solely based on primary data that I myself have gathered. I have tried not to use linguistic data from other researchers, except for comparison with my own. For writing the grammar, I mainly rely on the following language materials:

- Recorded material; this is the main part of the language material in the grammar.

Below is the list of texts that were used as a stable core for analysis.

Descriptor	Title	Narrator	Length
TVN-003-xxx	Tina Uli introduces herself	Uli Ululuŋku	08:01
TVN-006-xxx	Bunun eating habits: past and present	Uli Ululuŋku	09:55
TVN-008-001	The Life of Vau, Introduction	Vau Taisnunan	05:35
TVN-008-002	The Life of Vau, Part 1	Vau Taisnunan	45:30
TVN-008-003	The Life of Vau, Part 2	Vau Taisnunan	49:19
TVN-012-001	On Bunun Customs	Tulbus Manququ	20:56
TVN-012-002	The Road from Nantou	Tulbus Manququ	29:28
TVN-012-003	How the Bunun became Christians	Tulbus Manququ	14:05
TVN-012-xxx	The Social Etiquette of the Bunun	Tulbus Manququ	04:39

**Table 4 – List of texts used for grammatical analysis**

- Any example sentences that the informants produced in one of the interpretation sessions and that were not the result of translations from Mandarin Chinese.
- Example sentences jotted down from daily conversations.
- In situations where no easily interpretable examples were available, I have sometimes constructed examples or adapted existing examples. This is always indicated.

Except for lexicon construction, I have at all times avoided using material that is the result of direct translations from Mandarin into Takivatan Bunun.

### 1.6.5. Spelling conventions

The spelling in this work is not entirely conforming to the spelling conventions that the Taiwanese government has in recent years formulated to provide a uniform description of all Austronesian languages of Taiwan (see CIP (2005)). Discrepancies are minimal and mainly motivated by having a transparent phonetic notation for a general audience of linguists:

- For the glottal stop, this work has <ʔ> where the official notation has <'>
- For the voiced dental fricative, this work has <ð> where the official notation has <z>
- For the velar nasal, this work has <ŋ> where the official notation has <ng>
- For the voiced alveolar affricate, this work has <ɟ> where the official notation has <c>

## Chapter 2. Phonology

This chapter gives an overview of Takivatan Bunun phonology. Section 2.1 gives an overview of Takivatan consonants and their allophonic variation. Two special subsections are reserved for the glottal stop (2.1.3) and consonant clusters (2.1.4). Section 2.2 discusses simple vowels and their allophones. In section 2.3, we will take a look at vowel sequences, their allophonic variants, and say something more about the possibility of inserting non-phonemic glottal stops into the sequence. Section 2.4 describes the syllable structure of roots and affixes in Takivatan. The final section discusses vowel length and word stress and gives an overview of morphophonemic processes occurring in Takivatan.

### 2.1. Consonants

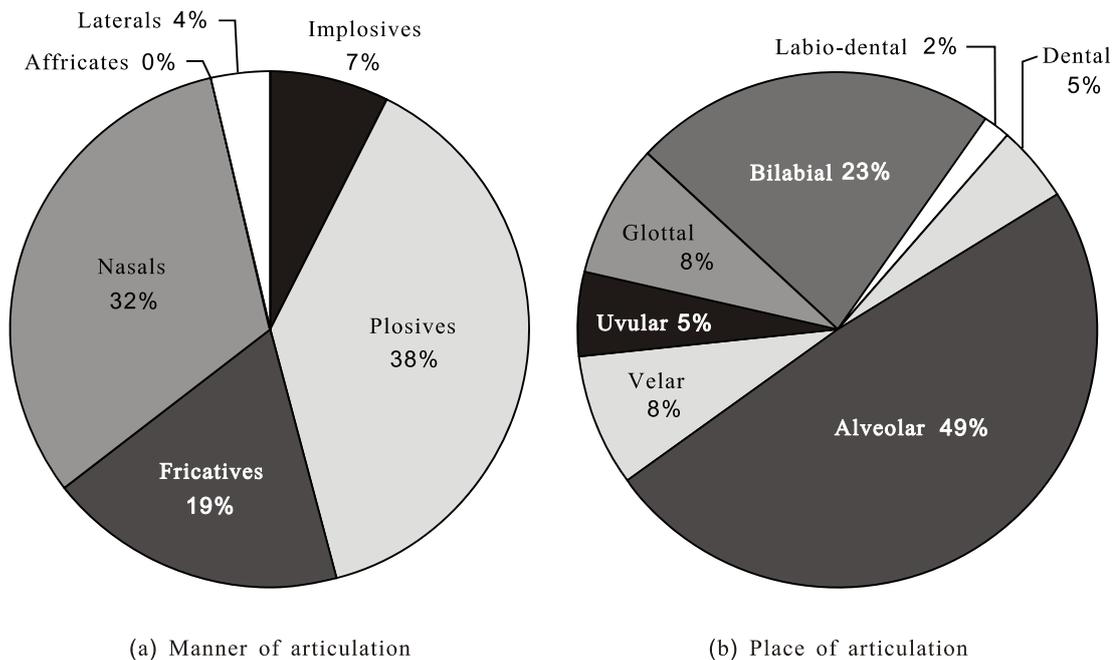
#### 2.1.1. Inventory

Takivatan Bunun has 17 phonemic consonants, all given in Table 5 below. All consonants listed below are indigenous to Takivatan, except for /g/ and /ɕ/ which only occur in a small number of loan words, mainly from Isbukun Bunun and Japanese.

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
<b>Plosive</b>	p			t	k (g)	q	ʔ
<b>Implosive</b>	ɓ			ɗ			
<b>Nasal</b>	m			n	ŋ		
<b>Fricative</b>		v	ð	s			h
<b>Affricate</b>				(tʃ)			
<b>Lateral</b>				l			

Table 5 – Chart of phonemic consonants

Consonants make up slightly more than 50 percent of all phonemes realized in Takivatan real-world text. There is a marked difference between how individual consonants and consonant groups are represented (see last column of Table 6 and Figure 5a). When dividing the consonant inventory according to manner of articulation, voiceless plosives (38% of all consonants) and nasals (32%) are by far the two most commonly occurring groups of consonants. This changes when we look at individual consonants: the occurrences of /n/ constitutes more than 17% of consonants in an average text, followed by /t/ with almost 14%, and /m/ with slightly less than 12%. Together, these three constitute 43% of all appearances of consonants in Takivatan text. Especially for /n/ and /m/, their high occurrence can at least be partially explained by their occurrence in a small number of high-frequency affixes. The phoneme /n/ shows up in some of the most common suffixes in Takivatan: the undergoer focus form *-un*, the locative focus marker *-an*, perfective *-in*; /m/ occurs in the two homophonous prefixes *ma-* ‘dynamic verb markers’ and *ma-* ‘stative verb marker’ (see 7.5.1 and 7.5.2 for a discussion of both prefixes).



**Figure 5 – Distribution of consonant types<sup>12</sup>**

Looking at the place of articulation (Figure 5b), one can observe that alveolars (/t d n s ʃ l/) make up almost half of the consonants realized in text, something that is not surprising given that they consist of seven distinct phonemes. Bilabials (/p b m/) take up another 23%, which leaves only a bit more than a quarter of total realizations of consonants for labiodental, dental, velar, uvular and glottal consonants combined.

Table 6 gives an overview of all phonemic consonants in Takivatan Bunun, their place and manner of articulation, allophonic variation, graphemic representation, and (in the last column) their relative frequency in relation to the total occurrence of consonants in an average text (based on the same sample as Figure 5).

<sup>12</sup> Based on a 3094 character sample taken from text TVN-008-002.

2.1 – CONSONANTS

Articulation		Phoneme	Allophones	Graphemes	% in text <sup>13</sup>
Plosive	Bilabial	/p/	[p pʰ]	<Pp>	8.79
	Alveolar	/t/	[t d tʰ]	<Tt>	13.77
	Velar	/k/	[k kʰ]	<Kk>	5.39
	Velar voiced	/g/	[g]	<Gg>	0
	Uvular	/q/	[q]	<Qq>	5.32
	Glottal	/ʔ/	[ʔ]	<ʔʔ>	5.11
Implosive	Bilabial	/ɓ/	[ɓ β]	<Bb>	2.25
	Alveolar	/ɗ/	[ɗ ɗʰ]	<Dd>	5.25
Nasal	Bilabial	/m/	[m]	<Mm>	11.72
	Alveolar	/n/	[n]	<Nn>	17.45
	Velar	/ŋ/	[ŋ]	<ŋŋ>	2.73
Fricative	Labiodental	/v/	[v vʰ]	<Vv>	1.77
	Dental	/ð/	[ð ðʰ]	<Ðð>	4.57
	Alveolar	/s/	[s ʃ]	<Ss>	8.93
	Glottal	/h/	[h x χ]	<Hh>	3.27
Affricate	Alveolar	/ɖʒ/	[ɖʒ]	<ɖʒɖʒ>	0
Lateral	Alveolar	/l/	[l ɭ lʰ]	<Ll>	3.68

Table 6 – Consonant inventory, allophones and graphemic representation

2.1.2. Realization and allophony

All consonants except for the fricatives /s/ and /h/ and the plosives /q/ and /ʔ/ are typically unreleased in word-final position (/ɖʒ/ and /g/ never occur in final position). This is illustrated in contrastive examples of four of the consonants above in final and intervocalic position (the left and right example respectively).

/p/:     *silup* ‘intestine’ [ʃilupʰ]     ↔     *Sipun* ‘Japanese’ [iʰpu:n]

/d/:     *lapad* ‘guava’ [lʰapadʰ]     ↔     *madas* ‘carry’ [lʰmadas]

<sup>13</sup> Represents the frequency of a consonant relative to the sum of all consonants.

/ð/:	<i>ivuð</i> ‘snake’ [ˈivuð̃]	↔	<i>ðaku</i> ‘me’ [ˈðaku]
/l/:	<i>hiqul</i> ‘back’ [ˈhiqul̃]	↔	<i>halaŋ</i> ‘disease’ [ˈhalaŋ]

As a result, the distinction between consonants with a similar place of articulation is less pronounced, or sometimes disappears almost completely in word-final positions, most notably between /t d ð l/ and between /p v/. This is not only a problem for outsiders: native language speakers occasionally have problems identifying the correct underlying consonant in word-final position.

The velar plosive /g/ is the only egressive plosive voiced stop in Takivatan. It has so far only been attested in the word *Ingilis* [ˈɪŋgiliʃ], which is obviously an English loanword. All other plosives are typically voiceless.

Some speakers, however, have a tendency to voice instances of alveolar plosive /t/ in word-initial contexts where the syllable containing it receives word stress. The most common example is *tama* ‘father’, which can sometimes be realized as [ˈdama].

The uvular stop /q/ is not notable for the changes it undergoes, but rather for its influence on adjacent vowels (see 2.2, p. 131 onward). In contrast to most other plosives, /q/ is never pronounced unreleased when it occurs in word-final position (i.e. *dalaq* ‘ground’ is always pronounced [dalaq], never [dalaq̃]).

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is somewhat problematic in all Bunun dialects and will be discussed separately in 2.1.3 below.

Takivatan Bunun is unusual in that its two ‘indigenous’ voiced stops are both implosives (note again that /g/ only occurs in loan words). The bilabial implosive /b/ does not occur in word-final position and is relatively rare (it represents only

2.25% of all consonants realized in actual text). In a small number of intervocalic positions, it is sometimes realized as a bilabial voiced fricative. This variant has only been observed in the following two words:

- (20) *Liban* ‘male proper name’      [ˈliβan] or [ˈliβ̞an]  
*qabaŋ* ‘blanket’                      [ˈqabɑŋ] or [ˈqɑβ̞ɑŋ]

The alveolar implosive /d/ is considerably more common than /b/. It shows no notable variation, except for the loss of release in final position.

The status of the two implosive stops /b/ and /d/ is somewhat problematic. They were first mentioned in Li (1987), who describes them as preglottalized stops, but admits that – unlike with true preglottalisation – they “require an almost simultaneous closure of the two points of articulation, the glottal plus another supraglottal closure” (Li (1987:381)). While it may be true that <b> and <d> are in some Bunun dialects realized as egressive preglottalized plosives (<sup>ʔ</sup>b <sup>ʔ</sup>d/), their Takivatan correlates require simultaneous constriction of the glottis and closure of the mouth cavity and typically involve an ingressive airflow. Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996:84-5) indicate that in most languages, though not all, implosives involve some form of glottal restriction.

The realizations of the bilabial nasal /m/ and the velar nasal /ŋ/ are rarely problematic and do not involve any form of allophonic variation. Word-internally, the alveolar nasal /n/ is velarised to /ŋ/ before /k/ and /q/, as in the examples below.

- (21) *sin-kuḏakuḏa* [ʃiŋkuḏa<sup>1</sup>kuḏa]  
 RES.OBJ-work  
 ‘work to be done’
- (22) *pin-qansiap* [piŋqan<sup>1</sup>ʃiap<sup>ʔ</sup>]  
 CAUSE.BECOME-understand  
 ‘make (somebody) understand’

The voiced labiodental fricative /v/ is one of the least-common consonants in actual texts, but occurs in slightly over 12% of all words in the Takivatan lexicon<sup>14</sup> (i.e. /v/ is more common in low-frequency words). It exhibits no notable variation, except for the unreleased allophone in word-final position. This is also the case with the more common dental fricative /ð/.

The alveolar fricative /s/ is the only consonant in Takivatan with allophonic variation conditioned by the vocalic environment. When followed by /i/, /s/ is consistently retracted and becomes a postalveolar /ʃ/.

- (23) *ma-sihal* ‘STAT-good’ [ma<sup>1</sup>ʃihal<sup>ʔ</sup>], never [ma<sup>1</sup>sihal]  
*siŋki* ‘lunatic’ [ʃiŋki], never [ʰsiŋki]  
*ma-pisiŋ* ‘STAT-afraid’ [ma<sup>1</sup>piʃiŋ], never [ma<sup>1</sup>piŋ]

When /i/ precedes /s/, a similar retraction can occur, but the degree to which this happens varies. In some words, as in the first example below, it is realised as a full-blown post-alveolar [ʃ], but typically retraction is much less pronounced than in /si/

---

<sup>14</sup> As counted on 18 March 2008, my Takivatan lexicon contained 3314 lexical items.

sequences, leading to a lightly retracted [ʃ]. In some cases, no retraction occurs at all.

- |                                   |                                      |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (24) <i>iskan</i> ‘fish’          | [i]ʃkan] (normal retraction)         |
| <i>Valis</i> ‘female proper name’ | [ʃvaliʃ] or [ʃvalis], never [ʃvaliʃ] |
| <i>tis-hutan</i> ‘harvest yams’   | [tiʃhutan] or [tishutan]             |

Postalveolarization does not occur at morpheme boundaries with the stationary locative prefix *ʔi-* ‘at, in.’ It also does not happen with the locative question word *ʔisaq*, which from a synchronic viewpoint is monomorphemic, but might be traced back to an earlier Bunun form \**ʔi-saq*.

- |                            |                          |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (25) <i>ʔi-san</i> ‘be at’ | [ʔiʃsan], never [ʔiʃʃan] |
| <i>ʔi-saq</i> ‘where’      | [ʔiʃsaq], never [ʔiʃʃaq] |

Light retraction of /s/ to [ʃ] sometimes occurs when it is preceded by /u/, as in:

- |                              |                                |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (26) <i>lusʔan</i> ‘holiday’ | [ʃlusʔan], sometimes [ʃluʃʔan] |
| <i>muskun</i> ‘do together’  | [ʃmuʃkun], sometimes [ʃmuskun] |
| <i>ʔusul</i> ‘nasal mucus’   | [ʃʔuʃul], sometimes [ʃʔusul]   |

The glottal fricative /h/ stands somewhat apart from other consonants in that its phonological realization can be conditioned by its location in the syllable. In syllable onsets, /h/ does not change.

- (27) *munhan* ‘go towards’ [mun.<sup>h</sup>han]  
*banhil* ‘cypress’ [ban.<sup>h</sup>hil]  
*hilav* ‘door’ [hi.lav<sup>h</sup>]

On the rare occasions that /h/ appears in offset positions, it is normally realized as a velar (/x/) or a uvular fricative (/χ/).

- (28) *laihlah* ‘car’ [l<sup>h</sup>eiχleiχ], [l<sup>h</sup>eixleix]  
*ahlutun* ‘trail’ [aχ<sup>h</sup>lutun]

In some words, word-final /h/ remains unchanged or is dropped altogether.

- (29) *matuah* ‘open’ [ma<sup>h</sup>tuax], [ma<sup>h</sup>tuah], [ma<sup>h</sup>tua]  
*Takituduh* ‘Bunun clan’ [taki<sup>h</sup>tudux], [taki<sup>h</sup>tudu]

This also happens in Takbanuað Bunun with the word *laihlah* ‘car’, which is often pronounced [l<sup>h</sup>eiχli].

The alveolar affricate /tʃ/ is not native to Takivatan Bunun and occurs in loanwords from Isbukun Bunun (first two examples) and Japanese (third example), which do have a native /tʃ/.

- (30) *tʃulu* ‘elder in the Presbyterian church’  
*tʃakan* ‘geographical name’  
*Tataʃian* ‘proper name’

The alveolar lateral approximant /l/ is sometimes pronounced as [ɬ], but this is relatively uncommon (unlike some other Bunun dialects where it is typically realized like this) and subject to free variation.

- (31) *luluv* ‘wind’                                    [ˈlʊvˈlʊvː], rarely [ˈɬʊvˈɬʊvː]  
*malʔu* ‘rest’                                         [malˈʔu:], rarely [maɬˈʔu:]  
*maqulpiq* ‘fat’                                      [maˈqʊlpiq], rarely [maˈquɬpiq]

In word-final position, /l/ tends to drop its release phase, as many other consonants do.

- (32) *haval* ‘flying squirrel’                    [ˈhavalː]  
*kansul* ‘grape’                                     [ˈkansulː]  
*masihal* ‘good’                                    [maˈsihalː]

### 2.1.3. The glottal stop

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is problematic, because it has phonemic status in some environments but is a non-phonemic ligature in others. Its distinctive function as a phoneme can be attested in minimal pairs like the following:

- (33) *ʔasaŋ* ‘village’                                ⇔ *asaŋ* ‘be wanting’ < *asa* ‘want’ + *-aŋ* ‘PROG’  
*maʔmaʔ* ‘tongue’                                 ⇔ *mama* ‘carry on one’s back’  
*maðʔav* ‘embarrassed’ ⇔ *maðav* ‘how come!?’

**A. Glottal stops in Cʔ or ʔC clusters**

Root-internally, /ʔ/ is obviously a phoneme when it is flanked by a consonant. The glottal stop can occur both in VCʔV and VʔCV sequences, but the former is considerably more common than the latter. In these two environments it is clearly pronounced and obligatory (i.e. its omission consistently creates interpretative problems for native speakers).

- (34) *isʔaŋ* ‘breath (noun)’                      *malaʔnu* ‘to punch’  
           *lusʔan* ‘holiday’                              *masuʔnuq* ‘to hate’

**B. Root-initial glottal stops**

Root-initially, the situation is more complex, since vowel-initial free words are typically pronounced with a prothetic glottal stop. This makes it impossible to evaluate for isolated roots with an initial /ʔV/ sequence whether /ʔ/ is phonemic or an inserted prothesis. Contrast for instance the first two examples below, in which the glottal stop is a non-phonemic prothesis, with the last two, in which it is phonemic.

- (35) *abuqan* ‘(be) satiated’                      [ʔaʔbuqan]  
           *aupa* ‘(be) thus’                              [ʔaupa]  
           *ʔita* ‘be there (distal)’                      [ʔita]  
           *ʔasaŋ* ‘home village’                      [ʔasaŋ]

The distinction between phonemic and non-phonemic glottal stops in these instances only becomes clear at morpheme boundaries, when the roots are preceded

by consonant-final prefixes. When prefixation by a consonant-final prefix preserves the glottal stop, this is an indication that it is phonemic, since there is no requirement for a non-phonemic glottal ligature in those contexts:

(36) *ʔita* < *mun-ʔita* [mun<sup>h</sup>ʔita]

ABL-there

‘go there’

(37) *ʔasaŋ* < *kat-ʔasaŋ* [kat<sup>h</sup>ʔasaŋ]

GRASP-village

‘erect a village’

When word-initial /ʔ/ is not obligatorily retained after a prefixal consonant, it must be non-phonemic prothesis.

(38) *abuqan* < *min-a-buqan* [mina<sup>h</sup>buqan]

BECOME-STAT-satiated

‘become full’

(39) *aupa* < *min-aupa-ta* [min<sup>h</sup>aupata] or [min<sup>h</sup>ʔaupata]

BECOME-thus-DEF.REF.DIST

‘become like that’

In a number of cases, such as *aupa* above, the expression of /ʔ/ after a prefixal consonant is subject to free variation and it is therefore not possible to determine with certainty whether the glottal stop is a phoneme or a prothetic ligature.

The fact that vowel-initial words are consistently pronounced with a prothetic glottal stop led Li (1988:483) to the conclusion that Bunun has no vowel-initial words, which would imply that word-initial glottal stops are always phonemic. His assumption is inaccurate for three reasons. First, as I have demonstrated above, glottal constriction in word-initial position is only preserved in a subset of stems after consonant-final prefixes. In a language like Takivatan Bunun, in which environmentally conditioned consonant elision is non-existent, one would expect root-initial phonemic consonants to be retained in word-medial environments.

Secondly, glottalization of word-initial vowels is far from uncommon among the world's languages, even in languages that do not have a phonemic glottal stop. Thirdly, there are some rare minimal pairs of glottal-stop-initial and vowel-initial words, for instance *?asaŋ* 'village' vs. *asaŋ* 'be wanting'. Native speakers indicate that these two words 'sound different' although their pronunciation appears to be identical. The distinction between phonemic and non-phonemic realizations of the glottal stop has implications for the analysis of the canonical syllable structure of Takivatan Bunun (see section 2.4 on p. 140).

### C. Intervocalic glottal stops

Intervocalic glottal stops can be phonemic or non-phonemic. At morpheme boundaries, a non-phonemic glottal stop is often inserted between vowels.

- (40) *pinvai* 'win; defeat' → *pinvai-un* 'be defeated' [pin'veiʔun]  
*uvað?að* 'child' → *maisi-uvað?að* 'from childhood onwards' [maɪsɪʔu'vað?að]  
*daŋi* 'put' → *daŋi-an* 'location where something is put' [dɑ'ŋiʔan]

Intervocalic non-phonemic glottal stops can be omitted, especially in fast speech. In these contexts, the final vowel of the first element sometimes develops into a glide, as in the examples below.

- (41) *pinvai-un* [pin<sup>1</sup>vaijun]  
*daŋi-an* [da<sup>1</sup>ŋijan]  
*maisi-uvaðʔað* [mei<sup>1</sup>ijju<sup>1</sup>vaðʔað]

As we will see in 2.4 below, monosyllabic roots always have vowel lengthening when they contain a simple vowel and this lengthening is typically retained when they occur in complex words. Interestingly, a glottal stop can be inserted in monosyllabic roots with a long simple vowel or with the vowel sequences /au ua/ when these roots are pronounced emphatically.

- (42) *maun* ‘eat’ [maun] emph: [ma<sup>1</sup>ʔun]  
*dun* ‘thread’ [dʊ:n] emph: [d<sup>1</sup>ʊʔun]  
*han* ‘go to; be at’ [ha:n] emph: [h<sup>1</sup>aʔan]  
*ma-suað* ‘to grow’ [ma<sup>1</sup>suað<sup>ʔ</sup>] emph: [ma<sup>1</sup>suʔað<sup>ʔ</sup>]

#### 2.1.4. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters in Takivatan Bunun consist of maximally two consonants ( $C_1C_2$ ) and never occur word-initially or word-finally. Table 7 gives an overview of all possible consonant clusters consisting of  $C_1$  (columns) and  $C_2$  (rows) and indicates whether they only occur at morpheme boundaries (M-) or only root-internally (-R), or both (MR). The boundary between two reduplicated stems is always considered

to be a morpheme boundary, even if the form is synchronically unanalysable. Note that the table gives an overview of the consonant combinations that are possible, it does not say anything about their frequency.

		C <sub>1</sub>															
		p	t	k	q	ʔ	ɓ	ɗ	m	n	ŋ	v	ð	s	h	l	
C <sub>2</sub>	p		MR	--	M-	--	--	--	MR	MR	MR	--	--	MR	--	MR	
	t	M-		MR	MR	--	--	--	M-	MR	M-	M-	--	MR	--	MR	
	k	--	--		--	-R	--	--	--	MR	MR	--	M-	MR	-R	MR	
	q	--	MR	--		--	--	M-	--	MR	MR	--	M-	MR	--	M-	
	ʔ	MR	MR	MR	MR		--	-R	M-	MR	MR	--	MR	MR	--	MR	
	ɓ	--	MR	MR	MR	MR		--	-R	-R	MR	--	M-	MR	MR	--	MR
	ɗ	M-	--	M-	-R	--	--		--	MR	MR	--	M-	MR	-R	M-	
	m	--	-R	-R	MR	M-	--	M-		MR	MR	--	-R	MR	--	MR	
	n	M-	--	-R	-R	MR	--	MR	--		-R	--	-R	MR	--	--	
	ŋ	--	MR	--	--	--	--	MR	--	--		--	--	MR	--	M-	
	v	--	M-	-R	MR	--	--	--	M-	MR	-R		M-	MR	--	M-	
	ð	--	--	MR	MR	--	--	-R	M-	MR	-R	--		-R	--	--	
	s	-R	MR	MR	MR	-R	--	--	M-	MR	-R	--	--		--	MR	
	h	M-	M-	MR	MR	--	--	--	--	MR	-R	M-	-R	MR		M-	
	l	--	MR	MR	MR	MR	--	MR	--	MR	MR	M-	MR	MR	M-		

Columns indicate C<sub>1</sub>; Rows indicate C<sub>2</sub>; M = at morpheme boundaries; R = root-internally

Table 7 – Possible consonant clusters C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>

Two identical consonants at morpheme boundaries are always realized as one normal-length consonant:

(43) *kukulut* ‘knife’ + *-ti* ‘DEF.REF.PROX’ > [ku<sup>h</sup>kuluti]

This process can only be attested at morpheme boundaries.

Clusters with more than two consonants have not been observed in Takivatan Bunun, except for the following two words (one of which is a loan from Japanese):

(44) *tinsʔan* ‘millet harvest festival’

*pintsi* ‘clippers’ (Jap. loan)

On the basis of Table 6, two interesting observations can be made.

#### A. C<sub>1</sub> more restricted than C<sub>2</sub>

Most consonants that have a restricted number of combinatory possibilities in C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> clusters tend to be more restricted in C<sub>1</sub> position than in C<sub>2</sub> position. Bilabial implosive /ɓ/ never occurs as the first element of a binary consonant cluster C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>, but it can appear in a diverse range of clusters as the second element, for instance:

/-tɓ-/: *lutbu* ‘body’

/-sɓ-/: *isbai* ‘run away’

/-qɓ-/: *laqbiŋin* ‘tomorrow’

/-lɓ-/: *talbinauʔað* ‘girl’

/-mɓ-/: *kumbu* ‘inside’

Labiodental fricative /v/ appears in a small number of words as C<sub>1</sub>, but only in reduplicated stems or at morpheme boundaries or reduplicative boundaries (as a consequence, these combinations are not truly consonant clusters).

reduplication: *hivhiv* ‘breeze, gust of air’

*luvluv* ‘wind’

morpheme boundary: *i-hapav-ti* ‘at-outside-DEF.REF.PROX’

Its combinatory possibilities are a lot less restricted as a second element.

root-internal + /-ŋv-/: *diŋva* ‘telephone’

+ /-qv-/: *daqvas* ‘tall’

reduplication	+ /-qv-/:	<i>vuqvuuq</i> ‘shake’
morph. bound.	+ /-nv-/:	<i>pin-vai</i> ‘win’
	+ /-sv-/:	<i>Is-vatan</i> ‘clan name’

So far, the glottal fricative /h/ has only been attested in C<sub>1</sub> position in four Takivatan roots:

(45) *ahlutun* ‘trail’

*Kuhku* ‘geographical name’

*dahda* ‘spread out’

*laihlahih* ‘car’

It is considerably more common and occurs in more combinations in C<sub>2</sub>.

root-internal	+ /-nh-/:	<i>sinhav</i> ‘yellow’
	+ /-ðh-/:	<i>qaðhav</i> ‘cold’
reduplication	+ /-kh-/:	<i>Hukhuk</i> ‘geographical name’
morph. bound.	+ /-nh-/:	<i>mun-han</i> ‘go to’
	+ /-sh-/:	<i>pis-hutan</i> ‘plant yams’

The three consonants mentioned above (/β/, /v/ and /h/) only very rarely occur in word-final position.

#### B. C<sub>2</sub> more restricted than C<sub>1</sub>

The three nasals /m n ŋ/ go against this trend and occur considerably more often as the first than as the second element of a C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> sequence. Although bilabial /m/ has more combinatory restrictions in C<sub>1</sub> position than in C<sub>2</sub> position (it can occur in C<sub>1</sub>

with /p t ʔ b v ð s/ and in C<sub>2</sub> with /t k q ʔ d n ŋ ð s l/), its frequency of occurrence in C<sub>1</sub> in the lexicon is actually twice as high as its occurrence in C<sub>2</sub>.

The phoneme /s/ can be followed by all possible consonants when it occurs in C<sub>1</sub> position, but it cannot be preceded by implosives or fricatives (including /h/) in C<sub>2</sub>.

In the lexicon, however, /s/ appears three times more often in C<sub>1</sub> than in C<sub>2</sub>.

## 2.2. Simple vowels

Takivatan Bunun has four phonemic vowels. The three most common ones are the unrounded close front vowel /i/, the unrounded open front vowel /a/ and the rounded close back vowel /u/. The front-mid vowel /e/ only occurs in a small set of loan words.

Articulation			Phoneme	Allophones	Graphemes	% in text <sup>15</sup>
Front	Close	Unrounded	/i/	[i ɪ ɛ: ɛi]	<Ii>	23.89
Front	Open	Unrounded	/a/	[a ɑ]	<Aa>	52.95
Front	Mid	Unrounded	/e/	[e ɛ]	<Ee>	0
Back	Close	Rounded	/u/	[u o ɔ]	<Uu>	23.16

**Table 8 – Vowel inventory, allophones, and graphemic representation**

Figure 6 gives a schematic overview of the allophonic realizations of simple vowels that are native to Takivatan. Phonemic vowels are marked in shaded grey; other symbols represent allophonic variants.

<sup>15</sup> Represents the frequency of a vowel relative to the sum of all vowels.

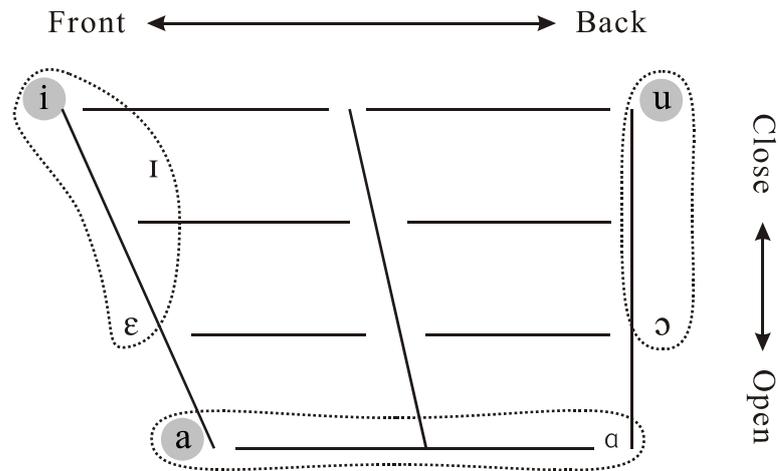


Figure 6 – Vowel chart for simple vowels and their allophones

Simple vowels in Takivatan are relatively stable. Wherever there is phonetically conditioned variation in the realization of individual vowels, this variation is usually small and often goes undetected by native language speakers. In most cases, close vowels are lowered and front vowels retracted in the following contexts:

- (8) when preceded or followed by a uvular /q/.
- (9) when followed (but not preceded) by a velar nasal /ŋ/ or – less commonly – a alveolar nasal /n/.

This process tends to be optional and to what extent retraction/lowering takes place depends on individual words and speakers.

The close front vowel /i/ is sometimes lowered to [ɪ] in the two environments mentioned above. Some speakers alternatively or additionally insert a short schwa after /i/, especially when the consonant triggering the change follows /i/.

2.2 – SIMPLE VOWELS

(1) /i/ → [i] / \_\_ q

[i] / q \_\_

*diqanin* ‘heaven’ [di<sup>1</sup>qanin], [di<sup>ə</sup>qanin], [di<sup>ə̃</sup>qanin], often also [di<sup>1</sup>qanin]

*madiqla* ‘bad’ [ma<sup>1</sup>diqla], [ma<sup>1</sup>di<sup>ə̃</sup>qla], [ma<sup>1</sup>di<sup>ə̃</sup>qla],

almost never [ma<sup>1</sup>diqla]

*haqil* ‘book’ [‘haqil], almost never [‘haqi<sup>ə̃</sup>l], [‘haqi<sup>ə̃</sup>l], [‘haqil]

(10) /i/ → [i] / \_\_ ŋ

*ma<sup>1</sup>kiŋkiŋ* ‘donate to the church’

[ma<sup>1</sup>kiŋkiŋ], [ma<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>ə̃</sup>ŋki<sup>ə̃</sup>ŋ], never [ma<sup>1</sup>kiŋkiŋ]

*diŋki* ‘electricity’ [‘diŋki] or [‘diŋki]

In one particular case only, /i/ can undergo more unusual transformations. The negator *ni* is normally realized as [ni:] or [nĩ]. However, when used as a discourse particle in emphatic context, it can be realized as a long drawn-out [nɛ:] or [nɛ:], or [nɛ:i:].

Front central [e] or [ɛ] can always be traced back to a phonemic /i/, except in drawn-out interjections of the kind *eħ* /ʔɛ:/ and in a small number of loan words, such as the ones below, where it has phonemic status.

(46)	<i>Amelika</i>	[a.mɛ.li.ka]	‘America; foreign country’	< English
	<i>Iesu</i>	[iɛ:.su]	‘Jesus’	< English
	<i>tanlei</i>	[tan.lei]	‘soy milk’	< Southern Min

The open front vowel /a/ can sometimes be realized as a back vowel [ɑ] in the same environments that trigger the lowering of /i/:

- (1) /a/ → [ɑ] / \_\_ q  
[ɑ] / q \_\_

*qabas* ‘in former times’ [ˈqɑbas], equally often [ˈqabas]

*mabaqis* ‘warm, hot’ [maˈbɑqis], equally often [maˈbɑqis]

- (2) /a/ → [ɑ] / \_\_ ŋ

*ɕakanŋ* ‘Geographical name’ [ˈɕakɑŋ], rarely [ˈɕakanŋ]

*qaðmanŋ* ‘be random’ [ˈqaðmɑŋ], almost never [ˈqaðmanŋ]

The phoneme /a/ is the most common vowel in Takivatan and occurs as often as all other vowels taken together (52% of all vowel occurrences in real-world text; see Table 8).

The rounded back vowel /u/ can be lowered when it is followed by a velar /k ŋ/, a uvular /q/ or a glottal /h/ (but never with a glottal stop /ʔ/).

- /u/ → [ɔ] / \_\_ {k,ŋ,q,h}

*luqai* ‘new-born child’ [ˈlɔqai], only rarely [ˈluqai]

*bunqa* ‘break’ [ˈbɔŋqa], equally often [ˈbunqa]

*duduk* ‘ginger’ [ˈdudɔk], but more often [ˈduduk]

As with the other vowels, whether or not lowering occurs is dependent both on individual words and on speaker preferences. With some words, /u/ is never lowered, for instance:

- (47) *iðuq* ‘orange’                      [iðuq], never [iðɔq]  
       *bukðav* ‘plains’                      [bukðav], never [bəkðav]

The rules described in this section are only applicable to simple vowels; an overview of allophony in vowel sequences is given in section 2.3.2.

## 2.3. Vowel sequences

### 2.3.1. Inventory

Six vowel sequences are possible in Takivatan (Table 9 and Figure 7). The inventory of vowel sequences exploits all possible combinations that are possible with the vowels /a i u/.

Phoneme	Allophones	Graphemes
/ai/	[ai æi ei]	< ai >
/au/	[au ɔ]	< au >
/ia/	[ia]	< ia >
/iu/	[iu]	< iu >
/ua/	[ua]	< ua >
/ui/	[ui]	< ui >

**Table 9 – Inventory of vowel sequences**

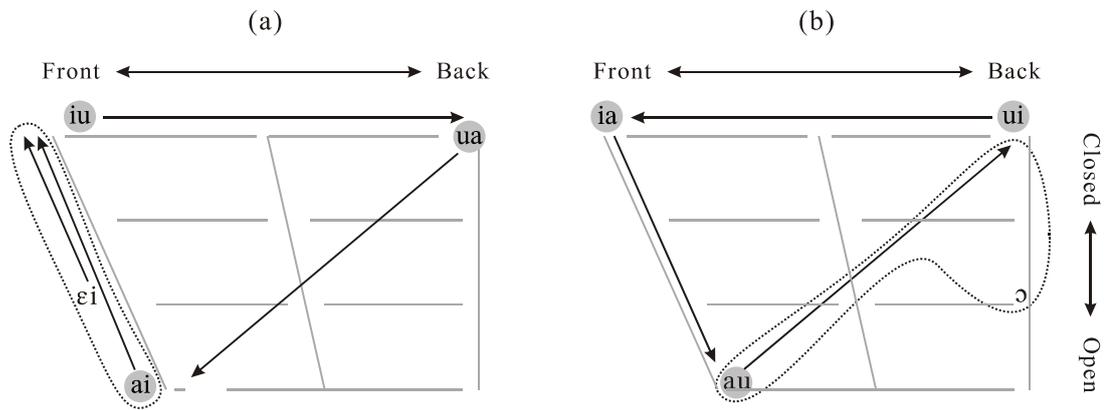


Figure 7 – Chart of vowel sequences and their allophones

All vowel sequences can appear both root-internally and at morpheme boundaries. One might be inclined to analyse the former as diphthongs and the latter as two separate vowels, but for reasons discussed in 2.3.2.B on p. 137 this would be problematic.

Only two vowel sequences have so far been attested with more than two vowels, both root-internally and at morpheme boundaries: /aiu/ and /aia/.

- /aiu/: *tan-qaiu* ‘steal’  
*pin-vai-un* ‘be defeated’
- /aia/: *laian* ‘green pea’  
*Taial* ‘Atayal’

Other triple-vowel sequences occur, but only at morpheme boundaries.



example below, /a/ in the first syllable of the root combines with /i/ in the infix <in>; their combination is not pronounced [ai] but [ɛi].

- (51) *laqaiban* ‘route, trajectory’ [lɑˈqɛɪbɑn]  
 ↓  
*la<in>iqaiban* ‘<PST>-route > road traversed; road of life’ [lɛɪniˈqɛɪbɑn]

The sequence /au/ can monophthongise to [ɔ] in front of velar or uvular consonants, especially /ŋ/ and /q/, but – again – this is subject to free variation.

- (52) *tauŋku* ‘noon’ [ˈdɑuŋku] or [ˈdɔŋku]  
*masauqbuŋ* ‘heavy’ [maˈsauqɒuŋ] or [maˈsɔqɒuŋ]

This process is always blocked at morpheme boundaries and has so far not been attested with infixes.

### B. Intervocalic /ʔ/-insertion

At morpheme boundaries with prefixes or suffixes, a glottal stop is often inserted between the two vowels of any sequence, including identical vowel sequences (i.e. /a/+ /a/, /u/+ /u/ or /i/+ /i/). Between identical vowel sequences, the epenthetic glottal stop is always expressed, except for the case described in 2.5.3.A-B below. Whether and how strong it is expressed between non-identical vowels depends on the individual speaker’s choice, the tempo of the utterance and possibly also the degree of boundness of the affix (see 3.2.2). Examples of this phenomenon were given in 2.1.3.C on page 125. Some examples with different inflectional suffixes:

- (53) *bahi-an* [ʃa'χiʔan] or [ʃa'χian]  
 prophetic.dream-LF  
 ‘prophetic dream’
- (54) *pas-vali-un* [paʃva'liʔun] or [paʃva'liun]  
 AFCT-sun-UF  
 ‘be exposed to the sun’
- (55) *ni-in* [niʔin], never [ni:n]  
 NEG-PRV  
 ‘not anymore’

Interestingly, a glottal stop can also be inserted in root-internal vowel sequences. This happens in two situations. Firstly, the vowel in monosyllabic free (i.e. non-affixal) roots is always realized long (see 2.4.2.A). When such a root has a CV(C) structure and is pronounced emphatically, its vowel is often interrupted by a glottal stop (see p. 126 of 2.1.3.C above and 2.4.2 below).

- (56) *bav* ‘up in the mountains’ [ʃa:vʔ] → emph: [ʔʃaʔavʔ]  
*dan* ‘(n.) road; (v.) walk, go’ [dɑ:n] → emph: [ʔdɑʔan]  
*dun* ‘thread, string’ [dʊ:n] → emph: [ʔdʊʔun]  
*mu* ‘2P.UN/NFOC’ [mu] → emph: [ʔmuʔu]

The same phenomenon occasionally happens with the vowel sequences /au/ and /ua/ when they occur root-internally in mono-syllabic roots which are pronounced emphatically.

- (57) *buan* ‘moon’                    [ɸuan] → emph: [ʼɸuʔan]  
       *maun* ‘eat’                     [maun] → emph: [ʼmaʔun]

So far, there are next to no attested examples of this phenomenon with other root-internal vowel sequences in bi- or polysyllabic roots. The only exception is *daiŋ* ‘big’, which I have heard to be pronounced [dʔaʔiŋ] rather than [dʔeiŋ] when it was yelled at a deaf person.

### C. Glide-formation

Huang (2005b) argues that non-initial vowel sequences in Isbukun Bunun are best analyzed as glides (i.e. /wa/, /aw/, /ja/ and /aj/). She argues this is necessary in order to prevent bi-moraic syllables. While it is certainly true that in some environments /i/ and /u/ tend to develop glide-like qualities, these never have an obvious phonemic status and can in most cases be alternated – especially in emphatic contexts – with a less glide-like pronunciation. For instance, the anaphoric marker *sia* is pronounced [ʃja] in fluent speech, with /i/ having greatly reduced vowel-length and the word stress on /a/. However, when emphasized, it can alternatively be pronounced [ʃia], or even [ʃija], with both vowels having roughly equal length, insertion of a non-phonemic glide between /i/ and /a/, and stress on the first vowel in the sequence. This work will consistently analyze /i/ and /u/ in vowel sequences as vowels.

## 2.4. Syllable structure

### 2.4.1. Canonical syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure in Takivatan Bunun is:

(C)V(V)(C)

Some examples:

V	<i>u</i> ‘yes’	CV	<i>ni</i> ‘not’
VV	<i>ai</i> ‘interjection’	CVV	<i>bai</i> ‘grandmother’
VC	<i>is-</i> ‘instrumental orientation’	CVC	<i>ŋan</i> ‘name’
VVC	<i>aip</i> ‘singular demonstrative’	CVVC	<i>ŋaus</i> ‘first(ly)’

Consonant clusters only occur word-internally and (except for the two examples on p. 128) never consist of more than two consonants. The only word-initial consonant cluster so far attested occurred in the Japanese loanword *skupu* ‘shovel’. Bi-consonantal cluster only appear to be allowed when they span syllable boundaries or, in other words, when a sequence of two consonants occurs, they are necessary separated by a syllable boundary (VC.CV). This cannot be proven beyond doubt for root-internal CC-sequences, but it is the most logical and elegant explanation given the fact that CCC-sequences are impossible and that all CC-sequences at morpheme boundaries have the structure described above.

It has been argued, for instance in Li (1988:483), that there is no Bunun dialect in which words can be vowel-initial and that seemingly vowel-initial words are always preceded by a glottal stop. I have demonstrated in 2.1.3.B on p. 123 that the word-

initial glottal stop is not necessarily phonemic and that this can be proven by the existence of minimal pairs and by its behaviour in morphophonemic processes.

#### 2.4.2. Syllabic structure of roots

##### A. Monosyllabic roots

Monosyllabic roots can have any structure possible in the canonical template (C)V(V)(C), but have a weak tendency to be consonant-initial CV(V)(C). Monosyllabic roots without a vowel sequence consistently show notable vowel lengthening, especially when they have a CVC structure. Vowel lengthening is strongest when roots occur without any suffixation.

(58)	<i>dan</i> ‘road’	[dɑ:n], not [dɑn]
	<i>dus</i> ‘fly’	[dʉ:s], not [dʉs]
	<i>num</i> ‘six’	[nu:m], not [num]

Historically, at least some of these cases are actually not cases of vowel lengthening but of the reduction of disyllabic to monosyllabic roots. Consider the following Proto-Austronesian roots, all of which have monosyllabic CV(V)C equivalents in Takivatan (PAN data from ABVD (2007)):

	<u>PAN</u>	<u>Takivatan</u>	
‘road’	* <i>zalan</i>	<i>dan</i>	‘road’
‘above’	* <i>babaw</i>	<i>bav</i>	‘up in the mountains’
‘moon’	* <i>bulan</i>	<i>buan</i>	‘moon’

In the three examples above, an intervocalic consonant in a Proto-Austronesian disyllabic root underwent lenition to a glottal stop and in some cases disappeared completely (e.g. *zalan* > *daʔan* > *daan*). If the word contained two identical vowels, this created a long vowel; if not, as in the last example, a vowel sequence was created. This explains why it is still possible to insert an optional /ʔ/ into a vowel sequence or a long vowel of a monosyllabic root (as in *buan* [buan] or [buʔan] or *dan* [da:n] or [daʔan]). /ʔ/-insertion then probably spread to monosyllabic roots that cannot be traced back to a Proto-Austronesian disyllable, such as the negative particle *ni*, which corresponds to the PAN reconstruction *\*ini* (with a short /i/) but can nevertheless be realized as [niʔi]. From a historical perspective, it might therefore be justified to say that the canonical syllable structure of Takivatan is underlyingly (C)V(C) and the canonical root structure CVCV(C), in accordance with a commonly assumed Austronesian template. All monosyllabic roots with long vowels or vowel-sequences would actually be disyllables with a zero-realized intervocalic consonant (e.g. *buan* is [ˈbu.an]).

There is only one root in Takivatan Bunun where it could be argued that vowel length is contrastive. *Han* ‘be at; go to’ typically has a long vowel when it occurs as the main element in a content word, as in:

(59) *mun-han*            [munha:n]

ALL-go

‘go to’

But when *han* occurs as an isolated root in preposition-like functions at the beginning of a locative or temporal phrase, its vowel is typically short.

(60) Mudanʔak han Taihuku.

mu-dan-ʔak          han [hǎn]      Taihuku

ALL-road-1S.F      to                  Taipei

‘I go to Taipei.’

However, it is possible to lengthen the vowel in the example above and the form *han* can easily be analysed as the second element in a locative serial verb construction.

Only a small group of interjections can form free roots that consist solely of vowels, i.e. with a V(V) structure.

ai ‘exclamation of surprise’

a ‘interjection marking cause or consequence’

u ‘yes’

## B. Disyllabic roots

There is a preference among disyllabic roots that are native to Takivatan to have the following structure:

CVCVC

Some examples:

## 2.4 – SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

(61) *davus* ‘(adj.) sweet; (n.) alcoholic drink’

*hapav* ‘in front of; higher than’

*hilav* ‘door’

*muṇuq* ‘to snore’

However, disyllabic roots occur in almost all structures that are made possible by the canonical syllable template. A list of allowed structures is given below.

<u>Structure</u>	<u>Commonality</u>	<u>Example</u>
VCV	common	<i>aki</i> ‘grandfather’
VCVV	rare	<i>akia</i> ‘temple’
VCVVC	very rare	<i>isiul</i> ‘to spray’
VCVC	common	<i>iḏuq</i> ‘orange, citrus fruit’
VVCV	rare	<i>aivi</i> ‘give’
VVCVC	rare	<i>auqal</i> ‘young of a wild pig’
CVCV	very common	<i>babu</i> ‘pig’
CVCVV	common	<i>madia</i> ‘many’
CVCVVC	common	<i>siquis</i> ‘falcon’
CVVCV	common	<i>baiṇu</i> ‘bean’
CVVCVV	rare	<i>huahua</i> ‘goose’
CVVCCVVC	rare	<i>daukdauk</i> ‘slow’

The last only occurs for roots that are inherently reduplicated (see 8.2). Two structures that are allowed by the canonical template but never occur in the corpus are VVCVVC and CVVCVVC.

### C. Polysyllabic roots

Polysyllabic roots can take all forms and shapes as long as they comply with the canonical template. Compared to disyllabic roots there tend to be less root-internal consonant clusters. Non-reduplicated roots with more than five syllables have not been attested. Polysyllabic roots have a tendency to have CV-syllables, with or without a root-final coda consonant:

CV(CV)(CV)(...)(C)

#### 2.4.3. Syllabic structure of affixes

##### A. Prefixes

Takivatan Bunun has an unusually large set of prefixes (more than 200), which are either monosyllabic or disyllabic. In terms of distinct lexical form, both occur in roughly equal proportions, but monosyllabic prefixes tend to be more common in actual texts. Some examples of monosyllabic and disyllabic prefixes:

Monosyllabic: *i-* ‘at, in; possessive’

*ma-* ‘common adjectival prefix’

*kis-* ‘marks a stabbing movement’

*pain-* ‘marks a collective action’

Disyllabic: *pasi-* ‘marks an action involving separation’

*maisna-* ‘from’

*pasan-* ‘marks an action performed in large groups’

Note that prefixes can also be stacked before a root (see 3.1.2 and 7.11.2). These constructions will be called prefix combinations in this work and they differ from genuine disyllabic prefixes in that they are synchronically analysable into their component parts.

The vast majority (more than 85%) of prefixes are consonant initial. The two largest groups, CVC- and CVCV-prefixes, together constitute two thirds of the distinct prefixal forms in the lexicon. CV- and CVCVC-forms each make up another ten percent.

### B. Infixes

Compared to other affixes, infixes are relatively rare in Takivatan Bunun. So far, only seven forms have been attested, most of which have only been attested once. Based on this small sample, one could conclude that infixes have a V(C) structure. The following three infixes have been attested more than once.

*<al>* ‘creates action verb from auxiliary’

*<i>* ‘past marker; variant of *<in>*’

*<in>* ‘past/resultative marker’

Infixes are inserted either into the first syllable of the root (first two examples of (62) below) or into a prefix preceding the root (last two examples).

(62) *manaq* ‘shoot’                   →     *m<in>anaq* ‘<PST>-shoot’

*lus?an* ‘celebrate’                   →     *l<in>us?an* ‘<PST>-celebrate’

- dun* ‘thread’ → *k<in>in-dun* ‘<PST>-USE-thread  
> have worked with thread’
- daŋað* ‘(n. & v.) help’ → *s<in>in-daŋað* ‘<PST>-RES.OBJECT-help  
> have helped (effectively)’

Infixes are typically inserted in a way that avoids the formation of consonant clusters, i.e. in a way that creates a CVCV or a CVVCV pattern. Normally, this results in a VC-infix being inserted after the root-initial consonant, as in the example below:

- (63) *tupa* ‘say’ → *t<in>upa* ‘<PST>-say’, never *\*tu<in>pa*

If its position in the word would lead to a CC-cluster, a ligature vowel is inserted. The choice of ligature vowel is often uncertain as the variational possibilities in the following example illustrates.

- (64) *sadu* ‘see’ → *sa<in>idu* ‘<PST>-see’  
→ *sa<in>udu* ‘<PST>-see’

### C. Suffixes

There are around thirty suffixes in Takivatan Bunun. Suffixes that are traditionally associated with verbal concepts, such as focus (*-un*, *-an*; see Chapter 6) and aspect (*-in*, *-aŋ*; see Chapter 5) are vowel-initial:

-VC

Other suffixes all have a -(C)V(C) structure, as exemplified by the definiteness markers (-*ti*, -*tun*, -*ta*, -*ki*, -*kun*, -*ka*; see 9.1) and the particles -*i* ‘PRT’ and -*a* ‘TPC’.

## 2.5. The phonological word

A phonological word minimally consists of a root syllable (see 2.4.1 and 2.4.2), which may or may not be reduplicated and which may or may not be preceded, interrupted and/or followed by bound syllables (see 2.4.3).

### 2.5.1. Vowel length

There are no minimal pairs in Takivatan of which the members contrast in vowel length. The only potential exception would be *han*, which is typically used as a verb ‘go’ when it is realized with a long vowel and as a preposition when realized with a short /a/. However, this is only a tendency and all prepositions in Takivatan transparently derive from verbal roots and can be interpreted as part of a serial verb construction.

That being said, there is a non-phonemic contrast between long and short vowels: vowels in monosyllabic roots are typically realized twice as long as vowels in disyllabic or polysyllabic roots (see 2.4.2.A.). Stressed syllables have a tendency to be pronounced somewhat longer than unstressed ones, although not as long as monosyllabic roots.

## 2.5.2. Word stress

Words with disyllabic or polysyllabic roots typically have stress on the penultimate syllable of the root.

- (65) *tulkuk* ‘chicken’ [ˈtʊlkukˀ]  
*tibuqlav* ‘stomach’ [tiˈbʊqlavˀ]

The undergoer suffix *-un* and the locative focus suffix *-an* are the only affixes that typically trigger stress shift.

- (66) *liskin* ‘think (about), ponder’ [ˈliʃkin]  
*liskin-un* ‘think-UF’ [liʃˈkinun]  
*in-liskin-an* ‘-think-LF’ [inliʃˈkinan]

Other affixes have no influence on word stress.

- (67) *dan* ‘(n.) road; (v.) go, walk’ [dan]  
*mu-dan* ‘ALL-walk > go to’ [muˈdan]  
*mu-dan-in* ‘ALL-walk-PRV’ [muˈda:nin]  
*mu-dan-in-ta* ‘...-DEF.SIT.DIST’ [muˈda:ninta]  
*sihal* ‘good’ [ˈʃihalˀ]  
*ma-sihal* ‘STAT-good > good’ [maˈʃihalˀ]  
*ma-sihal-in* ‘STAT-good-PRV’ [maˈʃihalin]  
 (but: *sihal-un* ‘good-UF > be made good’  
 [maʃiˈhalun] )

Some Japanese loan words have a word-final stress pattern.

- |      |                         |                                |
|------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (68) | <i>Sipun</i> ‘Japanese’ | [ʃi <sup>l</sup> <u>pu:n</u> ] |
|      | <i>vinkiu</i> ‘study’   | [viŋ <sup>l</sup> <u>kju</u> ] |
|      | <i>vukusi</i> ‘vicar’   | [vuku <sup>l</sup> <u>ʃi</u> ] |

A very small set of disyllabic and polysyllabic indigenous roots appear to have word-final stress. It is very likely that these can be traced back to morphologically complex forms in older phases of the language that are synchronically unanalysable.

- |      |                            |   |
|------|----------------------------|---|
| (69) | <i>sadu</i> ‘see’          | [sa <sup>l</sup> <u>dfu:</u> ], never [ˈsɑdfu:] |
|      | <i>Vilian</i> ‘first name’ | [vi <sup>l</sup> <u>lian</u> ], never [ˈvilian] |

The latter might derive from the root *vili* ‘right’ and the locative suffix *-an* and might etymologically mean something like ‘the one at the right hand side’. At present the form does not appear to be recognized as such. It has been argued that *sadu* can be traced back to a prefix *sa-* ‘see’ and a free form *du* ‘encounter’ (see Nihira (1988:73, 304, 306)).

### 2.5.3. Morphophonemic processes

The interaction between phonology and morphology is relatively weak in Takivatan, but a small number of morphological processes trigger some sort of phonological change. In most cases, these changes are transparent and their source components are still recognizable.

### A. Vowel contraction with *-aŋ* and *-in*

Contraction of two identical vowels at morpheme boundaries only occurs when the small set of roots below is followed by the progressive suffix *-aŋ* (see 5.2).

- (70) *asa* ‘want, must’ + *-aŋ* ‘PROG’ → *asaŋ* [‘asǎŋ]
- haiða* ‘have’ + *-aŋ* → *haiðaŋ* [‘haiðǎŋ]
- kaupa* ‘all together’ + *-aŋ* → *kaupaŋ* [‘kaupǎŋ]
- takna* ‘yesterday’ + *-aŋ* → *takna* [‘taknǎŋ]
- uka* ‘have not’ + *-aŋ* → *ukaŋ* [‘ukǎŋ]
- ʔupa* ‘step’ + *-aŋ* → *ʔupaŋ* [‘ʔupǎŋ]

In all other situations and with all other vowels, a glottal stop is inserted between the two vowels or (in fast speech) the two vowels are pronounced as one long vowel.

As with PROG *-aŋ*, vowel contraction involving the perfective suffix *-in* only occurs with a small number of roots. Unlike *-aŋ*, vowels involved in contraction with PRV *-in* do not have to be homorganic and in many cases a non-contracted form exists alongside the fused form (forms attested in the corpus are indicated in the examples below).

- (71) *haiða* ‘have; exist’ + *-in* ‘PRV’ → *haiðin* [‘haiðǐn]
- minuma* ‘be destroyed’ + *-in* → *minumin* [mi‘numǐn]
- muqna* ‘be next’ + *-in* → *muqnin* [‘muqnǐn] / [muqnain]
- uka* ‘have not’ + *-in* → *ukin* [‘ukǐn] / [ukain] / [ukaʔin]

This phenomenon occasionally occurs with other roots, but these forms are rare and might not be universally accepted.

- (72) *quma* ‘land, field’ + *-in* → *qumin* [ˈqumin]<sup>16</sup>  
*siða* ‘take, grasp’ + *-in* → *siðin* [ˈsiðin] / siðain / siðaʔin

### B. Vowel deletion with *ma-/pa-/ka-*

When the dynamic prefix *ma-* (see 7.5.1) combines with a number of vowel-initial roots, it is reduced to *m-*. Below are a number of examples.

- (73) *alʔu* ‘(n./v.) rest’ → *m-alʔu* ‘to rest’  
*iqumis* ‘life’ → *m-iqumis* ‘to live’  
*isdul* ‘urine’ → *m-isdul* ‘to urinate’  
*isʔav* ‘drinking feast’ → *m-isʔav* ‘to hold a drinking feast’

### C. Metathesis /ia/ > /ai/

When a root-final syllable containing a sequence of /ia/ is followed by a suffix, the vowel sequence is realized as /ai/. This change is only consistently attested with the roots *siap* ‘know’ and *qansiap* ‘understand’.

- (74) *qansiap* ‘understand’ → *qansaip-un* ‘understand-UF’  
*qansaip-an* ‘understand-LF’

---

<sup>16</sup> The perfective form of the noun *quma* ‘field’ is hard to render in English, but means something like ‘something that has turned into an arable field’ or ‘after [the land] was turned into an arable field’.

The generic anaphoric marker *sia* can undergo a similar change when it is followed by an attributive marker *tu*. These are normally two morphological and phonological words, but occasionally they can merge into a single form *saitu*.

(75) *sia* ‘ANAPH’ + *tu* ‘ATTR’ → typically: *sia tu*  
 occasionally: *saitu*

#### D. Vowel epenthesis

As discussed in section 2.4.3.B on p. 146, infixation can be accompanied by the insertion of a ligature vowel in order to maintain a CV-syllable structure. No other forms of non-phonemic vowel epenthesis have been documented.



## **Chapter 3. Words, affixes and word classes**

In this chapter, I will discuss the status of grammatical words, affixes, and word classes in Takivatan. Section 3.1 gives a (language-specific) definition of grammatical word and discusses the internal complexity of words in Takivatan. Section 3.2 argues that it is not theoretically helpful to distinguish affixes and clitics in Takivatan. Section 3.3 gives criteria for distinguishing nouns and verbs in Takivatan and ends with a brief overview of the properties of other word classes in terms of their similarity to nouns or verbs.

### **3.1. Words**

#### **3.1.1. The grammatical word**

Like all other Bunun dialects, Takivatan is an agglutinative language with a rich bound morphology, especially on verbs. Much of the remainder of this work will give an overview of how different types of affixes (Chapter 5-7) and reduplication (Chapter 8) function. Before going over to the specifics, we will first have a look at what Takivatan words are and how they are constituted. I define a grammatical word in Takivatan Bunun as:

The smallest conceptual unit consisting of a collection of a root and a number of affixes that is perceived by native speakers as referring to a conceptually

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united part of reality and can be used independently in a grammatically formed utterance without leaving any bound morphemes stranded in its immediate environment in the utterance.

In general, this definition is as straightforward for Takivatan as it is for most other languages in the world, though some problems remain because of the ambiguous status of some bound morphemes that are only loosely attached to their stems. Some examples of what can function as a word in Takivatan:

(76) A bare root:

qabus

grease

‘grease’

(77) A verb created by free root with a prefix:

mu-tutu

FALL.DOWN-pour

‘fall down one by one, be pouring down’

(78) A noun consisting of a reduplicated root with a stative prefix and a nominalising suffix:

ma-<da>daiŋ-ʔaǎ

STAT-<PL>-old-PERSON

‘the elders (generic)’

- (79) A verb consisting of a root with a dynamic prefix, two aspectual affixes, a bound pronoun, and a subordination marker:

na-ma-sabaq-aŋ-ʔak-ʔa

IRR-DYN-sleep-PROG-1S.F-SUBORD

‘I will be sleeping’ (constr.)

A Takivatan word minimally consists of a root. In most cases, this root is a free morpheme, but there are some exceptions. A small number of roots are bound and require one or more affixes to function as independent words. For instance, the verbal root *-aqun* ‘weed out’ never occurs in isolation but must always be preceded by a verbal prefix, as in:

- |      |              |  |
|------|--------------|--|
| (80) | m-aqun       | p-aqun   |
|      | DYN-weed.out | CAUS.DYN/HI.AG-weed.out                            |
|      | ‘weed out’   | ‘tell somebody to weed out / weed out with vigour’ |

Other examples of bound roots include:

- |      |                              |   |
|------|------------------------------|---|
| (81) | <i>-(a)das</i> ‘carry’       | <i>ma-das</i> ‘DYN-carry’ / <i>adas-un</i> ‘carry-UF’ /<br><i>das-un</i> ‘carry-UF’ / ... |
|      | <i>aiŋk-</i> ‘DEM.PV’        | <i>aiŋk-i</i> ‘DEM.PV-PROX’ /<br><i>aiŋk-a</i> ‘DEM.PV-DIST’ / ...                        |
|      | <i>-atað</i> ‘die, kill’     | <i>m-atað</i> ‘die’ / <i>p-atað</i> ‘kill’ / ...  |
|      | <i>lum-</i> ‘lock up, catch’ | <i>lum-un</i> ‘catch-UF’ / <i>lu-lum-an</i> ‘prison’ / ...                                |

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A small number of monosyllabic roots are meaningless by themselves and always occur in stem-reduplicated form (see also 8.2).

- (82) *bauṅbauṅ* ‘with a booming voice’    (\**bauṅ*)  
*dumdum* ‘obscure, dark’                    (\**dum*)  
*kuskus* ‘finger or toe nail’                (\**kus*)  
*lautlaut* ‘spine’                              (\**laut*)

A small set of roots have distinct semantics when they are not reduplicated but nevertheless typically occur in a reduplicated form.

- kuḍa* ‘work’ (rare)      *kuḍakuḍa* ‘work; to work’ /  
*kuḍkuḍaun* ‘work that needs to be done’ / ...  
*baḍ* ‘talk, converse’      *baḍbaḍ* ‘talk, have a conversation’

Apart from the root, a word can contain the following morphological elements:

- **Prefixes**: Words can have a number of prefixes (see below)
- **Suffixes**: Words can have a number of suffixes (see below)
- **Reduplication**: Reduplication typically operates on the entire root or on a root-initial syllable and either stem-, CV- or Ca-reduplication. A word normally contains only one reduplicative pattern, but there are exceptions (see 8.9).
- **Infixes**: Words can have only one infix, which is typically inserted in the first syllable of the root.

As far as I have observed, infixation and reduplication are always mutually exclusive. In general, verbs tend to be morphologically much more complex than nouns, and other word classes will normally take even less bound morphology.

### 3.1.2. Morphological complexity of verbs

The vast majority of the more than two hundred affixes occur primarily on verbs, i.e. they are either involved in verbalising or valency-changing derivational processes or in the modification of verbal concepts in one way or another (e.g. aspect). As a result, verbs and deverbal nominalisations are on average more complex than instances of other word classes and the maximal complexity of verbs is much higher than that of nouns or any other word class.

A verbal stem consists of a root or a root and a verbalising prefix, infix or suffix:

- [ (VBZ-)ROOT ]<sub>VERBAL STEM</sub>
- [ R(<VBZ>)OOT ]<sub>VERBAL STEM</sub>
- [ ROOT(-VBZ) ]<sub>VERBAL STEM</sub>

This stem can be modified by a host of affixes, as given in the schema below.

TAM- verbal<sub>0-n</sub>- TAM- STEM -focus -TAM -pron. -*du* -DEF -*i* -(?)*a*  
 pref<sub>2</sub>- pref<sub>1</sub>- <inf>- -suf<sub>1</sub> -suf<sub>2</sub> -suf<sub>3</sub> -suf<sub>4</sub> -suf<sub>5</sub> -suf<sub>6</sub> -suf<sub>7</sub>

In addition, the verbal root can be reduplicated, but only if there is no infixation. Note that this represents the maximal complexity of a verbal word; in reality, it will only rarely happen that all the slots in the schema above are filled for a single verbal word.

Table 10 below presents the same morphological structure and gives some example affixes for each of the slots. Column A indicates the number of morphemes that have been attested to occur in a particular slot. Column N indicates the number of morphemes that can possibly occur within one slot. For instance, there can 0 or 1 TAM prefix in the  $pref_2$  slot. On the other hand, slot  $suf_2$  can have from 0 to 2 focus suffixes (or, in other words, it is possible to stack two focus suffixes).

		Value	Morphemes	N	A	Chapter
word- boundary ↑	$pref_2$	TAM	<i>na-</i>	0-1	1	5.1
	$pref_1$	verbal prefixes	<i>ma-</i> ‘DYN’, <i>ma-</i> ‘STAT’, <i>pa-</i> , <i>min-</i> , <i>is-</i> , <i>pin-</i> , ...	0-n	150+	7
		⟨RED⟩		1		
		⟨inf⟩		1	7	
		<b>STEM</b>		1		
	$suf_1$	focus suff.	<i>-un/an</i>	0-2	2	6
	$suf_2$	TAM	<i>-in/aŋ</i>	0-1	3	5.2-5.3
	$suf_3$	bound pronouns	<i>-ʔak/ʔas/is/ʔam/uk</i>	0-2	5	9.2
	$suf_4$	emotive suff.	<i>-dau/-du</i>	0-1	2	
	$suf_5$	definiteness marker	<i>-ti/tun/ta;</i> - <i>ki/kun/ka</i>	0-1	6	9.1
	$suf_6$		<i>-i</i>	0-1	2	
↓ word- boundary	$suf_7$	LNK/ LDIS SUBORD	<i>-a/-ʔa</i>	0-1	1	

(N: maximal number of occurrences in one word; A: number of forms attested in the corpus)

**Table 10 – Order of prefixes and suffixes on verbs**

The most problematic slot is that of the verbal prefixes ( $pref_1$ ), which contains more than 150 possible members. In addition, one verbal stem can stack up to 4 or 5 different verbal prefixes. Nevertheless, it makes little theoretical sense at the

moment to postulate the existence of fixed-member slots for subsets of the verbal prefixes, since most of those prefixes are mutually exclusive and not all of them consistently occur in the same successive order.<sup>17</sup> In addition, I will try to argue in Chapter 7 that, functionally, they are in fact part of a consistent prefixal system. The order of suffixes is rigidly fixed but it is impossible for all suffixal slots to be filled in one verbal form, since bound pronouns block the realization of definiteness markers.

An example of how morphologically complex verbal forms can be created is given below.

- (83) *siap* ‘know’ → [*qan-siap*]<sub>STEM</sub> ‘VBZ-know’ > ‘understand’  
 → *pin-qansiap* ‘CAUS.BECOME-understand’ > ‘make somebody understand’  
 → *is-pin-qansiap* ‘TRANSFER-...’ > ‘make somebody understand by explaining’  
 → *is-pin-qansaip-un* ‘...-UF’<sup>18</sup>  
 > ‘... oriented on the receiver of the information’  
 → *na-is-pin-qansaip-un* ‘IRR-...’ > ‘... in the future’  
 → *na-is-pin-qansaip-un-ti* ‘...-DEF.REF.PROX’ > ‘... this here’  
 → *na-is-pin-qansaip-un-ti-ʔa* ‘...-SUBORD’ > ‘the clause containing the verb is subordinate to the following clause’

---

<sup>17</sup> However, some pairs of verbal prefixes always occur in the same order, e.g. it is always *is-pin-*, as in example (84), and never *pin-is-*.

<sup>18</sup> Addition of *-un* triggers /ia > ai/ metathesis in *siap* (see 2.5.3.C).

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The final result:

(84) Naʔispinqansaipuntiʔa

na-	is-	pin-	qansiap	-un	-ti	-ʔa
IRR-	TRANSFER-	CAUS.BECOME-	understand	-UF	-DEF.REF.PROX	-SUBORD
pref <sub>2</sub> -	pref <sub>1</sub> -	pref <sub>1</sub> -	STEM	-suf <sub>1</sub>	-suf <sub>5</sub>	-suf <sub>7</sub>

‘After [I/you/...] have been made to understand this here by explanation, ...’

(constr.)

**3.1.3. Morphological complexity of nouns and other word classes**

All other word classes are markedly less complex than verbs. A typical nominal stem consists of a bare root or a root and a nominalising suffix. Other nominal stems are derived from verbs with a nominalising suffix.

[	ROOT	(-NMZ)	]	NOMINAL STEM
[	[VERBAL STEM]	(-NMZ)	]	NOMINAL STEM

There is only a small set of dedicated nominalising affixes, the most common of which is probably *-ʔað*, which derives persons from stative concepts.

(85) ma-daiŋ-ʔað	is-tamasað-ʔað
STAT-old-PERSON	TRANSFER-powerful-PERSON
‘elder’	‘especially powerful or skillful person’

The focus suffixes UF *-un* and LF *-an* sometimes also have nominalising functions, as do some of the verbal prefixes. The complexity of a typical noun in Takivatan will never be higher than:

TAM- STEM -TAM *-du* -DEF *-i* *-(?)a*

However, aspectual affixes are only rarely expressed on nouns and not more than one can occur in the same form, the expression of TAM suffixes blocks the realization of the emotive suffix *-du*, definiteness markers block the realization of *-i*, and *-i* and *-(?)a* tend not to co-occur (although it is grammatically possible).

All other word classes are less complex than nouns or verbs. Auxiliaries, question words, the anaphoric marker *sia* and the manner word *maupa* ‘thus’ can technically take the same morphology as verbs, but it rarely happens that they develop the same morphological complexity. Although forms like the one below are grammatical, I have not attested them in my corpus.

(86) na-ma-kitŋa-in-ʔa

IRR-DYN-begin-PRV-SUBORD

‘After he will have begun to act, ...’ (constr.)

Most auxiliaries, such as the deontic modal *maqtu* ‘can, is allowed’, never take any definiteness markers and many others, like *asa* ‘must’, only very rarely. Place and time words can take definiteness markers, the particle *-i* and the linker *-a*, but not much else. Personal pronouns and demonstratives normally do not take any marking other than PRT *-i* and LNK *-a*.

## 3.2. Affixes

### 3.2.1. Introduction

Bunun affixes have been the subject of a number of studies (Lin et al. (2001), Nojima (1996) and Zeng (2006)). This special interest exists in the first place because Bunun dialects have a typologically disproportionately large set: more than 200 different prefixes, suffixes, infixes and circumfixes have been attested for Takivatan and these can occur in many combinations. It would be impossible to treat them all here and this work will therefore restrict itself to an overview of the most important types of affixation:

- **TAM affixes** are discussed in Chapter 5. There are five commonly used TAM markers: one prefix (IRR *na-*), two infixes (PST *<in>* and PST *<i>*) and two suffixes (PRV *-in* and PROG *-at*).
- **Focus suffixes** are discussed in Chapter 6. Takivatan has two focus suffixes: the undergoer focus suffix *-un* and locative focus *-an*.
- **Verbal prefixes** are discussed in Chapter 7. There are more than 150 different verbal prefixes.
- **Definiteness markers** are discussed in 9.1. Takivatan has a set of six definiteness markers.

Other groups of affixes that will not be described in this work include:

- A small set of **nominalising affixes**.

- A small set of **nominal affixes**, i.e. affixes that modify nouns semantically but have no influence on their syntactic status. An example is the prefix *mai-* ‘deceased’ as in *mai-tama* ‘my father, who is deceased’.
- **Numeral affixes**, which create derived numerals from cardinal numeral roots.
- Many other affixes occur that cannot be readily classified in larger groups.

### 3.2.2. Affixation vs. cliticisation

Table 10 suggests that bound morphemes – to the extent that they are not mutually exclusive – have a relatively strict order within a word and one would expect a correlation between the morpheme order and the degree to which particular affixes are bound to the word root. Morphemes occurring close to the root would be expected to be more strongly bound than more remote morphemes.

We will see below that this is largely true for Takivatan, but that a number of phonological, morphological and semantic factors somewhat complicate this picture. The following criteria (inspired by Aikhenvald (2002) and Creissels (2006:28-33)) are relevant for determining the degree of boundedness of affixes in Takivatan:

- (a) **Fusion**: the possibility of an affix to fuse with its host;
- (b) **Stress shift**: the ability of an affix to trigger a shift in word stress;
- (c) **Pause insertion**: the possibility to insert a pause between an affix and its host;
- (d) **Idiosyncrasy**: the use of an affix in idiosyncratic meaning extensions or derivational processes and whether or not it is class-defining;
- (e) **Grammatical independence**: whether or not an affix has a variant that is realized as an independent word.

Each of these criteria will be discussed in detail below.

### A. Fusion

Fusion is the process whereby a bound morpheme is morphologically integrated into its host. This is an obvious indication that a close connection exists between affix and host. In Takivatan, this process involves vowel reduction and only happens at the morphological boundaries of word roots. All in all, fusion across morpheme boundaries is relatively unusual and even affixes that have the ability to fuse with their hosts will rarely do so.

The vast majority of prefixes never fuse with the word root. With a number of verbs, however, the dynamic verb prefixes *ma-*, *pa-* and *ka-* are fused on the root. In these cases, it is often not possible to retrieve the original free root of the verb. Some common examples include (note that *pa-* often but not always renders a causative reading):

(87) *m-atað* ‘die’ / *p-atað* ‘kill’ / \**atað*

*m-usbai* ‘run away’ / *p-usbai* ‘cause to run away’ / *k-usbai* ‘fly away’ / \**usbai*

The focus suffixes *-un* and *-an* do not normally fuse with the verb root. There are two words in Takivatan that are in all likelihood the combination of a verbal root and the undergoer suffix *-un*, although they are synchronically unanalysable.

(88) *aun* ‘it is prohibited; one cannot (in undergoer focus constructions)’

< (unknown)

*paun* ‘be called, be named’ < *tupa* ‘tell; name’ + *-un* ‘UF’

Aspectual suffixes, on the other hand, obligatorily fuse with some vowel-final roots.

(89) perfective -in

*muqna* ‘again’ + *-in* ‘PRV’ > *muqnin* / \* *muqna(?)in*

*minsuma* ‘return’ + *-in* ‘PRV’ > *minsumin* / \* *minsuma(?)in*

*tupa* ‘tell’ + *-in* ‘PRV’ > *patupin* / \**patupa?in*

(90) progressive -aŋ

*haiða* ‘have’ + *-aŋ* ‘PROG’ > *haiðaŋ* / \**haiða?aŋ*

More elaborate lists are given in 2.5.3.A. In only one case involving *haiða* ‘have’, the first person bound pronoun can fuse with its host.

(91) *haiða* + *-(?)ak* > *haiðak*

have      1S.F      ‘I have’

The pronominal form *-uk* is somewhat special since it is probably a contraction of the undergoer focus suffix *-un* and the bound first person singular pronoun *-(?)ak*. It marks a non-focused agent participant in an undergoer construction.

(92) *Tan?auka hutuŋ buntu*

{*tan?a-uk-a*}                      [*hutuŋ*]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>    [*buntu*]<sub>TIME</sub>

hear-UF + 1S.NFA-LNK    monkey                      continuously

‘I continuously heard [the sound of] monkeys.’ (TVN-008-002:179)

Other pronouns do not fuse with their hosts. For instance *haiða* ‘have’ plus *-ʔas* ‘2S.F’ is always *haiðaʔas* and never *\*haiðas*. None of the other suffixes (positions *suf*<sub>4</sub> to *suf*<sub>7</sub> in Table 10 on p. 160 above) are involved in any process of fusion.

### B. Stress shift

As discussed in 2.5.2, stress in Takivatan typically resides on the penultimate syllable of the word root and most prefixes or suffixes never cause a shift in stress. The only exception are the focus suffixes *-un* and *-an*, which cause stress to shift one position to the right. This happens both when they function as verbal markers, as in (93), and when they have a nominalising function, as in (94).

- |      |                 |          |   |                         |                 |
|------|-----------------|----------|---|-------------------------|-----------------|
| (93) | patað           | [ˈpatað] | → | patað-un                | [paˈtaðun]      |
|      | ‘kill’          |          |   | kill-UF                 |                 |
|      |                 |          |   | ‘get killed, be killed’ |                 |
|      |                 |          |   |                         |                 |
|      | sapil           | [ˈsapil] | → | kun-sapil-an            | [kunsapilan]    |
|      | ‘shoe’          |          |   | WEAR-shoe-LF            |                 |
|      |                 |          |   | ‘wear shoes’            |                 |
|      |                 |          |   |                         |                 |
| (94) | sabaq           | [ˈsabaq] | → | sabaq-an                | [saˈbaqan]      |
|      | ‘sleep’         |          |   | sleep-LF                |                 |
|      |                 |          |   | ‘sleeping spot’         |                 |
|      |                 |          |   |                         |                 |
|      | ˈqaisqais       |          |   | is-qaisqais-un          | [isqaisˈqaisun] |
|      | ‘mop the floor’ |          |   | INSTR-mop-UF            |                 |
|      |                 |          |   | ‘floor mop’             |                 |

The closer prosodic integration of these suffixes in the word is an indication that they are perceived to form a close unity with the roots with which they combine.

### C. Pause insertion

It is a fair assumption that a word is normally prosodically continuous and that, conversely, the possibility to insert a pause between two morphemes, especially when this would not necessitate backtracking to the beginning of a word, would be a strong indicator of relative morphological freedom.

Pauses that do not trigger backtracking before suffixes have only been observed for bound pronouns (except *-uk*, probably because it is a fused form of a pronoun and UF *-un*; see 9.2.1.A on p. 443). In the example below, there is no hesitation between *anak* and *ak*, but the two are separated by a short pause and *ak* is pronounced as an independent prosodic unit.

(95) [...] **Anak ak** tiŋkul

{anak}<sub>AUX</sub>    [ak]<sub>AG</sub>    {tiŋkul}  
by.oneself    1S.F    stumble

‘I fell down by myself [i.e. nobody else caused it].’ (TVN-xx2-008:33)

Note that it is always possible to construct a bound equivalent of constructions like the above.

(96) **Anak-(?)ak**    tiŋkul  
by.oneself-1S.F    stumble

*Id.*

In actual texts, it is often very hard to distinguish between constructions like (95) and (96), unless there is either a conspicuous pause or a bound marker following the pronoun that has clear scope over the verb.

We will see in point E below that a similar choice between a bound and a free form can also be made for the emotive marker *dau/du*, (slot *suf<sub>4</sub>* in Table 10 above) which expresses the emotional involvement of the speaker in the event described by the clause. However, it is only possible to freely alternate between a free and a bound variant when the emotive marker is immediately following a verb, as in (97)-(98), but not, for example, when it is following a nominal, as in (99)-(100).

(97) Tupaduka Sipu?un tu [...]

{tupa-du-ka}                      [Sipun]<sub>AG</sub>    tu  
tell-EMOT-DEF.SIT.DIST    Japanese    COMPL

‘And, well have you, the Japanese said [...]’ (TVN-012-002:38)

(98) Tupa dau-ka Sipu?un tu [...]

(99) Tupa Sipu?un dau tu [...]

(100) \* Tupa Sipu?un-du tu [...]

If vowel-initial suffixes are preceded by a vowel, a glottal stop is commonly inserted (see 2.1.3.C), but these glottal stops never evolve into pauses. In the rare case when a hesitation pause appears before any suffix other than a bound pronoun or an emotive marker, this always causes backtracking, i.e. the word has to be repeated from the beginning, as in example (101) below.

(101) Anak... <backtrack> anaka taisʔan madas kamaduq

{anak-...}<sub>AUX</sub>    {anak-a}<sub>AUX</sub>    [taisʔan]<sub>AG</sub>

by.oneself    by.oneself-LNK    relative

{m-adas    ka-maduq}

DYN-carry    HARVEST-millet

‘[You don’t have to cook for us, because] we relatives carry [the food] ourselves to the millet harvest.’ (TVN-012-003:43)

It is not possible to insert a deliberate pause between any prefix and its host, with the exception of the irrealis prefix *na-* in slot *pref*<sub>2</sub>, which is largely similar to emotive *dau/du* above and will be discussed in 3.2.2.E below.

(102) [...] Na <pause> luqlas <backtrack> naluqlasa sak

na    {luqlas}    {na-luqlas-a} [sak]<sub>AG</sub>

then    yell    IRR-yell- LNK    1S.F

‘[if the deer happens to run away,] then I will yell.’ (TVN-008-002:145)

It can occasionally happen that a speaker hesitates after a verbal prefix (slot *pref*<sub>1</sub> in Table 10), but before uttering the entire word. In most cases, this will trigger backtracking to the beginning of the word.

(103) Haiða paun tu min- <backtrack> min-kulau

{haiða} [paun tu min-min-kulau]<sub>AG</sub>

have call + UF COMPL BECOME-BECOME-full.grown

‘There was what is called ‘minkulau’ [i.e. the month of the full-grown crops].’ (TVN-012-001:47)

However, there are some rare cases in which the speaker will not backtrack and simply continue the clause where he left off.

(104) [...] Valituni ma <pause> via tu mapataði uvað?að.

[vali-tun-i]<sub>AG</sub> {ma-via}<sub>AUX</sub> tu {ma-patað-i}

sun-DEF.REF.MED-PRT DYN-why COMPL DYN-kill-PRT

[uvað?að]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

child

‘[...] that sun, why did it kill our child?’ (TVN-012-001:16)

This type of hesitation phenomenon is very unusual, but it has been observed with different speakers.

Curiously, this appears to indicate that these prefixes have a tendency to constitute separate phonological words. However, the typical examples of discrepancies between grammatical and phonological properties involving bound morphemes are situations where two grammatical words are part of the same phonological form (see Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002:27-31)). It is much less common that two



- (106) *patas* ‘scribble, write’ > *sin-patas* ‘RES.OBJ-write’  
 > *sinpatas* (n.) ‘letter, message; something that has been written’  
 > *sinpatas* (v.) ‘something has been written on a paper’

This is such a striking feature across Austronesian languages of Taiwan and the Philippines that Starosta et al. (1982) have argued that undergoer and locative focus predicates are historically nominalisations and, although their hypothesis is controversial, it highlights the problems one encounters when one tries to impose a hard opposition between inflection and derivation on languages like Bunun.

#### E. Grammatical independence

A final element influencing the relative degree of boundedness of an affix to its root is its ability to function as an independent phonological and grammatical word. This can mean two things. First, it is possible that there is free variation between the bound and free form of a morpheme which does not substantially influence its meaning. This is the case with some personal pronouns and with the emotive marker *dau*, both of which were mentioned in C above.

Second, an affix might have a homophonous equivalent that functions as an independent word in a clause and has developed a function that is distinct from – but similar to – its bound incarnation. For instance, the morpheme *na-* functions as an irrealis marker indicating futurity, volition or result when it is attached to a verb, but can also occur as a clause-initial particle, in which case it indicates consequence or result.

Example (107) contains both usages. On the first and last line of the example below, it is used as an irrealis prefix, indicating volition in the first line and result in the last. *Na* in line 2, however, behaves phonologically as an independent particle. It can only indicate consequence or result in these contexts, never futurity or volition.

(107) Namaqun ?ita, maqai masihala bahia, tudip, na, sintupadu tu maqai ?itun, asa  
 namasihal kakaunun.

{na-m-aqun}            [?ita]<sub>PLACE</sub>            c<sub>1</sub>|c<sub>2</sub>

IRR-DYN-cut.off    be.there + DIST

‘And when they [wanted to] go there to harvest (lit: when they wanted to cut off things in that place), ...’

maqai    {ma-sihal-a}                            [bahi-a]<sub>AG</sub>                            SUBORD<sub>2</sub>|c<sub>3</sub>

if            STAT-good-SUBORD    dream-SUBORD

‘... if the dream was good, ...’

{tudip}    c<sub>3</sub>|c<sub>4</sub>

past.time

‘... in those days ...’

na            {sintupa-du}            tu            c<sub>3</sub>|COMPL<sub>4</sub>

CONS    signify-EMOT    COMPL

‘... then it meant that ...’

maqai    {?itun}                            c<sub>4</sub>|c<sub>5</sub>

if            be.there + MED

‘... if you went there ...’

{asa} <sub>AUX</sub>	{ <u>na</u> -ma-sihal} <sub>AUX</sub>	{<ka>kaun-un}
can	<u>IRR</u> -STAT-good	<PL>-eat + UF-UF

‘... you could eat very well.’ (TVN-012-002:39)

The irrealis marker *na-* will be discussed in 5.1; the discourse marker *na* is not further discussed in this work.

### 3.2.3. Overview

A schematic overview of all boundedness criteria is given in Table 11 on the next page. The order of the affixes corresponds to the schema on p. 159 (repeated below for convenience) and indicates their ‘physical’ distance from the word root.

TAM-	verbal <sub>0-n</sub> -	TAM-	<u>STEM</u>	-focus	-TAM	-pron.	- <i>du</i>	-DEF	- <i>i</i>	-(?) <i>a</i>
pref <sub>2</sub> -	pref <sub>1</sub> -	<inf>-		-suf <sub>1</sub>	-suf <sub>2</sub>	-suf <sub>3</sub>	-suf <sub>4</sub>	-suf <sub>5</sub>	-suf <sub>6</sub>	-suf <sub>7</sub>

All other boundedness criteria are plotted in columns A-E.

It is clear that, although there are loose correlations between the physical distance from an affix slot to the root and the other criteria for boundedness, many of these correlations appear to be contradictory. For instance, focus markers are the suffixes closest to the verb root but they never fuse with it. Suffixes from slots suf<sub>2</sub> and suf<sub>3</sub> all occur further from the root than focus suffixes, but they can fuse with the root. On the other hand, focus suffixes are the only affixes that can cause stress shift in the word root and the only suffixes that are used in nominalising processes. A pause can be inserted after the irrealis marker *na-* (pref<sub>2</sub>) and after *ma/pa/ka-* (pref<sub>1c</sub>) but

has never been attested for any of the intermediate  $\text{pref}_2$ -prefixes, which occur further from the root than the *ma/pa/ka*-trio (e.g. in *sin-ka-daidd* ‘show Christian charity’), but closer than IRR *na-*.

			A. Fusion	B. Stress shift	C. Pause Insertion	D. Idiosyncrasy	E. Grammatical independence
Prefixes	$\text{pref}_2$	<i>na-</i>	N	N	Y	N	Y
	$\text{pref}_{1a}$	<i>others</i>	N	N	N	N	N
	$\text{pref}_{1b}$	<i>is/sin-</i>	N	N	N	Y	N
	$\text{pref}_{1c}$	<i>ma/pa/ka-</i>	Y	N	Y	N	N
<b>STEM</b>							
Suffixes	$\text{suf}_1$	<i>-un/an</i>	N	Y	N	Y	N
	$\text{suf}_2$	<i>-in/aŋ</i>	Y	N	N	N	N
	$\text{suf}_3$	<i>-uk</i>	always	N	N	N	N
		<i>-ʔak/ʔas/...</i>	Y	N	Y	N	Y
	$\text{suf}_4$	<i>-dau/du</i>	N	N	Y	N	Y
	$\text{suf}_5$	DEF	N	N	N	N	N
	$\text{suf}_6$	<i>-i/a</i>	N	N	N	N	N
$\text{suf}_7$	SUBORD	N	N	N	N	N	

Y = yes, can occur  
 N = no, cannot occur  
 always = always occurs

**Evidence for:**

	Closely bounded to root	affix-like
	Neutral	↕
	Relative independence	clitic-like

Table 11 – Indicators for boundedness of affixes

As a result it is impossible to determine an unambiguous cut-off point where affixation stops and cliticisation begins and I would argue it is therefore better not to make such a distinction, all the more because it does not add anything to the grammatical analysis of Takivatan. It would rather introduce a superfluous – and

problematic – categorisation in the grammar and would be a gross simplification of how boundedness works in Takivatan.

### **3.3. Word classes**

This chapter is a discussion of how word classes can be established in Takivatan, what these word classes are, and which properties and grammatical functions they have. The first question is particularly relevant in the wider context of Austronesian linguistics, where the usefulness of traditional word classes has repeatedly been questioned or even given up on (e.g. in Broschart (1997) and Himmelmann (2006)). In the remainder of this section, I will therefore first justify word class distinctions in Takivatan explicitly. We will see that Takivatan clearly distinguishes nouns from verbs and that most other word classes (except for some invariable words, like conjunctions or interjections) can be roughly classified depending on how much their behavior has in common with these two base categories.

#### **3.3.1. Nouns and verbs**

In 3.1 and 3.2 we talked about affixation that only applies to verbs, but so far it has been left unexpressed what a noun or a verb in Takivatan exactly is. Despite some doubts over the existence of a clear noun-verb distinction in some parts of the Austronesian language tree, Takivatan Bunun nouns and verbs can largely be defined along traditional lines, at least when one takes into account some of the grammatical particularities of the language.

One assumption I will make is that word classes are vague or fluid rather than discreet, i.e. class membership of nouns and verbs is determined by the behaviour of prototypical members of the category (cf. Taylor (1995:183-196)) and there is a fair amount of deviation from the prototype, in the sense that there are atypical members within each class and that typical members can sometimes exhibit atypical behaviour. This idea of word classes being somewhat vague is nothing new: Sapir (1921:117) already stated that he thought classical word class distinctions were “only a vague, wavering approximation to a consistently worked out inventory of experience.” Another assumption is that the word class of a lexical item can only be determined definitively from the moment that it functions in a grammatical context (cf. Croft (2000) and Lehmann (2008)).

#### **A. Referential function**

Nouns are words that prototypically refer to material referents (i.e. persons, things, places) in the real world. Typical nouns in Takivatan include:

(108) <i>Bahuan</i>	‘Ma-Yuan village’
<i>iðuq</i>	‘orange; citrus fruit’
<i>lukis</i>	‘wood; tree’
<i>Tiaŋ</i>	‘male first name’

Verbs prototypically refer to events (i.e. action, processes and states) in the real world. Typical verbs in Bunun include:

(109) <i>masabaq</i>	‘sleep’
<i>mihalaŋ</i>	‘be ill’
<i>sislup</i>	‘slurp; inhale’
<i>tupa</i>	‘speak’

Less typical members of the verb class are adjectives, which are a specific subclass of stative verbs in Bunun, and auxiliaries, which typically do not refer to an event by themselves but rather define a quality of the main event expressed in a clause.

### B. Arguments vs. predicates

Syntactically, nouns prototypically function as the head of an argument or, in semantic terms, they express a real world entity that in some way participates in the event expressed by the clause as a whole. Verbs prototypically function either as predicates or as modifiers to a predicate (i.e. auxiliaries). In other words, they either express the central event in a clause (as *tasʔi* ‘build’ does in (110)) or adapt that event in some way (as *kitŋa* ‘begin’ does in (111), where it modifies *baðbað* ‘talk’). Verbs that typically function as the central event in a clause will be called verbs proper, while those that typically modify another event will be called auxiliaries.

(110) *Namatasʔiʔak busul.*

{na-ma-tasʔi}[-ʔak]<sub>AG</sub> [busul]<sub>UN</sub>

IRR-DYN-build-1S.F      gun

‘I want to make a gun’ (TVN-xx2-004:20)

(111) Nakitŋa sak laupaku baðbað.

{na-kitŋa}<sub>AUX</sub> [sak]<sub>AG</sub> [laupaku]<sub>TIME</sub> {baðbað}  
 IRR-begin 1S.F now talk

‘Now, I will start to talk’ (adapted from TVN-012-001:10)

A verb can have arguments, which express the participants in the event it expresses and which are typically expressed by nominal phrases. Nouns rarely function as predicate heads, and do so only in minor clause types like definitional or locative clauses.

(112) Lumaqki akia.

[lumaq-ki]<sub>LO</sub> [aki-a]<sub>AG</sub>  
house-DEF.SIT.PROX grandfather-LNK

‘Grandfather is at home.’ (BNN-N-002:239)

Verbs do not function as the head of an argument, unless they are nominalised (see below).

### C. Focus marking

Focus and aspectual marking – which in many languages can be used to distinguish verbs from nouns (see e.g. Schachter (1985:10) or Evans (2000:712)) – can at first sight not be used as unambiguous criteria in Takivatan, since both nouns and verbs can take focus suffixes and aspectual affixes, with a number of restrictions. In Takivatan, focus marking on verbs cross-references the verb with the focused participant of the clause (see 6.2). UF *-un* indicates that it focuses on the undergoer,

and LF *-an* indicates focus on spatial location. However, Takivatan focus markers are also productively used in derivational processes (see 6.3). In many cases, the same forms with UF *-un* or LF *-an* can be used both in nominal and verbal slots. For instance, the locative focus of *babaliv* ‘habitually sell/buy’ can be used both as a verb meaning ‘habitually sell in a particular location’ and a nominalisation meaning ‘shop; place where things are habitually sold’.

(113) Babalivanʔak qaimaŋsuð

{<ba>baliv-an}{-ʔak]<sub>AG</sub> [qaimaŋsuð]<sub>UN</sub>

<HABIT>-sell-LF-1S.F thing

‘I am usually selling things in that place’ (constr.)

(114) Haiðā babalivan han ʔita

{haiðā} [babalivan] [han ʔita]<sub>PLACE</sub>

have shop at there

‘There is a shop over there’ (constr.)

There is a transparent semantic relation between the cross-referencing and the nominalising function of focus markers (the latter probably has its origin in the former), but both are functionally distinct and have a different morphosyntactic effect. Nominalising focus markers are word-class-changing, whereas cross-referencing ones are not. This is illustrated by fact that the deverbal nouns created by focus markers cannot take arguments.

**D. TAM marking**

Tense, aspect and modality markers can attach both to verbs and to nouns (TAM marking on nouns is discussed in 7.7.). Below are two examples of aspectual marking: on a verb in (115) and on a noun in (116).

(115) maina-han-aŋ

ABL-go-PROG

‘still be coming from’ or ‘while coming from’ (TVN-008-002:6)

(116) uvaðʔað-aŋ

child-PROG

‘when still being a child; during childhood’ (TVN-012-002:38)

There is no observable difference in function or semantics of the aspectual markers on verbs and on nouns. However, aspect is far more common on verbs than on nouns and its usage on nouns is largely restricted to two distinct nominal subclasses: (1) terms that classify humans according to the progression of life and (2) nouns referring to temporal concepts.

**E. Bound pronouns**

Verbs are unambiguously distinguishable from nouns in their ability to take bound pronouns (see e.g. (79) on p. 157, (110) on p. 180 and (113) on p. 182 above).

Bound pronouns never bind to nouns, not even in equational sentences.

### F. Definiteness markers

Unlike in most other languages, where definiteness is a typically nominal category, all definiteness markers in Takivatan can attach to verbs as well as nouns. There are distributional differences: the neutral markers *-ti/-tun/-ta* are more likely to occur on nouns, whereas the situational (i.e. encoding spatio-temporal location) markers *-ki/-kun/-ka* have a slightly stronger tendency to occur on verbs. However, these are only tendencies: it will become clear in 9.1 that both the *k*-paradigm and the *t*-paradigm readily occur with nouns, verbs and other word classes.

### G. Verbal prefixes

Verbal prefixes primarily occur on verbs, i.e. they either combine with verbal hosts or have a verbalising function. It is possible that they crop up in deverbal nominalisations, but in those cases there is always a visible derivational process that derives the noun from the verb-and-prefix combination. For example, the stem *daiŋ* ‘big’ can be used as an adjective by adding the stative prefix *ma-*:

(117) *Mastaʔan tu madaiŋ*

{*mastaʔan*}<sub>AUX</sub> tu            {*ma-daiŋ*}

extremely            COMPL    STAT-big

‘It was extremely big’ (TVN-012-003:3)

This form cannot be used as a nominal concept. However, a nominalising suffix *-ʔað* can be added to create the noun *madaiŋʔað* ‘elder, old person.’

(118) Maqi saduʔu madaiŋʔaða [...]

maqi {saduʔu} [madaiŋʔað-a]<sub>UN</sub>

if see elder-SUBORD

‘If you see an elder, [you have to be respectful towards him or her]’ (TVN-013-001:22)

Interestingly, the nominalised form can also occur in contexts where it functions very much like a verb, as in (119), where it is the second verb in a serial verb construction and has taken a perfective suffix.

(119) Madiqla madaiŋʔaðin.

{ma-diqla} {ma-daiŋ-ʔað-in}

STAT-bad STAT-old-PERSON-PRV

‘It is bad to have become an old person.’ (TVN-xx2-001:168)

Words functioning as nouns can never contain the dynamic prefix *ma-* and if DYN *ma-* attaches to nouns, they invariably function as verbs (see 7.5.1.A).

(120) qanvaŋ ‘sambar’ > ma-qanvaŋ ‘behave like a sambar’

## H. Reduplication

The function of the same type of reduplication is often different for nouns and verbs (see Chapter 8). An illustration is stem reduplication, which cannot be used productively with nouns (although there are instances of historical stem-

reduplication on nouns). However, stem reduplication on verbs is productive and typically creates a generic event (‘whenever one performs action X’; see 8.5).

CV-reduplication occurs both with nouns and verbs, but it has distinctly different functions. With nouns, it typically indicates concepts such as plurality, whereas with verbs it is used for realizing different kinds of lexical aspect. Only in a small number of deverbal nominalisations, CV-reduplication can indicate habituality.

All criteria for distinguishing nouns from verbs are summarized in Table 12.

	Noun	Verb
1 Can be head of a predicate	+	+++
2 Can be modifier in a predicate	—	+++
3 Can have arguments	(+)	+++
4 Can occur in serial verb constructions	—	++
5 Can be head of an argument	+++	—
6 Can be modifier in an argument	+	+
7 Can have focus affixes	++	+++
8 Can have aspectual affixes	+	+++
9 Can have bound pronouns	—	+++
10 Can have <i>-ti/-tun/-ta</i>	+++	++
11 Can have <i>-ki/-kun/-ka</i>	++	+++
13 Can have verbal prefixes	(+)	+++
16 Can be stem-reduplicated	—	+
17 Typical function of stem-RED		lexical aspect, generic
18 Can be CV-reduplicated	++	++
19 Typical function of CV-RED	PL, REC, HABIT	lexical aspect (HABIT, DUR, ITER, COMPL, DISTR), GNR
22 Refers to an event	+	+++
24 Refers to a referent	+++	+

(+++ : typically; ++ : often; + : rarely; — : never; (+) : only specific members)

**Table 12 – Criteria for the distinction between nouns and verbs.**

It is clear from the table above that, although there are plenty of criteria that help us to establish a noun-verb distinction, most are not reducible to a binary contrast between presence and absence but rather observable as statistical distributions.

### 3.3.2. Intermediate word classes

Intermediate word classes are word classes that can roughly be defined by stating how noun-like or verb-like they behave in a syntactic context. They include all word classes (except for nouns and verbs), excluding conjunctions, interjections, discourse markers, and some invariable grammatical markers. Intermediate word classes are all closed, except maybe for the auxiliaries.

Table 13 gives an overview of criteria for distinguishing intermediate word classes from nouns and verbs, using an extended set of the criteria in Table 12. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a detailed explanation of all criteria in this work, but most should be self-evident, possibly with the exception of 14 and 15. The phrase ‘without triggering word-class change’ is crucial in both cases. For instance, it is grammatically possible for nouns or pronouns to combine with a dynamic verbal prefix *ma-* or the stative prefix *ma-*, but in both cases, this will change the word class of the noun or verb (to a dynamic verb and an adjective respectively).

Table 14 shows us that only nouns, verbs and adjectives are open classes. Most word classes are closed. Numerals are not truly an open word class: despite the fact that it is theoretically possible to recursively create new numeral compounds, the largest indigenous numeral root is *-saba* for hundredfolds and even when using Japanese loans no forms larger than 10,000 have been attested.

	NOUNS			PRONOUNS			PMT WORDS				VERB-LIKE WORDS		
	Demonstr.	Anaphoric	Personal	Numeral	Place	Time	Manner	Question	Auxiliary	Adjective	Verb		
1	+	++	+	+	—	++	++	++	+	+++	++		
2	—	—	+	+	—	++	—	+++	+++	++	++		
3	(+)	—	+	+	—	++	+	++	+++	+++	+++		
4	—	+	+	+	—	++	++	+	++	++	++		
5	+++	+++	+++	+++	+	—	—	—	—	—	—		
6	+	++	++	+++	++	+	+	+	—	++	+		
7	++	+	+	—	(+)	+	—	—	++	+	+++		
8	+	+	—	+	+	++	+	(++)	+++	+++	+++		
9	—	—	—	++	(+)	+++	+++	++	+++	+++	+++		
10	+++	+++	—	+	—	+	+++	+	—	+	++		
11	++	++	—	+	—	+	+	+	—	++	+++		
13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+++	—		
14	—	+	—	—	—	++	++	(++)	(++)	—	(+++)		
15	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(+++)	—		
16	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+		
17							GENER	GENER	LAsp	INTENS	LAsp, GENER		
18	++	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	++	++		
19	HABIT, PL, REC								LAsp	INTENS	LAsp, GENER		
20	+	—	—	++	—	—	—	+	—	—	—		
21	???			HUM				HUM					
22	+	+	—	—	—	+++	++	—	+++	++	++		
23	+	—	—	++	++	—	++	++	—	+++	++		
24	+++	+++	+++	++	++	—	—	++	—	—	+		

(+ : typically; ++ : often; +++ : rarely; — : never; ( ) : only specific members in restricted contexts; LAsp : lexical aspect)

Table 13 – Criteria for word class distinctions in intermediate word classes

<b>Word class</b>		<b>Word class</b>	
Nouns	open	Time words	closed
Demonstratives	closed	Manner words	closed
Anaphoric pronouns	closed	Question words	closed
Personal pronouns	closed	Auxiliaries	closed
Numerals	closed	Adjectives	open
Place words	closed	Verbs	open

Table 14 – Open and closed word classes



## Chapter 4. Compounding

In the first section of this chapter, we discuss the typical characteristics of compounds and the grammatical criteria that can be used for identifying them, although, as 4.1.3 illustrates, the boundaries between compounding and paraphrase are sometimes vague. Almost all compounds in Takivatan Bunun are nominal. Sections 4.2-4.4 discuss three types of compounds that are distinguished on the basis of the word-class of the modifying element (respectively nouns, verbs and adjectives). In section 4.5, we then turn to the somewhat special case of proper name compounds.

### 4.1. Introduction

#### 4.1.1. Frequency and characteristics

In Takivatan Bunun, compounding is relatively rare, possibly because there is not much need for it given the abundance of derivational affixes. Table 15 is an overview of the proportion of compounded and non-compounded forms for nouns and verbs in the lexicon.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Counted on 15/05/2008 in a lexicon of 3467 entries (3198 words; 269 affixes).

	Non-compound		Compound		Total #
	#	%	#	%	
<b>Nouns</b>	909	89.56	106	10.44	1015
<b>Verbs</b>	1128	99.73	3	0.27	1131

Table 15 – Distribution of compounded and non-compounded forms

A large majority of compounds are head-initial, i.e. their head precedes the nominal, verbal or adjectival modifier. This corresponds to the typical word order for attributive modification of nouns in Takivatan, which in all likelihood was head-initial originally but has changed to a head-final construction under influence of Mandarin Chinese. Head-initial constructions are still commonly used with some high-frequency adjectives and with pronominal modifiers expressing inalienable possession.

Examples of the modern pre-nominal attributive construction are given in (121), with parallel examples in Mandarin. The examples in (122) illustrate the original post-nominal modifying construction in Bunun. Example (123) shows that the constructional template for compounding is identical to that of traditional Bunun compounding.

(121) Pre-nominal attribution

[[ma-daiŋ] <sub>ATTR</sub>	tu	babalivan]	[[大] <sub>ATTR</sub>	的	商店]
STAT-big	ATTR	shop	dà	de	shāng.diàn
‘a large shop’			big	ATTR	shop

[[inak] <sub>ATTR</sub>	tu	tina]	[[我] <sub>ATTR</sub>	的	母親]
1S.POSS	ATTR	mother	wǒ	de	mǔ.qīn
‘my mother’			my	ATTR	mother

(122) Post-nominal attribution

[babalivan	[daiŋ/daiŋʔaǝ] <sub>ATTR</sub>	[tina	[nak] <sub>ATTR</sub> ]
shop	big	mother	1S.N
‘a large shop’ (refers to any large shop)		‘my mother’	

(123) Compound

[babalivan	[daiŋʔaǝ] <sub>ATTR</sub>
shop	big
‘supermarket’	

The vast majority of compounds are nominal, i.e. they are used in noun phrase slots, and have either nominal heads or ambiguous heads that can be interpreted either as nouns or verbs. Two of the three verbal compounds so far attested are mentioned in 4.4.1. All are primarily used as nominal compounds and occur only sporadically in verbal slots.

As far as I am aware, all compounds except one are endocentric, i.e. they describe a subtype of the concept described by their head. The only exception is *tama tina* (lit. ‘father mother’ > ‘parents’), which is a coordinate compound, i.e. a compound in which the two constituent parts are propositionally equal (see Aikhenvald (2007:30-31) or Fabb (1998:66-7)).

#### 4.1.2. Criteria for identifying compounds

Aikhenvald (2007:24-28) identifies a number of criteria for identifying compounds, three of which are relevant here:

- Compounds often form one phonological word and, as a consequence, have just one primary stress.
- It is typically not possible to insert morphemes in between the compound's constituent parts.
- Compounds tend to develop non-compositional, idiosyncratic meanings.

Takivatan Bunun compounds tend to behave like one phonological word in discourse. Words tend to have penultimate stress (see 2.5.2) and in compounds this often results in the head of the compound becoming unstressed or taking secondary stress, and the main stress shifting to the modifying element.

(124) *baitu tiŋmut*                    [baitu'tiŋmut'] rather than ['baitu 'tiŋmut']

time    morning

‘(in the) morning’ < lit: ‘(at) the time of the morning’

Another property of compounds is that it is impossible to insert a lexical word in between its component parts. For instance, while both *baitu tiŋmut* (lit. ‘time morning’ > ‘morning time’) and *haip tiŋmut* (lit. ‘today morning’ > ‘this morning’) exist as expressions in Takivatan, it is impossible to insert *haip* ‘today, now’ into the string *baitu tiŋmut*, although semantically this would be nonsensical.

- (125) \*baitu haip tiŋmut  
           time today morning

Semantically, most compounds refer to idiosyncratic concepts. Often, they are no longer semantically fully compositional, i.e. the meaning of these compounds as a whole cannot be directly derived from the meanings of their component parts, but tend to refer to a specific subset of the set of referents which the compositional meaning would refer to. This is clear from the following example, in which *iskan ivuð* refers to a river eel and not, as its composing parts suggest, to any kind of snake-like fish.

- (126) iskan ivuð  
           fish snake  
           ‘eel’

To avoid all confusion, we will define a compound as follows:

A complex form with a nominal head that is typically realized as a single phonological word and is commonly used to denote an idiosyncratic concept. The latter means that it is consistently employed for referring to a subset of the set of referents that would have been the potential target of the complex expression, if it were to be used with its fully compositional meaning.

#### 4.1.3. Compounding vs. idiomatic paraphrastic constructions

A restrictive definition is useful because most Takivatan Bunun compounds are semantically transparent to fluent native speakers and they tend to be formed

through productive grammatical processes, so in quite some cases it is difficult to choose whether a form should be considered as a compound or as a paraphrastic construction. This thin line between compounding and paraphrase is conspicuously present in Bunun dialects because paraphrase is a common way to denominate new concepts that enter the language. For instance, there is no traditional term to describe a rucksack or backpack, since they were not used by the Takivatan of old, but it is perfectly possible to describe them as *amaun tu qavaŋ*, literally ‘a bag that can be carried on one’s back.’ Similarly, a suitcase is an *aŋkusun tu qavaŋ* ‘a bag carried in one’s hands.’

(127)	ama-un	tu	qavaŋ	aŋkus-un	tu	qavaŋ
	carry.on.back-UF	ATTR	bag	hold.in.hands-UF	ATTR	bag
	‘rucksack’			‘suitcase’		

These forms cannot be considered to be compounds, since they are semantically fully compositional and they do not behave like one phonological word. However, in a number of cases with post-nominal adjectives, constructions that are semantically fully transparent and should therefore be treated as attributive constructions tend to be integrated into a single phonological word, as is apparent from the stress shift in the examples below.

(128)	quma	daiŋaǾ	[quma <sup>1</sup> dɛiŋaǾ]	rather than	[ <sup>1</sup> quma dɛiŋaǾ]
	land	big			
	‘big plot of land’				

buan paqun-an [buampɑ'qunan] rather than ['buan pa'qunan]  
 month weed-LF  
 ‘weeding month’

## 4.2. Noun-noun compounds

All noun-noun compounds attested so far are head-initial. Two constructional subtypes can be distinguished.

### 4.2.1. Taxonomic compounds

A number of compound nouns consist of a nominal head followed by a nominal modifier that defines a semantic subclass of the head. For instance, *ivuð* ‘snake’ in *iskan ivuð* ‘eel’ defines that the fish in question is snake-like. The compound as a whole refers to a subtype of the concept describing the head in isolation. Below are a number of examples.

- |                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| (129) iskan ivuð  | baluku qaisij      |
| fish snake        | bowl rice          |
| ‘eel’             | ‘rice bowl’        |
| <br>              |                    |
| kaviað binanauʔað | baitu tiŋmut       |
| friend woman      | period morning     |
| ‘girlfriend’      | ‘(in the) morning’ |

ma-daiŋʔað-in	binanauʔað	baitu	tauŋqu
STAT-old-PRV	woman	period	zenith
‘elderly woman, female elder’		‘(at) noon’ (lit: ‘period of sun’s zenith’)	

*Madaiŋʔaðin binanauʔað* ‘elderly woman’ is interesting in that its head is ambiguous, i.e. *madaiŋʔað* ‘elder’ is a nominalised form derived from the adjective *madaiŋ* ‘big’, but can still take verbal morphology such as the perfective suffix *-in*. *Madaiŋʔaðin* literally means ‘a person who has already become old’.

#### 4.2.2. Instrument-affect compounds

Instrumental compounds are a group of compounds in which the head noun is always a deverbal nominalisation referring to the instrument (or receptacle) of an action and in which the modifier refers to the affected object of that action. In all forms so far observed, the nominalised head has habitual reduplication (as in both (130) and (131)), an instrumental prefix *is-* (as in (130)), or a locative focus suffix *-an* (as in (132)).

(130) Kukulut lukis

⟨ku⟩kulut	lukis
⟨HABIT⟩-cut	tree
‘wood saw’ (lit. ‘an object used for cutting trees’)	

(131) Iskukulut saᅇlav

is-⟨ku⟩kulut                      saᅇlav

INSTR-⟨HABIT⟩-cut    vegetable

‘kitchen knife’ (lit. ‘an object used for cutting vegetables’)

(132) Padaᅇiʔan kasi

pa-daᅇi-an                      kasi

CAUS.DYN-put-LF    candy

‘candy box’ (lit. ‘an object used as a location to store candy’)

Note that the nominalised form *kukulut* is used as a general term for knives and saws. All three examples above can be used as full clauses, as illustrated in (133)-(135).<sup>20</sup>

(133) Kukulut (tama) lukis.

{⟨ku⟩kulut}                      [(tama)]<sub>AG</sub>    [lukis]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

⟨HABIT⟩-cut    father                      tree

‘(Father) cuts down trees.’ (constr.)

---

<sup>20</sup> Round brackets indicate arguments that are optionally expressed and can be ellipted without a change of meaning.

(134) Iskukulut aipi saṅlav.

{is-⟨ku⟩kulut}	[(aipi)] <sub>AG</sub>	[saṅlav] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>
INSTR-⟨HABIT⟩-cut	DEM.S.PROX	vegetable

‘(This one here) is using [a knife] to cut vegetables.’ (constr.)

(135) Padaṅiʔan aipi kasi

{pa-daṅi-an}	[(aki)] <sub>AG</sub>	[kasi] <sub>UN</sub>
CAUS.DYN-put-LF	grandfather	candy

‘Grandfather puts the candies in a box.’ (constr.)

### 4.3. Noun-adjective compounds

Adjectival modifiers in nominal compounds almost always follow the nominal head. As mentioned before, this corresponds to the more traditional post-nominal attribution strategy in Takivatan, which is at present largely replaced by pre-nominal attribution. Some examples:

(136) hutan	duqlas	hutan	daṅkas
yam/sweet.potato	white	yam/sweet.potato	red
‘white yam’		‘sweet potato’	
dalaq	daṅkas		
soil	red		
‘red clay, red bricks’			

Some combinations with the adjectives *daiŋ(ʔað)* ‘big’ and *tikis* ‘little’, both of which commonly occur in post-nominal attributive constructions, have developed specialized meaning connotations next to their normal compositional meaning:

- |   |                       |  |       |
|---|-----------------------|--|-------|
| (137) iðuq                              | daiŋ                  | iðuq   | tikis |
| orange                                  | large                 | orange                                       | small |
| ‘large orange’ or ‘grapefruit; pomelo’  |                       | ‘small orange’ or ‘tangerine’                |       |
| isiŋ                                    | daiŋʔað <sup>21</sup> | isiŋ   | tikis |
| doctor                                  | large                 | doctor                                       | small |
| ‘large doctor’s practice’ or ‘hospital’ |                       | ‘small doctor’s practice’ or<br>‘apothecary’ |       |

#### 4.4. Noun-verb compounds

##### 4.4.1. With post-nominal modifier

A number of compounds, such as those referring to time periods such as months and holidays, have a post-nominal verbal specifier.

- |                 |             |                 |            |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|------------|
| (138) buan      | alʔu-an-in  | buan            | paqun-an   |
| month           | rest-LF-PRV | month           | cut.off-LF |
| ‘resting month’ |             | ‘weeding month’ |            |

---

<sup>21</sup> The suffix *-ʔað* is here not used as a nominaliser, but is an old, and presently unproductive, adjectivising suffix (see appropriate entries in the word list (Appendix 2)).

(139)	lusʔan	pasiða	lusʔan	min-kulau
	holiday/celebrate	marry	holiday/celebrate	BECOME-full.grown
	‘wedding, wedding celebration’		‘millet-harvest festival’	
	or		or	
	‘X is celebrating his/her wedding’		‘X is celebrating the millet harvest’	

The fact that *lusʔan* in the two examples at the bottom of (138) has both a nominal and a verbal meaning does not set it apart from many other words in Takivatan (see e.g. 3.2.2.D ex. (105) and (106) on p. 173); time words like *lusʔan* are a separate word class with both nominal and verbal characteristics. What is more unusual is that the compounds formed with *lusʔan* as a head can occur in both nominal and verbal slots.

#### 4.4.2. With pre-nominal modifier (verb-noun compound)

Occasionally, nominal compounds occur that are right-headed and have a verbal modifier.

(140)	pan-hapav-un	hulus
	AT.SIDE-be.at.higher.location-UF	clothes
	verbal modifier	nominal head
	‘coat; outer clothing’	

kan-tundaq	mali
KICK-kick	ball
verbal modifier	nominal head
‘football’	

These constructions are rare and tend to encode concepts that entered Bunun culture only recently. Traditionally, the Bunun only wore one layer of garments, and football – not a popular sport in Taiwan – has probably only been known to them for a couple of decades. Their relative youth might explain the deviant constructional template: Chinese influence on Bunun is likely to have become greater after the end of the Japanese occupation in 1945 and most compounds in Mandarin or Southern Min are right-headed.

(141) <u>Mandarin</u>	<u>Southern Min</u>
外 套	外 衣
wài tào	gōa i
outside suit/jacket	outside clothes
‘coat’	‘coat’
足 球	足 球 or 腳 球
zú qiú	chiok kiû kha kiû
foot ball	foot ball foot/leg ball
‘football’	‘football’ ‘football’

The examples in (141) show that only *panhapavun hulus* ‘coat’ might be a direct semantic calque from Chinese. *Kantundaq mali* could be interpreted as a

constructional calque: it only borrowed the right-headed compounding construction and then fitted in a modifier that made sense semantically from a Takivatan point-of-view.

Both examples in (140) are on the surface formally identical to full clauses (*panhapavun hulus* can mean ‘the clothes are worn as an outer layer’, *kantundaq mali* ‘[one] kicks the ball’), somewhat like the examples (133)-(135) on p. 199.

(142) verb-noun compound:

[[pan-hapav-un]<sub>ATTR</sub> hulus]

AT.SIDE-outside-UN clothes

Lit: ‘clothes that are being put at the outside’ > ‘coat; outer layer of clothing’

(143) clause:

{pan-hapav-un} [Ø]<sub>AG</sub> [hulus]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

AT.SIDE-outside-UN clothes

‘[Agent] wears these clothes as an outer layer’

In (142), the verbal form *panhapavun* functions as an attributive modifier of the head of the noun phrase, *hulus*. The construction as a whole is an unchangeable nominal phrase with an idiomatic meaning. In (143), on the other hand, *panhapavun* is the main predicate of a clause that has *hulus* as a patient argument and an unexpressed argument as an agent. The identification of the agent depends on the pragmatic context.

## 4.5. Compounded proper names

Given that Bunun first names are typically inherited from grandparent to grandchild (see 1.2.3, p. 75), it often occurs that their isolated use causes confusion. For instance, in my fieldwork village the female name *Uli* refers to at least four different people. First names, especially of males, can therefore be specified with a nominal post-head modifier. On the basis of semantics, four constructions can be distinguished, all of which are head-initial.

### 4.5.1. First name – previous name

Before the coming of Christianity, shamanic healers tried to avert the evil forces that had brought grave illness by changing the sick person's name. The old name could not be used anymore as a term of address, but it was sometimes used to distinguish between individuals. Traditional shamanism largely fell into disuse during the course of the twentieth century and this type of proper name specification is today only found for people over the age of 60.

- |                         |                                       |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (144) <i>Liban Quas</i> | ‘Liban, who was formerly called Quas’ |
| <i>Muʔuð Bali</i>       | ‘Muʔuð, who was formerly called Bali’ |
| <i>Vau Kavida</i>       | ‘Vau, who was formerly called Kavida’ |

### 4.5.2. First name - place name

In some cases, a certain person is idiosyncratically associated with a particular location. So far, I have found only one example in the corpus, but constructions like this are not uncommon.

(145) *Tiaŋ Padlaiʔan*            ‘Tiaŋ from Padlaiʔan

Interestingly, the form above can be contracted to a single phonological and grammatical word. The first syllable then undergoes /ia/-metathesis (cf. 2.5.3.C) and becomes *Taiŋpadlaiʔan* [tɛiŋpad'leiʔan].

Most family names, clan names and subclan names are also place names or derived from place names with a locative suffix *-an* and therefore follow the same template (consider for instance the name of one of my informants: *Vau Taisnunan*). The difference with the example above is that they are conventional denominators for certain families and are inherited from father to son. *Padlaiʔan* in example (145), on the other hand, is an individual specifier for a certain person that lived in the mountains near present-day Qi-mei (奇美).

#### 4.5.3. First name - name of wife

Males can also be specified by attaching the name of their wife. These combinations are idiomatic: they can only be used if the entire speech community is clear about the identity of the wife of the man in question.

(146) *Ali Mua*                    ‘Ali, whose wife is Mua’

*Hadul Laŋui*                    ‘Hadul, whose wife Laŋui’

#### 4.5.4. First name - moniker

A final way for disambiguating between two people with the same first name is by adding a term referring to a distinctive feature of one of the men in question. This moniker can be an adjective (as in the first example of (147)), a noun (as in the

second and fourth examples) or a historical form that is now in disuse (as in the third example).

- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| (147) <i>Atul Daiŋ</i> | ‘Big Atul’            |
| <i>Lumav Lapa</i>      | ‘Lumav the Trumpet’   |
| <i>Lumav Qaŋatu</i>    | ‘Lumav the Masterful’ |
| <i>Tiaŋ Pantu</i>      | ‘Tiaŋ the Student’    |

The adjectival stem *daiŋ* is probably the most commonly used specifier of this kind. The form *qaŋatu* means ‘skilful in handicrafts’, but it is presently not used in the Bunun language anymore and it is not clear to which word class it belongs. *Lapa* is a loan from Chinese 喇叭 *lǎ bā* ‘trumpet’.



## Chapter 5. Tense-aspect-mood affixes

Takivatan Bunun has a number of affixes that express tense, aspect and mood, but only four are used commonly: the irrealis prefix *na-* (5.1), the progressive suffix *-aj* (5.2), the perfective suffix *-in* (5.3), and the past infix *<in>* (5.4). A fifth, the past infix *<i>* occurs only occasionally (5.5). Tense-aspect affixes can combine with verbs, auxiliaries, adjectives, time, place and manner words and, more rarely, with nouns and pronouns.

The definitions of aspect and tense used here were inspired by and are by and large compatible with general linguistic reference works such as Matthews (2005), Brown (2006) and LiDo (s.d.), and with Comrie (1976a) and Comrie (1985). Wherever confusion is possible, the exact use of terminology is concisely mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph.

### 5.1. The irrealis prefix *na-*

The irrealis marker *na-* indicates that an event has not yet taken place but is expected or known to happen through the progression of a causal chain of events. It is typically used for expressing futurity, consequence, volition and imperatives.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> It is **not** used for indicating that an event did not happen against all expectation or is unlikely to happen (pace Matthews (2005)).

## 5.1.1. Futurity

The irrealis marker is used for expressing relative futurity, i.e. for referring to events that are posterior to a reference time, which might – as in (148) – or might not – as in the complement clause of (149) – be the time of utterance.

(148) Nasiða qaimaᅇsuð!

{na-siða} [qaimaᅇsuð]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

IRR-take thing

‘I will pick up the things [we just talked about].’ (TVN-xx2-001:82)

(149) Na, asa baðbaði Kalaᅇkuti sasbinaði, Nantu sasbinað tu [...] namaquaqa  
daᅇi?anan.

na {asa}<sub>AUX</sub> {baðbað-i} [Kalaᅇku-ti sasbinað-i  
CONS must talk-DEF GeoName-DEF.REF.PROX policeman-PRT

Nantu sasbinað]<sub>AG</sub> tu <sub>C1|COMPL2</sub>

GeoName policeman COMPL

{na-maquaqa-a} {daᅇi-an-an}

IRR-how-LNK put-LF-LF

‘And then, the policemen from Kalaᅇku and the policemen of Nantou had to talk about how [the Bunun] would have to be settled.’ (TVN-012-002:34)

In narrative texts, *na*- normally expresses that an event is in the future relative to the time of another event that is expressed (or implied) in the text. This implies that

it can refer to events that are in fact in the past relative to the time of narration. In these situations, the irrealis marker often has a connotation of consequence or volition, but it does not have to. In (150), one could assume a consequential relation between SUBORD1 and C2, but it is not necessary.

(150) A maq a muki iti?a, nadañaðan amu.

a	maq	a	[mu-ki] <sub>AG/LDIS</sub>	{iti-?a}	SUBORD1 C2
INTER	DEFIN	LNK	2P.N-DEF.SIT.PROX	be.here-SUBORD	

{na-dañað-an} [amu]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

IRR-help-LF 2P.F

‘And as for you [plural], when you are here, you will receive help here.’

(TVN-012-002:40)<sup>23</sup>

In daily conversation, it occasionally happens that *na-* is used to express absolute futurity, i.e. futurity that has the time of utterance as a reference point. (See Comrie (1985:36-82) for a discussion of absolute and relative tense.)

(151) Kava?a nabalivan mita hulus.

{kava?a	<u>na</u> -baliv-an}	[mita] <sub>AG</sub>	[hulus] <sub>UN</sub>
immediately	<u>IRR</u> -buy-LF	1I.N	clothes

‘We will immediately go [there]<sup>24</sup> to buy your clothes.’ (BNN-N-002:139)

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<sup>23</sup> The use of the focused form *amu* in C2 to express an undergoer with locative focus verbs is irregular.

However, examples like (151) above are the exception rather than the rule: most irrealis markers in non-narrative texts tend to have clear overtones of consequence or volition and *na-* is never an obligatory marker of absolute futurity. It is perfectly possible to have a future event without explicit irrealis marking, as in the following examples ( $\emptyset$ - indicates the slot where *na-* would occur if it were present).

(152) *Matinmut munbaʔav*

{*ma-tinmut*}<sub>AUX</sub>    { $\emptyset$ -*mun-baʔav*}

DYN-morning     $\emptyset$ -ALL-up.in.the.mountains

‘[Tomorrow] morning, [I will] go up in the mountains.’ (constr.)

### 5.1.2. Consequence

In many situations, the irrealis marker does not encode a purely temporal meaning, but also indicates a consequential relationship. Example (153) is taken from a story telling about the animist beliefs of the Bunun of yore. The narrator has just explained that before the millet harvest could begin, the family elders first had to evoke a prophetic dream. If the dream was auspicious, and the men went out in the fields (expressed by *?itun* in C2), they would have sufficient food for the entire year.

(153) [...] *Na, sintupadu tu maqai ?itun asa namasihal kakaunun*

*na*        {*sintupa-du*}        *tu*        <sub>C1|COMPL2</sub>

well        signify-EMOT        COMPL

---

<sup>24</sup> The actual location referred to in this clause is left unexpressed, but is explicitly indicated by the locative focus marker *-an* on the main verb.

maqai      {ʔitun}<sub>AUX</sub>                  {asa}                  c<sub>2</sub>|c<sub>3</sub>  
 if              be.there + MED              want

{na-ma-sihal}<sub>AUX</sub>    {<ka>kaun-un}  
IRR-STAT-good    <INTENS>-eat + UF-UF

‘It meant that if you want to be there, [as a result] you would eat very well.’  
 (TVN-012-001:39)

Example (154) is interesting because, while the first clause (C1) should be read as an imperative, the second and third clauses (C2 and C3) do not express the consequence of what would happen when the command would be obeyed, but rather what would occur if it were not obeyed (that is, if you would marry one of your own blood relatives).

(154) Nitu qađmaŋ siđaei tuqsisia masđaŋ siduqi, namalatpu dau namatađ.

{Ni-tu}<sub>AUX</sub>                  {qađmaŋ}<sub>AUX</sub>                  {siđa-e-i}  
 NEG-COMPL    be.random                  take-VL-PRT  
 [tuq-<si>sia                  masđaŋ                  siduq-a-i]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>    c<sub>1</sub>|c<sub>2</sub>  
 speak-<HUM>-ANAPH    same                  clan-VL-PRT  
 {na-ma-latpu}                  c<sub>2</sub>|c<sub>3</sub>                  dau                  {na-matađ}  
IRR-STAT-suffer.adversity                  EMOT                  IRR-die

‘You cannot randomly take [i.e. marry] the aforementioned woman that is from the same clan, because you will bring adversity upon yourself and you will die.’ (TVN-008-012:90)

## 5.1.3. Volition

Finally, IRR *na-* can also be used in main clauses or clausal complements to express volition or planning. (Alternatively or in addition, it is also possible to use the modal verb *asa* ‘want, must’.)

(155) *Namunhan?ak Taihuku.*

na-mun-han-?ak      Taihuku  
IRR-ALL-go-1S.F      GeoName

‘I am planning to go to Taipei.’ (TVN-xx2-003:2)

In (156), IRR *na-* is ambiguous: it refers to an event that has not yet happened, but it appears to have a volitional undertone, since the narrator uses the clause as an immediate prelude to his introducing himself.

(156) *A, nanjausaŋ saikin taqu tu simaq sak*

a      {na-ŋaus-aŋ}<sub>AUX</sub>      [saikin]<sub>AG</sub>      {taqu}      tu      C1|COMPL2  
 INTER IRR-front.side-PROG      1S.F      tell      COMPL

{simaq}      [sak]<sub>AG</sub>

who      1S.F

‘First, I will/want to tell you who I am.’ (TVN-012-001:4)

In the following example, *na-* in C2 must indicate volition, and not futurity, since the elders cannot know yet if they will be able to work on the land: they first need to determine whether their actions are appropriate by having a prophetic dream.

(157) Maqai maqabasi tupa tu madaiŋʔaði namuqumaka taŋusaŋ matibahi.

maqai {ma-qabas-i}<sub>AUX</sub> {tupa} tu [madaiŋʔað-i]<sub>AG</sub> c1|COMPL2  
 if DYN-former.time-PRT say COMPL elder-PRT

‘If in the old days the elders said that ...’

{na-mu-quma-ka} c2|c3

IRR-ALL-land-DEF.SIT.DIST

‘... they wanted to work on the land, ...’

{taŋus-aŋ mati-bahi}

beforehand-PROG GRAB-dream

‘... they had to induce a prophetic dream beforehand’ (TVN-012-001:38)

#### 5.1.4. Imperatives

In some situations, the irrealis marker can be used for commands. In (158), the irrealis marker expresses a consequence with a prescriptive undertone.

(158) Haiða buan paqunana, namunqumaka [...]

{haiða} [buan.paqunan]-a c1|c2  
 have weeding.month-SUBORD

{na-mun-quma-ka}

IRR-ALL-land-DEF.SIT.DIST

‘And when there is the weeding month, you must go to the field [in order to sow].’ (TVN-012-001:44)

*Na-* can also be used for first-person imperatives, equivalent to English *let's*. In (159), it is obvious that the irrealis does not simply indicate a future event, but implies that the speaker invites the listener(s) to join him for dinner.

(159) Namuskun ata maun

{na-muskun}<sub>AUX</sub> [ata]<sub>AG</sub> {maun}

IRR-do.together 1I.F eat

‘Let’s eat together!’ (TVN-xx2-001:65)

#### 5.1.5. Boundedness issues

The irrealis prefix is the least bound of the tense-aspect affixes, and probably of all affixes in general. As has been indicated in 3.2.2.E, IRR *na-* behaves like a bound morpheme in some constructions, but appears to be a free particle in others. In the following example everything indicates that *na-* is a bound morpheme: it is unstressed and it is pronounced with the following verbal form as one phonological group, as is apparent from the necessity to insert a glottal ligature between the two vowels.

(160) [...] Naʔiskuðakuða muʔiti

{na-ʔ-is-kuðakuða} [mu-ʔiti]<sub>TIME</sub>

IRR-GL-INSTR-work ALL-here

‘... and you can use them to work here.’ (TVN-012-002:41)

In example (155) above, here repeated as (161), I analysed IRR *na-* as a bound morpheme. This is somewhat misleading: although it appears to be bound from a phonological point-of-view, the informant that produced the sentence felt that it was not clear whether the marker was bound or free (see (162)).

(161) *Namunhanʔak Taihuku.*

(162) *Na <pause> munhanʔak Taihuku.*

{na mun-han}{-ʔak]<sub>AG</sub> [Taihuku]<sub>PLACE</sub>

IRR ALL-go-1S.F GeoName

‘I am planning to go to Taipei.’ (TVN-xx2-003:2)

At the free end of the spectrum, there are situations where the irrealis marker functions as a clause-initial particle with scope over the entire clause. It is clear that *na* is not bound to the verb, because it is followed by a non-verbal constituent (the demonstrative *aiŋka*).

(163) *Aupa, na, <pause> aiŋkai tupaikai hataltai kansisikiʔa daʔana [...]*

aupa, na [aiŋka-i]<sub>AG</sub> {tupa-i-ka-i} c1|COMPL2

because CONS DEM.PV.DIST-PRT tell-VL-DEF.SIT.DIST-DEF

[hatal-ta-i]<sub>PLACE</sub> {k-an<si>siki-a}

bridge-DEF.REF.DIST-PRT DYN-<CONT>-pass.by-SUBORD

[daʔan-a]<sub>AG</sub>

road-SUBORD

‘And thus, because they told that a road passed by that bridge, [...]’ (TVN-008-003:69)

Since *na-* always occurs at the outer end of the prefixal string, we only have phonological tests to determine its boundedness status. Simply explaining this by saying that *na-* is a clitic misses the important point that the irrealis marker does not uniformly behave as a clitic-like morpheme: the more bound IRR *na-* is, the more likely it is to express futurity or volition and – conversely – the freer *na-* behaves, the more likely it is to express an overtone of consequence. On the other hand, the problem with postulating two homophonous forms, one a free particle and the other a prefix, is that those contexts where *na-* expresses consequence and where there is free variation between the bound and the free variant, these forms are functionally and semantically identical.

## 5.2. The progressive suffix *-aŋ*

The progressive marker *-aŋ* typically conceptualizes an event as being in progress or as having a certain duration. It is also used for expressing wishes and, in complex clauses, simultaneity.

### 5.2.1. Progressive aspect

The progressive marker *-aj* typically expresses that an event or state is in progress or has not yet come to an end. Many instances can be translated in English with ‘still’.

(164) Taldanavaŋʔak laqais.

{tal-danav-an-ʔak}                      [laqais]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

WASH-wash-PROG-1S.F              face

‘I am (still) washing my face.’ (TVN-xxx-xx1:163)

(165) [...] Isanaŋ Sipun

{i-san-an}                                  [Sipun]<sub>AG</sub>

LOC-be.at-PROG              Japanese

‘[...] when the Japanese were still here.’ (TVN-008-002:30)

In certain cases, PROG *-aj* does not simply express that an event is in progress but also implies that it is going on for a longer time than expected or wanted. In the following example, the progressive marker stresses the fact that, according to Bunun tradition, it was forbidden for an extended period of time to eat foodstuffs with a sweet flavour.

(166) A paqun ma sitmaŋaŋ ni maun hutan, [...]

a paqun ma {sitmaŋ-aŋ}<sub>AUX</sub> {ni}<sub>AUX</sub> {maun} [hutan]<sub>UN</sub>  
 INTER indeed INTER endure-PROG NEG eat yam

‘And indeed we had to endure not eating yams for a long period, [...]’ (TVN-012-001:63)

In a second example, the narrator explains how in their new village, harvests were always exceptionally good.

(167) Tudip tu makitvaivi maqaqaidaja lasa

{tudip}<sub>AUX</sub> tu {makitvaivi}<sub>AUX</sub>  
 former.times COMPL be.exceptional  
 {ma-⟨qa⟩qaid-aŋ-a}<sub>AUX</sub> [las-a]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>  
 STAT-⟨INTENS⟩-ripe-PROG-LNK fruit-LNK

‘In those days, the harvest continued to be exceptionally full of fruits. (TVN-008-002:40)

Quite often, PROG *-aŋ* is combined with the negative marker *ni* ‘not’ to form *niaŋ* ‘not yet’.

(168) [...] Maq a tamakuna niaŋ mataḏa.

maq a [tama-kun-a]<sub>AG</sub> SUBORD|C2  
 DEFIN LNK father-DEF.SIT.MED-SUBORD  
 {ni-an}<sub>AUX</sub> {mataḏ-a}  
 NEG-PROG die-LNK

‘[And almost immediately afterwards, my younger sister died,] but as far as my father was concerned, he hadn’t died yet.’ (TVN-008-002:63)

### 5.2.2. Simultaneity

In subordinate clauses, a progressive marker is used for expressing simultaneity between two events.

(169) Ilulusʔanaŋa madaiŋʔaḏa, a, qaḏmaŋ baḏbaḏ.

{i-⟨lu⟩lusʔan-an-ʔa} [madaiŋʔaḏ -a]<sub>AG</sub> SUBORD|C2  
 LOC-⟨REP⟩-celebrate-PROG-SUBORD elder-SUBORD  
 a, {qaḏmaŋ baḏbaḏ}  
 INTER be.random talk

‘When the elders were worshipping, they spoke vacuous talk.’ (TVN-008-002:130)

(170) Maupa, maisisia atikisaŋ minqansiapa [...].

{maupa} c1|C2 {maisi-sia}<sub>AUX</sub> a-tikis-an} c2|C3  
 thus from-ANAPH STAT-small-PROG

{min-qansiap-a}

BECOME-understand-LNK

‘And thus, from when I was still very small, I already understood [that my father did not have a wife anymore.]’ (TVN-008-002:07)

### 5.2.3. Optative usage

Apart from various usages that are related to the progressive, the marker *-aŋ* can also express wishes (optative use). A transparent example that is often heard in everyday speech is the politeness formula *miqumisaŋ* ‘may you live long’ (from *miqumis* ‘live, be alive’ and *-aŋ* ‘PROG’). Another is the fixed formula for thanking someone, *uninaŋ*, which is synchronically opaque but has a similar origin. It is probably related to the verb stem *uni* ‘be, exist’ and literally means something like ‘may it be so’ (cf. Nihira (1988:416)). The two formulae are verbal in nature and are often used together to express gratefulness or a parting wish, as in the example below.

(171) [...] Uninaŋ, miqumisaŋ amu!

{uninaŋ}	c <sub>1</sub>  c <sub>2</sub>	{miqumis- <u>aŋ</u> }	[amu] <sub>AG</sub>
thank.you		live- <u>PROG</u>	2P.F

‘[And they would say:] thank you, may you live a long life!’ (TVN-012-001:119)

When *-aŋ* attaches to the auxiliary verb *maqtu* ‘can, be allowed’, the result *maqtuaŋ* often has the optative meaning ‘may’, although it can also be used as a progressive (‘still be allowed’).

(172) [...] Maqtuaŋ nitu aitaliwa?una qaliŋa.

{maqtu- <u>aŋ</u> }	{ni-tu}	aitlaliwa-⟨?⟩un-a}	[qaliŋa]
AUX	AUX		UN
can- <u>PROG</u>	NEG-COMPL	misunderstand-UF-LNK	language

‘[...] May my words not be misunderstood.’ (TVN-008-002:240)

#### 5.2.4. *-aŋ* in idiosyncratic constructions

When used in verbal time words, such as *ŋausaŋ* ‘first, in advance’, *daŋusaŋ* ‘first, before everything else’ and *laupaŋ* ‘now’, the progressive meaning of *-aŋ* is often not very clear. For instance, in (173), the progressive marker does not seem to have any semantic function.

(173) Daŋusaŋ matumaskain, siatu, sasaipuk kamisama madaidað mapisðaŋ

{daŋus- <u>aŋ</u> }	{matu-masqaiŋ}	siatu	[⟨sa⟩saipuk	kamisama
AUX				
first- <u>PROG</u>	DYN.EMO-thank	INTER	⟨CONT⟩-help	God
ma-daidað	ma-pisðaŋ]			
	UN:PAT			
DYN-love	STAT-impartial			

‘First, I want to thank God for his help and impartial love.’ (TVN-012-001:2)

Historically, at least some of these forms can be traced back to regular progressive constructions.

(174) *ŋausaŋ* ‘first, in the first place’

< *ŋaus* ‘front, first, head of’ + *-aŋ* (lit: ‘when still being at the head of’)

*daŋusaŋ* ‘first, before everything else’

< *daŋus* ‘front side’ + *-aŋ* (lit: ‘when still being at the front side’)

The progressive marker *-aŋ* is considerably less common than other tense-aspect affixes.

### 5.3. The perfective suffix *-in*

The perfective suffix *-in* is typically used for indicating that an event has been completed. Alternatively, it can mark an event that is the result of another event or a change of state. In the first clause of a complex clause, it sometimes indicates anteriority.

#### 5.3.1. Completion

The perfective suffix *-in* typically expresses that an event has finished or that a certain endpoint has been reached.

(175) Mei, mei kahaŋ duna uka duduma laqaiban aupa tuða, mapatupina.

mei      mei      {kahaŋ}      [dun-a]<sub>AG</sub>      c1|c2

already    already    come.from.below    path-SUBORD

{uka}      [⟨du⟩duma      laqaiban]<sub>AG</sub>      c2|c3

NEG.have    ⟨INTENS⟩-other    route

aupā     {tuḏa}<sub>AUX</sub>     {ma-patupa-in-a}  
 thus     really             DYN-discuss-PRV-LNK

‘When it already has come from below, there is no other route, really, I have already explained it.’ (TVN-008-002:134)

(176) Laupaŋʔak taldanavin.

{laupa-aŋ}<sub>AUX</sub>[-ʔak]<sub>AG</sub>     {taldanav-in}  
 now-PROG-1S.F             wash-PRV

‘I just finished washing (part of my body).’ (TVN-xx2-003:168)

Combined with a negative auxiliary, it creates a meaning similar to English ‘not anymore’.

(177) Ukin dau!

{uka-in}             dau  
 NEG.have-PRV     EMOT

‘There is none left anymore, what a pity!’ (when a shop sold out of rice; heard in conversation)

### 5.3.2. Resultative meaning

In some cases, *-in* has a resultative meaning, i.e. it marks an event as being the result of some other event. The second instance of *-in* in C2 of example (178) appears to have a resultative connotation, but it is hard to say whether this is the primary function of the suffix or an extension of change of state (5.3.3).

(178) [...] ?ita?ina kidɲain minpantu, pantu Sipun

{?ita-in-a}	c <sub>1</sub>  c <sub>2</sub>	{kitɲa- <u>in</u>	min-pantu}	c <sub>2</sub>  c <sub>3</sub>
there-PRV-SUBORD		just.started- <u>PRV</u>	BECOME-study	
{pantu}	[Sipun] <sub>UN</sub>			
study	Japanese			

‘from then on, we started to study, [we] studied Japanese.’ [lit: ‘when we had arrived at that time, as a result we started to study...’] (TVN-008-002:14)

The same holds for (179) below, in which *-in* in C2 could be seen as a resultative rather than a change-of-state suffix.

(179) Sanavanin masabaqin.

{sanavan-in}	c <sub>1</sub>  c <sub>2</sub>	{ma-sabaq- <u>in</u> }
evening-PRV		DYN-sleep- <u>PRV</u>

‘When the evening has come, [we should] go to sleep.’ (TVN-xxx-xx1:189)

Such ambiguities are quite common and many resultative perfectives can also be analysed in terms of change-of-state semantics. A similar correlation between resultative and change-of-state semantics has been observed in other languages, for instance by Bohnemeyer (1998:273) in Yukatek Maya and Lichtenberk (1991:487-88) in To’aba’ita, Fijian and Vangunu (all three Oceanic).<sup>25</sup> The link between

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<sup>25</sup> Lichtenberk uses the terms ingressive and inchoative, but from the examples in his grammar, it appears that his terms cover resultative and change-of-state; see also Heine & Kuteva (2002:74). In

completives and resultatives is discussed amongst others in Comrie (1976a:20) and is based on the fact that both focus on the completion of an event, the former by presenting the event as finished, the second by expressing the result state of the event.

### 5.3.3. Change of state

The previous section already indicated that in the second clause of a clause complex *-in* can sometimes be analysed as indicating change-of-state, but that there is almost always an alternative resultative analysis available. That is not the case in the following two examples, which were all uttered in isolation and not as the second element of a complex clause. In both, the perfective suffix clearly indicates that a certain action or state is initiated that is the opposite of what was going on before. For instance, (180) is a clause that is typically uttered in situations where the speaker was previously not able or not allowed to go home yet; and (181) implies that the first-person speaker was previously not used to living in Taiwan, but that he has got used to it at the time of writing.

(180) Mudaninʔak mulumaq.

{mu-dan-in-ak}      {mu-lumaq}

ALL-go-PRV-1S.F    to-home

‘I want to go back home now.’ (TVN-xxx-xx1:53)

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Siraya, another Austronesian language of Taiwan, the suffix *-ato* also conflates resultative and change-of-state semantics (Sander Adelaar; pers. comm.).

(181) Minaminʔak han Taivan.

{minam-in}[-ʔak]<sub>AG</sub>      [han Taivan]<sub>PLACE</sub>

be.used.to-PRV-1S.F      in      Taiwan

‘I am used to being in Taiwan now.’ (TVN-xxx-xx1:155)

Note that in the first example, the verb modified by a change-of-state perfective has allative semantics and expresses a dynamic concept. This is against a commonly-held assumption that change-of-state semantics in perfective markers occurs with stative verbs and corresponds with completive semantics on dynamic verbs (cf. Bybee *et al.* (1994:51ff)).

#### 5.3.4. Anteriority

In subordinate clauses and binary clause complexes, a perfective marker in the first clause often develops a meaning of relative temporal precedence, i.e. anteriority relative to the event expressed by the following clause. Often, the implication is that the event in the first clause immediately precedes the one in the second clause and that the end of the former coincides or overlaps with the beginning of the latter. In (178) above, the first occurrence of the perfective marker expresses temporal precedence with regard to the main clause. The same is true for (182).

(182) [...] Munhanin ʔasaŋta, tantuŋu tupa tu [...]

{mun-han-in}      [ʔasaŋ-ta]<sub>LO</sub>      c<sub>1</sub>|c<sub>2</sub>

ALL-go-PRV      village-DEF.SIT.DIST

{tantuŋu}	c <sub>2</sub>  c <sub>3</sub>	{tupa}	tu
visit		tell	COMPL

‘After they had gone [i.e. moved] to the village, they visited us and told us [...]’ (TVN-012-002:28)

(183) Sanavanin masabaqin.

{sanavan- <u>in</u> }	c <sub>1</sub>  c <sub>2</sub>	{ma-sabaq-in}
evening- <u>PRV</u>		DYN-sleep-PRV

‘When the evening has come, go to sleep.’ (TVN-xxx-xx1:189)

### 5.3.5. Previous analyses of Bunun *-in*

Previously, different analyses have been proposed for the suffix *-in* in other Bunun dialects. Zeitoun *et al.* (1996:45) are convinced that the suffix indicates perfect tense, as opposed to the infix *<in>* (see 5.4 below), which according to them marks perfective aspect. Their article does not elaborate on the issue and the motivation for their analysis is also not found in Zeitoun & Huang (1994), a previous work on the same topic by two of the authors. Jeng (1999:475) argues that *-in* indicates a ‘perfect aspect’, which he claims can either indicate completion or continuation.

Both analyses above would not cover the full range of behaviours that *-in* exhibits in Takivatan Bunun. Contrary to Jeng’s claim, Takivatan *-in* certainly never indicates continuation. Although it can express anteriority (see 5.3.4 above), this is not its main function and can be easily explained as a functional extension of completive aspect in complex clauses (‘after event X was finished, event Y happened’).

The term perfective aspect appears to align best with the function expressed by Takivatan *-in*, but it is certainly not impossible that the suffix behaves somewhat differently in other Bunun dialects. I believe it is wisest to avoid the concept of *perfect*, which appears to be problematic for many linguists and for which no consistent definition seems to exist. Perfectivity, on the other hand, is in most cases unambiguously accepted to be an aspectual dimension that interprets an event as a whole (cf. Bertinetto (2006) and Matthews (2005:271)). In this section it has hopefully become clear that most functions of *-in* can be easily interpreted either as instantiations (completion and result) or as functional extensions (anteriority and change of state) of perfective aspect.

#### 5.4. The past/resultative infix <in>

As in other Bunun dialects, Takivatan distinguishes between the suffix *-in* and the infix <in>. Unlike Isbukun, where <in> and *-in* appear in almost equal numbers, the infix is actually relatively uncommon in Takivatan.<sup>26</sup> In this work, the infix <in> will be considered a past tense marker with resultative undertones.

Zeitoun et al. (1996) indicate that both <in> and *-in* indicate anteriority (i.e. relative tense), but that <in> in addition marks completive aspect, which prompts them to classify the infix as a perfective marker. Jeng (1999), on the other hand, argues that <in> is a past tense marker with the time of utterance as the reference time (i.e. absolute tense). The Takivatan data indicate that the infix does indeed refer to a

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<sup>26</sup> The perfective suffix is four times more common than the past infix (based on a corpus count).

The Isbukun ratio is based on a count in the Formosan Language Corpus (Academia Sinica (s.d.-a)).

past event, but that the reference time is not necessarily the time of utterance. It has been convincingly demonstrated in Bybee et al. (1994) that past tense reference can in some cases be seen as a diachronic extension of resultative aspect, but there are no indications in any of my data that *<in>* has any aspectual semantics in Takivatan. However, as mentioned at the end of the previous section, it is important to keep in mind that there might be differences between how aspectual markers are used between Bunun dialects.

In verbal forms, *<in>* tends not to co-occur with either of the focus suffixes *-un* or *-an* (although it is grammatically possible, see e.g. (194) on p. 238 below). This led Zeitoun et al. (1996:29) to the conclusion that, in the absence of any other explicit focus marking, the infix functions as an undergoer focus marker in Isbukun Bunun. As the following example demonstrates, this is not the case in Takivatan Bunun.

(184) Tinindaŋkul ahlutuna [...]

{t<in>indaŋkul} [Ø]<sub>AG</sub> [ʔahlutun-a]<sub>LO</sub>  
 <PST>-run trail-SUBORD

‘[the deer] ran away over a trail of flattened grass’ (TVN-008-002:149)

Within the textual context, it is not possible to interpret *tinindaŋkul* as an undergoer focus, since there is an unexpressed argument (‘the deer’) which functions as the most agentive participant accompanying the motion verb (184). Verbs expressing motion are able to occur in undergoer focus, but these forms always have causative

semantics (although they typically do not allow the causer to be explicitly expressed):

(185) Tindaŋkulun aipi

{tindaŋkul-un} [aip*i*]<sub>CSE</sub>  
run-UF DEM.S.PROX

‘This one here was forced to run away.’ (constr.)

Note that the data in Academia Sinica (2007) suggest that the association between perfective <in> and the undergoer focus is stronger in the Isbukun dialects, although the first occurrence of the infix in (186) below clearly indicates that it can be associated with agent focus constructions.

(186) Masa sinaduin dau a put mas minatað [...]

masa {s<in>adu-in} dau [a put]<sub>AG</sub> [mas m<in>atað]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>  
when <PST>-see-PRV EMOT Nom Chinese Obl <PST>-die

‘When the Chinese had identified the corpse, ...’ [Lit: ‘When the Chinese had seen the one who had died’] (Academia Sinica (2007),<sup>27</sup> 47-003-f)

In the example, *sinaduin* clearly is an agent focus construction. In the rest of the Isbukun corpus, <in> overwhelmingly appears in undergoer constructions with

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<sup>27</sup> Generally accessible at Academia Sinica (s.d.-a). Interlinear glosses are mine, except for Nom (nominative) and Obl (oblique), which are labels often used in Formosan linguistics to mark Nominative and Oblique case.

explicitly expressed patients and covert agents. In addition, when *Isbukun* <in> is used as a nominaliser or in attributive constructions, it always expresses patient nominalisations. This is illustrated by the second occurrence of <in> in the example above. In general, it appears there are quite a few discrepancies between the behaviour of past/perfective infix in different Bunun dialects.

#### 5.4.1. Past

In most situations <in> indicates that an event occurs in the past relative to a reference time, typically the time of narration (absolute past).

(187) Aupa, masak amina, ni sak amin sainuduki inak tu tina.

aupa	{ma-sak} <sub>AUX</sub>	{amin-a}	SUBORD1 C2
thus	DYN-1S.F	all-SUBORD	
{ni} <sub>AUX</sub>	[sak] <sub>AG</sub>	{amin} <sub>MNR</sub>	{sa<in>udu-ki}
NEG	1S.F	all	<PST>-see-DEF.SIT.PROX
[inak	tu	tina] <sub>UN</sub>	
1S.POSS	ATTR	mother	

‘And as such, as far as my entire life is concerned [lit: being me entirely], I never caught any glimpse of my mother.’ (TVN-008-002:9)

(188) Maqai maupata qainanupina masta?ana bunun manaskali.

maqai	{maupa-ta} <sub>AUX/MNR</sub>	{qa<in>anup-in-a}	SUBORD1 C2
if	thus-DEF.REF.DIST	<PST>hunt-PRV-SUBORD	

{mastaʔan-a}<sub>AUX</sub> [bunun]<sub>AG</sub> {ma-naskal-i}  
 very-LNK Bunun STAT-happy-PRT

‘And if the hunt had been like that, the Bunun were very happy.’ (TVN-012-001:125)

In both cases, informants consistently associated the presence of <in> with past tense semantics and never with any aspectual meaning.

Example (189) below illustrates that unlike PRV *-in*, the use of the infix <in> is not associated with completiveness or resultativeness. In the example, the event marked by the infix, *tasʔi* ‘build’, is clearly not yet completed.

(189) Nianʔ tu ihan paun tu sia daŋiʔanani tinasʔi kaku tudipʔaǎ Sipunaŋ.

{ni-aŋ}<sub>AUX</sub> tu {i-han} [paun tu  
 NEG-PROG COMPL STAT-be.at call + UF ATTR  
 sia daŋiʔan-an-i]<sub>PLACE</sub> c1|c2  
 ANAPH location-LF-PRT  
 {t<in>asʔi} [kaku]<sub>UN.PAT</sub> [tudipʔaǎ Sipun-aŋ]<sub>TIME</sub>  
 <PST>-build school that.time-PERSON Japan-PROG

‘We were not yet at that location, because the school was still being built when the Japanese were still there.’ (TVN-008-002:12)

#### 5.4.2. Past/present contrast

From a pragmatic perspective, <in> often – but not always – expresses some sort of contrast between a past and a present event. For example, the past infix is often

used to express the idea that some past event is meaningfully different from the present situation. In example (188) above the narrator is explaining how the Bunun hunted in the days of yore, implying that things are different now, since the younger generations do not hunt anymore to sustain themselves, but rather for pleasure or money. In fact, a recurrent theme throughout his narration is that things have changed considerably during the course of his life.

In (190), the narrator expresses his amazement at my minidisc recorder by uttering that he never saw such a machine before in the past. The use of <in> here stresses the discrepancy between this suddenly acquired insight and his past ignorance.

(190) Niaŋ sainidu maupatitu masihal tu qaimaŋsuð maqtu pinsumaei masihal tu

qaliŋa!

{ni-aŋ}	<sub>AUX</sub>	{sa<in>idu}	[m-aupa-ti	tu		
NEG-PROG		<PST>-see	DYN-thus-DEF.REF.PROX	ATTR		
ma-sihal	tu	qaimaŋsuð]	<sub>UN:PAT</sub>	<sub>C1 C2</sub>		
STAT-good	ATTR	thing				
{maqtu}	<sub>AUX</sub>	{pin-suma-e-i}	[ma-sihal	tu	qaliŋa]	<sub>UN:PAT</sub>
can		make-come-VL-PRT	STAT-good	ATTR	language	

‘Never before did I see such a nice thing record beautiful language.’ (TVN-

012-002:1)

### 5.5. The past infix <i>

The infix <i> is relatively rare in Takivatan Bunun. It appears to be semantically identical to and in complementary distribution with the infix <in> (cf. Jeng (1999:458), Zeitoun (2000) and Lin et al. (2001)). There are two contexts in which <i> rather than <in> tends to be used.

#### 5.5.1. Non-agent-focus forms with /a/ in the root-initial syllable

As we remarked in the previous section on page 231, <in> can normally not co-occur with undergoer focus suffix *-un* or locative focus *-an*. If a verb is marked by either of these two focus suffixes and the initial syllable of the verb root contains the vowel /a/, <i> rather than <in> occurs as a past tense infix and is inserted in the first syllable after the vowel /a/. Compare for instance *sa<in>udu* in (187) on page 233 with *sa<i>du-un* in the example below. Whereas the former is an agent focus form of *sadu* ‘see’, and therefore gets <in> as a past infix, the latter form contains an undergoer suffix *-un*, which triggers the use of <i>.

(191) [...] Nei, nitu saidu?una.

ni    {ni-tu}<sub>AUX</sub>        {sa<i>du-un-a}  
no    NEG-COMPL    <PST>-see-UF-LNK

‘[...], no, I didn’t see [the monkey] yet.’ (TVN-008-002:80)

Below is another contrastive example with *panaq* ‘shoot’. In the first example, (192), it occurs in a nominalised locative focus form and, because of the presence of *-an*, has <i> instead of <in>. In the second example, (193), which is part of a

description of hunting habits in the old days, the narrator uses an agent focus form of *panaq* and the past is indicated by *<in>*.

(192) [...] Tupa saduki painaqaṅ tu

{tupa}    c1|COMPL2    {sadu-ki}                    [pa<in>naq-an]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>  
 tell                            see-DEF.SIT.PROX    <PST>-shoot-LF

‘[The people were talking back and forth,] telling that they had seen the shooting [of the wild boar].’ (TVN-008-002:87)

(193) Maqai haiḏa naip tu vaqaka naupaki, tumaḏ pinanaqa, patisbuṅ.

maqai    {haiḏa}    [naip                            tu            vaqa-ka]<sub>AG</sub>  
 if            have            DEM.S.USPEC.NVIS    ATTR    deer-DEF.SIT.DIST

[naupa-ki]<sub>MNR</sub>                            c1|c2  
 seemingly-DEF.SIT.PROX

[tumaḏ]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>    {p<in>anaq-a}                            SUBORD2|C3  
 bear                            <PST>-shoot-SUBORD

{pa-tisbuṅ}

CAUS.DYN-explode

‘If there seemed to be a deer, or if they had to shoot a bear, [the hunters] had to use their guns [lit: make an explosion].’ (TVN-012-002:164)

If the root-initial syllable contains any vowel other than /a/, the default infix *<in>* is typically inserted after the root-initial consonant.

(194) Linusʔanani maupata

{l<in>usʔan-an-i}            [maupa-ta]<sub>TIME</sub>  
 <PST>-celebrate-LF-PRT    thus-DEF.REF.DIST

‘Like that this holiday was celebrated.’ (TVN-012-001:81)

### 5.5.2. PST <in> and <i> in prefixes

In some constructions, a verbal root is preceded by a verbal prefix and speakers find it improper to insert a past infix in the verbal root. Because of the small size of the example set it is impossible to say what makes a root improper for past infix insertion, but it appears to happen primarily with some disyllabic roots with a CV(CV) structure. In those cases, an infix will be inserted either in or after the prefix and since many commonly used prefixes contain /a/, this infix will in most cases be <i>. In (195), PST <i> is inserted in the verbal prefix *tal-* preceding *madia* ‘be many’<sup>28</sup>; this happens when the prefix is consonant-final. In (196), the infix occurs between the prefix *pa-* and the verb root; this happens with vowel-final prefixes.

(195) Maupata taiʔaðani madaiŋʔað tu natailmadia tu dikaŋa, tailmadia tu qaniʔanana.

{maupa-ta}<sub>AUX:MNR</sub>    {ta<i>ʔaðan-i}    [madaiŋʔað]<sub>AG</sub>    tu    C1|COMPL2  
 thus-DEF.REF.DIST    <PST>-realize-PRT    elder                    COMPL

<sup>28</sup> *Madia* ‘many’ behaves very much like a verb in Takivatan Bunun and usually occurs in the auxiliary verb slot. In this example it is used twice as an attribute.

[[na-ta<i>l-madia]<sub>ATTR</sub> tu dikaŋ-a]  
 IRR-<PST>-VERY-many ATTR hour-ENUM

[[ta<i>l-madia]<sub>ATTR</sub> tu qaniʔan-an-a]  
 <PST>-VERY-many ATTR day-LF-ENUM

‘Thus, the elders realized that many hours, many days [had passed].’ (TVN-012-001:35)

(196) [...] Nanu paitupa tu, [...]

{nanu}<sub>AUX</sub> {pa-<i>-tupa} tu  
 verily HI.AG-<PST>-say COMPL

‘[...] and when they had really decided, [they took her father with them.]’  
 (TVN-008-002:111)

In the rare case that a past infix would need to be inserted into a prefix that contains a vowel different from /a/, <in> will be used.

(197) Haiða aupaka miniliskin tu maquaqa maquaqa sia masihal, ni masihala.

{haiða}<sub>AUX</sub> [aupaka]<sub>MNR</sub> {m<in>i-liskin} tu c1|COMPL2  
 have thus-DEF.SIT.DIST THINK-<PST>-understand COMPL  
 {maquaqa-a}<sub>AUX</sub> [sia]<sub>AG</sub> {ma-sihal} ni {ma-sihal-a}  
 how-LNK ANAPH STAT-good NEG STAT-good-SUBORD

‘When there is thus an understanding of how [my life] was sometimes good and sometimes not so good, [may my words not be misunderstood].’ (TVN-008-002:40)

## 5.6. Combinations of tense-aspect affixes

Tense-aspect affixes can easily co-occur on the same verb form. Some examples with the irrealis marker *na-* in combination with a progressive and a perfective suffix:

(198) A, *naŋausaŋ saikin taqu tu simaq sak.*

a	{ <u>na</u> -ŋaus- <u>aŋ</u> }	[saikin] <sub>AG</sub>	{taqu}	tu	C1 COMPL
INTER	<u>IRR</u> -first- <u>PROG</u>	1S.F	tell	COMPL	
	{simaq} <sup>29</sup>	[sak] <sub>AG</sub>			
who	1S.F				

‘First, I will tell you who I am.’ (TVN-012-001:04)

(199) [...] *Namudanin* [...]

{na-mu-dan-in}

IRR-ALL-walk-PRV

‘[The deer was not there anymore,] it had gone away, [...].’ (TVN-008-002:136)

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<sup>29</sup> The question word *simaq* ‘who?’ is verbal in nature.

(200) [...] Natailmadia tu dikaŋa [...]

[[na-ta*i*l-madia]<sub>ATTR</sub> tu dikaŋ-a]<sub>TIME</sub>

IRR-<PST>-VERY-many ATTR hour-LNK

‘[The elders realized that] many hours had passed, [that many days had passed.]’ (TVN-012-001:35; extract from (195) on page 238 above)

Any restrictions on combinations seem to be motivated by semantic and pragmatic compatibility. For instance, no combinations of PRV *-in* and PROG *-aŋ* have so far been attested, but this is probably because the notions of perfective and progressive aspect are rather hard to reconcile semantically, rather than that their combination is impossible per se (e.g. because they are both suffixes in the same slot). Informants indicate that there is nothing grammatically wrong with forms like *mu-dan-in-aŋ* ‘ALL-go-PRV-PROG’, but that it is rather hard to imagine in what context you could use them.

### 5.7. Aspect on nouns

Apart from verbs, auxiliaries and adjectives, tense-aspect affixes in Takivatan can also occur on nouns, though this is relatively rare and they in practice only occur on a small number of semantically compatible lexical items. The resulting complex form is almost always semantically transparent (maybe with the exception of *lainiqaiban* in 5.7.3). Given the correct semantic and pragmatic preconditions, tense-aspect affixes can co-occur with members of almost any word class.

**5.7.1. Progressive -aŋ**

When the progressive suffix *-aŋ* occurs on nouns, they are interpreted as time words with the meaning ‘when still being...’ This has only been attested with *uvaðʔað* ‘child’:

(201) *Uvaðʔaðaŋ*

*uvaðʔað-aŋ*

child-PROG

‘when still being a child; during childhood’

**5.7.2. Perfective -in**

The perfective suffix *-in* is routinely used in the deverbal nominalisation *madaiŋʔaðin* ‘elder’ (lit: ‘a person that is already old’).

(202) *Madaiŋʔaðin*

*ma-daiŋ-ʔað-in*

STAT-big-PERSON-PRV

‘elder, village elder; old person, person that is already old’

Occasionally, it can be used on roots that are typically used as nouns. It tends to get a completive, resultative or change-of-state interpretation in these contexts. In the example below, the perfective suffix on *quma* ‘(arable) land’ indicates that the land *Tiaŋ* is going to was wilderness, but has just been designated to become arable land (change of state).

(203) Han qumin laupaku Tainiku?a.

{han}	[quma- <u>in</u> ] <sub>LO</sub>	[laupaku] <sub>TIME</sub>	[Tiaŋ	Niku-?a] <sub>AG</sub>
go.to	land- <u>PRV</u>	now	PersName.M	PersName.F-LDIS <sup>30</sup>

‘And now, Tiaŋ of Niku went to the land.’ (TVN-012-002:64)

### 5.7.3. PST <in> in resultative nominalisations

The past infix <in> occurs in a small number of nominal forms that can all be traced back to locative focus constructions. This is interesting, because in the corpus, <in> co-occurs very rarely with any focus suffixes.

- |                                      |   |  |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| (204) laqaiban                       | → | lainiqaiban  |
| ‘road, trajectory’                   |   | la<in><i>qaib-an   |
|                                      |   | <PST>-<VL>-trajectory-LF   |
|                                      |   | ‘trajectory that has been traversed;<br>life as a string of past events’ |
| (205) adiŋalan                       | → | adiniŋalan   |
| a-diŋal-an                           |   | a-d<in>iŋal-an   |
| STAT-neighbouring-LF                 |   | STAT-<PST>-neighbouring-LF   |
| ‘person that is sitting next to one’ |   | ‘person that was sitting next to one’                                    |

In both examples above, the use of <in> is semantically transparent: its insertion adds past semantics to its host noun. Only in (204) has the infixed form developed

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<sup>30</sup> The use of the topicaliser *-?a* to right-dislocate clausal topics is very unusual.

idiosyncratic semantics: *laqaiban* can only mean ‘trajectory’, but *lainiqaiban* is typically used to refer to one’s life as it has unfolded in the past up to the present time.

## Chapter 6. Focus suffixes

### 6.1. The status of focus in Takivatan

Bunun dialects, like many other Austronesian languages in Taiwan, the Philippines, and Indonesia have an argument alignment system that is often characterized as a focus system or a Philippine-style voice system. It is important to note that the term ‘focus’ is in these contexts not used, as it is in general linguistics, to refer to new information in the information structure of a clause (cf. Lyons (1977:503), Van Valin & LaPolla (1997:201ff), and others), but goes back to an old terminological tradition that was introduced in the 1960s for the description of the Austronesian languages of the Philippines and Taiwan and has pervaded the field ever since.

A lot of debate has been going on about what focus exactly is (see French (1988) for an overview of many older approaches), but it is more or less clear what it does:

Focus is a system of verbal morphology that influences argument expression and argument alignment by cross-referring to a number (typically three to five) syntactic-semantic participant roles.

We will say that the semantic role (or its corresponding syntactic argument) that is cross-referenced by the verb is the focused argument and that it is ‘in focus’. The exact status of the focused argument is still a matter of heated debate, but it is

probably uncontroversial to say that it receives some sort of pragmatic stress and is usually the topic of the clause.

In recent years, it has been argued repeatedly that focus systems are in fact atypical ergative alignment systems (see Starosta (2002), Reid & Liao (2004), Ross & Teng (2005), and others). Due to space and time limitations, I will have to sidestep this issue for now, but I have good arguments for analysing argument alignment in Takivatan as a system in its own right rather than an ergative or nominative system in disguise. Therefore, I will here hold on to the term ‘focus’.

In this work, none of the verbal prefixes (instrumental *is-* comes to mind) will be analysed as part of the focus system. Instead, it will be argued in 7.1.2-7.1.4 that it is more elegant to analyse argument alignment in Takivatan Bunun in terms of two interacting affixal systems which together determine how and which arguments can be expressed: a suffixal focus system and a prefixal system of valency-influencing verbal prefixes.

Takivatan Bunun distinguishes (1) agents, (2) undergoers and (3) locative arguments. Undergoer roles further distinguish between patients, beneficiaries and instruments in some syntactic environments, but not in the suffix-driven focus system. These roles reflect the constituents that can function as the core arguments in a clause (also see 1.4.3). Verbs in Takivatan can be marked for three types of focus:

- agent focus (AF): *-Ø*
- undergoer focus (UF): *-un*
- locative focus (LF): *-an*

Below are three contrastive examples with the verb *siða* ‘take, grab’; in each, the focused argument is underlined in translation and (if explicitly expressed) marked with a subscript in the interlinearised text.

(206) Nitu munʔasaŋ siða tilas

{ni-tu}<sub>AUX</sub>      {mun-ʔasaŋ} C1|PURP2      {siða-Ø}      [tilas]<sub>UN/NFOC</sub>  
 NEG-COMPL    ALL-village                      grab-AF      cereals

‘[They] did not go back to the village to take rice.’ (TVN-012-002:54)

(207) Huduqa siðaʔun

[huduq-a]<sub>UN/FOC</sub>      {siða-un}  
 sprouts-LDIS      grab-UF

‘You had to take the young sprouts [of the reed].’ (TVN-012-001:44)

(208) Nitu maqtu tudipa bahiʔa siðaʔani

{ni-tu}<sub>AUX</sub>      {maqtu}<sub>AUX</sub> [tudip-a]<sub>TIME</sub>      [bahi-a]<sub>LO/FOC</sub>      {siða-an-i}  
 NEG-COMPL    can                      those.days-LNK    dream-LDIS    grab-LF-PRT

‘In the old days, you couldn’t just interpret [lit: grab into] a dream by yourself.’ (TVN-008-002:59)

Another set of contrastive examples can be found in 1.4.3 ex. (8)-(10) on p. 97.

## 6.2. Grammatical function of focus marking

When occurring on the head of a verbal predicate, an agent focus form typically cross-refers to the agent of an action, an undergoer focus suffix typically to the undergoer of an action (usually a patient but, in some cases, a beneficiary or an instrument), and a locative focus suffix to a spatial or temporal location.

Sentences (209)-(211) below are examples of each focus marker with the verb *baliv* ‘buy; sell’ (the focused argument has double underline in the translation). The first example has no overt focus marking and is as a result to be interpreted as an agent focus construction.

(209) *Kaupa laupadau siatu namabalivi tilasa sin siatu Sipal.*

{kaupa} <sub>AUX</sub>	{laupa-dau} <sub>AUX</sub>	siatu	{na-ma-baliv- <u>Ø</u> -i} <sub>MAIN</sub>
completely	now-EMOT	INTER	IRR-DYN-buy/sell- <u>AF</u> -PRT
[tilas-a] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>	[sin	sia-tu	Sipal] <sub>COM</sub>
husked.rice-LNK	with	ANAPH-ATTR	PersName.M

‘And now we will buy all the rice at Sipal’s store.’ (TVN-010-015:59)

In example (210), an elderly female informant explains to me that her friend grew pomelos that were so beautiful that she decided not to put them up for sale but to keep them for herself and her friends. The undergoer focus suffix indicates that the pragmatic stress is on the patient of the action.

(210) Nitu balivun!

{ni-tu}<sub>AUX</sub>      {baliv-un}<sub>MAIN</sub>

NEG-COMPL buy/sell-UF

‘[The pomelos] were not to be sold.’ (TVN-xx2-001:169)

In the third example, a grandmother tells her restless granddaughter that they will go to the shop that she just nagged about in a minute. A locative focus is used because pragmatic stress is on the location, which was introduced as a pragmatically salient discourse theme in the previous sentence.

(211) Kava?a nabalivan mita hulus.

{kava?a}<sub>AUX</sub>    {na-baliv-an}      [mita      hulus]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

immediately IRR-buy/sell-LF    1I.POSS    clothes

‘[We] will go there immediately to buy your [lit: our] clothes.’ (TVN-xxx-xx1:139)

The focused participant does not have to be explicitly expressed, and it is in fact not expressed in any of the examples above. This is quite common in Takivatan and makes sense linguistically, since focus markers assign pragmatic stress to a certain participant. Pragmatically prominent participants are more easily recoverable from the discourse context and there is therefore less need to express them explicitly. In most cases, it is possible to explicitly express the core argument to which the focus marker refers. An example:

(212) Nitu balivun iðuq daiŋ!

{ni-tu}<sub>AUX</sub>      {baliv-un}      [iðuq    daiŋ]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>  
 NEG-COMPL    buy/sell-UF      orange    large

‘The pomelos [lit: large oranges] were not to be sold.’ (constr.)

It is not equally easy for all focus types to occur on each individual verb, but all focus types can occur on almost all kinds of verbs. Below are examples of the undergoer suffix *-un* with: (213) the dynamic verb *adas* ‘carry’; (214) the locative verb *han* ‘go to’; and (215) the adjective *sihal* ‘good’.

(213) [..] Niaŋ adasuni tama

{ni-aŋ}<sub>AUX</sub>      {adas-un-i}      [tama]<sub>AG</sub>  
 NEG-PROG      carry-UF-PRT    father

‘[My] father did not carry [me] around yet.’ (TVN-008-002:4)

(214) Takivatan maqtu hanun Kunu?anti

[Takivatan]<sub>UN/CSE</sub>    {maqtu}<sub>AUX</sub>      {han-un}      [Kunu?an-ti]<sub>LO</sub>  
 Takivatan            can                  go-UF            GeoName-DEF.REF.PROX

‘The Takivatan can [be told to] go to Kunu'an.’ (TVN-012-002:119)

(215) [...] Sihalun aipi sia binanauʔaǎ

{sihal- <u>un</u> }	[aipi] <sub>AG</sub>	[sia	binanauʔaǎ] <sub>UN:BEN</sub>
good- <u>UF</u>	DEM.S.PROX	ANAPH	woman

‘[If the hunt had been good and he had good meat,] this [hunter] should store it well for his wife.’ (TVN-012-001:52)

The examples above illustrate that, whereas the pragmatic effect of focus markers is essentially topicalization, their syntactic behaviour is much less predictable. What happens in all three examples is the same: the participant that is put into focus is not seen as the primary agentive force of the event, but as a participant that in some way passively undergoes the event.

This is most obvious with verbs encoding transitive dynamic events,<sup>31</sup> such as *adas-un* ‘carry-UF’ in example (213). Here UF *-un* gives pragmatic prominence to the first person, which remains unexpressed, and indicates that this first person is the one being carried. The semantic effect is not unlike a passive construction in English, which also makes the undergoer of an action more prominent and demotes the agent, though syntactically it is impossible to analyse these forms as passives.

The head of the predicate in (214) is *hanun*, the undergoer equivalent of the allative form *mun-han* ‘ALL-go’, which most linguist would not interpret as a verb that encodes a typically transitive event. Nevertheless, it can occur with an undergoer

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<sup>31</sup> I use transitive here in a functional-semantic sense: a transitive event is an event that the average language user would conceptualize as having an agent and an undergoer. Syntactic transitivity is a tricky concept in Takivatan and its treatment is beyond the scope of this work.

focus suffix. In example (214) above, UF *-un* does not introduce a new undergoer participant, but rather signals that the participants that would have been the agent of the corresponding agent focus construction (*Takivatan*) were not performing the allative action out of their own free will, but were somehow instructed or forced to do so. This construction is somehow similar to a causative construction, but (1) it does not necessarily introduce an explicit causer, (2) even if a causer can be identified from the surrounding discourse, it can normally not be explicitly expressed in the clause, and (3) there already is a prefix to derive morphological causatives from allative verbs (see 7.4.6.B).<sup>32</sup>

The actor focus equivalent of *sihal-un* ‘good-UF’ in (215) would just indicate that the meat was of good quality. The addition of UF *-un* indicates that it is somehow made good or put away well (one could say that it is ‘gooded’). Syntactically, (213) and (214) do not change anything about the argument alignment of the clause. For instance, it is normally not possible to explicitly express an external agent in (214). This is possible in (215), and an additional beneficiary argument is even introduced.

### 6.3. Nominalising functions of focus markers

Takivatan focus suffixes are commonly used as verb-to-noun derivational markers, especially for modern concepts that have no dedicated vocabulary in traditional Takivatan society. Almost all derivations with focus markers are semantically transparent and in many constructions it is not even clear whether they are derived

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<sup>32</sup> This prefix can combine with UF *-un*.

nouns or just verbs used in nominal slots. At least some of the forms that will be discussed below can be used in both nominal and verbal slots, although they tend to occur more often in nominal slots. The nominalising use of focus morphology is common in many Austronesian languages of Taiwan: it has been found – amongst others – in Paiwan (Egli (1990:204-252)), Kavalan (Chang & Lee (2002), Li & Tsuchida (2006))<sup>33</sup>, Mayrinax Atayal (Huang (2002)), Pazih (Li (2002)), Thao (Blust (2003a:229-30)) and Puyuma (Teng (2007:196-213)). It has even been suggested by Starosta et al. (1982) – though this is still controversial – that Austronesian focus affixes originally had a nominalising function and that their syntactic function is a secondary development.

#### 6.4. Nominalisations with LF *-an*

Of the two focus markers, the locative focus marker *-an* is derivationally most productive. It is typically used for expressing the physical location in which the event expressed by the verbal host takes place, but has also developed several metaphorical extensions of its straightforward locative meaning, such as temporal location (6.4.4) and abstract locus of event (6.4.5).

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<sup>33</sup> Examples with locative focus are found throughout the dictionary, e.g. *pnapissan* ‘shot wound’ (< *pissa-* ‘shoot’ + *-an* ‘LF’, p. 243), *tinnunan* ‘native cloth’ (< *<in>* + *tnun-* ‘weave’ + *-an* ‘LF’, p. 473).

### 6.4.1. Locative nominalisations

#### A. Locations used for a purpose

LF *-an* is often used to refer to a specific location, be it a building, a room or an outside area, that is deliberately used for a specific purpose.

(216) *asabaqan* ‘spot in the forest where a human is sleeping’

< *a-* ‘STAT’ + *sabaq* ‘sleep’ + *-an*

*alukmu?an* ‘spot in the forest where an animal is resting’

< *a-* ‘STAT’ + *lukmu* ‘squat down’ + *-an*

*pisqaitmalan* ‘playground’ < *pisqaitmal* ‘play’ + *-an*

*sapalan* ‘sleeping room, bed’ (lit: ‘place where the fur is spread for sleeping’)

< *sapal* ‘fur’ + *-an*

Some of these forms can get a past infix <*i*> to indicate a location that was used in the past for a certain purpose.

(217) *aisabaqan* ‘spot in the forest where humans were sleeping’

*a-* ‘STAT’ + <*i*> ‘PST’ + *sabaq* ‘sleep’ + *-an*

*ailukmu?an* ‘spot in the forest where an animal was resting’

< *a-* ‘STAT’ + <*i*> ‘PST’ + *lukmu* ‘squat down’ + *-an*

So far, no forms with <*in*> have been attested for locative nominalisations. Insertion of <*i*> does not appear to be possible for all forms, even when they have /a/ in the first syllable (cf. 5.5.1). For instance, *\*saipalan* does not appear to be a valid form.

In combination with CV-reduplication of the verbal root, *-an* nominalisation indicates a place that is habitually used for performing the action expressed by the verb (see also 8.4.1 ex. (454)).

(218) *babalivan* ‘store’ (lit: ‘place habitually used to buy and sell’)

< CV ‘HABIT’ + *baliv* ‘buy; sell’ + *-an*

*dadaŋiʔan* ‘location (of a certain event)’

< CV ‘HABIT’ + *daŋi* ‘be located; put, place’ + *-an*

*luluman* ‘jail’ (lit: ‘place habitually used to lock up people’)

< CV ‘HABIT’ + *lum-* ‘lock up’ + *-an*

*pipitʔaiʔan* ‘kitchen’ (lit: ‘place habitually used for cooking’)

< CV ‘HABIT’ + *pitʔia* ‘cook’ + *-an*

As three of the examples in (218) show, locative focus marking is seen as an attractive option to encode new concepts that were introduced to the Bunun through contact with modernity. Most examples in (216), however, refer to traditional concepts in Bunun society, an indication that focus markers must have been productive as a derivational mechanism for quite some time and are not just used for derived words referring to modern concepts.

## B. Geographical names

Many geographical names are constructed with a locative suffix *-an*, which can usually be translated as ‘a place that is known for X’.

- (219) *Kabanhilan* ‘location near the main Takivatan settlement where many cypresses grow’ < *ka-* ‘HARVEST’ + *banhil* ‘Japanese cypress’ + *-an* (lit: ‘the place where cypress wood was harvested’)
- Kaputuṅan* ‘former Takivatan settlement in Nantou County’  
< *ka-* ‘HARVEST’ + *putuṅ* ‘cotton’ + *-an*  
(lit: ‘the place where cotton was grown’)
- Sinapalan* ‘large plain in the mountains of Nantou County’  
< *in* ‘PST’ + *sapal* ‘fur, hide’ + *-an*  
(lit: ‘the place where the hides could be found’)

Some of these forms are still semantically transparent, but others go back to verbal or nominal stems that are uncommon or have fallen into disuse. *Putuṅ* in the second example in (219) refers to tufts of cotton, but it would not be recognized by any but the very old, since no such plants are found anymore in the area where the Bunun presently live. The root of *Dahul*, *dahul*, was not recognized by my seventy-five year old informant as a form that is presently in use.

#### 6.4.2. Locative-instrumental nominalisations

##### A. Unmarked cases

Occasionally, a locative focus marker is used in derivations which have both a locative and an instrumental meaning, i.e. they can typically be translated by ‘a place used to...’.

- (220) *padaŋiʔan* ‘container’ < *pa-* ‘CAUS.DYN’ + *daŋi* ‘put, place’ + *-an*  
*piskaðhavan* ‘refrigerator’ (lit: ‘a place used to make things cold again’)  
 < *pis-* ‘RETURN’ + *kaðhav* ‘cold’ + *-an*  
*tambuŋʔan* ‘head pillow’ (lit: ‘a place used to lean your head towards’)  
 < *tan-* ‘DIR’ + *buŋu* ‘head’ + *-an*

### B. Body parts

A small number of names of internal body parts are referred to by derivations with LF *-an*. They conceptualize the body part as a location in the body with a certain function or property.

- (221) *katluqaiʔan* ‘uterus’ (lit: ‘the place that holds the unborn child’)  
 < *kat-* ‘grab’ + *luqai* ‘small baby’ + *-an*  
*maquhisan* ‘small intestines’ (lit: ‘the place which is slender’)  
 < *ma-* ‘STAT’ + *quhis* ‘slender’ + *-an*  
*maqulpiqan* ‘big intestines’ (lit: ‘the place which is fat/with a broad  
 circumference’) < *ma-* ‘STAT’ + *qulpiq* ‘fat’ + *-an*

### 6.4.3. Meteorological phenomena

Nouns referring to meteorological phenomena are also formed by adding *-an* to a verbal stem.

- (222) *laniqʔavan* ‘flood’ < *la-* ‘COVER’ + *nigʔav* ‘sea, expanse of water’ + *-an*  
 (lit: a place covered by a watery expanse)  
*lumluvan* ‘typhoon’ < *lumluv* ‘wind; blow’ + *-an*

It is not clear whether these forms should be considered to be nominalisations, since they are commonly used in verbal slots.

#### 6.4.4. Temporal nominalisations

Temporal nominalisations are structurally very similar to locative ones. This is no surprise since spatial concepts in Bunun can almost always be metaphorically extended to refer to time. Typically, temporal derivations refer to a period in which the event expressed by the host takes place or to which the event described by the host is somehow related. It is often used in names of holidays and months.

(223) *alʔuʔan*<sup>34</sup> ‘resting period, spare time’ < *alʔu* ‘rest’ + *-an*

*lusʔan uvaðan* ‘child’s first birthday’ (lit: ‘holiday of the child’)

< *lusʔan* ‘celebrate’ *uvað* ‘child’ + *-an*

*lusʔanan* ‘holiday’ < *lusʔan* ‘celebrate’ + *-an*

*buan alʔuan*<sup>34</sup> ‘resting month’ < *buan* ‘month’ *alʔu* ‘rest’ + *-an*

Just like locative nominalisations in 6.4.1.A, some temporal nominalisations can be reduplicated or get a past infix <*i*> or <*in*>.

(224) *ailʔuʔan* ‘spare time, time during which one was not busy’

< <*i*> ‘PST’ + *alʔu* ‘rest’ + *-an*

*ailʔuʔuʔan* ‘spare time (reduplication stresses duration or repetitiveness)’

< <*i*> ‘PST’ + CV ‘REP’ + *alʔu* ‘rest’ + *-an*

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<sup>34</sup> The locative form of *alʔu* ‘rest’ has two commonly occurring variant forms, one with intervocalic glottal ligature (*alʔuʔan*) and one without (*alʔuan*).

### 6.4.5. Locus-of-event nominalisations

Locus-of-event nominalisations do not refer to a physical location or period in time in which the event expressed by their host takes place, but rather describe something or someone as the abstract locus or seat of a certain event.

#### A. Persons as the locus of event

Some derivations with LF *-an* can refer to human referents. Such words have no locative meaning but refer to a person as the seat of a quality or an action expressed by the host. Interestingly, none of the examples below can easily be interpreted as agentive derivations, since the person referred to is not the main actor of the action expressed by the verbal host but rather one of the participants in a collective (*uskunan*), a recipient (*isnavan*) or someone endowed with a certain quality (*adijalan* and *kinanna?an*).

(225) *adijalan* ‘neighbour; person sitting next to (you/me/...)’

< *a-* ‘STAT’ + *dijal* ‘neighbouring’ + *-an*

*isnavan* ‘student’

< *is-* ‘TRANSFER’ + CV ‘HABIT’ + *nav-* ‘instruct’ + *-an*

*kininna?an* ‘successor’ (also adjective: ‘successive’)

< *in* ‘PST’ + *kiŋna* ‘succeeding’ + *-an*

*uskunan* ‘somebody with whom one does something together’

< *uskun* ‘(do) together’ + *-an*

**B. Groups of people as locus of event**

In a small number of nouns, a verbal stem followed by *-an* refers to a group of people who together perform a certain action.

(226) *susumsumanan* ‘praying gathering’<sup>35</sup>

< CV ‘REP’ + *sumsum* ‘pray’ + *-an* + *-an*

*udinunan* ‘large gathering’ < *udinun* ‘gather’ + *-an*

The presence of two focus markers in *susumsumanan* will be discussed below in 6.4.6.

**C. Abstract results**

The suffix *-an* is used in some derivations for expressing the non-material result of an action encoded by the verbal host. These actions have a relatively low dynamicity in that they are either cognitive ‘actions’, such as dreaming (*bahi*) and thinking (*liskin*), or are underspecified and refrain from mentioning the exact nature of the action performed, such as doing something together (*uskun*) and traverse (*laqaib-*).

(227) *bahi?an* ‘(n.) dream’ < *bahi* ‘(n./v.) dream’ + *-an*

*inliskinan* ‘thoughts’

< *in-* ‘VIA’ + *liskin* ‘think’ + *-an*

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<sup>35</sup> Note that *susumsumanan* never means ‘church’, but is only used to refer to prayer meetings.

Church buildings are referred to by the Japanese loan *kiukai*.

*inuskunan* ‘things that have been done together’

< *in-* ‘VIA’ + *uskun* ‘together’ + *-an*

*lainiqaiban* ‘life’ (lit: ‘trajectory that has already been traversed’)

< <*in*> ‘PST’ + *laqaib-* ‘path, trajectory’ + *-an*

The level of abstraction that is inherent to the nominalisations above can be illustrated with *lainiqaiban*, which is interestingly never used to refer to a geographical trajectory, something that *laqaiban*, the form without the past infix <*in*>, can still do. It refers to human life in retrospect, i.e. as a trajectory of past events. For referring to one’s present or future life, a number of expressions are available, for instance *iskuḏakuḏa* ‘life as a collection of daily toils’ or *miqumis* ‘life as the biological act of being alive’.

#### 6.4.6. Double locative focus marking with *-an-an*

Curiously, some nominalisations are formed by double locative focus marking *-an-an*. The third example below was already mentioned in 6.4.5.B above.

(228) *alʔasaʔanan* ‘home village, seen as a collection as individuals’

< *al-* ‘belong to’ + *ʔasaʔ* ‘village’ + *-an* ‘LF’ + *-an* ‘LF’

*daʔiʔanan* ‘location’ < *daʔi* ‘put, place’ + *-an* ‘LF’ + *-an* ‘LF’

*susumsumanan* ‘praying place, prayer meeting’ (lit: ‘a place/time where people habitually pray in a fixed location’)

< CV ‘HABIT’ + *sumsum* ‘pray’ + *-an* ‘LF’ + *-an* ‘LF’

It is not entirely clear why this happens, but one explanation could be that the suffix closest to the root is best analysed as a locative focus marker on a verbal host: it indicates that the action described by the verbal stem inherently involves a certain spatial (or temporal) location. The second LF suffix has a nominalising function and describes a place or time in which that action unfolds.

(229) *daŋi* ‘put, place, locate’ (v.)

> *daŋi-an* ‘(v.) put/place/locate something somewhere’

> *daŋi-an-an* ‘(n.) a place where something is placed (somewhere)’

> ‘the place where an event is put/placed/located’ > ‘location of an event’

Double *-an* marking can also occur with a handful of concepts related to cognition or emotion.

(230) *kaiqansaipanan* ‘(past) understanding’

< *ka-* ‘ASSOC.DYN’ + *ɿ* ‘PST’ + *qansiap* ‘understand’

+ *-an* + *-an*

*kainaskalanan* ‘gladness’

< *ka-* ‘ASSOC.DYN’ + *ɿ* ‘PST’ + *naskal* ‘happy’ + *-an* + *-an*

As with the examples in (228), the LF marker closest to the verb still functions as a verbal modifier: some verbs of cognition, perception and emotion can use locative focus marking to put pragmatic stress on low agentivity agents (perceivers, cognizers, emoters). The second *-an* functions more like a true nominaliser,

deriving a concept that is the abstract locus of the event described by the verbal host.

## 6.5. Nominalisations with UF *-un*

The undergoer focus suffix *-un* is a much less productive source of nominalisations than the locative focus marker. However, some of its derived forms are extremely common in everyday use and it appears to be a major tool for deriving words describing modern concepts that were unknown to the Bunun until recently.

### 6.5.1. Patientive derivations

Most straightforwardly, the undergoer suffix is used in nominalisations expressing the patientive undergoer of the action expressed by the stem.

(231) *itlalivaun* ‘things that have been misunderstood’

< *itlaliva* ‘be unclear, cause misunderstanding’ + *-un*

*kaununkaunun* ‘edible things, usually used for fruit’

< STEM ‘PL’ + ( *kaun* ‘eat + UF’ + *-un* )

*kuḏkuḏaun* ‘things that need to be done’

< CVC ‘REP’ + *kuḏa* ‘work’ + *-un*

*siḏaun* ‘things that have to be taken’ < *siḏa* ‘take’ + *-un*

It is important to realize that verb-to-noun derivations like these are completely transparent to most Bunun speakers, and it is therefore not entirely clear whether they are true derivations with an idiosyncratic meaning or fully transparent verbal

forms that appear in nominal slots. Many (e.g. *iqdiʔun*, *itlaliveun* and *siðauun*) can be used as verbs as well as nouns, with no obvious meaning differences.

### 6.5.2. Instrumental derivations

Two instances are attested in which UF *-un* is used in instrumental derivations, in which case it derives a noun describing an object that is the instrument used for performing the action expressed by the verbal host.

(232) *butiqun* ‘object used for wrapping’ < *butiq-* ‘wrap’ + *-un*

*isqaisqaisun* ‘mop, thing used for mopping’

< *is-* ‘INSTR’ + *qaisqais* ‘mop’ + *-un*

Note that the instrumental character of the nominalisation is also expressed explicitly by the instrumental orientation marker *is-* in the second example, *isqaisqaisun*.

## Chapter 7. Verbal prefixes

All Bunun dialects have exceptionally large sets of verbal prefixes. In Takivatan Bunun, more than 200 semantically distinct usages have so far been distinguished for more than 150 morphologically distinct forms. Some of these forms are very common, while others are fairly elusive. Their actual meanings, degree of semantic specificity, grammatical function and application domain vary widely. Some are semantically coherent; others are used in a number of seemingly unrelated contexts. Some are valency-changing, others are not. Some are semantically specific and could therefore be considered as derivational in nature; others are semantically opaque and seem more inflectional. What they all have in common is that in combination with their root they form a verb and that in doing so they provide some information about the meaning of the verb that they create (without necessarily altering the basic semantics of the verb).

### 7.1. Introduction

#### 7.1.1. Previous work on verbal prefixes

Verbal prefixes in Bunun were first brought to attention in the Isbukun dialect (mainly the variant spoken in the county Kaohsiung) by Nojima (1996). A more elaborate – but less organized – set is discussed in Lin et al. (2001). Similarly

elaborate systems of verbal prefixes have been described for at least two other Formosan languages: Siraya in Adelaar (1997), Adelaar (2004) and Tsuchida (2000); and Thao in Blust (2003a). Only 25 prefixes have been described for Siraya, but this relative scarcity might very well be the result of a lack of data. Blust (2003a) lists over 150 prefixes, which appear to have a set of functions not dissimilar to those found in Bunun. Tsuchida (1989) describes a set of prefixes in Tsou that appear to be functionally quite similar to some of those in Bunun dialects. It is not clear from his description how large the prefix inventory in that language is.

#### **7.1.2. Traditional analysis of the Austronesian focus system**

All Austronesian languages in Taiwan except Rukai and many languages in the Philippines and Indonesia have a so-called focus system or Philippine-style voice system. We have seen in 1.4.3 and Chapter 6 that such a system typically involves verbal morphology.<sup>36</sup> It has been popular practice to analyse verbal marking in such systems in terms of a mixed paradigm that combines suffixes, prefixes and infixes. Table 16 gives an overview of markers that are often associated with the focus system in Austronesian languages of Taiwan and the Philippines (adapted from Himmelmann (2002:9)).

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<sup>36</sup> This is not always the case; see e.g. Shibatani (2008), who argues that Sasak and Sumbawa, two closely-related Western Malayo-Polynesian languages of Indonesia, have a focus system but no focus morphology.

Prefixes	Infixes	Suffixes
<i>(s)i-</i> (IF)	⟨ <i>um</i> ⟩ (AF)	- <i>ən</i> / - <i>in</i> (PF)
<i>M-</i> (AF)	⟨ <i>in</i> ⟩ (tense or mood + AF or PF)	- <i>an</i> (LF or RF)

Table 16 – Typical focus-related verbal morphology<sup>37</sup>

Quite similar affixal sets have been reconstructed for proto-Austronesian by Wolff (1973) and Ross (1995b), although especially the latter postulates a much more elaborate system that combines focus and TAM. Many works on Formosan languages use a similar analytical model that mixes prefixes and/or infixes with suffixes, although there is quite some variation in the actual realization of morphemes (a few representative examples are Cauquelin (1991:43ff) for Nanwang Puyuma; Huang (1995a:36-59) and Huang (2001) for Mayrinax Atayal; and Li & Tsuchida (2001:24-31) for Pazeh). A similar analysis has been applied to Bunun dialects. For instance, in Zeitoun (2000) the following affixes are analysed as part of the Isbukun Bunun focus system: *m(a)-* and  $\emptyset$ - for actor focus, *is-* for instrumental focus, *-un* for undergoer focus, and *-an* for locative focus.

In addition, it is not uncommon for analyses of Philippine-style voice systems to posit complicated interactions between the focus system and tense, aspect and mood. This can imply (1) that different sets of focus morphemes are used depending on the mood or (2) that one TAM or mood morpheme is only used in a particular focus type or (3) that the use of certain focus morphemes by default presupposes a certain

<sup>37</sup> *M-* = stem-initial nasal alternation; AF = agent or actor focus; IF = instrumental focus;

LF = locative focus; PF = patient focus; RF = referential focus. Note that in Takivatan, patient focus marking is subsumed under undergoer focus marking, which additionally marks beneficiary and instrument.

TAM value, which might be overridden with other TAM morphology. In Bunun, the second type of relationship has been posited for the resultative/past infix *<in>*, which is by some considered to be a portmanteau form for perfect(ive) aspect and undergoer focus (Zeitoun et al. (1996:29)).<sup>38</sup> All the above would result in the following set of morphemes to be associated with focus in Bunun:

Prefixes	Infixes	Suffixes
<i>ma-</i> , <i>m-</i> , <i>Ø-</i> (AF)	<i>&lt;in&gt;</i> (UF + PRF)	<i>-un</i> (UF)
<i>is-</i> (IF)		<i>-an</i> (LF)

Table 17 – Verbal affixes traditionally associated with focus in Bunun

### 7.1.3. Theoretical arguments against the traditional analysis

Table 17 brings Bunun (or in any case Isbukun) in agreement with what is often believed to be a ‘classical’ Western Austonesian focus system and which combines prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Below, I will try to argue that there are a number of problems with such an analysis. We will start with a number of general observations.

First of all, thinking in terms of a ‘prototypical’ Western Austronesian focus system probably puts too much stress on superficial similarities and creates the danger that functional dissimilarities between morphologically similar morphemes are ignored. As Reid & Liao (2004:434) remark “there is a wide range of typological variety to be found among the more than one hundred Philippine languages”, and the same

<sup>38</sup> Such portmanteau forms are not uncommon for languages in Taiwan and the Philippines. Other Formosan languages in which the infix *<in>* has been analyzed as a portmanteau form for past/perfect/perfective include Mayrinax (Huang (1995a:48)), Puyuma (Huang (2000a:117 ex. 1e)), Thao (Huang (2000b:101)) and Paiwan (Chang (2000:98)).

holds for the Austronesian languages in Taiwan. It is perfectly possible that, on the basis of language-internal evidence, phonologically and diachronically similar affixes that are analysed in one way in one language should be analysed differently in another language.

Second, mixed paradigms, in which for example, some values are encoded by prefixes and others by suffixes, are theoretically conceivable and have been described for other language families in the past (an example is person agreement affixes in some dialects of rGyalrong (Tibeto-Burman) in van Driem (1993)). However, the incorporation of prefixes, infixes and/or suffixes in a single paradigm is unusual and is typically met with general scepticism. Unless there really is solid evidence that they truly operate in a single paradigm, it seems more prudent to separate them into a number of interacting but syntactically distinct systems. Himmelmann (2002) himself questions whether the focus system in Table 16 on p. 267 can be rightfully regarded as a unitary paradigm.

Third, in many Formosan languages, the prefixal members of the postulated focus paradigm are actually part of a much larger set of verbal prefixes. Many of these are morphologically and/or semantically constant across languages and they often behave very much like a coherent paradigm (see 7.3.2 below for an elaborate discussion of this paradigmatic behaviour in Takivatan). Below are some correspondences between attested forms in five Formosan languages.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Siraya data comes from Adelaar (1997), Adelaar (2004) and Tsuchida (2000); Thao from Blust (2003a); Kavalan from Li & Tsuchida (2006); and Pazeh from Li & Tsuchida (2001). A long dash

Meaning	Takivatan	Siraya	Thao	Kavalan	Pazeh
stative location	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	
allative	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>		<i>mia-</i>
causative allative	<i>pu-</i>		<i>pu-</i>		<i>pia-</i>
stative event	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
causative stative	<i>pi-</i>	<i>paka-</i>	<i>pia-</i>	<i>paqa-</i>	<i>paka-</i>
dynamic event	<u><i>ma-</i></u>	<i>mai-</i> , <i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>mu-</i> , <i>m-</i> , <i>⟨m⟩</i> , <i>⟨um⟩</i> , ...	<i>ma-</i> , <i>mV-</i> , <i>m-</i>
causative dynamic	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>
instrument orientation	<u><i>is-</i></u>		—	<i>ti-</i>	<i>sa-</i> , <i>si-</i>

Table 18 – A comparison of verbal prefixes in five Formosan languages

In most languages, these prefixes tend to be mutually exclusive, which is an important aspect of paradigmatic behaviour, but it is often possible for them to co-occur with focus suffixes (see 7.1.4.B below). As the table indicates, there is a tendency in many languages to have systematic alternations between neutral and causative alternates of prefixes, the latter with an initial /p-/, and in individual languages such neutral-causative alternations can often be found for other prefixes. It is obvious that functionally and semantically these prefixes are similar. In addition, there is a tendency in many languages for certain prefixes to have very similar meaning extensions. For instance, instrumental *is-* is often also used as a marker for transfer events.

All these factors indicate that, across languages, the same prefixes tend to behave very much as a coherent paradigm and it would therefore be inappropriate to choose some (in most analyses dynamic event prefix *ma-* and instrumental *is-*) as

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indicates a high likelihood that a certain form does not exist. Empty slots indicate a lack of accurate data. Underlined forms are prefixes that are often analysed as part of the focus paradigm.

part of the focus paradigm, while excluding others. Prefixes that behave as a coherent system should either be all included into the same paradigm, or they should all be excluded.

#### 7.1.4. Verbal prefixes and focus suffixes: similar or different?

At least in Takivatan Bunun, there is evidence that the focus suffixes UF *-un* and LF *-an* on one the hand and verbal prefixes on the other do not behave in a sufficiently coherent way to justify their inclusion into a single paradigm and it is therefore best to treat them as two separate subsystems. There are at least six types of behaviour in which suffixes and prefixes differ.

##### A. Morphosyntactic behaviour

Part of the evidence is already implied in Table 18 above: many of the most commonly used verbal prefixes exhibit very similar morphosyntactic behaviour in that they tend to have regular causative alternates beginning with /p-/. In addition, some forms have alternate forms with an initial /k-/ that are probably best analysed as associatives and indicate that an event is performed together or results in things or persons coming together.

(233) ma-daŋað	pa-daŋað	ka-daŋað
DYN-help	CAUS.DYN-help	ASSOC.DYN-help
‘help’	‘cause to help’	‘help by doing something together’

(234) mu-lumaq	pu-lumaq	ku-lumaq
ALL-house	CAUS.ALL-house	ASSOC.ALL-house
‘go home’	‘be told to go home’ <sup>40</sup>	‘go home together’

These alternate forms are discussed in detail in 7.3.2 below. Focus suffixes have no causative or associative alternations. Instead, a verbal form containing UF *-un* or LF *-an* is causativised or associativised by adding the appropriate causative or associative verbal prefix.

### B. Mutual exclusivity

Although some verbal prefixes cannot co-occur with certain focus suffixes, others can or have to do so. For instance, despite the fact that the dynamic verbal prefix *ma-* co-occurs with focus markers only in exceptional circumstances, its causative form *pa-* often co-occurs with both UF *-un* and LF *-an*, as illustrated in examples (235) and (236).

(235) Maqi haiða pasbai?una, [...]

maqi    {haiða}<sub>AUX</sub>    {pa-isbai-un-a}

if        have            CAUS.DYN-run.away-UF-SUBORD

‘If it is so that [the deer] is chased away, [then I will yell.]’ (TVN-008-002:144)

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<sup>40</sup> English translations of causative forms can only be impressionistic. Causatives just indicate that an external force influences the agent and, depending on the context, can mean ‘be forced to’, ‘be told to’, ‘be influenced to’, etc.

(236) Mataisaqdau tu, ma, paʔisʔavan, [...]

{ma-taisaq-dau}	tu	C1 COMPL2	ma,	{pa-ʔisʔav-an}
DYN-dream-EMOT	COMPL		INTER	<u>CAUS.DYN</u> -banquet- <u>LF</u>

‘He dreamt that he was participating at a banquet [lit: caused to be located at a banquet]’ (TVN-012-001:113)

Instrumental orientation prefix *is-* tends not to co-occur with focus suffixes, but the following example illustrates that it is grammatically possible.

(237) Ispataðan aipa malamadainʔað

{ <u>is</u> -patað-an}	[aipa] <sub>AG</sub>	[mali-ma-dainʔað] <sub>UN</sub>
<u>INSTR</u> -kill- <u>LF</u>	DEM.S.DIST.VIS	VERY-STAT-big

‘She killed a very big [squirrel].’ (TVN-008-002:195)

The fact that prefixes and suffixes can co-occur (causative prefixes and UF *-un* even have a strong tendency to co-occur) indicates that they do not belong to the same paradigm. On the other hand, verbal prefixes and focus suffixes by themselves are typically mutually exclusive, except in combinations where one of them has developed a derived meaning (see 7.11 on p. 381).

### C. Diachronic relationship

In many Western-Austronesian languages with mixed paradigms, a reasonably strong case can be made that certain prefixes and infixes occurring on verbs are historically conditioned variants of the same underlying morpheme or morpheme combination. For instance, Ross (1995b:741) asserts that the dynamic prefix *ma-* is

derived from a verb-initial *pa-* and the dynamic infix *⟨um⟩* (e.g. PAN *\*paCay* ‘die’ > *\*p⟨um⟩aCay* > *\*maCay*) and, similarly, that the stative *ma-* is a development from PAN *\*k⟨um⟩a-*.<sup>41</sup> It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that, in languages where reflexes of the dynamic prefix *ma-* and the infix *⟨um⟩* have both remained in use, they constitute members of the same paradigm. On the other hand, a similar historical relationship does not appear to exist between verbal prefixes and focus suffixes.

#### D. Affix omission

In a number of other respects, the grammatical behaviour of focus suffixes and verbal prefixes is not indicative of a paradigmatic behaviour between the two. Some verbal prefixes can be ellipted when they are pragmatically recoverable from the linguistic or extra-linguistic context, without triggering any grammatical realignment in the predicate-argument structure.

For example, in the question below, an allative locative prefix *mun-* is explicitly expressed on the question word. In the answer, however, the allative prefix can be omitted, since it is clear from the question that the verbal stem *han*, which in isolation can both refer to a stationary event and a movement toward, in the context of the conversation expresses a movement towards.

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<sup>41</sup> Similar developments appear to have happened throughout the Austronesian language family: Blust (2003b), quoting from Himmelmann & Wolff (1999), mentions the development of the past and non-past alternate forms *maka-* and *naka-* from *p⟨um⟩aka-* and *p⟨in⟩aka-* in Toratán (Austronesian, Sulawesi).

(238) Q: Munʔisaq amu?

{mun-ʔisaq} [amu]<sub>AG</sub>

ALL-where 2P

‘Where did you (pl.) go to?’

A: Tijmut hanin Kuhku

{tijmut}<sub>AUX</sub> {mun-han-in} [Kuhku]<sub>PLACE</sub>

morning ~~ALL~~-go.to-PRV PlaceName

‘In the morning, [we] went to Kuhku.’ (constr.)

Since it is usually clear from the context whether an event is dynamic in nature, the same phenomenon often occurs with the dynamic prefix *ma-*. For instance, verbal form *maludaq* ‘beat’ in (239) will in colloquial speech often be realised as *ludaq* (see (240)), because it is usually clear that beating is a dynamic action. This deletion has no effect on the semantics of the utterance.

(239) Anak aipa maludaq suʔu

{anak}<sub>AUX</sub> [aipa]<sub>AG</sub> {ma-ludaq} [suʔu]<sub>UN</sub>

by.oneself DEM.S.DIST DYN-beat 2S.N

‘He beat you by himself.’ (TVN-xx2-001:146)

(240) Anak aipa ludaq suʔu

{anak} <sub>AUX</sub>	[aipa] <sub>AG</sub>	{ <u>ludaq</u> }	[suʔu] <sub>UN</sub>
by.oneself	DEM.S.DIST	<u>beat</u>	2S.N

id. (constr.)

This type of affix ellipsis can occur with many verbal prefixes, including many locative prefixes, the dynamic prefix *ma-* and its causative and associative alternates *pa-* and *ka-*, and the stative prefix *ma-* and its causative alternative *pi-*. In all these cases, deletion of a prefix from the verb does not result in any semantic change when the meaning of the verb is recoverable from the pragmatic context. However, not all verbal prefixes behave in this way: participant orientation prefixes cannot easily be ellipited because they trigger a change in the argument order (see 7.3.1).

On the other hand, the focus suffixes UF *-un* or LF *-an* can never be ellipited without resulting in a meaning change and a realignment of the argument roles in the clause or, turning it around, a clause can never be interpreted as an undergoer or locative focus construction when the undergoer or locative focus suffix is not explicitly expressed on the verb.

Example (241) below contains an undergoer focus form of the verb *antalam* ‘answer’, with both the agent and undergoer explicitly expressed as pronominal forms.<sup>42</sup> When the focus suffix *-un* is dropped from the verb, the verbal form is

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<sup>42</sup> Undergoer constructions with two explicitly expressed free pronouns are actually very rare in fluent discourse. Normally only one free pronoun would be explicitly expressed and the other would

reinterpreted as an actor focus equivalent of (241). The agent is now in focus, which is signalled by the use of the bound form of the first person pronoun, and the undergoer *su?u* is as a consequence demoted to non-focus position. (Note that the change in focus is only discernable in the pronouns by the case change of the first person expressing the actor from neutral to focused form; the undergoer is always expressed by a neutral form, both when it is in focus and when it is not.)

(241) Antalamun ðaku su?u

{antalam-un} [ðaku]<sub>AG/NFOC</sub> [su?u]<sub>UN:PAT/FOC</sub>

answer-UF 1S.N 2S.N

‘I answer you.’ (TVN-xx2-001:2)

(242) Antalam?ak su?u

{antalam}{-?ak}<sub>AG/FOC</sub> [su?u]<sub>UN:PAT/NFOC</sub>

answer-1S.F 2S.N

‘I answer you.’ (TVN-xx2-001:3)

Contrast this with the examples below, which illustrate the ellipsis of the dynamic event prefix *ma-*. Here, no case realignment takes place: the focused agent is in both clauses expressed by the same form *-?ak*.

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be implied. However, speakers do occasionally produce clauses like this when they are asked to explicitly express all important participants in the process and unanimously judge them to be grammatically correct.

(243) Mabalivʔak qaimaᅇsuᅇ

{ma-baliv}{[-ʔak]<sub>AG/FOC</sub> [qaimaᅇsuᅇ]

DYN-buy-1S.F            thing

‘I am [going to] buy things.’ (constr.)

(244) Balivʔak qaimaᅇsuᅇ

{baliv}{[-ʔak]<sub>AG/FOC</sub> [qaimaᅇsuᅇ]

buy-1S.F            thing

‘I am [going to] buy things.’ (constr.)

**E. Derivational uses**

In 6.3 we saw that the two focus suffixes *-un* and *-an* are productively used in nominalising constructions. Most verbal prefixes can occur in deverbal nouns, but they are normally not the morphological elements that trigger the nominalisation.

Two examples from 6.3 are here repeated as (245) and (246) to make this clear. *Iskukulut* ‘knife’ is a noun derived from the verbal root *kulut* ‘cut with a sawing movement’. Although the nominalised form in (245) appears to suggest that the instrumental prefix *is-* can have a nominalising function, *kukulut* ‘knife’ in (246) actually shows that the prefix is not the nominalising trigger in the construction: even without *is-*, *kukulut* can still be interpreted as an instrumental nominalisation, which indicates it is in fact a  $\emptyset$ -nominalisation.

(245) Iskukulut saᅇlav

is-⟨ku⟩kulut	saᅇlav
INSTR-⟨HABIT⟩-cut	vegetable
	‘kitchen knife’

(246) Kukulut lukis

⟨ku⟩kulut	lukis
⟨HABIT⟩-cut	wood
	‘wood saw’

This is different from focus suffixes, such as LF *-an*. The omission of *-an* from a nominalisation invariably triggers a reinterpretation of the resulting form as a verb.

(247) babalivan

⟨ba⟩baliv-an	‘(v.) buy/sell habitually in a location’
⟨HABIT⟩-buy/sell-LF	‘(n.) shop’

babaliv

⟨ba⟩baliv	‘(v.) buy/sell habitually’
⟨HABIT⟩-buy/sell	*‘(n.) shop’

The only verbal prefix that appears to have developed a nominalising function is the resultative orientation marker *sin-* (see 7.6.2 on p. 361).

(248) *sinpatas* < *sinpatas* (v. ‘write (stresses the end result)’)

*sin-patas*

RES.OBJ-write

‘book, scripture’ (lit: ‘the object that is created by the act of writing’)

Here, it is clear that RES.OBJ *sin-* functions as a nominaliser: when *sin-* is deleted, the remaining stem *patas* ‘write’ can never refer to a book.

#### F. Semantic similarities

From a functional and semantic point-of-view, however, one could argue that to some extent verbal prefixes (at least in their basic meaning; see 7.3.1) and focus suffixes are not entirely different. On a theoretical level, both suffixes and prefixes could all be analysed as referring to a particular facet of the event described by the verb root, whether this facet is a participant in the event or an inherent property of the event (e.g. whether it is static or dynamic).

However, there is no real proof that such an abstract analysis corresponds to any cognitive reality in the minds of Takivatan speakers. Even if it did, it would not explain the wide range of morpho-syntactic discrepancies between prefixes and suffixes that has been illustrated above.

Altogether, given the absence of strong evidence that verbal prefixes and focus suffixes behave as one coherent paradigm, the two are best analysed as two separate morphological systems. This will make it easier to explain the great internal consistency of the suffixal focus system on the one hand and the systematic –

though more chaotic – correspondences between the different prefixes on the other. However, it is clear that the prefixal and suffixal systems interact (see e.g. B above) and that, on a functional and semantic level, there are some similarities. These interactions are especially relevant at the level of the clause.

Although this chapter will attempt to give a classification of verbal prefixes as one coherent system, it should also be noted that it is not always clear whether they should be treated as such or whether they are in fact better analysed as part of multiple subsystems. We already saw in B, D and E above that among themselves, verbal prefixes exhibit a wide range of morphological and morphosyntactic behaviours, a fact that will become even more evident from their in-depth treatment below.

## **7.2. A classification of verbal prefixes**

The remainder of this chapter will give a systematic account of verbal prefixes as an integral system. Exactly how focus suffixes, verbal prefixes and argument realization influence the realization of certain arguments and how all these morphological and syntactic systems interact to form a predicate-argument structure is unfortunately beyond the scope of this work. It is also not possible to give a detailed account of each of the more than one hundred verbal prefixes. Instead, I will focus on a sizeable set of prefixes which occur relatively frequently and for which sufficient data is available for a meaningful description.

Verbal prefixes are best classified according to the functional-semantic type they belong to. These functional types do not always accurately predict the grammatical

behaviour of individual prefixes, but they do determine which hosts the prefixes can combine with. A fundamental distinction can be made between **basic** types and **extended** types. The distinction between basic and extended is relevant to subclasses of prefixes, but in many cases also to how different meaning specializations of some individual prefixes are related to each other. In the former case we will speak of basic and extended **types** of prefixes, in the latter of basic vs. extended **meanings** of a single prefix.<sup>43</sup> We will see in 7.3.3 below that certain forms of basic prefixes can have meaning extensions, while other prefixes only have either one basic or one or more extended meanings.

**Basic types of verbal prefixes** tend to have very general semantic values, often to the extent that they have some sort of grammatical function. Typically, they are used for putting pragmatic stress on a certain facet of the event denominated by the verbal stem. There are three subtypes of basic prefixes: locative prefixes, event type prefixes and participant orientation prefixes. Basic prefixes are discussed in more detail in 7.3.1 below. Their individual subtypes are treated in 7.4-7.6.

**Extended prefix types** typically have more concrete semantics, which can among other things often be derived from the fact that native speakers often find it easier to articulate what their semantics is. They tend not to focus on a particular facet of the event encoded by the verb stem but rather restrict the set of events to which their verbal host in isolation would have referred. There are three subtypes of extended verbal prefixes: classificatory prefixes, semantically specific prefixes and

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<sup>43</sup> Note that this is the only reason why basic prefixes are called ‘basic’: they can develop meaning extensions. The term does not refer to syntactic or functional properties of the prefixes.

patient-incorporating prefixes. Properties of extended prefixes are discussed in more detail in 7.3.3 on p. 301. Individual extended subtypes are discussed in sections 7.7-7.9 (from page 364 onward).

One major difference between basic and extended types (or meanings) is that the former can have causative and associative morphological variants. Verbal prefixes of the extended type never have these variant forms, but isolated morphemes belonging to basic types can have one or more extended meaning specializations.

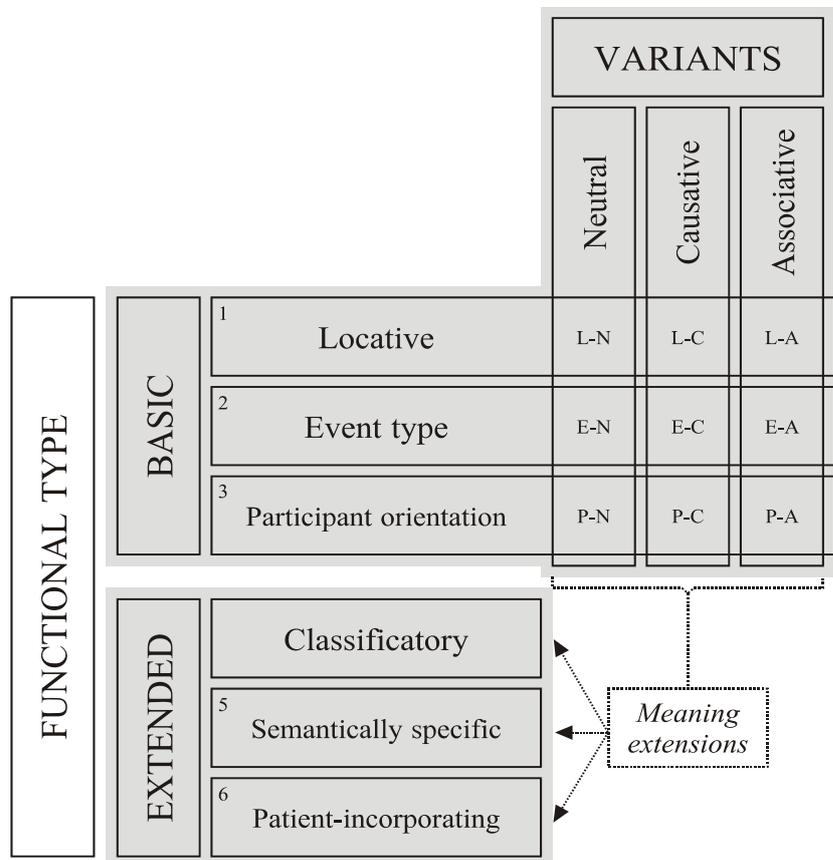


Figure 8 – A classification of verbal prefixes in Takivatan Bunun

A schematic representation of the entire system is given in Figure 8 above. For ease of reference, functional semantic prefix types are labelled 1-6; variant forms of

basic prefixes are labelled with a two-letter code. Both codes will return in the examples below. The examples below give one example of each of the prefix types possible in Figure 8.

(249) Locative (type 1):

L-N: mun-han      Kaliŋku-ti  
ALL-go      GeoName-DEF.REF.PROX

‘[The Bunun] went to Kaliŋku.’ (adapted from TVN-012-002:2)

L-C: pu-dan-un      pun-Kaliŋku-ti  
CAUS.ALL-go-UF      CAUS.ALL-GeoName-DEF.REF.PROX

‘They were made/forced to go to Kaliŋku’ (adapted from TVN-012-002:36)

L-A: ku-han-un      sapuð-a  
ASSOC.ALL-go-UF      fire-LNK

‘[the pieces of rope] were together scorched into the fire’ [lit: ‘they were put together towards the fire’] (adapted from TVN-008-002:168)

(250) Event type (type 2):

E-N: ma-suað      maduq  
DYN-grow      millet

‘[They] grew millet’ (TVN-012-002:7)

E-C: pi-sihal-un                      **pa**-luŋku  
 CAUS.STAT-good-UF              **CAUS.DYN**-sit

‘You have to be good to him and give him a seat’ (lit: ‘[He] has to be good-ed and made to sit down’ (adapted from TVN-013-001:15)

E-A: **ka**-lumaq                      naipa  
**ASSOC.DYN**-home    DEM.S.DIST.NVIS

‘He went home’ [lit. something like: ‘went home to be together with his family’] (adapted from TVN-012-001:119)

(251) Participant orientation (type 3):

P-N: saduʔu-ki                      **sin**-<su>suað                      bunuað  
 see-DEF.SIT.PROX              **RES.OBJ**-<REP>-grow              plum

‘They saw that they had grown plums [so that the tree was laden with fruits]’ (adapted from TVN-012-001:41)

P-C: mu-ŋaus              ʔiti              **pis**-hutan-a  
 ALL-first              here              **CAUS.INSTR**-yam-LNK

‘They first came here to grow yams’ [lit: ‘to cause yam-sprouting by using the soil here’] (adapted from TVN-012-002:50)



Few causative and no associative variants of any participant orientation prefix have so far been attested. This is also the case for many causative or associative variants of individual prefixes of the two other basic types.

The absence of some of the forms postulated in Figure 8 can mean a number of things. In some cases, it might indicate that the forms do not exist. In the case of participant orientation prefixes, one might interpret this as weakening the argument in 7.1.4 above that they should be treated differently from focus suffixes. At the very least, it strengthens the argument that participant orientation prefixes should be treated differently from other basic prefix types, despite their commonalities. In other cases, the non-attestation of forms might just be due to low frequency. For instance, causative variants of instrumental orientation prefixes are expected to have a much lower frequency than causative forms of dynamic or static verb markers.

Despite the fact that the form *pishutan* ‘grow yams’ in (251) C3 derives a verb from a nominal stem and expresses an event in which the nominal stem functions as a patientive undergoer of the event expressed by the derived verb as a whole (i.e. semantically *hutan* ‘yams’ is the patient of the action *pishutan*), the construction is not classified as a patient-incorporating prefix. This is because patient-incorporating prefixes have semantically specific meanings that native speakers immediately recognize as referring to specific actions (see 7.9, p. 371).

In example (251) C3, on the other hand, *pis-* is semantically vague and its specific interpretation is context-dependent. *Pishutan* literally means something like ‘cause to do something with yams’. Its specific interpretation ‘grow yams (in fertile soil)’ is only derived from the preceding story, in which the Takivatan wanted to move to

new lands and first sent in a small group to live there and check out whether the soil was suitable for agriculture by planting yams there. If *pis-* would idiosyncratically combine with crop names and in those contexts always refer to the action of planting crops, one could argue that it had developed a patient-incorporating meaning extension. This is not the case, but it has a number of non-related patient-incorporating functions, which are discussed in 7.6.1.D-7.6.1.F on page 360ff.

In the second paragraph of this section, it was mentioned that the classification above is based on functional-semantic criteria. Three syntactic phenomena that have so far not been addressed are whether or not a verbal prefix changes the argument order in a clause, whether or not it changes the number of participants, and whether or not it changes pronominal case marking. We will see in the remainder of this chapter that there is a considerable amount of variation among individual prefixes (between subclasses and within the same subclass) as to how they interact with these three factors. As a result, they are not particularly useful for categorization.

When all is taken into account, it is clear that Figure 8 is not a perfect classification. One should see it as an idealised representation of how a paradigm of verbal prefixes might look if it were not defective, a fact that is not likely in most Formosan and many Philippine languages, which are riddled with defective paradigms.

### 7.3. Types and variants

#### 7.3.1. Basic types

Verbal prefixes of the basic type are characterized by the fact that they do not fundamentally alter the semantics of the verbal stem they combine with or, more precisely, the addition of a basic prefix to a verbal stem does typically not alter the set of events which the stem in isolation has the potential to refer to (this characteristic will be referred to as **semantic neutrality**).

This is most obviously the case with event type prefixes like stative *ma-* (see 7.5.2). From the example below, it is clear that STAT *ma-* does not really add anything to the semantics of *tamasað* ‘powerful’, but rather emphasizes the fact that it is to be interpreted as a stative event. *Matamasað* means exactly the same as *tamasað* and it has the potential to refer to exactly the same set of events in discourse.

(255) <b>ma</b> -tamasað	↔	tamasað
<b>STAT</b> -powerful		powerful
‘powerful, full of vigour’		‘powerful, full of vigour’

In (256), the instrumental participant orientation prefix *is-* (7.6.1) does not fundamentally change the meaning of the stem *lusʔan* ‘celebrate’. It merely focuses attention on the objects that are used in the process of celebrating. This semantic neutrality is less obvious from the English translation than in the previous example, but native speakers consistently consider *islusʔan* and *lusʔan* to be ‘the same word’ and are unable to indicate any meaning differences.

(256) <u>is</u> -lusʔan	↔	lusʔan
<u>INSTR</u> -celebrate		celebrate
‘(use something to) celebrate something’		‘celebrate something’

In any case, both forms have the potential to refer to the same set of events, the only difference being that *islusʔan* in (256) focuses on what the celebration is performed with or through and *lusʔan* simply on the act of celebrating.

Another indication of the semantic neutrality of a prefix like INSTR *is-* is the fact that in real-world discourse or texts, the instrument that is stressed by the infix is very rarely explicitly expressed as an explicit argument and there are even clauses containing INSTR *is-* where native speakers strongly object to inserting an instrumental undergoer. The form in (256) is extracted from the text segment in (257) below. In the example, the instrument referred to by INSTR *is-* is mentioned in the preceding sentence, so it clearly is conceptually implied, but it is not explicitly expressed as an argument of *islusʔan* and expressing it would be considered to be awkward, even if it had not been mentioned in the previous clause.

(257) Palaiqluʔuna titiʔa, aupa na islusʔan [...]

{pala(i)qlu-un-a}	[titi-a] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>	c1 c2
⟨PST⟩-preserve-UF-LNK	meat-LNK	

aupa      na      {is-lusʔan}

because    thus      INSTR-celebrate

‘The meat was preserved and it was used in celebrations.’ (TVN-012-001:51)

Basic verbal prefixes do not have a consistent effect on the syntactic argument expression of the clause. Prefixes of any basic type – including causative and associative variants – typically do not change the argument order in the clause.

The only exceptions are the resultative object orientation prefix *sin-* and the beneficiary orientation prefix *ki-*, both participant orientation prefixes that are rare in normal discourse (see 7.6.2 and 7.6.3 respectively). Example (258) is a typical example of an agent focus construction with a dynamic event type prefix *ma-* and a standard argument order (a bound focused agent), a beneficiary undergoer and a patient undergoer. In almost all situations, this would be the normal order: agents come before undergoers, who come before locative arguments. This is not the case in (259), where the beneficiary orientation prefix *ki-* causes the order of agent and beneficiary to be switched around.

(258) Masaiṽʔak su tilas

{ma-saiṽ}{-ʔak]<sub>AG</sub>      [su]<sub>UN:BEN</sub>    [tilas]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

DYN-give-1S.F      2S.N      cereal

‘I give you rice’ (constr.)

(259) Kisaivʔak su tilas

{ki-saiṽ}{-ʔak]<sub>BEN</sub>      [su]<sub>AG</sub>    [tilas]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

BEN-give-1S.F      2S.N      cereal

‘[You] give me rice!’ (TVN-xx2-003:46)

RES.OBJ *sin-* is the only other verbal prefix that causes a similar change in argument order, but then between resultative object and agent. None of the other verbal prefixes, including other participant orientation prefixes, have the ability to reshuffle the argument structure.

Rather than influencing the semantics of the verb or altering the grammatical realization of the predicate-argument structure, a function that all verbal prefixes have is that they put pragmatic stress on a particular facet of the event. We will see below that that facet can be a segment of the action flow (as with stative *ma-* in 7.5.2 or inchoative *min-* in 7.5.6) or it can be a particular participant that is particularly salient in the event described (as the INSTR *is-* in 7.6.1 or RES.OBJ *sin-* in 7.6.2). This makes them functionally somewhat similar to focus suffixes, which put pragmatic focus either on an undergoer or on a locative participant, although their morphosyntactic and grammatical behaviour tends to be different.

In contrast to verbal prefixes of the extended type, class membership of the subtypes of basic prefixes is usually well-delineated, i.e. despite their semantic vagueness it is easy for an observer to say to which subclass they belong. Based on the nature of the facet of the event which the prefix stresses, three subtypes of basic prefixes can be distinguished:

- **Locative prefixes** describe the spatial or temporal locative properties of an event. Locative prefixes are discussed in 7.4 on p. 304.
- **Event type prefixes** say something about what kind of event the verbal stem refers to (active, stative, inchoative, etc.). Event type prefixes are discussed in 7.5 on p. 328.

- **Participant orientation prefixes** put pragmatic stress on a particular participant in the event expressed by the verb. Participant orientation prefixes are discussed in 7.6 on p. 351.

### 7.3.2. Neutral, causative and associative variants

As Figure 8 on page 283 above indicates, only basic prefixes can have variant forms. All prefixes at least have a neutral form. In addition, some locative and event type prefixes also have causative and associative variants, although not all variants are attested for all prefixes.<sup>44</sup>

Causative forms are normally derived from neutral variants by replacing the prefix-initial consonant with /p/ or, for vowel-initial prefixes, by adding an initial /p/. Associative forms are derived by replacing or adding /k/. /p/-initial causative variants are a widespread phenomenon in Formosan and Malayo-Polynesian languages (see e.g. Blust (2003b:14ff)). Much less information is available on associative variants, but they do exist (e.g. Tagalog *ka-*; Randy LaPolla pers. comm.). Table 19 gives an overview of some common neutral/causative/associative alternations in Takivatan.

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<sup>44</sup> There is also an uncommon /t/-initial variant, although it is not clear at the moment what its exact function is.

	Type	Neutral (N)	Causative (C)	Associative (A)
LOCATIVE (1)	Allative (ALL)	<i>mun-</i>	<i>pun-</i>	<i>(kun-)</i>
	Allative (ALL)	<i>mu-</i>	<i>pu-</i>	<i>ku-</i>
	Ablative (ABL)	<i>maisna-</i>	<i>paisna-</i>	—
	<i>etc.</i>			
EVENT TYPE (2)	Dynamic (DYN)	<i>ma-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
	Stative (STAT)	<i>ma- / mi-</i>	<i>pi-</i>	<i>ka-/(ki-)</i>
	Inchoative (BECOME)	<i>min-</i>	<i>pin-</i>	<i>kin-</i>
PARTICIPANT ORIENTATION (3)	Instrumental orientation (INSTR)	<i>is-</i>	<i>pis-</i>	<i>(kis-)</i>
	Beneficiary orientation (BEN)	<i>ki-</i>	—	—
	Resultative object (RES.OBJ)	<i>sin-</i>	<i>(pin-)</i>	—

Table 19 – Variants of common verbal prefixes

So far, there is little unambiguous proof for the existence of non-neutral forms of participant orientation prefixes. One instance of *pis-* has been attested that could be interpreted as a causative instrumental prefix (see ex. (388) on page 355) and a number of prefixes have the formal characteristics of causative and associative variants of participant orientation prefixes. The lack of data is not unsurprising, since the functional need for these forms is much less than that for causatives of verbal forms that are agent-oriented. Attested morphemes that are formally identical to putative causative or associate variants of certain verbal prefixes, but for which the evidence is at present still insufficient or ambiguous, have been added in the table in brackets.

### A. Neutral variants

Neutral variants typically indicate internal control or, in other words, that the participant that is typically the most agentive force of the event is in fact fulfilling that function. For instance, the attachment of the allative prefix *mu-* to the dynamic stem *suqais* ‘go back’ in (260) encodes that (1) the event expresses a movement towards and (2) the most agentive participant in the process, namely the people walking back (expressed by *naiŋka*), is the agent of the clause.

(260) Musuqaisin naiŋka

{mu-suqais-in}      [naiŋka]<sub>AG</sub>  
ALL-go.back-PRV      DEM.PV.DIST.NVIS

‘They went back’ (TVN-012-001:34)

Internal control also holds true for neutral prefixes indicating stative events such as *ma-* ‘STAT’ in (261), in which the agentive force of the only argument in the event is low.

(261) Maqanuas-in madadaiŋʔaǎ

{ma-qanuas-in}      [ma<da>daiŋʔaǎ]<sub>AG</sub>  
STAT-envious-PRV      <PL>-elders

‘The elders were envious’ (TVN-012-002:93)

Neutral variants are, unsurprisingly, considerably more common in real-world discourse than causative or associative variants. The most common locative and event type prefixes all have /m/-initial neutral variants. Participant orientation

prefixes and some (mainly low-frequency) locative and event type prefixes have no such restrictions. Below are examples of a neutral variant of a locative prefix, an event type prefix, and a participant orientation prefix.

(262) Locative prefix:

Mainahan ?ata Banuað

{main-han} [ʔata]<sub>AG</sub> [Banuað]<sub>PLACE</sub>

ABL-go II.F GeoName

‘We went to Banuað’ (adapt. from TVN-012-002:4)

(263) Event type prefix:

Minbukðavin aipa

{min-bukðav-in} [aipa]<sub>AG</sub>

BECOME-flat-PRV DEM.S.DIST

‘It [the area] became level’ (TVN-012-002:59)

(264) Participant orientation prefix:

Sinsusuað bunuað

{sin-<su>suað} [bunuað]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

RES.OBJ-<INTENS>-grow plum

‘The plums had grown’ (TVN-012-001:41)

**B. Causative variants**

Causative variants always are /p/-initial and typically indicate external control, i.e. they stress that the argument which is syntactically encoded as the agent and which is the main agentive force in the event is not the main instigator of the event. Rather, an external participant incites or causes the agent to participate in the event. Causative variants of prefixes are considerably less common than neutral variants but considerably more common than associative variants. Some examples:

(265) Locative prefix:

Pusaupata muʔu

{pu-saupa-ta} [muʔu]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

CAUS.ALL-direction-DEF.REF.DIST 2P.N

‘They sent you to that place’ (lit: ‘[they] made you go in the direction [of that place]’ (TVN-012-002:48)

(266) Event type prefix:

Madaidað ʔita tuða pinmasðanjin amin

{ma-daidað} [ʔita]<sub>LO</sub> c<sub>1</sub>|c<sub>2</sub>

STAT-love there.DIST

{tuða}<sub>AUX</sub> {pin-masðan-in} [amin]

verily CAUS.BECOME-same-PRV all

‘That place was full of love [lit: it was loving in that place] and really made [us] all become the same.’ (TVN-012-002:176)

Cross-linguistically, one of the prototypical properties of causative constructions is that they introduce a new argument, the causer, in the clause; the original subject is either demoted or omitted (see Comrie (1976b) and Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000)). Although causative prefixes in Takivatan do imply that an external causer brings about an event, this participant is typically not expressed. In most constructions with causative prefixes, such as (265) and (266) above, it is highly problematic or even impossible to explicitly express the causer of the action. For instance, none of the 28 examples of *pa-* ‘CAUS.DYN’ in the corpus explicitly expressed the participant that causes the agent to perform the event marked by *pa-*.

Causative variants can both express direct and indirect causation (see Shibatani (2002:11ff)), although the latter appears to be much more common. A direct causative interpretation is more likely to occur in constructions with agent focus verbs and inanimate patients. In the second clause of (267) below, *punhan* has no UF *-un* or LF *-an* and is therefore to be interpreted as an AF construction. The patient of *punhan* is not explicitly expressed in C2, but it is clear from C1 that it cannot be anything else than *qaimaṅsuḏ* ‘thing’.

(267) Nasiḏaun ḏaku qaimaṅsuḏti punhan daḏa paṅka.

{na-siḏa-un}      [ḏaku]<sub>AG</sub>    [qaimaṅsuḏ-ti]<sub>UN:PAT/FOC</sub>    C1|C2

IRR-take-UN      1S.N      thing-DEF.REF.PROX

{pun-han-Ø}      [Ø]<sub>UN:PAT/CSE</sub>    [daḏa paṅka]<sub>PLACE</sub>

CAUS.ALL-go.to-AF      top      table

‘I want to take this thing and put it on the table.’ (TVN-xx2-003:11)

Causative variants can co-occur with either of the focus suffixes UF *-un* and LF *-an*. For example, *pakaunan* in (268) has a dynamic causative *pa-* and a locative focus suffix *-an*. Again, it is hard to render the exact meaning of this combination in English, but it might be translated as ‘[he] must be caused to eat in this location’ (the imperative ‘must’ is a contextual interpretation).

(268) Pakaunan

{pa-kaun-an}

CAUS.DYN-eat-LF

‘[If you have a visitor, he must be seated down comfortably and be entertained with talk] and he must be given something to eat’ (TVN-013-001:15)

### C. Associative variants

Associative variants always are /k/-initial and typically indicate joint control of events, i.e. they indicate that an event is performed or undergone together, either because the prototypical agent of the event is in some way assisted by an external source, as in (269), or because a number of participants are partaking in the event as a group, as in (270).

(269) Event type prefix:

Kadaŋað baðbað

{ka-daŋað}                      {baðbað}

ASSOC.DYN-help      talk

‘I help you to talk.’ [lit: ‘I will help you by talking together.’] (TVN-xx2:001:25)

(270) Locative prefix:

Kuhanun sapuð

{ku-han-un}                      [sapuð]<sub>LO</sub>

ASSOC.ALL-go-UF      fire

‘[The strings] were put together in the fire.’ (TVN-008-002:168)

Associative variants are considerably less common than both neutral and causative variants. Interestingly, the link between causation and association has previously been asserted by Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002), although they interpret associativity as an intermediary functional stage between direct and indirect causation, which is obviously not the case in Takivatan Bunun, since associative variants are morphologically distinct from causatives, and causative /p/-variants can indicate both direct and indirect causation.

It is important to realize that, although the neutral/causative/associative alternation is clearly systematic, it does not create complete paradigms. As said before, not every prefix has causative and associative forms. Also, as we will see in 7.3.3 and

below, it is not uncommon for existing forms to develop meaning extensions. In addition, some causative and associative forms of certain verbs seem to be fully lexicalized. For example, the causative form of *sadu?u* ‘to see’<sup>45</sup> is *pasadu?u*. In reality this form is never used as a causative verb, but rather means ‘to meet (somebody)’. Another example is the variant forms of ALL *mu-* on the verbal stem *isbai* ‘flee, fly’.

- (271) neutral:      *musbai* (< *mu-isbai*)    ‘run away, flee, fly’  
                   causative:    *pusbai* (< *pu-isbai*)    ‘cause to flee’ > ‘chase away’  
                   associative: *kusbai* (< *ku-isbai*)    ‘fly (in a plane)’

The verb with the neutral *m(u)-* is semantically fully transparent, as is the causative *pusbai*. The associative, on the other hand, has developed the meaning ‘fly, e.g. in a plane’. One can understand how this meaning could have developed from a transparent associative usage (‘fly in a plane’ < ‘fly together in the air’), but *kusbai* is fully lexicalized and its reduplicated form has even been nominalised to *kusbabai* ‘plane’ (< ‘something that is habitually used for flying’).

### 7.3.3. Extended types

Extended prefix types typically have more concrete semantics than basic prefix types. This can be deduced from the fact that native speakers often have a clear opinion about what an extended prefix means, while they are almost never able to

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<sup>45</sup> *Sadu?u*, like a number of other verbs, never occurs with the neutral dynamic prefix *ma-*. Two other common verbs that are always realized without *ma-* are *siða* ‘grab, take’ and *haiða* ‘have’.

articulate the semantics of prefixes of the basic type (with the exception of locative prefixes). Extended prefix types do not put any pragmatic stress on a particular facet of the event encoded by the verb stem, but rather define a subset of the set of events to which their verbal host in isolation would have referred.

Based on their semantic behaviour, three extended subtypes can be distinguished:

- **Classificatory prefixes** assign the event expressed by the verbal stem to a semantic subclass, which is often quite narrow and based on observational similarities. Classificatory prefixes are discussed in 7.7 starting on p. 364.
- **Semantically specific prefixes** derive a verb from a verbal stem. However, in contrast to basic and classificatory prefixes, which do not alter the basic semantics of verbal stems they combine with, the form derived by a semantically specific prefix has a meaning that is clearly distinct from that of the verb stem in isolation. Semantically specific prefixes are discussed in 7.8 on p. 368ff.
- **Patient-incorporating prefixes** derive an action verb from a nominal stem. In the resulting form, the nominal stem always encodes the patient of the action and the action itself is indicated by the prefix. Patient-incorporating prefixes are discussed in 7.9 on p. 371ff.

Based on their interrelation with other prefixes, we can distinguish two kinds of extended prefixes:

- Extended prefixes that are in no obvious way correlated to any variant of a basic prefix. An overview of this category of extended prefixes can be found in 7.9.

- Extended prefixes that are morphologically identical to a neutral, causative or associative variant of a basic prefix, but that are functionally and/or semantically distinct. Both *pis-* and *ka-* below are examples of this category.

Because the delineation of extended subtypes relies on semantic factors, a number of prefixes are best classified as belonging to more than one extended subtype or have a number of clearly distinct functions within one subtype. For example, the prefix *pis-* has two distinct usages as a patient-incorporating prefix and it can also be used to indicate a return to a previous state. The latter case is probably best classified as a semantically specific prefix; it always turns a stative event into a dynamic event, and it can only occur with an undergoer suffix *-un*.

(272) <u>semantically specific</u>	<u>patient-incorporating 1</u>
<u>pis</u> -baqais-un	<u>pis</u> -usaq
<u>RETURN</u> -white-UF	<u>FLOW</u> -tear
‘repaint something white’	‘shed tears’
[lit: ‘let return to white’]	
<u>patient-incorporating 2</u>	
<u>pis</u> -latuk	
<u>PLAY</u> -music.bow	
‘play the music bow’	

The two patient-incorporating meanings of *pis-* exclusively combine with nominal stems. In a number of cases, however, a prefix can be interpreted as classificatory

when it combines with a verbal stem and as patient-incorporating when it combines with a nominal stem, but it otherwise has the same meaning. One of the best examples is *ka-* ‘MAKE’ (see 7.5.1.H), which can combine with the verbal stem *ʔuni* ‘come into existence, become’ but also with some nominal stems, such as *lumaq* ‘house’. Its semantics is identical in both contexts, as is illustrated in the example below.

(273) <u>classificatory</u>	<u>patient-incorporating</u>
ka-ʔuni	ka-lumaq
MAKE-exist	MAKE-house
‘build’	‘build a house’

Such forms will be classified as classificatory prefixes here.

#### 7.4. Locative prefixes

Locative prefixes focus on the spatial or temporal properties of a motion event or a stative locative event expressed by their hosts. Table 20 is an overview of the most common locative prefixes in Takivatan.

Subtype	Meaning	Gloss	Prefixes
Stationary	‘at, in’	LOC	<i>i-</i> (7.4.1)
Itinerary	‘arrive at’	ITIN	<i>atan-</i> (7.4.2), <i>pan-</i> (7.4.3), <i>pana-</i> (7.4.4)
Allative	‘to’	ALL	<i>mu-</i> (7.4.5), <i>mun-</i> (7.4.5.D)
Terminative	‘until’	TERM	<i>sau-</i> (7.4.7)
Directional	‘toward, in the direction of’	DIR	<i>tan-</i> , <i>tana-</i> (7.4.8)
Viative	‘along, following’	VIA	<i>malan-</i> (7.4.10)
Perlative	‘through, into’	PERL	<i>tauna-</i> , <i>tuna-</i> , <i>tun-</i> (7.4.11)
Ablative	‘from’	ABL	<i>maisna-</i> , <i>maina-</i> , ... <sup>46</sup> (7.4.12), <i>maisi-</i> (7.4.13), <i>taka-</i> (7.4.14)

Table 20 – Subtypes of locative prefixes

Some examples:

(274) i-han-aŋ                      Liliq-tun

LOC-go.to-PROG    GeoName-DEF.REF.MED

‘while [we/you/they] were in Liliq’

(275) sau-han                      ʔasaŋ

TERM-go.to    home.village

‘arrive at the home village’ or ‘go until the home village’

Locative prefixes typically combine with verbal stems indicating motion or location, as in (274), (275) and (276); nouns that have a locative meaning or temporal implication, as in (277); and place and time words, as in (278).

<sup>46</sup> The ablative prefix has many realisational variants; see 7.4.12.

(276) **maisna**-han

**ABL**-go.to

‘come from (a certain place)’ or ‘go on from (a certain time onward)’

(277) **maisna**-Taivan

**ABL**-GeoName

‘come from Taiwan’

(278) **maisna**-ʔitun

**ABL**-there.MED

‘from there’ or ‘from then on’

However, given the correct context, locative prefixes can combine with almost any kind of word that is semantically compatible with a locative meaning. In (279) and (280), for instance, the host of the locative prefix is a first person singular personal pronoun and an anaphoric word respectively.

(279) **mun**-ðaku

**ALL**-1S.N

‘come to me’

(280) **mais**-sia

**ABL.TEMP**-ANAPH

‘from the aforementioned time on’

As examples (276)-(278) indicate, many locative predicates formed with a locative prefix can have a temporal as well as a spatial interpretation, unless one of the interpretations is blocked by the semantics of the host as in (277). All these forms are verbs: they occur in the predicate slot, can take TAM affixes and can have arguments.

Verbs formed with locative prefixes normally take no more than one core argument, which will be analysed as an agent, and potentially a peripheral place argument.

(281) *Namunhanʔak Taihuku*

{Na-mun-han}{-ʔak]<sub>AG</sub> [Taihuku]<sub>PLACE</sub>

IRR-ALL-go.to-1S.F      GeoName

‘I am planning to go to Taipei’ (TVN-xx2-003:2)

Locative verbs that have a noun, place word or time word as stem, as in (277) and (278), only have an agent and can normally not have a place argument, since the goal or source of the event is already semantically explicit in the verb root itself.

(282) *Muntaihuku amu*

{mun-Taihuku} [amu]<sub>AG</sub>

ALL-GeoName      2P.F

‘You are going to Taipei.’ [lit: ‘You are Taipei-going.’] (TVN-xx2-001:27)

Interestingly, the goal or source of the locative event is never expressed as a locative core participant, but always as a peripheral place phrase: it always appears in clause-final position and, unlike core participants, cannot be topicalized with the

left-dislocator *-(ʔ)a* (cf. 1.4.3, p. 98). For instance, in (281) above the location *Taihuku* cannot be topicalized by moving it in front of the verb with a topicalizing particle *a*, but it is possible to topicalize the first person singular agent.<sup>47</sup>

(283) \*Taihuku a na-mun-han-ʔak  
 Taipei LDIS IRR-ALL-go.to-1S.F

(284) ʔaku a namunhan Taihuku

[ʔaku]<sub>AG</sub> a {na-mun-han} [Taihuku]<sub>PLACE</sub>  
 1S.N LDIS IRR-ALL-go.to Taipei

‘As for me, I am going to Taipei.’ (constr. based on (281))

Also, verbs formed with neutral variants of locative prefixes can normally not take the locative focus suffix *-an*. This means that it is impossible for them to focus on a locative core argument and, as a consequence, that the goal or source of the action is considered to be a peripheral argument.

Causative variants of locative prefixes can co-occur on the same host as UF *-un*. In fact, this is actually preferred in most situations, although causative locative forms with no suffixal marking (i.e. agent focus forms) are grammatically possible. In example (285) below, the causative allatives *pu-* and *pun-* both occur in the same sentence, the first with an undergoer focus suffix and the second with a zero-marked agent focus form.

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<sup>47</sup> Note that the pronoun changes into the neutral case form when it is topicalised.

(285) Madadaiŋʔaða pudanun pun-Kaliŋkuti

[ma<da>daiŋʔað-a]<sub>CSE</sub> {pu-dan-un}

<PL>-elder-LDIS      CAUS.ALL-walk-UF

{pun-Kaliŋku-ti}

CAUS.ALL-GeoName-DEF.REF.PROX

‘As for the elders, they were forced to go to Hualien.’ (TVN-012-002:36)

Many locative prefixes, especially commonly used ones, can be ellipied when they can be recovered from the context. For example, (281) above is often abbreviated to (286) below, since it is usually quite clear from the context what the directionality of *han* is (if the speaker is in the village, it is clear that he is going to and not coming from Taipei).

(286) anʔak Taihuku

{han}{-ʔak]<sub>AG</sub> [Taihuku]<sub>PLACE</sub>

go.to-1S.F      GeoName

‘I am planning to go to Taipei.’ (constr.)

As we will see below, causative forms have been attested in discourse for some high-frequency locative prefixes and informants indicate that at least some associative forms are possible. Two examples have already been given in (249) on p. 284 and in (285) above: *pun-*, the causative variant of allative *mun-*, and *ku-*, the associative variant of allative *mu-* (see 7.4.6 and 7.4.5 respectively).

In the subsections below we will discuss the usages of the most common locative prefixes and – where relevant – their causative and associative variants.

#### 7.4.1. Stationary locative *i-*

	Form	Basic meaning		Meaning extension
Neutral	<i>i-</i>	‘in, at’	→	‘POSS’
Causative	—			
Associative	—			

Table 21 – Forms and meanings of LOC *i-*

##### A. Neutral variant

LOC *i-* is the most commonly used stationary locative prefix and expresses a stationary presence at or in a certain location. Forms with *i-* can refer either to spatial or temporal location; the choice between the interpretations is context-dependent. LOC *i-* most commonly occurs in combination with place words, as in (287), and a relatively restricted number of locative verb stems, as in (289).

(287) *ibaʔav* ‘be in the mountains’

< *i-* + *baʔav* ‘the mountains, a high geographical location’

*iðaða* ‘be in the top of (e.g. a tree)’ < *i-* + *ðaða* ‘top of’

*ihaul* ‘be at the low spot’ < *i-* + *haul* ‘geographically low location, riverside’

*iηadaq* ‘be at a location lower than the reference point’

< *i-* + *ηadaq* ‘location lower than the reference point’

*iʔita* ‘be there’ < *i-* + *ʔita* ‘there’

*iʔiti* ‘be here’ < *i-* + *ʔiti* ‘here’

(288) *ihan* ‘be at/in’ < *i-* + *han* ‘go to’

*isan* ‘be at/in’ < *i-* + *san* ‘go to’

It is also fully productive with nouns that refer to a location, in which case it can be interpreted as some sort of patient-incorporating prefix (see 7.9 on p. 371).

(289) *ikaku* ‘be at school’ < *i-* + *kaku* ‘school’

*ilumaq* ‘be at home’ < *i-* + *lumaq* ‘house’

More unusually, LOC *i-* occurs in verbal forms created with a pronoun and the locative suffix.

(290) *iđaku?an* ‘be here with me’ < *i-* + *đaku* ‘1S.N’ + *-an* ‘LF’

*iđami?an* ‘be here with us’ < *i-* + *đami* ‘1E.N’ + *-an* ‘LF’

## B. Derived meaning: possessive marking

The locative prefix *i-* is also used as a possessive marker when attached to the neutral form of any personal pronoun or the anaphoric marker *sia* (see 9.2 and 9.5.1.C).

(291) *Isu quma*

[[*i-su*]<sub>ATTR</sub> quma]

POSS-2S.N land

‘your land’ (TVN-012-003:62)

(292) *Isia daqais*[[i-sia]<sub>ATTR</sub> daqais]

POSS-ANAPH face

‘the aforementioned one’s face’<sup>48</sup> (TVN-012-003:33)**7.4.2. Itinerary *atan-***

Itinerary locative prefixes express that a certain location is reached and are usually translated in English as ‘arrive at/in’. They can either stress the itinerary that precedes reaching a destination or the act of reaching the destination itself.

The prefix *atan-* expresses that a fixed and unchangeable position has been reached. It always implies that this location is the result of a previous movement.

(293) *atanhan* ‘be exactly at, be settled in, reached’ < *atan-* + *han* ‘go to, go until’*atandan* ‘arrive at (a destination)’ < *atan-* + *dan* ‘road’**7.4.3. Itinerary *pan-***

The prefix *pan-* is an itinerary prefix expressing ‘arrive at’.

(294) *panhan* ‘arrive at’ < *pan-* + *han* ‘go to; be at’*pan?ita* ‘arrive there, arrive at that place’ < *pan-* + *?ita* ‘there’

Alternatively, it can mean ‘on the .... side’.

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<sup>48</sup> Interestingly, the ‘aforementioned’ person in the story is actually the narrator, and the phrase could therefore be translated as ‘my face’.

(295) *panhapav* ‘at the outside’ < *pan-* + *hapav* ‘front of; slightly higher than’

*pankumbu* ‘at the inside’ < *pan-* + *kumbu* ‘the inside’

*panʔaminan* ‘be all together’ < *pan-* + *amin* ‘all’ + *-an* ‘LF’

*panðamiʔan* ‘be here with us’ < *pan-* + *ðami* ‘1E.N’ + *-an* ‘LF’

#### 7.4.4. Itinerary *pana-*

*Pana-* is a fairly uncommon variant of *pan-*. It has only been attested in the meaning ‘arrive at/in’.

(296) *panadan* ‘arrive at or in’ < *pana-* + *dan* ‘road’

*panaʔaduq* ‘pass beneath, go beneath’ < *pana-* + *ʔaduq* ‘below, under’

#### 7.4.5. Allative *mu-*

Allative prefixes describe a motion towards a certain location. There are two commonly used allative prefixes in Takivatan, *mu-* and *mun-*, which are in complementary distribution, with the exception of very rare cases such as the one mentioned on p. 319.

	Form	Basic meaning		Meaning extension
Neutral	<i>mu-</i>	‘toward’	→	classificatory: ① ‘downward movement’ ② ‘negative event’
Causative	<i>pu-</i>	‘CAUS.ALL’	→	classificatory: ① ‘place for a purpose, apply’ ② ‘hunt’
Associative	<i>ku-</i>	‘ASSOC.ALL’	→	—

Table 22 – Forms and meanings of ALL *mu-*

**A. Neutral variant**

The allative *mu-* expresses a movement toward a certain destination. Representative examples are:

(297) *mudan* ‘go, walk towards’ < *mu-* + *dan* ‘walk’

*mudadan* ‘have a walk’ < *mu-* + ⟨*da*⟩ ‘CONT’ + *dan* ‘walk’

*mulumaq* ‘go home’ < *mu-* + *lumaq* ‘house, home’

ALL *mu-* tends to mark events with a low volitionality or intentionality and/or a lack of goal-directedness. Often, it is not really relevant whether the destination is actually reached or not. This non-volitional meaning component is present in all three examples (297), but it is usually only relevant in the very rare cases where *mu-* and *mun-* are not in complementary distribution (see 7.4.6.A p. 319 for a discussion of *mulumaq* vs. *munlumaq*).

**B. Classificatory/patient-incorporating meaning extension: FALL.DOWN**

ALL *mu-* has a classificatory meaning extension that combines with a variety of stems to form verbs that all express a downward, falling movement, often of a fluid or something that behaves like a fluid.

(298) *muḍaḍaḍ* ‘hang down in droplets from a surface (of fluids)’

< *mu-* + *ḍaḍaḍ* ‘top of’

*mutaq* ‘vomit’ < *mu-* + *\*taq* ‘vomit’

*mutaki* ‘have a shit, defecate’ < *mu-* + *taki* ‘excrement’

*mututu* ‘fall down one by one (of droplets or grains)’

< *mu-* + *tutu* ‘fall down’

*Mu-* is also used in a number of verbs referring to sudden or unexpected downward movements that are often involuntary and often have a negative result.

(299) *muliṅku* ‘roll down, fall down rolling’ < *mu-* + *liṅku* ‘roll’

*muqalqal* ‘fall down’ < *mu-* + *qalqal* ‘fall’

*mutiṅkul* ‘stumble’ < *mu-* + *tiṅkul* ‘stumble’

### C. Classificatory meaning extension: NEG.EV

In a small number of cases, the spatial dimension and the implication of a falling movement disappear completely and *mu-* just refers to an event that is perceived as extremely negative.

(300) *muliqliq* ‘break, destroy’ < *mu-* + *liqliq* ‘destroy’

*muliva* ‘do something wrong’ < *mu-* + *liva* ‘do wrong’

This association of downwards movements with negative events (or conversely, of upward movements with positive events) is not unsurprising: think of the English words *feeling down* or *upbeat*.

### D. Causative variant *pu-*

The causative variant of ALL *mu-* has been attested repeatedly in the corpus and in elicitation, although it is not very common. ALL.CAUS *pu-* means ‘cause to move toward’ but it is semantically vague and its interpretation is depending on the context. Two examples have already been given above: *pusaupata* ‘be sent in that

direction’ in (265) on page 297 and *pudanun* ‘be told to go’ in (285) on page 309. An additional example is given in (301) below. (Note that the combination of two bound pronouns on the same verb is unusual, but not ungrammatical.)

(301) *Pudanukʔas*

{*pu-dan*}{-uk]<sub>CSR/NFOC</sub>[-ʔas]<sub>CSE/FOC</sub>

ALL.CAUS-walk-UF + NFA-2S.F

‘I force you to run away.’ [lit: ‘You are made to run away by me.’] (TVN-xx2-001:8)

The causative variant of the allative prefix has developed two meaning extensions.

#### E. Classificatory meaning extension of causative *pu-*: APPLY

*Pu-* can refer to events that involve applying something on or placing it in a location for a specific purpose. For instance, *pudaku* refers to a traditional Bunun ritual in which a ritual object (a *daku*) was put on a field before planting to ensure a good harvest.

(302) *pudaku* ‘put a ritual token on a field’ < *pu-* + *daku* ‘ritual token’

*pusaqsaq* ‘tell lies’ < *pu-* + *saqsaq* ‘???’ (possibly: < *saq* ‘smell, stink’)

*pususuk* ‘give an injection’ < *pu-* + CV ‘REP’ + *suk* ‘needle’

#### F. Patient-incorporating meaning extension of causative *pu-*: HUNT

With nominal stems referring to animals, *pu-* means ‘to hunt’.

(303) *puqanvaŋ* ‘hunt for sambar’ < *pu-* + *qanvaŋ* ‘sambar’

*puvanis* ‘hunt for wild pig’ < *pu-* + *vanis* ‘wild pig’

In these forms, *pu-* has clearly lost its original causative allative semantics. For instance, when someone goes hunting for pigs, there is no external causer that somehow compels him to perform that action.

#### G. Associative variant *ku-*

So far, the associative variant of ALL *mu-* has only been unambiguously attested once. Example (270) on page 300 is here repeated for convenience.

(304) *Kuhanun sapuð*

{ku-han-un}                      [sapuð]<sub>LO</sub>

ASSOC.ALL-go-UF      fire

‘[The strings] were put together in the fire.’ (TVN-008-002:168)

#### 7.4.6. Allative *mun-*

	Form	Basic meaning	Meaning extension
Neutral	<i>mun-</i>	‘toward’	—
Causative	<i>pun-</i>	‘CAUS.ALL’	→ numeral prefix: ‘...th grade’
Associative	—		—

Table 23 – Forms and meanings of ALL *mun-*

#### A. Neutral variant

Like ALL *mu-*, the allative prefix *mun-* also describes a movement towards a certain destination, but in contrast to the former prefix it typically refers to an

intentional or goal-directed movement and it usually implies that the destination is reached. ALL *mun-* can be used with place words and with the locative verb *han* ‘be at; go to’.

(305) *munbaʔav* ‘go into the mountains, go to work on the field’ < *mun-* + *baʔav*  
‘high location’

*munʔita* ‘go there’ < *mun-* + *ʔita* ‘there’

*munʔiti* ‘come here’ < *mun-* + *ʔiti* ‘here’

*munhan* ‘go to a certain location’ < *mun-* + *han* ‘go’

Unlike *mu-*, *mun-* commonly combines with a large number of nouns expressing a location.

(306) *munkaku* ‘go to the school’ < *mun-* + *kaku* ‘school’

*mundalaq* ‘go to a certain plot of land’ < *mun-* + *dalaq* ‘land, ground’

*munlibus* ‘go to the hunting ground’ < *mun-* + *libus* ‘forest, hunting ground’

*munvanʔlað* ‘go to the riverside’ < *mun-* + *vanʔlað* ‘riverside’

Together with the ablative prefix *maisna-*, it is also one of the few locative prefixes productively used in combination with toponyms.

(307) *mun-Kaliŋku* ‘go to Hualien’ < *mun-* + *Kaliŋku* ‘Hualien’

*mun-Taihuku* ‘go to Taipei’ < *mun-* + *Taihuku* ‘Taipei’

*mun-Taivan* ‘go to Taiwan’ < *mun-* + *Taivan* ‘Taiwan’

I have found no combinations with nouns that do not have an inherently locational meaning.

The functional difference between the volitional and the non-volitional allative prefix is often not as clear-cut as I presented it above. Most stems combine either with *mu-* or *mun-* but almost none with both. The only contrastive example that clearly illustrates the difference between the two involves the root *lumaq* ‘home’. Whereas *mulumaq* is a common form meaning ‘go home’, the much more uncommon form *munlumaq* indicates that a person is going to a house with a specific intention (which is usually bad).

### B. Causative variant *pun-*

Previous examples of causative allative variant *pun-* are in (249) on p. 284 (repeated as (309)), (267) on p. 298 and (285) on p. 309. CAUS.ALL *pun-* can express direct causation, as in (308), but is much more commonly used for indirect causation, as in (309).

(308) Punhanun diàn shì-un hikuta

{ <u>pun</u> -han-un}	[diàn.shì <sub>MAN</sub> -un] <sub>UN:PAT/FOC</sub>	[hiku-ta] <sub>PLACE</sub>
<u>CAUS.ALL</u> -go-UF	TV-EMPH	backside-DEF.REF.DIST

‘[I] put the TV in the back [of the house]’ (TVN-xx2-003:4)

(309) Nanu pun?ita?un, palus?an inta

{nanu} <sub>AUX</sub>	{ <u>pun</u> -?ita-un}	c <sub>1</sub>  c <sub>2</sub>
really	<u>CAUS.ALL</u> -there-UF	

{pa-lusʔan}                      [inta]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

CAUS.DYN-celebrate    3P. DIST

‘All the people went there and celebrated them (because they were instructed to do so).’ (TVN-012-001:79)

Informants indicate that CAUS.ALL *pun-* in combination with an undergoer focus can be used as an imperative.

(310) Punʔitiʔun!

{pun-ʔiti-un}

CAUS.ALL-here-UF

‘Come over here!’ (TVN-xx2-001:13)

No other causative forms have so far been attested in similar imperative constructions.

### C. Ordinal numerals with *pun-*

The prefix *pun-* can be used with numerals to indicate progressive levels, for example grades in a school curriculum.

(311) *puntasʔa* ‘the first grade’ < *pun-* + *tasʔa* ‘one’

*pundusa* ‘the second grade’ < *pun-* + *dusa* ‘two’

*etc.*

This usage is probably not just a homonym of CAUS.DYN *pun-*, but rather a metaphorical extension: getting to the first grade in school always involves that someone in authority allows you to reach it.

#### 7.4.7. Terminative allative *sau-*

The terminative allative prefix *sau-* expresses a movement in a certain direction that ceases when the end-point has been reached. In English, it is normally translated as ‘until’. In a majority of cases, it is used for expressing time, but it can also refer to spatial location. Although it is quite common, it only combines with verbal roots in the following two words.

(312) *sauhan* ‘go until, go to a certain destination’ < *sau-* + *han* ‘go to; be at’

*sausan* ‘go to’ < *sau-* + *san* ‘go to’

It also affixes to certain time words and words of location when they are used for temporal location.

(313) *saulaupa* ‘until now’ < *sau-* + *laupa* ‘now’

*sauqabasqabas* ‘until eternity’ < *sau-* + *qabasqabas* ‘eternity’

( < *qabas* ‘former/future time’)

*sau?ita* ‘until then’ < *sau-* + *?ita* ‘there’

In a rare case, it combines with a noun expressing a spatial location. I only found this one example in the corpus.

(314) *sau?asaŋ* ‘go to the village’ < *sau-* + *?asaŋ* ‘village’

Despite the fact that *sau-* has a relatively high token frequency in text, no causative or associative forms have been attested.

#### 7.4.8. Directional *tan-* and *tana-*

The directional prefix *tan-* and its variant *tana-* express an inclination towards ('inclining/pointing towards'), as in (315), or a location relative to a reference point ('at the ... side'), as in (316).

(315) *tanbaʔav* 'northerly' < *tan-* + *baʔav* 'high location, up'

*tanhuluŋ* 'be at a high location' < *tan-* + *huluŋ* 'back; back of'

*tantakna* 'the day before a reference day' < *tan-* + *takna* 'yesterday'

(316) *tanavanan* 'on the right-hand side' < *tana-* + *vanan* 'right'

*tanavili* 'on the left-hand side' < *tana-* + *vili* 'left'

*tanaŋaus* 'in the front' < *tana-* + *ŋaus* 'front, head'

As the examples show, *tan-* and *tana-* are both typically used with location words and time words.

#### 7.4.9. Viative *in-*

	Form	Basic meaning	Meaning extension
Neutral	<i>in-</i>	'path or trajectory' →	<u>Classificatory</u> : 'string of events'
Causative	—		
Associative	—		

Table 24 – Forms and meanings of viative *in-*

**A. Basic meaning**

The viative prefix *in-* expresses a movement along a certain trajectory or path. Its basic meaning only combines with verbal roots.

(317) *inqaivan* ‘go down, disappear (e.g. of the sun)’ < *in-* + \**qaivan* ‘???’

*insuma* ‘come up, rise (e.g. of the sun)’ < *in-* + *suma* ‘rise’

*inadas* ‘take sb with you’ < *in-* + *adas* ‘take sb somewhere’

**B. Extended meaning: COURSE**

With some stems, *in-* indicates a temporal or abstract movement along a course of events. In these cases, it is often used together with the nominalising locative focus marker *-an*.

(318) *ininqaiban* ‘course of events’ < *in-* + *in-* ‘RES’ + *qaiban* ‘trajectory’

*inliskinan* ‘thoughts’ < *in-* + *liskin* ‘think’ + *-an* ‘LF’

*inuskunan* ‘common experiences, things one went through together’

< *in-* + *uskun* ‘together’ + *-an* ‘LF’

**7.4.10. Viative/directional *malan-***

The prefix *malan-* expresses either a movement in a certain direction or a movement following (or alongside) a certain reference point.

(319) *malansan* ‘follow somebody’ < *malan-* + *san* ‘go to’

*malansaupa* ‘go in the direction of’ < *malan-* + *saupa* ‘direction’

7.4.11. Perlative *tauna-/tun-/tuna-*

The perlative prefix *tauna-/tun-/tuna-* indicates a movement through or into a certain location. It can also be used with an allative meaning, but usually implies then that the destination is not only reached but also entered. The three forms are functionally equivalent and can usually be swapped randomly.

(320) *taunahan / tunahan / tunhan* ‘arrive at’ or ‘pass through’

< *tauna-* + *han* ‘go to; be at’

*taunataluq / tunataluq* ‘come down from a mountain’

< *tauna-* + *taluq* ‘mountain top’

*tauna?iti / tuna?iti / tun?iti* ‘settle in this area, come here to live’

< *tauna-* + *?iti* ‘here’

*taunadan / tunadan / tundan* ‘cross a road’ < *tuna-* + *dan* ‘road’

7.4.12. Ablative *maina-/maisna-/main-/mina-*

	Form	Basic meaning	Meaning extension
Neutral	<i>maina-</i>	‘from’	—
	<i>mina-</i>		
	<i>main-</i>		
	<i>maisna-</i>		
	<i>aisqa-</i>		
Causative	<i>paina-</i>	—	—
	<i>paisna-</i>		
	<i>paisqa-</i>		
Associative	—	—	—

Table 25 – Forms and meanings of ABL *maina-* etc.

### A. Neutral variant

Takivatan has a disproportionate variation in ablative prefixes. So far, five neutral forms have been attested (see Table 25), all of which express a movement originating in or away from a certain location or point in time. Most forms can be used both for spatial and temporal reference.

ABL *maina-* and the variants *maisna-*, *main-* and *mina-* primarily occur with a handful of verbal roots, time words and some locative words.

(321) *mainahan* / *mainhan* / *minahan* / *maisnahan* ‘come from’

< *maina-* + *han* ‘go to’

*mainaqabas* ‘since ancient times’ < *maina-* + *qabas* ‘old days’

*maina?ita* / *maisna?ita* ‘from that place on / from then on’

< *maina-* + *?ita* ‘there’

All variants are semantically and functionally identical and can be used interchangeably.

Like ALL *mun-*, ABL *maina-* and variants can attach to toponyms, but this happens much less often than with their allative counterparts.

(322) *maisna-Taivan* ‘(come) from Taiwan’ < *maisna-* + *Taivan* ‘Taiwan’

*maisna-Kaliŋku* ‘(come) from Hualien’ < *maisna-* + *Kaliŋku* ‘Hualien’

No examples of the ablative prefixes with common nouns referring to a location have been attested.

The prefix *aisqa-* appears semantically and functionally identical to the other forms, but is only used for temporal reference. It is relatively rare.

- (323) *aisqa?ita* ‘from then on’ < *aisqa-* + *?ita* ‘there’  
*aisqatudip* ‘from then on’ < *aisqa-* + *tudip* ‘then’

#### B. Causative variant *paisna-/paisqa-*

Three causative forms for the ablative prefixes have so far been attested (*paina-*, *paisna-* and *paisqa-*), all examples of which indicate temporal reference and the majority of which are used with the locative word *?ita* ‘there; then’ or the time word *tudip* ‘then (relative to a point of reference)’.

- (324) *paisqatudip* ‘having arrived at that moment’ < *paisqa-* + *tudip* ‘past time’  
*paisqa?ita* ‘having arrived at that point in time’  
 < *paisqa-* + *?ita* ‘there (distal)’

They are not strictly causative in the sense that they introduce an external causative force, but rather indicate that a preceding event was directly responsible for the occurrence of the situation expressed by their stem. For instance, in C2 of (325) below, the use of the causative form expresses the salience of the causal link between C1 and C2 on the one hand and C3 on the other.

- (325) Minmauduka paisqa?ita masia bununa lus?anana sia buan

{min-maudu-ka}	c <sub>1</sub>  c <sub>2</sub>	{ <u>paisqa</u> -?ita}	c <sub>2</sub>  c <sub>3</sub>
BECOME-round-DEF.SIT.DIST		<u>CAUS.ABL</u> -there.DIST	

{ma-sia}<sub>AUX</sub> [bunun-a]<sub>AG</sub> {lusʔan-an-a} [sia buan]<sub>UN:BEN</sub>  
 STAT-ANAPH Bunun-LNK celebrate-LF-LNK ANAPH moon

‘When the moon became full, when they arrived at that moment in time, the  
 aforementioned Bunun worshipped the moon.’ [i.e. Bunun have to worship  
 the moon **because** the time of the full moon has come.] (TVN-012-001:32)

Curiously, *paisqa-*, the causative variant with the highest token frequency in the corpus, corresponds to the least commonly occurring neutral variant, *aisqa-*.

#### 7.4.13. Temporal ablative *maisi-*

Ablative *maisi-* expresses a movement starting at a certain moment in time and continuing for some time. In comparison with the ablative prefixes above, it is relatively versatile and can attach to any word that has a temporal meaning, as the examples below show.

(326) *maisiqabas* ‘from previous times on’ < *maisi-* + *qabas* ‘past time’

*maisisia* ‘from that point on’ < *maisi-* + *sia* ‘ANAPH’

*maisiʔatikis* ‘from a young age on’ < *maisi-* + *a-* ‘STAT’ + *tikis* ‘small’

*maisiʔita* ‘from then on’ < *maisi-* + *ʔita* ‘then.DIST’

*maisiʔuvaðʔað* ‘from when one was a child’ < *maisi-* + *uvaðʔað* ‘child’

#### 7.4.14. Ablative *taka-*

Finally, *taka-* is an ablative that stresses the origin of a movement. It is best translated as ‘originate from’ or ‘have one’s origins in’. So far, it has only been attested with two stems:

(327) *takahan* ‘come from, originate from’ < *taka-* + *han* ‘be at, go to’

*taka?ita* ‘originate from there’ < *taka-* + *?ita* ‘there (distal)’

### 7.5. Event type prefixes

Event type prefixes say something about (an aspect of) the action flow of the event. This either means that they define what type of event their host refers to or that they focus on a particular segment of the event.<sup>49</sup> Event type prefixes have the highest frequency of all prefix types in actual discourse. Three of the most commonly used forms are the marker of dynamic events DYN *ma-*, the (homophonous) stative event marker STAT *ma-*, and the result state marker BECOME *min-*.

(328) ma-tas?i      lumaq

DYN-build    house

‘build houses’

(329) ma-diqla    bahi

STAT-bad    dream

‘the dream is bad’

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<sup>49</sup> The latter is similar to Aktionsart; cf. Sasse (2006).

- (330) **min**-qansiap                      <ba>baðbað                      malas-bunun  
BECOME-understand   <HABIT>talk                      SPEAKING-Bunun

‘come to understand how to talk the Bunun language’ (lit: ‘reach a state of understanding...’)

These and other event type prefixes are discussed in detail below in 7.5.1-7.5.6.C. Event type prefixes most often attach to verbal stems, but in a suitable discourse context they can combine with almost any type of host, as long as it is semantically compatible with the meaning of the prefix. This is elegantly illustrated with the prefix *min-*, which is glossed ‘BECOME’ but actually means ‘reach/come into a state of’. In the examples below it is combined with the dynamic verbs *daŋað* ‘help’ and *haiða* ‘have’, with the manner word *maupa* ‘thus’, with the numeral *dusa* ‘two’, and the noun *pantu* ‘student.’

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| (331) <b><u>min</u></b> -daŋað      | <b><u>min</u></b> -haiða                    |
| <u>BECOME</u> -help                 | <u>BECOME</u> -have                         |
| ‘start to help; come over and help’ | ‘come in possession, become rich’           |
| <b><u>min</u></b> -maupa            | <b><u>min</u></b> -dusa                     |
| <u>BECOME</u> -thus                 | <u>BECOME</u> -two                          |
| ‘become thus/like this/like that’   | ‘become two; become a group<br>of two, ...’ |

min-pantu

BECOME-student

‘become a student’

In the majority of examples I have come across, the application of event type on non-verbal stems restricts the use of the resulting form to auxiliary slots, especially in cases involving the dynamic prefix *ma-* or its stative homonym.

It is very hard to say what influence event type prefixes have on the transitivity or valency of a verbal stem. In general, one can say that prefixes that indicate that an event is stative have a tendency to imply at least one participant, as in (329). We will analyse this participant as an agent if the stative verb is in agent focus and as an undergoer when it is in undergoer focus (i.e. when it has UF *-un*). Prefixes encoding dynamic concepts typically imply an agent participant and possibly one or more undergoers: a patient, a beneficiary and/or an instrument. In (328), only a patient (*lumaq* ‘house’) is expressed, but it is clear that there has to be an ellipted agent who did the building. It is quite common for a clause not to have any explicitly expressed arguments, in which case one often has to make an educated guess as to the presence or absence of certain participants.

Neutral variants of event type prefixes get omitted when an UF suffix *-un* or LF suffix *-an* is present.<sup>50</sup> This tendency is especially pronounced with the dynamic event marker *ma-*. In (332), DYN *ma-* is expressed on a verb without focus marking; in (334), the same verbal stem appears in the undergoer focus, without

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<sup>50</sup> The corpus contains only one attestation of BECOME *min-* with an undergoer suffix *-un*.

*ma-*. As (333) illustrates, almost all informants consider it ungrammatical to express both at the same time on the same verb stem.

- (332) haiða    bunun    ma-ludaq    ðaku  
 exist    people    DYN-beat    1S.N

‘there are people beating me up.’ (TVN-xx2-001:141)

- (333) \*ma-ludaq-un-ʔak Bantaləŋ

- (334) ludaq-un-ʔak    Bantaləŋ  
 beat-UF-1S.F    Bantalang

‘I am beaten up by Bantalang’ (TVN-xx2-004:35)

It is quite common, however, for causative variants of event type prefixes to co-occur with undergoer or a locative focus suffixes.

- (335) pa-ʔisʔav-an  
CAUS.DYN-have.banquet-LF

‘he had a banquet’ (lit. something like ‘he was caused to be located at a banquet’) (TVN-012-001:113)

- (336) pi-sihal-un  
CAUS.STAT-good-UF

‘cause something to be good; treat something well, ...’ (many sources)

Most event type prefixes can be ellipted when they can be inferred from the context. Their omission does not have any influence on semantics, argument order or case marking. For example, it is perfectly possible in informal speech to drop DYN *ma-* in (332) above:

(337) *haiða*    *bunun*    *ludaq*    *ðaku*  
           have    people    beat    1S.N

‘there are people beating me up.’

Table 26 gives an overview of all event type prefixes that will be discussed in the subsections below. Causative and associative variants are mentioned when they have been attested in the corpus or by elicitation; round brackets indicate variants that are expected to exist but have not yet been attested in the corpus. The second column from the right (marked C) gives an idea of how common each prefix is in actual usage.

	Function	Gloss	CAUS	ASSOC	C	Sec.
<i>ma-</i>	Marks dynamic events	DYN	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	+++	7.5.1
<i>ma-</i>	Marks stative events	STAT	<i>pi-</i>	—	+++	7.5.2
<i>mi-</i>	Marks stative negative events	STAT	—	—	++	7.5.3
<i>a-</i>	Unproductive stative prefix	STAT	—	—	++	7.5.4
<i>paŋka-</i>	Marks material properties	STAT	—	—	+	7.5.5
<i>min-</i>	Marks result states	BECOME	<i>pin-</i>	<i>kin-</i>	+++	7.5.6
<i>pain-</i>	Participatory; marks group actions	PRTC	—	—	+	7.5.6.C

**C = commonality**    +++ : very common    ++ : common    + : uncommon

Table 26 – List of event type prefixes

7.5.1. Dynamic event prefix *ma-*

	Form	Basic meaning		Meaning extension
Neutral	<i>ma-</i>	marks dynamic events	→	<u>patient-incorporating:</u> 'APPLY/AFFECT'
Causative	<i>pa-</i>	CAUS.DYN	→	<u>semantically specific:</u> lexicalized forms
Associative	<i>ka-</i>	ASSOC.DYN	→	<u>classificatory:</u> 'MAKE' <u>patient-incorporating:</u> 'BLOOM'

Table 27 – Forms and meanings of DYN *ma-*

## A. Basic meaning

The dynamic prefix *ma-* is the most frequently used verbal prefix in Takivatan. It is a general marker for dynamic events. DYN *ma-* typically binds to verbal stems, but it can combine with stems of almost all word classes, as long as they do not inherently refer to stative events.

(338) contains some examples of DYN *ma-* with (a) dynamic verbal stems, (b) a stem typically used as an auxiliary verb, (c) place and time words, (d) pronouns and (e) nouns, but many other word classes not mentioned here can combine with *ma-* to express a dynamic event.

(338) (a) *mabaliv* 'sell' < *ma-* + *baliv* 'sell, buy'

*masumsum* 'pray' < *ma-* + *sumsum* 'pray'

(b) *mahamu* 'take together; do as a selected group'

< *ma-* + *hamu* 'together'

- (c) *masaupā* ‘go in the direction of’ < *ma-* + *saupā* ‘in the direction of’  
*matudip* ‘do something in the past’ < *ma-* + *tudip* ‘former times’
- (d) *masak* ‘I am being (in a certain situation)’ < *ma-* + *sak* ‘1S.F’
- (e) *mabusul* ‘carry a gun’ < *ma-* + *busul* ‘gun’  
*maqanvaŋ* ‘behave like a sambar’ < *ma-* + *qanvaŋ* ‘sambar’  
*maludun* ‘go up a mountain’ < *ma-* + *ludun* ‘mountain’

When a stem that does not inherently refer to a dynamic event combines with DYN *ma-*, as in examples (c)-(e), addition of the prefix typically creates a dynamic event in which the stem is a central element. This is evident with examples such as *masaupā* ‘go in the direction of’ in (338)(c), which creates an action from *saupā* ‘in the direction of’.

It is harder to understand how pronouns or nouns could be transformed into a dynamic event, and the English translations in (d)-(e) above should be taken to be only indicative of the true meaning of each word. Both with pronouns and nouns, it could be argued that DYN *ma-* functions as a verbalising derivational prefix, but the meaning change it triggers is context-dependent.

The form *ma-sak* ‘DYN-1S.F’ is not uncommon in formal speech. It is often used in a complex predicate, typically indicates that the pronoun is highly topical, and conveys a meaning ‘I am operating in the situation that’. Sentence (339) is best analysed as a bi-clausal construction, in which *masak* functions as an auxiliary verb in the complex predicate *masak haiða* ‘I have got to the stage that I have gained possession of’.

(339) Masak laupakuka, haiða tu mapitun qan num qamisan.

{ma-sak} [laupaku-ka]<sub>TIME</sub> (C1|C2)

DYN-1S.F now-DEF.SIT.DIST

{haiða} tu [mapitun qan num qamisan]<sub>UN</sub>

have COMPL seventy and six year

‘I am now at that stage in time that I have reached seventy six years of age.’

(TVN-012-001:9)

The effect of the dynamic prefix on nouns, of which examples are given in (103e), is less consistent. In general, it changes the referent expressed by the noun into an event to which the referent is somehow central. The most predictable *ma-N* derivation is probably of the type ‘dynamically being X’ or ‘behave like X’. Derivations like this are uncommon, but according to informants can be productively constructed given the correct textual context.

In other instances, the attachment of DYN *ma-* to a noun creates a dynamic event, but its exact semantic effect is less predictable and appears to be heavily context-dependent. (340) below is part of a hunting story, in which the narrator explains that in the good old days it was no problem at all to take a gun onto a train.

(340) Mamanun namabusul.

{ma-manun}<sub>AUX</sub> {na-ma-busul}

⟨INTENS⟩-be.no.problem IRR-DYN-gun

‘It was no problem to carry a gun’ (TVN-008-002:115)

It is very clear from the context that *mabusul* refers to an action (a dynamic event).

It is also clear that the dynamic event created by DYN *ma-* has a context-sensitive interpretation: DYN *ma-* cannot be productively used with nouns to create verbs meaning ‘carry X’ and *mabusul* only means ‘carry a gun’ because of the narrative context (if you would say *mabusul* to a person in the street, they would ask you what exactly you mean).

Unlike its causative and associative variants, DYN *ma-* can not co-occur with the focus suffixes *-un* and *-an*.

- (341) *ma-baliv-Ø* ↔ *baliv-un* ↔ \**ma-baliv-un*  
           DYN-buy-AF      buy-UF      DYN-buy-UF
- ↔ *baliv-an* ↔ \**ma-baliv-an*  
                                  buy-LF      DYN-buy-LF

#### B. Patient-incorporating meaning extension: APPLY/AFFECT

The action type prefix *ma-* also has a patient-incorporating reflex, which is used for actions in which the nominal host of the prefix is applied, ordered or otherwise used in a controlled or systematic way: *mapatas* ‘write’ is actually applying *patas* ‘scribbles’ in a systematic way and *makusu* ‘to tickle’ is an action in which the armpits (*kusu*) are affected in a controlled manner to attain a certain goal.

- (342) *mapatas* ‘write’ < *ma-* + *patas* ‘scribble’  
        *makusu* ‘tickle’ < *ma-* + *kusu* ‘armpit’

*Maludun* in (338) above could be classified in this section (‘climb a mountain’ < ‘affect a mountain’), but not *maqanvaŋ* ‘behave like a qanvaŋ’, since *qanvaŋ* ‘samber’ can in no way be construed as the affected object of the event.

### C. Causative variant *pa-*

CAUS.DYN *pa-* is the causative variant of the dynamic prefix *ma-* and is prototypically used with dynamic verbal stems, as in the examples below.

(343) <i>pa-luŋku</i>	↔	<i>ma-luŋku</i>
CAUS.DYN-sit.down		DYN-sit.down
‘let somebody sit down’		‘sit down’
(344) <i>pa-tisbuŋ</i>	↔	<i>ma-tisbuŋ</i>
CAUS.DYN-explode		DYN-explode
‘let explode; shoot (a gun)’		‘explode’
(345) <i>pa-vuqvuvq</i>	↔	<i>ma-vuqvuvq</i>
CAUS.DYN-shake		DYN-shake
‘(cause to) shake’		‘shake’

Sometimes, the causative dynamic prefix can occur with other types of stems. Locative verbal stems and place words normally take locative prefixes, which have their own causative alternates. For instance, the place word *?iti* ‘here’ typically occurs with locative prefixes like allative *mun-*, as in (346), and its causative variant *pun-*, as in (347).

(346) Maisnaʔisaq amu munʔitiʔ

{Maisna-ʔisaq}<sub>AUX</sub> [amu]<sub>AG</sub> {mun-ʔiti}ABL-where 2P.F ALL-here

‘From where did all of you come to this place?’ (TVN-xxx-xx1:51)

(347) Punʔitiʔun!

{pun-ʔiti-un}CAUS.ALL-here-UF

‘[You have to] come here’ (see (310) on page 320 above)

However, it is also possible for *ʔiti* to occur with a CAUS.DYN *pa-*:

(348) Paʔiti aipun [...]

{pa-ʔiti} [aipun]<sub>AG/CSE</sub>CAUS.DYN-here DEM.S.MED

‘he was sent here [to understand how we Bunun live]’ (TVN-008-001:11)

A construction like this creates a verb that involves a higher degree of involvement of the causer than a form with a causative allative prefix. For instance, in (347), the allative causative *pun-* occurs on a predicate expressing a command. The implication is that the causer – in this case the speaker – is not physically involved in the action (e.g. by dragging the addressee over to the place where he stands). In (348), on the other hand, the use of the dynamic causative *pa-* indicates a strong involvement of the causer in the execution of the event: in coming ‘here’, the agent

expressed by *aipun* does not act by his own force, but received external material help and guidance.

Something very similar happens when CAUS.DYN *pa-* combines with adjectival stems. Typically, stative verb roots like *sihal* ‘good’ take the causative variant *pi-* of the stative prefix *ma-* (see 7.5.2.B on page 346). When they combine with the causative dynamic *pa-*, this indicates that the adjectival stem is to be interpreted as a dynamic action in which the causer (which often remains unexpressed) functions as a strongly involved agentive force.

(349) *Pasihalun titi*

{pa-sihal-un}                      [titi]<sub>AG/CSE</sub>

CAUS.DYN-good-UF meat

‘The meat was preserved in a good place [by the hunter].’ (adapt. of TVN-012-001:50)

Literally, *pasihalun titi* would mean something like ‘the meat was caused to be well’. Its exact interpretation is context-dependent. In this case, the utterance refers to what happens to the meat after the hunter has shot a deer: he takes it home and preserves it well for later use. In contrast, an equivalent form with a stative causative would indicate a much weaker involvement of a causative force. In the example below, for example, it is clear that the causer does not use force to make the causee sit down.

(350) Pisihalun paluŋku

{pi-sihal-un}<sub>AUX</sub>                      {pa-luŋku}

CAUS.STAT-good-UF      CAUS.DYN-sit.down

‘Let him sit down comfortably’ (TVN-013-001:15)

With nominal stems, CAUS.DYN *pa-* creates verbs in which the referent functions as a patient or instrument.

(351) *pasasiŋ* ‘take a photograph’ < *pa-* + *sasiŋ* ‘photograph’*pasusu* ‘breastfeed’ < *pa-* + *susu* ‘breast’

These forms are best analysed as allative causatives rather than as patient-incorporating prefixes, because the latter typically have very specific semantics that are consistent across instances. Here, on the other hand, the meaning of *pa-* appears to be vague and variable.

#### D. Semantically specific extension of *pa-*: high agency

In a number of verbal forms, *pa-* only indicates high agency without having any causative semantics (i.e. no external causative force is introduced or implied by the addition of *pa-* to the stem). In (352), the Japanese government officials are in a position of dominance and there is no external causative force that incites or forces them to talk. The prefix *pa-* rather seems to be used to indicate that the saying was done vehemently.

(352) Siatu Sipuna patupin tu [...]

[sia-tu	Sipun-a] <sub>AG</sub>	{ <u>pa</u> -tupa-in}	tu
ANAPH-ATTR	Japanese-LDIS	<u>HI.AG</u> -say-PRV	COMPL

‘The aforementioned Japanese said [that that was not possible]’ (TVN-012-002:34)

In all attested combinations of *pa-* and a verb of speech and in a number of other constructions, it is impossible to interpret *pa-* as a causative dynamic prefix; it simply indicates heightened agency.

#### E. *Pa-* in fused and/or lexicalised forms

Some constructions of dynamic verb stems with CAUS.DYN *pa-* can be analyzed as causative constructions from a theoretical-semantic point-of-view but have in real usage clearly developed idiosyncratic meanings. A borderline example was already given in (343) above: *pa-tisbug* ‘CAUS.DYN-explode’ can be used with a meaning ‘let something explode’, but it usually refers specifically to the shooting of a gun. The two examples in (353) are unambiguously lexicalized causative forms.

(353) *pasiða* ‘marry’ < *pa-* + *siða* ‘take, grasp’

*pasadu* ‘meet with somebody’ < *pa-* + *sadu* ‘see’

For example, *pasiða* typically means ‘marry’, although one can understand how it evolved from a causative (‘cause a bride to take you as her husband’) or from HI.AG *pa-* (‘take a wife in a very deliberate and intense way’). Note that it is

possible – though occurrences are rare – to use *pasiða* in its original causative meaning ‘cause to grab’.

Takivatan has a modest number of verb pairs in which *ma-* and *pa-* are fused to the verb root. Three examples are given below.

- (354) *m-anaq* ‘shoot’           ↔   *p-anaq* ‘shoot’           but no: *\*naq*  
       *m-atað* ‘die’               ↔   *p-atað* ‘kill’           but no: *\*tað*  
       *m-atis?auq* ‘penetrate’ ↔ *p-atis?auq* ‘penetrate’ but no: *\*tis?auq*

In these cases, the *p*-forms are almost never straightforward causative equivalents of the *m*-forms, but rather seem to imply a more highly agentive/volitional/deliberated action. Even *patað*, which historically in all likelihood derives from a causative construction ‘cause to die’, is fully lexicalized and can not be used, for instance, for indirect causation.

#### F. Associative variant *ka-*

The associative variant *ka-* typically indicates that an event is dynamic and that it either involves a group of agents performing an action together or a group of patients undergoing an action together. It is markedly less common than DYN *ma-* and CAUS.DYN *pa-*.

(355) *kadaŋað* ‘help somebody by doing something together; assist’

< *ka-* + *daŋað* ‘help’ (see (269), p. 300)

*kahan* ‘arrive together; guide into’ < *ka-* + *han* ‘go’

*katansiki* ‘pass by in a group’ < *ka-* + *tansiki* ‘pass by without entering’<sup>51</sup>

### G. Semantically specific extension of *ka-*: high agency

Like *pa-* in D7.5.1.D above, a considerable number of instances with *ka-* do not have a straightforward associative meaning, but rather indicate heightened agency (volitionality, intensity of action, etc.). In general, it appears that events marked with *ka-* involve more physical exertion than corresponding constructions with HI.AG *pa-*.

(356) *kahau* ‘argue, scold’ < *ka-* + *hau* ‘scold’

*kasʔaŋ* ‘believe’ < *ka-* + *isʔaŋ* ‘breathe > think, feel, have emotions’<sup>52</sup>

This is evident from stems that can combine with *ma-* and with *ka-*, as is the case with the stem *hau* ‘scold’. Both *mahau* and *kahau* mean ‘to scold’ or ‘to argue’. However, the form with *ma-* will be used more often in situations where people vocally express their dissatisfaction with something somebody else has done, for example a mother scolding a child for doing something wrong, whereas the form with *ka-* is more appropriate in situations where people are screaming and yelling at each other.

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<sup>51</sup> *Tansiki* is a normally dynamic verb and cannot take locative prefixes.

<sup>52</sup> The seat of emotions in Bunun culture is not the heart, as in European culture (cf. English *my heart is saddened*), but the breath.

**H. Classificatory/patient-incorporating meaning extension of *ka-*: MAKE**

The previous subsection already mentioned *ka-* as an action type prefix. As a classificatory prefix it defines a heterogeneous subclass of verbs that all refer to creating or constructing something. Some examples are:

(357) *kadan* ‘construct a road’ < *ka-* + *dan* ‘road’

*kalumaq* ‘build a house’ < *ka-* + *lumaq* ‘house’

*kasihal* ‘produce a good product’ < *ka-* + *sihal* ‘good’

*kaʔuni* ‘build something’ < *ka-* + *ʔuni* ‘build’

With nominal stems referring to field crops, *ka-* can mean ‘to grow’ or sometimes ‘to harvest’:

(358) *kamaduq* ‘grow millet’ < *ka-* + *maduq* ‘millet’

*katilas* ‘grow rice or other cereals’ < *ka-* + *tilas* ‘cereal’

This meaning should not be confused with *ka-* ‘BLOOM’ immediately below: forms like the ones in (358) always refer to a transitive event.

**I. Patient-incorporating meaning of associative *ka-*: BLOOM**

With flowering and fruit-bearing plants, *ka-* means ‘to bloom; produce fruits’. These forms are always intransitive, e.g. *kapuaq* means ‘flowers are blooming’ and never ‘someone is growing flowers’.

(359) *kalas* ‘grow fruits (of plants)’ < *ka-* + *las* ‘fruit; meat’

*kahana* ‘bloom’ < *ka-* + *hana* ‘flower’

*kapuaq* ‘bloom’ < *ka-* + *puaq* ‘flower’

7.5.2. Stative event prefix *ma-*

	Form	Basic meaning	Meaning extension
Neutral	<i>ma-</i>	marks states	—
Causative	<i>pi-</i>	CAUS.STAT	—
Associative	—		—

Table 28 – Forms and meanings of STAT *ma-*

## A. Neutral variant

The most commonly occurring stative prefix is *ma-*, which is homophonous with DYN *ma-*, but has a clearly distinct functional distribution, has a different causative form (*pi-*) and no associative. It appears mainly with stative verbal roots, as in (360), but occasionally binds to nominal roots that have stative semantics, as in (361).

(360) *mabaqis* ‘hot’ < *ma-* + *baqis* ‘hot’

*masihal* ‘good’ < *ma-* + *sihal* ‘good’

*mataqduḡ* ‘black; dark’ < *ma-* + *taqduḡ* ‘black, dark’

(361) *mabuqul* ‘round’ < *ma-* + *buqul* ‘grain, granule’

*masamu* ‘be taboo’ < *ma-* + *samu* ‘taboo’

The prefix STAT *ma-* can be easily omitted when its presence can be inferred from the discourse context, especially in colloquial speech.

**B. Causative variant *pi-***

The prefix *pi-* functions as the causative variant of the stative prefix *ma-*. It typically creates a transitive verb from a more stative verb and expresses that a causer has caused the causee to reach the state expressed by its host.

(362) *pihaiða* ‘acquire’ < *pi-* + *haiða* ‘have’

*pisihal* ‘make sth good’ < *pi-* + *sihal* ‘good’

Very often, CAUS.STAT *pi-* co-occurs with the undergoer focus suffix *-un*.

(363) *pidaiḡun* ‘make something big’ < *pi-* + *daiḡ* ‘big’ + *-un* ‘UF’

*pişaḡlavun* ‘make something green or blue’

< *pi-* + *şaḡlav* ‘green/blue’ + *-un* ‘UF’

It also readily combines with the prefix TRANSFER *is-* (7.6.1.B below), for instance in:

(364) *ispisihal* ‘make something good or better, be a help to’

< *is-* ‘transfer’ + CAUS.STAT *pi-* + *sihal* ‘good’

**7.5.3. Stative prefix *mi-***

The prefix *mi-* is used to mark a subclass of stative events that are generally perceived as negative or unwanted. It can be omitted in colloquial speech, just like the more common stative prefix *ma-*.

(365) *mihalay* ‘ill’ < *mi-* + *halay* ‘ill’

*miluqluq* ‘be recalcitrant, be obstinate’ < *mi-* + *luqluq* ‘recalcitrant’

*milu?lu?* ‘wounded, hurt’ < *mi-* + *lu?lu?* ‘wounded, hurt’

#### 7.5.4. Stative prefix *a-*

Whereas *ma-* is fully productive and is used with the vast majority of adjectival roots in Takivatan, the stative prefix *a-* has so far mainly been attested with the following two high-frequency stative roots:

(366) *atikis* ‘small’ < *a-* + *tikis* ‘small’

*abuqan* ‘satiated’ < *a-* + *buqan* ‘satiated; full (after a meal)’

As with other stative prefixes, it can be omitted in colloquial speech. STAT *a-* can be used in combination with the result-state prefix *min-*, unlike STAT *ma-*, which is always dropped when BECOME *min-* occurs (the two are contrasted in (367) and (368)). This is an indication that *a-* is in the process of being reinterpreted as part of the adjectival root.

(367) Minabuqan

min-a-buqan

BECOME-STAT-satiated

‘become satiated’

(368) (a) *Minmasihal	(b) Minsihal
min-ma-sihal	min-sihal
BECOME-STAT-good	BECOME-good
‘become good’	‘become good’

### 7.5.5. Stative *paŋka-*

The stative prefix *paŋka-* is only used in a small number of idiosyncratic constructions and refers to the properties of furniture.

- (369) *paŋkalauqpus* ‘rectangular and elongated’ < *paŋka-* + *lauqpus* ‘rectangular’  
*paŋkadaipuk* ‘soft (of sofas)’ < *paŋka-* + *daipuk* ‘soft’

### 7.5.6. Result-state prefix *min-*

	Form	Basic meaning		Meaning extension
Neutral	<i>min-</i>	reach a state	→	—
Causative	<i>pin-</i>	CAUS.BECOME	→	—
Associative	<i>kin-</i>	ASSOC.BECOME	→	—

Table 29 – Forms and meanings of BECOME *min-*

#### A. Basic meaning

The prefix *min-* expresses that the idea that a stable state or end-point of the event expressed by the stem has been reached. It is one of the most frequently used verbal prefixes and certainly one of the most versatile. It can occur with stative as well as dynamic verbal roots ((370) and (371) respectively); with auxiliary verbs (372); manner words (373); the anaphoric marker *sia* (374); nouns (375); and with most

other word classes, as long as the resulting combination makes sense semantically and pragmatically.

(370) *mindiqłaʔin* ‘broken, out of order’ < *min-* + *diqla* ‘bad’ + *-in* ‘PRF’

*minpuhuq* ‘become rotten’ < *min-* + *puhuq* ‘rotten’

(371) *mindarjað* ‘help in, assist’ < *min-* + *darjað* ‘help’

*minliskin* ‘come to an understanding’ < *min-* + *liskin* ‘think, believe’

(372) *minhamu* ‘select together, be chosen to do sth together’

< *min-* + *hamu* ‘(selected) together’

(373) *minmaupa* ‘become thus’ < *min-* + *maupa* ‘thus’

(374) *minsia* ‘succeed’ < *min-* + *sia* ‘ANAPH’

(375) *minpantu* ‘become a student’ < *min-* + *pantu* ‘student’

*min-Taulu* ‘become a Chinese’ < *min-* + *Taulu* ‘Chinese’

In general, derivations with *min-* are semantically transparent, but occasionally they might develop a slightly more ideosyncratic meaning.

(376) *minhaiða* ‘come into a state of having’ / ‘become prosperous’

< *min-* + *haiða* ‘have’

**B. Causative variant *pin-***

*Pin-* is the causative variant of BECOME *min-*. It has been attested with stative and dynamic verb stems, but can potentially combine with roughly the same set of hosts as its neutral variant *min-*.

(377) *pindiqla* ‘cause to become bad; harm, have a bad influence on’

< *pin-* + *diqla* ‘bad’

*pinqansiap* ‘make somebody understand’ < *pin-* + *qansiap* ‘understand’

*pinmasđaj* ‘cause to become the same; make equal’ < *pin-* + *masđaj* ‘same’

*pinsuma* ‘make return’ < *pin-* + *suma* ‘return’

**C. Participatory variant *kin-***

The participatory variant of the inchoative prefix has so far only been attested in one form, but it is clear from the context and from the presence of an associative allative form in the second clause of the example that *kin-* can here only be interpreted as having an associative function:

(378) *haiđa kinđuuna, hanu kunhanun sapuđa*

{*haiđa*}<sub>AUX</sub>      {*kin*-*đuun*-a}      c<sub>1</sub>|c<sub>2</sub>

have              ASSOC.BECOME-thread-LNK

{*ku*-*han*-*un*}              [*sapuđ*-a]<sub>PLACE</sub>

ASSOC.ALL-go-UF      fire-LNK

‘Threads were intertwined [lit: there was togetherness of threads], and they were put in the fire together’ (TVN-008-002:168)

#### D. Classificatory meaning extension of associative *kin-*: PLOP

The prefix *kin-* has a classificatory meaning extension that is used to refer to events that involve a sudden plopping sound. The examples below speak for themselves. So far, only two forms have been attested.

(379) *kintaki* ‘have a shit’ < *kin-* + *taki* ‘excrement’

*kinthuq* ‘stamp one’s feet’ < *kin-* + *thuq* ‘stamp one’s feet’

#### 7.5.7. Participatory *pain-*

*Pain-* is a participatory prefix, i.e. it indicates that an action is done together by a group of participants. It is so far only attested in the following two examples.

(380) *paintaivtaiv* ‘match, game; have a match’ < *pain-* + *taivtaiv* ‘compete’

*paintas?a* ‘work together, cooperate’ < *pain-* + *tas?a* ‘one’

#### 7.6. Participant orientation prefixes

Participant orientation prefixes orient the event expressed by the verb towards a particular participant, typically by altering its pragmatic and syntactic status. Compared to locative and event type prefixes, they tend to be rare in discourse.

	Function	Gloss	CAUS	ASSOC	C	Sec.
<i>is-</i>	instrument orientation	INSTR	<i>pis-</i>	( <i>kis-</i> )	+	7.6.1
<i>sin-</i>	resultative object orientation	RES.OBJ	—	—	++	7.6.2
<i>ki-</i>	beneficiary orientation	BEN	—	—	~	7.6.3

C = commonality    ++ : common    + : uncommon    ~ : not attested in real-world text

Table 30 – List of participant orientation prefixes



(383) Diptu sinkuḍakuḍaki maupata

{dip-tu} <sub>AUX</sub>	{ <u>sin</u> -kuḍakuḍa-ki}	[maupa-ta] <sub>MNR</sub>
then-COMPL	<u>RES.OBJ</u> -work-DEF.SIT.PROX	thus-DEF.REF.DIST

‘In those days, we worked like that.’ (TVN-012-001:77)

The same prefix has also been attested on adjectives, auxiliary verbs and question words.

The resultative object prefix *sin-* and the beneficiary orientation prefix *ki-* are exceptional in that they are the only affixes in Takivatan Bunun that trigger a change in the argument order.<sup>53</sup> Example (384) is a typical example of an agent focus construction with DYN *ma-* and unmarked argument order: a bound focused agent, a beneficiary undergoer and a patient undergoer. This is typical: agents come before undergoers, who come before locative arguments.

(384) Masaivʔak su tilas

{ma-saivʔak} <sub>AG</sub>	[su] <sub>UN:BEN</sub>	[tilas] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>
DYN-give-1S.F	2S.N	cereal

‘I give you rice’ (constr.)

In (385), however, the beneficiary orientation prefix *ki-* causes the order of agent and beneficiary to be switched around. The beneficiary has all the syntactic

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<sup>53</sup> Note that even focus suffixes do not change the argument order of a clause, but only case marking of the personal pronouns.

characteristics of a focused agent (i.e. it is the bound focused agent form), while the agent is demoted to the syntactic slot of the beneficiary undergoer.

(385) *Kisaiṽʔak su tilas*

{ki-saiṽ}{-ʔak]<sub>UN:BEN</sub>      [su]<sub>AG</sub>    [tilas]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>  
BEN-give-1S.F                      2S.N      cereal

‘You give rice to me!’ (TVN-xx2-003:46)

INSTR *is-* does not trigger a similar change in the argument order.

It is uncommon for participant orientation prefixes to co-occur with focus suffixes. So far, only two forms have been attested, a locative focus form with INSTR *is-* and an undergoer focus form with BEN *ki-*. (No forms of RES.OBJ *sin-* with any focus suffix have been attested.)

(386) *Ispataḏan aipa malamadaṽʔaḏ*

{is-pataḏ-an}                      [aipa]<sub>AG</sub>                      [mali-ma-daiṽʔaḏ]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>  
INSTR-kill-LF                      DEM.S.DIST.VIS    VERY-STAT-big

‘There, she slaughtered a very large one [i.e. a squirrel]’ (TVN-008-002:194)

(387) *Kisaiṽun ḏaku tilas*

{ki-saiṽ-un}                      [ḏaku]<sub>UN:BEN</sub>    [tilas]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>  
BEN-give-UF                      1S.N                      cereal

‘(You should) give rice to me’ (xx2-003:47)

It is not clear whether all participant orientation prefixes have causative or associative forms. If they do, these variants are very rare. The only form so far attested in real-world discourse is a causative form of INSTR *is-*, given in (251) C3 on p. 285 and here repeated in (388).

(388) **pis-**hutan

CAUS.INSTR-yam

‘grow yams’

Other forms occur that might be – or originally were – participant orientation causatives, but these forms have so far only been attested with extended meanings. It is worth stressing that the absence of corpus examples for causative and associative variants of participant orientation prefixes does not imply their non-existence or ungrammaticality: one would expect that forms like causative instrumental orientation prefixes are rather rare in actual discourse and that they are hard to elicit outside an appropriate discourse context. Participant orientation prefixes can not be ellipted.

7.6.1. Instrumental orientation *is-*

	Form	Basic meaning		Meaning extension
Neutral	<i>is-</i>	instrumental orientation	→	<u>Classificatory:</u> TRANSFER
Causative	<i>pis-</i>	CAUS.INSTR	→	<u>Classificatory:</u> RETURN <u>Patient-incorporating:</u> FLOW PLAY
Associative	<i>(kis-)</i>	ASSOC.INSTR	→	—

Table 31 – Forms and meanings of INSTR *is-*

## A. Basic meaning

In much of the literature on the Austronesian languages of Taiwan and the Philippines, the prefix *is-* or one of its reflexes is unambiguously analysed as part of the focus system and usually gets an instrumental reading (cf. Wolff (1973), Ross (1995b), Liao (2004), and others). I explain in 7.1.3 on page 268 why I think it is problematic to include both prefixes and suffixes in the analysis of the Austronesian argument alignment system and I therefore opt for treating verbal prefixes separately from the focus suffixes.

*Is-* in Takivatan Bunun can be used as an instrument orientation prefix, in which case it stresses the instrument of an event. Some examples have already been given in (257) on p. 290, (381) on p. 352 and (386) on p. 354. In all three examples, the instrument is not explicitly expressed but must be inferred from the context. So far, I have not found any example of a verb with an instrumental prefix which is accompanied by an explicitly expressed instrumental argument in the same clause, and very few examples in which the instrument is explicitly expressed in the

immediate textual context (e.g. the previous clause). (389) below is the only example of a clause with both INSTR *is-* and an explicitly expressed instrumental participant (*tutu?a* ‘key’), but even here the instrumental argument is not expressed with the main verb *istu?a*, but with the preceding auxiliary *haiða* (see 1.4.3 p. 102 on the expression of focused arguments on the auxiliary verb).

(389) *Haiða tutu?a istu?a lumaq*

{ <i>haiða</i> } <sub>AUX</sub>	[ <i>tutu?a</i> ] <sub>UN:INSTR</sub>	{ <i>is-tu?a</i> }	[ <i>lumaq</i> ] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>
have	key	<u>INSTR</u> -open	house

‘There is a key to unlock the [door of the] house.’ (TVN-xx2-001:29)

Informants suggest it is grammatically possible to express the instrumental argument with the main verb, but find a construction like the one below awkward.

(390) ? *Istu?a tutu?a lumaq*

{ <i>is-tu?a</i> }	[ <i>tutu?a</i> ] <sub>UN:INSTR</sub>	[ <i>lumaq</i> ] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>
<u>INSTR</u> -open	key	house

‘Use a key to unlock the house.’ (constr.)

Since most instances in the corpus have no or only one overtly expressed participant, it is at the moment not entirely clear what exactly the influence of the prefix on argument realization is. It appears that, unlike other participant orientation prefixes such as RES.OBJ *sin-* (7.6.2) and BEN *ki-* (7.6.3), the instrumental orientation prefix does not change the order of the arguments following the main

verb, but rather – like UF *-un* and LF *-an* – influences the case assignment of personal pronouns.

### B. Classificatory meaning extension: TRANSFER

More commonly than instrumental orientation, the prefix *is-* expresses that an event involves a unidirectional transfer of goods, ideas, or other concrete or abstract objects.

(391) *isbaliv* ‘spend money’ < *is-* + *baliv* ‘buy, sell’ (transfer of money)

*isnanava* ‘teach; bestow instruction upon’ < *is-* + CV ‘REP’ + *nava* ‘teach’  
(transfer of knowledge)

*istaqu* ‘tell (a story)’ < *is-* + *taqu* ‘tell’ (transfer of knowledge)

TRANSFER *is-* very often binds to verbal roots referring to dynamic events. The only exceptions that I am aware of are stative verbal roots with the undergoer focus suffix *-un* or the locative focus suffix *-an*.

(392) *iskaðhavun* ‘be exposed to extreme cold’ < *is-* + *kaðhav* ‘cold’ + *-un* ‘UF’

*isvali?un* ‘be exposed to extreme amounts of sunlight’

< *is-* + *vali* ‘sun’ + *-un* ‘UF’

*isluvusan* ‘be exposed to extreme humidity’ < *is-* + *lucus* ‘wet’ + *-an* ‘LF’

The resulting forms invariably indicate that the participant focused on by the UF or LF suffix is negatively affected by exposure to a natural state expressed by the root. Interestingly, the affected participant of these forms is not encoded as an undergoer but as an agent. For instance, the affected first person in the example below is not

expressed by the neutral form *ǎaku* or *nak* (as would be expected from an undergoer form), but by the bound focused agent form *-?ak*.

(393) *Isluvusan?ak mihalaŋ*

{*is-luvus-an-?ak*}                      {*mi-halaŋ*}  
 TRANSFER-humid-LF-1S.F    NEG.EV-ill

‘I am ill because I was wet for too long.’ (TVN-xxx-xx1:128)

Unlike most other verbal prefixes, which tend not to occur in prefix combinations, TRANSFER *is-* quite readily combines with causative variants of basic prefixes.

(394) *ispatan?a* ‘give (somebody) to hear’

< *is-* + *pa-* ‘CAUS.DYN’ + *tan?a* ‘listen’

*ispinqansiap* ‘make somebody understand’

< *is-* + *pin-* ‘CAUS.BECOME’ + *qansiap* ‘understand’

*ispisihal* ‘make sth good or better, be a help to’

< *is-* + *pi-* ‘CAUS.STAT’ + *sihal* ‘good’

### C. Causative variant *pis-*

As mentioned on page 355, no causative variant of any participant orientation prefix, including INSTR *is-*, has so far been unambiguously attested in the corpus. Only one possible candidate of CAUS.INSTR *pis-* on a dynamic verbal stem has been found in the corpus. It was given in (251) C3 on p. 285, mentioned on p. 355 and is repeated here for convenience.

(395) **pis-**hutan

**CAUS.INSTR**-yam

‘grow yams’

#### D. Semantically specific meaning extension of causative *pis-*: RETURN

There are certain combinations of *pis-* with a small set of stative verbal stems that indicate that *pis-* has a causative meaning. They obligatorily occur in the undergoer or locative focus (i.e. with UF *-un* or LF *-an*) and express that a causer causes the causee to reach a state that it had previously attained but then lost again.

(396) *pisbaqaisun* ‘reheat’ < *pis-* + *baqais* ‘hot’ + *-un* ‘UF’

*pisduqlasun* ‘make something white again’

< *pis-* + *duqlas* ‘white’ + *-un* ‘UF’

*piskadbaun* ‘let something become hard again’

< *pis-* + *kadba* ‘hard’ + *-un* ‘UF’

*piskaðhavan* ‘refrigerator’ < *pis-* + *kaðhav* ‘cold’ + *-an* ‘LF’

#### E. Patient-incorporating meaning extension of *pis-*: FLOW

*Pis-* is also used in combination with nouns referring to bodily fluids. In these contexts, it indicates that these fluids flow or are excreted from the body.

(397) *pisusaq* ‘shed tears’ < *pis-* + *usaq* ‘tear’

*pisɲusul* ‘have snot coming out of one’s nose’

< *pis-* + *ɲusul* ‘snot from nose’

*pisɲuɲus* ‘bleed from one’s nose’ < *pis-* + *ɲuɲus* ‘blood from nose’

*pisqaidaŋ* ‘bleed’ < *pis-* + *qaidaŋ* ‘blood’

#### F. Patient-incorporating extension of *pis-*: PLAY

In combination with instruments and with the stem *qaitmal* the prefix *pis-* can be translated as English ‘play’.<sup>54</sup>

(398) *pislatuk* ‘play the mouth bow’ < *pis-* + *latuk* ‘mouth bow’

*pisqaitmal* ‘play’ < *pis-* + \**qaitmal* ‘blunt’

*pisqaŋqaŋ* ‘play the mouth harp’ < *pis-* + *qaŋqaŋ* ‘mouth harp’

The form *pisqaitmal* is of special interest. *Qaitmail* ‘blunt’ is an obsolete form. An informant indicated that the relationship between *qaitmal* ‘play’ and *qaitmal* ‘blunt’ was that in the old days, Bunun children practiced hunting and fighting by playing with blunt weapons. Even if this is not true, it is a beautiful example of folk etymology.

#### 7.6.2. Resultative object orientation *sin-*

	Form	Basic meaning		Meaning extension
<b>Neutral</b>	<i>sin-</i>	focus on the resultative object	→	—
<b>Causative</b>		—		
<b>Associative</b>		—		

Table 32 – Forms and meanings of RES.OBJ *sin-*

<sup>54</sup> The mouth bow and mouth harp are two traditional Bunun instruments.

The prefix *sin-* focuses on a concrete or abstract object that is created as the result state of a certain action. It is most commonly used with dynamic verbal roots and also often with verbs that imply the transfer of an abstract property, such as knowledge or help.

(399) *sinsadu?u* ‘acquire knowledge by visual perception’ < *sin-* + *sadu?u* ‘see’

(knowledge is the result of the act of seeing)

*sinsaipuk* ‘raise, bring up’ < *sin-* + *saipuk* ‘take care of’

(grown-up children or animals are the result of care taking)

*sinsaiv* ‘grant, bestow on’ < *sin-* + *saiv* ‘give’

(a gift or thing granted is the result of the act of giving)

*sindaŋað* ‘help (with a concrete result)’ < *sin-* + *daŋað* ‘help’

(help is the result of the act of helping)

*sintupa* ‘signify’ < *sin-* + *tupa* ‘say, call’

(meaning is the result of the act of speaking)

*Sin-* also occurs in deverbal nominalisations that refer to the result of the event expressed by the verbal root.

(400) *sinkuðakuða* ‘work to be done, work that has been done’

< *sin-* + *kuðakuða* ‘(n./v.) work, labour’

*sintakunav* ‘junk, litter’ < *sin-* + *takunav* ‘throw away’

*siniqumis* ‘life’ < *sin-* + *iqumis* ‘(n.) life; (v.) live’

I already mentioned on page 353 that RES.OBJ *sin-*, together with BEN *ki-*, is one of two affixes in Takivatan that trigger a change in the argument order. In (401) below, the verb *saiv* ‘give’ in combination with the prefix DYN *ma-* results in a neutral word order in which the agent (*bunun* ‘people’) immediately follows the verb and the undergoer (in this case the patient *aipi*) follows the agent. In (402), replacement of DYN *ma-* by the resultative object orientation prefix triggers an argument order shift in which the undergoer encoding the resultative object occurs in the first argument slot, a position normally taken by the agent.

(401) *Masaiv bunun aipi*

{ma-saiv}	[bunun] <sub>AG</sub>	[aipi] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>
DYN-give	people	DEM.S.PROX

‘People give/gave it [to me].’ (constr.)

(402) *Sinsaiv aipi bunun.*

{sin-saiv}	[aipi] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>	[bunun] <sub>AG</sub>
RES.OBJ-give	DEM.S.PROX	people

‘People have given it [to me].’ (TVN-xx2-003:42)

Note that it is very hard to attest argument order shifts like the one immediately above in actual discourse since the vast majority of clauses have only one explicitly expressed argument.

7.6.3. Beneficiary orientation *ki-*

	Form	Basic meaning	Meaning extension
Neutral	<i>ki-</i>	focus on the beneficiary	→ —
Causative		—	
Associative		—	

Table 33 – Forms and meanings of BEN *ki-*

The beneficiary orientation prefix *ki-* stresses the beneficiary of an action. It is relatively rare in normal discourse. Like RES.OBJ *sin-* in the previous subsection, it triggers a change in argument order, as illustrated on page 353.

## 7.7. Classificatory prefixes

Classificatory prefixes classify events into semantic subclasses that share observable similarities. The delineation of these semantic subclasses tends to be vague and irregular. For instance, the classificatory meaning extensions of *kin-* (7.5.6.D on p. 351) is used for events that produce a plopping sound, but creates verbs as varied as the two examples below.

(403) *kintaki* ‘defecate’ < *kin-* ‘PLOP’ + *taki* ‘excrement’

*kintuhuq* ‘stamp one’s feet’ < *kin-* ‘PLOP’ + *tuhuq* ‘stamp one’s feet’

Classificatory prefixes are rarely fully productive but typically combine with a restricted number of verbal and sometimes nominal stems and form idiosyncratic combinations.

Unlike prefixes of the basic types, they do not alter the pragmatic or grammatical behaviour of the verbal stem in any way, i.e. they do not put stress on a particular

aspect or participant of an event, nor do they have an influence on case marking or argument order. They can be ellipped, but only if their omission does not cause ambiguities.

When classificatory prefixes combine with nominal stems, they usually behave like patient-incorporating prefixes: the nominal stem is functionally a patientive undergoer of the event expressed by the verbal form which was created by adding the classificatory prefix (cf. 7.9 below).

Classificatory prefixes can either be independent prefixes or they can be meaning extensions from variants of basic prefixes. The latter are all discussed under their respective basic meanings in 7.4-7.6. An example is the associative dynamic prefix *ka-* that also has a classificatory meaning ‘MAKE’, as in the following examples.

(404) *kalumaq* ‘build a house’ < *ka-* ‘MAKE’ + *lumaq* ‘house’

*kaʔuni* ‘build’ < *ka-* ‘MAKE’ + *ʔuni* ‘develop’

Below are six classificatory prefixes that have no basic equivalents.

### 7.7.1. GRASP *kat-*

*Kat-* indicates an action that involves holding something in a tight and encircling grip.

(405) *katʔasaŋ* ‘found a village’ < *kat-* + *ʔasaŋ* ‘village’

*katluqaiʔan* ‘uterus’ < *kat-* + *luqai* ‘baby’ + *-an* ‘LF’

*katvaqan* ‘(in wrestling) throw somebody down by grabbing him by the knee’

< *kat-* + *\*-vaq-* ‘knee?’ + *-an* ‘LF’

*katpapiaq* ‘a large group of people’

< *kat-* + CV ‘HUM’ + *piaq* ‘how many’

*Katluqaiʔan* literally means ‘the location that holds the [unborn] baby’ and is best analyzed as a locative focus nominalisation of a form that was originally verbal in nature (in line with 6.4.2.A).

### 7.7.2. BURN *mis-*

*Mis-* attaches to a subclass of verbs that mean ‘burn’.

(406) *misbusuq* ‘drunk’ < *mis-* + *busuq* ‘drunk’

*misnuduʔ* ‘warm oneself at the fire’

< *mis-* + *nuduʔ* ‘warm oneself at the fire’

*mistabað* ‘burn down’ < *mis-* + *tabað* ‘burn down’

The inclusion of *misbusuq* ‘drunk’ is somewhat unusual at first sight, but is likely to be motivated by an association of alcohol with heat (think of English *firewater*). Incidentally, many other Austronesian languages have cognates of *busuq* that mean ‘satiated’, e.g. Tagalog *busog* ‘satiated, full’.<sup>55</sup>

### 7.7.3. FORK *pala-*

The prefix *pala-* affixes to roots referring to a subclass of actions that involve splitting or setting apart into two directions.

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<sup>55</sup> Randy LaPolla pers. comm.; cf. Blust (1995).

- (407) *palavađan* ‘branch off, fork (of roads)’ < *pala-* + *vađan* ‘branch (in a road)’  
*palavaivi* ‘set apart’ < *pala-* + *vaivi* ‘different’

#### 7.7.4. SEPARATE *pasi-*

*Pasi-* is similar, but appears to refer to a subclass of events that involve separating or removing an object from a point of reference, rather than splitting it up.

- (408) *pasihalas* ‘far away’ < *pasi-* + *halas* ‘away from’  
*pasihaul* ‘go to a geographically lower location’  
 < *pasi-* + *haul* ‘low location; river, swamp’  
*pasiqaniju* ‘take a picture’ < *pasi-* + *qaniju* ‘picture’

#### 7.7.5. SHOCK *tin-*

Finally, the classificatory prefix *tin-* refers to events that involve a sudden or repeated shocking movement.

- (409) *tindaŋkul* ‘run’ < *tin-* + *daŋkul* ‘run’  
*tindiŋki* ‘get an electric shock’ < *tin-* + *diŋki* ‘electricity’  
*tinpalava?ađ* ‘branch out’ < *tin-* + *palava?ađ* ‘fork out, branch out, split off’  
*tinvuquvq* ‘move back and forth’ < *tin-* + *vuquvq* ‘shake’

*Tin-* is also used as a patient-incorporating prefix meaning ‘to harvest’ (see 7.9.13).

### 7.8. Semantically specific prefixes

Semantically specific prefixes exclusively combine with verbal stems and derive verbs referring to a set of events that is semantically more restricted than the set to which the verbal stem in isolation would have. In other words, semantically specific prefixes are always semantically restrictive, unlike classificatory prefixes and event type prefixes. This is illustrated by the three examples in (410) below.

(410) <u>Event type:</u>	<i>daiŋ</i>	↔	<i>ma-daiŋ</i>	
			<i>STAT-daiŋ</i>	
	‘big’	=	‘big’	
<u>Classificatory:</u>	<i>busuq</i>	↔	<i>mis-busuq</i>	
			<i>BURN-drunk</i>	
	‘be drunk’	=	‘be drunk’	
<u>Semantically specific:</u>	<i>siða</i>	↔	<i>pa-siða</i>	
			<i>HI.AG-take</i>	
	‘take, grab’	≠	‘marry’	

Adding the stative event type prefix *ma-* to the adjectival stem *daiŋ* ‘big’ does not cause any meaning shift: on a denotational level *daiŋ* and *madaiŋ* mean exactly the same thing. The only difference is that the prefixed form explicitly expresses that its host should be interpreted as a stative event. Similarly, the stem *busuq* ‘drunk’ is denotationally identical and can be used in exactly the same syntactic environments as the complex form with the classificatory prefix *mis-* ‘BURN’. On the other hand,

when HI.AG *pa-* (7.5.1.D on page 340) is added to *siða* ‘grasp’, the resulting form *pasiða* has a more narrow interpretation than the verbal stem *siða* in isolation: *pasiða* refers to a subset of events that involve acts of taking (marrying is taking a wife).

Semantically specific prefixes mainly combine with verbal stems and occasionally with nominal stems referring to events (an example of the latter is *matukumis* in (412) below). Semantically specific prefixes can be ellipted if they can be recovered from the context. For example, in (411) below the first sentence makes it clear that the conversation is dealing with marriage. As a result, *pa-* (and all arguments) can be stripped from the answer to the question.

(411) Q: Pasiðaʔas binanauʔaǎ? — A: Siða.

{pa-siða}{-ʔas]<sub>AG</sub> [binanauʔaǎ]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

HI.AG-grab-2S.N wife

{siða}

grab

‘Did you already marry? — Yes, I already married.’ (constr.)

In a sense, semantically specific prefixes are extended prefixes that can be classified neither as classificatory, nor as patient-incorporating prefixes.

Prefix	Meaning	Gloss	Basic equivalent	
<i>pa-</i>	high agency	HI.AG	<i>pa-</i> ‘CAUS.DYN’	7.5.1.D
<i>ka-</i>	high agency / physical involvement	HI.AG	<i>ka-</i> ‘ASSOC.DYN’	7.5.1.G
<i>pis-</i>	let return to previous state	RETURN	<i>pis-</i> ‘CAUS.INSTR’	7.6.1.D
<i>matu-</i>	turns an emotive event into a dynamic event	DYN.EMO	—	
<i>paka-</i>	Indicates that an agent brings about a certain state	AGIT	—	

Table 34 – List of semantically specific prefixes

Most are meaning extensions of basic prefixes. So far, I have only found one prefix that is not an extension of a basic prefix.

#### 7.8.1. Emotive-to-dynamic prefix *matu-*

*Matu-* is a prefix that turns a root expressing an emotive event into an action in which the emotion is communicated or otherwise transferred to a recipient.

(412) *matukumis* ‘bestow grace upon’ < *matu-* + *-kumis* ‘grace, luck’

*matumasqaiṅ* ‘behave grateful toward’ < *matu-* + *masqaiṅ* ‘grateful’

*matunaskal* ‘behave happy toward’ < *matu-* + *naskal* ‘happy’

#### 7.8.2. Agitative *paka-*

The prefix *paka-* can be used with stative (adjectival) roots, in which case it generally indicates that the agent has a certain influence (with properties expressed by the verb root).

(413) *pakadiqla* ‘be a bad influence’ < *paka-* + *diqla* ‘bad’

*pakasihal* ‘be a good influence’ < *paka-* + *sihal* ‘good’

### 7.9. Patient-incorporating prefixes

Patient-incorporating prefixes are verbalising prefixes that behave morphologically like prefixes but have main verb semantics. They combine with nominal stems and derive verbs that express events in which the nominal stem functions as a patient. An example is the prefix *pu-* ‘HUNT’:

- (414) *puqanvaŋ* ‘hunt for sambar’ < *pu-* + *qanvaŋ* ‘sambar’  
*puvanis* ‘hunt for wild pig’ < *pu-* + *vanis* ‘wild pig’

It is tempting to interpret this process as the inverse of noun-incorporation, in which it is not a noun that is incorporated into a verb, but a prefix with verbal semantics into a nominal stem. Noun incorporation involves verb-noun compounding that results in a verbal form in which the verb is the head and the status of the noun as an independent syntactic argument and/or word is somehow reduced (see e.g. Mithun (1984)). Prefixation with patient-incorporating prefixes also results in a verbal form, but through adding a prefix with event semantics (in the examples above *pu-* ‘HUNT’) to a nominal head.

In a number of cases, patient-incorporating prefixes are reduced forms of full verbs and are recognized as such by native speakers. This is the case for *muda-* (7.9.5) ‘go’ which clearly derives from the verb *mudan* ‘go, walk’; *qu-* ‘drink’ (7.9.7), which can be used as an independent verb; and *sa-* ‘see’ (7.9.8), which in present-day Takivatan cannot be used as an independent verb but which historically derives from *sadu?u* ‘see’.

In the majority of cases, however, they are the result of meaning specializations of the semantically more general classificatory prefixes discussed in the previous subsection. For instance, although adding *pu-* to a noun referring to an animal can create a derived form meaning ‘to hunt for X’, as shown in the examples (414) above, *pu-* has no verbal semantics in isolation: there is no independent or bound verbal stem *\*pu(-)* in Takivatan.

I mentioned on page 365 that when classificatory prefixes combine with nominal stems, they behave like patient-incorporating prefixes, i.e. the nominal stem functions as a patientive undergoer of the event expressed by the verbal form as a whole. In other respects, patient-incorporating prefixes are different from classificatory prefixes. First of all, they are highly selective and only combine with nominal stems (except for *sa-*, see 7.9.8), unlike classificatory prefixes, which can combine with verbal and sometimes with nominal stems (see 7.7 above). Secondly, patient-incorporating prefixes are semantically specific and have clear event semantics, whereas we saw that most classificatory prefixes are semantically vague. Thirdly, classificatory prefixes can be ellipted when they are recoverable from the discourse context. This is never the case for patient-incorporating prefixes.

Patient-incorporating prefixes cannot occur in the undergoer focus and are never accompanied by undergoer arguments, which makes sense because a patient is already encoded as a part of the verb. However, a small number of forms inherently occur in the locative focus (see *kunsapilan* in 7.9.2 and *samaskainan* in 7.9.8). Below is a list of commonly occurring patient-incorporating prefixes.

### 7.9.1. LIGHTNING *bit-*

The patient-incorporating prefix *bit-* refers to the occurrence of lightning.

(415) *bitvaqan* ‘produce lightning’ < *bit-* + *-vaqan* ‘lightning’

Not surprisingly, only one derived form with *bit-* ‘LIGHTNING’ has been attested in Takivatan and *-vaqan* is a bound stem which only occurs in this one derived form. It still makes sense to analyse *bit-* as a prefix, since it occurs in other Bunun dialects with different stems. Nihira (1988) mentions the following forms in other dialects: *bit-vah* ‘lightning’, *bi-liva* ‘lightning (with rolling thunder)’ and *bit-huŋ* ‘lightning’.

### 7.9.2. WEAR *kun-*

The prefix *kun-* signifies ‘wear’ and is only used for shoes.

(416) *kunsapilan* ‘wear shoes’ < *kun-* + *sapil* ‘shoe’ + *-an* ‘LF’

### 7.9.3. SPEAK *malas-*

*Malas-* ‘(be able to) speak’ combines with nouns referring to languages. It creates intransitive stative verbs that are often used in combination with transitive speech verbs. It might be related to the adjectivizing prefix *malas-*, which means ‘be like, approximate the properties of’.

(417) *malasamelika* ‘speak English’ < *malas-* + *Amelika* ‘America(n)’

*malasbunun* ‘speak Bunun’ < *malas-* + *Bunun* ‘Bunun’

*malasput* ‘speak Taiwanese’ < *malas-* + *Put* ‘Taiwanese’

*malastaulu* ‘speak Chinese’ < *malas-* + *Taulu* ‘China, Chinese’

#### 7.9.4. USE *maqu-*

The prefix *maqu-* expresses that the object expressed by the nominal stem is utilized as an instrument.

(418) *maquhima* ‘use one’s hands’ < *maqu-* + *hima* ‘hand’

*maqulukis* ‘use wood (e.g. to make fire)’ < *maqu-* + *lukis* ‘tree’

*maquqaqtis* ‘use chopsticks’ < *maqu-* + *qaqtis* ‘chopstick’

#### 7.9.5. WALK *muda-*

I only found one occurrence of *muda-* ‘go, walk’. It is clearly related to the motion verb *mudan* ‘go, walk’.

(419) *mudavili* ‘go to the left’ < *muda-* + *vili* ‘left side’

#### 7.9.6. SPIT *pas-*

The prefix *pas-* seems to mean ‘spit out’ or ‘throw out’. The first example below is a beautiful verb-to-noun zero-derivation.

(420) *pasninibu* ‘female duck’ (lit: ‘she that spits out eggs habitually’)

< *pas-* + CV ‘HABIT’ + *nibu* ‘egg’

*pasnipaq* ‘spit’ < *pas-* + *nipaq* ‘saliva’

### 7.9.7. DRINK *qu-*

The patient-incorporating prefix *qu-* means ‘to drink’.

(421) *qudan* ‘drink (water)’ < *qu-* + *dan[um]* ‘water’

*qudanum* ‘drink water’ < *qu-* + *danum* ‘water’

*quvus* ‘drink liquor’ < *qu-* + *vus* ‘sweet; millet wine’

Historically, *qu-* originates from a full verb meaning to drink. It could be a shortened form of *qudan* or, alternatively, *qudan* could be a reduced form of *qudanum*. The present status of *qu-* as a prefix is somewhat problematic, since on the one hand it is often perceived by speakers as a bound form, but on the other hand it can occur as a free morpheme in colloquial speech in some restricted contexts (e.g. as an imperative *Qu!* ‘Drink!’).

### 7.9.8. SEE *sa-*

The prefix *sa-* means ‘see, observe’. It is an atypical patient-incorporating prefix in that it binds to adjectives and auxiliaries.

(422) *samantuk* ‘keep close watch on’ < *sa-* + *mantuk* ‘genuine’

*samaskainan* ‘be proud of’ < *sa-* + *maskain* ‘pride’ + *-an* ‘LF’

Nihira (1988:304) remarks that the high-frequency verb *sadu?u* ‘see’ also is a morphologically complex form consisting of the prefix *sa-* ‘see’ and the now obsolete root *du* ‘encounter’. This would explain why *sadu* has final stress and a long final vowel ([sa<sup>1</sup>du:]) instead of penultimate stress like all other disyllabic roots: prefixes in Takivatan never alter word stress (see 3.2.2.B). There is documentary

evidence for the existence of a root *du* that is related to the expressing of encounter or visual perception.

#### 7.9.9. WASH *tal-*

*Tal-* is a patient-incorporating prefix meaning ‘wash’ and is exclusively used for body parts.

(423) *talaqais* ‘wash one’s face’ < *tal-* + *laqais* ‘face’

*talbantas* ‘wash one’s feet’ < *tal-* + *bantas* ‘leg and foot’

*talhima* ‘wash one’s hands’ < *tal-* + *hima* ‘hand’

#### 7.9.10. HAVE.TRAIT *tapu-*

*Tapu-* creates a stative verb and indicates that the nominal stem to which it attaches is a distinctive characteristic of the agent of the stative verb.

(424) *taputaki* ‘prone to defecating, like to shit’ < *tapu-* + *taki* ‘excrement’

*taputian* ‘big-bellied, have a big belly’ < *tapu-* + *tian* ‘belly’

#### 7.9.11. BELONG *tastu-*

*Tastu-* creates stative verbs that indicate that the focused argument of the verb inherently belongs to the entity expressed by the nominal stem. This is clear for *tastulumaq* and *tastu?asaŋ* below. *Tastumiqumis* is a time word and is verbal in nature.

- (425) *tastulumaq* ‘belong to a certain household’ < *tastu-* + *lumaq* ‘house, home’  
*tastumiqumis* ‘in one’s life, during one’s lifespan’ < *tastu-* + *miqumis* ‘life’  
*tastuʔasaŋ* ‘belong to a certain village’ < *tastu-* + *ʔasaŋ* ‘village’

#### 7.9.12. GIVE.BIRTH *taus-/tus-*

The prefix *taus-* (sometimes reduced to *tus-*) means ‘give birth to’.

- (426) *tausʔusʔan* ‘first-born child’ < *taus-* + *\*ʔusʔan*<sup>56</sup>  
*tausʔuvað* ‘give birth to a child’ < *tus-* + *uvað* ‘child’

The large number of examples in Nihira (1988:385) indicate that this prefix is productively used in all Bunun dialects.

#### 7.9.13. HARVEST *tin-*

*Tin-* as a patient-incorporating prefix means ‘harvest’. We already saw in 7.7.5 above that *tin-* is a classificatory prefix referring to sudden shocking movements. That might have been the basis for its use as a patient-incorporating prefix meaning ‘harvest’ (harvesting typically involves pulling, cutting or snapping off crops with a quick sudden movement).

- (427) *tinhuduq* ‘pick bamboo sprouts’ < *tin-* + *huduq* ‘bamboo sprout’  
*tinhutan* ‘harvest yams’ < *tin-* + *hutan* ‘yam’  
*tinlukis* ‘cut trees’ < *tin-* + *lukis* ‘tree’

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<sup>56</sup> *\*ʔusʔan* is almost certainly a reduced form of *taŋus* ‘first, foremost’ and *-an* ‘LF’. The locative focus suffix nominalises the entire construction, i.e. *taus-taŋus* ‘give birth to the first child’ + *-an* ‘LF: locus of action NMZ’ (see 6.4.5).

#### 7.9.14. DRIVE *tum-*

The prefix *tum-* means ‘drive’ or ‘ride’ and is exclusively used used for vehicles.

(428) *tumlaihlaih* ‘drive a car’ < *tum-* + *laihlaih* ‘car’

*tumvasu* ‘take the bus/train’ < *tum-* + *vasu* ‘bus/train’

*tum?utuvai* ‘ride a motorcycle’ < *tum-* + *utuvai* ‘motorcycle’

### 7.10. Overview: basic and extended prefixes

Table 35 gives a contrastive overview of the main properties of basic and extended types of prefixes. Basic prefix types and classificatory prefixes are typically semantically non-restrictive, i.e. the set of events to which the resulting form refers is equal to the set of events of the verbal stem in isolation. Semantically specific prefixes, on the other hand, are semantically restrictive: the forms they create specify a subset of the events to which the stem in isolation has the potential to refer. This has been demonstrated on page 368. Semantic restrictiveness is not relevant for combinations of prefixes with nominal stems.

	BASIC			EXTENDED		
	Locative	Event type	Participant orientation	Classificatory	Semantically specific	Patient-incorporating
Semantically non-restrictive	+++	+++	+++	+++	—	—
Causative and associative forms	++	++	+	—	—	—
Focus on segment of the event	+++	+++	—	—	—	—
Focus on participant in the event	—	—	+++	—	—	—
Change argument order <sup>57</sup>	—	—	++	—	—	—
Change case marking <sup>57</sup>	—	—	+	—	—	—
Can be ellipted	++	+++	—	++	++	—
Takes verbal hosts	++	+++	+++	++	++	—
Takes nominal hosts	++	+	+	+	+	+++
Takes other hosts	++	+	—	+	+	+

+++ : almost always    ++ : often    + : sometimes    — : never/not applicable

**Table 35 – Properties of basic and extended types of verbal prefixes**

Only basic prefixes have causative or associative variants, but not all forms have been attested for all prefixes and it is not clear that participant orientation prefixes have causative or associative forms at all (see Table 19 on page 294). Extended prefixes never have variant forms. A considerable number of extended prefixes are derived from individual variants of basic prefixes (e.g. *pa-* ‘HLAG’ from *pa-* ‘CAUS.DYN’; see 7.5.1.D).

Basic prefixes always have some pragmatic-syntactic function: they draw attention to a segment of the event described by the stem (in the case of locative and event

<sup>57</sup> Refers to the behaviour of the neutral variant, not the causative and/or associative forms.

type prefixes) or to a participant associated with the event (in the case of participant orientation prefixes). Extended prefixes, on the other hand, do no such thing.

Addition of a verbal prefix typically does not change the argument order or case marking of the arguments expressed in the clause, with the exception of the three participant orientation prefixes. As discussed in 7.6, INSTR *is-* influences case assignment to person pronouns and RES.OBJ *sin-* and BEN *ki-* change both the argument order and pronominal case.

A typologically uncommon feature of verbal prefixes in Takivatan is that they can be ellipped when they are recoverable from the discourse context. Ellipsis tends to occur in informal contexts and high-frequency prefixes are more likely to get ellipped than low-frequency prefixes. Participant orientation prefixes and patient-incorporating prefixes never get ellipped for obvious reasons: the former have a syntactic effect which would be cancelled when they are not expressed; the latter combine with nominal stems and their omission would cause bare noun stems to occur in predicational slots, something that is only allowed in equational clauses.

Most types of prefixes can combine with verbal and nominal stems. Except for patient-incorporating prefixes, combinations with verbal stems are much more common. Interestingly, some prefixes productively combine with other word classes such as pronouns or numerals.

## 7.11. Disyllabic prefixes and prefix combinations

### 7.11.1. Disyllabic prefixes

Although there is a tendency for verbal prefixes to be monosyllabic, disyllabic prefixes are not uncommon in Takivatan. Below is a list of disyllabic prefixes discussed in this chapter.

Subtype	Prefix	Meaning	Section
Locative	<i>atan-</i>	itinerary event; ‘arrive at’	7.4.2
	<i>pana-</i>	itinerary event; ‘arrive at’	7.4.4
	<i>tana-</i>	directional event; ‘toward’	7.4.8
	<i>malan-</i>	viative; ‘following’	7.4.10
	<i>tauna-</i>	perlative event; ‘pass through’	7.4.11
	<i>maisna-</i>	ablative event; ‘from’	7.4.12
Event type	<i>palan-</i>	stative event	7.5.5
	<i>panka-</i>	stative event	7.5.5
Classificatory	<i>pala-</i>	splitting event	7.7.3
	<i>pasi-</i>	separating event	7.7.4
Semantically specific	<i>matu-</i>	turns emotive into dynamic event	7.8.1
	<i>paka-</i>	indicates agent brings about stative event	7.8.2
Patient-incorporating	<i>malas-</i>	‘speak (a language)’	7.9.3
	<i>maqu-</i>	‘use’	7.9.4
	<i>muda-</i>	‘walk’	7.9.5
	<i>tapu-</i>	‘have as a trait’	7.9.10
	<i>tastu-</i>	‘belong to’	7.9.11

Table 36 – List of disyllabic verbal prefixes in 7.4-7.10

In most cases, there is no solid evidence that these forms go back to historical complex forms and certainly from a synchronic point-of-view most forms appear to be non-compositional.

One possible exception is the semantically specific prefix *paka-*. In many Austronesian languages, this form is analysed as a stative causative and there is

ongoing debate as to whether this form is monomorphemic or a composition of causative *pa-* and a stative prefix *ka-* (cf. Zeitoun & Huang (2000) and Blust (2003b)). In Takivatan Bunun, *paka-* has so far not been attested as a causative and there is therefore no sound reason to analyse the presently existing form as morphologically complex, although it is possible that diachronically it derives from a bimorphemic sequence.

### 7.11.2. Prefix combinations

Many verbal prefixes are mutually exclusive. For instance, the majority of locative prefixes discussed in 7.4 can normally not occur with any other verbal prefixes. The only attested exceptions are CAUS.ALL *paisna-* and ITIN *pana-* preceded by *ma-*. An example of *pana-* is given below.

(429) [...] Mapanahan dalaq

{ma-pana-han} [dalaq]<sub>PLACE</sub>

HI.AG-ITIN-go ground

‘[You shot below the boar, and the bullet went under it, and] it plunged into the ground.’ (TVN-008-002:89)

Combinations of verbal prefixes on the same stem are relatively rare but not impossible. In general, it appears that prefix combinations can at most contain one basic prefix. If more than one apparent basic prefix occurs, all except one are best interpreted as meaning extensions. This is for instance the case in (429): both *ma-* and *pana-* could be interpreted as basic prefixes (respectively a dynamic verb



→ is-pin-qansiap

TRANSFER-CAUS.BECOME-understand

‘be made to understand (by being explained)’

Interestingly, informants are hesitant to approve forms containing *ispin-* in which *is-* is interpreted as INSTR *is-* and not as an indicator of a TRANSFER verb.

## 7.12. Anticipatory constructions

Anticipatory sequences seem to be an exclusive characteristic of a small number of Formosan languages. They were first described for Isbukun Bunun in Nojima (1996) and were later documented for Siraya in Adelaar (1997), Adelaar (2004) and Tsuchida (2000) and for Tsou in Tsuchida (1989). Anticipation is a syntactic phenomenon in which the main verb in a complex verb phrase is foreshadowed by a bound morpheme on a verbal element that precedes it (typically on the first auxiliary verb of the clause). This bound morpheme can be:

- (1) A classificatory or event type prefix identical to the one on the main verb  
(Type 1 AS)
- (2) A classificatory or event type prefix that is semantically compatible with the event expressed by the main verb (Type 2 AS)
- (3) A non-morphemic initial segment of the main verb, often the first syllable  
(Type 3 AS)

So far, Siraya is the only language for which all three options above have been documented. (431) is an example of the first option: the anticipatory *paka-* is simply

a repetition of the causative prefix on the main verb. In (432), the anticipatory sequence *pää-* ‘give, transfer’ corresponds semantically to the main verb *pudaäux*, although there is no formal similarity between the two (option 2). In (433), the non-morphemic initial CCV-sequence of *kmĩta* is copied onto the preceding auxiliary verb (option 3).

(431) paka-lpux-kaw paka-kuptix ĩau-an-da

AS-can-2S.AG CAUS-purify 1S-LOC-adversative

‘[If you wish] you are able to purify me.’ (Adelaar 2004:339)

(432) pää-ĩmød-ey-(m)au-kaw p-u-daäux

AS(give)-all-IR-1S.UN-2S.AG CAUS-MOT-payment

‘I will pay you everything’ (Adelaar 2004:342)

(433) ka Raraman-uhu ka kmi-dung k(m)ĩta  
LNK Father-2S.OBL LNK AS-do.in.secret <AF>-look

pää-vli-a ĩmhu-an tu rämäx

GIVE-do.in.return-IR 2S-LOC LOC light

‘and your Father Who sees in secret will reward you openly’ (Adelaar 2004:341)

In Isbukun Bunun (Nojima (1996)), only the first two types have been attested. In sentence (434), a classificatory prefix on the main verb is copied onto the preceding auxiliary (option 1). In (435), the anticipatory sequence is selected based on semantic similarity with the main verb (option 2). Note that the exact nature of this

semantic relationship is quite irregular: although *si-* means ‘to pull’ according to Nojima (1996), there is no verb form *\*si-kulut* ‘to saw’, only *ma-kulut*.

- (434) mis-utmag      mis-busuk  
AS-carelessly    BURN-drunk

‘He carelessly became drunk’ (Nojima 1996:17)

- (435) si-pusan-un              ma-kulut  
AS(PULL)-twice-UF    DYN-saw

‘cut something two times’ (Nojima 1996:19)

Anticipatory sequences appear to be relatively common in Isbukun Bunun and it is therefore strange that they are relatively rare in Takivatan Bunun. So far, only two examples have been attested of a Type 1 AS. The first appears in (434). The second is given below in (436), where the dynamic event marker *ma-* on the main verb *matibusu* ‘explode’ is foreshadowed by literal repetition on the auxiliary verb *tiŋna* ‘another time’.

- (436) [...] Matiŋna tinpusa matisbuŋ

{ma-tiŋna}<sub>AUX</sub>              [tin-pusa]<sub>TIME</sub>    {ma-tisbuŋ}  
AS(DYN)-another.time    time-second    DYN-explode

‘[...], again there was a second explosion.’ (TVN-008-002:155)

All other cases of anticipatory constructions in Takivatan are of the second type, i.e. a morpheme that is semantically compatible with the event expressed by the main

verb is foreshadowed on the first auxiliary of the clause. In example (437) below, the prefix *ma-* on the auxiliary *duanaʔan* ‘almost’ foreshadows the main verb *isbuʔan* ‘graduate’. DYN *ma-* on the auxiliary indicates that the main verb is a dynamic event, although the form *ma-isbuʔan* itself does not exist.

(437) Maduanaʔan tudip taunhan isbuʔana, [...]

{ma-duanaʔan}<sub>AUX</sub> [tudip]<sub>TIME</sub> {taun-han}<sub>AUX</sub> {isbuʔan-a}  
AS(DYN)-almost past.time PERL-go.to graduate-SUBORD

‘When we would almost graduate, [the war would soon be over.]’ (TVN-008-002:29)

The same happens in (438), where *ma-* on the time word *qabas* anticipates the status of *qanup* ‘hunt’ as a dynamic event. Again, the form *maqanup* is not normally used.

(438) Maqabas madaiŋʔaḏ qanupa, [...]

{ma-qabas}<sub>AUX</sub> [madaiŋʔaḏ]<sub>AG</sub> {qanup-a}  
AS(DYN)-old.times elder hunt-SUBORD

‘When the elders went hunting in the old days, [...]’ (TVN-012-002:92)

In (439), the allative locative event expressed by *munhaul* ‘go down’ is anticipated by ALL *mu-* on the auxiliary verb. Interestingly, the allative prefixes on auxiliary and main verb are different: *mu-* is typically used for low-volitional allative events; *mun-* tends to be used for highly volitional allatives. In this particular example, the

choice of *mu-* on the auxiliary might have been motivated by the fact that *ɲaus* has an initial nasal and the sequence [nɲ] does normally not occur in Takivatan.

(439) Muɲausin munhaulti ʔisaq [...]

{mu-ɲaus-in}<sub>AUX</sub>      {mun-haul-ti}      [ʔisaq]<sub>PLACE</sub>

AS(ALL)-first-PRV      ALL-below-DEF.REF.PROX      where

‘they first had to go down there [to grow yams].’ (TVN-012-002:50)

These constructions are rare in Takivatan; the examples above form in fact the majority of attested occurrences of AS in the corpus used in this study.

One explanation for the disappearance of anticipation in Takivatan – or its appearance in Isbukun – is that the Isbukun variant in Nojima (1996) is spoken in the county Kaohsiung on the west coast of Taiwan, relatively close to the area where Siraya was spoken. Language contact with Siraya could have been a trigger for the development of anticipation in Isbukun. Another possibility is that anticipation was originally present in all Bunun dialects, but disappeared in Takivatan for some reason. Takivatan has a very active system of affix omission, in which bound morphemes can be omitted when they are deemed pragmatically redundant. Anticipatory sequences are always redundant and are therefore especially prone to omission, which might have led to erosion and eventually complete loss. Affix omission appears much less common in Isbukun Bunun than in Takivatan.

## Chapter 8. Reduplication

This chapter gives an overview of reduplicative processes found in Takivatan Bunun. After a short introduction, sections 8.2-8.7 discuss the various functions of typical reduplicative patterns in Takivatan Bunun. Section 8.8 discusses a number of irregular reduplicative patterns. In section 8.9, we will have a look at an unusual process in which multiple reduplicative patterns are used in combination on a clausal level. Section 8.10 contains an overview of all reduplicative patterns and their functions.

### 8.1. Introduction

As in many Austronesian languages, reduplication is a very productive phenomenon in Bunun dialects. Reduplication in the Isbukun Bunun dialect has been previously described by Lin et al. (2001). A comparative overview of reduplication in most Formosan languages, including Isbukun Bunun, is given in Zeitoun & Wu (2006).

Apart from a small number of exceptions reduplication in Takivatan always operates on the root and never includes any affixes. There are three main formal reduplication patterns, here given in order of commonality:

- (11) In CV-reduplication, the initial CV of the root is reduplicated ( $C_1V_1 \rightarrow C_1V_1-C_1V_1$ ).

(12) In **root-reduplication**, the root of a lexeme is reduplicated ( $\sqrt{v} \rightarrow \sqrt{v}\text{-}\sqrt{v}$ ).

(13) In **Ca-reduplication**, the initial consonant is reduplicated and followed by /a/

( $C_1V_1 \rightarrow C_1/a/C_1V_1$ ).

In a number of cases discussed in 8.8 the stem (i.e. the root plus a focus suffix) minus the coda consonant is reduplicated ( $C_1\dots V_nC_n \rightarrow C_1\dots V_n-C_1\dots V_nC_n$ ) and it is also possible for certain suffixes to get drawn into the reduplicated pattern, with or without deletion of the coda. Based on the data in Zeitoun & Wu (2006), it appears that such patterns, which are unusual in Takivatan, are not uncommon in a number of other Formosan languages.

In terms of grammatical function, reduplication seems to interact only weakly with grammatical phenomena in the language (e.g. it does not seem to restrict or control the realization of affixes). It is therefore best treated as a separate process rather than, for instance, part of the aspectual system, even though some forms of reduplication might have an aspectual meaning.

## 8.2. Historical reduplication

A number of roots in Takivatan exclusively occur in a reduplicated form, although it is likely that historically most of them can be traced back to simple roots. I will refer to them here as historical or inherent reduplications. Quite a large number of stem-reduplicated verbs are onomatopoeic. Reduplication here indicates a repeated sound corresponding to the action expressed by the verb. Some examples:

(440) *badaqbadaq* ‘make the sound of falling water’

*qaisqais* ‘wipe, mop’

*tauktauk* ‘hit a nail’

*tuktuk* ‘cut off using an axe’

*tuntun* ‘bump against’

*qanqan* ‘traditional mouth harp’

In some cases, these verbs have corresponding nominal derivations or a repeated action is expressed by a sound-symbolic noun:

(441) *hivhiv* ‘breeze’

*luluv* ‘wind’

*tauktauk* ‘an (iron) nail’

*tutuntun* ‘hammer’ < CV ‘HABIT’ + *tuntun* ‘hit something with a hammer’

Historical reduplication also occurs in a number of onomatopoeic animal names:

(442) *vivi* ‘duck’                      *?ap?ap* ‘big black frog’

*quluqulu* ‘frog’                      *?aup?aup* ‘small black frog’

The examples above can probably not be traced back to a indivisible root. A number of verbs are inherently reduplicated not because they are onomatopoeic, but because they convey an action that involves repetition of some sort, often a repeated back-and-forth movement:

(443) *pavuqvuvuq* ‘shake (hands)’                      *vuqvuvuq* ‘stir, move, budge’

*vaḏaqvaḏaq* ‘squirm’



It is likely that both *baŋu* ‘bluebottle fly’ and *kulpa* ‘toad’ are onomatopoeic roots. Habitual reduplication would then indicate ‘an animal that makes sound X’.

### 8.3. Intensifying reduplication

The most common form of reduplication in actual texts is CV-reduplication of adjectives or auxiliaries with an intensifying meaning. Its occurrence is often quite idiosyncratic, involving stems like *sihal* ‘good’, as in (447) below, or *tuða* ‘real, veritable’ and *mantuk* ‘real, genuine’ as in (448).

(447) Pa na maqai masisihal titi?a [...].

Aupa	na	maqai	{ <u>ma-⟨si⟩sihal</u> }	[titi] <sub>AG-?a</sub>
thus	IRR	if	<u>STAT-⟨INTENS⟩-be.good</u>	meat-SUBORD

‘And if the meat was very good, [the hunter should store it well for his wife.]’

(TVN-012-001:52)

(448) Pa maisi?ita tutuða tu maqansiap tu u mamantuka Tama Diqanin tu.

[Au]pa	{ <u>maisi-?ita</u> }	c <sub>1</sub>  c <sub>2</sub>
--------	-----------------------	--------------------------------

thus	from-there
------	------------

{ <u>⟨tu⟩tuða</u> }	<sub>AUX</sub>	tu	{ <u>ma-qansiap</u> }	tu	c <sub>2</sub>   <sub>COMPL3</sub>
<u>⟨INTENS⟩-be.real</u>	COMPL	DYN-understand	COMPL		

u	{ <u>⟨ma⟩mantuk-a</u> }	<sub>AUX</sub>	[Tama Diqanin] <sub>AG</sub>	tu
---	-------------------------	----------------	------------------------------	----

yes	<u>⟨INTENS⟩-be.genuine-LNK</u>	father heaven	COMPL
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‘And from that moment on, I really understand that the Father in Heaven was something real.’ (TVN-008-002:215)

However, this form of reduplication is fully productive and can be applied to almost any root expressing a stative event and to many auxiliaries.

(449) Nanu saduan Bunun tudip tu ?aǎ?aǎ matatamasaǎ.

{nanu}<sub>AUX</sub> {sadu-an} c1|COMPL2

verily watch-LF

[Bunun]<sub>AG</sub> {tudip}<sub>AUX</sub> tu {?aǎ?aǎ}<sub>AUX</sub> {ma-⟨ta⟩tamasaǎ}

Bunun past.time COMPL all.equally STAT-⟨INTENS⟩-powerful

‘You could really see that the Bunun in those days were all equally very powerful.’ (TVN-008-002:24)

#### 8.4. Aspectual reduplication

CV-reduplication on verbs or verb-like word classes, such as auxiliaries or adjectives, often expresses lexical aspect (or Aktionsart) of some kind. There are no explicit syntactic cues as to which aspect is expressed and the exact interpretation of this type of reduplication usually depends on the semantics of the reduplicated verb in its context.

## 8.4.1. Habitual reduplication

Sentences (450) and (451) contain examples of verbal reduplication expressing habituality.

(450) Ukaʔi saŋlav qaðmaŋin mamauni ismut.

{uka-i}	[saŋlav] <sub>AG</sub>	c1 c2
NEG.have-PRT	vegetables	
{qaðmaŋ-in} <sub>AUX</sub>	{<ma>maun-i}	[ismut] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>
randomly-PRV	<HABIT>-eat-PRT	grass

‘when there weren’t any vegetables, we often just ate some grass.’ (TVN-006-001:16)

(451) A maupata madadaiŋʔað qabas lulusʔan tu haiða tupaka mapataði babu.

A	{maupa-ta} <sub>AUX</sub>	[ma<da>daiŋʔað] <sub>AG</sub>		
INTER	thus-DEF.REF.DIST	<PL>-elder		
{qabas	<u>&lt;lu&gt;lusʔan</u>	tu	c1 COMPL2	
former.times	<HABIT>-celebrate	COMPL		
{haiða} <sub>AUX</sub>	{tupa-ka}	c2 COMPL3	{ma-patað-i}	[babu] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>
have	tell-DEF.SIT.DIST	DYN-kill -PRT	pig	

‘And like that, each time the elders in the old days had a celebration, it was proclaimed that a pig had to be killed.’ (TVN-012-001:71)

Often, habitual reduplication means ‘each time’ rather than ‘habitually’ and it is then typically used in the first clause of a construction of the type ‘each time when event A then event B’.

Habitual CV-reduplication is common in certain subtypes of deverbal nominalisations. When the Bunun came in contact with modernity during the last three generations, they needed names for the numerous new concepts that were introduced into their lives. Some loan words were introduced from Japanese – and to a lesser extent from Southern Min and Mandarin Chinese – but in a substantial number of cases, they chose to construct their own periphrastic derivations, following some fixed derivational pathways that were already productive at that time, and are still productively used at present. A first one derives a noun from a reduplicated verb in actor or patient focus and describes an object that habitually performs or is habitually used to perform the verbal stem, as in the examples below.

(452) *istitiņas* ‘tooth pick’, lit: ‘object habitually used to remove food residue’

< *is-* ‘INSTR’ + CV ‘HABIT’

+ *tiņas* ‘food residue between one’s teeth’

*iskukulut saņlav* ‘kitchen knife’, lit: ‘object habitually used to cut vegetables’

< *is-* ‘INSTR’ + CV ‘HABIT’ + *kulut* ‘cut by slicing’

& *saņlav* ‘(green) vegetable’

*kihivhiv* ‘ventilator’, lit: ‘object that habitually produces a fresh breeze’

< *ki-* ‘BEN’ + CV ‘HABIT’ + *hivhiv* ‘breeze’

*kusbabai* ‘airplane’, lit: ‘object that habitually flies’

< *kusbai* ‘fly’ < *ku-* ‘CAUS.ALL’ + *is-* ‘INSTR’

+ CV ‘HABIT’ + *-bai* ‘fly, flee’

A second type of nominalisation takes a verb in locative focus as a stem and expresses a location that is habitually used to perform the action described by the verb. The prototypical example is the Takivatan word for ‘location’ itself.

(453) *dadani?an* ‘location’ < CV + *dani* ‘place; locate’ + *-an* ‘LF’

Other words of this type typically describe buildings or rooms that did not exist in traditional Bunun society.

(454) *babalivan* ‘shop’ < *baliv* ‘buy; sell’

*luluman* ‘jail’ < *-lum-* ‘lock up’

*pipit?ai?an* ‘kitchen’ < *pit?ia* ‘cook’

*sasabaqan* ‘sleeping place’ < *sabaq* ‘sleep’

There are a few words that combine habitual CV-reduplication and locative focus to describe a person as the locus of some habitual action.

(455) *mabubuqan* ‘rich person’, lit: ‘a person who habitually eats till he is satiated’

< *buqan* ‘satiated’

*masnanava* ‘teacher; to teach’, lit: ‘a person who habitually gives guidance to others’ < *nava* ‘teach, give guidance’

The first of the two examples above has probably already been around for quite a long time, since wealth in pre-modern Bunun society was measured by the amount of food one had. The second is of more recent origins: traditionally, the Bunun had no real concept of formal education, and it was only during the Japanese occupation that schools were introduced. As a result, Bunun dialects introduced the Japanese loan *sinsi* ‘teacher’, but also derived the indigenous form *masnanava*, which is regarded as more pure and correct.

#### 8.4.2. Continuative, durative and iterative reduplication

CV-reduplication and occasionally root-reduplication with verbs or auxiliaries is used to express continuative, durative or iterative aspect (there are no criteria besides semantics to distinguish between the three). In contrast to habituality, these three are not generally used in nominal derivations and do not occur on any nouns.

(456) Saduan ðaku, [...] ?uat vuvuquq kahaŋi.

{sadu-an} [ðaku]<sub>AG</sub> C1|COMPL2

see-LF 1S.NFA

{?uat}<sub>AUX</sub> {<vu>vuqvuvq} [kahaŋ-i]<sub>AG</sub>

apparently <REP>-move.back.and.forth wild.grass-PRT

‘And I saw that the grass was moving (repeatedly/continuously/for some time).’ (TVN-008-002:82)

(457) *Babaðbaðin aiṅkun, [...]*

{ <u>ba</u> baðbað-in}	[aiṅkun] <sub>AG</sub>
<u>REP</u> -talk-PRV	DEM.PV.MED.NVIS

‘After they had had a conversation [lit: had been talking continuously], [...]

(TVN-008-002:44)

On some occasions, these reduplicated forms conventionalize and develop their own specialized meaning, as in *mudadan* ‘have a walk’ from the still actively used *mudan* ‘go to’ (< *mu-* ‘ALL’ + *dan* ‘go’). The verb *babaðbað* in example (457) seems to be on the verge of this evolution: *baðbað* originally meant ‘to talk, to explain’, but in a context like (457), the reduplicated form with a plural subject seems to have the more specialized meaning ‘to have a discussion about, to discuss’. Emphatic continuative meanings can be expressed by full root-reduplication. In such cases, the boundary between a continuative and a generic interpretation is often context-dependent. In (458) below, the stem-reduplicated *saipuk* ‘help’ indicates that God’s help is continuous and eternal.

(458) [...] *Maquaq amuqai isia Tama Diqanin tu sinindaṅað saipuksaipuk*

{maquaq} <sub>AUX</sub>	amuqai	[i-sia	Tama	Diqanin] <sub>AG</sub>
how	like.his	POSS-ANAPH	father	heaven
tu	{sin-<in>daṅað}	{ <u>saipuk</u> saipuk}		
COMPL	instill-<PST>-help	<u>CONT</u> -take.care.of		

‘[I did not know yet] how the Father in Heaven bestowed his help like this upon us and continuously took care of us’ (TVN-008-002:235)

### 8.4.3. Distributive reduplication

A last – and relatively rare – type of aspectual reduplication with verbs and auxiliaries repeats either the first CV or the complete stem and has a distributive meaning, i.e. it indicates that the property expressed by the predicate containing the reduplication is equally relevant to all of its agents. In English, this type of CV-reduplication is typically translated as ‘all’ or ‘every’. Excerpt (449) on page 394, repeated here for convenience, already contained an example of distributive reduplication.

(459) [...] Bunun tudip tu ?ađ?ađ matatamasađ

[Bunun]<sub>AG</sub> {tudip}<sub>AUX</sub> tu {?ađ?ađ}<sub>AUX</sub> {ma-⟨ta⟩tamasađ}

Bunun past.time COMPL all.equally STAT-⟨INTENS⟩-powerful

‘[You could really see that] the Bunun in those days were all equally very powerful.’ (TVN-008-002:24)

The simplex form *?ađa* ‘to the same extent’ does exist, but it typically occurs as a reduplicated form *?ađ?ađ* or *?ađa?ađa* meaning ‘all to the same extent’ or ‘everyone equally’. CV-reduplication can also be productively used on verbs with a similar effect, although this usage is rather rare.

(460) Asa isan malulusqun

{Asa}<sub>AUX</sub> {i-san}      {ma-⟨lu⟩lusqu-un}  
 must      LOC-go.to      DYN-⟨REP⟩-move-UF

‘We had to be there in order to all be moved to different places’ (TVN-008-002:14)

### 8.5. Generic reduplication

Stem reduplication of question words and verbs can have a generic implication. A typical example is root-reduplication with question words, which creates generic indefinite pronouns. Examples are given below for *maq* ‘what’, *simaq* ‘who’ and *isaq* ‘where’.

(461) Ukai, maqmaq tu lumaq

{uka-i}      [⟨maq⟩maq tu lumaq]<sub>LO</sub>  
 NEG.have-PRT      ⟨GNR⟩-what ATTR house

‘There wasn’t any, whichever the house [you went to].’ (TVN-006-001:9)

(462) Ana tupa tu simaqsimaq

ana tupa tu      {⟨simaq⟩simaq}<sub>AUX</sub>  
 no.matter      ⟨GNR⟩-who

‘No matter who.’ (d20060118:47)

(463) Mininsuma tu maisnaʔisaqʔisaq masðaŋi pisihal sadu

{min<in>suma}	c1 COMPL2	tu	<u>[maisna-ʔisaqʔisaq]</u>	c2 c3
<PST>-come.back		COMPL	<u>from-&lt;GNR&gt;-where</u>	
{masðaŋ-i} <sub>AUX</sub>	{pi-sihal} <sub>AUX</sub>	{sadu}		c3 c4
same-PRT	CAUS.STAT-good	watch		

‘Wherever they come from, it is equally good to see them’ (TVN-003-xxx:15)

With verbs, this type of reduplication is less common, but it does occur. In example (464) reduplication of the verbal stem generalizes the location in which the action takes place. Note that in the English translation, it is impossible to directly express the generic equivalent of *madas* ‘take somebody somewhere’.

(464) Madasmadas suʔu mudadan.

{<madas>madas}	[suʔu] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>	{mu-<da>dan}
<u>&lt;GNR&gt;-take</u>	2S.NFA	ALL-<REP>-walk

‘Wherever I go, I will take you for a walk.’ (TVN-008-vxxx:6; elicited)

Some rare instances of Ca-reduplication in verbs convert the verb into a generic reference to an action. *Kalalumaq* in C3 of the example below is in English translated as a deverbal noun with a generic meaning (‘housebuilding’).

(465) Haiða mukalumaqa tudip, kalumaq, haiða aupa kalalumaqa [...]

{haiða} <sub>AUX</sub>	{mu-ka-lumaq-a}	[tudip] <sub>TIME</sub>	SUBORD1 C2
have	ALL-MAKE-house-LNK	past.time	

{ka-lumaq}      c<sub>2</sub>|c<sub>3</sub>

MAKE-house

{haiða}<sub>AUX</sub>    {aupā}<sub>AUX</sub>    {ka-⟨la⟩lumaq-a}

have            thus            MAKE-⟨GNR⟩-house-SUBORD

‘There were people that went to a place to build a house, and houses were built, and thus there was house-building, [...]’ (TVN-012-001:63)

## 8.6. Plural and recursive reduplication

CV-reduplication with nouns is mostly used for expressing plurality. This has nothing to do with a syntactic category of number, since it is optional and its occurrence does not influence the rest of the clause in any way. In fact, it tends not to be used for reference to delineated plurals, but rather for groups of referents of limited but undefined size. Some examples:

(466) *banan?að* ‘the men’ < CV + *banan?að* ‘man’<sup>58</sup>

*mailulus?an* ‘the former traditional rituals’

< *mai-* ‘former’ + CV + *lus?an* ‘ritual’

---

<sup>58</sup> Although *banan?að* is synchronically unanalysable, it goes back to the adjectival root \**nan?að* ‘male’ and the presently unproductive prefix \**ba-*, hence the reduplication of the second instead of the first syllable of the form.

Functionally, this kind of reduplication is similar to the expression of plurality in Paiwan, a neighbouring Formosan language, although in that language root-reduplication is used (see Egli (1990:31)).

With two kinship terms, plural reduplication in nouns developed a recursive meaning. In these cases, reduplicated nouns do not just refer to a group with multiple members, but create plurality by recursively adding future or past generations to the group of referents. Most often, this form of reduplication is used with *uvaðʔað* ‘child’ and *kiŋna* ‘descendant’. There is often some ambiguity in such cases, which can only be resolved by the context.

(467) inak            tu            u<va>vaðʔað  
                          1S.POSS    ATTR    <PL/REC>-child

For example, *uvavaðʔað* in (467) can either mean ‘my children’ (the plural) or ‘my children, and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, etc.’ (the recursive). An interesting corpus example of this usage of CV-reduplication is sentence (478), which we will discuss on page 411. In the example below, it is not entirely clear whether the reduplicated form should be interpreted as a plural or a recursive, but in context the latter seems more likely.

(468) [...] mainahanaŋ madadaiŋʔað qabas nanu itu Tama Diqanin sintuqumis [...]

{maina-han-an}	[ <u>ma&lt;da&gt;dainʔaǝ</u> ] <sub>AG</sub>	[qabas] <sub>LO</sub>	c1 c2
ABL-go-PROG	<u>⟨PL/REC⟩-elder</u>	former.times	
{nanu} <sub>AUX</sub>	[itu Tama Diqanin] <sub>AG</sub>	{sin-tuqumis}	
really	HON Father Heaven	RES.OBJ-bless	

‘[It should be understood that] from the elders in ancient times, the Father in Heaven really gave his blessing (to them) [...]’ (TNV-008-002:6)

### 8.7. Reduplication expressing human reference

Ca-reduplication – i.e. the reduplication of the first consonant of the root, followed by /a/ – almost exclusively occurs with numerals and the question word *piaq* ‘how many’ and indicates that the reduplicated stem refers to a human referent, as it does in many other Formosan languages (see Li (2006); cf. Adelaar (2000:48) for Siraya). Forms like this can be used independently or attributively. Occasionally, non-reduplicated cardinal numbers are used to refer to humans, but reduplication seems to be the preferred strategy. Numerals greater than nineteen cannot be Ca-reduplicated.

(469) *dadusa* ‘two (human)’ < *dusa* ‘two’

*tatau* ‘three (human)’ < *tau* ‘three’

*papat* ‘four (human)’ < *pat* ‘four’

*hahima* ‘five (human)’ < *hima* ‘five’

*haʔnum* ‘six (human)’ < *num* ‘six’ (more uncommonly: *ʔaʔanum*)

*papitu* ‘seven (human)’ < *pitu* ‘seven’

*vavau* ‘eight (human)’ < *vau* ‘eight’

*sasiva* ‘nine (human)’ < *siva* ‘nine’

*mamasʔan* ‘ten (human)’ < *masʔan* ‘ten’

*mamasʔan qan tasʔa* ‘eleven (human)’

< *masʔan* ‘ten’ & *qan* ‘and’ & *tasʔa* ‘one’

The cardinal *tasʔa* ‘one’ does not seem to have a Ca-reduplicated equivalent; instead the form *tatini* is used, from the stem *tini* ‘alone, on one’s own’.

(470) Haiða tatini tu masinauba binanauað

{haiða}	[<ta>tini	tu	masinauba	binanauað]	AG
have	<HUM>-one	ATTR	younger.sibling	woman	

‘There was (i.e. we had) one younger sister.’ (TVN-008-002:10)

In contrast with other numerals, the non-reduplicated form *tini* is also used for human referents, as illustrated in example (471).

(471) Tini Tiaŋ a haiða sia dusa pinanaq.

[tini	Tiaŋ]	AG	a	{haiða}	AUX	[sia	dusa]	UN:PAT
one	PersName.M	LDIS	have	ANAPH	two			

{p-<in>anaq}

DYN-<PST>-shoot

‘Tiang alone [lit: one Tiang] had managed to shoot two [pieces of game].’

(TVN-008-002:120)

Also unlike other cardinal numerals, neither *tini* nor *tatini* can be used as the independent head of a nominal phrase. However, both forms can be verbalized and then be used as a main verb or, as in (472), an auxiliary.

(472) Mastatiniʔak madainpusi inak tu masinauba binanauað.

{mas-⟨ta⟩tini}<sub>AUX</sub>[-⟨ʔ⟩ak]<sub>AG</sub> {ma-dainpus-i}  
BE-⟨HUM⟩-one-1S.F          DYN-dig-PRT  
 [inak          tu          masinauba          binanauað]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>  
 1S.POSS    ATTR    younger.sibling    girl

‘I buried my younger sister all by myself.’ (TVN-008-002:66)

The only cardinal number besides *tasʔa* ‘one’ that does not have a regular Ca-reduplicated form is *num* ‘six’. When referring to human referents, the form *haʔnum* or *(ʔa)ʔanum* is used, a form going back to PAN *\*a-enem*, Ca-reduplicated form of PAN *\*enem* ‘six’ (see Blust (1998)).

The question word *piaq* ‘how many’ also has a Ca-reduplicated counterpart for human reference, *papiaq*.

(473) Papiaq su uvaðʔ — Dusa.

{⟨pa⟩piaq}          [su          uvað]<sub>AG</sub>          C<sub>1</sub>|C<sub>2</sub>          [dusa]  
⟨HUM⟩-how.many    2S.POSS    child          two

‘How many children do you have? (Lit.: How many are your children?) — Two.’ (BNN-N-002:21)

Note that in the example above, *dusa* ‘two’ is not Ca-reduplicated although it refers to human referents. It is probably ellipted because its status can be inferred from the immediate discourse context.

### 8.8. Irregular reduplicative patterns

The reduplicated patterns described above are mostly regular. Formal irregularities occur, however, in a very small number of lexemes. In a number of forms a suffix – or sometimes a sub-morphemic segment of a suffix – gets caught up in the reduplicated string. This has only been attested with the suffix UF *-un* (and with *-uk*, which derives from *-un-ʔak*).

An example is the stem *taiv* ‘compete’, which often appears as the regularly reduplicated form *paintaivtaiv* ‘compete’. In addition, the irregular forms *paintaivtav* and *paintaivutaivun* are attested. In both cases, the only reason for deviating from the normal reduplicative pattern seems to be euphony or stylistic variation. In *paintaivutaivun*, the stem and the patient focus suffix *-un* minus the coda are repeated, a reduplication pattern that also occurs in Isbukun Bunun (cf. Zeitoun & Wu (2006)). A regularly reduplicated form *\*paintaivtaivun* has not been attested.

Another stem that occurs in a number of strange reduplicative patterns is the root *(a)das* ‘take along (somebody)’. Its patient focus form *dasun* often appears in stem-reduplicated constructions with a generic meaning ‘be taken along wherever that person goes’. In these cases, the stem and the patient focus suffix *-un* are both reduplicated, as in (474).

(474) Dasundasun ?as di mudadan.

{<dasun>dasun} [ʔas]<sub>UN:PAT</sub> [di]<sub>LO</sub> {mu-<da>dan}  
 <GNR>-take 2S.F here ALL-<REP>-walk

‘I will take you wherever I go.’ (TVN-008-vxxx:10)

A similar reduplicated form has been attested with the bound pronoun *-uk*.

(475) Dasukdasukʔas mudadan.

{<dasuk>das} [-uk]<sub>AG[-ʔas]<sub>UN:PAT</sub> {mu-<da>dan}  
 <GNR>-take-NFA-2S.AG ALL-<REP>-walk</sub>

‘Wherever I go, I will take you with me for a walk.’ (TVN-008-vxxx:8)

It is also possible to delete the final consonant in the reduplicated segment and have a form as the one below.

(476) [...] Mainahan tu maqtuin dasudasun munhan, [...]

{maina-han} tu <sub>C1|PURP2</sub>  
 ABL-go PURP  
 {maqtu-in}<sub>AUX</sub> {<dasu>dasun} {mun-han}  
 can-PRV <GNR>-take + UF ALL-go

‘... from that time on, I could go anywhere with them ...’ (TVN-008-002:86)

The patient focus *dasun* can also be realized as *adasun*, and it is likely that the former developed from the latter. Curiously, reduplication only occurs with the

truncated form. The actor focus equivalent of these forms is *madas* ‘to take somebody somewhere’ (a contraction of *ma-* ‘dynamic event prefix’ and *adas*). When this form is involved in generic stem reduplication, it is also both the stem and the prefix that are reduplicated.

(477) [...] Adasuni tama atikisaŋ madasmadas [...]

{adas-un-i}	[tama] <sub>AG</sub>	c <sub>1</sub>  c <sub>2</sub>
take-UF-PRT	father	
{a-tikis-aŋ}	c <sub>2</sub>  c <sub>3</sub>	{<madas>madas}
STAT-small-PROG		<GNR>-take.with

‘...my father took me with him, when I was still small, and carried me wherever he went ...’ (TVN-008-002:4)

## 8.9. Harmonic reduplication

Reduplication is generally regarded as a morpho-phonological process and one would therefore expect it to operate on the level of individual words. In Takivatan, there are reduplicative patterns that operate on a higher level. Harmonic reduplication, or anticipatory reduplication, is the use of reduplication as a stylistic device that operates across word boundaries, rather than a derivational process on the word level. In such cases, reduplication on one lexical item is extended to other words to the left in order to further intensify the effect of the original reduplicative pattern. An example is given in (478).

(478) [...] Natudipʔuŋ minhaiðaʔa, diptu, bunun namamasisihala makikikiŋna [...]

{na-tudip-un}<sub>AUX</sub>      {min-haiða-a}      diptu      [bunun]<sub>AG</sub>      C1|C2

IRR-past.time-UF      BECOME-have-LNK      INTER      Bunun

{na-mama-sisihal-a}<sub>AUX</sub>      {ma-kikikiŋna}

IRR-HR-STAT-INTENS-good-LNK      DYN-HR-REC-descendant

‘[...] afterwards (i.e. after they started worshipping the moon), the people prospered and got many descendants (lit: and were very lucky to get many descendants), [...]’ (TVN-012-001:32)

The example is part of a Bunun myth explaining the origin of moon worship and states that it was only after the coming of religion that the Bunun started to prosper. The fact that reduplication is used to express an intensive form of *masihal* ‘good’ and a recursive (or repetitive) form of *kiŋna* ‘descendant’ is not exceptional. However, it is unusual that in *mamasisihal* not only the stem, but also the stative prefix is CV-reduplicated and that in addition the initial CV of *kiŋna* is reduplicated twice. Double reduplication (or triplication) has been reported by Blust (2001) in Thao, but only with root-reduplication and Ca-reduplication.

(479) below contains a similar use of reduplication, but here the reduplicative patterns are morphologically fully regular.

(479) Maduq kitmaun intaʔa, na, mahiavdu minʔukaʔa kakaununi maupata qađmaŋ  
mamaʔuni madadavusun.

[maduq]<sub>UN:PAT</sub> {kit-maun} [inta-ʔa]<sub>AG</sub> SUBORD1|C2  
 millet PREPARE-eat 3P.DIST-SUBORD

na {ma-hiav-du}<sub>AUX</sub> {min-ʔuka-ʔa}  
 INTER STAT-short-EMOT BECOME-NEG.have-SUBORD

[<ka>kaun-un-i]<sub>UN:PAT</sub> SUBORD2|C3

<PL>-eat + UF-UF-PRT

{m-aupa-ta}<sub>AUX</sub> {qaðmaŋ}<sub>AUX</sub> {<ma>maʔun-i}  
 DYN-thus-DEF.REF.DIST random <HR>-eat-PRT

[ma-<da>davus-un]<sub>UN:PAT</sub>

STAT-<PL/INTENS>-sweet-UF

‘They prepared to eat millet, and for a short while, they had nothing to eat anymore, and therefore one could not randomly eat sweet things.’ (TVN-012-001:74)

In both examples, it seems that reduplication is not merely used in a derivational process but as a stylistic device that operates across word boundaries.

In (478), it would have been sufficient to only reduplicate *kiŋna* once to convey the same denotational meaning (*namasihal makikiŋa* ‘they were lucky to produce many offspring’), but instead the narrator opted to construct a multiword reduplicative pattern to emphasize either the number of the offspring, or the great happiness associated with it, or both. Similarly, in the last line of (479) it would have sufficed to say *mauni madadavusun*, or even not to use any reduplication at all, to express a meaning that is identical to the reduplicated form (on a denotational level, at least),

but again the narrator uses multiword reduplication for emphasizing the randomness of eating so many sweets.

Possibly, such constructions are influenced by Mandarin-Chinese where multiple reduplications of two-character sequences within the same word are quite common, especially in verb-modifying adverbs and adjectives. These patterns typically have an emphatic, intensifying or endearing effect.

(480) 這是椿真真實實的故事。

zhè	shì	zhuāng	<u>zhēn-zhēn.shí-shí</u>	de	gù.shì
DEM.PROX	be	CL.item	⟨EMPH⟩-real	ATTR	story

‘This is a real story (it really is).’ (Sinica Corpus 2007)

## 8.10. Overview

Table 37 is an overview of reduplicative mechanisms in Takivatan, their corresponding semantic functions, and the word classes on which they are applicable. For instance, the majority of Ca-reduplication expressing human referents involves numerals. If reduplication involves a word class change, the table indicates the word class of the resulting form.

From the table, it is clear that reduplication is an important phenomenon in Takivatan grammar, a fact that is also clear from its corpus frequency. For example, in its 129 sentences, the text *On Bunun Customs* (TVN-012-001) contains 110 reduplicated words, almost an average of one reduplicated form per sentence. Such frequencies are by no means atypical.

	Gloss	Reduplicative pattern			
		Stem	CV	Ca	Irregular
historical (8.2)	—	all	N		
intensifying (8.3)	INTENS		ADJ AUX		
aspectual (8.4)			V, N		
habitual (8.4.1)	HABIT		V, PTM, N		
continuative (8.4.2)	REP		V		
durative (8.4.2)	REP		V		
iterative (8.4.2)	REP		V		
distributive (8.4.3)	DISTR		AUX		
generic (8.5)	GNR	Q, V		V	V
indefinite (8.5)	IND	Q, V			
plural (8.6)	PL		N		
recursive (8.6)	REC		N		
human (8.7)	HUM		NUM		

Table 37 – Forms and functions of reduplication

## Chapter 9. Deictic words and pronouns

Most of this chapter is dedicated to personal pronouns and deictic paradigms that morphologically and syntactically behave quite differently, but all centre around a tripartite distance dimension based on an alternation between the morphs *-i* ‘proximal’, *-un* ‘medial’ and *-a* ‘distal’.

Section 9.1 starts with a discussion of two bound paradigms of definiteness markers. Since these paradigms appear to be absent from other dialects of Bunun (they are in any case not mentioned in Zeitoun (2000) or Jeng (1977)) and since in other languages subsets have been analysed as case markers, I will illustrate what their function is and try to explain how Takivatan has found a use for so many definiteness markers on so many word classes.

Section 9.2 gives a detailed overview of the more than 40 personal pronominal forms that have been attested in discourse. In section 9.3, four sets of demonstrative pronouns are discussed. At the end of the chapter, we will have a look at a number of words that function in isolation and could be considered pronominal in nature: section 9.5 gives an overview of the different uses of the anaphoric marker *sia* and its derived forms; section 9.6 discusses *duma* ‘other’; and 9.7 the honorific marker *itu*. Finally, section 9.8 gives a general overview of all meaning extensions of spatial deixis across paradigms.

## 9.1. Definiteness markers

Takivatan has two sets of bound morphemes that attach to nouns, verbs, and other word classes and indicate that a referent or event is definite, i.e. that it is identifiable in the context in which it is uttered.

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

Table 38 – Definiteness markers

For reasons explained below in 9.1.2, we will call one set, the *t*-paradigm, referential definiteness markers and the other, the *k*-paradigm, situational definiteness markers. Both distinguish between a proximal form ending in *-i*, a medial form ending in *-un*, and a distal form ending in *-a*. Definiteness markers are always optional and mostly occur in narrative discourse.

### 9.1.1. The distance dimension: proximal, medial and distal

The distance dimension in definiteness markers distinguishes between proximal *-i*, medial *-un* and distal *-a*, a tripartition that will come back in third person personal pronouns, demonstrative paradigms, and the place words *?iti/?itun/?ita* (see 9.2, 9.3, and 9.4 respectively). One particularity of Takivatan is that in almost all paradigms with a proximal/medial/distal contrast, some forms have developed rather unusual metaphorical meaning extensions. These extensions are very similar in all paradigms, although the extent to which they have developed may vary. Apart from spatial deixis, the distance dimension can express temporal deixis, animacy,

empathy and endorsement. Animacy and endorsement are not valid for definiteness markers and only applies to demonstratives (see 9.3.5.A and 9.3.5.B on p. 461ff).

In actual text, distal markers (*-ta* and *-ka*) are about twice as common as proximal markers and thrice as common as medial markers (see Figure 9 on p. 436). It is therefore interesting that in relative numbers meaning extensions of the spatial dimension are more varied and more common with medial markers than with any other marker, although they are by far the least common in the corpus.

### A. Spatial deixis

Prototypically, the alternation *-i/un/a* marks a contrast between proximal, medial and distal. Proximal and distal forms are unproblematic: proximal *i*-forms indicate that something is close to the deictic centre, distal *a*-forms that something is far from the deictic centre. In (481), proximal referential *-ti* and distal referential *-ta* are used for marking a spatial deictic contrast.

(481) Asa pisihalun itu Kaliṅkuti, pisihalunti, na asa tunhan Nantuta

{asa} <sub>AUX</sub>	{pi-sihal-un}	[itu	Kaliṅku- <u>ti</u> ] <sub>LO</sub>	c <sub>1</sub>  c <sub>2</sub>
have.to	CAUS.STAT-good-UF	this.here	GeoName- <u>DEF.REF.PROX</u>	
	{pi-sihal-un- <u>ti</u> }		c <sub>2</sub>  c <sub>3</sub>	
	CAUS.STAT-good-UF- <u>DEF.REF.PROX</u>			
na	{asa}	{tun-han}	[Nantu- <u>ta</u> ] <sub>PLACE</sub>	
CONS	have.to	PERL-go	GeoName- <u>DEF.REF.DIST</u>	

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

In the preceding story a small group of Bunun moved from Nantou to Kalin̄ku (the old name for present-day Hualien) without permission from the Japanese officials in Nantou. When the Japanese police in Nantou ordered them back to solve some administrative issues, a good-hearted policeman told them they could first put their fields in order in Kalin̄ku (*Kalin̄kuti*, at the deictic centre) before going back to Nantou (*Nantuta*, a location far away from where the policeman was). Note that although *pisihalunti* in C2 is a verb, it gets a referential rather than a situational definiteness marker because the stress is on the affairs that have to be put in order, rather than on the place and time where the action takes place.

Medial forms are often thought of as referring to a distance in between close and far from the deictic centre. However, as Fillmore (1982:49-50), Diessel (2006:431) and Dixon (2003:26ff) all remark, medial forms often have a special subtext. All three authors mention three-way deictic systems where the medial form refers to a location away from the speaker (or deictic centre) but close to the hearer and this is in fact how medial forms have been analysed for Isbukun Bunun (see Table 43).

According to Dixon, another cross-linguistically common scenario is one where medial forms refer to a location at mid distance to the speaker. In Takivatan Bunun, the situation is somewhat different. Medial forms are not only encoding the distance to the deictic centre, but additionally indicate that the marked referent or event is situated at an identifiable distance (i.e. they indicate delineation). This means that it is located within visible range or in a space shared with the point of reference

(typically the speaker). For example, in (482) the speaker is able to see where the deer has run because of the visible imprints in the grass and he therefore uses the situational medial form *-kun*.

(482) [...] Malansaupa manakis?a valaikun

{malan-saupa} <sub>AUX</sub>	{manakis-?a}	[valai- <u>kun</u> ] <sub>LO</sub>
VIA-in.direction.of	climb.up-LNK	grass- <u>DEF.SIT.MED</u>

‘[I yelled again that] [the deer] had climbed up in that direction through the grass there.’ (TVN-008-002:152)

In (483) the narrator is telling a story from his home in Bahuan about him being in Damaian, a hamlet that was not visible to us at the time of narration but is still referred to with a medial form because it is a Bunun settlement that administratively belongs to Bahuan and is inhabited by people of the same clan.

(483) Tudip tu ihan Damayuan-tun [...]

{tudip} <sub>AUX</sub>	tu	{i-han}	[Damaian- <u>tun</u> ] <sub>PLACE</sub>
in.those.days	COMPL	STAT-go	GeoName- <u>DEF.REF.MED</u>

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

Dixon (2003:90-91) describes how in a number of languages deictic distinctions can encode information about visibility, and this would fit in with example (482) above. However, (483) shows that the contrast between medial and distal forms is not merely of medial expressing far and visible and distal far and invisible, but that the visibility contrast is a (non-necessary) consequence of the interpretation of medial

forms expressing delineation. Thus, the spatial dimension in definiteness markers as well as all pronominal paradigms does not merely indicate spatial distance, but also encodes information about delineation and can contain information about visibility.

- (f) **Proximal**: ‘close’; near the deictic centre
- (g) **Medial**: ‘delineated’; not near the deictic centre but in a clearly delineated space, either in the same space as the deictic centre or within visible range
- (h) **Distal**: ‘far’; away from the deictic centre; typically outside the delineated space in which the deictic centre is situated and often but not necessarily outside visible range and in a vague, non-well-delineated distance

A contrastive example:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(484) (a) han asaŋ-<u>ti</u><br/> at village-<u>DEF.REF.PROX</u><br/> ‘in this village (here)’</p> | <p>(b) han asaŋ-<u>tun</u><br/> at village-<u>DEF.REF.MED</u><br/> ‘in this village (somewhere, not necessarily within visual range.’</p> |
| <p>(c) han asaŋ-<u>ta</u><br/> at village-<u>DEF.REF.DIST</u><br/> ‘in another village’</p>           |   |

**B. Temporal deixis**

As Anderson & Keenan (1985:297-9) illustrate, metaphorical extensions of spatial to temporal deixis are very common cross-linguistically. In Takivatan, as far as I am aware, only proximal and distal definiteness markers are used for indicating

time distance, which is usually relative to the time of narration or to a temporal reference point established in the preceding clause. Temporal reference is more common with situational (*-ki, -ka*) than with referential markers (*-ti, -ta*).

For example, in (485), the distal situation definiteness marker indicates that the seventy year old speaker is talking about his father’s situation a long time ago, when the latter was still alive, and it makes no sense to interpret the distal form in this clause as having any spatial semantics.

(485) [...] Manaka sia tamaka nanu ukina sia binanauað.

[ma-nak-a                    sia            tama-ka]<sub>AG</sub>  
 STAT-1S.N-LNK    ANAPH    father-DEF.SIT.DIST  
 {nanu}<sub>AUX</sub>    {uka-in-a}                    [sia            binanauað]<sub>UN</sub>  
 verily            NEG.have-PRV-LNK    ANAPH    wife

‘[And thus, from that time when I was still small, I realized that] my father did not have a wife anymore.’ (TVN-008-002:7)

The following clause contains a proximal referential marker indicating that the moment in life about which the speaker is talking is the one at the time of narration.

(486) Isan tastumiqumisti maupa [...]

{i-san}            [tastu-miqumis-ti]<sub>TIME</sub>                    [maupa]<sub>MNR</sub>  
 LOC-go    BELONG-life-DEF.REF.PROX    thus

‘I am now at such a point in my life [that I clearly understand the unity with God the Redeemer in Heaven.]’ (TVN-008-002:1)

In some instances, the narrative context makes the distinction between spatial and temporal deixis irrelevant and thereby effectively neutralizes it. In (487), the proximal situational *-ki* can be translated as ‘now and here’.

(487) Manaka qaliŋakia maqđanŋi sauqaisauqaisa

[Ma-nak-a                      qaliŋa-**ki**-a]<sub>AG</sub>                                      {maqđanŋ-i}<sub>AUX</sub>

STAT-1S.N-LNK      language-DEF.SIT.PROX-LDIS      same-PRT

{sauqaisauqais-a}

go.back.and.forth-SUBORD

‘But my language [i.e. the language that I speak **now**] is apparently going back and forth’ (TVN-008-001:12)

### C. Empathy

Medial and proximal definiteness markers can express emotional closeness to the speaker. The medial markers *-tun* and *-kun* rarely occur on verbs (see Figure 9 and Figure 10 below) and are often used for expressing the speaker’s emotional affinity to someone or something he or she is talking about. This happens especially in combinations with words referring to persons or geographical locations. In (488), the speaker refers to his father in an emotionally charged context (the premature death of his sister). The marker *-kun* adds empathy and could be translated in English as ‘dear father’ or ‘my poor father’.



proximal referential marker, which is here similar in use to the English construction ‘my friend X here’.

(490) Sia duki: “Vauti, ...”

[sia] <sub>AG</sub>	du-ki	c1  <sub>COMPL2</sub>	[Vau- <u>ti</u> ]
ANAPH	EMOT-DEF.SIT.PROX		PersName.M- <u>DEF.REF.PROX</u>

‘And he [said]: “My dear Vau here [...].” ’ (TVN-008-002:94)

In (491), a situational proximal marker *-ki* makes the expression of thanks warmer and less formal than it would have been without it.

(491) Uninaŋ muki sa!

{uninaŋ}	[mu- <u>ki</u> ] <sub>UN</sub>	sa
thank	2P.N- <u>DEF.SIT.PROX</u>	DISC

‘Thank you (from the bottom of my heart)!’ (TVN-xxx-xx1:226)

We will see in 9.3.5.B that in the demonstrative paradigm the use of distance to express empathy has extended to distal forms with *-a*, which indicate negative perception or dissociation. However, this has not been attested for definiteness markers.

In many languages, space is used as a metaphor for emotional distance, but to my knowledge the link with demonstratives and deictic words never got more than a cursory mention in most studies on deixis. Levinson (1983:81) mentions the existence of ‘empathetic deixis’. Dixon (2003:91-2) mentions that in some languages emotional attitude, personal interest or familiarity can be a meaning

extension of distance contrasts in demonstratives. Wu (2004:135-6) speaks about the expression of ‘attitudinal commitment or emotion by means of demonstratives’, but while his English example convincingly illustrates the use of *that* for expressing emotional distance the Chinese example deals with the more general use of distal 那 *nà* ‘that’ as a marker of doubt. The only elaborate discussion of the emotive value of *this* and *that* in English that I have found is Lakoff (1974). The notion of empathy as a grammatically relevant concept was introduced in Kuno (1976) and Kuno (1987:203ff). In reference to Takivatan deixis, however, the term empathy is used in a more restricted way than implied by Kuno and only refers to emotional involvement of the speaker as it is expressed in the choice of deictic marking of a referent or event.

#### **D. Phoricity**

Many studies on spatial deixis put great stress on the use of deictic markers for anaphoric reference and discourse deixis (see e.g. Lyons (1977:657-677), Levinson (1983:54-96) and Himmelmann (1996)). 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* (see 9.5).

Occasionally, the distance dimension in definiteness markers can have a contrastive anaphoric function, as in (492), where the proximal marker *-ti* indicates that the anaphoric pronoun refers to an entity that has just been mentioned in discourse (*taitaiŋus* ‘first-born’) and is probably not to be interpreted as having any spatial-referential function.

(492) [...] Madas ta diptu taitaṅus manaqa siati taspunsanana

{madas}	ta	[dip-tu	tai-taṅus] <sub>UN</sub>
take	COMPL	past.time-ATTR	human.class-first
{manaq-a}	[sia- <u>ti</u>		taspunsanan-a] <sub>AG</sub>
hunt-LNK	ANAPH- <u>DEF.REF.PROX</u>		first.born-LNK

‘[And now, when at three o’clock the rooster crowed for the first time, they went there when it was still night time, and] they took the first one (the first-born) with them to hunt, this first-born, [the boy that was first given birth to.]’  
(TVN-012-001:58)

Instances of this use of definiteness markers are few and far between.

### 9.1.2. Referential vs. situational definiteness

Whereas the distance dimension in the definiteness paradigm is relatively straightforward, it is less obvious what the exact distinction is between the *t*-paradigm and the *k*-paradigm. The two paradigms can occur both on nouns and verbs and are equally common in real-world texts. Below, I will argue on the basis of quantitative data (see 9.1.2.C) that the formal distinction between *t* and *k* encodes a fundamental conceptual distinction between **referentiality** (i.e. pertaining to the material properties of a referent or event) and **situationality** (i.e. pertaining to the spatio-temporal aspects of a referent or event).

### A. Referential definiteness markers

Referential definiteness markers (the *t*-paradigm) are unmarked compared to the situational markers. They typically express that the stem with which they combine should be considered in terms of its material and persistent properties (a ‘referent’, as opposed to an event). This is most straightforward with nominal hosts, as in the examples (493)-(496). Note that in example (493) *munhan* is translated as ‘come to’ and not ‘go to’ exactly because *-ti* indicates that the house is close to the speaker.

(493) Pian munhan inak lumaqti

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

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

(494) Haiða laupaku paun tu sia padantun maʔuvul [...]

{haiða}	[laupaku] <sub>TIME</sub>	[paun	tu
have	now	call.UF	COMPL
sia	padan- <u>tun</u>	ma-ʔuvul] <sub>AG</sub>	
ANAPH	reed- <u>DEF.REF.MED</u>	STAT-flexible	

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

(495) Paukin aipun tu: “Na, samuta.”

{pauk-in} [aipun]<sub>AG</sub> 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)

(496) Siata.

{sia-ta}  
 ANAPH-DEF.REF.DIST

‘[The rules were] like the aforementioned.’ (refers to a past event) (TVN-013-001:4)

In combination with verbal hosts (see examples (497)-(499)) or nominal or pronominal hosts expressing events, referential markers appear to indicate that the spatio-temporal setting or development of the event is not of primary interest in the discourse context, but rather its material aspects, e.g. its material properties or material effect. This is illustrated most clearly with an example like (499), in which the stress is on what has been said, rather than on the act of speaking or when it was spoken. It is not always clear in each context why verbs take referential rather than situational markers.



‘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)

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

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

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

(502) Maqtudu maqansiap tu maquaqa sinkuđakuđaka

{maqtu-du}<sub>AUX</sub>    {maqansiap}    tu            c1|COMPL2  
 can-EMOT            understand            COMPL  
 {maquaqa-a}<sub>AUX</sub>    {singuđakuđa-**ka**}  
 how-LNK            work-**DEF.SIT.DIST**

‘May [he] understand how difficult **those** lives [of us] were [lit: how we laboured]’ (TVN-003-xxx:25)

However, situational discourse markers also commonly combine with nouns. In (112), *-ki* attaches to a nominal host that functions as the head of a locative verbless clause. Although this type of verb-less clause is rare in Takivatan, it is a good illustration of the situational use of *-ki* with nominal hosts.

(503) Lumaqki akia.

[lumaq-ki]<sub>LO</sub>                      [aki-a]<sub>AG</sub>  
 home-DEF.SIT.PROX      grandfather-LNK

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

(504) Na maq a siðikuna, [...]

na            maq            a            [siði-kun]<sub>AG-a</sub>  
 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)

(505) Maqai haiða qumaka, [...]

maqai    {haiða}    [quma-ka]<sub>AG</sub>  
 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)

The only exception to this general schema is medial situational *-kun*, which is almost always used as an empathic deictic (see 9.1.1.C) and as a result tends to occur only on nouns, although forms on verbs are grammatically possible.

### C. Justification for the analysis

The two paradigms of definiteness markers do not show up in the account in Jeng (1977) of Takbanuaz, the dialect most closely related to Takivatan. Zeitoun

(2000:76-77) mentions two sets of three definiteness markers each in Isbukun Bunun but associates them with case.

		Nominative	Oblique
<b>Proximal</b>	<b>speaker-oriented</b>	-in	-tin
	<b>hearer-oriented</b>	-ʔan	-tan
<b>Distal</b>		-aʔ	-tiaʔ

Table 39 – Isbukun bound demonstratives according to Zeitoun (2000)<sup>59</sup>

The formal correspondences with the Takivatan definiteness markers in Table 38 are obvious: the oblique forms almost correspond to the *t*-paradigm and the nominative forms could easily be historically related to the Takivatan *k*-paradigm. The selection of demonstratives based on case (or argument type) is consistent with the Isbukun data in the Formosan Language Archive (Academia Sinica (s.d.-a)) and also occurs in a number of other Formosan languages (see Tang (2006a) for examples). No trace of such a mechanism is to be found in Takivatan.

This should already be clear from the fact that definiteness markers can occur on verbs as well as nouns (see (509)), but even when they mark nominal heads, the same definiteness marker can occur on most core and peripheral arguments, both focused and non-focused. This is illustrated in the following examples with occurrences of the distal referential *-ta* in different syntactic environments.

---

<sup>59</sup> The distinction nominative/oblique (see Ross (2006), Rau & Dong (2006), Tang (2006b), Teng (2007) for examples, and Ross & Teng (2005) for a justification of the distinction) is not made in this work. Instead, arguments will be marked according to their semantic role (AG, UN, LO); see 1.4.3.

(506) -ta marks (part of) a focused agent (a core argument)

Dusain sam Tiaṅta.

{dusa-in} [sam Tiaṅ-**ta**]

two-PRV 1I.F PersName.M-DEF.REF.DIST

‘There was only Tiang and me in front (lit.: We, [me and] Tiang, had become two.)’ (TVN-008-002:77)

(507) -ta marks a non-focused patient undergoer (a core argument)

Siḏa maduqta

{siḏa} [maduq-**ta**]<sub>UN</sub>

take millet-DEF.REF.DIST

‘[Go there when it is still small and] take some/the millet’ (TVN-012-001:69)

(508) -ta marks a (peripheral) place argument

Munhandu pauntu, diptu, dalaqta

{mun-han-du} paun tu diptu [dalaq-**ta**]<sub>PLACE</sub>

ALL-go-EMOT call+UF COMPL INTER land-DEF.REF.DIST

‘They went to – as it is called – the [arable] land.’ (TVN-012-002:6)

(509) -ta marks a (stative) predicate

Samuta

{samu-ta}

be.taboo-DEF.REF.DIST

‘It is a taboo.’ (TVN-008-002:189)

Similarly, there does not appear to be a fixed relationship between definiteness markers and topicality. As we saw above, definiteness markers appear on both focused and non-focused arguments, and from clauses like (510) below it is clear that they are not obligatory on focused arguments, which are typically the clausal topic.

(510) Panʔita bunun

{pan-ʔita}                      [bunun-Ø]<sub>AG</sub>

ITIN-there.DIST              people

‘People went and settled there’ (TVN-012-002:104)

Also, definiteness markers are often omissible and semi-fluent younger speakers rarely use them at all. For example, all definiteness markers in (506)-(509) can easily be dropped without any change in the propositional meaning of the clauses:

(511) (a) Baiðbaðani buan tu [...]

(b) Siða maduq

(c) Munhandu pauntu, diptu, dalaq

(d) Samu

For instance, (511)(c) is identical to (506), the only difference being that the referential distal marker *-ta* has been omitted. Older speakers indicate that such stripped utterances are still perfectly understandable and grammatical, although they also say that the use of definiteness markers is a mark of language fluency and that it is appropriate to use them in proper discourse.

In addition, there are situations where native speakers indicate that both sets (*t* and *k*) are mutually exchangeable. For example, (509) could also be realized with a situational marker, as shown in (512).

(512) Samu-ka

be.taboo-DEF.SIT.DIST

‘It is a taboo’

One could argue that (512) stresses the spatio-temporal location of the taboo and (509) focuses more on the material properties of the taboo, but such semantic differences are subtle and native speakers will generally indicate that the propositional meaning of (512) is identical to that of (509).

Since both paradigms can occur on nouns, verbs and other word classes, one might wonder about the validity of the distinction between referential and situational definiteness. Figure 9 illustrates that there are clear distributional differences between referential and situational definiteness markers.

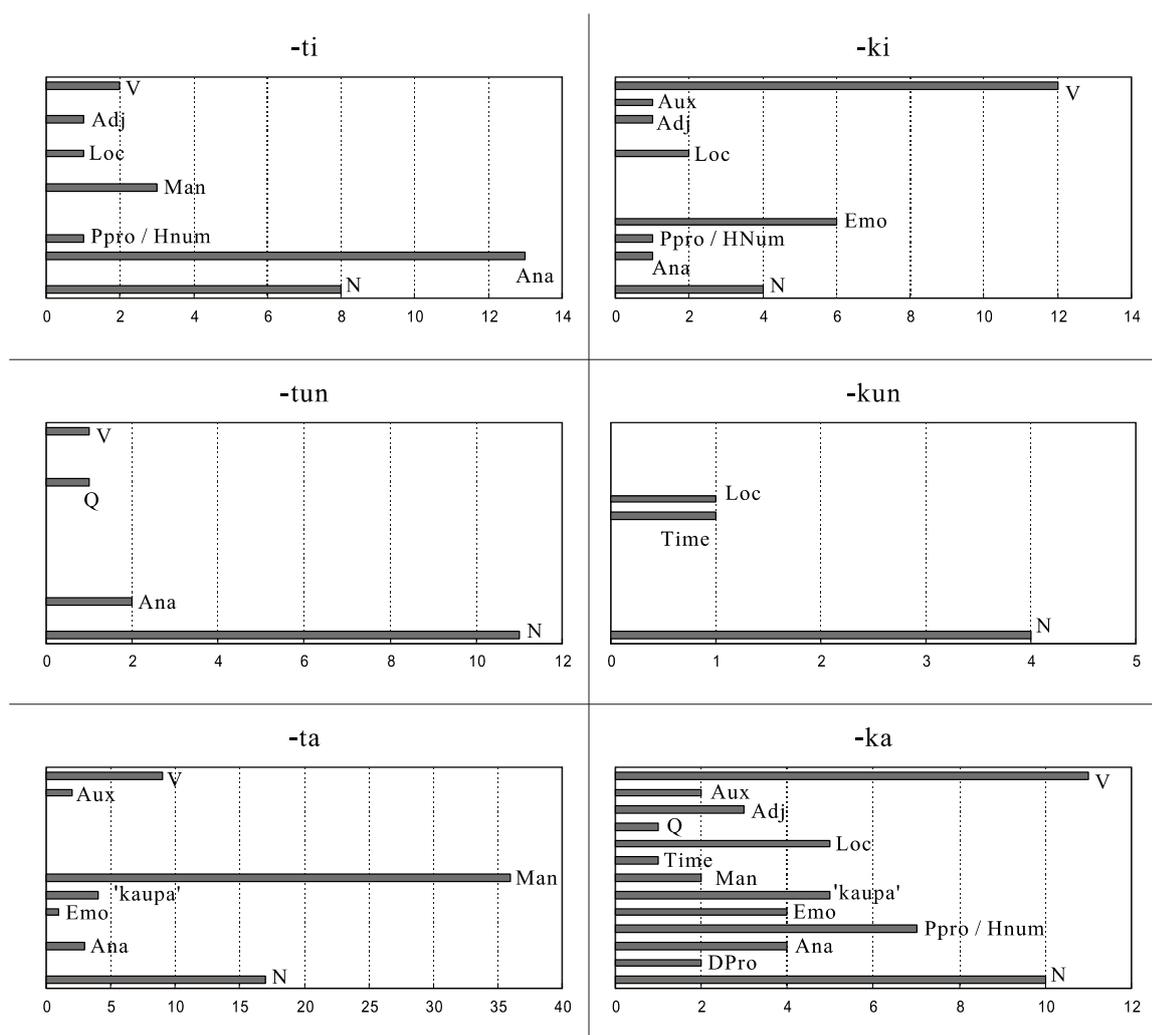


Figure 9 – Distribution of definiteness markers per word class in a sample text.<sup>60</sup>

The figure gives an overview of the distribution of each definiteness marker across word classes in a single text in my Takivatan corpus. The data are all from a single text by a fluent speaker. Although some markers, particularly medial *-kun*, have too

<sup>60</sup> Based on sample text TVN-008-002 (3170 words); the X-axis indicates the number of occurrences (different for each graph); word classes are plotted on the Y-axis. Abbreviations: V = verbs, AUX = auxiliaries, ADJ = adjectives, Q = question words, Loc = place words, Time = time words, Man = manner words, Ppro = personal pronouns, Hnum = human numerals, Ana = the anaphoric marker *sia*, DPro = demonstrative pronouns, N = nouns

low a frequency to make the conclusions that I draw from them statistically valid, the text sample used for Figure 9 is in no way unusual compared to other texts I have in my possession and can be seen as representative of narrative discourse in Bunun.

The fact that definiteness markers occur with a wide variety of word classes, both noun-like and verb-like, is unusual, but there are no *prima facie* reasons why definiteness could not be a relevant category for events, i.e. verbs. In English, for example, events expressed by nouns or nominalised verbs can take definite and sometimes indefinite articles.

(513) The making of the atomic bomb

A coming of age

From a typological perspective, it is also unusual that definiteness markers can mark events in predicate position, but again there is no good functional reason why this would be impossible. The correlation between certain verb classes (in particular motion verbs) and deixis has been pointed out in the literature (see e.g. Fillmore (1982) and Levinson (1996:362)).

When only verbs (excluding adjectives and auxiliaries) and nouns are compared, as in Figure 10, it becomes clear that the *t*-paradigm is strongly biased towards nouns and the *k*-paradigm – less strongly – towards verbs. This is only so if we disregard medial situational *-kun* for a moment, a not unreasonable thing to do since there are only 6 examples in the entire corpus, all of which are on nouns and appear in idiosyncratic contexts that is discussed in 9.1.1.C above.

9.1 – DEFINITENESS MARKERS

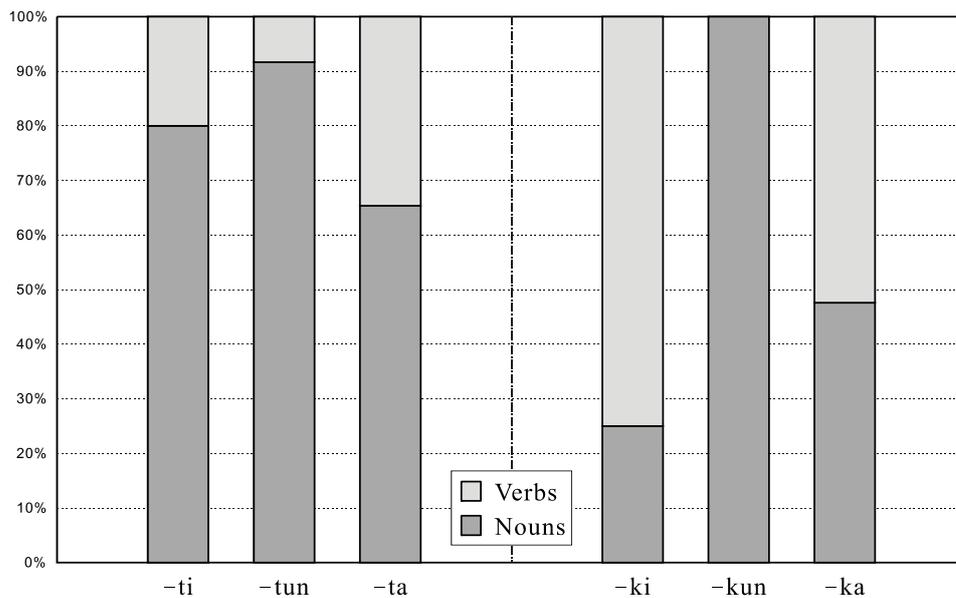


Figure 10 – Verbs vs. nouns<sup>61</sup>

In linguistic terms, this is best explained by making a fairly abstract differentiation between situational and referential (or non-situational) definiteness markers.<sup>62</sup> The former (the *k*-forms) describe their hosts as events or processes as they unfold in a spatio-temporal setting and therefore focus on their changeable qualities. The latter (the *t*-forms) focus on the material and consistent properties of their hosts, for instance by conceptualising them as tangible objects or in terms of the material results they produce. This explains why *t* has a preference for nouns, and *k* for verbs, but also why this preference is not black-and-white: it is sometimes necessary to interpret nouns as events in a spatio-temporal setting and, conversely,

<sup>61</sup> Based on the same sample as Figure 9.

<sup>62</sup> Note that the term ‘situational’ is here not used as in Himmelmann (1996), where it is opposed to discourse deictic uses of demonstratives. Takivatan definiteness markers and demonstratives are rarely used for discourse deixis (see 9.8).

to reify events and consider them in their materiality. Native speakers sometimes try to express this difference by saying that the forms with *k* refer to a location and the forms with *t* do not.

Another observation that can be made from Figure 9 is that the idiosyncratic behaviour of individual forms or parts of the paradigm in Table 38 is one of the main causes why it is often difficult to discern more than a vague pattern in the paradigm as a whole. There are three main categories of idiosyncrasies. First, some words developed an idiomatic – and as a consequence synchronically unmotivated – relationship with a single definiteness marker. For instance, the manner word *maupa* ‘thus’ overwhelmingly combines with the distal *-ta* into *maupata* ‘like that’; other forms such as *maupati*, *maupaki* and *maupaka* are grammatically possible but extremely uncommon. Similarly, *kaupa* ‘all’ normally occurs with *-ka*, as in the fixed term of address *kaupaka tais?an*, which literally means ‘all relatives (here present)’.

Second, the distance dimension expressed by the *-i/un/a* opposition has in some forms developed metaphorical meaning extensions. For instance, the proximal marker *-ti* can be used for expressing endearment. Such metaphorical uses are clearly motivated, but they have become detached from the spatio-temporal meaning domain. Metaphorical meaning extensions of the distance dimension of definiteness markers are discussed in 9.1.1.

In a number of contexts, the selection of definiteness markers is not semantically motivated. For instance, one would expect place arguments accompanying motion verbs to take situational definiteness markers, since they always per definition

encode a spatial setting. As (514) illustrates, this is not the case and place arguments invariably take referential definiteness markers.

(514) [...] Asa tunhan Nantuta

{asa}<sub>AUX</sub> {tun-han} [Nantu-ta]<sub>PLACE</sub>  
 must PERL-go GeoName-DEF.REF.DIST

‘[When it is in order here,] you have to go to Nantou.’ (TVN-012-002:49)

This is in contrast with locative arguments, such as *lumaq* ‘house’ in (112) on p. 181, that can combine with situational markers. One could explain the difference in terms of grammatical economy. The presence of a locative verb in (514) does away with the need for a situational marker and as a result triggers the use of referential *-ta* to avoid redundancy, whereas in (112) the situational nature of the event is only encoded through the use of DEF.SIT.PROX *-ki* and its omission or replacement by *-ti* would make the clause more ambiguous.

## 9.2. Personal pronouns

Takivatan personal pronouns distinguish between first, second and third person in the singular; and between first inclusive, first exclusive, second and third person in the plural. Free first and second personal pronouns distinguish between neutral, focused agent, locative, and possessive forms. A fairly complete set of bound forms exist, but only the first and second person singular are used regularly. An overview of all attested forms is given in Table 40; a horizontal bar indicates that the form does not occur in the corpus and could not be elicited. Third person pronouns have

no argument-based distinctions, but – like demonstratives – do distinguish between proximal, medial and distal forms (see Table 40).

	Bound		Free			
	Foc. Agent (F)	Non-foc. agent (NFA)	Neutral (N)	Foc. Agent (F)	Locative (LO)	Possessive (POSS)
1S	-(ʔ)ak	-(ʔ)uk	ðaku, nak	sak, saikin	ðakuʔan	inak, ainak, nak
2S	-(ʔ)as	—	suʔu, su	—	suʔuʔan	isu, su
3S	-(ʔ)is	—	<<<< See Table 41 >>>>			—
1I	—	—	mita	ʔata, inʔata	mitaʔan	imita
1E	-(ʔ)am	—	ðami, nam	ðamu, sam	ðamiʔan	inam, nam
2P	-(ʔ)am	—	muʔu, mu	amu	muʔuʔan	imu, mu
3P	—	—	<<<< See Table 41 >>>>			—

Table 40 – Personal pronouns

All forms exc. possessive		
	Singular	Plural
Proximal	isti	inti
Medial	istun	intun
Distal	ista	inta

Table 41 – Third person personal pronouns

### 9.2.1. Argument marking on pronouns

Takivatan has an argument alignment system that is traditionally called a Philippine-style focus system and can put stress on the agent, undergoer (typically a patient, but sometimes also includes other semantic roles), instrument, beneficiary

or locative argument of a clause.<sup>63</sup> This focused argument is typically, but not always, the topic of the clause. Personal pronouns are the only constituents in Takivatan that get any form of argument marking. All other noun phrases are normally unmarked and are recognized by their fixed position in a clause and by inference. For free noun phrases, the unmarked argument order is normally:

agent – undergoer (beneficiary/instrument – patient) – locative argument

All arguments in a clause can be easily ellipted when they are recoverable from the context and it rarely happens that more than two free NP arguments are expressed on the same predicate. It is considered normal, however, to have two free NPs and a bound pronoun. All examples below are with first person pronouns, but all other persons and numbers, except for the third-person forms, are used in a similar way. For a discussion of the third person singular and plural, see 9.2.3.

### **A. Bound pronouns**

The only bound pronouns that are regularly used are the first and second person singular. Bound pronouns typically mark a focused agentive argument and consequently only occur in agent focus constructions. Two examples of a first person singular form, one with a typical transitive event and another with an intransitive allative event, are given below.

---

<sup>63</sup> I want to stress again that the term ‘focus’ here does not refer to pragmatic focus, but rather to the verbal marking scheme that is particular to many Austronesian languages and allows a clause to put one of three to five different participant roles in topic position (see also 1.4.3).

(515) Maunʔak qaisiŋ.

{maun}{-ʔak]<sub>AG/FOC</sub> [qaisiŋ]<sub>UN/NFOC</sub>

eat-**1S.F** rice

‘I am eating.’ (constr. ex.)

(516) Namunhanʔak Taihuku.

{na-mun-han}{-ʔak]<sub>AG/FOC</sub> [Taihuku]<sub>PLACE</sub>

IRR-ALL-go-**1S.F** Taipei

‘I am planning to go to Taipei’ (TVN-xx-003:2)

The only exception is the bound form *-(ʔ)uk*, which is a contraction of the undergoer focus suffix *-un* and the first person pronoun *-ʔak* and marks first person non-focused agentive subjects in undergoer focus constructions (since the undergoer is in focus in such constructions, the agent is not).

(517) Panaquk vanis

{panaq}{-uk]<sub>AG/NFOC</sub> [vanis]<sub>UN/FOC</sub>

shoot-**1S.NFA** boar

‘The boar was shot by me.’ (constr. ex.)

When marking 1S, 2S and 1E agents in agent focus constructions, bound pronouns are normally preferred, although it is normally not possible to have more than one bound pronoun per clause.

The third person singular bound pronoun *-is* is not used productively anymore in the Takivatan dialect and has only been attested in the construction in (518).

(518) Nitu maqtuis nitu.

{ni-tu} <sub>AUX</sub>	{maqtu- <u>is</u> } <sub>AUX</sub>	{ni-tu} <sub>AUX</sub>
NEG-COMPL	can- <u>3S</u>	NEG-COMPL

‘It must be like that.’ (lit: ‘it is not possible that it is not’)

### B. Free focused agent forms

For all other persons, numbers and situations, free focused agent forms are normally used. However, it is also possible to use a free form to mark 1S, 2S and 1E focused agents, as in (519).

(519) Muliva sak sinpatas.

{muliva} <sub>AUX</sub>	[ <u>sak</u> ] <sub>AG/FOC</sub>	{sin-patas}
err	<u>1S.F</u>	RES.OBJ-write

‘I wrote it wrongly.’ (TVN-xx2-007:9)

These forms tend to appear more in higher textual registers and in complex verb phrases where the pronoun appears on the auxiliary instead of the main verb (as in the example above), but they can be freely exchanged for their bound forms. For instance, (519) above can also be realized as (520) without any change in meaning, except for the fact that the example below would generally be considered to belong to a low register.

(520) *Mulivaʔak sinpatas.*

{muliva} <sub>AUX</sub>	<u>[-ak]</u> <sub>AG/FOC</sub>	{sin-patas}
err- <u>1S.F</u>		RES.OBJ-write

‘I wrote it wrongly.’ (TVN-xx2-007:9)

### C. Free neutral forms

The neutral forms of the personal pronouns are used for marking all other agentive and undergoer forms and in certain situations also for locative and possessive arguments. If undergoer arguments are explicitly expressed, they are always marked by neutral forms, whether or not they are in focus. Example (521) has first-person singular non-focused undergoer, in this particular case a beneficiary, realized as the neutral form *nak*.

(521) *Tupaka tama nak tu [...]*

{tupa-ka}	[tama] <sub>AG/FOC</sub>	<u>[nak]</u> <sub>UN:BEN/NFOC</sub>	tu
tell-DEF.SIT.DIST	father	<u>1S.N</u>	COMPL

‘Then father told me [...].’ (TVN-008-003:115)

A neutral form also marks non-focused agents, such as in (522), where UF *-un* on the main verb triggers the use of the neutral form *ǰaku* for the first person agent. The forms *ǰaku* and *nak* can be used interchangeably in all contexts where they are the head of an argument; possessors can only be expressed by *nak*.

(522) Lusqu?un ðaku inak haqu punhan ba?av.

{lusqu-?un}	[ <u>ðaku</u> ] <sub>AG/NFOC</sub>	[inak	haqu] <sub>UN/FOC</sub>
move-UF	<u>1S.N</u>	1S.POSS	snare
{pun-han}		[ba?av] <sub>PLACE</sub>	
CAUS.ALL-go.to		up.in.mountains	

‘My trap, I moved it up into the mountains.’ (Said by a hunter who put his traps too low and therefore didn’t catch any animals.) (TVN-xx2-003:23)

Another situation where the neutral case is always used is in topicalization with the left-dislocation marker *a*. When this happens to an agent in an agent focus construction, the neutral form rather than the focused agent form appears. In example (523) below this is the form *ðaku* rather than the free focused agent *sak* or the bound form *-?ak*.

(523) Ðaku a maun qaisiŋ.

[ <u>ðaku</u> ] <sub>AG/FOC</sub>	a	{maun}	[qaisiŋ] <sub>UN/NFOC</sub>
<u>1S.N</u>	LDIS	eat	rice

‘I am eating.’ (constr.)

#### D. Possessive constructions

There are two types of possessive constructions involving personal pronouns. A first construction is pre-nominal and involves the possessive pronominal form (in effect the neutral form prefixed by *i-*) followed by the attributive marker *tu*.

- (524) [[inak]<sub>PSR</sub> tu tina]  
1S.POSS ATTR mother  
 ‘my mother’ (constr. ex.)

Alternatively, one can use a post-nominal construction without any attributive marking. In this case, the neutral form of the pronoun is used.

- (525) [tina [nak]<sub>PSR</sub>]  
 mother 1S.N  
 ‘my mother’ (constr. ex.)

To some extent, the choice between the two constructions is free. Post-nominal possessives are prevalent for inalienable possession and in informal registers. Pre-nominal constructions must be used for complex combinations of attribution and possession. For instance, a construction like (526) is impossible.

- (526) \* manaskal tu binanau?aǎ nak  
 STAT-beautiful ATTR wife 1S.N  
 ‘my beautiful wife’ (constr. ex.)

Instead, a pronominal possessive has to be used.

- (527) [[inak]<sub>PSR</sub> tu manaskal tu binanau?aǎ]  
1S.POSS ATTR STAT-beautiful ATTR wife  
 ‘my beautiful wife’ (constr. ex.)

Locative forms of personal pronouns occur very rarely in actual text and their use tends to be rather idiosyncratic. I will not further discuss them here.

### E. Absence of genitive pronouns

Many Austronesian languages of Taiwan and the Philippines have bound genitive pronouns that mark both possession and agents. Dyen (1974) and Blust (1977) reconstructed these forms to proto-Austronesian and their reflexes pop up in many Formosan languages and Austronesian languages in the Philippines. For example, both in Puyuma and Kavalan (Teng (2007:42-43) and Liao (2004:243-245) respectively) preclitic bound genitive markers are used for marking possession as well as cross-referencing transitive agents and contrast with a set of postclitic nominative pronouns.<sup>64</sup> Below are contrastive examples from Puyuma. In (528), the genitive third person *tu=* cross-references the non-focused agent of the clause (*kan Senayan*); in (529), the same form *tu=* is used for marking possession.

(528) tu= pa-karun-ay                      kan                      Senayan

3.GEN = CAUS-work-LV    SG.OBL    PersName

‘She (Senayan) made them work.’ (Teng (2007:43))

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<sup>64</sup> The term *nominative* is used in a somewhat atypical way in both works and refers to what in many Western Austronesian frameworks has been called either topic or subject. See Ross & Teng (2005) for an in-depth treatment.

(529) **tu** = Tanguru'

**3.GEN** = head

'his head' (id.)

Takivatan Bunun is atypical from an Austronesian perspective in that its bound paradigm does not correspond with any recognisable genitive marking: possession is expressed either by the neutral form in post-nominal possession or by the *i*-initial possessive pronoun in pre-nominal position, as we saw in 9.2.1.D above.

### 9.2.2. Variant forms

#### A. Variants of bound forms

As the first column in Table 40 on p. 441 above shows, all bound pronominal forms have two formal variants: -ʔVC and -VC. These are simply phonological variants and their selection depends on:

- The speed of utterance: in slow speech, the glottal stop is more likely to be realized than in fast speech.
- Emphasis: The glottal stop will be more pronounced in emphatic speech or when emphasis is put on the bound pronoun or its accompanying verb.
- The phonological environment: the glottal stop almost always appears in intervocalic position, but can be omitted after a consonant.
- Individual speaker variation

In this work, most forms are transcribed with glottal stop.

**B. Short vs. long forms of the neutral second-person pronouns**

The neutral forms of the second person singular and plural have a long form (*su?u* ‘2S.N’ and *mu?u* ‘2P.N’) and a short form (*su* and *mu*). They are semantically and syntactically identical. Long forms tend to be used for emphasis and in more formal speech. For instance, in a polite request, here introduced by *duq* ‘whether’, a long form is more likely to appear.

(530) *Duq hamu?ak mu?u paintaivtaiv?*

<i>duq</i>	{ <i>hamu</i> } <sub>AUX</sub> [- <i>?ak</i> ] <sub>AG</sub>	<b>[<i>mu?u</i>]</b> <sub>UN</sub>	{ <i>paintaivtaiv</i> }
whether	together-1S.F	<b><u>2P.N</u></b>	compete

‘Would it be possible that I have a competition together with you (against someone else)?’ (TVN-xx2:001:69)

Interestingly, possessive forms derive from the short form (*isu*/\**isu?u* and *imu*/\**imu?u*) while locative forms derive from the long form (*su?u?an*/\**su?an* and *mu?u?an*/\**mu?an*), so it is not clear which form is older.

**C. Variants of other free form pronouns**

Other variants of free form pronouns have mostly been borrowed from other dialectal varieties of Bunun.

- Native speakers indicate that the first person singular *sak* ‘1S.F’ and *nak* ‘1S.N/POSS’ and the first person exclusive *sam* ‘1E.F’ and *nam* ‘1E.N/POSS’

are not native to Takivatan but originate from the neighbouring Takbanuað dialect.<sup>65</sup>

- *Saikin* ‘1S.F’ is a loan from Isbukun and might have entered the language through a strong Isbukun Bunun bias in the Bible translation used in Takivatan churches rather than through direct contact. *Saikin* is fairly rare in Takivatan, but is consistently used in Isbukun.
- It is not entirely clear where the form *in?ata* ‘1I.F’ comes from. It is not mentioned for either the Isbukun dialect, which has the form *kata*, (see Zeitoun (2000:72, Table 4.3)) or Takbanuað, which only has *?ata* (Jeng (1977:130)). It might be an archaic Takivatan form.

In general, borrowed personal pronouns sound more solemn and are therefore used in high registers. Some speakers use them quite regularly in narrative texts, but they do not show up very often in daily conversations. The selection of variants of a particular form in a particular register is strongly speaker-dependent and can even vary within one text or dialogue.

### 9.2.3. Third-person pronouns

As Table 41 shows, the third person singular and plural are the only forms that distinguish between proximal (*isti, inti*), medial (*istun, intun*) and distal (*ista, inta*). Also unlike other forms, third person pronouns use the same form for agent,

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<sup>65</sup> This appears to be confirmed by Jeng (1977:130-131), although he notes that *nam* and *sam* are only used as post-nominal possessives and he gives the forms that are indigenous to Takivatan as neutral forms. Note that Jeng mixes up inclusive and exclusive forms on p. 131.

undergoer and possessives (so far no instance in locative slots have shown up). They tend only to refer to undergoers or agents in low-agency events, such as *sadu* ‘see’ in (531) below. Third person pronouns are mainly used for animate referents as all examples in this section illustrate.

(531) Muskun sadu inta

{muskun} <sub>AUX</sub>	{sadu}	[ <u>inta</u> ] <sub>AG</sub>
together	watch	<b><u>3P.DIST</u></b>

‘They read [lit: watched] [the book] together.’ (TVN-010-015:71)

Especially medial forms express either emotional closeness, e.g. to refer to friends or family, or politeness, e.g. to refer to a guest or dignitary. An example of the former is (532), where *istun* refers to the speaker’s father. The latter is illustrated in (533), in which the medial singular form refers to a foreign researcher who came to investigate the Takivatan language.

(532) Nastuqas istuna

[nas-tuqas	[ <u>istun-a</u> ] <sub>PSR</sub> ]
deceased-older.sibling	<b><u>3S.MED-LNK</u></b>

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

(533) Na, maupata nak istaqu istuna [...]

na            {maupa-ta}<sub>AUX</sub>            [nak]<sub>AG</sub>    {is-taqu}            [istun-a]<sub>UN</sub>  
 INTER    thus-DEF.REF.DIST    1S.N    INSTR-tell    3S.MED-LDIS

‘And like that I explained those things to him [i.e. to me, the researcher]’

(TVN-008-001:13)

One might wonder why these forms are not interpreted as part of the demonstrative paradigm, given that they distinguish between proximal, medial and distal forms. It is quite clear that they derive from a combination of the – now largely obsolete – bound third person agentive form *-is* and the referential definiteness markers *-ti/-tun/-ta*, whereas all other demonstratives are formed from roots that are unrelated to any of the personal pronouns (see 9.3 below). A second reason is that third person pronouns cannot take the non-visible prefix *n-*.

#### 9.2.4. Pronominal roots and a comparison with Isbukun Bunun

At first sight, the personal pronoun paradigm in Table 40 is highly irregular. However, for all persons, forms for different cases appear to derive from a single root.

	singular	plural	
1st person	-ak-	<b>incl.</b>	-at-
		<b>excl.</b>	-ðam-
2nd person	-su-		-(a)mu-
3rd person	-is-		-in-

Table 42 – Roots of personal pronouns

The different Bunun dialects show some discrepancy in their personal pronoun paradigms. It is clear that – even taking into account some regular sound changes – the personal pronoun paradigm of the Isbukun dialect spoken in Taitung County (Table 43 below) is different from the one in Takivatan (Table 40 on p. 441).

	AG		UG		POSS
	free	bound	free	bound	
1S	saikin	-ik	ðaku	-ku	inak, nak
2S	kasu	-as	su		isu, su
3S	saia		saiɕʒa		isaiɕʒa, saiɕʒa
1I	kata	-ta	mita		imita
1E	kaimin	-im	ðami		inam
2P	kamu	-am	mu		imu
3P	naia		inaiɕʒa		naiɕʒa

Table 43 – Taitung Isbukun Bunun personal pronouns

### 9.3. Demonstrative pronouns

Takivatan has four demonstrative paradigms. All follow the same general pattern in which a root with an initial vowel cluster /ai/ combines with a prefix encoding visibility and a suffix encoding distance.

<u>prefix-</u>	<u>ROOT</u>	<u>-suffix</u>
∅- ‘VIS’	<i>aip-</i> ‘singular’	<i>-i</i> ‘PROX’
<i>n-</i> ‘NVIS’	<i>aiŋk-</i> ‘vague plural’	<i>-un</i> ‘MED’
	<i>aint-</i> ‘paucal’	<i>-a</i> ‘DIST’
	<i>ait-</i> ‘inclusive generic’	( <i>-∅</i> ‘USPEC’)

Figure 11 - Demonstratives

The prefix is  $\emptyset$ - when the referent is within visible range and *n*- when it is outside visible range. Suffixes can be *-i* ‘proximal’, *-un* ‘medial’, *-a* ‘distal’ and  $\emptyset$  for underspecified forms. Among the demonstrative paradigms, only the ones with *aip*- and *aipk*- are used regularly. As far as semantic extensions of the distance dimension are concerned, all demonstrative paradigms largely follow the pattern of the definiteness markers (see 9.1.1 on p. 416 above). In addition, the *aip*-paradigm has two rare forms that are underspecified for distance, *aip* and *naip*.

### 9.3.1. Singular *aip*-

The demonstrative pronoun *aip*- is typically used for singular and animate reference, but it is occasionally used for collective or inanimate reference.

	Visible	Non-visible
<b>Underspecified</b>	<i>aip</i>	<i>naip</i>
<b>Proximal</b>	<i>aipi</i>	<i>naipi</i>
<b>Medial</b>	<i>aipun</i>	<i>naipun</i>
<b>Distal</b>	<i>aipa</i>	<i>naipa</i>

Table 44 – Demonstrative paradigm with root *aip*-

*Aip* is the only demonstrative that has underspecified forms, although these forms are relatively rare. It is used in situations where it is not considered necessary or desirable to encode distance explicitly, as in (534), or in attributive constructions, as in (535).

(534) Hanun *aip* minpantu [...] han Putulita

{han-un}	[ <u>aip</u> ] <sub>UN</sub>	{min-pantu}	[han
go.to-UN	<u>DEM.S.USPEC.VIS</u>	BECOME-study	to

Putuli-ta]<sub>PLACE</sub>

GeoName-DEF.REF.DIST

‘And she went (or: I sent her) to Putuli to commence her studies.’ (TVN-008-003:139)

(535) Maqai haiða naip tu vaqaka naupaki [...]

maqai {haiða} [naip] tu vaqa-ka]<sub>AG</sub>  
 if have DEM.S.USPEC.NVIS ATTR bull-DEF.SIT.DIST

[naupa-ki]<sub>MNR</sub>

seemingly-DEF.SIT.PROX.VIS

‘If it appeared from here that there was this/that deer over there, [... it would be shot.]’ (TVN-012-002:163)

Sentence (536) contains contrastive examples of a visible (*aipa*) and a non-visible form (*naipa*), both referring to the same referent (a deer) but from a different perspective. The first clause tells us that the deer is not anymore on the mountain slope where the hunters had previously seen it. This visual contact causes it to be expressed by the visual distal form *aipa*. In the second clause, the deer is not visible anymore because it ran away and it is therefore referred to by non-visible *naipa*.

(536) Na, ukin aipa ?ita namudanin, musbai naipa maqmut

na {uka-in} [aipa]<sub>AG</sub> [?ita]<sub>PLACE</sub>  
 INTER NEG.have-PRV DEM.S.DIST.VIS there.DIST

{na-muda-in}

IRR-walk-PRV

{musbai}    [naipa]<sub>AG</sub>                      [maqmut]<sub>PLACE</sub>

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)

Native speakers indicate that the medial forms (*n*)*aipun* are to be used for human reference.

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

{mintun}<sub>AUX</sub>    [aipun]<sub>AG</sub>                      {minsuma-a}

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

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

### 9.3.2. Vague plural *aiŋk-*

Demonstratives of the *aiŋk*-paradigm are used exclusively for plural human reference and refer to a small group of people of indefinite size, but typically larger than two or three. All except for both underspecified forms have been attested for this paradigm.

	Visual	Non-visual
<b>Proximal</b>	aiŋki	naiŋki
<b>Medial</b>	aiŋkun	naiŋkun
<b>Distal</b>	aiŋka	naiŋka

Table 45 – Demonstrative paradigm with root *aiŋk-*

Below is an example with a visual proximal plural demonstrative. The proximal form *aiŋki* here refers to a group of male family members that drastically improved living conditions for the family after they had moved to a new settlement.

(538) Aituđa aiŋki tu madadauk pakasihal

{aituđa}<sub>AUX</sub>    [aiŋki]<sub>CSR</sub>                    tu  
 be.real            DEM.PV.PROX.VIS    COMPL

{ma-<da>dauk}<sub>AUX</sub>            {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)

### 9.3.3. Paucal *aint-*

The root *aint-* is only used for human plural reference and is only attested with distal suffixes.

	Visual	Non-visual
<b>Proximal</b>	-	-
<b>Medial</b>	-	-
<b>Distal</b>	ainta	nainta

Table 46 –Demonstrative paradigm with root *aint-*

The *aint-* paradigm is typically used for indicating small groups of typically two or three people. In (539) below, for instance, *nainta* and the verbalized form *painanainta* refer to three persons (father, mother and grandfather).

(539) Tama tina akita, painanainta, na nainta tupa tu: [...]

[tama tina aki-ta] c<sub>1</sub>|c<sub>2</sub>

father mother grandfather-DEF.REF.DIST

{paina-nainta} c<sub>2</sub>|c<sub>3</sub>

rightfully.belong-DEM.PA.DIST.VIS

na [nainta] {tupa} tu

INTER DEM.PA.DIST.VIS say COMPL

‘there were his father and mother and grandfather, and he would give them their rightful share, [and they would say: thank you, may you live long.]’

(TVN-012-001:119)

#### 9.3.4. Inclusive generic *ait-*

Forms of the generic inclusive *ait*-paradigm refer to a group of people of an undefined number that always includes the speaker or refers to a group that is special to the speaker. They are conceptualized as a homogenous collective rather than individual agents. In English, they are best translated as ‘our people’. It is used considerably less than both the *aip*-paradigm and the *aiŋk*-paradigm.

	Visual	Non-visual
<b>Proximal</b>	aiti	naiti
<b>Medial</b>	aitun	naitun
<b>Distal</b>	aita	naita

Table 47 – Demonstrative paradigm with root *ait-*

Below are two examples. In both, the demonstratives are a collective reference to the Bunun in the old days.

(540) Naitun qabas haqulka sia duʔun

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

[sia              duʔun]<sub>UN:INSTR</sub>  
 ANAPH      thread

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

(541) Haiða aitun ludun tikisuna, [...]

{haiða}    [aitun]                      [ludun              tikis-un-a]<sub>UN</sub>  
 have      DEM.IG.MED.VIS    mountain      small-EMPH-SUBORD

‘Our people had a small mountain, [where in the old days they would go hunting.]’ (TVN-012-002:162)

### 9.3.5. Meaning extensions of the distance and visibility dimension

The basic semantics of spatial deixis are the same for the four demonstrative paradigms as they are for the definiteness markers (9.1.1 on p. 416). As far as I can attest, demonstratives show no extensions of spatial into temporal deixis. Also, medial forms of demonstratives do not appear to have strong empathic connotations.

Interestingly, meaning extensions of spatial deixis interact in some demonstratives with metaphorical extensions of the alternation between visible ( $\emptyset$ -) and non-visible forms (*n*-), as will be discussed in 9.3.5.B below.

### A. Animacy

Whereas most of the demonstrative paradigms almost exclusively refer to human referents, this is not always the case for the singular demonstrative (*(n)aipi/un/a*). Both distal (*aipa/naipa*) and proximal (*aipi/naipi*) forms commonly refer to non-human and even inanimate referents, as *aipa* in (542) and *aipi* in (543) illustrate.

(542) Minbukðavin aipa

{min-Bukðav-in}	[ <u>aipa</u> ] <sub>UN</sub>
BECOME-GeoName-PRV	<u>DEM.S.DIST.VIS</u>

‘It [i.e. the new school building] moved to Bukðav.’ (TVN-012-002:59)

(543) Sinkalatan aipi asu.

{sin-kalat-an}	[ <u>aipi</u> ] <sub>UN:PAT</sub>	[asu] <sub>AG</sub>
RES.OBJ-bite-LF	<u>DEM.S.PROX.VIS</u>	dog

‘This one [i.e. person or thing] is bitten severely by a dog.’

The medial forms of the singular demonstrative (*aipun/naipun*) have human referents in more than 90% of all instances in the corpus. An example is given below; another example can be found in (537) above.

(544) Na maqtu aipun maqansiap tu [...]

na	{maqtu} <sub>AUX</sub>	<u>[aipun]</u> <sub>AG</sub>	{ma-qansiap}	tu
IRR	can	<u>DEM.S.MED.VIS</u>	DYN-understand	COMPL

‘May he understand [how we Bunun live.]’ (TVN-008-001:16)

## B. Endorsement

One characteristic of all demonstrative paradigms is the distinction between visible and non-visible ( $\emptyset$ - vs.  $n$ -) forms. This distinction appears to be superfluous for proximal (and to a lesser extent also for medial) forms: when something is close to the speaker, it is typically within visible range. Still, proximal and medial non-visible forms do exist. This is mainly because, especially with forms referring to human referents, the visibility dimension has developed an emotive connotation: visible  $\emptyset$ - indicates that the speaker has a neutral or positive view of the person referred to by the demonstrative and endorses his or her actions, while the non-visible  $n$ -form expresses that the speaker rejects the referent’s actions and does not want to be associated with him or her.

This connotation of endorsement or rejection is the most obvious with proximal forms, as in the example below.

(545) Tanqaiu naipi sui.

{tanqaiu}	<u>[naipi]</u> <sub>AG</sub>	[sui] <sub>UN</sub>
steal	<u>DEM.S.PROX.NVIS</u>	money

‘This person [i.e. the scoundrel] here has stolen money.’ (d20060519:6)

Native speakers consider the use of the visual demonstrative *aipi* in this context would be awkward at best, and most would say it would be incorrect. In the example below, the non-visual plural *naiŋki* indicates dissociation. The speaker is explaining that to avoid incest, it is forbidden for certain families to marry with each other.

(546) Ni naiŋki maqtu siða

{ni}	<sub>AUX</sub>	<u>[naiŋki]</u>	<sub>AG</sub>	{maqtu}	<sub>AUX</sub>	{siða}
NEG		<u>DEM.PV.PROX.NVIS</u>		can		marry

‘they cannot marry.’ (TVN-012-001:98)

The endorsement use of the *Ø-/n-* contrast also occurs with non-proximal forms.

One consultant gave me the following two examples.

(547) Minsumin naipun.

{minsuma-in}	<u>[naipun]</u>	<sub>AG</sub>
come.back-PRV	<u>DEM.S.MED.NVIS</u>	

‘That person (who I don’t like) has come back. (Oh no!)’ (constr. ex.;  
d20060519:4)

(548) Minsumin aipun.

{minsuma-in}	<u>[aipun]</u>	<sub>AG</sub>
come.back-PRV	<u>DEM.S.MED.VIS</u>	

‘That person (who I like) has come back. (How nice!)’ (constr. ex.;  
d20060519:5)

So far, I have found no clear examples of this use of visibility with the other two demonstrative roots (*ait-* and *aint-*).

#### 9.4. The place words *?iti* / *?itun* / *?ita*

The forms *?iti/?itun/?ita* are the most commonly used words for expressing place and time. They are often speaker-oriented and distinguish a proximal, medial and distal form. The medial form is used as a delineated medial (see 9.1, p. 419). Native speakers indicate that they express spatial location, but in the corpus texts they are commonly used for relative temporal reference.

<i>?iti</i>	‘here’	‘at this moment’
<i>?itun</i>	‘there (medial)’	‘at that moment (medial)’
<i>?ita</i>	‘there (distal)’	‘at that moment (distal)’

Diachronically, these forms go back to a combination of the stationary locative prefix *i-* ‘at, in’ and the referential definiteness markers *-ti/ta/tun* (see 9.1), but synchronically they have evolved into largely idiosyncratic forms. This is apparent from the fact that *?iti/?itun/?ita* can now combine with the stationary locative prefix *i-* to form a verb, as in the example below.

(549) I?iti?ak.

{i-?iti}[-?ak]<sub>AG</sub>

STAT-here-1S.F

‘I am here.’ (BNN-N-002:52)

Most instances of the *?iti* paradigm in the corpus function as verbs. They readily combine with locative prefixes, as in (549), (550) and (551), but they can also function as motion verbs without the help of any prefixal marker, as in (552) and (553). Note that (552) is a stripped-down version of (549) above in which the locative prefix has been omitted.

(550) Maisna?isaq amu mun?iti?

{maisna-?isaq}<sub>Q</sub> [amu]<sub>AG</sub> {mun-?iti}

from-where 2P.F ALL-here

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

(551) Maupa, sau?ita?ina, maina?ita?in tudip.

{maupa} c<sub>1</sub>|c<sub>2</sub> {sau-?ita-in-a,} c<sub>2</sub>|c<sub>3</sub>

thus TERM-then.DIST-PRV-SUBORD

{maina-?ita-in} [tudip]<sub>TIME</sub>

ABL-then.DIST-PRV former.times

‘Like that, [those times] had come, and they had gone by.’ (TVN-008-002:62)

(552) ?iti?ak

{?iti][-?ak]<sub>AG</sub>

here-1S.F

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



### 9.5. The anaphoric marker *sia*

Unlike many other languages, in which the spatio-temporal deictic use of words like personal pronouns and demonstratives is extended to phoric and discourse deixis (see e.g. Lyons (1977) and Himmelmann (1996)), Takivatan Bunun has an invariant marker *sia* ‘aforementioned’ that is exclusively used for this purpose. Obviously, this does not mean that personal pronouns and demonstratives have no anaphoric power in text. They can refer back to referents or events previously mentioned in text – just as many full noun phrases do – but (1) they do not explicitly encode anaphoric distance, e.g. a distal form does not refer back further in a text than a proximal or medial form, and (2) when you want to encode an anaphoric relationship, rather than deictic distance or person, you would always use *sia* in Takivatan.

*Sia* is one of the most commonly used words in Takivatan, can combine with all the definiteness markers in 9.1 and can co-refer to referents (persons, objects) as well as events (states, actions, times, locations). Often, its scope is a single argument or predicate in a preceding sentence, but it might as well be an entire clause or a stretch of text. This implies that it is indiscriminately used for anaphoric as well as discourse-deictic reference, two applications of deixis that both Lyons and Himmelmann take pain to tease apart but that are formally realized in almost identical ways in Takivatan. For instance, the forms of *sia* in (555) and (556) are formally very similar, both take a referential definiteness marker, and both seem to have a very similar function, apart from the fact that *sia* in the first example refers to an entity and in the second one to a complex event.

In (555), the narrator is explaining how he kept track of a monkey in a palm tree in order to shoot it. *Siatun* encodes an undergoer participant and refers to the monkey that was mentioned in the previous sentence.

(555) Ma, samantukandu siatun [...].

Ma,            {samantuk-an-du}    [sia-tun]<sub>UN</sub>

INTER    spy.on-LF-EMOT    ANAPH-DEF.REF.MED

‘I kept a close watch on it [in order to shoot it]’ (TVN-008-002:184)

In (556), on the other hand, it is obvious that *siata* ‘it is like that’ does not refer to any referent in the preceding utterance, but to the preceding sentence as a whole (here given in the translation). Note that it can be interpreted either as referring to the speech act (‘that is how the elders said it’) or to the content of the utterance (‘that is how you had to do things’). It is also not clear whether *siata* should be interpreted as nominal or a verbal constituent in a situation like this; both interpretations seem to be equally acceptable.

(556) Siata.

sia-ta

ANAPH -DEF.REF.DIST

‘[I will now explain how we Bunun in former days were, how our elders said: if you want to grow up, you have to live attentively, if you see a one-eyed man, if there is a cripple, you cannot laugh, it is a taboo, you cannot make jokes about them.] It was like that.’ (TVN-013-001:4)

*Sia* can be used for textual reference as well as reference to an extra-linguistic reality that is considered to be shared knowledge or a commonsense truth (exophoric reference). The following utterance was not part of a story and the anaphoric marker does therefore not function as a textual anaphor. It rather refers to a man that was present in the room a moment ago and is therefore part of a shared discursive universe.

(557) Na, han lumaq siata?

na            [han    lumaq]<sub>PLACE</sub>    [sia-ta]<sub>AG</sub>

INTER    toward    house                    ANAPH-DEF.REF.DIST

‘Well then, did he [i.e. the one that was here a moment ago] go home?’

(TVN-xxx-xx1:21)

The very wide functional load of *sia* means it can occur both in nominal and verbal slots and is commonly used as an attribute to a nominal head.

### 9.5.1. Attributive uses of *sia*

#### A. Bare attribute

The form *sia* often occurs in pronominal possessive and attributive constructions without help from any bound morphemes. This deviates from normal pronominal attribution, which normally requires the presence of the attributive marker *tu*. Example (558) illustrates the problem this poses in some constructions. The anaphoric marker here refers to an extra-linguistic reality (‘the elders in the old days, you know who I am talking about’). It is possible here to analyze the

relationship between *sia* and *madaiŋʔað* in two different ways, namely as a case of attribution (i.e. a ‘short’ version of *siatu madaiŋʔað*) or as an appositional construction (*sia* = *madaiŋʔað*).

(558) [...] mavia *sia* *madaiŋʔað* *qabas tu ni tu maqtu mapasʔaqa*.

{ma-via} <sub>AUX</sub>	<b>[sia</b>	<i>madaiŋʔað</i>	{qabas} <sub>AUX</sub>	<i>tu</i>
ACT-why	<b><u>ANAPH</u></b>	elder	old.days	COMPL
{ni-tu} <sub>AUX</sub>	{maqtu} <sub>AUX</sub>	{ma-pasʔaq-a}		
NEG-COMPL	be.allowed	DYN-wash.clothes-LNK		

‘[And it is good to remember] why the [aforementioned] elders in the old days were not allowed to wash their clothes.’ (TVN-012-003:3)

### B. *Siatu*

It is not immediately clear whether the combination of anaphoric *sia* and the attributive marker *tu* constitutes one or two phonological words. Linguistic evidence does not rule out either.<sup>66</sup> *Siatu* is typically used as an attribute in a nominal phrase, as in (559).

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<sup>66</sup> The same problem occurs with a number of auxiliaries followed by *tu*, most notably the negator *ni*. In the corpus I have opted for an ad hoc approach, writing two words (*sia tu* or *ni tu*) or one word (*siatu* or *nitu*) depending on how each individual occurrence is pronounced. In the examples below, the combination of *sia* and *tu* is always analysed as a one-word unit.

(559) Haiðina siatu manauað lumaq

{haiða-in-a}	[ <u>sia-tu</u> ]	ma-nauað	lumaq] <sub>UN</sub>
have-PRV-LNK	<u>ANAPH-ATTR</u>	STAT-beautiful	house

‘And now they had these beautiful houses.’ (TVN-012-002:174)

However, it can also occur in isolation with an ellipated or implied head, as in (560).

(560) Aupa, a, siatu naminsuma

{aupa}	a	[ <u>sia-tu</u> ]	{na-minsuma}
thus	INTER	<u>ANAPH-ATTR</u>	IRR-return

‘And thus he [i.e. the aforementioned one] has come here.’ (TVN-012-001:3)

### C. *Isia*

In combination with a possessive prefix, the anaphoric pronoun can be used in two different ways. In (561) *isia* simply indicates the possessor of *savis* ‘bullet’.

(561) Nei duka savisi isia.

{ni}	du-ka	[savis-i	[ <u>i-sia</u> ] <sub>PSR</sub> ]
NEG	EMOT-DEF.SIT.DIST	bullet-PRT	<u>POSS-ANAPH</u>

‘No, that is not his bullet.’ (his = Vau, mentioned in the previous sentence]

(TVN-008-002:93)

Similarly *isiata* in (562) is a possessive attribute of *uvað?að* ‘child’

(562) [...] isiata tu uvaðʔaða

[[i-sia-ta]<sub>PSR</sub>                      tu                      uvaðʔað-a]

POSS-sia-DEF.REF.DIST    ATTR            child-LNK

‘[there was my older brother] and his [the aforementioned one’s] child.’

(TVN-010-009:4)

In (563), on the other hand, *isia* functions in a more complex construction: it is at the same time an attributive modifier of *tamatun* ‘father’ and marking that the embedded noun phrase *isia tamatun* is a possessive attribute of *taisʔan* ‘relative’.

(563) Maq a isia tamatun taisʔana, [...]

maq    a            [[i-sia                      tama-tun]<sub>PSR</sub>                      taisʔan-a]

DEFIN    COP    POSS-ANAPH    father-DEF.REF.MED    relative-SUBORD

‘As far as the relatives of my [aforementioned] father where concerned, [...]

(TVN-008-002:37)

### 9.5.2. Nominal uses of *sia*

Forms of *sia* can occur as the head of core arguments. However, these occurrences are not as common as one might expect and they are outnumbered by attributive and verbal uses. In (564), anaphoric *sia* co-refers to *lukis* ‘the tree’ in the previous clause and is used without any modifying affixes as the main argument of a verbless locative clause.

(564) Uka duma lukis, sia nastu?a, [...]

{uka}	[duma lukis] <sub>AG</sub>	c <sub>1</sub>  c <sub>2</sub>	<u>[sia]</u> <sub>AG</sub>	[nastu-?a] <sub>PLACE</sub>
NEG.have	other tree		<u>ANAPH</u>	beneath-SUBORD

‘There was no other tree, except for the one below.’ (TVN-008-002:81)

### 9.5.3. Verbal uses of *sia*

*Sia* regularly occurs in verbal slots. In (565), it has taken a stative verbal prefix and functions as an auxiliary referring back to the events explained in the preceding clauses.

(565) Minmauduka paisqa?ita masia bununa lus?anana sia buan

{min-maudu-ka}		c <sub>1</sub>  c <sub>2</sub>	{paisqa-?ita}		c <sub>2</sub>  c <sub>3</sub>
BECOME-round-DEF.SIT.DIST			ABL-there.DIST		
<u>{ma-sia}</u> <sub>AUX</sub>	[bunun-a] <sub>AG</sub>	{lus?an-an-a}	[sia	buan] <sub>UN</sub>	
<u>STAT-ANAPH</u>	Bunun-LNK	celebrate-LF-LNK	ANAPH	moon	

‘[...] and when the moon was full, the people celebrated the moon in the aforementioned way [i.e. in the correct way] from that time onward’ (TVN-012-001:32)

In (566), *sia* combines with the temporal ablative prefix *maisi-*. The derived form refers to a period of time expressed in the previous sentence.

(566) Maisisia atikisaŋ minqansiapa, [...]

{maisi-sia}<sub>AUX</sub>    {a-tikis-aŋ}<sub>AUX</sub>    {in-qansiap-a}  
ABL-ANAPH    STAT-small-PROG    VIA-understand-SUBORD

‘From that [aforementioned] period on when I was still small, I gained the understanding [...]’ (TVN-008-002:7)

#### 9.5.4. *Sia* as a hesitation marker

Both *sia* and *siatu* are frequently used as hesitation markers. In the example below, the speaker is somewhat nervous because he has to speak in public and interlaces his explanation with a number of hesitation markers, amongst which is *siatu*.

(567) A muqata, nama, siatu, xiaǒ huì-ta, siatu, a istupaki aupa ni taŋusaŋ ʔata [...]

A        muqa-ta                    nama    siatu    xiaǒ.huì<sub>MAN</sub>-ta  
 INTER next-DEF.REF.DIST HESIT    INTER    small.group-DEF.REF.DIST  
siatu    a            is-tupa-ki  
INTER INTER TRANSFER-say-DEF.SIT.PROX  
 aupa        ni            taŋus-aŋ        ʔata  
 because    NEG        first-PROG    2I.F

‘And next, well, you know, the small group meeting, you know, well, it has to be explained because we are not first [going to be there]’ (TVN-010-015:9)

This usage is similar to, and maybe developed in analogy with, the hesitant use of Mandarin Chinese demonstrative 那個 *nàge* ‘that one’.

### 9.6. *Duma* ‘other(s)’

The form *duma* ‘others’ is invariable, cannot take any bound morphology and is mainly used as the head of a noun phrase, as in the two examples below.

(568) Minsumina amina *duma*

{minsuma-in-a} [amin-a *duma*]

return-PRV-LNK all-LNK *other*

‘All the others had already returned’ (TVN-008-002:85)

(569) A maq a *duma* ukin amin.

A maq a [*duma*]<sub>AG</sub> {uka-in} [amin]<sub>MNR</sub>

INTER DEFIN COP *other* NEG.have-PRV all

‘As for the rest, there weren’t any left.’ (TVN-012-002:98)

*Duma* can also occur as an attribute to a nominal head. In some cases, it occurs in immediate pre-nominal position without an attributive marker *tu*.

(570) Uka *duma* lukis

{uka} [*duma* lukis]<sub>AG</sub>

NEG.have *other* tree

‘There were no other trees’ (TVN-008-002:81)

In cases where it occurs as an attribute in pre-nominal position with the attributive marker *tu*, as in (571), it is typically nominal rather than adjectival in nature (i.e. in

the example below, *duma* refers to ‘other people’, and is not an attributive adjective to *qaimaṅsuð* ‘things’).

(571) Isia *duma* tu qaimaṅsuð, ni qaðmaṅ siða.

[i-sia                    duma tu            qaimamaṅsuð] {ni}    {qaðmaṅ} {siða}

POSS-ANAPH    other    COMPL things                    NEG randomly take

‘As for other people’s possessions, one cannot take them randomly.’ (TVN-013-001:6)

### 9.7. Honorific *itu*

The marker *itu* only occurs in attributive position and has two seemingly unconnected meanings. As an honorific marker, it expresses reverence and occurs with nouns or pronouns referring to people or supernatural beings.

(572) Itu Tama Diqanin tu isʔaṅ

[[itu    Tama    Diqanin]<sub>PSR</sub> tu            isʔaṅ]

HON    father    heaven            ATTR    belief

‘The belief in the Father in Heaven’ (TVN-008-003:206)

(573) Tama, simaq su itu bunun ṅan?

[tama]    {simaq}    [su    itu    bunun    ṅan]

father    who            2S.N    HON    Bunun    name

‘Sir, what is your Bunun name?’

Note that (573) might be influenced by the Mandarin Chinese 您貴姓 *nín guì xìng* ‘your honourable name’, a formula commonly used for politely asking for someone’s surname.

In some rare instances, *itu* modifies nouns referring to objects. In these cases, it indicates that something should be interpreted as abstract or spiritual rather than as a concrete object. The following clause introduces a definition of the concept *lumaq* ‘house’.

(574) Maq a itu lumaqa, [...]

maq	a	[ <u>itu</u>	lumaq-a]
DEFIN	COP	<u>HON</u>	house-SUBORD

‘As far as a house is concerned, [it is defined as a location in which one can live].’ (TVN-008-001:1)

## 9.8. Overview of meaning extensions of deixis

This final section gives a concise overview of the meaning extensions of all deictic paradigms. That deictics in Takivatan have non-deictic meanings is in itself not surprising. In fact, Himmelmann (1996) remarked that for demonstratives in other languages, such as Tagalog, deictic reference is not even the primary use. What is interesting is that in Takivatan individual members within the deictic paradigm (e.g. medial forms) have developed a number of metaphorical meaning extensions.

An overview of how common meaning extensions are in various deictic paradigms is given in Table 48. All are expressed by part of the proximal-medial-distal

tripartition *-i/un/a*, except for endorsement, which is expressed by a contrast of the visibility prefixes *Ø/n-*.

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

(+++ : almost always; ++ : often; + : occasionally; — : rarely or never;

\*: realized by visibility (*Ø/n-*) rather than distance)

Table 48 – Meaning extensions of deictics

A notable absentee from the Table above is phoricity. While definiteness markers, demonstratives and personal pronouns are obviously used for reference tracking, the proximal-medial-distal contrast itself does not normally express anaphoric distance (we saw a rare exception in 9.1.1.D). In other words, whereas the triplet *-i/un/a* can occur in a contrastive setting to refer to ‘here’ / ‘a bit further away’ / ‘far’ or ‘now’ / ‘a while ago’ / ‘a long time ago’, I have so far not found any clear contrastive examples where *-i* unambiguously means ‘just mentioned’, *-un* ‘mentioned one or

two clauses ago’ and *-a* ‘mentioned earlier in text’. The absence of the extension of spatio-temporal to anaphoric deixis in Takivatan can easily be explained by the presence of the dedicated anaphoric marker *sia* (9.5).

Definiteness has often been linked to topicality (cf. Li & Thompson (1976:461)), especially in Austronesian languages (see e.g. Schachter (1976:496) for Tagalog; Keenan (1976:252-253) for Malagasy; and many others). As far as I can see, there is no necessary link between the two in Takivatan. All definiteness markers and other deictics discussed above can occur both in topical and non-topical positions and definiteness markers can even occur on the head of verb phrases. In fact, constituent order and ellipsis are much stronger indicators of topicality than definiteness.

domain	meaning			section
	proximal	medial	distal	
space	close	medial	far	9.1.1.A
delineation	—	with boundaries	no boundaries	9.1.1.A
time	now	some time ago	long ago	9.1.1.B
animacy	—	human	—	9.3.5.A
empathy	loved	respected	—	9.1.1.C
endorsement	visual: approved / non-visual: rejected			9.3.5.B

Table 49 – Semantic extensions of the distance dimension

Table 49 provides another breakdown of the information in Table 48; it shows where different semantic extensions of distance are realized in the deictic triplet *-i/un/a*. One of the most obvious things is that, across paradigms, meaning extensions develop most readily in medial forms. This is not completely surprising since medial deictic reference is by nature a semantically vague and unstable

transitional area between the black-and-white extremes of ‘here’ and ‘there’, which would make it a likely source of semantic innovation.

It is important to realize that the semantic extensions of distance described in this chapter are not fully grammaticalised, unlike in other languages, where words or morphemes that were historically deictics have developed well-delineated grammatical functions. For instance, Table 48 shows that medial definiteness markers can express delineation, humanness and empathy but which connotation is selected by speaker and listener depends on the discourse context. In some cases a medial might be unambiguously interpreted as expressing politeness; in other cases, there might be doubt or it might be possible to interpret a form in a number of different ways. Ambiguity does not undermine the existence of semantic extensions, but rather indicates that they are pragmatic tendencies rather than hard grammatical rules. It is clear that in many cases a purely spatial interpretation of deictic elements would be nonsensical; native speakers explicitly acknowledge the existence of deictic meaning extensions, and the meanings themselves can be identified objectively in examples which occur in a clear contrastive setting.

## Appendix 1. Sample Texts

### Text 1. Vau Taisnunan: *Lini's Hunting Trip*

**Source:** TVN-008-002 “The Life of Vau, Part 1”, section VII (sent. 171-203)

**Recording location:** Ma-yuan village, Taiwan

**Date:** 10 January 2006

**Narrator:** Vau Taisnunan (male, 75 years)

#### A. Introduction

This story is part of a larger recording in which Vau recounts his entire life. He narrates how, after he got to know his older friend Lini as a child, the latter took him on a hunting trip for monkey. However, when they tracked down the monkeys, they noticed the animals behaved in such a humanlike fashion that they thought that they were incarnations of dead human souls. They became afraid and turned back home without shooting any.

#### B. Interlinearised text

(1) Muqna minliskinin suqđamanin saki isia tu Lini, sia, Lini Pula?añ, maupa.

(1a) muqna min-liskin-in suqđam-an-in sak-i  
next BECOME-understand-PRV acquaint-LF-PRV 1S.F-PRT

TEXT 1 – VAU TAISNUNAN: LINI’S HUNTING TRIP

i-sia	tu	Lini
POSS-ANAPH	ATTR	PersName.M

(1b) sia                      Lini                      Pula-aŋ  
 ANAPH                      PersName.M                      PersName.F-PROG

(1c) maupa  
 thus

‘Next, I think again of how I got acquainted with Lini, Lini the husband of Pula, like that.’

(2) Tupa naip tu: ni, na, munhan ʔuatta Kusahala n... <repair>, haiða isia tama Lian itaʔa

(2a) tupa      naip                      tu  
 say          DEM.S                      COMPL

(2b) ni          na          mun-han          ʔuat-ta                      Kusahala  
 no          well      ALL-go          apparently-DEF.REF.DIST      GeoName

(2c) haiða      i-sia                      tama                      Lian                      ita-ʔa  
 have      POSS-ANAPH                      father                      PersName.M      there-SUBORD

‘He said: No, well, we will go to, let’s say, Kusahala, there is a father Lian over there.’

(3) Na, madaq dau munhan isaq amu tudip qanupa, tuđa tu, saan suak tu aduq naip.

(3a) na                    madas                dau                    mun-han  
 INTER                take.with            EMOT                ALL-go.to

(3b) isaq            amu                    tudip                qanup-a  
 who            2P.F                    past.time            hunt-SUBORD

(3c) tuđatu    sansu-ʔak                                    tu  
 really    accept.proposal-1S.F                    COMPL

(3d) aduq.naip  
 no.problem

‘Well, I will take you and all who wants to go hunting, and really, I accept their proposal [and said]: “No problem!”’

(4) Tandusa munʔita tudip, musaupata maupa tu tunvasu saupa lainiqaibanan tudipa, kansikiʔan ʔasaŋ bantalaŋ.

(4a) tan-dusa                mun-ʔita                                    tudip  
 DIR-two                ALL-there.DIST                            former.time

(4b) mu-saupata                                    maupa                tu  
 ALL-in.direction.of-DEF.REF.DIST    thus                    COMPL



(6c) ma-sauŋqu      daiŋʔað-a  
 STAT-steep      big-LNK

‘And, since that place looked steep, I knew: no, we cannot go there, it is extremely steep.’

(7) A, masaka Linika tu m... <repair> n... <repair> n... <repair> na...  
 <repair> nataunsiaki mamalalabaska hutuŋ.

(7a) a              ma-sak-a              Lini-ka                              tu  
 INTER      DYN-1S.F-LNK      PersName.M-DEF.SIT.DIST      COMPL

(7b) na-taun-sia-ki  
 IRR-PERL-ANAPH-DEF.SIT.PROX

(7c) <ma>ma-<la>labas-ka                              hutuŋ  
 <HR>-DYN-<REP>-be.abundant-DEF.SIT.DIST              monkey

‘And, I and Lini there, we wanted to go there, because there were a lot of monkeys.’

(8) Pansansan saka nipa dan tu, aduq aipa ʔita, na, tunadanti ata naʔanaki naipa  
 unisin minsuma, tuða.

(8a) pan-<san>san                              sak-a              nipa              dan      tu  
 ITIN-<CONT>-go              1S.F-LNK              over.there              road      COMPL

(8b) aduq                      aipa                              ?ita  
of.course                      DEM.S.DIST.VIS              there

(8c) na                              tuna-dan-ti                              ?ata  
INTER                              PERL-go-DEF.REF.PROX      1I.F

(8d) na-?anak-i              naipa                              unisin                              minsuma  
IRR-self-PRT      DEM.S.DIST.NVIS      in.a.while                      come.here

(8e) tuða  
really

‘I will just go there from this very road here, and of course it is over there, and well, when we cross the road here, it will from itself come over here in a moment.’

(9) Ma, malimadia uka muska tan?auka hutuŋ buntu, mamatla tutuða.

(9a) ma                              mali-madia                              uka  
INTER                              TIME.PERIOD-many              NEG.have

(9b) muska                              tan?auk-a                              hutuŋ                              buntu  
except.for                              hear-1S.AG-LNK              monkey                              continuously

(9c) ma-matlaq              <tu>tudu  
DYN-yell                              <INTENS>-really

‘And for a long time, there wasn’t anything except for that I heard the continuous (yelling of) the monkeys, they were really screaming.’

(10) Muska <pause> n... <repair> limadia minsumina Linikun.

(10a) muska mali-madia minsumin-a  
but TIME.PERIOD-many come.back-LNK

Lini-kun

PersName.M-DEF.SIT.MED

‘But then, after a long time Lini came back.’

(11) Na, hanin talaukan babaḏbaḏini Linitun tu: na, maquaqta ?iti, na ?iti tasabaq.

(11a) na han-in talaukan  
INTER go.to-PRV shelter

(11b) <ba>babaḏbaḏ-in-i Lini-tun tu  
<REP>-talk-PRV-PRT PersName.M-DEF.REF.MED COMPL

(11c) na maquaq-ta ?iti  
INTER how.come-DEF.REF.DIST here

(11d) na iti ta-sabaq  
well here TA-sleep

‘And then, we went to the shelter, and dear Lini was talking all the time: well, what about here, we can stay here and sleep.’

(12) Muska Lini tupa tu:

(12a) muska Lini tupa tu  
but PersName.M tell COMPL

‘But Lini said:’

(13) Ma, saduan asiki hutuṅ naʔasaun dusi manaqa.

(13a) ma sadu-an asik-i hutuṅ  
INTER see-LF helm.palm-PRT monkey

(13b) na-asa-un du-ki manaq-a  
IRR-want-UF EMOT-DEF.SIT.PROX shoot-LNK

‘I saw a monkey in the palm tree, and I wanted to shoot it.’

(14) Ma, samantukan du siatun napanaqun mavia dau muska.

(14a) ma samantuk-an du sia-tun na-panaq-un  
INTER spy.on-LF EMOT ANAPH-DEF.REF.MED IRR-shoot-UF

(14b) ma-via dau muska  
DYN-why EMOT but

‘I was keeping close watch on it in order to shoot it, but what did it do then?’

(15) Samantuk sia makakaðbiði duma hutuŋ, makakaðbið mapaðnu sia tu: haiða  
bunun makunun.

(15a) sa-mantuk      sia                      ma-⟨ka⟩kaðbið-i                      duma hutuŋ  
SEE-genuine    ANAPH                      DYN-⟨REP⟩-wave.over-PRT other    monkey

(15b) ma-⟨ka⟩kaðbið                      ma-paðnu                      sia                      tu  
DYN-⟨REP⟩-wave.over                      DYN-point.towards    ANAPH                      COMPL

(15c) haiða    bunun                      makun-un  
have    people                      there-UF

‘I could really see it wave over the other monkeys, it waved and pointed:

“There are humans over there!” ’

(16) Saduan du siatu: ma, ni mavia ni?i, nanu dutu, ma, maqðaŋ tuða mataðun  
bunun tu, makaðbiði duma hutuŋ tu: “haiða m... <repair > makun Bunun,  
mamakunun,” mapaðnudu sia.

(16a) sadu-an    du                      sia-tu  
see-LF    EMOT                      ANAPH-COMPL

(16b) ma                      ni                      ma-via                      ni  
INTER    NEG                      DYN-why    NEG

(16c) nanu-du-tu  
really-EMOT-COMPL

(16d) ma maqǫaŋ tuǫa mataǫ-un bunun tu  
 INTER same really die-UF human COMPL

(16e) ma-kaǫbiǫ-i duma hutuŋ tu  
 DYN-wave.over-PRT other monkey COMPL

(16f) haiǫa makun  
 have over.there

(16g) bunun ma-makun-un  
 human STAT-over.there-UF

(16h) ma-paǫnu-du sia  
 DYN-point.towards-EMOT ANAPH

‘And he was watching them: no, how can it be, but it is real, they look really the same as people who have died, and it waves over the other monkeys: “there is one over there”; “there is a human over there,” it pointed out.’

(17) Mainadip du nip: ni manaq tu, ni, ni, aipi via namaupata.

(17a) maina-dip du niap  
 ABL-then EMOT know

(17b) ni manaq tu  
 NEG shoot COMPL

(17e) ni ni  
NEG NEG

(17d) aipi via na-maupa-ta  
DEM.S.PROX.VIS why IRR-thus-DEF.REF.DIST

‘From that moment on, he knew: I can’t shoot it, no, no, how can it be like that?’

(18) Tanʔauk siaka bahia auk aipun pikaʔuna.

(18a) tanʔa-uk sia-ka bahi-a  
hear-1S.NFA ANAPH-DEF.SIT.DIST dream-

(18b) aun-uk aipun pikaʔun-a  
cannot + UF-NFA DEM.S.MED.VIS be.nothing.to.do.about-LNK

‘I heard that in a dream and I cannot do anything about it [i.e. that monkey].’

(19) Aupa malʔuʔun tutikisa Tiaŋa maʔuna paukin aipun tu: “na, samuta.”

(19a) aupa malʔu-un tutikis-a  
thus rest-UF short.while-SUBORD

Tiaŋ-a maun-a  
PersName.M-LNK eat-SUBORD

(19b) pauk-in aipun tu  
say-PRV DEM.S.MED COMPL

(19c) na samu-ta

INTER be.taboo-DEF.REF.DIST

‘And thus, after a short rest, and Tiang ate something and then he said: “well, it is a taboo.”’

(20) “Ni iti, na < pause >, malansaupata haul daiðaka.”

(20a) ni iti

NEG here

(20b) na malan-saupata haul

INTER follow-in.direction.of-DEF.REF.DIST river

daiðaka

there-DEF.SIT.DIST

‘If we can’t go here, well, then we will go in the direction of that little river over there.’

(21) Haiða dip musauqais mudan, nei nam tudip mu?upa ni maðqadam tudip.

(21a) haiða dip mu-sauqais mu-dan

have then ALL-back ALL-go

(21b) ni nam tudip mu-?upa

NEG 1E.N past.time ALL-walk

(21e) ni maðqadam tudip  
 NEG hunt past.time

‘Having arrived at that point in time, we went back on the road, and at that time, we walked away and did not hunt.’

(22) Sam musuqais mudan <pause> panmakahanin <pause> Kusahalataʔan  
 <pause> han... <repair> haiða istun ʔitaʔa sia Savi.

(22a) sam mu-suqais mu-dan  
 1E.F ALL-go.back DIR-road  
 pan-maka-han-in Kusahala-ta-an  
 ITIN-ROUTE-go.to-PRV GeoName-DEF.REF.DIST-LF

(22b) haiða istun ʔita-a sia Savi  
 have 3S.MED there-LNK ANAPH PersName.F

‘We went walked back and went over to Kusahala, there was the place of Savi.’

(23) Tuqas istun itaʔa, panmakaʔitain.

(23a) tuqas istun ita-ʔa  
 older.sibling 3S.MED there-SUBORD

(23b) pan-maka-ʔita-in  
 ITIN-ROUTE-there-PRV

‘Her older sister was also there, and she had come over.’

(24) Ita?ina, asa haiðan minaunaŋi puhut, nia siða puhut, pa ni mina?un,

(24a) ita-in-a

there-PRV-SUBORD

(24b) asa haiða-aŋ m<in>aun-aŋ-i puhut  
 can have-PROG <RES>-eat-PROG-PRT squirrel

(24c) ni-a siða puhut  
 NEG-LNK grab squirrel

(24d) aupa ni m<in>aun  
 thus NEG <RES>-eat + AF

‘When she had come, we were planning to eat some squirrel, but we didn’t catch a squirrel, so we did not eat it.’

(25) Hanin sia Linitun tais?an tuqas istun ?ita, ispataðan aipa malamadaŋ?að.

(25a) han-in sia Lini-tun tais?an  
 go -PRV ANAPH PersName.M-DEF.REF.MED relative

tuqas istun ?ita  
 older.sibling 3S.UN there.DIST

(25b) is-patað-an aipa mali-ma-daiŋ?að  
 INSTR-kill-LF DEM.S.DIST.VIS VERY-STAT-big

‘We had gone to Lini’s relative’s older sister there, and she killed a very big one.’

(26) A, maupata paun tu mastaʔan tudip tu <pause> inak tu sia ʔaininqaibana, taquki aupa.

(26a) a            maupa-ta            paun            tu  
 INTER    thus-DEF.REF.DIST    call + UF    COMPL  
  
 mastaʔan    tudip            tu  
 very            past.times    COMPL  
  
 inak            tu            sia            laininqaiban-a  
 1S.POSS    ATTR    ANAPH    path.of.life-LNK

(26b) taqu-ki            aupa  
 tell-DEF.SIT.PROX    thus

‘And like that was – as it is called – in those days long ago, my path of life, as I tell it here.’

(27) Maðʔavaŋ sak tudip minliskin tu: “na asa tupa, matisbuŋaŋi maquaŋ aŋkus ma ni matisbuŋ,” musaupatan huluŋan ʔasaŋ naip.

(27a) maðʔav-aŋ            sak            tudip            miliskin    tu  
 embarrassed-PROG    1S.F    past.time    think    COMPL

(27b) na asa tupa ma-tisbuŋ-aŋ-i  
 well must say STAT-explode-PROG-PRT

(27c) maquaŋ aŋkus  
 how.come hold

(27d) ma ni ma-tisbuŋ  
 INTER NEG DYN-explode

(27e) mu-saup-a-ta-an huluŋ-an ʔasaŋ naip  
 ALL-direction-DEF-LF back.side-LF village DEM.S.NVIS

‘At that moment, I was embarrassed and thought: “well, I thought that I would hit something, why did I hold a gun, but did not shoot,” and I went there from the back of the village.’

(28) A, mavia haiða baqlusða, ʔuat ainvalaiʔani, ai, ni ailukmuan maqanvaŋ aipi  
 maupati, laupa sak minanulu tu.

(28a) a ma-via haiða baqlus-a  
 INTER DYN-why have new-LNK

(28b) ʔuat in-valai-an-i  
 apparently VIA-trail-LF-PRT

(28c) ai ni ailukmuan ma-qanvaŋ aipi  
 INTER NEG sleeping.spot DYN-sambar DEM.S.PROX.VIS

maupa-ti

thus-DEF.REF.PROX

(28d) laupa sak m<in>anulu tu  
now 1S.F <RES>-be.attentive COMPL

‘Look, how come there is something new, apparently it is a trail, ai, wasn’t there something here that was sleeping like a sambar, now I became very attentive.’

(29) Ai, n... <repair> haiða qanʔiti qanvaŋ, tabakun ʔitaki, namaupaka libusi  
namaqaisaq naip ʔiti, <pause> muska <pause> tinvuquva kahaŋ.

(29a) ai haiða qan-ʔiti qanvaŋ  
INTER have how.can.be-here sambar

(29b) tabak-un ʔita-ki  
follow.trail-UF there-DEF.SIT.PROX

(29c) na-maupa-ka libus-i  
IRR-thus-DEF.SIT.DIST forest-DEF  
na-ma-qaisaq naip ʔiti  
IRR-DYN-wspread.out DEM.NVIS here

(29d) muska tin-vuquva-a kahaŋ  
but SHOCK-move.back.and.forth-LNK high.grass

‘Ai, how could it be that there was a sambar here. Its trail went up there in the forest, like that, and here the trail was suddenly spreading out, but then the grass moved back and forth.’

(30) Han <pause> tanᵑau dakuan n... <repair> qaḏna busul.

(30a) han      tan-ᵑaus      ḏaku-an  
 go      be.at-front      1S.UN-LF

(30b) qaḏna                      busul  
 without.thinking      gun

‘It was in front of me, so without thinking I drew my gun (lit.: without thinking, gun.)’

(31) Ma... <pause> pa... <pause> kahaᵑa manei saduan, muᵑupa meinei panaqan.

(31a) kahaᵑ-a                      ma-ni                      sadu-an  
 high.grass-LDIS      DYN-NEG      see-LF

(31b) mu-ᵑupa  
 ALL-walk

(31c) ma<i>-ni                      panaq-an  
 <PRF>-DYN-NEG      shoot-LF



(33b) musuʔul            mu-sauqais            mu-lumaq  
immediately    DIR-go.back            DIR-home

‘Because it did not work out like this, we went immediately back home.’

## Text 2. Tulbus Manququ: *The Story of the Moon*

Source: TVN-012-001 “On Bunun Customs”, section II (sent. 10-37)

Recording location: Ma-yuan village, Taiwan

Date: 27 February 2006

Narrator: Tulbus Manququ (male, 75 years)

### A. Introduction

Tulbus here tells a well-known Bunun myth about how moon worship developed in Bunun culture. In a mythical past, when the moon was still a second sun, two forefathers of the Bunun went to work in the field and they took their young baby with them. While working, they put it at the side of the field, but because the two suns shone so brightly, the heat killed the child. The parents were mad with grief and decided to go and kill one of the suns. They planted an orange tree and went on a quest. After a long journey, they came near the sun and when they tried to kill it, it started talking to them. It told them that it would become a moon, but that, in return, they had to worship it each full moon. In return, it would make them into real human beings and let them prosper. The ancestors listened carefully and went back home. Upon their return, they noticed that the small orange tree they had

planted was full of beautiful oranges, and they understood that since they had left many years had passed.

### B. Interlinearised text

(34) Aupa nakitŋa sak laupaku baðbað tu maquaŋ a Bununa minhaiða salaupaku taʔaðaun sintupa qabas madaiŋʔað.

(34a) aupa     na-kitŋa     sak     laupaku     baðbað     tu  
           thus     IRR-start     1S.F     now     talk     COMPL

(34b) maquaŋ     a     Bunun-a     min-haiða     sau-laupaku  
           how     LNK     Bunun-LNK     BECOME-have     TERM-now

(34c) taʔaða-un     sin-tupa     qabas     ma<da>daiŋʔað  
           listen-UF     RES.OBJ-tell     before     <PL>-elder

‘And thus I will start now to tell how the Bunun came into existence and until now, as I heard it being told by the elders in the old times.’

(35) Maŋ a kitŋa madaiŋʔað tupa tu:

(35a) maŋ     a     kitŋa     madaiŋʔað     tupa     tu  
           DEFIN     LNK     begin     elder     tell     COMPL

‘Here begins what the elders told.’ (lit: This is the elders begin to tell that...)

(36) Sia dum buantunau masinava?ai bunun tu namaquaq ana tudip minhaiða, na nitu malatpu.

(36a) sia            num        buan-tun-dau  
 ANAPH        six        moon-DEF.REF.MED-EMOT  
 mas<i>nava-i        Bunun    tu  
 <PRF>-teach-PRT    Bunun    COMPL

(36b) na-maquaq    ana        tudip        min-haiða  
 IRR-how        only        past.time    BECOME-have

(36c) na            ni-tu            ma-latpu  
 INTER        not-COMPL    STAT-suffer.loss

‘Six moons taught the Bunun how they had to do things and only then did they really come into existence, and they did not live in adversity’

(37) Pa madu qabasaja buanuna dusa dau vali.

(37a) aupa        ma-du            qabas-aŋ-a            buan-un-a  
 thus        STAT-EMOT    former.times-PROG-LNK    moon-EMPH-LNK  
 dusa        dau        vali  
 two        EMOT        sun

‘In those days, the moon was still one of two suns.’

- (38) Maq a haiða du <pause> uv... <repair> madadaiŋʔað qabasa, dip tu,  
 madas duki uvaðʔað, kuðakuðaka, maviaka uvaðʔaða tupa valiʔun, matað.

(38a) maq a haiða du ma<da>daiŋʔað qabas a  
 DEFIN LNK have EMOT <PL>-elder former.times SUBORD

(38b) dip-tu madas-du-ki uvaðʔað  
 then-COMPL take-EMOT-DEF.SIT.PROX child

kuðakuða-ka  
 work-DEF.SIT.DIST

(38c) ma-via-ka uvaðʔað-a tu  
 DYN-why-DEF.SIT.DIST child-LNK COMPL

pas-vali-un matað  
 EXPOSE-sun-LIG-UF die + UF

‘In the ancient days, there were some elders, and they took their child with them to go to work, and as a result the child was exposed to the sun, and it died.’

- (39) A masuduka madadaiŋʔað tu, ma, madadaiŋʔað: via, mavali viatu maspataði  
 uvaðʔað.

(39a) a ma-suduk-a ma<da>daiŋʔað tu  
 INTER STAT-enraged-LNK <PL>-elder COMPL

(39b) ma ma<da>daiŋʔaǎ

INTER <PL>-elder

(39c) via

why

(39d) ma-vali via-tu ma-is-pataǎ-i uvaǎʔaǎ

DYN-sun why-COMPL DYN-INSTR-kill-PRT child

‘And the elders were enraged, the elders said as follows: why did the sun make our child die?’

(40) A, mainaʔita du aiŋka miliskin tu: ni, na asa ʔata tu manaqai sambut m...

< mumble > manaqai buantuni, valituni ma- < pause > via tu mapataǎi uvaǎʔaǎ.

(40a) a maina-ʔita du aiŋka miliskin tu

INTER ABL-there EMOT DEM.PL.VIS.DIST think COMPL

(40b) ni

NEG

(40c) na asa ʔata tu manaq-i sambut

INTER must 1I.F COMPL shoot-PRT straight.away

(40d) manaq-i buan-tun-i vali-tun-i

shoot-PRT moon-DEF.MED-PRT sun-DEF.REF.MED-PRT

(40e) ma-via tu ma-patađ-i uvađ?að  
 DYN-why COMPL DYN-kill -PRT child

‘And after that happend, they were thinking: “No, [this is not right,] we have to shoot it down right away, we have to shoot that moon, that sun, why did it kill our child?”’

(41) A, maq du naiŋka?a mudana.

(41a) a maq du naiŋka-?a mu-dan-a  
 INTER DEFIN EMOT DEM.PL.DIST.NVIS-LNK ALL-go-LNK

‘And thus they hit the road.’

(42) Inliskinun tu mavia nip namaqtu, talmadia sa sausan buantuna piqauqa,  
 maupatsa madadaiŋ?ađa sintupa tu ki?ivdu masuađa iđuq, a, taldusadusa?ei  
 uvađ?að.

(42a) in-liskin-un tu  
 VIA-think-UF COMPL

(42b) ma-via nipa na-maqtu tal-madia  
 DYN-why from.there IRR-can MANY-days  
 sa sau-san buan-tun-a  
 you.see DIR-be.at moon-DEF.MED-SUBORD

(42c) piqauq-a

in.which.manner-SUBORD

(42d) maupa-ta                      ma<da>daiŋʔaǎ-a                      sin-tupa                      tu  
 thus-DEF.REF.DIST      <PL>-elder-LNK                      RES.OBJ-say                      COMPL

(42e) kiʔiv-du                      ma-suaǎ-a                      iǎuq  
 in.advance-EMOT      DYN-grow-LNK                      orange

a                      tal-<dusa>dusa-i                      uvaǎʔaǎ  
 INTER      VERY-<PL>-two-PRT                      child

‘And they thought how it was possible from there (to go to the moon), it would obviously take many days to arrive at the moon, and in which manner it could be done, and thus the elders decided to plant orange trees beforehand, these two children.’

(43) A maqabasa madasi dusa naŋsas tilas, maquŋ qabasi pitʔiaka tasʔa bu...  
 <repair> bubuka, paun tu buqula, a, maqtu kaunun.

(43a) a                      ma-qabas-a  
 INTER      DYN-former.times-SUBORD

(43b) madas-i                      dusa                      naŋsas                      tilas  
 take-PRT                      two                      stalk                      rice

(43c) maqun-qabas-i                      pitʔia-ka                      tasʔa                      bubu-ka  
 TIME-former.times-PRT      cook-DEF.SIT.DIST      one                      grain-DEF.SIT.DIST

(43d) paun tu buqul-a  
 call+UF COMPL cob-SUBORD

(43e) a maqtu kaun-un  
 INTER can eat+UF-UF

‘And in those days, they took two stalks of rice with them. When you cooked one grain, what am I saying, one cob in the old days, you could already eat [i.e. you had already enough for a meal].’

(44) A, tuđatu mudaninka <pause> taldusadusa?ai uvađ?ađta madasi siatu  
 <pause> busul dip tu <pause> paun tu busul tu... <repair> busul kavika.

(44a) a tuđa-tu mudan-in-ka tal-<dusa>dusa-i  
 INTER really-COMPL go-PRV-DEF.SIT.DIST VERY-<PL>-two-PRT

uvađ?ađ-ta  
 child-DEF.REF.DIST

(44b) madas-i sia-tu busul  
 take-PRT ANAPH-ATTR gun

(44c) dip tu paun tu busul.kavi-ka  
 then COMPL call+UF COMPL bow.and.arrow-DEF.SIT.DIST

‘And the two children really went on the road, and they took a gun, which was then called “busul kavika” [i.e. bow and arrow].’

(45) A, aupa siata taunahan un?aiŋka, maishuanin duki buana.

(45a) a            aupa    sia-ta                            tauna-han    un-aiŋka  
 INTER    thus    ANAPH-DEF.DIST    PERL-go    PERL-DEM.P.DIST.VIS

(45b) maishuan-in        du-ki                            buan-a  
 approach-PRV    EMOT-DEF.SIT.PROX    moon -FOC

‘And thus they reached (that place), and they approached the moon.’

(46) Maq naiŋka?a, tanamuðu ismu?ut siða amin.

(46a) maq            naiŋka-?a  
 DEFIN    DEM.P.DIST.NVIS-SUBORD

(46b) tana-muðu    ismu?ut    siða    amin  
 DIR-cover    grass    take    all

‘As for them, they covered themselves with all the grass they could find.’

(47) Nanu tu pasvali?un ismaq ismut kaupadau duki, a, pasvalidu?undu amin  
 isbulsuqi is... <repair> isbaluŋ, ei, mavasmuav <incompr> sasiqu?a vali,  
 ei, tu sia buanun.

(47a) nanu    tu            pas-vali-un            is-maq            ismut  
 really    COMPL    EXPOSE-sun-UF    INSTR-what    grass  
  
 kaupa-dau                    du-ki  
 complete-EMOT            EMOT-DEF.SIT.PROX

(47b) a pasvali-un-du amin isbulsuq-i  
 INTER EXPOSE-sun-UF-EMOT all dried.out-PRT  
 isbaluŋ  
 hide.behind

(47c) ei ma<va>smuav <sa>siqu-a vali  
 INTER <??>excessively SEE-blind-LNK sun

(47d) ei tu sia buan-un  
 INTER INTER ANAPH moon-EMPH

‘And really, all the grass, wherever they could get is from, was all dried by the sun, it was all exposed by the sun and dried out, and they hid behind it, because the sun blinded them to an extreme degree, that is too say, that moon.’

(48) Masiqu dau, ma, a, si kaupindu asika siða?un isbaluŋ?a, tudipin dau maqtudau maina?ita manaq dauki <pause> buan.

(48a) ma-siqu dau  
 STAT-blinded EMOT

(48b) ma a si kaupin-in-du  
 INTER INTER INTER complete-PRV-EMOT  
 asik-a siða-<?>un isbaluŋ-?a  
 shrub-LDIS take-UF hide.behind-SUBORD



a-tikis-a                      punadu              nipaq  
 STAT-small-LNK    flush.away    saliva

(49e) ma-damu              masđaŋ              dus  
 DYN-catch              same              fly

‘And then it (the moon) asked them why they wanted to catch it like that, because it is not possible for a moon to be caught by the elders, it cannot just be caught easily, you can’t just use a bit of saliva (on your finger) to catch it like a fly.’

(50) Aupa kusia ni pakasihal tatina, bununa bađbađanin tu mavia malmamanaq.

(50a) aupa      kusia      ni              pakasihal                      ta-tina  
 but      use      NEG      STAT.TO.DYN-good      HUM-one

(50b) bunun-a                      bađbađ-an-in      tu  
 Bunun-LDIS      talk-LF-PRV      COMPL

(50c) ma-via                      malma-manaq  
 DYN-why      SUCH.WAY-shoot

‘But when one used [asik] and it did not go well, the people started to talk: why do we want to shoot it in such a way.’

(51) A, tupadau tu laupaku naipi mahau asqað: ni, mavia paspataðava uvaðʔaða.

(51a) a            tupa-dau        tu  
           INTER    tell-EMOT    COMPL

(51b) laupaku    naipi                            ma-hau        asqað  
           now        DEM.S.PROX.NVIS    DYN-scold    raging.with.anger

(51c) ni  
           NEG

(51d) ma-via        pas-patað-av-a                    uvaðʔaða-a  
           DYN-why    EXPOSE-kill-???-LNK    child-FOC

‘And now he said and scolded him in raging anger: no, why did you kill our child?’

(52) Pa paisqaʔitain tupa tu aupaku naipi: “na haiða nak istupa muʔu.”

(52a) aupa        paisqa-ʔita-in  
           but        ABL-there-PRV

(52b) tupa        tu            aupaku    naipi  
           tell        COMPL    thus        DEM.SG.PROX.NVIS

(52c) na        haiða    nak        is-tupa                    muʔu  
           well    have    1S.N    TRANSFER-tell    2P.N



sia            ma<da>daiŋʔaǎ      qabas            tu  
 ANAPH      <PL>-elder          former.time      COMPL

(54b) maq        a            buan-un-a  
 DEFIN      LNK      month-EMPH-SUBORD

(54c) maina-han    tasʔa  
 ABL-go        one

(54d) dusa    buan    tau    buan    pat    buan    hima    buan    num    buan  
 two    month    three    month    four    month    five    month    six    month  
 pitu    vau    siva    masʔan    masʔan    qan    tasʔa    masʔan    qan    dusa  
 seven    eight    nine    ten            ten            and    one            ten            and    two

(54e) haiǎa    amin-a    paun    tu            lusʔan-an-a            buan-un  
 have    all-LNK    call + UF    COMPL    celebrate-LF-LNK    moon-EMPH

‘And indeed, like that it happened to the elders in those days, and as for the months, starting from the first, and the second month, the third month, the fourth month, the fifth month, the sixth month, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, all were what was called the celebrations of the moon.’

(55) Maqai minmauduka, lusʔan.

(55a) maqai    min-maudu-ka  
 if            BECOME-round-DEF.SIT.DIST

(55b) lusʔan

celebrate

‘If it (the moon) had become round, there was a holiday.’

(56) A, tupa tu naʔasa maupata, amuka natudipʔuŋ minhaiðaʔa, dip tu, < pause >

bunun namamasisihala makikikiŋna, minmauduka paisqaʔita masia bununa

lusʔanana sia buan.

(56a) a            tupa    tu

INTER    call        COMPL

(56b) na-asa            maupa-ta

IRR-want        thus-DEF.REF.DIST

(56c) amu-ka-a                            na-tudip-ʔuŋ

2P.N-DEF.SIT.DIST-LDIS    IRR-past.time-???

min-haiða-a                            diptu        bunun

reach.state-have-LNK    INTER        human

(56d) na-⟨ma⟩ma-⟨si⟩sihal-a                            ma-⟨ki⟩⟨ki⟩kiŋna

IRR-⟨HR⟩-STAT-⟨HR⟩-good-LNK    DYN-⟨REP⟩⟨REP⟩-descendant

(56e) min-maudu-ka

BECOME-round-DEF.SIT.DIST

(56f) paisqa-ʔita      ma-sia                      bunun-a  
 ABL-there      STAT-ANAPH      Bunun-LNK

lusʔan-an-a                      sia                      buan  
 celebrate-LF-LNK      ANAPH      moon

‘And it (the moon) told: “you will have to act like this, so that in the future, you will become prosperous,” and afterwards, the people prospered, and got many descendants, and when the moon was full, the people celebrated the moon from that time on.’

(57) Maupata tudipa, madadaiŋʔað paun tu m<in>anaqai valika tudip tu baðbaðani, intahatu asa maupata paisqatudipina Bunun, minhaiða paun tu.

(57a) maupa-ta                                      tudip-a  
 thus-DEF.REF.DIST      past.time-SUBORD

ma<da>daiŋʔað      paun              tu  
 <PL>-elder              call + UF      COMPL

m<in>anaq-<e>i              vali-ka  
 <RES>-shoot-PRT      sun-DEF.SIT.DIST

(57b) tudip              tu              baðbað-an-i  
 past.time              COMPL      converse-LF-REF

(57c) in-taha              tu  
 VIA-tell              COMPL

(57d) asa maupa-ta paisqa-tudip-in-a Bunun  
 want thus-DEF.REF.DIST ABL-past.time-PRV-LNK Bunun

(57e) min-haiða paun tu  
 make-have call + UF COMPL

‘And that was how it went in that time, the elders said it wanted to shoot down the sun, and it talked to them and told them that they had to do things like that, and from that time on the Bunun acted like that, and they became prosperous, as it is called.’

(58) A, minmantukina bununa, <pause> taquʔan tu suqaisin unʔaiŋka, baiðbaðani  
 buanta tu asa mamaupaka musuqaisin naiŋka dadusa uvaðʔaða.

(58a) a min-mantuk-in-a bunun-a  
 INTER BECOME-genuine-PRV-SUBORD Bunun-SUBORD

(58b) taqu-an tu  
 tell-LF COMPL

(58c) suqais-in un-ʔaiŋka  
 again-PRV TELL-DEM.P.DIST.VIS

(58d) ba<i>ðbað-an-i buan-ta tu  
 <PST>-talk-LF-DEF moon-DEF.DIST COMPL

(58e) asa ma-maupa-ka  
 want DYN-thus-DEF.SIT.DIST

(58f) mu-suqais-in                      naiŋka                      <da>dusa                      uvaðʔað-a  
 ALL-back.and.forth-PRV      DEM.P.DIST.NVIS      <HUM>-two      child-FOC

‘A, and when the people had understood everything, he told them to go back again, when the moon had told them that they had to act like that, the two children went back.’

(59) Maq a sinsuaðin ta iðuqa, mavisqain, uka iðuq, atmusuqaisin, aupa ni niap tu maquaq maupata taiʔaðani madaiŋʔað tu natailmadia tu dikaŋa, tailmadia tu qaniʔanana.

(59a) maq      a              sin-suað-in-ta iðuq-a  
 DEFIN      LNK      RES.OBJ-grow-PRV-DEF.REF.DIST      orange-SUBORD

(59b) mavisqa-in  
 full.of.fruits-PRV

(59c) uka                      iðuq  
 NEG.have              orange

(59d) at-mu-suqais-in  
 RETURN-ALL-back-PRV

(59e) aupa      ni              niap      tu  
 thus      NEG      know      COMPL

(59f) maquaq              maupa-ta  
 how.come              thus-DEF.REF.DIST

(59g) taiʔaðan-i madaiŋʔað tu

realize-PRT elder COMPL

(59h) na-ta<i>l-madia tu dikaŋ-a

IRR-<PST>-PERIOD-many ATTR hour-LNK

ta<i>l-madia tu qaniʔan-an-a

<PST>-PERIOD-many ATTR day-LF-FOC

‘As for the oranges that they had planted, they were full of fruits when they had returned back home, but although they did not know how it could be like that, the elders realized that many hours, many days [had passed].’

(60) Dip tu sihan valita manaq hamuqai, mavia tu namaviskaina iðuq, maq mapaun tu maupata taiʔaðaan madadaiŋʔaða.

(60a) dip tu si-han vali-ta manaq hamu-qai

then COMPL ???-go sun-DEF.REF.DIST shoot together-LNK

(60b) ma-via tu na-ma-visqa-in-a iðuq

DYN-why COMPL IRR-STAT-full.of.fruit-PRV-LNK orange

(60c) maq ma-paun tu maupa-ta

why DYN-call + UF COMPL thus-DEF.DIST

(60d) taiʔaða-an ma<da>daiŋʔað-a

realize-LF <PL>-elder-FOC

‘In those days they went to the sun to shoot it together, and why the orange trees were full of fruits, it has been told that the elders realized that is was like that.’

(61) Aupa aisqaʔita madaiŋʔaǎ maqai maupata haiða paun tu buan aunqumana.

(61a) aupa      aisqa-ʔita      madaiŋʔaǎ  
thus      ABL-there      elder

(61b) maqai      maupa-ta  
if      thus-DEF.REF.DIST

(61c) haiða      paun      tu      buan      aunqumaʔan-a  
have      call + UF      COMPL      moon      clear.field-FOC

‘And thus, from that time onward the elders, if [the time of the year] was like that, they would have what is called the field-clearing month.’

**Text 3. Tulbus Manququ: *The Social Rules of the Bunun***

**Source:** TVN-013-001 “The Social Rules of the Bunun”, entire file

**Recording location:** Ma-yuan village, Taiwan

**Date:** 20 April 2006

**Narrator:** Tulbus Manququ (male, 75 years)

## A. Introduction

This text is included because of its cultural importance. It is an overview of the ten most important social taboos in traditional Bunun society. Each Bunun had to follow this set of rules and breaking one of them was believed to bring adversity upon the transgressors and their families.

## B. Interlinearised text

(62) Ai, uninaŋ haip tu sanavan maqtuŋa siatu padidaðun tu mainahan Bilisi  
munʔiti masinava.

(62a) ai            uninaŋ            haip            tu            sanavan  
INTER    thank.you            today    ATTR            evening  
  
maqtu-aŋ-a            sia-tu            padidaðun            tu  
can-PROG-LNK    ANAPH-ATTR    ???            COMPL

(62b) maina-han    Bilisi            mun-ʔiti            mas<i>nava  
ABL-come    Belgium            ALL-here            <PST>-study

‘Thank you that this evening this person that comes from Belgium can ??? to come here and study (lit.: be taught).’

(63) Itŋat, inak ŋan paun tu Tulbus Manququ.

(63a) kitŋa  
begin

(63b) i-nak                    ḡan    paun    tu            Tulbus            Manququ  
 POSS-1S.POSS   name   call + PF   COMPL   PersName.M   LastName  
 ‘To begin with, my name is Tulbus Manququ.’

(64) A na paidu?uni?ak inam bunun qabas tu maquaḡ isia madadaḡ?aḡ < pause >  
 tupa tu: maḡai madaiḡin asa, asa tu mananulu miqumis, asa tu maḡai sadua  
 mabu?al, haiḡa mapiḡa, asa nitu maḡainan, masamu, ni masumal malḡanaita.

(64a) a                    na                    pa-<i>du?un-i-?ak  
 INTER    CONS    CAUS.DYN-<PST>-thread-PRT-1S.F

(64b) inam            bunun            qabas            tu  
 1E.POSS    Bunun            former.times    COMPL

(64c) maquaḡ    i-sia                    ma-<da>daiḡ-?aḡ            tupa    tu  
 how            POSS-ANAPH    STAT-<PL>-old-person    say    COMPL

(64d) maḡai            ma-daiḡ-in            asa  
 if            STAT-old-PRV    must

(64e) asa            tu                    ma-nanulu            m-iqumis  
 must            COMPL            STAT-attentive    DYN-live

(64f) asa            tu  
 must            COMPL

(64g) maḡai            sadu-an    ma-bu?al,  
 if            see-AF    STAT-one.eyed

(64h) haiða      ma-piqa  
 EXIST    STAT-cripple

(64i) asa      ni-tu                      ma-qainan  
 must    NEG-COMPL    DYN-laugh

(64j) ma-samu  
 STAT-taboo

(64k) ni      ma-sumal      malqa-naita  
 NEG    DYN-joke    AGAINST-them

‘I will now spin a yarn about how we Bunun in former days [lived], how our elders said: if you want to grow up, you have to live attentively, if you see a one-eyed man, if there is a cripple, you cannot laugh, it is a taboo, you cannot make jokes about them.’

(65) Siata.

(65a) aia-ta  
 ANAPH-DEF.REF.DIST

‘Like that.’

(66) Maq a dusaʔa tupa tama tu: asa tu maqai madaiŋina nitu maqaiu, nitu maqanuas.

(66a) Maq a dusa-ʔa  
DEFIN LNK two-SUBORD

(66b) tupa tama tu  
say father COMPL

(66c) asa tu  
must COMPL

(66d) maqai ma-daiŋ-in-a  
if STAT-old-PRV-SUBORD

(66e) ni-tu ma-qaiu  
NEG-COMPL DYN-steal

(66f) ni-tu ma-qanuas  
NEG-COMPL STAT-greedy

‘The second thing that father said was: If you have grown up, you cannot steal, you must not be greedy (or: envious).’

(67) Isia дума ту <pause> qaimamaṅsuud ni qaḏmaṅ siḏa, naip tu hutan, si nitu  
 qaḏmaṅ siḏa, asa tu masihal <pause> makisaiv, nitu tanqaiu, asa tu  
 maqansiap.

(67a) i-sia                      дума ту              qai<ma>maṅsuḏ    ni  
 POSS-ANAPH    other    COMPL    <PL>-thing        NEG  
  
 qaḏmaṅ        siḏa  
 randomly    take

(68) naip    tu        hutan  
 DEM.S    ATTR    yam

(68a) si            ni-tu              qaḏmaṅ        siḏa  
 INTER    NEG-COMPL    randomly    take

(68b) asa        tu            ma-sihal        ma-ki-saiv  
 must        COMPL    STAT-good    DYN-BEN-give

(68c) ni-tu                      tanqaiu  
 NEG-COMPL        steal

(68d) asa        tu            ma-qansiap  
 must        COMPL    DYN-understand

‘Other people’s things, you cannot just randomly take them, his yams, you  
 can’t just take them at random, you have to behave in a good way and ask

him to give them to you (lit.: you have to be so good to make him give them),  
 you cannot steal, that is something you have to understand.’

(69) Maq a tasmaitauka, aupa namadaiṅin, madaiṅin asa, maqai saduu binanau?aða,  
 maqai siḏa binanau?aða, asa tu kilimi siatu nitu masamu, nitu masḏaṅ siḏa  
 tastulummaq.

(69a) maq        a        tasmai-tau-ka  
           DEFIN    LNK    LIST-three-DEF.SIT.DIST

(69b) aupa      na-ma-daiṅ-in  
           thus      IRR-STAT-old-PRV

(69c) ma-daiṅ-in        asa  
           STAT-old-PRV    must

(69d) maqi      sadu      binanau?að-a  
           if        see      woman-SUBORD

(69e) maqi      siḏa      binanau?að-a  
           if        marry    woman-SUBORD

(69f) asa        tu        kilim-i  
           must    COMPL   look.for-DEF

sia-tu                    ni-tu                    ma-samu  
           ANAPH-ATTR    NEG-COMPL    STAT-taboo

(69g) ni-tu                    masðarj    siða    tastulumaq  
 NEG-COMPL   same        take    household

‘As for the third commandment, when you will thus have grown up, if you want to be an adult, if you see a woman, if you want to marry a woman, you have to look for one that is not forbidden, you cannot take somebody from the same family group.’

(70) Asa tu sia vaivi tu Bununa maqtu munʔita masiḡhav maqtu siða nitu siðaei,  
 talkakasdarj.

(70a) asa    tu            sia            vaivi        tu            Bunun-a  
 must    COMPL    ANAPH    different    ATTR        Bunun-SUBORD

(70b) maqtu        mun-ʔita                    masiḡhav  
 can            ALL-there.DIST        inquire

(70c) maqtu        siða        ni-tu                    siða-i  
 can            take        NEG-COMPL        take-PRT

(70d) tal-⟨ka⟩kasdarj  
 VERY-⟨INTENS⟩-same

‘[You] must [check whether] there are other Bunun [i.e. Bunun from another clan], you can go there to inquire whether you can or cannot marry her, whether she is not too similar [i.e. too closely related].’

(71) Tasmai <pause> pat.

(71a) Tasmi-pat

LIST-four

‘The fourth [commandment].’

(72) Tupa tama tu: asadu sadu binanau?að tu, nitu du palinqaiu.

(72a) tupa tama tu

say father COMPL

(72b) asa-du sadu binanau?að du

must-EMOT look woman EMOT

(72c) ni-tu tu palin-qaiu

NEG-COMPL COMPL HAND.OVER-steal

‘Father said: If you see a woman, you cannot steal her.’

(73) Madauki palinqaiu?a, na maduka siatu taisis?ana na amin tu matað.

(73a) ma-dau-ki palin-qaiu-?a

DYN-EMOT-DEF.SIT.PROX HAND.OVER-steal-SUBORD

(73b) na ma-du-ka sia-tu

CONS DYN-EMOT-DEF.SIT.DIST ANAPH-ATTR



‘Like that those elders spoke extremely big [i.e. important] words to convince us.’

(76) Haip ta tasmainum, tupa tu: asadu madaidað bunun, masamu maqaitbas bunun.

(76a) haip tu tasmai-num  
now ATTR ORD-six

(76b) tupa tu  
say COMPL

(76c) asa-du ma-daidað bunun  
must-EMOT DYN-help people

(76d) ma-samu ma-qaitbas bunun  
STAT-taboo STAT-stingy people

‘Now for the sixth one, he said: you have to help people, it is forbidden to be stingy towards people.’

(77) Maqai haiða tantuŋuka, pisihalun palʔuhuŋku, pasihal baðbað, pakaunan, nitu... <recap> masamu tu baŋu bunun, masamu maʔaskað.

(77a) maqi haiða tantuŋu-ka  
if have visit-DEF.SIT.DIST

(77b) pi-sihal-un pa-luŋku  
behave-good-UF CAUS.DYN-sit.down

(77e) pa-sihal                      baðbað      pa-kaun-an  
          CAUS.DYN-good    talk           CAUS.DYN-eat + UF-LF

(77d) ni-tu  
          NEG-COMPL

(77e) ma-samu            tu            baŋu            bunun  
          STAT-taboo    COMPL    mistreat      people

(77f) ma-samu            ma-ʔaskað  
          STAT-taboo    STAT-jealous

‘If there is a visitor, you have to let him sit down comfortably, and talk to him in a pleasant way, and give him to eat, you cannot... it is forbidden to mistreat people , it is forbidden to be jealous.’

(78) A maupata saitu sia tama tu sintupa.

(78a) a                      maupa-ta                      sia-tu  
          INTER    thus-DEF.REF.DIST    ANAPH-ATTR

(78b) sia                      tama      tu                      sin-tupa  
          ANAPH    father    COMPL    RES.OBJ-tell

‘And like that, father explained [it to us].’

(79) Tasmai- <pause> pitu.

(79a) tasmi-pitu

ORD-seven

‘The seventh [commandment].’

(80) Tupa tama tu: <pause> asa asi madaiṅin tu mananulu miqumis, nitu ma...

<recap> nitu maqauqtus, nitu maʔanak bunun.

(80a) tupa tama tu

say father COMPL

(80b) asa asi-ma-daiṅ-in tu ma-nanulu m-iqumis

must TIME-STAT-big-PRV COMPL STAT-careful DYN-live

(80c) ni-tu ma-qauqtus

NEG-COMPL STAT-???

(80d) ni-tu ma-ʔanak bunun

NEG-COMPL DYN-beat people

‘Father told us: When you have grown up, you have to live carefully, you cannot be violent, you cannot beat people.’

(81) Maq a ʔimaquna ni aipi tu isluḏak bunun, iskuḏakuḏa sia masihal sintakuḏa.

(81a) maq a hima-kun-a

DEFIN LNK hand-DEF.SIT.MED-SUBORD

(81b) ni aipi tu is-luđak bunun  
 NEG DEM.S.PROX COMPL INSTR-beat people

(81c) is-kuđakuđa sia ma-sihal sin-ta-kuđa  
 INSTR-work ANAPH STAT-good RES.OBJ-LIG-work

‘As for your hands, they are not to beat people, but to work good works with them.’

(82) Maqai maupata, na, masihal su siniqumis.

(82a) maqai maupa-ta  
 if thus-DEF.REF.DIST

(82b) na ma-sihal su sin-iqumis  
 CONS STAT-good 2S.N RES.OBJ-life

‘If you do things like that, then your life will be good.’

(83) Tasmaivau, maq a siatu tupa tama tu: asa tu madaidađi madadaıŋ?að.

(83a) tasmai-vau  
 LIST-four

(83b) maq a siatu tupa tama tu  
 DEFIN LNK INTER say father COMPL

(83c) asa tu ma-daidađ-i ma<da>daiŋ?að  
 must COMPL DYN-love-PRT <PL>-elder

‘As the eighth [commandment], this is what father said: you have to take loving care of the elders.’

(84) Nitu, maqai saduʔu madaiŋʔaḏa, badaidaḏ malka naita, nitu pidiqla baḏbaḏ.

(84a) ni-tu

NEG-COMPL

(84b) maqi saduʔu madaiŋʔaḏ-a

if see elder-SUBORD

(84c) ba-daidaḏ malka naita

FILL-love towards 3P.DIST

(84d) ni-tu pi-diqla baḏbaḏ

NEG-COMPL CAUS.STAT-bad talk

‘You cannot, if you see elders, you have to behave lovingly towards them, you cannot talk in a bad way.’

(85) A maupata siatu isia tamatu sintupa.

(85a) a maupa-ta sia-tu i-sia

INTER thus-DEF.REF.DIST ANAPH-ATTR POSS-ANAPH

tama-tun sin-tupa

father-DEF.REF.MED RES.OBJ-tell

‘And like that, father explained.’

(86) A maq a tasmaisivaʔa tupa tu: maqai haiða qumaka, asa nitu qaðmaŋ  
tasbanqais, masamu maupata.

(86a) a            maq            a            tasmai-siva-ʔa  
INTER    DEFIN    LNK    LIST-nine-SUBORD

(86b) tupa        tu  
say        COMPL

(86c) maqai       haiða       quma-ka  
if        have       land-DEF.SIT.DIST

(86d) asa        ni-tu                    qaðmaŋ        tasbanqais,  
must    NEG-COMPL    randomly    transgress

(86e) ma-samu        maupa-ta  
STAT-taboo    thus-DEF.REF.DIST

‘As for the ninth [commandment], he said: if there is a plot of land, you cannot randomly transgress [into its boundaries, i.e. in order to till it], it is forbidden to behave like that.’

(87) Maqai saupa qaisa, nitu qaðmaŋ siðaei tu duma tu dalaq, maqai imita ma...  
<recap> madadaiŋʔað qabasa siata siatu siðaʔun nitu qaðmaŋ, diptu,  
maqalav itu duma,

(87a) maqi        saupa                    qais-a  
if        in.direction.of    transgress-SUBORD



(88d) maupa-ta                      nak-a                      siatu                      is-tupa  
 thus-DEF.REF.DIST    1S.N-LNK            INTER            TRANSFER-tell

‘When you lead a good life, as for heaven, it will take good care of you, that  
 is how it had been told to me’

(89) Tasmaimasʔan.

(89a) tasmai-masʔan  
 LIST-ten

‘The tenth [commandment].’

(90) Tupa madadaiŋʔað tu maqai qanupa, aupa qanupa asa mananulu.

(90a) tupa            ma<da>daiŋʔað            tu  
 say            <PL>-elder            COMPL

(90b) maqai            qanup-a  
 if            hunt-SUBORD

(90c) aupa            qanup-a  
 thus            hunt-SUBORD

(90d) asa            ma-nanulu  
 must            STAT-careful

‘The elders said: if you go hunting, if you hunt like that, you must be careful.’

(91) Maqai qanupa, na, haiða su busula, maq mudadahan libusa, asa nitu qaðmañ  
 haiða vuqvuuq qaðmañ manaq, samantukanañ sadu tu duqai vanis, duqei sidi,  
 nitu qaðmañ <pause> manaqei ukañ saduanin ak muliva manaqei siatu  
 bunun.

(91a) maqai qanup-a

if hunt-SUBORD

(91b) na haiða su busul-a

CONS have 2S.POSS gun-SUBORD

(91c) maq mu-⟨da⟩daʔan libus-a

DEFIN ALL-⟨HAB⟩-walk hunting.ground-SUBORD

(91d) asa ni-tu qaðmañ

must NEG-COMPL randomly

(91e) haiða vuqvuuq

have stir

(91f) qaðmañ manaq

randomly shoot

(91g) sa-mantuk-an-añ sadu tu

SEE-genuine-LF-PROG watch COMPL

(91h) duq-i vanis duq-i sidi

whether-PRT wild.pig whether-PRT goat

(91i) ni-tu                      qađmaŋ              manaq-i  
 NEG-COMPL      randomly              shoot-PRT

(91j) uka-aŋ                      sadu-an-in  
 NEG.have-PROG      see-AF-PRV

(91k) a                      muliva              manaq-i              sia-tu              bunun  
 INTER      be.mistaken      shoot-PRT      ANAPH-ATTR      person

‘If you go hunting and you have a gun, when you go in the hunting ground, you must not randomly, if there is some stirring [in the bush], you cannot shoot randomly, you have to watch carefully whether it is a wild boar or a mountain goat, you cannot shoot randomly when you did not see it yet, because you could be mistakenly shoot a human being.’

(92) A maupata siatu tasmimasʔan kaupanta isbađbađ, o.

(92a) a                      maupa-ta                      sia-tu                      tasmi-masʔan  
 INTER      thus-DEF.REF.DIST      ANAPH-ATTR      ORD-ten

(92b) kaup-a-[a]ŋ-ta                      is-bađbađ              o  
 complete-PROG-DEF.REF.DIST      transfer-talk      INTER

‘And since this was the tenth rule, I have told everything.’



## Appendix 2: Word List

This appendix contains a Bunun-English word list and an index of roots. Some discussion is going on in Austronesian circles as to whether dictionaries should be ordered according to words or lexical roots. In the present word list, I have opted for a word-based approach since this makes the dictionary more accessible to a wider audience. For an Austronesianist audience, I have included an index of lexical roots, with reference to all the dictionary entries in which they occur.

The list of abbreviations below is relevant for both the main dictionary (p. 542) and the index of roots (p. 646). Both lists are ordered alphabetically, with the letters eth (ð) and dez (ðz) following d, the letter eng (ŋ) following n, and the glottal stop (ʔ) ending the alphabet.

### Abbreviations

adj.	adjective	n.	noun
aux.	auxiliary	n-comp.	compound noun
colloc.	collocation	num.	numeral
conj.	conjunction	num-card.	cardinal numeral
disc.	discourse particle	num-ord.	ordinal numeral
idiom.	idiom	part.	particle
inf.	infix	pref.	prefix
inf-tam.	TAM infix	pref-adj.	adjectivising prefix
inter.	interjection	pref-nom.	nominalising prefix
manner.	manner word	pref-num.	numeralising prefix

prep.	preposition	suf-foc.	focus suffix
pron.	pronoun	suf-nom.	nominalising suffix
pron-anaph.	anaphoric pronoun	suf-tam.	TAM suffix
pron-dem.	demonstrative pronoun	time.	time word
pron-emot.	emotive pronoun	v.	verb
pron-indef.	indefinite pronoun	v-comp.	compound verb
pron-pers.	personal pronoun	v-intrans.	intransitive verb
q-word.	question word	v-loc.	locative verb
root.	lexical root	v-trans.	transitive verb
suf.	suffix		

### 1.1. Takivatan Bunun ► English

## A - a

**a-** *pref.* verbal prefix indicating a less than expected or decreased animacy, either because the agent is not human where one should expect a human agent or because the agent is involved in an action with a low level of dynamicity or volition. *Root:* a-.

**a** [a] •1• *part.* ligature; general linking element, used for connecting two parts of a clause (for instance in a definitional construction with *maq ... a*). *Etym:* similar ligatures occur in many Western Austronesian languages. •2• *disc.* [(?)a:] (if pronounced with long) clause-initial hesitation marker, usually expressing doubt. •3• *inter.* [ʔa] well, and well, that is because; interjection preceding an explanation of why things are a certain way. •4• *part.* [(?)a] (clause-initial with

short vowel) particle used for expressing a gradual progress in discourse, often occurs in many successive clauses; and, and thus, and therefore, and so. *Root:* a.

**a-** *pref.* non-productive stative prefix, marks stative events. *See:* atikis; abuqan. *Root:* a-.

**-a** [a] •1• *suf.* ligature; general linking element. *See:* a. *Etym:* similar ligatures occur in many Western Austronesian languages. •2• *suf.* subordination marker. •3• *suf.* left-dislocation marker, topicaliser; particle following a fronted argument (an argument that occurs in preverbal position). •4• **-a** *suf.* marker that allows words expressing time to occur immediately in front of the verb. •5• **-a** *suf.* enumeration marker; attaches to the

- different head nouns in an enumeration.  
*Root:* -a.
- abuqan** *adj.* satiated, eaten full. *Root:* buqan.
- abuqanin** *v.* be full (after a meal), be satiated. *Root:* buqan.
- ad-** *pref.* back to the place where one started out or originally came from. *Root:* ad-.
- adasun** •1• *v.* take (somebody somewhere). •2• *v.* raise, bring up (a child). *Root:* -das-.
- adinijalan** *n.* neighbour; person that was sitting/standing/. next to you. *Root:* dijalan.
- adijalan** *n.* neighbour; person next to you. *Root:* dijalan.
- admusuqais** *v.* go back to where one originally came from, return to where one started out. *Root:* suqais.
- aduq** *part.* of course, OK, .... *Root:* aduq.
- aduq naip** *idiom.* ['a:duq.neip<sup>ɾ</sup>], ['a:duχ.neip<sup>ɾ</sup>] no problem, no worries. *Root:* aduq.
- aduq ni** *idiom.* [a.duq.'ni:] no thanks; thank you, but I do not want to. *Root:* ni.
- aduqai** *idiom.* ['a.du.ɣei] OK, good; indicates that the speaker agrees with some plan. *Root:* aduq.
- aðan** *aux.* there is only [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* aðan.
- ahlutun** *n.* trail made by somebody or something running away; trail of grass flattened in one direction; trail of objects that fell down when somebody ran past them; .... *Root:* ahlutun.
- ai** [ai] •1• *inter.* interjection expressing surprise. •2• *conj.* and; linker for temporal or causal succession. *Root:* ai.
- aikasʔaŋan** *n.* wishes, needs. *Root:* isʔaŋ.
- ailis** *time.* often. *Root:* ailis.
- ailmananuan** •1• *v.* invest all one's time in; do everything in one's possibilities to. •2• **ailmananuan** *v.* be absolutely certain of, be convinced of, have no doubt about. *Root:* nanu.
- ailukmuʔan** *n.* (only of animals) sleeping spot; spot in the forest where an animal was resting, traces of an animal's resting spot. *See:* aisabaqan; alukmuʔan. *Root:* lukmu.
- ailuluʔan** *n.* [ɛi.lu.'lu.ʔan] free time, spare time, period of rest; time that one is not busy. *Root:* alʔu.
- ailuʔan** *n.* [ɛi.'lu.ʔan] free time, spare time, period of rest; time that one is not busy. *Root:* alʔu.
- ailʔasaŋan** *n.* former home village, former homeland, lost place of origin, the land of our forefathers that is no more. *Root:* ʔasaŋ.
- ailʔuʔan** *n.* [ɛil.'ʔu.ʔan] free time, spare time, period of rest; time that one is not busy. *Root:* alʔu.
- ailʔuʔuʔan** *n.* [ɛil.'ʔu.'ʔu.ʔan] free time, spare time, period of rest; time that one is not busy. *Root:* alʔu.
- ainak** *pron-pers.* my; free first person singular pronoun, emphatic possessive form. *Root:* nak.

- aini** *aux.* (of the number of items or humans in a group) counted together. masʔan aini «ten altogether». *Root:* ain.
- aininhan** *v.* be in, live in or at, reside at. *Root:* han.
- aint-** *root.* [ɛint] stem of a plural demonstrative pronoun referring to a small group of referents, typically around two or three (small group demonstrative). *See:* aiŋk-. *Root:* aint-.
- ainta** *pron-dem.* distal visible form of the small plural demonstrative. *Root:* aint-.
- aiŋk-** *root.* stem of a plural demonstrative pronoun, typically referring to groups of people that are clearly larger than two (large group demonstrative). *Root:* aiŋk-.
- aiŋka** *pron-dem.* distal visible form of the vague plural demonstrative. *Root:* aiŋk-.
- aiŋki** *pron-dem.* proximal visible form of the vague plural demonstrative. *Root:* aiŋk-.
- aiŋkun** *pron-dem.* medial visible form of the vague plural demonstrative. *Root:* aiŋk-.
- aip** *pron-dem.* underspecified visual demonstrative, usually used attributively. *Root:* aip-.
- aip-** *root.* stem of the singular demonstrative pronoun. *Root:* aip-.
- aipa** *pron-dem.* distal visible form of the singular demonstrative. *Root:* aip-.
- aipi** *pron-dem.* proximal visible form of the singular demonstrative. *Root:* aip-.
- aipun** *pron-dem.* medial visible form of the singular demonstrative. *Root:* aip-.
- aisabaqan** *n.* (of humans) improvised or temporary resting spot in the forest; spot where a person was resting, spot where there are traces of a person resting there. *Root:* sabaq.
- aisbai** *v.* (especially of animals when they perceive danger) run away; usbai can be used in most contexts where aisbai is used, but not vice versa. *Root:* isbai.
- aisqa-** *pref.* from, from. onward; ablative prefix, exclusively used for temporal reference. *See:* maisi-. *Root:* aisqa-.
- aisqaʔita** *v-loc.* from then (distal) on. *Root:* ʔita.
- ait-** *root.* stem of a relatively uncommon demonstrative pronoun that is used for singular and plural reference. *See:* aip-; aiŋk-. *Root:* ait-.
- aita** *pron-dem.* distal visible form of the inclusive generic demonstrative. *Root:* ait-.
- aiti** *pron-dem.* proximal visible form of the inclusive generic demonstrative. *Root:* ait-.
- aitlalive** *v.* misunderstand, miscomprehend. *Root:* liva.
- aituđa** *aux.* really like that. *Root:* tuđa.
- aitun** *pron-dem.* medial visible form of the inclusive generic demonstrative. *Root:* ait-.
- aivi** *v.* give. *Root:* aiv-.
- aiʔan-** *root.* [ʔai.(ʔ)an] region, location, place. *Root:* aiʔan.
- aiʔan** *n.* food. *Root:* aiʔan.
- ak** *pron-pers.* I; bound form first person singular pronoun, typically marks focused

- agents. *Etym*: more often realized with an initial glottal stop. *Root*: -ak.
- aki** [ˈa.ki] •1• *n.* grandfather. •2• *n.* respectful term of address for grandfathers or men of very old age in general. *Root*: aki.
- akia** *n.* (Buddhism or Taoism) temple. *Root*: akia.
- al-** *inf.* verbalizing infix creating an action verb from an auxiliary [meaning uncertain]. *See*: sinaluskun. *Root*: -al-.
- al-** *pref.* prefix expressing a location that is relevant to one's social identity. *See*: alʔasaŋan. *Root*: al-.
- alhanun** *n.* be brought to. *Root*: han.
- Ali** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root*: ali.
- alim** *n.* kidney. *Root*: alim.
- alukmuʔan** *n.* (only of animals) sleeping spot; spot where an animal is currently resting. *See*: ailukmuʔan. *Root*: lukmu.
- alʔasaŋan** •1• *n.* home village. •2• *n.* country. *Root*: ʔasaŋ.
- alʔu** *root*. [al.ʔu:] rest, be not busy, do nothing. *Root*: alʔu.
- alʔuan** *v.* [al.ʔu.ʷan] rest. *Etym*: no independent use attested. *Root*: alʔu.
- am** •1• *pron-pers.* we (but not you); bound exclusive first person plural, typically marks focused agents. •2• *pron-pers.* you (plural); bound second person plural pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Etym*: more often realized with an initial glottal stop. *Root*: -am.
- amaun** *v.* be carried (of a person or an object); refers to the physical act of carrying, without any reference to induced movement of the object carried. *Root*: ama.
- amaun tu qavaŋ** *n-comp.* bag carried on one's back; rucksack. *Root*: qavaŋ.
- ambubut** *adj.* pregnant. *Root*:ambut.
- Amelika** *n.* [a.ʔmɛ.li.ka] American; foreigner. *Root*: Amelika.
- amin** *aux.* completely; all, both. *Root*: amin.
- amin maqaiðhav** *colloc.* (of cloth) being dyed at both sides. *See*: padusa maqaiðhav. *Root*: qaiðhav.
- amina duma** *colloc.* all the others. *Root*: duma.
- aminun** *aux.* completely, totally. *Root*: amin.
- aminʔamin** •1• *v.* (obsolete) everybody. •2• *v.* have sex. *Etym*: meaning extension from aminʔamin 'everybody', the idea probably being that everybody has his/her origins in a sexual act or that all human beings are engaging in sexual acts. *Root*: amin.
- ampasdu** *v.* pick up (somebody). *Root*: pasadu.
- Ampuk** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root*: ampuk.
- amsaqan** *aux.* with two hands. *Root*: amsaqan.
- amu** *pron-pers.* you (plural); free second person plural pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Root*: mu.
- amuði** •1• *n.* (of clothes) button. •2• *v.* button up; close with a button. *Root*: amuði.
- amukani** *n.* arrangement, plan. *Root*: amukani.

**amuq** *inter.* though; general sentence initial interjection. *See:* amuqai. *Root:* amuq.

**amuqai** *conj.* [ʼa.mu.qei] although it is like this. *Root:* amuqai.

**amuqani** *conj.* because; introduces a reason clause [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* amuqani.

**an-** *pref.* (classificatory prefix) obstruct, deviate. *Root:* an-.

**-an** **•1•** *suf.* locative focus suffix. **•2•** *suf.* (on pronouns and nouns) locative case suffix; indicates that a nominal or pronominal element is referring to a spatio-temporal location. **•3•** **-an** *suf-nom.* (with CV-reduplicated verbal stems) nominalising suffix referring to a location in which an action typically or habitually takes place. *See:* babalivan; luluman; papatađan; sasabaqan; pasnanava?an; pipit?ai?an; susumsumanan. **•4•** *suf-nom.* (with non-reduplicated verbal stems) nominalising suffix referring to a time or place in which an action takes place and that as a result has gained a special status. *See:* ailulu?an; aisabaqan; daŋi?anan; invalai?an; lus?anan; padaŋi?an; palavađan; patalan; pisqaitmalan. **•5•** **-an** *suf.* (in nominalizations) person as the seat of the action described by the verb with which -an combines. **•6•** *suf-nom.* (with certain verbal and auxiliary stems) nominalising suffix referring to a person that is the central participant (or one of the central participants) of the action or state expressed by the stem. *See:* uskunan; isnanavan; kiniŋna?an; diŋalan. *Root:* -an. **•7•** *suf.* (in nominalizations) location;

place in which. **•8•** *suf.* (with a small number of verbal stems) nominalising suffix referring to the object created by or used in a certain action. *See:* ququdan; inliskinan; inuskunan. *Root:* -an.

**ana** *part.* although [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* ana.

**ana nian** *idiom.* one ought not; one should not. *Root:* ni.

**ana tudip** *time.* only then. *Root:* tudip.

**ana tupa tu** *conj.* no matter (how), notwithstanding. *Root:* tupa.

**ana tupa tu maqaisaq** *colloc.* no matter to which place one goes. *Root:* maqaisaq.

**ana tupa tu maquaq** *idiom.* no matter how it is, no matter what. *Root:* maquaq.

**anahanav** *v.* take something somewhere and put it there; take somebody somewhere. *Root:* hanav.

**anak** *aux.* self. *Root:* anak.

**anaka san di** *colloc.* come here yourself. *Root:* di.

**anak?anak** *aux.* by oneself, on one's own. *Root:* anak.

**ankusu** *v.* carry, hold. *Root:* kusu.

**ansais** *v.* forbid. *Root:* sais.

**ansia** *v.* blocked, obstructed. *Root:* ansia.

**antala** *v.* receive. *Root:* antala.

**antalam** *v.* answer (to a question). *Root:* antala.

**anta?an** *v.* deviate (from a certain course). *Root:* anta?an.

**an?adus** *v.* pass by; pass by and make an intermediate stop in. *See:* aŋqai. *Root:* an?adus.

- aŋ** *suf-tam.* suffix marking progressive aspect. *Root:* -aŋ.
- aŋkun** *v.* carry, hold. *Etym:* probably contracted form of the patient focus form of aŋkus (aŋkus + un > aŋkun). *Root:* aŋkus.
- aŋkus** •1• *root.* hold, carry (typically in one's arms or hands). •2• *v.* hold (an object). *Root:* aŋkus.
- aŋkusun tu qavaŋ** *n-comp.* bag or suitcase carried in one's hand. *Root:* qavaŋ.
- aŋqai** *v.* pass by; pass by (a location) without making a stop. *See:* anʔadus. *Root:* aŋqai.
- Apiŋ** *n.* Takivatan female first name. *Root:* Apiŋ.
- apu** *n.* young of a monkey. *See:* hutuŋ. *Root:* apu.
- Aquð** *n.* Takivatan female first name. *Root:* Aquð.
- as** *pron-pers.* you; second person singular pronoun, bound focused argument form; more often realized with an initial glottal stop. *See:* -ʔas. *Root:* -as.
- asa** •1• *aux.* have to, must. •2• *aux.* be necessary. •3• *aux.* want. *Root:* asa.
- asabaqan** *n.* (of humans) spot or shelter in the forest where a person is currently resting. *Root:* sabaq.
- asaŋ** *aux.* want, would like. *Root:* asa.
- asaun** *aux.* be necessary, must. *Etym:* undergoer focus of asa; asa 'must' + -un 'UF'. *Root:* asaun.
- asbaiʔan** *n.* location where there is a trace of someone running away. *Root:* isbai.
- asi-** *pref.* the ...th day. *Root:* asi-.
- asidudu** *n.* good harvest, the highest yield that can be reaped from a small field. *Root:* asidu.
- asidusa** *n.* Tuesday. *Root:* dusa.
- asihima** *n.* Friday. *Root:* hima.
- asik** *n.* a shrub with though, slender branches that is used to make broomsticks. *Root:* asik.
- asinum** *n.* Saturday. *Root:* num.
- asipat** *n.* Thursday. *Root:* pat.
- asipitu** *n.* Sunday. *Root:* pitu.
- asisʔan** *n.* Monday. *Root:* asisʔan.
- asitau** *n.* Wednesday. *Root:* tau.
- asqað** *v.* rage with anger. *Root:* asqað.
- asta-** *pref.* (one-)yearly; annual. *Root:* asta-.
- astamaqansuað** *v.* (of plants) have to grow yearly, one-yearly; (of people) have to sow yearly. *Root:* suað.
- asu** *n.* [ʰa.su] dog. *See:* luqaijal; istina; pantanan. *Root:* asu.
- at-** *pref.* return. *Root:* at-.
- atað** *root.* death; die. *Root:* -atað.
- atan-** *pref.* until, reach; itinerary locative prefix, indicates an itinerary that results in reaching a destination or the destination itself. *Root:* atan-.
- atandan** *v.* arrive at (a destination). *Root:* dan.
- atanhan** *v.* have fixed one's position at/in; live at, be settled in/at, reside in. *Root:* han.
- atikis** •1• *adj.* small. •2• *adj.* short (of height). •3• *aux.* a little, a little bit. *Root:* tikis.
- atikisaŋ** *adj.* still small. *Root:* tikis.

**Atul** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* atul.

**aun** *aux.* [aun] cannot, it is forbidden to; expresses a (strong) prohibition. *Etym:* undergoer focus prohibition; possibly a contraction of asa 'must' + -un 'UF'. *Root:* aun.

**aunquman** *See:* aunqumaʔan. *Root:* quma.

**aunqumaʔan** •1• *v.* clean up the field by picking out stones and weeds. •2• *v.* month of cultivation, month of the tilling festival (according to Nihiru 1983:4). *See:* aunquman; aunqumaun. *Root:* quma.

**aunqumaun** •1• *v.* till the land. •2• *v.* (of field) be cleared from stones and weeds. •3• *n.* month of weeding the field,

weeding month; time for weeding the field. *See:* aunqumaʔan. *Root:* quma.

**aupa** •1• *conj.* thus. •2• *conj.* because. *Root:* aupa.

**aupaki** *conj.* because of (this specific situation here), specifically/particularly because. *Root:* aupa.

**auqað** *n.* piglet. *Root:* auqað.

**auqal** *n.* young of a wild boar or a bear. *See:* vanis; tumal. *Root:* auqal.

**-av** *suf.* TAM marker [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* -av.

**avula** •1• *n.* oil. •2• *adj.* oily, full of oil. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* avula.

## B - b

**ba-** *pref.* fill, make something full of. *See:* baðaniʔan; baʔuða. *Root:* ba-.

**ba** *disc.* discourse particle indicating confirmation and/or approval of a state of affairs. *Root:* ba.

**babaðbað** *v.* talk; converse, have a conversation. *Root:* baðbað.

**baliv** *v.* sell. *Root:* baliv.

**balivan** *n.* shop. *Root:* baliv.

**balivan daiŋað** *n-comp.* [CV-baliv-an daiŋ-að] supermarket; general term for large shops. *Root:* baliv.

**babaju** *n.* [CV-baju] bluebottle fly, blowfly; big fly with a blue or green shiny body. *Root:* baju.

**babu** *n.* domesticated pig. *Root:* babu.

**badaqbadaq** *v.* splatter; make the sound of falling water. *Root:* badaq.

**baðbað** *v.* have a conversation, talk. *Root:* baðbað.

**baðbaðan** *v.* have a conversation with, tell, explain to. *Root:* baðbað.

**bahad** *n.* pumpkin. *Root:* bahad.

**bahak** *n.* lung. *Root:* bahak.

**bahi** •1• *root.* prophetic dream. •2• *v.* have a prophetic dream. *Root:* bahi.

**bahiʔan** *n.* prophetic dream, a dream that told hunters whether or not they would have a successful hunt. *Root:* bahi.

**Bahuan** *n.* [ba'χuan] Ma-Yuan, one of the villages in Hualien county, Taiwan, which has a Takivatan community. *Root:* Bahuan.

**bai** •1• *n.* grandmother. •2• *n.* respectful term of address for grandmothers or women of very old age in general. *Root:* bai.

**bai** *inter.* exclamation expressing surprise. *Root:* bai.

**baiju** *n.* bean; general term for beans and bean-like fruits. *Root:* baiju.

**baiju kaiʔun** *n-comp.* peanut. *See:* kaiʔun. *Etym:* lit: a bean which has to be dugged up. *Root:* baiju.

**baiju laian** *n-comp.* pea. *Root:* baiju.

**baiju litaj** *n-comp.* kind of red bean. *Root:* baiju.

**baiju pulavað** *n-comp.* beans which can be taken out of the pod. *Root:* baiju.

**baiju silup** *n.* very long beans (20-30 cm) with black seeds. *Etym:* lit: a bean that looks like intestines. *Root:* baiju.

**bais** *inter.* exclamation of surprise; well have you ever!, how is that possible! *Root:* bais.

**baitu** *n.* time, period. *Root:* baitu.

**baitu sanavan** *n-comp.* evening time; in the evening. *See:* sanavan. *Root:* baitu.

**baitu sanavan qaisij** *n-comp.* supper. *See:* baitu sanavan. *Root:* qaisij.

**baitu taunqu** *n-comp.* noon, noontime; at noon. *See:* taunqu. *Root:* baitu.

**baitu taunqu qaisij** *n-comp.* lunch. *See:* baitu taunqu. *Root:* qaisij.

**baitu tijmut** *n-comp.* morning time; in the morning. *See:* tijmut. *Root:* baitu.

**baitu tijmut qaisij** *n-comp.* breakfast. *See:* baitu tijmut. *Root:* qaisij.

**bal-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* baluvaðʔað. *Root:* bal-.

**Bali** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* bali.

**baliv** *root.* exchange goods for money; buy, sell. *Root:* baliv.

**balivusan** *n.* whirlwind, meteorological phenomenon that includes a whirling mass of wind; storm, typhoon. *Etym:* originally Isbukun, but also understood by Takivatan speakers. *Root:* balivusan.

**baluku** *n.* bowl. *Root:* baluku.

**baluku daij** *n-comp.* large bowl. *Root:* baluku.

**baluku kakaunan qaisij** *n-comp.* rice bowl. *Etym:* lit: a bowl which is used for eating rice. *Root:* baluku.

**baluku qaisij** *n-comp.* rice bowl. *Etym:* abbreviated compound of baluku kakaunan qaisij. *Root:* baluku.

**baluku tikis** *n-comp.* small bowl. *Root:* baluku.

**baluvaðʔað** *n.* grandchild. *Root:* uvað.

**bananʔað** *n.* man; boy. *Root:* bananʔað.

**banhil** •1• Japanese cypress. *Chamaecyparis obtusa*. •2• *n.* lumber, timber. *Root:* banhil.

**banta** *n.* gauze; mosquito net. *Root:* banta.

**Bantalañ** •1• *n.* member of the Amis tribe. •2• *adj.* of the Amis. *Root:* bantalañ.

**bantas** *n.* leg and foot (there is no separate Bunun word for foot). *Root:* bantas.

**Banuað** *n.* name of a former settlement in Nantou, place of origin of the Takbanuað clan. *Root:* banuað.

**baŋqalbaŋqal** *n.* cloth woven with thick threads with strands coming out at the ends; shawl with tufts at the ends. *Root:* baŋqal.

**baqan** *n.* anus. *Root:* baqan.

**baqlu** •1• *adj.* new, fresh, just made. •2• *time.* just, a moment ago, not long ago. *Root:* baqlu.

**basaisan** *v.* discard. *Root:* sais.

**batal** *n.* white millet, tapioca. *Root:* batal.

**batu** •1• *root.* throw. •2• *n.* stone, rock. *Root:* batu.

**Batu** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* batu.

**batu daiŋað** *n-comp.* big rock. *Root:* batu.

**baun** •1• *conj.* just, exactly. •2• *conj.* and also [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* baun.

**baujan** *v-trans.* pick (with an axe). *Root:* baujan.

**bav** *place.* north. *Etym:* contracted form of baʔav; in Bunun topography, the north is associated with a high location or is conceived to be the upward direction. *Root:* baʔav.

**baʔav** *place.* high geographical location; up in the mountains. *Root:* baʔav.

**baʔbaʔ** *aux.* very little (of millet) [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* baʔbaʔ.

**baʔuða** *v.* decide. *Root:* uða.

**bi-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* bi-.

**bibisuk** *v.* move, relocate, shift; move something from one place to another. *Root:* bisuk.

**bidil** *n.* cheek. *Root:* bidil.

**bidniʔ** *n.* calve of the leg. *Root:* bidniʔ.

**bilbil** *n.* lip (of the mouth). *Root:* bilbil.

**binanauʔað** *n.* woman; girl; wife. *Root:* nauʔað.

**bisuk** *root.* move something from one place to another; move, relocate, shift. *Root:* bisuk.

**bit-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) produce lightning. *Root:* bit-.

**bitvaqan** *v.* produce lightning. *Root:* bitvaqan.

**bu-** *pref.* variation of ba- [status uncertain]. *See:* buʔuʔuða. *Root:* bu-.

**buan** [buan], [bwan] •1• *n.* moon. •2• *n.* moon goddess. •3• *n.* month. *Etym:* The bunun originally had a lunar calendar, hence the association of 'moon' and 'month'. *Root:* buan.

**buan alʔuan** *n-comp.* resting month, the month after the ear-shooting festival. *Root:* buan.

**buan aunquman** *n-comp.* field preparation month, the Bunun month centering around the beginning of January, when the field was cleared in preparation for sowing. *See:* lusʔan aunqumaan. *Root:* buan.

**buan baqtaiŋaʔan** *n-comp.* month of the ear-shooting festival. *Etym:* uncommon variant of buan padaqtaiŋaʔan; probably from: p<ada>qtaiŋaʔan > paqtaiŋaʔan (contraction) > baqtaiŋaʔan (word-initial consonant harmony). *Root:* buan.

**buan dalʔuan** *n-comp.* resting month, the month after the ear-shooting festival. *See:* alʔuan. *Etym:* variant of buan alʔuanin. *Root:* buan.

**buan minsudain** *n-comp.* month of the millet harvest. *See:* suda; minsuda. *Etym:*

- buan** 'month' & min- 'reach state' + suda 'live long until result is reached' + -un 'PRF'. *Root:* buan.
- buan padaqtaiŋaʔan** *n-comp.* month of the ear-shooting festival. *Root:* buan.
- buan paqunan** *n-comp.* weeding month, the Bunun month when the field had to be kept clean from weeds. *Root:* buan.
- buan taiŋaʔan** *n-comp.* month of the ear-shooting festival. *Root:* buan.
- Buaq** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* buaq.
- bubu** *n.* one grain, a seed or fruit of a cereal grass (such as millet or corn). *Root:* bubu.
- Bubukun** *n.* Bubukun or Isbukun is one of the Bunun dialects. *See:* Takbanuað; Takivatan; Takibaka; Takitudu; Takipulan. *Root:* bukun.
- bubusan** *v.* drizzle, to rain very lightly. *Root:* bubusan.
- buðas** *n.* penis. *Root:* buðas.
- bukðav** [ˈbukðav] •1• *root.* plains, flats, valley; low-lying. •2• *n.* plains, flats, level ground, valley. *Root:* bukðav.
- Bukðav** *n.* Fu-Yuan, a village Ma-Yuan in Hualien county. *Etym:* related to buqðav 'in the plains'; Fu-Yuan is situated in the plains north of the Ma-Yuan Takivatan community. *Root:* bukðav.
- bulu** *aux.* [ˈbu.lu] finally, as a result, in the end; indicates that an action is the final result of a preceding string of events. *Root:* bulu.
- bunbun** *n.* banana. *Root:* bunbun.
- buntu** *time.* continuously. *Root:* buntu.
- bunuað qaiðu** *n-comp.* big Chinese plum. *Root:* bunuað.
- bunuað tikis** *n-comp.* small plum. *Root:* bunuað.
- bunun** *n.* human being. *Root:* bunun.
- Bunun** •1• *adj.* of the Bunun. •2• *n.* member of the Bunun tribe. *Root:* bunun.
- bunuq** *n.* pebble. *Root:* bunuq.
- buŋqa** *root.* break. *Root:* buŋqa.
- buŋu** *n.* head (term for the entire head). *Root:* buŋu.
- buq** *n.* water surface. *Root:* buq.
- buqan** •1• *root.* satiated (after a meal), full, having a full stomach. •2• *v.* eat till one is satiated. *Root:* buqan.
- buqðav** *place.* in a low place; in the plains (of geographical locations). *Root:* buqðav.
- buqtuŋ** *n.* joint (of the body). *Root:* buqtuŋ.
- buqul** *n.* ear (of a cereal grass, such as millet), the fruiting spike of a cereal grass. *Root:* buqul.
- buqusal** *n.* honeybee. *Root:* buqusal.
- busul** *n.* instrument for shooting projectiles; gun, bow. *Root:* busul.
- busul kavi** *n-comp.* bow (and arrow). *Root:* busul.
- busul kavika** *n-comp.* *Root:* busul.
- butiqun** *n.* object used to wrap things; plastic bag, gift wrapping, .... *Root:* butiqun.
- butqut** *n.* Adam's apple. *Root:* butqut.
- buʔuʔuða** *v.* decide. *Root:* uða.

## D - d

**dadaŋiʔan** *n.* location, place. *Root:* daŋi.

**dadaus** *n.* small knife (typically up to 10 cm) used for cutting meat. *Root:* dadaus.

**dadusa** *num-card.* two (only used for human referents). *Root:* dusa.

**Dahulan** *n.* name of a former settlement of the Takibakha, which they inhabited after the split up from the Takivatan and Takbanuað in Tanta. *Root:* dahulan.

**daidað** *root.* love. *Root:* daidað.

**daidaðʔað** *n.* person that loves. *Root:* daidað.

**daiða** *place.* there, over there. *Root:* daiða.

**dailað** •1• *n.* row, line, file. •2• *n.* succession, sequence, series. •3• *n.* string of events. •4• *v.* put in a row, order, line up. *Root:* dailað.

**daiŋ** *root.* [daiŋ], [dɛiŋ] large; of large size. *Root:* daiŋ.

**daiŋað** *aux.* very; extremely. *Root:* daiŋ.

**daiŋiŋiʔan** *n.* former location; place where one formerly lived. *Root:* daŋi.

**daiŋpus** *root.* place (something somewhere). *Root:* daiŋpus.

**daiŋʔað** *adj.* old, old of age. *Root:* daiŋ.

**daisia** *n.* [daiʃja] mine car, tub; trolley that is pushed on tracks and is typically used for transporting stones or ore. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* daisia.

**daku** *n.* [ʔda.kũ] ritual object, consisting of a kind of reed, that had be put on or next to a field before sowing to bless the field. *Root:* daku.

**dakvisan** *adj.* [dʔak.ʔvi.san] far, far away.

*Root:* dakvisan.

**dalaq** •1• *n.* [ʔda.laqʔ] land, property. •2• *n.* [ʔda.laqʔ] ground, earth. *Root:* dalaq.

**dalaq daŋkas** *n-comp.* [ʔda.laq.ʔdaŋ.kas] clay used to make bricks or pottery; lit: red earth. *Root:* dalaq.

**dalav** *root.* dark, obscure. *Root:* dalav.

**damu** *root.* catch, lock up. *Root:* damu.

**damuq** *n.* dew. *Root:* damuq.

**damuʔun** *v.* [da.ʔmu.ʔun], [da.ʔmu:n] be locked up (e.g. in a jail). *Root:* damu.

**dan** *n.* [da:n] road. *Root:* dan.

**dan vasu** *n-comp.* railway, railroad, train tracks. *See:* vasu. *Root:* dan.

**danum** *n.* [da.num] water, natural water. *See:* pinisʔati. *Root:* danum.

**daŋað** *root.* [ʔda.ŋaðʔ] help. *Root:* daŋað.

**daŋaðdaŋað** *v.* [ʔda.ŋað.ʔda.ŋaðʔ] help. *Root:* daŋað.

**daŋi** *root.* [ʔda.ŋi] place, put, locate. *Root:* daŋi.

**daŋiʔan** [da.ʔŋi.ʔan] •1• *v.* put in (a certain place). •2• *v.* live in. *Root:* daŋi.

**daŋiʔanan** [ʔda.ŋi.ʔan.an] •1• *n.* location, spot where a certain event takes place. •2• *v.* stay, remain in a certain location. •3• *v.* stay at a location (e.g. overnight). •4• *v.* locate. *Root:* daŋi.

**daŋkas** *root.* [ʔdaŋ.kas] red, pink. *Root:* daŋkas.

- daŋkuis** *n.* path, track, trail; usually small road without any form of paving. *Root:* daŋkuis.
- daŋus** *root.* front side, first. *Root:* daŋus.
- daŋusan** *conj.* firstly, first, in the first place, before we start. *Root:* daŋus.
- dapana** *n.* footprint (usually of an animal). *Root:* dapana.
- dapud** *n.* [dɑ.'pu:d ʔ] small pepper. *Root:* dapud.
- dapuð paʔis** *n-comp.* small bitter green or red vegetable that is shaped like a melon. *Etym:* lit: bitter pepper plant. *Root:* dapuð.
- daqis** *n.* [dɑ.qis] face. *Root:* daqis.
- daqvisan** *adj.* [dɑq.'vi.san] far, far away. *Root:* daqvisan.
- dastal** *root.* light slope. *Root:* dastal.
- Dastalan** *n.* light slope above the present Butterfly Valley Resort in Fu-Yuan (next to Bahuan). *Root:* dastal.
- dasudasun** *v.* [dɑ.sun.'dɑ.sun] bring or take somebody to a place with certain intentions (e.g. to visit something). *Root:* -das-.
- dasuk** *v.* [dɑ.suk ʔ] I am taken by somebody to some place. *Root:* -das-.
- dasukdasuk** *v.* [dɑ.suk ʔ.'dɑ.suk ʔ] I am taken by somebody to whichever place that person goes to. *Root:* -das-.
- dasun** *v.* [dɑ.sun] be taken by somebody to some place. *Etym:* [ma]das- 'carry' + -un 'UF'. *Root:* -das-.
- dasundasun** *v.* [dɑ.sun.'dɑ.sun] be taken by somebody to whichever place that person goes. *Root:* -das-.
- dau** *disc.* [dau], [dɑə] particle expressing emotional involvement (such as pity, regret or surprise) of the speaker. *ukin* dau «Regretfully, it is all gone». *Root:* dau.
- daukdauk** *aux.* [dauk ʔ.'dauk ʔ] slowly. *Root:* daukdauk.
- dauki** *pron-emot.* that one here (emotive reference to a person or thing that is close to the referent). *Root:* dau.
- dauluq** *n.* rain worm. *Root:* dauluq.
- daun** *adj.* smelly. *Root:* daun.
- daus** *n.* [dɑus] big knife (more than 30 cm). *See:* via. *Root:* daus.
- davus** [dɑ.vus] •1• *root.* sweet. •2• *n.* millet wine; by extension, any alcoholic drink. *Etym:* homonymous with davus 'sweet', because the traditional millet wine of the Bunun is very sweet. *Root:* davus.
- davus sumsum** *n-comp.* Kaoliang, a strong liquor made of Chinese sorghum. *Root:* davus.
- di** *place.* [di:] here, at my side; refers to a location close to the referent. *Root:* di.
- diaqʔal** *conj.* if, were it that; expresses a non-realized condition. *Root:* diaqʔal.
- didis** *n.* drizzle, misty rain. *Root:* didis.
- dikaŋ** [di.'ka:ŋ] •1• *n.* moment, a traditional Bunun time unit, hour. •2• *n.* holiday. *Root:* dikaŋ.
- dikia** *place.* side, direction, orientation. *Root:* dikia.
- dikun** *time.* [di.kun] that time. *Root:* dikun.
- dil** *n.* [di:l ʔ], [di:ʔ] rice-like plant with long husks that droop under their weight. *Root:* dil.

**Dilusan** *n.* former Takivatan settlement in Nantou. *Root:* dilusan.

**Dimutu** *n.* place name; old Takivatan settlement, south of Ma-Yuan, at the right-hand side of Ma-Yuan Lian-Luo Dao-Lu (馬遠聯絡道路). *Root:* dimutu.

**dinun** *root.* gather, assemble. *Root:* dinun.

**diñalan** •1• *place.* neighbouring, next to, at the (left or right) side of. •2• *place.* a slightly lower location; plain. (refers to a place that is in a geographically low location). *Root:* diñal.

**diñki** *n.* electricity. *Root:* diñki.

**diñva** *n.* [ˈdiñ.vã] telephone. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* diñva.

**dip** *time.* [di:p] then, at that point (in the past); at that moment (only for past events). *Root:* dip.

**dip tu** *conj.* [ˈdi:p.tu], [ˈdi:p.tu:] and then, next; and then he/she said; particle used in narratives to indicate a participant switch, often used in the representation of speech. *Etym:* idiomatic abbreviation of tudip tu. *Root:* dip.

**dipa** *pron.* that one there. *Root:* di.

**diptu** *time.* [ˈdi:p.tu] then, at that time. *Etym:* short form of tudip tu. *Root:* dip.

**diqanin** [di.ˈqa.nin] •1• *n.* heaven; sky. •2• *n.* (traditional Bunun religion) god of the sky; Heaven, the sky as the place where the gods live; (Christianity) Heaven. *Root:* diqanin.

**diskasia** *v.* rely on, find support in, use as support. *Root:* sia.

**diskaʔuni** *v.* believe. *Root:* ʔuni.

**du** *part.* [dũ] emotive particle. *Etym:* short form of dau. *Root:* du.

**duanan** [ˌdũ.ˈa.ˈna:n], [ˌdwa.ˈna:n] •1• *time.* almost. •2• *time.* sometimes. *Root:* duanan.

**duduk** *n.* [ˈdũ.dukˀ] ginger. *Root:* duduk.

**duduma** *pron.* [dũ.ˈdũ.mã] other, besides this/that/these/those. *Root:* duma.

**duduñan** *v.* cover (something) by wrapping it into something. *duduñan qabañ* «wrap into a blanket». *See:* pahilhilan. *Root:* duduñan.

**duki** *part.* this one here (emotive reference to a person or thing that is close to the referent). *Etym:* short form of dauki. *Root:* dau.

**duma** *pron.* other; the others. *Root:* duma.

**dumdum** *root.* obscured, dark, shadowy, dusky, shady. *Root:* dum dum.

**dun** [dũ:n], [ˈdũʔun] •1• *n.* thread; string (of rope or of textile). •2• *n.* cable, wire. •3• *n.* line, route, path. *Root:* dun.

**dun ðiñki** *n-comp.* [dũ.n.ˈðiñ.ki] electric cable. *Root:* dun.

**dunqabin** *v-intrans.* hide. *Root:* dunqabin.

**dunɖavin** *aux.* immediately afterwards. *Root:* dunɖav.

**dunɖav** *aux.* impulsively, immediately and without thought. *Root:* dunɖav.

**duq** *conj.* [duq], [du:q], [dɔ:q] whether. *Root:* duq.

**duqai** *conj.* [ˈdũ.qai], [ˈdũ.qei] is it true or not? particle marking an emphatic polar question that questions the truth value of the following sentence. *Etym:* prob related to duq 'whether'. *Root:* duq.

**duqlas** *root*. white. *Root*: duqlas.

**duqu** *root*. dangerous. *Root*: duqu.

**duq... duq...** *conj*. whether... or.... *Root*: duq.

**dus** *n*. [du:s] fly. *Root*: dus.

**dusa** *num-card*. [ˈdu.sə] 2; two. *Root*: dusa.

**dusa lau** *idiom*. having two floors. *Etym*: from Bunun dusa 'two' and Mandarin 樓 loú 'floor, storey'. *Root*: lau.

**dusa lau tu lumaq** *n-comp*. second floor of a home. *Etym*: from dusa 'two' & Mandarin 樓 loú 'floor' & tu 'ATTR' & lumaq 'house'. *Root*: lumaq.

**dusasaba** *num-card*. 200; two hundred. *See*: dusa. *Root*: -saba.

## Đ - Ğ

**đaða** *place*. above, on top of. *Root*: đaða.

**đaðaðað** *n*. God, especially when considered as an entity that lives up in heaven. *Etym*: lit: he that is above. *Root*: đaða.

**đaðaðaða** *v*. move around in the top (e.g. of a tree), move back and forth in the top, play around in the top. *Root*: đaða.

**đaiku** *n*. turn, bend (e.g. in the road). *Root*: đaiku.

**đain** *v*. (imperative) come over here. *Root*: đain.

**đaku** *pron-pers*. [ˈða.kũ] me; free first person singular pronoun, neutral form. *Root*: đaku.

**đakuan** *v*. [ða.ˈku.(w)an] be near me, be at my place. *Root*: đaku.

**đakuna** *idiom*. and then it is me (often in an enumeration). *Root*: đakuna.

**đakuʔan** *pron-pers*. [ða.ˈku.ʔan] at me, near me, next to me;; free first person singular pronoun, locative form. *Root*: đaku.

**đakuʔi** *idiom*. now it's up to me. *Root*: đaku.

**đalapa** *n*. sole of the foot. *Root*: đalapa.

**đami** *pron-pers*. [ˈða.mi] us (but not you); free first person plural exclusive pronoun, neutral form. *Root*: đam-.

**đamu** *pron-pers*. we (but not you); free first person plural exclusive pronoun, neutral form. *Root*: đam-.

**đana** *disc*. what do you think? interjection asking for the opinion of the hearer. *Root*: đana.

**đaulu** *n*. turtle. *Root*: đaulu.

**điŋki** *n*. lamp, lighting, light. *Root*: điŋki.

**ɕakaŋ** *n.* the Xiu-Lin district in Hualien County. *Root:* ɕakaŋ.

**ɕulu** *n.* [ʔɕu.lu] deacon; elder in the Presbyterian Church. *Etym:* from Japanese/Southern Min. *Root:* ɕulu.

## G - g

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**Giʔiŋ** *n.* Amis name. *Root:* giʔiŋ.

## H - h

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**hada** *disc.* ok, good, perfect; indicates that agreement is reached. *Root:* hada.

**Hadul** *n.* [ha.dulʔ] Takivatan male first name. *Root:* Hadul.

**haðavin** *aux.* as one pleases, as one wants, in a random fashion. *See:* haðunin. *Root:* haðavin.

**haðunin** *aux.* as one pleases, as one wants, in a random fashion. *See:* haðavin. *Root:* haðunin.

**hahima** *num-card.* five (only used for human referents). *Root:* hima.

**haiða** *aux.* [ʔhai.ða] have; possess. *Root:* haiða.

**haiða ailuluʔan** *colloc.* have time, not be occupied. *Root:* alʔu.

**haiða dip** *idiom.* [ʔhai.ða.ʔdi:p] having arrived at that moment, stage, decision, ... (only for past events). *Root:* dip.

**haiða tupa** *idiom.* it is said that..., people tell that.... *Root:* tupa.

**haiðaʔan** *v.* have loads of (material means). *Root:* haiða.

**haiðin** *aux.* [ʔhai.ðin] there already is, there already exists. *Root:* haiða.

**haikikaku** *n.* tuberculosis, TB. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* haikikaku.

**haip** [haip] •1• *time.* today. •2• *time.* this week's. haip asinum «this Sunday». *Root:* haip.

**haip tu** *time.* this week's. haip tu asinum «this Sunday». *Root:* haip.

**haiphaip** •1• *time.* every day, daily. •2• *time.* in these days. *Root:* haip.

**haitu** •1• *conj.* it happens to be that; as it happens. •2• *conj.* although. *Etym:* probably Isbukun loan. *Root:* haitu.

**hakasi** *n.* [ha.ʔka.si] PhD, doctorate; doctor, professor. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* hakasi.

**hakhak** *n.* [ʔhakʔ.hakʔ] polished glutinous rice, especially when it has not been processed into powder (e.g. in rice roles). *Root:* hakhak.

**halaj** *n.* [ʔha.laj] disease, ailment. *Root:* halaj.

**hamaða** *v.* well, things are just like this. *Root:* hamaða.

**hamu** *v.* [ˈha.mũ] take together; group together, bind together. *Root:* hamu.

**Hamul** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* hamul.

**han** •1• *root.* [hɑ:n] be at or go to (a certain location). •2• *prep.* [hǎn] (place) to, until, in. •3• *prep.* [hǎn] (time) until. •4• *prep.* [hǎn] at, in; be at, be in. *Root:* han.

**hana** *n.* flower. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* hana.

**hanaj** •1• *time.* at that point (in time). •2• *pref.* still at; still being at (a certain location). *Root:* han.

**hanat** *root.* boil. *Root:* hanat.

**hanatan** *v.* cook. *Root:* hanat.

**hanuin** *v.* come over here. *Root:* hanu.

**hanuk** *colloc.* [ˈhɑ:n.ukʷ] I put (something somewhere); short form of punhanun with a fused first person agentive subject. *Root:* han.

**hanun** [ˈhɑ:n.unʷ] •1• *v.* put in; set apart. •2• *v.* put (something somewhere). *Etym:* ellipted form of punhanun. *Root:* han.

**hap-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) visit, consult (of a doctor). *Root:* hap-.

**hapav** [ˈhɑ.pavʷ] •1• *place.* location that is a little higher than the point of reference. •2• *place.* front, the front of. *Root:* hapav.

**hapʔisiŋ** *n.* [hap.ʔi.ʃiŋ] go to the doctor. *Root:* isiŋ.

**haqas** •1• *n.* line, stripe, streak. •2• *n.* cut made by a knife. *Root:* haqas.

**haqbuŋ** *v-intrans.* express one's anger, be angry. *Root:* haqbuŋ.

**haqil** *n.* [ˈha.qil] paper; all things made of paper; book, paper towel, .... *Root:* haqil.

**haqu** *n.* [ˈha.qũ] snare used to catch animals. *Root:* haqu.

**hasulun** *aux.* everybody together, all together at the same time; in contrast to muskun, hasulun stresses that every single participant is involved. *See:* muskun. *Root:* hasul.

**hatal** *n.* bridge. *Root:* hatal.

**haul** •1• *place.* small river, swamp. •2• *place.* below; a geographically low-lying location, typically at a riverside. *Root:* haul.

**Haulvatan** *n.* [haul.ʷva.tan] name of a former Takivatan settlement in Nantou. *Root:* vatan.

**haval** *n.* Formosan hairy-footed flying squirrel, a small species of flying squirrel; by extension, all species of flying squirrel. *Belomys pearsoni kaleensis.* *See:* takbu. *Root:* haval.

**havala** *n.* brother-in-law. *Root:* havala.

**Havaʔan** •1• *n.* name of a Takivatan settlement. •2• *n.* Takivatan family name, identical to Qalmutan. *Root:* hava.

**havun** *root.* [ˈhavun] make complete; finish, complete (a project or work). *Root:* havun.

**haʔnum** *num-card.* six (only used for human referents). *Root:* num.

**hibulun** *aux.* put together. hibulun mahana «cook things together; put things together and cook them». *Root:* hibul.

**hiku** *place.* back, back side. *Root:* hiku.

**hikuki** *n.* [hi.ʷku.ki] airplane. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* hikuki.

**hiku?** *n.* back. *Root:* hiku?.

**hiku?un** *v.* subtract, deduct. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* hiku?un.

**hilav** *n.* door. *Root:* hilav.

**hima** ·1· *n.* hand. ·2· *num-card.* 5; five. *Root:* hima.

**himasaba** *num-card.* 500; five hundred. *See:* hima. *Root:* -saba.

**hinili** [hi.'ni.li] ·1· *n.* zipper. ·2· **hinili** *v.* close with a zipper. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* hinili.

**hiqul** ['hi.qul] ·1· *n.* head and neck (e.g. of a pig). ·2· *n.* back meat; meat of the back of game, generally considered the best part of the animal. *Root:* hiqul.

**hituŋ** *n.* earwax. *Root:* hituŋ.

**hivhiv** *n.* ['hiv.hiv] breeze. *Root:* hivhiv.

**huahua** *n.* ['χua.χua] goose. *Root:* huahua.

**huat** *aux.* [χuat<sup>7</sup>] apparently. *Etym:* prob. Isbukun form of ?uat. *Root:* huat.

**huatun** *aux.* ['χua.tun] like that; in such way. You can't do (it) like that! *Root:* huat.

**hubuŋ** *n.* ['hu.buŋ] body. *Root:* hubuŋ.

**hubuq** *n.* ['hu.buq<sup>7</sup>] unnamed baby. *Root:* hubuq.

**hubuqaŋ** *time.* when still being a unnamed baby. *Root:* hubuq.

**huduq** *n.* ['hu.duq<sup>7</sup>] sprout; often used for small bamboo sprouts, eaten as a delicacy in Taiwan. *Root:* huduq.

**huhul** *n.* rock shelter; place under an overhanging rock or in a cave than can protect one from the elements. *Root:* huhul.

**Huhul Madijaðan** *n-comp.* place name; the Old Cave, so named because it was known since ancient times. *Root:* huhul.

**Huhululi** *n.* place name referring to the highest location on the road the Takivatan took from Nantou to Hualien. *Root:* huhul.

**Hukhuk** *n.* name of a former Takivatan settlement in the County Nantou. *Root:* hukhuk.

**huliutsi** *n.* [huljiuw<sup>7</sup>tʃi] aboriginal reservation. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* huliutsi.

**huluŋ** *n.* ['hu.luŋ] backside, the back of. *Root:* huluŋ.

**hulus** *n.* ['hu.lus] clothes. *Root:* hulus.

**huma** *adj.* ['hu.mă] (of tools, machines.) broken, not able to function properly anymore. *Root:* huma.

**hunku** *n.* [huŋ.kũ] place in the river where animals come to drink; drinking spot, watering spot. *Root:* hunku.

**hus?ul** *n.* smoke. *Root:* hus?ul.

**hutan** *n.* ['hu.tan] sweet potato, yam. *Root:* hutan.

**hutan duqlas** *n-comp.* white yam. *Root:* hutan.

**hutan ðaŋkas** *n-comp.* sweet potato, red yam. *Root:* hutan.

**hutan qaihav** *n-comp.* yam species with peel and white meat with red stripes. *Root:* hutan.

**hutan sinhav** *n-comp.* purple yam. *Dioscorea alata.* *Root:* hutan.

**hutug** *n.* ['hu.tuŋ] Formosan rocky monkey, Formosan macaque; by extension, all species of monkeys and apes. *Macaca*

*cyclopis*. See: apu; istina; lavian. *Root*: hutuŋ.

**huvaivun** *v.* change. *Root*: huhaiiv.

## I - i

**-i** *suf.* particle [meaning uncertain]. See: -ti.  
*Root*: -i.

**i- · 1·** *pref.* at, in; stationary locative prefix. **· 2·** *pref.* of; possessive prefix.  
*Root*: i-.

**-i-** *inf-tam.* variant of the infix -in-; typically only indicates past. *Etym*: Takbanuað form, not used productively in Takivatan. *Root*: -i-.

**ibav** *v.* [i.ˈba:v] be at a high spot; (often) be in the mountains. *Root*: baʔav.

**ibaʔav** *v.* [i.ˈba.ʔav] be on the top (of a mountain). *Root*: baʔav.

**idip** *v.* [i.ˈdi:p] be here, be at this place.  
*Root*: dip.

**idipdip** *adj.* [i.dipˈ.ˈdi:p] have everything one needs, be abundantly supplied, ....  
*Root*: dip.

**iðaða** *v.* be in the top of. *Root*: ðaða.

**iðakuʔan** *v.* be here with me, be here in this place. *Root*: ðaku.

**iðuq** *n.* [i.ðuq] orange or orange-like fruits.  
*Root*: iðuq.

**iðuq daiŋ** *n-comp.* large orange; grapefruit.  
*Root*: iðuq.

**iðuq tikis** *n-comp.* small orange; mandarin, tangerine, kumquat. *Root*: iðuq.

**Iesu** *n.* [ˈje.su] (biblical figure) Jesus. *Root*: Iesu.

**Iesua** *n.* [je.ˈsu.ja] (biblical figure) Isaiah.  
*Root*: Iesua.

**ihān** *v.* [ʔi.ˈhā:n] be at, be in. *Root*: hān.

**ihapavtia** *v.* live in the real world, be in reality. *Root*: hapav.

**ihaul** *v.* [ʔi.ˈhaul] down, be at a low spot.  
*Root*: haul.

**ik-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. See: iklalivaun. *Root*: ik-.

**iklaliva** *v.* be unclear, able to cause misunderstanding (of things said, ideas, ...). iklaliva baðbað «tell something unclearly». *Root*: iklaliva.

**iklalivaun** *n.* things that have been misunderstood, that are unclear, or that were presented in a confusing way. *Root*: iklaliva.

**-il-** *inf.* [meaning uncertain]. See: miluskun.  
*Root*: -il-.

**ilulusʔan · 1·** *v.* worship (e.g. gods or spirits). **· 2·** *n.* day of celebration, holiday.  
*Root*: lusʔan.

**ilumaq** *v.* (be) at home. *Root*: lumaq.

**imbitsu** *n.* pen. *Root*: imbitsu.

**imita** *pron-pers.* our, ours (including yours); free first person plural inclusive pronoun, possessive form. *Root*: mita.

**imu** *pron-pers.* [i.ˈmu:] your (plural); free second person plural pronoun, possessive form. *Root*: mu-.

**in-** *pref.* along (a certain abstract line); abstract viative prefix, expresses movement along a certain abstract line,

such as a line of thought or a succession of events. *See:* inliskinan; inuskunan.

*Root:* in-.

**-in-** *inf-tam.* infix indicating past tense and resultative aspect. *Root:* -in-.

**-in** *suf-tam.* suffix marking perfective aspect. *Root:* -in.

**inadas** ·1· *v.* take somebody with you. ·2· *v.* taken or carried (e.g. cloths on a trip).

*Root:* inadas.

**inađiu** *n.* sticky rice balls. *Root:* inađiu.

**inak** *pron-pers.* my; free first person singular pronoun, possessive form. *Root:* nak.

**inaliv** *n.* sweet snack made of cooked glutinous rice pounded into a sweet sticky paste. *Etym:* lit: that which can be stretched out infinitely (without breaking). *Root:* inaliv.

**inam** *pron-pers.* our, ours (but not yours); free first person plural exclusive pronoun, possessive form. *Root:* nam.

**inama** *v.* carry on one's back. *Root:* ama.

**inastu** *v-loc.* be at a location that is geographically lower than the reference point. *Root:* nastu.

**inata** *v-loc.* at the outside. *Root:* nata.

**inbi** *n.* shovel. *Etym:* probably from Japanese. *Root:* inbi.

**indaŋađ** *v.* help. *Root:* daŋađ.

**Ingilis** *n.* [ˈiŋ.gi.lis<sup>j</sup>] English. *Root:* Ingilis.

**inhan** *v.* be in, live in or at, reside at, inhabit. *Root:* han.

**ini-** *pref.* along (a certain abstract line); abstract viative prefix, expresses movement along a certain abstract line,

such as a line of thought or a succession of events. *See:* iniliskin. *Root:* ini-.

**iniliskin** *v.* ponder upon, incessantly think of. *Root:* liskin.

**iniliskinun** *n.* something one thinks about incessantly. *Root:* liskin.

**inin-** *pref.* stationary locative prefix indicating the location where one is at a certain moment in time [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* in-.

**ininhan** *v.* live in, be at a certain location; formerly lived, originally lived [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* han.

**ininqaiban** *n.* course of events, things that have happened to one. *Root:* qaiban.

**inin?isaq?að** *q-word.* a person that has been in that place [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* isaq.

**inliskinan** *n.* thoughts, things one is thinking about; way of thinking, feelings. *Root:* liskin.

**inqaivan** *v.* go down, disappear behind mountains. *Root:* qaivan.

**inqaivan vali** *v.* west. *Etym:* lit: the place where the sun disappears behind the mountains. *Root:* qiaiv.

**inqansuađ** *v.* (of plants) become rotten, become mouldy. *Root:* suađ.

**insuma** *v.* come up; rise. *Root:* suma.

**insuma vali** *idiom.* east. *Etym:* lit: the place where the sun comes up. *Root:* suma.

**inta** *pron-pers.* they, them (there); free third person plural distal pronoun. *Root:* in-.

**intahatu** *v.* tell. *Root:* intahatu.

**inti** *pron-pers.* they, them (here); free third person plural proximal pronoun. *Root:* in-

**intun** *pron-pers.* they, them (there); free third person plural medial pronoun. *Root:* in-

**inudanan** *v.* go through (a series of events). *Root:* inudanan.

**inuskunan** *n.* common experience, things that were done or experienced together. *Root:* uskun.

**invalaiʔan** *n.* trail (in grass or soil) that indicate an animal has passed by; this usage stresses that the trail indicates the direction in which the animal has gone. *Root:* valai.

**inʔama** *n.* load; the things one carries. *Root:* ʔama.

**inʔata** *pron-pers.* we (including you); free first person plural inclusive pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Root:* ʔata.

**inʔiqdiʔan** *v.* have worries, have problems; not be able to do things because of some troubles. *Root:* iqdi.

**inʔadaq** *v.* be at a location that is lower than the reference point. *Root:* ʔadaq.

**inʔaḏak** *adj.* empty. *Root:* inʔaḏak.

**inʔqainputi** *v.* only a few are sufficient. *Root:* qainpu.

**iqdiʔun** *n.* problem, worry; general terms for things that make life difficult or restrain people from doing what they want to. *Root:* iqdi.

**iqumis** **•1•** *n.* hardship, problem. **•2•** *root.* life, conceptualized as a struggle against hardships. *Root:* iqumis.

**is-** **•1•** *pref.* instrumental orientation prefix, stresses the instrument of an event. **•2•**

*pref.* (in combination with -un) prefix expressing harmful exposure to. *See:* isvaliʔun; iskaḏhavun; isluvusan. **•3•** *pref.*

prefix expressing the transfer of goods, ideas, etc. *See:* isbaliv; isnanava;

isnanavan; istaqu; istasʔi. **•4•** *pref.* be born from, be a child of, belong to. *See:*

Isbukun; islusʔan; Isluŋkuan; Isvatan. *Root:* is-

**-is-** *inf.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* tasisʔan. *Root:* -is-

**-is** *pron-pers.* (rare) he; bound third person singular person pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Etym:* more often realized with an initial glottal stop. *Root:* -is.

**isaiv** *v.* give; more specifically, give something to somebody for free; give as a present. *Etym:* masaiv. *Root:* saiv.

**isan** *v.* [i.'san] go in the direction of (a certain location). *Root:* san.

**isananŋ** *idiom.* during that time. *Etym:* i 'LOC' + san 'be.at' + anŋ 'PROG'. *Root:* san.

**isaq su asaun** *idiom.* what(ever) you need; lit: wherever the things you need are. *Root:* isaq.

**isbaḏbaḏ** *v.* talk. *Root:* baḏ.

**isbai** *v.* cause something to move or fall; let something slip away. *Root:* bai.

**isbaliv** *v.* spend money. *Root:* baliv.

**isbaluŋ** **•1•** *v.* protect against something by making a protective shield; shield off, fence off. **•2•** *v.* hide behind. *Root:* isbaluŋ.

**Isbukun** *n.* Isbukun, one of the five Bunun subgroups. *Etym:* lit: the clan belonging to Bukun. *Root:* bukun.

**isbulsuq** *v.* dry out. *Root:* isbulsuq.

**isbuʔan** •1• *v.* give up (something), not want anymore. •2• *v.* graduate, finish (one's studies). *Root:* isbuʔan.

**isdaða** *v.* move something to a higher location, relocate something to a higher location. *mavia isdaða quma tu?* «Why did he move up to a higher field? Why did he move his field higher up the mountain?». *Root:* daða.

**isdul** *n.* pee. *Root:* isdul.

**isiŋ** [iʔi.ŋ] •1• *n.* doctor. •2• *n.* hospital, doctor's practice, apothecary. *Etym:* probably Chinese loan from 醫生 (yī shēng 'doctor'). *Root:* isiŋ.

**isiŋ daiŋað** *n-comp.* large medical practice; hospital, large doctor's practice. *Root:* isiŋ.

**isiŋ tikis** *n-comp.* small medical practice; small doctor's practice, apothecary. *Root:* isiŋ.

**isip** *v.* crouch. *Root:* isip.

**isiquimis** *n.* [iʔi.ŋi.ŋi.ŋi.ŋi] way of life, for instance the way life was lived in a particular era or by a particular ethnic group. *Root:* qumis.

**isiul** *v.* [i.ʔi.ŋi.ŋi] spray (e.g. water). *Root:* isiul.

**iskadmaŋ** *v.* behave in a secretive way. *Root:* kadmaŋ.

**iskan** *n.* [iʔi.ka.n.] fish. *Root:* iskan.

**iskan ivuð** *n-comp.* [iʔi.ka.n.ʔi.vuð] eel. *Etym:* lit: snake-fish. *Root:* iskan.

**iskan kulapað** *n-comp.* octopus. *Root:* iskan.

**iskuðakuða** [iʔi.kü.ða.ʔi.kü.ða] •1• *v.* work, labour. •2• *n.* life, our daily toils. *Root:* kuða.

**iskukulut saŋlav** *n-comp.* kitchen knife; knife for cutting vegetable. *Root:* iskukulut.

**islaiðu** *v.* let (flowers or leafy plants) wither. *Root:* laiðu.

**isluðak** *v.* beat; give a beating. *Root:* luðak.

**isluŋkuaŋ** *n.* Sunday. *Etym:* term only used in a Christian context; lit: day on which one has to sit down (i.e., on which one cannot work). *Root:* luŋku.

**islusʔan** *v.* use on a holiday. *Root:* lusʔan.

**isluvusan** *v.* be exposed to moisture (usually excessively or unintentionally and with bad consequences). *Root:* luvus.

**isluvusan mihalaŋ** *colloc.* get ill because one is exposed to moisture for too long. *Root:* luvus.

**ismamaq** *q-word.* have ... as paternal origin, have a last name. *See:* taiŋka. *Root:* maq.

**ismamaqʔas** *colloc.* What is your last name? What is the last name of your father? What is your paternal origin? *Root:* maq.

**ismaq** *q-word.* where from [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* ismaq.

**ismut** *n.* [iʔi.ʔi.ŋi] grass; weeds. *Root:* ismut.

**isnnavastu** *v.* it was the habit to bring it down, it was the habit to go down. *Root:* nastu.

**isnnavan** *n.* student. *Root:* nava.

- ispahuvaiv** *v.* exchange, swap. *Root:* huvaiv.
- ispakaun** *v.* give (somebody) (something) to eat; offer food to. *Root:* kaun.
- ispalum** *v.* [iʃ.pa.'lu:m] be locked up, be put into jail. *Root:* palum.
- ispaqul** *v.* give somebody something wholesome to eat in order to strengthen him (for instance, chicken soup against a cold); not used for medicine. *Root:* qul.
- ispatað** *v.* [iʃ.'pa.taðˀ] slaughter. *Root:* -atað.
- ispatanʔa** *v.* give (somebody) to hear. *Root:* tanʔa.
- ispinqansiap** **•1•** *v.* make (somebody) understand. **•2•** *v.* appreciate. *Root:* qansiap.
- ispisihal** *v.* make something good or better; be a help to. *Root:* sihal.
- isqaðhav** *v.* be exposed to cold (usually excessively or unintentionally and with bad consequences). *Root:* qaðhav.
- isqaðhavun** *v.* be exposed to cold (usually excessively or unintentionally and with bad consequences). *Root:* qaðhav.
- isqaðhavun mihalaŋ** *colloc.* get ill because one is exposed to the cold for too long. *Root:* qaðhav.
- isqaðmaŋ** *v.* do something without anybody; flee secretly. *isqanmaŋ mudan Taŋkinuð* «secretively, they went over to Tankinuð». *Root:* qaðmaŋ.
- isqaisqaisun** *n.* an object to mob the floor with; mob. *Root:* qaisqais.
- isqaituq** *aux.* with a big voice, loudly. *Root:* qaituq.
- isqaqanup** *v.* use a weapon to hunt; hunt using a weapon. *Root:* qanup.
- isququl** *v.* give somebody something wholesome to eat in order to strengthen him (for instance, chicken soup against a cold); not used for medicine. *Root:* qul.
- isqutun** *v.* [iʃ'qutun] instrumental focus form of maqutun. *Root:* qutun.
- ista** *pron-pers.* [iʃ.'ta:] he (here); free third person singular distal pronoun. *See:* isti; istun. *Root:* -is.
- istaku** *v.* give somebody to hear something, tell somebody (a story). *Root:* taku.
- istala** *v.* listen to; receive (orders). *Root:* tala.
- istama** *n.* [iʃ.'ta.mã] thumb. *Etym:* lit: 'the father-finger'. *Root:* tama.
- istamasaðʔað** *n.* person that is extremely powerful or skilful, somebody that is good at everything. *Root:* tamasað.
- istaqu** *aux.* [iʃ.'ta.qu] I tell you it is truthfully like this; discourse marker introducing a story and indicating that what follows is a truthful representation of the facts. *Root:* istaqu.
- istasʔi** *v.* [iʃ.'tas.ʔi] do (something) like this; make (something) like this. *Root:* tasʔi.
- isti** *pron-pers.* [iʃ.'ti:] he (here); free third person singular proximal pronoun. *See:* istun; ista. *Root:* -is.
- istina** *n.* female domesticated animal or monkey. *See:* hutuŋ; asu; ŋaun. *Root:* istina.
- istitiņas** *n.* tooth pick. *Root:* tiņas.

**istun** *pron-pers.* [iʃ.ˈtu:n] he (here); free third person singular medial pronoun. *See:* isti; ista. *Root:* -is.

**istuʔa** *v.* lock with a key. *Root:* tuʔa.

**isu** *pron-pers.* [i.ˈsu:] your; free second person singular pronoun, possessive form. *Root:* su.

**isuað** [i.ˈsuað̃] •1• *v.* sow seedlings; usually stresses the inceptive movement of putting seedlings into the ground. •2• *n.* seedling. *Root:* suað.

**Isuð** *n.* [ˈi.suð̃] Takivatan male first name. *Root:* isuð.

**isvaliʔun** *v.* be exposed to the sun (usually excessively or unintentionally and with bad consequences); be burned by the sun. *Root:* vali.

**isvaliʔun mihalaŋ** *colloc.* get ill because one is exposed to the sun for too long. *Root:* vali.

**Isvatan** *n.* Takivatan. *Etym:* lit: the clan belonging to Vatan. *Root:* Vatan.

**isʔalaʔan** *v.* pour down, rain cats and dogs. *Root:* isʔalaʔan.

**isʔaŋ** [is.ˈʔaŋ] •1• *n.* breath. •2• *n.* heart, mind, feelings; seat of emotions. *Root:* isʔaŋ.

**isʔaŋtu** *n.* belief, faith. *Root:* isʔaŋ.

**isʔas** *n.* needle. *Root:* isʔas.

**isʔatað** *v.* have bad luck, meet bad luck. *Root:* ʔatað.

**isʔaʔaʔama** *v.* carry something using a special basket (paus) that is carried on one's back with a belt attached to one's forehead. *See:* paus. *Root:* isʔaʔaʔama.

**isʔukaŋ** *v.* spend everything, so that nothing is left anymore. *Root:* ʔuka.

**itu** *pron.* this ... here; the...being here. *Etym:* probably analyzable as i- 'stative location; be here; belong to' + tu 'ATTR'. *Root:* itu.

**itusia** *v.* be in this place. *Root:* tusia.

**Iuliku** *n.* Takivatan female first name. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* iuliku.

**Iusinu** *n.* Japanese name, referring to an Amis chief. *Etym:* Japanese. *Root:* iusinu.

**ivuð** [ˈ(ʔ)i.vuð̃] •1• *n.* snake. •2• *n.* vermin; a generic term for snakes, ground insects, and other small animals living on the ground. *Root:* ivuð.

**iʔisdulan** *n.* toilet. *Root:* isdul.

**iʔita** *v.* be there, be in that place. *Root:* ʔita.

**iʔiti** *v.* be here (from the speaker's point-of-view). *Root:* ʔiti.

## K - k

**ka-** •1• *pref.* associative dynamic prefix, indicates a dynamic event in which the agent exerts control together with an external force. •2• *pref.* (of trees and plants) bloom, produce fruits; only refers

to intransitive events. *See:* kapuaq; kalas; kahana. •3• *pref.* build, produce, develop. *See:* kaʔuni. •4• *pref.* high-agency prefix, indicates that a dynamic event is more

- intense (volitional.) than would normally be expected. *See:* pa-. *Root:* ka-.
- ka** *suf.* distal situational definiteness marker. *Root:* -ka.
- Kabanhilan** *n.* name of a location near Bahuan where there are a lot of cypress trees. *Root:* banhil.
- kabu** *n.* leaves of the sweet potato. *Root:* kabu.
- kadadaŋaǎ** *n.* person that helps others. *Root:* daŋaǎ.
- kadan** *v.* construct a road. *Root:* dan.
- kadaŋaǎ** *v.* help (somebody) to do or accomplish something; assist in. *Root:* daŋaǎ.
- kadhav** *root.* variant of qaǎhav. *See:* qaǎhav; kaǎhav. *Root:* kadhav.
- kadimanun** •1• *n.* importance. •2• *adj.* important. •3• *aux.* be necessary, must. *Root:* kadima.
- kadiŋva** *v.* make a phone call. *Root:* diŋva.
- kaduqu?un** *v.* dangerous. *Root:* duqu.
- kaǎhav** *root.* variant of qaǎhav. *See:* qaǎhav; kadhav. *Root:* kaǎhav.
- kahan** •1• *v.* arrive at; go to a well-defined spot. *See:* takahan. •2• *aux.* quickly. *Root:* kahan.
- kahana** *v.* (of flower buds) open, bloom. *Root:* hana.
- kahaŋ** *n.* high grass; plant that grows in forests of Taiwan and becomes about one and a half meters high. *Root:* kahaŋ.
- kahau** *v.* scold. *Root:* hau.
- kahaul** *v.* come from below. *Root:* haul.
- Kahǎuqan** *n.* place name. *Root:* kahǎuqan.
- kailatun** *n.* poisonous tree that grows near the riverside. *Root:* kailatun.
- kailuqai?an** *n.* child of a female blood relative (i.e., a female relative who has the same name as the speaker). *Root:* luqai.
- kainaskalan** *n.* happiness. *Root:* naskal.
- kaina?an** *v.* (of women) be busy because one has to take care of children. *Root:* kaina?an.
- kai?un** *v.* dig up. *Root:* kai?un.
- kakalaŋ** *n.* crab. *Root:* kalaŋ.
- kakaunun** *n.* things to eat, edibles; usually used as a collective term for fruits and tubers. *Root:* kaun.
- kaku** *n.* [ˈka.ku] school. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* kaku.
- kakusun** *n.* [ka.ˈku.sun] shrimp. *Root:* kakusun.
- kala** *v.* give orders to. *Root:* kala.
- kalakiman** *aux.* I'll tell you something...; introduces a statement that is deemed to be exceptional or revelatory by the speaker. *Root:* kalakiman.
- kalaŋ** *v.* [ˈka.laŋ] bite. *Root:* kalaŋ.
- Kalaŋ** [ˈka.laŋ] •1• *n.* Takivatan male first name. •2• *n.* name of a former Takivatan settlement in the County Nantou. •3• *n.* Takivatan family name, identical to Qalmutan. *Root:* kalaŋ.
- Kalaŋ Mansia** *n-comp.* historical figure. *Root:* kalaŋ.
- Kalaŋbali** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* kalaŋ.

**kalan̄ka** *n.* [ka.'lan̄.ka] temporary shelter in the forest, make-shift sleeping spot. *Root:* lan̄ka.

**kalan̄kal** *n.* [ka.'lan̄.kal̄] female of a wild boar or a bear. *See:* vanis; tumal. *Root:* kalan̄kal.

**kalapatan** *v.* steep, precipitous. *Root:* kalapatan.

**kalas** *v.* [ka.'las] (of crops, fruits and vegetables) grow fruits, have fruits; be ready for harvest. *Root:* las.

**kalat** *v.* bite. *Root:* kalat.

**Kalibu** *n.* place name. *Root:* kalibu.

**Kalin̄ku** *n.* [ka.'lin̄.kũ] Hualien, a city at the east coast of Taiwan. *Etym:* from Jap. Karenko. *Root:* Kalin̄ku.

**kalkalañ** *n.* crab. *Root:* kalkalañ.

**kalumaq** •1• *v.* [ka.'lu.maq̄] build a house. •2• *v.* go home, go back home. *Root:* lumaq.

**kalumaqan** *idiom.* this land is for building houses. *Root:* lumaq.

**kalus** *v.* scratch (using one's claws, ...). *Root:* kalus.

**kama-** *pref.* rather; verbal prefix indicating that the event expressed by the adjective or verb is somewhat but not to its fullest extent realized (i.e. is rather or somewhat the case). *See:* sama-. *Root:* kama-.

**kama ni** *colloc.* [kama'ni:] rather not. *Root:* ni.

**kamaduq** *v.* harvest millet. *Root:* maduq.

**kamalan̄atin** *v.* a lot better. *Root:* lan̄atin.

**kamasia** *n.* candy, sweets. *Etym:* Original Takivatan term. *Root:* kamasia.

**kamasihal** *adj.* ordinary, average, rather good; good, but not very good. *Root:* sihal.

**Kamiamatu** *n.* Japanese name for Dong-guang (東光). *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* kamiamatu.

**Kamimula** *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* kamimula.

**kamisama** *n.* God, the Lord. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* kamisama.

**kan-** *pref.* kick. *See:* kantunlaq. *Root:* kan-.

**kanan̄** *n.* problem, worry. *Root:* kanan̄.

**kanadan** *v.* obey to, follow (a rule). *Root:* dan.

**kanadan patasan** *idiom.* obey to what is written, obey to the written law. *Root:* dan.

**kanasia** *v.* obey. *Root:* kanasia.

**kansul** *n.* grape. *Etym:* term used in literary language in all Bunun dialects. *Root:* kansul.

**kantundaq** *v.* kick (with one's feet). *Root:* tundaq.

**kantundaq mali** *n-comp.* a ball which is used by kicking it; football, soccer ball, .... *Root:* mali.

**kanum** *n.* [ka.'nu:m] chest. *Root:* kanum.

**Kan̄kuña** *n.* place name; a place to Ma-yuan. *Etym:* name in the Amis language for Simukan. *Root:* kan̄kuña.

**kapa** ['ka.pa] •1• *n.* plastic cover; large piece of plastic that is used to wrap or cover something, for instance to protect it from the elements. •2• *v.* plastic raincoat. *Root:* kapa.

**kapi-** *pref.* believe. *See:* kaupimaupa; kapimupaun. *Root:* kapi-.

**kapimaupa** *v.* be convinced of, believe. *Root:* maupa.

**kapimupaun** *v.* believe. *Root:* kapimupaun.

**kapipata** *v.* do not touch. *Root:* kapipata.

**kapisiḡun** *adj.* (typically of locations) dangerous; lit: instilling or inciting fear. *Root:* pisiḡ.

**kapuaq** *v.* [ka.'puaq'] (of flower buds) open, bloom. *Root:* puaq.

**Kaputuḡan** •1• *n.* name of a former Takivatan settlement in the County Nantou. •2• *n.* Takivatan family name, identical to Qalmutan. *Root:* putuḡ.

**kasa** *n.* traditional Bunun headband, made of a broad piece of cloth set with colourful beads. *Root:* kasa.

**kasa daiḡ** *n.* umbrella. *Root:* kasa.

**kasamut** *v.* replace? *Root:* kasamut.

**kasḡaḡ** *aux.* same, equal. *Root:* -asḡaḡ.

**kasi** *n.* [ka.s'i] candy. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* kasi.

**kasihal** *v.* produce a good product, make something that is good. *Root:* sihal.

**kasihalan** *adj.* located well; being in a good location or place. *kasihalan tu dalaq* «a well-located plot of land». *kasihalan tu daḡiḡanan* «a good location (lit: a well-located location)». *Root:* sihal.

**kasilaḡan** *v.* take notice of, look out for, take heed of, pay attention to. *Root:* kasilaḡan.

**kasivunḡ** *v.* be motionless, be still. *Root:* kasivunḡ.

**kaskas** *n.* blood flowing from a head wound. *Root:* kaskas.

**kasmutan** *v.* there is a lot of grass. *Root:* ismut.

**kasui** *v.* [sui], [swi] earn money. *Etym:* loan from Southern Min via Isbukun. *Root:* sui.

**kasuḡupa** *aux.* step by step; gradually. *Root:* upa.

**kasḡaḡ** *v.* believe, be convinced. *Root:* kasḡaḡ.

**kat-** *pref.* (classificatory prefix) grasp, hold. *See:* katvaqan; kaqluqaiḡan. *Root:* kat-.

**katilas** *v.* (of cereals) harvest the crop; harvest millet. *Root:* tilas.

**katiman** *v.* regularly or professionally used to carry (something). *Root:* katiman.

**katluqaiḡan** *n.* uterus. *Root:* luqai.

**katmaḡ** *aux.* give up, abort. *Root:* katmaḡ.

**katpapiaq** *num.* (of people) many, a large group of. *Root:* piaq.

**katu** *root.* spider. *Root:* katu.

**katukatu** *n.* spider. *Root:* katukatu.

**katus** *n.* [ka.'tu:s] seed, pit (in fruits, if there are large quantities in one fruit). *See:* tuqnaḡ. *Root:* tus.

**katvaqan** *v.* (in wrestling) grab somebody by the knee to make him fall down. *Root:* vaq.

**katḡasaḡ** *v.* erect a village, found a village. *Root:* ḡasaḡ.

**kaul** *n.* [kaul'] small sickle; crescent-shaped knife with a relatively long hilt, used in agriculture. *Root:* kaul.

**kaul kaivunḡ** *n-comp.* crescent-shaped knife. *Root:* kaul.

**kaun** *v.* [kaun] eat (patient focus). *See:* maun. *Root:* kaun.

**kaunul** *n.* bump, lump. *Root:* kaunul.

**kaununkaunun** *n.* general term for certain edible things, such as fruits. *Root:* kaun.

**kaunkaun** *v.* bend over. *Root:* kaunkaun.

**kaupa** **•1•** *aux.* completely. **•2•** *aux.* only. kaupa tai?a masihal «only the taro was good». **•3•** *adj.* each and every; all that are present here; all included. *Root:* kaupa.

**kaupakaupa** *manner.* every, each. *Root:* kaupa.

**kaupata** *manner.* only, mere, merely. *Root:* kaupa.

**kaupin** *aux.* there is only. *Etym:* from kaupa 'complete' + -in 'resultative marker'. *Root:* kaupa.

**kaupinta** *idiom.* that is all. *Root:* kaupa.

**kavaŋ** *n.* [kava:ŋ] bag to carry things (e.g. school bag, shoulder bag, ...). *Root:* kavaŋ.

**kavava?a** *aux.* immediately; very fast; on the spot. *Root:* kava?a.

**kava?a** *aux.* immediately, in a moment, in a minute. *Root:* kava?a.

**kaviað** [ka.'viað'] **•1•** *n.* friend. **•2•** *n.* Chinese sharp-nosed viper, hundred-pace viper. *Deinagkistrodon acutus.* *Root:* kaviað.

**kaviað binanau?að** *n-comp.* girlfriend. *Root:* kaviað.

**ka?asaŋ** *v.* arrive at a village. *Root:* ?asaŋ.

**ka?isnakun** *v.* dirty. *Root:* isnak.

**ka?uni** *v.* create, make, produce, construct, install. ka?uni CD «make a CD, burn a

CD». *Etym:* phonetic variant of kai?uni. *Root:* ?uni.

**ki-** *pref.* beneficiary orientation prefix, stresses the beneficiary of an action. Kisaiv?ak su tilas! «You (have to) give me rice!» *Root:* ki-.

**-ki** *suf.* proximal situational definiteness marker. *Root:* -ki.

**kiama** *v-trans.* owe money to (somebody); be in debt to (somebody). *Root:* kiama.

**kia?aun** *aux.* must not, should not; modal verb expressing prohibition. *Root:* aun.

**kidipdip** *place.* there, in that place. *Root:* dip.

**kidŋaŋaus** *aux.* the first, the best. *Root:* ŋaus.

**kihivhiv** *n.* ventilator, wind fan. *Root:* hivhiv.

**kikai** *n.* machine, apparatus. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* kikai.

**kilim** ['ki.lim] **•1•** *v.* visit. **•1•** *v.* look for. *Root:* kilim.

**kin-** *pref.* (classificatory prefix) make a sudden plopping sound. *See:* kintaki; kintuhuq. *Root:* kin-.

**kinadin** *v.* stir-fry. *Root:* kinadin.

**kindu?un** **•1•** *v.* make a rope, twine or intertwine threads. **•2•** *n.* thread or cord that is used to wash clothes. *Root:* du?un.

**kinijna?an** **•1•** *n.* successor. **•2•** *adj.* next, successive, successor. *Root:* kinijna.

**kinitjibun** *aux.* just started. *Root:* kitja.

**Kinsihu** *n.* name of the government in Hualien. *Root:* kinsihu.

**kintaki** *v.* have a shit, defecate. *Root:* taki.

**kintuhuq** *v.* stamp one's feet; to stamp one's feet in the hunters' boasting ritual; to stamp one's feet in anger. *Root:* tuhuq.

**kintutuhuq** *v.* perform the Bunun boasting ritual, in which a man goes round in a circle and stamps his feet sings before each hunter. *Root:* tuhuq.

**kinuð** *aux.* [ˈki.nuð] finally, in the end; indicates that an action takes place at the end of a string of events. *Root:* kinuð.

**kinuða** *time.* afterwards, (only) then. *Root:* kinuða.

**kinuðin** *aux.* [ˈki.nu.ðin] finally, in the end, as a result; indicates that an action takes place at the end of a string of events and that it is the result of these preceding events. *Root:* kinuð.

**kiŋna** *root.* [ˈkiŋ.nǎ] next; coming next and being of the same kind; successor. *Root:* kiŋna.

**kis-** *pref.* make a stabbing movement; stab, prick, poke. *See:* kisqaintuŋ; kisʔaŋ. *Root:* kis-

**kisaiv** *v.* [ki.ˈsaiv] give to somebody; form of saiv that stresses the beneficiary. *Root:* saiv.

**kisqaintuŋ** *v.* elbow; use one's elbow to punch someone. *Root:* kisqaintuŋ.

**kisʔaŋ** *v.* [kisʔ.ˈʔaŋ] fart; particularly, fart in a way that produces sound but no smell. *Root:* kisʔaŋ.

**kisʔun** *n.* river, small stream. *Root:* kisʔun.

**kitŋa** *aux.* [kit.ˈŋa:] begin, start. *Root:* kitŋa.

**kiukai** *n.* [kiü.ˈkai] church. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* kiukai.

**kivisi** *adj.* strict, stern, severe. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* kivisi.

**Kivit** *n.* [ˈki.vit] Qi-Mei (奇美), a village which has a mixed population of Amis and Takivatan-Bunun in the South of Hualien. *Etym:* from Amis Kiwit. *Root:* Kivit.

**kiʔaun** *v.* give up (something), not want anymore. *Root:* aun.

**kiʔiv** *aux.* beforehand, in advance. *Root:* kiʔiv.

**ku-** *pref.* associative allative prefix, indicates a movement towards which is controlled jointly by the agent and an external force. *See:* mu-. *Root:* ku-

**kubunun** *v.* use a human (to do something, typically something for which one would normally not use humans). *Root:* bunun.

**kudu** *n.* species of edible plant that has anti-hypertensive properties. *Root:* kudu.

**kudul** *n.* kidney. *Root:* kudul.

**kuðakuða** *v.* work, labour. *Root:* kuða.

**kuðkuðaun** *n.* work, things that need to be done. *Root:* kuða.

**kuhað** *v.* scrounge for food, participate in a meal to which one has not participated anything. *Root:* kuhað.

**Kuhku** *n.* [ˈkuχ.kü] Rui-Sui, a small town south of the Takivatan community in Hualien county, Taiwan. *Root:* Kuhku.

**kukulpa** *n.* toad. *Root:* kulpa.

**kukulut** *n.* saw. *Root:* kulut.

**kukulut kaul** *n-comp.* bow saw; saw with moon-shaped frame and a long flexible blade fixed between the ends of the frame. *See:* kaul. *Root:* kulut.

**kukulut lukis** *n-comp.* wood saw; saw with a solid blade and relatively big saw teeth, used for sawing wood. *See:* lukis. *Root:* kulut.

**kulaði** *n.* rag, piece of discarded cloth used for cleaning. *Root:* kulaði.

**kulau** *root.* (of crops) full-grown, ready for harvest. *Root:* kulau.

**kulpa** *n.* toad. *Root:* kulpa.

**kulusimas** *n.* Christmas. *Etym:* loan from English via Japanese. *Root:* kulusimas.

**kulut** *v.* [ʔku.lutʔ] saw, make a sawing movement. *Root:* kulut.

**kumbu** [ʔkum.bũ] •1• *root.* (put) inside. •2• *place.* inside. *Root:* kumbu.

**kumbuʔun** *v.* [kum.ʔbu.ʔun] be put inside (something). kumbuʔun han taiŋa baiŋu «put beans in one's ear». *Root:* kumbu.

**kumis** *n.* [ʔgu.misʔ] pubic hair, including hair in the armpits. *Root:* kumis.

**kumu** *n.* [ʔku.mũ] stomach and bowel contents of animals. *Root:* kumu.

**kumun** *n.* heart. *Root:* kumun.

**kun-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) wear (shoes). *See:* kunsapilan. *Root:* kun-

**-kun** *suf.* medial situational definiteness marker. *Root:* -kun.

**kunsapilan** *v.* wear shoes. *Root:* sapil.

**Kunuan** *n.* [ku.ʔnu.(w)an] Ma-Yuan, one of the villages in Hualien county, Taiwan, with a Takivatan community. *Root:* Kunuan.

**Kunuʔan** *n.* [ku.ʔnu.ʔan] *See:* Kunuan. *Root:* Kunuan.

**kupu** *n.* [ʔku.pũ] drinking cup; used for cups, glasses, .... *Root:* kupu.

**Kusa** *n.* [ʔku.sa] Takivatan female first name. *Root:* kusa.

**Kusahala** *n.* village south of Ma-Yuan near the seaside. *Root:* Kusahala.

**Kusaŋ** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* kusaŋ.

**kusau** *n.* [ku.ʔsau] large pestle or stick with rounded ending used by Taiwanese aboriginals to beat millet into powder. *See:* nusun. *Root:* kusau.

**kusbabai** *n.* [ʔkusʔ.bä.ʔbai] airplane. *Root:* bai.

**kusbai** *v.* [kusʔ.ʔbai] fly, fly away. *Root:* bai.

**kusian** *v.* use, exploit. *Etym:* contraction of kusia 'use' -un 'UF'. *Root:* kusia.

**kuskus** *n.* [ʔkusʔ.kusʔ] finger or toe nail. *Root:* kuskus.

**kuslataŋ** *idiom.* It's your/his/... own fault; exclamation indicating that the speaker thinks a certain person brought an unhappy situation upon him/herself. *Root:* kuslataŋ.

**Kusnavan** *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* kusnav.

**kusu** [ʔku.sũ] •1• *n.* armpit. •2• *v.* carry. *Root:* kusu.

**Kusunjan** *n.* place name. *Root:* kusun.

**kusuʔan** *n.* armpit. *Root:* kusu.

**kutun** *time.* [ʔku.tun] tomorrow. *Etym:* loan from Takbanuað Bunun. *Root:* kutun.

**kuʔunainan** *v.* use, utilize. *Root:* kuʔunainan.

## L - 1

- la-** *pref.* fill, cover [meaning uncertain].  
*See:* laniŋʔavan; lapavan; lasaisan; latuđa; laʔadus; mati-la-taluq. *Root:* la-.
- la-** *inf.* [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* -la-.
- laian** *n.* [l<sup>1</sup>ei.an] green pea. *Root:* laian.
- laihama** *n.* kind of toad. *Root:* laihama.
- laihlaih** *n.* [l<sup>1</sup>eiχ.l<sup>1</sup>eiχ] car. *Root:* laihlaih.
- lainiqaiban** •1• *n.* trajectory; road that has already been traversed. •2• *n.* life, when considered as a road or path that one has followed or an evolution one has gone through; road of life, life story. •3• *v.* have experienced; have gone through a series of events, a personal evolution, a lifespan. *Root:* laqaib-.
- lak-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* laksimuav; laktanav. *Root:* lak-.
- lakaŋkaŋ** *v.* plough. *Root:* kaŋkaŋ.
- laksimuav** *n.* beggar. *Root:* laksimuav.
- laktanan** *v.* give up (something), not want anymore. *Root:* laktanan.
- lakuin** *time.* what time; sometime. *Root:* lakuin.
- lala** *n.* rib. *Root:* lala.
- lalaun** *v.* go to a specific, well-defined spot. *Root:* lalaun.
- lalavian** *v.* follow. *Root:* lavi.
- lalinasal** *n.* type of fern with elongated shiny edible leaves which are curled at the top. *Root:* lalinasal.
- Lamailiŋan** *n.* Takivatan family name; a subclan of Sauhiqan. *See:* Sauhiqan. *Root:* Lamailiŋan.
- lamuqu** *n.* [la.<sup>1</sup>mu.qu] maize. *Root:* lamuqu.
- lanadip** *time.* just then, just at that moment. *Root:* dip.
- laninatal** *n.* [la.ni.<sup>1</sup>na.tal<sup>1</sup>] bat; one of the bat species that live in Taiwan (the Bunun do not distinguish between different kinds of bat). *Root:* laninatal.
- laniŋʔavan** *n.* flood. *Root:* niŋʔav.
- laŋađ** [laŋađ<sup>1</sup>] •1• *aux.* be satisfactory. •2• *aux.* fairly, reasonably. •3• *aux.* rather well, rather ok, so-so. *Root:* laŋađ.
- laŋduŋ** *n.* wheel. *Root:* laŋduŋ.
- laŋka** *n.* [laŋ.<sup>1</sup>ka] a shelter in the woods made of a slanting roof supported by two sticks. *Root:* laŋka.
- Laŋui** *n.* [laŋ.<sup>1</sup>ui], [laŋ.<sup>1</sup>wi] Takivatan female first name. *Root:* Laŋui.
- lapa** *n.* trumpet. *Etym:* from Chinese 喇叭 lǎ bā 'trumpet'. *Root:* lapa.
- lapad** *n.* [l<sup>1</sup>la.pad<sup>1</sup>] guava. *Root:* lapad.
- lapavan** *v.* [la.<sup>1</sup>pǎ.van] snow. *Root:* pav.
- lapunalan** *v.* have a landslide. *Root:* punal.
- laqai** *v.* [l<sup>1</sup>la.qei] go through (a series of events). *Root:* laqai.
- laqaiban** *n.* [la.<sup>1</sup>qei.βan] route, trajectory, pathway. *Root:* laqaib-.
- laqais** *n.* [l<sup>1</sup>la.qeis] face. *Root:* laqais.
- laqbiŋin** *time.* [l<sup>1</sup>laq.bi.ŋin], [l<sup>1</sup>la:q.bi.ŋin] tomorrow. *Root:* laqbiŋin.

- laqda** *n.* gravel. *Root:* laqda.
- laqða** *n.* sand. *Root:* laqða.
- laqnut** *v.* get stuck, be unable to get out.  
*Root:* laqnut.
- laqsial** *v.* slip (and fall). *Root:* laqsial.
- laquaq** *q-word.* when, at what time. *Root:* laquaq.
- las** [la:s] **•1•** *n.* red meat; meat consisting of muscles. **•2•** *n.* flesh of a fruit. *Root:* las.
- lasaisan** *v.* succeed, replace; take the place, position or function of predecessor. *Root:* lasaisan.
- latantaŋ** *v.* [la.'taŋ.taŋ] grind, beat into powder. *Root:* taŋtaŋ.
- latuða** *v.* [la.'tu.ða] believe (to be real), be convinced of the truth of. *Root:* tuða.
- latuða** *v.* [la.'tu.ða] know to be true, recognize as true. *Root:* tuða.
- latuk** *n.* mouth bow; traditional musical instrument in the form of a bow that is played by taking one end in one's mouth and plucking the bow string with one's fingers. *Root:* latuk.
- Laudus** *n.* [ˈlau.dʊs], [ˈlau.dʊsʲ] Takivatan male first name. *Root:* laudus.
- laupa** *time.* [ˈlau.pa] now. *Root:* laupa.
- laupa** *root.* [ˈlau.pa] stab. *Root:* laupa.
- laupadau** *time.* [ˈlau.pa.ɰau] immediately, right now (expresses emotional involvement of the speaker). *Root:* laupa.
- laupaku** *time.* [ˈlau.pa.kʊ] now, at this moment. *Etyim:* possibly: < laupa 'now' + \*-ku 'obsolete genitive first person singular'. *Root:* laupa.
- laupaŋ** *aux.* [ˈlau.paŋ] a moment ago. *Root:* laupa.
- lauq** *conj.* [lauqˀ] otherwise, if not. then.  
*Root:* lauq.
- lauqatu** *conj.* but, although. *Root:* lauqatu.
- lautlaut** *n.* spine. *Root:* lautlaut.
- lautu** *n.* floor (of a building). *Root:* lautu.
- lava** *n.* [ˈla.və] butt, a person's behind. *Root:* lava.
- lavaŋlaðan** *v.* [ˌla.vaŋ.ˈla.ðan] landslide which is the result from a riverside collapsing. *Root:* vaŋlað.
- lavi** *v.* [ˈla.vi] come along with. *Root:* lavi.
- lavian** *n.* [ˈla.ˈvi.jan] male monkey. *See:* hutuŋ. *Root:* lavi.
- laʔadus** *v.* [la.ʔa.dus], [la.ʔa.dusʲ] be accompanied by; be taken on a trip by.  
*Root:* adas.
- li-** *inf.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* palinqaiu.  
*Root:* -li-.
- Lian** *n.* [ˈlian], not [ˈli.jan] Takivatan male first name. *Root:* Lian.
- Liban** *n.* [ˈli.βan], [ˈli.βan] Takivatan male first name. *Root:* Liban.
- libat** *n.* [ˈli.βat] screw. *Root:* libat.
- libus** [ˈli.βus] **•1•** *n.* hunting grounds. **•2•** *n.* forest, woods; *Root:* libus.
- lihai** [li.'haj] **•1•** *n.* week. **•2•** *n.* mass, in particular Protestant mass. *See:* misa. **•3•** *time.* Sunday. *Etyim:* semantic extension of the meaning 'mass'. *Root:* lihai.
- Liliq** *n.* [ˈli.liq] the old Takivatan village up in the hills South-West of Ma-Yuan, where they lived during the Japanese occupation. *Root:* Liliq.
- Liliʔiq** *n.* [lɪ.'lɪʔɪq], [li.'lɪʔɪq] *Syn:* Liliq.  
*Root:* Liliq.

**limadia** *time*. for a long time. *Etym*: syncopated form of malimadia. *Root*: madia.

**linas** *n*. [ˈli.nas] kind of pheasant. *Root*: linas.

**Lini** *n*. [ˈli.ni] Takivatan male first name. *Root*: Lini.

**linsiu** *n*. [lin.ˈʃjuw] head of a basic community unit, head of a neighbourhood. *Etym*: from Japanese. *Root*: linsiu.

**liŋkaul** *v*. [liŋ.ˈkaul] swim, wash. *Etym*: traditionally, Bunun went to the river to wash, hence 'wash' and 'swim' are considered to be synonyms. *Root*: liŋkaul.

**liŋku** *root*. [ˈliŋ.kũ] roll on a surface. *Root*: liŋku.

**lis-** *pref*. believe [meaning uncertain]. *See*: liskaʔuni; listutudul; lisʔadus. *Root*: lis-.

**liskaʔuni** [liʃ.ka.ˈʔu.ni] •1• *n*. political, religious, social. conviction or belief; religious belief, faith; in the Takivatan community, *liskaʔuni* usually refers to the Christian faith. •2• *n*. Christian; believer. •3• *v*. believe; usually: be a Christian, be a believer. *Root*: ʔuni.

**liskiðað** *v-trans*. trust in, put one's trust in. *Root*: liskiðað.

**liskin** *root*. [liʃ.kin] believe, think, assume, consider. *Root*: liskin.

**listutudul** *v*. nod one's head because one is sleepy. *Root*: tudul.

**lisʔadus** *v*. take somebody with one while one is actually already on one's way to some place. *See*: dasun. *Root*: ʔadus.

**liu** *n*. [ˈlju] fly. *Root*: liu.

**liʔiq** *n*. cogon grass; kind of grass used for thatching. *Root*: liʔiq.

**luan** *v*. [ˈluan] lie, tell a lie. *Root*: luan.

**luap** [ˈluap] •1• *n*. ear cavity. •1• *n*. ear lobe. *Root*: luap.

**ludaq** *root*. beat (somebody). *Root*: ludaq.

**ludun** *n*. [ˈlu.dun] mountain. *Root*: ludun.

**luhum** *n*. [ˈlu.χum] mist. *Root*: luhum.

**luhuman** *v*. be misty. *Root*: luhum.

**lukis** [ˈlu.kis] •1• *n*. tree; general term for trees. •2• *n*. wood. *Root*: lukis.

**lukis daiŋað** *n-comp*. big tree. *Root*: lukis.

**lukmu** *root*. squat, squat down [meaning uncertain]. *Root*: lukmu.

**luku** *n*. a horizontal mountain area close to Kabanhilan, a location in the mountains above Bahuan. *See*: Kabanhilan. *Root*: luku.

**luku** *n*. horizontal plane or relatively level area on a mountain slope. *Root*: luku.

**Luku** *n*. Takivatan male first name. *Root*: luku.

**lukus** *n*. oil. *Root*: lukus.

**Luli** *n*. Takivatan male first name. *Root*: luli.

**luluman** *n*. jail. *Root*: lum-.

**luman** *v*. deprive somebody of one's freedom by locking him up. *See*: saqdilan. *Root*: lum-.

**lumaq** *n*. [ˈlu.maq] home; house. *Root*: lumaq.

**lumaq batu** *n-comp*. house made of stone; the walls of traditional bunun houses were built of natural stone. *Root*: lumaq.

- lumaq ðaiŋað** *n-comp.* living room. *Root:* lumaq.
- Lumav** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* lumav.
- Lumav Qaqatu** *n-comp.* Lumav the Masterful; historical figure. *See:* lumav; qaqatu. *Etym:* < Lumav 'male name' & qaqatu 'masterful'. *Root:* lumav.
- lumun** *v.* [ˈlu.mun] be locked up; be deprived of one's freedom. *See:* luman. *Root:* lum-.
- luŋku** *root.* [ˈluŋ.kũ] sit. *Root:* luŋku.
- luqai** *n.* [ˈlɔ.qɛi] general term for birds, typically (but not exclusively) small birds up to a fist big. *Root:* luqai.
- luqai?að** *n.* [lɔ.ˈqɛi.ʔaðˀ] young domesticated animal (dog, cat, ...). *See:* asu; ŋaun. *Root:* luqai.
- luqi-** *pref.* (used only in family names) grandchild of. *Root:* luqi-.
- luqlas** *v.* [ˈluq.las] yell. *Root:* luqlas.
- lusbut** *time.* [ˈlus.butˀ] each time, again and again. *Root:* lusbut.
- lusqu?un** *v.* [lus.ˈqu.ʔun] be moved from one place to another; (of persons) be transferred, be forced to go to another place. *Root:* lusqu.
- lus?an** [ˈlus.ʔan] •1• *root.* celebration; celebrate. •2• *n.* ritual; healing session. *Etym:* originally referred to traditional shamanistic rituals and festivities and was only later adopted as the general term for Christian or official holidays. •3• *v.* [ˈlus.ʔan] celebrate, have a holiday. *Root:* lus?an.
- lus?an aunquman** *n-comp.* holiday at the beginning of January when the preparation of the field (by cleaning out stones and weeds) was celebrated. *See:* buan aunqumaan. *Root:* lus?an.
- lus?an masuqaulus** *n-comp.* festival of the necklace; festival of a child's full growth, in which a necklace was put on a child and a name given to him/her. *Root:* lus?an.
- lus?an minkulau** *n-comp.* holiday around the middle of April when the millet is full-grown and can almost be harvested. *Root:* lus?an.
- lus?an minsuda?a** *n-comp.* harvest time; festive time of the year during which one cannot eat anything sweet or salty, precedes the millet harvest. *Root:* lus?an.
- lus?an pasiða** *v-comp.* have a wedding party. *Root:* lus?an.
- lus?an uvaðan** *v-comp.* celebrate a child's first birthday. *Root:* lus?an.
- lus?anan** *n.* [lus.ˈʔan.nan] period of celebration, vacation. *Root:* lus?an.
- lut-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* lutqaqanup. *Root:* lut-.
- lutbu** *n.* [ˈlut.bũ] body. *Root:* lutbu.
- luvluv** *n.* [ˈluv.luv] wind. *Root:* luvluv.
- luvluvan** *n.* [luv.ˈluv.an] typhoon. *Root:* luvluv.
- luvus** *root.* [ˈlu.vus] wet. *Root:* luvus.
- lu?lu?** *n.* [ˈlu?.lu?] wound. *Root:* lu?lu?.

## M - m

- m-** *pref.* prevocalic variant of ma-. *Root:* m-.
- ma** *inter.* clause-final interjection that indicates that the speaker is determined that what he said is true. *Root:* ma.
- ma- ·1·** *pref.* dynamic verbal prefix, indicates that a verb refers to a dynamic event. **·2·** *pref.* apply; (patient-incorporating prefix) indicate that the root with which it combines is applied or used in a systematic way. *Root:* ma-.
- ma-** *pref.* stative verbal prefix, indicates that an event is a state. *Root:* ma-.
- ma** *inter.* interjection indicating that the speaker has a sudden realization. *Root:* ma.
- ma- -un** *circumf.* indicates tenfolds. *Root:* ma- -un.
- mabahuan** *v.* there is Bahuan; verbalized form of Bahuan. *Root:* bahuan.
- mabaliv** *v.* buy. *Root:* baliv.
- mabantiq** *v.* cover by pressing down. *Root:* bantiq.
- mabaqais** *adj.* hot, warm, emitting heat. *See:* manami. *Root:* baqais.
- mabaqais qav** *idiom.* have a fever. *Root:* qav.
- mabaqis** *adj.* hot, warm, emitting heat. *Etym:* variant of mabaqais. *Root:* baqis.
- mabatu** *v.* throw. *Root:* batu.
- mabaŋbaŋ** *adj.* [ma.'bŋ.bŋ] with a low, booming voice; with a men's voice. *Root:* baŋbaŋ.
- mabual** *adj.* one-eyed. *Root:* bual.
- mabubuqan** *n.* rich person; the rich; lit.: those who always eat well. *Root:* buqan.
- mabukðav** *adj.* (of a surface, land, etc.) flat, level, low-lying. *Root:* bukðav.
- mabulsuk** *adj.* dry, waterless, arid. *Root:* bulsuk.
- mabunbun** *v.* verbal form of bunun 'banana'; there are banana's, banana's are growing. *Root:* bunbun.
- mabuntu** *adj.* (of stretches of time) long, long-winded. *Root:* buntu.
- mabuqan** *adj.* satiated, eaten till one is full. *Root:* buqan.
- mabuqul ·1·** *adj.* round. **·2·** *adj.* rounded. *Root:* buqul.
- mabusul** *v.* carry a gun. *Root:* busul.
- madadaiŋ?að** *n.* parents, parents and grandparents; refers to people that, because of their age, are in an authoritative position in a household. *Root:* daiŋ.
- madadaiŋ?að** *n.* old persons, elders. *Root:* daiŋ.
- madadakdak** *v.* lick (repeatedly). *Root:* dakdak.
- madadauk** *adj.* slowly, slow but certain. *Root:* dauk.
- madadiskaŋ** *adj.* fast; quick. *Root:* diskaŋ.
- madadu** *v.* [ma.da.'du] give up. *Root:* dadu.
- madadu** *adj.* [ma.'da.du] the same, of similar kind. *Root:* dadu.

- madadu** *v.* [ma.'da.du] (be) blessed; auspicious. *Root:* dadu.
- madahda** *adj.* situated in small individual groups that are scattered over a wide area; scattered widely, spread out, dispersed. *Root:* dahda.
- madaidað** •1• *v.* respect, loving respect (e.g. for parents). •2• *v.* love; behave in a loving way to. •3• *adj.* loving. *Root:* daidað.
- madaiŋpus** •1• *v.* place (something somewhere); put, lay down. •2• *v.* bury; place in a grave. *Root:* daiŋpus.
- madaiŋʔað** •1• *adj.* old, old of age. •2• *n.* respectful term used to refer to older people. *Root:* daiŋ.
- madaiŋʔaðin** *n.* old person, elder; a respectful term for people of great age. *Etym:* lit: a person who is already old. *Root:* daiŋ.
- madaiŋʔaðin bananʔað** *n-comp.* [ma-daiŋ-ʔað-in bananʔað] old man. *Root:* bananʔað.
- madaiŋʔaðin binanauʔað** *n-comp.* [ma-daiŋ-ʔað-in bi-CV-nauʔað] old woman. *Root:* nauʔað.
- madaipuuq** *adj.* *Root:* daipuuq.
- madalavdav** *time.* dusk, early morning when the sun is almost coming up. *Root:* madalavdav.
- madam** *v.* catch (e.g. animals). *Root:* madam.
- madamu** •1• *v.* catch, especially using one's hands or claws. •2• *v.* lock up, lock behind bars, catch. *Root:* damu.
- madanuk** *v.* plant; plant small seedlings one by one in soil. *Root:* danuk.
- madaŋkas** *adj.* red, orange. *Root:* daŋkas.
- madaŋkas dapud** *n-comp.* red pepper. *See:* maðaŋkas. *Root:* dapud.
- madaq** *v.* take somebody with you, invite somebody to come with you. *See:* madas. *Etym:* variation of madas, probably environmentally conditioned (attested example, by following dental implosive). *Root:* madaq.
- madaqtaiŋ** *n.* ear-shooting festival. *Root:* maduq.
- madaqvas** *adj.* tall; high. *Root:* daqvas.
- madas** *v.* take along, take somebody to some place; guide. *Root:* -das-.
- madasmadas** *v.* take somebody wherever one goes. *Root:* -das-.
- madastal** *adj.* lightly sloping, lightly slanting. *Root:* dastal.
- madauqpus** *adj.* long (of length, not height). *Root:* dauqpus.
- madavus** *adj.* sweet (of taste). *Root:* davus.
- madia** *aux.* many, a lot of, lots of. *Root:* madia.
- madiaʔin** *idiom.* too much. *Root:* madia.
- madima** *v.* like, be fond of. *Root:* madima.
- madiqla** *adj.* bad, pernicious. *Root:* diqla.
- madiqlaʔan** *adj.* difficult; causing difficulty. *Root:* diqla.
- madisu** *adj.* healthy, in excellent form. *Root:* disu.
- madqanvaŋ** *v.* hunt deer. *Root:* qanvaŋ.
- maduad** *adj.* disobedient. *Root:* duad.

**maduduᅇduᅇ** *adj.* honest (esp. of behaviour), fair. *Root:* duᅇduᅇ.

**maduin** *v.* be used to, be accustomed to. *Root:* maduin.

**madumdum** *adj.* obscured, dark, shadowy, dusky, shady. *Root:* dumdum.

**maduᅇqa** *adj.* break in two pieces; fracture. *Root:* duᅇqa.

**maduq** ·1· *n.* millet. ·2· *n.* (in contrast to other kinds of millet) yellow millet. *Root:* maduq.

**maduq taiᅇ** *v-comp.* perform the ear-shooting ceremony. *Etym:* from madaq 'take' + taiᅇ 'ear'. *Root:* maduq.

**maduq taiᅇ** *n-comp.* ear millet. *Etym:* from maduq 'millet' & taiᅇ 'ear'. *Root:* maduq.

**maduqain** *n.* millet crop [meaning uncertain]. *Etym:* possibly maduq 'millet' + -in 'PRV'. *Root:* maduq.

**maduqlas** *adj.* white. *Root:* duqlas.

**madᅇaq** *adj.* unripe (of fruits, ...). Madᅇaqaᅇ aipun «It is not ripe yet». *Root:* madᅇaq.

**maᅇaipuk** ·1· *adj.* (of fruits) ripe and soft. ·2· *v.* (of humans) possess inner force. ·3· (of things) ready. *Root:* ᅇaipuk.

**maᅇaipukin** *v.* (of things) prepared, made ready. maᅇaipukin panaiᅇan «the food is ready». *Root:* ᅇaipuk.

**maᅇaipuq** *adj.* soft, soft of constitution. *Root:* ᅇaipuq.

**maᅇaukᅇauk** *v.* united, cooperative. *Root:* ᅇaukᅇauk.

**maᅇav** *aux.* how come.? *Root:* maᅇav.

**maᅇliba** *v.* hug; hold (a person) in one's arms. *Root:* maᅇliba.

**maᅇqadam** *v.* hunt. *Root:* maᅇqadam.

**maᅇuqᅇuq** *v.* (of small, usually granular objects) pour out of (e.g. peanuts out of a bag). *Root:* ᅇuqᅇuq.

**maᅇᅇav** ·1· *adj.* embarrassed, not dare to. ·2· *adj.* polite. *Root:* maᅇᅇav.

**mahaipi** ·1· *adj.* fast, quick. ·2· *adj.* in a short while, in a short time; immediate, quick. ·3· *aux.* easily, without problems. *Root:* haipi.

**mahamu** *v.* take together; bind together. *Root:* hamu.

**mahana** *v.* cook; boil in water. *Root:* hana.

**mahansum** *adj.* having a good smell or taste; tasty, fragrant. *Root:* hansum.

**mahanu** *v.* carry (one's children) on one's back using a large colourful piece of cloth. *Root:* hanu.

**mahau** *v.* scold, be angry, vent one's anger. *Root:* hau.

**mahavun** *aux.* complete, make complete, finish, make whole. *Root:* havun.

**mahiav** *adj.* short of time; soon, quick. *Root:* hiav.

**mahiᅇuq** *v.* dip into. *Root:* hiᅇuq.

**Mahilav** *n.* place name of location where there a narrow pass between two mountains. *Root:* hilav.

**mahimaᅇun** *num-card.* 50; fifty. *Root:* hima.

**mahiva** *v.* check for, look for. *Root:* hiva.

**mahivatu** *n.* house elder, the oldest person in a family group, who possesses most wisdom and is responsible for a number of ritual and ceremonial tasks. *Root:* mahivatu.

**mahulav** *v.* pick (fruits). *See:* makuðkuð.

*Root:* hulav.

**mahunuq** *adj.* straight, not bended; steady.

*Root:* hunuq.

**mahutuq** *v.* faint, fall down unconsciously.

*Root:* hutuq.

**mai** *part.* [mei] *See:* mei. *Root:* mai.

**mai-** *pref.* (on nouns) marker of the non-present (typically the past), refers to something or someone that ceased to exist or does not exist yet; former; future.

maitama; maikiŋna; maiʔasaŋ *Root:* mai-.

**Maia** *n.* Takivatan female first name. *Root:* Maia.

**maidadip** *time.* [meidadi:p] for a short while. *Root:* dip.

**maikiŋna** *v.* future descendant, future descendants, future children; implies that the children are not born yet. *Root:* kiŋna.

**mailan-** *pref.* following; prefix indicating trajectory [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* mailan-.

**mailankinuð** *adj.* of a next generation, coming after a certain event of reference. *Root:* kinuð.

**mailaŋaus** *aux.* before all/everybody else. *Root:* ŋaus.

**mailuskun** *colloc.* were together (in the past, but not anymore); used to live together with. *Root:* uskun.

**main-** *pref.* from (location or time); ablative prefix expressing a movement from a certain location or point in time onward. *Root:* main-.

**maina-** *pref.* from (location or time); ablative prefix expressing a movement

from a certain location or point in time onward. mainaʔita «from there; from that moment on». *Root:* maina-.

**mainahan** *v.* come from (a certain location or time). *Root:* han.

**mainahaul** *v.* come from below. *Root:* haul.

**mainaqabas** *time.* from former times on. *Root:* qabas.

**mainaʔita** *v-intrans.* from that place; from that moment on. *Root:* ʔita.

**mainaʔupa** *v.* be too late to, be unable to. *Root:* ʔupa.

**maindu** *root.* [mei.n.ˈdu:] of ideal posture; not too big or too small. *Root:* maindu.

**mainduduʔað** *n.* [mei.n.du.ˈdu.ʔaðˀ] young man (typically around thirty). *Root:* maindu.

**mainhan** *v.* [mei.n.ˈha:n], [mai.n.ˈha:n] come from. *See:* maisnahan. *Etym:* short form of maisnahan. *Root:* han.

**mainhan** *v.* [mei.n.ˈha:n], [mai.n.ˈha:n] (of periods of time) have passed, pass. *Root:* han.

**maiŋa** *adj.* [ˈmei.ŋǎ] lazy. *Root:* maiŋa.

**maipantu** *n.* people that have studied; learned people. *Root:* pantu.

**mais** *conj.* if. *Root:* mais.

**maishuan** •1• *adj.* close-by, close. •2• *v.* approach, get close to. *Root:* ishuan.

**maisi-** *pref.* from; temporal ablative, indicates a temporal movement from a certain point in time onwards. *See:* main-; maina-; maisna-. *Root:* maisi-.

**maisip** *time.* from that time on. *Root:* maisip.

**maisipatikis** *time*. [mai.ʃi.ʔa.'ti.kis] from when one/it was very small; from a young age on, .... *Root*: tikis.

**maisipaua** *v.* be directed toward. *Root*: aua.

**maisipuvaðʔað** *time*. from childhood on, from when one was a child. *Root*: uvað.

**maisna** *prep.* from. *Root*: maisna.

**maisna-** *pref.* from (location or time); ablative prefix expressing a movement from a certain location or point in time onward. *Root*: maisna-.

**maisnahan** *v.* come from. *Root*: han.

**maisnaʔita** ·1· *place*. from that place, from there. ·2· *time*. since then, from that time onward. *Root*: ʔita.

**maisniʔisaq** *q-word*. from where? from which place? *Root*: isaq.

**maispaisqaʔita** *v.* go there, go to that place. *Root*: ʔita.

**maiʔasan** *n.* village that does not exist anymore; old village, former village, village of one's forefathers. *Root*: ʔasan.

**maiʔuni** *v.* use as a base material to create something; create something from. Maiʔuni dalaq tasʔuin minʔuni bunun «From clay, they are made to be come men». *Root*: ʔuni.

**maiʔupa** *v.* just walked; walked a moment ago. *Root*: upa.

**maka-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See*: makakumbu; makanipa; Makavila; panmakahan. *Root*: maka-.

**maka** *conj.* precisely, just. *Root*: maka.

**makaðbið** *v.* wave one's hands in order to draw somebody's attention or ask him/her

to come over to a certain location. *Root*: kaðbið.

**makainan** *v.* make a joke. *Root*: kain.

**makakavas** *v.* hunt for human heads. *Root*: kavas.

**makakumbu** *n.* tunnel. *Root*: kumbu.

**makamun** *adj.* (of food) spicy. *Root*: kamun.

**makana** *aux.* how is it possible that. *Root*: makan.

**makaniya** *v.* pass by (a certain location). *Root*: kanipa.

**makaqla** *adj.* (of visual observations) clear, distinct. *Root*: qaqla.

**makatpal** *adj.* (of clothes, cloth, fur, ...) thick. *Root*: katpal.

**makauskas** *adj.* striped (for instance of animals or clothes). *Root*: kauskas.

**Makavila** *n.* Zhong-Ping village, a Bunun village in the south of Hualien county. *Root*: vila.

**makavul** *v.* scoop up (e.g. with a spoon). *Root*: makavul.

**makaʔi** *v.* dig (in the ground). *Root*: makaʔi.

**maki** *conj.* [ma.ki] if. *Root*: maki.

**maki-** *pref.* prefix raising the beneficiary or maleficiary of an action in direct object position. *Root*: maki-.

**makihunuq** *v.* aim (a weapon). *Root*: hunuq.

**makihunuqhunuq** *v.* aim (a weapon). *Root*: hunuq.

**makikiŋna** *v.* produce descendants, give birth to descendants, give birth to the next generations. *Root*: kiŋna.

- makindusa** *v.* build two floors (in a building). *Root:* dusa.
- makin̄kiŋ** *v.* [mä.'kiŋ.kiŋ] donate; donate money to the Church. *Root:* kiŋkiŋ.
- makisaiv** *v.* make somebody give somebody; cause somebody to give something. *Root:* saiv.
- makit-** *pref.* (with verbal stems) without, devoid of. *Root:* makit-.
- makitvaivi** *v.* [mä.kit.'vei.vi] not comparable to because too light, small, weak, ...; be comparably less than; outstripped by; outperformed by. *Root:* vaivi.
- makitvaivitu** *adj.* exceptionalness. *Root:* vaivi.
- Maklahan** *n.* place name; location south of Ma-Yuan, close to Dimutu. *See:* Dimutu. *Root:* maklahan.
- makuðkuð** *v.* pick (fruits) by beating them out of a tree using a long stick. *Root:* kuðkuð.
- makuis** *adj.* [mä.kuis<sup>1</sup>] slender. *Root:* kuis.
- makulut** *v.* [mä.'ku.lut] cut using a knife or saw; cut open or peel using a knife (fruits). *Root:* kulut.
- makun** *place.* [ma.kun] there (indicates a location that the referent has knowledge of, but other participants have not seen yet). *Root:* makun.
- makun** *v.* [ma.kun] cut (grass). *Root:* makun.
- makusia** *v.* [mä.ku.'ʃia] use, exploit. *Root:* kusia.
- makuskus ·1·** *v.* rub. **·2·** *v.* use a scratching movement to scoop something out of a container. *Root:* kuskus.
- makusŋu** *adj.* spicy in a way that causes a hot feeling in the nose, sneezing and coughing (e.g. of wasabi). *Root:* kusŋu.
- makusu ·1·** *v.* tickle. **·2·** *v.* laugh because one is tickled in the armpits. *Root:* kusu.
- makusva** *v.* cut the grass. *Root:* kusva.
- mal-** *pref.* prefix indicating that the stem of the derivation expresses a certain state or condition. *See:* malqamaq; malbaskav; malvavaskal. *Root:* mal-.
- malabut** *v.* (of plants) pull out; weed. *Root:* malabut.
- malabut ismut** *colloc.* pull out grass and weeds; weed. *Root:* malabut.
- malaiŋ** *v.* crash into, collide with (usually only when the impact force is large or when the collision results in destruction). *Root:* malaiŋ.
- malaiŋdaŋ** *adj.* [ma.'leiŋ.daŋ] brisk, dapper, youthfully enthusiast. *Root:* laiŋdaŋ.
- Malaipa** *n.* former Takivatan settlement in Nantou. *Root:* malaipa.
- malalabas** *v.* be abundant with, be full of, have a lot of. *Root:* labas.
- malamapia** *v.* split up in different directions. *Root:* malamapia.
- malan** *v.* go. *Root:* malan.
- malan-** *pref.* along, in the direction of; expresses a movement along a certain route or in a certain direction. *See:* malansan; malansau. *Root:* malan-.
- malansan** *v.* [ma.lan.'sau.pa] follow (somebody). *Root:* san.

**malansan malavi** *colloc.* follow, travel alongside; go somewhere with somebody, accompany somebody on his travels. *Root:* san.

**malansau** *place.* [ma.lən.'sa:n] go in the direction of. *Root:* saupa.

**malanlan** *v.* grind with mortar and pestle using a horizontal turning movement. *Root:* lanlan.

**malas-** *1• pref.* (with adjectival stems) be like, simulate, approximate the properties of. *See:* malasmadaŋkas; malasmaqaiðhav; malasmataqduŋ. *2• pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) be able to speak (a language). *See:* malasbunun; malasamelika; malasput. *Root:* malas-

**malasamelika** *v.* [ma.las.(?)a.'mɛ.li.ka] speak the English language. *Root:* Amelika.

**malasbunun** *v.* [ma.las.'bu.nũn] speak the Bunun language. *Root:* Bunun.

**malaskan** *v.* fish. *Root:* iskan.

**malasmadaŋkas** *adj.* [ma.lən.ma.'dɔŋ.kas] pink; lit: like red. *Root:* daŋkas.

**malasmaqaiðhav** *adj.* [ma.lən.ma.'qeið.hav] coloured, having colour. *Root:* qaiðhav.

**malasmataqduŋ** *adj.* [mã.lən.mã.'taq.duŋ] having black in it, but not being entirely black; having a pattern of black and other colours; grey. *Root:* taqduŋ.

**malasput** *v.* [ma.las.'pu:t'] speak the Taiwanese (Southern Min) language. *Root:* put.

**malastapan** *v.* yell 'ho-ho-ho' in a loud, booming voice as part of a boasting ritual related to the hunt. *Root:* malastapan.

**malastaulu** *v.* [ma.las.tau.'lu:] speak the Mandarin-Chinese language. *Root:* taulu.

**malatpu** *1• adj.* misfortunate, struck by adversity, suffer (severe) loss. *2• adj.* go extinct. *Root:* latpu.

**malau** *v.* refuse. *Root:* malau.

**malauklauk** *adj.* slow. *Root:* lauklauk.

**malauŋðul** *adj.* sharp (of noses). ŋutus malouðul «a sharp nose, a nose with a sharp tip». *See:* ŋutus. *Root:* lauŋðul.

**malau** *v.* stab (somebody), typically with a knife. *Root:* laupa.

**malauqpus** *adj.* long. *Root:* lauqpus.

**malauqpus vaqun** *n-comp.* long pants. *See:* malauqpus. *Root:* vaqun.

**malavi** [ma.'la.vĩ] *1• v.* come along (with somebody to some place). Malmaq as malavi? «Can you come with us?» *1• v.* accompany (somebody), go with (somebody). *Root:* lavi.

**mala?nu** *v.* punch (somebody); beat (somebody) using a horizontal, punching movement. *Root:* la?nu.

**malbaskav** *v.* lie down as if dead or in a faint. *Root:* malbaskav.

**maldauqaŋ** *v.* extant, remaining, still existing; be still there. *Root:* dauqaŋ.

**malhaqu** *v.* snare; to deploy a snare used to catch animals. *Root:* malhaqu.

**mali-** *pref.* superlative prefix [meaning uncertain]. *See:* malimadia; malisihal. *Root:* mali-

**mali** [ma.li] *1• n.* elastic rubber band. *2• n.* ball. *Root:* mali.

**malimadia** *time.* for a long time. *Root:* madia.

- Malinsiu** *n.* male first name. *Etym:* Japanese loan. *Root:* malinsiu.
- malinʔku** *v.* roll on a horizontal surface; roll (something) on a horizontal surface. *Root:* linʔku.
- malisihal** *adj.* very good. *Root:* sihal.
- malislis** *v.* [ma.'liʃ.liʃ] brush (e.g. one's teeth). *Root:* lislis.
- malmananu** •1• *adj.* (of animate and inanimate things) vigorous, full of vigour; full of strength; full of life power. •2• *v.* encourage, urge. •3• *v.* put continuous effort in; dedicated to, with dedication. *Root:* nanu.
- malnʔaŋaus** *n.* head of the family, typically the oldest male of the oldest generation, who decides over all important matters and is responsible for many traditional ceremonies. *Root:* ŋaus.
- malqamaq** *q-word.* what is/are ... doing? what is/are. up to? Malqamaqʔaq haipʔ «What are you doing today?» *Root:* qamaq.
- malsasa** *v.* force somebody to do something. *Root:* sasa.
- malsiuq** *n.* torch. *Root:* malsiuq.
- maltaisʔan** *n.* children of the brothers of your father; paternal cousins in a male line. *Root:* taisʔan.
- maltala** *v.* wait for. *Root:* maltala.
- maltatalaq** *v.* wait expectantly for. *Root:* talaq.
- maludaq** *v.* beat (somebody). *Root:* ludaq.
- maludun** *v.* go up a mountain, climb a mountain. *Root:* ludun.
- malukmu** *v.* (only of animals) rest, sleep by lying on one's side. *Root:* lukmu.
- malulusqu** *v.* move each to a different location. *Root:* lusqu.
- malum** *v.* [ma.'lu:m] disperse, fan out, scatter, surround. *Root:* malum.
- maluŋ** *n.* knee cap. *Root:* maluŋ.
- maluŋku** *v.* sit, sit down. *Root:* luŋku.
- malupaki** *v.* disagreeable, disgusting. *Root:* malupaki.
- maluqtas** *adj.* soft and sticky (e.g. of candy). *Root:* luqtas.
- maluqus** *v.* bind. *Root:* luqus.
- maluskun** *v.* be together. *Root:* uskun.
- malusqu** *v.* move (to another location), move from one place to another; move house; unlike mulusqu, which stresses the change of location, malusqu stresses the activity involved in moving. *See:* mulusqu. *Root:* lusqu.
- maluʔlaq mali** *n-comp.* a ball which is used by hitting it; tennis ball, .... *Root:* mali.
- malvaðvaʔað** *v.* split up. *Root:* vað.
- malvavakal** *v.* lie with one's feet in the air (of animals). *Root:* vakal.
- malvavaskin** *v.* lie with one's feet in the air (of animals). *Root:* vaskin.
- malʔu** [mal.'ʔu:] •1• *n.* period of rest; general term for a period of time in which one did not have to work, but which was not necessarily related to a celebration of some kind. •2• *v.* not do anything; do not work, be retired, be lazy, hang around without doing anything, rest. *Root:* alʔu.
- malʔusqav** *n.* eagle. *Root:* ʔusqav.
- malʔuʔun** *v.* rest, have a rest. *Root:* malʔu.

**mama** *v.* [ˈmaː.maː] carry on one's back (e.g. a child). *Root:* mama.

**mamantu** *adj.* real. *Root:* mamantu.

**mamantuk** *adj.* [ma.ˈman.tukˀ] real, genuine, true. *Root:* mantuk.

**mamaŋ** *adj.* tired, exhausted. *Root:* mamaŋ.

**mamasʔan** *num-card.* [ˈmas.ʔan] ten (only used for human referents). *Root:* masʔan.

**mamasʔi** *v.* [ma.ˈmas.ʔi] cough (repeatedly). *Root:* masʔi.

**mamatlaq** *v.* (of monkeys) make a deep 'ʔwa'-sound. *Root:* matlaq.

**mamuskut** *v.* suffocate by strangling. *Root:* muskut.

**mamusʔi** *v.* [ma.ˈmus.ʔi] have a cold, have the flu. *Root:* mamusʔi.

**man-** *pref.* refers to a position inside or next to a certain reference point. *See:* manlibus; manpasadu. *Etym:* historically possibly a reduced form of mantuk 'real, genuine'. *Root:* man-.

**mana-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* manamaquaŋ. *Root:* mana-.

**manahip** *adj.* happy, glad. *Root:* nahip.

**manak** *v.* [ˈma.nakˀ] shoot (somebody). *Root:* manak.

**manakis** *v.* climb, go in upward direction. *Root:* manakis.

**manamaquaŋ** *aux.* what do I/we have to do now? how can I/we/they/... deal with (a certain situation)? *Root:* maquaŋ.

**manami** *adj.* hot, being perceived as hot (expressing a subjective experience); feeling hot. *Root:* nami.

**manamun** *v.* [ma.ˈnam.un] try (to). *Root:* manamun.

**mananakis** *v.* climb up a slope. *Root:* nakis.

**mananatu** *v.* weed out the underdeveloped plants from a crop. *See:* manatu. *Root:* natu.

**mananu** *aux.* [ma.ˈna.nu] dedicated; fervent. *Root:* nanu.

**mananulu** *v.* [ma.na.ˈnu.lu] attentive; careful. *See:* maneŋal. *Root:* nanulu.

**manaŋ** *v.* [ˈma.naŋˀ] shoot (e.g. with a gun). *Root:* manaŋ.

**manaskal** *adj.* happy. *Root:* naskal.

**manasʔak** *adj.* light (of weight). *Root:* nasʔak.

**manatu** *v.* select crop, weed out bad crop; when planting certain crops, it is necessary to weed out the small underdeveloped plants to prevent them from taking away water from healthy seedlings. *Root:* natu.

**manbaʔbaʔ** *v.* ritual in which harvested millet is fetched by two or three members of each family. *Root:* baʔbaʔ.

**manaiŋal** *v.* listen carefully. *See:* mananulu. *Root:* manaiŋal.

**maniŋðav** *adj.* clean, not filthy. *Root:* niŋðav.

**manisnis** *adj.* short (of height). *Root:* nisnis.

**manlibus** *place.* in the forest. *Root:* libus.

**manmananu** *v.* have faith in one's or somebody's efforts; encourage, urge. *Root:* nanu.

**manpasaduʔu** *v.* meet (somebody); usually indicates that the meeting was not planned. *Root:* saduʔu.

**Mansia** *n.* nickname; moniker of a man named Kalaŋ Mansia. *Root:* sia.

**mansikaupa** *v.* go to the furthest border, be at the border furthest away from the point of reference; furthest away from the point of reference, but still within the same area. *Root:* kaupa.

**manumun** *num-card.* 60; sixty. *Root:* num.

**manuŋkis** *adj.* with a very high voice, with a voice as from a woman. *Root:* nuŋkis.

**manʔaskal** *v.* commit suicide. *Root:* manʔaskal.

**maŋ** •1• *aux.* excessive. •2• *num-card.* ten thousand; 10000. *Root:* maŋ.

**maŋjai** *adj.* lazy, idle. *Root:* maŋjai.

**maŋjaisa** *adj.* lazy. *Root:* ŋaisa.

**maŋjava** *adj.* be toothless, have no teeth. *Root:* maŋjava.

**Maŋdavan** •1• *n.* name of the area around the old Japanese school in the mountains above Ma-Yuan. •2• *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* maŋdav.

**maŋisbis** *adj.* thin, flimsy (of clothes, cloth, fur, ...). *Root:* ŋisbis.

**maŋisŋis** *adj.* hairy. *Root:* ŋisŋis.

**maŋma** *aux.* just, a moment ago. *Root:* maŋma.

**maŋmaŋ** [ˈmaŋ.maŋ] •1• *aux.* lots of, many, loads of, hordes of. •2• *aux.* excessively, abundantly, extremely, very much. *Root:* maŋ.

**maŋmaŋun** *v.* many were asked/called/urged to participate. *Root:* maŋmaŋ.

**Maŋququ** *n.* [maŋ.ˈqu.qu], [maŋ.ˈqɔ.qɔ] Takivatan and Takbanuað family name. *Root:* Maŋququ.

**maŋun** *disc.* no problem, it is ok to, it is no problem to. *Root:* maŋ.

**mapa-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* mapa-taus-uvaðʔað; mapakiʔhað. *Root:* mapa-.

**mapaðaŋi** *v.* look for a marriage partner. *Etym:* only Isbukun. *Root:* paðaŋi.

**mapaðnu** *v.* point towards. *Root:* paðnu.

**mapaið** *v.* break open, peel using one's hands (fruits and vegetables with a hard peel). *See:* makulut. *Root:* paið.

**mapakisniap** *v.* make public, announce, make a public announcement. *Root:* niap.

**mapalavaʔað** *v.* split up, go each one's own way. mapalavaʔað Takivatan Takbanuað «the Takivatan and Takbanuað went each their own ways». *Root:* palavaʔað.

**mapaliak** *adj.* (of objects used to eat) so big and so over-filled that one can almost not put it in one's mouth. *Root:* paliak.

**mapaluk** *v.* fell (trees), cut down, chop down. mapaluk lukis «cut down trees». *Root:* paluk.

**mapaluq** *v.* cut down (trees). *Root:* paluq.

**mapanu** *adj.* hesitant. *Root:* panu.

**mapanu** *adj.* lazy, without any force to do something. *Root:* panu.

**mapapaq** *v.* chew, masticate. *Root:* paq.

**mapaqpq** *v.* beat against each other (of two objects). *See:* matauŋtauŋ. *Root:* paqpq.

**mapasaq** *v.* wash clothes. *Root:* pasaq.

**mapasʔaq** *v.* shrub, wash by scrubbing (clothes). *Root:* pasʔaq.

**mapatað** *v.* [ma.ˈpa.taðˀ] kill; (of animals) slaughter. *Root:* -atað.

- mapatas** *v.* [ma.'pa.tas] write. *See:* patas.  
*Etym:* Bunun *patas* does not mean 'character', but 'scribble'; *mapatas* (*ma-* 'utilize' + *patas* 'scribble') refers to the process of turning random scribbling into a useful communication tool. *Root:* patas.
- mapaʔis** *adj.* [ma.'pa.ʔiʃ] bitter. *Root:* paʔis.
- mapi-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* ma-; pi-; mapisihal. *Etym:* combination of ma- + pi-. *Root:* mapi-.
- mapinaŋ** *v.* sow by throwing small seeds on a field. *See:* masuað. *Root:* pinaŋ.
- mapinaskal** *v.* make somebody happy. *Root:* naskal.
- mapiqqa** *adj.* cripple. *Root:* piqa.
- mapiqauq** *q-word.* which way is there to?  
*Root:* piqauq.
- mapiqdi** *adj.* detrimental, having a bad effect. *Root:* piqdi.
- mapisðaŋ** *adj.* [ma.'pi.ðaŋ] fair, just, impartial. *Root:* pisðaŋ.
- mapisihal** *v.* be good to. *Root:* sihal.
- mapisiŋ** *adj.* [ma.'pi.ʃiŋ] scared. *Root:* pisiŋ.
- mapituʔun** *num-card.* 70; seventy. *Root:* pitu.
- mapitʔia** *v.* [ma.pit.'ʔia:], [ma.pit.'ʔi.ja] cook. *Root:* pitʔia.
- mapudlaq** *v.* destroy, wreck, break. *Root:* pudlaq.
- mapukʔun** *v.* pile up, put on a pile. *Root:* pukʔun.
- mapulpul** *v.* [ma.'pul.pul] demolish. *Root:* pulpul.
- mapunda** *v-trans.* put, add. *Root:* punda.
- mapunhanun** *v.* let somebody go out, let somebody go to other places; (of girls) leave the home village and be sent by one's parents to another place to get married. *Root:* han.
- mapusan** *num-card.* 20; twenty. *See:* dusa.  
*Root:* -pus-.
- mapusqu** *adj.* short (of length, not height).  
*Root:* pusqu.
- mapusul** *adj.* short of breath. *Root:* pusul.
- mapusul isʔaŋ** *idiom.* be short of breath, have difficulties breathing. *Root:* pusul.
- maputul** *adj.* short (of length, not height).  
*Root:* putul.
- maputul vaqun** *n-comp.* short trousers, shorts, short pants, knee breeches. *Root:* vaqun.
- maq** *q-word.* [ma:q] what? stem used in question words. *Root:* maq.
- maq** *part.* [ma:q] marker that introduces a definitional clause, typically used in combination with the subordinator (ʔa).  
*Root:* maq.
- maq a** *idiom.* [mä.'qa:] construction initiating a definitional clause. *Root:* maq.
- maq a ʔitaʔain** *idiom.* arrive there, arrive at that place. *Root:* maq a itaʔain.
- maq a ... a** *colloc.* as far as ... is concerned, concerning, as for. *Root:* maq.
- maq tu** *colloc.* [ma:q.tu] which. *Root:* maq.
- maq ʔak a** *idiom.* [mäq.'(?)a:k.ä] as far as I am concerned, as for me. *Root:* ak.
- maqabasan** *adj.* (in stories) once upon a time, a long time ago. *Root:* qabas.
- maqadba** *adj.* hard, hardened. *Root:* qadba.
- maqaðhav ·1·** *adj.* cold; having a cold feeling. ·2· *n.* winter. *Root:* qaðhav.

- maqahla** *adj.* clear, distinct. maqahla saduan «see clearly». *Root:* qahla.
- maqai** *conj.* [ˈma.qei], [ˈma.qai] in case, in the case that, if; common variant of maqi. *Root:* maqi.
- maqaiḃaḃ** *v.* put the bones of hunted animals on a family altar in order to worship them. *Root:* qaiḃaḃ.
- maqaidan** *adj.* full and ripe, full and heavy (of fruits and plants like maize and millet). *Root:* qaidan.
- maqaiḃhav** *n.* colour. *Root:* qaiḃhav.
- maqaiḃhav** *n.* (piece of) cloth. *Etym:* extension of the meaning 'coloured'. *Root:* qaiḃhav.
- maqaiḃu** *adj.* sour (of taste). *Root:* qaiḃu.
- maqain** *v.* catch. *Root:* qainan.
- maqainan** *v.* laugh. *Root:* qain-.
- maqaiḃi** *adj.* flat and small (of noses). ḡutus maqaiḃi *See:* ḡutus. *Root:* qaiḃi.
- maqais** *adj.* spread out, distributed; have the ability to move freely. *Root:* qais.
- maqaisaq** •1• *adj.* impenetrable (e.g. of a forest). •2• *q-word.* in which direction. *Root:* qaisaq.
- maqaisqais** *v.* wipe; mop using a wet mop or clean with a wet cloth. maqaisqais hima «wipe one's hands». *Root:* qaisqais.
- maqaisu** *v.* wipe one's behind. *Root:* qaisu.
- maqaitbas** •1• *adj.* mean, evil, stingy. •2• *v.* act mean toward, behave in a mean way toward. *Root:* qaitbas.
- maqaitqait** *adj.* hard of constitution (e.g. of food); hard, stiff, leathery (e.g. of meat). *Root:* qaitqait.
- maqaitu** *adj.* for example. *Root:* maqaitu.
- maqaiu** *v.* steal. *Root:* qaiu.
- maqalav** •1• *v.* scratch. •2• *v.* steal, take secretly and gradually from (especially of land). *Root:* qalav.
- maqaltum** *v.* bury. *Root:* qaltum.
- maqalus** *v.* scratch, scratch open (e.g. using claws). *Root:* qalus.
- maqanal** *adj.* bald. *Root:* qanal.
- maqanḃas** *adj.* be bald on top of the head (but still having hair at the sides and in the back). *Root:* qanḃas.
- maqansiap** *v.* understand, have an understanding of, know. *Root:* siap.
- maqansu** *adj.* smelly. *Root:* qansu.
- maqanuas** •1• *adj.* envious. •2• *adj.* regret. •3• *adj.* greedy. *Root:* qanuas.
- maqanvan** *v.* be a sambar. *Root:* qanvan.
- maqapis** *v.* (in wrestling) tackle, use one's feet to throw somebody down. *Root:* qapis.
- maqasaḡa** *adj.* beautiful. *Root:* qasaḡa.
- maqasbit** *adj.* salty. *See:* qasila. *Root:* qasbit.
- maqasmav** *adj.* diligent, hardworking, conscientious. *Root:* qasmav.
- maqatul** *v.* gather, pick up and put together. *Root:* qatul.
- maqaulqaul** *adj.* lewd, obscene, full of sexual innuendo. *Root:* qaulqaul.
- maqḃan** *aux.* the same as, identical to. *Etym:* phonetic variant of masḃan. *Root:* maqḃan.
- maqi** *conj.* [ˈma.qi] in case, in the case that, if. *Root:* maqi.
- maqit-** *pref.* various [meaning uncertain]. *See:* maqitvaivi. *Root:* maqit-.

**maqitvaivi** *adj.* all different kinds of. *Root:* vaivi.

**maqlaŋ** *adj.* hot, warm (refers to warmth as a human sensation). *Root:* maqlaŋ.

**maqlis** *adj.* expensive; unreasonably expensive. *Root:* maqlis.

**maqlut** *adj.* fast, quick. maqlut mudadan «walk fast». *Root:* maqlut.

**maqmut** *n.* night time, the time of the day when it is dark. *Root:* maqmut.

**maqmutaŋ** *time.* when it is still dark, very early in the morning. *Root:* maqmut.

**maqsaim** *adj.* slippery. maqsaim dan «The road is slippery». *Root:* maqsaim.

**maqsataka** *colloc.* as far as we are concerned. *Root:* ata.

**maqtu** •1• *aux.* be possible to, can. •2• *aux.* wish, may. •3• *aux.* be suitable to, can be used to. •4• *aux.* be allowed to, can, may. *Root:* maqtu.

**maqtu** *q-word.* which? which one? *Root:* maq.

**maqtuaŋ** •1• *aux.* may; expresses a wish. •2• *aux.* be still enough, be still sufficient. *Root:* maqtu.

**maqu-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) expresses that the object expressed by the nominal stem is utilized as an instrument. *Root:* maqu-.

**maquaŋ** *q-word.* why?, how come? in questions asking for how it is possible that a certain event or state occurs. *Root:* maq.

**maquaŋin** *q-word.* how is (the situation) now? in questions asking for an update on

a situation that was previously known but that may have changed. *Root:* maq.

**maquḏus** *adj.* like to eat; be a glutton. *Root:* quḏus.

**maquhima** *v.* use one's hands (to do something). *Root:* hima.

**maquhisan** *n.* small intestines. *See:* silup. *Root:* maquhisan.

**maqul** *v.* strengthen oneself by eating wholesome food. *Root:* qul.

**maqulpiq** *adj.* having a large circumference; (of people or animals) fat, heavy; (of trees, stalks of plants, ...) thick, having a large diameter. *Root:* qulpiq.

**maqulpiqan** *n.* large intestines. *See:* silup. *Etym:* ma- 'STAT' + qulpiq 'of large circumference' + -an 'LF'. *Root:* qulpiq.

**maqulqul** *v.* gargle, make a gargling sound. *Etym:* onomatopoeia. *Root:* qulqul.

**maqulukis** *v.* use wood (e.g. to make a fire). *Root:* lukis.

**maqumumu** *adj.* filled to the extent that the content is visible above the brim as a little mountain (e.g. of a bowl). *See:* qumumu. *Root:* mumu.

**maqun** *v.* [ma.<sup>1</sup>qu:n] weed out, cut off, especially unwanted grass and weeds; cut off (grass). maqun saviki «cut off betel nut». *Root:* qun.

**maqun-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* maqunqabas. *Root:* maqun-.

**maqunqabas** [ma.quŋ.<sup>1</sup>qa.ʔas] •1• *time.* from in the old days (onward/till now). •2• *time.* in former times. *Root:* qabas.

**maquqaqtis** *v.* use chopsticks (e.g. to eat).

*Root:* qaqtis.

**maquspun** *adj.* adversity in hunt (absence of game) due to a curse or as the result of a bad omen. *Root:* quspun.

**maqutun** *v.* pile up, heap up. *Root:* qutun.

**maqu?ima** *v.* use one's hands (to do something). *Etym:* probably a Takbanuað or Isbukun loanword. *Root:* ?ima.

**mas-** *pref.* be, have the capacity of, have the property of; creates an stative event that expresses that somebody or something has a certain capacity or property expressed by the root. *See:* masnava; maspatað; masqanan; mastatini; masmuav. *Root:* mas-.

**masabaq** *v.* sleep. *Root:* sabaq.

**masaiŋa** *adj.* tired, exhausted. *Root:* saiŋa.

**masais** *v.* disapprove, not endorse, disagree (with a decision of the rest of the group). *Root:* masais.

**masaiv** *v.* give, hand over, hand somebody something; give something to somebody, especially without a specific reason or goal. *See:* isaiv. *Root:* saiv.

**masalpu** *adj.* sad. *Root:* salpu.

**masambut** *adj.* sturdy, with broad shoulders and strong muscles. *Root:*ambut.

**masampat** *adj.* (of food) tasteless, without taste, having a very weak taste. *Root:* sampat.

**masamu** •1• *adj.* forbidden, (be) taboo. •2• *adj.* strict, stern. •3• *v.* (of two people) be ineligible for marriage because of close family relationship. *Root:* samu.

**masan** *aux.* many, all. *Root:* masan.

**masan-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* masanminsuma. *Root:* masan-.

**masanminsuma** *v.* come over here. *Root:* minsuma.

**masanlav** *adj.* green, blue. *Root:* sanlav.

**masanlavan** *adj.* (of fruits and vegetables) unripe; lit: still green. *Root:* sanlav.

**masanlavan dapud** *n-comp.* small green pepper. *See:* masanlavan. *Root:* dapud.

**masaqbit** *adj.* painful. *Root:* saqbit.

**masaqbit is?an** *idiom.* my heart is saddened. *Etym:* lit: my heart is sour. *Root:* saqbit.

**masaqit** *v.* pat (somebody). *Root:* saqit.

**masasak** •1• *v.* (of food) cook, boil, prepare. •2• *adj.* (of fruits, crops and women) mature, matured. *Root:* sasak.

**masasauqðan** *n.* a poor person; the poor. *Etym:* lit: those who are always hungry. *Root:* sauqðan.

**masaunkuan** *adj.* vast, expansive. *Root:* saunku.

**masauŋqu** *adj.* slanting, sloping, not level. *Root:* sauŋqu.

**masaup** *v.* go in the direction of. *Root:* saupa.

**masauqbuŋ** *adj.* (of weight) heavy. *Root:* sauqbuŋ.

**masauqðan** *adj.* hungry. *Root:* sauqðan.

**masðan** *aux.* same, identical. *Root:* -asðan.

**masi-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* masinauba; masituqas; masibalað; masibað; masinadip; masiqailis. *Root:* masi-.

**masiap** *v.* know. *See:* maqansiap. *Root:* siap.

**masibað** *v.* cross (e.g. a road). *Root:* masibað.

**masibalað** *v.* cross (e.g. a road). *Root:* masibalað.

**masihal** •1• *adj.* good. •2• *adj.* joyful, happy. •3• *adj.* suitable. •4• *adj.* beautiful. *Root:* sihal.

**masihalin** *v.* get better; heal (after an illness). *Root:* sihal.

**masihal?as** *idiom.* Is everything good with you?, Are you well? formal greeting. *Etym:* only sparsely used in Takivatan, more common in Isbukun. *Root:* sihal.

**masinadip** *v.* aim (a weapon). *Root:* masinadip.

**masinauba** •1• *n.* younger brother or sister. •2• *n.* respectful term of address for people that are at most a few years younger than the speaker. *Root:* masinauba.

**masinhav** *v.* wash (used for things other than clothes, oneself or parts of the human body). *Root:* sinhav.

**masinhav** *adj.* yellow. *Root:* sinhav.

**masiñhav** •1• *v.* inquire, request, ask for. •2• *v.* propose marriage to a woman. •3• *v.* entreat; ask a higher instance for a favour. *Root:* siñhav.

**masiñhav dadaðað** *colloc.* entreat the government. *Root:* siñhav.

**masiñqal** *adj.* bright, light, shining. *Root:* siñqal.

**masipatun** *num-card.* 40; forty. *Root:* pat.

**masipul** *v.* study; read, exercise, practice. *Root:* sipul.

**masipul haqil** *colloc.* study (intransitive), be a student. *Etym:* lit: study books. *Root:* sipul.

**masiqailis** *time.* every day, all the time. *Root:* qailis.

**masiqu** *adj.* blinded. *Root:* siqu.

**masisihal** *v.* everything is well; everybody is well, everybody is doing great. *Etym:* stem reduplication expresses a generic subject. *Root:* sihal.

**masitugas** •1• *n.* older brother or sister. *Etym:* Isbukun form. See: masituqas. *Root:* tuhas.

**masituqas** •1• *n.* older sibling, older brother or sister. •2• *n.* respectful term of address for people that are at most a few years older than the speaker. *Root:* tuqas.

**masiva?un** *num-card.* 90; ninety. *Root:* siva.

**maskalun** *v.* ask somebody for help. *Root:* maskalun.

**masmaupata** *manner.* if it were thus, if it is like this. *Root:* maupa.

**masmuav** •1• *aux.* ...-er; more (+ adjective); comparatively. •2• *aux.* too, excessively. *Root:* masmuav.

**masmuq** *adj.* (only of people) fat, chubby; normally refers to a natural and healthy form of corpulence (as opposed to obesity). *Root:* masmuq.

**masmut** *v.* [ma-ismut] there is grass, grass is growing; verbalized form of ismut. *Root:* ismut.

**masnanava** •1• *n.* teacher; any person that imposes learning on others; priest, vicar. •2• *v.* teach; be a teacher. *Root:* nava.

**masnava** *v.* teach. *Root:* nava.

**maspatað** *v.* die. *Root:* -atað.

- masqaili** *v.* carry on one's shoulder. *Root:* masqaili.
- masqaili tu qavaŋ** *n-comp.* shoulder bag. *Root:* qavaŋ.
- masqal** *v.* recruit, enlist (people for a certain job); hire, employ. *Root:* masqal.
- masqanan** *n.* (muscles of the) upper arm. *Root:* masqanan.
- masqanan tu tuqnað** *n-comp.* bone in the upper arm. *Root:* tuqnað.
- mastan** *aux.* [mas<sup>ʃ</sup>ta:n] variant of mastaʔan. *Root:* mastaʔan.
- mastatini** *num-card.* (only for human referents) only one person; on one's own. *Root:* tini.
- mastaʔan** *aux.* [mas<sup>ʃ</sup>taʔan] most, extremely, very. *Root:* mastaʔan.
- masu-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* masuqaulus. *Etym:* according to Nihiru (1988:207-8), from masu 'field'. *Root:* masu-.
- masuað** •1• *v.* grow, cultivate (plants, vegetables, ...). •2• *v.* plant; sow by putting individual seeds in the earth. *See:* mapinaŋ. *Root:* suað.
- masuav** *aux.* gravely, seriously. masuav mihalaŋ «gravely ill». *Root:* suav.
- masuduq** *adj.* sharp, pointed, angular. *Root:* suduq.
- masuku** *v.* close, shut. *Root:* suku.
- masumal** •1• *adj.* be a joke. •2• *v.* joke, make jokes. *Root:* sumal.
- masunu** *v.* (put) inside. *Root:* sunu.
- masunuq** *adj.* enraged, extremely angry. *Root:* sunuq.
- masuŋhav** •1• *adj.* itchy. •2• *adj.* sexually aroused. *Root:* suŋhav.
- masuqaulus** *n.* festival of the necklace; festival of a child's full growth, in which a necklace was put on a child and a name given to him/her. *See:* qaulus. *Root:* qaulus.
- masusuk** *n.* drill. *Root:* susuk.
- masuʔnuq** *v.* hate. *Root:* masuʔnuq.
- masvala** *adj.* peaceful. *Root:* masvala.
- masʔan** *num-card.* 10; ten. *See:* tasʔa. *Root:* masʔan.
- masʔan suqaisaba** *num-card.* 1,000,000; one million. *See:* masʔan. *Root:* -saba.
- masʔi** *v.* cough (one time). *Root:* masʔi.
- mat-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* matqadaŋ. *Root:* mat-.
- mat** *root.* search for, scan for, look for. *Root:* mat.
- mata** *n.* eye. *Root:* mata.
- matabal** *v.* carve into with a knife using a downward movement; hack into (something) with a knife using a downward movement. *Root:* tabal.
- matabaq** *v.* follow (a trail, footprints.) *Root:* tabaq.
- matadiskaŋ** *adj.* fast. *Root:* diskaŋ.
- matað** *v.* [ˈma.tað<sup>ʃ</sup>] die. *Root:* -atað.
- mataðin** *v.* [ma.ˈta.ð<sup>ʃ</sup>in] be dead, have died. *Etym:* matað + = in 'resultative'. *Root:* -atað.
- mataiklas** *adj.* intelligent. *Root:* taiklas.
- mataimaŋ** *adj.* stupid, ignorant. *Root:* taimaŋ.
- mataisaq** *v.* dream. *Root:* taisaq.

**mataksis** *v.* trample; stamp on (something) with one's foot sole or heel. *Root:* taksis.

**matakunav** *n.* throw away. *Root:* takunav.

**matamam** *adj.* flavourless, tasteless; saltless (of soup, food, ...), not sweet (of fruits), .... *Root:* tamal.

**matamasad** •1• *adj.* strong, having a lot of strength; (of alcohol) strong. •2• *aux.* forcefully, with force. *Root:* tamasađ.

**matanali** *v.* invite. *Root:* tanali.

**matanġan** *v.* grind with mortar and pestle using a beating movement. *Root:* tanġan.

**matapġan** *v.* mend (clothes), sow. *Root:* matapġan.

**mataq** *adj.* muddy. *Root:* mataq.

**mataqduġ** •1• *adj.* black. •2• *adj.* dirty, grimy. *Root:* taqduġ.

**mataqis** *v.* sow. *Root:* mataqis.

**matasġi** *v.* construct, build, produce, make, do; bake (bread). *Root:* tasġi.

**matatnul** *v.* measure. *Root:* tatnul.

**mataubu** *adj.* oily, full of oil. *Root:* taubu.

**mataubun** *adj.* crispy or chewy. *Root:* taubun.

**matauktauk** *v.* hit (a nail). *Root:* tauktauk.

**mataula** •1• *adj.* speak in a incoherent and irrational ways, like a fool or lunatic. *See:* mataulu. •2• *adj.* foolish; usually of people who speak in a nonsensical, strange way. *See:* mataula. *Root:* taulu.

**mataunġan** *v.* beat (against another object). *See:* mapaqpaq. *Root:* taunġan.

**matauqtauq** *v.* beat a nail (into something); beat using a hammer. *Root:* tauqtauq.

**mataġbu** *n.* oil. *Root:* mataġbu.

**mati-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* matibahi; matiqaiuġ; matilataluq; matiqav; matiġaisik. *Root:* mati-.

**matibahi** *v.* interpret the prophetic value of a dream before deciding to go out hunting or working. *Root:* bahi.

**matila** *adj.* bad-tasting, having a bad taste. *Root:* tila.

**matilataluq** *v.* come down from a mountain. *Root:* taluq.

**matin-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* matinmananu. *Root:* matin-.

**matinmananu** *adj.* ardent, enthusiastic, full of fervour. *Root:* nanu.

**matinġun** *v.* weave. *Root:* matinġun.

**matinġba** *v.* crack (e.g. one's fingers), make a cracking sound. *Root:* tinġba.

**matinġna** *time.* another time. *Root:* tinġna.

**matinġus** *v.* pick (vegetables or fruits), harvest by breaking off with one's hands. *Root:* tinġus.

**matiqaiuġ** *v.* (in wrestling) grab somebody, move him behind one's back and throw him down over one's shoulder. *Root:* qaiuġ.

**matiqav** *adj.* blind. *Root:* qav.

**matiqlaq** *adj.* improper; impolite (e.g. of things uttered). *matiqlaq qaliġa* «improper/impolite talk». *Root:* tiqlaq.

**matiqlas** *adj.* abundant. *Root:* tiqlas.

**matibusu** *v.* explode; shoot (a weapon). *Root:* tibusu.

**matiskun** *aux.* together, in one group. *Root:* tiskun.

**matisʔauq** *v.* penetrate, go straight through, pass through (e.g. of a projectile such as a bullet). *Root:* tisʔauq.

**matium** *num-card.* 30; thirty. *Root:* matiun.

**matiʔaisik** *v.* close one eye and keep the other wide open (for instance, when aiming with a gun). *Root:* ʔaisik.

**matqaðam** *v.* use a gun to hunt, hunt using a gun. *Root:* qaðam.

**matqas** •1• *adj.* (of visual observations) clear and distinct. •2• *adj.* (of actions) in the open, in a clear and visible way. *Root:* matqas.

**matu-** *pref.* prefix that turns a root expressing an emotive event into an action. *See:* matukumis; matumasqaiŋ; matunaskal; matukalakin; matusalpu. *Root:* matu-.

**matuah** *v.* open. *Root:* matuah.

**matudul** *adj.* sleepless, unable to sleep. *Root:* tudul.

**matuka** *v.* cleave open at the chest bone (of slaughtered animals). *Root:* tuka.

**matukalakin** *v.* feel compassion for; express one's compassion for. *Root:* kalakin.

**matuktuk** *v.* cut (off) using an axe; chop (off), cut. *Root:* tuktuk.

**matukumis** *n.* grace, act of grace; (Christian religion) grace of God. *Root:* kumis.

**matumaskain** *v.* be grateful (toward), be thankful, thank. *Etym:* from old Takivatan matumasqaiŋ. *Root:* maskain.

**matumasqaiŋ** *v.* be grateful (toward), be thankful, thank. *Syn:* matumaskain. *Root:* masqaiŋ.

**matunaskal** *v.* behave in a happy way towards, express one's thanks to, .... *Root:* naskal.

**matunqal** *v.* kick with one's knee. *Root:* tunqal.

**matuqadba** *v.* become hard. *Root:* qadba.

**matuqlu** *v.* cover (something); put a cover on. *Root:* tuqlu.

**matus** *v.* [ma'tu:s], [ma'to:s] be everywhere, be full of, be permeated with; all, completely. *Root:* matus.

**matusalpu** *v.* feel sad about; feel sad for. *Root:* salpu.

**matuskuj** *v.* fool about, play around; be mischievous. *Root:* tuskuj.

**matutu** *v.* (of fluids) pour into. *Root:* tutu.

**matuv** *v.* [ma.'tu:v<sup>1</sup>] open. *Root:* matuv.

**matʔaq** *adj.* raw. *Root:* matʔaq.

**maudu** *root.* round. *Root:* maudu.

**maudu buan** *v-comp.* full moon. *See:* maudu. *Etym:* lit: a round moon. *Root:* buan.

**maun qaisiŋ** *idiom.* have a meal; literally 'eat rice', but used in a more general sense. *Root:* maun.

**maupa** •1• *conj.* thus. •2• *aux.* because of this. *Root:* maupa.

**maupata** *manner.* like that. *Root:* maupa.

**maupati** *manner.* like this. *Root:* maupa.

**maupinta** *manner.* like that. *Root:* maupa.

**mavaivi** *adj.* be different. *Root:* vaivi.

- mavaivi saduan** *idiom*. discriminate, look down on; lit: look at someone in a different way. *Root*: vaivi.
- mavala** •1• *n.* term referring to any of the in-laws (brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law). •2• *v.* be related by marriage; be somebody's in-law. mavala amu «we are related by marriage». *Root*: mavala.
- mavauʔun** *num-card.* 80; eighty. *Root*: vau.
- mavia** *q-word*. why? *Root*: via.
- mavisqai** *adj.* (of trees and plants) abundant with fruits, bearing a lot of fruits. *Etym*: uncommon variant of mavisqu. *Root*: visqai.
- mavisqu** *adj.* (of trees and plants) abundant with fruits, bearing a lot of fruits. *Root*: visqu.
- maʔ** *lig.* marker that introduces a definitional clause, typically used in combination with the subordinator (ʔa). *Root*: maʔ.
- maʔadi** *v.* what is that? *Root*: di.
- maʔailaŋ** *v.* grind into powder. *Root*: ʔailaŋ.
- maʔal** *time*. that time. *Root*: maʔal.
- maʔanak** *v.* beat with one's fist. *Root*: ʔanak.
- maʔasik** *v.* sweep (e.g. the floor) using a broomstick. *Root*: ʔasik.
- maʔaskað** *adj.* jealous; envious. *Root*: ʔaskað.
- maʔinsun** *v.* [maʔinsun] push (a cart, trolley, wheel barrow.) *Root*: insun.
- maʔiup** *v.* blow (of breath), breathe into. *Root*: maʔiup.
- maʔmaʔ** *n.* tongue. *Root*: maʔmaʔ.
- maʔumʔum** *v.* cover completely (so that the object or person completely disappears from view). *Root*: ʔumʔum.
- Maʔunsuŋ** *n.* [ma.ʔun.suŋ] Takivatan family name. *Root*: maʔunsuŋ.
- maʔuvul** *adj.* soft and flexible (of plants). *Root*: ʔuvul.
- mei** *part.* [mei] already. *Root*: mei.
- mi-** *pref.* stative prefix that combines with events that are generally perceived as negative or unwanted. *See*: mihalaŋ; miluqluq; miluʔluʔ. *Root*: mi-.
- mihalaŋ** *v-intrans.* ill, sick. *Root*: halaŋ.
- miliskin** *v.* [miʔliʔkin] think, consider, believe. *Root*: liskin.
- miluqluq** *v.* be recalcitrant, be resistant, obstinately refuse to accept something that is offered to one in good will. *Root*: miluqluq.
- miluʔluʔ** *v.* get wounded, get hurt. *Root*: luʔluʔ.
- min-** *pref.* result-state prefix. *See*: mindaŋað; mindiklaʔin; minliskin; minpuhuq. *Root*: min-.
- mina-** *pref.* from (location or time); ablative prefix expressing a movement from a certain location or point in time onward. *Etym*: uncommon variant of maina-. *Root*: mina-.
- minabaʔav** *v.* come (back) from a high location. *Root*: baʔav.
- minabuqan** *v.* have everything one needs, be abundantly supplied, .... *Root*: buqan.
- minam** *v.* [miʔna:m] get used to. *Root*: minam.

- minamin** *v.* [mi'na:min] be used to, be accustomed to. *Root:* minam.
- minanam** *v.* [mi.na.'na:m] have the habit to, be used to. *Etym:* CV reduplication indicates habituality. *Root:* minam.
- minanuað** *v.* become crazy, become insane. *Root:* nuað.
- minanulu** *v.* pay attention to, be watching for, be prepared for (something to happen). *Root:* nanulu.
- minanuqu** *v.* wake up. *Root:* minanuqu.
- minan** *v.* sow (plants, crops, ...); sow seeds by throwing them out on a field. *Root:* minan.
- minaqtuŋ** *aux.* be enough, be sufficient. *Root:* maqtu.
- minaquaq** *q-word.* perfective of the question word maquaq 'how'. *Root:* maquaq.
- minaupata** *v.* become like that, reach such a state. *Root:* aupa.
- minaʔita** *time.* from that time on. *Root:* ʔita.
- minaʔita tudip** *colloc.* from that past time on. *Root:* ʔita.
- minbukðav** *v.* [min'bukðavʔ] become level, become flattened, become like a valley. *Root:* bukðav.
- mindadu** *v.* [min.'ða.dũ] bless somebody with, give somebody something, make somebody happy by giving something. *Root:* dadu.
- mindanað** *v.* help (somebody) to do something; assist in. *Root:* danað.
- mindiklaʔin** *v.* broken, out of order. *Root:* dikla.
- minduduað** *n.* young man. *Root:* duað.
- minhaiða** *•1• v.* come into existence. *•2• v.* become prosperous, prosper. *Root:* minhaiða.
- minhamu** *v.* put together, take together, select together, .... *Root:* hamu.
- minhan** *v.* be at (a certain place). *Root:* han.
- minkakaun** *v.* get food; reach a state in which one has enough to eat. *Root:* kaun.
- minkaun** *v.* climb; go in upward direction, go up (into mountains or hills), climb upward. *Root:* minkaun.
- minkulau** *v.* (of harvest) become full-grown. *Root:* kulau.
- minliskin** *v.* recall, remember; think up. *Root:* liskin.
- minmantuk** *•1• v.* be honest, be earnest, be frank about. *•2• v.* acquire true knowledge about. *•3• aux.* know about, learn about, learn the truth about. *Root:* mantuk.
- minmaudu** *v.* become round; (of the moon) become full. *Root:* maudu.
- minmaupa** *v.* become like that, reach such a state. *Root:* maupa.
- minpuhuq** *v.* become rotten. *Root:* puhuq.
- minpuhuq isʔaŋ** *idiom.* have evil feelings and thoughts, have an evil character; lit: one's breath is rotten. *Root:* puhuq.
- minqansiap** *v.* gain understanding, come to understand that. *Root:* qansiap.
- minqumis** *•1• n.* resurrection. *•2• v.* revive, resurrect. *Root:* qumis.
- minsalankað** *v.* get up, rise oneself, stand up. *Root:* salankað.
- minsia** *v.* succeed. *Root:* minsia.
- minsiʔin** *aux.* reach completion, complete (a certain work), finish. *Root:* siʔin.

**minsuda** *v.* reach a certain result-state; (of millet) be ready for harvest. *See:* suda.

*Root:* suda.

**minsuma** *v.* return. *Root:* minsuma.

**minsuna** *v.* catch fire, be on fire. *Root:* suna.

**minsunu** *v.* move to. *Root:* sunu.

**minsusu** *v.* look on at an action in which one should actually participate; look on while all others are working/eating/....

*Root:* susu.

**mintalaban** *v.* become winter. *Root:* talaban.

**mintantaŋ** *v.* turn into powder. *Root:* taŋtaŋ.

**mintas?a** *v.* become one; (of a number of parts) come together and become one, fuse, re-assemble.; (of a group of people) get together, gather, assemble. *Root:* tas?a.

**mintatulun** *v.* regret. *Root:* tatulun.

**mintaulun** *v.* become Chinese, be made Chinese; sinify. *Root:* taulu.

**mintitiŋas** *v.* use a tooth pick, pick one's teeth. *Root:* tiŋas.

**mintivi** *v.* visit (somebody). *Root:* mintivi.

**mintu-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* mintuvali. *Root:* mintu-.

**mintun** *time.* sometimes. *Root:* mintun.

**mintunuq** *v.* have a landslide; (of ground) to slide down in a landslide. *Root:* tunuq.

**mintuvali** *v.* sunbathe, warm in the sun, expose oneself to the sun. *Root:* vali.

**minu-** *pref-num.* the ...th time. *See:* minuhima. *Root:* minu-.

**minuhima** *num-ord.* the fifth time. *Root:* hima.

**minuma** *v.* broken; destroyed. *Root:* huma.

**minuma** *v.* be defect, be broken, be out of order. *Root:* huma.

**minumin** *v.* broken, out of order. *Etym:* perfective form of minuma. *Root:* huma.

**min?asað** *v.* miss, not get along without. *Root:* min?asað.

**min?is?aŋ maisi?is?aŋ** *idiom.* from the bottom of my heart, with my entire heart; lit: become my heart and from my heart. *Root:* is?aŋ.

**min?uka** *v.* have not anymore, come to a state where there is no more.... *Root:* ?uka.

**min?uni** *v.* become (made), come into existence as the result of a creation process. *Mai?uni dalaq tas?uin min?uni bunun* «From clay, they are made to be come men». *Root:* ?uni.

**miŋkailas** *v.* wake up. *Root:* miŋkailas.

**miqanin** *time.* day after tomorrow. *Root:* miqanin.

**miqdi** *root.* variant of miqði. *Root:* miqdi.

**miqðiq** **•1•** *root.* difficulty, hardship, obstacle. **•2•** *n.* problem; obstacle in the realization of one's goals. **•3•** *adj.* difficult. *Root:* miqðiq.

**miqumis** **•1•** *n.* life, when considered as the biological act of being alive; the act of being alive. **•2•** *v.* live. **•3•** *idiom.* village life. *Root:* iqumis.

**miqumisanaŋ** *idiom.* may you live long; common response to uninaŋ 'thank you'. *See:* uninaŋ. *Root:* iqumis.

**miqumisanaŋ** **•1•** *v.* be (still) alive. **•2•** *n.* state of still being alive. *Root:* iqumis.

- mis-** *pref.* (classificatory prefix) burn. *See:* misbusuq; misnudu?; mistabað. *Root:* mis-.
- misa** *n.* Catholic mass. *Etym:* from Latin *misa* 'mass'. *Root:* *misa*.
- misakuli** *v.* earn money; work, but not in a nine-to-five job (e.g. in the mountains, as a farmer, as a woodcutter, ...). *Root:* *misakuli*.
- misbusuq** *adj.* drunk, drunken. *Root:* *busuq*.
- misdul** *v.* urinate, have a pee. *Root:* *isdul*.
- misðaq** *n.* group, troupe. *Root:* *misðaq*.
- mishamu** *v.* burned down. *mishamu lumaq* «the house is burned down». *Root:* *hamu*.
- miskaq** *n.* middle. *Root:* *miskaq*.
- misnudu?** *v.* warm oneself at the fire. *Root:* *nudu?*.
- misqaq** *aux.* half, and a half. *vau tuki misqaq* «eight hours and a half > half past eight». *Root:* *misqaq*.
- mistaba** *v.* (of large areas of grassland) be burned down by hunters. *Root:* *istaba*.
- mistabað** *v.* burn down. *Root:* *tabað*.
- misuna** *v.* have a fire; catch fire, (of a fire) spread out. *Root:* *misuna*.
- mis?av ·1·** *n.* drinking session; party. **·2·** *v.* (normally only of men) have a drinking session; sit around the fire, drinking and boasting of hunting feats. *Root:* *is?av*.
- mit-** *pref.* become; prefix expressing an inchoative aspect. *See:* *mitsauqðaq*. *Etym:* uncommon. *Root:* *mit-*.
- mita ·1·** *pron-pers.* us (including you); free first person plural inclusive pronoun, neutral form. **·2·** *pron-pers.* our, ours (including yours); free first person plural inclusive pronoun, possessive form. *Root:* *mita*.
- mita?an** *pron-pers.* near us (and near you), at our position, next to us; free first person plural inclusive pronoun, locative form. *Root:* *mita*.
- mitsauqðaq** *v.* become hungry. *Root:* *sauqðaq*.
- mu** *pron-pers.* you (plural); free second person plural pronoun, neutral form. *Root:* *mu-*.
- mu- ·1·** *pref.* to, toward; allative prefix, expresses a (typically non-volitional) movement toward a certain destination. *See:* *mun-*. **·2·** *pref.* marks events that express a downward movement. *See:* *mututu*; *mulinku*; *muqalqal*; *mutiŋkul*. **·3·** *pref.* expresses a negative event. *See:* *muliqliq*; *muliva*. *Root:* *mu-*.
- mu** *pron-pers.* your (plural); free second person plural pronoun, possessive form. *Root:* *mu*.
- Mua** *n.* Takivatan female first name. *Root:* *mua*.
- muað ·1·** *aux.* merely, only. **·2·** *aux.* as long as, provided that. **·3·** *aux.* how can we/I/you...? how would it be possible to...? is there any possibility that...? **·4·** *conj.* except for, only. **·5·** *conj.* if only, if there only were. *Root:* *muað*.
- muaðaq** *aux.* mere, only small, only. *Root:* *muað*.
- mubalat** *v.* go straight ahead. *Root:* *balat*.
- mubunqa** *v.* break; fracture (e.g. one's bones). *Root:* *buŋqa*.

**muda** •1• *aux.* more than, and more;

indicates that a quantity is somewhat more than indicated by the preceding numeral. •2• *aux.* passed (a certain time limit). *Root:* muda.

**muda-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) go, move to. *Etym:* probably derives from the full verb mudan 'go to, walk'. *Root:* muda-.

**muda muḡa** *colloc.* almost passed (a certain amount of time), almost reached (a certain time limit). *See:* muḡa. *Root:* muda.

**mudadan** *v.* have a walk. *Root:* dan.

**mudan** •1• *v.* go to, go back. •2• *v.* go home. Mudanin su tama lumaḡti? «Did your father already go back home?» •3• *v.* pass away, die. Mudanin su tama? «Has your father already died?» *Root:* dan.

**mudavili** *v.* go to the left, move to the left. *Root:* vili.

**mudḡa** *aux.* more than. manumun mudḡa «more than sixty (but less than seventy)». *Root:* mudḡa.

**mudinun** *v.* gather for charitable purposes; come together in a group to help someone. *Root:* dinun.

**muḡaḡaḡ** *v.* (of soft, viscous objects) hang down from a surface and make wobbling motions as if being on the verge of falling down. *Root:* ḡaḡaḡ.

**muḡʔa** *aux.* more than; exceeding. *Root:* muḡʔa.

**muhaḡ** *conj.* as long as; variant of muaḡ. *See:* muaḡ. *Root:* muhaḡ.

**muhaḡ** *v.* scrounge for food, participate in a meal to which one has not participated anything. *Root:* muhaḡ.

**muhaḡa** *v.* wait for. *Root:* muhaḡa.

**muhiav** *adj.* (of time spans) short. *Root:* hiav.

**muḡ** *n.* eyebrow. *Root:* muḡ.

**mukail** *v.* come down (from mountains or hills); climb down. *Root:* mukail.

**mukalumaḡ** *v.* go somewhere to build a house. *Root:* lumaḡ.

**mulad** *v.* put something inside a container or receptacle. *Root:* mulad.

**mulḡku** •1• *v.* roll down, typically from a slope; fall down rolling. •2• *v.* mix, stir (a fluid) so as to mix. *Root:* ḡku.

**mulḡliḡ** *v.* break, destroy. *Root:* liḡliḡ.

**muliva** *v.* err, be erroneous; do something that is wrong, do something bad; make a mistake, behave in a bad way. *Root:* muliva.

**mulumaḡ** •1• *v.* go home. *Etym:* lit: go in the direction of home (does not necessarily imply that one will directly go home). •2• *v.* enter a house. *Root:* lumaḡ.

**muluḡ** *v.* broken into pieces. *Root:* muluḡ.

**mulusqu** *v.* move to another location, move house; unlike malusqu, which stresses the activity of moving, mulusqu stresses change of location. *See:* malusqu. *Root:* lusqu.

**mumusluʔu** *n.* trajectory, road, path, track. *Root:* muslu.

**mun-** *pref.* to, toward; allative prefix, indicates a (typically intentional) movement towards. *See:* mu-. *Root:* mun-.

**munanau** *v.* invite somebody to come over.

*Root:* nanau.

**munastu** •1• *v-loc.* go to a lower location. •2• *v-loc.* go down, go to a lower location. •3• *v-loc.* go to the south (in particular on the island of Taiwan). *Root:* nastu.

**munasun** *v.* come back immediately, return immediately. *Root:* munasun.

**munata** •1• *v.* go outside; go out of a building. •2• *idiom.* (indirect) fart, break wind. *Root:* nata.

**munafu** *v.* go call somebody, invite. *Root:* nafu.

**munafun** *v.* communicate, let (somebody) know. *Root:* nafu.

**munba?av** *v.* go towards the top; go into the mountains. *Root:* ba?av.

**mundip** *v.* go there. *Root:* dip.

**mun?a?da** *v.* go to the top; climb (a tree, mountain, ...). *Root:* ?a?da.

**mun?aku** *v.* come to me here. *Root:* ?aku.

**munhan** *v.* go to (a certain location). *Root:* han.

**munhapav** *v.* go to the front (of). *Etym:* lit: go to a slightly higher location. *Root:* hapav.

**munhaul** •1• *v.* go to a geographically low location. •2• *v.* (from the perspective of Bahuan) go down to Fu-yuan or Hualien. *Root:* haul.

**munlumaq** *v.* go to somebody's home with particular (usually bad) intentions, for instance to fight with him or scold him. *Root:* lumaq.

**munsan** *v.* go to (implies that the location will certainly be reached). *See:* munhan.

*Root:* san.

**muntaihuku** *v.* go to Taipei. *Root:* Taihuku.

**mntunuk** *v.* flow. *Root:* tunuk.

**mntunuq** *v.* have a landslide. *Root:* tunuq.

**mun?isaq** *q-word.* where to? to which place? *Root:* isaq.

**mun?isaq?as** *idiom.* Where are you going? general greeting when meeting someone in the street. *Root:* isaq.

**mun?iti** *v.* come here. *Root:* ?iti.

**muqa** •1• *aux.* soon, (will) quickly, almost. •2• *aux.* almost. *muqa mas?aŋ* «almost the same». *Root:* muqa.

**muqaus** *v.* go first, go (to a place) before doing anything else. *Root:* ?aus.

**muqa?in** *aux.* will soon, almost. *Root:* muqa.

**muqa?in tuŋan** *colloc.* be almost finished, be almost ready. *Root:* tuŋan.

**Muŋdavanun** *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* Muŋdavanun.

**muŋi** *n.* wheat. *Root:* muŋi.

**muŋuq** *v.* snore. *Root:* muŋuq.

**mupulpul** *v.* broken into pieces. *Root:* pulpul.

**mupusan** *num-ord.* twice, two times. *Root:* -pus-.

**muputul** *v.* broken into pieces. *Root:* putul.

**muqa** •1• *aux.* how come? how is it possible that? [meaning uncertain]. •2• *aux.* but, however. *Root:* muqa.

**muqain** *v.* want. *Root:* muqain.

**muqalqal** *v.* fall down; drop something down. *Root:* qalqal.

**muqaviq** *v-loc.* immediately return; return on the same day; return home without having spent the night in another place. *Root:* qaviq.

**muqða** *aux.* again; still; variant form of muqna. *Root:* uqða.

**muqðin** *aux.* again, again the same. *Etym:* a variant of muqnin. *Root:* uqða.

**muqmuq** *n.* blanket, especially one on which one sleeps. *Root:* muqmuq.

**muqna** •1• *aux.* from another side, on the other hand. •2• *aux.* again, once again. •3• *aux.* moreover. •4• *conj.* and then. •5• *conj.* another time. •6• *v.* continue, start again, go back to a previously interrupted job. •7• *time.* next. muqna asinum «next Sunday». *Root:* uqna.

**muqnamuqna** *aux.* again and again. *Root:* uqna.

**muqnaŋ** *conj.* then, and then, next. *Root:* uqna.

**muqnin** *time.* (of weeks, ...) next. *Root:* uqna.

**muquma** *v.* work on the land. *Root:* quma.

**muququma** *v.* be a farmer. *Etym:* lit: to work on the land on a regular basis. *Root:* quma.

**mus-** *pref.* to, toward; allative prefix, expresses a movement toward a location relative to a reference point. *See:* musbaʔav; musʔupa. *Etym:* uncommon. *Root:* mus-.

**musaup** *v.* go to such a place. *Root:* aup.

**musbai** *v.* run away. *Root:* bai.

**musbaʔav** *v.* go to a higher location. *Root:* baʔav.

**muska** •1• *aux.* only. •2• *conj.* but, nevertheless. •3• *conj.* except for, except that. *Root:* muska.

**muskun** *aux.* together. *Root:* uskun.

**muskut** *v.* strangle. *Root:* muskut.

**muslu** *root.* move (oneself), change location. *Root:* muslu.

**musqa** *disc.* discourse particle expressing shock or amazement about some unexpected event. *Root:* musqa.

**musqa** *conj.* but. *Root:* musqa.

**musu** [mu.'su:] •1• *time.* immediately. •2• *time.* suddenly. *Root:* musu.

**Musu** *n.* place in the mountains of Nantou, close to the border with Yi-lan. *Root:* musu.

**musulsul** *aux.* immediately. *Root:* suʔul.

**musun** *v.* [mu.'su:n] be reluctant to, do not want to. *Root:* musun.

**musunu** *v.* move to. *Root:* sunu.

**musupa** *v.* be apparently at (a certain location). *Root:* musupa.

**musuqais** •1• *v.* continue, go on, go further. •2• *v.* return, go back, return. *Etym:* in a spatio-temporal context suqais 'again' can be interpreted both as 'to go again where one went before' and 'to do again the walking that one was doing before', musuqais can therefore both mean 'go back' and 'go further'. *Root:* suqais.

**musuʔul** *aux.* [mu.'suʔul] immediately. *Root:* suʔul.

**musʔan** •1• *aux.* always. •2• *time.* one day. *Root:* musʔan.

**musʔupa** *v.* from over there. *Root:* ʔupa.  
**mutaki** *v.* defecate, empty one's bowels, have a shit. *Root:* taki.  
**mutaq** *v.* vomit, throw up. *Root:* mutaq.  
**mutiŋkul** *v.* stumble. *Root:* tiŋkul.  
**mututu** *v.* fall down one by one (of large quantities of things, e.g. dominoes). *Root:* tutu.  
**muvasvas** *v.* disperse. *Root:* vasvas.  
**muʔala** *v.* make a rest stop or stop-over. *Root:* ʔala.  
**muʔampuk** *v.* gather, meet. *Root:* ampuk.  
**muʔmuʔ** *v.* talk with ghosts as part of a shamanistic healing ritual. *Root:* muʔmuʔ.  
**muʔna** *aux.* variant of muqna. *Root:* muʔna.  
**muʔnin** *aux.* variant of muqnin. *Root:* muʔna.

**muʔu** *pron-pers.* you (plural); second person plural pronoun, neutral form. *Root:* mu-.  
**Muʔuð** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* muʔuð.  
**Muʔuð Bali** *n-comp.* Muʔuð who was previously named Bali; historical figure. *Etyim:* name consists of the person's original first name that became taboo after a grave illness (Bali) and a new first name given by a traditional healer (Muʔuð). *Root:* muʔuð.  
**muʔuin** *pron-pers.* perfective form of muʔu, the neutral form of the second person plural pronoun. *See:* muʔu. *Root:* muʔu.  
**muʔupa ·1·** *v.* go there (to do something). **·2·** *v.* catch. **·3·** *aux.* immediately, in one step, without saying another word. *Root:* ʔupa.

## N - n

**na ·1·** *conj.* so that, in order to, as a result; marker of consequence, result or implication. **·2·** *conj.* well, next is...; that is to say; and as a result; particle expressing result, implication, etc. **·3·** *inter.* well (interjection). *Root:* na.  
**na-** *pref.* irrealis prefix, typically expresses relative futurity, consequence or volition. *Root:* na-.  
**na masðaŋi** *idiom.* and in the same way. *Root:* -asðaŋ.  
**Nahað** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* nahað.

**Nahal** *n.* Takivatan male first name; possibly variant of Nahað. *Root:* nahal.  
**nai-** *pref.* (used only with people) deceased; indicates that a person has already passed away; variant of nas-. *Root:* nai-.  
**nai** *pron-pers.* theirs; free third person plural pronoun, possessive form. *Root:* nai.  
**naianta** *pron-dem.* those people there. *Root:* nai.  
**nainta** *pron-dem.* distal non-visible form of the small plural demonstrative. *Root:* aint-.

**naiŋka** *pron-dem.* distal non-visible form of the vague plural demonstrative. *Root:* aiŋk-.

**naiŋki** *pron-dem.* proximal non-visible form of the vague plural demonstrative. *Root:* aiŋk-.

**naiŋkun** *pron-dem.* medial non-visible form of the vague plural demonstrative. *Root:* aiŋk-.

**naip** *pron-dem.* underspecified non-visible form of the singular demonstrative. *Root:* aip-.

**naipa** *pron-dem.* distal non-visible form of the singular demonstrative. *Root:* aip-.

**naipi** *pron-dem.* proximal non-visible form of the singular demonstrative. *Root:* aip-.

**naipuk** *v.* I know. *Root:* niap.

**naipun** *pron-dem.* medial non-visible form of the singular demonstrative. *Root:* aip-.

**naita** *pron-dem.* distal non-visible form of the inclusive generic demonstrative. *Root:* ait-.

**naiti** *pron-dem.* proximal non-visible form of the inclusive generic demonstrative. *Root:* ait-.

**naitun** *pron-dem.* medial non-visible form of the inclusive generic demonstrative. *Root:* ait-.

**nai?anta** *pron.* in that region (distal), over there. *Root:* ai?an.

**nai?anti** *pron.* in this region (proximal), over here. *Root:* ai?an.

**nai?antun** *pron.* in that region (medial), over there. *Root:* ai?an.

**nak** **•1•** *pron-pers.* me; free first person singular pronoun, neutral form. **•2•** *pron-*

*pers.* my; free first person singular pronoun, possessive form. *Root:* nak.

**nakitŋa** *idiom.* let's start. *Root:* kitŋa.

**nalauq** *conj.* otherwise there will. *Root:* lauq.

**nam** **•1•** *pron-pers.* us (but not you); free first person plural exclusive pronoun, neutral form. **•2•** *pron-pers.* our, ours (but not yours); free first person plural exclusive pronoun, possessive form. *Etym:* reduced form of inam. *Root:* nam.

**namuŋain** *aux.* will soon. *Root:* namuŋain.

**namuqain** *aux.* only. *Root:* muqain.

**Nanal?uŋ** *n.* former settlement of the Takivatan in the mountains above Ma-Yuan; situated next to Liliq. *Root:* nanal?uŋ.

**nanauk** *aux.* [na'nauk] *See:* nanu. *Root:* nanu.

**Nanđaj** *n.* place name; a place close to the Rainbow Bridge (長虹橋) at the estuary of the Xiu-gu-luan River (秀姑巒溪). *Root:* nanđaj.

**nanu** **•1•** *root.* original. *See:* tuđa; mamantu. **•2•** *aux.* real(ly), for sure. *Root:* nanu.

**nanuqan** *aux.* (I did not think it would be, but) it really is .; expresses the realization that something against expectation is nevertheless true. *Root:* nanu.

**nanutu** *aux.* be possible, be reasonable. *Root:* nanu.

**naŋsas** *n.* stalk of a plant; straw (of grain, ...). *Root:* naŋsas.

**naqan** *v.* shoot (e.g. with a gun). *Etym:* short form of panaqan. *Root:* -naq-.

**nas-** *pref.* (used only with people) deceased; indicates that a person has already passed away. *Root:* nas-.

**nasi-** *pref.* (used only with people) deceased; indicates that a person has already passed away. *Etym:* uncommon variant of nas-. *Root:* nasi-.

**nasiata** *idiom.* [na.ʼʃja.ta] it is that one. *Root:* sia.

**naskal** *root.* [ʼnas.kalʰ] happy. *Root:* naskal.

**nastu** •1• *place.* lower than; refers to a place that is lower relative to a reference point. *See:* ŋadaq. •2• *adj.* dirty. *Root:* nastu.

**nata** *root.* outside. *Root:* nata.

**nauba** *n.* younger sibling, younger brother or sister. *Root:* nauba.

**Naulan** *n.* Takivatan male first name, already extinct at the time of writing. *Root:* naulan.

**naupa** *manner.* seemingly; it seems that. *Root:* naupa.

**nauʔaǎ** •1• *root.* beautiful. •2• *n.* woman, girl. •3• *n.* wife. *See:* binanauʔaǎ. *Root:* nauʔaǎ.

**navan** *time.* evening; in the evening. *Root:* navan.

**navi** *n.* pot. *Root:* navi.

**navi pitʔainan qaisiŋ** *n-comp.* pot used for heating up rice. *Root:* navi.

**naʔasaun** *n.* need, a thing one has a need for. *Root:* asa.

**naʔu** *root.* call; tell. *Root:* naʔu.

**nei** *disc.* no!; how is it possible!, it cannot be!; emphatic form of ni, often used in storytelling to express surprise. *Root:* ni.

**neʔe** *disc.* no; emphatic form of the negative particle ni. *Root:* ni.

**ni** •1• *aux.* not; verb expressing negation. •2• *aux.* must not, should not; verb expressing strong prohibition. •3• *idiom.* it cannot be! *Root:* ni.

**ni madadu** *colloc.* it is not the same, it is not similar. *Root:* dadu.

**ni mavia** *idiom.* there is something wrong about the situation, why is this happening? *Root:* ni.

**ni ʔitun ni nalauq** *idiom.* it should not be done like that; otherwise (+ negative effect). *Root:* lauq.

**niŋ** *aux.* not yet; modal expressing that a state has not yet been reached or a action is not yet completed (but that there is a certain intention to reach completion). *Root:* ni.

**niŋ nanu tudip** *idiom.* not yet. *Root:* tudip.

**niap** *v.* know, realize. *Root:* niap.

**niapniap** *v.* understand fully. *Root:* niap.

**Nikal** *n.* Amis male name. *Etym:* Amis. *Root:* nikal.

**Niku** *n.* Bunun female first name. *Root:* Niku.

**niniŋʔav** *n.* place with stagnant water; mountain lake. *Root:* niŋʔav.

**Niniŋʔav** *n.* name of a location on the boundary of the counties Nantou and Hualien, where next to a table mountain, there is a large lake created by rain water; the Takivatan passed by this place on their way from Nantou to Hualien. *Root:* niŋʔav.

**niŋʔav** *n.* sea. *Root:* niŋʔav.

**nipa** *place*. this/that particular; emphatic reference to something that is within sight of speaker and hearer. *Root*: nipa.

**nipaq** *n*. saliva. *Root*: nipaq.

**nipati** *place*. from here [meaning uncertain]. *Root*: nipa.

**nipun** *n*. tooth. *Root*: nipun.

**nitu** ·1· *aux.* (be) not; auxiliary verb expressing negation. ·2· *aux.* cannot, should not; modal auxiliary verb expressing a strong prohibition. *Root*: ni.

**nitu maqtuis nitu** *idiom*. it cannot that it is not; it is evident (that), it is a must, there is no other option, .... *Root*: ni.

**nitu nanu** *idiom*. not really. *Root*: nanu.

**Niun** *n*. Bunun female first name. *Root*: Niun.

**ni?bu** ·1· *n*. (old-fashioned) egg. ·2· *n*. scrotum. *Etym*: from ni?bu 'egg'. *Root*: ni?bu.

**nuka** *n*. insect bite, little hump resulting from a mosquito bite. *Root*: nuka.

**num** *num-card*. 6; six. *Root*: num.

**numsaba** *num-card*. [nu:m.'sa.6a] 600; six hundred. *See*: num. *Root*: -saba.

**nusun** *n*. traditional wooden pot used by Taiwanese aboriginals to beat millet into power with a man-sized pestle. *See*: kusau. *Root*: nusun.

## ŋ - ꞗ

**ŋabul** ·1· *n*. antler, horn. ·2· *n*. in particular, soft antler, antler when it has no hardened yet. ·3· *n*. term used for any animal with antlers, especially deer. *Root*: ŋabul.

**ŋadaq** ·1· *n*. bottom, ground. ·2· *place*. beneath, below; refers to a place that is beneath a reference point. *See*: nastu. *Root*: ŋadaq.

**ŋan** *n*. [ŋa:n] name. *Root*: ŋan.

**ŋau** *n*. [ŋau] cat. *Root*: ŋau.

**ŋaus** ·1· *n*. front side, the front of. ·2· *time*. first, firstly, before anything else. *Root*: ŋaus.

**ŋausaŋ** *time*. first, in advance, before anything else. *Root*: ŋausaŋ.

**ŋausunaŋ** *time*. first, beforehand, before starting another task. *Root*: ŋaus.

**ŋausuŋ** *time*. first, beforehand, before all others, before everything else. *Root*: ŋaus.

**ŋava** ·1· *root*. toothless. ·2· *n*. toothless person; silly old person without teeth. *Root*: ŋava.

**ŋisŋis** *n*. beard and moustache. *Root*: ŋisŋis.

**ŋitŋit** *n*. brink, edge; riverside with a steep or overhanging side, .... *Root*: ŋitŋit.

**ŋulus** *n*. mouth. *Root*: ŋulus.

**ŋul?a** ·1· *n*. iron; iron object. ·2· *n*. large iron pot used for cooking family meals on the wood fire. ·3· *n*. magnet. *Root*: ŋul?a.

**ŋuŋus** *n*. blood running from the nose. *Root*: ŋuŋus.

**ŋusul** *n*. nasal mucus, snot. *Root*: ŋusul.

**ꞗutus** *n*. nose. *Root*: ꞗutus.

## P - p

**p-** *pref.* short form of pa- or pu-. *Root:* p-

**pa-** *pref.* causative dynamic prefix, indicates a dynamic event that is caused by an external force. *Root:* pa-

**pa- ·1·** *pref.* high-agency prefix, indicates that a dynamic event is more intense (volitional.) than would normally be expected. **·2·** *pref.* prefix marking reciprocal action. *Root:* pa-

**pa-** *pref-num.* half. *See:* padusa. *Root:* pa-

**pa** *conj.* because. *Etym:* short form of aupa. *Root:* aupa.

**padan ·1·** *n.* general term for reed. **·2·** *n.* kind of reed with long, fine leaves. *Root:* padan.

**padani** *v.* put (something) inside something. *Root:* dani.

**padaniʔan ·1·** *v.* store (goods), put inside. **·2·** *v.* fill, fill with. **·3·** *n.* container, an object in which you can put other things. *Root:* dani.

**padaniʔan kasi** *n-comp.* candy box; box in which one puts candies. *Root:* dani.

**padaniʔan sintakunav** *n-comp.* dustbin; lit: a container to throw litter in. *Root:* dani.

**padaq** *v.* take something or somebody with you. *Root:* padaq.

**padaqtaij** *v.* perform the ear-shooting ceremony. *Root:* padaqtaij.

**Padlaiʔan** [pad.'lei.ʔan] **·1·** *n.* Takivatan family name. **·2·** *n.* name of a Takivatan settlement. *Root:* Padlaiʔan.

**padusa** *num-card.* half. *Root:* dusa.

**padusa maqaiðhav** *colloc.* (of cloth) being dyed at one side only. *See:* amin maqaiðhav. *Root:* qaiðhav.

**pað** *n.* rice, typically when it is still in the husk and not completely full-grown. *Root:* pað.

**pað inaliv** *n-comp.* glutinous rice. *Root:* pað.

**pahan** *v.* go to. *Root:* han.

**pahik** *n.* peel (of fruits). *Root:* pahik.

**pahilhilan** *v.* cover (something) by spreading a blanket or a object out on top of it. *pahilhilan qabaŋ* «cover with a blanket». *See:* duduŋan. *Root:* hilhil.

**pai-** *pref.* for, belonging to, be the rightful share of. *See:* painaita; paisia; paisuʔu. *Etym:* not productive, only combines with a number of pronouns. *Root:* pai-

**paið** *root.* break open, peel using one's hands (fruits and vegetables with a hard peel). *See:* makulut. *Root:* paið.

**pail-** *pref.* finished, stop; prefix expressing that an action has been finished or interrupted. *See:* pailkadaʔan; pailtusaus. *Root:* pail-

**pailkadaʔan** *n.* accomplishment, fruits (of one's efforts); something that has been done, finished or accomplished. *Root:* pailkadaʔan.

**pailtusaus** *v.* stop singing. *Root:* tusaus.

**paimu** *v.* belong to you (plural). *paimu amin* «it all belongs to you». *Root:* mu.

**pain-** *pref.* together; participatory prefix, expresses that an action is done together.

*See:* paintaivtaiv; paintas?a; painiqaul.

*Root:* pain-.

**painaita** *v.* for them, belonging to them, be their rightful share. *Root:* ait-.

**painaqaan** *n.* bullet. *Root:* painaqaan.

**paindaqað** *v.* cooperate to help, work together to help [meaning uncertain].

*Root:* daqað.

**paini-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) utilize to prepare (food). *See:* painiqaul.

*Root:* paini-.

**painiqaul** *adj.* prepared inside a bamboo stalk. *Root:* qaul.

**painiqaul hakhak** *colloc.* sticky rice prepared inside the hollow of a bamboo stalk. *Root:* hakhak.

**paintaivtaiv** **•1•** *n.* match, game. **•2•** *v.* compete; vie with. **•3•** *v.* have a match, participate in a game. **•4•** *v.* hunt. *Root:* taiv.

**paintaivutaivun** *v.* reduplicated undergoer form of paintaivtaiv. *Root:* taiv.

**paintas?a** *v.* be united, work together, cooperate. *Root:* tas?a.

**painukan** *v.* wear (clothes). *Root:* painuk.

**painukun** *v.* be worn (of clothes, especially a set of clothes that covers the entire body). *Root:* painuk.

**paisia** *prep.* for, belonging to, be the rightful share of. *Root:* paisia.

**paisna-** *pref.* causative ablative prefix, indicates a movement from that is caused by an external force. *See:* maisi-. *Root:* paisna-.

**paisna?ita** *time.* from that point on. *Root:* ?ita.

**paisqa-** *pref.* causative ablative prefix, indicates a movement from that is caused by an external force. *See:* maisi-. *Root:* paisqa-.

**paisqatudip** *time.* from that (past) time on, from then on. *Root:* tudip.

**paisqa?ita** *time.* from that time on. *Root:* ?ita.

**paisu?u** *v.* for you, belonging to you, be your rightful share. *Root:* su.

**paitasan** **•1•** *v.* write in or on. **•2•** *n.* book. **•3•** *n.* Bible. *Root:* patas.

**paitupa** *v.* decide, make a decision in a conversation, come to a decision by talking. *Root:* tupa.

**paka-** **•1•** *pref.* (with stative roots) have influence on; expresses that the agent has a certain influence, expressed by the stem of the derivation, on someone or something else. *See:* pakasihal; pakadiqla. **•2•** *pref.* (with stems expressing an action) prefix expressing reciprocity or that the action expressed by the stem involves a repeated back-and-forth movement of some kind between the participants. *Root:* paka-.

**pakadiqla** *v.* pernicious; have a bad influence on. *Root:* diqla.

**pakahan** *v.* pass through, go through. *Root:* han.

**pakahau** *v.* have an argument with each other. *Root:* hau.

**pakakainan** *v.* make jokes, joke. *Root:* kain.

**pakalumaq** *colloc.* build all houses. *Etym:* pa-ka-lumaq, not paka-lumaq. *Root:* lumaq.

**pakamavala** *v.* be in-laws to each other; mutually express a family bond among in-laws (e.g. by visiting them, by giving them privileged information.) *Root:* mavala.

**pakamishuan** *v.* close, close-by. *Root:* mishuan.

**pakasihal** *v.* beneficial; have a good influence on. *Root:* sihal.

**pakatuqđaq** *v.* have a relationship (esp. of people of the opposite sex). *Root:* tuqđaq.

**pakaun** *v.* feed, give (somebody something) to eat. *Root:* kaun.

**pakaviađ** *v.* be friends with. *Root:* kaviađ.

**Pakđat** *n.* village near Yu-Li, in the South of Hualien County. *Root:* Pakđat.

**pakitsu** *n.* bucket. *Root:* pakitsu.

**pakitun** •1• *v.* let (somebody) fall down. •2• *v.* wrestle. *Root:* pakitun.

**pakiŋu** *v.* visit (a doctor). *Root:* pakiŋu.

**pal-** *pref.* send to [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* pal-.

**pala-** *pref.* (classificatory prefix) split up, set apart. *See:* palamanuŋun; palavađan; palavaivi. *Root:* pala-.

**palabasan** *v.* enter into a business agreement. *Root:* basan.

**palamananuŋun** *v.* hunt for, look for, trail, hunt down. *Root:* nanu.

**palansan** *v.* follow a track or route; follow in someone's footsteps. *Root:* san.

**palan-** *pref.* stative prefix used exclusively for geometrical shapes and properties of furniture. *See:* palaŋdaipuq. *Root:* palan-.

**palaŋdaipuq** *adj.* soft (only of beds, sofa's, chairs and the like). *Root:* daipuq.

**palaqlun** *v.* [palaqlu:n] be stored, be put in storage; be gathered for a special occasion (e.g. a holiday). *Root:* laqlu.

**palaun** *v.* leave behind. *Root:* palaun.

**palavađ** *v.* split, each go one's way. *Root:* palavađ.

**palavađan** *n.* fork, branching (of roads). *Root:* palavađ.

**palavaivi** *v.* set apart; separate into portions (e.g. in the distribution of meat). *Root:* vaivi.

**pali-** *pref.* reciprocal prefix expressing a mutual exchange. *See:* paliqansiap; palisin. *Root:* pali-.

**palinđaku** *v.* hand over (one's responsibilities.) *Root:* đaku.

**palinŋku** *v.* make something roll (typically on a horizontal surface). *Root:* liŋku.

**paliqabasan** *adj.* from old times, ancient. *Root:* qabas.

**paliqansiap** *v.* have a meeting. *Root:* qansiap.

**palis-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* paliskadaŋan. *Root:* palis-.

**palisin** *v.* do together; gather together with a certain goal; deliberate together. *Root:* sin.

**palisisin** *aux.* do together; come together with a certain goal; deliberate together to. *Root:* sin.

**paliskadaʔan** *n.* official in the Presbyterian Church. *Root:* daʔan.

**palkadaʔan** *n.* result, fruits of one's effort. *Root:* daʔan.

**Palujan** *n.* former Takivatan settlement in Nantou County. *Root:* palujan.

**palusʔan** *v.* perform a ritual on; perform a shamanistic ritual, for instance a healing session on a certain person or object. *Root:* lusʔan.

**palusʔanan** *v.* have a ritual, have a celebration, celebrate. *Root:* lusʔan.

**palvaiviʔun** *v.* be sent to another place, be forced to move. *Root:* vaivi.

**palʔu** *v.* [pal.ʔu:] let something rest. *Root:* alʔu.

**palʔu munquma** *colloc.* leave a field fallow; lit: make a field rest. *Root:* alʔu.

**pan-** **•1•** *pref.* go to a certain location or moment but not further; arrive at, stop doing (something at a certain moment or level of completion), go to.; itinerary locative prefix indicating a movement to a final destination. *See:* panhan; panʔita; paŋqailað. **•2•** *pref.* at the ... side, with; locative prefix expressing a stationary location that is opposed to a logical alternative. *See:* panhapav; pankumbu; panʔaminan; panðamiʔan. *Root:* pan-.

**pan** *n.* [pa:n] bottle. *Root:* pan.

**pana-** *pref.* itinerary prefix, indicating a movement along a trajectory. *See:* panadan; panaŋaduq. *Root:* pana-.

**panadan** *v.* arrive in or at (a certain location). *Root:* dan.

**panaiʔan** *n.* soup. *Root:* panaiʔan.

**panakisan** *v.* go steeply upwards and pass by. *Root:* nakis.

**panaŋaduq** *v.* pass beneath, go beneath; go in the ground below, ... *Root:* ŋaduq.

**panaq** *v.* shoot. *Root:* anaq-.

**panaqan** *v.* shoot (e.g. with a gun). *Root:* anaq-.

**panaqun** *v.* shoot. *Root:* anaq-.

**Panatauqun** *n.* place name of a location in the mountains of Nantou. *Root:* panatauqun.

**panaʔita** *v.* stay in a place temporarily on one's way to another location; pass through, pass by, live for a while. *Root:* ʔita.

**panaʔita** *v.* arrive there. *Root:* ʔita.

**pandadan** *v.* [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* dan.

**panduduan kusbabai** *n-comp.* airport. *Root:* duan.

**panðamiʔan** *v.* be with us here, be right here, be where we are. *Root:* panðamiʔan.

**panhan** *v.* arrive at. *Root:* han.

**panhapav** *v.* at the outside. *See:* panhapavun hulus; panhapavun vaqun. *Root:* hapav.

**panhapavun hulus** *n-comp.* coat; general term for outer clothing, clothes worn above other clothes. *Root:* hulus.

**panhapavun vaqun** *n-comp.* trousers (outer clothing). *Root:* vaqun.

**pani** *n.* wing. *Root:* pani.

**pania** *n.* corrugated iron plate. *Root:* pania.

**panka-** *pref-adj.* adjectivising prefix used for geometrical shapes and some material properties of furniture. *Root:* panka-.

**pankumbu?ua** *adj.* at the inside. *Root:* kumbu.

**pankumbu?ua hulus** *n-comp.* general term for all clothes worn inside the outer clothes. *Root:* hulus.

**pankumbu?ua vaqun** *n-comp.* underpants. *Root:* vaqun.

**panmakahan** *v.* go to. *Root:* han.

**panpujul** *v.* [pam.'pu.ɲul'] forget. *Root:* pujul.

**panpusan** *num.* two days and nights. *Root:* pusan.

**pansan** *v.* one night, overnight [meaning uncertain]. *See:* pantas?a. *Root:* san.

**pansimpi** *n.* Chinese cabbage. *Root:* pansimpi.

**pantanan** *n.* male of a wild boar, bear, dog or cat. *See:* vanis; tumal; asu; ɲaun. *Root:* pantanan.

**pantas?a** *num.* one day and night. *See:* pansan. *Root:* tas?a.

**pantu ·1·** *v.* study. **·2·** *n.* student. *Root:* pantu.

**pantunɲuɲ** *v.* hit (a part of someone's body by beating). *Root:* tunɲuɲ.

**pan?ai?an** *n.* soup. *Root:* ?ai?an.

**pan?aminan** *aux.* be together, be with the entire group together, be with everybody. *Root:* amin.

**pan?ita** *v.* arrive there, arrive at that place. *Root:* ?ita.

**pan?iti** *v-loc.* go here, but not further. *Root:* ?iti.

**paŋka-** *pref.* stative prefix explicitly used for geometrical shapes and properties of

furniture. *See:* paŋkalauqpus; paŋkadaipuk. *Root:* paŋka-.

**paŋka** *n.* chair, seat, table; all objects with a flat horizontal surface on which one can sit or put things. *Root:* paŋka.

**paŋka kakaunan qaisinɲ** *n-comp.* table. *Etym:* a seat used to eat rice on. *Root:* paŋka.

**paŋkabuqul** *adj.* round. *Root:* buqul.

**paŋkaðaipuk** *adj.* (of objects such as sofas) soft. *Root:* ðaipuk.

**paŋkal** *adj.* square. *Root:* paŋkal.

**paŋkalauqpus** *adj.* rectangular and elongated. *Root:* lauqpus.

**paŋqailað** *v.* [paŋ.'qai.lað'] gather in a group, to meet in a group. *Root:* qailað.

**paŋqailað dainɲ** *idiom.* have a big gathering. *Root:* qailað.

**papataðan** *n.* place where animals are slaughtered; slaughterhouse, .... *Root:* patað.

**papiaq** *q-word.* how many (used exclusively for humans). *Root:* piaq.

**papin** *aux.* (of humans) many. papin mudanin «many people have already died». *Root:* pin.

**papitu** *num-card.* (only used for human referents) seven. *Root:* pitu.

**paqa-** *pref.* uncommon variant of paka-. *Root:* paqa-.

**paqadikas** *v.* hold. *Root:* dikas.

**paqadikas hima** *n-comp.* hold hands. *Root:* dikas.

**paqaiɲ** *n.* hip; hip bone. *Root:* paqaiɲ.

**paqal** *n.* gall. *Root:* paqal.

**paqanada?an ·1·** *v.* perform an action that involves precise measurement; measure;

add a measured amount; apply in a reasonable or measured quantity. •2• *v.* implement a rule or principle; act according to a rule or principle. *Root:* nadaʔan.

**paqaqainan** *v.* make a joke, joke. *Root:* qainan.

**paqav** *n.* kidney. *Root:* paqav.

**paqpun** *aux.* therefore, as a result. *Root:* paqpun.

**paqudan** *v.* give somebody something to drink. *Root:* qudan.

**paqun** [ˈpa.qun] •1• *v.* cut off with a cutting or sliding movement, usually using a knife (e.g. of plants). •2• *v.* weed out, cut off unwanted grass and weeds. *Root:* qun.

**paqun** *aux.* [ˈpa.qun] it is really, it is just, that is indeed. paqun masihal «it is indeed very good.» *Root:* paqun.

**paqusil** *v.* distribute (among members of a group), divide, portion out. *Root:* qusil.

**pas-** *pref.* (in combination with -un) be exposed to something (expressed by the stem) with negative consequences. *See:* pasdumduman; paskaðhavun; pasvaliʔun. *Root:* pas-.

**pas-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) spit, spit out; prefix expressing that something is done in a spitting movement. *See:* pasninibu; pasnipaq. *Root:* pas-.

**pasaduʔu** *v.* meet with. *Root:* saduʔu.

**pasað** *n.* parasitic worm that lives in human or animal guts; tapeworm. *Root:* pasað.

**pasakalan** *v.* make acquaintance with. *Root:* pasakalan.

**pasan-** *pref.* prefix expressing that an action is performed in large groups. *See:* pasanpanaq. *Root:* pasan-.

**pasanpanaq** •1• *n.* fighting; war. •2• *v.* wage war; be at war. *Root:* pasanpanaq.

**pasapal** *v.* prepare a sleeping space by spreading out a blanket. *Root:* sapal.

**pasapaun** *v.* let somebody go to that place [exact meaning uncertain]. *Root:* pasapaun.

**pasasaiv** *v.* exchange; give something and get something back in return. *Root:* saiv.

**pasasiŋ** *v.* take a picture, make a photograph. *Root:* pasasiŋ.

**pasaupaun** *v.* be each sent in one's own direction; be sent away. *Root:* saupa.

**pasbuq** *v.* immerse oneself in water by jumping into it. *Root:* buq.

**pasdumduman** *v.* faint, pass out. *Root:* dumdum.

**pasi-** *pref.* (classificatory prefix) separate, remove. *See:* pasihalas; pasihanun; pasihaulin; pasiqaniŋu; pasiʔadas. *Root:* pasi-.

**pasiða** *v.* marry. *Root:* siða.

**pasiða nauʔað** *colloc.* marry a girl. *Root:* siða.

**pasihalas** *adj.* far apart, far from each other. *Root:* pasihalas.

**pasihalun** •1• *v.* be put in a good place, be stored well/carefully. •2• *v.* set apart. *Root:* sihal.

**pasihalun liskaʔuni** *idiom.* be converted to Christianity. *Root:* sihal.

**pasihaulin** *n.* go to a geographically lower location. *Root:* haul.

**pasikal** *v.* mediate, esp. in initiating contact with a potential marriage partner. *Root:* pasikal.

**Pasikau** *n.* Tao-yuan (桃源村), an Isbukun village in Yan-Ping Township in the County Taidong. *Root:* pasikau.

**pasil** *conj.* [pa.<sup>1</sup>ʃi:l] therefore, so. *Root:* pasil.

**pasimul** *v.* borrow (money). *Root:* simul.

**pasiqaniju** *v.* take a picture, make a photograph. *Root:* qaniju.

**pasisivin** *n.* bath towel. *Root:* pasisivin.

**pasiʔadas** *v.* cooperate in; do something with somebody together. *Root:* adas.

**pasnanava** *v.* ask for advice or teaching, consult, ask for an educated answer to a problem one has. *Root:* nava.

**pasnanavaʔan** *n.* school; classroom; lit: a place that is habitually used for learning. *Root:* nava.

**pasnava** *v.* study. *Root:* nava.

**pasninibu** *n.* female duck; lit: one that habitually spits out eggs. *Root:* nibu.

**pasnipaq** *v.* spit. *Root:* nipaq.

**paspavun** *v.* [pas.<sup>1</sup>pǎ.vun] (of crops) covered by snow; damaged by snow. *Root:* pav.

**pasqaǎhavun** *v.* get sick or die because of exposition to extreme cold. *Root:* qaǎhav.

**Pasuq** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* pasuq.

**pasusu** *v.* breastfeed. *Root:* susu.

**pasvaliʔun** *v.* be exposed to the sun with negative consequences; be dried out by the sun, get ill because of overexposure to the sun. *Root:* vali.

**pasʔupa** *v.* look in that direction. *Root:* ʔupa.

**pat** *num-card.* [pa:t<sup>1</sup>] 4; four. *Root:* pat.

**pat-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* patbabuʔan. *Root:* pat-.

**pataǎ** *v.* [ʔpa.taǎ<sup>1</sup>] die; kill. *Root:* -ataǎ.

**pataǎ** *aux.* [ʔpa.taǎ<sup>1</sup>] very, extremely. *Root:* -ataǎ.

**patalan** *n.* sleeping place; bed, bedroom. *Root:* patal.

**patanʔa** *v.* hear. *Root:* tanʔa.

**patanjis** *v.* let somebody cry, make somebody cry. *Root:* tanjis.

**pataq** *n.* large tree. *Root:* pataq.

**patas** *n.* scribble, scribbling. *Root:* patas.

**patasan** *n.* textbook, course book, notebook. *See:* haqil. *Root:* patas.

**patasʔi** *v.* cause (something) to be made; order (something) to be made. *Root:* tasʔi.

**patasʔian** *v.* (of an object) be made or built so that it allows something to stay in a fixed spot. *Root:* tasʔi.

**patauktauk** *n.* nail, tin piece of metal with one pointed and one flat end, typically used to fix wood. *Etym:* onomatopoeia?. *Root:* tauktauk.

**patbabuʔan** *n.* pigpen, pigsty. *Root:* babu.

**pati-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* patiluskuʔan. *Root:* pati-.

**patili** *n.* pocket torch, flashlight. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* patili.

**patiluskuʔan** *v.* change into, be transformed into. *Root:* luskul.

**patiqna** *v.* shoot (with a gun). *Root:* tiqna.

**patiqna** *aux.* only then. *Root:* tiqna.

**patinqaʔal** *v.* make the sound of an explosion. *Root:* qaʔal.

**patisʔauq** *v.* penetrate, go straight through, pass through (e.g. of a projectile such as a bullet through an object). *Root:* tisʔauq.

**patsaba** *num-card.* 400; four hundred. *See:* pat. *Root:* -saba.

**patuna** *n.* snake resembling the hundred-pace viper (kaviað). *Root:* patuna.

**patunhan** *v.* let somebody go out, let somebody go to other places; (of girls) leave the home village and be sent by one's parents to another place to get married. *Root:* han.

**patuŋanin** *idiom.* have finished doing something. *Root:* tuŋan.

**patuŋqal** *v.* get engaged. *Root:* patuŋqal.

**patuŋtuŋ** *v.* bump against. *Root:* tuŋtuŋ.

**patupa** *v.* discuss, say, tell; decide (by having a discussion). *Root:* tupa.

**pauktanān** *v.* give up, stop (doing something). *Root:* pauktanān.

**pauq** *v.* say. *Root:* pauq.

**paus** *n.* traditional basket that is carried on one's back with a strap attached to one's forehead. *Root:* paus.

**pautpaut** *n.* motorcycle; moped. *Etym:* onomatopoeia. *Root:* pautpaut.

**pav** *n.* [pa:v˦] snow. *Root:* pav.

**pavali** *v.* dry in the sun. *Root:* vali.

**pavaliʔan** *v.* dry something in the sun. *Root:* vali.

**pavuquvuq** *v.* shake. *Root:* vuquvuq.

**pavuquvuq hima** *colloc.* shake hands. *Root:* vuquvuq.

**paʔis ·2·** *root.* bitter. ·2· *n.* small bitter green or red vegetable that is shaped like a melon. *Root:* paʔis.

**paʔisʔavan** *v.* (usually only of men) hold a traditional drinking session; sit in a group around the fire, drinking and boasting about hunting feats. *Root:* isʔav.

**paʔita** *v.* arrive there, arrive at that place. *Root:* ʔita.

**paʔuni** *v.* undergo the same sad destiny (as somebody else); follow somebody else in some bad habit. *Root:* ʔuni.

**pi-** *pref.* cause to be; causative stative prefix, indicates a stative event that is caused by an external force. *See:* ispišihal; pihaiða; pišihal. *Root:* pi-.

**Pian** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* pian.

**piaq** *q-word.* how much, how many. *Root:* piaq.

**piaqain** *q-word.* [˦pia.qeɪn] how much, how many. *Root:* piaq.

**pidaiŋun** *v.* make something big. *Root:* daiŋ.

**pidan̄kasun** *v.* cause something to become red; paint something red, etc. *Root:* dan̄kas.

**pihaiða** *v.* acquire, get. *Root:* haiða.

**pikaʔun** *v.* it cannot be helped; there is nothing one can do about it. *Root:* pikaʔun.

**Pima** *n.* [pimǎ], [bimǎ] Takivatan male first name. *Root:* pima.

**pin-** *pref.* causative result-state prefix, indicates the evolution into a result state that is caused by an external force. *See:*

ispinqansiap; pindikla; pinmantuq;  
pinqansiap; pintamasađ. *Root:* pin-.

**pin- -un** *circumf.* divide in ... parts. *See:*  
pintau?un. *Root:* pin- -un.

**pinainuk** *v.* wear (clothes). *Root:* painuk.

**pinanaq** *v.* have shot. *Etym:* perfective of  
panaq. *Root:* anaq-.

**pinasaq** •1• *n.* (of humans) thigh, upper  
leg. •2• *n.* (of meat, i.e., chicken meat) leg.  
*Root:* pinasaq.

**pindikla** *v.* harm, have a bad influence on.  
*Root:* dikla.

**pinhaiđa** •1• *v.* come in a state of  
having. •2• *v.* let somebody have  
something. *Root:* haiđa.

**pini-** *pref.* combination of pin- and i-. *See:*  
pinilumaq. *Root:* pini-.

**pinilumaq** *n.* daughter-in-law. *Root:* lumaq.

**pinisuŋka** *v.* pile up something until the  
space in which it is piled up is completely  
filled. *Root:* uŋka.

**pinis?ati** *n.* boiled or treated water; bottled  
water. *See:* danum. *Root:* pinis?ati.

**pinkau** *v.* go up, go to a higher location.  
*Root:* kau.

**pinmantuq** *v.* *Root:* mantuq.

**pinmasađan** *aux.* make the same; make  
equal. *Root:* -asađan.

**pinqađ?av** *v.* loose face, get embarrassed.  
*Root:* qađ?av.

**pinqansiap** *v.* let (somebody) understand.  
*Root:* qansiap.

**pinsaqtu** [pin'sa'qtũ] •1• *v.* punish, chastise.  
pinsaqtu Sipun bunun nitu tan?a «The  
Japanese punished the Bunun when they  
did not listen». •2• *v.* incarcerate; lock

(somebody) up, lock (somebody) away.  
*Root:* saqtu.

**pinsihal** *v.* make good, improve, better;  
cause (something or someone) to end up  
in a state that is good or positive. *Root:*  
sihal.

**pinsuma** •1• *v.* cause something to produce;  
offer (a certain experience). •2• *v.* utter,  
emit (language), produce (language).  
pinsuma masihal tu qaliŋa «utter good  
language». *Root:* suma.

**pintamasađ** •1• *v.* give strength, support. •2•  
*v.* encourage (somebody to do something).  
*Root:* tamasađ.

**pintau?un** *v.* divide in three. *Root:* tau.

**pintsi** *n.* cutters, nippers, wire-cutters.  
*Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* pintsi.

**pintuđa** *v.* agree on (a decision). *Root:* tuđa.

**pinuk?unin** *v.* everything is collected on  
one pile. *Root:* puk?un.

**pinvai** *v.* win, defeat. *Root:* pinvai.

**pinvaiun** *v.* variant of pinvai?un. *Root:*  
pinvai.

**pinvai?un** *v.* lose, be defeated. *Root:* pinvai.

**pin?unainun** *n.* building site. *Root:* ?uni.

**pin?uni** *v.* turn into, transform into. *Root:*  
?uni.

**pipit?ai?an** *n.* kitchen. *Root:* pit?ia.

**pipit?ai?an tu hilav** *n-comp.* kitchen door.  
*Root:* hilav.

**piqauq** •1• *n.* plan, design. •2• *q-word.* how?  
in which way? in which manner? *Root:*  
piqauq.

**pis** *v.* (children's language) piss, have a pee.  
*Root:* pis.

**pis- ·1·** *pref.* causative instrumental prefix. **·2·** *pref.* (in combination with -un or -an) cause to return to a previous state. *See:* pisbaqaisun; pisduqlasun; piskadbaun; piskaðhavan. **·3·** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix; with body fluids) flow from a bodily orifice. *See:* pisusaq; pisjusul; pisjunus; pisqidaŋ. **·4·** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix; with instruments or games) play, play on. *See:* pislatak; pisqaitmal; pisqanqan. *Root:* pis-.

**pisanun** *v-trans.* bury. *Root:* pisanun.

**pisanjavun** *v.* cause something to become green or blue; paint something green or blue, etc. *Root:* sanjav.

**pisbaqaisun** *v.* reheat. *Root:* baqais.

**pisduqlasun** *v.* make (something) white. pisduqlasun nipun «whiten one's teeth». *Root:* duqlas.

**pisdu?a** *v.* burn. *Root:* du?a.

**pisðan** *root.* just, equal, fair. *Root:* pisðan.

**pishutan** *v.* plant yams. *Root:* hutan.

**pisihal ·1·** *v.* act in a good way, do (something) well. **·2·** *v.* make (something) good; repair. *Root:* sihal.

**pisihalun** *v.* do something well, use something in a good way; treat something or somebody well, take good care of, apply well. *Root:* sihal.

**pisin** *root.* afraid. *Root:* pisin.

**pisinjavun** *v.* cause something to become yellow; paint something yellow. *Root:* sinjav.

**pislaidað** *v.* make somebody mirthful, create a happy atmosphere. *Root:* laidað.

**pislatak** *v.* play the mouth bow. *Root:* latuk.

**pisjunus** *v.* bleed from the nose. *Root:* junus.

**pisjunusul** *v.* have a running nose. *Root:* jusul.

**pisjusul** *v.* have snot coming out of one's nose. *Root:* jusul.

**pisqaðhavan** *n.* fridge, refrigerator. *Root:* qaðhav.

**pisqaðhavun** *v.* let (something) cool down. *Root:* qaðhav.

**pisqidaŋ** *v.* bleed. *Root:* qidaŋ.

**pisqaitmal** *v.* play. *Root:* qaitmal.

**pisqaitmalan** *n.* playground, sports ground. *Root:* qaitmal.

**pisqanqan** *v.* play the mouth harp. *Root:* qanqan.

**pisqatbaun** *v.* let (something) become hard (e.g. of meat that is overcooked). *Root:* qatba.

**pistaba** *v-trans.* burn down areas of land as a hunting strategy. pistabaun qanup «burn down (a piece of land) for the hunt». *Root:* istaba.

**pistibu** *v.* burn down grassland. *Root:* pistibu.

**Pistibuan** *n.* place name; a location on a mountain slope visible from Bahuan where hunter would light a fire to signal to the village that they were coming home. *Root:* pistibu.

**pisusaq** *v.* shed tears, cry. *Root:* usaq.

**pitaqdujun** *v.* cause something to become black; blacken, darken, paint something black, etc. *Root:* taqduj.

**pithulu** *v.* boil into a soup or mash. pithulu hutaŋ «boil yams into a mash». *Root:* hulu.

**pitu** *num-card.* 7; seven. *Root:* pitu.

**pitusaba** *num-card.* 700; seven hundred. *See:* pitu. *Root:* -saba.

**pitʔia** *n.* person that is cooking; cook. *Root:* pitʔia.

**piʔisauq** *v.* store (goods). *Root:* piʔisauq.

**pu- · 1·** *pref.* causative allative prefix, indicates a movement towards that is caused by an external force. **· 2·** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) put, place, or apply something for a specific purpose. *See:* pudaku; pusaqsaq; pususuk. **· 3·** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix; with animals) hunt for. *Root:* pu-.

**puaq** *n.* flower. *Root:* puaq.

**pudaku** *v.* put a ritual object, called daku, on the field to ensure a good harvest. *See:* daku. *Root:* daku.

**pudanun** *v.* make somebody go away, tell somebody to go away (does typically not involve threats or violence). *See:* pu-; mudan. *Root:* dan.

**pudul** *n.* kidney. *Root:* pudul.

**pudunpudun** *v.* complain incessantly. *Root:* pudun.

**puhuq** *root.* rot, rotten. *Root:* puhuq.

**puhut** *n.* squirrel. *Root:* puhut.

**pukʔun** *v.* pile up. *Root:* pukʔun.

**Pula** *n.* Takivatan female first name. *Root:* Pula.

**pulavan** *n.* bean; generic term for any member of the bean family. *See:* baiŋu. *Root:* pulavan.

**pulu** *n.* arthritis. *Root:* pulu.

**pun- · 1·** *pref.* to, toward; causative allative prefix, expresses a movement towards that is caused by an external force. *See:* punhan; punqaitba; punðaða. **· 2·** *pref.* (with numerals) the ...th grade, the ...th study year (in school). *Root:* pun-.

**-pun** *suf.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* tuðapun. *Root:* -pun.

**punadu** *v.* flush away, wash away [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* punadu.

**punal** *n.* landslide. *Root:* punal.

**punastuʔun** *v.* make (somebody) come down, make (somebody) come to a lower location. *Root:* nastu.

**pundusa** *num-ord.* second grade (in school). *Root:* dusa.

**punðaða** *v.* towards the top. *Root:* ðaða.

**punhan · 1·** *v.* come to (with a certain objective). **· 2·** *v.* go to a place with a specific goal or intention; go in order to [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* han.

**punhanun** *v.* put (something somewhere). *Root:* han.

**punhav** *v.* lose; miss; be devoid of. *Root:* punhav.

**punhavun** *v.* be lost, cease to exist, pass out of existence. *Root:* punhav.

**punhima** *num-ord.* [pu.ʰi.ma] fifth grade (in school). *Root:* hima.

**punmasʔan** *num-ord.* [pun.ʰmas.ʔan] tenth grade (in school). *Root:* masʔan.

**punnum** *num-ord.* [pu.ʰnu:m] sixth grade (in school). *Root:* num.

**punpat** *num-ord.* [pun.ʰpat] fourth grade (in school). *Root:* pat.

**punpiaq** ·1· *time*. always, eternally, forever. ·2· *time*. many years. *Root*: piaq.

**punpitu** *num-ord.* [pun.'pi.tu] seventh grade (in school). *Root*: pitu.

**punpusan** *time*. two-yearly, bi-annual. *Root*: pusan.

**punqaitba** *v.* shift to a new field in a three-field system. *Root*: qaitba.

**punsihal** *v.* peel (of fruits and vegetables; this form is used in situations where it is not proper or polite to use paid). *See*: makulut. *Root*: punsihal.

**punsiva** *num-ord.* ninth grade (in school). *Root*: siva.

**puntasʔa** *num-ord.* first grade (in school). *Root*: tasʔa.

**puntau** *num-ord.* third grade (in school). *Root*: tau.

**punuq** *n.* brain. *Root*: punuq.

**punvau** *num-ord.* eighth grade (in school). *Root*: vau.

**punhuŋ** *adj.* worthless. *Root*: punhuŋ.

**punkaŋ** *n.* cave, mountain cave. *Root*: punkaŋ.

**punjin** *aux.* next. *Root*: punjin.

**punqanvaŋ** *v.* hunt for sambar. *Root*: qanvaŋ.

**puqnin** *aux.* again, another time. *Etym*: variant of muqnin, the resultative form of muqna 'again, another time'. *Root*: puqnin.

**puqpuq** *v.* blow smoke in one's face as a part of a shamanistic healing ritual. *Root*: puqpuq.

**pusaqsaq** *v.* lie, tell lies. *Root*: saqsaq.

**pusaupata** ·1· *v.* make (somebody or something) go in that direction / over there. ·2· *place*. to such places. *Root*: aupata.

**pusbaiʔun** *v.* make somebody run away, cause somebody to run away (usually because real or perceived danger). *See*: pu-; musbai. *Root*: isbai.

**pusið** *v.* [pu.'ʃi:ðʔ] fart in a way that produces smell but no sound. *Root*: pusið.

**pusnum** *v.* [pusʃ.'nu:m] push. *Root*: pusnum.

**Pusqu** *n.* Yu-Li (玉里), a town in the south of Hualien county at the boundary with Taidong county. *Root*: Pusqu.

**pusunka** *v.* pile up till the top / ceiling is reached. *Root*: sunka.

**pusunkaʔan** *v.* fill up to the top/roof, pile up until the top/ceiling/... is reached. *Root*: sunka.

**pususuk** *v.* give an injection; inject. *Root*: suk.

**pusʔakan** *v.* spit out. *Root*: pusʔakan.

**put** ·1· *n.* [pu:tʔ] fart; break wind. *Etym*: onomatopoeia describing the sound of farting. ·2· *n.* [pu:tʔ] Taiwanese; a person of Chinese origin who speaks Taiwanese (Southern Min). *Etym*: pejorative description of the Taiwanese, who were observed to break wind in public, a taboo in Bunun culture. *Root*: put.

**putuŋ** *root.* cotton, tuft of cotton or of a cotton-like substance. *Root*: putuŋ.

**putusputus** *v.* complain incessantly. *Root*: putus.

**puvanıs** *v.* hunt for wild pig. *Root*: vanıs.

## Q - q

- qa** *n.* knee. *Root:* qa.
- qabaŋ** *n.* [ˈqa.βaŋ] blanket. *Root:* qabaŋ.
- qabas** •1• *time.* [ˈqa.βas] the old times, in former times; refers to an indefinite moment in the past. *See:* tudip. •2• *time.* [ˈqa.βas] future, in the future; used for an indistinct period in the far future. *Root:* qabas.
- qabasan** *n.* in former times, in the old days. *Root:* qabas.
- qabu** *n.* gunpowder. *Root:* qabu.
- qabus** *n.* grease, oil (e.g. to oil a gun). *Root:* qabus.
- qadiŋva** *v.* make a phone call; give a call to. *Root:* diŋva.
- qaðam** *n.* divination based on the way birds fly. *Root:* qaðam.
- qaðaŋ** *aux.* ought. *Root:* qaðaŋ.
- qaðaŋʔal** *n.* urgent need. *Root:* qaðaŋʔal.
- qaðmaŋ** *aux.* random, vapid, meaningless, without meaning. qaðmaŋ baðbað «talk vapidly». *Root:* qaðmaŋ.
- qaðmaŋ** •1• *aux.* without respect for the rules, without taking into account social rules or etiquette; lawlessly, illegally. •2• *aux.* at unpredictable times. •3• *aux.* indifferent, uninterested, unconcerned, detached. *Root:* qaðmaŋ.
- qaðmaŋ baðbað** *idiom.* talk vapidly, talk empty talk, say meaningless things. *Root:* baðbað.
- qaðmaqmut** *time.* (when it is) still night, still dark. *Root:* maqmut.
- qaðna** *aux.* immediately. *Root:* qaðna.
- qahla** *root.* clear; (see) clearly. *Root:* qahla.
- qahuŋ** *n.* skin (of humans or animals). *Root:* qahuŋ.
- qai-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* qaiqansaipan; qaisalpuan. *Root:* qai-.
- qaiban** *root.* pathway. *Root:* qaiban.
- Qaibuta** *n.* place name. *Root:* qaibuta.
- qaidaŋ** •1• *n.* blood. •2• *n.* juice from cooked vegetables. *Root:* qaidaŋ.
- qaiðhav** *root.* coloured. *Root:* qaiðhav.
- qaiðma** *n.* cement. *Root:* qaiðma.
- qailis** •1• *time.* often, regularly. •2• *time.* often, always. *Root:* qailis.
- qaimaŋsut** *n.* [qai.ˈmaŋ.sut˦] things (general term for all kinds of objects). *Root:* qaimaŋsut.
- qaiqansaipan** *v.* know, understand. *Root:* qansiap.
- qais** •1• *n.* boundary of a plot of land. •2• *n.* line. •3• *v.* transgress. *Root:* qais.
- qaisalpuan** *n.* grief, sorrow. *Root:* salpu.
- qaisaqain** *v.* spread out (over a certain area). *Root:* qais.
- qaisiŋ** *n.* rice (prepared to eat). *Root:* qaisiŋ.
- qaisiŋ maqatba** *n-comp.* ordinary dry white rice. *Root:* qaisiŋ.
- qaisiŋ ʔulʔul** *n-comp.* watery rice, rice soup. *See:* ʔulʔul. *Root:* qaisiŋ.
- qaisu** *n.* excrement or residue of excrement, especially dirty track in one's pants due to

- not wiping one's behind properly. *Root:* qaisu.
- Qaisul** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* qaisul.
- qaitmal** •1• *adj.* (obsolete) blunt; without force. •2• *v.* play. *Root:* qaitmal.
- Qaitubul** *n.* name of the area around the old Japanese school in the mountains above Ma-Yuan. *Root:* qaitubul.
- qaiuj** *n.* (body part) backside, bottom, behind. *Root:* qaiuj.
- qaiv** *v.* disappear behind; (of the sun) go down. *Root:* qaiv.
- Qaivanj** *n.* Takbanuað male first name. *Root:* qaivanj.
- qaladuad** *adj.* fallen down, in chaos. *Root:* qaladuad.
- qalavan** •1• *adj.* itchy. •2• *adj.* sexually aroused. *Root:* qalav.
- Qalavanj** •1• *n.* cover term referring to a person either from the Atayal or Taroko (Truku) tribe. •2• *adj.* of or belonging to the Atayal or the Taroko tribe. *Root:* qalavanj.
- qaliŋa** •1• *n.* language. •2• *n.* words, spoken or written language. *Root:* qaliŋa.
- qalmanj** *aux.* [ʰqai:l.məŋ] no problem. *Root:* qalmanj.
- Qalmut** *n.* name of a former Takivatan settlement in the County Nantou. *Root:* qalmut.
- qalmut** *n.* (possibly obsolete) type of oak tree. *Root:* qalmut.
- Qalmut** *n.* Takivatan family name, identical to Qalmutan. *Root:* qalmut.
- Qalmutan** *n.* Takivatan family name. *See:* Qalmut. *Root:* qalmut.
- qalqal** *root.* fall down. *Root:* qalqal.
- qalsaipun** *n.* things one knows. *Root:* siap.
- qaltu** *aux.* although. *Syn:* qaʔal tu. *Root:* qal.
- qalua** *n.* species of small ants. *Root:* qalua.
- qalum** *n.* armadillo. *Root:* qalum.
- qamaq** *q-word.* what is/are ... doing? *Root:* qamaq.
- qamisan** •1• *n.* year. •2• *n.* winter. *Root:* qamisan.
- qamu** *n.* rice cake made of battered rice mixed into a thick, sticky paste, usually served with Chinese New Year. *Root:* qamu.
- qamutis** *n.* mouse, especially common house mouse. *Root:* qamutis.
- qan** *conj.* and; connector used in complex numerals from ten to a hundred. masʔan qan dusa «twelve (lit.: ten and two)». *Root:* qan.
- qan-** *pref.* how is it possible (that)? how can it be? *Root:* qan-.
- qan-** *pref.* verbalising prefix [meaning uncertain]. *See:* qanʔiti; qanmaqmutanj; maqansiap; qansuað. *Root:* qan-.
- qan** *suf.* suffix indicating counter-expectation. *See:* nanuqan. *Root:* -qan.
- qanaqtuj** *aux.* be finished, be over. *Root:* qanaqtuj.
- qani-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* qanimuðu; qanisaipun. *Root:* qani-.
- qanian** •1• *n.* day. qudanan tu qanian «a rainy day». •2• *n.* date. •3• *n.* weather. •4•

- time*. daytime (as opposed to night time).  
*Root*: qanian.
- qaniaŋ** *n.* young of a sambar. *See*: qanvaŋ.  
*Root*: qaniaŋ.
- qanimuđu** *v.* cover for protection, shield from. *Root*: muđu.
- qaniŋu** *n.* a flat reproduction of reality; photograph, television, .... *Root*: qaniŋu.
- qanisaipun** *v.* be able to speak. *Root*: siap.
- qanitu** *n.* supernatural being; ghost, spirit, god, .... *Root*: qanitu.
- qaniʔan** *n.* day. *Root*: qaniʔan.
- qanmaqmut** *time*. very early in the day.  
*Root*: maqmut.
- qanmaqmutaŋ** *time*. still before dawn, when it is still night. *Root*: maqmut.
- qansaipan** *n.* understanding, knowledge.  
*Root*: siap.
- qansaipun** *v.* know, understand. *Root*: qansiap.
- qansiap** *v.* be knowledgeable about; understand, know about, know how to.  
*Root*: qansiap.
- qansuađ** *n.* seedling. *Root*: suađ.
- qanup** *v.* hunt. *Root*: qanup.
- qanvaŋ** •1• *n.* Formosan sambar. *Cervus unicolor swinhoei*. *See*: qaniaŋ; taina; vaqa. •2• *n.* water buffalo. •3• *n.* by extension, any animal resembling a sambar or water buffalo. *Root*: qanvaŋ.
- qanvaŋ libus** *n-comp.* mountain deer, wild deer; sambar. *Root*: qanvaŋ.
- qanʔiti** *aux.* how is this possible here. *Root*: ʔiti.
- qanqan** *n.* mouth harp; traditional instrument. *Root*: qanqan.
- qaqal** *v-intrans.* fall down, stumble down (of people). *Root*: qaqal.
- qaqapis** *n.* black millipede. *Root*: qaqapis.
- qaqaqtis** *n.* chopstick. *Root*: qaqtis.
- qaqatu** *adj.* (obsolete) masterful in making things. *Root*: qaqatu.
- qaqnaŋ** *conj.* because. *Root*: qaqnaŋ.
- qaquma** *v.* till the land; work on the land.  
*Root*: quma.
- qasaʔan** *v.* talk in a persuasive or convincing way. *Root*: qasaʔan.
- qasbiŋ** *v.* sneeze. *Root*: qasbiŋ.
- qasila** *n.* salt. *See*: maqasbit. *Root*: qasila.
- qasipus** *n.* big black ant. *Root*: qasipus.
- qasqas** *n.* bamboo. *Root*: qasqas.
- qasuin** *n.* ankle. *Root*: qasuin.
- qasʔađaŋ** *adj.* strange. *Root*: qasʔađaŋ.
- qatabaŋ** *v.* cockroach. *Root*: qatabaŋ.
- qatađ** *n.* [ˈqa.tađˈ] male sex organs. *Root*: qatađ.
- qatađ** *v.* [ˈqa.tađˈ] kill. *Root*: -atađ.
- qatađ** *n.* [ˈqa.tađˈ] liver. *Root*: qatađ.
- qatas** *n.* testicle. *Root*: qatas.
- qatibiŋ** *n.* sand fly, small black fly with a stinging bite. *Root*: qatibiŋ.
- qatu** *n.* boat. *Root*: qatu.
- Qatuŋulan** *n.* name of a former Takbanuađ settlement in Nantou. *Root*: qatuŋul.
- qaul** •1• *n.* stalk, stalk of adult bamboo. •2• *n.* tree trunk. •3• *n.* pole, post, stake. •4• *n.* pillar. *Root*: qaul.
- qaul diŋki** *n-comp.* electricity pole. *Root*: qaul.
- qaulus** *n.* necklace; bracelet. *Root*: qaulus.
- qaunqauŋ** *n.* neck. *Root*: qaunqauŋ.

**qav** *n.* forehead. *Root:* qav.

**qavaŋ** *n.* finger, toe (general term). *Root:* qavaŋ.

**qavaŋ** *n.* general term for bags and cases used by humans to carry things; rucksack, schoolbag, purse, .... *Root:* qavaŋ.

**qavaŋ quhal** *n-comp.* leather bag. *Root:* qavaŋ.

**qaviq** *root.* immediately return; return the same day; return (to one's home) without having to spend the night in another place. *Root:* qaviq.

**qaʔal** *aux.* [qa:l], [ʔa.ʔal] although. *Root:* qaʔal.

**qaʔalqun** *aux.* [ʔa:l.qun], [ʔaʔal.qun] although. *Root:* qaʔal.

**qu** *v.* drink. *Root:* qu.

**qu-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix; with beverages) drink. *See:* qudan; qudanum; quvus. *Etym:* is either the reduced form of qudan 'drink' or derives from a lost verb meaning 'to drink' (in the latter case qudan is a shortened form of qudanum 'drink water'). *Root:* qu-.

**quaq** *q-word.* why?, how come? in questions asking for how it is possible that a certain event or state occurs. *Etym:* reduced form of maquaq. *Root:* quaq.

**qudan** *root.* rain. *Root:* qudan.

**qudan** *v.* drink. *Root:* qudan.

**qudu** *n.* edible plant with a bitter taste, the leaves of which can be made into a soup against high blood pressure. *Root:* qudu.

**quðan** *root.* rain. *Root:* quðan.

**quðanan** *v.* rain. *Root:* quðan.

**quðav** *root.* drink [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* quðav.

**quhal** *adj.* leather. *Root:* quhal.

**qulbu** *n.* hair on the head. *Root:* qulbu.

**quluqulu** *n.* [qɔ,ʔɔ.qɔ.ʔɔ] species of frog. *Root:* quluqulu.

**quma ·1·** *n.* field, cultivated land, land reserved for agriculture (as opposed to land used for hunting). **·2·** *n.* plot of land, personal territory. **·3·** *n.* ground, earth, soil. *Root:* quma.

**qumin** *n.* perfective form of quma 'land'; lit: the place that has become the land of or the place that has become a field. han qumin laupaku Tainikuʔa «at the place that has now become the land of Tian of Niku». *Root:* quma.

**qunuŋ** *aux.* comparatively. Qunuŋ Taihuku masihal «Taipei is relatively better». *Root:* qunuŋ.

**quqnav** *n.* Chinese leopard cat. *Felis bengalensis chinensis.* *Root:* quqnav.

**ququdan** *n.* beverage, drink. *Root:* qudan.

**ququdanan** *v.* rain incessantly, rain without stopping. *Root:* qudan.

**ququm** *n.* newly-born child. *Root:* ququm.

**Qusunsubali** *n.* name of a village in the mountains between Rui-Sui (瑞穗) and the sea. *Root:* qusunsubali.

**quti** *n.* female sex organs. *Root:* quti.

**qutsil** *n.* hair. *Root:* qutsil.

**qutun** *n.* wall. *Root:* qutun.

**quvus** *v.* [qɔ.ʔvu:s], [qu.ʔvu:s] drink liquor, drink an alcoholic drink. *Root:* vus.

## S - s

**sa** *disc.* oh, I see; discourse particle expressing the acknowledgement of a piece of information that was previously unknown or against expectations. *Root:* sa.

**sa-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) see, perceive, observe. *See:* sadu; samantuk; samasihilan; samaskainan. *Etym:* according to Nihira (1988:304) the verb sadu (saduʔu) ‘to watch’ is analyzable as sa- + du ‘encounter, come across’. Alternatively, one could posit that saduʔu was reanalyzed as the lexical prefix sa-. *Root:* sa-.

**saba** *num-card.* hundred. *Root:* saba.

**Sadaʔsaq** *n.* name of a mountain that lies south of Rui-Sui (county Hualien). *Root:* sadaʔsaq.

**saduduʔu** *v.* be careful (about). *Root:* sadu.

**saduʔu** ·1· *v.* see, watch, perceive. ·2· *v.* read. *Root:* sadu.

**Sai** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* sai.

**sai-** *pref.* go (to a place) in order to have a look. *See:* sa-; saiʔita. *Etym:* probably closely related to sa-. *Root:* sai-.

**saiduaʔin** *time.* two days after tomorrow. *Root:* saiduaʔin.

**saiða** *n.* carbonated water, fizzy water. *Root:* saiða.

**saihu** *root.* skilful, dexterous. *Root:* saihu.

**saikin** *pron-pers.* I; free first person singular pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Root:* sak.

**sain** *pron.* those; either third person singular visual or a plural anaphoric pronoun [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* sain.

**saipuk** ·1· *v.* take care of (people or animals). ·2· *v.* raise. ·3· *v.* govern, rule over. *Root:* saipuk.

**saipuksaipuk** *v.* always take care of, continuously take care of. *Root:* saipuk.

**saita** *pron-anaph.* anaphoric marker. *Root:* sia.

**saita** *n.* sweat, perspiration. *Root:* saita.

**saitaʔan** *v.* sweat, perspire. *Root:* saita.

**saiva** *v.* give. *Root:* saiv.

**saivadan** *time.* three days after tomorrow. *Root:* saivadan.

**saivan** *v.* give. *Root:* saiv.

**saiʔan** *v.* be impossible to. *Root:* saiʔan.

**saiʔita** *v.* go over there to have a look. *Root:* ʔita.

**sak** *v.* smell. *Root:* sak.

**sak** *pron-pers.* I; free first person singular pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Root:* sak.

**sakakiv** *v.* look backward. *Root:* sakakiv.

**saknutan** *v.* block, obstruct. *Root:* saknut.

**salað** *n.* finger millet; millet species with black seeds that are ground and cooked together with ordinary millet. *Eleusine coracana*. *Root:* salað.

**salituj** *n.* papaya. *Root:* salituj.

**sam** *pron-pers.* us (but not you); free first person plural exclusive pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Root:* sam.

**sama-** *pref.* entirely, completely; verbal prefix indicating that the event expressed by the adjective or verb is realized to its fullest extent (i.e. is completely or entirely realized). *See:* kama-; samasihal. *Root:* sama-.

**samantuk** *v.* keep close watch on. *Root:* mantuk.

**samasihal** *adj.* completely good, entirely good, extremely good. *Root:* sihal.

**samasihalan** *v.* be in a good location: be good, be safe, .... *Root:* sihal.

**samaskainan** *v.* be proud of. *Root:* samaskainan.

**sambut** *aux.* straightforward, right away, immediately. *Root:*ambut.

**sampan** *v.* work a nine-to-five job; work in a company, work in a factory. *Etym:* from Mandarin-Chinese 上班 (shàng bān 'go to work; start a shift'). *Root:* sampan.

**samu** **•1•** *n.* taboo. **•2•** *v.* be forbidden, be a taboo. *Root:* samu.

**samuq** *aux.* like that [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* samuq.

**samuqai** *part.* at that time [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* samuqai.

**san** **•1•** *v.* [sa:n] be at, go to (a certain location); less frequent variant of han. *Etym:* typically pronounced with a longer vowel than the preposition san. **•2•** *prep.* [sǎn] at, until (a spatial location). **•3•** *time.* [sǎn] until. *Root:* san.

**san** *adj.* (not used independently) right, straight; logical. *Root:* san.

**san-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* sanlavi; sansinʔal; santauhul; sanmaqtu. *Root:* san-.

**-san** *suf.* expresses a family relationship. *Etym:* probably related to Japanese san 'sir'. *Root:* -san.

**san dani** *idiom.* at the roadside. *Root:* dan.

**san laupaku** *idiom.* until now. *Root:* laupaku.

**sana** *v.* be up to oneself, be one's own decision. sana suʔu «it is up to you». *Root:* sana.

**sana-** **•1•** *pref.* according to, up to oneself, at one's (own) convenience. *See:* sanabahi; sanasuʔu. **•2•** *pref.* at, in; stationary locative prefix. *See:* sanaʔita. *Etym:* uncommon. *Root:* sana-.

**sanabahi** *v.* listen to / follow / obey a prophetic dream. *Root:* bahi.

**sanađaku** *aux.* according to me, by myself, abide by my own rules. *Root:* đaku.

**sanaivađ** *n.* species of bamboo. *Root:* sanaivađ.

**sanaŋ** *v.* just past; just finished; just completed. *Root:* san.

**sanasi** *v.* wait for, wait until. *Root:* sanasi.

**sanasia** *aux.* [sa.na.ʔja] according to oneself, by oneself; according to the aforementioned. *Root:* sia.

**sanasu** *v.* [sanaʔsu:] *Root:* su.

**sanasuʔu** *inter.* indeed. *Root:* su.

**sanavan** *time.* evening. *Root:* navan.

**sanaʔata** *aux.* according to ourselves, by ourselves, abide by our own rules. *Root:* ʔata.

**sanaʔita** *v.* be there. *See:* misʔav. *Root:* ʔita.

**Sani** *n.* Takivatan female first name. *Root:* sani.

**sanlavi** *v.* accompany. *Root:* lavi.

**sanmaqtuaj** *v.* may; expresses a wish. *Root:* maqtu.

**sansinqal** *v.* shine, emit sunlight. *Root:* sinqal.

**sansu** *aux.* immediately, directly, without waiting. *Root:* sansu.

**sansu** *v.* accept an proposal, reply positively to an offer. *Root:* sansu.

**santauhul** *v.* jump, jump up, jump away. *Root:* tauhul.

**saʔan** *aux.* just, a moment ago. *Root:* saʔan.

**saʔlav** •1• *root.* green, blue. •2• *n.* vegetables. *Root:* saʔlav.

**sapal** •1• *n.* fur, hide (of an animal). •2• *v.* spread out a fur or blanket (in a bedroom). *Root:* sapal.

**sapalan** *n.* a place were a blanket is spread out for sleeping; general term for places where one can sleep; bed, bed room. *Root:* sapal.

**sapil** *n.* shoe. *Root:* sapil.

**sapil quhal** *n-comp.* leather shoe. *See:* quhal. *Root:* sapil.

**sapuð** *n.* fire. *Root:* sapuð.

**saqal** •1• *v.* see clearly. •2• *v.* know, be acquainted with. *Root:* saqal.

**saqbit** *root-adj.* painful. *Root:* saqbit.

**saqdil** *root.* lock, shackle. *Root:* saqdil.

**saqdilan** *v.* lock up (by putting into a space and closing the door with a key). *Root:* saqdil.

**saqhal** *v.* know, be acquainted with. *Root:* saqhal.

**saqnut** *v.* get stuck, get blocked, have no way out [meaning uncertain]. *Etym:* probably a variant of laqnut. *Root:* saqnut.

**saqsial** *v.* slip (and fall). *Root:* saqsial.

**sas-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* saspat; sasʔupata. *Root:* sas-.

**sasabaqan** *n.* place where one sleeps; bedroom, resting spot in the forest, .... *Root:* sabaq.

**sasanal** *n.* big white worm living under the bark of trees. *Root:* sasanal.

**sasbinʔað** •1• *n.* government official. •2• *n.* policeman. •3• *n.* redeemer; term referring to the Son in the Holy Trinity. *Root:* sasbinʔað.

**sasiŋ** •1• *n.* frame. •2• *n.* anything that is framed and hangs on a wall; picture, photograph, wall map. *Root:* sasiŋ.

**sasiqu** *v.* blinded (by light). *Root:* sasiqu.

**sasiva** *num-card.* nine (only used for human referents). *Root:* siva.

**saspat** *num-card.* four (only used for human referents). *Root:* pat.

**sasʔupata** *aux.* not have the time to, not be able to. *Root:* ʔupa.

**sata** *pron-pers.* we (including you); free first person plural inclusive pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Root:* sata.

**sataqhalan** *v.* know, be acquainted with. *Root:* saqhal.

**satisain** *pron.* only one person or thing; by him-/her-/itself. *Root:* ain.

**satu** *n.* sugar. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* satu.

**sau** •1• *prep.* (of place) at, to. •2• *prep.* (of time) until. *Root:* sau.

**sau-** *pref.* until, till; terminative allative prefix, expresses a movement in a certain direction that ceases when the end-point has been reached. *See:* sauhan; sausan; saulaupa; sauqabasqabas; sauʔita. *Root:* sau-.

**sau laupaku** *idiom.* until now. *Root:* laupaku.

**sauðun** *v.* undergoer focus form of (ma)suað 'sow'. *See:* masuað. *Root:* suað.

**sauhan** *v.* [sau.'ha:n] go to, go until, go toward a certain destination. *Root:* han.

**sauhanin** *idiom.* [sau.'ha:n.in] until then; lit: going towards that point in time. *Root:* han.

**Sauhiqan** *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* hiqan.

**saupa** •1• *root.* direction. •2• *place.* in the direction of. *Root:* saupa.

**sauqabasqabas** *idiom.* till eternity, forever. *Root:* qabas.

**sauqaissauqais** *v.* move back and forth, change all the time. *Root:* sauqais.

**sausan** *v.* go to. *Root:* san.

**sauva** *n.* noodles. *See:* uslu. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* sauva.

**sauʔasaŋ** *v.* return to one's home village. *Root:* ʔasaŋ.

**savasu** *v.* miss (a target), not hit. *Root:* savasu.

**Savi** *n.* Takivatan female first name. *Root:* savi.

**saviki** *n.* [sa.'vi.ki] betel nut. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* saviki.

**savis** *n.* bullet. *Root:* savis.

**si-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* simuskut; sicutbut; sihan; sihamun; sipuŋul. *Root:* si-.

**sia** *pron-anaph.* anaphoric pronoun, refers to people, things or events previously mentioned in discourse. *Root:* sia.

**siam** *n.* bamboo sleeping mat; sleeping mat made of thin bamboo strips that are bound together. *Root:* siam.

**sian** *pron-anaph.* locative form of the anaphoric pronoun; refers to a place previously mentioned in discourse. *Root:* sia.

**siaŋ** *time.* then, at that time, in those days; lit: the aforementioned still going on. *Root:* siaŋ.

**siap** *root.* know, understand. *Root:* siap.

**siaqan** *v.* should [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* sia.

**siata** *pron-anaph.* [ʃja.tã] distal form of the anaphoric pronoun; that one; refers to a person, thing or event that was previously mentioned in discourse and is distal to the speaker or deictic centre. *Root:* sia.

**siati** *pron-anaph.* [ʃja.ti] proximal form of the anaphoric pronoun; this one; refers to a person, thing or event that was previously mentioned in discourse and is close to the speaker or deictic centre. *Root:* sia.

**siatu** *inter.* [ʃja.tũ] you know (what I am talking about); hesitation marker expressing that the speaker does not know how to say something but assumes that the listener knows what he is talking about. *Root:* sia.

**siatun** *pron-anaph.* medial form of the anaphoric pronoun; that one; refers to a person, thing or event that was previously mentioned in discourse and is at medial distance to the speaker or deictic center. *Root:* sia.

**siaʔkiŋ** *v-trans.* owe money to (somebody). *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* siaʔkiŋ.

**sibus** *n.* sugar cane. *Root:* sibus.

**sibutbut** *v.* pull (e.g. somebody's ears). *Root:* sibutbut.

**sidahda** *v.* leave. *Root:* dahda.

**siða** *v.* [ʃi.ðǎ] take and hold; take (an object), hold, grasp. *Root:* siða.

**siða qaliŋa** *colloc.* [ʃi.ða.qa.li.ŋǎ] record speech, record spoken words (e.g. with a tape recording); lit: grab language. *Root:* siða.

**siða qaniŋu** *colloc.* [ʃi.ða.qa.ni.ŋǔ] take pictures. *Root:* siða.

**siðad · 1·** *root.* side; border. **· 2·** *root.* boundary; next to. *Root:* siðad.

**siðad niŋʔav** *n-comp.* seaside, coast. *See:* siðad. *Root:* niŋʔav.

**siðaun** *n.* thing that has to be picked up or that one has to take/carry/.... haiða siðaun «there are things we have to pick up». *Root:* siða.

**siðaʔan** *v.* taken from. *Root:* siða.

**siði** *n.* [ʃi.ði] goat, sheep. *Root:* siði.

**siðin** *v.* [ʃi.ðin] uncommon perfective form of siða. *See:* siða. *Root:* siða.

**siðu** *v.* [ʃi.ðǔ] take on (work, a task.), undertake. *Root:* siðu.

**siðuq · 1·** *n.* [ʃi.ðuq] clan, family, tribe; refers to a group of Bunun people that

share the same last name (and therefore the same paternal ancestry). **· 2·** *n.* [ʃi.ðuq] country, homeland. *Root:* siðuq.

**sihal** *root.* [ʃi.hal] good. *See:* masihal. *Root:* sihal.

**sihalun** *v.* [ʃi.'hal.un] be put in a good place, be stored well/carefully. *Root:* sihal.

**sihamun** *v.* selected together; put together. *Root:* hamu.

**sihan** *v.* [ʃi.'han] go to (a certain location with a specific goal in mind). *Root:* han.

**Sikav · 1·** *n.* [ʃi.kav] place name; location close to Qi-mei (奇美). **· 2·** *n.* [ʃi.kav] Takivatan male first name. *Root:* sikav.

**sikini** *v.* administer, have jurisdiction over. *Root:* sikini.

**sikis** *n.* [ʃi.kiʃ] one toe of an animal's hoof. *Root:* sikis.

**siksum** *v.* open and close in a rapid movement (e.g. of the anus). *Root:* siksum.

**siku** *n.* [ʃi.kǔ] elbow. *Root:* siku.

**Sila** *n.* [ʃi.la:] Greece. *Root:* Sila.

**silaprep.** [ʃi.la] across. *Etym:* probably related to siðad. *Root:* sila.

**silaluan** *v.* [ʃi.la.'lwan] tell lies, lie. *Root:* luan.

**siliba** *v.* give birth to. *See:* tas. *Etym:* orig. Isbukun. *Root:* siliba.

**silup** *n.* [ʃi.lup] guts, intestines; term referring to both large and small intestines. *See:* maqulpiqan; maquhisan. *Root:* silup.

**silup daiŋ** *n-comp.* large intestines. *Root:* silup.

**silup kuis** *n-comp.* small intestines; lit: slender intestines. *Root:* silup.

**simal** *n.* fat tissue; fat. *Root:* simal.

**simaŋʔud** *v.* [ʃimaŋ<sup>1</sup>ʔu:d<sup>1</sup>] have a blocked nose and have lost the ability to smell (because of a cold). *Root:* simaŋʔud.

**simaq** •1• *q-word.* who? •2• *pron-indef.* whoever; indefinite pronoun. *Root:* simaq.

**simaqʔas** *idiom.* who are you? *Root:* simaq.

**Simiðu** *n.* Japanese name of the father of Ma-yuan's teacher. *Etym:* Japanese. *Root:* simiðu.

**simintu** *n.* cement. *Etym:* from English cement, via Japanese. *Root:* simintu.

**Simukan** *n.* place name; a place to Ma-yuan. *Root:* simuk.

**simul** •1• *root.* borrow, rent. •2• *v.* rent. simul lumaq «rent a house». *Root:* simul.

**simuskut** *v.* hang (somebody or oneself); strangle by hanging. *Root:* muskut.

**sin** •1• *conj.* and then there is. •2• *prep.* and, then, consequently. *Root:* sin.

**sin-** •1• *pref.* resultative orientation prefix, stressing the object that is the result of an action. •2• *pref.* the ...th member in a list; derivational prefix deriving an ordinal from a cardinal numeral. *Root:* sin-.

**sinaipuk** *v.* domesticate. *Root:* saipuk.

**sinaipuk qanvaŋ** *n.* domesticated water buffalo. *Etym:* lit: domesticated deer. *Root:* qanvaŋ.

**sinaiquma** *v.* go to where the land is best; follow the land, go with the land. *Root:* quma.

**sinaluskun** *v.* occur together, be merged, be one and the same, .... *Root:* uskun.

**Sinapalan** *n.* name of a large plain in the mountains of Nantou. *Root:* sapal.

**sinatu** *n.* egg. *Root:* sinatu.

**sinava** *v.* teach (stresses the transfer of ideas or customs). *Root:* nava.

**sindaŋað** *v.* help. *Root:* daŋað.

**sindusa** *num-ord.* second item (in an ordered list). *Root:* dusa.

**sinhav** *root-adj.* yellow, orange. *Root:* sinhav.

**siniðaʔan** *v.* already taken, has already been taken. *Root:* siða.

**siniqumis** *v.* live. *Root:* iqumis.

**sinkadaidað** [ʃiŋ.ka.<sup>1</sup>dai.ðað<sup>1</sup>] •1• *v.* love, express brotherly or Christian love. •2• *n.* (brotherly) love; love in a Christian sense. *Root:* daiðað.

**sinkasiati** *n.* road of life, things that have happened to one or that one has done during a stretch of time. *Root:* sia.

**sinkaskaupa** *manner.* various, all kinds of. *Root:* kaupa.

**sinki** •1• *adj.* mentally retarded, have mental problems. •2• *adj.* (of women or men) be flirty and cheap, be a slut, having too many changing contacts with persons of the opposite sex. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* sinki.

**sinkuðakuða** •1• *n.* work to be done, work that has been done. •2• *n.* life, when considered as a collection of thing that one has done. *Root:* kuða.

**sinpasnava** *v.* teach. *Root:* pasnava.

**sinpatas** *n.* letter, message. *Root:* patas.

**sinpinmantuq** *v.* *Root:* mantuq.

- sinsadu** *v.* know; acquire knowledge, especially as the result of visual perception. *Root:* sadu.
- sinsaduʔu** *v.* *Etym:* phonological variation of sinsadu. *Root:* sadu.
- sinsaipuk** *v.* raise, bring up (a child). *Root:* saipuk.
- sinsaiv** **•1•** *v.* give; grant, bestow upon. **•2•** *v.* a form of the verb saiv 'give' that stresses the thing that is given. *Root:* saiv.
- Sinsia** *n.* place name. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* sinsia.
- sinsuað** *v.* (of plants) grow. *Root:* suað.
- sinsuað lukis atitikisan** *n-comp.* young tree, tree that has just sprouted. *Root:* lukis.
- Sinsui** *n.* location in the Yu-Li (玉里) prefecture. *Root:* sinsui.
- sintakunav** *n.* things that have been thrown away; junk, litter, objects in a dustbin, .... *Root:* takunav.
- sintasʔa** **•1•** *num-ord.* first thing, first item (in an ordered list). **•2•** *num-ord.* the next one, further, furthermore. *Root:* tasʔa.
- sintu** *conj.* moreover, in addition, furthermore, next; clause-initial conjunction that indicates that the story is not finished yet and a new piece of information will follow. *Root:* sintu.
- sintupa** **•1•** *v.* explain. **•2•** *v.* signify, have the meaning of, indicate. *Root:* tupa.
- sintuqumis** **•1•** *v.* bless, wish somebody well. **•2•** *n.* blessing. *Root:* qumis.
- sinuʔan** *v.* (of animals) dig, burrow, root up. *Root:* sinuʔan.
- sinjij** *num-card.* thousand, 1000. *Root:* sinjij.
- siŋqal** *n.* ray, light ray, sunray. *Root:* siŋqal.
- Sipal** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* sipal.
- Sipun** **•1•** *n.* [si'pu:n] Japan. **•2•** *adj.* [si'pu:n] Japanese. *Root:* sipun.
- sipunʔul** *v.* forget. *Root:* punʔul.
- sipunʔulan** *v.* forget. *Root:* punʔul.
- siqailaðun** *v.* choose the best of a number of options; have a contest. *Root:* siqailað.
- siqbu** *v.* wet one's bed; urinate involuntarily in one's sleep. *Root:* siqbu.
- siquis** *n.* species of falcon. *Root:* siquis.
- siqulut** *v.* have a raspy or difficult breath due to a cold or other respiratory illness. *Root:* siqulut.
- siqut** *n.* snail. *Root:* siqut.
- siqutsiqut** *n.* snail. *Root:* siqut.
- sisaisan** *v.* pay (money). *Root:* sisaisan.
- sisasak** *v.* [ʃis'a'sak] persevere, bear, endure. *Root:* sisasak.
- sisdaŋ** *v.* rely on. *Root:* sisdaŋ.
- sisili** *v.* learn bad habits, take over bad habits. *Root:* sili.
- sislup** **•1•** *v.* slurp. **•2•** *v.* breathe in; inhale. *See:* sumbaŋ. *Root:* sislup.
- sitmaŋ** *v.* endure, bear, patiently endure, tolerate, stand the strain. *Root:* sitmaŋ.
- siva** *num-card.* 9; nine. *Root:* siva.
- sivasaba** *num-card.* 900; nine hundred. *See:* siva. *Root:* -saba.
- siʔadas** **•1•** *v.* accompany, go with, go in the company of. **•2•** *v.* be accompanied by. *Root:* adas.
- siʔin** *aux.* completed, finished. *Root:* siʔin.

**skupu** *n.* shovel. *Etym:* from Japanese.

*Root:* skupu.

**su · 1·** *pron-pers.* you; free second person singular pronoun, neutral form. *Etym:* contracted form of suʔu. **· 2·** *pron-pers.* your; free second person singular pronoun, shortened possessive form. *Etym:* reduced form of isu. *Root:* su.

**suda** *root-v.* live long until a certain result has been reached. *Etym:* probably from sauda. *Root:* suda.

**suðun** *v.* agree to, assent to. *Root:* suðun.

**suhaq** *n.* knee hollow; back of the knee, hollow at the back of the knee. *Root:* suhaq.

**sui** *n.* money. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* sui.

**suivaðlan** *time.* two days after tomorrow; in three days. *Root:* suivaðlan.

**suk** *root.* needle. *Root:* suk.

**sulað** *v.* spray. sulað iu «spray pesticides (lit: spray medicin)». *Root:* sulað.

**Sulaia** *n.* a Bunun village in Taidong County. *Root:* sulaia.

**Suliku** *n.* [su'liku] name of a Japanese settlement in Nantou County. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* suliku.

**sulipa** *n.* slipper. *Etym:* from English slipper via Japanese. *Root:* sulipa.

**sulpak** *root.* spread open, spread out wide, open. *Root:* sulpak.

**sulsuʔul** *aux.* directly, quickly, immediately. *Root:* sulsuʔul.

**suma · 1·** *root.* come, come back; indicates movement towards the reference point. **· 2·** *v.* rise, come up. *Root:* suma.

**sumað** *v.* make a joke. *Root:* sumað.

**sumaqaidan** *v.* bleed. *Root:* qaidan.

**sumban** *v.* breathe. *See:* sislup. *Root:* sumban.

**sumsum** *n.* Chinese sorghum. *Root:* sumsum.

**sumsum** *v.* pray. *Root:* sumsum.

**Suna** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* suna.

**sunan** *time.* first, beforehand, before starting another task. *Etym:* syncopated form of ŋausunan 'first'. *Root:* ŋaus.

**Sunavan** *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* sunav.

**sunuq** *root.* angry. *Root:* sunuq.

**suqais · 1·** *v.* go and come back, come back to, return. **· 2·** *aux.* (go/move) back, back and forth. **· 3·** *conj.* and another, and again. *Root:* suqais.

**suqais saba** *idiom.* ten thousand; 10,000. *Root:* saba.

**suqaissuqais** *v.* [su.qei.'su.qeis] go back and forth repeatedly. *Root:* suqais.

**suqðan** *v.* get acquainted with, get to know somebody, become friends with. *Root:* suqðan.

**suqsuq** *n.* backside of the head, including the shoulders. *Root:* suqsuq.

**susu · 1·** *n.* breast (of women); mammary gland (of female animals). **· 2·** *v.* drink milk; suckle milk. *Root:* susu.

**susu qanvan** *n-comp.* milk. *Root:* susu.

**susua** *v.* yawn. *Root:* susua.

**susumsumanan** *n.* praying place; a place where one can pray, a gathering where everybody prays, .... *Root:* sumsum.

**susuvís** *n.* grater, kitchen utensil for cutting small flakes of vegetables or other food stuff. *Root:* suvís.

**suʔal** *n.* species of tree. *Root:* suʔal.

**suʔu** *pron-pers.* you; free second person singular pronoun, neutral form. *Root:* su.

**suʔuʔan** *pron-pers.* at you, at yours; free second person singular pronoun, locative form. *Root:* su.

## T - t

**ta** *part.* complement marker related to tu [meaning uncertain]. *See:* tu. *Root:* ta.

**ta-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* ta-

**-ta** *suf.* distal referential definiteness marker. *Root:* -ta.

**tabak** *v.* follow, trace (e.g. a trail). *Root:* tabak.

**tabal** *root.* carve. *Root:* tabal.

**tabaq** *v.* follow (a trail or footprints). *Root:* tabaq.

**tabuqia** *adj.* half-naked, naked but for one's underwear. *See:* talaʔasav. *Root:* tabuqia.

**tai** *n.* taro. *Root:* tai.

**tai-** *pref.* nominalising prefix expressing membership to a certain class of people that have a property expressed by the stem. *See:* tailutbu; taisalpuan. *Root:* tai-

**Taial ·1·** *n.* Atayal, person from the Atayal tribe. **·2·** *adj.* of or belonging to the Atayal tribe. *Root:* Taial.

**taibaqan** *n.* trail that has been followed, a followed trail; can refer to flattened grass or footprints. *Root:* tabaq.

**Taihuku** *n.* Taipei, the capital of Taiwan. *Etym:* from Japanese Taihoku. *Root:* taihuku.

**taiktaik** *n.* long hand on the clock; minute. *Root:* taiktaik.

**tail-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) wash a part of the body. *See:* tailaqais. *Etym:* less common variant of tal-. *Root:* tail-

**tailaqais** *v.* wash one's face. *Root:* laqais.

**Tailuku** *n.* Taroko, person from the Taroko tribe. *Root:* tailuku.

**tailutbu** *n.* adult man, approximately in between 30 and 40 years of age. *Root:* lutbu.

**taimi- ·1·** *pref-nom.* nominalising prefix expressing membership to a certain class of people that have a property expressed by the stem. *See:* taimidalaq; taimiʔuvaðʔað. **·2·** *pref-num.* the ...th instance of an ordered list. *Root:* taimi-

**taimidalaq** *n.* landlord, land owner. *Root:* dalaq.

**taimidusa** *num-ord.* (of instances) second. *Root:* dusa.

**taimihima** *num-ord.* (of instances) fifth. *Root:* hima.

**taimimasʔan** *num-ord.* (of instances) tenth. *Root:* masʔan.

**taiminum** *num-ord.* (of instances) sixth. *Root:* num.

**taimipát** *num-ord.* (of instances) fourth. *Root:* pat.

**taimipitu** *num-ord.* (of instances) seventh.  
*Root:* pitu.

**taimiquma** *n.* landowner; person to which a plot of land rightfully belongs. *Root:* quma.

**taimisia** *v.* be the owner of the aforementioned thing. *Root:* sia.

**taimisiva** *num-ord.* (of instances) ninth.  
*Root:* siva.

**taimitasʔa** *num-ord.* (of instances) first.  
*Root:* tasʔa.

**taimitau** *num-ord.* (of instances) third. *Root:* tau.

**taimivau** *num-ord.* (of instances) eighth.  
*Root:* vau.

**taimiʔuvaðʔað** *n.* parent of a particular (i.e., previously defined or contextually inferred) child. *Root:* uvað.

**taina** *n.* female sambar. *See:* qanvaŋ. *Root:* taina.

**taini** *num-card.* one, only (only used for human referents). *Etym:* variant of tini. *Root:* tini.

**Tainiku** *n.* [tei.<sup>1</sup>ni.ku] contracted form of Tiaŋ Niku; Tiaŋ of Niku, Tiaŋ whose wife is Niku. *See:* Tiaŋ; Niku. *Root:* tiaŋ.

**Tainpantu** *n.* [tein.<sup>1</sup>pan.tu] contracted form of Tiaŋ Pantu; Tiaŋ the Student (historical figure). *Root:* tiaŋ.

**taintuŋu** *n.* guest, visitor, person that comes from another place. *Root:* tuŋu.

**taiŋa** *n.* ear. *Root:* taiŋa.

**taiŋakaʔan** *n.* ear-shooting festival. *Root:* taiŋa.

**taiŋka** *root.* maternal origin. *See:* ismamaq. *Root:* taiŋka.

**taiŋka isaqʔas** *colloc.* What is the last name of your mother. *See:* taiŋka. *Root:* taiŋka.

**taiŋkakasðaŋ** *adj.* of the same maternal origin. *See:* taiŋka. *Root:* -asðaŋ.

**Taiŋpadlaiʔan** *n-comp.* historical figure.  
*Etym:* contraction of the first name Tiaŋ and the monicker Padlaiʔan. *Root:* tiaŋ.

**taipusun** *v.* be gathered, be put together.  
*See:* taispusan. *Root:* taipusun.

**tais-** *pref.* *See:* taispusan. *Root:* tais-.

**taisalpuan** *v.* be concerned about, be worried. *Root:* salpu.

**taismai-** *pref.* the ...th kind of. *Root:* tasmai-.

**taismi-** *pref.* the ...th kind of. *See:* taimivaivi. *Etym:* probably a variant form of taimi-. *Root:* taimi-.

**taismivaivi** *adj.* different. *Root:* vaivi.

**taismivaivitu** *aux.* moreover, in addition.  
*Root:* vaivi.

**Taisnunan** *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* Taisnunan.

**taispunsanan** •1• *n.* place to put something. •2• *n.* first-born male child.  
*Root:* taispunsanan.

**taispusan** *v.* gather together, put together, collect, put in storage. *See:* daipusun.  
*Root:* taispusan.

**taisʔan** [taisʔa'n], [teisʔa'n] •1• *n.* relative. •2• *n.* general term of address for people that belong to roughly the same generation or to the same social group as the speaker. *Root:* taisʔan.

**taitaŋus** *n.* (of humans) the first one; he that came first, the first-born. *Root:* taŋus.

**Taitu** *n.* ['tai.tu] Taidong (台東), a city on the southern east coast of Taiwan. *Etym:* from Mandarin-Chinese 台東 (Tāi-Dōng). *Root:* Taitu.

**Taivan** *n.* ['tai.van] Taiwan. *Root:* Taivan.

**taiʔaǎn** *v.* [tɛi.ʔa.ǎn] realize, get aware of. *Root:* ʔaǎ.

**tak-** *pref.* originate from; expresses place of origin. *Root:* tak-.

**taka-** *pref.* originate from; reside in, live in; ablative locative prefix stressing point of origin or source. *See:* takahan. *Root:* taka-.

**takahan** *v.* [ta.ka.'ha:n] come from, originate from. *See:* ʔ. *Root:* han.

**Takaia** *n.* hamlet in the Rui-Sui prefecture. *Root:* takaia.

**Takau** *n.* Kaohsiung (高雄), a city in the south-west of Taiwan. *Etym:* from Mandarin-Chinese 打狗 (dǎ-gōu 'beat the dog'), the old name for the city of Kaohsiung (高雄 gāo-xióng 'high courage'). *Root:* Takau.

**takaʔita** *v.* have one's residence in that (distal) place. *Root:* ʔita.

**takbabaʔav** *n.* mountain people, people who live high up in the mountains. *Root:* baʔav.

**Takbahuan** *n.* people living in Bahuan (馬遠). *Root:* bahuan.

**Takbanuaǎ** *n.* Takbanuaǎ, one of the five Bunun subgroups. *Root:* banuaǎ.

**takbu** *n.* young of a flying squirrel. *See:* haval. *Root:* takbu.

**takdadan** •1• *v.* live continuously in a location. •2• *v.* live, reside, dwell, have one's residence in. *Root:* dan.

**takdadaʔan** *n.* place of residence. *Root:* dan.

**taki** *n.* excrement, shit. *Root:* taki.

**taki-** •1• *pref-nom.* originate from; nominalising prefix expressing a group of people (or things) originating from a common place of origin. *See:* Takibakha; Takivatan; Takituduh; takisia; Takitaivan; takitakna. *Etym:* from taki 'excrement'; the association between excrement and (ancestral) origin probably originates from a Bunun creation myth asserting that the first humans were created from excrements that were produced by the sky. •2• *pref-nom.* live in. *See:* Takibahuan; Takiamaǎʔan; takiʔasaŋ. *Root:* taki-.

**Takibahuan** *n.* people living in Bahuan (馬遠). *Root:* bahuan.

**Takibakha** *n.* Takibakha, one of the five Bunun subgroups. *Root:* bakha.

**takidauluq** *n.* rain worm; earthworm. *Etym:* probably from taki- 'originate in' + dalaq 'soil'; lit: he who lives in the soil. *Root:* dauluq.

**takihan** *v.* [ta.ki.'ha:n] live in, be from; have one's original home village in, have one's place of origin in. *Root:* han.

**Takikalaj** •1• *n.* person from Kalaŋ. •2• *n.* Takivatan family name. •3• *adj.* live in or have one's origins in Kalaŋ. *Root:* kalaŋ.

**Takimaŋdavan** •1• *n.* person from Maŋdavan. •2• *adj.* live in or have one's origins in Maŋdavan. *Root:* maŋdavan.

**Takimiskuan** •1• *n.* person from Miskuan. •2• *adj.* live in or have one's origins in Miskuan. *Root:* miskuan.

- takinanastu** *n.* people that live in a location that is geographically lower than the reference point (usually Bahuan for the Takivatan). *Root:* nastu.
- takiŋaŋadaq** *n.* entrails of animals in their entirety. *Root:* ŋadaq.
- takisia** *v.* have origins in. *Root:* sia.
- takisimut** *n.* plant species with fruits looking like red beans. *Root:* simut.
- takismumut** *n.* animals, wild animals. *Root:* ismut.
- Takitaivan** *adj.* born in Taiwan, Taiwanese. *Root:* taivan.
- takitakna** *adj.* from yesterday, originating yesterday, having its origins in yesterday. *Root:* takna.
- takitamaðuʔan** *v.* live in Tamaðuʔan, be originally from Tamaðuʔan; living in or being from Tamaðuʔan. *Root:* tamaðu.
- Takitamaian** **•1•** *n.* person from Da-ma-yuan (打馬遠). **•2•** *adj.* live in or have one's origins in Da-Ma-Yuan. *Root:* tamaian.
- takitatuʔun** **•1•** *n.* object lying in a cave. **•2•** *n.* object used by cave dwellers. **•3•** *n.* something old(-fashioned), object that is old-fashioned. *Root:* tuʔun.
- Takitilusan** *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* tilus.
- Takituduh** **•1•** *n.* Takituduh, one of the five Bunun subgroups. **•2•** *adj.* of or belonging to the Takituduh. *Root:* tuduh.
- Takivatan** **•1•** *n.* Takivatan, one of the five Bunun sub-tribes; lit: having one's origins in Vatan. *Etym:* Vatan was a man who was the leader of the southernmost of the Bunun clans. *Root:* Vatan. **•2•** *adj.* of or belonging to the Takivatan. *Root:* Vatan.
- takiʔasaŋ** *v.* be originally from the ancestral village. *Root:* ʔasaŋ.
- takiʔisaq** *q-word.* from which origins? *Root:* isaq.
- takiʔisaqʔas** *colloc.* From which place to you originate? Where were you born? *Root:* isaq.
- takna** *time.* yesterday. *Root:* takna.
- taknanastu** *n.* people that live in a location that is geographically lower than the reference point, which is usually Bahuan for the Takivatan. *Root:* nastu.
- taknanu** *aux.* really live somewhere, veritably live in a certain location. *Root:* nanu.
- Taknasan** *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* taknas.
- taksimumut** *n.* wild animal, beast; lit: those who live in the grass. *Root:* taksimumut.
- taksis** *root.* trample. *Root:* taksis.
- taktaki-** *pref.* variant of taki-. *Root:* taki-.
- taku** *n.* spoon. *Root:* taku.
- taku paliak** *colloc.* spoon of such a size and filled to such an extent that one can hardly put it in one's mouth. *Root:* taku.
- takuli** *n.* rabbit. *Root:* takuli.
- takunav** *root.* throw away (litter); discard. *Root:* takunav.
- tal-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) wash a part of the body. *See:* talaqais; talbantas; taldanav; talhima; talʔanav. *Root:* tal-.
- tal-** **•1•** *pref.* prefix indicating that the stem of the derivation refers to a time period or

- time span. •2• *pref-num.* number of days. *See:* talmadia; talpusan. *Root:* tal-.
- talaban** *n.* summer. *Root:* talaban.
- talaq** *n.* plan, scheme. *Root:* talaq.
- talaqais** *v.* wash one's face. *Root:* laqais.
- talauqan** •1• *n.* workman's shack at a construction site. •2• *v.* find shelter. *Root:* talauqan.
- talauqan luli** *n-comp.* find shelter under an overhanging rock. *Root:* talauqan.
- talaʔan** *v.* catch, take. *Root:* talaʔan.
- talaʔasav** *adj.* naked, completely naked. *See:* tabuqia. *Root:* talaʔasav.
- talbantas** *v.* wash one's legs and feet. *Root:* bantas.
- talbinauʔađ** •1• *n.* unmarried woman. •2• *n.* term of address for an unmarried woman; Miss. *Root:* nauʔađ.
- taldanav** •1• *v.* wash (used only for parts of the human body). *See:* linqaul; tal-. •2• *v.* wash one's face with a cloth. *Root:* danav.
- talhima** *v.* wash one's hands. *Root:* hima.
- talhisuq** *v.* wash one's body. *Root:* hisuq.
- tali-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* talikaum; talikiđav. *Root:* tali-.
- talikaum** *v.* sprout; (of flowers) open, bloom. *Root:* talikaum.
- talikiđav** *v.* rely on, find support in. *Root:* talikiđav.
- talikuan** *n.* butterfly. *Root:* talikuan.
- talinqadan** *n.* species of lizard. *Root:* talinqadan.
- talmadia** •1• *adj.* very many, a big amount of. •2• *adj.* long, long-lasting, prolonged. •3• *adj.* (of time units, such as hours and days) a lot, many. •4• *time.* many days, many years. *Root:* madia.
- talmaindu** [tal.mein.'du:] •1• *n.* young man, unmarried man; term of address for an unmarried man, or a young man aged under 30 years old. •2• *adj.* handsome. •3• *n.* youngsters in general. *Root:* maindu.
- talmantuk** *v.* be knowledgeable; possess knowledge, esp. common sense knowledge or knowledge acquired through experience. *Root:* mantuk.
- talpadađ** *adj.* extremely laboursome/troublesome/...; extremely hard to realize. *See:* patađ *Root:* padađ.
- talpiaq** •1• *q-word.* for how long? for how long a period? •2• *q-word.* for how many days? *Root:* piaq.
- talpusan** *num-ord.* two days. *Root:* talpusan.
- talтус** *v.* [tal.'tus] have a quick wash. *Etyim:* from a metaphoric comparison of the act stripping one clothes to have a wash with the act of peeling a fruit to wash the pits out. *Root:* tus.
- talulum** *n.* umbrella. *Root:* talulum.
- Talum** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* talum.
- taluuq** *root.* mountain; mountain top [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* taluuq.
- talʔanav** *v.* wash (one's body), make one's toilet in the morning. *Root:* ʔanav.
- tam-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* tambuʔan. *Root:* tam-.
- tama** •1• *n.* father. •2• *n.* respectful term of address for men that belong to an older generation, typically for male village elders. *Root:* tama.

- Tama Diqanin** *n-comp.* Father in Heaven, reference to the Christian God. *Root:* tama.
- tama sasbin?að diqanin** *n-comp.* Father, the redeemer that lives in Heaven; reference to the Christian God. *Root:* tama.
- tama sasbin?að ðaðaðað** *n-comp.* Father, the redeemer that lives above; reference to the Christian God. *Root:* tama.
- Tamaðu?an** *n.* place in Nantou. *Root:* tamaðu.
- Tamaian** *n.* place name; Da-Ma-Yuan (打馬遠), a hamlet lying a couple of kilometres south of Bahuan and is officially part of it. *Root:* tamaian.
- tamaluj** *n.* drake, male duck. *Root:* tamaluj.
- tamana** *n.* white cabbage. *Root:* tamana.
- tamaŋa** *n.* egg. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* tamaŋa.
- tamasað** *n.* strength, power, force. *Root:* tamasað.
- tamat** *v.* search for, scan for, look for. *Root:* mat.
- tambuŋ?an** *n.* head pillow. *Root:* buŋu.
- tamudan** *v.* go. *Root:* dan.
- tamuhuj** *n.* hat, cap, bonnet. *Root:* tamuhuj.
- tan-** *pref.* inclining to, pointing towards; directional prefix expressing an inclination towards. *See:* tanba?av; tandihip; tanhuluŋ; tantakna. *Root:* tan-.
- tana-** *pref.* inclining to, pointing towards; directional prefix expressing an inclination towards. *Root:* tana-.
- tana-** *pref.* at the ... side; locative prefix expressing a location relative to a reference point. *See:* tanavanan; tanavili; tanaŋaus. *Root:* tana-.
- tanai?an** *n.* soup. *Root:* tanai?an.
- tanamuðu** *v.* cover for protection, shield from. *Root:* muðu.
- tanaŋaus** *v-loc.* (be) in front of. *Root:* ŋaus.
- Tanapima** *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* Tanapima.
- tanavanan** *v-loc.* be at the right-hand side. *Etym:* PAN \*ka-wanaN 'right side' (Blust 2003). *Root:* vanan.
- tanavili** *v-loc.* be at the left-hand side. *Etym:* PAN \*ka-wiRi 'left side' (Blust 2003). *Root:* vili.
- tanbaq** *v-loc.* south. *Root:* tanbaq.
- tanba?av · 1·** *v.* at the top of, towards the top of, above. **· 2·** *v-loc.* north. *Root:* ba?av.
- tandihip** *time.* that time; refers to a definite moment in the past. *Root:* dihip.
- tanhapav · 1·** *v-loc.* be at a location that is slightly higher than a reference point. **· 2·** *v-loc.* be in front of. *Root:* hapav.
- tanhuluŋ · 1·** *v-loc.* be at the back(side) of, be behind. tanhuluŋ tina Uli tu lumaq «behind the house of mother Uli» **· 2·** *v-loc.* be at a high location. *Root:* huluŋ.
- tankinuð** *n.* [taŋ.ˈki.nuðˀ] place at the other side of the mountains. *Root:* kinuð.
- Tankinuð** *n.* [taŋ.ˈki.nuðˀ] the original Bunun name for the counties Hualien and Taidong; lit: the place at the other side of the mountains. *Etym:* Hualien and Taidong were at the other side of the

- Central Mountain Range relative to the original home of the Takivatan in Nantou County. *Root:* kinuð.
- tanlei** *n.* soy bean milk. *Etyim:* from Southern Min. *Root:* tanlei.
- tanmunaʔu** *v.* call out toward (somebody). *Root:* naʔu.
- tanɲadaq** *place.* [ta.ʔɲa.daq] below (refers to a place that is lower relative to a reference point). *Root:* ɲadaq.
- tanqaiu** *v.* [taɲ.ʔqai.ju] steal. *Root:* qaiu.
- tansiki** *v.* pass by without entering (a location, e.g. a village). *Root:* tansiki.
- Tanta** *n.* name of a former settlement in Nantou where the Takivatan, Takbanuað and Takibakha lived together. *Root:* tanta.
- tantakna** *time.* day before a reference day. *Root:* takna.
- tantataknaɲ** *time.* each time when it is still the day before (a certain other day). *Root:* takna.
- tantuɲu** *v.* visit (somebody); be together with somebody as a guest. *Root:* tuɲu.
- tanuduq** *n.* finger or toe. *Root:* tanuduq.
- tanuduq bantas** *n-comp.* toe. *Root:* tanuduq.
- tanuduq hima** *n-comp.* finger. *Root:* tanuduq.
- tanʔa** *v.* listen, hear. *Root:* tanʔa.
- tanʔaiʔanta** *v.* be in that region (distal), be over there. *Root:* aiʔan.
- tanʔam** *v.* check out, try out. *Root:* tanʔam.
- tanʔanak** *v.* walk (by oneself). *Root:* ʔanak.
- tanʔauk** *v.* I hear, I heard. *Root:* tanʔa.
- taɲa** *n.* pickaxe. *Root:* taɲa.
- taɲava** *adj.* be toothless, have no teeth. *Root:* ɲava.
- taɲis** **•1•** *n.* tear, tears. **•2•** *v.* cry, shed tears. *Root:* taɲis.
- taɲtaɲ** *n.* powder. *Root:* taɲtaɲ.
- taɲus** *time.* first, before all others. *Root:* taɲus.
- taɲusaɲ** *time.* first, beforehand, before everything else. *Root:* taɲus.
- Tapaɲ** *n.* place name of a location high up in the mountains above Butterfly Valley (蝴蝶谷) near Ma-yuan. *Root:* tapaɲ.
- tapis** *n.* loincloth. *Root:* tapis.
- tapu-** *pref-adj.* (patient-incorporating prefix, typically of humans) have a distinctive characteristic, which is expressed by the nominal stem. *See:* taputaki; taputian. *Root:* tapu-.
- tapuskuan** *n.* firefly. *Root:* tapuskuan.
- taputaki** *v.* like to produce excrement, like to shit. *Root:* taki.
- taputian** *adj.* big-bellied, having a big belly. *Root:* tian.
- taq** *n.* mud. *Root:* taq.
- taqduɲ** *root-adj.* black, dark, grimy. *Root:* taqduɲ.
- taqnas** *n.* kind of reed with broad leaves. *Root:* taqnas.
- Taqnasan** *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* taqnas.
- taqu** *v-trans.* tell; say, speak, teach. *Root:* taqu.
- tas-** *pref.* give birth to. *See:* siliba. *Root:* tas-.
- tasabaq** *v.* sleep, go to sleep. *Root:* sabaq.

- tasban** •1• *v.* (of moments in time) pass. •2• *place.* in front, passing all others. *Root:* tasban.
- tasbanqais** *v.* transgress; go into. *Root:* banqais.
- tasbanj** *v.* take care of, look after (e.g. children). *Root:* tasbanj.
- Tasin** *n.* name of a small Takivatan settlement near Guang-fu (光復). *Root:* tasin.
- tasipal** •1• *n.* a location high up in the mountains. •2• *v.* the mountain over there [meaning not certain]. *Root:* tasipal.
- Tasipal** *n.* place name [exact location uncertain]. *Root:* tasipal.
- tastu-** *pref-adj.* be a constituent part of, inherently belong to, all belong to the same. *See:* tastulumaq; tastumiqumis; tastusaba; tastu?asaŋ. *Root:* tastu-.
- tastubuan** *adj.* monthly. *Root:* buan.
- tastubuan tu sui** *n-comp.* monthly wages. *Root:* sui.
- tastulumaq** *n.* household; family group, group of people that originate from the same household. *Root:* lumaq.
- tastumiqumis** *adj.* in one's life, during one's life span; lit: originating from one's life. *Root:* iqumis.
- tastusaba** *num-card.* 100; one hundred. *See:* tas?a. *Root:* -saba.
- tastu?asaŋ** *n.* village; more specifically refers to the people and things belonging to a village (as opposed to the village as a geographical entity). *Root:* ?asaŋ.
- tas?a** *num-card.* 1; one. *Root:* tas?a.
- tas?a suqaisaba** *num-card.* 10000; ten thousand. *Root:* -saba.
- tas?aða** *v.* listen (to), hear. *Root:* tas?aða.
- tas?asikis** *n.* horse. *Etym:* lit: with only one toe in its hoof. *Root:* tas?asikis.
- tas?asiŋj** *num-card.* 1000; thousand. *Root:* siŋj.
- tas?uin** •1• *v.* perform, do (a certain action). Mai?uni dalaq tas?uin min?uni bunun «From clay, they are made to be come men». •2• *v.* fix, repair. *Root:* tas?i.
- tataku** *v.* use a spoon (e.g. to eat soup). *Root:* taku.
- tatau** *num-card.* three (only used for human referents). *Root:* tau.
- Tataçiaŋ** *n.* male first name. *Etym:* Japanese loan. *Root:* tataçiaŋ.
- tatini** *num-card.* one, only (only used for human referents). *Root:* tini.
- tatnul** *root.* measure. *Root:* tatnul.
- tatu?un** *adj.* old. *Etym:* < tu?un 'cave'; lit: things (lying) in a cave. *Root:* tu?un.
- tau** *num-card.* 3; three. *Root:* tau.
- tauðu** *n.* pipe, tube; water pipe, .... *Root:* tauðu.
- Tauðuul** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* tauðuul.
- taula** *root.* speak in an incoherent and irrational ways, like a fool or lunatic. *Root:* taula.
- taulei** *n.* soy bean milk. *Etym:* from Southern Min. *Root:* taulei.
- Taulu** •1• *n.* Chinese, Mainland Chinese; a Chinese person who (or whose parents) arrived in Taiwan during the Nationalist immigration at the end of WWII. *Etym:*

from Mandarin Chinese 大陸 (dà lù), lit: 'the big land', referring to Mainland China). •2• *adj.* of or belonging to the Mainland Chinese. *Root:* taulu.

**taun** *v.* open. *Root:* taun.

**tauna-** *pref.* through, into, across; perlative prefix, indicates a movement through or into a certain location. *See:* taunahan; taunataluq; taunaʔiti; taunadan. *Etym:* equivalent to tun- and tuna-. *Root:* tauna-

**taunahan** •1• *v.* go through, pass through. •2• *v.* just arrived at. *Root:* han.

**taunataluq** *v.* come down (from a mountain). *Root:* taluq.

**taunaʔita** *v.* [tau.na.'ʔi.ta] go until that (distal) place. *Root:* ʔita.

**taunaʔiti** *v.* settle in this area, come and live in this area, come here. *Root:* ʔiti.

**Taunqulan** *n.* place name of a location high up in the mountains above Bahuan. *Root:* taunqul.

**tauntaun** *n.* bicycle. *Root:* tauntaun.

**taunʔku** *n.* high mountain top. *See:* taunʔqu. *Root:* taunʔku.

**Taunʔku Patasan** *n-comp.* place name referring to a location on a high mountain top where some Chinese had written signposts to go from Hualien to Nantou; lit: mountain top with the writings. *Root:* taunʔku.

**Taunʔkulan** *n.* place name of a location in Nantou. *Root:* taunʔku.

**taunʔqu** •1• *n.* (obsolete) highest point, zenith (of the sun). •2• *time.* noon, noontime; lit: the time when the sun is at its zenith. *Root:* taunʔqu.

**Taunʔquan** *n.* Dong-Guang (東光), one of the Bunun settlements in Hualien. *Root:* taunʔqu.

**taunʔquin** *v.* it has become noon. *Root:* taunʔqu.

**taunʔqu** *n.* lid (e.g. of a pot). *Root:* taunʔqu.

**taunʔtauq** *n.* (iron or steel) nail. *Root:* taunʔtauq.

**taus-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) give birth to. *See:* tausʔuvað. *Root:* taus-.

**tausaba** *num-card.* 300; three hundred. *See:* tau. *Root:* -saba.

**tausʔusʔan** *v.* be born first, be the first-born. *Root:* ʔusʔan.

**Tavila** *n.* [ta.'vi.la], [da.'vi.la] Tai-Ping village, a Bunun village in the south of Hualien county. *Root:* vila.

**taʔaða** *v.* hear, listen to. *Root:* ʔaða.

**taʔina** *n.* cow; female animal (especially for hoofed animals). *Root:* taʔina.

**ti-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* timimiskaŋ. *Root:* ti-.

**-ti** *surf.* proximal referential definiteness marker. *Root:* -ti.

**tian** *n.* belly. *Root:* tian.

**Tiaŋ** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* Tiaŋ.

**Tibuŋ** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* tibuŋ.

**tibuqlav** *n.* stomach. *Root:* tibuqlav.

**tikas** *n.* ordinary mosquito. *Root:* tikas.

**tikis** *adj.* small; of small size. *Root:* tikis.

**tikulas** *n.* species of ground bird. *Root:* tikulas.

**tikus** *n.* blood. *Root:* tikus.

**tilas** *n.* crops of cereal, especially when still in the husk; husked rice, husked millet. *Root:* tilas.

**Tilus** *n.* place name [exact location uncertain]. *Root:* tilus.

**timimiskaŋ** *adj.* half-filled. baluku timimiskaŋ «a half-filled bowl». *Root:* miskaŋ.

**tin-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix, mainly with nouns referring to crops) harvest. *See:* tinhuduq; tinhutan; tinlukis. *Root:* tin-.

**tin-** *pref.* classificatory prefix expressing that an action involves an (often repeated) shocking movement or a swift radiating movement from a center point. *See:* tindaŋkul; tindiŋki; tinpalavaʔað; tinvuquvuq; tinʔilʔaiʔan; tinsinŋal. *Root:* tin-.

**tina** *n.* respectful term of address for women that belong to an older generation, typically for female village elders. *Root:* tina.

**tina** *n.* mother. *Root:* tina.

**tinasʔi** *v.* resultative form of tasʔi; have build. matasʔi inaliv «make glutinous rice cakes». matasʔi lumaq «build a house». *Root:* tasʔi.

**tinauŋqu** *time.* afternoon; lit: the time when the sun's zenith has passed. *Root:* tauŋqu.

**tindaŋkul** *v.* run. *Root:* daŋkul.

**tindiŋki** *v.* [tin-diŋki] get an electric shock, be electrocuted. *Root:* diŋki.

**tinhuduq** *v.* [tin-huduq] pick bamboo sprouts. *Root:* huduq.

**tinhutan** *v.* [tin-hutan] harvest yam or sweet potatoes. *Root:* hutan.

**tini · 1·** *num-card.* one (only used for human referents). *Etym:* short for tatini. **· 2·** *num-card.* (used mainly for human referents) alone, only one, by oneself. **· 3·** *num-card.* only. *Root:* tini.

**tiniqaisan** *n.* seam of a piece of clothing. *Root:* qais.

**tinliskin** *v.* think of, remember, call to mind, gain remembrance of. *Root:* liskin.

**tinlukis** *v.* cut trees, search for wood. *Root:* lukis.

**tinpalavað** *v.* (suddenly) branch out, branch off, split in several groups, fork. *Root:* palavað.

**tinpalavaʔað** *v.* (suddenly) branch out, branch off, split in several groups, fork. *Root:* palavaʔað.

**tinpusa** *time.* the second time. *Root:* pusa.

**tinqaul** *v.* wash oneself (one's whole body). *Root:* tinqaul.

**tinqulpiq** *v.* have put on weight, have gained weight. *Root:* qulpiq.

**tinsanŋlav** *v.* harvest vegetables. *Root:* sanŋlav.

**tinsinŋal** *v.* make light, turn on the light. *Root:* sinŋal.

**tinsu** *time.* immediately. *Root:* tinsu.

**tinsusulpak** *n.* spectacled cobra. *Root:* sulpak.

**tinsʔan** *n.* millet harvest festival, festival preceding the millet harvest. *Root:* tinsʔan.

**tinvasvas** *v.* relocate, move to a different and better place (typically in search of a better job, arable land, etc.) *Root:* vasvas.

- tinvuquvq** *v.* move back and forth. *Root:* vuquvq.
- tinʔilʔaiʔan** *v.* sprout and grow up, grow up (only of plants, only intransitive). *Root:* tinʔilʔaiʔan.
- tinʔun** *v.* weave. *See:* kinduʔun. *Root:* tinʔun.
- tiʔani** *n.* letter; message written on paper. *Root:* tiʔani.
- tiʔas** *n.* remains of food between one's teeth. *Root:* tiʔas.
- tiʔkutʔa** *v.* faint, fall down unconsciously. *Root:* tiʔkutʔa.
- tiʔmut** *n.* [ˈtiʔ.mut], [ˈtiʔ.mut] morning. *Root:* tiʔmut.
- tis-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* tismuku; tispalkal; tispalkav. *Root:* tis-.
- tishaqu** *v.* set a trap or snare. *Root:* haqu.
- tishutan** *v.* harvest yams. *Root:* huta.
- tismahiqul** *v.* have a bad dream. *Root:* hiqu.
- tismuku** *adj.* tired, exhausted. *Root:* muku.
- tispalkav** *v.* wake up, get up, get out of bed; refers to the physical act of getting out of bed (in contrast to minanuku). *See:* minanuku. *Root:* palkav.
- tisqud** *n.* belt, girdle. *Root:* tisqud.
- tisʔuni** *v.* [tiʃ.ˈʔu.ni] become; be just like; semantically vague verb expressing that something is in a result state. *Root:* ʔuni.
- tisʔuni aunqumaun** *colloc.* till the land; prepare land for agricultural use. *Root:* tisʔuni.
- titi** *n.* flesh, meat; general term, used for human flesh and for animal meat for human consumption; titi can be subdivided into simal (fatty meat) and las (red meat). *See:* simal; las. *Root:* titi.
- titi iskan** *n.* fish meat. *Root:* titi.
- titi libus** *n.* game, meat from hunted animals. *Root:* titi.
- titi qanvaj** *n.* meat from a sambar or water buffalo. *Root:* titi.
- tiv** *n.* mushroom; general term for all kinds of mushroom. *Root:* tiv.
- tu · 1· part.** complementizer; particle indicating a complement clause. **· 2· part.** attribute marker. *Etym:* probably from Chinese attribute marker 的 (de). *Root:* tu.
- tu-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* tukaun; tuʔiʔia. *Root:* tu-.
- tubaʔnu** *v.* speak evil about, speak in a depreciating way about; malign, insult. *Root:* baʔnu.
- tubasun** *v.* reply to an offer. *Root:* basun.
- tudip** *time.* that time; refers to a definite moment in the past. *See:* qabas. *Root:* tudip.
- tudipʔað** *n.* a person of that time, people in those days. *Root:* tudip.
- tuða** *aux.* real, having reality (often something that can be perceived); conceivable, perceptible. *Root:* tuða.
- tuðapun** *aux.* really (be), veritably. *Root:* tuða.
- tukal** *n.* maggot living in rotting meat. *Root:* tukal.
- tukaun** *v.* (of slaughtered animals) be cut in two halves. *Root:* tukaun.
- tuki** *n.* clock; hour. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* tuki.

- tuktuk** *v.* chop off, cut off using an axe. *Root:* tuktuk.
- Tulbus** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* Tulbus.
- tulkuk** *n.* chicken. *Root:* tulkuk.
- tulmi** *n.* thread (made of textile). *Root:* tulmi.
- tum-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix, with vehicles) drive, ride, take (e.g. a train). *See:* tumleihleih; tumpautpaut; tumvasu; tumʔutuvai. *Root:* tum-.
- tuma buqul** *n-comp.* tomato. *Etym:* from Japanese *atu* 'tomato' and Takivatan *buqul* 'round'. *Root:* tuma.
- tumað** *n.* Formosan black bear, Asiatic black bear, white-throated bear; by extension, a generic term for all species of bear. *Selenarctos thibetanus formosanus*. *See:* auqal; istina; pantanan. *Root:* tumað.
- tumbaktu** *v-trans.* open (something). *Root:* tumbaktu.
- tumðaða** *v.* drive (a vehicle). *Root:* ðaða.
- tumlaihlaih** *v.* [tum. 'leiχ.ləiχ] drive a car. *Root:* laihlaih.
- tumpautpaut** *v.* drive a motorcycle. *Root:* pautpaut.
- tumtauntaun** *v.* ride a bicycle. *Root:* tauntaun.
- tumuq · 1·** *n.* (in traditional bunun society) elder, clan leader, group leader, leader of a settlement. **· 2·** *n.* (in present-day society) generic term for people in a leading position; village leader, head of a government body, president, .... *Root:* tumuq.
- tumvasu** *v.* drive a bus; take a train. *Root:* vasu.
- tumʔutuvai** *v.* ride a motorcycle. *Root:* utuvai.
- tun-** *pref.* through, into, across; perlativ prefix expressing a movement across, through or into a certain location. *See:* tunhan; tunʔiti; tundan. *Root:* tun-.
- tun** *suf.* medial referential definiteness marker. *Root:* -tun.
- tuna-** *pref.* through, into, across; perlativ prefix expressing a movement across, through or into a certain location. *See:* tunahan; tunataluq; tunaʔiti; tunadan. *Root:* tuna-.
- tunadan** *v.* [tu.nă.'dɑ:n] cross a road. *Root:* dan.
- tunahan** *v.* [tu.nă.'hɑ:n] arrive at (a destination). *Etym:* variant of taunahan. *Root:* han.
- tunaʔita** *v.* [tu.na.'ʔi.ta] arrive there (in that distal place), settle there. *Root:* ʔita.
- tunaʔiti** *v.* [tu.nă.'ʔi.ti] settle in this area, come and live in this area, come here. *Root:* ʔiti.
- tundan** *v.* cross a road. *Root:* dan.
- tundaq** *root.* kick with one's feet. *Root:* tundaq.
- tunhan** *v.* [tun.'hɑ:n] arrive at (a point in time). *Root:* han.
- tunhaul** *v.* cross a river. *Root:* haul.
- tunhulan** *v.* go downward. *Root:* haul.
- tunlusqu** *v.* move house. *Root:* lusqu.
- tunqal** *root.* kick with one's knee. *Root:* tunqal.
- tunsunu** *v.* move to. *Root:* sunu.

- tunuq** *n.* landslide. *Root:* tunuq.
- tunʔiti** *v.* settle in this area, come and live in this area, come here. *Root:* ʔiti.
- tujan** *aux.* finish, complete, ready. *Root:* tujan.
- tujanin** *aux.* have finished; have completed. *Root:* tujan.
- tuju** *root.* visit; be a guest. *Root:* tuju.
- tupa** **•1•** *v-trans.* speak, talk. **•2•** *v-trans.* call, name. *Root:* tupa.
- tupaun** *v-trans.* be called. *Root:* tupa.
- tuq-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) talk (about somebody). *See:* tuqsisia. *Root:* tuq-.
- tuqaiv** *n.* pool of stagnant rain water in a tree hole. *Root:* tuqaiv.
- tuqas** **•1•** *n.* older sibling, older brother or sister. **•2•** *n.* polite term of address for people in the same age group that are older than you. *Root:* tuqas.
- tuqauq** *q-word.* how is ... called? *Root:* tuqauq.
- tuqlu** *root.* cover. *Root:* tuqlu.
- tuqnað** **•1•** *n.* bone. **•2•** *n.* skeleton. **•3•** *n.* fish bone. **•4•** *n.* core of a fruit; pit (in fruits, if there is only one pit). *See:* katus. *Root:* tuqnað.
- tuqsisia** *v.* speak of a person mentioned before in discourse. *Root:* sia.
- tuqu** *n.* tree stump. *Root:* tuqu.
- tuqumis** *n.* blessing. *Root:* tuqumis.
- tus** *n.* seed, kernel (of fruits). *Root:* tus.
- tus-** *pref.* (patient-incorporating prefix) give birth to. *See:* tusʔuvað. *Etym:* reduced variant of taus-. *Root:* tus-.
- tusasaus** *v.* sing. *Root:* tusaus.
- tuskun** *v.* [t-uskun] fool about. *Root:* tuskun.
- tusmaŋ** *aux.* straightforward, rash. tusmaŋ baðbað «talk too rashly». *Root:* tusmaŋ.
- tusuvaðʔað** *v-intrans.* give birth. *Root:* uvaðʔað.
- tusʔan** *v.* crow for the first time. *Root:* tusʔan.
- tusʔan tulkuk** *colloc.* at the first crow of the rooster. *Root:* tusʔan.
- tusʔusan** *v.* be born first, be the first-born. *Root:* tusʔusan.
- tutikis** *time.* a short time. *Root:* tikis.
- tutikisan** *manner.* [tu-tikis-an] a little bit. *Root:* tikis.
- tutiʔun** *manner.* three times. *Root:* tutiʔun.
- tutuðatu** *aux.* really, most certainly. *Root:* tuða.
- tutunʔun** *n.* hammer. *Root:* tunʔun.
- tutuʔa** *n.* key. *Root:* tuʔa.
- tuʔiʔia** *n.* sound, especially high squeaking sound. *Root:* tuʔiʔia.
- tuʔun** *n.* cave, cavern, hole. *Root:* tuʔun.

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## U - u

- u** **•1•** *inter.* yes, indeed; interjection used to express agreement, especially with a previously uttered statement. **•2•** *nter.* interjection expressing the realization of some truth. *Root:* u.

- u-** *pref.* (be) able to; derives an ability from verbs of cognition or perception. *See:* usaqalan; uqainsaipan. *Root:* u-.
- udinunan** *n.* large gathering, meeting. *Root:* dinun.
- uđa** *n.* decision. *Root:* uđa.
- uđus** *v.* be a glutton, love to eat excessively. *Root:* uđus.
- uk** *pron-pers.* I; bound first person singular pronoun, marks non-focused agents in undergoer constructions. *Root:* -ak.
- uka** *v.* *See:* ʔuka. *Root:* uka.
- uka laqaiban** *idiom.* there is no way out/through. *Root:* laqaiban.
- uka nipaŋ** *idiom.* be drunk; lit: without saliva. *Etym:* only used in Qi-Mei (奇美); refers to the dry feeling in the mouth one gets after drinking large amounts of alcohol. *Root:* nipaŋ.
- uka tu tasʔa** *idiom.* not even one. *Root:* tasʔa.
- ulađ** *n.* muscles of the lower arm or on the bridge of the foot that are connected to the fingers or toes. *Root:* ulađ.
- ulađ laqaiban tikus** *n-comp.* blood vessel. *See:* tikus. *Root:* ulađ.
- Uli** *n.* [uli] Bunun female first name. *Root:* Uli.
- um-** *pref.* [meaning uncertain]. *See:* umpileqan; umpuluʔan. *Root:* um-.
- umanum** •1• *v.* destroy, especially in such a way that the destroyed object has completely broken apart. *See:* vaqanan. •2• *v.* get rid of snot, e.g. by spitting it out. *Root:* umanun.
- umanun** *v.* open. *Root:* umanun.
- umaʔanan** *time.* sometimes. *Root:* umaʔanan.
- umpileqan** *manner.* the last. *Root:* umpileqan.
- umpuluʔan** *v.* suffer from arthritis. *Root:* pulu.
- un-** *pref.* undergo, suffer [meaning uncertain]. *See:* undan; untiŋasaŋ; unʔaiŋka. *Root:* un-.
- un** •1• *suf-foc.* undergoer focus suffix; marks patient orientation and, to a lesser extent, beneficiary and instrument orientation. •2• *suf.* (with cognitive verbal stems) nominalising suffix referring to the result of a cognitive process. *See:* iklalivaun; iqdiʔun; qansaipun. •3• *suf.* (with verbal stems) nominalising suffix referring to an object that is instrumental to performing a certain action. *See:* butiqun; isqaisqaisun; kaununkaunun; kuđkuđaun. •4• *suf.* (on nouns) emphatic marker [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* -un.
- undan** *v.* [un.<sup>1</sup>dan] arrive at (a destination). *Root:* dan.
- unidunan** *n.* large gathering. *Root:* unidunan.
- uninaŋ** *idiom.* thank you. *Root:* uninaŋ.
- unisin** *aux.* in a moment, in a short while. *Root:* unisin.
- untijaŋ** *v.* remove food remains from between one's teeth. *Root:* tiŋas.
- unʔaiŋka** *idiom.* tell them, told them. *Etym:* contraction of tupaun aiŋka. *Root:* aiŋk-.
- uŋka** *root.* top, brim. *Root:* uŋka.

**upa** *root.* step, pace; walk, go (step by step) [meaning uncertain]. *Root:* upa.

**uqansaipan** *v.* be able to speak. *Root:* qansiap.

**uqnaun** •1• *aux.* again, further, furthermore. •2• *conj.* furthermore, moreover, besides. *Root:* uqna.

**usaq** *n.* tear. *Root:* usaq.

**usaqalan** *v.* clearly understandable. *Root:* saqal.

**uskaun** *aux.* all together, in one go, in one group. *Root:* uska.

**uskunan** *n.* person with whom one does something together; colleague, classmate, team mate, sexual partner, .... *Root:* uskun.

**uskunan pantu** *idiom.* classmate. *Root:* uskun.

**uslun** *n.* [us'lun] noodles. *See:* sauva. *Etym:* original Takivatan Bunun word, in contrast to the Japanese loan sauva. *Root:* uslun.

**utuvai** *n.* motorcycle, motorbike, moped. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* utuvai.

**uvað?að** *n.* child; (my) children. *Root:* uvað.

**uvað?að banan?að** *n-comp.* young boy. *Root:* banan?að.

**uvað?að binanau?að** *n-comp.* young girl. *Root:* nau?að.

**uvau** *n.* Chinese parsley, Chinese coriander. *Coriandrum sativum* L. *Root:* uvau.

**uvavað?að** •1• *n.* many children; children in general; the children of the village. *Etym:* CV reduplication of nouns often indicates plurality, but with uvað, the meaning usually is 'all children in the community', in contrast to one's own children. •2• *n.* grandchildren; my children's children and all younger generations. *Etym:* In this case, CV reduplication indicates a repetitive downward movement in time and along generations. *Root:* uvað.

**u?ala?an** *n.* stop-over, intermediate stop. *Root:* ?ala.

## V - v

**vaðaqvaðaq** *v.* squirm; lie down and make convulsive movements. *Root:* vaðaq.

**vain** *n.* shinbone. *Root:* vain.

**vaivi** •1• *adj.* different. •2• *adj.* of a different kind. *See:* vaividaq; vaivisidug. •3• *adj.* foreign. *Root:* vaivi.

**vaividaq** *adj.* abroad. *Root:* dalaq.

**vaivisidug** *adj.* from another clan, from another country; from various different clans, from various different countries. *Root:* sidug.

**vaivitu** *adj.* other, different, various. *Root:* vaivi.

**vaivivaivi** *adj.* all different kinds of. *Root:* vaivi.

**vakal** *n.* leg (of a pig). *Root:* vakal.

**vakiq** *v.* (uncommon) pay. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* vakiq.

**valai** *n.* trail, especially in flattened grass. *Root:* valai.

- valasi** *n.* small pebble used for making cement mix. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* valasi.
- vali** *n.* sun. *Root:* vali.
- vali tu siŋqal** *n-comp.* sun ray. *Root:* siŋqal.
- Valis** *n.* Takivatan female first name. *Root:* Valis.
- valiʔan** *v.* (only of the sun) shine; the sun shines. *Root:* vali.
- vanan** *place.* right. *Root:* vanan.
- vanaqan** *v.* subtract, deduct. *Root:* vanaq.
- vanas** *n.* window. *Root:* vanas.
- vanis** *n.* Formosan wild boar; mountain pig, wild boar. *Sus scrofa taivanus.* *Root:* vanis.
- vaŋau** *n.* field mouse; sugar cane mouse, Taiwanese field mouse that mainly feeds on sugar cane. *Root:* vaŋau.
- vaŋlað** *n.* riverside. *Root:* vaŋlað.
- vaq-** *root.* knee. *Root:* -vaq-.
- vaqa ·1·** *n.* antler. **·2·** *n.* bull; male of animals with antlers. *See:* qanvaŋ. **·3·** *n.* generic term for all animals with large antlers, especially species of deer. *Root:* vaqa.
- vaqanan** *v.* damage; destroy, especially in such a way that the destroyed object is still in one piece. *See:* umanum. *Root:* vaqan.
- vaqun** *n.* trousers, pants. *Root:* vaqun.
- vaqvaq** *n.* jawbone. *Root:* vaqvaq.
- vaqʔu** *n.* shoulder. *Root:* vaqʔu.
- vasu ·1·** *n.* bus, public bus. **·2·** *n.* tram, small train. *Root:* vasu.
- vasuk** *n.* urinary bladder. *Root:* vasuk.
- Vatan ·1·** *n.* Takivatan male first name. **·2·** *n.* name of a former Takivatan settlement in the County Nantou. **·3·** *n.* short for Takivatan. *Root:* vatan.
- Vataʔan** *n.* Guang-Fu (光復), a town six kilometres north of Ma-Yuan. *Root:* vataʔan.
- Vau** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* Vau.
- vau** *num-card.* 8; eight. *Root:* vau.
- vaupas** *part.* how is it possible that (expresses that a certain state or event was unexpected or deemed implausible). *Root:* vaupas.
- vausaba** *num-card.* 800; eight hundred. *See:* vau. *Root:* -saba.
- vavailan** *n.* dustbin. *Root:* vailan.
- Vavaqa** *n.* name of a place in the mountains of Nantou. *Root:* vaqa.
- vavau** *num-card.* eight (only used for human referents). *Root:* vau.
- via** *n.* large knife, used to cut wood or to hunt. *Root:* via.
- via** *q-word.* why? *Etym:* short for mavia. *Root:* via.
- Vilanhua** *n.* Takivatan family name. *Root:* vilanhua.
- Vilansau** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* vilansau.
- vili** *place.* left. *Root:* vili.
- Vilian** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* Vilian.
- vinkiu** *v.* study. *Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* vinkiu.
- Viqais** *n.* place name. *Root:* viqais.
- vivi** *n.* duck. *Root:* vivi.

**vukusi** *n.* minister in the protestant Church.

*Etym:* from Japanese. *Root:* vukusi.

**vunu** *n.* rice field. *Root:* vunu.

**vuq** *n.* kiwi fruit; small wild kiwi fruit that can be found in the mountains of Taiwan.

*Root:* vuq.

**vusuq** *n.* bladder. *Root:* vusuq.

**vuvuqvuvuq** *v.* move, stir, budge. *Root:* vuqvuvuq.

## ʔ

**-ʔa** *suf.* subordination marker. *Root:* -a.

**ʔabuʔabu** *n.* species of black waterfowl.

*Root:* ʔabuʔabu.

**ʔadu** *aux.* is or not? particle introducing a polar question. *Root:* ʔadu.

**-ʔaǎ** *suf.* old, now-obsolete adjectivising suffix. *Root:* -ʔaǎ.

**-ʔaǎ** *suf-nom.* nominalising suffix creating a person that has a property expressed by the stem of the derivation. *See:* daidaǎǎ; ǎǎǎǎǎ; istamasaǎǎ; madaiŋʔaǎ; sasbiŋʔaǎ. *Root:* -ʔaǎ.

**ʔaǎa** *aux.* equally, all equally, to the same extent, to the same level. *Root:* ʔaǎa.

**ʔaǎaʔaǎa** *aux.* all/everybody equally, all/everybody to the same extent. *See:* ʔaǎʔaǎ. *Root:* ʔaǎa.

**ʔaǎʔaǎ · 1·** *aux.* equally, all/everybody to the same extent. **· 2·** *aux.* merely, only. *Root:* ʔaǎ.

**ʔaiǎa** *place.* there; an uncommon variant of daiǎa. *Root:* ʔaiǎa.

**ʔaiivan** *v.* be given. aivanʔas «you are given something». *Etym:* < ʔaiiv 'give' + -an 'LF'; somehow related to masaiv 'give'. *Root:* ʔaiiv-.

**-ʔak** *pron-pers.* I; bound form first person singular pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Root:* -ak.

**ʔalaŋ** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* ʔalaŋ.

**-ʔam** *pron-pers.* you (plural); bound second person plural pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Root:* -am.

**ʔanak** *root.* *Root:* ʔanak.

**ʔapʔap** *n.* big black frog. *Root:* ʔapʔap.

**-ʔas** *pron-pers.* you; second person singular pronoun, bound focused argument form. *Root:* -as.

**ʔasaŋ · 1·** *n.* village, home village. **· 2·** *n.* place of origin, ancestral home. *Root:* ʔasaŋ.

**ʔata** *pron-pers.* we (including you); free first person plural inclusive pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Root:* ʔata.

**ʔataʔata** *adj.* crazy, retarded, having problems in the head. *Root:* ʔataʔata.

**ʔaupʔaup** *n.* small black frog. *Root:* ʔaupʔaup.

**ʔikul** *n.* tail (of an animal). *Root:* ʔikul.

**ʔilu** *n.* Takivatan male first name. *Root:* ʔilu.

**-ʔis** *pron-pers.* he; bound third person singular person pronoun, typically marks focused agents. *Etym:* rare. *Root:* -is.

**ʔisaq** *q-word.* [ʔi.saq] where? *Root:* ʔisaq.

**ʔisʔis** *v.* drizzle, to rain very lightly. *Root:* ʔisʔis.

**ʔita · 1·** *place.* there (distal). *See:* ʔiti; ʔitun. **· 2·** *time.* then, that time (for past events). *Root:* ʔita.

**ʔitaʔin** *idiom.* when arrived there; when that time had come. *Etym:* perfective form of the distal locative word 'there'. *Root:* ʔita.

**ʔiti** *root.* here (proximal). *See:* ʔitun; ʔita. *Root:* ʔiti.

**ʔitun** *place.* there (medial). *See:* ʔiti; ʔita. *Root:* ʔitun.

**ʔitusia** *place.* there. *Root:* sia.

**ʔiu** *n.* [ʔi.'u] medicine. *Etym:* from Chinese 藥 'medicin' (Mandarin yào / Southern Min). *Root:* ʔiu.

**ʔuat** *aux.* apparently. *Root:* ʔuat.

**ʔuðus** *adj.* glutton, person who likes to eat. *Root:* ʔuðus.

**ʔuka · 1·** *aux.* have not. **· 2·** *aux.* there is/are not; negative existential verb. *Root:* ʔuka.

**ʔukaŋ** *aux.* not yet have; there is not yet. *Root:* ʔuka.

**ʔukin** *aux.* have not anymore. *Etym:* perfective form of uka. *Root:* ʔuka.

**ʔulʔul** *n.* rice soup. *Root:* ʔulʔul.

**ʔuni** *root.* be, exist, create. *Root:* ʔuni.

**ʔuni** *inter.* stop marker indicating that the speaker has lost count of what (s)he wants to say, but has not finished speaking yet. *Root:* ʔuni.

**ʔunitu** *inter.* (variant of ʔuni) stop marker indicating that the speaker has lost count of what (s)he wants to say, but has not finished speaking yet. *Root:* ʔuni.

**ʔupsil** *n.* body hair; hair on arms, legs and torso. *Root:* ʔupsil.

## 1.2. Index of Roots

### A - a

a-	▶ <i>pref.</i> a-				
a	▶ <i>part.</i> a				
	▶ <i>inter.</i> a				
	▶ <i>disc.</i> a				
ad-	▶ <i>pref.</i> ad-				
adas	▶ <i>v.</i> inadas				
	▶ <i>v.</i> si?adas				
	▶ <i>v.</i> pasi?adas				
	▶ <i>v.</i> la?adus				
	▶ <i>v.</i> si?adas				
aduq	▶ <i>part.</i> aduqai				
	▶ <i>idiom.</i> aduq naip				
	▶ <i>part.</i> aduq				
ađan	▶ <i>aux.</i> ađan				
ahlutun	▶ <i>n.</i> ahlutun				
ai	▶ <i>inter.</i> ai				
	▶ <i>conj.</i> ai				
ailis	▶ <i>time.</i> ailis				
ain	▶ <i>pron.</i> satisain				
	▶ <i>aux.</i> aini				
aint-	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> ainta				
	▶ <i>root.</i> aint-				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> nainta				
aiŋk-	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> aiŋki				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> naiŋkun				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> aiŋkun				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> naiŋki				
		▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> naiŋka			
		▶ <i>idiom.</i> un?aiŋka			
		▶ <i>root.</i> aiŋk-			
		▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> aiŋka			
aip-	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> naipa				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> naipi				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> aip				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> aipun				
	▶ <i>root.</i> aip-				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> aipi				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> naip				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> aipa				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> naipun				
aisqa-	▶ <i>pref.</i> aisqa-				
ait-	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> aiti				
	▶ <i>v.</i> painaita				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> aita				
	▶ <i>root.</i> ait-				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> naita				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> naiti				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> aitun				
	▶ <i>pron-dem.</i> naitun				
aiv-	▶ <i>v.</i> aivi				
ai?an	▶ <i>pron.</i> nai?antun				
	▶ <i>n.</i> ai?an				
	▶ <i>pron.</i> nai?anti				
	▶ <i>pron.</i> nai?anta				
		▶ <i>v.</i> tan?ai?anta			
		▶ <i>root.</i> -ai?an-			
ak	▶ <i>idiom.</i> maq ?ak a				
aki	▶ <i>n.</i> aki				
	▶ <i>n.</i> aki				
akia	▶ <i>n.</i> akia				
al-	▶ <i>pref.</i> al-				
ali	▶ <i>n.</i> Ali				
alim	▶ <i>n.</i> alim				
al?u	▶ <i>n.</i> ail?u?u?an				
	▶ <i>v.</i> mal?u				
	▶ <i>n.</i> ailu?an				
	▶ <i>v.</i> pal?u				
	▶ <i>n.</i> ail?u?an				
	▶ <i>root.</i> al?u				
	▶ <i>v.</i> al?uan				
	▶ <i>n.</i> mal?u				
	▶ <i>colloc.</i> haiđa				
	ailulu?an				
	▶ <i>n.</i> ailulu?an				
	▶ <i>colloc.</i> pal?u				
	munquma				
ama	▶ <i>v.</i> inama				
	▶ <i>v.</i> amaun				
ambut	▶ <i>adj.</i> ambubut				
Amelika	▶ <i>v.</i> malasamelika				
	▶ <i>n.</i> Amelika				

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|--|---|---|
| <p>amin ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>amin</b><br/> ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>aminun</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>amin?amin</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>amin?amin</b><br/> ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>pan?aminan</b></p> <p>ampuk ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>mu?ampuk</b><br/> ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>Ampuk</b></p> <p>amsaqan ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>amsaqan</b></p> <p>amuḏi ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>amuḏi</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>amuḏi</b></p> <p>amukani ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>amukani</b></p> <p>amuq ▶ <i>inter.</i> <b>amuq</b></p> <p>amuqai ▶ <i>conj.</i> <b>amuqai</b></p> <p>amuqani ▶ <i>conj.</i> <b>amuqani</b></p> <p>an- ▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>an-</b></p> <p>ana ▶ <i>part.</i> <b>ana</b></p> <p>anak ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>anak?anak</b><br/> ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>anak</b></p> <p>anaq- ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>panaq</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>panaqan</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>panaqun</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>pinanaq</b></p> <p>ansia ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>ansia</b></p> | <p>antala ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>antala</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>antalam</b></p> <p>anta?an ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>anta?an</b></p> <p>an?adus ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>an?adus</b></p> <p>aᅇkus ▶ <i>root.</i> <b>aᅇkus</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>aᅇkun</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>aᅇkus</b></p> <p>aᅇqai ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>aᅇqai</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>aᅇqai</b></p> <p>Apiᅇ ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>Apiᅇ</b></p> <p>apu ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>apu</b></p> <p>Aquḏ ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>Aquḏ</b></p> <p>asa ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>asa</b><br/> ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>asaᅇ</b><br/> ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>na?asaun</b><br/> ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>asa</b><br/> ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>asa</b></p> <p>asaun ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>asaun</b></p> <p>asi- ▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>asi-</b></p> <p>asidu ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>asidudu</b></p> <p>asik ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>asik</b></p> <p>asis?an ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>asis?an</b></p> <p>asqaḏ ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>asqaḏ</b></p> | <p>asta- ▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>asta-</b></p> <p>asu ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>asu</b></p> <p>at- ▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>at-</b></p> <p>ata ▶ <i>colloc.</i> <b>maqᅇsataka</b></p> <p>atan- ▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>atan-</b></p> <p>atul ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>Atul</b></p> <p>aun ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>kia?aun</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>ki?aun</b><br/> ▶ <i>aux.</i> <b>aun</b></p> <p>aupa ▶ <i>conj.</i> <b>pa</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>minaupata</b><br/> ▶ <i>conj.</i> <b>aupa</b><br/> ▶ <i>place.</i> <b>pusaupata</b><br/> ▶ <i>conj.</i> <b>aupa</b><br/> ▶ <i>conj.</i> <b>aupaki</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>maisi?aupa</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>musaupa</b></p> <p>auqaḏ ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>auqaḏ</b></p> <p>auqal ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>auqal</b></p> <p>avula ▶ <i>adj.</i> <b>avula</b><br/> ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>avula</b></p> |
|--|---|---|

## B - b

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <p>ba ▶ <i>disc.</i> <b>ba</b></p> <p>ba- ▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>ba-</b></p> <p>babu ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>babu</b><br/> ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>patbabu?an</b></p> <p>badaq ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>badaqbadaq</b></p> <p>baḏ ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>isbaḏbaḏ</b></p> | <p>baḏbaḏ ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>baḏbaḏan</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>babaḏbaḏ</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>baḏbaḏ</b><br/> ▶ <i>idiom.</i> <b>qaḏmaᅇ</b><br/> <b>baḏbaḏ</b></p> <p>bahad ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>bahad</b></p> <p>bahak ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>bahak</b></p> | <p>bahi ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>bahi?an</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>bahi</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>matibahi</b><br/> ▶ <i>root.</i> <b>bahi</b><br/> ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>sanabahi</b></p> <p>Bahuan ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>Bahuan</b></p> |
|--|---|---|

- bahuan ▶ *v.* mabahuan  
     ▶ *n.* Takibahuan  
     ▶ *n.* Takbahuan
- bai ▶ *v.* musbai  
     ▶ *n.* bai  
     ▶ *n.* kusbabai  
     ▶ *n.* bai  
     ▶ *v.* isbai  
     ▶ *v.* kusbai  
     ▶ *inter.* bai
- baiju ▶ *n.* baiju silup  
     ▶ *n.* baiju  
     ▶ *n-comp.* baiju litaŋ  
     ▶ *n-comp.* baiju pulavað  
     ▶ *n-comp.* baiju laian  
     ▶ *n-comp.* baiju kaiʔun
- bais ▶ *inter.* bais
- baitu ▶ *n-comp.* baitu tiŋmut  
     ▶ *n-comp.* baitu sanavan  
     ▶ *n.* baitu  
     ▶ *n-comp.* baitu taŋqu
- bakha ▶ *n.* Takibakha
- bal- ▶ *pref.* bal-
- balat ▶ *v.* mubalat
- bali ▶ *n.* Bali
- baliv ▶ *n.* babalivan  
     ▶ *v.* babaliv
- ▶ *n-comp.* babalivan daiŋað  
     ▶ *v.* isbaliv  
     ▶ *root.* baliv  
     ▶ *v.* mabaliv
- balivusan ▶ *n.* balivusan
- baluku ▶ *n.* baluku  
     ▶ *n-comp.* baluku daiŋ  
     ▶ *n-comp.* baluku kakaunan qaisiŋ  
     ▶ *n-comp.* baluku tikis  
     ▶ *n-comp.* baluku qaisiŋ
- bananʔað ▶ *n-comp.* madaiŋʔaðin  
     bananʔað  
     ▶ *n.* bananʔað  
     ▶ *n-comp.* uvaðʔað  
     bananʔað
- banhil ▶ *n.* Kabanhilan  
     ▶ *n.* banhil  
     ▶ *n.* banhil
- banqais ▶ *v.* tasbanqais
- banta ▶ *n.* banta
- bantalaŋ ▶ *adj.* Bantalaŋ
- Bantalaŋ ▶ *n.* Bantalaŋ
- bantas ▶ *n.* bantas  
     ▶ *v.* talbantas
- bantiq ▶ *v.* mabantiq
- banuað ▶ *n.* Takbanuað  
     ▶ *n.* Banuað
- baŋnu ▶ *v.* tubaŋnu
- baŋqal ▶ *n.* baŋqalbaŋqal
- baŋu ▶ *n.* babaŋu
- baqais ▶ *v.* pisbaqaisun  
     ▶ *adj.* mabaqais
- baqan ▶ *n.* baqan
- baqis ▶ *adj.* mabaqis
- baqlu ▶ *time.* baqlu  
     ▶ *adj.* baqlu
- basan ▶ *v.* palabasan
- basun ▶ *v.* tubasun
- batal ▶ *n.* batal
- batu ▶ *n-comp.* batu daiŋað  
     ▶ *v.* mabatu  
     ▶ *root.* batu  
     ▶ *v.* mabatu  
     ▶ *n.* batu  
     ▶ *n.* Batu
- baun ▶ *conj.* baun  
     ▶ *conj.* baun
- bauŋan ▶ *v-trans.* bauŋan
- bauŋbauŋ ▶ *adj.* mabaŋbauŋ
- baʔav ▶ *n.* takbabaʔav  
     ▶ *place.* bav  
     ▶ *place.* baʔav  
     ▶ *v.* munbaʔav  
     ▶ *v.* ibav  
     ▶ *v.* ibaʔav  
     ▶ *v.* musbaʔav  
     ▶ *v.* minabaʔav  
     ▶ *v.* tanbaʔav  
     ▶ *v-loc.* tanbaʔav

- baʔbaʔ ▶ *aux.* **baʔbaʔ**  
▶ *v.* **manbaʔbaʔ**
- bi- ▶ *pref.* **bi-**
- bidil ▶ *n.* **bidil**
- bidniʔ ▶ *n.* **bidniʔ**
- bilbil ▶ *n.* **bilbil**
- bisuk ▶ *root.* **bisuk**  
▶ *v.* **bibisuk**
- bit- ▶ *pref.* **bit-**
- bitvaqan ▶ *v.* **bitvaqan**
- bu- ▶ *pref.* **bu-**
- bual ▶ *adj.* **mabual**
- buan ▶ *n-comp.* **buan**  
**dalʔuan**  
▶ *n.* **buan**  
▶ *n-comp.* **buan**  
**padaqtaɪŋaʔan**  
▶ *adj.* **tastubuan**  
▶ *n-comp.* **buan**  
**minsudain**  
▶ *n-comp.* **buan**  
**paqunan**  
▶ *v-comp.* **maudu**  
**buan**  
▶ *n.* **buan**  
▶ *n-comp.* **buan**  
**aunquman**  
▶ *n-comp.* **buan**  
**taɪŋaʔan**  
▶ *n-comp.* **buan**  
**baqtaɪŋaʔan**
- ▶ *n-comp.* **buan**  
**alʔuan**
- buaq ▶ *n.* **Buaq**
- bubu ▶ *n.* **bubu**
- bubusan ▶ *v.* **bubusan**
- buðas ▶ *n.* **buðas**
- bukðav ▶ *adj.* **mabukðav**  
▶ *n.* **bukðav**  
▶ *root.* **bukðav**  
▶ *v.* **minbukðav**  
▶ *n.* **Bukðav**
- bukun ▶ *n.* **Isbukun**  
▶ *n.* **Bubukun**
- bulsuk ▶ *adj.* **mabulsuk**
- bulu ▶ *aux.* **bulu**
- bunbun ▶ *v.* **mabunbun**  
▶ *n.* **bunbun**
- buntu ▶ *adj.* **mabuntu**  
▶ *time.* **buntu**
- bunuað ▶ *n-comp.* **bunuað**  
**tikis**  
▶ *n-comp.* **bunuað**  
**qaiðu**
- Bunun ▶ *v.* **malasbunun**
- bunun ▶ *n.* **Bunun**  
▶ *n.* **bunun**  
▶ *v.* **kubunun**  
▶ *adj.* **Bunun**
- bunuq ▶ *n.* **bunuq**
- buŋqa ▶ *root.* **buŋqa**  
▶ *v.* **mubuŋqa**
- buŋu ▶ *n.* **buŋu**  
▶ *n.* **tambuŋʔan**
- buq ▶ *n.* **buq**  
▶ *v.* **pasbuq**
- buqan ▶ *adj.* **abuqan**  
▶ *v.* **abuqanin**  
▶ *v.* **buqan**  
▶ *n.* **mabubuqan**  
▶ *root.* **buqan**  
▶ *v.* **minabuqan**  
▶ *adj.* **mabuqan**
- buqðav ▶ *place.* **buqðav**
- buqtuŋ ▶ *n.* **buqtuŋ**
- buqul ▶ *n.* **buqul**  
▶ *adj.* **mabuqul**  
▶ *adj.* **mabuqul**  
▶ *adj.* **paŋkabuqul**
- buqusal ▶ *n.* **buqusal**
- busul ▶ *n.* **busul**  
▶ *n-comp.* **busul**  
**kavika**  
▶ *v.* **mabusul**  
▶ *n-comp.* **busul**  
**kavi**
- busuq ▶ *adj.* **misbusuq**
- butiqun ▶ *n.* **butiqun**
- butqut ▶ *n.* **butqut**

## D - d

dadaus ► *n.* **dadaus**  
 dadu ► *v.* **madadu**  
     ► *v.* **mindadu**  
     ► *adj.* **madadu**  
     ► *colloc.* **ni madadu**  
     ► *v.* **madadu**  
 daða ► *v.* **isdaða**  
 dahda ► *v.* **sidahda**  
     ► *adj.* **madahda**  
 dahulan ► *n.* **Dahulan**  
 daidað ► *v.* **madaidað**  
     ► *n.* **daidað?að**  
     ► *v.* **madaidað**  
     ► *root.* **daidað**  
     ► *adj.* **madaidað**  
     ► *v.* **sinkadaidað**  
 daiða ► *place.* **daiða**  
 daiðað ► *n.* **sinkadaiðað**  
 dailað ► *n.* **dailað**  
     ► *n.* **dailað**  
     ► *v.* **dailað**  
     ► *n.* **dailað**  
 daiŋ ► *aux.* **daiŋað**  
     ► *root.* **daiŋ**  
     ► *adj.* **madaiŋ?að**  
     ► *n.* **madadaiŋ?að**  
     ► *n.* **madaiŋ?aðin**  
     ► *adj.* **daiŋ?að**  
     ► *v.* **pidaiŋun**  
     ► *n.* **madadaiŋ?að**  
     ► *n.* **madaiŋ?að**

daiŋpus ► *v.* **madaiŋpus**  
     ► *root.* **daiŋpus**  
     ► *v.* **madaiŋpus**  
 daiŋpuq ► *adj.* **madaiŋpuq**  
     ► *adj.* **palanŋdaiŋpuq**  
 daisia ► *n.* **daisia**  
 dakdak ► *v.* **madadakdak**  
 daku ► *v.* **pudaku**  
     ► *n.* **daku**  
 dakvisan ► *adj.* **dakvisan**  
 dalaq ► *adj.* **vaividalaq**  
     ► *n.* **dalaq**  
     ► *n.* **dalaq**  
     ► *n-comp.* **dalaq**  
     **daŋkas**  
     ► *n.* **taimidalaq**  
 dalav ► *root.* **dalav**  
 damu ► *v.* **madamu**  
     ► *v.* **damu?un**  
     ► *root.* **damu**  
     ► *v.* **madamu**  
 damuq ► *n.* **damuq**  
 dan ► *v.* **pudanun**  
     ► *v.* **takdadan**  
     ► *v.* **kanadan**  
     ► *n-comp.* **dan vasu**  
     ► *v.* **tamudan**  
     ► *v.* **mudanin**  
     ► *n.* **dan**  
     ► *v.* **pandadan**  
     ► *idiom.* **san dani**  
     ► *v.* **tundan**  
     ► *idiom.* **kanadan**  
     **patasan**

    ► *v.* **mudadan**  
     ► *v.* **mudan**  
     ► *v-loc.* **takdadan**  
     ► *v.* **mudan**  
     ► *v.* **atandan**  
     ► *v.* **tunadan**  
     ► *v.* **panadan**  
     ► *n.* **takdada?an**  
     ► *v.* **undan**  
     ► *v.* **kadan**  
     ► *v.* **mudan**  
 danav ► *v.* **taldanav**  
     ► *v.* **taldanav**  
 danuk ► *v.* **madanuk**  
 danum ► *n.* **danum**  
 daŋað ► *v.* **pindaŋað**  
     ► *v.* **mindanað**  
     ► *v.* **indaŋað**  
     ► *v.* **daŋaðdaŋað**  
     ► *v.* **kadaŋað**  
     ► *n.* **kadaŋað**  
     ► *v.* **sindaŋað**  
     ► *root.* **daŋað**  
 daŋi ► *v.* **daŋi?anan**  
     ► *n.* **daŋi?anan**  
     ► *v.* **padaŋi?an**  
     ► *v.* **padaŋi?an**  
     ► *v.* **daŋi?anan**  
     ► *v.* **daŋi?an**  
     ► *n.* **dadaŋi?an**  
     ► *n.* **daiŋiŋi?an**  
     ► *n-comp.* **padaŋi?an**  
     **sintakunav**  
     ► *v.* **padaŋi**

- ▶ *n-comp.* **padanġiʔan kasi**
- ▶ *root.* **daŋi**
- ▶ *v.* **daŋiʔanan**
- ▶ *n.* **padanġiʔan**
- ▶ *root.* **daŋi**
- ▶ *v.* **daŋiʔan**
- daŋkas ▶ *adj.* **madanċkas**
- ▶ *v.* **pidanċkasun**
- ▶ *adj.* **malasmadanċkas**
- ▶ *root.* **daŋkas**
- daŋkuis ▶ *n.* **daŋkuis**
- daŋkul ▶ *v.* **tindanċkul**
- daŋus ▶ *root.* **daŋus**
- ▶ *conj.* **daŋusaŋ**
- dapana ▶ *n.* **dapana**
- dapud ▶ *n-comp.* **masanġlavanġ dapud**
- ▶ *n-comp.* **madanċkas dapud**
- ▶ *n.* **dapud**
- dapuð ▶ *n-comp.* **dapuð paʔis**
- daqis ▶ *n.* **daqis**
- daqvas ▶ *adj.* **madaqvas**
- daqvisan ▶ *adj.* **daqvisan**
- dastal ▶ *root.* **dastal**
- ▶ *adj.* **madastal**
- ▶ *n.* **Dastalan**
- dau ▶ *pron-emot.* **dauki**
- ▶ *disc.* **dau**
- ▶ *part.* **duki**
- dauk ▶ *adj.* **madadauk**
- daukdauk ▶ *aux.* **daukdauk**
- dauluq ▶ *n.* **dauluq**
- ▶ *n.* **takidauluq**
- daun ▶ *adj.* **daun**
- dauqaŋ ▶ *v.* **maldauqaŋ**
- dauqpus ▶ *adj.* **madauqpus**
- daus ▶ *n.* **daus**
- davus ▶ *adj.* **madavus**
- ▶ *n-comp.* **davus sumsum**
- ▶ *root.* **davus**
- ▶ *n.* **davus**
- daʔan ▶ *n.* **paliskadaʔan**
- ▶ *n.* **palkadaʔan**
- di ▶ *place.* **di**
- ▶ *colloc.* **anaka san di**
- ▶ *v.* **maʔadi**
- ▶ *pron.* **dipa**
- diaqʔal ▶ *conj.* **diaqʔal**
- didis ▶ *n.* **didis**
- dihip ▶ *time.* **tandihip**
- dikaŋ ▶ *n.* **dikaŋ**
- ▶ *n.* **dikaŋ**
- dikas ▶ *v.* **paqadikas**
- ▶ *n-comp.* **paqadikas hima**
- dikia ▶ *place.* **dikia**
- dikla ▶ *v.* **pindikla**
- ▶ *v.* **mindiklaʔin**
- dikun ▶ *time.* **dikun**
- dil ▶ *n.* **dil**
- ▶ *n.* **dil**
- dilusan ▶ *n.* **Dilusan**
- dimutu ▶ *n.* **Dimutu**
- dinun ▶ *n.* **udinunan**
- ▶ *root.* **dinun**
- ▶ *v.* **mudinun**
- diŋal ▶ *place.* **diŋalan**
- ▶ *place.* **diŋalan**
- diŋalan ▶ *n.* **adiŋalan**
- ▶ *n.* **adiniŋalan**
- diŋki ▶ *v.* **tindiŋki**
- ▶ *n.* **diŋki**
- diŋva ▶ *v.* **kadiŋva**
- ▶ *v.* **qadiŋva**
- ▶ *n.* **diŋva**
- dip ▶ *colloc.* **dip tu**
- ▶ *idiom.* **haiða dip**
- ▶ *time.* **lanadip**
- ▶ *v.* **idip**
- ▶ *conj.* **dip tu**
- ▶ *time.* **maidadip**
- ▶ *time.* **dip**
- ▶ *place.* **kidipdip**
- ▶ *time.* **diptu**
- ▶ *adj.* **idipdip**
- ▶ *v.* **mundip**
- diqanin ▶ *n.* **diqanin**
- ▶ *n.* **Diqanin**
- diqla ▶ *adj.* **madiqlaʔan**
- ▶ *v.* **pakadiqla**
- ▶ *adj.* **madiqla**
- diskaŋ ▶ *adj.* **matadiskaŋ**
- ▶ *adj.* **madadiskaŋ**
- disu ▶ *adj.* **madisu**

du ▶ <i>part.</i> du	dun ▶ <i>n.</i> dun	duqu ▶ <i>root.</i> duqu
duad ▶ <i>adj.</i> maduad	▶ <i>n.</i> dun	▶ <i>v.</i> kaduquʔun
duað ▶ <i>n.</i> minduduað	▶ <i>n.</i> dun	dus ▶ <i>n.</i> dus
duan ▶ <i>n-comp.</i>	▶ <i>n-comp.</i> dun ðiŋki	dusa ▶ <i>num-card.</i> padusa
panduduan kusbabai	dunqabin ▶ <i>v-intrans.</i>	▶ <i>v.</i> makindusa
duanan ▶ <i>time.</i> duanan	dunqabin	▶ <i>num-ord.</i>
▶ <i>time.</i> duanan	dunɟdav ▶ <i>aux.</i> dunɟdavin	taimidusa
duduk ▶ <i>n.</i> duduk	dunɟduŋ ▶ <i>adj.</i> madudunɟduŋ	▶ <i>num-ord.</i> pundusa
duduŋan ▶ <i>v.</i> duduŋan	dunɟðav ▶ <i>aux.</i> dunɟðav	▶ <i>num-card.</i> dusa
duma ▶ <i>pron.</i> duma	dunɟqa ▶ <i>adj.</i> madunɟqa	▶ <i>num-ord.</i> sindusa
▶ <i>pron.</i> duduma	duq ▶ <i>conj.</i> duqai	▶ <i>num-card.</i> dadusa
▶ <i>colloc.</i> amina	▶ <i>conj.</i> duq	▶ <i>n.</i> asidusa
duma	▶ <i>conj.</i> duq... duq...	duʔa ▶ <i>v.</i> pisduʔa
dumdum ▶ <i>adj.</i> madumdum	duqlas ▶ <i>v.</i> pisduqlasun	duʔun ▶ <i>v.</i> kinduʔun
▶ <i>root.</i> dumdum	▶ <i>root.</i> duqlas	▶ <i>n.</i> kinduʔun
▶ <i>v.</i> pasdumduman	▶ <i>adj.</i> maduqlas	

## Ð - ð

ðaða ▶ <i>n.</i> ðaðaðað	▶ <i>v.</i> maðaipuk	ðakuna ▶ <i>idiom.</i> ðakuna
▶ <i>v.</i> ðaðaðaða	▶ <i>adj.</i> maðaipuk	ðalapa ▶ <i>n.</i> ðalapa
▶ <i>v.</i> tumðaða	ðaipuq ▶ <i>adj.</i> maðaipuq	ðam- ▶ <i>pron-pers.</i> ðamu
▶ <i>v.</i> iðaða	ðaku ▶ <i>pron-pers.</i> ðaku	▶ <i>pron-pers.</i> ðami
▶ <i>v.</i> munðaða	▶ <i>v.</i> palinðaku	ðana ▶ <i>disc.</i> ðana
▶ <i>v.</i> punðaða	▶ <i>v.</i> iðakuʔan	ðaukðauk ▶ <i>v.</i> maðaukðauk
▶ <i>place.</i> ðaða	▶ <i>aux.</i> sanaðaku	ðaulu ▶ <i>n.</i> ðaulu
ðaðað ▶ <i>v.</i> muðaðað	▶ <i>idiom.</i> ðakuʔi	ðiŋki ▶ <i>n.</i> ðiŋki
ðaiku ▶ <i>n.</i> ðaiku	▶ <i>pron-pers.</i>	ðuqðuq ▶ <i>v.</i> maðuqðuq
ðain ▶ <i>v.</i> ðain	ðakuʔan	
ðaipuk ▶ <i>adj.</i> paŋkaðaipuk	▶ <i>v.</i> munðaku	
▶ <i>v.</i> maðaipukin	▶ <i>v.</i> ðakuan	

## ɟ

ɟakan ▶ *n.* ɟakan

ɟulu ▶ *n.* ɟulu

## G - g

giʔiŋ ▶ *n.* Giʔiŋ

## H - h

hada ▶ *disc.* hada

Hadul ▶ *n.* Hadul

haðavin ▶ *aux.* haðavin

haðunin ▶ *aux.* haðunin

haiða ▶ *v.* minhaiða

▶ *v.* pihaiða

▶ *v.* pinhaiða

▶ *v.* pinhaiða

▶ *v.* haiðaʔan

▶ *aux.* haiðin

▶ *aux.* haiða

haikikaku ▶ *n.* haikikaku

haip ▶ *time.* haip tu

▶ *time.* haip

▶ *time.* haiphaip

▶ *time.* haiphaip

▶ *time.* haip

haipi ▶ *aux.* mahaipi

▶ *adj.* mahaipi

▶ *adj.* mahaipi

haitu ▶ *conj.* haitu

▶ *conj.* haitu

hakasi ▶ *n.* hakasi

hakhak ▶ *colloc.* painiqaul

**hakhak**

▶ *n.* hakhak

halaŋ ▶ *n.* halaŋ

▶ *v.-intrans.* mihalaŋ

hamaða ▶ *v.* hamaða

hamu ▶ *v.* mahamu

▶ *v.* sihamun

▶ *v.* minhamu

▶ *v.* hamu

▶ *v.* mishamu

hamul ▶ *n.* Hamul

han ▶ *v.* hanun

▶ *v.* takahan

▶ *v.* panhan

▶ *prep.* han

▶ *v.* munhan

▶ *v.* punhanun

▶ *v.* taunahan

▶ *v.* taunahan

▶ *idiom.* sauhanin

▶ *colloc.* hanuk

▶ *v.* aininhan

▶ *root.* han

▶ *v.* tunahan

▶ *v.* maisnahan

▶ *v.* punhan

▶ *n.* alhanun

▶ *v.* ininhan

▶ *v.* sihan

▶ *v.* sauhan

▶ *v.* panmakahan

▶ *v.* atanhan

▶ *v.* pahan

▶ *v.* kahan

▶ *v.* takihan

▶ *v.* mapunhanun

▶ *v.* minhan

▶ *v.* hanun

▶ *v.* mainhan

▶ *v.* patunhan

▶ *v.* ihan

▶ *v.* inhan

▶ *v.* punhan

▶ *v.* mainahan

▶ *v.* inhan

▶ *prep.* han

▶ *prep.* han

▶ *pref.* hananŋ

▶ *v.* pakahan

- ▶ *v.* **mainhan**  
▶ *v.* **tunhan**
- hana ▶ *v.* **mahana**  
▶ *v.* **kahana**  
▶ *n.* **hana**
- hanarj ▶ *time.* **hanarj**
- hanat ▶ *root.* **hanat**  
▶ *v.* **hanatan**
- hanav ▶ *v.* **anahanav**
- hansum ▶ *adj.* **mahansum**
- hanu ▶ *v.* **hanuin**  
▶ *v.* **mahanu**
- hap- ▶ *pref.* **hap-**
- hapav ▶ *v.* **panhapav**  
▶ *v-loc.* **tanhapav**  
▶ *v.* **munhapav**  
▶ *v-loc.* **tanhapav**  
▶ *v.* **ihapavtia**  
▶ *place.* **hapav**  
▶ *place.* **hapav**
- haqas ▶ *n.* **haqas**  
▶ *n.* **haqas**
- haqbuŋ ▶ *v-intrans.* **haqbuŋ**
- haqil ▶ *n.* **haqil**
- haqu ▶ *n.* **haqu**  
▶ *v.* **tishaqu**
- hasul ▶ *aux.* **hasulun**
- hatal ▶ *n.* **hatal**
- hau ▶ *v.* **mahau**  
▶ *v.* **kahau**  
▶ *v.* **pakahau**
- haul ▶ *v.* **munhaul**  
▶ *place.* **haul**
- ▶ *v.* **tunhulan**  
▶ *v.* **tunhaul**  
▶ *n.* **pasihaulin**  
▶ *v.* **kahaul**  
▶ *place.* **haul**  
▶ *v.* **ihaul**  
▶ *v.* **mainahaul**  
▶ *v.* **munhaul**
- hava ▶ *n.* **Havaʔan**  
▶ *n.* **Havaʔan**
- haval ▶ *n.* **haval**
- havala ▶ *n.* **havala**
- havun ▶ *root.* **havun**  
▶ *aux.* **mahavun**
- hiav ▶ *adj.* **mahiav**  
▶ *adj.* **muhiav**
- hibul ▶ *aux.* **hibulun**
- hiðuq ▶ *v.* **mahiðuq**
- hiku ▶ *place.* **hiku**
- hikuki ▶ *n.* **hikuki**
- hikuʔ ▶ *n.* **hikuʔ**
- hikuʔun ▶ *v.* **hikuʔun**
- hilav ▶ *n.* **Mahilav**  
▶ *n-comp.* **pipitʔaiʔan tu hilav**  
▶ *n.* **hilav**
- hilhil ▶ *v.* **pahilhilan**
- hima ▶ *num-ord.* **punhima**  
▶ *num-card.* **hahima**  
▶ *num-ord.* **taimihima**  
▶ *num-card.* **mahimaʔun**
- ▶ *num-card.* **hima**  
▶ *num-ord.* **minuhima**  
▶ *n.* **hima**  
▶ *n.* **asihima**  
▶ *v.* **talhima**  
▶ *v.* **maqubhima**
- hinili ▶ *v.* **hinilitun**  
▶ *n.* **hinili**
- hiqan ▶ *n.* **Sauhiqan**
- hiqul ▶ *n.* **hiqul**  
▶ *n.* **hiqul**  
▶ *v.* **tismahiqul**
- hisuq ▶ *v.* **talhisuq**
- hituŋ ▶ *n.* **hituŋ**
- hiva ▶ *v.* **mahiva**
- hivhiv ▶ *n.* **kihivhiv**  
▶ *n.* **hivhiv**
- huahua ▶ *n.* **huahua**
- huat ▶ *aux.* **huatun**  
▶ *aux.* **huat**
- hubuŋ ▶ *n.* **hubuŋ**
- hubuq ▶ *time.* **hubuqaŋ**  
▶ *n.* **hubuq**
- huduq ▶ *v.* **tinhuduq**  
▶ *n.* **huduq**
- huhav ▶ *v.* **huvaivun**
- huhul ▶ *n.* **huhul**  
▶ *n.* **Huhululi**  
▶ *n-comp.* **Huhul Madiŋaðan**
- hukhuk ▶ *n.* **Hukhuk**
- hulav ▶ *v.* **mahulav**

huliutsi	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>huliutsi</b>			
hulu	▶ <i>v.</i> <b>pithulu</b>			
huluŋ	▶ <i>v-loc.</i> <b>tanhuluŋ</b>			
	▶ <i>v-loc.</i> <b>tanhuluŋ</b>			
	▶ <i>v-loc.</i> <b>tanhuluŋ</b>			
	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>huluŋ</b>			
hulus	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>hulus</b>			
	▶ <i>n-comp.</i>			
	<b>panhapavun hulus</b>			
	▶ <i>n-comp.</i>			
	<b>pankumbu?ua hulus</b>			
huma	▶ <i>v.</i> <b>minuma</b>			
	▶ <i>adj.</i> <b>huma</b>			
		▶ <i>v.</i> <b>minuma</b>		▶ <i>v.</i> <b>tishutan</b>
		▶ <i>v.</i> <b>minumin</b>		▶ <i>n-comp.</i> <b>hutan</b>
		hunku ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>hunku</b>		<b>duqlas</b>
		hunuq ▶ <i>v.</i>		▶ <i>n-comp.</i> <b>hutan</b>
		<b>makihunuqhunuq</b>		<b>qaihav</b>
		▶ <i>v.</i> <b>makihunuq</b>		▶ <i>n.</i> <b>hutan</b>
		▶ <i>adj.</i> <b>mahunuq</b>		hutuŋ ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>hutuŋ</b>
		hus?ul ▶ <i>n.</i> <b>hus?ul</b>		hutuq ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>mahutuq</b>
		hutan ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>tinhutan</b>		huvaiv ▶ <i>v.</i> <b>ispahuvaiv</b>
		▶ <i>n-comp.</i> <b>hutan</b>		
		<b>sinhav</b>		
		▶ <i>v.</i> <b>pishutan</b>		
		▶ <i>n-comp.</i> <b>hutan</b>		
		<b>ǰaŋkas</b>		

## I - i

i-	▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>i-</b>	in-	▶ <i>pron-pers.</i> <b>intun</b>		▶ <i>adj.</i> <b>tastumiqumis</b>
	▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>i-</b>		▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>inin-</b>		▶ <i>idiom.</i> <b>miqumis</b>
iǰuq	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>iǰuq</b>	inadas	▶ <i>v.</i> <b>inadas</b>		▶ <i>n.</i> <b>iqumis</b>
	▶ <i>n-comp.</i> <b>iǰuq daiŋ</b>	inaǰiu	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>inaǰiu</b>		▶ <i>v.</i> <b>siniqumis</b>
	▶ <i>n-comp.</i> <b>iǰuq tikis</b>	inaliv	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>inaliv</b>		▶ <i>v.</i> <b>miqumis</b>
Iesu	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>Iesu</b>	inbi	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>inbi</b>		▶ <i>idiom.</i> <b>miqumisarŋ</b>
Iesua	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>Iesua</b>	Ingilis	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>Ingilis</b>		▶ <i>n.</i> <b>miqumisarŋ</b>
ik-	▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>ik-</b>	ini-	▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>ini-</b>		▶ <i>root.</i> <b>iqumis</b>
iklaliva	▶ <i>v.</i> <b>iklaliva</b>	insun	▶ <i>v.</i> <b>ma?insun</b>	is-	▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>is-</b>
	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>iklalivaun</b>	intahatu	▶ <i>v.</i> <b>intahatu</b>		▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>is-</b>
imbitsu	▶ <i>n.</i> <b>imbitsu</b>	inudanan	▶ <i>v.</i> <b>inudanan</b>	is-	▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>is-</b>
in-	▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>in-</b>	iǰaǰak	▶ <i>adj.</i> <b>iǰaǰak</b>		▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>is-</b>
	▶ <i>pron-pers.</i> <b>inti</b>	iqdi	▶ <i>v.</i> <b>in?iqdi?an</b>		
	▶ <i>pref.</i> <b>in-</b>		▶ <i>n.</i> <b>iqdi?un</b>	isaq	▶ <i>idiom.</i> <b>isaq su</b>
in-	▶ <i>pron-pers.</i> <b>inta</b>	iqumis	▶ <i>v.</i> <b>miqumisarŋ</b>		<b>asaun</b>
			▶ <i>n.</i> <b>miqumis</b>		▶ <i>colloc.</i> <b>taki?isaq as</b>
					▶ <i>idiom.</i>
					<b>mun?isaq?as</b>



- kala ▶ *v.* **kala**  
 kalakiman ▶ *aux.*  
     **kalakiman**  
 kalakin ▶ *v.* **matukalakin**  
 kalaŋ ▶ *n.* **Takikalaŋ**  
     ▶ *adj.* **Takikalaŋ**  
     ▶ *n.* **Kalaŋbali**  
     ▶ *n.* **Kalaŋ**  
     ▶ *n.* **Kalaŋ**  
     ▶ *n.* **Takikalaŋ**  
     ▶ *n-comp.* **Kalaŋ**  
     **Mansia**  
     ▶ *n.* **Kalaŋ**  
     ▶ *n.* **kakalaŋ**  
     ▶ *v.* **kalaŋ**  
 kalaŋkal ▶ *n.* **kalaŋkal**  
 kalapatan ▶ *v.* **kalapatan**  
 kalat ▶ *v.* **kalat**  
 kalibu ▶ *n.* **Kalibu**  
 Kalinŋku ▶ *n.* **Kalinŋku**  
 kalkalaŋ ▶ *n.* **kalkalaŋ**  
 kalus ▶ *v.* **kalus**  
 kama ▶ *prep.* **kama**  
 kama- ▶ *pref.* **kama-**  
 kamasia ▶ *n.* **kamasia**  
 kamiamatu ▶ *n.*  
     **Kamiamatu**  
 kamimula ▶ *n.* **Kamimula**  
 kamisama ▶ *n.* **kamisama**  
 kamun ▶ *adj.* **makamun**  
 kan- ▶ *pref.* **kan-**  
 kanaaŋ ▶ *n.* **kanaaŋ**  
 kanasia ▶ *v.* **kanasia**
- kanipa ▶ *v.* **makanipa**  
 kansul ▶ *n.* **kansul**  
 kanum ▶ *n.* **kanum**  
 kaŋkaŋ ▶ *v.* **lakaŋkaŋ**  
 kaŋkuŋa ▶ *n.* **Kaŋkuŋa**  
 kapa ▶ *n.* **kapa**  
     ▶ *v.* **kapa**  
 kapi- ▶ *pref.* **kapi-**  
 kapimupaun ▶ *v.*  
     **kapimupaun**  
 kapipata ▶ *v.* **kapipata**  
 kaputuŋ ▶ *n.* **Kaputuŋan**  
 kaqla ▶ *adj.* **makaqla**  
 kasa ▶ *n.* **kasa**  
     ▶ *n.* **kasa daiŋ**  
 kasamut ▶ *v.* **kasamut**  
 kasi ▶ *n.* **kasi**  
 kasilaŋan ▶ *v.* **kasilaŋan**  
 kasivuŋ ▶ *v-intrans.*  
     **kasivuŋ**  
     ▶ *v.* **kasivuŋ**  
 kaskas ▶ *n.* **kaskas**  
 kasʔaŋ ▶ *v.* **kasʔaŋ**  
 kat- ▶ *pref.* **kat-**  
 katiman ▶ *v.* **katiman**  
 katmaŋ ▶ *aux.* **katmaŋ**  
 katpal ▶ *adj.* **makatpal**  
 katu ▶ *root.* **katu**  
 katukatu ▶ *n.* **katukatu**  
 kaul ▶ *n.* **kaul**  
     ▶ *n-comp.* **kaul**  
     **kaivuŋ**
- kaun ▶ *n.* **kaununkaunun**  
     ▶ *v.* **kaun**  
     ▶ *v.* **pinkaun**  
     ▶ *v.* **ispakaun**  
     ▶ *n.* **kakaunun**  
     ▶ *v.* **pakaun**  
     ▶ *v.* **minkakaun**  
 kaunul ▶ *n.* **kaunul**  
 kauŋkauŋ ▶ *v.* **kauŋkauŋ**  
 kaupa ▶ *aux.* **kaupa**  
     ▶ *aux.* **kaupa**  
     ▶ *manner.*  
     **kaupakaupa**  
     ▶ *idiom.* **kaupinta**  
     ▶ *manner.*  
     **sinkaskaupa**  
     ▶ *adj.* **kaupa**  
     ▶ *manner.* **kaupata**  
     ▶ *aux.* **kaupin**  
     ▶ *v.* **mansikaupa**  
 kauskaus ▶ *adj.* **makauskaus**  
 kavaŋ ▶ *n.* **kavaŋ**  
 kavas ▶ *v.* **makakavas**  
 kavaʔa ▶ *aux.* **kavaʔa**  
     ▶ *aux.* **kavavaʔa**  
 kaviað ▶ *n-comp.* **kaviað**  
     **binanauʔað**  
     ▶ *v.* **pakaviað**  
     ▶ *n.* **kaviað**  
     ▶ *n.* **kaviað**  
 ki- ▶ *pref.* **ki-**  
 kiama ▶ *v-trans.* **kiama**  
 kikai ▶ *n.* **kikai**

- kilim ▶ *v.* **kilim**  
 ▶ *v.* **kilim**  
 kin- ▶ *pref.* **kin-**  
 kinadin ▶ *v.* **kinadin**  
 kinsihu ▶ *n.* **Kinsihu**  
 kinuð ▶ *adj.* **mailankinuð**  
 ▶ *n.* **Tankinuð**  
 ▶ *n.* **tankinuð**  
 ▶ *aux.* **kinuðin**  
 ▶ *aux.* **kinuð**  
 kinuða ▶ *time.* **kinuða**  
 kiŋkiŋ ▶ *v.* **maŋkiŋ**  
 kiŋna ▶ *v.* **maikiŋna**  
 ▶ *n.* **kiniŋna?an**  
 ▶ *v.* **makikiŋna**  
 ▶ *root.* **kiŋna**  
 ▶ *adj.* **kiniŋna?an**  
 kis- ▶ *pref.* **kis-**  
 kisqaintuŋ ▶ *v.* **kisqaintuŋ**  
 kis?aŋ ▶ *v.* **kis?aŋ**  
 kis?un ▶ *n.* **kis?un**  
 kitŋa ▶ *idiom.* **nakitŋa**  
 ▶ *aux.* **kinitŋabun**  
 ▶ *aux.* **kitŋa**  
 kiukai ▶ *n.* **kiukai**  
 kivisi ▶ *adj.* **kivisi**  
 Kivit ▶ *n.* **Kivit**  
 ki?iv ▶ *aux.* **ki?iv**  
 ku- ▶ *pref.* **ku-**  
 kudu ▶ *n.* **kudu**
- kudul ▶ *n.* **kudul**  
 kuða ▶ *n.* **sinkuðakuða**  
 ▶ *n.* **iskuðakuða**  
 ▶ *v.* **iskuðakuða**  
 ▶ *v.* **kuðakuða**  
 ▶ *n.* **sinkuðakuða**  
 ▶ *v.* **iskuðakuða**  
 ▶ *n.* **kuðkuðaun**  
 kuðkuð ▶ *v.* **makuðkuð**  
 kuhað ▶ *v.* **kuhað**  
 Kuhku ▶ *n.* **Kuhku**  
 kuis ▶ *adj.* **makuis**  
 kulaði ▶ *n.* **kulaði**  
 kulau ▶ *v.* **minkulau**  
 ▶ *root.* **kulau**  
 kulpa ▶ *n.* **kulpa**  
 ▶ *n.* **kukulpa**  
 kulusimas ▶ *n.* **kulusimas**  
 kulut ▶ *v.* **makulut**  
 ▶ *v.* **kulut**  
 ▶ *n-comp.* **kukulut**  
**lukis**  
 ▶ *n.* **kukulut**  
 ▶ *n-comp.* **kukulut**  
**kaul**  
 kumbu ▶ *place.* **kumbu**  
 ▶ *n.* **makakumbu**  
 ▶ *v.* **kumbu?un**  
 ▶ *adj.* **pankumbu?ua**  
 ▶ *root.* **kumbu**
- kumis ▶ *n.* **matukumis**  
 ▶ *n.* **kumis**  
 kumu ▶ *n.* **kumu**  
 kumun ▶ *n.* **kumun**  
 kun- ▶ *pref.* **kun-**  
 Kunuan ▶ *n.* **Kunuan**  
 ▶ *n.* **Kunu?an**  
 kupu ▶ *n.* **kupu**  
 kusa ▶ *n.* **Kusa**  
 Kusahala ▶ *n.* **Kusahala**  
 kusaŋ ▶ *n.* **Kusaŋ**  
 kusau ▶ *n.* **kusau**  
 kusia ▶ *v.* **kusian**  
 ▶ *v.* **makusia**  
 kuskus ▶ *n.* **kuskus**  
 ▶ *v.* **makuskus**  
 ▶ *v.* **makuskus**  
 kuslatan ▶ *idiom.* **kuslatan**  
 kusnav ▶ *n.* **Kusnavan**  
 kusŋu ▶ *adj.* **makusŋu**  
 kusu ▶ *v.* **ankusu**  
 ▶ *n.* **kusu?an**  
 ▶ *n.* **kusu**  
 ▶ *v.* **makusu**  
 ▶ *v.* **kusu**  
 ▶ *v.* **makusu**  
 kusuŋ ▶ *n.* **Kusuŋan**  
 kusva ▶ *v.* **makusva**  
 kutun ▶ *time.* **kutun**  
 ku?unainan ▶ *v.* **ku?unainan**

la- ▶ *pref.* la-  
 labas ▶ *v.* malalabas  
 laian ▶ *n.* laian  
 laidað ▶ *v.* pislaidað  
 laiðu ▶ *v.* islaiðu  
 laihama ▶ *n.* laihama  
 laihlaih ▶ *v.* tumlaihlaih  
 ▶ *n.* laihlaih  
 laiŋdaŋ ▶ *adj.* malaiŋdaŋ  
 lak- ▶ *pref.* lak-  
 laksimuav ▶ *n.* laksimuav  
 laktanan ▶ *v.* laktanan  
 lakuin ▶ *time.* lakuin  
 lala ▶ *n.* lala  
 lalaun ▶ *v.* lalaun  
 lalinasal ▶ *n.* lalinasal  
 Lamailiŋan ▶ *n.* Lamailiŋan  
 lamuqu ▶ *n.* lamuqu  
 laninatal ▶ *n.* laninatal  
 laŋað ▶ *aux.* laŋað  
 ▶ *aux.* laŋað  
 ▶ *aux.* laŋað  
 laŋatin ▶ *v.* kamalaŋatin  
 laŋduŋ ▶ *n.* laŋduŋ  
 laŋka ▶ *n.* laŋka  
 ▶ *n.* kalaŋka  
 laŋlaŋ ▶ *v.* malaŋlaŋ  
 Laŋui ▶ *n.* Laŋui  
 lapa ▶ *n.* lapa  
 lapad ▶ *n.* lapad  
 laqai ▶ *v.* laqai

laqaib- ▶ *n.* lainiqaiban  
 ▶ *n.* laqaiban  
 ▶ *v.* lainiqaiban  
 ▶ *n.* lainiqaiban  
 laqaiban ▶ *idiom.* uka  
 laqaiban  
 laqais ▶ *v.* talaqais  
 ▶ *v.* tailaqais  
 ▶ *n.* laqais  
 laqbiŋin ▶ *time.* laqbiŋin  
 laqda ▶ *n.* laqda  
 laqða ▶ *n.* laqða  
 laqlu ▶ *v.* palaqlun  
 laqnut ▶ *v.* laqnut  
 laqsial ▶ *v.* laqsial  
 laquaq ▶ *q-word.* laquaq  
 las ▶ *n.* las  
 ▶ *v.* kalas  
 ▶ *n.* las  
 lasaisan ▶ *v.* lasaisan  
 latpu ▶ *adj.* malatpu  
 ▶ *adj.* malatpu  
 latuk ▶ *n.* latuk  
 ▶ *v.* pislatak  
 lau ▶ *idiom.* dusa lau  
 laudus ▶ *n.* Laudus  
 lauklauk ▶ *adj.* malauklauk  
 launðuul ▶ *adj.* malaunðuul  
 laupa ▶ *aux.* laupaŋ  
 ▶ *v.* malaupa  
 ▶ *time.* laupadau  
 ▶ *time.* laupa  
 ▶ *time.* laupaku

▶ *root.* laupa  
 ▶ *v.* malaupa  
 laupaku ▶ *idiom.* san  
 laupaku  
 ▶ *idiom.* sau laupaku  
 lauq ▶ *idiom.* ni ?itun ni  
 nalauq  
 ▶ *conj.* lauq  
 ▶ *conj.* nalauq  
 lauqatu ▶ *conj.* lauqatu  
 lauqpus ▶ *adj.* malauqpus  
 ▶ *adj.* paŋkalauppus  
 lautlaut ▶ *n.* lautlaut  
 lautu ▶ *n.* lautu  
 lava ▶ *n.* lava  
 lavi ▶ *v.* sanlavi  
 ▶ *v.* malavi  
 ▶ *v.* lalavian  
 ▶ *v.* lavi  
 ▶ *n.* lavian  
 ▶ *root.* lavi  
 ▶ *v.* malavi  
 ▶ *v.* malavi  
 la?nu ▶ *v.* mala?nu  
 Lian ▶ *n.* Lian  
 Liban ▶ *n.* Liban  
 libat ▶ *n.* libat  
 libus ▶ *place.* manlibus  
 ▶ *n.* libus  
 ▶ *n.* libus  
 lihai ▶ *time.* lihai  
 ▶ *n.* lihai  
 ▶ *n.* lihai

- Liliq ▶ *n.* Liliʔiq  
▶ *n.* Liliq
- linas ▶ *n.* linas
- Lini ▶ *n.* Lini
- linsiu ▶ *n.* linsiu
- liŋkaul ▶ *v.* liŋkaul
- liŋku ▶ *v.* maliŋku  
▶ *root.* liŋku  
▶ *v.* paliŋku  
▶ *v.* muliŋku  
▶ *root.* liŋku  
▶ *v.* muliŋku
- liqliq ▶ *v.* muliqliq
- lis- ▶ *pref.* lis-
- liskiðað ▶ *v-trans.* liskiðað
- liskin ▶ *v.* tinliskin  
▶ *n.* inliskinan  
▶ *v.* miliskin  
▶ *v.* iniliskin  
▶ *v.* minliskin  
▶ *n.* iniliskinun  
▶ *root.* liskin
- lislis ▶ *v.* malislis
- liu ▶ *n.* liu
- liva ▶ *v.* aitlaliva
- liʔiq ▶ *n.* liʔiq
- luan ▶ *v.* luan  
▶ *v.* silaluan
- luap ▶ *n.* luap  
▶ *n.* luap
- ludaq ▶ *root.* ludaq  
▶ *v.* maludaq
- ludun ▶ *v.* maludun  
▶ *n.* ludun
- luðak ▶ *v.* isluðak
- luhum ▶ *v.* luhuman  
▶ *n.* luhum
- lukis ▶ *n-comp.* sinsuað  
**lukis atitikisan**  
▶ *v.* tinlukis  
▶ *n.* lukis  
▶ *n-comp.* lukis  
**daiŋað**  
▶ *v.* maqulukis  
▶ *n.* lukis
- lukmu ▶ *n.* ailukmuʔan  
▶ *root.* lukmu  
▶ *n.* alukmuʔan  
▶ *v.* malukmu
- luku ▶ *n.* luku  
▶ *n.* Luku  
▶ *n.* luku
- lukus ▶ *n.* lukus
- luli ▶ *n.* Luli
- lum- ▶ *v.* lumun  
▶ *n.* luluman  
▶ *v.* luman
- lumaq ▶ *n-comp.* lumaq  
**ðaiŋað**  
▶ *v.* kalumaq  
▶ *n.* pinilumaq  
▶ *v.* mulumaq  
▶ *n.* lumaq  
▶ *n-comp.* dusa lau  
**tu lumaq**  
▶ *v.* kalumaq
- ▶ *n-comp.* lumaq  
**batu**  
▶ *v.* ilumaq  
▶ *v.* mukalumaq  
▶ *idiom.* kalumaqan  
▶ *n.* tastulumaq  
▶ *v.* mulumaq  
▶ *colloc.* pakalumaq  
▶ *v.* munlumaq
- lumav ▶ *n.* Lumav  
▶ *n-comp.* Lumav  
**Qaqatu**
- luŋku ▶ *n.* isluŋkuan  
▶ *root.* luŋku  
▶ *v.* maluŋku
- luqai ▶ *n.* luqai  
▶ *n.* luqaiʔað  
▶ *n.* kailuqaiʔan  
▶ *n.* katluqaiʔan
- luqi- ▶ *pref.* luqi-
- luqlas ▶ *v.* luqlas
- luqtas ▶ *adj.* maluqtas
- luqus ▶ *v.* maluqus
- lusbut ▶ *time.* lusbut
- lusku ▶ *v.* patiluskuʔan
- lusqu ▶ *v.* malulusqu  
▶ *v.* malusqu  
▶ *v.* lusquʔun  
▶ *v.* mulusqu  
▶ *v.* tunlusqu
- lusʔan ▶ *v.* palusʔan  
▶ *root.* lusʔan  
▶ *v.* ilulusʔan  
▶ *n.* ilulusʔan

- ▶ *v.* **islusʔan**
- ▶ *n-comp.* **lusʔan**
- masuqaulus**
- ▶ *n-comp.* **lusʔan**
- minsudaʔa**
- ▶ *v.* **palusʔanan**
- ▶ *v.* **lusʔan**
- ▶ *n-comp.* **lusʔan**
- minkulau**
- ▶ *n.* **lusʔanan**

- ▶ *n-comp.* **lusʔan**
- aunqumaan**
- ▶ *v-comp.* **lusʔan**
- pasiða**
- ▶ *v-comp.* **lusʔan**
- uvaðan**
- ▶ *n.* **lusʔan**
- lut- ▶ *pref.* **lut-**
- lutbu ▶ *n.* **tailutbu**
- ▶ *n.* **lutbu**

- luvluv ▶ *n.* **luvluvan**
- ▶ *n.* **luvluv**
- luvus ▶ *colloc.* **isluvusan**
- mihalaj**
- ▶ *v.* **isluvusan**
- ▶ *root.* **luvus**
- luʔluʔ ▶ *n.* **luʔluʔ**
- ▶ *v.* **miluʔluʔ**

## M - m

- m- ▶ *pref.* **m-**
- ma ▶ *inter.* **ma**
- ma- ▶ *pref.* **ma-**
- ma ▶ *inter.* **ma**
- ma- ▶ *pref.* **ma-**
- ▶ *pref.* **ma-**
- ma- -un ▶ *circumf.* **ma- -un**
- madalavdav ▶ *time.* **madalavdav**
- madam ▶ *v.* **madam**
- madaq ▶ *v.* **madaq**
- madia ▶ *idiom.* **madiaʔin**
- ▶ *adj.* **talmadia**
- ▶ *time.* **talmadia**
- ▶ *time.* **talmadia**
- ▶ *time.* **limadia**
- ▶ *aux.* **madia**
- ▶ *time.* **malimadia**
- madima ▶ *v.* **madima**

- maduin ▶ *v.* **maduin**
- maduq ▶ *n.* **maduq**
- ▶ *v.* **kamaduq**
- ▶ *n-comp.* **maduq**
- tainj**
- ▶ *v-comp.* **maduq**
- tainj**
- ▶ *n.* **maduq**
- ▶ *n.* **maduqain**
- ▶ *n.* **madaqtainj**
- madʔaq ▶ *adj.* **madʔaq**
- maðav ▶ *aux.* **maðav**
- maðliba ▶ *v.* **maðliba**
- maðqadam ▶ *v.* **maðqadam**
- maðʔav ▶ *adj.* **maðʔav**
- ▶ *adj.* **maðʔav**
- mahivatu ▶ *n.* **mahivatu**
- mai- ▶ *pref.* **mai-**
- mai ▶ *part.* **mai**
- Maia ▶ *n.* **Maia**

- mailan- ▶ *pref.* **mailan-**
- main- ▶ *pref.* **main-**
- maina- ▶ *pref.* **maina-**
- ▶ *pref.* **maina-**
- maindu ▶ *n.* **talmaindu**
- ▶ *root.* **maindu**
- ▶ *adj.* **talmaindu**
- ▶ *n.* **mainduduʔað**
- mainduu ▶ *n.* **talmamaindu**
- maiŋa ▶ *adj.* **maiŋa**
- mais ▶ *conj.* **mais**
- maisi- ▶ *pref.* **maisi-**
- ▶ *pref.* **maisi-**
- maisip ▶ *time.* **maisip**
- maisna- ▶ *pref.* **maisna-**
- maisna ▶ *prep.* **maisna**
- maisna- ▶ *pref.* **maisna-**
- maka ▶ *conj.* **maka**
- maka- ▶ *pref.* **maka-**
- makan ▶ *aux.* **makan**

- makavul ▶ *v.* **makavul**  
 makaʔi ▶ *v.* **makaʔi**  
 maki ▶ *conj.* **maki**  
 maki- ▶ *pref.* **maki-**  
 makit- ▶ *pref.* **makit-**  
 maklahan ▶ *n.* **Maklahan**  
 makun ▶ *v.* **makun**  
     ▶ *place.* **makun**  
 mal- ▶ *pref.* **mal-**  
     ▶ *pref.* **mal-**  
 malabut ▶ *v.* **malabut**  
     ▶ *colloc.* **malabut**  
     **ismut**  
 malaiŋ ▶ *v.* **malaiŋ**  
 malaipa ▶ *n.* **Malaipa**  
 malamapia ▶ *v.* **malamapia**  
 malan ▶ *v.* **malan**  
 malan- ▶ *pref.* **malan-**  
 malas- ▶ *pref.* **malas-**  
     ▶ *pref.* **malas-**  
 malastapaŋ ▶ *v.* **malastapaŋ**  
 malau ▶ *v.* **malau**  
 malaʔnu ▶ *v.* **malaʔnu**  
 malbaskav ▶ *v.* **malbaskav**  
 malhaqu ▶ *v.* **malhaqu**  
 mali ▶ *n.* **mali**  
     ▶ *n-comp.*  
     **kantundaq mali**  
 mali- ▶ *pref.* **mali-**  
 mali ▶ *n-comp.* **maluʔlaq**  
     **mali**  
     ▶ *n.* **mali**
- malinsiu ▶ *n.* **Malinsiu**  
 malsiuq ▶ *n.* **malsiuq**  
 maltala ▶ *v.* **maltala**  
 malum ▶ *v.* **malum**  
 maluŋ ▶ *n.* **maluŋ**  
 malupaki ▶ *v.* **malupaki**  
 malʔu ▶ *v.* **malʔuʔun**  
 mama ▶ *v.* **mama**  
 mamantu ▶ *adj.* **mamantu**  
 mamaŋ ▶ *adj.* **mamaŋ**  
 mamusʔi ▶ *v.* **mamusʔi**  
 man- ▶ *pref.* **man-**  
 mana- ▶ *pref.* **mana-**  
 manak ▶ *v.* **manak**  
 manakis ▶ *v.* **manakis**  
 manamun ▶ *v.* **manamun**  
 manaq ▶ *v.* **manaq**  
 maneijaŋ ▶ *v.* **maneijaŋ**  
 mantuk ▶ *adj.* **mamantuk**  
     ▶ *v.* **talmantuk**  
     ▶ *v.* **samantuk**  
     ▶ *aux.* **minmantuk**  
     ▶ *v.* **minmantuk**  
     ▶ *v.* **minmantuk**  
 mantuq ▶ *v.* **pinmantuq**  
     ▶ *v.* **sinpinmantuq**  
 manʔaskal ▶ *v.* **manʔaskal**  
 maŋ ▶ *aux.* **maŋ**  
     ▶ *aux.* **maŋmaŋ**  
     ▶ *num-card.* **maŋ**  
     ▶ *aux.* **maŋmaŋ**  
     ▶ *disc.* **maŋun**
- maŋai ▶ *adj.* **maŋai**  
 maŋava ▶ *adj.* **maŋava**  
 maŋdav ▶ *n.* **Maŋdavan**  
     ▶ *n.* **Maŋdavan**  
 maŋdavan ▶ *n.*  
     **Takimaŋdavan**  
     ▶ *adj.* **Takimaŋdavan**  
 maŋma ▶ *aux.* **maŋma**  
 maŋmaŋ ▶ *v.* **maŋmaŋun**  
 Maŋququ ▶ *n.* **Maŋququ**  
 mapa- ▶ *pref.* **mapa-**  
 mapi- ▶ *pref.* **mapi-**  
 maq ▶ *colloc.* **maq tu**  
     ▶ *idiom.* **maq a**  
     ▶ *q-word.* **maquaqin**  
     ▶ *lig.* **maq**  
     ▶ *q-word.* **maqtu**  
     ▶ *q-word.* **maq**  
     ▶ *q-word.* **maquaq**  
     ▶ *q-word.* **maq**  
     ▶ *colloc.* **maq a ... a**  
     ▶ *q-word.* **ismamaq**  
     ▶ *colloc.* **ismamaq**  
     **as**  
 maq a itaʔain ▶ *idiom.* **maq**  
     **a ʔitaʔain**  
 maqaisaq ▶ *q-word.*  
     **maqaisaq**  
     ▶ *colloc.* **ana tupa tu**  
     **maqaisaq**  
 maqaitu ▶ *adj.* **maqaitu**  
 maqđaq ▶ *aux.* **maqđaq**

- maqi ▶ *conj.* **maqai**  
 ▶ *conj.* **maqi**  
 ▶ *conj.* **maqai**
- maqit- ▶ *pref.* **maqit-**
- maqlaŋ ▶ *adj.* **maqlaŋ**
- maqlis ▶ *adj.* **maqlis**
- maqlut ▶ *adj.* **maqlut**
- maqmut ▶ *time.*  
**qanmaqmut**  
 ▶ *time.* **maqmutaŋ**  
 ▶ *time.* **qaðmaqmut**  
 ▶ *n.* **maqmut**  
 ▶ *time.*  
**qanmaqmutaŋ**
- maqsaım ▶ *adj.* **maqsaım**
- maqtu ▶ *v.* **sanmaqtu**  
 ▶ *aux.* **maqtu**  
 ▶ *aux.* **maqtu**  
 ▶ *aux.* **maqtu**  
 ▶ *aux.* **maqtu**  
 ▶ *aux.* **minaqtuŋ**  
 ▶ *aux.* **maqtu**
- maqu- ▶ *pref.* **maqu-**
- maquaŋ ▶ *idiom.* **ana tupa**  
**tu maquaŋ**  
 ▶ *aux.* **manamaquaŋ**  
 ▶ *q-word.* **minaquaŋ**
- maquhisan ▶ *n.* **maquhisan**
- maqun- ▶ *pref.* **maqun-**
- mas- ▶ *pref.* **mas-**
- masais ▶ *v.* **masais**
- masan- ▶ *pref.* **masan-**
- masan ▶ *aux.* **masan**
- masi- ▶ *pref.* **masi-**
- masibað ▶ *v.* **masibað**
- masibalað ▶ *v.* **masibalað**
- masinadip ▶ *v.* **masinadip**
- masinauba ▶ *n.* **masinauba**  
 ▶ *n.* **masinauba**
- maskain ▶ *v.* **matumaskain**
- maskalun ▶ *v.* **maskalun**
- masmuav ▶ *aux.* **masmuav**  
 ▶ *aux.* **masmuav**
- masmuq ▶ *adj.* **masmuq**
- masqaili ▶ *v.* **masqaili**
- masqaiŋ ▶ *v.* **matumasqaiŋ**
- masqal ▶ *v.* **masqal**
- masqanan ▶ *n.* **masqanan**
- mastaʔan ▶ *aux.* **mastan**  
 ▶ *aux.* **mastaʔan**
- masu- ▶ *pref.* **masu-**
- masuʔnuq ▶ *v.* **masuʔnuq**
- masvala ▶ *adj.* **masvala**
- masʔan ▶ *num-ord.*  
**taimimasʔan**  
 ▶ *num-card.* **masʔan**  
 ▶ *num-ord.*  
**punmasʔan**  
 ▶ *num-card.*  
**mamasʔan**
- masʔi ▶ *v.* **mamasʔi**  
 ▶ *v.* **masʔi**
- mat- ▶ *pref.* **mat-**
- mat ▶ *v.* **tamat**  
 ▶ *root.* **mat**
- mata ▶ *n.* **mata**
- matapʔaŋ ▶ *v.* **matapʔaŋ**
- mataŋ ▶ *adj.* **mataŋ**
- mataŋis ▶ *v.* **mataŋis**
- mataʔbu ▶ *n.* **mataʔbu**
- mati- ▶ *pref.* **mati-**
- matin- ▶ *pref.* **matin-**
- matinʔun ▶ *v.* **matinʔun**
- matiun ▶ *num-card.* **matiun**
- matlaŋ ▶ *v.* **mamatlaŋ**
- matqas ▶ *adj.* **matqas**  
 ▶ *adj.* **matqas**
- matu- ▶ *pref.* **matu-**
- matuah ▶ *v.* **matuah**
- matus ▶ *v.* **matus**
- matuv ▶ *v.* **matuv**
- matʔaq ▶ *adj.* **matʔaq**
- maudu ▶ *v.* **minmaudu**  
 ▶ *root.* **maudu**
- maun ▶ *idiom.* **maun**  
**qaisiŋ**
- maupa ▶ *manner.* **maupata**  
 ▶ *conj.* **maupa**  
 ▶ *v.* **kapimaupa**  
 ▶ *manner.* **maupinta**  
 ▶ *aux.* **maupa**  
 ▶ *v.* **minmaupa**  
 ▶ *manner.*  
**masmaupata**  
 ▶ *manner.* **maupati**
- mavala ▶ *n.* **mavala**  
 ▶ *v.* **mavala**  
 ▶ *v.* **pakamavala**

ma? ▶ *lig.* **ma?**  
 maʔal ▶ *time.* **maʔal**  
 maʔiup ▶ *v.* **maʔiup**  
 maʔmaʔ ▶ *n.* **maʔmaʔ**  
 maʔunsuḡ ▶ *n.* **Maʔunsuḡ**  
 mei ▶ *part.* **mei**  
 mi- ▶ *pref.* **mi-**  
 miluqluq ▶ *v.* **miluqluq**  
 min- ▶ *pref.* **min-**  
 mina- ▶ *pref.* **mina-**  
 minam ▶ *v.* **minam**  
     ▶ *v.* **minamin**  
     ▶ *v.* **minanam**  
 minanuqu ▶ *v.* **minanuqu**  
 minaq ▶ *v.* **minaq**  
 minhaiða ▶ *v.* **minhaiða**  
 minkaun ▶ *v.* **minkaun**  
 minsia ▶ *v.* **minsia**  
 minsuma ▶ *v.*  
     **masanminsuma**  
     ▶ *v.* **minsuma**  
 mintivi ▶ *v.* **mintivi**  
 mintu- ▶ *pref.* **mintu-**  
 mintun ▶ *time.* **mintun**  
 minu- ▶ *pref.* **minu-**  
     ▶ *pref-num.* **minu-**  
 minʔasað ▶ *v.* **minʔasað**  
 miḡkailas ▶ *v.* **miḡkailas**  
 miqanin ▶ *time.* **miqanin**  
 miqdi ▶ *root.* **miqdi**

miqðiq ▶ *adj.* **miqðiq**  
     ▶ *root.* **miqðiq**  
     ▶ *n.* **miqðiq**  
 mis- ▶ *pref.* **mis-**  
 misa ▶ *n.* **misa**  
 misakuli ▶ *v.* **misakuli**  
 misðaḡ ▶ *n.* **misðaḡ**  
 mishuan ▶ *v.* **pakamishuan**  
 miskaq ▶ *n.* **miskaq**  
     ▶ *adj.* **timimiskaq**  
 miskuan ▶ *adj.*  
     **Takimiskuan**  
     ▶ *n.* **Takimiskuan**  
 misqaq ▶ *aux.* **misqaq**  
 misuna ▶ *v.* **misuna**  
 mit- ▶ *pref.* **mit-**  
 mita ▶ *pron-pers.* **mitaʔan**  
     ▶ *pron-pers.* **imita**  
     ▶ *pron-pers.* **mita**  
     ▶ *pron-pers.* **mita**  
 mu- ▶ *pron-pers.* **imu**  
     ▶ *pron-pers.* **mu**  
     ▶ *pref.* **mu-**  
 mu ▶ *pron-pers.* **amu**  
     ▶ *pron-pers.* **mu**  
 mu- ▶ *pref.* **mu-**  
     ▶ *pron-pers.* **muʔu**  
     ▶ *pref.* **mu-**  
 mu ▶ *v.* **paimu**  
 mua ▶ *n.* **Mua**  
 muað ▶ *aux.* **muað**  
     ▶ *conj.* **muað**  
     ▶ *aux.* **muað**

    ▶ *aux.* **muað**  
     ▶ *conj.* **muað**  
     ▶ *aux.* **muaðaq**  
 muda ▶ *aux.* **muda**  
     ▶ *colloc.* **muda**  
     **muḡa**  
     ▶ *aux.* **muda**  
 muda- ▶ *pref.* **muda-**  
 mudða ▶ *aux.* **mudða**  
 muðu ▶ *v.* **qanimuðu**  
     ▶ *v.* **tanamuðu**  
 muðʔa ▶ *aux.* **muðʔa**  
 muhað ▶ *v.* **muhað**  
     ▶ *conj.* **muhað**  
 muhaða ▶ *v.* **muhaða**  
 muiḡ ▶ *n.* **muiḡ**  
 mukail ▶ *v.* **mukail**  
 muku ▶ *adj.* **tismuku**  
 mulad ▶ *v.* **mulad**  
 muliva ▶ *v.* **muliva**  
 muluq ▶ *v.* **muluq**  
 mumu ▶ *adj.* **maqumumu**  
 mun- ▶ *pref.* **mun-**  
 munasun ▶ *v.* **munasun**  
 muḡa ▶ *aux.* **muḡaʔin**  
     ▶ *aux.* **muḡa**  
     ▶ *aux.* **muḡa**  
 Muḡdavanun ▶ *n.*  
     **Muḡdavanun**  
 muḡi ▶ *n.* **muḡi**  
 muḡuq ▶ *v.* **muḡuq**

muqa ▶ *aux.* **muqa**  
 ▶ *aux.* **muqa**  
 muqain ▶ *aux.* **namuqain**  
 ▶ *v.* **muqain**  
 muqmuq ▶ *n.* **muqmuq**  
 mus- ▶ *pref.* **mus-**  
 muska ▶ *aux.* **muska**  
 ▶ *conj.* **muska**  
 ▶ *conj.* **muska**

muskut ▶ *v.* **mamuskut**  
 ▶ *v.* **muskut**  
 ▶ *v.* **simuskut**  
 muslu ▶ *root.* **muslu**  
 ▶ *n.* **mumusluʔu**  
 musqa ▶ *disc.* **musqa**  
 ▶ *conj.* **musqa**  
 musu ▶ *n.* **Musu**  
 ▶ *time.* **musu**  
 ▶ *aux.* **musu**  
 musun ▶ *v.* **musun**

musupa ▶ *v.* **musupa**  
 musʔan ▶ *aux.* **musʔan**  
 ▶ *time.* **musʔan**  
 mutaq ▶ *v.* **mutaq**  
 muʔmuʔ ▶ *v.* **muʔmuʔ**  
 muʔna ▶ *aux.* **muʔna**  
 ▶ *aux.* **muʔnin**  
 muʔu ▶ *pron-pers.* **muʔuin**  
 muʔuð ▶ *n.* **Muʔuð**  
 ▶ *n-comp.* **Muʔuð**  
**Bali**

## N - n

na ▶ *conj.* **na**  
 ▶ *conj.* **na**  
 na- ▶ *pref.* **na-**  
 na ▶ *inter.* **na**  
 nadaʔan ▶ *v.* **paqanadaʔan**  
 ▶ *v.* **paqanadaʔan**  
 nahað ▶ *n.* **Nahað**  
 nahal ▶ *n.* **Nahal**  
 nahip ▶ *adj.* **manahip**  
 nai ▶ *pron-dem.* **naianta**  
 nai- ▶ *pref.* **nai-**  
 nai ▶ *pron-pers.* **nai**  
 nak ▶ *pron-pers.* **inak**  
 ▶ *pron-pers.* **ainak**  
 ▶ *pron-pers.* **nak**  
 ▶ *pron-pers.* **nak**  
 nakis ▶ *v.* **mananakis**  
 ▶ *v.* **panakisan**

nam ▶ *pron-pers.* **inam**  
 ▶ *pron-pers.* **nam**  
 nami ▶ *adj.* **manami**  
 namuqain ▶ *aux.* **namuqain**  
 nanalʔuŋ ▶ *n.* **Nanalʔuŋ**  
 nanau ▶ *v.* **munanau**  
 nanðarŋ ▶ *n.* **Nanðarŋ**  
 nanu ▶ *adj.* **malmananu**  
 ▶ *aux.* **mananu**  
 ▶ *aux.* **taknanu**  
 ▶ *v.* **manmananu**  
 ▶ *v.* **malmananu**  
 ▶ *aux.* **nanauk**  
 ▶ *root.* **nanu**  
 ▶ *adj.* **matinmananu**  
 ▶ *aux.* **nanu**  
 ▶ *v.* **ailmananuan**  
 ▶ *v.* **ailmananuan**  
 ▶ *v.* **malmananu**

▶ *aux.* **nanuqan**  
 ▶ *aux.* **nanutu**  
 ▶ *idiom.* **nitu nanu**  
 ▶ *v.* **palamananuʔun**  
 nanulu ▶ *v.* **minanulu**  
 ▶ *v.* **mananulu**  
 ▶ *v.* **mananulu**  
 naŋsas ▶ *n.* **naŋsas**  
 nas- ▶ *pref.* **nas-**  
 nasi- ▶ *pref.* **nasi-**  
 naskal ▶ *v.* **mapinaskal**  
 ▶ *n.* **kainaskalan**  
 ▶ *root.* **naskal**  
 ▶ *v.* **matunaskal**  
 ▶ *adj.* **manaskal**  
 nastu ▶ *place.* **nastu**  
 ▶ *adj.* **nastu**  
 ▶ *v-loc.* **munastu**  
 ▶ *v-loc.* **inastu**

- ▶ *v-loc.* **munastu**  
 ▶ *v.* **isnanastu**  
 ▶ *n.* **taknanastu**  
 ▶ *v-loc.* **munastu**  
 ▶ *v.* **punastuʔun**  
 ▶ *n.* **takinanastu**  
 nasʔak ▶ *adj.* **manasʔak**  
 nata ▶ *v-loc.* **inata**  
 ▶ *v.* **munata**  
 ▶ *v.* **munata**  
 ▶ *root.* **nata**  
 natu ▶ *v.* **mananatu**  
 ▶ *v.* **manatu**  
 nauba ▶ *n.* **nauba**  
 naulan ▶ *n.* **Naulan**  
 naupa ▶ *manner.* **naupa**  
 nauʔaǎ ▶ *n.* **binanauʔaǎ**  
 ▶ *root.* **nauʔaǎ**  
 ▶ *n.* **talbinauʔaǎ**  
 ▶ *n.* **talbinauʔaǎ**  
 ▶ *n-comp.*  
**madaiŋʔaǎin**  
**binanauʔaǎ**  
 ▶ *n-comp.* **uvaǎʔaǎ**  
**binanauʔaǎ**  
 nava ▶ *v.* **masnava**  
 ▶ *v.* **masnanava**  
 ▶ *n.* **isnanavan**  
 ▶ *v.* **sinava**  
 ▶ *n.* **pasnanavaʔan**  
 ▶ *n.* **masnanava**  
 ▶ *v.* **pasnanava**  
 ▶ *v.* **sinava**  
 ▶ *v.* **pasnava**  
 navan ▶ *time.* **navan**  
 ▶ *time.* **sanavan**  
 navi ▶ *n-comp.* **navi**  
**pitʔainan qaisiŋ**  
 ▶ *n.* **navi**  
 naʔu ▶ *v.* **munaʔu**  
 ▶ *root.* **naʔu**  
 ▶ *v.* **munaʔun**  
 ▶ *v.* **tanmunaʔu**  
 ni ▶ *disc.* **neʔe**  
 ▶ *aux.* **niaŋ**  
 ▶ *idiom.* **ni mavia**  
 ▶ *idiom.* **nitu**  
**maqʔuis nitu**  
 ▶ *disc.* **nei**  
 ▶ *aux.* **ni**  
 ▶ *idiom.* **ana niaŋ**  
 ▶ *aux.* **nitu**  
 ▶ *idiom.* **ni**  
 ▶ *aux.* **nitu**  
 ▶ *colloc.* **kama ni**  
 ▶ *aux.* **ni**  
 ▶ *colloc.* **aduq ni**  
 niap ▶ *v.* **naipuk**  
 ▶ *v.* **niap**  
 ▶ *v.* **niapniap**  
 ▶ *v.* **mapakisniap**  
 nibu ▶ *n.* **pasninibu**  
 nikal ▶ *n.* **Nikal**  
 niku ▶ *n.* **Niku**  
 Niku ▶ *n.* **Niku**  
 niŋǎav ▶ *adj.* **maniŋǎav**  
 niŋʔav ▶ *n-comp.* **siǎad**  
**niŋʔav**  
 ▶ *n.* **niniŋʔav**  
 ▶ *n.* **laniŋʔavan**  
 ▶ *n.* **Niniŋʔav**  
 ▶ *n.* **niŋʔav**  
 nipa ▶ *place.* **nipati**  
 ▶ *place.* **nipa**  
 ▶ *pref.* **nipa**  
 nipaŋ ▶ *n.* **nipaŋ**  
 ▶ *v.* **pasnipaŋ**  
 ▶ *idiom.* **uka nipaŋ**  
 nipun ▶ *n.* **nipun**  
 nisnis ▶ *adj.* **manisnis**  
 Niun ▶ *n.* **Niun**  
 niʔbu ▶ *n.* **niʔbu**  
 ▶ *n.* **niʔbu**  
 nuaǎ ▶ *v.* **minanuaǎ**  
 nuduʔ ▶ *v.* **misnuduʔ**  
 nuka ▶ *n.* **nuka**  
 num ▶ *num-ord.* **punnum**  
 ▶ *num-card.*  
**manumun**  
 ▶ *num-card.* **num**  
 ▶ *n.* **asinum**  
 ▶ *num-card.* **haʔnum**  
 ▶ *num-ord.*  
**taiminum**  
 nuŋkis ▶ *adj.* **manuŋkis**  
 nusuj ▶ *n.* **nusuj**

## Ŋ - ŋ

ŋabul ▶ <i>n.</i> ŋabul	▶ <i>aux.</i> kidŋaŋaus	ŋisŋis ▶ <i>n.</i> ŋisŋis
▶ <i>n.</i> ŋabul	▶ <i>time.</i> sunaŋ	▶ <i>adj.</i> maŋisŋis
▶ <i>n.</i> ŋabul	▶ <i>aux.</i> mailaŋaus	ŋitŋit ▶ <i>n.</i> ŋitŋit
ŋadaq ▶ <i>place.</i> ŋadaq	▶ <i>n.</i> malŋaŋaus	ŋulus ▶ <i>n.</i> ŋulus
▶ <i>v.</i> iŋadaq	▶ <i>n.</i> ŋaus	ŋul?a ▶ <i>n.</i> ŋul?a
▶ <i>n.</i> ŋadaq	▶ <i>v-loc.</i> tanaŋaus	▶ <i>n.</i> ŋul?a
▶ <i>n.</i> takiŋaŋadaq	▶ <i>v.</i> muŋaus	▶ <i>n.</i> ŋul?a
▶ <i>place.</i> tanŋadaq	▶ <i>time.</i> ŋaus	▶ <i>n.</i> ŋul?a
ŋaduq ▶ <i>v.</i> panŋaduq	ŋausaŋ ▶ <i>time.</i> ŋausaŋ	ŋuŋus ▶ <i>n.</i> ŋuŋus
ŋaisa ▶ <i>adj.</i> maŋaisa	ŋava ▶ <i>adj.</i> taŋava	▶ <i>v.</i> piŋuŋus
ŋan ▶ <i>n.</i> ŋan	▶ <i>n.</i> ŋava	ŋusul ▶ <i>v.</i> piŋuŋusul
ŋau ▶ <i>n.</i> ŋau	▶ <i>root.</i> ŋava	▶ <i>v.</i> piŋusul
ŋaus ▶ <i>time.</i> ŋausanaŋ	ŋisbis ▶ <i>adj.</i> maŋisbis	▶ <i>n.</i> ŋusul
▶ <i>time.</i> ŋausuŋ		ŋutus ▶ <i>n.</i> ŋutus

## P - p

p- ▶ <i>pref.</i> p-	pað ▶ <i>n-comp.</i> pað inaliv	painaqaŋ ▶ <i>n.</i> painaqaŋ
pa- ▶ <i>pref.</i> pa-	▶ <i>n.</i> pað	paini- ▶ <i>pref.</i> paini-
▶ <i>pref.</i> pa-	paðaŋi ▶ <i>v.</i> mapaðaŋi	painuk ▶ <i>v.</i> painukan
▶ <i>pref.</i> pa-	paðnu ▶ <i>v.</i> mapaðnu	▶ <i>v.</i> pinainuk
▶ <i>pref-num.</i> pa-	pahik ▶ <i>n.</i> pahik	▶ <i>v.</i> painukun
padað ▶ <i>adj.</i> talpadað	pai- ▶ <i>pref.</i> pai-	paisia ▶ <i>prep.</i> paisia
padan ▶ <i>n.</i> padan	▶ <i>pref.</i> pai-	paisna- ▶ <i>pref.</i> paisna-
▶ <i>n.</i> padan	paið ▶ <i>v.</i> mapaið	▶ <i>pref.</i> paisna-
padaq ▶ <i>v.</i> padaq	▶ <i>root.</i> paið	paisqa- ▶ <i>pref.</i> paisqa-
padaqtaŋ ▶ <i>v.</i> padaqtaŋ	pail- ▶ <i>pref.</i> pail-	▶ <i>pref.</i> paisqa-
Padlai?an ▶ <i>n.</i> Padlai?an	pailkada?an ▶ <i>n.</i>	paka- ▶ <i>pref.</i> paka-
▶ <i>n.</i> Padlai?an	paikada?an	▶ <i>pref.</i> paka-
	pain- ▶ <i>pref.</i> pain-	Pakðat ▶ <i>n.</i> Pakðat

pakitsu ▶ *n.* **pakitsu**  
 pakitun ▶ *v.* **pakitun**  
     ▶ *v.* **pakitun**  
 paki?u ▶ *v.* **paki?u**  
 pal- ▶ *pref.* **pal-**  
 pala- ▶ *pref.* **pala-**  
 palaŋ- ▶ *pref.* **palaŋ-**  
 palaun ▶ *v.* **palaun**  
 palavað ▶ *v.* **palavað**  
     ▶ *v.* **tinpalavað**  
     ▶ *n.* **palavaðan**  
 palava?að ▶ *v.* **tinpalava?að**  
     ▶ *v.* **mapalava?að**  
 pali- ▶ *pref.* **pali-**  
 paliak ▶ *adj.* **mapaliak**  
 palis- ▶ *pref.* **palis-**  
 palkav ▶ *v.* **tispalkav**  
 paluk ▶ *v.* **mapaluk**  
 palum ▶ *v.* **ispalum**  
 paluŋan ▶ *n.* **Paluŋan**  
 paluq ▶ *v.* **mapaluq**  
 pan- ▶ *pref.* **pan-**  
 pan ▶ *n.* **pan**  
 pan- ▶ *pref.* **pan-**  
 pana- ▶ *pref.* **pana-**  
 panai?an ▶ *n.* **panai?an**  
 panatauqun ▶ *n.*  
     **Panatauqun**  
 panðami?an ▶ *v.*  
     **panðami?an**  
 pani ▶ *n.* **pani**

pania ▶ *n.* **pania**  
     ▶ *n.* **pania**  
 panka- ▶ *pref-adj.* **panka-**  
     ▶ *pref.* **panka-**  
 pansimpi ▶ *n.* **pansimpi**  
 pantanan ▶ *n.* **pantanan**  
 pantu ▶ *n.* **maipantu**  
     ▶ *v.* **pantu**  
     ▶ *n.* **pantu**  
 panu ▶ *adj.* **mapanu**  
     ▶ *adj.* **mapanu**  
 paŋka ▶ *n-comp.* **paŋka**  
     **kakaunan qaisiq**  
     ▶ *n.* **paŋka**  
 paŋka- ▶ *pref.* **paŋka-**  
 paŋkal ▶ *adj.* **paŋkal**  
 paq ▶ *v.* **mapapaq**  
 paqa- ▶ *pref.* **paqa-**  
 paqaiŋ ▶ *n.* **paqaiŋ**  
 paqal ▶ *n.* **paqal**  
 paqav ▶ *n.* **paqav**  
 paqpaq ▶ *v.* **mapaqaq**  
 paqpun ▶ *aux.* **paqpun**  
 paqun ▶ *v.* **paqun**  
     ▶ *aux.* **paqun**  
 pas- ▶ *pref.* **pas-**  
     ▶ *pref.* **pas-**  
 pasadu ▶ *v.* **ampasdu**  
 pasað ▶ *n.* **pasað**  
 pasakalan ▶ *v.* **pasakalan**  
 pasan- ▶ *pref.* **pasan-**

pasanpanaq ▶ *n.*  
     **pasanpanaq**  
     ▶ *v.* **pasanpanaq**  
 pasapaun ▶ *v.* **pasapaun**  
 pasaq ▶ *v.* **mapasaq**  
 pasasiŋ ▶ *v.* **pasasiŋ**  
 pasi- ▶ *pref.* **pasi-**  
 pasihalas ▶ *adj.* **pasihalas**  
 pasikal ▶ *v.* **pasikal**  
 pasikau ▶ *n.* **Pasikau**  
 pasil ▶ *conj.* **pasil**  
 pasisivin ▶ *n.* **pasisivin**  
 pasnava ▶ *v.* **sinpasnava**  
 pasuq ▶ *n.* **Pasuq**  
 pas?aŋ ▶ *v.* **mapas?aŋ**  
 pat ▶ *num-ord.* **punpat**  
     ▶ *n.* **asipat**  
     ▶ *num-ord.* **taimipat**  
 pat- ▶ *pref.* **pat-**  
 pat ▶ *num-card.* **pat**  
     ▶ *num-card.* **saspat**  
     ▶ *num-card.*  
     **masipatun**  
 patað ▶ *n.* **papataðan**  
 patal ▶ *n.* **patalan**  
 pataq ▶ *n.* **pataq**  
 patas ▶ *n.* **patas**  
     ▶ *n.* **patasan**  
     ▶ *n.* **paitasan**  
     ▶ *v.* **mapatas**  
     ▶ *n.* **sinpatas**  
     ▶ *n.* **paitasan**  
     ▶ *v.* **paitasan**

- pati- ▶ *pref.* pati-
- patili ▶ *n.* patili
- patuna ▶ *n.* patuna
- patuŋqal ▶ *v.* patuŋqal
- pauktanan ▶ *v.* pauktanan
- pauq ▶ *v.* pauq
- paus ▶ *n.* paus
- pautpaut ▶ *n.* pautpaut  
▶ *v.* tumpautpaut
- pav ▶ *v.* paspavun  
▶ *n.* pav  
▶ *v.* lapavan
- paʔis ▶ *adj.* mapaʔis  
▶ *root.* paʔis  
▶ *n.* paʔis
- pi- ▶ *pref.* pi-
- pian ▶ *n.* Pian
- piaq ▶ *num.* katpapiaq  
▶ *q-word.* piaq  
▶ *q-word.* talpiaq  
▶ *aux.* punpiaq  
▶ *q-word.* papiaq  
▶ *q-word.* talpiaq  
▶ *time.* punpiaq  
▶ *q-word.* piaqain
- pikaʔun ▶ *v.* pikaʔun
- pima ▶ *n.* Pima
- pin- ▶ *pref.* pin-
- pin ▶ *aux.* papin
- pin- -un ▶ *circumf.* pin- -  
un
- pinan ▶ *v.* mapinan
- pinasaq ▶ *n.* pinasaq  
▶ *n.* pinasaq
- pini- ▶ *pref.* pini-
- pinisʔati ▶ *n.* pinisʔati
- pinsaqtu ▶ *v.* pinsaqtu
- pintsi ▶ *n.* pintsi
- pinvai ▶ *v.* pinvaiʔun  
▶ *v.* pinvai  
▶ *v.* pinvaiun
- piqa ▶ *adj.* mapiqa
- piqauq ▶ *q-word.* piqauq  
▶ *q-word.* mapiqauq  
▶ *n.* piqauq
- piqdi ▶ *adj.* mapiqdi
- pis ▶ *v.* pis
- pis- ▶ *pref.* pis-  
▶ *pref.* pis-  
▶ *pref.* pis-  
▶ *pref.* pis-  
▶ *pref.* pis-
- pisanun ▶ *v-trans.* pisanun
- pisðan ▶ *adj.* mapisðan  
▶ *root.* pisðan
- pisin ▶ *adj.* mapisin  
▶ *root.* pinsin  
▶ *adj.* kapisinun
- pistibu ▶ *v.* pistibu  
▶ *n.* Pistibuan
- pitu ▶ *num-card.* papitu  
▶ *num-ord.* taimipitu  
▶ *num-ord.* punpitu  
▶ *num-card.*  
mapituʔun
- ▶ *num-card.* pitu  
▶ *n.* asipitu
- pitʔia ▶ *n.* pipitʔaiʔan  
▶ *n.* pitʔia  
▶ *v.* mapitʔia
- piʔisauq ▶ *v.* piʔisauq
- pu- ▶ *pref.* pu-  
▶ *pref.* pu-  
▶ *pref.* pu-
- puaq ▶ *n.* puaq  
▶ *v.* kapuaq
- pudlaq ▶ *v.* mapudlaq
- pudul ▶ *n.* pudul
- puduŋ ▶ *v.* puduŋpuduŋ
- puhuq ▶ *idiom.* minpuhuq  
isʔaŋ  
▶ *v.* minpuhuq  
▶ *root.* puhuq
- puhut ▶ *n.* puhut
- pukʔun ▶ *v.* pinukʔunin  
▶ *v.* pukʔun  
▶ *v.* mapukʔun
- Pula ▶ *n.* Pula
- pulavan ▶ *n.* pulavan
- pulpul ▶ *v.* mupulpul  
▶ *v.* mapulpul
- pulu ▶ *n.* pulu  
▶ *v.* umpuluʔan
- pun- ▶ *pref.* pun-  
▶ *pref.* pun-
- punadu ▶ *v.* punadu
- punal ▶ *v.* lapunalan  
▶ *n.* punal

punda ▶ *v-trans.* **mapunda**  
 punhav ▶ *v.* **punhavun**  
 ▶ *v.* **punhav**  
 punsihal ▶ *v.* **punsihal**  
 punuq ▶ *n.* **punuq**  
 puñhuñ ▶ *adj.* **puñhuñ**  
 puñkañ ▶ *n.* **puñkañ**  
 puñnin ▶ *aux.* **puñnin**  
 puñjul ▶ *v.* **sipuñjul**  
 ▶ *v.* **sipuñjulan**  
 ▶ *v.* **panpuñjul**  
 puqñin ▶ *aux.* **puqñin**

puqpuq ▶ *v.* **puqpuq**  
 pusa ▶ *time.* **tinpusa**  
 pusan ▶ *num.* **panpusan**  
 ▶ *time.* **punpusan**  
 pusið ▶ *v.* **pusið**  
 pusnum ▶ *v.* **pusnum**  
 pusqu ▶ *adj.* **mapusqu**  
 Pusqu ▶ *n.* **Pusqu**  
 pusul ▶ *adj.* **mapusul**  
 ▶ *idiom.* **mapusul**  
**isʔañ**  
 pusʔakan ▶ *v.* **pusʔakan**

put ▶ *n.* **put**  
 ▶ *v.* **malasput**  
 ▶ *n.* **put**  
 putul ▶ *adj.* **maputul**  
 ▶ *v.* **muputul**  
 putuñ ▶ *root.* **putuñ**  
 ▶ *root.* **putuñ**  
 ▶ *n.* **Kaputuñan**  
 putus ▶ *v.* **putusputus**

## Q - q

qa ▶ *n.* **qa**  
 qabañ ▶ *n.* **qabañ**  
 qabas ▶ *idiom.*  
**sauqabasqabas**  
 ▶ *n.* **qabasan**  
 ▶ *adj.* **maqunqabas**  
 ▶ *adj.* **maqabasan**  
 ▶ *adj.* **paliqabasan**  
 ▶ *time.* **maqunqabas**  
 ▶ *time.* **qabas**  
 ▶ *time.* **qabas**  
 ▶ *time.* **mainaqabas**  
 qabu ▶ *n.* **qabu**  
 qabus ▶ *n.* **qabus**  
 qadba ▶ *adj.* **maqadba**  
 ▶ *v.* **matuqadba**  
 qaðam ▶ *v.* **matqaðam**  
 ▶ *n.* **qaðam**

qaðañ ▶ *aux.* **qaðañ**  
 qaðañʔal ▶ *n.* **qaðañʔal**  
 qaðhav ▶ *v.* **pasqaðhavun**  
 ▶ *n.* **pisqaðhavan**  
 ▶ *v.* **isqaðhav**  
 ▶ *colloc.* **isqaðhavun**  
**mihalañ**  
 ▶ *n.* **maqaðhav**  
 ▶ *v.* **isqaðhavun**  
 ▶ *v.* **pisqaðhavun**  
 ▶ *adj.* **maqaðhav**  
 qaðmañ ▶ *aux.* **qaðmañ**  
 ▶ *v.* **isqaðmañ**  
 ▶ *aux.* **qaðmañ**  
 ▶ *aux.* **qaðmañ**  
 ▶ *aux.* **qaðmañ**  
 qaðna ▶ *aux.* **qaðna**  
 qaðʔav ▶ *v.* **pinqaðʔav**

qahla ▶ *root.* **qahla**  
 ▶ *adj.* **maqahla**  
 qahuñ ▶ *n.* **qahuñ**  
 qai- ▶ *pref.* **qai-**  
 qaibað ▶ *v.* **maqaibað**  
 qaiban ▶ *root.* **qaiban**  
 ▶ *n.* **ininqaiban**  
 qaibuta ▶ *n.* **Qaibuta**  
 qaidañ ▶ *v.* **sumaqaidañ**  
 ▶ *n.* **qaidañ**  
 ▶ *v.* **pisqaidañ**  
 ▶ *n.* **qaidañ**  
 ▶ *adj.* **maqaidañ**  
 qaiðhav ▶ *root.* **qaiðhav**  
 ▶ *colloc.* **amin**  
**maqaiðhav**  
 ▶ *colloc.* **padusa**  
**maqaiðhav**

- ▶ *adj.*  
 malasmaqaiðhav  
 ▶ *n.* maqaiðhav  
 ▶ *n.* maqaiðhav  
 qaiðma ▶ *n.* qaiðma  
 qaiðu ▶ *adj.* maqaiðu  
 qailað ▶ *idiom.* paŋqailað  
 daiŋ  
 ▶ *v.* paŋqailað  
 qailis ▶ *time.* qailis  
 ▶ *time.* masiqailis  
 ▶ *time.* qailis  
 qaimaŋsut ▶ *n.* qaimaŋsut  
 qain- ▶ *v.* maqainan  
 qainan ▶ *v.* maqain  
 ▶ *v.* paqaqainan  
 qainpu ▶ *v.* iŋqainputi  
 qaiŋpi ▶ *adj.* maqaiŋpi  
 qais ▶ *v.* qaisaqain  
 ▶ *adj.* maqais  
 ▶ *n.* qais  
 ▶ *n.* tiniqaisan  
 ▶ *n.* qais  
 ▶ *v.* qais  
 qaisaq ▶ *adj.* maqaisaq  
 qaisiŋ ▶ *n.* qaisiŋ  
 ▶ *n-comp.* baitu  
 tiŋmut qaisiŋ  
 ▶ *n-comp.* qaisiŋ  
 ʔulʔul  
 ▶ *n-comp.* baitu  
 sanavan qaisiŋ  
 ▶ *n-comp.* qaisiŋ  
 maqatba
- ▶ *n-comp.* baitu  
 taunqu qaisiŋ  
 qaisqais ▶ *n.* isqaisqaisun  
 ▶ *v.* maqaisqais  
 qaisu ▶ *v.* maqaisu  
 ▶ *n.* qaisu  
 qaisul ▶ *n.* Qaisul  
 qaitba ▶ *v.* punqaitba  
 qaitbas ▶ *v.* maqaitbas  
 ▶ *adj.* maqaitbas  
 qaitmal ▶ *v.* qaitmal  
 ▶ *adj.* qaitmal  
 ▶ *n.* pisqaitmalan  
 ▶ *v.* pisqaitmal  
 qaitqait ▶ *adj.* maqaitqait  
 qaitubul ▶ *n.* Qaitubul  
 qaituq ▶ *aux.* isqaituq  
 qaiu ▶ *v.* tanqaiu  
 ▶ *v.* maqaiu  
 ▶ *v.* tanqaiu  
 qaiuŋ ▶ *n.* qaiuŋ  
 ▶ *v.* matiqaiuŋ  
 qaiŋ ▶ *v.* qaiŋ  
 qaiŋan ▶ *v.* inqaiŋan  
 qaiŋaŋ ▶ *n.* Qaiŋaŋ  
 qal ▶ *root.* qaltu  
 qaladuad ▶ *adj.* qaladuad  
 qalav ▶ *v.* maqalav  
 ▶ *v.* maqalav  
 ▶ *adj.* qalavan  
 ▶ *adj.* qalavan  
 qalavaŋ ▶ *adj.* Qalavaŋ  
 ▶ *n.* Qalavaŋ
- qaliŋa ▶ *n.* qaliŋa  
 ▶ *n.* qaliŋa  
 qalmaŋ ▶ *aux.* qalmaŋ  
 qalmut ▶ *n.* Qalmutan  
 ▶ *n.* Qalmut  
 ▶ *n.* Qalmut  
 ▶ *n.* qalmut  
 qalqal ▶ *root.* qalqal  
 ▶ *v.* muqalqal  
 ▶ *v.* muqalqal  
 qaltum ▶ *v.* maqaltum  
 qalua ▶ *n.* qalua  
 qalum ▶ *n.* qalum  
 qalus ▶ *v.* maqalus  
 qamaq ▶ *q-word.* malqamaq  
 ▶ *q-word.* qamaq  
 qamisan ▶ *n.* qamisan  
 ▶ *n.* qamisan  
 qamu ▶ *n.* qamu  
 qamutis ▶ *n.* qamutis  
 qan ▶ *conj.* qan  
 qan- ▶ *pref.* qan-  
 qan- ▶ *pref.* qan-  
 qanal ▶ *adj.* maqanal  
 qanaqtuŋ ▶ *aux.* qanaqtuŋ  
 qanðas ▶ *adj.* maqanðas  
 qani- ▶ *pref.* qani-  
 qanian ▶ *n.* qanian  
 ▶ *n.* qanian  
 ▶ *n.* qanian  
 ▶ *time.* qanian  
 qaniaŋ ▶ *n.* qaniaŋ

- qaniŋu ▶ *n.* qaniŋu  
▶ *v.* pasiqaniŋu
- qanitu ▶ *n.* qanitu
- qaniʔan ▶ *n.* qaniʔan
- qansiap ▶ *v.* qaiqansaipan  
▶ *v.* paliqansiap  
▶ *v.* minqansiap  
▶ *v.* ispinqansiap  
▶ *v.* ispinqansiap  
▶ *v.* qansaipun  
▶ *v.* uqansaipan  
▶ *v.* pinqansiap  
▶ *v.* qansiap
- qansu ▶ *adj.* maqansu
- qanuas ▶ *adj.* maqanuas  
▶ *adj.* maqanuas  
▶ *adj.* maqanuas  
▶ *adj.* maqanuas
- qanup ▶ *v.* isqaqanup  
▶ *v.* qanup
- qanvaŋ ▶ *n.* qanvaŋ  
▶ *v.* puqanvaŋ  
▶ *v.* maqanvaŋ  
▶ *n.* sinaipuk qanvaŋ  
▶ *v.* madqanvaŋ  
▶ *n.* qanvaŋ  
▶ *n.* qanvaŋ  
▶ *n-comp.* qanvaŋ  
libus
- qanqan ▶ *v.* pisqanqan  
▶ *n.* qanqan
- qapis ▶ *v.* maqapis
- qaqal ▶ *v-intrans.* qaqal
- qaqapis ▶ *n.* qaqapis
- qaqatu ▶ *adj.* qaqatu
- qaqnaŋ ▶ *conj.* qaqnaŋ
- qaqtis ▶ *v.* maquqaqtis  
▶ *n.* qaqaqtis
- qasaŋa ▶ *adj.* maqasaŋa
- qasaʔan ▶ *v.* qasaʔan
- qasbiŋ ▶ *v.* qasbiŋ
- qasbit ▶ *adj.* maqasbit
- qasila ▶ *n.* qasila
- qasipus ▶ *n.* qasipus
- qasmav ▶ *adj.* maqasmav
- qasqas ▶ *n.* qasqas
- qasuin ▶ *n.* qasuin
- qasʔaðan ▶ *adj.* qasʔaðan
- qatabaŋ ▶ *v.* qatabaŋ
- qatað ▶ *n.* qatað  
▶ *n.* qatað
- qatas ▶ *n.* qatas
- qatba ▶ *v.* pisqatbaun
- qatibiŋ ▶ *n.* qatibiŋ
- qatu ▶ *n.* qatu
- qatul ▶ *v.* maqatul
- qatuŋul ▶ *n.* Qatuŋulan
- qaul ▶ *n-comp.* qaul diŋki  
▶ *n.* qaul  
▶ *adj.* painiqaul
- qaulqaul ▶ *adj.* maqaulqaul
- qaulus ▶ *n.* masuqaulus  
▶ *n.* qaulus
- qaunqauŋ ▶ *n.* qaunqauŋ
- qav ▶ *idiom.* mabaqais  
qav  
▶ *adj.* matiqav  
▶ *n.* qav
- qavaŋ ▶ *n-comp.* amaun tu  
qavaŋ  
▶ *n.* qavaŋ  
▶ *n-comp.* qavaŋ
- quhal  
▶ *n-comp.* masqaili  
tu qavaŋ  
▶ *n-comp.* aŋkusun  
tu qavaŋ  
▶ *n.* qavaŋ
- qaviq ▶ *root.* qaviq  
▶ *v-loc.* muqaviq
- qaʔal ▶ *aux.* qaʔal  
▶ *aux.* qaʔalqun  
▶ *v.* patinqaʔal
- qiaŋ ▶ *v.* inqaiŋan vali
- qu- ▶ *pref.* qu-
- qu ▶ *v.* qu
- quaq ▶ *q-word.* quaq
- qudan ▶ *n.* ququdan  
▶ *v.* ququdanan  
▶ *v.* qudan  
▶ *v.* paqudan  
▶ *root.* qudan
- qudu ▶ *n.* qudu
- quðan ▶ *v.* quðanan  
▶ *root.* quðan

quðav ▶ <i>root.</i> quðav	▶ <i>n.</i> quma	qun ▶ <i>v.</i> paqun
quðus ▶ <i>adj.</i> maquðus	▶ <i>n.</i> aunqumaun	▶ <i>v.</i> maqun
quhal ▶ <i>adj.</i> quhal	▶ <i>v.</i> sinaiquma	qunuŋ ▶ <i>aux.</i> qunuŋ
qul ▶ <i>v.</i> isququl	▶ <i>n.</i> taimiquma	quqnav ▶ <i>n.</i> quqnav
▶ <i>v.</i> maqul	▶ <i>v.</i> aunqumaun	ququm ▶ <i>n.</i> ququm
▶ <i>v.</i> ispaqul	▶ <i>v.</i> muquma	qusil ▶ <i>v.</i> paqusil
qulbu ▶ <i>n.</i> qulbu	▶ <i>n.</i> quma	quspuŋ ▶ <i>adj.</i> maquspuŋ
qulpiq ▶ <i>v.</i> tinqulpiq	▶ <i>v.</i> aunqumaan	qusunsubali ▶ <i>n.</i>
▶ <i>n.</i> maqulpiqan	▶ <i>v.</i> aunqumaun	Qusunsubali
▶ <i>adj.</i> maqulpiq	▶ <i>n.</i> quma	quti ▶ <i>n.</i> quti
qulqul ▶ <i>v.</i> maqulqul	▶ <i>v.</i> qaquma	qutsil ▶ <i>n.</i> qutsil
quluqulu ▶ <i>n.</i> quluqulu	qumis ▶ <i>n.</i> minqumis	qutun ▶ <i>n.</i> qutun
quma ▶ <i>n.</i> qumin	▶ <i>n.</i> isiqumis	▶ <i>v.</i> maqutun
▶ <i>v.</i> aunqumaan	▶ <i>v.</i> minqumis	▶ <i>v.</i> isqutun
▶ <i>v.</i> muququma	▶ <i>n.</i> sintuqumis	

## S - S

sa- ▶ <i>pref.</i> sa-	sadu?u ▶ <i>v.</i> manpasadu?u	sais ▶ <i>v.</i> ansais
sa ▶ <i>disc.</i> sa	▶ <i>v.</i> pasadu?u	▶ <i>v.</i> basaisan
saba ▶ <i>idiom.</i> suqais saba	sai- ▶ <i>pref.</i> sai-	saita ▶ <i>v.</i> saita?an
saba ▶ <i>num-card.</i> saba	sai ▶ <i>n.</i> Sai	▶ <i>n.</i> saita
sabaq ▶ <i>v.</i> tasabaq	sai- ▶ <i>pref.</i> sai-	saiv ▶ <i>v.</i> saivan
▶ <i>n.</i> aisabaqan	saidua?in ▶ <i>time.</i> saidua?in	▶ <i>v.</i> sinsaiv
▶ <i>n.</i> sasabaqan	saiða ▶ <i>n.</i> saiða	▶ <i>v.</i> saiva
▶ <i>n.</i> asabaqan	saihu ▶ <i>root.</i> saihu	▶ <i>v.</i> makisaiv
▶ <i>v.</i> masabaq	sain ▶ <i>pron.</i> sain	▶ <i>v.</i> kisaiv
sada?saq ▶ <i>n.</i> Sada?saq	saiŋa ▶ <i>adj.</i> masaiŋa	▶ <i>v.</i> isaiv
sadu ▶ <i>v.</i> sadu?u	saipuk ▶ <i>v.</i> saipuk	▶ <i>v.</i> saiva
▶ <i>v.</i> sinsadu?u	▶ <i>v.</i> sinaipuk	▶ <i>v.</i> kisaiv
▶ <i>v.</i> sadu?u	▶ <i>v.</i> saipuk	▶ <i>v.</i> masaiv
▶ <i>v.</i> sinsadu	▶ <i>v.</i> sinsaipuk	▶ <i>v.</i> sinsaiv
▶ <i>v.</i> sadudu?u	▶ <i>v.</i> saipuksaipuk	▶ <i>v.</i> pasasaiv

- saivadan ▶ *time*. **saivadan**
- saiʔan ▶ *v.* **saiʔan**
- sak ▶ *pron-pers.* **sak**  
▶ *pron-pers.* **saikin**  
▶ *v.* **sak**
- sakakiv ▶ *v.* **sakakiv**
- saknut ▶ *v.* **saknutan**
- salað ▶ *n.* **salað**
- salankað ▶ *v.* **minsalankað**
- salituŋ ▶ *n.* **salituŋ**
- salpu ▶ *n.* **qaisalpuan**  
▶ *adj.* **masalpu**  
▶ *v.* **matusalpu**  
▶ *v.* **taisalpuan**
- sam ▶ *pron-pers.* **sam**
- sama- ▶ *pref.* **sama-**
- samaskainan ▶ *v.*  
**samaskainan**
- sambut ▶ *aux.* **sambut**  
▶ *adj.* **masambut**
- sampan ▶ *v.* **sampan**
- sampat ▶ *adj.* **masampat**
- samu ▶ *v.* **samu**  
▶ *n.* **samu**  
▶ *adj.* **masamu**  
▶ *adj.* **masamu**  
▶ *v.* **masamu**
- samuq ▶ *aux.* **samuq**
- samuqai ▶ *part.* **samuqai**
- san- ▶ *pref.* **san-**
- san ▶ *v.* **malansan**  
▶ *v.* **san**  
▶ *adj.* **san**
- ▶ *colloc.* **malansan**
- malavi
- san ▶ *v.* **isan**  
▶ *v.* **palansan**  
▶ *idiom.* **isananŋ**  
▶ *v.* **sausan**  
▶ *time.* **san**  
▶ *v.* **pansan**  
▶ *v.* **sananŋ**  
▶ *prep.* **san**  
▶ *v.* **munsan**
- sana ▶ *v.* **sana**
- sana- ▶ *pref.* **sana-**  
▶ *pref.* **sana-**
- sanaivað ▶ *n.* **sanaivað**
- sanasi ▶ *v.* **sanasi**
- sani ▶ *n.* **Sani**
- sansu ▶ *v.* **sansu**  
▶ *aux.* **sansu**
- sanŋan ▶ *aux.* **sanŋan**
- sanŋlav ▶ *root-adj.* **sanŋlav**  
▶ *v.* **tinsanŋlav**  
▶ *adj.* **masanŋlavanŋ**  
▶ *adj.* **masanŋlav**  
▶ *v.* **pisanŋlavun**  
▶ *n.* **sanŋlav**
- sapal ▶ *n.* **sapalan**  
▶ *v.* **sapal**  
▶ *n.* **Sinapalan**  
▶ *v.* **pasapal**  
▶ *n.* **sapal**
- sapil ▶ *v.* **kunsapilan**  
▶ *n.* **sapil**
- ▶ *n-comp.* **sapil**
- quhal
- sapuð ▶ *n.* **sapuð**
- saqal ▶ *v.* **saqal**  
▶ *v.* **usaqalan**  
▶ *v.* **saqal**
- saqbit ▶ *idiom.* **masaqbit**  
**isʔanŋ**  
▶ *idiom.* **masaqbit**  
**isʔanŋ**  
▶ *root-adj.* **saqbit**  
▶ *adj.* **masaqbit**
- saqdil ▶ *root.* **saqdil**  
▶ *v.* **saqdilan**
- saqhal ▶ *v.* **saqhal**  
▶ *v.* **sataqhalan**
- saqit ▶ *v.* **masaqit**
- saqnut ▶ *v.* **saqnut**
- saqsaq ▶ *v.* **pusaqsaq**
- saqsial ▶ *v.* **saqsial**
- saqtu ▶ *v.* **pinsaqtu**  
▶ *v.* **pinsaqtu**
- sas- ▶ *pref.* **sas-**
- sasa ▶ *v.* **malsasa**
- sasak ▶ *adj.* **masasak**  
▶ *v.* **masasak**
- sasanal ▶ *n.* **sasanal**
- sasbinʔað ▶ *n.* **sasbinʔað**  
▶ *n.* **sasbinʔað**
- sasbinʔað ▶ *n.* **sasbinʔað**
- sasiŋ ▶ *n.* **sasiŋ**  
▶ *n.* **sasiŋ**
- sasiq ▶ *v.* **sasiq**

sata ▶ *pron-pers.* sata  
 satu ▶ *n.* satu  
 sau- ▶ *pref.* sau-  
 sau ▶ *prep.* sau  
 ▶ *prep.* sau  
 saunku ▶ *adj.* masaunkuan  
 saunqu ▶ *adj.* masauṅqu  
 saupa ▶ *v.* masaupa  
 ▶ *place.* saupa  
 ▶ *root.* saupa  
 ▶ *v.* pusaupata  
 ▶ *place.* malansaupa  
 ▶ *v.* pasaupaun  
 sauqais ▶ *v.* sauqaisauqais  
 sauqbuṅ ▶ *adj.* masauqbuṅ  
 sauqḍaṅ ▶ *n.* masasauqḍaṅ  
 ▶ *v.* mitsauqḍaṅ  
 ▶ *adj.* masauqḍaṅ  
 sauva ▶ *n.* sauva  
 savasu ▶ *v.* savasu  
 savi ▶ *n.* Savi  
 saviki ▶ *n.* saviki  
 savis ▶ *n.* savis  
 si- ▶ *pref.* si-  
 sia ▶ *pron-anaph.* siatun  
 ▶ *n.* sinkasiati  
 ▶ *v.* siaqan  
 ▶ *n.* Mansia  
 ▶ *pron-anaph.* siata  
 ▶ *place.* ṽitusia  
 ▶ *v.* diskasia  
 ▶ *pron-anaph.* saita  
 ▶ *pron-anaph.* sian

▶ *pron-anaph.* siati  
 ▶ *inter.* siatu  
 ▶ *v.* taimisia  
 ▶ *v.* tuqsisia  
 ▶ *aux.* sanasia  
 ▶ *idiom.* nasiata  
 ▶ *v.* takisia  
 ▶ *pron-anaph.* sia  
 siam ▶ *n.* siam  
 siaṅ ▶ *time.* siaṅ  
 siap ▶ *root.* siap  
 ▶ *n.* qalsaipun  
 ▶ *n.* qansaipan  
 ▶ *v.* masiap  
 ▶ *v.* qanisaipun  
 ▶ *v.* maqansiap  
 siaʔkiṅ ▶ *v-trans.* siaʔkiṅ  
 sibus ▶ *n.* sibus  
 sibusbut ▶ *v.* sibusbut  
 siduq ▶ *adj.* vaivisiduq  
 siḍa ▶ *colloc.* pasiḍa  
 nauʔaḍ  
 ▶ *v.* siḍa  
 ▶ *colloc.* siḍa qaliṅa  
 ▶ *n.* siḍaun  
 ▶ *v.* pasiḍa  
 ▶ *v.* siḍaʔan  
 ▶ *v.* siḍin  
 ▶ *colloc.* siḍa qaniṅu  
 ▶ *v.* siniḍaʔan  
 siḍad ▶ *root.* siḍad  
 ▶ *root.* siḍad  
 siḍi ▶ *n.* siḍi

siḍu ▶ *v.* siḍu  
 ▶ *v.* siḍu  
 siḍuq ▶ *n.* siḍuq  
 ▶ *n.* siḍuq  
 sihal ▶ *v.* pisihal  
 ▶ *adj.* masihal  
 ▶ *adj.* masihal  
 ▶ *adj.* masihal  
 ▶ *n.* pisihal  
 ▶ *adj.* kamasihal  
 ▶ *v.* samasihalan  
 ▶ *adj.* kasihalan  
 ▶ *v.* mapisihal  
 ▶ *v.* masisihal  
 ▶ *v.* pinsihal  
 ▶ *v.* pasihalun  
 ▶ *idiom.* pasihalun  
 liskaʔuni  
 ▶ *root.* sihal  
 ▶ *adj.* malisihal  
 ▶ *v.* pisihalun  
 ▶ *idiom.* masihalʔas  
 ▶ *v.* pasihalun  
 ▶ *v.* masihalin  
 ▶ *v.* sihalun  
 ▶ *adj.* masihal  
 ▶ *v.* kasihal  
 ▶ *adj.* samasihal  
 ▶ *v.* pakasihal  
 ▶ *v.* ispisihal  
 sikav ▶ *n.* Sikav  
 ▶ *n.* Sikav  
 sikini ▶ *v.* sikini  
 sikis ▶ *n.* sikis

- siksi ▶ *v.* **siksi**
- siku ▶ *n.* **siku**
- Sila ▶ *n.* **Sila**
- silā ▶ *prep.* **silā**
- sili ▶ *v.* **sisili**
- siliba ▶ *v.* **siliba**
- silup ▶ *n-comp.* **silup daiŋ**  
▶ *n-comp.* **silup kuis**  
▶ *n.* **silup**
- simal ▶ *n.* **simal**
- simaŋʔud ▶ *v.* **simaŋʔud**
- simaq ▶ *idiom.* **simaqʔas**  
▶ *q-word.* **simaq**  
▶ *pron-undef.* **simaq**
- simiðu ▶ *n.* **Simiðu**
- simintu ▶ *n.* **simintu**
- simuk ▶ *n.* **Simukan**
- simul ▶ *root-v.* **simul**  
▶ *v.* **pasimul**  
▶ *v.* **simul**
- simut ▶ *n.* **takisimut**
- sin ▶ *prep.* **sin**  
▶ *aux.* **palisisin**  
▶ *conj.* **sin**
- sin- ▶ *pref.* **sin-**
- sin ▶ *v.* **palisin**
- sin- ▶ *pref.* **sin-**
- sinatu ▶ *n.* **sinatu**
- sinhav ▶ *adj.* **masinhav**  
▶ *root-adj.* **sinhav**  
▶ *v.* **masinhav**
- sinki ▶ *adj.* **sinki**  
▶ *adj.* **sinki**
- sinsia ▶ *n.* **Sinsia**
- sinsui ▶ *n.* **Sinsui**
- sintu ▶ *conj.* **sintu**
- sinuŋan ▶ *v.* **sinuŋan**
- siŋhav ▶ *v.* **piŋhavun**  
▶ *v.* **masiŋhav**  
▶ *colloc.* **masiŋhav**  
**dadaðað**  
▶ *v.* **masiŋhav**
- siŋiŋ ▶ *num-card.*  
**tasʔasiŋiŋ**  
▶ *num-card.* **siŋiŋ**
- siŋqal ▶ *n.* **siŋqal**  
▶ *v.* **tinsiŋqal**  
▶ *v.* **sansiŋqal**  
▶ *n-comp.* **vali tu**  
**siŋqal**  
▶ *adj.* **masiŋqal**
- sipal ▶ *n.* **Sipal**
- sipul ▶ *colloc.* **masipul**  
**haqil**  
▶ *v.* **masipul**
- sipun ▶ *adj.* **Sipun**  
▶ *n.* **Sipun**
- siqailað ▶ *v.* **siqailaðun**
- siqbu ▶ *v.* **siqbu**
- siqu ▶ *adj.* **masiqu**
- siquis ▶ *n.* **siquis**
- siqulut ▶ *v.* **siqulut**
- siqut ▶ *n.* **siqutsiqut**  
▶ *n.* **siqut**
- sisaisan ▶ *v.* **sisaisan**
- sisasak ▶ *v.* **sisasak**
- sisdaŋ ▶ *v.* **sisdaŋ**
- sislup ▶ *v.* **sislup**  
▶ *v.* **sislup**
- sitmaŋ ▶ *v.* **sitmaŋ**
- siva ▶ *num-card.* **sasiva**  
▶ *num-ord.* **punsiva**  
▶ *num-card.*  
**masivaʔun**  
▶ *num-ord.*  
**taimisiva**  
▶ *num-card.* **siva**
- siʔin ▶ *aux.* **siʔin**  
▶ *aux.* **minsiʔin**
- skupu ▶ *n.* **skupu**
- su ▶ *pron-pers.* **isu**  
▶ *pron-pers.* **su**  
▶ *pron-pers.* **suʔu**  
▶ *pron-pers.* **su**  
▶ *v.* **sanasu**  
▶ *v.* **paisuʔu**  
▶ *pron-pers.* **suʔuʔan**  
▶ *inter.* **sanasuʔu**
- suað ▶ *v.* **suaðun**  
▶ *v.* **astamaqansuað**  
▶ *n.* **qansuað**  
▶ *v.* **isuað**  
▶ *v.* **inqansuað**  
▶ *v.* **masuað**  
▶ *v.* **sinsuað**  
▶ *n.* **isuað**  
▶ *v-trans.* **masuað**
- suav ▶ *aux.* **masuav**

suda ▶ <i>root-v.</i> suda	▶ <i>v.</i> pinsuma	suqais ▶ <i>v.</i> suqaisuqais
▶ <i>v.</i> minsuda	▶ <i>v.</i> pinsuma	▶ <i>conj.</i> suqais
suduq ▶ <i>adj.</i> masuduq	▶ <i>root-v.</i> suma	▶ <i>aux.</i> suqais
suðun ▶ <i>v.</i> suðun	sumað ▶ <i>v.</i> sumað	▶ <i>v.</i> musuqais
suhaq ▶ <i>n.</i> suhaq	sumal ▶ <i>v.</i> masumal	▶ <i>v.</i> musuqais
sui ▶ <i>n-comp.</i> tastubuan	▶ <i>adj.</i> masumal	▶ <i>v.</i> musuqais
tu sui	sumbaŋ ▶ <i>v.</i> sumbaŋ	▶ <i>v.</i> admusuqais
▶ <i>v.</i> kasui	sumsum ▶ <i>v.</i> sumsum	▶ <i>v.</i> suqais
▶ <i>n.</i> sui	▶ <i>n.</i> sumsum	suqðañ ▶ <i>v.</i> suqðañ
suivaðlan ▶ <i>time.</i> suivaðlan	▶ <i>n.</i> susumsumanan	suqsuq ▶ <i>n.</i> suqsuq
suk ▶ <i>root.</i> suk	sunav ▶ <i>v.</i> minsuna	susu ▶ <i>n-comp.</i> susu
▶ <i>v.</i> pususuk	▶ <i>n.</i> Suna	qanvaŋ
suku ▶ <i>v.</i> masuku	sunav ▶ <i>n.</i> Sunavan	▶ <i>v.</i> susu
sulað ▶ <i>v.</i> sulað	sunka ▶ <i>v.</i> pusunka	▶ <i>v.</i> minsusu
sulaia ▶ <i>n.</i> Sulaia	▶ <i>v.</i> pusunkaʔan	▶ <i>v.</i> pasusu
suliku ▶ <i>n.</i> Suliku	sunu ▶ <i>v.</i> masunu	▶ <i>n.</i> susu
sulipa ▶ <i>n.</i> sulipa	▶ <i>v.</i> musunu	susua ▶ <i>v.</i> susua
sulpak ▶ <i>n.</i> tinsusulpak	▶ <i>v.</i> tunsunu	susuk ▶ <i>n.</i> masusuk
▶ <i>root.</i> sulpak	▶ <i>v.</i> minsunu	suvis ▶ <i>n.</i> susuvis
sulsuʔul ▶ <i>aux.</i> sulsuʔul	sunuq ▶ <i>root.</i> sunuq	suʔal ▶ <i>n.</i> suʔal
suma ▶ <i>idiom.</i> insuma vali	▶ <i>adj.</i> masunuq	suʔul ▶ <i>aux.</i> musuʔul
▶ <i>v.</i> insuma	▶ <i>adj.</i> masunuq	▶ <i>aux.</i> musulsul
▶ <i>v.</i> suma	sunhav ▶ <i>adj.</i> masunhav	
	▶ <i>adj.</i> masunhav	

## T - t

ta ▶ <i>part.</i> ta	tabaq ▶ <i>v.</i> matabaq	tai ▶ <i>n.</i> tai
ta- ▶ <i>pref.</i> ta-	▶ <i>v.</i> tabaq	Taial ▶ <i>n.</i> Taial
tabað ▶ <i>v.</i> mistabað	▶ <i>n.</i> taibaqan	▶ <i>adj.</i> Taial
tabak ▶ <i>v.</i> tabak	tabuqia ▶ <i>adj.</i> tabuqia	Taihuku ▶ <i>v.</i> muntaihuku
tabal ▶ <i>v.</i> matabal	tai- ▶ <i>pref.</i> tai-	taihuku ▶ <i>n.</i> Taihuku
▶ <i>root.</i> tabal	▶ <i>pref.</i> tai-	taiklas ▶ <i>adj.</i> mataiklas

- taiktaik ▶ *n.* taiktaik
- tail- ▶ *pref.* tail-
- tailuku ▶ *n.* Tailuku
- taimaŋ ▶ *adj.* mataimaŋ
- taimi- ▶ *pref.* taimi-  
▶ *pref-num.* taimi-  
▶ *pref.* taimi-  
▶ *pref-nom.* taimi-
- taina ▶ *n.* taina
- taiŋa ▶ *n.* taiŋa  
▶ *n.* taiŋakaʔan
- taiŋka ▶ *root.* taiŋka  
▶ *colloc.* taiŋka isaq  
as
- taipusun ▶ *v.* taipusun
- tais- ▶ *pref.* tais-
- taisaq ▶ *v.* mataisaq
- taismai- ▶ *pref.* taismai-
- taismi- ▶ *pref.* taismi-
- Taisnunan ▶ *n.* Taisnunan
- taispunsan ▶ *n.*  
taispunsanan
- taispunsanan ▶ *n.*  
taispunsanan
- taispusan ▶ *v.* taispusan
- taisʔan ▶ *n.* taisʔan  
▶ *n.* maltaisʔan  
▶ *n.* taisʔan
- Taitu ▶ *n.* Taitu
- taiv ▶ *v.* paintaivtav  
▶ *v.* paintaivutaivun  
▶ *v.* paintaivtaiv  
▶ *n.* paintaivtaiv
- taivan ▶ *adj.* Takitaivan
- Taivan ▶ *n.* Taivan
- tak- ▶ *pref.* tak-
- taka- ▶ *pref.* taka-
- takaia ▶ *n.* Takaia
- Takau ▶ *n.* Takau
- takbu ▶ *n.* takbu
- taki- ▶ *pref-nom.* taki-
- taki ▶ *v.* mutaki  
▶ *n.* taki  
▶ *v.* kintaki
- taki- ▶ *pref.* taktaki-
- taki ▶ *v.* taputaki
- taki- ▶ *pref-nom.* taki-  
▶ *n.* taki-
- takna ▶ *time.* tantakna  
▶ *time.* takna  
▶ *adj.* takitakna  
▶ *time.* tantataknaŋ
- taknas ▶ *n.* Taknasan
- taksimumut ▶ *n.*  
taksimumut
- taksis ▶ *v.* mataksis  
▶ *root.* taksis
- taku ▶ *v.* tataku  
▶ *v.* istaku  
▶ *n.* taku  
▶ *colloc.* taku paliak
- takuli ▶ *n.* takuli
- takunav ▶ *v.* takunavun  
▶ *n.* matakunav  
▶ *root.* takunav  
▶ *n.* sintakunav
- tal- ▶ *pref-num.* tal-  
▶ *pref.* tal-  
▶ *pref.* tal-  
▶ *pref.* tal-
- tala ▶ *v.* istala
- talaban ▶ *v.* mintalaban  
▶ *n.* talaban
- talaq ▶ *n.* talaq  
▶ *v.* maltatalaq
- talauq ▶ *n.* talauqan
- talauqan ▶ *n-comp.*  
talauqan luli  
▶ *v.* talauqan
- talaʔan ▶ *v.* talaʔan
- talaʔasav ▶ *adj.* talaʔasav
- tali- ▶ *pref.* tali-
- talikaum ▶ *v.* talikaum
- talikiðav ▶ *v.* talikiðav
- talikuan ▶ *n.* talikuan
- talinqadan ▶ *n.* talinqadan
- talmadia ▶ *adj.* talmadia
- talpusan ▶ *num-ord.*  
talpusan
- talulum ▶ *n.* talulum
- talum ▶ *n.* Talum
- taluq ▶ *v.* taunataluq  
▶ *v.* matilataluq  
▶ *root.* taluq
- tam- ▶ *pref.* tam-
- tama ▶ *n-comp.* Tama  
Diqanin  
▶ *n-comp.* tama  
sasbinʔað ðaðaðað

- ▶ *n.* **tama**  
▶ *n.* **tama**  
▶ *n.* **istama**  
▶ *n-comp.* **tama**  
**sasbin?að diqanin**  
tamaðu ▶ *v.* **takitamaðu?an**  
▶ *n.* **Tamaðu?an**  
tamaian ▶ *n.* **Tamaian**  
▶ *n.* **Takitamaian**  
▶ *adj.* **Takitamaian**  
tamal ▶ *adj.* **matamal**  
tamaluŋ ▶ *n.* **tamaluŋ**  
tamana ▶ *n.* **tamana**  
tamaŋa ▶ *n.* **tamaŋa**  
tamasað ▶ *aux.* **matamasað**  
▶ *adj.* **matamasað**  
▶ *v.* **pintamasað**  
▶ *n.* **tamasað**  
▶ *v.* **pintamasað**  
▶ *n.* **istamasað?að**  
tamuhuŋ ▶ *n.* **tamuhuŋ**  
tan- ▶ *pref.* **tan-**  
tana- ▶ *pref.* **tana-**  
▶ *pref.* **tana-**  
tanai?an ▶ *n.* **tanai?an**  
tanali ▶ *v.* **matanali**  
Tanapima ▶ *n.* **Tanapima**  
tanbaq ▶ *v-loc.* **tanbaq**  
tanlei ▶ *n.* **tanlei**  
tansiki ▶ *v.* **tansiki**  
tanta ▶ *n.* **Tanta**  
tanuduq ▶ *n-comp.*  
**tanuduq hima**  
▶ *n-comp.* **tanuduq**  
**bantas**  
▶ *n.* **tanuduq**  
tan?a ▶ *v.* **tan?auk**  
▶ *v.* **tan?a**  
▶ *v.* **ispatan?a**  
▶ *v.* **patan?a**  
tan?am ▶ *v.* **tan?am**  
taŋa ▶ *n.* **taŋa**  
taŋis ▶ *v.* **patanŋis**  
▶ *v.* **taŋis**  
▶ *n.* **taŋis**  
taŋtaŋ ▶ *n.* **taŋtaŋ**  
▶ *v.* **lataŋtaŋ**  
▶ *v.* **matanŋtaŋ**  
▶ *v.* **mintanŋtaŋ**  
taŋus ▶ *n.* **taitanŋus**  
▶ *time.* **taŋus**  
▶ *time.* **taŋusanŋ**  
tapaŋ ▶ *n.* **Tapaŋ**  
tapis ▶ *n.* **tapis**  
tapu- ▶ *pref-adj.* **tapu-**  
tapuskuan ▶ *n.* **tapuskuan**  
taq ▶ *n.* **taq**  
taqduŋ ▶ *root-adj.* **taqduŋ**  
▶ *v.* **pitaqduŋun**  
▶ *adj.* **mataqduŋ**  
▶ *adj.* **mataqduŋ**  
▶ *adj.*  
**malasmataqduŋ**  
taqnas ▶ *n.* **Taqnasan**  
▶ *n.* **taqnas**  
taqu ▶ *v-trans.* **taqu**  
tas- ▶ *pref.* **tas-**  
tasban ▶ *place.* **tasban**  
▶ *v.* **tasban**  
tasbaŋ ▶ *v.* **tasbaŋ**  
tasin ▶ *n.* **Tasin**  
tasipal ▶ *n.* **tasipal**  
▶ *n.* **Tasipal**  
▶ *v.* **tasipal**  
tastu- ▶ *pref-adj.* **tastu-**  
tas?a ▶ *v.* **paintas?a**  
▶ *num-ord.* **puntas?a**  
▶ *num-ord.* **sintas?a**  
▶ *v.* **mintas?a**  
▶ *num-ord.* **sintas?a**  
▶ *idiom.* **uka tu tas?a**  
▶ *num-ord.*  
**taimitas?a**  
▶ *num-card.* **tas?a**  
▶ *num.* **pantas?a**  
tas?aða ▶ *v.* **tas?aða**  
tas?asikis ▶ *n.* **tas?asikis**  
tas?i ▶ *v.* **tinas?i**  
▶ *v.* **patas?i**  
▶ *v.* **matas?i**  
▶ *v.* **tas?iun**  
▶ *v.* **istas?i**  
▶ *v.* **patas?i**  
▶ *v.* **patas?ian**  
tas?uin ▶ *v.* **tas?uin**  
tataçŋiaŋ ▶ *n.* **Tataçŋiaŋ**  
tatnul ▶ *root.* **tatnul**  
▶ *v.* **matatnul**  
tatulun ▶ *v.* **mintatulun**

- tau ▶ *num-ord.* **puntau**  
▶ *v.* **pintauʔun**  
▶ *num-ord.* **taimitau**  
▶ *num-card.* **tau**  
▶ *num-card.* **tatau**  
▶ *n.* **asitau**
- taubu ▶ *adj.* **matabubu**
- taubun ▶ *adj.* **matabubun**
- tauðu ▶ *n.* **tauðu**
- tauðul ▶ *n.* **Tauðul**
- tauhul ▶ *v.* **santauhul**
- tauktauk ▶ *v.* **matauktauk**  
▶ *n.* **patauktauk**
- taula ▶ *adj.* **mataula**  
▶ *root.* **taula**
- taulei ▶ *n.* **taulei**
- taulu ▶ *adj.* **mataulu**  
▶ *adj.* **Taulu**  
▶ *v.* **malastaulu**  
▶ *v.* **mintaulun**  
▶ *n.* **Taulu**
- taun ▶ *v.* **taun**
- tauna- ▶ *pref.* **tauna-**
- taunqul ▶ *n.* **Taunqulan**
- tauntaun ▶ *n.* **tauntaun**  
▶ *v.* **tumtauntaun**
- taunku ▶ *n-comp.* **Taunku**  
**Patasan**  
▶ *n.* **taunku**  
▶ *n.* **Taunkulan**
- taunqu ▶ *time.* **taunqu**  
▶ *n.* **Taunquan**  
▶ *time.* **tinaunqu**
- ▶ *n.* **taunqu**  
▶ *v.* **taunquin**
- taunʔtaun ▶ *v.* **mataunʔtaun**
- tauqlu ▶ *n.* **tauqlu**
- tauqtauq ▶ *n.* **tauqtauq**  
▶ *v.* **matauqtauq**
- taus- ▶ *pref.* **taus-**
- taʔina ▶ *n.* **taʔina**
- ti- ▶ *pref.* **ti-**
- tian ▶ *adj.* **taputian**  
▶ *n.* **tian**
- Tiaŋ ▶ *n.* **Tiaŋ**
- tiaŋ ▶ *n.* **Tainpantu**  
▶ *n.* **Tainiku**  
▶ *n-comp.* **Tainpadlaiʔan**
- tibuŋ ▶ *n.* **Tibuŋ**
- tibuqlav ▶ *n.* **tibuqlav**
- tikas ▶ *n.* **tikas**
- tikis ▶ *adj.* **atikisaŋ**  
▶ *adj.* **atikis**  
▶ *time.* **maisiʔatikis**  
▶ *adj.* **atikis**  
▶ *manner.* **tutikisan**  
▶ *time.* **tutikis**  
▶ *aux.* **atikis**  
▶ *adj.* **tikis**
- tikulas ▶ *n.* **tikulas**
- tikus ▶ *n.* **tikus**
- tila ▶ *adj.* **matila**
- tilas ▶ *n.* **tilas**  
▶ *v.* **katilas**
- tilus ▶ *n.* **Takitilusan**  
▶ *n.* **Tilusan**
- tin- ▶ *pref.* **tin-**  
▶ *pref.* **tin-**  
▶ *pref.* **tin-**
- tina ▶ *n.* **tina**  
▶ *n.* **tina**
- tini ▶ *num-card.* **tatini**  
▶ *num-card.* **tini**  
▶ *num-card.* **tini**  
▶ *num-card.* **taini**  
▶ *num-card.* **tini**  
▶ *num-card.* **mastatini**
- tinqaul ▶ *v.* **tinqaul**
- tinsu ▶ *time.* **tinsu**
- tinsʔan ▶ *n.* **tinsʔan**
- tinʔilʔaiʔan ▶ *v.* **tinʔilʔaiʔan**
- tinʔun ▶ *v.* **tinʔun**
- tiŋani ▶ *n.* **tiŋani**
- tiŋas ▶ *n.* **tiŋas**  
▶ *n.* **istitiŋas**  
▶ *v.* **mintitiŋas**  
▶ *v.* **untitiŋas**
- tiŋba ▶ *v.* **matiŋba**
- tiŋkul ▶ *v.* **mutiŋkul**
- tiŋkutŋa ▶ *v.* **tiŋkutŋa**
- tiŋmut ▶ *n.* **tiŋmut**
- tiŋna ▶ *v.* **patiŋna**  
▶ *time.* **matiŋna**  
▶ *aux.* **patiŋna**
- tiŋus ▶ *v.* **matiŋus**
- tiqlaq ▶ *adj.* **matiqlaq**

- tiqlas ▶ *adj.* **matiqlas**
- tis- ▶ *pref.* **tis-**
- tisbuq ▶ *v.* **matisbuq**
- tiskun ▶ *aux.* **matiskun**
- tisqud ▶ *n.* **tisqud**
- tisʔauq ▶ *v.* **matisʔauq**  
▶ *v.* **patisʔauq**
- tisʔuni ▶ *colloc.* **tisʔuni**  
**aunqumaun**
- titi ▶ *n.* **titi libus**  
▶ *n.* **titi iskan**  
▶ *n.* **titi qanvaŋ**  
▶ *n.* **titi**
- tiv ▶ *n.* **tiv**
- tu ▶ *part.* **tu**  
▶ *part.* **tu**
- tu- ▶ *pref.* **tu-**
- tudip ▶ *time.* **tudip**  
▶ *time.* **ana tudip**  
▶ *n.* **tudipʔađ**  
▶ *idiom.* **niaŋ nanu**  
**tudip**  
▶ *time.* **paisqatudip**
- tuduh ▶ *n.* **Takituduh**  
▶ *n.* **Takituduh**
- tudul ▶ *v.* **listatudul**  
▶ *adj.* **matudul**
- tuđa ▶ *v.* **pintuđa**  
▶ *aux.* **tuđa**  
▶ *v.* **pintuđa**  
▶ *aux.* **tuđapun**  
▶ *v.* **latuđa**  
▶ *aux.* **tutuđatu**
- ▶ *v.* **latuđa**  
▶ *aux.* **aituđa**
- tuhas ▶ *n.* **masituhās**  
▶ *n.* **masituhās**
- tuhuq ▶ *v.* **kintutuhuq**  
▶ *v.* **kintuhuq**
- tuka ▶ *v.* **matuka**
- tukal ▶ *n.* **tukal**
- tukaun ▶ *v.* **tukaun**
- tuki ▶ *n.* **tuki**
- tuktuk ▶ *v.* **matuktuk**  
▶ *v.* **tuktuk**
- Tulbus ▶ *n.* **Tulbus**
- tulkuk ▶ *n.* **tulkuk**
- tulmi ▶ *n.* **tulmi**
- tum- ▶ *pref.* **tum-**
- tuma ▶ *n-comp.* **tuma**  
**buqul**
- tumađ ▶ *n.* **tumađ**
- tumbaktu ▶ *v-trans.*  
**tumbaktu**
- tumuq ▶ *n.* **tumuq**  
▶ *n.* **tumuq**
- tun- ▶ *pref.* **tun-**
- tuna- ▶ *pref.* **tuna-**
- tundaq ▶ *v.* **kantundaq**  
▶ *root.* **tundaq**
- tunqal ▶ *v.* **matunqal**  
▶ *root.* **tunqal**
- tunuk ▶ *v.* **muntunuk**
- tunuq ▶ *n.* **tunuq**  
▶ *v.* **mintunuq**  
▶ *v.* **muntunuq**
- tuŋan ▶ *aux.* **tuŋanin**  
▶ *idiom.* **patuŋanin**  
▶ *aux.* **tuŋan**  
▶ *colloc.* **muŋaʔin**  
**tuŋan**
- tunŋtuŋ ▶ *v.* **pantunŋtuŋ**  
▶ *n.* **tutunŋtuŋ**  
▶ *v.* **patunŋtuŋ**
- tuŋu ▶ *v.* **tantuŋu**  
▶ *n.* **taintuŋu**  
▶ *root.* **tuŋu**
- tupa ▶ *v.* **paitupa**  
▶ *idiom.* **haiđa tupa**  
▶ *v-trans.* **tupaun**  
▶ *v.* **sintupa**  
▶ *v-trans.* **tupa**  
▶ *v-trans.* **tupai**  
▶ *v.* **sintupa**  
▶ *conj.* **ana tupa tu**  
▶ *v-trans.* **tupa**  
▶ *v.* **patupa**
- tuq- ▶ *pref.* **tuq-**
- tuqaiv ▶ *n.* **tuqaiv**
- tuqas ▶ *n.* **tuqas**  
▶ *n.* **tuqas**  
▶ *n.* **masituqas**
- tuqauq ▶ *q-word.* **tuqauq**
- tuqđaŋ ▶ *v.* **pakatuqđaŋ**
- tuqlu ▶ *v.* **matuqlu**  
▶ *root.* **tuqlu**

tuqnað ▶ <i>n.</i> tuqnað	tus ▶ <i>n.</i> tus	tuti?un ▶ <i>manner.</i> tuti?un
▶ <i>n.</i> tuqnað	▶ <i>n.</i> katus	tutu ▶ <i>v.</i> mututu
▶ <i>n-comp.</i> masqanan	tusaus ▶ <i>v.</i> tusaus	▶ <i>v.</i> matutu
tu tuqnað	▶ <i>v.</i> pailtusaus	tu?a ▶ <i>v.</i> istu?a
▶ <i>n.</i> tuqnað	tusia ▶ <i>v.</i> itusia	▶ <i>n.</i> tutu?a
▶ <i>n.</i> tuqnað	tuskun ▶ <i>v.</i> tuskun	tu?i?ia ▶ <i>n.</i> tu?i?ia
tuqu ▶ <i>n.</i> tuqu	tuskuŋ ▶ <i>v.</i> matuskuŋ	tu?un ▶ <i>n.</i> takitatu?un
tuqumis ▶ <i>v.</i> sintuqumis	tusmaŋ ▶ <i>aux.</i> tusmaŋ	▶ <i>n.</i> tu?un
▶ <i>n.</i> tuqumis	tus?an ▶ <i>colloc.</i> tus?an	▶ <i>adj.</i> tatu?un
tus ▶ <i>v.</i> taltus	tulkuk	▶ <i>n.</i> takitatu?un
tus- ▶ <i>pref.</i> tus-	▶ <i>v.</i> tus?an	▶ <i>n.</i> takitatu?un
	tus?usan ▶ <i>v.</i> tus?usan	

## U - u

u ▶ <i>inter.</i> u	umpileqan ▶ <i>manner.</i>	▶ <i>v.</i> muqna
▶ <i>inter.</i> u	umpileqan	▶ <i>aux.</i> muqna
u- ▶ <i>pref.</i> u-	un- ▶ <i>pref.</i> un-	▶ <i>conj.</i> uqnaun
uða ▶ <i>n.</i> uða	unidunan ▶ <i>n.</i> unidunan	▶ <i>time.</i> muqna
▶ <i>v.</i> ba?uða	uninaŋ ▶ <i>idiom.</i> uninaŋ	▶ <i>aux.</i> muqna
▶ <i>v.</i> bu?u?uða	unisin ▶ <i>aux.</i> unisin	▶ <i>time.</i> muqnin
uðus ▶ <i>v.</i> uðus	uŋka ▶ <i>v.</i> pinisuŋka	▶ <i>aux.</i> muqnamuqna
uka ▶ <i>v.</i> uka	▶ <i>root.</i> uŋka	▶ <i>conj.</i> muqna
ulað ▶ <i>n-comp.</i> ulað	upa ▶ <i>aux.</i> kasu?upa	▶ <i>conj.</i> muqnaŋ
laqaiban tikus	▶ <i>v.</i> mu?upa	usaq ▶ <i>v.</i> pisusaq
▶ <i>n.</i> ulað	▶ <i>v.</i> mu?upa	▶ <i>n.</i> usaq
Uli ▶ <i>n.</i> Uli	▶ <i>v.</i> mai?upa	uska ▶ <i>aux.</i> uskaun
um- ▶ <i>pref.</i> um-	▶ <i>root.</i> upa	uskun ▶ <i>idiom.</i> uskunan
umanum ▶ <i>v.</i> umanum	uqða ▶ <i>aux.</i> muqða	pantu
umanun ▶ <i>v.</i> umanun	▶ <i>aux.</i> muqðin	▶ <i>v.</i> maluskun
▶ <i>v.</i> umanun	uqna ▶ <i>aux.</i> uqnaun	▶ <i>v.</i> sinaluskun
uma?anan ▶ <i>time.</i>	▶ <i>aux.</i> muqna	▶ <i>n.</i> uskunan
uma?anan	▶ <i>conj.</i> muqna	▶ <i>n.</i> inuskunan

- ▶ *aux.* muskun  
▶ *colloc.* mailuskun  
uslun ▶ *n.* uslun  
utuvai ▶ *n.* utuvai  
▶ *v.* tumʔutuvai

- uvað ▶ *n.* uvavaðʔað  
▶ *n.* uvaðʔað  
▶ *n.* uvavaðʔað  
▶ *n.* baluvaðʔað  
▶ *n.* taimiʔuvaðʔað

- ▶ *time.*  
maisiʔuvaðʔað  
uvaðʔað ▶ *v-intrans.*  
tusuvaðʔað  
uvau ▶ *n.* uvau

## V - v

- vað ▶ *v.* malvaðvaʔað  
vaðaq ▶ *v.* vaðaqvaðaq  
vailan ▶ *n.* vavailan  
vain ▶ *n.* vain  
vaivi ▶ *adj.* taismivaivi  
▶ *aux.* taismivaivitu  
▶ *v.* palvaiviʔun  
▶ *idiom.* mavaivi  
saduan  
▶ *adj.* vaivi  
▶ *adj.* vaivitu  
▶ *adj.* vaivi  
▶ *v.* palavaivi  
▶ *adj.* vaivivaivi  
▶ *v.* makitvaivi  
▶ *adj.* maqitvaivi  
▶ *adj.* mavaivi  
vaivi- ▶ *pref-adj.* vaivi  
vaivi ▶ *adj.* makitvaivitu  
vakal ▶ *n.* vakal  
▶ *v.* malvavakal  
vakiŋ ▶ *v.* vakiŋ  
valai ▶ *n.* invalaiʔan  
▶ *n.* valai  
valasi ▶ *n.* valasi

- vali ▶ *v.* isvaliʔun  
▶ *v.* pasvaliʔun  
▶ *v.* pavali  
▶ *colloc.* isvaliʔun  
mihalaŋ  
▶ *v.* valiʔan  
▶ *n.* vali  
▶ *v.* pavaliʔan  
▶ *v.* mintuvali  
Valis ▶ *n.* Valis  
vanan ▶ *v-loc.* tanavanan  
▶ *place.* vanan  
vanaq ▶ *v.* vanaqan  
vanas ▶ *n.* vanas  
vanis ▶ *n.* vanis  
▶ *v.* puvanis  
vaŋau ▶ *n.* vaŋau  
vaŋlað ▶ *v.* lavaŋlaðan  
▶ *n.* vaŋlað  
vaq ▶ *v.* katvaqan  
vaqa ▶ *n.* vaqa  
▶ *n.* vaqa  
▶ *n.* vaqa  
▶ *n.* Vavaqa  
vaqan ▶ *v.* vaqanan

- vaqun ▶ *n.* vaqun  
▶ *n-comp.*  
panhapavun vaqun  
▶ *n-comp.*  
malauqpun vaqun  
▶ *n-comp.*  
pankumbuʔua vaqun  
▶ *n-comp.* maputul  
vaqun  
vaqvaq ▶ *n.* vaqvaq  
vaqʔu ▶ *n.* vaqʔu  
vaskin ▶ *v.* malvavaskin  
vasu ▶ *n.* vasu  
▶ *v.* tumvasu  
▶ *n.* vasu  
vasuk ▶ *n.* vasuk  
vasvas ▶ *v.* muvasvas  
▶ *v.* tinvasvas  
vatan ▶ *n.* Vatan  
▶ *n.* Vatan  
▶ *n.* Haulvatan  
▶ *n.* Vatan  
Vatan ▶ *n.* Isvatan  
▶ *adj.* Takivatan  
▶ *n.* Takivatan  
vataʔan ▶ *n.* Vataʔan

vau ▶ *num-card.* **vau**  
 ▶ *num-card.*  
**mavauʔun**  
 Vau ▶ *n.* **Vau**  
 vau ▶ *num-ord.* **punvau**  
 ▶ *num-card.* **vavau**  
 ▶ *num-ord.* **taimivau**  
 vaupas ▶ *part.* **vaupas**  
 via ▶ *q-word.* **via**  
 ▶ *q-word.* **mavia**  
 ▶ *n.* **via**

vila ▶ *n.* **Tavila**  
 ▶ *n.* **Makavila**  
 vilanhua ▶ *n.* **Vilanhua**  
 vilansau ▶ *n.* **Vilansau**  
 vili ▶ *place.* **vili**  
 ▶ *v-loc.* **tanavili**  
 ▶ *v.* **mudavili**  
 Vilian ▶ *n.* **Vilian**  
 vinkiu ▶ *v.* **vinkiu**  
 viqais ▶ *n.* **Viqais**  
 visqai ▶ *adj.* **mavisqai**  
 visqu ▶ *adj.* **mavisqu**

vivi ▶ *n.* **vivi**  
 vukusi ▶ *n.* **vukusi**  
 vununu ▶ *n.* **vununu**  
 vuq ▶ *n.* **vuq**  
 vuqvuvuq ▶ *v.* **tinvuqvuvuq**  
 ▶ *v.* **vuvuqvuvuq**  
 ▶ *colloc.* **pavuqvuvuq**  
**hima**  
 ▶ *v.* **pavuqvuvuq**  
 vus ▶ *v.* **quvus**  
 vusuq ▶ *n.* **vusuq**

## Z - z

ziu ▶ *n.* **ziu**

## ʔ

ʔabuʔabu ▶ *n.* **ʔabuʔabu**  
 ʔadu ▶ *aux.* **ʔadu**  
 ʔadus ▶ *v.* **lisʔadus**  
 ʔað ▶ *aux.* **ʔaðʔað**  
 ʔað ▶ *aux.* **ʔaðʔað**  
 ʔaða ▶ *v.* **taiʔaðan**  
 ▶ *aux.* **ʔaða**  
 ▶ *v.* **taʔaða**  
 ▶ *aux.* **ʔaðaʔaða**  
 ʔaiða ▶ *place.* **ʔaiða**  
 ʔailaŋ ▶ *v.* **maʔailaŋ**  
 ʔaisik ▶ *v.* **matiʔaisik**  
 ʔaiv- ▶ *v.* **ʔaivan**

ʔaiʔan ▶ *n.* **panʔaiʔan**  
 ʔala ▶ *n.* **uʔalaʔan**  
 ▶ *v.* **muʔala**  
 ʔalaŋ ▶ *n.* **ʔalaŋ**  
 ʔama ▶ *n.* **inʔama**  
 ʔanak ▶ *v.* **tanʔanak**  
 ▶ *root.* **ʔanak**  
 ▶ *v.* **maʔanak**  
 ʔanav ▶ *v.* **talʔanav**  
 ʔapʔap ▶ *n.* **ʔapʔap**  
 ʔasaŋ ▶ *v.* **sauʔasaŋ**  
 ▶ *v.* **kaʔasaŋ**  
 ▶ *n.* **tastuʔasaŋ**  
 ▶ *n.* **ʔasaŋ**

▶ *n.* **alʔasaŋan**  
 ▶ *v.* **katʔasaŋan**  
 ▶ *n.* **alʔasaŋan**  
 ▶ *n.* **ailʔasaŋan**  
 ▶ *n.* **ʔasaŋ**  
 ▶ *n.* **maiʔasaŋ**  
 ▶ *v.* **katʔasaŋ**  
 ▶ *v.* **takiʔasaŋ**  
 ʔasik ▶ *v.* **maʔasik**  
 ʔaskað ▶ *adj.* **maʔaskað**  
 ʔata ▶ *aux.* **sanaʔata**  
 ▶ *pron-pers.* **inʔata**  
 ▶ *pron-pers.* **ʔata**  
 ʔatað ▶ *v.* **isʔatað**

ʔataʔata ▶ *adj.* ʔataʔata  
 ʔaupʔaup ▶ *n.* ʔaupʔaup  
 ʔikul ▶ *n.* ʔikul  
 ʔilu ▶ *n.* ʔilu  
 ʔima ▶ *v.* maquʔima  
 ʔisaq ▶ *q-word.* ʔisaq  
 ʔisʔis ▶ *v.* ʔisʔis  
 ʔita ▶ *v-loc.* aisqaʔita  
     ▶ *idiom.* ʔitaʔin  
     ▶ *place.* maisnaʔita  
     ▶ *v.* paʔita  
     ▶ *time.* ʔita  
     ▶ *v.* maispaisqaʔita  
     ▶ *time.* paisnaʔita  
     ▶ *v.* saiʔita  
     ▶ *v.* takaʔita  
     ▶ *v.* sanaʔita  
     ▶ *v.* panaʔita  
     ▶ *time.* paisqaʔita  
     ▶ *time.* maisnaʔita  
     ▶ *colloc.* minaʔita  
 tudip  
     ▶ *v-intrans.* iʔita  
     ▶ *v.* tunaʔita  
     ▶ *v.* taunaʔita  
     ▶ *v-intrans.*

mainaʔita  
     ▶ *place.* ʔita  
     ▶ *v.* panʔita  
     ▶ *root.* ʔita  
     ▶ *time.* minaʔita  
     ▶ *v.* panaʔita  
 ʔiti ▶ *v-loc.* panʔiti  
     ▶ *root.* ʔiti  
     ▶ *v.* iʔiti  
     ▶ *aux.* qanʔiti  
     ▶ *v.* tunaʔiti  
     ▶ *v.* taunaʔiti  
     ▶ *v.* munʔiti  
     ▶ *v.* tunʔiti  
 ʔitun ▶ *place.* ʔitun  
 ʔiu ▶ *n.* ʔiu  
 ʔuat ▶ *aux.* ʔuat  
 ʔuðus ▶ *adj.* ʔuðus  
 ʔuka ▶ *aux.* ʔuka  
     ▶ *aux.* ʔukaŋ  
     ▶ *v.* minʔuka  
     ▶ *v.* isʔukaŋ  
     ▶ *aux.* ʔukin  
     ▶ *aux.* ʔuka  
 ʔulʔul ▶ *n.* ʔulʔul

ʔumʔum ▶ *v.* maʔumʔum  
 ʔuni ▶ *v.* tisʔuni  
     ▶ *v.* paʔuni  
     ▶ *v.* diskaʔuni  
     ▶ *v.* kaʔuni  
     ▶ *n.* liskaʔuni  
     ▶ *n.* pinʔunainun  
     ▶ *v.* minʔuni  
     ▶ *root.* ʔuni  
     ▶ *v.* pinʔuni  
     ▶ *inter.* ʔunitu  
     ▶ *n.* liskaʔuni  
     ▶ *v.* liskaʔuni  
     ▶ *inter.* ʔuni  
     ▶ *v.* maiʔuni  
 ʔupa ▶ *aux.* muʔupa  
     ▶ *v.* mainaʔupa  
     ▶ *aux.* sasʔupata  
     ▶ *v.* musʔupa  
     ▶ *v.* pasʔupa  
 ʔupsil ▶ *n.* ʔupsil  
 ʔusqav ▶ *n.* malʔusqav  
 ʔusʔan ▶ *v.* tausʔusʔan  
 ʔuvul ▶ *adj.* maʔuvul



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