Some aspects of Takivatan-Bunun

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Introduction
Introduction (1)

Formosan languages

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

Basay †
Kavalan
Ketangalan †
Pazeh
Siraya †
Thao
Western Plains

Amis
Atayalic
Bunun
Paiwan
Puyuma
Rukai
Saisiyat
Tsouic

Nataoran Amis

Babuza
Favorlang †
Taokas †
Hoanya †
Papora †

Malayo-Polynesian (1248 languages)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amis</td>
<td>137,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atayal</td>
<td>84,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paiwan</td>
<td>66,084</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Bunun</strong></td>
<td>37,989</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rukai</td>
<td>10,543</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puyuma</td>
<td>8,487</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taroko</td>
<td>4,750</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saisiyat</td>
<td>4,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yami</td>
<td>3,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsou</td>
<td>2,127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bunun

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

Kaohsiung - 高雄縣
Isbukun

Hualien - 花蓮縣
Central Hualien
Takivatan
In the south
Takbanuað

Taidong – 台東縣
Near Taidong City
Isbukun
In the north
Takbanuað
Introduction (3)

Takivatan-Bunun

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

Ma-Yuan
馬遠村
1492 Takivatan-Bunun

Qi-Mei
奇美村
129 Takivatan-Bunun

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Introduction (4)

Sociolinguistic situation

Bunun

• Originally:
  – Hunter-gatherers
  – Slash-and-burn agriculture
  – Mountain villages in the Central Mountain Range
  – Small family groups, hostile towards outsiders
  – Headhunters
  – Elaborate system of taboos
Introduction (4)

Sociolinguistic situation

Bunun

• Japanese occupation (1895-1945)
  – Concentrated into lowland villages
  – → Family unit replaced by village
  – Introduction wet rice cultivation
  – Conversion to Christianity
    (Protestantism/Catholicism)

• Present:
  – Sinification
Sociolinguistic situation

Takivatan

- Original homeland in Nantou
- Migrated to Hualien ±100 years ago.
- Separate Bunun sub-clans/villages often led a fairly isolated existence
- \( \Rightarrow \) split Takivatan-Takbanuað happened more than 100 years ago
Introduction (5)

Linguistic profile of Takivatan

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

• Agglutinative

• Very rich system of prefixes, suffixes, infixes and circumfixes (*See later*)

• Pronouns: clitics and free pronouns
  – Tendency to have bound pronouns ⇔ Isbukun
  – Demonstrative / 3rd person

• Big set of auxiliary verbs that express a.o.:
  TAM, relative time, modality, negation, …
Introduction (5)

Linguistic profile of Takivatan

• Mixture head- and dependent-marking
• VAO/VS
• Productive system of left-dislocation
• Focus system *(See later)*
Some linguistic aspects of Takivatan
DANGER !!!

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

Beware of inaccuracies and educated guesses
Some linguistic aspects of Takivatan

- Derivational morphology
- Focus
- Wordclass fluidity
Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

• Very rich derivational morphology
  – Current count: over 80 affixes
  – Many combinatory possibilities
  – Many affixes have very abstract or vague meanings
  – Some wordclass-defining

• Examples:
  – tiñas
  – locational prefixes
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODULE</th>
<th>PREFIXES</th>
<th>VR (48)</th>
<th>OTHERS (5)</th>
<th>TOTAL (87)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFIXES</td>
<td>main- maisis- maisnma-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man- maqan- maqu- mas-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>matu- mi- min- mu-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka- ka2- kan- paka-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pal- pan- pas1- pas2-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma- pasi-</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUFFIXES</td>
<td>-an2 -an3 -að-un -tun</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-an -?i -un</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ʔ an-ʔi</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kid- (?)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>lis- (?)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pal(a)- (?)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-un</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM (1)</td>
<td>ma- -un</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>ADJR (10)</td>
<td>a- ma- malas- mali-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mata- paŋka(l)- tai-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taismi- taki- vaivi-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Others (5)</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

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Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

\[ \text{tiŋas} \]
‘remains of food between one’s teeth’

\[ \text{un-} \text{tiŋas-} \text{aŋ} \]
‘removing food remains between one’s teeth’

\[ \text{titiŋas} \]
(CV-reduplication)

\[ \text{is-titiŋas} \]
‘tooth pick’

\[ \text{min-titiŋas} \]
‘use a tooth pick to remove food remains’

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Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

• Locational affixes (verbalizing)
  – i- : be at
  – mu- : go towards
  – mun- : go to (implies intentionality)
Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

• Combinatory possibilities: affix + ...  
  + common noun (i-/mu-/mun-)
    i-lumaq ‘be at home’
    mu-lumaq ‘go home’
    mun-lumaq ‘go to some home with bad intentions’
  + geographical name (mun- // *mu-/*i-)
    mun-Kaliŋku ‘go to Hualien’
Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

- Combinatory possibilities: affix + ...
  + locative words (i-/mun- // *mu-)
    i-baʔav ‘be in a high spot’
    mun-baʔav ‘go up to a higher spot’
  + locative demonstratives (i-/mun- // *mu-)
    i-[ʔ]iti ‘be here’
    mun-[ʔ]ita ‘go there’
Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

• Combinatory possibilities: affix + …
  + verbs (i-/mu-/mun-)
    i-saan ‘be at’
    mu-qalqal ‘fall down’
    mun-haan ‘go to’
  + Q-words (mun- // *i-/*mu-)
    mun-isaq ‘where to’
Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

• Compounding is rare; there is only:
  
  – *Exception 1*: N + ADJ idioms with some very common adjectives
    
    e.g., iðuq daiŋŋ – iðuq tikis
    
    < iðuq ‘orange’ + {daiŋŋ ‘big’, tikis ‘small’}
  
  – *Exception 2*: N + N compounds in plant and animal terms
    
    e.g., iskan ivuð < iskan ‘fish’ + ivuð ‘snake’
Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

⇒ Derivation and syntax influence each other quite extensively

(1) Derivation ⇒ Syntax

• Things that are usually expressed in other languages by syntactic subsystems (such as aspect, tense, valence, …) are in Takivatan-Bunun expressed by derivation.
Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

• Example: causatives

Eng.: You understand

\[ \Downarrow \]

I *will make* you understand.

\[ \Uparrow \]

Tak.: …
Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

Maupa -ta sia,
Such -DEF.DIST ANAPH
na- is- pin- qansiap
FUT- give- make- understand
istun -a, sia -ti nak a mastaʔan tu
3S.HUM -PF ANAPH -DEF 1S.??? ??? utmost COMPL

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

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Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

(2) Syntax $\Rightarrow$ Derivation

• Use of grammatical markers as derivational affixes.
  – Focus markers (see later)
  – TAM markers
Linguistic aspects (1)

Derivational morphology

Example:

tauŋqu vali ‘reach. zenith’ + ‘sun’ > noontime
⇒ tauŋqu ‘noontime’

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

t<in>aunŋqu vali ‘<PRF>-reach. zenith’ + ‘sun’
⇒ t<in>aunŋqu ‘afternoon’
Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

• Relations between the verb phrase and its obligatory arguments are determined by pragmatic salience.

• Implications:
  – No Nom/Acc or Abs/Erg distinction;
    no (anti-)passivization
  – Focus operates on a syntactic level
    (≠ pragmatic focus)
Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

- Very Austronesian phenomenon
- Tagalog (Philippines)
- Often seems to coincide with flexible wordclasses (see later)
Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

• Syntactic realization:
  – Verbal suffixes
    - an₁ : Actor focus
    - un : Patient focus
    ? - an₂ : Locative focus
    - ø : Unmarked focus
  – Pronominal case
  – Optional post-NP particles
Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

Example 1: maun / kaun

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

2. Ma- hansum kaun -un
   ADJR- tasty eat + PF -PF
   ‘It is tasty to eat.’
Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

Example 1: maun / kaun

3. Ma- sihal kaun titi
   ADJR- good eat + PF meat
   ‘This meat / the meat is nice to eat.’

4. Ma- sihal = ak maun titi
   ADJR- good = 1S.NOM eat + AF meat
   ‘I like to eat this meat.’
Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

• Focus as a derivative process

Maq a  kaunun -a  kaupa  -ki:
What COP edible  -ACC  every  -DEF.PROX
hutan -a,  tai,  salaað
yam  -ACC  taro  sort.of.millet

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

Some predictions about focus

• Focus is more relevant for actions than for states

• Focus is more often overtly expressed in ambiguous contexts

E.g., Masihal kaunun. ‘It is nice to eat.’
Maunak masihal. ‘I eat happily.’
Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

Example 1: Maun/kaunun

Ma- sihal kaun -un
ADJR- good eat + PF -PF
It is good to eat.

Ma- sihal maun
ADJR- good eat + AF
You eat it in a tasty way.
Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

Example 2: matað ‘to die’ / patað ‘kill’

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

Amin -in matað
all -PRF die + PF

‘Neither my mother nor my father is still alive. They have both passed away.’
Linguistic aspects (2)

Focus system

• Lots of questions remain:
  – Pronominal ‘case’ system: case or focus?
  – Optionality of the markers
  – Interaction with phenomena like definiteness
  – Interaction focus and topicalization / left-dislocation
  – …
Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

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

E.g.,

```
iqdi(?)un
    'worries, problems'
```

```
in-[?]?iqdi[?]-an
    'have problems'
```

```
-iqdi-
    'hardship'
```

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Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

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

E.g.,

Sanavan -in ma- sabaq -in
Evening -PRF ACT- sleep -PRF

‘When evening falls, we go to bed.’

Lit.: ‘when the evening has come, we will have gone to sleep’
Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

- TAM and some derivational affixes to a wide variety of concepts and wordclasses
  - Auxiliaries of negation and TAM
  - Time words
  - Question words
  - Demonstratives and locative words
  - Personal pronouns
Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

Examples:

… **ma-** laupa -dau -k mastaan masihal-i,
… **ACT-** now -EMO -?? most good -DEF?
‘… and (this situation) now is most excellent…’

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

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

‘So, I think that of course I should to this person teach well because he came here with these needs.’
Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

• Takivatan word morphology

STEM

deriv + STEM

[deriv + STEM] + (Focus) + (TAM)

• Stem originally indifferented or nominal
  – Lots of verbalizing prefixes

• Derivation ‘instantiates’ the stem
Linguistic aspects (3)

Wordclass fluidity

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

• Differences with indifferentiation in Mandarin-Chinese
Linguistic aspects (3)

**Wordclass fluidity**

Example: Wordclass differentiation in Mandarin-Chinese

愛 n/v love/to love

vs.

樹 n tree
Linguistic aspects (3)

**Wordclass fluidity**

- **Chinese**: isolating language / poor morphology
  ⇒ indifferentiation is consequence of the absence of word morphology
- **Takivatan**: extremely rich morphology
  ⇒ wordclass fluidity is a pragmatic strategy
The bigger picture
The bigger picture (1)

The ‘five dialects’

• The Bunun themselves distinguish 5 subgroups:
  Isbukun, Takbanuað, Takivatan, Takibaka, Takitudu

• Based on clan-divisions
  E.g., Taki-Vatan originate.in-PersName.M
The bigger picture (1)

The ‘five dialects’

• Attempted subdivision:
  – Northern: Takitudu, Takibaka
  – Central: Takbanuað, Takivatan
  – Southern: Isbukun

• Dialects or almost different languages?
  – Mutual intellegibility ⇒ dialect chain?
  – Development of Isbukun ‘standard’
The bigger picture (2)

Linguistic discriminants

Isbukun vs. Takivatan

• /h/ vs. /q/
  – Systematic difference between South and Central
  – E.g.,
    Tama Dihanin tu Haliŋa
    Tama Diqanin tu Qaliŋa

• /ʤ/ vs. /t/
  – E.g., taidʒini vs. tatini ‘alone, single’
The bigger picture (2)

**Linguistic discriminants**

**Isbukun vs. Takivatan**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1.AG</th>
<th>1_PT</th>
<th>1.POSS</th>
<th>2.AG</th>
<th>2_PT</th>
<th>2.POSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isb.:</td>
<td>saikin</td>
<td>maðaku</td>
<td>(i)nak</td>
<td>kasu</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>(i)su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tak.:</td>
<td>= ak</td>
<td>ðaku</td>
<td>(i)nak</td>
<td>= as</td>
<td>su(?u)</td>
<td>(i)su</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The bigger picture (2)

**Linguistic discriminants**

**Isbukun vs. Takivatan**

- **Left-dislocation**
  - Shift in personal pronouns: Ag vs. Pt
  - Different marker: hai vs. a/ø
  - Difference in use: more frequent in Isbukun
The bigger picture (2)

Linguistic discriminants

Isbukun vs. Takivatan

• Left-dislocation: Example Isbukun

Kasu takna hai ma- haltsis ismuuð.

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

‘You were trimming the hedge yesterday.’
The bigger picture (2)

Linguistic discriminants

Isbukun vs. Takivatan

• Left-dislocation: Example Takivatan

\[ \text{ðaku} \ 0 \ \text{madima suʔu, ni musbai} \]

1S.ACC L-DIS like 2S.ACC NEG run.away

‘I like you, I will not run away.’
The bigger picture (2)

Linguistic discriminants

Isbukun vs. Takivatan

• Lexicon
  – E.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Isb.</th>
<th>Tak.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>malaita</td>
<td>‘lazy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuisa</td>
<td>‘where to?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutun</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• Conclusion: substantial differences
Dialect continuum

- **Explanation:** dialect chain/dialect continuum?
- **Yes:**
  - Group of dialects / languages
  - Some mutually understandable, some not
The bigger picture (4)

Dialect continuum

• No, because:
  – Dialect chain:
    “a range of dialects spoken across a large geographical area, differing only slightly between areas that are geographically close, and gradually decreasing in mutual intelligibility as the distances become greater” (Wikipedia)
  – Example: Belgian-Dutch-German border
The bigger picture (3)

Migration patterns

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

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The bigger picture (3)

Interaction vs. isolation

• Dialect chain:
  – Result of mutual interaction

• Dialectal differentiation
  – Result of relative isolation

• Bunun: history of clan-based movements
  ⇒ dialect differentiation

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Thank you! Uninanaŋ!