Demonstratives in Takivatan Bunun

Rik De Busser
RCLT, La Trobe University
Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica
rdbusser@gmail.com

Introduction

- Austronesian, Taiwan
- approx. 50,000 ethnic members
- no more than 60% still fluent in Bunun
- heartland in Nantou Province
- migration to Taidong and Hualien

Five dialects:
- Isbukun
- Takbanuað
- Takivatan
- Takituduh
- Takibakha
- Takivatan mainly spoken in Hualien
Introduction

• Highly agglutinative; very rich verbal morphology (200+ affixes)

• Verb-initial (~ VAO)

  V (AG) (BEN/INSTR) (PAT) (LO)
  AUX (AG) V (BEN/INSTR) (PAT) (LO)

Spatial deixis: place words

ʔiti ‘here’ ‘at this moment’
ʔitun ‘there (medial)’ ‘at that moment (medial)’
ʔita ‘there (distal)’ ‘at that moment (distal)’

• Sometimes verbal, sometimes nominal

Introduction

• Open word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives

• No adverbs; most adverbial concepts expressed by auxiliary verbs
Spatial deixis: place words

• Verbal use

(1) ʔitiʔak

{ʔiti} [-ʔak] AG
here IS.F 'I am here.' (adaptation of BNN-N-002:52)

(2) Maisnaʔisaq amu munʔiti?

{maisna-ʔisaq} [amu] AG { mun-ʔiti }
ABL-where 2P.F ALL-here
'From which places did you all come here?' (BNN-N-002:51)

Spatial deixis: place words

• Nominal use

(3) Madas qaimaŋsuð han ʔita.

{madas} [qaimaŋsuð] [han ʔita]
carry thing to there.DIST
'[He] carries some stuff over there.' (constr.)

Spatial deixis: demonstratives

• Singular

(4) Mintun aipun minsumaʔa, [...]

{mintun}AUX [ aipun ]AG   {minsuma-a}
sometimes DEM.S.MED.VIS come.here-SUBORD
'From time to time this person comes here, [...]' (TVN-008-001:9)

Spatial deixis: demonstratives

• Vague plural

(5) Aituða aiŋki tu madadauk pakasihal

{aituða}AUX [ aiŋki ]CSR    t u
be.real DEM.PV.PROX.VIS COMPL
{ma-‹da›dauk}AUX  {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)
Spatial deixis: demonstratives

• Paucal

(6) tama tina akitu, painamainta, […]
   (a) [tama tina aki-ta]  
       father mother grandfather-DEF.REF.DIST
   (b) [paina-anta]  
       rightfully belong DEM.PA.DIST.VIS

‘There were his father and mother and grandfather, he would give them their rightful share, […]’ (TVN-012-001:119)

Spatial deixis: demonstratives

• Inclusive generic

(7) naitun qabas haqulka sia duʔun
   [naitun] AG {qabas} AUX {haqul-ka}  
   old.times trap-DEF.SIT.DIST
   [sia duʔun] ANAPH thread

‘In the old days, our people [i.e. the Bunun] used strings for setting hunting traps.’ (TVN-012-002:93)

Spatial deixis: 3P pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>isti</td>
<td>inti</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>istun</td>
<td>intun</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>ista</td>
<td>inta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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(8) Nastuqas istuna
   [nas-tuqas [istuna]-a]PSR
   deceased-older.sibling 3S.MED-LNK

‘his deceased older sibling’ (TVN-008-003:122)

Definiteness markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referential</th>
<th>Situational</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>-ti</td>
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<td>Medial</td>
<td>-tun</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>-ta</td>
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• Optional
• No clearly identifiable semantics
• Sometimes mutually exchangeable
• On nouns and verbs
Definiteness markers

• Mutually exchangeable

(9) (a) Samuta!  (b) Samuka!
samu-ta  samu-ka
 taboo-DEF.REF.DIST  taboo-DEF.SIT.DIST
'It is a taboo!'  id.

• On nouns and verbs: -tda

(10) siða maduqta
{siða}  [maduq- tta]
 take  millet-DEF.REP.DIST
'Go there when it is still small and take some millet' (TVN-012-001:69)

(11) Haiða tupata, […]
{haiða}aux  {tupa- tta}
have  tell-DEF.REP.DIST
'Having said (those things), [...]’ (TVN-003-xxx:18)

Definiteness markers

• On nouns and verbs: -ka

(12) Maq a maitamaka, […]
maq  a  [mai-tama-ka]
DEF  LNK  deceased-father-DEF.SIT.DIST
'As far as my deceased father is concerned, [...]’ (TVN-012-003:11)

(13) Maqai tantuŋuka, […]
maqai  {tantuŋu-ka}
if  visit-DEF.SIT.DIST
'If you visit (over there), you have to sleep there, you can’t immediately return.’ (TVN-012-002:20)

The distance dimension

• **Proximal** (~‘close’; near deictic centre)

• **Medial** (~‘delineated’; not near and not very far away; in a delineated space, typically either in the same space as the deictic centre or within visible range.

• **Distal** (~‘far’; away from deictic centre; outside visible range and/or in a vague, non-delineated distance.)
The distance dimension

(14) Asa pisihalun itu Kaliŋkuti, pisihalunti, na asa tunhan Nantuta
(a) [asa]_{aux} [pi-sihal-un] [itu] [Kaliŋkuti]_{DEF.REF.PROX}
    have.to CAUS.STAT-good-UF this.here GeoName-DEF.REF.PROX
(b) [pi-sihal-un-ti]
    CAUS.STAT-good-UF-DEF.REF.PROX
(c) na [asa] [tun-han] [Nantu-ta]
    CONS have.to PERL-go GeoName-DEF.REF.DIST

'You have to put everything in order here in Kaliŋko, and when it is in order here, you have to go over there to Nantou.' (TVN-012-002:49)

Referential vs. situational

- t-forms vs. k-forms
- roughly equally common
- both on nouns and verbs

(15) Tudip tu than Damaiantran [...] (tudip)_{aux} tu [i-han] [Damaian]_{DEF.REF.MED}

'In those days I was in Da-Ma-Yuan [...]’ (TVN-008-002:66)
Referential vs. situational

• Medial forms only on nouns

(16) Tamakun niŋ mataða

[tama-kun-a] [ni-aŋ] [mata-a]
father [DEF] [SIT] [MED] [-LDIS] [NEG] [PROG] [die] [UF] [SUBORD]

'[And almost immediately afterwards, my younger sister died, at a time when]
my elder father had not died yet.' (TVN-008-002:63)

• $k$-forms = situational:
  – focus on conceptualization as events
  – unfolding in spatio-temporal setting
  – changeable qualities
Referential vs. situational

• Referential -ti with noun:

(17) Pian munhan inak lumaqti

[Pian]3
[mun-han]3
[inak]1
[lumaq-ti]2

PersName.M
DIR-go
IS.POSS
home-DEF.REF.PROX

‘Pian came to my house here’ (TVN-008-001:2)

• Referential -tun with noun:

(18) Haíta laupaku paun tu sia padanum maʔavul […]

[haíta]
[laupaku]3
[paun]
[tu]

have
now
call.UF
COMPL

sia
padan-tum
ma-ʔavul]3

ANAPH
reed-DEF.REF.MED
STAT-flexible

‘And now there is this flexible kind of reed [which is called taqnas]’ (TVN-012-001:44)

• Referential -ta with noun:

(19) Paukin aipun tu: “Na, samuta.”

{pauk-in}3
[aipun]3
[ta]1

say-PRV
DEM.S.MED.PROX
COMPL

na
{samu-ta]3

INTER
taboo-DEF.REF.DIST.VIS

‘He said: “well, that is forbidden.”’ (TVN-008-002:189)

• Referential -ti with verb:

(20) […] tunadanti ʔata

{tunadanti]3
[ʔata]3

cross.
road-DEF.REF.PROX

1.I.FA

‘And since it was over there, we crossed this road.’ (TVN-008-002:178)
Referential vs. situational

• Referential -\textit{ta} with verb:

(21) Namusaupa\textsubscript{ta} tu\textsubscript{a}

\begin{verbatim}
\{na-mu-saupa-ta\} \{tu\textsubscript{a}\}
\end{verbatim}

IRR-ALL-go.in.direction-DEF.REF.DIST really

‘We will really go in \textit{that} direction’ (TVN-008-002:142)

• Situational -\textit{ki} with verb:

(23) Na, muqa\textsubscript{na}-\textsubscript{sak} laupaku taqu\textsubscript{ki} [...]

\begin{verbatim}
\{muqna-a\} \{sak\} \{laupaku\} \{taqu-\textsubscript{ki}\}
\end{verbatim}

INTER next-PROG 1S.FA now tell-DEF.SIT.PROX

‘And next I will tell \textit{nowhere} [about how my life was in the old days when I was still a child.]’ (TVN-006-001:2)

• Situational -\textit{ka} with verb:

(24) A tupaka maitama tu: [...]

\begin{verbatim}
\{tupa-\textsubscript{ka}\} \{mai-tama\} \{tu\}
\end{verbatim}

INTER say-DEF.SIT.DIST deceased-father COMPL

‘And then my now-deceased father said: […]’ (TVN-012-003:20)

• Situational -\textit{ki} with noun:

(26) Lumaq\textsubscript{ki} a\textsubscript{ki}a.

\begin{verbatim}
\{lumaq-\} \{aki-a\} \{a\}
\end{verbatim}

INTER home-DEF.SIT.PROX grandfather-LNK

‘Grandfather is at home (here)’ (BNN-N-002:239)
Referential vs. situational

- Situational -kun with noun:

(27) Na maq a sïðikuna, [\ldots]
\begin{verbatim}
na maq a [sïði]-kun AG-a
INTER DEFIN LINK mountain-goat-DEF.SIT.MED
\end{verbatim}
'As far as that mountain goat is concerned, [it moved to the drinking spot.]'
(TVN-xx2-003:24)

Referential vs. situational

- Situational -ka with noun:

(28) Maqai haiða qumaka, [\ldots]
\begin{verbatim}
maqai {haiða} [quma-ka] AG
if have land-DEF.SIT.DIST
\end{verbatim}
'If there is a plot of land (over there), [you cannot randomly transgress its boundaries]' (TVN-013-001:24)

Conclusion

- Many spatial deictic paradigms, all centre around -i/-un/-a distinction
- Two sets of definiteness markers in Takivatan with a number of interesting properties: optional, mark nouns and verbs, ...
- Quantitative comparison shows that they can best be analysed as referential vs. situational

Uninàñ miqumisàñ!