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
Introduction

• Five dialects:
  – Isbukun
  – Takbanuað
  – Takivatan
  – Takituduh
  – Takibakha

• Takivatan mainly spoken in Hualien
Introduction

- Highly agglutinative; very rich verbal morphology (200+ affixes)
- Verb-initial (~ VAO)

\[
V \ (AG) \ (BEN/INSTR) \ (PAT) \ (LO) \\
AUX \ (AG) \ V \ (BEN/INSTR) \ (PAT) \ (LO)
\]

- Focus system: AF -Ø, UF -un, LF -an
Introduction

• Open word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives
• No adverbs; most adverbial concepts expressed by auxiliary verbs
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
Spatial deixis: place words

• Verbal use

(1) ʔitiʔak

{ʔiti}[-ʔak]_{AG}

here-1S.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 ?ita.

{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) Aituđa aĩŋki tu madadauk pakasihal

\{aituđa\}_AUX \ [aĩŋki]_CSR \ tu \\
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 akita, painanainta, [...]  
  (a) [tama tina aki-ta]  
    father mother grandfather-DEF.REF.DIST  
  (b) {paina-nainta}  
    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

\[\text{[naitun]}_{\text{AG}} \quad \{\text{qabas}\}_{\text{AUX}} \quad \{\text{haqul-ka}\}\]

\[\text{DEM.IG.MED.NVIS} \quad \text{old.times} \quad \text{trap-DEF.SIT.DIST}\]

\[\text{[sia} \quad \text{duʔun]}_{\text{UN:INSTR}}\]

\text{ANAPH} \quad \text{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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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proximal</strong></td>
<td>isti</td>
<td>inti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medial</strong></td>
<td>istun</td>
<td>intun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distal</strong></td>
<td>ista</td>
<td>inta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) Nastuqas istuna

[nas-tuqas  
deceased-older.sibling  3S.MED-LNK

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

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<tr>
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<th>Referential</th>
<th>Situational</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>-tun</td>
<td>-kun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-ka</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- Optional
- No clearly identifiable semantics
- Sometimes mutually exchangeable
- On nouns and verbs
Definiteness markers

• Mutually exchangeable

(9)  (a) Samuta!  

samu-\textit{ta}  

\textit{taboo-DEF.REF.DIST}  

‘It is a taboo!’

(b) Samuka!

samu-\textit{ka}  

\textit{taboo-DEF.SIT.DIST}  

\textit{id.}
Definiteness markers

• On nouns and verbs: -ta

(10) siða maduqta
    \{siða\} [maduq-\text{ta}]_{\text{UN}}
    take millet-DEF.REF.DIST

‘[Go there when it is still small and] take some millet’ (TVN-012-001:69)

(11) Haiða tupata, […]

    \{haiða\}_{\text{AUX}} \{tupa-\text{ta}\}
    have tell-DEF.REF.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** &lt;i&gt;: ‘close’; near deictic centre
- **Medial** &lt;un&gt;: ‘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** &lt;a&gt;: ‘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 Kaliŋku-ti]_{LO} 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]_{PLACE} CONS have.to PERL-go GeoName-DEF.REF.DIST

‘You have to put everything in order here in Kaliŋku, and when it is in order here, you have to go over there to Nantou.’ (TVN-012-002:49)
The distance dimension

(15) Tudip tu ihan Damaiantun [...] 

{tudip}_{AUX} tu {i-han} [Damaian-tun]_{PLACE} 
in.\text{those}.\text{days} \text{COMPL} \text{STAT-go} \text{GeoName-DEF.REF.MED} 

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

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

• Possibly similar forms in Isbukun, according to Zeitoun (2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaker-oriented</td>
<td>-\textit{in}</td>
<td>-\textit{tin}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hearer-oriented</td>
<td>-\textit{ʔan}</td>
<td>-\textit{tan}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>-\textit{ʔaʔ}</td>
<td>-\textit{tiaʔ}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• In Takivatan: no correlation between \(t/k\)-alternation and case
Referential vs. situational

Chi-nan University, 16 Nov. 2009
Referential vs. situational

• Medial forms only on nouns

(16) Tamakun niaŋ mataða

[tama-kun-a]   {ni-aŋ}  {matað-a}
father-DEF.SIT.MED-LDIS NEG-PROG die + UF-SUBORD

‘[And almost immediately afterwards, my younger sister died, at a time when] my dear father had not died yet.’ (TVN-008-002:63)
Referential vs. situational

• $k$-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

\[
\text{[Pian]}_{\text{AG}} \quad \text{[mun-han]} \quad \text{[inak} \quad \text{lumaq-} \text{ti]}_{\text{PLACE}}
\]

PersName.M DIR-go 1S.POSS home-DEF.REF.PROX

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

• Referential -tun with noun:

(18) Haiða laupaku paun tu sia padantun maʔuvul […]

{haiða} [laupaku]_{TIME} [paun tu have now call.UF COMPL}

sia padan-tun maʔuvul]_{AG}

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 vs. situational

- Referential *-ta with noun:

(19) Paukin aipun tu: “Na, samuta.”

{pauk-in}  [aipun]_{AG}  tu:  _C1_\text{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)
Referential vs. situational

• Referential -ti with verb:

(20)  [...] tunadanti ?ata

{tunadan-\text{ti}}  [\text{?ata}]_{\text{AG}}
cross.road-\text{DEF.REF.PROX}  11.FA

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

• Referential -ta with verb:

(21) Namusaupata tuða

{na-mu-saupa-ta} {tuða}
IRR-ALL-go.in.direction-DEF.REF.DIST really

‘We will really go in that direction’ (TVN-008-002:142)
Referential vs. situational

• Situational -ki with verb:

(23) Na, muqnaŋ sak laupaku taquki [...]  
na  \{muqna-aŋ\}_{AUX}  \{sak\}_{AG}  \{laupaku\}_{AUX}  \{taqu-ki\}  
INTER  next-PROG  1S.FA  now  tell-DEF.SIT.PROX  
‘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)
Referential vs. situational

- Situational -ka with verb:

(24) A tupaka maitama tu: [...]  
\[
a \{\text{tupaka-}\text{ka}\} \quad [\text{mai-tama}]_{AG} \quad \text{tu}
\]
\[
\text{INTER} \quad \text{say-DEF.SIT.DIST} \quad \text{deceased-father} \quad \text{COMPL}
\]

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

• Situational -ki with noun:

(26) Lumaqki akia.

[lumaq-ki]_{LO} [aki-a]_{AG}
home-DEF.SIT.PROX grandfather-LNK

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

• Situational -\textit{kun} with noun:

(27) Na maq a siðikuna, [...]  
na maq a [siði-\textit{kun}]_{AG}-a  
INTER DEFIN LNK mountain.goat-\textbf{DEF.SIT.MED}-SUBORD  
‘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, […]
      maqai {haiða} [quma-ka]_{AG}
      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)
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
Uninanş
miqumisanş!