Expressions of time, place and manner in Bunun and a cross-linguistic typology of adverbials

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Background

- Bunun, Austronesian, Taiwan
- Takivatan dialect
- < 1800 speakers (De Busser 2009)

- Corpus analysis
- Language description in a functional-typological framework
Domain of research

“Mono-lexemic peripheral expressions of temporal location”

• Single-word expressions
• Temporal locative meaning
• Peripheral position
Domain of research

• Defining a functional domain for cross-linguistic comparison (cf. Haspelmath 2010’s Comparative Concepts)
Bunun temporal expressions

- The four most common monolexemic expressions of temporal location
  (De Busser, under revision)
  - *tudip / dip* ‘then, at that time’
  - *qabas* ‘in former times’
  - *laupa / laupaku / laupadau* ‘now’
  - *haip* ‘today’
Bunun temporal expressions

- Clause-initial position: auxiliary-like behaviour
  - Complementizer and TAM marking (sometimes)

(1) [...] tudipay tu sia tupaun tu sinkudakudə
tudip-ay tu sia tupa-un tu sin-kuđakuđa
that.time-PROG COMPL ANAPH call-UF COMPL RES.OBJ-WORK
‘[life ...] in those days that was called sinkudakudə (a life of labour)’
Bunun temporal expressions

• Clause-initial position: auxiliary-like behaviour
  – Other verbal morphology (sometimes)

\[\text{maqabasi maupata naip qanupa} \]
\[\text{ma-qabas-i} \quad \text{maupa-ta} \quad \text{naip} \quad \text{qanup-a} \]
\[\text{DYN-in.former.times-PRT} \quad \text{thus-DEF.REF.DIST} \quad \text{DEM.S.NVIS} \quad \text{hunt-SUBORD} \]
‘when somebody wanted to go hunting in the past […]’
Bunun temporal expressions

• Clause-initial position: auxiliary-like behaviour
  – Attracts the topical pronoun (sometimes)

(3) *maqabas madadainʔað paun tu misdaŋ*
  *ma-qabas*  *madadainʔað paun tu misdaŋ*
  DYN-in.former.times elder be.said COMPL group
  ‘in the old days the elders [built houses together] in a group’
Bunun temporal expressions

• Immediate pre-verbal positions: grammatically invariant

(4) maupata nam tudi-pa sia inuskunan
    maupa-ta nam tudi-p-a sia in-us-kun-an
    thus-def.ref.dist le.n that.time-preverb anaph via-together-lf
    ‘and thus we went together through such events in those days’
Bunun temporal expressions

• Post-verbal positions (only qabas and laupa): grammatically invariant

(5)  sintupa qabas madadainʔað
  sin-tupa   qabas   madadainʔað
  res.obj-say  in.former.times  elder
  ‘as the elders explained in the old days’
Bunun temporal expressions

- Clause-final position: noun-like properties?
  - In complementary distribution with NPs
  - Definiteness marking (also possible on verbs)

(6)  *ma?iti sia daŋi?anan laupakuki*
     *ma?-?iti sia daŋi-an-an laupaku-ki*
     STAT-here ANAPH place-LF-LO now-DEF.SIT.PROX
     ‘you can stay at this place now’
## Intermediate overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Commonality</th>
<th>Behaviour</th>
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<tr>
<td>Clause-initial</td>
<td>widespread</td>
<td>verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-verbal</td>
<td>intermediate</td>
<td>invariant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-verbal</td>
<td>uncommon</td>
<td>invariant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause-final</td>
<td>widespread</td>
<td>noun-like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Intermediate overview

- Correlation between location in the clause and grammatical behaviour
  - Temporal words can be verb-like, noun-like entities, or invariant
  - This is strongly correlated to their position
Intermediate overview

- Time adverbials are typically thought of as peripheral elements. However, in Bunun, they function in certain contexts as part of the verb phrase

(1) [...] tuːdip-əŋ tu sia tupa-un tu sinkuːdakuːda
    tuːdip-əŋ tu sia tupa-un tu sin-kuːdakuːda
that.time-PROG COMPL ANAPH call-U OF COMPL RES.OBJ-WORK
    ‘[life ...] in those days that was called sinkuːdakuːda (a life of labour)’
Other Formosan languages

• Contrastive examples from Paiwan

(7) sa a tiəʔen tutsu,
then LNK TOP-1s.NOM now
picu-aya a puluq a tsawi:s sa avan a picu.
seven-already LNK ten LNK year then that.is LNK seven
‘I am now 77 years old.’ (FLC 01.001.b)

(8) tutsu-aya pacə-tutsu-aya azua
now-already genuine-now-already NOM:that:LNK
‘Today, we are still at that place.’ (FLC 01.026.g)
Cross-linguistic comparison

- How are functionally similar concepts realised in other languages?
  - Single-word expressions
  - Expressions of temporal location
  - Peripheral positions

- How do position and grammatical behaviour vary relative to each other?
English

• Position is variable, grammatical behaviour is constant

(9) Today the emphasis is on comfort.
(10) The last three today are Nottingham Forest, Sheffield Wednesday and Middlesbrough.
(11) It stands today in Newhall Street, where it settled in 1977.
(12) The monkeys are on your cars today.
Mandarin

• Position variable but restricted, grammatical behaviour constant
  – Two positions (+ extraction, nominalization, etc.)
  – “Moveable adverbs”
    (Li & Thompson 1997:320–321)
Mandarin

(13) 我们今天透过教育
wǒ men jīn tiān tòu guò jiào yù
we today go through education
“Today, we went to class.”

(14) 今天我把我的心情拿出来
jīn tiān wǒ bǎ wǒ de xīn qíng ná chū lái
today I BA my state of mind take out
‘Today, I have put my thoughts out in the open.’
Ahom (Tai)

- Position is variable, appears to be correlated to / restricted by specific constructions
Ahom (Tai)

(15) ორგამგრძელები
ban tuk chau mav jang pai poi
day fall RESP new have yet release
'At sunset, the new ones are not yet released.'

(16) ორგამგრძელები
ma sav ban sav khvn bau lv
come stay day clear night NEG relax
'All came to stay day and night without resting.'
Cross-linguistic comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Constant</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bunun</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restricted</td>
<td>(Ahom?)</td>
<td>Mandarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Why is this relevant?

- Ubiquity
  - “There is no language without temporal adverbials” (Klein 1994:143)

- Overlooked, because perceived irrelevant
  - “Since they are essentially indivisible lexical items, they largely fall outside the scope of grammatical typology.” (Haspelmath 1997:7)

- “Peripheral”
Why is this relevant?

Time ‘adverbials’

≏

Functional domain of temporal expressions
Why is this relevant?

- Not necessarily ‘peripheral’ in the traditional sense
- Not necessarily grammatically inert
- Considerably cross-linguistic variation
- Expression of time is important to most cultures
Further research

• More in-depth research on other expressions of time, place and manner in Bunun
• Survey of ‘adverbial’ elements in other languages


Corpora


**TVN.** De Busser, Rik. s.d. *Takivatan Bunun Corpus.*
Uninaŋ Miqumisanŋ!
In Memoriam

Tulbus Manququ

1930-2012