Information structure in Takivatan Bunun

Topicality and the role of ellipsis

Rik De Busser
rdbusser@nccu.edu.tw
Introduction

• Bunun, Austronesian, Taiwan
• Takivatan dialect

• Approx. 50,000 ethnic members
• Predicate-initial
• Over 200 affixes, most of which are verbal prefixes
Today’s topics

• Topicality
  – Clause-internal
  – Clause-external / extraposed

• Ellipsis’

• Note:
  – Focus

Cf. Osumi: multiple topics per clause
The clause-internal topic

- Verbal alignment morphology
  (‘focus’ suffixes)
- Argument order
- Pronominal marking
- (Definiteness marking?)
- (Ellipsis?)
The clause-internal topic

✓ Verbal alignment morphology
  (‘focus’ suffixes)
✓ Argument order
✓ Pronominal marking
  • (Definiteness marking?)
✓ (Ellipsis?)
Verbal alignment morphology

• Actor focus (AF): no suffix

(1)  siđa    malhaqaus-ta    maduq-ta
    take     shaman-DEF.REF.DIST  millet-DEF.REF.DIST
    The shaman took millet (simplified from TVN-012-001:69)²

• undergoer focus (UF): -un

(2)  siđa-un  asik
    take-UF  shrub
    they gathered the shrubs (simplified from TVN-012-001:24)
Verbal alignment morphology

• locative focus (LF): -an

(3)  \textit{maqtu pa-si\ddot{a}-an-in} \quad \eta\textit{bul vanis}

can CAUS.DYN-take-LF-PRV antler wild.boar
We could [in that place] catch deer and wild boar (TVN-008-002:4)
Verbal alignment morphology

• Grammatical properties of the privileged argument
  – left-dislocation with -a (see 3.1).
  – TOP form of bound pronoun (see 2.3).
  – TOP.AG form of the free pronoun in AF constructions; N form in other focus types
Argument order

VERB < AGENT < INSTRUMENT
< BENEFICIARY < PATIENT
< LOCATION < PERIPHERAL

- Max. 3 arguments per clause
- Typically 1
Argument order

(5) *na-is-kalat-un*  ḏaku  *tuqnaḏ-i*  asu  
IRR-INSTN-bite-UF  1S.N  bone-PRT  dog  
**Actor**  **Instrument**  **Beneficiary**  
I want to give the bone to a dog to bite it (TVN-xx2-005:65)

(6) *maqtu-ʔas*  *pa-simul*  ḏaku  qaimaṣuṣaḏ  
can-2S.TOP  CAUS.DYN-borrow  1S.N  thing  
**Actor**  **Beneficiary**  **Patient**  
Can you lend me the thing? (TVN-xx2:004:4)
# Pronouns

## Table 2.1 - Takivatan Bunun pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Topic (TOP)</th>
<th>Bound Non-topical agent (NTOP.AG)</th>
<th>Neutral (N)</th>
<th>Topical agent (TOP.AG)</th>
<th>Locative (LO)</th>
<th>Possessive pre-nominal</th>
<th>Possessive post-nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>-(ʔ)ak</td>
<td>-(ʔ)uk</td>
<td>daku, nak</td>
<td>sak, saikin</td>
<td>daküʔan</td>
<td>inak</td>
<td>nak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>-(ʔ)as</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>suʔu, su</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>suʔuʔan</td>
<td>isu</td>
<td>su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1I</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>mita</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mitaʔan</td>
<td>imita</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E</td>
<td>-(ʔ)am</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dami, nam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>damiʔan</td>
<td>inam</td>
<td>nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>-(ʔ)am</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>muʔu, mu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>muʔuʔan</td>
<td>imu</td>
<td>mu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic (TOP)</th>
<th>Bound Non-topical agent (NTOP.AG)</th>
<th>Neutral (N)</th>
<th>Topical agent (TOP.AG)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>-(?)ak</td>
<td>-(?)uk</td>
<td>δaku, nak suʔu, su mita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>-(?)as</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E</td>
<td>-(?)am</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>δami, nam muʔu, mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>-(?)am</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>topic</th>
<th>non-topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agent</td>
<td>TOP.AG</td>
<td>NTOP.AG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-agent</td>
<td>TOP.NAG</td>
<td>NTOP.NAG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic (TOP)</th>
<th>Bound</th>
<th>Neutral (N)</th>
<th>Topical agent (TOP.AG)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>-(?)ak</td>
<td>-(?)uk</td>
<td>δaku, nak suʔu, su mita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>-(?)as</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E</td>
<td>-(?)am</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>δami, nam muʔu, mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>-(?)am</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bound pronouns

- Actor, AF construction

(14) laupaŋ-ʔak taldanav-in
     a.moment.ago-1S.TOP wash-PRV
     I just finished washing. (TVN-xxx-xx1:166)

- Patient, UF construction

(15) hasul-un-ʔak ma-ludaq
     together-UF-1S.TOP DYN-beat
     I have been beaten by many people (TVN-xx2-005:48)
Pronouns

bound

topic

non-topic

agent

TOP

non-agent

NTOP.AG
### Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic (TOP)</th>
<th>Bound Non-topical agent (NTOP.AG)</th>
<th>Neutral (N)</th>
<th>Topical agent (TOP.AG)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>-(?)ak</td>
<td>-(?)uk</td>
<td>δaku, nak suʔu, su mita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>-(?)as</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>sak, saikin ʔata, inʔata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1E</td>
<td>-(?)am</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>δami, nam muʔu, mu ʔamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>-(?)am</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Free pronouns

• Non-topical agent; Patient topic

(20) $antalam\text{-}un\quad \delta \dot{a} \dot{k}u\quad su\dot{u}\dot{u}$
answer-UF\quad 1S.N\quad 2S.N
I answer you. (TVN-xx2-001:3)

• Non-topical patient

(18) $antalam\text{-}?ak\quad su\dot{u}\dot{u}$
answer-1S.TOP\quad 2S.N
I answer you (TVN-xx2-001:2)

– Person hierarchy
Pronouns

free

topic non-topic

agent

TOP.AG

non-agent

NEUTRAL
Pronouns
Clause-external topic

- Two left-dislocation constructions
  - -a: extraposition of internal topic
  - maq (a) ... a: extraposition of any core argument

  (Neutral form of free personal pronoun)
Internal topic: -a

• Actor, dyadic AF construction

(21) \textit{tini} Tiŋ-\textit{a} hai\textit{da} sia dus\textit{a} \textit{p<in>anaq} \\
    alone T.-LNK have ANAPH two \textit{<PST>shoot} \\
    Tiang by himself already managed to shoot two (TVN-008-002:11)

• Actor, monadic AF construction

(22) \textit{aki-\textit{a}} mata\textit{\textalpha-n} \\
    grandfather-LDIS die-PRV \\
    Grandfather, he has died (TVN-xxx-xx1:230)
Internal topic: -a

• Patient, UF construction

(24) \( ma\-aipi\-a \quad ka\-pisin\-un \)
\( \text{DYN-DEM.S.PROX.VIS-LDIS} \quad \text{ASSOC.DYN-afraid-UF} \)
This here is a dangerous place (TVN-xx2-001:56)

• Location, LF construction

(25) \( kahay\-a \quad ma \quad ni \quad sadu\-an \)
\( \text{high.grass-LDIS} \quad \text{INTER} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{see-LF} \)
In the high grass, I did not see [the deer] there.
Internal topic: -a

• Isbukun dialect:
  – Internal topic: hai
    
    (29)  tama hai ma-ludah ḏaku
    father LDIS DYN-beat me
    'Father, he beats me.'
  
  – Non-topical arguments: -a
    
    (30)  ḏaku a ma-ludah tama
    me LDIS DYN-beat father
    'I, father beats me.'
Core argument: \textit{maq} (a) \ldots \ a

- **Topic**
  
  \begin{align*}
  (31) \quad maq & \ai\ka-a & \text{defin} & \text{dem.p.dist.vis-lnk} & \text{lively.in-be.at} & \text{mountain} \\
  \text{as for them, they are living in the mountains. (TVN-xx2-003:55)}
  \end{align*}

- **Non-topic**
  
  \begin{align*}
  (33) \quad a & \text{maq} & a & \text{haul madai\~r?ad\~an-a} & \text{inter} & \text{defin} & \text{lkn} & \text{h.m.-lnk} \\
  \text{hai\~d\~a-dau-ka} & \text{tan-<di\~>dip} & \text{have-emotion-def-sit-dist} & \text{dir-intens-then} & \text{qabas} & \text{mata\~d-a} & \text{in.former.times} & \text{die-lnk} \\
  \text{as for H. M., somebody had died there} & \text{in those days long ago, \ldots (TVN-012-002:158)}
  \end{align*}
Core argument: *maq (a) ... a*

- Resumption

(36)  
\begin{align*}
\text{DEFIN} & \ 	ext{INTER} & \text{man-LNK} & \text{ITIN-come.together} & \text{DEM.P.DIST.VIS} \\
\text{maq} & a & \text{bananʔaʔ-a} & \text{pan-qilaʔ} & aιŋka \\
\end{align*}

‘As for the men, they came together’ (TVN-012-001:60)
Core argument: *maq (a) ... a*

- Possible grammaticalization pathway
  1. Question word
  2. Indefinite pronoun
  3. Definitional constructions *(in subordinating constructions)*
  4. Topic extraction

Cf. Brill: topicalisation of arguments and clauses
Omission

• Topical arguments

(42) sauðunin ḃaku
    suand-un-in ḃaku
    sow-UF-PRV 1S.N
    [Did you plant a lot of sweet potatoes? – ]
    A: I planted [many sweet potatoes]. (TVN-xx2-003:39)

Cf. Schnell: Low lexicality of subjects / topics
Omission

• All arguments that are recoverable

(44)  a. maupa-ta qa<i>-qansiap-an tudip-i
    thus-DEF.REF.DIST understand-LF that time - PRT
    As such, [I] formed an impression of [the situation] in those days, ....

    b. aupa matqas-i ma-qansiap
    thus clear-PRT DYN-understand
    so that [I] clearly understand [it]. (TVN-008-002:32)
Omission

• Many affixes that are recoverable (!)

(46) \textit{mun-\textdoublesubscript{-}\textdoublesubscript{-}\textdoublesubscript{-}tita-\textdoublesubscript{-}\textdoublesubscript{-}\textdoublesubscript{-}as}}
\begin{center}
\text{ALL-there.DIST-2S.TOP}
\end{center}
Do you want to go there? (TVN-xx2-005:23)

(47) \textit{\textdoublesubscript{-}tita-\textdoublesubscript{-}\textdoublesubscript{-}\textdoublesubscript{-}as}
\begin{center}
\text{there.DIST-2S.TOP}
\end{center}
Do you want to go there/to that place? (TVN-xx2-005:22)
‘Ellipsis’

(48) \textit{ni-aŋ-ʔak pa-siða nauʔad}  
\text{NEG-PROG-1S.TOP \hspace{1cm} RECIP-take \hspace{1cm} woman}  
I didn’t marry to a girl yet. (TVN-xxx-xx1:101)

(49) \textit{ni-aŋ-ʔak pa-siða bi-<na>nauʔad}  
\text{NEG-PROG-1S.TOP \hspace{1cm} RECIP-take \hspace{1cm} NMZ-INTENS-beautiful}  
I didn’t marry to a girl yet. (constructed)

(50) \textit{ni-aŋ pa-siða}  
\text{NEG-PROG \hspace{1cm} RECIP-take}  
I didn’t marry yet. (constructed)

(51) \textit{ni-aŋ siða}  
\text{NEG-PROG \hspace{1cm} take}  
I didn’t marry yet. (constructed)
‘Ellipsis’

(48)  
\[ \text{ni-\text{a}ŋ-ʔak} \quad \text{pa-siða} \quad \text{nauʔað} \]
NEG-PROG-1S.TOP  RECIP-take  woman
I didn’t marry to a girl yet. (TVN-xxx-xx1:101)

(49)  
\[ \text{ni-\text{a}ŋ-ʔ} \quad \text{pa-siða} \quad \text{xī-<n>naʔað} \]
NEG-PROG-1S.TOP  RECIP-take  NMZ-INTENS-beautiful
I didn’t marry to a girl yet. (constructed)

(50)  
\[ \text{ni-\text{a}ŋ} \quad \text{x}-\text{siða} \]
NEG-PROG  RECIP-take
I didn’t marry yet. (constructed)

(51)  
\[ \text{ni-\text{a}ŋ} \quad \text{siða} \]
NEG-PROG  take
I didn’t marry yet. (constructed)
‘Ellipsis’

• Minimal clause: predicate root
  – minus arguments
  – minus any bound morphology
• Efficiency: speed vs. comprehensibility
• Ellipsis / omission or optionality?
Conclusion

- Clause-internal vs clause-external topic
- Non-complementarity of grammatical subsystems
- Possible omission of (almost) everything except for the predicate root
- Optional expression rather than ellipsis
- No hard relationship between topicality and argument omission
Uninaŋ miqumisanŋ!