The role of Bunun deixis in information structure: An initial assessment

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Rik De Busser
rdbusser@nccu.edu.tw
In this talk

• Takivatan Bunun
• Spatial deixis ↔ Topicality
• Topicality
  – Clause-level topicality
  – Discourse-level / Textual topicality
Takivatan Bunun

- Bunun (ISO 639-3: bnn)
- Austronesian Taiwan
- Central dialect
- Philippine-type alignment
- Highly productive verbal morphology
- Data from Bahuan (Mayuan village)
Cross-linguistic functions of deixis

- Himmelmann (1996:218ff):
  - Situational: 
    \textit{This is a humongous tree.} \hspace{1cm} \text{Spatio-temporal}
  - Discourse deixis: 
    \textit{That’s the end of that story.} \hspace{1cm} \text{Anaphoric deixis}
  - Tracking: 
    Red, blue and white. \textit{These are the colours of the flag.} \hspace{1cm} \text{Exophoric}
  - Recognitional use: 
    \textit{Do you remember that strange man in Calgary?}
Functions of deixis in Takivatan

“Many studies on spatial deixis put great stress on the use of deictic markers for anaphoric reference and discourse deixis […]. In Takivatan, the distance dimension in any of the deictic paradigms is rarely used unambiguously for anaphoric reference, most likely because of the existence of the anaphoric marker *sia* […]”

*(De Busser 2009:425)*
Austronesian deixis and information structure

• Association of definiteness and clausal topic, e.g. Tagalog:

“Formally, the topic is marked either by the use of a topic pronoun form or by a prenominal topic marker. Notionally, the topic is always interpreted as definite.”

(Schachter 1976:494)
Functions of deixis in Takivatan

• Deictics are the only explicit morphological markers of definiteness.
• No absolute correlation between definiteness and topicality.
• Indefinite topics:

(14) Sauđunin ḏaku.
suađ-un-in ḏaku
sow-UF-PRV 1S.N
‘Many were planted by me.’ (TVN-xx2-003:39)
Functions of deixis in Takivatan

• Primary function
  – Anaphoric deixis
  – Clause-level topicality

• So deictic markers are not involved in information structure at all???
Deictic paradigms

Triple distance distinction:

- Definiteness markers (bound)
- Third person pronouns (free)
- Demonstratives (free)
- Place words (free)

Discourse function:

- Manner word \((m)\text{aupa}\) (free)
- Anaphoric marker \(sia\) (free)
Definiteness markers

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<th>Referential</th>
<th>Situational</th>
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<td>Proximal</td>
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<td>-ki</td>
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<td>Medial</td>
<td>-tun</td>
<td>-kun</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-ka</td>
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</tbody>
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- Nominal and verbal hosts
- Referential vs. situational (see De Busser 2009)
Definiteness markers

(5)  ... laʔadusduki Qusunsubali sia Maiata tama.  
la-adus-du-ki Qusunsubali  
COVER-carry-EMO-DEF.SIT.PROX Q.  
sia Maia-ta tama  
ANAPH M.-DEF.REF.DIST father  
‘[...] from here we went together to (that) Qusunsubali, to the father of Maia.’ (TVN-008-002:69)
## Third person pronouns

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<th>Plural</th>
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<td>inti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medial</strong></td>
<td>istun</td>
<td>intun</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Distal</strong></td>
<td>ista</td>
<td>inta</td>
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</table>

- Human and higher animate reference

(6) Hanʔak daiʔa maluskun inta.

be.at-1S.TOP over.there DYN-together 3P.DIST

‘I am there with them together.’ (TVN-008-vxxx:1)
Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visibility</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>Plurality</th>
<th>Distance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø- ‘VIS’</td>
<td>ai-</td>
<td>-p- ‘singular’</td>
<td>-i ‘PROX’</td>
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<tr>
<td>n- ‘NVIS’</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ηk- ‘vague plural’</td>
<td>-un ‘MED’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-nt- ‘paucal’</td>
<td>-a ‘DIST’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-t- ‘inclusive generic’</td>
<td>-Ø ‘USPEC’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Demonstratives

(7) Na, ukin aipa ṭita namudanin, musbai naipa maqmut
na uka-in aipa ṭita
INTER NEG.have-PRV DEM.S.DIST.VIS there.DIST
na-muda-in
IRR-walk-PRV
musbai naipa maqmut
run.away DEM.S.DIST.NVIS night
‘It [the deer, visible] wasn’t there anymore, it had gone,
it [non-visible] had run away during the night.’

(TVN-008-002:135)
Place and manner

• Place

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spatial</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>ṭiti ‘here’</td>
<td>‘at this moment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MED</td>
<td>ṭitun ‘there (medial)’</td>
<td>‘at that moment (medial)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>ṭita ‘there (distal)’</td>
<td>‘at that moment (distal)’</td>
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</table>

• Manner

  – *(m)aupa ‘thus, in such a way’
Place and manner

(9) I?iti?ak.
i?-?iti?-ak
STAT-here-1S.F
‘I am here.’ (BNN-N-002:52)

(10) Mun?ita madas pu-daku atikisunaŋ ?ita
mun?-?ita madas pu-daku
ALL-there.DIST take place-ritual.object
tikis-un-aŋ ?ita
little-EMPH-PROG there.DIST
‘[The shaman] has to go there and put a little bit of the ritual token over there.’ (TVN-012-001:44)
Anaphoric marker

- *Sia* ‘aforementioned’

(12) Ma, samantukandu siatun [...].
    ma samantuk-an-du sia-tun
    INTER spy.on-LF-EMOT ANAPH-DEF.REF.MED
    ‘[The deer... ] I kept a close watch on it
    [in order to shoot it]’ (TVN-008-002:184)

(13) Siata.
    sia-ta
    ANAPH-DEF.REF.DIST
    ‘[I will now explain how we Bunun in former days
    were, ...] It was like that.’ (TVN-013-001:4)
Deixis and information structure

• No clausal topicality
• Phoricity is not the primary function

• Establishment of discourse cohesion (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976):
  – Establishing topical chains
  – Marking topical progression
Example

• TVN-008-002:130-134
• Story of a deer hunt
• Topical chains
Aupa tuđa... niaŋ tu nanu sanavan minsumina... Tiŋŋ, minabaŋav tupa naip tu:

Thus real NEG-PROGCOMPL really evening INCH-return-PRV-LNK T.

ABL-high.location say DEM.S.NVIS COMPL
‘But, when it wasn’t really evening yet, Tiang had returned, he had come back from the mountain and told us:’

Na, maŋtu laqbiŋina, naŋasa dusa ta matiskun, maluŋumi haŋ baŋav daiŋaki, pinkaunun isian baŋavta, ŋabul.

well be.possible tomorrow-LNK IRR-have.to.two COMPL DYN-in.a.group
‘Well, tomorrow is possible, two of us will have to go together, and disperse when we get to this place, and we will climb upwards to the deer that is in that place above.’

A, namaqaisaq dauka, saqnutai du sia ʔukai laqai̇ban.

INTER IRR-DYN-in.that.direction EMO-DEF.SIT.DIST
‘A, if he will go in that direction, he will get stuck there, without a way out.’
Ansaisanja Atul Daij tu “nis, matijmutin tamudana madav.”

But Big Atul forbade us: “no, when it has become morning, we will leave, it is embarrassing.”

Na... s... ?ukin aipa ?ita namudanin, musbai naipa maqmut.

‘Well, it will not be there anymore, it will be gone, it will have run away during the night.’ (TVN-008-002:130-134)
A1] aupa tu nga ni-ŋu tu nanu sanavan min-suma-in-a thus real NEG-PROG-COMPL really evening INCH-return-PRV-LNK ‘But, when it wasn’t really evening yet, Tiang had returned,…’

A2] mina-baʔav aupa naip tu ABL-high.location say DEM.SNVIS COMPL ‘…he had come back from the mountain and told us:…’

B1] na maʔtu ʔupbij-in-a na-as-a dusa ta ma-tiskun well be.possible tomorrow-LNK IRR-have.to two COMPL DYN-in.a.group ‘Well, tomorrow is possible, two of us will have to go together,…’

B2] maluʔum-i han baʔav-daija-ki disperse-PRT be.at high.location there-DEF.SIT.PROX ‘…and disperse when we get to this place, …’

B3] pinkaun-un ʔsiaʔan baʔav-ta ʔjubul ʔna-ball go.up-NR.INSTR LOC-ANAPH-LF high.location-DEF.REF.DIST deer ‘… and we will climb upwards to the deer that is in that place above.’

C1] a na-ma-qaiaq dau-ka INTER IRR-DYN-in.that.direction EMG-DEF.SIT.DIST ‘A, if he will go in that direction,…’

C2] saqnut-ai-du sia ʔuka-i laqaiban get.stuck-PRT-EMO ANAPH NEG.have-PRT route ‘… he will get stuck there, without a way out.’

D1] ansais-ŋu-ŋa Atul daij tu A. large COMPL ‘But Big Atul forbade us:…’

D2] ni-is ma-tiŋmut-in ta-mu-daŋ-a maʔav NEG-3S.F STAT-morning-PRV ?-ALL-road-LNK ‘… “no, when it has become morning, we will leave, it is embarrassing.’

E1] na ʔuka-in aipa ʔita na-mu-dan-in well NEG.have-PRV DEM.S.DISTVIS there.DIST IRR-ALL-go-PRV ‘Well, it will not be there anymore, it will be gone,…’

E2] mu-issai naip maqmut ALL-cause.to.move DEM.S.DIST.NVIS night.time ‘… it will have run away during the night.’ (TVN-008-002:130-134)
[A1] aupa tuða ni-aŋ tu nanu sanavan min-suma-in-a thus real NEG-PROG.COMPL really evening INCH-return-PRV-LNK ‘But, when it wasn’t really evening yet, Tiang had returned, …’

[A2] mina-ba’av tupa naip tu ABL-high.location say DEM.S.NVIS COMPL ‘… he had come back from the mountain and told us:…’

[B1] na maqtu aqbiŋin-a na-asa dusa ta ma-tiskun well be.possible tomorrow-LNK IRR-have.to two COMPL DYN-in.a.group ‘Well, tomorrow is possible, two of us will have to go together, …’

[B2] maluʔum-i hən ba’av daiʔa-ki disperse-PRT be.at high.location there-DEF.SIT.PROX ‘… and disperse when we get to this place, …’

[B3] pinkaun-un isia-an ba’av-ta ñabul ‘deer’ go.up-NR.INSTR LOC-ANAPH-LF high.location-DEF.REF.DIST ‘… and we will climb upwards to the deer that is in that place above.’
‘... and we will climb upwards to the deer that is in that place above.’

‘A, if he will go in that direction, …’

‘… he will get stuck there, without a way out.’

‘But Big Atul forbade us: …’

‘… “no, when it has become morning, we will leave, it is embarrassing.’

‘Well, it will not be there anymore, it will be gone, …’

‘… it will have run away during the night.’ (TVN-008-002:130-134)
Example

• Noun:
  – Establish a discursive topic
  – Contrast or reinforcement
    (Reiteration in Halliday & Hasan 1976: 279’s terms)
Example

• Deictic words:
  – Primary function is deixis (except for *sia* and *maupa*)
  – Maintaining topical chains: anaphoric or exophoric reference as secondary function
  – Co-interpretation:
    deictic elements link back to a previous reference in the text, but the anaphor and the anaphoric target do not necessarily refer to identical semiotic denotata (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976: 314)
Conclusion

• Takivatan spatial deictics:
  – Primary function: spatio-temporal deixis (or a metaphorical extension)
  – Overlaying function: discourse cohesion
  – Complex interaction between deictic paradigms, manner words and anaphoric marker
Bibliography

Busser, Rik De. 2009. *Towards a Grammar of Takivatan Bunun: Selected Topics*. Melbourne: Research Centre for Linguistic Typology, La Trobe University PhD.


Uninaŋ
miqumisanŋ!
Functions of deixis in Takivatan

• Metaphorical extensions of deixis
  – Space
  – Time
  – Delineation
  – Animacy
  – Endearment
  – Endorsement

De Busser (2009: Table 48)
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<th>spatial deixis</th>
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<th>delineation</th>
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