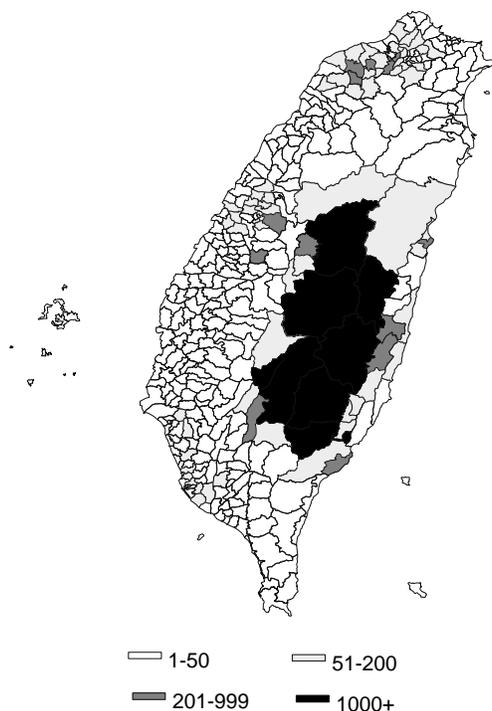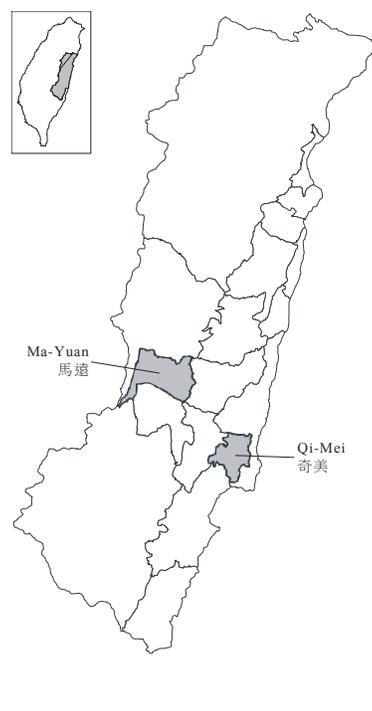# Takivatan Bunun

Rik De Busser

RCLT, La Trobe University

rdebusser@students.latrobe.edu.au

I - Introduction

The Bunun are an Austronesian tribe that originates from the mountainous interior of Taiwan. Originally, they were hunters and slash-and-burn agriculturists, who lived in semi-permanent small family units in the north of the Central Mountain Range, in the present County Nantou. In search of new hunting ground and due to population pressure, this original population gradually migrated eastward and southward. During the Japanese occupation, most aboriginal tribes were 'pacified'. They were forced to give up their lives in the mountains and had to live in villages, subject to the control of the Japanese administration. In the course of the 20th century, all aboriginal tribes in Taiwan, including the Bunun, were converted to Christianity. Their present distribution is shown on Map 1.

1-50   51-200
201-999   1000+

Map 1 – Geographical Distribution of the Bunun
(Source: CIP 2003)

Map 2 – Takivatan villages in the county Hualian

According to the latest population counts (CIP 2003), the Bunun tribe has over 38,000 ethnic members. I estimate that approx. 65% still speaks their mother tongue fluently. It is hard to find monolingual Bunun speakers (See Table 1).

Age category	Language proficiency
+85	Monolingual Bunun
60-81	Bilingual Bunun/Japanese
	or trilingual Bunun/Japanese/Mandarin
30-60	Bilingual Mandarin/Bunun
-30	Monolingual Mandarin

Table 1 – Language proficiency of Bunun speaker
(approx. breakdown in age categories)

The Bunun have at least five distinct dialects, each corresponding to a clan of the same name:

- Northern Bunun: Takibaka, Takituduh
- Central Bunun: Takbanuað, **Takivatan**
- Southern Bunun: Isbukun

There is considerable grammatical variation across the dialects. My research was limited to Takivatan.

The Takivatan are a side-branch of the Takbanuað. Due to population pressures, they left their homeland in Nantou ± 75 years ago and settled in the County Hualian (see Map 2). Many older Takivatan still cultivate small plots of land on the mountain slopes near the villages; the younger generations either work in forestry or have moved to the cities. The Takivatan dialect split of from Takbanuað at least 100 years ago. At present, there are approximately 1000 Takivatan speakers left.

II - Typological profile

- Takivatan Bunun is an agglutinative language with some fusion and an extremely productive derivational morphology. It has prefixes, suffixes, infixes and circumfixes. Derivation is typically prefixal; inflection has a tendency to use suffixes. There are four commonly used aspect markers (perfective -*in*, resultative ‹*in*›, irrealis *na*- and progressive -*aŋ*)

- Constituent order is VAO/VS, but there is a productive system of left-dislocation. Takivatan has a focus-system (a Philippine-style voice system). This means that constituent configuration and voice are purely determined by pragmatic factors (instead of following NOM/ACC or ABS/ERG alignment). In practice, this means that there are three semantico-pragmatic cases (Agent, Patient, and Location) and residues of a fourth (Beneficiary/Instrument). The order of obligatory constituents and voice marking on the verb reflect which semantic case is in focus (i.e., most salient). Only personal pronouns are explicitly marked for case. focused NPs are optionally followed by a marker *a*.

- *Open wordclasses*: nouns, verbs, adjectives (stative verbs); *closed classes*: personal pronouns, demonstratives, question words (verb-like), numerals, auxiliaries ('converbs'), time words, prepositions, …

- Personal pronouns have three persons and an inclusive/exclusive distinction. The 1st and 2nd are suffixes. 3rd person pronouns occur only rarely. There are two sets of cardinal numerals (human and non-human) and a whole bunch of ordinals.

- Word class boundaries are fluid and it is often hard to say to which word class a word belongs: time words can get aspect marking; pronouns sometimes behave like verbs, as do numerals; etc., etc.

III - Clause structure

Takivatan verbs have three focus voices, which can or cannot be explicitly marked on the verb by a suffix: agent focus (AF, -*an* / -∅), patient focus (PF, -*un*) and locative focus (LF, -*an*).

(01)   Muskun ata maun!

M-uskun	ata	maun
ACT-together	1I.NOM	eat + AF

'Let us eat together!'

(02)   Masihal kaunun?

Ma-sihal	kaun-un
ADJR-good	eat + PF-PF

'Does it taste good?' (lit.: 'Is it good to be eaten?')

(03)   Maqei quðananina pukʔununin.

maqei	quðan-an-in	a	pukʔun-un-in
in.case	rain-LF-PRF	SUBORD	pile.up-PF-PRF

If it starts raining, you have to put it all together in one pile. (about millet drying in the sun)

Negation, existential constructions, Aktionsarten, temporal and adverbials modifications of the VP, deontic and epistemic modality are expressed by an auxiliary verb construction, as in the examples below.

(04)   Kitŋain aipi minpantu Sipuun

kitŋa-in	aipi	min-pantu	Sipuun
started-PRF	DEM.S.PROX.VIS	reach.state-study	Japanese

'He had started to study Japanese.'

(05)   Niaŋ ak pasiða nauað.

Ni-aŋ-ak	pasiða	nauað
NEG-PROG-1S.NOM	marry	girl

I didn't marry a girl yet.

In complex verb phrases with an auxiliary or an adjective (see ex. (2)), and in constructions with a preverbal time word, agentive subjects and aspect markers tend to be moved to the first verb. An example of complex verb phrase with a time word:

(06)   matiŋmutak munbaʔav.

   ma-tiŋmut-ak   mun-baʔav
   ACT-morning-1S.NOM   ALL-high.location

   'In the morning, I will go up in the mountains.'

Most constituents in the Takivatan main clause, except for the verb and (most of the time) the first and second person subject can be ellipted as long as this does not create ambiguity. In the same way, many derivational and inflectional affixes can be omitted (e.g., *nauað* < *binanauað* in (05)). For instance, you could rephrase (06) as (07), but not as (08), because the latter would be ambiguous.

(07)   Tiŋmut munbaʔav.

(08)   Tiŋmut baʔav.   (han baʔav 'be in the mountains'; munbaʔav 'go up in the mountains'; …)

IV - Takivatan clause linking: general concepts

Temporal iconicity of the clause order in text is a tendency in many languages, but in Takivatan it seems to be a grammatical rule: the order of sentences within a complex sentence is always temporally iconic. There are some constructions for which this rule is irrelevant, such as atemporal expressions or eternal events, meta-linguistic clause links, …

For a good illustration of how this works, compare the reason link in (09) and the result link (10).

(09)   […] isaka dasuni tama munhaan sia atanhaan 打馬遠-tun haiða ituna qumaka.

   [i-sak-a   dasun-i   tama   mun-haan   sia   atan-haan
   ???-1S.ACC-LDIS   take.with + PF-DEF   father   ALL-be.at   ANAPH   arrive.at-be.at

   Dǎ.Mǎ.Yuǎn-tun]^{C1} [haiða   itun-a   quma-ka]^{C2}
   GeoName-DEF.INTER   have   LOC.INTER-FOC   land-DEF.SIT.DIST

   '[…] father took me with him and he went to (lit.: he went in order to arrive at) Da-Ma-Yuan where there was a plot of land.'

(10)   Aupa papiaqa madadaiŋʔað saduʔu, tupa tu: nei, savasu ei ma.

   [Aupa   ‹pa›piaq-a   ma‹da›daiŋʔað   saduʔu,]^{C1} [tupa   tu:
   But   ‹HUM›-how.many-???   ‹P›elder   see   tell   COMPL

   nei,   savasu-ai   ma]^{C2}
   no   miss-???   INTER

   'But a lot of elders had seen it, and they said: "No, you missed it." '

The two major clause linking strategies in Takivatan, **apposition and subordination**, realize more than half of all clause links. Both are structural markers: they do not explicitly express the semantics of the link they establish. (One consequence: the semantics of many clause links is subjective.) They can be augmented by semantic markers: aspect markers, definiteness markers, adverbs and discourse particles.

Subordination uses a generic marker *a* in the supporting clause to link it to the focal clause. The term subordination is misleading, since constructions with the marker *a* do not correspond to subordination as it is traditionally defined:

- It does not take the adverbial slot (because there is no adverbial slot)
- There is no grammatical reduction (although constructions with *a* tend to be shorter)
- Constructional parallels with topicalization: both have a marker *a*, both are fronted

(11)   Sinsi a mastaan tu   manaskali.

sinsi	**a**	mastaan	tu	ma-naskal-i
teacher	**LDIS**	exceedingly	COMPL	ADJR-happy-DEF

'The teacher was very happy.

Takivatan clause linking has a tendency to be **pragmatically right-skewed**: the supporting clause often precedes the focal clause.

An overview of all semantic linking types is given in Tables 2 and 3.

V -   Addition

Addition is quite common in Takivatan. It is mainly expressed by appositional constructions, as in link C2-C3 below.

(12)   A, miskaŋ sam amin tu ni matiŋmut ata, namusaupata tuða, ðakuka palamananuʔun tu, […]

A,	[miskaŋ	sam	amin	tu	[ni	ma-tiŋmut	ata,]^C1
INTER	middle	1P.NOM	all	COMPL	NEG	ACT-morning	1I.NOM

[na-mu-saupa-ta	tuða,]^C2	[ðaku-ka
IRR-DIR-direction-DEF.SIT.DIST	really	1S.ACC-DEF.SIT.DIST

palamananu-‹ʔ›un	tu,]^C3	[…]
follow.trail-PF	COMPL	

'We all agreed not to go in the morning, but to go there straight away (lit.: go there really), and I had to follow the trail, […]'

(TVN-008-002:143)

There are some examples of subordinating constructions expressing addition.

VI - Disjunction

The only means of expressing disjunction in Takivatan is with a double marker *duq… duq…* ('whether… or…'). It expresses inclusive closed disjunction (i.e., either A or B, but not both). It typically occurs in complement clauses following verbs of speech of thought.

(13)   Ni qansaipun duq quðanan duq ni.

[Ni	qansaip-un	[duq	quðan-an][CC1]	[duq	ni][CC2]][S]
NEG	know-PF	whether	rain-LF	whether	NEG

'You cannot know yet whether it will rain or not.'

<div align="right">*(BNN-N-002:213)*</div>

A single *duq* ('whether') can also be used non-repetitively as in (14).

(14)   Tanam mundip mahiva tu duq haiða dapana.

[Tanam	mun-dip	mahiva	tu	[duq	haiða	dapan-a][CC]][S]
Try	DIR-there	check.for	COMPL	whether	have	footprint-FOC

'We will try to go there to check whether there are footprints.'

<div align="right">*(TVN-008-002:126)*</div>

Disjunctive constructions are rare in Takivatan.

VII - Consequence:
reason, result and purpose

Sentences (09) and (10) on p. 4 are examples of an appositional reason and result construction respectively. Apposition can also express purpose, as in (15).

(15)   A, siati naka taismitasʔatu, na, asaun sia <pause> ispinqansiapi na masðaŋi, nitu punhavuna sia sinkuðakuða.

A,	[sia-ti	nak-a	taismi-tasʔa	tu,][C1]	na,
INTER	ANAPH-DEF.PROX	1S.ACC-LDIS	ORD-first	COMPL	INTER

[asa-un	sia	ispinqansiap-i	na	masðaŋ-i,][C2]
must-PF	ANAPH	make.understand-DEF	INTER	same-DEF

[ni-tu	punhav-un-a	sia	sinkuðakuða][C3]
NEG-COMPL	lose-PF-???	ANAPH	life

'And this is of first and foremost importance to me, that it must be made understood in a similar way, so that this life will not be lost.'

<div align="right">*(TVN-008-002:240)*</div>

Occasionally, result links can be expressed by subordination (I found no examples of reason or purpose).

(16)   Pataqu anak tu, nipati mulumaqeia, asa aun aipi pauktanan.

[Pataqu   anak   tu,   [nipa-ti   mu-lumaq-‹e›i   **a,**]^{CC1}
discuss   self   COMPL   from.here-DEF.PROX   to-home-DEF   SUBORD

[asa   aun   aipi   pauktan-an]^{CC2}]^S
must   PROHIB+PF   DEM.S.PROX.VIS   give.up-AF

'We discussed by ourselves that from here they were going back home (i.e, from here the footprints
were leading back to the deer's resting spot), so that we could not give up on it now.'

(TVN-008-002:144)

A very typical strategy for expressing result and purpose in Takivatan is the irrealis marker *na-*, as
the result link C1-C2 in (17) below.

(17)   Ma, saduan asiki hutuŋ naʔasaun dusi manaqa.

Ma,   [sadu-an   asik-i   hutuŋ]^{C1}   [**na**-‹ʔ›asa-un
INTER   see-LF   helm.palm-DEF   monkey   IRR-want-PF

du-si   manaq-a]^{C2}
EMOT-???   shoot-???

'I saw a monkey in the palm tree, and I wanted to shoot it.'

(TVN-008-002:184)

In this example, the speaker is hunting for monkey, and when he spots one in a palm tree, he wants
to shoot it. The irrealis marker is also used for purposive clause links, such as C1-C2 in sentence
(18), which in the story immediately follows (17).

(18)   Ma, samantukan du siatun napanaqun mavia dau muska.

Ma,   [samantuk-an   du   sia-tun]^{C1}   [**na**-panaq-un]^{C2}
INTER   spy.on-AF   EMOT   ANAPH-DEF.INTER   IRR-shoot-PF

[ma-via   dau   muska]^{C3}
ACT-why   EMOT   but

'I was keeping close watch on it in order to shoot it, but what did it do then?'

(TVN-008-002:185)

The use of the irrealis marker for consequential clause linking seems to be part of an ongoing
grammaticalization process, in which the prefix *na-* is developing into an independent discourse
particle. Typically, the irrealis marker expresses temporality.

(19)   Ŋausuŋ munhaan Kivit, kinuða namunhaan Kaliŋku.

[Ŋausuŋ   mun-haan   Kivit,]^{C1}   [kinuða   na-mun-haan   Kaliŋku]^{C2}
first   DIR-go.to   GeoName   afterwards   IRR-DIR-go.to   GeoName

First I'm going to Qi-Mei, and afterwards I will go to Hualian.

(BNN-N-002:236)

In a next stage, its usage was extended to consequential constructions, as in (17) and (18) above. The
prefix *na-* typically occurs near the beginning of the second sentence of a consequential link.

Gradually, speakers might have started to associate it with the interclausal link, rather than interpreting it as an aspect marker on the verb of the second constituent clause. In the end, it developed into an independent discourse particle (which in (20) expresses result).

(20)   Ni iti, na <pause>, malansaupata haul daiðaka.

[Ni   iti,]^{C1}   [na,   malan-saupa-ta   haul
NEG   here   INTER   follow-in.direction.of-DEF.DIST   little.river

daiða-ka]^{C2}
there-DEF.SIT.DIST

'We can't go here, well, then we will go in the direction of that little river over there.'

(TVN-008-002:191)

It is possible that this evolution is influenced by the Chinese particle 那 nà.

(21)   那你相信什麼呢？

nà   nǐ   xiāng-xìn   shén-me   ne
well.then you   believe   what   Q

'Well then, what do you believe?'

(Sinica Corpus)

Occassionally, the discourse particle *a* expresses reason:

(22)   Matumasqaiŋ, a, samukani nanu itu Tama Diqanin tu.

[Matumasqaiŋ,]^{C1}   [a,   samukani   nanu   itu   Tama Diqanin   tu]^{C2}
be.grateful   INTER   arrange   really   there.DIV   father heaven   COMPL

'I am grateful, a, that that was really what the Father in Heaven has planned.'

(TVN-008-002:210)

Note that C1-C2 in (22) seems to violate the temporal iconicity rule, and that it is possible to interpret C2 as a complement clause of C1.

The manner word *aupa* ('thus') can express both reason, as in (23), and result, as in (24).

(23)   Pa muqnin taunahanin tu isbuʔanin, pantuʔa masmuav tudipi aupa, niapin tudip tu pasanpanakai, Taulu tu ni sia Sipuuna.

[Au]pa   [muqn[a]-in   tauna-han-in   tu   isbuʔan-in,
Thus   next-PRF   arrive.at-go-PRF   COMPL   graduate-PRF

pantu-ʔa   masmuav   tudip-i]^{C1}   [aupa   niap-in   tudip   tu
student-LDIS   more   past.times-DEF   because   know-PRF   past.times   COMPL

pasanpanaq-‹a›i,   Taulu   tu   ni   sia   Sipuun-a]^{C2}
wage.war-DEF   Chinese   COMPL   against   ANAPH   Japanese-FOC

'And afterwards, we came at the period of our graduation, more students graduated then, because it was known that in those days that the Chinese were wining the war, and not the Japanese.'

(TVN-008-002:27)

(24)   A maupata naka inak tu sia <hesit> tu inuskunan tu qansaipuki aupa matqas naka sia qaliŋaki taqu, pa.

A	[maupa-ta	nak-a	inak	tu	sia
INTER	thus-DEF.DIST	1S.ACC-LDIS	1S.POSS	ATTR	ANAPH

tu	in-uskun-an	tu	qansaipu[n]-ki]C1	[aupa
ATTR	???-together-AF	ATTR	understand-DEF.SIT.PROX	thus

matqas	nak-a	sia	qaliŋa-ki	taqu,]C2	[au]pa
distinct	1S.ACC-FOC	ANAPH	language-DEF.SIT.PROX	tell	thus

'And thus is my understanding of what happened to us together, and thus I tell you in clear language, like that. (Lit: while I am very clear and distinct about the language that I tell you here.)'

VIII - Contrast

Both apposition and subordination can express contrast in Takivatan. Appositional contrastive links are quite common:

(25)   […] nanuqantu maisiqabasa paun tu tama diqanin nitu haiða, nitu tupa tu uka

[nanuqan	tu	maisi-qabas-a	paun	tu	Tama	Diqanin
for.sure	COMPL	from-before-???	be.called	COMPL	Father	Heaven

ni	tu	haiða,]C1	[ni	tu	tupa	tu	uka]C2
NEG	COMPL	have	NEG	COMPL	call	COMPL	NEG.have

'[…] it is certain that from former times on it was not said that there was a God in Heaven, but is was also not said that there wasn't one.'

(TVN-008-002:04)

Subordination in contrastive links is uncommon. This is one of the only examples I have found:

(26)   Num ʔasaŋ malmananu Taluku matatamasaða sia Bunun tudipa pinvai.

[num	ʔasaŋ	malmananu	mi	Taluku	ma-‹ta›tamasað	a]C1
six	village	dedicated	???	Taroko	ADJR-‹very›-strength	SUBORD

[sia	Bunun	tudip-a	pinvai]C2
ANAPH	Bunun	past.time-LDIS	win

'Although the six villages were very dedicated and the Taroko very strong, the Bunun won (the competition) that time.'

(TVN-008-002:23)

Both the discourse particle *na* en the manner word *aupa*, both primarily used for consequence, can express contrast. In (27), only *na* in CC1-CC2 has a contrastive function.

(27)   Tiaŋa tu: na, muqa sana muʔuki maquaq, na, tanamuk laqbiŋin musaupata.

[Tiaŋ-a	tu:	[na,	muqa	sana
PersName.M-FOC	COMPL	INTER	???	be.up.to

mu?u-ki	maquaq,]^{CC1}	[**na,**	tanam -uk	laqbiŋin
2P.ACC-DEF.SIT.PROX	how	INTER	try.out -1S.NOM	tomorrow

mu-saupa-ta]^{CC2}]^S
DIR-direction-DEF.DIST

'Tiang said: "Well, ??? it is up to yourselves what you are going to do, but I will try to go there tomorrow.'

<div align="right">(TVN-008-002:138)</div>

And an example with *aupa*:

(28) Ita?in a, asa minaunaŋi puhut, pa ni mina?un,

[Ita-‹?›in	a	asa	m‹in›aun-aŋ-i	puhut,]^{C1}
there-PRF	SUBORD	can	‹PRF›-eat + AF-PROG-DEF	squirrel

[[au]pa	ni	m‹in›aun,]^{C2}
but	NEG	‹RES›eat + AF

'When she had come, we wanted to eat squirrel, but I did not eat.'

<div align="right">(TVN-008-002:195)</div>

The relation between contrast and consequence might not be immediately clear, but example (29) below could give us a hint. (*Maupa* is a verbalized variant of *aupa*.)

(29) Maka astamaqansuað a maupa ni minaun maduq.

[Maka	astamaqansuað	a]^{C1}	[**m-aupa**	ni	m‹in›aun	maduq]^{C2}
How.be.that	sow.yearly	SUBORD	ACT-thus	NEG	‹RES›-eat	millet

'How could it be that when we sowed yearly, we could nevertheless (lit.: because of that) not eat millet!'

<div align="right">(TVN-008-002:54)</div>

Takivatan has a dedicated contrastive conjunction, *muska* ('but').

(30) Tuða, pauk tu: aduqei muska asa manaiŋali maki haiða pasbei?una, na, luqlas…naluqlas a sak.

^S[Tuða,	pauk	tu	[aduq-‹e›i,]^{CC1}	[**muska**	asa	ma-naiŋali]^{CC2}
really	say + 1S.NOM	COMPL	of.course-DEF	but	must	ACT-listen.carefully

[**maki**	haiða	pa-[i]sbai-‹?›un	a,]^{CC3}	[**na,**	na-luqlas	a	sak]^{CC4}]^S
if	have	ACT-run.away-PF	SUBORD	INTER	IRR-yell	???	1S.NOM

'And I really said, "OK, but you have to listen carefully, if it (i.e., the deer) happens to run away, well, then I will yell." '

<div align="right">(TVN-008-002:145)</div>

IX - Condition

Conditional clause links are fairly uncommon in Takivatan. They are typically expressed by the dedicated conjunction *maki* or *maqi* ('if') in the lead-up clause, as in (30) above.

Sometimes, the conjunction muska seems to express negative condition ('except for') rather than contrast, as in (31).

(31)   Ma, madimadia uka muska tanʔauka hutuŋ buntu, mamatla tutuða.

Ma,   [madimadia   uka]^{C1}   [muska   tanʔauk-a   hutuŋ
INTER   long.time   NEG.have   except.for   hear-1S.NOM-???   monkey

buntu,]^{C2}   [ma-matlaq   ‹tu›tuða]^{C3}
continously   ACT-yell   ‹INTENS›really

'And for a long time, there was nothing except for that I heard the continuous (yelling of) the monkeys, they were really screaming.'

(TVN-008-002:180)

The conjunction *ana tupa tu* ('no matter what, notwithstanding') expresses generic condition, as in example (32).

(32)   […] maqtuin dasudasun munhaan, dip ‹hesit›, ana tupa tu maqaisaq, paun tu qanupa, […]

[maqtu-in   dasu[n]dasun   mun-haan,]^{C1}   dip,   [ana tupa tu
can-PRF   be.taken.wherever   to-go.to   then   no.matter

ma-qaisaq,]^{C2}   [paun   tu   qanup   a,]^{C3}   […]
ACT-direction   call+PF   COMPL   hunt   SUBORD

'[…] I was allowed to be taken with them to go, no matter in which direction they went, as we say, to hunt […]'

(TVN-008-002:86)

Literally, the complex marker can be analyzed as 'although it was said that', but the construction has be reinterpreted as one lexical unit, and the original conjunction *ana* ('although') has largely fallen into disuse.

X - Temporal linking:
sequence, simultaneity and interruption

Both apposition and subordination are commonly used to express temporal sequence. An example of apposition:

(33)   […] saduak mapasaqei hulus, haiða kinduʔuna, hanu kunhanun sapuða.

[…]   [sadu-ak   ma-pasaq-‹e›i   hulus,]^{C1}   [haiða   kinduʔun-a,]^{C2}
         see-1S.NOM   ACT-wash-DEF clothes   have   intertwine.threads-FOC

[hanu   kunhan-un   sapuð-a]^{C3}
put.in   burn-PF   fire-FOC

'[...] I saw them [the elders] wash their clothes, there was a twined rope, and they put it in the fire to burn it.'

(TVN-008-002:169)

And subordination:

(34)   Maupa, sauʔitaʔina, mainaʔitaʔin tudip.

Maupa,	[sau-‹ʔ›ita-‹ʔ›in	**a,**]C1	[maina-‹ʔ›ita-‹ʔ›in	tudip]C2
thus	go.till-LOC.DIST-PRF	SUBORD	from-LOC.DIST-PRF	former.times

'And thus, those days had come, and they passed away again.'

(TVN-008-002:67)

A third major strategy for sequence is the perfective marker in the supporting clause. These three strategies can be alternated, as is the case in the complex sentence (35), which creates a long event sequence by alternating apposition and constructions with -*in*.

(35)   Mainahanin pantu musunuhan, aupa puntasʔa pantu, sauhaanin pundusa, puntau, maqansiapin punhanin pun… ‹recap› punpaat, punhimaʔin, pantua, matqasi maqansiap tu umaupata qana sia alasaŋan.

[Mainahan-**in**	pantu]C1	[musunu-han,]C2	[aupa	pun-tasʔa	pantu,]C3	[sau-han-**in**
go.through-PRF	study	???-be.at	thus	ORD-one	study	ALL-go-PRF

pun-dusa,]C4	[pun-tau,]C5	[ma-qansiap-**in**]C6	[pun-han-**in**	pun-paat,]C7
ORD-two	ORD-three	ACT-understand-PRF	DIR-go-PRF	ORD-four

[pun-hima-**in**,]C8	[pantu	a,	matqas-i	ma-qansiap	tu
ORD-five-PRF	student	LDIS	distinct-DEF	ACT-understand	COMPL

maupa-ta	ana	sia	alasaŋan]C9
like.this-DEF.DIST	whatever	ANAPH	???

'We went through our studies ???, en we studied the first grade; and when we had gone to the second grade, the third; and when we understood everything, we would go to the fourth grade, and when we had finished the fifth grade, the students clearly understood whatever he (the teacher) wanted.'

(TVN-008-002:16)

Occasionally, the particle *ma* occurs in temporal sequences, either in each clause of the clause complex, or in each non-initial clause.

(36)   A tupaka Tiaŋ tu: ma, dusasaus du naipi, ma, vaðaqvaðaqinau, [...]

A	tupa-ka	Tiaŋ	tu:	[**ma,**	dusasaus	du
INTER	say-DEF.SIT.DIST	PersName.M	COMPL	INTER	sing	EMOT

naipi,]C1	[**ma,**	vaðaqvaðaq-in-au,]C2	[malbaskav	a,]C3	[…]
DEM.S.PROX.NVIS	INTER	squirm-PRF-???	lie.dead	SUBORD	

'And Tiang said: "While I was singing, that deer, well, was squirming, and it appeared dead […]'

(TVN-008-002:157)

In rare cases, the irrealis marker *na-* can be used to express temporal sequence.

Simultaneity is one of the few semantic linking types in Takivatan that cannot be expressed by bare apposition (i.e. apposition without any other marking). It is occasionally expressed by subordination, as in (37).

– 12 –

(37)   Maduanaan tudip taunhaan isbuʔana, maupa, namuŋain tuða qanaqtuŋ pasanpana.

     [Ma-duanaan   tudip   taun-haan   isbuʔan   **a,**]^{C1}   maupa,
     ACT-almost   past.time   arrive.at-be.at   graduate   SUBORD   thus

     [na-muŋa-in   tuða   qanaqtuŋ   pasanpanaq]^{C2}
     IRR-soon-PRF   really   finished   wage.war

     'When we would almost graduate, just like that, the war would soon be over.'

                                                  (TVN-008-002:29)

Two aspect markers can express simultaneity: -*aŋ* and -*in*. The correlation between progressive aspect (-*aŋ*) and the expression of simultaneity is quite straightforward.

(38)   Maitama qabas, tunahaan inamaʔaŋ, tunahaan ʔasaŋ mitati, […]

     [Mai-tama   qabas,   tuna-han   inama-‹ʔ›**aŋ,**]^{C1}
     deceased-father   former.times   arrive-go.to   carry.on.back-PROG

     [tuna-haan   ʔasaŋ   mita-ti,]^{C2}   […]
     arrive-go.to   village   1I.POSS-DEF.PROX

     'My deceased father carried me in the old days here, and we arrived at our village, and it is really our Father in Heaven that blessed us to really set us apart as believers in the

                                                  (TVN-008-002:239)

Strangely, it is also quite common to use a perfective marker -*in* for simultaneity.

(39)   Bababaðbaðin, tupa saduki painaqan tu, […].

     [‹Ba›‹ba›baðbað-**in,**]^{C1}   [tupa   sadu-ki   pa‹i›naq-an   tu,]^{C2}
     ‹REP›‹REP›converse-PRF   tell   see-DEF.SIT.PROX   ‹RES›-shoot-A/PF   COMPL

     'people were talking back and forth, telling that they had seen the shooting, […]'

                                                 (TVN-008-002:87)

Interruption is expressed by a progressive marker in the supporting clause in combination with the question word *via* ('why') in the focal clause (this construction can also be interpreted as counterexpectation; see (45) below).

(40)   Ma, niaŋ tu tupia dusaus via, matiŋna tinpusa matisbuŋ.

     Ma,   [ni-**aŋ**   tu   tupia   dusaus]^{C1}   [**via**
     INTER   NEG-PROG   COMPL   ???   sing   why

     ma-tiŋna   tin-pusa   ma-tisbuŋ]^{C2}
     ACT-another.time   time-second   ACT-explode

     'But he had not sung that much, or again there was a second explosion.'

                                                  (TVN-008-002:156)

XI - Elaboration

Elaboration is mainly expressed by apposition.

(41) Panaq ŋadaqan, maq a ŋadaqei mapanahaan dalaq diqei peinaqan savisun ma.

[Panaq	ŋadaq-an,]C1	[maq	a	ŋadaq-‹a›i	ma-panahaan	dalaq	diqei
shoot	below-PF	DFN	COP	below-DEF	ACT-arrive.at	land	???

painaqan	savisu-[u]n	ma]C2
bullet	miss-PF	INTER

'You shot on the underside, it was under (the boar) and the bullet went in the ground and missed the target.'

(TVN-008-002:89)

Occassionally, perfective constructions are used in elaborating clause links

(42) […] haiðina duma taisʔan, haiða Sani, masinaubaʔa.

[…]	[haið‹a›-in	a	duma	taisʔan,]C1	[haiða	Sani,
	have-PRF	SUBORD	other	relative	have	PersName.F

masinauba	-‹ʔ›a]C2
younger.sibling	-FOC

'[...] they had another relative, they had Sani, the younger sister.'

(TVN-008-002:207)

XII - Meta-linguistic linking types

Meta-linguistic clause links say something about the relationship between one of the speech participants (in Takivatan usually the speaker) and the text.

Supporting clauses of assurance are relatively formulaic expressions that express an assurance from the part of the speaker that he has told the story to the best of his abilities. These expressions typically appear towards the end of a story, contain a speech verb and are marked by a proximal situational definiteness marker -*ki* on the main verb of the supporting clause.

(43) Aupa, kaupa naki istaquki aupa, […]

Aupa,	[kaupa	nak-i	is-taqu-**ki**	aupa,]C1	[…]C2
thus	complete	1S.ACC-DEF	transfer-tell-DEF.SIT.PROX	thus	

'And thus, and I tell you the complete truth, [*I and also Ma Lin-Tang, we were both very small, but we were still selected to participate in the wrestling competition in the Xi-Lin district.*]'

(TVN-008-002:20)

A perspective link indicates that the event in the focal clause is an interpretation of the facts from a particular perspective, which is expressed in the supporting clause. At the moment, I only found one clear example, which occurs in a subordinate clause construction.

(44) Aupa, masak amina, ni sak amin sainuduki inak tu tina.

Aupa,	[ma-sak	amin	**a,**]^{C1}	[ni	sak	amin
Thus	ACT-1S.ACC	all	SUBORD	NEG	1S.NOM	all

sa‹in›udu-ki		inak	tu	tina]^{C2}
‹RES›-see-DEF.SIT.PROX		1S.POSS	ATTR	mother

'And as such, in my entire life, I have never caught any glimpse of my mother.'

(TVN-008-002:8)

A final semantic linking type is counterexpectation (or surprise). Sentence (45) contains the two linking strategies for counterexpectation: the question word *via* and the discourse particle *ai*.

(45) A, mavia haiða baqlusða, ʔuat ainvalaiʔani, ai, ni ailukmuan maqanvaŋ aipi maupati, laupa sak minanulu tu.

A,	**[ma-via**	haiða	baqlu-sða,]^{C1}	[ʔuat	‹a›in-valai-ʔan-i,]^{C2}
INTER	ACT-why	have	new-???	apparently	???-trail-PF-DEF

[ai,	ni	ailukmuan	ma-qanvaŋ	aipi
INTER	NEG	sleeping.spot	ACT-sambar	DEM.S.PROX.VIS

maupa-ti,]^{C3}		[laupa	sak	m‹in›anulu	tu]^{C4}
thus-DEF.PROX		now	1S.NOM	‹RES›be.attentive	COMPL

'Look, how come there is something new, apparently it is a trail, ai, wasn't there something here that was sleeping like a sambar, now I became very attentive.'

(TVN-008-002:199)

XIII - Conclusion

▪ Quantitatively, semantically implicit linking strategies make up more than half of all clause links; conjunctions are relatively rare. Semantically explicit linking strategies are more likely to appear with apposition than with subordination.

▪ Despite absence of marking and semantic specificity, apposition and subordination are clearly distinct syntactic linking strategy. There are clear tendencies as to what each can and cannot express. A majority of appositional links are additional and elaboration. If apposition expresses temporal links, it will be sequence and never simultaneity. The subordinator *a* is never used for expressing addition, but can occasionally be used for elaboration. It mainly expresses temporal relationships.

▪ As a linking strategy, aspect markers tend to appear toward the boundaries of clause links: the perfective *-in* and the progressive *-aŋ* appear in C1; the irrealis marker *na-* appears in C2; aspectual infixes do not seem to play any role in clause linking.

XIV - Conventions

[ ]^S/C/CC   sentence and clause boundaries

<u>Superscript</u>:   S   Sentence

Cn   *n*-th clause of a complex sentence

CCn   *n*-th clause of a complex complement clause

[ ]   omitted phoneme or morpheme

‹ ›   infix, reduplication or epenthesis

1I	first person inclusive	DIV	divine	PersName	person name
ACC	accusative	EMOT	emotive particle	PF	patient focus
ACT	action verb prefix	FOC	focus marker	P	plural
ADJR	adjectivizer	GeoName	geographical name	PRF	perfective aspect
AF	actor focus	HUM	human	PROHIB	prohibition
ALL	allative	INTER	distal (intermediate)	PROX	proximal
ANAPH	anaphoric pronoun	INTER	interjection	Q	question particle
ATTR	attribution marker	IRR	irrealis aspect	REP	repetitive
COMPL	complementizer	LDIS	left-dislocation	RES	resultative aspect
COP	copula	LF	locative focus	S	singular
DEF	definiteness marker	LOC	locative	SIT	situational
DEM	demonstrative	M	male	SUBORD	subordinator
DFN	definitional marker	NEG	negation	VIS	visual
DIR	directional	NOM	nominative (actor case)		
DIST	distal (far)	ORD	ordinalizer		

XV - Bibliography

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	Linking type		Constructions	
Addition	Addition	A	① apposition; ② subordination	
	Disjunction	Ao	① *duq… duq…* (mainly/only in complement clauses)	
Contrast	Contrast	B	① apposition; ② subordinator *a* in SuCl; ③ discourse particle *na*; ④ manner word *aupa* in FoCl; ⑤ conjunction *muska* in FoCl	
Consequence	Result	C	① apposition; ② subordinator *a*; ③ irrealis marker *na-* in FoCl; ④ discourse particle *na*; ⑤ discourse particle *a*; ⑥ manner word *aupa* in FoCl	
	Reason	C	① apposition; ② manner word *aupa* in SuCl	
	Purpose	C	① irrealis marker *na-* in FoCl; ② *muska* in SuCl	
	Possible consequence	C	/	
Temporal	Sequence	D	① apposition; ② subordination; ③ perfective marker *-in* in SuCl; ④ discourse particle *ma* in SuCl and FoCl; ⑤ irrealis marker *na-* in FoCl	
	Simultaneity	D	① subordination; ② progressive marker *-aŋ* in SuCl; ③ perfective marker *-in* in SuCl	
	Interruption	D	① progressive marker *-aŋ* in SuCl and question word *via* in FoCl	
Condition	Condition	Dc	① conjunction *maki/maqi* in SuCl; ② *ana tupa tu* in SuCl	
Textual	Elaboration		① apposition; ② perfective marker *-in*	
Meta-linguistic	Assurance		① definiteness marker *-ki* in SuCl	
	Counterexpectation		① question word *via* in SuCl; ② discourse particle *ai*	
	Perspective		① subordinator *a* in SuCl	

Table 2 – Semantic linking types and their realizations

(FoCl = Focal Clause; SuCl = Supporting Clause)

Linking strategy \ Semantic linking type	Addition	Disjunction	Contrast	Result	Reason	Purpose	Sequence	Simultaneity	Interruption	Condition	Elaboration	Assurance	Counterexpect.	Perspective
Apposition	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓		
Subordination	✓		✓	✓			✓	✓				✓		✓
Aspect: -in (perfective)							✓	✓			✓			
Aspect: na- (irrealis)				✓		✓	✓							
Aspect: -aŋ (progressive)								✓	✓					
Definiteness: -ki											✓			
Manner word aupa			✓	✓	✓									
Question word via									✓				✓	
Discourse particle a			✓											
Discourse particle ai													✓	
Discourse particle ma							✓							
Discourse particle na			✓	✓										
Conjunction ana tupa tu										✓				
Conjunction duq		✓												
Conjunction muska			✓							✓				
Conjunction maki/maqi										✓				

Table 3 – Syntactic linking strategies and their semantics