

# Demonstratives in Takivatan Bunun

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# 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

TAIWAN

台灣

0 25 50 km

Taipei

台北市

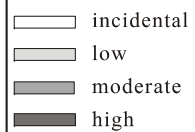
Nantou County

南投縣

Hualien

花蓮市

Concentration of  
Bunun inhabitants



HUALIEN COUNTY

花蓮縣

Hualien

花蓮市

Ma-Yuan

馬遠村

Qi-Mei

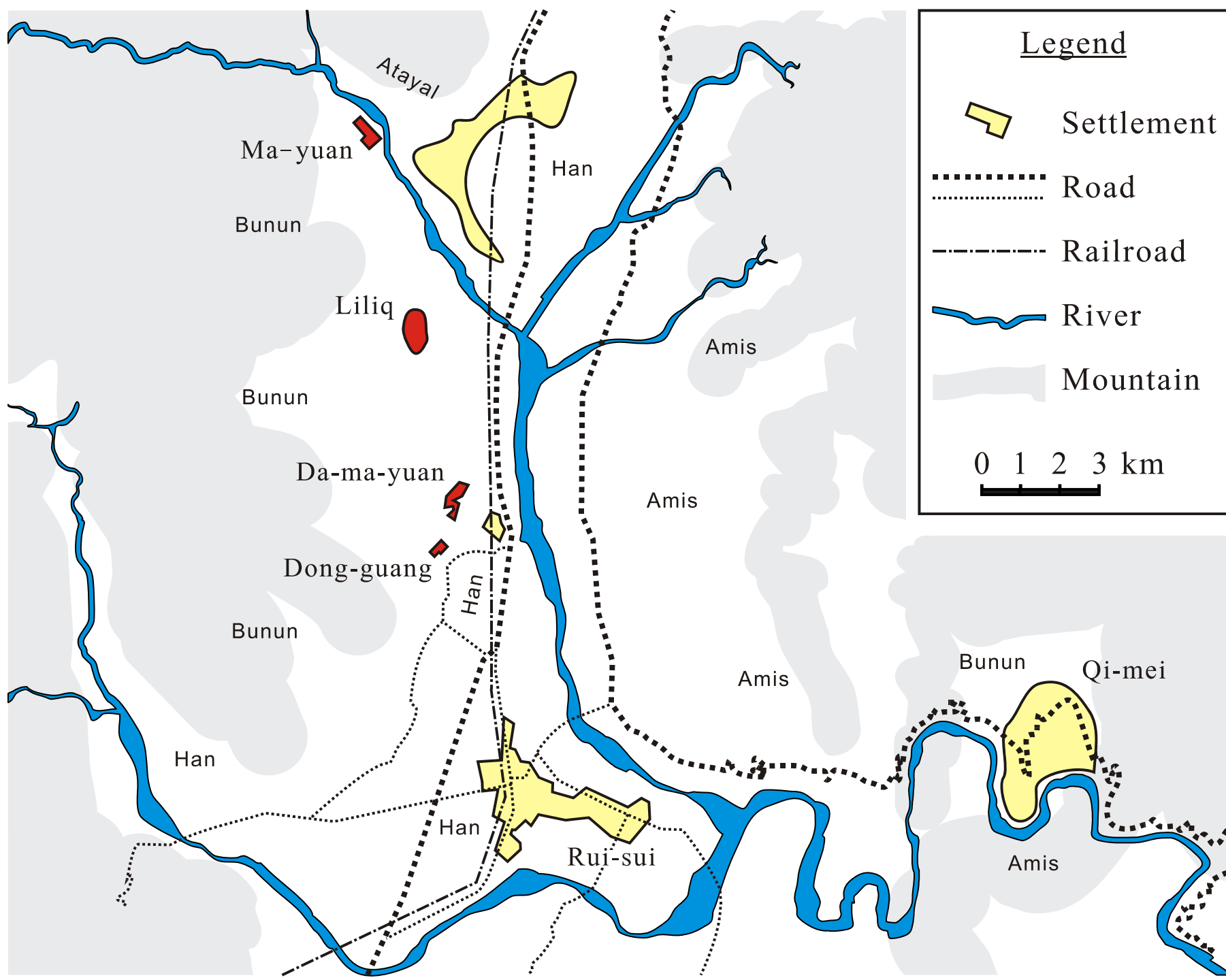
奇美村

0 5 10 km



# 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  $-\emptyset$ , UF *-un*, LF *-an*

# Introduction

- Open word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives
- No adverbs; most adverbial concepts expressed by auxiliary verbs



# Spatial deixis: place words

<i>ʔiti</i>	‘here’	‘at this moment’
<i>ʔitun</i>	‘there (medial)’	‘at that moment (medial)’
<i>ʔita</i>	‘there (distal)’	‘at that moment (distal)’

- Sometimes verbal, sometimes nominal



# Spatial deixis: place words

- Verbal use

(1) ?iti?ak

{?iti}[-?ak]<sub>AG</sub>

here-1S.F

‘I am here.’ (adaptation of BNN-N-002:52)

(2) Maisna?isaq amu mun?iti?

{maisna-?isaq} [amu]<sub>AG</sub> {mun-?iti}

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 ʔita.

{madas} [qaimaŋsuð] [han ʔita]

carry thing to there.DIST

‘[He] carries some stuff over there.’ (constr.)

# Spatial deixis: demonstratives

- Singular

(4) Mintun aipun minsuma?a, [...]

{mintun}<sub>AUX</sub> [aipun]<sub>AG</sub> {minsuma-a}  
sometimes DEM.S.MED.VIS come.here-SUBORD

‘From time to time this person comes here, [...]

# Spatial deixis: demonstratives

- Vague plural

(5) Aituđa aiŋki tu madadauk pakasihal

{aituđa}<sub>AUX</sub>    [aiŋki]<sub>CSR</sub>                      tu  
be.real                DEM.PV.PROX.VIS            COMPL

{ma-⟨da⟩dauk}<sub>AUX</sub>            {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

[ <u>naitun</u> ] <sub>AG</sub>	{qabas} <sub>AUX</sub>	{haqul-ka}
<u>DEM.IG.MED.NVIS</u>	old.times	trap-DEF.SIT.DIST

[sia	duʔun] <sub>UN:INSTR</sub>
ANAPH	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

	Singular	Plural
Proximal	<i>isti</i>	<i>inti</i>
Medial	<i>istun</i>	<i>intun</i>
Distal	<i>ista</i>	<i>inta</i>

(8) Nastuqas istuna

[nas-tuqas                      [istun-a]<sub>PSR</sub>]  
deceased-older.sibling    3S.MED-LNK

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

# Definiteness markers

	Referential	Situational
Proximal	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-ki</i>
Medial	<i>-tun</i>	<i>-kun</i>
Distal	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-ka</i>

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



# Definiteness markers

- Mutually exchangeable

(9) (a) Samuta!

samu-ta

taboo-DEF.REF.DIST

‘It is a taboo!’

(b) Samuka!

samu-ka

taboo-DEF.SIT.DIST

*id.*

# Definiteness markers

- On nouns and verbs: *-ta*

(10) siđa maduqta

{siđa} [maduq-ta]<sub>UN</sub>

take millet-DEF.REF.DIST

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

(11) Haiđa tupata, [...]

{haiđa}<sub>AUX</sub> {tupa-ta}

have tell-DEF.REF.DIST

‘Having said (those things), [...]

# 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 tantuṅuka, [...]

maqai      {tantuṅu-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 <i>: ‘close’; near deictic centre
- Medial <un>: ‘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 <a>: ‘far’; away from deictic centre; outside visible range and/or in a vague, non-delineated distance.



# The distance dimension

(14) Asa pisihalun itu Kalin̄kuti, pisihalunti, na asa tunhan Nantuta

(a) {asa}<sub>AUX</sub> {pi-sihal-un} [itu Kalin̄ku-ti]<sub>LO</sub>  
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]<sub>PLACE</sub>  
CONS have.to PERL-go GeoName-DEF.REF.DIST

‘You have to put everything in order here in Kalin̄ku, 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} <sub>AUX</sub>	tu	{i-han}	[Damaian- <u>tun</u> ] <sub>PLACE</sub>
in.those.days	COMPL	STAT-go	GeoName- <u>DEF.REF.MED</u>

‘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

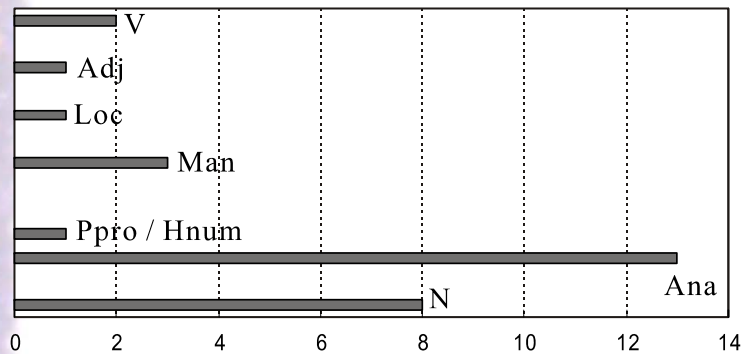
- Possibly similar forms in Isbukun, according to Zeitoun (2000)

		Nominative	Oblique
Proximal	speaker-oriented	<i>-in</i>	<i>-tin</i>
	hearer-oriented	<i>-ʔan</i>	<i>-tan</i>
Distal		<i>-aʔ</i>	<i>-tiaʔ</i>

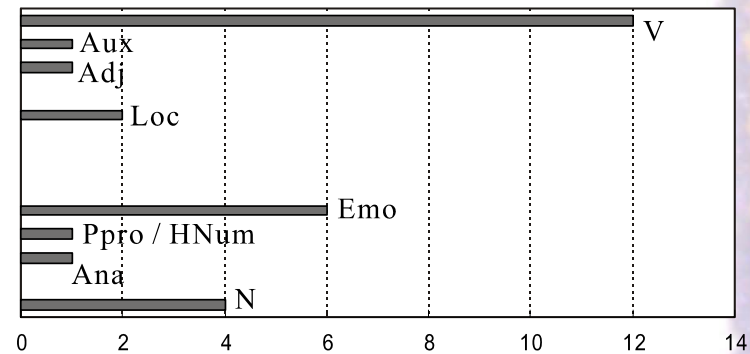
- In Takivatan: no correlation between *t/k*-alternation and case



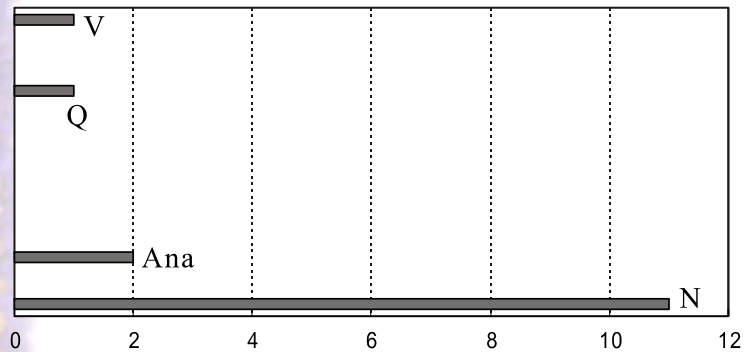
-ti



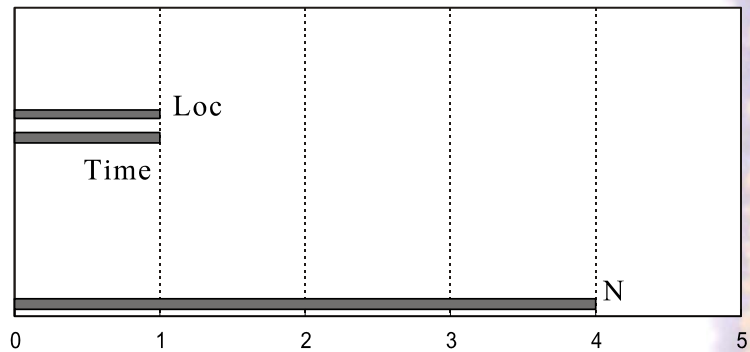
-ki



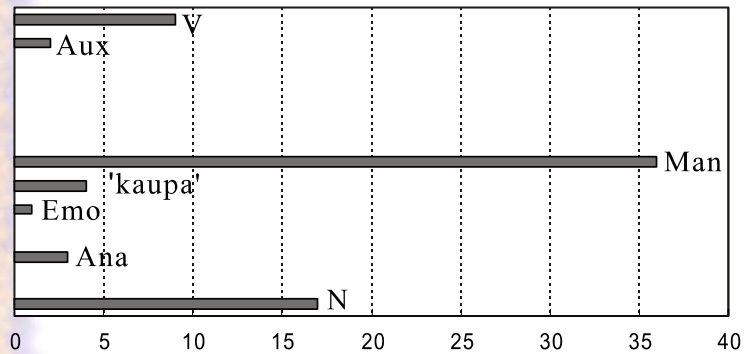
-tun



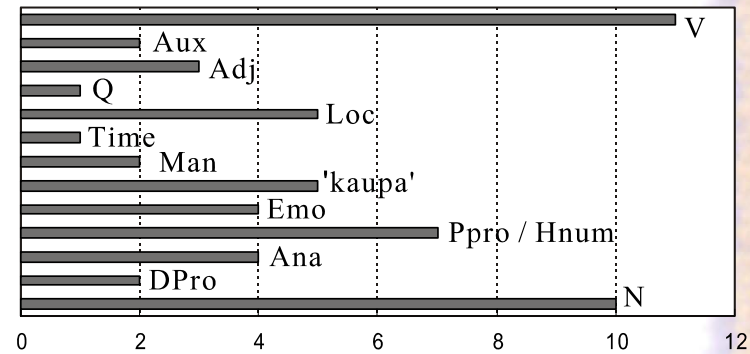
-kun



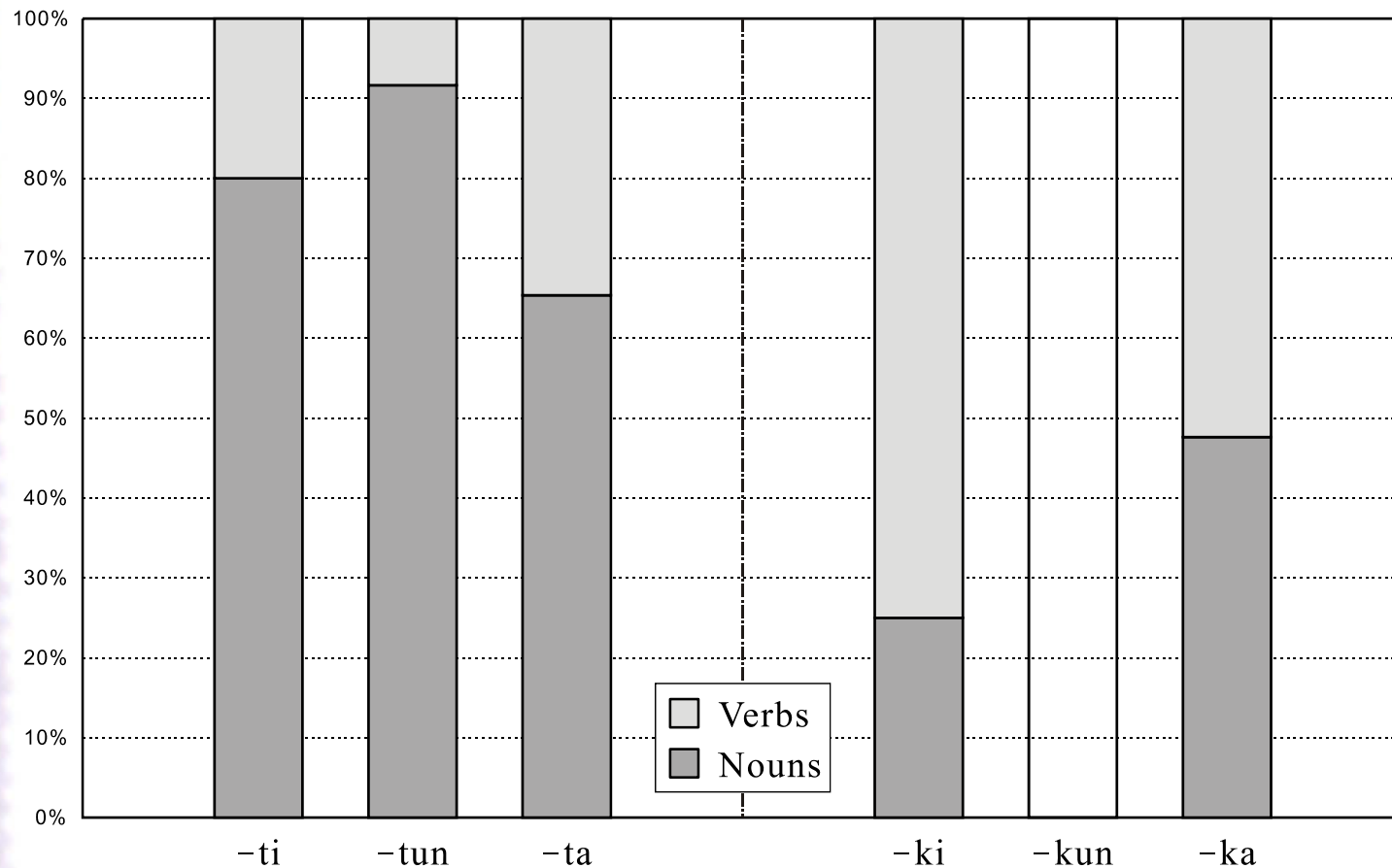
-ta



-ka



# Referential vs. situational



# Referential vs. situational

- Medial forms only on nouns

(16) Tamakun niaŋ matađa

[tama- <u>kun</u> -a]	{ni-aŋ} <sub>AUX</sub>	{matađa-a}
father- <u>DEF.SIT.MED</u> -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

[Pian] <sub>AG</sub>	{mun-han}	[inak	lumaq- <u>ti</u> ] <sub>PLACE</sub>
PersName.M	DIR-go	1S.POSS	home- <u>DEF.REF.PROX</u>

‘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] <sub>TIME</sub>	[paun	tu
have	now	call.UF	COMPL
sia	padan- <u>tun</u>	ma-ʔuvul] <sub>AG</sub>	
ANAPH	reed- <u>DEF.REF.MED</u>	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]<sub>AG</sub> tu: c1|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- <u>ti</u> }	[?ata] <sub>AG</sub>
cross.road- <u>DEF.REF.PROX</u>	1I.FA

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



# Referential vs. situational

- Referential *-ta* with verb:

(21) Namusaupata tuđa

{na-mu-saup-ata}

{tuđa}

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}	<sub>AUX</sub>	[sak]	<sub>AG</sub>	{laupaku}	<sub>AUX</sub>	{taqu- <u>ki</u> }
INTER	next-PROG		1S.FA	now			tell- <u>DEF.SIT.PROX</u>

‘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	{tupa- <u>ka</u> }	[mai-tama] <sub>AG</sub>	tu
INTER	say- <u>DEF.SIT.DIST</u>	deceased-father	COMPL

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

# Referential vs. situational

- Situational *-ki* with noun:

(26) Lumaqki akia.

[lumaq-ki]<sub>LO</sub>

home-DEF.SIT.PROX

[aki-a]<sub>AG</sub>

grandfather-LNK

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



# Referential vs. situational

- Situational *-kun* with noun:

(27) Na maq a siðikuna, [...]

na        maq        a        [siði-kun]<sub>AG</sub>-a

INTER   DEFIN   LNK   mountain.goat-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]<sub>AG</sub>

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



Uninan  
miquumisan!

