

Causative and associative morphology in Takivatan Bunun

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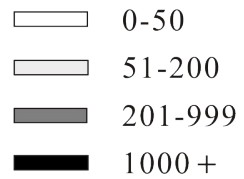
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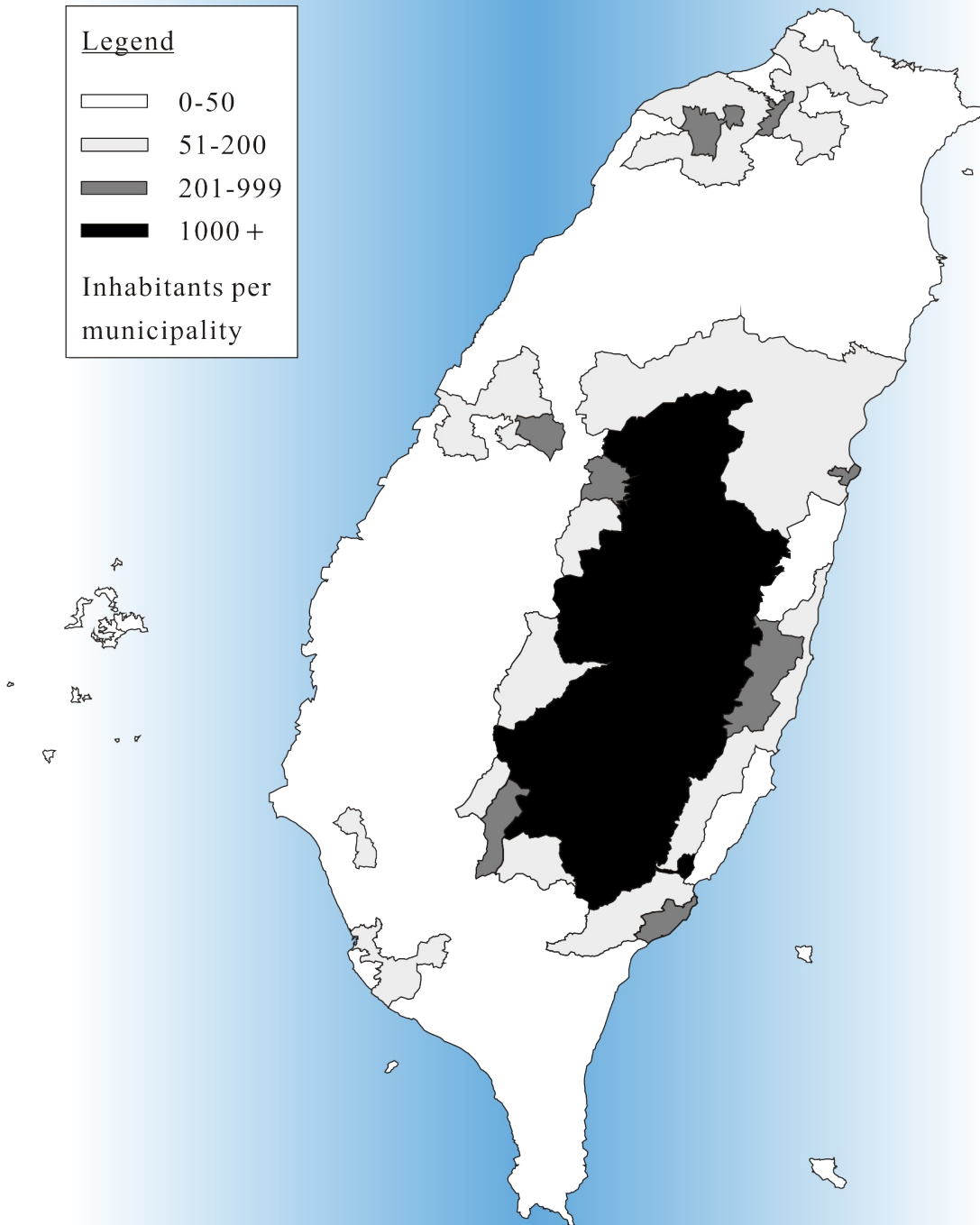
Introduction

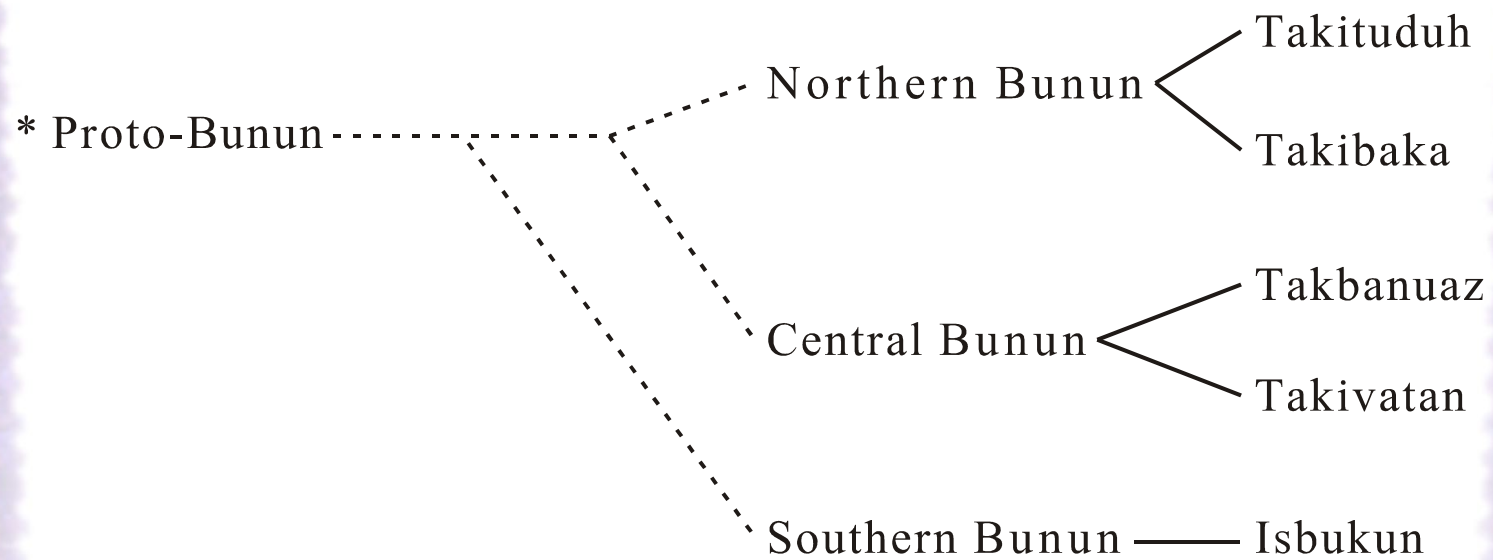
- Bunun, Austronesian, Taiwan
- One of the 14 officially recognised Austronesian languages of Taiwan
- Approximately 50,000 ethnic members
- Transfer to youngest generations has completely halted

Legend



Inhabitants per
municipality

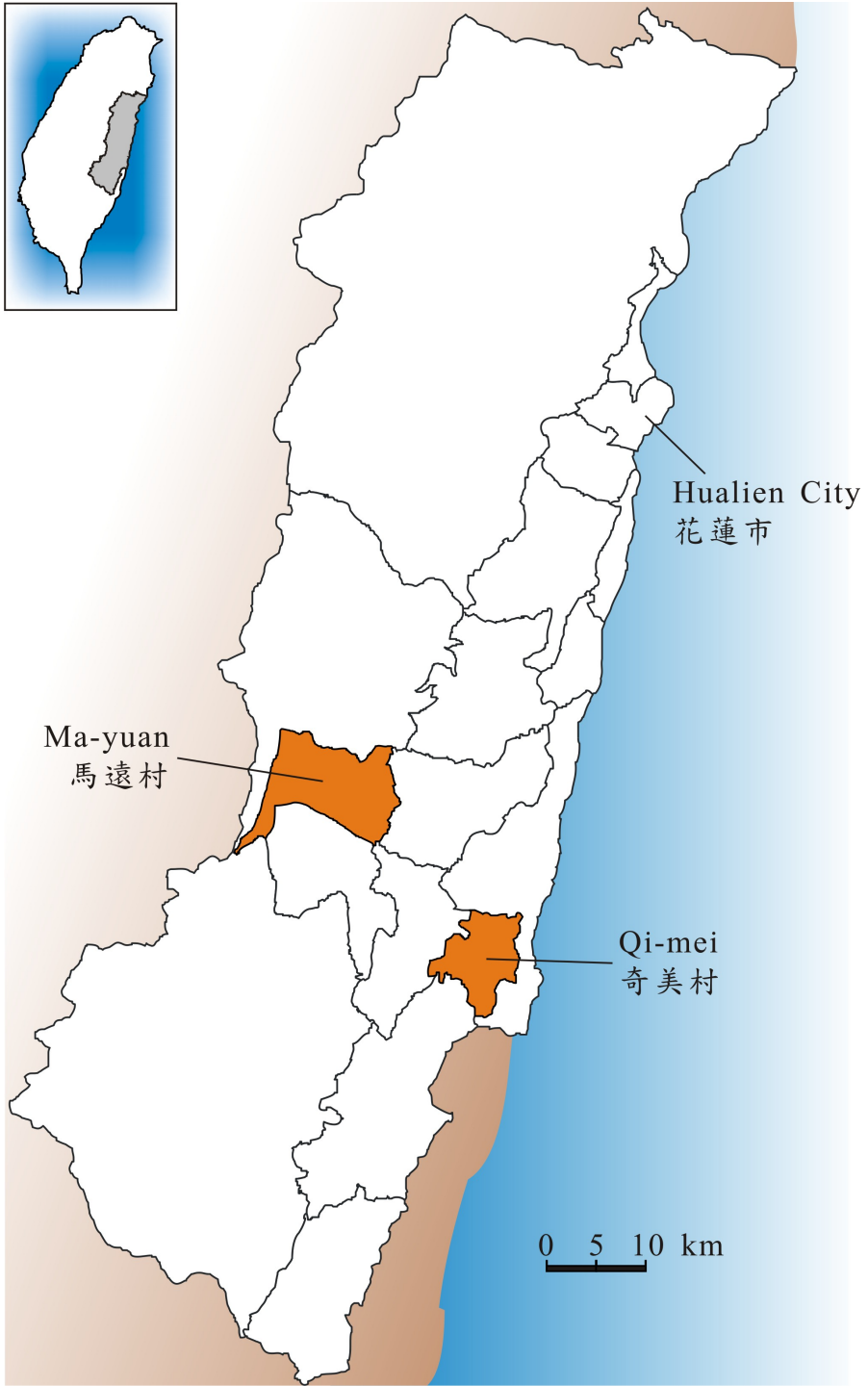




Introduction

Takivatan

- Less than 1700 speakers
- Counties Nantou and Hualien



Typological profile

- Agglutinative, very productive verbal morphology

- VAO

V (AG) (BEN/INSTR) (PAT) (LO)

AUX (AG) V (BEN/INSTR) (PAT) (LO)

- Austronesian focus system:

- AF: $-\emptyset$ e.g. *siċa* ‘somebody takes (sth)’
- UF: *-un* e.g. *siċa-un* ‘(sb) take something’
- LF: *-an* e.g. *siċa-an* ‘take (sth) somewhere’

Typological profile

- Ellipsis of constituents, words and morphemes is common
- Two main word classes: nouns and verbs
- All other word classes can largely be defined in terms of their noun- and verb-like characteristics
- No adverbs

Causative/associative morphology

- A subset of verbal prefixes has two or three variants:
 - Neutral variant: typically *m-*
 - Causative variant: initial *p-*
 - Associative variant: *k-*

Type		Neutral (N)	Causative (C)	Associative (A)
LOCATIVE	Allative (ALL)	<i>mun-</i>	<i>pun-</i>	<i>(kun-)</i>
	Allative (ALL)	<i>mu-</i>	<i>pu-</i>	<i>ku-</i>
	Ablative (ABL)	<i>maisna-</i>	<i>paisna-</i>	—
	<i>etc.</i>			
EVENT TYPE	Dynamic (DYN)	<i>ma-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
	Stative (STAT)	<i>ma- / mi-</i>	<i>pi-</i>	<i>ka-/(ki-)</i>
	Inchoative (BECOME)	<i>min-</i>	<i>pin-</i>	<i>kin-</i>
PARTICIPANT ORIENTATION	Instrumental (INSTR)	<i>is-</i>	<i>pis-</i>	<i>(kis-)</i>
	Beneficiary (BEN)	<i>ki-</i>	—	—
	Resultative object (RES.OBJ)	<i>sin-</i>	<i>(pin-)</i>	—

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	Resultative object (RES.OBJ)	<i>sin-</i>	<i>(pin-)</i>	—

Causative/associative morphology

- Neutral:

- (1) ma-suað maduq
DYN-grow millet

‘[They] grew millet’ (TVN-012-002:7)

Causative/associative morphology

- Causative:

(2) pi-sihal-un pa-lunku
 CAUS.STAT-good-UF CAUS.DYN-sit

‘You have to be good to him and give him a seat’
(lit: ‘[He] has to be good-ed and made to sit down’
(adapted from TVN-013-001:15))

Causative/associative morphology

- Associative:

(3) ka-lumaq naipa
ASSOC.DYN-home DEM.S.DIST.NVIS

‘He went home’ [lit: ‘That one went home
to be together with his family’]

(adapted from TVN-012-001:119)

Causative/associative morphology

- Semantics:
 - **Neutral**
 - **Causative**: some sort of external causation is implied
 - **Associative**: the agent is not the only agentive force performing the event

⚠ CAUTION



UNCONVENTIONAL
MORPHOLOGY.
MAY DISTURB
YOUR PERFECTLY
REGULAR ANALYSIS
AND PEACE OF MIND

What is a causative?

- Comrie (1976: 261):
 - “In general, a given causative verb will be **expected to have one more noun phrase argument than the corresponding noncausative verb**, since in addition to the subject and objects, if any, of that verb, there will be **a noun phrase expressing the person or thing that causes**, brings about that action.”

What is a causative?

- Comrie (1976: 264):
 - “Where the restrictions on doubling require that some constituent be removed, it is **always the embedded subject that is so removed, either by being omitted or by being demoted down the hierarchy.**”

Causative or not?

- Causative prefixes almost never trigger explicit expression of the causer:

(4) {**pu**-saupa-ta} [mu?u]

CAUS.ALL-direction-DEF.REF.DIST 2P.N

‘They sent you to that place’ [lit: ‘(sb) made you go in the direction (of that place)’] (TVN-012-002:48)

Causative or not?

(5) {na-siđa-un} [ďaku] [qaimaŋsuď-ti]
IRR-take-UN 1S.N thing-DEF.REF.PROX

{pun-han-Ø} [daďa paŋka]

CAUS.ALL-go.to-AF top table

‘I want to take this thing and put it on the table.’

(TVN-xx2-003:11)

Causative or not?

- Although it is grammatically possible when UF *-un* or LF *-an* are present:

(6)	{ma-su}	[qaimaŋsuð-ti-a]	{m-<in>-uma-ka}
	DYN-2S.N	thing-DEF.REF.PROX-LIG	STAT-PST-broken-DEF.SIT.DIST
na	{ <u>pun</u> -han- <u>un</u> }	[ðaku]	[aipi]
thus	<u>CAUS.ALL</u> -go- <u>UF</u>	<u>1S.N</u>	DEM.PROX
[Kuhku-ta]		{pa-tasʔi-un}	
GeoName-DEF.REF.PROX		CAUS.DYN-make-UF	

‘Your thing is broken, so I will take it to Rui-Sui to have it fixed.’

(TVN-xx2-004)

Causative or not?

- With stative verbs (neutral *ma-/mi-*, causative *pi-*), causatives readily introduce a causer/agent:

(6) Ma [su ðiŋki-i-a] {m-<in>uma}
INTER 2S.N electric.light-PRT-LDIS STAT-PST-broken
a na {pin-sihal-uk}
INTER thus CAUS.BECOME-good-1S.NFA

‘Your electric light, it is broken, I will repair it’ (TVN-xx2-004:14)

Causative or not?

- It is not clear whether causative prefixes demote the original agent:

(7) {na-kilim-un} [ʔata] [Bunun] {pa-ludaq} [Bantalan]
IRR-look.for-UF 1I.F people CAUS.DYN-beat Amis
‘Some people take us with them to beat up these Amis.’
(TVN-xx2-004:33)



{ma-ludaq} [ʔata] [Bantalan]
CAUS.DYN-beat 1I.F Amis

Causative or not?

- Causative prefixes do have causative semantics:

cf. (7):

ma-ludaq ‘to beat’

pa-ludaq ‘ask to beat up’

Are Bunun causatives causative?

- Introduction of causer is often blocked
- Often no clear syntactic demotion of original agent

But:

- Causative semantics
- External causative force is always implied

Tradition vs. observation

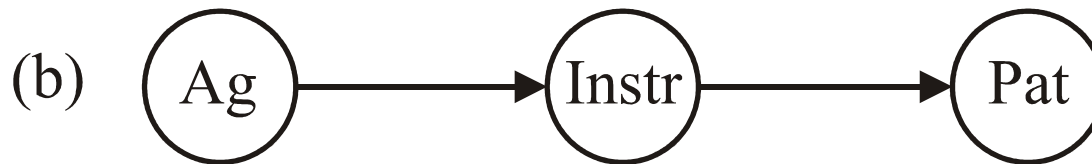
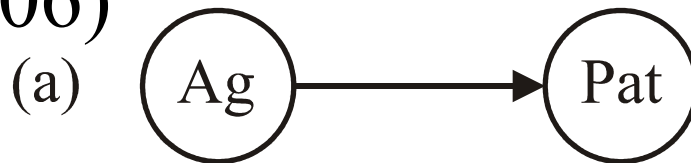
- **Methodological problem:**
If causatives are special, why aren't associatives?
- **Pro:**
 - If one member of a syntactically or functionally relevant alternation is grammatically privileged, all members should be.
 - Giving special importance to 'causative' and 'applicative' morphology is a traditional bias and not based on observational evidence

Tradition vs. observation

- Contra:
 - Whimsical functional-semantic distribution
 - Corpus frequency:
e.g. $ma- > pa- > ka-$
 $mu- > pu- > ku-$

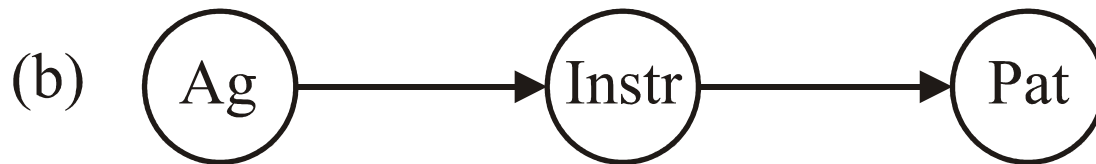
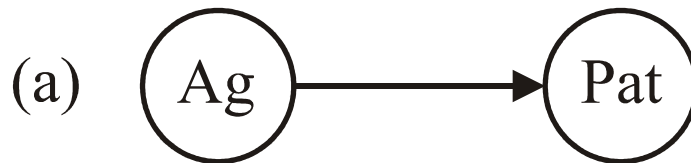
Complex agency

- Event flow and agency
(Langacker 1991 / Evans & Green 2006)



Complex agency

- (a) Floyd broke the glass
- (b) Floyd broke the glass with a hammer
- (c) The hammer broke the glass



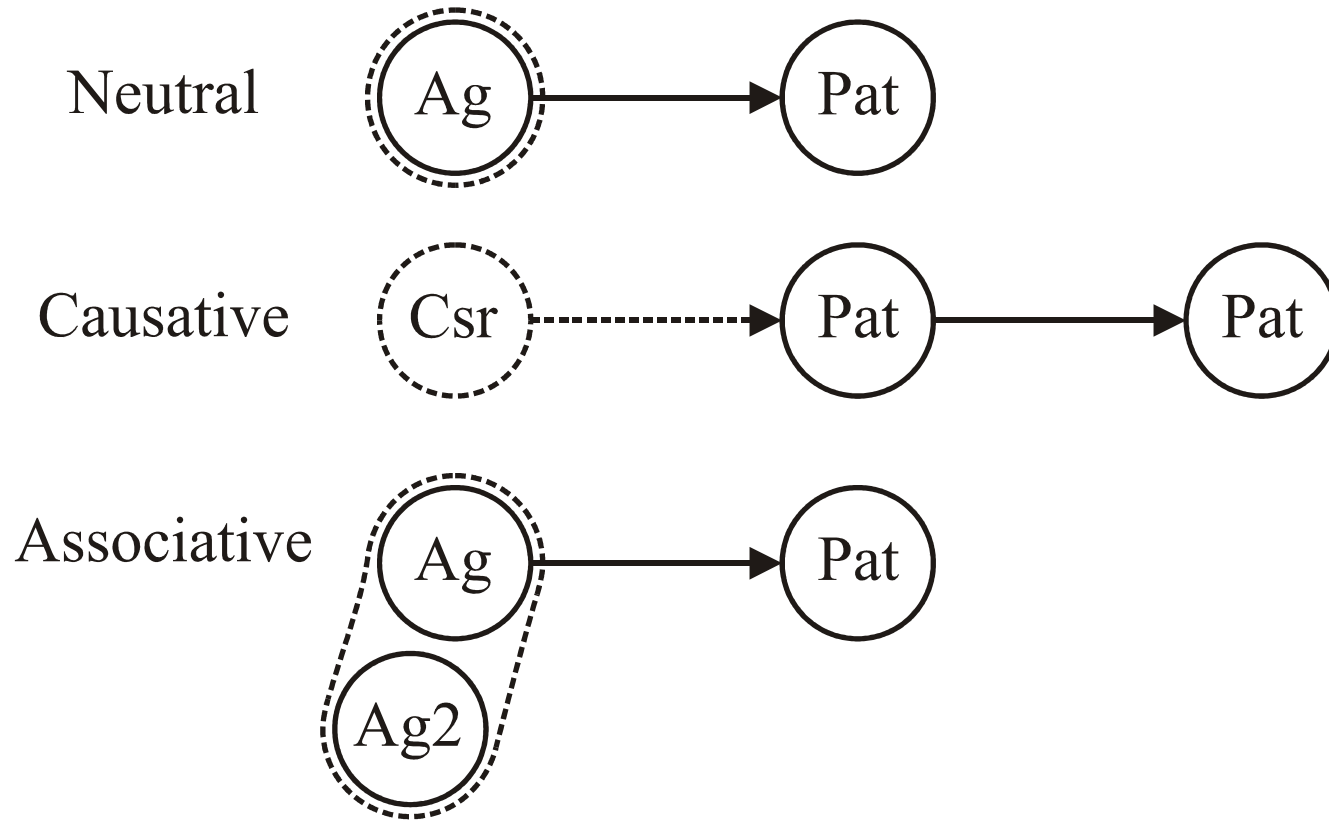
Complex agency

- Functional notion of **control**:
Is the event controlled by the agent or are there additional participants that influence the event flow?
- Complex agency = agency + control

Complex agency

- Different types of control:
 - **Neutral (m-)**: internal control
agent = controller
 - **Causative (p-)**: external control
causer = controller
 - **Associative (k-)**: joint control
multiple controllers

Complex agency



Conclusions

- Causatives are not always causatives
- Causatives are not necessarily special
- The duality of agency:
complex agency = agency + control
- Future research:
 - Gather corpus-wide quantitative data
 - Compare to other (Austronesian) languages

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