

# Expressions of time, place and manner in Bunun and a cross-linguistic typology of adverbials

*Rik De Busser*  
*Academia Sinica*  
*rdbusser@gmail.com*

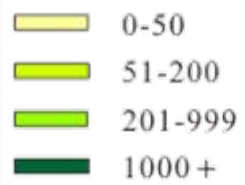


Talk presented at the Twelfth International  
Conference on Austronesian Linguistics  
(12ICAL), Bali, Indonesia, 2-6 July 2012.

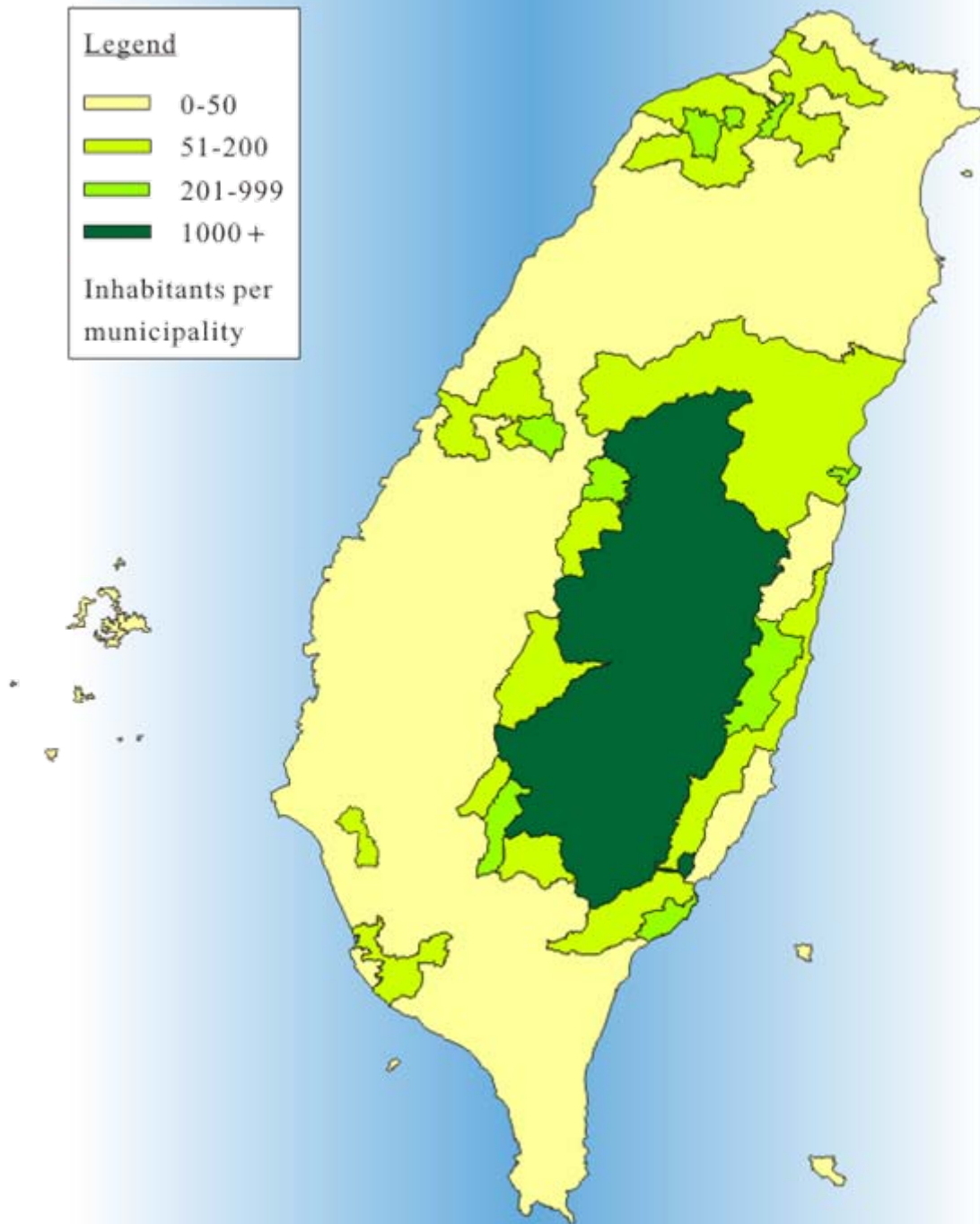
# Background

- Bunun, Austronesian, Taiwan
- Takivatan dialect
- < 1800 speakers (De Busser 2009)
- Corpus analysis
- Language description in a functional-typological framework

**Legend**



Inhabitants per  
municipality





# Domain of research

“Mono-lexemic peripheral expressions of temporal location”

- Single-word expressions
- Temporal locative meaning
- Peripheral position

# Domain of research

- Defining a functional domain for cross-linguistic comparison (cf. Haspelmath 2010's Comparative Concepts)

# Bunun temporal expressions

- The four most common monolexemic expressions of temporal location  
(De Busser, under revision)
  - *tudip* / *dip* ‘then, at that time’
  - *qabas* ‘in former times’
  - *laupa* / *laupaku* / *laupadau* ‘now’
  - *haip* ‘today’

# Bunun temporal expressions

- Clause-initial position: auxiliary-like behaviour
  - *Complementizer and TAM marking (sometimes)*

(1) [...] *tudipanj tu sia tupaun tu sinkuḍakuḍa*  
*tudip-anj tu sia tupa-un tu sin-kuḍakuḍa*  
that.time-PROG COMPL ANAPH call-UF COMPL RES.OBJ-work  
‘[life ...] in those days that was called sinkuḍakuḍa (a life of labour)’



# Bunun temporal expressions

- Clause-initial position: auxiliary-like behaviour
  - *Other verbal morphology (sometimes)*

(2) *maqabasi maupata naip qanupa*  
*ma-qabas-i*                      *maupa-ta*                      *naip*                      *qanup-a*  
DYN-in.former.times-PRT    thus-DEF.REF.DIST    DEM.S.NVIS    hunt-SUBORD  
'when somebody wanted to go hunting in the past [...]'



# Bunun temporal expressions

- Clause-initial position: auxiliary-like behaviour
  - *Attracts the topical pronoun (sometimes)*

(3) *maqabas madadaiŋʔaǝ paun tu misǝaŋ*  
*ma-qabas madadaiŋʔaǝ paun tu misǝaŋ*  
DYN-in.former.times elder be.said COMPL group  
'in the old days the elders [built houses together] in a group'

# Bunun temporal expressions

- Immediate pre-verbal positions:  
grammatically invariant

(4) *maupata nam tudipa sia inuskunan*  
*maupa-ta                      nam      tudip-a                      sia              in-uskun-an*  
thus-DEF.REF.DIST      1E.N      that.time-PREVERB      ANAPH      VIA-together-LF  
'and thus we went together through such events in those days'

# Bunun temporal expressions

- Post-verbal positions (only *qabas* and *laupa*): grammatically invariant

(5) *sintupa qabas madadaiŋʔaǾ*  
*sin-tupa      qabas                      madadaiŋʔaǾ*  
RES.OBJ-say   in.former.times   elder  
'as the elders explained in the old days'



# Bunun temporal expressions

- Clause-final position: noun-like properties?
  - In complementary distribution with NPs
  - Definiteness marking (also possible on verbs)

(6) *maʔiti sia ɗaŋiʔanan laupakuki*  
*ma-ʔiti    sia    ɗaŋi-an-an    laupaku-ki*  
STAT-here    ANAPH    place-LF-LO    NOW-DEF.SIT.PROX  
'you can stay at this place now'

# Intermediate overview

Position	Commonality	Behaviour
Clause-initial	widespread	verbal
Pre-verbal	intermediate	invariant
Post-verbal	uncommon	invariant
Clause-final	widespread	noun-like

# Intermediate overview

- Correlation between location in the clause and grammatical behaviour
  - Temporal words can be verb-like, noun-like entities, or invariant
  - This is strongly correlated to their position



# Intermediate overview

- Time adverbials are typically thought of as peripheral elements. However, in Bunun, they function in certain contexts as part of the verb phrase

(1) [...] *tudipaŋ tu sia tupaun tu sinkuḏakuḏa*  
*tudip-aŋ tu sia tupa-un tu sin-kuḏakuḏa*  
that.time-PROG COMPL ANAPH call-UF COMPL RES.OBJ-work  
‘[life ...] in those days that was called sinkuḏakuḏa (a life of labour)’

# Other Formosan languages

- Contrastive examples from Paiwan

(7) *sa a tiaʔən tutsu,*  
then LNK TOP-1s.NOM now  
*picu-aŋa a puʔuq a tsaviʔ sa avan a picu.*  
seven-already LNK ten LNK year then that.is LNK seven  
'I am now 77 years old.' (FLC 01.001.b)

(8) *tutsu-aŋa pacə-tutsu-aŋa azua*  
now-already genuine-now-already NOM:that:LNK  
'Today, we are still at that place.' (FLC 01.026.g)

# Cross-linguistic comparison

- How are functionally similar concepts realised in other languages?
  - Single-word expressions
  - Expressions of temporal location
  - Peripheral positions
- How do position and grammatical behaviour vary relative to each other?



# English

- Position is variable, grammatical behaviour is constant

- (9) **Today** the emphasis is on comfort.
- (10) The last three **today are** Nottingham Forest, Sheffield Wednesday and Middlesbrough.
- (11) It **stands today** in Newhall Street, where it settled in 1977.
- (12) The monkeys are on your cars **today**.

# Mandarin

- Position variable but restricted, grammatical behaviour constant
  - Two positions (+ extraction, nominalization, etc.)
  - “Moveable adverbs”  
(Li & Thompson 1997:320–321)

# Mandarin

(13) 我們今天透過教育

wǒ men   **jīn tiān**   tòu guò   jiào yù  
we   today   go.through   education  
“Today, we went to class.”

(14) 今天我把我的心情拿出來

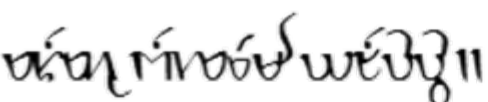
**jīn tiān**   wǒ   bǎ   wǒ de   xīn qíng   ná chū lái  
today   I   BA   my   state.of.mind   take.out  
‘Today, I have put my thoughts out in the open.’




# Ahom (Tai)

- Position is variable, appears to be correlated to / restricted by specific constructions

# Ahom (Tai)

(15) 

*ban tuk chau mav jang pai poi*  
day fall RESP new have yet release  
'At sunset, the new ones are not yet released.'

(16) 

*ma sav ban sav khvn bau lv*  
come stay day clear night NEG relax  
'All came to stay day and night without resting.'

# Cross-linguistic comparison

		Grammatical behaviour	
		<i>Variable</i>	<i>Constant</i>
Position	<i>Variable</i>	Bunun	English
	<i>Restricted</i>	(Ahom?)	Mandarin
	<i>Constant</i>	?	?



# Why is this relevant?

- Ubiquity
  - “There is no language without temporal adverbials” (Klein 1994:143)
- Overlooked, because perceived irrelevant
  - “Since they are essentially indivisible lexical items, they largely fall outside the scope of grammatical typology.” (Haspelmath 1997:7)
- “Peripheral”

# Why is this relevant?

Time ‘adverbials’



Functional domain of temporal  
expressions

# Why is this relevant?

- Not necessarily ‘peripheral’ in the traditional sense
- Not necessarily grammatically inert
- Considerably cross-linguistic variation
- Expression of time is important to most cultures



# Further research

- More in-depth research on other expressions of time, place and manner in Bunun
- Survey of ‘adverbial’ elements in other languages

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Uninaŋ  
Miqumisaŋ!





In Memoriam  
**Tulbus Manququ**  
1930-2012

