The Semantics of Space 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
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)
Introduction

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

ʔiti  ‘here’  ‘at this moment’
ʔitun  ‘there (medial)’  ‘at that moment (medial)’
ʔita  ‘there (distal)’  ‘at that moment (distal)’

• Sometimes verbal, sometimes nominal
Spatial deixis: place words

- Verbal use

1. ?itiʔak
   
   {ʔiti}[-ʔak]_{AG}  
   here-1S.F

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

2. Maisnaʔisaq amu munʔiti?
   
   {maisnaʔisaq} [amu]_{AG} {mun-ʔiti}
   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 ?ita.

```
{madas} [qaimaŋsuð] [han  ?ita]
carry thing to there.DIST
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‘[He] carries some stuff over there.’ (constr.)
Spatial deixis: demonstratives

- Singular

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

\{mintun\}_\text{AUX} \ [aipun]_\text{AG} \ {\text{minsuma-a}}  

sometimes \  \text{DEM.S.MED.VIS} \ \text{come.here-SUBORD}  

‘From time to time \textbf{this person} comes here, [...]’ (TVN-008-001:9)
Spatial deixis: demonstratives

• Vague plural

(5) Aituđa aiŋki tu madadauk pakasihal

{aituđa} \text{AUX} \ [\text{aiŋki}] \text{CSR} \ tu
be.real \ \text{DEM.PV.PROX.VIS} \ COMPL

{ma-〈da〉dauk} \text{AUX} \ \{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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{naitun} & \text{AG} & \{\text{qabas}\} & \text{AUX} \\
\text{DEM.IG.MED.NVIS} & \text{old.times} & \text{trap-DEF.SIT.DIST} \\
\{\text{sia duʔun}\} & \text{UN:INSTR} \\
\text{ANAPH} & \text{thread} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘In the old days, our people [i.e. the Bunun] used strings for setting hunting traps.’ (TVN-012-002:93)
Spatial deixis: 3P pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>isti</td>
<td>inti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>istun</td>
<td>intun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>ista</td>
<td>inta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) Nastuqas istuna

[nas-tuqas [istun-a]_{PSR}]
deceased-older.sibling 3S.MED-LNK

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Referential</th>
<th>Situational</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>-tun</td>
<td>-kun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

• Mutually exchangeable

(9)  (a) Samuta!

  samu-\textit{ta}

  taboo-\textsc{DEF.REF.DIST}

  ‘It is a taboo!’

(b) Samuka!

  samu-\textit{ka}

  taboo-\textsc{DEF.SIT.DIST}

  \textit{id.}
Definiteness markers

- On nouns and verbs: -\textit{ta}

(10) siða maduqta

\{siða\} [maduq-\textit{ta}]_{\text{UN}}

\text{take} \quad \text{millet-DEF.REF.DIST}

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

(11) Haiða tupata, […]

\{haiða\}_\text{AUX} \quad \{tupa-\textit{ta}\}

\text{have} \quad \text{tell-DEF.REF.DIST}

‘Having said (\textit{those things}), […]’ (TVN-003-xxx:18)
Definiteness markers

• On nouns and verbs: -ka

(12) Maq a maimaka, […]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{maq} & \text{a} \\
\text{DEF} & \text{LNK}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[mai-tama-ka]} & \\
\text{deceased-father-DEF.SIT.DIST}
\end{array}
\]

‘As far as my deceased father is concerned, […]’ (TVN-012-003:11)

(13) Maqai tantuŋuka, […]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{maqai} & \text{[tantuŋ-ka]} \\
\text{if} & \text{visit-DEF.SIT.DIST}
\end{array}
\]

‘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 Kaliŋkuti, pisihalunti, na asa tunhan Nantuta

(a) \{asa\}_{AUX} \{pi-si-hal-un\} [itu Kaliŋku-\textit{ti}]_{LO} \\
    have.to \ CAUS.\textit{STAT-good-UF} \ this.\textit{here} \ GeoName-\textbf{DEF.REF.PROX}

(b) \{pi-si-hal-un-ti\} \\
    CAUS.\textit{STAT-good-UF-DEF.REF.PROX}

(c) na \{asa\} \{tun-han\} [Nantu-\textit{ta}]_{PLACE} \\
    CONS \ have.to \ PERL\textit{-go} \ GeoName-\textbf{DEF.REF.DIST}

‘You have to put everything in order here in Kaliŋku, 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\}_{AUX} \ tu \ \{i-han\} \ [Damaian-tun]_{PLACE}

in.those.days \ COMPL \ \STAT-go \ GeoName-{DEF.REF.MED}

‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaker-oriented</td>
<td>-?an</td>
<td>-tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hearer-oriented</td>
<td>-aʔ</td>
<td>-tiaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>-aʔ</td>
<td>-tiaʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• In Takivatan: no correlation between t/ k-alternation and case
Referential vs. situational
Referential vs. situational

- Medial forms only on nouns

(16) Tamakun niaŋ mataða

[tama-kun-a] {ni-aŋ}_{AUX} {matað-a}

father-DEF.SIT.MED-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

\[ \text{PersName.M DIR-go 1S.POSS home-DEF.REF.PROX} \]

‘Pian came to my house (here)’ (TVN-008-001:2)
Referential vs. situational

• Referential -tun with noun:

(18) Haiḍa laupaku paun tu sia padantun maʔuvul […]

\begin{verbatim}
{haiḍa} [laupaku]\text{TIME} [paun tu
have now call.UF COMPL
sia padan-\textit{tun} maʔuvul]_{\text{AG}}
ANAPH reed-\textit{DEF.REF.MED} STAT-flexible
\end{verbatim}

‘And now there is \textbf{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.”

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\{pauk-in\} & \text{[aipun]}_{AG} \\
\text{say-PRV} & \text{DEM.S.MED.PROX} \\
\text{na} & \{\text{samu-}ta\} \\
\text{INTER} & \text{taboo-DEF.REF.DIST.VIS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He said: “well, that is forbidden.” ’ (TVN-008-002:189)
Referential vs. situational

- Referential -ti with verb:

(20) [...] tunadanti ?ata

{tunadan-ti} [?ata]_{AG}
cross.road-DEF.REF.PROX 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-saupa-*ta*} {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}aux [sak]ag {laupaku}aux {taqu-ki}  
    INTER next-prog 1s.fa now tell-def.sit.prox

‘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-ka} [mai-tama]_{AG} tu  
INTER say-DEF.SIT.DIST 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*]_{LO}  [aki-a]_{AG}

home-{DEF.SIT.PROX}  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*]_{AG-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 -\textit{ka} with noun:

\begin{align*}
(28) \quad & \text{Maqai hai\textdia{x}a qumaka, […]} \\
& \text{maqai} \quad \{\text{hai\textdia{x}a}\} \quad [\text{qum\text{\textdia{x}a}-}\text{\text{\textdia{x}a}}]_{\text{AG}} \\
& \text{if} \quad \text{have} \quad \text{land-DEF.SIT.DIST} \\
\end{align*}

‘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
Semantic extensions of deixis

- Sorry, no time left, what a shame, maybe next time...
Uninān miqumisanān!