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

TAIWAN
台灣

0 25 50 km

Taipei
台北市

Nantou County
南投縣

Hualien
花蓮市

Concentration of
Bunun inhabitants

incidental

low

moderate

high

HUALIEN COUNTY
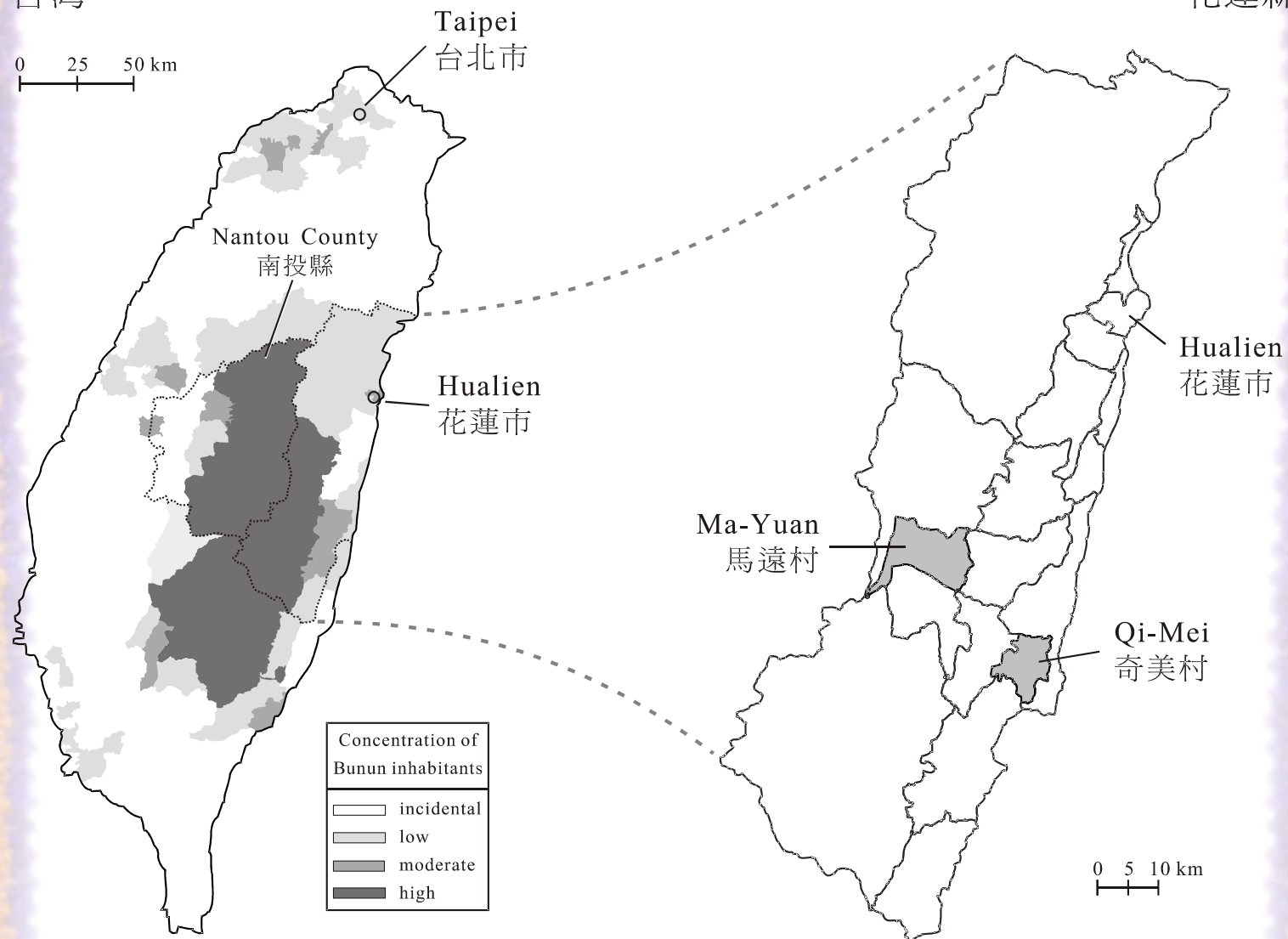## 花蓮縣

Hualien
花蓮市

Ma-Yuan
馬遠村

Qi-Mei
奇美村
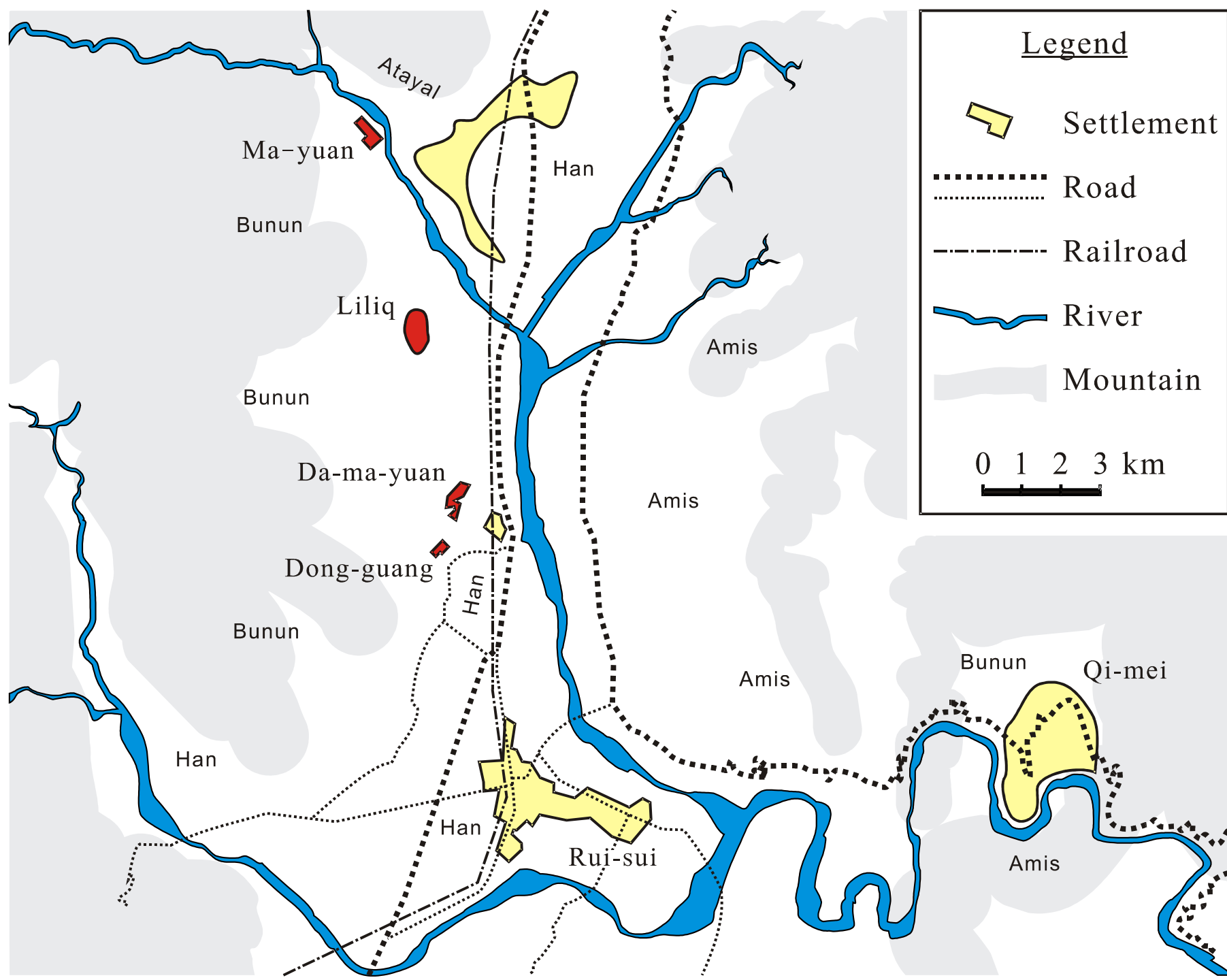
0 5 10 km

Introduction

- Five dialects:
    - Isbukun
    - Takbanuað
    - Takivatan
    - Takituduh
    - Takibakha
- Takivatan mainly spoken in Hualien

Legend

- Settlement
- Road
- Railroad
- River
- Mountain

0 1 2 3 km

Atayal

Ma-yuan

Bunun

Liliq

Bunun

Da-ma-yuan

Dong-guang

Bunun

Han

Han

Han

Han

Amis

Amis

Amis

Amis

Bunun

Qi-mei

Amis

Rui-sui

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)   ʔitiʔak

{**ʔiti**}[-ʔak]$_{AG}$
here-1S.F

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

(2)   Maisnaʔisaq amu munʔiti?

{maisna-ʔisaq}   [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 ʔita.

{madas}   [qaimaŋsuð]   [han   **ʔita**]
carry   thing   to   **there.DIST**

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

Spatial deixis: demonstratives

- Singular

(4)   Mintun aipun minsumaʔa, [...]

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

sometimes   **DEM.S.MED.VIS**   come.here-SUBORD

'From time to time **this person** comes here, […]' (TVN-008-001:9)

Spatial deixis: demonstratives

- Vague plural

(5) Aituða aiŋki tu madadauk pakasihal

{aituða}_{AUX}   [**aiŋki**]_{CSR}   tu

be.real   **DEM.PV.PROX.VIS**   COMPL

{ma-‹da›dauk}_{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

[**naitun**]$_{AG}$ {qabas}$_{AUX}$ {haqul-ka}

DEM.IG.MED.NVIS   old.times   trap-DEF.SIT.DIST

[sia   duʔun]$_{UN:INSTR}$

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	*isti*	*inti*
Medial	*istun*	*intun*
Distal	*ista*	*inta*

(8)　　Nastuqas istuna

[nas-tuqas   [**istun**-a]_PSR]

deceased-older.sibling   **3S.MED**-LNK

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

Definiteness markers

	Referential	Situational
Proximal	*-ti*	*-ki*
Medial	*-tun*	*-kun*
Distal	*-ta*	*-ka*

- 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) siða maduqta

{siða}   [maduq-**ta**]$_{UN}$

take   millet-**DEF.REF.DIST**

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

(11) Haiða tupata, […]

{haiða}$_{AUX}$ {tupa-**ta**}

have   tell-**DEF.REF.DIST**

'Having said (those things), […]' (TVN-003-xxx:18)

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 tantuŋuka, […]

       maqai   {tantuŋu-**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 Kaliŋkuti, pisihalunti, na asa tunhan Nantuta

(a) {asa}$_{AUX}$ {pi-sihal-un} [itu Kaliŋku-**ti**]$_{LO}$
 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**]$_{PLACE}$
 CONS have.to PERL-go GeoName-**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-<u>tun</u>]$_{PLACE}$
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
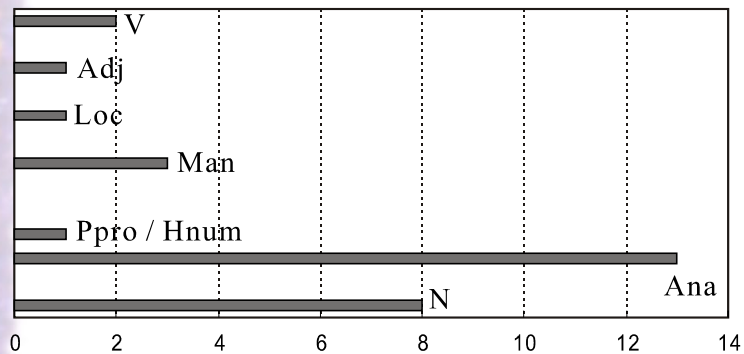
- both on nouns and verbs

Referential vs. situational

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

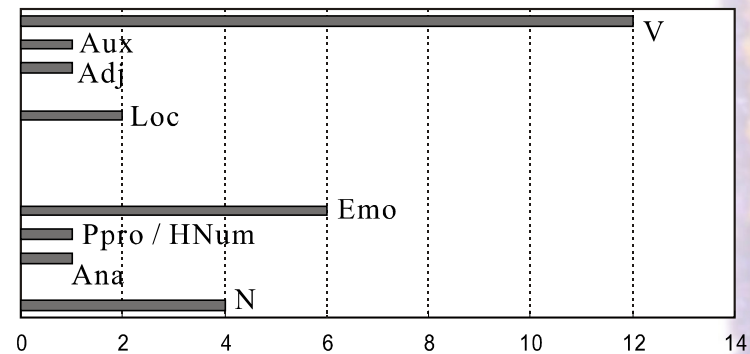|		Nominative	Oblique
Proximal	speaker-oriented	*-in*	*-tin*
	hearer-oriented	*-ʔan*	*-tan*
Distal		*-aʔ*	*-tiaʔ*

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

-ti

- V — 2
- Adj — 1
- Loc — 1
- Man — 3
- Ppro / Hnum — 1
- Ana — 13
- N — 8

(x-axis: 0, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14)

-ki

- V — 12
- Aux — 1
- Adj — 1
- Loc — 2
- Emo — 6
- Ppro / HNum — 1
- Ana — 1
- N — 4

(x-axis: 0, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14)

-tun

- V — 1
- Q — 1
- Ana — 2
- N — 11

(x-axis: 0, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12)

-kun

- Loc — 1
- Time — 1
- N — 4

(x-axis: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

-ta

- V — 9
- Aux — 2
- Man — 36
- 'kaupa' — 4
- Emo — 1
- Ana — 4
- N — 17

(x-axis: 0, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40)

-ka

- V — 11
- Aux — 2
- Adj — 3
- Q — 1
- Loc — 5
- Time — 1
- Man — 2
- 'kaupa' — 5
- Emo — 4
- Ppro / Hnum — 7
- Ana — 4
- DPro — 2
- N — 10

(x-axis: 0, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12)
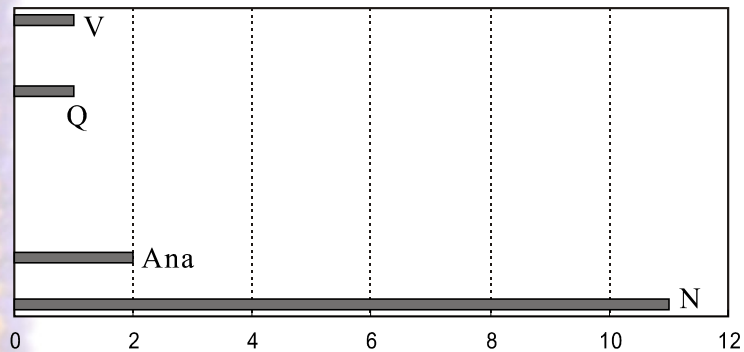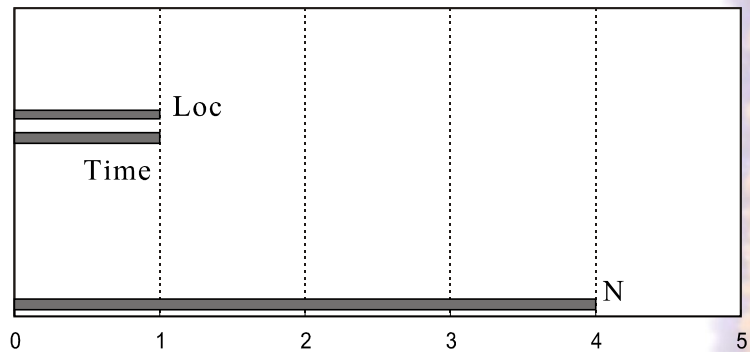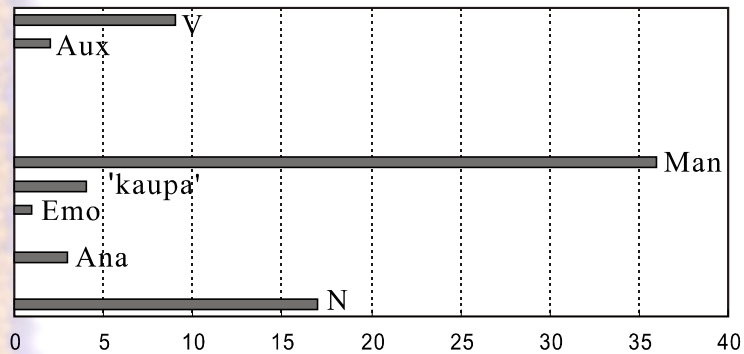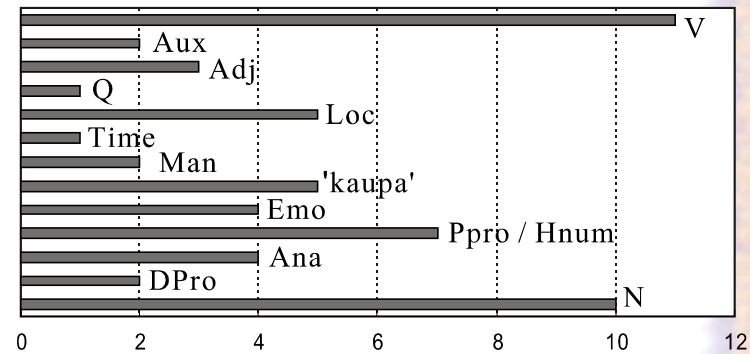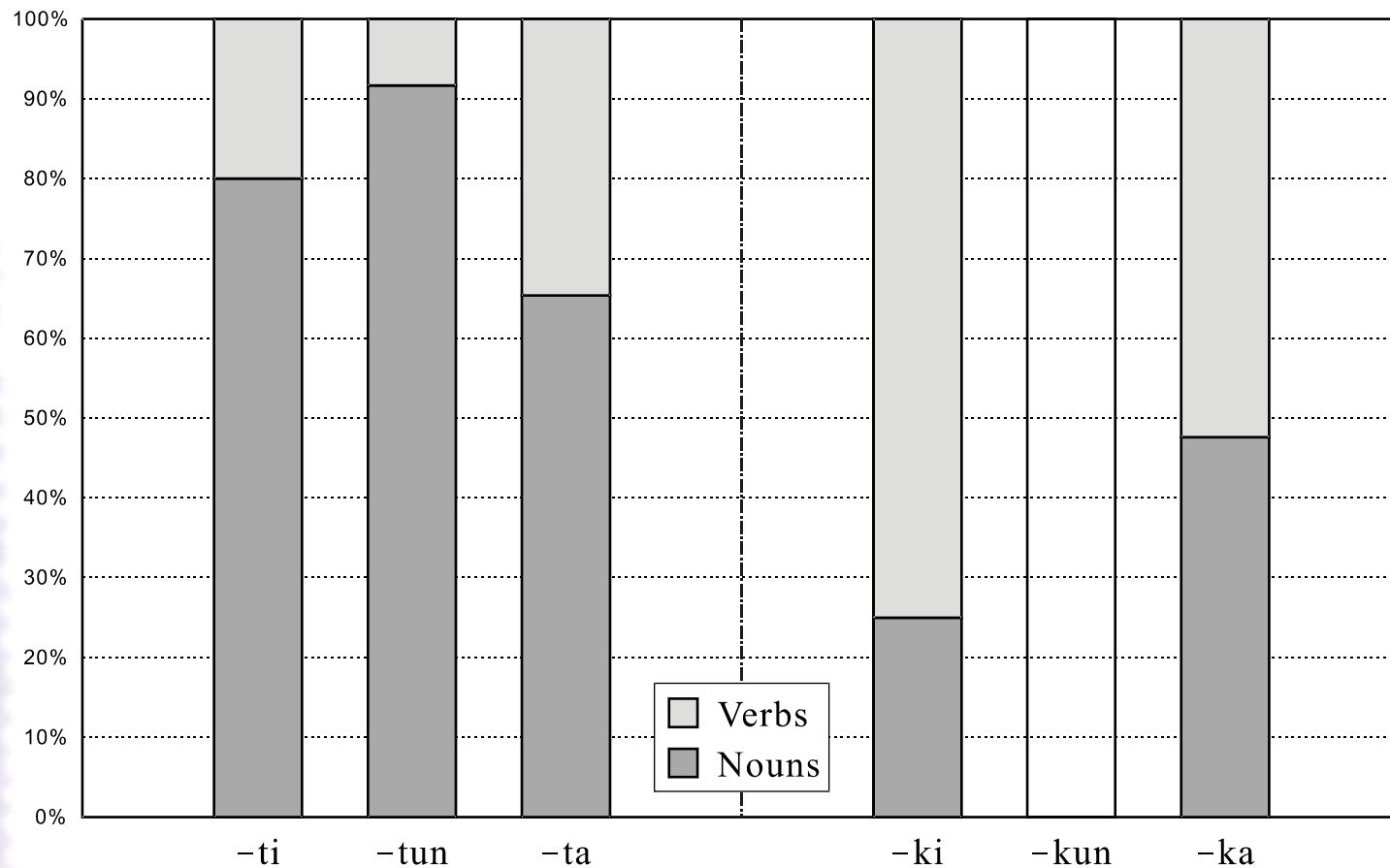
Referential vs. situational

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

[Pian]$_{AG}$ {mun-han}   [inak   lumaq-**ti**]$_{PLACE}$
PersName.M   DIR-go   1S.POSS   home-**DEF.REF.PROX**

'Pian came to my house (<u>here</u>)' (TVN-008-001:2)

Referential vs. situational

- ## Referential *-tun* with noun:

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

{haiða}   [laupaku]_{TIME}   [paun   tu
have   now   call.UF   COMPL

sia   padan-**tun**   ma-ʔuvul]_{AG}
ANAPH   reed-**DEF.REF.MED**   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]$_{AG}$ tu: $_{C1}|_{COMPL2}$

     say-PRV   DEM.S.MED.PROX   COMPL

     na   {samu-**ta**}

     INTER   taboo-<u>**DEF.REF.DIST.VIS**</u>

     'He said: "well, <u>**that**</u> is forbidden." ' (TVN-008-002:189)

Referential vs. situational

- Referential *-ti* with verb:

(20) [...] tunadanti ʔata

{tunadan-**ti**}   [ʔata]_{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 tuða

{na-mu-saupa-**ta**}   {tuða}

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 <u>that</u> 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**]$_{AG}$

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

Semantic extensions of deixis

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

Uninaŋ miqumisaŋ!