

The abstraction of space in Central Bunun locative nominalizations

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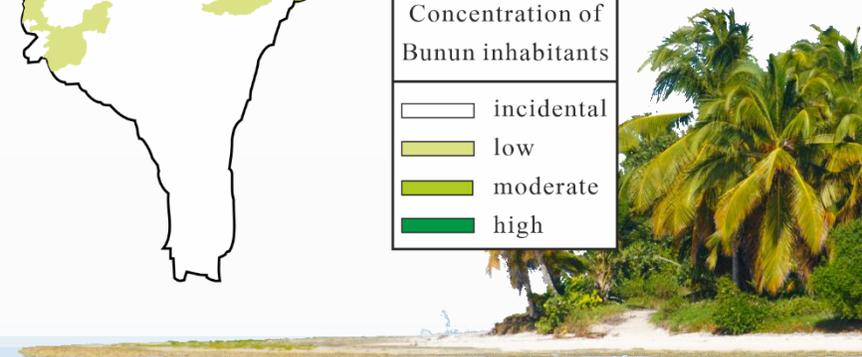
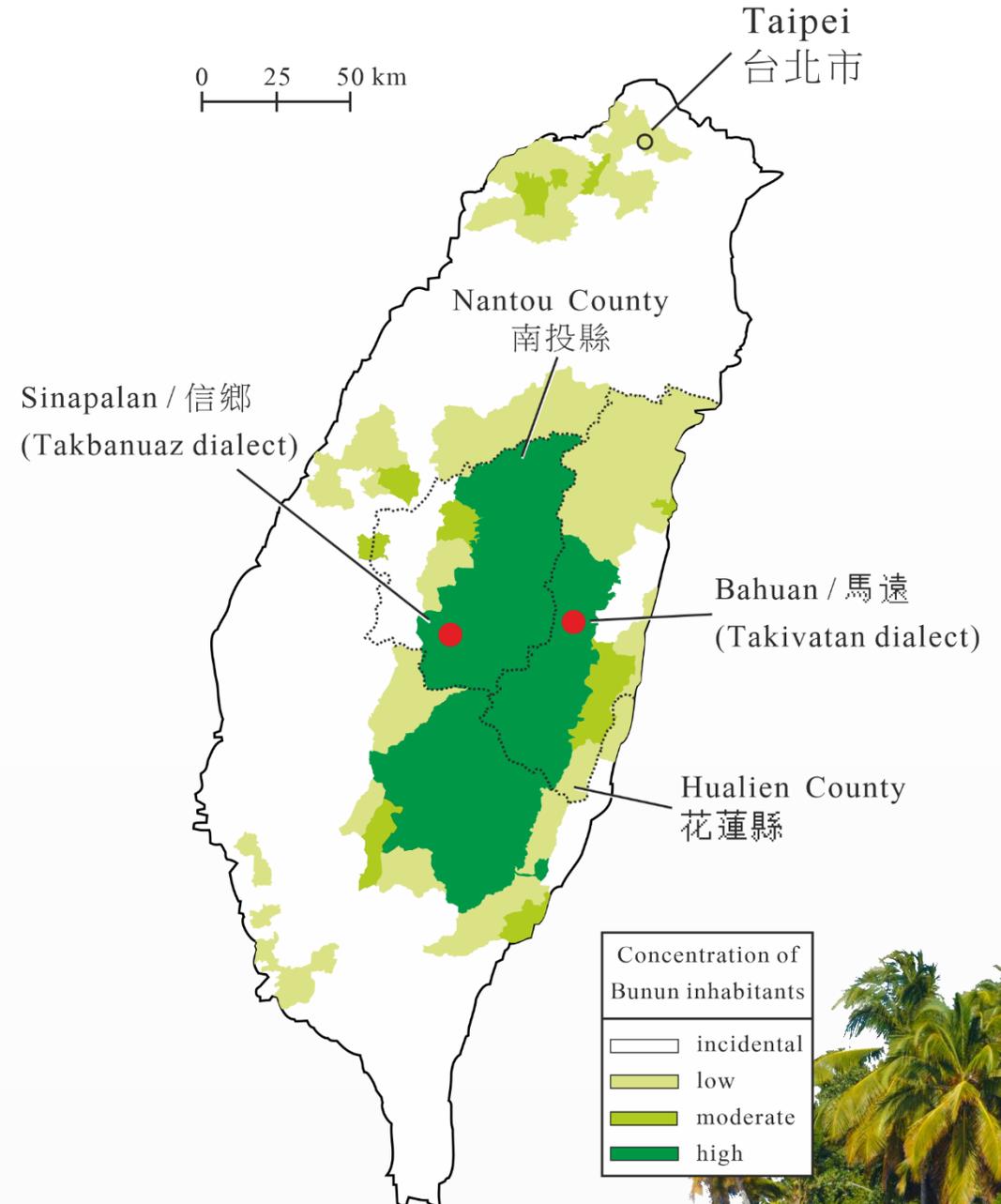
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Bunun

- Austronesian language, Taiwan
- Western Austronesian ‘type’
- Approx. 50,000 ethnic members
- Rapid language loss in younger generations
- 5 dialects
 - Central dialects: Takivatan, Takbanuaz



Semantic maps and metaphorical extension

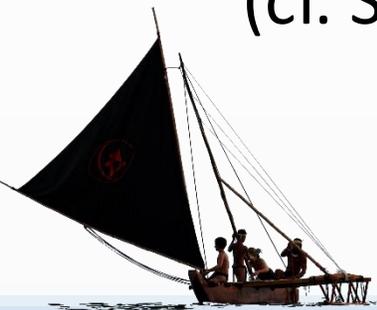
“A semantic map is a geometrical representation of functions in ‘conceptual/semantic space’ that are linked by connecting lines and thus constitute a network. The configuration of functions shown by the map is claimed to be universal.” (Haspelmath 2003, p. 213)

- Functional extensions of **grammatical** meaning
- Relational model
- Claims of universality



Semantic maps and metaphorical extension

- Grammar ↔ semantics, however:
 - Contested boundaries between grammar and semantics (see e.g. Langacker 2005; 2008)
 - Absence of inflection/derivation boundary in certain Western Austronesian languages
- Connections between functions/meanings are the result of historical and cognitive processes
- (largely) metaphorically or metonymically motivated (cf. Sweetser 2001)



Western Austronesian voice and nominalization

- Symmetrical voice systems: multiple voices that put semantic roles in subject position (see e.g. Himmelmann 2002), typically:

Voice	Bunun	baliv 'buy, sell'
Agent voice	unmarked	(ma-)baliv 'I buy something'
Patient voice	-un	baliv-un 'I buy something '
Locative voice	-an	baliv-an 'I buy something in a place '
Instrument voice	is-	is-baliv 'I use something to buy it'

- Voice markers can also mark nominalization
- In Bunun especially the suffixes



Bunun *-an*: voice vs nominalization

baliv 'to buy / sell'

baliv-an (1) 'buy something somewhere'
(2) 'a place where something is bought'

ba-baliv-an (1) 'a place where something is habitually bought' > 'shop'
(2) 'habitually buy something somewhere'

REIFICATION

EVENT

LOCATION OF EVENT



Types of *-an* nominalization

1. Locative nominalizations

1. Geographical names 'LOC where EVENT'

Kabanhilan 'location near the main Takivatan settlement with many cypresses'

< ka- 'HARVEST' + banhil 'Japanese cypress' + -an

Kaputuᅇan 'former Takivatan settlement in Nantou County'

< ka- 'HARVEST' + putuᅇ 'cotton' + -an



Types of *-an* nominalization

1. Locative nominalizations

1. Location as purpose 'LOC used for EVENT'

asabaqan 'spot in the forest where a human is resting'

< a- 'STAT' + sabaq 'sleep' + -an

alukmu?an 'spot in the forest where an animal is resting'

< a- 'STAT' + lukmu 'squat down' + -an

babalivan 'store' (lit: 'place habitually used to buy and sell')

< CV 'HABIT' + baliv 'buy; sell' + -an

pipit?ai?an 'kitchen' (lit: 'place habitually used for cooking')

< CV 'HABIT' + pit?ia 'cook' + -an



Types of *-an* nominalization

2. Locative-instrumental nominalizations

1. Instrumental 'LOC=OBJECT used for the specific purpose of EVENT'

padaŋiʔan 'container' < pa- 'CAUS' + daŋi 'put, place' + -an

piskaḏhavan 'refrigerator' (lit: 'a place used to make things cold again')
< pis- 'CAUS.INSTR' + kaḏhav 'cold' + -an

2. Body parts 'LOC on BODY having EVENT as a function/property'

katluqaiʔan 'uterus' (lit: 'the place that holds the unborn child')

< kat- 'grab' + luqai 'small baby' + -an

maquhisan 'small intestines' (lit: 'the place which is slender')

< ma- 'STAT' + quhis 'slender' + -an



Types of *-an* nominalization

3. Meteorological phenomena

laninʔavan 'flood' (lit: a place covered by a watery expanse)
< la- 'COVER' + ninʔav 'sea, expanse of water' + -an

luvluvan 'typhoon' < luvluv 'wind; blow' + -an

4. Temporal nominalizations 'TIME when EVENT'

alʔuʔan 'resting period, spare time' < alʔu 'rest' + -an

lusʔanan 'holiday' < lusʔan 'celebrate' + -an

buan taiŋaʔan 'earshooting month' < buan 'month' & taiŋa 'ear' + -an



Types of *-an* nominalization

5. Locus-of-event / abstract space nominalizations

1. Person as locus-of-event 'PERSON with the property of EVENT'

adiḡalan 'neighbour; person sitting next to (someone)'

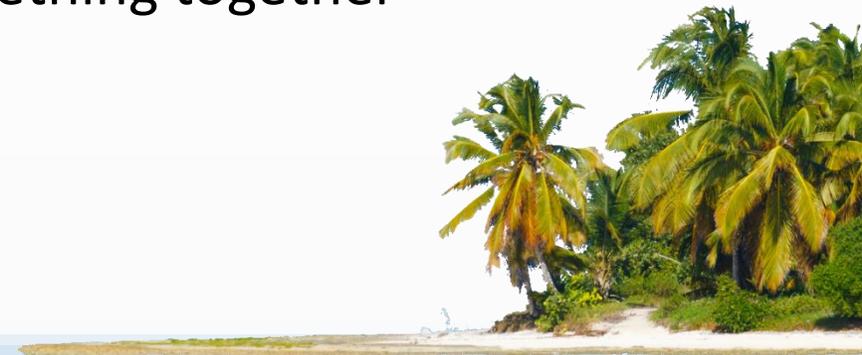
< a- 'ADJR' + diḡal 'neighbouring' + -an

kininḡaʔan 'successor'

< <in> 'PST' + kinḡa 'succeeding' + -an

uskunan 'somebody with whom one does something together'

< uskun '(do) together' + -an



Types of *-an* nominalization

5. Locus-of-event / abstract space nominalizations

2. Group as locus-of-event 'GROUP with the property of EVENT'

susumsumanan 'praying gathering'

< CV 'REP' + sumsum 'pray' + -an + -an

udinunan 'large gathering' < udinun 'gather' + -an

3. Abstract result 'RANGE of EVENT'

inliskinan 'thoughts'

< in- 'movement across trajectory' + liskin 'think' + -an

lainiqaiban 'life' (lit: 'trajectory that has already been traversed')

< <in> 'PST' + laqaib- 'path, trajectory' + -an



Location or event?

ʔasaŋ

‘home’

alʔasaŋan

al-ʔasaŋ-an

ID-village-LOC

‘home village’

ailʔasaŋan

a<i>l-ʔasaŋ-an

<PST>ID-village-LOC

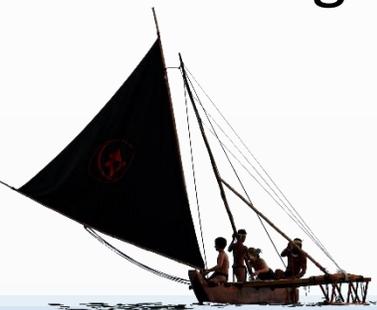
‘former home village’

- Use of verbal morphology in nominalizations
- But used in nominal slots in a clause
- What came first? Voice or nominal marking?
 - Starosta (1982): nominal markers



Conclusion

- Locative nominalization ↔ Locative voice
- Fluid boundary between
 - objects, locations, events
 - inflection and derivation
 - grammar and meaning (duh!)
- Locative nominalization as a productive source of neologisms
- Meaning extensions form a complex network, held together by cognitively motivated metaphoric and metonymic links



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