Nominalization in Pazih[*]

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In Pazih, verbalization is much more productive than nominalization. We found only a few noun-deriving affixes: *a(i)-...-an, ka- ~ kaa-, ta-, sa- ~ saa-* and *-an*. The last two affixes are also found on focused verbs and indicate IF and LF respectively. Thus morphology alone does not tell whether a certain form is a noun or a verb. We have to resort to syntactic evidence to determine whether nominalization has taken place. The particle *a* may occur before a noun or verb, so its grammatical functions are discussed. The problem of the distinction between relative constructions and nominalized constructions is also touched upon.

Key words: Pazih, nominal, verbal, nominalization, relativization, morphological, syntactic

1. Introduction

Pazih was a plains-tribe language formerly spoken in west-central Taiwan, around Fengyuan and along the Dajia River. In the early twentieth century Pazih was still a living spoken language, but unfortunately around mid-century it had ceased to be actively used. Today only a very few elderly people can even partially remember the language, and this is what makes working on its syntax rather difficult. The sole surviving reliable informant that I have been working with is not able to answer sophisticated questions or produce elaborate sentences. The following observations are thus based on what sentences and limited texts I have recorded over the past twenty-five years.

In Pazih a verb can be derived from a noun by adding an affix to the root or stem, and the derived verb can further yield a noun; e.g., *batu* 'stone' > *pu-batu* 'to pave with stones' > *pu-batu'-an* 'a place paved with stones'. Overall, verbalization is more common than nominalization,[1] and there is, in fact, not much genuine morphological marking for nominalization in the language.

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[1] See Ferrell 1970:77-78, Blust 1999:340, Lin 2000:64-79, Li and Tsuchida 2001:10-18.

2. Verbalization

Pazih verbalization is very productive, with quite a few prefixes deriving verbs from nouns, as can be seen from the following:

(1)   a.   ku- 'to do something'
      ku-langat 'to name'   < langat 'name'
      ku-mangayah 'to eat raw'   < mangayah 'raw'

      b.   ma- (< pa-)[2] 'to have'
      ma-laliw 'to have earthquake'   < laliw 'earthquake'
      ma-bari 'to blow (wind)'   < bari 'wind'
      ma-siatu 'to wear clothes'   < siatu 'clothes'

      c.   maka- (< paka-) 'to bear, to bring forth'
      maka-madu 'to bear fruit'   < madu 'fruit'
      maka-tulala 'to bloom'   < tulala 'flower'

      d.   mana- (< pana-) 'to wash'
      mana-rima 'to wash hand'   < rima 'hand'
      mana-punu 'to wash head'   < punu 'head'

      e.   mari- 'to bear' (only 1 example)
      mari-titu 'to bear a puppy'   < titu 'puppy'

      f.   maru- (< paru-) 'to lay eggs or give birth'
      maru-batu 'to lay eggs'   < batu 'egg'
      maru-kihan 'to give birth'   < kihan-

      g.   masi- (< pasi-) 'to move, to wear'
      masi-saik 'to defecate'   < saik 'excrement'
      masi-karum 'to enter'   < karum 'inside'
      masi-rukus 'to wear pants'   < rukus 'pants'

      h.   mati- (< pati-) 'to carry, to wear, to catch'
      mati-tatuku 'to carry a stick'   < tatuku 'stick'
      mati-kakumus 'to wear a hat'   < kakumus 'hat'
      mati-luxut 'to catch deer'   < luxut 'deer'

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[2]   The main difference between *m-* forms and *p-* forms is that the former indicate realis while the latter indicate irrealis. The same holds true for all the other variant forms of verbal prefixes, as illustrated in examples (1a) through (1n) of this section. Blust (1999) treats the former as finite verbs and the latter as nonfinite. Occasionally there is semantic differentiation, e.g., *maxi-tunu* 'to have mucus in one's nose' vs. *paxi-tunu* 'to clear one's nose'.

i. matu- (<patu-) 'to build, to set up'
    matu-xuma 'to build a house'   < xuma 'house'
    matu-tilikat 'to set a trap'   < tilikat 'a trap'

j. maxa- (< paxa) 'to produce, to bring forth'
    maxa-langa 'to produce pus'   < langa 'pus'
    maxa-daxang 'to sweat'   < daxang 'sweat'
    maxa-tunu 'to have a running nose' < tunu 'mucus'

k. maxa- (< paxa) 'to become'
    maxa-sahat 'to be a thief'   < sahat 'thief'
    maxa-daxu 'to become aborigines' < daxu- 'aborigines'

l. maxi- (< paxi-) 'to have, to bring forth'
    maxi-langa 'to have pus'   < langa 'pus'
    maxi-a-rese 'to shed tears'   < rese 'tears'

m. maxi- (<paxi-) 'to look carefully, to do with a special effort'
    maxi-lingu 'to look into a mirror' < lingu 'mirror'
    maxi-rilak 'to stare at'   < rilak 'something bright'
    paxi-tunu 'to blow one's nose'   < tunu 'mucus'

n. mia- (< pia-) 'to go towards'
    mia-amisan 'to go north'   < amisan 'north'
    mia-daya 'to go east/upriver'   < daya 'east, upriver'

o. mu (<pu-) 'to release, to let go'
    mu-rapay 'to remove skin/bark'   < rapay 'skin, bark'
    mu-hinis 'to breathe'   < hinis 'breath'
    pu-hinis 'to fall in love'   < hinis 'mind, heart'

p. papa- 'to ride'
    papa-nuang 'to ride a cow'   < nuang 'cow'
    papa-gamay 'to ride a horse'   < gamay 'horse'

q. pi- 'to bring out, to bring up'
    pi-hilut 'to urinate'   < hilut 'urine'
    pi-sumay 'to cook rice'   < sumay 'rice'

r. pu- 'to pave'
    pu-batu 'to pave with stones'   < batu 'stone'
    pu-kabat 'to pave with boards'   < kabat 'board'
    pu-sadit 'to pave with bricks'   < sadit 'brick'

s. si- 'to have, to grow'
    si-pazeng 'to have thorns'   < pazeng 'thorn'

si-tatupung 'to have mushroom'   < tatupung 'mushroom'

t.   si- 'to go'
     si-di 'to go'   < di 'locative'
     si-dini 'to come here'   < dini 'here'
     si-dua 'to go there'   < dua 'there'

u.   si-...-an 'to bring forth, to have a growth on body'
     si-pusus-an 'to have boils'   < pusus 'boils'
     si-pilax-an 'to have scabies'   < pilax 'scabies'
     si-sumah-an 'to have body lice' < sumah 'body louse'

v.   ti- 'to get something undesirable'
     ti-bukul 'crooked, hunchback'   < bukul 'back'
     ti-rawik 'hare-lipped'   < rawik-, cf. mu-rawik
                                 'to break partly' (as of a cup)
     ti-xepes 'to spit'   < xepes 'spittle'
     ti-sadem 'stuffy, clogged'   < sadem-

3. Nominalization

Nominalization can be defined as a process by which a stem, verb phrase, or sentence is transformed into a nominal. English has long been observed to exhibit two types of verbal nominals, i.e., gerundive nominals and derived nominals, with different morphological markings and syntactic structures (Chomsky 1970). However, in Austronesian languages generally, there is not much formal difference between noun and verb. Syntactic categories are determined by their syntactic functions within the sentence. And yet, in Formosan languages in particular, different syntactic devices may be employed in the nominalization process.

3.1 Nominal affixes

There is not much productive morphological marking in Pazih. Ferrell (1970:78) recorded the infix *<ar>* 'instrument' citing only two examples: *b<ar>anban* 'urn' and *d<ar>ungudung* 'gong, drum'. In fact, the correct form for the former is *baranaban*. Our informant accepted the latter form with hesitation. Both of these forms show reduplication of a monosyllable, *ban and *dung, plus the alleged infix *<ar>*. As a matter of fact, the reduplicated form *dungudung* 'drum' does exist in Pazih. Unlike Paiwan, forms with the infix *<ar>* are extremely rare and at best fossilized in Pazih.

The following nominals appear to take the prefix *a-* indicating an instrument:

(2)   **Nominal**   **Verbal**
       a. a-alep 'door'   mu-alep 'to close a door'
          a-arep 'fan'   m-arep 'to fan, to beckon'
          a-ixu 'oar'   mu-ixu 'to row a boat, to stir'
       b. a-ba-babaw 'God' < babaw 'above'

All the forms in (2a) above are, in fact, reduplicated forms indicating an instrument. Each of the roots happens to begin with a vowel, and the reduplicated syllable is always replaced by /a/ in a *Ca-* reduplication (cf. Blust 1998). Thus we have found only one true nominal form with the prefix *a-*, as in (2b) above.

    Some nominal forms are derived from a verb stem by taking both the prefix *a-*[3] or *ai-* and the suffix *-an*, as in:

(3)   **Nominal**   **Verbal**
        a-ituku-an 'seat'   m-ituku 'to sit'
        a-idem-an 'bed'   m-idem 'to sleep'
        ai-tudu'-an 'classroom'   mu-tudu 'to educate, instruct'

Note that all the affixed forms listed above contain the locative suffix *-an*.[4]
    The prefix *ka-* ~ *kaa-* plus root derives a nominal in some lexical forms, as in:

(4)   a. ka-damu 'dye yam', cf. damu 'blood'
          ka-kamut 'finger' < kamut-
          ka-laxa 'fish basket' < laxa-
          ka-lapis 'silk' < lapis-
          ka-likux 'fingernail' < likux-
          ka-kapit 'button' < kapit-
       b. kaa-rumux 'pot, dumplings' < rumux-
          kaa-kudungkaxa 'smith'[5]

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[3] The prefix *a-* could be derived from *ai-*, in which *i* is deleted when immediately followed by another *i*, as in *ai-ituku-an > a-ituku-an*. Alternatively, the *a-* could be a reduplication of the following vowel *i*.

[4] See discussion in section 3.2 below.

[5] As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, the utterance *kaa-kudung kaxa* is structurally ambiguous. It may be interpreted as a compound noun or as a verb phrase, in which case, *kaa* must be reanalyzed as containing the progressive infix <a> and *kaxa* functions as the direct object of the verb *kaa-kudung*:

    k<a>a-kudung   kaxa   '(someone) is striking iron'
    KA-Prg-strike   iron

kaa-siuk 'swallow (bird)' < siuk-
kaa-xademel 'a bully' < demel-

The main difficulty with the preceding forms is that most of the roots are bound, and it is not clear whether they are nominal or verbal to begin with. Another problem is that the vowel length of the prefix is related to the pitch-accent of the language, a problem we shall not get into here.

The agentive prefix *ta-* derives a noun from a verb stem:

(5)   ta-depex 'student' < depex-, cf. mu-depex 'to study'
      ta-turazak 'a talkative person' < turazak 'to talk too much'
      ta-xibariw 'merchant' < xibariw 'to sell'

A few nominal forms are derived from verb roots by adding the perfective aspect marker <in>:

(6)   t<in>i'in 'suspension (bridge)' < ti'in-, cf. mu-ti'in 'to suspend'
      b<in>anguan 'upper arm' < banguan 'to hook up arms', cf. maa-banguan 'to hook up arms with each other'

To sum up, in contrast to the numerous prefixes that derive verbs from nouns, there are very few affixes deriving nouns from verbs, *a-*, *ka- ~ kaa-*, *ta-*, and *<in>*, with none of these productive in Pazih.

3.2 Nominal and focus affixes

A common type of prefix deriving a noun from a verb root or stem in Pazih is indicated by *saa- ~ sa-* 'a tool for..., something used to…' For example:

(7) | **Nominal** | **Verbal** |
      | --- | --- |
      | saa-ken 'food, side dish' | me-ken 'to eat' |
      | saa-busaw 'coverlet' | mu-busaw 'to cover' |
      | saa-'ubung 'a trap' | mu-'ubung 'to intercept' |
      | saa-daris 'paste' | mu-daris 'to paste' |
      | saa-kudung 'hammer' | mu-kudung 'to strike or hit with a hammer' |
      | saa-xe'et 'string' | me-xe'et 'to tie with a string' |
      | saa-talek 'pan, pot' | mu-talek 'to cook' |
      | sa-apa 'strap, belt' | m-apa 'to carry on one's back' |

The forms with the prefix appear in the position of a noun, as in:

(8) alu,   ta-kazib-i   ki   saaken.
     come   we-pick-Imp[6]   Nom   dish
     'Come! Let's eat the dishes!'

(9) saakudung   a   kaxa
     hammer   Lig   iron
     'an iron hammer'

However, the same prefixed forms also indicate Instrumental Focus (IF) and may occur in the initial position as the main verb of the sentence, as in:

(10) saa-xe'et   nuang   ki   kahuy.
     IF-tie   cow   Nom   tree
     'The tree is used to tie a cow'

(11) saa-talek   alaw   ki   bulayan.
     IF-cook   fish   Nom   pan
     'The pan is used to cook fish'

Similarly, forms with the suffix -*an* indicate location. For example,

(12) **Nominal**   **Verbal**
   a. ta-derek-an 'food passage'   mu-derek 'to swallow'
      pasi-saik-an 'toilet, anus'   pasi-saik 'to defecate'
      xutaxa'-an 'place to wait'   ma-xutaxa 'to wait'
      pu-batu'-an 'a place paved with stones'   pu-batu 'to pave with stones'
   b. kaidini   ki   naki   a   xutaxa'an.
      stay here Nom   I/Gen   Lig   place to wait
      'To stay here is my place of waiting = I wait here'

The suffix -*an* also indicates Locative Focus (LF) in Pazih. For example,

(13) '<in>idem-an naki   ki   rangasat.
     Prf-sleep-LF I/Gen Nom   bed
     'The bed is where I have slept'

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[6] Abbreviations are as follows: Asp: aspect, Gen: genitive, IF: Instrumental Focus, Imp: imperative, LF: Locative Focus, Lig: ligature, Nom: nominative, Nmz: nominalization, Prf: perfective, Top: topic.

(14) imini   ka   xizib-an   lia.
     this   Top   slice-LF   Asp
     'This has been sliced'

(15) pu-batu'-an   lia ki   babaw   daran.
     pave-stone-Loc Asp Nom   above   road
     'The surface of the road has been paved with stones'

In short, both affixes, *saa-* and *-an*, may function either as nominal or verbal. In other words, the nominalizing and focus-affixing forms are identical. It is debatable whether the non-Agent Focused forms can be treated as nominal, as Egerod (1965, 1966) did in his descriptions of Atayal. In (15), the aspect marker *lia* usually follows a verb and modifies it, so it seems beyond doubt that *pu-batu'-an* functions as the main verb of the sentence.

Morphology alone, therefore, does not tell whether a certain form is a noun or a verb. We have to resort to syntactic evidence, as discussed below.

3.3 Case markers and nominalization

Pazih has the following case markers[7] that occur before nouns:

ki nominative	*ni* genitive
di locative	*u* oblique

For example,

(16) mangit   lia   ki   rakihan.
     weep   Asp   Nom   child
     'The child has wept'

(17) sasay   mu-baket   rakihan   ki   ina?
     why   AF-beat   child   Nom   mother
     'Why did the mother beat her child?'

(18) ni   saw   ki   umamah.
     Gen   man   Nom   paddy field
     'The paddy field belongs to the person'

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[7] All function words, including the case markers, the topic marker *ka*, and the ligature *a* are optional in Pazih.

(19) ina   ka   ma-ra-ramay,   rakihan   ka   baked-en   ni   aba.
      Mom   Top   AF-Red-cook   child   Top   beat-PF   Gen   Dad
      'While Mother was cooking, the child was beaten by Father'

(20) mi-kita   ima   di   binayu   siw?
      AF-see   who   Loc   mountain   you/Nom
      'Who did you see in the mountain?'

(21) mara   alaw   di   raxung   ki   aba.
      take   fish   Loc   stream   Nom   Dad
      'Father caught fish in the stream'

(22) rahut   u   daran.
      west   Obl   road
      'west of the road'

(23) kipud-en   u   selem   lai   ki   babu   a   isia.
      wrap-PF   Obl   fat   Asp   Nom   heart   Lig   that
      'That heart (of hers) was wrapped in fat'

In Formosan languages, as is generally known, all case markers precede the nouns, whereas the topic marker *ka* follows the topicalized noun or phrase, as in (19) above. The genitive case marker usually precedes the actor-noun in a non-Agent Focused construction, also as in (19). The genitive may also indicate possession, such as *ni saw* 'to belong to the person, the person's', as in (18).

Interestingly enough, when a verb follows a case marker and occurs in the position of noun, it functions as a noun, such as the verb *mangit* (preceded by *ki*) in the following example (cf. 16):

(24) rakihan   ka,   sasay   ki   mangit?
      child   Top   why   Nom   weep
      'As for the child, why did he weep?'

3.4 Ligature and relative construction

Pazih has a ligature *a*, which occurs between two nouns. For example:

(25) rakihan   a   siatu.
      child   Lig   clothes
      'the child's clothes'

(26) aba   a   xiasuan.
      Dad   Lig   parent-in-law
      '(female's) father-in-law'

The particle *a* seems to provide evidence that the forms preceding and following it are nominal:

(27) masu   rakihan   a   misiw ka   naki   a   ina.
     bring   child   Lig   that   Top   I/Gen Lig   Mom
     'The one who brought a child is my mother'

Not only the ligature *a*, but also the case marker *ki* provides evidence that the verb forms are nominalized in the following examples. (Verbs functioning as modifiers or occurring in relative constructions have been put in square brackets [ ].)

(28) nahani ki   [mangid- a]   rakihan.
     come   Nom   cry   Lig   child
     'The crying child came' or 'the child who cried came'

(29) duila lia ki   [masiatu   rubahing a]   mamais.
     leave Asp Nom   wear-clothes red   Lig   woman
     'The woman in red has left'

The relative constructions appear not only in the subject position indicated by *ki*, as in (28) and (29) above, but also in the topic position, as below:

(30) [mudaux   inusad- a]   saw   ka   mubaket   wazu.
     drink   wine   Lig   person Top   beat   dog
     'The person who drank beat a dog'

(31) [maapa   rakihan   a]   ina   ka   mangit   lia.
     carry   child   Lig   Mom   Top   cry   Asp
     'The mother who was carrying a child on her back has cried'

The grammatical function of the ligature *a* is to link two nouns, or a head noun and a verb phrase, as exemplified in (27)-(31).

But there is a real problem here: Are the relative constructions actually nominalized? As a matter of fact, it is not clear whether examples (28) through (31) really contain relative constructions or not.[8] Another problem is that the particle *a* appears not only between two nouns, but also between two verbs, as in the second *a* of the following example:

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[8] It is assumed that when a verb phrase modifies a head noun, as illustrated in (28)-(32), it can be considered a relative clause or construction.

(32) [ina   '<in>apa   (a)]   rakihan   ka   riak   **a** midem   lia.
     Mom   Perf-carry   Lig   child   Top   well   sleep   Asp
     'The child carried by her mother has slept well'

That is to say, the particle *a* does not provide decisive evidence whether a certain form or utterance is nominal or verbal. What function does the second *a* in (32) have? The particle *a*, which occurs before a verb, seems to function as a complementizer in the following sentences:

(33) yaku   ka   pisipi   haiki   ayam   **a** mahabahar.
     I/Top   Top   dream   like   bird   fly
     'I dream of flying like a bird'

(34) ina   tumala   rakihan   **a** mangit.
     Mom   hear   child   cry
     'Mother heard the child crying'

(35) yaku   kaxi'eder a   mausay   **a** mubariw   siatu   ki   atun.
     I/Top   believe   will go   buy   clothes   Nom   name
     'I believe that Atun will go to buy clothes'

It is reported by Whaley (1997:249-250) that it is "common to find that languages produce subordinate structures through nominalization." For example, in Comanche, an American-Indian language spoken in the United States, "the verb is transformed into a nominal by use of derivational morphology [-*na*]. Commonly, the subject of the nominalized verb is treated as a possessor," as in:

(36) u-kima-na   nii   su=pana?i-ti=
     his-come-Nmz   I   know-Asp
     'I know that he has come' (Data from Charney 1993)

Unfortunately, there is no morphological evidence for a similar type of nominalization or that subordinate structures are nominalized in Pazih.

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巴宰語的名物化

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　　巴宰語由名詞轉變成動詞是很常見的詞類變化，但是由動詞轉變成名詞（名物化）卻是很少見的。根據作者跟土田滋教授合編的《巴宰語詞典》所呈現的巴宰語言資料，由名詞轉變成動詞的詞綴超過二十種，而名物化的詞綴卻僅有這五種：*a(i)-...-an, ka-～kaa-, ta-, sa-～saa-* 及 *-an*。況且其中兩種 (*sa-～saa-* 和 *-an*)，卻同時兼有表示動詞焦點的功能（分別表示工具焦點與處所焦點）。因此，純從構詞學是無法判斷一種詞形是動詞還是名詞，我們必須從句法結構上去觀察才能確定它有沒有名物化。語法分詞 *a* 出現在名詞或動詞之前，因此本文也討論它的語法功能。此外，本文也談到如何區辨關係子句結構與名物化結構的問題。

關鍵詞：巴宰，名詞性，動詞性，名物化，關係子句，構詞，句法結構