Nominalization in Mantauran (Rukai)∗

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The present paper aims primarily at providing a descriptive analysis of the various nominalization processes found in Mantauran (Rukai), based on a large corpus of texts. While morpho-syntactic tests are proposed that permit the identification of derived nominals (as opposed to verbs) and the distinguishing of lexical nominalization from syntactic nominalization, the array of constructions that trigger syntactic nominalization shows that there is a priori no distinction between nominalization and relativization in this dialect.

Key words: Rukai, Mantauran, lexical nominalization, syntactic nominalization, relativization

1. Introduction

The present paper focuses on nominalization in Mantauran, a highly endangered Rukai dialect spoken in the Maolin district of Kaohsiung County.

Preliminary reports regarding the phonological and morpho-syntactic divergences that the Rukai dialects1 exhibit are found in Li (1977a, 1996) and Zeitoun (1995 and 1997b) and suggest that Mantauran is the most “aberrant” (Starosta, p.c.) among the six. It has undergone a series of sound changes that renders any comparative analysis very difficult, and has developed a “verb-object” agreement not reported in any other Formosan language (see Zeitoun 1997a).

The data for this paper has been largely extracted from texts comprising over 600 pages in two volumes of transcribed narratives collected over a seven-year period (Zeitoun and Lin, to appear). The first volume is a record of our late informant’s memories; the second is a compilation of traditional folktales.

The term “nominalization” is broadly understood as a process whereby an

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1 These include: Mantauran, Maga, Tona, Budai, Labuan and Tanan.
adjective, a verb, or a verb phrase is converted into a noun. Comrie and Thompson (1985) divide nominalization into two main types: action/state nominalization and argument nominalization. The first type refers to a noun derived from a verb/adjective designating an action or a state. The second type indicates a semantic role (e.g., agent, instrument, manner, location, etc.) of the derived verb. Besides these two main types, they mention that nouns can also be derived from other nouns and that full clauses (relative, complement, or adverbal, for example) can be turned into noun phrases. They further show that while a distinction must be established between “derived nominals” and “action nominals” in terms of their retaining (or not) verbal properties, relativization might not be structurally distinct from nominalization.

The goal of the present paper is two-fold:

(i) to provide a descriptive analysis of the various nominalization processes found in Mantauran (sec. 3);
(ii) to compare the morphological marking of verbs vs. that of derived nominals; and to try to establish a distinction between lexical vs. syntactic nominalization, and nominalization vs. relativization (sec. 4).

In the following section, I first provide a bird’s eye view of Mantauran phrase structure and constituency, and show how derived nominals can be identified in terms of their sharing the same morpho-syntactic characteristics and distribution as other (underived) nouns.

2. A bird’s eye view of Mantauran phrase structure and constituency

Mantauran is a verb-initial language with a relatively free word order:

(1) a. o-kanɔ yɔlaŋɔlo tamatama.2
    Dyn.Fin-eat banana middle-aged man
    ‘Father is eating a banana.’

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b. o-kanɔ tamatama vaɒuvaɒa.
   Dyn.Fin-eat middle-aged man banana
   ‘Father is eating a banana.’

While the topicalization of agents is unconstrained, that of patients is more problematic: to appear in initial position as topics, they must be definite.

(2) tamatama /a o-kanɔ vaɒuvaɒa.
   middle-aged man Top Dyn.Fin-eat banana
   ‘As for father, he is eating/ate a banana.’

(3) *(don*i) vaɒuvaɒa ?a o-kanɔ tamatama.
    that banana Top Dyn.Fin-eat middle-aged man
    ‘As for the banana, father is eating/ate (it).’

With the exception of oblique arguments referring to human participants, as in (5), nominal arguments are usually unmarked for case:

(4) a. o-lanɔi taotao ɗaʔanɔ.
    Dyn.Fin-buy Taotao house
    ‘Taotao bought a house.’
b. o-kaʔaʃo ɗaʔolɔ ?oʔlaʔa.
    Dyn.Fin-bite dog snake
    i. ‘The dog bit the snake.’
    ii. ‘The snake bit the dog.’

Among oblique arguments marked as [+human], a further distinction must be made between [+kinship] and [+personal] nouns: [+kinship] or [+personal] oblique arguments induce obligatory agreement (5); [–kinship] or [–personal] nouns may not (6).

(5) a. ma-ɗalam*(-i1in) ɗipolo [taotao la ?anao].
    Stat.Fin-love-3P.Obl Zipolo Taotao and Anao
    ‘Zipolo loves Taotao and Anao.’
b. maɓalam*(-i1n) li laɗak-l1i taotao.
    Stat.Fin-love-3S.Obl child-1S.Gen taotao
    ‘Taotao likes my child.’ ~ ‘My child likes Taotao.’

(6) a. don*i ?aolai ?a o’ila(-i1n) apoto-ni.
    that boy Top look for(-3S.Gen) stone-3S.Gen
    ‘As for that boy, he was looking for his stone(s).’
In this paper, derived nominals are identified as such based on their identical distribution with other nominal arguments, and their sharing the same morpho-syntactic properties:

(i) They occur in an NP position:

(7) a. o-kaoð-inamɔ ka paiso.
Dyn.Fin-not exist-1PE.Obl money
‘We did not have any money.’

b. a-kaoðo ka ki-lihoa?-a-li.
not exist Neg-Dyn.NFin:know-ObjNmz-1S.Gen
‘There is nothing that I do not know.’

(ii) They can be modified by another noun:

(8) a. ɔlɔvalɔ-ni [ refracted form] taotao.
banana-3S.Gen Taotao
‘Taotao’s banana’

b. kano-ni taotao.
ActNmz:Dyn.NFin:eat-3S.Gen Taotao
‘Taotao’s eating’

(iii) They may co-occur with a genitive pronoun:

(9) a. ina-li
mother-1S.Gen
‘my mother’

b. a-pa-solato-nai
ActNmz-Caus-Dyn.NFin:study-1PE.Gen
‘our education’

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3 Sole subject nominals—formed by the prefixation of ta- to the verb stem—cannot be followed by a genitive pronoun (see sec. 4).
(iv) They can undergo topicalization:

(10) a. δόναʔiʔ aʔaʔoʔo mani vaaʔ-ʔiʔiʔ δ̄i.
that lunch box then Dyn.NFin:give-3S.Gen younger sibling
‘That lunch box, (she) gave it to the younger brother.’

b. δόνa ta-ka-ʔaʔa mani vaaʔ-ʔiʔiʔ
that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin:one then Dyn.NFin:give-3S.Gen
younger sibling
‘That one, (she) gave it to the younger brother.’

(v) If it refers to a human participant, a derived nominal can take a plural prefix (11a); if it refers to a non-human participant, it can be circumfixed by the quantifier kapa-...-pa ‘all’ (11b):

(11) a. onaʔi a-ʔolalai la onaʔi ta-aʔacakolaa-na
that plur-child and that SubjNmz-plur-married-already
ta-ka-ʔoʔaa oʔaʔo-nai
SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-plur-old Dyn.Fin-can-1PE.Nom
ʔi-ʔaʔiʔi.
wear-sleeveless garment
‘Children, already married (women) and old people could wear sleeveless (fur) jackets.’

b. mani poaʔ-ʔaʔaʔa toloʔo δόνaʔi
then Dyn.NFin:make-already-1PE.Obl bridge that
kapa-[ʔaʔaʔa]-pa.
all-stream-Sup
‘Then, they built bridges for us on all the streams.’

b'. ʔiʔiʔiʔi maʔaʔ-ʔaʔaʔa laŋai saŋapaa, ʔiʔoʔaʔai
for-1PE.Nom now-Sup Dyn.Subj:buy car any(thing) this
kapa-a-laŋal-ाʔaʔaʔa-nai...
all-ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:buy-ObjNmz-Sup-1PE.Gen
‘That’s because nowadays we (want to) buy cars (as well as other) commodities.’

(vi) If it refers to a [+human] participant, a derived nominal can trigger verbal agreement:
(12) a. ðona?i ?avai kapa-ki-kaava?*(-iðɔ)
that woman continuously-Neg-Dyn.NFin:come-3S.Obl
lamɔŋaɔ-ða.
husband-3S.Gen
‘As for that woman, her husband didn’t come to her.’
b. ðona ta-ka-jihili, ðona ta-liho?ɔ ?a
that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-clever that SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:know Top
mani pa-ðaac-iðiðɔ [...] then Caus-Dyn.NFin:leave-3P.Obl
‘Those (who were) clever, those (who) understood (would be) allowed to
leave.’

The distinction between verbs and nouns is further illustrated in the following pairs
of examples, which contrast the syntactic distribution of the verb ðaðåkapaɔ ‘work’ with
the noun ðåkapaɔ ‘work’.

(13) a. ?aðiðapao-ʃa. 
work-1S.Nom
‘I am working.’ ~ ‘I worked.’ 
a’. *ðiðapø-ʃa.
work-1S.Nom
b. ?aðiðapa-ʃa!
work-Imp
Work!
b’. *ðiðapø-ʃa!
work-Imp

(14) a. ikaoðò ka ðiðapø-li.
not exist work-1S.Gen
‘I do/did not have any work (to do),’ 
not exist work-1S.Gen
b. pa?aðapao ðiðapø-li.
laborious work-1S.Gen
‘My work is laborious.’ 
laborious work-1S.Gen

In the following section, these syntactic tests will not be repeated, but the contrast
between a verb and its nominal counterpart will be, whenever possible, explicitly
exemplified.
3. Types of nominalization processes

Following Comrie and Thompson (1985), different nominalization processes are examined below: action/state nominals (sec. 3.1), argument nominals (sec. 3.2), (abstract) nouns (sec. 3.3), and nominalized clauses (sec. 3.4). A short summary is provided in section 3.5. Section 3.6 shows that although nominalization in Mantauran is a very productive process, it sometimes produces irregular morphophonological changes.

3.1 Action/state nominals

Four nominalization processes are involved in deriving action/state nominals. They are summarized in Table 1 and further illustrated in examples (15)-(18).

Table 1: Action/state nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphological process</th>
<th>Verbal (dyn.) stem</th>
<th>Action nominal</th>
<th>Verbal (stat.) stem</th>
<th>State nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation of a-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-ʔiaʔipi</td>
<td>a-ʔiaʔipi</td>
<td>ma-ʔa</td>
<td>a-ʔaʔaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘count’</td>
<td>‘arithmetic’</td>
<td>‘flirt’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-aramao</td>
<td>a-parama-ramaon</td>
<td>ma-ʔoolai</td>
<td>a-ʔaʔoolai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘resemble’</td>
<td>‘resemblance’</td>
<td>‘childhood’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ʔaʔavi</td>
<td>a-ʔaʔavi</td>
<td>ma-ʔaiʔaʔapi</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘share’</td>
<td>‘share’</td>
<td>‘illness’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-ʔaʔaʔaʔap</td>
<td>a-ʔaʔaʔap</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘make...meet’</td>
<td>‘meeting’</td>
<td>‘illness’</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-solato</td>
<td>a-ʔaʔaʔap</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘make...meet’</td>
<td>‘meeting’</td>
<td>‘illness’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pa-solato</td>
<td>a-ʔaʔaʔap</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>‘make...study’</td>
<td>‘education’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pa-valʔis</td>
<td>a-ʔaʔaʔap</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘make...change’</td>
<td>‘antonym’</td>
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<tr>
<td>to-ʔaʔaʔaʔap</td>
<td>a-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>‘build roads’</td>
<td>‘traffic’</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixation of -aʔaʔaʔap</td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>‘goodness’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td>a-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td>ma-ʔaʔapi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compare with: ta-ʔaʔapi ‘advantage’ (lit., ‘good place’).
(15) Action/state nominals—prefixation of *a*- 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occurrence of root</th>
<th>O-halacolaco ‘comb’</th>
<th>Halacolaco ‘comb’</th>
<th>O-tamaco ‘obstruct’</th>
<th>Tamato(tamaco) ‘tollbooth’</th>
<th>O-valo ‘pile up’</th>
<th>Valo ‘piling up, wall’</th>
<th>O-capolo ‘see’</th>
<th>Capolo ‘seeing, look’</th>
<th>O-kanc ‘eat’</th>
<th>Kanc ‘eating’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- **a.** mani dolo a-itina a-tamatama then Dyn.NFin:can plur-middle-aged woman plur-middle-aged man kaamai poa pa-do?ento… self Dyn.Subj:make Caus-Dyn.NFin:meet ‘The parents could have them meet...’


‘At that time, when we built a house, we (would) have a living-room so that young women and young men (could) flirt.’


‘At that time, when we were young, a girl (would) have many admirers if she was kind.’

(16) State nominals—suffixation of -aʔa


‘If, at times, we are ill, we can call a taxi...’

a’. ḏona ta-ka-kociŋaŋi caʔm-aʔa... that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-serious sick-StatNmz

‘Those who had a serious disease...’


‘Since we've moved to the new village, we have been very busy.’

b’. onaʔi a-iki-na-nai ʔoʔonoʔo that ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:be at-still-1PE.Gen place name akiako ka rikoc-aʔa-nai. not exist busy-StatNmz-1PE.Gen

‘When we still were in the old village, we were not busy.’

(17) Action nominals—occurrence of the root

a. ...mani patol-iʔo ɣaʔonamra vələta.pa-waʔa then from-3S Obl soil Dyn.Subj:pile up Caus-Dyn.NFin:reach ḏona ta-iki-ki-aʔi-liʔa that LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:be at-LocNmz-3P.Gen ʔapəʔo a-ʔolalai... Dyn.Subj:sleep plur-male

‘...stones were piled up from the ground to the place where men slept...’
a. mani  çaŋpatɔ-nai  ðonaʔi  ðaʔanɔ  ?i  then  Dyn.NFin:see-1PE.Nom  that  house
valjato  mani  jihoʔo-nai
ActNmz:Dyn.NFin:pile up  then  Dyn.NFin:know-1PE.Nom
ka-iki-liða  ?ina  valjɔ.
in fact-Dyn.NFin:exist-3P.Gen  this  village
‘Then we saw the ruins of (earlier) houses and we realized that originally there had been a village there.’
b. o-çainle-kaʔoʔo?
Dyn.Fin-see-Neg-2S.Gen-3S.Obl
‘Did you see her?’
b’. kani  çaŋpatɔ-ʔoʔo?
why  ActNmz:Dyn.NFin:see-2S.Gen-3S.Obl
‘Why did you look at her?’

(18) Action nominal—verb stem marked as finite or subjunctive
a. onaʔi  a-kaavaʔi-ni  ana,
that  ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:come-3S.Gen  that
a-ðaacaʔa-ŋa-lao.
Dyn.Fin:leave-already-1S.Nom
‘When he came, I had already left.’
b. aðaacaʔa-ʔo  ?iðaɔ.
Dyn.Fin:leave-2S.Gen  when
‘When did you leave?’
c. monanaʔa  lo  aðaacaʔa-ʔo?
which day  when  Dyn.Subj:leave-2S.Gen
‘When will you leave?’

3.2 Argument nominals

Argument nominals may be divided into: subject(ive), objective, locative, instrumental/manner/result and temporal nouns.

3.2.1 Subject(ive) nominals

Subject(ive) nominalization is rendered by the prefixation of ta- to the verb base (see Table 2) and yields the meaning ‘one which “verbs”’ though “the noun need not be in an ‘agent’ relationship with the verb” (Comrie and Thompson 1985:350). Thus the adoption of the term “subjective”, suggested by M.-C. Paris, in place of “agentive” that narrows down the usage of ta-.
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**Table 2: Agentive nominals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of verbs</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
<th>Subject(ive) nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic verbs</td>
<td>o-alopo 'hunt'</td>
<td>ta-alopo '(who) hunts, hunter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-kana 'eat'</td>
<td>ta-kana '(who) eats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-[l]hoʔo 'know'</td>
<td>ta-[l]hoʔo '(who) knows'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-haranhō 'snore'</td>
<td>ta-haranhō '(who) snores'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-piʔapiʔa alaĉd̂</td>
<td>ta-piʔapiʔa alaĉd̂ '(who) writes names, officer, civil servant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-solata 'study, write'</td>
<td>ta-solata '(who) studies/writes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-ʔosario 'play'</td>
<td>ta-ʔosario '(who) plays, player'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m-ʔaavaʔi 'come'</td>
<td>ta-ʔaavaʔi '(who) comes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-ʔa 'go'</td>
<td>ta-ʔa '(who) goes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to-alak̂ 'give birth'</td>
<td>ta-to-alak̂ '(who) gives birth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>topoʔaolal̂ 'true, right'</td>
<td>ta-topoʔaolal̂ '(who) is right'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Static verbs</td>
<td>ma-caʔoma 'ill'</td>
<td>ta-kaʔoma '(who) is ill, patient'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-ʔihoʔi 'clever'</td>
<td>ta-ʔihoʔi '(who is) clever'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-ʔo-ʔo ‘old’</td>
<td>ta-ʔo-ʔo '(who is) old, old person (sg.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-ʔsiʔi ‘few, small’</td>
<td>ta-ʔsiʔi ‘(who is/has) few, small...’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(19) a. araʔɔʔa la o-ʔan̂-ka-i ka ʔi but and Dyn.Fin-eat-Neg-3S.Gen Dyn.Subj:be at sakovo men’s house

   ‘But they did not eat in the men’s house.’

a’. olo to-saiʔakip̂-mao kasa-ni when make-small glutinous cake-Imprs.Gen only-3S.Gen a-oʔolai ta-ʔa, plur-child SubjNnz-Dyn.NFin:eat

   ‘When someone made small glutinous cakes (saiʔakipi), only children (would) eat them.’


   ‘Then the Mantauran people knew the hunters had already come back.’
b'. ดonna ต้า-ลิโอโอะ ว่า-ยา-เรื่อง ผ่านโยะ-มัน,  
that SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:know Dyn.Fin-give-3S.Obl prize  
tา-ยาดาจ่า, ยาดาฮงจ่า, ยาดาจ่า.  
SubjNmz-first second third  
‘The cleverest were given a prize (to show who was) the first, the second (and) the third.’

(20) a. อนะจำ อรอกะ-ยะ-นาะ ยา ที่นองตาวาโละ-ยาโยะ-ยา,  
that just-already-1PE.Gen Dyn.Subj:go this place name  
มา-สิ่ง-นาะโยะ โอ.  
Stat.Fin-few-still-1PE.Nom man  
‘When we first arrived in Tavale’ve’e, we were (still) few (people).’

a'. โอ ต้า-กะ-ฮันจ่า ซูกะ ยา โอโยะ-กะ-ดะ  
that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-small breast Dyn.Fin-make-Neg-3S.Gen  
?
ิ-โตปิ.  
wear-bra  
‘As for those who had small breasts, they (would) not wear a bra.’

b. โล ปะ-สอละโยะ-อีมะ  
when Caus-Dyn.NFin:study-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl  
o-ลิโอโยะ-กองโยะ  
Dyn.Fin-know-Neg-1PE.Gen  
สิยาลยา.  
Dyn.Subj:hear  
มา-ลิฮิโยะ-นาะ.  
Stat.Fin-clever-Neg-1PE.Gen  
‘When they taught us, we did not understand, we were not clever.’

b'. ดonna ต้า-กะ-ลิฮิโยะ,  
that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-clever that SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:know  
ยา ผานิ่ง ปะ-ดาะอิโยะ [...]  
Top then Caus-Dyn.NFin:leave-3P.Obl  
‘Those (who were) clever, those (who) understood (would be) allowed to leave.’

3.2.2 Objective nouns

Objective nominalization is usually indicated by او-....-او in dynamic verbs and by ....-او in stative verbs.
Table 3: Objective nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of verbs</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
<th>Objective nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dynamic verbs</strong></td>
<td>o-alo po ‘hunt’</td>
<td>a-lop-aa ‘game’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-kan ‘eat’</td>
<td>a-kan-aa ‘food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-ʔonolo ‘drink’</td>
<td>aʔ-ʔonol-aa ‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-laŋai ‘buy’</td>
<td>a-laŋa]-aa ‘(thing) bought, merchandise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-vəʔat ‘pile up’</td>
<td>a-vəʔat-aa ‘(stones) piled up, wall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>om-iki ‘exist, be at’</td>
<td>a-iki-a ‘existence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pa-cəŋə ‘make...see’</td>
<td>a-pa-cəŋə-qaol-aa solatə ‘references’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stative verbs</strong></td>
<td>ma-ʔalaə ‘like, love’</td>
<td>ka-ʔalam-aa ‘the loved (one)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(21) a. o-kanə-na-ka-li.
   Dyn.Fin-eat-already-Neg-1S.Gen
   ‘I have not eaten yet.’
   a’. ʔo-naʔi-ʔa kasa-da ʔo-naʔi a-kan-aa-nai
   that Top only-3S.Gen Top ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz
   ‘That was the only food we had.’
   b. ʔo-na ka o-laŋai-ka-nai ka toʔonai...
   that Dyn.Fin-buy-Neg-1PE.Gen any(thing)
   ‘We never bought anything.’
   b’. […] miri aŋa m-oa loŋai oʔi
   then Dyn.NFin:take Dyn.Subj-go Dyn.Subj:buy that
   mɔʔa, timo, toʔonai ʔo-naʔi
   fabric salt everything that
   a-laŋa]-aa-li.ʔa.
   ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:buy-ObjNmz-3P.Gen
   ‘Then, they would go and buy fabric, salt, everything they needed to buy.’

(22) a. ma-ʔaa-ʔalaə-kaʔ-ʔ-aʔa dípolo,
   Stat.Fin-Red-love-Neg-2S.Gen-3S.Obl Dipolo
   ma-ʔaa-ʔalaə-kaʔ-ʔ-ina taotao?
   Stat.Fin-Red-love-Neg-2S.Gen-3S.Obl Taotao
   ‘Do you prefer Zipolo or Taotao?’
Another process has been reported in the Southeastern Rukai dialects as well as in other Formosan languages (Saisiyat, Atayal, Puyuma, Kavalan): the infixation of \(<in>\) that correlates an aspectual/modal distinction, i.e., perfective/realis vs. imperfective/irrealis (Teng 2001, Yeh 2000, Chen 1999). In Saisiyat, for instance, the distinction between “past” and “future” is usually expressed through a different device, e.g., \(<in>\) vs. ka-...-\(\sim\).

(23) Saisiyat (Yeh 2000)

a. \(t\)-\(\sim\)-awbon  ‘something pounded, rice cake’

a’. \(ka\)-tawbon-\(\sim\)  ‘something to be pounded’

b. \(t\)-\(\sim\)-al\(\sim\)  ‘something cooked, wine’

b’. \(ka\)-tal\(\sim\)-\(\sim\)  ‘something to be cooked’

The infix \(<in>\) is found in a very few fossilized lexical items in the Northern Rukai dialects (Mantauran, Tona and Maga). In Mantauran, the realis/irrealis distinction mentioned above is also found (cf. the contrast between -\(a\) vs. a-...-\(a\)) but is pending further investigation:

\[a\).  a-iki-\(\sim\)-ni  \(\sim\)  \\
ObjNmz-Dyn NFin:exist-ObjNmz-3S.Gen  \\
ka-\(\sim\)a-\(\sim\)alam-\(a\)-\(\sim\)?  \\
Stat NFin:Red-love-ObjNmz-2S.Gen  \\
‘Which one do you prefer?’

b.  ma-sakal-in\(\sim\)  \\
Stat Fin:angry-3S. Obl Zipolo Taotao  \\
‘Taotao is/was angry at Zipolo.’ ~ ‘Zipolo is angry at Taotao.’

b’.  aa\(\sim\)-i  \\
who-3S.Gen  \\
ka-sakal-\(\sim\)-\(\sim\)-ni  \\
Stat NFin:angry-ObjNmz-3S.Gen  \\
‘With whom is he angry?’

\[5\] The word c<\(in>\)\(\sim\)al\(\sim\) ‘villager’ might tentatively be treated as deriving from the verb o-c\(\sim\)al\(\sim\) ‘all’ but it represents the only instance uncovered so far in Mantauran.
(24) a. kana-ni kan-ŋəʔ?
   what-3S.Gen Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
   ‘What do you want to eat?’

   a’. kana-ni a-kan-ŋəʔ?
   what-3S.Gen ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
   ‘What did you eat?’

   b. kana-ni ŋol-ŋəʔ?
   what-3S.Gen Dyn.NFin:drink-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
   ‘What do you want to drink?’

   b’. kana-ni a-ŋol-ŋəʔ?
   what-3S.Gen ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:drink-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
   ‘What did you drink?’

### 3.2.3 Locative nouns

Locative nominalization (which implies that “X is the place where Y did/does something”) manifests itself through the circumfixation of ta-... to the verb base. Only one locative nominal—derived from the verb omiki ‘be at, exist’—was found to be formed by the suffixation of -ŋə (and not the circumfixation of ta-...); cf. kiki-ŋə ‘space’.

---

6 Another form, exemplified in (ia) was found, remains also ill-understood:

   (i) a. əa-liʔ?
      Dyn.NFin:go-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
      ‘Where are you going?’

   b. ə-əa-liʔ?
      ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:go-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
      ‘Where did you go?’
Table 4: Locative nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of verbs</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
<th>Locative nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dynamic verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-cikipi ‘sew’</td>
<td>ta-cikip-ao</td>
<td>‘seam, stitch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-domini ‘white-wash’</td>
<td>ta-domi-domini-ao</td>
<td>‘wall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-kolai ‘hang’</td>
<td>ta-kolai-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘hanger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-laŋaj ‘buy’</td>
<td>ta-laŋa-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘store’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-saosi ‘lock (the door)’</td>
<td>ta-sa-saosi-ao</td>
<td>‘lock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-sokovo ‘bend (one’s head)’</td>
<td>ta-soko-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘church’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-solato ‘study, write’</td>
<td>ta-solato-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘school’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-voloto ‘pile up’</td>
<td>ta-voloto-ao</td>
<td>‘wall’ (lit: place where stones are piled up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-avolo ‘bury’</td>
<td>ta-avolo-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘tomb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-avosario ‘play’</td>
<td>ta-avosario-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘running field, touristic area’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-aana ‘wash (body)’</td>
<td>ta-aana-van-aro</td>
<td>‘bathroom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-oza ‘draw water’</td>
<td>ta-oza-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-i ‘exist, be at’</td>
<td>ta-i-alo</td>
<td>‘place where...is’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ta-i-alo-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-oa ‘go’</td>
<td>ta-ao-aro</td>
<td>‘place to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ta-ao-aro) mo-ta-vilala-aro</td>
<td>‘toilet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po-acilai ‘water (flowers)’</td>
<td>ta-po-acila-aro</td>
<td>‘paddy field’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-potopo ‘make a fire’</td>
<td>ta-potopo-aro</td>
<td>‘fire place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔi-liŋo ‘look (oneself) in a mirror’</td>
<td>ta-ʔi-liŋo-aro</td>
<td>‘dresser’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaliki ‘(come) from’</td>
<td>ta-ʔaliki-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘origin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stative verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-aka ‘black’</td>
<td>ta-aka-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘dark’ (Lit: dark spot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-taaldo ‘good’</td>
<td>ta-taaldo-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘advantage’ (Lit: good place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-takoal ‘good’</td>
<td>ta-takoal-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘disadvantage’ (Lit: bad place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-taaloako ‘cooler’</td>
<td>ta-taaloako-alo-ao</td>
<td>‘fridge’ (Lit: place that keeps dishes and drinks cool(er))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

7 A doublet form ta-liŋiŋo was recorded.
Nominalization in Mantauran (Rukai)

(25) a. mani pa-valjįsi avo-avoko cikipį votoľoʔo-da...
   then Caus-Dyn.NFin:change Red-blanket Dyn.Subj:sew body-3S.Gen
   ‘(The bride would) be put on a blanket (we) saw around her body...’

   a'. araʔo va ma-raʔi-ŋ-ido donaʔi
   but when Stat.Subj-heal-already-3S.Obl that
   ta-cikip-ŋ-ido
   LocNmz-Dyn.NFin:sew-LocNmz-3S.Gen-3S.Obl
   mał-a-ŋa-nai
   Dyn.Subj:take-already-1PE.Nom
   self-Ca-Stat.NFin-self take off-Dyn.NFin:sew
   ‘When the wound had healed and (we had to) take off the stitches, then
   we could do that by ourselves.’

   b. donaʔi ta-iki-ŋ-da ?apoʔapacő
   that LocNmz-Dyn.NFin:be at-LocNmz-3S.Gen Dyn.Subj:lay
   ʔoolai saloʔiri mani po-ido oʔi toloŋo la
   child cradle then Dyn.NFin:make-3S.Obl that receptacle and
   akoʔo kołai.
   knife Dyn.Subj:hang
   ‘The receptacle and the knife were hung on the cradle where the baby
   slept.’

   b'. onaʔi a-kaavaʔi-ŋ-da ?əomo,
   that ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:come-already-3S.Gen Japanese
   o-ɗo-ŋa-nai łoŋai kavano,
ta-kola-kola-ɕ, kovokołoko la
   LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:hang-LocNmz ActNmz:Dyn.NFin:cover and
ta-ʔi-łoŋo-łoŋo-ɕ.
   LocNmz-look at-Red-mirror-LocNmz
   ‘When the Japanese came, we were able to buy wardrobes, coat hangers,
   mosquito nets and dressers.’

(26) a. ma-očeląŋ donaʔi mołarąp.
   Stat.Fin-black that cloth
   ‘That cloth is black.’

   a'. mani aла-nai ʔi ɗaʔa poa
   then Dyn.NFin:take-1PE.Nom mud Dyn.Subj:make
   lıŋao piʔamaɗalaʔo ʔoɬa
   Dyn.Subj:wash first take off
Other locative nouns will be examined below, which are derived from original nouns through quite the same morphological processes.

3.2.4 Instrumental, manner and result nouns

Morphologically speaking, instrumental, manner and result nominals are treated the same in Mantauran (see Tables 5-7). This type of nominalization is indicated through the prefixing of /a- (< P(roto) R(ukai) *sa-) to the verb base. The main distinction lies in the fact that an “instrumental” meaning is obtained if the verb is dynamic (Table 5) while a “manner” interpretation is perceived if the verb is inherently stative (Table 6). If a stative verb has previously undergone another morpho-syntactic process (e.g., causativization), then the derived nominal might be instrumental, cf. ma-poli ‘white’ > pa-ka-poli ‘make...white’ > /a-pa-ka-poli ‘detergent’, ma-?sα > pa-ka-?sα > /a-pa-ka-?sα ‘anaesthesia’. In co-occurrence with other prefixes (e.g., po- ‘put, give, make’), /a- conveys another interpretation: “as a result of...” (Table 7).

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8 No Ca-reduplication pattern yielding an instrumental meaning, as reported in Blust (1998), is found in Mantauran.
Nominalization in Mantauran (Rukai)

Table 5: Instrumental, manner and result nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of verbs</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
<th>Instrumental nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic verbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-ko-ŋiʔŋiʔi</td>
<td>?a-ko-ŋiʔŋiʔi</td>
<td>‘twizzers, razor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-hisihisi ‘saw’</td>
<td>?a-hisi-hisihisi ‘saw’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-[aki-]pki ‘stick’</td>
<td>?a-[akiki-[aki ‘glue’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-linao</td>
<td>?a-linao-ŋao</td>
<td>‘washing up liquid, sponge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-moromoro</td>
<td>?a-moro-moromoro</td>
<td>‘toothbrush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-taŋtaŋa</td>
<td>?a-taŋtaŋtaŋa</td>
<td>‘wash board’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-ʔənəo ‘wash (clothes)’</td>
<td>?a-ʔənəo-ʔənəo ‘washing powder’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-ʔodoʔodo ‘mop (the floor)’</td>
<td>?a-ʔodoʔodoʔodo ‘mop’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-ʔosario ‘play’</td>
<td>?a-ʔosario-sario ‘toy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-aavanəo ‘wash (body)’</td>
<td>?a-paaavaa-vanao ‘soap’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ʔa-sola-solata, ʔa-[akiki-[aki ‘toothbrush’
InstNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:write InstNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:stick
‘Nowadays, there are everything in the plain, and we can afford to buy books (or paper), pencils and glue (to our children) ...’

b. o-ko-δinam ʔa-hisi-hisihisi la
Dyn.Fin:not exist-1PE.Obl InstNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:saw and ʔa-pali-palipači,
InstNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:drive in a nail
‘(In the past), we did not have saws or screwdrivers.’
Table 6: Manner nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of verbs</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
<th>Manner nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stative verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-\textipa{taa}di\’i</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>?a-\textipa{ka}-taa\’i \‘(how) good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-\textipa{kac}e\’a</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
<td>?a-\textipa{ka}-kace\’a \‘(how) cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-lihili \‘clever, smart’</td>
<td></td>
<td>?a-\textipa{ka}-lihili \‘(how) clever/smart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ri\textipa{d}ar\’a \‘fast’</td>
<td></td>
<td>?a-\textipa{ka}-ri\textipa{d}ar\’a \‘(how) fast’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(28) a. ma-ri\textipa{d}ar\’a \‘fast’
   ‘He runs fast.’
   a’. amokoa-ni \textipa{?a}-ka-ri\textipa{d}ar\’a-ni \‘how-3S.Gen ManNmz-Stat.NFin-fast-3S.Gen when \textipa{do}\textipa{a}\textipa{a}ac\’a-ni.
   Dyn.Subj:walk-3S.Gen
   ‘How fast does he walk?’
   b. ma-lihili-\textipa{na}-\textipa{ao}.
   Stat.Fin-clever-Sup-1S.Nom
   ‘I am the cleverest.’
   b’. amokoa-ni \textipa{?a}-ka-lihili-ni \textipa{omal}a.
   how-3S.Gen ManNmz-Stat.NFin-clever-3S.Gen Dyn.Subj:sing
   ‘How well does he sing?’

Table 7: Result nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of verbs</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
<th>Instrumental nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deverbal nouns</strong></td>
<td>po-timo ‘put on salt’</td>
<td>?a-po-timo ‘as a result of salting’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5 Temporal nouns

Temporal nouns are formed through the circumfixation of \textipa{kala}–\ldots\textipa{a} to the verb base yielding the meaning ‘season’ (e.g., ‘cold season’, i.e., ‘winter’; ‘rainy season’, i.e., ‘monsoon’).

\footnote{Only one such occurrence was found.}
\footnote{Whether this circumfix should be decomposed as \textipa{ka}-\textipa{la}–\ldots\textipa{a} is still under investigation.}
Table 8: Temporal nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of verbs</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
<th>Temporal nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dynamic verbs</strong></td>
<td>o-ða?olo ‘rain’</td>
<td>kala-ðo-ða?ol-aØ ‘rainy season’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stative verbs</strong></td>
<td>ma-käçolØ ‘cold’</td>
<td>kala-käçol-aØ ‘winter’11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-[apa]a ‘burning hot’</td>
<td>kala-ka-[apa]-aØ ‘summer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(29) a. amo-ða?o-lo lo ?iða. will-Dyn.NFin:rain tomorrow
‘It will rain tomorrow.’

ki-oa-mao ooma... Neg-Dyn.NFin:go-3Imps.Nom field
‘During the rainy season, if one stayed home, one would not go to the field ...’

‘When it was very cold, young women did not dare to wear sleeveless (fur) jackets (because) they were (too) embarrassed (to do so).’

motøvalø. to:opposite side of the river bank
‘During the winter, (it was possible) to cross the river on foot.’

3.3 Nouns turning into other (abstract) nouns

Two major classes of nouns turning into other (abstract) nouns through a process of nominalization have been found: locative and temporal nouns. These are examined in turn below.

---

11 Expected form: kalad-ka-käçol-aØ. Why ka- does not occur in this derived nominal remains unaccounted for.
Elizabeth Zeitoun

3.3.1 Locative nouns

I showed in Zeitoun (1995:143) that there are three major ways of referring to a location in Mantauran: the suffix -a (PR *-ana) is added to [–human] nouns, e.g., i-vili-a ‘behind’; -na (< -n-a) is added to [+human, –personal] nouns, e.g., dɔɑɭum-a-na ‘household’; and -in is added to [+human, +personal] nouns occurring in the oblique case, e.g., ipol-in ‘Ipolo (Obl)’. Among these, the first two represent instances of nominalization, whereby a noun turns into another noun. Since then, two other nominalization processes have been uncovered: the first consists of the circumfixation of ta-...-a to a [–human] base; the second does not allow any type of affixation, but reduplication of the [+human] base implies a location. These four types of nominalization—ta-N[–human]-a, (Red-)N[–human]-a, N[+human]-na, Red-N[+human]—do not only differ in terms of the morphological process involved, but also in terms of the semantic interpretation attributed to the derived nominal.

Table 9: Locative nominals (derived from nouns)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of nouns</th>
<th>Nominal stem</th>
<th>Derived nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[–human]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acilai ‘water’</td>
<td>ta-asil-a    ‘spring’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ima ‘hand’]</td>
<td>ta-[ima-a]   ‘sleeve’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ovɔʔok ‘pig’</td>
<td>ta-ovak-a    ‘pigpen’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paloŋ ‘pot’</td>
<td>ta-paloŋ-aṣ  ‘hearth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aalọ ‘flower’</td>
<td>ta-[aalọ-a]  ‘garden’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aŋato ‘wood, brushwood’</td>
<td>ta-[aŋato-a]  ‘woodshed’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acilai ‘water’</td>
<td>ta-asil-a    ‘spring’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dàkara ‘river’</td>
<td>dàkara-ra-al-ao ‘river bank’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dàʔanọ ‘house’</td>
<td>dà-à-daʔan-aə  ‘place full of houses’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mairano ‘sweet potato’</td>
<td>mairano-ra-aə ‘place full of sweet potatoes’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+human]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dàʔana ‘house’</td>
<td>dàʔana-na ‘household’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?avai ‘girl, woman’</td>
<td>?avai-na ‘girl/bride’s family’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aolai ‘male, boy, man’</td>
<td>?aolai-na ‘boy/groom’s family’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>lai ‘children’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Doublet forms include: gaʔa|o| ‘wood, brushwood’ ~ ta-gaʔa|o| ‘woodshed’.
13 Only one such occurrence was found.
Nominalization in Mantauran (Rukai)

(31) a. amo-ðáo-ka-li ðópolo
will-Dyn.NFin:can-Neg-1S.Gen Dyn.Subj:drink
ta-ka-totlako açilai?
SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-cold water
‘Can I drink cold water?’ (Based on Lin, 1999: Vol.6:46)
a'. “lo m-oa-ò ta-cilal-å?
if Dyn.Subj-go-2S.Gen LocNmz-water-LocNmz Top m-oÐ-å-mölo, ma-ðota.”
Dyn.Fin-sink-2S.Gen Stat.Fin-die
“If you go to the spring, you will sink and die.”
a''. lo... omiki-ña-mao vañvalaðo maavanao,
lo [ivañ-mao aícilal-å.
‘We washed ourselves on the road if we came across a pond of water.’
b. ma-ña ðákoral ałavó ðóponoho.
Stat.Fin-one river below place name
‘There was a river on the foot of the (old) village.’
b'. ðóna-ði viñlao-ña mani po-inamo
that after-Sup then Dyn.NFin:make-1PE.Obl
ta-sola-solat-å piki ñaðo
ða-kora-ðikal-å.
river-Red-river-LocNmz
‘Afterwards, a school opened, (which) was situated on the river banks.’
c. ?linikakamai-nai ñeñeñ poa-nai
poñavo mairana.
plant sweet potato
‘We planted sweet potatoes ourselves.’
c'. ðóna-ði vokonoñ ða mára-ðañ-å.
that land Top sweet potato-Red-sweet potato-LocNmz
‘That place is full of sweet potatoes.’
that house-3P.Gen plur-child especially Stat.Subj-good
‘As for the house of the children, it was really beautiful.’
3.3.2 Temporal nouns

At least two morphological processes whereby temporal nouns turn into other (temporal) nouns have been identified.

The first, which consists of the circumfixation of kala-...-aɩ ‘season’ to [-temporal] nouns, is productive to the extent that even loans (e.g., ɬaomo ‘Japanese’, ciokoko ‘Chinese’) can be taken as the base of derivation. The second consists of the suffixation of -naɩ to the base to form temporal adjuncts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of nouns</th>
<th>Nominal stem</th>
<th>Derived nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[-temporal]</td>
<td>pahai ‘rice’</td>
<td>kala-paha-ɑ ‘harvest season (rice)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɬaomo ‘Japanese’</td>
<td>kala-ɬaom-ɑ ‘Under the Japanese’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ciokoko ‘Chinese’</td>
<td>kala-ciokok-ɑ ‘Under the Chinese’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+temporal]</td>
<td>ɬoma ‘other’</td>
<td>ɬoma-naɑ ‘sometimes, when?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yiɗa ‘day’</td>
<td>yiɗa-naɑ ‘afterwards, when?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mɑnɑ ‘now, day’</td>
<td>mɑnɑ-naɑ ‘which day?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 As opposed to ‘space’.
Nominalization in Mantauran (Rukai)

(33) kala-ʔaom-aŋ a-pa-sola-solat.

TempNmz-Japanese-TempNmz ActNmz-Caus-Red-Dyn.NFin:study

‘Japanese education’

(34) a. ʔid-a-naŋ lo maavaʔi-nomi?

day-TempNmz if Dyn.Subj:come-2P.Gen

‘When will you come again?’

b. mana-naŋ lo maavaʔi-nomi?

day-TempNmz if Dyn.Subj:come-2P.Gen

‘Which day will you come?’

b'. mani iki mana-naŋ donaʔi laməŋa-ða pəžəŋəc

then exist day-TempNmz that spouse-3S.Gen Peelengae

“amo-ðaacə-łaʔ olopo” mani ia.

will-Dyn.NFin:leave-1S.Nom Dyn.Subj:hunt then Dyn.NFin:so

‘One day, her husband Peelengae said: “I am going hunting.”’

3.4 Clausal nominalization

Comrie and Thompson (1985:392) use the term “clausal nominalization” to refer to the process by which clauses are nominalized. Though I have dubbed this process “adverbial nominalization” (so-called because one of the structures in question can be glossed as “when X happened/happens”) in a recent paper (see Zeitoun 2000), I am adopting Comrie and Thompson’s terminology for the sake of clarity.

This type of nominalization process is readily seen in temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses in Mantauran. Three different processes are involved:

(i) If the verb refers to a situation that has already taken place, it is prefixed by a- (temporal clauses); see Table 11.

(ii) If the verb refers to a situation that is to happen or may happen, it appears in its subjunctive form (conditional/hypothetical clauses); see Table 12.

(iii) If the verb indicates a concession, it is circumfixed by ni-...-a(ς) (concessive clauses); see Table 13:
### Table 11: Clausal nominals (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphological process</th>
<th>Types of verb</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
<th>Clausal nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>Dynamic verbs</td>
<td>a-ðaaco 'leave’</td>
<td>a-ðaaco ‘when...left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a-kano ‘eat’</td>
<td>a-kano ‘when...ate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a-liho 'know'</td>
<td>a-liho ‘when...knew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o-tovi ‘cry’</td>
<td>a-tovi ‘when...cried’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m-avaia ‘come’</td>
<td>a-kaavaia ‘when...come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Static verbs</td>
<td>o-oa ‘go’</td>
<td>a-oa ‘when...went’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>om-iki ‘exist’</td>
<td>a-iki ‘when...were’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a-itiwlo ‘ask’</td>
<td>a-itiwlo ‘when...asked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-olo ‘grow up’</td>
<td>a-ka-alo ‘when...grown up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-ðao ‘a lot, many’</td>
<td>a-ka-ðao ‘when...a lot, many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-lolai ‘be young (child)’</td>
<td>a-ka-lolai ‘as a child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-savaro ‘be young (man)’</td>
<td>a-ka-savaro ‘as a young man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-valovalo ‘be young (woman)’</td>
<td>a-ka-valovalo ‘as a young woman’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(35) a. ona/i a-iki-na-nai ka?oponoha, that ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:exist-still-1PE.Gen place name
‘When we still were in the old village [Ka?oponoha], outsiders (would) tell us that we were located in the east, when they came to see us.’

‘My child is still young.’

b'. mani a-ka-lolai-li o-liho?o-ka-li then ClsNmz-Stat.NFin-young-1S.Gen Dyn.Fin-know-Neg-1S.Gen
‘When I was young, I did not know that there were houses in Valinae.’
Table 12: Clausal nominals (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphological process</th>
<th>Types of verb</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
<th>Clausal nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic verbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vsubj [hyp/cond. clauses]</td>
<td>o-ðapalo'fish (by poisoning)'</td>
<td>ðapalo'if...fish (by poisoning)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-kana 'eat'</td>
<td>kono 'if...eat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-çñalo 'see'</td>
<td>çñalo 'see'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-tovi 'cry'</td>
<td>tovi 'if...cry'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m-aava?i 'come'</td>
<td>m-aava?i 'if...come'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>om-osa 'go'</td>
<td>m-osa 'if...go'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>om-ala 'take'</td>
<td>m-ala 'if...take'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?itovolo 'ask'</td>
<td>?itovolo 'if...ask'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Static verbs</td>
<td>ma-aloho 'grow up'</td>
<td>ma-aloho 'if...grow up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-ðao 'a lot, many'</td>
<td>ma-ðao 'if...a lot, many'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-oolai 'be young (child)'</td>
<td>ma-oolai 'if...be young (child)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-savar 'be young (man)'</td>
<td>ma-savar 'if...be young (man)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-vaðovalo 'be young (woman)'</td>
<td>ma-vaðovalo 'if...be young (woman)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Sometimes, we (would) go fishing...’

‘If we had been fishing and caught fish...’

b. om-ala-la to-ðo?a, Dyn.Fin-take-1S.Nom do-two
‘I caught two.’

b'. cəola ?i vaðavalao lo m-ala-nai look outsider(s) when Dyn.Subj-take-1PE.Gen
m-i?a vaha-nai, Dyn.Subj-like language-1PE.Gen
‘Look at those outsiders; (even) if they inter-marry with the Mantauran, they do not understand our language very well.’

Table 13: Clausal nominals (3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphological process</th>
<th>Types of verb</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
<th>Clausal nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-(\gamma)-a((\varnothing))</td>
<td>Dynamic verbs</td>
<td>o-kaoðø 'there is/was not'</td>
<td>ni-kaoðø-a 'even if...there is/was not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dynamic verbs</td>
<td>o-ðøøø 'can'</td>
<td>ni-(\beta)-ðøøø-a 'even if...can'15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stative verbs</td>
<td>ka-(ma)mai ‘self’</td>
<td>ni-ka-mama[l]-a ‘even if...self’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(37) a. o-kaoðø-inamø paiso.
Dyn.Fin-not exist-1PE.Obl money
‘We do/did not have money.’

a’. ni-kaoðø-a-ð-inamø paiso, ka
CncNmz-Dyn.NFin:not exist-CncNmz-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl money
ma-koa-ka-i.
Stat.Fin-matter-Neg-3S.Gen
‘Even if we did not have any money, it did not matter.’

b. ni-\(\delta\)-ðøøø-a-ða matakataka ðøøøi
CncNmz-Dyn.NFin:can-CncNmz-3S.Gen Stat:Red:elder sibling that
woman Dyn.Fin-can-Neg-3S.Gen at-home
‘Even eldest daughters could not stay in (their ancestral) home.’

c. lo ma-taaði?i ðøøøi ?aolai,
if Dyn.Subj-good that male
ni-ka-?amal-a-ða
CncNmz-Stat.NFin-self-CncNmz-3S.Gen
ðøøø va?øøø, o-ðøøø a-itina
that young woman Dyn.Fin-can plur-middle-aged woman
a-tamatama kaamai poa pa-?acakøøø.
plur-middle-aged man self Dyn.Subj:make Caus-marry
‘If the boy was good/kind, the parents could have them marry, even if the
girl disliked him.’

15 The meaning of the prefix \(\beta\)- in this particular environment is still unclear.
3.5 Summary

In the foregoing subsections, I have outlined the different nominalization processes that have been uncovered in Mantauran so far. This derivational process, which is very productive and fairly predictable, can be said to be unconstrained because:

(i) loan words and compounds can undergo nominalization, cf. *kala-*ʔaom-ʔə* 'Japanese era/occupation' and *ta-pa-*ʔoʔotoluʔa*olatə* 'schoolbag';

(ii) a verb can undergo different types of nominalization; e.g., action nominalization *kanə* 'eating', Subject(ive) nominalization *ta-kanə* '(who) eats/ate', objective nominalization *a-kan-ə* 'food', locative nominalization *ta-kanəkan-ə* 'restaurant', instrumental nominalization *ʔu-kanə* 'instrument used to eat; e.g., fork', etc.;

(iii) it is not blocked because of the existence of lexical items “already filling the ‘slot’ which the derived form” might occupy, as argued by Comrie and Thompson (1985:358), cf. *ʔu-pana* ‘arrow’ (< *o-pana* ‘shoot (with a bow)’) vs. *kuli* ‘arrow’.

Table 14 provides a recapitulation of these different processes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTION/STATE NOMINALS</th>
<th>ACTION/STATE NOMINALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Action/state nominal</strong></td>
<td><strong>Action/state nominal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-V</td>
<td>a-pasolatə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-kaʔaʔaʔa</td>
<td>‘flirt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-aʔ</td>
<td>caʔəm-aʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>State nominal</strong></td>
<td><strong>State nominal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>kanə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VFin</td>
<td>oʔaʔac(-ni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSubj</td>
<td>oʔaʔac(-ni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARGUMENT NOMINALIZATION</strong></td>
<td><strong>ARGUMENT NOMINALIZATION</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject(ive)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Subject(ive)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-V</td>
<td>ta-ʔiʔiʔo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-kanəʔa</td>
<td>‘old people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objective</strong></td>
<td><strong>Objective</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-V-ʔa</td>
<td>a-kan-ʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-ʔa</td>
<td>kasəkaʔaʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-V-ʔa</td>
<td>ta-ooʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-kaʔaʔaʔaʔa</td>
<td>‘dirt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instrumental</strong></td>
<td><strong>Instrumental</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a-V</td>
<td>?a-osarisario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a-kaʔaaʔiʔiʔi</td>
<td>‘how good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manner</strong></td>
<td><strong>Manner</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a-po-V</td>
<td>?a-po-timo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Temporal</strong></td>
<td><strong>Temporal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kala-V-ʔa</td>
<td>kala-ʔaʔoʔoʔoʔaʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kala-kaʔaʔoʔaʔaʔa</td>
<td>‘summer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6 Phonologically and morphologically unpredictable instances

The aforementioned different morphological processes might trigger a number of morphophonological alternations, which, though they do not result from nominalization alone, are worth mentioning.

3.6.1 Alternation between \( i (y) \) ~ \( \ell \)

Li (1973 and 1977b) showed that glides (among other types of consonants) might alternate with liquids as a result of suffixation in many Formosan languages. While I am not inclined anymore to recognize /y/ as a phoneme in Mantauran, it is true that the suffixation of \(-a\) (either in imperative constructions or derived nominals) triggers the alternation between \( i (y) \) and \( \ell \).

\[
\begin{align*}
(38) & \quad a. \quad \text{okəlai} \quad \text{‘hang’} \quad \sim \quad \text{ta-kəla-ka-ə} \quad \text{‘hanger’} \\
& \quad b. \quad \text{olaŋai} \quad \text{‘buy’} \quad \sim \quad \text{a-laŋa-ə} \quad \text{‘merchandise’} \\
& \quad \text{ta-laŋa-ə} \quad \text{‘store’} \\
& \quad c. \quad \text{kamaŋai} \quad \text{‘(one)self’} \quad \sim \quad \text{ni-kamaŋa-ə} \quad \text{‘even if...(one)self’} \\
& \quad d. \quad \text{poačila} \quad \text{‘water (flowers)’} \quad \sim \quad \text{ta-poačila-ə} \quad \text{‘paddy field’} \\
& \quad e. \quad \text{acila} \quad \text{‘water’} \quad \sim \quad \text{acila-ə} \quad \text{‘pound’} \\
& \quad f. \quad \text{pahai} \quad \text{‘rice’} \quad \sim \quad \text{kala-paha-ə} \quad \text{‘harvest season (rice)’} \\
& \quad g. \quad \text{ʔolaŋai} \quad \text{‘male’} \quad \sim \quad \text{ʔolaŋa-ə} \quad \text{‘groom’s family’}
\end{align*}
\]
3.6.2 Epenthetic vowel -a-

An epenthetic vowel -a- is inserted in the following examples:

(39) a. ʔaolai ‘male, man, boy’ ~ ʔaolai-ʔa-naː ‘groom’s family’
     vs. * ʔaolai-naː
     a’. ʔaʔanə ‘house’ ~ ʔaʔan-a-naː ‘household’
     vs. * ʔaʔan-a-naː
b. ʔavai ‘female, woman, girl’ ~ ʔavai-naː ‘bride’s family’
     vs. * ʔavai-a-naː
c. mənə ‘now, day’ ~ mən-a-naː ‘time’
     & mən-a-naː ‘which day’

3.6.3 Suffixation of -aː vs. -ə

A phonological rule on the deletion of -a (< -aː) can be written as follows after the vowels /i, a, o/:

(40) -aː > -ə / [a i o]

Examples are plentiful. Consider, for instance:

(41) a. om-iki ‘exist, be at’ ~ a-iki-ə (-ʔə) ‘where are (you)?’
    and not * a-iki-ə (-ʔə)
b. ʔaqato ‘brushwood’ ~ taʔaqato-ə ‘woodshed’
    and not * taʔaqato-aː
c. om-oa ‘go’ ~ ta-oa-ə ‘place where (one) goes...’
    and not * ta-oa-aː

There are, however, counterexamples to this rule, which thus far remain unaccounted for:

(42) om-iki ‘exist, be at’ ~ kiki-aː ‘space’ vs. *kiki-ə
    ~ ta-iki-aː ‘room’
    but ta-iki-ə ‘the place where...is’
    and to-ta-ikiki-ə ‘build a room/ bed’ (lit: build a place to stay...)
3.6.4 “Glottal-hopping”

I use the term “glottal-hopping” to refer to the displacement of the glottal stop in word-initial (42) or word-final position (43):

(43) o-ʔosario ‘play’ ~ ʔa-ʔosarisario ‘toy’
    and not: *ʔa-ʔosarisario

(44) a. o-[ʔhɔʔ] ‘know’ ~ ki-[ʔhɔʔ]-nai ‘...that we (did) not know (about)’
    and not: * ki-[ʔhɔʔ]-nai
b. ma-ʔaʔʔi ‘good’ ~ kатааʔʔ ‘advantage’
    and not: * kатааʔʔ

c. piʔa ‘do’ ~ tapapiʔɑ ‘way, custom’
    and not: * tapapiʔɑ

3.6.5 Reduplication

In certain nominalization patterns (e.g., locative and instrumental nominals derived lexically), reduplication is compulsory—compare, for instance, (45a-a’); but not if a nominal is syntactically derived (see sec. 4). However, the contrast between (45b-b’) still needs to be accounted for:

(45) a. ta-ʔosario ‘player’ vs. ta-ʔosari-sario ‘players’
    a’. *ʔaʔosario ‘toy’ vs. ʔaʔosarisario ‘toy(s)’
    b. acilaʔa ‘pound’ & acilacilaʔa ‘pound’
    b’. *дақ̄аʔa ‘river bank’ vs. дақ̄аʔ̄а ‘river bank’

4. Related issues

The morphological resemblance between (finite) verbs and derived nominals has been recognized by many scholars (e.g., Starosta et al. 1982, Ferrell 1982, Cauquelin 1991a-b, Ross 1995, among others) and has led to a questioning of the nominal nature of what apparently seem to be verbal sentences (Haudricourt 1979). The Rukai dialects differ from the other Formosan languages in their verbal morphology, in that they primarily distinguish two voices, active vs. passive. In Mantauran, the distinction between a verb and its nominal counterpart is, to some extent, easy to establish because verbal prefixes and verbalizers are quite different in shape from nominalizers. In cases where ambiguity arises, e.g., bare roots might be either be treated as non-finite verb forms or nouns, the categorial nature of a word must be determined through its syntactic
distribution (see sec. 2). As amply exemplified in section 3, the dynamic/stative contrast that verbs exhibit is retained—nominals derived from dynamic verbs are unmarked; those derived from stative verbs are prefixed by ka- (for details, see Zeitoun 2000)—and the occurrence of verbalizers such as to- ‘do, make, build’ and pa- ‘causative’ is compulsory.

Below, I try to show that a distinction should be established between lexical and syntactic nominalization, but none can be reached at this point between nominalization and relativization.

I showed in section 2 that derived nominals exhibit six morpho-syntactic properties that help identify them as nouns. They can: (i) occur in an NP position; (ii) be modified by another noun; (iii) co-occur with a genitive pronoun; (iv) undergo topicalization; (v) be marked for plurality or circumfixed by a quantifier depending on their categorial nature; and (vi) trigger verbal agreement.

The following examples show that the same morphological processes are actually used to derive nominals both through lexical and syntactic processes:

(46) a. Lexically derived action nominal

\[
\text{kala-}^\text{aom-a} \quad \text{a-pa-sola-solat} \\
\text{TempNmz-Japanese-TempNmz ActNmz-Caus-Red-Dyn.NFin:study}
\]

‘Japanese education’

a'. Syntactically derived clausal nominal

\[
\text{\textcircled{a}} \text{pa-sola-solat}^{-}\text{inam\ldots} \\
\text{that ClsNmz-Caus-Red-Dyn.NFin:study-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl}
\]

‘At that time, when they taught us…’

b. Lexically derived objective nominal

\[
\text{\textcircled{a}} \text{kasa-}^\text{a} \\
\text{ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz-1PE.Gen}
\]

‘That was the only food we had.’

b'. Syntactically derived objective nominal

\[
\text{ma-taad\textcircled{i}}^\text{a} \quad \text{kon\textcircled{a}} \\
\text{Dyn.Fin-good Dyn.Subj:eat ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjzNmz mair\textcircled{a}n\textcircled{a}}.
\]

‘The sweet potato he ate was good.’

These two types of nominals exhibit different morpho-syntactic properties that are enumerated and illustrated in turn below.
(i) The occurrence of a genitive pronoun after syntactically derived nominals is obligatory, optional with lexically derived nominals.

(47) a. Lexically derived nominal
\[\text{to}a\text{-}\text{cakar-}i\ddot{o}\quad \text{val}\text{-val} \quad \text{don}a\]
\[\text{use for-Dyn.NFin:tie-3S.Obl bamboo that} \]
\[\text{ta} \text{-} \text{iki} \text{-} \text{ki} \text{-} \text{a} \quad \text{?ar} \text{-ar} \text{-er}.\]
\[\text{LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:be at-LocNmz Dyn.Subj:sleep} \]
'\(\text{(Strings of) bamboo were fixed together to form the (upper) place where (men) slept.}'

b. Syntactically derived nominal
\[\text{don}a?i \quad \text{pato}\text{-}\text{a} \quad \text{ta} \text{-} \text{piki} \text{-} \text{ki} \text{-} \text{nai}\]
\[\text{that chest LocNmz-Dyn.NFin:put-Red-LocNmz-1PE.Nom} \]
\[\text{mo}\text{-}a \quad \text{o} \text{-} \text{piki-mao} \quad \text{?i} \quad \text{sororo} \quad \text{belongings Dyn.Fin-put-Imprs.Nom stone bed} \]
\[\text{ta} \text{-} \text{iki} \text{-} \text{ki} \text{-} \text{a} \text{-}(\text{-} \text{mao}) \quad \text{?ar} \text{-ar} \text{-er}.\]
\[\text{LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:be at-LocNmz-Imprs.Gen sleep} \]
'We (would) place the chest where we put away our clothes on the stone bed where we slept.'

(ii) Syntactically derived nominals may occur with aspectual suffixes; lexically derived nominals do not.

(48) a. ona?i \quad \text{a} \text{-} \text{iki} \text{-} \text{na} \text{-} \text{nai} \quad \text{?oponoho}...\]
\[\text{that ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:be at-still-1PE.Gen place name} \]
'\(\text{When we still were in the old village...}'

b. ona?i \quad \text{a} \text{-} \text{kaava} \text{-} \text{?i} \text{-} \text{pu} \text{-} \text{a}\]
\[\text{that ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:come-already-3S.Gen Japanese} \]
'\(\text{After the Japanese came...}' ~ 'When the Japanese had come...'

(iii) Syntactically derived nominals may be negated; lexically derived nominals cannot.

(49) dona \quad \text{ta} \text{-} \text{ka} \text{-} \text{ko} \text{-} \text{ci} \text{-} \text{nai} \quad \text{ca} \text{-} \text{?om} \text{-} \text{a}\]
\[\text{that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-serious sick-StatNmz} \]
\[\text{ki} \text{-} \text{li} \text{-} \text{ho} \text{-} \text{a} \text{-} \text{?a} \text{-} \text{nai}\]
\[\text{Neg-Dyn.NFin:know-ObjNmz-1PE.Gen} \]
\[\text{ki} \text{-} \text{do} \text{-} \text{lo} \text{-} \text{a} \text{-} \text{nai}, \quad \text{mani} \quad \text{pato} \text{-} \text{o} \text{-} \text{na} \text{-} \text{in}\]
\[\text{Neg-Dyn.NFin:know-ObjNmz-1PE.Gen then tell-1PE.Nom-3S.Obl} \]
\[\text{cara} \text{-} \text{?nai}. \quad \text{chief-1PE.Gen} \]
'\(\text{If the disease was (more) serious and we did not know how to (treat the patient), we (would) tell the (doctor-in) chief.}'
(iv) Syntactically derived nominals may take an object; lexically derived nominals cannot.

(50) olo ki-jiho?o-nai ðonaʔi
   when Neg-Dyn.NFin:know-1PE.Gen that
   a-patoʔo-toʔo-ð-inamʔ,
  ClsNmz-tell-Red-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl
   maatar-inamʔ ma-haʔaoco...
   ‘If we did not understand our teachers (lit: when they taught us), we (would) be scolded one by one...’

(v) Syntactically derived clausal nominals agree in plurality with certain genitive subjects; their lexically derived action nominal counterparts do not.  

(51) a. Lexically derived action nominal
   a-ka-joolai/*a-ka-a-o[olai
   ActNmz-Stat.NFin-child/ActNmz-Sta.NFin-plur-child
   b. onai a-ka-[o]oolai-li.../*a-ka-a-o[olai-li...
      that ActNmz-Stat.NFin-child-1S.Gen/ActNmz-Sta.NFin-plur-child-1S.Gen
      ‘When I was a child...’
   b’. onai a-ka-a-o[olai-nai.../*a-ka-[o]oolai-nai...
      that ActNmz-Stat.NFin-plur-child-1PE.Gen/ActNmz-Sta.NFin-child-1PE.Gen
      ‘When we were children...’

(vi) Lexically derived nominals can undergo (re-)verbalization, usually through the prefixation of to- ‘do, make, build’. No syntactically derived nominals were found to undergo such a process in the corpus collected.

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16 Why certain types of nominal predicates require subject agreement, as in (i)-(ii), is still unclear to me at this stage.

(i) a. ilʔoʔ a avai-[ao]/a?ivivai-[ao]
   1S.Top Top woman-1S.Nom/plur:woman-1S.Nom
   ‘As for me, I am a woman.’
   b. inamʔ a *avai-ʔai/a?ivivai-ʔai
   1PE.Top Top woman-1PE.Nom/plur:woman-1PE.Nom
   ‘As for us, we are women.’

(ii) a. ilʔoʔ a ʔoponoho-[ao]
   1S.Top Top Mantauran-1S.Nom
   ‘As for me, I am a woman.’
   b. inamʔ a ʔoponoho-ʔai (no other form could be elicited)
   1PE.Top Top Mantauran-1PE.Nom
   ‘As for us, we are Mantauran.’
(52) δόνα ὅ make-to-ta?ονας-να-mao ὅ-po-ið̐̅o
that when finish-build-hut-already-Imprs.Gen Dyn.Fin-make-3S.Obl
το-[τα-iki-ki-α] ὅ-뽀сов... mani
build-LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:be at-LocNmz Dyn.Subj:sleep then
ποa-mao το-[τα-palον-α].
‘When we had finished the construction of the hut, we (would) make a bed ...
and we (would) build a cooking stove (with stones).’

(vii) Lexically derived locative and instrumental nominals usually undergo
reduplication; syntactically derived nominals do not.

(53) a. ὅ moromoro-mao, ὅ-καοdo
ʔa-moro-moromoro/?ʔa-moromoro,
InstNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:rinse/InstNmz-Dyn.NFin:rinse
‘If we (wanted to) clean our teeth, there was no toothpaste/toothbrush.’

b. ἀραʔωνα ὅ ma-raʔiʔi-η-ið̐̅o δόναʔi
but when Stat:Subj:heal-already-3S.Obl that
ta-cikip-αʔ-η-ið̐̅o/
LocNmz-Dyn.NFin:sew-LocNmz-3S.Gen-3S.Obl/
*ʔa-cikicikip-αʔ-η-ið̐̅o
LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:sew-LocNmz-3S.Gen-3S.Obl
om-ʔa-ʔa-nai ?ʔinikakamamai ὅ-cikipi.
Dyn.Fin-take-already-1PE.Nom self take off-Dyn.NFin:sew
‘When the wound had healed and (we had to) take off the stitches, then
we could do it by ourselves.’

Subject(ive) nominals function like other syntactically derived nominals in that
they retain the aforementioned verbal properties (54), but their impossible
c-occurrence with genitive pronouns (55) remains, at this stage, to be accounted for.

(54) a. ὅ lo pasolat-δ-ιναμύ ‘ʔααʔi τα-ʔ(α)μo-ʔ?ʔo ?’
if teach-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl who-3S.Gen SubjNmz-will-Dyn.NFin:know?
lo mia-ʔa.
if Dyn.Subj:say-3S.Gen
‘When we were at school, we would sometimes take exams.’
(Lit: When they taught us, they would say: “Who will know?”)
b. ona’i a-ọjolai la ona’i ta-a-?acakəlaʔ-na
that plur-child and that SubjNmz-plur-married-already
ta-ka-a-rođaŋ odoňo-nai ?ikari?i
SubjNmz-Stat-plur-old can-1PE.Nom wear:fur jacket
‘Children, already married (women) and old people could wear fur jacket.’

molataðo ?olilio.
outside Dyn.Subj:play
‘Those who have not eaten cannot go outside to play.’

d. lo ḥi-ra?opo-ða ?a-pakaʔɔtəʔ-ɔtə when Pass-inject-3S.Gen InstNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:kill then
?i-vorovoro-ða, o-ðoľo-ka-nai ka ?inikakamai
Pass-operate-3S.Gen Dyn.Fin-can-Neg-1PE.Gen self
piʔa, ona’i ta-patoʔotoʔ-inaʔ ta-piʔa.
do that SubjNmz-Red:tell-1PE.Obl SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:do
‘If we had to give (the patient) an anaesthesia and operate, then we could not do it by ourselves.’

(55) a. ana latŋa ḥa ta-løškə(*-ni) taotaŋ.
that vegetable Top SubjNmz-Dyn:NFin:plant-3S.Gen Taotao
‘Those vegetables, it is Taotao who planted (them).’
(Lit: Those vegetables, Taotao is the one who planted them)

b. ana latŋa ḥa løškə(*-ni) taotaŋ.
that vegetable Top ActNmz:Dyn:NFin:plant-3S.Gen Taotao
‘Those vegetables, it is Taotao who planted (them)’
(Lit: Those vegetables, (they are) Taotao’s planting)

Below a panorama of all the types of constructions that trigger (syntactic) nominalization in Mantauran—wh-questions (56), subordinate (57), pseudo-cleft (58), and relative clauses (59), as well as negative existential (60) and imperative (61) sentences—is offered, that shows that there seems to be no distinction whatsoever between syntactic nominalization and relativization in Mantauran.

(56) a. aŋa-i ta-ʔokoľoð-imiaʔɔ?
who-3S.Gen SubjNmz-afraid-2S.Obl
‘Who is afraid of you?’
b. aaŋa-i ʔokolo-d-aʔ-ʔo?  
who-3S.Gen afraid-ObjNmz-2S.Gen  
‘Whom are you afraid of?’

c. kani piaʔ-aʔ m-oa taipako?  
why ActNmz:Dyn.NFin:do-2S.Gen Dyn.Subj-go place name  
‘Why did you go to Taipei?’

d. amoko-a-ni ʔa-ka-taaʔ-i-ni takaokaʔ-ni  
how-3S.Gen ManNmz-Stat.NFin-fast-3S.Gen character-3S.Gen  
‘How nice is she?’

e. ʔiʔanaʔ  lo maavaʔi-nomi?  
when if Dyn.Subj:come-2P.Gen  
‘When will you come again?’

(57)  
a. onaʔi a-kaavaʔi-dä ʔipolo...  
that ClnNmz-Dyn.NFin:come-3S.Gen Zipolo  
‘When Zipolo came...’

b. ...lo pataʔo-ʔ-inamä aʔiʔaʔipi...  
when Dyn.Subj:teach-3S.Gen-1PI.Nom ActNmz-Dyn.NFin:count  
‘...when they taught us arithmetic...’

c. niʔkaoʔ-aʔ-ʔ-inamä pasio....  
CncNmz-not exist-CncNmz-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl money  
‘Even if we had no money...’

(58)  
a. aaŋa-li taʔisit-ip-inä ana ʔoolai  
who-1S.Gen SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:beat-3S.Obl that child  
‘It is me who beat the child.’

b. onaʔi aʔisit-ip-aʔ-i-inä anaʔi ʔoolai  
that ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:beat-ObjNmz-1S.Gen-3S.Obl that child  
‘That is the child I beat.’

(59)  
a. anaʔi taʔi-kiʔipäi taʔiliʔaʔa laalakä-li ana  
that SubjNmz-wear-clothes red child-1S.Gen that  
‘The one who wears red clothes is my child.’

b. a-kan-aaʔ-ni ʔoʔaʔi laʔaʔi  
ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz-3S.Gen banana small  
‘The banana he eats/ate is small.’

(60)  
a. akaoʔo ka kiʔiʔaʔɔʔ-ʔ-li  
not exist Neg-Dyn.NFin:know-ObjNmz-1S.Gen  
‘There is nothing that I do not know.’
Nominalization in Mantauran (Rukai)

b. akao̯o ka toŋotouʔ-a kipinji.
   not exist short-ObjNmz clothes
   ‘[At that time] there weren’t short clothes.’

(61) a. a-kan-aʔ-o!
   ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
   ‘Don’t eat!’

b. a-ʔonol-aʔ-o!
   ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:drink-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
   ‘Don’t drink’

5. Conclusion

This paper represents a preliminary study of nominalization in Mantauran, but I
hope to have shown that this very regular and productive process poses empirical and
theoretical problems in this dialect/language worth studying in even greater detail.

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魯凱語萬山方言名物化結構探究

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本篇論文主要以大量的長篇語料為依據來探討魯凱語萬山方言名物化結構。文中所使用的構詞及句法的證明是用來進一步識別派生名詞與動詞以及區分發生在詞彙及句法兩個層面的名物化結構。再者，本篇論文試圖證明，魯凱語萬山方言中名物化與關係子句的相似性。

關鍵詞：名物化，魯凱語，萬山方言，詞彙名物化結構，句法名物化結構，關係子句