

Nominalization in Mayrinax Atayal^{*}

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This is a preliminary, descriptive study of nominalization in Mayrinax Atayal as spoken in Chinshui Village, Taian Township, Miaoli County. Like most other Formosan or even Austronesian languages, nominalization in Mayrinax occurs at both the lexical and the clausal level. Except for focus and tense/aspect/mood markers, however, there are no productive morphological devices to produce lexical nominals; nominalized elements and verb forms are, therefore, identical. An examination of the functions of Mayrinax derived nominals shows that they may designate actions or states, and may also manifest the agent, patient, locative, or instrumental argument of an event. These findings should prove useful to future typological or comparative research.

Key words: nominalization, Mayrinax Atayal, morphosyntactic, case marker, focus, tense/aspect/mood, argument

1. Introduction

Nominalization is the process by which a non-nominal element (e.g., verb, adjective, verb phrase, or clause) is changed into a nominal (Comrie and Thompson 1985, Payne 1997). The present paper examines nominalization in Mayrinax Atayal.¹ Atayal is an Austronesian language spoken principally in the mountainous area of northern Taiwan. Its two major dialects are Sguliq and Cʔuliʔ; the latter is thought to be more conservative and hence more useful for historical and comparative studies. Mayrinax is a variant of the Cʔuliʔ dialect spoken in Chinshui Village, Taian Township,

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¹ Of all Formosan languages and dialects, Mayrinax is one of the only two known dialects that show certain distinctions between male and female speech forms; the other is Paʔkualiʔ. For details, refer to Li 1982.

Miaoli County. The data for this paper is based on the speech of Mr. βaʔay βayan, collected from time to time between June 1987 and January 2001.

This is a preliminary, descriptive study of nominalization in Mayrinax Atayal. We shall begin by illustrating some of the morphosyntactic properties of nouns and verbs in the language to show how lexical and clausal nominalizations are recognized (i.e., by the presence of preceding case markers and their syntactic distribution) and how they are formed (i.e., through the affixation of focus and tense/aspect/mood markers). The rest of the paper is divided into two parts: the first concerns the types of nominalization (i.e., lexical and clausal); the second part focuses on the functions of nominalization. We hope this study proves useful to future typological or comparative research.

2. Morphosyntactic properties of nouns and verbs in Mayrinax Atayal

Mayrinax Atayal is a verb-initial language, and nouns manifesting participants of events usually occur elsewhere in the sentence (i.e., in non-sentence-initial position). Furthermore, nouns can be grammatically differentiated from other lexical categories by, e.g., the presence of preceding case markers.² This criterion holds true for Mayrinax Atayal; that is, a preceding case marker can identify each nominal element. As will be shown below, case markers in Mayrinax are first categorized into two sets: one preceding personal proper nouns and the other common nouns. And those preceding common nouns are further divided into two subsets: ‘referential’³ and ‘non-referential’. Each of the aforementioned three sets appears in four different case forms: nominative, accusative, genitive/oblique, and comitative. Table 1 is a summary of the case marking system of the language.⁴

² As pointed out by Huang et al. (1999:655), while working on interrogatives in some Formosan languages. Payne (1997) makes a similar remark. He considers that in determining whether a given word is a noun, it is necessary to determine the morphosyntactic characteristics of prototypical nouns. In addition to the position a noun can occupy in a phrase or clause, the properties that distinguish nouns from other grammatical categories are important criteria for in identifying a nominal element.

³ The notion of ‘referentiality’, according to Givón (1978:293), ‘involves, roughly, the speaker’s intent to “refer to” or “mean” a nominal expression to have non-empty references—i.e., to “exist”—within a particular universe of discourse... If a nominal is “non-referential” or “generic” the speaker does not have a commitment to its existence within the relevant universe of discourse. Rather, in the latter, the speaker is engaged in discussing the genus or its properties, but does not commit him/herself to the existence of any specific individual member of that genus.’

⁴ Note that the case marking system presented here is different from that given in Huang (1995).

Table 1: Case markers of Mayrinax Atayal

Case		Nominative	Accusative	Genitive/ Oblique	Comitative
Noun					
Proper Noun		ʔiʔ	ʔiʔ	niʔ	kiʔ
Common Noun	Referential	kuʔ	ckuʔ	nkuʔ	---
	Non-referential	aʔ	cuʔ	naʔ	---

Following are some examples with case markers underlined:⁵

- (1) a. m-aniq cuʔ βuŋaʔ ʔiʔ sayun
 AF-eat Acc.Nrf sweet:potato Nom Sayun
 ‘Sayun is eating sweet potatoes’
- b. pa-ø-ʔayaal ckuʔ pilaʔ kuʔ ʔulaqiʔ
 Irr-AF-take Acc.Rf money Nom.Rf child
 ‘The child wants the money’
- c. m<in>uwah kiʔ watan ʔiʔ yumin
 AF<Prf>come Loc Watan Nom Yumin
 ‘Yumin came to Watan’s place’
- c'. kaβax-an niʔ limuyʔ kiʔ yumin kuʔ kuluʔ niʔ βaicuʔ
 borrow-LF Gen Limuy Loc Yumin Nom.Rf box/car Gen Baicuʔ
 ‘Limuy borrowed Baicu’s car from Yumin’
- d. m-atiq nkuʔ papatiq=suʔ kuʔ ʔulaqiʔ=mu
 AF-write Gen.Rf pen=2S.Gen Nom.Rf child=1S.Gen
 ‘My child is writing with your pen’
- e. kaa quriq-i kuʔ qaraqarax niʔ yayaʔ=suʔ
 Neg.Imp steal-PF.Imp Nom.Rf thing Gen mother=2S.Gen
 ‘Don’t steal your mother’s things!’
- f. ma-tutiŋ=cami kiʔ βaʔay
 AF-beat=1PE.Nom Com Baʔay
 ‘I fought with Baʔay’

⁵ The abbreviations and symbols used in this paper are as follows. Acc: Accusative; AF: Agent focus; Asp: Aspectual; Ben: Beneficiary; BF: Beneficiary focus; Com: Comitative; Gen: Genitive; IF: Instrument focus; Imp: Imperative; Prog: Progressive aspect; Irr: Irrealis; LF: Locative focus; Lin: Linker; NAF: Non-agent focus; Neg: Negator; Neu: Neutral; Nom: Nominative; Nrf: Non-referential; Part: Particle; PF: Patient focus; Prep: Preposition; Prf: Perfective aspect; Q: Question; Rf: Referential; Stat: Stative; 1PI: First person plural inclusive; 1S: First person singular; < >: indicates that the enclosed element is an infix or its gloss; =: indicates that the following bound pronoun is a clitic.

On the other hand, verbal elements in Mayrinax Atayal are recognizable by the co-presence of focus⁶ markers and/or tense/aspect/mood markers (Huang et al. 1999:675). The focus system is rather complex, with focus markers categorized as agent focus (AF), patient focus (PF), locative focus (LF), and instrument as well as beneficiary focus (IF/BF). Huang (2001) further points out that semantic roles like AGENT, PATIENT, LOCATIVE, BENEFICIARY, INSTRUMENT, and REASON can all be put in focus, serving as grammatical subject. Thus, as expected, there are many more distinct verb forms than can be found in languages like English. Table 2 presents the focus markers of the language:

Table 2: Focus markers of Mayrinax Atayal (Huang 2001:55)

Polarity Illocutionary force Tense/ Aspect/ Focus Mood	Affirmative				Negative	
	Declarative			Imperative	Declarative	Imperative
	Realis		Irrealis			
	Neutral	Perfective	Future/ Remote	Projective/ Immediate	Atemporal	
AF	m-; ma-; -um-; ø		ø	m-/ma-/ -um-...-ay	ø	
PF	-un	ø	-un	-aw	ø	-i
LF	-an			-ay	-i	
IF/BF	si-		ø	-anay	-ani	

Some affirmative declarative sentences containing verbs affixed with different focus markers are given below:

- (2) a. m-aras=ciʔ cuʔ Yuqiluh
 AF-bring=1S.Nom Acc.Nrf banana
 'I am bringing a banana'

⁶ The term *focus* 'refers to the phenomenon whereby a verbal focus establishes a special relationship between the verb and one of the noun phrases in the sentence' (French 1988:1). In other words, a focus system functions to show the 'role agreement' between the subject (i.e., the focused noun phrase) and the verb, yet showing no person, gender or number agreement between them. Such an agreement system is one of the characteristics shared by many western Austronesian languages. Some linguists, however, prefer to use different terms instead of *focus*. Schachter (1987:940) and Wouk (1996:369), for example, prefer to use the term *trigger* while Chang (1997:iv) and Ross (2001) use the term 'voice'.

- a'. pa-ø-ʔaras=ciʔ cuʔ Yuqiluh
 Irr-AF-bring=1S.Nom Acc.Nrf banana
 'I'll bring a banana' (but not right away)
- a". m-aras-ay=ciʔ cuʔ Yuqiluh
 AF₁-bring-AF₂=1S.Nom Acc.Nrf banana
 'I want to bring a banana; I'll (definitely) bring a banana'
- b. ras-un=mu kuʔ Yuqiluh
 bring-PF=1S.Gen Nom.Rf banana
 'I brought the banana'
- b'. ra-ras-un=mu kuʔ Yuqiluh
 Red-bring-PF=1S.Gen Nom.Rf banana
 'I'll bring the banana'
- b". ras-aw=mu kuʔ Yuqiluh
 bring-PF=1S.Gen Nom.Rf banana
 'I want to bring the banana; I'll (definitely) bring the banana'
- c. si-aras=miʔ cuʔ Yuqiluh ʔiʔ sayun
 BF-bring=1S.Gen Acc.Nrf banana Nom Sayun
 'I'm bringing a banana for Sayun'
- c'. ʔa-ʔaras-ø=miʔ cuʔ Yuqiluh ʔiʔ sayun
 Red-bring-BF=1S.Gen Acc.Nrf banana Nom Sayun
 'I'll bring a banana for Sayun' (but not right away)
- c". ras-anay=miʔ cuʔ Yuqiluh ʔiʔ sayun
 bring-BF=1S.Gen Acc.Nrf banana Nom Sayun
 'I'll (definitely) bring a banana for Sayun'

As for the tense/aspect/mood system of Mayrinax Atayal, there is a contrast between realis and irrealis. On the one hand, verbs marked with only AF focus markers (m-/ma-/ -um-/ø, PF -un, LF -an and IF si-, but no others) may designate either perfective, progressive, or habitual events, i.e., realis/realized events; while verbs with the additional infix -in- indicate perfective events; and verbs co-occurring with auxiliaries kiaʔ/haniʔan manifest on-going events. On the other hand, AF verbs prefixed with pa- and NAF verbs with initial consonant reduplicated plus an additional -a- vowel designate irrealis/unrealized events⁷ (commonly represented as *Ca*- in the literature since Blust (1998)). This mechanism is shown in Table 3:

⁷ For details, please refer to Huang (1995).

Table 3: Tense/aspect/mood system of Mayrinax Atayal (Huang 2001:57)

Tense/Aspect/Mood Focus	Realis			Irrealis
	Neutral	Perfective	Progressive	Future
AF	ø	-in-	kia? haniʔan	pa-
PF				Ca-
LF				
IF/BF				

Below are examples of verbs affixed with some of these tense/aspect/mood markers:

- (3) a. *m-aniq* *cuʔ* *βuŋaʔ* *ʔiʔ* *sayun*
 AF-eat Acc.Nrf sweet:potato Nom Sayun
 ‘Sayun is eating sweet potatoes’
- a'. *niq-un* *niʔ* *sayun* *kuʔ* *βuŋaʔ*
 eat-PF Gen Sayun Nom.Rf sweet:potato
 ‘The sweet potato was eaten by Sayun’
- b. *m<in>aniq* *cuʔ* *βuŋaʔ* *ʔiʔ* *sayun*
 AF<Prf>eat Acc.Nrf sweet:potato Nom Sayun
 ‘Sayun ate sweet potatoes’
- c. *kiaʔ* *m-aniq* *cuʔ* *βuŋaʔ* *ʔiʔ* *sayun*
 Prog AF-eat Acc.Nrf sweet:potato Nom Sayun
 ‘Sayun is eating sweet potatoes (there)’
- c'. *haniʔan* *m-aniq* *cuʔ* *βuŋaʔ* *ʔiʔ* *sayun*
 Prog AF-eat Acc.Nrf sweet:potato Nom Sayun
 ‘Sayun is eating sweet potatoes (here)’
- d. *pa-ø-qaniq* *cuʔ* *βuŋaʔ* *ʔiʔ* *sayun*
 Irr-AF-eat Acc.Nrf sweet:potato Nom Sayun
 ‘Sayun will eat sweet potatoes’
- d'. *na-niq-un* *niʔ* *sayun* *kuʔ* *βuŋaʔ*
 Red-eat-PF Gen Sayun Nom.Rf sweet:potato
 ‘The sweet potato will be eaten by Sayun’

This brief discussion of the case system, and the focus and tense/aspect/mood markers, is the basis for the following discussion, which attempts to help (i) recognize the lexical as well as phrasal/clausal nominalizations in Mayrinax Atayal, that is, through the presence of preceding case markers and their syntactic distribution; (ii) determine whether lexical nominalizations are formed through the affixation of

focus markers and/or through the addition of tense/aspect/mood markers; and (iii) illustrate what functions each shape serves. The next two sections will examine the types and functions of nominalization in Mayrinax Atayal.

3. Types of nominalization in Mayrinax Atayal

Nominalization, as pointed out by Comrie and Thompson (1985), happens not only at the lexical level, but also at the phrasal/clausal level. At the lexical level, what usually concerns linguists are morphological derivations, while at the phrasal/clausal level, how syntactic categories like tense, aspect, mood, voice, transitivity and negation are retained deserves more attention. In this section, we shall examine whether these two types of nominalization appear in Mayrinax Atayal.

3.1 Lexical nominalization

In section 2, it was noted that nouns in Mayrinax Atayal seem to be recognizable by means of their being preceded by case markers and by their occupying non-sentence-initial position. Nevertheless, this language does not seem to have any distinct morphological mechanisms to produce nominalizations, as some other Formosan/Austronesian languages do. For example, Saisiyat has nominalizers such as ka-, kama-, -in-, ka-...-en, and ka-...-an (Yeh 2000), Mantauran Rukai has a-, ta-, ?a-, a-...-aə, ta-...-aə, kala-...-aə, and ni-...-a(ə) (Zeitoun 2000), Puyuma has -an (Teng 2000), Kavalan has qena- and -an (Chang and Lee 2000), and Yami has ika-, ipi-, ka-, ni-, noka-, tey-, and ka-...-an (Rau 2000). In forming nominalizations, Mayrinax Atayal has neither distinct nominalizers nor any unique morphological strategy; instead it utilizes focus and tense/aspect/mood markers, as will be illustrated below. Therefore, elements that function as nominals may morphologically share their shape with verbals in the language.

Moreover, although nouns in Mayrinax Atayal, as discussed earlier, seem to be differentiated from other grammatical categories by preceding case markers and by their occupying non-sentence-initial position, verbal categories which are generally identifiable by their being affixed with focus or/and tense/aspect/mood markers can sometimes present the aforementioned nominal properties. Consider the following:

- (4) a. \emptyset -aqih ku? *q<um>uriq*
 AF-bad Nom.Rf steal<AF>steal
 ‘Stealing is bad’

- b. kiʔicuʔ-un cuʔ βalay kuʔ *m-acvoʔ*
 frightening-PF very Nom.Rf AF-fight
 ‘The battle is frightening’
- (5) a. m-asituɿŋ cuʔ *ma-tanah* ʔiʔ yaβaʔ
 AF-wear Acc.Nrf AF-red Nom father
 ‘Father is wearing red clothes’
- b. m-aqaβuβiŋ ckuʔ *ø-iβaβwiq* kuʔ naβakis
 AF-wear:hat Acc.Rf AF-tall Nom.Rf old:man
 ‘The old man is wearing the tall hat’

Occupying the post-predicate positions and being introduced by the Nominative case marker kuʔ or the Accusative cuʔ/ckuʔ, the italicized elements in the above sentences seem to function as nominals, serving either as grammatical subject (e.g., (5a-b)) or object (e.g., (6a-b)). Consequently, it is legitimate to postulate, regardless of whether an element in Mayrinax Atayal is a verbal category or a nominal, that it is syntactically determined, instead of morphologically.

That nominal and verbal categories cannot be morphologically differentiated is not unique to Mayrinax Atayal; similar cases are also found in some other Austronesian languages. For instance, in Pazeh, P. Li remarks that ‘there is not much morphological difference in shape between a noun and a verb in Austronesian languages in general’ (2000:64), and that ‘morphology alone ... does not tell whether a certain form is a noun or a verb. We have to resort to syntactic evidence’ (2000:65). Rau also has a similar observation: ‘since the same morphemes continued (and continue) to be used to form nominalizations, a predicate or a nominalization can be ambiguous in modern Formosan and Philippine languages’ (2000:2).

3.2 Clausal nominalization

In Mayrinax Atayal, clausal nominals appear in two different constructions, namely, equational sentences and relative clauses.

3.2.1 Equational sentences

Below, let us first examine some equational sentences containing clausal nominals in Mayrinax Atayal (the clausal nominals occurring in brackets):

- (6) a. Q: imaʔ kuʔ {*pa-ø-ʔaʔal* *ckuʔ* *pilaʔ*}
 who Nom.Rf Irr-AF-take Acc.Rf money
 ‘Who is the one that will take the money?’

- A: yaβa? ku? {pa-ø?aya? cku? pila?}
 father Nom.Rf Irr-AF-take Acc.Rf money
 ‘Father is the one that will take the money’
- b. Q: ima? ku? {m-a?yal cku? pila?}
 who Nom.Rf AF-take Acc.Rf money
 ‘Who is the one that took the money?’
- A: yaβa? ku? {m-a?yal cku? pila?}
 father Nom.Rf AF-take Acc.Rf money
 ‘Father is the one that took the money’

Each of the sentences above, either declarative or interrogative, contains a nominalized clause serving as subject of the sentence, as indicated by the Nominative case marker ku?. Semantically, these clausal nominals manifest patient participants. Nevertheless, such nominals may designate some other semantic roles, as illustrated below:

- (7) a. Q: ima? ku? {suwa?an=su?}
 who Nom.Rf like-LF=2S.Gen
 ‘Who is the one that you like?’
- A: βaicu? ku? {suwa?an=mu}
 Baicu’ Nom.Rf like-LF=1S.Gen
 ‘Baicu’ is the one I like’
- b. Q: nanuwan ku? {β<in>ainay-ø ni? yaya? ŋ? isu?}
 what Nom.Rf buy<Prf>buy-PF Gen mother Acc 2S.Neu
 ‘What was it that Mother bought for you?’
- A: situin ku? {β<in>ainay-ø ni? yaya? ŋ? ikuiŋ}
 clothes Nom.Rf buy<Prf>buy-PF Gen mother Acc 1S.Neu
 ‘It was clothes that Mother bought for me’
- c. Q: nanuwan ku? {ʔa-ʔal-un ni? βaʔay}
 what Nom.Rf Red-take-PF Gen Ba'ay
 ‘What is it that Ba'ay will want?’
- A: situin ku? {ʔa-ʔal-un ni? βaʔay}
 clothes Nom.Rf Red-take-PF Gen Ba'ay
 ‘It is clothes that Ba'ay will want’
- d. nanuwan ku? {p<in>atiq-ø nku? ʔulaqi?su?}
 what Nom.Rf write<Prf>write-PF Gen.Rf child=2S.Gen
 ‘What does your child write? What is your child writing?’
- e. Q: ima? ku? si-βainay nku? kanairil cu? situin
 who Nom.Rf BF-buy Gen.Rf woman Acc.Nrf clothes
 ‘Who is the one that the woman bought clothes for?’

- f. Q: nanuwan ku? {*si-pakahuy=su?*}
 what Nom.Rf IF-chop:wood=2S.Gen
 ‘What was it that you used to chop wood with?’
 A: yasam ku? {*si-pakahuy=mu*}
 ax Nom.Rf IF-chop:wood=1S.Gen
 ‘It was an ax that I used to chop wood with’
- g. ø-aqih ku? {*t<um>utiŋ cu? xuil*}
 AF-bad Nom.Rf beat<AF>beat Acc.Nrf dog
 ‘Beating dogs is bad’
- h. nanuwan ku? {*m-uhaaŋ=nia?*}
 what Nom.Rf AF-sick=3S.Gen
 ‘What is his disease? What illness does he have?’
- i. hacuwal-un ku? {*t<um>inuq cu? situiŋ*}
 how-PF Nom.Rf weave<AF>weave Acc.Nrf clothes
 ‘How (do you) weave clothes?’

As indicated by the English gloss, the clausal nominal can either refer to a patient participant (e.g. (7a-d)), a beneficiary participant (e.g. (7e)), an instrument participant (e.g. (7f)), an action (e.g. (7g)), an abstract noun (e.g. (7h)), or manner (e.g. (7i)). The functions of Mayrinax nominalizations will be further discussed in Section 4.

3.2.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Mayrinax Atayal may or may not have an overt expression of the head noun (Huang 1995:216-217). Compare the following sets of sentences (head nouns in bold face):

- (8) a. kia? ʔi? m-anīq ku? {*yakaat m<in>uwah cu?hisa?*}
 Prog Lin AF-eat Nom.Rf Neg AF<Prf>come yesterday
 ‘(The one) who did not come yesterday is eating (there)’
- a'. kia? ʔi? m-anīq ku? **cuquliq** ka?
 Prog Lin AF-eat Nom.Rf person Lin
 {*yakaat m<in>uwah cu?hisa?*}
 Neg AF<Prf>come yesterday
 ‘The person who did not come yesterday is eating (there)’
- b. ø-payux ku? {*βa-βinas-un=mi? kisa?*}
 AF-plenty Nom.Rf Red-buy-PF=1S.Gen today
 ‘What I will buy today is plenty’

- b'. ø-payux a? **qaraqarax** ka? {*βa-βinas-un=mi?* *kisa?*}
 AF-plenty Nom.Nrf thing Lin Red-buy-PF=1S.Gen today
 ‘Things that I will buy today is plenty’
- c. pa-ka-shahiya? cu? βalay ku? {*ta-tahq-un=nia?*}
 Irr-Stat-delicious very Nom.Rf Red-cook-PF=3S.Gen
 ‘What he is going to cook will be very delicious’
- c'. pa-ka-shahiya? cu? βalay ku? **raramat** ka?
 Irr-Stat-delicious very Nom.Rf dish Lin
 {*ta-tahq-un=nia?*}
 Red-cook-PF=3S.Gen
 ‘The food that he is going to cook will be very delicious’
- d. ø-cikay ku? {*si-paqt=nia?*}
 AF-little Nom.Rf IF-ask=3S.Gen
 ‘What he asked was little; He asked few questions’

Notice that in each set of sentences above, whether there is an overt head or not, the clauses within the braces/brackets resemble each other. However, with respect to their functions, these clauses in sentences with head nouns serve as modifiers (i.e., (8a', 8b', 8c')), whereas the named clauses in sentences without head nouns serve more like arguments (i.e., (8a, 8b, 8c)).

4. Functions of nominalization in Mayrinax Atayal

According to Comrie and Thompson (1985:347), nominalization can be categorized as action/state nominalization or argument nominalization. While action/state nominalization refers to a noun being derived from a dynamic verb or a stative verb (or what is usually treated as ‘adjective’) and designating an activity or a state, respectively, argument nominalization designates the semantic role of the verbal argument (e.g., agent, patient, instrument, location, product, manner, reason).

As we shall observe below, nominals derived by the affixation of focus and tense/aspect/mood markers in Mayrinax Atayal can also be categorized as the aforementioned two types, and fulfill various functions. Moreover, we shall notice that the focus markers utilized in forming nominalizations are only those appearing in affirmative declaratives,⁸ while excluding those used in projectives (recall Table 2). In other words, only focus markers like m-, ma-, -um-, ø, -un, -an, and si- can be used, and

⁸ Ferrell (1982:17) also points out that the morphemes occurring in indicative forms are also used to form nominalizations in Formosan as well as in Philippine languages.

not circumfix m-...-ay, ma-...-ay, um-...-ay, or aw, ay, anay.

4.1 Action/state nominals

Different from Formosan languages like Mantauran Rukai (Zeitoun 2000), Mayrinax Atayal has only one way to derive action and state nominals; that is, through the presence of AF markers in affirmative declarative realis sentences (i.e., m-, ma-, um-, ø) to the verb roots, as shown below:

Table 4: Action/state nominals

Dynamic verb root	Meaning	Realis AF	Action nominal	Meaning
1 pacvoʔ	‘to fight’	m -acvoʔ	mac voʔ	‘war; battle; fighting’
2 payhahowaʔ	‘to boast’	m -ayhahowaʔ	may hahowaʔ	‘boasting’
3 paquwas	‘to sing; to study’	m -aquwas	ma quwas	‘singing; studying’
4 patauwaw	‘to work’	m -atauwaw	ma tauwaw	‘working’
5 ʔanβaciaq	‘to commit suicide’	m -anβaciaq	man βaciaq	‘committing suicide’
6 qaniq	‘to eat’	m -aniq	ma niq	‘eating’
7 quriq	‘to steal’	q- um -uriq	q um uriq	‘stealing’
8 rakis	‘to climb trees’	r- um -akias	r um akias	‘tree climbing’
9 pʔakiyaw	‘to gamble’	ø -pʔakiyaw	pʔakiyaw	‘gambling’
Stative verb root	Meaning	Realis AF	State nominal	Meaning
1 kaskaiyuj	‘hungry’	ma -skaiyuj	ma skaiyuj	‘being hungry’
2 katʔŋiʔ	‘satiated; full’	ma -tʔŋiʔ	ma tʔŋiʔ	‘being satiated’
3 kβusinuq	‘drunk’	ø -βusinuq	βusinuq	‘being drunk’
4 kauhaay	‘sick’	ma -uhaay	ma uhaay	‘disease; illness’

Notice that when the verbs in question are dynamic verbs, the derived nominals refer to actions/activities, as shown below:

- (9) a. kiʔicuʔ-un cuʔ βalay kuʔ macvoʔ
 frightening-PF very Nom.Rf fighting
 ‘The fighting/battle is frightening’

- a'. m-acvo?=cami ki nku? siputo?
AF-fight=1PE.Nom Com Gen.Rf Hakka:people
'We fought with the Hakka people'
- b. ø-aqih ku? mayhahowa?
AF-bad Nom.Rf boasting
'Boasting is bad'
- b'. m-ayhahowa? kariariax ?i? yumin
AF-boast often Nom Yumin
'Yumin often boasts'
- c. ø-βalaiq ku? maniq, ø-βalaiq ku? maqilaap u?e⁹
AF-good Nom.Rf eating AF-good Nom.Rf sleeping too
'Eating is important; sleeping is important, too'
- c'. m-aniq kariariax ?i? yumin
AF-eat often Nom Yumin
'Yumin often eats'
- c''. m-aqilaap kariariax ?i? yumin
AF-sleep often Nom Yumin
'Yumin often sleeps'
- d. ø-aqih ku? p?akiyaw
AF-bad Nom.Rf gambling
'Gambling is bad'
- d'. ø-p?akiyaw kariariax ?i? watan
AF-gamble every:day Nom Watan
'Watan often gambles'

Some of the action nominals may also designate agent participants, and the context seems to help determine which interpretation (i.e., an action or an agent participant) is intended (discussion of which to be presented in sec. 4.2.1).

When verbs are stative, their derived nominals may designate states (e.g., (10a-b)) or abstract nouns (e.g., (11a-b)):

⁹ We have also collected sentences like the following, which seem to have structures similar but not exactly identical to (9c). Whether the underlined nominals below refer to actions or instruments (thus the forms are irrealis IF) deserves further investigation.

ø-βalaiq a? qaqaniq=nia?, ru? ø-βalaiq a? qaqilaap=nia?
AF-good Nom.Nrf eating=3S.Gen and AF-good Nom.Nrf sleeping=3S.Gen
'Lit. His eating is good, and his sleeping is good'
'What he eats is good, and the place he sleeps in is good'

- (10) a. \emptyset -aqih ku? maskaiyũ cu? kaan
 AF-bad Nom.Rf hungry extreme
 ‘Being too hungry is bad’
 a'. ma-skaiyũ ku? ?ulaqi?
 AF-hungry Nom.Rf child
 ‘The child is hungry’
 b. \emptyset -aqih ku? βusinuq
 AF-bad Nom.Rf drunk
 ‘Being drunk is not good’
 b'. ø-βusinuq ku? naβakis ka? haca
 AF-drunk Nom.Rf old:man Lin that
 ‘That old man is drunk’
- (11) a. \emptyset -mamati? cu? βalay ku? mauhaay=nia?
 AF-serious very Nom.Rf illness=3S.Gen
 ‘His illness is serious; He is badly ill’
 a'. ma-uhaay la? ?i? hiya?
 AF-sick Part Nom 3S.Neu
 ‘He is ill (now)’
 b. pa-ka-mamati? cu? βalay ku? mauhaay=nia?
 Irr-Stat-serious very Nom.Rf illness=3S.Gen
 ‘His illness will become very serious’
 b'. pa-ka-uhaay ?i? hiya?
 Irr-Stat-sick Nom 3S.Neu
 ‘He will be ill’

While derived state nominals may designate states or abstract nouns, some may have different functions. The situation seems to be that when the involved participant in the original state verb is inanimate, the corresponding state nominal will then function as patient (cf. sec. 4.2.2).

4.2 Argument nominals

As will be shown below, the semantics of argument nominals correlates with the semantic role of the argument involved in an event. In other words, if an argument is an agent in an event, the derived nominal designates the agent participant carrying out the given event. If the argument is an experiencer, the derived nominal manifests the experiencer in the given state. And if an argument is a patient, the derived nominal manifests the patient.

4.2.1 Agentive nominals

In Mayrinax Atayal, irrealis forms of AF verbs may serve as agentive nominals; in other words, agentive nominals can be derived by prefixing the irrealis/future marker *pa-* to dynamic verb roots, giving a reading of ‘one that does ...(as a profession)’ or ‘one that will do ...’¹⁰, as shown in Table 5a:

Table 5a: Agentive nominals (resembling irrealis dynamic AF)

	Dynamic verb root	Meaning	Irrealis AF	Agentive nominal	Meaning
1	<i>paquwas</i>	‘to sing’	<i>pa-paquwas</i>	<i>papaquwas</i>	‘singer; one who will sing’
2	<i>patauaw</i>	‘to work’	<i>pa-ptauwaw</i>	<i>paptauwaw</i>	‘worker; one who will work’
3	<i>quriq</i>	‘to steal’	<i>pa-quriq</i>	<i>paquriq</i>	‘thief; one who will steal’

Notice that the verbs in Table 5a seem to be only dynamic verbs; whether stative verbs can have similar functions will require further research. Below are examples with polysemous verbs/nouns:

- (12) a. *βaq-un=mu* *ku?* *papaquwas* *ka?* *haca?*
 know-PF=1S.Gen Nom.Rf singer Lin that
 ‘I know that singer (who will sing there)’
 a'. *pa-ø-paquwas* *ku?* *irawin=mu*
 Irr-AF-sing Nom.Rf friend=1S.Gen
 ‘My friend will sing’
 b. *m-ayiyay* *ku?* *paquriq* *la*
 AF-escape Nom.Rf thief Part
 ‘The thief has escaped’
 b'. *pa-ø-quriq* *ru?* *pa-ayiyay* *la*
 Irr-AF-steal and AF-escape Part
 ‘He stole (things) and escaped’

It has already been pointed out (in sec. 4.1) that realis forms of AF verbs may

¹⁰ Comrie and Thompson (1985:350) make a similar remark; that is, agentive nominalization yields the meaning ‘one which “verbs”’, but ‘the noun need not be in an “agent” relationship with the verb’.

designate action nominals. Such verbs may sometimes serve as agentive nominals as well. In other words, agentive nominals can be derived either through prefixation of the irrealis/future marker pa- or through affixation of AF markers m-/ma-/um- to the verb roots, except that the agentive nominals prefixed with pa- seem to our Atayal informant better and unmarked candidates for designating professionals. The agentive nominals affixed with AF markers m-/ma-/um-, and without any overt tense/aspect/mood markers, although they may give a reading of ‘one that does ...’, tend to designate ‘one that is doing ...’. Why the agentive nominals prefixed with irrealis marker pa- are better candidates for professionals remains puzzling; further investigation is required.

The agentive nominals affixed with AF markers m-/ma-/um- and without any overt tense/aspect/ mood markers, though may give the reading ‘one that does ...’, tend to designate ‘one that is doing ...’. Table 5b presents some agentive nominals affixed with AF markers m-/ma-/um-:

Table 5b: Agentive nominals (resembling realis AF dynamic)

Verb root	Meaning	Realis AF	Agentive nominal	Meaning
1 paquwas	‘to sing’	m -aquwas	ma quwas	‘singer; one who is singing’
2 patauwaw	‘to work’	m -atauwaw	ma tauwaw	‘worker; one who is working’
3 payhahowa?	‘to boast’	m -ayhahowa?	ma yhahowa?	‘boaster; one who is boasting’
4 quriq	‘to steal’	q-um -uriq	qum uriq	‘thief; one who is stealing’
5 paynaβalay ¹¹	‘fat (eating)’	m -aynaβalay	ma ynaβalay	‘one who is fat’

Some examples:

- (13) a. βaq-un=mu ku? maquwas ka? haca?
 know-PF=1S.Gen Nom.Rf singer Lin that
 ‘I know that singer (who is singing there)’
 a'. m-aquwas ku? irawiη=mu
 AF-sing Nom.Rf friend=1S.Gen
 ‘My friend is singing’

¹¹ The word maynaβalay ‘fat’ is considered to be a dynamic verb because certain action ‘eating’ must have taken place before the present stage. For a detailed discussion of Mayrinax verbs, please refer to Huang 2000.

- b. tutiŋ-un=mu ku? mayhahowa?
 beat-PF=1S.Gen Nom.Rf boaster
 ‘I beat the boaster’
- b'. m-ayhahowa? kariariax ?i? yumin
 AF-boast often Nom Yumin
 ‘Yumin often boasts’
- c. m-ayiyay ku? qumuriq la
 AF-escape Nom.Rf thief Part
 ‘The thief has escaped’
- c'. q<um>uriq ru? m-ayiyay la
 steal<AF>steal and AF-escape Part
 ‘He stole (things) and escaped’
- d. suwa?i=mu ku? maynaβalay ka? haca?
 younger:sibling=1S.Gen Nom.Rf fat:person Lin that
 ‘That fat one is my younger sibling’
- d'. m-aynaβalay ?i? watan
 AF-fat Nom Watan
 ‘Watan is fat’

As for nominals affixed with AF markers m-/ma-/um- serving as action nominals or agentive nominals, the context seems to help justify either interpretation, as illustrated in the following set of sentences:

- (14) a. ø-aqih ku? mayhahowa?
 AF-bad Nom.Rf boasting
 ‘Boasting is bad; The boaster is bad’
- a'. tutiŋ-un=mu ku? mayhahowa?
 beat-PF=1S.Gen Nom.Rf boaster
 ‘I beat the boaster; *I beat the boasting’
- b. ø-aqih ku? qumuriq
 AF-bad Nom.Rf stealing
 ‘Stealing is bad; The thief is bad’
- b'. m-ayiyay ku? qumuriq la
 AF-escape Nom.Rf thief Part
 ‘The thief has escaped; *Stealing has escaped’

4.2.2 Patient nominals

Comrie and Thompson (1985:350) remark that agentive nominalization yields the

meaning ‘one which “verbs”’, but ‘the noun need not be in an “agent” relationship with the verb’. Although such a multi-correlation between derived agentive nominals and the involved event participants is not present in Mayrinax Atayal, similar phenomena are observed in patient nominalization. In other words, patient nominals in Mayrinax Atayal may have their involved participants serving semantic roles other than patient, which can be illustrated by how patient nominals are derived. As shown below, patient nominals in Mayrinax Atayal can be derived through four different processes: (i) realis forms of AF stative verbs; (ii) irrealis forms of PF verbs; (iii) realis forms of PF verbs; and (iv) realis forms of LF verbs.

(i) Realis forms of AF stative verbs

Patient nominals derived through the first process, i.e., though the presence of an AF marker, are not many. Moreover, the examples collected are both stative verbs, and the AF marker is a zero morpheme, as shown in Table 6a:

Table 6a: Patient nominals (resembling realis AF stative)

Stative verb root	Meaning	Ralis AF	Patient nominal	Meaning
1 katatimu?	‘(to be) salty’	Ø-tatimu?	tatimu?	‘salty things/food’
2 kasiqsalsow	‘(to be) sour’	Ø-siqsalsow	siqsalsow	‘sour things/food’

As stated in Section 4.1, why the above derived nominals manifest patient participants may be because the involved participants in the original stative verbs are inanimate. Some examples follow:

- (15) a. Ø-βalaiq ni? yaβa?=mu ku? maniq cku? tatimu?
 AF-good Gen father=1S.Gen Nom.Rf eat Acc.Rf salty:thing
 ‘My father likes eating the salty things’
- a'. Ø-tatimu? cu? βalay ku? qulih
 AF-salty very Nom.Rf fish
 ‘The fish is very salty’
- b. Ø-βalaiq=nia? ku? maniq cku? siqsalsow
 AF-good=3S.Gen Nom.Rf eat Acc.Rf sour:thing
 ‘He likes eating sour things’
- b'. Ø-siqsalsow hayhay ku? hani
 AF-sour very Nom.Rf this
 ‘This is very sour’

(ii) Irrealis forms of PF verbs

The second type of patient nominal includes irrealis forms of PF verbs; that is, the process involves the *Ca-* reduplication (i.e., reduplication of the initial consonant followed by an *-a-* vowel) and the PF marker *-un*, as given in Table 6b:

Table 6b: Patient nominals (resembling irrealis PF)

	Verb root	Meaning	Irrealis PF	Patient nominal	Meaning
1	qaniq	‘to eat’	<i>na-niq-un</i>	<i>naniquun</i>	‘food; things to be eaten’
2	nuβuway	‘to drink’	<i>na-nuβu?-un</i>	<i>nanuβu?un</i>	‘drink; things to be drunk’
3	βainay	‘to buy’	<i>βa-βinas-un</i>	<i>βaβinasun</i>	‘things to be bought’
4	γahapuy	‘to cook’	<i>γa-γhapuy-un</i>	<i>γaγhapuyun</i>	‘food; things to be cooked’
5	tahuq	‘to cook (dishes)’	<i>ta-tahq-un</i>	<i>tatahqun</i>	‘dish to be cooked’
6	patu?	‘to cut’	<i>pa-putu?-un</i>	<i>paputu?un</i>	‘things to be cut’
7	patauwaw	‘to work’	<i>pa-ptwa-un</i>	<i>paptwaun</i>	‘work to be done’

Examples:

- (16) a. m<in>aniq cu? aqih na? naniquun ru? si-putak=nia?
 AF<Prf>eat Acc.Nrf bad Gen.Nrf food and IF-vomit=3S.Gen
 ‘He ate spoiled/bad food and threw up’
- b. ø-βalaiq ku? nanuβu?un=mu
 AF-good Nom.Rf drink=1S.Gen
 ‘My drink is good’
- c. hani?an ku? βaβinasun=mu
 exist Nom.Rf things:to:be:bought=1S.Gen
 ‘I have things to buy’
- d. kia? ku? paptwaun=nia?
 exist Nom.Rf work=3S.Gen
 ‘He has work to do’

(iii) Realis forms of PF verbs

The third type of patient nominal concerns realis forms of PF verbs; that is, the

process involves the infixation of *-in-* to the PF verbs (though here the focus marker is a zero morpheme), as shown in Table 6c:

Table 6c: Patient nominals (resembling realis PF)

	Verb root	Meaning	Realis PF	Patient nominal	Meaning
1	patiq	‘to write’	p<in>atiq	pin atiq	‘word; handwriting’
2	βainay	‘to buy’	β<in>ainay	βin ainay	‘things being bought’
3	patauwaw	‘to work’	p<in>twawaw	pint wawaw	‘things being done’
4	tahuq	‘to cook (dishes)’	t<in>ahuq	tin ahuq	‘cooked dish’
5	yahapuy	‘to cook’	γ<in>hahapuy	γinh ahapuy	‘cooked food’

Examples:

- (17) a. ø-βalaiq a? pinatiq nku? ?ulaqi?=su?
 AF-good Nom.Nrf handwriting Gen.Rf child=2S.Gen
 ‘Your child’s handwriting was good’
- b. ma-hnuq ku? βinainay nku? naβakis
 AF-cheap Nom.Rf things:being:bought Gen.Rf old:person
 ‘The things the old man bought were cheap’
- c. ø-payux ku? pintwawaw=mu
 AF-plenty Nom.Rf work=1S.Gen
 ‘I did many things’
- d. ø-βalaiq=mi? ku? tinahuq ni? yaya?
 AF-good=1S.Gen Nom.Rf cooked:dish Gen mother
 ‘I like what Mother cooked’
- e. ø-shahiya? ku? γinhahapuy=su?
 AF-delicious Nom.Rf cooked:food=2S.Gen
 ‘What you cooked was delicious’

(iv) Realis forms of LF verbs

The fourth type of patient nominal deals with realis forms of LF verbs; that is, the process involves the suffixation of *-an*, with or without the perfective aspect marker *-in-*. Examples designating such a patient argument are shown in Table 6d:

Table 6d: Patient nominals (resembling realis LF)

	Verb root	Meaning	Realis LF	Locative nominal	Meaning
1	timami	‘to pickle’	t<in>mami- an	tinmamian	‘pickled meat’
2	cumiyok	‘to answer’	c<in>yok- an	cinyokan	‘answer’
3	paynao?	‘to play’	paynao?- an	paynao?an	‘toy’

Why realis form of some LF verbs may designate patient argument deserves future research. Below are some examples containing realis LF verbs:

- (18) a. m-anìq=ci? cu? tinmamian kariariax
 AF-eat=1S.Nom Acc.Nrf pickled:meat often
 ‘I often eat pickled meat’
- b. ini?=mu ßaq-i ku? cinyokan=nya?
 Neg=1S.Gen know-PF Nom.Rf answer=3S.Gen
 ‘I don’t know his answer’
- c. nanuwan ku? paynao?an=nia?
 what Nom.Rf toy=3S.Gen
 ‘What’s his toy?’

4.3 Locative nominals

The formations of locative nominals, like those of patient nominals discussed above, differentiate between irrealis and realis forms. That is, locative nominals can be derived either (i) through the *Ca*-reduplication and the LF marker *-an*, or (ii) through the infixation of *-in-* and the LF marker *-an*. Below are some examples of locative nominals formed through the first process:

Table 7a: Locative nominals (resembling irrealis LF)

	Verb root	Meaning	Irrealis LF	Locative nominal	Meaning
1	qaniq	‘to eat’	na-niq- an	naniqan	‘restaurant; table; place where one will eat’
2	yahapuy	‘to cook’	ya-yhapuy- an	yayhapuyan	‘kitchen; cooker; place where one will cook’
3	thawnaq	‘to sit’	ta-thawnaq- an	tathawnaqan	‘chair’
4	paquwas	‘to sing’	pa-pqwas- an	papqwasan	‘singing hall’
5	palalu	‘to cradle’	pa-plalu- an	paplaluan	‘cradle’
6	tahuq	‘to cook (dishes)’	ta-tahq- an	tatahqan	‘place where one will cook dish’

7	βahuq	‘to wash (clothes)’	βa-βahq- an	βaβahq an	‘washing machine’
8	patiq	‘to write’	pa-patiq- an	papatiq an	‘school; desk; place where one will study or write’
9	paima?	‘to bathe’	pa-pima- an	papima an	‘bathroom; place where one will take a bath’
10	qilaap	‘to sleep’	qa-qlap- an	qaqlap an	‘place where one will sleep’
11	pacvo?	‘to fight’	pa-pavo?- an	papavo? an	‘battlefield’
12	patauwaw	‘to work’	pa-ptuwaw- an	paptuwaw an	‘factory’

Examples:

- (19) a. ø-rahuaay ku? naniqan=su?
 AF-big Nom.Rf dining:room=2S.Gen
 ‘Your dining room is big’
- b. yayhapuyan ku? naniqan cu? βuŋa? nku? ?ulaqi?
 kitchen Nom.Rf eating:place Acc.Nrf yam Gen.Rf child
 ‘The kitchen is where the child eats yams’
- c. β<in>ninay=mu ku? tathawnaqan ka? hani
 buy<Prf>buy=1S.Gen Nom.Rf chair Lin this
 ‘This chair was bought by me’
- d. kia? ?i? m-aquwas cku? papqwasan=mu ?i? watan
 Prog Lin AF-sing Acc.Rf singing:hall=1S.Gen Nom Watan
 ‘Watan is singing in my singing hall’

Similar to the contrast between the irrealis and realis forms of AF verbs, the irrealis forms of LF verbs seem to be better and unmarked candidates for locative nominals; while the realis forms designate places where the involved events have already taken place. Table 7b presents some locative nominals derived through the second process mentioned above:

Table 7b: Locative nominals (resembling realis LF)

	Verb root	Meaning	Realis LF	Locative nominal	Meaning
1	yahapuy	‘to cook’	y<in>hapuy- an	yinhapuy an	‘place where one cooked’
2	pacvoʔ	‘to fight’	p<in>avoʔ- an	pinavoʔ an	‘place where people had battles’
3	kat	‘to bite’	k<in>ac- an	kinac an	‘place being bitten’
4	capux	‘to sweep’	c<in>apux- an	cinapux an	‘place being swept/cleaned’

Below are some examples containing realis forms of locative nominals:

- (20) a. ø-βalaiq cuʔ βalay kuʔ pinavoʔan=niam cuʔ ɲaʔ
 AF-good very Nom.Rf battlefield=1PE.Gen before
 ‘The (old) battlefield is very beautiful’
- b. ma-oβaq cuʔ βalay kuʔ cinapuxan niʔ yayaʔ
 AF-clean very Nom.Rf place:being:swept Gen mother
 ‘The place where Mother swept is very clean’

4.4 Instrumental nominals

As shown in Table 2, the realis forms of the IF verbs have the prefix *si-*, while the corresponding irrealis forms have *Ca-* reduplication, but without the presence of *si-*. As for the instrumental nominals in Mayrinax Atayal, they resemble irrealis forms of IF verbs; the language does not seem to have realis counterparts. Table 8 presents some of the instrumental nominals in the language:

Table 8: Instrumental nominals (resembling irrealis IF)

	Verb root	Meaning	Irrealis IF	Instrument nominal	Meaning
1	patiq	‘to write’	<i>pa</i> -patiq	<i>papatiq</i>	‘pen’
2	hawβin	‘to cut’	<i>ha</i> -hawβin	<i>hahawβin</i>	‘instrument used to cut’
3	kaloʔ	‘to comb’	<i>ka</i> -kaloʔ	<i>kakaloʔ</i>	‘comb’
4	kiri	‘to grind’	<i>ka</i> -kiri	<i>kakiri</i>	‘knife grinder’
5	capux	‘to sweep’	<i>ca</i> -capux	<i>cacapux</i>	‘broom’
6	hirhir	‘to saw’	<i>ha</i> -hirhir	<i>hahirhir</i>	‘saw’
7	samay	‘to place (mat)’	<i>sa</i> -samay	<i>sasamay</i>	‘mat’

Examples:

- (21) a. kaa ptiq-ani ku? papatiq=mu
 Neg.Imp write-IF.Imp Nom.Rf pen=1S.Gen
 ‘Don’t write with my pen’
- b. ini? ø-kalo? na? ?i? hiya?. ukas a? kakalo?=nia?
 Neg AF-comb still Nom 3S.Neu Neg Nom.Nrf comb=3S.Gen
 ‘He hasn’t combed yet, (because) he has no comb’
- c. kiri-ani cu? hahirhir ?i? yaβa?
 grind-BF Acc.Nrf saw Nom father
 ‘Grind a saw for Father!’
- d. kakiri=mu ku? hani
 knife:grinder=1S.Gen Nom.Rf this
 ‘This is my knife grinder’
- e. si-samay=mu ku? sasamay ka? hani
 IF-place=1S.Gen Nom.Rf mat Lin this
 ‘I placed this mat’

5. Concluding remarks

This paper has presented a preliminary study of the types and functions of nominalization in Mayrinax Atayal. Three generalizations are made, as shown below:

- (i) With respect to types of nominalization, it is observed that, like most of the other Formosan/Austronesian languages, nominalization in Mayrinax Atayal happens at the lexical and clausal levels (and hence lexical and clausal nominals).
- (ii) The language does not have productive morphological devices in forming lexical nominals; only focus and tense/aspect/mood markers are utilized. Consequently, the derived nominals are identical to the verb forms, which appears to be a rather common phenomenon in Formosan and other Austronesian languages (cf. Starosta, Pawley and Reid 1982, Ferrell 1982, Ross 1995).
- (iii) As for the functions of derived nominals, such nominals may designate actions or states. They may also manifest participants such as agent, patient, location and instrument, depending on what semantic role the involved participant illustrates in the associated event.

Table 9 presents a recapitulation of the processes involved in forming nominals in

Mayrinax Atayal and of the possible participants the derived nominals may designate:

Table 9: Lexical nominalizations in Mayrinax Atayal

Type	Form	Verb root	Meaning	Nominals	Meaning
Action/state nominals					
1. Dynamic verb	m-	patauwaw	‘to work’	m atauwaw	‘working’
	-um-	quriq	‘to steal’	qum uriq	‘stealing’
	∅	pʔakiyaw	‘to gamble’	pʔakiyaw	‘gambling’
2. Stative verb	ma-	kauhaay	‘sick’	mau haay	‘disease’
	∅	kβusinuq	‘drunk’	βusinuq	‘being drunk’
Argument nominals					
1. Agentive (1) Irrealis AF dynamic	pa-	patauwaw	‘to work’	p atauwaw	‘worker’
(2) Realis AF dynamic	ma-	payhahowaʔ	‘to boast’	ma yhahowaʔ	‘boaster; one who is boasting’
	-um-	quriq	‘to steal’	qum uriq	‘thief’
2. Patient (1) Realis AF stative	∅	tatimuʔ	‘salty’	tatimuʔ	‘salty things/food’
(2) Irrealis PF	Ca-...-un	qaniq	‘to eat’	n aniqu n	‘food’
(3) Realis PF	-in-	patiq	‘to write’	p in at iq	‘word’
(4) Realis LF	-in-...-an	timami	‘to pickle’	tin mami an	‘pickled meat’
	-an	paynaoʔ	‘to play’	paynaoʔ an	‘toy’
3. Locative (1) Irrealis LF	Ca-...-an	yahapuy	‘to cook’	y ahapuy an	‘kitchen; cooker; place where one will cook’
	-in-...-an	yahapuy	‘to cook’	y in h apuy an	‘place where one cooked’
4. Instrumental (1) Irrealis IF	Ca-	kaloʔ	‘to comb’	k akaloʔ	‘comb’

Nominalizations in Mayrinax Atayal seem to exhibit some puzzling phenomena, as illustrated below, which deserve further research:

- (iv) The language seems to favor irrealis verbal forms, instead of realis ones, in forming argument nominals, especially agentive, locative and instrumental ones. In other words, irrealis forms of AF, LF and IF verbs seem to be better candidates for forming agentive nominals, locative nominals and instrumental nominals, respectively.
- (v) While realis and irrealis forms of PF verbs may manifest patient arguments, some realis AF forms of stative verbs and realis forms of LF verbs can also serve as patient nominals, which may have something to do with their verbal semantics.
- (vi) Realis IF forms seem unable to serve as instrumental nominals.

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汶水泰雅語名物化結構探究

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本篇論文主要探討汶水泰雅語名物化結構的類型和功能。文中指出，如同許多南島語言一樣，汶水泰雅語的名物化結構發生在詞彙和子句兩個層面，不過汶水泰雅語除了利用焦點符號和時態語氣標記外，並沒有再利用其他詞綴機制以標示名物化結構。是故該語言中名物化形式與動詞形式極為相似。再者，本篇論文也檢視名物化結構的功能，發現除了可以標示事件或狀態外，也可以標示事件論元，如主事者、受事者、處所或工具等。希望本研究成果能提供給類型研究者和比較語言學者一些有用的資訊。

關鍵詞：名物化，汶水泰雅語，構詞句法，格位標記，焦點，時態語氣標記，論元