

Nominalization in Mantauran (Rukai)*

Elizabeth Zeitoun
Academia Sinica

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

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Workshop on “Nominalization in the Formosan Languages” held at the Academia Sinica (Oct. 21-22, 2000). I would like to thank Paul Jen-kuei Li, Tien-hsin Hsin, Stanley Starosta, Lillian M. Huang, Marie-Claude Paris, You-jing Lin as well as two anonymous reviewers for their critical comments and helpful suggestions.

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 adverbial, 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-kanə vələvələ tamatama.²
 Dyn.Fin-eat banana middle-aged man
 ‘Father is eating a banana.’

² Abbreviations are as follows: ActNmz: Action nominalization, Ca-: Ca- Reduplication, Caus: Causative, ClsNmz: Clausal nominalization, CncNmz: Concessive nominalization, Dyn: Dynamic, E: Exclusive, Fin: Finite, Gen: Genitive, I: Inclusive, Impr: Impersonal (pronoun), LocNmz: Locative nominalization, Neg: Negation, NFin: Non-Finite, Nom: Nominative, Obl: Oblique, ObjNmz: Objective nominalization, P: Plural, Rec: Reciprocal, Red: Reduplication, S: Singular, Stat: Stative, StatNmz: State nominalization, Subj: Subjunctive, SubjNmz: Subject nominalization, Sup: Superlative, TempNmz: Temporal nominalization, Top: Topic.

- b. o-kanə tamatama vələvələ.
 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 ʔa o-kanə vələvələ.
 middle-aged man Top Dyn.Fin-eat banana
 ‘As for father, he is eating/ate a banana.’
- (3) *(ðonaʔi) vələvələ ʔa o-kanə 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-laŋai taotao ðaʔanə.
 Dyn.Fin-buy Taotao house
 ‘Taotao bought a house.’
- b. o-kaʔacə taʔoʔo ʔoʔaʔa.
 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-ðalam*(-ilinə) ðipolo [taotao la ʔanao].
 Stat.Fin-love-3P.Obl Zipolo Taotao and Anao
 ‘Zipolo loves Taotao and Anao.’
- b. maðalam*(-inə) lalakə-li taotao.
 Stat.Fin-love-3S.Obl child-1S.Gen taotao
 ‘Taotao likes my child.’ ~ ‘My child likes Taotao.’
- (6) a. ðonaʔi ʔaolai ʔa oʔilap(-inə) apoto-ni.
 that boy Top look for(-3S.Gen) stone-3S.Gen
 ‘As for that boy, he was looking for his stone(s).’

- b. ðonaʔi ʔavai kapa-ki-kaavaʔ*(-iðə)
that woman continuously-Neg-Dyn.NFin:come-3S.Obl
laməŋaə-ðə.
husband-3S.Gen
‘As for that woman, her husband didn’t come to her.’

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-inamə ka paiso.
Dyn.Fin-not exist-1PE.Obl money
‘We did not have any money.’
b. akaoðo ka ki-|ihoaʔ-ə-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. vələvələ-ni *taotao*.
banana-3S.Gen Taotao
‘Taotao’s banana’
b. kanə-ni *taotao*.
ActNmz:Dyn.NFin:eat-3S.Gen Taotao
‘Taotao’s eating’

(iii) They may co-occur with a genitive pronoun:³

- (9) a. ina-li
mother-1S.Gen
‘my mother’
b. a-pa-solatə-nai
ActNmz-Caus-Dyn.NFin:study-1PE.Gen
‘our education’

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. ðonaʔi ʔaoðoʔoʔo mani vaaʔ-iðə ʔaði.
 that lunch box then Dyn.NFin:give-3S.Gen younger sibling
 ‘That lunch box, (she) gave it to the younger brother.’
 b. ðona ta-ka-əaəa mani vaaʔ-iðə
 that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-one then Dyn.NFin:give-3S.Gen
 ʔaði.
 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-...-ŋa* ‘all’ (11b’):

- (11) a. onaʔi a-oʔolai la onaʔi ta-a-ʔacakəlaə-ŋa
 that plur-child and that SubjNmz-plur-married-already
ta-ka-a-roðəŋə oðoʔo-nai
 SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-plur-old Dyn.Fin-can-1PE.Nom
 ʔi-kariði.
 wear-sleeveless garment
 ‘Children, already married (women) and old people could wear sleeveless (fur) jackets.’
 b. mani poa-ŋ-inamə toloðo ðonaʔi
 then Dyn.NFin:make-already-1PE.Obl bridge that
kapa-ʔana-ŋa.
 all-stream-Sup
 ‘Then, they built bridges for us on all the streams.’
 b'. ʔiraki-nai mənə-ŋa loŋai saŋəparə, toʔonai ʔinaʔi
 for-1PE.Nom now-Sup Dyn.Subj:buy car any(thing) this
kapa-a-laŋa]-aə-ŋa-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. ðonaʔi ʔavai kapa-ki-kaavaʔ*(-iðə)
 that woman continously-Neg-Dyn.NFin:come-3S.Obl
 laməŋaə-ðə.
 husband-3S.Gen
 ‘As for that woman, her husband didn’t come to her.’
 b. ðona ta-ka-ljhili ðona ta-ljhoʔo ʔa
 that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-clever that SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:know Top
 mani pa-ðaac-iliðə [...]
 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 *la di ðapa* ‘work’ with the noun *ði ðapə* ‘work’.

- (13) a. ʔaðiðapaə-ʎao.
work-1S.Nom
'I am working.' ~ 'I worked.'
a'. *ðiðapaə-ʎao.
work-1S.Nom
b. ʔaðiðapa-a!
work-Imp
Work!
b'. *ðiðapa-a!
work-Imp
- (14) a. ikaoðo ka ðiðapaə-li.
not exist work-1S.Gen
'I do/did not have any work (to do).'
a'. *ikaoðo ka ʔaðiðapaə-li.
not exist work-1S.Gen
b. paʔəhəmaə ðiðapaə-li.
laborious work-1S.Gen
'My work is laborious.'
b'. *paʔəhəmaə ʔaðiðapaə-li.
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 Mantaaran 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

| Morphological process | Verbal (dyn.) stem | Action nominal | Verbal (stat.) stem | State nominal |
|---------------------------|---|---|------------------------------|---|
| Prefixation of <i>a-</i> | o- ʔiaʔipi 'count' | a- ʔiaʔipi 'arithmetic' | ma- aʔa 'flirt' | a- ka-ʔaaʔaa 'flirt' |
| | m- aramao 'resemble' | a- parama-ramao 'resemblance' | ma- ʔoolai 'young' | a- ka-ʔoolai 'childhood' |
| | m- aʔavi 'share' | a- paʔavi 'share' | -- -- | |
| | pa- ðəʔəŋə 'make...meet' | a- pa-ðəʔə-ðəʔəŋə 'meeting' | | |
| | pa- solatə 'make...study' | a- pa-solatə 'education' | | |
| | pa- valʃi 'make...change' | a- pa-valʃi-valʃi 'antonym' | | |
| | to- valəʔaʔəʔaə 'build roads' | a- to-valəʔaʔəʔaə 'traffic' | | |
| Suffixation of <i>-aə</i> | -- -- | | ma- caʔəmə 'ill' | caʔəmə- aə 'illness' |
| | | | ma- rikoco 'busy' | rikoc- aə 'business' |
| | | | ma- taaðiʔi 'good' | taaðiʔi- aə 'goodness' ⁴ |

⁴ Compare with: *ta-ka-taaðiʔaʔə* 'advantage' (lit., 'good place').

| | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|---|-------|
| Occurrence of root | o -halacəlacə 'comb' | halacəlacə 'comb' | -- -- |
| | o -təmə 'obstruct' | təmə(təmə) 'tollbooth' | |
| | o -vəʎətə 'pile up' | vəʎətə 'piling up, wall' | |
| | o -cəŋələ 'see' | cəŋələ 'seeing, look' | |
| | o -kanə 'eat' | kanə 'eating' | |
| Occurrence of a verb stem marked with a finite or a subjunctive form | o -ðaacə 'leave' | o -ðaacə 'leaving' (+Real) ðoacə 'leaving' (+Irr) | -- -- |

(15) Action/state nominals—prefixation of *a*-

- a. mani ðoʎo a-itina a-tamatama
 then Dyn.NFin:can plur-middle-aged woman plur-middle-aged man
 kaamai poa pa-ðəʎəŋə...
 self Dyn.Subj:make Caus-Dyn.NFin:meet
 'The parents could have them meet...'
- a'. ...ðonaʔi ʔaomo a[ə-ŋ-inamə o
 that Japanese Dyn.NFin:take-already-1PE.Obl that
 ta-[i]hoʔo po-inamə
 SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:know Dyn.Subj:make-1PE.Obl
 a-pa-ðəʎə-ðəʎəŋə, poa
 ActNmz-Caus-Red-Dyn.NFin:meet Dyn.Subj:make
 tolaðəkaə, toŋoðəə, a-pa-ʔika[oma]omalə, pa-ʔaovaovaha.
 place name place name ActNmz-Caus-get:prize Caus-speak
 'The Japanese gathered the cleverest students from Maolin, Tona (and Wanshan) and let us compete.'
- b. onaʔi lo to-ðaʔanə-nai toʔa-tolorəə-nai
 that when build-house-1PE.Gen use for-reason-1PE.Nom
 to-ðəʎəpə, ta-iki-ki-aə
 build-stone living room LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:b eat-LocNmz
 a-valəvalə a-sava-savarə ma-aʔa.
 plur-young woman plur-Red-young man Stat.Subj-flirt

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

- b'. δona lo $\text{ma-a-va}[\text{o}]\text{va}[\text{o}]\text{-mao}$ mani
 that when Stat.Subj-plur-young woman-Imprs.Gen then
 $\text{ka-}\delta\text{ao}$ $\delta\text{ona?i}$ a-ka-?aa?aa-mao lo
 Stat.NFin:many that StatNmz-Stat.NFin-flirt-Imprs.Gen when
 $\text{ma-taa}\delta\text{i?i-}\delta\text{a}$ δona $\text{va}[\text{o}]\text{va}[\text{o}]$ $\text{takaoca}\delta\text{-ni}$.
 Stat.Subj-good-3S.Gen that young woman character-3S.Gen
 ‘At that time, when we were young, a girl (would) have many admirers if she was kind.’

(16) State nominals—suffixation of *-aə*

- a. olo $\delta\text{oma-na}\delta$ $\text{ma-ca?əm}\delta\text{-nai}$, $\text{o-}\delta\text{o}[\text{o}]\text{-nai}$
 when other-TempNmz Stat.Subj-sick-1PE.Gen Dyn.Fin-can-1PE.Nom
 $\text{?ias}\delta$ $\text{saŋəpar}\delta\text{...}$
 Dyn.Subj:call car
 ‘If, at times, we are ill, we can call a taxi...’
- a'. δona ta-ka-kociŋai $\text{ca?əm-a}\delta\text{...}$
 that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-serious sick-StatNmz
 ‘Those who had a serious disease...’
- b. ?ina?i $\text{ta-o-a}\delta\text{-ŋa-nai}$ tavalə?əvə?ə
 this LocNmz-Dyn.NFin:go-LocNmz-already-1PE.Gen place name
 ?aəla , toramoro-ŋa-nai ka ma-rikoco .
 Dyn.Subj:move very-already-1PE.Nom Stat.Fin-busy
 ‘Since we’ve moved to the new village, we have been very busy.’
- b'. ona?i a-iki-na-nai ?oponoho
 that ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:be at-still-1PE.Gen place name
 $\text{akao}\delta\text{o}$ ka $\text{rikoc-a}\delta\text{-nai}$.
 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 $\text{patol-i}\delta\delta$ $\text{vəkənə}[\delta]$ $\text{və}[\delta]\text{ə}[\delta]$ pa-okəla
 then from-3S.Obl soil Dyn.Subj:piled up Caus-Dyn.NFin:reach
 δona $\text{ta-iki-ki-a}\delta\text{-li}\delta\text{a}$
 that LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:be at-LocNmz-3P.Gen
 ?apəcə a-?olalai...
 Dyn.Subj:sleep plur-male
 ‘...stones were piled up from the ground to the place where men slept...’

- a'. mani cəŋələ-nai ðonaʔi ðaʔano ʔi
 then Dyn.NFin:see-1PE.Nom that house
vələtə mani ʔihoʔo-nai
 ActNmz:Dyn.NFin:pile up then Dyn.NFin:know-1PE.Nom
 ka-iki-liða ʔina vaʔio.
 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-cəŋələ-ka-ʔ-inə?
 Dyn.Fin-see-Neg-2S.Gen-3S.Obl
 ‘Did you see her?’
- b'. kani cəŋələ-ʔ-inə?
 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
o-ðaacə-ŋa-ʔao.
 Dyn.Fin-leave-already-1S.Nom
 ‘When he came, I had already left.’
- b. oðaacə-ʔo ʔiðao.
 Dyn.Fin:leave-2S.Gen when
 ‘When did you leave?’
- c. mənənaə lo ðaacə-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-*.

Table 2: Agentive nominals

| Types of verbs | Verbal stem | Subject(ive) nominal |
|----------------|---|---|
| Dynamic verbs | o -alopo ‘hunt’ | ta -alopo ‘(who) hunts, hunter’ |
| | o -kanə ‘eat’ | ta -kanə ‘(who) eats’ |
| | o -lihoʔo ‘know’ | ta -lihoʔo ‘(who) knows’ |
| | o -haraŋə ‘snore’ | ta -haraharaŋə ‘(who) snores’ |
| | o -piʔapiʔa aɭacə ‘write names’ | ta -piʔapiʔa aɭacə ‘(who) writes names, officer, civil servant’ |
| | o -solatə ‘study, write’ | ta -solatə ‘(who) studies/writes’ |
| | o -ʔosario ‘play’ | ta -ʔosario ‘(who) plays, player’ |
| | m -aavaʔi ‘come’ | ta -kaavaʔi ‘(who) comes’ |
| | om -oa ‘go’ | ta -oa ‘(who) goes’ |
| | to -alakə ‘give birth’ | ta -to-alakə ‘(who) gives birth’ |
| | topo ðaolao ‘true, right’ | ta -topoðaolao ‘(who) is right’ |
| Stative verbs | ma -caʔəmə ‘ill’ | ta -ka-caʔəmə ‘(who) is ill, patient’ |
| | ma -lihili ‘clever’ | ta -ka-lihili ‘(who is) clever’ |
| | ma -roðaŋə ‘old’ | ta -ka-roðaŋə ‘(who is) old, old person (sg.)’ |
| | ma -siʔi ‘few, small’ | ta -ka-siʔi ‘(who is/has) few, small...’ |

- (19) a. araʔəvə la o-kanə-ka-i ka iki 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-saisakipi-mao kasa-ni
 when make-small glutinous cake-Imprs.Gen only-3S.Gen
 a-oɭolai ta-kanə.
 plur-child SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat
 ‘When someone made small glutinous cakes (saisakipi), only children
 (would) eat them.’
- b. mani lihoʔo ʔoponoho maavaʔi-ŋa
 then Dyn.NFin:know Mantauran Dyn.Subj:come-already
 ta-alopo.
 SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:hunt
 ‘Then the Mantauran people knew the hunters had already come back.’

- b'. δ ona ta-ljhoʔo o-vaʔa-iðə ʔəməʔəməʔə,
 that SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:know Dyn.Fin-give-3S.Obl prize
 ta-ʔakaəa, ʔakaðəʔa, ʔakatoʔo.
 SubjNmz-first second third
 'The cleverest were given a prize (to show who was) the first, the second
 (and) the third.'
- (20) a. onaʔi aronjo-ŋa-nai moa ʔina tavaləʔəvəʔə,
 that just-already-1PE.Gen Dyn.Subj:go this place name
ma-siʔi-na-nai ocao.
 Stat.Fin-few-still-1PE.Nom man
 'When we first arrived in Tavale'eve'e, we were (still) few (people).'
- a'. o ta-ka-siʔi soso ka o-poa-ka-ðə ka
 that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-small breast Dyn.Fin-make-Neg-3S.Gen
 ʔi-toipi.
 wear-bra
 'As for those who had small breasts, they (would) not wear a bra.'
- b. lo pa-solatə-ð-inamə
 when Caus-Dyn.NFin:study-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl
 o-ljhoʔo-ka-nai ka sialaʔa,
 Dyn.Fin-know-Neg-1PE.Gen Dyn.Subj:hear
ma-ljhili-ka-nai.
 Stat.Fin-clever-Neg-1PE.Gen
 'When they taught us, we did not understand, we were not clever.'
- b'. δ ona ta-ka-ljhili, δ ona ta-ljhoʔo
 that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-clever that SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:know
 ʔa mani pa-ðaac-iliðə [...]
 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 *a-...-aə* in dynamic verbs and by *...-aə* in stative verbs.

Table 3: Objective nominals

| Types of verbs | Verbal stem | Objective nominal |
|----------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Dynamic verbs | o -alopo ‘hunt’ | a -lop- aə ‘game’ |
| | o -kanə ‘eat’ | a -kan- aə ‘food’ |
| | o -ʔoŋolo ‘drink’ | a -ʔoŋol- aə ‘drink’ |
| | o -laŋai ‘buy’ | a -laŋa[- aə] ‘(thing) bought, merchandise’ |
| | o -vəʔətə ‘pile up’ | a -vəʔət- aə ‘(stones) piled up, wall’ |
| | om -iki ‘exist, be at’ | a -iki- ə ‘existence’ |
| | pa -cəŋəʔə ‘make...see’ | a -pa-cəŋə-cəŋəʔ- aə solatə ‘references’ |
| Stative verbs | ma -ðalamə ‘like, love’ | ka -ðalam- aə ‘the loved (one)’ |
| | ma -səkəʔə ‘angry’ | ka -səkəʔ- aə ‘the one being angered at’ |

- (21) a. o-kanə-ŋa-ka-li.
 Dyn.Fin-eat-already-Neg-1S.Gen
 ‘I have not eaten yet.’
- a'. ðonaʔi ʔa kasa-ða ðonaʔi a-kan-aə-nai
 that Top only-3S.Gen that ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz
 ‘That was the only food we had.’
- b. ðona ka o-laŋai-ka-nai ka toʔonai...
 that Dyn.Fin-buy-Neg-1PE.Gen any(thing)
 ‘We never bought anything.’
- b'. [...] mani aʔa m-oa loŋai oʔi
 then Dyn.NFin:take Dyn.Subj-go Dyn.Subj:buy that
 moʔaə, timo, toʔonai ðonaʔi
 fabric salt everything that
a-laŋa[-aə]-li-ða.
 ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:buy-ObjNmz-3P.Gen
 ‘Then, they would go and buy fabric, salt, everything they needed to buy.’
- (22) a. ma-ðaa-ðalamə-ka-ʔ-inə ðipolo,
 Stat.Fin-Red-love-Neg-2S.Gen-3S.Obl Dipolo
ma-ðaa-ðalamə-ka-ʔ-inə taotao?
 Stat.Fin-Red-love-Neg-2S.Gen-3S.Obl Taotao
 ‘Do you prefer Zipolo or Taotao?’

(23) Saisiyat (Yeh 2000)

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | <i>t-in-awbon</i> | ‘something pounded, rice cake’ |
| a’. | <i>ka-tawbon-ən</i> | ‘something to be pounded’ |
| b. | <i>t-in-alək</i> | ‘something cooked, wine’ |
| b’. | <i>ka-talək-ən</i> | ‘something to be cooked’ |

⁵ The word *c<in>əkəlaə* ‘villager’ might tentatively be treated as deriving from the verb *o-cəkəlaə* ‘all’ but it represents the only instance uncovered so far in Mantauran.

- (24) a. kana-ni kan-a-ʔo?⁶
 what-3S.Gen Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
 ‘What do you want to eat?’
- a'. kana-ni a-kan-a-ʔo?
 what-3S.Gen ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
 ‘What did you eat?’
- b. kana-ni ʔonol-a-ʔo?
 what-3S.Gen Dyn.NFin:drink-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
 ‘What do you want to drink?’
- b'. kana-ni a-ʔonol-a-ʔo?
 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-...-aə* 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 *-aə* (and not the circumfixation of *ta-...-aə*); cf. *kiki-aə* ‘space’.

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

- (i) a. oa-i-ʔo?
 Dyn.NFin:go-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
 ‘Where are you going?’
- b. a-oa-a-ʔo?
 ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:go-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
 ‘Where did you go?’

Table 4: Locative nominals

| Types of verbs | Verbal stem | Locative nominal |
|----------------|--|---|
| Dynamic verbs | o-cikipi ‘sew’ | ta-cikip-aə ‘seam, stitch’ |
| | o-ðomiŋi ‘white-wash’ | ta-ðomi-ðomiŋ-aə ‘wall’ |
| | o-kəlai ‘hang’ | ta-kəla-kəla-aə ‘hanger’ |
| | o-lanai ‘buy’ | ta-lanai-aə ~ ta-lanai-lanai-aə ‘store’ |
| | o-saosi ‘lock (the door)’ | ta-sao-saosi-aə ‘lock’ |
| | o-sokovo ‘bend (one’s head)’ | ta-soko-sokov-aə ‘church’ |
| | o-solatə ‘study, write’ | ta-sola-solat-aə ‘school’ |
| | o-vələtə ‘pile up’ | ta-vələt-aə ‘wall’ (lit: place where stones are piled up) |
| | o-ʔavolo ‘bury’ | ta-ʔavo-ʔavol-aə ‘tomb’ |
| | o-ʔosario ‘play’ | ta-ʔosari-sari-aə ‘running field, touristic area’ |
| | m-aavanao ‘wash (body)’ | ta-paa-vaa-van-aə ‘bathroom’ |
| | m-oʔa[o] ‘draw water’ | ta-oʔa[o-ʔa[o-aə] ‘well’ |
| | om-iki ‘exist, be at’ | ta-iki-aə ‘place where...is’, ta-iki-ki-aə ‘room’ |
| | om-oa ‘go’ | ta-oa-aə ‘place to go’ (ta-oao-aə) mo-ta-vilavilaʔa-aə ‘toilet’ |
| | pa-ʔototalo ‘make...put away’ | ta-pa-ʔototalo-aə solatə ‘schoolbag’ (Lit: place where books are put away) ta-pa-ʔototalo-aə mo[laə] ‘cupboard’ (Lit: place where belongings are put away) |
| | pa-ʔənao ‘make...wash’ | ta-pa-ʔəna-ʔən-aə ‘washing machine’ |
| | po-acilai ‘water (flowers)’ | ta-po-acila-aə ‘paddy field’ |
| | to-poi ‘make a fire’ | ta-potopoi-aə ‘fire place’ |
| | ʔi-liŋo ‘look (oneself) in a mirror’ | ta-ʔi-liŋo-liŋo-aə ‘dresser’ ⁷ |
| | ʔaliki ‘(come) from’ | ta-ʔaliki-ki-aə mokavolə ‘origin’ |
| Stative verbs | ma-əcə[ŋə] ‘black’ | ta-ka-əcə[ŋə]-aə ‘dirt’ (Lit: dark spot) |
| | ma-taaði ‘good’ | ta-ka-taaði-ʔ-aə ‘advantage’ (Lit: good place) |
| | ma-tako[la] ‘good’ | ta-ka-tako[-aə] ‘disadvantage’ (Lit: bad place) |
| | ma-təətələkə ‘cooler’ | ta-pa-ka-təətələk-aə ʔaḏamaḏamai aʔoŋoloŋolə ‘fridge’ (Lit: place that keeps dishes and drinks cool(er)) |

⁷ A doublet form *ta ʔiliŋliŋo* was recorded.

- (25) a. mani pa-valisi avo-avoko cikipi voto[o]o-đa...
 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'. ara?əvə lo ma-raði?i-ŋ-iðə ðona?i
 but when Stat.Subj-heal-already-3S.Obl that
ta-cikip-aə-n-iðə
 LocNmz-Dyn.NFin:sew-LocNmz-3S.Gen-3S.Obl
 ma[a]-ŋa-nai
 Dyn.Subj:take-already-1PE.Nom
 ?ini-ka-ka-mamai ?o-cikipi.
 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. ðona?i ta-iki-ə-đa ?apə?apəə
 that LocNmz-Dyn.NFin:be at-LocNmz-3S.Gen Dyn.Subj:lay
 [oolai saloðiri mani po-iðə o?i toloŋo la
 child cradle then Dyn.NFin:make-3S.Obl that receptacle and
 ako?əðə kə[ai].
 knife Dyn.Subj:hang
 ‘The receptacle and the knife were hung on the cradle where the baby
 slept.’
- b'. ona?i a-kaava?i-ŋa-đa ?aomo,
 that ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:come-already-3S.Gen Japanese
 o-ðo[o]-ŋa-nai loŋai kavanə,
 Dyn.Fin:come-already-1PE.Nom Dyn.Subj:buy wardrobes
ta-kə[a-kə[a]-aə, kovokovo la
 LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:hang-LocNmz ActNmz:Dyn.NFin:cover and
ta-?i-liŋo-liŋo-ə.
 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-əcə[anə] ðona?i mo[ə].
 Stat.Fin-black that cloth
 ‘That cloth is black.’
- a'. mani a[a]-nai ?i ða?ə poa
 then Dyn.NFin:take-1PE.Nom mud Dyn.Subj:make
 liŋao pi?amaðalaə ?o[ə]
 Dyn.Subj:wash first take off

- ta-ka-ɔcɔ|aŋ-aɔ.
 LocNmz-Stat.NFin-black-LocNmz
 ‘We (would) use some mud to wash (the dishes) to first take off the dirt.’
- b. ma-taaðiʔi toramoro.
 Stat.Fin-good very
 ‘It is very good.’ ~ ‘It was very good.’
- b'. oraʔəvə la ta-ka-taaðiʔ-a ma-ðao-ŋa
 but and LocNmz-Stat.NFin-good-LocNmz Stat.Dyn-many-alread
 ta-totiamə ʔinaʔi kata|jsiə [...]
 SubjNmz-open:store this aborigine
 ‘However, the advantage (is that) there are many aborigines who are making loans (to open stores)...’

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 Mantaauran (see Tables 5-7). This type of nominalization is indicated through the prefixing of *ʔa-* (< P(roto) R(ukai) *sa-) to the verb base. The main distinction lies in the fact that an “instrumental”⁸ 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’ > *ʔa-pa-ka-poli-poli* ‘detergent’, *ma-ʔətə* > *pa-ka-ʔətə* > *ʔa-pa-ka-ʔətə-ʔətə* ‘anaesthesia’. In co-occurrence with other prefixes (e.g., *po-* ‘put, give, make’), *ʔa-* conveys another interpretation: “as a result of...” (Table 7).

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

Table 5: Instrumental, manner and result nominals

| Types of verbs | Verbal stem | Instrumental nominal |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Dynamic verbs | o-cəŋaʔa ‘drive in a nail’ | ʔa-cəŋa-cəŋaʔa ‘nail’ |
| | o-ðalɿ ‘pave the floor with slates’ | ʔa-ðalɿ-ðalɿ ‘floor, slate (used to pave the floor, the soil)’ |
| | o-ko-ŋiʔaŋiʔi ‘shave (beard)’ | ʔa-ko-ŋiʔa-ŋiʔaŋiʔi ‘twizzers, razor’ |
| | o-hisihisi ‘saw’ | ʔa-hisi-hisihisi ‘saw’ |
| | o-lakipi ‘stick’ | ʔa-laki-lakipi ‘glue’ |
| | o-liŋao ‘wash (dishes)’ | ʔa-liŋao-ŋao ‘washing up liquid, sponge’ |
| | o-moromoro ‘clean one’s teeth, rinse’ | ʔa-moro-moromoro ‘toothbrush’ |
| | o-pana ‘shoot (with a bow)’ | ʔa-pana ‘arrow’ |
| | o-solatə ‘study, write’ | ʔa-sola-solatə ‘pencil’ |
| | o-taŋətəŋə ‘beat’ (with a board) | ʔa-taŋə-taŋətəŋə ‘wash board’ |
| | o-ʔənao ‘wash (clothes)’ | ʔa-əna-ʔənao ‘washing powder’ |
| | o-ʔoðoʔoðo ‘mop (the floor)’ | ʔa-oðo-ʔoðoʔoðo ‘mop’ |
| | o-ʔosario ‘play’ | ʔa-osari-sario ‘toy’ |
| | m-aavanao ‘wash (body)’ | ʔa-paavaa-vanao ‘soap’ |

- (27) a. ʔinaʔi mənə-ŋa toʔonai-ŋa ma-ðao ʔinaʔi pakisa,
 this now-Sup any(thing)-Sup Stat.Fin-many this plain
 mani ðo[o-ŋ-inamə loŋai solatə,
 then Dyn.NFin:can-already-1PE.Obl Dyn.Subj:buy book
ʔa-sola-solatə, ʔa-laki-lakipi...
 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-kaoð-inamə ʔa-hisi-hisihisi la
 Dyn.Fin-not exist-1PE.Obl InstNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:saw and
ʔa-pali-palipalici.
 InstNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:drive in a nail
 ‘(In the past), we did not have saws or screwdrivers.’

Table 6: Manner nominals

| Types of verbs | Verbal stem | Manner nominal |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Stative verbs | ma -taaḍiʔi ‘good’ | ʔa-ka -taaḍiʔi ‘(how) good’ |
| | ma -kəcəɭə ‘cold’ | ʔa-ka -kəcəɭə ‘(how) cold’ |
| | ma -lɪhili ‘clever, smart’ | ʔa-ka -lɪhili ‘(how) clever/smart’ |
| | ma -riḍarə ‘fast’ | ʔa-ka -riḍarə ‘(how) fast’ |

- (28) a. **ma**-riḍarə ɭoɭamə.
 Stat.Fin-fast Dyn.Subj:run
 ‘He runs fast.’
- a'. amokoa-ni **ʔa-ka**-riḍai-ni ɭo
 how-3S.Gen ManNmz-Stat.NFin-fast-3S.Gen when
 ḍoaḍaacə-ni.
 Dyn.Subj:walk-3S.Gen
 ‘How fast does he walk?’
- b. **ma**-lɪhili-ŋa-ɭao.
 Stat.Fin-clever-Sup-1S.Nom
 ‘I am the cleverest.’
- b'. amokoa-ni **ʔa-ka**-lɪhili-ni omalə.
 how-3S.Gen ManNmz-Stat.NFin-clever-3S.Gen Dyn.Subj:sing
 ‘How well does he sing?’

Table 7: Result nominals

| Types of verbs | Verbal stem | Instrumental nominal |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| Deverbal nouns | po -timo ‘put on salt’ | ʔa-po -timo ‘as a result of salting’ ⁹ |

3.2.5 Temporal nouns

Temporal nouns are formed through the circumfixation of *kala*...-*aɔ*¹⁰ to the verb base yielding the meaning ‘season’ (e.g., ‘cold season’, i.e., ‘winter’; ‘rainy season’, i.e., ‘monsoon’).

⁹ Only one such occurrence was found.

¹⁰ Whether this circumfix should be decomposed as *ka-la*...*aɔ* is still under investigation.

Table 8: Temporal nominals

| Types of verbs | Verbal stem | Temporal nominal |
|----------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Dynamic verbs | o-ðaʔolo ‘rain’ | kala-ðo-ðaʔol-aə ‘rainy season’ |
| Stative verbs | ma-kəcəʔ ‘cold’ | kala-kəcəʔ-aə ‘winter’ ¹¹ |
| | ma-ʔapaʔa ‘burning hot’ | kala-ka-ʔapaʔ-aə ‘summer’ |

- (29) a. amo-ðaʔolo lo ʔiðä.
 will-Dyn.NFin:rain tomorrow
 ‘It will rain tomorrow.’
- b. olo kala-ðo-ðaʔol-aə lo i-valji-valjo-mao,
 when TempNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:rain if stay-Red-village-Imprs.Gen.
 ki-oa-mao ooma...
 Neg-Dyn.NFin:go-3Imprs.Nom field
 ‘During the rainy season, if one stayed home, one would not go to the field ...’
- (30) a. lo toramoro-ðä ma-kəcəʔ ðonaʔi a-valʔovaʔo ka
 when very-3S.Gen Stat.Subj-cold that plur-young woman
 o-ðoʔo-ka-ðä ʔi-kariði, ma-ʔino.
 Dyn.Fin-can-Neg-3S.Gen wear-sleeveless garment Stat.Fin-embarrassed
 ‘When it was very cold, young women did not dare to wear sleeveless (fur) jackets (because) they were (too) embarrassed (to do so).’
- b. kala-kəcəʔ-aə ʔa o-əcəvə-mao
 TempNmz-cold-TempNmz Top Dyn.Fin-cross on foot-Imprs.Nom
 motaʔovaʔə.
 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: *kala-ka-kəcəʔ-aə*. Why *ka-* does not occur in this derived nominal remains unaccounted for.

3.3.1 Locative nouns

I showed in Zeitoun (1995:143) that there are three major ways of referring to a location in Mantaaran: the suffix *-aə* (PR *-anə) is added to [–human] nouns, e.g., *i-vilil-aə* ‘behind’; *-naə* (< *-n-aə*) is added to [+human, –personal] nouns, e.g., *ḏaʔan-a-naə* ‘household’; and *-inə* is added to [+human, +personal] nouns occurring in the oblique case, e.g., *ipol-inə* ‘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-...-aə* 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]-aə*, (Red-)N_[–human]-*aə*, N_[+human]-*naə*, 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)

| Types of nouns | Nominal stem | Derived nominal |
|----------------|--|---|
| [–human] | acilai ‘water’ | ta-cila]-aə ‘spring’ |
| | lɪma ‘hand’ | ta-lɪma-ə ‘sleeve’ |
| | ovəʔəkə ‘pig’ | ta-vəʔək-aə ‘pigpen’ |
| | palonjo ‘pot’ | ta-palonj-aə ‘hearth’ |
| | ʔaə]əŋə ‘flower’ | ta-ʔaə]əŋ-aə ‘garden’ |
| | ʔaŋato ‘wood, brushwood’ ¹² | ta-ʔaŋato-ə ‘woodshed’ |
| | acilai ‘water’ | acila]-aə ‘pound’ |
| | ḏakəralə ‘river’ | ḏakəra-kəral-aə ‘river bank’ |
| | ḏaʔanə ‘house’ | ḏaa-ḏa-ḏaʔan-aə ‘place full of houses’ |
| | mairəŋə ‘sweet potato’ | mairai-raŋ-aə ‘place full of sweet potatoes’ |
| [+human] | ḏaʔanə ‘house’ | ḏaʔana-naə ‘household’ |
| | ʔavai ‘girl, woman’ | ʔavai-naə ‘girl/bride’s family’ |
| | ʔaolai ‘male, boy, man’ | ʔaola]a-naə ‘boy/groom’s family’ |
| | a-o]olai ‘children’ | a-o]o-o]olai ‘place full of children’ ¹³ |

¹² Doublet forms include: *ŋaʔato* ‘wood, brushwood’ ~ *ta-ŋaʔato-ə* ‘woodshed’.

¹³ Only one such occurrence was found.

- (31) a. amo-ðo[ɔ]-ka-li ?ogolo
will-Dyn.NFin:can-Neg-1S.Gen Dyn.Subj:drink
ta-ka-tətələkə acilai?
SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-cold water
‘Can I drink cold water?’ (Based on Lin, 1999: Vol.6:46)
- a'. “lo m-oa-?o ta-cilal-aə ?a
if Dyn.Subj-go-2S.Gen LocNmz-water-LocNmz Top
m-o[ə]ðə-moʔo, ma-ʔətə.”
Dyn.Fin-sink-2S.Nom Stat.Fin-die
“If you go to the spring, you will sink and die.”
- a". lo... omiki-ŋa-mao va[əva][ə]ʔaə maavanao,
when Dyn.Subj:exist-already-Imprs.Gen road Dyn.Subj:bath
lo [livatə]-mao aiailai-aə.
when Dyn.Subj:cross-Imprs.Gen water-LocNmz
‘We washed ourselves on the road if we came across a pond of water.’
- b. ma-əəəə ðakərələ aləvə ?oponoho.
Stat.Fin-one river below place name
‘There was a river on the foot of the (old) village.’
- b'. ðonaʔi vi[jilaə]-ŋa mani po-inamə
that after-Sup then Dyn.NFin:make-1PE.Obl
ta-sola-solat-aə piki laoðo
LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin-study-LocNmz Dyn.Subj:put down
ða-kəra-kəral-aə.
river-Red-river-LocNmz
‘Afterwards, a school opened, (which) was situated on the river banks.’
- c. ?inikakakamai-nai ləŋəʔə poa-nai
self-1PE.Nom Dyn.Subj:cultivate Dyn.Subj:make-1PE.Nom
po[avo] mairanə.
plant sweet potato
‘We planted sweet potatoes ourselves.’
- c'. ðonaʔi vəkənələ ?a mai-raa-ran-aə.
that land Top sweet potato-Red-sweet potato-LocNmz
‘That place is full of sweet potatoes.’
- (32) a. ðona ðaʔana-lidā a-o[ləlai], ?anoməlaə ma-taaðiʔi.
that house-3P.Gen plur-child especially Stat.Subj-good
‘As for the house of the children, it was really beautiful.’

- a'. lo ʔiðanaə-ŋa mani vaʔoro ʔaolai
 when day after-Sup then Dyn.NFin:cook rice male
ðəʔana-naə-liða.
 house-LocNmz-3P.Gen
 'The day after, the groom's family (would) cook rice.'
- b. ...mani avil-iðə vaʔovaʔo ʔiiðəmə
 then Dyn.NFin:carry-3S.Obl young woman toward
 ðəʔanaə-ðə ʔaolai.
 house-3S.Gen male
 'The young woman (would) be carried to the groom's house.'
- b'. ðonaʔi ʔaolai-a-naə mani aʔa ðonaʔi cacavakə,
 that male-LocNmz then Dyn.NFin:take that pottery jar
 cəʔəʔə, livasə...
 necklace knife
 'The groom's family then take pottery jars, necklaces, knives...'

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*-...-*aə* 'season' to [–temporal] nouns, is productive to the extent that even loans (e.g., *ʔaomo* 'Japanese', *ciokoko* 'Chinese') can be taken as the base of derivation. The second consists of the suffixation of *-naə* to the base to form temporal adjuncts.

Table 10: Temporal nominals (derived from nouns)

| Types of nouns | Nominal stem | Derived nominal |
|----------------|-------------------|--|
| [–temporal] | pahai 'rice' | kala-paha[-aə 'harvest season (rice)' |
| | ʔaomo 'Japanese' | kala-ʔaom-aə 'Under the Japanese' |
| | ciokoko 'Chinese' | kala-ciokok-aə 'Under the Chinese' |
| [+temporal] | ðoma 'other' | ðoma- naə 'sometimes, when?' |
| | ʔiða 'day' | ʔiða- naə 'afterwards, when?' |
| | mənə 'now, day' | mənə- naə 'which day?' |
| | | mənə- naə 'day, time' ¹⁴ |

¹⁴ As opposed to 'space'.

- (33) *kala-ʔaom-aə* a-pa-sola-solatə.
 TempNmz-Japanese-TempNmz ActNmz-Caus-Red-Dyn.NFin:study
 ‘Japanese education’
- (34) a. *ʔiða-naə* lo maavaʔi-nomi ?
 day-TempNmz if Dyn.Subj:come-2P.Gen
 ‘When will you come again?’
- b. *mənə-naə* lo maavaʔi-nomi ?
 day-TempNmz if Dyn.Subj:come-2P.Gen
 ‘Which day will you come?’
- b'. *mani iki mənə-naə ðonaʔi laməŋaə-ða pəɔləŋaə*
 then exist day-TempNmz that spouse-3S.Gen Peelengae
 “amo-ðaacə-ʔao 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(ə)* (concessive clauses); see Table 13:

Table 11: Clausal nominals (1)

| Morphological process | Types of verb | Verbal stem | Clausal nominal |
|---------------------------------|---------------|---|---|
| <i>a-</i> [temporal clauses] | Dynamic verbs | o -ḏaacə ‘leave’ | a -ḏaacə ‘when...left’ |
| | | o -kanə ‘eat’ | a -kanə ‘when...ate’ |
| | | o -[iho?o ‘know’ | a -[iho?o ‘when...knew’ |
| | | o -tovi ‘cry’ | a -tovi ‘when...cried’ |
| | | m -aava?i ‘come’ | a -kaava?i ‘when...come’ |
| | | om -oa ‘go’ | a -oa ‘when...went’ |
| | | om -iki ‘exist’ | a -iki ‘when...were’ |
| | | ?itovo[o ‘ask’ | a -?itovo[o ‘when...asked’ |
| | Stative verbs | ma -oloho ‘grow up’ | a-ka -aloho ‘when...grown up’ |
| | | ma -ḏao ‘a lot, many’ | a-ka -ḏao ‘when...a lot, many’ |
| | | ma -[oolai ‘be young (child)’ | a-ka -[oolai ‘as a child’ |
| | | ma -savarə ‘be young (man)’ | a-ka -savarə ‘as a young man’ |
| | | ma -va[ova[o ‘be young (woman)’ | a-ka -va[ova[o ‘as a young woman’ |
| | | | |

- (35) a. ona?i a-iki-na-nai ka?oponohə,
 that ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:exist-still-1PE.Gen place name
om-iki-nomi ta-sə?əsə?ə koli?i
 Dyn.Fin-exist-1PE.Nom SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:rise sun
 om-i-inamə lo cəŋələ-n-inamə va[ava[ə.
 Dyn.Fin-so-1PE.Obl if Dyn.Subj:see-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl outsiders
 ‘When we still were in the old village [Ka’oponohae], outsiders (would)
 tell us that we were located in the east, when they came to see us.’
- b. ma-[oolai-na lalakə-li
 Stat.Fin-young-still child-1S.Gen
 ‘My child is still young.’
- b'. mani a-ka-[oolai-li o-[iho?o-ka-li
 then ClsNmz-Stat.NFin-young-1S.Gen Dyn.Fin-know-Neg-1S.Gen
 om-iki valinaə ḏa?anə mia.
 Dyn.Fin-exist place name house Dyn.Subj:so
 ‘When I was young, I did not know that there were houses in Valinae.’

Table 12: Clausal nominals (2)

| Morphological process | Types of verb | Verbal stem | Clausal nominal |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|--|---|
| Vsubj [hyp/cond. clauses] | Dynamic verbs | o-ðapələ 'fish (by poisoning)' | ðopələ 'if...fish (by poisoning)' |
| | | o-kanə 'eat' | kənə 'if...eat' |
| | | o-cəŋələ 'see' | cəŋələ 'see' |
| | | o-tovi 'cry' | tovi 'if...cry' |
| | | m-aavaʔi 'come' | m-aavaʔi 'if...come' |
| | | om-oa 'go' | m-oa 'if...go' |
| | | om-a a 'take' | m-a a 'if...take' |
| | | ʔitovo o 'ask' | ʔitovo o 'if...ask' |
| | Stative verbs | ma-aloho 'grow up' | ma-aloho 'if...grow up' |
| | | ma-ðao 'a lot, many' | ma-ðao 'if...a lot, many' |
| | | ma- oolai 'be young (child)' | ma- oolai 'if...be young (child)' |
| | | ma-savarə 'be young (man)' | ma-savarə 'if...be young (man)' |
| | | ma-valova o 'be young (woman)' | ma-valova o 'if...be young (woman)' |
| | | | |

- (36) a. olo ðomanaə, mani ðapələ-nai to-kaʔa-kaʔaŋə
 when sometimes then Dyn.NFin:fish-1PE.Nom do-Red-fish
 |oikii-kisi...
 Red-Dyn.Subj:fish
 'Sometimes, we (would) go fishing...'
- a'. ðonaʔi lo ðopələ-nai ma|a oʔi kaʔaŋə...
 that when Dyn.Subj:fish-1PE.Gen Dyn.Subj:take that fish
 'If we had been fishing and caught fish...'
- b. om-a|a-lao to-ðoʔa.
 Dyn.Fin-take-1S.Nom do-two
 'I caught two.'
- b'. cəla ʔi va|ava|aə lo m-a|a-nai
 look outsider(s) when Dyn.Subj-take-1PE.Gen
 siriri ka mati-|ihoʔo-ka-i
 Dyn.Subj:take as wife:Red well-Dyn.NFin:know-Neg-3S.Gen
 m-iiʔa vaha-nai.
 Dyn.Subj-like language-1PE.Gen

‘Look at those outsiders; (even) if they inter-marry with the Mantaurean, they do not understand our language very well.’

Table 13: Clausal nominals (3)

| Morphological process | Types of verb | Verbal stem | Clausal nominal |
|--|---------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>ni-V-a(ə)</i> [concessive clauses] | Dynamic verbs | <i>o-kaoðo</i> ‘there is/was not’ | <i>ni-kaoðo-a</i> ‘even if...there is/was not’ |
| | | <i>o-ðo o</i> ‘can’ | <i>ni-ʔi-ðo o-a</i> ‘even if... can’ ¹⁵ |
| | Stative verbs | <i>ka-(ma)mai</i> ‘self’ | <i>ni-ka-mama -a</i> ‘even if...self’ |

- (37) a. *o-kaoð-inamə* paiso.
Dyn.Fin-not exist-1PE.Obl money
‘We do/did not have money.’
- a'. *ni-kaoðo-a-ð-inamə* 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-ʔiðo|o-a-ðə* matakataka ðonaʔi
CncNmz-Dyn.NFin:can-CncNmz-3S.Gen Stat.Red:elder sibling that
ʔavai *o-ðo|o-ka-ðə* ʔi-ðəʔanə.
woman Dyn.Fin-can-Neg-3S.Gen at-home
‘Even eldest daughters could not stay in (their ancestral) home.’
- c. lo ma-taaðiʔi ðona ʔaolai,
if Dyn.Subj-good that male
ni-ka-ʔama|-a-ðə
CncNmz-Stat.NFin-self-CncNmz-3S.Gen
ðona va|ova|o, o-ðo|o a-itina
that young woman Dyn.Fin-can plur-middle-aged woman
a-tamatama *kaamai* poa pa-ʔacakəlaə.
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 *ʔi-* 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 Mantaaran 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-aə* ‘Japanese era/occupation’ and *ta-pa-ʔototalo-aə solatə* ‘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-aə* ‘food’, locative nominalization *ta-kanəkan-aə* ‘restaurant’, instrumental nominalization *ʔa-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. *ʔa-pana* ‘arrow’ (< *o-pana* ‘shoot (with a bow)’) vs. *ʔaili* ‘arrow’.

Table 14 provides a recapitulation of these different processes.

Table 14: Types of nominalizations in Mantaaran Rukai

| ACTION/STATE NOMINALS | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| Action/state nominal | a-V | a-pasolatə | ‘education’ |
| | | a-kaʔaaʔaa | ‘flirt’ |
| State nominal | V-aə | caʔəm-aə | ‘disease’ |
| Action nominal | V | kanə | ‘eating’ |
| | V _{Fin} | oðaacə(-ni) | ‘(when) did (he)...?’ |
| | V _{Subj} | ðoacə(-ni) | ‘(when) will (he)...?’ |
| ARGUMENT NOMINALIZATION | | | |
| Subject(ive) | ta-V | ta-[i]hoʔo | ‘(who) knows’ |
| | | ta-karoðanə | ‘old people’ |
| Objective | a-V-aə | a-kan-aə | ‘food’ |
| | V-aə | kasəkə[-aə] | ‘angered about’ |
| Locative | ta-V-aə | ta-oa-aə | ‘place where ...go’ |
| | | ta-kaəcə[an-aə] | ‘dirt’ |
| Instrumental | ʔa-V | ʔa-osarisario | ‘toy’ |
| Manner | | ʔa-kataaðiʔi | ‘how good’ |
| Result | ʔa-po-V | ʔa-po-timo | ‘as a result of salting’ |
| Temporal | kala-V-aə | kala-ðoðaʔol-aə | ‘rainy season’ |
| | | kala-ka[apaʔ-aə] | ‘summer’ |

| CLAUSAL NOMINALIZATION | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Temporal (past) | | a-V | a-iki | ‘when...were’ |
| | | | a-ka[oolai | ‘when...a child’ |
| Conditonal, hypothetical | | V _{Subj} | ḍoaḍaacə | ‘(If)...walk’ |
| | | | maravəɾəvəɾə(-ni) | ‘(If)...happy’ |
| Concessive | | ni-V-aə | ni-kaodə-a | ‘Even if there is not’ |
| | | | ni-kamama[-a | ‘Even if...self’ |
| ABSTRACT NOUNS | | | | |
| Locative | -human | ta-N-aə | ta-vəʔək-aə | ‘pigpen’ |
| | | N-aə | acila[-aə | ‘pound’ |
| | +human | N-naə | ʔavai-naə | ‘girl/bride’s family’ |
| | | Red-N | ao[oololai | ‘place full of children’ |
| Temporal | | kala-N-aə | kala-paha[-aə | ‘harvest season’ |
| | | N-naə | ḍoma-naə | ‘sometimes, when’ |

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) ~ *ʔ*

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 *ʔ*:

- (38) a. okəlai ‘hang’ ~ ta-kəlakəla[-aə ‘hanger’
b. olaŋai ‘buy’ ~ a-laŋa[-aə ‘merchandise’
ta-laŋa[-aə ‘store’
c. kamamai ‘(one)self’ ~ ni-kamama[-a ‘even if...(one)self’
d. poacilai ‘water (flowers)’ ~ ta-poacila[-aə ‘paddy field’
e. acilai ‘water’ ~ acila[-aə ‘pound’
f. pahai ‘rice’ ~ kala-paha[-aə ‘harvest season (rice)’
g. ʔaolai ‘male’ ~ ʔaola[-a-naə ‘groom’s family’

3.6.2 Epenthetic vowel -a-

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

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

3.6.3 Suffixation of *-aə* vs. *-ə*

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

Examples are plentiful. Consider, for instance:

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

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

- (42) om-iki ‘exist, be at’ ~ kiki-**aə** ‘space’ vs. *kiki-ə
 ~ ta-iki-**aə** ‘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-osarisario ‘toy’
and not: *ʔa-ʔosarisario
- (44) a. o-ʔihoʔo ‘know’ ~ ki-ʔihoʔaʔə-nai ‘...that we (did) not know (about)’
and not: *ki-ʔihoʔaʔə-nai
- b. ma-taaðiʔi ‘good’ ~ kataaðiʔaʔə ‘advantage’
and not: *kataaðiʔaʔə
- c. piʔa ‘do’ ~ tapapiaʔə ‘way, custom’
and not: *tapapiʔaʔə

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’. *ʔaosario ‘toy’ vs. ʔaosarisario ‘toy(s)’
b. acilaʔaʔə ‘pound’ & acilacilaʔaʔə ‘pound’
b’. *ðakəralaʔə ‘river bank’ vs. ðakərakəralaʔə ‘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
 kala-ʔaom-aə a-pa-sola-solatə
 TempNmz-Japanese-TempNmz ActNmz-Caus-Red-Dyn.NFin:study
 ‘Japanese education’
- a'. Syntactically derived clausal nominal
 ʔonaʔi a-pa-sola-solatə-ʔ-inamə...
 that ClsNmz-Caus-Red-Dyn.NFin:study-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl
 ‘At that time, when they taught us...’
- b. Lexically derived objective nominal
 ʔonaʔi ʔa kasa-ʔa ʔonaʔi
 that Top only-3S.Gen that
a-kan-aə-nai.
 ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz-1PE.Gen
 ‘That was the only food we had.’
- b'. Syntactically derived objective nominal
 ma-taaʔiʔi konə a-akan-aə-ni
 Dyn.Fin-good Dyn.Subj:eat ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz
 mairəŋə.
 sweet potato
 ‘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
toʔa-cakar-iðə valəvalə ðona
use for-Dyn.NFin:tie-3S.Obl bamboo that
ta-iki-ki-aə ʔapəcə.
LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:be at-LocNmz Dyn.Subj:sleep
‘(Strings of) bamboo were fixed together to form the (upper) place where (men) slept.’
- b. Syntactically derived nominal
ðonaʔi patoʔaŋə ta-piki-ki-ə-nai
that chest LocNmz-Dyn.NFin:put-Red-LocNmz-1PE.Nom
moʔaə o-piki-mao ʔi sororo
belongings Dyn.Fin-put-Imprs.Nom stone bed
ta-iki-ki-aə*(-mao) ʔapəcə.
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. onaʔi a-iki-na-nai ʔoponoho...
that ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:be at-still-1PE.Gen place name
‘When we still were in the old village...’
- b. onaʔi a-kaavaʔi-ŋa-ðə ʔaomo...
that ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:come-already-3S.Gen Japanese
‘After the Japanese came...’ ~ ‘When the Japanese had come...’

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

- (49) ðona ta-ka-kociŋai caʔəm-aə
that SubjNmz-Stat.NFin-serious sick-StatNmz
ki-lihoaʔ-ə-nai
Neg-Dyn.NFin:know-ObjNmz-1PE.Gen
ki-ðoʔo-ə-nai, mani patoʔo-na-inə
Neg-Dyn.NFin:know-ObjNmz-1PE.Gen then tell-1PE.Nom-3S.Obl
caraʔə-nai.
chief-1PE.Gen
‘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-[ihoʔo-nai ðonaʔi
when Neg-Dyn.NFin:know-1PE.Gen that
a-patoʔo-toʔo-ð-inamə,
ClsNmz-tell-Red-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl
maatar-inamə ma-haʔaoco...
Dyn.Fin:take one-1PE.Obl Stat.Subj.scold
'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.¹⁶

(51) a. Lexically derived action nominal
a-ka-[oolai/*a-ka-a-o]olai
ActNmz-Stat.NFin-child/ActNmz-Stat.NFin-plur-child

b. onai a-ka-[oolai-li.../*a-ka-a-o]olai-li...
that ActNmz-Stat.NFin-child-1S.Gen/ActNmz-Stat.NFin-plur-child-1S.Gen
'When I was a child...'

b'. onai a-ka-a-o]olai-nai.../*a-ka-[oolai-nai...
that ActNmz-Stat.NFin-plur-child-1PE.Gen/ActNmz-Stat.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.

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

- (i) a. i|aə ?a ?avai-|ao/*a?ivivai-|ao
1S.Top Top woman-1S.Nom/plur:woman-1S.Nom
‘As for me, I am a woman.’
b. inamə ?a *avai-nai/a?ivivai-nai
1PE.Top Top woman-1PE.Nom/plur:woman-1PE.Nom
‘As for us, we are women.’
(ii) a. i|aə ?a ?oponoho-|ao
1S.Top Top Mantaauran-1S.Nom
‘As for me, I am a woman.’
b. inamə ?a ?oponoho-nai (no other form could be elicited)
1PE.Top Top Mantaauran-1PE.Nom
‘As for us, we are Mantaauran.’

- (52) ðona lo maka-to-taʔonaə-ŋa-mao o-po-iðə
 that when finish-build-hut-already-Imprs.Gen Dyn.Fin-make-3S.Obl
to-[ta-iki-ki-ə] ʔapəcə..., mani
 build-LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:be at-LocNmz Dyn.Subj:sleep then
 poa-mao to-[ta-paləŋ-aə].
 Dyn.NFin:make-Imprs.Nom build-LocNmz-cooking pot-LocNmz
 ‘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. lo moromoro-mao, o-kaoðo
 when Dyn.Subj:rinse-Imprs.Gen Dyn.Fin-Neg
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. araʔəvə lo ma-raðiʔi-ŋ-iðə ðonaʔi
 but when Stat.Subj:heal-already-3S.Obl that
ta-cikip-aə-n-iðə/
 LocNmz-Dyn.NFin:sew-LocNmz-3S.Gen-3S.Obl/
*ʔa-cikicikip-aə-n-iðə
 LocNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:sew-LocNmz-3S.Gen-3S.Obl
 om-aʔa-ŋa-nai ʔinikakamamai ʔo-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 co-occurrence with genitive pronouns (55) remains, at this stage, to be accounted for.

- (54) a. olo pasolatə-ð-inamə ‘aaŋa-i ta-(a)mo-ʔihoʔo ?’
 if teach-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl who-3S.Gen SubjNmz-will-Dyn.NFin:know?
 lo mia-ðə.
 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. onaʔi a-o[olai la onaʔi ta-a-ʔacakolao-ŋa
 that plur-child and that SubjNmz-plur-married-already
 ta-ka-a-roðanə oðo[lo-nai ʔikariði
 SubjNmz-Stat-plur-old can-1PE.Nom wear:fur jacket
 ‘Children, already married (women) and old people could wear fur jacket.’
- c. ðona ta-ki-kanə vaʔoro, o-ðo[lo-ka-i ka
 that SubjNmz-Neg-Dyn:NFin:eat rice Dyn.Fin-can-Neg-3S.Gen
 molataðə ʔolilio.
 outside Dyn.Subj:play
 ‘Those who have not eaten cannot go outside to play.’
- d. lo ʔi-raʔopo-ða ʔa-pakaʔətə-ʔətə mani
 when Pass-inject-3S.Gen InstNmz-Red-Dyn.NFin:kill then
 ʔi-vorovoro-ða, o-ðo[lo-ka-nai ka ʔinikakamamai
 Pass-operate-3S.Gen Dyn.Fin-can-Neg-1PE.Gen self
 piʔa, onaʔi ta-patoʔotoʔ-inamə 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 latənə ʔa ta-ləðəkə(*-ni) taotao.
 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 latənə ʔa ləðəkə*(-ni) taotao.
 that vegetable Top ActNmz:Dyn.NFin:plant-3S.Gen Taotao
 ‘Those vegetables, it is Taotao who planted (them).’
 (Lit: Those vegetables, (they are) Taotato’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. aaŋa-i ta-ʔokoloð-imiaʔəʔ
 who-3S.Gen SubjNmz-afraid-2S.Obl
 ‘Who is afraid of you?’

- b. aaŋa-i ʔokoloð-aə-ʔo?
who-3S.Gen afraid-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
'Whom are you afraid of?'
- c. kani piʔa-ʔo m-oa taipakə?
why ActNmz:Dyn.NFin:do-2S.Gen Dyn.Subj-go place name
'Why did you go to Taipei?'
- d. amokoā-ni ʔa-ka-taaðiʔi-ni takaocaə-ni
how-3S.Gen ManNmz-Stat.NFin-fast-3S.Gen character-3S.Gen
'How nice is she?'
- e. ʔiðaanaə lo maavaʔi-nomi ?
when if Dyn.Subj.come-2P.Gen
'When will you come again?'
- (57) a. onaʔi a-kaaʋaʔi-ða ðipolo...
that ClsNmz-Dyn.NFin:come-3S.Gen Zipolo
'When Zipolo came...'

b. ...lo patoʔo-ð-inamə a-ʔiaʔipi ...
when Dyn.Subj.teach-3S.Gen-1PI.Nom ActNmz-Dyn.NFin:count
'...when they taught us arithmetic...'

c. ni-kaoðo-a-ð-inamə paio....
CncNmz-not exist-CncNmz-3S.Gen-1PE.Obl money
'Even if we had no money...'
- (58) a. aaŋa-li ta-tipitip-inə ana ʔoolai
who-1S.Gen SubjNmz-Dyn.NFin:beat-3S.Obl that child
'It is me who beat the child.'

b. onaʔi a-tipitip-aə-l-inə anaʔi ʔoolai
that ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:beat-ObjNmz-1S.Gen-3S.Obl that child
'That is the child I beat.'
- (59) a. anaʔi ta-ʔi-kiṗin̩i taðiliangə lalakə-li ana
that SubjNmz-wear-clothes red child-1S.Gen that
'The one who wears red clothes is my child.'

b. a-kan-aə-ni vələvələ masiʔi
ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz-3S.Gen banana small
'The banana he eats/ate is small.'
- (60) a. akaoðo ka ki-lihoaʔ-ə-li
not exist Neg-Dyn.NFin:know-ObjNmz-1S.Gen
'There is nothing that I do not know.'

- b. *akaoðo ka tonotoaʔ-ə kipiji.*
 not exist short-ObjNmz clothes
 '[At that time] there weren't short clothes.'
- (61) a. *a-kan-aə-ʔo!*
 ObjNmz-Dyn.NFin:eat-ObjNmz-2S.Gen
 'Don't eat!'
- b. *a-ʔoŋol-aə-ʔo!*
 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.

References

- Blust, Robert. 1998. *Ca-* reduplication and Proto-Austronesian grammar. *Oceanic Linguistics* 37.1:29-64.
- Cauquelin, Josiane. 1991a. The Puyuma language. *Bijdragen tot Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde* 147:17-60.
- Cauquelin, Josiane. 1991b. *Dictionnaire Puyuma-Français*. Paris et Jakarta: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Chang, Yung-li. 1997. *Voice, Case and Agreement in Seediq and Kavalan*. Hsinchu: National Tsing Hua University dissertation.
- Chang, Henry Yung-li, and Amy Pei-jung Lee. 2000. Nominalization in Kavalan. Paper presented at the Workshop on Nominalization in Formosan Languages. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1970. Remarks on nominalization. *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*, ed. by Roderick Jacobs and Peter Rosenbaum, 184-221. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn and Co.
- Comrie, Bernard, and Sandra Thompson. 1985. Lexical nominalization. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, Vol. III: *Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*, ed. by Timothy Shopen, 349-398. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ferrell, Raleigh. 1982. *Paiwan Dictionary*. Pacific Linguistics C-73. Canberra:

- Australian National University.
- Haudricourt, André. 1979. Importance de la relation équative en linguistique générale (sur des exemples des langues austronésiennes). *LACITO-Documents, Eurasie*, 3, ed. by Catherine Paris, 11-14. Paris: SELAF.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 1973. *Rukai Structure*. Institute of History and Philology Special Publications, No.64. Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 1977a. The internal relationships of Rukai. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 48.1:1-92.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 1977b. Morphophonemic alternations in Formosan languages. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 48.3:375-413.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 1996. The pronominal systems in Rukai. *Festschrift in Honour of Professor Isidore Dyen*, ed. by Nothofer Bernd, 209-230. Hamburg: Abera Verlag Meyer.
- Lin, Hui-chuan. *Let's Talk Mantauran*, 1-6. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co. (In Chinese)
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ross, Malcolm. 1995. Reconstructing Proto-Austronesian verbal morphology: Evidence from Taiwan. *Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan*, ed. by Paul Jen-kuei Li, Cheng-hwa Tsang, Ying-kuei Huang, Dah-an Ho, and Chiu-yu Tseng, 727-791. Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, No.3. Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.
- Starosta, Stanley, Andrew Pawley, and Lawrence Reid. 1982. The evolution of focus in Austronesian. *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, Vol. 2: *Tracking the Travellers*, ed. by Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S. A. Wurm, 145-170. Pacific Linguistics C-75. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Tang, Chih-Chen Jane. 2000. On nominalizations in Paiwan. Paper presented at the Workshop on Nominalization in Formosan Languages. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Teng, Stacy F. 2000. Nominalization in Puyuma. Paper presented at the Workshop on Nominalization in Formosan Languages. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Yeh, Marie M. 2000. Nominalization in Saisiyat. Paper presented at the Workshop on Nominalization in Formosan Languages. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Zeitoun, Elizabeth. 1995. *Problèmes de linguistique dans les langues aborigènes de Taiwan*. Paris: Université Paris 7 René Diderot dissertation.
- Zeitoun, Elizabeth. 1997a. Coding of grammatical relations in Mantauran. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 68.1:249-281.
- Zeitoun, Elizabeth. 1997b. The pronominal system of Mantauran (Rukai). *Oceanic*

Linguistics 36.2:114-148.

Zeitoun, Elizabeth. 2000. Dynamic vs. stative verbs in Mantauran (Rukai). *Oceanic Linguistics* 39.2:415-427.

Zeitoun, Elizabeth, and Hui-chuan Lin. (to appear). *We Should not Forget the Stories of the Mantauran*, Vol. 1 and 2. Manuscript.

[Received 26 March 2001; revised 18 February 2002; accepted 28 March 2002]

Institute of Linguistics, Preparatory Office
Academia Sinica
130, Sec. 2, Academia Road
Nankang, Taipei 115, Taiwan
hsez@ccvax.sinica.edu.tw

魯凱語萬山方言名物化結構探究

齊莉莎

中央研究院

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