Proceedings of
AFLA 7

The Seventh Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association

Edited by
Marian Klamer

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Department of Linguistics
2000
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Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association

Held at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
May 11-13, 2000-07-06

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Marian Klamer

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Preface

This volume consists of papers presented at the seventh meeting of AFLA (Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association), held at the Vrije Universiteit on May 11-13, 2000.

For the first time in the history of AFLA, this meeting was held outside the North-American continent, and contained contributions by speakers from eleven different countries: New Zealand, Australia, Indonesia, Brunei Darussalam, Taiwan, the USA including Hawaii, Canada, the UK, France, Germany, and The Netherlands.

Apart from the languages that are traditionally well-represented at Austronesian conferences, we were happy to see that the program also contained work on relatively small or lesser described languages, such as the minority languages of Taiwan, North-West Borneo, Eastern Indonesia, Papua and Oceania.

Special themes of this conference were Iconicity and Argument marking. The papers in this volume show that the program covered a broad range of subdisciplines -- from discourse grammar, phonology, morphology, syntax, to semantics -- and that the authors are working within various theoretical frameworks. But despite the obvious differences in expertise, interest and background, the atmosphere on the conference was typically AFLA: lively and constructive, with an average rate of attendance of about 80%. The papers in this volume deserve the same rate of attention.

This meeting has again furthered the unwritten mandate of AFLA to encourage the formal study of Austronesian languages, especially work by speaker linguists and junior scholars. Six scholars presented analyses of their native language, and more than half of the 45 participants subscribed as 'student'. This suggests that the future of Austronesian linguistics looks very bright indeed.

The eighth edition of AFLA will be held in the spring of 2001 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Boston, USA. The principal organiser will be Ileana Paul.

Marian Klamer, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Proceedings of previous AFLA meetings:

A Selection of the papers of AFLA 2, in 1995 is published as:

The proceedings of AFLA 3 and AFLA 4 in 1996/1997 are published as:

The proceedings of AFLA 6 in 1999 are published as:
# Table of Contents

Gabriele Heike Cablitz  
Nominalisation of verbal clauses in Marquesan (Oceanic, French Polynesia) ..................1  

Adrian Clynnes  
Phonological structures and expressiveness:  
The role of iconicity in ‘the emergence of the marked’ .............................................15  

William D. Davies  
Against long movement in Madarasc .................................................................33  

Alexandre François  
Vowel shifting and cloning in Motlau: Historical explanation vs. formal description ......49  

Madelin Kissack  
Transitivity alternations in Rotuman ........................................................................69  

Thomas B. Klein and Meta Y. Harris  
Fixed segmentism, markedness and faithfulness:  
Nominalising reduplication in Chamorro .................................................................81  

Anja Latrouite and Ralf Naumann  
An interpretation of the voice affix /i-/ in Tagalog ..................................................101  

Diane Massam  
Niuean nominalisation .............................................................................................121  

Ulrike Mosel and Jessika Reinig  
Valence changing clitics and incorporated prepositions in Teop ................................133  

Simon Musgrave  
Emotion predicates and grammatical functions in Indonesian ................................141  

Heana Paul  
Clefts vs. pseudo-clefts in Austronesian ................................................................155  

Phil Quick  
A non-linear analysis of vowel harmony and vowel harmony blocking in Pendau ....173  

Charles Randriamasimanana  
Malagasy. binary branching and null subjects .........................................................193  

Der-Hwa V. Rau  
Word order variation and topic continuity in Atayal .................................................211
Ger P. Reesink
Austronesian features in a linguistic area.........................................................231

Li-May Sung
Nominalization in Rukai and Amis.................................................................245

Adam Ussishkin
Fixed prosodic effects in Austronesian: An Optimality-Theoretic account........259

William A. Foley
Categorial Change in Oceanic Languages:
First Contact on the North New Guinea Coast.............................................271
Nominalization in Rukai and Amis

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1. Introduction

In this paper my primary purpose is to examine the nominalization process in two Formosan languages in Taiwan, Rukai (Budai)\(^1\) and Amis (Changpin, Central Amis)\(^2\). I will argue that in both languages, special nominalizing elements, similar to \(-ing\) in English, are employed to make a verbal element into a nominal one. The nominalized phrase as a whole behaves externally as a noun phrase because it occupies the typical NP position and it can take a nominal case marker, but internally it behaves as a VP because the verb may take a direct object, assigning accusative case to it.

2. A Sketch of Rukai and Amis Grammar

Before discussing the nominalization process in details, I will consider some general properties of Rukai and Amis, with particular reference to those that are relevant to the discussion in this paper. Both Rukai and Amis are predicate-initial languages and the basic word order is VOS or VSO. This is illustrated in (1) and (2).

(1) Nouns as Predicates\(^3\)

\[\text{Rukai}\]
\[\text{ma-da-lame} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{LaiLai} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{saLabo},\]

\[\text{Amis}\]
\[\text{ma-da-lame} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{LaiLai} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{saLabo},\]

\*(I would like to thank Zeitoun Elizabeth and Shuan-fan Huang for their comments and suggestions. Thanks are also due to my Rukai informants saLabo kaDesengane, LaiLai kaDesengane, Waliuane kaDesengane and Amis informants 'efad kacaw, dawal piyaw, panyu kacaw, for providing the data on which this paper is based. If not otherwise mentioned, the data used in this paper come from my own field notes.  
\(^1\) Rukai, according to Li (1973), includes six major dialects, Tanan, Budai, Labuan, Maga, Tona, and Mantauran.  
\(^2\) Amis, according to Tsuvida (1982), includes five major dialects, Sakizaya, Northern Amis, Tavalong-Vataan, Central Amis and Southern Amis.  
\(^3\) In this paper I employ the following abbreviations in glosses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AF</th>
<th>agent focus</th>
<th>Neg</th>
<th>negative marker</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>first person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>patient focus</td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>past tense</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LF</td>
<td>locative focus</td>
<td>Fut</td>
<td>future tense</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF</td>
<td>instrument focus</td>
<td>NonFut</td>
<td>nonfuture tense</td>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present tense</td>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>Perf</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>Stat</td>
<td>stative verb marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>Rel</td>
<td>relative marker</td>
<td>Act</td>
<td>active marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ObL</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>Neu</td>
<td>neutral case marker</td>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>passive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fin</td>
<td>finite marker</td>
<td>NonFin</td>
<td>nonfinite marker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Li-May Sung

"SaLabo likes LaiLai."

Amis
b. ma-o lah ci panay ci mayaw-an.
AF-like Nom Panay Acc Mayaw
"Panay likes Mayaw."

Sentences in (1) are the so-called equational sentences in NP-(be)-NP pattern and the copular verb, be, is not overtly lexicalized on the surface. In Rukai and Amis, nominal case markers precede the case-marked noun phrase and in most cases they are obligatory. As Table 1 shows, in Rukai ko or ka can be used as nominative, accusative and even locative case markers. While two arguments in a sentence are both marked by the same case markers, word order would be crucial in distinguishing objects from subjects. That is, the word order would be strictly VOS.

Table 1: Nominal Case System in Rukai

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko (-visible, +distance +human)</td>
<td>ko (-visible, +distance -human)</td>
<td>ko (generic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka (+visible, -distance +human)</td>
<td>ka (+visible, -distance +human)</td>
<td>ka (place name)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki (+specific, +human)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ki (+specific, +human)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 lists Amis nominal case marking system. Compared to Rukai, because of Amis' rich case markings, the word order is relatively free in Amis.

Table 2: Case Markers in Amis (Huang 1995:226)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Neutral²</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Locative/Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>ci.an</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>ca.an</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like most of the Formosan languages, pronouns in Rukai can be roughly divided into two sets, namely, bound pronouns and free pronouns, as shown in Table 3. Bound

⁴ In some Formosan languages, the noun predicate in the pseudo-cleft construction need to be preceded with a "neutral case marker" in languages like Amis as argued by Huang (1994, 1995), or preceded with a "noun classifier" in languages like Paiwan and Kavalan as argued by Tang, Chang and Ho (1998) and Chang, Tang and Ho (1998). Following the line of Chang et al.'s analysis, Liu (1999) re-examines the traditional case marking system in Amis and argues that the so-called "case markers" should be analyzed as morphological complexes, composed of a case marker and a noun classifier.

(i) Paiwan (Tang, Chang and Ho, 1998: p. 337)
* (ii) kai a iacu
Ti Bai Nom this.
"This is Bai."

(ii) Amis (Huang 1994)
ei ufad kura mi-namun-ay a tamdaw.
Neu Ufad that-Nom AF-drink-water-AY Lin man
"That man that is drinking the water is Ufad."
pronouns are further divided into nominative and genitive forms. A bound pronoun, if represents the subject, has to be suffixed to the verb and form one unit, rather than remains sentence-finally.

Table 3: Pronominal System of Rukai (Budai) (adapted from Chen, 1999: p. 10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Plurality</th>
<th>Visible/Inclusive</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Bound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td>nakoune</td>
<td>-(C)ako, -naw, -li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>+ Inclusive</td>
<td>mitaane</td>
<td>-ta, -(i)ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ Exclusive</td>
<td>nayan</td>
<td>-nay, -nay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td>mosoane</td>
<td>-so, -so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td>nomi</td>
<td>-nomi, -nomi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>+ Visible</td>
<td>iniane</td>
<td>-rai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ Invisible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>+ Visible</td>
<td>liniane</td>
<td>-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ Invisible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 summarizes Amis personal pronouns. There are four sets of personal pronouns, indicating nominative, accusative, genitive and possessive. All of them are free forms.

Table 4: Personal Pronouns in Amis (Liu, 1999: p.18)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative/ Locative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>kaku</td>
<td>takuwanan</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>maku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>kisu</td>
<td>tisuwanan</td>
<td>isu</td>
<td>misu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>ciNra</td>
<td>ciNranan</td>
<td>nira</td>
<td>niNra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PI</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>kitaan</td>
<td>nira</td>
<td>niNra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PE</td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>Tamiyanan</td>
<td>nivera</td>
<td>niya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>kamu</td>
<td>Tamuanan</td>
<td>nivera</td>
<td>niya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>caNra</td>
<td>CaNranan</td>
<td>naNra</td>
<td>naNra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As was discussed by Li (1973), Kuo (1979), Zeitoun (1997a, b), Zeitoun et al. (1996, 1997) and Chen (1999), Rukai, unlike most Formosan languages which have focus marking system, exhibits an active/passive dichotomy, similar to English. This is illustrated in (3-4). In an active construction such as (3), an agent is marked as the subject, while in a passive construction such as (4), the patient or the theme is marked as the subject. The prefixes \( w \) and \( ki \) indicate active and passive voices respectively. As argued in Zeitoun et al. (1996, 1997), Rukai exhibits a bipartite tense system in which future is distinguished from nonfuture, rather than a tripartite one in which past contrasts with present and future as in English.

\[^{3}\] As pointed out by Zeitoun et al. (1996, 1997), the past and present interpretation in Rukai usually depends on the occurrence of aspectual affixes (na, verbal reduplication) or temporal adjuncts.

247
Active Construction in Rukai

w-a-Lomai ki LaiLai ka/ko saLabo.
Act-Fin-beat Acc LaiLai Nom SaLabo
“SaLabo beat LaiLai.”

Passive Construction in Rukai

ki-a-Lomai ki saLabo ko LaiLai.
Pass-Fin-beat Acc SaLabo Nom LaiLai.
“LaiLai is beaten by SaLabo.”

Amis, different from Rukai, employs so-called verbal “focus” markings to indicate the voice, as was discussed in Wu (1994, 1995), Huang (1994), Lin (1995) and Liu (1999) and many others. The traditional term “focus” here refers to the semantic relationship (agreement) established between a verb (the focus affix) and the subject NP, which is termed as theta-agreement by Mei (1994) and Holmer (1996). In other words, in Amis the verb has to agree with the theta role of the subject noun phrase, which could be an Agent, a Patient/Theme, a Location, a Beneficiary or an Instrument. This is illustrated in (5-8):

Agent Focus in Amis

mi-la'op kura wawa ci panay-an. (Liu 1999: p. 19)
AF-chase that.Nom child Acc Panay
“The child is chasing Panay.”

Patient Focus in Amis

mi futiq an nura wawa kuni kafitiqan (Liu 1999: p. 21)
PF-sleep-PF that.Gen child this. Nom bed
“That child has slept on this bed.”
(lit. “This bed has been slept by that child.”)

Locative Focus in Amis

pi-cirah-an isu tu kuwa ku kureN (Liu 1999: p. 23)
Pl-pickle-LF ZNg Gen Acc papaya Nom urn
“You pickled the papayas in the urn.”
(lit. “The urn is the place where you picked the papayas.”)

Instrument Focus in Amis

sapi-tiwas ni arik ku acam tuya qedo. (Liu 1999: p. 25)
IF-hook Gen Arik Nom bamboo that.Acc mouse
“Arik hooked that mouse by a bamboo stick.”
(lit. “The bamboo stick is the tool that Arik used to hook that mouse.”

3. Nominalization
3.1 Rukai

I shall now turn to discuss the process of nominalization. I will first examine Rukai.

Footnote

4 Comparing the passive of Rukai (i) to that of English in (ii), the agent phrase in the passive is not “suppressed” as an adjunct as it is in English argued by Bresnan (1982), Shibatani (1988), Baker et al (1989) and many others.

(i) ki-a-Lomai ki saLabo ko LaiLai.
Pass-Fin-beat Acc SaLabo Nom LaiLai.
“LaiLai is beaten by SaLabo.”

(ii) Mary was beaten by John.
3.1.1. Pseudo-cleft Construction
3.1.1.1. the nominalizer -∅

In Rukai, only some pseudo-clefts and complement clauses optionally undergo nominalization. Here I will first discuss the pseudo-clefts. The so-called pseudo-cleft sentences⁷ as shown in (9) employ the equational construction discussed earlier.

(9) Pseudo Cleft Construction in Rukai

a. [w-a- Lomai ki LaiLai]  
   Moni Nom Act-Fin-beat Acc LaiLai  
   "The one who beat LaiLai is Moni."

b. [ki-a-Lomai ki LaiLai]  
   Moni Nom Pass-Fin-beat Acc LaiLai.  
   "The one who is beaten by LaiLai is Moni."

In (9a), the focussed element Moni is a caseless noun predicate and the presupposed clause w-a-Lomai ki LaiLai is in subject position, preceded with a nominative case marker ko. Examining carefully, the presupposed clause in the pseudo-cleft construction is a complex NP that contains a null head. This is well-known as the headless relative clause. We indicate the head by the symbol e in the head position. The empty head and the gap in the relativized clause i are coindexed. Example (9a) can be partially represented as:

(10) [w-a- Lomai ki LaiLai]  
   [ki-a-Lomai ki LaiLai]  
   [w-e:]  
   [i-e:]  

Consider another pseudo-cleft sentence (11), which is different from (9a).

(11)

a. [ki-*ka/*ko saLobo]  
   Lomai Nom NonFin-beat Gen*/Nom (Acc)*Nom (Acc)  
   "The one who saLobo beat is LaiLai."

b. [ki-*ka/*ko saLobo]  
   Lomai-ini/i-*ako]  
   "The one who he'll beat is LaiLai."

The presupposed clause in the pseudo-cleft (11) contains a non-finite verb Lomai, followed either with a case-marked personal proper noun ki saLobo in (11a) or a genitive/possessive bound pronoun -ini in (11b). In (11a), saLobo cannot take ka or ko and it can only take ki. If the agent is represented by a genitive bound pronoun as in (11b), the genitive has a subject-like role, different from the modifier-like interpretation in (12). That is, (11b) indicates an expression that the event of beating has occurred.

(12) a. laimai ki saLobo  
   "SaLobo's clothes"

b. laimai-ini  
   "its clothes"

As is well known from gerundive constructions in English and infinitival NPs in Italian, examples shown in (13) have been argued to be predicates of event-like entities. Both cases have been argued to undergo nominalization of verbs. Gerundives in English and infinitival NPs in Italian are analyzed as nominal IPs, head by -ing and infinitival morphemes -ere/-are, which take VP as its complement.

---

⁷ Ya-yin Chang (1998) is the first one who claims that the so-called cleft in Tsou is in fact a pseudo-cleft. And this perhaps is true for all Formosan languages. Also see Chung-lien Chang (1996) and Yung-li Chang (1997) for the discussion of cleft constructions in Seediq and Kavalan.
(13)

**English**

a. his singing the song
b. his singing of song

d. lo scrivere di Sibilla (Zucchi (1993: p. 152))

**Italian**

c. il suo scrivere quella lettera improvvisamente (Zucchi (1993: p. 54))

his write (inf) that letter suddenly
d. lo scrivere di Sibilla (Zucchi (1993: p. 152))

the write (inf) of Sibilla
e. *lo scrivere della lettera (Zucchi (1993: p. 152))

the write (inf) of the letter

There is, however, an important difference between Italian and English. While with English nouns in the of-phrase in (13b) may correspond to the object of the related verb, with Italian, nouns in the of-phrase in (13d-e) can never correspond to the object of the related verb, but only to the subject.

The structure of the examples of Rukai in (11) is pretty similar to that of infinitival NPs of Italian. The verb in (11) is non-finite and the noun in the presupposed clause can only correspond to the subject of the verb. Following this line, I propose that (11a) has the underlying structure (14), no matter whether one adopts the traditional NP hypothesis or Abney (1987) kind of DP hypothesis. Which of the NP hypothesis or DP hypothesis should be adopted is not my main purpose in this paper.

(11) (repeated)

a. [NP LaiLai] [NP ko Lomai ki/*ka/*ko saLabo]

LaiLai Nom Non-fin-beat Gen/*Nom (Acc)/*Nom (Acc)

"The one who SaLabo beat is LaiLai."

(14)

In (14), the IP is embedded under the scope of the nominalizer -:]. Given the nominal nature of IP, the verbal complex head [I_{[N]} + V] after V moving to INFL cannot assign nominative case to the Spec of IP, where the agent phrase saLabo was supposed to move to. Instead, genitive case marking applies, and we have the output (11a). Note that we have mentioned earlier the presupposed clause ko Lomai ki saLabo is in fact a headless relative clause, in which the original object t is relativized. The infinitival phrase Lomai ki
saLaBo as a whole behaves externally as a noun phrase taking a case-marker ko because it occupies the typical NP position, but internally it behaves as a VP because the verb may take a direct object, assigning accusative case to it.

A similar process of nominalization occurs optionally in the existential construction with the verb kaDua ‘does not exist’ in (15).

(15) Existential Construction in Rukai
kaDua ko ka-dame-li kai ki lamaliali
don’t exist Nom NonFin-like-my these Acc women
‘That I like these women does not exist.’ (Lit: I don’t like these women.)

Following the DP analysis of Abney (1987), Szabolcsi (1987, 1989), Stowell (1989, 1991) and Longobardi (1994), Siloni (1997) argues that DP is important not only as a functional projection of nominal expressions, but also its unique selection of non-tensed nominal complements, making D as the equivalent of C which must be associated with a tense operator. All the cases of English gerundives, Italian nominalized infinitives, French reduced relatives and Hebrew semi-relatives are all treated similarly in Siloni (1997), by assuming that these relevant verbal forms do not bear tense features. This line of analysis seems to account for the nominalized infinitives in Rukai. I will show, however, in the following section, that Siloni’s proposal is arguably too strong for the nominalization involving the other nominalizing morpheme –ane in Rukai.

3.1.1.2. the nominalizer –ane

In addition to the nominalizer -∅, Rukai has another nominalized pseudo-cleft employing the nominalizer –ane, as exemplified in (16). While –ane is used, in most cases, it is used for the theme or the location, but not the agent.

(16) bava ka ta-ongolo-ane-li
wineNom NonFut-drink-ane-l.Sg.Gen
‘The one that I drank is the wine.’

In addition to the prefix ku- in (16) there are other prefixes ku-, Li- as shown in (17-18), which are used together with the nominalizer –ane. All these prefixes, as discussed by Kuo (1979) and Chen (1999), indicate an event which happens at any time other than the future, or in the immediate future or in the distant future. Then Siloni’s claim of DP’s selection of non-tensed operator is too strong for the case of the nominalizer –ane. A similar case is also found in Amis. This will be discussed when we proceed to the Amis data in section 3.2.

(17) bava ka a-ongolo-ane-li
wineNom Fut-drink-ane-l.Sg.Gen
‘The one that I will drink is the wine.’

(18) bava ka Li-ongolo-ane-li
wineNom Fut-drink-ane-l.Sg.Gen
‘The one that I will drink is the wine.’

In a serial verb construction as shown in (19), the matrix verb (not the embedded verb), placed immediately under the scope of the NOM, moves up to nominal IP to take up the nominalizer –ane.

(19) ngoDaDeaDeka-ane ko a-paθagil-ane kiθiaθingale ki vavalake
Rukai Nom Fut-begin learn Gen child
“The language that the child will begin to learn is Rukai.”
3.1.2. Complement Clauses
3.1.2.1 the nominalizer σ and ane

In addition to the nominalized pseudo-cleft, some of the clausal complements in Rukai undergo the nominalization optionally. This is illustrated in (20). Verbs like waDeDeDele ‘watch’ in (20a) take a nominalized infinitive head by the nominalizer -σ morpheme. Other verbs like kyasease ‘grateful’, masamali ‘surprised’ can either take a finite clausal complement lead by a complementizer alaka ‘that’ as in (20b), or take a nominalized IP head by -ane as in (20c-d). Example (20a) has the underlying structure (21a) and example (20d) has (21a):

(20)

a. waDeDeDele ka saLabo ko sina-sinaw-li ko laimai  
   Act-Fin-watch SaLabo Acc Act-Fin-Red.wash Acc clothes  
   “SaLabo is watching me washing the clothes.”

b. kyasease-nako alaka paralobo-so nakwan. (Kuo 1979: p. 56,)  
   grateful-I helped-your me  
   “I am grateful that you helped me.”

c. kyasease-nako ko ta-paralob-ane-so nakwan. (Kuo 1979: p. 56,)  
   Helping-your  
   “I am grateful for your helping me.”

d. masamali-ako ko/ka ta-Loma-ane-(ini) ki saLabo ki LaiLai  
   “I am surprised by SaLabo’s beating LaiLai.”

(21)

a. 

```
V'  
   V  
   waDeDeDele  
   Nom  
   IP [+N]  
   I'  
   Spec  
   I [+N]  
   VP  
   -li  
   V'  
   NP  
   sina-sinaw ko/*ki laimai
```
b. 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{V} \\
\text{masamali-ako} \\
\text{DP} \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{NOM} \\
\text{-ane} \\
\text{IP} \quad [+N] \\
\text{V'} \\
\text{Spec} \\
\text{I'} \\
\text{I' \quad [+N]} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{Spec} \\
\text{ki saLabo} \\
\text{Lomai} \\
\text{ki LaiLai}
\end{array}
\]

Let's examine the structure (21b). The whole complement clause \textit{ta-Lomač-ane-\text{-ini} ki saLabo ki LaiLai} is nominalized and is case-marked by \textit{ka/ka}. Similar to the case in (14), the agent subject, \textit{saLabo}, due to the nominal nature of IP, takes a genitive case marker \textit{ki}, rather than a nominative case marker \textit{ka} or \textit{ko}. The verb, \textit{Lomai}, assigns an accusative case to the direct object \textit{LaiLai}. The agent subject, \textit{saLabo}, has to precede the object, \textit{LaiLai}, which is strictly VSO order.

3.1.3. Lexical Nominalization

In Rukai, a large number of verbs, involving the syntactic nominalization of the morpheme \textit{-ane}, has been so widely used that they are lexicalized and become nouns. Some are listed in (22). They no longer show any verbal properties. They are present and can therefore appear in argument positions. They can also be modified by relative clauses. Thus they should be analyzed lexically as nouns and they do not involve a syntactically verbal projection.

(22)

\begin{itemize}
\item a. bengelai “flower”
\item b. ngsaDekač “Rukai people”
\item c. bolo “teach”
\item d. sinaw “wash”
\item e. mubanava “bathe”
\item f. Dipon “Janpanese people”
\end{itemize}

\text{babengelai-ane \quad “garden”}

\text{ngsaDekač-ane \quad “Rukai language”}

\text{tal-kiboLoboLo-ane \quad “school”}

\text{ta-sina-sinav-ane \quad (Chen 1999: p. 16)
\quad “a place where people wash clothes”}

\text{ta-mubana-banav-ane \quad (Chen 1999: p. 16)
\quad “a place where people take a bath”}

\text{DiDipong-ane \quad “Japanese language”}

3.2. Amis
3.2.1. Relative Clauses and Pseudo-cleft Constructions
3.2.1.1. the nominalizers -\text{uy} and -\text{an} (-\text{e})

I shall now turn to Amis. As I have mentioned earlier, Amis is different from Rukai in that Amis employs verbal focus markings to indicate the voice. It is a four-way focus marking system in Amis, compared to the active/passive dichotomy in Rukai. With respect to the nominalization in Amis, as was discussed in Liu (1999), only relative clauses (including headless relative clauses) and pseudo-clefts undergo nominalization and it is obligatory. In addition, the relative clauses in Amis (and in most Formosan languages)
are strictly subject to the so-called subject-sensitivity, which is firstly claimed by Keenan (1976). That is, only the grammatical subjects of relative clauses can be relativized. For example, it is possible to relativize the subject *wawa* ‘child’ (the agent), but not the object *panay* (the patient) in the Agent Focus Construction (5). On the other hand, in the Patient Focus construction (6), it is possible to relativize the subject *kafutiqan* ‘bed’ (the theme), but not the object *wawa* ‘child’ (the agent).

(5) Agent Focus in Amis (repeated)

mi-la’op kura wawa ci panay-an. (Liu 1999: p. 19)
AF-chase that.Nom child Acc Panay
‘The child is chasing Panay.’

(6) Patient Focus in Amis (repeated)

mi-futiq-an nura wawa kuni kafutiqan (Liu 1999: p. 21)
PF-sleep-PF that.Gen child thiss. Nom bed
“That child has slept on this bed.”
(lit. “This bed has been slept by that child.”)

In Amis, any relativized construction obligatorily undergoes a process of nominalization, as argued by Lin (1995) and Liu (1999). This is exemplified in (23-25). Similar to the case in Rukai, internally the verbal clause still keeps the verbal property of assigning accusative case to the direct object, but after V* moving to INFL, and then to the nominalization projection of *ay* and *a’-an*, the whole IP phrase behaves externally as a noun phrase. The underlying structure of example (25b) can be roughly represented as (26). The verbal focus markings would be decisive in which of the nominalizers the verb should take. The verb in the agent focus construction has to take the morpheme -*ay*, while the verb in the patient focus, locative focus and instrument focus constructions will take the morpheme -*al-ani*.

(23) Relative Clause in Amis

a. ma-’osi ku Nohah aku tura [[[ma-tawa’-ay
[AF-hate Nom boy:friend 1S.Gen. that-Acc AF-laugh-AY
takuwanan_1] (a) [c] migrutinay_1] (Liu 1999: p. 71)
1Sg.Acc Link fisherman
‘My boy friend hates the fisherman who is laughing at me.’

b. ma-olah kura fa’inayang tuya [[[pi-kalaN-an
AF-ask Nom girl 1Acc that LF1-look-at LF2-also LF2
aku_1] [IP] (a) [c] riyar_1] (Liu 1999: p. 70)
1Sg. Link seashore
“The girl likes the seashore where I fetched crabs.”

(24) Headless Relative Clause in Amis

a. ma-’osi ku Nohah aku tura [[[ma-tawa’-ay
[AF-hate Nom boy:friend 1S.Gen. that-Acc AF-laugh-AY
takuwanan_1] [c] [c] φ [NP] (Liu 1999: p. 71)
1Sg Acc]
‘My boy friend hates the one who is laughing at me.’

b. ma-kalat nu [NP][mi-kilim-an [isu_1] [c] φ [NP] [NP] fafuy.
PF-bite Gen PF1-see-PF2 2Sg. Nom-this pig
“The thing which was looked for by you bit this pig.” (Liu 1999: p. 71)

(25) Pseudo-eleft Construction in Amis

a. [CenNP uni wawal][NP ku mi-lamalam-ay tu matu’away____]
Neu-this child Nom AF-mingle-AY Acc old:man
“It is this child that is mingling with the old men.” (Liu 1999: p. 99)

b. [CenNP ura lutuk][NP ku pi’eli-an mi rekar ___]
Nom-that mountain Nom LF-weed-LF Gen Rekar
“The place where Rekar weeded is that mountain.” (Liu 1999: p. 104)
Nominalization in Rukai and Amis

(26) 
\[(\text{NP } (\text{eDP}) \text{ uni wawa}) [\text{NP } (\text{eDP}) [\text{nom} \text{ -ay } (-\sigma/-\text{an}) [\text{IP } [\text{V} [\text{mi-lamlam}] [\text{NP tu matu’away}] ]]] \quad \text{\sigma_{\text{Nominal}}}]\]

Remember that I have argued earlier that the claim of DP’s selection of nontensed complement proposed by Siloni (1997) is too strong for the case of nominalization of -ane in Rukai. Here the Amis data provide another piece of argument against Siloni’s proposal. As is widely discussed in the literature of Formosan languages, the verbal focus (voice) morphology also bears overtones of tense. Agent Focus in general suggests nonpast tense and Patient, Locative, or Instrument Focus suggests past tense. In the case of nominalization in Amis, the co-occurrence of verbal focus markings with -ay and -\sigma/-\text{an} suggests once again Siloni’s claim is too strong.

With respect to the nominalizing morpheme -\sigma, one may suggest that it is -\text{an} morpheme and since the -\text{an} morpheme is the same as the patient or locative focus affixes -\text{an}, two -\text{ans} merge morphologically as one. Here I am not in a position arguing in favor of either anlaysis.

In Amis serial verb construction as in (27), only the matrix verb takes the nominalizing element. This is similar to the case in Rukai.

(27) serial verb construction in Amis
\(\text{ci mayaw ku ma-talaw-ay (a) mi-pacuk tu fafluy.} \quad \text{Nom Mayaw Nom AF-fear-AY kill Acc pig}\)
“The one who is afraid of killing pig is Mayaw.”

Look at the Amis verbal negator ca’ay in (28). ca’ay can be optionally pronounced as cai in any declarative construction. But in the pseudo-cleft such as (28), ca’ay but not cai can be used. Obviously, ca’ay, as a verbal negator, has taken the nominalizing element -ay.

(28) ca’ay vs. cai
a. ci panay anuca ci mayaw ku mi-fanaw-ay tu kaisin.
Nom Panay or Nom Mayaw Nom AF-wash Acc dishes
"Is the one who washed the dishes Panay or Mayaw?"

b. ci panay anuca ci mayaw ku ca’ay/ca’ay/\text{ca} pi-fanaw tu kaisin.
Nom Panay or Nom Mayaw Nom Neg Pr-wash Acc dishes
"Is the one who doesn’t wash the dishes Panay or Mayaw?"

3.2.1.2. Lexical Nominalization

Similar to the case in Rukai, a group of fixed elements in Amis, derived from certain verbs, constitutes an instance of lexical nominalization. These are lexically analyzed as nouns.

(29) Amis (Liu 1999, p. 51)
\[\text{a. mi-fut’}N \text{’to fish’; mifutiNay ‘fisherman’}\]
\[\text{b. mi-tild} \text{ ‘to study’; mitiliday ‘student’}\]
\[\text{c. ma-saker} \text{ ‘to dance’; masakero’y ‘dancer’}\]
\[\text{d. ma-tayar ‘to work’; matayaray ‘worker’}\]
\[\text{e. ma-liNad ‘to till’; maliNaday ‘farmer’}\]
\[\text{f. r-um-adiw ‘to sing’; maradiway ‘singer’}\]

(30) Amis
\[\text{a. mi-cudad ‘study’; pi-cudad-an ‘school’}\]
\[\text{b. mi-holol ‘chat’; pi-holol-an ‘place where people get together’;}\]
c. mi-ningwoy ‘bathe’  pj-ningwoy-an ‘bathroom’
d. mi-taang ‘cook’  pi-taang-an ‘kitchen’
e. ma-futiq ‘sleep’  ka-futiq-an ‘bed’

4. Conclusion

To summarize, in Table 5, I provide a brief summary comparing the nominalization process in Rukai and Amis. First, since Li (1973), Rukai has been argued to differ drastically from Amis and other Formosan languages in that Rukai does not display a four-way focus system. Instead, its voice system is based on an active/passive dichotomy. Second, nominalization is very productive in Rukai and it takes place optionally in syntactic constructions such as pseudo-clefts and clausal complements. Compared to Rukai, the nominalization in Amis is strictly limited to the relativized constructions. And it is obligatory. Third, Rukai is not that different from Amis with respect to the nominalization process. The nominalizer, -ο, of Rukai, is used in the case that the noun inside the nominalized phrase corresponds to the agent subject of the verb, parallel to the nominalizer -ay in Amis. The nominalizer -ane of Rukai is used in the case that the noun inside the nominalized phrase corresponds to the location of the theme of the verb, parallel to the nominalizer -an in Amis. The claim here further supports the conclusion argued by Zeitoun (1999) that Rukai shares a number of identical morphosyntactic processes with the other Formosan languages.

Table 5: Characteristics of Nominalization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rukai</th>
<th>Amis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voice system</td>
<td>Focus system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive/active dichotomy</td>
<td>a four-way focus system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional nominalization in pseudo-clefts</td>
<td>Obligatory nominalization in relative clauses and pseudo-clefts</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional nominalization in complement clauses</td>
<td>Two nominalizers</td>
<td>Two nominalizers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ο</td>
<td>agent subject</td>
<td>agent focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ane</td>
<td>location; theme; patient (very limited)</td>
<td>-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-an (-ο) locative focus; patient focus; instrument focus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References:


