

Nominalization Constructions in Kavalan Revisited

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Previous studies on nominalization in Kavalan (Hsin 1996, Li 1997, Lee 1997) treat both =ay and -an as nominalizers. Chang and Lee (2002) argue that =ay is added to form a headless relative clause; and they identify *qena-*, *-an*, or *qena-...-an* as the nominalization constructions in Kavalan. They further argue that action predicates and state predicates take different nominalizers: action predicates take the suffix *-an*, while stative predicates are affixed with *qena-* and occasionally with *qena-...-an*.

Their argument for =ay as a relativizer is sound and convincing; however, some problems exist in their treatment of nominalization in Kavalan. The first and also the biggest problem is that they do not explicate the relationship between the derived nominals and the source verbs. They seem to take it for granted that the relationship between the derived nominals and the source verb patterns with that attested in the English pairs (e.g. *perform_V → performance_N*, *fear_V → fear_N*), which can be seen from the translation they give in (1a) and (1b). Based on the naturally occurring spoken data and our field-notes collected from April 2004 to June 2005, however, we found that in Kavalan, except with a few examples, the derived nominals are not used as lexical nominalization; in other words, they do not serve as an argument in the clause. As shown in (2b), the nominalized term can take an oblique argument; and in (2c), it can take a clausal complement. Even the simple equational sentence (2a) does not read as 'My fear is much/high'; the correct reading should be something like, 'The things/the objects that I fear are many'.

The second problem is related to their analysis of the prefix *qena-*, which, they argue, consists of a grammatical stative marker, *qa-*, plus

an infix *-en-* and affixed to the stative predicate to derive the nominalized construction (Chang and Lee 2002:357). There are two related points involved in this issue. First, observed from our corpus data, the prefix *qena-* is very productive and can be added to action verbs (as shown in 3a and 3b)¹. The second point is related to the so-called 'grammatical stative marker' *qa-*, which is found in our corpus, to be productively prefixed to both stative and action predicates, conveying the meaning 'be about to V', as in (4a) and (4b); the prefix *qa-* arises as an inchoativizer (as its counterparts in other Formosan languages; cf. Yeh 2000, Zeitoun and Huang 2000) and is grammaticized as an initiativizer and then an irrealis marker.

The third problem is they seem to regard *qena-*, *-an*, and *qena-...-an*, as the only nominalization constructions in Kavalan. In this paper, we will demonstrate that there is another nominalization construction, i.e. *ni-...-an*, as shown in (5a-c)², (of which the prefix *ni-* is treated as a perfective marker by Chang 2000:131).

As pointed out in Zucchi (1993:2), the main task of a theory of nominalization is "to describe the relation between nouns and verbs, or more generally between nominal elements and their verbal counterparts". By re-investigating the nominalization constructions in Kavalan, we hope to shed some light in this regard.

¹ Please note that although we do not agree with their treatments that the prefix *qa-* is a purely grammatical marker and that the prefix *qena-* is added to stative predicates to derive nominalized forms, it does not mean that we do not agree with their analysis of the origin of the prefix *qena-*. The origin of the prefix *qena-* could be as what is claimed by Chang and Lee (2002); yet due to the effect of frequency and usage-based factor, *qena-* does not serve any function as a stative marker any more.

² In fact, **ni-/-in-* are the variations of the same reflex from PAN (Starosta, Pawley and Reid 1982: 147ff), and both are treated, together with other affixes such as **-en*, **-ana*, **iSi-*, as "noun-deriving affixes in PAN" (ibid:148).

DATA

(1a) mai tu **q-en-aytis-an**

NEG ACC NMZ-fear-NMZ

'He/She has no **fear**.'

(1b) mai tu **qena-siqal-an** razat a yau

NEG ACC NMZ-polite-NMZ person LNK that

'That person has no **polite/shame**.'

(Note 1: Example (1a) and (1b) are taken from Chang & Lee (2002 356-357), where the case marker *tu* is identified as an Accusative. We do not change their marking here, though in our data, *tu* is identified as an Oblique.)

(Note 2: According to our informants, the correct reading of the stem *siqal* in (1b) should be 'be shy, be timid, to feel ashamed of, be embarrassed or coy'; as shown in (1c) and (1d))

(1c) m-siqal=iku timaizipana

AF-be.shy=1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC

'I feel shy/embarrassed (because of) him.' (It could be the reason that I owe him money, or he looks rather handsome.)

(1d) pa-siqal ti-utay timaiku

CAU-AF.be.embarrassed H.CLF-PN 1SG.ACC

'Utay (did something and thus) embarrassed me.'

(2) (kav-040528-abas)

(2a) muaza q<en>atis-an-ku

many <EN>fear-AN-1SG.GEN

'The things/objects that I fear are many.'

(2b) masang q<en>aytis-an-ku tu ising

before <EN>fear-AN-1SG.GEN OBL doctor

'Before, what I feared was doctor.'

- (2c) masang q<en>aytis-an-ku jusia-an-na=iku
before <EN>fear-AN-1SG.GEN inject-LF/PF-3SG.GEN=1SG.NOM
na ising m-taRau
GEN doctor AF-hurt

'Before what I feared was to get injected by doctors;
(it) hurts a lot.'

- (3a) qena-**qan**-an
QENA-eat-nmz

'leftover'

- (3b) qena-**qauRat**-an-na
QENA-play-NMZ-3SG.GEN

'the time when he played, or the toy that is no longer
played'

- (4a) KavNr-Frog-imui

- 13 (0.9) ngil=ti **qa==iza,** \
almost=PFV QA-IZA

- 14 **qa-zukat** pasazi ta-peRasku-an. \
QA-go.out toward_here LOC-bottle-LOC

'It was about to come out of the...the bottle.'

- (4b) KavNr-Frog-buya

96. (0.9) ala-an-na=ti na== razat-na
take-LF/PF-3SG.GEN=PFV 3SG.GEN PERSON-3SG.GEN
pa-tanan, /
CAU-AF.return

97. ri==zaq-an nani.\
happy-LF/PF DM

'That person (child) takes the frog home and is happy.'

98. **qa-wiya=ti=imi** zin-na. \
QA-leave=PFV=1.EPL.NOM say-3SG.GEN

'He says, "We are leaving!"'

(5a) KavNr-Pear-buya

1. yau baqi-an 'nay usiq._
EXIST elder.male-AN that one

2. (2.4) matiu ta **ni-paruma-an-na** tu sinsuli._
AF.go LOC NMZ-plant-NMZ-3SG.GEN OBL plum

'There was an old man who went to the orchard where he
grew plums.'

(5b) KavNr- Pear-imui

17. yau=ti ya kaput-na. \
exist=PFV NOM friend-3SG.GEN

18. mangmu timaizipna,\
AF.help 3SG.ACC

19. ni- kiara tu.\
FS <AF>pick.up OBL

20. **ni-qa-tabuk-an** na byabas a yau ta-razan-an.\
NMZ-QA-spill-NMZ GEN guava LNK that LOC-road-LOC

'His friends helped him pick up the guavas that fell
down on the road.'

(5c) KavNr- Frog-buya

88. qeRas-an=ti, /
call-LF/PF=PFV

89. nani.\
DM

'He calls for the frog.'

90. (0.9) azu=ti **ni-qulu-an-na**, /
seem=PFV NMZ-breed-NMZ-3SG.GEN

91. nani ala-an-na=ti usiq 'na==y,\
DM take-LF/PF-3SG.GEN=PFV one that

92. iza-an-na nani **ni-gulu-an-na** masang o.\

 IZA-LF/PF-3SG.GEN DM NMZ-breed-NMZ-3SG.GEN before DM

 'The child takes a frog, which seems to be the one he

 used to raise.'

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