

Nominalization and Relativization Constructions in Kavalan Revisited*

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Abstract

Previous studies in Kavalan (Hsin 1996; Li 1997; and Lee 1997) treat both of the enclitic =*ay* and the suffix –*an* as nominalizers. Chang & Lee (2002) argue that the enclitic =*ay* is added to form a headless relative clause; and they identify *qena-*, –*an*, or *qena-...-an* as the nominalization constructions in Kavalan. Chang & Lee treat the =*ay* construction and the –*an* (or *qena-...-an*) construction as two essentially different constructions in terms of their morphological markings, syntactic distributions, and semantic/pragmatic functions.

Chang & Lee's paper is insightful; nevertheless, there exist some rudimental problems in their analysis. In this chapter, we will demonstrate the –*an* construction is not lexical nominalization at all; nor are the =*ay* construction and the –*an* construction essentially distinct in terms of morpho-syntax and semantic and pragmatic functions. The most important of all is that Chang & Lee does not specify the relation between the derived form and the source verb. As pointed out by 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 and relativization constructions in Kavalan, we hope to shed some light in this regard.

Key words: nominalization, relativization, conceptual space theory, language-specific, semantic map

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0. Introduction

Previous studies in Kavalan (Hsin 1996; Li 1997; and Lee 1997) treat both of the enclitic =*ay* and the suffix –*an* as nominalizers. Chang & Lee (2002) argue that the enclitic =*ay* is added to form a headless relative clause; and they identify *qena-*, –*an*, or *qena-...-an* as the nominalization constructions in Kavalan. Chang & Lee treat the =*ay* construction and the –*an* (or *qena-...-an*) construction as two essentially different constructions in terms of their morphological markings, syntactic distributions, and semantic/pragmatic functions. In terms of the semantic/pragmatic function, relativization, i.e. =*ay* construction, is to create a modifier, whereas that of nominalization, i.e. (*qena-*)...–*an* construction, is to generate an argument. In terms of morpho-syntactic aspects, relativization is marked by the enclitic =*ay* and nominalization by the suffix –*an*; “enclitic =*ay* serves as a complementizer and turns its host into a modifier, while suffixed –*an* turns its host into an argument; a verb in a relative clause may take an object noun phrase as its complement, while a verb that undergoes nominalization cannot” (Chang & Lee 2002:355).

Chang & Lee’s paper is insightful; nevertheless, there exist some rudimental problems in their analysis. In this chapter, we will demonstrate the –*an* construction is not lexical nominalization at all; nor are the =*ay* construction and the –*an* construction essentially distinct in terms of morpho-syntax and semantic and pragmatic functions. The most important of all is that Chang & Lee does not specify the relation between the derived form and the source verb. As pointed out by 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 and relativization constructions in Kavalan, we hope to shed some light in this regard.

By re-investigating the so-called relativization and nominalization constructions in Kavalan, we intend to do the following:

- (1) We will show that the so-called nominalization and relativization, i.e. =*ay* and –*an* constructions, are not clear-cut categories as such labeled;
- (2) We will explicate the relations between the derived nominals and the source verbs by employing Croft’s (2001:92) theory of conceptual space for parts of speech;
- (3) We will ultimately show that the grammatical relations/mechanisms are language-specific; in other words, nominalization and relativization are not universal mechanism. What the scholars have found in English does not guarantee the same findings in other languages.

Our paper is organized as follows. Section 1 give a brief introduction to Croft’s

(2001:92) theory of conceptual space for parts of speech, as shown in Figure 1, with an attempt to not only specify the interrelation between the =*ay* construction and –*an* construction, but also depict the intra-relation of each construction. In Section 2, we identify three types of =*ay* constructions. The –*an* constructions will be discussed in Section 3. Some concluding remarks will be given in Section 4.

1. Croft's (2001) Theory of Conceptual Space

Every linguist recognizes that it is a hot and difficult issue to identify the parts of speech in a particular language. As pointed out in Anward (2000:3), no matter which criterion we take, “the relationship between particular criteria and particular parts of speech is typically many-to-many.” Therefore, we adopt Croft's (2001:92) theory of Conceptual Space for parts of speech with an attempt to explicate the many-to-many relationships between the form and function in each construction.

	REFERENCE	MODIFICATION	PREDICATION	
OBJECTS	object reference	object modifier	object predication	identity predication
PROPERTIES	property reference	property modifier	property predication	location predication
ACTIONS	action reference	action modifier	action predication	

Figure 1 Conceptual Space for Parts of Speech (Croft 2001:92)

In Figure 1, a prototypical ‘noun’ is used to do object reference; nevertheless, it is not uncommon to find a noun to be used to do object modifier, as the word ‘conference’ in the phrase ‘conference room’. And in many Formosan languages, it is very often to find a noun to be used as predicate. A prototypical ‘adjective’ is used to do property modifier, such as color terms; again, it is common to use ‘*red*’, ‘*white*’ and ‘*black*’ to denote property reference. Also, ‘*red*’ can be used as a predicate as in ‘*I want my hair red.*’

2. The =*ay* constructions

2.1. Functional definition of relative clauses:

Before we go any further in discussing the so-called relativization construction in Kavalan, we of course need to know what a relative clause is. According to Keenan (1985), a relative clause is defined as “one that functions as a nominal modifier” (Keenan 1985, cited in Payne 1997:325); in other words, the main function of a

relative clause is modification, i.e. to modify the head noun.

The parameter in identifying relative clause for typological studies is by investigating the position of the relative clause in relation to the head noun. According to Payne, there are four types of relative clauses in terms of the position where they occur: (1) pre-nominal (i.e. before the head noun), (2) post-nominal (i.e. after the head noun), (3) internally headed, and (4) headless relative clause.

2.2 Three Types of =ay Constructions

Pattern 1: Action/Event Modifier (=ay functioning like a relative clause)

The Characteristics of Pattern 1 are that:

1. The hosts that =ay can enclitic to are mostly action verbs,
 - (a) which carry focus markers in morphology,
 - (b) which can take another NP as their complements in the embedded clause.
2. The =ay clause can occur either in pre-nominal (as in Figure 2) or post-nominal (as in Figure 3) position.
3. The =ay clause denoting an event/action whose main function is to provide an event background information for the head noun.

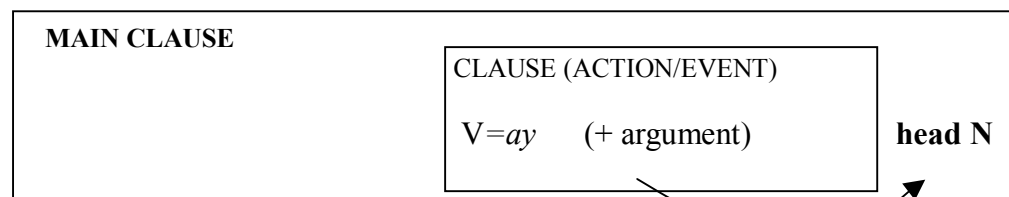


Figure 2 The =ay clause occurs in pre-nominal position.

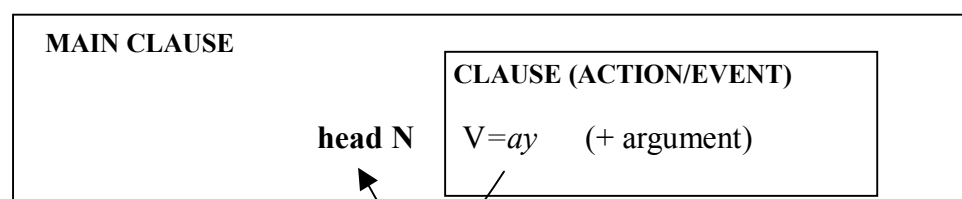


Figure 3 The =ay clause occurs in post-nominal position.

(1) kav-ngengi-051019¹

¹ The Abbreviations used in this study are listed below:

(a) **special phonological symbols:**

‘ glottal stop

(b) **AF:** Agent Focus; **LF:** Patient Focus /Locative Focus;

NOM: Nominative Case; **ACC:** Accusative Case; **GEN:** Genitive Case; **OBL:** Oblique Case;

LOC: Locative Case; **ASP:** Aspectual marker; **PFV:** Perfective; **PART:** Particle; **IRR:** Irrealis;

NEG: Negation; **PN:** Proper Noun/Personal Name; **CAU:** Causative Prefix; **RED:** Reduplication;

- a. tangi mawtu sa taqsian [si-kulus=ay tu busaR=ay] ti ngengi
 today AF.come SA school [wear-clothes=REL OBL white=AY] NCM PN
 ‘Today, Ngengi came to school, wearing white clothes.’
- b. tangi mawtu sa taqsian ti ngengi [si-kulus=ay tu busaR=ay]
 today AF.come SA school NCM PN [wear-clothes=REL OBL white=AY]
 ‘Today, Ngengi came to school, wearing white clothes.’

(2) kav-ngengi-051019

- a. m-RaRiw=ti [m-Roziq=ay tu kelisiw-ku] tazungan
 AF-run.away=PFV [AF-steal=REL OBL money=1SG.GEN] female
 ‘The girl who stole my money ran away.’
- b. m-RaRiw=ti tazungan [m-Roziq=ay tu kelisiw-ku]
 AF-run.away=PFV female [AF-steal=REL OBL money=1SG.GEN]
 ‘The girl who stole my money ran away.’

(3) kav-ngengi-051019

- a. ala-an-ku [tibok=ay] biabas
 bring-LF-1SG.GEN [<AF>fall=REL] guava
 ‘I brought back the guavas that fell.’
- b. ala-an-ku biabas [tibok=ay]
 bring-LF-1SG.GEN guava [<AF>fall=REL]
 ‘I brought back the guavas that fell.’

Pattern 2: Entity/Property Modifier (=ay in NP)

Pattern 2 differs from Pattern 1 in that, first, the intrinsic characteristics of the hosts that can be encliticized to. In Pattern 2, the hosts are stative predicates, usually those belonging to functional categories, and, the most important of all, they do not carry any focus markers. Second, the syntactic behavior is different: in Pattern 2, the =ay encliticized form can occur only before the modified, i.e. the head noun, as shown in Figure 4. Third, in Pattern 2, the syntactic structure of the =ay forms are not clausal: the modifier, i.e. the =ay encliticized form, and the modified, i.e. the head,

FS: False Start; INT: Interjection; FIL: Pause Filler.

(c) Symbols for discourse coding: Transcription is based on the Du Bois et al. (1993) system.

Transcription notations used in this paper

[]	speech overlap	--	truncated utterance
:	speaker identity	.	final intonation
,	continuing intonation	\	falling pitch
/	rising pitch	—	level pitch
^	primary accent	...(N)	long pause
...	medium pause	..	short pause
==	lengthening	(0)	latching
@	laughter	<Q Q>	quotation quality
(Hx)	exhalation	<H H>	inhalation
<F F>	fast speech	<L L>	low pitch
<L2 L2>	code switching	<A A>	allegro
<X X>	uncertain hearing	X	indecipherable syllable
<MRC MRC>	each word distinct and emphasized	BC	back channel
(CAPITAL LETTERS)	vocal noises		

(d) The glossing rules used in this paper are mostly based on *Leipzig Glossing Rules* (2004 version) from <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html>.

form an NP, which can take case markers in accordance with the syntactic relation this NP assumes in the clause. And fourth, the semantic relation between the modifier and the modified is different, too. In other words, the =*ay* clause does not provide an event background information for the head noun; rather, it is used to do an entity or property modification, such as colors or numbers.

As shown in the example (4a) and (4b), different word orders result in different syntactic structures and different readings in these two sentences accordingly. The syntactic structure of (4a) is a NP, whereas that in (4b) is a sentence (an equational sentence with the noun *baut* serving as the predicate). When we put them into another sentence, we will get a better picture. In (4c) *Raya=ay baut* takes the oblique case marker and serves as an object argument of the verb *m-lizaq* ‘to like’, while *baut Raya=ay* is not an acceptable NP candidate in (4d).

- (4a) *Raya=ay baut*
 big=AY fish
 ‘big fish’
- (4b) *baut unay Raya=ay*
 fish that big=REL
 ‘The fish is big (one).’
- (4c) *m-lizaq=iku tu Raya=ay baut*
 AF-like=1SG.NOM OBL big=AY fish
 ‘I like big fish.’
- *(4d) *m-lizaq=iku tu baut Raya=ay*

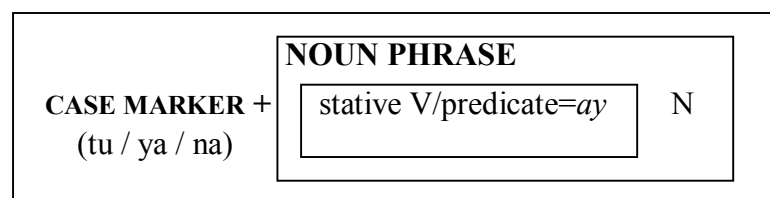


Figure 4 The =*ay* clause in Pattern 2

(5) numbers

- a. **kin-tulu=ay** sunis
 CLF.HUM-three=AY child
 ‘three children’
- b. **(u-)tulu=ay** wasu
 (CLF.NHUM-)three=AY dog
 ‘three dogs’

(6) quantifier

- a. **mazmun=ay** sunis
 CLF.HUM.many=AY child
 ‘many children’
- b. **mwaza=ay** wasu
 CLF.NHUM.many=AY dog
 ‘many dogs’

(7) dimension

Kavalan Data: (kav-051013-ngengi)

- a. m-Rasa aiku tu **Raya=ay** baut
AF-buy 1SG.NOM OBL big=AY fish
- b. **kitut=ay** baut
small=AY fish

(8) attribute: color, property, physical characteristics

- a. suqaw=ay **Raya=ay tbaRi=ay** semaRu
bad=REL big=AY red=AY flower
naRin m-ala qa-patay=ti=isu
do.not AF-take QA-die=PFV=2SG.NOM
'This (kind of) big, red flower is poisonous. Don't take (them), (or) you will (soon) die.'

b. KavCon-earthquake

- 309...zana 'nay nani
that that DM
- 310...zana=ti zana== maq zuma= ay lawlaw a
that=PFV that from other=AY country INT
- 311...s<en>angi-na=ti
<NMZ>do-3PL.GEN=PFV

'From the written records of other countries.'

c. KavCon-earthquake

- 312...aita maqezaq=ay kebalan niana ya==
1IPL.NOM genuine=AY Kavalan what INT
'What do we real Kavalan have?'

(f) sex:

- **Ronanay=ay** wasu
male=AY dog
'dog'
- **tina=ay** wasu
mother=AY dog
'bitch'
- titu na wasu
stock GEN dog
'puppy'

(g) Physical characteristics

- a. **moRong=ay** boqes na tazungan
long=AY hair GEN female
'girl with long hair'
- b. **tengen=ay moRong=ay** boqes na tazungan
black=AY long=AY hair GEN female
'girl with long, black hair'

(9) Human possessor

- a. **tiana=ay** sunis Rubatang
who=AY child beautiful
'Whose child is (more) beautiful?'
- b. **zaku=ay** sunis zau
1SG.POSS=AY child this
'This is my child.'

(10) Temporal adverbial

a. KavCon-earthquake

- 4.. ngid=iku ipil tu masang=ay utuz zin-na nani
want-1SG.NOM hear OBL before=AY earthquake say-3SG.GEN DM

‘He (an NTU student) said, “I want to hear something about the earthquake in the past.’

b. KavCon-Earthquake

192...zuma nani
other DM

193...tangi=ay ti tasaw ... ‘nay
today=AY FS year that

‘In addition, this year...’

194... A: wama ‘nay Raw tasaw Raya=ay
only that INT year big=REL

‘(The earthquake) was the strongest only in that year.’

(11) material

- a. **sapaR=ay** inep na lepaw
wooden.plank=AY entrance GEN house
‘wooden door’
- b. **betu=ay** lepaw
stone=AY house
‘house made of stone’

Pattern 3: Entity Reference (=ay in headless relative clause)

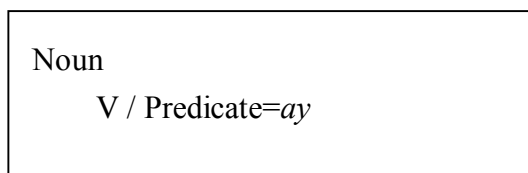


Figure 5 The =ay construction in Pattern 3.

In Pattern 3, the =ay encliticized form syntactically serves as a lexical nominal, and semantically and pragmatically is used to do entity reference. This is exactly the headless relative clause. According to parameter and definition proposed by Payne, headless relative clauses are “those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify, usually when the head noun is non-specific” (Payne 1997:328).

- (12) yau=ti si-kubu=ay
EXIST=PFV wear-hat=REL
‘Here comes the police officer.’
‘Here comes the one who wears a hat.’

- (13)
- a. sinap=ay
<AF>sweep=REL
‘servant; sweeper; the one who sweeps’
- b. sinap=ay-ku
<AF>sweep= REL -1SG.GEN
‘my servant’
- c. mai=pama mawtu seminap=ay-ku
NEG=YET AF.come servant=REL-1SG.GEN
‘My servant has not come yet.’

Examples (12) and (13) are the only two cases we have found so far where the =ay

forms can be used to denote specific entities. Mostly, they are used to denote non-specific entities, as shown below.

(14) KavCon-earthquake

- 294... mai nayau si
NEG that.way if
- 295... taRni-ta azu tangi=ay tu zana masang=ay si
how.to.know-1IPL.GEN like now=REL TU that past=REL si
'If it isn't like that, how can we know the things in the present and in the past?'
- ...
353... A: anu mai=ita nazawana na 'daq
if NEG=1IPL.NOM this.way GEN others
taqsi=ay nani
<AF>study=REL DM
- 354... qawman [mai=ti]
definitely NEG=PFV
- 355.. R: [mai=ti]
NEG=PFV
- 356... [mai=ita qasianem] pa-zukat tu nangan-ta
NEG=1IPL.NOM think CAU-out OBL name-1IPL.GEN
- 357... R: [XXX]
'If it were not for those who studied, we would not have thought about re-designating our tribe.'

- (15) m-susup aizipna masang, iwaliw tangi aizipna si-kelisiw =ay
AF-poor 3SG.NOM before, instead now 3SG.NOM have-money=REL
'He was poor before; (unexpectedly) now he became a rich(man).'

(16) KavCon-earthquake

- 395... A: tinu pakunku tu senazau=ay
who AF.tell.story OBL this.way=REL
'Who told this kind of story?'

Saying that =ay is a relativizer and involved in relativization in fact does not say much in depicting a whole picture of the =ay constructions. We employ Croft's theory of conceptual maps for parts of speech as a framework to pinpoint the distribution and function of the =ay constructions in Kavalan, as shown in Figure 6.

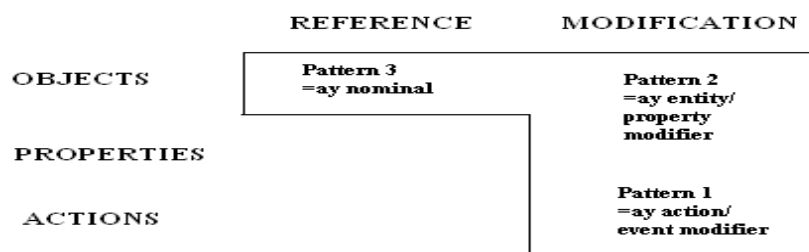


Figure 6 Semantic Map for the =ay constructions in Kavalan

3. The *-an* Constructions

3.1 Definition:

Nominalizations are morphological operations that derive nouns from some other lexical category, typically a verb or adjective, by modifying the root (cf. Comrie and Thompson 1985; Payne 1997:223). We may schematize these operations as:

$$V \rightarrow [V]_N, \quad \text{ADJ} \rightarrow [\text{ADJ}]_N, \quad V \rightarrow N, \quad \text{or} \quad \text{ADJ} \rightarrow N$$

3.2 Chang & Lee's (2002) analysis

In Chang & Lee's (2002) analysis, the *-an* derived nominals (*qena-...-an*) are essentially treated as lexical nominalization, (a) which cannot take another NP (usually *tu* marked NPs) as its objects, and (b) whose main function is to generate an argument in the clause. The following examples are taken from Chang & Lee (2002:356-357, 11a & 13b).

(17)

- | | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------|-----|------|
| a. | nengi | sanu-an | na | sunis | a | yau |
| | good | educate-NMZ | 3SG.GEN | child | LNK | that |
| | 'That child's education is good.' | | | | | |
| b. | mai | tu | qena-siqaz-an | lazat | a | yau |
| | NEG | OBL | NMZ-polite-NMZ | person | LNK | that |
| | 'That person has no polite/shame.' | | | | | |

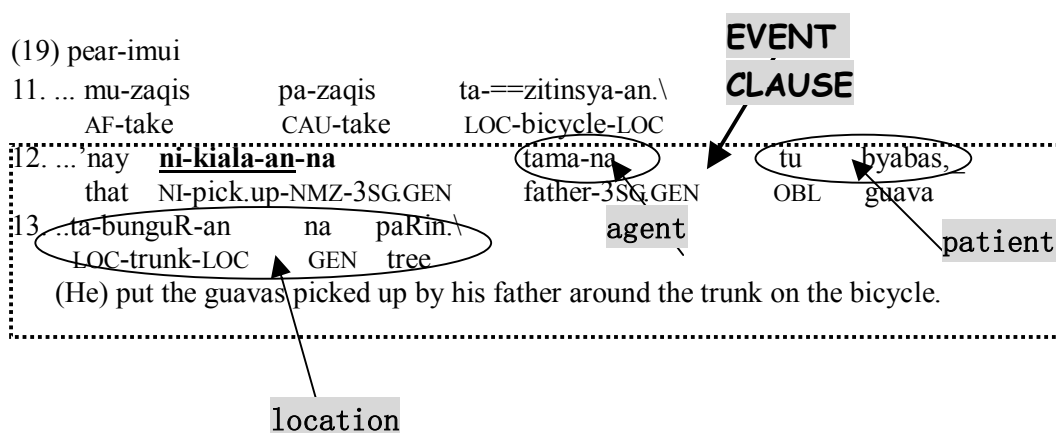
While reading these two sentences, we are led to interpret the verb *sanu* as 'to educate' and the derived noun *saun-an* as 'education' and the verb *siqaz* as 'polite' and the derived noun *qena-siqaz-an* as 'polite or shame'. Thus, we are made to believe that the relation between the derived noun and the source verb patterns with those attested in English pairs (e.g. *perform_v* → *performance_n*, *fear_v* → *fear_n*), which can be seen from the translation they give in (17a) and (17b).

(18)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------------|---------|---------------|-----|------|
| a. | nengi | sanu-an-na | | sunis | a | yau |
| | good | instruct- NMZ-3SG.GEN | | child | LNK | that |
| | 'It is easy (good for other person) to instruct the child (to tell the child to do some work).' | | | | | |
| b. | nengi | sanu-an-na | | ti-utay | a | yau |
| | good | instruct-NMZ-3SG.GEN | | NCM-PN | LNK | that |
| | 'It is easy (good) to instruct the child.' | | | | | |
| c. | nengi | sanu-an-su | | sunis-ku | a | yau |
| | good | instruct-NMZ-2SG.GEN | | child-1SG.GEN | LNK | that |
| | 'It is easy (good) for you to instruct my child.' | | | | | |
| *d. | mai | tu | sanu-an | razat | | 'nay |

3.3 Our analysis: The *-an* Constructions are clausal nominals

In our analysis, we regard the *ni-...-an*, *sa-...-an*, *qa-...-an*, *qena-...-an*, and *<en>...-an* all as the so-called nominalization constructions, since the morphological marking (all are marked by the suffix *-an*), the syntactic distribution, and semantic/pragmatic functions are similar. Also, in our analysis, the *-an* constructions in Kavalan are not lexical, but clausal instead, which we will illustrate in details below. So far, we tentatively identify them as internally headed relative clauses, as we found that (a) *q<en>atis-an-ku* does not refer to ‘my fear’, but ‘the thing that I fear’, instead; and (b) *-an* derived forms are clausal, which can take *tu* marked argument as its complement and *na/ni* marked argument as its agent.



We take emotion verbs as an example. The derived forms do not refer to the mental state of the experiencer, but rather to the emotion event / emotional process that the experiencer undergoes. Thus, the derived forms *qena-lizaq*, *qena-qnut*, and *q<en>aytis* of emotion verbs *m-lizaq* ‘be happy’, *q<m>nut* ‘be angry’, *maytis* ‘to fear’, and so on, are not those equivalent to the English emotion nouns, ‘happiness’, ‘anger’, and ‘fear’ and so on, as illustrated in (20).

(20) The relationship between the emotion verbs and the derived nominals

m-lizaq	qena-lizaq(-an)-ku
‘AF-be.happy’	‘the thing that I like’
	* ‘ happiness ’
q<m>nut	qena-qnut(-an)-ku
‘<AF>be.angry’	‘the thing that I am angry with’
	* ‘ anger ’
maytis	q<en>aytis(-an)-ku
‘AF.fear’	‘the thing that I fear’
	* ‘ fear ’

(21) (kav-040528-abas)

- a. mwaza q<en>atis(-an)-ku
many.NHUM <EN>fear(-NMZ)-1SG.GEN
'The things/objects that I fear are many.'
- b. mwaza q<en>aytis(-an)-ku tu siqay
many.NHUM <EN>fear(-NMZ)-1SG.GEN OBL snake
'(The kinds of) snakes that I feared are many. I am extremely afraid of snakes.'

(22) kav-051230-ngengi

- a. mwaza qena-lizaq-an-ku
many.NHUM QENA-happy-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'What I like are many.'
- b. mwaza qena-lizaq-an-ku tu kulus a zau
many.NHUM QENA-happy-NMZ-1SG.GEN OBL clothes LNK this
'The clothes that I like are many.'

In this regards, the *-an* construction is quite similar to internally headed relative clauses, with the *tu* marked argument as a default head noun. When there is no *tu* marked argument in the embedded clause, the whole clause refers to a non-specific object/entity that the verb acts on, as shown in (21a) and (22a). However, the specific reference of the *-an* clause depends on the context, as shown in (23) and (24) and (25a) and (25b) below. The *-an* clause can also denote to the place where the event takes place.

(23) Pear-buya

1. yau baqi-an 'nay usiq._
EXIST elder.male-AN that one
2. ...(2.4) matiw ta ni-paluma-an-na tu sinsuli.
AF.go LOC NI-plant-NMZ-3SG.GEN OBL plum
- There was an old man who went to the place where he grew plums.

(24). m-patay=ti

- AF-die=PFV ni-paluma-an-na tu sinsuli
NI-plant-NMZ-3SG.GEN OBL plum
- 'The plums that he planted are dead.'

(25)

- a. matiw ta (=tu) ni-kiala-an na tama-na tu biabas
AF.go LOC (=OBL) NI-pick-NMZ GEN father-3SG.GEN OBL guava
'He went to (the place) where his father picked guavas.'
- b. m-niz=ita q<m>an tu ni-kiala-an na tama-na tu biabas
AF-all=1IPL.NOM <AF>eat OBL NI-pick-NMZ GEN father-3SG.GEN OBL guava
'We all ate the guavas that his father picked.'
- c. niz-an-ta q<m>an tu ni-kiala-an na tama-na tu biabas
all-LF-1IPL.GEN <AF>eat OBL NI-pick-NMZ GEN father-3SG.GEN OBL guava
'We ate all of the guavas that his father picked.'

3.4. Lexical nominals (agent nominalization)

As observed by Chang & Lee (2002:363), in Kavalan, an agentive noun is formed by attaching the affixal complex *pa-...-an* to a source verb, as shown below.

(26)

- a. pa-Ribaut-an ‘fisherman’
- b. pa-taqsi-an ‘student’
- c. pa-klawklaway-an ‘worker’

While this is true, this is not the only way to form an agentive noun in Kavalan. Another possible way to derive an agentive noun is by encliticizing *=ay* to the source verb as shown by the following example:

- (27) qay-Roziq=*ay* aisu
 QAY-steal=*AY* 2SG.NOM
 ‘You (are the one who) stole (my thing). You are a thief.’
- (28)a. sinap=*ay*
 <AF>sweep=*REL*
 ‘servant; sweeper; the one who sweeps’
- b. sinap=*ay*-ku
 <AF>sweep=*REL*-1SG.GEN
 ‘my servant’
- c. mai=*pama* mautu seminap=*ay*-ku
 NEG=*YET* AF.come sweep=*REL*-1SG.GEN
 ‘My servant has not come yet.’

As we described in the previous section, the *=ay* derived noun (one kind of headless relative clause) is usually used when the head noun is non-specific. The difference between the *pa-...-an* derived agentive noun and *=ay* derived agentive noun is that the former denotes a habitual agent while the latter refers to someone who does the action occasionally or just once in a while.

(29)

- | | | | |
|---------------|---|---------------------|----------------------|
| salekiaw | → | pa-salekiaw-an | ‘dancer’ |
| ‘dance’ | | salekiaw= <i>ay</i> | ‘the one who dances’ |
| | | | |
| satezay | → | pa-satezay-an | ‘singer’ |
| ‘sing’ | | satezay= <i>ay</i> | ‘the one who sings’ |
| | | | |
| sa’may | → | pa-sa’may-an | ‘servant’ |
| ‘cook (rice)’ | | sa’may= <i>ay</i> | ‘the one who cooks’ |
| | | | |
| sudad | → | pa-sudad-an | ‘office-worker’ |
| ‘write’ | | sudad= <i>ay</i> | ‘the one who writes’ |

Another important point we would like to point out is that again, the noun-verb boundary in this type of derived nominal construction is not clear-cut. While English (in other languages as well) uses an entity nominal (uses an object-reference), Kavalan uses an event nominal (an action-reference) to encode the concept ‘teacher;

the one who teaches’. As shown in the following examples, the concept ‘teacher’ can be coded as ‘the one who teaches student’; and ‘I am a teacher’ is encoded as ‘I am the one who teaches students.’

(30)

- a. pa-tud-an tu pa-taqcian ‘teacher’
- b. pa-tud-an=iku tu pa-taqcian
‘I am a teacher.’
=pa-tud-an=ay aiku
- c. pa-tud-an timaiku mai mautu taqsian
‘My teacher did not come to school.’

(31)

- a. pa-tud-an timaiku m-taRaw azipna mai mawtu tangi
CAU-teach-LF 1SG.ACC AF-sick 3SG.NOM NEG AF.come today
‘My teacher is sick. (He) did not come to school today. (Lit.: (The one who) teaches me (he) is sick. (He) did not come to school today.’
- b. m-taRaw pa-tud-an-ku mai mawtu tangi
AF-sick CAU-teach-NMZ-1SG.GEN NEG AF.come today
‘My teacher is sick. (He) did not come to school today.’

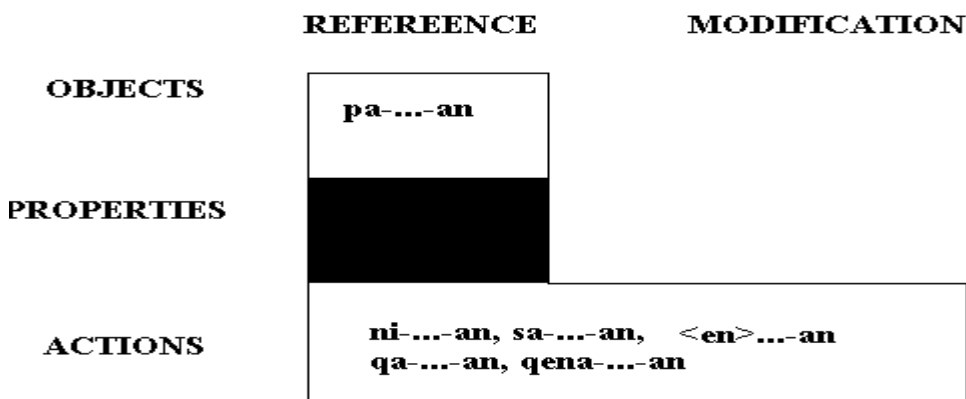


Figure 7 Semantic Map of Kavalan *-an* Constructions

4. Conclusions

In this paper, we have demonstrated that *=ay* constructions and *-an* constructions are not two distinct operations in syntactic levels, nor do they display single, clear-cut categorical differences in terms of semantic or/and pragmatic functions. Of course, we have not solved all the problems. For example, what is the grammatical status of the suffix *-an*? Is it a verbalizer or the so-called ‘noun-deriving’ suffix (SPR 1982)? Also, the internal syntactic structure of the *-an* construction is not clear yet: how do we interpret the *tu* marked NP, which is assumed to occur in AF constructions, in the *-an* clause? Third, regarding the *-an* constructions, there seems to be two pairs of prefixes: (a) *sa-* vs. *qa-* and (b) *ni-* vs. *qena-*. Pair (a) seem to

denote the future while the pair (b) non-future; however, the exact relation between each construction within each pair is not clear yet.

At last, we would like to point out that the categorical boundary among the parts of speech and the conceptual mapping in each particular language will never be the same; for example, what concepts can be encoded as an adjective or as a verb in a particular language. It is consequently dangerous to investigate the grammatical relations in a particular language by means of cross-linguistic terms, presuming that each cross-linguistic notion can be found instantiation in a particular language.

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