Nominalization in Yami

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In the Philippine and Formosan languages, the morphemes that occur in indicative verb forms are also used in nominalization, as has already been pointed out by others. Some have even hypothesized that these indicative verb forms were derived by nominalization. However, the relationship between nominalization and the evolution of the focus system cannot be fully understood without complete descriptions of nominalization throughout Austronesia. This paper contributes to that end by providing data from Yami, a Philippine language spoken on Orchid Island, sixty-five kilometers southeast of Taiwan.

Three topics in Yami were analyzed to facilitate typological comparisons and enhance explanations of the evolution of the focus system from nominalization: 1) the processes of noun formation from different lexical categories, 2) the structure and function of clausal nominalization, and 3) the distinction of nominalization from indicative verb forms.

The results show that lexical nominalization in Yami can be divided into participant and action nominalizations. The process of participant nominalization resembles focus-marking morphological processes. Clausal nominalizations have no lexically derived noun. There is no clear division between indicative verbs and nominalization when the enclitic pronoun is in the genitive case. However, movement of the pronominal A to the beginning of the sentence further differentiates indicative verbs from nominalization.

Key words: Yami, lexical nominalization, clausal nominalization, lexical categories, focus, word order

1. Introduction

Nominalization is a process that derives a noun from some other lexical category, typically a verb or adjective, by modifying the root. Comrie and Thompson (1985) consider two types of nominalization, involving either action/state or participant. Action/state nominalization refers to the formation of a noun from a verb/adjective root designating an action/state. In participant nominalization, the noun formed relates to a

semantic role (i.e., agent, patient, instrument, location, product, manner, reason) of the nominalized verb.

In some languages, an entire predicate or proposition can be turned into a noun phrase. For example, dependent clauses (relative, complement and adverbial clauses) are used extensively to formally instantiate verb-based nominalization (Payne 1997). Comrie and Thompson (1985) found that some languages code their action nominals more like their noun phrases, while others code them more like sentences. For example, in Northwest Marquesan, nominalization of verbal clauses is shown to have more features of verbal clauses (Cablitz 2000). In addition to action nominals, some languages also display clausal nominalization, where the derived noun phrases have no head nouns.

Nominalization can show such a different pattern of argument structure that typologically a language can be marked sententially ergative, while at the level of the nominal phrase it has an accusative pattern of case marking (e.g., Niuean nominals; Massam 2000).

Nominalization is also sensitive to the demands of discourse, as pointed out by Hopper and Thompson (1980, 1984). A form is rendered more like a verb when the concept the form refers to constitutes an event. On the other hand, a form is rendered less verb-like when the form refers to a process or a state rather than an action, a description rather than an event, a background rather than a foreground.

This paper analyzes the process of nominalization in Yami, providing examples of lexical nominalization, action nominalization, and clausal nominalization, which can be used for typological comparison.

2. Previous studies on argument-marking in Yami

2.1 Case and focus in Yami

Yami case markers (or determiners in Starosta's terminology) distinguish common nouns from proper nouns in four case forms. Table 1 presents the analysis of case markers by Ho (1993:110):[1]

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[1] The Yami orthography follows the conventions established in the Yami Dictionary and Textbook (Rau and Tung 1999, Tung and Rau 2000a).

Table 1: Case markers in Yami

	Nominative	Genitive	Locative	Oblique
Common noun	o	no	do	so
Proper noun	si	ni	ji	----

Case markers preceding personal names are further divided into singular and plural forms, and, if singular, indicate whether the person is alive or not (Tsuchida, Constantino, Yamada, and Moriguchi 1989), as shown below in Table 2:

Table 2: Inflection of case markers preceding personal names

	Nominative	Genitive	Locative
Singular, alive	si + personal name	ni + personal name	ji + personal name
Singular, dead	si + mina + personal name	ni + mina + personal name	ji + mina + personal name
Plural	sira + personal name	nira + personal name	jira + personal name

Yami personal pronouns are inflected for person, number, and case (Tung and Rau 1999a:73), as illustrated in Table 3 (cf. Ho 1993:119):

Table 3: Yami personal pronouns

	Nominative (Bound)	Nominative (Free)	Genitive (Bound)	Genitive (Free)	Locative (Free)
1S	ko	yaken	ko	nyaken	jyaken
2S	ka	imo	mo	nimo	jimo
3S	----	ya, sya	na	nya	jya
1P-exclusive	namen	yamen	namen	nyamen	jyamen
1P-inclusive	ta, takamo	yaten	ta	nyaten	jyaten
2P	kamo, kanyo	inyo	nyo	ninyo	jinyo
3P	----	sira	da	nira	jira

There are two sets of bound personal pronouns for nominative and genitive cases. Free personal pronouns are preceded by y-[2] in the nominative, *ni-* in the genitive, and

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[2] The prefix *y-* is one of the three features that Zorc (1977) has used to subgroup Yami (a Batanic language) with Sambal, Kapampangan and North Mangyan. The other two features include the merger between Proto-Austronesian *R and *y and the *a-* prefixing in words such as *apia* 'good', and *akan* 'eat'.

ji- in the locative. There are gaps for third singular and plural bound nominative forms. However, the free nominative pronouns *ya* and *sya* and the bound genitive *na* seem to have filled in the gap in sentence initial position. In examples (1) through (6) that follow, adopted from Tung and Rau (2000a), all the bound nominative pronouns are placed freely in sentence initial position to indicate the recentness of an event:

(1) <u>ko</u>   na   ni-m-ai.[3]
    1SN already PA-AGT-come
    'I am here.'

(2) <u>ka</u>   na   ni-m-ai?
    2SN already PA-AGT-come
    'Are you here?'

(3) <u>sya</u> na   ni-m-ai.
    3SN already PA-AGT-come
    'He/She is here.' or 'They are here.'

(4) <u>naman</u>   rana   ni-m-ai.
    1PNEXCL already   PA-AGT-come
    'We are here.'

(5) <u>kamo</u>   rana   ni-m-ai?
    2PN   already PA-AGT-come
    'Are you all here?'

(6) <u>ya</u>   na   ni-m-ai   o   kagagan mo.
    3SN already PA-AGT-come NOM companion 2SG
    'Your companion, [he] is here.'

Demonstrative pronouns are inflected for case and distance (Tung and Rau 2000a:74), as shown in Table 4. Nominative demonstratives are preceded by the nominative case marker *o*, genitives by *no*, locatives by *do*, and obliques by *so*.

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[3] ABL: Abilitative, ACT: Active, AF: Agent focus, AGT: Agent, ASP: Aspect, BF: Benefactive focus, CAUS: Causative, DUR: Durative, EXCL: Exclusive, FUT: Future, G(EN): Genitive, IF: Instrument focus, IMP: Imperative, INCL: Inclusive, IRR: Irrealis, LF: Locative focus, LIN: Linker, LOC: Locative, NEG: Negative, NF: Noun former, N(OM): Nominative, O(BL): Oblique, PA: Past, PAR: Particle, PAT: Patient, PERF: Perfective, PF: Patient focus, P(L): Plural, POSS: Possessive, RF: Referential focus, S: Singular, SUB: Subjunctive, TF: Time focus, TNS: Tense, TOP: Topic, VF: Verb former.

Table 4: Yami demonstrative pronouns

	Nominative (Bound)	Nominative (Free)	Genitive (Free)	Locative (Free)	Oblique (Free)
This, near the speaker	ya	o ya	no nya	do jya	so sya
That, near the interlocutor	ri	o ri	no nito	do jito	so sito
That, far	ito	o ito	no nang	do dang	so sang
That, very far	----	----	----	do koang	----

Jeng (1981) used various syntactic and semantic clues derived from the focus constructions within question-word sentences in connection with case-marking affixes and particles to justify his classification of the 12 case relations in Yami. A Yami question-word sentence is an equational sentence, where the subject may be a single noun or a nominalized clause (which is a headless relative clause), while the question word is the predicate.

Ho (1993:109) proposed eight focus constructions in Yami, including AF (one-argument and antipassive), PF, IF, BF, LF, RF, and TF. Tung and Rau (2000a:65) identify only four types of focus based on the forms, AF, PF, LF, and IF, as presented in Table 5 in comparison with the PAN form (Wolff 1973, Ross 1995).

Table 5: Focus system in Yami

	AF	PF	LF	IF
PAN	*mu/-um-	*-en	*-an	*(i)Si-
Yami	m-/-om-	-en	-an	i-

2.2 Ergativity

Ho's studies (1990, 1993) treated the cardinal transitive clauses as non-agent focus in Yami and considered Yami an ergative language, where the S and O are marked the same morphologically while the A is marked differently. In the following sentences (7a)-(7b) from Ho[4] (1993:100), S and O are marked with the same nominative case marker *o*, while A is marked with the genitive marker *no*.

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[4] The Yami orthography was changed to conform to our convention (Tung and Rau 2000a).

(7) a. ya   m-itkeh   <u>o kanakan</u>.
     TNS   AGT-sleep   NOM child
                     (S)
     'The child is asleep.'

   b. ya   na   kan-en   <u>no kanakan</u>   <u>o soli</u>.
      TNS   3SG   eat-PAT   GEN child   NOM taro
                          (A)   (O)
      'The child is eating the taro.'

2.3 Nominalization

There has not been any systematic treatment of nominalization in Yami, although discussions of related Philippine languages have suggested features which could be explored. For example, there is no clear-cut division between indicative verbs and nominalization in Tagalog (English 1986, Ramos 1971a, b) or Itbayaten (Yamada 1966). Dictionary entries in these languages usually cite both nominal and verbal meanings for a derived word, e.g., inum-en 'to drink, a drink'.

2.3.1 Nominalization in Yami

Asai (1936:44-45) cites examples with -en as denoting the things or persons which have not yet been affected by the action or quality of the word bases but will be affected in the future, such as asin-en 'object to be salted', and rakat-en 'person who will die, or be killed'. In contrast, derivatives with -in-/ni- denote the things or persons which have been affected by the action or quality of the word bases, such as ni-asin 'salted object' and ni-rakat 'person who died, or was killed'. But the above-mentioned derivatives are usually used to denote verbal actions in Yami. The following Yami examples (8)-(9) are from Asai (1936:45). The interlinear translation and orthography are mine.

(8)   tangtang-en   o   tametamek
     beat-PAT   NOM   silver
     'The thing to be beaten is silver.' or 'He will beat silver.'

(9)   aap-en   mo   o   tametamek.
     take-PAT   2SG   NOM   silver
     'Your taking object is silver.' or 'You will take silver.' or 'Take silver.'

Other derivatives with -an, i-, and the abstract derivatives ka- are also frequently used as 'verbum' to denote verbal actions in Asai's analysis.

Shih's treatment of Yami morphology (1997:92-95) only discussed two kinds of lexical nominalization: locative *-an* and manner *i-*.

2.3.2 Nominalization in Ivatan

Hidalgo and Hidalgo (1971:214-218) describe two types of clauses with the focus affix *ka-* in Ivatan. One is aspectual clauses inflected for inceptive or continuative aspect, as illustrated in sentences (10)-(11), and the other is the nonfinite dependent clause manifested by a noun stem, as in sentences (12)-(13).

(10) ka-chimuy   na   pa.
      ASP-rain   3SG   already
      'It has just started raining.'
(11) ka-chimu:y na
      ASP-rain   3SG
      'It just goes on raining.'
(12) ichakey   ku   u   ka-ngay mu   ja.
      desire   1SG   NOM NF-go   2SG here
      'My desire is your coming here.' or 'I want you to come here.'
(13) may-lampasu   sya   as   ka-panguyas   na.
      AGT-cook   3SN   LIN NF-wash_dishes 3SG
      'She cooks and washes the dishes.'

The nominal dependent clause begins with a function marker or a demonstrative pronoun as a sole manifestation of the topic of the clause,[5] as illustrated in (14).

(14) panutung-an ku   anchi u   p<in>arin   aya ni   ama   kakuyab.
      cook-LOC   1SG   this   NOM make<PA.PAT> this GEN father yesterday
      'I will cook in this (which) father made yesterday.'

3. Methodology

3.1 Data

The data are based on a Yami corpus (Tung and Rau 1999), developed in a project sponsored by the Aboriginal Council of the Executive Yuan of the R.O.C. In addition to

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[5] This analysis is the same as Paul's solution (2000) in that the focused element is a (copular) predicate and the presuppositional clause is a headless relative clause in the subject position.

texts, it contains the 2000 most frequently occurring lexical items and 500 example sentences. The texts comprise 363 pages of transcribed Yami narratives and conversations with interlinear translations from audio tapes 300 minutes in length.

The discussion of lexical and clausal nominalization is largely based on data presented in the Yami textbook (Tung and Rau 2000a). Examples cited from other sources are designated accordingly.

3.2 Research questions

This paper investigates the following three questions on nominalization in Yami:

1) How are nouns derived from different lexical categories in Yami? Are the processes for forming nouns in Yami productive, regular, and predictable? Do the action nominals in Yami more closely resemble noun phrases or sentences?
2) What are the structures and functions of the content questions and relative clauses in Yami? Do the two types of clausal nominalization have lexically derived nouns?
3) Is there any reliable way to distinguish nominalization from indicative verbs in Yami?

4. Lexical nominalization

Lexical nominalization in Yami is accomplished by a morphological strategy. Derived nominals can be subclassified into participant nominalization and action/state nominalization. Before we discuss examples of different types of nominalization, an overview of reduplication in Yami is in order.

4.1 Reduplication

There are eight forms of reduplication in Yami: 1) CV-, 2) CVCV-, 3) CVC-, 4) VCV-, 5) V-, 6) -CV, 7) -V, 8) -VC. Noun stems are reduplicated to refer to plurality, extremity, variety, scattering, or toys.

The following examples illustrate reduplication of the beginning syllables of the stems:

(15) o-oyodan 'plate for women's fish' < oyod 'women's fish'
(16) so-soli 'taros' < soli 'taro'

(17) ta-tatala 'boats' < tatala 'boat'
(18) ra-raan 'roads' < raan 'footprint'
(19) to-to-towang 'scattered bones' < towang 'bone'
(20) koyi-koyis 'pigs' < koyis 'pig'
(21) lima-lima 'scattered hands' < lima 'hand'
(22) toko-tokon 'various mountains' < tokon 'hill, mountain' (Ogawa and Asai)
(23) kag-kagling 'a flock of sheep' < kagling 'sheep'
(24) onewned (one-oned) 'bottom of the heart' < oned 'inner heart'
(25) ava-vang 'toy boat' < avang 'boat' (Ogawa and Asai)

The following examples illustrate reduplication of the last syllables of the stems:

(26) vanga-nga 'pots' < vanga 'pot' (Ogawa and Asai)
(27) asa-a 'only one' < asa 'one'
(28) apa-at 'only four' < apat 'four'

Verb stems can also be reduplicated to refer to an instrument that is used to do a certain action repeatedly, the result of a repeated action, or the place where the repeated action occurs:

(29) ciri-ciring 'language' < ciring 'to speak'
(30) so-sopit 'chopsticks' < sopit 'to pick up'
(31) to-tozok 'fork' < tozok 'to branch'
(32) ing-ingn-en 'disease' < ingen 'to ache'
(33) ka-kan-an 'taste, plate' < kan 'to eat'
(34) sey-seyked-an 'place where one stops at' < seyked 'to stop'
(35) ota-ota-an 'place where one vomits in' < ota 'to vomit'
(36) dengdeng-an 'place where one cooks in' < dengdeng 'to cook'
(37) li-lisna-an 'chair, place where one sits frequently' < lisna 'to sit'
(38) a-nga-ngay-an 'place where one goes frequently' < ngay 'to go'
(39) obo-obot-an 'toilet, place where one defecates' < obot 'to defecate'
(40) ino-inom-an 'water bottle' < inom 'to drink' (Ogawa and Asai)

4.2 Nouns derived from verbs

The following examples of nouns derived from verbs are used to express participant nominalization. Participant nominalization is formed with one of the four major focus affixes, i.e., *mi-/ma-* (AF), *-en* (PF), *-an* (LF), and *i-* (IF), and the prefix *ka-*,

referring to an agent 'someone who does so and so'.

4.2.1 Agent: *mi-/ma-/maN-*

Some verb roots take *mi-* while others take *ma-* or *maN-*; therefore, the variation is entirely lexicalized.

    (41)   mi-vat-vatek 'student' < vatek 'to carve, to write'
    (42)   maci-nanao 'disciples' < nanao 'teach'
    (43)   manga-nanao 'teacher' < nanao 'teach', maN- 'the person who does (stem)'

4.2.2 Patient: *-en/-in-/ni-*

    (44)   kan-en 'food, starch' < kan 'to eat'
    (45)   akaw-en 'field of taros' < akaw 'to dig'
    (46)   pi-palit-en 'things in exchange' < palit 'to exchange' (Ogawa and Asai)
    (47)   c-in-inon 'clothes that were woven' < cinon 'to weave'
    (48)   c-in-oat 'boiled water' < koat 'hot'
    (49)   p-in-atoyon 'someone who was invited' (Ogawa and Asai) < toyon 'to bless or curse'
    (50)   ni-panci 'that was said' < panci 'to say, to tell'
    (51)   ni-pa-rara 'that was sent by mail' < rara 'to call', pa- 'causative'

4.2.3 Locative: *-an*

    (52)   akan-an~kan-an 'place where one eats, cafeteria' < akan~kan 'to eat'
    (53)   kozong-an 'place one packs something in' < kozong 'to pack'
    (54)   saway-an 'place one escapes from' < saway 'to escape'
    (55)   isan-an 'place where one stays overnight' < isan 'to stay overnight'
    (56)   pangay-an 'place where one puts things in/on' < pa-angay 'to put in/on'
    (57)   sesdep-an 'entrance' < asdep 'to enter'

The following examples have *pa-*, *paN-* or *pi-* prefixed to the verbal roots to form stems. The variation is entirely lexicalized, thus it has not been possible to distinguish between the members of the set by any phonological or semantic criteria. The stems are reduplicated to convey their intended aspects:[6]

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[6] A complete treatment of the reduplication process in Yami is beyond the scope of this research. A preliminary study of this subject can be found in Guo (1998).

(58) pangnan (paN-kna-an) 'place where one fishes, fish hook' < akna 'to hook'
(59) pa-mo-mood-an 'rental place' < vood 'to borrow' (paN-vo-vood-an)
(60) pa-na-nadeng-an 'stone for one to lean one's back on' < nadeng 'to lean on the back'
(61) pa-sapat-an 'rack, place one puts things on top of ' < sapat 'put on top'
(62) pi-yo-yoyaw-an 'place where one plays, playground' < yoyaw 'to play'

The following roots are prefixed with past tense prefix *ni-*:

(63) ni-tjip-an 'one that was peeled' < tjip 'to peel'
(64) ni-akaw-an 'things that were dug up, field of taros, place where one dug' < akaw 'to dig'
(65) ni-pang-ap-an 'place where one fetches from' < paN-ap 'to take' (Ogawa and Asai)
(66) ni-tawaz-an 'caught by net' < tawaz 'to net'
(67) c-in-a-podpod-an 'origin, where something dropped from' < podpod 'drop'

4.2.4 Instrument/reason: *i-*

(68) yakan 'side dishes' < akan~kan 'to eat', i- 'instrument focus'
(69) i-saway 'reason to escape' < saway 'to escape', i- 'reason focus'

4.2.5 *ka-*

(70) ka-ryos 'midwife' < ryos 'to bathe'
(71) ka-zakat 'someone who is cursed to death, enemy' < zakat 'to kill'
(72) ka-sirisiring 'interlocutor' < siring 'to speak', ka- 'co-'
(73) keypong 'darling' < ikaipong do soso 'to feed from the same breasts' (Chen 1992), ka- 'co-'.

4.3 Nouns derived from numbers

4.3.1 *ipi-*

ipi- is prefixed to numbers to express 'number of times, frequency':

(74) ipi-sa 'once, one time' < asa 'one'
(75) ipi-doa 'twice, two times' < doa 'two'
(76) ipi-pat 'four times' < apat 'four'

4.3.2 *ka-an*

The discontinuous affix *ka-an* is added to numbers to form abstract nouns, e.g., ka-doa-an 'others, the other' < doa 'two':

(77) kadoan no   ilili
      other   GEN   villages
      'people from other villages'
(78) kadoan mo   do   vaay
      other   2SG   LOC   house
      'your better half'

4.3.3 *ika-*

ika- is prefixed to numbers to express ordinal numbers:

(79) ika-tlo 'third' < atlo 'three'

4.3.4 Ca- reduplication

Numerals and the question word pira 'how many' are reduplicated with the pattern of Ca- (with the first consonant of the root reduplicated and followed by an inserted vowel /a/) to refer to plurality. The following exchange illustrates the use of Ca-reduplication:

(80) A: ya   pa-pira   o   kakteh   mo?
        3SN   Ca-how.many   NOM   sibling   2SG
        'How many brothers and sisters do you have?'
     B: ya   ra-roa   sira   kaka   a   mehakay.
        3SN   Ca-two   3PN   older_sibling   LIN   male
        'They are two older brothers.' or 'I have two older brothers.'

No Ca- reduplication to form instrument nouns (Blust 1999) was found in Yami.

4.4 Nouns derived from nouns

Nouns derived from other nouns are also used to encode participant nominalization.

4.4.1 Agent: *mi-/mala-/ma-/man-*

The prefixes *mi-* or *mala-* are added to noun stems to express 'in a relationship of so and so'.

(81) mi-keylian 'in a relationship of coming from the same village'
(82) mi-keteh 'in a relationship of two siblings'
    a. to   lavi sira mi-keteh
       just cry 3PN two-sibling
       'The two brothers just keep crying.'
(83) mi-keteketeh 'in a relationship of three or more siblings'
    a. kamo pa-pira   mi-keteketeh?
       2PN   Ca-how.many three-siblings
       'How many brothers and sisters do you have?'
(84) mi-ina 'in a relationship of mother and son/daughter'
    a. ma-miing sira   mi-ina.
       AF-smile 3PN   mother&daughter
       'The mother and daughter are smiling.'
(85) mala-ina 'in a relationship of mother and sons/daughters (three or more)'
    a. ya   apipia tao   sira   mala-ina.
       3SN good   person 3PN   mother-children
       'The mother and her daughters are all very good-looking.'

The prefix *ma-* is added to a noun stem to refer to the person who does such and such to the noun stem or who is involved with the noun stem.

(86) ma-pi-viniay 'people who raise livestock' < viniay 'livestock'
(87) ma-pi-koyis 'people who raise pigs' < koyis 'pig'
(88) ma-pi-vaay 'owner of the house' < vaay 'house'
(89) ma-pi-anak 'one who has children' < anak 'child'
(90) ma-pi-keteh 'one who has siblings' < keteh 'sibling'

The prefix *man-* is added to a noun stem to refer to a relationship of plurality. The prefix *man-* is different from *maN-* in that the nasal does not undergo assimilation to the following segment.

(91) man-kakteh 'nephews/nieces' < manga anak no kakteh 'children of the siblings'

4.4.2 Patient: *-en*

No noun roots suffixed with *-en* to form nominalization can be found in our data except for the following with the past allomorph *ni-* in Ogawa and Asai.

(92)   ni-asin   a   asisi
      PA-salt LIN   meat
      'salted meat'

4.4.3 Locative: *-an*

(93)   ra-raet-an 'plate for men's fish' < raet 'men's fish'
(94)   o-oyod-an 'plate for women's fish' < oyod 'women's fish'
(95)   pi-sakop-an 'the hat that is on one's head' < sakop 'hat'
(96)   pa-vang-an 'that can be used to transport' < avang 'steel boat'

4.4.4 Instrument/reason: *i-*

(97)   i-pi-cibcib 'tool used to cut weeds' < mi-cibcib 'to cut weed' (Ogawa and Asai)
(98)   i-pan-botbot 'tool used to remove hair' < botbot 'to pull'
(99)   iko-ngo 'what, why' < ngo 'what'

4.4.5 *ka-an*

Most of the noun stems affixed with the discontinuous *ka-an* refer to 'a place where many of the nouns are gathered'.

(100) ka-anito-an 'graveyard' < anito 'ghost' (Ogawa and Asai)
(101) ka-ratay-an 'plain' < ratay 'level land' (Ogawa and Asai)
(102) ka-soli-an 'taro field' < soli 'taro'
(103) ka-ili-an~keylian 'people in the same village' < ili 'village'
(104) ka-wakay-an 'field of yams' < wakay 'yam'
(105) ka-moi-moing-an 'facial features' < moing 'face'
(106) ka-vato-vato-an 'place where stones abound' < vato 'stone' (Ogawa and Asai)

Other noun stems affixed with *ka-an* have unpredictable meanings.

(107) ka-anak-an 'child' < anak 'son or daughter'
(108) ka-daday-an na so araraw am 'after a few days' < adaday 'later'

4.4.6 *ka-*

The prefix *ka-* is prefixed to a noun stem to refer to 'co-'.

(109) ka-taotao 'body' < tao 'person'
(110) ka-vakes 'female friend' < mavakes 'female', akes 'grandmother'
(111) ke-akay 'male friend' < mehakay 'male', akay 'grandfather'
(112) ka-kteh 'sibling' < akteh 'sibling', ka- 'co-'

4.4.7 Tense/aspect marker *noka-* and *si-*

noka- is prefixed to nouns of time or numerals to indicate past, whereas *si-* is the future counterpart.

(113) noka-tey-dedoa am i-oli   na   o   asa ori, mang-anak ko   a,
      PA-each-two   TOP IF-return 3SG NOM one that, PL-child   1SG PAR
      'If he caught two each time, grandchildren, he would bring one home.'
(114) noka-ngo k-ai   mo?
      PA-when   ka-come 2SG
      'When was your arrival?' or 'When did you come?'
(115) si-ma-ngo   m-ai   ka?
      FUT-when   AF-come   2SN
      'When will you come?'
(116) A: si-ma-ngo   am   ta   s-om-akay   do   sikoki?
          FUT-when TOP 1PNINCL <AF>climb LOC   plane
          'When will we get on the plane?'
      B: si-mi-igen   o   araw.
          FUT-noon   NOM   sun
          '12 noon'
(117) si-ma-raw 'tomorrow' < araw 'day'
(118) si-ca-raw 'today' < araw 'day', si-ca- 'non-past'
(119) si-ma-ka-sa-raw 'day after tomorrow' (si-ma-ka-asa-araw)

4.5 Noun phrases

Attributes and the modified head noun in a noun phrase are conjoined with the linker *a*. The following data are from Ogawa and Asai.

(120) rako a avang
   big LIN kettle
   'big kettle'

(121) malavang a pongso
   white LIN island
   'white island'

(122) manakaw a tao
   steal   LIN person
   'thief'

An attribute usually precedes the modified NP with a linker placed between them, as illustrated in (120)-(122), while a relative clause may either precede or follow the modified NP with a difference in meaning. The preceding relative clause is restrictive in its meaning, whereas the following relative clause is descriptive (cf. Tang, Chang and Ho 1998).

(123) ko ni-ma-cita   [o   ji yakneng a kanakan].
   1SG PA-ABL.PAT-see NOM NEG calm LIN child
   'I saw the not calm child.' or 'I saw the active child.'

(124) ko ni-ma-cita   [o   kanakan a ji   yakneng].
   1SG PA-ABL.PAT-see NOM child LIN NEG calm
   'I saw the child who could not calm down.' or
   'I saw the child who was active.'

Possessor follows the possessed NP and is preceded by the genitive case marker *no* if the NP is a common noun, *ni* if the NP is a proper name or kinship term, or is followed by a genitive pronoun.

(125) ciriciring no tao
   speech GEN person
   'The Yami language'

(126) pongso no tao
   island GEN person
   'Orchid Island'

(127) ciriciring   ni   maran
      speech   GEN   uncle
      'My uncle's language'
(128) ciriciring   namen
      speech   1PGEXCL
      'Our language'

Numerals are followed by the conjunction *(a)ka* and the modified nouns:

(129) asa ka tao 'one person' (lit. one and person)
(130) asa ka among 'one fish' (lit. one and fish)

Ordinal numbers are followed by *na* '3SG' and the modified noun:

(131) ikapito   na   raw
      seventh   3SG   day
      'The seventh day'

When a modified NP (underlined) co-occurs with attributes and numerals, the numerals precede the NP while the attributes follow, as in (132).

(132) a-m-yan   so   raroa   a   <u>miketeh</u>   a   mavakes.
      exist<AF> OBL two   LIN sibling   LIN female
      'There are two sisters.'

4.6 Summary

Lexical nominalization in Yami makes use of both focus-marking and non-focus marking morphological processes, such as *ka-*. The nominalization processes for forming nouns in Yami is mostly productive, regular, and predictable, although individual word meaning is not predictable.

5. Action nominalization

Action nominals in Yami closely resemble noun phrases. The head noun of an action nominal is coded with the nominalizing prefix *ka-*. The nouns functioning as A and O of the corresponding sentence are marked as genitive and oblique respectively.

In the following example, *ka-* is prefixed to verbal roots to form action nominals. The head noun is preceded by the nominative case marker *o*. The three coordinated noun phrases are linked with the linker *a*.

181

(133) Ji   ko   atenng-i   o   <u>ka-itkeh</u> na   a,   <u>ka-lavi</u> na   no
      NEG 1SG know-LF.IRR NOM ka-sleep 3SG LIN ka-cry 3SG GEN
      kakteh na   ori a,   <u>k-iyan</u> na   rana   no   ina   na   ori a.
      sibling 3SG that LIN ka-exist 3SG already GEN mother 3SG that PAR
      'I don't know if her brother was asleep or crying, or if her mother was there.'

In the following examples, the action nominal *ka-* occurs after the time verb *ipisa* 'once' and the oblique case marker *so*.

(134) ipisa so   <u>ka-piyoyoyaw</u> da   am,
      once OBL ka-play   3PG TOP
      'Once when they were playing,'
(135) ipisa   na   so   <u>ka-pasilik</u> na   do   likod na   ori   am,
      once 3SG OBL ka-look   3SG LOC back 3SG that TOP
      abo   rana   ori   a.
      no   already that PAR
      'Once when (the man) looked at his back, (that ghost) was no longer there.'

In the two following examples, the time verb *ipisa* is preceded by the prefix *si-* or *noka-* to indicate future ('next time') in (136) or past ('last time') in (137) respectively. The A of the corresponding sentence *namen* 'our' is marked with the genitive case while the O *jimo* 'to you' is marked oblique in (136). The action nominal *ka-* in (137) also marks past tense.

(136) si-ipisa   namen   so   <u>kacita</u> jimo am,
      FUT-once 1PGEXCL OBL ka-see 2PL TOP
      ma-vcivcileng ka   rana   ni-ma-viay rana   an.
      AF-open.eyes 2SN already PA-AF-live already PAR
      'Next time when we see you, your eyes will be wide open and you will be alive.'
(137) noka-ipisa <u>k-ai</u>   ko   am, …
      PA-once   ka-come 1SG TOP
      'Last time when I came, …'

Ka- is a polysemous morpheme in Yami. In addition to forming action nominals and indicating recent past, *ka-* can also be a sequential marker, or an adjectival prefix indicating degree of strength. In the following example, except for *ka-hangno* 'very

fragrant', the rest of the underlined *ka-* forms all indicate sequencing with the meaning of 'such and such an action is done immediately after a previous action/event'.

(138) ikongo do i-yangay ta   saon a tao am,
   reason LOC IF-go 1PGEXCL only LIN person TOP
   mi-koris so aneng no koyis ori,
   AF-rub OBL oil GEN pig that
   pangay-in da do praranom   a <u>ka-atap</u> da ja,
   put-PF 3PG LOC water_container LIN ka-bake 3PG there
   <u>ka-hangno</u> na no aneng ori am,
   very-smell 3SG GEN oil that TOP
   <u>ka-pikoris</u> na rana,
   ka-rub 3SG already
   <u>ka-ngay</u> na rana do takey ori a.
   ka-go 3SG already LOC mountain that PAR
   'According to Yami custom, they would rub the lard [on a woman who had recently given birth]. It was put in a water container [i.e., half a coconut] to bake. The baked lard was very fragrant. After she was rubbed with lard, she went to the mountain.'

The following examples further illustrate the use of *ka-* as a sequential marker. The verb stems prefixed with *ka-* are analyzed as nominals because the A of the corresponding sentence is marked genitive.

(139) am ma-ryos ta   pa, <u>ka-ngay</u> ta   rana k<om>an am.
   but AF-bathe 1PNINCL first ka-go 1PGINCL already <AF>eat PAR
   'But let's take a bath first, then we will go eat.'

(140) ma-ngay ta   pa mi-yoyaw a, <u>ka-itkeh</u> ta   rana am.
   AF-go 1PNINCL first AF-walk LIN ka-sleep 1PGINCL already PAR
   'Let's take a walk first, then we will sleep.'

While the A is marked genitive in action nominals, the O is marked oblique. By contrast, the verb in a sentence is focused and coded in agreement with the semantic role of the Subject (i.e., Pivot). In (141), the verbs *aon-en* 'take something out' and *yop-en* 'drink something' are patient focus (PF), while the action nominal *ka-ap* 'then taking' co-occurs with the genitive *mo* 'your' and the oblique *so asoy* 'OBL soup'.

(141) aon-en   mo o   kanen do   vanga, ka-ap   mo so   asoy,
      take.out-PF 2SG NOM food LOC pot   ka-fetch 2SG OBL soup
      ta   yop-en   nyo.
      because drink-PF   2PG
      'Take the taros or potatoes out of the pot, then fetch the soup for you to drink.'

As illustrated in (142), the *ka-* nominal seems to foreground the action of singing by stressing its sequence in a series of events. However, the nominalization process also tends to put an event into the background. The discourse functions of *ka-* and the conflict between foregrounding and backgrounding of *ka-* require future research.

(142) sya   mi-anoanood, citai na   am, k<om>an pa   sira,
      3SN AF-sing   later 3SG TOP <AF>eat first   3PN
      ka-pianoanood da   pa.
      ka-sing   3PG   still
      'They will sing. After a short while, they will eat first. After that they will still sing.'

6. Clausal nominalization

Two major types of clausal nominalization (or gerundive nominals) in Yami involve the structure and function of content questions and relative clauses.

The basic word order in Yami is Predicate-initial, followed by the subject, as is common in Philippine (e.g., Wolff, Centento and Rau 1991) and Formosan languages (e.g., Rau 1992).

        Predicate   Subject
(143) [ya ni-t<om>anek]   [o kanakan].
      TNS PA<AF>stand   NOM child
      'The child stood up.'

When the Subject precedes the Predicate, the topic marker *am* follows the Subject as illustrated in (144).

        Subject   Predicate   Subject   Predicate
(144) [o   rarakeh   am], [om-lisna], a   [o kanakan am], [t<om>anek].
      NOM old_people TOP AF-sit   LIN NOM child TOP   <AF>stand
      'The old are sitting while the child is standing.'

6.1 Content questions

A Yami question-word sentence is equational. The subject may be a single noun or a nominalized clause, while the question word is the predicate. There are two types of content questions, one with the question words functioning as interrogative pronouns, the other with the question words as verbs, a common phenomenon in Formosan languages (Huang 1995, Tsai 1997). In this section, only content questions with question words as interrogative pronouns[7] are discussed.

In the following examples, the question words *ikongo* 'what' (145) *sino* 'who' (146), *do jino* 'where' (147), and *o ajin* 'which' (148) occur in the Predicate position, while the Subject is a nominalized clause with no lexically derived noun. The Subject nominalized clauses of the content questions are bracketed.

(145) ikongo   [o   ya[8]   mo   ni-ma-cita]?
       what   NOM TNS 2SG   PA-ABL.PF-see
       'What did you see?'

(146) sino [o   ya   ni-k<om>an   so   vineveh mo]?
       who   NOM TNS PA<AF>eat   OBL banana   2SG
       'Who ate your banana?'

(147) do jino [o   na   ni-ka-po-an   no   mehakay]?
       Where   NOM 3SG PA-VF-origin-LF GEN   man
       'Where did the man come from?'

(148) o ajin   [o   na   yan-an   no   anak ko]?
       which   NOM 3SG exist-LF   GEN   child   1SG
       'In which place does my child live?'

6.2 Relative clauses

A relative clause in Yami usually occurs before the linker *a* and the modified NP. The modified NP is the Pivot that the verb focus in the relative clause agrees with. The relative clauses can occur either in the Subject or the Predicate position. In the following examples, the relative clauses are bracketed.

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[7] A detailed account of the content questions with question words functioning as verbs can be found in Tung and Rau (2000a:85-88).

[8] The grammaticalization (Hopper and Traugott 1993) of *ya* from a deictic 'this' to a third person singular nominal pronoun 'he/she/it' and eventually a modal auxiliary is a topic for future study.

(149) raet   am,   [y-akan   no   mehakay] a   among.
       fish_name TOP   IF-eat   GEN man   LIN   fish
       'The fish eaten by men is called *raet*.'

(150) ma-avang   ta   [o   ya   marehmet] a   mogis ito?
       ABL.PF-load 1PGINCL   NOM TNS heavy   LIN millet that
       'Would we be able to carry the millet that is very heavy?'

(151) da   ja-naob   [o   da   ni-pa-kan   sya] a   kanen
       3PG NEG-enough   NOM 3PG PA.PF-CAU-eat 3SO LIN food
       a   ka-saway da?
       LIN ASP-escape 3PG
       'Didn't they feed them enough food, so they escaped?'

(152) [o   dengdeng-an namen   so   raet]   a   vanga
       NOM cook-LF   1PGEXCL OBL fish_name LIN pot
       aka no [o   pangay-an namen   so   raet]   a   kakanan am,
       and GEN NOM put-LF   1PGEXCL OBL fish_name LIN plate   TOP
       [i-panci namen]   a   raratan.
       IF-call 1PGEXCL LIN container
       'The pot in which we cook *rahet* fish and the plate on which we put it are what we call *raratan* container.

Only the relative clauses in the Subject position introduced by the nominative case marker *o* (149-152) resemble the nominalized clauses in content questions.

7. Distinction between nominalization and indicative verbs

There is no reliable way in general to distinguish nominalization from indicative verbs in Yami. However, a continuum between complete 'nouniness' and complete 'verbiness' can be established in Yami based on the rate of genitive pronominal shift from head initial to head final language.

The genitive pronoun is placed after the modified NP in a typical noun phrase, as discussed in section 4.5 above. In the grammaticalization process by which the focus system is derived from nominalization, the genitive pronoun began to move from a position after the nominalized verbs to a place before the nominalized verbs and conforms to the second position rule. Finally, the genitive pronoun was placed at the beginning of the sentence, especially in non-narrative, involved style. The movement of the genitive pronoun corresponds to the derivation of indicative verbs from nominalization. The nominative pronouns follow the same pattern of movement.

The three stages of movement 1) after nominalized verbs, 2) before nominalized

verbs, and 3) sentence-initial position are illustrated below in the following relevant examples (repeated here to facilitate discussion).

In stage I, the genitive pronoun *mo* 'your' remains after the action nominal *ka-ap* 'fetching'. Thus action nominals resemble noun phrases more than sentences:

(153) aon-en   mo o   kanen do vanga, ka-ap <u>mo</u> so   asoy,
      take_out-PF 2SG NOM food   LOC pot   ka-fetch 2SG OBL soup
      ta   yop-en   nyo.
      because   drink-PF   2PG
      'Take the taros or potatoes out of the pot, then fetch the soup for you to drink.'

In stage II, the genitive pronoun *namen* 'our' is moved from after the action nominal *ka-cita* 'seeing' to the second position after the time adverb *si-ipisa* 'next time':

(154) si-ipisa   <u>namen</u>   so   kacita jimo am,
      FUT-once 1PGEXCL OBL ka-see 2PL   TOP
      ma-vcivcileng ka   rana   ni-ma-viay rana   an.
      AF-open_eyes 2SN already PA-AF-live already PAR
      'Next time when we see you, your eyes will be wide open and you will be alive.'

In clausal nominalization, the genitive pronoun is moved to second position. Thus clausal nominalization resembles a sentence more than a noun phrase. This is also the stage where nominalization and indicative verbs cannot be distinguished clearly.

(155) ya   aro   [o   <u>na</u> ni-akan   no   kanakan].
      TNS many NOM 3SG PA.PF-eat GEN   child
      '(What) the child ate was a lot.'
(156) da   ja-naob   [o   <u>da</u> ni-pa-kan   sya] a   kanen
      3PG NEG-enough   NOM 3PG PA.PF-CAU-eat 3SO LIN food
      a   ka-saway   da?
      LIN ASP-escape 3PG
      'Didn't they feed them enough food, so they escaped?'
(157) do jino [o   <u>na</u> ni-ka-po-an   no   mehakay]?
      Where   NOM 3SG PA-VF-origin-LF GEN man
      'Where did the man come from?'

(158) do ajin   [o   na   iyan-an no   anak ko]?
      which   NOM 3SG exist-LF GEN   child 1SG
      'In which place does my child live?'

Although the distinction between nominalization and indicative verbs is not clear at this stage, especially when the genitive pronoun is in the third person with the co-referential genitive NP after the nominalized verbs, the occurrence of a second person genitive pronoun can help us easily identify its status as an indicative verb, as in (159).

(159) do jino mo   ni-taci-an?
      where   2SG PA-urinate-LF
      'Where did you urinate?'

In Stage III, the genitive pronoun is moved to the very beginning of the sentence. Nominalized verbs are interpreted as indicatives.

(160) da   i-ka-gogolang no   koyis nyo ya?
      3PG IF-reason-thin GEN pig   2PG this
      'Why are your pigs so skinny?'
(161) ko   i-ka-bsoy   o   ranom.
      1SG IF-reason-sated NOM water
      'Water fills me up.'
(162) ko   i-ka-kza   imo.
      1SG IF-reason-like 2SN
      'I like you.'
(163) ko   i-ka-oya   imo.
      1SG IF-reason-hate 2SN
      'I hate you.'

The nominative pronouns as the A of the sentence follow the same pattern of movement. This change of word order seems to move Yami from a head initial language to a head final language.

(164) ko   na   ni-m-ai.
      1SN already PA-AGT-come
      'I am here.'

(165) ka   na   ni-m-ai?
     2SN already PA-AGT-come
     'Are you here?'

(166) sya   na   ni-m-ai.
     3SN already PA-AGT-come
     'He/She is here.' or 'They are here.'

(167) naman   rana   ni-m-ai.
     1PNEXCL already PA-AGT-come
     'We are here.'

(168) kamo   rana   ni-m-ai?
     2PN   already PA-AGT-come
     'Are you all here?'

(169) ya   na   ni-m-ai   o   kagagan   mo.
     3SN already PA-AGT-come NOM   companion 2SG
     'Your companion, he is here.'

8. The SPQR hypothesis: Evidence from Yami

Our analysis of the Yami data seems to suggest there is a movement of the pronominal A from the most nominal construction to the most verbal construction, which indicates Yami sentences reflect the three stages of historical reconstruction proposed by Starosta, Pawley, and Reid (1982). The nominalizations were reinterpreted as verb forms in main and relative clauses as the pronominal A was moved closer to the beginning of the sentence. However, since the same morphemes continued (and continue) to be used to form nominalizations, a predicate or a nominalization can be ambiguous in Yami.

This study suggests that the leftward shift of the pronoun in Yami is a signal of increasing 'verbiness', in addition to Starosta, Pawley, and Reid's claim that the pronoun shifted as a result of being cliticized to an auxiliary. Our study shows this history has left a measure of ambiguity as to what is a noun or what is a verb in Yami, and this has led to something of a repetition of the early Austronesian stages.

8.1 Irrealis verb forms

According to Ross (1995), as the nominalizations were reinterpreted as verb forms in main and relative clauses, the original neutral verb forms were left as atemporals in imperatives, in narrative sequences where nominalization was discoursally inappropriate, and in other subordinate clauses. In Yami, the two types of verb form that occur in

constructions other than main or relative clauses are imperatives and subjunctives. Table 6 summarizes the inflectional paradigm of focus and irrealis verb forms. A complete description of the discourse functions of the irrealis forms is beyond the scope of this paper, and is a subject of ongoing research (Rau 2002).

Table 6: Inflectional paradigm of focus and irrealis verb forms in Yami

Focus/Modality	Imperative	Subjunctive
Agent Focus	stem only	N[9]-stem
Patient Focus	stem-*i*	N-stem-*a*
Locative Focus	stem-*i*	N-stem-*i*
Instrument Focus	*i*-stem	N-stem-*an*

Examples (170) through (173) illustrate imperative verb forms:

(170) itkeh!
    sleep:AF.IMP
    'Sleep!'
(171) ja   panmama,   ta   malanga ka.
    NEG   chew:AF.IMP because drunk   2SN
    'Don't chew beetle nut, because you will get drunk!'
(172) akan-i   o   wakay ito.
    eat-PF.IMP NOM yam   that
    'Eat that yam!'
(173) linas-i   o   rasay   ko.
    wipe-LF.IMP NOM   mat   1SG
    'Wipe off my mat!'

The subjunctive verb forms occur with modal auxiliaries *ji* 'not' (174-175) and *to* 'just, immediately' (176-178).

(174) ji   mo   nita-a   yaken.
    NEG   2SG   N-see-PF.SUB   1SN
    'Don't you look at me!'

---

[9] N- stands for an archiphoneme whose morphophonemic alternations among the homorganic nasals are determined by the place of articulation of the following consonant of the stem (Tung and Rau 2000a:70).

(175) mo ji   ng-iyop-i   so   asoy?
      2SG NEG N-drink-LF.SUB OBL soup
      'Why don't you drink soup?'

(176) si   masngen   rana   jaten   am,
      if   near   already   1PLOCINCL   TOP
      to   ta   mi-siyay-i   ya,
      to   1PNINCL   N-separate-AF.SUB   this
      si   s<om>eyked am,   to ta i   m-inan-i   an.
      if   <AF>stop   TOP   to 1PNINCL N-touch-LF.SUB   PAR
      'When (the stone) is approaching us, we will separate. When (it) stops, we
      will touch it.'

(177) to   ko   imo zakat-a   ya.
      to   1SG 2SN kill-PF.SUB   this
      'I will kill you!'

(178) na   to   m-anci-an.
      3SG to   N-speak-IF.SUB
      'He speaks nonsense!'

9. Conclusion and directions for future research

This paper provides a comprehensive description of the nominalization process in Yami with a detailed discussion of lexical nominalization, action nominalization, and clausal nominalization. It is further to be hoped that this discussion presents enough data for typological comparison, and adequately explains the evolution of the focus system from nominalization.

The results of the study show that the processes of lexical nominalization in Yami are fairly regular and can be divided into participant and action nominalizations.

There is no clear division between indicative verbs and nominalization when the enclitic pronoun is in the genitive case. However, the movement of the pronominal A to the beginning of the sentence further differentiates indicative verbs from nominalization.

Finally, it is found that the action nominals prefixed with *ka-* are more similar to noun phrases than sentences, while clausal nominalization resembles sentences more than noun phrases.

Future studies should focus on these three areas: 1) the discourse functions of the action nominals prefixed with *ka-* and the irrealis subjunctive verb forms following *ji* 'not' and *to* 'just, immediately'; 2) the grammaticalization process of *ya* as a tense/aspect marker; and 3) factors that influence word order variation: VA vs. AV.

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雅美語的名物化

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　　台灣南島語和菲律賓語均可見動詞和名物化同形的現象，甚至有假設認為南島語的動詞是從名物化衍生而來的。然而若欲瞭解焦點系統之演化過程，必須對南島語名物化現象做出正確的描述，因此本文提供雅美語名物化的資料。

　　為促進語言類型之比較並對焦點系統由來提出一些想法，本文從三方面討論雅美語名物化問題：(一) 詞語名物化，(二) 句子名物化，(三) 名詞和動詞的區分。結果顯示詞語名物化與焦點詞綴相似，句子名物化中不含由詞彙衍生之名詞，動詞和名物化如果與附加代名詞連接，則無法區分其差異，但如果及物動詞的主事者代名詞移到句首，則可明顯看出其動詞性。

關鍵詞：雅美語，詞語名物化，句子名物化，詞類，焦點，詞序