

## Nominalization and Grammatical Voice Formations in Rukai: A Three-way Voice System Analysis

This paper investigates one particular kind of nominalized construction formed by the suffix *-ane* in Kucapungan Rukai of the Budai Rukai dialectal family. Rukai is an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan. The study undertaken shows that the nominalizing process of *ane*-nominalization bears morphological and syntactic resemblance to voice formations in other Austronesian languages, and as such Rukai does not exhibit an active-passive dichotomy (cf. Li 1973, Starosta 1995, Zeitoun 2000) but instead has a three-way voice system.

Unlike many other Austronesian languages spoken in and outside of Taiwan, Rukai does not show a selection of various verbal affixes, which are analyzed as voice, focus or topic markers, according to a subject's semantic role (cf. Chang 1997; Kroeger 1993, Rackowski To appear). In an analysis of active-passive dichotomy, it is argued that there are only two sets of voices in Rukai, active and passive. These two voices are realized by various voice markers (1). However, by investigating the syntactic behaviors of *ane*-nominalization, this paper shows that constructions formed via *ane*-nominalization exhibit properties of voice constructions, and *ane*-nominalization is a way of voice formation in Rukai.

*Ane*-nominalized constructions are formed by attaching the suffix *-ane* to verb stems (2). Grammatically speaking, the resulting constructions behave like nominals. They are used as case-marked arguments and can be modified by adjectivals. Semantically, an *ane*-nominalized construction has a denotation of an individual, a location, an event or a proposition.

The determination of *ane*-nominalization as a voice formation relies on the following syntactic facts: The suffix *-ane* attaches to a verb stem, thereby promoting the non-agent argument to a nominative subject and demoting the agent to a genitive-marked argument. The resulting *ane*-construction has a similar surface structure as that of the different voice formations in other Austronesian languages, such as Kavalan and Tagalog. Contrast examples (3)-(5). Although both exhibits argument promotion and demotion, there are two major distinctions between passive constructions and *ane*-constructions. On one hand, while the thematic relation is symmetric in passive constructions, it is asymmetric in *ane*-constructions; that is, in a passive construction, either the theme/patient or the goal can be promoted, but in an *ane*-construction, only the theme/patient can be promoted (ref. Woolford 1993). On the other hand, the suffix *-ane* can apply to unergative verbs and introduce additional arguments, which shows properties of an applicative morpheme (6).

The analyses of voice alternation and argument structure in this paper provide evidence that *ane*-nominalization is a kind of voice formation. The finding shows that Rukai does not have an active/passive voice dichotomy but a three-way voice system. This analysis suggests a closer similarity of Rukai to other Austronesian languages of Taiwan typologically, and Rukai is not as exotic as it seems to be.

- (1) RUKAI  
 a. Wa-kane ka cumay ku babuy.  
 ACT-eat NOM bear ACC boar  
 'The bear ate a boar.'  
 b. Ki-a-kane ka babuy (ki cumay).  
 PASS-NFUT-eat NOM boar OBL.GEN bear  
 'The boar was eaten (by a bear).'
- (2) RUKAI  
 a-kane-**ane**  
 ASP-eat-NOMZ  
 'the thing to eat'
- (3) RUKAI  
 Ta-kan-**ane** ki cumai ka babuy.  
 ASP-eat-NOMZ OBL.GEN bear NOM boar  
 'A bear ate the boar.'
- (4) KAVALAN (Chang 1997, 27: ex.5c)  
 pukun-**an** na tazun ya sunis.  
 hit-PV GEN woman NOM child  
 'A woman hit the child.' (PV=patient voice)
- (5) TAGALOG (Rackowski, to appear: ex.12a)  
 B-in-uks-**an** ni Aida ang pintuan.  
 ASP-open-DAT CS Aida ANG door(Subj)  
 'Aida opened the door.'
- (6) RUKAI  
 Wa-kela kuini ni-maiyay-**ane** ka lalake.  
 ACT-come this TAM-talk-NOMZ NOM kid  
 'The kid being talked about came.'

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