

# Linguistic Criteria for Classifying the Atayalic Dialect Groups

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## 1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to establish linguistic criteria for classifying the Atayalic dialect group<sup>1</sup>. These criteria may be phonological, lexical, morphological and syntactic. However, not much morphological or syntactic data is available for the entire group, and phonological evidence is not always decisive. The major evidence presented in this paper is therefore lexical.

The Atayalic group is comprised of two main languages, Atayal and Sediq. Atayal, in turn, consists of two major dialect groups, Squliq (Sq) and Cɿuliɿ (Tsɿole). I have collected fairly extensive lexical materials for 4 Squliq dialects: Pyasan (hereafter abbreviated as Ps), Pyanan (Pn), Lmuan (Lm), Mstbaun (Mst); and for 11 Cɿuliɿ dialects: Skikun (Sk), Mnawyan (Mn), Maspaziɿ (Ms), Mayrinax (Mx), Mabatufan (Mb), Matabalay (Mt), Sakuxan (Sx), Bayɿanux (Bx), Talawan (Tl), Bɿalaɿ (Bl), Palɿawan (Pl); and for 4 Sediq dialects: Tonan (Tn), Todaɿ (Td), Truwan (Tr) and Inago (In).

## 2. Problems of Phonological Subgrouping

There is no single type of criterion sufficient for classifying the Atayalic languages and dialects. The phonological differences between Atayal and Sediq are as follows:

- (1) While Atayal generally retains the Proto-Atayalic labial stops and

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nasal \*-p, \*-b, \*-m at the same point of articulation: \*-p and \*-b > -p, \*-m > -m in the word-final position, in Sediq they have all changed to velars: \*-p and \*-b > -k, \*-m > -ŋ. Only one Atayal dialect area (Mayrinax, Mabatufan and Paʔkualiʔ) retains \*-b as [-β].

- (2) While Sediq generally retains the voiced stops [b, d, g], Atayal has the corresponding voiced fricatives and liquids [β, r, ʁ] in the word-initial and medial positions < \*b, \*d, \*g.
  - (3) Sediq /r/ corresponds to Atayal /y/, /z/ or ∅, depending on the individual dialect < PA \*r.
  - (4) For Proto-Atayalic \*-d, Atayal has the reflex -t or -ʔ, depending on the dialect. The Sediq reflex is -c.
  - (5) For the Proto-Atayalic word medial \*-g-, Atayal has -g-[-ʁ-], while Sediq has -r- (see Li 1981:255-256, Li 1982c:172).
  - (6) For the word medial \*-g'- in Proto-Atayalic, Atayal has the reflexes -r-, -s-, or -ř- depending on the dialect, while Sediq generally has -y- (if preceded by /i/) or -g-.
- (See Li 1981:244-267, Li 1982c:172-173).

There are some problems with the above phonological criteria. First, Palŋawan, an Atayal dialect, has most of the above phonological features (1) - (4) of Sediq rather than Atayal. In addition to Palŋawan, two other Atayal dialects, Mstbaun and Bʔalaʔ, also have no labial endings, but have velar endings instead. Second, Palŋawan has a retroflex voiced stop [ɖ] corresponding to the phoneme /d/ in Sediq and /r/ in the other Atayal dialects. This Palŋawan [ɖ] is a free variant of the trill [ʀ], thus it can be assigned to /ř/. Third, /r/ in both Palŋawan and Sediq corresponds to /y/, /z/ or ∅ depending on the individual dialect and phonetic environments in the other Atayal dialects. Fourth, Palŋawan reflex for Proto-Atayalic \*-d is also -c rather than -t or -ʔ.

Of the above 6 criteria, only (5) and (6) are clear phonological evidence for distinguishing Atayal and Sediq.

### 3. Lexical Evidence for Palnawan as an Atayal Dialect

Lexical differences between Atayal and Sediq are much more conspicuous than are phonological differences. Of approximately 800 lexical items I have collected for the 15 Atayal dialects and 4 Sediq dialects, Palnawan has essentially the same basic vocabulary as the other Atayal dialects. It shares 214 items exclusively with other Atayal dialects (see List A below), whereas there are only 11 items exclusively shared with Sediq (see List B below). Palnawan also has 50 unique lexical items differing both from other Atayal dialects and from Sediq (see List C below).

#### List A

The following list shows that Palnawan shares the vocabulary stock of most other Atayal dialects such as Mayrinax, for example, (unless indicated otherwise in parentheses), but differs from the Sediq dialects such as Tonan. This list also shows that Atayal vocabulary differs from Sediq:

<u>Other Atayal</u>	<u>Palnawan</u>	<u>Sediq</u>	
1. guhiluq	rahilu?	qreṅul	'smoke'
2. kayal	karal	karac	'sky
3. ?urag	?uṛaw	rumu?	'dirt, earth'
4. wagi?	wagi?	hidaw	'sun'
5. luliyuṅ	luliṅ	yayuṅ	'river'
6. gaṅ	goṅ	?ayuw	'creek'
7. qwalax	?awalax	quyux	'rain'
8. baliq (Mn)	bali?	xiluy	'iron'
9. qagiraṅ	?eṛaṅ	suṅuc, ruṅuc(In)	'hail, beans'
10. ?uba?	?uba?	buwa?	'bubble, foam'
11. yulaq (Sq)	rula?	rehaq	'bark (of tree)'
12. ki?man	kaman	speraq	'grass'
13. buay	buiy	hei?	'fruit'
14. yutak (Sq)	yutak	mudu?	'orange'

15. sasapiŋ (Mt)	cacapiŋ	skesik	'palm tree'
16. guqiluh/guquh <sup>2</sup>	gaʔiluh	blebul	'banana'
17. ʔaliʔ (Sq)	ʔaliʔ	lexiʔ	'bamboo shoots'
18. ʔabag	ʔabaw	wasaw	'leaf'
19. na-nukaʔ	nukaʔ	nuqah	'hemp fibre'
20. trakis	turakis	macuʔ	'red millet'
21. mamiʔ	mamiʔ	ʔidaw	'cooked rice'
22. ruliug	ʔiliuw	huŋul (Td)	'tip, point'
23. qaraʔ	ʔaʔaʔ	cidaʔ	'branch'
24. puqiŋ	puʔiŋ	pusuʔ	'stump'
25. baʔaziʔ (Mt)	baʔriʔ	pakaw	'thorn'
26. ʔagiq (Sq)	ʔeʔ	gmeyaʔ	'small miscanthus'
27. qurip	ʔuʔik	ʔucik	'pepper, ginger'
28. buq	buʔ	beyuq	'juice'
29. kamtiʔ <sup>3</sup>	kamatiʔ	qmagas	'dye yam'
30. rakus	ʔak-in-us	cakus <sup>4</sup>	'camphor laurel'
31. layaʔ	layaʔ	dayuc	'plant sp., Ebulus formosana' 有骨消
32. qinug	ʔinuʔ	qucul	'garlic'
33. tanaʔ	tanaʔ	saŋas	'plant sp., Aralia decaisneana Hance' 刺楸
34. qaaʔ	ʔagaʔ	pburaw (Td)	'plant sp., Sphaero- pteris lepifera (Hook.)' 蛇木
35. kagisiʔ	kagiʔiʔ	bruruʔ, bruŋuy (In)	'woman's basket'
36. makaʔihuy (Mt)	maʔihur	qbəliŋ (In)	'liar'

2. There are male and female forms of speech in Mayrinax. These two different forms are separated by a slash and listed in that order; see Li (1982b).

3. The form /kamagas/ in Maspaziʔ and Sakuxan is probably a loan from Sediq.

4. /r/ or /ʔ/ in Atayal corresponds to /d/ in Sediq. Proto-Formosan (PFN) \*DakəS > Atayal /rakus/. The initial in Sediq is irregular, hence the Sediq form /cakus/ is probably a loan from the Tsouic: /cələsə/ in Tsou and /cakəsə/ in Kanakanabu.

37. qasinug	ʔasinuw	camac	'wild animals'
38. qbatiŋan	batiŋan	dɟuro balas	'male (deer)'
39. qnuʔ	ʔanuʔ	daruk, ricuh (Td)	'fat, grease of animal'
40. kumis (Mt)	kumis	ʔubal	'hair, feather'
41. qihuy (Sq)	ʔihur	ʔurun	'horn'
42. ka-kamil	ka-kamil	kukuh	'claw'
43. bauwak/ʔibubuh	barok	babuy	'pig'
44. xuyil	huyil	huliŋ	'dog'
45. bhut	buhuc	b-ri-huc <sup>5</sup>	'squirrel'
46. baziŋ (Mt)	bariŋ	baluŋ	'egg'
47. malhituŋ (Ms)	malhituŋ	mlehay	'snake sp.' 百步蛇
48. bicug	bicuw	bicur	'earthworm'
49. kakumay	kakumay	paŋayus (In)	'caterpillar'
50. tkaraʔ (Sq)	tukaraʔ	byuguʔ	'dove'
51. kwaliʔ	kolic	qdiraw	'hawk'
52. uup, yuup (Mt)	ruk <sup>6</sup>	rehaq	'bird sp., Chinese Goshawk' 赤腹鷹
53. kuuʔ	kuruʔ	ramaŋ	'bird sp.' 小山鷄
54. pazit (Mt)	paric	puruc	'sparrow'
55. tula-qiy	tula-iy	tuyaʔ	'eel'
56. sawil	sawil	sugidiʔ	'small white eel'
57. yapiray (Mt)	raŋiŋiy	pulalay	'butterfly'
58. putut (Mt)	putuc	prekaw	'fly (insect)'
59. knepun (Sq)	kanepun	psiwak	'centipede'
60. kapayus (Sx)	papayus	ciluʔ	'lizard'
61. kturuʔ (Sk)	maktuŋuʔ	tmeriq	'leech'
62. qa-qnus	ʔanus	qeluŋ	'cockscorn'

5. Both Atayal and Sediq seem to share the same cognate, derived from Proto-Austronesian (PAN) \*buhut. However, only Sediq has the strange infix -ri-.

6. PAN \*l > PA \*r > r in Pl, z or y in Mt, ɸ in Mx; see Li (1981: 264-265).

63. ʔubuʔ	ʔubuʔ	ruduʔ	'sheath, bird nest'
64. kanayril/ kanawnuʔ	kaneř	mqedil	'woman'
65. habukuʔ (Mt)	habukuʔ	rabuw	'baby'
66. yabaʔ	yabaʔ	tamaʔ	'father'
67. yayaʔ	yayaʔ	bubuʔ	'mother'
68. yutas	yutas	bakiʔ	'grandfather'
69. yakiʔ	yakiʔ	paiʔ, bubuʔ rudan (Td)	'grandmother'
70. cuquliq	ci'uliʔ <sup>7</sup>	seedaq	'person, others'
71. nabakis	nakis	rudan	'old people'
72. paris	pařis	pais	'enemy'
73. q-um-uriq	ʔunkuřiʔ	gumeʔeguy	'steal, thief'
74. qabaʔ	ʔabaʔ	bagaʔ	'hand'
75. kakamil	kakamil	kukuh	'fingernail'
76. rapal (Sq)	řapal	qapal (Tn), dapil (Td, In)	'sole of foot'
77. gaxisunaʔan	sasunan	(ku) bubul	'fontannelle'
78. caŋiaʔ <sup>8</sup>	caŋeʔ	birac	'ear'
79. ŋaqwaq <sup>9</sup>	ŋa'waʔ	quwaq	'mouth'
80. lihuw	lihur	kduruk, paŋlux (In)	'forehead'
81. sasap	sasak	kgeliʔ	'hair on the temples'
82. qoluʔ	ʔoluʔ	waruʔ	'front neck, throat'
83. ŋihiʔ	ŋihiʔ	ŋucul	'nasal mucus'
84. bubuʔ <sup>10</sup>	bubuʔ	nunuh	'breasts'

7. The symbol "" indicates an optional glottal stop and syllable division.

8. Only Mx has the form /caŋiaʔ/ and Mb has /saŋiaʔ/; the other Atayal dialects have /papak/ 'ear'.

9. Only Atayal dialects have the first syllable/ŋa-/; Sediq dialects do not.

10. Mayrinax is the only Atayal dialect that has the form /xuxuʔ/, [all the other dialects have /bubuʔ/ 'breasts'.

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85. qaraw (Sq)	ʔaɾaw	huwiras	'ribs'
86. baqniʔ	baniʔ	buuc	'bone'
87. ragyax	ɾagex	dgiyaq	'front of calf, shin bone'
88. gius	gis	ʔiraq	'intestines'
89. saik	sarik	rumul	'liver'
90. bahluk	bahiluk	baraq	'lung'
91. uhum	ruhuŋ	pahuŋ	'gall'
92. muiʔ	muriʔ	bteraq	'thigh'
93. ramu-ux	ɾamu-rux	daraʔ	'blood'
94. hikuʔ	hikuʔ	hiqur	'elbow'
95. kuahil	kurahil	qraqil	'skin'
96. rilug	ɾiluŋ	buebaʔ	'tumor'
97. ŋluc (Sk)	ŋaluc	beluh, ruŋuc (Td)	'clitoris' <sup>11</sup>
98. luʔiŋ (Mt, Bl)	luʔiŋ	luqiʔ	'brains, marrow' <sup>12</sup>
99. mociq (Sq)	mociʔ	pucaq	'eye secretion'
100. tariʔ	taɾiʔ	puŋuʔ	'knee'
101. panayluʔ (Mt)	paneluʔ	budiʔ	'arrow'
102. hawŋuʔ	huŋuʔ	hakaw	'bridge' <sup>13</sup>
103. balihun	balihun	rheŋun	'door'
104. ramuʔiy (Ms)	ɾamuʔiy	dnamux	'roof'
105. buliʔ	buliʔ	yayuʔ	'small knife'
106. siniyug	sinyuw	snuyuk	'string'
107. ragam/raum	roŋ	qumiʔ	'needle'
108. luhiyuŋ	lahyuŋ	duhuŋ	'mortar'

11. The Inago form /puluc/ may be a loan from Squliq /pulut/ 'clitoris'.

12. Most Atayal dialects have the form /tunuʔ/, while all Sediq dialects have /luqiʔ/ 'brains'. Most Atayal dialects have either the male form /luqiʔ/ or the female form /luqus/, while all Sediq dialects have /luqiʔ/ 'marrow'.

13. The form /hawŋuʔ/ or /hoŋuʔ/ appears in all Atayal dialects except Mayrinax, which has /hakaw/ as Sediq does.

109. kahu? (Mt)	kuhu?	repun	'granary'
110. lalu? <sup>14</sup>	lalu?	ṇayan, haṇan (Td)	'name'
111. ubiṇ	rubin	lubuy	'sack, pocket'
112. hiluk (Sq)	hahiluk	slau?, tiyux	'small comb'
113. lwax (Sq)	lox	ʔeruc	'pillar'
114. latanux	tanux	ṇerac, ṇaṇuc (Td)	'front yard, outside'
115. raṇil (Mt)	ṛaṇil	hlama?	'rice cake'
116. qaguṇu?	ʔaguṇu?	ʔubuṇ	'loom'
117. kawbu?	kobu?	qobu?	'fishweir'
118. qais	ʔes	ʔayus	'boundary'
119. tumahuk	tumahuk	hmaṇuc	'to cook vegetables'
120. kumaat	kumac	qmīyuc	'to bite, to sting'
121. magal	magal	maṇal	'to take'
122. rumiril-iq	rumil-i?	dmidil	'to hold'
123. gumbul	ʔumbul	rmabuṇ, rmus (Td)	'to bury'
124. kamayap (Ms)	kunrak	qmerac	'to catch'
125. mahwah	mahwah	mṇəraq (Tr)	'to collapse'
126. masiluhīy	msluhuy	msunu?	'landslide (verb)'
127. tayhuk	tehuk	dəhuq (Td)	'to arrive'
128. lumpug	lumpuw	smepuw	'to count'
129. rumahiy	ṛumahiy	mṇiya? psbuyhur (Td)	'to dry in the open air'
130. mlaka?	mlaka?	skiya?	'to fly'
131. rumhag (Mt)	ṛumhaw	lmepax	'to whet'
132. muṇ	muṇ	mbahaṇ	'to hear'
133. tulqin	matala?in	tgle?in	'to hide'

14. All Atayal dialects have the form /lalu?/ except Mx and Mb, both of which have /ralu?/ 'name'.



134. mahiy	mahiy	səmbuc	'to hit'
135. ʔ-um-ubu	ma-ʔa-ʔubur	r-um-utuc	'to join, to link'
136. baqun	baʔ	mukelaʔ	'to know'
137. masiaq	mseʔ	muhulis	'to laugh'
138. msituriŋ	mastuŋiŋ	tudiq	'to drip'
139. huminuq (Sq)	huminuʔ	cumehaq	'to lick'
140. makiʔ	makiʔ	menaq	'to live, to stay'
141. humaynas	hurinas	mudaʔ (Td)	'to pass'
142. matisal (Mt)	matisal	mtheyaq	'to chat'
143. cumuxuʔ	cuxuʔ	tmekan	'to pound (rice)'
144. humuluy	humuluy	cmulus	'to drag, to pull'
145. lawiy	loriy	smnəruʔ	'to repeat'
146. magiyay	magiy	qduriq	'to escape'
147. humaug	humaw	cmahuʔ (Td)	'to scoop out'
148. gumirgil	gungigil	rmgeruy	'to sift'
149. panaturin	panturiŋ	tmiyuʔ	'to point at'
150. mtamaʔ	matatamaʔ	tleʔuŋ	'to sit'
151. mʔabiʔ	mabel <sup>15</sup>	mtaqiʔ	'to sleep'
152. kumaal	kumara	mreŋaw	'to speak'
153. sumamag	sumamaw	sumapaw	'to lay a mat'
154. mancaʔrux/ mancaqrug	macaʔuw	mtutuy	'to stand up'
155. sbuliŋ (Sq)	sibuliŋ	qmadaʔ	'to throw away'
156. mahul	mahul	mekuy	'to tie up'
157. mabilbil	mabilbil	pkrkeran	'to tremble'
158. manaʔ (Mt)	manaʔ	taraʔ	'to wait'
159. mtutuliq	matatuliʔ	mtutuy (Td)	'to get up'
160. qumwax	ʔumox	sminaw	'to wash (utensils)'
161. maimaʔ	memaʔ	trimaʔ	'to wash (hands)'

15. Palawan /mabel/ < /ma-ʔabi-al/; -al is one of the male suffixes; see Li (1983:7).

162. g-um-aub	ma-ga-gok	kmuʔupuʔ	'to share one cup'
163. humgub	humuk	smapuh	'to do magic'
164. mabahuag	mabuhuraw	smeliʔ, muman	'to swell, to increase'
165. cumuʔus	cumuʔus	mbuay bərah (In)	'to attack, to face'
166. gumawag	gumoraw	kəraaw (Td)	'to wade, to ford'
167. minaaŋ	minaraŋ	kmbgurah	'to clear land'
168. manabaah	minabaah	smaru bbulah	'to make new'
169. mskkiy (Sq)	maskakiy	sdahar	'to lie on one's side'
170. maʔiyanux	maʔyanux	muʔudus	'alive'
171. kwaraʔ (Sq, Mt)	koʔaʔ	kanaʔ	'all'
172. sasabiŋ (Mt)	cacibiŋ	chiyaʔ (Td)	'sweet'
173. maqapuriʔ (Mb)	mapuʔiʔ	mrbuniʔ, mqpuhir (Td)	'deaf'
174. cmyax (Sk)	pis-cex	rmədax	'bright'
175. mabkaʔ	masbakaʔ	mgəruŋ (In)	'broken'
176. gihaaq	gahraʔ	msekuy	'cold (weather)'
177. makilux	makilux	mtilux	'hot'
178. makaʔihuy	maʔihur	mqrbeliŋ	'to cheat'
179. ʔiyayik	rarik	trumaʔ	'deep'
180. hailag	harilaw	msrikaw	'fast'
181. maka-siʔun <sup>16</sup>	pa-spun	htɲay	'full (not empty)'
182. muxaal	muxal	mnarux	'sick, painful'
183. skituʔ (Sq)	maskituʔ	mkəray (Td)	'hard, not soft'
184. yazihuŋ	rarihuŋ	rriquʔ (Td)	'difficult'
185. lahbow	lahbuw	clukah	'light (not heavy)'
186. galaiŋ	galeŋ	berah	'front, to lead'
187. makakuiʔ	makakuy	mkerak	'itchy'
188. maʔilaŋ (Mt)	maʔilaŋ	mbserux	'lazy'

16. The alternation ʔ ~ p indicates difference in the male and female forms, e.g. /sumʔan/ ~ /sumpan/ 'to feed' in Mayrinax.

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189. qruyux (Sq)	ʔinʔurux	qnedis	'long (object)'
190. giqas	gaʔa-ru-s	bgurah	'new'
191. masayux (Ms)	masarux	msiqaf	'shy, ashamed'
192. matiluq	mateluʔ	meluq	'raw'
193. mahawʔil (Ms)	mahuil	mhadaʔ	'cooked'
194. maburuk	masbuʔuk	sburaw	'rotten, decayed'
195. hautiʔ	harutiʔ	mdheriq	'smooth'
196. manakux	miŋkux	mkuluy	'surprised'
197. kihma	kahmar	mkɛdux	'thick'
198. lahamiʔ (Mt)	lahmiʔ	hləpis (Td)	'thin'
199. qaliyan	ʔalyan	diyan	'daytime'
200. k-sasan-an	sasan	mrebuʔ	'morning'
201. sawniʔ	soniʔ	ʔali sayaʔ	'today'
202. suxan (Sq)	cuxan	kusun	'tomorrow'
203. nagaqaw	nagaaw	nuʔepah bbulah	'new land'
204. ʔayat (Mt)	ʔarac	ʔuxay	'no'
205. ruʔ	ruʔ	ma, mi (Td)	'and'
206. ʔi-kuin	kurin	yakuʔ	'I'
207. hugal	hugal	hunac	'down there'
208. ʔanaliʔ (Mt)	ʔanaliʔ	narac	'right (side)'
209. mi-cuaʔ	hun-coʔ	hmuyaʔ	'why'
210. ha-ni	ha-ni	nii	'this'
211. sawbih	subih	dalin	'near'
212. qutux	ʔutux	kiŋal	'one'
213. sain	saiŋ	dahaʔ	'two'
214. mamaqisuʔ	maʔiʔuʔ	mɛariʔ	'nine'

List B

The following list shows the vocabulary Palnawan shares with Sediq rather than the Atayal dialects.

<u>Other Atayal</u>	<u>Palnawan</u>	<u>Sediq</u>	
1. taqaqinug	ŋiraw	ŋiraw	'mushroom'
2. ha-hipux	supux	psupux	'cockroach'
3. lpyuŋ (Sq, Mt)	řarar	dadal	'relative'
4. kukuy	papak	papak (Tn)	'foot'
5. turu? (Sq), suruw (Mt)	bukuy	bukuy	'back, behind'
6. amil	sapic	sapic	'shoes'
7. hahirhir	ka-kuruc	keruc	'saw (n.)'
8. tintin, tñeciŋ (Sk)	totiŋ	tutiŋ, totiŋ (Td)	'steelyard'
9. mwah	řeyah	miyah	'come'
10. maŋutiŋ	muŋaŋa?	mŋaŋah	'dumb'
11. řirarauŋ	lalbu?	llebu?	'low, short'

There are only a few items of this sort, some of which, are very likely Palnawan loans from Sediq.

#### List C

The following list is vocabulary in which Palnawan differs from both the other Atayal dialects and Sediq:

<u>Other Atayal</u>	<u>Palnawan</u>	<u>Sedip</u>	
1. p-in-ilag	cex	redax	'light, bright'
2. buatiŋ	baluŋ	řidas	'moon'
3. ragiyax	nanahi?	dgiyaq	'mountain'
4. bicug	baluŋ	bruwa?	'thunder'
5. bawnaw	tabiŋ	trabus	'peanut'
6. paqi?	pařuk	tnabus	'husk of rice'
7. qhuŋ	řihur	dehuŋ	'type of mushroom'
8. kbakih (Sq, etc.) bagasuŋ (Mx)	bakiluh	dresiq	'plant sp., Laportea pterostigma Wedd.'
9. yahuw (Sq, etc.) wasiq/wasaw (Mx)	rabaŋ	sama?	'plant sp., Sonchus oleraceus Linn'
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10. katiŋ	wanux	dapaʔ	'cattle'
11. takuyabil (Mt)	akalic	pkaric	'bat'
12. hiin	hibin	waluʔ	'honeybee'
13. ŋuhug	taŋahyan	muhiŋ	'nose'
14. kapil	balaw	ʔariq	'scar'
15. paŋih	ʔilis	luqah	'wound (n.)'
16. ŋahuq	giluʔ	nalaq	'pus'
17. hamuq	babus	chəmuʔ	'urine'
18. qa-qibug	ʔagibuʔ	ʔicux	'paddle, ladle'
19. qahutul	beluh	rauʔ	'embers'
20. yayupun (Mt)	ʔaʔaʔ	caic, ribul (Td)	'trousers'
21. ʔimuag/ʔimug	moʔon	sapah	'house'
ŋasal (Sq), saliʔ (Mt)			
22. ʔayun/ʔaan	ʔaʔiŋuʔ	beguʔ	'soup'
23a. cacapuh	cacopah	skesik	'broom'
b. cumapuh	cumopah	smkesik	'to sweep'
24. tutuh	kanan	puqan	'tobacco pipe'
25. maqut, tqbaq (Sk)	taʔaruw	smiliŋ	'to ask'
26. gin-sunaʔ	paskihliʔ	psheŋak	'to breathe'
27. mkbkaʔ (Sq) <sup>17</sup>	makucilak	cmaax (Td)	'to split'
28. masihuww	mastuw	mtutiŋ	'to fall, drop'
29. mstnaq (Sq)	maskəluʔ	steruŋ	'to meet'
30. rumurug	gunʔaʔas	cmikul	'to push'
31. pasihub	huŋyak	hmeʔuc	'to suck'
32. cumaum	ʔumuʔ	smerus	'to wipe'
33. kumamil	kunkuy	kmaguh	'to scratch'
34. malahan	ʔumanak	qmlahan	'to take care'
35. lumahiŋ/lumacuʔ	mumarah	kmulah	'to weed'
36. aqih	ʔakih	naqah	'bad'

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17. Cf. No. 175 in List A.

37. balaiq	řamas	malu?	'good'
38. rahu-al	yotas	paru?	'big'
39. ti-buluq	mařitux	mbudu?	'blind'
40. masiburus (Mx) mspli (Sq)	maskařan	smbuyas	'to have diarrhea'
41. mahikaŋ	řasiluw	mliwaŋ	'skinny'
42. řayasu? (Mt)	řalusu?	chedil	'heavy'
43. kakiřan	matasuŋ	skpahuŋ	'pregnant'
44. makaŋququ?	makŋuřah	msəluŋ (Td)	'sleepy'
45. lawkah	matakalaŋ	mbiyax	'strong'
46. matasiq	magaragu?	msama?	'green'
47. malahaŋan	baŋi?	rabi?	'night'
48. nanu-an	řamor	manu?	'what'
49. magalpug	malapro:	maxal	'ten'
50. quaw	řagu?	sinaw	'wine'

#### 4. Linguistic Criteria for Distinguishing the Atayal Dialects, Squliq and Cřuli?

Shigeru Tsuchida (1980) proposed three linguistic criteria for classifying Squliq and Cřuli? as distinct Atayal dialects: (1) The correspondence of Squliq /r/ to Cřuli? /s/ (except in Palŋawan, where it is /ř/). (2) Personal pronominal forms, i.e. Squliq /saku?/ or /ku?/ vs. Cřuli? /cu/, /ci/, /su/ or /si/ 'I'. (3) Lexical differences.

The first criterion is phonological. The  $r \sim s \sim ř$  correspondence is the modern Atayal reflex for both Proto-Atayalic (PA) and Proto-Austronesian (PAN) \*g' in the word-medial position (see Section 2, (6)). The following cognates are all that are known to show this correspondence (Li 1981:258-259):

##### List D

<u>Squliq</u>	<u>Palŋawan</u>	<u>Other Cřuli?</u>	
1. pira?	piřa?	pisa?	'how many'

2. kiraʔ	kiʔaʔ	kisaʔ	'a little later, now'
3. bgiraʔ (Mst)	bagiʔaʔ	bagisaʔ	'reed of the loom'
4. qiruʔ	ma-ʔifuʔ	ma-ma-qisuʔ	'nine'
5. kiriʔ	kagiʔiʔ,	kagisiʔ, kisiʔ (Mt)	'woman's basket'
6. s-hiraʔ (Lm)	hiʔaʔ	cu-hisaʔ	'yesterday'
7. ʔirah		ʔisah	'spouse's elder sister'
8. bir-i	binaʔ-i	binas-ay	'Buy! (imp.)'
9. kgir-i	kagiʔ-i	kumakagis-i	'Peel hemp! (imp.)'
10. p-giar-i	p-giaʔ-i	p-gias-an (Sk)	'Flee! (imp.)'

In the word-final position, the Atayal reflex for PAN and PA \*-g' is -s only in Skikun and Mnawyan, -g in Matabalay, and -y in Squliq and all other Cʔuliʔ dialects (see Li 1981:259). It is, therefore, not a satisfactory criterion for distinguishing Squliq and Cʔuliʔ:

List E

<u>Skikun, Mnawyan</u>	<u>Matabalay</u>	<u>Squliq et al</u>	
1. kgis	kagig	kgiy	'hemp'
2. cragis	(sawrux)	sragiy	'lower leg covering'
3. m-bes	ma-bazig	maziʔ	'to buy'
4. m-t-k-kis	(ma-si-ka-kil)	m-t-k-kiy	'to lie on one's side'
5. m-gias	ma-giaʔ <sup>18</sup>	m-giaʔ	'to escape'

Tsuchida's second criterion is morphological. He points out that Squliq and Cʔuliʔ employ different pronominal forms for the first person singular. In addition, I have found that the pronominal forms 'we (inclusive)' and 'you (sg)' also differ in the two subgroups: /suʔ/ vs. /siʔ/ 'you (sg)', /taʔ/ vs. /tiʔ/ 'we (inclusive)'. The following examples are taken from the Pyasan dialect of Squliq.

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18. The final -y is irregular; we expect -g.

1. ʔini kuʔ ʔusaʔ naʔ. 'I have not gone yet.'  
           1    2       3    4           2       1    3    4
2. ptaɦuk kuʔ ramaç. 'I shall cook food.'  
           1       2       3       2       1    3
3. mwah kuʔ. 'I shall come.'  
           1       2       2       1
4. minspiʔ sakuʔ hiraʔ. 'I dreamed yesterday.'  
           1       2       3       2    1       3
5. baq suʔ mlakaʔʔ. 'Can you (sg) fly?'  
           1    2       3       1    2       3
6. mitaʔ taʔ ʔutux. 'We (incl.) saw a ghost.'  
           1    2       3       2       1       3

The following examples illustrate the pronominal forms in the Mayrinax dialect of Cʔuliʔ:

1. salugan ga, ʔini cu ʔitutul. 'Although it was daybreak, I did not get up.'  
           1           2   3    4                   1       3    2    4
2. maʔusaʔ ci la. 'I shall go.'  
           1       2       2       1
3. minuwah  $\begin{cases} ci \\ cu \end{cases}$  hisaʔ. 'I returned yesterday.'  
           1       2    3       2    1       3
4. maʔusaʔ siʔ gumlug iʔ kuin qu? 'Will you (sg.) go with me?'  
           1       2       3       4                   2       1    3    4
5. maʔusaʔ tiʔ gumlug iʔ hiaʔ qu? 'Shall we (incl.) go with him?'  
           1       2       3       4                   2       1    3    4

The alveopalatal affricate /c/ [tʃ] has become fricative /s/ [ʃ] in some dialects, and thus /cu/ > /su/ and /ci/ > /si/, as in Maspaziʔ:

1. mabaziy si. 'I bought it.'  
           1       2       2       1



The third criterion is lexical. Squliq and Cʔuliʔ differ in about twenty lexical forms (see List F below).

List F

The following list shows that three different lexical items (or forms) are employed in the three subgroups, Squliq, Cʔuliʔ and Sediq (minor phonetic differences between dialects in each group are not indicated in the following citations):

<u>Squliq</u>	<u>Cʔuliʔ</u>	<u>Sediq</u>	
1. m-talah	ma-tanah	m-banah <sup>19</sup>	'red'
2. qa-ni	ha-ni	nii	'this'
3. qasa	haca	gagaʔ	'that'
4. qitun	qatiyay	srqemuʔ	'corn'
5. ɲtaʔ	wayluŋ	rodux	'chicken'
6. qhiyaŋ	haŋaliʔ	ʔahiŋ (Tn)	'shoulder'
		hiraŋ (Td, In)	
7. tatuʔ	ʔalaliyun	rulun	'front tooth'
8. qabay <sup>20</sup>	qaŋiʔ	bkeluy	'jaw'
9. yabux	rinwaŋ	meriŋ	'sweat'
10. ktuʔ	nabwas	nbuyas	'belly'
11. mihiy	mahiy	səmbuc (Td)	'to hit'
12. muʔ	cumbuʔ	cmebuʔ	'to shoot'
13. muyaʔ	mamuhiʔ	mhumaʔ	'to plant'
14. mqum	qumtam <sup>21</sup>	rmequn	'to swallow'
15. buquh	guqiluh (Mb)	blebul	'banana'
16. qbubuʔ	qabubiŋ (Mb)	bunuh	'hat'
17. luhuŋ	luhiuŋ	duhuŋ	'mortar'

19. The Togan form /tanah/ in the Sediq group may be a loan from the Cʔuliʔ.

20. The Palgawan form /ʔabaric/ could be related to Squliq if -ic is a suffix.

21. Lmwan form /qmtam/ may have been borrowed from the neighboring dialect, Skikun.

- |            |                 |                      |                       |
|------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 18. qxa?   | qaxinu? (Mb)    | gidi?, kakak<br>(Td) | 'beads'               |
| 19a. sbil  | sibiliq (Mb)    | hndayu?              | 'lunchbox'            |
| b. msbil   | pinsibiliq (Mb) | madas hndayu?        | 'to carry a lunchbox' |
| 20. qmalup | qumaluap (Mb)   | maduk                | 'to hunt'             |

Very often both Skikun and Mnawyan have Squliq forms instead of C?uli? forms due to the heavy influence by the neighboring dialects of Squliq, such as Lmuan. These forms include 'shoulder', 'chicken', 'belly', 'banana', 'mortar', 'lunchbox', 'to hit', 'to hunt'.

The differences between Squliq and C?uli? forms in the last 6 items are actually only the differences between male and female forms: male for C?uli? and female for Squliq. In fact, both male and female forms appear in Mayrinax, a C?uli? dialect.

## 5. Summary

Three types of linguistic criteria for classifying the Atayalic dialect group have been examined: (1) phonological, (2) lexical and (3) morphological. Lexical evidence is most abundant and decisive.

The major evidence presented in this paper is lexical. Palqawan, an Atayal dialect, shares most of the phonological features of Sediq rather than Atayal. However, it has essentially the same basic vocabulary as the other Atayal dialects. Furthermore, lexical differences between Squliq, C?uli? and Sediq are also noted in the paper.

Not much syntactic data is available for the entire group. This is a large open field for further investigation.

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## 泰雅語方言群的區分條件

### (摘 要)

李 壬 癸

語言的區分條件可以包括音韻、詞彙、構詞及語法幾方面的現象。觀察泰雅語與賽德語的音韻差異有六條，但泰雅語的萬大方言卻有四個音韻條件與賽德語相合，因此只剩下兩條勉強可用來區分泰雅語與賽德語。這兩種語言的詞彙差異遠比音韻的差異顯著。在約 800 個詞項當中，萬大有 214 個與其他泰雅方言相同，卻只有 11 個與賽德語相同。此外，萬大有 50 個獨特的詞項，跟這兩種語言都不同。因此，詞彙的證據顯示萬大為泰雅方言，殆無疑問。

土田滋先生曾提出三個條件來區分泰雅語的賽考利克方言羣與澤敖利方言羣，包括部分的音韻、構詞、詞彙的差異。本文支持他的觀點並且舉出更多的例證，包括 22 個詞項以示賽考利克、澤敖利、賽德語三者的不同。至於語法的不同，就有待進一步的研究了。