TYPES OF LEXICAL DERIVATION OF MEN'S SPEECH IN MAYRINAX

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1. Introduction[1]

Earlier attempts to classify the male and female forms of speech in Mayrinax, the most conservative Atayal dialect, were made in Li (1980b) and Tsuchida (1981b). Both papers were written when only limited data were available for vocabulary with sex differentiation in speech: only 68 lexical items were listed in the former and 85 items in the latter.[2] Now that more lexical items, 107 items plus 38 reconstructed forms, with sex differentiation in form have been collected so far, it is necessary to make a revised classification. Due to limited space, I did not discuss the problem of classification in Li (1982b). The main purpose of this paper is to take up this problem and treat all the items that have been collected or reconstructed as based on comparison with the other Atayalic dialects or Austronesian languages. The present classification differs drastically from my earlier classification (1980b) and resembles Tsuchida's (1981b) more closely.

If we succeed in making an economical classification of the types of lexical derivation in men's speech in Mayrinax, then we will be in a better position to advance a hypothesis for the origin of sex distinctions in speech in the Atayalic group; see Li (1983a) and Section 3 in this paper.

Mayrinax shows certain well-defined differences between male and female forms of speech. In general, female speech retains the original forms diachronically, whereas male speech turns out to have the innovative forms. Synchronically the best way to account for the differences is

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2. Various derivatives from the same stem are counted as one item, e.g. *sa-span/sa-sʔan* 'animal food,' *s-um-pan-/s-um-ʔan* 'to feed (animals),' *sa-sapan-an/sa-saʔan-an* 'trough.' The forms cited before the slash are female while those cited after the slash are male.

to treat the female forms as basic and the corresponding male forms as derived (Li 1980b:9, 1982b:266).

The lexical derivations of the male forms from the female can be classified into the following main types: (1) the male form adds a certain suffix to the stem of the female form, with or without further modification of the stem; (2) the male form adds an infix -i(C)- (-in-, -il- or -i-) before the vowel of the final syllable in the stem; (3) the male form adds an infix -Ca- (-a- < Proto-Atayalic *-ra- or -na-) before the final consonant of the stem; (4) the male form deletes a word-medial consonant -g-, -r- or -h- from the stem. (5) the male form replaces a certain consonant in a certain position in the stem; (6) suppletion. The above six main types can be reduced to four: Types (2) and (3) both involve addition of an infix to the final syllable of the stem, and Types (4) and (5) involve substitution for a certain consonant in the stem. In type IV, a word-medial consonant is substituted by zero. See Section 2 for a detailed classification of the various types and all the lexical forms in each type.

2. Types of Lexical Derivation of Men's Speech in Mayrinax

I. The male form has an extra suffix added to the stem of the female form, with or without further modification:

A. The male form has the suffix -niq or -iq, with or without further modification of the stem:

A1. The suffix -niq is added to the stem, replacing the final consonant y if there is -y:

	Female	Male	Etymon[3]	
1.	kahuy	kahu-niq	*kahuy	'tree, firewood'
2.	hapuy	hapu-niq	*hapuy	'fire'
3.	*kabah[4]	kabah-niq		'bird'

A2. The suffix -iq is added to the stem:

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3. Proto-Austronesian (PAN) forms are given below for comparison unless stated otherwise. If an etymon does not go as far as back as PAN, then a Proto-Formosan (PFN) form is given instead. See Li 1982b, 1983a.

4. Some female (or male) forms of speech have been lost in Mayrinax, but they can be reconstructed as based on comparison with the other Atayal dialects or Austronesian languages See Li (1982b: 292-294) for the reconstruction of these putative forms.

Female	Male	Etymon	
1. rasul	rasul-iq		'sprout from a stump'
2a. sbil[5]	sibil-iq		'lunchbox'
b. pna-sbil	pan-sibil-iq		'to bring a lunchbox'
3. *k-um-an	man-iq (qan-iq!)[6]	*kaən	'to eat'
4. *sisil	sisil-iq	PFN *sisiɬ[7]	'bird sp. (Gray-eyed Nun Babbler)'

A3. The suffix -iq is added to the stem with the first vowel deleted:

Female	Male	Etymon	
1. raan	ran-iq	*dalan	'road'
2. paisan	pisan-iq	*palis	'taboo'
3. mitutul	mtutul-iq		'to get up'

A4. The suffix -iq replaces the vowel *a* of the final syllable and the final consonant *s*, *w*, **t* or **h* of the stem:

Female	Male	Etymon	
1. matas	mat-iq	PFN *matas	'to tattoo, to write'
2. tilabas	tilab-iq		'plant sp. (Elatostema edule C.B. Rob)'
3. sasaw	sas-iq		'shade'
4. ma-tasaw	ma-tas-iq		'clean (of water)'

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5. The female form *sbil* < **sibil* has lost the first vowel *i* in the stem. It is generally the male form that may lose the first vowel; see type A3 below.

6. Note that the first syllable of the neutral form (Agent focus) is missing in the male form **kuman-iq* > *man-iq*. However, the initial consonant is retained as *q-* in the imperative form **kan-iq* > *qan-iq* due to assimilation to the final consonant of the suffix.

7. Cf. Sediq sisil, Kanakanabu sisiini, Saaroa iiɬi, Paiwan sisiɬ, Saisiat ʃiʃil, Pazeh sisil. Kavalan sisin 'bird sp. (Gray-eyed Nun Babbler *Alcippe morrisonia*).'

5.	mᵾhŋaw	mᵾhŋ-iq		'to stop, to rest'
6.	wasaw	was-iq		'plant sp. (Sonchus oleraceus Linn.)'
7.	bagaas[8]	bagi-iq		'palm tree'
8.	*ʔugat	ʔuw-iq	*uɣac	'vein'
9.	*cᵾmah	lᵾm-iq	*cᵾmah	'body louse'
10.	*taglas	tagl-iq		'waterfall'

B. The male form has the suffixes -iŋ, -ʔiŋ, -hiŋ or -tiŋ, which replace the final syllable or the vowel of the final syllable and the final consonant of the stem:

B1. The suffix -ʔiŋ replaces final syllables beginning with q:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1a.	ca-caqis	ca-ca-ʔiŋ	*casiq	'thread'
b.	c-um-aqis	c-um-a-ʔiŋ		'to sew'
2a.	sa-saqit	sa-sa-ʔiŋ		'scythe for harvesting'
b.	s-um-aqit	s-um-a-ʔiŋ		'to cut (rice or millet plant)'
c.	pa-saqit	pa-sa-ʔiŋ		'type of black beetles'

B2. The suffix -hiŋ replaces final syllables that begin with c or k:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1a.	kucuʔ	ku-hiŋ	*kucuɦ	'head louse'
b.	k-um-ucuʔ	k-um-u-hiŋ		'to delouse'
2.	l-um-acuʔ	l-um-a-hiŋ		'to weed'
3.	balukuʔ	balu-hiŋ	PFN *baluku[9]	'winnowing basket'

B3. The suffix -iŋ replaces the vowel of the final syllable and the final consonant if the final syllable does not begin with q, c or k:

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8. Note that the final long vowel *ii* and consonant *q* replace the final long vowel *aa* and consonant *s* of the stem.

9. Cf. Sediq blu-hiŋ, Kavalan βnuquʔ 'winnowing basket.'

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1a.	qabubuʔ	qabub-iŋ		'hat'
b.	ma-qabubuʔ	ma-qabub-iŋ		'to wear a hat'
2.	ubut	ub-iŋ		'bag, pocket'
3a.	ta-tiruluq	ta-tirul-iŋ	*tuduq	'finger'
b.	pana-turuq	pana-tur-iŋ		'to point with a finger'
4a.	ca-capuh	ca-cap-iŋ	PFN *capuh	'broom'
b.	c-um-apuh	c-um-ap-iŋ		'to sweep'
5a.	ʔabuh	ʔab-iŋ		'dust'
b.	man-ʔa-ʔabuh	man-ʔa-ʔab-iŋ		'to stir up dust'
6a.	siatuʔ	situ-iŋ[10]		'clothes'
b.	m-siatuʔ	m-situ-iŋ		'to wear clothes'
7.	*m-si-turuq	m-si-tur-iŋ	*tuduq	'to drip'

B4. The suffix -tiŋ replaces the final consonant *-l:

Female	Male	Etymon	
*bual	bua-tiŋ	*bulaɫ	'moon'

The four subtypes of B as listed above are in complementary distribution.

C. The suffix -riʔ or -qiʔ replaces the final syllable of the stem; the suffix -iʔ or -niʔ replaces the vowel of the final syllable and the final consonant:

C1. The suffix -riʔ replaces the final syllable:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	qapuɡag	qapu-riʔ		'kernel (of fruit), earwax'
2.	quras	qu-riʔ[11]	PFN *quɖas	'gray hair'
3.	hak'aw[12]	hak-riʔ		'bridge'

C2. The suffix -qiʔ replaces the final syllable:

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10. Note that this item is an exception to the rule in that the final vowel of the stem *u* is retained in the male form *situ-iŋ*; the anticipated form is **sitiŋ*. The female form *siatuʔ* was probably borrowed from Pazeh *syatuʔ* 'clothes.'

11. The male form *quriʔ* can be analysed as *qu-riʔ* (type C1) or *qur-iʔ* (type C3). Similarly, the form *luqiʔ* below can be analyed as *lu-qiʔ* (type C2) or *luq-iʔ* (type C3).

12. The symbol ' or – indicates syllable division. The female form has to be analysed as having the syllable division after *k*, i.e. *hak-aw*. Otherwise, the rule for type C1 will have to be divided into two sub-rules: (1) the suffix -riʔ replaces the final syllable and (2) it replaces the vowel of the final syllable and the final consonant.

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	luqus	lu-qiʔ	*ɬuqəs	'marrow'
2.	ma-tapah	ma-ta-qiʔ		'large jar'
3.	ma-tabugah	ma-tabu-qiʔ		'to loosen'

C3. The suffix -iʔ replaces the vowel of the final syllable and the final consonant:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	quras	qur-iʔ	PFN *quḍas	'gray hair'
2a.	q-um-umas	q-um-um-iʔ		'to pickle (vegetables)'
b.	q-in-umas-an	q-in-um-iʔ-an		'pickled vegetables'

C4. The suffix -niʔ replaces the vowel of the final syllable and the final consonant or only the final consonant:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	raqal	raq-niʔ	*[dḍ]aqaɬ	'branch (of tree)'
2.	*quay	qua-niʔ	*quway	'rattan'

D. The suffix -nux, -tux or -ux replaces the final consonant or the final vowel and consonant of the stem:

D1. The suffix -nux:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1a.	lataʔ	lata-nux	*ɬatad	'front yard'
b.	tagi-lataʔ	tag-lata-nux		'outside'
2.	gipun	giʔ-nux[13]	*-ipən	'tooth'
3.	*waqaʔ	waqa-nux		'deer'
4.	*batuʔ	batu-nux	*batuɦ	'stone'

D2. The suffix -tux:

Female	Male	Etymon	
wagiʔ	*wagi-tux	*waɣiɦ	'sun'

D3. The suffix -ux:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	qurip	quri-ux		'ginger'

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13. In addition to the suffix -nux replacing the vowel u of the final syllable and the final consonant n, -ʔ- is substituted for -p- in the stem (see type VB1 below).

2.	*ramuq	ramu-ux		'blood'

E. The suffix -huw or -uw is added to the stem:

E1. The suffix -huw replaces the final consonant or final syllable of the stem:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	k-um-aiʔ	k-um-ai-huw	*kaliɦ	'to dig'
2a.	l-in-aguʔ	l-in-a-huw		'wild plants, fiancé(e)'
b.	l-um-aguʔ	l-um-a-huw		'to keep wild plants'
3.	*kituʔ	kit-huw		'fat'
4.	caiʔ	*cai-huw		'taro'
5.	paliʔ	*pali-huw	*paɬiḍ	'wing'

E2. The suffix -uw is added to the stem, whose second vowel is replaced by i:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	buluq	buliq-uw	*buɬuq	'star'
2.	*lamuq	lamiq-uw		'plant sp. (cogan grass)'

F. The suffix -al is added to the stem, with the *a* of the diphthong *au* in the first syllable deleted if there is such a diphthong and with the final -ʔ deleted:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	ʔauniy	ʔuniy-al		'to come'
2.	mauxaʔ	muxa-al		'sick, painful'
3.	*s-um-apiʔ	s-um-api-al	*səpi	'to dream'
4.	*k-um-itaʔ	k-um-ita-al	*kiṭa	'to see'
5.	*rahuw	rahuw-al		'big'

G. The suffix -liʔ or -hiʔ is added to the stem replacing the final consonant -ʔ:

G1. The suffix -liʔ < Proto-Atayalic *-lid (see Li 1981:254):

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	qumuʔ	qumu-liʔ		'rice cake'
2.	*qabuʔ	qabu-liʔ	*qabuɦ	'ashes'

3.   hmaʔ   *hma-liʔ   PFN *ʃəma[14] 'tongue'

G2. The suffix -hiʔ:

Female	Male	Etymon	
buŋaʔ	*buŋa-hiʔ	PFN *buŋa[15] 'sweet potato'	

H. Miscellaneous suffixes which replace the final syllable of the stem:

H1. The suffix -kaʔ replaces the final syllable of the stem:

Female	Male	Etymon	
lihbaw	lih-kaʔ		'light (not heavy)'

H2. The suffix -ha replaces the final syllable of the stem:

Female	Male	Etymon	
pcigpak	pcig-ha		'chest'

H3. The suffix -il replaces the vowel of the final syllable and the final consonant:

Female	Male	Etymon	
ha-habuk	ha-hab-il	*t'abuk	'loincloth'

H4. The suffix -yril replaces -wnuʔ of the stem:

Female	Male	Etymon	
kanawnuʔ	kana-yril		'woman'

II. An infix -i(C)- is added before the vowel of the final syllable in the stem:

A. The infix -in-:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	qasug	qas-in-ug		'beast'
2a.	ma-baay	ma-ba-in-ay	*bəlig'	'to buy'
b.	ma-ti-baay	ma-ti-ba-in-ay		'to trade'
3.	qaxaʔ	qax-in-uʔ		'beads'
4.	ma-busuk	bus-in-uk	*busuk	'drunk'
5.	*buhug	buh-in-ug	*but'uɤ	'bow'
6.	rakus	*rak-in-us	PFN *ɖakəs	'camphor laurel'

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14. Cf. Sediq həmaʔ, Tsou umo (*əmo anticipated), Paiwan səma, Puyuma smaʔ (*əmaʔ antici-pated), Saisiat kä-hmaʔ, Pazeh da-hama (< A a/ə), Ami səma 'tongue,' Atayal (Mayrinax) hma-liʔ 'eloquent, fluent.'

15. Cf. Atayal (Matabalay dialect) buŋa-hiʔ, Sediq buŋaʔ, Puyuma buŋa 'sweet potatoes.' Inci-dentally, the Thao form bu:na (f- anticipated) is probably a loanword

7. balag   *bal-in-ug   'plant sp.
                                                  (Smilax
                                                  opacə)'

Note that the second vowel *a* of the disyllabic female forms *qaxaʔ* and *balag* is replaced by vowel *u* in the male forms above.

B. The infix -il-:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	guquh	guq-il-uh		'banana'
2a.	mataq	mat-il-uq	*aŋətaq	'raw'
b.	k-um-na-mataq	k-um-an-mat-il-uq		'to eat raw'
3.	haukuʔ	huk-il-uʔ		'plant sp. (Lagerstroemia subcostata Koehne in Engl.)'

C. The infix -i-:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	rulug	rul-i-ug		'top of tree'
2.	takis	tak-i-is	PFN *takit'	'knife'
3.	luhuŋ	luh-i-uŋ	*ɬət'uŋ	'mortar'

Type C above is the only subtype that has no consonant in the infix. The infix contains only vowel -i- both synchronically and diachronically; see Li (1982b, §4).

III. An infix -Ca- is added before the final consonant of the stem:

A. The infix -a- < Proto-Atayalic *-ra- (see Li 1982b):

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	q-um-alup	q-um-alu-a-p	*qaɬup	'to hunt'
2.	ʔimug	ʔimu-a-g		'house'
3.	r-in-amug	r-in-amu-a-g		'roof'
4.	q-in-iriŋ	q-in-iri-a-ŋ	*ɖiŋɖiŋ	'wall'
5.	q-um-asug	q-um-asu-a-g		'to distribute (of the game)'
6.	quma-qumah	quma-quma-a-h	*qumah	'dry field'
7.	h-um-akut	h-um-aku-a-t	*ʃakuc	'to carry'

8.	r-um-urug	r-um-uru-a-g		'to push'
9.	ma-qilup	ma-qila-a-p	*qiɬəp	'to sleep'
10.	m-bahug	m-bahu-a-g̣		'to add, to increase'
11.	g-um-aug	g-um-au-a-g		'to wade, to ford'
12.	minaŋ	mina-a-ŋ		'to clear land for cultivation'
13.	c-um-uŋus	c-um-uŋu-a-s		'to face, to attack'
14.	*m-nubug	m-nubu-a-g		'to drink'
15.	*qaug	qau-a-g	*qauɤ	'a type of bamboo'

B. The infix -na-:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	s-um-ayug	s-um-ayu-na-g		'to substitute, to succeed'
2a.	man-tahuuk	ma-thaw-na-k		'to sit'
b.	ta-thawk-an	ta-thaw-na-k-an		'stool'
3.	*raqis	raqi-na-s	*[dḍ]aqis	'face'

Note that in (2a) the *n* of the prefix man- in the female form is deleted in the male form, and the stem forms also differ in both derivatives.

In both types II and III above, an infix is inserted in the final syllable of the stem. While an infix is inserted before the vowel of the final syllable in type II, it is inserted before the final consonant in type III.

IV. Deletion of a word-medial consonant:
  A. Deletion of -g-:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	ragum	raum	*d'aɤum	'needle'
2.	qagum	qaum	*qaɤəm	'pangolin'
3.	raga?	raa?	PFN *ḍaɤa	'maple tree'
4a.	bugan	buan		'prickly heat'
b.	ma-buga-bugan	ma-bua-buan		'to have prickly heat'
5.	kugus	kuus		'rock'

6a.	qagis	qais	PFN *qag'is	'boundary'
b.	q-in-agis	q-in-ais		'ridges between plots of farm land'
c.	q-um-agis	q-um-ais		'to draw a boundary'
7.	mana-bagah	mana-baah		'impromptu, temporary'
8.	r-um-agag	r-um-aag		'to help'
9.	t-in-uga?	t-in-ua?		'ankles, wheel on spindle'
10.	*qaga?	qaa?		'plant sp. (Alsophila Pustulosa H. Chr.)'
11.	paga?	*paa?		'bed'

B. Deletion of -r-:

Female	Male	
ma-ka-ta-tiral-an	ma-ka-ta-tial-an	'(of rice) to begin to form a cluster of grain'

C. Deletion of -h-:

	Female	Male	
1.	mnahuqil[16]	minuqil	'to die'
2.	muhbaŋ	mubaaq	'to come down'

Note that more than the deletion of -h- is involved in both items above.

V. Substitution of a consonant in the stem (There is more than one difference in some pairs of male and female forms below):

A. The substitution of -h- for -l- or -b-, or -l- for -h-:

A1. The fricative -h- is substituted for -l- or -b-:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	iluk	ihuk		'strawberry'

16. Not only *h*, but also the preceding vowel *a* is deleted to derive the male form.

2. ʔibluŋ   ʔibhuŋ   'husk (of rice)'
3. t-um-aluk   t-um-ahuk   *taɬək   'to boil, to cook'
4. ʔakbul   ʔakhul   'granary'

A2. The lateral 1- is substituted for h- (cf. A1 above): [17]

Female	Male	Etymon
hbug	lbuq		'sprout'

B. Substitution of ʔ for a consonant (stop or fricative) in the stem:

B1. Substitution of -ʔ- for -p-:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	tapapunuq	taʔaʔunux		'plant sp. (Climbing Acacia)'
2.	gipun	giʔ-nux	*-ipən	'tooth'
3a.	sa-span	sa-sʔan	*paən	'animal food'
b.	sa-sapan-an	sa-saʔan-an		'trough'
c.	s-um-pan	s-um-ʔan		'to feed (animals)'

B2. Substitution of -ʔ- for -q-:

Female	Male	Etymon	
man-caqrug	man-caʔrux		'to stand up'

B3. Substitution of -ʔ- for -b-:

Female	Male	Etymon	
g-um-ba	g-um-ʔa		'to weed with a hoe'

B4. Substitution of ʔ- for g-:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	giqas	ʔiqas		'new'
2.	gilahaŋ	ʔilahaŋ		'wide'
3.	girhiy	ʔirhiy		'narrow'
4a.	q-in-agapiʔ	q-in-aʔapiʔ		'rope, plant sp. (Cayratia japonica (Thunb.) Gagnep.)'

17. Examples in VA1 and VA2 show exactly the opposite directions of substitution (or sound change).

b.	q-um-agapiʔ	q-um-aʔapiʔ	'to make rope'
5.	ga-giqus	ʔa-ʔiqus	'nit'
6.	na-gaqaw	na-ʔaqaw	'new land'
7.	*gituʔ	ʔituʔ	'loquat'
8.	ginsunaʔ	*ʔinsunaʔ	'breath'
9.	gikus	*ʔikus	'shuttle'

B5. Substitution of -ʔ- for -h-:

Female	Male	Etymon	
papayhul	*papayʔul		'sole (of foot)'

C. Substitution of -x for -q or -g:

C1. Substitution of -x for -q:

Female	Male	Etymon	
tapapunuq	taʔaʔunux		'plant sp.'

C2. Substitution of -x for -g:

Female	Male	Etymon	
man-caqrug	man-caʔrux		'to stand up'

D. Substitution of -q for -n, -s or -ŋ:

D1. Substitution of -q for -n:

Female	Male	Etymon	
t-um-inun	t-um-inuq	*tinun	'to weave'

D2. Substitution of -q for -s:

Female	Male	Etymon	
c-um-ius	c-um-iuq		'to pray to cure a disease, to do magic'

D3. Substitution of -q for -ŋ:

Female	Male	Etymon	
muhbaŋ	mubaaq		'to come down'

In the above two types, IV and V, one or more consonants are substituted in the stem. While a word-medial consonant is substituted by ϕ (zero) in type IV, one consonant or more is substituted for another in type V.

VI. Suppletion:

A. Completely suppletive forms:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1a.	ʔutiq	rauq	*daɣəq	'ground, earth'
b.	ʔi-ya-utiq	ʔi-ra-rauq		'low'
2.	ʔibubuh	bauwak		'pig'
3.	nuhan tikay!	qalaa tikay!		'Wait a second!'
4.	m-uay	m-aiq	*bəɣay	'to give'
5a.	r-um-pag	r-um-iyay		'to whet'
b.	ra-rapag-an	ra-riyay-an		'whetstone'
6.	g-um-bul	g-um-uuq		'to bury'

B. Nearly suppletive forms:

	Female	Male	Etymon	
1.	hauŋ	hayriŋ	*t'aləŋ	'pine tree'
2.	ʔaaŋ	ʔaiyuŋ		'soup'

It is clear that there are only a few genuine suppletive forms. In fact, the male form *hayriŋ* 'pine tree' with the suffix -riŋ can also be grouped with Type IB, and the male form *ʔaiyuŋ* 'soup' with the infix -i- can also be grouped with Type IIC.

3. The Origin of Sex Differentiation in Speech in Atayal

How did these distinct speech differences between the two sexes arise? Several hypotheses have been advanced to account for their origin: (1) they are the result of invasion and/or intermarriage between different peoples speaking different languages or dialects (as the explanation given for by the American Indians of Dominica; see Jespersen 1964: 237); (2) they are the result of taboo (Jespersen 1964:239); (3) they are the result of different social attitudes (Trudgill 1974:101), and (4) they are the result of a secret language (Otto Dahl, personal communication). I (Li 1982b, 1983b) briefly discussed the merits and demerits of each hypothesis in trying to account for the development of Atayal, and then I indicated my preference for the secret language hypothesis, although I had to leave the question open then.

The main reasons for rejecting the first three hypotheses are as follows. For hypothesis (1), it is very unlikely that only men speaking one Atayal dialect would have married women speaking another dialect, but not vice versa. Furthermore, precisely the opposite directions of sound

change are observed in the men's speech in the Mayrinax dialect, so the men's and women's speech do not seem to represent two different dialects. For hypothesis (2), the lexical items with sex distinctions in Mayrinax are not ordinary taboo words. There seem to be too many taboo words, and most of them have no reason to be taboo. Furthermore, it is difficult to explain why only the Atayal men, rather than the women, had to employ taboo words if they were taboo. (3) Peter Trudgill (1974:101) believes that "sex varieties.... are the result of different social attitudes towards the behaviour of men and women, and of the attitudes men and women themselves consequently have to language as a social symbol." His hypothesis can account for the fact that men and women have to speak differently if there are sex varieties in their speech. It can also account for certain types of sound changes, particularly in the case where women's speech is more conservative than that of men's. However, it is dubious that different social attitudes can be the determining factor for the origin of sex differentiation in speech. In the case of Atayal, the men's speech is innovative, and the majority of the innovations are lexical (addition of affixes to the original forms) rather than phonological (individual sound changes). The hypothesis of social attitudes seems helpless to explain the development of Atayal.

The great advantage of the hypothesis of secret language is that it can account for most of the lexical innovations in Atayal. Of the total 107 lexical items having both male and female forms in the Mayrinax dialect, two thirds (72/107) of the male forms are derived by adding a certain affix to the stem: almost a half (47 items) are derived by adding a suffix, nearly one fourth (25 items) are derived by adding an infix to the stem, slightly more than one fourth (30 items) are derived by deleting or substituting a consonant in the stem, and only a small number (less than 10) are suppletive forms; see Section 2 and Li (1983b:43).

The secret language hypothesis has its disadvantages, however. As pointed out in Li (1982b:296), "The problem of the explanation that sex differentiation arose by a secret language is that the derivations from female to male forms require quite a few types of rules in Atayal.... These rules seem to be too complicated for a secret language. It is possible, however, that some types of rules have been lost (just as some male

and female forms of speech have been lost), so we are unable to see a unified system of these rules."[18] It is also possible that the present-day Atayal language is the result of the mixture of more than one dialect of a secret language invented about 1,600 years ago.[19]

It is thus not surprising that we find it difficult to come to grips with the rules of a secret language used such a long time ago.

Another problem with the secret language hypothesis is that the conditioning for the application of each type of rule is lexical rather than phonological.[20]

Despite on these, the secret language hypothesis seems to be the most reasonable among the four hypotheses that have been suggested and discussed in this section.

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18. In response to my (Li 1982b: 296) discussion of the problem, Otto Dahl (personal communication, 24 November 1983) said, "You are right in saying that the numerous types of rules is a difficulty. In the secret languages I know from my childhood there is only one rule in each language. But they were made by children. Men's speech in Atayal is certainly made by intelligent men, and as you say more than one dialect of a secret language may have been mixed together. And also, the more complicated the rules, the less easy it would be for those who should not understand. It may also have been a sort of ritual language in men's meetings." Similarly, John Wolff (personal communication, 19 Nov. 1983) offered the following explantion and suggestion, "These deliberate reformations of the vocabulary are found all over the Austronesian area for various purposes. In Javanese such things exist and it is to distinguish social class. It also existed in Oceania for other purposes. There are secret priest-languages in many places and maybe the ultimate origin is there, although clearly the distinction now has absolutely nothing to do with ritual language······One thing worth investigating would be secret languages—they are so common in so many areas of Indonesia and the Philippines that I wouldn't be surprised to find that they also exist in Formosa (or at least at one time existed). Are there any more shamans and what do they use for their incantation? They might give a clue where these forms come from. Of course, from the point of view of the total picture of PAN, what is important is that these processes of artificial change are extremely widespread and important in shaping the vocabulary of many of the Austronesian languages."

19. According to the theory of glottochronology or lexicostatistics (Gudschinsky 1964), after a language splits into dialects, retention of the basic vocabulary is about 80% every millenium (one thousand years). Atayal and Sediq, the two main languages of the Atayalic group, share 49% of cognates as based on Dyen's (1971: 174) study. If the theory of glottochronogy and Dyen's lexicostatistical percentage can be trusted, then Proto-Atayalic must have been spoken about 1,600 years ago

20. As stated in Li (1982b, §6.6), almost all derivatives from the same stem are derived in the same process, namely by adding the same affix in the male form of speech, by the same replacement, or by deleting the same consonant. An exception is found in a lexical item, in which the nominal male form *qas-in-ug* is derived from the female form *qasug* 'beast' by the infix *-in-*, whereas the verbal male form *q-um-asu-a-g* is derived from the female form *q-um-asug* 'to distribute the game' by the infix *-a-* < Proto-Atayalic *-ra-*. That is to say, it can be arbitrary which rule to apply to derive a male form.

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汶水方言男性語形衍生的類型

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泰雅語汶水方言男女性語形的分類，以前作者及土田滋先生曾先後討論過，但當時材料較少。如今作者陸續蒐集了較完整的資料，實際記錄的共有一百零七個字根含有男女性語形的分別，外加三十八個擬測的形式也有性別差異。如果再加上衍生詞（derivatives），總數達到一百六十個之多，約佔這個語言目前蒐集到的詞彙的十分之一。

如果能對男性語形的衍生方式作很經濟的分類，就可能提出較合理的有關語言性別的起源學說。這也就是寫作本文的主要動機之一。

汶水方言有男女性語形之分的共有六大類：I. 男性語形在語幹上加上某種詞尾，有的加某種變化，II. 男性語形加某種揷詞-i(C)-（-in-, -il-或-i-）在語幹最後音節的元音之前，III.男性語形加某種揷詞-Ca-（-a-＜*-ra-或-na-）在語幹最後輔音之前，IV. 男性語形刪除語幹中的一個輔音，V. 男性語形以一個（或一個以上的）輔音取代語幹中另一個（或一個以上的）輔音，VI. 採取與女性語形不相干的詞形。每一大類又可細分為幾個小類。其實II，III兩類也可以合併成一大類，都是加揷詞在最後音節。同樣地，IV、V兩類也可以合併成一大類，都是取代語幹中的一個（或一個以上的）輔音。各類的條件本文都加以探討。以上是根據詞形（即構詞法）加以分類。

若根據詞類或語意加以分類，汶水方言有男女語形之分的詞彙包括動物（7個）、植物（19個）、自然界景物（8個）、身體各部名稱（8個）、日常生活之用具、文化用詞與食物（29個）、形容詞（9個）、動詞（48個）等各種實詞，但沒有虛詞、語法詞、數詞、人稱代詞、親屬稱謂等。有的語詞由同一語根衍生，故同一個詞項（lexical item）可以橫跨二、三種詞類。而且尚有一些可能的衍生詞尚未查核，因此數目難以確定。這種分類法本文未加討論。

有關兩性語言差異的起源，有以下四種不同的學說：一、起於異族征服及異族（或異方言之間的）通婚，二、起於口語禁忌，三、起於男女不同的社會態度，四、起於秘密語言。作者駁斥了前三種說法，而採納秘密語言這一說法，主要的理由是它可以解釋汶水方言絕大多數的詞彙現象。

根據種種跡象我們可以推斷，大約在一千六百年前，古泰雅族的男人開始在他們的詞彙上故意加上一些變化，也許就是一種語言遊戲，為了男人之間的秘密交談，不讓女人知道。久而久之（或不久），連女人也聽懂了男人的秘密語言。可是時至今日，只有汶水方言的女人仍然保存原來的語言形式（當然語言仍會隨時代而演變），其他泰雅方言就很不一致了，不分男人或女人，有的詞彙採用男性語形，而有的詞彙却採用女性語形，沒有什麼規則可循。大概是因為當初兒童學習語言，有的從父兄學，有的從母姊學，因此有的詞彙採用男性形式，而有的詞彙却採用女性的形式，造成日後男女語言混亂的情形（請詳見作者另一文 Li 1982b）。