Male and Female Forms of Speech in the Atayalic Group

Paul Jen-kuei Li

1. Introduction

Of all Formosan languages and dialects, Mayrinax (including the minor dialects of Sahiyaŋ and Tabilas) and Paʔkualiʔ of Atayal are the only known dialects that show certain well-defined differences between the male and female forms of speech, 97 items having been recorded so far. [1] The female forms preserve the archaic features and are the original forms, whereas the corresponding male forms are innovative.   The female forms generally preserve CVCVC,

a typical Austronesian word structure, whereas the male forms may have some type of suffix or infix added, the vowel /a/ (< Proto-Atayalic *-ra-) or /i/ inserted, an intervocalic consonant /g/, /r/ or /h/ deleted, the final syllable replaced, a consonant in a certain position replaced, and a few items involve suppletive forms. The majority of the male forms are the ones currently used in many other Atayal dialects, which do not distinguish between male and female speech. See Section 4, Table 2.

This is a sociolinguistic and cross-dialectal study of the male and female speech forms in Atayalic dialects. Section 2 describes the choice of male and female forms by different speakers from Mayrinax and Paʔkualiʔ. It should be noted that older speakers tend to preserve these distinctions, while younger speakers tend to mix them up and to ignore the differences. Section 3 shows how semantic differences have evolved between male and female speech forms for some lexical items in Tabilas and Paʔkualiʔ. Remnants of such semantic distinctions are found in some Atayalic dialects such as Inago (Sediq) and Skikun (an Atayal dialect in the Cʔuliʔ subgroup). Section 4 gives an account of the choice of male and female speech forms made by different dialects in the entire Atayalic group. Like the younger speakers of Mayrinax and Paʔkualiʔ, whose choice of male and female speech forms seems arbitrary and whimsical, the choice by different dialects also seems largely unpredictable. However, in many of these dialects, the majority of the forms adopted are the male forms.

There may be some lexical items which have male and female distinctions in Mayrinax and Paʔkualiʔ which have not been recorded yet. The percentage of lexical items with sex differences is apparently small, about 10% of the total vocabulary stock: 97 items (various derivatives from the same root are counted as one item) out of approximately 1,500 (various derivatives are counted as separate items) that I have recorded. See § 6.5 for a detailed account.

By comparing the different lexical forms in different dialects, we are able to reconstruct some male or female forms that may have been lost in Mayrinax, 38 items having been reconstructed so far; see Section 5. Reconstructions are

based on comparisons with Proto–Austronesian or Proto–Formosan forms, or comparisons with the different lexical forms in other dialects. It is possible that affixes were added at a later stage to the lexical forms in these dialects which do not distinguish between male and female speech forms.

Section 6 discusses the implications for historical linguistics and some problems of male and female forms of speech in Atayal.

2. Choice of Male or Female Forms by Different Speakers in Mayrinax and Paʔkualiʔ

The following male and female forms of speech were originally elicited from the most competent and knowledgeable informant, Baʔay Suyan, from Sahiyaŋ, who remembers the distinct male and female forms of speech as used by his parents.

The differences between male and female forms are best preserved in the speech of older speakers in Sahiyaŋ, Mayrinax. Younger speakers tend not to know or to ignore the differences and consequently mix them up in their speech. See Table 1 below. [2]

There are five female speakers listed in Column I and six male speakers listed in Column II in the Table. Due to limited space, I have not included data of all informants that I have worked with. The letter "f" stands for the female form of speech and "m" for the male form of speech as adopted by

---

2. The initials stand for the names of the informants, followed by their sex and age. The abbreviations of the informants' names are as follows: H. Y., Haking Yawiʔ (T'ang Ch'in-mei 湯芹妹 in Chinese, female, aged 84 in 1982); K. O., Kiway naʔ Omaʔ (T'ang Ch'ing-mei 湯清妹); K. ʔ., Kagaw naʔ ʔukih (Li San-mei 李叁妹); T. B., Tapas Baʔay (T'ang Ch'en-mei 湯辰妹); Lin Mei-chih 林美枝 (no native name, f44); B. ʔ. Baʔay naʔ ʔawiʔ (Li K'ai-chang 李開章); K. K., Kagiʔ Kumaw (Li Chin-chi 李錦基); W. B., Watan Baʔay (T'ang Yuan-fung 湯元豐); B. T., Buyuŋ Tarauʔ (Huang Fu-shêng 黄福生); P. B., Piniŋ Basiʔ (Liu Mau-nan 劉茂男): Y. K., Yuqih Kumaw (Li Chin-ch'ang 李錦昌). These speakers all come from Three different villages in the same area: H. Y., K. O., K. ʔ., T. B., B. ʔ., and W. B. from Sahiyaŋ; Lin, B. T. and P. B. from Tabilas; K. K. and Y. K. from Paʔkualiʔ.

Table 1. Choice of Male or Female Forms by Different Speakers in Mayrinax and Paʔkualiʔ

	Female	Male	I					II					
			H.Y. f84	K.O. f66	K.ʔ f52	T.B. f46	L.M. f44	B.ʔ m70	K.K. m66	W.B. m43	B.T. m51	P.B. m49	Y.K. m52
1. 'fire'	hapuy	hapuniq	f	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	f~m	m	f	f
2a. 'earth, ground'	ʔutiq	rauq	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
b. 'low'	ʔiyautiq	ʔirarauq	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
3. 'star'	buluq	buliquw	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m
4. 'rock'	kugus	kuus	f	f	f	f	f	m	f	m	m	f	f
5. 'shade'	sasaw	sasiq	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	f~m	f
6a. 'front yard'	lataʔ	latanux	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	f
b. 'outside'	tagilataʔ	taglatanux	f	f	f	f	f	m	f	f~m	m	m	f~m
7. 'top of branch'	rulug	ruliug	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	f~m
8. 'tree, wood'[3]	kahuy	kahuniq	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	f~m	m	f	f
9. 'banana'	guquh	guqiluh	f	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	f~m	m	m	f
10. 'strawberry'[4]	iluk	ihuk	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m
11. 'ginger'	qurip	quriyux	f	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	f~m	f	f	f~(m)
12. 'branch'	raqal	raqniʔ	f	f	m	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
13. 'husk of rice'	ʔiblun	ʔibhuŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	f	f	f~(m)
14. 'kernel, earwax'	qapugag	qapuriʔ	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	f~(m)
15. 'sprout from a stump'	rasul	rasuliq	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	f	f	f	m
16. 'sprout'	hbug	lbuq	f	f	m	m	m	m	(m)	m	m	m	m

3. There is only the female form for the derivative *ma-kahuy* 'to gather firewood,' but no corresponding male form *ma-kahu-niq.
4. Rubus taiwanianus MATSUM 刺莓, Taiwan Raspberry.

				I					II					
		Female	Male	H.Y. f84	K.O. f66	K.ʔ f52	T.B. f46	L.M. f44	B.ʔ m70	K.K. m66	W.B. m43	B.T. m51	P.B. m49	Y.K. m52
17.	'maple tree'	ragaʔ	raaʔ	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
18.	'palm tree'	bagaas	bagiiq	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	f	f	f~(m)
19.	'pine tree'	hauŋ	hayriŋ	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
20.	'plant sp.'[5]	wasaw	wasiq	f	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	m	f	m	f
21.	'plant sp.'[6]	tilabas	tilabiq	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
22.	'plant sp.'[7]	hawkuʔ	hukiluʔ	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m·.	m	m
23.	'plant sp.'[8]	tapapunuq	taʔaʔunux	f	f	f	—	f	m	m	—	—	f	m
24.	'woman'	kanawnuʔ	kanayril	f	f	m	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m
25a.	'beast'	qasug	qasinug	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	f~m	f	f~m	f~m
b.	'to distribute the game'	qumasug	qumasuag	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
26.	'pangolin'	qagum	qaum	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
27.	'pig'	ʔibubuh	bauwak	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	f	f
28a.	'head louse'	kucuʔ	kuhiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	f~m	f	f
b.	'to delouse'	kumucuʔ	kumuhiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	f	f	f	f
29.	'nit'	gagiqus	ʔaʔiqus	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	f	f	f
30.	'tooth'	gipun	giʔnux	f	f	m	m	f	m	m	m	m	f	f~(m)
31a.	'finger'	tatiruluq	tatiruliŋ	m	f	f	f~m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
b.	'to point'	panaturuq	panaturiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m

5. Rumex Crispus L. 羊蹄, Sonchus oleraceus Linn. 苦買菜.
6. Elatostema edule C.B.Rob 澗葉赤車使者.
7. Lagerstroemia subcostata Koehne in Engl. 九芎.
8. Climbing Acacia 籐榜 (籐相思).

			I					II					
	Female	*Male*	H.Y. f84	K.O. f66	K.? f52	T.B. f46	L.M. f44	B.? m70	K.K. m66	W.B. m43	B.T. m51	P.B. m49	Y.K. m52
32. 'marrow'	luqus	luqi?	f	f	f	f	f	m	m (f)~m	f	f	f	f
33. 'gray hair'	quras	quri?	f	f	f	f	f	m	f ~m	f ~(m)	f	f	f
34. 'chest'	pcigpak	pcigha	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
35. 'heat rashes'	bugan	buan	f	f	f	f	f	f ~m	f	f	f	f	f
b. 'to have rashes'	mabugabugan	mabuabuan	f	f	f	f	f	m	f ~m	f	f	f	f
36. 'road'	raan	raniq	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	f
37. 'bridge'	hakaw	hakri?	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	f ~m
38. 'house'	?imug	?imuag	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	f
39. 'roof'	rinamug	rinamuag	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	f
40. 'wall'	qiniriŋ	qiniriaŋ	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	f
41. 'granary, barn'	akbul	akhul	f	f	f	f	f ~m	m	m	m	m	m	m
42a. 'clothes'	syatu?	situiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	f ~m	f ~m	f	f	f
b. 'to wear clothes'	msyatu?	msituiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	f ~m	f ~m	m	f	f
43a. 'hat'	qabubu?	qabubiŋ	f	f	f ~m	f	f	m	f	f	m	m	m
b. 'to wear a hat'	maqabubu?	maqabubiŋ	f	f	f ~m	f	m	m	f	f	m	m	m
44. 'bag, pocket'	ubut	ubiŋ	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
45. 'knife'	takis	takiis	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m
46. 'dry field'	qumaqumah	qumqumaah	—	—	—	—	m	m	m	m	m	m	—
47a. 'rope, plant sp.'[9]	qinagapi?	qina?api?	f	f	f	f	f	m f, m[10]	f	f	f	f	f

9. This item refers to 'rope' and a type of plant species (Cayratia japonica (Thunb.) Gagnep.) 虎葛. Rope is not made from this plant species.

10. The informant Kagi? Kumaw adopts the female form for 'rope,' but the male form for the plant name. The latter is not in the vocabulary of any younger speaker under age 60.

Item	Gloss	Female	Male	I H.Y. f84	K.O. f66	K.? f52	T.B. f46	L.M. f44	II B.? m70	K.K. m66	W.B. m43	B.T. m51	P.B. m49	Y.K. m52
b.	'to make rope'	qumagapiʔ	qumaʔapiʔ	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	f	m	f	f
48a.	'thread'	cacaqis	cacaʔiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	f~m	f	f	f
b.	'to sew'	cumaqis	cumaʔiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	f	f	f	f
49.	'needle'	ragum	raum	f	f	f	f	f	m	f(f)~m	f	f	f	f~m
50a.	'scythe for harvesting'	sasaqit	sasaʔiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	f	f	f	f~m
b.	'to cut'	sumaqit	sumaʔiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	f	f	f	f~m
c.	'beetles'	pasaqit	pasaʔiŋ	f	f	⌐	f	f	m	⌐	f	f	f	f
51.	'mortar'	luhuŋ	luhiuŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	f	f	f
52.	'winnowing basket'	balukuʔ	baluhiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	f	m	m	f	f
53a.	'broom'	cacapuh	cacapiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	f	f	f	f	f
b.	'to sweep'	cumapuh	cumapiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	f	f	f	f	f
54a.	'stool'	tathawkan	tathawnakan	f	f	f	f	m	m	f~m	f	f	m	f~m
b.	'to sit'	mantahuuk	mathawnak	f	f	f	f	f~(m)	m	f~m	f~m	f~m	m	f~m
55.	'beads'	qaxaʔ	qaxinuʔ	f	f	f	f	f	m	(f)	m	m	m	m
56.	'large jar'	matapah	mataqiʔ	f	f	f	f	f~m	m	f	f	m	f~m	f
57.	'soup'	ʔaaŋ	ʔaiyuŋ	f	f	f	f	m	m	f	m	m	m	m
58a.	'lunchbox'	sbil	sibiliq	f	f	f~m	f	m	m	m	m	f	m	m
b.	'to bring lunchbox'	pnasbil	pansibiliq	f	f	f	f	f~m	m	m	m	f	m	f
59a.	'animal food'	saspan	sasʔan	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	f	m	f
b.	'trough'	sasapanan	sasaʔanan	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	f	f	f
c.	'to feed'	sumpan	sumʔan	f	f	f	f	f~m	m	m	m	f	f	f
60.	'taboo'	paisan	pisaniq	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	f	f

	Female	Male	I				II					
			H.Y. K.O. f84	K.? f52	T.B. f46	L.M. f44	B.? m70	K.K. m66	W.B. m43	B.T. m51	P.B. m49	Y.K. m52
61. 'to bury'	gumbul	gumuuq	f	f	f	f~m	m	m	m	f~(m)	f~m	f
62a. 'to buy'	mabaay	mabaynay	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	f
b. 'to trade'	matibaay	matbaynay	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	f	f~m	f
63. 'to carry'	humakut	humakuat	f	f	m	m	m	f	m	m	f~m	f
64. 'to come'	?auriy	?uniyal	f	f	f	f~m	m	f	f	f	f	f
65. 'to come down'	muhban	mubaaq	f	m	f~m	f~m	m	f	f~m	m	m	m
66. 'to die'	m(a)nahuqil	minuqil	f	f	m	m	m	f	f	f	f	m
67. 'to dig'	kumai?	kumaihuw	f	f	f	f	m	f	m	f	f~m	f
68. 'to follow, to substitute'	sumayug	sumayunag	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	f~m	f	f	m f~(m)
69. 'to get up'	mituutul	mtutuliq	f	f	f	m	m	f~m	f~m	f	f	f
70. 'to give'	muay	maiq	f	f~m	f	f~m	m	f~m	m	f	m	m
71. 'to hunt'	qumalup	qumaluap	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	m	m	m	m
72a. 'to pickle (vegetables)'	qumumas	qumumi?	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m
b. 'pickles'	qinumasan	qinumi?an	f	f	f	m	m	f	f	f	f	f
73. 'to push'	rumurug	rumuruag	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	f	m	f~m
74. 'to rest'	muhnaw	muhniq	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	f~m	f	f	f~m
75. 'boundary'	qagis	qais	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	m	m	f	m
76. 'to sleep'	maqilup	maqilaap	f	f	m	m	m	f~m	f~m	f	f	m
77. 'to stand up'	mancaqrug	manca?rux	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	m	f	m	f
78. 'to tattoo, to write'	matas	matiq	f	f	f	f	m	m(f)~m	m	m	m	m
79. 'Wait a second!'	nuhan han	qalaan han	f	f	f	f	f~m	f	f	m	f~	m

	Female	Male	I					II					
			H.Y. f84	K.O. f66	K.ʔ. f52	T.B. f46	L.M. f44	B.ʔ. m70	K.K. m66	W.B. m43	B.T. m51	P.B. m49	Y.K. m52
80. 'to weave'	tuminun	tuminuq	f	f	f	f	f	m	m (f)~m	m	f	m	f
81. 'to weed'	lumacuʔ	lumahiŋ	f	f	f	f	f~m	m	m	m	m	f	f
82. 'to weed with a hoe'	gumba	gumʔa	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	f	f	f
83a. 'to whet'	rumpag	rumiyay	m	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
b. 'whet stone'	rarapagan	rariyayan	m	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
84. 'clean (water)'	matasaw	matasiq	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	f	f	m	f
85. 'drunk'	mabusuk	businuk	f	f	f	f	f	m	f~m	f	m	f	f
86. 'narrow'	girhiy	ʔirhiy	m	m	f	f	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
87. 'new'	giqas	ʔiqas	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	f	f	f
88a. 'raw'	mataq	matiluq	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	f	f
b. 'to eat raw'	kumnamataq	kumanmatiluq	f	f	f	f	m	m	f~m	m	f	m	f~m
89. 'sick, pain'	mawxaʔ	muxaal	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	f~m	f	f	f~m
90. 'wide'	gilahaŋ	ʔilahaŋ	m	m	f	f	f	m	f~m	m	f	f	f
91. 'light (not heavy)'	lihbaw	lihkaʔ	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	f	f	f~m
92. '(of rice) to come into ears'	makatatiralan	makatatialan	f	f	f	m	f	m	f	f	f	f	f
93. 'to add, to increase'	mbahug	mbahuag	m	m	m	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
94. 'to attack, to face'	cumuŋus	cumuŋuas	f	f	f	f	—	m	m (f)~m	m	f	f	f
95. 'to loosen'	matabugah	matabuqiʔ	f	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	f	m	m
96. 'to wade, to ford'	gumaug	gumauag	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	f	m
97. 'to clear a wood'	minaŋ	minaaŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	m	m	m	m	m
Total number of Female Forms:			110	112	98	98	71	2	34	46	35	54	75
Total number of Male Forms:			7	5	22	21	54	117	104	73	98	70	54

each speaker. [11] If both male and female forms are used as free variants, then "f~m" is indicated. Any form that is rarely used is put in parentheses. If a lexical form is not in an informant's vocabulary, it is indicated by "−."

It is clear that the two female speakers at age 66 and above preserve the female speech fairly well. Similarly, the two male speakers at age 66 and above are also the most representative of the male speech. The female speakers are more conservative than the male speakers of the same age.

Note that a female speaker may adopt a male form and vice versa, and that this happens even with the older speakers. Generally speaking, younger speakers tend to mix the forms more than older speakers, although it also depends on what area a speaker comes from. Those who come from Sahiyaŋ preserve a better distinction between male and female forms than those who come from Tabilas and Paʔkualiʔ.

Men and women alike all adopt the male forms No. 17 *raaʔ* 'maple tree,' No. 46 *qum-quma-a-h* or *ma-ma-ya-h* 'cultivated field' and No. 93 *m-bahu-a-g* 'to increase;' cf. §4. For some body parts and household lexical items, most men except the 70-year-old man adopt female forms, e. g. No. 32 *luqus* 'marrow,' No. 33 *quras* 'gray hair, No. 35a *bugan* 'heat rashes,' No. 35b *ma-buga-bugan* 'to have heat rashes,' No. 42a *syatuʔ* 'clothes,' No. 42b *pa-syatuʔ* 'to wear clothes,' No. 47a *q-in-agapiʔ* 'rope,' No. 48a *ca-caqis* 'thread,' No. 49 *ragum* 'needle,' No. 52 *balukuʔ* 'winnowing basket,' No. 53a *ca-capuh* 'broom,' No. 53b *c-um-apuh* 'to sweep.' Apparently the speakers have picked up these terms from women and learned to use them in the household context. It is not always predictable which form a certain speaker will adopt, particularly a younger speaker.

Generally speaking, a speaker is consistent in adopting the same male (or female, depending on the speaker) forms for words with the same root, e. g.,

---

11 Different speakers may have slightly different pronunciations for the same lexical form. For instance, speakers from Tabilas regularly have /-uw/ instead of /-ug/; some speakers from Paʔkualiʔ have /ʔ/ (pharyngealized stop) instead of /q/ (uvular stop). There are other minor differences, e.g. *yubiŋ~wubiŋ~ubiŋ* 'bag, pocket,' *yakhul~wakhul~akhul* 'granary.'

No. 2, 35, 43, 47, 48, 50, 53 & 83. However, the same speaker may also adopt the male form for one lexical item, yet the female form for another, even though both forms are derived from the same root. For example, one speaker shows disagreement in adopting male and female forms in No. 6, 28, 42, 58 & 62, two speakers do so in No. 59 & 72, three speakers in No. 54 & 88, four speakers in No. 31, and five speakers in No. 25.

According to my main informant of Mayrinax, Baʔay Bayan (T'ang Ch'ing-fa 湯清發 in Chinese, male, aged 65), he usually uses the male forms but occasionally the female forms in normal daily conversation. Likewise, his wife named Kiway naʔ Omaʔ (aged 66) generally uses the female forms but may also use male forms from time to time. Their son, Watan Baʔay (aged 43) is generally aware of the distinction between men's and women's speech. In rapid speech, however, he simply uses the shorter female forms such as *guquh* 'banana,' *hapuy* 'fire,' *kahuy* 'tree,' *qurip* 'ginger' and *lataʔ* 'front yard,' whereas in deliberate speech he uses the corresponding longer male forms *guq-il-uh*, *hapu-niq*, *kahu-niq*, *quri-yux* and *lata-nux*. For some lexical items, he always uses the male forms such as *buliq-uw* 'star' and *qas-in-ug* 'beast,' in either rapid or deliberate speech, but never the corresponding female forms *buluq* and *qasug*. For some other items, he uses both the male and female forms interchangeably, e. g., *luqus~luqiʔ* 'marrow,' *quras~quriʔ* 'gray hair,' *syatuʔ ~situ-iŋ*; 'clothes.' For still other items such as the word 'nit' he knows only the female form *ga-giqus*, but not the corresponding male form *ʔa-ʔiqus*.

3. Semantic Differences Evolved between Male and Female Forms

The distinction between men's and women's speech is best preserved in Sahi-yaŋ, less well preserved in Tabilas and Paʔkualiʔ, and is little preserved in Mabatuʔan and all the other Atayal dialects.

In Tabilas, the original male and female distinctions have developed into new semantic distinctions. According to Piniŋ Basiʔ (male, aged 48) and his

wife (aged 43), both from Tabilas, the following forms have different meanings for them:

Female Form	Male Form
kahuy 'tree'	kahu-niq 'fireword'
bagaas 'cultivated palm tree'	bagiiq 'wild palm tree'
qaxaʔ 'large beads (for necklace)'	qax-in-uʔ 'small beads (for bracelet)'
matapah 'small jar'	mataqiʔ 'large jar'
gumbul 'to bury (thing)'	gumuuq 'to bury (corpse)'
ʔauniy 'to come (invisible)'	ʔuniy-al 'to come (visible)'
tuminun 'to weave (cloth, silk)'	tuminuq 'to weave (a mat)'
matibaay 'to trade'	matiba-yn-ay 'to peddle'

The above semantic differences may have originated from different behavior and activities of men and women. Men had more out-door activities in wilderness, carried a larger jar yet wore smaller beads than women, it was men's job to bury a corpse, etc.

Likewise, a few male and female forms have developed semantic distinctions in Paʔkualiʔ, as based on Yuqih Kumaw (male, aged 51):

Female Form	Male Form
ʔapugag 'kernel'	ʔapuriʔ 'earwax'
ʔumasug 'to distribute (the game)'	ʔumasuag 'to have distributed'

A similar semantic distinction is found in the Inago dialect of Sediq, a closely related language in the Atayalic group. The male form *bluhiŋ* means 'a large winnowing basket' while the female form *blukuʔ* means 'a small winnowing basket;' cf. No. 52 in Table 2.

Skikun, an Atayal dialect far away from the Mayrinax area, has both the forms *tglas* and *tgliq* for the term 'waterfall' with slightly different meanings. The former seems to be the female form, although it does not appear in Mayrinax. Cf. the forms below:

Female	*Male*	
bagaas	bagiiq	'palm tree'
tilabas	tilabiq	'plant sp. '
matas	matiq	'to tattoo'

Maspaziʔ has both the male form *ʔ–am–lu–ya–p* 'to go hunting in the mountain' and the female form *ʔ–am–lup* 'to actually besiege beasts while hunting,' as explained by the informant Watan Yubay (male, aged 51). Cf. the term *ʔalup–an* 'hunting ground,' which has been derived from the female form of speech in the dialect.

Mabatuʔan has both the male form *m–tutul–iq* 'to stand up' and the female form *m–tutul* 'to get up,' as based on the informant Yaŋah Yupas (male, aged 47).

The female forms *sapuh* in Squliq and *capuh* in Skikun and Mnawyan mean 'broom,' while the corresponding male forms *sapiŋ* in Squliq and *capiŋ* in Skikun and Mnawyan mean 'palm tree. ' Mabatuʔan has kept only the female form *sa-sapuh* meaning 'broom,' whereas most other Atayal dialects have kept only the male forms *sapiŋ*, *sa-sapiŋ* and *ca-capiŋ* meaning 'palm tree; ' see No. 53 in § 4.

4. Choice of Male and Female Forms by Different Dialects

The majority of the male forms of speech in Mayrinax and Paʔkualiʔ are the ones currently used in many other Atayal dialects, which do not distinguish between male and female forms.

All of the Atayal Squliq dialects are fairly uniform lexically and phonologically, and so are most Sediq dialects, whereas Cʔuliʔ dialects of Atayal can be quite divergent from each other; see Li 1980a, 1981. Therefore, in Table 2 below,[12] only one Squliq dialect (Pyasan), three main Sediq dialects (Toŋan,

---

12. The following is a list of abbreviations of languages and dialects used in this article:

Ata Atayal	Ms Maspaziʔ	Sq Squliq
Bl Bʔalaʔ	Mt Matabalay	Sx Sakuxan
Bx Bayʔanux	Mx Mayrinax	Td Toda
In Inago	Pl Palŋawan	Tn Toŋan
Mb Mabatuʔan	Sed Sediq	Tr Truwan
Mn Mnawyan	Sk Skikun	

See Appendix for the classification and location of all the Atayalic dialects included in this study.

Toda and Inago) are represented, and the remainder are all Cʔuliʔ dialects. All the 97 lexical items are cited in the same order as in Table 1. The Mayrinax male and female forms are cited at the beginning of each line. The symbol "m" indicates male form and "f" female form adopted in the other dialects. The symbols "f, m" indicate that both female and male forms occur. The parentheses ( ) around m or f indicate doubtful cognates. If a lexical form in a certain dialect is not a cognate, it is indicated by "–."

Actual lexical forms in various dialects will be given following Table 2.

Table 2. Choice of Male or Female Forms by Different Dialects

Mayrinax & Paʔkualiʔ	Sq	Ms	Sk Mn	Mb	Mt	Sx Bx	Bl	Pl	Sed	Etymon[13]
female/male										
1. hapuy/hapuniq	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	*hȧpuy
2a. ʔutiq/rauq	—	—	m	m	—	—	—	—	—	*daɣəq[14]
b. ʔiyautiq/ʔirarauq	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	—	
3. buluq/buliquw	—	—	—	m	—	—	—	—	—	*buluq[15]

13. Proto-Austronesian (PAN) forms are given below for comparison unless stated otherwise. If an etymon does not go as far back as Proto-Austronesian, then a Proto-Formosan (PFN) form is given instead. The Proto-Austronesian symbols generally follow Otto Dempwolff (1934-38), but with the subsequently revised phonemic distinctions between *t₁ and *t₂, *n₁ and *n₂ originally proposed by Ogawa and Asai (1935:6-7), as well as the additions of *q, *s (*S in Dyen 1971 and Dahl 1976, *S₁ in Dahl 1981) and *ʃ (*S₂ in Dahl 1981). The symbols *t₁ and *n₁ are written as the plain *t and *n respectively, while the small *c instead of the capital *C as used by Dyen is to stand for *t₂, and *ł as used by Dahl to stand for *n₂ instead of *N as used by Dyen. Dempwolff's *j and *v are written as *y and *w respectively, as originally suggested by Dyen. The small *h is adopted for *H, originally reconstructed by Dyen (Tsuchida's *H₁ and Dahl's 1981 *H₁), and ɦ for Tsuchida's 1976 and Dahl's 1981 *H₂); see Li 1981:273. See Li 1981 for phonetic and phonological descriptions of Atayalic dialects and their historical derivations.

14. This is perhaps the only case in which the male forms in the Atayal dialects preserve the archaic features and the original forms, whereas the female forms in Mayrinax and Paʔkualiʔ are innovative. The reconstruction is based on Charles (1973), as cited in Wurm and Wilson (1975:117). This is also one of a few items in which the male and female forms are suppletive.

15. This reconstruction is based on Tsuchida (1981b), "Cf. Tsou fkuu 'name of one of the constellations,' Kanakanabu vuúnu, Rukai (Maga dialect) luvru-vúlu, Rukai (Mantauran dialect) voło 'Pleiades,' Sa'a pulu-pulu, Lau [Fox] bu-bulu 'firefly,' ʃe bu-buḷu 'star.'"

Mayrinax & Paʔkualiʔ	Sq	Ms	Sk Mn	Mb	Mt	Sx Bx	Bl	Pl	Sed	Etymon
4. kugus/kuus	—	—	m	f	f	f, m[16]	—	—	—	
5. sasaw/sasiq	f	m	f	m	m	m	f	m	f	
6a. lataʔ/latanux	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	*ɬataɖ[17]
b. tagilataʔ/taglatanux	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	
7. rulug/ruliug	m	m	—	m	m	m	m	m	—	
8. kahuy/kahuniq	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	*kaʃuy
9. guquh/guqiluh	(f)	m	f	m	m	m	m	m	—	
10. iluk/ihuk	f	f	m	f	f	f	f	f	m	
11. qurip/quriyux	f	m	f	m	m	m	m	f	—	
12. raqal/raqniʔ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*(dɖ)aqaɬ
13. ʔibluŋ/ʔibhuŋ	f									
14. qapugag/qapuriʔ[18]	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
15. rasul/rasuliq	f	(m)	—	f	m	(m)	—	(f)	—	
16. hbug/lbuq	—	m	m	m	—	—	—	—	—	
17. ragaʔ/raaʔ	f	m	m	m	f	f	f	m	f	PFN *daɣa[19]
18. bagaas/bagiiq	—	—	—	m	—	—	—	—	—	
19. hauŋ/hayriŋ	f	(m)	—	m	(m)	(m)	f	f	f	*tʼaləŋ
20. wasaw/wasiq[20]	m	m	—	m	m	m	m	—	—	
21. tilabas/tilabiq	—	—	(f)	f	f	—	—	—	f	
22. hawkuʔ/hukiluʔ	—	—	—	m	—	—	—	—	—	
23. tapapunuq/taʔaʔunux	—	f	f	f	f	f	—	—	—	
24. kanawnuʔ/kanayril	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	(m)	
25a. qasug/qasinug	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	
b. qumasug/qumasuag	f	f	f	m	f	f	f	—	(f)	
26. qagum/qaum	m	f	m	m	m	f	m	m	f	*qaɣəm
27. ʔibubuh/bauwak	(m)	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	

16. Sakuxan has the female form *kugus* 'a precipice under which one can walk' while Bayʔanux has the male form *kuus* 'a concave precipice under which there is a stream.'

17. Cf. Rukai (Tanan and Budai dialects) *lataɖə*, Bunun *nataʔ*, Saisiyat *latar*, Javanese *natar* 'outside.' Also cf. Blust (1970: 133, #272) PAN *na(Ct)aD* 'cleared area around house.'

18. The cognate forms meaning 'kernel of fruit' have been lost in Sq, Pl and Sed, but retained for the meaning 'earwax.' In all the other dialects, the same forms mean both 'kernel of fruit' and 'earwax;' see the actual lexical forms given in No. 14 below.

19. Cf. Saisiyat *raLaʔ*, Pazeh *daxaʔ*, Bunun *dalaʔ*, Thao *ɬa:ɬaʔ* (< *sa:ɬaʔ* by assimilation) 'maple tree (Liquidambar formosana Hance).'

20. The dialects refer to three different plant species; see the citation of actual forms below.

Mayrinax & Paʔkualiʔ	Sq	Ms	Sk Mn	Mb	Mt	Sx Bx	Bl	Pl	Scd	Etymon
28a. kucuʔ/kuhiŋ	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	*kucuɬ
b. kumucuʔ/kumuhiŋ	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m		
29. gagiqus/ʔaʔiqus	m	f	f	f~m	f	f	f	f	(f)	
30. gipun/giʔnux	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	f	*-ipɔn
31a. tatiruluq²¹/tatiruliŋ	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	m	*tuduq
b. panaturuq/panaturiŋ	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	*tuduq
32. luqus/luqiʔ	f	f	m	m	m	f	—	m	m	*luqəs
33. quras/quriʔ	m	m	—	m	m	m	m	m	f, m²²	PFN *quḍas
34. pcigpak/pcigha	—	—	—	m	—	—	—	(m)	—	
35a. bugan/buan	—	—	—	m	m	—	—	—	—	
b. mabugabugan/mabuabuan	—	—	—	m	m	—	—	—	—	
36. raan/raniq	—	—	m	m	—	—	—	—	—	*d'alan
37. hakaw/hakriʔ	—	—	—	m	—	—	—	—	f	
38. ʔimug/ʔimuag	—	—	m	m	—	—	—	m	—	
39. rinamug/rinamuag	f	f	f	m	f	f	f	f	(f)	
40. qiniriŋ/qiniriaŋ	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	*ḍiŋḍiŋ
41. akbul/akhul	—	—	—	m	—	—	—	—	—	
42a. syatuʔ²³/situiŋ	—	—	—	f	—	—	—	—	—	
b. masyatuʔ/masituiŋ	—	—	—	f	—	—	—	—	—	
43a. qabubuʔ/qabubiŋ	f	m	f	m	m	m	—	—	—	
b. maqabubuʔ/maqabubiŋ	f	m	f	m	m	m	—	—	—	
44. ubut/ubiŋ	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	
45. takis/takiis	—	—	—	m	—	—	—	—	—	PFN *takit'²⁴
46. qumaqumah/qumpumaah	m	m	m	(m)	(m)	(m)	m	m	—	*qumah
47a. qinagapiʔ/qinaʔapiʔ	(f)	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	
b. qumagapiʔ/qumaʔapiʔ	(f)	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	
48a. cacaqis/cacaʔiŋ	—	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	*casiq
b. cumaqis/cumaʔiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	
49. ragum/raum	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	*d'aɣum
50a. sasaqit/sasaʔiŋ	f	f	—	—	—	—	—	—	f	

21. Tsuchida (1981b) noted, "Probably from *ta-tiluruq (by metathesis), which is from *t/it/uruq <*tuZuq."

22. Two Sediq dialects have adopted the male form; only Toda qudas is a female form.

23. Cf. Pazeh syatuʔ 'clothes.' Borrowing may have taken place from Pazeh to Mx and Mb.

24. As Tsuchida (1981b) noted, "Cf. Paiwan tjakit 'knife.' The Atayal reflex s for the final *t' is, however, inexplicable. Cf. also Proto-Hesperonesian *takis 'defence, ward off.'"

Mayrinax & Paʔkualiʔ	Sq	Ms	Sk Mn	Mb	Mt	Sx Bx	Bl	Pl	Sed	Etymon
b. sumaqit/sumaʔiŋ	f	f	—	m	—	f	f	—	f	
c. pasaqit/pasaʔiŋ	f	f	—	f	f	f	f	—	f	
51. luhuŋ/luhiuŋ	f	m	f	m	m	m	m	m	(f)	*lətʼuŋ
52. balukuʔ/baluhiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	PFN *baluku
53a. cacapuh/cacapiŋ	f, m	f	f, m	f	m	m	m	m	—	PFN *capuh[25]
b. cumapuh/cumapiŋ	f	f	f	f	f	m	f	—	—	
54a. tathawkan/tathawnakan	f	m	f	m	—	—	f	—	—	
b. mantahuuk/mathawnak	—	m	—	m	—	—	f	—	—	
55. qaxaʔ/qaxinuʔ	f	m	—	m	m	m	—	—		
56. matapah/mataqiʔ	—	—	—	m	—	—	—			
57. ʔaaŋ/ʔaiyuŋ	f	m	f	m	m	m	f	—		
58a. sbil/sibiliq	f	m	f	m	m	m	m	m		
b. pnasbil/pansibiliq	f	m	f	m	m	m	—	—		
59a. saspan/sasʔan	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	—	*paən
b. sasapanan/sasaʔanan	—	m	m	m	m	m	—	(m)	—	
c. sumpan/sumʔan	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	
60. paisan/pisaniq	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	*palis
61. gumbul/gumuuq	f	—	(f)	f	—	—	—	(f)	—	
62a. mabaay/mabaynay	f	f	f	m	f	f	f	m	f	*bəligʼ
b. matibaay/matbaynay	f	f	f	m	f	f	f	m	f	
63. humakut/humakuat	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	—	*ʃakuc
64. ʔauniy/ʔuniyal	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m		
65. muhbaŋ/mubaaq	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—		
66. mnahuqil/minuqil	f	f	m	m	f	f	f	f	f	
67. kumaiʔ/kumaihuw	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	f	*kaliħ
68. sumayug/sumayunag	m	f	f	f	f	f	—	m	—	
69. mitutul/mtutuliq	m	m	m	f~m	m	m	m	m	—	
70. muay/maiq	m	m	m	f	m	m	m	m	f	*bəɣay
71. qumalup/qumaluap	f	f, m	f	m	m	m	m	—	(f)	*qaɬup
72a. qumumas/qumumiʔ	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	
b. qinumasan/qinumiʔan	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	
73. rumurug/rumuruag	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	—	
74. muhŋaw/muhŋiq	f	m	f	m	m	m	f	f	—	

25. Cf. Saisiyat s/om/apöh, Pazeh mu-sapoh 'to sweep,' Saisiyat sa-sapöh, Pazeh sa-sapoh 'broom.'
Cf. also PAN *tʼapuh 'to sweep, broom.'

Paul Jen-Kuei Li

Mayrinax & Paʔkualiʔ	Sq	Ms	Sk Mn	Mb	Mt	Sx Bx	Bl	Pl	Sed	Etymon
75. qagis/qais	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	PFN *qagʼis
76. maqilup/maqilaap	—	—	—	f~m	—	—	—	—	—	*qiɬəp
77. mancaqrug/mancaʔrux	m	m	f	m	m	m	m	f	—	
78. matas/matiq	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	PFN *matas
79. nuhan han/qalaaŋ han	—	m	—	m	(m)	(m)	—	—	—	
80. tuminun/tuminuq	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	m	f	*tinun
81. lumacuʔ/lumahiŋ	m	f	m	f	f	f	m	m	—	
82. gumba/gumʔa	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	—	
83a. rumpag/rumiyay	—	—	f	m	—	—	—	—	—	
b. rarapagan/rariyayan	—	—	f	m	—	—	—	—	—	
84. matasaw/matasiq	f	m	f	m	m	m	f	m	f	
85. mabusuk/businuk	f	m	m	m	m	m	f	m	f	*busuk
86. girhiy/ʔirhiy	—	—	(f)	f	—	—	—	—	—	
87. giqas/ʔiqas	f	f	f	m	f	f	f	f	—	
88a. mataq/matiluq	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	*-a(ŋə)taq
b. kumnamataq/kumanmatiluq	f	f	f	m	f	f	(f)	m	m	*qətaq
89. mawxaʔ/muxaal	m	m	(m)	f	m	m	m	m	—	
90. gilahaŋ/ʔilahaŋ	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	(f)	f	
91. lihbaw/lihkaʔ	f	f	f	m	—	—	f	f	(m)	
92. makatatiralan/makatatialan	f	f	f	f	f	f	—	—	—	
93. mbahug/mbahuag	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	
94. cumuŋus/cumuŋuas	f	f	f	f	f	f	—	f	—	
95. matabugah/matabuqiʔ	m	f	f	f~m	f	f	f	f	f	
96. gumaug/gumauag	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	
97. minaŋ/minaaŋ	m	m	f	m	m	m	m	m	—	
Total Number of Female Forms:	49	36	48	35	34	35	36	26	34	
Total Number of Male Forms:	41	58	44	84	58	56	43	48	14	

Actual lexical forms occurring in various Atayalic dialects:

1. Sq, Sk, Mn, Sed *pu-niq*; Ms, Bx, Bl *pu-niʔ*; Mb *hapu-niq*; Mt, Sx, Pl *hapu-niʔ* 'fire'

2. Mb *rauq*; Sk, Mn *roq* 'earth'
   Mb *ra-rauq*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx, Bl *ra-rauʔ*; Sq, Sk, Mn *r-roq* 'low'

3. Mb *buliq-uw* 'star'

4. Mb, Mt, Sx *kugus*; Sk, Mn, Bx *kuus* 'rock'

5. Sq, Sk, Mn, Bl, Sed *sasaw*; Mb *sas-iq*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx, Pl *sas-iʔ* 'shade'

6. Mb *lata-nux* 'front yard,' *tag-lata-nux* 'outside'
   Sq, Ms, Sk, Mn, Mt, Sx, Bx, Bl, Pl *ta-nux* 'front yard, outside'

7. Sq, Bx, Bl *ll-i-w*; Mb, Mt *rul-i-ug*; Ms, Sx *lal-i-uw*; Pl *r̃il-i-uw*; (Tn, Td *ludux*; In *dudux*) 'top of branch'

8. Sq, Sk, Mn *qho-niq*; Mb *kahu-niq*; Ms, Sx, Bx *kahaw-niʔ*; Mt, Pl *kahu-niʔ*; Bl *khu-niʔ*; Sed *qhu-niʔ* 'tree, wood'

9. Sk *guquh*; Sq, Mn *buquh*; Mb *guq-il-uh*; Mt *guʔ-il-uh*; Ms, Sx, Pl *gaʔ-il-uh*; Bl *giʔ-il-uh*; Bx *ʔ-il-uh* 'banana'

10. Sq *wiluk*; Ms, Mb, Mt, Sx, Bx, Bl *ziluk*; Sk *yihuk*; Pl *riluk*; Tn *rh-en-uk*; Td, In *rh-ən-uk* 'plant sp. (Rubus taiwanianus Matsum)'

11. Sq *qurup*; Sk, Mn *qurip*; Mb *quri-yux*; Mt *ʔuri-yux*; Ms, Sx, Bx, Bl *ʔari-yux*; Pl *ʔur̃ik* 'ginger'

13. Sq *bluŋ* 'husk of rice'

14. Sk, Mn *qpu-riʔ*; Mb *qapu-riʔ*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx, Bl *ʔapu-riʔ* 'kernel of fruit'
    Sq, Sk, Mn *qpu-riʔ*; Mb *qapu-riʔ*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx, Bl *ʔapu-riʔ*; Pl *ʔapu-r̃iʔ*; Sed *qpu-diʔ* 'earwax'

15. Sq, Mb *rasul*; Mt *rasul-iʔ*; (Ms *yasul-iʔ*; Sx *basul-iʔ*;) Bx *sul-iʔ*; Pl *gasul-iʔ* 'sprout from a stump'

16. Ms *labuʔ*; Mb *lbuq* 'sprout'
    Sk *lbuq* 'new growth of Phragmites communis (L.) Trin 蘆葦'

17. Sq *ragaʔ*; Ms, Sk, Mb, Pl *raaʔ*; Mt, Sx, Bx, Bl *raga-yuŋ*, Sed *daraʔ* 'maple tree'

18. Mb *bag-iiq* 'palm tree'

19. Sq, Bl *hayuŋ*; Mb, Mt *hay-riŋ*; (Sk, Mn *heciŋ*; Ms, Sx, Bx *haziril*;) Pl, Sed *haruŋ* 'slips of pine tree used to start a fire'

20. Mb *was-iq* 'Latuca indica'
    Sq *was-iq*; Ms, Mt, Bl *was-iʔ* 'Solanum nigrum 龍葵'

Sx, Bx *was-iʔ* 'Chenopodium album Linn. Var. centrorubvum Mak. 灰藋'

21. Mb, Mt *tilabas*; (Ms, Sx, Bx *tablasuy*; Bl *tblsuy*; Pl *tabaŋsur*;) Sed *labas* 'Elatostema edule C. B. Rob'

22. Mb *hukiluʔ* 'Lagerstroemia subcostata Koehne in Engl.'

23. Mb *ta-pa-punuq*; Mt *ta-pa-punuʔ*; Sk, Mn *tpunuq*; Ms, Sx *tapunuʔ* 'climbing Acacia'

24. Sq, Sk, Mn *kner-il*; Ms, Mb, Mt, Sx, Bx *kanayr-il*; Bl kner-in; Pl *kaneř*; (Tn *mqedil*, Td *qridil*, In *qrijil*) 'woman'

25a. Sq *qs-in-uw*; Sk, Mn *qs-in-ux*; Mb *qas-in-ug*; Mt *ʔas-in-ug*; Ms, Sx, Bx, Pl *ʔas-in-uw*; Bl *ʔs-in-uw* 'beast'

  b. Sq *q-m-asuw*; Sk *q-m-asux*; Mb *q-um-asu-a-g*; Mt *ʔ-um-asug*; Ms, Sx, Bx *ʔ-am-asuw*; Bl *ʔ-m-asuw*; Sed *maasuw* 'to distribute the game'

26. Sq, Mn *qom*; Sk *q-qom*; Ms, Sx, Bx *ʔagum*; Mb *qaum*; Mt *ʔaum*; Bl, Pl *ʔoŋ*; Sed *ʔaruŋ* 'pangolin'

27. Sq *bzyoq*; Sk, Mn *biyok*; Mb *bawwak*; Ms *bayuwak*; Mt, Sx, Bx *baywak*; Bl *biyuak*; Pl *barok*; Sed *boyak* 'pig'

28a. Atayal *ku-hiŋ*; Sed *qu-hiŋ* 'head louse'

  b. Sq, Sk, Mn, Bl *k-m-u-hiŋ*; Mb, Mt, Pl *k-um-u-hiŋ*; Ms, Sx, Bx *k-am-u-hiŋ*; Td *miŋ-qu-hiŋ*; In *min-qu-hiŋ* 'to delouse'

29. Sq *ʔiquʔ*; Sk, Mn *giquʔ*; Ms, Sx *ga-giʔuʔ*; Mb *ga-giqus* or *ʔa-ʔiqus*; Mt, Pl *ga-giʔus*; Bx *giʔuʔ*; Bl *giʔus*; Td *wiyus*; Tr, In *giyus*; Tn *yueyus* 'nit'[26]

30. Sq *ʔnux*; Sk, Mn *pn-iq* (cf. No. 1, 15, 20, 21, 36); Mb *gi-ʔ-nux*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx *ga-ʔa-nux*; Bl *g-ʔ-nux*; Pl *ʔapa-nux*; Tn, Td *rupun*; Tr, In *gupun* 'tooth'

31a. Sq *tlul-iŋ*; Sk, Mn *clul-iŋ*; Ms, Sx, Bx *talul-iŋ*; Mb *ta-tirul-iŋ*; Mt *tirul-iŋ*; Td *klud-iŋ*; Tr *duliŋ*; In *lul-iŋ* 'finger'

  b. Sq, Ms, Sk, Mn, Sx, Bx, Bl *pin-turiŋ*; Mb *pana-turiŋ*; Mt *pan-turiŋ*; Pl *pan-tuřiŋ* 'to point at'

---

26 The final consonant /-ʔ/ is irregular in some of these dialects.

Sx *t–am–uriŋ* 'to point at something with one's finger'

32. Sq *luqus*; Ms, Sx, Bx *luʔus*; Sk, Mn, Mb, Sed *luq–iʔ*; Mt, Pl *luʔ–iŋ* (cf. No. 28, 42, 43, 44, 48, 50, 52, 81) 'marrow of bones'

33. Sq, Mb *qur–iʔ*; Mn *ʔi–qur–iʔ*; Mt, Sx, Bx, Bl *ʔur–iʔ*; Pl *ʔuř–iʔ*; Tn *qud–iʔ*; Td *qudas*; In *quj–iʔ* 'gray hair'

34. Mb *pasig–ha*, Pl *cagaʔ* 'chest'

35a. Mb, Mt *buan* 'heat rashes, pimples'

 b. Mb, Mt *ma–bua–buan* 'to have heat rashes, pimples'

36. Sk, Mn *ryan–iq*; Mb *ran–iq* 'road'

37. Mb *hak–riʔ*, Sed *hakaw* 'bridge'

38. Sk, Mn *mu–ya–x*; Mb *ʔimu–a–g*; Pl *mo–ra–w* 'house'

39. Sq *ramuw*; Sk, Mn *ramux*; Mb *r–in–amu–a–g*; Mt *r–in–amu–ʔi–g*; Ms, Sx, Bx *r–in–mu–ʔi–y*; Bl *r–n–amuw*; Pl *řamu–ʔu–y*; Sed *d–n–amux* 'roof'

40. Sq, Sk, Mn *q–n–ry–a–ŋ*; Ms *ʔ–an–ri–ya–ŋ*; Mb *q–in–iri–a–ŋ*; Mt *ʔ–in–ari–a–ŋ*; Sx, Bx *ʔ–in–ry–a–ŋ*; Bl *ʔ–n–ri–a–ŋ*; Pl *ʔ–in–řeŋ* 'wall'

41. Mb *akhul* 'barn, granary'

42a. Mb *syatuʔ* 'clothes'

 b. Mb *ma–syatuʔ* 'to wear clothes'

43a. Sq, Sk, Mn *qbubuʔ*; Mb *qabub–iŋ*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx *ʔabub–iŋ* 'hat'

 b. Sq, Sk *ma–qbubuʔ*; Mb *ma–qabub–iŋ*; Ms *mak–ʔabub–iŋ*; Mt, Sx, Bx *maka–ʔabub–iŋ* 'to wear a hat'

44. Sq, Sk, Mn, Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx, Bl *yub–iŋ*; Mb *ub–iŋ*; Pl *rub–iŋ* 'bag'

45. Mb *tak–i–is* 'knife'

46. Sq, Sk, Mn *qma–ya–h*; Ms *ʔama–ya–h*; Mb, Mt, Sx *ma–ma–ya–h*; Bx *ma–ya–h*; Bl *ʔma–ya–h*; Pl *muma–ra–h* 'cultivated field'

47a. Sq *q–in–yapiʔ*; Sk *qagapiʔ*; Mb *q–in–gapiʔ*; Mt *ʔ–in–agapiʔ*; Ms, Sx, Bx, Bl, Pl *ʔ–in–gapiʔ*; Td *q–n–rapiʔ* 'rope'

 b. Sq *q–m–ayapiʔ*; Ms *pa–ʔagapiʔ*; Sk *q–m–agapiʔ*; Mb *q–um–gapiʔ*; Mt *ʔ–um–agapiʔ*; Sx, Bx *ʔ–am–gapiʔ*; Bl *ʔ–m–gapiʔ*; Pl *ʔ–um–gapiʔ*; Td *q–m–*

rapiʔ 'to make a rope'

48a. Sk *ca-caqis*; Mb *sa-saqis*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx, Bl *sa-saʔis*; Pl *ca-caʔis*; Sed *s-sais* 'things to sew'

b. Sq *s-m-aqis*; Sk, Mn *c-m-aqis*; Mb *s-um-aqis*; Mt *s-um-aʔis*; Ms, Sx, Bx *s-am-aʔis*; Bl *s-m-aʔis*; Sed *s-m-ais* 'to sew'

49. Sq, Sk, Mn *rom*; Ms, Mb, Mt, Sx, Bx *raum*; Bl *rauŋ*; Pl *roŋ* 'needle'

50a. Sq *saqit* 'scythe for harvesting; 'Ms *sa-saʔit*, Td, In *saqic* 'scissors'

b. Sq *s-m-aqit*; Mb *s-um-a-ʔiŋ* 'to cut with a scythe'

  Ms, Sx, Bx *s-am-aʔit*; Bl *s-m-aʔit*; 'to have a haircut'

  Sed (Td, In) *s-m-aqic* 'to cut with scissors'

c. Sq, Mn *p-saqit*; Ms *pa-saʔit*; Mb *pa-saqit*; Mt, Sx *pa-sakit* (loanword); Bl *p-saʔit*; Td *p-saqic*; In *s-saqic* 'a two-longhorned black beetle, which is said to cut off man's hair'

  Mt *pa-saʔit* 'haircut'

51. Sq, Sk, Mn *luhuŋ*; Mb, Mt *luh-i-uŋ*; Ms, Sx, Bx Pl *lah-i-uŋ*; Bl *lh-i-uŋ*; Sed *duhuŋ* 'mortar'

52. Sq, Bx *lukuʔ*; Sk, Mn *blukuʔ*; Mb, Mt, Sx, Bl, Pl *balukuʔ*; Sed *bluhiŋ* 'winnowing basket'

53a. Sq *sapuh*; Sk, Mn *capuh*; Mb *sa-sapuh* 'broom'

  Mt, Sx, Bx *sa-sap-iŋ*; Pl *ca-capiŋ* 'palm tree'[27]

  Bl *s-sapuh* 'fan'

b. Sq, Ms *s-m-apuh*; Sk, Mn *c-m-apuh*; Mb *s-um-apuh*; (Pl *c-um-opah*) 'to sweep'

  Mt *s-um-apuh*; Sx, Bx *s-am-apuh* 'to dust'

  Bl *s-m-apuh* 'to fan'

54a. Sq, Sk, Mn, Bl *thekan*; Ms *th-na-kan*; Mb *tatahu-na-kan* 'stool' chair'

b. Ms *tahu-na-k*, Mb *matahu-na-k*, Bl *mthiyuk* 'to sit'

55. Sq *qaxaʔ*; Mb *qax-in-uʔ*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx *ʔax-in-uʔ* 'small beads for-

---

27. Note that palm tree leaves and fibers are used to make brooms.

merly used as money'

56. Mb *mata-qiʔ* 'large pottery jug for holding water'

57. Sq, Sk, Mn, Bl *ʔayaŋ*; Ms, Mb, Mt, Sx, Bx *ʔay-yu-ŋ* (Pl *ʔariŋuʔ*) 'soup'

58a. Sq *sbil*; Sk, Mn *sibil*; Mb *sibil-iq*; Mt *sibil-iʔ*; Ms, Sx, Bx *sabil-iʔ*; Bl *sbil-iʔ*; Pl *ta-sibil-i-an* 'lunchbox'

  b. Sq *m-sbil*; Sk *ca-sibil*; Ms, Bx *ta-sbil-iʔ*; Mb *pin-sibil-iq*; Mt *pan-sibil-iʔ*; Sx *pan-sabil-iʔ* 'to carry a lunchbox'

59a. Sq, Bl *s-sʔan*; Sk, Mb *sa-sʔan*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx *sa-saʔan* 'animal food'

  b. Sk, Ms, Mb, Mt, Sx *sa-saʔan-an* 'trough'
  Pl *sa-san-an* 'enclosure for domestic animals'

  c. Sq, Sk, Bl *s-m-ʔan*; Mb, Mt, Pl *s-um-ʔan*; Ms, Sx, Bx *s-am-aʔan* 'to feed (animals)'

60. Sq, Sk, Mn, Tn *psan-iq*; Mb *pisan-iq*; Mt, Pl *pisan-iʔ*; Ms, Sx, Bx *pasan-iʔ*; Bl *psan-iʔ*; Td, In *bsan-iq* 'tabu'

61. Sq *mbul*; Sk, Mn *gumʔul*; Mb *gumbul*; Pl *ʔumbul* 'to bury'[28]

62a. Sq *maziy*; Sk, Mn *m-bes*; Ms, Sx, Bx, Bl *ma-baziy*; Mb *ma-ba-yn-ay*; Mt *ma-bazig*; Pl *m-in-iy*; Tn *maruy*; Td *mariʔ*; In *marig* 'to buy'

  b. Sq, Bl *m-t-baziy*; Sk *ma-ba-bes*; Ms, Sx, Bx *ma-ta-baziy*; Mb *ma-t-ba-yn-ay*; Mt *ma-ti-bazig*; Pl *ma-ba-b-in-iy*; Td *m-bariʔ*; In *g-m-barig* 'to trade'

63. Sq, Mn, Bl *h-m-akut*; Sk *h-m-akuc*; Mb, Mt *h-um-akut*; Ms, Sx *h-am-akut*; Pl *h-um-akuc*; (Sed *h-m-akul*) 'to carry'

64. Sq, Ms, Sk, Mt, Sx, Bx, Pl *niyal*; Mb *ʔuniyal*; Bl *ʔniyan* 'to come'

65. Sq *m-bzyaq*; Sk *m-beyaq*; Mn *m-biyaq*; Mb *mu-baaq*; Mt *mu-bayaʔ*; Ms, Sx, Bx *ma-bayaʔ*; Bl *m-bəyaʔ* 'to come down'

66. Sq *m-hoqil*; Ms *ma-hawʔil*; Sk, Mn *mn-uqil*; Mb *min-uqil*; Mt *mu-huʔil*; Sx, Bx, Pl *ma-huʔil*; Bl *ma-huʔin*; Sed *m-huqil* 'to die'

67. Sq *k-m-i-huy*; Sk, Mn, Bl *k-m-e-huy*; Mb *k-um-ay-huw*; Mt *k-um-ay-*

---

28. Note that /ʔ/ in Sk, Mn and Pl is irregular.

huy; Ms, Sx, Bx *k-am-ay-huy*; Pl *k-um-e-hur*; Sed *k-m-ariʔ* 'to dig'

68. Sq *s-m-yu-na-w*; Sk *s-m-iyux*; Mb, Mt *s-um-ayug*; Ms, Sx, Bx *s-am-ayuw*; Pl *ma-yu-na-w* 'to substitute'

69. Sq, Sk, Mn *m-tul-iq*; Mb *mi-tutul*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Pl *ma-tatul-iʔ*; Bl *mttul-iʔ* 'to get up (from bed)'

   Mb *m-tutul-iq*; Bl *m-tul-iʔ* 'to stand up'

70. Sq, Sk, Mn *miq*; Mb *muay*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx *maiʔ*; Bl, Pl *miʔ*; Tn *mege*; Td, In *muway*; Also In *məgay* 'to give'

71. Sq, Sk, Mn *q-m-alup*; Ms *ʔ-am-alup* and *ʔ-am-lu-ya-p*; Mb *q-um-alu-a-p*; Mt, Sx, Bx *mal-ya-p*; Bl *mlu-a-k*; Pl *malo-ra-k*; Sed (Td, In) *maduk* 'to hunt'

72a. Sq, Sk, Mn, Sed *q-m-amas*; Mb *q-um-umas*; Mt *ʔ-um-umas*; Sx, Bx *ʔ-am-umas*; Ms, Bl *ʔ-m-amas*; Pl *ʔ-um-amas* 'to pickle vegetables'

  b. Sq, Sk, Mn *q-in-mas-an*; Mb *q-in-umas-an*; Mt, Sx *ʔ-in-umas-an*; Ms, Bx, Bl, Pl *ʔ-in-mas-an*; Sed *q-n-mas-an* 'pickles'

73. Sq *m-uruw*; Sk, Mn *r-m-urux*; Mb, Mt *r-um-urug*; Ms, Sx, Bx *r-am-uruw*; Bl *r-m-uruw* 'to push'

   Pl *r-um-uruw* 'to instigate, to incite'

74. Sq *hŋaw*; Sk *ma-hŋaw*; Mb *m-hŋ-iq*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx *ma-haŋ-iʔ* Bl *m-hŋaw*; Pl *ma-hŋuw*; (Sed *m-saŋay*) 'to stop, to rest'

75. Sq, Sk, Mn *qes*; Mb *qais*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx, Bl *ʔais*; Pl *ʔes* 'boundary'

76. Mb *ma-qilup* or *ma-qilaap* 'to sleep'

77. Sq *m-sʔrux*; Sk, Mn *cqrux*; Ms, Mb, Bx *ma-saʔarux*; Mt, Sx *ma-saraʔux*; Bl *m-cʔrux*; Pl *ma-cařuw* 'to stand up'[29]

78. Sq, Ms, Sk, Mb, Mt, Sx, Bx, Bl, Pl, Sed (Td, Tr, In) *matas*; Sed (Tn) *matis* 'to tattoo, to draw (lines)'

79. Ms *ʔiluŋ ha*; Mb *qalaaŋ han*; Mt, Sx, Bx *ʔiluŋ han* 'Wait a second!'

---

29. Speakers from the Tabilas area of Mayrinax pronounce *ma-caqrux* instead of *man-caʔrux*, which is based on older speakers from the Sahiyaŋ area and Paʔkualiʔ. Note that /ʔ/ is replaced by /q/ by analogy (cf. the female form *man-caqrug*) and /n/ is lost in the male form *ma-caqrux*. Note that /c/ is irregular in Bʔalaʔ *m-cʔrux*.

80. Sq, Sk, Mn, Bl, Sed *t–m–inun*; Mb, Mt *t–um–inun*; Ms, Sx, Bx *t–am–inun*; Pl *t–um–inu?* 'to weave'

81. Sq *m–a–hiŋ*; Sk, Bl *l–m–a–hiŋ*; Mb, Mt *l–um–asu?*; Ms, Sx, Bx *l–am–asu?* 'to weed'

   Pl *l–um–a–hiŋ*, Ms *l–am–asu?* 'to remove extra seedlings'

82. Sq *m–bay*; Sk *g–m–bay*; Mb *g–um–ba*; Mt *g–um–bay*; Ms, Sx, Bx *g–am–abay* 'to weed with a hoe'

   Pl *g–um–bar* 'to remove millet stems and stubs after harvesting'

   Bl *?–m–bay* 'to clear a jungle'

83a. Sk, Mn *r–m–pax*; Mb *r–um–iyay*; (Sq, Bl *r–m–haw*; Mt *r–um–ahag*; Sx, Bx *r–am–ahaw*; Pl *r–um–haw*; Sed *l–m–əpax*) 'to whet'

 b. Sk, Mn *rpag–an*; Mb *ra–riyay–an* 'whetstone'

84. Sq, Sk, Mn, Bl, Td *m–tasaw*; Pl *ma–tas–i?*; Tn *m–taso*; In *m–tasag* 'clean (of water)'

   Sk, Mn *m–tas–iq*; Mb *ma–tas–iq*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx *ma–tas–i?* 'blue, green'

85. Sq, Bl *m–busuk*; Sk, Mn *m–s–in–uk*; Mb, Mt *ma–bus–in–uk*; Ms, Sx *ma–bas–in–uk*; Bx *ma–s–in–uk*; Pl *ma–s–n–uk–an*; Sed *bsuk–an* 'drunk'

86. Mb *girhiy*; Sk, Mn *grh–iŋ* (cf. No. 19, 28, 31, 42, 43, 44, 48, 50, 52) 'narrow'

87. Sq *giqas*; Sk *xqa–yu–s*; Mn *gqa–yu–s*; Ms, Mt, Sx, Bx *gapa–nu–s*; Mb *?iqas*; Bl *gi?as*; Pl *gapa–ru–s* 'new'[30]

88a. Sq, Sk, Mn *m–teluq*; Ms *ma–ta–ilu–?*; Mb *ma–t–ilu–q*; Mt, Sx *ma–t–ilu–?*; Bx *m–ta–ilu–?*; Pl *ma–telu?*; Tn, Td *m–eluq*; In *m–iiluq* 'raw'

 b. Sq, Sk *q–m–ataq*; Mb *k–um–nat–ilu–q*; Mt *k–um–tali?–un* or *k–um–ata?*; Ms, Sx, Bx *k–am–ata?*; Bl *k–m–ata?*; Pl *k–un–telu?*; Tn, Td *q–m–eluq*; In *k–am–iiluq* 'to eat raw'

89. Sq *m–xal*; Bl *m–xan* 'painful'

---

30. The forms *xqa–yu–s*, *gqa–yu–s*, *gapa–nu–s*, *gapa–ru–s* 'new' are perhaps late innovations in these various dialects. Cf. *rqi–ya–s* 'face' in Sq; *ra?i–ya–s* in Ms, Mt, Sx; *rqi–na–s* in Sk, Mn, *raqi–na–s* in Mx; *dqə–ra–s* in Td, In.

Sk, Mn *m-gaal*; Mb *mawxaʔ*; Mt *mu-xa-yal*; Ms, Sx, Bx *ma-xa-yal*; Pl *mu-xal* 'painful, sick'

90. Sq *labaŋ*; Sk, Mn, Bl *glabaŋ*; Mb, Mt *gilahaŋ*; Ms, Sx, Bx *galabaŋ*; Pl *ṙahalaŋ*; Tn *glahaŋ*; Td, Tr, In *l-labaŋ* 'wide'[31]

91. Sq *hbaw*; Sk, Mn, Bl *lhbaw*; Mb *lih-kaʔ*; Ms, Bx *lahabaw*; Sed (Skadaŋ dialect, Tsuchida 1981b) *lhkah* 'light (in weight)'

92. Sq *mat-na-ral*; Sk, Bx *mata-na-ral*; Mb *makti-na-lan*; Mt *makati-na-ral*; Ms, Sx *makata-na-ral* '(of rice plants) to come into ears'

93. Sq *m-hu-ya-w*; Sk *ma-bahu-ya-x*; Mb *ma-bahu-a-g*; Mt *ma-bahu-ya-g*; Ms, Sx, Bx *ma-bahu-ya-w*; Bl *m-buhu-ya-w* 'to increase, to enlarge'
    Pl *ma-buhu-ra-w* 'to swell (as of cooked rice)'

94. Sq *s-m-uŋus*; Sk *c-m-uŋus*; Mb, Mt *s-um-uŋus*; Ms, Sx, Bx *s-am-uŋus*; Pl *c-um-uŋus* 'to face (up to)'

95. Sq *m-tbu-qiʔ*; Sk *ma-tagubah* (metathesis of /b/ and /g/); Mb *ma-tubugah* or *ma-tubuqiʔ*; Mt *ma-tubugàh*; Ms, Sx, Bx *ma-tabugah*; Bl *mtbugah*; Pl *ma-tibugah* '(of string) to loosen by itself'
    In *mtbugah* 'to uncover as by the wind, to expose'

96. Sq *m-u-ya-w*; Sk, Mn *g-m-o-ya-x*; Mb *g-um-aw-a-g*; Mt *g-um-aw-ya-g*; Ms, Sx, Bx *g-am-aw-ya-w*; Bl *g-m-o-ya-w*; Pl *g-um-o-ra-w* 'to wade a stream'

97. Sq, Bl *mna-ya-ŋ*; Sk *minaŋ*; Mb *mina-a-ŋ*; Mt *mina-ya-ŋ*; Ms, Sx, Bx *mana-ya-ŋ*; Pl *mina-ra-ŋ* 'to clear land for cultivation'

Let it be noted that a certain lexical form may be a combination of a male form and a female. For example, *grhiŋ* 'narrow' in Skikun contains the female root *grh-* (cf. *girhiy* (f) vs. *ʔirhiy* (m) in Mx), but with the male suffix *-iŋ* (cf. the male forms *hayriŋ* 'pine tree,' *ku-hiŋ* 'head louse,' *tatiruliŋ* 'finger' in Mayrinax). Similarly, *pn-iq* 'tooth' in Skikun and Mnawyan contains the female root *pn-* (cf. *gipun* in Mx) and the male suffix *-iq* (cf. *sas-iq* 'shade' in Mx).

---

31. For the alternation between *b* and *h* in various dialects, cf. *ʔakbul/ʔakhul* 'granary.'

Table 2 shows clearly that both Squliq and Sediq have adopted more female forms than male forms, whereas most Cʔuliʔ dialects have adopted more male forms than female, especially in Mabatuʔan, the dialect most closely related to Mayrinax and Paʔkualiʔ. Skikun and Mnawyan are the only exceptions in the Cʔuliʔ subgroup by having adopted more female than male, due to the heavy influence of the surrounding Squliq dialects.

All dialects in the entire Atayalic group have uniformly adopted male forms for the following 30 items: No. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 14, 16, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 36, 38, 40, 44, 46, 49, 58, 59, 60, 64, 65, 69, 75, 79, 88a, 93, 96. The following 9 items are also male forms, but only one dialect (or two) retains the cognate in each item: No. 3, 18, 22, 34, 35, 36, 41, 45, 56. The following 13 items have mostly male forms in all dialects with the exception of one or two dialects: No. 9, 30, 33, 43, 51, 55, 58, 67, 69, 70, 77, 89, 97. Only 15 items are uniformly female forms in all dialects: No. 21, 23, 47, 48, 52, 61, 63, 72, 73, 78, 82, 86, 90, 92, 94. All female forms are found in 8 items with the exception of one dialect: No. 25b, 39, 50, 53b, 80, 83, 87, 91.

Just as it is not always predictable which form, male or female, a younger speaker will adopt in Mayrinax and Paʔkualiʔ (see §2), it is also not predictable which form a certain dialect will have actually adopted.

Each dialect is generally consistent in the choice of male or female forms for the lexical items derived from the same root. For example, each dialect has adopted the male forms for both items as in No. 2, 6, 28, 31, 35. Similarly, each dialect has adopted the female forms for both items as in No. 42, 47, 48, 72. Three items, No. 25, 50 and 88, are exceptions to this consistency. In No. 50, for instance, Mabatuʔan has adopted the male form *s-um-a-ʔiŋ* 'to cut grass,' yet the female form *pa-saqit* 'longhorned beetles.'

The choice of male or female forms by different dialects provides further evidence for the present subgrouping of the Atayalic group: see Appendix and Li 1981. Furthermore, it sheds some light for a finer subgrouping, for instance,

the clustering of Maspazi?, Sakuxan and Bay?anux.

5. Loss of Male or Female Forms in Mayrinax

Although Mayrinax is the most conservative dialect of Atayal, it has lost many female forms of speech. For instance, we have found only the form /batunux/ 'stone' for both male and female speakers, but not the anticipated female form *batu?, cf. PAN *batuɦ. Similarly, we have the following male forms, but not the anticipated female forms: [32]

Table 3.	Existing Male Forms	Anticipated Female Forms	PAN or Modern Dialects
1. 'rattan'	quwa–ni?	*quway	PAN *quway
2. 'cogon grass'	lamiq–uw	*lamiq, *lamuq	Cf. Mx buluq (f), buliq–uw (m) 'star'
3. 'eel'	tula–qiy	*tula?	PAN *tuła
4. 'ash'	qabu–li?	*qabu?	PAN *qabuɦ
5. 'bow'	buh–in–ug	*buhug	PAN *but'uɣ
6. 'deer'	waqa–nux	*waqa?	Cf. Saisiat wæ?æ?
7. 'face'	raqi–na–s	*raqis	PAN *(dḍ)aqis
8. 'five'	ima–gal	*ima?	PAN *lima, cf. Sed rima?
9. 'to dream'	s–um–api–al	*s–um–api?	PAN *səpi
10. 'to eat'	man–iq (qan–iq)	*k–um–an	PAN *kaən
11. 'fat'	kit–huw	*kitu?[33]	Cf. Mx k–um–ai? (f), k–um–ai–huw (m) 'dig'
12. 'to see'	k–um–ita–al	*k–um–ita?	PAN *kiṭa, cf. Ms k–um–ita?

32. See Li 1981:276-77, where only a few examples were given. Many more are given in this paper.

33. The Proto-Atayalic form for the item is *kitə–huw 'fat' (Li 1981:283). In the final syllable, PAN *ə has become /u/ in all Atayalic dialects (Li 1981:270). Hence PA *kitə–>Mx kitu?.

13.	'bird'	kabah-niq	*kabah	Cf. Saisiat kab-kabah-aL and No. 1 & 8 in Table 1
14.	'vein'	ʔuw-iq	*ʔugat[34]	PAN *ʔuɣac
15.	'plant sp. '[35]	qaaʔ	*qagaʔ	Cf. Mt, Sx ʔagaʔ
16.	'body louse'	lum-iq	*cumah	PAN *cumah
17.	'big'	rahuw-al	*rahuw	Cf. Sx rahuw
18.	'to drink'	m-nubu-a-g	*m-nubug	Cf. Sq mnbuw, Sk mnbux, Mt, Sx manabuw
19.	'bird sp. '[36]	sisil-iq	*sisil	Cf. Sed, Pazeh sisil, Paiwan sisíl
20.	'moon'	bua-tiŋ	*bual	PAN *bulał, cf. Sk byal-iŋ, Pl bura-tiŋ
21.	'bamboo sp. '	qau-a-g	*qaug	PAN *qauɣ
22.	'blood'	ramu-ux	*ramuq	Cf. Sq, Sk ramuʔ, Paiwan ɗamuq
23.	'to drip'	m-si-tur-iŋ	*m-si-turuq	PAN *tuɗuq, Sed tudiq
24.	'waterfall'	tagliq	*taglas	Cf. Sk taglas
25.	'Alocasia'	bagatiʔ	*bagayag	Cf. Sq bgayaw, Sk bgayax, In brayag
26.	'loquat'	ʔituʔ	*gituʔ	Cf. Sp, Tn gituʔ, Td wituʔ, PFN *ɣitu

Conversely, we also find a few female forms, but not the anticipated male forms in Mayrinax:

Table 4.	Anticipated Male Forms	Existing Female Forms	In Other Dialects
1. 'taro'	*cai-huw	caiʔ	Sq se-huy, Sk & Mn ce-

---

34. PAN *→c>Proto-Atayalic *→t>Mayrinax →t; see Li 1981: 274.

35. Alsophila Pustulosa H. Chr. 蛇木.

36. Gray-eyed Nun Babbler (Alcippe morrisonia) 綉眼畫眉.

				huy, Ms, Mt & Sx say-huy, Pl ce-hur
2.	'camphor laurel'	*rak-in-us	rakus	Ms, Sx & Pl rak-in-us, Sq k-n-us, Sk & Mn rk-na-s
3.	'sweet potato'	*buŋa-hiʔ	buŋaʔ	Mt buŋa-hiʔ, Sq, Ms, Sk & Sx ŋa-hiʔ
4.	'tongue'	*hma-liʔ,[37] *hma-quw	hmaʔ	Sq, Sk & Mn hma-liʔ, Pl hama-lic, Ms, Mt & Sx hama-ʔuy
5.	'sun'	*wagi-tux	wagiʔ	Mt wagi-tux, Ms & Sx wawi-tux
6.	'bed'	*paaʔ	pagaʔ	Mt & Sx paaʔ
7.	'wing'	*pali-huw[37]	paliʔ	Mt & Sx pali-huy
8.	'sole (of foot)'	*papayʔul	papayhul	Mt & Sx papayʔul
9.	'to breath'	*ʔinsunaʔ	ginsunaʔ	Bx ʔinsunaʔ
10.	'Smilax opace'	*balinug	balag	Bx bal-in-uw
11.	'shuttle'	*ʔikus	gikus	Sq, Sk ʔikus

6. Theoretical Implications and Some Problems of Male and Female Forms of Speech

6.1 Distinction between men's and women's speech has not been brought up as a mechanism of linguistic change in historical linguistics. The phenomenon in Atayal as described in this paper indicates that the differentiation of linguistic forms between the two sexes is an important factor for linguistic change and linguistic variation. Thus, in addition to sound change, analogy, borrowing, social motivation such as hypercorrection by the lower middle class, group identity and

---

37. According to my main informant of Mayrinax, Baʔay Bayan, speakers of his dialect occasionally produce the forms *hma-liʔ* 'tongue' and *pali-huw* 'wing.' They may have been influenced by other dialects.

friendship ties as described by William Labov (1963, 1965, 1966), etc., speech differentiation between men and women must be recognized as another mechanism of linguistic change in a language like Atayal. The sociolinguistic changes Labov has presented are all confined to individual sound changes such as centralization of diphthongs (ay>əy, aw>əw), retention or loss of post-vocalic /r/ in English, etc., while the changes I have described are lexical forms. These changes affect not only the individual sounds, but also the morphemes and even entire words.

6.2 Were it not for the most conservative dialect, Mayrinax, which still preserves the distinctions between male and female forms of speech today, it would be very difficult, if not totally impossible, to identify many cognates in various Atayalic dialects. It would be very difficult to reconcile all the differences and give any satisfactory explanation for these differences even though some of the differences would be kept separately in different dialects. Or if Mayrinax had not been recorded today, it would be difficult to tell what has taken place in the dialect by the time (say, half a century from now) all older speakers have passed away. Unfortunately some distinctions between the sexes have been lost even in the most conservative dialect today. If any earlier documents were available, we might be in a better position to understand the development of Atayal.

6.3 Now that more lexical items having male and female forms of speech have been collected since the publication of Li (1980b) and preparation of Tsuchida's manuscript (1981b), a revised classification of these types needs to be made. Due to limited space, I shall not discuss the problem of classification any further in this paper. See Li (forthcoming).

6.4 It is not known what functions the affixes have in the men's speech nor how they originated in Atayal. After reading my (Li 1980b) preliminary report on the differences in the speech of the two sexes, Otto Dahl (personal correspondence) offered a plausible explanation:

"The men's forms look like artificially changed word-forms. One could think of a sort of secret language as its origin. Here in Norway children sometimes

use such deviations in order to have a secret language understood only by the 'initiated.' Is it possible that the origin in Atayal was such a secret language among men, not to be understood by women? But after having been used for a long time, such a secret language became understandable to the non-initiated also. And in the long run it became the ordinary language, first of the men, and in many dialects thereafter also of the women, because of the higher social status of the men. But in Mayrinax the women have clung to their special and archaic forms.

This is only a guess as to what the truth may be, and is probably impossible to prove. But we can consider it a possibility which will make the Atayal development easier to understand. " (Li 1981:243, Note 8)

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; see Li 1980b and forthcoming, Tsuchida 1981a. 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. It is also possible that the Atayal language is the result of a mixture of more than one dialect of a secret language thousands of years ago.

How do differences between the sexes arise? This is the question that has interested and baffled many scholars. Otto Jespersen (1964:239) suggests that sex differentiation may be the result of taboo. There are two problems with this explanation. First, the lexical items with sex distinctions in Atayal are not ordinary taboo words. It is hard to imagine, on the one hand, that all the 97 items with sex distinctions should be all taboo words in Atayal. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain why ordinary taboo words such as sexual organs were not treated as such by the Atayal people. Second, it is difficult to explain why only the Atayal men, rather than the women, had to employ these taboo words. The cases Jespersen cited are all women (of the old Caribs, Zulus) who had verbal taboo, not men.

Another hypothesis for the origin of sex differentiation in speech is explained as the result of invasion and/or intermarriage: Men speaking one language or dialect conquered and/or married women speaking another language or dialect (as the explanation given by the American Indians of Dominica; see Jespersen 1964: 237, Trudgill 1974:86). This then ends up with a mixture of languages in the same speech community. This can account for some types of changes that affect a few lexical items in Atayal, such as the loss of an intervocalic consonant /g, r, h/, e. g., *kugus/kuus* 'rock,' *makatatiralan/makatatialan* 'to come into ears,' *mnahuqil/minuqil* 'to die,' certain sound changes /p/>/ʔ/, /l/>/h/, /b/>/h/, e. g., *s-um-pan/s-um-ʔan* 'to feed (animals),' *iluk/ihuk* 'strawberry,' *akbul>akhul* 'barn.' These differences seem to indicate a mixture of different dialects, one of which has undergone some sound changes. However, precisely the opposite direction of sound change is also observed /h/>/l/, e. g., *hbug/lbuq* 'sprout.' If the men's speech represents a dialect with more drastic sound changes, it is also the dialect which preserves various types of affixes that have been lost in women's speech. It is very unlikely that only men speaking one dialect would have married women speaking another dialect, but not vice versa.

After refuting several hypotheses concerning the origin of sex varieties and then presenting evidence for his own "social" hypothesis, Trudgill (1974:101) concludes, "Sex varieties, then, 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."

The sex differentiation in Atayal may have come into being from various different sources as discussed above: secret language, taboo, mixture of dialects, different social attitudes, as well as related lexical forms with semantic differences as in some modern dialects described in §3. This problem requires further study. Any hypothesis concerning the origin of sex differentiation in speech is at best only an inference and speculation. It is impossible to prove which is correct. I personally prefer the secret language hypothesis, although the question should best be left open for the time being.

6.5 As previously stated, men and women share essentially the same vocabulary stock. The distinct male and female forms are all content words, including 7 items for animals, 18 items for plants, 6 items for natural objects or phenomena, 7 items for body parts, 26 items for cultural items, daily objects and prepared food, 9 items for adjectives, and the rest (42 items or more) are all verbs. It may be accidental that no numeral, pronoun, or any kinship term[38] distinguishes between male and female forms. It seems natural that no function word or grammatical particle makes such a distinction.

Let it be noted that some lexical items are derived from the same root or stem. Therefore, the total number of items in various categories given above exceed 97 listed in Tables 1 & 2. Also the 38 items with sex distinction that have been lost in Mayrinax are not included in the figures given in the preceding paragraph.

Since various derivatives from the same root are counted as one item, the number of items actually recorded with sex distinction is only 97. However, if derivatives from the same root are treated as separate items, then the number of items listed in Tables 1 & 2 will be 118 (=97+21). There are still some other items not listed, e. g. No. 70 *si-buay/si-baiq* 'to give,' No. 73 *si-rurug/si-ruruag* 'to push,' No. 75 *q-um-agis/q-um-ais* 'to draw a boundary,' *q-in-agis/q-in-ais* 'ridges between plots of farm land.' Furthermore, if the 38 reconstructed items

---

38. There is no male and female distinction in any consanguineous kinship terms as well as in some affined kinship terms. However, notice the following distinct terms for relatives through marriage: *nanaʔ* 'husband's elder brother, husband's elder sister's husband, woman's elder sister's husband,' *yanay* 'man's sister's husband, wife's brother,' *ʔisah* 'husband's elder sister, husband's elder brother's wife, wife's elder sister, man's or wife's elder brother's wife,' *yaŋuʔ* 'husband's younger sister, husband's younger brother's wife, woman's younger brother's wife,' *suagiʔ* 'wife's younger sister, man's or wife's younger brother's wife, husband's younger brother, husband's or woman's younger sister's husband,' *mawan* 'wife's sister's husband.' Nevertheless, the above 6 distinct terms for relatives through marriage are not the same type of distinctions for male and female forms of speech as discussed in this paper. For one thing, the related terms are not derived from the same root. For another, these items are not paired forms as in all the male and female forms of speech, in which one is used only by a man while the other is used only by a woman and both have the identical meaning.

are added, then the total number of items will be 160 (=118+4+38) or more. To further complicate the matter, a couple of lexical items may be homonyms rather than identical and hence should be treated as separate lexical entries, i. e. No. 14 *qapugag/qapuriʔ* 'kernel of fruit' and 'earwax,' No. 47a *qinagapiʔ/ qinaʔapiʔ* 'rope' and 'plant sp. (Cayratia japonica (Thunb.) Gagnep.);' note that rope is not made from this plant species. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the exact number of items with sex distinction. Thus the percentage of lexical items with such a distinction may be more than 10% of the total vocabulary stock; see Section 1.

6.6 Most derivatives (different parts of speech) from the same root are derived in the same process, namely by adding the same affix in the male form of speech as in No. 2, 6, by the same replacement as in No. 28, 42, or by deleting the same element as in No. 35. An exception is found in No. 25, in which the nominal male form *qas-in-ug* is derived from the female form *qasug* 'animal, 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-*. This is another problem of determining the number of items with sex differences. Moreover, this particular case seems to indicate that the Atayalic people paid no attention to the fact the noun and verb were related when they were making up the male forms. Perhaps that is the reason why there is so much disagreement in the choice of male or female forms for this lexical item: 5 speakers out of 11 show disagreement in Table 1; all dialects except Mabatuʔan show disagreement in Table 2.

7. A Postscript

Since writing the above paper, I have visited the Mayrinax village twice to collect more lexical material and found 10 more items with sex distinctions:

Table 5.		Female	Male
98a.	'dust'	ʔabuh	ʔabiŋ
b.	'to stir up dust'	man-ʔa-ʔabuh	man-ʔa-ʔabiŋ

99.	'impromptu, to make new'	mana–bagah	mana–baah
100.	'to help, to assist'	r–um–agag	r–um–aag
101.	'loincloth'	ha–habuk	ha–hab–il
102a.	'to keep wild plants'	l–um–agu?	l–um–a–huw
b.	'wild plants, fiancé(e)'	l–in–agu?	l–in–a–huw
103.	'new land'	nagaqaw	na?aqaw
104.	'ankle, flywheel on spindle'	tinuga?	tinua?
105.	'to boil, to cook'	t–um–aluk	t–um–ahuk
106.	'cake'	qumu?	qumu–li?
107.	'to pray for'	c–um–ius	c–um–iuq

Table 2. Choice of Male or Female Forms by Different Dialects (continued)

Mayrinax & Pa?kuali? female/male	Sq	Ms	Sk Mn	Mb	Mt	Sx Bx	Bl	Pl	Sed	Etymon
98. ?abuh/?abiŋ	—	f	f	f	f	f	f	—	—	
99. manabagah/manabaah	m			f	m	m		m	—	
100. rumagag/rumaag	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	f	
101. hahabuk/hahabil	f	f	f	f	f	f, m[39]	f	f	f	*t'abuk
102. lumagu?/lumahuw	f			m	m	m	f	—		
103. nagaqaw/na?aqaw	m			m	f	f	f	f	—	
104. tinuga?/tinua?	f			f	f	f	f	—		
105. tumaluk/tumahuk	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	—	*taɬək
106. qumu?/qumuli?	f			f	f	—	f	m	f	
107. cumius/cumiuq	f			f	f	f		—		

Actual lexical forms occurring in various Atayalic dialects I have checked:

98. Ms, Sx *baha-buh*; Sk, Bl *bh-buh*; Mb, Mt *?abuh* 'dust'

99. Mb *mana-bagah*; Mt *mana-baah*; Sq, Sx *minbah* 'temporary,' Pl *mina-baah* 'to make new'

---

39. Sakuxan and Bay?anux have both the male and female forms referring to different objects; see the actual citations below.

100. Sq, Bl *r-m-aw*; Ms, Sx *r-am-aaw*; Sk, Mn *r-m-ax*; Mb, Mt *r-um-aag*;
     Bx *r-am-auw*; Pl *r̃-um-aw*; Sed *d-m-ayaw* 'to help'

101. Sq, Sk, Mn, Ms, Bl, Pl *habuk*; Mb, Mt *ha-habuk* 'belt, strap'
     Sx *ta-habil*; Sx, Bx *habil*; Sed (Tn) *habik*; Sed (Td, In) *habuk* 'belt'
     Sx *ha-habuk*; Bx *habuk* 'strap'

102. Mb, Mt *l-um-a-huw*; Sx *l-am-a-huy*; Sq, Bl *l-m-aguʔ* 'to keep wild plants'

103. Sq *naqaw*; Mb *naʔaqaw*; Mt, Sx, Bl *nagaʔaw*; Pl *nagaaw* 'new land'

104. Mt *tinugaʔ* 'ankle'

     Sq, Mb *tinugaʔ*; Sx *tanugaʔ*; Bl *tnugaʔ* 'flywheel on spindle'

105. Sq, Sk, Mn, Bl *t-m-ahuk*; Ms, Sx *t-am-ahuk*; Mb, Mt, Pl *t-um-ahuk*
     'to cook (vegetables)'

106. Sq *qmuʔ*; Mb *qumuʔ*; Mt *ʔamuʔ*; Bl *ʔmuʔ*, Pl *ʔamu-lic*, Sed (Td) *ʔəmuʔ*
     'type of cake (made from rice or millet mixed with banana or sweet
     potatoes) wrapped in banana leaves'

107. Sq *s-m-ius* 'to purify, consecrate; kind of healing magic'
     Mb, Mt *s-um-ius* 'to pray for'
     Bl *s-m-ius* 'to curse other people'

I have not been able to check the above items with the various informants
from all the dialects. However, as the greater portion have been checked, it
is doubtful that anything theoretically significant would turn up if I had the
time before publication to check with all the informants.

Appendix. Classification, Location and Informants of Atayalic Dialects

	Abbr.	Dialects	Location	Informants
1.	Sq	Squliq	桃園縣復興鄉澤仁村	Ciruʔ 游道男 (m40),
				Pepay Holaʔ 王玉女 (f 65)
2.	Ms	Maspaziʔ	新竹縣五峯鄉大隘村	林文廣 (m), 林文正 (m)
3.	Sk	Skikun	宜蘭縣大同鄉四季村	戴 笠 (m),
				Pasaŋ ʔukis 李永雄 (m61)
4.	Mn	Mnawyan	宜蘭縣大同鄉樂水村碼崙	Hayuŋ Kalaw 楊良吉 (m65)
5.	Pk	Paʔkualiʔ	苗栗縣泰安鄉八卦村	See note 2
6.	Mx	Mayrinax	苗栗縣泰安鄉錦水村汶水	See note 2
7.	Mb	Mabatuʔan	苗栗縣泰安鄉清安村洗水坑	Taliʔ Nabaw 劉正義 (m70),
				劉秋元 (m45),
				Yaŋah Yupas 劉長青 (m47)
8.	Mt	Matabalay	苗栗縣泰安鄉大興村高熊卡	Baysuʔ Kaynuʔ 簡文彬 (m65),
				Kagiʔ Nawkih 簡瑞樟 (m52)
9.	Sx	Sakuxan	苗栗縣泰安鄉中興村	Yupas Kagiʔ 高德安 (m63)
10.	Bx	Bayʔanux	苗栗縣泰安鄉梅園村	Bawxil Kumaw 陳阿貴 (m47)
11.	Bl	Bʔalaʔ	南投縣仁愛鄉新生村 (眉原)	Hayas Siyat 高海波 (m43)
12.	Pl	Palŋawan	南投縣仁愛鄉親愛村萬大	Bakan Nabis 林娥妹 (f 51),
				Pawan Watan 曾朝清 (m50)
13.	Tn	Toŋan	南投縣仁愛鄉南豐村湄溪	Temuʔ Nokan 林神輝 (m59),
				Pihuʔ omin 陳萬源 (m32)
14.	Td	Toda	南投縣仁愛鄉春陽村	Bakan Nawiʔ 張胡愛妹 (f 46),
				Basaw Temuʔ 張文旺 (m48)
15.	Tr	Truwan	南投縣仁愛鄉合作村平生 (靜觀)	Watan Sedaŋ 呂金池 (m35)
16.	In	Inago	南投縣仁愛鄉親愛村松林	Taimuʔ Pidoʔ 蔡阿茂 (m62),
				Walis Tadaw 白炳華 (m40)

REFERENCES

Blust, Robert. 1970. Proto–Austronesian addenda. *Oceanic Linguistics* 9. 2: 104–162.

Charles, Matthew. 1973. Additional reconstructions to be added to Zorc and Charles 1971.

Dahl, Otto Christian. 1973, 1976. *Proto–Austronesian.* Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 15. Lund.

_____ 1981. *Early Phonetic and Phonemic Changes in Austronesian.* Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

Dempwolff, Otto. 1934–38. *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes.* Berlin.

Dyen, Isidore. 1971. The Austronesian languages and Proto–Austronesian. In Thomas Sebeok, ed. *Current Trends in Linguistics* 8: 5–54. The Hague: Mouton.

Egerod, Søren. 1980. *Atayal–English Dictionary.* Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 35. Curzon Press.

Haas, Mary R. 1964. Men's and women's speech in Koasati. In Dell Dymes, ed., *Language in Culture and Society*, 228–33. Harper & Row.

Jespersen, Otto. 1964. *Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin.* W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Labov, William. 1963. The social motivation of a sound change. *Word* 19: 273–309.

_____ 1965. On the mechanism of linguistic change. *Georgetown University Monograph Series in Languages* and *Linguistics* 18: 91–114.

_____ 1966. Hypercorrection by the lower middle class as a factor in linguistic change. In William Bright (ed.), *Sociolinguistics*, 84–101. The Hague: Mouton.

Li, Paul Jen–kuei. 1980a. The phonological rules of Atayal dialects. *BIHP* 51. 2: 349–405.

_____ 1980b. Men's and women's speech in Mayrinax. *Papers in Honor of Professor Lin Yü–k'eng on Her Seventieth Birthday*, 9–17. Taipei: Wen Shin Publishing Co.

_____ 1981. Reconstruction of proto-Atayalic phonology. *BIHP* 52. 2: 235–301.

_____ 1982. Linguistic variations of different age groups in the Atayalic dialects. In *Studies in Linguistics Presented to Dr. Fang-kuei Li on His Eightieth Birthday. Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, New Series 14: 167–191.

_____ forthcoming. Types of lexical derivation of men's speech in Mayrinax. To appear in *BIHP* 54.

Ogawa, Naoyoshi and Erin Asai. 小川尚義，淺井惠倫 1935. 原語による臺灣高砂族傳説集 *The Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes*. Taihoku: Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku Gengo-gaku Kenkyushitsu.

Sapir, Edward. 1929. Male and female forms of speech in Yana. In St. W. J. Teeuwen, ed., *Donum Natalicium Schrijnen*, 79–85. Nijmegen–Utrecht: Dekker and Van de Vegt. Reprinted in David G. Mandelbaum, ed., Selected *Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, and Personality* (1949), 206–212. University of California Press.

Thorne, Barrie & Nancy, Henley, eds. 1975. *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. Newberry House Publishers Inc.

Trudgill, Peter. 1974. *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction*. Penguin Books Ltd.

Tsuchida, Shigeru 土田滋. 1976. *Reconstruction of Proto-Tsouic Phonology*. Tokyo: Study of Languages & Cultures of Asia & Africa Monograph Series No. 5.

_____ 1980. 臺灣高山族の男のことば女のことば Men's and women's speech in a Formosan language. 朝日新聞夕刊 *Asahi Shinbun Evening Newspaper*, August 5, 1980.

_____ 1981a. アウストロネシア諸語における女性語と男性語 Male and female forms of speech in various Austronesian languages—Notes and Queries. The Japanese Society for Oceanic Studies, *News Letter* 10: 2–8.

_____ 1981b. Types of word formation of men's speech in Atayal (Saheyan dialect), Taiwan. Unpublished manuscript, pp. 11.

Wurm, Stephen A. and B. Wilson, eds. 1975. *English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages (Post-Brandstetter)*, Pacific Linguistics C33. Canberra: The Australian National University.

(Received 16 August 1982)