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A grammar of Atayal

Rau, Der-Hwa Victoria, Ph.D.

Cornell University, 1992

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300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

A GRAMMAR OF ATAYAL

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Cornell University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Der-Hwa Victoria Rau

May 1992

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Biographical Sketch

Der-Hwa Victoria Rau was born in Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China on June 9, 1959. She received her B.A. in English Literature at Fu-Jen Catholic University in Taiwan. She had been a radio broadcaster at China Broadcasting Company ever since she was nine years old and later worked at China Television Company as a television hostess during her undergraduate years. She was chosen as a member of the Youth Goodwill Mission of the Republic of China to visit the U.S.A. and the Philippines to introduce Chinese culture and folk arts. She also visited Japan and Korea as a member of a group of exchange students sponsored by China Youth Corps.

She came to the United States in 1981 for graduate study. She received her M.A. in Journalism and Mass Communication in 1983 from the University of Minnesota and the same year married Gerald A. Rau. Gerald and Der-Hwa wanted to be Christian professionals to serve among the Chinese people, so they moved to Ithaca to study Agriculture and Linguistics, respectively.

While she was a graduate student, she taught Mandarin Chinese (her native language) as a teaching assistant, studied Indonesian intensively in the FALCON Program, edited a Tagalog textbook, and later taught Indonesian and Tagalog. She loves teaching foreign languages so much that she started the Ithaca Chinese school in 1990 to teach children Chinese and served as the Principal of the school for the first year after its establishment.

She is happily married with three children: Daniel, Linda, and Elaine.

To my beloved Atayal brothers and sisters
Mhway su' balay, Utux Kayan.

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During my field trip to Taiwan, my elder brother Yi-Ching Ho and his family gave me both physical and emotional support while my parents-in-law, Kenneth and Edith Rau, helped care for my children. They made my trip back to Taiwan very smooth and enjoyable.

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balanced. My prayer partner, Dr. Hilary Wang, shared with me many moments of joy and tears in the process of growing and learning.

My deepest love goes to my mother, Susan Chang, who raised me with her best effort. She taught me how to be persevering, responsible, and fully dedicated to my work by being a good example herself. She has lived with us for the past five years to help us raise our three children. Without her great sacrifice, I would not have been able to be a mother and a graduate student at the same time.

Last but not least, I am indebted to my husband, Dr. Gerald Rau, who considers my needs and achievements more important than his. He spent many long hours helping to decipher Dr. John Wolff's handwriting and proofreading and formatting the final draft of the dissertation. I have learned to be more confident and faithful because of his example. His unconditional love and encouragement has made my long journey of academic pursuit at Cornell very worthwhile.

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List of Abbreviations Used

1PD-EXCL	first person plural dative exclusive
1PD-INCL	first person plural dative inclusive
1PN-EXCL-IN	first person plural nominative exclusive independent
1PN-INCL-IN	first person plural nominative inclusive independent
1PG-EXCL	first person plural genitive exclusive
1PG-INCL	first person plural genitive inclusive
1PN-EXCL	first person plural nominative exclusive
1PN-INCL	first person plural nominative inclusive
1PD-INCL	first person plural dative inclusive
1SD	first person singular dative
1SG-2SN	first person singular genitive and second person singular nominative
1SN-IN	first person singular nominative independent
1SN	first person singular nominative
2PG	second person plural genitive
2PN-IN	second person plural nominative independent
2SD	second person singular dative
2SG	second person singular genitive
2SN	second person singular nominative
2SN-IN	second person singular nominative independent
3PG	third person plural genitive
3PN	third person plural nominative
3PN-IN	third person plural nominative independent
3SG	third person singular genitive
3SN	third person singular nominative
3SN-IN	third person singular nominative independent
ACT	active
AFF	affirmation particle <i>si</i>
ASP	aspect marker
Cv-	verb-forming C-
CAU	causative
DAT	dative marker
DEF	definite
DEP	dependent
DP	direct passive
EX	exclamation particle
FUT	future tense
GA'	particle <i>ga'</i>
GEN	genitive marker
IMP	imperative
IP	instrumental passive
Kv-	verb-forming <i>K</i> -
LP	local passive
NA	particle <i>na</i>

NEG	negation
NOM	nominative marker
Pc-	causative <i>P</i> -
PeKv-	empty <i>P</i> - + verb-forming <i>K</i> -
PeSv-	empty <i>P</i> - + verb-forming <i>S</i> -
PeTv-	empty <i>P</i> - + verb-forming <i>T</i> -
Pr-	reciprocal <i>P</i> -
Pv-	verb-forming <i>P</i> -
PA	past tense
PAR	particle
PN	place name
PRES	present tense
PRN	personal name
Q	question
QU'	particle <i>qu'</i>
REC	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
Sm-	transitive <i>S</i> -
Sv-	verb-forming <i>S</i> -
SUB	subjunctive
Tv-	verb-forming <i>T</i> -
TOP	topic marker

Preface

The aim of this work is to provide a description of Atayal in functional terms. This grammar was written with both linguists and literacy workers in mind. It is my hope that linguists who are interested in comparative work in Austronesian languages and literacy workers who are developing materials for teaching the younger generations of Atayal their dying tradition will find this work useful.

A grammar of any language is bound to be incomplete, and mine is no exception. It is my hope that my effort may spur others on to further discoveries in the study of Atayal.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. The language and its speakers

Atayal is a Formosan language in the Austronesian family. The Atayalic people (including Atayal and Sediq) are the second largest aboriginal tribe in Taiwan, next to the Amis, populating the northern mountain area in Taiwan, stretching through eight prefectures: (A) Taipei, (B) Taoyuan, (C) Hsinchu, (D) Miaoli, (E) Taichung, (F) Nantou, (K) Hualien, and (L) Ilan (Figure 1.1). Their current population is estimated to be around 70,000 (Liao, 1984: 379). They are widely distributed in over one third of the mountainous areas in Taiwan. The Atayalic language is comprised of two major variants, Atayal proper and Sediq proper. According to Chen (1958), Atayal proper is spoken by 36,000 people (72% of the Atayal population) in the northern mountains (south of the Ketagalan area) whereas Sediq speakers are estimated at about 14,000 (28% of the Atayal population) in the mountains south of the Atayal proper area. Atayal and Sediq are two of the ten extant Formosan languages with more than 1,000 speakers in Taiwan along with Amis, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiat, Tsou, and Yami.

The name Atayal means "people", referring to "people of the Taiwanese aboriginal tribes". Atayal proper contains two main dialects, Squliq (Sqolyeq) and C[?]uli[?] (Ts[?]ole) (Wei, 1955: 9). The names Squliq and C[?]uli[?] both mean "human being". The Squliq variant is spoken in the following counties (or Hsiang) of the prefectures from northern to central Taiwan: Wulai County in Taipei, Fuhsing County in Taoyuan, Tatung and Nan'ao County in Ilan, Tsienshih County in Hsinchu, Hoping

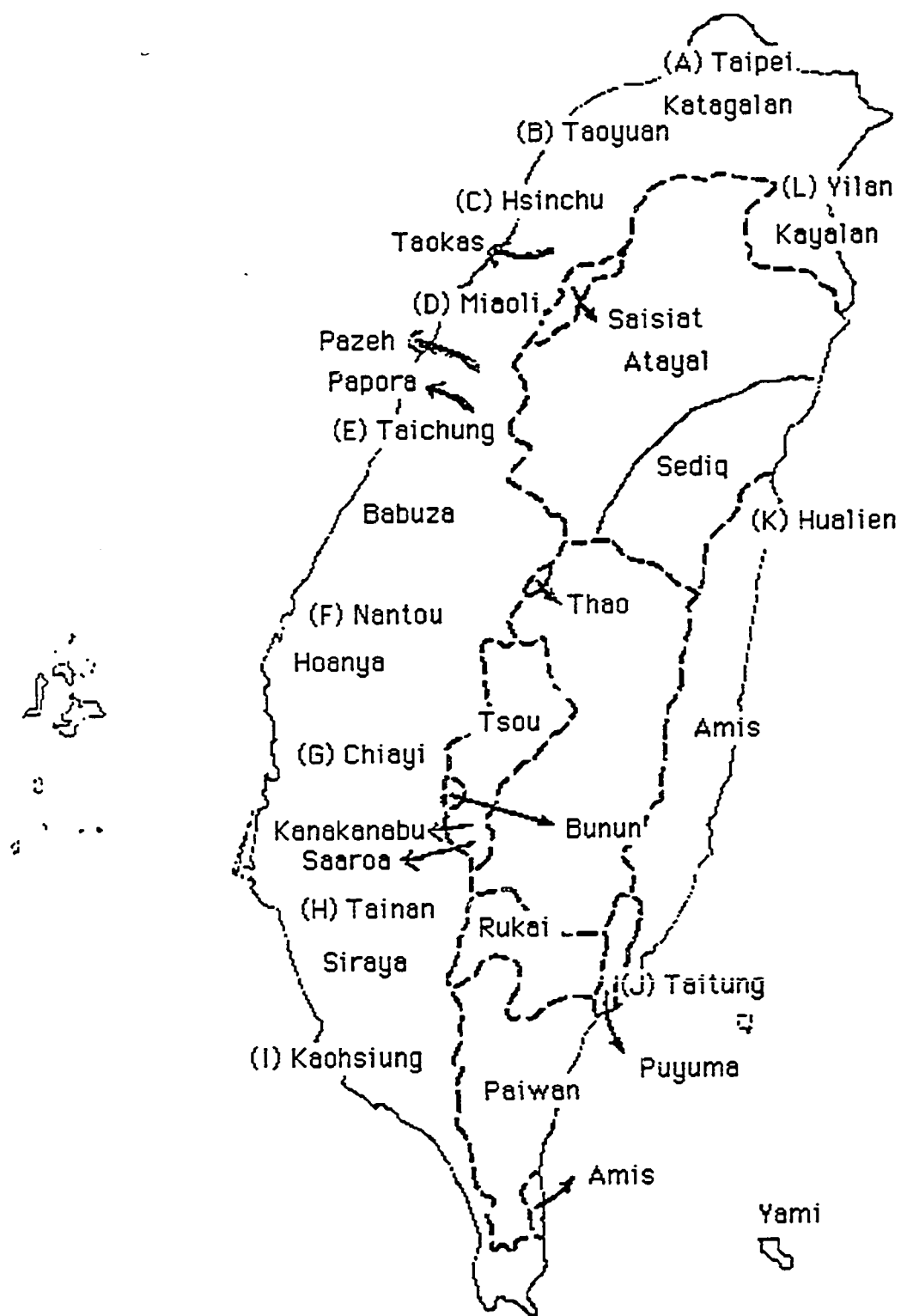


Figure 1.1. Distribution of Formosan Languages in Taiwan

County in Taichung, and Jen'ai County in Nantou. The C[?]uli[?] variant is dialectally far more divergent than Squliq and is spoken in Hoping County in Taichung, Tai'an County in Miaoli, Wufung and Tsienshih County in Hsinchu, and Tatung and Nan'ao County in Ilan. Among the Squliq variant, the Gogan dialect, spoken in Taipei, Taoyuan, and Ilan Prefectures, is the prestige dialect of Atayal proper. It is spoken by the majority of the Atayal and is used as the medium of Atayal Christian church services.

The Sediq proper is commonly referred to as "Taroko" in Taiwan. Most of the Sediq people live in Jen'ai County in Nantou and Hsiulin County in Hualien. A small proportion resides in Tatung and Nan'ao County in Ilan (Liao,1977-78). Atayal proper and Sediq proper were traditionally considered to be one group by Japanese anthropologists and currently are still classified as one group by the Chinese government in Taiwan due to the relative cultural homogeneity of the Atayalic people. But Sediq is distant from the two Atayalic dialects, i.e. Squliq and C[?]uli[?], and should be considered a separate language.

1.2. Review of literature

There has been no thorough study of any of the Atayal dialects. Most of the previous studies are based on the Gogan dialect of the Squliq variant. There are the following studies for Squliq: texts with vocabulary (Egerod 1965a, 1969, 1974, Ferrell 1969, Liao 1990a, b, Naqang 1991, Ogawa 1931, 1932, Ogawa & Asai 1935, Sheerer 1932, Wulai Elementary School, 1991), an Atayal-English dictionary (Egerod, 1980), discussions of Atayal phonology (Egerod 1966a, Hirano 1972, Tsuchida 1976, Yamada & Liao 1974), a brief outline of the verbal system (Egerod 1965b, Tseng 1989), a

brief discussion of Atayal syntax (Egerod 1966b), and some remarks on Atayal syntax and semantics (Huang 1988, 1991).

Paul Li and S. Tsuchida have done some comparative work on the C[?]uli[?] dialects. Tsuchida investigated the differences between male and female speech in some C[?]uli[?] variants (1980b, 1981a, b) and the subgrouping of Squiliq and C[?]uli[?] dialects (1980a). Li's studies, including phonological rules of Atayalic dialects (1980a, 1982a), reconstruction and classification of Atayal in the Austronesian language family (1981, 1985a, b), and sociolinguistic variations in C[?]uli[?] (1980b, 1982b, c, 1983a, b, 1986), have provided a solid basis for determining cognates.

Although studies prior to Li's and Tsuchida's (Dyen 1965, 1971a) came to the conclusion that Atayal was strongly divergent from the Austronesian group, more intensive studies of C[?]uli[?] show that this apparent divergence was due to sharp changes¹ which took place in the recent history of the language, and the Atayalic group is in fact not sharply divergent from other Formosan languages.

There is also a small amount of information on Sediq, although this language has been even less researched than Atayal. Previous studies include: texts and grammatical sketches on Paran and Taroko dialects (Ogawa & Asai 1935, Asai 1953), Paran phonology (Yang 1975, 1976a), Taroko morphology and syntax (Covell 1956, 1957), a list of Sakura

1 One thing which happened in Atayal was that a special set of vocabulary for female language was developed. Although this is not in use any more, remnants of it are found in the Mayrinax dialect of C[?]uli[?] (Li 1980b). In many cases when the difference between the male-female speech was lost, what survived was not the inherited male form, but rather the female form which had purposely been made aberrant from the inherent form. Thus, there has been a rapid divergence in the lexicon of Atayal, especially in the Squiliq dialect.

vocabulary (Ferrell 1969), and comparative study of the Paran, Taroko and Sakura dialects (Yang 1976b). There is also a Sediq dictionary.

1.3. The position of Atayal in the Austronesian family

Previous attempts at classification have placed Formosan languages as a major branch or an early offshoot from PAN (Proto-Austronesian). Haudricourt (1962, 1965) proposes that Formosan languages are in a subgroup, coordinate with Hesperonesian and Oceanic languages (Figure 1.2).

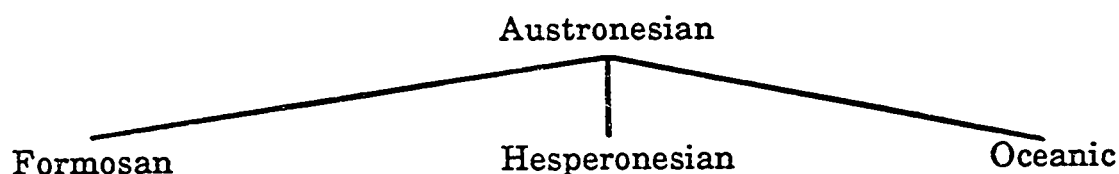


Figure 1.2. Haudricourt's Subgrouping of Austronesian Languages
(based on Haudricourt 1962, 1965)

Dyen (1965) classifies Formosan languages as forming two separate groups: the Atayalic subfamily, an independent primary member of the PAN family and the East Formosan Hesion, a subgroup of the Malayo-Polynesian group (Figure 1.3).

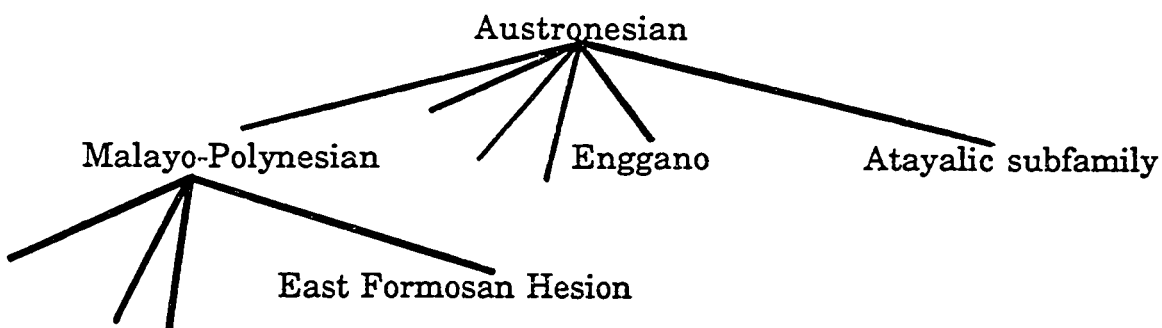


Figure 1.3. Dyen's Proposal for the Position of Formosan Languages in the Austronesian family. (adapted from Chen 1987: 8)

According to Dahl (1976), Formosan languages are the first offshoot from PAN (Figure 1.4).

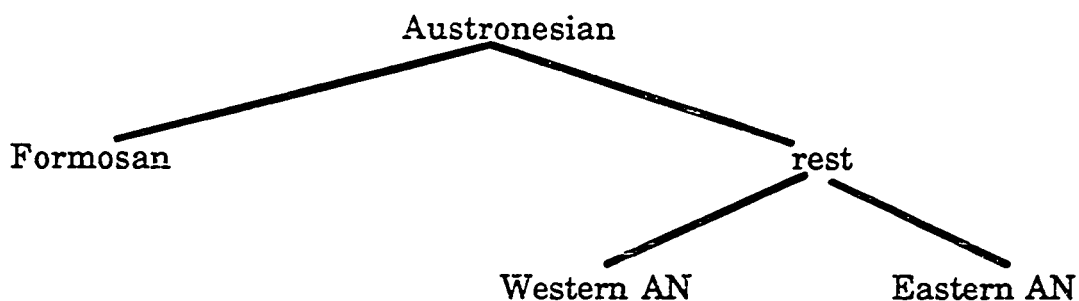


Figure 1.4. Dahl's Subgrouping of Austronesian Languages (adapted from Chen 1987: 9)

Blust (1977) suggests the original Austronesian speech community be divided up into the four branches: Extra-Formosan, Atayalic, Tsouic, and Paiwanic (Figure 1.5).

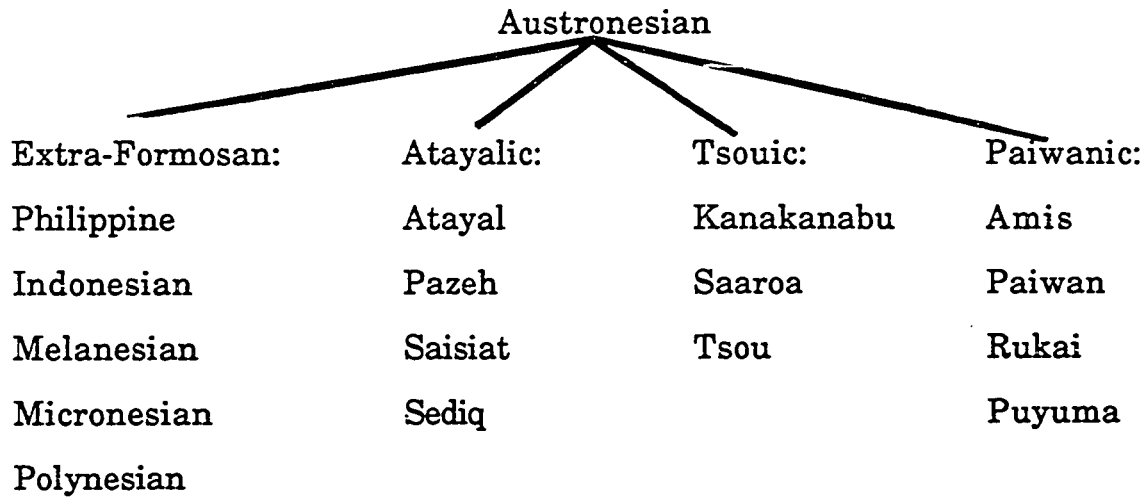


Figure 1.5. Blust's Subgrouping of Austronesian languages (adapted from Starosta 1988: 2).

An intermediate position is taken by Tsuchida (1976). He proposes that Formosan languages as a whole form a single subgroup closely related to the western Austronesian languages (Figure 1.6). The verb structure in the Formosan languages is said to exhibit a striking similarity to that of Hesperonesian (Egerod 1965a, 1966a, Wolff 1973). As the subsequent chapters may show, Atayal is grammatically very similar to the languages of the Philippines, especially Tagalog.

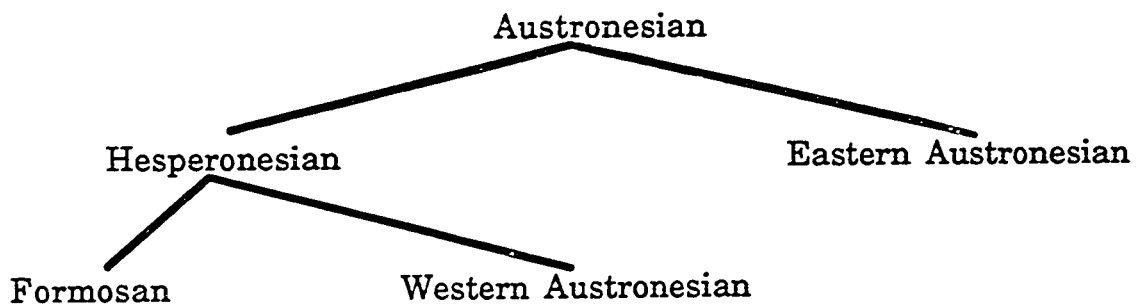


Figure 1.6. Tsuchida's Subgrouping of Austronesian Languages

The subgrouping of Formosan languages into Atayalic, Tsouic, and Paiwanic seems generally undisputed (cf. Thuchida 1976: 9-15). Atayal is subgrouped with Sediq under the Atayalic subgroup (Figure 1.7).

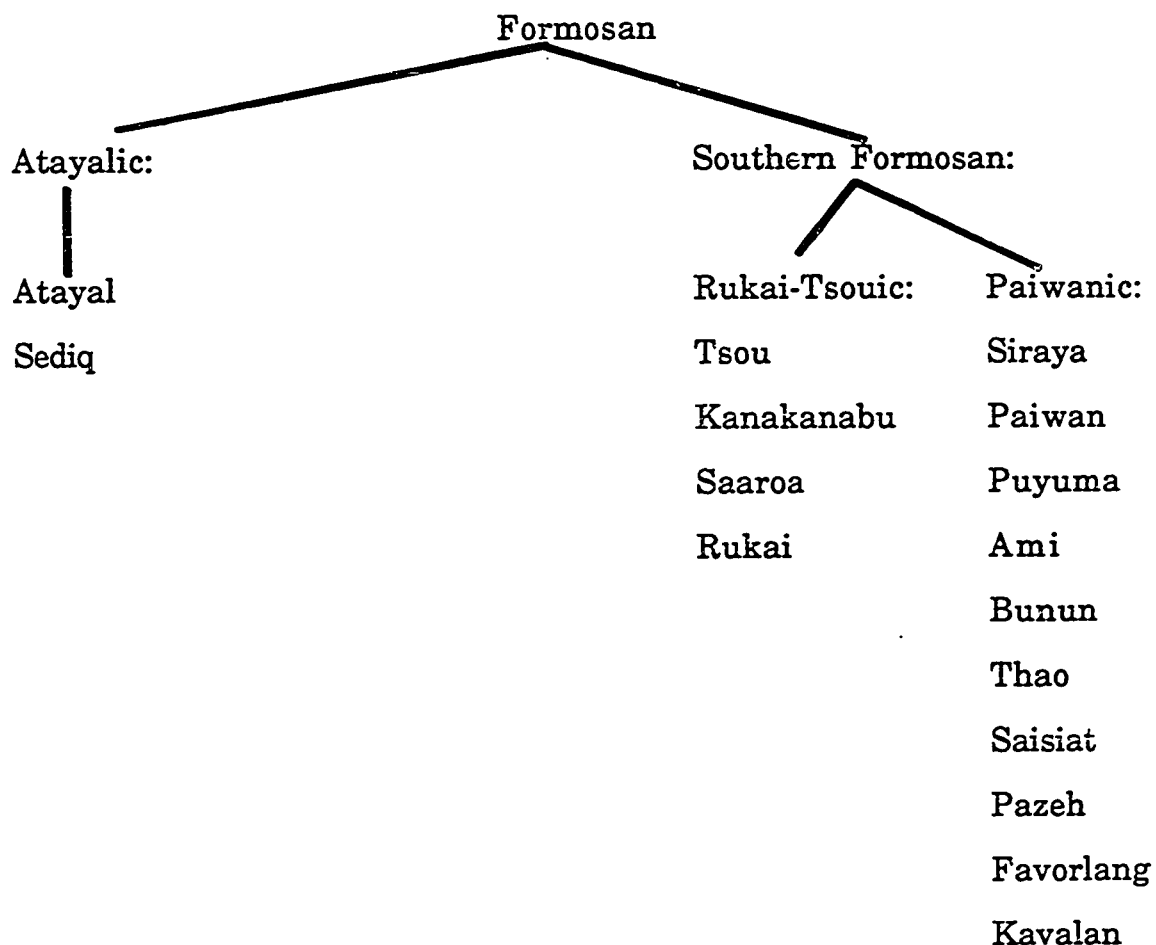


Figure 1.7. Tsuchida's Subgrouping of Formosan Languages (adaped from Tsuchida 1976: 15).

On the basis of phonological and lexical evidence, Li (1985b) proposes that Atayal, Sediq, Saisiat and the now dead Pazeh, Taokas, Babuza, Papora and Hoanya were one subgroup of the Formosan

languages (Figure 1.8). Since all these languages are or were located in the north or north west of Taiwan, they are labeled the "Northern" group.

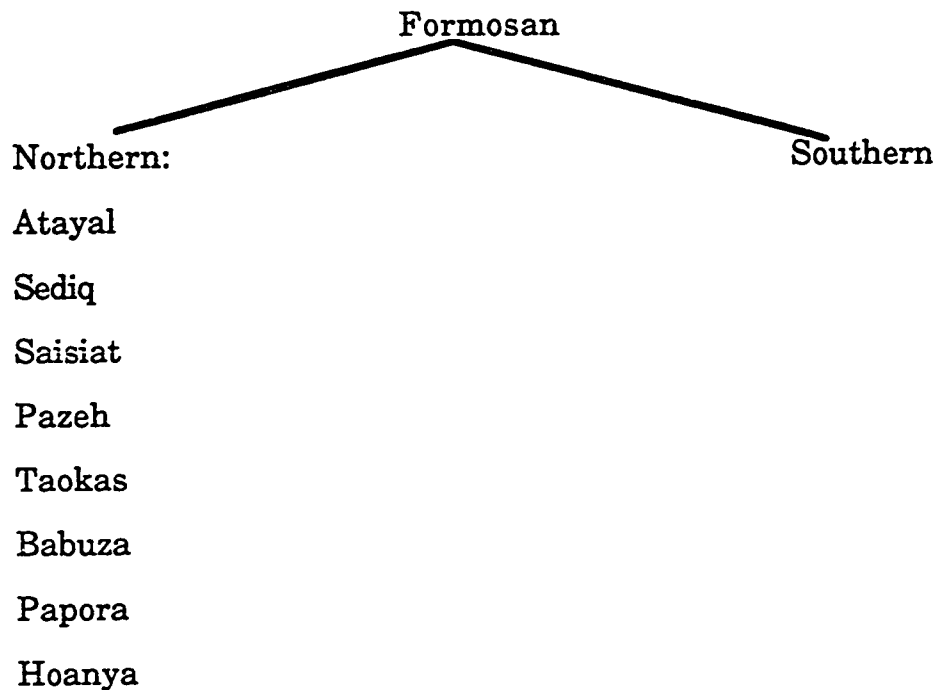


Figure 1.8. Li's Subgrouping of Formosan Languages

1.4. Goal of the dissertation

The aim of this study is to provide a thorough description of the Gogan dialect of Atayal. A descriptive study of the structure of Atayal is important because Atayal has been given great importance in comparative Austronesian studies. It is thought that Taiwan is the 'homeland' of almost all the languages of the Pacific Ocean (Starosta 1988), and thus studies of the structures of Formosan languages are crucial to the reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian and of the prehistory of the Austronesian peoples. It is also thought that the Atayalic languages may give data on the protolanguage of a sort that no other

language can give because Atayal preserves in its syntax and morphology forms which are petrified in other languages (Wolff 1973). The existence of remnants of an older system offers the clearest proof of its antiquity. Therefore, for the field of comparative Austronesian linguistics, especially in historical syntax and morphology, Atayal is of the highest importance. A thorough description of Atayal of the type that is available for Tagalog, Indonesian, Javanese, and other major Austronesian languages will provide an immensely important treasure trove of information to scholars working in the history of the Austronesian languages.

This study will be presented in the following order: Chapter 1, Introduction; Chapter 2, Phonology; Chapter 3, Verbal Morphology - Primary Affixes; Chapter 4, Verbal Morphology - Secondary Affixes; Chapter 5, Nouns and Pronouns; Chapter 6, Simple Sentences - Predications and Case Roles; Chapter 7, The Make-Up and Modifications of Predicates; Chapter 8, Coordination and Compounding; Chapter 9, Conclusion, and Appendix: Atayal Texts with English Translation.

1.5. Theoretical framework

In this study, the structure of Atayal will be described based on a functional approach to the study of languages (Folley & Van Valin 1984, Halliday 1985, Givón 1984). The structural properties of the sentences in the language are discussed in terms of the pragmatic situations in which they are used. In other words, the grammar of the language is understood in its entire communicative context, in terms of its functional factors. Functional analysis directs its attention to the context-dependent nature of linguistic units and focuses on the interaction of linguistic forms

and communicative functions. This approach leans towards the applied, rhetorical, actual, functional text rather than the pure, logical, ideal, and formal sentence. In a functional grammar, the interpretation of linguistic forms is based on meaning in context. A language is interpreted as a system of meanings and grammar is represented as networks of choices. Each element in a language is explained in terms of its function in the total linguistic system. In this approach, the predicate is taken to be the basic element of predication. The grammatical structure is explained by reference to the meaning in discourse. Thus the constituents of a grammatical structure are labeled by both class and function. The class labels are part of the dictionary whereas the function labels are an interpretation of the text. The functional description of the language identifies on the one hand all the various functions that are incorporated in the grammar and on the other hand all the possible structures which serve to express some meaning in the language from the most general to the most specific.

1.6. Speech community

A speech community is defined as a group of people who have shared norms and are in steady communication with one another (Gumperz 1968, Labov 1972). The speech community in Wulai County, Taipei Prefecture was chosen as the subject of the current study. It is located to the south of Taipei, about 15 miles from the Metropolitan area. There are four villages from North to South: (1) Chungchi, (2) Wulai, (3) Hsinhsien, and (4) Fushan (Figure 1.9), with a total population in 1982 of 3143 people in 704 households (Liao 1984). The Atayal people constitute

45% of the total population in Wulai. The Atayal population in the four villages surveyed in 1982 are tabulated in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1. 1982 Survey of the Population in Wulai County, Taipei (adapted from Liao 1984: 397).

<u>Village</u>	<u>Household</u>	<u>people</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Chungchi	84	412	221	191
Wulai	150	633	319	314
Hsinhsien	34	118	67	51
Fushan	81	368	187	181
Total	349	1531	794	737

Wulai is a multilingual society with at least four languages spoken: Atayal, Mandarin Chinese, Chinese Southern Min dialect (or Hokkien), and Japanese. Since Taiwan was colonized by Japan for fifty years until 1945, the older generation above 55 years old on the island received their primary education in Japanese. Therefore, Japanese still serves as a *lingua franca* among the older aborigines. The younger generation of Atayal receive schooling exclusively in Mandarin Chinese. Most of the Atayal have also learned to communicate in the Hokkien dialect because over 80% of the population in Taiwan speak Hokkien as their first language. Japanese is also used to entertain Japanese tourists, who are among the major patrons at the Wulai tourist center. Among the Atayal, the decision of which language to use is largely based on the

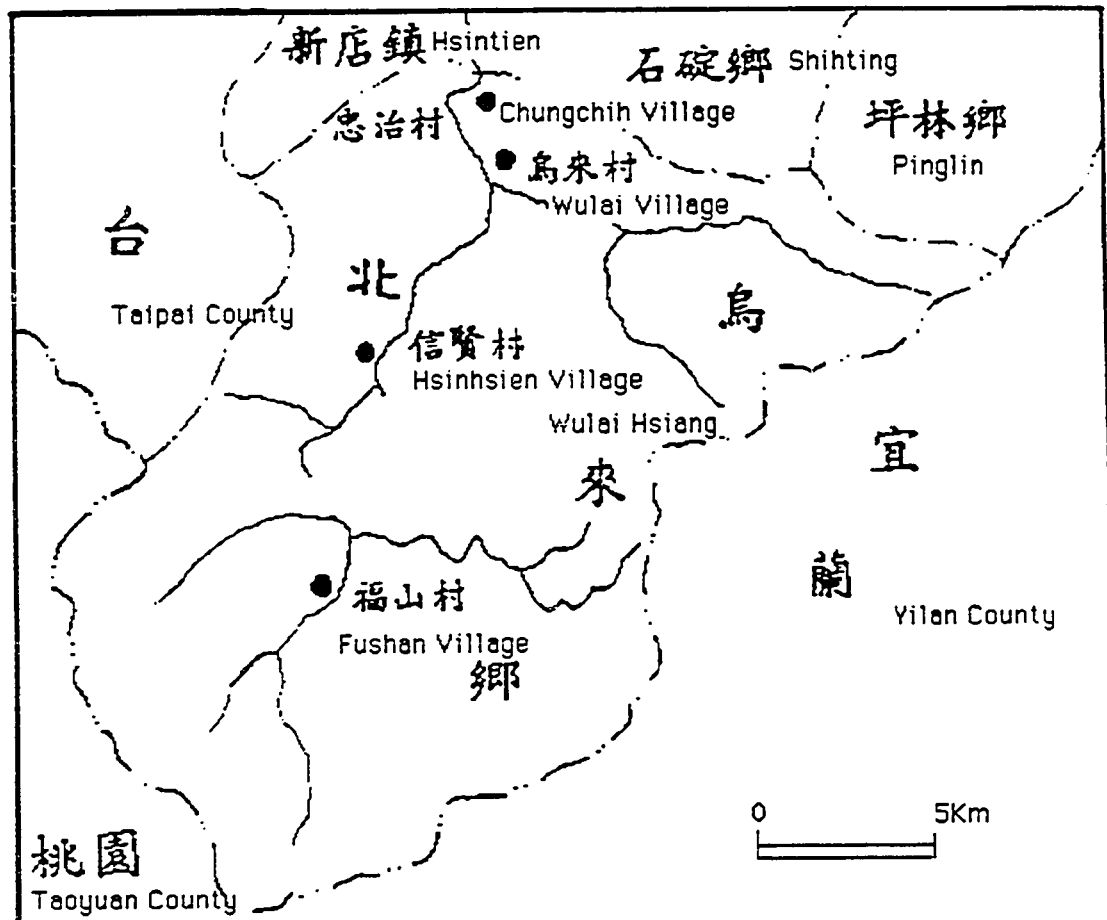


Figure 1.9. Settlements of the Atayal in Wulai, Taipei

participants of the conversation. Among the Atayal adults in Wulai, Atayal is used at work and at home to address their peers and older Atayal people. In speaking to Han-Chinese, either Mandarin or Hokkien is used depending on what language the addressee is most comfortable with. Due to Atayal's close contact with the Chinese in Wulai, and due especially to the fact that schooling and mass media are in Mandarin Chinese, Atayal children in this speech community are now addressed almost exclusively in Mandarin Chinese. However, within the four villages the degree of language shifting and language death varies from place to place depending on how extensive the contact with Chinese is. The percentages of Atayal vis-à-vis Han-Chinese in Wulai County as surveyed in the end of 1979 (Liao 1984) are tabulated in Table 1.2. Based on the figures in Table 1.2, Atayal language shift to Mandarin Chinese could be expected to be the fastest in the village of Wulai. Fushan is predicted to be the last one to change.

Table 1.2. Percentage of Atayal vis-à-vis Chinese Population in Wulai Hsiang, Taipei, as surveyed in 1979.

<u>Village</u>	<u>Atayal</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Atayal</u>
Chungchi	386	709	0	1095	54%
Wulai	596	1667	9 ²	2272	26%
Hsinhsien	98	226	0	324	30%
Fushan	341	8	0	349	98%
Total	1421	2610	9	4040	35%

² These are 9 Amis from 2 households.

The Taiwanese aborigines are the most Christianized group in Taiwan with over half of their population of 300,000 being converted to the Christian faith. The village of Chungchi is a highly evangelized community with 85% of the Atayal population being Protestant and another 15% being Catholic. Because of its short distance from downtown Taipei and its convenient transportation to the tourist center in Wulai, most of the younger generation can find employment in either Taipei or Wulai and commute by bus or motorcycle every day. The village of Wulai has more Atayals, but the Atayal population constitutes only a quarter of the village and these Atayals came from many different prefectures. It is one of the largest tourist attractions in Taiwan, famous for its beautiful mountain views, hot springs, and aboriginal songs and dances. The Chinese there own gift shops, hotels, and restaurants and congregate at the entrance of the tourist center. The Atayal tribe is located higher on the mountain, across the street from the Town House. Many Atayals are employed by the Aboriginal Culture Company they run themselves, arranging cultural performances for tourists. The villages of Hsinhsien and Fushan are in the aboriginal tribal reservations where a permit is required for Han-Chinese and other outsiders to enter. However, the public transportation system is convenient enough for the Atayals in Hsinhsien and Fushan to go shopping in Taipei city regularly. Some Atayal children even commute to school in Taipei, even though there are schools locally.

1.7. Methodology

I took a five-week field trip to Taiwan from December 12, 1989 to January 18, 1990 to tape record and oversee transcription of oral folklore

materials and conversations and to observe how Atayal is used in Wulai. The speech data for this study is primarily based on the eight texts I collected from 8 informants during my field trip and is transcribed in the Appendix with English translation. It contains 120 minutes of tape recorded story-telling and interviews. Secondary resources are texts from Liao, Li, Atayal Alphabet, and other texts previously produced by Egerod, Sheerer, and Ogawa & Asai. The most recently published texts (Liao 1990a, b) contain a transcription of an interview of Liao's uncle and a letter written by Liao to his family. Li's unpublished texts comprise seven short stories collected by Li. Atayal Alphabet is an Atayal primer prepared by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan to teach literacy in Atayal. All texts were typed on an Apple Macintosh in the program "Microsoft Word" and put into an IBM concordance program, WordCruncher, to produce a printout as a reference for the grammatical analysis.

I used an inductive approach to form hypotheses about the structure of the language by examining all the sentences with the same constructions. At the last stage of the analysis, a grammatical check was conducted to fill in the gaps of morphological and syntactical paradigms. I also searched all the previously published studies of Atayal to find out if there were any constructions that are not present in my data and tried to find explanations for them.

All examples from my data are referenced by name, story, and line number (e.g. Rau, B15). All examples from other sources are referenced by names, (years), page numbers, and with/without paragraph numbers (e.g. Egerod 1980, p. 271; Liao-B, p. 89: 42; Atayal Alphabet, p. 10).

The eight Atayal informants in Wulai, who provided the speech data, are introduced as follows:

Lawa Yagu, Female, 82 years old, homemaker, born in Chungchi, has lived in Wulai since the age of 17, monolingual Atayal speaker.

Amuy Sangas, Female, 40 years old, Town clerk, born in Tsienshih County, Hsinchu, has lived in the village of Wulai for 14 years.

Payas Walis, Male, 82 years old, retired Pastor and teacher, born in and has lived in the village of Hsinhsien all his life.

Wen Chung-Rong, Male, 49 years old, Town clerk, born in the village of Wulai, married to a Sediq speaker, living in Taipei but working in Wulai.

Tana Temu, Male, 74 years old, retired businessman, born in and has lived in the village of Wulai all his life.

Temu Pehu, Male, 57 years old, Pastor of Chungchi Church, born in and has lived in the village of Chungchi all his life.

Chen Tien-Tsih, Male, 36 years old, Pastor of a Mandarin speaking church in the village of Wulai, born in Tatung County, Ilan, grandparents and mother are from Fuhsing County, Taoyuan, married to a Sediq speaker.

Yabu Siyat, Male, 38 years old, previous Pastor of the Atayal speaking church in the village of Wulai, currently is the Director of the Aborigines Department of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church, born in Tai'an County, Miaoli, native C[?]uli[?] speaker, married to a Hokkien speaker.

Chapter Two

Phonology

Atayal has 19 consonant phonemes, 6 vowel phonemes, and 6 diphthongs.

2.1. Consonants

The consonantal phonemes of Atayal are: /p, b, m, t, r, n, s, c, z, l, k, g, ŋ, x, q, h, ' , y, and w/, as illustrated in Table 2.1. along with their allophonic representations.

Table 2.1. Inventory of consonants of Atayal

	Lab.	Alv.	Alv.-Pal.	Vel.	Uvu.	Pha.	Glo.
Vl. Stop	p [p, p ^h]	t [t, t ^h]		k [k, k ^h]	q [q, q ^h]		' [ʔ]
Vd. Fric.	b [β]		z [ʒ]	g [ɣ]			
Vl. Fric.		s [s, ʃ]		x		h [ħ]	
Vl. Affric.			c [tʃ, ts, ts ^h]				
Nasal	m	n		ŋ			
Lateral		l					
Retroflex		r [ɻ]					
Semi-vow.	w	y					

The 19 phonemes in Table 2.1 are the same as the ones given by Li (1980) and Chen & Lin (1985) but differ slightly from Egerod (1966a) with the addition of the two semi-vowels as phonemes. Symbols in square

brackets are allophones and their phonetic realizations are discussed below.

/p/, /t/, /k/ and /q/ are voiceless stops. They are aspirated postvocally but unaspirated otherwise. Li (1980) claims that the glottal stop /ʔ/ has the same complementary distribution as the other stops. However, one would not expect to find an aspirated postvocalic glottal stop and there was none.

/m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ are bilabial, alveolar, and velar nasals respectively.

/b/ and /g/ are commonly pronounced as bilabial voiced fricatives [β, γ].

/s/ is palatalized before the high front vowel /i/ and is pronounced [ʃ], otherwise is the alveolar fricative [s]. /s/ occasionally alternates freely with /h/, e.g., /sɫaɣiɣ ~ hɫaɣiɣ/ "snow", /snonux ~ hnonux/ "hair (on head)", but /s/ and /h/ are indeed contrastive.

/z/ is a voiced palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ] and almost exclusively occurs before /i/. In some words /z/ alternates freely with /zero/: /zyaw ~ yaw/ "thing", /bziran ~ biran/ "buy s.t."; in a few cases it alternates freely with /g/: /ziheŋ ~ giheŋ/ "place name".

/c/ is a voiceless affricate with [̚]-release before /i/, otherwise with s-release. /c/ is aspirated postvocally and unaspirated otherwise. /t/ and /c/ alternate after /i/ and do not contrast, e.g., /mit ~ mic/ "sheep, goat". Sometimes /t/ and /c/ alternate before a consonant, but in this position there is a contrast: e.g. /tminun ~ cminun/ "weave".

/l/ is a lateral fricative. /l/ and /n/ are neutralized in word final position, and only /n/ occurs. For example, Atayal "people" is pronounced as [ta:yan]. However, in suffixed forms /l/ remains unchanged when followed by a suffix, e.g. agaN (<agal) "to take" vs. gal-un "to take s.t." I

write the postvocalic /-l/ as an archiphoneme /N/ to indicate its status of neutralization with /-n/ postvocally.

/r/ ranges from a flapped retroflex to a trill.

/x/ is a velar fricative.

/h/ is a pharyngealized fricative.

/y/ and /w/ are semi-vowels.

/b/, /g/, /z/, and /r/ do not occur in postvocalic position. The remaining consonants in Table 2.1. can occur in prevocalic or postvocalic position.

2.1.1. The status of /y/ and /w/

Egerod (1966a) claims that the distinction of the semi-vowels /y/ and /w/ from /i/ and /u/ made by Scheerer (1932) and Ogawa (1935) is non-phonemic. Therefore, he transcribed /uaial/ "gone" for Scheerer's /wayal/ and Ogawa's /wajal/. However, it is more accurate and economical to analyze /y/ and /w/ as separate phonemes for the following reasons. First, a few forms necessitate the writing of y- and w- as separate phonemes. For example the form /yŋli?/ [yðŋðli?] "fly"¹ cannot be written as /iŋli?/ for this would imply [iŋðli?]. Second we follow Li's (1980a) argument which states that if we include the semi-vowels in the phonemic transcription, it will show the canonical syllable structure of Atayal more clearly, and the phonemic long vowels /ii, uu/ in word final position can be dispensed with. Therefore, /y/ and /w/ are distinguished from /i/ and /u/ and analyzed as phonemes in my analysis. I transcribe /uwiy/ [ʔu:wiy] "tired" for Egerod's

¹ I quote these forms on authority of Scheerer's /yeŋeli/ and Ogawa's /juŋðli/.

/uuii/, /iyat/ [ʔi:yat] "not" for his /iiat/, and /wayaN/ [wa:yan] "gone" for his /uaial/, etc.

2.1.2. A note on the glottal stop

Egerod did not transcribe the initial glottal stop before vowels because it is not in contrast with smooth initial onset vowels. Only when preceding consonants, e.g., /ʔriŋan/ "beginning", in word-medial position, e.g., /kiʔan/ "pregnant", or in final position where the glottal stop is in contrast with zero or other consonants, is it written as [ʔ], e.g., /mu/ "my" vs. /muʔ/ "to shoot", /nbuw/ "to drink" vs. /nbuʔ/ "illness", /mihiy/ "to beat" vs. /hiʔ/ "body". However, Li (1980a) suggests that the initial glottal stop not be left out before the vowel in word initial position for the sake of convenience and consistency in treating the morphophonemic alternations. Furthermore, the glottal stop is phonetically always present in initial position before a vowel. Therefore, Li always marks the glottal stop before an initial vowel.

However, following Egerod, I do not transcribe the glottal stop in prevocalic position as it does not contrast with its absence. Further when initial vowels are lost in the morphophonemic process of weakening (§ 2.7) the initial glottal stop is also lost in most cases. The glottal stop may have been developed as a phonetic feature mostly in the word-initial and final position in the modern dialects. The glottal stop in word final position that occurs frequently in Egerod's data may be a prosodic process and needs to be checked word by word for future research. That is, not all of the words which Egerod writes with a word final glottal stop do in fact have a glottal stop. The glottal stop is written as an apostrophe here, e.g., ki'an "pregnant".

2.2. Vowels

Atayal has six vowels: /i, e, a, o, u, ü²/ as illustrated by Table 2.2. The high front rounded vowel /ü/ is added to the five-vowel system suggested by Li (1980). Egerod (1966a) adds two long vowels /ii, uu/ to the system but they can be easily dispensed with by treating them as diphthongs /iy/ and /uw/ respectively as discussed in § 2.1.1. Chen & Lin (1985) recognizes /ə/ as a separate phoneme. But the schwa /ə/ should be more accurately treated as a phonetic transition as discussed in § 2.2.1. There are also six diphthongs: /ay, aw, uy, iw, iy, uw/. The diphthongs occur only in the final syllable of a word. The phonetic realizations of the allophones in the square brackets in Table 2.2 will be discussed below.

Table 2.2. Inventory of the vowels of Atayal

	Front		Back	
High	i [i]	ü		u [u]
Mid			e [ɛ]	o [ɔ]
Low			a [a, æ]	

2.2.1. Status of [ə]

Following Egerod and Li, [ə] should be analyzed as a non-contrastive vowel schwa [ə], which occurs between consonant clusters. Since it is always predictable and never appears in the stressed syllable, it is not written in my transcription. Therefore, words that appear to have prevocalic consonant clusters, e.g., pspɲun [pəspəpəɲun] "compare",

² The high front rounded vowel /ü/ is written as /u/ in Atayal orthography.

always have the schwa [ə] introduced between two consonants. The schwa [ə] also serves as a phonetic transition which is inserted between /q, h/ and the high vowels /i, u/ and vice versa, e.g., squliq --> [səqəu:liəq] "human being", mihiy --> [mi:əhəiy] "to beat", huziN --> [həu:zin] "dog".

2.2.2. /i/ and /u/

/i/ and /u/ can be modified in the vicinity of /q, h, ŋ/ by insertion of [ə] as illustrated in 2.2.1. They can also alternate with /e/ and /o/ respectively in the vicinity of /q, h, ŋ/, e.g., /liqan ~ leqan/ [li:əqan ~ le:əqan] "well", /mhuqiN ~ mhoqeN/ [məhəu:qəiN ~ məhəɔ:qəɛn] "die", /biŋ ~ beŋ/ "carry, bring", and /puŋ ~ poŋ/ "hear".

/i/ and /u/ in word final position are found lowered in some monosyllabic words, e.g., /ki ~ ke/ "final particle", /ru' ~ ro'/ "particle of coordination".

Modified non-final long /e/ alternates with /i/ and /o/ with /u/.

/biqan ~ beqan/ "give s.t."

/hupa' ~ hopa'/ "big"

/hi' ~ he'/ "body"

/puŋ ~ poŋ/ "hear"

2.2.3. /e/ and /o/

Both Egerod and Li state that the vowels /e/ and /o/ are less common than the three primary vowels and have acquired their phonemic status recently due to sound change. In Egerod's data /e/ occurs in minimum contrast with /i/ (e.g., /ki'/ "and" vs. /ke'/ "word") and /o/ in minimum contrast with /u/ (e.g., /muṣa'/ vs. /moṣa'/, different forms of /uṣa'/ "go"). There is also another kind of /e/ and /o/: /e/ is derived from /ay/ and /o/ from /aw/, for /ay/ and /aw/ have changed to /e/ and /o/ respectively in the

non-final syllable of a word. In the following examples, /ay/ and /aw/ represent an older pronunciation.

/qes/ "happy" (<qays)	/lmom/ "burn" (<lmawm)
/behuy/ "wind" (<bayhuy)	/roziq/ "eyes" (<rawziq)
/kneriN/ "woman" (<knayril)	/snonux/ "hair" (<snawnux)
/ke [?] / "talk" (<kay)	/qom/ "ant-eater" (<qawm)

Thus we have two kinds of /e/ and /o/: (1) the /e/ and /o/ deriving from a lowered /i/ and /u/ and (2) the /e/ and /o/ deriving from /ay/ and /aw/.

2.2.4. The new phoneme /ü/

The front rounded /ü/ occurs in the final syllable of the following words in my data: Yayüt [ya:yüt] "woman's name", Sayun [sa:yün], "woman's name", yuyüt [yu:yüt] "bottle". This contrasts with the back rounded vowel /u/, e.g., uyuk [u:yuk] "the young of certain animals." This restricted phoneme distribution might be a case of phonological borrowing from Chinese loan words into Atayal (cf. Van Coetsem 1987, Rau 1989).

2.2.5. Echo vowels

Yang (1976a) states that there is an echo vowel added to the end of the word with /h, k, x, q, c, s/ in Sediq. Atayal also has a voiceless echo vowel of the same quality as the vowel of the preceding syllable attached to the end of the syllable with /h, x/ before pause. The echo vowel is written in parentheses. /a/ has the variant [æ] next to /h/ according to Li (1980a).

/mtalah/ "red"--> [mɔ̃ta:læh(æ)]

/phpah/ "flower" --> [pɔ̃h(ə)pæh(æ)]

/cyux/ "aspect marker" --> [cɔ̃yux(u)]

2.3. Canonical root structure

The Atayal canonical root consists of one, two, or three syllables. The final syllable may be open or closed, and the non-final syllables must be open: i.e., we have a structure CV(C), CVCV(C), or CVCVC.

CV	na "final particle, not yet", pi "final particle of exclamation", mu "1SG, my".
CVC	mit "goat", baq "can", mu' "to shoot", zik "deep", biŋ "carry, bring".
CVCV	qani "here", qasa "there", simu "you", bali "not", rwa "you know".
CVCVC	qaniq "to eat", huziN "dog", ŋarux "bear", wagiq "high", hbun "place name, the pit of the stomach", mqu' "snake", hiya' "he", kwi' "insect", ryax "day".
CVCVCVC	kneriN "woman", squliq "people", qbiray "cabbage", qwalax "rain", kwara' "all", sswe' "younger sibling", rgyas "face", rgyax "mountain".

The semi-vowels /y/ and /w/ are considered to be consonant and the schwa /ə/ is a vowel phoneme (which we do not transcribe because its position is predictable.) The form ryax "day" is phonologically /rɔ̃yax/ though we write ryax. Kwara "all" is /kɔ̃wara/, rwa "you know" is /rɔ̃wa/, rgyax "mountain" is /rɔ̃gɔ̃yax/, and sswe' "younger sibling" is /sɔ̃sɔ̃we'/. Root

final syllables can be CV, CVC, Cw,yV or Cw,yVC. Non-final syllable can only be CV or Cw,yV. A root may consist of one, two, or three syllables. All forms begin with a consonant because the glottal stop is phonetically always present in the initial position before a vowel. Disyllabic roots, especially CVCVC, are more common than monosyllabic or trisyllabic ones. Li (1980) cites examples of forms with four syllables with schwa written CCCCVC, but they are derived forms, i.e., m-spliq [mðsðpðliq] "suffer from diarrhea" (<spliq [sðpðliq] "diarrhea"), st-n-xan "privy" (<stxan "to earn").

2.4. Stress and length

The general word stress falls on either the penult or the last syllable of the word, except when the final syllable has ð. There are two kinds of stems: those with long vowels in the penultimate syllable and those with short vowels. It seems obvious from the data that stress characterizes this language: the affixed form has the same stress pattern as the root, that is, the accent remains on the penult in affixed form of roots with penultimate stress, and accent remains on the final syllable in affixed form of roots with final stress. The exception is root with ð in the final syllable in which case the stress is always on the penultimate syllable of the root. For example, páqut "to ask", pqútun "ask about s.t." vs. tehúk "to arrive", thkán "reach s.p." (See § 2.4.1 below). Roots which have a penultimate stress are analyzed here to contain a long vowel, whereas roots which have a final stress are analyzed to contain a short vowel.

2.4.1. Reductions

All vowels before the penult are reduced to schwa [ə]. An exception to this rule is the infix *-in-* (§ 2.9.2) which occasionally shows up in certain roots even when it is in the antepenult. If the stem has a long vowel in the penultimate syllable, the long vowel of the penultimate syllable in the suffixed form is not reduced. But in those stems with short vowels, the penult of the suffixed form is reduced³.

The following examples illustrate vowel reductions (stress pattern) with long and short vowel stems:

<u>Long vowel stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
pa:qut "ask"	pqu:t-un
ka:yaN "talk"	kya:l-an
a:ras "take along"	ra:s-un
ta:pih "to call"	tpi:h-un
bi:hiy "to beat"	bhi:y-un
ci:riq "to fight"	tri:q-an
hu:qiN "die"	hqi:l-an
<u>Short vowel stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
tehuk "arrive"	thk-an
laqux "win"	lqx-an or bqx-an
spuŋ "measure"	spŋ-an
qyanux "to live"	qnx-an

³ This analysis is better than Egerod's (1965b) where he divides the verb stems into the full stems and the reduced ones and simply states that, "occasionally an *extra reduced* form is found with loss of vowel in the final syllable," without further explanation.

2.4.2. Syllable losses

The stress pattern also accounts for syllable losses. The first syllable of some long vowel stems are lost when suffixed.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
a:gaN "take"	gal-an
a:lax "give up"	lax-i
qa:niq "eat"	niq-un
u:sa' "go"	s-an

In some short vowel stems, not only is the vowel reduced when suffixes are added, but the syllable is entirely lost, including the initial consonant.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
blaq "good"	liq-an
gno' "to joke"	nog-un

The first of two identical syllables may get deleted when a suffix is attached.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed forms</u>
k-ηu:ηu' "fear"	kηηu-an kη-un kηu-i

2.5. Alternations of vowels

In isolated cases a diphthong /aw, ay/ loses the second element when suffixed.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
h o p (<*h a wb) "stab"	h a b-an
q e s (<q a ys) "happy"	q a s-un

2.6. Alternations of consonants

The following examples (§§ 2.6.1-2.6.5) show phonological conditioning due to the fact that /b, g, r/ do not occur in word final position. Rules §§ 2.6.1- 2.6.3 account for this fact .

2.6.1. b ~ p

b > p / ___ #

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed forms</u>	
qa:ta p (<*qatab) "cut"	q-in-tab-an	qtab-un
su:ya p (<*suyab) "yawn"	syab-an	syab-un

2.6.2. g ~ w

g > w / ___ #

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed forms</u>	
qa:su w (<*qasug) "divide"	qsug-an	qsug-un
htu w (<*htug) "come out"	htg-an	
tla:maw (<*tlamag) "cut grass"	tlmag-an	tlmag-un
phaw (<*phawg) "to fine"	phog-un	
gno' (<*gnawg) "to joke"	nog-un	

2.6.3. r ~ y

r > y / ___ #

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed forms</u>	
ba:ziy (<*bazir) "buy"	bir-an	bir-un
pgyay (<*pgyar) "run away"	pgyar-an	pgyar-un

2.6.4. y ~ z

y--> z / ___ i

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed forms</u>		
ta:kuy "fall"	tkuy-an	tkuy-un	tkuz-i
pi:ray "turn"	p-in-ray-an	pray-un	praz-i
p-ha:puy "cook"	puy-an	puy-un	puz-i

Alternatively we also find puz-an and puz-un. The alternation between /z/ and /y/ only occurs consistently in the suffixed forms with -i. In current Atayal the /z/ form has spread analogically to the suffixed forms with -an or -un. The occurrence of z before -an or -un has to do with the speaker's age, dialect difference, or depends on the form which the lexical item takes (Li, 1980:361-362).

2.6.5. t ~ c

t--> c / ___ i

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed forms</u>		
kut "cut"	k-n-ut-an	kut-un	kuc-i
pa:qut "ask"	pqut-an	pqut-un	pquc-i

2.7. Loss of glottal stop

The loss of glottal stop is non-automatic. Glottal stop in the word final position is usually lost when a suffix is attached to the stem.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed Form</u>
ki:ta' "see"	kt-an
u:sa' "go"	s-an

In some cases, a glide /y, w/ is inserted before the suffix in roots ending in u' or i', when the glottal stop becomes lost.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed forms</u>
si' "to place"	siy-un
bu' "to shoot"	buw-an buw-un buw-i

There are also cases where the glottal stop is retained in suffixed forms.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed forms</u>
a:ki' "to be at"	ki'-an
swa' "how"	swa'-un
hŋu' "dip in water"	hŋ'-an
kwa' "able"	kwa'-i

2.8. Contractions

Identical vowels across a morpheme boundary are shortened to single vowels when not separated by a consonant or separated only by a glottal stop.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
ki:ta' "see"	kt-an (= kita' + -an)
bi:ru' "write"	br-un (= biru' + -un)
'a:bi' "sleep"	'b-i (= abi' + -i)

/a-u/ or /a[?]-u/ is contracted to /o/ across a morpheme boundary.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
bka' "split"	bk-on (= bka' + -un)
ki:ta' "see"	kt-on (= kita' + -un)

2.9. Deletions

2.9.1. Deletion of initial consonant

When a verb stem with an initial labial consonant /b, p/ or a glottal stop is infixed with -m-, the initial consonant gets deleted.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
biq "give"	miq (<*bmiq, b --> ∅)
pa:tas "tattoo"	matas (<*pmatras, p --> ∅)
'a:ras "take along"	maras (<*maras, ' --> ∅)

Verb stems with initial velar stop /k-/ or uvular stop /q-/ usually retain the initial consonant when infixed with -m-, e.g., kmut "cut" (<kut), qmalup "hunt" (<qalup) except in the following two words.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
ki:ta' "see"	mita' (<*km, k --> ø)
qa:niq "eat"	maniq (<*qm, q --> ø)

2.9.2. Deletion of initial consonant when affixed with -(i)n-

Verbs in the past tense and some nouns may be formed by infixing -in- or the reduced form -n- after the first segment of the stem.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
gleŋ "to do first"	g-in-leŋ-an
kut "cut"	k-n-ut-an
puŋ "hear"	p-n-uŋ-an

But when the stem has an initial glottal stop followed by a vowel, or an initial /h/, in-/n- is prefixed to the stem.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
u:wah "come"	in-wah-an
a:gaN "take"	n-agaN
hu:taw	n-hutaw

Furthermore, when -n- is added to a stem with an initial /b/, the initial consonant is lost.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
bi:ru' "write"	n-iru' n-ruw-an

2.10. Assimilations

The /n/ in the infix /-in-/ assimilates: if before labials /b, p/, /n/ becomes /-m-/ and if before velar /k/ and uvular /q/, /n/ becomes /-ŋ/.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed forms</u>
pira' ⁴ "how many"	p-im-pira'
kut "cut"	p-iŋ-kut-an
qyanux "live"	p-iŋ-qyanux
bahuw ⁵ "harvest"	p-im-bahuw
ka:yaN "talk"	p-iŋ-kyalan

2.11. Metathesis

It is difficult to determine a rule for metathesis due to the limited number of examples recorded. Some cases of metathesis are optional. Only the following two examples of obligatory metathesis were encountered.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Affixed form</u>
hgup (<*hgub) "do magic"	hbg-an
blaq (<*biləq) "good"	liqan ~ leqan (where the vowel sequence i-a has become a-i ⁶)

⁴ Unknown if long or short vowel.

⁵ Unknown if long or short vowel.

⁶ *bilaqan > *baliqan > *bliqan > *liqan.

Chapter Three

Verbal Morphology - Primary Affixes

3.1. Introduction

An Atayal verb is conjugatable. The verbal roots can be affixed to form verbs or nouns. The verbal root qa:niq 'eat', for example, can be affixed with /-m-/ to form the verb m-aniq 'to eat'. The initial /q/ is deleted according to rule § 2.9.1. This root can be affixed with /-n-/ to form the noun q-n-aniq 'food'. Verbs are also derivable from nouns or adjectives. For example, s-behuy 'the wind is blowing' is formed from the noun root behuy 'wind' prefixed with /s-/ and liq-an 'to do (it) well' is from the adjectival root blaq 'good' through initial syllable loss by § 2.4.2 and metathesis by § 2.11, plus the verbal suffix /-an/.

3.2. The Verbal System

The verb in Atayal is inflected for four voices (an active and three passive voices) and two modes (dependent and independent). Atayal has a set of primary and secondary affixes. The primary (or inflectional) affixes are the affixes which form verbs. In the verb, there are three active affixes; which of the three affixes occurs depends on the root. Some roots take only one, some two, and some all three of the active affixes. The independent mode has three tenses (present, past, and future), and the dependent has two moods (imperative and subjunctive). The secondary (or derivational) affixes are added to roots to form bases to which the primary verbal affixes or other affixes are added or to form word classes other than verbs.

The following chart summarizes the verbal system with primary affixes. A question mark indicates that either the category exists but the shape of the affixes which mark this category is unknown or there are systematic gaps.

Table 3.1. Atayal Verbal System with Primary Affixes

	Independent			Dep./Imp.	Subj.
	Present	Past	Future		
<u>Active</u>					
(1)	-m-	-min-	p-/R ¹	∅	(-m)-a
(2)	m-	min-	p-	∅	(m)-a
(3)	∅	?	p-	∅	∅-a
<u>Passive</u>					
Direct P.	-un	-in-	?	-i	-aw
Local P.	-an	-in-an	?	-i	-ay
Instr. P.	s-	? ²	?	s-	?

3.2.1. Voice

An Atayal verb usually contains a root or base and one or more affixes. The base provides the meaning of the verb whereas the primary affixes show the perspective of the sentence, and designates the role relationship of the participant to the event in question. An Atayal verb is

¹ R- indicates reduplication of the first segment CV of the stem.

² Egerod claims that the past of the instrumental passive has the shape of *ins-*, the dependent/imperative *an s-*, and the subjunctive *anay s-*. But there is no example in my texts to substantiate Egerod's claims. The morpheme *an* has cognates in other Austronesian languages (Wolff 1973).

in one of four voices: active, direct passive, local passive, or instrumental passive, depending on the orientation of the proposition.

3.2.1.1. Active forms

The active verb is oriented to the agent of the action or the state. There are three active forms in the present tense: *-m-*, *m-*, and the root/stem alone (or the zero prefix). They are not mutually exclusive. Some roots have both *-m-* and *m-* forms:

Examples:

<u>Root</u>	<u>With -m-</u>	<u>With m-</u>
hu:taw	h-m-utaw 'drop'	m-hutaw 'fall'
qas	s-m-qas ³ 'celebrate'	m-qas 'be happy'
gluw	m-luw/g-m-luw 'follow, ride'	m-gluw 'do together'

Some roots have both \emptyset and *m-* forms:

Examples:

<u>Root</u>	<u>With \emptyset</u>	<u>With m-</u>
ka:huN	kahuN 'from'	m-in-kahuN 'came from'
a:riŋ	ariŋ 'begin'	m-in-ariŋ 'began'

The verb with *-m-* is more often transitive than intransitive; the action it refers to usually takes more than one participant and is more dynamic in nature. The verb with *m-*, on the other hand, is usually a

³ S- is a verb forming prefix, discussed in § 4.7.5.

stative verb; the state/action it refers to is more durative and descriptive. Some verbs with *m-* have the underlying *p- or *k- in the stems (see § 4.3). The third active form is the root/stem alone. Most of the stems with the active \emptyset affix are formed with secondary affixes, which will be discussed in Chapter Four. The active forms with roots alone will be illustrated along with *-m-* and *m-* verbs as follows.

Examples of active-*m-* and *m-* and \emptyset - verbs in the present tense are:

(1) *-m-*: qmalup 'hunt', kmayaN 'talk', kmut 'cut', muŋ 'listen', mita' 'see', magaN 'take', miru' 'write', maniq 'eat', mima' 'wash'.

(2) *m-*: mgyay 'escape', mtama' 'sit', mlahan 'rule', mlawa' 'call', mcisaN 'play', mhoqiN 'die', m'abi' 'sleep', mgaga' 'practice customs'.

(3) \emptyset : baq 'can, know', lama' 'do first', hmut 'do indiscriminately', kahuN 'come from', tehuk 'arrive', ariŋ 'begin', thuyay 'succeed'.

The active verbs with *-m-* and *m-* and \emptyset - are further illustrated in the following sentences. The sources of the Atayal examples are listed in parentheses immediately following each Atayal sentence. All the examples marked with Rau can be found in the Appendix of this thesis. The capital letters and the numbers indicate the stories and the paragraphs where the sentences can be located. As for all other sources, both page numbers and paragraph numbers are listed if available. All the examples in this section § 3.2.1. are in the present tense. Examples of past and future tenses in the active and passive will be given in § 3.2.2.

Examples of *-m-*verbs in present active sentences are:

(#) *kyaqu' k-m-ut tunux ka.* (Rau, E62)

there-is ACT-cut head that

'There was the custom of headhunting.' (-*m-* + *kut* 'cut')

(#) *mun ta' balay ke' Gipun rwa.* (Rau, H4)

ACT-listen 1PN-INCL very speech Japan you-know

'We listened to the Japanese commands.' (-*m-* + *puŋ* 'listen')

(#) *m-agaN ta' kuri' uzi rwa.* (Rau, H24)

ACT-take 1PN-INCL coolie again you-know

'We also hired coolies.' (-*m-* + *agaN* 'take')

(#) *gabaw hi' ta' m-usa' k-m-luh trakis kuwis.* (Liao-B, p. 129: 136)

all body 1PG ACT-go ACT-harvest millet this

'It was our whole family who went to harvest the millet.' (-*m-* + *kluh* 'harvest')

Examples of *m-*verbs in present active sentences are:

(#) *m-hoqiN qu' ŋarux qasa lga',* (Rau, A15)

ACT-die DEF bear that PAR-GA'

'After the bear died,' (*m-* + *hoqiN* 'die')

(#) *m-lawa' squ' bih babaw ŋasaN nya'.* (Rau, A15)

ACT-call at near surface home 3SG

'(The woman) called out on the top of her house.' (*m-* + *lawa'* 'call')

(#) *mahani m-hutaw kabang qasa lga',* (Rau, D23)

if ACT-fall briefcase that PAR-GA'

'If the briefcase had fallen,' (*m-* + *hutaw* 'fall')

(#) wi m-usa' m-cisaN nanak yuwaw ta'. (Liao-B, p. 133: 47)

sometimes ACT-go ACT-play only thing 1PG

'Sometimes (we) went there just for fun.' (m- + cisaN 'play')

Examples of \emptyset -verbs in present active sentences are:

(#) kahuN saku' sqani ru' musa' ku' tehuk squ' Maŋan lga'. (Rau, B7)

from 1SN in-here and go 1SN arrive in-DEF PN PAR-GA'

'From here I went to Mangan.'

(#) ini' puŋ ke' yaya', hmut ga', hupa' gaga' raraN hiya' ay. (Rau, H186)

NEG listen talk mother do-foolishly GA' big custom before 3SIN PAR

'If one did not listen to one's mother but did things foolishly, the punishment was very severe before.'

3.2.1.2. Direct passive forms

The direct passive verb is oriented to the direct recipient of the action, i.e., the thing or person brought into a certain state, taken or moved toward the agent, fetched, and the like. Egerod calls this the indefinite/second passive (1966), which indicates that s.t. or s.o. is affected by the event/action and the object of the sentence is the goal of the event/action. The direct passive in the present tense takes the *-un* suffix. The direct passive verb has *-m-* and *m-* and \emptyset - active verbs as counterparts.

Examples of present direct passive verbs and their active counterparts with *-m-/m-* and \emptyset :

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Active form</u>	<u>Direct passive form</u>
ka:yaN	k-m-ayaN 'speak'	kyal-un 'thing said, said it'
qa:niq	m-aniq 'eat'	niq-un 'eat it'
kzyap	k-m-zyap 'catch'	kyap-un 'catch it'
na:ga'	m-naga' 'wait'	ng-on ⁴ 'wait for it'
k-syaw ⁵ (<*k-syag-)	m-syaw 'lie'	ksyag-un 'lie to s.o.'
p-qyanux ⁶	m-qyanux 'live'	pqnux-un 'save s.o.'s life'
thu:yay	thuyay 'succeed'	thyayun 'succeed in it'
baq	baq 'can, know'	baq-un 'know it'

Examples of present direct passive forms:

(#) kyap-un nya' qu' kneriN qani lozi ma. (Rau, A2)

catch-DP 3SG DEF woman this PAR-again they-said

'He also caught this woman as they said.' (kzyap 'catch' + -un)

(#) ru' waN nha' hben-un ru' waN nha' niq-un uzi qarux qasa la. (Rau,

A26)

and PA 3PG cut-up-DP and PA 3PG eat-DP again bear that PAR

'And they cut (it) up and also ate that bear.' (hobiŋ 'cut up' + -un; qaniq

'eat' + -un)

(#) kyal-un ku' yaya' mu uye (uzi). (Rau, H54)

talk-DP 1SN mother 1SG again

'My mother talked to me again.' (kayaN 'speak' + -un)

⁴ a?u > o (See § 2.8.)

⁵ The root is *syaw* but the stem forming the verb is *ksyaw* (§ 4.3.2).

⁶ The root is *qyanux* but the stem forming the verb is *pqyanux* (§ 4.3.1).

(#) baq-un su' ga'? (Rau, E1)

know-DP 2SG Q

'Do you know (it)?' (baq 'know' + -un)

(#) thuyay-un mamu magaN utubay? (Rau, D32)

succeed-DP 2PG ACT-take motorcycle

'Can you guys get the motorcycle?' (thuyay 'succeed' + -un)

(#) skita' qu' gal-un nya' payih qani. (Li 1990, AtaSq 5 010a)

suddenly QU' take-DP 3SG hoe this

'Later on she took up the hoe.' (agaN 'take' + -un)

3.2.1.3. Local passive forms

The local passive verb is oriented to the place of the action or the person to or for whom an action is done. Egerod (1966) calls this the definite/first passive. The local passive present takes the *-an* suffix.

The present local passive verb and its active counterparts with *-m-*, *m-*, or \emptyset - are illustrated as follows:

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Active form</u>	<u>Local passive form</u>
hka:ŋi'	h-m-kaŋi' 'walk'	hkŋy-an 'walk on s.p.'
gluw (<*glug-)	g-m-luw 'follow'	glg-an 'follow s.o.'
betaq	m-etaq 'stab'	btaq-an 'stab s.o.'
a:ki'	m-aki' 'live, to be'	ki'-an 'live there'
u:wah	m-wah 'come'	wah-an 'come to s.o. or s.p.'
u:sa'	m-usa' 'go'	s-an 'go to s.o. or s.p.'
tehuk	tehuk 'arrive'	thk-an 'arrive s.p.'

Examples of present local passive forms:

(#) wah-an ku' nha' mita' lru'. (Rau, H54)

come-LP 1SN 3PG ACT-see PAR-and

'They came to see me.' (uwah 'come' + -an)

(#) laqi' likuy hiya' ga', ptas-an blihuy ru' qbliy rwa. (Rau, E35)

child male 3SIN TOP tattoo-LP forehead and chin you-know

'As for the young men, (they) were tattooed on the forehead and the chin.'

(patas 'tattoo' + -an)

(#) biq-an pila' ga'? (Rau, H151)

give-LP money Q

'Did you give (him/her) money?' (biq 'give' + -an)

(#) ana ga' ryax hkny-an maku' tuqiy qasa lga'. (Rau, B14)

but GA' day walk-LP 1SG road that PAR-GA'

'But during the time I was walking on that road.' (hkangi 'walk' + -an)

(#) thk-an nha' balay htgan na' wagi'. (Ogawa & Asai-1935, p. 42: 20)

arrive-LP 3PG really come-out-LP GEN Sun

'They really arrived at the place where the Sun rises.' (tehuk 'arrive' + -an)

The local passive form is also used to refer to the direct object of the action for some verbs which do not have direct passives.

Examples of present local passives used as direct passives with their active counterparts:

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Active form</u>	<u>Local passive form</u>
ki:ta'	m-ita' 'see'	kt-an 'see s.t.'
puŋ	m-uŋ 'listen'	poŋ-an 'listen to s.t.'
pa:qut	m-aqut 'ask'	pqut-an 'ask about s.t.'
pqzyu' ⁷	q-m-zyu' 'transmit'	pqzyu-an 'transmit, explain s.t.'
sok	s-m-ok 'smell'	sok-an 'smell s.t.'
qwax	q-m-wax 'wash'	qwax-an 'wash s.t.'
qeh	q-m-eh 'open'	qyah-an 'open s.t.'
a:riŋ	ariŋ 'begin, from'	'riŋ-an ⁸ 'begin to do s.t.'

3.2.1.4. Instrumental passive forms

The instrumental passive verb refers to an orientation which has at least three meanings, depending on the context: instrumental, benefactive, and conveyance. The instrumental is oriented to the instrument or the means of the action; the benefactive is oriented to the beneficiary of the action; the conveyance is oriented to the direct recipient of the action and is confined to verbs which refer to an action in a direction away from the agent. Egerod (1966) calls this the relational/third passive indicative. The instrumental passive has the prefix *s-* in the present form.

The following examples illustrate the instrumental passive in the present tense and its counterparts (active verbs with *-m-*, *m-* and \emptyset):

⁷ This stem has a secondary verb-forming prefix *p-* in the local passive (but not in the active), explained in § 4.3.1.

⁸ The form 'riŋan is pronounced [ʔriŋan].

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Active form</u>	<u>Instrumental passive form</u>
ka:yaN	k-m-ayaN 'speak'	s-kayaN 'talk about s.t.'
pka:yaN ⁹	m-kayaN 'discuss'	s-pkayaN 'discuss s.t.'
biq	m-iq 'give'	s-biq 'give s.t.'
pa:tas	m-atas 'tattoo'	s-patas 's.t. used to tattoo'
sa:rit	s-m-arit 'cut grass'	s-sarit 's.t. used to cut'
bi:ru'	m-iru' 'write'	s-biru' 'write with s.t.'
a:gaN	m-agaN 'take'	s-'agaN 'take for s.o.'
p'a:ziy ¹⁰	m'-aziy 'dance'	s-p'aziy 'dance for s.o.'
baq	c-baq ¹¹ 'teach'	s-c-baq 's.t. taught'

Examples of present instrumental passive referring to an instrument:

(#) ke' ta' nanak tayaN s-biru' mu ga'. (Liao-B, p. 75: 2)

speech 1PG only Atayal IP-write 1SG GA'

'If I use our own Atayal language to write.' (s- + biru' 'write')

(#) soki s-sariṭ ta' ryaniq kuwis. (Liao-B, p. 91: 55)

hatchet IP-cut-grass 1PG road that

'Hatchet is used to cut the grass on the road.'

An example of present instrumental passive s- added to a noun root to mean "use (noun) to do s.t.":

⁹ This stem has a secondary reciprocal prefix *p-*, explained in § 4.6.

¹⁰ This stem has a secondary empty prefix *p-*, explained in § 4.3.1.

¹¹ This stem has a secondary prefix *c-*, explained in § 4.7.4.

(#) byagan myan btenux nya' nanak, s-ramat myan mami'. (Liao-B, p. 111:98)

choose-LP 1PG-EXCL fat 3SG only s-cooked dish 1PG-EXCL rice

'We (not you) chose only the fat (fish) to use as a side dish for rice.' (s- + ramat 'cooked food, dish')

Examples of present instrument passive referring to a beneficiary:

(#) s-biq saku' nya' isen en qasa pi. (Rau, D39)

IP-give 1SN 3SG one-thousand dollar that EX

'He gave me one thousand dollars!' (s- + biq 'give')

(#) s-baziy nha' lukus la. (Rau, H204)

IP-buy 3PG clothes PAR

'They bought clothes for (them).'

 (s- + baziy 'buy')

(#) s-p'aziy nha' ma ru'. (Egerod-1969, p. 302)

IP-dance 3PG they-said and

'It is said that they would dance for (him).'

 (s- + p'aziy 'dance')

(#) wi ku' s-agaN bilus ton. (Liao-B, p. 91: 48)

sometimes 1SN IP-take sugar cane

'Sometimes (you) helped me harvest sugar cane.'

 (s- + agaN 'take')

Examples of present instrumental passive referring to thing conveyed:

(#) s-bulin nha' qsya' qasa ma. (Rau, E119)

IP-throw 3PG water that they-said

'We were told that they threw them into the water.'

 (s- + buling 'throw')

(#) nanu' s-paŋa' nya' lru'. (Rau, A4)

what IP-carry 3SG PAR-and

'He carried (her) on his back.' (s- + panga' 'carry')

Some roots which have the meaning of "talking, discussing, or teaching" take the instrumental passive *s-* referring to the thing talked about or taught. The following are examples with these verbs in the present tense:

(#) musa' maku' s-kayaN cikay qu' zyaw qani. (Rau, B1)

ACT-go 1SG IP-talk a-little DEF thing this

'I am going to talk about it.' (s- + kayaN 'talk')

(#) kwara' nanu' zyaw ga' s-cbaq nya'. (Rau, H28)

all what thing GA' IP-teach 3SG

'They taught us everything.' (s- + cbaq 'teach')

3.2.2. Tense

The verb in Atayal is inflected for three tenses: past, present, and future. Present verbs are unmarked forms and express no specific tense-aspect-modality. Past verbs are usually formed by infixing *-in-* or the reduced form *-n-* after the first segment of the stem (See § 2.9.2).

The past inflection of verb stems with *-in-* is presented in Table 3.1. and is repeated in the following paradigm:

<u>Active</u>	<u>Past tense</u>
(1)	-m(i)n-/n-
(2)	m(i)n-/n-
(3)	?
<u>Passive</u>	<u>Past tense</u>
Direct P.	(-)in-/n-/n- ¹²
Local P.	(-)in-an/n-an
Instrumental P.	?

The past inflections of a:gaN 'take', u:wah 'come', ki:ta' 'see', bi:ru' 'write', a:ki' 'live', and a:riŋ 'begin' are as follows:

<u>Root</u>	<u>ACT</u>	<u>DP</u>	<u>LP</u>	<u>IP</u>
a:gaN	m-in-agaN	n-agaN	in-agal-an	?
u:wah	m(i)n-uwah/n-uwah	(None)	(i)n-uwah-an	?
ki:ta'	m-n-ita'/n-ita'	k-n-ita'	k-n-tan	?
bi:ru'	m-n-iru'	b-n-iru'/n-iru'	b-n-ru-an	?
a:ki'	m-n-aki'	(None)	k-n-i'an	?
a:riŋ	m-in-ariŋ/n-ariŋ	(None)	in-riŋ-an	?

The past verbs are used to indicate that the time of a reported event precedes the time of speaking or the time of another event.

Examples of past active forms in the following sentences:

¹² -Un does not occur with the past tense.

(#) iyat saku' m-n-wah kmut kun hiya' ru'. (Rau, E61)

NEG 1SN ACT-PA-come ACT-cut 1SIN 3SN-IN and

'I have never cut any (Chinese heads) myself.' (uwah + -m- + -in-)

(#) m-n-aki' Maṅan uzi qu' m-in-agaN qa. (Rau, H58)

ACT-PA-live PN also DEF ACT-PA-take that

'The people who married me also lived in Mangan.' (aki' + -m- + -in-;

agaN + -m- + -in-)

Examples of past passive forms in the following sentences:

(#) p-in-un-an maku' hiya' ga'. (Rau, E35)

hear-PA-LP 1SG 3SIN GA'

'I have heard it.' (puŋ + -an + -in-)

(#) bsaq qu' byaciŋ k-n-i'-an nya' kya lga'. (Rau, A9)

long-time QU' month live-PA-LP 3SG there PAR-GA'

'After she had lived there for many months.' (aki' + -an + -in-)

(#) si si k-aki' kya m-anig n-agaN nya' qsinuw uzi lru'. (Rau, A8)

AFF AFF DEP-be there ACT-eat PA-take-DP 3SG animal also PAR-and

'(She) was there eating the animal that he had brought back.' (agaN +

-in-)

(#) 100% musa' mamu baqun l-in-lun-an mu ru' k-n-avaN mu. (Liao-B, p.

75: 2)

100% ACT-go 2PG know-LP think-PA-LP 1SG and speak-PA-DP 1SG

'You will understand 100% what I thought and said.' (Inglung + -an +

-in-; kayaN + -in-)

The paraphrastic construction waN 'go' + present form is used alternately to indicate the past tense. There is no difference in meaning (only nuance) between the use of the paraphrastic construction and the infix *-in-* to indicate past tense. But some verbs always take the inflected *-in-* in the past tense, e.g., *mnwah* "came, had gone", *nwahan* "had gone to s.p.", *mnaki'* "lived".

Examples of infix *-in-* in one part of a sentence and the paraphrastic construction waN + present form in another part of the sentence for the past tense are the following sentences:

(#) n-wah-an nha' yaqu' magaN lozi ηarux qasa lru', waN nha' syukun.

(Rau, A26)

come-PA-LP 3PG that ACT-take PAR-also bear that PAR-and go 3PG
roast-DP

'After they had gone there to take the bear, they roasted it.'

(#) nanu' qu' waN su pcywagun soni'? m-in-uva' saku' bonaw soni'.

(Atayal Alphabet, p. 42)

what QU' go 2SN thing-DP today plant-PA 1SN peanut today

'What did you do today? I planted peanuts.'

The verb form in the future tense is used to indicate an action or an event which will or might happen after the time of speech or another action/event. The active future verb is formed with the prefix *p-* added to the root. However, this is homophonous with the secondary verb-forming prefix *p-* (discussed in § 4.7.1). Examples with *p-* verbs which are unambiguously future *p-* are presented in the following sentences.

Examples of active future forms with *p-*:

(#) smka' kabaŋ ka, sobih p-hutaw. (Rau, D22)

half briefcase that almost FUT-fall

'Half of the briefcase was about to fall.'

(#) uŋat p-soya' ma, ini' ga' yaqih ktan ma. (Rau, H131)

NEG FUT-like they-said NEG GA' had see-LP they-said

'Did they say nobody would like her or she was ugly?'

(#) kya saku' p-chaq kya ru'. (Rau, B7)

there 1SN FUT-teach there and

'I would teach there.'

(#) p-tahuk ramat yaya' mu na'. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 29)

FUT-cook vegetable mother 1SG yet

'My mother will cook vegetables yet.'

(#) aw, p-qaniq ku' syam uzi. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 29)

yes FUT-eat 1SN fat also

'Yes, I will eat pork too.'

Ogawa notes that "Future" is indicated by reduplicating the first segment of the verbal stem or reduplicating the future prefix *p-* in the verb stems. There are no such examples in my texts. But I found a few forms in Liao's texts which indicate "future" by reduplicating the first segment of the stem and only in active forms.

The following are example of future active forms formed by reduplicating the first segment of the stems:

(#) yat m-m-uwah ssiyuk b-biq nya' ita' la ru'. (Liao-A, p. 33: 14)
 NEG RED-ACT-come reciprocate RED-give 3SG 1PN-IN PAR and
 'They would not have anything to reciprocate.'

The future tense is most frequently indicated by the paraphrastic construction musa' 'go' + present form or aki' 'will' + present form. The following examples illustrate this:

(#) musa' maku' skayaN cikay qu' zyaw qani. (Rau, B1)
 ACT-go 1SG IP-talk a-little DEF thing this
 'I will talk a little bit about this.'

(#) kya' cikah¹³ zyaw qu' aki' ku paqut cikah ki. (Rau, E1)
 there a-little thing DEF will 1SN ask a-little PAR
 'There are a few things that I would like to ask about.'

The following is an example of both future *p-* and the paraphrastic construction musa' + present form to indicate future used in the same sentence. There seems to be no difference in meaning between *musa'* *smwaN* and *pswaN* 'will agree to it'.

(#) kmaN knan mha, "mswa' musa' smwaN, p-swaN su' ga'?" (Rau, H50)
 ACT-talk 1SD thus how ACT-go ACT-consent FUT-consent 2SN Q
 'She said to me, "How is it? Will you be willing?"

¹³ *Cikah* is a variant form of *cikay* and is spoken by Yi-Lan Atayal speakers.

3.2.3. Mode

The verb in Atayal is inflected for three modes: independent, subjunctive, and dependent. The independent form with its voice and tense systems is discussed in §§ 3.2.1-3.2.2. The subjunctive form is discussed in § 3.2.4. The dependent form is used in negative, emphatic and imperative sentences. The inflection of dependent forms with their present independent counterparts is repeated in the following chart:

	<u>Independent form</u>	<u>Dependent form</u>
Active	<u>Present tense</u>	
(1)	-m-	∅
(2)	m-	∅
(3)	∅	∅
Direct Passive	-un	-i
Local Passive	-an	-i
Instrumental Passive	s-	s-

Examples of dependent inflections of *a:gaN* 'take', *ka:yaN* 'talk', *puŋ* 'listen', and *ho:biŋ* 'cut up' with their present independent counterparts are as follows:

<u>Root</u>		<u>ACT</u>	<u>DP</u>	<u>LP</u>	<u>IP</u>
a:gaN	<u>Indep.</u>	m-agaN	gal-un	gal-an	s-agaN
	<u>Dep.</u>	agaN	gal-i	gal-i	s-agaN
ka:yaN	<u>Indep.</u>	k-m-ayaN	kyal-un	kyal-an	s-kayaN
	<u>Dep.</u>	kayaN	kyal-i	kyal-i	s-kayaN

<u>Root</u>		<u>ACT</u>	<u>DP</u>	<u>LP</u>	<u>IP</u>
puŋ	<u>Indep.</u>	m-uŋ	---	poŋ-an	---
	<u>Dep.</u>	puŋ	---	puŋ-i	---
ho:biŋ	<u>Indep.</u>	h-m-obiŋ	hbeŋ-un	---	---
	<u>Dep.</u>	hobiŋ	hbiŋ-i	---	---

The dependent forms occur most frequently preceded by the negative particle *ini'* or the emphatic affirmation particle *si*.

Examples of dependent forms preceded by *ini'* in the following sentences:

(#) *ini' ku' syuk uzi ay.* (Rau, H50)

NEG 1SN ACT-DEP-answer also PAR

'I did not answer either.' (syuk 'answer' + \emptyset)

(#) *ini' ptas-i ga', laqi' qasa na' ma.* (Rau, E38)

NEG tatto-LP-DEP GA' child that still they-said

'Those who were not tattooed were still children, as they said.' (ptas 'tattoo' + -i)

(#) *nyux maku' ini' baq-i qu' riŋan nya' qani uzi lga'.* (Rau, E112)

ASP 1SG NEG know-DP-DEP DEF origin 3SG this also PAR-GA'

'I don't know the origin of this either.' (baq 'know' + -i)

Examples of dependent forms preceded by *si* are in the following:

(#) *si ku' nilis.* (Rau, H50)

AFF 1SN ACT-DEP-cry

'I just cried.' (nilis 'cry' + \emptyset)

(#) si nya' qtaq-i maniq qu' qsinuw lga'. (Rau, A8)

AFF 3SG raw-LP-DEP ACT-eat DEF animal PAR-GA'

'She simply ate the animal raw.' (qataq 'to eat raw' + -i)

(#) si ta' gal-i squ' scn mucu babaw kmaN ga'. (Rau, E23)

AFF 1PG take-DP-DEP form-the call-DP thus surface ACT-talk GA'

'I will just talk about it in a superficial way.' (agaN 'take' + -i)

The dependent mode is also used for the imperative. The following is an example of the active imperative:

(#) aras lukus! (Rau, A16)

ACT-DEP-bring clothes

'Bring clothes!' (aras 'bring' + \emptyset)

Examples of the direct passive imperative form:

(#) niq-i cikay mami' qani. (Egerod-1980, p.199)

eat-DP-DEP a-little rice this

'Please eat a little of this rice.' (qaniq 'eat' + -i)

(#) sa-y kbalay qu' utubay su'! (Rau, D37)

go-DP-DEP fix DEF motorcycle 2SG

'Go get your motorcycle fixed!' (usa 'go' + -i)

An example of the local passive imperative form:

(#) wah-i ηasaN maku' uzi. (Egerod-1980, p. 198)

come-LP-DEP house 1SG also

'Come to my house too!' (uwah 'come' + -i)

An example of the instrumental passive imperative form:

(#) s-kaN cikay! (Rau, E60)

IP-DEP-talk a-little

'Explain a little (for me)!' (s- + kayaN 'talk')

3.2.4. Subjunctive mode

The subjunctive mode indicates "what might happen, what is not certain to happen, or what should not happen." (Egerod, 1966: 272). With the first person, it is used to express 'let me, let us, I will', and with the second person 'you might, you should not' (Chen & Lin (1985) calls this the "Future"). The inflection of the subjunctive mood is summarized in the following chart:

<u>ACT</u>	<u>DP</u>	<u>LP</u>	<u>IP</u>
ø/-m-/m-... -a	-aw	-ay	?

Examples of the inflection of the subjunctive verb forms:

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Subjunctive verb form</u>			
	<u>ACT</u>	<u>DP</u>	<u>LP</u>	<u>IP</u>
bzi:nah 'return'	bznah-a	---	---	---
thu:yay 'succeed'	hyay-a	---	---	---
hu:waw 'shout'	h-m-wag-a	---	---	---
qa:suw 'divide'	m-qsag-a	---	---	---
cqun 'be together'	m-squn-a	---	---	---
spuŋ 'judge'	---	spng-aw	---	---
lŋluŋ 'think'	---	lŋluŋaw	---	---
pa:qut 'ask'	---	---	pqut-ay	---
biq 'give'	---	---	biq-ay	---
bi:ru'/bru:wan 'write'	---	---	bru-ay/bruwan-ay ¹⁴ ---	---

An example of the active subjunctive is the following:

(#) si ta' r'agi bznah-a ta' lozi. (Egerod-1969, p. 298)

AFF 1PG go-alongside-LP-DEP return-ACT-SUB 1PG PAR-also

'Let us go back along the river.' (bzinah 'return' + -a)

¹⁴ In the passive this verb has two stems: *biru'* and *bruwan*. For the local passive subjunctive we get both *bru-ay* and *bruwan-ay* with no difference in meaning. For the direct passive future we get *bruwan-un* and *br-un*.

The following are examples of *bruwan* and *biru'* with the present direct passive suffix *-un*:

yat mu bruwan-un hani biru' kuwis hiya la. (Liao-B, p. 147: 181)
 NEG 1SG write-DP this writing that 3SN-IN PAR
 'I won't write about it.'

br-un maku'. (Egerod-1980, p. 75)
 write-DP 1SG
 'I will write (sometime)'

(#) h-m-wag-a ta' ru'. (Ogawa & Asai 1935, p. 60: 6)

shout-ACT-SUB 1PN-INCL and

'Let us shout.' (huwaw 'shout' + -m- + -a)

(#) nanu' yasa ga' mqsag-a ta' hi' ru'. (Ogawa & Asai 1935, p. 60: 2)

what that GA' ACT-divide-SUB 1PN-INCL body and

'Let us divide our number.' (qasuw 'divide' + m- + -a)

The following are examples of the direct passive subjunctive:

(#) baq-aw ta'. (Rau, H132)

know-DP-SUB 1PG-INCL

'I don't know.' (baq 'know' + -aw)

(#) lun-aw maku' la. (Rau, D1)

think-DP-SUB 1SG PAR

'Let me think about it.' (lun 'think' + -aw)

(#) nanu' s-aw inat qbaqan. (Rau, A24)

what go-DP-SUB NEG know-LP

'They don't know what to do.' (usa' 'go' + -aw)

The following are examples of the local passive subjunctive:

(#) unat inluṅan maku' qu' hwak-ay ta' qu' 'tubay. (Rau, D7)

NEG think-PA-LP 1SG DEF carry-LP-SUB 1PG-INCL DEF motorcycle

'I did not think about walking with the motorcycle.' (hwak 'carry' + -ay)

(#) nuw-ay ke' ta' nanak tayaN bruwan-ay mu la. (Liao-B, p. 75: 2)

let-us-SUB speech 1PG-INCL own Atayal write-LP-SUB 1SG PAR

'Let me still use our own Atayal language to write it.' (nanu' 'what' + -ay;

bruwan 'write' + -ay)

(#) kat-ay su' na' huziN. (Egerod-1980, p. 12)

bite-LP-SUB 2SG GEN dog

'Don't let the dog bite you.' (kat 'bite' + -ay)

Chapter Four

Verbal Morphology - Secondary Affixes

4.1. Introduction

Atayal roots can have one or more of the following secondary prefixes added to them to form verbal stems to which primary affixes (discussed in Chapter 3) are added. We will discuss each secondary affix in the succeeding section. Here we give Table 4.1 summarizing the phonemic shapes of the primary verbal affixes combined with the secondary affixes. We then proceed to discuss each of these secondary affixes individually.

Table 4.1. Primary and Secondary Affixes in the Present Tense

Root + Secondary Prefix							
Voice	ø _m -	ø _e -	ø _v -	Pc-	Pr-	p _v -	k _v -
ACT	-m-	m-	ø-	? ¹	m-	p-	k-
DP	-un	(ø/p-/k-)-un	-un	p-un	p-un	p-un	k-un
LP	-an	(ø/p-/k-)-an	-an	p-an	p-an	p-an	k-an
IP	s-	s-(?/p-/k-)	s-	sp-	?	?	sk-
Root + Secondary Prefix							
Voice	p _e k _v -	s _m -	s _v -	p _e s _v -	t _v -	p _e t _v -	c _v -
ACT	mk-	sm-	s-	ms-	t-	mt-	c-
DP	pk-un	s-un	s-un	ps-un	t-un	pt-un	c-un
LP	pk-an	s-an	s-an	ps-an	t-an	pt-an	c-an
IP	?	?	?	?	?	?	sc-

¹The question mark indicates that there is no example in my text.

The secondary prefixes include three empty verb forming prefixes \emptyset_m -, \emptyset_e -, and \emptyset_v - (which differ from one another in the way in which they combine with the Present Active affix), the causative p- (p_c -), the reciprocal p- (p_r -), the verb-forming prefixes p- (p_v -), k- (k_v -), s- (s_v -), t- (t_v -), c- (c_v -), the transitive s- (s_m -), and the empty p-² combined with verb-forming k- ($p_e k_v$ -), or combined with s- ($p_e s_v$ -), or combined with t- ($p_e t_v$ -).

4.2. \emptyset_m -

The empty verb forming prefix \emptyset_m - can be added to most verbal roots to form bases to which primary affixes can be added. The active prefix {-um-} is added to bases with $\{\emptyset_m\}$ to form /-m-/. The active morphs shaped -m- were called "Group 1" affixes in Table 3.1. We give the phonological shape of primary affixes added to stems with \emptyset_m - in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with \emptyset_m -

	<u>Pres.</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Fut.</u>	<u>Dep.</u>	<u>Sub.</u>
ACT	-m-	-min-	p-	\emptyset	(-m)-a
DP	-un	-in-	?	-i	-aw
LP	-an	-in-an	?	-i	-ay
IP	s-	?	?	s-	?

²The empty p- becomes m- in the active forms.

Examples of active present forms are illustrated in the following sentences. The present tense can be used in story telling, relating things which happen before the time of the speaker's utterance (i.e., narrative present).

(#) nanu' yasa qu' k-m-aruh lga'. (Rau, A23)

what that QU' ACT-scratch PAR-GA'

'After he scratched (them),...'

(#) qutux saku' balay hi' qu' h-m-kani'. (Rau, B12)

one 1SN alone body QU' ACT-walk

'I walked alone.'

The following is an example of the direct passives in the present tense (narrative present) referring to the direct object which is affected by the action.

(#) nanu' kya qutux ryax lozi ga', ras-un maku' qu' bes maku' lpi. (Rau, B20)

what there one day PAR-also GA' take-DP 1SG NOM company 1SG PAR-EX

'One day I took my company with me.'

The following is an example of the local passive in the present (narrative present) referring to the person to whom the action occurred:

(#) gal-an nya' kneriN lma. (Rau, A5)

take-LP 3SG woman PAR-they-say

'He took the woman to be his wife.' (Lit. he took the woman's virginity from her.)

The following is an example of the instrumental passive in the present (narrative present) referring to the thing that is put, given, etc.:

(#) s-biq saku' nya' isen en qasa pi. (Rau, D39)

IP-give 1SN 3SG 1000 dollar that EX

'He gave me one thousand dollars!'

Examples of past active forms are in the following sentences; the past tense is used to refer to an event which took place prior to another event or something someone has ever experienced.

(#) ya'ani blaq m-in-usa' sa ma. (Rau, E25)

like good ACT-PA-go that they-say

'That means what you had gone through were all good.'

(#) iyat saku' m-n-wah kmut kun hiya ru'. (Rau, E62)

NEG 1SN ACT-PA-come ACT-cut 1SN-IN 3SN and

'I have never cut any (Chinese heads) myself.'

The following is an example of the direct passive in the past referring to the object which is directly affected by the action which took place before another event:

(#) si kaki kya maniq n-aras nya' qsinuw uzi lru'. (Rau, A8)
 AFF DEP-be there ACT-eat bring-PA-DP 3SG animal also PAR-and
 'She just ate the animal that he had brought back.'

The following is an example of the local passive in the past referring to the direct object. The local passive suffix is added to a group of verbal roots which do not have direct passive forms.

(#) p-n-un-an su' mucu ka. (Rau, E62)
 hear-PA-LP 2SN thus that
 'You have heard about it.'

An example of the future active forms is the following:

(#) kmaN knan mha, "mswa' musa' smwaN, p-swaN su' ga'? (Rau, H50)
 ACT-talk 1SD thus how ACT-go ACT-consent FUT-consent 2SN Q
 'She said to me, "How is it, will you be willing?"'

Examples of the active dependent verbs formed by the roots alone are in the following sentences. The dependent forms are used after the negative particles.

(#) ini' wah Gipun nga'. (Rau, H7)
 NEG DEP-come Japan yet-GA'
 'Before the Japanese came.'

(#) ini' ku' kita' e. (Rau, H20)

NEG 1SN DEP-see PAR

'I did not see it.'

An example of the direct passive dependent is the following; verbs after the affirmative particle *si* also take the dependent form.

(#) si nya' bay spn-i squ' 'byan nqu' wahan bay yaqu' m'abi' mlikuy qasa lga'. (Rau, A13)

AFF 3SG really measure-DP-DEP DAT-QU' bed GEN-QU' go-LP really that ACT-sleep man that PAR-GA'

'The woman just measured the bed where her husband came to sleep.'

An example of the local passive dependent is the following:

(#) si wah-i m'abi' lga'. (Rau, A14)

AFF come-LP-DEP ACT-sleep PAR-GA'

'He just came (to the place) to sleep.'

An example of the instrumental passive dependent is the following; the form of the imperative verb is the same as the dependent.

(#) s-kaN cikay! (Rau, E60)

IP-DEP-talk a-little

'Explain a little (for me)!'

Examples of the active subjunctive verbs are the following; the subjunctive mode can be used for suggestions meaning "Let me, Let us".

(#) kyal-a saku' qutux ke'. (Egerod 1980, p. 1)

talk-ACT-SUB 1SN one story

'I will tell one story.' (Lit. let me tell one story.)

(#) gal-a ku' cikay rwa. (Egerod 1980, p. 2)

take-ACT-SUB 1SN a-little you-know

'Let me choose one (a song to sing).'

(#) h-m-wag-a ta' la wah. (Egerod 1980, p. 189)

ACT-shout-SUB 1PN PAR come

'Let us shout.'

An example of the direct passive subjunctive is the following:

(#) lun-aw maku' la. (Rau, D1)

think-DP-SUB 1SG PAR

'Let me think about it.'

An example of the local passive subjunctive is the following; the subjunctive mode can also be used to mean "s.t. might happen but the speaker hopes it won't happen".

(#) wah-ay nha' quriq ηta' maku'. (Egerod 1980, p. 10)

come-LP-SUB 3PG steal chicken 1SG

'Somebody may come to steal my chickens.'

4.3. Øe-

The empty verb forming prefix \emptyset_e - may be added to some roots to form verbal stems to which primary affixes can be added. The active prefix {-um-} is added to bases with $\{\emptyset_e\}$ to form /m-/. The active morphs shaped m- were called "Group 2" affixes in Table 3.1. The p- or k- shows up in the dependent forms and the passives of some roots. We give the phonological shape of affixes added to stems with \emptyset_e - in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with Øe-

	<u>Pres.</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Fut.</u>	<u>Dep.</u>	<u>Sub.</u>
ACT	m-	min-	p-/pk-	\emptyset /p-/k-	-a
DP	(\emptyset /p-/k-)-un	?	?	(\emptyset /p-/k-)-i	(\emptyset /p-/k-)-ay
LP	(\emptyset /p-/k-)-an	?	?	(\emptyset /p-/k-)-i	(\emptyset /p-/k-)-aw
IP	s-(\emptyset /p-/k-)	?	?	?	?

The following are examples of active *m*-verbs with \emptyset_e - in their dependent and the passive forms:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active pres.</u>	<u>Active dep.</u>	<u>Passive form</u>
hoqiN 'die'	m-hoqiN 'to die'	hoqiN	hqil-an 'die in s.p.'
abi' 'sleep'	m'abi' 'to sleep'	abi'	bi'an 'sleep on it'

Examples of the present (narrative present) *m*-verbs are the following:

(#) m-hoqiN qu' narux qasa lga'. (Rau, A15)

ACT-die NOM bear that PAR-GA'

'After that bear died.'

(#) nyux m-qyanux qu' Lawa qani na. (Rau, A17)

ASP ACT-live NOM PRN this still

'Lawa is still alive.'

Examples of active *m*-verbs in the past, future, dependent, and subjunctive forms are the following:

(#) lukus na' p-hoqiN squliq. (Egerod 1980, p. 223)

clothes of ACT-PA-die person

'The dead person's clothes.'

(#) mnbu' ta' ru' ini' ga' p-hoqiN ta'. (Egerod 1980, p. 182)

ACT-sick 1PN and NEG GA' FUT-die 1PN

'We shall get sick and maybe die.'

(#) si hmut kmaN ga'. (Rau, H1)

AFF ACT-DEP-do-without-reason talk GA'

'Just talk about whatever comes to your mind.'

(#) hqil-a yaba' maku'. (Egerod 1980, p. 182)

ACT-die-SUB father 1SG

'My father may die.'

The following are examples of the direct passives of *m*-verbs in the present, dependent, and subjunctive forms:

(#) hmt-un nha' ga'. (Egerod 1980, p. 174)

do-indiscriminately 3PG GA'

'They had an illicit affair.'

(#) ini' nha' hmc-i kmaN. (Egerod 1980, p. 174)

NEG 3PG do-indiscriminately ACT-talk

'They do not talk indiscriminately.'

(#) hmt-ay su' pqariq laqi'. (Egerod 1980, p. 174)

do-indiscriminately 2SG CAU-eat child

'Do not give this child anything to eat, it would be foolish.'

The following is an example of the local passive of *m*-verbs:

(#) ana ga' yaqih na' utux hiya' ga' mwah maki' hqil-an nya' ηasaN
raraN. (Egerod 1980, p. 183)

but GA' bad GM spirit 3SN TOP ACT-come ACT-be-at die-LP 3SG house
previously

'But the bad spirits come back to live in their former house in which they
died.'

4.3.1. The *p*- in the dependent and the passive forms

The *p*- shows up in the dependent and the passive forms of some *m*-verbs. The *p*- can also be added to stems formed with *t*-, *k*-, or *s*-. The active present affix has the shape *mt*-, *mk*-, *ms*- respectively. The inflection of verbs with *p*- in the dependent and passives is as follows:

Table 4.4. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with P-

	<u>Pres.</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Fut.</u>	<u>Dep./Imp.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>
ACT	m-(t-/k-/s-)	?	?	p(t-/k-/s-)	?
DP	p(t-/k-/s-)-un	?	?	p(t-/k-/s-)-i	p-aw
LP	p(t-/k-/s-)-an	?	?	p(t-/k-/s-)-i	p-ay
IP	sp-	?	?	?	?

Examples of active *m-* verbs with their dependent counterpart formed with *thep-*:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active present</u>	<u>Active dep.</u>
gaga' 'custom'	m-gaga' 'performing the ritual'	p-gaga'
uluw 'find'	m-uluw 'find'	p-uluw
quriq 'steal'	m-quriq 'steal'	p-quriq
syaq 'smile'	m-syaq 'smile'	p-syaq

Examples of passive verbs with the *p-* and their active counterpart with *m-*:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active form</u>	<u>Passive form</u>
qyanux 'live'	m-qyanux 'live'	p-qnx-un 'save s.o.'s life' (direct passive)
qas 'happy'	m-qas 'happy'	p-qas-un 'feel happy about s.t.' (direct passive)

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active form</u>	<u>Passive form</u>
qilis 'wound'		p-qlis-an 'wound s.t.' (local passive)
qwas 'song, school'	mqwas 'sing'	sp-qwas 'use it as tuition' (instrumental passive)
zyaw 'thing'	mt-zyaw 'work'	
bluku' 'basket'	mt-bluku' 'be full moon'	
rgyax 'mountain'	mk-rgyax 'climb mountain'	
llyung 'river'	mk-llyung 'walk around the river'	
tuqiy 'road'	mk-tuqiy 'investigate'	
gabi' 'late'		pk-gbiy-an 'work until late' (local passive)
ηuηu' 'fear'		ps-ηuηuw-an 'threaten s.o.' (local passive)
qolu' 'throat'	ms-qolu' 'eat'	
luhiy 'cliff'	ms-luhiy 'avalanche'	
behuy 'wind'	ms-behuy 'for wind to blow'	
quci' 'feces'	ms-quci' 'defecate'	

The following sentences illustrate the active present (narrative present) and dependent forms of the *m*-verbs with a *p*- in the dependent:

(#) blaq nya' bay mk-rgyax ru' smi' mrusa hiya'. (Liao-B, p. 102: 79)

good 3SG very ACT-mountain and ACT-put trap 3SN-IN

'He liked very much to climb the mountain and set traps.'

(#) laqi' ku' ini' ku' p-quwas biru' hga'. (Liao-B, p. 93: 52)

child 1SG NEG 1SN ACT-DEP-study book 3SN-IN-GA'

'When I was a child, before entering school.'

The following are examples of the local and instrumental passive forms of the *m*-verbs with a *p*- in the passives:

(#) ps-nnuw-an ku' nya' bay laqi' ku'. (Liao-B, p. 80: 16)

afraid-LP 1SN 3SG very child 1SG

'He would often scare me when I was young.'

(#) nanu' tqinuwa kuwis wa mu' rasun hugaN tbaziy ru' wa mu' sp-quwas

biru'. (Liao-B, p. 101: 75)

what mushroom that go 1SG take-DP low-land sell and go 1SG IP-study
book

'I took the mushroom to sell at the low land and get the cash to pay for
schooling.'

4.3.2. The *k*- in the dependent and the passive forms

The *k*-, analogously to *p*-, shows up in the dependent and the passive forms. The following Table 4.5. shows the inflection of verbs with the *k*- in the dependent and the passive forms:

Table 4.5. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with K-

	<u>Pres.</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Fut.</u>	<u>Dep.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>
ACT	m-	min-	pk-	k-	?
DP	k-un	?	?	k-i	k-aw
LP	k-an	?	?	k-i	k-ay
IP	?	?	?	?	?

Examples of active dependent forms with *k-* and their active present counterpart with *m-*:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Act. pres.</u>	<u>Act. dep.</u>
aki' 'be at'	m-aki' 'there is'	k-aki'
iya' 'be like'	m-iya' 'resemble'	k-iya'
brus 'tell a lie'	m-brus 'tell a lie'	k-brus
bhuyaw 'increase'	m-bhuyaw 'increase'	k-bhuyaw
ramu' 'blood'	m-ramu' 'bleed'	k-ramu'
ηuηu' 'afraid'	m-ηuηu' 'be afraid'	k-ηuηu'
talah' 'red'	m-talah' 'become red'	k-talah

Examples of active forms-in the present, dependent, and future forms with a *k* in the dependent forms are the following:

(#) swa' kyalaw kilkahan nya' m-lahan qalaη. (Liao-B, p. 157: 199)

because indeed effort 3SG ACT-rule tribe

'It's indeed because he contributed a lot in ruling the tribe.'

(#) ini' k-nunu' kmut tunux mukan. (Rau, E8)

NEG DEP-afraid ACT-cut head Chinese

'(He) was not afraid of cutting Chinese heads'

(#) si sami k-nkum kya mhkaŋi'. (Liao-B, p. 122: 120)

AFF 1PN-EXCL DEP-dark there ACT-walk

'We (not you) walked step by step in the dark.'

(#) yat k-pon kryax squliq ta' tayaN gani³. (Liao-B, p. 136: 154)

NEG DEP-disappear often people 1PG Atayal this

'We Atayal will never disappear (from this world).'

(#) nanu' siga' m'wiy qслиq ta' ga' p-k-aki yuwaw (kaci) nya'. (Liao-B, p. 161: 206)

what if ACT-tired mind 1PG GA' FUT-have thing (reward) 3SG

'If we work hard, (we) will have the reward.'

Examples of the direct passives in the present and dependent forms with a *k-* in the dependent and passive forms are the following:

(#) qani qu' yat myan k-ziny-un. (Rau, B24)

this DEF NEG 1PG-EX forget-DP

'This is the thing that I can not forget.'

(#) k-lhan-un su' bay kryax. (Liao-A, p. 16: 9)

protect-DP 2SN very always

'I will protect you forever.'

³ *Gani* is a variant form of *qani* 'this'.

(#) paris ga' ini' nha' k-nu-y. (Liao-B, p. 138: 158)

enemy TOP NEG 3PG fear-DP-DEP

'They are not afraid of enemies.'

Examples of the local passives with a *k-* in the present, dependent, and subjunctive forms are in the following sentences:

(#) k-haŋ-an ta' Gipun raraN ga', muŋ ta' balay ke' Gipun rwa. (Rau, H4)

rule-LP 1PN Japan past GA ACT-listen 1PN very talk Japan you-know

'When the Japanese ruled over us, we listened to the Japanese commands.'

(#) qutux bay qalaŋ asi nya' k-lhaŋ-i kya. (Liao-B, p. 157: 200)

one only tribe just 3SG rule-LP-DEP there

'Only one tribe he ruled.'

(#) uŋat ana qutux mha k-lhaŋ-ay ta' gabaw squliq tayaN. (Liao-B, p. 157: 200)

NEG even one they-said rule-LP-SUB 1PG all people Atayal

'It was said that there was not even one who would rule the whole Atayal.'

4.4. \emptyset_v -

The empty prefix \emptyset_v - may be added to some other roots to form the bases to which the primary affixes can be added. The active prefix {-um-} is added to bases with $\{\emptyset_v\}$ to form /ø/. The active morphs shaped ø were called "Group 3" affixes in Table 3.1. The phonological shape of primary affixes added to stems with \emptyset_v - is illustrated in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with Øv-

	<u>Pres.</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Fut.</u>	<u>Dep.</u>	<u>Sub.</u>
ACT	∅-	?	?	∅	-a
DP	-un	-in-	?	-i	-aw
LP	-an	-in-an	?	-i	-ay
IP	s-	?	?	s-	?

Examples of active forms in the present, dependent, and subjunctive are the following:

(#) kahuN saku' sqani ru', musa' ku' tehuk squ' Maᅇan lga'. (Rau, B7)
 come-from 1SN DAT-this and ACT-go 1SN arrive DAT-QU' PN PAR-GA'
 'From here I went to Mangan.'

(#) nyux ta' mnkis lru', ini' thuyay paᅇa' aw lpi. (Rau, C16)
 ASP 1PN old PAR-and NEG DEP-succeed carry yes PAR-INT
 'We are old now. We can't carry things on our backs.'

(#) leq-a ta' balay pcisaN. (Egerod 1980, p. 2)
 ACT-good-SUB 1PN very play
 'Let us roam together pleasantly.'

Examples of passive forms in the present, dependent, and subjunctive:

(#) s-kahuN maku' squ' Tampia qani. (Rau, B2)
 IP-from 1SG DAT-QU' PN this
 'I started from here in Tampia.'

(#) ini' maku' baqi uzi mha nanu' balay qu' blaq tuqiy aw. (Rau, D5)

NEG 1SG know-DP-DEP also thus what very QU' good road yes

'I did not know which road was good.'

(#) baq-aw ta'. (Egerod 1980, p. 60)

know-DP-SUB 1PN

'We do not know.'

4.5. Causative p- (p_c -)

The causative p - (or p_c -) can be added to a root or stem to form a causative verb which refers to an action in which someone causes something to be done or happen or someone has someone else do something. The verb inflection with causative p - is illustrated in the following paradigm. The question marks indicate that the categories may exist but the forms are unknown.

Table 4.7. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with P_c -

	<u>Pres.</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Fut.</u>	<u>Dep.</u>	<u>Sub.</u>
ACT	?	?	?	p-	?
DP	p-(un)	pin- ⁴	?	p-(i)	?
LP	p-an	pin-an	?	p-i	?
IP	sp-	?	?	?	?

⁴ The direct passive *-un* found in the present tense does not show up in the past.

The active causative is oriented to (§ 3.2.1) the agent who causes s.o to do s.t. or s.t. to be done. An example of dependent active causative verb is in the following sentence:

(#) ini' saku' p-nbu' laqi'. (Egerod-1980, p. 451)

NEG 1SN CAU-DEP-sick child

'I have not let my child get sick.' (The active causative *pnbu'* 'to cause to be sick' is oriented to *saku'* 'I'. The root is *nbu'* 'be sick').

The direct passive (§ 3.2.1.2) causative verb is oriented to the person who is caused to be or to do. The direct passive suffix *-un* found in the present tense shows up with some roots (i.e., *p-un*) but not with others (i.e., *p-*). Similarly the dependent form of direct passive occurs with *p-* with some roots and *p-i* with others. The same roots that drop *-un* also drop *-i* and vice versa. This same phenomenon occurs with stems with verb-forming affixes *t_v-*, *s_v-*, and *c_v-*. In other words, *-un* and *-i* are dropped with some roots in direct passive forms (This same phenomenon occurs with other affixes. Cf. §§ 4.7.3, 4.7.4, 4.7.5).

Examples of direct passive causative verbs are the following:

(#) p-hqil-un nha' lrwa (Rau, A24)

CAU-die-DP 3PG PAR-you-know

'They killed (him), you know.' (The word that the direct passive causative *phqilun* 'cause to die' is oriented to ('he') is not expressed. With the causative of *hqiN*, *phqiN*, the direct passive suffix *-un/-i* do occur.)

(#) nanu' yasa qu' wah nya' p-qaniq kneriN qani lpi. (Rau, A7)

what that DEF come 3SG CAU-eat-DP woman this PAR-EX

'He came to let this woman eat.' (The direct passive causative *pqaniq* 'to cause to eat' is oriented to *kneriN* 'woman'. With the causative of *qaniq*, *pqaniq*, the direct passive suffix *-un/-i* do not occur.)

(#) wi ta' musa' p-big lpyuη pagay. (Liao-B, p. 131:140)

sometimes 1PG go CAU-give-DP relatives rice

'Sometimes we would go to ask for rice from relatives.' (The direct passive causative *pbiq* 'to cause to give' is oriented to *lpyuη* 'relatives')

The following examples illustrate the direct passive causative verbs in the dependent forms. Again, some roots take *-i* while others take \emptyset .

(#) utux kayaN hiya ga', ini' ta' nya' p-tnaq-i kbalay kwara'. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 46)

god sky 3SN-IN TOP NEG 1PN 3SG CAU-same-DP-DEP make all

'The God, He did not make everyone the same.' (The direct passive dependent causative *ptnaqi* 'cause to be the same' is oriented to *ta'* 'us')

(#) ini' bay hmut p-gluw turuy ru' toraku siηa ay. (Liao-B, p. 122: 121)

NEG very do-carelessly CAU-ride-DP-DEP- \emptyset car or truck before EX

'In the past (they) were not very willing to let (us) ride in their car or truck.' (The word that the direct passive dependent causative *pgluw* 'to allow to ride' is oriented to ('we') is not expressed.)

(#) ini' mu hŋagi kryax p-nbuw qwaw ay. (Liao-A, p. 20: 10)

NEG 1SG stop-DEP-LP often CAU-drink-DP-DEP-ø wine EX

'I did not often fail to let (her) drink wine.' (The word that the direct passive dependent causative *pnbuw* 'to cause to drink' is oriented to ('she') is not expressed.)

The local passive (§ 3.2.1.3) causative verb is oriented to the direct object: the thing or person to which the action is caused to be done:

The following sentence illustrates local passive causative verbs:

(#) "p-nbuw-an mu bay qwaw kryax yaki' iwal," mha mama' basaw.

(Liao-A, p. 18: 10)

CAU-drink-LP 1SG very wine often grandma PRN say-thus uncle PRN

'Uncle Basaw said, "I often caused the wine to be drunk by Grandma Iwal."' (The local passive causative *pnbuwan* 'cause to be drunk' is oriented to *qwaw* 'wine')

With some roots the local passive is oriented to the person who is caused to do the action and there is no direct passive causative.

The following examples illustrate the local passive causative verbs which are oriented to the person who is caused to do or to be:

(#) yasa biŋi' ru' p-in-s'un-an nha' lga'. (Rau, H56)

that night and CAU-PA-together-LP 3PG PAR-GA'

'That night they married (us).' (The word that the local passive causative *pins'unan* 'caused to be together' is oriented to ('we') is not expressed.)

(#) ru' ryax ryax p-qniq-an ku' uzi (Liao-A, p. 21: 10)

and day day CAU-eat-LP 1SN also

'And every day you also caused me to eat.' (The local passive causative *pqniqan* 'cause to eat' is oriented to *ku'* 'me')⁵

(#) ini p-ktal-i squliq mpaŋa' qsinuw. (Liao-B, p. 103: 81)

NEG CAU-see-LP-DEP man carry animal

'(They) did not allow (people) to see someone carrying animal.' (The word that the local passive causative *pktali* 'cause to see' is *squliq* 'people').

The instrumental passive of causative verbs is oriented to the direct object of the action referred to by the root, that is the thing that was brought, eaten, etc. Examples of instrumental passive causative verbs:

(#) s-p-qaniq ta' lpyuŋ ru' sbiq ta' lpyuŋ mwah mcisaN sm'atu. (Liao-B, p. 106: 87)

IP-CAU-eat 1PG relative or IP-give 1PG relative come play New-Year

'We caused (it) to be eaten by the relatives or gave (it) to the relatives when they came to visit during the New Year.' ('It' is focused on but is not expressed.)

⁵ With the root *qaniq* the direct passive and the local passive causative have the same meaning. This sentence could also be expressed with the direct passive: *pqaniq*.

(#) *pyux bay s-p-'aras ta'*. (Liao-B, p. 106: 88)

many very IP-CAU-bring 1PG

'We caused a lot to be brought home (by her).' (In this sentence *pyux* 'many' is being focused on.)

4.6. Reciprocal *p-* (*p_r-*)

The reciprocal *p-* (or *p_r-*) may be added to a root or stem to refer to an action which is done together (plural meaning) or to each other (mutual action). The verb inflection with the reciprocal *p-* is illustrated as follows:

Table 4.8. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with Pr-

	<u>Pres.</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Fut.</u>	<u>Dep./Imp.</u>	<u>Sub.</u>
ACT	m-	?	?	p-	m-a
DP	p-un	?	?	?	?
LP	p-an	pin-an	?	?	?
IP	sp-	?	?	?	?

The following chart illustrates the active reciprocal forms. The first consonant of the base to which active *m-* or dependent *p-* is added is sometimes reduplicated. There is probably a difference in meaning between the reduplicated and unreduplicated forms, but I have not been able to determine it.

	<u>Active present</u>	<u>Active dependent</u>	
Stem	m-	p-	
sayu' 'quarrel'	m-sayu'/m-ssayu'	p-sayu'	'quarrel with each other'
soya' 'like'	m-ssoya'	---	'like each other'
galu' 'love'	m-ggalu'	p-ggalu'	'love each other'
kita' 'see'	m-kita'	---	'see each other'
agaN 'take'	m-'agaN	---	'have sexual intercourse'
kayaN 'speak'	m-kayaN	p-kayaN	'discuss'
kut 'cut'	m-kut/m-kkut	p-kut	'fight'

The reciprocal *p-* can also be added to other verbal stems which are formed with the secondary affixes *t-*, *p-*, *k-*, or *s-*. Their active present form is *mt-*, *mp-*, *mk-*, and *ms-* respectively, as illustrated in the following chart:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active present</u>	<u>Active dependent</u>	
giba 'embrace'	m-t-giba	p-t-giba	'embrace each other'
rawin 'cousin'	m-t-rawin	---	'call each other cousin'
ciriq 'fight'	m-t-ciriq	---	'fight with each other'
buci' 'branch off'	m-t-buci'	---	'separate the family'
cisaN 'play'	m-p-cisaN	---	'play with each other'
quwas 'song'	m-p-quwas	---	'sing together'
syaq 'smile'	m-p-syaq	---	'smile together'
ηuηu' 'fear'	m-k-ηuηu'	---	'fear each other'
gagay 'separate'	m-s-gagay	---	'separate from each other'
yaqih 'bad'	m-s-yaqih	---	'hate each other'

Examples of active reciprocal verbs are as follows:

(#) m-kita' sami kya lru, nanu' m-s-soya' sami lrwa. (Rau, G44)

REC-ACT-see 1PN-EX there PAR-and what REC-RED-ACT-like 1PN-EX
PAR-you-know

'We saw each other and we fell in love with each other.'

(#) m-sayu' ki' laqi' tayaN lga'. (Rau, A22)

REC-ACT-quarrel with child Atayal PAR-GA'

'When (he) quarreled with Atayal children.'

(#) si p-kayaN ke' tayaN ma. (Rau, C1)

AFF REC-ACT-DEP-talk speech Atayal they-said

'She wanted us to just speak Atayal to each other.'

The local passive of reciprocal verbs is oriented to the direct object of the action: "the thing over or about which people do s.t.together".

Examples of the local passive reciprocal verbs are in the following sentences:

(#) si p-pn-an qu' laqi' ka p-syug-an myan paŋa'. (Rau, B21)

AFF REC-DEP-carry-LP DEF child that REC-DEP-change-LP 1PG-EX
carry

'We took turns carrying our child.'

(#) qu' p-in-kyal-an nha' ma raraN. (Rau, E68)

DEF REC-PA-talk-LP 3PG they-said olden-days

'That's what they discussed in the past.' (Literally *qu' pinkyalan nha'* means 'the thing about which they talked with each other')

The instrumental passive of reciprocal verbs is oriented to the thing which is conveyed when one engages in an action together.

An example of the instrumental passive reciprocal verb:

(#) nanu' s-p-kayaN mamu ke' na' tayaN ru' gal-un myan ma. (Rau, C3)
 what IP-REC-talk 2PG speech of Atayal and take-DP 1PG-EX I'm-told
 'She said you two can speak Atayal and we can record it.'

4.7. Verb-forming affixes

4.7.1. Verb-forming p- (p_v-)

The verb-forming *p-* is most often prefixed to a group of non-verbal roots to form verbs. The verb inflection with verb-forming *p-* is illustrated as follows:

Table 4.9. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with Pv-

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Dependent</u>	<u>Subjunctive</u>
ACT	p-	?	?	p-	?
DP	p-un	pin-	?	p-i	p-aw
LP	p-an	?	?	p-i	p-ay
IP	?	?	?	?	?

Examples of the active verbs formed with $\emptyset_v + p-$ prefixed to the roots/stems:

<u>Root/Stem</u>	<u>Active verb formed with p-</u>
tatak 'shack'	p-tatak 'to build a shack'
qsya' 'water'	p-qsya' 'overflow the banks'
syax 'light'	p-syax 'to shine'
ramat 'side dish'	p-ramat 'to make a side dish'
sabu' 'net'	p-sabu' 'to net (fish)'
baq 'can, know'	p-baq 'to pay attention to'
c-baq 'teach'	p-c-baq 'teach'
q-baq 'to study'	p-q-baq 'to know, to study'
hapuy 'to cook'	p-hapuy 'to cook'
uwah 'to come'	p-wah 'to cross over'

Examples of the active *p*-verbs are in the following sentences:

(#) wi ta' p-hapuy mami' plhay. (Liao-B, p. 86: 34)

sometimes 1PN ACT-Pv-cook rice millet

'Sometimes we cooked millet.'

(#) p-tatak ru' tmabul kya la. (Liao-B, p. 86: 35)

ACT-Pv-shack and ACT-cultivate there PAR

'(We) built a shack and cultivated (the land) there.'

(#) kya saku' p-cbaq kya ru'. (Rau, B7)

there 1SN ACT-Pv-teach there and

'I taught there and...'

(#) ini' qbaq p-wah hoŋu' qani, hoqiN hga' lga', p-wah kyayaw ma. (Rau, E14)

NEG DEP-know ACT-Pv-come bridge this die 3PN PAR-GA' ACT-Pv-come
along they-said

'(People who) could not cross the bridge, after they died, they went around it.'

(#) wagi' ga' p-svax squ' qlyan, ana ga' byaciŋ hiya' ga' p-svax squ' mhŋan. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 34)

sun TOP ACT-Pv-light DAT-QU' day but GA' moon 3SN-IN TOP ACT-Pv-
light DAT-QU' night

'The sun shines during the day but the moon shines at night.'

Examples of the past direct passive of a *p*-verb:

(#) p-in-suluŋ nya' kinbalay gipun. (Liao-B, p. 124: 125)

Pv-PA-imitate-DP 3SG thing-made Japan

'He imitated the Japanese handicrafts.'

(#) ŋahi' nanak p-in-hapuy ta'. (Liao-B, p.85: 34)

yam only p-PA-cook-DP 1PG

'We only cooked yam.'

An example of the local passive subjunctive of a *p*-verb:

(#) nanu' yasa qu' ita' kwara' ga' p-qbaq-ay ta' lmpuw qu' biru' na' tayaN.

(Atayal Alphabet, p. 45)

what that DEF 1PN-IN all TOP Pv-know-LP-SUB 1PG ACT-read DEF

writing of Atayal

'Therefore let's all study to read the Atayal Alphabet.'

4.7.2. Verb-forming k- (k_v-)

4.7.2.1. Verb-forming k- with no other affixes

K- is added to noun or adjectival roots to form verbal stems. The verb inflection with *k-* is illustrated as follows:

Table 4.10. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with Kv-

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Dep./Imp.</u>	<u>Subjunctive</u>
Act	k-	?	pk-	k-	?
DP	k-un	kin-	?	k-i	k-aw
LP	k-an	kin-an	?	k-i	k-ay
IP	sk-	?	?	?	?

Examples of active forms with verb forming *k-* as part of the stem in present, dependent, and future:

(#) son maku' syuriy qu', k-balay utubay maku'. (Rau, D38)

go-DP 1SG repair DEF ACT-Kv-true motorcycle 1SG

'I went to have my motorcycle repaired.'

(#) Ana su' k-babaw cikay kmaN. (Rau, E34)

but 2SN DEP-Kv-surface a-little ACT-talk

'Just a general answer will do.'

(#) p-k-balay yuwaw qiqyanux ta' tayaN babaw nya'.(Liao-B, p. 143: 170)

FUT-Kv-true thing life 1PG Atayal later 3SG

'(It) will be our Atayal life style later on.'

The following is an example of the direct passive and the active verb form with the verb forming *k-* :

(#) pisulun nya' k-i-balay (= k-in-balay) gipun kbalay qiqaya' squliq kuwis.

(Liao-B, p. 124: 125)

PA-imitate-DP 3SG Kv-PA-true-DP Japan ACT-Kv-true thing people that

'He made furniture for people by imitating what the Japanese had made.'

The following is an example of the local passive present form with the verb-forming *k-*; the *k-* shows up regularly as *q-* before *c-* and *b-*.

(#) inat q-baq-an nha' lrwa. (Rau, A24)

nothing Kv-know-LP 3PG PA-you-know

'They didn't know what to do.'

The following is an example of the instrumental passive present form with verb-forming *k-*:

(#) baqun nha mha mqu' ga', s-k-lokah hi' ay siŋa. (Liao-B, p. 82: 24)
 know-DP 3PG they-said snake GA' IP-Kv-strong body EX olden-days
 'It is said that in the olden days they knew that snakes can be used to
 strengthen the body.'

The verb forming *k-* is prefixed to most adjectival roots to form a verbal stem which means "become so-and-so", as illustrated in the following examples.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Affixed form with k-</u>
lokah 'strong'	k-lokah 'become strong'
cipaq 'small'	q-cipaq ⁶ 'become small'
hupa' 'big'	k-hupa' 'become big'
bsyaq 'a long time'	q-bsyaq 'become a long time'
blaq 'good'	q-blaq 'become good'

Examples of the active forms with *k-* meaning "become so-and-so":

(#) rhyaN ta' ga', wasi q-cipaq q-cipaq. (Liao-B, p.134: 150)

land 1PG TOP AFF DEP-Kv-small DEP-Kv-small

'As far as our land, it just became smaller and smaller.'

(#) q-blaq bay mkayaN yaba' ru' yaya'. (Liao-B, p. 155: 196)

ACT-Kv-good very REC-ACT-talk father and mother

'Father and mother should communicate well with each other.' (Lit.

'Father and mother should become good at conversation')

⁶ The verb-forming prefix *k-* shows up regularly as *q-* before *c-* and *b-*.

Examples of the direct passives with *k-* meaning "become (such-and-such)". The verb is oriented to the thing caused to become (such-and-such), meaning "thing treated in a certain manner":

(#) q-bsyaq-un misu' bay. (Liao-A, p. 21: 10)

Kv-long-DP 1SG-2SN very

'I will make you live long.'

(#) nya (= nyux) ku' q-liq-un bay mlahaŋ ga' basaw ga'. (Liao-A, p. 16: 9)

be-at 1SN Kv-good-DP very ACT-care GA' PRN GA'

'Basaw, you are taking such good care of me.'

(#) q-bliq-aw ta' lmŋluŋ ke' nya' mu sbiru' hani⁷. (Liao-B, p. 76: 6)

Kv-good-DP-SUB 1PG ACT-think speech be-at 1SG IP-write this

'Hopefully we will consider carefully the words I am writing here.'

4.7.2.2. Empty *p-* plus verb-forming *k-* ($p_e k_v$)

The empty *p-* (p_e) differs from the verb-forming *p-* (p_v) only in the active forms. The present active prefix is /m-/ and /p-/ in the empty *p-* and verb forming *p-* respectively. Morphologically /*-um-/ + / p_e -/ yields /m-/ whereas \emptyset_v + / p_v -/ yields /p-/.

$P_e K_v$ - is added to noun roots to form verbal stems to which active prefix *m-* and passive affixes can be added, meaning 'do to or at the (noun)'. The verb inflection with $p_e k_v$ - is illustrated in the following Table 4.11.

⁷ *Hani* is a variant form of *qani* 'this'.

Table 4.11. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with PeKv-

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Dependent</u>	<u>Subjunctive</u>
ACT	mk-	?	?	pk-	?
DP	pk-un	?	?	?	?
LP	pk-an	?	?	?	?
IP	?	?	?	?	?

Examples of active verbs formed with *pek_v*:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active present</u>
rgyax 'mountain'	mk-rgyax 'climb a mountain'
lhŋan 'night'	mk-lhŋan 'do things when it is night'
gbyan 'evening'	mk-gbyan 'work late in the evening'
llyuŋ 'river'	mk-llyuŋ 'follow the river'
latan 'gala jacket' ⁸	mk-latan 'put on the gala jacket'

Examples of present active forms with *pek_v* are in the following sentences:

(#) blaŋ nya' bay mk-rgyax ru' smi' mruŋa' hiya'. (Liao-B, p. 102: 79)
 good 3SG very ACT-mk-mountain and ACT-put trap 3SN
 'He likes to climb mountains and set traps.'

⁸ A 'gala jacket' is a red sleeveless jacket worn by successful headhunters.

(#) wi sami mk-lhnan mhkaŋi' mwah qalaŋ. (Liao-B, p. 120: 118)
 sometimes 2PN-INCL ACT-mk-night ACT-walk ACT-come village
 'We sometimes used night to walk back to the village.'

The following are examples of active dependent forms with *pekV-*:

(#) asi sami pk-llyun musa' kya. (Liao-B, p. 125: 126)
 AFF 2PN-INCL DEP-pk-river ACT-go there

'We just went following the river.'

(#) asi su' pk-gbyan kryax mqumah ru' kmkgyi. (Liao-B, p. 91: 47)
 AFF 2SN DEP-pk-evening often ACT-work-the-field and ACT-make-
 thread-from-hemp

'You continuously worked late in the evening by working the field and
 making thread from hemp.'

4.7.3. Verb-forming *t-* (*t_{v-}*)

T- is prefixed to noun, adjectival, or sometimes verbal roots to form verbal stems and to which the active prefix \emptyset - (Group 3, Table 3.1.) and other passive affixes are added, meaning 'do (such-and such)'. The inflection of verbs with *t-* is illustrated as follows:

Table 4.12. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with Tv-

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Dependent</u>	<u>Subjunctive</u>
ACT	t-	?	?	t-	t-a
DP	t-(un)	cin- ⁹	?	t-i	t-aw
LP	t-an	?	?	t-i	t-ay
IP	?	?	?	?	?

The following sentences illustrate active present verbs with *t-*:

(#) gabaw squliq mnwah t-liṇay byuwak kuwis ma. (Liao-B, p. 101: 77)

all people ACT-PA-go ACT-Tv-surrounding wild-pig that they-said

'It is said all the people went to circle around that wild pig.'

(#) t-muyaw ta' hani lga', t-'arin ta' magaN qmayah tqbwanan la. (Liao-B, p. 86: 35)

ACT-Tv-new-house 1PN here PAR-GA' ACT-Tv-begin 1PN ACT-take land
PN PAR

'After we had moved to the new house here, we started to cultivate the land in Tqbuwanan.'

(#) wi su' t-krul kska' qnahi' kuwis. (Liao-B, p. 92: 49)

sometimes 2SN ACT-Tv-wild-potato in-the-middle-of overgrowth that

'You sometimes looked for wild potatoes in the middle of that overgrowth.'

⁹ *T-* is palatalized to *c-* when preceding high front vowel /i/.

(#) mwah mbaziy qali' qgzi' ga' lokah bay t-qali' gabaw qalaŋ ta' uzi.

(Liao-B, p. 116: 110)

ACT-come ACT-buy bark soft-wood GA' diligent very ACT-Tv-bark all
village 1PG also

'When (they) came to buy soft wood bark, our whole village worked very
hard to peel the bark.'

(#) sami' laqi' nanak mcisaN kya t-lqin sami'. (Liao-B, p. 81: 20)

1PN-EXCL child self ACT-play there ACT-Tv-hide 1PN-EXCL

'We children ourselves were there playing hide-and-seek.'

T- can be added to a root to form a verbal stem which means 'do s.t. involuntarily, accidentally.' The following sentence illustrates the active present form with the accidental *t-* added to the root:

(#) t-hmuq ku' in'biyan ga', nya bay yuhum su' sm'aŋ uzi. (Liao-B, p. 89: 43)

ACT-Tv-urinate 1SN bed GA' big very gall 2SN ACT-scold also

'When I wetted the bed, you were also very angry and scolded me.'

T- is added to the root *baziy* 'buy' to mean 'sell'. The following sentence illustrates the active present form of *tbaziy* 'sell' and *mbaziy* 'buy':

(#) *musa' ta' m-baziy qiqaya' muyaw, musa' ta' t-baziy piqmahan ta' rgyax.* (Liao-B, p. 133: 147)

ACT-go 1PN ACT-buy thing house ACT-go 1PN ACT-Tv-buy produce 1PG
mountain

'We went to buy construction material or to sell mountain produce.'

An example of the present direct passive with *t-*:

(#) *t-'rin-un*¹⁰ *momu*¹¹ *kya mpaṇa' qlciṇ kuwis ru' asi simu tehuk muyaw.* (Liao-B, p. 114: 108)

Tv-from-DP 2PG there ACT-carry board that and AFF 2PN arrive home
'You carried those boards from here to our new house.'

An example of the past direct passive with *t-*:

(#) *hazi' t-i-'arin* 1958 *kbalay bih meizi ru' 1961 lga' tehuk qalaṇ ta' ryaniq turuy gani la.* (Liao-B, p. 132: 142)

perhaps Tv-PA-from-DP 1958 make near PN and 1961 PAR-TOP arrive
village 1PG road automobile this PAR

'The construction had started from Meizi in 1958 or so and not until 1961 did the highway reach our village.'

¹⁰ *-Un* occurs with this root but with other roots the direct passive *-un* is dropped (See discussion § 4.5).

¹¹ *Momu* 'you (genitive)' is an alternant of *mamu*.

T- can be added to stems formed with *k-*, or *g-*¹². The following examples illustrate the active present forms with compound affix *tk-* or its alternant *tg-* added to noun roots:

(#) musa' saku' t-k-ke' ke' na' Utux ga'. (Rau, B2)

ACT-go 1SN ACT-Tv-Kv-talk speech of God GA'

'I went to preach God's word.'

(#) lhga' ga' t-q-baq kmayaN ru' lmpuw nqu' ke' na' tayaN. (Atayal

Alphabet, p. 40)

3PIN GA' ACT-Tv-Kv-know ACT-speak and ACT-read DAT-DEF speech of

Atayal

'They learn to speak and to read Atayal.'

(#) ana ta' lokah bay tg-naqaw ru' mqumah ga'. (Liao-B, p. 85: 33)

even 1PN strong very Tv-g-land and ACT-cultivate GA'

'Even though we worked very hard opening new land and cultivating it.'

(#) teta' ta' nha' ini' ciqri tg-suruw mha "tayaN pt-qqwaw." (Liao-B, p.

150: 188)

so-that-SUB 1PN 3PG NEG despise Tv-g-back thus Atayal pt-liquor

'Hopefully they would not despise us by calling us "Atayal drunkard"

behind our backs.'

An example of active subjunctive verb with *t-*:

¹² The data do not provide enough examples to determine what the condition is for the alternation between /k-/ and /g-/.

(#) nanu' misa son mu t-'riŋ-a ta' ita' qutux muyaw smsum yuwaw gani.

(Liao-B, p. 76: 4)

what so go-DP 1SG ACT-Tv-from-SUB 1PN 1PN-IN one family arrange
thing this

'Therefore, I think it's better to start from our own family to arrange this
thing.'

An example of active subjunctive verb with *t-* added to a base from a root
with *k-*:

(#) t-q-baq-a ta' kwara'. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 40)

ACT-Tv-Kv-know-SUB 1PN all

'Let's all learn.'

An example of the present local passive with *t-* to a base with *k-*:

(#) ke' nha' gipun t-q-baq-an ta'. (Liao-B, p. 142: 168)

speech 3PG Japan Tv-Kv-know-LP 1PG

'We studied the Japanese language.'

An example of the past local passive with *t-* to a base with *k-*:

(#) pyux t-i-q-baq-an mu yuwaw ta' tayaN siŋa la. (Liao-B, p. 123: 122)

many Tv-PA-Kv-know-LP 1SG thing 1PG Atayal olden-days PAR

'I have already learned a lot about our Atayalic customs of olden days.'

4.7.3.1. T- as a passive with no other affixes

T- can be used to form passive verbs with no other affixes¹³. The unaffixed bases with *t-* may be read as a direct passive with no other affixes (§ 4.5). Verbs with *t-* of this kind are similar in meaning to the direct passive. However verbs with *t-* of this type do not have the other tense or mode inflections (no past, no subjunctive, etc.) *T-* refers to the state of the root whereas the direct passive with *-un* refers to the action of the root.

Compare the following two forms: *t-giba* 'in the state of being held' vs. *gbon* 'embrace s.o.' in the following sentences:

(#) lux ku' t-giba' lkaki' mu cyaŋ kuwis. (Liao-B, p.79: 14)

occasionally 1SN Tv-embrace late-grandma 1SG PN that
'Once in a while I was held by my late Grandma Ciyang.'

(#) waN maku' gbon kneriN qasa. (Egerod-1980, P. 134)

PA 1SG embrace-DP woman that

'I have slept together with her (but not had intercourse with her).'

4.7.3.2. Ø_v- to roots with t- (Ø_vt-)

A base formed by *t-* + root may be made into a verb by adding {Ø_v-} (§ 4.4). The following sentences illustrate active dependent verbs formed by Ø_v- + *t-* + Root:

¹³ This is not the same as *t-* which is the alternant with certain roots in place of *t-* in § 4.7.3.

(#) ana mwani na' kana sami' t-'alax ana qutux na. (Liao-A, p. 11: 7)

even now still would-want-to prevent 1PN-EXCL ACT-DEP-Tv-let-go even
one still

'Even until now we would not want to do anything separately.'

(#) asi ku' t-pučin suruw mama' upix mha. (Liao-B, p. 107: 90)

AFF 1SN ACT-DEP-Tv-end-point back uncle PRN thus

'I just followed the back of Uncle Upix like this.'

(#) mnbuw ga', ini' t-'yaN iyaN pyux nbun nya' hiya'. (Liao-A, p. 17: 9)

ACT-drink GA' NEG ACT-DEP-Tv-too-much too much drink-DP 3SG 3SN-
IN

'As for drinking, he does not drink too much.'

4.7.3.3. Empty p- plus verb-forming t- ($peTv$ -)

$PeTv$ - is added to noun roots to form verbal stems and to which the active prefix m - (Group 2, Table 3.1.) and other passive affixes can be added to form verbs, meaning 'do (such-and-such).' The inflection of verbs with $peTv$ - is illustrated as follows:

Table 4.13. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with $PeTv$ -

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Dependent</u>	<u>Subjunctive</u>
ACT	mt-	?	?	pt-	?
DP	pt-un	?	?	?	?
LP	pt-an	?	?	?	?
IP	?	?	?	?	?

Examples of active present verbs with *mt-*:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active present</u>
zyaw 'thing'	mt-zyaw 'to work'
buci' 'branch'	mt-buci' 'branch off'
haŋaŋ 'shoulder'	mt-haŋaŋ 'rub shoulders'
mrhuw 'chief'	mt-mrhuw 'be chiefs'

Examples of active present verbs with *mt-* are the following:

(#) kryax kryax ga', sasan ga', zibuq ku' tuliq lokah ku' m-t-zyaw ru' ga'.

(Rau, G55)

often often GA' morning GA' early 1SN rise strong 1SN ACT-Tv-thing and
GA'

'I always got up early in the morning to work.'

(#) m-t-buci muyaw mama' basaw ru' mama' upix la. (Liao-B, p. 94: 58)

ACT-Tv-branch family uncle PRN and uncle PRN PAR

'Uncle Basaw and Uncle Upix established new branches of the family.'

Examples of the active dependent verbs with *pe^tv-* :

(#) yat p-t-yuwaw yuwaw yaqih. (Liao-B, p. 151: 189)

NEG ACT-DEP-Pe-Tv-thing thing bad

'Don't do bad things.'

The following example shows a prefix with *pe^sv^tv-*:

(#) asi p-s-t-ben qba', asi p-t-hanaN. (Liao-B, p. 153: 192)

AFF DEP-Pe-Sv-Tv-hold hand AFF Pe-Tv-shoulder

'Let us hold our hands and rub shoulders.'

The following is an example of a direct passive verb with *pet_v*:

(#) ini' uluw iyaN yuwaw p-t-yuwagun. (Liao-B, p. 134: 150)

NEG DEP-find easily thing Pe-Tv-thing-DP

'It is not too easy to find a job to work on.'

4.7.4. Verb-forming *c-* (*c_v-*)

C- is most frequently prefixed to non-verbal roots to form verbal stems to which primary affixes can be added. The inflection of verbs with *c-* is illustrated as follows:

Table 4.14. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with *Cv-*

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Dependent</u>	<u>Subunctive</u>
ACT	<i>c-</i>	?	?	?	?
DP	<i>c-(un)</i> ¹⁴	?	?	<i>c-i</i>	<i>c-aw</i>
LP	<i>c-an</i>	?	?	<i>c-i</i>	<i>c-ay</i>
IP	<i>sc-</i>	?	?	?	?

Examples of active and passive verbs with *c-*:

¹⁴ The direct passive *-un* is dropped with some roots when *c-* is prefixed (Cf. the discussion of the dropping of *-un* with *p-* causative in § 4.5).

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active form</u>	<u>Passive form</u>
baq 'can, know'	c-baq 'teach'	c-baq-an (local passive) c-baq-i (dependent passive) s-c-baq (instrumental passive)
galu' 'be sympathetic'		c-galu' (direct passive) ¹⁵ 'be sympathetic to'
qaya' 'thing'	c-qaya' 'to own'	

The following is an example of the active present form with *c-* referring to the agent who does the action:

(#) raraN ga' c-baq Ulay . (Rau, G17)

past GA' ACT-Cv-know Ulay

'In the past I taught at Ulay.'

Examples of present (narrative present) and dependent local passive verbs with *c-* referring to the direct object of the sentences are the following:

(#) c-baq-an nya' qu' son mucu ka mlikuy lru'. (Rau, A25)

Cv-know-LP 3SG DEF call-DP ACT-thus that man PAR-and

'She informed (them) of the so called "man"'

(#) ana su' si c-baq-i, ini' puŋ ki' son su' nanu' wiy. (Rau, G36)

even 2SG AFF Cv-know-LP-DEP NEG DEP-listen EX go-DP 2SG what EX

'Even though you teach them what to do, if they don't listen to you, what can you do?'

¹⁵ The direct passive *-un* is dropped with some roots as discussed in § 4.5.

An example of present direct passive with *-un* dropped:

(#) nyux mu c-galu' utux kayaN laxi balay pnbu'. (Egerod 1980, p. 101)

ASP 1SG Cv-be-sympathetic-DP god sky don't really Pc-sick

'I pray of you, heavenly father of spirits, let him not be sick.'

An example of present instrumental passive with *c-*:

(#) kwara' nanu' zyaw ga' s-c-baq nya'. (Rau, H28)

all what thing GA IN-Cv-know 3SG

'No matter whatever it was, he would teach us.'

An example of active present verb with *t-* added to a stem formed with *c-*:

(#) siliq qani hiya' ga', giwan balay nyux t-c-baq hiya'. (Rau, E23)

siliq-bird this 3SN GA' resemble very ASP ACT-Tv-Cv-know 3SN

'The siliq bird would teach them what would happen.'

4.7.5. Verb-forming *s-* (*s_v-*)

S_v- can be added to adjectival or noun roots to form verbal stems and the active prefix \emptyset_v (Group 3, Table 3.1.) is added to the stems to form active present verbs, meaning 'do or be (such-and-such)'. The inflection of verbs with verb-forming *s-* is illustrated as follows:

Table 4.15. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with Sv-

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Dependent</u>	<u>Subjunctive</u>
ACT	s-	?	?	s-	?
DP	s-(un) ¹⁶	?	?	s-i	s-aw
LP	s-an	?	?	s-i	s-ay
IP	?	?	?	?	?

The following examples illustrate verb forming *s_v-* directly added to the stems to form active present verbs:

(#) s-blaq simu' balay rwa. (Rau, G22)

ACT-Sv-good 2PN very you know

'You love each other very much.' (Lit. 'You are on good terms very much you know.')

(#) s-gutux lhbun ta' son mha tayaN. (Liao-B, p. 155: 195)

ACT-Sv-one heart 1PG call-DP say-thus Atayal

'(We should) unite the hearts of the so-called Atayal tribe.'

The following example illustrates the dependent form with verb-forming *s-*:

(#) si saku' ryax i... s-tnaq squ' son mucu ka e... mqu'. (Rau, B14)

Aff 1SN day ACT-Sv-equal LOC-DEF call-DP ACT-thus-that snake

'One day I met a snake.'

¹⁶ This is the same phenomenon about the dropping of *-un* as discussed in § 4.5.

A example of direct passive of *sv-* verb with *-un* dropped (§ 4.5):

(#) s-galu' ku' nya' bay. (Liao-B, p. 79: 14)

Sv-love-DP 1SN 3SG very

'She loves and cares for me very much.'

S_v- can be added to stems formed with *k-*, *t-*, or *p-*. The following examples illustrate the active present forms with compound affixes *sk-* and *st-*, and *sp-*:

(#) qiqyanux ta' siŋa kuwis ga', sk-ramat hazi' lɪluŋun. (Liao-B, p. 103: 80)

life 1PG olden-days that GA' Sv-k-miss also think-DP

'Thinking about life in the olden days, (I) cannot but miss it.'

(#) ini' pktali squliq mpaŋa' qsinuw, st-lqin ru' syayaw squliq. (Liao-B, p. 103: 81)

NEG CAU-see-LP-DEP people ACT-carry animal Sv-t-hide and ACT-Sv-detour people

'(They) did not let people see them carry an animal by hiding and taking detours from people.'

(#) asi ga' s-p-gluw qwalax tmuciŋ ga' mwah tqinuw nya'. (Liao-B, p. 127: 130)

AFF if Sv-p-follow rain ACT-hit GA' ACT-come mushroom 3SG

'(You) have to judge from the amount of rain to hit the tree. (When it is raining hard), the mushroom will sprout.'

4.7.5.1. Empty p- plus verb-forming s- ($p_e s_v$ -)

The compound prefix $p_e s_v$ - can be added to a noun root to form a verbal stem to which an active prefix m - (Group 2, Table 3.1.) is added to form a verb. The inflection of verbs with $p_e s_v$ - is illustrated as follows:

Table 4.16. Phonological Shape of Affixed Added to Stems with $P_e S_v$ -:

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Dependent</u>	<u>Subjunctive</u>
ACT	ms-	?	?	ps-	?
DP	ps-un	?	?	?	?
LP	ps-an	?	?	?	?
IP	?	?	?	?	?

Examples of present active forms with ms -:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active form</u>
laqi' 'child'	ms-laqi' 'give birth'
luhiy 'cliff'	ms-luhiy 'avalanche'
behuy 'wind'	ms-behuy 'for wind to blow'
hmoq 'urine'	ms-hmoq 'urinate, piss'
quci' 'feces'	ms-quaci' 'defecate'

The following sentences illustrate the active present verbs with $p_e s_v$ -:

(#) m-s-behuy hira'. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 38)

ACT-Sv-wind yesterday

'The typhoon blew yesterday.'

(#) bka' lru m-s-laqi' laqi' likuy la. (Rau, A10)

split already-and ACT-Sv-child child male PAR

'After (the stone) was split, a boy was born.'

(#) m-s-luhiy qu' tuqiy qasa lga'. (Rau, B19)

ACT-Sv-mountain-side DEF road that PAR-GA

'There was a landslide on that road'

The dependent form of *ms-* is *ps-* as is illustrated in the following sentences:

(#) Lokah p-s-qyu' laqi'. (Liao-B, p. 155: 196)

strong DEP-Sv-transmit child

'Work hard to educate your children.'

(#) yat sami' nanak p-s-bnux tanux ta' ay. (Liao-B, p. 96: 62)

NEG 1PN-EXCL only DEP-Sv-flat front-yard 1PG EX

'We are not the only ones who flattened the front yard.'

4.7.5.2. Reciprocal p- plus verb-forming s- ($p_r s_v$)-

Stems with s_v - can be subject to further derivational processes, e.g., reciprocal affixes (§ 4.6) can be added to the stems. An example of this phenomenon is *s-blaq* 'to be on good terms'. We have active present, active dependent, and direct passive subjunctive forms attested:

(#) m-s-blaq sami' bay watan ta' hobiŋ siŋa. (Liao-B, p. 123: 123)

REC-Sv-good 1PN-EXCL very PRN 1PG PRN olden-days

'I and Watan Hobing got along very well in the old days.'

(#) p-s-blaq qutux squliq ru' qutux squliq. (Liao-B, p. 155: 196)

REC-DEP-Sv-good one person and one person

'Be good to each other.'

(#) ini' kusa' mha qalaŋ A ru' qalaŋ B ru' ana qalaŋ B ru' qalaŋ C ga' p-s-bliq-aw ta'. (Liao-B, p. 157: 200)

not DEP-think-thus they-say tribe A and tribe B and even tribe B and tribe

C GA' REC-Sv-good-DP-SUB 1PG

'It is said (he) would not think like this, "Let us unite tribe A with B and C."'

4.8. Transitive s- (s_m -)

S- can be prefixed to noun or adjectival roots to form verbal stems to which the active primary affix *-m-* (group1, Table 3.1.) can be added to form transitive verbs. Formally, it differs from the verb-forming *s-* only in the active forms. The present active prefix is /*sm-*/ and /*s-*/ in the transitive and verb-forming *s-* respectively. The inflection of verbs with transitive *s-* is illustrated as follows:

Table 4.17. Phonological Shape of Affixes Added to Stems with Sm-

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>	<u>Dependent</u>	<u>Subjunctive</u>
ACT	sm-	?	?	s-	?
DP	s-un	?	?	s-i	s-aw
LP	s-an	?	?	s-i	s-ay
IP	?	?	?	?	?

Examples of active present verbs with *sm-* added to the roots to form verbal stems:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active present form</u>
qas 'happy'	s-m-qas 'celebrate'
bes 'companion'	s-m-bes 'accompany'
aki 'to be'	s-m-aki 'serve (rice)'

The following sentences illustrate the present active verbs with *sm-* added to the roots to form verbal stems:

(#) nanu' rasun i... mwah squ' a... s-m-qas i... kyokay qu' qutux Amerika gaw. (Rau, B23)

what take-DP ACT-come DAT-DEF Sm-ACT-happy church DEF one
American EX

'We took an American to celebrate the opening of the church.'

(#) cyux s-m-aki' mami' yaya' su'. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 11)

ASP Sm-ACT-have rice mother 2SG

'Your mother is servicing rice.'

(#) san nha' s-m-atu' lukus. (Rau, A18)

go-LP 3PG Sm-ACT-send clothes

'They went to send clothes (to her).'

(#) kneriN mu lru', musa' s-m-bes kuziŋ. (Rau, B20)

woman 1SG PAR-and ACT-go Sm-ACT-companion 1SIN

'My wife, (she) came to accompany me.'

Chapter Five

Nouns and Pronouns

Atayal nouns include proper nouns, common nouns, pronouns, demonstrative words, interrogative words, indefinite words, and numerals. Only personal pronouns can be declined.

5.1. Proper nouns

Proper nouns include personal names and kinship terms. Atayal personal names are composed of two elements. An Atayal's last name is his/her father's first name. For example, ulay piray's son is yabu ulay. The second element may be preceded by a genitive noun marker *na'* when the following segment is /i/ or /y/. The following examples are the names of yumin piray's eight children:

<u>Father's name</u>	<u>Sons' names</u>	<u>Daughters' names</u>
yumin piray	batu' nomin	lituk nomin
	hitay nomin	sayun nomin
	payas nomin	ciwas nomin
	kawas nomin	aking nomin

Proper nouns are prefixed with *k- /lk-* for deceased people, meaning "the late so-and-so".

<u>Root</u>	<u>Stems with k-/k-</u>
yaba' 'father'	kaba'/lkaba' 'late father'
yaya' 'mother'	kaya'/lkaya' 'late mother'
yutas 'grandfather'	kotas/lkotas 'late grandfather'
yaki' 'grandmother'	kaki'/lkaki' 'late grandmother'
Saburo' 'PRN'	ksaburo'/lksaburo' 'Saburo who is dead'

5.2. Common nouns

Common nouns can be noun roots or affixed forms. Two noun phrases can be linked by the genitive/possessive marker *na'*. The first noun phrase is usually the head noun being modified, as illustrated in the following examples:

Examples of Noun + *na'* + nominal modifier:

hoŋu' na' utux 'rainbow' (lit. 'bridge of the spirits')

gaga' na' tayaN 'Atayalic customs'

abaw na' qhoniq 'leaves of trees'

ŋasaN na' mtsue' 'the brothers' house'

mrkyas na' mlikuy 'young man'

mrkyas na' kneriN 'young woman'

The genitive/possessive marker *na'* can be omitted when the genitive/possessive relation refers to nationality, relatives, or parts of body of human beings or animals.

Examples of Noun + nominal modifier:

squliq gipun 'Japanese people'
 squliq amerika 'American people'
 laqi' tayaN 'Atayalic children'
 laqi' ηarux 'bear's child'
 kamit ηarux 'bear's claws'
 qapaN qsinuw 'animals' footprints'
 rqyas squliq 'human being's face'

A common noun may be preceded or followed by an adjective modifier. The genitive/possessive marker *na'* is placed optionally between the preposed adjective modifier and the head noun but not between the head noun and the following adjective modifier. The adjective modifier is a case of the attribute construction which we describe fully in § 7.3.2.

Examples of Adjective modifier + (na') + Noun:

(#) hmap bywak ru' kmut bywak ga', lokah na' squliq, ηarux na' squliq,
 mha gaga' ta' mrhuw siηa' ay. (Liao-B, p. 102: 78)

ACT-kill pig and ACT-cut pig TOP strong GEN people bear GEN people
 they-say custom 1PG ancestor olden-day EX

'Those who can kill and hunt for wild pigs are called strong men or heros
 according to our ancestors' customs.'

(#) bliηan nha' yaqih na' mlikuy ru' kneriN lga. (Rau, E119)

throw-LP 3PG bad GEN man and woman PAR-GA'

'After they threw these worthless man and woman (into the water).'

(#) yaqih na' zyaw nanu' lpi. (Rau, G5)

bad GEN thing what PAR-EX

'I did not do any evil things.' (Lit. 'What evil things did I do?')

In the following two examples, the marker *na'* is omitted (but could be put in).

(#) ini' su' baqi muṇi' ga, ana blaq zyaw yaqih zyaw. (Rau, G4)

NEG 2SG can-DP-DEP ACT-forget TOP even good thing bad thing

'(Talk about the things that) you cannot forget, whether good or evil.'

(#) galun nya' yaqih squliq sa lru'. (Rau, E119)

take-DP 3SG bad people that PAR-and

'He took the worthless people.'

Examples of Noun + Adjective modifier. In this case there is no marker between the noun and the adjective modifier.

(#) ariṇ cikuy nyux mluw laqi' cikuy, laqi' tayaN mosay rwa. (Rau, A20)

from small ASP ACT-follow child small child Atayal ACT-play you-know

'Since his childhood, he had been following other small children, playing together with other Atayalic children.'

(#) mlikuy balay son nya' (Rau, E6)

man real go-DP 3SG

'He was called a real man.'

(#) qsunu' ga, yat qsya' hupa' ga. (Rau, E110)

flood TOP NEG water big GA'

'The "flood" is not the same as "a lot of water".'

5.2.1. Reduplication

5.2.1.1. Partial reduplication

Common nouns can be reduplicated; that is, the first segment at the beginning of the full word may be repeated to emphasize plurality or regularity. Examples of partial reduplication follow¹:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Partially reduplicated form</u>
btunux 'stone(s)'	b-btunux 'stones'
wayay 'silk, thread(s)'	w-wayay 'threads'
hilaw 'to cover'	h-hilaw 'covering (on the bed)'
qaniq 'to eat'	q-qaniq 'way of eating'
pima' 'to bathe'	p-pima' 'bath'

5.2.1.2. Reduplication as a part of other affixes

Nouns consisting of root plus an affix may also be reduplicated. The following list illustrate nouns with *-in-*, *-un*, or *-an* which are reduplicated to refer to plurality or regularity:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Reduplication with other affixes</u>
qa:ya' 'thing'	q-i-qaya' 'furniture'
qa:niq 'to eat'	n-niq-un 'foods'
	n-niq-an 'restaurants'
la:mu' 'to collect'	l-lmuw-an 'place where mushrooms are picked regularly'
a:ki' 'live, be at'	k-ki'an 'place where people play together regularly'

¹ I do not have enough data to determine what happens in the case of nouns beginning with the glottal stop followed by a vowel.

5.2.2. Doubling

The whole word or noun phrase referring to time or measurement may be reduplicated to mean "each and every so-and-so". Examples of doubling follow:

(#) sasan sasan 'usa qmayah ga' mzibuq kmihuy ru' hmuluy. (Liao-B, p. 96: 63)

morning morning ACT-FUT-go field GA' early-morning ACT-dig and ACT-pull

'Every morning before (they) go to the field, (they) would dig or pull (the dirt) in the early morning.'

(#) qutux kawas qutux kawas ga' wa si kpoŋ kpoŋ² la. (Liao-B, p. 135: 151)

one year one year GA' go AFF DEP-disappear DEP-disappear PAR

'Year after year (the Atayal customs) are gradually disappearing.'

(#) qutux qutux squliq ru' qutux qutux hi lga' mqas la. (Liao-B, p. 161: 207)

one one person and one one body PAR-GA' ACT-happy PAR

'Each and every person will be happy'

5.2.3. Compounding

Two or more roots/bases can be combined to form compounds, which have a different meaning from the roots/bases. Compounds differ from phrases consisting of noun + modifier or modifier + noun in that no *na'* may be placed between them.

² Verb is doubled to mean "keep doing [verb]".

The following examples illustrate compounding.

htgan wagi' 'the East' (lit. 'place where the Sun rise')

babaw llyuᅇ wagi' 'before Sunset' (lit. 'the Sun is above the river')

ryaniq turuy 'highway' (lit. 'automobile road')

5.2.4. Classifiers

There is a small set of noun classifiers which occur before common nouns to serve as counters, as illustrated in the following example:

qutux takil ᅇahi' 'one basketful of sweet potatoes'

5.2.5. Noun-Forming Affixes

There are a number of highly productive noun-forming affixes: *-un*, *-an*, *-in-*, *-in-an*, *p-*, *pin-*, *p-un*, *pin-an*, *p-an*, *kin-*, *kin-an*, and a few less productive ones: *pg-*, *ci-*, and *t-*.

5.2.5.1. P-un

P-un is affixed to a verbal or noun root to form a noun meaning the result of the action. Its active verb counterpart is an *m*-verb. The following examples illustrate nouns with *p-un* and their active counterpart.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active verb</u>	<u>Noun with p-un</u>
qumah 'cultivate'	m-qumah 'work the field'	p-qmah-un 'farm work'
yuwaw 'thing'	mt-yuwaw 'to work'	p-t-yuwag-un 'work to be done'

(#) mkaru' ku' bay mtyuwaw yuwaw p-qmah-un ta' siŋa uzi. (Liao-B, P. 119: 116)

devoted 1SN very ACT-work thing farming 1PG olden-days also
'I was also very devoted to working on our farmwork before.'

5.2.5.2. -An

The local passive suffix *-an* is suffixed to a verbal stem to form a noun indicating a location, the process of an action, or an abstract noun.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Noun with -an</u>
ps-batu' 'to hatch' ³	ps-btuw-an 'incubator'
pnet 'to fish'	pnet-an 'fishing'
syaq 'to smile'	syaq-an 'happy countenance'

(#) saziŋ psbtuwan ta' mnaki' bih bkagan. (Liao-B, p. 84: 30)

two incubator 1PG ACT-PA-be at side
'Two incubators were at one side of the house.'

(#) sasan ru qlyan mkilux wagi' ga' ini atuk iyaN pnetan. (Liao-B, p. 113: 104)

morning and noon hot Sun GA' NEG DEP-hook too-much fishing
'If it is morning or noon when the Sun is hot, fish won't readily take the hook.'

(#) nya' si aras syaqan, kmayN mha. (Liao-B, p. 115: 109)

ASP AFF ACT-DEP-carry smile ACT-speak thus
'Putting on a happy contenance, he said thus.'

³*Ps-batu'* is derived from *batu'* 'egg'.

The alternate affix *p-an* is used with roots which form verbs with *p_e*. Its active verb counterpart is *m*-verb just as for *p-un* (§ 5.2.5.1).

<u>Root</u>	<u>Active verb</u>	<u>Noun with p-an</u>
hkaŋi' 'walk'	m-hkaŋi' 'walk'	p-hkŋiy-an 'walking distance'
qwas 'read, sing'	m-qwas 'read, sing'	p-qwas-an 'school'

(#) ana ini' paŋa' ga' thyaq bay phknyan. (Liao-B, p. 120: 118)

even NEG ACT-DEP carry GA' far very walking-distance

'Even though (you) don't carry anything, the distance is very far.'

(#) ariŋ saku' shriq squ' qwasan biru' ru'. (Rau, B2)

from 1SN Sv-break DAT-the school book and

'From the time I left school.'

5.2.5.3. P-

P- is prefixed to a verbal stem to form a noun meaning the agent or instrument of the action.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Noun with p-</u>
spuŋ 'judge'	p-spuŋ 'leader'
k-lahaŋ 'rule'	p-k-lahaŋ 'chief'
qwaw 'wine'	p-t-q- ⁴ qwaw 'drunkard'
raw 'support, help'	p-raw 'horizontal beam'
qumah 'to cultivate'	p-qumah 'farming tools'

⁴ This is formed to a base *tqqaw*.

5.2.5.4. -In-

The past tense infix *-in-/-n-* can function as a noun-forming infix to add to stems to form nouns meaning the result of the action. The resultant noun forms with *-in-* are not distinguishable formally from the past direct passive verb forms. See § 2.9.2.

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Noun with -in-</u>
qaniq 'eat'	q-n-aniq 'food'
biru' 'write'	b-n-iru' 'story'
rayas 'across'	pin-rayas 'omen, siliq bird flying across in front of a person'
c-baq 'teach'	pin-cbaq 'lesson'

5.2.5.4.1. -In-an

The past local passive affix *-in-an* can be affixed to a verbal or non-verbal stem to form a noun which refers to the location, the result of the action, or to form an abstract noun.

The following example illustrates a noun with *-in-an*, meaning location:

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Noun with -in-an</u>
abi' 'to sleep'	in-bi-an 'bed'
qyanux 'to live'	q-in-yux-an 'life span'

-In-an can be affixed to verbal roots to form nouns, meaning the result of the action:

Stems

kut 'to cut'

k-balay 'to make'

lɪluŋ 'to think'

siyuk 'to respond'

lahan 'to take care of'

tkow(?) 'to preserve'

qumah 'cultivate'

p-t-yuaw 'work'

Nouns with -in-an

k-in-ut-an 'meat that is cut'

k-i-blay-an 'progress of work'

k-in-blay-an 'creation'

l-i-luŋ-an/in-luŋ-an 'mind'

s-n-yuk-an 'response'

l-i-han-an 'care given'

c-i-kog-an 'preserved meat'

pi-qmah-an 'produce'

pi-t-ywag-an/pin-cyog-an 'work done'

-In-an can be affixed to adjectival or stative roots to form abstract nouns, as illustrated in the following examples:

Roots

qthuy 'fat, thick'

khmay 'many'

ariŋ 'begin, from'

Nouns with -in-an

q-i-thy-an 'thickness'

k-i-hmay-an 'great number'

in-riŋ-an 'beginning'

5.2.5.4.2. Kin-

Kin- is added to roots to form time expressions or abstract nouns. The following examples illustrate the addition of *kin-* to words referring to time or days to form nouns meaning "the next (so-and-so)":

<u>Root</u>	<u>Noun with kin-</u>
suxan 'tomorrow'	ki-suxan 'the next day'
sasan 'morning'	kin-sasan 'the next day'
pusaN 'twice, twenty'	kin-pusaN 'the second time'

Kin- is also added to adjectival or stative roots to form abstract nouns:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Noun with kin-</u>
blaq 'good'	kin-blaq 'goodness'
kahuN 'from'	kin-kahuN 'origin'
raraN 'past'	kin-raraN 'the past'
zziq 'deep'	kin-zziq 'depth'
ηuciq 'innocent'	kin-ηuciq 'the illiterate'
lahaη 'to rule'	ki-lahaη 'rule'

5.2.5.4.3. Kin-an

Most adjectival or stative roots take *kin-an* to form abstract nouns.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Noun with kin-an</u>
gabi' 'late'	ki-gbiy-an ⁵ 'evening'
lokah 'strong'	ki-lkah-an 'strength'
bah 'new'	ki-bah-an 'new generation, relatives'
hηyaη 'loud'	ki-hηyaη-an 'loud sound'
xaN 'hurt'	kin-xay-an 'injury'

⁵*Kin-* can be dropped with no difference in meaning.

Kin-an can be added to noun roots to form plural nouns.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Noun with kin-an</u>
mrhuw 'chief'	ki-mrhg-an 'ancestors'

Kin-an is added to a few verbs which mean "have power over, rule over, etc.," to form nouns which refer to the area that is ruled over:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Noun with kin-an</u>
lahaŋ 'to rule'	ki-lhaŋ-an 'ruling area'

5.2.5.5. Pg-

Pg- is added to noun roots which refer to time to form an expression, meaning "when it is (so-and-so)":

(#) obih pg-sasan lga' mwah tumaqci kuwis. (Liao-B, p. 84: 29)
 almost pg-morning PAR-GA ACT-come weasel that
 'When it was almost dawn, the weasel would come.'

5.2.5.6. Ci-

Ci- is prefixed to a noun root to indicate ownership.

(#) gabaw squliq ci-qmayah kya mwah smarit ryaniq kuwis. (Liao-B, p. 94: 56)
 all people ci-field there ACT-come ACT-cut-the-grass road that
 'Those who own the cultivated land in that area would come to cut the grass on the road.'

5.2.5.7. T-

T- is prefixed to a noun root to form a noun indicating direction.

(#) wi ku' rasun qmayah ta' t-hasa, wi ku' rasun qmayah ta' t-hani. (Liao-B, p. 92: 51)

sometimes 1SN take-DP field 1PG t-there sometimes 1SN take-DP field
1PG t-here

'sometimes (you) would take me to the other side of the land or to this side
of the land.'

5.3. Pronouns

The Atayal personal pronouns can be divided into dependent (or clitic, bound) and independent (or free) pronouns. The bound nominative and the genitive constitute the dependent (or clitic) set whereas the dative and the free nominative constitute the independent set. The independent set functions as regular nouns. The third person singular and plural nominative pronouns *hiya'* and *hga'* most frequently occur as the independent forms. The first person plural pronouns distinguish inclusive ('we including you') and exclusive ('we but not you'). The form *misu'* 'I... you' replaces the combination *mu* (genitive) and *su'* (nominative).⁶ The pronominal system is presented in Table 5.1. The uses of the cases are discussed in § 6.2ff.

⁶There is only one occurrence of the sequence *su'... mu*.
nanu' misa su' son mu, (Liao-B, p. 140: 163)
what so 2SN say-DP 1SG
'Therefore I say to you,'

Table 5.1. Atayal Personal Pronouns

Person/Number	Bound		Free	
	Nom	Gen.	Dat.	Nom.
1S	saku'~ku'	maku~mu	knan	kuziŋ ⁷ ~kun
2S	su'	su'	sunan	isu'
3S	hiya'	nya'	hiyan	hiya'
1P (Inclusive)	ta'	ta'	itan	ita'
1P (Exclusive)	sami	myan	sminan	sami
2P	simu	mamu ⁸	smunan	simu
3P	hga'~lhga'	nha'	hgan	hga'~lhga'
1S.G. + 2S.N.	=> misu'			

5.3.1. The order of the possessive pronoun in a noun phrase

The genitive pronoun can be used to refer to possession and is placed after the first word of the noun phrase. The genitive pronoun is underlined in the following examples:

lkotas mu maray pehu' 'my late Grandfather Maray Pehu'

lkaki mu lawa' ciyaŋ 'my late Grandmother Lawa' Ciyang'

mama' mu watan maray 'my Uncle Watan Maray'

mtsswe' mu likuy 'my brother'

watan ta hobiŋ 'our (relative) Watan Hobing'

qmayah ta sqlubuŋ 'our land in Sclubung'

qiqyanux ta taiwan 'our Taiwan economic life'

⁷ The dialect of Taichung and Yilan uses *kuwin*.

⁸ In the Taichung dialect *Momu* alternates with *mamu*.

5.3.2. Noun phrase consisting of a pronoun plus a noun

Noun phrases which mean "John and I, John, Mary, and I" and the like are expressed by the first person plural exclusive pronoun *sami* 'we (not you)' followed by personal names or a proper name.

(#) hazi' sami mama' mu basaw maki' muyaw. (Liao-B, p. 82: 23)

perhaps 1PN-EXCL uncle 1SG PRN ACT-be home

'Perhaps I and my Uncle Basaw were at home.'

(#) cikay bay sguyu sni' myan bih llyuŋ tqbuwanan sami mama' upix ru' mama' basaw (Liao-B, p. 109: 94)

many very fishing-equipment past-put-DP 1P-EXCL-IN near river PN
1PN-EXCL uncle PRN and uncle PRN

'We put much fishing equipment at the river of Tqbuwanan, I and Uncle Upix and Uncle Basaw'

(#) kin'riŋan psbkan sami 'tayaN hiya' ga'. (Egerod 1980, p. 594)

origin place-where-the-stone-was-split 1P-EXCL-IN 3SIN GA'

'The place of origin of us Atayals.'

5.4. Demonstrative Words

The demonstrative words include *qani* 'this' and *qasa /sa* 'that'. They follow the words which they modify.

Examples:

(#) kneriN qasa ga', galan nya' kneriN lma. (Rau, A6)

woman that GA take-LP 3SG wife PAR-they-said

'That woman, he took her as his wife.'

(#) *yat libu' na' ŋta' sa.* (Atayal Alphabet, p. 24)

not enclosure of chicken that

'That is not a chicken house.'

(#) *kamit nva' qani ga yani kamit ŋarux ma.* (Rau, A23)

claw 3SG this TOP here claw bear they-said

'His fingernails are like bear's claws'

The dative demonstrative pronoun can be preceded by *s-* to form *sqani* 'here', *sqasa* 'there'. The third person singular nominative independent form *hiya'* also functions as a demonstrative word which is placed after the other demonstratives.

Examples:

(#) *nyux sqani sunan, Silan.* (Atayal Alphabet, p. 23)

be-at here 2SD PRN

'(It) is here with you, Silan.'

(#) *kneriN qani hiya' lga', rasun nya' ŋasaN lrwa qu' laqi' qasa ga'.* (Rau, A15)

woman this 3SN-IN PAR-GA take-DP 3SG home PAR-you-know NOM
child that GA'

'This woman, she took her child to her home town.'

5.5. Interrogative Words

Interrogatives are used to form WH-questions. They include the following:

ima'	'who, whose'
nanu'	'what'
inu'	'where'
knwan	'when'
pira'	'how many'
swa'	'why, how'

Whenever a sentence contains an interrogative, the interrogative must be the predicate (Chapter Six) or part of the predicate.

(#) ima' cyux mima'? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 2)

who ASP ACT-wash

'Who is washing?'

(#) ima' mami' qasa? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 5)

whose rice that

'Whose rice is that?'

(#) cyux inu' yaya' su'? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 13)

be-at where mother 2SG

'Where is your mother?'

(#) nanu' qani hiya'? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 20)

what this 3SN-IN

'What is this?'

(#) pira' kawas su' la? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 36)

how-many year 2SG PAR

'How old are you?'

(#) pmuya' su' knwan bonaw isu'? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 42)

p-plant 2SN when peanut 2SN-IN

'When are you going to plant peanuts?'

(#) swa' siga kiyalun simu squliq mha yat nbuw qwaw ga'? (Liao-B, p. 146: 177)

how must say-DP 2PN people thus NEG drink liquor Q

'Why must other people say to you that you should not drink?'

5.6. Indefinite Words

The indefinite words are *kwara'* 'all', *ruma'* 'some', and *uηat* 'nothing'. *Kwara'* and *ruma'* precede the nouns that they modify.

Examples:

(#) msluhiy kwara' tuqiy nya' traŋ qasa. (Rau, C4)

ACT-landslide all road 3SG time that

'During that time there was a landslide on the road.'

(#) ruma' squliq hiya' ga' hupa', ruma' ga' cipuq. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 46)

some people 3SN-IN TOP bid some TOP small

'Some people are big but some are small.'

Uηat 'nothing' is always the predicate (Chapter Six) or part of the predicate of a sentence:

(#) uηat lgun turuy raraN. (Rau, C8)

nothing vehicle wheel befor

'There were no motor vehicles in the past.'

(#) uṇat inluṇan maku' kya' lga'. (Rau, A5)

nothing mind 1SG there PAR-GA'

'Nothing was in my mind.'

5.7. Numbers

5.7.1. Numerals

Numerals always come before the nouns they modify.

Examples:

qutux squliq 'one person'

saziṇ yonomi 'two cups'

mpuw muyaw 'ten families'

Numerals are grouped here into cardinals, ordinals, and distributives. The cardinals from one to ten are as follows:

qutux	'one'	tzyu'	'six'
saziṇ	'two'	pitu'	'seven'
ciwaN	'three'	spat	'eight'
patuN	'four'	qeru'	'nine'
magaN	'five'	mpuw	'ten'

In counting by tens, *m-* is added to the cardinals from ten to fifty and *pgan* is added after the cardinals from sixty to ninety.

mpuw	'ten'	tzyu' pgan	'sixty'
mpusaN	'twenty'	pitu' pgan	'seventy'
mtciyuN	'thirty'	spat pgan	'eighty'
mpatuN	'forty'	qeru' pgan	'ninety'
mcimaN	'fifty'		

In counting by hundreds, *kbhuN* 'a unit of hundred' is added to the cardinals.

kbhuN	'one hundred'
saziŋ kbhuN	'two hundred'
ciwan kbhuN	'three hundred'
etc.	

The ordinals are formed by adding *te-* to the cardinals.

tequtux	'first'
tesaziŋ	'second'
etc.	

Pin- is added to the cardinals to signify "so many each".

(#) qutux qutux squliq ga' pin-saziŋ papak, pin-saziŋ roziq, pin-saziŋ qba',
pinsaziŋ kakay uzi.. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 46)

one one people TOP each-two ear each-two eye each-two hand each-two feet
also

'Each and every person has two ears, two eyes, two hands, and two feet.'

(#) qutux qutux squliq ga' pin-qutux nqwaq, pin-qutux hmali' uzi. (Atayal Alphabet, p.46)

one one people TOP each-one mouth each-one tongue also
'Each and every person has one mouth and one tongue.'

Qu' can function as a linker to combine a number with a noun phrase, as illustrated in the following sentences:

(#) aki ta' swayaw qutux qu' btunux balay na' mlikuy. (Rau, E120)

will 1PG-INCL IP-choose one QU' good-looking very of man
'We will choose a very good-looking man.'

(#) say ta' mu' qutux qu' tayaN mha rwa. (Rau, F-1-2)

go-LP-SUB 1PG-INCL DEP-shoot one QU' Atayal say-thus you-know
"Let us shoot one down!" said one Atayal.'

(#) nyaN maras qutux qu' laqi'. (Rau, A19)

came ACT-bring one QU' child
'(She) brought along a child.'

5.7.2. Numerical phrases

Statements or questions about numbers or amount are normally expressed by making the number or the word for amount the predicate.

(#) PATUN SPAT **kawas mu** LA. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 36)

forty eight year 1SG PAR

'I am forty-eight years old already.' (Lit. 'My age is already forty-eight.')

(#) QUTUX qu' yaba' ta' ru' yaya' ta'. (Egerod 1980, p. 549)

one NOM father 1PG and mother 1PG

'We have the same father and mother.' (Lit. 'Our father and mother are one.')

Chapter Six

Simple Sentences - Predications and Case Roles

6.1. The subject and the predicate

Atayal sentences contain a PREDICATE and optionally a **subject**. The predicate is the statement made, the information given, or the question asked (new information). The subject is the thing or the person about which the predicate is stated or asked (old information). The predicate normally comes before the subject in the unmarked cases. The make-up of the predicate is discussed in Chapter Seven. In the following sentences the PREDICATE is capitalized.

(#) MAMI' NA' YAYA' qasa. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 5)

cooked-rice of mother that

'That is my mother's rice.'

(#) NANU' qasa? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 24)

what that

'What's that?'

(#) MHUQIN LRWA (Rau, A13)

ACT-die PAR-you-know

'(He) died.' (The subject is not expressed.)

(#) PZYUX qu' turuy glgan ga'. (Rau, B5)

many DEF wheel automobile GA'

'There are many automobiles.' (Lit. 'The automobiles are many.')

(#) QANI qu' akasi maku' sa. (Rau, D42)

this NOM testimony 1SG that

'This is my testimony.'

6.1.1. Word order of subject and predicate

The word order can be predicate followed by subject or subject followed by predicate. However, when the order subject-predicate occurs, there is special attention drawn to the subject, and the subject is followed by a pause. In the following sentences, the **subject** is bolded.

(#) **yaya'** maku' cyux mumuk yuyut. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 10)

mother 1SG ASP ACT-cover bottle

'My mother is covering the bottle. That's what she is doing.'

(#) **mama'** cyux mtama'. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 3)

uncle ASP ACT-sit

'Uncle is sitting. That's what he is doing.'

The subject may also be followed by the particle *ga'* and a pause to form a topic apart from the rest of the sentence. A topic introduces a sentence by telling what the sentence is about and always comes first in the sentence. Consider the following sentences. The *topic* is bolded and italicized.

(#) ***kneriN kneriN qasa ga'***, galan nya' kneriN lma. (Rau, A6)

woman woman that TOP take-LP 3SG woman PAR-they-said

'As far as that woman is concerned, he took the woman to be his wife.'

(#) ima' lukus qani? *qani ga'* lukus na' mama' mu. ima' lukus qasa?
qasa ga lukus na' Amuy. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 19)

who clothes this this TOP clothes of uncle 1SG who clothes that that TOP
 clothes of PRN

'Whose clothes are these? These are my uncle's clothes. Whose clothes
 are those? Those are Amuy's clothes.'

(#) nanu' *kneriN qani uzi lga'*, si kaki' kya' maniq naras nya' qsinuw uzi
 lru. (Rau, A8)

what woman this also ASP-TOP AFF DEP-be there ACT-eat PA-take-DP
 3SG animal also ASP-and

'What about the woman? (She) just kept eating the animals that he had
 brought back.'

(#) baha hmswa' *Tampia qani ga'*, ya' qani qu' puqin nqu' ηasaN. (Rau,
 B3)

how why PN this TOP be-like this DEF end of-DEF home

'Why (did I start from) Tampia? Because this is my hometown.'

(#) *lhga' ga'* tqbaq kmayaN ru' lmpuw nqu' ke' na' Gipun. (Atayal
 Alphabet, p. 40)

3PIN TOP Tv-Kv-know ACT-talk and ACT-read GEN-DEF speech of Japan

'They learned how to speak and read Japanese.'

6.1.2. Verb phrase as the subject of the sentence introduced by *qu'*

Subjects and predicates consist of the same forms. The only
 difference is that the subject may be introduced by *qu'*¹, meaning "it is the
 thing or person that..."

¹ *Qu'* may precede the subject, a genitive (§ 6.2.2), a modifying phrase
 (§ 6.2.5.1.1), or a dative (§ 6.2.3).

In the verb phrases introduced by the marker *qu'* which contains a form referring to the agent, the passive verb is obligatory². In the following sentence, the verb is passive because there is an agent in the phrase. The **Subject** is bolded and the PREDICATE is capitalized.

(#) YASA **qu'** pinuᅇan **maku'** raraN ga'. (Rau, E124)

this NOM PA-hear-LP 1SG olden-days GA'

'This is what I heard before.'

(#) QUTUX **qu'** ini' **maku'** ziri' ga'. (Rau, B14)

one NOM NEG 1SG forget-DEP-DP GA'

'There is one thing that I can not forget.'

(#) ņARUX **qu'** nyux **ᅇha'** bay kᅇun uzi. (Rau, E89)

bear NOM ASP 3PG very fear-DP also

'They were very much afraid of bears.'

(#) YASA **qu'** niqun lga'. (Rau, A8)

that NOM eat-DP PAR-GA

'That is the thing that (she) ate.'

(#) PQWAS NQU' KWI' RU' INI' GA' QHNIQ RU' QSIQ' **qu'** nyux
pᅇuᅇan. (Rau, B13)

song of-DEF insect and NEG GA' bird and water NOM ASP hear-LP

'(I) heard the songs of insects or birds or the sound of water.'

² In fact, a verbal phrase consisting of a verb plus an agent must be passive if it stands as a subject, topic, or predicate, regardless of whether or not the *qu'* is there.

On the other hand if there is no agent in the phrase introduced by the marker the active verb is used. In the following example, the Subject consists of the marker *qu'* plus an active verb:

(#) MNAKI' MAŋAN UZI **qu' minagaN qa.** (Rau, H58)

ACT-PA-live PN also NOM ACT-PA-take that

'The family I married into also lived in Mangan.' (Lit. 'Those people who took me also lived in Mangan.')

6.2. Cases

Atayal nouns/pronouns distribute in sentences to fill the roles of agent and nominal predicate by means of the following cases: nominative, genitive, and dative. The patient, recipient, benefactive, location, time, manner or instrument are expressed by the verb.

6.2.1. The nominative case

The nominative case is used for the subject, the predicate, and the topic of a sentence. The nominative case forms of the personal pronouns are given in § 5.3. The common nouns and proper nouns may be preceded by the definite article or nominative marker *qu'*.³

The subject of a sentence must be a nominative form: that is, the subject of a sentence must be either a nominative pronoun (§ 5.3), a phrase introduced by *qu'*, or a noun phrase. In the following sentences, the PREDICATE is capitalized and the **subject** is bolded.

³ In Liao's texts, the nominative marker *qu'* is not present.

Examples of nominative pronouns as subjects:

(#) MNKUX saku' HAZI'. (Rau, B15)

ACT-scared 1SN very

'I was very scared.'

(#) MKITA' sami KYA' LRU'. (Rau, G44)

REC-ACT-see 1PN-INCL there PAR-and

'We saw each other there.'

(#) isu' IYAT su' TAYAN BALAY. (Egerod 1980, p. 238)

2SN-IN NEG 2SN Atayal true

'You are no true Atayal.'

An example of a phrase with a demonstrative pronoun as subject:

(#) IY IMA' qasa MA? (Rau, D25)

EX who that they-said

'Who is that?'

Examples of nominative pronouns introduced by *qu'* as subject:

(#) MQASUW qu' lhga' QASA LRU'. (Rau, E67)

ACT-divide NOM 3PN-IN that PAR-and

'They divided the land like this.'

(#) MKSUQI' HAZI' TQBAQ LMPUW BIRU' NA' TAYAN qu' lhga'.

(Atayal Alphabet, p. 44)

slow very study read letter of Atayal NOM 3PN-IN

'They are very slow in studying the Atayal alphabet.'

(#) **KHMAY qu' ita' tayaN LRU'**. (Rau, E113)

many NOM 1PN-INCL-IN Atayal PAR-and

'We Atayal increased.'

Examples of noun phrases introduced by *qu'* as subject:

(#) **MLAQI' qu' kneriN qasa LRU'**. (Rau, A10)

ACT-child DEF woman that PAR-and

'That woman gave birth.'

When proper names or pronouns are the predicate they are in the nominative case. In the case of pronominal predicates the nominative free form (§ 5.3) is used.

Examples of the nominative independent pronouns in the predicate:

(#) aw! **KUZIN** swa' su' nyux mu' la. (Rau, E92)

ouch 1SN-IN why 2SN ASP shoot PAR

Ouch! It's me. Why are you shooting (me)?

(#) **ISU NANAK qutux hi' nkis**. (Rau, G59)

2SN-IN only one body old

'You are the only old man left.'

Examples of other nominative forms in the predicate:

(#) SILAN lalu' nya'. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 16)

PRN name 3SG

'His name is Silan.'

(#) INI YABU BOKSI GA'?

NEG PRN pastor Q

'Isn't (it) Pastor Yabu?'

6.2.2. The genitive case

The genitive forms are used to refer to possession (among other things). The genitive forms of the pronouns are listed in § 5.3. Genitive forms of common nouns optionally have the particle *na'* (or *n*) in front of them. Proper names and kinship terms sometimes have the alternate particle *ni'* for the genitive.

Examples of genitive pronouns:

(#) qutux qu' laqi' mu kya' na. (Rau, B21)

one DEF child 1SG there yet

'We only had one child then.'

(#) cyokay myan tayaN (Rau, D2)

branch 1PG-EXCL Atayal

'Our Atayal subdivision.'

(#) cipuq kakay nha'. (Rau, H143)

small foot 3PG

'Their feet are small.'

Examples of other genitive forms:

(#) puqin nqu' kvokay maku' qani uzi. (Rau, B3)

base GEN-DEF church 1SG this also

'My home church is here too.'

(#) si say mucu qalan na' utux lga'. (Rau, E9)

AFF go-DEP-LP so-called village GEN God PAR-GA'

'(He) could go to the Kingdom of God.'

(#) Temu' ga', likuy ni' Yanu Rasun uzi. (Rau, H88)

PRN TOP husband GEN sister PRN also

'And Temu was sister Rasun's husband.'

The genitive case of a common noun is also used as the direct object.

The following are examples of *na' / nqu'* as direct objects of active verbs:

(#) maziy na' gasiN. (Rau, D32)

ACT-buy GEN rope

'(He) bought a rope.'

(#) saziñ squliq qu' cyux kraya' miñ na' gasiN. (Rau, D34)

two people NOM ASP above ACT-hold GEN rope

'Two people were on top holding onto the rope.'

(#) si saku' pqwas nqu' qwas Utux lru'. (Rau, B13)

AFF 1SN DEP-sing GEN-DEF song god PAR-and

'I just sang hymns.'

6.2.3. The dative case

The object of prepositions and phrases meaning "belong to ..." (among other things) is expressed by the dative. The dative for pronouns is given in § 5.3, the dative marker for other forms is *sa*. (or *s*) or \emptyset .

The direct object of an active verb is also dative, as illustrated by the following sentences with dative pronoun direct objects:

(#) *yaya' maku' kmaN knan la.* (Rau, H50)

mother 1SG ACT-talk 1SD PAR

'My mother talked to me.'

(#) *ima' qsu' mwah kraya' mwah mita' knan ga', saziŋ kinshat.* (Rau, D27)

who first ACT-come above ACT-come ACT-see 1SD Q two policeman

'Who first came up (to the road) to see me? It was two policemen.'

(#) *ini' ku' siaŋ knan.* (Rau, H50)

NEG 1SN sound 1SD

'I did not utter a word.'

The dative of other phrases is also used as a direct object if the object can be viewed as referring to a location.

(#) *mita' squ' kneriN mga'.* (Rau, A3)

ACT-see DAT-DEF woman they-said-GA

'When (he) saw the woman.'

(#) thuyay musa' mluw squ' nkis mgaga' ru' musa' qmalup uzi. (Rau, E37)

succeed ACT-go ACT-follow DAT-DEF old ACT-custom and ACT-go ACT-hunt also

'They could follow their old folks to cut Chinese heads and go hunting.'

(#) masuq sa zyaw qasa lga'. (Rau, D25)

ACT-finish DAT thing that PAR-GA'

'After that thing was over.'

(#) smsun squ' buli' uzi ma qu' kneriN qani hiya'. (Rau, A1)

ACT-conceal DAT-DEF knife also they-said NOM woman this 3SN-IN

'The woman took a knife with her, which was concealed.'

(#) kyaqu' baq, pwah squ' honu' qasa hiya' ga', mlikuy balay son nya'.

(Rau, E6)

if good Pv-come DAT-DEF bridge that 3SN-IN GA' man true say-DP 3SG

'If he could go across that bridge, he was called a real man.'

(#) qasa ga', musa' kmayaN squ' kmukan. (Rau, E76)

that TOP ACT-go ACT-talk DAT-DEF Chinese

'That (Atayal) would talk to the Chinese.'

(#) mnuqu' mu' squ' sswe' nya'. (Rau, E92)

ACT-mistake ACT-shoot DAT-DEF brother 3SG

'He mistakenly shot his brother.'

Examples of the dative which means "belong to":

(#) gaga' kmut tunux ga' itan ka tayaN nanak mga'. (Rau, E62)

custom ACT-cut head TOP 1PD-INCL that Atayal only they-said-GA

'As far as the custom of headhunting is concerned, just talk about the one that belongs to us the Atayal.'

(#) ana musa' kayaN ci' isunan. (Egerod, 1980, p. 237)

even ACT-go heaven belong-to 2SD

'Let him go to Heaven, where Thou art.'

An example of a dative noun preceded by *sa* as the object of a preposition:

(#) uluŋ sa hway Utux KayaN. (Rau, D17)

fortunate DAT grace god sky

'Fortunately due to God's grace.'

Location is also expressed by the dative case:

(#) ini' ga' kyan musa' mqumah squ' qmayah uzi ga'. (Rau, A1)

NEG GA' like ACT-go ACT-cultivate DAT-DEF field also GA'

'Or maybe (she) went to work in the field.'

(#) mzyup sa quci' (Egerod 1980, p. 585)

ACT-go-down DAT feces

'He fell into some excrement.'

6.2.4. Word order of personal pronouns

The bound personal pronouns must come immediately after the first word of the predicate. The order of pronominal forms in Atayal depends on Person. The order is 1st Person > 2nd Person > 3rd Person.

Examples:

(#) wahan ku' nha' smzyay la, wahan ku' nha' mita' lozi. (Rau, H54)
 come-LP 1SN 3PG ACT-propose PAR come-LP 1SN 3PG ACT-see PAR-
 also

'They came to propose to me. They came to see me.'

(#) aki' su' nya' galan hnzyaη qani. (Rau, H1)

will 2SN 3SG take-LP sound this

'She will record your voice.'

(#) kutun misu' son ku' nya' psηuηu'. (Liao-B, p. 80: 16)

cut-DP 1SG-2SN say-DP 1SN 3SG threaten

'"I will kill you," he said to me in a threatening manner.'

(#) ini' ku' momu bay suwali musa' qalaη lepa. (Liao-B, p. 90: 45)

not 1SN 2PG very permit-DEP ACT-go village PN

'You did not permit me to go to the village of Lepa.'

(#) ragan ta' nya' kbalay keizai. (Liao-B, p. 131: 141)

help-LP 1PN 3SG Kv-true economy

'She (U.S.A.) helped us develop (our) economy.'

(#) strahu simu nya' bay kryax. (Liao-B, p. 106: 88)

Sv-praise 2PN 3SG very often

'She often praised you very much.'

(#) ana simu nha' wahan mnos ru' kmizih ga'. (Liao-B, p. 153: 192)

even 2PN 3PG come-LP ACT-attack and ACT-trap GA'

'Even when they come to attack and trap you.'

When a preverb (§ 7.2.2) indicating tense/aspect co-occurs with negation markers (§ 7.3.3), the negation marker *ini'* immediately precedes the verb forms and the pronouns get moved to the position next to the first word of the predicate--the tense/aspect preverbs.

(#) nyux ku' ini' bin lalaw uzi rwa. (Rau, B18)

ASP 1SN NEG ACT-DEP-carry big-knife also you-know

'I was not carrying a big knife.'

(#) waN ku' ini' qaniq cyugan ryax. (Huang 1988)

PA 1SN NEG ACT-DEP-eat three day

'I did not eat for three days.'

(#) musa' ku' ini' qaniq cyugan ryax. (Huang 1988)

will 1SN NEG ACT-DEP-eat three day

'I won't eat for three days.'

(#) tesasiŋ qu' nyux maku' ini' balay zini' (Rau, B11)

the-second QU' ASP 1SG NEG really forget-DEP-LP

'The second thing that I definitely will not forget.'

6.2.5. Case marking

The Atayal sentence consists of constituents which are nominative, genitive, and dative. Otherwise no further case information is supplied by the constituents of a sentence. The verb itself, however, indicates a variety of case relations. The verb is oriented to the form which it is an immediate constituent of (that is, the verb contains an affix which indicates a case relationship): it is oriented to the subject if it is the predicate or head of the predicate, it is oriented to the predicate if it is the subject or head of the subject. It is oriented to the word it modifies, if it modifies another phrase, or if none of these it is oriented to the form which is understood from the context.

6.2.5.1. Active sentences

6.2.5.1.2 Active verbs

In active sentences, the action is the focus of attention of the sentence (§ 3.2.1.1) and the verb is oriented to the agent, the one who performs the action of the verb. If the agent of the active verb is the subject or predicate of the sentence, it is usually in the nominative case⁴. The order of bound pronouns follows the rule described in § 6.2.4.

The following examples illustrate sentences with active verbs. The agent, which is underlined, is in the nominative case. The PREDICATE is capitalized and the **subject** is bolded:

(#) YATA' MU **qu'** **cyux** **mahuq** **lukus** **hiya'**. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 29)

aunt 1SG NOM ASP ACT-wash clothes 3SN-IN

'My aunt is the one who is washing clothes.'

(#) QUTUX SAKU' **BALAY** **HI'** **qu** **hmkaŋi'**. (Rau, B12)

one 1SN only body NOM ACT-walk

'I was walking alone.'

(#) NANU' MSSOYA' **sami** **LRWA**. (Rau, G44)

what ACT-REC-like 1PN-EXCL PAR-you-know

'We fell in love with each other.'

(#) NANU' HNYAN **qu'** **narux** **qa**. (Rau, A14)

what PA-come NM bear that

'That bear came.'

⁴ If the verb modifies the agent, the case of the agent is determined by it's construction in the sentence.

(#) LŋLUM saku' RU' MQWAS saku'. (Rau, D7)

ACT-think 1SN and ACT-sing 1SN

'While I was thinking I was singing.'

(#) NYUX MITA' KACŋ SU' qu' huziN qani. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 25)

ASP ACT-see cow 2SG NOM dog this

'My dog is looking at your cow.'

6.2.5.1.1. The direct object with active verb

The direct object with active verbs is (1) the dative of the pronoun, (2) *na' / nqu'* plus other phrases, or (3) *sa / squ'* plus other phrases. The difference between (2) and (3) is that *sa* refers to the location where the action takes place. The direct object is illustrated in §§ 6.2.2 and 6.2.3.

6.2.5.2. Sentences which have passive verbs

The direct passive verbs are oriented to the direct object of the verb or the recipient of the action. If the subject (what one is talking or asking about) is the direct object, the predicate has a passive verb. In other words, if the new information or the description of the information is that s.t. was done to the subject, the verb is direct passive (§ 3.2.1.2). An analogous thing may be said for the other verb forms which express location, beneficiary, instrument, or the thing conveyed. (See §§ 3.2.1.3 - 3.2.1.4). If the subject is a location it will have a predicate which contains a local passive verb. A subject with a beneficiary or instrument has a predicate which contains an instrumental passive verb.

The verb, as we stated in § 6.1.2, may also be in the subject or modify another phrase or may stand alone referring to something which is known from the context. The same rules which apply to verbs as the

predicate also apply to the verb in these other constructions: when the verb is the subject or part of the subject it is oriented to the predicate and expresses whether the predicate is the agent, direct object, location, beneficiary, instrument or thing conveyed by the active, direct passive, local passive or instrumental passive affixes; similarly, if the verb modifies another form, the verb shows the active, direct passive, local passive or instrumental passive affixes depending on the role the form which the verb modifies plays vis-a-vis the verb.

6.2.5.2.1. Direct passive

Direct passives are oriented to the direct object of the verb or the recipient of the action (§ 3.2.1.2). In the following examples the verbs are in the PREDICATE which is capitalized. The **subject** is in bold face and the genitive (agent) is underlined.

(#) RASUN MAKU' **qu'** bes **maku'** LPI. (Rau, B20)

take-DP 1SG NOM company 1SG PAR-EX

'I took my company with me.'

(#) KYAPUN NYA' **qu'** **kneriN** qani LOZI MA. (Rau, A2)

catch-DP 3SG NOM woman this PAR-also they-said

'He also grabbed the woman, I was told.'

(#) KYAPUN NA' TALI **qu'** **yapit** qasa UZI. (Atayal Alphabet, p.21)

catch-DP GEN PRN NOM flying-squirrel that also

'Tali also caught that flying squirrel.'

In the following sentences, the direct object is not expressed but known from the context. The verb is oriented to the direct object.

(#) RASUN NYA' SQU' SKA' HLAHUY LMA RU'. (Rau, A4)

take-DP 3SG DAT-DEF middle forest PAR-they-said and

'He took (her) to the forest.'

(#) KŋUN NHA' BALAY MA RU. (Rau, A24)

fear-DP 3PG very they-said and

'They were very afraid of (him).'

(#) PHQILUN NHA' LRWA. (Rau, A24)

Pc-die-DP 3PG PAR-you-know

'They killed (him).'

The genitive (agent) may be omitted. In the following sentence, the agent is not expressed:

(#) NBUN **qu' qsia' teluq qasa.** (Rau, B10)

drink-DP NOM water raw that

'(I) drank the unboiled water.'

6.2.5.2.2. Local passive

Local passives are oriented to the place of the action or the person to or for whom an action is done (§ 3.2.1.3). In the following sentences, the place of the action is the subject of the sentence and the local passive verb and the agent are part of the predicate. As usual the genitive is underlined, PREDICATE is in capital letters and the **subject** is in bold face.

(#) WAHAN ku' NHA' SMZIAY LA. (Rau, H40)

come-LP 1SN 3PG ACT-propose PAR

'They came to propose to me.'

(#) ANA GA' RYAX HKŋYAN MAKU' tuqiy qasa LGA'. (Rau, B14)

but GA' day walk-LP 1SG road that PAR-GA

'But during the time I was walking on that road.'

In the following sentence, the subject *qsyɑ'* 'water' is not expressed:

(#) BLIŋAN NHA' YAQIH NA' MLIKUY RU' KNERIN LGA'. (Rau,

E119)

throw-LP 3PG bad of man and woman PAR-GA'

'They threw these worthless man and woman (into the water).'

The following example illustrates a local passive verb which is oriented to the direct object of the action (§ 3.2.1.3):

(#) GALAN NYA' kneriN LMRU'. (Rau, A6)

take-LP 3SG woman PAR-they-said-and

'He took the woman to be his wife.'

6.2.5.2.3. Instrumental passive

Instrumental passives are oriented to the instrument, beneficiary, or the thing conveyed (§ 3.2.1.4). In the following sentences the forms referring to the instrument, beneficiary, or the thing conveyed are the subjects and the instrumental passive verb and the agent are part of the predicates.

Examples of instrumental passives oriented to the instrument:

(#) KE' TA' NANAK TAYAN sbiru' mu ga'. (Liao-B, p. 75: 2)

speech 1PG only Atayal IP-write 1SG GA'

'If I use our own Atayal language to write.'

(#) SOKI ssarit ta' ryaniq kuwis. (Liao-B, p. 91: 55)

hatchet IP-cut-grass 1PG road that

'We used a hatchet to cut the grass on that road.'

The following example illustrates instrumental passive oriented to the beneficiary. The beneficiary is the subject of the sentence.

(#) SBIQ saku' NYA' ISEŋ Eŋ QASA PI. (Rau, D39)

IP-give 1SN 3SG one-thousand dollar that EX

'He gave me one thousand dollars!'

In the following example, the beneficiary is not expressed. It is known from the context.

(#) SBAZIY NHA' LUKUS LA. (Rau, H204)

IP-buy 3PG clothes PAR

'They bought clothes for (them).'

Following are examples of instrumental passives oriented to the thing conveyed. The direct object (i.e., the thing conveyed) is known from the context and is not expressed:

(#) NANU' SPAŋA' NYA' LRU'. (Rau, A4)

what IP-carry 3SG PAR-and

'He carried (her) on his back.'

(#) SBULŋ NHA' QSYA' LMPI. (Rau, E121)

IP-throw 3PG water PAR-they-said-EX

'They threw (them) into the water.'

6.2.5.3. Causative constructions

Causative verbs (§ 4.5) like other verbs can be the subject or predicate of the sentence or can modify other phrases. In active sentences, the agent, the one who causes s.o. to do s.t. or s.t. to be done, is in the nominative case. The case of the direct object (patient) of active causative verbs is unknown due to lack of data. The following sentence exemplifies the active causative verb as the predicate of the sentence and the agent as the subject of the sentence. The agent (underlined bolded) is in the nominative case but the PATIENT (underlined capitalized) is probably in the dative case with the dative marker *sa* dropped.

(#) INT' saku PNBU' LAQI'. (Egerod-1980, p. 451)

NEG 1SN CAU-ACT-DEP-sick child

'I have not let my child get sick.'

In direct passive sentences, the agent (the one who causes the action) is in the genitive case. The direct object, which is the thing or person caused to be or do is in the nominative case. The following sentences exemplify passive causative verbs as the predicate and the direct

object as the subject of the sentence. The agent is in the genitive case and the direct object is in the nominative case.

(#) SI WAN NHA' PHQILUN **qu'** yuyuk qa qasa LMA. (Rau, A24)

AFF go 3PG CAU-die-DP NOM cub that that PAR-they-said

'They just went ahead and killed that cub bear.'

(#) PNBU' **ta'** UZI'. (Rau, F6-1)

CAU-sick-DP 1PN also

'(The gods) would cause us to be sick.'

In the case of local passive causatives the verb is oriented to the place or the thing affected by the action which someone causes to have done.

(#) RU' RYAX RYAX PQNIQAN **ku'** UZI. (Liao-A, p. 21: 10)

and day day CAU-eat-LP 1SN also

'And every day (you) also let me eat.'

The instrumental passive of the causative is oriented to the direct object of the action which someone causes to have done.

(#) SPQANIQ TA' Ipyuŋ. (Liao-B, p. 106: 87)

IP-CAU-eat 1PG relative

'We caused (it) to be eaten by the relatives.'

Chapter Seven

The Make-Up and Modifications of Predicates

7.1. Introduction

The predicate is the statement made, the information given, or the question asked (§ 6.1). A verb phrase, a noun phrase¹ or an adjectival phrase can be the nucleus of the predicate. In the following sections, the different kinds of modifications of predicates will be discussed first, followed by a discussion of verbal predicates then negative modification, interrogative modification and the formation of existential-presentative predicates. Finally noun predicates and adjectival predicates will be discussed.

7.2. Kinds of modifications

There are several kinds of modifiers of predicates: particles which follow the predicate (or postposed modifiers), particles which precede the predicate (or preposed modifiers/preverbs), complementation, attribution, negative modification, and interrogative modification.

7.2.1. Postposed modifiers

7.2.1.1. Expressions of time with particles: *la*, *na*, *ga*'

The final particles *la* 'already', *na* 'still' and *ga* 'when, if' can be added to the predicate to have an effect on the tense meanings. They are placed at the end of the predicate. The inflection of past, present, and

¹ Nouns and pronouns were discussed in Chapter 5.

future of verb forms and the meanings of the tenses were presented in § 3.2.2.

7.2.1.1.1. *La*

La can be added to a predicate to indicate a change of state.

(#) mslaqi' laqi' likuy la. (Rau, F-2-1)

ACT-give-birth child male PAR

'(She) gave birth to a baby boy.'

(#) ini' qesi ga' mhoqiN la rwa. (Egerod 1980, p. 313)

NEG exorcise-LP-DEP GA' die PAR you-know

'If they do not perform magic, he will die.'

(#) pira' kawas su' la. (Egerod 1980, p. 314)

how-many year 2SG PAR

'How old are you?'

La with a past verb form means "already":

(#) waN galun squliq la ga'. (Egerod 1980, p. 313)

PA take-DP people PAR Q

'Has she already married?'

La with a negative verb phrase means "not any more":

(#) miya' misuw qa lga', unat la. (Rau, C15)

ACT-be-like now that PAR-GA' nothing PAR

'Like now, we are not doing it anymore.'

7.2.1.1.2. *Na*

Na with a noun or verb phrase which refers to quantity or size means "only (so-and-so-much) up to now":

(#) qutux qu' laqi' mu kya na. (Rau, B21)

one NOM child 1SG there only

'I only had one child then.'

Na with other noun or verb phrases means "still":

(#) ini' ptasi ga', laqi' qasa na ma, laqi' qasa na. (Rau, E38)

NEG tattoo-LP-DEP GA' child that still they-said child that still

'If s/he is not tattooed, that is still considered a child, that is still a child.'

(#) nanu' nanu' la kya na. (Rau, E55)

what what PAR to-be still

'Any more (questions)?'

Na with a negative means "not yet":

(#) mwah saku' nga'² ini' wah hiya' na. (Egerod 1980, p. 401)

ACT-come 1SN already-GA' NEG DEP-come 3SN still

'When I came he had not come.'

² *Nga'* "when (so-and-so) happened (past time)" is explained in § 7.2.1.1.3.

7.2.1.1.3. *Ga'*

Ga' 'if, when' used in the combination *la ga'* (or *lga'*) with a noun or verb phrase refers to past time, meaning "after (so-and-so) happened":

(#) babaw nya' laqi' qani lga', hupa' hay lga', hupa' hay lga', nanak
inluṅan nya' lma. (Rau, A21)

later 3SG child this PAR-GA' big very PAR-GA' big very PAR-GA' strange
mind 3SG PAR-they-said

'Later after this child grew up, his heart was strange.'

La ga' (or *lga'*) is also used in a conditional clause, meaning "if (such-and-such) had not happened, it would not have been (such-and-such)":

(#) ini' qyu' laga', ini' baqi laga'. (Rau, E54)

NEG DEP-explain PAR-GA' NEG know-LP-DEP

'If you had not explained it, I would not have known it.'

Ga' used in the combination *na ga'* (or *nga'*) refers to past time, meaning "when so-and-so happened (past time)":

(#) ini' ptasi qani nga', ini' qbaq musa' ṅasaN squliq. (Rau, E47)

NEG tattoo-LP-DEP this NA-GA' NEG DEP-know ACT-go home people

'When she was not tattooed, she could not get married.'

(#) nanu' siga' ptasan nga', a son nha' smze' laru'. (Rau, E51)

what only-if tattoo-LP NA-GA' maybe go-DP 3PG ACT-propose PAR-and

'Only after she was tattooed would they come to propose to her.'

7.2.1.2. Other postposed modifiers

Other particles which follow the predicate which we have discussed or will discuss in the following sections include the case markers *qu'*, *na'*, *sa* (§ 6.2), the particle of coordination *ru'* (§ 8.2.1), the particle of inclusion *ki'* (§ 8.2.3), the topic marker *ga'* (§ 6.1.1), and the final particles *pi '!*, and *ma* 'they say, I am told'.

7.2.2. Preposed modifiers (or preverbs)

The preposed modifiers (or preverbs) are forms which supplement the tense/aspect/mode conjugation of the verbal paradigm. They are placed at the beginning of the predicate. Pronouns occur in the position next to the preverbs. The preverbs that we will discuss in the following include (1) the preverbs which are followed by verbs in the present tense: *cyux/nyux* 'is (just) ...-ing', *waN/nyaN* 'have, did', *musa'/aki* 'will', (2) the preverbs which are followed by the dependent forms: *si* 'actually, directly', *ini'*, 'did not, cannot', *kana* 'would prefer not to', and (3) other preverbs which can be followed by past, present, future, etc., depending on the context: *iyat*, 'do not want to', *laxi* 'don't', *bali* 'certainly not', *swa'* 'how, why'.

7.2.2.1. *Cyux* vs. *nyux* as tense/aspect marker

Cyux and *nyux* as tense/aspect markers are used to indicate an action in progress or a continuous state. The PREDICATE is capitalized and the subject is bolded.

(#) CYUX MITA' MIT **mama'**. (Atayal Alphabet, p.4)

ASP ACT-see sheep uncle

'Uncle is guarding sheep.'

(#) CYUX MŋUŋU' HUZIN MU **qu' kaciŋ qasa**. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 25)

ASP ACT-fear dog 1SG NOM cow that

'That cow is afraid of my dog.'

(#) NYUX MQYANUX **qu' Lawa' qani NA**. (Rau, A17)

ASP ACT-live NOM PRN this still say-thus

'Oh, Lawa' is still alive!'

Cyux refers to a state/action further away from the speaker whereas *nyux* refers to a state/action closer to the speaker.

(#) CYUX MITA' HUZIN MU **qu' kaciŋ su'**. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 25)

ASP ACT-see dog 1SG NOM cow 2SG

'Your cow (away from me, there) is looking at my dog.'

(#) NYUX MITA' KACIŋ SU' **qu' huziN qani**.

ASP ACT-see cow 2SG NOM dog this

'This dog (close to me, here) is looking at your cow.'

7.2.2.2. Preverbs *si* and *ini'* with dependent forms

The preverbs *si* 'actually, directly' and *ini'* 'did not, cannot' are always followed by the dependent forms.

The following sentences exemplify the affirmative particle *si* followed by the dependent forms as a preposed modifier of the predicate:

(#) si wahi m'abi' lga'. (Rau, A14)

AFF come-LP-DEP ACT-sleep PAR-GA'

'He just came to sleep.'

(#) si saku' pqwas nqu' qwas Utux lru'. (Rau, B13)

AFF 1SN ACT-DEP GEN-DEF song God PAR-and

'I just sang hymns.'

The following sentences illustrate the negative preverb *ini'* followed by the dependent forms as a preposed modifier of the predicate:

(#) ini' pzyux. (Rau, H196)

NEG DEP-many

'Not many' (Negation of the adjectival predicate)

(#) ini' q-bsyaq lga'. (Rau, D30)

'NEG DEP-long PAR-GA'

'After a while.' (Lit. 'It's not long.') (Negation of the adjectival predicate)

(#) ini' pana' qsya' uzi rwa. (Rau, B10)

NEG ACT-DEP-carry water also you-know

'I did not carry water with me.' (Negation of the verbal predicate)

(#) ini' q-baq pwah honu' qani. (Rau, E14)

NEG DEP-can Pv-come bridge this

'(They) could not cross the bridge.' (Negation of the verbal predicate with the auxiliary *baq* 'can')

7.2.2.3. *Kana*

Kana 'would prefer not to' precedes a clause and causes the dependent form to be used. Consider the following active sentences:

(#) ini' su' usa' taihok ga', kana su' agaN qilis. (Egerod 1980, p. 253)

NEG 2SN DEP-go Taipei GA' not-to 2SN DEP-take wound

'If you had not gone to Taipei you would not have been injured.'

(#) aki nbu' ru' kana su' baq hmkaŋi' lma. (Rau, G54)

FUT ill and not-to 2SN can ACT-walk PAR-they-said

'If (you) were to be ill, you could not walk.'

Consider the following passive sentences:

(#) mhani mhutaw kabaŋ qasa lga', kana maku' thvazi magaN sesyo

maku' lru'. (Rau, D23)

if ACT-fall briefcase that PAR-GA' not-to 1SG succeed-DEP ACT-take

Bible 1SG PAR-and

'If the briefcase had fallen, I could not have gotten my Bible.'

(#) mhani klhun saku' Utux KayaN ga', kana maku' ktav qu' tesaziŋ laqi'

maku' qasa. (Rau, D44)

if harvest-DP 1SN God heaven GA' not-to 1SG see-DEP the second child

1SG that

'If God had taken my life, I would not have been able to see my second child.'

7.3. Verbal predicates

7.3.1. Verbal complementation: Serial verbs

Serial verb construction refers to a sentence that contains two or more verb phrases or clauses juxtaposed without any marker indicating what the relationship is between them but which are related as parts of

one overall event or state of affairs. The verbs which occur after the first verb of a serial construction are always in the present tense. The first verbs in a serial construction can be any types of verbs. The most frequent types are verbs which indicate movement, i.e. "go", "come".

The following examples illustrate the first verbs that mean "go" (e.g., *musa'*, *waN*, *san*) or "come" (e.g., *wah*, *nyaN*) in a serial construction:

(#) *musa' magaN* *paŋa' qhoniq ma.* (Rau, A1)

ACT-go ACT-take carry-on-the-back wood they-said
'(She) went to get firewood.'

(#) *san nha' smatu'* *lukus ru'* (Rau, A18)

go-LP 3PG ACT-send clothes and
'They went to send clothes (to her).'

(#) *isu' qu' aki' misu' wahan maqut pi.* (Egerod 1980, p. 14)

2SN-IN NOM FUT 1SG-2SN come-LP ACT-ask EX
'I have come to ask you.'

(#) *aki' nha' qbzihan magaN kruma' lga'.* (Rau, E68)

want 3PG return-LP ACT-take some PAR-GA'
'They would go back to redistribute some more people (to the mountain).'

The following subsections describe special cases of serial verbs.

7.3.1.2. *WaN/nyaN*, *musa'/aki'* in paraphrastic constructions

Preverbs, such as *waN* 'go', *nyaN* 'come' *musa'* 'go', or *aki'* 'will, want', can be used to form paraphrastic constructions (§ 3.2.2) to indicate

the past or future tense. As stated in § 3.2.2 the second verb in a paraphrastic construction has the present tense form.

(#) waN mu punan cikay uzi ga'. (Rau, E112)

PA 1SG hear-LP a-little also GA'

'I have also heard a little bit.'

(#) nvaN nva' rasun. (Rau, A19)

PA 3SG bring-DP

'(She) brought (him) along.'

(#) musa' maku skavaN cikay qu' zyaw qani. (Rau, B1)

FUT 1SG IP-talk a-little NOM thing this

'I am going to talk about it.'

(#) aki' maku' galun kneriN qasa. (Egerod 1980, p.14)

want 1SG take-DP woman that

'I want to marry her.'

7.3.1.3. Expressions of manner

One way of expressing manner is with adjectives which refer to manner placed at the beginning of the sentence. The active verb that occurs after the expression of manner is in the present tense.

(#) lokah balay hmkani'. (Rau, B21)

strong very ACT-walk

'We were strong enough to walk.'

(#) masuq maniq mwah la. (Rau, D4)

finish ACT-eat ACT-come PAR

'After (I) finished eating, (I) left.'

The passive verb forms of an adjectival root can also be placed at the beginning of the sentence to express manner. The passive verb that occurs after the expression of manner is in the present tense.

(#) nanu' liqun liqun maku' mita' ga'. (Rau, B16)

what good-DP good-DP 1SG ACT-see GA'

'I looked at it carefully.'

(#) suqun nya' pramu' kwara' qu' laqi' tayaN. (Rau, A23)

finish-DP 3SG ACT-Pv-blood all NOM child Atayal

'He caused them all to bleed.'

The affirmative particle *si* with the dependent form of an adjectival root can be placed at the beginning of the sentence to express manner. The verb after the expression of manner is in the present form.

(#) nanu' si nya' ktaqiy maniq qu' qsinuw lga'. (Rau, A8)

what AFF 3SG DEP-raw ACT-eat NOM animal PAR-GA'

'She just ate the animal raw.'

(#) asi³ yus yus turuy mwah qalaŋ ta' rgyax la. (Liao-B, p. 132: 143)

AFF frequent frequent ACT-DEP-roll ACT-come village 1PG-INCL

mountain PAR

'(Outsiders) just kept coming to our village in the mountain.'

³ *Asi* is a variant form of the affirmative particle *si*.

7.3.2. Attribution

Attributes have the make-up of a predicate. Anything that occurs as a predicate can occur as an attribute. We have already discussed adjective modifiers in § 5.2. Verbal predicates may also modify and precede or follow the forms they modify. The verb is passive if there is an agent with the verb phrase, whereas the verb is active if the agent is outside the verb phrase (See § 6.1.2, § 6.2.5.1).

In the following sentence, the verb phrase *nagaN nya'* precedes the noun *qsinuw*.

(#) si si kaki' kya maniq nagaN nya' qsinuw uzi lru'. (Rau, A8)

AFF AFF ACT-DEP-be there ACT-eat PA-take-DP 3SG animal also PAR-
and

'(She) was there eating the animal that he had brought back.'

In the following sentence, the verb phrase *nyux maki'* follows the noun *ke'*:

(#) pyux balay qu' ke' nyux maki' babaw na' hiyaN qani. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 39)

many very NOM speech ASP ACT-be surface of earth this

'There are many languages in this world. (Lit. The languages that are in this world are very many.)'

Modifying verb phrases may be preceded by *nqu'*. The verb phrase may be nominalized (§ 6.1.2).

(#) maki' qu' zyaw nqu' kmut tunux lmpi. (Rau, E70)

ACT-have NOM thing GEN-QU' ACT-cut head PAR-they-said-EX

'(From then on) there is such a thing as cutting heads.'

(#) si nya' bay spŋi squ' bvan nqu' wahan bay yaqu' m'abi' mlikuy qasa

lga'. (Rau, A13)

AFF 3SG very measure-LP-DEP DAT-QU' bed GEN-QU' come-LP very this

ACT-sleep man that PAR-GA'

'She actually measured the bed where her husband came to sleep.'

7.3.3. Predicates with negative modifications

The negation preverbs, i.e., *ini'* 'did not, does not', *iyat/yat* 'will not, haven't, cannot, it's not the case...', *bali* 'unless', and *laxi* 'don't', modify and precede the predicate. Only dependent forms are used after *ini'* (§ 3.2.3) *Laxi* is followed by the dependent form just as for *ini'*, or alternatively *laxi* may be followed by the present tense to make the command less blunt. The verb forms after *iyat/yat* and *bali* can be present, past, or future depending on the context.

7.3.3.1. *Ini'*

The preverb *ini'* occurs in the predicate initial position. Nominative and genitive pronouns occur after the first word of the predicate as stated in 7.2.2.

(#) ini' ku nbuw qwaw. (Rau, G55)

NEG 1SN ACT-DEP-drink wine

'I did not drink wine.'

(#) ini' maku' baqi. (Rau, D12)

NEG 1SG know-LP-DEP

'I did not know.'

(#) ini' saku' hori. (Rau, D17)

NEG 1SN hit-DP-DEP

'I did not get hit (by it).'

(#) ini' nya' niqi qu' kneriN. (Rau, A6)

NEG 3SG eat-DP-DEP NM woman

'He did not eat the woman.'

7.3.3.2. Yat

Yat /iyat is used to negate nominal PREDICATES (capitalized).

(#) YAT QANI ṅasaN mamu raraN rwa. (Rau, H33)

NEG this home 2PG past you-know

'Your home before was not like this.'

(#) YAT LIBU' NA' ṅTA' sa, LIBU' NA' YUṅAY sa. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 24)

NEG enclosure of chicken that enclosure of monkey that

'That is not an enclosure for chickens but for monkeys.'

(#) roziq qani ga' YAT ROZIQ NA' QOLI'. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 41)

eye this GA' NEG eye of rat

'These eyes are not rat's eyes.'

Yat is used to deny or refute the previous predicates, meaning "No, it's not the case ...":

(#) "Silan, tama', qaniq ta' uzi." "Yat, ay. musa' saku' la." (Atayal Alphabet, p. 23)

PRN ACT-DEP-sit ACT-DEP-eat 1PN-INCL also NEG EX ACT-go 1SN
PAR

"Silan, have a seat, let's also eat." "No, I am leaving."

(#) "musa' mami' nanak qu' niqun su' la ga'?" "Yat, ptahuk ramat yaya' mu na." (Atayal Alphabet, p. 29)

ACT-go rice only NOM eat-DEP 2SG PAR GA' NEG FUT-cook dish mother
1SG yet

"Is it only rice that you are going to eat?" "No, my mother will still cook some dishes (food) ""

(#) "mrkyas qu' mlikuy su' na pi?" "Yat, mnkis uzi la." (Atayal Alphabet, p. 36)

young NOM husband 2SG yet EX NEG old also PAR

"Is your husband still young?" "No, he is also getting old.""

Yat is also used to refer to actions that will not happen, cannot happen, or have not taken place. The verb form after *yat* can be past, present, future, or dependent.

The following negative sentences exemplify *yat* with verbs meaning "will not do such-and-such". The preverbs indicating tense/aspect must precede the negation marker *yat* just as they precede *ini'* (see § 6.2.4)

(#) musa' yat pqbaq lmpuw squ' biru' na' TayaN. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 44)
will NEG FUT-know ACT-read DAT-QU' book of Atayal
'(They) will not know how to read The Atayal Alphabet.'

(#) kyaqu' ini' tqbaq lmpuw biru' na' TayaN ga' yat ta' baqun lmpuw biru'
ka qwas na' TayaN qasa. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 45)

if NEG ACT-DEP-learn ACT-read book of Atayal GA' NEG 1PG-INCL

know-DP ACT-read book of song of Atayal that

'If (we) don't learn to read The Atayal Alphabet, we will not know how to
read Atayal hymnals.'

Examples of *yat* with verbs meaning "cannot do such-and-such":

(#) yat huqiN Tali'. (Huang 1988)

NEG die-DEP PRN

'Tali can't die (he still has work to do)'

(#) ya qani qu', yat yat myan kzinyun. (Rau, B24)

like this QU' NEG NEG 1PG-EXCL forget-DP

'Things like this, we cannot forget.'

Examples of *yat* with past tense verbs, meaning "have not done such-and-such so far":

(#) yat saku' mnwah kmut kun hiya' ru'. (Rau, E61)

NEG 1SN ACT-PA-come ACT-cut 1SN-IN 3SN-IN and

'I have never cut any (Chinese heads) myself.'

(#) yat minkucu Tali'. (Huang 1988)

NEG ACT-PA-shoe PRN

'Tali has not worn shoes.'

7.3.3.3. *Ini'* vs. *yat* in yes-no questions

In reponse to a yes-no question, both *ini'* and *yat* can be used to mean "no". However *ini'* negates the verbal predicates whereas *yat* negates the nominal predicates.

(#) "CYUX MAHUQ LUKUS qu' yaya' su?" "INI', CYUX PHAPUY MAMI' yaya' mu." (Atayal Alphabet, p. 29)

ASP ACT-wash clothes NOM mother 2SG NEG ASP ACT-Pv-cook rice
mother 1SG

"Is your mother washing clothes?" "No, my mother is cooking rice."

(#) "MUSA' MUMUK YUYUT yata' su?" "YAT, MUSA' MUMUK KAYU' yata' mu." (Atayal Alphabet, p. 12)

ACT-go ACT-cover bottle aunt 2SG NEG ACT-go ACT-cover jar aunt 1SG

"Will your aunt cover a bottle?" "No, my aunt will cover a jar."

7.3.3.4. *Bali*

Bali 'unless, impossible, certainly not' functions as a preverb. It is used to negate nominal or verbal phrases. The verb form after *bali* can be past, present, or future.

An example of *bali* with a nominal phrase:

(#) pira' na' ke' ta' tayaN qani ru' thyayun mu ymuŋi pi, bali ku' yat
squliq tayaN. (Liao-B, p. 77: 9)

several of speech 1PG-INCL Atayal this and succeed-DP 1SG ACT-forget
EX unless 1SN NEG people Atayal
'Take our Atayal language for example. How could I possibly forget it
unless (as if) I were not an Atayal.'

Examples of *bali* with verb phrases:

(#) ana ta' asi lux lŋlun gaga' ta' kuwis lga', bali mwah mbzinah lozi pi.
(Liao-B, p. 141: 165)

even 1PN-INCL AFF insist-on ACT-DEP-think customs 1PG-INCL that
PAR-GA' certainly-not ACT-come ACT-return PAR-also EX
'Even though we keep thinking about that old customs, they certainly
won't come back again.'

(#) bali ta' nyux baqun. (Egerod 1980, p.59)

certainly-not 1PG ASP know-DP
'We do not really understand.'

(#) bali waN sbiq smunan. (Egerod 1980, p. 59)

certainly-not PA IP-give 2PD
'We have certainly already given (him) to you once.'

7.3.3.5. *Laxi*

Laxi (the local passive dependent of *alax* 'give up') is used as a preverb in negative commands, meaning "don't" and is placed at the beginning of the predicate. The verb after *laxi* is in the dependent form, but the present form is used to cut the bluntness of the command.

Examples of *laxi* followed by dependent verb forms:

(#) LAXI LŋLUN ana qutux. (Liao-B, p. 75: 1)

don't ACT-DEP-think even one

'Don't be concerned about (me) even once.'

(#) LAXI USA' QMAYAH. (Egerod 1980, p. 22)

don't go-DEP field

'Don't go to the field.'

Examples of *laxi* followed by present verb forms to cut the bluntness of the command :

(#) LAXI MSYAQIH LILUNAN, LAXI MHHAKAS LILUNAN. (Liao-B, p. 153: 192)

don't ACT-Sv-bad thought don't ACT-jealous thought

'Don't be separate, don't be jealous.'

(#) LAXI QMIHUN MBAZIY. (Liao-B, p. 156: 197)

don't ACT-force ACT-buy

'Don't insist on buying (it).'

7.3.4. Predicates with interrogative modifications

Yes/no questions are usually formed by placing the question marker *ga'* at the end of the sentence. Otherwise they do not differ in form or make-up from statements, and there is no special interrogative sentence.

Examples of affirmative yes/no questions:

(#) **qani** BALAY BALAY HIYA' GA'? (Rau, E94)

this true true 3SN-IN Q

'Is this a true story?'

(#) **QANI qu' qbubu' maku'** GA'? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 23)

this NOM hat 1SG Q

'Is this my hat?'

(#) **PRAMAT su'** GA'? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 29)

Pv-dish 2SN Q

'Do you have dishes (food)?'

(#) **BAQ LMPUW hiya'** GA'? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 43)

can ACT-read 3SN Q

'Can he read (it)?'

Examples of negative yes/no questions:

(#) **INI' su' KSYAW** GA'? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 44)

NEG 2SN DEP-lie Q

'Didn't you lie?'

(#) **INT' YABU' BOKSI'** GA'? (Rau, D25)

NEG PRN pastor Q

'Isn't it Pastor Yabu?'

WH-questions are formed by placing the interrogative words (§ 5.5) in the predicate of the simple sentence.

The following examples illustrate *ima'* 'who, whose, whom' in simple sentences. *Ima'* may be the head of the predicate or it may function as a complement or as an attribute.

(#) IMA' gluw nya' PI, IMA' lalu'? (Rau, H67)

who relative 3SG EX who name

'Who are his relatives? What are their names?'

(#) IMA' MAMI' qasa'? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 5)

whose rice that

'Whose rice is that?'

(#) CYUX MITA' IMA' MIT'? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 4)

ASP ACT-see whose sheep

'Whose sheep is (he) guarding?'

The following examples illustrate *inu'* 'where' in simple sentences. *Inu'* functions as an attribute of the verb.

(#) MUSA' su' INU' HIYA'? (Rau, H45)

ACT-go 2SN where 3SN-IN

'Where did you go then?'

The verb *maki'/ki'* 'be' and *inu'* form a predicate meaning "where is it at?"

(#) KI' INU' ηasaN mamu raraN'? (Rau, H29)

be-at where home 2PG past

'Where was your home located in the past?'

Knwan 'when' is placed either at the beginning of the predicate or after the preposed pronouns of the sentence. *Knwan* functions as an attribute of the predicate.

(#) KNWAN WAN MHOQIN? (Egerod 1980, p. 292)

when PA ACT-die

'When did (he) die?'

(#) PMUYA su' KNWAN BONAW isu'? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 42)

FUT-plant 2SN when peanut 2SN-IN

'When will you plant peanuts?'

The following examples illustrate *nanu'* 'what' as the head of a predicate of simple sentences.

(#) NANU' qasa? (Atayal Alphabet, p. 24)

what that

'What is that?'

Nanu' may also be expanded with a noun.

(#) wa su poŋan NANU' ZYAW pi? (Rau, H13)

PA 2SG hear-LP what thing EX

'What have you heard about?'

Swa' 'why' is placed at the beginning of the predicate as an interrogative word. *Swa'* functions as an attribute of the predicate.

(#) SWA' KHMAY simu LA. (Rau, E68)

why many 2PN EX

'Why do you have so many people?'

(#) SWA' BLAQ hi' su'. (Rau, G54)

why good body 2SG

'Why is your body strong?'

Hmswa' 'how' functions as the head of the predicate.

(#) HMSWA' PI yunay hiya'? (Egerod 1980, p. 670)

how EX monkey 3SN-IN

'What about the monkey?'

(#) WAN HMSWA' LA? (Egerod 1980, p. 671)

'What happened then?'

7.4. Existential-presentative predicates

The negative word *uηat/iηat* 'have none', the particles *cyux* and *nyux* 'be, exist, there is, have' and the verb *maki'* 'have, there is' are used to form existential-presentative predicates. *Uηat/iηat* and *cyux, nyux* are part of the verbal predicates, whereas *maki'* 'have, there is' has a different make-up.

7.4.1. *Uηat/Iηat*

The following examples illustrate the negative word *uηat/iηat* 'have none' as the predicate of the sentence. As usual the PREDICATE is capitalized and the **subject** is in bold face.

(#) **ḤAT qu' bes maku' LGA'**. (Rau, B13)

NEG NOM company 1SG PAR-GA'

'I had nobody to accompany me.'

(#) **misuw qlga', UḤAT qu' san ta' LRU'**. (Rau, C16)

now that-PAR-GA' NEG NOM go-LP 1PG-INCL PAR-and

'But now we don't go to any place.'

(#) **UḤAT qu ḥta' mu. guru' nanak CYUX**. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 30)

nothing NOM chicken 1SG duck only exist

'I have no chickens but only ducks.' (Lit. 'My chickens are none. Only ducks exist.')

(#) **ḤAT qu' squliq musa' cbaq ke' utux ga'**. (Rau, B4)

NEG QU' people ACT-go ACT-teach speech God GA'

'Nobody went to teach God's word.'

(#) **ḤAT qu' tuqiy nha' waban rwa**. (Rau, E19)

NEG QU' road 3PG go-LP you-know

'They did not go anywhere.'

A predicate with *uḥat/iḥat* 'for there not to be' can be expanded by a noun or verb. In the following example, *uḥat g'nux nya'* 'for there not to be teeth' is the predicate and *ḥta' ru' guru'* is the subject.

(#) **UḤAT G'NUX NYA' ḥta' ru' guru' hiya'**. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 35)

NEG tooth 3SG chicken and duck 3SN-IN

'Chickens and ducks have no teeth.' (Lit. 'Chickens and ducks, their teeth are none.')

Uṇat/iṇat may also be expanded by a verb phrase. In the following example, *uṇat* is expanded by *inluṇan* 'thought about it, thought'. The verb form in the second verb phrase (the subject) happens to be in the subjunctive because of the meaning. It refers to something that someone thought about doing but which has never been done in reality.

(#) UṆAT INLUṆAN MAKU' qu' hwakay ta' qu' 'tubay. (Rau, D7)
 NEG PA-think-LP 1SG QU' hold-LP-SUB 1PG-INCL NOM motorcycle
 'I did not think about walking with the motorcycle.' (Lit., 'The act that I might walk with the motorcycle, there was no thinking about it by me.')

7.4.2. *Cyux* and *nyux* in existential-presentative predicates

The particle *cyux* can be the predicate of the existential sentence, meaning "have such-and-such" or the presentative sentence, meaning "there is a ...". The difference between *cyux* and *nyux* is discussed in § 7.2.2.1.

The following examples illustrate *cyux* as the predicate of the existential sentences, meaning "have such-and-such":

(#) "CYUX guru' su' UZI?" "AW, CYUX CIKAY UZI." (Atayal Alphabet, p. 31)

exist duck 2SG also yes exist a-few also

"Do you also have ducks?" "Yes, (I) also have a few." (Lit. "Your ducks also exist?" "Yes, exist a few also.")

(#) "CYUX mlikuy su'?" "AW, CYUX." (Atayal Alphabet, p. 16)

exist husband 2SG yes exist

"Do you have a husband?" "Yes, I do." (Lit. "Is there a husband of yours?" "Yes, there is.")

The following examples illustrate *Cyux* as the predicate of the presentative sentences to introduce new topics, meaning "there is a ..."

(#) CYUX qutux boksi MHA (Rau, D37)

there-is one pastor say-thus

'There was a pastor who said this.'

(#) CYUX qutux cikuy tuqiy kinalay na' tayaN uy. (Rau, D9)

there-is one small road PA-make-DP GEN Atayal EX

'There was a small road which was built by some people.'

Cyux is used to refer to an object which is away from the speaker whereas *nyux* is used for an object which is closer to the speaker (cf. § 7.2.2.1).

(#) NYUX qutux tayaN kinshat. (Rau, D29)

have one Atayal policeman

'Here came an Atayal policeman.'

Cyux and *nyux* can be expanded by nouns and verbs just like *uŋat/iŋat*.

(#) CYUX PHPAH qalaŋ mu UZI. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 26)

have flower village 1SG also

'There are also flowers in my village (there).'

7.4.3. Predicates with *maki'*

The active present verb *maki* 'have, be' occurs in existential-presentative sentences of a different make-up. *Maki'* forms a predicate together with a noun phrase or a verb phrase. Such a predicate means "for there to be (noun)" or "for (verb) to be done or done to something, with something, or for something", depending on the orientation of the verb.

Examples:

(#) MAKI' QUTUX QU'⁴ KYOKAY UZI LRWA (Rau, B23)

ACT-have one QU' church also PAR-you-know

'There is a church there.'

(#) O, MAKI', MAKI'. (Rau, E63)

Oh ACT-have ACT-have

'Oh, there is (the custom of headhunting).'

(#) MAKI' MKUT UZI, MAKI' INI' PKUT. (Egerod 1980, p.17)

ACT-have REC-cut also ACT-have NEG REC-DEP-cut

'Some went at them with swords, some did not.'

Maki' can be expanded by *cyux* or *nyux* to refer to farther from or nearer to the location of the speaker:

⁴ *Qu'* is a linker between a number and a noun phrase, as explained in § 5.7.

(#) NYUX MAKI' QUTUX QU' LXYUX MGA'. (Rau, A5)

have-here ACT-have one NM cliff they-said-GA'

'There was a protruding rock, here'

(#) MAKI' CYUX MCIRIQ-LRU'. (Rau, E25)

ACT-have have-there ACT-catch PAR-and

'There (at a distance) will be some catch (of animals) '

These predicates may be expanded into a sentence with a subject.
Such sentences mean "for subject to have (NP)":

(#) MAKI' G'NUX NYA' huziN ru' kaciŋ UZI. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 35)

ACT-have tooth 3SG dog and cow also

'Dogs and cows also have teeth.' (Lit. 'Dogs and cows, their teeth also exist.')

7.5. Adjectival predicates

In the following example, the adjective phrase (underlined) is the nucleus of the predicate:

(#) lokah ta' raraN rwa. (Rau, C16)

strong 1PN-INCL olden-day you-know

'We were strong before.'

Most adjectives can function as stative verbs in Atayal. In the following example, a final particle *la* (or *l*) is added to the sentence to indicate a change of state:

(#) hupa' qu' laqi' qasa lma. (Rau, A11)

big NOM child that PAR-they-said

'That child has grown up.'

7.6. Noun predicates

In the following sentence, the noun phrase (underlined) is the nucleus of the predicate:

(#) lbit qasa. (Rau, D25)

bag that

'That is a bag.'

(#) puqin ngu' kyokay maku' qani uzi. (Rau, B3)

source of-the church 1SG this also

'This is also my home church.'

Chapter Eight

Coordination and Compounding

8.1. Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss how Atayal clauses can be combined in certain ways to result in complex sentences, i.e., sentences with more than one predicate. A complex sentence may consist of two non-embedded independent clauses joined by the conjunctions "and" or "or". Such sentences are also called compound sentences or sentences with coordination. Complex sentences may also consist of a main clause plus one or more non-embedded dependent clauses (subordination) or embedded dependent clauses (embedding).

8.2. Coordination

Coordination is the process whereby two or more predicates are joined or two or more clauses are joined. The conjunctions *ru'* 'and' and *ini' ga* 'or' are used to join two or more co-ordinate clauses or predicates. *Ki'* 'together with' is a particle of inclusion which conjoins two or more people who are involved in the action.

8.2.1. *Ru'*

Ru' 'and' can conjoin two or more verb phrases, noun phrases, or clauses. In the following sentences, two or three verb phrases are connected with *ru'* to indicate the sequence of events. The **subject** (bolded) is expressed only once.

(#) waN nha' syukan ru' waN nha' hbeηun ru' waN nha' niqun uzi
 ηarux qasa la. (Rau, A26)

PA 3PG roast-LP and PA 3PG cut-DP and PA 3PG eat-DP also bear that
 PAR

'They roasted and cut and ate that bear.'

(#) betak, si ηayuq ru' si spiray spaqux qu' ηarux qasa lma. (Rau, A14)

stab AFF DEP-moan and AFF DEP-turn DEP-rolI NOM bear that PAR-
 they-said

'After getting stabbed, the bear screamed and tumbled.'

(#) nanu' spkayaN mamu ke' na' tayaN ru' galun myan ma. (Rau, C3)

what IP-speak 2PG speech of Atayal and take-DP 1PG-EX they-said

'She said you two can speak Atayal and we can record it.'

In the following sentence *ru'* is connecting two clauses, *qani* 'this' is the predicate (new information) in the first clause but is the subject (old information) in the second clause.

(#) QANI qu' puqin nqu' ηasaN ru' puqin nqu' kyokay maku' **qani** uzi.
 (Rau, B3)

this NOM origin of-DEF home and origin of-DEF church 1SG this also

'This is my hometown and my home church too.'

In the following sentence, *ru'* connects two independent clauses to indicate sequence of events. The third person singular pronoun *nya'* is used in the second clause to refer to *ηarux* 'bear':

(#) si ktay nyaN qu' narux lmru' kyapun nya' qu' kneriN qani lozi ma.

(Rau, A2)

AFF see-LP-DEP came NOM bear PAR-they-said-and catch-DP 3SG NOM
woman this PAR-also they-said

'All of a sudden a bear came and he grabbed this woman.'

3.2.2. *Ini' ga'*

Ini' ga' 'or' is also used to conjoin noun phrases, verb phrases, or clauses. The following examples illustrate noun phrases conjoined by *ini' ga'*:

(#) qilis gluw ta' ini' ga' hi' ta' nanak. (Egerod 1980, p. 232)

wound relative 1PG-INCL NEG GA' body 1PG-INCL only

'Our relatives will be hurt or we ourselves.'

(#) musa' magaN qsinuw, ini' ga' piku' ru' ini' ga' bzwaq ru' ini' ga'

yapit ga'. (Rau, A7)

ACT-go ACT-take animal NEG GA' squirrel and NEG GA' wild-pig and
NEG GA' flying-squirrel GA'

'(He) went to hunt animals: either squirrels, or wild pigs, or flying
squirrels.'

The following sentence illustrates verb phrases conjoined by *ini' ga'*:

(#) musa' su' lga', glen qasa ga', ini' ga' ptakuy su' ini' ga' pturuy su'.

(Rau, E27)

ACT-go 2SN PAR-GA' go-ahead that GA' NEG GA' FUT-fall 2SN or FUT-roll 2SN

'If you go, if you go ahead like that, you will either fall or roll.'

The following example illustrates two clauses conjoined by *ini' ga'*:

(#) musa' ta' lga', maki' cyux mciriq laru', ini' ga' blaq utux mga', blaq utux. (Rau, E25)

ACT-go 1PN-INCL PAR-GA' ACT-have ASP ACT-catch PAR-and NEG GA' good fortune they-said good fortune

'If we go, we will get a catch (of animals) or we will have good luck, they said.'

8.2.3. *Ki'*

The conjunction *ki'* 'together with' is used to join the subject to the noun referring to person or persons with whom the subject is doing the action. Consider the following sentences:

(#) msayu' ki' laqi' tayaN lga', si karuh lmpi. (Rau, A22)

REC-quarrel with child Atayal PAR-GA' AFF DEP-scratch PAR-they-said-EX

'When he quarreled with Atayal children, he just scratched them.'

(#) nyux mkayaN qu' Botu ki' Losiŋ. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 42)

ASP REC-talk NOM. PRN with PRN

'Botu is conversing with Losing.'

8.3. Subordination

A complex sentence may consist of a main clause plus one or more non-embedded dependent clauses introduced by some subordinating conjunctions such as (*kiaqu'*)... *ga'* 'if, *baha hmswa'* 'because', *ana...* (*ga'*) 'although, even if, *ana ga'* 'but', ... *lga'* 'after (so-and-so) happened', etc.

Conditional sentences are introduced by (*kiaqu'*)...*ga'* 'if. Consider the following sentences:

(#) kiaqu' baq pwah squ' hoŋu' qasa hiya' ga', mlikuy balay son nya'.

(Rau, E6)

if good cross DAT-DEF bridge that 3SN GA' man true say-DP 3SG

'If (he) can cross that bridge, (he) is called a real man.'

(#) musa' psbu' ga', maki' qu' mhtuw zyaw ay. (Rau, E89)

ACT-go shoot GA' ACT-have NOM ACT-appear thing PAR

'If (they) go hunting, problems will arise.'

Baha hmswa'..., (*nanu'*) *yasa qu'* 'because... therefore' is another pair of conjunctions which join two dependent but non-embedded clauses. Consider the following examples:

(#) baha hmswa' unat iyaN qu' syam nya' ru', yasa qu' ini' ptnaq. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 37)

how why NEG too-much NOM fat 3SG and therefore NEG DEP-equal

'Because it does not have too much fat, (they) are not the same.'

(#) baha hmswa' kamit nya' qani ga' yani kamit narux ma, nanu' yasa qu' kmaruh lga', suqun nya' pramu' kwara' qu'¹ laqi' tayaN. (Rau, A23)

because fingernail 3SG this TOP like fingernail bear they-said therefore

ACT-scratch PAR-GA' finish-DP 3SG Pc-blood all the child Atayal

'Because his fingernails were like bear's claws, when he scratched those Atayal children, he caused them all to bleed.'

Ana 'even' is another subordinate conjunction which introduces a subordinate clause and can be optionally followed by the particle *ga'*, meaning 'even though'. *Ana* functions as a preverb. Consider the following sentences:

(#) ana si nilis yaya' nya' uzi lga', nanu' saw inat qbaqan. (Rau, A24)

even-though AFF DEP-cry mother 3SG also PAR-GA' what go-DP-SUB

NEG know-LP

'Even though his mother kept crying and crying, what else could they do?'

(#) skan cikay, ana su', cikuy cikah. (Rau, E60)

IP-talk a-little even 2SN small a-little

'Please explain it, even though very little.'

¹ *Qu'* is a linker which combines *kwara'* 'all' with a noun phrase. *Qu'* as a linker for numbers and noun phrases is discussed in § 5.7.

Ana 'even' is followed by the interrogative words *nanu* 'what', *inu* 'where', or *ima* 'who' to form indefinite words meaning 'whatever, wherever, whoever', etc. Clauses with *ana* + interrogatives are the predicate and the rest are the subject. Consider the following sentences:

(#) ana nanu' zyaw ga', musa' blaq. (Rau, H1)

even what thing GA' ACT-go good

'Whatever will do.'

(#) musa' qmasuw kya, ana inu' na' kyokay ga'. (Rau, D2)

ACT-go ACT-distribute there even where of church GA'

'(Our Atayal subdivision of the church) will send us there, no matter where the church is.'

(#) nanu' kmukan hiya' lga, ana kahuN ima' na' kmukan mwah cia rgyax lga', lman nha' kmut tunux pi. (Rau, E75)

what Chinese 3SN-IN PAR-TOP even from who of Chinese ACT-come to mountain PAR-GA' first-LP 3PG ACT-cut head EX

'As far as the Chinese, no matter where they came from, if they went to the mountain, their heads would be cut first.'

Ana can be followed by other particles to form idiomatic expressions, e.g., *ana ga* 'but', *ana qeri* 'as much as possible, do as one feels like'. The constituent *ana* + particle is a clause. Consider the following sentences:

(#) hiyaN hiya' ga' mtumaw, ana ga' ini' ktalah. (Atayal Alphabet, p. 32)

Earth 3SN-IN TOP ACT-round but NEG DEP-red

'As far as the Earth is concerned, (it) is round but is not red.'

(#) nway ana qeri, ana qeri khmay hazi musa' mxaN tunux babaw nya'
muci. (Rau, F4)

let as-much-as-possible many a-little ACT-go ACT-ache head surface 3SG
say-thus

"Let them have as many people as they want. They will have a headache
later," said they.'

Adverbial clauses which express time have the complex particle
lga' meaning 'after (so-and-so) happened' placed at the end of the
adverbial clause.

(#) bsyaq qu' bvacin kni'an nva' kya lga', nanu' balay ki'an qu' kneriN
qasa uzi lma. (Rau, A9)

long NOM month PA-live-LP 3SG there PAR-GA' what really be-LP NOM
woman that also PAR-they-said

'After she had lived there for many months, the woman, as a matter of
fact, became pregnant.'

8.4. Embedding

Another kind of complex sentence results from embedding, that is
the placement of one clause inside another. An embedded clause may
occur embedded within the matrix clause functioning as (1) subject or (2)
modifier of the head nouns in noun phrases (relative clause).

8.4.1. Embedded clause functioning as subject

Nominal clauses can function as the subject of the matrix sentence, as illustrated in the following sentence. The underlined clause is the subject of the sentence:

(#) kwara' squliq yan nha' si mhogiN waN niqun na' narux Iru'. (Rau, A18)

all people think-LP 3PG AFF ACT-die PA eat-DP GEN bear PAR-and
'All people thought that she had died and had been eaten by the bear.'

8.4.2. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are embedded clauses which modify the head nouns of the noun phrases. Verbs that modify noun phrases are discussed in § 7.3.2.

In the following example, an adverbial clause expressing time is embedded in a noun phrase

(#) Yaw nqu'² arin saku' tke' ke' nqu' Utux squ' ulay qani. (Rau, B1)
thing GEN-QU' from 1SN preach speech GEN-DEF God DAT-DEF PN this
'This is concerning from the time I preached God's word here in Ulay.'

In the following sentences, the verb form in the relative clause is passive because the agent is within the verb phrase (§ 6.2.5.2). The verb phrase is not introduced by any marker when it precedes the noun that it modifies,

² *Nqu'* is discussed in § 7.3.

whereas the verb is introduced by *nqu'* when it follows the noun that it modifies.

(#) si kaki kya maniq naras nya' qsinuw uzi laru'. (Rau, A8)

AFF DEP-be there ACT-eat PA-bring-DP 3SG animal also PAR-and

'She just kept eating the animal that he had brought back.'

(#) si nya' bay spngiy squ' 'byan nqu' wahan bay vaqu' m'abi' mlikuy gasa lga'. (Rau, A13)

AFF 3SG really measure-LP-DEP DAT-DEF bed of-the come-LP really

that-one ACT-sleep husband that PAR-GA

'The woman had measured the bed where her husband came to sleep.'

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

This thesis is an attempt to provide a thoroughgoing description of the Atayal language based on a functional analysis.

In Chapter One, we propose that Atayal is a northern Formosan language which is closely related to the western Austronesian languages. Its grammatical structure is very similar to Tagalog.

In Chapter Two, 19 consonant phonemes, 6 vowel phonemes, and 6 diphthongs are identified. It is found that stress characterizes this language: the affixed form has the same stress pattern as the root.

In Chapter Three, the Atayal verbal system is analyzed as inflected for an active and three passive voices and a dependent and an independent mode. The independent mode has the present, past, and future tenses, and the dependent has the imperative and the subjunctive mood.

In Chapter Four, the different kinds of secondary affixes are described, which can be added to roots to form verbal stems and to which primary affixes (discussed in Chapter Three) are added.

In Chapter Five, it is noted that noun phrases can be either preceded or followed by nominal or adjectival modifiers. The first person plural pronouns distinguish inclusive and exclusive.

In Chapter Six, Atayal sentences are said to contain a predicate and optionally a subject. The nouns/pronouns distribute in sentences to fill the roles of agent and nominal predicate by means of the nominative, genitive, and the dative cases. The patient, recipient, benefactive, location, time, manner or instrument are expressed by the verb.

In Chapter Seven, several kinds of modifications of predicates are described: postposed modifiers, preverbs, complementation, attribution, negative modification, and interrogative modification.

In Chapter Eight, there is a brief discussion of how clauses can be combined through coordination and compounding.

As in any other pioneering research, there are more questions raised than answered. There are still many gaps which need to be filled in. The areas that need immediate work are the following:

- (1) The glottal stop in word final position needs to be checked word by word.
- (2) It is necessary to check all the roots for their length, since we do have long and short vowel roots.
- (3) The inflection of the instrumental passive verbs is still a mystery. Are they systematic gaps or lack of data?
- (4) The distinction between the active future prefix *p-* and the verb-forming prefix *p-* needs to be reexamined carefully.

Appendix

Atayal Texts with English Translation

A. Woman and Bear (Story told by Temu Pehu)

1. qutux kneriN qani uzi ga' musa' ma... magaN i... panga' qhoniq ma, lru' ini' ga', kyan musa' i... mqomah squ' qmayah uzi ga', ana ga' nyaN, smsun squ' buli' uzi ma qu' kneriN qani hiya'.

1. This is also a story about a woman. She went to get or carry firewood or maybe she went to work in the field. The woman took a knife with her, which was concealed.

2. ana ga', ini' qbaq ryax i...mromun e... tmutu' qhoniq qlga', si ktay nyaN qu' ngarux lmru', kyapun nya' qu' kneriN qani lozi ma.

2. She did not notice what time it was. While she was bending down to fell a tree, all of a sudden, a bear came and grabbed the woman.

3. nanu' yasa qu', kneriN qani uzi lga', nanak qu' ngarux uzi wa, mita squ' kneriN mga', nanu' siga', psliqan nqu' lukus kneriN mga' lru', nanu' siga', bbwax qu' kneriN uzi lpi.

3. As far as the woman was concerned, the bear was strange. When he saw the woman, he tore her clothes. And the woman became naked.

4. nanu' spanga' nya' lru', rasun nya' squ' ska' hlahuy lma ru', ktan lwiya ga', rasun nya' qwang bih na' hlahuy ma ay.

4. He carried her on his back and took her to the forest. Lo and behold, he took her to the deep forest.

5. rasun nya' qwang bih hlahuy lsa lwiya ga', nyux maki' qutux qu' lxyux mga', lxyux btunux ga', nanu' yasa qu' rasun kya ga', lxyux btunux lsa lru', nanu' yasa qu', syun nya' kya qu' kneriN qasa uzi.

5. After he took her to the deep forest, there was a protruding rock, a stone cave. He took her to the stone cave and put her there.

6. nanu' yasa ru', ini' nya' niqi qu', kneriN ini' nya' pzi uzi ma ay, kneriN qga', baha hmswa', m... nanu' spwah... ngarux qlga', kneriN kneriN qasa ga', galan nya' kneriN lma, galan nya' kneriN lmru'.

6. He did not eat the woman. Neither did he toy with her. Because, what should I say, the bear took the woman to be his wife.

7. nanu' yasa qu', musa' magaN qsinuw, ini' ga' piku' ru' ini' ga', bzwaq ru' ini' ga' yapit ga', musa' nya' magaN o... a... musa' magaN ngarux qani ru', nanu' yasa qu' wah nya' i...a... pqaniq a kneriN qani lpi.

7. Then he went to hunt animals. The bear got either squirrel, or wild pig, or flying squirrel for the woman to eat.

8. nanu' kneriN qani uzi lga', si ru', si, si kaki kya maniq naras nya' qsinuw uzi lru'. bsyaq ... aw, muyay lga' haha i... yasa qu' niqun lga', yasa qu' nyaN nya' rasun i... nyux ktan lrwa, nanu' si nya' qtaqi maniq qu' qsinuw lga'.

8. The woman just kept eating the animals that he had brought back. Because it had been a long time and she was hungry, she ate the one that he had brought back. When she saw it, she just ate the animal raw.

9. ru', nanu' kira' kira' nya' lga', bsyaq qu' byacing kni'an nya' kya lga', nanu' balay, ki'an qu' kneriN qasa uzi lma.

9. Later, after she had lived there for many months, the woman, as a matter of fact, became pregnant.

10. ki'an lru', tehuk qu', byacing nya' lga', maki' ngasaN lrwa, mlaqi' qu' kneriN qasa lru'.

10. After she was pregnant, when the due day came, the woman gave birth at home.

11. si ktay qu', hupa' qu' laqi' qasa lma, hupa' laqi', ktan laqi' qasa ga', e... ki'an ni... bukiN qu' binah hi' nya' mga', ru' binah, binah hi' nya' ga', tayaN bay ma, hi' ta' ga', ungat bukiN nya' ma, (tayan baq hkangi') ru' rqyas nya' uzi ga', nyux a... miya' rqyas squliq uzi la ma.

11. Lo and behold, the child had grown up. If you take a look at the child, one half of his body has fur and the other half is a real person's body with no fur. He is like a human being who can walk and his face is like a human being's face.

12. nanu' yasa qu', kya qutux ryax lmgga', kya qutux ryax ru', e... kneriN qani ga', ngarux qasa mwah mga', si, si wah stkara' squ', 'byan nya' kryax mpi, ini' usa' a... m'abi' binah ma, si wah tkara' squ' 'byan nya'.

12. There was one day, the bear came. He just flopped down on the bed where he had often slept. He did not go to other places to sleep. He just flopped down on his bed.

13. nanu' yasa qu', kneriN qani lga', si nya' bay spngi' squ' 'byan nqu' wahan bay yaqu' m'abi' mlikuy qasa lga', buli' snsun nya' kryax ga' buli' qasa ga', yasa qu' lman nya' i... a... tmuya' squ' muya' squ' e... hzyaN ga', nanu' yasa squ', nyux nya' sbuyuq squ' hzyaN.

13. The woman had measured the bed where her husband came to sleep. She often had a knife with her, which was concealed. That same knife had been buried in the ground beforehand. And now she was sticking it in the ground (pointing up under the bed).

14. nanu' hnyaN qu' ngarux qa, mlikuy nya' ru' ngarux sa, nyaN lga'. nanu' yasa qu', si wahi m'abi' lga', nanu' yasa qu', hbun qa skutaw nya' lga', nanu' yasa qu' si, bbetak squ' buli' qasa lru', betak si ngayuq ru' si spiray spaqux qu' ngarux qasa lma, ha... mspiray mhuqiN lrwa.

14. Now the bear, her husband, came. He just came to sleep. And his chest was stabbed with the knife. The bear was screaming and tumbling. After he had turned around and around, he died.

15. mhoqiN qu' ngarux qasa lga', nanu' yasa qu', a... kneriN qani hiya' lga', a... rasun nya' ngasaN lrwa qu' a, laqi' qasa ga', rasun nya' ngasaN lmru'.

15. After the bear died, the woman took her child to her home town.

16. rasun nya' ru', yaqu' mwah squ' qalang nya' lga', mlawa' lma qu' kneriN qani, mlawa' squ' bih babaw ngasaN nya', mucu ay "aras, aras lukus, aras lukus" son nha'.

16. She took her child and they came to her village. The woman called out on the top of her house, "Bring clothes! Bring clothes!"

17. nanu' yasa qu', pungan nha' mucu, "uy... nyux mqyanux qu' a... a... Lawa' qani na" mha.

17. When they heard it, they said, "Oh, Lawa is still alive!"

18. kwara' squliq mnkux kwara', nanu' balay, san nha' smatu lukus ru'. nanu' yasa qu' lman nha' mita, kwara' mnkux, kwara' squliq yan nha' si mhoqiN waN niqun na' ngarux lru', ini'.

18. All the people were startled. They went to send clothes to her. When they first saw her they were all amazed because they all thought she had died and she had been eaten by the bear. But it was not the case.

19. ktan lga', nyaN maras qutux qu' laqi', laqi' ngarux la ya, nyaN nya' rasun, nanu' yasa qu' rasun nya' ngasaN ci lru'.

19. They saw that she had taken a child, the bear child. She had come back home with her child.

20. ktan mu uy ga', laqi' nya' qani ga', baq ke' tayaN uzi lma, baq mung ke' tayaN uzi. aring cikuy nyux mluw laqi' cikuy, laqi' i... tayaN mosay rwa.

20. Her child spoke the Atayalic language. He understood the Atayalic language. Since his childhood, he had been playing together with Atayalic children.

21. babaw nya' laqi' qani lga', hupa' hay lga', hupa' hay lga', nanak inlungan nya' lma. smka' inlungan nya' lga', nyux nya' inlungan nqu' ngarux lmgga'.

21. Later when this child grew up, his heart was strange. Half of his heart was like a bear.

22. nanu' yasa qu', msayu' ki laqi' tayaN lga', si karuh lmpi, si karuh ru' kmat ma.

22. Therefore when he quarreled with Atayal children, he just scratched and bit them.

23. nanu' yasa qu', baha hmswa', kamit nya' qani ga' yani... i... kamit ngarux ma. nanu' yasa qu', kmaruh lga', suqun nya' pramu' kwara' qu' laqi' tayaN ru' si nya' kmay phoqiN uzi mga'.

23. Because his fingernails were like bear's claws, when he scratched those children, he caused them all to bleed and he also almost killed them.

24. nanu' yasa qu', kngun nha' balay ma ru', swa' babaw nya', phqiluN nha' lrwa. nanu' yasa qu', laqi' qasa lga', ingat qbaqan nha' lrwa. nanu' yasa qu', ana si ngilis yaya' nya' uzi lga', nanu' saw ingat qbaqan. nanu' yasa qu', si waN nha' phqiluN qu' a... uyuk qa qasa lma, laqi' nya' qasa ga'.

24. They were very afraid of him. That's why later they killed him. They did not know what to do with him. Even though his mother kept crying

and crying, what else could they do? They just went ahead and killed that bear cub, her child.

25. nanu' yasa qu', likuy nya' ka, si say mucu yaqu' ngarux ga' ngarux hiya' lga', kyalun nya' mucu cyux... maki' squ' a...e... nanu' spiwah (spisa) lxyux bih hlahuy qasa, cbaqan nya' nha', cbaqan nya' qu' son mucu ka mlikuy lru'.

25. As far as her husband, that bear, she told them that there was, what should I say, a protruding rock in that forest. She taught them about her husband.

26. nanu' yasa qu', nwahan nha' yaqu' a... magaN lozi ngarux qasa lru', waN nha' i... e... syukun ru', syukan nha', ru' waN nha', hbengun ru' waN nha' niqun uzi ngarux qasa la, a... tehuk sqani.

26. Therefore after they had gone there to take the bear, they roasted it. They cut it up and ate it. That's it.

B. Memoir (A Real Life Story Told by Temu Pehu)

1. e... yaw nqu', aring saku' a... tke' ke' nqu' Utux squ' ulay qani. musa' maku' skayaN cikay qu' zyaw qani.

1. This is concerning, from the time I ... preached God's word here in Ulay. I am going to talk about it.

2. nanu' sa ga', e... aring saku', shriq squ', a, pqwasan, pqwasan biru' ru', musa' saku' i... tkke' ke' na Utux ga', skahuN maku' squ' Tampia qani.

2. From the time I left school, I went to preach God's word. I started from here in Tampia.

3. baha hmswa' Tampia qani ga', ya qani qu' puqing nqu' ngasaN ru', puqing nqu' kyokay maku' qani uzi, nanu' yasa skahuN sqani ru', nanu' musa', a... musa' saku' tkke' squ' son mucu ka te rgyax.

3. Because Tampia is my hometown and my home church is here too, I started from here to go to preach the Gospel in the mountain areas.

4. baha hmswa', yatux, qani lozi ga', a... cyux qu' qalang yatux uzi na. nanu' yasa qu', ingat qu' squliq musa' cbaq ke' Utux ga', nanu' musa' saku' i... cbaq kya lga'.

4. Because from here upwards there are still villages. Nobody went there to teach God's word; therefore, I taught there.

5. nanu' i... twahiq qu' hkngyun tuqiy, nanu' raraN ga', e... ini' kiyā misuw qani, pzyux (pyux) qu' a... turuy glgan ga', ingat turuy raraN, si phkangi' squ' saying kakay qani ru'.

5. The distance was far. In the old days, it is not like now that there are many automobiles. There were no automobiles in the past. We just walked on two feet.

6. nanu' yasa qu', tehuk squ' qalang naqu' e... qwang ka yatux lga', Hbun lalū nya' gaw, qalang qasa ga', nanu' yasa qu', tehuk squ' Hbun qasa ga', nanu' siga' kya ku pziN squ' i... Mangan, twahiq iyaN.

6. I arrived at the village which was far upwards, the village named Hbun. Before I got to Hbun, I had to first go past Mangan. It was very far.

7. nanu' yasa qu', kahuN saku' sqani ru', musa' ku' tehuk squ' a... Mangan lga', e... kya saku' pcbāq kya ru', kahuN kya lga', musa' saku' squ' Hbun lozi.

7. Therefore, from here I went to Mangan to teach. And from there I went to Hbun.

8. nanu' qu' nyux maku' skayaN qani hiya' ga', tequtux yat maku' bay zingyun hiya' ga', aring Ulay ru' tehuk squ' Mangan, aring Mangan musa' squ' Hbun qasa ga', si phkangi' na' kakay. ru', tuqiy raraN uzi ga', ini' kiya nqu' son mucu ka be'nux qani e... tuqiy turuy rwa, tuqiy turuy qasa ga'.

8. What am I going to talk about? The first thing that I can never forget is that from Ulay to Mangan and from Mangan to Hbun I went by foot. The road in the past was not like the road now on the flat land, the road for public transportation.

9. nanu' yasa qu' nyux 'bangan qhoniq kwara', nanu' si lamu' squ' qhoniq mhkangi' lga', nanu' yasa squ', mxaN balay qu' kakay, a... nanu' yasa qu', tehuk ska' tuqiy uzi ga', makahiya' balay uzi.

9. The road was built with railroad ties, so I had to step on the wood when I walked

10. nanu' yasa qu', ini' panga' qsya' uzi rwa, nanu' yasa qu', qsya' nyux maki' tuqiy lga', nanu' yasa qu', nbun qu' qsya' teluq qasa. e... kruma' ga', maras saku' cikay e... sbiN uzi. nanu' yasa qu', matan qu' qsya' tuqiy. ru', qasa qu' qutux.

10. I did not carry water with me. There was water on the road, so I drank the unboiled water. Sometimes I took something to eat on the road. The water on the road served as soup. This is the first thing (I can never forget).

11. tesazing qu' nyux maku' ini' balay zingi qasa ga' a... kahuN squ' Mangan ru' tehuk Hbun lozi, aring squ' Mangan ru' tehuk Hbun qasa hlga', magaN spung, qu' a... e... hkngyan ta' qasa ga'.

11. The second thing that I can never forget is that from Magan to Hbun it took five hours to walk to get there.

12. a... nanu' yasa qu', twahiq hazi, na qutux qutux sa... qutux saku' balay hi' qu' hmkangi', musa' lga', nanu' yasa qu', ya kina, e, mramat balay lungan ga', mramat balay lungan.

12. It was very far. I was walking alone to get there. I felt very lonely. I felt very lonely.

13. baha hmswa', ska' na' hlahuy lga', zik qhoniq rwa, zik qhoniq qhoniq hupa' qhoniq kwara', nanu' yasa qu' giway nqu' e... pqwas nqu' e... kwi' ru' ini' ga' qhniq ru' e... qsya' qu' nyux i... pungan a... nanu' yasa qu', ingat qu' bes maku lga', si saku' pqwas nqu' qwas Utux lru', ini' maku' baqi ryax ini' tehuk squ' son mucu Hbun la.

13. Because it was in the deep forest, all the trees were very huge. I heard the songs of insects or birds or the sound of water. Since I had no company I just sang hymns. And before I knew it I had already arrived at Hbun.

14. ana ga' ryax hkngyan maku' tuqiy qasa lga', e... qutux qu' e... ini' maku' zingi ga', si saku' ryax i... stnaq squ' son mucu ka e... mqu', nanu' yasa qu' moyay saku' balay e... pinbaq squ' son mucu ka phkngyun maku' tuqiy qasa uzi.

14. But during the time I was walking on that road, there was one thing that I can not forget. One day I met a snake. So I was very careful and paid attention to the road.

15. ru' qutux ryax qutux ryax uzi ga', si ktay ya maku' ga', squliq qu' rapaN squliq wayaN lga', moyay saku' hmiyaw mucu, say ta' balay hngla' squ' squliq qani.

15. And another day, I saw human footprints in front of me. I made a great effort to chase "the person" and hoped to catch up with him.

16. ktan lwiy ga', bsyaq hay glgan maku' lga', si ktay waN mbzyaq kyahu' tuqiy, nanu' liqun liqun maku' mita' ga', swa' yat hazi squliy uzi ga', a... mnkux saku' hazi.

16. I had followed him for a long time. But all of a sudden the footprints went down off the road. I looked very very carefully and wondered why they did not look like human footprints. I was very scared.

17. nanu' qani mha saku', ru', kahuN saku' squ' Hbun lga', ya pungan maku' mucu, baq ngarux la, baq ngarux ru' e... nwahan nha' qmalup suruw maku' ru' waN nha' galun la, e... qanux e... ngarux qasa.

17. I was wondering what it was. After I got to Hbun I heard from them that it was actually a bear. They had already gone hunting afterwards and had caught the deer, the bear.

18. nanu' yasa qu', a... mnkux balay lungan maku' a... mwa' nqu' stnaq ta' balay lmha, nyux ku' ini' bing lalaw uzi rwa, qani hiya' ga', Utux KayaN waN smiqa'.

18. Therefore I was very afraid. What would have happened if I had come across the bear? At that time I did not have a big knife with me. It was the Heavenly Father who drove away the bear.

19. te...a... qutux lozi ga', tuqiy qasa uzi ga', msluhiy qu' tuqiy qasa lga', si balay tehuk squ' lyung waN sisihaw, nanu' ya qani qu', kngun balay hmkangi' qu' tuqiy qasa ga' sbasi' balay.

19. Another thing about that road. There was a landslide on that road. I was very afraid of walking on the road. It was very scary.

20. nanu' kya qutux ryax lozi ga', e... rasun maku' qu' a... bes maku' lpi, kneriN mu ga', yaya na' laqi' ga' rasun maku' uzi, kneriN mu lru', musa' smbesh kuzing.

20. One day I took my company with me. I took my wife, the mother of my child. My wife kept me company.

21. nanu' yasa qu', musa' sami lga', e... si ppngan qu' laqi' psyugan myan panga', qutux qu' laqi' mu kya na, nanu' yasa qu', mrkyas lokah balay hmkangi'.

21. We went there taking turns carrying our child. We only had one child then. We were young and strong enough to walk.

22. ru', maki' balay qutux ryax uzi i... a... o... aw la... tehuk sami squ' Hbun lga', a kilux sami balay, musa' sami kmizyap qulih lyung ru' waN myan niqun la.

22. One day, we arrived at Hbun. We were very hot. We went to catch fish in the river and ate it.

23. babaw nya' lga', musa' sami lga', maki' qutux qu', kyokay uzi lrwa, nanu' i... rasun i... mwah squ' a... smqas i... kyokay qu' qutux Amerika gaw, nanu' yasa qu', owah myan qasa lga', kwiran iyan ppang Amerika nyux si ksiy m'abi' ska' tuqiy.

23. Later we went there. We had a church there. We took an American to celebrate the opening of the church. That American was too tired, so he just lay across the road to take a nap.

24. nanu' yasa qu', qbyan mlga' nanu' yasa qu' mgluw sami mluw turuy nya' mwah tehuk ngasaN lga', mblaq sami lsa hiya', ya qani qu', yat yat myan kzingyun, a... yasa la.

24. When it was getting dark, we rode on a motor vehicle together to go home. We felt relaxed. This is the thing that I can not forget. That's all.

C. Conversation between Temu Pehu (R) and His Wife (M)

1. R: kayaN cikay zyaw su', si pkayaN ke' tayaN ma, h...h...h...

1. R: Talk a little bit about yourself. She wants us to speak in Atayal.

(laughing)

2. M: nanu' kayaN mu pi,

2. M: What should I say?

3. R: ay simu ga' itan sazing ma, nanu' spkayaN mamu ke' na' tayaN ru' galun myan ma, nanu' qu' a... mha nanu' raraN ru' kayaN nanak lungan simu mga', ...na... mnwah ta rwa pi, kayaN cikay trang yaqu' a ... nwah ta' rakesiki' kya Mangan a Hbun ha ru', a... m... Liksong boksi mucu nyux si a, kwiran si yaqu' a... abi' ska' tuqiy, nyux nya' qasa qu' waN mu skayaN qani ru',...m... Hbun raraN mu qa ga', mha mucu simu nanu' musa' i...a... ke ci qu' raraN.

3. R: She said we two can speak Atayal and she can record it. You can talk about the olden days or whatever you can think of. I have told her about the past when we celebrated the opening of the church in Mangan or in Hbun and Pastor Liksong was so tired that he just slept in the middle of the road. I just told her this much. Concerning the past in Hbun, you can talk about it.

4. M: yaqih balay tuqiy qsa gaw, msluhiy kwara' tuqiy nya' trang qasa.

4. M: That road was very bad. During that time there was landslide on the road.

5. R: nanu' yasa pi waN mu skayan tuqiy a sbasiy balay waN si a ... waN si tehuk kya qu' lyung, kngur balay qu' tuqiy qasa lluhiy.

5. R: I have told her that the road was very scary. The dirt fell into the river. We were afraid of the landslide on the road.

6. M: hkangi' balay a... ungat a...

6. M: We just walked. There was no...
7. R: ungat lgun turuy.
7. R: There were no motor vehicles.
8. M: ungat lgun turuy raraN.
8. M: There were no motor vehicles in the past.
9. R: si hkangi' lga'.
9. R: We just walked.
10. M: a... pa... payat tiam male' tehuk Mangan.
10. M: It took over four hours to get to Mangan.
11. R: aw.
11. R: Yes.
12. M: musa' kya lga', payat...
12. M: To get there, it took four...
13. R: magaN magaN,
13. R: Five, five,
14. M: payat tiam magaN tiam, yaqih raraN.
14. M: It took four or five hours. It was bad in the past.
15. R: nanu' rwa blaq maku' balay e... trang musa' ta qasa lru' tehuk ta' kya lga', musa' a... mu' magaN qulih, e...(ha ha ha) yasa lungun mu ini' maku' zingi qasa, m... kyapun pzyux qulih hi'an kya uzi ru', mi miya' misuw qa lga', ungat la.
15. R: We were very happy when we got there. And we went to catch fish (laugh). That's something I can not forget. We caught a lot of fish there. But now we are not doing it anymore.
16. M: raraN hiya' ga', lokah ta' raraN rwa, lokah ta' hmkangi' m... misuw qlga', ungat qu' san ta' lru', nyux ta' mnkis lru', ini' thuyay panga' aw lpi.

16. M: In the past, we were strong and had energy to walk. But now we don't go to any place. We are old now. We can't carry things on our backs.

17. R: panga' ta Ciwas su'. kun nanak qutux hi' ga', nanu' waN sabisi' balay ru', siga', trang mwah su' mluw cikay lga', mqas balay kakay hmkangi' la, qutux hi' mhkangi' kngun bay hazi ay ska' hlahuy rwa, miya' misuw qlga', blaq la nyux si gluw, squ' gigung.

17. R: We carried our daughter Ciwas. If I was by myself, I felt very scared. But when you came along with me, we were very happy even though we went by foot. It was scary for one person to walk in the deep forest. But now, it's good that we have motor vehicles to ride on.

18. M: a... raraN squliq raraN ga', lokah balay bnkis raraN hiya' la.

18. M: In the past old people were very strong.

19. R: aw uzi ini' kiyam misuw qla, si si phkangi' kwara' hiya' rwa.

19. R: Yes. It's not like now. They all just walked then.

20. M: laqi' misuw hiya' ga' kmuw balay pzyux nanak glgun ga' baq m... magaN hiya' ga', si hmkangi' lga', si phkangi'.

20. M: The young people now are very lazy because there are many motor vehicles they can take. (In the past) they just walked. They just walked.

D. Rev. Yabu Siyat's Testimony

1. iungaw maku' la. ktan maku' sa ... zyaw ru' llungun maku' zyaw maku' nanak ga', aring ska' qeru' kawas wayaN ga', mluw ku' i 'tubay, mluw 'tubay qani ga', musa' myan i, e, sekya kmaN i... ke' Utux KayaN.

1. Let me think about it. I am thinking back about the event. Nine years ago, I rode a motorcycle. I rode the motorcycle to go to preach God's word.

2. qutux i... kyokay, qasa hiya' ga', cyokay myan tayaN waN sami nya' i... qma i... qsugan, musa' qmasuw kya i... ana inu' na' kyokay ga'.

2. There was a church there. Our Atayal subdivision of the church sent us to different churches.

3. knan hiya' ga', nwah ku' i... musa' kya i... bih na' Balung, puyu na' Balung kyokay qasa ga'.

3. As for me, I went to the area of Balung, across from the Balung Church.

4. trang zikang qasa ga', mqwalax ru' sbehuy uzi. behuy mluw ku' 'tubay masuq, masuq i... rehay sa niciobi qasa lga', ru', masuq maniq mwah la.

4. It was raining and the wind was blowing at that time. I rode my motorcycle after the Sunday service. After I ate, I left.

5. mwah mluw 'tubay ru', tehuk balay bih na' ruyas ga', ruyas qasa ga', ini' ma ini' maku' baqi uzi mha nanu' balay qu', blaq tuqiy aw. musa' i... glgan 'tubay qani ziyat ga' musa' hwakan qu' 'tubay qani ga'. ungat inlungan maku' kya lga'.

5. When I was coming back by riding my motorcycle, I came across a cliff. I did not know which road was good. I was wondering whether I should ride on my motorcycle or walk with it. I did not give any thought to it.

6. ru', zik sa mhtuw zyaw qasa ga', lnglung saku' mha i... sobih ta' musa' i... Hancoq i... mqwas ke' lru', musa' ta' musa' nanu' qu' akasi ta' Hancoq kyokay mha.

6. Before this happened, I had been thinking that it was close to the time that I would go to Korea to study and what testimony I should give to the Korean Church.

7. lnglung. lnglung saku' ru' mqwas saku' ru' ini' saku' i... ungat inlungan maku' qu', hwakay ta qu' 'tubay, si saku' gluw 'tubay uzi.

7. While I was thinking I was singing. I did not think about walking with the motorcycle. I just rode on the motorcycle.

8. trang tuqiy hupa' qasa ga', luhiy lpi. ru', msluhiy uzi ru', pxaN i...
uraw ru' btunux tuqiy qasa la.

8. While I thought the road was still wide, all of a sudden I came to a cliff.
Because there was a landslide, the road was covered with dirt and stones.

9. tuqiy qasa ga', cyux qutux cikuy tuqiy i... kinalay na' tayaN uy. si ttnaq
i... glgan na' utubay, a balay ga'.

9. The road was a small one, built by some people. It was just about the
width for a motorcycle to pass.

10. baha thyayun gmluw 'tubay qu' cikuy tuqiy qasa, kyahu' nya' lga'.
ruyas lru' luhiy la, ga'.

10. How could I possibly ride on such a small road. Beneath the road, it
was a cliff.

11. aki balay musa' i hwakan qasa ungat inlungan maku' mha u,...
musa' i... musa' i... hmawak qu' 'tubay qasa, si saku' gluw kya la. mluw
lga', tun tun tun mha 'tubay.

11. Originally I wanted to walk with the motorcycle. But I did not think
about walking with it. So I just rode on the motorcycle and went "tun tun
tun" like that.

12. ini' maku' baqi, si ktay btunux qasa, aw i... ptut kya qu' taya na'
'tubay, paqux saku' la, talagay ungat qbaqan maku' la.

12. I did not know. All of a sudden I saw a stone. The tire of my
motorcycle bumped on it. I was falling and turning. Oh! My God! I did
not know what happened afterwards.

13. yan maku' qasa i... trang i... paqux saku' utubay, ungat inlungan
maku' yan maku' nyux saku' sakaw sa, memaw, blaq balay 'byan maku'
maki' sakaw.

13. It was like when I was falling from the motorcycle, my mind was blank. It was like I was on my bed. It was very much like lying on my bed.

14. ru', mlahaw qu', inlungan maku' ru' lahaw qu', roziq maku' lga', pungan maku' kraya' hngyang mha pit pit pit pit pit mha, ktan maku' 'tubay, talagay swa' maki' kraya' qu' 'tubay, aw ta' nyux mturuy la ma.

14. When I woke up and I opened my eyes, I heard from above the sound of "pit pit pit pit pit" and I saw my motorcycle. Oh! My God! How come the motorcycle, which was on top, was rolling down.

15. ruyas balay qasa ay, kya sobih, aring tuqiy ru' tehuk balay, gong lyung qasa, qu' ruyas qasa ga' kya sobih, nixiaq meta ay, "liang bai duo gong chi", qu' kinzziq nya'.

15. That cliff was about... from the top of the road to the bottom of the river, that cliff was about over 200 meters high.

16. ktan pungan maku' mha, pit pit 'tubay lga', lahaw saku' lru', smiqa' saku' la, smiqa' saku' qu' 'tubay lga', awbih ku nya' horun.

16. When I heard the "pit pit" sound from my motorcycle, I woke up and dodged. I dodged from the motorcycle. I almost got hit by it.

17. ulung sa hway Utux KayaÑ, spwah nya' qu', pit pit utubay qani ru', mlahaw saku', siqa saku' uzi la ru', ini' saku' hori.

17. Fortunately due to God's grace, He made use of the "pit pit" sound of the motorcycle, so that I woke up and dodged from it and did not get hit by it.

18. 'tubay, blaq i... minqwalax ru', uraw ruyas, ruyas qasa ga', ini' iyat kzyay na' uraw rwa', mhuziq qu' uraw qa.

18. The motorcycle was still O.K., because it had rained and the ground was not yet dried. The ground was moist.

19. tpruw saku' lru', 'tubay wayaN lga', tpruw kya uzi i... 'tubay, lnglung talagay hway Utux KayaN, si ktay kyahu', cya, zziq ruyas uzi ru', si ktay gong, lnglung saku' lbin inlungan maku' lru', si saku' inuri Utux KayaN... mhway su balay.

19. I stopped. The motorcycle went past and came to a stop too. I was thinking it was really God's grace. When I saw what was underneath me, wah, the cliff was so deep! When I saw the river, my heart was shaking. I prayed to God, "Thank you very much."

20. ktan maku' utubay lru' ini' usa' kyahu' uzi. tpruw kya uzi, ya qu' hantoru' nya' qasa ga', cyux tpruw qu' utubay qasa, uraw qasa lru'.

20. I saw that the motorcycle did not go down any further. It stopped there. The handle of the motorcycle was caught in the soil.

21. lnglung... cyux kabang maku' qsahuy ga', lukus boksi' ru' sesyo boksi' sesyo i... sesyo maku' uzi ka nyux maki' qsahuy kya i... kabang qasa.

21. In my briefcase, there was a set of pastor's uniform and the Bible. My Bible was also in that briefcase.

22. ruyas, mahani ruyas qani rwa, ruyas qani, maki' kya qu' kabang qani ga', kya sobih balay, smka' kabang ka, sobih phutaw, ga' ini' hutaw qu' kabang qasa.

22. If the cliff..., the briefcase was there. It was almost... half of the briefcase was about to fall. But the briefcase did not fall.

23. mahani mhutaw kabang qasa lga', ke... waN ziq balay si pgyax kya i... gong ru' lyung qasa la, musa' kya lga', a... kana maku' thyazi magaN, sesyo maku' lru', i... lukus boksi'.

23. If the briefcase had fallen deep down there and had rolled into the river, I could not have gotten my Bible and pastor's uniform.

24. ru', son maku' magaN qu' kabang qasa lru', mwah ku' kraya' mwah kraya' lga', ktan maku' sa i... mwah ku' i... tuqiy kraya' lga', tama' saku' kya i... memaw ku' i, mromun lnglung mha, talagay mbin kya inlungan maku' "hway su' Utux KayaN".

24. I went to get my briefcase and I went back to the top. After I got back to the road, I sat there. I bent my head and thought about (the whole thing). My heart was shaking, "Thank you, Heavenly Father."

25. ru', masuq sa zyaw qasa lga', puyu nya' kinkahuN Balung kyokay ruma' na' cyoro, "iy ima' qasa ma," yan nha' sa lbit, lbit qani ga', e... ruma' squliq mha "e squliq ay", kmaN squliq "zyat, lbit qasa", "yat, squliq" kmaN qu' cyoro, "iy, ini' yabu' boksi' ga'", mha.

25. After this, some of the elders of the Balung Church, which was across from where I was, said, "Who is it?" They thought it was a bag. But some people said, "It is a person." People said, "No, that is a bag." "No, it is a person," said an elder, "Isn't it Pastor Yabu?"

26. baqun baqun saku' nha' waN sekyo kya i... i... waN nha' pungan waN saku' i... sekyo kya qutux kyokay, puyu qasa, "ini' yabu' boksi' waN mhutaw qasa". nanu' mwah kwara' lpi, mwah kwara'.

26. They knew that I had gone to preach there. They had heard me preach in the church there across the road, "Isn't it Pastor Yabu who has fallen down there?" They all came down.

27. ima' qsu' mwah kraya' mwah mita' knan ga' sazing kinshat, sazing kinshat, sazing kinshat qasa ga', qutux mukan qutux tayaN, kmaN qutux tayaN i... mukan kya ktan saku' nya' lga', "pira' mhuqiN ma," yasa kinshat hiya' rwa, pira' mhuqiN, ini' lnglung mha, u... inu' qu' nyux su' magaN kega'.

27. Who first came up to the road to see me? It was two policemen.

Among the two policemen, one was a Chinese and the other was an Atayal. The Atayal spoke to me. And after the Chinese saw me, he said, "How many people died?" Policemen are like that. They just ask about how many people died but they are not concerned about where I got hurt.

28. nanu' sazing kinshat mwah lru', mwah mita', pira' mhuqiN, ini' lnglung mha u... nanu' kxaN su', nanu' kinxaN su', nanu' qu' waN su' magaN pangih, ini' ini' lnglung qasa e, lnglung mhuqiN. yasa kinshat hiya' rwa si lnglung mhuqiN.

28. So the two policemen came to see how many people had died. They did not ask, "Where did you get hurt? Where did you get wounded?" No. No. They did not think about that. They just thought about death. That's the way the police are. They just think about death.

29. kyalun maku' mha u... ungat ay. nanak knan, ru' suruw nya' lga', nyux qutux tayaN kinshat, "iy, yat isu' boksi', a ulung balay Utux kayaN su' mlahang isu' ay." son ku' nya' "aw pi, ulung balay hway Utux KayaN.

29. I said, "There is nobody here except me." And after that, the Atayal policeman said to me, "Eh, aren't you Pastor! Ah, fortunately your God helped you." I said, "Yes, fortunately it's God's grace."

30. ini' qbsyaq lga', rasun ku' i... kinshat qasa musa' mluw utubay nya' lru', musa' kyahu' Balung i... glgan na' basu kya ga', hngaw kya i... hzyaN qasa, basyo qasa ga', mbzyaq saku' qasa lru'.

30. After a while, the policeman gave me a ride on his motorcycle to go down the hill from Balung. There was a bus station with a rest area. That was the place where I got off the motorcycle.

31. mwah mbzyaq kwara', ktan maku' kwara' uzi qu', Balung kyolay simay ru' cyoro, kyalun ku' nha' mha u... talagay aw isu' ga', mha aw hway Utux KayaN, memaw kmaN mha u... "haliruya" kwara' mqas kwara' qu' kyolay simay ru', ga'.

31. All people got off the bus. I saw all of them were the brothers and sisters and elders of Balung Church. They said to me, "Oh, it's really you. Thanks be to God!" They said, "Halleluiah!" All the brothers and sisters were happy.

32. kyalun maku' mha u... thyayun mamu magaN utubay, utubay maku', son maku' wakay seneng ru', mazy na' gasiN.

32. I said, "Can you guys get my motorcycle?" I asked the young people and went to buy a rope.

33. a wayaN kraya', son myan mita' lozi utubay ga', gasiN qasa ga', qruyux gasiN. son nha' i... pira' hi' mtzyu' hi' nha' magaN i... memaw i... son nha' i... magaN utubay maku' cyux ruyas qasa.

33. We came to the top. We went to see the motorcycle again. The rope was long. How many people? There were six of them who went to get my motorcycle at the cliff.

34. cyux luhiy qasa ga', sazing qu' squliy rmuru', sazing squliy qu' magaN, (hmuluy) sazing squliy qu' cyux kraya' ming na' gasiN.

34. When they were at the cliff, two people pushed, two people pulled, and two people were on top holding onto the rope.

35. kinsa... kinpusan nha' i... i... musa' i... mintaziN qutux na' utubay maku' ru', kinpusan nha' mintaziN lga' tehuk tuqiy kraya' utubay maku' la.

35. They tried twice before they succeeded in getting my motorcycle up onto the road.

36. rasun nha' ru', wahan, maki' kya i..., mwah sami Balung kwara' kyahu' na' Balung qasa lga'.

36. They took it and we all went down hill to the bottom of Balung.

37. son kansya' Utux KayaN rehay qbyan qasa uzi lga', rehay sami kya lru', kansya' Utux KayaN, cyux qutux boksi mha u... "boksi', Yabu' boksi', nyux qutux i... qutux syan pila', say syuriy qu' i... say kbalay qu' utubay su', son ku' nya'. "talagay mhway su' pi," son maku'.

37. That evening we also had a Sunday worship to thank God. While we were there worshipping, giving thanks to God, a Pastor said, "Pastor Yabu, here is one thousand dollars. Go get your motorcycle fixed!" he told me. "Thank you very much," I said.

38. kinsuxan ga', ungat balay qu' tuqiy, yaqih balay tuqiy nya', behuy rwa qasa, pnganan nha' uzi qu' utubay maku' lru', musa' ru' musa' ku' bih Kansay Sincik na' Kansay qasa Guanxi qasa lga', son maku' syuriy qu', kbalay utubay maku'.

38. The second day there was no road. The road was very bad because of typhoon. They carried my motorcycle and we went to Kansay Sincik to have my motorcycle repaired.

39. qeru' pgan a... qeru' kbhun msayaw qu' i... waN maku' kblayun na' utubay qasa, sobih balay, iseng eng. nanu' waN ttnaq na' bniq na' kansya qutux boksi' qasa qu', sbiq saku' nya' iseng eng qasa pi.

39. For ninety, rather nine hundred dollars I had my motorcycle repaired, for almost one thousand dollars. The amount that was given to me by that pastor was just enough. He gave me one thousand dollars!

40. qani uzi ga', ulung balay hway Utux KayaN, zyaw qani ga' akasi maku' sa toqkubits, blaq balay na', hway na' Utux KayaN.

40. This is really God's grace. This special testimony is due to God's grace.

41. ru' mwah saku' kya i... Hanquk kyokay uzi ga', zyaw qani son maku' i... akasi kya i... uzi hway na' Yaba Utux KayaN.

41. Later I went to the Korean Church. I gave this testimony there. Again this is the grace of the Heavenly Father.

42. qani qu' akasi maku' sa, yang balay abunay, mahani, yat balay Utux KayaN, kana maku' ktay uzi qu', tesazing laqi' maku' Suyan.

42. This is the testimony of the most dangerous event in my life. If it had not been for God, I would not have been able to see my second child, Suyan.

43. tesazing maku' i tesazing laqi' maku' Suyun qasa ga', zik sa i... mintakuy minturuy saku' utubay qasa ga', atu' mtzyu' ryax lga' mhtuw qu', tesazing laqi' maku' sa Suyan qasa la.

43. My second child, Suyan,... when I had fallen and rolled down from my motorcycle, there were only six days left before my second child, Suyan, was born.

44. mahani, klhun saku' Utux KayaN ga', kana maku' ktay qu' tesazing laqi' maku' qasa baha hmswa' i hupa' ktu' na' smu, kneriN maku' uzi la rwa.

44. If God had taken my life, I would not have been able to see my second child. Because my wife was pregnant then.

45. zyaw sa cinkruyan maku' utubay qasa lga', babaw nya' mtzyu' ryax lga', mhtuw qu' laqi' maku'.

45. After the event of my motorcycle rolling down the hill, my child was born six days afterwards.

46. i... Suyan la, nanu' yasa qu', lalu' nya' theluw lga', waN maku' kyalun (slalu') mha Li Shu-Chi.

46. Suyan (his Atayal name), we named him with a Chinese name, Li Shu-Chi.

47. Li Shu-Chi qu' ke' theluw hiya' ga', ke' na' tayaN mha ga', tkke' minanak pincyogan na' ke' na' i... pincyogan Yaba' Utux KayaN qu' imiy nya', qu' Li Shu-Chii, na' "shu shuo shang di de qi miao", yasa qu' tesazing laqi' mu.

47. Li Shu-Chi is his Chinese name. It means to speak about the miraculous thing that the Heavenly Father has done. And this is my second child.

48. mhway su' balay, ru' baqun su mung ga', say lnglung say kengkyo nanak nanu' qu' waN maku' skan soni, mhway su' balay.

48. Thank you very much. After you understand (the story), you can think about it and study what I just said. Thank you very much.

E. Atayal legends (An Interview Between Chen Tien-Tsih (C) and Temu Pehu (Y))

1. C: e... kya cakah zyaw qu' aki ku' paqut cakah ki. syuki cakah qu', zyaw qani. qutux hiya' ga', mha nanu' qu', kmaN qu', mrhuw ta' raraN, zyaw na', babaw hoqiN, hiya', baqun su'? e... baqun su' ga', e...

1. C: There are a few things I would like to ask about. Please answer this one. What did our ancestors say about the thing after death, do you know? If you know it, ...

2. Y: aw.

2. Y: Yes.

3. C: e... syuki cakah ki.

3. C: Please answer it.

4. Y: aw, aw, e... nanu' kya kun qu', baqun cikay nanak ga', waN mu si gali, squ' babaw kmaN ay!

4. Y: Yes. I only know a little bit. I will just generally talk about it.

5. Y: a... pinqzyuan nqu' nkis raraN hiya' ga', maki' qu' son mucu ka, babaw na' mhoqiN squliq lga', e... krayas squ' son mucu ka, qutux llyung mgaw.

5. Y: The old people said that after a person died, it is said that he had to go across a river.

6. Y: mkrayas qu' lyung sa ga', kya qu' hongu' nya', nanu' yasa qu' squliq qani hiya' ga', pwah, nanu' siga' pwah hongu' qasa ma. kyaqu' baq, pwah squ' hongu' qasa hiya' ga', mlikuy balay son nya'.

6. Y: When he went across the river, there was a bridge. This person had to go across that bridge. If he could go across that bridge, he was called a real man.

7. Y: kya mlikuy balay hiya' ga', nanu' yasa qu'... e, a..., ini' balay kngungu', baq musa' balay mlata', a musa' mlata', qutux sa, ru'. qutux lozi ga', musa' i... a... mgaga' son nya'. mgaga' ga' nanu' son nya' mgaga' hiya' lga'. musa' kmut tunux mukan.

7. Y: A real man had no fear and could go hunting. Furthermore he followed the customs. Following the customs was to hunt for Chinese heads.

8. Y: nanu' kyaqu' ini' kngungu' musa', ini' kngungu' kmut tunux mukan, ru', ini' ku' kngungu', musa' i... mlata' squ' hlahuy. miya' na' qani likuy ga', yasa son mucu likuy balay.

8. Y: If he had no fear, was not afraid of cutting Chinese heads, and could go hunting in the forest, if he was like that he could be called a real man.

9. Y: nanu' miya' kya ga', baq thuyay krayas squ' son mucu ka, e...
hongu', hongu' hani pi, baha hmswa' kraya' ta' hongu' qani ga', qsyap
na thasa lga', yasa qu', e... e nanu', nanu' spiwa, si say mucu qalang na'
utux lga'.

9. Y: Only people like that could go across the so-called bridge. If he could
go across this bridge to get to the other end of the bridge, it means he could
go to the Kingdom of God.

10. C: tenggoq.

10. C: Heaven.

11. Y: a... tenggoq son nha' la qu', e... raraN raraN hiya' ga', nanu' yasa
qu', baq krayas hongu' qani, kya qu' e... yaqih na' likuy yat likuy balay son
nya' la e..., yat likuy balay hiya' lga', ngungu'...

11. Y: They went to Heaven in the past if they could cross this bridge. If
they were incompetent, they were not called real men. If they were not
real men, they were afraid.

12. C: ngungu'.

12. C: They were afraid.

13. Y: a ngungu' musa' i... kmut mukan ga', mngungu' ini' kut ini' qbaq
kmud mukan uzi, musa' qmalup uzi e..., mngungu' qsinuw, mgyay uzi.

13. Y: Yes, they were afraid. When they went to kill Chinese, they were so
afraid that they could not kill Chinese either. They were so afraid that
they would run away from animals.

14. Y: nanu' yasa qu', miya' qasa squ'liq, a mlikuy hiya' ga', ini' qbaq
pwah hongu' qani, hoqiN hga' lga', pwah kyayaw ma, kyayaw son nya'
lga', kgiyayaw mucu lga', puwah syaw syaw qani ru' maziq maziq ru'
tuqiy qani ga'.

14. Y: People like that or men like that could not cross the bridge. After they died, they went around it. When they went around it, they went along the river side and around the road.

15. Y: pzyux balay pqzi', ru' kwara' nanu' kwara' cyux qmihut kwara' tuqiy son qasa, nanu' yasa qu', qasa hiya', si kma' (kmwa') e... si ki ni ani...e... pqzyaw squ' tuqiy nwahan nya'. 'ini' thuyay tehuk squ' son mucika, qsyap ga', qalang Utux qasa, qasa ga' likuy shiya'.

15. Y: There were many thorns. They blocked all the roads. Therefore, it caused them to go astray from the road as they passed. They could not reach the other end of the bridge to get to Heaven. This is the case for men.

16. C: han, han.

16. C: I see.

17. Y: kneriN hiya' lga', kneriN balay son nha' uzi ga', nanu' yasa qu', baq tmring, tmring son ta' raraN ga', tminun rwa, a muka' ta ru', kmgiy ta' ru' muka' ta' ru', nyux ta' ga-ga-ga gasiN ru', baq ta' tminun rwa, yasa ga', kneriN balay son.

17. Y: As far as woman is concerned, the real woman was the one who knew how to weave. The so called weaving in the past was to start from scratch: making fibers from hemp and spinning hemp thread. . If a woman knew how to weave, she was called a real woman.

18. Y: kya qu' ini' qbaq tmring hiya' lga', yasa qu' putut la kneriN hani pi, putut hiya' lga', nanu' sa qu', ini' qbaq krayas qu' hcngu' qani uzi, yat thuyay musa' squ' son mucika, qalang, qalang na' Utux thasa qasa.

18. Y: The ones who did not know how to weave, those women were considered stupid. The stupid ones could not cross the bridge and could

not go to the so-called Kingdom of God over there (on the other side of the bridge).

19. Y: nanu' yasa qu', kyaziq kyaziq uzi ru', nanu' yasa qu', si kma' i...
e... pqzyaw mhuqiN squ' zizyaw wi nyux ya... qhtun pqzi ru' nyux a...
ingat qu' tuqiy nha' wahaN rwa, nanu' yasa qu' ini' tehuk squ' musa' kya
qalang na. aw, aw kya kantang cikay ki.

19. Y: The went around and around the road. The went astray and died on
the road or they got pierced by the thorns. They did not go anywhere and
could not reach the destination. Alright, I just simply explained it like
this.

20. C: han, han, han.

20. C: Oh, yes, yes.

21. Y: yasa ga' si gali llaw nya'.

21. Y: That was just a simplified version.

22. C: aw, baqun mu, aw. tesazing nya' lga', mha nanu' qu' e... pqyu'
yaw na' siliq son mha qhniq qasa hiya', o, ani pqzyu' cikay.

22. C: OK. Do you know...? The second question is: what is the story about
"siliq"? Could you explain the story about the bird?

23. Y: siliq ga'? o siliq qani hiya' gaga' na tayaN nkis raraN uzi rwa.
nanu' yasa qu' nanu' siga' mita' siliq qani, i siliq qani hiya' ga', giwan
balay nyux tcbag hiya'... si ta' gali squ' son mucu, babaw e... e babaw
kmaN ga'.

23. Y: Oh, about siliq? Siliq is also an Atayalic ancestors' custom. They
only had to observe the bird's (sound and movement), the bird would teach
them (what would happen). I will just talk about it in a superficial way.

24. Y: i... miya' son qu' son mucu ka musa' ta' mlaw squ' rusa' ta', i... siliq qani ga', si ktay nyux mqwas qu' bzinah tuqiy, ru' si ktay nyux mqwas binah tuqiy luy.

24. Y: For example, if we went to put a trap, the siliq bird would sing along the road. It would sing back and forth on one side of the road and on the other side of the road.

25. Y: sazing e... 'law ru' 'zin lga', si ktay si psyaq mqwas kwara' siliq qani ga', ya'ani blaq minusa' sa ma, qasa hiya' lga', musa' musa' ta' lga', maki' cyux mciriq lru', ini' ga' blaq u... Utux mga', blaq utux.

25. Y: If the bird sang on both sides of the road, right and left, and just smiled while singing, that means what you had gone though were all good. If that was the case, we would be able to catch animals, or we would have good luck.

26. Y: nanu' yasa qu', e... mqwas qutux kahuN babaw tuqiy qani ga', "siq" waN si uci waN si krayas qu' tuqiy iga', qani lga' hmtuy ma, a laxi usa' laxi usa'.

26. Y: If the bird sang above the road and went "siq" crossing the road, it means forbidding us (from going any further). Then we should not go on anymore.

27. Y: musa' su' lga', gleng qasa ga', ini' ga' ptakuy su' ini' ga' pturuy su' "you wei xian ma" ga', ke' theluw ga' "wo you wei xian shi qing la", nanu' yasa qu' laxi usa' ma, laxi usa' gleng nya' hmtuy hiya' ma.

27. Y: If we kept going, we would either fall or roll because there would be danger ahead of us. In Chinese we say "I am going to come across danger!" Therefore, we should not go. It blocked our road.

28. Y: nanu' kya qu' ini' pung ru', musa' lga', ini' balay khziy, maki' balay magaN kinxayan "shou shang". maki' mxaN na maki' maki' zyaw hiya' lpi.

28. Y: If we did not listen to it but still went ahead, we would definitely get injured. We would have accidents.

29. Y: nanu' yasa qu', a... ki ta' nha' siliq hiya', yasa nanak qu' raytay qani, kya kya kwara' lozi lga', nanak qutux nanak qani musa' a...

29. Y: The story about siliq, I just explained it in a simple way. There are many others but I just talked about this one.

30. C: aw, aw, baqun ku' la. o... ciwaN lozi ki.

30. C: Yes, I understand. The third question.

31. Y: aw.

31. Y: Yes.

32. C: nanu' qu' imiy na' a... ptasan, ptasan rqyas na' a... mrhuw ta' raraN hiya'.

32. C: What is the meaning of tattooing on the face according to our ancestors?

33. Y: a... nya' lozi. yana gihong hazi zyaw qani hiya' lga'.

33. Y: Oh, you have a question like this. This question seems to be very difficult to answer.

34. C: ana su' kbabaw cikay kmaN.

34. C: Just a general answer will do.

35. Y: a nwe', nwe' lgiy pinqzyuan cikay nkis raraN lrwa. a... pinungan maku' hiya' ga', ptasan mucu qani hiya' ga', e... laqi' kne e...laqi' likuy hiya' ga', ptasan blihuy ru', a... qbliy rwa, qani hiya' lga', e ptasan mucu qani hiya' ga', tehuk kawas ta' mucu gaw.

35. Y: Let me talk shortly about what our ancestors told us. I heard that as far as tattooing, boys were tattooed on the foreheads and on the chins. Tattooing could only be done when they reached the appropriate age.

36. Y: tehuk kawas, qa lga' mo, musa' i... e... "msening" lga', a msening lga', nanu' yasa qu', e nyux musa' mlikuy balay qu' a ke' nya' qasa la.

36. Y: When they reached a certain age, they became young men. After they had become young men, they would become real men.

37. Y: nanu' yasa qu', ptasan nya' lga', nanu' yasa qu', son mucu ka, maki' lalu' nya' mucu likuy bay tayaN lpi, a nanu' yasa qu', thuyay musa' mluw squ' nkis mgaga' ru' musa' qmalup uzi.

37. Y: After they had been tattooed, they were called real Atayals. Then they could follow their old folks to cut Chinese heads and go hunting.

38. Y: na(nu) ini' ini' ptasi hiya' qasa, ini' ptasi ga', laqi' qasa na ma, laqi' qasa na. a... yasa qu' qutux imiy nya' sa, ru'. qutux imiy nya' uzi ga', ini' ptasi qani hiya' lga', ubuy nqu' kmukan galun tunux qasa hiya' lma.

38. Y: Those who were not tattooed were still considered kids. This is the first meaning. The other meaning of not being tattooed is that he belonged to the category of Chinese and whose heads would be hunted for.

39. C: O. han, han, han, yasa qu' szyawun mucu ku nyux si cakah.

39. C: Oh, I see. I like this explanation.

40. Y: a... aw, a... si say nyux mucu ptasan, ptasan ptasan.

40. Y: So all men had to be tattooed.

41. C: baqun nha' si ki qu' mukan hiya'.

41. C: They could tell who the Chinese were.

42. Y: aw son mucu ptasan qani hiya' ga', ke' ptasan ke' na' gipun hiya' ga' "jihau" "sirusi" ru' qasa.

42. Y: Yes, the so called "ptasan", in Japanese it is called a mark "sirusi".

43. Y: na kneriN hiya' lga', swa' ptasan qu' kneriN hiya' lga', ptasan ga', nanu' yasa qu' son mucu ka, krakis lma, a... a... yasa son mucu ka, nkis la, ini' ptasi, lga', yat qasa qu' ka ini' yat krakis na, laqi' na.

43. Y: As far as the woman is concerned, after the woman was tattooed, she was considered a lady. She was considered a grown-up. If she had not been tattooed, she was not a lady yet. She was still a kid.

44. C: laqi' na ma.

44. C: She was still a kid.

45. Y: nanu' yasa son mucu tmataq son nha' na pi.

45. Y: She was still considered raw (childish).

46. C: han, han, han.

46. C: Yes, I see.

47. Y: aw ru', ru' qutux lozi ga', mukan son mucu, ini' ini' si ptasan lga' mukan uzi. ru' qutux ke' lozi ga', ini' ptasi qani nga', ini' qbaq musa' ngasaN squliq.

47. Y: Oh, one other thing, if she was not tattooed, she was considered a Chinese too. And another thing again, if she was not tattooed, she could not get married.

48. C: han, han.

48. C: Yes, I see.

49. Y: ini' nha' wahi smze'.

49. Y: They would not come to propose to her.

50. C: han, han.

50. C: Yes, I see.

51. Y: O, seran nha' miya' qasa hiya' la, seran son mucu a... ini' wahi smze' hiya' rwa. seran a, nanu' siga' ptasan nga', a son nha' smze' lru'. a musa' sqliqan.

51. Y: She would be set aside and ignored. Nobody would come to propose to her. Not until she was tattooed would they come to propose to her and she would get married.
52. C: baq yasa qu' imiy nya' baqi lga'.
52. C: Now I see what this means.
53. Y: aw.
53. Y: Yes.
54. C: ini', ini', ini' qyu' lga', ini' baqi lga'. aw, nway...
54. C: If you had not talked about it, I would not have known it. OK, let us...
55. Y: nanu' nanu' la kya na?
55. Y: Any more (questions)?
56. C: atu' cyugaN (ciwaN) ki, aw a tpayat nya' lga'.
56. C: There are three more. OK, the fourth one.
57. Y: tpayat nya' lga'.
57. Y: Oh, the fourth one.
58. C: ktwa' baqun su' yaw na' kmut tunux raraN hiya'.
58. C: How much do you know about the old custom of hunting for Chinese heads?
59. Y: aw.
59. Y: Oh.
60. C: skaN cikay, ana su', cikuy cikh.
60. C: Explain it to be. Even a little bit will do.
61. Y: talagay kmut tunux hiya' lga', iyat saku' mnwah kmut kun hiya' ru', tla...
61. Y: My goodness! Concerning cutting Chinese heads, I have never cut any myself.

62. C: pnungan su' mucu ka, kya qu' kmut tunux ka, gaga' kmut tunux ga', itan ka tayaN nanak mga'.

62. C: But you have heard about it. There was the custom of headhunting. Just talk about the one that we Atayal practiced.

63. Y: O, maki', maki'.

63. Y: Oh, there was.

64. C: nanu' qu' say sqzyu' cikay cipuq.

64. C: Please explain it. Even a little bit will do.

65. Y: qani hiya' ga', itan tayaN raraN ga', e... khmay khmay qu' hi' itan tayaN lga', nanu' yasa qu', mpkayaN lru', nanu' yasa qu', e, pqasuw ta' mha gaw, pqasuw ta mucu mru'.

65. Y: Concerning this, our Atayalic ancestors increased; therefore, they had a conference to discuss about it. They said, "Let us split up. Let us get divided."

66. Y: nanu' yasa qu', e..., nanu' qu' qsugun nya' qasa lga', a... e..., nyux mucu... kaki ci hlahuy hiya' ga', ta... tayaN lsa ru', musa' ci b'nux hugaN hiya' ga', nanu' yasa qu', nyux nha' son mucu kmukan, galun tunux sa hiyaN lmpi.

66. Y: Therefore they divided the land. The mountain forest was allotted to the Atayals and the flat land was allotted to others. They went to the flat land where the Chinese lived to hunt for their heads.

67. Y: nanu' yasa qu', mqasuw, mqasuw qu' lhga' qasa lru', pucing nya', masuq qmasuw hmwaw lga', si ktay qu', khmay balay qu' ubuy tkura' ci b'nux hiya', nanu' yasa qu', msthay ci rgyax hiya' lga', ini' khmay hga' lma.

67. Y: They divided the land like this. At the end when they had finished dividing, they announced the decision. Lo and behold, the number of

people who went to the flat land was very large, whereas the rest who went to the mountain were not many.

68. Y: nanu' yasa qu', "swa' khmay simu la" mucu ru', aki nha' qbzihan magaN kruma lga', ini' swaN uzi qu', musa' i..., nway sami khmay lgi', pwahan sami magaN tunux sami mucu, qu' pinkyalan nha' ma raraN.

68. Y: "Why do you have so many people?" they said. They wanted to go back to redistribute some more people (to the mountain). But those (who had gone to the flat land) were not willing to go to the mountain. They said, "Just leave it like that, even though we have more people." "You can come to us to hunt for our heads." That's what they discussed in the past.

69. C: han, han.

69. C: Oh, I see.

70. Y: nanu' yasa qu', aring kya qu' son mucu ka, maki qu' zyaw nqu' kmut tunux lmpi. kmukan hiya' lga', galan kutan tunux, a...

70. Y: Therefore from then on there was such a thing as cutting heads. The Chinese were the ones from whom we cut the heads.

71. C: wa, blaq pkayaN mrhuw raraN.

71. C: Wah, our ancestors discussed it well.

72. Y: aw, han, nway sami khmay sami hiya' gi, galun sami tunux mucu ma.

72. Y: Yes. (They said), "Let us have many people because you can cut our heads"

73. C: ha, ha, ha.

73. C: (laugh)

74. Y: qani hiya' ga', waN mkayaN lga', hga' waN mkayaN cyux galun, tunux, qu' sami, simu tayaN rgyax hiya' ga', ha... yat si yat simu pagaN sami qu' wahan simu sami kmut tunux ma.

74. Y: They discussed it like this. They said, "You can come to cut our heads. You Atayal who live on the mountain, if you don't get our heads, we will cut your heads."

75. Y: a... raytay ya, qani nanak pinungan maku' e... son mucu ka, magaN tunux. nanu' kmukan hiya' lga', ana kahuN ima' na' kmukan mwah cia rgyax lga', lman nha' kmut tunux pi.

75. Y: I only briefly talked about it. This is what I heard about the so-called headhunting. As far as the Chinese, no matter where they came from, if they went to the mountain, their heads would be cut first.

76. Y: nanu' kya qu' si rangi' nha' nanak ga', maki' qutux rangi' nha' balay ay, qasa ga', musa' kmayaN squ' kmukan, ru' musa' magaN cimui' lru' qaya', putung, pwah nha' matu' tayaN ga'.

76. Y: But if they made friends with the Atayal, they would have at least an Atayal friend. In that case the Atayal would talk to the Chinese and would take the salt, gifts, and matches that had been brought to the Atayal through him.

77. C: han.

77. C: I see.

78. Y: rangi' nha' miya' kya ga', ini' nha' kuci nanak qasa hiya'.

78. Y: Their friend like that, they would not kill him.

79. C: han.

79. C: I see.

80. Y: mucu maki' qu' rangi' ini' hmci.

80. Y: They had friends like this. They did not do it carelessly.

81. C: nanu' yasa qu' yan zyaw qu' "wu Feng Shen She" rwa.

81. C: This is like the story about Wu Feng.

82. Y: ha, ha, ha. aw ga'.

82. Y: (laugh). That's it.
83. C: aw ki. e... squtux ki.
83. C: Oh, yes, there is one more question.
84. Y: temagaN lga'?
84. Y: The fifth question?
85. C: temagaN hiya' lga', yaqu' gaga', gaga' na musa' a ... qbuyang rgyax ru' uzi lma, gaga' nya' mga', musa' qbuyang rgyax ga' kya gaga' nya' ga', son nanu' gaga' nya'.
85. C: Yes, the fifth question. It is also about the custom of going hunting on the mountain. This custom about going hunting on the mountain, what is the meaning of it.
86. Y: qbuyang rgyax hiya' nanu' yasa lpi, kya yasa qu' wa, e... waN maku' waN skayaN.
86. Y: Concerning going hunting on the mountain, I have talked about it.
87. C: tatuy mucu kmxaN qbuyang son mucu gaga' ga' son nanu', nanu'... ye... ye... yat nya' hmtan kya nanu' mha nanu' mga', "xian zhi" kya nanu', ru'... ini' say, ini' si slungi kya lga', kya mga' gaga' nya'?
87. C: This going hunting has something to do with getting injured if you did not follow the regulations. They did not treat it carelessly. What were the restrictions? If they did not follow the regulations, what were the consequences?
88. Y: a... a... zyaw na' qbuyang ga' na hiya' ga', a... nyux maku' ini' baqi iyaN ga', ana ga', a...yaw nqu' son mucu ka qmalup mucu sga', nanu' musa' i... sbu' gaw, yaw nqu' musa' psbu' hiya' ga', nanu' yasa qu' lama balay qbuyang.

88. Y: As far as this kind of hunting (lying in ambush) is concerned, I do not know too much about it. But anyway, the so called hunting is to shoot animals. Before they went to shoot animals they first lay in ambush.

89. Y: inu' bay qu' e... nway ta' balay muluw qsinuw, nyux mucu qu' inlungan nha' rwa, nanu' yasa qu' qutux uzi ga', ngaru'x qu' nyux nha' bay kngun uzi. nanu' yasa qu' si balay lama' qbuyang, qu' musa' i... qsbu' hiya'.

89. Y: "Where... and what regulations should we follow so that we could find animals?" they would think like this. There is another thing, that they were very much afraid of bears. So they had to lie in ambush first before they went to shoot the animals.

90. Y: nanu' yasa qu' kruma uzi lga', nanu' musa' i qsbu', mluw qsbu'. a qsbu' hiya' lga', e nyux yaqih qu' son mucu ngasaN nha, ini' ga' nyux muluw zyaw qu' ngasaN nha' ga', ini' ga', son mucu ka nyux maras a psaniq nqu' zyaw ga', qasa hiya' lga', musa' psbu' ga', maki' qu' mhtuw zyaw ay.

90. Y: Sometimes if they had family problems, it was forbidden to go hunting together. Either it was found that there were problems in the family or there was sexual immorality. In this case if they went hunting, problems would arise.

91. Y: na giwan nqu', yan simu nyux maku' baqun mucu ka pqzyuan nkis musa' psbu', ru', ktan lga', si ktay qu' yani balay a... qanux, ini' ga' yani balay yungay qu', ktan cyux memaw mtalah mga'.

91. Y: For example, I know something that the old people have talked about. Someone went hunting and all of a sudden he saw something like a deer or a monkey. He saw that the monkey was really red.

92. Y: nanu' yasa qu', i... pintringan nya' ru', ptusan nya' qu' patus lga',
 "aw! kuzing swa' su' nyux mu' la," cyux mucu mga', baq sswe' nya' nyux
 bun la. ru' qmuqu' waN nqu' mnuqu' mu' squ' sswe' nya'.

92. Y: He aimed at it and shot it with a spear. "Ouch! It's me. Why are
 you shooting me?" said one. It was his brother whom he shot. He
 mistakenly shot his brother.

93. Y: baha hmswa', nyux maras e... bciq nyux maras psaniq nqu' zyaw
 qani, nanu' yasa qu', nyux talay r...moyap (moyiq) ka e... nanu' sa rwa, e
 qsinuw nya' mucu inlungan nya' lga', nyux qnuqu' matus la. a... sswe'
 nya' la.

93. Y: Why did it happen? (His ancestors) committed sexual immorality or
 some kind of taboo, so he shot people mistakenly. He thought he caught
 animals but he mistakenly shot his brother.

94. C: qani balay balay hiya' ga'?

94. C: Is this a true story?

95. Y: balay bay.

95. Y: It's true.

96. C: ru' sswe' nya' balay waN nya' bun.

96. C: It was his brother whom he had shot.

97. Y: ru' sswe' nya' balay ru' waN mhuiN mhuiN.

97. Y: And it was really his brother who died.

98. C: misuw balay qani?

98. C: Is this current?

99. Y: e... qani hiya' ga', trang, e... maki' gipun' gaw.

99. Y: This happened during the Japanese period.

100. C: han, han. aw, nanu' yasa qu',

100. C: Oh, I see. Then,

101. Y: Staki' Botu' Neban qu' qsuyan qasa hiya', sswe' nya' ga', Silan Iban, waN qnuqu'.

101. Y: The older brother's name was Staki' Botu' Neban and the younger brother, who had been killed mistakenly, was Silan Iban.

102. C: han, han, han.

102. C: Oh, I see.

103. Y: qani ga', maki' qu' zyaw nha' ra, zyaw nkis nya' raraN uzi qu' psaniq, na psaniq lga', aw ini' nha' swali yaqih nha' nanu' yasa pngsa'

103. Y: They had an accident because their ancestors had committed some kind of taboo. After they committed sexual immorality, they did not make a sacrifice. Their ancestors' mistakes brought about the accident (between the brothers).

104. C: aw, musa' maku' baqun lki, pucing qutux lki. a, pnungan su' yaw na' mhowah na nanu' hupa' qsya', uzi mga'.

104. C: Yes, I understand it. The last question is... have you heard about the decending of a lot of water?

105. Y: a qsunu' wah,

105. Y: You mean the flood?

106. C: qsunu' son nha' ga' qasa?

106. C: Is it called flood?

107. Y: aw qsunu'.

107. Y: Yes, it's flood.

108. C: qsunu' son nha' ga'?

109. C: Is it called flood?

110. Y: aw qsunu' son nha', qsunu' ga', yat qsya' hupa' ga'.

110. Y: Yes, it is called flood. The "flood" is not the same as "a lot of water".

111. C: han, han, nanu' yasa hiya', a...

111. C: Oh, yes. So...

112. Y: qani hiya' ga', pinungan. o, waN mu pungan cikay uzi ga', e...
kya, kya... nya' min'aring inu' nyux maku' ini' baqi qu' 'ringan nya' qani
uzi lga', a... nanak pinungan maku' cikay lga'.

112. Y: As far as this is concerned, I have also heard a little bit. Where did
it come from? I don't know the origin of it either. I only heard a little bit
about it.

113. Y: kya hmswa' qu' son mucu ka qnxan nha' raraN uzi ga', si ktay qu',
khmay qu' squliq uzi la, ita' tayaN lga', khmay qu' ita' tayaN lru'.

113. Y: What was the life in the past like? Lo and behold, the population
increased. The population of Atayal increased.

114. Y: nanu' yasa qu', kya mswa' qu' zyaw nha' ga', kya, baha hmswa'
hga' ga', nyux i... a... sinhiy squ' utux nkis uzi rwa.

114. Y: What was it like after (their population had increased)? They
believed in spirits.

115. Y: nanu' yasa qu', kya kya nanu' psnon nqu' utux nkis, utux nkis
ga', nya' nha', kya psi...nyux nha' psina hga'. mucu a nyux simu thuyay
mqyanux la, ini' ga', nya' mucu a biqan saku' sgalu' biqi cikay nanu' rwa.

115. Y: What did the spirits ask for? The spirits said, "Now you are having
a good life. Isn't it the case that you should give me some favor? Give a
little bit to me!"

116. Y: ru', sonotoki, trang qasa lga', si ktay mqwalax lru'. nanu' yasa
qu' qsya' ga', nyux si ngyut ngyut ngyut mbhoyaw qu' qsya' mru', ktan
lguy ga', si nya', tehuk qu' bbu' nqu' rgyax lga', si nya' tmma' balay.
yaqu' a... i... umuk qu' rgyax la.

116. Y: At that time, lo and behold, it was raining. The water gradually increased. All of a sudden it reached the breast of the mountain. It even covered the top of the mountain.

117. Y: nanu' yasa qu' mnglung kwara' squ' kwara' qu' mrhuw lpi a...
iyat qani la, ini' ta' qesi qu' qnes ga', ini' ta' qesi qu' son mucika, qsya'
qani lga', tmokun ta' nya' kwara' phuqiN ta' kwara' mucima.

117. Y: Therefore all the chiefs were thinking, "It can't be like this! If we don't draw a line between us and the water, it will drown us and we will all die."

118. Y: nanu' yasa qu', mkayaN lru', swayaw nha' squ' son mucika,
"hen chou de ren", yaqih ktan ay, mlikuy ga', moluk balay na' mlikuy,
mekit nqu' kneriN ga', yaqih nqu' kneriN ru' mlikuy.

118. Y: So they discussed it and chose a so called "ugly man", who was lazy, and a bad woman.

119. Y: yasa qu' galun nya' yaqih squliq sa lru', galun nha ru', sbuling
nha' qsya' qasa ma, tkurun son, blingan nha yaqih na' mlikuy ru' kneriN
lga', qzinah bay nya' miyasuw qu' qsya' qenah nyaN nyaN ngyut ngyut
hupa' qu' qsya' lma.

119. Y: They took the worthless people and threw them into the water. When they dumped them, throwing these worthless man and woman (into the water), the water, contrary to what they had thought, was boiling in a rage and was gradually becoming more and more.

120. Y: a...say ta' puci ta' bay nanu' la, yat qani qu' nyux nya' pqsun ay
mhama, qu' mrhuw ga', aki ta' swayaw qutux qu', e... btunux balay na'
mlikuy ru', a... btunux bay na' krakis, a... nyux ta' sbuling zik qsya' lozi
mucima.

120. Y: "What shall we do? They don't like this one." said the chiefs, "We will choose the most good-looking man and woman and throw them into the water."

121. Y: nanu' yasa qu', zwagan nha' qu' btunux balay nqu' i... "ying jun de", ru' mbtunux balay na' krakis, galun nha' qu' sazing qsa qu', bhlan nha' lmru', nanu' yasa qu', sbuling nha' qsya' lmpi.

121. Y: Therefore they chose the most handsome man and the most beautiful woman. They took the two, tied them up, and threw them into the water.

122. Y: qani lga' nyux nha' sasagiru' mucu nyux nha' pngsa' mucu imiy qasa la, a... nyux sbuling nha' qsya' qu' sazing ka krakis qasa lga', qutux sening ru' qutux krakis kneriN qasa lga', si ktay qu' qsya' qasa lma ga', wa memaw miyasuw mucu, "wax" wa si uci qsya', wa si yaqu' wa.... skarus qu' qsya' qasa lma.

122. Y: They made such a sacrifice by throwing into the water the two young people, one man and one woman. All of a sudden the water was really boiling in rage and made a sound like "wah" and rolled down the slope.

123. Y: nanu' yasa qu' hinoran nya' qu' son mucu ka, i... hinoran qsya' lga', nanu' yasa qu' nyux maki' qu' uruw qani, maki qu' wagiq nqu' rrgyax ru' maki son mucu ka uruw llyung qani hinoran nqu' qsya' lmpi.

123.Y: The water rushed headlong down the slope. After the water rushed past, a valley appeared. There were high mountains and river valleys after the water rushed past.

124. Y: a... yasa qu' pinungan maku' raraN ga', raraN uzi ga', swa' yan ki yan kina mubuy hazi bniru' nqu' Nowa' yaw qani hiya' lga', a... yasa nanak qu'...

124. Y: This story is what I heard in the past. I wonder why this story bears some similarity to the story of Noah's Ark. That's all I know.

125. C: yasa lga'?

125. C: Is that all?

126. Y: nyux maku' baqun cikay nanak lga', cikuy bay cikay hani hiya' la.

126. Y: I only know a little bit about it. This story is a little too short.

127. C: mhuway, mhuway su' balay ki.

127. C: Thank you very much.

F. Six Stories Told by Tana Temu

(1). Killing the Sun

1. "gushi" myan, wagi' sazing ga', mhtuw sasan ru' mzyup lga' nyux mhtuw qutux lozi la rwa, yasa qu' kmayaN no nkis myan e kmayaN qutux seneng uzi ga'.

1. This is our story. There were two suns. One rose in the morning and while it was setting the other one rose again. This is what our ancestors said. A young man also talked about this.

2. kmayaN kwara' e minsiu yaqih mha sqani ma, ungat hngan yaqih ma. say ta' mu' ma, say ta' mu' qutux qu' tayaN mha rwa, musa' qutux lga'.

2. All the people in the tribe discussed it, "Life is difficult now. There is no night to rest. It is bad." "Let us shoot one down! Let us shoot one down!" said one Atayal, "So there will be only one left."

3. ini' tehuk kya thuyay nkis la, nkis lru' ini' e tehuk lru', mwah le mwah a mluw qutux hi' le panga' ta' laqi', cisay kulumu ungpung stene. tehuk ta' sa mhuqiN nkis lga', ya laqi' syunaw mha ru', panga' laqi' cipuq lru'.

3. "Before we get there we will have gotten old. If we are old, we can't get there. We will have a child go with us by carrying the child on the back.

After the old one dies, the child (now a grown-up) will replace him, by carrying his little child on his back."

4. musa' lru' tehuk ska' tuqiy lga', hu huqiN nkis hiya' la, ya laqi' bsyunaw lru', ba' mu' wagi' lpi.

4. After they got to the middle of the trip, the old one dies. His child replaced him to shoot down the sun.

5. sa nya' mu' lozi, msthay qutux bay, e ru' yaqu' wa nya' bun l... lga', e byacing lma, byacing ini' htuw syax lma, mha "gushi" ta raraN mha kya.

5. After he shot it down, there was only one other left. And after the sun was shot down, there was the moon. The moon did not appear to be as bright (as the sun). This is our story from the past.

(2) Origin of the Atayal

1. e... yaqu' ite smi tayaN raraN ga', lxun smi s...ke...e kyan laqi' qutux kneriN ma mwah tewang mga', mwah mkm...tehaksezang, ini' tehuk yama' tehaksezang ga', bka' lru' msla...msiaqi' laqi' likuy la.

1. This is our Atayalic story from the past. There was a woman who came to Taiwan, to the Big Snow Mountain. Before she reached the mountain, she gave birth to a boy.

2. nisisay laqi' nya' likuy nya' lga', yaya nya' lga', achi kuchi ano mwah maki' kneriN nya' gne ina' e ungat kwara' lrwa. si nya' baqi, rwa, pian nya' laqi' mucu ma.

2. When the boy reached twenty years old, his mother went everywhere to find a wife for him. But there was no one. She knew that she had to change herself to become the young woman.

3. suxan ga' usa ga', ci ptasan kneriN qasa ma, yaya nya' sala, say nya', ma, se nya'... iluh a...rqyas nya' lru', musa' likuy lga', aw, yaqa yaya' ta' mha saku', kekong lru' yasa qu' coseng ta' lma.

3. The next day he was told to go to the tattooed woman, who was actually his mother with her face tattooed with soot. The young man went and said, "This is my mother." They got married and this is the origin of our ancestors.

(3) Story of the Ancestors

1. a... yu... taichiu ga', taihaksezang ga', oki no zyaw aru' ya na. bka' kahuN ma, kahuN kya ru', maki' kya hga', raN raN raN khmay bay squliq ga', (in Japanese).

1. In Taichung, the Big Snow Mountain, a great thing happened. The stone split and from there came many people in the past.

2. hechi ga' blaq tunux sa, hmwaw a laxi laxi siang isu' ruma, waw... mha, mkasi siga' hupa' kui' nya' khmay a son mha... khmay...yan simu, qengun nha' musa' hugaN ru', waw cipuq na.

2. The ones who lived on the flat land were smarter (than the ones on the mountain). They were supposed to shout (to find out which group had more people). They said, "Don't make any sound so they won't know we have many people." So they shouted "waw". They said, "In the past only big worms had as great a number of population as you people." So they hid some of their people. They went to bend down so the "waw" they shouted was a soft one.

3. waw mha maki rgyax lga', hupa' qu' ke' nya' qasa ga', a... wah lozi, wah ia... son nya' yiume le waw ma le ru' cipuq le.

3. The ones on the mountain also shouted "waw". It sounded very loud. They shouted, "Come! Come!" One side shouted loud and the other side was soft.

4. waw mha maki' lahuy, hupa'... uwah wah son nya', waw hupa' yaba' balay hugaN hiya' la, hupa' nqu' khmay bay khmay, maki' kya rgyax, nway nway ana qeri', ana qeri' khmay hazi musa' mxaN tunux babaw nya' mucu.

4. They also shouted "waw" loudly in the forest. They shouted, "Come!" This time those who had bent down shouted "waw" loudly. There were so many people in both the forest and on the mountain. "Let them have as many people as they want. They will have a headache later."

5. e... nanu' yasa qu' waN si laxi kya khmay hechi lpi, ima' lemo hechi no ci lsiu, "ping di shan bao", "shan di shan bao", hiya' ga', siku nya' yu.

5. So they gave up on (obtaining) the flat land and let the people remain on the flat land.

(4) Flood

1. raraN qasa ma sm'ang kwara' utux, qwalax kryax ru', mbahuw kwara' ryax mga'.

1. In the past all the gods were angry. It always rained and it rained harder and harder all the time.

2. ru' gyagan nya' qutux squliq lokah bay, lokah e... buloq ma, buloq squliq qani, sbuling nya' qsya' la, qezinah hupa' qsya' lma, hiya' ga'.

2. They chose a very strong person, strong and blind. They threw this blind person into the water. But the water became even more.

3. a... nya' ms'ang utux qa, ikanay ikanay, a... yagan nha' itchibang mrhuw no mosme, itchibang kire no ona' lmga', blingan nha' mga', wa... si tbzyaq qsya' lma.

3. The god got angry and said, "No way!" So they chose the best woman, the chief's daughter, the most beautiful woman, and threw her into the water. The water went like "wah" and subsided.

(5) Headhunting

1. raraN ga', maki' qutux iray ne skuto mrhuw ta' ga', musa' mciriq hechi mru', si nya'... magaN tunux rwa.

1. In the past we had a strong chief. He went to fight with the people on the flat land. He just cut their heads.

2. m'abi' lga', lgiun wa nya' ka tunux si nya' qmuzi kwara' tunux lru', si nya' qmuzi kwara' aite aite... asa kutan nya', raku raku nya'. sbuli nya' ita' ma, wa maqux lma.

2. When the people on the flat land slept, he cut their heads and hung them all. He hung them all after he cut them. He did it with ease. He equipped us with knives so we would win the war.

(6) Harvest Festival

1. kmut squliq kmut tayaN mucu, nanu' gaga' qasa, "Fengnianji shi" siga' tunux... mwah pngan squ' bansia ta ru', blaq pinbaho' ta' uzi la, ini' ga' tunux, ini' nya' kngungu' utux lga', ini' a... yaqih pinbaho' ru' pnbu' ta' uzi... ru' chising ta' uzi la.

1. They cut people's heads. What is the custom for? During the harvest festival, if they carried the head to their tribe, their harvest would be good. If they did not have a head and if they did not fear the gods, their

harvest would be bad and they would be caused to be sick and they would become poor also.

G. An Interview Between Wen Chung-Rong (W) and Pavas Walis (L)

1. L: puqing tayaN ga' ini' maku' baqi.

1. L: I don't know the origin of the Atayal.

2. W: kayaN cikay kinraraN su' ga'.

2. W: Please talk about your past.

3. L: nanu' kinraraN mu lpi. wa mu zingyan kwara' la.

3. L: What past do I have to speak of. I have already forgotten all of it.

4. W: ini' su' baqi mungi' ga', ana blaq zyaw yaqih zyaw. nanu' ga', ini' su' baqi mungi'

4. W: You can talk about the thing that you can not forget, whether it's good or evil. What is it that you can't forget?

5. L: yaqih na' zyaw nanu' lpi. raraN raraN ga', kongun zyaw balay raraN ga', aw, ru' ungat boax ru', ungat cimuh ga', si ta' qaniq ngahi', sehuy, quru' sehuy, ramat.

5. L: I did not do any evil things. In the past, the thing that I was most worried about was that there was no rice or salt. We just ate yam, taro, and vegetables.

6. W: hngiyang cikay ke' su'.

6. W: Please speak a little louder.

7. L: ha?

7. L: What?

8. W: a... yasa, yasa.

8. W: Now it's O.K.

9. L: aw yasa, sekat raraN ga', yasa wa kuro balay lpi, ana pila' ungat qutux rwa, misuw qa lga', nyux hatat la, nyux hatat hkangi' lga', nyux pila' m'yu lrwa.

9. L: Life in the past was very difficult. We had no money, not even a dollar. But now it is prosperous. The transportation is convenient and we have money.

10. W: ru', nwah su' twahiq tuqiy mwah mwah su' cbaq a... kengkiu Hbun.

10. W: You went a long distance to teach in Hbun.

11. L: han, ansonotoki ga', nihong zilai ga', ungat, ungat ta' kuruma' na hrwa, nanu' ya, nanu' maki' cbaq Ulay hrwa, maki' Ulay ga', baziy nanu' ga', baziy cikay maki' cikay hoku sense hiya' rwa,... kiu eng balay.

11. L: Yes, I did. During the Japanese period, we did not have so much convenience. I also taught at Ulay. I could buy a few things at Ulay because I earned some wages from teaching, only nine dollars.

12. W: kiu eng balay, ru' musa' su' bih qasa qa...?

12. W: Only nine dollars! Where did you go (to buy things)?

13. L: musa' baziy sintian, sintian, aw musa' baziy boax ga'.

13. L: I went to buy things at Sintian. I bought rice.

14. W: boax ru' musa' su' bih a Hbun.

14. W: You bought rice. And you went to Hbun.

15. L: aw, uzi ru'.

15. L: Yes, I also went there.

16. W: cbaq inu' la e...

16. W: Where did you teach?

17. L: raraN ga', cbaq Ulay, Ulay ga', kahuN la Toueng ah, yaqu' Hbun sga', son cbaq ia, cbaq bih Hbun, a... aw la.

17. L: In the past, I taught at Ulay. From Taoyuan I went to teach at Hbun.
18. W: ru' hkangi' su' la.
18. W: You walked.
19. L: aw hkangi' ru'. ungat nanu' skayaN mu la.
19. L: Yes, I walked. I have nothing else to say.
20. W: ru', ni gen ni taitai ga', xiang fu jiao zi?
20. W: How about you and your wife living a harmonious life.
21. L: swa' pi.
21. L: Why?
22. W: sblaq simu balay rwa, waN hiya' lru'.
22. W: You really loved each other. She died.
23. L: kiu neng may.
23. L: Nine years ago.
24. W: kiu neng may ga', pira' laqi' su' la, ni de haizi you ji ge?
24. W: Was it nine years ago? How many children do you have?
25. L: nyux thay ga', cyugaN, cyugaN likuy.
25. L: What's left is three male.
26. W: cyugaN likuy.
26. W: Three male.
27. L: cyugaN neriN, wa oyome kwara' neriN la.
27. L: Three female. All my daughters are married.
28. L: aw waN oyome, aw waN Balung uzi, Gogan.
28. L: Oh, they are all married, I see. One got married with someone in Balung, the Gogan area.
29. W: aw, Gogan.
29. W: Yes, in Gogan.

30. L: aw, yama' mu a mushi.

30. L: My son-in-law is a pastor.

31. W: aw, yama' su' mushi. aw... ru' saqa son su' nanu' lga', son su' nanu' wa su' leqan lgan matsuy bheyan laqi' la isu' musa' kaikiat la, isu' musa' kaikiat la.

31. W: Yes, your son-in-law is a pastor. You also went to solve the problem of Matsuy (one of your sons-in-law) having beaten your daughter. You yourself went to solve the problem.

32. L: ini' qbsyaq.

32. L: Not a long time.

33. W: ini' su' usa' Sankay yaqih balay qta.

33. W: You did not go to Sankay's place.

34. L: ini' bihiy neriN qasa.

34. L: He did not beat his wife.

35. W: a... ya, ini' qlu' mihiy tnaq balay yaba (ru'... raraN pi, nyux mswa' qta, mswa' nya' biqan kya tswe', ungat ini' pung ke' ga', mkat lnglung, ini' ku tuqu' ga', ini' ku' uha' lga', kya ku lungan ini' ku' uha', mita' bay sleqan ga', mita' ta' kate' uzi, ciqan, ciqan laqi', tay laqi' ku' neriN, tociang ga', son qasa ga'), blaq mushi, blaq mushi sa, shi bu shi, isu' baq isu' lianlosi' ru' aki su' baq mita', laqi' kuro la, cbaqan ta' rwa.

35. W: Yes, he doesn't beat his wife because he is as nice as his father. (... Translation unclear... My daughter also has conflict in her family). It is better to marry a pastor. You are a teacher so you are better able to reconcile them and to teach them how to solve problems.

36. L: ana su' si cbaqiy, ini' pung ki' son su' nanu' wiy.

36. L: Even though you teach them what to do, if they don't listen to you, what can you do?

37. W: m... laqi' likuy ga', hao, zhege hen hui chang ge.

37. W: My son....., (changing topic, directed to Der-Hwa) O.K. He knows how to sing very well.

38. L: (Song) ungat pngan lungan ta kwara', ana su'... ita' sazing qani ay, iyan mumu nagasi, iyat lungan yaya' maku', lungan maku' nanak thuyay saku' nanak ay... hutaw balay boqga' roziq.

38. L: (Song) Life is really tough. No matter how strong people's minds are, they will still shed tears when they see what happens in life.

39. W: a... kayaN cikay mucu nanu' kekong raraN ma, kekong simu yaki' ga'.

39. W: Please talk about the wedding ceremony in the past. For example, when you and your wife got married.

40. L: sa pi. son nanu' kmaN pi.

40. L: What should I say?

41. W: kekong qasa kahuN inu' zhege kahuN inu' zhege yaki' qasa.

41. W: About the wedding. Where did your wife come from?

42. L: han, yaya' ga', kahuN Ulay rwa.

42. L: Oh yes, the mother of my children was from Ulay.

43. W: kahuN Ulay.

43. W: Oh, from Ulay.

44. L: kahuN Ulay ga', cbaq ku' biru' kya Ulay ga', mkita' sami kya lru', nanu' mssoya' sami lrwa, kyalun mu a... qsuyan maku' yaba' tana' ga', kyalun mu kya, kekong sami kya lrwa.

44. L: She was from Ulay and I taught at Ulay. We saw each other and we fell in love with each other. I told my older brother, your Uncle Tana. I talked to him about our getting married.

45. L: nanu' wahan nha' smze' la. m... wahan smze' wahan nha' smze', pira' qbuci sa, raraN, xiakku eng qbuci, qbuci ga', aw, yonziu eng a... si katanan, yonziu eng, a rokkuziu eng chiolo xiakku eng qbuci...

45. L: Then they went to propose. How much engagement deposit was it in the past? It was one hundred dollars. The engagement deposit consisted of forty dollars of payment for the person and sixty dollars for the furniture. It was all together one hundred dollars.

46. W: asa galun su' la. nanu' qa kya... mucu nanu' se sesiki nya'.

46. W: Then you got married. What was the ceremony like?

47. L: kekong?

47. L: You mean the wedding?

48. W: kekong simu lga', kekong tokiga'.

48. W: At that time when you got married.

49. L: nyux lga', kekong tokiga', si sa maniq nbuw qwaw kryax lrwa, yasa nanak la.

49. L: At that time of the wedding we only drank wine.

50. W: ini' panto' lga', raraN de, ini' su' kut kacing bzuwak.

50. W: Didn't you provide dinner in the past? Didn't you butcher cows or pigs?

51. L: raraN ga', raraN ga', mukasi ga', ini' ku' kut bzuwak ay.

51. L: In the past I did not butcher pigs.

52. W: ru' yasa, si nbuw qwaw, ini'...

52. W: You just drank wine. There was no...

53. L: aw la, panto' cikay lru', ini' khmay uzi ga' squliq, si sami nbuw nanak, ini' kyan misuw qani kya qutnaq lga', si panto' cikay ru', nbuw qwaw asa la.

53. L: Oh yes, we served dinner on a small scale. There were not many people either. We just drank wine. It was not like nowadays dinner is served on a large scale. We just had a simple dinner and drank wine.

54. W: ru' hmswa' zhege, swa' blaq hi' su'. ktan ga' yani yani su' mrkyas lma ga' swa' blaq hi' su', nanu' say ga', aki nbu' ru' kana su' baq hmkangi' lma. kayaN cikay, mucu o... kya na kya nanu' a... ximits su ma... swa' blaq hi' su' qani ma.

54. W: Why is your body strong? You look young. Why are you strong? If you are ill, you can't walk. Please talk about your secret how you got to be so strong.

55. L: baqaw ta' ini' baqi qani hiya', yaqu' aring ku' laqi' ru', cbaq ku' gipun raraN sono toki ga', aw ini' ini' ku' nbuw qwaw, aw ana gipun ga', ini' pzyang nbuw qwaw rwa, aw... ini' qaniq baku uzi, baku uzi, nanu', kryax kryax ga', sasan ga', zibuq ku' tuliq lokah ku' mtzyaw ru' ga', zibuq tuliq nanu' yasa lokah ku' pi, ru' ungat nanu' qu' waN ku' niqun wa lokah ru' ini' maku' baqi qasa hiya', aw...

55. L: I don't know. I don't know how to strengthen the body. When I was a young man and taught in the Japanese period, I did not drink wine. Furthermore, the Japanese prohibited us from drinking any wine. Oh yes, neither did I smoke any cigarettes. I always got up early in the morning to work. Because I got up early I am strong. I did not eat anything special to make me strong. I don't know about the secret.

56. W: ungat simpay su'.

56. W: You don't have any worries.

57. L: ungat simpay mu kun,...

57. L: I don't have any worries.

58. L: ungat nanu' simpay, ga gmalu' ku' bay squliq uzi, aw, ungat la.

58. L: Not only don't I have any worries but I also care about other people.
That's all.

59. W: isu' nanak qutux, isu' nank qutux hi' nkis, aki tana' la, yat.

59. W: You are the only old man left. There is also Tana. There is no one else.

60. L: aki Utaw Batu'.

60. L: There is also Utaw Batu.

61. W: aw utaw batu', wa mhoqiN lrwa, ru' Tana' la, Mangan ga'? yasa lga', nkis lga', aki rwa la, wa hoqiN la.

61. W: Oh, Utaw Batu died (a few months ago). Tana is (still alive). How about in Mangan? Who else is alive? The elders have all died.

62. L: ungat kwara'.

62. L: They all died.

63. W: kneriN ima' la.

63. W: Are there any old women?

64. L: ungat la, ungat.

64. L: There is none.

65. W: nkis lga', a... aki... yata' Pisuy lga', minguo yi nian.

65. W: There is still an old woman left, my aunt Pisuy. She was born in 1912.

66. L: yaya' Hacyang rwa.

66. L: Oh, Hacyang's mother.

67. W: yasa la.

67. W: O.K., that's all.

H. An Interview Between Amuy Sanga's (C) and Lawa Yagu (K)

1. C: yaw blaꝥ balay na' ziaꝥ kinraraꝑ, ini' kya mha, ru' lngisan na' smzyaw, ini' ga', ana nanu' zyaw ga', musa' blaꝥ? a, si kayaꝑ nanak ma, aki su' nya' a... galan a ... hnzyang qani, ru' kayaꝑ ki, kinraraꝑ su' ga', aw, aring su' mkrakis mha, nanu' ani baꝥun su', ini' su' baꝥi ana qeri', si hmut kmaꝑ ga'.

1. C: Are there any good things in the past or any sad things, or anything is fine? You just talk about it. She will record your voice. Talk about your past from the time when you were young. Whatever you know. Even if you don't know, it doesn't matter. Just talk about whatever comes to your mind.

2. K: zyaw raraꝑ hiya' hiya' ga', kuro balay ga', kuro balay, kuro, zyaw misuw qa lga', blaꝥ balay la, kuro balay wah.

2. K: Life in the past was really difficult. But life now is much better. In the past it was indeed difficult.

3. C: waꝑ su' mha nanu' raraꝑ, wa su' mha nanu', klani cikay.

3. C: What were you like in the past? Please talk about it.

4. K: lokah balay pincyaw raraꝑ hiya' ga', ru', blaꝥ balay zyaw raraꝑ uzi, unꝥat nanu' yaꝥih ga', ini' ta hmut nanu', ini' kiyan misuw ga', hmut balay la, khangꝑn ta' Gipun raraꝑ ga', mung ta' balay ke' Gipun rwa, ru' cbaꝥan ta' ga', pungan ta' sa.

4. K: People worked hard in the past and it was orderly in the past. There were not any crimes. We did not dare do anything against the law. It was not like now. People are acting indiscriminately. When the Japanese ruled over us, we listened to the Japanese commands. If they taught us what to do, we were very obedient.

5. C: ini' uwah Gipun ga', kinraraꝑ ga' mha su' nanu', qnꝥan su'.

5. C: Before the Japanese came, what was your life like?
6. K: kinraraN qnxan?
6. K: Life in the past?
7. C: ini' wah Gipun nga'.
7. C: Before the Japanese came.
8. K: yaqih wis la, yaqih raraN lsa rwa, suqun ta' kmut.
8. K: It was bad. It was bad in the past. We killed them completely.
9. C: a...
9. C: Eh?
10. K: kmut ta' mukan raraN hiya'.
10. K: We cut the Chinese heads in the past.
11. C: kmut raraN ga'?
11. C: Was killing carried out in the past?
12. K: aw... aw ga'.
12. K: Yes.
13. C: mha nanu' pi, wa su' pungan nanu' zyaw pi, klani cikay ga',
wiwan su' mha ima' ima' raraN ga', cipuq su' ga', nanu' wa su' pungan
ke' ga', kaN cikay ma, ay.
13. C: How did they do it? What have you heard about? Please talk about it.
For example, who did it in the past? Even if it's only a little bit, whatever
you have heard about, please talk about it.
14. K: wa... raraN hiya' ga', mqwas Gipun ga', muha' gaga' ru' musa'
hm̄kangi' mukan son nha' kmut, son nha'... k...t...raraN.
14. K: In the past during the Japanese period, they followed the custom by
looking for Chinese and cut their heads. They did that in the past.
15. C: TayaN ga'?
15. C: You mean the Atayal did?

16. K: aw raraN lsa ay.

16. K: Yes, it was in the past.

17. C: aw.

17. C: Yes.

18. K: pnungan maku' cikay ke' nkis raraN.

18. K: I have heard from our ancestors about it.

19. C: wa su' ktan?

19. C: Have you seen it?

20. K: ini' ku' kita' e, pnung maku' maku' ke' nha' ga'.

20. K: I did not see it. I only heard about it.

21. C: aw...

21. C: Oh...

22. K: wa misuw, misuw trang mwah Gipun hiya' ga'... kutan ga'.

22. K: Since before the Japanese came, we had already done headhunting.

23. C: mha nanu' la, mha nanu' kinraraN, wa su' pungan nanu' bla'q na' zyaw ha, ini' ga' nanu' wa su' pcyawgun rari ga', bla'q balay su' lungun ga', ini' ga' llungun su' ru' m'wi' lungun su' ga', si hmut kmaN cikay ma.

23. C: What was it like in the past? Have you heard about anything good? Or what did you do in the past? Are there any good things you could think of? Or you can think more about it. And if you can think about any sad things, just talk about it freely.

24. K: si maki' Gipun lga', bla'q ta' nya', bla'q ay bla'q lungun nyu yaqih la, misuw ga', ini' tnaq lga', ini' tnaq la, Gipun raraN maki' a hmluy hazi wah, aw... magaN ta' kuriy uzi rwa.

24. K: When the Japanese were here, they treated us well. Be that as it may, it was bad in retrospect. The situation now is not the same any

more. In the Japanese period, if we had something to pull, we hired coolies.

25. C: a...a...

25. C: Oh.

26. K: magaN bei kuriy raraN Gipun uzi.

26. K: In the Japanese period, we also hired coolies.

27. C: han han.

27. C: Oh, I see.

28. K: kwara' nanu' zyaw ga' scbaq nya'.

28. K: They taught us everything.

29. C: ki inu' ngasaN mamu raraN? ru' nanu' piyang mamu raraN?

29. C: Where was your home in the past? What was most important to you?

30. K: yonmay laqi', yonmay lalu', slaq ga',

30. K: Four children. (my home was) in Slaq.

31. C: aw, slaq, aw, ki inu' kraya' ga'?

31. C: Oh, it was in Slaq. Where is it? Is it above (higher on the mountain)?

32. K: aw.

32. K: Yes.

33. C: 'yat qani ngasaN mamu raraN rwa.

33. C: Your home before was not like this.

34. K: yan qa ay, ya qa ngasaN raraN ga', ngasaN Tayan raraN Gipun, kryangan rima' raraN rima' ga', ini' kiyang qa raraN la.

34. K: My home was sort of like this also. The Atayalic houses in the Japanese period were enclosed with bamboo. The ones before are not like the ones now.

35. C: ru' pira' mamu hi' pi, gmluw simu qnxan mamu raraN, mtswe'
mamu ru' yaba' yaya' su' ga', gluw yaba' yaya' su' ga'?

35. C: How many people were there in your family? How many relatives did you have before? Your brothers and sisters and your parents and your parents' relatives?

36. K: yat saku' maki' raraN, maki' Tampia, yaya' mu ga',

36. K: I was not in this area before. I was in Tampia. My mother,

37. C: han, kahuN su' Tampia ga'?

37. C: Oh. Are you from Tampia?

38. K: aw, han, kahuN sami... Tampia qasa qu' puqing qmayah yaya' ku',
qu'...

38. K: Yes, we came from Tampia. That was my mother's hometown.

39. C: kinhulan su' ga'?

39. C: Is that your origin?

40. K: aw, ru', mpuw pitu' kawas maku' lga', wahan ku' nha' smzyay la,
galun ku' nha' la.

40. K: Yes. And when I was seventeen years old, they came to propose to me. I got married.

41. C: son su' nha' nanu' tinyai klani cikay ma.

41. C: What did they do when they proposed to you? Please talk about it.

42. K: a...

42. K: Eh...

43. C: son su' nha' wahan nanu' tinyai nki' mha nanu' wahan su' nha'
tinyai klani cikay ma, wiwan na' rekisi su' ga', pungai ta' cikay?

43. C: How did they propose to you? Please talk about it. Talk about your history. Let us listen to you.

44. K: wahan nha' smzyay pi. wahan nha' smzyay qu' yaya'. yaya' ga' wahan nha' smzyay, aw.

44. K: They came to propose. They talked to my mother. It was my mother whom they talked to.

45. C: musa' su' inu' hiya'?

45. C: Where did you go then?

46. K: naki' ku' ngasaN pi.

46. K: I was home!

47. C: ini' su' tkmu' ga'?

47. C: Didn't you hide?

48. K: baha balay tkmu'?

48. K: How could I hide?

49. C: ini' su' sayux musa' mgyay mayah, ruma rwa.

49. C: Didn't you feel shy and escape to the field? Some people did.

50. K: ay, nanu' siga' tmlux, ini' ku' siang knan, yaya' maku' kyalun nha', ga', smwaN yaya' maku' lga', yaya' maku' kmaN knan la, kmaN knan mha, mswa' musa', smwaN, pswaN su' ga', ini' ku' siuk uzi ay, sayux ku' rwa, (laugh) si ku' ngilis, e ngilis, aw kira' kira' lga', ngilis saku' lga', nanak mrhuw raraN rwa, ngilis lga', smwaN lma, (laugh) raraN ga', aw... ngilis lga' smwaN lma, smwaN lma, ya, ini' ngilis ga' ini' swaN.

50. K: I just kept quiet. I did not utter a word. They talked to my mother. If my mother agreed, she would talk to me. She asked me, "How is it? Are you willing?" I did not answer either. I was shy. (laugh) I could only cry. So afterwards I cried. This is our ancestors' custom that if you cried, you were willing. (laugh) In the past, if you cried, you were willing. If you did not cry, you were not willing.

51. C: aw... (laugh)

51. C: Oh, I see. (laugh)

52. K: mha qani ga' zyaw, yaqih zyaw raraN.

52. K: It was not good for things to be done this way before.

53. C: mswa' lpi, ngilis su' la.

53. C: Why wasn't it good? You cried.

54. K: ngilis balay lru', nanak kyalun ku' nha' lga', si ku' tmlux lga', nyu smwaN son ku' nha' lpi, ga', kyalun ku' yaya' mu uye (uzi), blaq qu' squliq laxi se'iq (seziq) nasa uzi. blaq na' squliq ga', ga' si ku' tmlux la, kira' lga', kira', smwayan mha ke' nha', smwaN la, asa, wahan ku' nha' magaN la, wahan ku' nha' smzyay la, wahan ku' nha' mita' le (lozi), wahan ku' nha' mita' lru', bsyaq hazi lga', wahan saku', qsinuw lru', nhe uwah sapat la, yat bzyok.

54. K: After I really cried, they talked to me. I just kept quiet. They said that I agreed. My mother talked to me, "He is a good person. Don't say anything against him." Since (I was told that) he was a nice person, I just kept quiet. Later they said they agreed. After I agreed, they came to marry me. They came to propose to me. They came to see me. After they came to see me, after a while, they came to bring animals as gifts to me. They were not pigs.

55. C: han, qsinuw, qsinuw.

55. C: Oh, animals.

56. K: yasa bingi' ru', a... pins'unan nha' lga', yasa qu' musa' lpi, musa' mita' ke', musa' mita' ia, wahan nha' mita' ngasaN lga'.

56. K: That night they married us. Then we went to see (our parents).

After we visited them, they came to visit us at home.

57. C: musa' tmanga' (tmnga').

57. C: You went to Mangan.

58. K: aw ga', mnaki Mangan uzi qu' minagaN qa, maki' Mangan ngasaN nha'.

58. K: Yes, the people who married me were from Mangan. Their home was in Mangan.

59. C: han, nanu' maki' Mangan hga'.

59. C: Oh, they lived in Mangan.

60. K: aw, ru' galun ku' nha' lga', ini' ku' swaN maki' Mangan la, mwah Ulay qasa, mwah ku' tmwang cikay.

60. K: Yes. And after they married me, I did not like to live in Mangan. I came to Ulay. I moved here.

61. C: mwah Ulay lga'.

61. C: So you came to Ulay.

62. K: aw.

62. K: Yes.

63. C: na bes su' qasa ga', kinkahuN i.. Ulay qani ga', ini ga' kahuN Mangan?

63. C: Was your husband (partner) from Ulay? Or was he from Mangan?

64. K: kahuN Mangan ki!

64. K: He was from Mangan!

65. C: ima' gluw nya' qani pi?

65. C: Did he have any relatives here?

66. K: ungat, ungat gluw nya', kya kwara' qu' laqi' nya' cyu qa pi.

66. K: No, he had no relatives here. Only his children are here.

67. C: ima' gluw nya' pi, ima' lalu'?

67. C: Who were his relatives? What were their names?

68. K: gluw nya' sqa?

68. K: His relatives from where?

69. C: aw, i... hu... Mangan ga'?

69. C: From Mangan?

70. K: Mangan ga', sa, kwara' a... ingat kwara' lwah, wa mhuqiN kwara' ubuy nha' lasa la.

70. K: In Mangan, none of his relatives are left. They all died.

71. C: ungat lga', ungat nanu' toki baqi su' lga'?

71. C: There is no one left? You don't know if there is anyone left?

72. K: ungat la, ungat gluw nha' lwah, hoqiN kotas maku' qu' bhlan lga', ungat kwara' qu' nkis uzi la, laqi' nyux la.

72. K: There is no one left. None of his relatives are left. My grandfather died. All the old people are gone. Only the children are left.

73. C: ima' laqi' nha' pi kinbahan nha' qani, yani yan Mangan ga' ima' laqi' Mangan?

73. C: Who are their children? Who is there in Mangan? Are there any children in Mangan?

74. K: Ho.

74. K: Uh.

75. C: kinbahan nha' ga', baha ungat kinbahan nha' la, ana mhoqiN bnkis kya mhtuw laqi' nha' ru', kinbahan nha' rwa? ima' pi, mutu bes nha'?

75. C: Their descendents. How is it possible that their descendents are all gone? Even if the old ones died, their children are still alive. Who are their children?

76. K: ungat a...

76. K: There are no more.

77. C: baqun su'?

77. C: Do you know about it?

78. K: ungat a... rwa lga', ungat kinbahan gluw kotas ta' le'e, ungat la, ungat.

78. K: No more. My grandfather had no relatives left. There are no more.

79. C: mpurung lga'?

79. C: Was the family tree cut off?

80. K: aw la.

80. K: Yes.

81. C: wa si purung lga'?

81. C: Did it get cut off?

82. K: aw.

82. K: Yes.

83. C: kya nanak isu' lru'.

83. C: There is only you left.

84. K: aw, mwah sami sqa' lpi.

84. K: Yes, that's why we came here.

85. C: kya nanak simu nyux ma,...

85. C: Only your household is left.

86. K: aw la, laqi' kotas nanak la.

86. K: Yes, I am the only immediate family member left.

87. C: han, han, han.

87. C: Oh, I see.

88. K: Yukan qu' qasa lru', e... khmay laqi' kotas wa mhoqiN kwara', Payas, baqun su' Payas uzi, Payas Watan ga', likuy yangu Bakan ga', m...m... ru' Temu ga', likuy ni' Yangu Rasun uzi m... sue' qutux likuy mu kwara' pi.

88. K: There was Yukan. (His) grandfather had many children who had all died. Payas, do you know Payas? Payas Watan was sister Bakan's husband, and Temu was sister Rasun's husband. They were all my husband's relatives.

89. C: wa mhoqiN, mhoqiN.

89. C: They have died.

90. K: aw, payat likuy payat neriN. laqi' kaki' mu ga', neriN hiya' lga', sa(z)ing ka nyux uzi, ssue' ga'...

90. Yes, my husband had four brothers and four sisters. My late grandmother has two daughters, who are still alive. The two sisters are...

91. C: ima'?

91. C: Who are they?

92. K: sswe' ga' laqi', laqi' Yaki' mu ga'...

92. K: The two sisters, who are my grandmother's children, are...

93. C: ima' pi?

93. C: Who are they?

94. K: Pozi ru' Pisuy Watan.

94. K: Pozi and Pisuy Watan.

95. C: han, han, han, nyux myanux hani ga'?

95. C: Oh, yes. Are they still alive?

96. K: aw, Pozi ru' Pisuy Watan, aw (interruption) Pozi, a... su' baqun Pozi hiya' pi?

96. K: Yes, Pozi and Pisuy Watan are still alive. (C was interrupted because someone just took her umbrella without telling her. Her attention was divided for a second.) Pozi, do you know Pozi?

97. C: ima'?

97. C: Who?

98. K: Pozi.

98. K: Pozi.

99. C: baqun mu, cyux lokah nbuw nya' rwa.

99. C: I know her. She is still strong enough to drink wine.

100. K: aw, Pisuy Watan?

100. K: Yes. Do you know Pisuy Watan?

101. C: baqun mu, ru' wa mhoqiN qutux i... ima' rwa, i... Yaba'.

101. C: I know her. There is an old person who died. Who is it?

102. K: wa mhoqiN lga'? Teruko qa lmrwa.

102. K: The one who died? It is Teruko.

103. C: Teruko lru', ima' la? qutux lasa pi, a... ru'... ru' ima' lalu' lasa lwah?

103. C: Teruko? Who is she? What is her name?

104. K: Payat laqi' nya' gaw, payat laqi' nya' neriN payat likuy.

104. K: She had four children. Four daughters and four sons.

105. C: m...

105. C: Mm.

106. K: likuy hiya' lga'...

106. K: Her husband...

107. C: ima' likuy nya'?

107. C: Where is her husband?

108. K: ungat la, ungat kwara' la, waN kwara' la, likuy ungat kwara' la, likuy.

108. K: He is gone. They are all gone.

109. C: uwah qani cikay ma, uwah qani cikay ma, aw, tama' sqa, ru' mha nanu' i... kinraraN i... mhoqiN yaki' su'? nansay su' pi hoqiN yaki' su'?

109. C: Come closer! Sit closer to me! In the past... How did your grandmother die? How old were you when your grandmother died?

110. K: baqaw ta' a... pira' kawas ini' baqi, ima' sa pira' laqi' sa pi, a... maki' kwara' laqi' mu lwah, nanak Hacyang qani a... ini' shnga' kaki' mu la, tzyu' kwara' laqi' mu, mtzyu' kwara' laqi' mu, magaN likuy ga', qutux neriN, ungat kwara' la, sa(z)ing balay a... mlikuy nyu mqyanux la, mhoqiN cyugaN, ru' Hacyang qa la, sswe' bey, (Der-Hwa asked C to ask K about her tattoo)

110. K: I don't know. I don't know how old I was then. How many children did I have then? I had all my children except my daughter Hacyang (whom I am currently living with) who were not born in time to see my grandmother. I had altogether six children. Among the six children, five are male and one is female. They are almost all gone. Only two sons are still alive. Three sons died. Hacyang is the youngest daughter.

111. C: tasan su' qani yaki' ta', tasan su' nansay su', tasan su', swa' su' mlux tasan?

111. C: You have tattoos here, grandmother. How old were you when you were tattooed? Why were you tattooed?

112. K: baqaw.

112. K: I don't know.

113. C: swa' su' tasan pi?

113. C: Why were you tattooed?

114. K: baqaw ta' mrhuw raraN, mrhuw raraN, a... ungat qani mga', yaqih ma, yaqih ktan.

114. K: I don't know what the chief's regulations were. If there were no tattoos, people said it was no good. It was ugly.

115. C: yaqih ktan.

115. C: It's ugly.

116. K: aw, yan na' kmukan lma.

116. K: Yes, they are like Chinese.

117. C: han.

117. C: Oh, I see.

118. K: ini' ku' bey swaN lhuyan ku' nha', ini' ku' nha' ssay.

118. K: I did not really agree with it but they tattooed me. They did not let me go out.

119. C: nansay su' pi? Nansay su'?

119. C: How old were you?

120. K: ay, a... mpu... mpuw tzyu kawas mu hazi.

120. K: I was about sixteen years old.

121. C: ini', ini' su' agaN likuy kya na rwa?

121. C: You were not yet married?

122. K: ini' na, ini'.

122. K: Not yet.

123. C: ini' kekong.

123. C: You were not married.

124. K: ini', ini'.

124. K: No, not yet.

125. C: ini' su' usa' tayaN kya na rwa?

125. C: You were not married yet?

126. K: ini'.

126. K: Not yet.

127. C: han, han, ga', gaga' tayaN raraN mga'?

127. C: Oh, I see. Was that an Atayalic tradition?

128. K: aw, gaga' tayaN.
128. K: Yes, that was an Atayalic tradition.
129. C: ini' ptasi ga'?
129. C: If they were not tattooed?
130. K: yaqih, yaqih ktan.
130. K: They were ugly.
131. C: ungat psoya' ma, ini' ga' yaqih ktan ma.
131. C: I heard that nobody would like her. It might be the case that she was ugly.
132. K: (laugh) a... baqaw ta'.
132. K: (laugh) Oh, I don't know.
133. C: pungan mu yaki', i... ungat magaN ma, ungat smoya' ma.
133. C: I heard from my mother that no one married her. No one liked her.
134. K: msyaw sa la.
134. K: She was joking.
135. C: yan ni sunan krakis ga', soman talah qani blaq mga', i... ini' ptasan ma.
135. C: The tattoo (on your forehead) is red. I heard it is not tattoo.
136. K: (laugh) msyaw sa la, yasa qu' gaga' raraN hiya' pi, qsuyan kwara' qu' niru' qani, ungat nanak qutux ini' si' raraN ay, kya kwara'.
136. K: (laugh) That's not true. Tattooing is our tradition. All the elder siblings were tattooed here. There was no one who was not tattooed in the past.
137. C: aw, aw, ini' si'... yaki' mu haciziu nansay.
137. C: But my mother, who is eighty years old, has no tattoos.
138. K: hngan sami Gipun la.

138. K: We were caught by the Japanese period.
139. C: han, hngan simu Gipun, aw la.
139. C: Yes, you were caught by the Japanese period.
140. K: ini' swaN Gipun lru', lihuy yani hiya' ga', nwahan quriq lihuy uzi e... nwahan quriq, (laugh) nwahan smhetay Gipun rwa, ini' nya' a, ini' nya' baqi ha, ini', an ku' nha' ini' baqi quriq ku' pi.
140. K: The Japanese did not allow us to be tattooed. The tattoo on my forehead, I went to get tattooed secretly. I went secretly (laugh). The Japanese soldiers came to watch over us. They did not know that I did it secretly.
141. C: muriq, kya su' bhian su' kya tayaN smoya' ita' ay, (laugh).
141. C: We did it secretly because the Atayal liked to be bound.
142. K: baha yasa la (laugh) a...
142. K: Oh, I see, this is the reason (laugh).
143. C: yan sa mukan qa bhian nha' kakay ru' cipuq kakay nha'.
143. C: It's like the Chinese bound their feet and they had small feet.
144. K: aw.
144. K: Oh.
145. C: yan nasa pi, ita' tayaN hiya' ga', ptasan ma.
145. C: By the same reasoning, we Atayals have tattoos.
146. K: aw kya balay haye.
146. K: Yes, it's probably the case.
147. C: gaga' hazi rwa.
147. C: This is our tradition.
148. K: aw.
148. K: Yes.

149. C: baha, baha su' nanu', a... ima' lalu' matas isu'? kya gaga' nya', musa' su' mha nanu', ptasan su' nya', kya gaga' nya', musa', musa', i... smoya' su' si su' hmut musa' ptasan.

149. C: Who tattooed you? Were there any regulations concerning how they tattooed you. Did you go get tattooed because you wanted to do it or you just get tattooed indiscriminately?

150. K: aw, a... kya smoya' ga', biqan pila' ay, lihuy ga'.

150. K: Yes, if you wanted to be tattooed on the forehead, you had to give money.

151. C: biqan pila' ga'?

151. C: Did you give money?

152. K: aw, ru'...

152. K: Yes, and...

153. C: ptasan biqan pila'.

153. C: You had to pay to be tattooed.

154. K: aw.

154. K: Yes.

155. C: pira' pila'?

155. C: How much was it?

156. K: cipuq, cipuq raraN.

156. K: It was very little before.

157. C: kya pila' nya' raraN uzi ga'?

157. C: Was there also money before?

158. K: aw, pila', cipuq pila' raraN hiya', ini' kiya' pila' ta' misuw qa.

158. K: Yes, there was money. But there was very little money before. The money is not like what we have now.

159. C: sengyun ga'? kya nanu' inlungun su', kinraraN su' blaq psyaqan ga', klani cikay ma, ini' ga' kya su' wa pungan mha nanu' kinraraN, nanu' zyaw a... ini' qutux nanu' zyaw, wa su' shhu'un ga'?

159. C: Are they coins? Can you think of anything before that is funny? Please talk about it. Or have you heard about anything in the past or is there anything that you have forgotten about?

160. K: raraN hiya' ga', mhtuw nanu' zyaw yaqih zyaw ga', a... kngun balay wah, kya marawiy raraN, kya qu' mhmud ga', kngun balay ay, e, maras pi, lalaw, khngyun nha' mlikuy ga', mutu nha' btaqan.

160. K: In the past if people did any bad things, (the result) could be very scary. There was sex outside marriage. If someone committed adultery, (the result) was very scary. People would take a big knife, chase the man and stab him.

161. C: ana nha' kneriN uzi ru', ptasan nha' e... btaqan nha' lga'?

161. C: Even the woman was stabbed?

162. K: aw, ktan nha' balay ga', baqaw ta', aki nha' bhayan balay ha ay.

162. K: Yes. After they caught them, I don't know, maybe they would beat them.

163. C: ana ungat kneriN ana ungat mlikuy nya'.

163. C: It doesn't matter whether it's woman or man.

164. K: aw ga', tnaq mrkyas ga'.

164. K: Yes, the young people were treated the same.

165. C: uka' e.

165. C: Is that so!

166. K: aw.

166. K: Yes.

167. C: mutu yaqih zyaw ga'?

167. C: If they committed adultery?
168. K: aw, yaqih zyaw lga',
168. K: Yes, after they committed adultery,
169. C: kinraraN ga',
169. C: In the past,
170. K: aw, hbyagun nha' pi.
170. K: Yes, they chased them.
171. C: wa su' mita' ini' ga'?
171. C: You have seen it, haven't you?
172. K: aw, kngun balay.
172. K: Yes, it was very scary.
173. C: klyani cikay, ha.
173. C: Please talk about it.
174. K: nanu' lqengun nha' lpi, nya'... (waw, waw, qu' a... kyolay nha', kyolay nha' qu' nyu hmzyaw nanu' a... nyu hmzyaw kngun balay, nanu' galaw ru' yaqu' nanu' sapiwah, kinban ita' ga'),
174. They hid them. (The chasing was very scary. [Translation unclear]).
175. C: aw pneluq.
175. C: They used arrows.
176. K: aw pneluq uzi.
176. K: Yes, they also had arrows with them.
177. C: aw, pneluq uzi.
177. C: Oh, they used arrows too.
178. K: nanu' lqingun qu' mlikuy kneriN lmpi, yupun ziq sakaw.
178. K: They hid the man and the woman, they brought them into the house.
179. C: ngungu' hazi la.

179. C: It was quite scary.

180. K: m... ruma ga' musa' ska' nahiy, kngun balay na' zyaw.

180. K: Some went to the forest on the mountain. It was something very scary.

181. C: kya kinbaqan...

181. C: Do you know...

182. K: a...

182. K. a...

183. C: kya yaw kya wa mhtuw yan qasa yaw, raraN ay.

183. C: Were things like that discovered before?

184. K: ya raraN hiya' ga' pzyux balay.

184. K: In the past there were quite a number.

185. C: wa muluw ga'?

185. C: They found it?

186. K: aw, ini' pung ke' yaya', ini' pung ke' yaya', hmut ga', hupa' gaga' raraN hiya' ay. ini' bay hmut ini' kiya' a... gaga' misuw ta' ga', hmut ta' ga', gaga' raraN hiya' ga', ini' hmut na' qutux. hmut lmgga', musa' qmalup la ini' phop bzyok lma.

186. K: Yes. If one did not listen to one's mother but did things foolishly, the punishment was very severe before. It was not a small matter. Unlike the situation now that people do things indiscriminately. According to our regulations before, nothing could be done indiscriminately. If we did, when we went hunting, we could not catch any pigs.

187. C: han, phop bzyok lga'.

187. C: Oh I see. They could not catch pigs.

188. K: aw, aw, ini' phop bzyok lma, ru' musa' ta' qmalup la, takuy ta' uye (uzi) lma ru', takuy ru'.

188. K: Yes, not only couldn't they catch any pigs, but they would also fall if they went hunting. They would fall.

189. C: ngungu' la.

189. C: It's threatening.

190. K: aw, ngungu' lru',.

190. K: Yes, it's threatening.

191. C: nya' hbyagun qanux ga'?

191. C: They would be chased by wild animals, wouldn't they?

192. K: aw, aw pi, mha kya raraN, zihong ay.

192. K: Yes, it was like this before. It was difficult.

193. C: kya yasa wakay raraN ga'?

193. C: Did the young people hear about this before?

194. K: a...

194. K: a...

195. C: kya ga' miya' qasa, aw kya ga' miya' qasa raraN laqi', si hmut kya?

195. C: Were there any children who did things indiscriminately like that before?

196. K: ay, i... ini' pzyux, ini' pzyux, ini' pung ke' yaya' ga', mha kya, ini' pyzyux a...

196. K: Not too many. Even they did not listen to their mother, there were not too many people who did things like that (committing adultery).

197. C: ima' lmqing laha' lpi, ima' lmqing?

197. C: Who hid the couple (who had committed adultery)?

198. K: squliq lpi, squliq qu' kngun nha'.

198. K: People did. People who were afraid.

199. C: yat gluw nha', gluw nha' ga', aki mihiy rwa.

199. C: Not their relatives. Would their relatives beat them?

200. K: aw, gluw nha' mihiy ru'.

200. K: Yes, their relatives would beat them.

201. C: bhayan nha' a... tnuxun nha' pi?

201. C: Would they beat them and stone them?

202. K: ay ktan nha' balay ga', wahi mihiy, aki nha' tnuxun mihiy ru' tnuxun nha' mihiy, aw, masuq hmut nha', rasun maki' cyugaN bingi' lga', wa, wa ungat hmut nha' lga', son nha' hmkangi' la ru', rasun nha' lga', nanu' a..., rasun nha' qu' kneriN likuy lga', ga', ini' nha' bhay la, lukus qa lpi, minihiy tayaN taya'.

202. K: If they saw it, they would go to beat them. They would stone them. After the event, the couple who committed adultery were taken to a different room for three days. If they did not commit any more crimes, they would let them go. After they took the couple away, they did not beat them anymore. They prepared clothes for them to wear.

203. C: lukus tayaN?

203. C: Atayalic clothes?

204. K: lukus tayaN, sbaziy nha' lukus la, aw, ini' nha' bhay la, wa ungat hmut nha' lga', bkawn nha' hpi. mha kya pinaras nha', kngun balay wah, mha kya ka, ini' si kya, mrhuw raraN hiya', ini' pzyux mha kya, cipuq.

204. Atayalic clothes. They bought clothes for them. They did not beat them anymore. If they did not commit adultery anymore, they were separated. It was very scary. (The couple who committed adultery) were taken and beaten mercilessly. There were not too many cases of adultery in the past. It was very few.

205. C: cipuq? aw baha hmswa' hupa' gaga' nya'.

205. C: Very few? Yes, it's because the law was severe.

206. K: haw! hupa' gaga' nya' raraN, ini' pzyang hmut.

206. K: Yes. The law was strict, so people did not dare commit any crimes intentionally.

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