THE ORIGIN OF HEADHUNTING
AN ATAYAL TEXT WITH VOCABULARY

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1. INTRODUCTION

In 1961 and 1962 I had occasion to spend half a year in Taiwan under the auspices of the Carlsberg Foundation of Copenhagen[1] and the Academia Sinica[2], Nan Kang. I worked with the Atayal language which I have previously treated in four papers[3] to which the reader is referred for detailed information on phonology and grammar.

The text published here consists of the transcription of part of a taped conversation which took place in the village of Wulai, South of Taipei, 14 January 1962 between a 38 year old man (called A in the text) from the Gogan area and a 51 year old man (called B in the text) from the Tranan area. The conversation deals with the question of headhunting, especially the origin of this custom as to which the Atayals have two different explanations. One is that at the time when the Atayals were leaving their place of origin they had a dispute with a people called the Khmaiun (or Skhmaiun) which resulted in the Khmaiun permitting the Atayals to hunt their heads[4]. Another story tells that the Atayals at a later point in their history went out looking for people to hunt and found the Chinese who similarly made a deal with them, permitting them to hunt their heads. In this text the person called B tells both of the stories, mixing them up slightly.

The text is accompanied by an English translation and a vocabulary contain-

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3 'A statement on Atayal phonology', *Artibus Asiae* (Felicitation volume for the seventy–fifth birthday of Prof. G. H. Luce, vol. 1, 1966, 120–130): 'Verb inflexion in Atayal'. *Lingua* 15 (1965) 251–282; 'An English-Atayal word list', *Acta Orientalia* 19 (1965) 203–220: 'Word order and word classes in Atayal' *Language* 42 (1966) 346–369.

4. This story is found in Ogawa Naoyoshi: *The myths and traditions of the Formosan native tribes*, Taihoku, 1935, pp. 58–61, and translated by Edward Norbeck in: Folklore of the Atayals of Formosa and the mountain tribes of Luzon, Ann Arbor, 1950, pp 23–24.

ing all the words found in the text, some related words referred to in the vocabulary, and some important affixes.

2. TEXT

A: ruu, maki? gaga? mamu musa? mgaga? uzi ra, simu ga.

B: kiaa.

A: hmsua? musa? mgaga?, iasa qu? skaial cikai uzi. son muci . . ., nanu? son nha? muci musa? mgaga? ga. taial sua? lux muci . . .

B: nanu qu? mha mgaga? hia ga?, kia qu? spɣan na? mnkis gau. me?a sna? kia qu? iziau ra. kia qu? ziau, ii, ki?a su? kuziŋ qu? ual mziui? squ? qaia? su ga. ual saku? mziui? qaia? su ru?, nanak gaga? mrhuu raral hia?. qaia? su? ual maku? pzi?un ru? nial qu? cqaia? qasa. ini? kaial muci, phogun misu? ai qasa ga.

sua?, ini? uah, niux saku? pbabau. babau nia? lasa la. kmal qu? mrhuu raral ma. rua ru? maki? qu? lmha kia, kmut tunux kmukan qasa pi. ee. kmal qu? mrhuu raral qasa ma. hkaɣi? ta? qutux mosa? balai liqan balai ihoiai balai na? pkaial laqi? ui. nuai ta? maki? inu? qbaqan ta? kialan na?, thoiai laqi? ta?, mha kia qu? ispɣan na? laqi?, muci qu? mnkis sma. nanu qu? ini? ta? tusi qasa ga?, mosa? uɣat gaga?, muci qu? nkis nha? ma. nanu qu? kmal qu?, spkaial nha? balai ma au?, nanu iasa qu? mkaial balai mrhuu ta? raral qasa ma ru?, nuai ta? balai, nuai ins?urux isquliq hkɣiau ta?, mha ma. ini? ta uci . . . ., ini? ta? uahi snhoiai kmut squliq ga?, iiat ta? thiaiun qu?, iiat ta? thoiai squ? pkaial,

muci ke? na? mrhuu raral ma. nanu, ii, maki? qu? pkaial ta ga?, nanu? maki? pkaial ta? ziau na? laqi? ga?, mosa? ta? kmut squ? . . ., kmut kmukan ga?, mosa? maki? kia qu? baqun ta mhau. ual snhi? ru? ual ini? ksiau ru? snhiun utux, son na? mrhuu raral sma. nanu? klaiun nha? balai ma ru?, nanu?, aa, maki? qu? ziau qasa la ma ga?, nanu?, aa, mosa? balai imrhuu raral ma. nuahan nha? balai tmalam ma. iiat nha? balai iknbaq ha ma uah. nuan balai tmalam, mha ke? nia?. puqiŋ mrhuu raral maki? kia igogan sa ha ma gaau. nanu si usa? ma ru? iiat nha? knbaq kriax muah bstunux hia?. ini? kaki?, ini? ki?i squliq kuara? ibstunux hia? ma rua. nanu si usa? kriax ma ru?, saziŋ balai hi? nha? ma. ana mrhuu mamu ga? kina nha? ciux baqun uzi pi.

A: Did you also have the custom of going headhunting?

B: Yes, of course.

A: Let us also discuss a little for what reason you went headhunting. What is it they call headhunting [< doing the customary thing, carrying out the customary thing, carrying out the custom, fulfilling the law]? Why did the Atayals have this unfortunate habit?

B: The so-called headhunting was the criterion of our forefathers for judging between two parties. If for example there is a problem. There is a problem, for examble I have stolen something of yours. I have stolen someting of yours, and in this case the custom of our ancestors is very strange. I have stolen your thing and the owner of that thing [i. e. you] comes. Maybe you say, "I will fine you for this".

Oh, no, I am ahead of my story. That comes later. Our ancestors tell a story. You know, when they had such an argument, they would cut off Chinese heads. The ancestors said, "Let us find a method by which our children can settle their disputes. Let us find out where the method is by which we can discuss . . ., by which our children can settle their disputes, so that our children shall have a criterion for judging". The old people said like that. "If we do not do like that, there will be no law". This was how those ancestors thought. So they said . . . ., they really discussed the matter, and then those ancestors of ours said, "Let it be like this, let us seek a living [< standing] man [as the criterion by which we judge]. Otherwise, if we do not succeed in decapitating a human being, we shall not have succeeded, we shall not have won the argument".

Our ancestors spoke like that. "So if we have a dispute, if an argument arises between two of our children, we shall cut those . . ., we shall cut Chinese [heads], and so we shall have a method by which to know whom to fine. If a peson is honest and has not been lying, the spirits will trust him", the ancestors said. So they made the rule that if an argument of this kind came up, our ancestors would actually go [headhunting]. They went and tried their luck. Before they did not know this method. They went to try their luck, so the story says. Originally our ancestors lived at Gogan. They just went without knowing the road people use all the time for going to Stunux. They did not live there, nobody lived at Stunux then, you know. So they just went on and on, just two people. Maybe also your

niux niux muah stunux. si nha? sr?agi ma ai. ciux kia istunux qu? son
nha? lxiux, aa, pskli? rua gau. son nha? m?abi? siau siluŋ ma. ki?a pira?
biaciŋ nuah kia qu? mrhuu ta? raral qasa ma ga. nuah maki? kia ma l?ui.
nanu qutux qutux riax si kaial utux kriax ma ru?, ziau mian qani ga? bali
sami muah ptma?. niux sami maras muah sami shoiai ipkaial na? ilaqi? sami
qani. ana uŋat qu? kmukan qa ga?, niux mian uahan qani ga. tpehun sna?
utux qu? inaras mian squ? ipkaial mian qani, ru? muah squ? mosa? mian,
ii, ispkaial ilaqi? qani, irasun mian ŋasal ga, son nha? ma.

son nha? tmapeh. nanu? kira? kira? la ma ga?, kina baqun utux la ma ui.
ruu? si ktai lozi qu? nial nial balai siutun qu?, aa, nial mha sqani ma ga?,
nial si ktai cipoq balai ktan ma ai. nial nial muci sqani, nial hmkani? umi?
ma gau. kaki? nha? siau mita? ma ga?, nanu? lalu? nasa, muci pkaial ma.
kira? kira? la ma ui ru? si ktai balai qu? nial qmasu? balai la ma, squliq
balai la ma ga. uu nanak srua nia? raral srxan nia? blbah, bun behui ga?,
iasa qu? hmului. iupan behui lbah qasa. nanu qu? nial lpi, nanu qu? tpehun
nha? malat ma.

nanu kina ini? gɣi na? asaŋ pi qu? pqziuan mrhuu raral ga. tpehun nha?
malat, uah, uah, snhoiai su na? moha? su? iiat kiut pkaial laqi? qani ga.
iiat bzinah muah su? balai. son nha? ma. tpehun nha? malat ma ru? cziu?
stapeh nha? ma pi. si ktai nial nial balai, kmukan qasa la ma. saziŋ balai
ma pi, kmukan qasa ma ga. saziŋ taial uzi ma ui. inu? aa. khmai taial hia?
ma. khmai· mpuu msiau.

A: tpehun nia? ru? nial.

B: tpehun nia? balai ma ru? nial balai ma. hi? balai na? kmukan nial balai la,
laqi?. bla? balai uah. ia? qani balai snpuŋ na? utux, muah qmes, aa, ipkaial
ilaqi? naras ta la, mha mnkis qasa ma. nanu?, aa, nial balai, aa, kmukan

ancestors [A's ancestors] know about this.

They were on their way to Stunux. They went along the river. The story says that at Stunux there is a rock called Pskli?. They went there to sleep [stay] on the coast of the ocean. I do not know how many months our ancestors were gone to that place. They went to live there. Every day they said to the spirits, "As far as our errand is concerned, we have not come here for no reason. We have brought with us the errand of wanting to solve the disputes of our children. Even though there are no Chinese here, we have come to this place. The spirits will call them, and because of this question which we have brought with us, they will come, and we can solve the disputes of our children, and we can bring home [the solution, the Chinese head]", so they said.

So they called them, and somewhat later perhaps the spirits knew. Suddenly somebody really came from far away, they came like this [B mimics the gestures of rowing a boat]. Suddenly they came, they could just a little bit see them. They came and came like this, they came walking [i. e. sailing] on the ocean. They saw them from the beach and said, "What is that?". Afterwards they really suddenly came rowing, real people. They had that funny kind of sail which they used to put up in the old days. When the wind blew the sail, it pulled them along. The wind filled that sail, then they came. They beckoned them with a piece of white hemp cloth.

Maybe Asa? [B's son] has not forgotten this legend of our forefathers. They beckoned them with a piece of white hemp cloth. "Come, come. You will succeed and not make impossible the solution of our children's disputes. You have come, never to return". Thus they said. They beckoned them with a piece of white hemp cloth. They used a piece of cloth for beckoning them. They suddenly really came, those Chinese. They were just two, those Chinese. There were also two Atayals. What am I talking about? There were many Atayals, more than ten.

A: They beckoned and they came?

B: They really beckoned them, and they really came. "Real Chinese people have come, my children. That is good. This was certainly the design of the spirits. They have come to put an end to our children's dispute which we have brought with us", thus spoke those old people. So those Chinese

qasa. tehuk balai siau balai ma ga. kutan nha? balai la ma. kutan nha? qu?

kmukan qasa ma ru? nanu iasa qu? muah la ma ru?, ha ta? la, laqi?, mha

ma. laxi ta? llgi inuahan ta? qani la. aa, hkɤian ta? qu? lliuɤ ?son ta? la.

ssiukai ta? lliuɤ qa. tlamai ta? smsiuk lliuɤ son ta? qani la.

si ta? balai r?agi inuahan ta? qani ru? si ta? htuu kia gogan la, mha ma.

nanu muah la ma. ta ka hbun balai mnka? la ma ga?. sua? nha? baqun

qu? hbun balai na? qu? lliuɤ qa rua qa uzi pi. niux hbun qu? liuɤ nuni ga.

A: usa? tansui ga.

B: aau. nanu si nha? ssiuki ma ru?. ta qu?, aa, kizaɤ ga?, tlaman nha? smsiuk

sa ma ru? muah puciɤ kia, ii, sakau ma. ktan ma ga? ual sqasa ma ga?,

iiat qani, laqi?, niux ta? kin?uqu? uah. ciux mha sqani lliuɤ nuahan lasa la

ga?, iiat lasa la, mha ma. binah lma ru? muah kia hbun snaqii qasa ma ru?

muah lma ru?, ta balai hbun balai, aa, ulai. kiahu? cikai iaqu?, kraia? cikai

ente? balai qa ga. uu mshziu? lliuɤ raral lasa ha rua. si si ktai qu? puniq.

qutux inutu? krahu? puniq ulai qa lmga. kmukan, laqi?, iani snpuɤ na?

utux rua, mha ma. taal, hiagun nha? la ma. si nha? kmukan ipuniq ulai

qani lmga. niux shiloq rua. kmukan, laqi?, agal, ɤarux, mha mnkis ma.

hiagun nha? ma. tehuk qu? qsia? saqu? kilux qasa lma ui. inu?, inu? qu?

ɤasal, inu? qutux utu? hiloq ma pi. qplan nha? qsia?. sika, kilux kilux,

kuara? mrhuu raral lasa ma. aau, sua? mkilux qsia? qani.

uu kia qani niux shiloq. niux, aa, mnahu? qa gui, mha ma. s?urux liqun

nha? balai mita? qsia?, mha sqani ma ga. iasa balai ma ga, kahul balai sqa

ulai qasa qu? niux shiloq qasa ma. nanu, siaqan mrhuu raral pi. uu ta?

mn?uqu? qani la. sua? nanak hial qani. sua? niux ki?an na? ulai mkilux qani,

muci mha ma. nanu iasa qu? ?luan nha? m?ulai mkilux pi. hga? thazi? qasa

uzi. ktan nha? ma ga? niux hmgun qutux liuɤ lozi ma. ai, baqau ta?, ii,

really came. They came right to the beach. They [the Atayals] cut [off their heads]. When they had killed the Chinese they started back. "Let us be off, children", said [the old people]. "Let us not follow the way we came. Let us find another river and go that way. Let us turn off from the river over there [where we came from]. Let us try to turn off from the river and go this way.

Let us follow the way we came [as far as Liuŋ Tranan], so that we come out in Gogan", so they said. So they started back. Imagine that flat land by Taipei. How could they know that there was a flat place on that river at that point? There is a flat place on the river at this point.

A: Where one goes to Tansui?

B: Yes. Anyhow, they turned off there. You know Kizaŋ [kusua]. They tried turning off there and came as far as Sakau. When they saw that the road went that way, [the old people] said, "This is wrong, children, we have made a mistake. The river we have thus come along was not the right one". They went back and came to HbunSnaqii [between Ulai and Tampia] over there,

and then the next place they got to, what do you know, it was the real Hbun Ulai. It was a little below . . . [Ulai], a little above the dam over there [built by the Japanese]. You know that before, in the old days, the river used to be straight. All of a sudden they saw fire, a big bon fire burning at Ulai. "The Chinese! Children, this was the design of the spirits", they said. Whew, they ran after them. They thought that the fire [smoke, steam] from Ulai [hot springs] was Chinese, it was smoking. "The Chinese! Children, get them, you bears", thus the old people cried. They ran after them. They came to that hot water. "Where are the houses? Where is the smoking fire?" They jumped into the water. All those ancestors of ours only shouted, "It is hot! Hot! Why is this water so hot? Since it is smoking, somebody must be burning a fire". They stood up and carefully looked at the water like this [B shows with gestures how]. Really, the smoke came from those hot springs. Our ancestors laughed. "We were mistaken. Why is the earth so strange here? Why are there hot springs here?" They spoke like that. So they had discovered the hot springs. So they also gave the place that name [Ulai=hot springs]. They saw there was also another river [Liuŋ Agiq] emerging there. "Who knows,

kuni kzia? qu? lliuɣ qani gau, muci ma. ssiukan nha? qutux lozi, qutux liuɣ
qasa ma ru? muah puciɣ agiq ma. san nha? pkiaia? balai ma ga?, ual lozi
te suruu qasa qu? pruagan liuɣ lozi ma ga.

ai, ini? ini? bu? sqani nuahan ta?, laqi?. si ta? r?agi bznaha ta? lozi, mha.
bzinah lozi ma ru? mhtuu hbun qa lozi ma. si nha? r?agi lozi qu? liuɣ qani
ma ru? tehuk balai hbun tranan la ma, niux ki?an ɣasal na? tarus ga. musa?
lozi ma ru? siukan nha? hbun slaq ma ru? nuah puciɣ hbun slaq lozi ma.
iiat lasa uzi ma. bzinah lozi ma ru?, aa, ksiukan nia? qutux qu?, aa, goɣ
tranan lozi ma ru?, iiat qani uah, mha ma. sua? nha? baqun qasa ga, ta qu?
hbun balai ciaquɣ lma ga. si balai tazil kia lma. si balai tazil ki goɣ ciaquɣ.
si nha? llgi goɣ ciaquɣ ru? si balai ta balai maki? balai ska? balai na? goɣ
balai mga?. skrian mita? mha sqani son nha? sqani smpuɣ inuahan nha? ma
ga. ia? qa balai, llaqi?, iiat ta balai, macigainai. ia? qani balai tuqii nia?,
mha ma. nanu si balai usa? qu? mrhuu qasa ma ru? klubuk ai qasa ga?,
nanu si balai tta? quri? balai tman. quri? tman si balai tta? kia ma. tta? kia
la si nia? ktai balai kia hbun gogan la ma. si nia? ktai hbun gogan. si nia?
ktai kuara? qu? ɣasal ma ga. aa, ia? qasa la, laqi?, aa ɣasal ta la. anai ta?
pshiloq sqani qu? qalaɣ ta? tai nha? ktan, mha qa qu? klubuk qasa ma.
tmutu? qhoniq la ru? mnahu? la ma. sian nha? abau qhoniq la ma, sluqan
nha? ma. iia? balai hiloq iasa balai qutux inutu? qara? hiloq. nanu skaki?
nha? hbun gogan mita? lma ga?, si nha? ktai qa bbu? iaba? balai, bu? tman
ma ga, aa, iasa lubuk, laqi?, nial la, mha qu? taial maki? gogan uzi. nial
la, mha ma. nanu, aa, mosa? lubuk ma ru? bziaq balai hbun gogan la ma
ga, nanu? baqun nha? kia qu?, aa, snhi? niux kmut kmukan lma pi. bali
kia kuara? kmukan qani, aa, nuni ru? qa ra. mnuah snhi? kia kmut kia,
ii, mnka? qani tmapeh nha? kahul kia, kia kahul inu? qu? kmukan nial
mluu qasu? ma ga. nanu iasa qu? iriɣan nha? kia qu? muluu, ii, iaqu?

maybe this is the right river". they said. They changed direction again and went along this other river, and came as far as Agiq. While they went scouting for the right way, they also came to the point behind [the Agiq mountains] where the tributary branches off.

"Alas! We have not come to our goal, children. Let us go back along the river", they said. They went back and came out again by this flat area [Hbun Ulai]. They followed this river [Liuŋ Tranan] again and arrived at Hbun Tranan, where the home of Tarus [the garndson of Masiʔ, chief of Tranan] is. They went there and turned off to Hbun Slaq [within four hours walk from Ilan]. They went as far as Hbun Slaq. That was not the right way either. They turned back again and turned off along another stream, the Goŋ Tranan. "This is not right", they said. How chuld they know their way there? Suddenly they were at Hbun Ciaquŋ. They went up at that point. They went up the Goŋ Ciaquŋ.

They followed the Goŋ Ciaquŋ and really, lo and behold, when they were right at the middle point of the stream [between Hbun Ciaquŋ and Ciaquŋ], they looked far out in the distance like this [B shows how]. They did like this, surveying the way they had come. "This is right, children. We have no longer . . . [lost our way]. We were not wrong. This is the right road", they said. Then that chief-Lubuk was his name-went all the way up the Quriʔ Tman. He went all the way up the Quriʔ Tman. When he had reached that point he at once saw Hbun Gogan. He saw Hbun Gogan. He saw all the houses [of Gogan]. "Oh! This is right, children, these are our houses. Let us send up a smoke signal, so that those people in our village can see it", said Lubuk.

So they felled trees and made a fire. They put leaves on to make it smoke. The smoke was just like smoke from a [burning] pile of logs. As people looked from Hbun Gogan, and saw the highest peak, that is the Buʔ Tman, the Atayals who live at Gogan said, "That is Lubuk, children, he has come back". "He has come back", they said. Since Lubuk went and came down to Hbun Gogan, they have known about the belief in killing Chinese [for solving a dispute]. At that time this whole area was not yet Chinese. When they came back they adopted the faith because at Taipei they had taken the heads of the Chinese they had beckoned to come, who came sailing in a boat from somewhere. So now for the first time they discovered

kutan kmukan qa ma pi.

nanu babau nasa lga?, nanu kiaqu? pkaial lga?, nanu iasa qu? s?usa?, s?usa? nha? kmut ga. nanu iasa qu? kiaqu? ini? ksiau ga?, kmut pi. kiaqu? msiau ga?, nanu ual, ual nqun kmut kmukan uzi, qu?, aa, rua qasa la, kiaqu? msiau hia? lga.

A: son nha? mgaga? taial ga?, ita? nanak taial ubui gogan ga, kmut khgan raral. u?at iaqu? niia? na? kahul ci taiciuu qasa ru? kahul ci qala? na? bzinah ga, mgaga? ga. ki klesan ru? rua ga.

B: ini? ta? pgaga? ita? taial hia? ai. ita? taial hia? ga.

A: ini? pgaga? hga? ga.

B: sua?, mgaga? uzi. tnaq kuara? uzi. baha rua qu? . . . .

A: ari? balai puqi? nia? ga, ari? gogan iasa klubuk, klubuk son rua. ru? hia? qu? ari? balai muci mgaga?.

B: sua?, ari? kia gogan sa, knualai nha? qu? rua hia? qu? kut kmukan qa ga.

A: iaqu? gaga? na? kut kmukan hia? ga.

B: ari? kia, ii, ana knalai ari? kia puqi? sbkan lasa gau. ta qu? son nha? ual pgagai kia khmaiun ga, khmai ual t?abas qu?, aa, rua hia rua, khian hia? ga.

cikui ita? taial hia? ma. ual mqi? hi? hga?. nanu? ual pgagai lma ga?, ana simu, aa, skunai hazi? simu taial ga?, ana sami khmai hazi? kmukan qani ga?, moha sa kmukan sami ga?, uahun sami kmut sami hia?, ual mha kmukan ma. aa, nanu, aa, ual sbil kmal qu? kmukan qasa ma pi. ana sami ana simu muah kmut ga?, iaqeh iaqeh inaras mamu ga?, iiat simu si pqeci musa? ?asal ai. ssiukan simu kutun simu uzi, ual mha kmukan qasa ma. siga blaq balai inaras mamu, u?at balai nanu? inaras mamu ga?, thoiai simu qutux ru? iiat simu siukun.

ual mha kmukan uzi ma. iaqu? ual balai pgagai mnkis qasa ma ga. ki?a

the method of hunting Chinese [heads].

So from then on, if they had a problem to solve, they would avail themselves of the method of killing. The one who has no falsehood, will [be able to] kill [a Chinese]. The one who is false, on the other hand, the Chinese will kill, that is what is what happens to the one who is wrong.

A: The method which the Atayals call headhunting, is it only used by us, the descendants of the people from Gogan who went headhunting there a long time ago? Is there no similar custom of headhunting in the direction of Tai Chung and in the other villages? And what about the people of Klesan?

B: [misunderstands the questions:] We Atayals do not hunt each other's heads. We are [all] Atayals.

A: [misunderstands the answer:] They do not hunt heads?

B: Of course they do. They all do it in the same way. Certainly.

A: Did headunting originate in Gogan with that Lubuk, the one they call Lubuk? Was that really the beginning of headhunting?

B: Of course, it began in Gogan, they invented that kind of killing of Chinese [for solving a dispute].

A: I mean the custom of killing Chinese [for any reason].

B: That they may have done all the way back at the place of the splitting of the stone. You know they say that they separated there from the Khmaiun who were numerous, multiplying excessively, those people [as distinct from the Atayals].

We Atayals were very few. They [the Khmaiun] hid themselves. At the time we split up, the Kmukan [derogatory expression for those people whose heads are hunted, usually the Chinese] said, "Even though you Atayals are fewer than we, even though we Kmukan are more numerous than you, we are going to be objects of your headhunting, we are going to be killed by you," thus spoke the Kmukan. The Kmukan left that testament. Even though you come to kill us, if the matter you bring with you is not just, we will not let you return home without further ado. On the contrary we will kill you". Those Kmukan spoke like that. "But if you bring a righteous case, if you bring nothing [bad] with you, you will succeed in getting one [head], and we shall not turn the situation against you".

The Kmukan spoke like that. It truly was like that at the time of the

nha? knualai squ? mkahul kii mlahui kia sbaian qasa`ma. son mkut kmukan hia?. sua? lxi baq kuara? na? squliq kmut kuara? qalaŋ qalaŋ squliq pi au.

A: ru?, ii, kmut, ii, musa? mgaga? muah knutan nha? itunux ga?, rasun nha?, siun nha? paga?, son nha? rua.

B: sblaq nha? balai kualai phpa? ma ru? liqun nha? balai kbalai ma ru?, aa, tmon nha? kia qu? tunux ma ru? rua. nanu kia nanak gaga? nia? ma gau. nanu, aa, liqun nha?, a kia qu? hbgan nia? kialan nha?.

stumul nha? lepun niia? qani ma ru? pkatan nha? lepuu ma. pkatan nha? lepuu ma ru?, nanu, aa, sp?azii nha? lma ra. sp?azii nha? ma ru?, nanu, aa, kia kuara? qnuzi? ptraŋ nha? rua. ptraŋan nha? kuara? qu? hi? nha? ma ru? nanu, aa, lbuloq mziui? ma ru? iasa qu? gaga? mrhuu raral la. nanu, aa, kiaqu? ual mhutau qutux qu? ŋatoq naqu? ptraŋ nha? ma ga?, aa, qasun nha? balai ma ai qasa. moha? iŋa? [~ziŋa?] kmut muha? ta? mciriq muha? ta? mgaga?, mha ma. nanu, aa, muci kia qu? gaga? ta? mrhuu raral sa pi. nanu, aa, nanu? kia iasa qu? tehuk riax naqu?, aa, masoq m?azii nha? qasa lga?, galun nha? ru? san nha? qmuzi?, aa, knalai nha? paga? qasa ma ru?, iasa qu? son nha? tukun na? kekai kai lpi.

A: qutux ke? nha? poŋan maku? uzi ga, pnbuan nha? quau ma ru?, ii, snaga? nha? kiahu? zik naqu? rua mga, ii, quau mga, nbun nha? kuara? qu? rua uzi. maki? uzi sa ga.

B: sua?, msiau sa. ki?a ana qutux qalaŋ qasa hia?. gaga? na? mrhuu ta? raral ga?, ita? nanak, qani hia? ga, ke? mu qa. gaga? ta? nuni qani ga?, ana gaga? gogan, ana gaga? nuni, tnaq sa. laxan nha? kneril hia?.

A: kiaqu? kmut kneril hia ga?, kŋŋuan son nha?.

B: kŋŋuan sa.

A: ini? nha? kuci kneril hia? ga.

B: laqi? ru? kneril hia ga?, laxi kuci ma.

A: mlikui mlikui nanak ga.

B: mtnaq ta? ita? icinimai qu?, aa, mnkis ga, ana kutan, muci ke? nia?. nanu

parting of our forefathers. Maybe they instituted this rite at the time of the meeting at Sbaian [the place of origin]. I mean the rite of killing Kmukan. Why do the people of all villages know this unfortunate custom?

A: And so when they kill they go headhunting according to the rite, and when they come back having cut off the head they bring it with them and place it on the skull stand, do not people say so?

B: They used to make the stand good and flat, and arrange it very well, and place the head there. And there were other rites connected with it. They very carefully performed..., maybe they performed magic rites and talked to the head.

They moulded dregs into a pellet like this [B shows how] and made him swallow the dregs, and danced for him. They would dance for him and all put on their decorations. They all decorated themselves and skipped and danced [around the head]. This was the custom of the people of old. And if they lost an ornamental button, they were very happy [because this was a sign that the invisible spirits of the Chinese were having fun dancing with them]. "We shall soon go killing, we shall go to war and go head-hunting", they said. So this was the custom of the people of old. When the time had come for finishing the dance, they took the head and went to hang it [B probably means to say smiʔ or ptamaʔ 'place it' instead of qmaziʔ 'hang it'] on the stand they had made. This they call letting the kekai birds hack the head.

A: I have heard one more thing they tell. They give [the head] wine to drink and they wait for the wine [to drip into a container] underneath, and all the Atayals drink it. Was there also that custom?

B: No, that is not right. Maybe some other village had that custom. The rites of our own ancestors were as I have told. As for our customs at this place [at Wulai] ..., the customs of Gogan and the customs of this place were the same. They did not want the heads of women.

A: Did they consider it cowardice to take the heads of women?

B: Yes.

A: So they did not kill women?

B: They avoided killing children and women.

A: Oh, only men!

B: Only grown-up men like ourselves can we hunt, so they said. That is

iasa quʔ son nhaʔ taial balai, muci keʔ nhaʔ gau. nasu quʔ, aa, lasa hiaʔ lgaʔ, asa quʔ, aa, mrkias mlikui uzi lgaʔ, iniʔ suʔ, aa, iniʔ nhaʔ ruaki smiʔ squliq quʔ mlikui uzi rua. nanu siga ual balai kmut kmukan lgaʔ, lkhuzian ha. lkhuzian ha ruʔ, piraʔ kauas niaʔ lgaʔ spɣun nhaʔ la, squliq qani ga.

iiat niaʔ iabaʔ nanak smpuŋ ai. mrhuu smpuŋ qasa. mrhuu nanu, aa, laqiʔ suʔ qani gaʔ, blaq balai naʔ squliq laqiʔ suʔ qani, icininmai tehuk srxan squliq laqiʔ suʔ qani la. ana, ana biqan kneril lgaʔ, nuai la. mha quʔ mrhuu qasa lga. nanu, nanu, aa, biqai taʔ la pi, muci iabaʔ qlaqiʔ qasa lgaʔ. nanu biqan nhaʔ la pi. hazimete biqan nhaʔ quʔ laqiʔ qasa la pi. ana cziul kauas, ana npusal kauas, pusal msiau, iniʔ tehuk quʔ qnxan nhaʔ gaʔ, iniʔ biqi na ruʔ.

A: iniʔ kut squliq laqiʔ gaʔ, iniʔ, iniʔ biqi uzi, iniʔ si, iniʔ tlhuzi uzi.

B: iniʔ si, kiaqu iaqeh squliq hiaʔ ai, iniʔ tlhuzi. nanu iasa quʔ son nhaʔ tahal lihui lasa pi. aau. sqrian nhaʔ sa. nanu mha kia gagaʔ taʔ mrhuu raral sa pi.

A: aan. suaʔ nhaʔ xun smiʔ lihui hiaʔ pi.

B: nanu quʔ lihui qasa gaʔ, aa, sian lihui qasa lgaʔ, taial balai la rua, aa, icininmai naʔ otoko sa ma. niux tehuk balai quʔ, aa, baq nanuʔ kuaraʔ quʔ mlikui qani la ma. ana nanu gaʔ, kuaraʔ ziau gaʔ, ana kmukan ruʔ ana qumah ruʔ ana bziok baqun niaʔ metaq ma. icininmai no otoko la ma, sian niaʔ lihui lasa la. iniʔ kɣuɣuʔ lma gaʔ, taial balai la ma.

what is called being a true Atayal, so they said. As for that [custom of headhunting], even when a young man had come of age they did not prematurely [before he had taken a Chinese head] let him marry a girl. Only when he had really killed a Chinese did they permit him to be tattooed. They first tattooed him, then they decided how many years before they would say, "He is a [real] man" [able to get married].

It was not his own father who decided. The chief decided that. The chief would say, "This child of yours is a fine man, he is an adult and he can stand on his own feet. It will be all right to give him a wife". The chief said like that and the father answered, "All right, let us give him a wife". So they gave him a wife. Only then did they permit that young man to get married. Whether he was thirty years old, or twenty, or somewhere in-between, if he had not yet qualified as an adult, they would not give him a wife.

A: If a young man had not killed a [Chinese] man, they would neither give him a wife nor let him be tattooed?

B: No. Since he was a bad person, they would not let him be tattooed. They called him a naked forehead.

Yes, they made fun of him. This was the custom of the people of old.

A: Oh. Why did they insist on tattooing the forehead?

B: As for the forehead, when they tattooed the forehead, one became a true Atayal, an adult man. The time had come when this man could do every-thing. Whatever matter it is [he knows how to do it], whether [killing] Chinese, or working the field; he also knows how to stab a boar. He is an adult man, that is why they tattoo his forehead. He is no coward, he is a true Atayal.

3. Vocabulary

a maybe

–a suffix forming active subjunctive from the reduced stem, sometimes preceded by the prefix m–. With stems ending in –a and –aʔ we find –a<*–aa

aau interjection; yes

abau leaf

agal (magal,galan) to take

agiq rushes, thatch, miscanthus; place name

ai final particle; interjection

–ai suffix forming first passive subjunctive from reduced stem. With stems ending in –a and –aʔ we find –ai<*–aai, cf. –i.

akiʔ (makiʔ, kiʔan) to be, to be there

alax (malax, laxan) give up

an preverb used to make periphrastic negatable indicative and imperative, especially of the third passive

–an suffix forming first passive indicative from the reduced stem. With stems ending in –a and –aʔ we find –an<*–aan

–an suffix forming first passive perfect from the reduced stem when preceded by the infix –n–. With stems ending in –a and –aʔ we find –an<*–aan

ana even, even if, if, whether, whatever, whoever; frequently constructed as preverb (cf. an and anai)

anai preverb used to mark a periphrastic subjunctive, especially of the third passive

aras (maras, rasan) take along, bring

ariŋ (ʔriŋan) begin, originate, from

asaŋ man's name

atuʔ limit, bounds of a field (cf. tʔtuʔ and smatuʔ)

-au   suffix forming second passive subjunctive from reduced stem. With
       stems ending in -a and -a? we find *-au < -aau

babau   surface, on top of, above, after, afterwards

babau (mbabau)   to be on top of, to be late

baha   of course, how

balai   very, verily, true, truly

bali   preverb construed with indicative indicating emphatic negation
        certainly not
        cf. balai

baq (baqan)   know, can

baqau   second passive subjunctive of baq

baqun   second passive indicative of baq

bbu?   = b?bu?

behui   the wind

betaq (metaq)   to stab

biaciŋ   moon, month

binah~bzinah   opponent, one of a pair

binah~bzinah (mbinah~mbzinah, bnahun~bznahun)   go back, return

biq (miq, biqan)   give

biqai   first passive subjunctive of biq

biqan   see biq

biqi   first passive negatable indicative of biq

blaq (liqan)   good, well

blbah   partially reduplicated form of lbah

bnahun   see binah

bnux   = b?nux

bstnaq   to meet (cf. btnaq)

bstunux   = sbtunux

btnaq (mtnaq, tnaqun)   to be equal, to agree, to fit

buian   joints of the body, first passive indicative of ubui

bun   second passive indicative of bu?

bu?   arrow, shoot, peak, goal

bu? (mu?, buan)   to shoot, to climb a peak

bziaq (mbziaq, bziaqan)   come down

bzinah   = binah

bziok   boar

bznaha   active subjunctive of binah

bznahun   = bnahun

bʔbu   partially reduplicated form of buʔ

bʔnux   flat area in the mountains

ci   particle of direction (cf. teʔ)

ciaquŋ   crow; place name

cikai   a little, a few, please

cikui   few

cipoq   small, a little bit

ciux   preverb construed with indicative, indicating recent or present
           progressive, away from speaker (cf. niux)

cqaiaʔ   the owner of the thing
           cf. qaiaʔ

cquriʔ   swindler

cziul   thirty

cziuʔ   piece of clothing, clothing

ee   hesitation syllable

enteʔ   dam (Japanese entei)

ga   a weakened form of gaʔ particle of precentral exposure; a final particle
       indicating that the story or the conversation is to continue

gagaʔ   ritual, custom, customary law, headhunting, social group

gagaʔ   (mgagaʔ, pggon)   to go headhunting

galan   see agal

gau   final particle

gaʔ   particle of precentral exposure

gluu   (mluu, lgan)   follow, share, go by (conveyance)

gɤi   first passive negatable indicative of iuɤiʔ

gɤian   see iuɤiʔ

gogan   place name

goŋ   tributary, stream

gui   = ui

ha	final particle
	before, formerly, first;
	preverb indicating a suggestion, let us . . .
	cf. mha;
	let us go, cf. moha?
hazimete	only then, for the first time (Japanese hajimete)
hazi?	somewhat, rather, maybe
hbgan	see hgup
hbun	flat area, confluence of rivers
	cf. b?nux
hga?	primary and nominalized pronoun III + III
	they
hgup (hmgup, hbgan)	to perform magic
hia	unaccented form of hia?
hiagun	see mhiau
hial	earth, ground, floor, land, world
hia?	primary and nominalized pronoun III
	he, she, it
hilaq	smoke
hi?	flesh, body, person, self
hkani? (hmkani?, mhkani?)	walk
hkaɤi? (hmkaɤi?, hkɤian)	search
hkɤian	see hkaɤi?
hmgun	emerge (cf. khgan)
hmgup	see hgup
hmkani?	see hkani?
hmkaɤi?	see hkaɤi?
hmsua?	see sua?
hmului	see hului
hmutau	to let fall, to drop; an active indicative of hutau
hoiai (mhoiai, hiaian)	to be able to, to succeed
htagun	see hutau
htgan	see htuu
htuu (mhtuu, htgan)	come out
hului (hmului, hluian)	pull

hutau (hmutau, htagun)   to fall, to let fall, to drop

–i   suffix forming first passive negatable indicative and imperative from the reduced stem. With stems endingin –i and –i? we find –i < *–ii. With stems ending in –a and –a? we find –ai coinciding with first passive subjunctive

iaba?   big; father

iani   this, here
                cf. iasa and qani

iaqeh   bad, evil

iaqu?   = iia? + qu?

iasa   the thing in question, that, then
                cf. iia? the like of, like that, like
                and sa particle of subjugation, at, in, by, that, there

ia?   unaccented form of iia?

ibstunux   =sbtunux

icininmai   to be of age (Japanese ichininmae)

igogan   = gogan

ihoiai   = hoiai

ii   hesitation syllable

iiat   is not . . . ; iiat nia? iaba? 'it is not his father'; preverb construed with future indicating negated future tense, will not . . . ; preverb construed with perfect indicating negated past tense, have not . . . ; preverb construed with negatable indicative indicating that which should be avoided, will not . . . , do not want to . . . , in order not to . . .

iia? (kiia?, niia?; me?a, ne?a)   the like of, like that, like

iknbaq   = knbaq

ilaqi?   = laqi?

imrhuu   = mrhuu

inaras   second passive perfect of aras

ini?   preverb construed with negatable indicative indicating negated past tense, did not . . . , have not . . . , cannot . . . ; no; maybe, perhaps

ins?urux   a second passive perfect of s?urux

inuahan   = nuahan

inutu?   = utu?

inu?   where

iŋa?   soon

iopan   see kziup

ipkaial   = pkaial

ipuniq   = puniq

irasun   = rasun

iriŋan   = ?riŋan

ispkaial   = spkaial

ispɣan   =spɣan

isquliq   =squliq

ita?   nominalized pronoun I + II
       I and you, we

itunux   = tunux

iuɣi? (muɣi?, gɣian)   forget

iupan   to blow
       a first passive indicative, seemingly from *ziup
       (kziup 'to enter' has first passive indicative iopan)

iziau   =ziau

k–   prefix for deceased persons (cf. ka)

k–   prefix forming an active negatable indicative of intransitive verbs

ka   that there . . . , yonder; maybe (short for kia ?)

kahul (mkahul, khulan)   come from

kaial (kmaial, kialan)   speak, talk

kaki?   active negatable indicative of aki?

kat (kmat, katan)   bite

katan   see kat

kbalai (klaian)   to make, to repair
             cf. balai

kekai   a kind of bird (called yamamusume in Japanese)

ke?   speech, word, story
       cf. kaial

khgan   old times, oldtimers, position (in succession)

khian   those on their side (cf. ka, hia?, and –an)

khmai   many, a lot

khmaiun (~khmaziun)   a legendary tribe (cf. khmai)

ki   unaccented form of ki?

kia   there is, there, now, at

             also unaccented form of kiia? and ki?a

kiaa   lengthened form of kia

kiahu?   below

kialan   see kaial

kiaqu?   = kia + qu?

             suppose, if, if somebody, whether, all that there is

kii   hesitation syllable

kiia?   the like of, like that, like (cf. iia?)

kilux (mkilux)   hot

kina   just about, maybe, perhaps

             cf. ki?a

kin?uqu?   = n?uqu?

kira?   later today, later the same day

kita? (mita?, ktan)   see

kiut (kmiut, kiuci)   cut off

kizaŋ   place name (Japanese form) = kusua (Taiwanese form)

ki?   particle of inclusion, and (also)

ki?a   let it be, maybe, if, I wonder; active subjunctive of aki ?

ki?aṇ   see aki?

ki?i   first passive negatable indicative and imperative of aki?

klaiun   see kbalai

klesan   branch of Atayals living by Ilan

klubuk   Lubuk who is no longer alive

             see k- and lubuk

kmal   shortened form of kmaial, see kaial

kmat   see kat

kmhaiun   see khmai

kmukan   people whose heads are hunted by the Atayals;

             Chinese (native of Taiwan)

             cf. umuk

kmut   see kut

kmalai   second passive perfect of kbalai

knbaq   a second passive perfect of baq

kneril   woman

knualai   second passive perfect of kualai (= kbalai)

knutan   first passive perfect of kut

kŋŋuan   see ŋuŋuʔ

kŋuŋuʔ   = ŋuŋuʔ 'to fear, afraid'

krahuʔ   great, huge

kraiaʔ   above

kriax   always
         cf. riax

ksiagan   see ksiau

ksiau (msiau, ksiagan)   false, to lie

ksiukan   = ssiukan

ktai   first passive negatable indicative of kitaʔ,
         see also si ktai
         also first passive imperative and subjunctive of kitaʔ

ktan   see kitaʔ

kualai   = kbalai

kuaraʔ   all

kuci   first passive negatable indicative of kut

kuni kziaʔ   maybe (cf. kina and kiʔa)

kut (kmut, kutan)   cut, behead, kill

kutan   see kut

kuziŋ   nominalized pronoun I
         I

kuʔ   = sakuʔ

kziup (mziup, iopan)   enter

la   final particle of completed action or new situation

lahui   dense

lahui (lmahui, lhuiun)   assemble, meet

lalu   name

laqiʔ   child (minor), child (offspring), descendant

lasa   that, those, there, then;
         of something not seen, mostly of the past
         cf. qasa

laxan   see alax

laxi   preverb construed with imperative indicating prohibition, don't ...
first passive imperative of alax

lbah   sail, flag

lbuloq   to skip, dance

lepuu   dregs

lgan   see gluu

lhuiun   see lahui

lihui   forehead

liqan   see blaq

liqun   see blaq

liuŋ   river

lkhuzian (~lkhuian)   first passive indicative
to tattoo the forehead (seemingly from stem ending in *-hui) cf. tlhuzian

llaqi?   partially reduplicated form of laqi?

llgi   first passive negatable indicative of gluu with reduplication of initial consonant

lliuŋ   partially reduplicated form of liuŋ

lma   = la ma

lmahui   see lahui

lmga   = la ma ga

lmha   =la mha

lozi   = la uzi

lpi   = la pi

lqiŋ (mqiŋ, lqiŋan~qiŋan)   to hide

lubuk   man's name

lux (mlux, lxan, xun)   insist on ... , do against propriety, foolishly ... , of all things ...

lxan   see lux

lxi   first passive negatable indicative of lux

lxiux   rock, cliff

l?ui   = la ui

m   affixes containing m are mostly used referring to animates or atmospheric and other natural phenomena

m-   prefix forming an active indicative indicating reciprocity, correspond-
      ing to active negatable indicative in p-.

m-   prefix forming an active indicative of intransitive verbs, correspond-
      ing to active negatable indicative in k-

m-   prefix forming active subjunctive from the reduced stem when
      followed by the suffix -a

-m-   infix forming an active indicative corresponding to active negatable
      indicative without affixes

ma   final particle indicating that the speaker is repeating somebody
      else's story
      'I'm told, according to what I hear'

macigainai   is not wrong (Japanese machiganai)

magal   see agal

maki?   see aki?

maku?   secondary pronoun I
         my, I

malat   hemp cloth, linen

malax   see alax

mamu   secondary pronoun II + III
        yours and his/hers
        you and he/she

maras   see aras

masiŋ   man's name

masoq (suqan)   finish

mbiq   see biq

mbka?   to split open (intransitive)
        cf. sbka?

mciriq (triqan)   to fight (seemingly from *ciriq)

metaq   see betaq

me?a   cf. iia?

mgaga?   see gaga?

mha   do thus, say thus, think thus
       used in some areas as the equivalent of muci, see uci

mhau   see phau

mhiau   (hiagan∼bhiagan)   to run after (seemingly from *bhiau)

mhtuu   see htuu

mhutau   to fall; an active indicative of hutau

mian   secondary pronoun I + III

         mine and his/hers

         I and he/she

misu?   secondary primary pronoun I + II

         you are my ... , you ... by me, I ... you

mita?   see kita?

mkahul   see kahul

mkaial   see kaial

mka?   = mbka?

mkilux   see kilux

mkrakis   young woman

mkut   active indicative of kut, made with m- indicating reciprocity; to fight

mlahui   active indicative of lahui made with m- indicating reciprocity

mlikui   man (opposite woman)

mluu   see gluu

mlux   see lux

mn- (∼min-, ∼ n-)   prefix forming active perfect indicating reciprocity, corresponding to active indicative in m- and active negatable indicative in p-

-mn-   infix forming active perfect

mnaga?   see naga?

mnahu?   (nhuan)   to make fire (seemingly from *nahu?)

mnbuu   see nbuu

mnbu?   see nbu?

mnka?   Taipei (from Mangka, old suburb of Taipei)

mnkis   old, of old, forefather

mnuah   active perfect of uuah

mn?uqu?   see n?uqu?

mɤuɤu?   see ɤuɤu?

moha?   = mosa?

mosa?   an active indicative of usa?

mpuu (pgan) to count; ten

mqianux see qianux

mrhuu chief, ancestor

mrkias young man

mrrau (r?agi) to go side by side, to follow, to go alongside (seemingly from *r?au)

mshziu? straight

msiau see ksiau

msiaq (siaqan) to be happy, to laugh, to make fun of

msiau more than

mtnaq see btnaq

mu = maku?

muah see uuah

mubui see ubui

muci see uci

muha? = musa?

muluu (?luan~luan) search, find

(seemingly from *uluu, cf. m?uluu)

muŋ see puŋ

muŋi? see iuŋi?

musa? see usa?

mziui? (zi?an, pzi?un) to move, remove, play, dance

mziup see kziup

m?azii to dance

m?abi? (?bian) sleep

m?ulai to gush with hot water;

cf. ulai; active indicative made with m- indicating atmospheric and other natural phenomena

m?uluu active neutral of *uluu, see muluu;

made with m- expressing reciprocity

to find each other, to agree, to have intercourse

n- prefix equal to mn-

-n- (~ -in-) infix forming second passive perfect

-n- (~ -in-) infix forming first passive perfect from the reduced stem when followed by the suffix -an

naga? (mnaga?, ngon)   to wait

nanak (knanak)   apart, alone, only, own, self, simple, strange, different,
　　　　　　　　other

nanu   unaccented form of nanu?

nanu?   why, anyhow, what, anything

naras   second passive perfect of aras

nasa   thereof
　　　cf. na? and sa

na?   particle of adjugation

nbuan   first passive indicative of nbuu
　　　　and first passive indicative of nbu?

nbuu (mnbuu, nbuan)   to drink

nbu? (mnbu?, nbuan)   sick

ne?a   to be like
　　　cf. iia?

ngon   see mnaga?

nha?   secondary pronoun III + III
　　　their, they

nhuan   see mnahu?

nial   to come, to have come

nia?   secondary pronoun III
　　　his, hers, its; he, she, it;
　　　sometimes used for III + III
　　　their, they

niia?   to be like
　　　cf. iia?

niux   preverb construed with the indicative, indicating recent or present
　　　progressive, close to the speaker (cf. ciux)

nkis   = mnkis

npusal   = pusal

nqun   see n?uqu?;
　　　in the text perhaps for (t)naqun
　　　'equally, conversely' from btnaq

ns- (~ ins-)   prefix forming third passive perfect

nuah   second passive perfect of uuah

nuahan   first passive perfect of uuah

nuai   I will, let us, never mind, it is all right

nuni   here

nʔuquʔ   (mnʔuquʔ, nqun)   to make a mistake

puniq   fire

ŋarux   bear

ŋasal   house, home

ŋatoq   button

ŋuŋuʔ   tail

ŋuŋuʔ   (mŋuŋuʔ, kŋŋuan)   to fear, afraid

otoko   man (Japanese)

p-   prefix forming an active negatable indicative indicating reciprocity

p-   prefix forming active future

pagaʔ   stand for heads brought back from headhunting

pbabau   see babau

pgagai (pgaiun)   to part, take leave, part with, present as a gift (cf. sgagai)

pgagaʔ   active negatable indicative of mgagaʔ, indicating reciprocity, see gagaʔ

phau (mhau, phogan)   to fine, to punish

phpaʔ   flat

pi   final particle of exclamation

pinsbkan   the place of splitting (of the stone of origin), the place where the first Atayal couple entered the world; first passive perfect of sbkaʔ with a prefix p-

piraʔ   how many, how many times

pkaial   discuss, discussion, dispute cf. kaial

pkatan   to force to swallow cf. kat

pkiaiaʔ   to scout, search

pnbuu   to give to drink cf. nbuu

poŋan   see puŋ

pqeci   a verb form of uncertain meaning, by some explained as 'to be satisfied', by others as 'without further ado'. There is a verb qmet 'to cut off, to trip up', but the semantic connection is unclear

pqziuaŋ   legend, tradition
         cf. qziu?

pruagan   the place where it branches off

pshiloq   = shiloq

pskli?   place name

ptma?   see tma?

ptraŋ   decoration, ornament

ptraŋ (ptraŋan)   to decorate

puciŋ   end point, as far as, last

puŋ (muŋ, poŋan)   hear

puqiŋ   origin, originator, originally

pusal   twenty (cf. mpuu)

pzi?un   see mziui?

qa   here, there

qaia?   thing

qalaŋ   village, town

qani   this, here

qara?   branch

qasa   that, there

qasu?   boat

qasu? (qmasu?)   go by boat, row, sail

qbaq   partially reduplicated form of baq

qes (mqes, qasun)   happy

qes   boundary, metes and bounds

qes (qmes, qesan)   to mete out, to put a limit to, to exorcise

qhoniq   tree

qianux   life, fate, generation; the alive thing, taboo word for male or female genitals

qianux (mqianux, qnxan)   to live

qlaqi?   partially reduplicated form of laqi?

qmahau   see qumah

qmaiah   field

qmasu?   see qasu?

qmes   see qes

qmet (qetun)   to cut off; to **trip** up (seemingly from *qet)

qmuzi?   to hang (transitive)
            (seemingly from *quzi?)

qnuzi?   second passive perfect of qmuzi?

qnxan   first passive indicative of qianux;
            standing, adult, used of a man who has succeeded for the first
            time in headhunting

qplan   step on, step into
            probably from *qpul

qsia?   water

quau   millet wine, rice wine

qumah (qmahan)   to work the field (cf. qmaiah)

quri?   plateau

qutux   one, another

qu?   nominalizing particle

qziu? (qmziu?, qziuan)   to pass on, to be contagious

ra   final particle
            suggests a positive response from the listener to a statement or a
            question

raral   old times, the old days, formerly, a long time ago

rasun   see aras

riax   day

rua   that one (which you know, but which we do not mention by name,
            or whose name escapes me right now); you know, of course

ruaki   first passive indicative
            (seemingly from *ruak)
            to be young, early

ruu   lengthened form of ru?
            particle of coordination

ruu?   lengthened form of ru?

ru?   particle of coordination

r?agi   first passive negatable indicative of mrra

s-   prefix forming third passive indicative

sa   particle of subjugation; at, in, by
            that, cf. iasa
            there, cf. qasa

sakau   bed; place name

saku?   primary pronoun I
            I

sami   primary and nominalized pronoun I + II
            I and he/she

saziη   two

sbaian   place name

sbil (smbil, sbilan)   leave behind

sbkan   splitting, the place of splitting;
            used for pinsbkan;
            first passive indicative of sbka?

sbka?   middle

sbka? (sbkan)   to split (transitive)

sblaq   good, well;
            third passive indicative of blaq

sbtunux   place name

sgagai (smgagai, sgaiun)   to separate, separate from, leave behind, bid
            farewell, take leave

shiloq (sluqan)   to smoke
            cf. hiloq

shoiai   to succeed, solve
            cf. hoiai

si   preverb construed with negatable indicative indicating punctual
            realization, actual manifestation
            actually . . . , directly . . . , just . . .

sian   see si?

siaqan   see msiaq

siau   riverside, seaside

siga   = siga?

siga?   only, just (cf. sika?; cf. also si and ga?)

sika   = sika?

sika?   only, just

si ktai   just seen, suddenly

siluŋ   sea, ocean

simu   primary and nominalized pronoun II + III
        you and he/she

siuk (smiuk, siukan)   to answer, retaliate

siukan   see siuk;
        also for ssiukan, see smsiuk

siun   second passive indicative of si?

siutun   visible from far away, to see from a distance

si? (smi?, sian)   to put

si? lihui   to tattoo the forehead (cf. si? and lihui)

si? squliq   to marry (cf. si? and squliq)

skaial   see kaial

skaki?   staying at; from, at (cf. aki?)

ska?   = sbka?

skrian   from far away, from high up (cf. kraia?)

skunai   few (Japanese sukunai)

slaq   irrigated field; place name

sluqan   see shiloq

sma   = sa ma

smatu? (stuan)   to send (cf. atu?)

smi?   see si?

smpuŋ   see spuŋ

smsiuk (ssiukan)   to turn, change direction
        cf. siuk (seemingly from *ssiuk)

snaga?   third passive indicative of naga?

snaqii   place name

sna?   = sa na?
        = su na?

snpuŋ   second passive perfect of spuŋ

snhi? (snhian)   honest; to trust
        probably perfect forms of *shi? (shian)

snhoiai   second passive perfect of shoiai

son (first passive perfect insonan or snonan)

say, call, institute

also for ?son from usa?

spkaial   discuss

cf. pkaial and kaial

spɣan   measure, criterion for judging

cf. spuɣ

spɣun   second passive of spuɣ

spuɣ (smpuɣ, spɣan)   to measure, evaluate, judge

sp?azii   to dance (cf. m?azii and mziui?)

sqani   = sa qani

sqasa   = sa qasa

sqrian   first passive indicative, to abuse, make fun of (cf. cquri?)

squ?   = sa qu?

squliq   human being

srua   = sa rua

srxan   see s?urux

sr?agi   = r?agi

ssiukai   first passive subjunctive of smsiuk

ssiukan   see smsiuk; on the contrary

ssiuki   first passive negatable indicative of smsiuk

stapeh   third passive indicative of tapeh

stnaq   = bstnaq

stumul   knead, mould

stunux   = sbtunux

su   unaccented form of su?

suruu   backside, behind, after

su?   primary and secondary pronoun II

you (sg.), your (sg.)

sua? (hmsua?, sua?un)   to do it how, to do it why, how, why

s?urux (srxan)   stand

s?usa   third passive indicative of usa?

ta   unaccented form of ta?;

also active subjunctive of kita?,

lo and behold

taal   onomatopoetic interjection

tahal   bald, naked, pale

tai   -   = ktai, suddenly

taial   = ?taial

taiciuu   Tai Chung (Japanese)

tansui   Tansui

tama?   (mtama?, tman)   to sit, to set

tapeh (tmapeh, tpehun)   to beckon, invite, call

tarus   man's name

tazil (mtazil, czilun)   climb, go up a mountain

ta?   primary and secondary pronoun I + II

         I and you, mine and yours, we, our

te   unaccented form of te?

tehuk (thkan)   arrive

te?   particle of direction

thazi?   to name it accordingly

         cf. hazi?

thoiai (thiaian ~ ciaian)   = hoiai

tlamai   first passive subjunctive of tmalam

tlaman   see tmalam

tlhuzi   first passive negatable indicative,

         cf. tlhuzian

tlhuzian (~ tlhuian)   first passive indicative,

              to tattoo the forehead

              (seemingly from stem ending in *-hui)

              cf. lkhuzian and lihui

tmalam (tlaman)   try

tman   seat, first passive indicative of tama?, place name

tmapeh   see tapeh

tmon   second passive indicative of tama?

tmutu?   to fell a tree

tma? (ptma?)   for no good reason

tnaq   = btnaq

tnaqun   see btnaq

tpehun   see tapeh

tranan   place name

triqan   see mciriq

tta? (tt?an)   be on top of, reach the top, suppress

tukun   to hack, to hammer (seemingly from *tuk)

tunux   head

tuqii   road, way

tusi   see uci

t?abas   prolific, luxuriant

t?tu? (mttu?, tmu?, ?tun)   push forward, advance (cf. atu?)

uah   final particle of mild exclamation and exhortation

uahan   see uuah

uahun   see uuah

uaial   to go

ual   to go = uaial

          a preverb construed with the indicative

          indicating past tense

uci (muci, tusan)   do thus, say thus, think thus

ui [?ui] final particle, I dare say

ulai   hot springs; place name

ubui   continuation, result, part, lineage, system

ubui (mubui, buian)   to continue, join

umi?   ocean (Japanese)

umuk (mumuk, mukan)   to wear on the head, to cover the head

-un   suffix forming second passive indicative from the reduced stem.

          With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -on < *-aun

uηat   is not there, is not, has not, nobody

usa? (musa?, ?san)   to go

utux   shadow (of man or other animate); spirit, fate, God

utu?   pile of wood, bonfire

uu   particle,

          as you know, you know;

          also construed as preverb with indicative

uuah (muah, uahan)   come

uzi   also

xun   second passive indicative of lux

ziau   space between, in between, circumstance,

	matter, problem, case, crime
zik	underside, underneath, before
ziŋa?	= iŋa?
ziuau	= ziau
?son	second passive indicative of usa?
?taial	Atayal