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INTRODUCTION

The Puyuma (Chinese: Nanwang) inhabit the Taitung plain in the south-east of the island of Taiwan. In 1964, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island represented about 2% of the total population, that is, 234,596 individuals distributed over 9 groups, as follows: Amis - 89,802; Atayal - 54,777; Paiwan - 44,679; Bunun - 24,207; Puyuma - 6,335; Rukai - 6,305; Tsou - 3,638; Saisiat - 2,857; Yami - 1,996.

I visited the island in the context of a stay in Taiwan for the purpose of improving my Chinese. Two of the above-listed peoples, the Amis and the Puyuma, interested me very much because they have a tendency towards a harmonic matrilineal and matrilineal type of organization. I started to read the works published on these two population groups and discovered that Taiwanese ethnologists regularly study the Amis. On the Puyuma of Nanwang, on the other hand, I found only thematic works. No complete study has ever been made of the language. In 1930, Ogawa and Asai translated seven legends from the village of Nanwang into Japanese. Tsuchida in 1980 wrote a grammar of the language as spoken at Rikabung, a village belonging to the Katipol dialect area. The Reverend Father D. Schröder, during several stays at Katipol covering in total over a year, collected a number of documents, which were translated into German by the missionary P. Veil, as Schröder never learned the language.

In the present paper, I shall deal only with the Nanwang dialect. In effect, two different origins of the common ancestral place have given rise to two dialects: that of Katipol on the one hand, and that of Nanwang on the other. (The people of Katipol were born out of a stone, while those of Nanwang emerged from a bamboo.) In 1985, the former dialect was spoken by 4,724 persons and the latter by 1,475. This total population is distributed over 8 villages: the Katipol-speaking villages of Alipai, Kasabakan, Katipol, Rikabung, Ulibulbuk and Tamalakaw, and the Nanwang-speaking villages of Pinaski and Nanwang plus the latter's satellite Apapolo. This latter

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village is located at a distance of 5 kilometres from Taitung. Although the sea is just nearby (the altitude of the site does not exceed 50 metres), life was formerly oriented entirely towards the mountains and to activities connected with hunting wild game, and, until the beginning of this century, to headhunting. Today, the process of acculturation is very much advanced and the Puyuma practise rice-growing in irrigated ricefields.

LANGUAGE MAP ESTABLISHED BY R. FERRELL IN 1966

The languages whose names are written between brackets are no longer spoken today. According to Tsuchida 1982, Papora was not totally extinct in 1982.

Traditionally, the village possesses a social structure comprising two rival but complementary moieties. Between these two moieties harmony exists on the one hand in the dormitories for young adolescents, in which all boys from the ages of 13 to 18 receive a strict education punctuated by rites of passage, and on the other hand in the men's houses, which shelter the adult males from the age of 18 years until their marriage, as well as widows and bachelors. The men are in control in the outside world: they hunt and protect the village. The women are dominant in the domestic world confined within the palisades: they till the soil. Relations with neighbouring groups translate into conflicts and endemic headhunting raids. These groups are referred to as '*qalaqala*', an expression which could be interpreted to mean 'foreigners, objects of headhunting'. All *qalaqala* encroaching on Puyuma hunting grounds are potential victims of headhunting. The Puyuma once were fierce soldiers who were dreaded by their neighbours, who, believing that their strength rested on their political organization, especially the feature of dormitories for the young, have imitated their system. In the 18th century, the Puyuma ruled a vast area in the southern part of the island, with the Paiwan groups and the Bunun paying tribute to the 'Great King of Peinan', Pinadai.

The social organization displays a very clear matrilineal and matrilocal tendency (90% of the population being so inclined at the beginning of the century, according to a personal survey I have undertaken). But we encounter traces of an ancient undifferentiated organization (common among the Austronesian peoples of the area) in the ancestral rites as well as in the kinship terminology, which is of the Hawaiian type. Inheritances pass to the eldest daughter, if she remains in the house. She has the duty to shelter her younger sisters and their families, should these latter opt for matrilocal residence. The men go to live in the residence of their wives, where, as the saying goes, 'they are under the sole of the foot'.

The arrival of the Japanese in 1895 upset the traditional political and social organization of this group. Headhunting was prohibited, instruction in the Japanese language and the Japanese script was made obligatory, and women shamans were persecuted. The village opened its gates to the first Chinese migrants. The Puyuma, initially hostile to the strangers, today still hold themselves aloof and distrust the Taiwanese, whom they call '*pairan*', 'bad men'. The men, forbidden to practise headhunting, became agriculturists. Matrilineality persisted, however, and in no way could men inherit property, or even lay claim to the fruits of conjugal labour in the case of divorce. Gradually, patrilocality and patrilineality supplanted the type of organization just described. Since the arrival of the Chinese from the continent in 1950, paternal rights have superseded maternal rights. The latter are now found in less than 10% of the cases (figure derived from my personal survey of 1985).

The languages of these peoples belong to the occidental branch of the Austronesian family. The oldest information we have on the languages of

MAP SHOWING THE EIGHT PUYUMA VILLAGES

Taiwan are the data furnished by the dictionary of Gilbertus Happart, written in 1650 but published only in 1840. The vocabulary of this dictionary originates exclusively from the language of the Favorlang people living in the southwestern part of the island. In 1748, Schultze wrote that 'the languages of the Island of Formosa resemble those spoken in Japan'. In 1801, Don Lorenzo Hervás concluded that the languages of Formosa had no affinity whatsoever with the Chinese and Japanese languages; he was unable to identify them, however. It was only in 1822 that J. Klaproth indicated 'that the inhabitants of Formosa belong to the great Malay stock dispersed from the Peninsula of Malacca to the Sandwich Islands, Marquisas and to New Zealand'. In 1868, M. Guérin published a grammar of the Atayal language comparing it with the Malay languages. This author had discovered that 'the verbs take on an active sense just as in Malay through the instrumentality of the letter m..., and the particle prefix /pa-/ forms transitive or causative verbs ...'. Some years later, Bullock drew up a comparative table covering the Malay languages and those of Taiwan. R. Ferrell in 1950 compiled a vocabulary of the languages of Taiwan. He divided them into 3 groups: Atayalic, Tsouic and Paiwanic. The Atayalic group includes Atayal and Sediq; the Tsouic group includes Tsou, Kanabu and Saaroa; and the Paiwanic group is divided into two subgroups, of which Paiwanic I subsumes Rukai, Pazeh, Saisiat, Thao, Paiwan and Puyuma. For Ferrell this distinction is based on the fusion of the proto-Austronesian phonemes *t *C in the Paiwanic II subgroup. These two phonemes are likewise merged in the other Austronesian languages of the Pacific. Ferrell believes subgroup II to be closer to the languages of the other peoples of the Insulindian area than subgroup I.

The Puyuma language correlates with the Atayalic group at an average of 14%, with the Tsouic group at one of 20%, and with the Paiwanic group at an average varying from 21% for the Bunun language to 31.3% for the Paiwan language. The two Amis languages and Rukai follow very closely, with averages of 29.9% and 29% respectively. In the village of Nanwang, the young people under 30 years of age do not speak the language of their ancestors at all, their education having been entirely Chinese-language. The generation between the ages of 30 and 60 speaks Puyuma and Chinese, whereas the very old speak Puyuma peppered with Japanese expressions such as, for example, the expression for 'thank you', and expressions from the numeral system or for indicating the time which do not exist in Puyuma.

Dyen (1971:174) drew up the following table of lexicostatistical correlations between the various languages of Taiwan:

At	Se	Ts	Sr	Kn	Kv	Pz	Th	Bu	Am	Pu	Pa	Ru	Fv
49,0	18,2	39,7	37,2	18,8	21,8	28,3	34,8	28,9	31,3	31,3	31,5	16,2	
16,9	17,8	34,5	16,9	17,6	19,4	21,8	21,8	25,0	30,2	29,9	31,3		
16,2	16,4	18,7	19,4	17,6	21,8	23,9	24,7	25,2	25,2	25,2	25,2		
12,1	13,8	22,4	20,0	22,4	19,4	28,3	28,3	28,9	31,3	31,3	31,5		
12,7	17,5	20,7	20,7	20,7	23,9	23,5	24,7	25,0	30,2	29,9	31,3		
17,9	19,5	20,7	20,7	20,7	23,9	23,5	24,7	25,0	30,2	29,9	31,3		
15,9	16,1	20,7	20,7	20,7	23,9	23,5	24,7	25,0	30,2	29,9	31,3		
15,7	16,3	20,7	20,7	20,7	23,9	23,5	24,7	25,0	30,2	29,9	31,3		
16,5	16,3	20,7	20,7	20,7	23,9	23,5	24,7	25,0	30,2	29,9	31,3		
14,2	14,8	19,5	19,5	19,4	21,0	26,3	25,2	21,6	29,9	31,3	31,5		
17,1	19,9	20,6	20,5	22,7	22,8	24,3	25,2	25,0	30,2	29,9	31,3		
11,9	12,4	16,4	20,7	18,1	17,6	15,8	18,1	17,9	21,4	29,0	31,5		
10,3	10,2	17,5	14,8	14,9	14,2	25,2	25,3	16,8	17,9	24,4	31,3	16,2	Fv

At = Atayal, Se = Seediq, Ts = Tsou, Sr = Saaroa, Kn = Kanakanabu, Kv = Kavalan, Pz = Pazeh, Th = Thao, Bu = Bunun, Am = Amis, Pu = Puyuma, Pa = Paiwan, Ru = Rukai, Fv = Favorlang.

The study underlying this article, which was conducted in the field from 1984 to 1985, aims at being complete. This seems to me very necessary and urgent before the total disappearance of this language within the span of less than a generation. I did not work with any particular informant, since doing field research for me was a matter of learning the language daily. However, whenever I needed supplementary information, I had recourse either to Isaw (35 years old) – because he was competent in both Chinese and Puyuma, he was able to understand the questions asked – or to Aliwaki (55 years old), who is a priest and ‘bamboo diviner’ (practitioner of a kind of divination using bamboo slats), and therefore knew the traditions of his people well. I carried out this work in very much the same spirit as Ferrell in the case of the Paiwan language and Tsuchida in that of Rikabong. In fact, I have closely followed their method to facilitate comparative research.

Where certain conventional grammatical terms have been retained here, this does not mean that the Puyuma phenomena to which they refer necessarily correspond closely to those which are designated by them in the French language. Certain constructions which appear to be verbal constructions in reality are nominal constructions. The most common affixes are listed below. The possibilities of word formation through the addition of affixes are unlimited, and it was easy for me to generate words which surprised my hosts, because, while they may be grammatically correct, one seldom hears them used. In this article, firstly the general characteristics of the language will be described, at the phonological and syllabic level: consonants, vowels, accent and the syllabic structure of the word. Secondly its grammatical morphology will be dealt with: affixes, pronouns, con-

struction markers and adverbs. Finally, I shall discuss how it functions: verbal constructions, focuses, aspects and modes, nominal forms and verbal categories.

SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

[]	phonetic form	IF:	instrument focus
/ /	phonological form	OF:	object focus
	structural form	R:	reduplication
<	derived from	RF:	referent focus
A:	adverb	S:	stative verb
AF:	actor focus	S ¹ , S ² :	syllable 1, syllable 2, etc.
B:	base, which is further distinguished into Vb: verb base and N: nominal base	V:	inflected base

PHONETIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VILLAGES

In the village of Nanwang one finds two series of occlusives, voiced and voiceless, which can as well be considered as strong consonants as opposed to soft consonants. In the other five villages the four voiced occlusives, b,d,g,d, are realized as voiced fricatives: β/v, δ, z, λ. Below, the data are listed for the two dialects, along with some indications as to the realization of the relevant phonemes per village.

1. In Ulibulibuk, β is realized as follows: in initial position either as [f] or [ϕ]; in intervocalic position as v; in final position as f; e.g.:

initial wind - /βati/ [βati≈fati]

intervocalic beans - /kuβay/ [kuvay]

In reduplication, the phoneme does not change:

extremely skinny - /βariβariw/ [farifariw]

final grotto - /iliβ/ [ilif].

1.1 In Kasabakan, the v phoneme is realized in initial position as [v] and in the intervocalic position as [β], while in final position it very often remains v.

initial butterfly - /vira/ [vira]

intervocalic bark - /ʌvit/ [ʌβit]

final forehead - /riλiv/ [riλiv].

1.2 Rikabung displays some differences with Kasabakan. Here, most people pronounce the v phoneme as b in initial position, though some villagers pronounce it as β. In the intervocalic and final positions the phoneme remains v. There is a tendency towards fricativization.

initial	horse	- /va/ [va≈ba]
intervocalic	pocket	- /lavaʔ/ [lavaʔ]
final	shoulder	- /liyaʋ/ [liyaʋ].

1.3 In Katipol, no differences exist except in the final position.

final	grotto	- /liv/ [lif].
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2. In the three villages Kasabakan, Katipol and Pinaski, δ is pronounced like δ in English.

2.1 In Rikabung, we notice two differences. Here it is realized in initial position as d, and in the intervocalic and final positions as δ .

initial	earth	- / δ are/ [dare]
intervocalic	to know	- /mala δ am/ [mala δ am]
final	pear	- /manuwa δ / [manuwa δ].

2.2 In Ulibulibuk, δ remains δ except in final position, where it can become d.

3. The fricative glottal λ is found in the three villages of Pinaski, Rikabung and Kasabakan; e.g., to chew - / λ me λ e λ /.

But in the two villages of Kasabakan and Rikabung, we find it realized in the intervocalic position in some words as [ʔ]. This may be due to influence from Katipol.

4. The glottal stop ʔ is found in the two villages of Nanwang and Katipol, but in this latter village it is realized as [λ] in the final position.

initial	flower	- / λ apuʔ/ [ʔapuʔ]
intervocalic	branch	- /sahad/ [saʔad]
final	earth	- / δ are λ / [δ are λ].

5. Summary of differences

	Initial	Intervocalic	Final
Ulibulibuk	f/ɸ	v	f
Kasabakan	v	β	v
Rikabung	b/β	v	v
Katipol	v	v	f

	Initial	Intervocalic	Final
Ulibulibuk	δ	δ	d
Kasabakan	δ	δ	δ
Rikabung	d	δ	δ
Katipol	δ	δ	δ
Pinaski	δ	δ	δ

	Initial	Intervocalic	Final
Nanwang	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
Kasabakan	λ	λ≈ʔ	λ
Rikabung	λ	λ≈ʔ	λ
Katipol	ʔ	ʔ	λ
Pinaski	λ	λ	λ

6. Consonants in the five villages of Pinaski, Ulibulibuk, Kasabakan, Rikabung and Katipol

	bilabials	dentals	retroflexes	palatals	velars	glottals
stop voiceless	p	t	ɭ		k	
fricative voiceless voiced	β/v	s δ	z			λ
voiced nasal	m	n			ng	
voiced trill		r				
lateral		l	ɭ			
semivowel	w			y		

7. Vowels in the four villages of Pinaski, Ulibulibuk, Rikabung and Katipol

	high front	central	high-mid back
high	/i/		/o/(u)
middle		/e/	
low		/a/	

I. PHONOLOGY OF NANWANG

1. Consonants

	bilabials	dentals	retroflexes	alveopalatals	palatals	velars	glottals
stop voiceless	p	t	ʈ			k	ʔ
voiced	b	d	ɖ			g	
fricative		s		ʃ			
voiced nasal	m	n				ŋ	
voiced trill		r					
lateral		l	ɭ				
semivowel		w			y		

p, t, and k are voiceless stops.

ɭ is a retroflex alveolar, but in some informants it sounds very much like the phoneme l, and in others it resembles more the phoneme r. Nevertheless, there are three distinct phonemes, as every informant points out the difference between them, viz. tooth /wali/ – day /wari/ – time /wɔli/.

The problem of s and ʃ is of only limited occurrence, for we encounter it only in the case of the two vowels /i/ and /u/ (before or after). For example:

to stink	/angsis/ [angʃiʃ]
peanut	/radis/ [radiʃ]
loin-cloth	/pakusis/ [pakuʃiʃ]
to fool	/mabusus/ [mabuʃuʃ]
breast	/susu/ [ʃuʃu].

In these contexts, we may be tempted to interpret it as a realization of /s/. Nevertheless, the following example shows that this realization is not systematic and that /s/ is attested as well in:

kudis/radiʃ.

I therefore consider ʃ as a phoneme.

The sixteen consonants are to be found in initial, intervocalic and final positions and may be preceded and followed by any vowel i, u, a.

2. The glottal stop

This occurs in initial, intervocalic and final positions, e.g.:

q-	qaput	- flower
-q-	saqad	- branch
-q	tuq	- tear.

It seems that Ferrell (1969) noted too high a frequency of it. Pecararo Mep discovered this phenomenon with regard to Sediq, writing (1979:30): 'sans multiplier l'usage du stop glottal comme l'a fait R. Ferrell (1969) pour la langue sadyaq (Sediq), et souvent dans des cas où je ne l'ai jamais soupçonné dans mon contact avec cette langue, par exemple: 'ta(=ita) "nous inclu ..."'.

3. Vowels

	high front	central	high-mid back
high	/i/		/u≈o/
middle		/e/	
low		/a/	

Although I use the international phonetic alphabet here, for typographic reasons I have used the following symbols:

t, d, l for the retroflexes ʈ ɖ ɭ, e for ə, ng for ŋ, q for ʔ.

a. /u ≈ o/ o often appears as a variation of /u/. According to the informant, one may hear either [Katipol] or [Katipul], [tangelo] or [tangeru], or, in the final position, the diphthong aw. Anyway, in a very few words, such as the name Labo or the plant *ramee kerio*, one only hears [o]. There is no other example or any minimal pair.

b. When two consonant phonemes follow each other, we often find a non-phonemic e inserted between them. Examples:

strong - /arked/ [areked]

to ventilate - /kurbabati/[kurebabati].

c. In the vowel sequences ia, ua, ui, ai, each vowel is syllabic. Examples:

guava - /kuliabes/ [kuli'abes]

habit - /kakuayanan/ [kaku'ayanan]

to overflow - /muipang/ [mu'ipang]

aged people - /maidang/ [ma'idang].

Nevertheless, when the second vowel of the sequence is a high vocoid (/ai, au, ui/), in rapid speech the sequence may be realized as a diphthong, e.g.:

aged people - /maidang/ [ma'idang≈maidang]

beautiful - /butai/ [buta'i≈butai]

east - /laud/ [la'ud≈laud].

4. Semivowels

w and y may be found before or after a vowel or in initial, intervocalic and final positions. Examples:

w before a consonant	gawgaw	- sickle
w-	wadi	- brother
-w-	kawi	- wood
-w	raw	- wind
y-	yuyu	- you
-y-	kuyan	- crayfish.

After a consonant, u is the peak of the syllable (e.g., *muipang* and not *mwipang*); at the beginning of the word, if followed by another vowel, and between other vowels, u = w, e.g. /uadi/ [wadi]; /kau/ [kawi].

5. Vowels

The phoneme /a/ has been identified in, for example:

a/u	ama	- father	uma	- field
a/i	adi	- negation	idi	- here
a/e	anai	- friend (girls)	enai	- water.

The phoneme /u o/ (o) in:

u/a	see above.		
u/i	umus	- younger sibling	imus - camphor
u/e	ubi	- pubic hair	eba - horse.

The phoneme /i/ in:

i/a	see above.		
i/u	see above.		
i/e	idus	- spoon	edul - green cricket.

The phoneme /e/ in:

e/a	see above.
e/i	see above.
e/u	see above.

6. Consonants

6.1 The phoneme /p/ is found in:

6.1.1

p/-b-	paiwan	- aboriginal group	baiwan	- village
-p/-b-	paipai	- offerings	baibai	- platform
-p/-b	qalup	- hunting	alib	- flat stone.

6.1.2

p/-t-	pakpak	- wing	taktak	- cut with an adze
-p/-t-	apel	- feeble (no energy)	qatel	- throw away
-p/-t	sirup	- to drink with a straw	sirut	- a bird.

6.1.3

p-/m-	puenai	- bring to water	muenai	- to go to water
-p/-m-	rapi	- to be tired	rami	- liver
-p/-m	asep	- to chew and swallow	qarem	- scaly anteater.

6.2 The phoneme /b/ in:

6.2.1 b/p see above.

6.2.2

b-/d-	beru	- big worm	deru	- boil in water
-b/-d-	ubal	- white hair	qudal	- rain
-b/-d	kiulib	- take off bark	kiulid	- to forget.

6.2.3

b-/m-	baibai	- platform	maimai	- duck
-b/-m-	ibal	- mountain slope	imal	- thick forest
-b/-m	aleb	- close a door	alilem	- mulberry.

6.3 The phoneme /m/ in:

6.3.1 m/p see above.

6.3.2 m/b see above.

6.3.3

m-/n-	mu	- you (plural)	nu	- you (singular)
-m/-n-	temu..	- to make	tinu	- made
-m/-n	tiam	- business	tian	- daughter.

6.4 The phoneme /t/ in:

6.4.1 t/p see above.

6.4.2

t-/d-	tingting	- roof gutter	dingding	- snail
-t/-d-	tingting	- roof gutter	dingding	- snail
-t/-d	paqat	- Nephrolepis	paqud	- back strap.

6.4.3

t-/l-	tingas	- bamboo slats	linga	- wart
-t/-l-	bati	- speech	bali	- shadow
-t/-l	asat	- up	asal	- rice.

6.4.4

t-/n-	ta	- we (inclusive)	na	- the
-t/-n-	butul	- Orchid Island	bunun	- aboriginal group
-t/-n	kurut	- to schedule	kerun	- to wave.

6.4.5

t-/d-	tedek	- buttocks	dadek	- body
-t/-d-	kuti	- vagina	kudis	- millet grass
-t/-d	puqut	- beauty spot	puqud	- bamboo knot.

6.5 The phoneme /d/ in:

6.5.1 d/t see above.

6.5.2 d/b see above.

6.5.3

d-/l-	daw	- why	law	- bamboo slats
-d-/l-	kadupu	- paper	kalepe	- will sleep
-d/-l	bukid	- mountain	bukel	- heap.

6.5.4

d-/r-	daw	- why	raw	- wine
-d/-r-	kudaw	- to balance	kuraw	- fish
-d/-r	no examples.			

6.5.5

d/-n-	dadu	- too much	nadu	- this
-d/-n-	dadu	- too much	nana	- little pain
-d/-n	no examples.			

6.5.6

d/-d-	danaw	- crater	dana	- necklace
-d/-d-	maḷadam	- to be used to	maladam-	to know
-d/-d	paqud	- back strap	paqid	- to beckon.

6.6 The phoneme /l/ in:

6.6.1 l/t see above.

6.6.2 l/d see above.

6.6.3

l/-r-	law	- bamboo slats	raw	- wine
-l/-r-	wali	- tooth	wari	- day
-l/-r	tuqul	- Acacia confusa	tuqur	- Bischofia javanica.

6.6.4

l/-n-	la	- past particle	na	- the
-l/-n-	belbel	- banana	banban	- to feel relieved
-l/-n	asel	- arm	asin	- women.

6.7 The phoneme /n/ in:

6.7.1 n/t see above.

6.7.2 n/d see above.

6.7.3 n/m see above.

6.7.4

n/-ng-	nawan	- flying squirrel	ngawai	- first
-n/-ng-	tina	- made	tingas	- bamboo slats
-n/-ng	sabun	- soap	sabung	- to expiate.

6.8 The phoneme /s/ in:

6.8.1

s/-t-	sa	- one	ta	- we (inclusive)
-s/-t-	asal	- rice	qatel	- to throw away
-s/-t	beras	- uncooked rice	barat	- middle.

6.8.2

s-/k-	sadu	- a lot of	kadu	- here
-s/-k-	isua	- where	ikua	- spoken word
-s/-k	qtas	- male sex	qtuk	- type of fungus.

6.8.3

s-/r-	sabun	- soap	rubun	- jew's harp
-s/-r-	asat	- giant	arat	- wicker fence
-s/-r	aʔus	- dead plant	aʔur	- to thread.

6.9. The phoneme /r/ in:

6.9.1 r/d see above.

6.9.2

r-/g-	rawraw	- much wine	gawgaw	- hoe
-r/-g-	kawraw	- to get out of	gawgaw	- hoe
-r/-g	tartar	- volcanic stone	tegteg	- bolt.

6.9.3 r/s see above.

6.9.4 r/l see above.

6.10 The phoneme /k/ in:

6.10.1

k-/g-	kawkaw	- sickle	gawgaw	- hoe
-k/-g-	tektek	- gecko	tegteg	- bolt
-k/-g	tektek	- gecko	tegteg	- bolt.

6.10.2

k-/q- no examples.

-k/-q-	makiteng	- small	maquteng	- dwarf.
--------	----------	---------	----------	----------

6.10.3 k/s see above.

6.10.4

k-/ng-	kai	- to leave	ngay	- word
-k/-ng-	likaka	- centipede	lingada	- basin
-k/-ng	tabak	- box for keeping weaving instruments in	tabang	- look away.

6.11 The phoneme /g/ in:

6.11.1 g/k see above.

6.11.2 g/r see above.

6.11.3

g-/ng-	garang	- crab	ngarat	- name
-g/-ng-	pagut	- to cause to talk	pagut	- take with two hands
-g/-ng	no examples.			

6.12 The phoneme /ng/ in:

6.12.1 ng/g see above.

6.12.2 ng/k see above.

6.12.3 ng/n see above.

6.13 The phoneme /h/ in:

6.13.1

t-/r-	ṭagan	- to build	ragan	- coward
-t-/r-	wali	- weather	wari	- day
-t/-r	no examples.			

6.13.2

t-/l-	no examples.			
-t/-l-	bali	- wind	bali	- shadow
-t/-l	bekaṭ	- new	dekal	- village.

6.14 The phoneme /w/ in:

6.14.1

w-/p-	wali	- tooth	pali	- third eye
-w/-p-	awar	- digging stick	apar	- scab
-w/-p	lawlaw	- lamp	laplap	- variety of bamboo.

6.14.2

w-/b-	wali	- tooth	bali	- shadow
-w/-b-	tawar	- easy	tabar	- to throw a spear
-w/-b	rawraw	- much wine	ribrib	- path along a river.

6.14.3

w-/m-	wali	- weather	maṭi	- football
-w/-m-	lawin	- to hang	laman	- pity
-w/-m	salaw	- extremely	saṭem	- to plant.

6.14.4

w-/l-	walak	- child	lalak	- young
-w/-l-	lawinan	- shaman's house	laliwan	- shadow
-w/-l	kadaw	- sun	kadal	- buzzard.

6.15 The phoneme /t/ in:

6.15.1

t-/t-	ṭali	- string for planting	tali	- once upon a time
-t/-t-	buṭu	- testicles	betu	- sheaf
-t/-t	gutgut	- scrape with one finger	gutgut	- speech.

6.15.2

t-/d-				
-t/-d-	kuṭu	- head louse	kuḍul	- thousand
-t/-d	ṭangiṭ	- sky	ṭangid	- a type of fungus.

6.15.3

t-/d-	ṭaw	- man	daw	- why
-t/-d-	liṭa	- dirt	lida	- to poke out one's tongue
-t/-d	kaliṭ	- leather	karid	- fishing net.

6.16 The phoneme /d/ in:

6.16.1 d-/d- see above.

-d-/d- see above.

-d/-d see above.

6.16.2 d-/t- see above.

-d-/t- see above.

7. Stress

Stress is always on the last syllable, and has no phonological value. But vocalic length with expressive value is found in the penultimate syllable. This syllable may be very long in speech to indicate distance in time or space or for the sake of emphasis.

Examples:

yesterday	- /adaman/	here	- /kadiu/
day before yesterday	- /ada.man/	there	- /kadi.u/
past	- /ada....man/	further away	- /kadi....u/

Sometimes the emphasis is several seconds long.

8. Syllabic structure

CV	/ku/	V	/i/
CVC	/tan/	VC	/an/
CVCV	/maʔa/	VCV	/adi/
CVCVC	/pelin/	VCVC	/alib/
CVCVCV	/misasa/	VCVCV	/alepe/
CVCVCVC	/ridarid/	VCVCVC	/abukul/
CVV	/bua/	VCVCVCVC	/apaʔaran/
CVCCVC	/gawgaw/	VCCV	/inlu/
CVCVCVCV	/kemirami/	VV	/ai,au,ua,ui/
CC	nasal + C = /angri/		
	C + liquid consonant = /brai/		

Geminate vowels do not exist, vowels always having a glottal stop in between, e.g.: *saqad*, *buqir*.

Very often, in a CCV or CCVV structure, we find a non-phonemic e inserted, viz. CvCV or CvCVV.

Example: to give - /brai/ [berai]

In syllable sequences, we find CVCVC and CVCCVC, but in speech we often hear the addition of a non-phonemic e, u, or i, viz. CVCvCVC.

Examples: to vomit - /demli/ [demeli]

brothers - /marwadi/; for this latter example, I have heard from my informants the pronunciation [marewadi≈mariwadi≈maruwadi], the former and the latter being more frequent. If we consider w as a semivowel, [mar(e)wadi≈mariwadi≈maruwadi] gives: CVCCVCV, CVCVCVCV, CVCVVCV.

II. MORPHOLOGY

1. Affixes

For this specific part of my study, I have followed R. Ferrell's method for Paiwan (1970). In his vocabulary words are listed as belonging to one of the classes listed below. These word class distinctions are essential for an understanding of Puyuma affixation.

B: verb base (Vb) or nominal base (N), a predicate that is not inflected through the addition of an infix, a prefix or a suffix; such bases never appear in this uninflected form in conversation. They can be translated by either a verb or a nominal form.

V: inflected base (verbal or nominal).

S: stative verb, which does not have any affixes; 'adjectives'.

A: adverb.

These basic word classes are not to be confused with the actual ways in which words are used in sentences. Verbs may be used as 'nouns'. In the example *ku qalupanai na babue*, the word *qalupanai*, 'to hunt', is used like a noun, the sentence meaning 'my quarry is the boar'.

The Puyuma language features a great many affixes. The affixes are indicated as follows: pu- - prefix -in- - infix -an - suffix.

Affixation is nearly unlimited in Puyuma. By adding compound affixes to a noun, one may obtain another noun. For example: |pinudaranan| = daran, road, + /pu-/ , to do, + /-in-/ , something which is achieved, + /an/ locative, the word thus meaning 'the place where a road has been opened'.

Sometimes, what appears to be the same affix, when added to words of different classes may have quite different meanings. For instance, the prefix /ki-/ attached to a B (N) transforms it into a verb and then means 'to obtain', e.g., |ki-kuraw| 'to obtain fish'. However, when attached to a B (Vb), /ki-/ does not change the word class of that word but gives it a reflexive meaning, e.g., |ki-natay| 'to kill oneself'.

The most common affixes are listed below in alphabetical order according to word class.

1.1 Noun-forming affixes

a. -an added on to a B (N or Vb) is a very frequently used affix, denoting:

- duration

|ami-an| <ami, year, = 'during the year'

- location in space

|i-enay-an| <enai, water, = 'river bank'

- plural

|maidang-an| <maidang, old person, = 'old people'

- generic

|bangsar-an| <bangsar, virile, = 'class of marriageable men'.

b. meq- or -em- denotes 'one who specializes in', e.g.:

|meq-law| <qlaw, bamboo slat, = 'bamboo diviner'.

- c. -in- + B (N) = N denoting a thing resulting from a particular action, e.g.:
 |d-in-alqu| <dalqu, sugar, = 'beer resulting from fermentation of rice'
 |d-in-awai| <dawai, body, = 'human being'.
- d. -in- + B (N) + -an = N indicating where something is (i.e., an action has taken place), e.g.:
 |d-in-apal-an| <dapal, foot, = 'footprints'
 |in-qudal-an| <qudal, rain, = 'where rain has fallen'.
- e. -in- + B (Vb) + -an = N indicating where something is done, e.g.:
 |in-aukay-an| <auka, to go, = 'places passed through'
 |p-en-uar-an| <puar, to run away, = 'running away from places'.
 With initial consonants, the infix /-in-/ becomes /-en-/. I have never encountered any other allomorphs.
- f. ka- + B (N) + -an = N indicating the principle of, emphasis, the archetype, e.g.:
 |ka-rumaq-an| <ruma, house, = 'ancestor cult house'
 |ka-puyumaq-an| = '... like a Puyuma'.
- g. maka- + B (N) = N meaning 'next to ..' ('located near some place')
 |maka-ami| <ami, north, = 'somewhere in the north'
 |maka-isat| <isat, up, = 'up there'.
- h. mar-(e) + B (N) = N designating a relation between, e.g.:
 |mar-(e)wadi| <wadi = 'siblings'
 |mar-kataguin| <kataguin, husband or wife, = 'spouses'
 |mar-temama| <temama, father, = 'father and son/daughter'
 |mar-palu-an| <palu, border, = 'a border'.
- i. pa- or ba- (reduplication of first syllable) + proper noun = N, e.g.:
 |pa-pikel| = 'those of Pikel' (name of a house)
 |ba-butul| = 'those of Butul' (name of a house).
- j. pu- + B (N) + -an = N designating a place where something is put or kept, viz.:
 |pu-gung-an| <gung, cow/ox, = 'cattle-shed'
 |pu-kawi-an| <kawi, wood, = 'place where wood is kept'.
- k. re- + reduplicated B (N or Vb) + -an = N denoting one who does frequently or habitually or has a lot of, e.g.:
 |re-ngayngay-an| <ngay, word, = 'a talkative person'
 |re-ʔakatakaw-an| <ʔakaw, to steal, = 'incurable thief'
 |re-walawalak-an| <walak, child, = 'one who has many children'.
- l. sa + B (N) + -an = N denoting measurement (sa = 'one'), e.g.:
 |sa dalukap-an| = 'the span of the hand'
 |sa puti-an| = 'a gunny bag'.

These affixes are used daily. The affixes *h*, *i* and *l* are no longer 'active', that is, their use is no longer free but is restricted to fixed, specific cases.

1.2 Verb-forming affixes

- a. are- + B (N) + reduplication of B or of S² and S³ = V meaning 'to have the odour of', e.g.:
 - dissyllabic: reduplication B
|are-*taqitaqi*| <*taqi*, excrements, = 'to smell of excrement'
 - trisyllabic: reduplication S² and S³
|are-*tomako-mako*| <*tomako*, tobacco, = 'to smell of tobacco'
|are-*balaka-laka*| <*balaka*, Westerner, = 'to smell like a Westerner'
|are-*puyuma-yuma*| = 'to have the odour of a Puyuma'.
- b. ki- + B (N) = V meaning 'to get, to obtain', e.g.:
|ki-*kuraw*| <*kuraw*, fish, = 'to fish'
|ki-*lengaw*| <*lengaw*, sound, = 'to listen'.
- c. ki- + B (Vb) = V meaning 'do to oneself', e.g.:
|ki-*natay*| <*natay*, to die, = 'to commit suicide'
|ki-*beray*| <*beray*, to give, = 'to be given by'.
- d. kitu- + B (N) = V meaning 'to be ready to become ...', viz.:
|kitu-*bangsar*| <*bangsar*, handsome, virile, = 'to become a handsome young man'.
- e. kar- + B (Vb or N) = V designating 'two persons performing the same action', e.g.:
|kar-*basak*| <*basak*, carrying-pole, = 'two persons carrying a carrying-pole'
|kar-*naqu*| <*naqu*, to look at, = 'to look together'.
- f. kur- + B (Vb or N) = V meaning 'to perform an action with', e.g.:
|kur-(e)*babali*| <*bali*, wind, = 'to air in the wind'
|kur-*paɖek*| <*paɖek*, back (of the body), = 'to give a piggyback'
|kur-*taqepa*| <*taqep*, to lie down, = 'to sleep with'.
- g. mi- + B (N) = V meaning 'to carry, to have, to wear', e.g.:
|mi-*kaɭipang*| <*kaɭipang*, hat, = 'to wear a hat'
|mi-*walak*| <*walak*, child, = 'to give birth'.
- h. pi- + B (N) is the imperative form of /mi-/, e.g.:
|pi-*kiping*| <*kiping*, clothes, = 'get dressed'.
- i. pa- + B (N or Vb) is the causative form of verbs, e.g.:
|pa-*kan*| <*kan*, to eat, = 'to feed'
|pa-*tigami*| <*tigami*, a letter, = 'to have someone write a letter'.
- j. pa- + ka- + S = causative V meaning 'to bring something into the state of', e.g.:
|paka-*kuɭung*| <*lung*, epidemic, = 'to make sick'
|paka-*inaba*| <*inaba*, good, = 'to make good'.

This prefix is made up of two prefixes, the causative /pa-/ and the future /ka-/. An appropriate translation would be 'what will be done'.

- k. par- + B (N) = V meaning 'to like to do ...', e.g.:
 |par-bawang| <bawang, to fart, = 'to like to fart'
 |par-bua| <bua, fruit, = 'to create'.
- l. pu- + B (N) = V meaning 'to give, to invite, to ask someone to do something and participate in, to allow to do', e.g.:
 |pu-kiping| <kiping, clothes, = 'to dress someone'
 |pu-ami| <ami, north, = 'to take north'
 |pu-walak| <walak, child, = 'to make someone pregnant'.
- m. tu- + B (N) = V representing a verbal base that is always found in the two inflected forms t/-em-/u and t/-in-/u, constituting two prefixes;
 temu- + B (N) = V meaning 'to do', e.g.:
 |t-em-u-abai| <abai, rice cake, = 'to bake rice cakes'
 |t-em-u-quma| <uma, field, = 'to work a field'
 tinu- + B (N) = V meaning 'one who act as ...', e.g.:
 |t-in-u-maidang| <maidang, aged, = 'someone who acts the old man'
 |t-in-u-ayawan| <ayawan, chief, = 'one who acts the chief'.

These prefixes are used daily, except for *a*, which the Puyuma always use in fun, e.g., *aretedektedek* <*tedek*, buttock, = 'to have a bad smell'.

Prefix *d*, *kitu*-, is a petrified affix, only used with a few set expressions. *Kitubangsar* refers to an age-class, and *kitumaidang* is a word for a young boy who in the young men's dormitory plays the part of an old man.

1.3 Stative verb forming affixes

- a. -al- + B (N or Vb) = N meaning 'having the sound of ...', e.g.:

- |p-al-etik| <petik, to splash, to pop = 'the sound of splashing water or of popping rice'
 |s-al-iusiu| <siusiu, spring chickens, = 'twittering of spring chickens'.

When the initial consonant is *t* in an onomatopoeic, it becomes *s* in the new form, e.g.:

- |s-al-teb| <tebteb, chopping knife, = 'the sound of a chopping knife on a wooden board'
 |s-al-tik| <tiktik, tattoo, - saltikan, 'crackling sound as of matches'.

pa + al + B = N meaning 'having the sound of ...', e.g.:

- |p-al-a-yoyok| = 'cry of chickens when nearly caught'
 |p-al-a-inging| = 'barking of dogs'
 |p-al-a-ngawngaw| <ngawngaw, kites, = 'rustling of kites'.

- b. mara- + S + reduplication S means 'the most, the ... est (within a

- group)', e.g.:
 |mara-maṭina-
 maṭina| <maṭina, tall, = 'the tallest'.
 c. mara- + S ... kan means 'more than ..., ... er ... than', e.g.:
 |mara-maṭina kan| <maṭina, tall, = 'taller than ...'
 |mara-bulai kan| <bulai, beautiful, 'more beautiful than ...'
 d. pukasa- + S means 'the most, ... est'
 |pukasa-bangsar| <bangsar, virile, = 'the most virile'
 |pukasa-bulai| <bulai, beautiful, = 'the most beautiful'.
 e. pala- + B (N) means 'many, a lot of ..., accumulation of ...', e.g.:
 |pala-q-abai| <abai, cakes, = 'a lot of cakes'.
 Reduplication also denotes 'a lot of ...', 'a multiple of ...', e.g.:
 |kawi-kawi| <kawi, wood, = 'a lot of wood'
 |kura-kuraw| <kuraw, fish, = 'a lot of fish'.
 f. ka- + sa + B (N) + reduplication S¹ or B + -an designates a time unit,
 e.g.:
 |ka-sa-ba-bulan| <bulan, moon, = 'during one month'
 |ka-sa-wari-wari-an| <wari, day, = 'during one day'.

These affixes are not common. They are not petrified affixes, but are very often found in the same expressions.

1.4 Adverb-forming affixes

- a. a- denotes a past time, e.g.:
 |a-daman| yesterday
 |a-kaṭaqub| <kaṭaqub, evening, 'yesterday evening'.
 b. an- denotes a future time, e.g.:
 |an-daman| tomorrow
 |an-qasua| <asua, when, 'when in the future'.
 c. i- denotes location, 'at', e.g.:
 |i-sua| where
 |i-ami| <ami, north, 'in the north'
 |i-sabak| <sabak, inside, 'inside of'.

1.5 Locative affixes

- i - 'at, in' (for i see also section II.6. below, construction markers), e.g.:
nanku ruma i-ami my house is located in the north.
 maka - 'somewhere next to' (the location being next to a known place),
 e.g.:
nanu ruma isua ? your house where ?
tu ruma kan Isaw his house the Isaw north of (north of Isaw's
maka ami house).

kema i - 'coming from ...', e.g.:

kema i Balangaw ku coming from Balangaw I (I am coming from Balangaw).

pi - 'to take the direction of', e.g.:

pi-ami to go north.

2. Adverbs

The meaning of a sentence is modified by an adverb.

Examples: - verb + pronoun and adverb + pronoun + verb:

maliai ku

drunk / I

I am drunk

adi ku maliai

no / I / drunk

I am not drunk

maraias ku maliai

often / I / drunk

I am often drunk

kasababutan ku mekan

for one month / I / eat I have been eating it for one month.

Some adverbs may receive an affix which transforms them into verbs, for example: *maraias* in the future form becomes *karaias*.

maraias ku maliai I am often drunk

karaias ku maliai

shall be often / I / drunk I shall be often drunk.

This adverb takes its future aspect from verbal categories C and D (see section III.4. below).

The adverb *garem*, 'now, today', possesses a degree of specificity which makes it verbal, for example:

|*garem*| *babruk ku garem*

to leave / I / now I am leaving

|*a-garem-ai*| just now, in the immediate past

dua la asua ? to come / past / when When did you come?

agaremai

Right now.

The adverb may have the prefix /a-/ added, which indicates the past, and the suffix /-ai/, which is the mark of the referent focus in the past, as follows:

|*an-garem-ai*| just now, immediate future

|*garem-a*| + pronoun + V:

garema ta demirus

now / we / wash AF we are now washing

|*garem-an*|

the meantime

|*garem-an... la*|

immediate past

idi a sinanga na karisis a gareman la

this / a / finished / the / bow-net / a / immediate past

the bow-net has just been finished.

Gareman may be suffixed by /-an/, which is the mark of the nominal form, and preceded by the construction marker *a*, so that the translation then is 'we have used the meantime to finish the bow-net'.

3. Pronouns

	singular 1 st pers.	singular 2 nd pers.	singular 3 rd pers.	plural 1 st pers.		plural 2 nd pers.	plural 3 rd pers.
				inclus.	exclus.		
nominative emphatic nom. genitive	ku kuiku nanku	yu yuyu nanu	taitaw taitaw nantaw	ta tita nanta nantu	mi mimi naniam	mu muimu nanmu	nadiu na ʔaw nadiu a ʔaw nantaw kanadiu na ʔaw kantaw tu
objective agentive	kanku ku ki / ti	kanu nu	kantaw tu	kanta ta	kaniam niam	kanmu mu	

Ta, 'we', includes the person addressed, while *mi* is an exclusive form not including the person addressed. The 3rd pers. singular forms *taitaw* and *tu* are used in an impersonal sense, 'one', e.g., *tu salemanai na bunga*, the potatoes have been planted (by someone). Examples:

auka yu i Puyuma

go / you / at / Puyuma you go to Puyuma

yuyu Puyuma

you / Puyuma you, you are Puyuma

nanu ruma i Puyuma

your / house / at / Puyuma your house is at Puyuma

tu berayanai kanu

he(he) / give / to you he gave it to you

nu kanaw na katawa

you/ ate / the / papaya you ate the papaya

For the first person singular, we find two agentive pronouns: *ki* and *ti*; for the first person plural, we encounter an agentive pronoun *ta*, which indicates intention. Although the verb may have a past aspect, these three pronouns point to an action in the future.

Examples:

ku

ku berayai yu kana katawa

by me / ask to be given / you / the / papaya

I shall give you the papaya (you asked to be given).

ki, denoting a slight intention, a desire

ki *berayai* *yu*
 by me, who have the intention of / will be given / you
 you will be given by me (because I have the desire to give to you).
But this pronoun ki must not be confused with the prefix /ki-/ 'to do to oneself', e.g., ki-natay 'to commit suicide'.

kiberay to urge someone to give to myself or to s.o else

ku *kiberayai* *yu* *kana katawa*
 I / give because incited to do so / you / the / papaya
 you will give me a papaya (because I have asked you).

niam kiberayai *yu*
 we / will give / from you

you will give us (because we have asked you).

tu *kibaberayai* *ku*

s.o / is asking to give / I

Right now, I am giving someone (him or her) because I have been asked.

ti, indicating a strong intention, a will

ti *berayai* *yu* *kana katawa*
 by me (who want) / to be given / you / the / papaya
 You will be given by me (because I want to) the papaya.

4. Interrogatives

	persons	others
nominative	imanai ?	amanai ?
objective	kanmanai ?	
possessive	anmanai ?	

5. Adjectives and demonstrative pronouns / adverbs (location)

	here	there	over there
here, there	kadi	kadu	kadiu
this, that	kadini	kandu	kandiu
this a, that a	idi a	idu a	idiu a
this, these	idini a	idunu a	
	idini na	nadu na	idiu na
	idinu na		
	idu na		

Examples:

kadu yu kadu

live / you / there

You live there

kadu mi kadini/kadia/kadinia

live / we / here

We live here

tu pakasuyaw kandini

s.o. / has been brought / this, here

This (just mentioned) has been brought here

mapias ku kandu kana kutang

diarrhoea / I / this, there / the / vegetable

This vegetable, there, gave me diarrhoea

kamawan kandu da qaput

like / this, there / a / flower

This, there, looks like a flower

ku tengedai idiu na taw

me/ hit / this (over there) / the / man

This man over there has been hit by me

idu na katenadawan

this / the / chair

This, here, is the chair

idini i nantaw kanmanai

this / const.marker / 3rd pers. sing. / to whom

This belongs to whom?

6. Construction markers

The construction markers are comparable to articles (the, a) in European languages. In Puyuma, each noun or noun phrase must always be linked to the verb or any other words or phrases in the sentence by the appropriate construction marker.

		nominative	objective-agentive
personal	singular	i	kan
	plural	na	kana
non-personal	unspecific	a	da
	specific	na	kana

Examples:

menaqu i Isaw kanku
look at / the / Isaw / to me

Isaw looks at me

daɖua anqasua i Isaw
will come / when future / the / Isaw

When will Isaw come

menaqu i ama kana walak
look at / the / father / the / child

The father is looking at the child

tu berayanai a kalipang kanku
s.o. / has given / a / umbrella / to me

An umbrella was given to me

tu berayanai na kalipang kanku
s.o. / has given / the / umbrella / to me

The umbrella was given to me

tu berayai ku ɖa kalipang
s.o. / have received / I / a /umbrella

I have received an umbrella.

III. THE VERB SYSTEM

1. Different stresses or 'focus' of verbs

In Puyuma, the verbal predicate must stress or 'focus' on either the actor (AF = actor focus), the direct object (OF = object focus), the location or the person who benefits from the action or part of the object (RF = referent focus), or the instrument with which the action is performed or a third participant (an assistant) (IF = instrument focus).

The object focus and referent focus may have very similar meanings, sometimes even the same meaning, but the RF is usually less emphatic, while the OF is used more frequently.

The object focus occurs in the past tense or in the imperative mode.

Example:

Verbal base *dirus*, to wash

AF: *ɖl-em-lirus lku*

VAF I

I wash

OF: *ku dirus/-aw na gung*

I VOF the ox

I washed the ox, or, if taken as a nominal form: the thing washed is the ox

RF: *ku dirus/-ai (na enai na bias)*

I VRF (the / water / the / hot)

I washed with hot water, or, if taken as a nominal form: the washing is hot water.

IF: *ku dirus/-anai (na enai) kan Aliwaki*

I VIF (the / water) the Aliwaki I washed Aliwaki with water, or, if taken as a nominal form: the washing of Aliwaki is water.

The object focus form could be translated with a passive, due to the fact that the English passive is in some ways similar in that it stresses the object of the action, e.g., 'the ox has been washed by me'. However, European languages lack forms corresponding to the RF and IF forms. The OF form could be translated as 'it is the ox that I have washed', the RF as 'it is with hot water that I have washed the ox', and the IF as 'it is with water for washing that I have washed the ox' (as opposed to water for drinking or something else).

Not all verbs have all of these focuses; some have only three and some only two. Sometimes the OF and RF may be used with the same meaning, but the Puyuma people prefer to use one form, the other being ignored.

Examples:

qalup, to hunt

AF	OF	RF	IF
<i>me/qalup</i>	<i>qalup/aw</i>	<i>qalup/ai</i>	<i>qalup/anai</i>

The OF here is commonly used, but the RF *qalupai* seldom.

AF: *me/qalup ku kana babue*

hunt I the wild boar I hunt the wild boar

OF: *ku qalupaw na babue*

I hunt the boar I have hunted *the boar* (it is the boar which I have hunted, or, using a nominal form, my game is the boar)

RF: *ku qalupai na babue*

I hunt the boar I have hunted *the boar*, or, using a nominal form, my quarry is the boar ('ma *chasse*, c'est le sanglier', as Haudricourt translates it)

IF: *ku qalupanai na suan*

I hunt the dog I have hunted (the boar) *with the dog* (it is with the dog that I have hunted), or, using a nominal form, my quarry with the dog (is the boar).

Example of a verb with only three focuses (AF, RF, IF):
verbal base *beray*, to give

AF: *beray ku kanu da puran*

VAF I to you a betel nut I give you a betel nut

RF: *ku berayai (yu) da puran*

I VRF /(you)/a/betel nut I gave (you) a betel nut (it is to you that I have given a betel nut)

IF: *ku berayanai kanu*

I VIF to you I gave you (the betel nut has been given to you by me).

In the case of OF, RF and IF, the subject is very often omitted because it is known. Examples:

ku berayanai kanu (na puran)

I VIF to you (the betel nut) I gave you (the betel nut).

Here the subject is not clearly indicated because the emphasis is on it: *the betel nut* was given to you by me.

tu salem (na uma) da bunga kan Aliwaki

he / plant / (the field) / a (any) / sweet potatoes / the Aliwaki
the field has been planted with sweet potatoes by Aliwaki.

Here the field does not need to be mentioned.

The negative form of RF and IF is different, viz.:

RF: *tu berayai yu*

s.o./give /you you were given

neg.: *adi tu brayi yu*

IF: *tu berayanai kanu*

s.o./ give / to you it was given to you

neg.: *adi tu berayan kanu* it was not given to you.

Focus may be summarized as follows.

actor focus: verb - subject - (complement)

object, referent, instrument focus: agent - verb - (subject) - (complement).

Where the agent is indicated by a pronoun (*ku, ki* or *ti, nu, tu, niam, ta, mu, tu*) and is a person who has to be specified, we have the agentive form |tu + B (Vb) + complement kan + proper noun or ordinary noun|

e.g.: Vb *salem*, to plant

RF: *tu salem (na uma) da bunga kan Aliwaki*

he / plant / a(any) / sweet potatoes / the Aliwaki

it is planted with sweet potatoes by Aliwaki (the focus is on the field, which is implicit).

This can be rendered as follows by a nominal form:

tu salem kan Aliwaki

his / plantation / at / Aliwaki the Aliwaki's plantation

tu ngarat kan Aliwaki
 his / name / at / Aliwaki

the name of Aliwaki.

I summarize the different focus marks below. As AF can be expressed in different ways, I use the symbol /M/, as follows:

AF marks: /M/ or $\emptyset$ ($\emptyset$: no mark), where /M/ stands for /-em-/ , /-en-/ (after labials), /me-/ or /meq-/ , /ma-/

OF marks: -aw, u-i

RF marks: -ai, i

IF marks : -anai, -an.

2. Aspects and modes

There are three verbal aspects: perfect, imperfect, and future, and two modes: imperative and hortative future ('imperfect' generally means that the action has already begun and is still continuing, while 'perfect' means that the action is already completed and has stopped). These different aspects and modes have the following marks (examples are given after the table):

perfect: $\emptyset$ (no mark)

imperfect: R (reduplication)
 R of the 1st syllable (not systematic)
 /-a-/

future: R, sometimes only /-a/

imperative mode: $\emptyset$

hortative future: /-a-/.

Table of the marks of aspects and modes with the different kinds of focus

focus	(AF) /M/ or $\emptyset$	(OF) /-aw/	(RF) /-ai/	(IF) /-anai/
modes/aspects				
perfect $\emptyset$	/M/ or $\emptyset$	/-aw/	/-ai/	/-anai/
imperfect R	/M/+R or R	R/-aw/	/-ai/	R/-anai
future R	R	R/-i/	R/-i/	R/-an/
imperative $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	/-u/	/-i/	/-an/
hort.fut. /-a/	/M/+/-a/	-	-	-
negat.past -	/i/	/-i/	/-an/	

The past negation resembles a question: isn't it ? Example:

adi tu brayi yu ?

neg. / s.o. / give / you you have been given it, haven't you ?

A single adverb may transform /M/ into a perfect, imperfect or future form. Nevertheless, the different aspects can be explained as follows.

Perfect:

d-em-irus ku I was bathing or I am bathing.

If the action is completed, *la* is added, e.g:

d-em-irus ku la I washed.

If the action is not yet completed, the adverb *dia*, yet, is added, e.g.:

adi ku dia d-em-irus I have not yet washed

ua d-em-irus

go / wash go and wash

adi ku sagar me-kan kana katawa

neg./ I / like / eat / the / papaya I don't like to eat papaya.

Future:

andaman i, d-em-irus ku

tomorrow / wash / I I shall wash tomorrow.

Imperfect: the present is a progressive form, 'ing', denoting the beginning of an action, e.g., *d-em-a-dirus ku*, I am bathing.

Imperative mode: the subject is not mentioned in the case of actor focus; the agent is not mentioned in the case of object focus. Examples:

kan! eat!

kani na katawa

eat the papaya the papaya, eat it!

Future: this incorporates the immediate future.

The action is uncertain and the speaker is not asking for approval.

Example:

andaman tatekel ta da raw !

tomorrow/ drink / we incl./ a / wine

tomorrow, we will drink some wine !

The hearer may ask the question 'for what reason?'

Hortative future: this occurs only with AF; it can be translated as: 'let's'. It may include the immediate future, and is asking for approval, and so is more polite than the above future. It can only be used with the 1st person singular and plural. Example:

andaman, temekela ta da raw !

tomorrow/ drink / we incl./ a/ wine

tomorrow we will drink some wine (the hearer may say 'no').

The paradigm of the verb *dirus*, to wash, in the seven modes and aspects, with the 1st person singular pronoun is:

	AF	OF	RF	IF
imperative	<i>dirus</i>	<i>dirusu</i>	<i>dirusi</i>	<i>dirusan</i>
perfect	<i>demirus ku</i>	<i>ku dirusaw</i>	<i>ku dirusai</i>	<i>ku dirusanai</i>
negative	<i>adi ku demirus</i>	<i>adi ku dirusi</i>	<i>adi ku dirusi</i>	<i>adi ku dirusan</i>
hort. future	<i>demirusa ku</i>	<i>ku dadirusaw</i>	<i>ku dadirusai</i>	<i>ku dadirusanai</i>
imperfect	<i>demadirus ku</i>	<i>ku dadirusi</i>		<i>ku dadirusan</i>
future	<i>dadirus ku</i>			
nominal	<i>dinirusan</i>			

ACTOR FOCUS (AF)

perfect: /-em-/

demirus ku

washed / I

I washed

negative past: *adi* + pronoun + /-em-/

adi ku demirus

neg. / I / washed

I did not wash

imperfect: /-em-/ + R

demadirus ku

washing myself / I

I am washing

imperative: $\emptyset$

dirus !

wash !

future : R

dadirus ku

am going to wash/ I

I am going to wash
(I am telling you, but
never mind what you
say, I will go and
wash)

hortative future: /M/, /-a/

demirusa ku

am going to wash/ I

I am going to wash
(polite, not waiting for
approbation, the speak-
er seems to be saying
'aren't I?').

For the present tense of verbs denoting habits, the Puyuma preferably use the form /M/ (/em-/ , /en-/ , /me-/ , or /meq-/ , /ma-/), but may also use the future form R. Example:

kana wari wari i, demirus ku

or *kana wari wari i, dadirus ku* I wash every day.

OBJECT FOCUS (OF)

perfect: /-aw/

ku dirusaw na gung
by me / has been washed / the / ox I washed the ox

negative past: adi ku + Vi

adi ku dirusi
neg. / I / washed I did not wash (it)

imperfect: R + /-aw/

ku dadirusaw na gung
by me / was washing / the / ox I was washing the ox

imperative mode: /-u/

dirusu (*na gung*)
wash (the ox) wash (the ox).
This form points to either the person washing or the thing washed.

future: R /-i/

ku dadirusi na suan
by me / will be washed / the / dog I will wash the dog.

REFERENT FOCUS (RF)

perfect: /-ai/

ku dirusai na enai na bias
me / have washed / the / water / the / hot
I washed with hot water (the focus is on the hot water, water for washing,
not for drinking, cooking, or so on)

negative past: adi + pronoun + Vbi

adi ku dirusi na enai
neg. / I / washed / the / water I did not wash with that water

imperfect: R /-ai/

ku dadirusai na enai
me / washing / the / water I am washing with this water

imperative mode: /-i/

dirusi na enai
wash / the / water wash with the water.

INSTRUMENT FOCUS (IF)

perfect: /-anai/

ku dirusanai na enai (kan Isaw)
me / has washed / the / water / (the Isaw)

I washed (Isaw) with the water

negative past: adi + pronoun + Vb-an
adi ku dirusan na enai (kan Isaw)
 neg./ I / washed / the / water (the Isaw)
 I did not wash (Isaw) with the water

imperative mode: /-an/

dirusan *ku dia na suan*

wash / I/ a little/the/dog

help me a little to wash the dog

future: R /-an/

idi na enai kakudayan

this / the / water / what for

what is this water for?

a dadirusan

a washing

for washing (the washing, it
will be this water).

The focus of the sentence is indicated by the aspect of the verb. Nevertheless, the choice of the construction marker preceding the noun changes the meaning. Examples:

ku timaqanai na paliding kana pairan

from me / has been bought/ the / car / the / *pairan*

I sold the car to the *pairan* (*pairan* = the 'baddies' = the Taiwanese)

The car has been bought from me by the *pairan*

ku timaqanai da paliding na pairan

by me / has bought/ the / car / the / *pairan*

I have helped the *pairan* to buy a car.

3. Nominal forms

Nominal forms come direct from verbal bases. They are sometimes difficult to translate because the nominal form looks to us like a verbal form (and vice versa). In the example above, **a dadirusan** can be translated as 'washing water', or 'it will be water for washing'.

The nominal forms have several possibilities, as follows:

infinitive: verbal base **beray**, to give

imanai na beray da puran kan Isaw

who / the gift / a / betel nut / the / Isaw

who has given the gift of a betel nut to Isaw?

perfect: /-in-/ or /ni-/

saima nanku niberay

little / my / gift

the little that I gave

location: /-in-/ + /-an/ or /ni-/ + /-an/

inqalupan, the places where hunts were held

future: the mark of future aspect + /-an/

akanan <kan, to eat, the foods to be eaten

imperfect: /-in-/ + present tense mark + /-an/

verbal base **kikarun**, to work

nanku *kiniakarunan*

my / working place

verbal base **beray**, to give

tu niberay kanku a kiping

s.o./ the gift / to me / a / cloth

I was given a piece of cloth (a piece of cloth is the gift which was given to me).

The construction *na* + verb gives rise to a nominal form with the emphasis on the verb, e.g.:

kuiku na kikarun

to me / the /work it is my work

a taw na kikarun

a human being / the / work it is the work of a human being

kuiku na beray

me / the gift what I gave, or it is my gift

imanai na beray da puran kan Isaw

who / the gift / a / betel nut / the / Isaw

who has given a betel nut to Isaw? or: the gift of a betel nut to Isaw, who gave it?

a suan na mekan da turukuk

a / dog / the eater / a / chicken the eater of the chicken is a dog.

In this verbal construction, the noun complement is not introduced by **kana** but by **na**. We have in these examples Ferrell's *a* (1970) for Paiwan, which he labels 'equational construction marker'; so we have here a nominal sentence. The Paiwan *a* and the Puyuma *na* should be translated with 'it is' and the predicate with a noun.

4. Verbal categories

The verbs can be classified into five categories, according to the marks they take for the different aspects and modes, as follows:

			OF, RF, IF
	perfect imperfect hort. fut.	imperative future	
A	∅	∅	∅
B	/M/	∅	∅
C	/M/ or ∅	k	k
D	/M/ or ∅	k	∅
E	/M/	p	p

∅ = no mark

Category A

The perfect and imperative forms in this category are identical, e.g.: verbal bases *beray*, to give, *kilengaw*, to listen, *kiumal*, to ask, *pakan*, to feed

Vb	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
<i>beray</i>	<i>beray</i>	<i>beray</i>
<i>kilengaw</i>	<i>kilengaw</i>	<i>kilengaw</i>
<i>pakan</i>	<i>pakan</i>	<i>pakan</i>

The mark of the imperfect aspect is usually /-a-/, but if the infix /-a-/ cannot be inserted, the imperfect and future forms are identical, e.g.: Vb *beray*; imperfect, *babaray*; future, *babaray*; R (reduplication, mark of the future) applied to S¹ of the B

	<u>Vb</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>future</u>
the sound	<i>lengaw</i>	<i>kialengaw</i>	<i>kakilengaw</i>
asking	<i>umal</i>	<i>kiaumal</i>	<i>kakiumal</i>
work	<i>karun</i>	<i>kiakarun</i>	<i>kakikarun</i>

Aspects and modes of the Vb *beray* for each focus

	AF	OF	RF	IF
perfect	<i>kilengaw</i>	-	<i>kilengawai</i>	<i>kilengawanai</i>
imperfect	<i>kialengaw</i>	-		
imperative	<i>kilengaw</i>	-	<i>kilengawi</i>	<i>kilengawan</i>
future	<i>kakilengaw</i>			
hort. future	<i>kilengawa</i>			
nominal	<i>lengaw</i>			
	<i>kinilengawan</i>			

Prefixed verbs of which B is a Vb and not a N

- prefixes /ki-/ and /pu-/:

the imperfect is formed by the infix /-a-/

the future is formed by R of S¹ of B.

Examples: Vb *beray*, to give, *kiberay*, to ask for
imperf. *ki/-a-/beray*

future *ki/-ba-/beray*

– prefix /**pa-**/:

the imperfect is formed by R of the prefix

the future is formed by R of S¹ of B.

Examples: Vb *panaqu*, to show, *patekēl*, to give to drink

Vb	imperfect	future
<i>panaqu</i>	<i>papanaqu</i>	<i>pananaqu</i>
<i>patekēl</i>	<i>papatekēl</i>	<i>patatekēl</i>

Aspects and modes of the Vb *kiberay* for each focus

	AF	OF	RF	IF
perfect	kiberay	-	kiberayai	kiberayanai
imperfect	kiaberay	-	kiaberayai	kiaberayani
imperative	kiberay	-	kiberayi	kiberayan
future	kibaberay	-	kibaberayi	kibaberayan
hort. future	kiberaya	-		
nominal				

Aspects and modes of the Vb *pakan* for each focus

	AF	OF	RF	IF
perfect	pakan	pakanaw	pakanai	pakananai
imperfect	papakan	papakanaw	papakanai	
imperative	pakan	pakanu	pakani	pakanan
future	papakan	papakani	papakani	papakanan
hort. future	pakana			
nominal	pinakanan			

Category B

This category comprises verbs of action.

Examples: verbs with AF

demirus, to wash, *mekan*, to eat, *benias*, to heat, *mutani*, to fall down, *beruk*, to go back home.

These verbs cannot take prefixes (/me-/ is not a prefix but is the mark of AF, as was seen above).

Aspects and modes of the Vb *meberuk* for each focus

	AF	OF	RF	IF
perfect	meberuk	-	berukai	berukanai
imperfect	mebaberuk	-		
imperative	(u)beruk	-	beruki	berukan
future	babeluk			
hort. future	beruka			
nominal	baberukan			

Category C

These are verbs of action, with the peculiarity that their imperfect is formed with R of S² of B, and their imperative mode and future aspect with *ka* as well as all the focus marks of OF, RF and IF.

Examples: *matengadaw*, to sit down, *maladam*, to know, *madeki*, to insult, *matenged*, to kill each other.

Aspects and modes of the Vb *matengadaw* for each focus

	AF	OF	RF	IF
perfect	matengadaw	-	katengadai	katengadawai
imperfect	matatengadaw			
imperative	katengadaw			
future	katatengadaw			
hort. future	matengadaw			
nominal	katengadaw			

Aspects and modes of the Vb *madeki* for each focus

	AF	OF	RF	IF
perfect	madeki	kadekiaw	-	kadekianai
imperfect	maɖadeki			
imperative	kadeki			
future	kaɖadeki			
hort. future	maɖekia			
nominal				

Category D

These are stative verbs, to which no prefixes can be added. Almost all modes and aspects have AF focus.

The imperfect is formed by R or /-a-/.

Examples: *alepe*, to sleep, *kualong*, to be sick, *maliai*, to be drunk, *abarui*, to forget, *maqulep*, to be tired.

Aspects and modes of the Vb *maliai*, *kualong*, *alepe* for each focus

	AF	OF	RF	IF
perfect	maliai	-	-	-
imperfect	malaliai	-	-	-
imperative	kali	-	-	-
future	kalaliai	-	-	-
hort. future				
nominal				

	AF	OF	RF	IF
perfect	kuaɭung	-	-	-
imperfect	kuaqaɭung	-	-	-
imperative	-			
future	kakuaɭung	-	-	-
hort. future	-			
nominal	kuaɭungan kakuaɭungan ɭung			

	AF	OF	RF	IF
perfect	alepe			
imperfect	alalepe			
imperative	kalepe			
future	kalalepe			
hort. future	alepeqa			
nominal				

Category E

This comprises verbs like *mikiping*, to dress, *mikataquin*, to get married. The imperfect and future of these verbs are formed with the infix /-a-/.

Aspects and modes of the Vb *mikiping* for each focus

	AF	OF	RF	IF
perfect	mikiping	pikipingaw		
imperfect	miakiping			
imperative	pikiping			
future	piakiping			
hort. future	mikipinga			
nominal				

IV. NUMERALS

The different ways of counting in Taiwan have been listed by Kaneko (1956).

- For the different numerals Puyuma belongs to the following types:
- one - type *esa*; all the languages of Taiwan belong to this type except for the five Atayal and Sedeq dialects. The two Puyuma and Tsou languages have retained the basic form.
 - two - type *d₂us₂a*; all the languages of Taiwan belong to this.
 - three - type *t₁elu*; all the languages of Taiwan belong to this.
 - four - type *s₂epat*; usually used in Taiwan.

- five – type *lima*; the Saisiat, Taokas, Babuza, Pazeh and Luilang languages belong to another type.
- six – type *enem*; most of the languages of Taiwan have variations of this form except for the Atayal and Sedeq, Sao and Taoka languages, which possess a multiple system.
- seven – type *pitu*; almost universal for Taiwan except for Saisiat and Pazeh.
- eight – type *valu*; this type is widely spread in Taiwan except in the Atayal, Sedeq, Saisiat, Babuza and Siraya languages, which have a multiple system.
- nine – type *siva*; most of the languages of Taiwan belong to this, except for the Sao, Taokas and Babuza languages (10 - 1).
- ten – type *puluq*; this type is common except for the languages on the east coast: Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis and Yami.

a. Cardinal numbers

- 1 – sa
2 – dua
3 – telu
4 – pat
5 – tima
6 – qnem
7 – pitu
8 – walu
9 – siwa
10 – pulu

b. Numerals for counting persons

- 1 – misasa
2 – miadua
3 – miatelu
4 – miapat
5 – mialu
6 – mianem
7 – miapitu
8 – miawalu
9 – miaiwa
10 – mektep

c. Numerals for counting animals and objects

- 1 – sasaya
2 – duduaya
3 – tutulua
4 – papata
5 – luluata
6 – nanema
7 – pitupitua
8 – waluwalua
9 – waya waya
10 – mektep

- 11 – mektep misama saya
12 – mektep misama duduaya
13 – mektep misama tetelua
14 – mektep misama papata
15 – mektep misama luluata
16 – mektep misama nanema
17 – mektep misama pitupitua
18 – mektep misama waluwalua
19 – mektep misama wayawaya

- 20 – maka-petaqan
30 – maka-telun
40 – maka-petel
50 – maka-luat
60 – maka-nemen
70 – maka-pitu

- 100 – saleman
200 – duya teman
300 – telua teman
1,000 – sa kudul
2,000 – duaya kudul
10,000 – saya mangmangan or mektep kudul

80 - maka-waŋu

1,000,000- sa leman mangmangan

90 - maka-iwa

d. Words for expressing that an action is repeated the relevant number of times.

This is achieved by placing the prefix /par-/ before the numeral, though with some irregularities.

to do once	- pariasal	to do six times	- parqnem
to do twice	- parpuan	to do seven times	- parpitu
to do thrice	- partelun	to do eight times	- parawaŋu
to do four times	- parpat	to do nine times	- pariwa
to do five times	- parluaŋ	to do ten times	- paremektep or parepuŋu

e. Ordinal numbers

To form ordinal numbers, it is sufficient to place the prefix /puka-/ before the numeral. I have noted especially the word for 'fourth'.

1st	- sanga	sixth	- puka qnem
2nd	- paturus or puka ɖaɖua	seventh	- puka pitu
3rd	- puka tatelu	eighth	- puka waŋu
fourth	- puka apat	ninth	- puka iwa
fifth	- puka luaŋ	tenth	- puka mektep
the last	- likuɖakuɖan		

1 object per person - karsasa	1 by 1 (person)- karsaqsayan
2 objects per person- karduadua	2 by 2 - karmiaɖuayan
3 objects per person- kartelutelu	3 by 3 - karteluteluan
4 objects per person- karpaqapat	4 by 4 - karpaqapatan
5 objects per person- karluaŋ	5 by 5 - karluaŋan
6 objects per person- karnaqnem	6 by 6 - karanaqneman
7 objects per person- karpitupitu	7 by 7 - karpitupituan
8 objects per person- karwaŋu	8 by 8 - karwaŋuwan
9 objects per person- kariwaiwa	9 by 9 - kariwaiwayan
10 objects per person- karmektep	10 by 10 - karpapuluqan.

In Puyuma, we find the following measures:

banin	- a board
basakan	- the load of a <i>basak</i> (carrying-pole)
betu	- three or four stalks bundled together, for example in the ancestral cult house. This word has given rise to (<i>binetuan</i>), b/-in-/etu/-an, glutinous rice.
bukel	- heap, of the flat hand
kanteluan	- width of three fingers
sɔlubukan	- bag (plastic or paper)
lepuŋan	- measure for wood or bamboo
pasa kana dapaŋ	- a stride, used to measure land

pasa kana lima	- span, width between the thumb and little finger spread wide apart
rekes	- sheaf, used for example for bamboo, but also for a packet
rutu	- basket carried on the back
saqlup	- measure of two hands held cupped as a container
qtemer	- closed fist
tenges	- bunch, used for example for flowers
tinukapat	- width of the four fingers, without the thumb, used to measure wild boar tusks.

f. Measures of rice

saya bising	- wooden box 15 x 15 x 8 cm., with a capacity of 1 kg. or 10 <i>qlup</i> of good unhusked rice
saya bitaw	- 10 <i>bising</i> : a <i>bitaw</i> is a round wooden box about 30 to 40 cm. high
saya putiyan	- big bag 9 <i>bitawan</i> are equivalent to one <i>putiyan</i> , a gunny bag with a capacity of about 60 to 70 kg. of rice.

V. HOMONYMS

Puyuma has a very limited number of homonyms. Examples: *rami*, liver, *rami*, root.

VI. THE PREFIX /MA-/

The prefix /ma-/ is to be found in words designating disabilities and infirmities or persons considered as social outcasts, or a taboo of some sort, viz.: *malegi* < *legi*, religion = taboo, forbidden. Examples: *maqasiS*, sterile; *mabuti*, blind; *mangupar*, toothless; *matule*, deaf; *mauas*, voiceless; *maqapi*, twins (who in the old days were killed at birth); *maretu*, not feeling well; *maqumue*, dumb.

VII. THE PARTICLE LA

1. This particle is indicative of a perfect aspect, e.g.:

mekan ku la

eat/ I / perfect particle I ate.

2. The particle indicates a change in situation, e.g.:

unian there is not (the answer to a question 'is there any?')

unian la there is no longer.

3. The particle marks a slight exclamation denoting a modification in the situation, e.g.:

<i>payas la!</i>	immediately! (yes, right now!)
<i>garem la!</i>	well now!
<i>amaw la!</i>	well!

ABBREVIATIONS USED BELOW:

BDAA	<i>Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
BIE	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology</i>
JAST	<i>Journal of Anthropological Society of Tokyo.</i>

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