

中央研究院民族學研究所

專刊之十七

臺灣土著族的文化·語言分類探究

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中華民國五十八年

臺灣 南港

1900年12月27日

星期一

INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY
ACADEMIA SINICA
MONOGRAPH NO. 17

TAIWAN ABORIGINAL GROUPS :
PROBLEMS IN
CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

by

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NANKANG, TAIPEI, TAIWAN
REPUBLIC OF CHINA
1969



PREFACE

This is neither a detailed ethnography nor an authoritative linguistic study. Its aim is not to present a rigid classification of Taiwan's aboriginal groups, but rather to outline problems connected with their classification from cultural and linguistic points of view. It is hoped that this first approach from quite so broad a viewpoint will, by showing how little we really know, help bring about a reformulation of some of our questions and perhaps eventually a better understanding of Taiwan's prehistory.

The discussion of the interrelationships of Taiwan aboriginal languages is cursory. Comparative studies of these languages, including the present one, have been largely restricted to vocabulary resemblances. Any conclusions based solely on lexical comparison are by their very nature likely to require considerable revision when more reliable phonological and structural examinations are made in the future. In order to make at least some lexical raw materials available to other scholars who may find them useful for their own purposes, I have included extensive word lists of the eighteen aboriginal languages for which data exist. Ten of these are from my own notes covering ethnographic and linguistic work in Taiwan in 1964-1965 and 1967, six are derived from published and unpublished studies by comparatively recent investigators, and two for now-extinct languages are from 17th-century Dutch sources.

The ethnographic discussion of the aboriginal groups is uneven, as I have emphasized certain areas presenting special problems. A more balanced and much fuller ethnographic treatment is given in my forthcoming publication on the Taiwan aboriginal cultures.

The Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, has been a center for much of the research on Formosan aborigines carried out in recent years. My own research in Taiwan owes much to the assistance and encouragement of Dr. Ling Shun-sheng, Director of the Institute of Ethnology, whose earlier pioneer studies among the tribal groups of mainland China and wide interests in the anthropology of Asia and of circum-Pacific areas give him a unique appreciation of the special importance of the Taiwan groups in the larger context of Pacific prehistory. I am also grateful to the other members of the Institute of Ethnology for their helpfulness throughout my work in Taiwan.

The Favorlang and Siraya materials used in this study were made available to me through the kindness of Mr. Ts'ao Yung-ho, Chief of the Archives and Collections Department, National Taiwan University Library. I thank Mrs. Margaret M. (Yan) Sung, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, National Taiwan University, for making possible the inclusion of unpublished materials on Saaroa and Kanakanabu from 1961-1963 fieldwork by herself and Messrs. T.F. Cheng, C.C. Cheng, and P.H. Ting under the direction of the late Professor Tung T'ung-ho, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. Mr. Shigeru Tsuchida has generously permitted me to use his own manuscript materials on Saisiat, Kuvalan, and Saaroa.

To Father Robert Baudhuin, MM, and Father Joseph Kimmerling, MM, go my thanks for their friendly advice and help in getting Sediq, Ci'uli Atayal and Bunun materials. I am grateful for the enthusiastic helpfulness of Father A. Giger, SMB, and am particularly indebted for the hospitality and many kindnesses of Fathers J. de Boer, K. Dillier, E. Gassner, J. Guntern, O. Hurni and P. Veil, SMB, during my work with aboriginal languages of the east coast region.

Very special thanks are due to Inez de Beauclair of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. Her unmatched acquaintance with the peoples of Taiwan, her personal interest and advice, helped make this study possible.

Any value this study may have it owes to the assistance of many persons. The errors are my own.

Raleigh Ferrell

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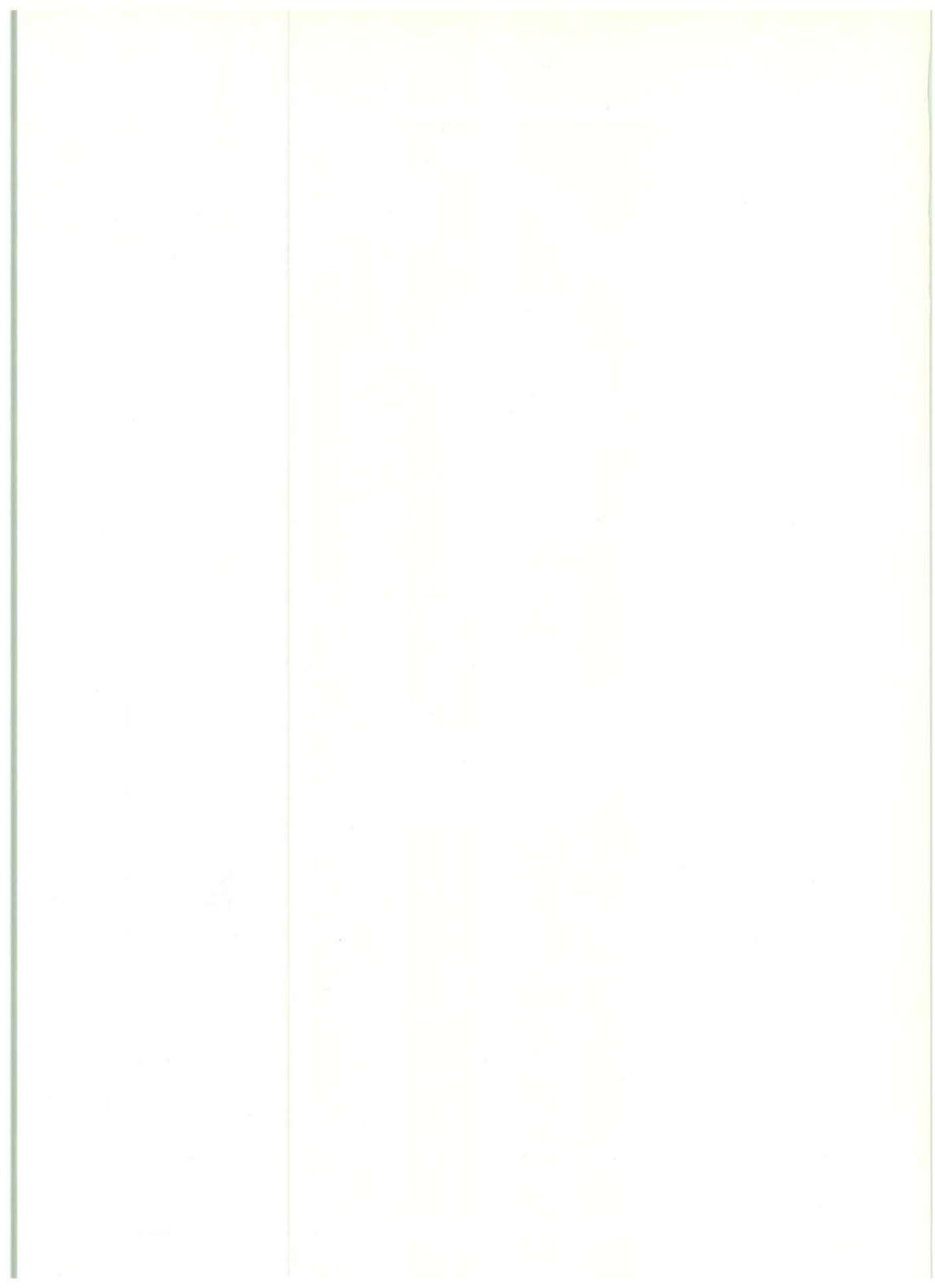
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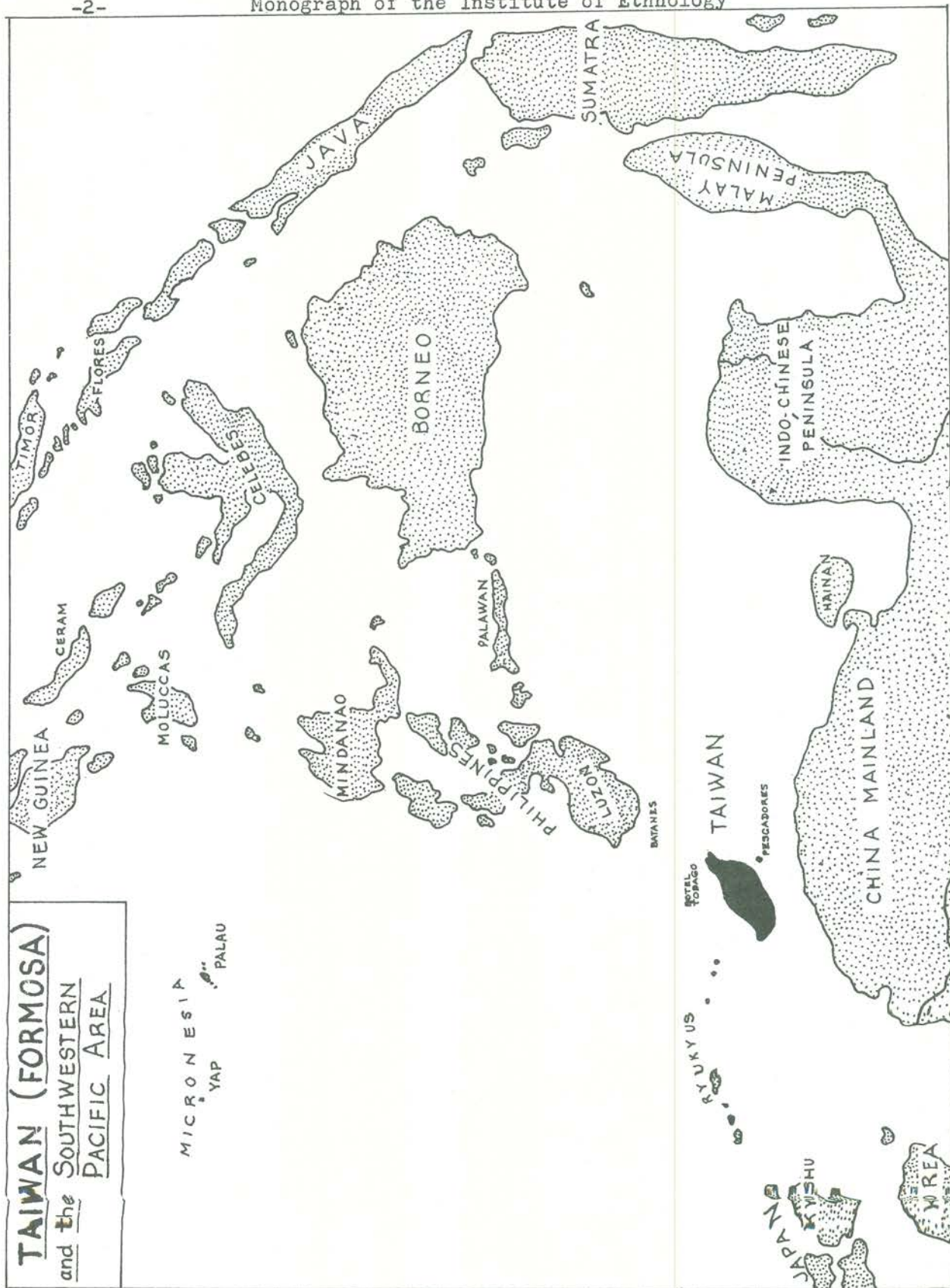
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Map 1.

I. BACKGROUND AND HISTORICAL REVIEW

A. GENERAL SETTING

From prehistoric times, Taiwan's location has given it far greater importance than size alone might claim. It is an inviting territory, placed where it would have been hard to ignore in early comings and goings along the Asiatic coast and between mainland Asia and the southwestern Pacific.

If we put aside the conception of north being "up" on a map and then look at Taiwan's position (Map 1), we see that it forms one of the two termini of a vast semicircle of islands arcing outward from the central China coast and from mainland Southeast Asia. These islands are the heartland of Indonesia in the geographical sense, center of the western portion of the immense Pacific family of Austronesian or Malayopolynesian languages.

Its role as bridge between the mainland and the Pacific makes Taiwan critically important to the study of Far Eastern prehistory. The predominant cultures of prehistoric Taiwan were closely related to those of the southeastern China seaboard. Many mainland peoples of that eastern China coastal region did not give up their non-Han languages, nor become culturally Sinicized, until well into the first millennium AD. In Taiwan, aboriginal cultures of mainland origin, though showing also influences from the Philippines or other regions to the south, were still flourishing when Han-Chinese and Europeans began the modern development of the island in the 17th century AD. The long continuity of these ancient mainland-derived cultures among Formosan populations speaking Austronesian languages, and the lack of evidence so far for any non-Austronesian indigenous languages in Taiwan, along with internal linguistic indications of considerable antiquity in Taiwan for the Formosan languages in general, appear to add support to the venerable theories that the Austronesian languages probably originally spread into the Pacific from mainland East Asia, and that the non-Han languages spoken by the ancient Yüeh peoples of the China coast may have been Austronesian.

B. TAIWAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Scientific archaeology in Taiwan is still in its infancy. Adequate stratigraphic data are available for a mere handful of sites, and little attention has yet been given to determining the relationships of assemblages found at both east coast and west coast sites. The Central Mountains, which form a large part of Taiwan's area, have been scarcely touched, due partly to natural difficulties and partly to an as-yet-unproven assumption that the aboriginal occupation of the mountains is recent and is the result of outside pressures causing the aborigines to flee into the uplands.

Earlier discussions, particularly Japanese reports of work done in the 1930s and 1940s, have been characterized by a tendency to label nearly any sort of archaeological manifestation as a "culture;" thus we have a "Painted Pottery Culture," "Megalithic Culture," and so on--even a "Gold Culture." These "cultures" are described primarily on the basis of geographical occurrence in view of the general lack of stratigraphic studies. Many advances over the earlier "one pot one culture" approach have recently been made in the study of the prehistory of Taiwan's west coast (see e.g. Sung 1965; Chang and Stuiver 1966; Chang 1966). But we still know little concerning the east coast, and much more work is needed on local and regional sequences important in determining the origins and development of Taiwan's prehistoric cultures.

In nearly all studies of Taiwan archaeology to date, exceptions being Chang 1966 and Pearson 1967, indiscriminate use of "culture" as a designation for anything from a local archaeological sequence to a widespread horizon style in ceramics continues to lead to careless thinking. In my choice of terminology I have leaned upon Willey and Phillips (1958), with such modification of their terms as Taiwan's particular problems seem to require. In my bare-bones outline (Figure 1, page 6), I generally follow Sung's chronology of the west coast cultures, although my terminology differs considerably from his.

1. The Early Period

a. Palaeolithic Man. In January 1969 Professors SUNG Wen-hsun and C.C. LIN of National Taiwan University discovered what appear to be stone tools "similar to those found with Peking Man at Chouk'outien," associated with animal skulls and teeth in a cave site on Taiwan's east coast. The archaeologist SUNG tentatively dates the implements as over 10,000 years old, whereas LIN, a geologist, believes the context to indicate a period of 100,000-800,000 years ago, contemporaneous with Peking Man in mainland China. This important discovery, the first of its kind in Taiwan, is too recent for the results to have been fully analyzed. Land links apparently have existed at times between Taiwan and both the mainland and islands to the south, and certain fauna are believed to have spread from the mainland into the Pacific over this route (Lin 1963).

b. The Cordmarked Pottery Tradition. The earliest human occupation in Taiwan known to date, following the recently discovered, apparently palaeolithic remains, is represented by archaeological strata containing cordmarked pottery, found at widely scattered sites throughout Taiwan. The bearers of the Cordmarked Pottery tradition appeared in Taiwan at some undetermined date probably prior to 4,000 BC; their origin is unclear. At Tap'enk'eng in northern Taiwan, a considerable lapse of time between the end of the stratum containing cordmarked pottery and the beginning of the Yüanshan Horizon around 2500 BC is indicated by a thick intervening layer of archaeologically sterile soil. However, it must be remembered that this Taipei Basin area has been subject to several major geological regressions and transgressions causing large areas to be alternately dry land, swamp, or completely inundated by the sea, well into the period of prehistoric human occupation (Lin 1963:209-210). Therefore, rather than indicating the disappearance of the Cordmarked Pottery tradition, this separation from the later occupation may merely mark the abandonment of the site temporarily due to geological disturbance.

Adequately excavated sites are far too few as yet to determine to what extent the Cordmarked Pottery tradition may have continued after the appearance of the Yüanshan and Lungshanoid Horizons. On the east coast, cordmarked pottery similar to that of west coast sites has been found scattered on the surface of disturbed areas, but thus far has not been found in stratigraphic context (see Pearson 1967:26). In the southern west coast region there appears to have been no sharp demarcation between the Cordmarked Pottery tradition occupation and the subsequent Lungshanoid Horizon, and in the Taipei Basin such features as perforated triangular slate arrowpoints and stepped rectangular adzes of the Yüanshan Horizon may indicate the continuance of the Cordmarked Pottery Tradition in that region.

2. The Middle Period

Intensive grain cultivation (millet and probably rice) in Taiwan began about 2500 BC with the arrival from mainland Asia of the Yüanshan Horizon in the Taipei Basin in the northern west coast region, and the Taiwan Lungshanoid Horizon in the south. Concerning aboriginal rice cultivation in Taiwan see below, page 10.

The characteristics and origin of the Middle Period occupation in the east coast region is much less clear than is the case for the west coast. I have here called the east coast sequence the T'aiyüan Horizon rather than "Phase" in order to avoid confusion which might be caused in view of the use of "phase" in west coast regions to mean facets or components of "horizons," whereas the connection of the east coast with west coast horizons remains problematical at present. T'aiyüan may well not be a horizon in the sense the term is employed by Willey and Phillips, however, and it is quite possible that future data on the nature of T'aiyüan may require a change in the present terminology.

	Southern West Coast Region	Central West Coast Region	Northern West Coast Region	East Coast Region
EARLY PERIOD	BC 4000 ?			
	CORDMARKED POTTERY TRADITION → ?			
MIDDLE PERIOD		LUNGSHANOID HORIZON	YUANSHAN HORIZON	TAIYUAN HORIZON
	2500	S.W. COAST SEQUENCE: <i>Painted Pottery Phase</i>	C.W. COAST SEQUENCE: <i>Red Pottery Phase</i>	<i>Taipei Phase</i>
	1000 500	<i>Gray Pottery Phase</i>	<i>Yingpiu Phase</i>	<i>Tapenk'eng Phase</i>
LATE-PREHISTORIC PERIOD	BC	? ← GEOMETRIC IMPRESSED POTTERY HORIZON → ?		
	AD		<i>Fanayuan Phase</i>	
	500 1000 1600		<i>Shihshanhang ('Ketagalan') Phase</i>	

Figure 1. OUTLINE OF TAIWAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Times given are very rough estimates. The exact nature of what is here called the "T'aiyuan Horizon" is still undetermined, as well as its relations with other Taiwan archaeological regions.

We do not have even a rough estimate of how far back in time the Cordmarked Pottery Tradition may extend. Not shown on this chart is an even earlier period of Mesolithic or perhaps Palaeolithic occupation, the first evidences of which were recently discovered in a cave on Taiwan's east coast (see above, page 4)

a. The Taiwan Lungshanoid Horizon. Farming cultures linked with those of the Lungshanoid Horizon of prehistoric southeastern China spread throughout most of western Taiwan south of the Taipei Basin around 2500 BC. General characteristics of the Taiwan Lungshanoid Horizon were:

"... a polished stone inventory that includes the flat, trapezoidal hoe, spatula-shaped hoe, rectangular adz, triangular (but not perforated) and stemmed arrowhead, and perforated slate knife (rectangular and semilunar varieties); a rich bone-antler-shell industry; and a mélange of ceramic wares, red, buff, gray, and black in color, which includes painted, incised, engraved, and impressed (check, basket, and mat) decorative patterns, and bowls, beakers, and pots with lids, lugs (handles), and ting feet and high pedestals with cutouts" (Chang and Stuiiver 1966:540).

Two main regional sequences have been identified, the Southern West Coast Sequence (Sung's "Lungshanoid Culture") and the Central West Coast Sequence (Sung's "Black Pottery Culture") (see Sung 1965, Chang 1956).

b. The Yüanshan Horizon. The Yüanshan Horizon of the Taipei Basin appears to have begun at about the same time as the Taiwan Lungshanoid Horizon to the south, about 2500 BC. Like the latter, the Yüanshan Horizon represents farming people, but unlike the Lungshanoid Horizon, no close similarities have yet been found with other areas outside Taiwan. Characteristics of the Yüanshan Horizon are:

"... sandy buff ware; a polished stone inventory including the long, flat hoe, stepped adz, shouldered ax, perforated triangular arrowpoint, and ornaments of jadish materials; and an industry of bone and antler. Its principal ceramic form is a pot with lid, two vertical loop handles attached to the collared, rounded body, and a ring foot of medium height. A brownish slip is the only surface treatment in most cases, but short incised strokes, small ring impressions, net incisions, and coarsely brushed dark red paint decorate many vessels" (Chang and Stuiiver 1966:539).

c. The T'aiyüan Horizon. Chronological data from east coast sites are practically non-existent. Sites so far examined appear to share "enough similarities to be grouped into a single phase, ... the T'ai Yuan Phase" (Pearson 1967:26). This horizon may be roughly contemporaneous with the Yüanshan and Lungshanoid Horizons of the west coast. Pearson feels that the ceramics, stone arrowpoints and knives of the T'aiyüan Horizon resemble those of Yüanshan, but others doubt this connection and certainly the stepped adzes and shouldered adzes, for example, so plentiful in Yüanshan, are absent from the T'aiyüan Horizon.

Much or all of the T'aiyüan Horizon appears to be characterized by lithic features such as stone floors and house posts, stone rings and mortars, shouldered stones, etc., causing some scholars to refer to a "Megalithic Culture" on the east coast of Taiwan. T'aiyüan Horizon pottery is:

"... predominantly coarse, gritty, orange ... Occasionally the interiors of the sherds are a reduced grey. The chief form is a jar with flaring mouth, ring-foot, which may be perforated, and handles extending from lip to shoulder... The handles may be plain, decorated, or perforated, and there are horizontal as well as vertical ones. Clay spindle whorls are also common. Flat dishes and beakers occur, although they are rare ... The stone artifacts are primarily knives and hoes ... Chipped basalt adzes or hoes, made of large retouched spalls, have a visible cortex on the back of every specimen. The cross-section is lenticular or roughly oval, and there is no polishing or retouching. The form is not common on the west coast of Taiwan, but a close analogue is found in southern Ryukyu sites such as Nakama or Shimotabaru" (Pearson 1967:27, 28).

(1) Stone Cist Graves. Stone cist burials are generally assumed to be connected with this "Megalithic Culture", but this may not necessarily be the case. Although stone cist graves are numerous throughout the zone of the T'aiyüan Horizon, they are not limited to that region but are found as well across the northern and southern extremities of the island and sporadically even in the central west coast region. Fine, plain-surfaced pottery and other goods found in cist graves in the southern west coast region resemble some pottery of the modern Ami and Kavalan; and the fact that the distribution of stone cists is approximately that of the Paiwanic II languages (see Chapter II) makes me suspect a possible connection. In that case, the spread of stone cists may belong to a later period than the "Megalithic Culture".

At any rate, stone cists continued to be used up to the ethnographic present by some central Ami (Miyamoto 1956:332), for instance, and one of the southern subgroups of the Paiwan (Ino, in Davidson 1903: 575). This particular Paiwan subgroup, incidentally, appears to contain heterogeneous elements from the Ami or Ami-like (Paiwanic II) peoples from the Hengch'un area of southernmost Taiwan. A recent excavation of stone cist graves at Ou-luan-pi shows clearly the southward intrusion of typical Paiwan flexed burial practices, into an earlier stone cist grave locality (Sung et al. 1967). The probable recency of the southward and eastward spread of the Paiwan ethnic group, and Kanaseki and Kōkubu's suspicion that the "stone cist people" may have survived until recent times (see Sung et al. 1967:40) agrees more with my own relative late dating for the spread of stone cist

burial practices than does a linking of stone cists with the early Lungshanoid Horizon of southwestern Taiwan on the one hand, or a connection with the "Megalithic Culture" of the central east coast on the other.

(2) "Megalithic Culture". The T'aiyüan Horizon, with its stone tanks or sarcophagi, large stone rings, shouldered stones, stone mortars, etc., is restricted to the east coast region (see Sung 1967a). The east coast region, as used here, extends from Hualien in the north to Taitung in the south, including roughly the eastern coastal hills and the narrow Taitung rift valley which separates these hills from the central mountain chain. North of Hualien and south of Taitung, the Central Mountains rise abruptly from the sea. Thus this region is a natural geographical pocket bounded by the sea on one side, and by rugged mountain barriers on the other three sides.

It is often assumed that the Paiwan in the Central Mountains in southern Taiwan have some connection with the east coast "Megalithic Culture". This assumption is based upon the fact that the modern Paiwan have a lithically-oriented culture, with slate houses and floors, stone walls, platforms, and carving. One disturbing thing about such an assumed connection is that although the Paiwan do use much stone (primarily slate, which is abundant in the mountains and both more durable and easier to work than wood), there is little similarity between Paiwan and T'aiyüan Horizon stonework.

No stone sarcophagi, stone rings, shouldered stones or stone mortars are found in Paiwan territory. Paiwan-type carving (usually merely shallow incised outlines or very low-relief carving of human figures or heads) has not been found in the T'aiyüan Horizon region. Even supposing that the Paiwan were the descendants of the "Megalithic Culture" and were forced for unknown reasons to flee into the Central Mountains, it is difficult to imagine why so many important items were abruptly and totally discontinued while stoneworking technology continued under quite different forms. One would expect at least some evidence of transition, but thus far no archaeological assemblages found anywhere in Taiwan suggest any sort of transitional stage which could directly link the Paiwan or any other modern ethnic group outside the T'aiyüan Horizon locality with the T'aiyüan Horizon.

What seems more likely is that either the "Megalithic Culture" people disappeared due to conquest or other unknown factors, or else, more probably, the "Megalithic Culture" gradually declined within its own locality. Then the T'aiyüan Horizon people might well be one of the heterogeneous components of the modern Amis themselves, another possible component being the people associated with the later "Ketalagan" Phase (see below). From an ethnological point of view, we may note that in the nearby Bontoc-Lepanto region of Luzon, where large villages divided into wards with associated men's houses, formalized age grades and other features remind us of the Ami, such "megalithic" elements as ceremonial stone platforms are also found.

d. Prehistoric Rice Cultivation in Taiwan. Millet is grown by all modern Taiwan aboriginal groups, and it is around the millet growing cycle that the aboriginal religious calendars are constructed. For a long time it was considered that rice cultivation was unknown to the Formosan aborigines until it was introduced by Chinese immigrants in modern times. However, in view of the close relationship between the Taiwan Lungshanoid Horizon and the Lungshanoid Horizon of South China, which was a rice- and millet-growing culture, the question has been recently brought up again by Chang as to whether rice cultivation may have existed in Taiwan at an earlier period (Chang and Stuver 1966: 541). The answer is almost definitely yes.

Terms for rice in various stages (plant, unhusked grain, etc.) in Formosan languages are clearly Austronesian, which should not have been the case if they had learned rice cultivation from Chinese. Dutch sources of the 1600s mention the cultivation of both millet and paddy by aboriginal groups of the west coast area (Happart 1650; Utrecht Manuscript ca. 1650). While it is questionable whether wet-field techniques were known before the arrival of the Chinese, the rice cultivation of the western plains groups in Taiwan may not have been necessarily of the swidden or shifting type, but perhaps was the more extensive type of permanent dry-field cultivation known in Indonesia as gogo (see Angladette 1967:26).

Just how long rice cultivation precedes modern Chinese contact of course cannot yet be settled. Kanaseki and Kokubu believe that small slate knives associated with the T'aiyüan Horizon indicate the presence of rice cultivation, because rice grain is cut from the stem during harvesting so the stem may be used for other purposes, whereas with millet the entire stem is plucked (Kanaseki and Kokubu 1957:61-62). However, this reasoning is not conclusive. In modern times, Chen found that among the Budai Rukai "Foxtail millet is reaped by hand and not with the sickle, and the ear is plucked with a stalk of about 20 cm. long"; barnyard millet and sorghum, on the other hand, "are reaped with a knife, a stalk of about 20 cm. being also left on the ear" (Chen 1968:26). Happart (1650) mentions the "cutting of paddy or millet" (gummabgab), the binding of "sheaves or bundles, as of paddy or millet" (mood), etc., implying that paddy and millet were harvested similarly in the early contact period by the Favorlang.

Dutch sources are silent as to the possible ritual importance of rice during the 17th century. In most modern groups, as mentioned above, foxtail millet is the sacred plant par excellence; but among at least one modern group, the Tsou of the Central Mountains, dry rice is second only to millet in ritual importance (Mabuchi 1952:183).

3. The Late Prehistoric Period

a. The Geometric Impressed Pottery Horizon. Sometime late in the first millennium BC, geometric impressed pottery became the dominant style in the northern and central west coast regions of Taiwan. This style gradually spread northward and eastward at least as far as the Ilan Plain; the extent of its spread southward into the southern west coast region has not been firmly established. Chang regards this as an outgrowth of the Central West Coast Sequence of the Lungshanoid Horizon (Chang and Stuiiver 1966:540; Chang 1956:379), and thus a sort of horizon-style within the Lungshanoid tradition (this is not Chang's terminology). The continuity with the Central West Coast Sequence of the Lungshanoid Horizon is beyond doubt. However, the spread of this pottery style and/or associated features over much of the west coast appears to coincide with some sort of general island-wide reorientation suggesting the infusion of new techniques, and possibly marks the introduction of iron technology. Thus I regard it as the beginning of a distinct period in Taiwan prehistory.

Whether the spread of this horizon represents the arrival of sizable groups of new settlers is not known. But whatever the stimulus may have been, indications are that the new peoples (if there were such) or new techniques blended into the existing cultures rather than displacing them, and the major components of the ancestors of the modern aborigines were probably represented by the large population influx of the Middle Period (see above).

The variety and beauty of the carved wooden utensils which recent groups generally preferred to pottery suggests that the decline of the elaborate earlier Lungshanoid ceramic types may have been due in part to the introduction or perfection of more highly refined wood-working techniques, possibly aided by iron implements. However this may be, the Geometric Impressed Pottery Horizon persisted down into the ethnographic present, and the Bunun and Tsou, for example, were still making pottery typical of this horizon well into the present century.

b. The Shihshanhang ("Ketagalan") Phase. Sometime between AD 900 and 1500, plain-surfaced and netmarked hard pottery appeared in northern Taiwan and the east coast. This pottery, commonly called "Ketagalan" in northern Taiwan after the ethnic group among which it was still found in recent times, is also similar to some modern Ami pottery of the east coast. Kano (1952) considered this type of pottery to closely resemble Philippine Iron Age pottery, and felt that some types of glass bracelets, as well as the harpoon-like iron spearpoints of the modern Amis, Puyuma, and Kavalan/Ketagalan were probably associated with this ceramic style and show clear Philippine influence. Excavation of sites near the mouth of the Tanshui River in northwestern Taiwan show the intrusion of this pottery style into the region of the Geometric Impressed Pottery Horizon, which previously had succeeded

the Yüanshan tradition (Liu 1963). Ethnographically, in recent times this Taipei Basin region was a meeting ground of the speakers of Paiwanic I languages (concentrated in the north-central west coast region) and Paiwanic II languages (including among others Ketagalan/-Kuvalan and Amis, spread across the north and east coasts; see Figure 2, page 28). In the east coast region, "Ami-like" assemblages appear to directly succeed the T'aiyüan Horizon (see Pearson 1967:29).

4. The Pescadores (P'enghu) Islands

Cordmarked pottery is the characteristic ceramic type throughout the prehistoric occupation of the Pescadores Islands, continuing until Chinese settlement in the 15th century. Sung Dynasty trade pottery dated AD 1111-1117 has been found on the Pescadores (Sung 1965), indicating Chinese trade from relatively early times. As will be mentioned again, some semi-permanent Chinese settlements may date from the 12th century. It is noteworthy that so far no Sung period pottery has been found in Taiwan itself, the earliest Chinese goods there dating from the Ming period.

In view of the location of the Pescadores, they would have been a natural, and one would think inevitable, half-way point in prehistoric movements between the mainland and Taiwan. The apparent absence in the Pescadores of the ceramic sequences of mainland derivation, which succeeded the early Cordmarked Pottery Horizon in Taiwan itself, remains to be explained by future research.

C. ETHNOHISTORY

The myth of Taiwan's "isolation" is a hardy one. The myth has two phases: (1) Taiwan is supposed to have been cut off from significant outside contact from a very early period until modern contacts began around the 16th century, and (2) the modern ethnic groups are supposed to have been somehow isolated from each other over a period of many centuries in Taiwan.

These suppositions have led to the assumption that cultural traits of each Formosan ethnic group must have been brought with them when they came to Taiwan, and that therefore the modern ethnic groups represent "many separate waves of migration" to Taiwan (see e.g. Kano 1952:181; Chen 1968:7). But it can be shown that within Taiwan extensive inter-ethnic borrowings and reformulations were the pattern rather than the exception, and it would require a considerable effort of the imagination to believe that many contacts between Taiwan and outside peoples did not take place in view of the intensive maritime activity in its vicinity since before the beginning of the Christian era.

1. Prehistoric Taiwan and the Outside World

a. Maritime Activities in Nearby Waters. Taiwan's location has made it nearly unavoidable for merchant seafarers along the China coast, as may be seen from Map 1, page 2. Seafaring from southern China to various Pacific islands is mentioned in the Ch'ien Hàn Shū for the period 206 BC--AD 24, and by about the same time Hindu traders were voyaging into the Indonesia area.

In the early Christian centuries, maritime trade in the China Sea was well-developed, although it was a hazardous matter, as it continued to be up into modern times. A vivid idea of the vagaries of sea travel along the China coast past Taiwan in the 4th century is provided by Fa Hsien, a Chinese monk who visited India from AD 399 to 414. For the return trip, Fa Hsien boarded a large merchant ship which carried some 200 men and provisions for 50 days. During the voyage terrible storms threw the ship off course, and it was out of sight of land for many days. Rations were nearly exhausted when land was finally reached, on the Shantung Peninsula far to the north of the original destination, Canton (Legge 1886:111-116).

By the sixth century, Korean maritime trade with Southeast Asia was considerable, and as early as AD 543 a Korean ruler presented to the Japanese Emperor goods from Cambodia (Matsumoto 1928:29). Chinese shipping also continued to expand. The earliest specific mention which we have of a Chinese visit to Taiwan occurs in the Sui Dynasty History, where it is stated that a Chinese expedition visited

some part of the western coast of Taiwan around AD 608. The expedition is reported to have captured and pillaged the "ruler's residence" and carried off many of the people (Hirth and Rockhill 1911:163-164).

Meanwhile, Persian and Arab merchants had been developing a thriving trade in the Far East. By the eighth century, Chinese documents describe large Hindu and Arab vessels regularly putting into Canton, and there were sizable foreign trading enclaves at Canton and at Ch'üanchou, opposite Taiwan. The pirates who for centuries had plagued the China seas continued preying upon merchant shipping and ravaging isolated settlements along the China coast and in neighboring island areas as well.

Some scholars believe that there was some immigration of Chinese settlers into southwestern Taiwan in the eighth century (Chen Ta 1923:38), although there is no conclusive proof of this. But by the time of the Southern Sung Dynasty (AD 1127-1278), the Pescadores Islands off Taiwan were Chinese fishing territory and in addition to making regular seasonal visits, fishermen from Fukien may have established some semi-permanent settlements. After the 12th century, Chinese maritime trade expanded considerably and new sea routes were explored. From the 12th century onward, we know that "some degree of commercial contacts between Chinese and the aborigines of Taiwan were opened" (Ts'ao 1967:55).

From the 14th to 16th centuries, smuggling and depredations by both Chinese and Japanese pirates and privateers intensified to the point that in some places on the China coast the inhabitants were forced to move inland. During this period, Taiwan became an important base for such merchant/privateers. When the Dutch arrived in 1624, they found some 25,000 Chinese settled in Taiwan, many of them engaged in trading activities with the aboriginal peoples; some had married native women. Taiwan, like Luzon, was an important source for the enormous quantities of deerskins imported yearly into Japan. Some Japanese merchant/privateers were permanently established in both northern and southwestern Taiwan, along with their more numerous and longer-established Chinese counterparts.

b. Chance Arrivals. Judging from the known frequency of shipwrecks in Formosan waters even in historic times of Chinese, Japanese, and European ships, we may surmise that in view of the importance of maritime voyaging from the early Christian era there have been innumerable involuntary arrivals for which we have no records. Davidson mentions that some 190 foreign vessels are known to have wrecked in Formosan waters between 1850 and 1895 (1903:180, 216, 256). The force of the ocean currents sweeping northward past Taiwan is attested to by an interesting early account in the Nihon-koki of a "K'unlun" native who drifted ashore in Japan in AD 799, after being swept by the currents far away from his Southeast Asian homeland (Matsumoto 1928: 29).

Documented cases in recent times include that of a group of Palauans who drifted to northern Taiwan:

"Among the unfortunate mariners cast upon the Formosan shores were sixteen savages who arrived at Kelung in May, 1874, aboard three canoes with outriggers... The men were in a very weak and famished condition, one of them dying from sheer exhaustion about a week after his arrival... it was found that they were from the Pellew islands, and ... had journeyed the enormous distance of 1,600 miles. They had been carried away from their fishing grounds during a heavy gale, and had drifted about the ocean for sixty days, when they eventually reached Formosa... As soon as their health permitted, they were sent to Hongkong, whence they obtained passage to the Caroline islands and ultimately to their home."
(Davidson 1903:215)

In 1908, an outrigger dugout canoe with six men from the Caroline Islands drifted in to Tungkang, Ilan Sub-Prefecture, on Taiwan's east coast (Ino 1908), to mention only one more of several known chance arrivals in Taiwan of native peoples from distant Pacific areas.

In studying Taiwan aboriginal cultures, we must not forget that there have been, over the past two thousand years or so, countless instances in which chance arrivals could possibly have brought new motifs, ideas or techniques which might have caught the fancy of the Formosan peoples and been taken over by them.

2. Modern Ethnohistory

a. The Dutch Period (17th Century). Taiwan was administered by the Dutch East India Company from 1624 until 1661, when they were expelled by the Chinese. Missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church, subsidized by the Company, worked among the aboriginal peoples of the southern and central west coast areas, and were responsible for many of the drastic measures taken to transform the aboriginal cultures during the Dutch occupation. The Dutch approach may be seen from this excerpt from the Day-Journal of the Tayouan Council dated March 1636:

"If the trade of the Company in this country could be made really productive (the chief article of barter would be the skins of deer) something very promising as regards Christianity might be expected. May the Almighty grant that our feeble efforts for the glory of His Name and the conversion of these heathen serve also for the profit and advantage of the Company!" (Campbell 1903:115)

(1) Changes Enforced by the Dutch. One of the first steps which the Dutch found necessary in order to facilitate their organization of western Taiwan economically was to impose a chieftainship system. Most of the western plains groups appear to have been matrilineal, with large villages subdivided into ward-like sections, each ward having its own men's houses or ritual structures, with minimal political authority exercised by respected elders. The absence of an institutionalized chieftainship is reflected by numerous Dutch comments, such as that of the missionary Candidius around 1629:

"These villages have no general chief who rules over them, but each village is independent. Nor has any village its own headman who governs it ..." (Campbell 1903:15).

To remedy this, the Dutch set up village chiefs who were given staffs and velvet garments as symbols of authority. These chiefs were re-appointed each year by the resident Dutch governor in an impressive ceremony which delegates from all the Dutch-controlled villages had to attend. In effect, these chiefs served mainly as deputies of the Dutch administrators (often the missionaries themselves) in their respective villages, in such matters as the collection of yearly taxes, hunting license fees and other levies imposed by the Dutch. After the expulsion of the Dutch, village headmen continued to be chosen and acted as local administrators through whom the Chinese governed the aborigines. Many of the present-day aboriginal village chieftainship systems may well have their historical beginnings in no more ancient time than the Dutch period.

The Dutch did not hesitate to use inter-group rivalries to their own ends. In January 1636 they ordered seven men from Soulang beheaded in front of the mission church at Sinkan (Soulang and Sinkan were both villages of the Siraya ethnic group). The missionary Junius, who reports the incident approvingly, adds that "the executioners were not taken from among our Caffirs [negro slaves], but from the Sinkandians ... [so as to] unite the latter more and more to us, and to turn them from the people of Soulang" (Campbell 1903:126).

The Siraya are said to have had many "idols," which the Dutch required them to burn. The missionary Candidius remarks: "In the public roads also they everywhere place sacrifices for these gods, which I have more than once kicked or thrown down" (Campbell 1903:25). A particular target of the missionaries' wrath were the native priestesses, of whom Candidius in 1628 complained to the Governor-general:

"They are another serious cause of our being so trammelled in our work. These priestesses, called Inibs by the people, are old crones who teach the very contrary of what I teach. They will not suffer that the least tittle of their superstitious idolatry and malpractices should be altered or disparaged" (Campbell 1903:94).

The missionaries succeeded in having some 250 priestesses banished from their native villages. When the banishment was lifted eleven years later, all but 48 of these inibs had died from old age or poverty (Campbell 1903:288-289).

The Dutch claimed thousands of converts to Christianity, and although many of the aborigines were only too glad to abandon Dutch teachings and help the Chinese drive them out of Taiwan, there can be no doubt but that Dutch teachings made a lasting mark and must be kept in mind when studying more recent aboriginal beliefs. Writing in 1885, the French diplomat Imbault-Huart noted aptly:

"Les croyances religieuses des aborigènes nous sont presque inconnues. Selon quelques-uns, ces sauvages croient à l'existence d'un Dieu créateur de toutes choses et même à une existence future, mais comme ce renseignement nous est fourni par des voyageurs récents et des résidents actuels de Formosa, et que, dans les descriptions minutieuses des ministres hollandais, il nous est affirmé, au contraire, qu'ils ne croient point à un seul Dieu créateur du ciel et de la terre, nous supposerions volontiers que cette idée est une des dernières traces des efforts tentés, il y a plus de deux siècles, par les Hollandais, pour convertir les insulaires au christianisme. Répandu alors par les ministres et les maîtres d'école hollandais, ce dogme aurait pris racine parmi les sauvages, aurait été pour ainsi dire assimilé par eux et se serait conservé jusqu'à nos jours par tradition. Les aborigènes, n'ayant ni écriture ni livres, ont pu, avec le temps, oublier l'origine étrangère de cette croyance et la considérer comme simplement indigène".

(Free translation: "The religious beliefs of the aborigines are almost unknown to us. According to some, these natives believe in the existence of a God who created all things, and even in a future life; but since this information has been given to us by recent travelers and present-day residents of Formosa, and since, in the detailed descriptions of the Dutch ministers we are told, on the contrary, that they do not believe in one God who created heaven and earth, we would rather imagine that this idea is one of the last traces of efforts by the Dutch more than two centuries ago to convert the island people to Christianity. Spread then by the Dutch ministers and schoolmasters, this dogma must have taken root among the natives and been, so to speak, assimilated by them and preserved up to our time by tradition. The aborigines, having neither writing nor books, in time have forgotten the alien origin of this belief and come to think of it as simply their own". (Imbault-Huart 1893:262)

Dutch impact upon all phases of aboriginal life was enormous. At the time of the arrival of the Dutch in 1624, the Siraya were notable for their rare'duolocal residence system (in which man and wife continue to live with their respective consanguines); and in the aboriginal division of labor, men generally did not work with the women in the fields. By 1644, Junius could write:

"We now daily see young people there not only marrying according to Christian rites, but going together into the fields, and, not only bringing children into the world, but even living together; while formerly they would rather have died than lived thus" (Campbell 1889).

The aborigines were punished for hindering the Chinese whom the Dutch permitted to live in their villages, and hunting permits were sold by the Dutch to Chinese authorizing them to hunt commercially in aboriginal hunting territories. At the same time, the aborigines themselves were strictly controlled. In December 1644 a report to Batavia states that:

"During the time of the late Governor Traudenius, several families of New Tavakan, numbering fully more than sixty souls, asked for instruction in the Christian religion, and were therefore permitted to come and live in Sinkan. They afterwards repeatedly expressed a wish to leave Sinkan and return to their former dwellings; and notwithstanding our refusal, they had actually left and built new houses for themselves, and prepared rice-fields. Now, in order to give a good lesson to them and others who might follow their example, we have laid waste these houses and fields. Moreover, we have brought the families back to Sinkan, and condemned two of their ringleaders to wear chains by way of punishment" (Campbell 1903:205-206).

Two years later, in February 1646 the Day-Journal of Castle Zeelandia makes clear that it was not only the Tavakan people who were prevented from moving:

"It being reported that the inhabitants of some places have, unknown to us, and even against our instructions, removed to other villages, a general order is now issued forbidding them, to do so ..." (Campbell 1903:214)

The Dutch traded directly with the aborigines of both the west and east coasts, and penetrated far into the mountains at least in the southern part of Taiwan. Often, Chinese as well as aboriginal groups under Dutch control acted as intermediaries for commerce with the more remote groups of the high mountains. 17th century references to the extensive inter-ethnic group relations at that time are valuable warnings to us not to underestimate the extent of intercourse between supposedly hostile headhunting tribes. We find frequent shifting of alliances between various villages of the same ethnic group; for

instance, in 1628 the Siraya villages of Mattau and Bakloan are mentioned as bitter enemies of Sinkan (another Siraya village) whereas the latter was friendly with Tevorang which was a different ethnic group living in the mountains.

There was movement not only from the plains into the mountains but from the mountains to the plain as well:

[In December 1635], "... about noon the people of Tevorang who dwell in the mountains appeared ... This deputation also brought two arrows which the people of Taraquang, who live in the mountains, had charged them to hand to us. The people in Taraquang had been expelled from their village by some enemies living still higher in the mountains. Fearing this foe [they] had sought shelter in the village of the Tevorangians, they begged us to grant them peace and security, and said they willingly would have appeared in person, but they were busy transporting their possessions so that they were prevented from coming" (Campbell 1903:122-123).

There are "three small villages in the south, near Verovorong, whose inhabitants came down from the mountains to take up their abode on the plain" (Campbell 1903:233).

In November 1648, the Tayouan Consistory, in an official letter to Amsterdam complaining of Junius' practice of freely baptizing unprepared converts, mention that:

"It also often occurred that people living among the mountains were enticed by all possible means to come down and live in the valleys or plains. The people thus got mixed, and spoke several languages in the same place; one result being that, in keeping with the usual routine, those persons learnt the [Siraya] catechism of Mr. Junius by heart; but while doing so, they acted just like magpies in repeating what has been said to them" (Campbell 1903:241)

(2) The Spanish in Northern Taiwan. During part of the Dutch occupation of south and western Taiwan, the Taipei Basin and northern coasts were under the control of the Spanish. The latter built fortifications at Tanshui and Keelung, and began missionary activities among neighboring aboriginal groups around 1629. The military garrisons included both Spanish and Phillipine soldiers from Manila. The Spanish control was ended in 1642, when the Dutch forced them to leave.

We have few details concerning Spanish influences in northern Taiwan, but we know that, like the Dutch to the south, they traded with the aborigines as well as attempting to convert them to Christianity.

Our data concerning the northern ethnic groups in general are meager, and the languages formerly spoken in this area are now extinct. The language of the Kuvalan of Ilan Plain, whose relations with the Spanish were frequently hostile, shows Spanish influence in such terms as: prasku "bottle", tabaku "tobacco", vaka "ox", kuayu "horse." The following items, derived from Malay or Philippine languages but widely employed by the Spanish, were also probably introduced by the latter: ra·x "non-native wine, alcohol", kravaw "buffalo", and broa "boat". An interesting item is given by a recent investigator who reports the Kuvalan name for their "New Year" ceremony as paskua (Yüan 1966:27). Pas- is found in other Formosan languages as a prefix meaning to perform a ritual, as in Saisiat pas-ta'ai "observe the Ta'ai ritual", but kua appears to be meaningless; therefore, paskua is probably from Spanish Pascua "Christmas, Easter".

b. The Recent Period (18th Century to Present). The aborigines readily joined the Chinese when the latter, under Cheng Ch'eng-kung (Koxinga), drove out the Dutch in 1661. The 18th and 19th centuries saw the numerous aboriginal groups of the western and northern plains progressively absorbed in large measure by the rapidly increasing Chinese population. Many thousands of persons of aboriginal ancestry, especially in southwestern Taiwan, have long since become Chinese in language and customs and their non-Han origins have been forgotten.

This absorption into the dominant Chinese culture has not always been a peaceful process; there has been the frequent violence and fraud typical of frontier situations. Many of the aborigines fled from the intolerable situations in which they found themselves, some joining other ethnic groups in the high mountains, and others moving to less thickly populated parts of the island, particularly the east coast. During the 18th and early 19th centuries there were several armed conflicts between Chinese and the semi-Sinicized plains groups. An example of this is the outbreak of 1805 involving mixed Paze, Hoanya, and other acculturated groups who had moved to the vicinity of P'uli in Nant'ou Hsien, west-central Taiwan. Following bloody fighting, some 1,000 of these tribesmen fled to the Ilan Plain in north-eastern Taiwan where they gradually intermingled with the Kuvalan and later Chinese settlers.

Aboriginal groups living in the high mountains determinedly met encroachment with armed resistance well into the present century. In the famous "Wushe Incident", an Atayal uprising of 1929, the Japanese occupation forces lost many lives and subsequently forced the Atayal to evacuate large portions of their territory and resettle at more easily controlled sites of Japanese choosing. In 1931, the Bunun village of Tamoxo was still in open revolt against the Japanese, making it impossible for the government census to be taken there (Mabuchi 1966:110).

Despite a standing situation of inter-group hostility, however, contacts continued in all directions. Although throughout the 19th century Chinese camphor workers were constantly having their heads taken by aboriginal headhunters, other Chinese continued to enter the mountains for trading. Other Chinese fugitives from many unsuccessful uprisings against Manchu authority fled into the mountains and found temporary or permanent refuge among the aborigines (many instances are mentioned in Davidson 1903). Some of the Sediq and Ci'uli Atayal maintained trade relations with certain east coast Ami villages, despite the fact that they were in general bitter enemies; some Atayal, as well as various aborigines from the plains, settled among the Bunun even though they were traditional enemies; in the south, Rukai families are found in Paiwan villages, general enmity between the two ethnic groups notwithstanding (Mabuchi 1966:119, 124; 1954:323). Other examples could be cited for most aboriginal groups, showing that we must not overestimate the "mutual isolation" of hostile groups.

Although sporadic headhunting was reported up to the 1940s, it is now a thing of the past. Modern education, begun by the Japanese, has been greatly expanded since the return of Taiwan to Chinese sovereignty following World War II, and there are now schools throughout the mountain area. The aboriginal peoples are entering more and more rapidly into the cultural and economic life of modern Taiwan, and the aboriginal cultures today are very different indeed from what they were fifty years ago.

c. Comment. Intensive contact with European and Far Eastern powers in recent centuries has caused deep and rapid change in the aboriginal societies. It is important to remember that change has always been taking place--it has only been perhaps intensified in recent times. The complaint by elders that "the younger generation are full of new-fangled ideas" is probably as old as human society itself. In the early days of Dutch rule in Taiwan, the missionary Candidius noted in 1628:

"The native religion has been undergoing great decay during the last sixty years, and I believe that during another sixty years (even if we Christians were not working here) it will become entirely different from what it is at present ... Aged persons [are] also of opinion that, formerly, people were taught to believe quite different things from those of the present time".
(Campbell 1903:90)

It is hazardous to project recent differences between Formosan ethnic groups backward through time, thus assuming that modern differences mean that the various groups have separate origins (or arrived in separate "waves of migration") and have somehow maintained their respective "cultural integrities" after arrival in Taiwan. A close look at aboriginal Formosa shows that there are few frontiers, whether linguistic, cultural, or archaeological, which have not been blurred

by two-way traffic. In only a few instances could we postulate with any degree of certainty that a particular ethnic group existed as such, say twelve centuries ago, rather than representing a more recent amalgam of groups of disparate origins. Even where a modern culture may be the direct descendant of a very old ancestral one, inevitable contacts and internal developments over a long period of time make it reckless to assume that the ancestor bore much outward resemblance to the modern culture.

These are some of the reasons why archaeologists must learn much more about the relations and development of local sequences, linguists much more about the varying degrees of cognation and borrowings between linguistic groups, and ethnologists much more about earlier cultural configurations and ethnohistory, before our attempts to understand Taiwan's prehistory and the origins of the various modern groups can be more than guesses.

II. CULTURES OF ABORIGINAL TAIWAN

A. LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL CLASSIFICATIONS

A three-division classification of Formosan languages was made by Dyen in lexicostatistical studies of several of these languages. Two of these divisions, Atayalic and Tsouic, are named after one of their respective member languages. The third Dyen has called variously "F3" (1963), "East Formosan Hesion" (1965a, 1965b), and "Catenate Formosan" (1966). I have called the third division simply "Paiwanic" from one of its members, Paiwan.

The tentative classification of Formosan aboriginal cultures into three major groups coinciding with linguistic divisions was proposed by me in an earlier paper (Ferrell 1966a). On the basis of subsequent ethnological and linguistic research, including data on several groups not included in Dyen's studies, this proposal should be more precisely stated as follows: Two aboriginal Formosan ethnic groupings, the Atayalics and Tsouics, are distinctive both linguistically and culturally from each other and from the other Formosan ethnic groups. Within this latter "other ethnic groups" category there is much diversity, but no further divisions can be made along such clearly coinciding linguistic and cultural lines as those setting the Atayalics and Tsou apart.

These "others" (Paiwanics) form a group in that, so far as we know at present, they are linguistically more closely related to each other than to any groups outside Taiwan. However, an immediately obvious exception is offered by the Yami of Botel Tobago Island (Lan Yü), who are linguistically so close to one of the Philippine groups, Ivatan, that Yami is sometimes considered to be a dialect of Ivatan. But at the same time, Yami's similarity to the other Formosan languages is not appreciably less than that of many of the latter to each other. It seems likely that future research might require considerable re-evaluation of present views of the genetic grouping of these languages.

1. Earlier Classifications of Formosan Ethnic Groups

Since the 17th century, the aboriginal Formosan groups have been popularly distinguished according to degree of adoption of Chinese culture, by such terms as "raw savages" (Mandarin shēng fān) and "ripe savages" (shóu fān). In the present century these terms have generally been replaced by "high-mountain tribes" (kāoshān tsú) and "plains tribes"

(p'fngp'ũ tsú), the latter terms used for the Sinicized groups and the former for groups still identifiable as aboriginal whether actually in the mountains, on the east coast or on Botel Tobago Island. Any classification based upon degrees of acculturation is of course scientifically of limited value. Such a classification would require constant revision due to the rapidity of acculturation, and it would be nearly impossible to establish objective criteria which could be applied consistently in judging just when a group is "less" or "more" acculturated, especially since acculturation is often encountered in highly varying degrees in different villages and segments of each ethnic group.

Systematic classification was undertaken during the Japanese occupation (1895-1945). Nine "high-mountain" ethnic groups were recognized by Utsurikawa et al. in their genealogical and classificatory studies (1935). At about the same time, Ogawa and Asai (1935) found the number of languages to correspond closely to this cultural classification, except that the Atayal cultural group was subdivided into Atayal and Sediq, and Tsou into Tsou, Kanakanabu, and Saaroa (Mabuchi 1953:2). Ogawa treated the "plains tribes" separately, listing ten languages in this group (1944). Kano's later classification (1952), apparently based mainly upon material culture traits, is less satisfactory than that of either Ogawa and Asai or Utsurikawa et al.

2. Present Classification

My classification includes all known aboriginal ethnic groups, without artificial distinctions such as between "mountain" and "plains" groups or degrees of acculturation. The groups are listed within the framework of the three major ethnolinguistic divisions mentioned above. This classification is basically linguistic, for the same reasons noted by Lebar et al. in their study of the ethnic groups of mainland Southeast Asia:

"After much casting about, it was agreed that language, although admittedly not always in agreement with the realities of cultural identification and cultural dynamics, nevertheless offered the only consistent and complete basis for the selection and arrangement of units" (Lebar et al. 1964:v).

In this classification, languages no longer spoken are labelled "(extinct)." In the case of languages now extinct and for which insufficient data exist to permit any degree of certainty in their classification, the language name is also placed in parentheses. The linguistic classification will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter of this paper.

ATAYALIC

Atayal

Sediq

TSOUIC

A. Tsou

B. Kanakanabu

Saaroa

PAIWANIC

PAIWANIC I

A. Rukai

Pazeh

Saisiat

(Luilang) (extinct)

Favorlang (extinct)

Taokas (extinct)

(Papora) (extinct)

(Hoanya) (extinct)

Thao

B. Paiwan

Puyuma

PAIWANIC II

Bunun

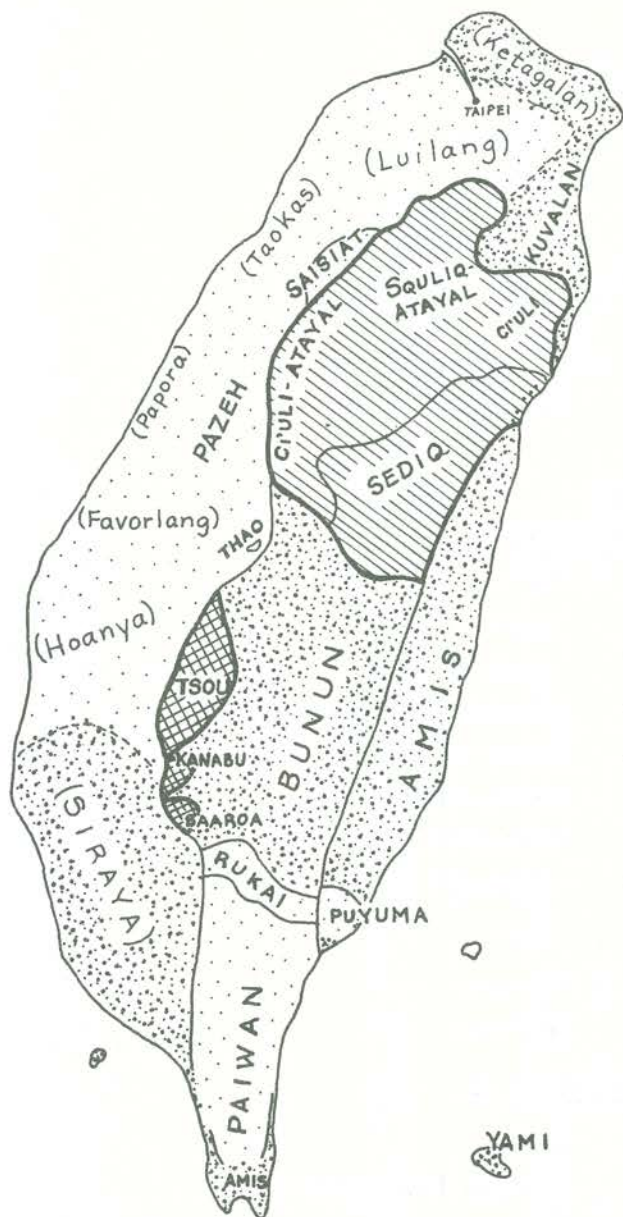
Siraya (extinct)

Ami

Kuvalan/(Ketagalan--extinct)

Yami

Distribution of languages is shown in Map 2, page 26.



POPULATION OF ABORIGINAL
ETHNIC GROUPS AS OF
1 JANUARY 1965:

ATAYALIC	
Squliq	19,336
Ci'uli	15,667
Sediq	19,774
TSOUIC	
Tsou	3,100
Kanakanabu	160
Saaroa	378
PAIWANIC	
Amis	89,802
Bunun	24,207
Paiwan	44,679
Puyuma	6,335
Rukai	6,305
Saisiat	2,857
Thao	323
Yami	1,996

(Wei and Wang 1966)

Map 2. ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF TAIWAN. Languages given in parentheses () are extinct. The Pazeh and Kuvalan no longer exist as ethnic groups but each language is spoken by several hundred persons: Pazeh in scattered households and villages in the P'uli area of west-central Taiwan, and Kuvalan in several scattered locations in Ilan plain and in Ami area of Hualien Hsien, Taiwan east coast.

B. SOCIOCULTURAL GROUPS OF ABORIGINAL TAIWAN

"Aboriginal Taiwan" refers to a hypothetical moment immediately preceding modern development, when the aboriginal cultures may have had considerable contact with each other but had not yet been overwhelmed by contact with Occidental or Far Eastern world powers. For the western plains groups, this means prior to the radical changes enforced by the Dutch in the 17th century; for the east coast and mountain peoples, the swamping of aboriginal cultures has occurred more recently, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. We have no indications of any large-scale population displacements or sudden cultural disruptions in the mountain region since Dutch times, and for the present discussion we may assume that the fact that our data are from different periods will not cause too serious distortion in this very general reconstruction of aboriginal Taiwan.

When mention is made in this discussion as to whether or not language and culture distributions coincide, it is done so with the understanding that although a correspondence of language and culture distributions strongly suggests that the two may have been spread simultaneously by the same people, it is by no means conclusive evidence that such was the case. Similarly, it is possible for two peoples of common origin to have very different cultures at present and to belong to different language groupings.

Much of aboriginal Taiwan's coastal areas were occupied by a fairly uniform culture complex, which I shall call the Littoral Culture. This complex extended along the east coast, across the northern and southern extremities of the island and throughout the wide southwestern plain (see Figure 2, page 28). The geographical distribution of this culture coincides approximately with that of the coastal Paiwanic II languages (Kavalan/Ketagalan, Ami, Siraya). The Littoral Culture is noticeably more similar to cultures of the southwestern Pacific area than are the other Taiwan aboriginal cultures. From both cultural and linguistic grounds, it is tempting to think of the Littoral Culture and Paiwanic II languages as representing a more recent arrival of elements (not necessarily large numbers of immigrants) from the south to Taiwan's east coast, from whence they spread around the northern and southern ends of the island, absorbing (or being absorbed by) peoples already established there. For reasons already noted, however, this can be no more than conjecture at present.

In the central western plains region, the culture complex which for want of a better name I call the Lowland Culture to distinguish it from the Littoral Culture, is much less well known to us. Fragmentary information from 17th century Dutch missionary sources, along with Chinese sources of the 18th century when these groups were already

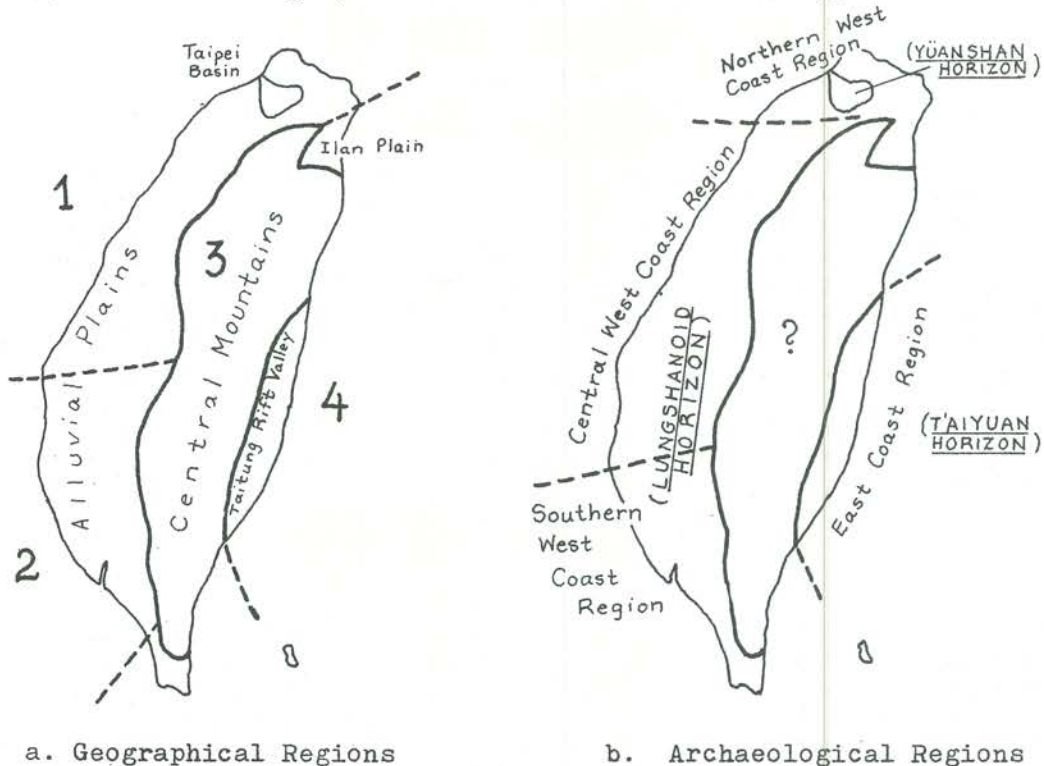
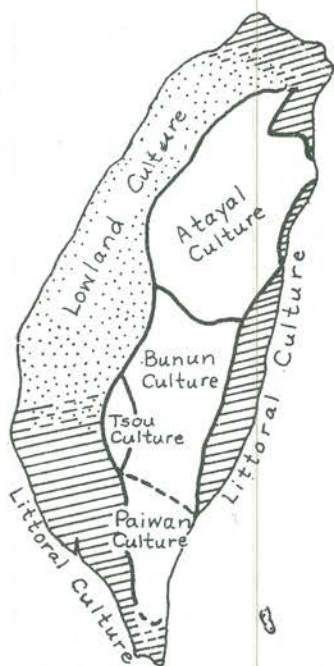


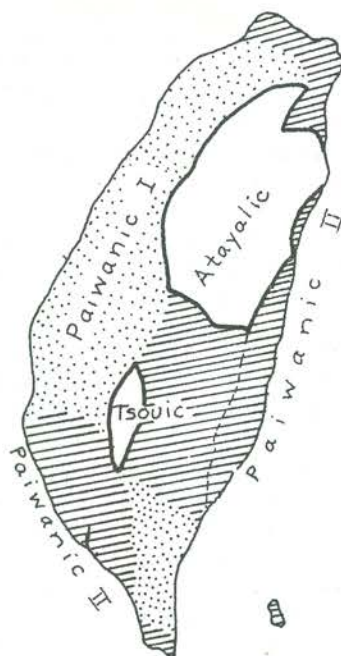
Figure 2. GEOGRAPHICAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL, CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC CONFIGURATIONS OF TAIWAN. a. Geographical Regions: (1) Main rainy season is cold, drizzly monsoon October-March; (2) Winter dry, main rains in summer when there are frequent storms and typhoons; (3) Main rainy season in summer; (4) Heavy rainfall year-round, heaviest in summer (after Hsieh 1964).

b. Archaeological Regions: Names in parentheses represent the main archaeological manifestations during the Middle Period of Taiwan prehistory.

heavily acculturated, indicate that many similarities were shared with the Littoral Culture. This is not surprising in view of the contiguous distributions of the two culture complexes and the ease of communication in the western coastal plain. On the other hand, certain features of the Lowland Culture, such as house types, appear to link this culture to peoples of the mountain regions. The languages of the ethnic groups comprising the Lowland Culture belong to Paiwanic I. The languages in this group are less closely related to each other than are those of Paiwanic II, indicating that their divergence took place at a more ancient period than did the dispersal of the Paiwanic II group.



c. Culture Distributions



d. Distribution of Language Groups

c. Culture Distributions: Principal sociocultural groups of aboriginal Taiwan, period just before modern contact.

d. Distribution of Language Groups: Atayalic and Tsouic not very closely related to each other or to other Formosan languages. Paiwanic languages appear more similar to other Austronesian languages outside Taiwan than do Atayalic or Tsouic, but internal diversity indicates considerable antiquity for Paiwanic languages in Taiwan. Division of Paiwanic into two groups, Paiwanic I and II, is tentative.

In the Central Mountains we find four cultures, those of the Atayal, Bunun, and Tsou, and the Paiwan complex. The Atayal, who occupy a large area in the northern mountains, do not appear to be closely related either culturally or linguistically to any other group. The Tsouics of the south-central mountain region are numerically much less important than the Atayal and there has been much more obvious borrowing between them and surrounding Paiwanics than is the case with the Atayal; nevertheless, the Tsouics also do not appear to be very closely related to other Formosan groups (but see the discussion on Tsouic languages in the next chapter, below).

The Bunun are a large single ethnic group whose language belongs to the Paiwanic II group, but whose culture is unlike those of other groups speaking Paiwanic II languages. The Paiwan culture complex is shared by two distinct ethnic groups: Rukai and Paiwan. Both these languages appear to be offshoots of the Paiwanic I languages otherwise found in the central west coast region. Paiwan is not particularly closely related to Rukai, but is very close to Puyuma of the east coast region. But culturally the Puyuma probably belong with the Littoral Culture complex, most of the component groups of which speak Paiwanic II languages.

The Yami of Botel Tobago Island will be discussed separately due to special problems connected with their linguistic and cultural relationships both to Taiwan and to the northern Philippines.

Certain traits common to all Formosan groups need not be specifically mentioned in the treatment of each culture. Weaving with back-strap loom appears to have been nearly universal. Bark-cloth making was widespread in aboriginal times, but data are too incomplete to determine its exact distribution; the same may be said of ironsmithing to produce knives, spearpoints, etc., using Indonesian-type upright bellows. All groups cultivated a variety of crops including millet and tubers by swidden farming, with the possible exception of some villages on the northern coast which 17th-century Spanish sources state lived entirely from fishing and salt manufacturing (Wen 1957:I,44). By contact times flexed burial, often under the house, had widely replaced more varied earlier burial practices in most of Taiwan. Treatment of disease was generally the concern of specially trained female shamans. All groups hunted deer, wild boar, and other animals with bow and arrow, harpoon-like spears, and a wide variety of snares and traps. Except for the Yami of Botel Tobago Island, all Formosan groups were headhunters.

1. The Upland Cultures

a. Atayal Culture

(1) Material Culture. It is easier to begin by saying what Atayal culture lacks, in contrast to other Formosan cultures. The Atayalics (Atayal and Sediq) have no pottery nor the memory of having earlier had any; utensils are of wood, gourd, or bamboo. The Atayal have no decorative stone- or woodcarving, nor painting of either geometric or representational style. In-woven and beaded decorative motifs on clothing are strictly rectilinear, as are the distinctive facial tattoos of men and women. The Saisiat, a small nearby Paiwanic I ethnic group, have adopted Atayal-style facial tattooing, otherwise it is not practiced by any other modern Formosan group.

The prototypical Atayal house is also unique to themselves. It is semi-subterranean, the dirt floor sometimes more than one meter below ground level (see Figure 3, page 33). Walls are of loosely stacked branches and cordwood of varying lengths placed between rows

of upright roof supports. The gabled roof is of thatch, rough bark shingles, or slate. Semi-subterranean houses are common in northeast Asia but uncommon in the Austronesian area. The Atayal had no men's houses or other public buildings.

(2) Religion and Oral Tradition. Atayal oral tradition does not mention the sea. The original ancestors of mankind emerged from a giant stone or a mountain in present-day Atayal territory, and the history of Atayalic mankind has taken place within the mountains. The ethnic groups of the plains are descendants of people who wend down out of the mountains when the mountain area became overcrowded. There is a conspicuous absence of either cosmogony or deities of any type in Atayal oral tradition and religion, in striking contrast to the elaborate pantheons of many Paiwanic groups. The supernatural is utux, which signifies all kinds of spirits and unnamed supernatural powers as well as the spirits of the dead. There appears to be little concept of either reified nature spirits or individual ancestor spirits, and although Atayal religion has been frequently called "ancestor worship," in fact religious concern is generally for placation of the non-particularized utux collectively.

Prominent themes of Atayal oral tradition are military exploits, accounts of the dispersal of various tribal groups, and moral tales in which human beings are changed into animals involuntarily due to faults such as laziness, or voluntarily in chagrin after unfair treatment by others. Metamorphosis of animals into human beings, common in the tales of other ethnic groups, appear to be lacking in Atayal folklore. (See Sayama and Onishi 1923; Ogawa and Asai 1935).

(3) Social Structure. The Atayal kinship system is ambilineal, and characterized by nuclear family households with a preference for patrilocal residence. Households are generally clustered in relatively compact villages or hamlets averaging under 200 persons. The villages of one river or drainage basin area are frequently linked in defense alliances, these alliances sometimes hostile toward Atayal of other areas as well as other ethnic groups. A settlement usually has several ritual groups, each centering around an influential and respected man. The leaders of these ritual groups collectively constitute the informal political authority of the settlement. The core of the ritual group is the patrilineage of the leader, but affinal kinsmen and non-relatives may belong to the group.

Atayal society is strictly monogamous and traditionally puritanical. In contrast to many Formosan groups, premarital sexual relations, even between young people entirely unrelated, are an offense to the utux and endanger the entire community, and must be expiated by specific rites and pig sacrifice. Mabuchi (1960:112, 121) describes Atayal society as being characterized by "closedness," making somewhat difficult the incorporation of outsiders. Change of an individual's affiliation with either ritual group or settlement is difficult and also entails the performance of rites and pig sacrifice.

(4) Comments. The Atayalics' location and their lack of very close similarities in culture or language to other Formosan groups tempt us to think of them as possibly remnants of more ancient peoples who have been pushed back into the mountains by more recent Paiwanic arrivals. On the other hand the close relationship between the two Atayalic languages, Atayal and Sediq, and their homogeneity of culture indicate that the internal divergence of the Atayalics and their spread northward and eastward throughout their present territory probably occurred in relatively recent times.

Despite the Atayal being one of the more "closed" of Formosan societies, they are far from being isolated from contact with other groups. Japanese scholars have noted that in the expansion of the Atayal northward and eastward from the southwestern region of their modern distribution area, they apparently absorbed several heterogeneous elements from the western plain (Mabuchi 1954a; Kano 1952:199). Trade was carried on even by western Atayal with the Kuvalan of Taiwan's northeast coast via well-established trade routes through the heart of Atayal territory, and similar trade relations were maintained with some east coast Ami groups. Some Atayal assimilated into the Bunun due to intertribal conflicts in their own homeland (Mabuchi 1966:115-116, 119, 124). Mutual borrowings between Atayal and the Saisiat of the western foothills are evident. The material culture of the Sediq, as well as their language and mythology, indicates that their contacts with Paiwanic groups have been somewhat more extensive than those of the other Atayalics.

b. Bunun Culture

(1) Material Culture. The Bunun are conspicuously eclectic. In the north, where their territory adjoins that of the Atayal, the Bunun costume includes a woven sleeveless tunic like that of the Atayal, whereas in the south their costume resembles that of the Tsou in some regions, Rukai and Paiwan in others. Like the Atayalics and Tsouics, the Bunun lack the elaborate decorative woodcarving and painting found among the lowland groups and in the Paiwan culture complex. Also like the Atayal and Tsou, but unlike the other Taiwan groups, the Bunun extracted the lateral incisors of men and women (it is quite possible that this custom was also practiced by other groups in the past). The Bunun and the Tsou made pottery characteristic of the archaeological Geometric Impressed Pottery Horizon (see above, page 11) into the present century.

Bunun houses are sometimes erroneously called semi-subterranean due to the fact that the floor or a section of the floor is generally slightly lower than ground level. The Bunun house is very unlike the semi-subterranean Atayal house, the Tsou house, or those of the Paiwanic II groups. In basic structure the Bunun house may be classified

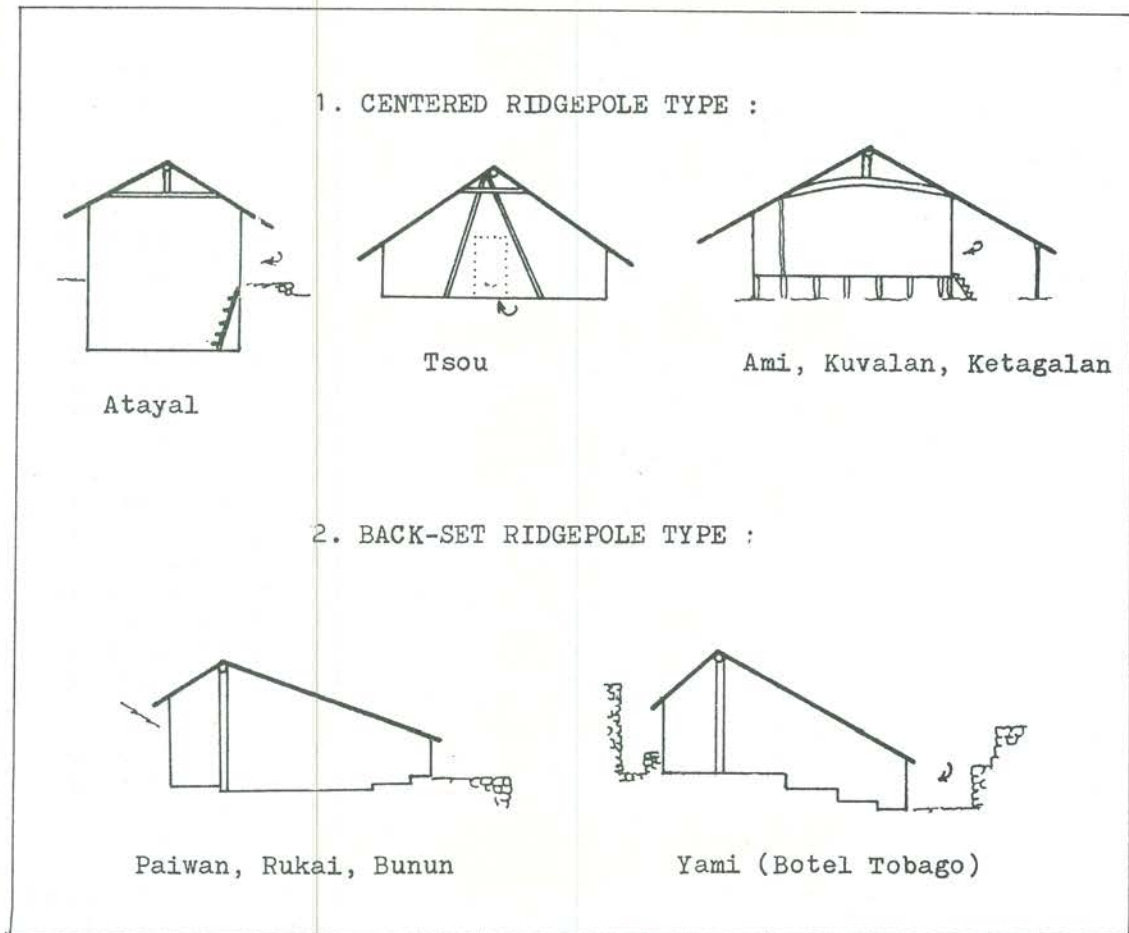


Figure 3. Basic House Structural Types of Taiwan Aborigines.

(View is from side narrow end of houses; arrows indicate main doorway for Tsou and Ami houses, sole entrance for others.)

1. Forms with symmetric roof (main ridgepole in center of roof). The Atayal and Tsou house types are restricted to those two groups respectively. The unusual "A-frame" interior posts supporting the ridgepole in Tsou houses is sometimes replaced by single upright posts. Floor plan of Tsou houses is often rounded or oval.

Floors of pile-dwellings among Kuvalan and Ketagalan were sometimes of planks; among Ami, usually bamboo.

2. Forms with main ridgepole to rear of house. For Paiwan and other groups of main island of Taiwan, at lower altitudes the walls are often of planks, with thatch roof; at higher altitudes where slate is plentiful, walls and roof are usually of slate slabs.

Yami house is of planks and thatch. Due to frequent violent typhoons, dwellings are in excavated pits surrounded by stone walls, and entrance is lower than dwelling area.

with those of the Rukai, Paiwan, and the Paiwanic I peoples of the central west coast region (see Figure 3, page 33). This type house entails digging into the slope of a hillside in the rear and if necessary constructing an earth and stone terrace in front in order to provide a level or split-level foundation for the house and its large fronting courtyard. The house floor and courtyard are often paved with slate. The walls are usually made of loosely stacked slate or other flat stones, the front wall frequently of upright planks or wide slate slabs. The gable roof may be of slate, thatch, or occasionally plank shingles.

(2) Religion and Oral Traditions. Similarly to the Atayal, the Bunun in their mythology show little concern with cosmogony, and unlike their closer Paiwanic linguistic relatives, are notable for the dearth of personified spirits or deities. Bunun oral tradition mentions periodic offerings to the moon, upon which the agricultural calendar is based, but information on aboriginal Bunun religion is too scanty to show clearly to what extent the moon and dehanin "heaven" may have been personified. Bunun oral tradition is particularly rich in animal and hunting stories, reflecting the great importance of hunting in Bunun economy. Animal stories include not only the transformation of humans into animals, but sexual relations between humans and animals as well as metamorphosis of animals into humans. Bunun tradition makes no mention of the sea.

In addition to the male hereditary millet priesthood charged with management of agricultural rituals, the Bunun had male shamans along with female ones. The shamans' concern was sickness and sorcery (Coe 1955).

(3) Social Structure. The Bunun are patrilineal, with patrilocal extended family households grouped in small hamlets or in villages made up of dispersed homesteads. The head of the ranking household of the senior subclan is the priest of the clan. Kin groups include "patrilineal lineages, subclans, clans, and usually also phratries, with exogamy prevailing at every level from the minimal lineage ... to the phratry" (Mabuchi 1960:131).

Despite the lack of institutionalized political organization, Bunun society is marked by cohesion lacking in most Formosan ethnic groups, and close ties are maintained over large areas due to the lineal and affinal relationships with their religious connotations. In turn, this relative security within the ethnic group allows the Bunun, with their small, scattered settlements, to more efficiently exploit their territory by swidden farming than is the case, for example, for the Paiwan with their large, compact villages, often hostile among themselves, requiring them to go long distances to their fields as land near the village is exhausted.

(4) Comments. The Bunun have been a dynamically expanding people from the earliest times of which we have records, the 17th century. Their spread eastward and southward has often been at the expense of earlier settlers such as the Tsouics in the southwestern portion of present Bunun territory. At the same time, Bunun eclecticism has permitted ready adoption of culture traits from other groups with whom they have come in contact. Outsiders were easily assimilated into the Bunun ethnic group, without the sort of ritual requirements which made difficult such assimilation into the Atayal, for instance. Important elements of the modern Bunun include groups who fled into the mountains from the western plains, as well as Atayal from the north. In the south, there has been extensive contact and intermarriage with the Rukai and Tsouics (Mabuchi 1966:121, 124), and in recent times there has been much contact with Ami of the east coast.

The Bunun pose special problems and illustrate well the complexities involved in trying to determine Formosan aboriginal ethnic origins. Bunun is tentatively classified as a Paiwanic II language, but neither culturally nor physically do the Bunun resemble other Paiwanic II peoples. The Bunun are among the shortest and darkest of Taiwan's people; the (Paiwanic II) Ami are the tallest and lightest. The patrilineal Bunun social structure is very unlike that of other Paiwanic II peoples, but shows similarities to the neighboring Tsou on one hand, and to the (Paiwanic I) Saisiat to the northwest on the other. The Bunun house type is very different from that of the Atayal, Tsou, or Paiwanic II groups, but similar to that of groups speaking Paiwanic I languages. Like the Atayal and Tsou, the Bunun lack both decorative painting and representational woodcarving common among both Paiwanic I and Paiwanic II groups. Bunun oral tradition and religion lack the many gods found among most Paiwanic groups, and the Bunun have little or no concept of individual ancestor spirits; in this they resemble the Atayal, but the similarity does not go very far, for the actual content of Bunun oral tradition is quite dissimilar to the Atayal.

It should be remembered that the classification of Bunun as a Paiwanic II language is at present based only upon lexical and superficial phonological considerations, as will be discussed below, and deeper comparative structural and phonological studies may require revision of this classification. Even if Bunun is found to belong to another language group than Paiwanic II, however, the apparently conflicting indications of culture, physique, and language will still make difficult the solution of the problem of Bunun origins.

c. Tsou Culture

The material culture of the three members of the Tsouic group, Tsou, Kanakanabu, and Saaroa, are quite similar. Linguistically the three are much farther apart than are Atayal and Sediq, and there are marked differences among the Tsouics in social structure and religion. Nevertheless, many features shared by the three Tsouic groups set them apart from all other Taiwan groups.

(1) Material Culture. The Tsouic groups, like the Atayal and Bunun, lack the elaborate decorative wood-and stonecarving found among various Paiwanic peoples. Similarly to the neighboring Bunun, with whom extensive cultural interchange is evident, the Tsou manufactured pottery in the tradition of the archaeological Geometric Impressed Pottery Horizon up into the present century. The Tsouics are noteworthy for the extent to which leather was used for clothing, including caps, detached sleeves, tight leggings similar to those of the North American Iroquois, and puckered moccasins (these items are also found to some extent among the Bunun, particularly those nearer the Tsou region). Also reminiscent of more northern areas are large cylindrical containers of bark.

The Tsouic house is unlike that of any other Formosan group. The rounded corners give the house an oval appearance, enhanced by the dome-shaped roof of thatch which extends nearly to the ground all around the house. The floor, which is at ground level, is of packed mud and sand, the frame is of poles and saplings, and the walls are of bamboo or miscanthus splints. Interior posts to support the roof are set in groups of two with their tops crossed, the main ridge pole resting in the resulting crook; sometimes the ridge pole is tied to the side of the posts (see Figure 3, page 33). In recent times the Tsouic houses have tended more and more toward rectangularity, but a 19th-century visitor described Saaroa houses as "circular huts" (Pickering 1898:125).

Uniquely among the upland groups, the Tsouics have men's meeting houses which are the political and religious center of the village and, at least among the Saaroa, served formerly as dormitories for unmarried men (Pickering 1898:126). These buildings, in Tsou called kuba, are elevated on piles, the split bamboo floors generally a little over one meter from the ground (see Figure 6, page 38). The kuba has no walls; the roof is domed, of thatch, and at the top are planted two fiteu-orchid plants. Other fiteu are planted on each side of the front entrance to the kuba. The fiteu and a large eono (banyan) tree near the kuba are sacred: it is through these plants that the god Hamo descends during important rituals.

(2) Religion and Oral Traditions. Tsou hícu, Kanakanabu ucu, and Saaroa ílicu correspond approximately to the Atayal utux or lutuh and Bunun hanito "spirit, ghost, supernatural." But unlike the Atayal and Bunun, the Tsouics have particularized, named gods and spirits. The principal of these among the Tsou include: Hamo, remote sky deity whose body exudes light, and of whom the bear is "totem" animal; Hamo is not ordinarily invoked in religious rites, but during special ceremonies such as the headhunting celebration ritual, he descends to the ritual area through the banyan tree and fiteu-orchid; Nívenə, female deity who created mankind from tree leaves and taught agriculture and useful crafts to the people; Ake?e Mameoi (from ake?e "grandfather," mameoi "adult, elder"), lord of the soil and conserver of living beings; his "totem" animals are the snake and leopard-cat; Ake?e Co?oyeha (from co?oyeha "river"), lord of streams; I?afafeoi, spirit of warfare; Ba?i Ton?u and Ba?i Payi, from ba?i "grandmother," ton?u "millet" and payi "rice," spirits of those two grains (see Wei, Yu and Lin 1952: 133-137).

Tsou oral tradition is unusual in Taiwan in ascribing man's origin to a deliberate act of creation, rather than by spontaneous emergence from stone or bamboo, or being the offspring of mythical ancestor-deities who came from the sky or a distant land. Also unique is the presence in Tsou oral tradition of a sort of cycle of culture hero tales involving the female deity Nívenə and her antagonist Soesóha, whose mischievousness and blunders had such unfortunate results as the origin of human death (Ferrell 1966b).

In addition to the periodic rites connected with the yearly agricultural cycle, the Saaroa have a major rite held once every two or three years. This rite, the miatopusu, commemorates the bringing of agriculture to the Saaroa by a mythical ancestress-culture hero, and the veneration of ancestral relics is also of note (see Kojima 1915-22, Vol. 4:81-85). Such overtones of ancestor veneration are not found among the Kanakanabu or Tsou (Lin 1963), and may reflect the influence of more intensive contact of the Saaroa with nearby Paiwanic peoples.

(3) Social Structure. The Tsouics are patrilineal, with exogamous sub-clans and clans. Small patrilocal extended families are found among the Tsou, but among the Kanakanabu and Saaroa the household is usually composed of a nuclear family.

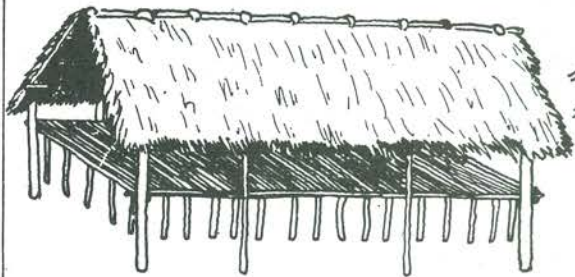
"Among the Tsou the settlement pattern takes the form of a capital village and ceremonial center with a number of outlying satellite villages and hamlets. Each village has a men's house, where its "men of influence" meet. The men's house of the core village is the meeting place for the council of the entire complex or sub-tribe, and serves as a center for ritual activities concerned with warfare and headhunting. Within each village the households of the same patrilineage constitute a distinct ritual, economic, and landholding unit" (Mabuchi 1960:132).



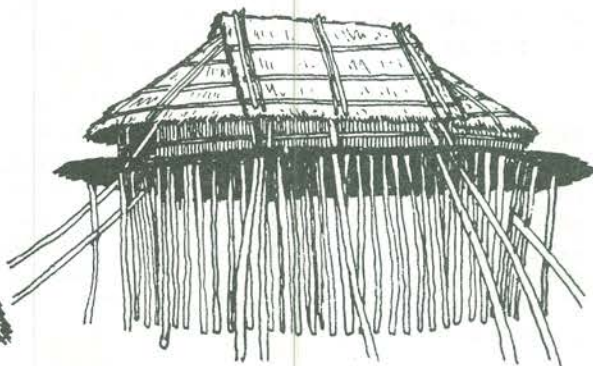
Kuva (elevated house for men's gatherings) of Tsou.



Elevated granary
common to Atayal and
most upland groups.



Elevated men's house of Ami.



Elevated young-men's house
of Puyuma. Siraya dwellings
formerly had similar apsidal
roof.

Figure 4. Pile-structures of Taiwan Aborigines.

Saaroa kinship terminology differs considerably from that of the Tsou and Kanakanabu, and differences in rules of exogamy, for example, may reflect the comparatively greater extent of contact between Saaroa and neighboring Paiwanic peoples. Much intermarriage has occurred among the three Tsouic groups, and all have intermarried to some extent with Bunun, Rukai, Siraya and other Paiwanic groups.

(4) Comments. Tsouic peculiarities and their location make them look very much like more ancient peoples who have been pushed into the mountains and hemmed in by surrounding Paiwanic groups. Some features of Tsouic culture, such as house forms and mythology, are unusual in this part of the Austronesian world.

The Tsouics show much more evidence of extensive cultural give-and-take with surrounding groups than do the Atayal to the north, which is explainable in part by the small numbers of the Tsouic groups. As has been mentioned above, all three Tsouic groups have had intimate contact with nearby Paiwanics. The Saaroa have had particularly close connections with the Rukai and Siraya, in the "Tevorang" melting-pot region mentioned by Dutch sources (see above, page 19), and this admixture is immediately evident in their language and customs.

Grammatically, lexically, and phonologically, Tsou is by far the most aberrant of all Formosan languages, leading us to suspect that its separation from the ancestors of the other Formosan languages was at a very remote period indeed. However, as will be discussed later, Tsou linguistic peculiarities are shared only to a limited extent by Kanakanabu and Saaroa. Saaroa is lexically as near to the (Paiwanic) Siraya as to Tsou, although the known close contacts between Saaroa, Siraya and Rukai make it most likely that extensive vocabulary resemblances with these languages are due to borrowing by Saaroa, rather than indicating that Tsouic and Paiwanic languages are directly linked genetically.

Men's houses in Taiwan are more frequently found in matrilineal societies with institutionalized age grades, such as the Paiwanic II groups. Among the upland groups, the kuba (men's houses) are unique to the patrilineal Tsouics, who lack formalized age grades (see Chen 1965:105), although some Rukai in lower areas also had men's houses, as will be discussed below. The Tsouics may have taken over the idea of men's houses from the neighboring Paiwanic II lowland groups; it should be noted that men's houses were prominent among the Siraya, whose name for them was kouva.

d. Paiwan Culture

The "Paiwan Culture" complex is a loose grouping showing much local diversity. The component ethnic groups, Paiwan and Rukai, while both speaking Paiwanic I languages, are rather far apart linguistically although extensive borrowing has caused many superficially close vocabulary resemblances. On the other hand Paiwan--but not Rukai--is very closely related to Puyuma, the speakers of which will be discussed with the Littoral Culture Complex. In material culture the northern Paiwan are indistinguishable from the adjoining Rukai, while the southern and eastern Paiwan are quite dissimilar.

(1) Material Culture.

(a) Carving. The most spectacular specialty of the Paiwan culture complex is its stylized 'Monumental' carving on wood and stone (see Figure 5, page 42). Semi-sacred 'ancestor' figures carved in low relief on house posts, or on free-standing slate or plank panels, were the prerogative of the hereditary chiefly families responsible for the collective well-being of the village. Other houses sometimes had lintels and doorframes carved with stylized human heads, snakes, deer, and geometric motifs without special ritual significance (although perhaps reflecting prestige), similar to those of the chiefly houses. Similar motifs were carved on wooden cups, boxes, mortars, grain bins, knife handles, and tobacco pipes.

It is noteworthy that besides the poisonous hundred-pace snake (*Agkistrodon acutus*), which is an 'ancestor' of the chiefly houses, the only animal generally found on older carvings is the deer. There are no bears, wild boar, or leopard-cats, although these are common in the region. There are no birds, and no floral motifs. A possible explanation for the frequent depiction of deer in the decorative motifs lies in the fact that from the 17th century and probably earlier, great quantities of Formosan deerskins were purchased yearly by the Japanese. Deerskins were by far the most important product of the upland groups in their intensive trade with Dutch, Chinese, and lowland aboriginal middlemen for weapons, metal, cooking utensils, cloth, glass beads, and other prestige goods. It should therefore perhaps not be surprising that the deer, the hunting of which furnished the means par excellence of acquiring wealth, should have been a frequent motif of 'prestige' art.

It should be mentioned that although Rukai and Paiwan stylistic treatment of human motifs in carvings shows much similarity to the 'Monumental' art of such groups as the Assam Nagas, there is a singular absence of certain motifs held by some scholars to be part and parcel of the 'Megalithic Culture' to which the Monumental Style is supposed to be linked. Horns, reflecting the buffalo sacrifices supposed to be a central feature of Megalithic cultures, are entirely absent in Paiwan

motifs; nor is the pig, which is sacrificed by the Paiwan groups, shown. The pre-eminence of the "female breast" (this is the interpretation given by some Western scholars to concentric circle motifs) frequent in Megalithic art in other areas, is absent among the Paiwan. If the breasts are indicated at all on Paiwan carved figures, they are identical for male and female--in other words, the female breast appears to have no special significance as a fertility motif. For the Paiwan, fertility symbolization is simple and unmistakable in the quite explicit genitalia of the figures.

(b)Bronze heirlooms. Bronze dagger handles were preserved as heirlooms by the Paiwan until recently. The modern aborigines have no memory of bronze having been worked by their forefathers. Investigators have been inclined to accept Paiwan statements that these items were "handed down from our ancestors" more or less at face value, and these bronze pieces have been supposed to have been brought to Taiwan from outside when the ancestral Paiwan migrated to the island in the distant past. Kano (1946:189ff) saw in these Paiwan bronze dagger handles, as well as bronze fragments found in archaeological excavations at Miaoli and in Yüanshan sites in northwestern Taiwan, a connection between Formosan groups and proto-Dongsonian cultures of Southeast Asia. He argued that metal-working cultures could not have lasted very long after their original arrival in Taiwan, due to the scarcity of copper, iron, and tin (1952:182). However, we may note that in nearby areas both ironsmithing and cire perdue bronze casting were known to peoples who did not always themselves extract the ores (e.g., among the Bagobo of Mindanao; see Cole 1913:81-83). Barbed harpoon-like spearpoints and other implements are known to have been made by Taiwan aboriginal ironsmiths from miscellaneous pieces of iron, using the Indonesian-type upright bellows, until recent times. In the present century horizontal Chinese-style bellows have generally replaced the vertical type, but the upright bellows was still seen by Japanese investigators among the Ami, and among the Rukai by Chen (1958). Bronze working, now completely forgotten, may have survived in Taiwan until after the 17th century. At that time both trade and the frequent shipwrecks already mentioned could have provided ample materials for both iron and bronze working. Early sources do not specifically mention bronze working, but Esquivel (1632) states that two townships near Keelung manufactured arrows and "instruments of iron for working the soil," and also that among the items seized from a Spanish ship from Manila by one of the northern coastal groups were "two large bronze pieces."

The Paiwan bronze dagger handles show little resemblance to those of Dongson. On the other hand, they are stylistically very similar to Paiwan and Rukai wood- and stonecarving (see Figure 6, page 43). This stylistic identicalness between Paiwan carving and their bronze dagger handles, and the absence of any known bronzes of similar style anywhere outside Taiwan, strongly indicate that the Paiwan bronze items were manufactured in Taiwan.

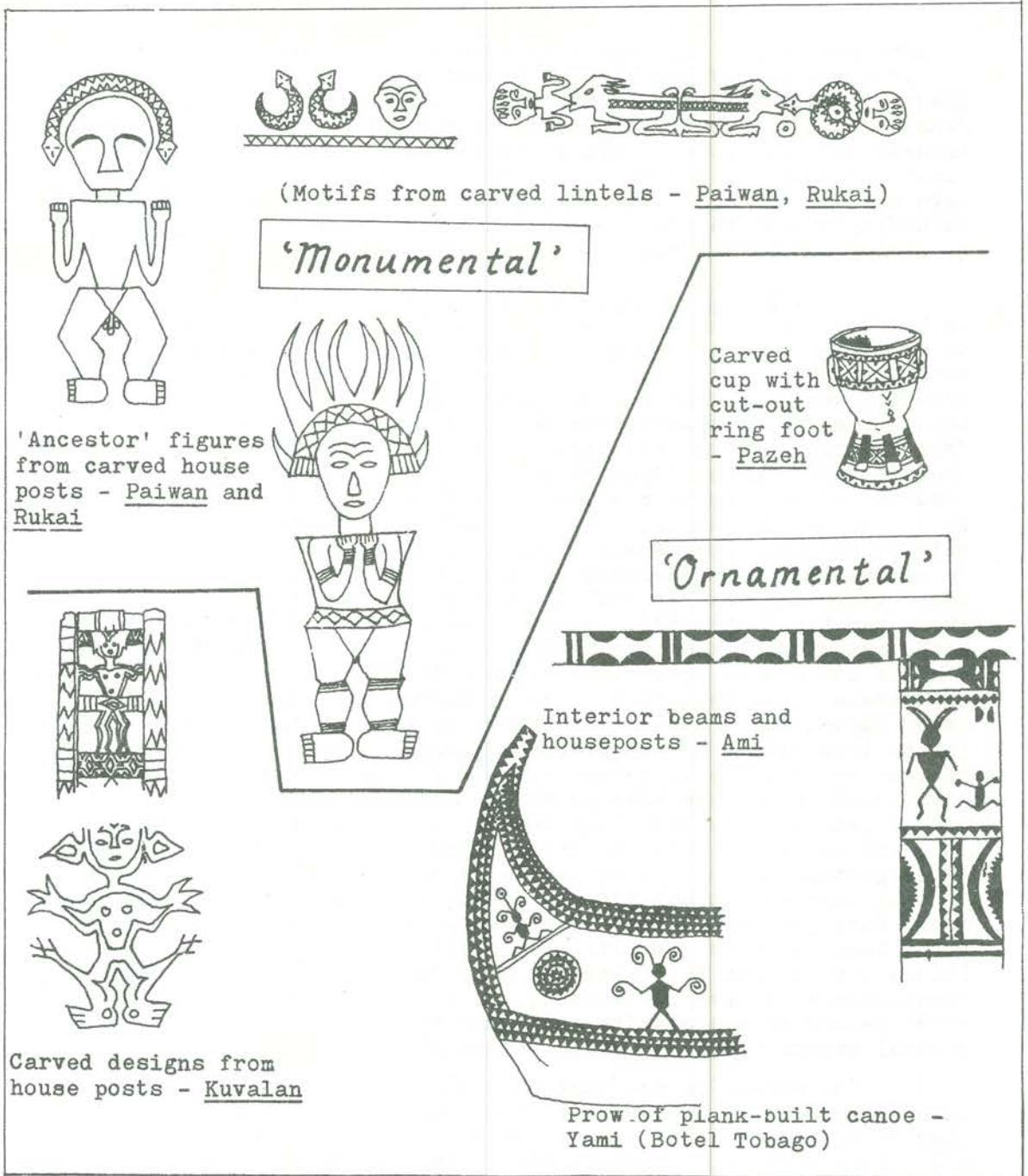
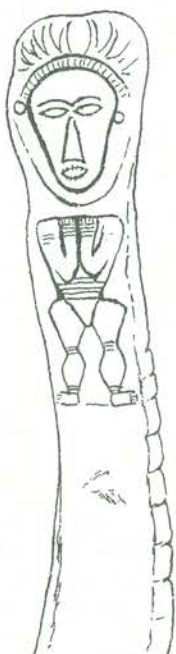


Figure 5. Art Styles of Aboriginal Taiwan. In historic times at least, the 'Monumental Style' was restricted to the Rukai and Paiwan of southern mountains. 'Ornamental Style' was prevalent among Paiwanic II groups primarily. (Figures from CHEN 1961, 1963; and CHICHIWA 1960)



A
Paiwan Stone 'Ancestor'
Figure, Bongarits Village



B
Paiwan Bronze Dagger
Handle

Figure 6. Paiwan Bronze
Dagger Handle
and Stone Sculpture.

A. Stone sculpture, height
2 m, width 36 cm, thickness
15 cm. After Utsurikawa
1931.

B. Bronze Dagger Handle.
After Kano 1946, plate 16.

(See discussion, page 41)

(c) Houses. Houses of the Rukai and northern Paiwan show basic structural similarity to those of the Bunun, as well as to other Paiwanic I groups. After a site has been levelled by digging into a slope and extending an earth and stone terrace outward to provide a slightly lower than ground-level floor for the house and a slightly higher fronting courtyard, both of which are paved with slate, rear and side walls are constructed of slate or other flat stones carefully stacked without mortar. Front walls are of upright slate slabs, and the roof is of slate. Wooden lintels and posts are often elaborately carved. Among the southern and eastern Paiwan, houses are frequently constructed at ground level, roofed with thatch, and wooden planks replace slate for walls. A very special variant was found formerly among some west-central Paiwan, wherein roof beams are curved and somewhat resemble the struts of a ship. It should be noted that this latter type house was found among a portion of the Paiwan who were in most direct contact with the Dutch in the 17th century, and it is not impossible that a European or Chinese ship may have provided the inspiration for this variant house type.

Men's houses were generally not found among the more upland Rukai and Paiwan groups, but were found sporadically in lower areas. Japanese investigators reported a men's dormitory (tsakal) in Kabiyan-an, a west-central Paiwan village adjoining the Siraya territory in the plain (see Chen 1965:103). Tanan, an off-shoot Rukai village near the east coast, had an incipient age-grade system and men's house, apparently borrowed from the neighboring Puyuma. In the west, the divergent "lower three villages" Rukai, closely associated with the Saaroa and the Siraya in the "Tevorang" area (see above, page 19), had men's houses when visited by Pickering (1898:148):

"I discovered that the unmarried men and boys slept in a shed raised from the ground. This building was regarded as a kind of temple, in which the vanquished heads were hung and feasts were held. The presence of the heads of their enemies was supposed to give courage to the youths."

(d) Pottery. The Paiwan and Rukai have no recollection of pottery-making. Prestige pottery jars said to have been handed down from the ancestors were preserved until recently, along with glass bracelets, special heirloom beads, and the above-mentioned bronze dagger handles.

(2) Religion and Oral Traditions. As with the other upland groups already discussed, the sea plays almost no part in the oral traditions of the Paiwan and Rukai. There is little concern with cosmogony. Prominent motifs reflect the importance of the hereditary chieftainship system of these two ethnic groups. Many villages say that the chiefly families are descended from the sun. In one of several versions, it is said that the sun descended to a mountain top where it (she?) produced two eggs, one red and one white. These eggs were "bitten" (fertilized?) by a great "spirit" snake; a man emerged from one of the eggs and a woman from the other, becoming the ancestors of chiefly houses. The ancestors of ordinary houses came from the eggs of a green snake. Among the Rukai and adjacent northwestern Paiwan, the chiefly ancestors came out of an earthenware jar. Some versions state that the sun produced eggs in the jar and the eggs were bitten by a great snake; others do not mention a snake but say two children emerged from a jar which either came from the sky or was impregnated by sunbeams (see Sayama and Onishi 1923:20, 159, 163, 174-178).

Rukai religious beliefs have been almost completely neglected and we know very little concerning deities and other aspects. This neglect is due partly to earlier failure to recognize the existence of the Rukai as a separate ethnic group, so that they were often lumped together with the northwestern subgroup of the Paiwan as "Tsalisen."

Among the Paiwan there are rather well-developed pantheons showing considerable local variation in composition and names. Prominent

spirits among northern and central groups include: (a) Takalaus, male deity of thunder and lightning, also patron of millet sowing and harvesting; (b) Qadau ("sun") or Namati, female sky deity of life and creation; (c) Kadunangan, lord of the earth or soil, etc., etc. (see Fujizaki 1930:306-308; Wu 1965:106-107).

Spirits of all kinds, including souls of the dead, are comas. Among the Paiwan we find a cult of the dead, although there is nothing that could be called "ancestor worship" in any individualized sense. The collective dead are placated through the chiefly houses to which all members of the village are respectively related with varying degrees of nearness. Throughout most of the Paiwan, but not among the Rukai or adjacent northwestern Paiwan, the maleveq or "Five-Year Festival" was held once each five years after harvests in late autumn. In this ritual, the collective ancestors and other spirits were summoned from their abode on Mount Tawu (in the northern Paiwan "homeland" region) to the various villages, where they were fed and conducted around the village and the tribal territory so they could see that ancestral customs were being properly observed. For five days the spirits took part in village festivities including a type of ball-play held only during the maleveq. In this ball-play, balls made of bark and representing various spirits were tossed into the air by a paraqalai (agricultural priest), and men of the village, arranged in a circle surrounding the paraqalai, competed to catch the balls on the end of 45-50 foot-long bamboo staves. At the end of the ritual period, the spirits were sent back to Mount Tawu, with the expectation that they should ensure the continuing prosperity of the village (Ferrell, unpublished fieldnotes, 1968; Kojima 1917: 82-131).

Elsewhere in Taiwan, major rituals held at greater-than-yearly intervals appear to be limited to the (Paiwanic I) Saisiat who will be discussed with the Lowland Culture Complex, and the Saaroa, already mentioned. Preservation of semi-sacred heirloom jars of various sorts was widespread among both Paiwanic I and Paiwanic II groups, but has not been reported among the Atayalics, Tsouics, or the Bunun.

(3) Social Structure. Paiwan and Rukai kinship is ambilineal. Residence is ambilocal, with nuclear households in concentrated villages averaging around 300 inhabitants (Mabuchi 1960:136), some villages having as many as 1,000 inhabitants. Population density is then considerably higher than that of the other upland groups already discussed. Relations between villages were frequently hostile, and lasting regional alliances rather rare. The Paiwan and Rukai, who are frequently and misleadingly referred to as "feudal," are similar to ramage-type societies described in Polynesia by Sahlins (1958). All households of a village may be considered to be related in varying degrees of closeness to a named "chiefly" household, of which there may be one or several in the village. As genealogical senior, the hereditary heir of this chiefly

household is the religious and temporal leader of the related households, regarded as "owning" the land used by them and collecting "taxes" primarily for redistribution on special occasions. As has been mentioned above, responsibility for major religious rituals and placation of spirits is largely focussed in the chiefly household. Inheritance to the position of household head is by male primogeniture among the Rukai and some northern Paiwan, while among most of the Paiwan strict primogeniture is followed allowing either male or female heirs. Younger siblings of chiefly households either marry into other families or sometimes may establish branch families with their own house names. Since all households may be "related" in varying degrees of genealogical seniority to chiefly houses, there are no restrictions as to marriage between chiefly and "commoner" households. More ambitious chiefly houses may of course sometimes extend their "hegemony" even over other villages by diplomatic marriage arrangements.

(4) Comments. Paiwan and Rukai appear to represent extensions of the Paiwanic I languages, generally found in the northern central west coast region, into the southeast. Despite heavy borrowing between them, the Paiwan and Rukai languages do not appear to be particularly closely related, no more so than is Paiwan to other Paiwanic I languages such as Pazeh or Thao. Conversely, Paiwan is very closely related to Puyuma, with close phonological correspondences indicating a comparatively recent separation of the two languages; Rukai does not show the same degree of vocabulary resemblances to Puyuma that it does to Paiwan. Culturally, the Puyuma share only to a limited extent the peculiarities of the Paiwan-Rukai complex, and will be treated below with the Littoral Culture groups.

It would certainly be rash at this stage to attempt to make too much of the coincidence of Paiwan and Rukai linguistic connections with ethnic groups of north-central Taiwan, and their conservation of bronze objects which might be linked somehow with prehistoric finds in the same area, though it is tempting to think this might represent something more than mere accident. As has been mentioned above, there is also at present little grounds for assuming a direct link between the Paiwan-Rukai and the "megalithic" remains of the east coast region--the lithic work of the regions is just too different, and nothing suggesting intermediate forms has been found anywhere on the island.

Not too much credence can be placed in the antiquity of dagger handles, pottery, glass bracelets and beads said to be handed down by the ancestors of the Paiwan. In these languages the term "ancestor" may even include living people or recently deceased persons as well as more remote predecessors, and the venerability of heirlooms may develop very quickly. An interesting example of this is given by Bernot (1967: 77) from the Cak of the Chittagong Hills: one of the treasured family heirlooms, the provenance of which was forgotten but which was solemnly anointed with the blood of a sacrificed chicken at annual festivals, was a French commercial piastre with the inscribed date of 1925!

Among the Paiwan, aged informants recently stated that the Paiwan heirloom pottery was originally acquired "from the plains," but that after its repeated use in rituals it came to be considered sacred and stories were invented concerning its supposed mythical origins; glass bracelets and bead necklaces were said to have been obtained from the Dutch (Ferrell, unpublished fieldnotes, 1968). These accounts of the Dutch as aboriginal culture heroes (possibly stimulated by Japanese ethnographers' inquiries as to the existence of traditions concerning the Dutch?) can, of course, be no more taken at face value than can claims for the great age of various heirlooms. But we must be most cautious about making conclusions about ethnic origins and migrations based upon the slender evidence of present-day possession of beads and other objects which could have been acquired by trade or plunder in the not-so-distant past.

The ramage-type social structures of the Paiwan and Rukai are extremely interesting, as they (and the "Paiwanized" Puyuma) present the only example of social stratification in aboriginal Taiwan. The similarities to types of social systems found in many parts of Polynesia are striking. The study of the Paiwan and Rukai should contribute significantly to our understanding of such systems, particularly inasmuch as the growth of these systems in Taiwan may have been upon the basis of commercial surpluses (deerhides, etc.) rather than the agricultural surpluses which are believed to have led to the development of the Polynesian systems (see Sahlins 1958). The uniqueness in Taiwan of the Paiwan and Rukai social systems is not, however, matched by any similar distinctiveness in language, and might be a recent local development. Eggan (1941, 1962) has demonstrated that wide-ranging variations in social structure can result from the fluid development and recombination of elements in situ, and that it is not necessary to postulate diffusion or migration to account for such differences.

The Paiwan and Rukai, similarly to other stratified societies throughout the world, recount detailed genealogies for their chiefly families. As is frequent all over the world, Paiwan traditional genealogies appear to generally recount a maximum of around eleven generations, the latest five or so of which probably represent actual remembered ancestors, the older portions of the genealogies consisting of a fictitious layer going back to purely mythological progenitors. Many of the genealogies only go back five or six generations before jumping to the "original" mythological first ancestors. These genealogies can not be imagined to show the actual time depth of various lineages, as they are sometimes taken to do. Gluckman (1968:225-226) mentions that among many groups in other parts of the world the more recent portions of traditional genealogies "serve to coordinate relationships of everyday cooperation, inheritance, and so on, between living people, related through the recently dead. The upper half of the genealogies relates larger groups together--that is, these genealogical links define political or group relations, rather than inter-personal relations."

At present, then, we simply do not know how long ago, where, or in what way Paiwan and Rukai social stratification came into being. It is worth noting again that the material culture traits generally thought of as being typically Paiwan, such as stone houses and highly stylized Monumental Style sculpture, are actually strongest in the western part of the Paiwan-Rukai area, and particularly among the high-mountain Rukai. As one progresses eastward and southward from the northwestern 'nuclear' area to the 'colonial' Paiwan and Puyuma, stone houses disappear and carvings become more curvilinear and flamboyant, with more purely decorative elements apt to be found. Perhaps we should really call this the "Rukai Culture Complex."

2. Cultures of the Plains and Coasts

a. The Lowland Culture Complex

This term refers to a vague grouping of aboriginal peoples in Taiwan's northern and central west coastal plain. These peoples are much less well-known than are those comprising the other culture complexes, and might turn out not to merit treatment as a discrete grouping at all. Of the languages spoken by these ethnic groups (Favorlang, Luilang, Papora, Hoanya, Taokas, Pazeh, Saisiat, and Thao--all Paiwanic I languages), all but the last three are extinct. For Favorlang, we are fortunate enough to have Dutch dictionaries and texts from the 17th century. Thao, Saisiat, and Pazeh are still spoken and have been investigated sufficiently well for preliminary comparison. For Taokas there is only fragmentary vocabulary material available, but the data appear to indicate a close relationship to Favorlang. For Luilang, Papora, and Hoanya, we have only a few scattered words, enough to show that these languages probably belong to the Paiwanic I group, but insufficient to ascertain whether they were really distinct languages or perhaps merely dialects of other languages in this region.

Culturally we are but little better off. For the Favorlang there are only a few scattered references in 17th-century Dutch sources, and most of our knowledge can only be gleaned from Hapart's (1650) dictionary (Campbell 1896, 1903). For additional material on the Favorlang nearly a century later we have the ethnographic notes of Huang (1736) who gives information on villages of various groups in this western coastal region, although since his treatment by groups of villages does not correspond with linguistic divisions it is sometimes very difficult to ascertain trait distributions. This is one more indication of the fluidity of ethnic boundaries in aboriginal Taiwan. Practically nothing remains of aboriginal Pazeh culture today. Japanese investigators were able to reconstruct some aspects through old informants early in the present century, and a few major religious ceremonies were still alive at that time (Ino 1908). Saisiat society and many facets of aboriginal customs are relatively intact, although due to extensive borrowing and admixture with Atayal and Hakka Chinese neighbors over a

long period of time, it is difficult to be sure just what aspects of present-day Saisiat culture may actually reflect Saisiat conditions of pre-contact times. The same holds true to an even greater degree for the Thao.

(1) Material Culture. Most of these ethnic groups had rectangular, ground-level houses of bamboo and thatch. Among some of the more southern Hoanya villages, houses were built on earth platforms similar to those of the neighboring Siraya to the south, although the Hoanya dwellings were smaller. Human figures were painted on the doors. Among more northern groups such as some of the Favorlang, the houses were structurally similar to those of upland groups such as the Bunun: they were dug into hillsides, with front walls of planks (Huang 1736:103, 134).

The Favorlang had elevated huts called tarrakal, in which they sometimes slept, near their houses and in the fields. Similar buildings among the Siraya were also called tarakal, and the elevated "relaxation huts" of the modern Yami of Botel Tobago are called tagakal. Bachelors' dormitories are mentioned for the Hoanya, Favorlang, and Pazeh, but no details are given.

Bark cloth garments were common among these groups. Eighteenth-century Chinese sources remark that many deerskin garments were worn by the Favorlang and Pazeh (Huang 1736:135). Dutch vocabularies of Favorlang reveal a rich fishing technology, with many kinds of nets along with fishhooks and basketwork fish traps (Happart 1650). Communal hunting is mentioned, and many agricultural implements listed. Iron-smithing is also attested to. Reference is made to a "silver scale" (mallosos) but no further information is provided. Among many types of ornaments of shell and coral are mentioned also arro "native arm ring of iron or copper; also a certain instrument for plucking up grass," and callaba "ring of round copper wire worn on the forepart of the arm." Weapons include bow and arrow, several types of spears, knives, and shields. Small boats (abak) are mentioned. Pazeh oral traditions mention boats, including a "deerskin boat" (Sayama and Onishi 1923:281). Dugout canoes are still in use among the Thao.

For the Hoanya, Huang (1736:101) mentions specifically that after marriage man and wife each remove two upper teeth, reminding us of the removal of incisors by Atayal, Bunun, and Tsou. The practice was also formerly found among the Saisiat and Thao (Chen 1968:254), and probably among the Pazeh and other peoples of this group as well.

(2) Religion and Oral Tradition. We know almost nothing of the religion and oral traditions of most of these groups. For the Favorlang, Dutch vocabularies give such terms as shies "soul, spirit," racha "ghost," and haibos "devil;" for the other groups whose languages are now extinct we do not have even that. (Spirit or deity in Saisiat is haven, in Pazeh daxedaxe:, and in Thao qá:li?).

With the Saisiat we are more fortunate. Materials collected in the present century show that unlike the Atayal and Bunun but similarly to other Paiwanic groups, the Saisiat had a well-developed pantheon. The main members of this pantheon included the male deity Ta'ai and the female deity To'ai, with jurisdiction over all living creatures, and 'Soororu' (pronunciation indicated in Japanese syllabary), who has the body of a snake and whose power is only invoked in grave matters of exorcising evil, or attracting benefit. Among one part of the Saisiat there are four deities, each with specialized functions: 'Patsushiru' is concerned with birth, 'Tenanto' with death, 'Kaaran' with rain, and 'Taai' with agriculture (Fujizaki 1930:304-305). Once each two years the Saisiat hold their solemn pas-Ta'ai (pas- "to hold a religious ceremony, to worship") in which "the ta'ai" are summoned, escorted around the Saisiat territory, and then sent back after five days to the land of the dead. This ceremony, in theme very like the Paiwan "Five-Year Festival," was undoubtedly originally some sort of fertility-deity/ancestral-spirit ritual. But it has come to be considered by the heavily-aculturated present-day Saisiat as representing placation of the spirits of a mythical tribe of dwarfs called ta'ai, supposed to have been annihilated by the ancestors of the Saisiat after having taught agricultural skills to the latter (Ferrell 1968). The nearby Taokas are reported also to have formerly had an ancestor spirit ceremony called pa-atai (Utsurikawa et al. 1935:103).

Saisiat tradition gives no details concerning the origin of man, only that he was first made by the deities (Sayama and Onishi 1923:21). The Pazeh say that their own two first ancestors descended from the sky to the Taitung Plain, the traditional home of the Pazeh. There are no traditions of an overseas origin, although there is an interesting story of a youth being carried away across the sea to a strange land, where after fabulous adventures the hero returns to the Pazeh in a "deerskin boat," bringing with him the wild animals now found in Taiwan (Sayama and Onishi 1923:31-32, 279-283).

(3) Social Structure. The present-day Saisiat and Thao are patrilineal, with exogamous patrilineal clans, similarly to the Bunun and Tsouic groups (Mabuchi 1960:129; Chen et al. 1958:46). For the other members of the Lowland Culture Complex we cannot be sure. That the Favorlang may have had matrilineal residence is suggested by Happart (1650), who defines a term mai-acho as meaning "all relatives, male or female, including stepfather and mother; appears to come from mai 'to come' and macho 'to bring,' because when daughters marry they bring their husbands home to dwell." In all groups there was assignment of duties according to age, with special guard and other services required of the unmarried young men (Favorlang badda) who slept in special dormitories, although there is no evidence of institutionalized age grades.

The Pazeh are reported to have had some sort of group marriage ceremonies at the time of the annual "New Year" celebration and ancestor rites following the harvest in late autumn (Ino 1908). Some sort

of trial marriage is indicated for the Hoanya and the Taokas. For the Hoanya it is said that if a man had two wives, the first one to bear a son became the head of the house and the other had to leave, but if no children were born all might continue to live together (Huang 1736: 116). Among the Taokas, residence was ambilocal. The youngest sibling, male or female, remained with the parents. The other siblings, if male more frequently moved to their wife's home, but if there were several girls in one family they might move to their husbands' homes. In all events marriages were not considered finalized for from one to five years, until the compatibility of the in-moving spouse with the parents-in-law was established (Huang 1736:131).

(4) Comments. The languages spoken by the ethnic groups comprising this vaguely-defined Lowland Culture Complex show that they have been developing separately from one another for probably a very long time. They are much more divergent from each other than are, for example, Atayal from Sediq, Kanakanabu from Saaroa, or the various languages comprising Paiwanic II from each other. On the other hand, common features of all these Paiwanic I languages of the Lowland Culture Complex give us little reason to suppose that these languages represent so many separate migrations into Taiwan. As will be discussed later, the relatively uniform degree of present divergence suggests strongly that these languages quite probably separated at least as early as 3,000 years ago perhaps in the central west coast region they occupied in early historic times, but at any rate on Taiwan. This makes the Paiwanic I languages prime suspects as descendants of those spoken by earlier populations represented by the archaeological Lungshanoid or Yüanshan horizons; certainly these languages were in Taiwan at least as early as the Geometric Impressed Pottery Horizon (see above, pages 5-7, 11).

b. The Littoral Culture Complex

With this group of peoples, who all speak Paiwanic II languages, we come to cultures more similar to those of other Pacific areas than are the other Formosan cultures. Material culture traits such as elevated bamboo and thatch houses on piles, as well as non-material traits such as highly developed cosmogonic myths and vast pantheons including powerful spirits of the sea, remind us of more southern and eastern areas. Uniquely among this group also we find traditions of arrival in Taiwan from overseas lands.

(1) Material Culture. (a) Houses and Art. Dwellings elevated on piles, with floors and walls of bamboo or planks and thatched roof, were typical of the Ami, Kuvalan and Ketagalan of Taiwan's east and northern coastal regions. The wooden posts and rafters of these houses were often painted in striking geometric motifs, generally in black and white, and sometimes the designs were carved in very low

relief. This 'Ornamental Style' in Indonesia and Southeast Asia was linked by Heine-Geldern (1963, 1966) to the influence of the Dongson Culture of Indochina. Among the Puyuma, who have had much admixture with Paiwan, 'ancestor' sculptures similar to those of the eastern Paiwan are found, although these generally lack the rigid stylization of the art of the western Paiwan and Rukai. Human figures are rare in Ami art, but the Kuvalan to the north had human figure motifs in a style suggesting a blend of Monumental and Ornamental art styles reminiscent of art of the Iban and other groups of northern Borneo (see Figure 5, page 42). The Dutch reported that the 17th-century Siraya had many "idols" which the Dutch caused to be destroyed without leaving any description of the figures (Campbell 1903:103, 112, 138-139, 154). Lin (1687) said that Siraya house posts were painted in several colors (Li 1957:119). The Siraya house itself was built upon an earth and stone platform one to two meters high, some 60 feet wide and 200 feet long. Like those of the Ami, Siraya houses were large kin-group dwellings. Early 18th-century observers described Siraya houses as high and spacious, covering most of the platform except for a walkway on each side. Walls were of bamboo, and there was a lattice-work porch at the end of the house. The thatched roof extended outward past the house platform, forming a shaded area where pigs and chickens were kept and many household chores were performed (Li 1957, Huang 1736, Candidius ca. 1630). In recent times at least Puyuma dwellings closely resemble those of neighboring eastern Paiwan.

Among all these groups each house within the village, as well as the entire village itself, was surrounded by a hedge or closely-set bamboo. The entrances to the village were surveilled by strategically placed bachelors' dormitories. The Puyuma youth houses are the most specialized example remaining of elevated buildings in Taiwan. These circular or ovoid dormitories are built on high piles, sometimes five or six meters from the ground. The roof is oblong with apsidal eave extensions (similar curved roof extensions were also reported for Siraya platform dwelling houses), a type of construction common, e.g., in Polynesia and called in the Society Islands potee (Handy 1932:12-13, 37). Elevated men's dormitories were reported for the Siraya, but no details of construction are known. Open-sided men's houses with elevated floors were formerly found among the Ami (Figure 4, page 38).

(b) Boats. At the present day, rafts are the only aboriginal water craft found in Taiwan, with the exception of the dugout canoes of the Sun-Moon Lake Thao and the plank-built boats of the Yami of Botel Tobago Island. Earlier sources, however, mention boats for several of the groups. A Dutch visitor in 1650 said the Siraya had "a sort of canoe made of a hollowed-out tree" (Campbell 1903:257), while other Dutch sources mention two Siraya words for boat, avang and souwong. The occurrence of more than one aboriginal term probably reflects their former possession of different types of boats. The Kuvalan have several terms: vanka "canoe" (word no longer used), broa "boat, canoe" and vawá?

"boat, ship." An early 19th-century Chinese source indicates what seems to have been a type of rudimentary double-outrigger dugout canoe among the Kuvalan, possibly the survival of an earlier type craft which had by that time fallen generally into disuse: "The small boats which the savages use ... they call 'mang-ka' [vangka ?]. A boat is made by hollowing out a log of wood, and fastening a plank upon each side of it, to prevent its capsizing ... A boat will carry only two or three people" (Komálán T'ing Chih, quoted in Taintor 1874:73). Around 1857, U.S. Consul Swinhoe observed the Kuvalan "going round and round [our ship, both men and women, sculling themselves in their point-ended proas or canoes" (Campbell 1903:556).

Among the Ami several terms for different types of boats are found: dodaŋ "canoe," tamina small boat (? cf. Tahitian kamiha "outrigger canoe"?), civar "boat," lonan "ship." In one Ami group two old dugout canoes were conserved and periodically replaced until recently, for use in a yearly ceremony which included the symbolic re-enactment of the arrival of their ancestors from across the sea (Sayama 1913-21, "Ami-zoku" Volume I:80). The eastern and southern Taiwan coastal groups, including the Ami, now use large bamboo sailing rafts for fishing (see Ling 1956). These rafts are apparently of quite ancient date in Taiwan.

(c) Other Items. Barbed, harpoon-like iron spears were found among most Taiwan groups. One very long type, which appears to have been largely restricted to the Littoral Culture Complex; are identical to ones found among southern neighbors of Taiwan such as the Kalinga, Ifugao and other peoples of the northern Philippines (Figure 7, page 55). These similarities were noted by Kano (1952), who maintained that these spearpoints, some types of glass bracelets and pottery of Taiwan's east coast region, show clear affinities with 'Iron Age' cultures of the Philippines. Pottery is still made by the Ami women using paddle-and-anvil technique. Modern pottery is usually undecorated, smooth black ware.

(2) Religion and Oral Tradition. Among the ethnic groups making up the Littoral Culture Complex, uniquely in the main island of Taiwan, are found traditions of overseas origins. The Kuvalan-Ketagalan and several of the Ami sub-groups (Mabuchi 1956:9 states that the Ami "seem to be composed of several more or less unrelated ethnic elements") say that their ancestors came from overseas lands or an island called variously Sanasai, Vasai, etc. This is the name given by some groups and by the Botel Tobago Yami to the small island off Taitung now called Lü Tao^ˆ or Green Island, and some earlier investigators have thought this island may have been a stepping stone in the migration of these peoples to Taiwan from some undetermined area to the south. These oral traditions vary considerably, some saying that two brothers, others saying that several people, either left their over-crowded former homeland in search of new land, or were carried involuntarily to Taiwan by stormy seas. All agree that the island was already inhabited when they arrived.

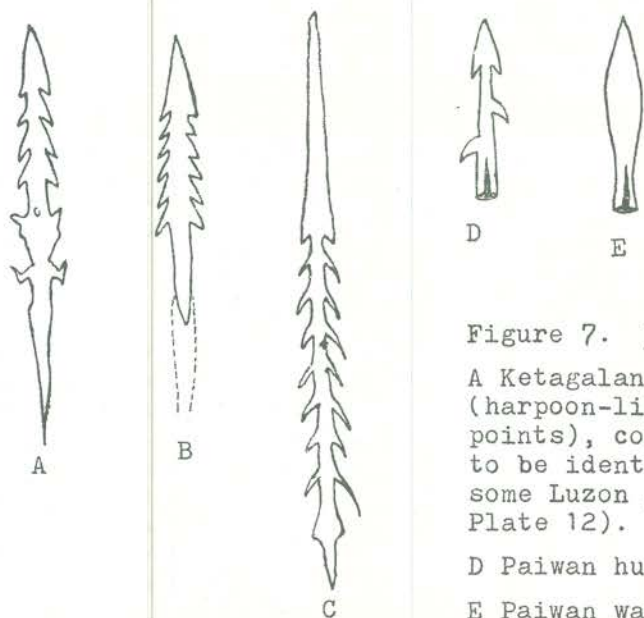
The Dutch left us not a single oral tradition from the Siraya, so we cannot determine whether similar traditions may have been found among them. Puyuma origin stories are varied. Some versions state that their ancestors arrived from across the sea, others say that their ancestors and those of neighboring Ami emerged from a large stone and bamboo on the east coast of Taiwan, or that the Puyuma sprang from a stone and a bamboo planted by the Ami who inhabited the area before them (Sayama and Onishi 1923:19; Ogawa and Asai 1935:315). The Puyuma appear to contain many heterogeneous elements including Ami, Paiwan, Rukai, and others (Mabuchi 1954b).

The Ami are the only Formosan group among whom have been found elaborate cosmogonic or theogonic myths. Most oral traditions of the Ami may be told freely by anyone, but the theogonic or cosmogonic myths can be recited only by trained male specialists, usually sapalunau (lineage priests, in modern times called "chiefs"), who must observe strict taboos in connection with the recitation. These myths, typologically quite unlike those so far recorded for other Formosan groups, have a curiously Polynesian flavor. An account from the Vataan Ami is as follows (there is considerable variation in mythology and religious beliefs in different villages):

In the first time before there existed a heaven and earth, and the cosmos was total darkness, the god Mareyap and the goddess Maswan appeared. They had a son, Arayan, and a daughter, Ma'aleno. Arayan transformed himself into the illuminating sky (karayan), which is like a vast mirror stretched above the earth, shining upon the earth and producing shadows or souls (aleno), which are then the concern of the goddess Ma'aleno.

The third generation of gods were the sons and daughters of Arayan and Ma'aleno. They included Mea'sele, the goddess who became the sun (cidal ~ ci'ar), and her brother Anaveyau who became the moon (vodal ~ fora); the goddess Done who created life and is sometimes referred to as Kawas no 'Orip ("Deity of Life"); and most important, the god Lopalanau, who made his reluctant brother and sisters assume their respective duties. (Paraphrased from Wang 1961).

In the succeeding generations (there are fifteen generations of deities in all), spirits of every kind of natural phenomena make their appearance, each one subordinate to one or the other of the higher deities. Detailed accounts are given of each. The Vataan informant who recited this theogony to Wang commented that the names themselves of these divinities of natural phenomena are "the vocabulary of the gods," thus Masriu, name of the god of drizzling rain (wind?), is the term used by the gods themselves for drizzling rain (wind?), which in the ordinary Ami language is vale. The names of places, common nouns and verbs are also said to differ in the respective vocabularies of deities and man.

Figure 7. Iron Spear Points

A Ketagalan, B Ami, C Puyuma (harpoon-like hunting spear points), considered by Kano to be identical to those of some Luzon groups (Kano 1946, Plate 12).

D Paiwan hunting spear point
E Paiwan war spear point

Kuvalan mythology and religion have been neglected, and little has been published on that of the Puyuma. For the Siraya, Candidius (ca. 1630) mentions superficially the following deities:

"One is called Tamagisanhach, who is supposed to live in the South. They think that he is the one who creates men, and who makes them good-looking and beautiful. His wife lives in the East, and is called Taxankpada. When thunder is heard in an easterly direction, the natives suppose that the goddess is speaking with her husband and reprimanding him for not sending rain; whereupon he listens and sends the rain. It is this goddess and her husband that are principally served, and to whom most sacrifices are brought,--chiefly by the women. There is also another god, who lives in the North, and whose name is Safiafingh; but they think he is not of much consequence. Their god Tamagisanhach creates man beautiful, but this god makes him ugly, full of pockmarks and similar defects. Therefore, they call upon him and pray him not to do them any harm, and implore also the other god Tamagisanhach to protect them against Sariafingh; for he is the principal god and has most power. They have two other gods on whom they call when going out to wage war; one is called Talafula, the other Tapaliape.

These two are most worshipped and served by the men. They have a great number of other gods besides--too many to mention here--on whom they call and whom they serve" (Campbell 1903:24).

(3) Social Structure. The ethnic groups comprising the Littoral Culture Complex were all matrilineal, and lived in compact villages. Modern Ami villages average 600-700 inhabitants, Puyuma around 600 (Mabuchi 1960). Dutch sources estimated some 8,000 Kuvalan in 1650 living in 39 villages, an average of a little over 200 persons per village (Yüan 1966:32). For the same period, the population of the five main Siraya villages was given as follows: Sinkan over 1,000, Bakloan 1,000, Sulang 2,600, Mattau 3,000, and Tavakan 1,000. It is not always clear from the Dutch sources whether "village" names may not actually refer to townships composed of several distinct hamlets. But Siraya villages were unquestionably large, divided into wards, each fifteen or sixteen families having an "idol house" (men's house?). Ward-like divisions are also found in Ami villages. Formally institutionalized age-grades are characteristic of the Ami and Puyuma, and appear to be indicated for the Siraya; for the Kuvalan age differences were important in division of village duties, although no sure evidence for formalized age-grades has been found.

(a) Ami. The Ami are described as "a typical matrilineal society" in which matrilineal residence, inheritance and succession are prevalent. The "matrilineal sib or untraceable lineage is the largest kin group" (Liu et al. 1965:260). The oldest woman in the extended family household is generally the household head. One man in each descent group (generally not a corporate group among the Ami) is a sort of priest and genealogical specialist. Political functions are in the hands of an informal village council composed of leading men from the various wards of the village. The office of overall village chief and main priest is not found in many Ami villages, and may be a relatively recent development (see above, page 16).

(b) Siraya. Siraya society appears to have been organized on somewhat similar lines to that of the Ami. Dutch sources comment on the lack of village chiefs, informal government being by a "nominal council" composed of "men of good repute" (Campbell 1903:15). Unlike the Ami, where the position of village councilman is apparently held for life (Liu et al. 1965:266), this position among the Siraya was temporary and probably connected with age-grades:

"Every two years the councillors lay down their office, and others are chosen in their stead. Councillors must be about forty years of age, and all of them of the same age. Although they know nothing of the number of years, and no one really knows how long he has lived, still they do remember on what day, and in what year [sic.] and month, they were born. When councillors have been in

office two years, each causes the hair on both sides of his forehead to be plucked out, which is a sign that he has fulfilled his term and is no longer in office. Then, other councillors of the same age are chosen.

"The dignity and power of the councillors, however, is not so great that their laws must be obeyed or their commands listened to; but whenever a difficulty arises they meet, and deliberate about the best way of solving it ... The councillors having finished speaking, the people deliberate about the proposal among themselves; and they may accept what the councillors propose or not, as they think fit. There is no compulsion; every one judging for himself of the advantages or disadvantages of the proposal" (Candidius, in Campbell 1903:15).

Early in the 17th century, Siraya residence was duolocal (husband and wife lived separately with their respective consanguines for life or at least until after the prime agriculturally productive years of their lives). This rare system was additionally unusual among the Siraya in that coupled with duolocal residence was found enforced abortion: no children were permitted to be born while the couple were young (the Dutch claimed that abortions were required until a woman reached 36 or 37 years of age, but surely Dutch estimates of the age of aborigines must have been too high). Just how long this system may have been in existence prior to Dutch arrival around 1624 cannot be ascertained. It is hard to imagine how this practice of institutionalized abortion, effective though it was for the maintenance of kin-group interests over the respective spouses, could have continued very long without drastic decrease of the population. The Dutch missionaries enforced curtailment of both abortion and duolocal residence practices, and by 1644 both had been largely stamped out (see above, page 18).

(c) Puyuma. The kinship system of the Puyuma is described by Wei (1958, 1965) as matrilineal, by Mabuchi (1960) as bilateral with ambilateral or multilinear affiliation with ritual groups. Residence tends strongly toward matrilocality, although some cases of patrilocality occur. The ritual group, of which there are several in each village, is the principal social unit, and each has its own priest or priestess. Membership in the ritual group is subject to individual choice and may be changed (Mabuchi 1960:135).

The Puyuma situation is obviously complicated by close political and affinal relations with the neighboring Paiwan. Puyuma society is stratified into chiefly or "noble" families and "commoners," similarly to the Paiwan and, like the latter, marriage between the two social "classes" is not prohibited. The Puyuma chiefs are said to have formerly exercised for a time a sort of hegemony over some Paiwan and Ami villages in south-eastern Taiwan, and some Puyuma chiefly families share genealogical connections (common mythological founders of houses) with Paiwan ones.

The more prominent of the ritual groups in each village cluster around the various chiefly families, each of which has its own men's house.

Puyuma social structure is a very complex problem. One is tempted to wonder if perhaps it does not represent a sort of interim stage between Ami and Paiwan-type systems, perhaps resulting from the superimposition of a Paiwan-type ambilineal, stratified social system upon a base resembling that of the adjacent matrilineal Ami.

(4) Comments. Many cultural and linguistic features of the Littoral Culture Complex groups hint that they may have arrived in Taiwan from somewhere to the south, somewhat later than the other Formosan groups. However, despite widespread similarities between the members of the Littoral Culture Complex, each member clearly reflects extensive interchange with neighboring groups of other cultural and linguistic groups. It has already been mentioned that the modern members of the Littoral Culture Complex appear to be of heterogeneous origin, and might represent the gradual spread of linguistic and cultural features among peoples already inhabiting the Littoral Culture area at the time of the arrival of these elements in Taiwan. The Littoral Culture groups may well not represent the arrival of large numbers of later immigrants; perhaps it is not necessary to postulate more than desultory contacts with the Philippines or other areas, to explain the cultural similarities with those areas. At present, we simply do not have enough data concerning the prehistory of Taiwan's east coast and Botel Tobago Island to make valid conclusions.

c. Yami Culture

The Yami of Botel Tobago Island are culturally and linguistically closely related to the inhabitants of the Batanes Islands to the south. For this reason, the Yami are frequently omitted from discussions of Formosan aboriginal groups. However, there is some disagreement concerning the exact relationship of Ivatan (the language of the Batanes) to the other Philippine languages (Dyen 1965a:50). At the same time, Yami appears to be as closely related to the Paiwanic languages of Taiwan as many of these are among themselves. I have included Yami among the Paiwanic languages in the present classification.

(1) Material Culture. Taro grown in irrigated terraces is the Yami staple crop, although millet, sweet potatoes and yams are also grown by swidden agriculture (Kano and Segawa 1956).

Fishing plays a most important role in Yami economy. Yami plank-built boats are very seaworthy and permit deep-sea fishing at considerable distances from the island. The unusual construction and decoration of the Yami boats have been compared to those of the Solomon Islands; no similar craft are known to have been found in Taiwan or other nearby areas. Heine-Geldern (1963) concluded that the similar-

ities of the Yami and Solomon Islands boats did not reflect Melanesian influence in Botel Tobago, but common influence in both areas from the Dongson Culture of mainland Southeast Asia. Yami boats are elaborately decorated in the Ornamental Style motifs (see Figure 5, page 42).

Yami dwellings have certain structural similarities to those of the Paiwan, Rukai, and Bunun, in all of which the main ridge pole is set back toward the rear of the house, the larger section of the roof sloping downward to the low front wall, and the floor is in two or more levels (Figure 3, page 33). Rather than building the back wall of the house against an excavated slope, the Yami construct the entire house in a large rectangular pit dug for the purpose. Low stone walls lining the top of the house pit make the Yami dwelling even more typhoon-proof than the Paiwan houses. Whether there is an actual genetic relationship between the Formosan main island houses and those of the Yami, or whether the latter were developed independently, is not known.

Elevated "rest houses" (tagakal) used for sleeping or working when the heat inside dwellings becomes unbearable, are similar in name and function to those found formerly among the Siraya and Favorlang (see above, page 49).

As far as is known, the Yami were the only Formosan group who practiced silversmithing (de Beauclair 1957:106; 1969). Pottery is made by the Yami men. The possession of wooden clubs appears to distinguish the Yami not only from the other Formosan groups, but from all other groups in nearby areas as well (de Beauclair 1958:94-97).

(2). Religion and Oral Traditions. Despite their obviously close linguistic and cultural ties with the Batanes Islands, only a few Yami families in two villages preserve traditions of having come from the south. The rest of the Yami tend to somewhat look down upon these families, and in general the Yami believe they originated from stone or bamboo on Botel Tobago Island itself. Whether or not the Yami are actually made up of heterogeneous elements has not been determined.

The Yami pantheon is divided into three levels, the uppermost of which is the realm of Shimo-rapao, who is generally benevolent but may punish human neglect or wrongdoing by sending natural calamities. There are other named deities associated with the different planes, and an indeterminate number of anito (spirits, ghosts) not associated with particular levels (see de Beauclair 1959a). The Yami pantheon is much less developed than that of the Ami, for example, and no theogony or cosmogony similar to that of the Ami has been recorded.

(3) Social Structure. The Yami social system is cognatic with residence strongly tending to patrilocality. Each household is composed of a single nuclear family. Inheritance is usually patrilineal, each son sharing in the paternal estate (Mabuchi 1960:138). Minimal political authority is exercised by an informal concensus of

respected men, and no chieftainship exists. This is a striking contrast to the closely related Batanes, where strong chieftainship and social stratification were found.

(4) Comments. Unlike all other Formosan groups the Yami were not headhunters. Also unique was their lack of intoxicating drinks, whereas all other groups, as well as the Batanes Islanders, had millet beer or some other type of intoxicant.

The Yami had frequent contact with the Batanes Islands until well into the 17th century (de Beauclair 1959b:122-124). In the past the Yamis' obvious close linguistic relationship to the Batanes people has led to the neglect of consideration of any relations with Taiwan. But it is quite possible that if more data were available on both Yami culture and cultures of aboriginal Taiwan, further ties in this direction might be seen. We know little about the archaeology of Botel Tobago, and do not know if the Yami themselves are recent arrivals, descendants of an ancient population, or a mixture of the two. The resolution of the question of Yami relationships with both Taiwan and the Philippines is one of the key problems awaiting solution in Taiwan and western Pacific prehistory.

C. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE TAIWAN ABORIGINES

There is some disagreement between the two main overall discussions of the physical anthropology of the Taiwan aboriginal groups by Yu (Wei, Yu and Lin 1952) and Chai (1967). I have previously pointed out many of the errors and the obvious lack of knowledge of Formosan ethnology in general demonstrated by Chai (Ferrell 1967). The questionability of Chai's materials is suggested by his own statement that his choice of locations for obtaining data was governed by assurances of local non-scientific administrators that certain areas were "typical" for the groups in question: "Ordinarily we selected the larger villages and some smaller adjacent ones, since the people in these villages were recommended as typical of their tribes" (Chai 1967:17). Since Chai apparently considered each ethnic group to be a self-contained entity with no significant contact with its neighbors, he seems to have felt it unnecessary to gather measurements from different regions occupied by each group: one or two "typical" villages were chosen for study with little regard for regional variations. Thus it is not too surprising that Chai found the Bunun he studied to have some traits which appear to link them with the Atayal--the villages he studied are relatively near the Atayal. On the other hand, he found the biologic distance between the Bunun and Tsou to be even greater than that between the Tsou and other groups (Chai 1967:116); but one wonders whether somewhat different results might not have been obtained if Chai had bothered to include some of the southern Bunun villages in his study.

Yu does not pretend to draw universal conclusions, and specifies carefully from which villages his materials are drawn. In addition, Yu includes data on the Yami of Botel Tobago and some of the sinicized aboriginal groups, which are ignored by Chai but which are certainly essential in any attempt to interpret the genetic relationships of Taiwan's aboriginal peoples.

Yu shows the Ami (with average height ca. 164.5 cm), Siraya (165.1) Pazeh (164.8) and Kuvalan (164.4) as the tallest Formosan aboriginal groups, with the Tsou (161.3) and Puyuma (160.0) not far behind. The others, including the Yami, fall into the "short" category, ranging between the Bunun (158.6) and the Rukai (157.1). Yu's index of Mean Value of Relative Deviation, using the Vataan Ami as base, confirms the relative closeness of the Kuvalan and Siraya (but not the Pazeh) to the Ami; and again Puyuma and Tsou are closer than the remaining groups. Pazeh, Rukai, Saisiat, Paiwan and Yami are genetically fairly similar and are the most distant from the Ami.

Chai's analysis shows the Ami to be the tallest of the groups he investigated, the Bunun the shortest; the other groups are ranged between these extremes. Bunun, Paiwan and Rukai appear to cluster fairly

closely in their relative darkness of skin color, shortness, and head width. Disagreement between Yu and Chai is more apparent when it comes to the other groups ranged between the Ami at the one extreme, and the Bunun and Rukai at the other.

The relative nearness of the Kuvalan, Siraya and Ami seems to fit well with linguistic and cultural alignments already mentioned. For the other groups correlations are less clear at present. It is evident that more research on a broader base is needed before we can hope to understand the complex problem of the correlation of physical anthropological data with linguistic and cultural indications for the Taiwan aborigines.

III. LANGUAGES OF ABORIGINAL TAIWAN

A. MAJOR GROUPINGS

The Formosan aboriginal languages are all Austronesian ones. These Taiwan aboriginal languages fall into three major groupings, Atayalic, Tsouic, and Paiwanic (see above, pages 23, 25). Lexical evidence suggests that as a group the Paiwanic languages may be more closely related to the Austronesian languages of other areas than they are to Atayalic and Tsouic, although the relationship of Paiwanic with other Austronesian languages is remote enough to indicate that even Paiwanic separated from other Austronesian languages probably well over 3,000 years ago. Atayalic and Tsouic lexicostatistical percentages with each other, with the Paiwanic group and with all other Austronesian languages outside Taiwan are among the lowest of all percentages found between Austronesian languages, and indicate an extremely long period of separation from the other members of the Austronesian family.

Dyen has suggested that these very low percentages of Atayalic and Tsouic may reflect distortion by "taboo" or other unknown factors. He lists several vocabulary items which appear to be found only among Formosan languages, and feels that these may mean that the Formosan languages form a single family (Dyen 1963:265-267). However, upon closer examination some of these "Formosa-only" items are found to be in fact not restricted to Taiwan (e.g., items 1.1, 1.4, 1.16, 1.28, 1.35, 1.36, 2.3 and 2.9 have immediately evident cognates in Tagalog, Ilocano, or Visayan). Other "Formosa-only" items which are shared by some members of the three Formosan groups appear to be geographically explainable. For example, Atayalic daurig, royig "eye" is found in (Paiwanic) Pazeh as ḍau'ik. But Pazeh is the only Paiwanic language which has such a form, all other Paiwanic languages having mata or related forms; and since the Pazeh are neighbors of the Atayalics, it is probably safe to assume that they have simply borrowed the Atayalic term. Similarly, the fact that Saaroa is the only Tsouic language to have a word for "ear" resembling Paiwanic languages (calina) suggests that Saaroa has borrowed the term from nearby Paiwanic neighbors. Taiwan is after all an island, and these languages have been interacting in Taiwan for many centuries. Tsou, at least, has structural peculiarities quite in keeping with its low lexical cognate percentages, and the widespread occurrence of some vocabulary items found only among Taiwan groups would appear to be very shaky evidence for concluding that these languages form a single family. In other words, the Formosan languages may in fact form a single family, but it will take more than superficial vocabulary resemblances to prove it, if so.

	Pazeh												
Rukai	14.8	Rukai											
Thao	23.0	16.7	Thao										
Paiwan	23.5	23.8	24.4	Paiwan									
Puyuma	22.0	25.6	22.5	28.7	Puyuma								
Ami	19.9	20.0	25.9	27.3	29.8	Ami							
Bunun	20.0	17.4	28.8	23.7	21.2	25.4	Bunun						
Kuvalan	18.5	15.4	19.0	20.3	19.9	24.7	18.9	Kuvalan					
Tsou	14.3	13.1	16.3	16.7	14.7	15.7	15.2	13.9	Tsou				
Atayal	08.9	06.8	08.3	09.3	07.5	08.9	07.6	06.9	09.0	Atayal			
Sediq	14.6	09.9	13.5	15.8	12.9	12.9	12.2	10.0	10.9	37.7			

Figure 8. LEXICOSTATISTICAL COMPARISON OF SOME FORMOSAN LANGUAGES.
Percentages are from Dyen (1963:263).

Subgrouping within the Paiwanic Group is still uncertain. On the basis of his lexicostatistical study of some of the Formosan languages, Dyen states:

"... there appears to be a clustering of Thao, Bunun, Ami, Puyuma and Paiwan on the one hand and of Pazeh and Saisiyat on another; Kavalan and Rukai appear not to cluster with any other although the former seems to be closest to Ami, and the latter to Puyuma and Paiwan" (Dyen 1965b:287).

Using a somewhat different approach, I have tentatively made a simple two-part division of Paiwanic according to whether the languages do or do not conserve the distinction between the proto-Austronesian phonemes *t and *C recently postulated by Dyen (1965b). In Paiwanic I (see above, page 25) this distinction is maintained; in Paiwanic II, as apparently in all Austronesian languages outside Taiwan, this distinction disappears (see Figure 10, page 66). As has already been mentioned in this paper, the speakers of Paiwanic II languages to a large degree also form a rather distinct cultural (and physical?) complex in Taiwan, showing more features in common with other Pacific areas than do the other Formosan groups.

	<u>Proto-Austronesian</u>	<u>Atayal</u>	<u>Sediq</u>		
*t	eel	*tuNa	tlaqii	su'il/tu'il	} *t
	three	*telu	tuyal	təru?	
	seven	*pitu'	pitu?	pitu?	
	vomit	*()utaq	mutaq	(pəbərih)	
*C	man	*Cau	(squliq)	(sədiq)	} *C
	faeces	*Caqi()	(quci?)	(quti?)	
	bear	--	(narux)	kumai/sumai	
	ear	*Calina'	(papak)	(birat)	
	die	*maCey	(mhoqil)	(məhoqil)	
	eye	*maCa	(loziq)	(dauriq)	
	louse	*kuCu()	kuhiq	kuhiq	

A. REFLECTION UNCERTAIN (ATAYALIC LANGUAGES). Forms in parentheses are of doubtful cognation.

<u>Ami</u>	<u>Bunun</u>	<u>Kuvalan</u>	<u>Siraya</u>	<u>Yami</u>	
tola?	(simaluki?)	(liqai)	toula	tuna?	} *t
toro?	ta'u?	tulu?	tauro	tilu?	
pito?	pito?	pitu?	pito	pitu?	
ma?otaq	motah	muti?	--	mutota?	
tamlau	(bunun)	(zarat)	(sidaya)	tau	} *C
ta'i	take?	tal	taing	(mubət)	
tomai	tumad	tumai	toumey	--	
tariqa?	taqi'a?	(kayal)	tangira	taliqa?	
mapatay	matad	patai	mapatai	(marakat)	
mata?	mata?	mata?	mata	mata?	
koto?	kutu?	kutu?	conto	kutu?	

B. DISTINCTION LOST (PAIWANIC II LANGUAGES).

Figure 10. DISTINCTION OF *t AND *C IN TAIWAN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES.

being non-cognate or else so aberrant that detailed phonological work will be required to demonstrate cognation.

The Tsouic languages clearly do conserve the *t/*C distinction. On the basis of lexicostatistical evidence Dyen (1966) has proposed to include both Paiwanic and Tsouic in a larger grouping which he calls "Extended Catenaté Formosan." This is similar to an earlier classifi-

<u>Paiwan</u>	<u>Puyuma</u>	<u>Rukai</u>	<u>Tsou</u>	<u>Kanakanabu</u>	<u>Saaroa</u>	
ʔúlaʔ	tuláʔ	tuláʔ	tupeóʒa	(veréʒa)	(boreʒa)	} *t
ʔeruʔ	təluʔ	turuʔ	túeu/tu	to:ro	tc:ro	
piʔuʔ	pituʔ	pituʔ	pitu	pitu	pitu	
muʔaq	mutaʔ	(suaʒalai)	--	--	ta:ruta	
caucau	ʔau	cau/(omase)	cóu	cáu	cucúʔu	} *C
caqiʔ	ʔaʔiʔ	cákiʔ	tʔée	táʔi	tíʔi	
cúmai	ʔumái	cumai	cmói	comíʔi	cumiʔi	
cariʒaʔ	ʔaliʒaʔ	caliʒaʔ	(kóeu)	(têke)	caliʒa	
macai	maʔai	waʔacai	mcói	macái	maciʔi	
macaʔ	maʔaʔ	macaʔ	mcóo	(vuláiki)	(vóini)	
kúcuʔ	kuʔuʔ	kucuʔ	ʔcuu	kúcu	kúciu	
(TSOUIC LANGUAGES)						
<u>Favorlang</u>	<u>Thao</u>	<u>Pazeh</u>	<u>Saisiat</u>	<u>Taokas</u>	<u>Hoanya</u>	
(meried)	--	tulaʔ	tolaʔ	--	--	} *t
natoro	túruʔ	turuʔ	to'oʔ	tulu	telu	
naito	pítuʔ	(xasebidusa)	(yö'ähäʔ)	yweto	pito	
mota	mútaʔ	mútaʔ	motäʔ	--	--	
cho	ʒaw	sau	(mäʔiyäh)	sanuf	--	} *C
che	ʒaʔiʔ	saik	säʔiʔ	--	--	
chuma	ʒúmay	(taʒadéx)	somay	--	--	
charina	ʒarínaʔ	sa'inaʔ	saleʔe'	sarinau	--	
macha	máʒay	(purihet)	masay	masai	--	
macha	máʒaʔ	(dáu'ik)	masaʔ	masa	masa	
ocho	kúʒuʔ	(babulay)	kosoʔ	--	--	
C. <u>DISTINCTION PRESERVED</u> (PAIWANIC I AND TSOUIC LANGUAGES).						

cation by Asai (1936:6) who included as subgroups Tsou, "Original Saarua-Kanakanavu," "Original Paiwan" and "Original Rukai," in a larger grouping which he called the "Tsou-Paiwan Group." However, I am not so sure about this proposal. Tsou itself is very aberrant lexically, phonologically and structurally from all the other Formosan languages, and were it not for Kanakanabu and Saaroa, Tsou would undoubtedly have to be considered as separate from the Paiwan Group. Kanakanabu and Saaroa appear to have few of the structural complexities found in Tsou, and their lexical similarities to neighboring Paiwanic languages make them appear to form a possible link between Tsou and the Paiwanic languages. Kanakanabu and Saaroa are very small ethnic groups, with about 160 and 378 speakers respectively at present, who have had intensive contact and admixture with neighboring groups not only in the present century but at least as early as the 17th century.

The "Tevorang" region (see above, page 19) near the homeland of the Saaroa, has been a melting pot particularly for Saaroa, Rukai and Siraya for well over 300 years that we know about. The result has been that although the Saaroa are culturally Tsouic, their vocabulary resemblances to Siraya and Rukai are so numerous that one may wonder whether Saaroa is indeed a Tsouic language with extensive influences from neighboring Paiwanic languages, or whether it may in fact be a Paiwanic language with heavy Tsouic overlay. Superficial phonological examination leads me to continue the traditional classification of Saaroa and Kanakanabu as Tsouic, and to consider Tsouic a discrete grouping. It is obvious that these questions, as well as the problem of interrelationships of Paiwanic languages, cannot be decided until structural and phonological studies in depth are completed.

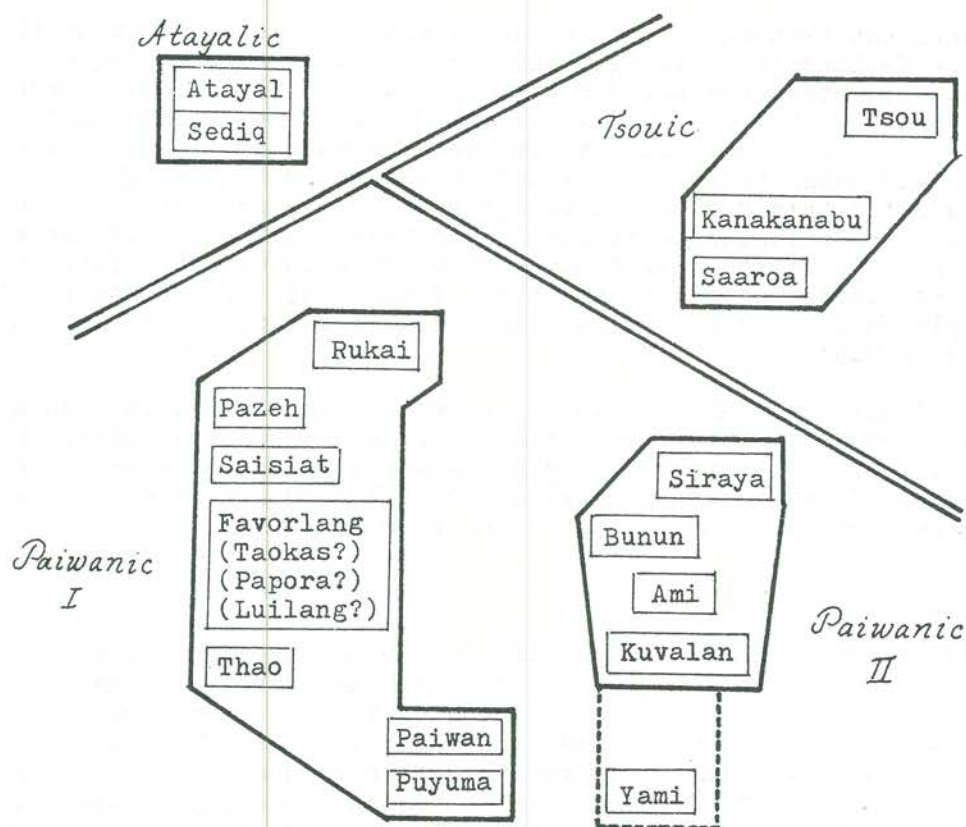
The Bunun and Yami are here grouped with the Paiwanic II languages. Bunun's lexical resemblances to other Paiwanic II languages appear to justify including it in this subgroup. But it should be noted in passing that from an ethnographic viewpoint this poses awkward problems: Bunun culture is very unlike the otherwise quite similar cultures of Paiwanic II speakers, who belong to the Littoral Culture Complex; and physically the short, dark Bunun contrast sharply with other Paiwanic II speakers, who are generally among the tallest and lightest of Taiwan's aboriginal groups (see above, pages 61-62).

The same incongruity between culture, physique and language grouping holds true for the Yami. Furthermore, contrarily to the case of the Bunun, Yami does not appear to be lexically closer to Paiwanic II than to Paiwanic I and might be coordinate with both, and its inclusion here with Paiwanic II is strictly based upon the **t/*c* distinction mentioned above (page 64). But while it is questionable as to just what Yami's relationships specifically with either Paiwanic I or II may be, in general Yami's lexical affinities with the Paiwanic languages as an overall group are quite consistent with the relations of some of the other Paiwanic languages among themselves. Yami relationships with Atayalic and Tsouic also appear to be of the same order as are those of the other Paiwanic languages (see Figure 9, page 65).

B. THE INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGE GROUPS

1. Atayalic

Atayal proper is comprised of two main dialects, Squliq and Ci'uli. Sediq is sufficiently different from the two Atayal dialects to be considered as a separate but closely related language. In contrast to their apparent remoteness from other Formosan languages, Sediq and the Atayal dialects are quite close to each other, presumably indicating their fairly recent internal divergence. This would also seem to be

Figure 11. TAIWAN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE GROUPINGS.

borne out by the relative cultural homogeneity of the Atayalics. If one should wish to accept standard glottochronological estimates based upon lexicostatistical percentages, then Atayalic as a group might be considered as having separated from all other Austronesian languages something on the order of 5,000 or 6,000 years ago (see e.g. Gudschinsky 1964:621).

Egerod (1966a) lists the following phonemes for Squiliq:

p	b	[β]	m	s	(w)	i	u
t	r		n			i	u
k	z	[z]	l	x	(y)	e	o
q	g	[ɣ]	ŋ	h		a	

Egerod does not transcribe the unrounded mid vowel /ə/, since he finds it to be non-phonemic: "In all consonant clusters a short /ə/ can be, and often is, introduced between the consonants" (1966a:121). My own limited work with the Ci'uli dialect and Sediq, on the other hand, indicates that there are some environments in which /ə/ cannot occur (e.g., /pinəbəkən/ "place of origin" cannot be pronounced pinəsəbəkən/, and for this reason I have recorded /ə/ where heard. There also appear to be instances in Ci'uli and Sediq in which consecutive vowels cannot be diphthongized but must be pronounced separately (but there is no glottal stop between them); I mark this separation by /'/, for example /a'i/ in contrast to /ai/. This distinction was not noted by Egerod in Squaliq.

Egerod gives /h/ and /x/ as separate phonemes in Squaliq. In my own Ci'uli and Sediq materials these appear to be possibly allophones or free variants of a single phoneme, as may also be the case for Ci'uli /s/ and /s̺/. However, my material is not fully phonemicized, and in this paper I show the forms as I transcribed them.

2. Tsouic

Tsou, Kanakanabu, and Saaroa are much more divergent from each other than are the Atayalic languages among themselves. Kanakanabu and Saaroa are furthermore more closely related to each other than either is to Tsou; as has been mentioned, they also lack the structural complexities which set Tsou apart from all other Taiwan aboriginal languages. Conversely, the phonemes of Saaroa and Kanakanabu appear to be somewhat fewer than those of Tsou. Tung (1964) shows the following phonemes for Tsou:

p	b	m	f	v	i	u	u
t		n		l	e	a	o
c			s	z			
k		n					
ʔ			h				

Tung (1967) lists the phonemes of Saaroa as follows:

p		m		v	i	u	u
t		n	s	l		a	
c			ɬ	r			
k		ŋ					
ʔ							

Margaret Sung (1966) gives the consonant phonemes of Kanakanabu as similar to those of Saaroa, except that Kanakanabu lacks /ɬ/ (see also Yan 1964). Her analysis of Kanakanabu vowel phonemes, on the other hand, is more complex: /i e a u ɤ o/.

3. Paiwanic

Phonemic analyses have been published for few of these languages, so far only Yami (Asai 1936), Thao (Li Fang-kwei et al; see Chen et al. 1958), and Saisiat (Tsuchida 1964). The Paiwanic languages exhibit great diversity among themselves. Only a few of these languages can be briefly mentioned here; it is hoped that at least short phonological sketches of these languages may be published in the near future by myself and other investigators, such as Mr. Shigeru Tsuchida, who are now in the field.

Of the Paiwanic languages, Paiwan itself appears to reflect most clearly the expanded series of stops which may have earlier characterized all these languages (Ferrell, unpublished notes):

p	v	m	w	i	ə	a	u
t	d	n					
ʈ	ɖ						
c	z		l				
k	g	ŋ	r	y			
q			s				
ʔ							

There are two main groups of dialects of Paiwan, which may be typified by the speech of Kulalao and Makazayazaya respectively. A few examples of dialect differences follow:

<u>Kulalao</u> /t/=	<u>Makazayazaya</u> /t/		<u>Kulalao</u> /d/=	<u>Makazayazaya</u> /d/	
vatuʔ	vatuʔ	"dog"	gádu	gádu'	"mountain"
təqún	təʔún	"horn"	ŋadán	ŋadán	"name"
táqəd	táʔad	"sleep"	qádau	ʔádav	"sun"
<u>Kulalao</u> /ʈ/=	<u>Makazayazaya</u> /t/		<u>Kulalao</u> /ɖ/=	<u>Makazayazaya</u> /d/	
vúʈul	vútul	"flesh"	ɖamuq	damuʔ	"blood"
qaʈúvi'	ʔatúvil	"snake"	cáɖaʔ	čádaʔ	"far"
ʈaliqáca	taliʔácaʔ	"wide"	saɖərún	hadəlún	"heavy"
<u>Kulalao</u> /c/=	<u>Makazayazaya</u> /č/ [tš]		<u>Kulalao</u> /z/=	<u>Makazayazaya</u> /j/	
qacílai	ʔčílai	"stone"	'imázaʔ	'imájaʔ	"here"
cévul	čévul	"smoke"	muziquzip	mujimújip	"animal"
cíqaw	číʔav	"fish"	tukúzan	tukújan	"stick"

For Saisiat, Tsuchida (1964) shows the phonemes /p b t k ʔ r, s z š h, m n ŋ l ' y w/ and /i e a o ə ö ä/. It will be noted that there appear to be an unusually large number of vowel phonemes in Saisiat; an inventory of /i e a u/ is more common among closely related languages such as Thao or Pazeh, where sometimes two additional vowel phonemes /e o/ occur, apparently resulting from a fairly recent reduction of the vowel clusters /ai/ and /au/ respectively.

Ami (Malan Dialect) differs sharply from Paiwan in having no contrasting series of voiced and voiceless stops, and in having a much smaller phoneme inventory (Ferrell, unpublished notes):

p	m	w	i	ə	a	o
f - [v]						
t	n	y				
c						
k	ŋ					
ʔ		s				
		h				
		ñ - [ɲ] - [ʔɲ]				
r	ɹ					

For Yami, the only dialect which has received the attention of linguists is that of Imurud village (Asai 1936; Ogawa and Asai 1935). My own material in this paper is also from Imurud. A limited survey of the other Yami villages shows that the differences between villages are slight, but some, such as the replacement of Imurud /ŋ/ by /ñ/ in some villages, may be interesting for future closer comparison with Ivatan (especially Itbayat dialect). A few examples will show the general similarity of Yami forms in the various villages (Ferrell, unpublished fieldnotes, 1968):

	<u>Imurud</u>	<u>Iratai</u>	<u>Yayu</u>	<u>Iralalai</u>	<u>Ivaginu</u>	<u>Iramilek</u>
"daytime"	ʔararau	marau	maru·	maru·	marau	maru·
"fire"	'ápuí	'apúí	'apuí	'apuí	'apuí	'apuí
"lightning"	ʔári/ʔárəi	ʔaɖəi	ʔaɖi	ʔaɖəi	ʔarúí	ʔaɖəi
"mountain"	tokún	tokún	tu·kun	tu·kun	tugún	tukún
"sand"	ʔanai	ʔanai	ʔanəi	ʔanui	ʔanai	ʔane
"sky"	'aɳít	'aɳít	'aɳít	'aɳít	'aɳít	'aɳít
"wind"	pagpag	pagpag	pagupag	pagpag	pʌgpʌg	pakpak
"house"	va'ái	fa'ai	va·əi	va·ui	fa'ai	va'əi
"gold"	'uvai	'uvai	'uvei	'uvei	'uvai	'uv'i
"man"	mə'akái	mu'akai	ma'akei	mayakai	mayakai	ma'akai
"road"	rara'án	rara'án	rara'an	rarayán	rarayán	rara'an
"knee"	'ətéd	wutud	vutút	'atud	'atud	'atud
"hair"	'uvék	wuvúk	'uvúk	'évúk	'avok	'uvok

Rukai poses one of the more critical problems in Taiwan linguistics. Rukai seems to be generally more similar to Paiwanic I languages of the west-central Taiwan plain than to nearby Paiwan (although culturally there is no clear boundary between Rukai and northwestern Paiwan; see above, page 48). In the comparative vocabulary accompanying this paper I give data from the Budai dialect, but elicited from informants now living at Tanan on the east coast. I have also included where available items from Ogawa and Asai (1935) in the highly divergent Oponohu ('Mantauran') dialect. The latter with 'Maga' (Torulukane) and 'Tona' (Kongdavane) form the so-called "Lower-Three Villages Rukai" whose dialects

(or all three may be distinct languages) differ radically from Rukai "proper." The various Rukai dialects (languages?), which have been examined only very cursorily to date, would appear to be of great importance for comparative study of Formosan languages in general, and in particular for exploring the types of relationships existing between Paiwanic I and Tsouic languages.

C. COMMENTS

The aboriginal languages of Taiwan appear to be much more diverse than are those of, say, the Philippines, and Taiwan may have been one of the most ancient homes of Austronesian languages. There is no reason to imagine that the ancestors of the Taiwan aborigines arrived in "many separate waves of migration." The archaeological evidences of what are probably the direct forebears of the present aboriginal groups stretch backward unbrokenly in Taiwan for well over 4,000 years-- a good deal longer, if the still imperfectly-known earlier Cordmarked Pottery Horizon people should also turn out to figure in their ancestry. Four or five thousand years in situ would be ample time to produce the differences seen in the present-day languages, even had the ancestral Formosans all arrived at once and spoken one single language.

If the archaeological evidence were not what it is and indicated more uniformity in the early stages of Taiwan's prehistory, we might indeed believe that present linguistic difference could be merely the result of divergence from a single ancestral language after its arrival in Taiwan. However, the archaeological picture of Taiwan, after the very early period characterized by the Cordmarked Pottery Horizon, indicates the fairly sudden appearance of not one but perhaps three main cultural complexes.

Viewed most simplistically, the three main present-day language groupings could be equated with these archaeological horizons. In fact, writing in 1965 I myself tentatively suggested somewhat similar correlations (Ferrell 1966a); but rapid recent advances in our knowledge of both archaeology and languages show that the specific correlations I then suggested can not stand.

Several interpretations of the interrelationships of Formosan languages are possible, and at present there is no way to decide which is best. That Atayalic had already separated from all other Austronesian languages by 5,000 or 6,000 years ago seems likely in any case. Tsou is not so certain. Its apparent aberrance suggests that Tsou also might have separated from all other Austronesian languages at a date roughly paralleling that of Atayalic. But on the other hand if future study shows that Tsouic's somewhat closer correspondences with

Paiwanic I languages may be genetic rather than only a result of more recent contact, then there is a possibility that Tsouic and Paiwanic diverged after arrival in Taiwan--or else they could have already diverged in their former homeland somewhat before migrating separately to Taiwan.

As for the considerable differences of the Paiwanic I languages among themselves, there is nothing to suggest it took place anywhere else but in Taiwan. As a rough estimate, significant differences between these Paiwanic I languages could have appeared by over 3,000 years ago, and they might presumably have already been in Taiwan for some time before the regional variations developed which grew into the respective modern languages.

Is there a valid division between Paiwanic I and Paiwanic II? Perhaps not, in which case all the Paiwanic languages could possibly have diverged in Taiwan. If the division is valid, on the other hand, the suspicious distribution as well as cultural peculiarities of the Paiwanic II groups may indicate their closer relationships (genetic? contact?) with Pacific areas to the south, and they may be somewhat more recent arrivals in Taiwan than Paiwanic I.

The number of separate migrations necessary to explain the present-day Taiwan aboriginal language situation, then, could run from one to four: (1) saying all the Formosan languages developed from one common ancestor in Taiwan; (2) two separate migrations, proto-Atayalic and proto-Paiwanic-Tsouic; (3) three movements, proto-Atayalic, proto-Tsouic and proto-Paiwanic; and (4) four migrations, proto-Atayalic, proto-Tsouic, proto-Paiwanic I, and proto-Paiwanic II. Unless we postulate some other language groups now disappeared, which is of course possible but for which no evidence whatsoever exists, then it is doubtful that we can reasonably suspect over four separate migrations into Taiwan. There is certainly no scientific support for the colorful but unlikely earlier hypotheses which, based upon a few isolated material culture traits, could imagine the Bunun tribal ancestors arriving with their full-fledged culture perhaps from Central China (Kano 1952), the Paiwan clutching their heirloom beads, pots and bronze daggers from Indochina, and so on!

Recent excellent progress in Taiwan archaeology has left the ethnographic and linguistic study of the island's peoples behind, and has pointed up the inadequacy of previous approaches to the island's prehistory. But the reconstruction of Taiwan's prehistory, with its very important implications for the entire Pacific area, requires coordination and balancing of the evidence gleaned by archaeological, linguistic, and ethnological sciences. We have a long way to go, and we have hard and fascinating work to do.

IV. COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

1. Sources

Vocabulary entries for individual languages are preceded by initials, in parentheses, indicating the source from which the form is derived. For comparative purposes, Ogawa and Asai (1935) give other dialect forms not included here, and should be consulted along with this vocabulary. Due to the scarcity of data available, for some languages it has been necessary here to take entries from more than one source, so transcriptions unfortunately cannot always be absolutely consistent. Wherever available, I have also included forms given by pre-1900 sources; for these the original transcription is kept, and these forms are to be found to the right of the main entry column. Sources are:

- (A) Asai 1936
- (B) Bullock 1874
- (D) Davidson 1903
- (E) Egerod 1965a
- (F) Ferrell, R. (Unpublished manuscripts, 1967-1968):
 - Ci'uli Atayal Vocabulary (Bandai dialect)
 - Sediq Vocabulary (Sakura dialect)
 - Rukai Vocabulary (Budai dialect)
 - Pazeh Vocabulary
 - Paiwan Vocabulary (Kulalao dialect)
 - Paiwan Vocabulary (Makazayazaya dialect)
 - Puyuma Vocabulary (Chihpen dialect)
 - Ami Vocabulary (Malan dialect)
 - Bunun Vocabulary (Iş-ñukun dialect)
 - Kuvalan Vocabulary (Ch'ang-pin dialect)
 - Yami Vocabulary (Imurud dialect)
- (G) Gravius 1661
- (H) Happart 1650
- (L) Li Fang-kwei (in Chen et al. 1956)
- (LH) Lin Hen-li (in Wei, Yü and Lin 1952)
- (M) Miyamoto 1932
- (O1) Ogawa and Asai 1935
- (O2) Ogawa 1944
- (O3) Ogawa 1932
- (S) Suenari 1968 (Puyuma, Rikavong Dialect)
- (T) Tung 1964
- (Ta) Taintor 1874
- (Th) Thomson 1873
- (Ts) Tsuchida, Shigeru (Unpublished manuscripts):
 - Saisiyat Vocabulary (November 1968)
 - Kavalan Word List (November 1968)
 - Saaroa Word List (.January 1969)
- (U) Utrecht Manuscript 1650
- (Y) Yen, Margaret and others: unpublished vocabularies of Saaroa and Kanakanabu taken by students of Prof. Tung Tung-ho in 1962-1963

2. Note on Stress and Vowel Length

a. Atayalic. Vowel length appears to be phonemic in Atayalic languages (Egerod 1966a; Ferrell, unpublished mss.), stress not.

b. Tsouic. Tung (1964) found stress to be phonemic in Tsou, but not vowel length. Margaret Sung (1966) and Ting (1967) regard stress and pitch as relevant in Kananabu and Saaroa, but Tsuchida (unpublished ms. 1969) finds vowel length to be phonemic in Saaroa, stress not.

c. Paiwanic. Li Fang-kwei (in Chen et al. 1958) considers both vowel length and stress to be phonemic in Thao. Neither appears to be phonemic in Saisiat (Tsuchida 1964). Preliminary investigation of Pazeh (Ferrell, unpublished ms. 1967) suggests that vowel length is phonemic; stress is generally predictable, on the final syllable, but in some cases for which no regular rules are apparent phonemic stress is on another syllable. In Paiwan, vowel length does not appear to be phonemic; stress is usually predictable on the penultimate vowel, but some words require stress on another vowel; for example /vá'uŋ/ "sea," but /pa'dán/ "name" (Ferrell, unpublished mss. 1967, 1968).

More investigation is required on most Formosan languages in order to determine whether stress and vowel length may be phonemic in the various languages. In this vocabulary both are generally indicated where available, even for languages in which they may not be phonemically relevant.

3. Notes on Symbols Used in This Vocabulary

In the following comparative vocabulary, only the Squiliq-Atayal, Tsou, Saisiat and Thao entries may be considered fully phonemic. For these languages, I have followed the transcription employed in the sources noted for the entries, except that in Thao I have changed j to /y/, ʔb to /b̥/, ʔd to /d̥/, and ʔ to /ə/ in the interest of uniformity. For all languages I use /ə/ to replace the u, i or e of some investigators; this causes no inconvenience since there is no more than one unrounded mid vowel in any given language.

/b/ = I.P.A. [b ~ β]

/b̥/ = [ʔb] (pre-glottalized, but not implosive)

/d̥/ = [ʔd] " "

/ə/ = [ʔ]

/ɣ/ = [ɣ] (In final position in Kuvalan, voiceless [x]).

/ɬ/ = [ɬ] (In Kuvalan and Puyuma, voiced lateral affricate in initial and intervocalic positions, half-voiced or voiceless lateral fricative in final position)

/ɲ/ = [ɲ]

/ñ/ = [ɲ]

/š/ = [ʃ]

/ɣ/ = [ʒ]

/ɟ/ = [ɟ] (retroflex)

/ɟ/ = [ɟ] (retroflex)

/ɟ/ = [t' - tʲ] (palatal)

/ɟ/ = [d' - dʲ]

/c/ = [ts]

/č/ = [tʃ]

/j/ = [dʒ]

/ž/ = [dʒ]

/ʒ/ = [ʒ] (voiced retroflex fricative)

/ʔ/ = glottal stop

/q/ = voiceless post-velar plosive

/ħ/ = [ħ]

/q̄/ = [ʔħ] (often has /ħ/ as free variant in initial and intervocalic position)

/'/ = "smooth onset" (In Saisiat, initial: gradual beginning, half-lengthening of following vowel; intervocalic: weakening of voice; final: gradual ending with half-lengthening of preceding vowel)

(Following a consonant, e.g. in Rukai, /' / indicates consonant must be released, thus causing an optional short vowel sound similar to last preceding vowel in word; e.g., /ləg'ləg'/ "mountain" [ləg^ələg^ə], /bərat'/ "rice" [bərát ~ bərát^a])

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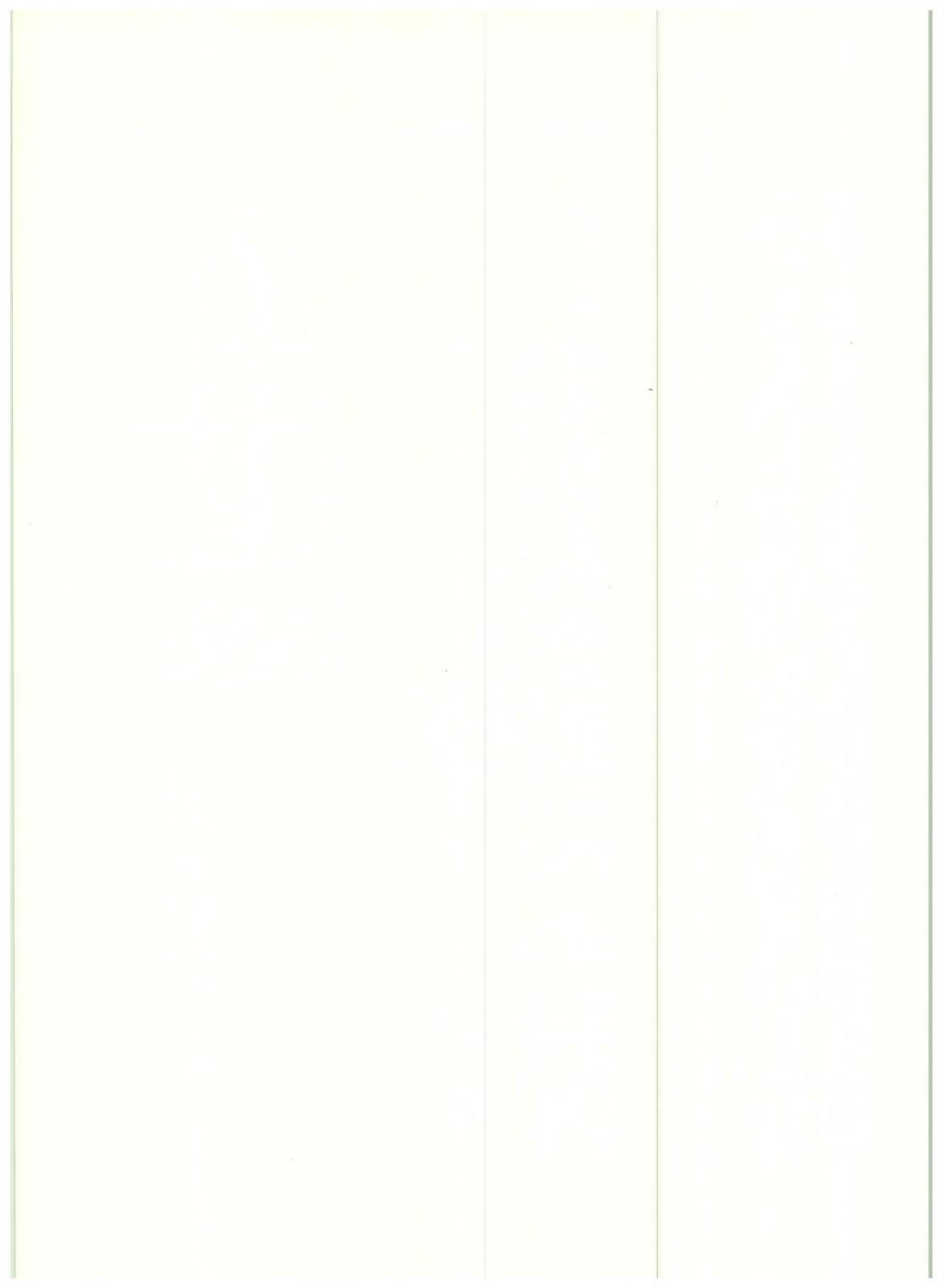
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ASHESASHES

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qbuli?	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?abulit	
Sediq (F)	qəbúlit	(B) makaluch

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fúu	
Kanakanabu (01)	abu	
Saaroa (Ts)	?abo?o	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	?ábu?	
Oponohu Dialect(01)	ravoko	
Favorlang (H)	abo	
Thao (L)	qá:fu?	(B) usila
Pazeh (F)	?aḏú?	(B) heuruheur
Saisiat (Ts)	?äbö?	
Taokas (02)	ya-habu	
Paiwan (F)	qávu?	
Puyuma (F)	qavu?, nasúk	(B) aabu
Ami (F)	?áfo?	
Bunun (F)	haḏo?	
Kuvalan (F)	yibú?	(Ts) ?i:bú?
Siraya (U)	avo	
Yami (F)	?ávu?	

CAVE (see also HOLE)CAVE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	bliŋ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	yuhyúh
Sediq (F)	bəliŋ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	feóŋo
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔarabaŋə ɔatoʔo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bokóŋ'
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	máɓraq "hole"
Pazeh (F)	warúŋ
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	liv
Puyuma (F)	ʔanáŋ
Ami (F)	ɿihif
Bunun	la'ak
Kuvalan	lihíb (Ts) ɿi:hib
Siraya (U)	daouck "hole" (G) varyng "den"
Yami (F)	mi'aʔáu

NATURE

CLOUDCLOUD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	iuluŋ	(D) yurum
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʒazúluŋ	
Sediq (F)	rúluŋ	(B)rulung

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cməcmə, meipeipi	(D) tsumtsum
Kanakanabu (Y)	ə́ə́ə	
Saaroa (Ts)	lu:lupa	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	'əmé'əm'	
Oponohu Dialect (O1)	kəməʔə	
Favorlang (H)	rabbo	
Thao (L)	ʔú:rum	(B) kali
Pazeh (F)	xədəŋ	(B) rulung, (D) ruron
Saisiat (Ts)	'əməm	
Paiwan (F)	qarpús	(D) karupus
Makazayazaya (F)	ʔurpús	
Puyuma (F)	runév	(B) arangit, (D) kutum
Rikávong(S)	koʔəm	
Ami (F)	toqém	(D) tounm
Bunun (F)	lə'əm	(D) ruhon
Kuvalan (F)	raném	(D) rānum
(Ts)	la:nēm	
Siraya (U)	vullum, pourarey	(B) rabu
Yami (F)	cinalab	

NATURE

DUST (see also EARTH/SOIL, SAND)DUST

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qbuli? ("ashes"); (O3)	bəhboh, bəhbah
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	rahílu?	
Sediq (F)	nəmudəhéral	

TSOUIC

Tsou		
Kanakanabu		
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔaərə	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	səvéǵ'	
Favorlang (H)	bərrabor	
Thao (L)	ḅúlḅul	
Pazeh (F)	ḅuraḅú'	
Saisiat (Ts)	sä'päʔ	
Paiwan (F)	quḅvulán	
Makazayazaya (F)	ʔuḅvúlan	
Puyuma	raméḅ	
Rikavong (S)	ḅəvol	
Ami (F)	táhfoł	
Bunun (F)	popunoʔ	
Kuvalan (F)	tavéq (Ts) tiaymóq	
Siraya (U)	mal	
Yami (F)	ḅalivuváu	

NATURE

EARTH/SOIL (see also SAND, DUST)EARTH/SOIL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	rhial	(D) heyal
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	rahál	
Sediq (F)	dəhéral	

TSOUCIC

Tsou (T)	céoa	(D) tsoroa
Kanakanabu (Y)	ʔənái	
Saaroa (Ts)	sare:	(Y) sasazuana

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	da'éʔ	
Oponohu (O1)	daʔədaʔəʔə	
Favorlang (H)	ta "land"; ta-os ata	"the earth"
Thao (L)	prú:q	
Pazeh (F)	ðaxé:	(D) rejik-ddahhu
Saisiat (Ts)	rä'iʔ	
Taokas (M)	uln	
Paiwan (F)	qípuʔ, kaɕunáŋan	(D) kajuna ⁿ gan
Makazayazaya (F)	kaduláŋan	
Puyuma (F)	ðaréq̄	(D) dāl
Rikavong (S)	ðareh	
Ami (F)	séraʔ	(D) sra
Bunun (F)	ðalah	(D) dārak
Kuvalan (F) ¹	mranái, (Ts) mla:náy	(Ta) mranai
Siraya (U)	nài, doulang; rouckat	"clay, earth"
	(D) wanan, (G) pourough	"land"
Yami (F)	tanáʔ	

(Note: 1. Cf. Kuvalan zanaʔ "field, country")

NATURE

FIREFIRE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	puniq	(Ta) hapúni, (D) ponnyak
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hapuni?	
Sediq (F)	púniq	(B) hapunek

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	púzu	(D) pujju, (Th) pouju
Kanakanabu (Y)	apúlu	
Saaroa (Ts)	apoło	(Y) apul(u) (Th) apouth

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	'aʔói	(Th) apoulu, apouy
Oponohu (O1)	hapoe	
Favorlang(H)	chau	"fire"; onad "a flame"
Thao (L)	ʔá:pui	(B) apui
Pazeh (F)	hapuí	(B) hapui, (D) hapoi
Saisiat (Ts)	hapoy	
Paiwan (F)	sápuí	(D) sapoi
Puyuma (F)	'ápuí	(B) apui, (D) apoi
Ami (F)	namar ¹	(D) ramal
Bunun (F)	sapud	(D) sapos
Kuvalan (F)	yamáž ¹	(Ts) ya:mál (Ta) amaz/lamar, (D) ramah
Siraya (U)	apoy, apui	(B) apui
Yami (F)	'ápuí	(A) riyar (poetic or archaic word)

(Note: 1. Cf. Siraya /lamag/ "burning" (Dutch 'brandt')

NATURE

FOG/MISTFOG/MIST

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	iulup "cloud"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	pukúkuṅ
Sediq (F)	pəkúkuṅ

TSOUIC

Tsou	
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Y)	mələmɛta/kaɫamɛra (Ts) pakamɛtɛmɛta "foggy"

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	camcám'
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	ɬurɬuk
Pazeh (F)	(see "cloud")
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	qərpáu
Puyuma (F)	kutikút
Rikavong (S)	lɛplɛp
Ami (F)	carapón
Bunun (F)	(see "cloud")
Kuvalan (F)	təlumtiʔ
Siraya	
Yami (F)	(see "cloud")

IRON/METALIRON/METAL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	baliq	(Ta) vali-ekh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	baliʔ	
Sediq (F)	hílui	(B) hilui

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	meeméno
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ɬəmane

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	warém	
Favorlang (H)	dippa, dippi	
Thao (L)	ɓáliθ	(B) baliss
Pazeh (F)	kaxáʔ	(B) kaha
Saisiat (Ts)	patonay	
Paiwan (F)	vaʔuláian	
Puyuma (F)	tinár	(B) midung
Ami (F)	maral	
Bunun (F)	mólʔaʔ	
Kuvalan (F)	balís	(Ta) variss "nail (iron)", namat "iron"
Siraya (U)	many	(B) mani
Yami (F)	va'alán	

NATURE

HOLE (see also CAVE)HOLE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	blíq
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	balíq
Sediq (F)	bəlíq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	feóno, kóeu, keah'éta
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	tało:ro

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ribáq
Favorlang (H)	tochab, chauch, channumma
Thao (L)	mábraq
Pazeh (F)	warúp
Saisiat (Ts)	mathäq
Taokas (M)	bulun

Paiwan (F)	béruq, lúva?
Puyuma (F)	?anán
Rikavong (S)	loaq

Ami (F)	?úfaq
Bunun (F)	la'ak
Kuvalan (F)	taqán
Siraya (U)	daouck (G) varyng "den"
Yami (F)	mi'a'áu

LAKE/POND (see also SEA)LAKE/POND

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	siluŋ ("sea")
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	wacilun
Sediq (F)	'ucilun

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	topúku "lake"; ecúu, nsóo "pond"
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	tetənəma

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	báyu?
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	wadaqan (B) balakan
Pazeh (F)	tu:tún
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	qánau "lake"; vácal "pond"
Puyuma (F)	?evúv
Rikavong (S)	danao "pond"; tənəm "lake"
Ami (F)	fanáu
Bunun (F)	niŋ?av
Kuvalan (F)	vutvut (Ts) bettóq
Siraya (U)	valanga "pond"
Yami (F)	?attáu

NATURE

LIGHTNINGLIGHTNING

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	msraui? ("it is lightning")
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	takaliwak
Sediq (F)	taqaliwaq (B) sassaina

'TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	moihócu
Kanakanabu (Y)	aparate
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔa:palata:

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	rikác'
Maga Dialect (O1)	okmikimac
Favorlang (H)	lalka
Thao (L)	(B) harbuk
Pazeh	(B) malapend
Saisiat (Ts)	pinalomikas
Paiwan (F)	ráqap
Puyuma (F)	kəmaklíp (B) armung
Ami (F)	karapiát
Bunun (F)	dəmal
Kuvalan (F)	riʒa'áp (Ts) li:ʒáp (Ta) lirap
Siraya (U)	rickat
Yami (F)	cicilát, ʔári

NATURE

MOONMOON

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	biaciŋ	(Ta) viating, (D) vuyatsin
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	buzatiŋ	
Sediq (F)	ʔidas	(B) idass

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	feóhe	(D) porohu
Kanakanabu (Y)	vuáne	
Saaroa (Ts)	bulaŋə	(Y) vu:laŋ(i)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	damar	
Uponohu (O1)	damarə	
Favorlang (H)	idas	
Thao (L)	fú:ral	(B) fural
Pazeh (F)	ʔilás	(B) ilass, (D) iras
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔilaš	
Paiwan (F)	qílas	(D) keras
Makazayazaya (F)	ʔílas	
Puyuma (F)	qílas	(B) aburan
Rikavong(S)	voŋan	
Ami (F)	fóraŋ	(D) urat
Bunun (F)	boan	(D) voan)
Kuvalan (F)	bu:rán	(Ts) bu:lán (Ta) buran, vulan
Siraya (U)	vourel, vaural	(B) buran
Yami (F)	vu'án	

NATURE

MOUNTAINMOUNTAIN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	rgiax	(D) regyahu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	nanáhi?	
Sediq (F)	lumiqú?	(B) dagizak paru

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fúeŋu; hcúeu "hill"	(D) purongo
Kanakanabu (Y)	rəməra	
Saaroa (Ts)	bu:buluŋa:	(Y) mavarevar

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ləg'ləg'	
Oponohu (O1)	ruxrux	
Favorlang (H)	ranna "hillock"; shach	
Thao (L)	huđun	(B) hudun
Pazeh (F)	binayú?	(B) binayu, (D) vinayu
Saisiat (Ts)	ko'ko'ol	
Paiwan (F)	gádu' (O1) vukid	(D) gādu
Puyuma (F)	ʒənán	(B) dinan, (D) runan
Ami (F)	tokoş (O1) rutuk	(D) tukos
Bunun (F)	loden	(D) rīvos
Kuvalan (F)	na:úŋ	(Ta) dahê, dahêr
Siraya (U)	voucking	(B) bukung
Yami (F)	tukún	(D) woro

RAIN (noun)RAIN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qualax	(Ta) mwalukh, (D) kwārahu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔawaláh	
Sediq (F)	qúyuh	(B) kuzuch

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tnéee	(D) vutsu
Kanakanabu (Y)	ucáne	
Saaroa (Ts)	usaʔe	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔudál'	
Oponohu (O1)	huəaolo	
Favorlang (H)	oetas	
Thao (L)	qú:əaé	(B) kusal
Pazeh (F)	ʔudán	(B) mudal, (D) udaru
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔäʔöral	
Taokas (M)	giatan	(also "sky"?)
Paiwan (F)	qúḍal	(D) udal, muyal
Puyuma (F)	ḡúḍal	(B) udan, (D) mandal
Rikavong (S)	ḥodal	
Ami (F)	ḡoraʔ	(D) ulas
Bunun (F)	hóḍan	(D) koranan
Kuvalan (F)	ʔuḡál	(Ts) ʔu:ḡán (Ta) uran, uzan, (D) uran
Siraya (U)	audal	(B) udau, (G) oudal
Yami (F)	címui	

NATURE

RIVERRIVER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	lliun	(D) ririon
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	lulin	
Sediq (F)	yáyun	(B) dzadzung

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	c'óeha	(D) tsorooha
Kanakanabu (Y)	ca'k'éran	
Saaroa (Ts)	lo:loŋo, sakérale	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	dakerál'	(O1) kadaban ^o
Oponohu (O1)	dakerale	
Favorlang (H)	sabba	
Thao (L)	wákraθ	(B) waklass
Pazeh (F)	raxún	(B) rahong, (D) rahon
Saisiat (Ts)	ba'la?	
Paiwan (F)	pana?; veleruán	"creek" (D) pana
Puyuma (F)	zinanumán (< zanum	"water") (B) brilduan,
Rikavong(S)	", kali	(D) iniyán
Ami (F)	ʔároq	(D) aru
Bunun (F)	vahlas	(D) haul
Kuvalan (F)	ʔiyóh (Ts) ʔi:yóy	(Ta) tab'li; mukhral "creek", (D) vokahal
Siraya (U)	agouang, karaukaut;	zaroch (B) aguang
Yami (F)	'ayú?	

NATURE

SALTSALT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	cimu?	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	timu?	
Sediq (F)	cimu?	(B) timu

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	sieu	
Kanakanabu (Y)	maaini	
Saaroa (Ts)	maili (Y) (m)áili, ailu	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	timó?	
Maga Dialect (O1)	timus	
Favorlang (H)	sassi	
Thao (L)	qtí:la?	
Pazeh (F)	pahá'	(B) pahar
Saisiat (Ts)	timo?	
Paiwan (F)	qatía?	
Makazayazaya (F)	?atían	
Puyuma (F)	qaterí?	(B) aiam
Rikavong (S)	iyam	
Ami (F)	cináh	
Bunun (F)	?asíla?	
Kuvalan (F)	zəmián	(Ta) z'mian
Siraya (U)	veia; machat "brine"	(G) vaija
Yami (F)	?asín (A) yana	

NATURE

SAND (see also EARTH, DUST)SAND

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	bnaqii		
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	buna'í'		
Sediq (F)	benáqi'	(O1) bnaqqail	(B) banakail

TSOUIC

Tsou (O1)	fuyufu'ʔu		
Kanakanabu (Y)	lavúku		
Saaroa (Ts)	laboko	(Y) rabúku	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔenái		
Oponohu (O1)	hunae		
Favorlang (H)	bonnad		
Thao (L)	Ḅú:nal	(B) bunal	
Pazeh (F)	bunát	(B) bunadza	
Saisiat (Ts)	bonaz		
Paiwan (F)	vúdas		
Puyuma (F)	vuṭék	(B) abuduk	
Ami (F)	táfok		
Bunun (F)	ḁa'as	(O1) Ḅunnok	
Kuvalan (F)	buqán	(Ta) vuhan	
Siraya (U)	ligig	(B) lapun, (G) li'igh	
Yami (F)	ʔanai, kararakád		

NATURE

SEASEA

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	siluŋ	(Ta) sílung
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	wacílun	
Sedíq (F)	'ucílun	(B) chilung timu

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tépe, etépe
Kanakanabu (Y)	tənəmə
Saaroa (Ts)	tənəmə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	báyu (O1) raḡək ^ə , baon
Oponohu (O1)	varo
Favorlang (H)	abas
Thao (L)	wadáqan (B) balakan
Pazeh (F)	'awás (B) awass
Saisiat (Ts)	wasal
Paiwan (F)	lávək (cf. Yami /la'ut/ "seaward")
Makazayazaya (F)	vá'uŋ
Puyuma (F)	levék (B) raliaban
Ami (F)	ri'ár
Bunun (F)	niŋʔav
Kuvalan (F)	zi'ín (Ts) la:ziŋ (B) rzin, rthin, z'rin
Siraya (U)	vaong (B) baung
Yami (F)	ʔatáu; 'awa' "sea water"

NATURE

SILVERSILVER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (03) pila
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) pila?
 Sediq (F) bánan (01) buxö (B) pilat

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) peise
 Kanakanabu (01) bantokü
 Saaroa (01) balitoko

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) paišo (01) 'aiso
 Oponohu (01) pašo
 Favorlang (H) so-e "silver-gilt"
 Thao (B) tsui
 Pazeh (F) pí:la' (B) pilah
 Saisiat (Ts) papila?

Paiwan (F) kin (from Chinese) (01) vatan, valicuq
 Makazayazaya (F) paisu
 Puyuma (F) kim (from Chinese) (01) paiso (B) apasho

Ami (F) kim (from Chinese) (01) paiso, vulaŋan
 Bunun (F) su'i
 Kuvalan (F) kəlisíu (Ta) pila
 Siraya (U) vannitok (B) manituk, (G) malyttok
 Yami (F) pila? (A) perak, vuyawan

NATURE

SKYSKY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kaial	(D) kāyal
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kaʒal	
Sediq (F)	karat	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ŋéca, pépe	(D) nGutsa
Kanakanabu (Y)	káŋca	
Saaroa (Ts)	laŋica	(Y) ari

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔəməʔəməʔ; səbələbələŋ	"heaven"
Favorlang' (H)	busum, boesum	
Thao (L)	qá:liʔ	
Pazeh (F)	babáu kawás	(D) vavao-kawas
Saisiat (Ts)	kawaš	
Taokas (M)	giatan	(also "rain"?)
Paiwan (F)	karəvəreván	
Makazayazaya (F)	karəvreván	
Puyuma (F)	rukúp	(D) ra ⁿ gět
Ami (F)	kakaraián; kawás	"heaven" (D) kakarayan
Bunun (F)	dehánin	(D) yakanen
Kuvalan (F)	ležán, ležéán	(Ts) ləlan (Ta) z'lan, l'zan, (D) ran
Siraya (U)	vullum	
Yami (F)	'áŋit; to'	"heaven" (A) yaŋit

NATURE

SMOKE (noun)SMOKE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hiloq	(Ta) hilukh, heilu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	rahílu?	
Sediq (F)	qelunún	(B) karengaul

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	feúfeu	
Kanakanabu (Y)	éve	
Saaroa (Ts)	bu:bula	(Th) worlbouro

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔebél'	(Th) uburon
Favorlang (H)	chatto	
Thao (L)	qúmǔ?	(B) marumun
Pazeh (F)	busu:bús	(B) adah
Saisiat (Ts)	kasbol	
Paiwan (F)	cévul	
Puyuma (F)	qaseván	(B) ashuban
Ami (F)	ʔacéfér	
Bunun (F)	husʔul	
Kuvalan (F)	qi:yáb	(Ts) qe:yáb (Ta) kairǔm, teirǔm, hirǔv
Siraya (U)	ahto	(B) labu
Yami (F)	ʔa'ub	

SNOW/ICESNOW/ICE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hlaqii, slaqii
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hula?i:
Sediq (F)	húda?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eúho
Kanakanabu (Y)	eréna
Saaroa (Y)	uruła

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	?éúla?, pasa:bú?
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	?úlda?
Pazeh (F)	haxedá?
Saisiat	

Paiwan (F)	súla?
Makazayazaya (F)	kúli?
Puyuma (F)	veluá?
Rikavong (S)	orela

Ami (F)	so?lá?
Bunun (F)	pá?av
Kuvalan (F)	suyná?
Siraya (U)	ou gla (G) eu'la
Yami	--

NATURE

STARSTAR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	biñah	(Ta) henga, ve-inga, (D) mintoyan
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hañitux	
Sediq (F)	peñérah	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	coñeoha	(D) tsongoha
Kanakanabu (Y)	tamtasai	
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔacañeraka	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	tariáu	
Oponohu (O1)	tariyo	
Favorlang (H)	baboan, aisennas	
Thao (L)	kilpul	(B) tahlatah
Pazeh (F)	bintún	(B) bintul, (D) mintol
Saisiat (Ts)	bintöʔän	
Paiwan (F)	viñúqan	(D) vitukan
Makazayazaya (F)	vituʔan	
Puyuma (F)	vituqén	(B) atior, (D) teol
Ami (F)	foʔis	(D) uwes
Bunun (F)	bintóhan	(D) mintokan
Kuvalan (F)	beltalán	(Ta) bat'lan, mat'ran, (D) waturan,
Siraya (U)	attatillingagey	(B) atating akai
Yami (F)	mata nu 'añit	("eyes of the sky")

STONESTONE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	btunux	(Ta) vatúnukh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	'uzati?	
Sediq (F)	betúnuh	(B) batunuch

TSUJIC

Tsou (T)	skúzu
Kanakanabu (Y)	vátu
Saaroa (Ts)	batoʔo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	rənég'	
Oponohu (O1)	(h)aputo	(Tona dialect, O1) ʔalapi
Favorlang (H)	bato	
Thao (L)	fá:tuʔ	(B) fwatu
Pazeh (F)	batúʔ	(B) batu
Saisiat (Ts)	batoʔ	
Taokas (O2)	batu	
Paiwan (F)	qacilai	(cf. Rukai /ʔacilai/ "water")
Makazayazaya (F)	ʔačilai	
Puyuma (F)	varasáq	(B) barasa (Cf. Paiwan /varasaq/ "intestinal parasites")
Ami (F)	faklónh	
Bunun (F)	batuʔ	
Kuvalan	batúʔ	(Ts) bəttóʔ (Ta) vato, vatu
Siraya (U)	watto	(B) batu, (G) vahto
Yami (F)	vátuʔ	

NATURE

SUNSUN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	uagi?	(Ta) wagi, waki
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	wági?	
Sediq (F)	hídao	(B) hidao

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	híe	(D) híre
Kanakanabu (Y)	taniare	
Saaroa (Ts)	taliaría	(Y) ari, aris(a)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	vá'i	
Oponohu (O)	kole'e	
Favorlang (H)	sisá, zisjsá	
Thao (L)	tí:lal	
Pazeh (F)	ližáx	(B) lijach, (D) rezahu
Saisiat (Ts)	hahila'	
Paiwan (F)	qádaú	(D) kádao
Makazayazaya (F)	ʔádav	
Puyuma (F)	kaéáu	(B) kadao
Ami (F)	cilar	(D) tsiral
Eunun (F)	vale'	
Kuvalan (F)	seža'án	(Ts) sežán (Ta) matlan'zan, (D) mata-no-kān
Siraya (U)	wagi	(B) wagi (G) wǎ'i
Yami (F)	ʔárau	

THUNDER (see also LIGHTNING)THUNDER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	bisuu	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	báluŋ	
Sediq (F)	burú'aʔ	(B) mabarua

TSÓUIC

Tsou (T)	akʔeŋéca
Kanakanabu (Y)	sololoŋa
Saaroa (Ts)	sululuŋa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	dərdér'	
Oponohu (O1)	dədəre	(Tona dialect, O1) gəgəgə
Favcrlang (H)	bioa	
Thao		(B) barumbun
Pazeh (F)	ku'ás	(B) kurass
Saisiat (Ts)	bi'waʔ	
Paiwan (F)	cəlalak, zu'uŋ	
Puyuma (F)	dəruŋ	(B) drung
Ami (F)	kakələŋ	
Bunun (F)	ĕilvaʔ	
Kuvalan (F)	zəŋzəŋ	(Ta) zŋng-zŋng
Siraya (U)	singding; giltag	"thunderbolt" (B) dungdung
Yami (F)	ʔáriʔ, ʔárei	(also "lightning"?)

NATURE

WATERWATER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qsiaʔ	(Ta) usiak
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	wuʂéʔ	
Sediq (F)	qsi'aʔ	(B) kasia

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	chúmu	(D) tsōmo, (Th) choumai
Kanakanabu (Y)	canúmu	
Saaroa (Ts)	sałomo	(Th) satloun

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔacilái	(Th) achilai
Favorlang (H)	to	
Thao (L)	θá:ðum	(B) tsarnin
Pazeh (F)	dalúm	(B) dalom, (D) darūm
Saisiat (Ts)	ralom	
Taokas (M)	giatap	
Paiwan (F)	zálum	(D) zārūm, zayon
Puyuma (F)	zánūm	(B) ane, (D) nnai, (Th) a-tuei
Ami (F)	nanóm	(D) nanom
Bunun (F)	ðanom	
Kuvalan (F)	ranúm	(Ts) ʒa:núm (Ta) zanum, ranum
Siraya (U)	salom, ralaum	(B) dalum, (D) rarum
Yami (F)	ranúm	

NATURE

WINDWIND

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	bihui	(D) vaihui
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	béhur	
Sediq (F)	bwihur	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	poépe; tucvîhi "strong wind"	(D) porepe
Kanakanabu (Y)	paraipára	
Saaroa (Ts)	barate	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	várig', sasøvera?	
Oponohu (O1)	ve'øe-ve'øe	
Favorlang (H)	barri	
Thao (L)	fá:ri?	
Pazeh (F)	ba'í?	(D) vare
Saisiat (Ts)	ba'í?	
Taokas (M)	boli	
Paiwan (F)	vári?	(D) ware
Puyuma (F)	váli?	(D) vare
Ami (F)	fári?	(D) vare
Bunun (F)	løvlev; balivuş "typhoon"	(D) heuhen
Kuvalan (F)	ba:ri?	(Ta) vari, bari
Siraya (U)	vare	
Yami (F)	pagpag	(A) aṗin

NATURE

BARK (of tree)BARK

ATAYALIC

Squiliq Atayal (E) iulaq

Ci'uli Atayal

Sediq (F) rəhiq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) eáptə

Kanakanabu (O1) lapátə

Saaroa (Ts) pulakə (Y) valiłaci kiuu

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) bakéle (nu káwa?)

Favorlang

Thao (L) šá:pa?

Pazeh (F) rapai (kahuí)

Saisiat

Paiwan (F) qálic (na kásiu)

Puyuma (F) ruvíť (na kawí?)

Rikavong (S) ʔoňav

Ami (F) turak (kiran)

Bunun (F) pulpul

Kualan (F) ruvuŋ (na paŋín) (Ts) lu:búŋ na pa:y^eiŋ

Sirava

Yami (F) kulít (nu kayu?)

FLOWERFLOWER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hpah
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	rapak
Sediq (F)	papah

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	bévnə
Kanakanabu(01)	buṇabuṇa
Saaroa (Ts)	tabaḷiḷa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bən'lái
Favorlang (H)	tullala
Thao (L)	ḅú:kay (B) bokai
Pazeh (F)	tulalá? (B) tulala
Saisiat (Ts)	poṇäh

Paiwan (F)	váṇal (also "fruit")
Puyuma (F)	ḡápuṭ (B) sasar

Ami (F)	faro?
Bunun (F)	mínu? (01) powaq
Kuvalan (F)	sima'ó? (Ts) mu:láy (Ta) murai
Siraya (U)	isip; voiou "a blossom" (B) isib
Yami (F)	hana? (from Japanese)

PLANTS

FOREST/JUNGLEFOREST/JUNGLE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	lhlahui
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	lahláhuʒ
Sediq (F)	bébúyuʔ

TSOUC

Tsou (T)	eazólin
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ki:kiuʔua: (Y) bubuluʒa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	
Favorlang (H)	maimoch-a-ta "wilderness"
Thao (L)	tú:qaš
Pazeh (F)	tutu:mán
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	cəmcəmér
Puyuma (F)	kawikawíʔ
Rikavong(S)	kawikawi; ałalas "grove"
Ami (F)	rotúk
Bunun (F)	líbuʒ
Kuvalan (F)	nauna'úp (na:úp "mountain")
Siraya (U)	vouchong "grove"
Yami (F)	--

FRUIT (see also SEED)FRUIT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	buai	(Ta) buakh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	bui	[bwi]
Sediq (F)	hi'i	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	beáhci
Kanakanabu (O1)	macu?u
Saaroa (Ts)	maso?o

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	madé'
Oponohu (O1)	mado
Favorlang (H)	boa
Thao (L)	ǂúqu? "seed" (B) alentsomai
Pazeh (F)	buxú? (B) madu
Saisiat (Ts)	boway
Paiwan (F)	váǂal
Puyuma (F)	vu'áǂ (B) sasarm
Ami (F)	hēcí?
Bunun (F)	la'aǂ
Kuvalan (F)	disana peru:rú?
Siraya (U)	voa (B) mangus, (G) voua
Yami (F)	?aǂi

PLANTS

GRASS/PLANTSGRASS/PLANTS

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kʔman	(Ta) rgi-ui, l'mihui
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kaman	
Sediq (F)	speriq	(B) shuduh

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	sʔósʔo	
Kanakanabu (O1)	caəne	
Saaroa (Ts)	sə:səpə	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔubəl'	
Oponohu (O1)	ʔoraʔo (Tona dialect, O1)	sorao
Favorlang (H)	arás, imogh	
Thao (L)	šmé:r	(B) smir
Pazeh (F)	səmé'	(B) simur
Saisiat (Ts)	'inbetəl	
Paiwan (F)	cəmér	
Puyuma (F)	ʔarún	(B) tarung
Rikavong (S)	ʔaʔon	
Ami (F)	rəpós (Kivit dialect, Oq)	sumuut
Bunun (F)	ʔiʂmút; pádan	"weeds"
Kuvalan (F)	su'ái	
Siraya (U)	havour	(B) uzu
Yami (F)	tamək	

LEAFLEAF

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	abau	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?abau	
Sediq (F)	wásau	(B) hazi

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hêŋe	
Kanakanabu (Y)	ranêŋe	
Saaroa (Ts)	lalêŋe	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bi'á?	
Oponohu (O1)	?opopo	(Maga dialect, O1, spogo)
Favorlang (H)	biá, challam	
Thao (L)	fí:láq	(B) funfun; fila "root"
Pazeh (F)	labáx	(B) rabako
Saisiat (Ts)	biyá?	
Paiwan (F)	?ásau; vi'áq	(leaf used in rituals)
Puyuma (F)	vi'ráq	(B) abira
Rikavong (S)	tovo	
Ami (F)	papáh	
Bunun (F)	sílav	
Kuvalan (F)	viyé:?	(Ta) viri
Siraya (U)	hapa	(B) hába
Yami (F)	vu'úp	

PLANTS

ROOTROOT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	gamil	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	pú'in	
Sediq (F)	wámil	(B) raparap

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mísi, eviisiísi	
Kanakanabu (Y)	ramísi	
Saaroa (Ts)	rami'i	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	balác'	
Oponohu (O1)	'amici	
Favorlang (H)	bossor	
Thao (L)	lá:miθ	
Pazeh (F)	hohás	(B) hameus
Saisiat (Ts)	'aməs	
Paiwan (F)	qapúru?, kapaz	
Makazayazaya (F)	kapaj	
Puyuma (F)	rami?	(B) ourat
Ami (F)	ramít	
Bunun (F)	lámiş	
Kuvalan (F)	ya:bás	(Ta) ravass
Siraya (U)	patar	
Yami (F)	'atəné?	(A) yamut

SEED (see also FRUIT)SEED

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ghap
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	gargá? [ɣaryá?]
Sediq (F)	remeháq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tútu
Kanakanabu (Y)	kocaánia
Saaroa (Ts)	suli'í (Y) tutúu

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	pə:lələ?
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	ḡúqu?
Pazeh (F)	buxuán
Saisiat (Ts)	biṅsi?; pipis "kernel"
Paiwan (F)	ṭaláian, rávi?
Makazayazaya (F)	ta'apulú'an
Puyuma (F)	ḡapi'ar
Ami (F)	saparúma?
Bunun (F)	ḡinṣáh
Kuvalan (F)	saparuma'án
Siarya (U)	gaap (G) 'x'ɛp
Yami (F)	muayən

PLANTS

THORNTHORN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qzi?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʒiluk
Sediq (F)	pákau

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	céme
Kanakanabu (O1)	kinti
Saaroa (Ts)	ta:səmə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	cənək'
Oponohu (O1)	ci'ike
Favorlang (H)	noeno
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	pažəŋ
Saisiat (Ts)	tateləŋ
Paiwan (F)	ǰə'i?
Puyuma (F)	səqar
Ami (F)	cəka?
Bunun (F)	dóli?
Kuvalan (F)	təmér (Ts) li:tún
Siraya	(G) addim
Yami (F)	manbək

TREE/WOODTREE/WOOD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	khoniq	(Ta) khoni, khahunikh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kahúni?	
Sèdiq (F)	qəhúni?	(B) kahoni

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	évi	
Kanakanabu (Y)	kálu	
Saaroa (Ts)(¹)	kio ^o	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kawa?, ʔaŋátu?	
Oponohu (O1)	ŋaʔato	
Favorlang (H)	inan, baron	
Thao (L)	rí:ŋus; ká:wi?	"firewood" (B) kavi "tree"
Pazeh (F)	kahuí	(B) kahoi
Saisiat (Ts)	kähöy	
Paiwan (F)	kásiu	
Makazayazaya (F)	kásiv	
Puyuma (F)	káwi?	(B) aput
Ami (F)	kiraŋ	
Bunun (F)	lókiŋ	
Kuvalan (F)	pa:yín	(Ts) pa:yéiŋ (Ta) barin, si-p'ri
Siraya (U)	caiou	"wood"; parànnàh "tree" (B) bukung, (G) pərznnəh
Yami (F)	kayu?	

BAMBOO (general term)BAMBOO

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ruma?, rima? (Ta) vatakan "small bamboo"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?ali?
Sediq (F)	dədima? [jəjima?]

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	pcókne, óee, méɣne, kaapána
Kanakanabu (O1)	kanabunabu
Saaroa (Ts)	raco?o

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	balebál'
Oponohu (O1)	valo-valo (Maga dialect, O1) blabla
Favorlang (H)	arrina, asamma
Thao (L)	qáwɿ
Pazeh (F)	patakan
Saisiat (Ts)	raromäh
Paiwan (F)	qáu
Puyuma (F)	vasikáu
Ami (F)	?á'or' (qá'or' ?)
Bunun (F)	?úduh
Kuvalan (F)	?nayán (Ts) qna:yán (Ta) naian, d'naian
Siraya (U)	vourig
Yami (F)	kawálan

BANANABANANA

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	buai buqoh (buai "fruit")
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ga'ileh
Sediq (F)	bələbúl (B) belibeul

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cnéme
Kanakanabu (O1)	tabunəbunə
Saaroa (Ts)	tabeləbelə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bel'bél'
Oponohu (O1)	veləvelə
Favorlang (H)	lilpil
Thao (L)	fiáfie (B) fidfid
Pazeh (F)	bələ:bél (B) beulibeul
Saisiat (Ts)	tawmo?
Paiwan (F)	velvél
Puyuma (F)	velvél (B) beulbeul
Ami (F)	pa'orí?
Bunun (F)	bunbun
Kuvalan (F)	bəni:ná? (Ta) bunina
Siraya (U)	bulbil (B) dum
Yami (F)	vinevé?

PLANTS

CAMPBOR LAURELCAMPBOR LAUREL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	knus
Ci'uli Atayal	?aruş
Sedıq (F)	senkənúh

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	c'óse
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	burauło

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	rakés
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	śá:kiś
Pazeh (F)	dakés
Saisiat (Ts)	rakés

Paiwan (F)	rákəs
Puyuma (F)	qimús

Ami (F)	rakés
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Bunun

Kuvalan (F)	pażumaqatu payın (Ts) ʒa:kés	(Ta) rakűss, rahűss
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Siraya

Yami

HEMP (ramie)HEMP

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kgii	(Ta) nuka, noka
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	nuka?	
Sediq (F)	menúqih	

TSOUIC

Ísou (T)	ŋéi	
Kanakanabu		
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔuraŋə	

PATWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔaləŋ	
Favorlang (H)	ool	
Thao (L)	kíiw	
Pazeh (F)	luxúŋ	
Saisiat (Ts)	kaki'iw	
Paiwan (F)	rekrék; zakil	(while still growing)
Puyuma (F)	mwa?	(from Chinese)
Ami (F)	mó'a?	(from Chinese)
Bunun (F)	li'iv	
Kuvalan (F)	qəyéu, ʔye:u	(Ts) qay ^e iw
Siraya		
Yami (F)	parpareŋén	

PLANTS

MILLETMILLET

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	trakis	(Ta) karákiss
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	turakiş	
Sediq (F)	mácu?	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tón?u	
Kanakanabu		
Saaroa (Ts)	ebecəne	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bəcəŋ'	
Favorlang (H)	batur	
Thao (L)	ká:mar	
Pazeh (F)	biaxún	
Saisiat (Ts)	tata?	
Paiwan (F)	váqu?	
Puyuma (F)	éáwa?	
Ami (F)	ʔəmíʔ, ʔmiʔ	(O1) havai
Bunun (F)	mádoh	
Kuvalan (F)	ruzái (Ts) lu:záy	(Ta) lurai, luthai
Siraya (U)	massou	"rice plant"
Yami (F)	kada'í	

PLANTS

RATTANRATTAN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	quaiux	(Ta) uani, hwai-ukh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	wazuh	
Sediq (F)	nəlúk	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	úe	
Kanakanabu (O1)	uwayi	
Saaroa (Ts)	bui'í	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔo'ái	
Oponohu (O1)	uvaʔa:e	(Maga dialect, O1) uve
Favorlang (H)	choa	
Thao (L)	qú:way	
Pazeh (F)	ru'ái	
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔöway	
Paiwan (F)	qu'ái	
Puyuma (F)	qo'ái	
Ami (F)	ʔo'ái, qo'ái	
Bunun (F)	hu'aé	
Kuvalan (F)	ʔu'ái	(Ta) u-ai
Siraya (U)	uweg	
Yami (F)	varít	

PLANTS

RICE PLANTRICE PLANT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	pagai
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	pagí:
Sediq (F)	páyai

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	pái
Kanakanabu (Y)	pusiam
Saaroa (Ts)	pu:siame

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	payái (Tanan dialect, O1) ?agai
Oponohu (O1)	pahae
Favorlang (H)	adda
Thao (L)	pá:ðai
Pazeh (F)	mulasí? (B) lasu
Saisiat (Ts)	pazay
Paiwan (F)	pádai
Puyuma (F)	rumai
Rikavong (S)	lomai
Ami (F)	panái
Bunun (F)	pa'ad
Kuvalan (F)	sa:vá? (Ts) pa:náy (in dry field), ta:zók (in wet field)
Siraya (U)	massou
Yami (F)	mugíş (from Japanese?)

RICE (uncooked grain)RICE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	buax	(D) voahu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	buéh	
Sediq (F)	bú'əh	(B) barass

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fúesə	(D) puresi
Kanakanabu (Y)	ʔuburau	
Saaroa (Ts)	əberae	(Y) ɬú:ɣu

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	berát'	(O1) buraθ
Oponohu (O1)	və:ao	(Maga dialect, O1) bo ^ə se
Favorlang (H)	dasso	
Thao (L)	éá:šoq	(B) laso
Pazeh (F)	binaxu'án	(D) iyezaraha
Saisiat (Ts)	ši'ši'	(O1) boai
Paiwan (F)	va:t	(D) vat
Puyuma (F)	verás	(D) vurras, (B) abrass
Ami (F)	fərác	(D) vurat
Bunun (F)	tílas, kílas	(D) terras
Kuvalan (F)	beyás	(Ta) b'rass, rras, (D) vokas
Siraya (B)	pak	
Yami (F)	mugiş	(from Japanese?)

PLANTS

RICE (cooked)RICE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mami?	(Ta) mamiukh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mámi?	
Sediq (F)	ʔí dau	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	náveu	
Kanakanabu		
Saaroa (Ts)	o:ro (Y) u:ru, siavavaisa	(Th) oaro

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔagá?	(Th) curao, ba-ouro
Oponohu (O1)	vaʔoro	(Maga dialect, O1) bro, (Tona dialect, O!) bra
Favorlang (H)	lalla	
Thao (L)	ʔá:fu?	
Pazeh (F)	sumái	(Th) somai
Saisiat (Ts)	pazay	
Taokas (M)	kaan ("food"?)	
Paiwan (F)	ʔinálek; pápa?	(children's word)
Puyuma (F)	maðerú?	
Ami (F)	həmái	
Bunun (F)	háisiq	
Kuvalan (F)	ʔmai, ʔəmái	(Ts) m:áy (Ta) mai
Siraya (U)	mey, rouvog	
Yami (F)	kanen ("food")	(O1) i:dau

PLANTS

SWEET POTATO (see also TARO)SWEET POTATO

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ŋahiʔ	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	náhiʔ	
Sediq (F)	búŋaʔ	(B) bunga

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fʔúe	
Kanakanabu (Y)	támmi	
Saaroa (Ts)	mairaqə	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	hərasíʔ	
Oponohu (O1)	maeraŋu	
Favorlang		
Thao (L)	bú:naʔ	(B) buna
Pazeh (F)	dadás	(B) dadass
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔäwpir	
Paiwan (F)	veratíʔ	
Puyuma (F)	verasíʔ	(B) abua
Ami (O1)	koŋa (Northern dialects, O1)	voŋa
Bunun (F)	ʔútan	
Kuvalan (F)	qaupiy	(Ta) hopir
Siraya (B)	tamani	
Yami (F)	wakai	

PLANTS

TAROTARO

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	saihoi
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	céhur
Sediq (F)	sári (O1) qəloqqon

TSOUC

Tsou (T)	ucéi
Kanakanabu (O1)	tanəke
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔintabaŋə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ta'íʔ
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	lá:riʔ
Pazeh (F)	dukún
Saisiat (Ts)	rokol
Taokas (M)	kaup
Paiwan (F)	vásaʔ; (O1) qaqil "mountain taro"
Puyuma (F)	vuqir
Ami (F)	kónə, foŋəʔ (O1) tari
Bunun (F)	ʔútan
Kuvalan (F)	səba:táʔ (Ta) dari "sweet potato"
Siraya (U)	
Yami (F)	ʔuviʔ; sulí "water taro"

ANIMALANIMAL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qsinuu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	'asinu' (wild animal)
Sediq (F)	camat

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eoansóu (all living creatures); fóu ("flesh")
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	kuli'í

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bulebulái
Favorlang	
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	binauzáh
Saisiat (Ts)	'äyäm
Paiwan (F)	qəmuziquzíp
Makazayazaya (F)	mujimújip
Puyuma (F)	ǵarúm ("flesh")
Rikavong (S)	ñayañayam
Ami (F)	'a'ałopén
Bunun (F)	takimás mután (wild animal)
Kuvalan (F)	siañmék (siymék ?)
Siraya	
Yami (F)	jimajimamayúk

ANIMALS

CLAW/NAIL (of animal) (see also FINGERNAIL)CLAW/NAIL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	karoh	(Ta) kakāmin "fingernail"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kakāmil	
Sediq (F)	kúkuh	(B) kukuh "fingernail"

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	súku (of bird); húʔo	"fingernail"
Kanakanabu (Y)	anuka	
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔaʔoko (Y) uṇuʔ(u)	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kaloko'á'	
Favorlang (H)	aso, chielchiel	
Thao (L)	kú:kuʔ	(B) kuku "fingernail"
Pazeh (F)	kali:kúx	(B) kalikuh "fingernail"
Saisiat (Ts)	kakloköh	
Paiwan (F)	kaluskúsan	
Puyuma (F)	hamái	(B) ske "fingernail"
Ami (F)	kinoʔés	
Bunun (F)	kuşkúş (of man, dog, monkey); síkis (of large animal)	
Kuvalan (F)	nóqes (Ts) qa:més	(Ta) knukuss "fingernail"
Siraya (B)	kalungkung	("fingernail")
Yami (F)	kukúd (O1) kokoʔ	

FAT/GREASE (of animal)FAT/GREASE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	siam (O3) siyam, qano
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	sieŋ
Sediq (F)	si'aŋ, licəx

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hése ("oil")
Kanakanabu (Y)	aŋilisi
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔimare; (Y) urái "cooking oil"

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	simá'
Favorlang (H)	hema
Thao (L)	li:maš
Pazeh (F)	səlém
Saisiat (Ts)	šima'
Paiwan (F)	qárev
Makazayazaya (F)	láulau, láulav
Puyuma (F)	laulau (also "oil")
Rikavong (S)	imar
Ami (F)	simár
Bunun (F)	símal
Kuvalan (F)	simá' (Ts) missiʔ
Siraya (U)	gimach (G) jmagh
Yami (F)	ʔáneŋ (A) yana "oil"

ANIMALS

HAIR (of animal) (see also SMALL FEATHER)HAIR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) kúmis
 Sediq (F) qláqel

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) feóu
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ?obál'
 Favorlang (H) duppoch
 Thao (L) kúpur
 Pazeh (F) bekés
 Saisiat

Paiwan (F) qúval
 Makazayazaya (F) ?úvis
 Puyuma (F) humúl

Ami (F) fanoq
 Bunun (F) huşpíl
 Kuvalan (F) banús (Ts) ba:nəs
 Siraya
 Yami (F) bəbú'

ANIMALS

HORNHORN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qihui
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?ihur
Sediq (F)	?urup

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	súpu
Kanakanabu (Y)	uúpu
Saaroa (Ts)	?o:nc

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	la'ón
Oponohu (O1)	laonó
Favorlang (H)	bag, bage
Thao (L)	wá:qa?
Pazeh (F)	?uxúp
Saisiat (Ts)	käh?ón

Paiwan (F)	teqúp
Puyuma (F)	šo?ap
Rikavong (S)	soñan

Ami (F)	wa?a? (Tolan dialect, O1)	pohon
Bunun (F)	vahá?	
Kuvalan (F)	wa:kí?	
Siraya		
Yami (F)	?urúp	

ANIMALS

TAIL (of land animal) (see also BACK)TAIL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) ɲuɲuʔ (O1) telipuɲ
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) ɲuɲuʔ
 Sediq (F) ɲuɲuʔ

TSOUC

Tsou (T) cívci
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) ʔisisi (Y) isiisi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) tawés (O1) taoto
 Oponohu (O1) ʔiko (Maga dialect, O1) ikivi
 Favorlang (H) kier
 Thao (L) wa:wíšwiš
 Pazeh (F) dulút
 Saisiat (Ts) kiko'

Paiwan (F) 'íku' (ʔíku:ʔ)
 Puyuma (F) 'ikur
 Rikavong (S) ikor

Ami (F) wikór (Toulan dialect, O1) purut
 Bunun (F) 'íkul (other dialects, O1) višviš
 Kuvalan (F) liqéʒ (Ts) lⁱe:qóɿ
 Siraya (U) ikog
 Yami (F) 'ipús

TOOTH/FANG (of animal)TOOTH/FANG

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	waqeits (also human canine tooth)
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	wawa'it
Sediq (F)	wáqit [wáq ^ə its]

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hísi ("tooth")
Kanakanabu (Y)	anísi ("tooth")
Saaroa (Ts)	ali: ("tooth")

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	walís
Favorlang (H)	labies "tusk"
Thao (L)	ní:pin
Pazeh (F)	walís
Saisiat (F)	wališ "tusk"
Paiwan (F)	'ális
Puyuma (F)	wáli?
Ami (F)	pacékis
Bunun (F)	nípun
Kuvalan (F)	wayés (Ts) ban ^ə is
Siraya (U)	walig
Yami (F)	'uşuŋ

ANIMALS

ANTEATER/PANGOLINANTEATER

ATAYALIC

Sq-liq Atayal (E)	qom
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔoŋ
Sediq (F)	ʔárup

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hiaemóza
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔarəmə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	karáraʔ
Oponohu (O1)	ka:rara
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	qá:lum
Pazeh (F)	ʔarúm
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔä'əm
Paiwan (F)	qam
Puyuma (F)	qarém
Ami (F)	ʔarom
Bunun (F)	hálum
Kuvalan (F)	ʔiyém
Siraya	
Yami	--

BEAR (Ursus tibetanus)BEAR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ɲarux	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ɲaruh	
Sediq (F)	kúmai, súmai	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cmói	
Kanakanabu (O1)	cumaǎ	
Saaroa (Ts)	cumi'í	(Th) chumatu

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	cumái	(Th) choumatu, choumai
Oponohu (O1)	comae	
Favorlang (H)	choma	
Thao (L)	θú:may	
Pazeh (F)	taɲa:déx	
Saisiat (Ts)	somay	
Paiwan (F)	cúmai	
Puyuma (F)	ɬumái	
Ami (F)	tomai	
Bunun (F)	túmaǎ	
Kuvalan (F)	tu:mái	
Siraya (U)	toumey	
Yami	--	

ANIMALS

BUFFALOBUFFALO

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kaciŋ	(Ta) kating
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	wanuh rarapa?	
Sediq (F)	dapapáru?	(B) dapa "cow"

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ua-chúmu	(ua "deer," chúmu "water")
Kanakanabu (Y)	kalavúŋ	
Saaroa (Ts)	kalaboŋo	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	lo'án	(O1) go:ŋ "cow"; sakimkim ¹ "buffalo"
Oponohu (O1)	noaŋ	
Favorlang (H)	loan	
Thao (L)	qnú:wan	(D) k̄atsin "ox"; (B) kalabas knuan "cow"
Pazeh (F)	no'án	(D) noan "ox"; (B) balasa noang "cow"
Saisiat (Ts)	yabaka? ¹	
Paiwan (F)	sakimkim, ŋú'iq	(D) agungan "ox"
Makazayazaya (F)	lúan	(D) roan "ox"
Puyuma (F)	sakimkim	(D) gun "ox"; (B) agung "cow"
Rikavong (S)	hoŋ	"cow, bull"
Ami (F)	ŋo'éŋ; taŋakoroŋ	"cow" (D) kurún "ox"
Bunun (F)	hanvaŋ pušháiv	
Kuvalan (F)	kaváu	(Ts) qa:báu (Ta) k'raŋao "buffalo"; (D) waka ¹ "ox"
Siraya (U)	louang	"ox"
Yami (O1)	baka? ¹	

(Note: 1. From Spanish vaca.)

ANIMALS

DEER (Cervus (Rusa) unicolor Swinhoii)DEER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) qanux (Ta) uánukh, (D) wokannohu
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) wanúh
 Sediq (F) rəqənúh (B) tamat

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) úa (D) uwa
 Kanakanabu (O1) butunu
 Saaroa (Ts) butoło (Th) putouru

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ?unuáq
 Oponohu (O1) ?aloŋa?ə (Maga dialect, O1) şileribu,
 (Tona dialect, O1) salaŋa:nu
 Favorlang (H) binnan; rau-a "hind"
 Thao (L) qnú:wan (B) knuan
 Pazeh (F) nuaŋ (B) luhut, (D) ruho^t
 Saisiat (Ts) wă?ă?
 Taokas (M) masa
 Paiwan (F) vénan (D) vunnan
 Puyuma (F) marném (spotted deer); (O1) viao (B) abiao
 Ami (F) ŋafor; maronəm (D) ŋgavol
 Bunun (F) hánvaŋ (D) kannuwan
 Kuvalan (F) şiaŋmék (siymék ?) (Ts) siaymóq (Ta) bas-
 san, (D) apol
 Siraya (U) fnang, gwey (B) nang
 Yami --

ANIMALS

DEER ('Pygmy' Deer) (Muntiacus reevesi micrurus)DEER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) para?
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) para?
 Sediq (F) páda?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) snemáso (O1) ta'ace
 Kanakanabu (Y) taúlun (O1) sakut
 Saaroa (Ts) tauroŋo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) 'akéc'
 Oponohu (O1) hakece (Maga dialect, O1) ʔəkəce
 Favorlang (H) rau-a "hind"; massoro
 Thao (L) tá:kiθ
 Pazeh (F) makét
 Saisiat (Ts) 'ako?
 Taokas (M) masa "deer"

Paiwan (F) takəc
 Puyuma (F) ʔurá?

Ami (F) mancər
 Bunun (F) sakut
 Kuvalan (F) qəluvu:lán (Ts) mli:mú?
 Siraya (U) fnang, gwey "deer"
 Yami --

DOGDOG

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	huzil	(Ta) hu-il, (D) hoyel
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	huʒil	
Sediq (F)	húliq	(B) hulin

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	abʔú	(D) avou
Kanakanabu (Y)	cacáu	
Saaroa (Ts)	tasau	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	taupón	
Favorlang (H)	mado; zito "little dog"	
Thao (L)	ʔá:tuʔ	(B) atu
Pazeh (F)	waʒúʔ	(B) wadzu, (D) wazzo
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔähöʔ	
Taokas (M)	maro	
Paiwan (F)	vátuʔ	(D) vatu
Puyuma (F)	su'án	(B) shuan, (D) soan
Ami (F)	wácoʔ	(D) watso
Bunun (F)	ʔásuʔ	(D) atso
Kuvalan (F)	wásuʔ	(Ta) wasu, (D) wasu
Siraya (U)	assou	(B) asu
Yami (F)	ʔinuʔ (from Japanese)	

ANIMALS

GOATGOAT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mit
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mi:t, mi:c
Sediq (F)	mirit

TSOUC

Tsou (T)	moatá'ne
Kanakanabu (O1)	takuíši
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔokoi (Th) okin

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kisísi (Th) kéhé
Oponohu (O1)	keʔe
Favorlang (H)	kamas "he-goat"
Thao (L)	θí:θiʔ
Pazeh (F)	mu'is
Saisiat (Ts)	širiʔ
Paiwan (F)	siziʔ
Puyuma (F)	takulís (Pinan dialect, O1) širi
Ami (F)	siriʔ
Bunun (F)	sídiʔ
Kuvalan (F)	meli: (Ts) si:ziʔ; ql ^ə bu:lán (domesticated)
Siraya (U)	iou
Yami (F)	kagelin

LEOPARD-CATLEOPARD-CAT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kli? (01) yikili
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	raklít
Sediq (F)	rekəlít

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eú?ho
Kanakanabu (Y)	ukúnau
Saaroa (Ts)	lokoło (Th) lakotl

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	rikuláu (Th) likalao, rikoslao
Oponohu (01)	rikulao (Maga dialect, 01) rikulo
Favorlang (H)	ranniran
Thao (L)	rúkdaw
Pazeh (F)	maxís
Saisiat (Ts)	'oklaw
Taokas (M)	balau "cat"
Paiwan (F)	rikúlau
Puyuma (F)	rikuláu
Ami (F)	rokláu
Bunun (F)	kúkuq (01) koknab
Kuvalan (F)	sakú na na'up (Ts) loqnáw
Siraya (U)	rangarang, voutol
Yami	--

ANIMALS

MONKEY

MONKEY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) iuṇai (D) yuⁿgai
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) zúṇi:
 Sediq (F) rúṇai

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) ṇhóu (D) ṇgohō
 Kanakanabu (Y) ṇkóu
 Saaroa (Y) tapúlaciṇ (Ts) tapulacono

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) to:buló? (Taromak dialect, O1) babila
 Oponohu (O1) movoroko
 Favorlang (H) pichi
 Thao (L) rúṠun
 Pazeh (F) ʔaṇedáx (D) rutōpo
 Saisiat (Ts) 'oson

 Paiwan (F) dá'ir (D) karan, putsawan
 Makazayazaya (F) lavíṇan
 Puyuma (F) úṇai (D) ruton

 Ami (F) rotón (D) ruton
 Bunun (F) 'úton (D) hutton
 Kuvalan (F) 'otún (Ts) ʔo:tón (D) hogoton
 Siraya (U) routong
 Yami (F) saru? (from Japanese); (O1) acaciṇa

ANIMALS

PIG (wild)PIG

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	bziok (also domesticated pig)
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	bazuk
Sediq (F)	bóyak

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fúzu
Kanakanabu (O1)	baburu
Saaroa (Ts)	aləmələ; baboło (special hunting term) (Th) aroumthi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	babúi (Th) babouy
Oponohu (O1)	vavoe (Maga dialect, O1) vlisma, (Tona dialect, O1) valisano
Favorlang (H)	babo, baboe
Thao (L)	wá:diš
Pazeh (F)	ba'užák (B) baruzak
Saisiat (O1)	walisan
Paiwan (F)	vávui
Puyuma (F)	vavúi
Ami (F)	fafói
Bunun (F)	vániš
Kuvalan (F)	babúi
Siraya (U)	kavoulon
Yami	--

ANIMALS

PIG (domesticated)PIG

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	bziok	(Ta) vei-uakh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	baʒuk	
Sediq (F)	bábui	(B) babui

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	feéé	
Kanakanabu (Y)	tutúi	
Saaroa (Ts)	taʒake	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	be'ák'	(O1) kolokolo
Oponohu (O1)	hoveʔeke	
Favorlang (H)	babo, baboe	
Thao		(B) babui
Pazeh (F)	ba'uzák	(B) baruzak
Saisiat (Ts)	baboy	
Taokas (M)	kowako	
Paiwan (F)	qácaŋ, ríriʔ	
Puyuma (F)	verék	(B) aliu
Rikavong(S)	liyŋ	
Ami (F)	lí'oŋ	
Bunun (F)	bábu'	
Kuvalan (F)	babúi	
Siraya (U)	vavoy	(B) babui
Yami (F)	ku'is	

RAT/MOUSERAT/MOUSE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	quliʔ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔólit
Sediq (F)	qólit

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	búhci
Kanakanabu (O1)	toŋiŋi
Saaroa (Ts)	taloboco

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	telikiʔ
Favorlang (H)	kadzies, kadzys
Thao (L)	mášmaš
Pazeh (F)	ʔadús
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔäwhäs
Paiwan (F)	kurávau, qavúŋar
Puyuma (F)	tutús
Ami (F)	ʔešóʔ, ʔloʔ
Bunun (F)	ʔalu'áé
Kuvalan (F)	motén (Ts) mu:tún (mouse in house); mla:báw
Siraya (U)	tagouliang
Yami (F)	karám

ANIMALS

SQUIRRELSQUIRREL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	bhut
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	buhút
Sediq (F)	bəlihot

TSOUIC

Tsou	
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	laparaŋ'isisi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bobot'
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	taqitáqi?
Pazeh (F)	bauhulú?
Saisiat (Ts)	kabhöt
Paiwan (F)	veɣ
Puyùma (F)	vəɣ
Ami (F)	sofór
Bunun (F)	puktú?
Kuvalan (F)	buyét (Ts)·la:pís
Siraya	
Yami	

CRAB

CRAB

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	khkagaŋ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kakágaŋ
Sediq (F)	kəráraŋ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eóŋo
Kanakanabu (Y)	apáse
Saaroa (Ts)	?apase (Y) apási

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	?apás'
Oponohu (O1)	hapase
Favorlang (H)	aggan
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	kaxáŋ
Saisiat (Ts)	ka'aŋ
Paiwan (F)	gaŋ
Puyuma (F)	haraŋ
Ami (F)	karaŋ
Bunun (F)	kakálaŋ
Kuvalan (F)	wayáŋ
Siraya (U)	apas, gnile
Yami (F)	kaláŋ

ANIMALS

EELEEI

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tlaqii
Ci'uli Atayal (O1)	talaʔe
Sediq (F)	sú'il

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tupeóza
Kanakanabu (Y)	berépa
Saaroa (Ts)	berəpa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	tuláʔ
Oponohu (O1)	tola
Favorlang (H)	meried
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	tuláʔ (large); ʔai'és (small)
Saisiat (Ts)	tolaʔ
Paiwan (F)	ʔúlaʔ
Puyuma (F)	tuláʔ
Ami (F)	tołaʔ
Bunun (F)	simalúkiʔ
Kuvalan (F)	lipái
Siraya (U)	toula
Yami (F)	lunaʔ

ANIMALS

FISHFISH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	quleh	(Ta) siukh, kulikh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔucih	
Sediq (F)	qecúruḡ	(B) churuk

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eóske	
Kanakanabu (Y)	vutúkulu	
Saaroa (Ts)	butukuḡo	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ká'aḡ	
ʔoponohu (O1)	kaʔaḡu	
Favorlang (H)	tsi	
Thao (L)	rú:ḡaw	(B) lotsao
Pazeh (F)	ʔaláu	(B) alao
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔalaw	
Taokas (M)	giati	
Paiwan (F)	ciqau	
Makazayazaya (F)	číʔav	
Puyuma (F)	vuláu	(B) kurao
Ami (F)	fotiḡ	
Bunun (F)	ʔiḡkan	
Kuvalan (F)	ba'ét	(Ts) ba:ót (Ta) vaūt
Siraya (U)	tging, thung, dhyng	(B) tug, (G) thing
Yami (F)	ʔaməḡ	

ANIMALS

SNAKESNAKE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mqu?	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kúya?	
Sediq (F)	qúyu?	(B) kuzu

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fkói	
Kanakanabu (O1)	funai	
Saaroa (Ts)	buli'í	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔelolái	(Taromak dialect, O1) sulan
Oponohu (O1)	ʔuraʔa	
Favorlang (H)	ibien	
Thao (L)	qłú:ran	(B) tsolan
Pazeh (F)	ʔəžét	(B) udzeud
Saisiat (Ts)	šiba'iʔ	
Paiwan (F)	qaʔúvi'	
Makazayazaya (F)	ʔatúvil	
Puyuma (F)	ʔunan	(B) onunan
Ami (F)	ʔonar	
Bunun (F)	ʔívut	
Kuvalan (F)	siqqái	
Siraya (U)	vouly, vaulei	(B) bulai, (G) voulei
Yami (F)	vulái	

ANIMALS

BIRDBIRD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qhniq	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kabahníʔ	
Sediq (F)	qəbəxəniʔ	(B) bahani

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	zómə
Kanakanabu (Y)	tapianápai
Saaroa (Ts)	alámə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔadaám	
Favorlang (H)	mampa	
Thao (L)	rúmfaé	(B) lungfah
Pazeh (F)	ʔayám	(B) aiam
Saisiat (Ts)	kabkabäha'	
Taokas (M)	beya	
Paiwan (F)	qayaqáyam	
Puyuma (F)	qáyam	(B) aiam
Ami (F)	ʔayám	
Bunun (F)	haám	
Kuvalan (F)	ʔalám	
Siraya (U)	ayam	(B) aiam, (G) ajajam
Yami (F)	miasaşaláp	

BIRDS

CHICKEN/FOWLCHICKEN/FOWL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	inta?	(Ta) yaoal, inta, weilung
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	gilun	
Sediq (F)	róduh	(B) rouduch

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	teoúa	
Kanakanabu (Y)	tarikúka	
Saaroa (Ts)	toroko:ka	(Th) turhouk

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	torokóku?	(Th) turkouk
Oponohu (O1)	tarokoko	
Favorlang (H)	kokko, iyoyum	
Thao (L)	ránaw	(B) lanao
Pazeh (F)	patáru?	(B) pataro
Saisiat (Ts)	tata'a?	
Paiwan (F)	kúka?, vúyu?	
Puyuma (F)	vuyú?	(B) turko
Rikavong (S)	torokok	
Ami (F)	kókoq	
Bunun (F)	tólkok	
Kuvalan (F)	tela:qóq	(Ta) rakok, t'rahokh
Siraya (U)	pijsiou; tahoucki "hen"	(B) tahuka, (G) taoukka
Yami (F)	manuk	

EGGEGG

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	baziŋ	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	baziŋ	
Sediq (F)	báluŋ	(B) balung

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fcúeu
Kanakanabu (Y)	icúuru
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔasare

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	batók'	
Oponohu (O1)	karadoro	(Maga dialect, O1) bruce
Favorlang (H)	rini	
Thao (L)	qarí:θuy	(B) kalasoi
Pazeh (F)	batúʔ	(B) batu
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔesizo'	
Paiwan (F)	qecíluʔ	
Puyuma (F)	vetinún	(B) abetnum
Ami (F)	fitaqór, fitaʔór	
Bunun (F)	loloḅunún	
Kuvalan (F)	ti:yóh	(Ts) ti:yóy
Siraya (F)	popgag	(B) popak
Yami (F)	ʔicei'	(A) ičai

BIRDS

FEATHER/PLUME (long feather) (see also WING)FEATHER/PLUME

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	paliʔ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔalihu'
Sediq (F)	pálit

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eopúŋu
Kanakanabu (Y)	apúŋu
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔalapoŋo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	parídi' (Other dialect, OI) ʔaridi
Favorlang (H)	chaar
Thao (L)	lí:daš (B) kopur
Pazeh (F)	bəkés (also "hair") (B) bukuss
Saisiat (Ts)	'oböh
Paiwan (F)	ʔásau
Makazayazaya (F)	páral
Puyuma (F)	ʔiker (tail feather); pakpak (wing feather) (B) agumalaiaim
Ami (F)	ʔopíñ
Bunun (F)	páneʔ
Kuvalan (F)	pakez (Ts) li:nás "tail feather"
Siraya (U)	ilil (B) ribing
Yami (F)	pañíd

FEATHER/DOWN (small feather) (see also HAIR)FEATHER/DOWN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) kumis
 Sediq (F) ?úbal (B) ubal

TSOUIC

Tsou
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) po:poka

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) romó:
 Favorlang (H) chaar "feather"
 Thao (L) kúpur (B) kopur
 Pazeh (F) bəkés (B) bukuss
 Saisiat
 Taokas (M) takun

 Paiwan (F) súdip
 Puyuma (F) húmul (B) agumal

 Ami (F) ?opíñ
 Bunun (F) puláu
 Kuvalan (F) vanús (Ts) kba:neł
 Siraya (B) ribing
 Yami (F) bubú' (A) bubuy

BIRDS

WINGWING

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	pali?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	'alihu'
Sediq (F)	pálit

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eopúpu
Kanakanabu (O1)	apoupu
Saaroa (Ts)	puake (Y) alápuu

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	parédi';	sapak'pak' (muscle of wings)
Oponohu (O1)	ciyaru	
Favorlang (H)	chaar	
Thao		
Pazeh (F)	papa:lít	
Saisiat (Ts)	'ä'áz	
Paiwan (F)	'ásau	
Makazayazaya (F)	paral	
Puyuma (F)	pakpak	
Ami (F)	sapikpík	
Bunun (F)	páne?	
Kuvalan (F)	pakéz (Ts)	pa:kóꞤ
Siraya (U)	papalis	(G) paparyl
Yami (F)	pañid	

BIRDS

ANTSANTS

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qtahi?, hniu?un
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	zaplit
Sediq (F)	?úyah

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	sosóea
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	?aira

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	darél'
Favorlang (H)	oggom
Thao (L)	kakú:lum
Pazeh (F)	?alái
Saisiat (Ts)	?a'?awzäh
Paiwan (F)	sásiq
Puyuma (F)	qivavréq
Rikavong (S)	ñiyavoleq
Ami (F)	kakunañ
Bunun (F)	?ivútaé
Kuvalan (F)	ruzém (Ts) lu:kém
Siraya (U)	avavougim, karamoukam
Yami (F)	va'ú?

INSECTS

BEDBUGBEDBUG

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	pitai
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	katipaꝯ
Sediq (F)	təpitai

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cəꝯo
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	limali

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	taliaba:líu'
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	ḡanhí:lan
Pazeh (F)	kapa'ín
Saisiat (Ts)	
Paiwan (F)	cacúmuq
Puyuma (F)	ṭaṭumúq
Ami (F)	fəꝯáú
Bunun (F)	tumḡí?
Kuvalan (Ts)	ti:lán
Siraya	
Yami (F)	tamunúꝯ

BEE (honeybee)BEE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hziŋ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hiŋiŋ
Sediq (F)	wálu?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	teŋŋo
Kanakanabu (O1)	anu
Saaroa (Ts)	aŋo'o

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	va:lú' (O1) walo, ʔomo
Oponohu (O1)	halo
Favorlang (K)	tappoesan
Thao (L)	éaáí:nid, éáqéaq (?)
Pazeh (F)	walú?
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	'alu' "honeybee"; ʔáinan "bee" (general)
Puyuma (F)	walú?
Ami (F)	facacənar
Bunun (F)	váno?
Kuvalan (F)	pénai (Ts) p ^ə nnái; wa:nú? "honeybee"
Siraya (U)	houwalou
Yami (F)	tapipi?

INSECTS

BEE (wasp; hornet)BEE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) triuŋ "wasp"; baŋaʔ "hornet"
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) tərí'uŋ " baŋaʔ "
 Sediq (F) teji'uŋ " beŋhúr "

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) teóeu
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) lo:loco

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) sigú:'
 Favorlang
 Thao (L) lálkaǎ, fulí:yaʔ, krá:θaʔ
 Pazeh (F) kakitíʔ "wasp"; tido:hón "hornet"
 Saisiat

 Paiwan (F) páŋac
 Puyuma (F) tiǎel "hornet"

 Ami (F)
 Bunun (F) ŋuhúsǎǎ
 Kuvalan (F) tulíq (Ts) tu:liéq
 Siraya
 Yami

BUTTERFLYBUTTERFLY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	təmayan, qəbirai, paopao
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	rapiri?
Sediq (F)	təláwai

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tokueúea
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ta:po?ai

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	?alivavará:, ?alibauban
Favorlang	
Thao	
Pazeh	
Saisiat (Ts)	papa'o?
Paiwan (F)	karirupurúpul
Puyuma (F)	sirusirupán
Ami (F)	pałaláki?, ?alipaṇpaṇ
Bunun (F)	ḡuliku'án
Kuvalan (F)	pu:láu
Siraya	
Yami (F)	papád nu ?anítu

INSECTS

FLEAFLEA

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qmici?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?amugal
Sediq (F)	təmáqui

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	timéo
Kanakanabu (Y)	atímua
Saaroa (Ts)	?atimula

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	timakél'
Oponohu (O1)	simakoro
Favorlang (H)	zimaro
Thao (L)	qatití:ra?
Pazeh (F)	ti'í?
Saisiat (Ts)	ka?tim
Paiwan (F)	qaṭimṭim
Puyuma (F)	ḡatímela?
Ami (F)	tomés
Bunun (F)	túmḡi?
Kuvalan (F)	tilán; tumés "gnat" (Ts) timyá? (Ta) timora'
Siraya (U)	attatimtim
Yami	

LOUSE (of body)LOUSE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	sumiq
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	lúmi?
Sediq (F)	cúmiq

'TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	timéo (01) toioce
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	carace

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	da:cə?, da:co?
Oponohu (01)	kotso
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	túmḃuḥ
Pazeh (F)	ʔisilau babulai
Saisiat (Ts)	somäh
Paiwan (F)	tácu?
Puyuma (F)	raratú?
Ami (F)	ʔatimra?
Bunun (F)	túmḃeḥ
Kuvalan (F)	tiran (Ts) tu'més
Siraya	
Yami	

INSECTS

LOUSE (of head)LOUSE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kuhiŋ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kuhiŋ
Šediq (F)	qúheŋ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ʔcuu
Kanakanabu (Y)	kúcu
Saaroa (Ts)	kucoʔo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ko:co:
Oponohu (O1)	gaʔaco
Favorlang (H)	ocho, acho
Thao (L)	kú:θuʔ
Pazeh (F)	babulái
Saisiat (Ts)	kosoʔ
Paiwan (F)	kúcuʔ
Puyuma (F)	kutúʔ
Ami (F)	kotoʔ
Bunun (F)	kutúʔ
Kuvalan (F)	kutúʔ (Ts) qo:tóʔ
Siraya (U)	conto
Yami (F)	kútuʔ

MOSQUITOMOSQUITO

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kui? ("worm, insect")
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	paku?
Sediq (F)	perekai

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	moeóce
Kanakanabu (Y)	sikulápe
Saaroa (Ts)	latika:sə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔatatimaláu (Taromak dialect, O1) tumuŋutu
Oponohu (O1)	ararikiši
Favorlang (H)	rieb
Thao (L)	rikiš
Pazeh (F)	tibáun
Saisiat (Ts)	tataŋo'
Paiwan (F)	səlaplad
Puyuma (F)	peðpeð
Rikavong (S)	keŋkeŋ
Ami (F)	rikeš
Bunun (F)	tikaš /čikaš/
Kuvalan (F)	yi'is (Ts) y ^o is
Siraya (U)	rikig
Yami (F)	šemaláp (O1) tamunŋ

INSECTS

SPIDERSPIDER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) yaoqai
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) nakarit
 Sediq (F) peráubau

TSOUIC

Tsou
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) sarapo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) takeraravat'
 Favorlang (H) tarrara
 Thao
 Pazeh (F) kaka:sú? (cf. Favorlang zikatas "silkworm")
 Saisiat

 Paiwan (F) kumakúma?
 Puyuma (F) kakamáŋ

 Ami (F) fafarotónŋ
 Bunun (F) kekátu?
 Kuvalan (F) va:tónŋ (Ts) pa:qáw
 Siraya (U) rauwa
 Yami (F) ?ayayawá?

WORMWORM

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kúíʔ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kúí'aʔ
Sedíq (F)	ku'íʔ

TSOUC

Tsou (T)	pólo ("earthworm")
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	kuliʔi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔalələbai
Favorlang (H)	kilal "earthworm"; ziga "maggot"
Thao (L)	kukú:lay; dílkay "maggot"
Pazeh (F)	makái; žihíqái "maggot"
Saisiat (Ts)	šibšiba'iʔ
Paiwan (F)	qaʔuviʔuvi'
Puyuma (F)	quléd
Ami (F)	faʔóʔ; cacopiʔ "maggot"
Bunun (F)	ʔivutád; šašanoʔ; lili'uʔ
Kuvalan (F)	kaurey, kourey
Siraya (F)	qaió:qót
Yami (F)	'u'əd

INSECTS

MAN/HUMAN BEINGMAN/HUMAN BEING

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	squliq	(Ta) s'khulikh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ci'uli?	
Sediq (F)	sədiq	[sejig] (O1) se?ediq, sa:diq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cóu	
Kanakanabu (Y)	cáu	
Saaroa (Ts)	cuco?o	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔomás'	
Oponohu (O1)	ucao	
Favorlang (H)	cho, babosa	
Thao (L)	θáw	
Pazeh (F)	sáu	(B) sanh (?)
Saisiat (Ts)	mä?iyäh	
Taokas (M)	sanuf	
Paiwan (F)	caucáu	
Puyuma (F)	tau	(B) atou
Ami (F)	tamláu	
Bunun (F)	ḅúnun	
Kuvalan (F)	za:rát	(Ts) la:zát (Ta) razat, zarat
Siraya (U)	sidaia	(G) ta'u "people"
Yami (F)	tau	

MAN/MALE (see also MAN/HUMAN BEING)MAN/MALE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) mlikul (Ta) malikwi, (D) murekoi
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) mulíkul
 Sediq (F) senáu

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) hahóçpe (D) hahutsun
 Kanakanabu (Y) saronái
 Saaroa (Ts) ɬaɬusa (Th) lalusa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) sawalái (Th) sarellai, aoolai
 Oponohu (O1) o:mowö
 Favorlang (H) sham
 Thao (L) ʔa:yú:diʔ (B) sput
 Pazeh (F) mama:lén (D) mamarun, (Th) mamalung
 Saisiat (Ts) kamamanra'an
 Taokas (M) matakan

 Paiwan (F) 'uqálai (D) ohayai
 Makazayazaya (F) 'uʔálai (D) arai
 Puyuma (F) maqínai (D) utu, (Th) mainaen

 Ami (F) faʔínayan (D) vainai
 Bunun (F) bananaé (D) vananak
 Kuvalan (F) 'unanái (Ts) yonanáy (Ta) riunanai
 Siraya (U) cagoulong (B) amama, (G) kaɬuloung
 Yami (F) me'akái (D) shichi

PEOPLE

CHILDCHILD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	laqiʔ	(Ta) ulai, ulakhi, (D) rakei
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	'uléʔ	
Sediq (F)	láqiʔ	(B) lakai

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	óko, foinána	(D) okku
Kanakanabu (Y)	mánu	
Saaroa (Ts)	mamaini	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	rola'i	(O1) lalak'
Oponohu (O1)	ma:rolae	(Tona dialect, O1) valake
Favorlang (H)	shiem	
Thao (L)	ʔaá:áak	(B) alalak
Pazeh (F)	laqihán	(D) rakehal, (B) rakihal
Saisiat (Ts)	korkorin	
Taokas (M)	gālim	
Paiwan (F)	ʔáalak	(D) aryak "son"
Puyuma (F)	ʔalák	(B) mainaian "boy"; (D) wara
Ami (F)	wawaʔ	(D) wawa
Bunun (F)	'uváá	(D) uwa'a
Kuvalan (F)	su:nís	(Ta) suniss, (D) soness
Siraya (U)	allack	
Yami (F)	kanakán	(A) anak

PEOPLE

WOMANWOMAN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kneril	(Ta) kaneiril, (D) kunairin
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kanil	
Sediq (F)	qəlídil	(B) makaidil

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mamespiñi	(D) mamespinge
Kanakanabu (Y)	nánnake	
Saaroa (Ts)	ałaina	(Th) atlain

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔababái	(Th) abaia
Oponohu (O1)	omoko	(Maga dialect, O1) bibbe
Favorlang (H)	mamali	
Thao (L)	mináwʔad, ñináwʔad	
Pazeh (F)	mama'is	(B) mamais, (D) mamayus, (Th) maméoss
Saisiat (Ts)	miñkoriñan	
Taokas (M)	maholi	
Paiwan (F)	vaváyan	(D) vavayan
Puyuma (F)	vavayán	(D) omos; (B) babaian "girl"
Ami (F)	fafahi'án	(D) vavayan
Bunun (F)	piñad	(D) vennoa
Kuvalan (F)	tañuñán	(Ta) tarungan, (D) turu ⁿ gan
Siraya (U)	ina	(B) inina
Yami (F)	mavakés, vavakés	

PEOPLE

FATHERFATHER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	iaba?	(Ta) yaba, yava, aba, (D) yava
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	yába?	
Sediq (F)	táma?	(B) taina

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	amó	(D) ammu
Kanakanabu (O1)	cuma	
Saaroa (Ts)	ama?a	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ta:má?	
Oponohu (O1)	hamake	(Tona dialect, O1) tatava? ¹ , mao ²
Favorlang (H)	màu	
Thao (L)	?á:ma?	(B) ama
Pazeh (F)	'abá?	(B) aba, (D) ava
Saisiat (Ts)	yaba?	
Taokas (M)	tapu	
Paiwan (F)	káma?	(D) kamma, ama
Puyuma (F)	təmamá? ¹ , ?ama? ²	(B) ama, (D) ama
Ami (F)	wáma?	(D) ama
Bunun (F)	tama?	(D) tama
Kuvalan (F)	ta:má?	(Ta) tamma, (D) tama
Siraya (U)	sama, rama	(B) dama
Yami (F)	?ama?	

(Note: 1. Form of reference.
2. Form of address.)

PEOPLE

MOTHERMOTHER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	iaia?	(Ta) aia, (D) yaya
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	yaya?	
Sediq (F)	búbu?	(B) bubu

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	inó	(D) ennu
Kanakanabu (Y)	cína	
Saaroa (Ts)	ina?a	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	tiná?	
Oponohu (O1)	hinake	(Maga dialect, O1) nina ¹ , nao ²
Favorlang (H)	nai	
Thao (L)	?í:na?	(B) ina
Pazeh (F)	?iná?	(B) ina, (D) ina
Saisiat (Ts)	?oya?	
Taokas (M)	taai	
Paiwan (F)	kína?	(D) kina
Puyuma (F)	ta'ína? ¹ , ?iná? ²	(B) ina, (D) ina
Ami (F)	wina?	(D) ina
Bunun (F)	tína?	(D) tena
Kuvalan (F)	tí:na?	(Ta) tina, (D) tena
Siraya (U)	sená, rena	(B) jena, (G) dena, ina
Yami (F)	'ína?	

(Note: 1. Form of reference.
2. Form of address.)

PEOPLE

GRANDFATHERGRANDFATHER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	iutas
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	yútas
Sédiq (F)	báki?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	akʔi
Kanakanabu (Y)	támu "grandparents"
Saaroa (Ts)	tamoʔo "grandparents"

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	to'móʔ
Oponohu (O1)	aməwö
Favorlang (H)	boeboe "grandparents"
Thao (L)	ʔápuʔ "grandparents"
Pazeh (F)	ʔakúŋ "grandparents"
Saisiat (Ts)	bakiʔ
Paiwan (F)	vúvuʔ "grandparents"
Puyuma (F)	təmu'án, imu "grandparents"
Ami (F)	fakiʔ "grandfather"; fufuʔ "grandparents"
Bunun (F)	ištámaʔ to naštámaʔ ("father's father")
Kuvalan (F)	ba:qi: (Ts) ba:qéiʔ
Siraya	
Yami (F)	ʔakai

GRANDMOTHERGRANDMOTHER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	iaki?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	yáki?
Sediq (F)	pa'i

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	bái
Kanakanabu (Y)	támu "grandparents"
Saaroa (Ts)	tamo'ó "grandparents"

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ka'ípu?
Oponohu (O1)	omoko (Maga dialect, O1) kakroŋo
Favorlang (H)	boeboe "grandparents"
Thao (L)	?á:pu? "grandparents"
Pazeh (F)	?akúŋ "grandparents"
Saisiat (Ts)	koko?
Paiwan (F)	vúvu? "grandparents"
Puyuma (F)	tému'án "grandparents"
Ami (F)	fúfu? "grandparents"
Bunun	--
Kuvalan (F)	ba'í (Ts) ba:i?
Siraya	
Yami (F)	'akeŋ

PEOPLE

SIBLING (older)(older) SIBLING

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qsuián
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?asuzán
Sediq (F)	qəbsúlan

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	oháeva
Kanakanabu (Y)	kanakanaúa
Saaroa (Ts)	ałalua

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	taká?
(Maga dialect, O1)	kaka
Favorlang (H)	machen
Thao (L)	tantú:qaš ("older brother")
Pazeh (F)	mamáh "older brother"; yah "older sister"
Saisiat (Ts)	minatini?
Paiwan (F)	káka? "sibling" (older or younger)
Puyuma (F)	vau
Rikavong (S)	iva
Ami (F)	kaka?
Bunun (F)	maštúhaş
Kuvalan (F)	qa:qá? (Ta) haha
Siraya (U)	sacka (G) niłhł "sister"; tɛ?i-appara "brother"
Yami (F)	kaká?

SIBLING (younger)(younger) SIBLING

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) ssue?
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) susé?
 Sediq (F) su'ái

TSOUC

Tsou (T) oháesa
 Kanakanabu (O1) kana-ruwa
 Saaroa (Ts) ðimilabæ

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ?agí?
 Oponohu (O1) aiðe (Tona dialect, O1) gili
 Favorlang (H) beries
 Thao (L) šašuwá:di?
 Pazeh (F) sua:zi? [sua:ji?]
 Saisiat (Ts) mirayti?
 Taokas (M) uili

 Paiwan (F) kaka? "sibling" (older or younger)
 Puyuma (F) wadi?
 Rikavong(S) maralak

 Ami (F) safa?
 Bunun (F) masináuða?
 Kuvalan (F) sua:ni? (Ta) swani
 Siraya (U) viil
 Yami (F) (ši)warí?

PEOPLE

ANCESTOR (see also GRANDFATHER)ANCESTOR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	mərəho rarar ("adults of loŋg-ago")
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	nakis rali' "
Sediq (F)	rudan cəbi'áu "

TSOUIC

Tsou	
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Y)	alaama

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	tarialalái
Favorlang (H)	boeboe ("grandparent, forefather")
Thao (L)	ʔá:puʔ "grandparent"
Pazeh (F)	ʔapuʔapúʔ
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	kinacəmkəlán
Puyuma (F)	təmu'án
Ami (F)	ritaritetəńán
Bunun (F)	pasampánah (?)
Kuvalan (Ts)	ma:sáŋ
Siraya	
Yami (F)	'inapúʔ

PEOPLE

OLD PERSON (adult)¹ (see also GRANDFATHER, ANCESTOR) OLD PERSON

ATAVALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) mnkis (Ta) navákiss
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) nakis
 Sediq (F) rúdan

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) móemo (O1) mameoi
 Kanakanabu (O1) maraṇu
 Saaroa (Ts) aḷa:ma (Y) lamama

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) maredán
 Oponohu (O1) marodáṇu
 Favorlang (H) masham, mababosa "old man"; tabboen "adult"
 Thao (L) taqutú:qaš
 Pazeh (F) hakè:žén ?a sau
 Saisiat

 Paiwan (F) ramaleṇ, vurvúruṇ
 Puyuma (F) maqizāṇ; daudau'án "married person"

 Ami (F) mariteṇái
 Bunun (F) madaiṇáá
 Kuvalan (F) baibelén (Ts) ba:qqayán (male), bayblán
 (female)
 Siraya (U) thong "married man"
 Yami (F) raraké'

(Note: 1. In general, one is considered an "adult" or "old person" upon marriage, even if this takes place while one is still very young.

PEOPLE

YOUNG PERSONYOUNG PERSON

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) mərəkiyas
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) mal'kul "young man"
 S'ediq (F) r'isau

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) foinana "young man"
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) alamuro (Y) arāaramúrua

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) makatabará:'
 Favorlang (H) matacha "young"; bado "unmarried young man"
 Thao (L) makútnel ("young and strong" ?)
 Pazeh (F) mahiža:bái
 Saisiat (Ts) ?al?alak

 Paiwan (F) qaqunu'án, magaṭuvuṭúvun
 Puyuma (F) lalákzan

 Ami (F) ka?maṇái (child?)
 Bunun (F) 'uvádaṇ
 Kuvalan (F) kapah (Ts) su:nis
 Siraya (U) rarauwey
 Yami (F) malalavayú?

I

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kuʔ, sakuʔ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	siʔ, kuʒiŋ
Sediq (F)	yákuʔ (B) yako

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	áo (O1) aʔo
Kanakanabu (Y)	-ku
Saaroa (Ts)	-ako, iłako

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kunakoʔ
Oponohu (O1)	haŋale (Maga dialect, O1) kəke
Favorlang (H)	ina
Thao (L)	yá:kuʔ (B) yako
Pazeh (F)	yakúʔ (B) yako
Saisiat (Ts)	yako', ya'o'
Paiwan (F)	ti'áqən, -áqən
Puyuma (F)	ʔiŋkúʔ (B) iko
Ami (F)	kákoʔ
Bunun (F)	dákuʔ
Kuvalan (F)	ʔaikúʔ (Ta) aiku
Siraya (U)	yao (B) ya-u
Yami (F)	yakén (A) aku

PRONOUNS

THOUTHOU

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	isu?	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?isə?	
Sediq (F)	?isu?	(B) issu

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	súu
Kanakanabu (Y)	iikásu
Saaroa (Ts)	ilao, -o

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kəsó:'	
Oponohu (O1)	haŋao	(Maga dialect, O1) muʂu, (Tona dialect, O1) ko:su
Favorlang (H)	ijo	
Thao (L)	?í:hu?	(B) iho
Pazeh (F)	?isiú?	(B) issu
Saisiat (Ts)	ʂo'o'	
Paiwan (F)	tí-sun	
Makazayazaya (F)	ti-hun	
Puyuma (F)	?ínu?	(Pinan dialect, O1) yoyo (B) yu
Ami (F)	kíso'	
Bunun (F)	?iʂú?	
Kuvalan (F)	?aisú?	(Ts) ?aysó?, -isó? (Ta) áisu
Siraya (B)	inuhu	
Yami (F)	?imu?	

PRONOUNS

HEHE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hia?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hí'a?
Sediq (F)	hí'a?

TSOUIC

Tsou (O1)	ta, si, hi, hini
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ilaisa, -isa(na)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kua:ní?	
Favorlang (H)	icho, ai	
Thao (L)	θí:θu?	(B) latero
Pazeh (F)	ʔimisiu?	
Saisiat (Ts)	siya'	
Paiwan (F)	timáðu	
Puyuma (F)	ʔin táu (O1) ʔiziu?	(B) inadioa
Rikavong (S)	izo-na-ṭao	
Ami (F)	ʔomirá?	
Bunun (F)	sáitia?	
Kuvalan (F)	ʔaizip	(Ta) aisu haia (?)
Siraya (U)	ni	
Yami (F)	sí-ku'itu?	(A) s-iyá

PRONOUNS

WE (exclusive)WE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	sami	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	cámi	
Sediq (F)	yámi	(B) yamo

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	aá?mi, amía, ná?mi	
Kanakanabu (Y)	iikimin	
Saaroa (Ts)	ilałamo, -amo	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kenái	
Oponohu (O1)	hañanai	(Tona dialect, O1) ki:name
Favorlang (H)	nāmo	
Thao (L)	yá:min	(B) yamin
Pazeh (F)	yamí:'	(B) yami
Saisiat (Ts)	yami'	
Paiwan (F)	ti-ámən, -amən	
Puyuma (F)	?iniam	(B) itai
Ami (F)	kámi	
Bunun (F)	éámi'	
Kuvalan (Ts)	?aymí?, -imi?	
Siraya		
Yami (F)	yamén	

WE (inclusive)WE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ita?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	'ita?
Sediq (F)	'ita?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	áto
Kanakanabu (O1)	ikita
Saaroa (Ts)	ilata, -ita

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kunakú?, kota
Oponohu (O1)	imite (Maga dialect, O1) mete, (Tona dialect, O1) ki:ta
Favorlang (H)	torro
Thao (L)	?ita?
Pazeh (F)	?ita?
Saisiat (Ts)	?ita, ta
Paiwan (F)	ti-mica, tí-đen
Puyuma (F)	?intá?
Ami (F)	kíta?
Bunun (O1)	?ata
Kuvalan (Ts)	?aytá?, -ita?
Siraya	
Yami (F)	yatén

PRONOUNS

YOU (plural)YOU

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	simu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	címu?
Sediq (F)	yámu?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	múu
Kanakanabu (O1)	i:kamu
Saaroa (Ts)	ilamo, -mo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	konomi	
Oponohu (O1)	hañanumi	(Maga, O1) mumu, (Tona, O1) komu
Favorlang (H)	ima, ioa	
Thao (L)	ʔi:húman	(B) latawan
Pazeh (F)	'imú?	(B) imu
Saisiat (Ts)	moyo'	
Paiwan (F)	ti-mún	
Puyuma (F)	ʔinmú?	(B) yu
Ami (F)	kámo?	
Bunun (F)	kámu?	
Kuvalan (Ts)	ʔaymó?, -imo?	
Siraya		
Yami (F)	'íñu?	

THEYTHEY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	lhga?, nga?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	laha?
Sediq (F)	tahí'a? (B) abarao

TSOUIC

Tsou	
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ilaisa, -isa(na)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kuanilaka'í'
Favorlang (H)	decho
Tháo (L)	ǾáyǾuy (B) itiawan
Pazeh (F)	ya:misiú? (B) yasia
Saisiat (Ts)	lasiya'
Paiwan (F)	tiamádu?
Puyuma (F)	naziú (B) inadioa
Rikavong(S)	nazo-na-tao
Ami (F)	?omiranán
Bunun (F)	rúma?
Kuvalan (F)	mazəmun ya'ó' (Ts) kammáw
Siraya	
Yami (F)	siraitu? (A) sila

PRONOUNS

ARM (upper) (see also HAND/ARM)ARM

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O1) lilyeq "armpit" (Ta) kiumin "upper arm"
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) kiki?
 Sediq (F) kákak (B) abatha "arm"

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) h'ih'fi "armpit"
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) 'aracupa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) tabalápa' "armpit"
 Favorlang (H) tea; lili "armpit"
 Thao (B) bitrilin "arm"
 Pazeh (B) binangwan "arm"
 Saisiat

Paiwan (F) valaŋalaŋán "armpit"
 Puyuma (F) ləŋləŋ (B) asul "arm"
 Rikavong (S) ŋasəl

Ami (F) faŋaŋaran
 Bunun (F) maŋhanan; kusú'an "armpit"
 Kuvalan (F) pulu:bék (Ts) pulu:búk (Ta) b'lubuk
 Siraya (U) pariau (B) pario "arm"
 Yami (F) 'arelawáŋ

BODY

BACK (see also TAIL)BACK

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	toro, soro	(Ta) suru
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	bokwi?	
Sediq (F)	búkwi?	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	f'úhu
Kanakanabu (Y)	kukúca
Saaroa (Ts)	likoso

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	dérék'
Oponohu (O1)	đuruhe
Favorlang (H)	sies
Thao (L)	ri:kuθ
Pazeh (F)	bukún
Saisiat (Ts)	'ikor

Paiwan (F)	úqul
Makazayazaya (F)	'u'úl
Puyuma (F)	rikužán
Rikavong(S)	likožar

Ami (F)	koror	
Bunun (F)	'íku'	
Kuvalan (F)	sáwaq (Ts)	to:yól (Ta) doror
Siraya (U)	ricos, kator	
Vari (F)	pişagatán (A)	likud

BELLYBELLY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ktu?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	labos
Sediq (F)	búyas

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	béeo	(D) vūro
Kanakanabu (Y)	vecéke	
Saaroa (Ts)	cibuka	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	baráp'	
Oponohu (O)	varápe	
Favorlang (H)	cháan	
Thao (L)	tí:yaə	(D) ruvoas
Pazeh (F)	ti'án	(D) tyal
Saisiat (Ts)	tiyál	
Paiwan (F)	ťí'al	(D) tteyat, tteyai
Puyuma (F)	ti'ál	(D) tteyal
Ami (F)	ti'ál	(D) teyas
Bunun (F)	ti'án	(D) tteyan
Kuvalan (F)	pélés (Ts)	bellés (Ta) tian, (D) tteyan
Siraya (U)	vouil, vauml	
Yami (F)	vélék	

BODY

BLOODBLOOD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ramu?	(D) rammo
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ramuzuh	
Sediq (F)	dára?	(B) dara

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hmúeu	(D) hampul
Kanakanabu (Y)	caráu	
Saaroa (Ts)	cara?e	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	erái	
Oponohu (O1)	erae	
Favorlang (H)	taga	
Thao (L)	tá:lum	(B) tatsom
Pazeh (F)	damú?	(B) damuh, (D) damo
Saisiat (Ts)	ramo?	
Taokas (O2)	tahah	
Paiwan (F)	qámuq	(D) yamok
Puyuma (F)	éaráq	(B) damok, (D) modomok
Ami (F)	'iraq (O1)	r ^o mes (D) iran
Bunun (F)	háiraq	(D) kaidan
Kuvalan (F)	yaináq	(Ts) ye:náq (Ta) rinang, (D) renan
Siraya (U)	ámagh, gamach	(B) gama, (G) xmaʒh
Yami (F)	rala?	

BODY

BONE (see also RIBS)BONE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qniʔ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	baniʔ
Sediq (F)	bu'ut

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	céehə
Kanakanabu (Y)	cuúan
Saaroa (Ts)	cúlalə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	rəmerém	
Favorlang (H)	oot	
Thao (L)	pú:quʔ	
Pazeh (F)	bun (bu'un ?)	
Saisiat (Ts)	böʔöl	
Paiwan (F)	ʔəqrál	
Puyuma (F)	ʔokák	
Rikavong (S)	okak	
Ami (F)	ʔokak	
Bunun (F)	tóhnaə	
Kuvalan (F)	tiyán (Ts) tiayán	(Ta) tiran
Siraya (U)	toural	
Yami (F)	tu'áŋ (A) tuyan	

BODY

BRAINBRAIN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tunu?	(cf. btunux "head")
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	lú'iq	
Sediq (F)	lúqi'	

TSOUIC

Tsou (LH)	punuu
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	puno'o

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	lo'ós	
Favorlang (H)	zene, tatto o roog	
Thao (L)	tú:nu?	
Pazeh (F)	tunú?	
Saisiat (Ts)	tono?	
Paiwan (F)	púnuq	
Puyuma (F)	punúq	
Ami (F)	ponóq	
Bunun (F)	púnuh	
Kuvalan (F)	puséq (Ts) pu:nél	(Ta) punül
Siraya (U)	hoele	
Yami (F)	'u'eték	

BODY

BREASTBREAST

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	bubu?	(D) vovo
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	búbu?	
Sediq (F)	núnuh	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	nún ^o u	(D) nunu
Kanakanabu (O1)	mumu	
Saaroa (Ts)	?ususu	(Y) uséusu

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	totó?	
Oponohu (O1)	şuso	
Favorlang (H)	zido	
Thao (L)	tútu?	
Pazeh (F)	nu:nóh	(D)nunoho
Saisiat (Ts)	höhö?	
Taokas (O2)	ridok	
Paiwan (F)	tútu?	(D) tutu
Puyuma (F)	súsu?	(D) susu
Ami (F)	cocó?	(D) tsutsu
Bunun (F)	súsu?	(D) tsitsi
Kuvalan (F)	si:sú?	(D) sisu
Siraya (U)	oho	
Yami (F)	şuşu?	(D) soso

BODY

BREATH (see also BREATHE)

BREATH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	sunáʔ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kiʃiliʔ
Sedíq (F)	həpák

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	nsóu
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	lo:roania:

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wa'eréʔ
Favorlang (H)	char, chachsas
Thao (L)	šnáv
Pazeh (F)	'iniʔmuhe:nís
Saisiat (Ts)	ka'ehnak
Paiwan (F)	násiʔ
Puyuma (F)	yaʔápaé
Ami (F)	séráŋ
Bunun (F)	ʔiʃʔaŋ
Kuvalan (F)	səpáh (Ts) səpáz
Siraya (U)	koroch
Yami (F)	'uminawáʔ

BODY

BUTTOCKSBUTTOCKS

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) qetsiyan (Ta) veiyukh
 Ci'uli Atayal
 Sediq (F) súlai

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) pcóo
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) ?amusula, piñiliusu (Y) tisi?i

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) dekél
 FAVORLANG (H) biorool
 Thao (L) pá:qi?
 Fازه (F) mutút
 Saisiat (Ts) katozokan

 Paiwan (F) qil (anus ?)
 Makazayazaya (F) si?ilad
 Puyuma (F) težék

 Ami (F) hemót
 Bunun (F) toho?
 Kuvalan (F) pu:núz (Ta) punur, punuz
 Siraya (U) pohol
 Yami

CHEEK

CHEEK

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tocin
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ɲurus
Sediq (F)	dəqəras

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	pino
Kanakanabu (Y)	cimíʔi
Saaroa (Ts)	cumiʔi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	rabiŋ
Favorlang (H)	sameer, samere
Thao (L)	šá:qiš
Pazeh (F)	dadimán
Saisiat (Ts)	piʔiʔ
Paiwan (F)	qimi'
Puyuma (F)	qimír
Ami (F)	kaciʔəŋ
Bunun (F)	pi'iŋ
Kuvalan (F)	pi:ŋiʔ
Siraya (U)	timy
Yami (F)	peŋŋiʔ

BODY

CHESTCHEST

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	peškutao	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	caga?	
Sediq (F)	bélah	(B) turũng

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tʔóeŋa	
Kanakanabũ		
Saaroa (Ts)	ilabe	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	to:ko'ó'	
Favorlang (H)	arrabis	
Thao (L)	páku?	(B) paku
Pazeh (F)	žebežép	(B) yenbeuzeub
Saisiat (Ts)	ka'ra?	
Paiwan (F)	váruŋ	
Puyuma (F)	taheráŋ	(B) tagran
Ami (F)	farohaŋ	
Buhun (F)	kánum	
Kuvalan (F)	zaszás	(Ta) danga "breast"
Siraya (U)	avàu, vagonga	(B) abu
Yami (F)	vatavat	

EAREAR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	papak	(Ta) papak, (D) papak
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ciap'é? $\sqrt{t\check{s}yanyé?}$	
Sediq (F)	bírat	(B) birut

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	kóeu	(D) kōru
Kanakanabu (Y)	téke	
Saaroa (Ts)	caliṇa	(Th) charunga

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	cáliṇa?	(Th) charinga
Oponohu (O1)	cariṇa	
Favorlang (H)	charrina	
Thao (L)	lari:na?	(B) sarina
Pazeh (F)	sa'iṇa?	(B) sangira, (D) sa ⁿ gera
Saisiat (Ts)	sale'e'	
Taokas (M)	sarinau	
Paiwan (F)	cariṇa?	(D) tsari ⁿ ga
Puyuma (F)	taliṇa?	(B) tangira, (D) ra ⁿ gera, (Th) tungila
Ami (F)	tariṇa?	(D) tari ⁿ ga
Bunun (F)	tapi'á?	(D) tainga
Kuvalan (F)	ka:yál	(Ta) kalar, (D) kayal
Siraya (U)	tangira	(B) tangira, (Th) tangela
Yami (F)	taliṇa?	(D) taregan

BODY

EXCREMENTEXCREMENT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	quci?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?uti?
Sediq (F)	qúti?

TSOUIC

Tsou(T)	t?ée
Kanakanabu (Y)	tá?i
Saaroa (Ts)	ti:ʔi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	?aucakí?
Oponohu (O)	take
Favorlang (H)	che
Thao (L)	θá:qi?
Pazeh (F)	sáik
Saisiat (Ts)	sä?i?
Paiwan (F)	cáqi?
Puyuma (F)	taqí?
Ami (F)	tá?e?
Bunun (F)	táke?
Kuvalan (F)	ta:l; voqal (of animal)
Siraya (U)	taing
Yami (F)	ebét (A) tači

EYEEYE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	loziq	(Ta) ro-i, rao-i, (D) raoyăk
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	rozi?	
Sediq (F)	dóriq	(B) dourŭk

TSOUC

Tsou (T)	mcóo	(D) mutso, (Th) muchen
Kanakanabu (Y)	vóini	
Saaroa (Ts)	bulaili	(Th) ouraitla

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	macá?	(Th) macha
Oponohu (O1)	maca	
Favorlang (H)	macha, magcha	
Thao (L)	má:θa?	(B) nasa
Pazeh (F)	dau'ík	(B) dourik, (D) daorek, (Th) darik
Saisiat (Ts)	masa?	
Taokas (O2)	masa	
Paiwan (F)	máca?	(D) matsa
Puyuma (F)	maťá?	(B) mata, (D) mata
Ami (F)	matá?	(D) mata
Bunun (F)	máta?	(D) mata
Kuvalan (F)	ma:tá?	(Ta) mata
Siraya (U)	matta	(B) mata, (D) mata
Yami (F)	máta?	(D) mata

BODY

FACEFACE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	rqias
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ražes
Sediq (F)	daqáras

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	sápci
Kanakanabu (Y)	capaijóini
Saaroa (Ts)	bulaii (also "eye")

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	riñáu
Oponohu (O1)	maca ^o
Favorlang (H)	morra
Thao (L)	šá:qiš (also "cheeks")
Pazeh (F)	dá'is
Saisiat (Ts)	kinmä [?] kyähän
Paiwan (F)	mudiñan
Puyuma (F)	muđiñán
Ami (F)	rawái
Bunun (F)	dáhiš
Kuvalan (F)	ža'is (Ts) ža:is (Ta) ra-iss, za-iss
Siraya (U)	vlung
Yami (F)	mu'fñ

BODY

FINGERFINGER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tluliŋ	(Ta) taluling
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	talúliŋ	
Sediq (F)	kəlúdiŋ	(B) tuluding

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	luʔlúku
Kanakanabu (O1)	tabi:ni
Saaroa (Ts)	piŋipiŋia

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	galaugau	
Oponohu (O1)	ramoco	
Favorlang (H)	apillo	
Thao (L)	fi:ləq	
Pazeh (F)	kakamut	(B) kakamua
Saisiat (Ts)	tatreʔ	
Paiwan (F)	caluđúqan	(cf. Siraya dadukam "hand")
Makazayazaya (F)	sitúlek	
Puyuma (F)	əariwaʔawaʔan; tatimus	"index finger" (B)
Rikavong (S)	əariwañwañan	timush
Ami (F)	taroləq	
Bunun (F)	tanúduh	
Kuvalan (F)	tənuliŋ	(Ts) tənú:ləl (Ta) nulir, nuzil
Siraya (U)	kagamos	(B) kagamus, (G) kɛamos
Yami (F)	kakamai	(O1) tanuluʔ

BODY

FINGERNAIL (see also CLAW)FINGERNAIL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kkamil	(Ta) kakámin
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kakamil	
Sediq (F)	kúqel	(B) kukuh

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	huʔo	
Kanakanabu (Y)	anúka	
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔaʔoko	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kalókua'	
Oponohu (O)	loka	
Favörlang (H)	aso	
Thao (L)	kú:kuʔ	(B) kuku
Pazeh (F)	kalikúx	(B) kalikuh
Saisiat (Ts)	kakloköh	
Paiwan (F)	kaluskusán	
Puyuma (F)	hámai	(B) ske
Ami (F)	kinoʔés	
Bunun (F)	tanaʂtinaʔ	
Kuvalan (F)	knukús (Ts)	qno:qós (Ta) knukuss
Siraya (U)	kalongkong	(B) kalungkung
Yami (F)	taʂa'éd	(A) kuku

FLESH/MEATFLESH/MEAT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hiʔ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔasinuʔ
Sediq (F)	wáwaʔ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fóu, beáhci
Kanakanabu (Y)	aláme
Saaroa (Ts)	papaʔa, tilaʔalə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bu'át'
Oponohu (O1)	votolo
Favorlang (H)	bóá
Thao (L)	búnlaə
Pazeh (F)	rumút
Saisiat (Ts)	bori'
Paiwan (F)	vúʔəl
Puyuma (F)	qalúm
Rikavong (S)	isi
Ami (F)	héciʔ
Bunun (F)	títiʔ /čičiʔ/
Kuvalan (F)	ʔəsíʔ (Ts) ʔs:iʔ (Ta) bisor
Siraya (U)	wat, vaat (G) vouäl "body"
Yami (F)	ʔasisíʔ

BODY

FOOT (SOLE) (see also LEG, FOOT)FOOT (SOLE)

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) rapal
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) 'apal
 Sediq (F) dápil (B) kapal papük "foot"

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) cáphə (Th) sapchi
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) sapələ "foot"; kerəpə "sole" (Th) sapatl

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) kapár'
 Favorlang
 Thao (L) θá:paə
 Pazeh (F) sa:kakelá? (B) dadapal 'foot"
 Saisiat (Ts) rapal
 Taokas (M) rawa "foot"

Paiwan (F) karapkápan
 Puyuma (F) áápal (B) dapal "foot"

Ami (F) sarípaq (D) saripa
 Bunun (F) dalápa'
 Kuvalan (F) ʔu:kap nayapán (Ts) ye¹kán
 Siraya (U) rahpal, sapal, tiltil (D) rapal, (B) tintin "foot"

Yami (F) rapan

FOREHEAD (see also BRAIN, FACE, CHEEK)FOREHEAD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O1) lehoi, lyehoi (Ta) lihui
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) lihur
 Sediq (F) kedúruk

TSOUIC

Tsou
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) tauco^o

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ponó^o
 Favorlang (H) tees
 Thao
 Pazeh (F) dadi:mán
 Saisiat (Ts) rä^oiš

Paiwan (F) dáqis
 Puyuma (F) tu^oúr

Ami (F) ta^oár
 Bunun (F) púnuh (also "brain")
 Kuvalan (F) te^oeyál (Ts) tu^ou:yél (Ta) ngorll, woüll
 Siraya (U) moula
 Yami (F) rurugu'án

BODY

GUTSGUTS

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	gius
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	giş
Sedıq (F)	'ıraq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	sóeu
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	bæle (of fish) (?)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bo'óro'
Favorlang (H)	oda
Thao (L)	rúmrum
Pazeh	
Saisiat (Ts)	ma'asay
Paiwan (F)	vu'
Puyuma (F)	ṭinaqı'
Ami (F)	tina'ıq
Bunun (F)	sılu
Kuvalan (F)	nalnaq (Ts) tná:l, neya:sóy
Siraya	
Yami (F)	cina'i' (tinayı' ?)

HAIR (of head)HAIR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	snonux, hnonux	(Ta) yunukh, (D) sinorrohu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hinúnuh	
Sediq (F)	sənúnuh	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fʔése	(D) housu
Kanakanabu (Y)	vəkése	
Saaroa (Ts)	bəkə:	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	'isi'oʔ	(Th) ussioi
Oponohu (O1)	iyoʔo	
Favorlang (H)	tau, ratta	
Thao (L)	húkiš	
Pazeh (F)	bukés	(D) vukkus, (Th) bakus
Saisiat (Ts)	bokəš	
Paiwan (F)	qúval	(D) kovaji
Makazayazaya (F)	ʔúval	(D) oval
Puyuma (F)	qarvóʔ	(D) aruvo
Ami (F)	fukés	(D) vūkos
Bunun (F)	holbóʔ	(D) koruvo
Kuvalan (F)	buqés	(Ta) vukšss, (D) vokko
Siraya (U)	voukig, vaukugh	(Th) bukaun
Yami (F)	'uvək	

BODY

HAIR: BEARD (see also LIPS, MOUTH)HAIR: BEARD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ɲurus	(Ta) nguruss, (D) ⁿ gorus
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kumis	
Sediq (F)	ɲúdus	(B) muduski

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mʔúmʔu	(D) maomao
Kanakanabu (O1)	bariɲaru	
Saaroa (Ts)	bariɲare	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ɲisaɲisi	
Oponohu (O1)	ɲiaɲiʔi	
Favorlang (H)	ranob	
Thao (L)	ɬi:ɬu	(B) bilu
Pazeh (F)	mudús	(B) muduss, (D) moddos
Saisiat (Ts)	romiŝ	
Paiwan (F)	ɲisɲis	(D) ⁿ gis ⁿ gis
Puyuma (F)	ɲisɲis	(D) ⁿ gisi ⁿ gisi, (B) nishnish
Ami (F)	ɲisɲis	(D) ⁿ gis ⁿ gis
Bunun (F)	ɲisɲis	(D) ⁿ gisi ⁿ gisi
Kuvalan (F)	mu:mús	(Ta) mumuss, (D) mumus
Siraya	(B) gingi	
Yami (F)	'amiɲ	(D) yanim

BODY

HAIR (of body)HAIR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	bukil
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kumis
Sediq (F)	'úbal

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	m [?] úm [?] u; fsífsi "pubic hair"
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔokołoco (Y) ɲi:ɲíli "pubic hair"

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	'obál' (O1) obisi "pubic hair"
Favorlang (H)	duppoch
Thao (L)	kúpur; qú:miš "pubic hair"
Pazeh (F)	bukés
Saisiat (Ts)	pizos
Taokas (M)	takun (?)
Paiwan (F)	séríp; qúvis "pubic hair"
Puyuma (F)	humúl; qúviʔ "pubic hair"
Ami (F)	fanoñ; kuməs "pubic hair"
Bunun (F)	huşpíl
Kuvalan (F)	banús (Ts) ba:nés
Siraya	
Yami (F)	bubúʔ (A) yamut, lamit "pubic hair"

BODY

HAND/ARM (see also ARM (upper))HAND/ARM

ATAYALIC

- Squliq Atayal (E) qba?; rapa? "palm" (D) kava, (Ta) keiman;
ava "palm"
- Ci'uli Atayal (F) ?aba?
- Sediq (F) bawa?

TSOUIC

- Tsou (T) múcu, emúcu (D) mutsu, (Th) ramucha
- Kanakanabu (Y) ramúcu
- Saaroa (Ts) ramoco (Th) ramucho

PAIWANIC

- Rukai (F) ?a:rimá?; setapai "palm" (Th) arema
- Favorlang (H) rima; addas "palm"
- Thao (L) rí:ma? (B) lima
- Pazeh (F) 'imá (B) rima, (D) rima
- Saisiat (Ts) 'ima?
- Taokas (M) lima
- Paiwan (F) rima?; qaviáqan "palm" (D) rima
- Puyuma (F) lima?; darukap "palm" (B) rima, (D) rima
- Ami (F) kamái (cf. CLAW) (D) kayam
- Bunun (F) 'ima?; laipád "palm"
- Kuvalan (F) limá?; yukáp "palm" (Ta) lima; rukap,
(D) rima
- Siraya (U) rima (B) dadukam
- Yami (F) líma?; rukap "palm" (A) tanoḷo "hand"

BODY

HEAD (see also BRAIN, FOREHEAD)HEAD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	btunux	(Ta) túnukh, (D) tonnohu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	túnuh	
Sediq (F)	túnuh	(B) tunuch

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fɲúu	(D) ponngo
Kanakanabu (Y)	nabúpu	
Saaroa (Ts)	boŋoʔo	(Th) bangou

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔáoloʔ	(Th) kapallu
Oponohu (O1)	alipuhó	
Favorlang (H)	oeno	
Thao (L)	pú:nuq	(B) puno
Pazeh (F)	punúʔ	(B) punu, (D) ponō, (Th) pounat
Saisiat (Ts)	taʔólöh	
Taokas (M)	bodron	
Paiwan (F)	qúruʔ	(D) kōru
Puyuma (F)	ʔapúruq	(B) tangaro, (D) ta ⁿ gal, (T) tungrow
Ami (F)	foŋóñ	(D) wo ⁿ goho
Bunun (F)	búpuʔ	(D) vongō
Kuvalan (F)	'uʔúʔ	(Ts) ʔo:ʔóʔ (Ta) uru, uvu
Siraya (U)	vaungo, vongo	(B) hungu, (D) uho
Yami (F)	'u'uʔ	(D) voboya

BCDY

HEAD (top of --)HEAD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal
 Ci'uli Atayal
 Sediq (F)

qəlpáu

TSOUIC

Tsou
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa

PAIWANIC

Rukai
 Favorlang (H)
 Thao (L)
 Pazeh (F)
 Saisiat

totton oeno
 ʔúđun
 babáu punúʔ

Paiwan (F)
 Puyuma

kulipapulu'án

Ami (F)
 Bunun (F)
 Kuvalan (F)
 Siraya
 Yami (F)

fanfə́nán
 hanípuʔ
 limyu:nán
 təktek

BODY

HEART (organ)HEART

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kualun	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	temubahak	
Sediq (F)	tamabálaq	(B) tamabahak

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	t'úhu	
Kanakanabu (Y)	téke	
Saaroa (Ts)	likələcəla	(Th) takaru

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔavaváʔ	(Th) kasso, toukuho
Favorlang (H)	totto, tutta	
Thao		(B) risi
Pazeh (F)	babúʔ	(B) babuh
Saisiat (Ts)	kokoʔ	
Paiwan (F)	qavúvun	
Puyuma (F)	qavuvún	
Rikavong (S)	mołodołodo	
Ami (F)	farocéq̄	
Bunun (F)	hapútuŋ	
Kuvalan (F)	ʔa:ném	(Ta) anũm
Siraya (U)	tintin	(B) abu, (G) tyntyn
Yami (F)	ta'er	

BODY

HEART/MINDHEART/MIND

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) inuṇan
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) lah'bún
 Sediq (F) ləhbún

TSOUIC

Tsou
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) təkə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) kiremarém
 FAVORLANG
 Thao (L) šú:riə
 Pazeh (F) babú? (B) babuh
 Saisiat

 Paiwan (F) váruṇ
 Puyuma (F) ʔaṇér (B) rigangran, (Th) ne-rung-arung

 Ami (F) farocéq̄
 Bunun (F) ʔiṣʔáṇ
 Kuvalan (F) valák
 Siraya (U) vate "soul" (B) abu "heart"
 Yami (F) nakənakém

BODY

KNEEKNEE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tariʔ	(Ta) tari	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	tariʔ		
Sediq (F)	puŋuʔ	pəqalít	(B) pungguh

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	káʔli,	pʔúŋu	
Kanakanabu (Y)	éve		
Saaroa (Ts)	lasaɬe	(Th) anasatou	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	pacórʔ	(Th) poukuro,	sakaho
Favorlang (H)	po-o		
Thao (L)	qá:ruf	(B) kalu	
Pazeh (F)	ʔílás	(also "moon")	(B) ilass
Saisiat (Ts)	pöʔöʔ		
Paiwan (F)	cúpar		
Puyuma (F)	vurán	(B) shungar	
Rikavong (S)	tozo		
Ami (F)	toros		
Bunun (F)	máloŋ		
Kuvalan (F)	túsuz	(Ts) tu:séz	(Ta) dusur
Siraya (U)	doudoch	(B) dudu	
Yami (F)	'etéd		

LEG/FOOT (see also FOOT (SOLE))LEG/FOOT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kakai	(Ta) kakai
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	papak	
Sediq (F)	qáqai	(B) papuk

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tʔáŋo	
Kanakanabu (O1)	kéke	
Saaroa (Ts)	sapaŋe "foot"; sa:e "leg"	(Th) saptl

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	dapal' (Dialect, O1) daʔal'	(Th) tsapku, amou
Oponohu (O1)	kavəcerae	
Favorlang (H)	asiel	
Thao (L)	ǂántaθ "leg"; kúθkuθ "foot"	(B) bantat "leg", kakai "foot"
Pazeh (F)	karáu	(B) karao, (D) karao
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔäʔäy	
Taokas (M)	rawa	
Paiwan (F)	kúra'	(D) kūra
Puyuma (F)	kufʔ	
Ami (F)	ʔoʔoq̄	
Bunun (F)	ǂántaʃ	(D) vantas
Kuvalan (F)	ya:pán	(Ta) rapan
Siraya (U)	toural	
Yami (F)	ʔai'iʔ	

BODY

LEG: CALFLEG: CALF

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (OJ) meryū
 Ci'uli Atayal
 Sediq (F) kúlau qaqaí

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) mabéea
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) papaʔurace sa:e

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) bo'bo'áʔ
 Favorlang (H) chad, sachier
 Thao (L) búntuθ "lower leg"
 Pazeh
 Saisiat (Ts) kinotimoʔan

 Paiwan (F) leḡedán
 Makazayazaya (F) vutvútan "lower leg"; ʔánel "calf-muscle"
 Puyuma (F) priḡ

 Ami (F) ʔari'atoʔ
 Bunun (F) nohóḡ
 Kuvalan (F) tatás na yapán (Ts) bu:tís (Ta) vatiss
 Siraya (U) nahoukoy
 Yami (F) ʔar'ték

BODY

LEG: THIGHLEG: THIGH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	muzi?	(Ta) mu-i
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	muzi:	
Sediq (F)	betériq	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	faine	
Kanakanabu		
Saaroa (Ts)	banarə	(Th) bannen

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	vagis	(Th) danousa, lalouhé
Favorlang (H)	bonnao, asiel	
Thao		
Pazeh (F)	sasaisán	
Saisiat (Ts,	riŋkəlan	
Paiwan (F)	qápal	
Puyuma (F)	paʔá?	(B) paa "leg"
Ami (F)	cəpíq	
Bunun (F)	ha'ap	
Kuvalan (F)	nani:'án	(Ts) p ^ə na:nián (Ta) pñannian
Siraya (B)	paa "leg"	
Yami (F)	'apá?	

LIPS (see also MOUTH, BEARD)LIPS

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	prahum	(Ta) paráhum
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	parahum	
Sediq (F)	pedáhuq	(B) padahung

TSOUIC

Tsou (LH)	səməsə	
Kanakanabu		
Saaroa (Ts)	lupili	quso:

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bibi'á'	
Oponohu (O1)	mutomuto	
Favorlang (H)	dorren	
Thao		(B) bipi
Pazeh (F)	babaqút	(B) ruli
Saisiat (Ts)	tareš	
Taokas (M)	bila "mouth"	
Paiwan (F)	lérət	
Puyuma (F)	virvír	(B) birbir
Ami (F)	katofir	
Bunun (F)	qisqís	(also "beard")
Kuvalan (F)	ktu:bir	(Ts) tu:bíl
Siraya (Y)	vigbig	(B) babibit, (G) bibygh
Yami (F)	vi'ví'	

BODY

LIVERLIVER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	szik
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	saʒík
Sedíq (F)	rúmul

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hʔóne
Kanakanabu (Y)	civúini
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔaciʔi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔatái	
Oponohu (O1)	tetene	
Favorlang (H)	amorra	
Thao (L)	ríʒiʔ	(B) risi "heart"
Pazeh (F)	paʒpúʔ	
Saisiat (Ts)	räʔäl	
Paiwan (F)	qácai	
Puyuma (F)	qáʒai	
Ami (F)	ʔatái, qatái	
Bunun (F)	hatád	
Kuvalan (F)	pnazəni:tán	
Siraya (U)	mauwach; dapling "spleen"	
Yami (F)	ʔapedúʔ	

BODY

MOUTH (see also LIPS)MOUTH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	nquaq	(D) nokoak
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ɲawaʔ	
Sediq (F)	qó'aq	(B) koak

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ɲáeo	(D) ɲgaru
Kanakanabu (Y)	ivíci	
Saaroa (Ts)	ɲuso:	(Th) mussou

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ɲodéi, ɲodúi	(Th) muto-mytou
Oponohu (O1)	motomoto	
Favorlang (H)	ranied, sabbacha	
Thao (L)	rú:diə	(B) lulit
Pazeh (F)	'ahán	(B) rahal, (D) rahhal, (Th) lahar
Saisiat (Ts)	ɲabas	
Taokas (M)	bila	
Paiwan (F)	'áɲal	(D) a ^ɲ gat, a ^ɲ gai
Puyuma (F)	'uáúɲ	(B) indan, (D) imdan
Ami (F)	ɲoyós	(D) ɲgoyos
Bunun (F)	ɲúluʂ	(D) ɲgurus
Kuvalan (F)	ɲi:víy	(Ta) ngivir, nigiv, (D) ɲgoyok
Siraya (U)	motaus	(B) mulut, (G) moutous
Yami (F)	ɲuʂuʔ	

BODY

NAVELNAVEL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	puga?	(Ta) puga
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	pupuk	
Sediq (F)	pú'a?	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	púcku	
Kanakanabu (Y)	peléke	
Saaroa (Ts)	peleke	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	pe'ák'	(O1) peke, ?eke
Oponohu (O1)	peke	
Favorlang (H)	pollol	
Thao		
Pazeh (F)	puzá?	
Saisiat (Ts)	pozok	(cf. polo? "lower abdomen")
Paiwan (F)	púdek	
Puyuma (F)	puéék	
Ami (F)	púna?	
Bunun (F)	púsoh	
Kuvalan (F)	pu:sél	(Ts) bu:sél
Siraya (U)	poucol	
Yami (F)	peşéd	

NECKNECK

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	griun	(Ta) oluk "neck, throat"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	'olu?	"throat"; harurun "nape"
Sediq (F)	wáru'	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	séne; víhi	"throat"; teóno "Adam's apple"
Kanakanabu (O1)	u?ere	(Y) éére
Saaroa (Ts)	kuaneləla; aleməsa	"throat"; lakuakuco?o "nape" (Th) guon-gorath

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	re'e?	rolun "throat"	(Th) ourohu
Oponohu (O1)	re?e		
Favorlang (H)	ri; bokkir	"throat"; arribórribon "nape"	
Thao (L)	úqtur; rá:θan	(B) ukan, holaho	
Pazeh (F)	haho'; baqoŋ	"throat"	(B) haho
Saisiat (Ts)	wareŋ; kašlar	"throat"; tö?wiš "nape"	
Paiwan (F)	riqer		
Makazayazaya (F)	ri?u'		
Puyuma (F)	niqén	(B) tangdo	
Rikavong (S)	niñen;	tokolao "throat"	
Ami (F)	ri?er		
Bunun (F)	hodhod;	múdan "throat"; suksuk "nape"	
Kuvalan (F)	rurén	(Ts) lu:lén; lu:nóq "throat"	(Ta)lulun
Siraya (U)	ruch, taang;	lalo "throat"	(B) kuduak
Yami (F)	ragau		

BODY

NOSENOSE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ɲuhuu	(Ta) moru, norho, idung, (D) ⁿ gaho
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	taɲahi'an	
Sediq (F)	múhiɲ	(B) mohing

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ɲéce	(D) ⁿ gutsu, (Th) nguchu
Kanakanabu (Y)	taɲéca	
Saaroa (Ts)	ɲo:ɲoro	(Th) ngoun-goro

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ɲuɲu'áʔ	(Th) coumonu, ongoho
Oponohu (O1)	ɲuɲuʔo	
Favorlang (H)	not	
Thao (L)	mú:éin	(B) mulin
Pazeh (F)	muʒiɲ [muʒiɲ]	(B) mujing, (D) mujin, (Th) mouding
Saisiat (Ts)	kaɲoselan	
Taokas (M)	yanü	
Paiwan (F)	ɲúɲus	(D) ⁿ godos, ⁿ gurus
Puyuma (F)	ʔuɲtán	(B) antingran, (D) ate ⁿ guran
Ami (F)	ɲosoq	(D) ⁿ goso
Bunun (F)	ɲútus	(D) ⁿ gutos
Kuvalan (F)	ʔunu'úɲ	(Ts) ʔu:núɲ (Ta) unung, (D) unom
Siraya (U)	gogos, gongos	(B) gungus, (Th) togunut
Yami (F)	mumudán	(D) momosa

BODY

PENISPENIS

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	utas
Ci'uli Atayal (O1)	oyi
Sediq (F)	mása? (O1) uttas, e:du, suri

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	bóki, kéle
Kanakanabu (O1)	utini
Saaroa (Ts)	patáli

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ci:rák'
Oponohu (O1)	erere (Maga dialect, O1) iteli
Favorlang (H)	gagoor, lullach
Thao (L)	tú:rai
Pazeh (F)	tolák, rahin
Saisiat (Ts)	towes
Paiwan (F)	qalíci'
Makazayazaya (F)	kúlič
Puyuma (F)	qutíl
Ami (F)	pápa?
Bunun (F)	hátaş
Kuvalan (Ts)	su:láq
Siraya (U)	kating "loins"
Yami (A)	vučid, gutai

BODY

PUSPUS

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	ŋahəq
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ŋahuʔ
Sediq (F)	nálaq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fée
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	bəkəʔə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	nanáʔ
Favorlang (H)	cheme
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	laŋáʔ
Saisiat (Ts)	naneʔ
Paiwan (F)	'úmuq
Puyuma (F)	púsuq̄
Ami (F)	fenáq̄
Bunun (F)	nánah
Kuvalan (F)	naniʔ (Ts) kuna:níʔ
Siraya (U)	vouck
Yami (F)	ʔaʂvaʂéi

RIBS (see also BONE)RIBS

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qarau
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔáarau
Sediq (F)	teqéraq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fáeqə
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	babae

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	vigu'áʔ
Favorlang (H)	arroso
Thao (L)	fá:lan
Pazeh (F)	taqaxáq
Saisiat (Ts)	šawiš
Paiwan (F)	viɬu'át
Makazayazaya (F)	vigu'at
Puyuma (F)	valaváʔ
Ami (F)	falo'at
Bunun (F)	šálaq
Kuvalan (F)	beyén (Ts) baya:iq
Siraya (U)	ragang
Yami (F)	tageráq

BODY

SCAR (noun)SCAR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kapil
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	bálau
Sedíq (F)	ʔáriq

TSOUIC

Tsou	
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	bakela

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	baríc'
Favorlang (H)	raag, raggat
Thao (L)	šú:duʔ
Pazeh	
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	láqic, váqic
Puyuma (F)	laqít
Rikavong (S)	vorih "wound"
Ami (F)	pałi'ác
Bunun (F)	hanuáá
Kuvalan (F)	myapíʔ
Siraya	
Yami (F)	kurad

SHOULDERSHOULDER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qhiaŋ	(Ta) hanáli
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	haŋaliʔ	
Sediq (F)	héraŋ	(B) ahing

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eíʔsi	
Kanakanabu (O1)	aŋiyacaŋu	
Saaroa (Ts)	alíasa	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	livadáŋ	(O1) tabalaŋa	
Oponohu (O1)	ʔi:pi		
Favorlang (H)	babiar		
Thao (L)	palá:faʔ	(B) kalafa	
Pazeh (F)	ʔabaxán	(B) abaha	
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔäba'aʔ		
Taokas (O2)	haba:		
Paiwan (F)	qávan		
Puyuma (F)	qí'av	(B) ayab	
Ami (F)	ʔafaraʔán		
Bunun (F)	va'u'		
Kuvalan (F)	tyi'áy	(Ts) tqa:yáy	(Ta) triar, kreiar
Siraya (U)	tago	(B) tagu	
Yami (F)	pakáu		

BODY

SKINSKIN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kiahil
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kuzahil
Sediq (F)	qeráqil

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	snéfe
Kanakanabu (Y)	káva
Saaroa (Ts)	balilacə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	'ikíd'
Oponohu (O1)	piciñi'
Favorlang (H)	maram
Thao (L)	šá:paʔ
Pazeh (F)	rapái
Saisiat (Ts)	baņəš

Paiwan (F)	qalic
Makazayazaya (F)	rír
Puyuma (F)	ruviṭ
Rikavong (S)	loviṭ

Ami (F)	faņəs
Bunun (F)	ka'oņ
Kuvalan (F)	luvəņ (Ts) lu:búņ (Ta) luvung, ruvung
Siraya (U)	validt
Yami (F)	kulít

BODY

SPUTUMSPUTUM

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tuiog
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	tazuna?
Sediq (F)	túyoq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ŋeói
Kanakanabu (Y)	ŋái
Saaroa (Ts)	tuici (Y) ŋalí'í

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ŋalái
Favorlang (H)	erab; ropa "spit out"; petummo "expectorate"
Thao (L)	fí:laq
Pazeh (F)	hapát
Saisiat (Ts)	'ähök
Paiwan (F)	ŋáqai
Puyuma (F)	táma?
Rikavong (S)	ŋalai
Ami (F)	súpaq
Bunun (F)	nípah
Kuvalan (F)	tiapés (Ts) qa:t
Siraya	
Yami (F)	cípa? (A) čippa, ŋayai "saliva"

BODY

TONGUETONGUE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hmali?	(Ta) hamá-ui
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hamalit	
Sediq (F)	hemá?	(B) hema

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	úmo	
Kanakanabu (O1)	abase	
Saaroa (Ts)	?abase	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ridám'	
Oponohu (O1)	ridame	
Favorlang (H)	tatsira	
Thao (L)	éá:ma?	(B) ama
Pazeh (F)	dahamá?	(B) yohama
Saisiat (Ts)	kähma?	
Paiwan (F)	ridárid, séma?	
Puyuma (F)	lidám	(B) ashma
Ami (F)	semá?	
Bunun (F)	ma?ma?	
Kuvalan (F)	lilám (Ts) li:lám	(Ta) lilam
Siraya (U)	dadila	(B) dadilah
Yami (F)	líla?	

BODY

TOOTH (general)TOOTH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ʔnux	(Ta) gunukh, (D) gennohu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔapənúx	
Sediq (F)	rúpun	(B) rupun

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hísi	(D) hísi
Kanakanabu (Y)	anísi	
Saaroa (Ts)	ali:	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	valis'	
Oponohu (O1)	haliʔi	
Favorlang (H)	sjien; raos "eyetooth"	
Thao (L)	ní:pin	(B) nipin
Pazeh (F)	lepép	(D) rupun, (B) lipeung
Saisiat (Ts)	nepen	
Taokas (O2)	dʒiun	
Paiwan (F)	'alís	(D) aris
Puyuma (F)	wáliʔ	(D) ware, (B) wali
Ami (F)	walís	(D) wares
Bunun (F)	nípun	(D) niepon
Kuvalan (F)	baŋyáu	(Ta) bangarao, vangrao
Siraya (U)	walig	(D) wangan, (B) walit, (Th) wali
Yami (F)	ŋepén	

BODY

TOOTH (front)TOOTH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	tato
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?a'ulun
Sediq (F)	rúruł'

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	peecéa
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	auluła:

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	--
Favorlang	
Thao	
Pazeh	--
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	tíriu'
Puyuma (F)	huthut
Ami (F)	saŋoŋót
Bunun (F)	--
Kuvalan (F)	baŋyáu na babáu
Siraya (U)	ğidauw
Yami (F)	saŋerá?

TOOTH (human canine tooth) (see also TOOTH (of animal))

TOOTH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) waqeits (also "fang")
Ci'uli Atayal (F) wawa?it
Sediq (F) waqait

TSOUIC

Tsou
Kanakanabu
Saaroa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ?erelét'
Favorlang
Thao
Pazeh (F)
Saisiat

Paiwan (F) kaseruséru?
Puyuma

Ami (F) pacékis
Bunun
Kualan (F) zi'im
Siraya
Yami (F) ?aşéq

BODY

TOOTH (molar)TOOTH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) karaq
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) katan
 Sediq (F) kádaq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) eóme
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) baqale

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) catautáre'
 Favorlang
 Thao
 Pazeh
 Saisiat (Ts) rä'ʔäm

 Paiwan (F) váqan
 Puyuma (F) qusi?

 Ami (F) wahaq
 Bunun
 Kuvalan (F) baqyis (Ts) y^əzi:m
 Siraya (U) vaam
 Yami (F) kamşasaqá?

BODY

URINE

URINE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hmoq
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	babus-
Sediq (F)	cəhəmu?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	sifu
Kanakanabu (O1)	ibu
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔi:bo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔasilo:r
Oponohu (O1)	valo-oso
Favorlang (H)	isi
Thao (L)	pištúʔuk ("to urinate")
Pazeh (F)	he'lút
Saisiat (Ts)	kəhbo?
Paiwan (F)	ʔisiq
Puyuma (F)	ʔisiq̄
Ami (F)	ʔisiq̄
Bunun (F)	ʔiʂah
Kuvalan (F)	su:m
Siraya (U)	bo
Yami (F)	mirekrəkmé'

BODY

VULVAVULVA

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	pipiʔ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	pipiʔ
Sediq (F)	pipiʔ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	kútiʔ
Kanakanabu (O1)	iyaru
Saaroa (Ts)	butiʔi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	patíʔ (dialect, O1) ʔati
Oponohu (O1)	ʔatale
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	kútiʔ
Pazeh (F)	papíʔ
Saisiat (Ts)	topiʔ
Paiwan (F)	kútiʔ
Puyuma (F)	kútiʔ
Ami (F)	rítiʔ
Bunun (F)	háviʂ
Kuvalan (Ts)	piaqéq
Siraya (U)	kating "loins"
Yami (O1)	lamit

ARROWARROW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tneloq	(O1) slaqei
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	panelu?	
Sediq (F)	búdi?	(B) budi

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eanosúeu, tə'sə	
Kanakanabu (O1)	rupace	
Saaroa (Ts)	ripase	(Y) etéke "arrow, bullet"

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ra'il'	
Oponohu (O1)	raeli	(Maga dialect, O1) ruvele
Favorlang (H)	bisa, roddok	
Thao (L)	âpađi:šan; fi:las "arrowhead, bullet" (B) spalisan "bow", fiňlat "arrow"	
Pazeh (F)	səpi:lá?	(B) rawil
Saisiat (Ts)	siwa'; zowez (with bamboo tip); 'inošoš (with 4-pointed head)	
Paiwan (F)	vakerá?	
Puyuma (F)	vakenan	(O1) valođ (B) timra
Rikavong (S)	valoň	
Ami (F)	panáđ	
Bunun (F)	şabiş hapđan	(O1) hatpa
Kuvalan (F)	pa:ní?	
Siraya (U)	tkoug	
Yami (O1)	ipamalitok	

CULTURE

BOAT/CANOEBOAT/CANOE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qasu?	(Ta) asu "boat", achuying "ship"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔasé?	
Sediq (F)	ʔásə?	(B) ashu

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	apáŋə
Kanakanabu (O1)	abaŋu
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔabaŋə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	şedán (O1) avaŋ'
Oponohu (O1)	havaŋu
Favorlang (H)	abak
Thao (L)	rú:da? (B) hrutha
Pazeh (F)	ʔasú? (B) parana
Saisiat (Ts)	palono?
Paiwan (F)	tamína? (O1) varukur
Puyuma (F)	tamína? "boat"; sudán "ship" (B) ashudan
Rikavong (S)	tanima, sodaŋ
Ami (F)	tamína?, cifar "boat"; ronán "ship"; łolaŋ "canoe" (?)
Bunun (F)	hato?
Kuvalan (F)	ba:wá? (Ta) broa "boat", vawa "ship", baŋka "canoe"
Siraya (U)	avang, souwong
Yami (F)	havaván (general term); tatála (small), cinedkelán (large)

CULTURE

BOW (see also ARROW)BOW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) bliqii (01) behoneq
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) paboli?
 Sediq (F) behéniq (B) bahenek.

TSOUIC

Tsou (Y) fsu, fsúeu
 Kanakanabu (01) bu:ru
 Saaroa (Ts) bo:ro

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) bo'ó'
 Oponohu (01) vo'ʔo (Maga dialect, 01) buşu
 Favorlang (H) bree
 Thao (L) fú:tuł (B) spalisan
 Pazeh (F) lau'in (B) buzueh
 Saisiat (Ts) böhö'

Paiwan (F) veʔelatán
 Puyuma (F) kađalıs (01) vakənan (B) baknan
 Rikavong (S) vosor

Ami (F) focér
 Bunun (F) ʔusulkáve?
 Kuvalan (F) paní?
 Siraya (U) tapkoug (B) kuh
 Yami (01) palitok

CULTURE

BRIDGEBRIDGE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hoŋuʔ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	huŋuʔ
Sediq (F)	hákau

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hiapeóeza
Kanakanabu (Y)	cúnkucu; tétan "ladder"
Saaroa (Ts)	tokoso

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	talúd'
Favorlang (H)	kittas "bridge, ladder"
Pazeh	
Thao	
Saisiat (Ts)	'alob
Paiwan (F)	ʔakuraŋ, ʔikezáʔ
Puyuma (F)	kayakái (Japanese-style bridge)
Ami (F)	ʔamkáp, kayakai
Bunun (F)	'átal
Kuvalan (F)	sa:zán (Ta) sazan
Siraya (U)	taltal "bridge"; kada "ladder"
Yami (F)	matutud darara'án

CHARCOALCHARCOAL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	bagah
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	béləh
Sediq (F)	báwah

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ksiksi (O1) oŋe
Kanakanabu (O1)	bara
Saaroa (Ts)	baraʔa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	rapəl'	
Favorlang (H)	ra-as	"faggot"
Thao (L)	ráŋuʔ	
Pazeh (F)	baxáh	
Saisiat (Ts)	bizoʔ	
Paiwan (F)	qíduŋ	
Puyuma (F)	ŋapeə	
Ami (F)	ʔafer, faráŋ	
Bunun (F)	honuŋ	
Kuvalan (F)	birúʔ	(Ts) bi:lúʔ (Ta) vilu
Siraya		
Yami (F)	ratéh	

CULTURE

CLOTHINGCLOTHING

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	lukus
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	lukuş
Sediq (F)	lúkus

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	iihósa	(D) risi
Kanakanabu (Y)	nakêve	
Saaroa (Ts)	tikoro	"upper garment" (Y) tikili, tikuru

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kipiŋ'	(Tanan dialect, O1) ki'iq ¹
Oponohu (O1)	kipiŋi	
Favorlang (H)	riba	(upper garment)
Thao (L)	hú:luθ	(D) rukos
Pazeh (F)	siatú?	(upper garment); 'ukús (trousers) (D) syato "clothes"
Saisiat (Ts)	kaiba'en	
Paiwan (F)	'ituŋ, káva	(D) itom
Puyuma (F)	kaváŋ	(D) kepen
Ami (F)	ríkoŋ	(D) reko
Bunun (F)	pinainúk	(O1) huluş (D) hurus
Kuvalan (F)	kolés	(Ts) qo:lús (Ta) rivarivang, (D) kuras
Siraya (U)	koulamog	
Yami (F)	talili?	(man's upper garment)

CULTURE

DOORDOOR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	qeqelo?	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	balihun	
Sediq (F)	ləhuɲún	(B) rahengun

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	phiɲi	
Kanakanabu (O1)	tapiniɲa	
Saaroa (Ts)	sipa:ɲələba:	(Y) cinäre

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	salələbá:'	
Oponohu (O1)	taavɲaʔə	(Maga, O1) briɲitawa, (Tona, O1) baleɲetavanu
Favorlang (H)	chachap	"door, cover"
Thao (L)	pitáw	(B) pitao
Pazeh (F)	ʔaləp, ʔaxaɲwanán	(B) rahawanan
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔäʔləb	
Paiwan (F)	siqələván	
Puyuma (F)	sulái	(B) apitoun
Rikavong (S)	qələvan	
Ami (F)	ʔalawáɲ	
Bunun (F)	ʔilav	
Kuvalan (F)	ʔi:néb; taɲan	"doorway" (Ts) ʔi:ném (Ta) iniv, ainiv; dangan
Siraya (U)	alilip	(B) natap, (G) n̄gataf
Yami (F)	parereveɲán	(A) panəb; səsulepan "entrance"

CULTURE

FIELD (wet, rice) (see also FIELD (swidden, dry))

FIELD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) slaq
 Ci'uliq Atayal (F) calak
 Sediq (F) celáq

TSOUC

Tsou (T) papái, chána
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) lipatuaiailia

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ca?ánu?
 Favorlang (H) bonna (all kinds of fields)
 Thao (L) bú:hat
 Pazeh (F) ?umamáh
 Saisiat (Ts) pinatiyay
 Taokas (M) sanfa

 Paiwan (F) can
 Puyuma (F) quma na can (?san ?)
 Rikavong (S) esan

 Ami (F) ?ecán, ?can
 Bunun (F) támbo?; puđanoman (from /danom/ "water")
 Kvalan (F) ranum na zená?
 Siraya
 Yami (F) ?akawén

CULTURE

FIELD (swidden, dry) (see also FIELD (wet))FIELD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qmaiah
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mumazáh
Sediq (F)	kempáhan

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ezóee
Kanakanabu (O1)	uma
Saaroa (Ts)	umu:ma

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔomoʔomáʔ (O1) apanado	
Favorlang (H)	ema "field"; ramal "burnt field"	
Thao		
Pazeh (F)	kakaidán	
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔömʔömäh "cultivated field"	
Paiwan (F)	qúmaʔ	
Makazayazaya (F)	ʔúmaʔ	
Puyuma (F)	tan̄kan̄kar na qumaʔ (O1) hōma	
Ami (F)	hałhał (O1) omah	
Bunun (F)	homaʔ	
Kuvalan (F)	ba'obéʔ (Ts) bawbíʔ	(Ta) vaovi "garden"
Siraya (U)	ouma; raoul "garden"	
Yami (F)	retákei (O1) takiʔ	

CULTURE

GRANARY (elevated, on piles)GRANARY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) kəho
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) kúhu?
 Sediq (F) rəpún

TSOUIC

Tsou
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) koban; tuakéi (from Chinese ts'ang-k'u ?)
 Favorlang (H) la-ob "out-house"; ribi "seed-storage house"
 Thao (L) θá:pa?
 Pazeh
 Saisiat (Ts) saksaka'

 Paiwan (F) kúbau (elevated); sáran, kúvkuv (in house)
 Puyuma (F) su:ru'

 Ami (F) ku:fáu, ?ariri?
 Bunun (F) pat?haimaŋsotán
 Siraya (G) kouvang
 Yami (F) ?arirín

HOE (noun)HOE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	karoh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔot
Sediq (F)	ʔáwit

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mómo, taimáu
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	talimau

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	tatokón'; cəvəl "digging stick"
Favorlang (H)	kau-os, padach-al
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	ta'ták
Saisiat (Ts)	tatawä'
Paiwan (F)	ʔaʔukən, ʔəkʔək; vukavúka? "digging stick"
Puyuma (F)	pitáu; risém "digging stick"
Ami (F)	pitáu; risém "digging stick"
Bunun (F)	taʔáʔ
Kuvalan (F)	ta:ták ; tu:nún "digging stick"
Siraya (U)	tatkong
Yami (F)	kakarún; kakalí "digging stick"

CULTURE

HOUSEHOUSE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ɲasal	(Ta) ngrasal
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	moráu	
Sediq (F)	sápah	(B) sapah

TSOUC

Tsou (T)	aemána, emóo	
Kanakanabu (Y)	tanása	
Saaroa (Ts)	salia	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	da:n'	(Th) dami
Oponohu (O1)	daʔanu	
Favorlang (H)	don	
Thao (L)	táwn	(B) taoun
Pazeh (F)	humáq	(B) huma
Saisiat (Ts)	täwʔän	
Taokas (M)	don	
Paiwan (F)	'úmaq; tapau (rest hut in field)	
Puyuma (F)	rumáq	(B) aruma
Ami (F)	rómaq	
Bunun (F)	lumah	
Kuvalan (F)	repáu (Ts) leppáw	(Ta) rapao
Siraya (U)	tallagh	(B) hamadung
Yami (F)	va'ái (A) vayai	

CULTURE

KNIFE/SWORD (for headhunting)

KNIFE/SWORD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) lalau
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) putiŋ
 Sediq (F) yáyu? (B) sinmadat

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) poeáve, smufeí
 Kanakanabu (Ó1) numane
 Saaroa (Ts) litake

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) bakál' (Ó1) rabo
 Oponohu (Ó1) a:ruəo (Maga, Ó1) saŋu, (Tona, Ó1) levase
 Favorlang (H) silok, tattabba
 Thao (L) fú:nuš, káwl (B) funuss
 Pazeh (F) tadáu (B) tadao
 Saisiat (Ts) malat

Paiwan (F) ʔakit
 Puyuma (F) taʔáu (B) tadao

Ami (F) fonós, siotó?
 Bunun (F) siŋháile?
 Kuvalan (F) sa:yéq (Ta) sarekh; aniv "large knife";
 kuisuisan "sword"
 Siraya (U) silock "sword"; tioul, tasoag (B) takaili,
 (G) tyrrau
 Yami (F) ʔipaŋán (A) ta-kures

CULTURE

MORTARMORTAR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	luhup
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	rahiúp
Sedíq (F)	dúhun

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	súhpu
Kanakanabu (O1)	tarukura
Saaroa (Ts)	lo:po

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F, Oponohu (O1))	lu'úp cokodo (Maga dialect, O1) cukulu
Favorlang	
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	lužúp
Saisiat (Ts)	lohöp
Paiwan (F)	valápa?
Puyuma (F)	lušup
Ami (F)	tifkán
Bunun (F)	núsup
Kuvalan (F)	?iņsúp
Siraya (U)	vangara
Yami (F)	'usúp (A) yusup

NAMENAME

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	lalu?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	rálu?
Sediq (F)	hápan

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ónko
Kanakanabu (Y)	ḡanáí
Saaroa (Ts)	ḡala

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	nagán'
(Maga dialect, O1)	arace
Favorlang (H)	naan
Thao (L)	lá:naē
Pazeh (F)	lapát
Saisiat (Ts)	raro'o?
Paiwan (F)	ḡadán
Puyuma (F)	ḡadán
Ami (F)	ḡapan
Bunun (F)	ḡa'an
Kuvalan (F)	na:ḡán
Siraya (U)	nanana
Yami (F)	ḡarán

CULTURE

PAPER (see also WRITE)PAPER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	berbar
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	pataş
Sediq (F)	pátas

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	saip túku "one sheet of paper"
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	suláte

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	senát'
Favorlang (H)	bido "book, writing"; atas "letter"
Thao (L)	patá:šan "book"
Pazeh (F)	parupá'
Saisiat (Ts)	zinowas
Paiwan (F)	qadúpu?
Makazayazaya (F)	súnat
Puyuma (F)	valái
Rikavong (S)	kadopo
Ami (F)	kalakapái
Bunun (F)	?ahíl
Kuvalan (F)	tepurók (Ts) tpu:lók
Siraya (U)	soulat "book, letter"
Yami (F)	vakúp

PESTLEPESTLE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qziu?	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?asé?	(01) ?asažu
Sediq (F)	séru?	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	pnéi
Kanakanabu (Y)	páni
Saaroa (Ts)	pañili

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	?asóro?
Oponohu (01)	?oro
Favorlang (H)	sorro
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	payaxú'an
Saisiat (Ts)	?ašo?
Paiwan (F)	qaséru?
Puyuma (F)	resók (.stone); karsukán (wood)
Ami (F)	?asoró?
Bunun (F)	hoşau
Kuvalan (F)	sa:yó?
Siraya (U)	halero
Yami (F)	pañensád (A) ayu

CULTURE

POT (for cooking rice)POT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) supeh
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) tipeh
 Sediq (F) nĩmuq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) tɔ́o
 Kanakanabu (Y) úia
 Saaroa (Ts) sampo:lo:

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) paló'on
 Favorlang
 Thao
 Pazeh (F) bulaián
 Saisiat

 Paiwan (F) pari'úk
 Puyuma (F) ɛ́ru'án

 Ami (F) foławán
 Bunun (F) tapanah
 Kuvalan (F) kaubu'úi
 Siraya (U) sangia, salipe, iaboang
 Yami (F) likiakamá? (A) vaɔa, vinaya

ROAD/PATHROAD/PATH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tuqii
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	tu?ui
Sediq (F)	?elú?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ceóne
Kanakanabu (Y)	cáne
Saaroa (Ts)	sala?a

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kaur'á? (O1) kaələə, kadaranan ^o
Oponohu (O1)	varuru-a:ʔe
Favorlang (H)	tarran
Thao (L)	θá:ran
Pazeh (F)	darán
Saisiat (Ts)	ra'an
Paiwan (F)	qáran
Puyuma (F)	dadalán
Ami (F)	rarán
Bunun (F)	ða'an
Kuvalan (F)	la:rán (Ts) la:zán (Ta) zaran, rathan
Siraya (U)	darang
Yami (F)	rara'án (A) layan

CULTURE

ROPE/CORDROPE/CORD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	gasil	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hi:ni.	
Sediq (F)	nu'el	(B) sinuzuk

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	teési	
Kanakanabu (Y)	talísi	
Saaroa (Ts)	likitalia	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔunái	
Favorlang (H)	arat, takkar	
Thao (L)	qaqúθquθ	(B) futut "cord"
Pazeh (F)	sa'ís	(B) sariss
Saisiat (Ts)	šinäʔiš	
Paiwan (F)	carís	
Puyuma (F)	ʔáli'	(B) atali
Ami (F)	ra'íc	
Bunun (F)	do'on	
Kuvalan (F)	qeli:žén	(Ts) ya:ís (Ta) warai "string"
Siraya (U)	tarych	
Yami (F)	karái	

SPEAR (see also ARROW)SPEAR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) p̄dziux, laui? (O1) beteyux
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) sinbaṣaṣán
 Sediq (F) súqu? (O1) simburáṣan (B) simbarangan

TSOUC

Tsou (T) méṣzu, méṣu
 Kanakanabu (O1) paṣaru
 Saaroa (Ts) limapulo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ?idiri?
 Oponohu (O1) ?avahe (Tona dialect, O1) sabake
 Favorlang (H) biloag, bottul, agá, bisa
 Thao (L) šinaḏú:nan (B) snabunan
 Pazeh (F) dadakús (B) dadakuss
 Saisiat (Ts) 'obak

Paiwan (F) vúruq
 Puyuma (F) ?ilús (B) akutan
 Rikavong (S) ilos, ṭolañ

Ami (F) kotaṣ, ?iloc
 Bunun (F) ḏúṣan
 Kuvalan (F) snubuṣán (Ta) snuvungan
 Siraya (U) tawal, apig
 Yami (F) cinalələt

CULTURE

STICK/POLESTICK/POLE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hoku?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	húku?
Sediq (F)	səbút

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	sʔófe, ésmə
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ʔurukusa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔokur'
Favorlang (H)	tattakor
Thao (L)	qáθqaθ
Pazeh (F)	tautín
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	tukúzan (women's speech); tikúzan (men's
Puyuma (F)	surkuzán speech)
Rikavong (S)	poled
Ami (F)	cekór
Bunun (F)	liskúr
Kuvalan (F)	ka:záu (T'a) karao
Siraya (U)	houkas (G) houkar
Yami (F)	sisiked

VILLAGEVILLAGE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qalaq	(D) k̄aran
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔalaq	
Sediq (F)	ʔálaq	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hósa	(D) hōsya, noheu
Kanakanabu		
Saaroa (Ts)	tała:	(Y) tała:na

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	cəkél'	
Oponohu (O1)	cinékela:e	
Favorlang (H)	assaban	
Thao		
Pazeh (F)	'etén	(D) rutol
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔasaq	
Paiwan (F)	qinalán	(D) inaran
Puyuma (F)	zəkál	(D) rukal
Ami (F)	ni'aréq	(D) mananyaro
Bunun (F)	ʔáşaq	(D) vāu
Kuvalan (F)	ramúʔ	(Ts) ya:qét (Ta) rahit
Siraya (U)	gouma	(D) ramu, (G) euma
Yami (F)	'ilíʔ	(D) nahmen

CULTURE

"WINE"/FERMENTED DRINK"WINE"/FERMENTED DRINK

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	quau	(Ta) u-o, u-ao "Chinese wine"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	'avu'	
Sediq (F)	sinau	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	émi, féese, sníma
Kanakanabu (Y)	paíci
Saaroa (Ts)	mapaci

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bawá?, bavá?
Oponohu (O1)	vava?a
Favorlang (H)	o
Thao (L)	qí:la?
Pazeh (F)	'inu:sát
Saisiat (Ts)	pinobä?äh
Taokas (M)	gakao
Paiwan (F)	váwa?
Puyuma (F)	kutá? (Peinan dialect, O1) ?rao
Ami (F)	?epáh, ?pah
Bunun (F)	dañus
Kuvalan (F)	ya'ák (Ts) ya:k (Ta) rakh "Chinese wine," isi "native wine"
Siraya (U)	ek, hu-hah (G) hala
Yami (F)	sake? (from Japanese)

WINNOWER BASKET

WINNOWER BASKET

ATAYALIC

Sq̄uliq Atayal (O3) beluku
Ci'uli Atayal (F) balúku?
Sediq (F) belúhiq

TSOUIC

Tsou
Kanakanabu
Saaroa (Ts) talako

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) barakko:
Favorlang
Thao (L) paš'á:mu?
Pazeh (F) xinú?
Saisiat (Ts) hähä'öp

Paiwan (F) kaqapar, takaz
Puyuma (F) hahán; tipéq (large)

Ami (F) hatapés
Bunun (F) túkban
Kuvalan (F) benu:qú?
Siraya (U) varako
Yami (F) karapar

CULTURE

BITEBITE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kmat
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kumat
Sediq (F)	qəmí'ut

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	zómə, bóəce
Kanakanabu (Y)	tapianáŋai, rumáisi
Saaroa (Ts)	uma:race

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wakác'
Favorlang (H)	magkagh
Thao (L)	qmé:rqer
Pazeh (F)	ŋaŋaʒíp
Saisiat (Ts)	koma'as
Paiwan (F)	kmac
Puyuma (F)	kmarát
Ami (F)	mikarát
Bunun (F)	kalát
Kuvalan (F)	qma:yát
Siraya	
Yami (F)	ŋetŋetén

BLOW (with breath)

BLOW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (Q3)	jəmup
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	yumuk
Sediq (F)	mí'uk

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hávi
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	pa:ripa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wa'épiʔ
Favorlang (H)	piop
Thao (L)	myú:p
Pazeh (F)	muhím, hi:hi'úm
Saisiat (Ts)	hōmiyop
Paiwan (F)	zemáps
Puyuma (F)	mi'úp
Ami (F)	miʔi'of
Bunun (F)	ma'fɿp
Kuvalan (F)	temaváʔ (Ts) s ^o miúp
Siraya (U)	mioup
Yami (F)	ʔaviután

ACTIONS

BREATHEBREATHE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	isuna?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	paskišili?
Sediq (F)	pəshəŋaq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eansouá
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	muruaniania:

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	manianiák'
Favorlang (H)	chumsan, pauchar
Thao (L)	mákšnaw
Pazeh (F)	muhe:nís
Saisiat (Ts)	'ehnak
Paiwan (F)	minási?
Puyuma (F)	məŋáz
Ami (F)	pasraq
Bunun (F)	šúm̄baŋ
Kuvalan (F)	səməŋáh (Ts) sməŋáz
Siraya	
Yami (F)	'umininawá?

BURN (intransitive)BURN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	msuliŋ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	matuliŋ
Sediŋ (F)	sqáma?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ho-, phómeo
Kanakanabu (Y)	namáren
Saaroa (Ts)	muacuŋo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kuala?áub'
Favorlang (H)	chummar
Thao (L)	šuná:ra?
Pazeh (F)	ma:nát
Saisiat (Ts)	solöh
Paiwan (F)	muzík
Makazayazaya (F)	pčúŋu'
Puyuma (F)	mivər:vər
Rikavong (S)	simran
Ami (F)	marikatái
Bunun (F)	mištaða?
Kuvalan (F)	puyá:már (Ts) mo:yás; mtu:tú:n (as house)
Širaya (U)	marabong, magiskag
Yami (F)	manutún ("cook?"); mišelešeléb "burn mountain"

(Note: 1. It is impossible to be certain that all forms have the same meaning, due to diversity of sources as well as to difficulty of eliciting exact meanings through contact languages.

ACTIONS

COMECOME

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	muah	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔunel	
Sediq (F)	mi'áh	(B) maidzach

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	oh-, uh, úso
Kanakanabu (Y)	ivátu
Saaroa (Ts)	muacekele (Y) kucu

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	niamá' (O1) wake:la	
Oponohu (O1)	mavaʔe oatede (Maga dialect, O1) ukla	
Favorlang (H)	mai	
Thao (L)	munay (B) ititha	
Pazeh (F)	mupu:žáh; ʔalu "come!"	(B) mopuzan
Saisiat (Ts)	moway	
Paiwan (F)	máptez	
Makazayazaya (F)	kelú	
Puyuma (F)	mupánaʔ	
Rikavong (S)	zowa; mopana "come out"	
Ami (F)	tainiʔ	
Bunun (F)	mi:šúmaʔ (O1) haidin	
Kuvalan (F)	kautúʔ (Ts) qawtóʔ (Ta) naori, akwa	
Siraya (U)	mouqua, mapil (B) mapunakuli	
Yami (F)	jijanaʔ (O1) mai	

ACTIONS

COOK/BOIL FOODCOOK/BOIL FOOD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hapui, hpurun	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mahú'il	
Sediq (F)	pe'áda?	(B) hamangut "boil"

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cúeu
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	aba:bo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wagá?	
Favorlang (H)	mado	
Thao (L)	pit'i:ya?	"cook rice" (B) opintala "boil"
Pazeh (F)	muta:lék, tatalék, dapédañ	(B) tataluk "boil"
Saisiat (Ts)	tomalék	
Paiwan (F)	minátuk	"boil water"
Puyuma (F)	demerú?	
Rikavong (S)	evor	
Ami (F)	mitaŋtaŋ	
Bunun (F)	madaipuhín	
Kuvalan (F)	samáí (Ts)	ya:mál
Siraya (B)	juku	
Yami (F)	manuát	"boil water"

ACTIONS

COUNTCOUNT

ATAYALIC

'Squiliq Atayal (E)	lmpuu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	lumpu'
Sediq (F)	sempú'

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	smupéu
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	umaiape

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wa:sípi?
Favorlang (H)	tumpuk
Thao (L)	šmú:pił
Pazeh (F)	musu:pusúŋ
Saisiat (Ts)	šomepe'
Paiwan (F)	semúpu'
Puyuma (F)	mi'úp (also "blow"???)
Ami (F)	misa'ósi?
Bunun (F)	mašípul
Kuvalan (F)	biláŋ (Ts) pasabi:laŋ
Siraya (U)	kmoutkout
Yami (F)	vilapán

ACTIONS

CUT (grass, weeds)CUT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tlamau
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	talamau; minazan "hew"
Sediq (F)	temátak

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tmóecə; tpeácɲə "cut, chop"
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	uaɲetɛlə "cut" (Y) rumaruurutu "cut"

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wati'ábu?
Favorlang (H)	mipies "cut"; tummagcha "hew"
Thao (L)	tumá:la? "chop wood"
Pazeh (F)	ta:taták, xa:xáu
Saisiat (Ts)	?insiyaz
Paiwan (F)	lemívas; qeméris "to cut rice"
Puyuma (F)	lipitau
Ami (F)	mireɲós
Bunun (F)	makulút
Kuvalan (F)	qəma:nív
Siarya (U)	gmapit "cut, hew"
Yami (F)	cibcibén

ACTIONS

CUT (person)CUT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kmut
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kumut
Sediq (F)	səmipak; kəmulut "to cut something"

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	bohi-, mapáso, sme?, s'entéha
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	uaŋetələ "cut"

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	waték'tek'
Favorlang (H)	mipies, pititil
Thao (L)	kúnlit "cut meat"
Pazeh (F)	muta:mák
Saisiat (Ts)	?öme'eš
Paiwan (F)	səmqas
Puyuma (F)	?etakisáu
Rikavong (S)	etek
Ami (F)	mitapaŋ
Bunun (F)	maštábal
Kuvalan (F)	tepuŋan (Ts) maktún
Siraya (U)	papakey (cf. KILL)
Yami (F)	?aktében

ACTIONS

DANCEDANCE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mslibu? (O1) miꞑui
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	maruf?
Sediq (F)	lumúli?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	maeásvi
Kanakanabu (Y)	musuaráran
Saaroa (Ts)	musuaraubo (Y) pásuasai

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wadalái
Qponohu (O1)	şiraovo
Favorlang (H)	dummalizi
Thao (L)	şmayla?
Pazeh (F)	taihalapú?
Saisiat (O1)	maile:l, ra'awak
Paiwan (F)	zemi'an
Puyuma (F)	muarák
Ami (F)	makero?
Bunun (F)	çiꞑhođ'á?
Kuvalan (F)	sarki'áu (Ts) qa:ta:bán
Siraya	
Yami (F)	maganám

ACTIONS

DIEDIE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mhoqil	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mahu'íl	
Sediq (F)	mshóqil	(B) mahokal

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mcói	
Kanakanabu (Y)	macái, piapacái	
Saaroa (Ts)	mamaci	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wa'acái	(dialectal, 01) opacai
Oponohu (01)	ma'ete	
Favorlang (H)	macha	
Thao (L)	má:θay	(B) mathai
Pazeh (F)	purihít	[/purihyet/ (B) purihadai
Saisiat (Ts)	masay	
Taokas (02)	masai	
Paiwan (F)	mácai	
Puyuma (F)	minatái	(B) ua
Ami (F)	mapatai	
Bunun (F)	mátad	
Kuvalan (F)	pa:tái	
Siraya (U)	mapatey, kapatei	(B) mapatai
Yami (F)	marakát	

DIGDIG

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kmihui
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kméhur
Sediq (F)	kmári?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	máe, meía; meifeóno "dig hole"
Kanakanabu (Y)	kumáuru
Saaroa (Ts)	kumakali (Y) cumaciucuuku

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	waroqó?
Favorlang (H)	parroa "dig up"
Thao (L)	kmá:ri?
Pazeh (F)	mudaxán
Saisiat (Ts)	komowih
Paiwan (F)	kemári?
Puyuma (F)	kertáu, kmerút
Ami (F)	mikorkor
Bunun (F)	makaakad
Kuvalan (F)	ka:lkál (Ts) kmutkút
Siraya (U)	kari, kmari, rmavack
Yami (F)	mikalí?

ACTIONS

DRINKDRINK

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mnbuu	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ma'ábu?	
Sediq (F)	mímah	(B) nimah

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mímo	
Kanakanabu (Y)	míma	
Saaroa (Ts)	miama	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	woŋól'	
Oponohu (O1)	ho'ŋolo	
Favorlang (H)	micham	
Thao (L)	šmí:n'an; miqí:la "drink wine"	(B) mikehla
Pazeh (F)	mudáux	(B) dadohai
Saisiat (Ts)	romä'ö'	
Paiwan (F)	təmker	(B) tumkur
Puyuma (F)	qemáu	
Rikavong (S)	hao; təkəl "drink wine"	
Ami (F)	minánom	
Bunun (F)	ho'od	
Kuvalan (F)	siyóp	(Ts) mna:núm
Siraya (U)	miit	(B) mudadarang
Yami (F)	minum	(O1) miyup

ACTIONS

EATEAT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	maniq	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	maniʔ	
Sediq (F)	mekan	(B) manakamakan

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	o-, bo'bóne	
Kanakanabu (Y)	kumən	
Saaroa (Ts)	uma:u	(Y) a:u, umu, a:nwisa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wakan'	
Oponohu (O1)	ukane	
Favorlang (H)	man, micham	
Thao (L)	maká:n	(B) amakan
Pazeh (F)	mekén	(B) kakanai
Saisiat (Ts)	somiʔäl	
Paiwan (F)	kemán	
Puyuma (F)	ʔémkan	(B) amkan
Rikavong (S)	mekan	
Ami (F)	kumáʔən	
Bunun (F)	ma'ún	
Kuvalan (F)	kanpai	(Ts) qmá:n (Ta) k'man, han
Siraya (U)	mavock, kmang	(B) input
Yami (F)	kumán	

ACTIONS

FALL (an object falls from table)FALL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) mhutau
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) masutu
 Sediq (F) metúciŋ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) supeóhe
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) mu:capi (Y) ma:u

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) muacilí
 Favorlang (H) miog
 Thao (L) tawḏúqḏuq, maθá:θaq
 Pazeh (F) talo:bík
 Saisiat (Ts) sähä?

 Paiwan (F) maʔáni?
 Puyuma (F) mutani?

 Ami (F) matəfalai
 Bunun (F) muhalhal
 Kuvalan (F) temibúk (Ts) tmi:bóq
 Siraya (U) touasing
 Yami (F) makáʂ; matúlu? "rain falls"

ACTIONS

FEAR/BE AFRAIDFEAR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ɲuɲuʔ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	maɲuɲuʔ
Sediq (F)	miʔiceʔ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	skóeu, smóeo
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	muruaɬə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	mok'léd'
Favorlang (H)	mikki, me-i
Thao (L)	šúɲkaš
Pazeh (F)	dia:lakáʔ
Saisiat (Ts)	'imatiktikot
Paiwan (F)	markúɟ
Puyuma (F)	makáué
Ami (F)	matarawai
Bunun (F)	papísɪɲ
Kuvalan (F)	moqtét (Ts) maytís
Siraya (U)	mattacot
Yami (F)	maniyáíʔ, maniyéíʔ

ACTIONS

FIGHT (with spears)FIGHT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) mciriq
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) macacabú?
 Sediq (F) metudí'al

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) eoubobái
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) malisasapili "quarrel" (Y) tarilicanili

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ma(ka)cacabíri?
 Favorlang (H) mapiegh
 Thao (L) mapá:naq (B) mapathai
 Pazeh (F) ma:tatahái (B) mohazab
 Saisiat

Paiwan (F) makaqetí?
 Puyuma (F) matatenéz

Ami (F) mararo'ól
 Bunun (F) mapalkapátae
 Kuvalan (F) mabél (Ts) mabu:ól (Ta) mabul
 Siraya (U) mavavongog
 Yami (F) mivenevené?

ACTIONS

FLOATFLOAT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mqlui
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	muláka?
Sediq (F)	sqelálu?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ḡóhce, mea-
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	miaranoḡo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	yaperái
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	lumḡá:ha?
Pažeh (F)	maxa:baxáx
Saisiat (Ts)	toliyab
Paiwan (F)	siḡávau
Puyuma (F)	təma:váu
Ami (F)	mapaupáu
Bunun (F)	tiḡhaulíli?
Kuvalan (F)	məri:na:máu (Ts) mlina:máu
Siraya	
Yami (F)	ma?ata?atáu

ACTIONS

FLOWFLOW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) mthului
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) mulít
 Sediq (F) qəlúluí

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) moheóvca, moh'únu
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) puabauale (water); mua:lusó (things)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) mo'arór'
 Favorlang
 Thao (L) murúšruš
 Pazeh (F) liliús
 Saisiat (Ts) lö'älör

 Paiwan (F) seqáluq
 Puyuma (F) muaqenún
 Rikavong (S) molañod

 Ami (F) ma'a:rór
 Bunun (F) maqháno?
 Kuvalan (F) semúr (Ts) sma:qáy
 Siraya
 Yami (F) 'iríd, 'iríed

ACTIONS

FLY

FLY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mlaka?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mulaka?
Sediq (F)	skáya?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	toesóso, mesáo
Kanakanabu (Y)	miqánai
Saaroa (Ts)	miápiłili

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	?aɲia:palái
Favorlang (H)	mabart
Thao (L)	márfad
Pazeh (F)	meha:behá'
Saisiat (Ts)	'omayap
Paiwan (F)	minráyap
Makazayazaya (F)	miperpér
Puyuma (F)	muvi'í'
Ami (F)	ma'fár
Bunun (F)	koşbái
Kuvalan (F)	núba:sáy (Ts) no:ba:séy
Siraya	
Yami (F)	şemalap

ACTIONS

GIVEGIVE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	miq, biqan
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mi?
Sediq (F)	mú'ai (01) mǵai

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mófi
Kanakanabu (01)	bɥwa-əne
Saaroa (Ts)	uabura

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	waba'ai
Oponohu (01)	ova'a:e
Favorlang (H)	pea
Thao (L)	láy
Pazeh (F)	ba:baxá?
Saisiat (Ts)	mobay
Paiwan (F)	pavái
Puyuma (F)	verái
Ami (F)	paferi?
Bunun (F)	masáiv
Kuvalan (F)	bərakái (Ts) ?ubu:lá?
Siraya (U)	picha
Yami (F)	?ápi?

HEARHEAR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	muŋ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	muŋ
Sediq (F)	səmiliŋ (O1) mubahaŋ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tmále (O1) taðeĩ
Kanakanabu (Y)	timanén
Saaroa (Ts)	tumimala

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kialalá?
Oponohu (O1)	uŋiyalara (Tona, O1) ʔabiciřiŋi
Favorlang (H)	masini
Thao (L)	tunmá:ða?
Pazeh (F)	taumalá?
Saisiat (Ts)	bäzä?
Paiwan (F)	kiraŋdá?
Makazayazaya (F)	remadéŋa?
Puyuma (F)	kiŋél
Rikavong (S)	kiŋoł
Ami (F)	mitəŋír
Bunun (F)	taʔáða?
Kuvalan (F)	pi:ləŋ (Ts) mi:píŋ (Ta) darav
Siraya (U)	gmilingig; pouramang "listen"
Yami (F)	ʔacicil wanén (O1) mamiliŋ

ACTIONS

HIT (with fist)HIT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) minii
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) mahi'
 Sediq (F) cémbu?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) mé?ho
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) mariabakəse (Y) pana

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) wasasərúr'
 Favorlang (H) doogh
 Thao (L) qmaytú:nu?
 Pazeh (F) metə:bé'
 Saisiat (Ts) šəmbet

Paiwan (F) dəmímur, qəmúkur
 Puyuma (F) kələbəpau
 Rikavong (S) təmpok

Ami (F) miskón
 Bunun (F) malúdah
 Kuvalan (F) puqún
 Siraya (U) bouckbouck, vlavlat
 Yami (F) mililimán (A) palu "strike"

HOLD/TAKE IN HANDHOLD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) magal, galan
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) galen
 Sediq (F) maṅal

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) e-, ma, máeo, maháfo
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) uma:la "take"; umaeməe "hold" (Y) pa:la

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ma:laʔáʔ
 Favorlang
 Thao
 Pazeh (F) ma:ráʔ
 Saisiat (Ts) mariʔ

 Paiwan (F) márap
 Puyuma (F) ʔarakáu
 Rikavong (S) dikəs

 Ami (F) miʔaráʔ
 Bunun (F) ʔalíkúsan
 Kuvalan (F) ʔalai (Ts) ma:láʔ
 Siraya (U) megua
 Yami (F) ʔapən (A) ayap

ACTIONS

HUNTHUNT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) qmalup
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) maloqak; macabú? (with firearms)
 Sediq (F) máduk

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) tmaseíti: poaab'ú (with dogs)
 Kanakanabu (O1) aracakanu
 Saaroa (Ts) muruaceka:; mualualupo (with dogs)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) walúp' (Tanan, O1) oalo?
 Oponohu (O1) oalopo
 Favorlang (H) mibonna, maribaribat
 Thao (L) phá:laq (B) panok
 Pazeh (F) madu:tilikát; pasiwažú? (with dogs); muririx
 (with firearms) (B) malup
 Saisiat (Ts) tomalboyö? (O1) ?malup

Paiwan (F) qemáluq
 Makazayazaya (F) máluq
 Puyuma (F) metálun (O1) qemalup

Ami (F) mi'álop
 Bunun (F) hánop
 Kuvalan (F) saláup (Ts) mlo:lók
 Siraya (U) malup (B) malup
 Yami

ACTIONS

KILL

KILL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	phoqil
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	papúhil
Sediq (F)	pəhóqil

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	poh-, opcí
Kanakanabu (Y)	pepácai, miapacái
Saaroa (Ts)	pa:papaci

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wabicalu? (O1) wapacai
Oponohu (O1)	mate?ete (Tona, O1) mateamdo
Favorlang (H)	pacha
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	papui:hét
Saisiat (Ts)	tombok
Paiwan (F)	qémeci
Makazayazaya (F)	səm'ás
Puyuma (F)	pənatái
Ami (F)	mipatái
Bunun (F)	patáəun
Kuvalan (F)	məttúp (Ta) mutung
Siraya (U)	papakey ("stab, cut")
Yami (F)	rakatén

ACTIONS

KNOW (to know a fact)KNOW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	baq, baqun
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ba'un
Sediq (F)	məkəláʔ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	bochío
Kanakanabu (Y)	tavaláe
Saaroa (Ts)	macalia (Y) takuacalia

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	watiñál'
Oponohu (O1)	orihoʔo (Tona, O1) oarigo
Favorlang (H)	maba
Thao (L)	mafá:daq
Pazeh (F)	muba:záʔ
Saisiat (Ts)	ra'am
Paiwan (F)	kəmláŋ
Puyuma (F)	maʒalám
Rikavong (S)	malaʒam
Ami (F)	maíanaq
Bunun (F)	mahansiap
Kuvalan (F)	su:pəyán (Ts) su:ppóy
Siraya (U)	mouvana
Yami (F)	kateŋán

LAUGHLAUGH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	msiaq	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mšéʔ	
Sediq (F)	məhúliş	(B) mahulish

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cócvo	
Kanakanabu (Y)	maacáca, pacacáen	
Saaroa (Ts)	maca:ca:	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (V)	macacawáʔ	
Oponohu (O1)	maʔoma:o (Maga, U1)	apriʔri
Favorlang (H)	mais	
Thao (L)	maθaθá:waʔ	(B) masasana
Pazeh (F)	ma:hatán, mahatahatan	(B) mahatan
Saisiat (Ts)	sawaʔ	
Paiwan (F)	qəmriʔ	
Makazayazaya (F)	mapaʔerí	
Puyuma (F)	likeʔ	
Rikavong (S)	rikeə	
Ami (F)	matawáʔ	
Bunun (F)	mahaháinan	
Kuvalan (F)	kokozán (Ts)	mta:wáʔ
Siraya (U)	mattauwa; macktlig "smile"	(B) matawa
Yami (F)	mamín, mamíen	

ACTIONS

LIE/RECLINE (see also SLEEP)LIE/RECLINE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) minraomul
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) mabel
 Sediq (F) metáqi (also "sleep") (B) tarakarak

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) oefée, oevói
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) mata:sa'ai

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ?ikaiŋa wa'et'
 Favorlang (H) summara
 Thao (L) muntú:muq (B) masutl
 Pazeh (F) maidém (B) paharasai
 Saisiat (Ts) maywa'wa'kan, maywa'wa'ak

Paiwan (F) kípuaq
 Puyuma (F) kursaŋzáł
 Rikavong (S) iñeʒeŋ

Ami (F) mawakáŋ
 Bunun (F) maşáðah
 Kuvalan (F) seʒitáŋ (Ts) sibu:bu:lín
 Siraya (U) magoutoucong "lie bent on one's back"
 (B) mariku
 Yami (F) mirái

ACTIONS

PAIN/TO SMARTPAIN/TO SMART

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mxal
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	muxal
Sediq (F)	menáruh

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cópo
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	macareme (Y) marupalai

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	'eáp'eaŋ (O1) macaem
Oponohu (O1)	mata-eme
Favorlang (H)	masich, madich "sick"
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	?asikís
Saisiat (Ts)	bišbiš
Paiwan (F)	saqetú (also "sick")
Puyuma (F)	nána?
Ami (F)	?alala?
Bunun (F)	madahpa?
Kuvalan (F)	tayáu (Ts) mta:yáv (Ta) tarao "disease"
Siraya (U)	malam, maalam
Yami (F)	miñén

ACTIONS

PLAY/AMUSE ONESELFPLAY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mcisal
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	matisal
Sediq (F)	mtúhoi

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eeéaso
Kanakanabu (Y)	loaéta
Saaroa (Ts)	takuli:liono

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kiawawáwaŋ
Favorlang (H)	mogoch; matsiole "play game"; mauranies "play, joke"
Thao (L)	kiłna:qúwał; minarađá:da? (as children)
Pazeh (F)	ma:hadás
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	kivaŋaváŋ
Puyuma (F)	kivaŋaváŋ
Rikavong (S)	mowažani
Ami (F)	misaramá?
Bunun (F)	pistavatava?
Kuvalan (F)	saksakái (Ts) smaqsas:qáy
Siraya (U)	mananach
Yami (F)	mi'alalám

ACTIONS

PULL

PULL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	sklgan, hmului
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	humúlui
Sediq (F)	hələbíl

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eʔtéee
Kanakanabu (Y)	mariseélu
Saaroa (Ts)	mata:kece

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wabilibiliʔ
Favorlang (H)	tummorroch
Thao (L)	šmú:ruə
Pazeh (F)	bitut (suddenly); muxalít (slowly)
Saisiat (Ts)	'omöhö'
Paiwan (F)	remákac
Puyuma (F)	kežəŋ
Ami (F)	misorot
Bunun (F)	šibuntús
Kuvalan (F)	təbés (Ts) tubbés
Siraya (U)	virikit
Yami (F)	ʔipamiŋit

ACTIONS

PUSHPUSH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	muruu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	gundaras
Sediq (F)	cəmíkəl

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	poeóhə
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	miapapuale

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	warumóro?
Favorlang (H)	summokar
Thao (L)	əmú:kuθ
Pazeh (F)	mudu:dún
Saisiat (Ts)	komontotol
Paiwan (F)	zemúruŋ
Puyuma (F)	səksekán
Rikavong (S)	sOkonan
Ami (F)	micoróq
Bunun (F)	ʔinsúnun
Kuvalan (F)	sokazín (Ts) smu:lóq
Siraya (U)	dmoudong
Yami (F)	paɸundunún

RUB (see also WIPE)RUB

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) lmom
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) gungaz
 Sediq (F) rəmetúrut

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) púta
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) sumasamusu

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) wasupéli
 Favorlang (H) chummomochohomo; pashimit "to stroke"
 Thao (L) maši:ful
 Pazeh (F) do:dorái, hu:hu'ít
 Saisiat (Ts) šomoyšoyap

Paiwan (F) menurumúd
 Makazayazaya (F) gemiságis
 Puyuma (F) maisaǵis
 Rikavong (S) ħemisañis, pahatez

Ami (F) miso:ri'
 Bunun (F) luš'luš'ún
 Kuvalan (F) pusipúsi' (Ts) smu:pás
 Siraya
 Yami (F) palinaşén

ACTIONS

SCRATCH (with fingernails)SCRATCH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kmamil
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	gunkuíʔ
Sediq (F)	kəmáwah

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	misíʔsi
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	kara:ro; maikauco (as cat)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔogacegáçə
Favorlang (H)	makos
Thao (L)	kmú:láw
Pazeh (F)	kaikaxáu
Saisiat (Ts)	koma'ka'aw
Paiwan (F)	geməcgéc
Makazayazaya (F)	gemberís
Puyuma (F)	homa:táu
Ami (F)	mikəskés
Bunun (F)	məkálav, kəlavun
Kuvalan (F)	kayau, təbəs (Ts) qa:yáv
Siraya	
Yami (F)	kadkadén

ACTIONS

SEESEE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mita?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	matox
Sediq (F)	kmita?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	baíto, teóle
Kanakanabu (Y)	ceérai (O1) cumace?era
Saaroa (Ts)	kumakita

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wacə?él'	
Oponohu (O1)	ucupədə	
Favorlang (H)	mita	
Thao (L)	mri:qae	
Pazeh (F)	mukitá?	
Saisiat (Ts)	kita?	
Paiwan (F)	lemén, pacun	
Puyuma (F)	manaqáu, na?uái	
Ami (F)	minenén	
Bunun (F)	şádo?	
Kuvalan (F)	taitán (Ts) tmaytá?	(Ta) maíta
Siraya (U)	kmitta	
Yami (F)	cíta?, kíta?	

ACTIONS

SEWSEW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	smaqis
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	cema'is
Sediq (F)	semá'is

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tmé'si
Kanakanabu (O1)	tumata-iši
Saaroa (Ts)	tumálisua

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wacaicnisi
Oponohu (O1)	ocikipi' (Tona dialect, O1) oaciko
Favorlang (H)	summis
Thao (L)	šmáqiš
Pazeh (F)	sasa'is
Saisiat (Ts)	šomä'is
Paiwan (F)	cəmaqis
Puyuma (F)	ṭəmǵi
Rikavong (S)	ṭaŋi
Ami (F)	mita'is
Bunun (F)	matáhiš
Kuvalan (F)	təma'is (Ts) t ^ə maksám
Siraya (U)	tmahy
Yami (F)	pananapanan (A) ma-ḷait

SHOOT (arrow)SHOOT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mu?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	cunbú?
Sediq (F)	húliq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	póno
Kanakanabu (O1)	mǝa-pana-e
Saaroa (Ts)	uapana (O1) pa:lalito

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wabilakác'
Favorlang (H)	poch
Thao (L)	pa:naq
Pazeh (F)	palawín
Saisiat (Ts)	ponänä?
Paiwan (F)	penánaq
Puyuma (F)	penanáq
Ami (F)	mipanáq
Bunun (F)	mánah
Kuvalan (F)	battú? (Ts) pma:ní?
Siraya (U)	palto, dougey
Yami (F)	nau'én (O1) mamalitik

ACTIONS

SINGSING

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mquas	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ma'uas	
Sediq (F)	mu'ias	(B) mahoyesh

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mat-, pasunáeno
Kanakanabu (Y)	cani
Saaroa (Ts)	pa:luasaki

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wasenái
Oponohu (O1)	malu (Tona dialect, O1) ʘunae
Favorlang (H)	ummito; rummait "sing in chorus"
Thao (L)	maqaqu:yiš (B) makakuyash
Pazeh (F)	ma:torái (B) maturai
Saisiat (Ts)	ma'tol, matol

Paiwan (F)	səmnái, səmənái
Puyuma (F)	səmnái
Rikavong (S)	senai

Ami (F)	rəmaíio
Bunun (F)	kahódas
Kuvalan (F)	sateza:i? (Ts) sa:tzái?
Siraya (U)	mourourau (B) ururao
Yami (F)	mi'anua? nu'éd (nu'éd "song")

SITSIT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	matama? (O1) metehayuk
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	matatáma?
Sediq (F)	təlún

TSOUC

Tsou (T)	eusúhqu
Kanakanabu (Y)	tupúru
Saaroa (Ts)	tuapuro, tuakələņe

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	watakainén'
Oponohu (O1)	utolohorau
Favorlang (H)	mero-os
Thao (L)	miłúnqu?
Pazeh (F)	maitukú?
Saisiat (Ts)	masa'eņ
Paiwan (F)	qemírađ
Puyuma (F)	kəmayán
Ami (F)	maróđ
Bunun (F)	mal'ánoho?
Kuvalan (F)	qalér (Ts) małél
Siraya (U)	miraong
Yami (F)	?əmlisná? (O1) tumlatuđ

ACTIONS

SLEEP (see also LIE/RECLINE)SLEEP

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mʔabiʔ	(Ta) mavi
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	makepurah,	mabel
Sediq (F)	mtáqi	(B) matakai

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	oeŋéte	
Kanakanabu (Y)	seecépe	
Saaroa (Ts)	ma:tatusoro	(Y) maarusap, marisap(ə)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wapéc'	(Tanan dialect, 01) oaʔeə
Oporohu (01)	apace	(Maga dialect, 01) sireke
Favorlang (H)	matorro	
Thao (L)	má:luθ	(B) mapushkah
Pazeh (F)	midém	(B) mudamai
Saisiat (Ts)	măʔrəm	
Taokas (02)	mu-ləp	
Paiwan (F)	táqəd	(01) qəmərəp
Makazayazaya (F)	taʔád	
Puyuma (F)	ʔələpəq̄	(B) medüŋ
Ami (F)	mafotiq̄	
Bunun (F)	matodon	(01) maşavah
Kuvalan (F)	mainép	(Ta) meinüp
Siraya (U)	mesip	
Yami (F)	mitʔkə'	

ACTIONS

SMELL (perceive odor)SMELL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	smok
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	sakanúx
Sediq (F)	sqənúh

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	céle, e'hópe
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	uma:bali

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wasabáli?
Favorlang (H)	romosnos
Thao (L)	šmá:ðik
Pazeh (F)	sa:sažék
Saisiat (Ts)	sazəkən
Paiwan (F)	səmqu?
Makazayazaya (F)	səmarúm
Puyuma	
Rikavong (S)	ʈaol
Ami (F)	hanék
Bunun (F)	šákun
Kuvalan (F)	vəpsís (Ts) smi:qút (Ta) smanuk, smingut
Siraya (U)	smasangog ("riecken")
Yami (F)	šireŋetén

ACTIONS

SPEAK/SAYSPEAK/SAY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kmaial	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kumaʒal	
Sediq (F)	rəməŋáu	(B) marangao

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	maínca	
Kanakanabu (Y)	poísua	
Saaroa (Ts)	amīka:	(Y) amiami

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kawáreva?	
Favorlang (H)	pala "say"; magcho "speak"	
Thao (L)	mālinú:na?	(B) mātlinula
Pazeh (F)	ka:kawás	(B) makakawasai
Saisiat (Ts)	komoša "say"; maʔiyaka'i? "speak"	
Paiwan (F)	kialaváran; ʔáia? "speak a language"	
Makazayazaya (F)	'ívu'	
Puyuma (F)	mareŋái	
Rikavong (S)	marŋai; maʒayaʒayar "talk"	
Ami (F)	paso'ár	
Bunun (F)	túpa?	
Kuvalan (F)	siqaumá?	(Ts) si:kawmá? (Ta) sikaoma
Siraya (U)	massousou "speak"; mararamig "talk"; comma, vanavaŋa "say"	(B) masasuu
Yami (F)	ʔipanjí?	

ACTIONS

SPLIT (as, wood becomes split)SPLIT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mka?, sbka?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	məʃbaká?
Sediq (F)	pəscáx

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	aacʔóhu
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ruapici

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	mauvagái, matatibi:ʔ
Favorlang (H)	pilla
Thao (L)	tamałtał
Pazeh (F)	mura:tík
Saisiat (Ts)	šomawi?
Paiwan (F)	mincérak
Puyuma (F)	mteqáv
Ami (F)	maperá?
Bunun (F)	timpuślá?
Kuvalan (F)	məpəy (Ts) subbí
Siraya	
Yami (F)	məʃalad (A) riček

ACTIONS

SQUEEZE (in hand)SQUEEZE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) moq
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) maʒit
 Sediq (F) qəmɔíʔ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) tvóee
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) maiaəpəcu

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) wagəm'gəm
 Favorlang (H) pissir, summerik; pisbis "hold fast"
 Thao (L) pitpiti
 Pazeh (F) pə:pəpət, məpəpət
 Saisiat (Ts) kəpə'

Paiwan (F) səmpət
 Makazayazaya (F) dəmədas
 Puyuma (F) pərɔ́áu

Ami (F) mimət(ə)mət
 Bunun (F) ʔarishótan
 Kuvalan (F) qumənəy (Ts) pumʒáq
 Siraya
 Yami (F) ʔakbəpən

ACTIONS

STAB/PIERCE (with spear)STAB/PIERCE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hmop
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	méta?
Sediq (F)	máitaiq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	smúeu
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	lumaliboro

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	warakád', wader'dér'
Favorlang (H)	tummaba; tūmmilla (as deer)
Thao (L)	šmé:rik
Pazeh (F)	mudakús
Saisiat (Ts)	hömažáb
Paiwan (F)	venəqevéq
Puyuma (F)	ʔilus
Ami (F)	mikotaŋ
Bunun (F)	kiš-šunánan
Kuvalan (F)	toqaiqaqái (Ts) tmuqéq
Siraya	
Yami (F)	patuvurén (A) iyu

ACTIONS

STANDSTAND

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	sʔurux
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	macáru'
Sediq (F)	metútui

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eácʔə, eácʔə
Kanakanabu (Y)	takóre, mucíri
Saaroa (Ts)	muasiri

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wáidi:' (wá'iri:' ?)
Favorlang (H)	mbarri; maseas "stand up"
Thao (L)	milí:liʔ
Pazeh (F)	mi:tún
Saisiat (Ts)	miririʔi'
Paiwan (F)	migácal
Makazayazaya (F)	marindól
Puyuma (F)	matekeríʔ
Rikavong (S)	matikeʔil
Ami (F)	tomiréŋ
Bunun (F)	mindanʔkae
Kuvalan (F)	teyéʔ (Ts) mi ^e y ^e iʔ
Siraya (U)	mitouko
Yami (F)	tumanék

ACTIONS

SWIM

SWIM

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	mələniyaq, ləməniyaq
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	lumaŋui
Sediq (F)	ləməŋui

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	euhŋzɯ
Kanakanabu (Y)	makananŋuru
Saaroa (Ts)	makaŋaŋolo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	walaŋui
Favorlang (H)	summaso
Thao (L)	mráwə
Pazeh (F)	lalaŋui?
Saisiat (Ts)	lalaŋoy
Paiwan (F)	ləməŋui
Puyuma (F)	pakulima?
Rikavong (S)	molaŋoi
Ami (F)	miŋaŋoi
Bunun (F)	tun?ap?ap
Kuvalan (F)	mənaŋui
Siraya (U)	lmangoy
Yami (F)	milwawát

ACTIONS

SUCK (as fruit)SUCK

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) hēmimoq, pēnhaṗuts
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) huniák
 Sediq (F) qəməqúṗ,

TSOUIC

Tsou
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) maliamucoco

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) waqa:nuqanú?
 Favorlang (H) tsimipi siep
 Thao (L) šmiʔuθʔuθ
 Pazeh (F) že:žəžép
 Saisiat (Ts) ʔomosʔos

Paiwan (F) tempetép (fruit); semarep (soup)
 Makazayazaya (F) semí'up
 Puyuma (F) sirepáu

Ami (F) micirép
 Bunun (F) supsup'ún
 Kuvalan (F) səpsép (Ts) smi:sép, smupsúp
 Siraya (U) smippsip
 Yami (F) ʔijútan

ACTIONS

THINK (cogitate)THINK

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mnlup
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	luɲluɲ
Sediq (F)	ləməɲlúɲ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	máʔmi, toʔtohéɲe
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	pa:cə:cəpəɲe

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kiarəm'rém'
Favorlang (H)	tumpa
Thao (L)	maɲtúktuʔ
Pazeh (F)	ma:xakəláʔ
Saisiat (Ts)	'eʔazʔazəm
Paiwan (F)	kinəménəm
Puyuma (F)	marʔáɲer, maráɲer
Rikavong (S)	kəma; maraɲer "desire"
Ami (F)	miharatəɲ
Bunun (F)	milískin
Kuvalan (F)	kəsianóm (Ts) ka:sianóm
Saraya (U)	pagdimdim ("remember"?)
Yami (F)	naknakmén

ACTIONS

THROW (as spear)THROW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) mbuliŋ
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) pabúliŋ
 Sediq (F) qmádaʔ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) mtóke, papéfi, / tóʔso
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) mata:pono

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) wadukúruʔ
 Favorlang (H) magga
 Thao (L) qawrí:waʔ
 Pazeh (F) mupanáʔ
 Saisiat (Ts) ʔömosa'

Paiwan (F) venúluq
 Puyuma (F) vuluʔánai
 Rikavong (S) vertok

Ami (F) miparóʔ, mifeŋés
 Bunun (F) laʔátoʔ
 Kuvalan (F) naqai (Ts) mwa:lín
 Siraya (U) vioul
 Yami (F) picilauşén (A) pavuyug

ACTIONS

TIETIE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mumu?, tmumu?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mutut
Sediq (F)	lēmútut

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	maepoeisi, mfútu, smoe-
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	pa:ləmələ

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wa'réc', wa'vэг
Favorlang (H)	kummogh
Thao (L)	qmúθquθ
Pazeh (F)	se:sədə'
Saisiat (Ts)	makisä'ö'
Paiwan (F)	venarisqúc
Makazayazaya (F)	venəpət
Puyuma (F)	ventevét
Rikavong (S)	ventvet, venariñito
Ami (F)	mitopól
Bunun (F)	parantahón
Kuvalan (F)	meqosi:ñét (Ts) mnu:túl
Siraya (U)	vugot "to bind"
Yami (F)	pitanəpén; ikut "bind"

ACTIONS

TURN AROUNDTURN AROUND

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) matukiži
 Sediq (F) mətenu'in

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) kueúŋu
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) sakuapikolo (Y) takeəséele

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) maliuliús
 Favorlang
 Thao (L) mušú:qiš
 Pazeh (F) ma:sədé:'
 Saisiat

 Paiwan (F) kipníd; mapəlíd, "revolve"
 Puyuma (F) muliús (person); muliulius (thing)

 Ami (F) mariréŋ
 Bunun (F) minbohóh
 Kuvalan (F) kəlisen (Ts) kmu:li:séŋ
 Siraya (U) magouvering, parit
 Yami (F) milikelikéd

ACTIONS

VOMIT

VOMIT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	mutaq
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	cəmpəh
Sediq (F)	pəbərih

TSOUIC

Tsou (LH)	teaḅuto
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ta:ruta

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	suəpəlái
Favorlang (H)	mota
Thao (L)	mú:taq
Pazeh (F)	mutá?
Saisiat (Ts)	motä?

Paiwan (F)	múṭaq
Puyuma (F)	mutáq

Ami (F)	maʔótaq
Bunun (F)	mótah
Kuvalan (F)	mu:tí?
Siraya	
Yami (F)	mutó:tá?

ACTIONS

WALKWALK

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mhkani?	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mahkaki	
Sediq (F)	məksá?	(B) makakaisa

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	coecóne	
Kanakanabu (Y)	muláva	(O1) mūacaca
Sarroa (Ts)	muasa:sala	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	'udadawác'	
Oponohu (O1)	(h)uđadace	
Favorlang (H)	moas	
Thao (L)	mundadá:n	(B) oshumpado
Pazeh (F)	muža:kái	(B) dzadzakai
Saisiat (Ts)	manra'an	(O1) maiziza
Taokas (O2)	ma-lahep	
Paiwan (F)	qəmávac	
Puyuma (F)	kəmakawan	
Ami (F)	rəmakat	
Bunun (F)	mudadá'an	
Kuvalan (F)	səma:kái	(Ts) sma:qáy
Siraya (U)	mounounang	(B) marisip
Yami (F)	'umalam	

ACTIONS

WASH/BATHE ONESELFWASH/BATHE ONESELF

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mima?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	méma?
Sediq (F)	teríma?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mamcino
Kanakanabu (Y)	pacínen, mácina
Saaroa (Ts)	ma:sino

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	mabanáu
Oponohu (O1)	ma:vanao
Favorlang (H)	madinau "wash hands"
Thao (L)	mí:lu?
Pazeh (F)	madawán
Saisiat (Ts)	ti'ma? "wash hands"; timasa? "wash face"
Paiwan (F)	mavánau
Puyuma (F)	émi:rús
Ami (F)	ma'inóq (other dialect, O1) miriruc
Bunun (F)	tali'isoh
Kuvalan (F)	merurís (Ts) mu:zís
Siraya (C)	migoug
Yami (F)	mari'és

ACTIONS

WEEPWEEP

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	m̄pilis	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	m̄apilis	
Sediq (F)	l̄em̄ip̄is	(B) leminish

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	m̄ōn̄si	
Kanakanabu (Y)	tum̄á̄pi	
Saaroa (Ts)	tumat̄api:	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	watobí:'	
Oponohu (O1)	otovo	
Favorlang (H)	mirras	
Thao (L)	ə́má:nit	(B) thmanit
Pazeh (F)	m̄ap̄it	(B) mangidz
Saisiat (Ts)	hö́m̄ap̄ih	
Paiwan (F)	q̄ə́m̄á̄ūp̄	
Puyuma (F)	ṭ̄ə́m̄á̄p̄īs	
Ami (F)	tomāp̄ic	
Bunun (F)	tāpīš	
Kuvalan (F)	mu:yip̄	(Ta) muring
Siraya (U)	madagam	(B) mangi, (G) t'angit'angi "tears"
Yami (F)	yamlaví?	

WIPE

WIPE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	smom
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	'umu'
Sediq (F)	semúlus

TSOUIC

Tsou	
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	sumasamusu

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wabi:bi:
Favorlang (H)	poggogo; pashimit "stroke"; chummomochomo "rub"
Thao (L)	timí:tiš
Pazeh (F)	di:didis
Saisiat (Ts)	tomi'iš
Paiwan (F)	qemuás
Makazayazaya (F)	seməliž
Puyuma (F)	?iturái
Rikavong (S)	eter
Ami (F)	misifin
Bunun (F)	haišháišun
Kuvalan (F)	payás (Ts) smu:pás
Siraya (U)	limislis
Yami (F)	linašan

ACTIONS

WORKWORK

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qumah "work in fields"; mziau "be`busy"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mumarah ¹
Sediq (F)	kempáh (B) komopach

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eahioa
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	taku?i:?iare

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	?aitotomá:?
Favorlang (H)	merien, tumaap
Thao (L)	muḏú:hat (B) araran
Pazeh (F)	mauku:kusá? (B) maramai
Saisiat (Ts)	mata'waw
Paiwan (F)	karakúda?, masəpsəp
Puyuma (F)	kikarún
Rikavong (S)	kikaron, ɬaŋeməɬ
Ami (F)	ma'umáh
Bunun (F)	kudakúda?
Kuvalan (F)	saqulí? (Ts) k ^ə lawka:wáy (Ta) saharun, sahalun
Siraya (U)	gmisong (B) muuma
Yami (F)	mivarái (A) maŋ-uma "cultivate"

(Note: 1. Originally meant "work in fields," now means to do any kind of work.

ACTIONS

WRITE (see also PAPER)WRITE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) miru?
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) mataş
 Sediq (F) mátas

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) titpósu
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) sumasuláte

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ?o'acás'
 Favorlang (H) pattas, pido
 Thao (L) mátaş
 Pazeh (F) mubi:zú?
 Saisiat (Ts) koma'at

Paiwan (F) veŋcik
 Makazayazaya (F) vučik
 Puyuma (F) venavalai
 Rikavong (S) vararai

Ami (F) mitirír
 Bunun (F) mapátaş
 Kuvalan (F) semulál (Ts) smu:lál (Ta) sulal, smulan
 Siraya (U) smoulat
 Yami (F) vatvatkán

ACTIONS

BLACKBLACK

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qalux	(Ta) m'kálukh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	makálux	
Sediq (F)	meqáluh	(B) makaluch

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	kuaóna
Kanakanabu (Y)	taéleme
Saaroa (Ts)	malicece

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	maicelén'
Oponohu (O1)	maícerañe
Favorlang (H)	makosum, marruan
Thao (L)	maqú:θum (B) makotsam
Pazeh (F)	dərəxén (B) turuheul
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔəlñih
Paiwan (F)	qaya-cəñecəñér
Puyuma (F)	qozqozém (B) ududüm
Ami (F)	kohetiñ
Bunun (F)	matahdón
Kuvalan (F)	təñén (Ta) tūngŭn
Siraya (U)	maoudim (B) xudim
Yami (F)	maşáriʔ (A) maşayən

COLORS

GREEN/BLUEGREEN/BLUE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tasiq	(Ta) lasu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	magazágu?	
Sediq (F)	musáma?	(B) masama

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ephóva
Kanakanabu (Y)	tavácuku
Saaroa (Ts)	malañiio

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	salesesé?
Favorlang (H)	mkach, matacha
Thao (L)	mađišlum (B) madishlun
Pazeh (F)	maņa:yáh (B) turulich "green", mangaiah "blue"
Saisiat (Ts)	?es?ez
Paiwan (F)	đelselsém (Other dialect, O1) mataq
Makazayazaya (F)	diruarúas
Puyuma (F)	rəma?ara?át (B) tangia "blue", miraak "green"
Rikavong (S)	mərañarañat
Ami (F)	kañláu
Bunun (F)	maşáñlav
Kuvalan (F)	pu:lí? (Ta) puli, b'nuran
Siraya (U)	madossiāng "blue"
Yami (F)	mugárau

COLORS

REDRED

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	talax	(Ta) m'talaxh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	matanax	
Sediq (F)	mbánax	(B) matanax

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fəhŋóea
Kanakanabu (Y)	masínaxə
Saaroa (Ts)	matabuliu

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	direrél'	
Oponohu (O1)	made'erehe	
Favorlang (H)	makakas, makakan	
Thao (L)	maqú:laʔ	(B) makuthla
Pazeh (F)	luba:hiŋ	(B) lubangeng
Saisiat (Ts)	ŋaŋiläh	
Paiwan (F)	quŋiŋil	
Puyuma (F)	ŋaŋŋarəŋ	(B) mitaran
Rikavong (S)	zəmiyar	
Ami (F)	kahŋəŋ	
Bunun (F)	madəŋhas	
Kuvalan (F)	təba:yé'	(Ts) t ^ə ba:yéiʔ (Ta) t'barei
Siraya (U)	mipgang	(G) meip-hang
Yami (F)	miválax	

WHITEWHITE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	plqui	(Ta) m'lávu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	malávu?	
Sədiq (F)	bəhóai	(B) bahagai

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fuecəʔia
Kanakanabu (Y)	tapúnia
Saaroa (Ts)	mapoʔi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	malədəʔ	(Dialects, O1)	pupili, ʔuliʔuli
Oponohu (O1)	tapole		
Favorlang (H)	mabukkas, osi, mausi		
Thao (L)	mapú:əiʔ	(B)	maputhi
Pazeh (F)	'isiláu	(B)	risilao
Saisiat (Ts)	bolalás		
Paiwan (F)	vúqavúqal, vutqitqil, vucəracərái		
Puyuma (F)	vultíq (paper, etc.); vulqán (skin)	(B)	burnan
Ami (F)	kohcar		
Bunun (F)	madohlás		
Kuvalan (F)	bussáy	(Ta)	bussar, vassar
Siraya (U)	mapoule	(G)	-pule
Yami (F)	malávaŋ		

COLORS

YELLOWYELLOW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hibuŋ	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	magasúlu?	
Sediq (F)	mucá'is	(B) tanachmahabai

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hofʔóea	
Kanakanabu (Y)	tanavikáre	
Saaroa (Ts)	malisare	(Y) maberaicua

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bobérau'a'	
Oponohu (O1)	vaoro	
Favorlang (H)	mkach "green, yellow"	
Thao (L)	šadú:nan	(B) mabulao
Pazeh (F)	taba:rák	(B) tabarak
Saisiat (Ts)	'abiyal	
Paiwan (F)	qurivarivái	
Makazayazaya (F)	vúrav, ʔuliralíral	
Puyuma (F)	malulúŋ	(B) malulu
Ami (F)	kiarán	
Bunun (F)	madi'av	
Kuvalan (F)	pulipulíʔ	(Ts) pałaláw (Ta) palao, mrapala
Siraya (U)	makouliang	
Yami (O1)	akumi pugapuga	

COLORS

ALIVE/TO LIVEALIVE/TO LIVE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mqianux
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mayanuh
Sediq (F)	mu'úduš

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eansouá (also "breathe")
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	maŋusipi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ma:lilipái
Favorlang (H)	orich
Thao (L)	maqá:štas
Pazeh (F)	mai'át
Saisiat (Ts)	?i?iyäh
Paiwan (F)	válet, válut
Puyuma (F)	muva'áu
Ami (F)	ma?orip
Bunun (F)	mihú:mis
Kuvalan (F)	manbinús (Ts) bi:nús
Siraya (U)	káuag, koroch "breath"; mougag "to live"
Yami (F)	mavi'ái

QUALITIES

ALL/ENTIRE(LY)ALL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kuara?	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kóra?	
Sediq (F)	kána?	(B) ramut

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	acéhe
Kanakanabu (Y)	kavāṅvaṅ
Saaroa (Ts)	mə:məa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	dumu:dumā?
Favorlang (H)	rummo, tapos
Thao (L)	múlkil (B) mashta
Pazeh (F)	dadú'a? (B) dadoa
Saisiat (Ts)	saböh
Paiwan (F)	penúlat
Puyuma (F)	pení'a? (things); papí'a? (people)
Ami (F)	ma'mín
Bunun (F)	?ámin
Kuvalan (F)	meni'íl (Ts) mpe:ʔ (Ta) maniz, hanizka
Siraya (U)	ymmut; madagoa "entirely"; (B) sasaan
Yami (F)	malévét

QUALITIES

BADBAD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	iaqeh	(Ta) lakhan
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	zákeh	
Sediq (F)	náqah	(B) nakach

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	pák'i	(O1) kužo
Kanakanabu (Y)	aáka, aráka	
Saaroa (Ts)	takuliace	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	malisi:'	
Oponohu (O1)	matakora	(Maga dialect, O1) makrace
Favorlang (H)	rapies	
Thao (L)	maqárman, ma'ú:ra'	(B) makarman
Pazeh (F)	saži'án	(B) sadial
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔäwhäy	
Paiwan (F)	nakúya'	
Puyuma (F)	ku'atəŋ	(B) inatai
Ami (F)	tati'ifñai	
Bunun (F)	maku'án	
Kuvalan (F)	məsu:káu	(Ta) masukao "spoiled", lalass "wicked"
Siraya (U)	mavitig	(B) mabulin
Yami (F)	mala:yét	

QUALITIES

BIGBIG

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hupa?, iaba?	(Ta) n'huyal
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	yotas	(O1) raho
Sediq (F)	páru?	(B) paru

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	meói
Kanakanabu (Y)	tatía
Saaroa (Ts)	taisa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	maqáu	
Oponohu (O1)	towarae	(Maga, O1) taraço, (Tona) taomomo
Favorlang (H)	mato	
Thao (L)	mara?in	(B) marawin
Pazeh (F)	matarú?	(B) mataru
Saisiat (Ts)	soba'öh	(O1) rarahö
Paiwan (F)	qáca?	
Makazayazaya (F)	kurakúral	
Puyuma (F)	maqízáp	(B) matina
Ami (F)	ta?apái	
Bunun (F)	madá'in	
Kuvalan (F)	ya:yá?	(Ta) raia
Siraya (U)	isang	(B) maizang
Yami (F)	(ya)ráku?	

QUALITIES

BITTER/ACRID (see also SALTY)BITTER/ACRID

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tqmtux (O1) qəmetux "bitter", məŋihoi "sour"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mənihur
Sediq (F)	mənihur

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	máeme
Kanakanabu (O1)	mámíaru
Saaroa (Ts)	mərəme

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	maʔilil'
Oponohu (O1)	mapalele
Favorlang (H)	machigh
Thao (L)	maθí:daq "bitter"; maní:šir "sour"
Pazeh (F)	pažít
Saisiat (Ts)	tomopak "acrid"; ʔázʔez "bitter"; ʔähis "sour"
Paiwan (F)	qádid
Puyuma (F)	qapəlin
Ami (F)	ʔaneqer(ái)
Bunun (F)	mapaʔis
Kuvalan (F)	mənnət (spicy ?); (Ts) mənnət; sapo:yát
Siraya (U)	magmit, maplas
Yami (F)	makupad

QUALITIES

COLD (as water)COLD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) trtu? (Ta) maskinuss
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) gahra?
 Sediq (F) tɛletú?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) soeéme
 Kanakanabu (Y) makup
 Saaroa (Ts) matałəkətəkə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) maɲaɲəɾəç
 Favorlang
 Thao (L) matí:θi?
 Pazeh (F) lamík (B) lamik
 Saisiat (Ts) ?iyä'ä?zaw

 Paiwan (F) vəcərél
 Puyuma (F) liték (B) lituk
 Rikavong (S) litək, artiɟ, ɟalintən

 Ami (F) ki'təcái
 Bunun (F) makáđav
 Kuvalan (F) tuɟpús (Ta) dur puss
 Siraya
 Yami (F) marekmé' (O1) mayən

QUALITIES

COLD (weather)COLD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hziag	(Ta) maskinuss "cold"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	gahra?	
Sediq (F)	məskuf?	(B) masekuich

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hosoeéna	
Kanakanabu (Y)	makup	"cold"
Saaroa (Ts)	masareme	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	makəcér'	
Favorlang (H)	maaru, masumak	
Thao (L)	mašimədaw	(B) masunlao
Pazeh (F)	lamík	(B) lamik
Saisiat (Ts)	maskəs	
Paiwan (F)	laleqér	
Puyuma (F)	liték	(B) lituk
Ami (F)	si?nau(ái)	
Bunun (F)	makádav	
Kuvalan (F)	sassén (Ts) səsésén	(Ta) sass'n
Siraya (U)	maharmil	(B) mahaumung
Yami (F)	marekmé'	

QUALITIES

DIFFERENTDIFFERENT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) ini petanaq, məsmiyai
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) 'ini pintána?
 Sediq (F) 'ini penténa?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) husizóza, hʔunási
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) təkələ

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) karu'á' karmararamáu
 Favorlang (H) minannis, mauroman
 Thao
 Pazeh (F) ʔuzái ʔiminiʔ, 'ini ma'ára?
 Saisiat (Ts) ʔaroma?

 Paiwan (F) ʔika mámau
 Puyuma (F) markamlí?

 \mi (F) masasirumá?
 Bunun (F) nitoʔ masdáp
 Kuvalan (F) maisás (Ts) ʔussá?
 Siraya
 Yami (F) yají mi'anái

QUALITIES

DIRTY

DIRTY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mʔurau	(Ta) m'k'púta
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mazukat	
Sediq (F)	stérax	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cái, cáʔi	
Kanakanabu		
Saaroa (Ts)	a:lapeaŋa	(Y) aere

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	malisíʔ	
Favorlang (H)	miach, miarar	
Thao (L)	ʔišká:wan	
Pazeh (F)	kaliاليakán	(B) kaliالalakun "ugly"
Saisiat (Ts)	'ara'iʔ	
Paiwan (F)	sasakúyaʔ	
Puyuma (F)	militáŋ	
Ami (F)	sikalitái	
Bunun (F)	matáhlun	
Kuvalan (F)	paqsiláp	(Ts) moyamu:tiéy (Ta) matar
Siraya (U)	katil	(B) madidung "ugly"
Yami (F)	malú'it	

QUALITIES

DRYDRY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mahii
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	maruṇuʔ
Sediq (F)	mədeṇúʔ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	oemíʔmi
Kanakanabu (Y)	manakaráe
Saaroa (Ts)	maparapa, maṇane

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	mameál
Favorlang (H)	macha (also "dead")
Thao (L)	maqá:liw
Pazeh (F)	maqá'it
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔäʔä'iw
Paiwan (F)	namtad
Makazayazaya (F)	namácai
Puyuma (F)	marúm (wood); tarantáp (clothes); tankár
Rikavong (S)	tarapran / (fields)
Ami (F)	maʔicanái
Bunun (F)	mahaliv
Kuvalan (F)	maisén
Siraya (U)	maskag
Yami (F)	makjít

DULL (as blade)

DULL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔini pihuriʔ ("not sharp")
Sediq (F)	ʔini kehúgul

TSOUIC

Tsou	
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	kuabarebare

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	mailút'
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	mataríθtiθ
Pazeh (F)	mano:nóʔ
Saisiat (Ts)	kik sɛma'ɛm
Paiwan (F)	ʔini ka raɟai
Makazayazaya (F)	tɛmátaʔ
Puyuma (F)	livarú (temper gone); ʔadí ʔidaɟán
Rikavong (S)	ɟitaɟ
Ami (F)	cu'aʔ kaʔ sihenan
Bunun (F)	nito manushái
Kuvalan (F)	mɟa:ɟés (Ts) mɟa:ɟés
Siraya (U)	mangihit
Yami (F)	maɟáleʔ

QUALITIES

FAT/OBESE (human)FAT/OBESE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) kətahoi
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) katúhur
 Sediq (F) mətəbənáu

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) noeéne
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) mabəle

PAIWANIC

Rukai (r) mabítqlo:
 Favorlang (H) mabinni
 Thao (L) mará:mu?
 Pazeh (F) bagə:t
 Saisiat (Ts) ?imakerpe'

 Paiwan (F) məkáca, məkúrar
 Makazayazaya (F) cəmeré?
 Puyuma (F) səmvér
 Rikavong (S) somvor

 Ami (F) maso?so?(ái)
 Bunun (F) maholpiáh
 Kuvalan (F) ni:ssí? (Ts) missí?
 Siraya (U) moloumou
 Yami (F) matáva'

QUALITIES

FEW (see also SMALL)FEW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	cikui	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	bilak	
Sediq (F)	tíqəh	(B) biluk

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	kakutía
Kanakanabu (O1)	makaŋuce
Saaroa (Ts)	maini

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bekéla?
Oponohu (O1)	maŋe'e (Maga, O1) tikca, (Tona, O1) ti'icanu
Favorlang (H)	koezi, kotsi, maso
Thao (L)	ʔántu pí:da? (B) ialado
Pazeh (F)	ža:tíŋ (B) inidaho
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔitʔitiʔan
Paiwan (F)	kéri?
Puyuma (F)	saʔmán (things); kaitáyan (people)
Ami (F)	mimiŋái
Bunun (F)	kaumán, tikíŋ
Kuvalan (F)	ki:'amá? (Ts) kia:má?
Siraya (U)	matiting, ausyng (B) akousai
Yami (F)	yapére' (O1) arikəi

QUALITIES

FULLFULL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) mäs'un
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) paspun
 Sediq (F) hətəŋái

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) ɲəŋcəŋcə
 Kanakanabu (Y) aratumúru
 Saaroa (Ts) mili:

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) siaeté:'
 Favorlang (H) matapo
 Thao (L) mapú:niš
 Pazeh (F) mabiní'
 Saisiat (Ts) mayha'ha'

 Paiwan (F) mapəlúq
 Puyuma (F) matəmúi

 Ami (F) matomés
 Bunun (F) matmot
 Kuvalan (F) po'oníq (Ts) pu:níéy
 Siraya (U) mathamoy
 Yami (F) mapənú'

GOODGOOD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	blaq	(Ta) b'lakh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ramás	
Sedíq (F)	'iq (O1) malu	(B) malup

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ʔémne (also "beautiful")
Kanakanabu (Y)	mamanéne
Saaroa (Ts)	mabacane

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	matarír'
Oponohu (O1)	mata:deʔe (Tona dialect, O1) maragiʔi
Favorleng (::)	mataso, mario, micho
Thao (L)	maqí:tan (B) makitan
Pazeh (F)	'iák (B) reak
Saisiat (Ts)	kayzäh
Paiwan (F)	naŋúaq
Puyuma (F)	ŋinaváʔ (B) inaba
Ami (F)	ŋaʔai'ái (O1) kapah
Bunun (F)	maši'al
Kuvalan (F)	nəpiʔ (Ts) nəŋnáʔ (Ta) malaka
Siraya (U)	maganiŋ, mariang (B) magani
Yami (F)	ʔapí'aʔ, yapí'aʔ

QUALITIES

HEAVYHEAVY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ʔsuu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔazusu'
Sediq (F)	cəhəɟil

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ecbéhə
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	malisə:lə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	matiulég
Favorlang (H)	mataoch
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	haižéŋ
Saisiat (Ts)	šilʔi'
Paiwan (F)	saɟərún
Makazayazaya (F)	hadəlún
Puyuma (F)	ʔaruzún
Ami (F)	kartéŋ
Bunun (F)	mahosɔ́ʔ
Kuvalan (F)	zinnéq
Siraya (U)	mackdounq
Yami (F)	mare:met

QUALITIES

HIGH/TALL (see also ABOVE)HIGH/TALL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	uagiq
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	babawi?
Sediq (F)	bəbálaw

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	pépe (O1) meyoĩ
Kanakanabu (O1)	maripucaĩ
Saaroa (Ts)	lapica

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ma:beləp
Oponohu (O1)	makaʔanaharu
Favorlang (H)	masid
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	tobabáu
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔibabaw

Paiwan (F)	vávau
Puyuma (F)	ʔaʔaʔ
Rikavong (S)	aʔas, tihasar

Ami (F)	ʔakawaŋ
Bunun (F)	ʔihóhoʔ
Kuvalan (F)	ʔibaʔváu (Ts) ibabáu
Siraya (U)	mahangdag "high, deep, long"
Yami (F)	makáraŋ

QUALITIES

HOT (as water)HOT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) mkilux (Ta) makilukh
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) makfluh
 Sediq (F) metfluh (B) matatiluch

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) cúbru, noeáno
 Kanakanabu (Y) kucíci
 Saaroa (Ts) macici

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) macúlu:' (Tanan dialect, F) watulák
 Oponohu (O1) marapa'a
 Favorlang (H) matadach
 Thao (L) matá:ta?
 Pazeh (F) mina'aku'akúx (B) madalass
 Saisiat (Ts) rikrika'

Paiwan (F) macúlu?
 Puyuma (F) viqáş (B) biash

Ami (F) cifrañái (O1) fa'let
 Bunun (F) mañahíş
 Kuvalan (F) mayméq (Ts) mammaq (Ta) maramuk
 Siraya (U) madalat
 Yami (F) makə'át (A) kuyat

QUALITIES

LIGHT (in weight)LIGHT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hbau
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	lahbu'
Sediq (F)	celáuqah

TSOUIC

Tsou (O1)	sopʔo
Kanakanabu (O1)	maʔanaŋʔe
Saisiat (Ts)	maliaə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	maliapái	(Tanan, O1)	maliaʔai
Oponohu (O1)	maiapae		
Favorlang (H)	malpo		
Thao			
Pazeh (F)	halubáʔ		
Saisiat (Ts)	hilʔawan		
Paiwan (F)	sacəqál		
Makazayazaya (F)	hačəʔál		
Puyuma (F)	q̄aʔaʔál	(Peinan dialect, O1)	ape-ap
Ami (F)	kafimáu		
Bunun (F)	manasʔak		
Kuvalan (F)	ʔinəpát		
Siraya			
Yami (F)	masinálau	(O1)	mapaŋ

QUALITIES

LONG (object)LONG

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qloiux	(Ta) nduyukh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔinlúzuh	
Sediq (F)	ʔubalau	(O1) kane:diş (B) kanadish

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tacvóhʔi	
Kanakanabu (Y)	macáase	
Saaroa (Ts)	mələneş	(Y) tataisa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	matapeláʔ	
Oponohu (O1)	usaŋuəaʔa	
Favorlang (H)	ma-asoso, matsilo	
Thao (L)	maqulí:yuş	
Pazeh (F)	halupás	
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔinaroʔ	
Paiwan (F)	ráduq	
Puyuma (F)	tateláu	
Ami (F)	tiqláu (O1) keʔlao	
Bunun (F)	madulóʔ	
Kuvalan (F)	mayyón	(Ta) marung, mahung
Siraya (U)	mahangdag	"long, large, high" (B) mahadat "long"
Yami (F)	yanáruʔ	

QUALITIES

MANYMANY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	pziux	(Ta) valei
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	payuh	
Sediq (F)	ʔəgúʔ	(B) egu

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mánʔi
Kanakanabu (Y)	itúmuru
Saaroa (Ts)	matomoŋo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ma:kaláʔ
Oponohu (O1)	maðaʔo
Favorlang (H)	matasas, mapaa
Thao (L)	maná:šaʔ (B) manasa
Pazeh (F)	daxúʔ (B) dadoheulheul
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔakoy
Paiwan (F)	rí'au
Makazayazaya (F)	rí'av
Puyuma (F)	sazuʔ (things); kazu'án (persons)
Ami (F)	ʔaíhai(ái)
Bunun (F)	mađi'aʔ
Kuvalan (F)	mua:záʔ (Ta) nangei
Siraya (U)	madag (B) madah
Yami (F)	yaru'

QUALITIES

NARROW (as path)NARROW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) ləgijil
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) rəgi:rɪl
 Sediq (F) du:lɪl

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) teakótva
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) maini

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) matiki:
 Favorlang (H) me-ich
 Thao (L) máqtit
 Pazeh (F) tatiŋa? (B) tatik "little"
 Saisiat (Ts) liblibšizan

 Paiwan (F) ʔalikeri?
 Puyuma (F) ləqtíp
 Rikavong (S) saŋot

 Ami (F) cu'á? kakahałái ("nót wide")
 Bunun (F) maku'is ("small")
 Kuvalaŋ (F) ki:tút (Ts) pa:síł (Ta) basil
 Siraya (U) masocko
 Yami (F) líki'

QUALITIES

NEWNEW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	geqas
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	gaʔarus
Sediq (F)	bu'urah

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	fáeva
Kanakanabu (Y)	voórua
Saaroa (Ts)	baroʔo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ba'o'a'	
Oponohu (O1)	vaoʔa:ə	(Maga dialect, O1) bo:va
Favorlang (H)	baó	
Thao (L)	faqluʔ	
Pazeh (F)	xiás	
Saisiat (Ts)	šašoʔ	
Paiwan (F)	vaqu'an	
Puyuma (F)	vəkár	
Ami (F)	faʔrohai	
Bunun (F)	ḡahloʔ	
Kuvalan (F)	ta:súʔ	
Siraya (U)	vaho	(G) vahxu
Yami (F)	váyuʔ	

QUALITIES

OLD (as thing)OLD

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) raral ("former") (O3) semorar "old"
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) cicil; rali? "former"
 Sediq (F) samuda1

TSOUIC

Tsou
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) erekele~~le~~ (Y) kiariari "old, ancient(ly)"

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) masu?ili
 Favorlang
 Thao (L) θá:θad "not new"
 Pazeh (F) pinaužáh, nu?oho:žá?
 Saisiat (Ts) tatini?

 Paiwan (F) sicuáyan, ramáleŋ
 Puyuma (F) ?awatán

 Ami (F) materaŋái
 Bunun (F) tato'on
 Kuvalan (F) metenés (Ts) ža'in
 Siraya (U) mamou, rië (G) rii
 Yami (F) munaya?

QUALITIES

OTHER (person)

OTHER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	saxa
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	caha?; ruma? ci'uli?
Sediq (F)	?en sadiq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mócmo
Kanakanabu (Y)	cocóa
Saaroa (Ts)	usuma:nə

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kuará:'
Favorlang (H)	roman
Thao (L)	θú:ma?
Pazeh (F)	sau 'azáu
Saisiat	

Paiwan (F)	zuma?
Makazayazaya (F)	?ari?ári
Puyuma (F)	ruma? na tau

Ami (F)	?uruma? (?a tamlau)
Bunun (F)	ruma? (to ĩunĩun)
Kuvalan (F)	raratayáu
Siraya	
Yami (F)	karu'an

QUALITIES

RIGHT (correct)RIGHT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) mshziu
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) kanicubai
 Sediq (F) ki'a'

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) meteale (Y) macuisa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) tatepánuli:'
 Favorlang (H) micho, makkeshap
 Thao
 Pazeh (F) ?isiá?
 Saisiat (Ts) maylal'oz

 Paiwan (F) namatazu'a'; 'u'i' "yes"
 Puyuma (F) pa?ua?
 Rikavong (S) penaowa

 Ami (F) hatira?ai
 Bunun (F) mamantok
 Kuvalan (F) maikén
 Siraya (U) mattictick', camamang
 Yami (F) manuyup

QUALITIES

ROTTEN (as log)ROTTEN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	bunik
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	maşbúruk
Sediq (F)	məsbúrau

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	nakúzo, ton'ón'ó
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	cumake

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	mabár'
Favorlang (H)	mabocho
Thao (L)	miŋqúrqr
Pazeh (F)	tubaŋé?; marixáu (meat)
Saisiat (Ts)	'aboso?; bo'ok (in general)
Paiwan (F)	mavúk
Puyuma (F)	matupaŋ
Ami (F)	maponí?
Bunun (F)	minpo'ó?
Kuvalan (F)	məlatók (Ts) mli:óq
Siraya (U)	michtoey, mitoupack
Yami (F)	manái; mayugyug (food)

QUALITIES

SALTY (see also BITTER)SALTY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O1) qəmətux
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) manihur si timən
 Sediq (F) mərəmún

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) máski
 Kanakanabu (O1) ma'akase
 Saaroa (Ts) makarimikimi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ma'alíli? (Taromak, O1) oaracəŋ
 Oponohu (O1) ma'aleme'eme (Maga, O1) maθmə
 Favorlang (H) matshis
 Thao (L) maqá:θbit
 Pazeh (F) makəlém
 Saisiat (Ts) baŋih

 Paiwan (F) qapədáŋ
 Puyuma (F) qasił

 Ami (F) kahcilaí
 Bunun (F) mapa'is maháimhaim (O1) mahaŋiθbit
 Kuvalan (F) mya:yim (Ts) ma:sim
 Siraya
 Yami (F) mapa'it

QUALITIES

SAMESAME

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	metanaq
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mintána?
Sediq (F)	mentána?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mai, totíski: huáca "alike"
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	maraiatə (Y) maraiat, auna:na

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	mararamáu
Favorlang (H)	isa; maibas "alike"
Thao (L)	myadáy
Pázeq (F)	'inima: 'aŋí?
Saisiat (Ts)	hiŋha?
Paiwan (F)	mámau
Puyuma (F)	marsán
Ami (F)	mahcáɿ
Bunun (F)	masdáp
Kuvalan (F)	maqzáq
Siraya (U)	haki "as, like"; magcola "likewise"
Yami (F)	mi'aŋái

QUALITIES

SHARP (as blade)SHARP

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3) gaosun, emiŋa
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) pihuri?
 Sediq (F) mehúŋul

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) máeno
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) mabarebare

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) magaráŋ
 Favorlang (H) maggaat
 Thao (L) malámlam
 Pazeh (F) kamaláŋ
 Saisiat (Ts) sema'em

Paiwan (F) raŋai
 Puyuma (F) ?idaŋán
 Rikavong (S) tamolodod

Ami (F) sihenán
 Bunun (F) manushái?
 Kuvalan (F) ma:nán (Ts) ma:nán
 Siraya (U) maschingat
 Yami (F) matárem

QUALITIES

SHORT (as object)SHORT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ltuŋ	(Ta) zatung
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	puruŋ	
Sediq (F)	bútul	(O1) dehekko, lələbo (B) dehakuh

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	nanéhte
Kanakanabu (Y)	maŋtəái
Saaroa (Ts)	maniteke

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔədékai	
Oponohu (O1)	e:kəʔkəʔde	(Tona, O1) maukekene
Favorlang (H)	mapappa	
Thao (L)	lúyś	(B) lush
Pazeh (F)	hatekén	(B) hatikul
Saisiat (Ts)	'iʔtošan	
Paiwan (F)	rikít	
Puyuma (F)	likeŋiʔ	
Ami (F)	mamukoŋ	
Bunun (F)	mapútul	
Kuvalan (F)	məkezés	(Ts) m ^o k ^o z ^o ʔ (Ta) k'zu
Siraya (B)	makusing	
Yami (F)	yaliŋed	

QUALITIES

SMALLSMALL

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	cipoq (O1) cikui	(Ta) tikai
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	bilak	
Sediq (F)	tiqə', tɪpix	(B) tikoh

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	óko, okósi	
Kanakanabu (Y)	mánu (O1) ti'inaɿ	
Saaroa (Ts)	maini	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	təkí'aʔ	
Oponohu (O1)	maʂeʔe (Maga, O1)	tik-cə:nu, (Tona) tiʔicanu
Favorlang (H)	qua, gummo, maromorromo	
Thao (L)	laŋkinú:nay, laŋkiθú:θay	(B) matapun
Pazeh (F)	ta:tɪŋ	(B) tatik
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔolʔolaʔan	
Paiwan (F)	kériʔ	
Puyuma (F)	makitəŋ	(B) makitung
Ami (F)	mimiŋái	
Bunun (F)	káuman, tikiʂ	
Kuvalan (F)	ki:tét	(Ta) kia
Siraya (U)	ausyng, mackousing	(B) mausing
Yami (F)	(y)alíki', ʔalíkei'	

QUALITIES

SMOOTHSMOOTH

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	li:ici?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hazuti?
Sediq (F)	medəhəliq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	póneo ("level")
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	masali:si:

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	matoráru
Favorlang (H)	mitaronno
Thao (L)	maḃá:riə
Pazeh (F)	maxaḃát
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	mazaḃa?
Makazayazaya (F)	sərápel
Puyuma (F)	marayás
Rikavong (S)	ḃitelas
Ami (F)	pani'arái
Bunun (F)	manaḃnáḃ
Kuvalan (F)	mlasilas (Ts) mla:ziú?
Siraya (U)	harilhil
Yami (F)	maluran

JALITIES

STRAIGHT (as trail)STRAIGHT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mshziu'
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	magalú'iq
Sediq (F)	məsədúruh

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	sqéce
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	maəpəce (Y) maémec

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	maliqlús
Favorlang (H)	machotul
Thao (L)	malúnđué
Pazeh (F)	'oha:rás
Saisiat (Ts)	léhe'
Paiwan (F)	masəvéc
Puyuma (F)	patezél
Ami (F)	mođcérail
Bunun (F)	matapsi'
Kuvalan (F)	tiŋzén (Ts) tiŋzəŋ
Siraya	
Yami (F)	matarineŋ

THICK (as book)THICK

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	khamai	"thick, heavy"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kahmaz	
Sediq (F)	kəndúh	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ocmóee	
Kanakanabu		
Saaroa (Ts)	makisumuru	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	makidemél	
Favorlang (H)	maraghragh	
Thao (L)	makúštur	
Pazeh (F)	buláx	
Saisiat (Ts)	karpa'	
Paiwan (F)	kerémer	
Puyuma (F)	kežemél	
Rikavong (S)	kežeməl, keřivi	
Ami (F)	kiftor	
Bunun (F)	makaspál	
Kuvalan (F)	'etúz	(Ts) yottóz
Siraya		
Yami (F)	magşár	

QUALITIES

THIN (as book)THIN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal-(E)	mhikaŋ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	lahmiʔ
Sediq (F)	məpúh

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	kəehói
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	małipi:

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	maləbíri'
Favorlang (H)	makied
Thao (L)	maḃá:day
Pazeh (F)	halipít
Saisiat (Ts)	lihlihpihan
Paiwan (F)	luspít
Puyuma (F)	ʔalipít
Rikavong (S)	aripít
Ami (F)	kihepic
Bunun (F)	maniḣḃís
Kuvalan (F)	ʔinpís (Ts) ʔimpís
Siraya (U)	pulipig
Yami (F)	matarípís

QUALITIES

WARM (weather)WARM

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hrhul
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	huhul
Sediq (F)	mu'úhul

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	mó?le ("fine day")
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	masonoli

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	waqandán
Favorlang (H)	tadach
Thao (L)	milalí:na? ("fine weather")
Pazeh (F)	malé:kéd
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	(Makazayazaya dialect) bacəncəŋ
Puyuma (F)	sədkú?
Ami (F)	cifraŋái
Bunun (F)	manəhát
Kuvalan (F)	səmyán (Ta) s'mzang
Siraya (U)	madalat
Yami (F)	yapí'a? kakawan ("good weather")

QUALITIES

WETWET

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	sələləʔui; məhoyeq "get wet"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mahuʒiʔ
Sedıq (F)	məhóric

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	noeéce
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	mataləpəre

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	madi:rəsəp
Favorlang (H)	maspe
Thao (L)	matúbuʔ
Pazeh (F)	mapayák
Saisiat (Ts)	misʔöt
Paiwan (F)	sərapel "damp"; maʔevéq "soaked"
Puyuma (F)	sapənəq
Ami (F)	čepənáʔ
Bunun (F)	lovus
Kuvalan (F)	meʒi:ʒiʔ
Siraya (U)	mahala
Yami (F)	mavašaʔ

WIDE (as path)WIDE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	labəŋ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	dalábaŋ
Sediq (F)	delábaŋ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cocóea, faf'ohə
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	(m)alanare

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	mua:ráu	
Favorlang (H)	morras	
Thao (L)	mará'in "big"	
Pazeh (F)	tapa:rác	
Saisiat (Ts)	ŋalpä'; mo'ahil (as field)	
Paiwan (F)	ʔaliqácaʔ	
Puyuma (F)	ʔarawái	
Rikavong (S)	lawas	
Ami (F)	kakahalái	
Bunun (F)	maŋapéán	
Kuvalan (F)	tabbái (Ts) ta:báy	(Ta) tabai
Siraya (U)	massourach	
Yami (F)	magšár "wide"; ʔarakúʔ	"large"

QUALITIES

ABOVE/UPABOVE/UP

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	babau
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	bawi?
Sediq (F)	balau

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	noépe, skúfu
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ibabo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	bəlén
Favorlang (H)	babo
Thao (L)	fá:faw
Pazeh (F)	babáu
Saisiat (Ts)	babaw
Paiwan (F)	(pa-)vaváu
Puyuma (F)	ʔitáʂ
Ami (F)	kafkáŋ
Bunun (F)	dađádaʔ
Kuvalan (F)	(ta-)ba:báu
Siraya (Ú)	vavau
Yami (F)	tiŋatóʔ

ADVERBS

DOWN/UNDERDOWN/UNDER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	zik
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	zik, huyal
Sediq (F)	rúma?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	nos'óeee
Kanakanabu (Y)	lócu "downward"
Saaroa (Ts)	kalalapa (Y) líka?a

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	dauda:'é?
Favorlang (H)	matatto "low"
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	dadaxé?
Saisiat (Ts)	kamasal "down, under"
Paiwan (F)	(pa-)tkutkú?
Puyuma (F)	luşú?
Ami (F)	ka'nó?
Bunun (F)	?inášto?
Kuvalan (F)	li:béŋ (Ts) talbéŋ
Siraya (U)	sasim
Yami (F)	tirayém

ADVERBS

BACK/BEHINDBACK/BEHIND

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	soro	(Ta) suru "back"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	bukwi'	
Sediq (F)	búkwi'	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	nof'úhu, uaféihi
Kanakanabu (Y)	kukúca
Saaroa (Ts)	likoso

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	lilikód'
Favorlang	
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	bukún, 'aubín
Saisiat (Ts)	'ikor
Paiwan (F)	paviliviríl
Puyuma (F)	rikuéán
Rikavong (S)	likoʒan
Ami (F)	ka'ikor
Bunun (F)	taŋkínué
Kuvalan (F)	toyóʒ (Ta) doror "back"
Siraya (U)	ricos, kator "back"
Yami (F)	reli:kúd

ADVERBS

IN/INSIDEIN/INSIDE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qsahui
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	zik (also "down, under")
Sediq (F)	rúma? "

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	aeumóna, aeumonási, meéona
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ruruma:ne

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	yakái (O1) adiñ
Oponohu (O1)	da'ane adiñi
Favorlang (H)	lallum
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	karúm
Saisiat (Ts)	?izo?; ?äbo? "inside of house"
Paiwan (F)	qumaqán, ?itáraḡ
Puyuma (F)	savák
Ami (F)	rarumáḡ
Bunun (F)	?ilúmäh
Kuvalan (F)	?aso:ná? (Ts) ta
Siraya (U)	tou
Yami (F)	reṣa'adná?

ADVERBS

HALF/IN THE MIDDLEHALF/IN THE MIDDLE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	səka, səska
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	tacka?, cacka?
Sediq (F)	cəká? (B) chechekach

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	taíco
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	aisa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	cucobón
Favorlang (H)	babat; tuppach "between"
Thao	(B) falfal
Pazeh (F)	wa:žán; wažawát "half" (B) masuadzawadz
Saisiat (Ts)	wazwaz
Paiwan (F)	veckadán
Puyuma (F)	pažuk
Rikavong (r)	parkažowa
Ami (F)	tənók
Bunun (F)	míšhaŋ
Kuvalan (F)	təbtəbán
Siraya (U)	toutokatt
Yami (F)	?avákna?

ADVERBS

HEREHERE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qani
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	sáni'
Sediq (F)	híni'

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tán?e
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	na:ni

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	?ika'i:'
Favorlang (H)	ai, inzini
Thao (L)	?ináy, ?idáy
Pazeh (F)	diní'
Saisiat (Ts)	rini'
Paiwan (F)	'imáza?
Puyuma (F)	kani'á?
Ami (F)	?itini'
Bunun (F)	?isain'in
Kuvalan (F)	taji:án
Siraya (U)	hia, attaung
Yami (F)	rejiá?

ADVERBS

THERETHERE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) ciux, kia
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) tial, cel
 Sediq (F) hí'a'

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) tá?e
 Kanakanabu
 Saaroa (Ts) na:na, kanao; ka:yc (remote)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) naka:wa'í:'
 Favorlang (H) aicho, de
 Thao (L) ?itú:θi?, ?idúy
 Pazeh (F) disiú?
 Saisiat (Ts) riza' (near); rihaso' (far)

Paiwan (F) 'izú'a'
 Puyuma (F) kažo'á?

Ami (F) ?itira?
 Bunun (F) ?isa'intiaŋ
 Kuvalan (F) tawi:án
 Siraya
 Yami (F) ruajín

RIGHT (side)

RIGHT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	llau
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?anali?
Sediq (F)	nárat

TSOUC

Tsou (T)	ehóna
Kanakanabu (Y)	anán, anaanan
Saaroa (Ts)	ałane

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	vanál
Oponchu (O)	hanalae
Favorlang (H)	kallamas
Thao (L)	taná:đu?
Pazeh (F)	?annán
Saisiat (Ts)	ka?nal
Paiwan (F)	kanával
Puyuma (F)	tarawalán
Ami (F)	kawanán
Bunun (F)	tanaşká'un
Kuvalan (F)	kawa:nán
Siraya (U)	monal (G) ouwal
Yami (F)	kawanán

ADVERBS

LEFT (side)LEFT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	gzil
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	'il
Sediq (F)	ʔiril

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	veina
Kanakanabu (Y)	iiri
Saaroa (Ts)	baciki; iri (old term)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	viríʔ
Favorlang (H)	kairi
Thao (L)	tana:ʔáyliʔ
Pazeh (F)	'ixiʔ
Saisiat (Ts)	kay'iʔ
Paiwan (F)	kaviriʔ
Puyuma (F)	tamawiriʔ
Ami (F)	kawiriʔ
Bunun (F)	tanaviliʔ
Kuvalan (F)	kumawi:liʔ
Siraya (U)	mougy
Yami (F)	ka'uriʔ

FAR/DISTANTFAR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	tuaheq
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	tuhiya?
Sediq (F)	təhé'aq

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cóvhi
Kanakanabu (O1)	aracaini
Saaroa (Ts)	masaiła

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔadáil'	
Oponohu (O1)	maʔaəaele	(Tona dialect, O1) maʔadavili
Favorlang (H)	ro, maro	
Thao (L)	ʔiháʔəiə	
Pazeh (F)	manúʔ	
Saisiat (Ts)	rawaə	
Paiwan (F)	cəmáqaʔ	
Makazayazaya (F)	čádaʔ	
Puyuma (F)	ʔaəawil	
Ami (F)	mara'ái	
Bunun (F)	lahvišan	
Kuvalan (U)	məla:úl	(Ta) ma-ra-ul, ma-za-ul
Siraya		
Yami (F)	mará:i'	

ADVERBS

NEARNEAR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	sobeh, ubeh
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hibih
Sediq (F)	dálix

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cmúu, cúm?u
Kanakanabu (O1)	(h)aracani
Saaroa (Ts)	masali

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	wadé:á'
Oponohu (O1)	ma?adédale
Favorlang (H)	machaddak; midardar "close together"
Thao (L)	?iqúwał
Pazeh (F)	?aliahán, ?aliáh
Saisiat (Ts)	?al?alihan
Paiwan (F)	démút
Makazayazaya (F)	tutud
Puyuma (F)	?adalép
Ami (F)	maṗata?, kakahałái
Bunun (F)	?aisko'án
Kuvalan (F)	məra:ki (Ts) mza:ki? (Ta) ma-ra-ki
Siraya (U)	tamang
Yami (F)	maşəṗén

TOGETHERTOGETHER

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (O3)	qotox taqo
Ci'uli Atayal' (F)	mas'utux; magelú?
Sediq (F)	su'upúta?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	toehúnu
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	-eləse (Y) kuaələs, mualivi

PAIWANIC

Rukai	
Favorlang (H)	marorro
Thao (L)	muəú:n
Pazeh (F)	maože'ət
Saisiat	
Paiwan (F)	maŋi'ur
Fuyuma (F)	salapán
Rikavong (S)	marlaŋ-mi
Ami (F)	
Bunun (F)	taşkún
Kuvalan (F)	kata:pún (Ts) masu:lún
Siraya (U)	sosaal
Yami (F)	mi'urá?

ADVERBS

DAY/DAYTIME (see also SUN)DAY/DAYTIME

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) qlian
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) ?alen
 Sediq (F) dí'an (B) kushun

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) hie
 Kanakanabu (Y) taniára
 Saaroa (Ts) a:ri

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) váian
 Favorlang (H) sisa, zysja
 Thao (L) qá:li? (B) tatakale
 Pazeh (F) dalí, dali'an (B) liahan
 Saisiat (Ts) kominsi?äl

Paiwan (F) mau qádau
 Makazayazaya (F) mali'a "daybreak"
 Puyuma (F) wári? (B) garum
 Rikavong (S) wari?; ñoninan "daytime"

Ami (F) rumí'al
 Bunun (F) hanian
 Kuvalan (F) taya:ití? (Ts) tay^{ei}? (Ta) darri, darreiti
 Siraya (U) wài, wagi (B) matakuh
 Yami (F) ?araráu

TIME

ONE DAYONE DAY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qutux riax
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?utux ri'éx
Sediq (F)	kiṇan di'ax / ^ʷ jiyax/

TSOUIC

Tsou	
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ucani a:ri

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	?əa kavaianá?
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	tá:ta qá:li?
Pazeh (F)	?ažáṅ dalí?
Saisiat (Ts)	hahila' (?)
Paiwan (F)	?ita qádau
Puyuma (F)	saya wári?
Ami (F)	cécái rumi?ál
Bunun (F)	tašto hani'an
Kuvalan (F)	ša kavi'án
Siraya (U)	
Yami (F)	ka šaráu

TIME

EVENING (see also NIGHT)EVENING

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	gbian "early evening"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	gabian
Sediq (F)	(see NIGHT)

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	oéfna, fépna "night"
Kanakanabu (Y)	ruvána
Saaroa (Ts)	rubana

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	(see NIGHT)
Favorlang (H)	maudum "dark"
Thao (L)	mahúmhum (B) homhom "night"
Pazeh (F)	?ahuán
Saisiat (Ts)	ro'hanan
Paiwan (F)	(see NIGHT)
Puyuma (F)	karauráv; qarmuq "darkness"
Ami (F)	to?mán
Bunun (F)	(see NIGHT)
Kuvalan (F)	tuxabi:ti? (Ts) qma:án (Ta) raviti, drabiti "dark"
Siraya (U)	madong
Yami (F)	(see NIGHT)

MORNINGMORNING

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	sasan
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	sasán
Sediq (F)	murebú? cáman

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	taseóna
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	maibəberəŋa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	miar'ar'
Favorlang (H)	mammarro, summa
Thao (L)	ša:šá:nu?
Pazeh (F)	sasunán
Saisiat (Ts)	ririm?änan
Taokas (M)	rara "daybreak"
Paiwan (F)	kaçamaçamán
Puyuma (F)	qəmanán
Ami (F)	papacém
Bunun (F)	umum, tiŋmut
Kuvalan (F)	tabya:bi? (Ts) tayba:bi?
Siraya (U)	madama
Yami (F)	pəpnə:rak

TIME

NIGHT (see also EVENING)NIGHT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	biŋiʔ, hŋan	(Ta) r'vian "darkness"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	malahŋan	
Sediq (F)	kemán	(B) babien; makuun "dark"

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	féŋna; voecévcé	"darkness"
Kanakanabu (Y)	roroŋána	
Saaroa (Ts)	bereŋane	(Y) seeséma "darkness"

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ma'úp	
Favorlang (H)	bi-ini; maodum	"darkness"
Thao (L)	tanlú:wan	
Pazeh (F)	xinián	(B) leunian
Saisiat (Ts)	hawan	
Taokas (M)	masanaha	
Paiwan (F)	salilim, qezemezémét	
Puyuma (F)	parkaduaʔ esuŋanan	"midnight"
Rikavong (S)	hesoŋnan	
Ami (F)	laláyaʔ	
Bunun (F)	labian	(Ts) qa:ya:biʔ
Kuvalan (F)	tuban tituhabiʔ	"midnight" / (Ta) raviti, drabiti "darkness"
Siraya (U)	àuvan, vignanang	
Yami (F)	ma:ʔep	

TIME

NOON (see also DAY/DAYTIME)NOON

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ska? uagi? (ska? "middle")
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	tacká? na ri'ex
Sediq (F)	cka? hí dau

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cohióna, cohzóna
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ma:lipapo

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ma?aripédél
Favorlang (H)	lalian
Thao (L)	θaǵá:di?
Pazeh (F)	waža:wá? dadalí?
Saisiat (Ts)	kaksi?álan
Paiwan (F)	veckádan nu qá dau (veckadan "middle")
Puyuma (F)	kara?alian
Ami (F)	karahokán
Bunun (F)	hanian
Kuvalan (F)	tuttú?
Siraya (U)	(cf. toutokatt "middle")
Yami (F)	mararáu

TIME

TODAYTODAY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) soni? (Ta) kisa
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) ri'ex soni?
 Sediq (F) sáya?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) maetan'e
 Kanakanabu (O1) saüni
 Saaroa (Ts) ari na:ni

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) kayása?; kəkamu'án
 Oponohu (O1) mene
 Favorlang (H) pia da sisja
 Thao (L) ōúyni?
 Pazeh (F) dali? honi?
 Saisiat (Ts) kaysa'an

Paiwan (F) túcu ?a qádau
 Puyuma (F) hárem wari?

Ami (F) ?anini?
 Bunun (F) ?aip
 Kuvalan (F) sita:pi? (Ta) stangi, stanian
 Siraya (U) wài katta (G) wæ'i hnyh
 Yami (F) şijiarau

TOMORROWTOMORROW

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	suxan	(Ta) sinkhan
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	cuxan	
Sediq (F)	kúsen	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hucma	
Kanakanabu (Y)	nuura	
Saaroa (Ts)	ma:ta:ta	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	luá:'	
Oponohu (O1)	'ida (also "yesterday")	
Favorlang (H)	somme, mamarro	
Thao (L)	θi:maq	
Pazeh (F)	sarawán	
Saisiat (Ts)	rim'an	
Paiwan (F)	nutiau	
Puyuma (F)	noqemanán	
Rikávong (S)	ano daman	
Ami (F)	(?ano?)papacém	
Bunun (F)	kutun	
Kuvalan (F)	təma:wá' (Ts) təma:wáy (Ta) tmao-ar	
Siraya (U)	oudamey, madama	
Yami (F)	simaráu	

TIME

YESTERDAYYESTERDAY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	hera?	(Ta) m'kaha
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hira?	
Sediq (F)	ciwa?	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	nehúcmá	
Kanakanabu (O1)	miyaéra	
Saaroa (Ts)	ki:ra	(Y) kíruvana

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kudá'	
Oponohu (O1)	ʔida	(also "tomorrow")
Favorlang (H)	ansha	
Thao (L)	tí:la?	
Pazeh (F)	ʔukuaʒixá?	
Saisiat (Ts)	kahiya?	
Paiwan (F)	tatí'au	
Puyuma (F)	ʔadaman	
Ami (F)	ʔinacíra?	
Bunun (F)	takna?	
Kuvalan (F)	sí:yáb	(Ta) ~snaosirav
Siraya (U)	icha	
Yami (F)	nukakíb, nukakíeb	

AND

AND

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ru?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ru? (things), cuká? (people)
Sediq (F)	niqan

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	ho
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	la (things), noka (people)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	?ira?
Favorlang (H)	a
Thao	
Pazeh (F)	yu?
Saisiat (Ts)	ki
Paiwan (F)	katuá?
Makazayazaya (F)	?ati?
Puyuma (F)	zi?
Ami (F)	?orasaká?
Bunun (F)	mas
Kuvalan (Ts)	s ^e y ^e i:
Siraya (U)	ka
Yami (F)	kanu?

MISCELLANEOUS

NOT EXISTNOT EXIST

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	uṇat
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?uṇat
Sediq (F)	?uka?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	uk'a, ó'te, oá, av'a
Kanakanabu (Y)	kaán (01) akiya
Saaroa (Ts)	uka'a

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kadea?	
Oponohu (01)	hakaúdo	(Maga dialect, 01) teḡa
Favorlang		
Thao (L)	?úka?	
Pazeh (F)	?užái	
Saisiat (Ts)	?okak	
Paiwan (F)	neka?	
Puyuma (F)	ḡazi?	
Ami (F)	?awa?ai	
Bunun (F)	?uka?	
Kuvalan (F)	ma'i?; wasa?	"is not"
Siraya (U)	acoussey; assey	"no"
Yami (F)	beken (01)	abu?

MISCELLANEOUS

THISTHIS

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qani	(Ta) hani
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	hani'	
Sediq (F)	ni'	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	éni	
Kanakanabu (Y)	iísi	
Saaroa (Ts)	kani'i	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	kaivái	
Oponohu (O1)	enaé'e	(Maga, O1) kami:, kani
Favorlang (H)	ai, inzini	
Thao (L)	háya?	
Pazeh (F)	'imini'	
Saisiat (Ts)	hini'	
Paiwan (F)	'áicu?	
Puyuma (F)	'ini'á?	
Ami (F)	'uni'	
Bunun (F)	'indín	
Kuvalan (F)	'ánem	(Ts) zaó? (Ta) izistaoan
Siraya		
Yami (F)	'úya?	

MISCELLANEOUS

THATTHAT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qasa
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	haca?
Sediq (F)	wái (01) ya?e

TSOUIC

Tsou (01)	sico
Kanakanabu (Y)	iísa
Saaroa (Ts)	kana?a, kanao; ka:yo (remote) (Y) isa, anísa, íkaiisa, kanau

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ku'aní'
Oponohu (01)	anaerəpa (Maga, 01) kaço-o, (Tona) sakeni
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	húya?
Pazeh (F)	?imisiú'
Saisiat (Ts)	hiza' (near); haso' (remote)
Paiwan (F)	?azú'a'
Puyuma (F)	?izu'á'
Ami (F)	?óra?
Bunun (F)	sáya'
Kuvalan (F)	ya'ú? (Ta) wiyu, wanistaoan
Siraya	
Yami (F)	?u'ítu?

MISCELLANEOUS

THING

THING

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qaiaʔ
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔaiʔáiaʔ
Sediq (F)	qaqi'aʔ

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	macucúma
Kanakanabu (Y)	kuácapa
Saaroa (Y)	saraŋiraŋi (Ts) pa:libiŋa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ku'áni
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	ʔanyá:min
Pazeh (F)	ʔaʒaŋsaisái
Saisiat (Ts)	kakraŋiʔan

Paiwan (F)	nəməpaʔ
Puyuma (F)	man
Rikavong (S)	maman

Ami (F)	lavón
Bunun (F)	haimahaimaŋsút
Kuvalan (F)	yiván (Ts) s ^ə ma:pán "utensils"
Siraya	
Yami (F)	prapatán

MISCELLANEOUS

HOW ?HOW ?

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	sua?, hmsua?
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	yo:na?inu?
Sediq (F)	hi'áun cáya?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hía, mainénu
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	auni:ni

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ma:tóma?
Favorlang	
Thao (L)	?amyakú:da?, ?apyakú:dan
Pazeh (F)	saila'
Saisiat (Ts)	nak?ino?
Paiwan (F)	?akumáya?
Makazayazaya (F)	?a?ú'ajú'a
Puyuma (F)	kuéayáu
Ami (F)	ma?an
Bunun (F)	napikó'on
Kuvalan (F)	mána? (Ts) snaku:ní:
Siraya (U)	mamang
Yami (F)	'inmaguṇ

WHAT ?WHAT ?

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) nanu?
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) ?aməl
 Sediq (F) mánu?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) cúma
 Kanakanabu (Y) néin (O1) no:mani
 Saaroa (Ts) Ꞥalalisa

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) manéma?
 Oponohu (O1) hanaeana (Maga, O1) aracini, (Tona) manini
 Favorlang (H) numma
 Thao (L) nú:ma?
 Pazeh (F) ?axái
 Saisiat (Ts) kano?

Paiwan (F) ?ánema?
 Puyuma (F) ?man (O1) manema
 Rikavong (S) emman, a^oman

Ami (F) ?ema?án
 Bunun (F) ma'aá
 Kuvalan (F) muni? (Ts) nia:ná? (Ta) nini-wanai
 Siraya (U) camang
 Yami (F) yukúꞤ

MISCELLANEOUS

WHERE ?WHERE ?

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	inu?	
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	?inu?	
Sediq (F)	?inu?	(B) mua

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	án'ó, (ea)nénu
Kanakanabu (O1)	nanu
Saaroa (Ts)	ni:nau (existence); ani (direction)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	yaká'inu?
Oponohu (O1)	aëkiəpəda (Maga, O1) ikaða, (Tona) yakaíða
Favorlang (H)	dema
Thao (L)	?intú:wa?
Pazeh (F)	disái (B) kaíasai
Saisiat (Ts)	hayno?
Paiwan (F)	?i'ínu?, ?izá'ínu?
Puyuma (F)	?i?í'an
Ami (F)	?icu'á?
Bunun (F)	?ísa?
Kuvalan (F)	ni'án (Ts) qəni:
Siraya (U)	hino; toumang "whither?"
Yami (F)	ruajín

WHEN ?WHEN ?

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	knuan, kinuaial
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	cikanón
Sediq (F)	kenú'an (B) kanuan

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	hómna
Kanakanabu (O1)	nukanaumana
Saaroa (Ts)	ki:laumaŋə (past) cu:laumaŋə (future)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	keiga? (past) leiga? (future)
Oponohu (O1)	kalaomanada (Tona dialect, O1) nogianu
Favorlang (H)	sbanno
Thao (L)	?a:aqáyda? (B) pandu
Pazeh (F)	kasaián (B) kasaiian
Saisiat (Ts)	ka?inowan (past) ?inowan (future)
Paiwan (F)	taŋida? (past) nuŋida? (future)
Puyuma (F)	qáidan
Ami (F)	?ihacu'á?
Bunun (F)	lakoá?
Kuvalan (F)	qonían (Ts) qomni:
Siraya (U)	manno
Yami (F)	anukaŋu? (past) simaŋu? (future)

MISCELLANEOUS

WHO ?WHO ?

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E) ima?
 Ci'uli Atayal (F) 'ima?
 Sediq (F) 'ima? (B) ima

TSOUIC

Tsou (T) sia
 Kanakanabu (Y) néin
 Saaroa (Ts) ɲalaɲisa (Y) ɲalaɲisi

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F) ʔanə'a?
 Oponohu (O1) aɲae (Maga, O1) aɲəɲa, (Tona) nanini
 Favorlang (H) indema, tomma
 Thao (L) tɨ:ma? (B) kouthan
 Pazeh (F) 'imá? (B) ima
 Saisiat (Ts) hiya'

 Paiwan (F) tɨma?
 Puyuma (F) ʔiʔmán

 Ami (F) cɨma?
 Bunun (F) sɨma?
 Kuvalan (F) tia:ná? (Ta) tiana-wanai (?)
 Siraya (G) timang
 Yami (F) sinu?

MISCELLANEOUS

WHY ?WHY ?

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	súa? "how, why"
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	huncé?
Sediq (F)	məmyápa?

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	maínci, kúa
Kanakanabu	
Saaroa (Ts)	ɲasaɬitaʔiara (?)

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔá:si?
Favorlang (H)	inanimin, inonumma
Thao (L)	mí:nu?
Pazeh (F)	matisái
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔampowa?
Paiwan (F)	ʔakumáya?
Puyuma (F)	kəmaáú?
Rikavong (S)	komodazi
Ami (F)	mamaʔánai
Bunun (F)	mavaiivi'á?
Kuvalan (F)	kəmu:ní' (Ts) ma:nná?
Siraya (U)	coumang
Yami (F)	dá'inimagun

MISCELLANEOUS

ONEONE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	qutux	(Ta) utuk, (D) koto
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ʔutuh	
Sediq (F)	kíŋal	(B) kial

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	cíni, cóni	(D) tsune, (Th) chum
Kanakanabu (Y)	cáni	
Saaroa (Ts)	ca:ni/ucani ¹	(Th) saou

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔe'aʔ	(Th) denga
Oponohu (01)	neka	(Maga dialect, 01) ɣəga, ss-sa
Favorlang (02)	natta	
Thao (L)	tá:haʔ, tá:taʔ	(B) taha
Pazeh (F)	ʔaʒán, ʔiʒát	(B) adadumat, (D) ida
Saisiat (Ts)	ʔähäʔ	
Taokas (02)	ta:(nu)	
Papora (02)	ta(nu)	
Hoanya (02)	(mea)ta	
Luilang (02)	sa(ka)	
Paiwan (F)	ʔítaʔ	(D) ita
Puyuma (F)	ʔisáʔ	(B) sha, (D) sa, (Th) itu
Rikavong (S)	sa/sasaya ¹	
Ami (F)	cecái	(D) tsutsai
Bunun (F)	taʒaʔ	(D) tasi-a
Kuvalan (F)	ʔissái	(Ta) issa, (D) isa
Siraya (U)	sat, sasat	(B) sasaab
Yami (F)	ʔáʒaʔ	(D) asa
Ketagalan (02)	tsa	

(Note: 1. Forms following slant-bar (/) are used in counting things.

NUMERALS

TWOTWO

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	saziŋ, rusa?	(Ta) saieng, (D) sajin
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	sa'iŋ	
Sediq (F)	dahá?	(B) daha

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	eúso	(D) rusu, (Th) lusa
Kanakanabu (Y)	cúsa	
Saaroa (Ts)	su:a/usua	(Th) sou

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	rusa?	(Th) nousa
Oponohu (O1)	nusa	
Favorlang (O2)	roa	
Thao (L)	tú:ša?	(B) tusha
Pazeh (F)	dusá?	(B) dusa, (D) dusa
Saisiat (Ts)	roša?	
Taokas (O2)	rua	
Papora (O2)	nie	
Hoanya (O2)	(me)sa	
Luilang (O2)	tsusa	
Paiwan (F)	rusa?	(D) rusa
Puyuma (F)	ru'a?	(B) lua, (D) rua, (Th) lusa
Rikavong (S)	towa/zowa	
Ami (F)	tusa?	(D) tusa
Bunun (F)	qusa?	(D) rusya, (Th) lusha
Kuvalan (F)	rusá?	(Ts) ?uzusá? (Ta) lusa, (D) rusa
Siraya (U)	rauha	(B) duha
Yami (F)	ru'a?	(D) roa
Ketagalan (O2)	lusa	

NUMERALS

THREETHREE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	ciugal	(Ta) turŭl, (D) tu ⁿ gal
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	tugal	
Sediq (F)	téru?	(B) teru

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	tu, tŭeu	(D) toru, (Th) toulou
Kanakanabu (O1)	to:ro	
Saaroa (Ts)	to:lo/utolo	(Th) toro

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	turú?	(Th) toro
Oponohu (O1)	toro	
Favorlang (O2)	torro	
Thao (L)	tú:ru?	(B) turu
Pazeh (F)	turú?	(B) turu, (D) turu
Saisiat (Ts)	to'o?	
Taokas (O2)	tulŭ	
Papora (O2)	tulŭ	
Hoanya (O2)	(mia)teŭ	
Luilang (O2)	tulŭ	
Paiwan (F)	terú?	(D) tsru
Puyuma (F)	terú?	(B) tilu, (D) tero, (Th) taloh
Rikavong (S)	tiki/totołowa	
Ami (F)	toro?	(D) toro
Bunun (F)	ta'u?	(D) tǎo, (Th) taou
Kuvalan (F)	tulú?	(Ts) ?utu:ló? (Ta) tulu, (D) tusu
Siraya (U)	tauro, toutouro	(B) turu
Yami (F)	tilu?	(D) atoro
Ketagalan (O2)	ts ^h u:	

NUMERALS

FOURFOUR

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	paiat	(Ta) s'paiat, (D) paiyat
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	paʒat	
Sediq (F)	spat	(B) sūpūt

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	sépte	(D) siputo, (Th) supat
Kanakanabu (O1)	so:pata	
Saaroa (Ts)	pa:tə/upatə	(Th) pati

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	spa:t'	(Th) patù
Oponohu (O1)	pate	
Favorlang (H)	naspaat	
Thao (L)	pá:t	(B) spat
Pazeh (F)	sepát	(B) supat, (D) supat
Saisiat (Ts)	šepát	
Taokas (O2)	(le)pat	
Papora (O2)	(ne)pat	
Hoanya (O2)	(mia)pat	
Luilang (O2)	suva	
Paiwan (F)	spaʒ	(D) spat
Puyuma (F)	ʔpat	(B) pat, (D) spat, (Th) sepat
Ami (F)	sepát	(D) spat
Bunun (F)	pat	(D) pā-ăt, (Th) p'at
Kuvalan (F)	spát	(Ts) ʔuspát (Ta) supat, (D) supat
Siraya (U)	hpat	(B) tahat
Yami (F)	'apat	(D) ap-pat
Ketagalan (O2)	špat	

NUMERALS

FIVEFIVE

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	imagal	(Ta) maral, (D) māngal,
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ramagal	[ramaya]
Sediq (F)	líma?	(B) rima

TSOUC

Tsou (T)	eímo	(D) rimo, (Th) limà
Kanəkanabu (O1)	rima	
Saaroa (Ts)	kulima/ulima	(Th) rima

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	rimá?	(Th) limà
Oponohu (O1)	rima	
Favorlang (H)	achab	
Thao (L)	rí:ma?	(B) hrima
Pazeh (F)	xaséb	(B) hasub, (D) hasuv
Saisiat (Ts)	'aseb	
Taokas (O2)	hasap	
Papora (O2)	nema	
Hoanya (O2)	líma	
Luilang (O2)	(na)lup	
Paiwan (F)	ríma?	(D) rima
Puyuma (F)	lima?	(B) rima, (D) rima, (Th) lima
Ami (F)	ríma?	(D) rima
Bunun (F)	'ima?	(D) hima
Kuvalan (F)	limá?	(Ts) ?ulimá? (Ta) lima
Siraya (U)	rima	(B) turima, (D) rima
Yami (F)	líma?	(D) rima
Ketagalan (O2)	tsima	

SIXSIX

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	cziu	(Ta) teiuk, (D) teyu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	maʔtuʔ	
Sediq (F)	matéruʔ	(B) mataru

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	nóme	(D) nomu, (Th) nauma
Kanakanabu (O1)	nəm	
Saaroa (Ts)	keneme/eneme	(Th) neum

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔeném'	(Th) neum, neuma
Oponohu (O1)	neme	
Favorlang (H)	nataap	
Thao (L)	katú:ruʔ	(B) sturu
Pazeh (F)	xaséh-užaʔ	(B) hasubuda, (D) hasuv-da
Saisiat (Ts)	boši'	
Taokas (O2)	tahap	
Papora (O2)	(ne)nom	
Hoanya (O2)	(mi)nun	
Luilang (O2)	(na)tsulup	
Paiwan (F)	ʔúnem	(D) unum
Puyuma (F)	ʔuném	(B) num, (D) unum, (Th) onam
Rikavong (S)	nəm, ənəm	
Ami (F)	ʔeném	(D) unum
Bunun (F)	no'om	(D) noum, (Th) noum
Kuvalan (F)	ʔném (Ts) ʔu:nném	(Ta) nim, n'm, (D) unum
Siraya (U)	nnum, ninnam	(B) tunum
Yami (F)	ʔanəm	(D) anum
Ketagalan (O2)	anum	

NUMERALS

SEVENSEVEN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	pitú?	(Ta) pitu, (D) pitu
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mapítu?	
Sediq (F)	ʔmpítu?	(B) pitu

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	pítu	(D) pitu, (Th) pitò
Kanakanabu (O1)	pitu	
Saaroa (Ts)	kupito/upito	(Th) pitò

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	pitú?	(Th) pitò
Oponohu (O1)	pito	
Favorlang (H)	(na)ito	
Thao (L)	pí:tu?	(B) pitu
Pazeh (F)	xasəb-i-dusá?	(B) hasubidusa, (D) hasuve- /dusa
Saisiat (Ts)	yöʔähä?	
Taokas (O2)	yweto	
Papora (O2)	pitu	
Hoanya (O2)	pito	
Luilang (O2)	innai	
Paiwan (F)	píʔu?	(D) pitu
Puyuma (F)	pitú?	(B) pitu, (D) pitu
Ami (F)	píto?	(D) pitu
Bunun (F)	pito?	(D) pitu, (Th) pitò
Kuvalan (F)	pi:tú?	(Ts) ʔupitó? (Ta) pitu, (D) pitu
Siraya (U)	pipito, pytto	(B) pitu
Yami (F)	pítu?	(D) pito
Ketagalan (O2)	píto	

EIGHTEIGHT

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	spat	(Ta) muss'pat, (D) sipät
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	maşpát	
Sediq (F)	maspát	(B) müssupat

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	vóeu	(D) woru, (Th) mevarou
Kanakanabu (O1)	(h)a:ru	
Saaroa (Ts)	kualo/ualo	(Th) mivarou

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	varó?	(Th) mevarou
Oponohu (O1)	varo	
Favorlang (H)	maaspat	
Thao (L)	kaşpat	(B) kaspat
Pazeh (F)	xaseb-i-turú?	(B) hasubituru, (D) hasuve- /duro
Saisiat (Ts)	maykaşpat	
Taokas (O2)	ma-hal-pat	
Papora (O2)	mahal	
Hoanya (O2)	(mi)alu	
Luilang (O2)	patulunai	
Paiwan (F)	'áru?	(D) aru
Puyuma (F)	warú?	(B) waro, (D) waro, (Th) alou
Ami (F)	faró?	(D) waro
Bunun (F)	va'u?	(D) vāo, (Th) awou
Kuvalan (F)	va:rú?	(Ts) ?uwaló? (Ta) waru, aru, (D) waru
Siraya (U)	kàughpa, kougipat	(B) pipa
Yami (F)	wa'u?	(D) wao
Ketagalan (O2)	watsu	

NUMERALS

NINENINE

ATAYALIC

Souliq Atayal (E)	qeru?	(Ta) meishu, (D) kairo
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	ma?iru?	
Sediq (F)	məŋári?	

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	sío	(D) siyo, (Th) chuga
Kanakanabu (O1)	si:ya	
Saaroa (Ts)	kusia/usia	(Th) siwà

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	baŋát'	(Th) bangato, bangatu
Oponohu (O1)	vaŋate	
Favorlang (H)	tannacho	
Thao (L)	taná:əu?	(B) tamaso
Pazeh (F)	xaseb-i-səpát	(B) hasubisupat, (D) hasuve- /supat
Saisiat (Ts)	'ä'hä?	
Taokas (O2)	ta-nasu	
Papora (O2)	(me)siya	
Hoanya (O2)	(a)sia	
Luilang (O2)	satulunai	
Paiwan (F)	síva?	(D) siva
Puyuma (F)	'iwá?	(B) iwa, (D) iwa, (Th) siva
Ami (F)	siwá?	(D) siwa
Bunun (F)	síva?	(D) siva, (Th) sivà
Kuvalan (F)	siwá? (Ts) ?usiwá?	(Ta) siwa, (D) siwa
Siraya (U)	matauda	(B) kuda
Yami (F)	si'am	(D) shiem
Ketagalan (O2)	siwa	

TENTEN

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	mpuu	(Ta) mapu, (D) mappo
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	malapzo'	
Sediq (F)	máhal	(B) nahal

TSOUIC

Tsou (T)	máske	(D) massok, (Th) matl
Kanakanabu (O1)	ma:nə	
Saaroa (Ts)	kuma:lə/ma:lə	(Th) koumath

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	porók'	(Th) pouroukou
Uponohu (O1)	puroko	(Maga dialect, O1) mañasale
Favorlang (H)	zchiett	
Thao (L)	má:kθin	(B) maksin
Pazeh (F)	ʔisít	(B) issit, shid (D) is'iit
Saisiat (Ts)	lappez	
Taokas (O2)	(ta)isid	
Papora (O2)	(me)tsi	
Hoanya (O2)	(miata)isi	
Luilang (O2)	isít	
Paiwan (F)	púruq	(D) purrok
Puyuma (F)	pulúq	(B) pulu, (D) purru
Ami (F)	moʔtép	(D) puro
Bunun (F)	másʔan	(D) massan, (Th) basau
Kuvalan (F)	steyái	(Ta) trai, (D) tahai (Ts) yaptin
Siraya (U)	kytti, sat keteang	(B) keteng
Yami (F)	pú'uʔ	(A) puɣu (D) po
Ketagalan (O2)	labat-an	

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TWENTYTWENTY

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	pusal
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	mapusal
Sediq (F)	?mpúsal

TSOUC

Tsou (T)	mpúsku
Kanakanabu (O1)	mapusauꞥ
Saaroa (Ts)	mapoale (Y) mapúal, maarel

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	mapusál'
Oponohu (O1)	mamapualu (Maga dialect, O1) mpuasərə
Favorlang (O2)	naroa tsxiet
Thao (L)	mapú:sæ
Pazeh (F)	dusa?-isít
Saisiat (Ts)	šam?iyäh
Papora (O2)	menia metsi
Paiwan (F)	rusapúruꞥ
Puyuma (F)	makavətaqán
Ami (F)	tusa? póroꞥ
Bunun (F)	mapúšan
Kuvalan (F)	?uru savtín (Ts) ?uzusaptín (Ta) lusa-ptin
Siraya (U)	sosoa keteang
Yami (F)	?aruapərnán
Ketagalan (O2)	lusa batan

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HUNDREDHUNDRED

ATAYALIC

Squliq Atayal (E)	kbhul	(Ta) kabahún
Ci'uli Atayal (F)	kabəhul	
Sediq (F)	kəbaku'iʔ	

TSGUIC

Tsou (T)	se-	(01) seʔconiya
Kanakanabu (01)	tsani-	əməna
Saaroa (Y)	limioŋo	

PAIWANIC

Rukai (F)	ʔidái	
Oponohu (01)	mamavaŋate	
Favorlang		
Thao (L)	ta:tašáʔaʔ	
Pazeh (F)	hatən	
Zaisiat (Ts)	kaböhöl	
Taokas (02)	(tanu)arat	
Papora (02)	(metanu)tu:pa	
Hoanya (02)	(ka)ataugh(an)	
Paiwan (F)	taidái	
Puyuma (F)	saləmán	
Ami (F)	soʔót	
Bunun (F)	šáʔaʔ	
Kuvalan (F)	yasi:búʔ	(Ta) mrasivu
Siraya (U)	kagatougant	
Yami (F)	ʔasapu'uʔ	
Ketagalan (02)	latsibu	

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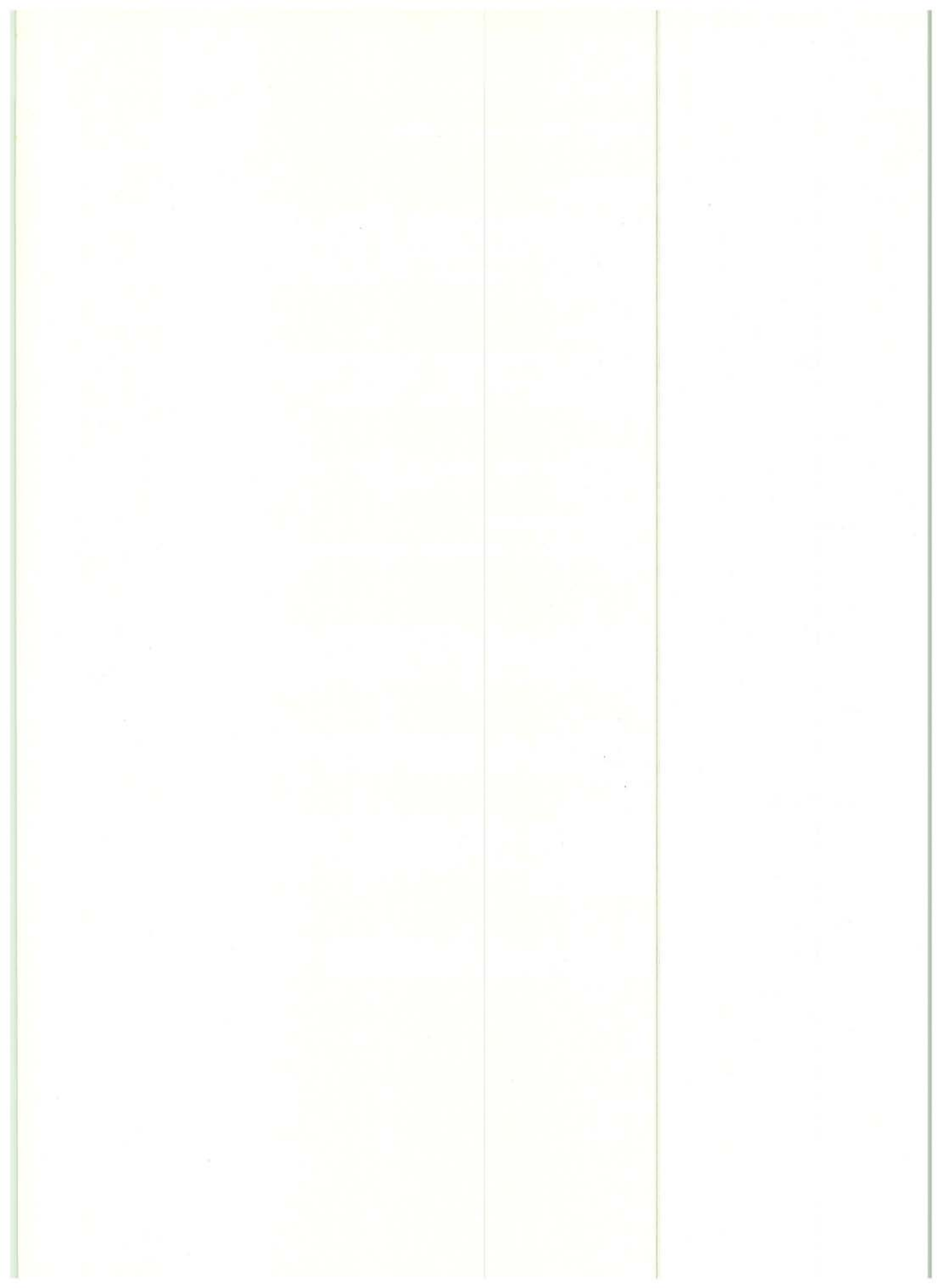
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臺灣土著族的文化，語言分類探究

費 羅 禮

(中文摘要)

I. 背景與歷史之研討

A. 背景概況

自史前時代以來，臺灣在東亞和北亞以及南太平洋地區之間的關係中，一直占有非常重要的地位。就地理而言，我們可以視印度尼西亞、婆羅洲、菲律賓和其他諸島嶼形成一半圓形地區；半圓的一端觸及東南亞半島，另一端，也就是臺灣，和中國大陸接近（參看第二頁地圖一）。上述諸島嶼，包括臺灣在內，形成太平洋的南島（Austronesian）或馬來瑤玻利尼西亞（Malayo-Polynesian）語系的中心。

考古學研究結果顯示，臺灣史前期的文化和中國東南沿海地區，也就是昔日越族文化盤據的地區，有密切的關係。在中國，越民族很久以前就涵化於漢人，他們古時候的越語也早已經被遺忘了。然而臺灣的土著，直到不久前，依然保有和古代越人以及其他中國濱海地區文化極其相似的文化。又因臺灣土著講古代的南島語，故可證明古代越人民屬於南島系，同時南島語系的發祥地在華南或東南亞。

B. 臺灣考古實況

臺灣考古工作仍停於幼稚階段。在日本人統治的時期，雖曾發掘不少史前時代的遺址，但因當時未採用近代科學方法，注意地層排列層次方面問題，所以發掘所得的成果有限，而我們今日對臺灣史前時代諸文化的先後程序所知無幾。好在近年來在這一方面已有很多進展；最近臺灣大學教授宋文薰，美國耶魯大學教授張光直，和中央研究院民族研究所劉斌雄諸先生所共同進行之一項調查更值得特別一提。直到今天，我們對臺灣西海岸的史前文化和東

海岸的史前文化之間的關係仍一無所知，希望今後的研究與調查能對這方面的諸多問題求得解答。

1. 早 期

a. 舊石器時代——於民國五十八年元月間，臺灣大學教授宋文薰和林朝棨在臺東縣八仙洞發現舊石器時代的石器。此為舊石器時代遺物首次在臺灣發現。如今對此次發現的詳盡分析工作尚未完成；不過宋教授認為所發掘諸物，毫無疑問地，當為一萬年以前的遺物；而林教授則相信諸物可能為和周口店出土的北京人同一時代的產品，該時代距今在十萬年以上。

b. 繩紋紅陶文化層——在臺灣許多地點的很多史前遺址中，最早的文化層多含有繩紋紅陶。繩紋紅陶文化最先在臺灣出現的日期雖無從獲知，然可斷定其當在六千餘年以前的時代。至於此一繩紋紅陶文化，是否和較後的臺灣史前文化有任何淵源，目前也未確定，但繩紋紅陶時代的人民並未完全消失，而實與後來的文化融溶一起了則為極可能之事。

2. 中 期

繩紋紅陶文化可能已有一些根莖（芋頭等等）植物的農耕。然而在臺灣稻和小米的密集種植則約始於紀元前二千五百年左右的時代；在那個時代，有兩種文化自中國大陸傳入臺灣，一為在臺北盆地和西北沿海地區的圓山文化，一為在西南濱海一帶的臺灣龍山形成文化。

a. 臺灣龍山形成文化——此一文化很像史前期中國的龍山文化，含有許多種形式的彩陶、黑陶、鼎形陶等等。此一文化在臺灣的中心為西南沿海平原。這一臺灣龍山形成文化和圓山文化確已有玉蜀黍的農耕，或許還有某種稻米的種植（詳情見本文第10頁）。

b. 圓山文化——這一文化的中心為臺北盆地。這一文化在臺灣出現的時期約和臺灣龍山形成文化相同，它和臺灣以外地區的關係則沒有龍山文化那麼明顯。圓山文化也有各種不同形式的陶器，但大多數均呈沙褐色，同時又有許多泰源型磨製的石器，包括之角形的箭鏃。

c. 泰源文化——此一文化發現於臺灣東海岸（見插圖2），此一文化，雖有一些和圓山文化稍類似的陶器和石刀，但和臺灣西部平原文化則無明顯的關係。泰源文化具有許多石器，石製地板，房屋的石柱（俗稱肩石），石棺等器物，所以通常被稱為「巨石文化」。

有些學者，因為現今的排灣土著族有石屋，石建涼臺，石像等，便認為他們和巨石文化有關聯。然則，我們必須承認排灣族的石製物件的形狀和東海岸之巨石文化迥然不同，再者，可能存在於巨石文化和排灣文化兩種形式之間的中間性石製器迄未在臺灣任何地方發現。基於這些理由，我們目前尚不能認為排灣土著和泰源文化間有任何關係。另一方面，今日阿美族的祖先中可能有一些屬於泰源巨石文化的人民，巨石文化亦或許從未傳至臺灣中央山脈地區，而是當其人民與後來之文化相互融合一起時，便在東海岸一帶逐漸消失了（詳情參閱本文第9頁）。

3. 史前末期

a. 幾何印陶期——在二千至三千年以前，幾何圖形印陶遍傳臺灣北部和西部臨海地區，而在東北部遠至宜蘭平原。這種形式的陶器常被認為是臺灣龍山形成文化的一項演進。這一文化是否表示，當時有大批新移民遷入臺灣，我們尚無從知曉；或許它祇代表諸如製鐵工藝等新技術的輸入。不論是新移民，或是新技術，均慢慢和舊有的文化融熔一爐，而今日臺灣土著的祖先一定也是此一幾何印陶文化期的主要份子。這種陶器式樣延續頗久，直到今日尚有保存；例如，布農族和鄒族直到晚近尚製作此種形式陶器。

b. 十三行（凱他噶蘭）期——在公元九百至一千五百年之間，一種堅硬，光面無花紋的新樣式陶器，在臺灣東海岸和臺灣北部出現。此種陶器和現代的凱他噶蘭，噶瑪蘭和阿美等族的陶器相似，日本學者鹿野忠雄認為它和菲律賓鐵器時代有關係。

C. 民族歷史

從科學之觀點而論，很多人，直到今日，一直對臺灣的史前史持有一錯誤的觀念，認為臺灣和大陸以及西南太平洋地區的事物隔絕有數千年之久。這一錯誤觀念又使很多人相信臺灣之諸土著間也是彼此隔離，而無相互的影響。根據這個理由，有些學者認為臺灣的土著當初為自不同的故土，分很多批，個別移來臺灣的。然而比較晚近的科學說法則不贊同此種觀念。

往昔學者多認為菲律賓土著諸族均彼此各異，風俗、社會組織、物質文化等等也不一樣，並且相信他們的來歷和到達菲律賓的時期也彼此不同。但正如芝加哥大學教授艾甘

(Eggan, 1941, 1953) 和吉星 (Keesing, 1962) 所明證，實無提出菲島土著乃來自不同的本源，或在「不同的移民羣」先後抵達菲島的假設之必要。近來之學者已經發現諸文化或許原來是一樣的，但是於由後來的演變，而漸漸形成彼此間有很大的差異。今日兩個土著族或許在風俗、宗教和物質文化等方面有很大的差別，然而很可能在五、六百年以前，他們却原是一族。著名的美國科學家瑪格瑞特·米德 (Margaret Mead) 已經證實，在玻利尼西亞房屋的形式，紋身，宗教和舟船的形式皆易於起變化，且變化的快速。例如：一個土著族或許當初有帶邊架的獨木舟，似假若他們遷到一個生有較大樹木的島上後，他們便會製造較大的船隻，而不再需要邊架了。如果他們再能發展好的農耕技巧，並且停止遠洋航海的話，則他們將會很快地忘記了舊有帶邊架的獨木舟 (Mead 1928:11)。如下面所述，臺灣土著在過去曾有很多和外界接觸並接受新影響的機會，所以就近代科學之觀點而論，我們必須修正昔日日本學者所謂臺灣土著當初乃由許多批遷來臺島的移民所形成的主張。

1. 史前時代臺灣和外界的關係

a. 臺灣附近海洋上航行之船隻——前漢書記載在那個時期，中國商人已能自華南航行至南太平洋一帶；約在同一時期，已有印度商人航行至印度尼西亞地區。到了後漢的時代，海商就很發達了。至西魏時，韓國和東南亞的海商已佔有非常重要的地位。因此，我們一定要注意，就臺灣所佔的地理位置而言，當時來往的商船想避開臺灣而過，是乎頗難，並且即使在那麼早的時期中，偶爾也許會有一些不同國籍的外國船隻和臺灣有過接觸。

隋書上記載，在那個時期，已有一支中國遠征隊到過臺灣，但未能和臺灣土著達成相互了解協好的地步。在同一個時期，波斯和阿拉伯的海商在遠東已經很發達。到了唐朝的時候，阿拉伯和印度商人已經在廣州和泉州佔有特別的地區，並且他們很可能和臺灣已有數次接觸。

到了南宋的時候，已有來自中國福建的漁人在澎湖島上定居的了，或許已開始和臺灣土著有些商業性的接觸。還有一項很重要的事，就是，有很多中國海盜，多半在南宋以前，就用臺灣作為他們的大本營了。當荷蘭人於明末入侵臺灣時，大約已有二萬五千中國人在臺灣定居；在這些中國人裡，不乏有和土著人民有交易往來者。在此同一時期，少數日本商人也已來到臺灣南部與北部地區。

b. 偶然靠岸與失事或遇難之船隻——近代紀錄文獻證明，在1850年到1895年的四十五年之間，前後共有一百九十餘條中國和外國的船隻在臺灣海岸附近失事。南太平洋各地的人有很多次漂流至臺灣，例如，在1908年，有六個米克羅尼西亞人，乘著帶邊架之獨木舟漂流到宜蘭縣東港。在1874年，有十六個米克羅尼西亞人駕三條帶邊架之獨木舟漂流至基隆。因而，我們一定要考慮到，既然自兩千年以前以來，在臺灣附近的海上就不時有遠洋航船行駛，那麼極可能有很多次其他不同地區的船隻會意在地駛抵臺灣。臺灣的土著或許通常都把這些異地遠來的航海者殺害，但是有些時候，也許會從這些異鄉人那裡吸取某些藝術風格或其它物質文化因素。因之，假若我們一旦在臺灣發現某某物質文化因素和另一地區相像時，我們一定要當心；這可能並不代表臺灣土著和那個地區有任何親族關聯，而僅是說明臺灣接受了那個地區的些許影響而已。

2. 近代民族歷史

a. 荷蘭人佔領時期——當荷蘭人在1624年佔據臺灣之後，他們爲了組織臺灣經濟系統俾便有利於荷蘭商人，便強迫當地土著多方改變他們的文化。起初，許多臺灣土著部落沒有頭目或酋長，而由部落中之年長者共同商定一切重大的決議，但是荷蘭人來後，爲了便於統治土著人民，遂逼使他們建立頭目制度；進而言之，現今土著中很多的頭目制度都可能是始於荷蘭人之手（詳情見本文第16頁）。在荷蘭人佔領時期，很多土著部落早已在高山中定居，但荷蘭人則盡力勸服他們遷到山下平原來居住。於是在很多地方，好幾個原來各用不同語言的部落開始住於同一個村子中，結果，他們的風俗、習慣，以及語言也就漸漸溶化一起了（詳情見本文第18—19頁）。

b. 近代時期——很多昔日的平原土著都涵化於漢人，並且忘掉了他們自己舊日的語言。我們不要忘記，從語言和風俗的觀點來講，平原土著和高山土著本來沒有基本上的差別。高山土著族，直到本世紀，都不斷地侵襲平原的人民，同時各不同的高山族之間也時常彼此相互發生鬭爭。不顧頻繁的戰爭，諸高山土著族彼此之間仍保持許多連繫，並且相互發生影響。例如，雖然泰雅族爲阿美和布農兩族的強烈敵人，可是泰雅族的一些村子仍和阿美族的數個村子保持交易關係；並有一些泰雅族人離棄自己的地區而去和布農人共居一地（見本文第21頁）。在南部，有許多家魯凱人住在排灣族的村子裡；此外，布農人和鄒族人融合在一起

者也於數目可觀。

自荷蘭人佔領時期到今日，土著文化之變化確實快得很。可是我們不要忘記，人類的文化永遠在改變。甚至當荷蘭人入侵臺灣之初，就有一位荷蘭人傳教士這樣記述過，年老的土著抱怨他們的宗教改變的太多了，早在荷蘭人到達之前變化就已發生了。我們可以想像得到，人類文化最古老的時候，年老者就已經抱怨當時的年輕人不好，說他們懷有惡劣的新觀念了。

關於臺灣土著諸族，我們以語言學，考古學和物質文化的觀點來說，可以證明他們之間的界限是很有伸縮性的，並且在每一方面都相互彼此發生影響作用。因此，我們若想解決臺灣土著族本源的問題，就必須在考古學方面求進一步的擴展。根據語言學去探究諸語言間的相互影響，而民族學者則須研求更多有關臺灣土著文化和民族歷史的知識。

II. 臺灣土著族的文化

A. 語言和文化之分類

臺灣土著族的語言經被分成三大羣：即泰雅羣，鄒羣，和排灣羣。日本學者，根據文化的立場，將臺灣土著分為九種不同的所謂之「高山族」；自語言學的觀點而論，日本學者小川尚義和淺井惠倫對臺灣土著族語言的分類，除將泰雅族又分為泰雅和賽德克兩族，並將鄒族再分為鄒，卡那富，和沙阿魯阿三族外，完全和諸土著之文化分類一樣。此外，尚有十種所謂之「平埔」語言。後來，日人鹿野忠雄又創出一種新的分類，但因僅以物質文化因素為依據，所以他的新分類遜於移川和小川尚義的分類。

臺灣土著諸族有時被劃分成所謂之「高山族」和「平埔族」，但我們必須了解，這些祇不過是地理性的名詞，並無任何價值。當初，居住在山中的土著族和住在平原上的土著族在語言和體格上本無基本區別。有些學者喜歡根據土著是否已經漢化了為原則來將他們分類；可是這種分類的科學價值也極有限。第一、訂立一項足以決定一個土著族應漢化至何種程度之正確標準似乎不可能；其次，即使我們能夠建立出可以決定何謂漢化之確切標準，在這種標準下所作的分類，也將因每個土著族不斷的在變化，而須隨時跟着修改；第二、一個土著族的各個不同的村子「漢化」的程度也絕對不會相同的。

以語言作根據來劃分諸土著族，才是唯一適合的方法。在作者的分類中，「高山」語和「平埔」語之間未作任何區分，因為那種區分沒有科學憑依。作者的分類如下：

泰雅羣 (Atayalic)

泰雅族 (Atayal)

賽德克族 (Sediq)

鄒羣 (Tsouic)

A. 阿里山鄒族 (Tsou)

B. 卡那富族 (Kanakanabu)

沙阿魯阿族 (Saaroa)

排灣羣 (Paiwanic)

排灣羣第一分羣 (Paiwanic I)

A. 魯凱族 (Rukai)

拍宰海族 (Pazeh)

賽夏族 (Saisiat)

雷曹族 (Luilang) (現已不存在)

巴布薩族 (Favorlang)

道卡斯族 (Taokas)

拍瀑拉族 (Papora)

和安雅族 (Hoanya)

日月潭邵族 (Thao)

B. 排灣族 (Paiwan)

卑南族 (Puyuma)

排灣羣第二分羣 (Paiwanic II)

布農族 (Bunun)

西拉雅族 (Siraya) (現已絕跡)

阿美族 (Ami)

噶瑪蘭/凱他噶蘭 (Kavalan/Ketagalan) (凱他噶族現已絕跡)

蘭嶼雅美族 (Yami)

(土著語言分佈概況，見26頁，地圖二)

B. 臺灣土著文化羣

所有臺灣土著人民都是以農為業，種植有小米，芋頭和其他作物，採用山田燒墾耕種方法。在以下的討論中，作者將不再特別描繪農耕細節，而僅對各種文化之最重要因素提出敘述。

1. 高地文化

a. 泰雅文化

(1)物質文化——泰雅族的文化非常特別，同時缺少許多其他臺灣土著族文化的要素。例如，泰雅族沒有陶器，也不相信他們的祖先曾製作過陶器。再者，泰雅族也沒有裝飾性的木彫和石刻。雖然屬於排灣語羣的賽夏族也已採用了泰雅族型的紋身，但泰雅族為臺灣土著中唯一有面部刺紋風俗的土著族。泰雅族的半地下式的房屋更是出眾不凡，此種格局的房屋在東北亞也有，可是在太平洋地區極罕見。

(2)宗教和傳說——泰雅族宗教上有特殊的特色就是他們的神均沒有名字，也沒有個別化的神或祖先之幽靈。有時泰雅族會被誤認有崇拜祖先之習俗，但實際上，他們好像沒有個別祖先的觀念。在他們的語言中，*utux* 或 *lutuh* 是「靈、鬼、或魔鬼」的意思，而且在他們的語言中也沒有一個確實意指「祖先」的字，相反的，他們祇會籠統的講「好久以前的老年人」。

(3)社會結構——泰雅族的親族制為併系制 (*ambilineal*)。嫁娶婚最普通，但是招贅婚也時有所見。社會中小家族是基本形態之單位。每一村子有數個祭祀團體，而每一個家庭都按照泛血族羣的關係參加一個祭祀團體。此外，泰雅族起初並沒有頭目制度。

(4)評釋——以泰雅羣所居的位置，以及他們的語言和其他臺灣土著的語言又無密切的關係來說，我們可以認為他們或為一較古老之民族，被後來的排灣羣諸族驅迫到山裡去的，如本文前面所述，泰雅羣和很多其他土著族，諸如屬於排灣羣的阿美、布農、噶瑪蘭、賽夏等，皆有接觸。賽德克族和外族的交往看起來要比泰雅族多一點，這一點我們在賽德克族的物

質文化、語言、和神話中即可看出。

b. 布農文化

(1)物質文化——布農族，在採納鄰近他族的物質文化因素一方面，比其他臺灣土著族為迅速。因而北部布農族穿着的上衣很像泰雅族所穿的；在南部有些地方的布農族的衣著和鄒族的相像，在另外一些地方的又和排灣與魯凱族的相近。和泰雅羣一樣，布農族也沒有裝飾性的木刻和石彫。直到本世紀，布農族尚繼續製作一種很像本文前面所述的幾何圖形印陶的陶器。布農族的房屋和泰雅族的房屋完全不同。布農族的房屋雖有時被誤稱為「半地下式」，但實際上，祇是房屋的地板部份稍微在地平面以下一點而已。布農族的房屋，在構造的基本上來說，倒是和排灣族與魯凱族的房屋有點相似，而且所謂的「平埔」族，如巴布薩族，據說從前也有類似的房屋（見本文第33頁插圖3）。

(2)宗教和傳統——像泰雅族一樣，布農族也沒有真正的祖先崇拜之風俗。布農族的神話中缺少有關創世的神話，也沒有人格化的靈鬼和神祇。因為獵狩在布農文化中非常重要，所以在布農的傳說中我們可以聽到很多關於動物的故事。

(3)社會結構——在布農族的社會裡，父系和從父居大家族制極其普通。父系氏族為基本的禮祀單位。布農族也沒有頭目制度。

(4)評釋——如前所述，布農族非常易於歡迎來自別族的物質文化因素，以及人民。今日的布農族早已和泰雅人，鄒人，和當初來自西部平原之許多其他部族混溶一起了。雖然布農族的社會組織有點像鄒族的社會組織，但以語言和體質人類學的觀點而論，兩族間實有天壤之別。布農人的分類尤屬困難，因為他們的語言似屬於排灣羣第二分羣，可是在體質上，他們却又和排灣羣第二分羣之其他部族頗不相同。因之，布農族的分類問題迄今仍未解決。

c. 鄒族文化

(1)物質文化——如泰雅與布農族一樣，鄒族也缺少裝飾木刻和石刻的藝術。鄒族的住屋和其他臺灣土著的房屋都不同，鄒族從前的房屋具有圓形的外貌。民族學者認為所謂之「圓形房屋」或「橢圓形房屋」為南島各民族中非常古老的一種房屋。有些鄒族的物質文化不像太平洋地區的文化，反而和北亞地區的文化相若，譬如皮衣、皮鞋等等。鄒族的社會中，和布農族不一樣，有青年集會所或族人集會所之設置，俗稱之為「庫巴」(Kuba)（值得注意的是西拉雅族的族人集會所也叫作「庫瓦」Kuva）。

(2)宗教和傳說——鄒族，像泰雅和布農一樣，實際也沒有祖先的崇拜。但在另一方面，鄒族則有許多個別化的神，如哈莫(Hamo)，遠在天上發光之神；他的靈獸是熊；和 Ake'e Mameoi，一種土地神和一切生物的保護者；他的靈獸為蛇和豹斑貓，作者過去曾指出 (Ferrell 1966 b) 鄒族的神話有點和玻利尼西亞及密克羅尼西亞的神話相像。

(3)社會結構——鄒族的社會是父系，從父居的小家族制的家庭為極常見的住居本位。每一個村子或每一支分族自成一禮祀單位。鄒族也沒有頭目的制度。

(4)評釋——在鄒族，卡那富族和沙阿魯阿族之間雖然有某些不同之點，但當我們拿他們同其他臺灣土著族比較時，我們便知道鄒羣各族顯然和其他土族大有差別。鄒族也很像是被較遲抵達的排灣羣族追入深山裡去的很古老的民族。同時，鄒羣各族也是很明顯的同其他土著族混合了，尤其是沙阿魯阿族早就與來自西部平原的魯凱族和西拉雅融混一起了。

d. 排灣文化、排灣的語言和魯凱的語言不太類似；可是兩族的文化倒極相近。而卑南族語言雖和排灣族語言有密切的關係，但該族却好像原本屬於另外一種可能和阿美與西拉雅相似的民族。卑南族已經採納了不少排灣族文化要素，然而一般言之，卑南族則屬於另外一種文化，即濱海文化叢。

(1)物質文化——排灣族和魯凱族最著名的文化要素是他們因襲風格的木刻和石刻（見本文第40頁）。排灣族的青銅刀柄也頗有名，排灣人並把這種刀柄視如傳家寶一樣的保存着。日本學者相信這類刀柄和東南亞的原始東山文化有關聯；再者，因為此類金屬鑲物在臺灣很少見，所以鹿野氏認為：此類銅製物件乃是當初排灣人到臺灣時隨身攜帶而來的。然而，我們應該注意，在很多地區，諸如菲律賓等，雖然土著民族沒有開採金屬礦，但仍能製出銅製器品，所用的銅原料，或自與外人交易得來，或自沉破的外國船隻中得來。另外，排灣族的刀柄，實際上，並不像東山藝術；相反的，它們和排灣族的木刻與石刻技藝倒完全一樣（見第43頁插圖6）。因之，作者認為，昔日臺灣土著可能已知鑄銅的工藝，但這種工藝很久以前就被忘掉了；而排灣族的青銅刀柄也許本來就是在臺灣製造的（詳情見本文第41頁）。

(2)宗教和傳說——在排灣和魯凱的神話中，海所占的份量很輕微；宇宙的創造也未被重視。神話的大部份講述各個酋長或頭目的家族的起源——自靈蛇受孕的太陽卵所出生——的故事。魯凱族的宗教早被忽視，所以我們無法瞭解它到底和排灣族的宗教有多大的差異。排灣族有一套頗為完善的衆神譜，包括 Takalaus（雷電男神，也是小米種植和收穫之守護神

），Qadau 或 Namati（太陽，司造物和生命之女天神），Kadunangan（土地神），和許多其他的神。

(3)社會結構——排灣和魯凱兩族的親族制度為雙系制。大部份排灣族實行嚴格的首生兒女繼承權，而在魯凱族和一些北部的排灣族則行長子承嗣權。排灣和魯凱兩族最特殊的特徵為他們所謂之「封建」社會制度，頭目家族享有特別的世襲特權。

(4)評釋——至於排灣族的頭目制度已有多久，我們現在無法知道。族譜顯然是不可靠的，此點最近已被倫敦大學教授格拉克曼（Gluckman）所證實。排灣和魯凱的語言很古老，在臺灣存在的歷史也很悠久了；然而他們的頭目制度多半還是頗為晚近的產物（詳情見本文第47頁）。

排灣族所保有的串珠項圈和陶器，據說都是他們的祖先自更早的祖先所承繼而來，有些民族學者深信這些都是排灣族昔日自舊有的家鄉所携帶來的物品。然而最近一些年老的排灣人告訴作者說，玻璃珠子，神聖的陶器等等，實際上，均是在荷蘭人佔據時期自平原地區得來的；當這些陶器和珠子在許多宗教儀典中用過之後，遂被視為神聖之物了，而女巫和頭目們跟着也就捏造出許多有關這些物品的來歷的故事和神話（見本文第46頁）。排灣族的珠子和陶器倒度源於何處和是否其為古代的遺物，迄今尚不能確定。

至於排灣和魯凱族的木刻，石屋等等，實際上，這些是魯凱族和僅僅極北部的排灣族之最具代表性的特色；所以我們或許應當稱它們為「魯凱文化」，而排灣族祇不過是於較近才吸取了魯凱式的木刻藝術和其他文化要素而已。

2. 平原和海濱文化

a. 低地文化羣

我們對於這些文化（包括巴布薩、雷朗、拍瀑拉、和安雅、道卡斯、拍宰海、賽夏和日月潭邵族等）的知識極有限。賽夏和日月潭邵族的社會現行父系親族制，但其他諸族的社會制度則不能確定。又因為這些土著文化的大部分都早已絕跡，所以想對它們進行調查也頗為困難。有些族的房屋，例如巴布薩的，和高山布農族的房屋相像，和安雅的房屋則像臺灣西南一帶西拉雅人的房屋。關於這些土著族的宗教和神話，我們知道的很少，但是很明顯的，各族皆有一套完善而包括很多神之衆神譜。

這些土著族的語言似乎非常古老，在臺灣的歷史大概已經很長久了，可能在三千年以上。看起來諸族的語言不像是當初各別抵達臺灣的，倒可能是由一個共同的始祖語言在臺灣逐漸分歧演變而成的。這許多語言，以及這一文化集體，似乎和考古學上的圓山文化或臺灣龍山形成文化有些關係；至少在幾何圖形印陶文化的時期，它們早已在臺灣存在了。

b. 濱海文化叢

此一文化較諸其他臺灣土著的文化更接近其他太平地區的文化。這文化中包括的諸語言（阿美，噶瑪蘭/凱他噶蘭，西拉雅），也許比別的排灣羣語言，和臺灣以外其他地區的關係更密切，可是這一問題之澈底解決尙有待今後更多的研究。

(1)物質文化——這個文化叢內土著族的許多藝術形制和排灣的風格相異；這些文化含有幾何圖形之主旨，譬如畫人的話，所用的曲線比排灣畫法多。阿美和噶瑪蘭/凱他噶蘭族有非常近似印度尼西亞和玻利尼西亞的高架於樁柱之上的房屋；西拉雅的房屋，雖然不是高架於柱石之上，但卻建築在土石圓丘之上，同時其外形也和玻利尼西亞與印度尼西亞的房屋相像。今日，臺灣土著主要利用筏子從事捕魚；但是在以前，毫無疑問地，曾有過數種不同形式之船；例如，現代阿美族的語言裡至少有四個不同的字表示船的意思，此足可指明他們從前曾有好幾種不同形式的船。此外，阿美、噶瑪蘭/凱他噶蘭，卑南和西拉雅諸族往昔均有倒鈎鎗，和菲律賓鐵器時代文化的武器極其相似。

(2)宗教和傳說——我們對噶瑪蘭/凱他噶蘭與西拉雅兩族的宗教和傳說幾乎一無所知。但阿美族的宗教倒很值得注意；因其為臺灣土著族中唯一擁有一和玻利尼西亞的相似的，很完善的神統記和宇宙開闢說。而且在阿美族中，祇有特殊的巫師或頭目們才可以談述有關宇宙起源的神話，普通人民則被禁止談論這些故事；這一點和玻利尼西亞的情形也相彷彿（詳情見本文第53—54頁）

(3)社會結構——所有屬於濱海文化的土著族都實行母系制；並且在臺灣，也祇有這些土著族是母系制，所有其他土著族則或行父系制，或行雙系制。卑南族，其文化大抵屬於濱海文化叢，在基本上是母系制，可是因為他們也採取了排灣式的頭目制度和貴族政治，所以他們的社會結構顯得有點複雜。

(4)評釋——許多文化因素使我們認為濱海文化各族也許比其他臺灣土著到達臺灣的時期較遲；此外，在臺灣也祇有在濱海文化叢的土著族中才有關於他們的祖先來自海外的陸地或

島嶼的傳說。然而，這個濱海文化羣中諸族當初是否一起來自菲律賓，或西里拜斯，或更南的其他地區，目前尚未能確定；這些排灣羣第二分羣的語言和第一分羣的語言，也可能是在臺灣彼此相互分離自立的，而南太平洋的文化因素的存在，也祇不過是因為臺灣和南太平洋間之偶爾性的貿易或接觸而得來。希望今後的研究能解答此一問題。

c. 雅美文化

蘭嶼島上的雅美族，自語言的立場來說，和菲律賓北方的巴旦島有密切的關係。但同時，雅美族和臺灣土著語言的關係也很清晰，所以作者把他們列入排灣的語羣。雅美的物質文化似乎含有一些近似低地文化（排灣羣第一分羣諸族）的成份；例如，高架「涼臺」，雅美人稱之為“Tagakal”，而臺灣西部的西拉雅和巴布薩族昔日也有「涼臺」稱之為“Tarrakal”。在過去，對雅美文化和其他臺灣土著族文化間的許多類似點沒有十分注意，希望這方面的問題能成為今後研究工作中之一項研究專題。雅美族的木板船很特別，且和索羅門島的船有點相像。Heine-Geldern 教授以為，這並不表示蘭嶼島和索羅門島間有某種關係，而是表示，在古時，某種東山文化影響的一方面自東南亞傳到蘭嶼島，另一方面延抵索羅門島。

C. 體質人類學與臺灣土著族

阿美、噶瑪蘭，和西拉雅為臺灣身材最高的土著；他們之間體格非常相近的關係，正好和他們幾族之語言和文化的密切關係相吻合。但體質人類學却不能幫助我們明確的分劃其餘的臺灣諸土著族。一般言之，雅美、魯凱、排灣、和布農（或許）為身材最矮的土著族。鄒族和布農族在體格上的差別很大，正如他們之間語言的差異一樣。體質人類學和語言學均證明，賽夏人和泰雅人沒有密切的關係，祇是他們的文化中有些泰雅的影響而已。

III. 臺灣土著族的語言

在臺灣三大語羣之中，泰雅羣和鄒羣間之差異最大，而這兩大語羣又和所有其他南島語族差異也很大。甚至於在五、六千年前他們已跟南島語族分開。而排灣羣則和其他太平洋地區的南島語言相近，他們可能在三千年前分開的。

臺灣土著的語言，代表四種史前遷移的可能性：I、所有臺灣土著語言是從同一個在臺灣的祖語發展而來的，II、可能是兩個獨立的遷移，即泰雅羣與排灣——鄒羣，III、可能是

三個遷移，即泰雅羣、鄒羣、排灣羣，IV、可能是四個遷移，即泰雅羣、鄒羣、排灣第一羣，排灣第二羣。語言學的證據並不支持以往語為臺灣土著是分批遷移來臺的學說。

中央研究院民族學研究所專刊之十七

臺灣土著族的文化，語言分類探究

出版者 中央研究院民族學研究所

著作者 費 羅 禮

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印刷者 九冠印刷品有限公司
台北縣中和市連城路 333 號 3 樓
電話：(02)2242-5732

定價 新臺幣肆佰元整

中華民國六十年出版
中華民國八十二年三刷
中華民國九十三年三刷

臺灣土著族的文化，言語分類探究

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