

# “Morrow” in Seediq

Izumi OCHIAI

## 1. Introduction

Seediq is an Austronesian language in the Atayalic subgroup spoken in Taiwan, of which there are three associated subgroups, Paran, Truku and Toda (Sayama 1917). The two main dialectal groups identified by Ogawa and Asai (1935) are Paran Seediq and Truku Seediq, with the latter also encompassing Truku and Toda. This study focuses on the Paran and Truku dialects to reconstruct Proto-Seediq; however, the analysis tends to examine Paran Seediq more closely. The Paran Seediq data, as well as those pertaining to Toda Seediq were obtained from the author’s field notes, and the Truku Seediq data were extracted from dictionaries by Rakaw et al. (2006) and Pecoraro (1977).

The early documents of Seediq began to be recorded by Japanese ethnologists and linguists after the Japanese colonization of Taiwan. Here the author uses six such documents as the source for the Paran Seediq word “morning/tomorrow”: Ino (1998), Arao (1898), Torii (1900–1901), Sayama (1917), Akama (1935), and Ogawa (1939). The following are the brief introductions to these documents, ordered chronologically on the basis of the year of each researcher’s fieldwork.

- Ino (1998)

Kanori Ino, as a researcher affiliated with a governmental organization in Taiwan, investigated the customs of indigenous people around Taiwan from May to December in 1897. He tried to collect basic vocabularies in each aboriginal village he visited. This document was edited and published after a hundred years as a wordlist of indigenous languages in Taiwan<sup>1</sup> in 1998.

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<sup>1</sup> Formosan language is a general term for the Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan except for Yami, which belongs to Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian.

- Arao (1898)

Eima Arao was a government officer sent to Hori (埔里) located in the central Taiwan to study the variant of Seediq spoken in the mountains near Hori. However, it was not safe early in Japanese colonization to enter Seediq villages because of the local hostility to outsiders. Hence, Arao learned Seediq from an aboriginal man, probably of the Pazih tribe, who lived in Hori and understood Seediq.

- Torii (1900-1901)

Ryuzo Torii, a well-known anthropologist, visited Hori in 1900. It was not safe to enter Seediq villages at that time either. Torii found two Seediq women who had married aboriginal tribesmen, probably Pazih, in Hori. Torii collected Seediq basic vocabularies from these Seediq women in Hori.

- Sayama (1917)

Yukichi Sayama, an ethnological researcher affiliated with a governmental organization, was sent to aboriginal villages to investigate their customs. His reports appended wordlists from different villages. These are transcribed using Katakana characters, which do not necessarily represent accurate Formosan sounds.

- Akama (1932)

Tomisaburo Akama, a government clerk who worked near Hori, began to study Seediq in 1907. In 1932, he compiled a Paran Seediq wordlist and phrases that were based on his experience with this language for more than 20 years. As in the case of Sayama, he used Katakana for transcription.

- Ogawa (1939)

In 1939, Naoyoshi Ogawa, a pioneering linguist of Formosan languages, published a paper on time expressions, e.g., “year,” “today,” and “morning” found in Formosan languages. His data were probably collected from the 1920s to the early 1930s when he was actively researching on Formosan languages.

The author transliterated the Paran Seediq data in Sayama (1917) and Akama (1932) that were transcribed in Katakana. The author’s transliteration uses the alphabetical orthography that is in accordance with corresponding words in the Paran

Seediq of today; however, some sounds have changed since then. For example, the word-final consonants *l* has changed to *n* (Ochiai 2016:319).<sup>2</sup> In that case, the author reconstructed the earlier sounds on the basis of their Katakana transcription and the comparison with Truku Seediq, which retains old sounds in some cases. For other documents, the alphabetical orthography used by each transcriber is shown in this paper.

Paran Seediq has five vowels: /a, e, i, o, u/; one diphthong /uy/ [uj]; and 18 consonants: /p, b, t, d, k, g, q, c [ʈs], s, x, h, l, r [r], m, n, ŋ, y, w/. The stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

Tsukida (2006:56, 97) noted that Truku Seediq has four vowels: /a, ə, i, u/; that it has 18 consonants: /p, b, t, d, k, g [ɣ], q, ʔ, s, x, h, l [ɕ], r [r], m, n, ŋ, y, w/; that the phonemes *t* and *d* are palatalized before *i*; and that the stress falls on the penultimate syllable.<sup>3</sup> The Paran Seediq phoneme *c* corresponds to the Truku Seediq *s* (e.g., Paran *cani* and Truku *sanj* (for "gourd"), which has been dated to the Proto-Atayalic \*c (Li 1981:260).

The present paper investigated the early Paran Seediq forms for “morning” and “tomorrow” through the previous literature, culminating in its proposition that these meanings are shared by the Proto-Seediq \*caman (section 2, 3), which later diverged into either of the meanings in different dialects (section 4). The origin of \*caman is introduced in Section 5. Section 6 gives a summary and examples of “morrow” in other Formosan languages.

## 2. “Morning” and “tomorrow” in Paran Seediq

Table 1 shows the Paran Seediq words for “morning” and “tomorrow” that are found in the aforementioned six documents. Three words are identified with these meanings, which were tentatively reconstructed as \*marebu, \*caman and \*kusun—early Paran Seediq forms. The cells with a bar indicate that the forms are not observed in the document.

<sup>2</sup> Yang (1976:650-651) has a synchronic explanation for the alternation between the word-final *n* and the word-medial *l*.

<sup>3</sup> Tsukida (2006:58) also said that *c* [ʈs] is seen in loanwords and a few proper words under a certain condition.

Table 1: “Morning” and “tomorrow” in early Paran Seediq

	<b>*marəbu</b> “morning”	<b>*caman</b> “morning/tomorrow”	<b>*kusun<sup>4</sup></b> “tomorrow”
<b>Ino</b>	---	<i>tsa:man</i> “tomorrow”	---
<b>Arao</b>	<i>barebu</i> <sup>5</sup> “morning”	<i>tsāman</i> “tomorrow”	---
<b>Torii</b>	---	<i>tuaman</i> “tomorrow/morning”	---
<b>Sayama</b>	<i>murebu</i> “morning”	<i>tsaman</i> “tomorrow”	<i>kusin</i> “tomorrow”
<b>Akama</b>	<i>murebu saman</i> “early morning”	<i>saman</i> “morning”	<i>kusin</i> “tomorrow”
<b>Ogawa</b>	---	<i>tsaman, saman</i> “morning”	<i>kussun</i> “tomorrow”

As Table 1 illustrates, “morning” is shared by \*marebu and \*caman, while “tomorrow” is shared by \*caman and \*kusun. It is \*caman that has the both meanings. Only one of the meanings of \*caman is recorded in most cases. “Tomorrow” was found in Ino, Arao, and Sayama, while “morning” was found in Akama and Ogawa; however, Torii recorded both meanings. Therefore, it can be surmised that \*caman meant both “morning” and “tomorrow” in early Paran Seediq, probably without a conceptual distinction between the two.

With regard to this, Ogawa (1939:9) noted that his Proto-Austronesian (PAn, henceforth) \*dama<sup>6</sup> “morning”—in which Seediq \*caman is reflected—was related to “tomorrow,” in what is similar to cross-linguistic examples seen in German *Morgen* and Japanese *asu, asa, and asita*. Section 5 shows the revision of PAn made by Ross (2015). Section 6 provides other Formosan examples of “morning/tomorrow.”

The next section focuses on the early attestation of \*caman in different Seediq villages recorded in Sayama (1917).

<sup>4</sup> The older Paran Seediq document by Bullock (1874) recorded this word as *kushun*; however, he glossed over its meaning as “day.”

<sup>5</sup> Arao’s transcriptions sometimes showed confusion between *b* and *m*. Here it seems that Arao recorded the original *m* as *b* as other sources such as Sayama and Akama indicated that the segment was *m*. However, the author of this study regards that the first vowel in Arao’s transcription to be the earlier segment and that the corresponding vowels in other sources were likely to be weakened.

<sup>6</sup> He reconstructed this from several Formosan cognates. For “morning,” he provided Siraya *ma-dama*; Paiwan *ka-jama-jaman*; Seediq *tsaman* or *saman*; and Babuza *somma*. For “tomorrow,” he provided Puyuma *an-dama-n*; Papora *dama-nan*; Babuza *somma*; Siraya *u-dama-i*; and Tsou *ho-tsuma*.

### 3. “Morning,” “tomorrow,” and “dawn” in early Seediq dialects (Sayama 1917)

The previous section showed the Paran Seediq data for “morning” and “tomorrow.” This section examines dialectal variation seen in the data approximately a hundred years ago. Sayama (1917) collected basic vocabularies in eight villages belonging to three sub-tribal groups: Paran, Truku, and Tawda.

According to Mabuchi (1954), a group of people from each sub-tribe migrated to eastern Taiwan, crossing the central mountain approximately three to four centuries ago. These tribes include Mukuy (originally Paran), Tawsay (originally Tawda), Taroko, Highland Truku, Lowland Truku, and Btulan (from Taroko to Btulan, originally Truku) among others.

Table 2 shows words for “tomorrow,” “morning,” and “dawn” collected by Sayama in the eight Seediq villages. His Katakana transcriptions are transliterated into phonemic representations by the author. “Dawn” is included here as it included \*caman as the root in some cases. The parentheses after village names indicate the homeland of each sub-tribe: (P) for Paran, (Tr) for Truku, and (Td) for Tawda.

Table 2: “Tomorrow,” “morning,” and “dawn” in Seediq dialects (Sayama 1917)<sup>7</sup>

	“tomorrow”	“morning”	“dawn”
<b>Paran</b>	kusun/tsaman	mərebu	təgə- <b>tsəman</b> -an
<b>Mukuy (P)</b>	<b>tsaman</b>	<b>tsaman</b>	tsi-si- <b>siman</b> -an
<b>Tawda</b>	kusun	mərubu	mərubu <b>saman</b>
<b>Tawsay (Td)</b>	kusun	<b>saman</b>	tə- <b>siman</b> -an
<b>Truku</b>	kusun	<b>saman</b>	rəmədax
<b>Highland Tr. (Tr)</b>	kusun	<b>saman</b>	rəmədax
<b>Lowland Tr. (Tr)</b>	kusun	<b>saman</b>	tə- <b>siman</b> -an
<b>Btulan (Tr)</b>	kusun	<b>saman</b>	<b>siman</b> -an

As for “tomorrow,” the Paran group (Paran and Mukuy) had the *tsaman* (Proto-Seediq \*caman), although Paran proper has the alternative form, *kusun*

<sup>7</sup> In this table, Sayama’s Katakana transcription was transliterated with slight modifications by the author. For convenience of representation, the weakened vowels (vowels before the penultimate syllables) are transcribed as schwa in all the dialects, even though his Katakana in most cases indicates *u*. His katakana orthography lacks a way of transcribing a schwa. Therefore, it is uncertain whether the vowel was a *u* or a schwa. The weakened vowel is a schwa in the Truku dialect today but close to [u] in the Paran dialect. (The author lacks information on the Tawda dialect.)

(Proto-Seediq \*kusun), which was also used in the Tawda group and the Truku group.

As for “morning,” Mukuy from the Paran group still showed *tsaman*, the identical form for “morning,” while its homeland, Paran, had the variant *mərəbu* (Proto-Seediq \*marəbu). The cognate of this variant is also seen in Tawda proper. Other villages (all of the Truku group and Tawsay) had *saman*, the cognate with *tsaman*.

Based on *tsaman* in the Paran group and its cognate *saman* seen in the Tawda group and the Truku group, the Proto-Seediq form can be reconstructed as \*caman as the segment *c* [ts] in the Paran group corresponds to *s* in the other groups. The meaning of the proto-form can be reconstructed as “morning/tomorrow” as the reflex in each village showed either of the meanings. In addition, in Mukuy village, *tsaman* shared both meanings.

This \*caman also appears in “dawn.” Tawda proper had a compounding expression *mərubu saman*. Villages other than Truku proper and Highland Truku showed \*caman in derived forms. For instance, the Paran form is *təgə-tsaman-an*. There is also a prefix *təgə-*, which usually indicates a direction. The cognate, or the root of this form, appears as *tsaman* instead of the expected form *tsaman*. This is because of vowel weakening in pre-stress syllables. The stress falls on the penultimate syllable in Seediq.<sup>8</sup> However, the suffixation triggers the movement of stress. The stress moves to the final syllable of the root, *tsamán-an*. Then, the vowel in the pre-stress syllable is reduced as in *tsəmán-an*. This vowel weakening is also applicable to four other cognate forms from Highland Truku to Mukuy in the table. However, in these forms (e.g., *siman-an* in Btulan), the reduced vowel appears as *i* not *ə*. This is probably due to the effect of *s*, which may cause the vowel to rise. An irregularity is seen in Mukuy, which should retain *ʈ* as the initial consonant of the root. This segment, however, appears as *s*. This may reflect the influence of the Eastern Truku, who surrounded Mukuy. Because of frequent contact with Taroko sub-dialects, Mukuy may have adopted *s* for the original *ʈ*. Truku and Highland Truku have *rəmədax* “bright” for “dawn.”

#### 4. “Morning,” “tomorrow” and “dawn” in modern Seediq dialects

Table 3, which is similar to Table 2, lists the modern Seediq dialectal forms (since the 1960s) for “tomorrow,” “morning,” and “dawn.” The Proto-Seediq \*caman still

<sup>8</sup> Pecoraro (1979) commented that a sub-dialect of Truku has stress on the penultimate syllables unless the final syllable has a coda consonant. In this case, the stress moves to the final syllable. The author assumes that the stress probably fell on the penultimate syllable in all Seediq dialects at the time of Sayama’s (1917) fieldwork.

survives in modern dialects in these meanings. When compared with Table 2, Paran Seediq could be said to have lost \*caman as “tomorrow.” This is only remembered by older generations as “dawn.” Tawda Seediq has \*caman for “morning” in 1969 as a part of the compound; however, this is an archaic form in the Tawda dialect today. In Paran and Tawda Seediq, the Proto-Seediq \*marebu has replaced \*caman for “morning”. When compared with Table 2, Truku Seediq \*kusun “tomorrow” is replaced by \*caman, which originally meant “morning” in the Truku dialect, while “morning” is replaced by \*marebu in Pecoraro (1977), with the same used for “dawn” in Rakaw et al. (2006). For “dawn,” Truku Seediq still retains \*caman in an affixed form, tə-səman-an, in Pecoraro (1977), which is closest to Lowland Truku among the dialects in the Truku group in Table 2.

Table 3: “Tomorrow,” “morning,” and “dawn” in modern Seediq dialects

		“tomorrow”	“morning”	“dawn”
<b>Paran</b>	<sup>10</sup>	kusun	murebu	<b>tsaman, saman</b>
<b>[present-day]</b>				(archaic)
<b>Tawda</b>		kúsən	murəbú? <b>cáman</b>	---
<b>(Ferrell 1969)</b>				
<b>Tawda</b>		kusun	murubu, mərubú:,	mərubú: məgəkóman <sup>11</sup> ,
<b>[present-day]</b>			<b>saman</b> (archaic)	mərubu rəmudax da <sup>12</sup>
<b>Eastern Truku</b>		<b>saman</b>	mərəbu	tə-səman-an
<b>(Pecoraro 1977)</b>				
<b>Eastern Truku</b>		kusun/saman	---	mərəbu
<b>(Rakaw et al. 2006)</b>				

In short, the Proto-Seediq \*caman “morning/tomorrow” still kept both meanings in the Paran Seediq approximately a hundred years ago (see Table1). However, its

<sup>9</sup> It is not certain why the Proto-Seediq segment \*c appears as c in the Tawda dialect at this time while it appeared as s in the earlier document in Sayama (1917).

<sup>10</sup> The Paran Seediq data is from my field notes unless cited otherwise. The Tawda data of the present-day were provided by Awe Walis, Temu Basaw, and Tapas Bawah.

<sup>11</sup> This word is related to “night” or “darkness.” Paran Seediq has the cognates that share the root. In Paran Seediq, *keeman* means “night” and *munkeeman* means “dark because grass grows thick.”

<sup>12</sup> *Rəmudax* is likely to mean “to shine” (e.g., Truku Seediq *rəmədax* “to shine”). The following word, da, seems to be a final particle indicating a change of state as Paran Seediq has the identical particle.

meaning has shifted to “dawn” in the dialect today; in addition, this word has already been archaic. In the Tawda group (Tawda and Tawsay) in the 1910s (see Table 2), \*caman was used in either “morning” or “dawn”; however, this form has already been archaic in the dialect today as is the case in Paran Seediq. In Truku Seediq in the 1910s (see Table 2), \*caman meant “morning”; however, its meaning has shifted to “tomorrow” as shown in Table 3. These meaning shifts are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Meaning shifts of the Proto-Seediq \*caman “morning/tomorrow”<sup>13</sup>

	1890s-1920s	present
<b>Paran</b>	dawn, morning, tomorrow (Table 1, 2)	dawn (archaic)
<b>Tawda</b>	dawn, morning (Table 2)	morning (archaic)
<b>Truku</b>	dawn, morning (Table 2)	tomorrow

## 5. The origin of the Proto-Seediq \*caman

There is a PAn form \*zaman “morning, tomorrow, daylight” reconstructed by Ross (2015:13, footnote).<sup>14</sup> He drew attention to a different form \*Zamar “torch, light,” saying that the two were confused in the proto-form reconstructions for the latter in Dahl (1973:58) and Wolff (1997:593). The data that Ross used for the reconstruction for \*zaman were Siraya *ma-dama* “tomorrow” (Dahl 1973:58), Paiwan *djama* “morning”

<sup>13</sup> Strictly speaking, the words for “dawn,” including \*caman are either derived forms or compounds; however, this meaning is also included in the table.

<sup>14</sup> Some of the data that Ross (2015) used for reconstructing the PAn \*zaman “morning, tomorrow, daylight” overlapped with the data used by Ogawa (1939) for reconstructing the PAn \*dama “morning.” The two forms indicate the identical proto-form; however, they differ in the presence or absence of the word-final consonant (the initial consonant difference is not relevant here). Ogawa had no final-consonant, while Ross had *n*. Ogawa (1939:8-9) considered the word-final *n*’s that appeared in several Formosan cognates (Seediq *tsama-n*; Puyuma *an-dama-n*; Paiwan *ka-jama-jama-n*; Papora *dama-nan*) as a truncated form of the suffix *-an* (but for Papora, he considered the suffix to be *-nan*). On the contrary, Ross considered the *n* to be a part of the root. In this paper, Ross’s reconstruction was adopted; however, I still have my doubts about the word-final *n*. Siraya *ma-dama* “morning” or *u-dama-i* “tomorrow” (Ogawa 1939:8) is difficult to explain by Ross’s reconstruction \*zaman other than resorting to the sporadic loss of the word-final *n*. In addition, as for Seediq, time expressions such as “day” and “night” tended to attach the suffix *-an*. In Paran Seediq, “a day” is *ali* and “daytime” is its suffixed form *di-an* [diyan (with a glide insertion between the vowel hiatus)] (earlier Paran Seediq *ali-an*, *adi-an* > *di-an*). In some Paran Seediq words, *d* and *l* alternates (e.g., *lumuriq* or *dumuriq* “moss”). The Paran Seediq “night” is *rabi* (but it is archaic), and “evening” is its suffixed form *bubi-an* [bubiyan (with a glide insertion between the vowel hiatus)] (earlier Paran Seediq *rabi-an*, *gabi-an* > *gabi-an* > *babi-an* by assimilation > *bubi-an*). In some Paran Seediq words, *r* and *g* alternate (e.g., *rupun* or *gupun* “teeth”). Then, it is probable that the Paran Seediq *caman* originated from the suffixed form, *cama-an* (> *cama:n* > *caman*) as other roots for time expressions have the suffixed forms.



(Dahl 1973:58); Papora *daman-an*; Puyuma *an-daman* “tomorrow”; Manam *zama* “tomorrow”; and Bam *jam* “daytime, tomorrow.”

The Proto-Seediq *\*caman* should be included in this data, although there is a small problem in the sound correspondence. According to Ross (2015:31), the Proto-Austronesian *\*z* becomes *d* in Seediq (which is included in his Proto-Atayal, or precisely speaking, Proto-Atayalic); however, it appears as *c* in the Proto-Seediq *\*caman*. The four proto-segments, *\*z*, *\*d*, *\*Z*, and *\*D* that Ross reconstructed, all become Proto-Atayalic *\*d*. In Ross’s (2015) data for PAn reconstruction, some Proto-Atayalic data were seen; however these were all Atayal. There were no Seediq data. Close investigation of Seediq vocabularies reveals that this is not always the case that *\*z*, *\*d*, *\*Z*, and *\*D* became *d* in some Seediq words. These PAn segments appear as *d* in most cases but as *c* in a few cases. The following (1–4) shows as many Seediq reflexes of PAn forms with *\*z*, *\*d*, *\*Z*, and *\*D* as the author could identify in Ross (2015):

(1) PAn *\*z* > Proto-Atayalic *\*d*

- a. *\*zaman* “morning, tomorrow, daylight” > Paran Seediq *caman* “dawn,” Truku Seediq *saman* “tomorrow”, Proto-Seediq *\*caman*

(2) PAn *\*d* > Proto-Atayalic *\*d*

- a. *\*dapaL* “sole” > Paran Seediq *dapin* “footprint,” Truku Seediq *dapil* “footprint”, Proto-Seediq *\*dapil*
- b. *\*daRaq* “blood” > Paran Seediq *dara* “blood,” Truku Seediq *dara* “blood”, Proto-Seediq *\*dara*
- c. *\*daqis* “forehead” > Paran Seediq *duqeras* “face,” Truku Seediq *dəqəras* “face”, Proto-Seediq *\*dəqəras*
- d. *\*daReq* “soil, clay” > Paran Seediq *deheran* “soil,” Truku Seediq *dəxəgal* “soil”, Proto-Seediq *\*dəhəRal/\*dəxəRal*

(3) PAn *\*Z* > Proto-Atayalic *\*d*

- a. *\*Zaya* “east inland” > Paran Seediq *daya* “uphill”, Truku Seediq *daya* “uphill”, Proto-Seediq *\*daya*
- b. *\*Zuma* “other” > Paran Seediq *duma* “some,” Truku Seediq *duma* “some”, Proto-Seediq *\*duma*
- c. *\*ZaZal* “old (things)” > Paran Seediq *cumucac* “old (things),” Truku Seediq *səmulal* “old”, Proto-Seediq *\*cəməcal(?)*

- d. \*Zamar “torch, light” > Paran Seediq *cumagan* “a small-sized torch used when women weave at night,” Truku Seediq *samaw* “light,” Proto-Seediq \*camaR

(4) PAn \*D > Proto-Atayalic \*d

- a. \*Dakus “camphor laurel” > Paran Seediq *cakus* “camphor laurel,” Truku Seediq *sakus* “camphor laurel,” Proto-Seediq \*cakus

There are unexpected reflexes of the Proto-Seediq \*c, which are *c* for Paran Seediq and *s* for Truku Seediq, in (1a), (3c–d), and (4a). The Proto-Seediq \*c appeared in PAn \*z, *Z*, and \*D, but not in PAn \*d as far as these sets are concerned. What can be concluded is that PAn \*z, \*Z, and \*D did not necessarily become *d* in Seediq. In the case of the PAn \*zaman, the Proto-Seediq was \*caman instead of \*daman (the expected form according to Ross (2015)).<sup>15</sup> However, it is difficult to reexamine the sound change in the Atayalic subgroup with these small sets of data (e.g., only one set for \*z and \*D). One possibility is that for the PAn \*z, \*Z, and \*D, Proto-Atayalic reflexes were originally some kind of affricates. It later became Proto-Atayal \*d, while Proto-Seediq retained affricates. However, these Seediq affricates might be replaced by *d* in many cases at a later stage, while some might not undergo this change. In Paran Seediq today, these segments that did not undergo the change into *d* still show *c*, and in Truku Seediq, the corresponding segment shows *s*.

In addition, a Seediq word, *tsaman* “morning,” reported in Dahl (1976:58) needs to be corrected in relation to Ross’s (2015) caution to distinguish the PAn \*zaman “morning, tomorrow, daylight” and the PAn \*Zamar “torch, light.” Dahl listed this

<sup>15</sup> Ross (2015:24) considered that the voiced affricate segment, the PAn \*z [dz], had its voiceless counterpart in the PAn \*C [ts]. According to him, the former became the Proto-Atayalic \*d and the latter became the Proto-Atayalic \*c. However, in Atayal, an exceptional correspondence for the PAn \*C was seen in his cognate sets. For the PAn \*CuxuR “thread (needle),” his Proto-Atayalic is \*loho. The PAn \*C is reflected as *l* instead of the expected *c*. This word in Atayal reported as *luhuu* in Egerod (1980:347). There is a possibility that the PAn voiced counterpart \*z had similar exceptional reflexes as *l*. Incidentally, “to eat breakfast” is *kə-lama* in Atayal. *Ke-* is a prefix as this is also seen in *kə-rəyax* “to eat lunch” and *kə-gabi* “to eat dinner”. *Rəyax* means “day” and *gabi* is a historical root for “night” (e.g., the Paran Seediq *rabi* “night”), the part of which survives in *mə-abi* “to sleep” (These Atayal words were provided by Atung Yupas and Sugiy Tosi). It is possible that *lama* is a reflex of PAn \*zaman, if *z* could exceptionally appear as *l* in Atayal. However, the present author is uncertain whether this root originated from an Atayal homonym *lama* “do first” (Egerod 1980:318) or the two meanings were derived from a single word. Similarly, Saisiyat has *kə-həma* “to eat breakfast” (Wolff 2010:850), which is likely to be a cognate with Atayal; however, the PAn \*z became *s* in Proto-Saisiyat according to Ross (2015). At this point, it is uncertain whether these Atayal and Saisiyat words for “to eat breakfast” reflect the PAn \*zaman (The possibility of finding “morning” in the Formosan words for “to eat breakfast” was suggested to the author by Marie Mei-li Yeh.)

Seediq form as evidence for reconstructing the PAn \*damay (i.e, Ross’s \*Zamar). However, this Seediq form is the reflex of the PAn \*zaman as discussed in the foregoing. As its evidence, the PAn \*Zamar is also reflected with different forms in Seediq dialects: the Paran Seediq *cumag-an* “a small-sized torch used when women weave at night” and Truku Seediq *samaw* “light” (3d).

## 6. Summary

This paper presented the proposition that the Proto-Seediq \*caman meant both “morning” and “tomorrow,” by investigating Paran Seediq wordlists for “morning,” “tomorrow,” and “dawn” in documents from approximately a hundred years ago; however, these meanings have diverged into separated meanings in each Seediq dialect today. Paran Seediq retains *caman* as “dawn,” but it is already archaic. Similarly, Tawda Seediq retains *saman* as “morning,” but it is already archaic. Conversely, Truku Seediq shifted its earlier meaning as “morning,” prevalent approximately a hundred years ago, into “tomorrow” in the current usage.

Table 5 shows the list of words in Formosan languages that share the meaning of “morning” and “tomorrow.” The Proto-Seediq is from this paper, while the others are from Ogawa (1939: Appendix) unless otherwise noted in the footnotes. In some cases (Siraya, Saisiyat and Bunun), the root is shared, and the two meanings are differentiated by affixation. Seediq and Siraya words are the reflexes of \*zaman. Others are of different origin. These words of different origins indicate that “morning” and “tomorrow” were an inseparable concept in the early days as Ross (2015) reconstructed the meaning of PAn \*zaman as “morning” and “tomorrow.”

Table 5: “Morning” and tomorrow” in Formosan languages

	Morning	Tomorrow
<b>Proto-Seediq</b>		*caman
<b>Atayal</b> <sup>16</sup>		<i>sasan</i>
<b>Favorlang</b> <sup>17</sup>		<i>mammarro</i>
<b>Saisiyat</b>	<i>ri-rimʔan-an</i>	<i>rimʔ-an</i>
<b>Siraya</b>	<i>ma-dama</i>	<i>u-dama-i</i>
<b>Bunun</b> <sup>18</sup>	<i>laqbiŋ-an</i>	<i>laqbiŋ-in</i>

<sup>16</sup> “Tomorrow” was in Ogawa and Asai (1935: Appendix p.15), while “morning” was in Ogawa (1939: Appendix).

<sup>17</sup> This Favorlang word was taken from Campbell (1896:151).

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<sup>18</sup> This data were taken from Nihira (1988;154)

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## “Morrow” in Seediq

Izumi OCHIAI

Kobe City University of Foreign Studies

### Abstract

This paper discusses Seediq word for “morning/tomorrow” as it was in the distant past and as well as its present form. To arrive at the word in the past, six sources, documented by Japanese scholars about a hundred years ago, are used, which are compared to the present-day Seediq dialects. Then, the Proto-Seediq word for “morning/tomorrow” is reconstructed as \*caman, dating back to Ross’s (2015) Proto-Austronesian \*zaman. Other Formosan languages have the word that means both “morning” and “tomorrow,” suggesting that these concepts were indistinguishable in the early days of Austronesian.

Keywords: historical linguistics, internal reconstruction, Seediq, morning, tomorrow