

**Report on Language Proficiency, Language Use, and Language Attitudes  
Among the Puyuma**

**Greg Huteson**

**SIL International  
2004**

## Contents

### Abstract

### 0 Introduction and Goals

### 1 General Information

- 1.1 Language Classification
- 1.2 Language Location and Dialect Information
- 1.3 Population
  - 1.3.1 Taitung County Population
- 1.4 Village locations
- 1.5 Accessibility and Transportation
  - 1.5.1 Road, rail, and air access
  - 1.5.2 Public transportation
- 1.6 Religious Adherence
- 1.7 Schools/Education
  - 1.7.1 Types, Sites, and Size of Schools
  - 1.7.2 Attitude toward the Vernacular in the Schools
- 1.8 Facilities and Economics
  - 1.8.1 Supply Needs
  - 1.8.2 Medical Needs
  - 1.8.3 Commercial Ventures
  - 1.8.4 Governmental Facilities
- 1.9 Traditional Culture
  - 1.9.1 Origin Myths and History
  - 1.9.2 Social organization
  - 1.9.3 Contact with Other Cultures

### 2 Sociolinguistic Issues

- 2.1 Perceived Proficiency in Puyuma
- 2.2 Perceptions of Language Use
  - 2.2.1 In specific villages
  - 2.2.2 Language promotion
- 2.3 Language Attitudes
- 2.4 Cross-dialect intelligibility
- 2.5 Scripture in Puyuma

### 3 Discussion and Summary

- 3.1 Discussion
- 3.2 Summary
- 3.3 Areas for Further Study

### 4 Recommendations

### References

### Bibliography

- Dictionaries
- Linguistic research
- Primers
- Text collections

## **Abstract**

This report summarizes research on language maintenance and language shift among the Puyuma of Taitung County, Taiwan. The purpose of the research was to ascertain the feasibility of a language development program among the Puyuma. This report makes clear that a language development program would not likely alter the on-going process of language shift. In a process that has spanned the twentieth century, the Puyuma language has receded as the Puyuma people acquired proficiency first in Japanese and Taiwanese and more recently in Mandarin.

## **0 Introduction and Goals**

This is a report on the language situation of Taiwan's Puyuma people.\* An initial trip to the Puyuma area of Taitung County took place in November 2000. A second trip took place in January 2002. Initially a survey of the language motivations of the Puyuma was planned. According to Karan (2000), a relatively small set of motivations determines language choice for bilingual and multilingual individuals. Karan suggests that an investigation of variations in language motivations among subpopulations of a speech community can provide insight into the direction of language shift. Specifically, the language motivations of subpopulations at the forefront of linguistic innovation may be a cogent indicator of future language shift. The intended purpose of the survey was to determine whether the Puyuma could benefit from a language development program.

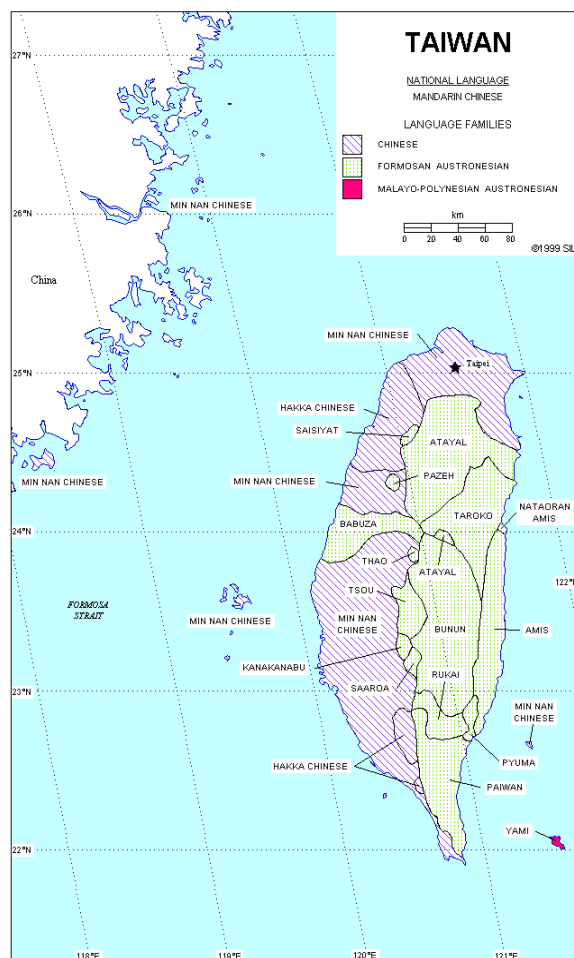
Background research into the Puyuma language situation indicated that most individuals are not fluent in a Puyuma dialect. That research is presented in this report in summary form. Researchers and Puyuma language activists remarked on the limited opportunities for use of Puyuma and the concomitant recession in Puyuma proficiency. The picture that emerged is of retention of proficiency by the elderly and the loss of proficiency by other adults and children. The comments of a handful of individuals on the patterns of language choice in a speech community are not generally regarded as definitive descriptions of the language situation in the speech community. However, comments by independent observers may be suggestive of the general linguistic state of affairs in a speech community, particularly if the comments are similar in content. It was on the basis of the unanimity of descriptions of Puyuma language recession that the decision was made not to proceed with a survey of language motivations of the Puyuma.

## **1 General Information**

### **1.1 Language Classification**

The Puyuma language is classified by the Ethnologue as "Austronesian, Formosan, Paiwanic" (Grimes 2001). Puyuma is one of approximately a dozen Formosan languages that are currently spoken in Taiwan (see map 1).

\*My thanks to the following individuals for their willingness to share their observations of the Puyuma language situation: Josiane Cauquelin; Rev. I-ming, pastor of the Alibai Presbyterian Church; Rev. Wu Chien-ming, pastor of the Nanwang Presbyterian Church; Rev. Hong Hsien-chih, pastor of the Lifulifuke Presbyterian Church; Stacy Fang-ching Teng of Australia National University; and Margaret M. Yan of Indiana University at Bloomington.



**Map 1: Distribution of Formosan languages (from Grimes 2001)**

## 1.2 Language Location and Dialect Information

The Puyuma are located in southeastern Taiwan in Taitung County.<sup>1</sup> A list of Puyuma villages is provided in Section 1.4. There is consensus that the Nanwang and Katipol language varieties are dialects<sup>2</sup> of Puyuma (for Katipol, see Cauquelin 1991, Li 1994:282, Sprenger 1971, 1972), but the number and geographic distribution of other Puyuma dialects is debated. Huang (2000:38) refers to just two dialects: Nanwang and “the outside-Nanwang dialect.” Others refer to four dialects: Chihpen (Katipol), Nanwang, Chienho (Kasabakan), and a fourth dialect encompassing all other Puyuma varieties (Wu Chien-ming personal communication).

Some linguists categorize all Puyuma language varieties other than Nanwang as varieties of Katipol. The Katipol dialect is equivalent to Huang’s “outside-Nanwang dialect” according to this classification. The Puyuma varieties for which there are published lexical or grammatical analyses are Katipol (Sprenger 1971, 1972), Nanwang (Cauquelin 1991a, 1991b, Huang 2000, Tan 1997, Teng 1997, 2000, 2002), Rikavong (Suenari 1969), and Tamalakaw (Tsuchida 1980, 1995). In his reconstruction of proto-Puyuma phonology, Ting (1978) also refers to Kasabakan, Pinaski and Ulibulibuk as Puyuma dialects.

<sup>1</sup>In Taiwan’s governmental system, the island of Taiwan (with the exception of the cities of Taipei and Kaohsiung) is a province under the jurisdiction of the national government. Counties and provincial municipalities are under the jurisdiction of the provincial government. County municipalities, rural townships, and urban townships fall under the purview of county governments. Villages are the highest administrative unit within rural townships. The population of county municipalities and rural and urban township is inclusive of all the individuals who live within the geographic boundaries of the municipality or township, regardless of whether the individual lives within the boundary of a village.

<sup>2</sup>In the literature on Formosan languages it is common practice to translate the Chinese term *fangyan* as ‘dialect’. The term ‘dialect’ in this context does not imply intelligibility.

According to linguists who subsume all Puyuma language varieties under the Nanwang and Katipol dialect labels, the Nanwang dialect area consists of Nanwang *li* ‘neighborhood’, Taitung City and Hsia Pinglang and Paoshang Village, Peinan Township and the Katipol dialect area consisting of Chihpen *li*, Taitung City and most of Peinan Township (Chienho *li*, Lichia Village, Taiping Village, Chulu Village, and Tingyungfeng in Hsiang Pinglang Village) (Cauquelin 1991b). Alternatively, the Nanwang dialect is sometimes defined as the Puyuma variety spoken in Nanwang *li*, Taitung City and the Katipol dialect as the Puyuma variety spoken in Chihpen Township, Taitung County. The Kasabakan variety of Puyuma is spoken in Peinan Township’s Chienho *li*. Pinaski is spoken in Hsia Pinglang, Rikavong in Lichia Village, Tamalakaw in Taiping Village, and Ulibulibuk in Chulu Village. With the exception of the variety of Puyuma spoken in Chihpen, Puyuma language varieties are said to be mutually intelligible despite phonological, lexical, syntactic and morphosyntactic differences.

*Pinuyumayan*, a term coined in 1997 (Chen 2001:3fn), is currently the preferred autonym of the Puyuma people. *Puyuma* is the traditional autonym of the Nanwang speech community. Japanese scholars later applied the term *Puyuma* to the entire ethnic group.

Neighboring languages spoken by the ethnic Han majority are Mandarin, Taiwanese, and Hakka. Neighboring Formosan languages are Amis, Paiwan, and Rukai.

### 1.3 Population

The Puyuma population is 8,791 according to December 2002 figures from the web site of the Council of Indigenous Peoples (formerly the Council of Aboriginal Affairs), Executive Yuan (2002a). In Taiwan an individual’s official ethnicity is the same as that of his or her father.

#### 1.3.1 Taitung County Population

Substantial numbers of Puyuma reside outside of the Puyuma’s traditional area. Recent figures from the Council of Indigenous Peoples (2002b) indicate that the Puyuma population outside of Taitung County is 2,959. In Taitung County, the Puyuma comprise one-third of the Aboriginal population and approximately five percent of the total county population (Taitung County 2002). The Puyuma’s primary places of residence are Paoshang Village and Chienho, Chienye, Chihpen, and Nanwang in Taitung City and Chulu, Lichia, Pinlang and Taian Villages in Taitung County’s Peinan Township. Even in communities in which there are substantial numbers of Puyuma, the Puyuma are a numerical minority.

According to February 2002 figures from the Taitung City Household Registration Office (2002), the “plains aborigine,” populations in the Puyuma communities of Taitung City are as follows: Chienho 728, Chienye 654, Chihpen 362, Nanwang 1,197, and Paoshang Village 246. The term, “plains aborigines,” as it is employed by the government of Taiwan, refers to the Puyuma, Paiwan, and Amis minorities. The Puyuma portion of these population figures was not available. The population of Peinan Township is roughly 29 percent Aboriginal (Taitung County 2002). Puyuma comprise roughly 3 percent of the population of Taitung City and 13 percent of the population of Peinan Township (percentages derived from Taitung County 1998b).

As of February 2003, the “plains aborigines” populations of Puyuma villages in Peinan Township are as follows: Chulu Village 494, Lichia Village 780, Pinlang Village 600, and Taian Village 504 (Taitung County 2003). The plains aboriginal population figures for both Taitung City and Peinan Township should be interpreted in the context of the long-standing practice of residents of Taiwan of retaining household registration in one’s hometown even when one lives away from the hometown for most or even all of the year. The year-round aboriginal populations of these communities are undoubtedly lower than the official figures.

### 1.4 Village locations

Taitung County (台東縣)

Taitung City (台東市)

Chienho (建和里)—Hsia Chienho (下建和), Chienye (建業里), Chihpen (知本里), Nanwang (南王里), Paoshang Village (賓桑村)

Peinan Township (卑南鄉)

Chulu Village (初鹿村), Lichia Village (利嘉村), Pinlang Village (賓朗村)—Hsia Pinlang (下賓朗), Pinlang Village Tingyungfeng (賓朗村頂永豐)—Hsiang Pinlang (上賓朗), Taian Village (泰安村)

## **1.5 Accessibility and Transportation**

### **1.5.1 Road, rail, and air access**

Taitung City is accessible by the East Coast Highway and the South-Cross Island Highway. It is on the eastern and southern lines of the Taiwan rail system. Taitung City is also the site of a domestic airport. Chihpen has a station on the southern line of the Taiwan rail system.

Peinan Township is accessible by Taitung County Highway 197. Two Puyuma villages in Peinan Township are accessible by provincial highways. Lichia Village is accessible from Taitung City via East Coast Highway 45 and Chulu Village is accessible from Hualien-Taitung Highway 9.

### **1.5.2 Public transportation**

Most travel to Taitung City and Peinan Township is by private car. Bus service is provided to Taitung City and to Pinlang Village and Chulu Village in Peinan Township. Taxi service is available between Taitung City and Peinan Township. There are Taitung and Chihpen train stations. Many Puyuma households own a car or van and most adult and older teenage residents own a motor scooter. Most transportation within the Puyuma area is by car or motor scooter.

## **1.6 Religious Adherence**

The following denominations have congregations or cell groups in Puyuma communities: the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (Chulu Village, Lichia Village, Nanwang, Pinlang Village, Pinlang Village Tingyungfeng, and Taian Village) and the Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference (Chihpen).

In recent years weekly attendance at Puyuma Presbyterian churches averaged approximately 10 individuals per congregation. In response to the low numbers, the churches reorganized as a single congregation in 2002 with a cell group in each village where there had formerly been a congregation (Li and Li 2003).

## **1.7 Schools/Education**

In 1896, the Peinan Community Branch Class of the Taitung Japanese Language School was established in Pinan Village by the Japanese authorities. The branch class was the first school specifically for Puyuma students. Peinan and Pinlang were among the communities served by the school. At the end of the Second World War, the Kuomintang government assumed responsibility for the school and renamed it the Nanwang National School. At that time the school enrolled students from Nanwang Village and Peinan Village. When nine years of education became compulsory in 1968, the school changed its name to the Nanwang National Elementary School.

Another Puyuma school established by the Japanese authorities was the Peisi Public School for Savages, which opened in Chulu in 1921. The name of the school was later changed to the Chulu Public School. In 1945, the Kuomintang authorities renamed the school the Chulu National School. The school was again renamed in 1968, becoming the Chulu National Elementary School.

Nanwang National Elementary School established the Pinlang Branch School in 1946 in Lower Pinlang Village. The Pinlang school began operating independently in 1947. The school changed its name to the Pinlang National Elementary School in 1968.

The Chihpen National School established the Chienho Branch School in 1949. In the fall of 1950, the Chienho school became an independent school and changed its name to the Chienho National Elementary School. In 1968, the school was renamed the Chienho National Elementary School.

The elementary school in Taian Village had its origins as the Kangwei Branch Class of the Shian National Elementary School in Taitung's West District. The Taian Branch Class opened in 1955. It was granted independent school status by the provincial government in 1957 and renamed the Taian National School. The name of the school was changed to the Taian National Elementary School in 1968.

The Paoshang National School was established in 1961. In 1968, the school's name was changed to the Paoshang National Elementary School.

Aboriginal enrollment at the Nanwang National Elementary School for the 2002 academic year is 113 or 78 percent of the student population (Taitung County Nanwang Elementary 2003). Aboriginal enrollment at the Chienho National Elementary School in the 2002 academic year was eighty-six, 39 percent of the student population (Taitung County, Peinan Township, Chienho Elementary 2003). There are 255 students currently enrolled at the Chulu National Elementary School (Taitung County, Peinan Township, Chulu Elementary 2003), and one hundred students are currently enrolled at the Lichia National Elementary School (Taitung County, Peinan Township, Lichia Elementary 2003a). More than three hundred students are enrolled at the Paoshang National Elementary School (Taitung County Paoshang Elementary 2003). During the spring semester of the 2001 academic year, 166 students were enrolled at the Pinlang National Elementary School (Taitung County, Peinan Township, Pinlang Elementary

2002). Descriptions of enrollment by ethnic origin were not readily available for these schools. However, it is likely that the number of Aboriginal students at Lichia National Elementary School is in the low sixties, approximately 60 percent of the student population (see Taitung County, Peinan Township, Lichia Elementary 2003b). Current enrollment figures for the Chihpen and Taian elementary schools were not available.

The education levels of Puyuma fifteen years old and above seems to compare favorably with the levels of education found among the general Aboriginal population. According to data from the 2000 census conducted by the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting, and Statistics (DGBAS 2000), 8.2 percent of Taiwan Aborigines have a junior college or above education, 30.0 percent have vocational or senior high school education, and 61.8 percent have junior high school or lower level of education. The respective figures for Puyuma are 9.7 percent with junior college or above education, 33.5 percent with vocational or senior high school education, and 56.7 percent with junior high school or lower level of education. The slight variations in percentages between the Puyuma statistics and overall Aboriginal statistics may not be significant. However, it is worth noting that the Puyuma percentages are markedly lower than the equivalent percentages for the general population of Taiwan. According to the 2000 census, 41.7 percent of Taiwan's 15 and above population had junior high school or lower education and 24.4 percent had a junior college or above education (DGBAS 2000).

### ***1.7.1 Types, Sites, and Size of Schools***

There are elementary schools in the following Puyuma communities in Taitung City: Paoshang Village and in Chienho, Chihpen, and Nanwang. There is a junior high school in Paoshang Village.

Peinan Township has a junior high school. In Puyuma Township there are kindergartens in the Puyuma villages of Chulu, Pinlang, Lichia, and Taian. There are elementary schools in Pinlang, Chulu, and Lichia. Puyuma high school students attend high schools with ethnic Han.

### ***1.7.2 Attitude toward the Vernacular in the Schools***

The national government instituted a Mandarin-only education policy in the 1950s. This policy was gradually discarded beginning in 1989 when newly elected mayors and county magistrates from the Democratic Progressive Party began to actively encourage mother-tongue classes in elementary and junior high schools in their districts.

In the 1998 academic year, the Ministry of Education brought its policy in line with the local development of mother-tongue classes and officially permitted the teaching of elective mother-tongue courses one to two hours per week in the third grade and above of elementary school. In 2001, one hour per week of instruction in the "mother tongue" became a required part of the elementary first through sixth grade and junior high curricula.

In 2001 and 2002, the Council of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) administered aboriginal language proficiency examinations in thirty-seven Formosan language varieties in conjunction with National Chengchi University's Center for Aboriginal Languages. This was an initial step toward providing certification for teachers of aboriginal languages. Some linguists question the validity of the tests as diagnostic instruments for pinpointing prospective mother tongue teachers.

Statistics on the number of individuals who passed the exams on Puyuma varieties are not readily accessible. However, only 4.4 percent of the 1,287 local language teachers certified through the 2001 examination had obtained teaching positions by the fall of 2002 (Huang 2002). This suggests that most individuals who passed the Puyuma exams have not been able to obtain employment as an aboriginal language teacher.

Prior to the inauguration of the language proficiency exams, elderly Puyuma were considered for mother-tongue teaching positions in schools in Puyuma communities. However, most elderly Puyuma are not literate and are not familiar with roman script (Wu Chien-ming personal communication).

## **1.8 Facilities and Economics**

According to statistics from the 2000 census (DGBAS 2000), a third (35.6%) of Puyuma over the age of 15 are unemployed. Slightly more than half of Puyuma over the age of 15 (55.1%) are employed in service industries. Employment opportunities for other Puyumas are divided between the agricultural and industrial sectors (23.6% and 21.4%, respectively).

### ***1.8.1 Supply Needs***

Millet, taro, sweet potatoes, and pigeon peas were traditional food crops (Government Information Office 2002). Venison and wild boar were also staples of the traditional diet. The Puyuma may have cultivated China Grass (white ramie), screw pine, and sesame. Tobacco was a small-scale cash crop during the Japanese era (Davidson 1992).

At present, rice and betel nut are widely cultivated small-scale cash crops. Fruits (apples, cherimoyas, pineapples, plums, peaches, mandarin oranges, kumquats, and bananas) constitute the bulk of the produce currently cultivated by Puyumas or in nearby areas.

Nanwang Puyuma more often purchase foodstuffs and other goods in the central area of Taitung City than in Nanwang. Puyuma farmers depend on Han middlemen rather than a Puyuma cooperative to sell their produce (Chen 2001).

### 1.8.2 Medical Needs

There is a public health office in Peinan Township's Taiping Village. In Taitung City, there are several major public and private hospitals, the most prominent being the Mackay Memorial Hospital, the Taitung Christian Hospital, the Taitung Hospital, and the Taitung Veterans Hospital.

Taiwan implemented a national health insurance program in 1995. The national government began subsidizing monthly national health insurance premiums for Aborigines in 2000.

### 1.8.3 Commercial Ventures

It is widely claimed that few Puyuma are business owners (Wu Chien-ming personal communication). The Chihpen Hot Springs Designated Scenic Area (知本溫泉風景特 定區) and the Chihpen Forest Recreation Area (知本森林遊樂區) are major local employers. The hot springs and the scenic area are the sites of numerous hotels, restaurants, and related tourist facilities.

Among the major employers in Peinan Township are the Taipower Peinan Service Center, the Taiwan Water Supply Corporation water purification plant, the Peinan work station of the Taiwan Taitung Irrigation Association, the Chulu division of the Taitung Area Farmer's Association, the Chihpen work station of the Taiwan Forestry Bureau, and the Taiping Retired Servicemen's Home.

### 1.8.4 Governmental Facilities

There is a community activity center in each village of Peinan Township. The township household registration office is located in Taiping Village. The township is also the site of a branch post office. There is a police station in the township and a police station in Lichia Village. In Puyuma villages, there is a police station in Lichia Village and there are police substations in the Puyuma villages of Chulu and Lichia.

## 1.9 Traditional Culture

### 1.9.1 Origin Myths and History

According to a Puyuma legend, the Puyuma are descended from bamboo and rock totems. Descendants of the bamboo totem comprise the Katipol clan and descendants of the rock comprise the Puyuma clan. The origin myths specify that Ruvuoahan, said to be in the proximity of Meiho Village, Taimali Township, Taitung County, was the place of origin of the Katipol. Panapanayan, in the ocean off of Meiho Village, is said to be the place of origin of the Puyuma. The relation of clans and subclans is indicated in table 1.

**Table 1. Clans and subclans of the Puyuma**

totem/place of origin	clan	Subclan	present-day village
rock/Ruvoahan	Katipol	Katipol	Chihpen li, Chienye li
		Kasavakan	Chienho li
		Likavung	Lichia Village
		Halipai	Pinlang Village
		Vankiu	Mingfeng Village
		Tamalakau	Taian Village
		Murivurivuk	Chulu Village
bamboo/ Panapanayan	Puyuma	Puyuma	Nanwang li
		Pinaski	Pinlang Village
		Apapolo	Paoshang Village

(from Song 1997:69)

Another creation myth credits the origins of the Puyuma to a man and a woman, Unai and Tanval, who burst fully grown from a large rock at the foot of Tuluhan mountain. According to this legend, the Puyuma are descendants

of Unai and Tanval's three sons and three daughters. Descent from siblings is a common feature of the origin myths of Austronesian peoples.

There were eight Puyuma villages during the Ching dynasty: Halipai, Kasavakan, Katatipul, Murivurivuk, Puyuma, Rikavong, Tamalakau, and Vankiu (Puyuma tribes 2000). It is in reference to this historical accident that the Puyuma are still sometimes referred to as the 八村族 'the people of the eight villages'.

During the latter years of Taiwan's administration by the Dutch East Indies Company (ca. 1650–1662), Dutch control extended to thirty-seven villages on Taiwan's southeast coast (Davidson 1992:23). Dutch authority on the southeast coast may have been administered through the Nanwang village chief (Thorne 1997). Under the Ching dynasty's Kanghsi emperor (1662–1723), residents of Nanwang assisted imperial authorities in the suppression of bandits. As reward, the Nanwang village chief was given the title "King of the Puyuma" and granted authority over present-day Taitung County and the southern portion of present-day Hualien County. It may be that this delegation of subordinate authority was little more than a politically palatable means for the Chinese authorities to acknowledge the Nanwang chief's already existing authority in the region.

Subsequent to the Nanwang chief's recognition by imperial authorities, seventy-two Aborigines villages within the Nanwang jurisdiction (Amis, Paiwan, and Rukai villages and other Puyuma villages) paid regular tribute to Nanwang (Cheng 1994:99). The dissipation of this right to tribute was incremental. By the mid-nineteenth century Nanwang's authority was no longer acknowledged by a number of Amis villages (Thorne 1997). Eventually, the Nanwang chief was incorporated into the Ching dynasty's taxation system as a tax farmer with a right to regional taxation. This right was recognized until the reorganization of the tax system by the Japanese colonial administration (Chen 2001:4).

In 1875, an imperial commissioner restructured Taiwan's administrative districts with the intention of strengthening Taiwan's defenses against a perceived military threat from the Japanese. As part of the restructuring, a new subprefecture was created on the southeast coast. The district seat was at Pinan (modern-day Nanwang). A permanent garrison was established at Pinan shortly after Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese in 1895 (Davidson 1992:619). In 1901, the Japanese authorities abolished the prefectural administrative system, a relic of the Ching dynasty, and established administrative districts (*cho*). Taitung was selected as the site for one of the administrative offices.

### 1.9.1.1 *Of Nanwang*

There are a total of four recorded relocations of the Nanwang community (Song 1997, Chen 2001), some undoubtedly mythical, the most recent in 1929 under the Japanese administration. At least one relocation was prompted by the desire to leave a malarial area. The location and village name of each Nanwang settlement along with the dates of the last two migrations are recorded in table 2.

**Table 2. Locations of the Nanwang settlements**

Location	Panapanayan	taŋtoŋan	Panlaŋ	hinan (Peinan)	Sakupeŋ (Nanwang)
Village		taŋtoŋan (Paiuan taŋtoŋan)	Panlaŋ (Panlaŋ Puyuma)	hinan (hinan Puyuma)	Sakupeŋ (Sakupeŋ Puyuma)
Dates				1870~1880—1929	1929—

(from Song 1997:69)

Nanwang Puyuma were forcibly resettled to the community's present site by Japanese authorities in 1929. Nanwang was subsequently designated a boundary-closed settlement; Han Chinese were prohibited from residing in the village. Nanwang was not opened to settlement by Chinese until after Taiwan's retrocession to the Nationalist Chinese government following Japan's defeat in the Second World War. By 1971 Han Chinese constituted the majority of the Nanwang population. According to the Taitung City Household Registration Office, in 2000 the ratio of Han to Puyuma in Nanwang was approximately 62 percent to 38 percent (Chen 2001).

### 1.9.2 *Social organization*

Shepherd (1995:44) notes a historical preference for endogamy among the Puyuma. The Puyuma were traditionally characterized by a matrilineal kinship system.

### 1.9.2.1 *Of Nanwang*

Historically, there were six leading families in the settlement of Nanwang, each associated with a men's house and given charge of a ritual house. The members of each men's house constituted a separate military, political and religious unit. The six leading families, in turn, were divided into two sections, the northern leading families and the southern leading families. Each section had a paramount leading family. The Pasaraad family was the paramount family in the north; the Rarea family was the paramount family in the south. The three leading families of the northern division were said to have been founded by three siblings from Panapanayan, the Puyuma's mythic place of origin. The three leading families in southern Nanwang were said to have originated elsewhere (Chen 2001:4, 5).

### 1.9.3 *Contact with Other Cultures*

Han Chinese did not begin to settle in the area of present-day Taitung County until the mid-nineteenth century. In-migration by Han remained sporadic for decades.

In the final decades of Japan's administration of Taiwan, policies affecting the Puyuma were motivated by disparate concerns. Some of the government's policies seem to have been motivated by a concern for the welfare of the Puyuma (or the authorities' perception of Puyuma welfare) while others were more clearly based on economic considerations. An instance of the former was the implementation of the policy which in 1929 restricted the settlement of Han Chinese in Nanwang. It is likely that the intention of the authorities was relatively benign—the preservation of Nanwang Puyuma culture from outside influence, specifically Chinese influence. The Nanwang policy contrasts markedly with the policy pursued in Chihpen. During the same years, the restriction on settlement in Nanwang was in effect (the 1930s and early 1940s), the Japanese were simultaneously developing the Chihpen hot springs as a tourist destination, primarily for Japanese tourists. The inevitable result of the development was frequent contact between the Chihpen Puyuma and outsiders, both Japanese and Han Chinese.

By 1963, the Puyuma were a numerical minority in each of the traditional Puyuma settlements with the exception of Nanwang. Data from 1963 reveals that in Chienho Village Puyuma were outnumbered by local Han residents 2.5:1.0. They were outnumbered by Han residents 2.8:1.0 in Chihpen. In Lichia Village, the 1963 ratio was 3.1:1.0, in Pinlang Village it was 4.6:1.0, in Chulu Village 4.9:1.0, and in Paoshang Village 25.2:1.0 (see Song 1997:71, 72). By 1971, Puyuma were also a minority in Nanwang. As noted earlier, by 2000 Han residents of Nanwang outnumbered Puyuma residents by a ratio of 1.6:1.0 (see Chen 2001:5). Currently in Taitung County only 14 percent—less than 20,000 individuals—of the population is Austronesian (East Coast National Scenic Administration [199?]). Six ethnic groups, including the Puyuma, are represented in that fourteen percent. Inevitably, for most Puyuma in Taitung County there is daily contact with other Aborigines and with Han Chinese.

Puyuma marriage was traditionally endogamous (between residents of the same village) and uxori-local (the couple resided in the wife's village) (Shepherd 1995). The implications of uxori-local marriage for village population size are described by Shepherd (1995:44).

It is common in uxori-local systems for men to retain important rights and duties in their natal group...By marrying solely within their natal villages, men were able to bridge this distance and retain permanent membership in their age grade sets...[E]ach settlement had to include a sizable portion of non-relatives if men were to find a wife within the village.

In light of the demographic constraints that uxori-local marriage imposed, it is not surprising that as recently as the early 1960s the Puyuma population of each Puyuma settlement other than Paoshang Village was still over five hundred.

Marriage with non-Puyuma has become common in recent decades. Chihpen residents and Paiwan and Rukai frequently intermarry as do Nanwang residents and Amis (LeBar 1975). Ethnically mixed families often reside outside of the Puyuma area. Out-migration is said to be particularly characteristic of families in which the Puyuma spouse is from Nanwang (Wu Chien-ming personal communication).

The Puyuma primarily communicate with people of other ethnicities in Mandarin although some communication with outsiders occurs in Taiwanese or, on the part of those who are 60 and above, in Japanese. Amis and Paiwan who relocate to Puyuma communities are said to learn to speak Puyuma (Wu Chien-ming personal communication) although this may only be true of middle-aged or older Amis and Paiwan.

## 2 Sociolinguistic Issues

### 2.1 Perceived Proficiency in Puyuma

Writing at the beginning of the twentieth century on the sinicization of Taiwan Aboriginal groups, Davidson (1903) remarked that the Puyuma had discarded many traditional customs and some had abandoned the Puyuma

language for Taiwanese. In the opinion of Puyuma church leaders, the Puyuma language is even more endangered than other Formosan languages because of the Puyumas' long history of interaction with Han Chinese (Wu Chien-ming, I-ming personal communication).

Language recession characterized the Puyuma language situation throughout the twentieth century. Both researchers and Puyuma language activists note a correlation between age and Puyuma language proficiency. Puyuma 60 and above are described as fluent in a Puyuma dialect. They are said to possess limited or no proficiency in Mandarin and various levels of proficiency in Japanese. Puyuma in their fifties are described as fluent in Mandarin and as fluent or nearly fluent in a Puyuma dialect. Those Puyuma who are in their forties are described as fluent in Mandarin. The comment was made that "a handful" of individuals in this age set also have limited fluency in a Puyuma dialect. But older Puyuma describe the Puyuma speech of these individuals as error-ridden. For many Puyuma in their forties, Puyuma ability is limited to the production of individual lexical items. There is a consensus that Puyuma in their thirties and younger are fluent in Mandarin and that their Puyuma ability, if they have any, is limited to individual lexical items. Tseng Chien-tsu observed that even in the early 1990s adolescents possessed little or no Puyuma ability (see Cheng 1994:105–106).

Taiwanese is a language variety in the linguistic repertoire of many Puyuma. Puyuma under the age of 60 are said to possess varying degrees of proficiency in Taiwanese. Young people who return to Taitung during school vacations in recent years reportedly speak more Taiwanese than Mandarin (Wu Chien-ming personal communication).

## 2.2 Perceptions of Language Use

There is evidently a correlation between age and use of the Puyuma language just as there is between age and Puyuma proficiency. Puyuma over the age of 60 communicate with their age peers in Puyuma. Japanese loan words are common especially in the speech of those 70 and above. Older Puyuma communicate with younger individuals in Mandarin even if their own Mandarin ability is limited, except if they know their interlocutor speaks Puyuma. Even then they may communicate with the individual in Mandarin.

The language choice of Puyuma in their fifties is said to be determined by the age of their interlocutor. Puyuma in this age set communicate with older individuals in Puyuma but communicate with their age peers and younger Puyuma in Mandarin. They may occasionally greet those of the same age in Puyuma. In general, Puyuma under the age of 50 communicate with all other interlocutors in Mandarin or Taiwanese. Some Puyuma in the decade of their forties are reported to speak Puyuma with elderly relatives. In the 1960s, observers were already noting the Mandarin proficiency of younger Puyuma (Schroder 1967 cited in LeBar 1975). Echoing Davidson's early twentieth century description, Cheng Yan-ching (1994:105) commented in the 1990s on the proficiency of many Puyuma in Taiwanese.

Mandarin is the de facto language choice for Puyuma in the home. The Puyuma language is not being transmitted intergenerationally. Few parents speak Puyuma to their non-adult children. One reason for this is that many parents are unable to speak Puyuma. Grandparents typically communicate with their grandchildren with their modicum of Mandarin or parents act as interpreters. Mandarin is used in the home except when older relatives are present. Spouses in ethnically mixed marriages typically speak Mandarin or Taiwanese with each other and their children.

Some Puyuma reside outside of the Puyuma area for reasons of employment. It is common for children in those households to remain in the Puyuma area and reside with their grandparents. However, it needs to be noted that while this arrangement provides the potential environment for Puyuma language learning, in many cases the grandparents communicate with their grandchildren in Mandarin.

The Puyuma language continues to be used for some functions in the churches. In the Presbyterian church and Presbyterian cell groups, announcements and the sermon are given in Mandarin and translated into Puyuma. Presbyterian churches use a diglot (Puyuma-Mandarin) hymnbook. The language in which hymns are sung is left to individual preference. At the Chihpen Catholic church Father Tseng frequently uses the Katipol Puyuma dialect during Mass.

Puyuma use is geographically determined; the language is rarely spoken outside of the Puyuma area. Puyuma residing outside of Taitung County tend not to live in the proximity of other Puyuma and typically do not meet other Puyuma except during holidays. It is said that when Puyuma meet outside of Taitung County they may exchange greetings in Puyuma, but they communicate in Mandarin.

### 2.2.1 *In specific villages*

#### **Paoshang Village**

Few Paoshang Village Puyuma speak Puyuma (Wu Chien-ming personal communication).

### **Nanwang**

In Nanwang, only Puyuma over the age of 50 speak Puyuma. Those under 50 speak Mandarin and Taiwanese. According to Josiane Cauquelin (personal communication), “[t]he young children go to the school and learn, speak, eat, think in Chinese[;] they can hardly understand their grandparents.”

#### **2.2.2 Language promotion**

The 1980s and early 1990s saw initial efforts at mother tongue promotion. By the early 1980s, Nanwang was holding Puyuma language competitions for children (Josiane Cauquelin personal communication). Other Puyuma communities may have held similar competitions. Toward the end of this period, a teacher by the name of Chan Ah-sin held some Puyuma language classes for children, and Tseng Chien-tsu taught a summer children’s class as well as an evening class for Puyuma adolescents in the Katipol dialect (Cheng 1994; Tseng personal communication). In that this was prior to the Ministry of Education’s revocation of the Mandarin-only education policy, the classes were scheduled outside of school hours. The first classes in the Nanwang dialect were held at the Nanwang elementary school beginning sometime around 1997 (Josiane Cauquelin personal communication), and a textbook was published in the Katipol dialect in 1998.

### **2.3 Language Attitudes**

Age is reported to correlate with language attitudes among the Puyuma. The ability of adolescent and younger adults in the Puyuma language rarely extends beyond knowledge of a few lexical items. They express little interest in learning more of the language than that. One commonly voiced reason relates to the minimal functionality of the language. The Puyuma language is not felt to be useful outside of the Puyuma area. Over the last decade, evening classes in the mother tongue were held for adolescents in both Nanwang and Chihpen. In each instance, the majority of participants withdrew from the class due to lack of interest.

In 1998, the Ministry of Education began to permit mother tongue courses in the older elementary grades. These classes became a required component of the elementary and junior high curricula in 2001. Puyuma parents apparently regard these classes in a generally positive light (Wu Chien-ming, Hong Hsien-chih personal communication). However, despite the favorable attitude toward the classes, few parents speak Puyuma with their children.

Elderly Puyuma, on the one hand, are said to lament the fact that their grandchildren are not able to speak Puyuma. On the other hand, in spite of these expressions of regret about language loss, older Puyuma choose Mandarin as the language of communication with grandchildren. It is the opinion of a handful of language activists that translating the New Testament into Puyuma might result in greater interest in acquiring Puyuma proficiency and perhaps even in language revitalization. However, the individuals who are calling for a Puyuma translation of the New Testament are all males above the age of 50. The linguistic attitudes and interests of these men may not be representative.

### **2.4 Cross-dialect intelligibility**

Differences between Puyuma varieties in the areas of the phonology, the lexicon, and the syntax are invariably described as relatively minor (Schroder 1967:12–13 cited in LeBar 1975; Weingartner 1997:36). The various varieties of Puyuma are reported to be mutually intelligible with the exception of the Katipol dialect (Wu Chien-ming personal communication). In addition, Weingartner (1997:37) notes that less highly educated Puyuma from other Puyuma settlements seem to have trouble understanding the Nanwang dialect. However, Weingartner’s data and perhaps his analysis are suspect since word lists from his two Nanwang language informants are only 56 percent lexically similar and word lists from his two Chihpen language informants are only 63 percent lexically similar.

### **2.5 Scripture in Puyuma**

In the late 1980s, Father John B. Tseng Chien-tsu, a Chihpen Puyuma, translated the Gospel of Mark into the Katipol dialect. The Gospel was published in kanji script in 1990, and Tseng started a class for individuals interested in learning to read Mark in kanji script. There were just three students, all older adults. Due to the apparent lack of interest in the translation, Father Tseng did not proceed further with the translation at that time.

In a November 2000 meeting between Tseng and other Puyuma church leaders, it was agreed that Tseng would transcribe his translation of Mark’s Gospel in roman script. The transcribed chapters were to be distributed to the other church leaders. They, in turn, would check the translation for comprehension and appropriateness. There would be regular meetings for the purpose of revising the translation. Once revisions were completed, five hundred copies of the Gospel were to be published in a trial printing.

### 3 Discussion and Summary

#### 3.1 Discussion

Since the Dutch East Indies Company's administration of Taiwan in the middle decades of the seventeenth century, there has been substantial contact between Puyuma and outsiders and contact has continued largely uninterrupted. The frequency of contact has increased over the course of the last two hundred years as Han Chinese immigrated to the Puyuma area and as the authorities, first the Japanese administration and then the Nationalist government, established government offices and schools in Puyuma communities or in areas contiguous to these communities. The influx of Han settlers correlates with the recession of the Puyuma language and the acquisition by Puyuma of Taiwanese, Japanese, and Mandarin. Puyuma language recession was noted as early as the first decade of the twentieth century.

By 1971, the Puyuma constituted a numerical minority in each of the traditional Puyuma communities. They are outnumbered by a factor of at least two-to-one in all Puyuma community except for Nanwang. This has been the case for the last four decades. Puyuma children constitute less, perhaps substantially less, than four-fifths of the student population in the elementary schools in Lichia Village and in Nanwang. Puyuma children are in the minority in Chulu Village elementary school, and they may be in the minority in schools in other Puyuma villages. Marriage with members of other ethnicities is common, and families in which one spouse is of another ethnic origin often reside outside of the Puyuma area. As for economic interactions, the Puyuma do not feel constrained to restrict their business dealings to other Puyuma. This may simply be due to the fact that there are few business owners among the Puyuma.

The language of choice for most Puyuma is Mandarin. Taiwanese is also widely spoken. The Puyuma language is rarely used outside Taitung County. There is no evidence that Puyuma is being transmitted to the next generation. In fact, the contrary seems to be the case. There are consistent reports that parents and grandparents speak to children in Mandarin and that those middle-aged and younger speak to age peers in Mandarin or Taiwanese.

The last few years have seen the inception of Puyuma mother-tongue courses in local schools. These courses were preceded by a decade or more of intermittent mother-tongue classes outside of the formal educational context. While parents are said to regard these classes favorably, younger Puyuma do not seem highly interested in learning the language. A handful of middle-aged and elderly individuals have expressed interest in literature in the Puyuma language. However, the perspective of these individuals may not reflect that of the wider Puyuma population. The low numbers of attendees at church services in the recent past may reflect a declining interest in the Puyuma language.

A lack of interest in language maintenance supposes a diachronic shift in the language motivations of the Puyuma. That is, the personal benefits of prestige and access to educational and economic opportunities that most Puyuma individuals perceive as accruing to themselves by speaking Mandarin or Taiwanese now appear to outweigh the perception of benefits which would accrue were they to speak Puyuma. Admittedly, this is conjecture since a survey of language motivations was not administered. But if this is the case, it suggests that a reprioritization of language motivations favoring Puyuma over the languages of wider communication would be a prerequisite for any language development program among the Puyuma people.

Puyuma language varieties other than the Katipol variety are described as mutually intelligible. Some speakers may also experience difficulties in comprehending the Nanwang variety.

#### 3.2 Summary

The following factors mitigate the potential benefit of a sustainable language development program for the Puyuma: the Puyuma's minority status even in traditional Puyuma communities, the limited opportunities for Puyuma language use, the limited demographic that continues to possess linguistic competence in Puyuma, and the widespread lack of interest among adolescents and young adults in acquiring proficiency in Puyuma.

#### 3.3 Areas for Further Study

There is an absence of published research on language proficiency, language change, and language recession among the Puyuma. The present study summarizes the observations of language activists and of linguists and anthropologists on the Puyuma language situation. Any studies that shed more light on the sociolinguistic situation of the Puyuma, particularly on matters of language recession and language choice, would be welcome contributions.

### 4 Recommendations

Observations of the language situation among the Puyuma suggests that the Puyuma would not benefit from a language development program. Given the widespread high levels of proficiency in Mandarin, the apparent lack of interest in the acquisition of Puyuma proficiency, the limited number that would benefit from written or recorded

materials in Puyuma (mainly the elderly), and the scant interest in the translated Gospel of Mark, I do not recommend the Puyuma as a language development candidate.

## References

### 中文書目 Chinese references

- 行政院原住民族委員會・2002a・《全國原住民族群人口數統計表》。[Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. 2002a. National population statistics of Aboriginal tribes.] Online. URL: <http://www.apc.gov.tw/aps/9112/aprp5801.htm> January 24, 2003.
- 行政院原住民族委員會・2002b・《全國各縣市原住民族群人口數統計表》。[Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. 2002b. National population statistics of Aboriginal tribes by county and city.] Online. URL: <http://www.apc.gov.tw/aps/9112/aprp5802.htm> January 27, 2003.
- 東部海岸國家風景區管理處・[199?].《台東縣》。[East Coast National Scenic Administration. [199?]. Taitung.] Online. URL: [www.eastcoast-nsa.gov.tw/nature/e\\_tai.html](http://www.eastcoast-nsa.gov.tw/nature/e_tai.html) February 1, 2002.
- 黃美金・2000・《卑南語參考語法》台灣原住民語言，10 台北：遠流。[Huang, Lillian M. 2000. Puyuma reference grammar. Taiwan Austronesian Languages 10. Taipei: Yuan Liou.]
- 宋龍生・1997・《卑南族的社會與文化 下冊》臺灣省文獻委員會編。台灣原住民史料彙編，4 冊。南投市：臺灣省文獻委員會。[Song, Long-sheng. 1997. Puyuma society and culture, book two, ed. by the Historical Records Committee of Taiwan Provincial Government. Collected Works of Historical Sources of Taiwan Aborigines 4. Nantou: Historical Records Committee of Taiwan Provincial Government.]
- 台東市戶政事務所・2002・《台東市九十一年二月底各里總人口數統計表》。[Taitung City Household Registration Office. 2002. Population statistics of Taitung City neighborhoods February 2002.] Online. URL: <http://www.taitung.gov.tw/department/m1/1401.htm> January 27, 2003.
- 台東縣政府・民 1987・卑南鄉建設發展計畫《台東縣綜合發展計畫》。[Taitung County government. 1998a. Peinan Township comprehensive development plan. Taitung County comprehensive development plan.] Online. URL: <http://163.29.101.3:8080/taitungcpis/district/district.htm> March 4, 2003.
- 台東縣政府・1998・《表 6-2-5 台東縣原住民各市鄉鎮族群人口分配百分比》v [Taitung County government. 1998b. Table 6-2-5. The Aboriginal tribes' percentage of the population in Taitung County by city, township, and town.] Online. URL: <http://163.29.101.3:8080/taitungcpis/depart/aborigin/table/abtb-2-5.htm> January 27, 2003.
- 台東縣政府・2002・《台東市人口統計》[Taitung County government. 2002. Taitung City population statistics.] Online. URL: <http://www.taitung.gov.tw/department/m1/1401.htm> January 27, 2003.
- 台東縣政府・2003・《人口統計(92.02)》台東縣卑南鄉戶政事務所。[Taitung County government. 2003. Population statistics (February 2003). Household registration office, Peinan Township, Taitung County. ] Online. URL: <http://www.taitung.gov.tw/peina/indexa.htm> March 12, 2003
- 台東縣南王國民小學・2003・《本校學生人數統計》。[Taitung County, Nanwang National Elementary School. 2003. Student population statistics.] Online. URL: <http://www.nwps.ttct.edu.tw/newpage6.htm> March 14, 2003.
- 台東縣寶桑國民小學・2003・《學生概況》。[Taitung County, Paoshang National Elementary School. 2003. Student situation.] Online. URL: <http://210.240.110.2/index1.htm> March 14, 2003.
- 台東縣卑南鄉建和國民小學・2003・《學生概況》。[Taitung County, Peinan Township, Chienho National Elementary School. 2003. Student situation. Online. URL: [http://www.jhps.ttct.edu.tw/to\\_know/gh08.htm](http://www.jhps.ttct.edu.tw/to_know/gh08.htm) March 14, 2003.
- 台東縣卑南鄉初鹿國民小學・2003・《班級概況》。[Taitung County, Peinan Township, Chulu National Elementary School. 2003. Situation by class and grade.] Online. URL: [http://www.clps.ttct.edu.tw/new\\_page\\_21.htm](http://www.clps.ttct.edu.tw/new_page_21.htm) March 14, 2003
- 台東縣卑南鄉利嘉國民小學・2003a・《學校基本資料》。[Taitung County, Peinan Township, Lichia National Elementary School. 2003a. Basic facts about the school.] Online. URL: <http://www.ljps.ttct.edu.tw/main.htm> March 14, 2003.

台東縣卑南鄉利嘉國民小學・2003b・《學生人數》。[Taitung County, Peinan Township, Lichia National Elementary School. 2003b. Student statistics.] Online. URL: <http://www.ljps.ttct.edu.tw/classroom/6/default.htm> March 14, 2003.

台東縣卑南鄉賓朗國民小學・2002・《九十學年度下學期班級編制及學生數》。[Taitung County, Peinan County, Pinlang National Elementary School. 2003. 1991 second semester grades and classes and student numbers.] Online. URL: <http://www.blps.ttct.edu.tw> March 14, 2003.

丁邦新・1978・〈古南王語的擬測〉《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》。49:321–392 頁 [Ting, Pang-hsin. 1978. Reconstruction of proto-Puyuma phonology. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 49:321–392.]

### English references

Cauquelin, Josiane. 1991b. The Puyuma language. *Bijdragen tot Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde/Journal of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology* 147:17–60.

Chen, Wen-te. 2001. Where are the ancestors from? disputes over ancestral origins among the Puyuma of Taiwan. Paper presented at International Symposium on Austronesian Cultures: Issues Relating to Taiwan, December 8–11, 2001. Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan.

Cheng, Yuan-ching; Hughes, Christopher, trans. 1994. Vansaran—hope of the Puyuma. The struggle for renaissance. *Taiwan's Indigenous Culture II*. Taipei: Sinorama Magazine.

Davidson, James W. 1903. *The island of Formosa past and present: History, peoples, resources, and commercial prospects*. London: Macmillan & Co. Republished in 1992 by SMC Publishing, Taipei.

Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting, and Statistics, Executive Yuan, the Republic of China. 2000. 2000 Population and Housing Census in Taiwan-Fukien Area. Online. URL: [http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/census~n/six/lue5/census\\_p&h&E.HTM](http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/census~n/six/lue5/census_p&h&E.HTM), March 3, 2003.

Government Information Office. 2002. People. The Republic of China yearbook—Taiwan 2002. Online. URL: <http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/yearbook/chpt02-2.htm> January 29, 2003.

Grimes, Barbara F., ed. 2001. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, fourteenth edition. Dallas, TX: SIL International.

Huang, Sandy. 2002. Schools neglect mother tongues. *Taipei Times*, August 14, 2002.

Karan, Mark E. 2000. Motivations: Language vitality assessments using the perceived benefit model of language shift. *Assessing ethnolinguistic vitality: Theory and practice*, 65–77. SIL International Publications in Sociolinguistics 3. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

LeBar, Frank M. Formosa. 1975. Puyuma. In *Ethnic groups of insular Southeast Asia*, ed. by Frank M. LeBar, 2:122–126. New Haven, Connecticut: Human Relations Area File Press.

Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 1994. A syntactic typology of Formosan languages—case markers on nouns and pronouns. *Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium on Chinese Languages and Linguistics*, ed. by Ho and Tseng, 270–289. Symposium Series of the Academia Sinica 2. Taipei: Academia Sinica.

Li, Yi-shin, and Li Hsin-ren. 2003. Economic downturn hits Aboriginal villages hard. *Occasional Bulletin of Taiwan Church News* 20(1):2.

2000. The Puyuma tribes. Online. URL: <http://www.multimania.com/ecolefr/journal/alishan2000/puyuma/puyuma.htm> November 29, 2001

Schroder, Dominik. 1967. The Puyuma of Katipol (Taiwan) and their religion. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 29(30):11–39. National Taiwan University.

Shepherd, John Robert. 1993. *Statecraft and political economy on the Taiwan frontier 1600–1800*. Taipei: SMC Publishing.

Sprenger, Arnold. 1971. *The numerals of the Puyuma language (Katipol dialect)*. *Fu Jen Studies* 4:49–60.

Sprenger, Arnold. 1972. Overt markers in Puyuma (Katipol dialect). In *Papers in Linguistics in Honor of A. A. Hill*, ed. By Charles T. C. Tang, Jeffrey C. H. Tung and Anthony Y. T. Wu, 133–145. Taipei: Rainbow Book Store.

- Suenari, Michio. 1969. A preliminary report on the Puyuma language (Rikavong dialect). *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, Academia Sinica 27:141–164.
- Tan, Cindy Ro-lan. 1997. *A study of Puyuma simple sentences*. M.A. thesis, National Taiwan Normal University. Advisor: Lillian M. Huang.
- Teng, Stacy Fang-ching. 1997. *Complex sentences in Puyuma*. M.A. thesis, National Taiwan Normal University.
- Teng, Stacy Fang-ching. 2000. Nominalization in Puyuma: a preliminary study. Paper presented at the Workshop on Nominalization in Formosan Languages, Oct. 21–22, 2000, Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.
- Teng, Stacy Fang-ching. 2002. Causative constructions in Puyuma. Paper presented at the International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Australia National University.
- Thorne, John F. 1997. Pangcah: The evolution of ethnic identity among urbanizing Pangcah aborigines in Taiwan. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong dissertation. Online. URL: <http://junix.ju.edu/~jthorne/FINLCONT.html> February 19, 1999.
- Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1980. Puyuma (Tamalakaw dialect) vocabulary—with grammatical notes and texts. *Kuroshio Bunka no Ka*, 183–307, ed. by Kuroshio no Minzoku. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten. [Ethnology, cultures and languages along the Black Current, 183–307, ed. by the Black Current Cultures Committee. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University, Department of Foreign Studies.]
- Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1995. Alienable and inalienable distinction in Puyuma. In Paul Jen-kuei Li et al., eds., *Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan*, 793–804. Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 3. Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.
- Weingartner, Fredric F. 1997. *Survey of Taiwan Aboriginal languages*. Taipei: Tien Speech Research.

### French references

- Cauquelin, Josiane. 1991a. *Dictionnaire Puyuma-Francaise. Naskah dan dokumen nusantara textes et documents nousantariens IX*. Paris; Jakarta: École Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.

### Bibliography

#### Dictionaries

- Cauquelin, Josiane. 1991. *Dictionnaire Puyuma-Francaise. Naskah dan dokumen nusantara textes et documents nousantariens IX*. Paris; Jakarta: École Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.
- Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1980. Puyuma (Tamalakaw dialect) vocabulary—with grammatical notes and texts. Kuroshio Bunka no Ka, 183–307, ed. by Kuroshio no Minzoku. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten. [Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1980. Puyuma (Tamalakaw dialect) vocabulary—with grammatical notes and texts. Ethnology, cultures and languages along the Black Current, 183–307, ed. by the Black Current Cultures Committee Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University, Department of Foreign Studies.]
- Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1981. Puyuma-English index (Austronesian languages in Taiwan). *Tokyo University Linguistics Papers* 4:10–63.

### Linguistic research

#### 中文書目 Chinese references

- 黃美金 · 2000 · 《卑南語參考語法》台灣原住民語言，10。台北：遠流。[Huang, Lillian M. 2000. Puyuma reference grammar]. Taiwan Austronesian Languages 10. Taipei: Yuan Liou.]
- 李壬癸 · 1978 · 〈語言的區域特徵〉在《屈萬里先生七秩榮慶論文集》。台北：聯經。[Li, Paul Jen-kuei, 1978. Areal features of languages. Festschrift in honor of Chu Wan-li's 70<sup>th</sup> birthday. Taipei: Linking.]
- 壬癸編審、黃秀敏譯 · 1992 · 《台灣南島語言研究論文日文中譯彙編》。台東：國立台灣史前文化博物館籌備處。[Li, Paul Jen-kuei, ed., Huang Hsiu-min, tr. 1992. Selected papers on Formosan languages by Japanese scholars translated into Chinese. National Museum of Prehistory, Planning Bureau Occasional Publication 3. Taitung: National Museum of Prehistory Planning Bureau.]

- 李壬癸・1995・〈台灣南島語分佈及其民族遷移〉在《第一屆台灣語言國際研討會 論文選集》曹逢甫、蔡美慧編。台北：文鶴，1-16頁。[Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 1995. Distribution of the Formosan languages and migration of the Aboriginal peoples. Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Languages in Taiwan, ed. by Feng-fu Tsao and Mei-hui Tsai, 1-16. Taipei: Crane.]
- 李壬癸・1997・《台灣南島民族的族群與遷徙》。台北：常民文化。[Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 1997. The groupings and migrations of Taiwan's Aboriginal peoples. Taipei: Formosa Folkways.]
- 利格拉樂・阿烏、程士毅・1996・《1997 原住民文化手曆》。台北：常民文化。[Liglav A-wu and Cheng Shi-yi. 1996. 1997 Yuanzhumin culture hand calendar. Taipei: Formosa Folkways.]
- 林英津・1984・〈卑南語音韻系統〉《人類與文化》19：114-130頁。[Lin, Ying-chin. 1984. Phonological analysis of Puyuma. Man and culture 19:114-130.]
- 丁邦新・1978・〈古南王語的擬測〉《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》49：321-392頁。[Ting, Pang-hsin. 1978. Reconstruction of proto-Puyuma phonology. Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology 49:321-392.]

### English references

- Blust, Robert. 1999. Subgrouping, circularity and extinction: Some issues in Austronesian comparative linguistics. Selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, ed. by Elizabeth Zeitoun and Paul Jen-kuei Li, 31-94. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Cauquelin, Josiane. 1991. The Puyuma language. *Bijdragen tot Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde/Journal of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology* 147:17-60.
- Dyen, Isidore. 1971. The Austronesian languages of Formosa. *Current Trends in Linguistics* 8:169-99.
- Ferrell, Raleigh. 1969. *Taiwan aboriginal groups: Problems in cultural and linguistic classification*. Monograph of the Institute of Ethnology 17. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Ferrell, Raleigh. 1979. Construction markers and subgrouping of Formosan languages. *South-East Asian linguistic studies, vol. 3*, ed. by Nguyen Dang Liêm, 199-211. Pacific Linguistics C-45. Canberra: Australia National University.
- Grimes, Barbara F., ed. 2001. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, fourteenth edition. Dallas, TX: SIL International.
- Huang, Lillian M. et. al. 1998. A typological overview of nominal case marking systems of some Formosan languages. In Selected papers from the Second International Symposium on Languages in Taiwan, 21-48. Edited by Shuanfan Huang. Taipei: Crane Publishing.
- Huang, Lillian M. et. al. 1999a. Interrogative constructions in some Formosan languages. In *Chinese languages and linguistics V: Interactions in language*, 639-680. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Huang, Lillian M. et. al. 1999b. A typological study of pronominal systems of Formosan languages. In Selected Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Chinese Languages, ed. by H. Samuel Wang, Feng-fu Tsao, and Chin-fa Lien, 21-48. Hsinchu: National Tsing Hua University.
- Lanyon-Orgill, Peter. 1961. Comparative vocabulary of Formosan languages by Naoyoshi and Erin Asai. *Journal of Austronesian Studies* 2:5-32.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 1997. A syntactic typology of Formosan languages—case markers on nouns and pronouns. *Chinese languages and Chinese linguistics IV: Typological studies of languages in China*, ed. by Chiu-yu Tseng, Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 2001. The dispersal of the Formosan Aborigines in Taiwan. *Language and Linguistics* 2:271-278.
- Mahdi, Waruno. 1996. Another look at proto-Austronesian \*d and \*D Bernd Nothofer, ed., Reconstruction, classification, description—festschrift in honor of Isidore Dyen. 1-14. Abera Network Asia-Pacific 3. Hamburg: Abera.
- Sprenger, Arnold. 1971. The numerals of the Puyuma language (Katipol dialect). *Fu Jen Studies* 4:49-60.

- Sprenger, Arnold. 1972. Overt markers in Puyuma (Katipol dialect). In *Papers in Linguistics in Honor of A. A. Hill*, ed. By Charles T. C. Tang, Jeffrey C. H. Tung and Anthony Y. T. Wu, 133–145. Taipei: Rainbow Book Store.
- Starosta, Stanley. 1988. A grammatical typology of Formosan languages. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 59(2):541–576.
- Starosta, Stanley. 1995. A grammatical subgrouping of Formosan languages. In *Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan*, ed. by Paul Jen-kuei Li, Cheng-hwa Tsang, Dah-an Ho, and Chiu-yu Tseng, 21–55. Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 3. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Starosta, Stanley. 1997. Formosan clause structure: Transitivity, ergativity, and case marking. In *Chinese Languages and Linguistics IV: Typological studies of languages in China*. Symposium series of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 2. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Suenari, Michio. 1969. A preliminary report on the Puyuma language (Rikavong dialect). *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, Academia Sinica 27:141–164.
- Tan, Cindy Ro-lan. 1997. *A study of Puyuma simple sentences*. M.A. thesis, National Taiwan Normal University. Advisor: Lillian M. Huang.
- Teng, Stacy Fang-ching. 1997. *Complex sentences in Puyuma*. M.A. thesis, National Taiwan Normal University.
- Teng, Stacy Fang-ching. 2000. Nominalization in Puyuma: A preliminary study. Paper presented at the Workshop on Nominalization in Formosan Languages, Oct. 21–22, 2000, Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.
- Teng, Stacy Fang-ching. 2002. Causative constructions in Puyuma. Paper presented at the International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Australia National University.
- Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1980. Puyuma (Tamalakaw dialect) vocabulary—with grammatical notes and texts. *Kuroshio Bunka no Ka*, 183–307, ed. by Kuroshio no Minzoku. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten. [Ethnology, cultures and languages along the Black Current, 183–307, ed. by the Black Current Cultures Committee. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University, Department of Foreign Studies.]
- Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1995. Alienable and inalienable distinction in Puyuma. In Paul Jen-kuei Li et al., eds., *Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan*, 793–804. Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 3. Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.
- Weingartner, Fredric F. 1997. *Survey of Taiwan Aboriginal languages*. Taipei: Tien Speech Research.
- Zeitoun, Elizabeth et al. 1996. The temporal, aspectual, and modal systems of some Formosan languages: A typological perspective. *Oceanic Linguistics* 35:21–56.
- Zeitoun, Elizabeth et al. 1999. Existential, possessive, and locative constructions in Formosan languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 38:1–42.
- Zeitoun, Elizabeth. 2000. Notes on a possessive construction in the Formosan languages. *Grammatical analysis: Morphology, syntax and semantics*, ed. by Videia P. De Guzman and Byron Bender, 241–257. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication 29. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

### French references

- Cauquelin, Josiane. 1994. La "langue de esprits" Puyuma (Taiwan). *Cahiers de Litterature Orale* 35:65–83.
- Cauquelin, Josiane. 1998. Le Puyuma. In *Lexique Thematique Plurilingue de trente-six langues et dialectes d'Asie du Sud-Est insulaire*, ed. by Laboratoire Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Austronesien. Paris: L'Harmattan, coll. Recherches Asiatiques. Participation aux 904 fiches thematiques.
- Cauquelin, Josiane. in preparation. Paroles d'oiseaux a Puyuma (Taiwan). In *Les Oiseaux en Asie du Sud-Est, esthetique et symbolique*, sous la direction de P. Le Roux.

### German references

- Quack, Anton. ed. 1981. Das Wort der Alten: Erzählungen zur Geschichte der Pujuma von Katipol (Taiwan). Gesammelt von Dominik Schroder und P. Veil. [The word of the elderly: Stories of the history of the Katipol

Puyuma, comp. with Dominik Schröder and P. Veil.] *Collectanea Instituti Anthropos* 12. St. Augustin: Haus Völker und Kulturen: Anthropos- Institut.

### Japanese references

Teikoku Gakushiin. 1941. *Takasagozoku kanshuho goi* [Dictionary of clothing of Formosan Aborigines]. Tokyo: Academie Imperiale.

Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1979. A miscellany of Puyuma research. *New way of the sea*, ed. by Kuroshio no Minzoku. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten. [ed. by the Black Current Cultures Committee. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University, Department of Foreign Studies.]

### Primers

李英、林志興 (agilasay)、孫大川・1998・《卑南族語言文化教材(知本班)》。[台北]：國立台灣師範大學成人教育研究中心。[Li, Ying, Lin Jyh-Shing (agilasay), and Sun Ta-chuan, eds. 1998. Puyuma language and culture teaching material: Chihpen class. [Taipei]: National Taiwan Normal University Research Center for Adult Education].

鄭玉妹主編・民 84・《卑南語學習手冊 1 冊》國小鄉土語言教材。台中：台灣省教育廳。[Cheng, Yu-mei, ed.1995. Puyuma language handbook, 1. Elementary rural language teaching materials. Taichung: Taiwan Provincial Department of Education.]

鄭玉妹・民 86?・《卑南族語 1~3 冊》國小鄉土語言教材。台北：教育部。[Cheng, Yu-mei. 1997?. Language of the Puyuma people, 1-3. Elementary rural language teaching materials. Taipei: Ministry of Education.

曾建次・1994・《卑南語(知本語系)》。台東：台東市知本天主堂。[Tseng, Chien-tsu. 1994. Puyuma language (Chihpen variety). Taitung: Chihpen, Taitung Catholic Church.]

### Text collections

金榮華・1989・〈台東卑南族口傳文學選〉。台北：中國文化大學中國文學研究所。[Chin, Rung-hua. 1989. Literary selections from legends of the Puyuma tribe of Taitung. Taipei: Chinese Culture University dissertation.]

林志興故事採集、文魯彬英譯・民 91・《卑南族：神秘的月形石柱》。台北：新自然主義。[Lin, Jyh-Shing, coll., Robin J. Winkler, tr. 2002. Mysterious crescents: stories from the Puyuma tribe. Taipei: Third Nature.]

Ogawa, Naoyoshi and Erin Asai. 1935. Taiwan takasagozoku densetsu-she [The myths and traditions of the Formosan native tribes (texts and notes)], 299-323. Taihoku [Taipei]: Institute of Linguistics, Taihoku Imperial University.

宋龍生・1998・《卑南族神話傳說故事集:南王祖先的話》台灣原住民史料彙編, 6。南投市：臺灣省文獻委員會。[Song, Long-sheng. 1998. Puyuma myths and legends: the words of the ancestors of Nanwang. Collected Works of Historical Sources of Taiwan Aborigines, 6. Nantou: Historical Records Committee of Taiwan Provincial Government.]

曾建次編・1993・〈卑南族知本部落口傳歷史及神話傳說(上)〉《山海文化雙月刊》1: 138 - 145。[Tseng, Chien-tsu. 1993. Traditions and myths of the Katipol tribe of the Puyuma. Part 1. Taiwan Indigenous Voice 1.138-146.]

曾建次・1994a・〈卑南族知本部落口傳歷史及神話傳說(下)〉《山海文化雙月刊》2: 142 - 148。[Tseng, Chien-tsu. 1994a. Traditions and myths of the Katipol tribe of the Puyuma. Part 2. Taiwan Indigenous Voice 2:142-149]

曾建次・1994b・〈卑南族神話傳說中的人與自然--兼原住民之文化調摘〉《山海文化雙月刊》6: 88 - 89。[Tseng, Chien-tsu. 1994b. Man and nature in the myths of the Puyuma, with a summary of research on Aboriginal culture. Taiwan Indigenous Voice 6.88-89.]