

INSTITUTE OF HISTORY AND PHILOLOGY
ACADEMIA SINICA

Special Publications No. 64-2

RUKAI TEXTS

by

Paul Jen-kuei Li

Nankang, Taipei, Taiwan, ROC

1975

Preface

This book is to go with the analysis given in Rukai Structure appeared as a special publication of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica but presents far more data and complex structures than were handled in the previous publication. A third volume, Rukai Dictionary is in preparation and will appear hopefully in the near future.

These texts were collected in T'aitung, Taiwan, --in the village of Tanan. The Rukai tribe there is known as Taromak. They were collected off and on during the periods: July 16--August 14, September 24--October 24, and December 15-26, 1970, March 5-18, April 27--May 16, and August 17-23, 1971 by the investigator. All the texts are presented in the chronological order as they were originally collected. Except for the first text, all were taped, interpreted and transcribed in the field. The final check-up of the texts was made with the assistance of my main informant Te-tz'u Lin in the village March 21-28, 1975. We went over all the texts and made all the necessary corrections together. Mr. Lin had put in an enormous amount of time and effort in revising these texts. He deserves our greatest gratitude.

The footnotes after each text are miscellaneous: they give references to the analyses in Rukai Structure, provide further examples to illustrate the usage of a particular lexical item, comparison of various forms of the same stem in different syntactic structures, derivation, synonyms, pronunciation, underlying phonemic representations, unsettled problems, etc. The notes are somewhat repetitive, particularly those on affixes and derivation.

The texts are given in structural ("taxonomic" in Chomsky's term) phonemic transcription, not the systematic phonemic transcription as the sentence examples given in Rukai Structure. There is always a problem of how abstract phonology can be. A

transcription with more phonetic realities will leave more room for new interpretations. In the texts the vowel o is used instead of u. Vowel length is indicated by the symbol :, e.g., i:, a:, ɨ: and o: rather than ii, aa, ɨɨ and uu as in Rukai Structure. Echo vowels are not represented in the transcription except those that become semiconsonants w and ɨ when followed by the suffix -ini. The semiconsonants y and w are used instead of i and o when followed by vowels. Much to our regret, the transcription has not been completely regularized in these respects: (1) word boundary, (2) long vs. short vowels, and (3) the vowels i and o vs. the semiconsonants y and w respectively.

In addition to the eight phonological rules presented in Rukai Structure, p.63, at least one such rule can be added: If a lexical item is in the canonical form CVCVCV(C)(V)(C), the second vowel is generally deleted in rapid or even normal speech, e.g., /ritisan/ > [rɨtsa] 'relative,' /laritisan/ > [lartɨsa] 'relatives' (see Text II, Note 20), /?asodaLo/ > [?asdaLo] 'to invite.'

Rukai has been a little better understood since the publication of Rukai Structure two years ago. The following are noticeable:

(1) When the short personal pronouns do occur before the verb stem, they have different meanings from that when they follow the verb stem as they would normally do. Cf. Labwabwal-so 'are you running?' vs. so Labwabwal 'why are you running?' wakani-ta 'we ate' vs. ta kani 'let's eat,' davac-ako 'I leave' vs. naw davac 'I must leave' (note the difference in the first personal pronouns in different positions).

(2) The ma- form is stative all right, but the ka- form is not necessarily inchoative (see Li 1973, §5.1.1). Actually the ka- form is the active form from which many other verbs may be derived. This is particularly revealing when compared with the m- ~ ?- alternation, e.g., mikakoa ~ ?ikakoa 'how?' in which the ?- form is the active.

(3) The tense markers wa-, -a-, and a- indicate not only the 'past' tense, but also the 'actual present.' The three way distinction (present-past-future) in tense is not very well justified. Perhaps the dichotomy between 'future' vs. 'non-future' can better account for the tense system of Rukai.

All the Rukai forms are underlined, and given both word-by-word translation and free translation in English. The word-by-word translation is generally brief, incomplete, and mostly only for content words. In the free translation the English words that are necessary in the translation but have no counterpart in the original text are put in parentheses.

Texts I--XXVI record the natural daily spoken language of Taromak, the Tanan dialect of Rukai. Appendix I records four songs of the Budai dialect of Rukai with notes. Appendices II--IV list the important grammatical forms for reference to the Texts. Appendix V is the sound system of Rukai. The last three appendices are taken from Rukai Structure with slight modifications.

These texts may be of interest not only to linguists but also to ethnologists. Many Rukai 'myths and traditions' are recorded for the first time in this volume, although different versions of Texts IV, VIII, XI and XXI with Japanese translation are available in Ogawa and Asai (1935).

I am grateful to the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, for sponsoring the Formosan Project, to China Council on Sino-American Cooperation in Humanities and Social Sciences for subsidy and field expenses, and to the National Science Council for a grant to publish these texts.

I wish to thank Professors Fang-Kuei Li, Chi Li, Yih-yuan Li, Pang-hsin Ting, and Stanley Starosta for initiating the research work on the native Formosan language.

Thanks are naturally also due to the kind people in the Tanan village, especially Te-tz'u Lin and Fu-shou Wang, who gave generously of their time and assistance in various ways in the collection of all these texts.

Miss Hsiu-yün Ch'en not only painstakingly typed up the final copy of the texts, but also detected some errors in the earlier manuscripts. My wife Louise Hsin-ling Wang did the proof-reading for both the previous publication Rukai Structure and the present one. Our poor son Hsia-hsin had to stay away with his grandparents when we were busy with these texts.

Paul Jen-kuei Li

Taipei, Taiwan

June 1975

I. kwaniṅa Likolaw¹
there leopard

The Leopard Has Come

- (1) aytomawladako² kayasa.
I'll tell story now

I shall tell a story now.

- (2) yakai³ ka cikicikil.⁴
exist family

There was a family.

- (3) yakai ka taDosa⁵ ka lavalak.⁶
exist two children

There were two children.

- (4) ko⁷ tinalini⁸ ka, "lamataka,⁹ anDakala¹⁰ si la¹¹ wa
their mother brothers get up and then go
ṽaorikani¹² ki boṽaṽta," la ya.¹³
tend our sheep so

Their mother said, "Boys, get up and go tend our sheep."

- (5) si kwaDa¹⁴ lamataka la anDakal sa¹⁵ amyaL+aLi.
and those brothers get up when morning

Then those brothers got up in the morning.

- (6) sa anDakal kwaDa lamataka, la aLa iDa¹⁶ boṽaṽlini.
when get up those brothers then take those their sheep

When the brothers got up, they took the sheep of theirs.

- (7) kwaDa boṽaṽlini ka yakai ka taLima.
those their sheep exist five

They had five sheep. (Those sheep of theirs were five)

Text I

- (8) la aLa mailok.¹⁷
take bring

They took the sheep.

- (9) i:lok¹⁸ si.
bring and

They were taking the sheep along.

- (10) la sa adidi:θŋa,¹⁹ ki:la iDa omaoma ka la ikai ka taloD.
when near come that field exist bridge

When coming close to the field there was a bridge.

- (11) si layantalOD²⁰ kwaDa lamataka.
and to cross bridge those brothers

And the brothers were to cross the bridge.

- (12) la aswalalana antaloD iDa maDaDawŋa²¹ iDa bo?a?.
precede cross bridge the biggest the sheep

They let the biggest sheep go over the bridge first.

- (13) la satid iDa tani si la kaynany syoLi si la wa
take over that one and return return go
maLamaLa iDa mwa sakaDosa.²²
take go second

They took over a sheep and then returned to take the second.

- (14) sa abibiLilŋa kwaDa lamataka la tara arabŋa.
When last those brothers both held

At last, the brothers each held a sheep in his arms.

- (15) si la davac si la wa antaloDŋa.
and walk and go cross bridge

They walked and went to go over the bridge already.

- (16) la ci:l ?a?obilŋ²³ si, "yoata ino?" la ya ma?ilaila
look up and we'll go where so discuss

kwaDa lamataka si.
those brothers and

They looked upwards, "Where shall we go?" the brothers discussed.

- (17) "tawanta²⁴ ?aorikani koða: iDa θi:l," la ya kwaDa
let's go tend sheep yesterday there nearby so that
takataka.
elder

"Let's go to nearby the place where we tended the sheep yesterday," the elder said.

- (18) la davac mwa adonjon iDa takataka.
walk go follow that brother

They went there, following what the elder brother said.

- (19) la davac mwa iDa atawanlini.
walk go that their place of going

They went to the place where they were going to go.

- (20) la ikai ?aorikakani si.
stay tend the sheep and

They kept tending the sheep.

- (21) sa ikai ?aorikakani omaoma ka, la makakawrivariva lamataka
when stay tend sheep field talk brothers
macacavacava si.
laugh and

When they were tending the sheep in the field, the brothers kept talking and laughing.

- (22) la ?atwanaw hwavoLol²⁵ kwaDa lamataka.
suddenly cheat those brothers

Those brothers suddenly lied.

Text I

- (23) "000.... kwanina²⁶ Likolaw ki:laki:lana kwaDa tarakanikani²⁷
Oh has come leopard coming that eater

iDa bo?a?," la ya.
that sheep

"Oh! The leopard is coming, the one that always eats sheep."

- (24) "000.... kwanina Likolaw. aykani mita," la ya kwaDa
Oh there leopard will eat us that

takataka.
elder

"Oh! The leopard that has come. It will eat us," the elder brother cried.

- (25) "000.... kwanina Likolaw. aykani mita," la ya kwaDa
Oh there leopard will eat us said that

agiagi.
younger

"Oh! The leopard has come. It will eat us," the younger brother cried.

- (26) si la kilaLa kwaDa twaLavaLavay kwaDa tarwarDana²⁸
and hear those working those adults

anya@aLinol.
nearby

Then those adults working nearby heard it.

- (27) lo kilaLa iDa wakawkawkaw, yakai kaway Dada. "000....,"
when hear that shouting exist there above Oh

ikai myamya si.
stay so and

When they listened to the shout, there was above there,

"Oh!".

- (28) kwaDa twaLavaLavay ricin iDa pitaw si la papitawpitaw si
those working hold that hoe and dig with hoe and

la sarar iDa pitawlini si davac Lwabwal mwa ci:l iDa
 put down that their hoe and go run go see those
lavalak.
children

Those who were working and hoeing by holding the hoes put down their hoes and went running to see the children.

- (29) "lo si kikanikani²⁹ sa³⁰ Likolaw," la ya si kirarokoD
 if and be eaten a leopard so and hurry

moDaDaDa ci:l.
 climb see

"Maybe they are being eaten up by the leopard," they said and climbed hurriedly to see what was up.

- (30) sa wana ka la ikai kwaDa lamataka.
 when go exist those brothers

When they got there, the brothers were still there.

- (31) la ci:l si anibwabwal ka tarwarDana ka kisan ki:laki:la
 see and showing up adults trying coming

linya si.
 them then

The children saw the men showing up and trying to get to them.

- (32) "ha ha ha," la ya macacava.
 ha ha ha laughing

"Ha, ha, ha!" they were laughing like that.

- (33) "watomannomi ka lamataka si macicavacava? la ino kwaDa
 you do brothers and laughing where that

Likolaw yanomi?" la ya kwaDa tarwarDana si.
 leopard your those adults then

"Why are you brothers laughing? Where is the leopard?" the men asked.

Text I

- (34) "ha ha ha. kaDwa. davacna," la ya si.³¹
ha ha ha not have left and

"Ha, ha, ha! None. Left already," they said.

- (35) kwaDa tarwarDana, magi:moc³² linya taDosa.
those adults very angry them two

Those men were very mad at the two boys.

- (36) "sika myanomi kikay kahavovoLol ?akaLinaw ka lavalak.
indeed you so this cheat excessive children

"You children went too far as to fool us like this.

- (37) la ci:la kwnai ka twaLavaLavay yakai LaoD ricin sa pitaw
see we work at below hold hoe

si papitapitawnai si.
then we hoeing

Look! We were working down there. We were hoeing by holding the hoes.

- (38) la kilaLanai nomya si kawkaw 'kwanina Likolaw aykani
we hear you then shouting come leopard will eat

naya' amyanomi kawkaw si, la ki:lanai Lwabwal si.
us you so cry then past we come run then

We heard you crying, 'The leopard has come. It will eat us,' you cried, then we came running.

- (39) sika ya kaynami hwavovoLol," la ya kwaDa tarwarDana.
really so this you cheat those adults

But then you were really cheating," said the men.

- (40) kagimoc³³ si la davac syoLi.
angry and walk back

Then they got angry and then went back.

- (41) kwaDa lavalak taDosa la amyawaobna laydavac mobaLiwna.³⁴
those children two evening walk go home

Those two children went home in the evening.

- (42) la mobaLiw si kwaDa bo?a?lini la aLa ilok ?obaLiw.³⁵
go home those their sheep take bring take home

They went home with their sheep.

- (43) sa maoŋ la a?ic si.
when night sleep then

At night, they slept.

- (44) sa amyaLiLaLi la anDakal.
when morning get up

In the morning, they got up.

- (45) ko tinalini ka, "lamataka, kwana inya aga si la wa
their mother brothers eat that meal then go

?aorikani ina labo?a?ta" la ya.
tend those our sheep

Their mother said, "Boys, eat the meal and go tend our sheep."

- (46) la anDakal kwaDa lamataka sa amyaLiLaLi la aLa iDa
get up those brothers morning take those

bo?a?lini si "tawa tawanta koða:," la ya kwaDa
their sheep we go where we went yesterday those

lamataka.
brothers

The brothers got up in the morning, taking their sheep,
"Let's go to the place where we went yesterday," said the brothers.

- (47) la mwa tawanlini koða: si.
go their place yesterday then

They went to where they had been the day before.

Text I

- (48) sa wana sa aana yakai ?aorikakani si la ?atititina
when go when next day stay tending then really

ki:la kwaDa Likolaw siniDaDaDada twalay kaway LigLig
come that leopard from above from extreme mountain

kaynanay si ?a?oLaoLaoD.
come towards below

When they were already there the next day tending the sheep,
the leopard really came down to them below from above far
away from the mountain.

- (49) kwaDa lamataka la kaθaθibor mya iDa si.
those brothers anxious like that and

The brothers then got anxious.

- (50) "OOO.... kayvay Likolaw ?atititina ki:laki:lan."
Oh this leopard really come already

"Oh! the leopard has really come!"

- (51) OOO.... la ya kawkawkaw si.
Oh cry and

"Oh!" they were crying.

- (52) la kwaDa lamataka kirarokoD mobiliŋ iDa anato si ki:la
that brothers hurry up that tree then come

kaway biliŋ la ci:l ?a?odaida si kikanikani kwaDa
there high see towards ground then be eaten those

bo?a?lini.
their sheep

The brothers hurriedly climbed up the very top of the tree,
looking down below at the sheep that were being eaten.

- (53) la ikai biliŋ iciLib mokoLod iDa Likolaw amani lo
at above silent fear that leopard be if

kiθinalnai mya.
we be found so

They kept quiet for fear that the leopard might find that they were staying above.

- (54) sa ikai b!l!ŋ la kwaDa Likolaw la kan! iDa bo?a?lini.
when stay above that leopard eat those their sheep

When they were staying above, the leopard ate their sheep.

- (55) sa kabocokŋa la davac kwaDa Likolaw.
when full walk that leopard

When the leopard was full, he walked away.

- (56) kwaDa lamataka la kawkawaw ?!la, "OOO.... kwaDa bo?a?nai
those brothers crying again that our sheep

kyakan!, la ya si.
were eaten so and

The brothers were crying again, "Oh! Those sheep of ours were eaten," they cried.

- (57) sa kawkawŋa ?!la ka kwaDa tarwarDaŋa kyalaLa.
when cry again that adults hear

When they cried again, the men heard them.

- (58) kwaDa twaLavaLavay pwapitapitaw an@aLiŋol si.
those working hoeing nearby

Those men were working and hoeing in the neighborhood.

- (59) la: kwaDa tarwarDaŋa kaDwa kyaomawŋa ki?awt!, "mya ko@a:
those adults not willing believe like yesterday

mahavovoLol.
cheat

They didn't want to believe it, "Like yesterday they are cheating.

- (60) kwani lamataka kawkaw inya, 'OOO.... kwaniŋa Likolaw' amya
those brothers cry- that Oh come leopard like

Text I

si, la mwanai si kaDwa.
then we go but not have

The brothers cried, 'Oh, the leopard has come,' like that.

We went there, but there was nothing.

(61) mahavoLovoLol kwani lavalak kawkawkaw cosacosa," la ya.
cheating those children crying no reason

Those cheating children are shouting for no cause," they said.

(62) sika ?atĩnatĩŋa kikani kwaDa bo?a?lini.
fact really be eaten that their sheep

In fact, their sheep were really eaten.

(63) la kayŋanayŋa mobaLiw.
come go home

They went home.

(64) sa amyaobŋa la mobaLiwŋa.
when evening go home

They went home in the evening.

(65) sa mobaLibaLiw ka takwa³⁶ tobitobi si davadavac.
when going home while crying walking

When they were going home, they were crying and walking.

(66) la kawriva ki tinalini, "sa ?aorikakanĩnai la kĩ:la
tell their mother when we tend then come

ka Likolaw kwani iDa yata ka bo?a?.
leopard eat those our sheep

They told their mother, "When we were tending the sheep, the leopard came to eat our sheep.

(67) la kawkawkawnai si.
we cry and

We were shouting (for help).

- (68) la kwaDa aniθaLiŋol kwaDa tarwarDaŋa kaDwa ki:la ka na
that nearby that adults not come
taŋiŋa, la ya si tobitobi kawriva ki tinalini si
a person so and crying tell their mother and
tamalini.
their father

But none of the men working in the neighborhood came (to help us)," they said and were crying while they told their mother and father.

- (69) tamalini si tinalini la rivo iDa lavalak,
their father and their mother scold those children
"watomatomannomi si ?akikanikani³⁷ ?akai iDa," la ya.
you doing and make eaten at there

The parents scolded the children, "What were you doing that they were eaten there?" they said.

- (70) kwaDa lavalak mahavovoLol.
those children cheat

The children cheated.

- (71) la ki?ilaila iDa sa?agiagislini iDa taikaianlini
ask those their neighbors those their staying
omaoma si.
hill and

The parents asked their neighbors who had stayed in the field.

- (72) "laytoma kwawkawkaw cosacosa kay lavalaknomi
would do crying no reason these your children
mahavovoLol la mwanai ci:l si kawkawkwaw ?akiLakiLakiLaw.
cheat then we go look then crying deceiving

"Of course, these kids were shouting for no reason. They

Text I

fooled us. We went to see (what had happened) but they were not serious about shouting.

- (73) kwanija Likolaw anya si amwanai si kaDwa, aymayma
has come leopard so and we go and not have immediately
macacava naya.
laugh us

They said, 'The leopard has come,' so we went there, but there wasn't any, and they laughed at us as soon as we got there.

- (74) layki?aitita linya lavalak?" la ya kwaDa tarwarDaŋa kawriwa
we believe those children so those adults say
si.
then

How could we believe those kids?" said the men.

- (75) kayvay mawlay ?akɪ:la ikay.
this story end here

The story ends here.

Footnotes to Text I

¹This text was recorded by Samian (Mrs. Ch'ing-hsiang Ch'en Wang 陳清香) and interpreted by Mr. Kao-shang Wang 王高尙 (aged 21 in 1970) in August 1970. It is an adaptation of a western story in Rukai. Since there is no Rukai word for 'wolf', the word for 'leopard' has been used to substitute it.

²The form ay-to-mawlađ-ako 'future-tell-story-I' has the future tense marker ay-, verbalizer to-, and the personal subject marker -ako. (The hyphen in a word indicates the morpheme boundary.)

³This is an existential sentence with the existential verb y-a-kai which contains the past tense marker -a-. After an existential verb, the noun is always preceded by the accusative indefinite non-specific article ka; see Li 1973:178-82.

⁴Cf. the form cikil 'village' and the reduplicated ciki-cikil 'family'.

⁵The form ta-Dosa 'two people' contains the human and animal marker ta- and the numeral Dosa 'two'.

⁶The form la-valak contains the plural marker la- and the bound stem -valak 'child', which happens to have lost in the Tanan dialect of Rukai; see Li 1973:11, n.1. Younger speakers say lavalak while older speakers say lavavalak for the term 'children' in Tanan.

⁷The particle ko is the nominative personal definite article. Its accusative counterpart is ki.

⁸The form t-ina-l-ini 'person-mother-plural-one's' has lost the vowel a in the two affixes t(a)- and -l(a)-; see Li 1973:56.

⁹The form la-ma-taka 'siblings' contains the plural marker la- and dual ma- for people and the bound stem -taka 'elder', which may occur as taka-taka 'elder brother or sister', taka-li 'my elder brother or sister'. The bound stem -agi also behaves in the similar manner, but there is no such form *lamaagi. In other words, -taka is a neutral term.

¹⁰The form an-Dakal-a 'Get up!' contains the prefix ani- 'to go across or along' with the vowel i optionally omitted and the imperative suffix -a. Cf. the transitive form Dakal 'to prop up' in 4-105 (hereafter, the number on the left side of the hyphen indicates the text number and that on the right indicates the sentence number).

Footnotes to Text I

¹¹The form la 'then' is a conjunctive that occurs at the beginning of a clause. The verb immediately following it is normally nonfinite, i.e. no tense marker or m- prefix for the verb. The conjunctive la is to be distinguished from the exclamation la:.

¹²The form ?a-ori-kani 'tend' contains the causative prefix ?a- and the stem kani 'to eat'.

¹³The items la ya that literally means 'then so' can be translated as 'said'. They always occur after the quotation for direct speech. Cf. the form a-m-ya 'was so' that has the similar function but for indirect speech; see Li 1973:132-33.

¹⁴The form kwaDa /ko-aDa/ (hereafter the slashes indicate the underlying phonemic representation) is a remote indefinite nominative demonstrative; see Li 1973, §4.2.2.

¹⁵The form sa 'when, during, in', a time word, is to be distinguished from the homophonous indefinite specific article sa.

¹⁶The form iDa /iDa-a/ is a remote indefinite accusative demonstrative.

¹⁷The verbal prefix ma- indicates the action of two people. Cf. the nominal prefix ma- as in ma-tama 'father and son' < tama 'father' (4-14).

¹⁸The long vowel indicates a continuous action. Cf. n.19 below.

¹⁹The reduplication of the stem also indicates a continuous action in the form a-di-di:θ-ŋa 'to be getting close already'. The suffix -ŋa indicates completive. The prefix a- seems to indicate a duration of time, cf. sa a-myaLiLi 'in the morning' in (45) and (47) below.

²⁰The prefix lay- 'would' seems to be a combination of la 'then' and ay- 'future'.

²¹Cf. the form ma-Daw 'big' and ara-ma-Daw 'bigger'.

²²The stem Dosa 'two' may take the prefix saka- and mean 'second, spouse'.

²³In the form ?a?o-biliŋ 'towards high, upwards' the prefix ?a?o- indicates the direction; cf. also the other items with the same prefix in 1-49, 53; 4-75.

²⁴The form tawanta /ta-wa-an-ta/ contains the affixes ta-...-an 'place', -ta 'we, our' and the stem -wa 'to go'.

²⁵The form ?atwanaw 'start, suddenly' in the sentence is a verb immediately followed by an embedded verb h/w/avoLol 'to cheat' with the infix w /u/ (hereafter an infix is indicated by the slashes // within the word); see Li 1973:225.

²⁶The form kwanina /ko-ani-na/ 'has come' literally means 'there already'.

²⁷The prefixes ta-ra- + V means 'agentive, a person specialized in...', e.g. tara-bava 'drunkard' < bava 'wine', taralo? 'hunter' < alo? 'to hunt'.

²⁸Cf. the form ma-roDaŋ 'old'. The reduplication of the stem in ta-rwa-roDaŋ-a 'adults, old men' indicates plurality.

²⁹The verbal prefix ki- indicates passive.

³⁰The particle sa is an accusative indefinite specific article.

³¹The term si 'and' at the end of the sentence indicates that this narration will continue in the discourse.

³²In the form ma-gimoc 'angry' the first vowel of the stem can be lengthened to indicate intensification.

³³The form ka-gimoc 'to get angry' is an inchoative; cf. the stative form ma-gimoc 'angry' above.

³⁴In the item mo-baLiw-na 'to have gone home already' the prefix mo- is a verbalizer meaning 'to go' and the stem is baLiw 'home'.

³⁵The prefix ?o- is causative.

³⁶The form takwa indicates two events taking place simultaneously.

³⁷The form contains the causative prefix ?a-.

Text II

II. takolaoba ki sotaromak¹
fire of Tanan

The Fire in Tanan Village

- (1) aykawriwaako ?aθarokay ki takolaoba ki sotaromak.²
I'll talk about burning Tanan Village

I shall talk about the fire in Tanan village.

- (2) kwaDa taθiŋalanli tatwaladanli³ ci:l iDa a?oy.
that my knowledge from my place see that fire

My knowledge is based on what I saw from my place.

- (3) amani sa amyawaob ka davacananako⁴ moLyolyos⁵ ?oskaiLiLi
be time evening I still walk around helping

iDa lada:n iDa twa?aDiŋaDiŋay⁶ da:n.
that houses that mending house

It is in the evening when I still walked around helping with the mending of the houses.

- (4) sa kawlayŋa ka aonana⁷ ayikai ka maŋial si Dosa ka
when long night will have ten and two

toki,⁸ la moda:nko si to?aDiŋay iDa da:n.
clock I enter house and mend that house

Late at night about twelve o'clock, I entered my house and mended it.

- (5) la ikainai kyokay,⁹ kwaDa sa ikainai kyokay, la ikaiko
we stay church that when we stay church I stay

takaynɪn saolataDa¹⁰ si ikaiko iDa LibaLiban,¹¹ la ci:lako
sitting door and I stay the windows I see

sa a?oy sa aLiwga ani?ala?alay.¹²
fire spark flying

We stayed at the church; while we were staying at the church, I was sitting at the door and sometimes at the windows, I saw

fire sparks flying.

- (6) la sa ci:lako Da: a?oy, la kasamalyako.
 when I see that fire I shocked

When I saw the fire, I was shocked.

- (7) "amanyayni¹³ kay sa?agiagisnai?" la yako.
 maybe this our neighbor I so

"Is it this neighbor of ours on fire?" I asked myself.

- (8) si molataD la ci:lako si kaDawŋa kwaDa a?oy ikai kaway Daða.
 go out I see big fire at there upper

When I went out, the fire had gotten big at the upper village.

- (9) sinyaDaDaða¹⁴ kwani a?oy.
 from upper that fire

The fire was coming down from the upper village.

- (10) sa kolaolaob kwaDa da:n, la kawkawko si kawriva ?arigil
 when burning that house I shout and talk alarm

ki cikil.
 village

When that house was burning, I shouted and alarmed the village.

- (11) la wako waciac iDa lawa?ic.¹⁵
 I go wake up that sleepers

I went to wake up those who were asleep.

- (12) "i:la! mobi:ra! ay?acayta," la yako kawrivako linya.
 leave hurry we will die I so I talk them

"Leave! Hurry! Or we shall die," I said to them.

- (13) kwaDa sa ?aro kaDaw kwaDa a?oy.
 that time gradually big that fire

At that time, the fire was getting bigger.

Text II

- (14) la davacako ?a?oLaoLaoD.
I walk to lower

I went to the lower village.

- (15) si kawkawko linya, "mobi:ra! mobi:ra! ay?acaynata kay
and I shout them hurry hurry we'll die this
maon," la yako kawriva.
night I so talk

I shouted to them, "Hurry! Hurry! Or we shall die tonight,"
I said.

- (16) oDava¹⁶ kwaDa tamanjal ka omas kyalaLana nakwa.
also that ten man hear still me

Those ten people also heard me.

- (17) la sa kawrivarivako, la ikai koliDa icilb ikai da:n,
when I talking stay they quiet stay house
cicici:l ?a?osaolatataDa, la kay 0inal nawmobi:r¹⁷ mya.
looking to door not know I must hurry so

While I was talking, they were quiet in the house and kept
looking at the door and did not know they should hurry.

- (18) kwaDa sa ?akiLinawna¹⁸ kwaDa a?oy.
that time strong that fire

At that time, the fire was real big.

- (19) la kaynanaynanako syoLyoli.
I return back

I returned to my home.

- (20) koaDa cikicikilli la ikai saolatataDa cicici:l, "yan kay
that my family stay door looking Excl. this
a?oy!" myamya.
fire like that

My family were all staying at the door and looking, "Wa!

What a fire!" they said.

- (21) kwaDa sa myana iDa tarwaDaDaw kwaDa a?oy.
that time like that get bigger that fire

At that time, the fire was getting even bigger.

- (22) la davac ko latamali¹⁹ kwaDa lartisanli²⁰ maobibi:r.
go my fathers that my relatives all escape

My father's family and relatives had all escaped.

- (23) la abibiLilnanai ?a?ya zinzia.
we finally to temple

At last, we went to the temple.

- (24) kwaDa sa ikainai zinzia.²¹
that time we stay temple

At that time, we stayed at the temple.

- (25) kwaDa a?oy saLina cikil.
that fire spread village

That fire already spread over the whole village.

- (26) kaDwa ka kaDo takolaoba.
not exist not burned place

No place was not burned.

- (27) si la matikokoronai ?amor sa maon.
and we pitiable very night

We were really pitiable that night.

- (28) koaDa sa davacnai twalay kyokay, ?ahwa²² ka tatoLonai ka
that time we walk from church exactly we three

tarwarDaŋa, la aLanai masara ka iaia²³ iDa lalalaknai.
adults we take separate one those our children

When we left the church, there had been exactly three adults of us, each taking a child.

Text II

- (29) la mobɪ:rnaɪ ʔaʔya zinzia.
we escape to temple

We escaped to the temple.

- (30) kaDwa ka kyatoma naya.
not have go wrong us

Nothing went wrong with us.

- (31) si kwaDa tamobɪbɪ:rannai, makanaiLi, yakai kwaDa Doma
and the our place of escape all people exist those others

kwaDa lawaʔacay amani kwaDa abibiLil naya.
those dead people be that follow us

Among all people, we escaped to the place, while the others who died are those who followed us.

- (32) kwaDa aswalala naya kaDwa ka kyatoma.
those precede us not have go wrong

Nothing happened to those who went before us.

- (33) la kwaDa abiLil naya ka amani kwaDa lawaʔacay.
those follow us be those dead people

Those who went behind us died.

- (34) kwaDa abiLil iDa ʔacay amani kwaDa lamadola:, si
those follow that die be those hurt people

matikorona makanaiLi koliDa.
pitiful all people they

Those who followed the dead were hurt, they were all pitiable.

- (35) kwaDa Doma kwaDa lamadola kiʔakiLiŋawŋa la ʔacay.
those others those hurt , serious died

The others who were seriously hurt died.

- (36) kwaDa Doma kwaDa lakwalaob la kaʔaʔilay.
those others those burned people then disabled

The others who were burned became disabled.

- (37) kwaDa sa kolaolaob, la ikainai ?olyalyaliDaw twalay
 that when burning we stay watching from
zinzia.
 temple

At the time of burning, we were watching from the temple.

- (38) sa ikainai zinzia, kaynanay kwaDa a?oy kwaDa ibiL, ²⁴ si
 when we stay temple come that fire that smoke
kaynai daLim.
 we not bear

When we stayed at the temple, the fire and smoke came to us,
 and we could not stand them.

- (39) la davacnai mobi:r ?a?oDaDaDa.
 we go escape to upper

We escaped to the higher place.

- (40) sa mobi:rnai ?a?oDaDaDa, la kaynanayana ²⁵ abibiLil naya,
 when we escape going up come still follow us
la davac mobi:r, la syoLinai mokaLiia.
 go escape we return on road

When we escaped to the higher place, the fire still came
 following us, so we had to escape again and went back to
 the way.

- (41) davacnai ?a?ya kanaLibik.
 we go to (place)

We went to KanaLibik.

- (42) la ikainai kanaLibik si, cici:lnai iDa a?oy matyasamali
 we stay (place) then we looking that fire terrifying
?aramor, ?aki:laki:la saso?ada kwalaob, la LyoLyog ?a?ya?ya
 very approaching (place) burn turn to

Text II

sindiŋ.
(place)

We stayed at KanaLibik then we were looking at the very horrible fire, burning near Saso?ada and almost reaching Sindiŋ.

- (43) amani sa kwaDa lasidosya kwaDa twalay baLaŋaw.
be time those car that from (place)

At that time, the fire engines came from BaLaŋaw.

- (44) kayŋanay ma?abibi:r kwaDa taraiDiDi?.
come hurrying those firemen

The firemen came rushing.

- (45) yakai saso?ada kaDo maka wa ki:laki:la moci:ki:l.
stay (place) not able go approach enter village

They stayed at Saso?ada because they could not go into the village.

- (46) la matikornai ?paramor konai ka sakaocikila.²⁶
we pitiable very we whole village

Our whole village was very pitiable.

- (47) kwaDa sa myaŋa inya, la ki:lana kwaDa laomas moci:ki:l.
that time like that come people enter village

At that time it was like that, some people came to the village (to see what situation it was like).

- (48) sa kolaolaobwana, la ki:lako ci:l iDa da:nnai.
when burning still I come look that our house

When the fire was still burning, I came to have a look at our house.

- (49) la maka²⁷ kabocyakanako Iwabwal.
by I middle run

I ran in by the middle.

- (50) iDa ka maDawana²⁸ kwaDa a?oy, kaDwana aLimLima.
that big still that fire not yet dare

The fire was still big at that time, so no one dared to go yet.

- (51) "nawsila? iDa ay?oskaLi ?aLibol naya," la yako si davac
I find that will help save us I so and go

Lwabwal aLain lolod inya kaLi.
run follow from that road

Then, "I'll help find those who can help us," I said, then I went running along the road.

- (52) arawanai²⁹ maDaDisin iDa swasindin, la aLa nakwa
we unexpected meet those Sindiñ villagers hold me

kibi:r mya si, la kitobiananai ikai iDa.
embrace like that we still pray stay there

Unexpectedly we met the Sindiñ villagers, they embraced me, and we prayed there.

- (53) sa maka ?inoLinai, la davacako, sila? ki ki:nsas.
when finish we pray I walk seek policeman

After we had prayed, I went to look for the police.

- (54) sa ki:laki:lananako ina anayad, ara³⁰ maDaDisinnai³¹ iDa
when I approaching that field just we meet that

kinsas.
policeman

When I went near the field, I met the police on the way.

- (55) si la kawrivako takaLa kwaDa lamadola:, yakai kanaLibik,
I talk many those hurt stay (place)

matikokoro aramor.
pitiable very

Text II

Then I told him that many people were hurt, stayed at KanaLibik, and were really pitiable.

- (56) sa yako kawriwa, kwaDa ki:nsas la ya ikay kawriwa, "mwa
when I so speak that policeman so this say go
kawriwa la ki:la ?a?ya kikay. ayki:la lwas ka
tell come to here will come in a while
torak." la ya nakwa.
truck so me

As I said that, the policeman said this to me, "Go tell them to come here, the truck will come in a moment."

- (57) si la davacako sila? kawriwa, "o:i, yakainomi ino ka
and I walk seek say you stay where
lartisanli? ilata wa iDa cingina³² iDa Dakis. ayki:la
my relative let us go that across that camphor will come
kwaDa torak," la yako kawriwa.
that truck I so say

Then I went to look for them and said, "O:i. Where are you, my relatives? Let's go to the place across the camphor-laurel. The truck will come," I said.

- (58) la kaynanay koliDa si kard:dnoi ?a?ya tatakisikisia.³³
come they and we together to school

They came and we all went to the school together.

- (59) sa ki:lananai tatakisikisia, konai ka mardidi:d
when we had come school we together
takanimaniannanai sa manima yakai itititili:b
we resemble something stay in line
kardidi:d.
together

After we had arrived at school, we looked like something as we stood together in line.

- (60) kaDwa ka da:nnai, kaDwa ka ?asiki?i,annai.
not have our house not have our clothes

We had no house, nor did we have clothes to wear.

- (61) matikokoronai aramor.
we pitiable very

We were very pitiable.

- (62) sa ki:lanai na tatakisikisia, ara kaDaw kwaDa a?oy mya
when we come that school big that fire like
iDa.
that

When we came to the school, the fire got bigger.

- (63) la kaynai Limi Libat.
we not dare pass

We dared not go over.

- (64) la "taiDiniriana. lo ?arwa tikitikianna tadadavacna
then we rest awhile if get small we go
Libat," la mayayanai kawriva.
pass we so say

"Let's rest for a while. When it gets smaller, we shall go over," we all said.

- (65) kwaDa sa ?arwa tikia kwaDa a?oy, la davacnai makarakara
that when more small that fire we walk compete
?a?ya kaiLia.
to road

When the fire got smaller, we rushed to the road.

- (66) la ikaina kwaDa torak, si maLodaLonai mobilin.
stay that truck and we immediately get on

The truck was already there, and we got right on it.

Text II

- (67) iDa torak la maLodaLo mwa tatakisikisia, kaway
that truck directly go school there

tatotamakomakwa.
(place)

The truck went directly to the school over there to
Tatotamakomakwa.

- (68) mya inya si, kikai takolaobannai takaLa ka lawa?acay.
like that and this our burning many the dead

Like that at this big fire of ours, many people died.

- (69) yakai kwaDa tamanjal kwaDa ?acay.³⁴
exist that ten people that die

There was a family that ten people died.

- (70) yakai kwaDa ?acay ikaiLia.³⁵
exist that die on road

There were people who died on the road.

- (71) kaDwa oθinal sa ?a?ya ino asiloyata ka matyasamali aramor
not know to where because horrible very

kwaDa takolaoba iDa maonwana.
that burning that night still

They did not know where to go because the burning that night
was really horrible.

- (72) ?akas kolaob aniθaLinol, la kay kolaob kabcyaka.
immediately burn surrounding not burn middle

It was the surrounding that first got burned, not the
middle.

- (73) waLiToŋ kwaDa a?oy, la kaDwa ka atalolodannai.
besiege that fire not have our passing place

Besieged by the fire, we had no place to pass.

- (74) si la takaLa aramor kwaDa lawa?acay; la takaLa kay
and then many very that dead many this
matyaθaliθi.
miserable

A good many people died; many people were miserable.

- (75) si la myanai iDa.
and we like that

We were like that.

- (76) ?akɪ:la kayasa, lo kiDɪmDɪmako ki natakolaobannai ?atɪŋa
come now if I think our burned place really
la yako kiraragay ki twaomas.
I so grateful God

Until now as I think about those burned places of ours, we should really be grateful to God.

- (77) kay taikaiannai cikɪcikɪkɪ:l kayasa, nikai amani kay
this our dwelling life now if be not
takolaobannai, kaDwa ka da:nnai.
our burning not have our house

These dwellings of ours where we live now, but for the burning, we would not have these houses.

- (78) la mya ikay atakamania: sa nanɪma ka aLon kay lada:n
like this look like something bench these houses
mati?wa?ɪraw.
pretty

These pretty houses look like benches.

- (79) niarakaia³⁶ sa siminito niarakaianna sa Linig toda:n.
use cement use rock build house

Cement and rocks were used to build the houses.

- (80) matyakyaragayna aramor kayasa amaɪlanŋa kay tatoda:nannai.
real happy very now different this our building

Text II

We are really happy that these buildings of ours are different (from before).

(81) ³⁷
kaθa kayvay sayanli kay taŋiLibata ki takolaoba ki
only this my words this event burning of
cikilnai.
our village

These are all that I have to say about the fire event in our village.

Footnotes to Text II

¹This text was recorded and interpreted by masigsig (Mr. Fushou Wang 王福壽, aged 29 in 1970) in September 1970. It is a narration of the big fire that broke out in the Taromak village on September 27, 1969. Over 40 people got killed and a few crippled for lifetime, 136 houses were burned down, 700 people became homeless in the disastrous fire.

In addition to his native language, Japanese, and Chinese, Masigsig knows the Budai dialect of Rukai. As a missionary, he once worked in the Koca?oŋa village of Budai for 14 months (see Text XIII for his trip to Koca?oŋa).

²The village of Tanan is called taromak. The prefix so- indicates 'resident of'.

³The prefix ta- 'time, place' and nominalizer -a(n) have been added to the verb stems kolaob 'to burn', θiŋal 'to know' and twalay 'to come from' in (1) and (2).

⁴The suffix -ana 'still, yet' occurs before the personal marker -nako 'I'.

⁵The stem is Lyos 'turn'.

⁶Cf. the stative verb mwaDinay 'good, delicious'.

⁷Cf. m-aon 'night', vay-ana 'day, daytime' < vai 'sun'.

⁸The term toki 'clock' is a loanword from Japanese 時計.

⁹The term kyokay 'church' is a loanword from Japanese 教會.

¹⁰The term sa-o-lataD-a(n) 'tool-for-exit-place, door' < lataD 'outside'.

¹¹Reduplication of the noun stem indicates plurality: Liba-Libaŋ 'windows' < Libaŋ 'window'.

¹²Reduplication of the verb stem indicates a continuous action: ani-?ala-?alay 'be flying' < ani-?alay 'to fly'.

¹³The suffix -ayni indicates a possibility, cf. aw?acaŋ-ayni 'maybe dead', toman-ayini 'something may have happened' kakiciŋ-ayni 'maybe strong' in Text XI.

Footnotes to Text II

¹⁴In the form siny-a-Da-Da 'from-past-RED-above' (RED stands for reduplication), the prefix siny- 'from' is based on Lin's correction, but Wang originally gave siny-. Other forms with the prefix: sinya-Laod 'from below', sinya-vanal 'from the right', sinya-kainya 'from there'. Cf. twalay kikai '(to go) from here', not *sinya-kikai.

¹⁵The verb wa?ic 'sleep' is nominalized and take the plural prefix la-.

¹⁶The term is a conjunctive. Cf. the following examples:

(a) taratwalavay kwani, oDavanako twalavay.
worker that I also work

He is a worker, and so am I.

(b) oDava lo kaLigilso, kasoy Libat nakwa.
even if you clever you not pass me

Even though you are clever, you cannot go beyond me.

Wang gave the form aDavan, but Lin said it was Budai pronunciation and changed it to oDava.

¹⁷The prefix naw- indicates a desire or necessity in terms of the first person; see Li 1973:81. In Rukai the verb can be marked by the first person in such a context; cf. 1-53.

¹⁸Wang gave ?akiLiṅawṅa while Lin gave ?akaLiṅawṅa. The stem is Liṅaw 'excessive'.

¹⁹The la-tama-li 'plural-father-my' refers to 'my father and his family'.

²⁰Two phonological rules operate on the form. The term for 'relative' is ritsa /ritisan/. The second vowel of a word is dropped, thus /ritisan/ > ritsa, /la-ritisan-li/ > lartisanli.

²¹This is a loan from Japanese 神社.

²²Cf. the following example:

?ahwanai ka cikicikil ki romay arakai.
we exactly family bowl use

Our family has exactly enough bowls to use.

²³Cf. the example below:

aymasara ka iaata. We shall each take one.
will separate we one

²⁴Note that the conjunctive si 'and' is omitted between kwaDa a?oy 'that fire' and kwaDa ibiL 'that smoke'.

²⁵There is a problem of the word boundary. I have found pros and cons for treating ana as a suffix. That the final y of the verb stem does not change to d before ana in the form kay,anay-ana, as based on Wang's pronunciation, indicates that ana may occur as a separate item. Other example: kay-ana 'not yet' (7-7); see Li 1973, §3.1. Moreover, reduplication is a property of the stem rather than the affix in Rukai (see Li 1973, §6.1). Reduplicated ana is observed in the forms tikianana 'small yet' and tamyanaana 'same still'. However, when ana immediately follows a verb stem ending in a, the identical a's are reduced to one, e.g. /ini-a-ana/ > inyana 'not ready yet', /isaDa-ana/ > isaDana 'rest awhile'. Furthermore, the final n(±) of the form preceding ana is kept in iDanana 'that still' (19-25), and that indicates that ana is a suffix to protect n(±) from loss; see Li 1973, §3.4. Also ana always immediately follows a verb stem and sounds like a suffix. Hence I shall treat it as suffix.

²⁶The prefix saka(o)- 'entire, whole, all' is also observed in the forms sakao-da-da:n 'the whole house', saka-Li?iŋ 'all finished'.

²⁷The item maka 'by way of' appears in the examples below:

- (a) maka vavanalako lwabwal.
 by I right run
 I was running by the right side.
- (b) maka viviryako dadavac.
 by I left walking
 I was walking by the left side.

²⁸That w does not change to v in maDaw-ana 'still big' is another counter-evidence to treating ana as a suffix. See Note 25 above.

²⁹Cf. the following examples:

- (a) arawa:ko kyaDinay.
 I chance found
 I found it by chance.
- (b) arawa wa?acay kwani omas.
 chance died that man
 That man died unexpectedly.

³⁰The item ara 'just' is a clause conjunctive. Cf. the following example:

Footnotes to Text II

wadonɔŋko iDa comay, ara maDaDisiŋnai.
I follow that bear just we meet

I followed the trace of the bear, and we just met.

³¹Note that for a verb like maDaDisiŋ 'meet,' the personal marker must be plural. See also the example in Note 30 above.

³²Cf. the example below:

yakai ciŋciŋ iDa tasiLoboLobwa.
exist across that mill

It is across the mill.

³³This is an adaptation of a loanword from the Min dialect of Chinese 讀書 takisi 'to study.'

³⁴Note that (69) and (70) use the existential verb, yet cooccur with a nominative NP. The structure of these sentences is different from that of a genuine existential sentence. Cf. Text I, Note 3.

³⁵That i- that indicates a location is a shortened form of ikai 'to stay.' Cf. the examples below:

(a) maDaDisiŋnai i-kaiLiŋa ki lata.
we meet on road friend

We met our friend on the road.

(b) maDaDisiŋnai ikay kaiLiŋa ki lata.
we meet stay road friend

We met our friend on the road.

³⁶The verb arakai 'to use' is syntactically nominalized and semantically past passive; see Li 1973, §4.6.8.

³⁷The form kaθa 'to end, to finish' is a verb that can take the completive marker, kaθan-ŋa 'to have finished.'

III. togoLoy si nanay¹
(bird) and (bird)

Turning into Birds

- (1) kayvay akawrivanli² ka yakai ka cikiciki:l ka taso?at.
this my narration exist family 4 people

What I shall talk about is that there was a family of four people.

- (2) kwaDa tamaini ka mwaobola³ walo?.
that his father went to mountain hunt

The father went hunting in the mountain.

- (3) ko tinaini, "ilata momaoma," la ya iDa lalalakini,
his mother let's go to field then so to her children

la davac momaoma.
then walk go to field

The mother said to her children, "Let's go to the field," then they went to the field.

- (4) sa ki:la omaoma, la kiborasiasi⁴ kitaitai ko tinaini
when arrive field dig potato dig taro his mother

si, kwaDa takataka la kadwado⁵ ki agini.
that elder take care his younger

When they arrived at the field, then the mother kept digging sweet potatoes and taroes, while the elder brother was taking care of his younger sister.

- (5) la tobitobi ko agini, kwaDa takataka, "nyamana⁶ ʔaθoθo⁷
crying his younger that elder come nurse

ki agili," la ya ki tinaini.
my younger so his mother

The younger sister kept crying, so the elder brother said to his mother, "Please come to nurse my sister."

Text III

- (6) "lwasanana,⁸ nawkiborasiona,"⁹ la ya ko tinaini.
wait I dig potato so his mother

"Wait a moment. I still have to dig sweet potatoes," said his mother.

- (7) la tobitobi kwaDa lalakini kwaDa agiagi, la daol ?ila,
crying the her child the younger call again

"naina,¹⁰ nyamana ?a000o ki agili," la yana.
Mother come nurse my younger still so

The little child kept crying, so he called once again,
"Mother, please come to nurse my little sister."

- (8) "lwasanana, naw?olama ki borasi."
wait a moment I clean potato

"Wait a moment, I still have to clean the sweet potatoes."

- (9) la davac moda:n ko takaini vwaivaiwan ki agini,
walk enter hut her elder coax his younger

"adaLoṅa ko tinaita,¹¹ layki:la ?a000o moswa."
come soon our mother would come nurse you

The boy walked into the hut to coax his little sister, "Our mother will come right away; she would nurse you."

- (10) la kasa?o ki tinaini la ?i:la¹² dwaol ki tinaini.
impatient for his mother again call to his mother

Waiting impatiently for his mother, he called her again.

- (11) ko tinaini, "lwasanana, nawsoragiliana ki borasi."
his mother wait I put in potato

The mother said, "Wait a moment, I still have to put in the sweet potatoes."

- (12) la davac vwaivaiwan, "adaLoṅa layki:la moswa ?a000o ko
go coax come soon would come you nurse

tinaita.
our mother

He went to coax the little child, "Our mother will come to nurse you right away."

- (13) ko tinaini la ki:la wagaga.
his mother come cooking

His mother came to keep cooking, (regardless of the crying baby).

- (14) kwaDa lalakini, "?aθoθoana ki agili, mawlayna kwaDa
the her child please nurse my younger long the
tatobyanini."
her crying time

Her child said, "Please nurse my sister. She's been crying for a long time."

- (15) "lwasanana, nawwagana."
wait I cook

"Wait a moment, I still have to cook."

- (16) la ?atwanaw icib¹³ ko tinaini.
begin bake his mother

Then the mother started to bake sweet potatoes.

- (17) sa kado kwaDa icibini kwaDa borasi, la ?awawabak
when cooked the her baking the potato put in
karDara.¹⁴
in basket

When the baked sweet potatoes were ready, she put them into the basket.

- (18) si la davac mobiliŋ iDa syacnik¹⁵ la anato syanagan ki
and go climb the with thorn tree by name of
tana.
(name)

Text III

She climbed the thorny tree by name of tana.

- (19) si wamobɪlɪŋ kwanɪkanɪ kay baba:y ʔwakan Da lalalak.
climbed eating not giving make eat the children

She climbed and was eating herself but would not give her children anything to eat.

- (20) si kwaDa takataka, "ʔaʔociLia sa ɪa nawba:y ʔwakan ki
and the elder throw sa ɪa one I give make eat
agili," la ya kwaDa lalakɪini.
my younger so the her child

The older child of hers said, "Please throw me one that I would give to my little sister to eat."

- (21) la ʔawaʔawciLi iDa sanokania¹⁶ sanonisiLa daɪdaɪ.
throw that eaten peeled off to ground

She threw down what has been eaten and peeled off.

- (22) kwaDa takataka la aLa gwacgac Da nico,¹⁷ si ba:y ʔwakanɪ
the elder take scratch the peel and give make eat
ki agini.
to his younger

The boy picked up and scratched the pulp from the potato skin and then fed his sister with it.

- (23) "ʔaʔociLiana sa ɪa," la yana ki tinaini.
throw one so his mother

"Please throw me another," he said again to his mother.

- (24) la ʔawaʔawciLi Da mabacar.¹⁸
throw the spoiled

She threw him a spoiled one.

- (25) kwaDa takataka la aLa gwacgac, si ba:y ki agini
the elder take scratch and give to his younger

ʔwakanɿ.
make eat

The boy scratched (the unspoiled part of) it to feed his sister.

(26) sa maka Liʔɿn, la modaɿdaɿ, kay ʔaθoθo ki lalakɿini, la
when over all descend not nurse to her child

ʔatwanaw soragɿl iDa lamanina, si davac kisano mobaLiw.
start arrange the things and walk intend go home

When all was over, the mother came down the tree; without nursing her baby, she put all the things in order and went home.

(27) la davac. sa kɿ:la Dakɿral, la ʔawa θiro:l mocaki,
leave when reach river let go urinate defecate

"hawʔa kaDava ka acilay ni kay ʔikakoa mobaLiw kwani
get big! water not how go home those

lalalakli," la ʔatwanaw tɿlɿb kwalavalava kwaDa acilay.
my children start flood full the water

Then she left. When she came to the river, she urinated and defecated, "May the water get big so that my children cannot go home," then the water started to flood the river.

(28) kwaDa lalalakɿini, " ilata θwalada mobaLiw ki tinaɿta," la
the her children let's chase go home our mother

ya si la davac.
so and walk

Her children said, "Let's chase our mother going home," and then they left.

(29) sa kɿ:la Dakɿral, kaDaw kwaDa acilay, siti Dakɿral,
when reach river get big the water full river

kay maka taLiɿbaLi.
not able wade

Text III

When they came to the river, the water was big and the river full, so it was not possible to wade."

- (30) "lo yata sitoma," la ya si davac syoLi tako¹⁹ tobitobi
if we so hopeless so and walk back while crying

ki:la tawana.
come hut

"If so, there isn't anything we can do," they said and walked back to the hut crying.

- (31) la ikai kiDimDimDim, "ay?ikakoata²⁰ la ikai ko akanianta?
stay thinking how shall we exist our food

?ikakoata laydavacta mobaLiw?" la ikai myamya kwaDa
we how we could walk go home stay so the

lamataka kiDimDim.
siblings think

They kept thinking, "What shall we do so that there will be food for us to eat? What shall we do so that we could get home?"

- (32) si ikai taratobitobi, si kay θiŋal Da a?ianlini, kaDwa
and stay both crying and not know their doing not

θiŋal sa atalolodanlini dwavac, iDa la kiDimDim kwaDa
know their going leave then think the

takataka, "ta ?atwanaw motyadaadam,"²¹ la ya.
elder we start turn into bird so

And they both cried, did not know what to do, or where to go, then the elder brother thought, "Let's turn into birds."

- (33) si ?atwanaw maLa iDa imay si ?alay.
and start take the baby wrapper and strap

He started to take the baby-wrapper and strap.

- (34) kwaDa imay la dari? to?arid.²²
the wrapper make make wings

The baby-wrapper was to make wings.

- (35) kwaDa ?alay la dari? totaoθ.
the strap make make tail

The strap was to make tails.

- (36) kwaDa yaini ka abok la dari? toLomo.
the her mat make make feather

Her mat was to make feather.

- (37) si la ?alavalava ani?alay.
and try fly

And they tried to fly.

- (38) sa davac ani?alay kwaDa takataka, "togoLoy" la ya.
when go fly the elder so

When the elder brother went flying, he called "togoLoy."

- (39) "moa: ?alavalava naagili," la ya.
go try my younger so

"Try to fly, my younger sister," he said.

- (40) la davac ?alavalava ko agini.
go try his younger

His younger sister tried.

- (41) "naṅay," la ya ko agini.
so his younger

"naṅay," his younger sister called.

- (42) la ikainṅa iDa ?alavalavalava θibolabolabolay
stay there trying jumping

ani?ala?ala?alay.
flying

They stayed there to practice jumping and flying.

Text III

- (43) "lo 'togoLoy' lo yako, naagili, 'nayanay' mya:" la ya
when I so my younger so so

iDa agiini.
to his younger

"When I call 'togoLoy,' my sister, please call 'nayanay',"
he said to his sister.

- (44) lo 0ibolay ko takaini mwa iDa to:D, "togoLoy" la ya
when jump her elder go stem "togoLoy" la ya so

kwaDa takaini, "nayanay" la ya ko agiini abibiLil.
the her elder so his younger follow

When the brother jumped to the stem of a tree and called,
"togoLoy," his sister followed him and said, "nayanay."

- (45) sa ki:la baLiw ko tinalini, ki:laki:lana ko
when arrive home their mother coming

tamalini.
their father

When their mother got home, their father was coming home.

- (46) sa ki:la baLiw ko tamalini, la acib sa makaLa
when come home their father bring gifts a lot

sa bolabolay, iDa avava, iDa a0ay, Di:ti, wacib iDa
meat heart liver sausage bring gifts for

lalalak si.
children and

When the father got home he had brought a lot of gifts for
his children: meat, hearts, livers, and sausages.

- (47) "la ino kwaDa lalalakta?" la ya Da sakaci:ki:ini.
where the our children so his spouse

"Where are the kids?" he said to his wife.

- (48) "naw?akiragay" amya kwaDa kiDimDim ki tamaini.
I make happy was so think his father

"I want to make them happy," he thought to himself.

- (49) sa ki?ilaila iDa sakacikilini, "yakai ki
 when ask to his spouse stayed
lataLagiLagilini²³ kivaivaivan," la ya.
 their friends playing so

When he asked his wife, she said, "They are playing with their friends."

- (50) la davac kwaDa sawalay sila? mwa iDa lataLagiLagi, iDa
 walk the man seek go those friends those
sa?agiagis si.
 neighbors and

The man went to look for the friends and neighbors.

- (51) "ino ko lalanomi? ino ania ka awci:lha?"
 where your friends where who saw

"Where are your friends? Who saw where they were?"

- (52) la davac mwa iDa sa?agiagis. "da:vac momaoma si la
 walk go the neighbor leave go to field and
kaynai ci:l sa ki:la i:lok mobaLiw iDa lavalak," la ya.
 we not see when come bring go home those children so

Then he went to the neighbors. "She (the mother) went to the field and when she came home, we didn't see her bring the children with her," the neighbors said.

- (53) la sila? cwa?an ki?ilaila.
 seek random ask

He looked for them at random and asked about them.

- (54) la ya inya makanaiLi kaDo theta iDa lavavalak.
 so that all not know those children

They all gave the same reply that they didn't know where the children were.

Text III

- (55) si kwaDa tamaini la i:lok iDa acibini mwa omaoma.
and the his father then bringing those his gifts to field

The father was bringing the gifts to the field.

- (56) si ikai ka adadam ka taDosa, ikai ani?a?a?alay
and exist birds two stay flying

θibolabolalay iDa bilɪŋ ki to:D.
jumping high of stem

There were two birds flying and jumping above the stem of a tree.

- (57) la ci:l si misa amani kwaDa lalalakini.
see and seem be the his children

He looked at them and they seemed to be his children.

- (58) kwaDa lalalakini ci:l si amani ko tamalini.
the his children see and be their father

The children looked at him and it was their father.

- (59) si la ?aymayma mwa kikawriva ki tamalini, si tobi.
and receive go talk to their father and cry

Then they went to receive and talked to their father, and they cried.

- (60) sa θiŋal sa amani kwaDa lalalakini la tobi, la ba:y Da
when know be the his children cry give the
acibini.
his gifts

When he knew they were his children, he cried and gave them his gifts.

- (61) "no²⁴ ?ia kikai? manima kwaDa kasamaDnomi?"
why do this what that you disappointed

"Why did you do this? What made you disappointed?"

- (62) lay?ikakoanai kwanɨ ki acɨbso? mailanɨnai²⁵ kay
 how could we eat your gifts we different this

tamyannai, " la ya si tobi kwaDa lamataka.
 our kind so and cry the siblings

"How could we eat your gifts? We are of the different species," the brother and sister said and cried.

- (63) si ?ɨlaɨla iDa ta?ia?ia ki tinalini lina.
 and tell the doing of their mother them

Then they told him what their mother had done to them.

- (64) si la ?alavalava maLa oboT mwaLa²⁶ loyasi²⁷
 and try take remove feather take off if
kalalikɨt²⁸ syoLi awomas, la ya si.
 able return become man so

And he tried to remove their feather to see if they would be able to return to man.

- (65) kyaɨɨaɨ kwaDa lamataka iDa yalini ka Lomo sa aLa
 pain the siblings that their feather when take
oboT.
 remove

But the brother and sister felt painful as their feather was being removed.

- (66) kwaDa tamaini " lo yata sitoma," la ya.
 the his father if we so hopeless so

Their father said, "If that's so, there isn't anything we can do."

- (67) si davacɨa mobaLiw, si tako maswaoLyoli²⁹ tako tobitobi
 and go go home and while looking back while crying
dwavadavac.
 walking

While he was going home, he kept looking back and crying.

Text III

- (68) sa ki:la mobaLiw, "ʔakaLaʔa:" la ya. la ʔakaLaʔa kwaDa
when reach home boil water so boil water that
sakacikilini.
his spouse

After he got home, he said, "Boil some water." Then his wife boiled some water.

- (69) "nyama nawʔagogo,"³⁰ la ya iDa sakacikilini.
come I wash hair so that his spouse

"Come, I want to wash your hair," he said to his wife.

- (70) la ʔawa inya ʔorDo:k ʔasiniawLoLo³¹ iDa anyaboraboraboray
let go that pour from head the boiling
iDa acilay.
the water

He poured the boiling water on her from the head.

- (71) kwaDa sakacikilini, "ki ki ki,"³² la ya, si motitatolik.
the his spouse so and turn into rat

His wife cried, "ki, ki, ki," and turned into a rat.

- (72) "nakoy asti:Da iDa sararnomi iDa sikitnomi," la ya
I not leave the your keep the your container so
dwavacŋa kwaDa sakacikilini kwaDa ababay.
go the his spouse the woman

"I shall not leave behind what you keep in the food container," that woman said and walked away.

- (73) kwaDa lalalakini la ikai ʔiaia iDa aniʔaʔaʔalay.
the his children stay do that flying

His children were practising flying.

- (74) sa kaLigilŋa aniʔalay kwaDa lamataka, "koso naagili,
when skilled fly the sibilings you my younger
aymawvagaynata,"³³ la ya kwaDa lamataka.
we'll separate so the sibilings

When the brother and sister could fly well, the elder brother said, "My dear little sister, we shall depart from each other."

- (75) anolablablaba, nawanotaDikaDikay," la ya kwaDa tanja.
lower part of hill I upper part of hill so the one

"You will stay at the lower part of the mountain, and I will be at the upper part," one of them said.

- (76) si la davac mawvagay.
and leave separate

And then they left each other.

- (77) "kwaDa taracail³⁴ tamaDaDisin anival,"³⁵ la ya kwaDa
that in a year we meet once so the

lamataka.
sibilings

"We shall meet once a year," the brother and sister said.

- (78) si la dwavac.
and leave

And they left.

- (79) "togoLoy" ayyayako, "nanay" mya:.
I'll be so so

I'll be saying "togoLoy," you say, "nanay."

- (80) si iDa taracail lata masasila? si maDaDisin.
that every year friends seek and meet

And every year they looked for each other and met.

Footnotes to Text III

¹This text was recorded and interpreted by sigsig (Mr. Tetz'u Lin 林得次 aged 33 in 1970) in October 1970. Here is an example of the fairly common Formosan legends about human beings' turning into animals such as birds (III), mouse (III), bear (VIII), leopard (VIII), or even into things such as sausage (VI).

²The affixes a-...-a(n) + V (or N) indicates a future action to be done, cf. a-ci:l-a 'what to see' < ci:l 'to see' (22-14), a-iloc-an-ta 'what we shall bring' < iloc 'to bring' (16-10), a-ta-isolad-a 'place to stay' < isolay 'to stay' (5-4). See Li 1973:207-08.

³The item mw-a-obol-a(n) 'go-past-grass-place' means to go to the hunting area with thick grass in the mountain where wild animals live.

⁴For the prefix ki- (ky-) + N 'to dig, to gather,' see also Texts IV, IX, XI, XIII, XV, XXI.

⁵The stem is kado 'to baby-sit, to take care of babies.' Cf.

<u>kadwako</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>Lolay</u> .	I take care of a baby.
I take care	baby		

⁶The form nyama 'Come!' is always imperative. Cf. the simple verb ki:la 'to come.' The suffix -na immediately following the imperative marker -a indicates a mild request; see Li 1973:221.

⁷The stem 0o0o 'milk, breast' plus the causative prefix ?a- means 'to make someone drink milk, to nurse.'

⁸The form lwasanana 'Wait a moment!' is used only in the imperative form. Cf. the verb aDaw 'to wait' in the examples: nawaDaDawko 'I want to wait,' yaDaDawko moswa 'I shall be waiting for you.'

⁹The suffix is -ana 'still, yet.' See Text II, Note 4.

¹⁰The prefix is na- 'vocative.' Cf. 4-37 and 11-78, 80, 83. See Ogawa and Asai (hereafter OA) 1935:333.

¹¹It is not clear when -ita is used instead of the more common form -ta 'our (inclusive).' The form -ita is probably the older. Cf. the pronominal forms in Atayal, Puyuma, Ami and Sediq; see OA 1935, Appendix, Vocabulary, p.48.

¹²The long vowel indicates emphasis.

¹³The term icib means 'to bake sweet potatoes in rocks.'

¹⁴The form wabak means 'to put things into a container in a hasty and disorderly manner' and karDar-an 'basket-place.'

¹⁵The prefix si (or sy-) + V 'to wear, to carry, to possess,' e.g. si-ki?in 'to wear clothes' < ki?in 'clothes,' si-ra?al 'to carry a baby' < ra?al 'baby,' si-?ana 'to have game' < ?ana 'to shoot.'

¹⁶The affixes sano-...-a(n) + V 'leftover, that has been used,' e.g., sano-kani-a(n) 'the leftover from eating' < kani 'to eat,' sano-nisiL-a(n) 'the leftover from peeling (of sweet potatoes)' < nisiL 'to peel.'

¹⁷The term nico 'peel (of fruit),' cf. bakor 'bark (of tree),' ca 'husk (of grain),' ikiD 'skin (of animal),' Lanic 'skin (of animal that has been dried and treated).'

¹⁸The term mabacar 'spoiled, rotten with worm' refers only to potatoes. Cf. the following examples:

(a) walalobada kay lacin.
eaten by worm this vegetable

This vegetable has been eaten by the worm.

(b) waikada kay bolabolay.
with maggot this meat

This meat is spoiled with maggot.

¹⁹The form tako 'while (crying)...while (coming)...' indicates two events going on simultaneously.

²⁰Note the m~? alternation in the interrogative forms mikakoa 'how' and ay-?ikakoa 'will-how' and that they are a verb.

²¹The prefix moti- (or moty-) + N 'to turn or transform into,' e.g., moti-alibaibag 'to turn into a butterfly' < alibaibag 'butterfly,' moti-ta-tolik 'to be turning into a rat' < tolik 'rat' (3-71). See Li 1973:249-50.

²²It is common in Rukai to have two or more verbs in sequence; see Li 1973:222. The prefix to- (or tw-) + V 'to make, to produce, to bear,' e.g., to-da:n 'to build a house' < da:n 'house,' tw-abay 'to make cake' < abay 'cake,' to-lalak 'to bear a child' < lalak 'child.'

Footnotes to Text III

23 The informant originally gave the form lataLagiLagini 'his friends' but interpreted as 'their friends.' There is a tendency for Rukai speakers to use -ini 'his' where -lini 'their' is expected. But they would correct it if checked more carefully. In this case, the father asked for the two children, yet the mother's reply referred to only the boy who was old enough to play with his friends.

24 According to the informant, there are two different forms for the interrogative: no 'why (definite, nearby), and ni 'why (indefinite, remote).' Cf.

ni ?ia kikai? Why did you do this?
why do this

25 The item maila(n) 'different' is a stative verb. Cf.

mailannaso ka omasnai.
you different our men

You are different from our men; you are not our men.

26 Note that both m-aLa 'take' and mw-aLa 'take off' have the same stem aLa 'to take.' The prefix mo- (or mw-) + V (or N) 'to remove, to take off,' e.g., mo-ki?in 'to take off clothes,' mo-cabo 'to unwrap a parcel.'

27 Cf. the example below:

loyasi ki:laso mobaLiw, nawkawriwana.
if you come go come I want tell

If you come home, I want to tell (you).

28 The item kalalikit 'able' may be related to malalikit 'to have or eat enough' (11-115, 116). Cf. likit 'to finish.'

29 Cf. the various forms masaoLyoli 'to change back,' masasaoLyoli 'keep changing, to go to and fro,' maswaoLyoli 'to look back.'

30 The form gogo 'to wash hair,' ?a-gogo 'to wash someone else's hair,' naw-gogo 'I want to wash (my) hair,' naw-?a-gogo 'I want to wash someone else's hair.' Cf.

I	II
mabanaw 'bathe oneself'	?abanaw 'bathe someone else'
toda:n 'build a house'	?atoda:n 'build a house for others'
kaLa?a 'boil'	?akaLa?a 'make boiled'

It is not clear if all the forms in Column II are causatives although they all have the same prefix.

³¹In the sentence the form ?a-sini-awLo-Lo 'cause-from-head-RED, from the head' is a verb following two other verbs ?a-wa 'cause-go, let go, put' and θoroDo:k 'to pour.' The reduplication in the form seems to indicate that the stem of the item awLo 'head' is -Lo.

³²These are the sounds made by the rat.

³³The verb contains the mutual prefix ma- 'reciprocal, each other,' to be kept distinct from the homophonous stative prefix ma- that may not cooccur with the future tense marker ay-. Further examples of the mutual prefix: ma-dadavac 'to get divorced' < davac 'to leave,' ma-ikai 'to live together like a couple' < ikai 'to live,' ma-kawriwa 'to talk to each other' < kawriwa 'to talk.'

³⁴The prefix tara- 'passing, duration, in, for,' e.g. tara-Damar 'in a month' < Damar 'month,' tara-cail 'in a year' < cail 'year.'

³⁵The affixes ani-...-l + NUMERAL 'time(s),' e.g., ani-va-l 'once' < ʔa 'one,' ani-ʔosa-l 'twice' < Dosa 'two.'

Text IV

IV. mwakakay¹
(Personal name)

A Rukai Legend about Mwakakay

- (1) aytomawladako.
I'll tell story

I shall tell a story.

- (2) aykawrivako iDa naDoma:na.²
I'll talk the legend

I shall talk about a legend.

- (3) yakai kwaDa lamasaLon la tolalak sa syamwakakay.
existed the couple have a baby named M.

There was a couple who had a child by name of Moakakay.

- (4) la davac ko tamaini walo?; la ki:lana.
then go her father hunt come

The father went hunting; then he came back already.

- (5) sa sakani?osal dwavac walo? ko tamaini, ko tinaini
when 2nd time go hunt her father her mother

la aLa iDa aLonain ki tamaini si ?awasi?ig,³ "haw?a
then take the belt of her father and stretch wish

a@a?a³ kikai ka lalakli.
transform here my child

When the father went hunting for the second time, the mother took his belt and stretched it out and said, "May my child become like this!

- (6) si kaDwa ka takasolianso ka taka?walanso.
and have not you unable you despised

There is nothing that you cannot do or will be despised.

- (7) aso kay kabotoLo, aso kay kaDaw," la ya iDa gaLolagolagolana
you not fat you not big so that still crawling

iDa lalak.
that child

You are neither fat nor big," she said to the child who was still crawling.

- (8) niki:la si kaDawna la ni?imai:la ko tamaini.⁴
come and get big different her father

When her father came home she had grown up and looked quite different.

- (9) la ki:la ko tamaini.
come her father

Her father came home.

- (10) "la igayganso ?akaDawna ki Lolay. si aθana kikai,
you soon make big child and as big as this

kayta aroil inya, kayta ?atako Linawana ki
we not hold that we not even see well yet

tasiLoladanta," la ya ko tamaini.
when we had a child so her father

"You made the child grow up so fast. We have not embraced her and seen her clearly yet as a baby," the father said.

- (11) si la kilakilana kolililil mwa?ala?ala?alan iDa Lolay.
and coming (name) running after the child

Kolililil came along to run after the girl.

- (12) si la kawriwa ko tamaini, "ilata alo?wana nakolililil."⁵
and speak her father let's go hunt first (Add.)

And her father said, "Let's go hunting, kolilililil."

- (13) la davac walo? matama.
go hunt father and son

Text IV

Then the father and son went hunting.

- (14) la makatoLolŋa⁶ matama.
3 days father and son

The father and son were away for three days.

- (15) tomana lo ya ko tinaini, "mwa dwavac momaoma, Dwaŋalo iDa
do if so her mother go walk field watch the
bilbɪl si ʔaŋoDaI.
banana and pineapple

For some reason, the mother said to her, "Go to the field and watch the bananas and pineapples.

- (16) amani lo ʔaLawLawLaw⁷ ina kariŋyalay ki agi kay
be when working the clothes younger these
lakaokaol, aykani sa manɪma?" la ya.
the masses will eat what so

(Or else) when the common folks come to make clothes for your little sister, what will they eat?"

- (17) la aLa boraθ.
take strip naked

(The mother) stripped her naked.

- (18) la davac kwaDa Lolay momaoma.
go the child field

The child went to the field.

- (19) la ki:la omaoma si to:bi, malionawnay, la kasasivisivir,
come field and weeping naked wind blowing
odaodal, matiθaliθi, tobitobi, ikai iDa li:b.
raining pitiable weeping stay the cliff

She came to the field and kept crying, naked, the wind blowing, raining, pitiable, crying at the cliff.

- (20) la mobaisna, "la kaniako sa man+ma?" la ya.
 hungry I eat what so

She got hungry and said, "What shall I eat?"

- (21) la aLa iDanki⁸ bilbil sa ia ri:ʔo si kan+, kay maka Liʔ+ŋ
 take that banana one pick and eat not able all
iDa +a.
 that one

She picked a banana and ate it, but did not finish all of it.

- (22) la ki:la baLiw sa kaonna.
 come home when night

When she came home, it was late at night.

- (23) si ʔaga ko tinaini sa valiθokay, la ʔorag+l ki
 and cook her mother dimplings give out
agini.
 her younger

Her mother cooked dimplings and gave some to her younger sister.

- (24) la Tikab ko agini, si abotolo.
 break younger and be pork

As her younger sister split them apart, there was pork in them.

- (25) la Tikab kwaDa mwakakay si aniʔoraiθa sa is+ŋ kwaDa yaini
 break that (name) and stuffing dung that its
ka rag+l.
 cockroach

As Mwakakay split apart her own share, the stuffing was the excrement of cockroaches.

- (26) "a:i..... yaini inya nakwa ko tinali?"
 her so that me my mother

Text IV

"Ai.... Why is my mother treating me that way?

- (27) toma myaini? ni kay ya ta?ia?ianlini.
do her so why not so their behavior

Why is she doing that? That is not what they used to do.

- (28) sa ikai ko tamali, la ?awkaLiLiLivil ?acomocomo
when stay my father be fond of feed

?waka?akanɛ.
make eat

When Daddy is home, he is very fond of me and feeds me.

- (29) si ?iaŋa kikai sa ka kaDwa ko tamali," la ya si tobi
do this when have not my father so and weep

kwaDa Lolay.
that child

Now she treats me like this when Daddy is not home," that child said and cried.

- (30) la kay Dimit, twaral; la anDakal sa kalɛDa.
not sleep awake all night get up at dawn

She stayed awake all night. She got up at dawn.

- (31) "la ikai ka sanoLadiada ka makoririŋa. mwa si lawLi
exist potato peels dry go and cook

momaoma toranaw," la ya.
field set out so

"There are some dried potato peels. Take them with you to cook in the field and leave!" the mother said.

- (32) si odaodal atamya:⁹ kasasivisivir.
and raining same wind blowing

It was still raining and the wind was still blowing.

- (33) la davac. Then she left.
go

- (34) la ki:la omaoma si to:bi:.
 come field and weeping

She came to the field and kept crying.

- (35) "lo mya inya, nawmobaLiwŋa," la ya si davac.
 if like that I go home so and leave

"If the weather is like this, I should go home," she said and left.

- (36) sa kawaŋŋa, la ki:la baLiw.
 when evening come home

She came home in the evening.

- (37) sa kalɪDa "a:i, nali¹⁰ ilata kyanato," la ya ki
 at dawn friend let's go gather wood so

alini.
 her friend

At dawn she said to her girl friend, "Ai, my friend, let's go to gather wood."

- (38) la davac mali¹⁰ dɪ:vac LiLiLiog ki LɪgLiŋna.
 go friends walking turning mountain

The two friends kept walking from mountain to mountain.

- (39) si la ki:la Lokyaŋa.
 and come (place)

And they came to Lokyaŋa.

- (40) "aykasiɪLɪŋŋayni ko alimita," la ya si.
 should be tired our friend so and

"Our friend should be tired," she said.

- (41) "la:, nali, taʔɪc."
 then friend we sleep

"Then, my friend, let's sleep."

Text IV

- (42) la aʔɛc kwaDa lamali.¹⁰
sleep the friends

The friends slept.

- (43) la aʔɛc ko alini, laytomawlay.
sleep her friend would cite incantation

As her friend slept, she would cite the incantation.

- (44) "asitomanako la ikai ka da:nnai ki alimita?" la ya, la
what I do exist our house our friend so then

ikai kwaDa da:n.
exist the house

"What should I do so that there would be a house for our friend?" she said and there existed a house.

- (45) maθaril kwaDa da:nlini amya misa ayθoLiDi ka aLaLiɟɟl.
good the their house like as if slip fly

Their house was so good that it looked as if a fly would slip on it.

- (46) si "likit," sa ya, la takaynɛn.
and stop so sit

And she said "Stop," then she sat down.

- (47) si tomawlay, "nay ikaiayni ka acilay nay ki alimita
and cite incantation if exist water if our friend

ki lataD," la ikai ka acilay.
of outside exist water

She recited the incantation, "May there be water for our friend outside," and there existed the water.

- (48) "nay ikaiayni ka asikarinyalaɗannai ka makailaɪla. kaDwa
if exist our clothes various without

ka yalikoD. la atinoagiagia kwaDa ya ki alimita; la
not fit made inferior the of our friend

tinotakataka kwaDa ya karinyalayli," la ya, la ikai idomol
made superior the my clothes so exist pile up

kwaDa akarinyalaylini mali.
the their clothes friends

"May there be all sorts of clothes for us. None of which would not fit. Those for my friend would be of poorer quality; those for me would be of better quality," she said and clothes for the two friends began to pile up.

- (49) "nay ikaiayni ka akanianinai makaialaia ka biraθ ka
if exist our food various rice
airo?annai" la ya, la ikai makaialaia kwaDa akania: kwaDa
our food so exist various the food the

biraθ, kwaDa bolabolay, kwaDa botol; kwaDa kolkollini la
rice the meat the pork the their pigs

aniθaLiηol iDa riDin, tomimimi anya matissima:li.
surround back noise like very strange

"May there be all sorts of food for us: rice and food," she said, and there existed all sorts of food: rice, meat, and pork; their pigs surrounding the backyard make very strange noise.

- (50) la acac ki alini, "anDakalηa, nali. taagana,
wake up her friend get up friend we cook

mwabaisηanta," la ya.
we hungry so

She woke up her friend, "Get up, my friend. We should cook, we are hungry already," she said.

- (51) la anDakal ko alini kasama:li, "ʔiakakoaso, nali,
get up her friend surprised how do you friend

la ikai ka da:nta? la ikai ka karinyalayta?" la ya.
have our house have our clothes so

Her friend got up and was very surprised, "What did you do,

Text IV

my friend, that we've got the house and the clothes?"

- (52) la sikariṅyalay mali.
wear clothes friends

The two friends put on the clothes.

- (53) si mararamaw Li?iŋ, kadalam Li?iŋ iDa kariṅyalaylini
and fit all like all that their clothes
mali.
friends

They all fitted well; the two friends liked all their clothes.

- (54) si la oda:n.
and enter house

And they entered the house.

- (55) la kaonna, la "ta?ic, nali," la ya.
night we sleep friend so

At night, she said, "Let's go to bed, my friend."

- (56) si la Dimit ko alini, kay θinaθinal sa co:g.
and sleep her friend not knowing matter

Her friend was asleep without knowing what was going on.

- (57) la aLa rikit iDa sabik amya, la ?orarabok amya, la
take cut off the betel nut so liming so
?awaswabol amya ?asaLi.
spread lime so all

She cut off a branch of betel-nuts, put in lime, and spread the limed betel-nuts on the ground.

- (58) talokaya iDa macalini ?a?oLaoD, ?a?oDada, ?a?oviri,
reach the their vision below upward to left
?a?ovanal, alokai kwaDa cikil.
to right reach the village

The village is as big as one's vision can reach down below, high above, to the left, and to the right.

- (59) la ʔawa ʔorabok awciɓ talaboaboanlini.
put in limed betel nuts both sides their stove

She put limed betel-nuts on both sides of their stove.

- (60) la ʔawa iDa ʔinorabok iDa taikaikaianini sa Dosa sa
put in that limed that her bed two
tinokabaLobaLoana.¹¹
made young ladies

She put limed betel-nuts on her bed to make two young ladies.

- (61) la ʔawa iDa romodon sa soʔat sa tinosaɯalaɗa.
put in the pillar four made men

She put some at the central pillar to make four men.

- (62) la aʔɿc.
sleep

Then she slept.

- (63) sa kaɿDaɿDa, la anDakal mali.
when dawning get up friends

The friends got up when it was dawning.

- (64) ikai kaDonaril syoti da:n, syoti ka omas cikɿl.
exist crowded full house full men village

The house was full, and the village was full of people.

- (65) la anDakal kasamali ko alini.
get up surprised her friend

Her friend got up very much surprised.

- (66) "toma ka co:g twalay ino kay omas, nali, taθaikai?"
do matter from where these men friend so many

la ya.
so

Text IV

She asked, "Where in the world, my friend, do these people come from?"

- (67) la ikaiŋa sinasinay¹² ko mwakakay sa anDakalŋa.
stay singing (name) at get up

Mwakakay was singing as she got up.

- (68) iDa sa kilak:lana ki tamaini si syasilanani.
the time coming her father and her boy friend

At that time her father and boy friend were coming home.

- (69) la ki:lana.
arrive

They got home.

- (70) si, "la ino ko mwakakay?" la ya ki?ila:la iDa ka
and where so ask that

sakacikilini.
his wife

"Where is Mwakakay?" he asked his wife.

- (71) "dovac taraDosa ki alini, 'aykyaŋatonai' mya. la
leave both two friend we'll gather wood so

maka?itolŋa si kayana ki:la mobaLiw. lo wa ino?"
for seven and not yet come home go where

"She went with her friend and said, 'We shall gather firewood.' It has been seven days and they have not come home yet. Where have they been?"

- (72) la aLa ko tamaini iDa boo si Lail.
take father that bow and arrow

The father took that bow and arrows.

- (73) la a?ia taLawa ?wana silasila? ki mwakakay.
to east shoot searching for (name)

He shot to the east to look for Mwakakay.

- (74) la syoLi kwaDa Lail.
return the arrow

The arrow returned.

- (75) la a?ia taLyoga, la syoLi; la ?a?oviri, la syoLi; la
to west return to north return
?a?obilin, la syoLi; la ?a?ovanal, la kamiLin¹³ kwaDa Lail.
to sky return to south disappear the arrow

He shot to the west, it returned; to the north, it returned;
to the sky, it returned; to the south, the arrow disappeared.

- (76) ko tamaini, "a?ia ki talivanal ko agi," la ya ki
father to southern younger so
syasilaganini, "aniragilana si ila."
her boy friend dress up and leave

The father said to her boy friend, "Your girl has gone to the
south. Dress up and leave."

- (77) sa ikai siastasinay,¹² "cikis" la ya iDa a?awbilin
when stay singing (sound) that sky light
kaynanay kwaDa Lail ki:la moci:Li taro?ila ki mwakakay.
come the arrow arrive fall lap (name)

While she was singing casually, there was a sound cikis, the
arrow came in through the skylight and fell on Mwakakay's lap.

- (78) "ai..., silasila?na nakwa ko tamali, nali," la ya si tobi.
searching me my father friend so and weep

"Ai..., my father is looking for me, my friend," she said
and cried.

- (79) la wabwa:y sa sakakirin¹⁴ iDa twabaLo.
give rope that monkey

She gave the monkey a rope.

Text IV

- (80) "?awaŋa ?oLayLay ki tamali" myaŋa iDa lakaokaolwini si.
hang down rope my father so the her masses and

"Take up my father by rope," she said to the masses.

- (81) la ikai iDa tiŋab maswabibi:liŋ ko tamaini si syasilanani.
stay the cliff upwards father and her fiance

Her father and boy friend were at the cliff looking up.

- (82) la waci:Li iDa LayLay kwaDa twaboLo.
throw the rope the monkey

The monkey threw down the rope.

- (83) "ni ?awa mita ci:Li sa mya kikai, nakolilili ?ikakoaDa
why put down us throw so this (name) how
mya?" la ya.
so so

"Why did they throw such a thing to us, Kolilili? What are we supposed to do?" he said.

- (84) la wa kwaDa lamatama tara takayn+n.
go the father and son both sit

The men both sat on it.

- (85) la aLa bilbil kwaDa twaboLo ?obi:liŋ.
take pull that monkey up

The monkey pulled them up.

- (86) la ki:la bi:liŋ. la wa maLadaLo makakai sa mwaDaw sa kai:Li:a
come up go directly exactly broad road

mya iDa lamatama.
so that father and son

They came up. The father and son went right to the wide road.

- (87) la davac anokai:Li:a. la da:vac.
walk on road walking

They walked along the road. They kept walking.

- (88) la wa anibwal¹⁵ sa cikil, sa maDaDo,iaθ, kwaDa taw?oŋ
 go sight village noise the dog
magagirin linya waθaŋ.
 fierce them bark

They just caught sight of the village and heard the noise.

The dogs were fierce barking at them.

- (89) la ikai kwaDa lavavalak iDa LaLawa kiLaiLaiLail.
 exist the children the suburb making arrows

There are children outside the village making arrows from reeds.

- (90) la ki?ilaila, "yakai ino kwaDa da:n ki mwakakay?"
 ask stay where the house of

kaDwanomi waci:l ?akai ino?" la ya si.
 you not see at where so

"Where is Mwakakay's house? Have you seen it?" they asked.

- (91) "waθinaInai ya kabocyaka kwaDa da:n ki lamwakakay, kwaDa
 we know at center the house of M.'s the
maDa:dawŋa," la ya kwaDa lavavalak.
 biggest so the children

"Mwakakay's house is in the center, the biggest one," the children replied.

- (92) la davac ilok kwaDa lavavalak liDa la wa iDa lataD.
 walk bring the children them go the outside

The children showed them to outside the house.

- (93) si la molataD kwaDa lagini. la ci:l si kay
 and come out the her younger look and not

aci:llini.
 their seeing

Text IV

Her little girls came out of the house. They looked at them but had never seen them before.

- (94) "ai..., yakai lataD ka omas, namwakakay, lwanĩa syakwan,
stay outside men someone with gun
syaLabo," la ya.
with knife so

"Ai..., there are people outside, Mwakakay. The strangers have guns and knives with them," they said.

- (95) la ci:l kisisi ko mwakakay si amani ko tamaini.
look peep and be her father

Mwakakay peeped out and it was her father.

- (96) si la warokoD iDa tasabika.
and prepare the container of betel nuts

She prepared the container of betel-nuts.

- (97) "mwa bwa:y na, lagili, ?asodaLo lwanĩa kwani badabada,"¹⁶
go give my younger invite someone those strangers
la ya.

"Girls, go to invite the strangers in," she said.

- (98) si la wabwa:y kwaDa lavavalak amya.
and give the children so

The kids went to invite them.

- (99) "la ikai ino ko takanomi, nalavalak?" la ya si.
stay where your elder my kids

"Where's your big sister, my girls?"

- (100) la ici:Lib si ma?acacava mawbi:r.
silent and laugh escape

They (the girls) kept quiet, laughed at each other, and ran away.

- (101) la ?atwanaw tobi amya ki¹⁷ tamaini anibaLolaboLabol,
 start cry so her father rolling

ci:l iDa tasabika, ci:l iDa ta?oa, ci:l iDa takiθ.
 see the container see the container see the knife

The father started crying, rolling on the ground, as he saw the betel-nut container, the lime container, and the small knife.

- (102) "ai:, nya ta?oa ki mwakakay nya takiθ¹⁸ ki mwakakay,
 that container of that knife of

si kay kikawrivata."
 and can we talk to

"Ai:..., that lime container of Mwakakay, that small knife of Mwakakay, then we can talk to her."

- (103) si tara tobi¹⁹ matama matismaimali.
 and both cry father and daughter bitterly

The father and daughter both cried bitterly.

- (104) sa kartis²⁰ ko tamaini, la davacna ko mwakakay θibolay.
 when faint her father go of jump

When the father passed out, Mwakakay jumped out.

- (105) si wana Dwakal.²¹
 and go prop up

She went over to prop him up.

- (106) si kikawrivana.
 and talk to

And she talked.

- (107) si la aLana ?oda:n maboLiboLi.²²
 and take put into house carry

And several people carried him into the house.

Text IV

- (108) la aLaṅa vwao iDa bava si ?aonol ki tamaini si
take draw the wine and make drink her father and
syasilananiini.
her fiance

She took some wine and made her father and boy friend drink it.

- (109) la ankaLaLiṅavanṅa kwaDa tamatama.
revive the father and son

The father and son both came to themselves.

- (110) si la ikaiṅa masiDoDoDoro; makawrivariva.
and stay complaining conversing

She kept telling her grievances; they kept talking to each other.

- (111) "ai: ṅa, nama, nay ?acayta, nay ?acaḍako kaynomi kikawriṅa
Daddy if we die if I die you not talk to

nakwa ka maroDawDaṅli ka latakali; kay taki?ianli ki
me my relatives my elder this my being done

tinali," la ya si tobitobi.
my mother so and crying

"Ai:...., Daddy, if we die or if I die, you senior relatives of mine, elder brothers, sisters, and cousins of mine, will not be able to talk to me; what my mother has done to me!" she said crying.

- (112) makaLimaLimalṅa.
five days

Five days were over.

- (113) makamaṅiamanṅialṅa.
ten days

Ten days were over.

- (114) si kay θiŋal sa maliDaDa tamala!la!lanlini.
and not know when dawning their night talk

They enjoyed talking at night without knowing the daybreak.

- (115) si kasi?iLiŋŋa ko mwakakay.
and tired

Mwakakay got tired.

- (116) "lo mya inya, namwakakay, naidavacna.
if so that we leave

"If that's so, Mwakakay, it's time that we left.

- (117) aykabaLiŋa kwaDa kaDaynai.
will stink the our net

Our net (with meat) will soon stink.

- (118) aykadaθorŋa kwaDa taikaia iDa bolabolay.
will spoil the place the meat

The meat will soon be spoiled.

- (119) anoatoLoako²³ ?wana, anoaDosa ko taka," la ya ko tamaini.
I catch 3 catch catch 2 elder so her father

I shot three (wild-fowls), and your boy friend shot two,"
her father said.

- (120) "i:n, mwa:ŋa.²⁴ asiba:ynomi ki tinali ki agili
O.K. go why not you give my mother my younger

iDa bolabolay la kanika:ni, nama?" la ya.
the meat eating Daddy so

"O.K., please go. Why didn't you give the meat to my
mother and little sister?" she said.

- (121) "nako²⁵ awba:y. ?awako i:ric kaDayli. 'kyaLaLa:²⁶ lo
I not give I fasten my net don't take if

ki:la ko mwakakay ni²⁷ borbor,' la yako ki tinaso.
arrive take out I so your mother

Text IV

nako awborbor," la ya.
I not take out so

"I didn't give (it to them). I fastened my net, 'Don't take it until Mwakakay returns ,' I said to your mother. I didn't take it out,' he said.

(122) la davac ko tamaini.
leave her father

Her father left.

(123) la kɪ:la kaway cikɪllini.
come there their village

They came to their village.

(124) la aLa iDa karinyalaylini borbor Li?ɪŋ si kawriwa ki
take that their clothes take out all and speak to
saLoŋwini,
his wife

He took out all their clothes and said to his wife,

(125) "kay ta?akoaliāso, ?iai kikai, to?avava ki lalakta ka,
this your repression do this bully our child

"You caused so much trouble, you did all that, you ill-treated our child,

(126) ayba:ɗako moswa sa LiθiLiθiŋ ki²⁸ inamay si
I will give you broken needle and
tatolatolava²⁹ inya karinyalay.
burned that clothes

I shall give you only a broken needle and the burned clothes.

(127) nakoy ba:y moswa sa manɪma," la ya ki saLoŋwini.
I not give you anything so his wife

I shall not give you anything else," he said to his wife.

- (128) la aLa Li?iθil Li?iη.
take pack all

He packed all up.

- (129) "kwaDa sa ?akamanjal³⁰ aykɪ:lako amya ki mwakakay," la
that time tenth day I'll arrive so (name)

ya ko tamaini iDa lakaokaolwini.
so her father to his people

"I told Mwakakay that I would go on the tenth day," the father told his people.

- (130) la tobava kwaDa lakaokaol twabay.
make wine the the masses make cake

The people made wine and cake.

- (131) si "tamaki?osawsawana, kanomoy²⁵ ci:lŋa naya ki kolilili,"
and we say farewell you not see us (name)

la ya iDa lakaokaol.
to the masses

"Let's say farewell to each other; you won't see me and Kolilili," he said to the common people.

- (132) kwaDa lakaokaol, "ayto?aLanai," la ya makanaiLi.
the masses we'll join all

The common people all said, "We shall join you."

- (133) "ayto?aLanai. kanaiy²⁵ Limɪ asor.
we'll join we not dare stay

"We shall join you. We cannot stay on.

- (134) ayLimɪnai lo kaDwa ko mwakakay," la ya.
we'll dare if without (name)

We cannot do without Mwakakay," they said.

- (135) si la tobava si onol maki?osawsaw.
and make wine and drink farewell

Text IV

They made wine and drank to say farewell.

- (136) iDa sa ?akamaŋal, la ilok iDa bava si ilok iDa abay,
that time tenth day bring the wine and bring the cake
davac mwa iDa taikaya ki mwakakay makanaLi, amya.
walk go the place of (name) all so

On the tenth day, all of them went to Mwakakay's place with the wine and cake.

- (137) si laytomawlayŋa ko mwakakay toθarilŋa
and would cite incantation (name) make good
dwaLanŋa, si kwaDa nakalisia, kwaDa naDakiral, kwaDa
construct road and the ex-bad thing the ex-river the
nataoLiŋLiŋLiŋ, kwaDa nakaiLiŋa, natiŋab, amaLanŋa rwadas;
ex-rocks the ex-road ex-cliff take flatten
tokaiLiŋanŋa misai θoLiDŋa ka aLaLiŋil kwaDa kaiLiŋa.
build road as if slip flies the road

Mwakakay recited the incantations to make good the roads and flattened the bad places, the river, the rocks, the roads, the steep mountains; the roads were so well constructed as if flies would slip on them.

- (138) la davac ko tamaini maililok iDa lakaokaolwini, maililok
walk her father bring the his people bring
iDa bava, iDa abay, mwa iDa cikiŋ ki mwakakay.
the wine the cake go the village of (name)

Her father brought his people, the wine, and cakes to Mwakakay's village.

- (139) si kayŋanay giLiŋ kwaDa lakaokaol to?aLa.
and return crowd the masses join

He returned with a big crowd joining him.

- (140) si la ki:la iDa, si anibava, si maLadaLo ?walaŋ,
and arrive there and drink wine and immediately marry

si maikai kwaDa laDosa.
and live the couple

They got there, drank the wine, and the two (Mwakakay and Kolilili) got married immediately and lived together.

Footnotes to Text IV

¹This was recorded by lidim (Mrs. Shu-o Wu 吳素娥, aged 65 in 1970) and interpreted by Mr. Te-tz'u Lin in October 1970. Mwakakay is a popular Rukai heroine who has the magic power. Her boy friend is said to be Kolɿlɿlɿ. Here is but one of many stories about Mwakakay. Cf. the Mwakakay text recorded by Ogawa (OA 1935:339-51).

²The prefix na- + N 'past, former, ex-,' e.g., na-omas 'former (deceased) person,' na-Dakɿral 'former river' (4-137), na-kawriwa 'former talk.'

³I recorded the glottal stop between the identical vowels in the stems siʔiɿg 'straight' and aθaʔa 'to transform,' but my informant Lin did not think there was the glottal stop in either item. If he was right, then these would be exceptions to the distributional gaps stated in Li 1973:20.

⁴The structure of the sentence is complex and composite of two clauses, with the subject mwakakay omitted in the first clause:
nikɿ:la si kaDawɿa (mwakakay), la niʔimaɿla ko tamaini.
came and get big different her father

Both nikɿ:la and niʔimaɿla contain the nominalized past passive markers ni-...-a(n); see Li 1973:206.

⁵The prefix na- indicates a direct address.

⁶The affixes maka-...-l + Numeral 'day(s),' e.g., maka-ʔito-l 'seven days' (4-7, 9-47) < ʔito 'seven,' maka-ʔosa-ʔosa-l 'two days' (14-26) < Dosa 'two.'

⁷The verb refers to 'work without pay, common folks' free service for the noble family.'

⁸This is the older form for iDa 'that' and found only in the speech of much older speakers.

⁹Cf. the example below:

atamaya: toLavaLavay. (They) are working as usual.
same working

¹⁰The item ali 'friend (female)' can take the addressing prefix na- to get nali, the dual prefix ma- (or la-ma-) to get mali (or lamali) 'two friends,' or the plural and dual prefix plus reduplication of the stem to get lamalyali /la-ma-ali-ali/

'three or more friends.' One of the two identical vowels is elided in these forms; see Li 1973, §3.6.

¹¹The form t/in/o-ka-baLobaLoa-na literally means 'made young ladies,' cf. mwa-ka-baLobaLoa 'young lady,' lanko-baLobaLoa 'young ladies.' Also cf. t/ino/-sawalað-a 'made men' < sawalay 'man' in the following sentence.

¹²Two different reduplicated forms can be derived from the same stem sīnay 'to sing': sīna-sīnay 'to be singing' and sīa-sīa-sīnay 'to be singing casually and lightly.'

¹³Cf. the examples below:

(a) mamiLin waʔic. (He) slept soundly.
disappear sleep

(b) mamiLinako moθigay. I fainted and fell down.
I faint fall

¹⁴The prefix sa- + V (or N) 'implement,' e.g., sa-toʔtoʔ 'object used to peck = beak' < toʔtoʔ 'to peck,' sa-ba:ða 'wedding gift' < ba:ða 'object of giving;' see Li 1973:273-74.

¹⁵Roughly the term anibwal means 'to show up, just visible.' Cf. the example below:

anyabwal kwani vai. The sun was just rising.
visible that sun

¹⁶The term bada means both 'enemy' and 'outsider, stranger.' Formerly Rukai people regarded all outsiders as enemies. The reduplication of the noun indicates plurality.

¹⁷The accusative article ki is used when preceded by the verb amya 'so, as the narrator said.' Without amya, the nominative article ko would be used:

la ʔatwanaw tobi ko tamaini.
start cry her father

Then her father started crying.

¹⁸Originally the interpreter gave nya (</inia/) taʔoa 'that lime-container' and nya takiθ 'that knife.' But he changed them to na-taʔoa 'former lime-container' and na-takiθ 'former knife.'

¹⁹The first two morphemes in (a) and (b) can be differentiated by vowel length and stress:

(a) tara: tóbi kay Lolay. This child often cries.
often cry this child

(b) tara tobí matama. The father and child both cry.
both cry father and child

Footnotes to Text IV

I treat tara in (b) as an adverb and that in (a) as an agentive prefix, cf. tara-bava 'drunkard' < bava 'wine,' taralo? 'hunter' < alo? 'to hunt.'

²⁰Cf. the stative form in (a) and future form in (b):

(a) martis ko tamaini. Her father fainted.
faint her father

(b) aykartis ko tamaini. Her father will faint.
will faint her father

²¹The stem is Dakal 'to prop,' cf. an(i)-Dakal 'to get up.'

²²The prefix ma- + N 'dual,' e.g., ma-taLagi 'two friends,' ma- + V 'reciprocal, dual or plural,' e.g., ma-?acacava 'were laughing at each other' (4-100), ma-?ia 'all do so.' In (107) ma-boLi-boLi means 'several were carrying.'

²³The prefix anoa- + Numeral 'to catch.'

²⁴The mild request can be indicated by -na following an imperative verb. See Li 1973:286-87.

²⁵Note in the negative verb na/ko/y 'I not' < kay + (a)ko, (a) the fusion of the negative and the personal marker, (b) the dissimilation of the initial consonant k > n, and (c) the omission of -y. The following rules operate:

(a) kay + so > ka/so/y 'you(sg.) not'

(b) kay + nomi > ka/nomo/y, (not *ka/nomi/y) 'you(pl.) not' (Note the process of assimilation in vowels.)

(c) kay + ta > ka/ta/y 'we(inc.) not'

(d) kay + nai > ka/nai/y 'we(exc.) not'

(e) kay + (a)ko > na/ko/y, (not *ka/ko/y) 'I not'

(f) kay + \emptyset > ka/Do/y, (not *kay) 'he not'
(Cf. kaDo 'not exist')

See Li 1973:228.

²⁶The prefix ki- (or ky-) + V(RED) 'don't, prohibitive,' e.g., ki-dami-damik 'Don't hit it!' ky-a-wa-wa 'Don't go!' ky-aLa-aLa 'Don't take it!' ky-a-wa?ic 'Don't sleep!' ki-ba-ba:y 'Don't give it!'

²⁷The forms lo...., ni.... means 'if...., then....'

²⁸The ki functions as an attributive marker.

²⁹The stem is tolaw 'to burn.' Cf. transitive and intransitive forms:

Transitive

tolaw 'to burn'

laob 'to burn'

Intransitive

ko-tolaw 'to burn'

ko-laob 'to burn'

See Li 1973:242-43.

³⁰The affixes ?aka--1 + Numeral 'the...th day,' e.g., ?aka-so?ati-1 'the fourth day' < so?at 'four,' ?aka-va-1 'the first day' < ia 'one.' Cf. maka--1 + Numeral 'day(s)' in Note 6 above. Notice the m ~ ? alternation of the same affixes.

Text V

V. taisolada¹
lodging

A Stay Overnight

- (1) yakai kwaDa mwakaθabara.²
exist that young man

There was a young man.

- (2) la davac LiLiLiog³ kivaivaivan.
go travelling amuse himself

He was travelling and amusing himself.

- (3) la ki:lan̄a sa takaDwa: sa cikil.
come no place village

He came to a place where there was no village.

- (4) la kaon̄na si kaDwana ka ataisolada.⁴
night and no yet place to stay

It was already night time but there was no place for him to stay overnight.

- (5) kabaṅabaṅ sa ataisolaḍan̄ini kwaDa mwakaθabara.
not know his place to stay the young man

The young man did not know where to stay overnight.

- (6) sa ikai iDa, la ci:l ʔasawLyoli, si ikai ka da:n.
when stay there see turn around and exist house

While he was there, he looked around and there was a house.

- (7) la wa iDa da:n, kaθa ka tan̄ia ka mwakabaLobaLoa.
go the house only one young lady

He went to the house, where there was only one young lady.

- (8) la kiʔilaila iDa ababay, "kaDwa ka taisolada?" la ya.
ask the girl no place to stay so

He asked the girl, "Isn't there a place to stay overnight?"

- (9) "kaDwa, kaθa ka da:n kikai,"⁵ la ya kawriva kwaDa
 no only house here so speak the
mwakabaLobaLoa.
 young lady

"No, only here is a house," the young lady said.

- (10) iDa la kawriva kwaDa ababay, "oDava lo⁶ ikaiso isolay
 then speak the girl even if you stay stay
ti:ni, aykatoma?" la ya.
 here will matter so

Then the lady said, "At any rate, would it matter even if you stay here overnight?"

- (11) la ?oka:n⁷ kwaDa mwakaθabara.
 agree the young man

The young man agreed.

- (12) la ikai isolay iDa.
 stay stay there

He stayed there overnight.

- (13) si iDa sa kaonpa, iDa ataisolaðanini, la kaDwa ka
 and that time night the her lodging not have
taikaikaya⁸ ka Doma; ia ka taikaikaya kwaDa
 bed other one bed the

ata?icanlini.
 their place to sleep

During the night time the place where he was to stay had no extra bed; the place where they were to sleep had only one bed.

- (14) iDa taikaikaya, la ?awa wagis sa banin, iDa kaDwy
 that bed put separate board that they not
maDaDikis⁹ lo a?ic.
 crowded when sleep

Text V

In the bed, a board was put to separate them so that they would not crowd together when they slept.

- (15) sa maka agis, la tara a?ic.
when finish separate then both sleep

When they were separated, they both slept.

- (16) si sa amyaLiaL± la anDakalna.
in morning get up

And in the morning, they got up.

- (17) iDa taikayan±ini ki?aisolay taki?akanan±ini,¹⁰ "malisi
that his staying be lodged his being fed bad
lo kaynako to?aLa momaoma twatoma," la ya kwaDa sawalay.
if I not join to field work so the man

He was lodged and fed at the place where he stayed, "It would be bad manner if I don't join her working in the field," the man thought.

- (18) la davac to?aLa momaoma.
go join to field

So they went to the field together.

- (19) iDa sa davac momaoma, tara sikarot.
that time go to field both wear hat

They both wore bamboo hats when they went to the field.

- (20) si kwaDa sasivira la aLokak±c±ni.
and the wind strong

The wind was a little strong.

- (21) si kwaDa ababay kay ?oDyaDinay sikarot.
and the girl not do well wear hat

The girl had not worn her hat well.

- (22) la ki:la kwaDa sasivira, si aLa θwavag¹¹ iDa sikarot iDa
come that wind and take blow away the hat the
ababay.
girl

The wind came and blew away the girl's hat.

- (23) kwaDa karot la kiθavag ?akila¹² iDa LikoDana iDa aLaD.
the hat blown away reach the behind the fence

The hat was blown behind the fence.

- (24) kwaDa mwakaθabara θibolay makabilin si wa maLa iDa karot.
the young man jump from above and go take the hat

The young man jumped over the fence to retrieve the hat.

- (25) si la ki:la bwa:y iDa ababay.
and come give the girl

And he came to give it to the girl.

- (26) iDa sa ki:la bwa:y iDa ababay, la aymayna ?awa inya
the time come give the girl immediately put that
silita? ?a¹³ Labin kwaDa ababay.
slap on cheek the girl

When he gave it to the girl, she slapped on his face.

- (27) kwaDa sawalay la kasama:li,¹⁴ "tomanayni¹⁵ si damikayni
the man surprised why and hit
nakwa? manimanayni ka ?acoga?" la ya kiDimDim.
me what matter so think

The man was very surprised, "Why did she hit me? What's the matter?" he wondered.

- (28) si la kawriwa iDa ababay, "manima kwaDa ?acogaso damik
and speak the girl what the you mean hit
nakwa?" la ya.
me so

Then he said to the girl, "What do you mean by hitting me?"

Text V

(29) "komaon¹⁶ sokay maka θibolay ina ma:libi na aLaD, si
last night you not able jump that low that fence and

kayasa la kalalikitso θibolay inya ma:bili na aLaD," la
now you able jump that high that fence

ya.
so

"Last night you were not able to jump over the low fence,
but now you could jump over such a high fence," she said.

(30) si la tara macava.
and both laugh

And then they both laughed.

Footnotes to Text V

¹This was recorded and interpreted by Mr. Te-tz'u Lin in October 1970. It is a joke.

²This appears to be an existential sentence, yet the nominative kwaDa instead of the expected indefinite accusative ka marks the NP in the sentence. But to interpret it as a locative sentence seems odd. See Li 1973, §4.6.2 for the existential type.

³The stem Liog 'to pass' > Li-Li-Liog 'to keep passing on the way, travelling.'

⁴The stem isolay means 'to stay overnight.' The affixes a-....-a(n) + V indicates a future action to be done; see Li 1973, §4.6.8, and ta- + N indicates a place.

⁵As noted in Text II, Note 37, kaθa is a verb, which normally appears with a nominative in the sentence, as below:

kaθa kay taDosa ka lalakli.
only this two my child

I have only these two children.

However, in the sentence kaθa ka da:n kikai both ka and kikai (or kikay) are accusative markers, so there is no nominative. In fact, kikai functions as an adverb of place in the sentence. The verb appears to take a direct object in the sentence.

⁶Cf. the example below:

oDava lo ki:lako, ayilokako sa manima?
even if I come I'll bring what

Even if I come, what shall I bring?

The expression oDava lo mikakaoa means 'at any rate, no matter how.'

⁷The item ?okai:n literally means 'to utter yes' < ±:n 'yes.' Cf. the sentence below:

?okai:nako mwa iDa. I agreed to go there.
I agree go there

⁸Its underlying form /ta-ikai-ikai-an/ literally means 'a place of staying.'

⁹The form ma-Da-Dikis means '(two people) to crowd each other,' cf. ma-Diki-Dikis '(several people) to crowd one another.'

Footnotes to Text V

It is clear that different reduplications of the same stem may have different meanings. The item ma-Da-Dikis is related to ki-Dikis 'to sit or stand closer.'

¹⁰Note the order of the prefixes passive ki- and causative ?a- in both the forms ki-?a-isolay 'passive-causative-stay overnight' and ta-ki-?a-kan-ani-ini 'place-passive-causative-eat-nominal-his.' The structure of the utterance before the quotation is unclear. Besides the accusative iDa, the three syntactic forms are NVN, and in that order.

¹¹The stem is θavag 'to blow away.' As an embedded verb it takes the infix -w- between the initial consonant and the following vowel a; see Li 1973:225. Cf. the passive form ki-θavag 'be blown away' in (23).

¹²The item ?akila can function both as a preposition 'to' and an infinitive verb 'to reach;' see Li 1973:111. As a preposition, it may not be followed by any determiner, whereas as a verb it may.

¹³The form ?a (or ?akai) 'on, at' is a non-directional preposition; see Li 1973:116.

¹⁴The vowel length indicates intensity.

¹⁵The suffix -ayni + V indicates 'doubt, puzzle' in three verbs in this sentence. It may also indicate "possibly, perhaps;" see examples in Text XI.

¹⁶The prefix ko- (or kw-) + N(time) 'past time,' e.g., ko-da: 'yesterday,' kw-iga 'when (past).' Cf. the prefix lo- (or lw-) + N(time) 'future time,' e.g., lo-da: 'tomorrow,' lw-iga 'when (future).' See OA 1935:33 or Li 1973:275-76.

VI. motyaDaDiti¹
Turn into sausage

Turning into a Sausage

- (1) aytomawladako iDa motyaDaDiti.²
I'll tell story the turn into sausage
I shall tell a story about turning into a sausage.
- (2) kwaDa lamasakacikil³ twalalakna sa takaLa.⁴
the couple had children many
A couple had got many children.
- (3) kwaDa tamatama la kidoLoŋa⁵ kyara⁶ laʔo ina lalalakini
the father toil keep support the his children
takaLa ?akaliŋaw.
many very
It was a great burden for the father to keep supporting so many children.
- (4) la ikai ka ia ka vayana, la davac momaoma.
exist one day go to field
On a certain day, he went to the field.
- (5) iDa la kɪ:la iDa sa:Da, la isaDa:na twakaynɪn twamako.
then arrive the rest place rest sat smoke
When he got to the rest-place, he rested for a while and sat down to smoke.
- (6) iDa, "ay?ikakoa laykaynako kidoLoŋa? kaynako maka
then will how I would not toil not I able
twatomanna?" la ya kwaDa tamatama.
work so the father
Then, "What should I do so that I would not toil? and I would not have to work?" the father talked to himself.

Text VI

- (7) si "haw?a asi motiDaDitiako! la ya sa ikai iDa
and wish and I turn into sausage so when stay the

sa:Da. la ?atwanaw motiDaDiti ikai aniLikaw
rest place start turn into sausage stay roll

sa:Da.
rest place

"May I turn into a sausage!" he said at the resting-place.

Then he began to turn into a sausage rolling up at the resting-place.

- (8) iDa kwaDa lamatinatina la kilakilana iDa sa:Da.
then the mother etc. approaching the rest place

At that time the mother and children were approaching the resting-place.

- (9) "?ia! ni: kay ka di:ti kikay aniLikaw?" la ya kwaDa
why this sausage here roll so the

tinatina si la aLa ci:Li ?okarDara.
mother and take throw into basket

"Yia! Why is there a sausage rolled up here?" the mother said and threw it into the basket.

- (10) sa ?awa ci:Li karDara, "?ananai," la ya.
put in throw basket (cry of pain) so

As she threw it into the basket, it made a cry of pain.

- (11) si la kila omaoma si kaDwa kwaDa tamatama.
and arrive field and not the father

They came to the field and the father was not there.

- (12) "amwa inino ko tamaso?"
go where your father

"Where has your father been to?"

- (13) la tolavay waon si kaDwa kwaDa tamatama, si la maLadaLo
 work all day and not the father and directly

mobaLiw.
 go home

They worked all day long without the father and went straight home.

- (14) ki:la baLiw si kaDwa kwaDa tamatama.
 come home and not the father

They came home, and the father was not in.

- (15) "la wa inino ko tamanomi?" la ya kwaDa tinalini.
 go where your father so the their mother

"Where has your father been to?" their mother said.

- (16) la, ta toba:s ki Di:ti, la ya kwaDa tinatina.
 we boil sausage so the mother

"Then let's boil the sausage," the mother said.

- (17) lo aLa vilvil, "?ananai," la ya.
 when take shake (pain) so

When she shook it, it made a cry of pain.

- (18) la ?atwanaw toba:s ?awa ?alon iDa Di:ti.
 start boil put pan the sausage

She began boiling the sausage in the pan.

- (19) la "?ananai, ?ananai." la yaya.
 (pain) (pain) so

It kept crying 'pain.'

- (20) si kwaDa Di:ti la kadona.
 and the sausage cooked

And the sausage was cooked already.

Text VI

- (21) la aLa mwaLa si ?aDoDo:L⁷ ko tinatina.
take take out and give out mother

The mother took it out and divided it up.

- (22) lo vilvɪl, la "ʔananai," la ya kwaDa Di:tɪ.
when shake then (pain) so that sausage

As she shook it, that sausage made a cry of pain.

- (23) la ?awa gɪLgɪL, "ʔananai," la ya.
put cut (pain) so

As she cut it, it made a cry of pain.

- (24) la gɪLaLɪgɪL, "ʔananai," la ya.
cutting (pain) so

While she kept cutting it, it made a cry of pain.

- (25) sa Li?ɪŋ ?aDoDo:L iDa lalalakɪni, la ?awa gɪLgɪL toDo:L
all give out the her children begin cut make share
iDa tamatama.
the father

After the children had all been given their shares, she cut a share for the father.

- (26) "yaki tamaso kayvay," la ya ?awa ci:Li takiDiŋa.
of your father this so begin throw spoon place

"This is for your father," she said, throwing it to the place of spoons.

- (27) sa ?awa ci:Li, "ʔananai," la ya.
begin throw (pain) so

As she threw it, it made a cry of pain.

- (28) la maka kanɪŋa kwaDa lamatyatina iDa DoLolini.
already eat the mother etc. the their share

The mother and children finished eating their shares.

(29) la kɪ:la kwaDa tamalini twalay takiDina θibolay,
 come the their father from spoon place jump

"kwaDa tinoDoLo yaki tamaso nia:? kaynanay motiomas
 that share of your father mentioned return into man

syoLi θibolay."
 return jump

Their father jumped out from the place of spoons. "That share of your father, turning back into a man jumping."

(30) "lay?ikakoanako twatoma toLavay, lwa?o nomya awkaninomi
 would how I do work support you you eat

nakwa?" la ya kwaDa tamatama.
 me so the father

"How could I work to support you if you should eat me up?"
 the father said.

(31) la kasama:li kwaDa lamatyatina.
 surprised the mother-et-al.

The mother and children were really surprised.

Footnotes to Text VI

Footnotes to Text VI

¹This was recorded and interpreted by Mr. Te-tz'u Lin in October 1970.

²The verb motyaDaDiti 'turned into a sausage' is nominalized after the determiner iDa 'that.'

³Note the derivations lama-saka-cikil 'couple' < saka-cikil 'spouse' < cikil 'village.'

⁴The form ta-kaLa 'many people (or animals)' contains the animal/human prefix ta-; cf. ma-kaLa 'many things.'

⁵The form ki-doLo 'to toil, to be tired,' cf. doLo 'energetic.' ky-a-doLo-so 'Are you tired?'

⁶The form kyara can be treated as an adverb. If it was a verb, the following embedded verb la?o should take the infix w. The meaning of kyara + V is 'to keep doing,' e.g., kyara macava 'to keep laughing,' kyara takayn+n 'to keep sitting,' kyara ronon 'to keep bending one's body.'

⁷The stem Do:l 'a share' > Do-Do:L '(for each) to get a share' > ?a-Do-Do:L 'to give out shares.'

VII. tolalak¹
childbirth

Childbirth

- (1) kayvay kawrivanli amani kwaDa twalalak si sarar.
this my talk is the childbirth and leave it

This story is about someone who had a baby and left it behind.

- (2) koliDa taDwaDosana cikicikil, kaDwana ka lalak ka Doma.
they 2 people still family not have child other

The family had only a couple with no children yet.

- (3) la ikai ka ia ka vayana, kwaDa sakacikilini la mobola,
exist one day the her husband go to hill

kwaDa ababay la morairai?²
the woman exchange labor

On a certain day, while her husband went to the hill, the woman was exchanging labor with others.

- (4) iDa sa morairai?, ikai ki?a+Li ko takaini morairai?
the time ex. labor stay join her elder ex. labor

During the exchange of labor, her elder sister joined her.

- (5) iDa sa morairai? sa tolalalaknaini.
the time ex. labor time her childbirth

At the time of exchanging labor, she was about to have a baby.

- (6) iDa sa davac morai?, la ?atwanaw kyanjan.³
the time go ex. labor begin painful

When she was going to work, she began to feel pain.

- (7) iDa sa kayana tatokoDalyalya,⁴ la ici:Libi mobaLiw, kay
the time not yet lunch time quiet go home not

gici:L⁵ ?ilaila ki takaini "myako inya" mya.
secret tell her elder I so that so

Text VII

Before noon she went home quietly without secretly telling her sister what her condition was like.

- (8) la davac. sa ki:lana kaiLia, la ki?arokrok si maLadaLo
leave when come road pain and immediately
tolalak mwa iDa θi:l kaiLia.
childbirth go the near road

Then she left. When she was on the way, she felt continuous pain and went immediately to have a baby nearby the road.

- (9) iDa sa kaLaboθ⁶ iDa Lolay.
the time bring forth the baby

At that time she brought forth the baby.

- (10) la ?atwanaw kasigirar⁷ maLa rɔciŋ iDa Lolay.
begin afraid take hold the baby

She began to be afraid of holding the baby.

- (11) "nawaLa Li?oc nawaLa ilok lo yako kiDɔmDɔm iDa lalak,
I take wrap I take bring when I so think the child
kasigirar."
afraid

"I thought I was going to wrap the baby and bring it back, but I was afraid."

- (12) kay aLa⁸ kwaDa tinaini.
not take the its mother

The mother didn't take it.

- (13) la ?atwanaw swarar, kobo arakai iDa sokonwini si davac.
start leave cover use the her apron and leave

She began to leave it there, covered it with her apron and left.

- (14) iDa sa ki:la baLiw, kaDwa ka omas linyana.
 the time come home not exist man them yet

When she came home, nobody was in yet.

- (15) la maLadaLo mwa wa?ic ici:Libi.
 directly go sleep quiet

She went to bed directly without saying anything.

- (16) sa kilakilaŋa iDa mwa omaoma maDisisiŋ,⁹ iDa amyawaobŋa.
 when coming the go field meet the evening

When those who had worked in the field were coming back, it was in the evening.

- (17) si kwaDa laomaomas lo ki:la iDa taikaya iDa Lolay, sa
 and those people when come that place the baby when
ikai tobitobi kwaDa Lolay, la ?atwanaw maokolokolO kwaDa
 stay crying the baby start afraid that
omas.
man

When those people came to the place of the baby, the baby was crying, and the people became frightened.

- (18) lo ki:la iDa, la kilaLa iDa tobitobi.
 when come there hear that crying

When they got there, they heard it crying.

- (19) "la, bababaLa mita," la ya si maobi:bi:r maLabwabwal.
 demon cry us so and escape running

"The demon is crying to us," they said and ran away.

- (20) la ki:la kwaDa mwa omaoma ka maobi:bi:r. "awbababaLa mita,"
 when come the go field escape demon cry us

mya.
 so

When those who had come to work in the field got there they ran away. "The demon is crying to us," they said.

Text VII

- (21) iDa la ki:laŋa kwaDa sakac:k+l+i:ni.
then come the her husband

At that time her husband came back.

- (22) la ki:la kwaDa lartisa talinkaykaya¹⁰ iDa sawalay.
come the relatives belong to that man

The man's relatives came along.

- (23) "so a?ic?¹¹ aytolalakso? toalalakso?" la ya ki?+la+la.
you sleep you'll have baby you had baby ask

"Why are you sleeping? Are you going to have a baby? Have you had a baby?" they asked her.

- (24) si ici:L+bi kwaDa ababay.
and quiet the woman

And the woman kept quiet.

- (25) iDa la kawriwa kwaDa ababay sa kawlayna.
then speak the woman when long

The woman spoke only after a long time.

- (26) "twalalakako kaway Do: kaynako aLa ilok; masig+rarko
I had a baby there (place) I not take bring I afraid

maLa ilok," la ya.
take bring

"I had a baby over there at Do:. I did not bring it back; I was afraid to bring it back," she said.

- (27) la ?+la+la kwaDa ababay iDa taikaya.
tell the woman the place

The woman told them the place.

- (28) la davac syoral mwa ci:l.
walk with torch go see

They went to see it with torch.

- (29) sa waci:l, kartisna¹² kwaDa Lolay.
when see die the baby

When they looked at it, the baby had died.

- (30) la aLa ilok ?obaLiw iDa Lolay.
take bring home the baby

They brought back the baby.

- (31) si la ikai rivorivo iDa ababay, "manimanso ka omas?" ka mya
and stay scolding the woman you what man so
kikai. "makaDwaDwa sa lina?oa," mya mya.
this not as good beast so so

They were scolding the woman like this, "What kind of person are you?" "You are not so good as a beast!"

- (32) lo rivorivona la kartisna kwaDa Lolay.
scolding die that baby

When they were scolding her, that baby had already died.

Footnotes to Text VII

¹This was recorded and interpreted by Mr. Te-tz'u Lin in October 1970. It was an event that took place in Taromak several years ago.

²It is a common practice for the people in Taromak to exchange labor called morai? with others in the village.

³The stem is anjan. Cf. its various forms in the examples below:

(a) kyanjanko. I was painful.

(b) wanjan ?akalinaw kay alimali.
pain very this my hand

This hand of mine was very painful.

⁴Note the derivations ta-to-koDalyaly-a 'lunch time, noon' < to-koDali 'to eat lunch' < koDali 'lunch.'

⁵The item gici:L means 'to inform secretly by pinching someone's flesh.'

⁶The form kaLaboθ means 'to let go, to release, to bring forth.' Cf.

(a) sa kaLaboθako la moci:Li.
as I release fall

As I released my hold, I fell down.

(b) maLaboθ kwani sakakirin.
loosened that rope

That rope is loosened.

⁷Cf. the item in the following sentence:

kasgirar ci:l iDa atatoLal kwani ababay.
afraid see that earthworm that lady

Seeing that earthworm, that lady became afraid.

⁸This type of verb does not take the prefix m- after the negative kay or conjunctive la 'then;' it does in an imperative, e.g., maLa 'Take it!' or in the embedded structure as below:

ayoako maLa. I shall go to take it.
I'll go take

⁹The item describes a situation in which many people were going to and fro, and meeting one another on the way.

¹⁰The form talinkaya 'to belong to' is singular; the plural is reduplicated talinkaykaya.

¹¹When a short second personal pronoun precedes the verb, it indicates a question asking 'why' without a question word, e.g.,

(a) so Labwabwal? Why are you running?
you running

(b) so macacava? Why are you laughing?
you laughing

There are justifications to treat the short form that immediately follows the verb stem as a suffix; see Li 1973:79-81. Nevertheless, there is no decisive evidence to treat it as a dependent form, i.e. as a prefix of the verb.

The short personal pronouns so, ta, na(w), etc. normally follow the verb stem as suffixes. When they do occur before the verb stem, they have special meanings: so + V 'why do/are you...', ta + V 'let's...', na(w) + V 'I shall/must/want...' There is an inaccurate statement made in Li 1973:79-80, "...the personal markers cannot precede a verb..."

¹²Its stative form is martis 'died, fainted.' E.g.,

(a) martis kwani omas. That man died.
died that man

The term martis is a milder expression than ?acay 'died.' Cf.

(b) yakayako sa kartistis.
I stay when dying

When he was dying, I was around.

(c) yakayako sa ?aca?acay.
I stay when dying

When he was dying, I was around.

There is still another way of indicating death. E.g.,

(d) mabotakja kay nyak.
has broken this breath

This breath has broken; he has died.

VIII. comay si Likolaw¹
bear and leopard

The Bear and the Leopard

- (1) kay akawrivanli amani kwaDa lamalala² kwaDa motyacomay
this my speech is the friends that turn into bear
si Likolaw.³
and leopard

My story is that two friends turned into a bear and leopard.

- (2) yakai kwaDa lamalala amya.
existed the friends so

There were two friends.

- (3) lo: amanima kwaDa kiDimDimlini, "ta ma?aca?acas, nala,"
when something that their thought we paint friend
la maia kwaDa lamalala.
so the friends

The friends consulted each other when they thought of something, "Let's paint on each other, friend."

- (4) si la aswala kwaDa Likolaw.
and precede the leopard

The leopard was the first one (to get painted).

- (5) kwaDa comay la ?awa ?wacas kinawmasa ki laini.
the bear cause paint body of his friend

The bear painted the body of his friend.

- (6) ?wa:cas si la "ci:la, nala, maθaril ta?acasanli?" la ya
painting and look friend pretty my drawing so
iDa taLagini.
the his friend

He was painting for quite a while and then asked his friend,

"Look! my friend, is my painting pretty?"

- (7) la ci:l si "ia:, maθaril," la ya.
look and pretty so

(The leopard) looked at it and said, "Yes, it's pretty."

- (8) "i:n, la ?awaŋa ili⁴ ?wacas," la ya iDa laini.
yes cause me paint the his friend

"All right, then paint on me," he said to his friend.

- (9) la ?awa ?wacas kwaDa Likolaw ?akai tagira.
put in paint the leopard at breast

The leopard painted on the (bear's) breast.

- (10) "la ci:la, nala, kikai. ?iako moswa kikai?" la ya.
look friend here I do you this so

"Look here, my friend. Shall I paint on you like this?"
he asked.

- (11) si "i:n"⁵ ?akyalalava inya ta?ianli moswa, toθaril," la
and yes imitate that my work you make pretty.
ya.
so

"Yes, Please paint like what I've done for you and make it
pretty," he said.

- (12) "i:n, mimicana! si na"⁶ ?awa moswa ?wacas," la ya ko
yes close eyes and I cause you paint so
laini.
his friend

"All right, close your eyes! I shall paint on you," his
friend said.

- (13) la mimica ?a?o?a?aLa ko comay.
close eyes follow bear

Following the directions, the bear closed his eyes.

Text VIII

- (14) sa mimica ko laini, kay θinal sa ay?ikakoa ?wacas
when close eyes his friend not know will how paint

ki laini ko Likolaw.
for his friend leopard

When his friend kept his eyes closed, the leopard did not know how to paint for his friend.

- (15) la ?awa inya toiciciLing Disis ?asa:il: ki laini,
cause that blacken smear all for his friend

kaθanna kwaDa DiLik to?oli?oli TwaLaTaLaw vo:g.
finish the back whiten draw circle leave

He smeared his friend all black except for the white circle on the back.

- (16) si iDa, "la Likaykacana, nala," la ya ko Likolaw.
and then open eyes friend so leopard

And then, the leopard said, "Please open your eyes, my friend."

- (17) la Likaykac ko comay.
open eyes bear

The bear opened his eyes.

- (18) si ci:l iDa kinawmasanini si aiciciLing; kaDwa ka
and see that his body and blackened without

taka?olia iDa kinawmasanini.
white spots that his body

He looked at his own body and it was black all over; nowhere was it white.

- (19) "tomanso si ?iaso kikai, nala? la ikayako ?oDyaDyaDinay
you do and you make this friend I stay do well

?waca?acas si ?awaso ?ia kikai toicici:Linna
painting and you cause make this blacken

?amatigawgaw nakwa," la ya kwaDa comay.
dirty me so the bear

"Why did you do this to me, my friend? I did a good job painting on you, but you painted on me all black, dirty-looking, like this," the bear said.

- (20) "so matigi:moc, ?akaLinaw, nala," la ya kwaDa comay.
 you provocative very mad friend so the bear

"You are really provocative, my friend," the bear said.

- (21) "so to?avavava nakwa," la ya ko comay.
 you bully me so bear

"Why have you been bullying me?" the bear said.

- (22) maolocna ayma?a?aca?acayna tara kasaLayna tamaololocanlini.
 wrestle will kill both exhausted their wrestling

They wrestled in order to kill each other until they both got exhausted.

- (23) iDa kwaDa Likolaw la kawriva, "ya lo mya inya, nala, ta
 then the leopard say so if like that friend we
maisadana," la ya.
 rest so

The leopard said, "If that's so, my friend, let's rest."

- (24) si "amanyako ka ?amoli," la ya kwaDa Likolaw.
 and I am fault the leopard

"It's my fault," the leopard said.

- (25) iDa sa ?ia inya la tara isaDana malala.
 the time do that both rest friends

After he said that, the friends both rested.

- (26) si la kawriva ko Likolaw, "kay lo⁷ ?anako, lo ikai
 and say leopard this when I hunt when have
kwaDa kiDinayli, aykaniako iDa salyaDin si kaθa. kwaDa
 the my pick up I'll eat the viscera and end the

Text VIII

Li?iŋ kwaDa kinawmasani ini ?atako⁸ rimrim ka aysararako
all the his body even bone I'll put down

?otiDa bwa:y moswa, nala," la ya.
leave give you friend so

And the leopard said, "When I have game or pick up any animal, I shall eat only the viscera. As to the whole body with bones I shall give to you, my friend."

- (27) la ?okai:n ko comay iDa tamakakitkitanlini:
accept bear the their agreement

The bear accepted their agreement:

- (28) lo kiDiŋay ko Likolaw la kani iDa salyaDiŋ,⁹ kwaDa ?ast:i:Da
when pick up leopard eat the viscera the left over

la sarar la amani ko comay ka waLi?iŋ.
put down is bear eat all

When the leopard picks up some animal, he eats the viscera and leaves the rest for the bear to finish up.

- (29) lo kiDiŋay ko Likolaw la ?ia kwan iDa saliaDiŋ, la sarar.
when pick up leopard do eat that viscera leave

When the leopard picks up an animal, he eats the viscera and then leaves it behind.

- (30) lo wa kiDiŋay ko comay, la "?ia, ti:Da nakwa ki lata,"
when go pick up bear leave for me by our friend

la ya ko comay. la kani Li?iŋ ?atako rimrim Li?iŋ.
so bear eat all even bone all

When the bear picks it up, he will then say, "Yea, my friend has left it for me." Then he eats it all up even with bones.

Footnotes to Text VIII

¹This was recorded and interpreted by Mr. Te-tz'u Lin in October 1970. The legend was also recorded in OA (1935:361-62) in a different version from a different Rukai dialect, Taramakau.

²The form lamalala refers to 'two male friends,' cf. lamalalala 'three or more male friends.' For the various forms of female friends, see Text IV, Note 10. The term taLagi 'friend' is neutral with respect to sex.

³In the form moty-a-comay 'become-past-bear' moty- (or moti-) can clearly be treated as a prefix. But the utterance motya comay si Likolaw 'became a bear and a leopard' presents a problem for analysis: a structural 'loopback in the grammatical hierarchy' in Elson and Pickett's (1967:85) term.

⁴The pronoun ili 'me' is used only as an indirect object after an imperative verb; see Li 1973:76. The verb ?awaja 'please cause' is a polite request form.

⁵Cf. i:ni 'no' and maɪla 'different, no.' E.g.,

(a) lalakso kwani? Is that your child?
your child that

i:ni (or maɪla). No.

(b) ayto?aLaso nakwa? Will you join me?
you'll join me

i:ni (or nako). No (or: I won't).

⁶The form na 'I shall/want' is a variant of naw. See Text VII, Note 11. Also see Li 1973:78, in which naw- was treated as a prefix.

⁷The function of kay is not clear. It may cooccur with lo 'when, if' to lead a subordinate clause as below:

kay lo ya si ki:lako yaciɓnanako.
this if so and I come I'll bring gift

When/if I come, I'll bring gifts

⁸The term ?atako 'even' may precede a noun or verb:

(a) awkanɪ ?atako ɲico ko lata.
ate even peel our friend

Our friend ate even the peel.

(b) kayta ?atako Liɲawana ki tasiLodanta. (4-10)
we not even see well yet when we had child

We have not seen our child clearly yet.

Footnotes to Text VIII

It may be treated as a determiner before a noun (note that the object nico in (a) is not preceded by any other determiner) and as a verb (or adverb) before a verb.

Further examples of combinations with ?atako: ?atako oDi? 'even alive,' ?atako nita 'even raw' (22-21), tako-mwas 'to cook sweet potatoes even unpeeled.' Since there is no such item *mwas, (?a)tako may have to be treated as a prefix.

⁹In a form like salyaDiŋ 'viscera,' the final echo vowel may be stressed, lengthened, and thus acquire a full phonemic status: salya:Di:ŋi: 'really small viscera.'

IX. tanya ina ma?ilay¹
 experience the cripple

The Cripple's Experience

- (1) aykawrivako iDa tamyani sa aLola?ako.²
 I'll speak the my experience when I child
 I shall talk about the experience of my childhood.
- (2) sa aLola?ako nako³ awci:l ki tamali si ki tinali.
 when I child I not see my father and my mother
 During my childhood I never saw my father and my mother.
- (3) tara sara wa?acay mararamaw ko tinali si tamali.
 both early die same my mother and my father
 Both my mother and father died early.
- (4) la ikayako ta?ia.
 I stay alone
 I lived by myself.
- (5) la kaynako³ θi?al sa yakai ka maroDawDa?li.⁴
 I not know when exist elderly relatives
 I did not know when there were elderly relatives.
- (6) la ikaikayako ki larakrak⁵ sa aLola?ako.
 I stay house of R. when my child
 I was living in the house of Rakrak, when I was a child.
- (7) la ikayako matikokoro.⁶
 I stay miserable
 I was very miserable.
- (8) la kaynako θi?al sa yakai ka takataka nakwa ka takisikisi
 I not know exist elder me study

baLa?aw.⁷
 (place)

Text IX

I did not know that there was an elder brother studying at BaLaṅaw.

- (9) taṅa:ko amyako lo kiDɪmDɪmako.
I alone I so when I think

I thought that I was alone.

- (10) si ka yakai ka ritsanli ka takɪsikisi baLaṅaw.
and exist my relative study (place)

But there was a relative of mine, who went to school at BaLaṅaw.

- (11) konako ka ma?iladaḱo, kay kitoθiŋɪt sa lartisa sa
I I crippled not respected relatives

maroDawDaŋ.
elder relatives

I was crippled and not respected by the relatives.

- (12) "kay omas, kayvay matikokoro, asi lo sara ?acay
this man this miserable why not when early die

kayvay?" la ya nakwa kay lartisanli.
this so me these my relatives

"This man, this poor creature, why didn't he die early?"
my relatives said to me.

- (13) yakai kwaDa amaLa nakwa ilok maboLiboLi ?awa ci:Li ina
exist that take me bring carry cause thrown that

talOD ni sara ?acay kayvay.
bridge to early die this

There was time when people were to carry me and throw me over the bridge in order that I would die early.

- (14) "satomana kayvay? anikai⁸ la?ola?o ki omas ki mya kikai
what use this who support men like this

matyakokoro," amya kwani maroDawDaŋli.
miserable so those my elderly relatives

"What's the use of this guy? Who is going to keep supporting a poor fellow like him?" those elderly relatives of mine said.

- (15) si la kaDwa kwaDa amaLa nakwa ci:Li.
but not have that take me throw

But no one cast me away.

- (16) amaniayni ka yabi:lin⁹ ka kaDo kyaomaw ?a?acay nakwa.
maybe God not willing cause to die me

Perhaps it was God who did not want me to die.

- (17) ikai lo Loko da:da:, "ta DaLi:k ?atako oDi?.
have when dig ground we bury even alive

There was time when they dug the ground, "Let's bury him alive.

- (18) satomana kay omas kayvay lwaolwaola?o,¹⁰ kay aomas ka
what use this man here supporting not be man
ci:g:¹¹ kayvay?" ikai lo ya.
look this have when so

What's the use of keeping supporting this fellow, who does not look like a man?" There was time when they said so.

- (19) la kay maka DaLi:k nakwa.
not able bury me

They could not bury me.

- (20) "tomanayni si ?iayni kikay nakwa?" la yako.
what for and do this me I so

"Why did they do this to me?" I thought.

- (21) sika yakai takataka nakwa baLa:aw.
in fact exist elder me (place)

I had an elder brother at BaLa:aw.

Text IX

- (22) la ikayako ki larakrak.
I stay house of R.

I lived at the house of Rakrak.

- (23) la matikokorako, kay siki?iki?in, kaynako sisaramatamata.
I miserable not wear clothes I not wear underwear

I was very pitiable, going naked without wearing even underwear.

- (24) la amañal si inim kwaDa cailli, kaynako sisaramatana,
ten and six the my age I not wear underwear

kaynako siki?inyana.
I not wear clothes yet

I was sixteen years old, (but) I did not wear underwear yet, nor did I wear clothes yet.

- (25) la odaodal, iDa kasivivira si kwaDa taikaikayanli kay
raining that wind blowing and that my dwelling not

kyomaw nakwa oda:n.
willing me enter house

It was raining and the wind was blowing, but the people of the house would not let me in.

- (26) "asi ?acaynaso ki sasivira si odal?" la ya nakwa.
why not you die wind and rain so me

"Why don't you die in such wind and rain?" they said to me.

- (27) ikai lo wako riDin wa?ic, ki?aLi taikaya iDa taw?on.
have when I go back sleep join place the dog

Sometimes I slept in the back with the dog.

- (28) kaynanay kwaDa taikayanli k:l:la nakwa ?awa θoroDok iDa
come that my dwelling come me cause pour the

acilay, la davacako mobi:r.
water I go escape

A man of the house came to pour water on me, and I ran away.

- (29) la odaodal kwalavalava si kasivisir, si la ikai kwaDa
 rain heavily and wind blowing and stay that
tanaDa iDa ?asasoba iDa da:n, lo moLios ?a?ia ino kwaDa
 bottom the pillar the house when turn to where the
sasivira mwaLiosako ?a?ia ino; ?aliawnawnaako;¹² kaynako
 wind I turn to where I naked I not

siki?iki?in.
 wear clothes

It was raining hard and the wind was blowing, and staying at the bottom of the supporting-pillar outside the house, I turned to the other side of the wind; I was naked; I did not wear clothes.

- (30) la ikai kwaDa omas iDa taikayanli da:n kay kiomaw nakwa
 exist the man the my dwelling house not willing me
oda:n.
 enter house

The people of the house would not let me in.

- (31) "ni ?iayni ya nakwa?" la yako.
 why do so me I so

"Why do they treat me that way?" I thought.

- (32) la mobaisnanako, kaDwa ka akananli.
 I hungry without my food

I was hungry, and there was no food for me to eat.

- (33) lo naw moda:n kwan sa aga, lo yako, ka kaDo
 when I enter house eat Art food when I so not
kyaomaw nakwa oda:n.
 willing me enter house

When I was going into the house to eat a meal, they would not let me in.

Text IX

(34) oDava lo wako lili iDa saolatataDa, "la, mwa ororoanja
even when I go peep the door go monkey den

kay twaboLo mwabaisija, " amya nakwa.
this monkey hungry so me

Even if I peeped into them at the door, they said to me,

"This monkey is going back to his den, hungry already."

(35) la mokoloDako si davac.
I afraid and leave

I was afraid and went away.

(36) la ikayako iDa kay siki?iki?in.
I stay there not wear clothes

I lived there without wearing clothes.

(37) kaynanay ka ritsanli.
return my relative

My relative came along.

(38) "koso ka agili, ritsanli moswa," la yako takali
you my younger my relative you so my elder

syanagan ki ba:lo.
named by (name)

"You're my younger brother, my relative," my brother named

Ba:lo said.

(39) "ka ritsanli moswa!" la yako.
my relative you I so

"You are my relative!" I said.

(40) "?yakakoakoa moswa kay lakai?"¹³ la ya nakwa ki?ila!la.
how treat you these they so me ask

"How are they treating you?" he asked me.

- (41) "kayvay lakai maroDawDanta. ?acay ko tinaita si
these they our relatives die our mother and
tamaita. la ikayako ki lakai ki?akLakLakLaw. kaynako
our father I stay with them be ill-treated I not
ki?aka?akani sa aga. ikayako matikokokoro." la yako kawriva
feed meal I stay miserable I so speak

iDa ritsanli.
 the my relative

"They're our elderly relatives. Our parents have died. I've stayed with them, ill-treated by them. They did not give me food to eat. I'm really pitiable," I told my relative.

- (42) "mwa kiborasi," la ya kwaDa tarwarDaṅa.
go dig potato so that adult

"Go to dig sweet potatoes," that man said.

- (43) la davacnai mwa kiborasi kala?la?.
we walk go dig potato (place)

We went to dig sweet potatoes at Kala?la?.

- (44) la icib iDaniki borasi.
bake the potato

We baked sweet potatoes with rocks.

- (45) la mobilin iDa kotis, la ba:y nakwa ?wakanɪ.
climb the (tree) give me make eat

He climbed the tree (to pick fruit) and gave it for me to eat.

- (46) kwaDa icibini kwaDa borasi la ?awa cwabo iDa saLi:nay;
the his baked the potato cause wrap the bonnet

la asi? iDa borasi manjal si Dosa.
count the potato ten and two

Text IX

He wrapped the baked sweet potatoes in the bonnet; there were twelve of them.

- (47) "kay niciba ka ?ikaya. lo mobaisiso kwaniana.
these baked keep when you hungry eat
maka?itolako ayki:lako," la ya.
I seven days I'll come so

"These baked sweet potatoes must be kept. Eat when you are hungry. In seven days, I'll be back," he said.

- (48) la ikayako iDaniki borasi.
I keep the potato

I kept the sweet potatoes.

- (49) la kwaiaiaiko kwani ikayako anDakiakiakiral,¹⁴ kaynako
I one by one eat I stay along river I not
0inal sa yoako ino kwani sa aga.
know I'll go where eat meal

I ate them one by one along the river, without knowing where I would go for a meal.

- (50) lo naw moda:n mwa kwani sa aga lo yako iDa
when I enter house go eat meal when I so the
taikaikayanli ka, aymayma nakwa isi:s.¹⁵
my dwelling immediately me chase away

As soon as I tried to enter the house where I had been staying to eat a meal, they chased me away.

- (51) la mokoloDako moda:n; kaynako ki?aka?akani sa aga.
I afraid enter house I not fed meal

Then I was afraid to enter the house; I was not fed with meals.

- (52) kwaDa lataLagiLagili ka, "mwa: maLa iDaniki akanikaniannomi,
the my friends go take that your food

nalataLagi. mwabaisnanako, si la ?akani nakwa."
friends I hungry and feed me

I said to my friends, "Please go to get your food, my friends. I'm hungry, so feed me."

- (53) la wa maLa kwaDa lataLagiLagi sa borasi, la ki:la nakwa
go take the friends potato come me

bwa:y.
give

Then my friends went to get some sweet potatoes and came back to give them to me.

- (54) la kaniako.
I eat

Then I ate.

- (55) la ikaikayako Dakiral kivaivaivan.
I stay river play

Then I stayed all the time at the river playing.

- (56) lo naw moda:n lo yako, aymayma, "la, mwa
when I enter house when I so immediately go

ororwanna kay twaboLo," la ya nakwa.
den this monkey so me

As soon as I tried to enter the house, the people would say to me, "This monkey is going to the den."

- (57) si la mokoloDako.
and I afraid

And I was frightened.

- (58) si la kaynako moda:n.
and I not enter house

And I did not enter the house.

Text IX

- (59) la ikayako anDaDakiakiral iDa.
I stay along river then

I stayed at the river then.

- (60) anDakal ko maroDan ka, tama ki vilŋa naymaLiŋana¹⁶
immediately old father of (name) late M.

"nyama, ta ikaikai," la ya nakwa kwaDa.
come we stay so me that

The old man MaLiŋana, the father of Vilŋa, immediately said to me, "Come stay with us."

- (61) la aLa nakwa ikai kwaDa.
take me stay taht

He took me to stay (with them).

- (62) la wako ikaikai liDa.
I go stay them

I went to stay with them.

- (63) la mosarar kwaDanki ritsanli twalay kaway baLaŋaw.
graduated that my relative from there (place)

My relative was graduated and returned from BaLaŋaw.

- (64) "sika yakai ka ritsanli," la yaŋanako si kiragay.
in fact exist my relative I so and happy

"In fact, I have a relative," I said and was happy.

- (65) kwaDa sakyaragayli sa ikai kwaDa ritsanli ka; ma:Daw.
the my happiness have the my relative big

?akaLiŋaw kwaDa sakiraragayli.
very the my happiness

What made me happy was that I would have my relative; I was very happy.

- (66) kwaDa taki?iaianili ki lartisanli, la kaynako ?ilailaila.
the my being done of my relatives I not tell

I did not tell what my relatives did to me.

- (67) la ikayako iDa, ikayako kivaivaivan; la kaynako θinaI sa
 I stay there I stay play I not know

yoako ino wa?ic.
 I go where sleep

I stayed there (by the river), playing by myself; I did not know where to go to sleep.

- (68) nay¹⁷ kaDwa ko naytamali ka maLiηana, nay ?aca?ako
 if without my late father (name) I die

kyarasiLava¹⁸ iDa ?akoLoLolanli, amyako lo kiDiηDiηako.
 with nothing then my orphan time I so when I think

If it had not been my old man MaLiηana, I would have died with nothing to live on when I was an orphan, I think.

- (69) si amaliηa kay yabiηin ka kaDo kyaomaw nakwa ?a?acay.
 and only this God not willing me cause to die

But only God did not want me to die.

- (70) yakaiyayni kwaDa amatikoranli amatiθaliθya ?aramor.
 have perhaps the my misery pitiable very

Perhaps my suffering was very pitiable.

- (71) la kay ?a?acay nakwa vo:θa ka lartisanli.
 not kill me causeless my relatives

My relatives did not put me to death for no reason.

- (72) la myata inya ka omas, kaDota ?acay vo:θa.
 we like that men we not die causeless

We people are like that, we do not die for no reason.

- (73) la konako ka ciniLici:Lianna¹⁹ binoLiboLianna ?awa iDa taloD
 I thrown carried put the bridge

ciLici:Li takamaya sa taw?on.
 throw like a dog

Text IX

I was a person to be carried and cast away over the bridge
like a dog.

- (74) oDava waLokŋa ʔasanoDaLiDaLi:k nakwa.
also dug want to bury me

They had dug a hole in order to bury me.

- (75) naw kay ʔacayana;²⁰ naw ikayana italivaivai²¹
I not die yet I live still in world

kikawrivariva sa lartisa, sa labitaka.
talk relatives relatives

I did not want to die yet; I still wanted to live in the
world, talking to the relatives.

- (76) amailiŋa kay yabilin ka amaLa nakwa ʔaLibol.
only this God take me save

Only God saved me.

- (77) kaDosoy katoma; kaDosoy mikakoa, amyayni.
you not matter you not how perhaps

Nothing will happen to you; nothing will go wrong with you,
perhaps.

- (78) la ikayako oDyoDi?
I stay living

I stayed alive.

- (79) sa ikayana kwaDa lamaroDawDanli ka nako awci:l sa
when live still the my parents I not see when
ikai ino kwaDa maroDawDanli kwaDa tinali si tamali.
stay where the my parents the my mother and my father

I never saw when my parents lived or where they were---my
mother and my father.

- (80) "tinaso, tamaso," lo ya nakwa ka omas, nako
 your mother your father when so me man I not

awθinal sa yakai ino ko tinali si tamali.
 know when exist where my mother and my father

When people say to me, "Your mother, your father," I do not know where my mother and my father were.

- (81) o:masako tanja amyako lo kiDɪmDɪmako.
 I man alone I so when I think

I thought I was all by myself.

- (82) kaθa kwaDa rɪtsanli ka θinalako.
 only the my relative I know

I know only that relative of mine.

- (83) kwaDa rɪtsanli la kay kaθaŋɪLa kwaDa nyak; sara o?acai.²²
 that my relative not long that life early die

My relative did not have a long life; he died early.

- (84) lo kiDɪmDɪmako taki?ianli kyasa italivaivai ka mya sa
 I think my life now in world like

tanjaŋɪako.
 I alone

I thought I was then living all by myself.

- (85) lo kiDɪmDɪmako misa kaynako kyatolalak twalay sa omas.
 when I think as if I not born from man

When I thought about it, I did not seem to be born by man.

- (86) tomanako si kay ya inya ka tanjaiko, kaynako ci:l Da
 I do and this so that I alone I not see the

maroDawDaŋli.
 my parents

I say so because I was alone and never saw my parents.

Text IX

(87) la konako kawrivariva mya inia.
I talking so that

That's why I am talking like that.

(88) la ciniLici:Lianṅanako sa omas.
I thrown man

I was someone to be thrown away by people.

(89) la kaynako kitoθiṅiθiṅit²³ sa omas.
I not respected man

I was not respected by people.

(90) la konako yaya inya.
I like that

I keep saying that.

(91) aykawriṅanako iDanki ta?ianli kyasa.
fut. I talk that my affair now

I shall talk about what I've been doing now.

(92) Li?iṅṅanako kawriṅa iDanki ta?akoLoLolanli.²⁴
I all talk that my orphan time

I have finished talking about the period of my being an orphan.

(93) kawriṅanako sini ?aθagil iDanki taikayanli kyasa.
I talk from beginning that my staying now

I shall now talk about my staying place from the beginning.

(94) sa ikayako ki tamali ka naymaLiṅana ka davacako talila
when I stay my father late (name) I go move

mwa ki taLagita ka laLaṅ?aw.
go our friend house of L.

I lived with the late elder man MaLiṅana, then moved to the house of our friend Laṅ?aw.

- (95) la twalaynanako iDa kyanatonato iDa ?aθagil, si
I from then gather wood then begin and

mobaLaṅawLaṅaw lwaṅalaṅay iDa anato.
take to BaLaṅaw sell the wood

From then on I started to gather firewood and took it to BaLaṅaw to sell it.

- (96) si la ikaiṅa ka sakyalanay sa karinyalayli ka ?ayso.
and have used to buy my clothes money

There was money for my clothes.

- (97) la ci:lṅanako iDa bawa iDa ki?iṅ si saromata.
I see the new the clothes and underwear

I saw the new clothes and underwear.

- (98) la ikayako iDa tara ?ia ka cail kyanatonato.
I stay there for several years gather wood

I gathered firewood for several years.

- (99) la davacako mwa kaway baLaṅaw tatosokosokoa²⁵ tara Dosa ka
I go go there (place) make umbrellas for two

cail ikai iDa.
years stay there

Then I went to BaLaṅaw to make umbrellas for two years.

- (100) kwaDa kibaba:yli iDa DamaDamar ka matoLol si Lima.
that my wages that every month thirty and five

My salary was \$35 a month.

- (101) soma:lyako ki:la kikai mobiliblis ka ?akoLoLol? lo
how can I come here make money orphan when

kaynako robo ki mobilisli layara manimanako
I not save my earned money would use I what

kiDaLik lo ?acaḍako?
be buried when I die

Text IX

Did I, as an orphan, come here just to make money? If I did not save my money, what would be used to bury me when I die?

- (102) nako ?waLiṅaw²⁶ sa aysisakaci kilako.
I not think of I'll get married

I did not think of getting married.

- (103) amya kay kiDimDimli, "naw robo ki ?ayso si kaṭa amani lo
so this my thought I save money and only is when
?acadako ?ia ara manima nakwa," la yako.
I die do use something me I so

This was what I thought, "I have to save money simply because something can be used (to bury) me when I die."

- (104) la roboako sa toLo ka iday ka ?ayso.
I save three hundred money

I saved up \$30.

- (105) si "naw kawlay ikai baLaṅaw,"²⁷ la yako si.
and I long live (place) I so and

I thought I was going to live in BaLaṅaw for a long time.

- (106) la amani kwaDa kinsas baor ka, "mosarara²⁸ la ?ia sa
is the police bureau leave do
tagoLogoLogoLa,"²⁹ la ya nako.
barber shop so me

But it was the police who said to me, "Leave here and open a barber shop."

- (107) la ?ato?a?aLa ki:la mosarar.
follow come leave

Taking the advice, I left there and came back.

- (108) la ikayako iDa. I lived there.
I stay there

(109) la totyamako sa bava.
I open store wine

I opened a liquor store.

(110) la totyamako sa twami.
I open store noodle

I opened a noodle restaurant.

(111) si ?iiaiako sa tagoLogoLogoLa.
I do barber shop

I was keeping the barber shop.

(112) la ikayako iDa goLogoLogoL si totyatyam.³⁰
I stay there hair cut and keep store

I was doing the barber business and keeping a store there.

(113) la sisakacikilako arakai iDa ?ayso.
I get married use the money

I used the money to get married.

(114) la ikaina kwani sakacikilli; la ikaina kay lalalakli.
have that my wife have these my children

I had the wife; I had these children.

(115) la ikayako iDa la la?oako iDa lalalakli, arakai sa
I stay there I support the my children use

?atobanina sa anato.
for building wood

I supported my children by means of the boards.

(116) kyanatwako lwa?o ki lalalakli ?aki:la ?ataDaDaw.³¹
I gather wood support my children until grow up

I kept cutting wood to support my children until they grew up.

Text IX

- (117) la sa ?ataDaDawŋa kay lavalak la davacako moLigLig.
when grow up these children I go to mountain

As these children grew up, I went to the mountain.

- (118) la lanadako ina ananad kaway saransansan, bwa:y sa toLo
I buy the land there (place) give three
ka iday.
hundred

I bought the land at Saransansan with \$300.

- (119) la wananako talila ikaikai twalaynanako inya cikicikicikilŋa
I go move live I from there living
kyasa.
now

I moved to live there and have made a living there since.

- (120) lo kiDimDimako tamatikorwanli iDa ?aθagil taki?iaianli
when I think my misery the start my being done
ki lartisan kito?avava ka masamaD ?amor kay
relatives being bullied disappointed very this
kiDimDimli.
my thought

When I think about my suffering, what my relatives did to me before, how they bullied me, I'm really disappointed as I think of them.

- (121) lo kiDimDimako kyasa salalalakannata,³² ?ataDaDaw kay
when I think now we have children grow up these
lalalakta ka kaDwata maka mya inya lo kiDimDimta.
our children we not able so that we think

We now have children, and to make our children grow up, we cannot think that way.

- (122) ?akainata ki lalalakta, twakocinaŋnata sa lartisa.
we for our children we feel important relatives

For the sake of our children, we realize the importance of the relatives.

- (123) kyasila?nata sa maroDawDan sa lataLagiLagi laalyali.
we seek elderly relatives friends(M) friends(F)

We need to seek (help from) the elder relatives and the boy and girl friends.

- (124) amani kwani kiDimDimta ka syanagan ki omas.
is that we think named by man

As men that is the way we should think.

- (125) nay kiDimDimta antanjania ka, kay ?akai sa lalalakta, sa
if we think alone not for our children

sakacikil, iDa lartisanta, ka nyani?a?aLainta iDa
spouse our relatives as we please

kiDimDimta ka nay θinalta sa yoata ino modaida lo
we think we know we'll go where settle when

taronjanjata.³³
we alone

If we think only of ourselves, not of our children, our wives, or our relatives, and we do as we please, then we do not know where to go to settle down as singles.

- (126) la konako mya inya lo kiDimDimako.
I so that I think

That is what I think.

Footnotes to Text IX

Footnotes to Text IX

¹This was recorded by ligiyay (Mr. Fu-chin Tu 杜福金, aged 50 in 1970) and interpreted by Mr. Te-tz'u Lin in October 1970. Mr. Tu is a cripple and has told his unpleasant experience as a cripple and orphan since childhood.

²The prefix a- + N 'verbalizer,' e.g., a-Lolad-ako 'I was a child' < Lolay 'child,' a-manjal 'was ten' < manjal 'ten.'

³Note the difference between nako (< nakoy < kay + ako) in (2) and kay-nako in (5). The informant illustrated the difference by the following examples:

(a) (i) nakoy θinal. I can/could not know.

(ii) kaynako θinal. I do/did not know.

(b) (i) nakoy ci:l. I did not want to see it.

(ii) kaynako ci:l. I do/did not see it.

(iii) nako awci:l. I did not see it.

⁴The term maroDawDaŋ 'elderly relatives' (< maroDaŋ 'old (man)') refers to one's parents and other elderly relatives (the same or the older generation than the parents).

⁵The prefix la- + Proper Name refers to the house name.

⁶The addition of the prefix ti- to a stative verb results in the meaning 'causing someone else to feel...', cf. makoroako 'I feel pity, I am pitiful for others,' matikoroako 'I am/look pitiable to others.' Only a small percentage of statives can be converted into this sub-class. See Li 1973:239.

⁷The utterance sa.....baLaŋaw is a noun clause that serves as the direct object of the verb θinal. The accusative article sa marks the following complex clause as noun.

⁸A variant of the question word is anja 'who' (3-51).

⁹The term ya-biliŋ (< biliŋ 'high, above') literally means 'staying above.' Another term referring to 'God' is twaomas (< omas 'man') 'creator of man' (2-77).

¹⁰This is a 'special' reduplicated form of the stem la?o 'to support.' Generally only a stem, not an affix, is reduplicated in Rukai. But the embedding infix w is reduplicated in

the form l/w/aʔo-l/w/aʔo-laʔo (or l/w/ao-l/w/ao-laʔo in rapid speech). Such a reduplication was not accounted for in the rules given in Li 1973, §6.1.

¹¹Cf. the same verb in the following sentence:

maDaLimDɪm kaDwata waci:gi.
dark we not see

It was dark, so we could not see anything.

¹²Note the m ~ ʔ alternation for the verb. Cf.

(a) aymaliawnawnadako.

I shall go naked (or empty-handed).

Other verbs to indicate 'nakedness' are as below:

(b) voLavoLakanako.

I am completely naked.

(c) abaLabaLasa.

To go without clothes (but may have underwear on).

¹³The prefix la- + Demonstrative 'human plural,' e.g., la-kai or la-kaʔa 'they.' Cf. ki- + Demonstrative 'locative,' e.g., ki-kai or la-kaʔa 'here.'

¹⁴Note that r is omitted in the reduplicated form derived from Dakɪral 'river.'

¹⁵This is a hissing sound uttered to show disapproval or contempt.

¹⁶The prefix nay- + Personal Name indicates 'the deceased, the late.' Cf. na-omas 'the former person (who may be still living).'

¹⁷The terms nay... nay... 'had it not been..., I would have ...'

¹⁸The term kasiLaw means 'to run out of food,' karasiLava 'to be in a period of insufficiency to tide over.'

¹⁹The verb stem ci:Li 'to throw' > the nominalized form c/in/iLi-ci:Li-an-ŋa 'that was being thrown away.' The same rules operate on the following derivation boLi 'to carry' > b/in/oLi-boLi-an-ŋa 'that was being carried.'

Footnotes to Text IX

²⁰Cf. the sentence below:

naw kay kaniana. I don't want to eat yet.
I not eat yet

²¹The term italivaivai literally means 'in the sunny place'
< vai 'sun.'

²²Cf. (12) and (13) above. The function of o in sara o?acay
(or sarao ?acay remains to be worked out. Also cf. below:

(a) sara oki:la amai kay lavalak.
early come be these children

Return early for the sake of these children.

(b) sara omwa si sara oki:la.
early go and early come

Go early and return early.

²³The passive reduplicated form ki-to-θiŋi-θiŋit 'be respected'
< toθiŋit 'to respect.' Cf. the form kitoθiŋit in (11). Both
toθiŋit and ?oθiŋit mean 'to respect.'

²⁴The form is derived from the stem ?akoLoLoL 'orphan.' See
the stem in (101) below.

²⁵The form ta-to-soko-soko-a(n) 'place of making umbrellas'
< to-soko 'to make umbrellas' < soko 'umbrella.'

²⁶The verb ?oLiŋaw means 'to think of.' Cf.

?anwaLiŋawko iDa go:ŋ. I thought of that cow.
I think of that cow

The verb ?oLiŋaw is probably related to Liŋaw 'to see clearly,'
e.g., Liŋaw-ana 'see clearly yet' (4-10).

²⁷The form kawlay 'to be long' is a verb. Cf.

mawlayŋanako ikai baLaŋaw.
I long live (place)

I have lived in BaLaŋaw for a long time.

²⁸The imperative form mo-sarar-a 'Leave!' < sarar 'to put
down.'

²⁹The form ta-goLogoLogoL-a 'place of haircut' < goLogoL
'to haircut' (112). The stem presents a problem for transcription:
goLgoL if the echo vowel is not represented. Yet, as a rule, the
final consonant of a stem is not reduplicated in Rukai.

³⁰The form to-tya-tyam 'to do business, to keep a store' < tyam 'store,' which is a loanword from Taiwanese 店 tyam 'store.' The narrator referred to the small noodle restaurant of his.

³¹Cf. maDaw 'big.'

³²Cf. sa-lalak-a(n) 'to have a child.'

³³Cf. taŋia 'alone, by oneself.'

X. gɔŋgɔŋ¹
mountain

The Dutch Episode and Migration History

- (1) kwaDa akawriwanli ka yakai kwaDa wawaob² kwaDa namaroDawDaŋnai
the my speech exist the roofing the our ancestors

kwaDa lartisannai.
the our relatives

My speech is about that when our ancestors and relatives were roofing.

- (2) si la davac kwaDa lamali ko gaygay si dan?an amwa mwa:Lo.
go the friends (name) and (name) go fetch water

Two girls named Gaygay and Dan?an fetched some water.

- (3) la ci:l iDa watamakomako³ ?atwaibibibil⁴ iDa nodoylini.
see the smoking spurting smoke the their mouth

They saw people smoking with smoke spurting out of their mouths.

- (4) "somanima⁵ kayvay?" la ya si la davac maobi:r kwaDa lamali.
where from these so and go escape the friends

"Where do these people come from?" the girls wondered and ran away.

- (5) la ki:la iDa da:nlini.
come the their house

They returned to their house.

- (6) la kawriwa iDa tarwarDana iDa wawaob yakai ka omas kaway
tell the old people the roofing exist man there

a:Lo ka twaibibibil kwaDa nodoylini.
water place spurting smoke the their mouth

They told the old people, who were roofing, that there were such people there at the water place that smoke was coming out of their mouths.

- (7) la kiDimDim koliDa tarwarDaŋa, "?ai, amani kwaDa baɗata," la
 think they old people be the our enemy la
mayaya si.
discuss

The old people thought and said to each other, "Must be our enemies."

- (8) la modaɗɗaɗi, si wa maLa iDa bava sibsɨb,⁶ si makitoŋoŋol⁷
 come down and go take the wine separate and drink
ani?a?oɗararaŋ.
 get bold

They came down, took the wine, drank it together to get bold.

- (9) sa masonasonan kwaDa latalyalalay, kwaDa tararakac,
 when toast the noblemen those brave people
"marakacnai," mayayaya inya makanaiLi.
 we brave talk that all

While the noblemen toasted to each other, the brave men all said to each other, "We're brave."

- (10) la anDakal ko ?otoŋa si LibaLib modaɗɗaɗi θibolay, la
 immediately (name) and (name) come down jump
aLa gwamoc si tara kani si la davac maLa iDa yalini ka
 take seize and both eat and go take the their
idir, la wa θwalada⁸ iDa ?oLanda⁹ si ?awa cacoLoL.
 spear go chase the Dutch and cause kill

(The two men named) ?otoŋa and LibaLib immediately jumped down, took food by both hands and ate, went to get their spears, and went chasing the Dutch men to kill them.

Text X

- (11) sa ki:la kaway kadadirosa, "mabanawta iDa iray!" la ya.
when arrive there (place) we bathe the blood so

When they got to Kadadirosa, they said, "We shall bathe in their blood!"

- (12) la θa:laða ki:la kaway ?inoranaka, "maoto¹⁰ kwaDa omas!"
chasing arrive there (place) destroyed the man

la ya kwaDa lamataka.
so the brothers

Chasing them to ?inoranaka, the brothers said, "Those men were destroyed!"

- (13) la ikai ka taŋaŋa la aLa ?o:aLa si aLa no:t¹¹ iDa
have one take catch and take cut off the

Lidam si ?adavac.
tongue and release

There was one man that they caught alive, cut off his tongue, and released him.

- (14) si kwaDa masonasononan iDa bava, la kaynanay abibiLil.
and the toasting the wine come follow

maLamaLa iDa aoLo ?akavaθal.
taking the head chop off

Those who were toasting to each other with wine came behind to chop off the heads.

- (15) si la davac ilok iDa aoLo ki:la ?awa rwaθD iDa da:n
and go bring the head arrive cause pile up the house

ki la?akaroko.
of (house name)

They brought back the heads to pile up at the house of ?akaroko.

- (16) raiθDta bwalyos¹² iDa aoLo, la tolabalyosna iDa da:n kwaDa
we pile pile the head call labalyos the house the

omas makanaiLi.
man all

We piled up the heads, so all people called the house 'labalyos' (meaning 'to pile up human heads').

- (17) la?akaroko la kayna ?ia la ?alabalyosna kwaDa la?akaroko.
(house name not do call labalyos the (house name))

Hence, the house 'la?akaroko' was not called 'la?akaroko', it was called 'labalyos'.

- (18) la ikai iDa. likit sa ya kawlayna la kabini iDa
stay there finish when so long epidemic the

goragor kwaDa sotaromak, si la davac maobibi:r
smallpox the (village name) go escape

moLakaw mwa kaway tamaololoca.¹³
all move go to there (place)

They stayed there. Long after the event, smallpox broke out in the Taromak village, and the people all escaped to the place Tamaololoca.

- (19) la ikai tamaololoca sa kawlayna, la motikiņa kwaDa
stay (place) when long small that

takaısaisada si kalalikit toda:n, la wa talıla
good place and able build house go move

tocikil iDa madordor.
build village there (place)

They lived at Tamaololoca for a long time, then they were short of land for building houses, then they moved to build a new village at Madordor.

- (20) la ikai madordor likit sa ya sa takaLana mo?awawa
stay (place) finish when so many people increase

kwaDa omas.
that man

Text X

Then they lived in Madordor, then there were many people as the population increased.

- (21) la davacŋa mwa tocikil iDa nacikil kaway
leave go build village there ex-village there
?ira?irava.
(place)

They then moved to the former village at ?ira?irava over there.

- (22) si tolabalyosŋa sa moLaoDŋa, si ikaiŋa iDa cikikikikikilŋa,
and build house come down and stay the living
kaDwaŋa ka kiDimDim ka manimanna.
without think anything

They built the house 'labalyos' when they came down, and have been living there since, without worrying about anything.

Footnotes to Text X

¹This was recorded by Mr. Te-yi Lin 林得義 (aged 62 in 1970) and interpreted by his son Mr. Te-tz'u Lin in October 1970. Gongon is the name of the mountain where the Rukai tribe killed several Dutchmen. This recording gives a short account of the fight and migration history of the Taromak tribe.

²The stem waob 'roof, to supply with a roof,' e.g.,

(a) wa-waob ina da:n. He is roofing that house.
roofing that house

Cf. the other two verbs meaning 'to cover' in the examples below:

(b) ay-caib-ako ina aga. I shall cover that food.
I'll cover that food

(c) ay-caob-ako ina Lolay.
I'll cover that child

I shall cover that child (with a blanket).

All the above three verbs were translated as 蓋 kai 'to cover' in Chinese by the informant.

³The term tamako 'tobacco' was originally a Formosan loanword from Dutch tabak 'tobacco.'

⁴The noun stem ibiL 'smoke' > to-ibiL 'to produce smoke' > ?a-tw-a-ibiL 'spurt smoke.'

⁵The prefix so- (or sw-a-) + N 'resident of, tribesman of,' e.g., so-taromak 'resident of Taromak,' sw-a-sonaw 'Bunun tribesman,' sw-a-?ariva 'Paiwan tribesman.'

⁶The term sibsib refers to the wine (or liquor) which is separated from residue of fermented grains.

⁷The prefixes ki-to- + V 'to do by oneself,' e.g., ki-to-kani 'to eat by oneself,' ki-to-aga 'to cook food by oneself.' The prefix ki- may be treated the same as the passive ki- with the resultant meaning 'reflexive;' see Li 1973:241-42. The prefix ma- + V 'plural,' /ma-ki-to-oŋo-oŋol/ makitoŋoŋol '(people) drink to one another.' Note that the verb must be reduplicated with the plural prefix ma-, or else an ill-form *makitoŋol will result."

⁸The stem θalada 'to chase,' cf. dondon 'to trace, to follow the footprints of.'

⁹The form ?oLanda 'Holland, the Dutch' was a loan from Japanese.

Footnotes to Text X

¹⁰The stative verb ma-oto 'burned out, used up, destroyed,' the nonstative wa-oto 'to destroy.' Cf. the sentence below:

ma-oto-na kay tamako. This cigar has burned out.
burned out this cigar

¹¹Cf. kɨ:t 'to cut (a string, rope, etc.)'

¹²The term balyos 'to pile up (human heads)' is obsolete in Tanan Rukai.

¹³The term ta-ma-olo-loc-a(n) literally means 'place of wrestling.'

XI. twaboLo si karara¹
 monkey and anteater

The Monkey and Anteater

- (1) yakai amya iDa lamataLagi iDa karara si twaboLo.
 exist so the friends the anteater and monkey

There were the friends: the anteater and monkey.

- (2) "aytomato:manta, nala?" "ilata morimaDomaDo," la ya si.
 we'll do friend let's pick fruit so and

"i:la" la ya malala.
 leave so friends

"What shall we do, my friend?" "Let's go pick some fruits,"

"Let's go," the friends said.

- (3) la davac si lo "naw mobiliŋ" lo ya ko karara, la
 go and when I climb when so anteater

bakoros amya.
 slide so

They walked and the anteater said, "I want to climb," but he slid down.

- (4) la davac amya ki twaboLo mobiliŋ.
 go so of monkey climb

The monkey went to climb (the tree).

- (5) la "?aociLia ili ko manannaŋ,"² la ya ko karara.
 throw me ripe so anteater

"Please throw me the ripe ones," the anteater said.

- (6) lo aLa amya iDa Lidi1, ?awa iLiD iDa diki1ini la
 when take so the loquat cause wipe that his buttocks

?awci:Li amya.
 throw so

Text XI

When he (the monkey) picked the loquat, he wiped it on his buttocks and then threw it to him (the anteater).

- (7) "?ai:, kanikani ko pino θakawanli," la ya amya iDa twaboLo.
eat used my wiping so the monkey

"He's eating what I've wiped my buttocks with," the monkey said.

- (8) "manima myamyaso, nala?"
what you doing friend

"What are you saying, my friend?"

- (9) "i:a, kyarararagađako kikai morimaDomaDota, nala," la ya ko³
I happy here we pick fruit friend so

twaboLo.
monkey

"I'm happy that we're picking fruit here, my friend," the monkey said.

- (10) "ɛ:n, la ?awci:Lia ili nala, iDa mananjan."
yes throw me friend that ripe

"All right, then throw me the ripe ones, my friend."

- (11) lo ?awci:Li amya ka ?awa iliD iDa yaini ka diki:l.
when throw so cause wipe the his buttocks

Before he threw them down, he wiped them on his buttocks.

- (12) la masobibiliŋ amya iDa twaboLo, "?ai:, awkanikani ko pino
look up the monkey eat used

θakawanli," la ya mya.
my wiping so so

Looking upwards, the monkey said, "He's eating what I've wiped my buttocks with."

- (13) "manima myamyaso, nala?"
what you saying friend

"What are you saying, my friend?"

- (14) "amyamyako ki Lidil ki maDanDan," la ya mya.
I saying loquat of ripe so like that

"I'm talking about the ripe loquats," he said.

- (15) sa tolikitna, la ki:la modaidai.
when finish come to ground

When it was over, he came down.

- (16) "aytomannata, nala, ?ikayvay?" la ya mya si.
we'll do friend here so and

"What shall we do here, my friend?" he said.

- (17) mao:loco malala amya si.
wrestle friends so and

The two friends kept wrestling.

- (18) "?ai:, lo mya inya ka, ta kiborasi, nala."
if like that we dig potato friend

"Ay, in that case, let's go digging sweet potatoes, my friend," (the anteater) said.

- (19) la kiborasi.
dig potato

They dug sweet potatoes.

- (20) "la:,⁴ ta ?asoicib," la ya.
we bake potato so

"Let's bake sweet potatoes in rocks," he said.

- (21) la ?awa ?asoicib amya iDa lamalala.
cause bake potato the friends

The friends then baked sweet potatoes in rocks.

Text XI

- (22) "lo mya inya, nala, ilata tokaka:ŋ."
if like that friend let's go catch fish

"If that's so, my friend, let's go fishing."

- (23) lo davac mwaDin amya ki karara, kaynanay ilok iDa
if go enter like of anteater return back that
tabototoLo⁵ amya iDa laka:ŋ.
many fat like the fish

The anteater went into the water, he brought back many fat fish.

- (24) "ʔyakakoaso, nala, la aLaso sa ka:ŋ?" la ya mya ki
how you friend you catch fish so
twaboLo.
monkey

"How did you catch the fish, my friend?" the monkey asked.

- (25) ko karara la ʔila:ila ki laini, "amaLata iDa Linig si
anteater tell his friend we take that stone and
la ʔawatoktok na ʔadadiʔoʔ, nala, amaLata sa
then strike that forefinger friend we catch
tabototoLo."
many fat

The anteater told his friend, "If we take the stone and strike the forefinger, my friend, we can catch many fat ones."

- (26) la ʔia amya iDa twaboLo.
do the monkey

The monkey did as he was told.

- (27) la aLa iDa acacir amya iDa twaboLo.
catch the tadpoles so the monkey

The monkey caught the tadpoles.

- (28) lo mwaDin ko karara kaynanay ilok iDa tabototoLo iDa ka:n.
if go in anteater return back the many fat the fish

If the anteater went in, he would bring back many fat fish.

- (29) "?yakakoaso, nala, la aLaso ?waLa ina tabototoLo?" la
how you friend you catch catch the many fat

ya mya si.
so

"How did you, my friend, catch many fat fish?" he (the monkey) asked.

- (30) maLa ina Linig la ?awa ina 0adadi?o0so si la ?awa
take that stone put in the your forefinger and cause
toktok, la ?awa 0ibic (i)na acilay, ay?ia aLaso," la ya
strike cause soak the water will do you catch
amya iDa taLagini ko karara.
his friend anteater

"Take a stone and strike your forefinger with it, and soak your finger in water, then you will catch the fish," the anteater said to his friend.

- (31) la ?awa toktok si la ?awa 0ibic acyacyilay, "?anana,
cause strike and cause soak water pain
?anana, ?anana, wama0a0ilit." la ya mya ki twaboLo.
pain pain hurt so monkey

He struck his finger and soaked it in water, "Painful, painful, painful, very painful," the monkey cried.

- (32) "so ?akiLakiLaw nakwa, nala," la ya mya ki twaboLo.
you fool me friend so monkey

"Why did you fool me, friend?" the monkey asked.

- (33) "ay?akiLakiLawko sa manima, nala? ina ta?ia?ianli. sika
I'll fool what friend that my doing fact

kyanjanso?"
you painful

Text XI

"What shall I fool you for, friend? That is what I did. Did you really feel the pain?"

- (34) likitna, aykadona kwaDa ?asoicib, ?atawanaw dwavaca
finish will be cooked the baked potato start leave
mwaDin ko karara.
enter anteater

After that, the baked sweet potatoes were about to be ready, so the anteater started to leave and enter the water.

- (35) kaDo:a amya, "amwa ino ko lata?" la ya ko twaboLo.
disappeared so go where our friend so monkey

The anteater had disappeared for a long time, the monkey said, "Where has our friend been?"

- (36) "aw?acaDayni tomanayni si kaDo:a ko lata?" la ya
die go wrong and disappeared our friend so
mya.

"Is he dead? What has happened to him? Our friend has disappeared," he said.

- (37) kao davac amya iDa karara mwa iDa ?asoicib si kani
fact go so the anteater go the baked potato and eat
iDa tabototoLo si tataDaDaw iDa iciblini.
the thick and big the their baked potato

As a matter of fact, the anteater went to the baked sweet potatoes and ate the big ones.

- (38) sa kabocok ko karara, la davac ko karara si la aLa
when full anteater go anteater and catch
iDa ka:n si kaynanay mobilin.
the fish and return come up

When the anteater was full, he went to catch some fish and then came up, returning and coming out of the water.

- (39) "ia:, nala, aw?acayna amyamyananako moswa. aw?iaso ano
 excl. friend die I so you you do much

θa:⁶ kawlay ?akaLinaw?"
 as long very

"Yea, my friend, I thought you were dead. Why have you been away for such a long time?"

- (40) "ia:, nala, amwako sa baroŋol si la kakiciŋayni kay ka:ŋ,
 excl. friend I go a cave and powerful this fish

la ikayako mornɔD kikay ka:ŋ, la konako aon," la ya mya si.
 I stay delay this fish I late so and

"Yea, my friend, I went to a cave and this fish was strong. I was delayed by this fish, so I'm late," he said.

- (41) la kɔ:la ilok iDa ka:ŋ.
 come bring the fish

He came back with the fish.

- (42) la kakaLana kwaDa ka:ŋ kwaDa aLalini.
 get many the fish the their catch

They caught more and more fish.

- (43) "lo mya inya ka aykadona kwaDa ?asoicibta," la
 when like that will be cooked the our baked potato

maya malala.
 so friends

"In that case, our baked sweet potatoes should be ready," the friends said to each other.

- (44) si, "i:n, ilanata mwa aLa iDa ?asoicibta mwicib.
 and yes we leave go take the our baked potato uncover

mwabaisnata."
 we hungry

"Yes, let's go to uncover our baked sweet potatoes. We're hungry already."

Text XI

- (45) la davac mwa mwa:La moicib.
walk go take uncover baked potato

They went to uncover the baked sweet potatoes.

- (46) la aLa mwa:La si atatitik na, "mya θaθa:na kikai,
catch take and very small like as---as this

nala," la ya kwaDa twaboLo.
friend the monkey

They took them out, all small ones, the monkey said, "These are so small, my friend."

- (47) "ia:, aθiric aθoLoc, laymikakoa?" la ya.
excl. shrivel shrink would how so

"Yea, they've shriveled and shrunk (from baking). What could we do about it?" the anteater said.

- (48) la ?atwanaw kwani malala si ko karara la anikakaniia
start eat friends and anteater eat little

si sarar.
and put down

The friends started to eat and the anteater ate only a little before he quit.

- (49) "so ini⁷ bi:ki:li, nala?" la ya kwaDa twaboLo.
you that little friend so that monkey

"Why do you eat so little, my friend?" the monkey asked.

- (50) "mabocokako, nala," la ya.
I full friend so

"I'm full, my friend," he replied.

- (51) la kanikaniṅa iDa tati:tikiṅa kwaDa twaboLo.
eat the small the monkey

The monkey ate the small ones.

- (52) "ia:, kwaDa nataDaDava kay ?asoicibta nya θaθa:ŋa
 excl. the ex-big this our baked potato that as---as

kikai," la ya ko twaboLo tako kaŋaŋoDi si kanikani.
 this so monkey while displeased and eating

"Yea, our sweet potatoes that were big are now so small,"
 the monkey said, displeased while eating.

- (53) "syaLiBa: lo ?asoicibta ka aθiric, aθoLoc. lo
 natural when we baked potato shrivel shrink when

yata ka mya, i:a a:θiric koani borasi."
 we so like shrink the potato

"Naturally. When we baked the sweet potatoes in rocks, we
 said they would shrivel and shrink, so they did. When we
 said so, those sweet potatoes shrank."

- (54) ania kakani:a ko karara, si mabocokŋanako si ci:la
 pretend eating anteater and I full and look

?ili kwan:i:a iDa tataDaDao iDa maθaril iDa borasi.
 pick eating the big the good the potato

The anteater made believe that he was eating, (in reality)
 he was full after having picked and eaten the big, good sweet
 potatoes.

- (55) "aytomatomanta, nala?" la ya sa maka kani.
 we'll do friend so when finish eat

"What shall we do, my friend?" they said when they finished
 eating.

- (56) "lo mya inya, nala, ilata molataD, si lo mocaki la
 if like that friend let's go out and when defecate

boritititi⁸ kwaDa amya ka amani kwaDa kani iDa takwakolay
 (sound) the like is the eat the thin

iDa aθiric; kwaDa boLiθokθok amya ka amani kwaDa awkani iDa
 the shrivel the (sound) like is the ate the

Text XI

tataDaDaw iDa ?asoicibta," la maya malala.
big the our baked potato so friends

"In that case, my friend, let's go out to defecate. The one who makes the sound boritititi (as of diarrhea) must have eaten the thin small potatoes, whereas the one who makes boLiθokθok must have eaten the big baked sweet potatoes of ours," the friends said to each other.

(57) "la aswala, nala, mocaki," la ya ko karara.
precede friend defecate so anteater

"You defecate first, my friend," said the anteater.

(58) la wa mocaki amya ki twaboLo; "boritititi" la ya amya iDa
go defecate so of monkey (sound) thus the

cakini.
his excrement

The monkey defecated; his excrement made the sound of boritititi.

(59) la wa mya iDa karara mocaki, "boLiθokθok" la ya.
go so the anteater defecate (sound) so

The anteater went to defecate and made the sound boLiθokθok.

(60) "ka ?akiLakiLawso nakwa, nala," la ya mya.
you cheat me friend so thus

"Then you cheated me, my friend," he said.

(61) la mararaŋaŋa⁹ maLaLioŋa¹⁰ iDa cakilini. la tara
bite stain the their excrement both

mokisaŋa kasaLay.
suffered energiless

They bit each other and stained each other with their excrement. Both suffered with no more energy.

- (62) ?ikit¹¹ sa ya, "ta maisaDaṅa, nala. aytomomannata, nala?"
 finish so we both rest friend we'll do friend

After that, (the monkey) said, "Let's both rest, my friend.
 What shall we do, my friend?"

- (63) "ilata malalaob, nala," la ya ko laini ka karara.
 let's burn friend so his friend anteater

"Let's burn each other, my friend," his friend the anteater
 said.

- (64) la davac amya.
 go so

They went.

- (65) "i:n, naw aswala," la ya ko karara.
 yes I precede anteater

"All right, burn me first," the anteater said.

- (66) "i:n," la ya amya ki twaboLo. la davac amya ki karara
 yes so thus monkey go thus anteater

mwaDiṅ iDa aba.
 enter that thick grass

"All right," the monkey said. Then the anteater entered the
 thick grass.

- (67) "aylaobṅanako?" la ya. "inyana," la ya.
 shall I burn wait

"Shall I burn?" "Wait a moment."

- (68) "aylaobṅanako?" la ya. "inyana," la ya.
 shall I burn wait

"Shall I burn?" "Wait a moment."

- (69) "aylaobṅanako?" la ya. "i:n," la ya iDa sakanitoLol.
 shall I burn yes the 3rd time

"Shall I burn?" "Yes," he responded the third time.

Text XI

- (70) kao Lokona si mwaDiŋ. si ka kɪ:la motalivaivayana tobaLi
fact dig and enter come come to light respond
ki laini si davac mwaDiŋ syoLi anDaDaLi:k.¹²
to his friend and go enter return hiding

In fact, the anteater dug a hole and went in. He came out to light to respond to his friend and then went back to hide himself (in the hole).

- (71) la ?awa lwaob amya ki twaboLo.
cause burn so of monkey

The monkey burned him.

- (72) la kalavalava amya kwaDa a?oy.
burn fiercely so the fire

The fire burned fiercely.

- (73) "nala," lo ya "?o...," la ya. "ka yakayana ko
friend when exist still

lata."
our friend

"My friend," he called. "Oh...," replied the other. "Then our friend is still alive."

- (74) "nala," lo ya ko ka "?o...," la ya.
friend

As he called "My friend," the other replied "Oh..."

- (75) la Libatŋa kwaDa a?oy.
pass the fire

The fire was over.

- (76) "nala" lo ya "?o...," la ya.
friend

"My friend," he called. "Oh...," replied the other.

- (77) kaynanay motalivaivai mwa ki laini.
return to light go his friend

He returned to light and went to his friend.

- (78) "nala, so kay kolaob? la kayso katoma ?akai ino,
friend you not get burned you not happen stay where
nala?" la ya amya.
friend

"My friend, are you not burned? Nothing happened to you where you stayed, my friend?"

- (79) "i:n, aykatomanako?" la ya amya ki karara.
yes will happen me so thus anteater

"No, what will happen to me?" the anteater said.

- (80) "?yakakoata,¹³ nala, la kayta kolaob?" la ya amya.
we how friend we not get burned so thus

"How do we manage not to get burned, my friend?" he asked.

- (81) "ci:lta iDa takaribika takaDaLimDima¹⁴ iDa θaLa, la wata
we look the dried leaves dark place the misc. we go
iDa mwaDin aniLaLi?oc,"¹⁵ la ya mya ki karara.
there get in wrap up so thus anteater

"Look for the dark place where there are dried thick miscanthus leaves, get inside and wrap up with them," the anteater replied.

- (82) la davac amya ki twaboLo.
go thus monkey

The monkey went.

- (83) "nala, aylaobnanako?" la ya mya.
friend shall I burn so thus

"My friend, shall I burn?" (the anteater) asked.

Text XI

(84) "inyana," la ya mya.
wait

"What a moment," replied the other.

(85) "nala, aylaobnanako?" la ya.
friend shall I burn

"My friend, shall I burn?" he asked.

(86) "nala, nako amwana iDa takaDaLimDima karibik iDa 0aLa."
friend I not go yet the dark place dry that misc.

"My friend, I haven't come to the dark place with dried
miscanthus leaves yet."

(87) "nala, aylaobnanako?" la ya.
friend shall I burn so

"My friend, shall I burn?"

(88) "ɛ:n," la ya.
yes so

"Yes," he replied.

(89) la ?awa lwaob ko karara.
cause burn anteater

The anteater burned him.

(90) "nali,"¹⁶ la ya.
friend

"My friend," he called.

(91) "?o...," la yana sa kayana ?adali kwaDa a?oy.
so still when not yet reach the fire

"Oh...," he still replied when the fire did not reach him
yet.

(92) "nali," la ya. "My friend," he called.
friend

(93) "ʔo...," la ya.

"Oh...," he replied.

(94) ki:lakɪ:lana kwaDa aʔoy.
coming the fire

The fire reached him.

(95) "nalɪ," la ya mya, kaDwa mya.
friend thus without thus

"My friend," he called, but no reply.

(96) "la:, ʔacayna ko lata," la ya mya ki karara.
die our friend thus of anteater

"Then, our friend has died," the anteater said.

(97) sa Libatna amya iDa aʔoy, la davac mwa ci:l ki laini
when over thus the fire walk go look his friend
amya si aniti:sa mya.
thus and show teeth thus

When the fire was over, he went to look at his friend, who showed up his teeth.

(98) la aLa ki laini si bi:car.
take his friend and dissect

He dissected his friend.

(99) la ʔawa iDa romok¹⁷ iDa bwatini.
put in the basket the his flesh

He put his flesh into the basket.

(100) kwaDa aoLo si rimrim ka twatamya: ʔawa ʔacocoLo, si
the head and bone original cause associate and

ʔawa cwaob; kwaDa aLimaini la balay.
put in cover the his hand hide

Text XI

He associated the head and bones like the original and covered them; he hid the hands and arms.

- (101) "haw?a, nisyola ko lata, syoli atakamananyak
(spell) revive our friend return same
iDa tamyanso!"
the your likeness

"May our friend restore to life! May you regain your breath as usual!"

- (102) la anDaka:l amya ki laini.
get up thus his friend

His friend got up.

- (103) "hoi:naso ka wa?ic, nala. la ikayako moswa waciaciac, la
you long sleep friend I stay you wake up
kayso anDakaka:l," la ya mya ki karara.
you not get up thus anteater

"What a long time you slept, my friend! I tried to wake you up, but you did not get up," the anteater said.

- (104) "ia:, nako θinal, nala," la ya.
exc. I not know friend

"I do not know, my friend," he replied.

- (105) "nala, yakai ka ki?akanli¹⁸ ka bolabolay yakai nya romok.
friend exist my food meat exist that basket
mwa kwan iDa kiba:yli¹⁸ ki?akan ki lagimita¹⁹ ka
go eat the I given food by our younger
lamaydaydaLiL,"²⁰ la ya.
(house name)

"My friend, I have some meat in that basket. Go and eat the meat our girl friends the MaydaydaLiLs gave us," he said.

- (106) la davac θibolabolay ko twaboLo.
 go jumping monkey

The monkey went jumping.

- (107) "yakai ino, nala?" la ya.
 exist where friend

"Where is it, my friend?" he asked.

- (108) "kwani yakai ina romok."
 that exist that basket

"It's in that basket."

- (109) la aLa ko twaboLo si kanikani.
 take monkey and eating

The monkey took it and was eating.

- (110) la davac amya ki karara, "kanikani ko kinawmasaniini."
 go thus anteater eating his body

The anteater went saying, "He is eating his own body."

- (111) "manima myamyaso nala?" la ya mya ki twaboLo.
 what you so friend monkey

"What were you saying, my friend?" the monkey asked.

- (112) "sinasinayko ki lagyagimita ka lamaydaydaLiL."
 I singing of our younger (house name)

"I was singing about our girl friends of the MaydaydaLiLs."

- (113) la: si:nay, "awkanikani ko kinawmasaniini," mya.
 singing eating his body

(The anteater) kept singing, "He's eating his own body."

- (114) "manima myamyaso?" la ya.
 what you so

"What were you singing?" he asked.

Text XI

(115) "amyamyako ki lagyagimita ka lamaydaydaLiL kwani sinasinayli.
I so our younger (house name) that my singing

?yakakoanaso? Li?injaso? kaDoso malalikitiana?" la ya ko
you how you all you not enough yet so

karara.
anteater

"I was singing about our girl friends of the MaydaydaLiL.
How are you? Are you all through? Haven't you got enough?"
the anteater asked.

(116) "Li?injanako, nako maraibiana.
I all I not satiated yet

"I've eaten all, but I haven't got satiated yet."

(117) "maLa swakira? yakayana kwaDa salyaDiñ makaLana."
take grope exist still the viscera much still

"Feel the meat by hand. There is still lots of viscera."

(118) la aLa mya si aLimaini anigaLamoc.
take thus and his hand rolled up

(The monkey) took it and it was his own hands with fingers
rolled up.

(119) "ka: ?akLakLawso nakwa, nala," la ya.
you fool me friend

"You fooled me, my friend," he said.

(120) "ia:, layθinalta, nala?" la ya.
would we know friend

"Yea, how would we know, my friend?"

(121) "?akLakLawso nakwa."
you fool me

"You fooled me."

- (122) la mararaŋalŋa maoloc.
bite wrestle

They bit and wrestled with each other.

- (123) sa kidoLoŋa, "likitŋata, nala. aytomatomaŋata?" la
when tired we finish friend we'll do

mayaya.
discuss

When they got tired, the monkey said, "That's enough for us, my friend. What shall we do?" they discussed.

- (124) si "lo mya inya ka ta maovagayŋa, nala. koso, nala,
and if like that we separate friend you friend
morikaθyaθyaθila:ŋa,²¹ konako aymorimaomaomaDoŋa,"²² la ya
seek ant-hill I I'll seek fruit

ko twaboLo.
monkey

"If that's so, let's be separated, friend. You will search for ant-hills, while I shall search for wild fruit."

- (125) "i:n, kaθaŋŋa kwiŋa"²³ ka amacaci:lanta ka lamataLagi," la
yes end now we'll meet friends

ya ko karara.
anteater

"Yes, that's all for today and we friends shall be seeing each other," the anteater said.

- (126) makaki?osao la davacŋa maovagay kwaDa lamalala.
farewell go separate those friends

Those friends bade farewell and left each other.

Footnotes to Text XI

¹This was recorded by molaoc (Mr. Lu-tsih Mao 毛路資, aged 77 in 1970, chief of the Taromak tribe) and interpreted by Mr. Te-tz'u Lin in October 1970.

²The phrase ko manan̄n̄n̄ 'the ripe' is obsolete; its colloquial equivalent is kwani maDaŋDaŋ 'that ripe.'

³The term twaboLo 'monkey' is personified, so it is marked by the personal article ko.

⁴The term la: has no meaning. It is uttered at the beginning of a sentence when the speaker is still thinking of what to say.

⁵The term ta-bo-to-toLo 'many fat ones' < ma-botoLo 'fat.' Note that the second syllable rather than the first of the stem is reduplicated.

⁶The term θa: 'as...as, the same as..., ' e.g.,

(a) kwani ka θa: kikai. That is as big as this.
that as big this

It can clearly be used as a verb (also see (46)):

(b) θa:ŋa kikai kwaDa lalakli.
as big this that my child
My child is as big as this.

⁷The form ini is probably a shortened form of iny-a 'that,' e.g., ini bikil 'that little,' iny-a kaLa 'that much.'

⁸Both boritititi 'sound, as of diarrhea' and boLiθokθok 'sound' are onomatopoeic.

⁹The stem raŋal 'to bite' > ma-ra-raŋal-ŋa 'to be biting each other.'

¹⁰The stem Lio 'to stain' > ma-La-Lio-ŋa 'to be staining each other.' Note the change of i to a in the reduplication. Cf. the verb in the examples below:

(a) nyawa mita Lio ina iLic.
got us stain that mud

We were stained with that mud.

(b) amwako mo-Lio inya caki.
I went stain that excrement

¹¹The form ?ikit = likit 'to finish.'

¹²The stem DaLik 'to bury' > an(i)-Da-DaLik 'to be hiding.'

¹³The base form ?ikakoa 'how do' is a question verb, e.g.,
ay-?ikakoa-ta lay kalalikit-ta mobi:r?
 fut.-how-we able-we escape
 How can we escape?

¹⁴The derivations of the two nouns are: ta-ka-ribik-a 'place of dried (leaves)' < ma-ribik 'dried,' ta-ka-DaLimDim-a 'dark place' < ma-DaLimDim 'dark.'

¹⁵The form ani-La-Li?oc 'to wrap up' < Li?oc 'to wrap' (7-11).

¹⁶The form nala 'friend' may be reduced to nalɿ.

¹⁷The term romok refers to a large basket made of bamboo.

¹⁸Both these forms are passive nominalized: ki-?a-kani-li 'passive-cause-eat-my = my being caused to eat' (< kani 'to eat'), ki-ba:y-li 'passive-give-my = my being given' (< ba:y 'to give').

¹⁹Note the problem of treating -mita morphologically as a suffix. As a personal possessive suffix it generally appears as -ta 'our,' and as an independent accusative form it is mita /mi-ta-a/ 'us.' But the syntactic structure of the sentence indicates that it should be treated as a possessive suffix. Hence we have to treat -ta and -mita, in addition to -ita (see 3-9), as the variants of the same personal possessive suffix 'our.'

²⁰The prefix la- + Personal Name 'house name,' e.g., la-kyoko 'Kyoko family,' la-ania 'whose family,' and la-maydaydaLiL refers to the younger girls of 'MaydaydaLiL family.'

²¹The prefix mori- + N 'to seek, to search for,' e.g., mori-?oDo or mori-kaθyaθil 'to seek ant-hill,' mori-maDo 'to seek fruit.'

²²Note that D is omitted in the reduplicated form ay-mori-mao-mao-maDo-ŋa 'I shall be seeking wild fruit.'

²³The term kw-iga 'now, today' as used in (125) is usually a question word 'when (past).'

Text XII

XII. moritokoLo¹
checking traps

Checking Traps

- (1) waki:la ko homio kawriva nakwa, "ilata moritokoL."²
come (name) speak me let's go check traps

Homio came to say to me, "Let's go to check the traps."

- (2) la kiDimD+mako si ?aLainna, "naw to?aLa moswa," la yako sa
I consider and willing I join you I so when

maDaDikasnai Da adavacannai.
we discuss that our going

I considered it and was willing to go after our discussion and said, "I will join you."

- (3) kwaDa atawannai ka, lolodnai³ makabaor.
that our going we pass (river)

The place where we were to go, we passed by the Makabaor river.

- (4) kwaDa sa wanai ka, la moritokoLonai iDa wadi:θ.⁴
that when we go we check traps the near

When we went, we checked the traps that were near.

- (5) sa wanai moritokoL iDa didi:θ, la ikai ka kisanwa
when we go check traps the near exist becoming

θadi ka Lonai.
mother deer cub

When we checked the traps that were near, there was a young mother deer.

- (6) kwaDa sa ci:lnai iDa Lonai, "la, amani kayvay kwaDa
that when we see that cub be this that

twa?aLaso. sasi?yaso,"⁵ la ya nakwa.
you join you lucky me

When we saw the young deer, he said to me, "We got this because you joined me. You're lucky."

- (7) "maLa o:d," la ya nakwa.
take carry me

"Carry it on the back," he said to me.

- (8) la aLako vilv:l si miasa malya?ai.
I take shake and seem light

I shook it and it seemed light.

- (9) sa aLako o:d, la kyadyadilako ki:la oroa.
when I take carry I bear come hut

I carried it on my back and bore the heavy load until we got to the mountain hut.

- (10) la sararnai iDa Lonal.
we put down that cub

We put down the young deer.

- (11) la davacnai ?i:la moritokoL.
we go again check traps

We went to check traps again.

- (12) sa davacnai moritokoL iDa wadaidail, la ikai ka kisis
when we go check traps the far exist goat

mwatokoL.
trapped

When we went to check the trap far off, a goat had got caught by the trap.

- (13) "la, kayvayana,"⁶ la ya nakwa ?akiragay.⁷
this again so me to please

"Look, we got this again," he said that to please me.

Text XII

- (14) la o:dako ?ila iDa kisis, la myaṅanako iDa kabaLbaL,
I carry again the goat I seemed the tired

kaynako twaLaw mobola.
I not used to go to mountain

I carried the goat on my back again, and I seemed to be tired as I was not used to going to the mountain.

- (15) la aLaiṅko o:d moroa.⁸
I willing carry to hut

I was willing to carry it to the mountain hut.

- (16) la twalaynai iDa myawaob botoL si tariainai wakam.
we from the evening dissect and we all night roast

Starting from the evening, we dissected (the animals) and roasted them all night long.

- (17) la toDitṅnai iDa yaini ka bwat.
we make sausage the its meat

We made sausages from the meat.

- (18) sa akakamnai ?adaLoṅa si laykaliḍa.
when we roasting soon and would be dawn

As we were roasting, it soon dawned.

- (19) la ?ahwa karidam kwaDa bolabolay maliḍaliḍa.
just dried the meat dawning

The meat just got dried as it was dawning.

- (20) amaniṅa kay amobaLivannai katiḍLiḡ ki bolabolay ka θimθimli.
be this our going home heavy meat my worry

Whether we could bring such heavy meat home was my worry.

- (21) sa kayṅanaynai la: mobaLiw mavavalanai o:d iDa
when we return then go home we share carry that

bolabolay si kyadiadilnai mobaLiw.
meat and we bear go home

When we came home, we shared the burden by separating the meat, and we had to bear the heavy loads all the way home.

- (22) tarowaonnai ki:la mobaLiw.
we late arrive go home

We got home very late.

- (23) sa ki:lanai mobaLiw, la kaynanay maDisisin kiraragay iDa
when we arrive go home come meet happy the
tawa?ana ko homio.
1st time (name)

When we got home, (our relatives) gathered together, very much pleased that Homio got so much for the first trip.

- (24) "la: amani ko tanio kwaDa twa?aLa si la sasi?ya la
be (name) the join and then lucky
ikaikai bolabolay, la ya makanaiLi.
have meat so all

"It was because Tanio who participated in the trip, and he was lucky so that there was meat," all of them said.

Footnotes to Text XII

Footnotes to Text XII

- ¹This was recorded and interpreted by Mr. Fu-shou Wang in March 1971.
- ²The term mori-tokoL 'to search and check the traps (to see if any wild animal has been caught)' < tokoL 'trap.'
- ³The form lolod-nai 'we pass' < lolod 'to pass' (2-51). Cf. wa-lolod-nai (na) kyokay. We passed by the church.
past-pass-we that church
- ⁴The form wa-di-di:θ 'was being near' < di:θ 'near,' cf. wa-dai-dail 'was being far' (12) < dail 'far.'
- ⁵The form sa-si?y-a-so 'you lucky' < si?i 'to dream.'
- ⁶The form kayvay-ana 'this again' < kayvay 'this.'
- ⁷The form ?a-kiragay 'cause-happy = please' < kiragay 'happy.'
- ⁸The form moroa /mo-oroa/ 'to go to the hut' < oroa 'hut' (9).

XIII. tawannai koca?oŋa¹
 we visit (place)

Our Visit to Koca?oŋa

- (1) kayasa aykawrivako kwaDa taŋiLibatannai ka cikicikil.
 now I'll talk the our experience family

I shall now talk about the experience of my family.

- (2) kwaDa sa ma?osal² si toLo ka cailli ka amwanai kaway
 the when twenty and three my age we go there

koca?oŋa.
 (place)

When I was twenty-three years old, we went to Koca?oŋa far away.

- (3) la ilokako iDa cikicikilli si wanai kawai koca?oŋa.
 I take the my family and we go there (place)

I took my family and we went to Koca?oŋa far away.

- (4) kwaDa sa wanai iDa ka la kila kwaDa swakoca?oŋa
 the when we go there come the villagers of K.

kiDisisij naya.
 meet us

When we were going there, the villagers of Koca?oŋa came to meet us.

- (5) kwaDa sa davacnai mwa iDa ka kaynai 0iŋal iDa talikai
 the when we walk go there we not know the location

inya daida.
 that ground

When we went, we still did not know the location.

- (6) la aLainnai dwavac ci:l to?a?aLa iDa kaiLia.
 we follow walk see join the path

We followed the path.

Text XIII

- (7) la dadavacnai.
we walking

We kept walking.

- (8) la kasa?onai si kabaLbaLnai.
we impatient and we tired

We got impatient and tired.

- (9) kwaDa kaiLia ka dail ?aramor kila koca?ona.
that path far very reach (place)

It was a long way to Koca?ona.

- (10) kwaDa sa kaynai kilana baloLo ka myawaobna.
the when we not arrive yet (place) evening

We did not get to BaloLo before the evening.

- (11) la sa Libatnai kaway baloLo ka, "?adaLodaLona," la ya.
when we pass there (place) arrive soon

When we passed BaloLo, (the guide) said, "We will arrive soon."

- (12) amani lo kiDimDimnai ka awdail ?aramor.
be when we think far very

It seemed very far to us.

- (13) si kaynai a?i dadavacna kidoLo ?aramor.
and we not want walk tired very

We didn't want to walk any more as we were very tired.

- (14) la wanai Libat sa kaiLia sa matyaokokoloD ?aramor.
we go pass a path terrible very

We went through a path that was very frightening.

- (15) kwaDa tinab la anitikiba tokaiLia inya.
the cliff carve make path like that

The road was constructed by carving in the cliff.

- (16) la motiki:a kwaDa kaiLia.
small the path

The path got very small.

- (17) si matyakokoloD ma:bilin ?aramor kwaDa tinab.
and terrible high very the cliff

The cliff was terribly high.

- (18) matyasamali ?aramor kwaDa kaiLia.
surprising very the path

The path was very surprising.

- (19) la davacnai aLain lolod iDa anibwainai.
we walk follow pass that our visible

We walked past there and then we came to the visible point.

- (20) la davacnai Libat iDa kilanai kaway baloLo.
we walk pass there we arrive there (place)

We walked past there and arrived at Balolo.

- (21) kwaDa sa Libatnai iDa tanitokaDa,³ ay?adaLonanai si
the when we pass the landslide we soon and

kila kaway koca?ona.
arrive there (place)

When we passed the landslide we soon arrived at Koca?ona.

- (22) la aLainnai dwavac ka cikicikil.
we follow walk family

My family walked down the road.

- (23) inaLaina kwaDa sakaDosali kaDwa doLo dwadavac.
especially the my wife without energy walk

Especially my wife had no more energy to walk.

- (24) sa kilanai koca?ona, la myawaobna, kasaLimsimsim.⁴
when we arrive (place) evening get dusky

Text XIII

When we arrived at Koca?oņa, it was in the evening getting dusky.

- (25) la ?akas anibaLotay mwa taikaikaia kwaDa sakaDosali,
immediately fall down go bed the my spouse
la kyadoLo ?aramor.
worn out very

My wife fell in the bed right away as she was really worn out.

- (26) kaynai twaLaw dwadavac sa mwadail.
we not used to walking go far

We were not used to walking that far.

- (27) kwaDa tadadavacannai mya ikai ka vaLo ka toki.
the our walking like exist eight hours

We walked for eight hours.

- (28) sa ikainai ?akai iDa cikil, kwaDa lartisanta
when we live at that village the our "relatives"
ka@aLay mita.
love us

When we lived in the village, the people took good care of us.

- (29) ma@aril ?aramor koliDa makana+Li.
good very they all

They were all very nice.

- (30) kwaDa sa ikainai ?akai iDa, la kaynai twaLaw iDa
the when we live at there we not used to the
akanikania, lataliklini.
food their various food

When we lived there, we were not used to their various kinds of food.

- (31) kwaDa kanikanilini si kay kanikanita ka swalidokoa ka
 the their eating and this our eating plains people

makakaila ?paramor.
 different very

The food they eat is very different from what we eat on the plains.

- (32) kwaDa kanikani iDa swasisia,⁵ swavoday, amani kayvay
 the eating the mountaineers Budai people is this
borasi, tai, bicin, ?agay, noDanoD, koray, taromonag.
 potato taro millet grain corn dried taro pumpkin

The mountaineers, the Budai people, eat sweet potatoes, taroes, millet, grain, corn, dried taroes, and pumpkins.

- (33) koliDa⁶ ka kaDwa ?waDoLiDoLi sa ?agay; ?ino⁷ lanalanay si
 they not plant rice by buying and
kani.
 eat

It is them who do not plant rice; (they get it) to eat by purchase.

- (34) kwaDa tai ikai lo tokoray, ?ia?ia inya koliDa
 the taro stay when make dried taro doing that they
swakai inya.
 residents there

The residents there dry taroes (for food).

- (35) kota ka swalidoko:a yakai kayvay ca:n.
 we plains-people have this paddy

It is us the plains-people who have paddies.

- (36) la sinikai iDa ca:n, ikai ka ?agayta.
 from the paddy have our rice

From the paddies, we get our rice.

Text XIII

- (37) kwani swasisia mwab+Lis, la ikai kwaDa alanaḁanlini
that mountaineer make money have the their purchase
iDa biraḁ.
the rice

The mountaineer makes money to buy rice.

- (38) kaDwa kyaLaw mita ka swaLidokoa.
not like us plains people

They are unlike us people on the plains.

- (39) kwaDa sa ikainai ?akai iDa lo kiD+imD+imnai kaDwa ka
that when we live at there when we think without
iloknai ka man+ma.
we bring thing

When we lived there, as we recall, we did not bring things with us.

- (40) la ?asinikainai iDa lart+isanta ikai lo k+ila bwa:y sa
we get from the our relatives have when come give
biraḁ, ikai lo kyanato, ikai lo k+ila ?oskaiLi sa
rice have when gather wood have when come help
atwatomana.
affair

We got rice, firewood, and help from those "relatives" of ours.

- (41) ?ia?ia inya kwani swakaiDa, maḁaril ?aramor.
doing that that residents there good very

Those people there were doing all that; they were very good.

- (42) sa ikainai ?akai iDa, kya?akaLinaw⁸ kaca+im kwaDa
when we live at there serious get sick the

sakaDosali, la kaynai ḁinal sa ?ikakoa.
my spouse I not know how

When we lived there, my wife got seriously ill, and we did not know what to do.

- (43) iDa ka yakaiŋa ko lalaknai ka syanagan ki cyolyan.
 then had our child named (name)

We had a child by name of Cyolyan then.

- (44) la abako⁹ si davacako sila? iDa sarakaya bo:¹⁰ iDa
 I carry and I walk search the use cure the
sakaDosali.
 my wife

I carried her to search herbs that is used to cure my wife.

- (45) si matikoronai ikai iDa.
 and we pitiable stay there

We were in a bad shape while we were there.

- (46) kwaDa lo kiDimDimako, "sika mya kikai kwaDa swasiswa,"
 that when I think indeed like this the mountaineer

la yako, "kaDwa ka takaθaril.
 said I nothing good

I thought to myself, "Indeed, this is the way mountaineers live. Nothing fascinating.

- (47) lo kacaɪmta, matyakorota.
 when we sick we pitiable

When we get sick, we are pitiable.

- (48) iDa kaDwa ka ?isiŋ ka atawanta ?akibo:."
 there without doctor our place be cured

There is no doctor for us to get cured."

- (49) la ikainai tara vaLo ka Damar.
 we live for eight months

We lived there for eight months.

- (50) la davacnai ?akai iDa.
 we leave at there

We left there.

Text XIII

- (51) kwaDa sa aydavacnai, la koliDa sakaocikila wakila
that when we'll leave they villager come
swatiatiD naya, la tobi naya.
see off us cry us

When we were leaving, it is them the villagers who came to see us off and cried to us.

- (52) la kavaLinvinai si matobitobinai makanaLi iDa.
we miss and we crying all then

We missed them and we were all crying then.

- (53) sa davadavacnai koca?ona, oDava koliDa ka watobi, myalinai
when we leaving (place) also they cry we same
kaynai a?idavac^{ll} kaway koca?ona.
we not want leave there (place)

When we were leaving Koca?ona, they cried, and we were reluctant to leave Koca?ona also.

- (54) si koliDa ta?ia?ianlini maθaril ?aramor, maθaLay
and they their deed good very take care
?akaLinaw, ?waskaiLi sa omas.
very well help man

It is them who did very well, took good care of people, and helped people.

- (55) masoLa?il aramor koliDa ta?ia?ia:nlini.
kind very they their deeds

They were very kind.

- (56) la amani sa davadavacnai mavaLinvin ?aramor iDa
be when we leaving miss very the
θaLaðanlini mita, takamaninya sa lalaklini mita.
their care us as if their child us

When we were leaving we really missed their taking good care of us as if we had been their own children.

- (57) lo kiD+mD+mta linya ka takamanimanya sa yata ka maroDawDan
when we think them as if our parents
koliDa.¹²
they

We thought of them as if they had been our own parents.

- (58) kay vaga ka amani sa ikainai koca?ona.
this word be we stay (place)

These are the words about our stay at Koca?ona.

Footnotes to Text XIII

¹This was recorded and interpreted by Mr. Fu-shou Wang in March 1971.

²The form ma-ʔosa-l 'twenty' < Dosa 'two.' Cf. ma-ŋia-l 'ten' < ia 'one.'

³The form tanitokoDa /ta-anitokaD-an/ 'place of landslide' < anitokaD 'landslide.'

⁴The form ka-salimsim-sim 'to get dusky' < ma-salimsim 'dusky.' The informant Wang said myawaob 'late in the afternoon, about 5 or 6 o'clock,' masalimsim 'dusky, about 6 or 7 o'clock.'

⁵The form sw-a-sisia 'residents of slope' < sisia 'slope.' Wang originally gave the form sw-a-LigLig 'residents of mountain' < LigLig 'mountain,' but Lin changed it to swasiswa.

⁶Note that when an independent personal pronoun occurs before the main verb marked by ka, it indicates emphasis and a topicalized sentence. See Li 1973:200.

⁷The term ʔino 'by means of, with, to use' is probably a verb.

⁸Wang gave the form ky-a-ʔakiLinaw while Lin gave ky-a-ʔakaLinaw. Note the difference by one vowel.

⁹The form abako /aba-ako/ 'I carry' < aba 'to carry (a child).' Cf. o:d 'to carry (things)' (12-7).

¹⁰The utterance iDa sarakaya (</sa-arakai-an/) bo: literally means 'that is used to cure,' and Wang referred to herbs.

¹¹In the term aʔi-davac 'want to leave' < davac 'to leave,' aʔi- can be treated as a prefix because (1) its following verb stem is not inflected with the embedding mark w (see Li 1973:225) and (2) the past tense marker -a- (see Li 1973:157) may appear between aʔi- and the following verb stem, as in the example below:

aʔi-a-davac-ako. I wanted to leave.

¹²In the account of his trip to Kocaʔona, Wang often used the terms kolini 'they (nearby)' and inya 'them (nearby)' to refer to the Budai people with whom his family stayed for eight months. Lin changed the terms to koliDa 'they (remote)' and iDa 'them (remote)' respectively.

XIV. ?aLako:a si swataromak¹

Gathering-house and Taromak Villagers

- (1) kwaDa tanya ki cikilta.²
that event of our village

(My talk is about) the event of our village.

- (2) kwaDa ?atinatina lo kiDimDimta inya ka, yakai kwaDa
that really when we think that exist that

?atinatina talyalalay³ ?aLako:a, la amani kwaDa
really chief gathering-house be that

kaokaol, taDosa kwaDa DikaDikas.
common folk 2 people that planning

When we think about it, there were really two people: our chief and a common folk at the gathering-house making plans.

- (3) kwaDa ?atinatina⁴ katay mwa ?aLako:a ka omas.
that really we not go gathering-house man

In fact, we did not go to the gathering house.

- (4) ayboLo mita iDa ?akaLimal⁵ ?alais⁶ ka vaLaLisin kaDoy
will train us the 5 days starve youngsters not

?akani sa aga.
make eat meal

To train us they starved us youngsters for five days not given anything to eat.

- (5) ?atina mwaboloLa,⁷ ?akas kaino ka omas mokoloD.
really we get trained immediately polite people fear

We really got the training, immediately we became polite to people and filled with awe.

- (6) ?akaLimal la ?akanina mita sa aga.
5 days feed us a meal

They fed us after five days.

Text XIV

- (7) koso ka mwa?alako:a ka valalisin, kay mokaθabara.
you gathering-house youngsters not young men

You were youngsters at the gathering-house, not young men yet.

- (8) lo ikai ka bada, la kadola:so laykarali also tobi,
if have enemy you get hurt you would shriek cry

satomana aswa?alako:a?
what use gathering-house youngsters

When there were enemies, you got hurt, and if you should shriek and cry, what use would you be as a youngster of the gathering-house?

- (9) lwa so?alako:anta maLomalta lo karali lo wata sa bada.
we youngsters we embarrassed if shriek if we go an enemy

As members of the gathering-house we would be embarrassed should we shriek when we meet enemies.

- (10) la kiDimDimta ka mwa?alako:a ka valalisin.
we consider gathering-house youngsters

We had to consider as members of the gathering-house.

- (11) la ?alais mita ?akalimal lo kayta tobi.
starve us 5 days if we not cry

We were starved for five days if we did not cry.

- (12) sa ?akalimalna ?akanina mita sa aga.
when 5 days feed us meal

After five days we were fed with meals.

- (13) si ikai ?asonaLanaLay⁸ mita.
and exist make spit us

They kept making us spit.

- (14) sana moratib kwani naLayta, "awkaniso sa aga," la ya
if break easily that our sputum you ate a meal so

mita.
us

If our sputum broke off briskly, they would say to us, "You have eaten a meal."

- (15) "malisi," la ya mita si la ?ili⁹ mita.
bad so us and beat us

"That's bad," they said to us and beat us with a poisonous plant.

- (16) la ay?akanina iDa sa?akaLimal.
will feed that 5 days

They would feed (us) after five days.

- (17) la ay?ila ?akaLimal ?alais, to?atinatinanna.
again 5 days starve do real

Then they would starve us again for five more days, the real one.

- (18) ayto?adaLanta¹⁰ Lwaboal lo myaLiaLiaL lwa vaya waon
we everyday run when morning when daytime all day

kisikaol manima ragosna, kaLayLay, onocoyna, kiDinna,
run errands what branch rubber pipe spoon

aLaD, la ya kwaDa tarwarDana, la aydononta ka mwa?alako:a.
fence so those old men we follow youngsters

Every morning and daytime, we had to run errands all day long getting dry branches of trees, rubbers, pipes, spoons, fences as ordered by those old men, and we members of the gathering-house had to obey.

- (19) la kawriwa kwaDa maroDan ?alako:a, "koso ka ki:la
say the senior gathering-house you come

mo?alako:a ka swatinakiDakiDar,"¹¹ la ya mita. la
go gathering-house children us

kavaLacvacta.¹²
we displeased

Text XIV

The seniors at the gathering-house said, "You at the youth gathering-house are from the children's gathering-house." We were displeased.

- (20) "swatinakiDakiDar," la ya mita.
children so us

"You are children of the gathering-house."

- (21) la ikaita si la ?ila ani?osal ?akaLimal ?alais.
we stay and again second 5 days starve

We stayed there and were starved for the second five-day period.

- (22) la wata iDa makaso?ati1, la ay?akanina mita.
we go the 4 days feed us

Then we spent four days before they fed us.

- (23) la ay?ila ?akaso?ati1, la ?akanina mita sa aga.
again 4 days feed us meal

Another four days before they fed us.

- (24) la ?ila ?akatoLol, la ?akani mita sa aga.
again 3 days feed us meal

Then it was three days before they fed us.

- (25) la ?ila ?akatoLol, la ?akani mita sa aga.
again 3 days feed us meal

It was another three days before they fed us.

- (26) la wa iDa maka?osa?osal, la ?akani mita sa aga.
go the 2 days feed us meal

Then we went to the two-day period before they fed us.

- (27) la wa iDa makavaval, la ?akani mita sa aga.
go the one day feed us meal

Then we went to the one day period before they fed us.

- (28) la wata iDa iDiDikayna.
we go the shortest

Then we came to the shortest periods.

- (29) kaDwata okanikani lwa myaLiLi lo tatokoDaliDalya ya ko
we not eat when morning when lunch time at
DosaDosa kwaDa ragiIta kwaDa rokoD si koDali.
two the our share the breakfast and lunch

We did not eat breakfast in the morning or lunch at noon;
the two meals were left untouched.

- (30) sana kaDwa kwani akoa ia, wa?ili mita.
if without that plate one beat us

If one dish was gone, they beat us with a poisonous
plant.

- (31) "kay vaLaLisIn awkani iDa da:nini," la ya mita, si
this youngster has eaten the his house so us and
?akanina mita iDa nico iDa borasi, si ?aonolna iDa acilay
make eat us the peel the potato and make drink the water
kwalavalava, si ki?iliIna matikokoro.
to the fill and beaten pitiable

"This boy has eaten the meal at his house," they said to us,
and gave us the peels of sweet potatoes to eat, water to
drink to the fill, and we were beaten with a poisonous plant
unmercifully.

- (32) la mokoloDta ?a?atwatoma.
we fear do things

We were afraid of doing anything improper.

- (33) "kicinana ka swa?alako:a,
energetic still youngsters of gathering-house
myakakoanomi ka swa?alako:a?" la ya mita si.
how are you youngsters of gathering-house us and

Text XIV

"Bravo, youngsters of the gathering-house! How are you youngsters of the gathering-house?"

- (34) "konako ka marakacako makicinjko," la yata tobaLi.
I I brave I strong we so reply

"It's me who is brave; It's me who is strong," we replied.

- (35) "koso la aykaysoy¹³ tobiŋa? kasoy kaθarilŋa aso?aLako:a?"
you you not cry you not good youngsters

"You wouldn't cry? You wouldn't be good youngsters of the gathering-house?"

- (36) "ɛ:n, nakoy myaŋa inya. swa?aLako:anŋanako."
yes I not like that I youngsters

"No, I wouldn't be like that (crying). I'm already a youngster of the gathering-house."

- (37) "Liosa¹⁴ ina labitso ina ?a?oavanal."
turn that your apron that to right

"Turn around your apron to the right."

- (38) la aLata Lios ?a?oviri, a?atiŋatiŋaniŋata aswa?aLakoanna.
we take turn to left we really youngsters

We turned around our aprons to the left and then we became real youngsters.

- (39) "swa?aLako:anna," la ya mita.
youngsters of gathering-house so us

"You've already been youngsters of the gathering-house," they said to us.

- (40) ka sa:Da kiwawa:¹⁵ twakaynin na aLon.
rest-place don't go sit that bench

Don't go to sit on the bench at a rest-place.

- (41) Lagawta ka mwakaθabara,¹⁶ ayoa twakaynin ka omas.
 we yield young men will go sit man

We young men should give up seats to men.

- (42) lo anokaiLiLianta anwaobobolanta¹⁷ ka lavavalak, ka
 when we on road we on roadside children

lankoθabara, ka lavaLaLisin.
 young men youngsters

As children, young men, or youngsters we should walk on the roadsides.

- (43) kwaDa ?atinatiŋa kwaDa tarwarDana omas, kwaDa labaybay
 the really the old men the women

aytakaynin iDa sa:Da.
 will sit the rest-place

Real old men and women will sit at the rest-place.

- (44) kaDoytay¹⁸ takaynin ka lavavalak.
 we not sit children

We children should not sit.

- (45) lo wata twakaynin ka maŋaŋa kwani kaDo ?yamamaomao, amya.
 when we go sit foolish that not do proper thus

If we sit, we are foolish and do not behave ourselves.

- (46) amani kwani kwaDa takaθariθarila ko naDoma takaDiŋiLiisa
 be that the good point formerly straight

iDa takiDiŋiLiisa.
 the thought

That was the good thing in the past: the thought was straight.

- (47) kakiciŋ maDiKaDiKaDiKa ikai ?aLako:a.
 energetic discussing at gathering-house

They were discussing vigorously at the gathering-house.

Text XIV

- (48) lo kito?avava, "ni to?avava mita? ilata wa ?a?acay ina
when be bullied why bully us let's go kill the
kaDo kyadonjon mita."
not be followed us

When bullied, they would say, "Why did they bully us? Let's go kill those who do not follow us."

- (49) la wa sibada, ?a?acay iDa kaDo θαLadaLada iDa DiKas
go kill enemies kill the not follow the rule
ki cikiil, kaDo donjon iDa DiKas taromak kay badabada.
of village not follow the rule (place) these enemies

We went to kill enemies, to kill those who did not follow the rules of the village, those enemies who did not follow the village of Taromak.

- (50) la ?a?acay, ?a?acay.
kill kill

We killed and killed them.

- (51) la ki:lana sonaL,¹⁹ "ania kwaDa ayki?aca?acay ki
come apologize who that will be killed by
sotaromak?" la ya kay badabada.
villagers of T. these enemies

Then they would come to apologize, "Who wants to get killed by the Taromak people?" these enemies said.

- (52) la ayki:la taromak si sonasonasonal.
come (place) and keep apologizing

They would come to Taromak and keep apologizing.

- (53) lo wata ka sotaromak, la ay?aswala mita wakani.
when we go villagers of T. let first us eat

If we Taromak people went (to their village), they would let us eat first.

- (54) lo kay ?aswala mita, wata ?a?acay.
when not let first us we go kill

If they did not let us eat first, we would go kill them.

- (55) konai ka sotaromak inya ka malilisiṅa amya naya si
we villagers of T. that bad so us but
mwaDyaDinayṅa.
good

We were said to have bad temper, but we were really very good.

- (56) amani lo ?aLibat²⁰ iDa anoka#Liannai iDa ?atiṅatiṅa iDa
be when transgress that our road the really the
kiD#mD#mnai.
our thought

It was when other people transgressed that we would really take the measure (of killing them).

- (57) la amani kwaDa malisi inya ki baḍabaḍa ki omas.
be the bad that of outsiders of man

That's what other people considered us bad.

- (58) nay dondon ki kiD#mD#mnai ki takaOdyadiṅadannai, nay ?ahwa
if follow of our thought of our good then right
inia.
that

If they followed what we considered was good, it would be exactly right.

- (59) to?avava naya si, "sotaromak kay yakai LigLig kaDwa
bully us and villagers of T. these stay mountain not
amwa sa manima."
go thing

They kept bullying us and said, "These Taromak mountaineers will get nothing."

Text XIV

- (60) lo ranaw la mota?amolya²¹ kwani, "mwa?amoli kay
if get mad then make mistakes that at fault these
sotaromak."
villagers of T.

If we got mad and went astray, they would say, "These
Taromak tribesmen have gone wrong."

- (61) lay?ikakoanata?
how should we

What should we do?

- (62) anokaiLiannata takito?avavanta takisonaLiLimanta.²²
we on road our being bullied our being challenged

We were on the way of being bullied and challenged.

- (63) la wanata anokaiLiia kicinnanna, iDa kiD+mD+mta inya.
we go on road bold the we think that

We went on the way bold, as we deemed it appropriate.

- (64) lo ?acaynata, lo kitomannata, ta ?aLain.
when we die when we be done we willing

Even if we should die, or what should happen to us, we would
be willing to take it.

- (65) malisi lo ikai to?avavava mita ka omas.
bad if exist bully us people

It's bad if there are people who keep bullying us.

- (66) la ta kakicin, ta kabotoLo inya si la ki:la Limi mita
we strong we fat that yet come challenge us
kay omas inya.
these people like that

Let's be strong and powerful, yet these people came to
challenge us.

- (67) la amani kwaDa takalisya ki sotaromak kwani.
be the get mad of tribesmen of T. that

That's why the Taromak tribesmen got mad.

- (68) kaDonā libalibak kay sotaromak kawriva si abibiLil
not precede these tribesmen of T. speak but follow

si la amani kay baḁabaḁa ?aswala to?avava si lo
but be these outsiders precede bully and when

kibiLiḁa, la kay maka tomatomanna ki sotaromak.
be retaliated not able do tribesmen of T.

These Taromak tribesmen did not bully others first, we followed others; it was the other tribesmen who did it first. When they were retaliated, they could not do much to us Taromak tribesmen.

Footnotes to Text XIV

¹This was recorded by kilil, or better known as damay (Mr. T'ai-tou Meng 孟泰斗, aged 83 in 1970) and interpreted by Mr. Te-tz'u Lin in March 1971. It gives an account of the youngsters' gathering-house and the character of the Taromak tribe. Cf. the anthropological studies given in Jen (1956) and Hsieh (1967).

²This seems to be a noun phrase, but Lin, the native speaker, insists that it is a 'complete sentence.'

³These are the main classes in Rukai: talyalalay 'nobleman, chief,' arabolwa 'officer,' and kaokaol 'common folk, rank and file;' see Hsieh 1967:198.

⁴The reduplication of an adjective or adverb, as in ?atɪŋa-tɪŋa 'really,' indicates intensity. See Li 1973:268.

⁵The affixes ?aka-...-l + Numeral 'for...days, the...th day,' e.g., ?aka-Lima-l 'for five days' < Lima 'five,' ?aka-toLo-l 'for three days' < toLo 'three.' Note the m ~ ? alternation in the affixes. For maka-...-l + Numeral, see Text IV, Note 6. For ?aka-...-l + Numeral 'the...th day,' see also Text IV, Note 30.

⁶The form ?a-lais 'to starve' < lais 'to go without food,' e.g.,

ay-lais-ako. I shall go without food.

⁷The form mwa-boLo-ta 'go-train-we = we get trained' < boLo 'to train.'

⁸The form ?a-so-ŋaLa-ŋaLay 'to keep making (people) spit' < ?a-so-ŋaLay 'to make spit' < so-ŋaLay 'to spit' < ŋaLay 'sputum.'

⁹The term ?ili, which is the name of a poisonous plant, *Urtica Thunbergiana* Sieb et Iucc. (see Hsieh 1967:197, Note (1)), can also be used as a verb meaning 'to beat with the poisonous plant.'

¹⁰The form ay-toθadaLan-ta 'will-daily-we' < toθadaLan 'daily, everyday.'

¹¹The term sw-a-tinakiDa-kɪDar 'children of the gathering house' < tinakiDar 'simple house.'

¹²The term ma-valacvac 'displeased, angry' is emotionally stronger than ma-gimoc 'angry.'

¹³Note that the form of the negative verb can be either kay/so/y or ka/so/y 'you not.' That is, the final semiconsonant y of the negative verb can appear once or twice.

¹⁴The imperative form Lios-a 'Turn!' < Lios 'to turn.'

¹⁵The prefix ki- (or ky-) + Reduplication of V stem 'don't, prohibitive,' ki-wa-wa 'Don't go!' ki-sina-sinay 'Don't sing!' ki-kani-kani 'Don't eat!' See also Text IV, Note 26.

¹⁶Cf. mw-a-ka-θabara 'young men' and lanko-θabara 'two or more young men' (42).

¹⁷The form /ano-a-obo-obil-an-ta/ 'we on the grass path = we on the roadside' < obil 'grass.'

¹⁸See Note 13 for the negative verb above. Cf. the negatives in the following sentences:

(a) lavavalak ka kaDwa takaynin.
children did not sit

Children did not sit.

(b) kaDoy takaynin ka lavavalak.
not sit children

Children should not sit.

(c) ka lavavalak ki-takayni-ni.
children don't sit

Children, don't sit.

¹⁹The term soṅaL 'to apologize, to bow to, to pay homage to' soṅa-soṅa-soṅaL 'to keep apologizing.'

²⁰The form ?a-Libat 'to transgress' < Libat 'to pass.'

²¹The underlying form /mo-ta-?amoli-an/ 'go-place-wrong-nominal = going astray' < ?amoli 'wrong.'

²²The form ta-ki-sonaLi-Lim-an-ta 'our being challenged' < Lim 'to dare.'

XV. tɪlɪb¹
flood

Flood

- (1) aykawrivako kayasa² iDa takaDava acilay sa ia.³
Fut. I talk now the big water when before

I shall now talk about the flood before.

- (2) kɪla ko taDaw si baro, "ilata mobiLɪs marohaban,"⁴ la
come (name) and (name) let's make money (place)

ya nakwa.
me

TaDaw and Baro came and said to me, "Let's go to make money at Marohaban."

- (3) odaodal sa amaon iDa.
raining when evening then

It was raining in the evening then.

- (4) la davacnai mwa marohaban, Libatnai taDaLɪDaLɪka⁵ iDa taloD.
we walk go (place) we pass cemetery the bridge

We went to Marohaban by way of the bridge at the cemetery.

- (5) maθarilyana kwaDa taloD; kaDo matomanɪana.
good still the bridge no matter yet

The bridge was still good; nothing had happened to it yet.

- (6) la davacnai mwa kaway marohaban.
we walk go there (place)

We went over to Marohaban.

- (7) kwaDa atwatoma:na ka amaLamaLanai ?obɪlɪŋ iDa obol.
that to do we take up the grass

Our job was to pick up grass (from the bottom of the water).

- (8) maobaLibaliθnai:⁶ amwa kwaDa taDosa, la iDiŋir kwaDa tanja.
we taking turns go the two rest the one

We were taking turns: two people went to work while one was at rest.

- (9) tarwaDaDaw kwaDa odal sa amaon.
bigger the rain when evening

The rain was heavy in the evening.

- (10) kanay θiŋal sa mato?avana kwaDa taloD kaway taDaLiDaLiKa.
we not know break the bridge there cemetery

We did not know that the bridge down at the cemetery was broken.

- (11) la ?akila sa amyaLiLi, ikainai tatoLo iDa.
till when morning we stay three there

We three stayed there till the morning.

- (12) kwaDa marohaban ka syaiti ka acilay.
the (place) full water

The water was then full at Marohaban.

- (13) aymoki?iŋnai⁷ si lanoy ?otalivaivai iDa lamanima
we'll remove clothes and swim take out those things
iDa mwaDirim yakai aDin.
that sink exist inside

We had to take off our clothes and swim to take out the stuffs that sank at the bottom.

- (14) sa kaDiKar kwaDa acilay, la aydavacŋanai sa myaLiLi.
when get low that water we'll leave in morning

When the water got low, we were to leave (for home) in the morning.

- (15) sa kilanai taDaLiDaLiKa, ci:lnai si kaDwana kwaDa taloD.
when we come cemetery we look and not have the bridge

Text XV

When we came to the cemetery, we found that the bridge was gone.

- (16) kaynai maka lolodña.
we not able pass

We could not pass.

- (17) la ikainai waDaDaw sa omas.
we stay wait man

We stayed there to wait for people.

- (18) kaynai θiñal sa ?ikakoanai Libat.
we not know how we pass

We did not know how to pass.

- (19) la ikai kwaDa lartísanta ka swa?irila, "ilata
stay the our relatives ?irila residents let's

isolay ?irila."
stay overnight (place)

We had some relatives from ?irila, "Let's stay at ?irila."

- (20) la davacnai isolay ?irila maka?osal.
we walk stay overnight (place) two days

We went to stay at ?irila for two days.

- (21) sa ?akatoLol ci:lnai si tamya kwaDa acilay, kaDwa morDis
when 3rd day we look and same the water not retreat

atikia.
small

On the third day when we looked at the water, it was not any smaller.

- (22) kaDo maka lolod ka omas.
not able pass man

People could not pass.

- (23) sa ci:lnai ki laomas maribiribic iDa ?aLil, la davacnai⁸
 when we look men seizing the wood we leave
ki taDaw moLaoD ki?aLil.⁹
 (name) go down gather wood

When we saw people seizing the floating wood carried down by the stream, I went down with TaDaw to gather the floating wood.

- (24) sa amyawaobŋa, arwa tikianna kwaDa acilay.
 when evening more small the water

In the evening, the water got smaller.

- (25) ci:lnai si LibaLibat ka omas iDa taloD anitakilil,¹⁰ la
 we look and passing man the bridge hang over
Libatŋanai.
 we pass

We saw people passing the bridge by hanging on to the rope, and then we passed.

- (26) sa Libatnai, kanaiy 0iŋal sa mwaloDŋa kwaDa lataloD si
 when we pass we not know flow the bridge and
da:n.
 house

When we passed, we did not know that bridges and houses had been flowed away.

- (27) la davacnai mwa ci:l si mwaloDŋa kwaDa lada:n.
 we leave go look and flow the houses

We went to have a look but the houses had been flowed away.

- (28) kaDwa aci:lanna¹¹ kwaDa taloD.
 not to be seen that bridge

That bridge was not to be seen any more.

- (29) la mobaLiwnai. We went home.
 we go home

Footnotes to Text XV

¹This was recorded and interpreted by Mr. Chin-hong Wun 溫金鴻 (aged 21 in 1971) in March 1971. It is an account of the disastrous flood in September 1968, which destroyed some forty buildings and the two big suspension bridges in the Tanan village (Taromak is part of the village).

²Wun gave the form kyasa, but Lin changed it to kayasa 'now.'

³Cf. sa ia 'before' and lo ia 'later, after.'

⁴There is a hydroelectric station at Marohaban near the Tanan village. Wun called the place hacidyansyo, a loanword from Japanese 發電所 meaning 'hydroelectric station.'

⁵The term ta-DaLi-DaLiθ-a(n) 'place of burying = cemetery' < DaLiθ 'to bury.'

⁶The form ma-o-baLi-baLiθ-nai 'we were taking turns' < baLiθ 'to exchange.'

⁷The form ay-mo-ki?iη-nai 'will-remove-clothes-we' < ki?iη 'clothes.'

⁸The expression 'I leave with TaDaw' in Rukai is
davac-nai ki taDaw rather than *davac-ako ki taDaw
leave-we leave-I

Note that the subject marker is plural rather than singular.

⁹The form ki-?aLiθ 'to pick up floating wood' < ?aLiθ 'floating wood' (carried down by the flood).'

¹⁰The form ani-takilil 'to hang on to something' < takilil 'to lift.'

¹¹The affixes a-...-an + V 'future passive, nominalized, Goal-focus,' a-ci:l-an-ηa 'something to be seen' < ci:l 'to see;' See Li 1973:271 and 207. Further examples for the syntactic construction:

(a) kaDo a-onol-an-ηa kwaDa acilay.
not to be drunk that water

That water is not something to be drunk.

(b) kaDo a-kani-kani-an-ηa kwaDa bolabolay.
not to be eaten that meat

That meat is not something to be eaten.

XVI. momaoma¹
go to field

Going to the Field

- (1) lo momaomanai ka anirarokoDnai iDa airo?annai² si
when we go to field we prepare the our foods and
biraθnai, si aLa sikaDay³ si davac momaoma, tako
our rice and take carry bag and walk to field while
sinasinay kaiLia.
singing on way

When we go to the field, we prepare our foods and rice and carry them in the net bag to the field, meanwhile we keep singing on the way.

- (2) lo ikainai kaiLia kilaLanai iDa TaLikaw,⁴ la iDŋir+ananai⁵
when we stay road we hear the (bird) we stop
kilalaLa.
listening

When we hear on the way the sound of the bird for bad omen, we stop for a while listening.

- (3) lo ?ahwana kaθaril kwaDa tavavaga la davacnanai gwasan.⁶
when exactly good that word then we walk act
When it is a good word (by the bird), then we proceed.

- (4) lo ki:lanai omaoma, la sararnai iDa laman+ma ?awa
when we arrive field then we put down the things put in
tawana.
hut

When we arrive at the field, we put down our stuffs in the hill hut.

- (5) la aLanai mosorag+il⁷ iDa b+raθ si davac ?atwanaw.
then we take unload the rice and walk start

After we put down the rice, we start to work.

Text XVI

- (6) "?ahwaja aytatokoDaliDalya," lo yata, la davacta mwa waga.
exactly will lunch when we so then we walk go cook

"It is almost lunch time," we say and then go to cook.

- (7) lo ?akadota, la kanta.
when we cook we eat

When (the rice) is cooked, we eat.

- (8) lo makakanta, la iDnirnanta.
when we eating then we rest a while

When we are finished with eating, we rest for a while.

- (9) ?ahwaja kay taiDniranta, la davacta ?ila ?atwanaw si.
exactly this our rest time then we walk again start

When we have rested just enough, we go to start the work again.

- (10) si kiDmDmDim cici:l ki vayana aykasaLimsimja, lo yata,
and think look at daytime will get dark when we so
la anirarokoDta iDa ailokanta lamanima ?okaDay si
then we prepare the we'll bring things put into bag and
davac mobaLiw.
leave go home

We were watching out for the time, when it is getting dark,
we put in the bag the stuffs that we will bring back and
walk home.

- (11) lo toLavaynai momaoma ka ?awnoDanoDnai,⁸ ?awbicin,
when we work in field we plant corn plant millet
?awborasi.
plant potato

When work in the field, it is to plant corn, millet, and
sweet potatoes.

- (12) lo ?awnoDanoDnai, ara hahawnai korkor, la ?awanai
when we plant corn use our spade dig holes then we put in
iDa sasaL+m si sobok.
the seeds and cover

When we plant corn, we dig holes with a crook-shaped spade,
then put in corn seeds and cover them with earth.

- (13) lo ?awbiciɲnai, ?ino sabolnai si giras.
when we plant millet by we sow and sweep

When we plant millet, we do it by sowing and sweeping.

- (14) lo ?awborasinai, awkorkornai si sobok iDa dawdaw.
when we plant potato we dig holes and cover the potato stem

When we plant sweet potatoes, we dig holes and cover sweet
potato stems with earth.

Footnotes to Text XVI

¹This was recorded and interpreted by Mr. Chin-hong Wun in March 1971.

²The form a-iro?-an-nai 'our foods (other than the staple food)' < iro? 'to eat foods other than the staple food.'

³The term si-kaDay 'to carry a net bag' < kaDay 'a net bag (usually carried by a man).'

⁴TaLikaw is the name of a bird which makes two types of sounds; one is believed to be good and the other bad.

⁵The form iDŋiri-ana-nai 'stop-awhile-we' < iDŋir 'to stop.'

⁶The stem is gasan 'to act.' Cf. the nominalized form in the sentence:

mardar ta-gasan-an-so. Your action is prompt.
prompt your action

⁷The form mo-soragɿl 'to unload' < soragɿl 'to load, to put into place' (3-11, 26.)

⁸The form ?a-w-ŋoDaŋoD-nai 'we plant corn' < ŋoDaŋoD 'corn.' The following two verbs in (11) take the same prefixes ?a-w- plus the noun stems biciŋ 'millet' and borasi 'sweet potato' respectively.

XVII. tamyanta¹
our habit

Our Habit

- (1) yakai ka tanja ka omas amya kikai kawriva, "sana ka oDyoDi?"²
exist one man like this say if living
sanaboLota ka malalikit ?ila iDa tamyaniini, "la ya."³ la ya.
we intend train able change the his habit so

There was a certain man who once said, "We could train any animal and change its habit."

- (2) kwaDa tanja, "lo mya inya ka, la ?alavalava:" la ya.
that one if like that then try so

Another man said, "If that is so, then try it."

- (3) kwaDa "maLigilako" amya, la ?alavalava maLa sa kolkol.
that I can like that then try take a pig

The one who said "I can (do it)" then took a pig to test (his statement).

- (4) si a:La iDa kolkol, la ayboLo iDa kolkol.
and take the pig train the pig

He took the pig to train it.

- (5) sa aLana iDa boLo iDa kolkol, la ki:la kwaDa
when take the train the pig come the

lataLagiLagini kivaivan.
his friends have fun

When he had trained the pig, his friends came to have fun.

- (6) kwaDa sa kaynanay kivaivan kwaDa lataLagini, kwaDa
the when come have fun the his friends that

niboLoboLoa⁴ kwaDa kolkol la ?aymayma sonai linya.
trained that pig entertain greet them

When his friends came to have fun, that trained pig greeted and entertained them.

Text XVII

- (7) koliDa cici:l, "sika ?atina ki lata," la ya, kasamali.
they looking indeed really friend so surprised

They're looking at it and said, to their surprise, "Indeed our friend can really do it."

- (8) "0ari?a kayvay lata lo kawriva ka amya inya.
therefore this friend when say like that

?atinatinayni," la ya.
really perhaps so

"That's why our friend says so. Maybe it is true," they said.

- (9) kwaDa lataLagini la cici:l iDa kolkol.
the his friends looking the pig

His friends kept looking at the pig.

- (10) kwaDa kolkol kwaDa takiboLoanini kyaLaLaw iDa amani⁵
the pig the his being trained learn the Rel.

kwaDa ?a0ina0inal⁶ inya.
that teaching that

The pig being trained learned what the trainer was teaching him.

- (11) la aydavacna kwaDa lataLagiLagini, iDa amani ko boLoboLo
leave those his friends that Rel. train

inya ka, "ilata dwavac⁷ sotiatid." la ya, la davac swatiatid.
that let's leave see off so leave see off

When his friends were leaving, the master who trained him said, "Let's go to see them off," and they went to see them off.

- (12) sa davac swatiatid kwaDa vayana ka vaivai DwanDan ?aramor.
when leave see off that day sunny hot very

The day they saw them off was sunny and very hot.

- (13) sa davac swatiatid iDa lataLagini, la ilok iDa kolkol mwa.
when leave see off the his friends bring the pig go

When he went to see his friends off, he brought the pig along with him.

- (14) kwaDa boLoboLwini kwaDa kolkol, la matyasamali ?aramor
 the his training the pig surprising very
waididi dwadavac.
 standing walking

The pig that he was training was so surprising that it stood walking.

- (15) la to?a?aLa iDa taLagilini swatiat#D.
 following the their friend see off

It was following their friend to see them off.

- (16) ka kolkol taDanDan⁸ ?aramor; lo ci:l sa acilay, a?iwa
 pig fear heat very when see water want go
mabanaw.
 bathe

A pig fears hot weather; when it sees water, it wants to go bathing.

- (17) kwaDa amani ka ?ikolokola la davac ilok ?abibiLil swatiat#D
 the Rel. master walk bring follow see off
iDa taLagini.
 the his friend

The master brought it along to see the friends off by walking behind them.

- (18) kwaDa sa davadavac, la Libat iDa iLic acilay.
 the when walking pass the mud water

When they were walking, they passed the muddy water.

- (19) kwaDa kolkol la ci:l si a?iwa mabanaw iDa iLic.
 that pig see and want go bathe the mud

The pig saw it and wanted to go bathing in the mud.

Text XVII

- (20) la davadavac.
walking

They kept walking.

- (21) kay θinaθinal kwaDa ?ikolokola, la davac θibolay kwaDa
not knowing that master walk jump the
kolkol.
pig

The master did not know the pig went jumping.

- (22) kwaDa kolkol ka nikaθalada iDa boLoboLo inya:
that pig taken good care that training it
?abanabanaw, mwaLaLa iDa matyagawgaw, la garogaroc, la
make bathed remove the dirty comb
kaθaril ?aramor kwaDa kolokolo.
neat very the pig

The pig was well taken care of by the trainer: bathed, dirt removed, combed, so the pig was very neat.

- (23) kwaDa sa davac mwiLic, la ?akas kaino kwaDa
that when walk to mud immediately embarrassed that
boLoboLo inya.
training it

As it went to the mud, the one who was training it immediately got embarrassed.

- (24) kwaDa lataLagiLagini la macacava iDa taLagilini.
those his friends laughing the their friend

His friends laughed at him.

- (25) "la cila! lo kalalakit⁹ mo?ila lo yaso, makocinaL
look! when able change when you so difficult
?aramor. kwaDa lo twaLawηata."
very that when we accustomed

"Look! You say you can change the habit, but it is very hard once we have formed a habit."

- (26) "i:n, maLigil lo yata, aykalalikit kyaLaLaw amyata. kwaDa
 yes able when we so able learn we so that
ta?ia?ia:nini kaDoy karimor," la ya kwaDa lataLagiLagini
 his doing not forget so the his friends
kawriya sa davadavac.
 say when leaving

"Yes, when we say it can, we mean it can learn, but it will never forget what it has been doing all the time," the friends said as they were leaving.

- (27) kwaDa boLoboLo inya la kiDimDim si la kaLomal iDa
 that training it think and embarassed the
lataLagiLagini. "kaDotay maka toma ki tamyanta," la ya.
 his friends we not able do our habit so

The one who was training it thought about it and was embarassed to his friends. "We cannot do anything about our habit," he said.

XVIII. taki?acasanli¹
 my being tattooed

My Tattoo

- (1) aykawrivako iDa tamyā ki tinali si tamali.
 I'll speak the affair of my mother and my father
 I shall talk about my parents' affairs.
- (2) kwani naw ki?acas amyako kisilan² ki lalimita.³
 that I be tattooed I so be joined our friends
 I thought I was going to get tattooed with our friends.
- (3) iDanki kya?acas kwaDa sa?asyasilanli.
 that time be tattooed that my companion
 At that time those companions of mine got tattooed.
- (4) la sicomay⁴ ko tamali.
 catch bear my father
 My father caught a bear.
- (5) la kaynako maka ki?acas.
 I not able be tattooed
 I could not get tattooed.
- (6) kwaDa tinobava⁵ ?akwaDosa⁶ ki salaw kwaDa
 that made wine two of container that
asaki?acasanli.⁷
 used for my tattooing
 Two containers of wine were made for the occasion of my
 tattooing.
- (7) la maLodaLo cwa?i.
 immediately bake cake
 Soon cakes were to be made.

Text XVIII

- (8) syiti ka omas toθadaLan iDa tasicomada ki tamali
full man everyday the catch bear of my father
matidadadalam.⁸
exciting

(Our house) was full of people everyday for the occasion of my father's catching a bear, and it was exciting.

- (9) sa caicailna,⁹ la ki?acasnanako.
when a year later then I be tattooed

The following year I was tattooed.

- (10) kay ?acasta ka lakotalaw¹⁰ si lakaDisna kaDota
this our tattoo (house) and (house) we not
otibotibon, kaDota ocolocolo sa kolkol.
present gift we not butcher pig

When we got tattooed in the houses lakotalaw and lakaDisna, we did not present gifts or butcher a pig.

- (11) kwaDa kaokaol ?atiŋatiŋa kwaDa savisavid¹¹ ka twabay
that common folk really that pure make cake
si awcolo sa kolkol.
and kill pig

Really pure common folks made cakes and killed pigs.

- (12) si kota ka lakaDisna si lakotalaw ka ?inaŋLianta¹²
and we (house) and (house) we together
dwarŋ?i ki ladomaLaθ si labaLyos.
make of (house) and (house)

Our two houses lakaDisna and lakotalaw together made up ladomaLaθ and labaLyos.

- (13) kwaDa tinibotibona¹³ la wa ?akoDali iDa ?aca?acas mita,
those presented gifts go lunch the tattooing us
?amatidadalam ?aŋibava, twabay si ?akani si
make excited make drink wine make cake and make eat and
?airo?
make eat foods

With the presented gifts we had those who were tattooing us for lunch, had them excited and drink wine, made cake for them to eat, and had them eat foods.

- (14) si la ikai kwaDa lasasilananta ?asodaLodaLo iDa sabik
and have that our boy friends treating the betel-nut
si tamako iDa ?aca?acas.
and tobacco those tattooing

And our boy friends were treating those who were tattooing with betel-nuts and tobacco.

- (15) lo ?ana, la todo:L mita.
when hunt then give meat us

When they went hunting, they gave us meat.

- (16) kwaDa tinododo:La syaiti barakoa to?adaLan ?akoLima ?akonim.
that given meat full basket everyday five six

They gave five or six full baskets of meat everyday.

- (17) kwaDa tododo:L iDa lasyasilananta la tosa?aka?akanita
that giving meat of our boy friends we used to feed
?airo? iDa ?aca?acas mita iDa tarwarDana. ?aki:la iDa
make eat that tattooing us the old people until that
atamoDinadanta.
our recovery

The meat given by our boy friends were used to feed the old people who were tattooing us. (That was going on) until we recovered.

Footnotes to Text XVIII

¹This was recorded by li~~di~~m and interpreted by Te-tz'u Lin in April 1971.

²The term ki-silaŋ 'be joined, to accompany,' cf. ma-sa-silaŋ 'to join, to do together,' sa?a-sya-silaŋ 'companion'(3).

³Note that -mita instead of -ta is used to indicate the personal possessive.

⁴The form si-comay 'to catch a bear' < comay 'bear.' Cf. si-ki?iŋ 'to wear clothes' < ki?iŋ 'clothes.' The derived verb si-comay can further be derived as a noun ta-si-comaŋ-a(n) 'the time of catching a bear;' see (8) below.

⁵The form t/in/o-bava 'wine that was made' < bava 'wine.'

⁶The prefix ?akw(a)- + Numeral 'unit (of container),' e.g., ?akwa-Dosa < Dosa 'two.' Also ?ako-Lima < Lima 'five' and ?ako-nim < inim 'six' in (16) below.

⁷The form a-sa-ki-?acas-an-li 'future-implement-passive-tattoo-nominal-my; that was to be used for my tattooing' < ?acas 'to tattoo, to draw (a picture).'

⁸The form ma-ti-da-da-dalam 'exciting, lovely' < ma-dalam 'to like, to love.' The derived stative verb can further be derived as the causative ?a-ma-ti-da-dalam 'to make something exciting(or someone excited)' in (13) below.

⁹Not only a numeral, but also a duration term can be reduplicated to form a verb: cail 'year' > cai-cail-ŋa 'a year later.' The duration derivation rule as stated in Li 1973, §5.1.7.1. should be slightly modified to account for this process in Rukai.

¹⁰The prefix la- + Personal Name indicates a house name.

¹¹The reduplicated form savi-saviŋ 'being pure' (< saviŋ 'pure') indicates that there is no mixture in any generation.

¹²The past nominalized form ?/in/aLi-an-ta 'our togetherness' < ?aLi 'to join,' cf. ki-?aLi 'be joined'(7-4,9-27.)

¹³The form t/in/ibo-tiboŋ-a(n) 'the presented gifts' < tiboŋ 'to present gifts,' cf. o-tibo-tiboŋ in (10) above.

XIX. taki?alaŋanli¹
my marriage

My Marriage

- (1) aysosoŋanako² iDa ataki?alaŋanli.³
I'll talk that my marriage

I shall talk about my marriage.

- (2) la moDiŋayŋa kwaDa taki?acasanli.
recovered that my tattoo

I already recovered from my tattoo

- (3) la kyo?ala?ala?alaŋanako toθadaLan.
I was being chased everyday

I was being chased everyday.

- (4) la kila to?atiŋatiŋanna makawrivariva kwaDa maroDawDanli
arrive really discuss that my parents

si maLadaLo ?walanna naya.
and immediately married us

Then it was time when my parents discussed our affairs and immediately married us.

- (5) si maŋialako si Lima, la ki?alaŋko.
and I was ten and five then I was married

I was married when I was fifteen.

- (6) ?akila sa ma?osal kwaDa cail la tolalakako, la anoaiako⁴
until when twenty that my age I had a baby I only one

sa lalak.
child

I had a baby when I was twenty, and I had only one.

- (7) la kwani yakai kwani lalakli.⁵
there stay that my child

My child is right there.

Text XIX

- (8) nako saka?acay⁶ sa lalak.
I not lost child

I never lost any child.

- (9) kaθaθa: ɿ:a ko liɣia.
only one (name)

There was only one (by name of) Liɣia.

- (10) sa kaDaw kwani lalakli, la ?acay ko tinali.
when big that my child the my mother

When my child grew up, my mother died.

- (11) la madadavacnai⁷ iDa sakaci:kɿlli.
we be divorced that my husband

I was divorced with my husband.

- (12) la ?abaLiθako⁸ sasaLoŋa⁹ ki ?oDan.
I change marry

I was married again to ?oDan.

- (13) la kaynai salalaka.
we not have child

We did not have any child.

- (14) la ikainai iDa sakaci:kɿlli cikicikicikil, aLobwabwah¹⁰
we live that my husband living developing

sa nila?wannai ajanaD.
our poultry dry field

We lived together, developing our poultry and dry field.

- (15) toca:nako ikai iDa sakaci:kɿlli ?akɿla ki takolaobannai.¹¹
I do paddy have that my husband until our big fire

Staying with my husband, I cultivated rice paddy till our big fire.

- (16) kayasa kwalaobnai matisaLiɣsiɣ.
now our fire distressing

Our big fire was distressing.

- (17) la ki?a+L+ iDa kwalaob kwaDa sakaci+k+lli.
 join the fire that my husband

My husband was burned by the fire.

- (18) si ikaiṅanako taṅṅaṅa ki da:nli cik+cik+cik+l, ki?icon
 and I stay alone my house living separate
na lalakli.
 that my child

Ever since I have been living by myself; my child is separate.

- (19) la ikaiṅanako tobitobi kaDwaṅa ka sakaci+k+lli.
 I stay crying gone my husband

I have been crying over the loss of my husband.

- (20) sama:Laṅa sa ikai kwaDa sakaci+k+lli si tinali si
 miss when exist the my husband and my mother and
tamali matyadaladalamnai.¹²
 my father we happy

I miss the good time we had when my husband and parents were still living.

- (21) aw?ana?ana¹³ ko tamali.
 having game my father

My father kept having game.

- (22) kiaw?ala?ala?alaṅnai ka lamatakataka.
 we were being chased sisters

We sisters were being chased.

- (23) la atakatakanaṅanako. amanyako ka awboLoboLo ki lagili.
 I eldest I be instructing my younger
amanyako ka ?a+la+la iDa amatidalama iDa ac+k+c+k+lannai.
 I be explain that lovely that our life

Text XIX

I was the eldest. It was I who taught my younger sisters and brothers. It was I who was instructing them how to lead a happy life.

- (24) kayasa kikai matyaθaliθnanako matikoro.
now here I poor pitiable

Now I am poor and pitiable.

- (25) sama:Lana iDana¹⁴ sa matidaladalamnanai.
miss that still when our good time

I miss the good time we had.

- (26) ko tamali ka tarasibaɖabaɖa,¹⁵ taraʔaʔana, Liʔin ki
my father enemy killer hunter all of
manimanna, Likolaw anoabaɖat, comay anoaDosa.
what have you leopard nine bear two

My father was good at killing enemies and hunting; he got all kinds, nine leopards and two bears.

- (27) kwaDa θinalli iDa sibaɖaini anoabaɖat.
that my knowledge that his enemy killing nine

As far as I know, he killed nine enemies.

- (28) tamoLigwanini¹⁶ takimaʔilaɖlanini sa omas.
his being passed along his being talked about man

His episode was well known and talked about by people.

- (29) la ikainata ka lalalak moʔaso:r matikokoro tobitobi.
we stay children left behind pitiable crying

We children were left behind pitiable and crying.

- (30) kaDwana ka atasatalwanta.¹⁷ kaDwana ka maroDawDanta.
gone our support not have our parents

kaDwana ka sakaci:kilta.
not have our husbands

We have no more support, no more parents, and no more husbands.

Footnotes to Text XIX

¹This was recorded by liðim and interpreted by Te-tz'u Lin in April 1971.

²The term ay-soso-ŋa-nako 'future-talk-completive-I = I'll talk' < soso 'to talk.'

³The term a-ta-ki-ʔalaŋ-an-li 'future-time-passive-marry-nominal-my = my marriage' < ʔalaŋ 'to marry.' Cf. also ky-o-ʔala-ʔala-ʔalaŋ 'being chased' (3), ʔ/w/alaŋ-ŋa 'to marry' (4), ki-ʔalaŋ-ko 'I was married' (5), ky-aw-ʔala-ʔala-ʔalaŋ-nai 'we were being chased' (22) below.

⁴The prefix anoa- + Numeral 'to get, to have, to catch a certain number; unit,' anoa-ia-ko 'I had one (child);' also anoa-baŋat '(he caught) nine (leopards)' and anoa-Dosa '(the caught) two (bears)' in (26), anoa-baŋat '(he killed) nine (enemies)' (27) below. Cf. anoa-toLo-ako 'I caught three (animals);' see Text IV, Note 23.

⁵When liðim was recording, her daughter was sitting nearby.

⁶The prefix saka- + V 'to do unexpectedly,' saka-ʔacay 'to die unexpectedly' < ʔacay 'to die,' saka-sarar 'to fall off unexpectedly' < sarar 'to put down.'

⁷Note that a plural pronominal marker must be used for the verb ma-da-davac-nai 'mutual-RED-leave-we = we were divorced' < davac 'to leave,' although the speaker was talking about her getting a divorce with her husband; the object of the verb is iDa sakacikilli 'that husband of mine.'

⁸The form ʔa-baLiθ-ako 'I change' < baLiθ 'to change, to exchange;' cf. ma-baLiθ 'to exchange.'

⁹The affixes sa-...-a + N 'to own(?),' sa-saloŋ-a 'to own a spouse = to marry' < saloŋ 'spouse;' cf. sa-lalak-a 'to own a child' in (13) below.

¹⁰The reduplicated aLo-bwa-bwah 'to keep developing' < aLo-bwah 'to develop.'

¹¹This refers to the big fire as described in Text II.

¹²The form ma-ty-a-dala-dalam-nai 'we happy, lovely' < ma-dalam 'to love;' cf. a-ma-ti-dalam-a(n) 'lovely in (23) below.

Footnotes to Text XIX

¹³The form aw-?ana-?ana 'having game' < ?ana 'to have game, to shoot wildlife.'

¹⁴The form iDani-ana 'that-still' is another piece of supporting evidence for treating -ana as a suffix since the final n(±) of the stem is preserved. See the discussion of the problem in Text II, Note 25.

¹⁵The agentive prefix ta-ra- 'specialist,' ta-ra-si-bada-bada 'enemy killer' < si-bada 'to kill an enemy' (14-49) < bada 'enemy,' ta-ra-a-?ana 'hunter, shooter' < ?ana 'to shoot, to catch wildlife.'

¹⁶The form ta-mo-Ligw-an-i-ini 'his being well known and passed around' < o-Ligo 'to pass around (among people).'

¹⁷The form a-ta-satalw-an-ta 'our support' < satalo 'to stick closely together, to rely heavily on.'

XX. mwaLakay iDa θirok¹
fond of that lemon

Fond of Sour Lemon

(1) ay?ila:lako iDa tamya ki natarwaroDaŋa.
I'll narrate that event of ancient people

I shall talk about the event of ancient people.

(2) aysoswako inya.
I'll talk that

I shall talk about that.

(3) oDavalo kaynako θiŋal, oDavalo kakolonko amaynannomi ka
whatever I not know whatever I unable be you

lavavalak ka ama:La ?ahwa kiDimDim.
young men take precise think

Whatever I do not know or unable (to tell), you young men should straighten it out.

(4) ko tanobak si rwasayaw ka lamasaLon, la kaboi, si
(person) and (person) couple pregnant and

moLakay sa θirok.
fond of lemon

Tanok and Rwasayaw were a couple, the wife was pregnant and loved sour lemons.

(5) lo momaoma ka kwaDa sakaci:kilini, "ma:Laŋa iDa
when go to field that his wife please get that

θirok," la ya:.
lemon so repeatedly

When her husband was going to the field, she kept saying,
"Please get me some lemons."

(6) la wa ma:La, la kila bwa:y.
go get come give

Text XX

He fetched some and gave (them to her) on his return.

- (7) iDa ada:na,² "mwana ma:La," la ya:na.
that next day go again get so again

The next day, she said again, "Please go again to get some more."

- (8) ni mati:gimoc kayvay mwa ma:La amya mita toθadaLan.³
infuriating this go take so us everyday

He was made very angry (as we would be also) with such a wife telling us to get some more everyday.

- (9) la "naw ama:saisay⁴ ka amwa ilok iDa tañaDa ?aci:l."
I had better go take that stem show

"I had better take her to the tree stem and show her."

- (10) la wa ilok iDa ababay iDa mwaLakay.
go take that woman that love sour

Then he took the woman who loved to eat sour.

- (11) la kila iDa tañaDa iDa θirol. la ?awa ?aivig magimoc.
arrive that stem that lemon cause tie up angry

They came to the stem of the lemon tree. He tied her to it angrily.

- (12) la ikai iDa si maLodaLo tolalak.
stay there and immediately have baby

She stayed there and immediately had a baby.

- (13) lo kyarasiLavanayni⁵ kyarakakađamanayni si la ?acay
when perhaps starved perhaps made thirsty and die
kwaDa tina.
that mother

Perhaps she was out of food and thirsty, the mother died.

- (14) la ikai kwaDa Lolay.
 stay that baby

The baby stayed there.

- (15) la θɪʔθɪʔ iDa haribokbok⁶ lo oLaoLas ka mwaθigaθigayna,
 suck that (plant) when dewing rolling
θɪʔθɪʔθɪʔ iDa haribokbok.
 sucking that (plant)

It sucked the plant. When it was dewing, it rolled to keep sucking the plant.

- (16) lo kabɪlɪbɪlɪŋna kwani vai, "kaDwaDwana kay yali ka
 when rising that sun getting lost this my
θoθo," la ya.
 milk so

When the sun was going up, it said, "My milk is getting lost."

- (17) la gaLolagola motakaLiLia si ikaina takaLiLya.
 crawl to shade and stay shade

It crawled to the shadowy position and stayed there.

- (18) lo ikai iDa θoθoθo matikokoro, "la aytomanako la ayθinaɪ
 when stay that milking pitiable I do know
nakwa ka omas?"
 me man

As it was "milking" pitiablely, it said, "What shall I do so that people will know me?"

- (19) lo yaini, la ʔatwanaw bwaLilawlaw mwaʔoDaʔal cikɪl
 when so doing suddenly rainbow step on village
mwa kaway sobɪlɪbɪlɪŋ.
 go there sky

As it was thinking, suddenly a rainbow began to go from the village to the sky.

Text XX

- (20) "sa?ila?layni⁷ ki twaomas, la ayθiŋalta."
tell perhaps of God we know

"Perhaps God is trying to tell us something."

- (21) "?ia:! manimanayni kay myaikai? ta dondon, ta
what this like let's follow let's
sila?," la ya kwaDa omas kwaDa sakaocikila.⁸
search so that man that whole village

"Yea! What is that? Let's follow the trail and look for it," the whole village said.

- (22) la davac sila? si ikai ka Lolay moθigaθigay kaway gongon
walk search and exist child rolling there (place)
iDa taikaia iDa θirok.
that place that lemon

They went to look for it and there was a baby rolling at the lemon tree at Gongon.

- (23) "θari?a bwalilawlaw⁹ sika yakai ka lalakta ka
therefore rainbow because exist our child
ritsanta.¹⁰
our relative

"The rainbow appeared because there is a baby for us."

- (24) la aLana iDa Lolay ?obaLiw si ?akanina sa aga.
take that child take home and feed food

They took the baby home and fed it with food.

- (25) la ikaina oDi? si ?asinaganna sa kaLimaDaw.
stay live and named (name)

It lived by name of kaLimaDaw.

Footnotes to Text XX

¹This was recorded by liđim and interpreted by Te-tz'u Lin in May 1971.

²The terms iDa ada:na means 'the next day,' cf. mwada:na 'till the next day,' dada:na 'on the day.'

³The structure of the sentence is unclear. It is not clear if the utterance mwa ma:La should be in quotations. The subject of the sentence is kayvay 'this (nominative),' and the verb is ma-ti:-gimoc 'infuriating' < ma-gimoc 'angry.' The function of ni (a prefix?) is not clear. If it was the past passive marker ni-, the verb would be nominalized with -a(n).

⁴The form a-ma-isa-isay 'had better be doing' < ma-isay 'had better do.'

⁵The form ky-a-ra-siLav-ana-ayni 'was starved perhaps' < ra-siLav 'to have nothing to eat.' Cf. ma-siLav-ayni 'out of food perhaps' (21-4). Also cf. the example below:

kyarasiLava ?/w/acay. He was starved to death.
starved die

⁶This is the name of a plant.

⁷The function of the prefix sa- + V as in sa-?ilaila-ayni 'to tell perhaps' (< ?ilaila 'to tell') is probably 'implement.'

⁸The affixes sakao-...-a(n) + N 'the whole, entire, all,' sakao-cikil-a 'the whole village,' sakao-aṅaṅad-a 'all harvests,' sakao-da:n-a 'the whole family.'

⁹Both items θari?a b/w/aLilawlaw 'so there was the rainbow' are verbs, since the second takes the embedding marker w; and so are the two items ?atwanaw b/w/aLilawlaw 'suddenly the rainbow began to' in (19) above.

¹⁰To the villagers the child was theirs and a relative of theirs.

XXI. ʔadanasa¹
(place)

Turning into Rocks and Plants

- (1) aykawrivako iDa mwa swaDyaDin² kibono.³
I'll speak that go underground get provisions

I shall talk (about the story) of going into the ground to get provisions.

- (2) kay vaga⁴ amani twalay kac:kila⁵ kalyara.
this word be from original village (place)

This story is from the original village of Kalyara.

- (3) davac amya kibono iDa maboi⁶ maba iDa lalakini.
walk so get provisions that pregnant carry that her child

A certain pregnant woman carried her child on her back to get provisions.

- (4) ma:l:mayni masiLavayni ni davac kyadyadyadil ka maboi
out of supply out of food why walk struggling pregnant
ka syara?al.⁷
with baby

Maybe it was because she was out of supply and food the pregnant woman was struggling while carrying her baby with her.

- (5) la kaynanananayna kyadyadyadil moDaDaDa.
returning struggling go up

She returned struggling to go up.

la ki:lana iDa sanwa swaDyaDin iDa baronol iDa
arrived that lead to underground that cave that

sanibwabwal iDa sa:Da.
exit that rest-place

She arrived at the entrance of the cave leading to the underground, (which was also) a rest-place.

- (7) "hay," la ya maswaswab.⁸
so yawn

"Hay," she yawned.

- (8) ?ahwa θiθir⁸ iDa okoDwini si oŋol iDa
exactly plant that her stick and carry on head that
kibonwini yakai iDa ci?iŋ.
her provisions stay that basket

Exactly she planted her stick into the ground, and she was still carrying on her head the provisions in the basket.

- (9) la ci:bɪ kwaDa okoD abalbal.⁹
bud that stick bamboo

The stick put forth shoots as a bamboo.

- (10) kwaDa oŋolwini kwaDa ci?iŋ ka waci:bɪ aovay ?adaŋasa.
that on her head that basket bud rattan (place)

The basket on her head grew as rattan of ?adaŋasa.

- (11) kwaDa isiw motyalansaD.
that hair turn into palm

The hair turned into palm trees.

- (12) kwaDa kinawmasa motyaLɪŋig maba.
that body turn into rock carry

The carried bodies turned into rock.

- (13) makakaLivaθal kwaDa ?alay atawtawra.
crossed that straps pebbles

The crossed straps became pebbles.

- (14) mwaci:Lɪ? iDa sanwa swaDyaDin iDa baroŋol, la kayta
get stuck that lead to underground that cave we not

Text XXI

maka moswaDyaDinṅa.
able enter underground

The way to the underground cave was stuck, so we could not go underground any more.

(15) amwṅa tiki? kwaDa maboi.
went stuck that pregnant

The pregnant woman had stuck the passage.

(16) la tatoLi:sisyanna¹⁰ ?adaṅasa.
tabooed (place)

Thus ?adaṅasa became a tabooed place.

(17) kwaDa amwa kyovay kitokoy¹¹ la ?acay.
that to go gather rattan gather dye then die

Those who went there to gather rattan and dye plant would die.

(18) la maokolokoloDṅa si kay aLaLa sa manimanna ?atwaLay
all fear and not taking thing from
?adaṅasa.
(place)

People were afraid and would not be taking anything from ?adaṅasa.

(19) kaṅanna kayasa ki taLawtianiṅata¹² ka kaDwaṅayni ka Li:si.
ended now we sinicized maybe not taboo

We are now sinicized so maybe there is no more taboo.

(20) amwa oto kyovay kitokoy, kaDwaṅa ka Li:si.
go abolish gather rattan gather dye not have taboo

One can go to gather rattan and dye plant perhaps without any more taboo.

(21) kayasa la kaṅarilṅa; kaynata mokoloD mogiṅiṅi.
now get better we no longer fear worried

It is alright now; we are no longer afraid or worried.

(22) kaDwa ka li:si, kyasososonata¹³ ki twaomas.
not have taboo we believe God

No more taboo, (as) we believe in God.

Footnotes to Text XXI

¹This was recorded by liðim and interpreted by Te-tz'u Lin in May 1971.

²The term sw-aDy-aDiŋ 'underground' < aDiŋ 'inside, under.'

³The term kibono means 'to seek food or exchange goods' from other villages because the native village is short of supply at the time of famine.

⁴The term vaga 'word, language' refers to the 'story' in the sentence.

⁵The affixes ka-...-a(n) + N 'real, genuine, original, ancient,' e.g., ka-kiʔiŋ-a 'real clothes = ceremonial dress,' ka-diLoŋ-a 'real pan = ancient pan,' ka-baLiv-a 'real family = original family 本家,' ka-da:n-a 'real house = original house 本房.' See also OA 1935:333.

⁶This is another evidence for distinguishing the high vowel i and the semiconsonant y; similarly u and w. The form maboi 'pregnant' contains three syllables with the last one i stressed. The final segment is in contrast with that in a form such as lanoy 'to swim,' which contains only two syllables. In other words, y is phonemically distinct from i. Moreover i alternates with y, e.g., ma-boi-boy-ako 'I am being pregnant,' whereas y alternates with ɛ, e.g., wa-lanod-ako 'I swam' < lanoy 'to swim.' See Li 1973:33-42 for further examples and discussions of the alternations.

⁷The form sy-a-raʔal 'carry a baby,' cf. sy-a-lalak 'carry a child,' sy-a-oŋay 'have a fetus,' sy-a-Lonal 'carry a cub,' sy-a-kaʔil 'carry a young animal (that can hold on to its mother, such as a monkey),' sy-a-lialay 'carry a young animal.'

⁸Neither maswaswab 'yawn' nor θiθir 'to plant something into the ground' is reduplicated. There is no *maswab. Cf. θir 'to strangle to death.'

⁹The prefix a- + N 'verbalizer,' a-balbal 'become bamboo,' a-ovay 'become rattan' (10), a-tawtawra 'become pebble' (13). See also Text IX, Note 2.

¹⁰The form ta-to-Li:si-sy-an-ŋa 'have become a tabooed place' Li:si 'taboo' (19).

¹¹The term tokoy is the name of a dye plant for red coloring, usually used to dye fishing nets.

¹²The form taLawtiannata /ta-Lawtia-an-ŋa-ta/ 'we have been sinicized already' < Lawtia 'Chinese.'

¹³The form ky-a-so-soso-ŋa-ta 'we were being talked to = we are listening to = we believe in' < soso 'to talk.'

Text XXII

XXII. kindo?or¹
(mount)

Mount Kindo?or

- (1) yakai ko motokotoko si aDaLio. amani twalay karyala.
exist (person) and (person) be from (place)

There lived Motokotoko and ADaLio. They came from Karyala.

- (2) la odal tilib kwalavalava matisamaimali.²
rain flood full surprising

It rained and there was a big flood full (of water), very surprising.

- (3) maka?itol kwaDa odal kaDaLimDim, kay kacikacika.
for 7 days that rain dark not stop

It rained for seven straight days without stop and it was dark.

- (4) "?ia! miLimLiŋa kay dai dai acilayŋa. kaDwaŋa ka
soft this ground water without

tamakainwa. ?ia! lo mya inya, nagili, ilata oDi?
passage if like that my younger let's live

taDosa," la ya ko motokotoko.
2 people so (person)

"Yia! The ground is softening with water. There is no way.
Yia! in that case, sister, let's go and live elsewhere,"
Motokotoko said.

- (5) la aLa iDa botollini³ dwavac syoral moDada a?ia
take that their lard leave with lamp go up towards

kindo?or.
(mount)

They left with their lard as their light and went up to
Kindo?or.

- (6) da:vac mataka syoral iDa botol.
walking siblings with lamp that lard

The brother and sister kept walking with lard as a light.

- (7) sa ki:lana kaway kindo?or la kaotoŋa kaiDi?.⁴
when arrived there (mount) gone out burn out

When they arrived at Mount Kindo?or the light went out.

- (8) la ki:la si kaliDana.
arrive and dawned

They arrived and it was dawn.

- (9) sa ki:la kindo?or koliDa, yakaina irobo kwaDa labolabolay
when arrive they exist gather those wild animals
laoDyoDi?, kwaDa manimanna Li?iŋ. kwaDa ladadam ikai kindo?or.
creatures that what all that birds stay (mount)

When they arrived at Kindo?or, all the animals, living creatures, and what have you, had already gathered at Kindo?or. The birds were also at Kindo?or.

- (10) kaθanna ka takaLi:Lia; kaθanna ka vo:go.
only shade only remain

Only that place had shade; only that place remained.

- (11) mwairawna Li?iŋ kay daida.
dissolved all this earth

The earth was all dissolved.

- (12) sa ki:lana kaway kindo?or kwaDa lamataka si kaliDana.
when arrived there (mount) those siblings and dawned

When the brother and sister arrived at Kindo?or, it dawned.

- (13) la ?asiLasiLal kwaDa lamataka moLakLak, ?asaiLi kay daida
look around those siblings collapse all this earth
misa liŋona⁵ mwairaw likalikaθ, kaDo ka Doma ka
like glass dissolved bright not have other

Text XXII

takavo:gwa.
remain

The brother and sister looked around, all the earth was as bright as glass, all dissolved. No place remained.

- (14) kaθanna kaway sansan⁶ ka yakayana ka aci:la ka vo:go.
only there (place) exist to see remain

Only Sansan Island way out there was still there and remained visible.

- (15) ma?a?oLiDaw ka LigLig.
visible mountain

All that was visible was mountains.

- (16) amani kwaDa kacikila mararamaw kindo?or.
be that original village same (mount)

It was the village at Kindo?or that remained the same.

- (17) si "la ay?ikakoata, la aykanita sa manima, nagili, ikai
and we how we eat thing my younger stay
kai?"
here

"How could we get something to eat here, sister?"

- (18) "lo mya inya ka, ta mobilin ki takoLaDon⁷ si ta kail ina
if like that we climb (plant) and we hook that
Lonal lwa maon lo kaDaLimDim kay acigicigia."
cub when night when dark not to see

"In that case, let's climb the tree and hook the young animal at night as it cannot see when it gets dark."

- (19) la aLa kwail iDa Lonal (iDa lalakini iDa onwan, iDa
take hook that cub that child of mother deer that
akic).
young deer

They hooked the young animal (the baby of Mother deer called akic).

- (20) kaθa ka mwakani⁸ kwaDa.
only edible that

Only that was edible.

- (21) koaDa laoDyoDi?, kwaDa Doma, kwaDa labolabolay kaDo
those creatures those others those wild animals not
mwakani, malis; lo ?atako nita.
edible bad if even raw

The other animals were not edible; they were bad if eaten raw.

- (22) kwaDa Lonal iDa onwan iDa akic kaθa ka mwakani
that cub of mother deer that young deer only edible
?atako nita.
even raw

Only the young deer could be eaten raw.

- (23) kwaDa lidido iDa takoLaDon awkanikani iDa.
that tender parts of (plant) kept eating that

They kept eating the tender parts of new growth of the tree.

- (24) la likit sa ya, "lo mya inya, ta sikaol ina akic
finish when so if like that we send that young deer
?akya?oy ?a?o kaway sansan."
get fire to there (place)

When that was over, they said, "In that case, let's send the young deer to fetch fire from the Sansan island."

- (25) kaθanna ka cikil.
only village

There was only one village.

Text XXII

- (26) kawriya iDa akic.
tell that young deer

(They) told the young deer (to go).

- (27) la davac kwaDa akic ?alavalava lwanoy.
leave that young deer try swim

The deer tried to go by swimming.

- (28) mwa kaway sansan, la ?awa awvigi kwaDa swasansan
go there (place) cause tied up those residents of S.

iDa a?oy iDa laon.
that fire that horn

It went over to Sansan. The people on Sansan tied the fire to the horn.

- (29) lo ?aramaramaw iDa laDik ka mokisa kwaDa akic, la
when half way that sea gasp that young deer la
moθibic⁹ kwaDa a?oy. kaDwa makawki:la.
soak that fire not able arrive

On the way of the sea, the young deer gasped and then the fire soaked in the water. Thus it failed to reach (Kindo?or).

- (30) "la ay?ikakoata twa?oy ara manima?" la ya.
we how start a fire use what so

"What shall we use to start a fire?" they wondered.

- (31) la ki:la kwaDa aLaLaṅaw, la gisagis iDa Da?alini.
come that fly rub that its feet

The fly came and rubbed its feet.

- (32) "tomanana¹⁰ amya mita kay aLaLaṅaw."
do so us this fly

"This fly has shown us what to do."

- (33) "la ay?ikakoata la aytwa?oyta si kani sa waθolak?" la
we how we start fire and eat hot

ya si.
so and

"What shall we do so that we can start a fire and eat hot food?" they said.

- (34) la aLa iDa aroa?oda¹¹ si kaLayLay ?awa ?agagisagis la
take that (plant) and (weed) make rub
?alavalava, ara¹² toibibi:L.
test then produce smoke

They took a plant and weed and rubbed them and tested them, then there was smoke.

- (35) "?ia! ikaninata sa ?olak, nagili," la ya.
we shall eat hot my younger so
"?ia! We shall eat hot food, sister," he said.

- (36) la ?atwalayna iDa twa?oyna iDa si kanina sa o?olak
from then produce fire then and eat hot
mataka.
siblings

From then on the brother and sister started a fire and ate hot food.

- (37) mwa:Lona si ?a?olak si onol iDa acilay si ka?a.
draw water and boil and drink that water and only
They drew water, boiled it, and drank only that.

- (38) "aykani sa manima? kaDwa ka bira?. kaDwa ka
will eat what not have rice not have
manima."¹³
thing

"What shall we eat? There is no rice. There is nothing."

- (39) la davac kwaDa tagaga sila? sa ca? iDa taboLol iDa
leave that crow seek seed of gourd of

Text XXII

taramonag ki:la ?awa ?oDoli.
pumpkin come cause plant

The crow went to look for seeds of gourd and pumpkin and came back to plant them.

(40) la vikavikaL¹⁴ kwaDa atatoLal.
moving that earthworm

The earthworm was moving.

(41) kwaDa tavikavikaLa iDa atatoLal, la ayikai ka dai.
that place moved of earthworm will have earth

Where the earthworm moved, there was earth.

(42) la ?awa ?oDoLi ato?a?aLa, syadaidaianna ?asaiLi kay dai dai.
cause plant follow with earth all this earth

People planted vegetables where there was earth.

(43) moLaoLaOD cwa?an a?ia kay atatoLal.
go under everywhere to this earthworm

The worm kept going downward everywhere.

(44) lo vikavikaL, la ikaikai ka dai. la ikaiṅa ka
when moving there is earth there is

ataroigannanlini,¹⁵ la oDi?ṅa.
their planting place live

As the worm moved, earth was coming into being, then there were places for people to plant vegetables, which then lived.

(45) koliDa, "la ay?ikakoata la aymosa?orta? la aybokacta
they we how we increase how can we

cikicikicikil taDwaDosa¹⁶ mataka? si lo ?acayita, la kay
live 2 people siblings and if we die then not

akaṅaṅanta? amaisaisayṅa ka wacikicikil si ta
we only happy live married and let's

salalaka," la ya. la maikai kwaDa lamataka.
have children so stay together those siblings

They asked, "How can we increase population? How can we brother and sister live together? If we die, there will not be only two of us? We shall live happily as a couple and have children." Then the brother and sister lived together as a couple.

- (46) lo tolalak, la kaboti ka?ilay.
when have a baby blind crippled

When they had a baby, it was blind and crippled.

- (47) "la ay?ikakoata la aykaθaril?" la ya si.
we how good so and

"What should we do so that it would be good?" they said.

- (48) la ?alavalava ?aikai iDa lamatama.¹⁷
try make stay those father and daughter

They tried to have father and daughter form a couple.

- (49) la maikai kwaDa lamatama, ara kaθarilŋa,
stay together those father and daughter then good

kayŋa ka?ilay kaboti.
not blind crippled

A father and daughter formed a couple, then it was just right, not getting blind or crippled (children).

- (50) kwaDa lamataka ka malisi maboti ka?ilay lo tolalak.¹⁸
those siblings bad blind crippled when have baby

kaDo maθaril.
no good

A brother and sister (formed a couple) it was no good and got blind and crippled when they had children. No good.

- (51) "?ia! lo mya inya ka, la ni maθaril kwani
if like that why good that

Text XXII

masaswantama? ta ayikaikaina iDa lamatama
different generations we will stay that father & daughter
iDa lamatina," la ya.
that mother & son so

"Yea! In that case, why is it good to match two different generations? Let's stay by 'father and daughter' or 'mother and son'," they said.

(52) kwaDa lamatama la maikaina.
that father and daughter stay together

A father and daughter then lived together as a couple.

(53) kwaDa sakasitoLola¹⁹ iDa lamatakataka, tatwalada²⁰ iDa
that 3rd generation that siblings descendant that
tina si tama, lo maikai ka maθarilja.
mother and father when stay together good

It would be good to match a brother and sister's (descendants of the same parents) third generation.

(54) kwaDa sakasi?osala kwaDa lamataka ka malisyana, mabotyana
that 2nd generation that siblings bad still blind still
ka?ilay lo tolalak.
crippled when have baby

A brother and sister's second generation was still no good, by still getting blind and crippled children.

(55) la amanija²¹ kwaDa dondonnata ka ya kaomasa mwabaLibaLiθ
be that we follow stay real man exchange
maococonol.²²
descend

That is what we men follow from generation to generation.

Footnotes to Text XXII

¹This was recorded by liðim and interpreted by Te-tz'u Lin in May 1971.

²Note the 'irregular' reduplicated form ma-ti-samai-mali 'very surprising' < ma-samali 'surprising.' A consonant of the stem may be dropped in a reduplication; see Note 16 below.

³The term botol 'pork' refers to 'pork fat = lard.' They carried a lamp (sy-oral 'carry a lamp' < oral 'lamp, light') with lard as their fuel.

⁴The last two verbs are near synonyms. Cf. their stative forms ma-oto 'used up, extinguished' and ma-iDɨ? 'burned out, turned off.'

⁵It is not clear if misa lino-ŋa 'like glass' should be transcribed as one, two, or even three lexical items. The word boundary is not clear.

⁶The term sansan is the name of an island called lù tao 綠島 or huo shao tao 火燒島 in Chinese.

⁷The term takoLaDon is a type of plant called shê mu 蛇木 in Chinese.

⁸The prefix mo- + V 'abilitative, potential,' mo-kanɨ 'edible' < kanɨ 'to eat,' monol 'drinkable' < onol 'to drink,' monoto 'cuttable' < noto 'to cut,' mo-ʔaθak 'breakable' < ʔaθak 'to break.' See Li 1973:243-44 for the intransitive process.

⁹Cf. the intransitive form in (a) and the transitive in (b) below:

(a) ila-ta mo-θibɨc DaŋDaŋ.
let's soak hot

Let's soak in water; it is hot.

(b) ʔawa θibɨc ina ka:ŋ ʔalong-a!
cause soak that fish pan

Soak the fish in the pan!

¹⁰The term toman-a-ŋa 'do-imperative-polite = please do' is a polite request form.

¹¹The plant name aro-aʔoð-a is derived from aʔoy 'fire,' as it is inflammable.

Footnotes to Text XXII

¹²The term ara 'then' is a conjunctive rarely used in the language. See also (49) below.

¹³Cf. the difference when different articles are used:

(a) kaDwa ka manima. There is nothing.
not have thing

(b) kaDwa sa manima? Why isn't there anything?

¹⁴The form vika-vikaL 'to keep moving' < vikaL 'to move as of an earthworm.' Cf. ta-vika-vikaL-a 'place of moving' (41) below.

¹⁵The form ataroigannanlini /a-ta-aroiga-an-l-ini/ 'their place of planting' < aroiga 'to plant.'

¹⁶Note that s is dropped in the reduplicated form ta-Doa-Dosa. The informant Lin explained the difference between ta-Dosa-Dosa 'two people together' and ta-Doa-Dosa 'only two people,' ta-Lima-Lima 'five people together' and ta-Lia-Lima 'only five people.'

¹⁷The kinship system in Rukai is very simple. For example, the term la-ma-t-ama means 'father and son, father and daughter, father and niece, etc.,' so 'father and daughter' in the translation should be understood to have a broader sense than in English. Cf. also masaswan-t-ama 'two different generations' in (51) below.

¹⁸The sentence was based on liɬim's recording. Lin said it would be clearer if rephrased as below:

malisi maikai ka lamataka: lo tolalak ka maboti ka?ilay.
bad stay siblings if have baby blind crippled

It was bad if a brother and sister formed a couple: when they had a baby, it was blind and crippled.

¹⁹The affixes saka-si-...-l-a + Numeral 'the ...th generation,' saka-si-toLo-l-a 'the third generation' < toLo 'three,' saka-si-?osa-l-a 'the second generation' < Dosa 'two.'

²⁰The term ta-twalad-a 'descendant' < twalay '(to come) from.'

²¹The n in the verb amani 'be' may be dropped in rapid speech, thus we get amai.

²²The term ma-o-co-cojol 'to descend from generation to generation' < cojol 'to connect;' cf. co-cojol-a 'heredity.' Cf. the examples below:

- (a) ma-cojol-ŋa kwani sakirin.
connected that string

That string is connected.

- (b) ma-o-cojol ki tama-ini.
inherit his father

He inherits his father; he resembles his father.

XXIII. sya?ilɪŋ¹
spirit-medium

Spirit-medium

- (1) kay ka ?ilaɪlako iDa tamyannai ka naDoma kyakali
this I tell that our experience formerly begin

iDa ?ilɪŋ ka sya?ilɪŋ.²
that spirit spirit-medium (SM)

I am now talking about how we began to turn into spirit-mediums of former times.

- (2) kwani lo kikalita makocɪŋaL ?aramor, ay?aca?acayta
that if we begin difficult very we'll be dying

karɪtɪrɪtɪsta.
we out of breath

It was very difficult when we started, as though we were going to die.

- (3) takaLa kwani kyakali, la maLodaLo motohobi:r³ ?wacay
many people that begin immediately (disease) die

si kay si?ilɪŋ.
and not spirit-medium

Many people who began to become spirit-mediums immediately got ill and died without becoming spirit-mediums.

- (4) amani lo kaDwa ka sa?anikamyana⁴ iDanki maroDawDaŋ si
be if without special care of parents and

lartɪsa ka aw?acayŋa maLodaLo; kaDwa ka ?asya?ilɪŋ.
relatives died immediately without become S M

If one did not have the special care of the parents and relatives, one died immediately without becoming a spirit-medium.

- (5) si kwani ?i:liŋ ka la kawriwa ikai kirail na ?alivaDaŋ.
and that spirit speak stay beside that shoulder

The spirit talked beside the shoulders (of the spirit-medium).

- (6) sa taw?a:da:l ina ?i:liŋ, la kartis kwani tastalwa
when start that spirit out of breath that body
maLodaLo ?wacay.
immediately die

When the spirit just started to spread, the body immediately went out of breath and died.

- (7) "la ay?ikakoata si la ayodi??" la ya si.
we how and live so and

"How could we survive?" it was asked.

- (8) la ?alavalava ?adavac iDa abak⁶ si ?akawriwa ki nodoy.
try make leave that spirit and make speak the mouth

They tried by making the spirit leave and the mouth speak.

- (9) la davac moθi:l kwani abakta.
leave stay near that our spirit

Then our spirit stayed nearby.

- (10) la k:la moda:da: kwani ?i:liŋ⁶ si ?akawriwa ki nodoy si
come go down that spirit and make speak the mouth and

kaθaril.
good

The spirit came down and made the mouth speak, and it worked well.

- (11) la odi?nata. la kawriwa kwani nodoyta. ayvivivigta⁷
we live speak that our mouth we'll be saying

?asaLisisi.
prayer

Then we lived. Our mouths talked. We would be saying prayers.

Text XXIII

- (12) lo ikai kwaDa macai:m, la daol mita ka sya?i:li:n.
if exist that sick call us spirit-medium

If someone got sick, they would call on us spirit-mediums.

- (13) la wata ?asaLisi. la kalalikit moDi:nay oDi?.
we go pray able recover live

We went to say prayers. (The patient) would recover and live.

- (14) kaDwa ka ?isin⁸ ka takibobo:a⁹ konaDoma.¹⁰ kaDwa ka
not have doctor hospital formerly not have
sababo:ta. i:a kwani ?i:li:n.
our medicine one that spirit

There was no doctor or hospital in the past. There was no medicine. There was only a spirit.

- (15) lo ikai kwaDa macai:m kwaDa moco:g,¹¹ ?wa?i:la:i la kwaDa
if exist that sick that find out cause tell that
?i:li:n iDa taoco:ga iDa takacai:ma.
spirit that cause that place of illness

If there was sickness, the spirit would tell the cause of it and where the pain was.

- (16) lo ikai kwaDa kya?asaLi:si sa omas, malalikit mwa:La iDa
if exist that under spell man able remove that
sa?asaLi:sya.¹²
spell

If someone was under the spell, the spirit could remove it.

- (17) yakaina iDa barana, tagira, aoLoa,¹³ malalikit mwaLa kwaDa
stay that stomach chest head able remove that
?i:li:n.
spirit

No matter whether it was in the stomach, chest, or head, the spirit could remove it.

- (18) kwaDa ayDiDiŋa maLa mwaLa si ?aci:l mita ?okaomasa, la
 that ghost take remove and show us man

ci:lta.
 we look

The ghost removed (the harmful spell) and showed it to us people, then we looked at it.

- (19) la oDi?ta kaθaril.
 we live get well

Then we lived and got well.

- (20) kwaDa swaŋaLaŋaLay sa malisi, kwaDa mikakoakoa ka malalikɨt
 that spit blood when ill that how able

?akawDinay kwaDa ?ɨliŋ.
 cure that spirit

If someone was ill and spat blood, no matter what disease it was, the spirit could cure it.

- (21) kayasa ka kyasosonata ki twaomas, la kaDwa ka ?ɨliŋ.
 now we believe God not have spirit

We now believe in God, so there is no more spirit.

- (22) malalikɨtta swarar iDa ?ɨliŋta.
 we can give up that our spirit

We can give up our spirit.

- (23) lo ?inoLinoLi kayasa ka maθaril; mararamaw ina ?ɨliŋ.
 if pray now good same that spirit

Now we can get well by praying; it is the same as the spirit.

- (24) amani sa kaDo mwa:LaLa ina sa?asaLi:sisya kyaLaLaLa: ina
 be not removing that spell like that

?ɨliŋ ka, lo ikai kwaDa sa?asaLi:sya mita kinawmasanta,
 spirit if exist that spell us our body

malalikɨt mwaLa.
 able remove

Text XXIII

But (praying) cannot remove the harmful spell as the spirit
---if there is a harmful spell in our body, the spirit can
remove it.

- (25) lo ikai kwaDa sa?asaLi:sya ki da:nta ki tadadavacanta,
if exist that spell our house our walking place

lo ikai kwaDa to?a@aLa@aLa kay badabada maDisisij kay
if exist that sabotage these outsiders meet these

swainininona, malalikit mwaLa kwaDa ?ilij.
people where from able remove that spirit

If there is any harmful spell in our house, on the road, or
if there is any sabotage from outsiders from various places,
the spirit can remove it.

- (26) la ?awa swaoLi iDa sa?asaLi:sya ka mwaDinayta kaθaril
make return that spell we recover get well

karaθod oDi? ka cikicikil.
perfect live family

Once the harmful spell is removed, we can recover and get
well, and our family can live perfectly.

- (27) la ikaita makanaiLi oDi?.
we stay all live

Then we can all live.

- (28) kwani ?ilij kaDwana kayasa, ?awaLakawna kay kyasoso ki
that spirit not have now drive away this believe

twaomas.
God

There is now no more spirit, chased away as (we) believe in
God.

- (29) kaDota sya?ilij?ilijna, kayta ?asaLi:sisija, ara
we not have spirit-medium we not praying use

siboLoboLonata.
we pray

We have no more spirit-medium; we do not pray to the spirit;
we pray (to God).

- (30) la ayθinalta lo kaθaril kay, ?inoLi yarakayta
we know when get well this prayer we shall use

toθadaLan, katay sawLi ina ?ilɪŋ.
everyday we not return that spirit

We have yet to see if we can get well by praying, we will do
so everyday, then we won't renew the spirit.

- (31) kwani kyaoLakaw lo aragɪlaca lo ikaita omaoma, lo ikaita
that chased away if frighten if we stay field if we stay

ino, la ?ɪkak si davac kwaDa abakta, malalikitta
where shocked and leave that our spirit we can

?obaLibaLiw swaoLi.
make return return

If we get frightened in the field or somewhere else, our
spirit is shocked and leaves, we can call it back.

- (32) ?orarabok maLa ki:Liw arakai iDa botol, la
limed betel-nuts take lead use that pork

kalalikitta maLa iDa abak ?obaLiw ?awa swawLi ina
we can take that spirit make return make return that

tasotalwanɪni iDa kaomasa.
one's body that person

Using limed betel-nuts and taking pork to call our own
spirit, we can call it back to return to the body of a
person.

- (33) la boLota ?ɪlaɪla kaDwaŋa odavac kyovagay, kaDwa ka
we instruct tell do not leave separate not

macaim, mwaDinayŋa ?akas kwaDa aragɪlaca kyolakaw.
sick get well immediately that frightened away

Text XXIII

We instruct the spirit not to leave, not to get sick, then the spirit that has been frightened away will immediately recover.

- (34) lo ikai ka macaim, daol mita mwa inininona ki badanna,¹⁴
if exist sick call us go where other village
davacta mwa lo si?ilinta.
we leave go when we spirit-mediums

If someone falls sick and calls us to go wherever the village is, we spirit-mediums will go.

- (35) aykaraTanta? ka ?inaboLoa ina bikaca iDa
will we be lazy endowed that begin that
sinitarwarDajana.
from ancestors

Shall we be lazy? Ever since the beginning of mankind, we have been endowed (with the quality of not being lazy) from the ancestors.

- (36) yakaita motwaomas ka omas lo kay ikai kwaDa abikac ki
we stay become man man if this exist that begin
dwar?.
do

We people have been created this way since we became human beings.

- (37) la ?awa mita ?aiLi.
make us join

We were created together.

- (38) "aymoconolso iDa mya inya. aysinaganso iDa mya
you'll resemble that like that you'll be named that like
inya sya?ilinj. coconla ki latomoso ki
that spirit-medium forefathers of your grandfather of

lakayoso," la ya mita.
your grandmother so us

"You will resemble that. You will go by the name of spirit-medium as you are a descendant of your forefathers," they said to us.

(39) la aLata inya moconol.
we take that resemble

We then take to the forefathers.

(40) kota ka ?atinatina ka kamwaconola.
we really real resemblance

It is we who are really like them.

(41) ?asaLi:sita mwa ki daidaina ki bašana.
we worship go everywhere other village

We go worshipping everywhere in the other villages.

(42) lo ikai kwaDa aragilaca kyoLakaw, oDava kwaDa ?acay
if exist that frightened away even if that die

siniobola, malalikitta maLa ki:Liw ?obaLiw iDa abakini.
from bush we can take lead return that one's spirit

If someone's spirit is frightened away, even if he dies in the bush, we can call back his spirit.

(43) la aLata ?atakaynin si kisoso, "aso ?acay? so mya
we take make seated and talk to you die you like

inya? myakakoaso?" la ya iDa aw?acay sa bađa sa acilay,
that how you so that died enemy water

iDa anikakirin,¹⁵ iDa kyatomanna¹⁶ Li?in.
that hang that what have you all

We seat the one who has been killed by an enemy, drowned, hanged oneself, or what have you, and say to him, "Why did you die? Why were you like that? How were you?"

Text XXIII

- (44) malal+kitta dwaol ?obaLiw si kikawriwa.¹⁷
we can call return and talk to

We can call him back and talk to him.

- (45) maθaril ?aramor kwani ?ililη.
good very that spirit

The spirit is very good.

- (46) kaDwa ka mya inya ka ania.
not have like that who

No one is as (good) as that.

- (47) ara mobaLiθ kay zinzya. arakaikainata ina siboLoboLo si
yet change this church we using that pray and

kaθa. kaDwata θinalηa arakai ina ?ililη.
end we not know use that spirit

We have been Christianized. We only pray. We do not know how to use the spirit.

- (48) la sososoako ?ila+la+la nomya ka lavalakηa¹⁸ iDa
I talking telling you young men that

nimolagaganna¹⁹ ma?ila+la.²⁰
for next generation pass on

I have been telling you young men. You may pass on the talk to the next generation.

- (49) kasoso iDanki tamyantai ka natarwarDaηa,
talk that our experience former times

tamabikabikacana²¹ tamacoycoysannai. la yako. la amani
our beginning our connecting line I so be

kay sosoli nomia ka lavalavakηa inya si aLainηa iDa
this my telling you young men that and feel free that

avagananomi ?olagaganna.
your words pass to next generation

You may talk about the experience of your ancestors and our

beginning. I said so. This is what I have been telling you young men. Please feel free to pass it on to the next generation in your own words.

Footnotes to Text XXIII

¹This was recorded by lidiim and interpreted by Te-tz'u Lin in May 1971. The narrator lidiim had personal experience as a spirit-medium for many years.

²The term sy-a-?ilij 'carrying spirit = spirit medium 靈媒, 童占' < ?ilij 'spirit.'

³The term motohobi:r 瘦乾病 refers to a type of disease, with which the patient becomes very skinny and dried up.

⁴The term sa-?anikamya-a(n) 'means of special care' < ?anikamya 'to take special care of.'

⁵The term tastalwa /ta-astalo-an/ 'the human body, the physical body,' cf. kinawmasa 'body.'

⁶The term abak 靈魂 in (8) refers to the 'spirit' of a person, and ?ilij 靈 as in (10) could probably be translated as 'ghost.' However, sy-a-?ilij refers to a 'spirit medium.' Also ayDiDiŋa 鬼, 神 in (18) below is probably a more appropriate term for 'ghost.' The interpreter was not clear about these three terms, and the investigator was not confident in translating them.

⁷The term ay-vi-vi-vig-ta 'we shall be talking' < vi:g 'to talk, as of a spirit medium.' 念念有詞

⁸The term ?isij 'doctor' is a loan from Taiwanese 醫生 ?isij 'doctor.' See the term also in 13-48.

⁹The term ta-ki-bo-bo:-a(n) 'place of curing diseases = hospital' < ki-bo: 'to cure.'

¹⁰In the form ko-na-Doma 'in the past, ancient time, formerly' (< Doma 'other') the prefix ko- 'past time,' e.g., ko-da: 'yesterday,' na- 'former, ex-,' e.g., na-Dakiral 'former river.' Also see the term na-Doma 'formerly' in (1) above.

¹¹The form mo-co:g 'to find out the cause' < co:g 'cause, matter' (4-56, 66); ta-o-co:g-a 'place of cause, cause of trouble.'

¹²Both the terms ky-a-?a-sa-Li:si 'to be under the spell' and sa-?a-sa-Li:sy-a 'means of making someone under the spell' in the sentence as well as ?a-sa-Li:si-si 'to keep praying' in (11) above are derived from the same stem Li:si 'to sacrifice, to worship, to pray.'

¹³All the three terms baraŋ-a 'stomach,' tagira 'chest,' and aoLo-a 'head' take the suffix -a /an/ 'place;' note that tagira < /tagira-an/.

¹⁴The term bađanna 'place of other village' is derived from the underlying form /bađa-an-ŋa/. The underlying form of the stem is /bađa/, not */bađan/; see Li 1973:47, (5).

¹⁵The term ani-ka-kirin 'to hang oneself' < kirin 'to tie (a string);' cf. sa-ka-kirin 'string.'

¹⁶The term ky-a-toman-ŋa literally means '(what) has been done already.'

¹⁷In the sentence the first item malalikit-ta 'can-we' is the main verb and the second d/w/aol 'to call' is the embedded (or infinitive).

¹⁸The term la-valak literally means 'children.' The narrator was referring to the young men, the interpreter and the investigator who were listening to her recording.

¹⁹The term /ni-mo-la-aga-agan-ŋa/ 'passing on to the descendants, the posterity, the next generation' < agan 'grandchild.' Cf. ʔolagaganna 'to pass on to the next generation' in (49) below.

²⁰The term ma-ʔilaıla literally means 'to tell each other.'

²¹The term ta-ma-bika-bikac-an-nai 'our beginning' < bikac 'to begin, to just appear.'

XXIV. ta ?a?acay¹
we kill

Let's Kill (Them)

- (1) kwaDa sa ikayana baLiw ko latinali si latamali,² ko
that live (place) my mothers and my fathers
tomoli si tamali ?a?aca?acay sa omas.
my grandpas and my fathers killing man

When my mother and aunts and my father and uncles still lived
in BaLiw, my grandfather and my father were killing people.

- (2) kwaDa kila ki daidaita, ta ?a?acay. malisi kwaDa mya iDa.
that come our land we kill bad that like that

Let's kill those who came to our land. Those who were like
that were bad.

- (3) "mwa ?amoli kwaDa kilakila sa daidaita si ta ?a?acay," la
went astray that coming our land and we kill

ya ko tomoli si latamali.
so my grandpas and my fathers

"Let's kill those who come to our place by mistake," my
grandfather, and father and uncles said.

- (4) la wanai ?a?acay.
we go kill

Then we went to kill (them).

- (5) ayso naganako iDa ta?a?aca?annai?³
will you I name that our killing

Do you (want) me to name the ones we killed?

- (6) kwaDa tato?aLanli ki latamali si latakali ta?a?aca?annai
that my joining my fathers and my elders our killing

ka amwa sa daida+nai ka?aLoa.
went our land (place)

I joined my father and uncles, and brothers killing those who went to our place Ka?aLoa.

- (7) la to?aLako ?a?acay.
I join kill

I joined killing (them).

- (8) kila naya kisano ?a?acay ka soṅaw⁴ ka swapalavi.
come us intend kill Bunun residents of P.

The soṅaw (Bunun) people from Palavi came to kill us.

- (9) la ?a?acaynai iDa awkila kisano ?a?acay naya.
we kill that came intend kill us

Then we killed those who came to kill us.

- (10) la davacako sasaLoṅa mosoṅaw si ikayako soṅaw.
I leave marry go Soṅaw and I stay (place)

I went to marry a Soṅaw (Bunun) and stayed at Soṅaw.

- (11) "ta ?a?acay iDa swaLikaboṅ."⁵
we kill that residents of L.

"Let's kill the people from Likaboṅ (Puyuma)."

- (12) "malisi wa?a?aca?açay naya."
bad killing us

"(They) were no good in killing us."

- (13) la wanai ?a?acay liDa.
we go kill them

Then we went to kill them.

- (14) la, "malisi kay Di?oṅ. ayaLa iDa kwanṭa. ta ?a?acay,"
bad this Japanese will take that our gun we kill

la ya.
so

"These Japanese are no good. (They) will take away our guns.

Let's kill (them)," (they) said.

Text XXIV

(15) la ʔaʔacaynai sa Diʔoŋ.
we kill Japanese

Then we killed the Japanese.

Footnotes to Text XXIV

¹This was recorded by vilia (田文思, a man aged 88 in 1971) and interpreted by galaygay (溫金枝), an 18-year-old-girl and graduate of a nursing school, in August 1971.

²The kinship terms are in the plural form: la-tina-li 'plural-mother-my = my mother and aunts' and la-tama-li 'plural-father-my = my father and uncles.'

³The informant was asking the investigator.

⁴The Rukai term for Bunun is soŋaw.

⁵Likabon 利嘉村 is the name of a Puyuma village near Tanan.

XXV. twabay¹
make cake

Making Cakes

- (1) aykawrivako iDa tatokaLaLisiLi:syannai² ka sotaromak iDa
I'll talk that our harvest festival (place) that
taradoradonannai³ ki biciŋ.
our doing millet

I shall talk about what is done of millet during the harvest festival at Taromak.

- (2) ?ikakoa lo yata ka wakotota si i:k si siLobo.
how if we so we bake and husk and pound

The way in which we do (make cakes) is that we bake, husk, and pound the grain.

- (3) lo maka siLobota, la ?awata swaliŋ, la sibsib la
if after we pound we cause drench pour out water
?akamialta si toboŋ.
we dry and grind

When we finish pounding it, then we drench it and pour out water, and then we grind it.

- (4) maka toboŋta, la sisita.
after we grind we separate

After we grind (it), then we separate the thick pieces from the fine ones.

- (5) la salimta si kaki?iLta.⁴
we mix and we make lumps

Then we mix (the stuff) and make lumps.

- (6) la ?awata ?oraiθ si la aLata iDa ?aLaboLo cwacabo
we put in stuffing and we take that (plant) wrapping

Text XXV

arakai iDa sa: bay.
use that leaf

Then we put in stuffing and wrap up with tree leaves.

(7) la agata.
we cook

Then we cook.

(8) lo kado, la aLata waLog si kanɔ̃na.
when cooked we take take down and eat

When (it) is cooked, we take it down to eat.

(9) amani kayvay kwaDa ta?ia?iannai ka sotaromak iDa kalaradoŋa
be this that our doing (place) that festival

anyababay.
eat cake

This is what we Taromak people do to eat cakes at the harvest festival.

Footnotes to Text XXV

¹This was recorded by moni (杜阿金, aged 36) and interpreted by galaygay in August 1971.

²The term ta-to-kaLa-Lisi-Li:sy-an-nai 'our harvest festival' < Li:si 'to worship, to sacrifice.'

³The term ta-rado-radon-an-nai 'our doing during the harvest festival' < radon 'the third day of the harvest festival 豐年祭.' The first day of the festival is called kaLaLi:sya (cf. Note 2,) the second day diLa 嘗新祭, and the third radon, on which day people can eat millet. Cf. Hsieh 1968:73, but my transcriptions differ from Hsieh's.

⁴The form ka-kɨ?ɨL-ta 'we make lumps' < kɨ?ɨL 'to make lumps.' There is no stative form *ma-kɨ?ɨL. But there is mwa-kɨ?ɨL 'formed lumps.'

XXVI. twabava¹
making wine

Making Wine

- (1) aykawriwanako iDa ta?ia?iannai iDa kalaLi:sia ina
I'll talk that our doing that festival that
tatobavabava.²
making wine

I shall talk about what we do to make wine at a festival.

- (2) kwani tatobavabava ay?ikakoa lo yata ka ayto?ikaknanta.³
that making wine will how if we so make yeast

The way we make wine is that we make yeast first.

- (3) kwani ?ikak ka amani kwani bicinj.
that yeast be that millet

Yeast is (made from) millet.

- (4) la toboŋta iDa bicinj.
we pound that millet

We pound millet.

- (5) la arakaita iDa ?aŋaLo si ?aidid si ?aLikoD, la
we use that and and crythenthimum

agata iDa taitoLoa.
we cook that three

We use ?aŋaLo (weed), ?aidid (plant), and crythenthimum, then we cook all three together.

- (6) si la arakaita swaLim iDa tinoboŋa iDa biraθ.
and we use mix that ground that rice

And then we mix the ground rice (with water).

- (7) la kaki?iLta totimomoLog to?ikak.
we make lump make round make yeast

Then we make lumps of yeast (and) round (them).

Text XXVI

- (8) la ?awata iDa ?ig±L ?awa dwarar baLakoa si ?awa swasrar
we put that stalk put down basket and put putting down
iDa ni?awa kwaki?±L⁵ iDa ?ikak.
that put formed lumps that yeast

Then we put millet stalk into the basket (that has been) laid down, and leave lumps of yeast in (the basket).

- (9) la ?avaita.
we dry

Then we dry it in the sun.

- (10) lo myana iDa obiLiṅa⁶ lo yata ka, la aLata ?awa kobo
if like that mossy if we so we take put cover
to?aDiṅay ka, kaDoy moto?ava kwaDa ?ikak.
well not spoil that yeast

When we think it gets mossy, we cover (it) well, (so that) the yeast will not get spoiled.

- (11) lo ?akaLiṅawta ?avai ka mwato?ava si kalao?
if we overly dry spoiled and tasteless

If we overly expose it to the sun, it will get spoiled and tasteless.

- 12) la arakaita iDa.
we use that

Then we use it.

- (13) kwaDa sinaliṅa kwaDa biṅiṅ kwaDa biraθ, la siḅsiḅta
that soaked that millet that rice we pour out water
θwabθab.
wash

(As for) the soaked millet (or) rice, we poured out the water (and) wash it.

- (14) la agata ?asoLaLiDiṅa.⁷ Then we cook it (with) a steamer.
we cook steam

- (15) lo kado, la aLata waLogo.
if cooked we take lift

When it is cooked, we lift it.

- (16) la aLata ?awa swaDok baLakoa.
we take put put into basket

Then we take it (and) put it into the basket.

- (17) si lo kajaŋriŋriŋic, la toboŋta iDa ?ikak likiti.
and if getting cold we grind that yeast suitable

And when it gets cold, we break up a suitable amount of yeast.

- (18) la ?awata cibok iDa nyaga oLaLiDiŋa.
we put mix that cooked in steamer

Then we mix (the yeast) with the cooked (millet) in the steamer.

- (19) la ?awata ?osalava ?aLaLan diŋir toθaril θwaLiŋol iDa
we put in jar lightly press make good surrounding that
salaw.
jar

Then we put it in the jar (and) press the surrounding of the jar carefully.

- (20) la ?awata korobon cwaib.⁸
we put cover cover

Then we cover it.

- (21) la kwaDa sa?akatoLol, la aLata mocaib.
that 2nd day we take remove cover

On the third day, we take the cover away.

- (22) si lo kanita ka mwaDiŋay sanoLim kwaDa bava.
and we eat delicious pure & fair that wine

And if we eat it, the wine tastes good, pure and fair.

Text XXVI

(23) amani kwaDa ta?iannai ka kacaLisya lo tobavanai.
be that our doing aborigine if we make wine

That is what we aborigines do when we make wine.

Footnotes to Text XXVI

¹This was recorded by moni and interpreted by galaygay in August 1971.

²In the underlying form /ta-to-bava-bava-an/ 'time of making wine' < bava 'wine,' the suffix -an is deleted by the identical vowel deletion rule and final n truncation rule; See Li 1973, §3.4 & 3.6.

³In the form ay-to-?ikak-ana-na-ta 'we shall make yeast first' < ?ikak 'yeast,' the suffixes -ana-na 'to do first' is reduced to -nan.

⁴The term ?anaLo is the name of a weed and ?aidid the name of a plant. The interpreter could not identify them. In the form ta-i-toLo-a 'three things' < toLo 'three,' the function of i- is not clear. It may have to do with the locative prefix i-, as in i-baLiw 'at home.'

⁵The infinitive k/w/a-ki?iL 'to make lumps' (< ki?iL 'lump') and the preceding main verb ni-?awa 'put, caused' were nominalized; note the preceding determiner iDa.

⁶The term o-biLi-ŋa means 'to have got mossy 發霉.'

⁷The term ?a-so-LaLiDiŋa 'to steam' < LaLiDiŋa 'steamer,' cf. o-LaLiDiŋa 'to put into the steamer' in (18) below. For the prefixes ?a-so- 'to do or work by means of(?)' cf. ?a-so-icib 'to bake sweet potatoes' (11-20).

⁸The nuance of the two verbs korobon and c/w/aib is not clear.

Appendix I. Traditional Folk Songs

A. naloiani naloan¹

<u>Rukai</u>	<u>Translation</u>
BOY: kaynomi kyadoLo? kaynomi kyadoLo? kay vai kyanan?	Aren't you tired? Aren't you tired? Today now?
GIRL: lay kidoLonai? lay kidoLonai? ko ² swapanomi. ³ ko swapanomi.	Should we be tired? Should we be tired? You joined (the work also). You joined (the work also).
BOY: konai ⁴ maka sopara. konai maka sopara. kay la davanannai.	We cannot join it. We cannot join it. We are poor.
GIRL: davan ⁵ paθaro ⁶ ino? davan paθaro ino? nimararamava. ⁷ nimararamava.	Poor in what? Poor in what? All the same. All the same.
BOY: mobaisli ⁸ ka Doma. mobaisli ka Doma. iniLiŋa lo toman.	I'm hungry about others. (i.e. I also love other girls) I'm hungry about others. Not know how it goes. (i.e., but I don't know why I love only you.)
GIRL: kay taLavaða, kay taLavaða, aDavan siLigoan. aDavan siLigoan.	This falsehood, This falsehood, I foresee it. I foresee it.
BOY: i:n, sa siLigoso, i:n, sa siLigoso ki paranavanli. ⁹	Yes, what you foresee, Yes, what you foresee Is my sincere love.

GIRL:	ko LigiLan aboLo.	You talk well.
	ko LigiLan aboLo.	You talk well.
	ko akitobian.	To touch my heart.
	ko akitobian.	To touch my heart.
BOY:	bokacako ¹⁰ Ligil?	How can I deceive?
	bokacako Ligil?	How can I deceive?
	ko kagalagalalli.	My love?

Footnotes

¹This love song was recorded by usau 賴運文 and avana 王秀琴, both from Budai and interpreted by Te-tz'u Lin in March 1971. Note that Budai forms are used in these songs. The title is the name of a song and has no meaning.

²ko = kwaDa 'that' (Hereafter, the form on the left side of the = is Budai and that on the right is Tanan Rukai.)

³so(a)para = to(a)?aLa 'to join'

⁴konai = kanai 'we not'

⁵davay, davaðan- 'poor'

⁶paθaro = ?akai 'at, in, reside'

⁷maramaw 'the same,' ni - STEM - a(n) 'goal subject, past'

⁸mobais 'hungry (literally), love (figuratively)'

⁹paranaw = ?aranaw 'devoted'

¹⁰bokac = somali 'how can?'. The term is still in current use in Budai, but not in Taromak.

B. laLoLomid¹

<u>Rukai</u>	<u>Translation</u>
BOY: ti:Da nayan, ² ti:Da nayan, ka yabaLiw.	Leave it for us, Leave it for us, At home.
GIRL: aytì:Da ko manìma? aytì:Da ko manìma? ko ya dadavaðan.	What shall we leave? What shall we leave? We are poor.
BOY: davay paðaro ino? davay paðaro ino? ko nìmararamava.	Poor in what? Poor in what? All the same.
GIRL: davay ko parapara. ³ davay ko parapara. iniLiṅa lo toman.	Others are poor. Others are poor. Not know how it goes.

Footnotes

¹This was recorded by the Budaians voLoko 麥壘治 (aged 50's) and yoviLa 東 (aged 50's) and interpreted by Te-tz'u Lin in March 1971. The title is simply the beginning tune that has no meaning.

²nayan = naya 'us'

³parapara (Budai) = Doma (Taromak) 'others'

C. kaDaLaḍa ki sotaromak¹
classical dance of Taromak

The classical Dance of Taromak

Men

M-1. ta Diḗpir matikai ki matyaswaLík.²
we same must tell reliable

Let's all tell reliable personal experience.

M-2. sakaoLasanli³ ki tomanḅa.
my bad luck do things

I have had bad luck with all things.

M-3. ?akokwan, ?akota?it namakakisroror.⁴
shoot with gun cut with knife cut off

Shoot with a gun; cut off with a big knife.

M-4. akoli taraLigo magaromagim.
in mind various designs

I've got all that I want.

M-5. sana moLiviḗsako⁵ ka paLi:sya⁶ sa aliwnay⁷ la.
if I go out taboo bare-handed

If I go out, it's a taboo (for me) to return bare-handed.

M-6. matyadadalam Liḅa ko kinataLisan.⁸
exciting that speared

It's exciting (for me) to spear.

M-7. matyaswaLík ki tomanḅa.
reliable of do things

It's reliable (for me) to do things.

M-8. virili, vanalli, la tara kalikolava.
my left my right both courage

The people on my both sides should be encouraged.

M-9. ta moridil ko da:nta, kaDwa ko sajat.⁹
we compare that our house without humble

Let's compare our houses, I am not humble.

Women

W-1. solisoli¹⁰ katomoan kay lwa θipan¹¹ la.
few name of highest mount not when rival

Like mount Katomoan, my forefather was rivaled by few people.

W-2. lo maDarol¹² lo maoliθ θyaθiw¹³ a?okwan.
when combine when together lead shoot

Shooting among all champions, I lead in timing.

W-3. Losoko virili talinaw vanalli.
grasp my left cut off (head) my right

I grasp (the enemy's head) with my left (hand) and cut it off with my right (hand).

Footnotes

¹This was recorded by several men and women, and interpreted by Te-tz'u Lin in march 1971.

²matyaswaLik = matyasodaLo 'reliable'

³The form sa-ka-oLas-an-li 'my bad luck,' the stative ma-oLas 'bad luck,' cf. its antonym sa-si?y-an 'good luck'

⁴namakakisroror = ?a-ka-vaθal 'to cut off'

⁵moLiviθis = davac 'to go out, to set out, to leave'

⁶paLi:sya = twaLi:sya 'taboo'

⁷aliwnay = ?aliwnawnay 'bare-handed' The singer implied that whenever he went out, he had to return with something.

⁸The term k/in/ataLis-an 'that was speared' < kataLis 'a spear with three hooks.'

⁹The singer implied that his house was good with valuable things in it.

¹⁰solisoli = ma?ili 'few'

¹¹θipan = maramaw 'rival, same'

¹²maDarol = maDawDawrol 'to combine, to gather together'

¹³θyaθiw = aswala 'to lead, to go first'

D. ?aoLyoli¹
head hunting

Pep Talk

(1) no² taomodalan³ mon hilyahomaraŋ.⁴
when set out you be energetic

When you set out (to fight), you must be energetic.

(2) no ki caLikaw⁵ mon,⁶ cikiLwa⁷ mopolat.⁸
when of bird of bad omen you return all

When you hear the sound of the bird of bad omen, you must all retreat.

(3) ta lo sasikadan⁹ mon, kiLisi goa kisipi.
we if bird of good omen you dream

If you hear the sound of the bird of good omen, you still need a good dream.

(4) lo maDosa mon matoLo kikaninɨ mona¹⁰ tomakaLodin.¹¹
if two you three be eaten you eaten by maggots

If you go by two or three, you will be eaten up by maggots.

(5) lo ilalilavan mon apoy mona lo midap.
if ambush you fire you if burn up

If you are ambushed, you will be burned up by fire fiercely.

Footnotes

¹The leading singer was to:ko 劉 (aged 60's in 1971). It is not clear if this song is really Rukai; if so, it must be archaic. For one thing, the personal pronouns are very different, e.g., mon 'you (plural, nominative)' (1) instead of nomi, mon-a 'you (plural, accusative)' instead of nomy-a. However, the verb forms such as kisipi 'to dream' (3) and ki-kani-ni 'to be eaten' (4) indicate that it is very much Rukai.

²no = lo Note that no is used in (1) and (2), but lo in (3)-(5). There seems to be a mixture of dialects in the song.

³taomođalan = mo-ka:Lia 'to set out, to get on the way'

⁴hilyahomaraŋ = kakiciŋ-a 'Be energetic!'

⁵caLi:kaw = TaLi:kaw 'bird of bad omen' (16-2)

⁶mon = nomi 'you (plural, nominative)'

⁷cikiLwa = syoly-a 'Return!'

⁸mopolat = makana:Lia 'all'

⁹sasikađan = Danol 'bird of good omen'

¹⁰mon-a = nomy-a 'you (plural, accusative)'

¹¹The term to-ma-kan-Lidin 'to be eaten by maggots' < kan 'to eat' + Lidin 'maggot.'

Appendix II. List of Affixes with Examples in Texts¹

The following affixes are given in the alphabetical order.

a- + N 'verbalizer (past)'

E.g., a-Lolaḍ-ako 'I was a child' (9-1,2,6)
a-mañjal 'was ten' (9-24)

a- + V 'past tense'

E.g., a-mya 'was so' (1-73) (9-34,103)
a-maLa 'took' (9-15)
a-maon 'it was night time'

-a- + V 'past tense'

E.g., y-a-kai 'there was' (2-69,70)
ky-a-rasiLav-a 'had nothing' (9-68)

-a (1) + V 'imperative'

E.g., mwa 'Go!' (2-56) (4-31) (9-42)
ʔO-Diṇaḍ-a 'Put it well!'
k/w/ani-a 'Eat!'

(2) + Pronoun 'accusative (or objective)'

E.g., nay-a 'us' (2-30,51)
nomy-a 'you' (6-30)
iny-a 'that' (1-45,60) (4-126) (7-7)
iDa /iDa-a/ 'that' (1-6,69,71) (2-42,51,54,62)

-a(n) + V 'things, place, time, (nominalizer)'

E.g., vay-a 'daytime' (14-18)
na-ka-lisi-a 'ex-bad place' (4-137)

a-....-a(n) + V 'Future tense of goal subject'

E.g., a-taisolaḍ-a 'place to stay overnight' (5-4)
a-iloc-an-ta 'things we will bring' (16-10)

-ana + V 'still, yet'

E.g., kaDwana /kaDwa-ana/ 'not have yet' (7-2)
vay-ana 'sunny still = daytime' (7-3)
kay-ana 'not yet' (11-91)

{ani-} + {N} (location) (1) 'to go across, to go along'

{any-} + {V}
E.g., ani-talais 'to swing'
ani-takilil 'to pass by holding' (15-25)

(2) + N(food) 'to eat, drink'

E.g., ani-bava 'drink wine' (4-140)
any-abay 'to eat cake'

ano- + N(location) (1) '(to stay) at/on'

E.g., ano-kaiLia 'to stay on the road' (4-87) (14-63)
ano-lablalab-a 'to stay at the lower part of a hill'
(3-75)

ano- (2) + N(numeral) 'classifier, unit'

E.g., anoa-toLo 'three animals'

-a-ŋa + V 'imperative, mild request'

E.g., m-aLa-a-ŋa 'Please take it!'
mo-Diŋa-Diŋa-a-ŋa 'Please take care!'

asi- + V 'why not?'

E.g., asi-ba:y 'why not give' (4-120)
asi-?atsay 'why not die' (9-26)

ay- + V 'future'

E.g., ay-tomawla-a-ko 'I shall tell a story' (1-1)
ay-si-saka-cikil-ako 'I shall get married' (9-102)

-ayni + V 'perhaps, possibly'

E.g., ka-kicin-ayni '(it) may be strong and energetic' (11-40)
toman-ayni '(it) may have happened' (11-36)

{i-
y-a-} + N(location) 'at, in'

E.g., i-baLiw 'at home'
y-a-bilin 'that stays above = God' (9-16,69,76)

/in/...-a(n) + V 'Goal subject and past time'

E.g., b/in/oLi-boLi-an-ŋa 'carried object' (9-73)
t/in/o-bava 'wine that was made'
c/in/iLi-ci:Li-an-ŋa 'thrown away object' (9-73)

in-o...-a(n) + N 'Goal subject and past tense'

E.g., in-o-rabok-a 'limed object'
in-o-Lacin-a 'object with vegetables'

ka- + V 'inchoative'

E.g., ka-Daw 'to become big' (2-13,62) (3-29) (4-7)
ka-bocok 'to become full' (11-38)

ka-...-a(n) + N 'something real or genuine'

E.g., ka-ki?in-a 'real clothes'
ka-da:n-a 'real house'

ka-la-...-a(n) + N 'in season, i.e. having abundant...'

E.g., ka-la-bicin-a 'millet season'
ka-la-DayDa-a 'season of much sweat = summer'

{ki-
ky-} + V (1) 'to gather, to dig'

E.g., ki-borasi 'to dig sweet potatoes' (9-42,43) (11-18,19)
ki-?aLil 'to gather wood carried by water' (15-23)

ky-aŋato 'to gather firewood' (4-37) (13-40)
ky-ovay 'to gather rattan' (21-17,20)

ki- + V (2) 'passive marker'
E.g., ki-boraθ 'to be stripped naked'

ki- + V ("transitive") (3) 'intransitive'
E.g., ki-vaivaŋ 'to play by oneself, to amuse oneself' (5-2)
(9-55)

ki- + V(RED) 'don't, prohibitive'
E.g., ki-dami-damik 'don't hit it'

{ko-
kw-} + N(time) 'past time', cf. lo- 'future time'
E.g., ko-da: 'yesterday (1-18)
ko-maon 'last night' (5-29)
kw-iga 'when (past)'

{ko-
kw-} + N 'subject marker'
E.g., ko-so 'you' (3-74) (9-38)
ko-nako 'I' (9-87)
kw-aDa 'that' (2-5,8,13)

ko- + V 'intransitive, i.e. Goal subject, Agent must not be present'
E.g., ko-laob 'to burn' (2-74) (11-78,80)

la- + {N
V} 'plural'
E.g., la-kw-a-laob 'the burned people' (2-36)
la-wa?acay 'the dead people' (2-31)
la-kay 'these (people)' (9-40)
la-tama-li 'my father and his family, my father and uncles' (2-22)

la- 'friend' (Note that this is a bound stem, not an affix.)
E.g., la-ini 'one's friends' (8-14,15)

la-ma- + N 'plural marker for people'
E.g., la-m-ali 'friends' (10-2,4)
la-ma-taka 'siblings' (3-31,62,65,74) (10-12)
la-ma-sakacikil 'couple' (6-2)

{lo-
lw-} + N 'future time'
E.g., lo-da: 'tomorrow'
lo-myaya: 'day after tomorrow'
lw-iga 'when (future)'

m- + N (1) 'verbalizer'
E.g., m-oroa 'to go to a mountain hut' (12-15)
m-omaoma 'to go to the field (3-3,52) (4-15,18,31) (5-18)
-260- m-obola 'to go to the hunting area' (7-3) (12-14)

(2) 'Agentive verbal prefix'

E.g., m-aLa 'to take' (3-64) (5-24) (7-10,26) (9-52,53) (10-8,10)
m-wa 'to go' (9-34,42,99)

ma- (1) ma- + V 'stative' (see ka-)

E.g., ma-Daw 'big' (9-65)
ma-bocok 'full' (11-50,54)
ma-boi 'pregnant' (20-4) (21-3)

(2) ma- + N 'two (people)'

E.g., ma-tama 'father and son' (4-14)
ma-lala 'two friends' (8-25)
la-ma-taLagi 'two friends' (11-1,125)

(3) m(a)- + V 'Agentive verbal prefix'

E.g., ma-banaw-ta 'we bathe' (10-11)
m-aLa 'to take' (3-64) (5-24) (7-10,26) (9-52) (10-8,10)

(4) ma- + V 'dual or plural'

E.g., ma-?ia 'all do so'
ma-w-bi:r 'they escaped' (4-100)
ma-isaDa-ŋa 'both rest' (8-23)

(5) ma- + V 'reciprocal, mutual'

E.g., ma-ikai 'to live together like a couple' (4-140)
ma-oloc 'to wrestle' (11-122)
ma-ka-ka-w-riva-riva 'to be talking to each other' (1-21)

(6) ma-...-l + Numeral 'ten times'

E.g., ma-ŋia-l 'ten' (9-46)
ma-?osa-l 'twenty'
ma-toLo-l 'thirty'

maka- + V 'snake name'

E.g., maka-biliŋ 'a snake'
maka-daıdaı 'a snake'

maka-...-l + Numeral 'day(s), time(s)' Cf. ?aka-...-l + Numeral

E.g., maka-so?ati-l 'four days' (14-22)

mo- (1) mo- + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ V \end{array} \right\}$ 'to remove, to take off'

mo- + N e.g., mo-cais 'to remove sewing'
mo-ki?iŋ 'to take off clothes'

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} mo- \\ mw- \end{array} \right\}$ + V e.g., mo-cabo 'to unwrap a parcel'
mw-aLa 'to take off' (3-64) (6-21)
mo-icib 'to remove baked potatoes' (11-45)

(2) mo- + N '(to go) self-motion, non-causative'

E.g., mo-baLiw 'to go home' (3-31,68) (6-13) (7-7)
mo-caki 'to defecate' (3-27)
mo-daıdaı 'to come down, to settle' (9-125) (10-8,10)

(3) m(o)- + V '(to go) self-motion, non-causative'

E.g., m-obɨ:r 'to escape'

mo-ci:Li 'to fall'

mo-θigay 'to roll, to fall down'

(4) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mo-} \\ \text{mw-a-} \end{array} \right\}$ + V 'abilitative, potential'

E.g., mo-ŋol 'drinkable'

mo-Lɨ:D 'swallowable'

mw-a-kanɨ 'edible' (22-20,21)

mori- + N 'to seek, to pick, to check, to clear away'

E.g., mori-maDo-maDo 'to pick fruit' (11-2,9)

mori-tokol 'to check traps' (12-1,5,11,12)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{moti-} \\ \text{moty-} \end{array} \right\}$ + N 'to turn into'

E.g., moti-omas 'to turn into a man' (6-29)

moti-(ta-)tolik 'to turn into a rat' (3-71)

moty-adadam 'to turn into a bird' (3-32)

na- + N 'past, former, ex-'

E.g., na-ka-lisi-a 'former bad place' (4-137)

na-Dakɨral 'former river' (4-137)

na- + N '(to address a person) Vocative'

E.g., na-ina 'Mother!' (3-7)

na-la 'friend! (male)' (8-3,6,10,16,19) (11-78,80,83)

n-ali 'friend! (female)' (4-37)

na-ta-...-a(n) + V 'former place, thing, etc.'

E.g., na-ta-oa-a 'place formerly visited'

(a-)ni-...-l + Numeral 'times'

E.g., ni-ʔosa-l 'twice'

ni-toLo-l 'three times'

a-ni-va-l 'once' (3-77)

ni-...-a(n) + V 'past passive'

E.g., ni-ba:d-a 'object given'

ni-boLi-a 'object carried'

ni-ci:Li-a 'object thrown away'

ni-kanɨ-a 'object eaten'

-na + V (1) 'completive'

E.g., mawlay-na 'it has been long' (3-14)

toman-na 'to have done'

(2) 'soon, close to'

E.g., adaLo-na 'to come soon' (3-9,12)

adɨdɨ:θ-na 'to get close to' (1-10)

(3) 'polite request'

E.g., maLa-na 'please get...'

?a- + V 'causative'

- E.g., ?a-kanɨ 'to make someone eat' (9-52)
?a-wa 'to make someone go, to put in' (4-59,60) (5-26)
(6-10,18)
?a-dali 'to catch up, to reach' (11-91)

?aka-...-l + Numeral, see maka-...-l + Numeral '(for) day(s)'

- E.g., ?aka-Lima-l 'five days' (14-21)
?aka-toLo-l 'three days' (14-24,25)

?a?o- + N 'to, towards'

- E.g., ?a?o-daɨdaɨ 'to the ground' (1-52)
?a?o-viri 'to the north' (4-75)

?a-so- + V 'by means of'

- E.g., ?a-so-icib 'by means of baking' (11-20,21,34)

?a-ta- + V 'to make people...'

- E.g., ?a-ta-DaDaw 'to make people grow up' (9-116,121)

?o- + N 'causative'

- E.g., ?o-da:n 'to put into a house' (4-107)
?o-baLiW 'to bring home' (1-42)
?o-LayLay 'to give a rope' (4-80)

sa- + V 'instrument, means of...'

- E.g., sa-to?to? 'beak'
s-alo? 'hunting suit'

sa-...-a(n) + V 'instrument'

- E.g., sa-ba:ɗ-a 'wedding gift'
sa-si?y-a 'good luck' (12-24)

sa-ka- + N 'instrument'

- E.g., sa-ka-omaoma 'overall'
sa-ka-kiriŋ 'string' (4-79)

sa-ka- + N (free or bound stem) 'household'

- E.g., saka-Dosa 'spouse ("the 2nd")' (13-23,25,42,44)
saka-cikɨl 'spouse (one's own spouse, fellow villager, or family)' (3-47,49,68,69,71) (7-3,21) (9-114)

sa-ka-ni-...-l + Numeral 'the...th time'

- E.g., sa-ka-ni-toLo-l '3rd time' (11-69)
sa-ka-ni-?osa-l '2nd time' (4-5)

saka-o-...-a(n) + N 'the whole, entire'

- E.g., saka-o-cikɨl-a 'whole village' (2-47) (13-51) (20-21)
saka-o-da:n-a 'whole family'
saka-o-aŋaŋad-a 'entire crop'

sa-ka-si-...-l-a(n) + Numeral 'the...th generation'

- E.g., sa-ka-si-toLo-la 'the 3rd generation'
sa-ka-si-?osa-la 'the 2nd generation'

sano-...-a(n) + V 'left-over, completed'
E.g., sano-kani-a 'food left over' (3-21)
sano-Ladiad-a 'the peel' (4-31)

sa-o-...-a(n) + N(location) 'instrument'
E.g., sa-o-lataD-a 'doorway' (2-5)

{si-
sy-} + N (1) 'to wear, to carry, to possess'
E.g., si-ki?iŋ 'to wear clothes'
sy-a-ra?al 'to carry a baby' (21-4)
sy-a-nagan 'to be named' (3-18) (9-124) (13-43)

(2) 'to kill, to possess because of killing'
E.g., si-bada 'to kill an enemy' (14-49)
si-comay 'to kill a bear'
si-?ana 'to have game'

{si-
sy-} + V(bound stem) 'verbal prefix'
E.g., si-Lobo 'to pound' (25-2)
si-iti 'full from eating' (3-29) (4-63)
sy-oLi 'to return, to revive' (1-13) (2-40) (3-30,64) (4-74)

{sini-
siny-} + N 'from (the direction of)'
E.g., sini-Da-Da-DaDa 'from above' (1-48)
?a-sini-awLo-Lo 'from head' (3-70)

{so-
sw-} + N(location) 'resident'
E.g., so-taromak 'residents of Taromak'
so-tinakDakDar 'children of gathering house'
sw-a-kai 'resident' (13-34)
sw-a-ino 'where from?'
sw-aDy-aDiŋ '(residents) underground' (21-1)

so- + N 'to spit, to clean, to give out'
E.g., so-ŋalay 'to spit'
so-raqil 'to arrange, to divide into shares' (3-26)

ta- ~ t- + {N
V} (STEM) 'man, animal'
E.g., ta-rwa-r-Daŋ-a 'old men, adults' (1-26) (2-28) (9-42) (10-6)
ta-Lima 'five men or animals' (1-7)
ta-kaLa 'many people or animals' (2-55,68,74) (6-2,3)

ta- + {STEM
V(stative)} 'susceptible to, to feel...'
E.g., ta-DaŋDaŋ 'susceptible to hot weather' (17-16)
ta-θolak 'susceptible to heat'
ta-kicil 'susceptible to cold weather'

ta-...-a(n) + $\begin{Bmatrix} N \\ V \end{Bmatrix}$ 'place, time'

(a) ta-...-a(n) + N

E.g., ta-go:ŋ-a 'cow hut'
ta-kolkol-a 'pig sty'

(b) ta-...-a(n) + V

E.g., ta-toby-a 'crying time' (3-14)
ta-ikay-a 'dwelling' (4-136) (7-17,27) (9-27)

ta-li- + $\begin{Bmatrix} V \\ N \end{Bmatrix}$ 'direction, location'

(a) ta-li- + V

E.g., ta-l-ikai 'location' (13-5)
i-ta-li-vaivai 'in the outside world' (9-75)

(b) ta-li- + N

E.g., ta-li-vanal 'right, south position'
ta-li-diki-diki 'position of buttocks'

ta-ra- (1) ta-ra- + N(time) 'for, over the period of...'

E.g., ta-ra-cail 'for a year' (3-77)
ta-ra-Damar 'for a month'

(2) ta-ra- + V 'agentive, a person specialized in...'

E.g., ta-r-alo? 'hunter'
ta-ra-bava 'drunkard'
ta-ra-iD-iD-i? 'firemen' (2-44)

$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{taro-} \\ \text{tarw-} \end{Bmatrix}$ + V '(Comparative Degree)'

E.g., tarw-a-tiki 'smaller'
tarw-a-Da-Daw 'bigger' (2-21) (15-9)

taw- + N(body parts) 'to wash or rub body parts'

E.g., taw-maca 'to wash face'
taw-Lima 'to wash hand'
taw-Da?al 'to wash foot'

$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ti-} \\ \text{ty-} \end{Bmatrix}$ + ma- + V(stem) 'Goal marker, causing someone else to feel...'

E.g., ma-ti-gawgaw 'dirty'
ma-ti-kokoro 'pitiable' (2-55) (9-7,12)
ma-ti-θaliθi 'pitiable' (4-19)
ma-ty-a-samali 'surprising' (2-42)

t/in/o-...-a(n) + Adj 'seniority, personal relation'

E.g., t/in/w-agi-agi-a 'younger' (4-48)
t/in/o-taka-taka 'older' (4-48)
t/in/o-ma-roDaŋ-a 'heir'

$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{to-} \\ \text{tw-} \end{Bmatrix}$ + N 'to do, make, produce, bring forth'

E.g., to-lalak 'to have a baby' (4-3) (7-8)
tw-abay 'to make cake' (4-130)
tw-a-omas 'creator of man = God' (2-76)

θi- + N 'to discharge'

E.g., θi-ro:l 'to urinate' (3-27)

wa- + V 'past tense, non-future'

E.g., wa-toman-nomi 'you do/did' (1-33)

y- + V 'future' (This prefix is used only before a verb that begins with a vowel)

E.g., y-oa-so ino? 'Where will you go?'
y-ɪlɪb-ako 'I shall close the door'

Footnotes

¹The list of affixes is not exhaustive. For the dependent personal pronouns, i.e. bound personal markers, see Appendix III.

Appendix III. Rukai Personal Pronouns

	Independent		Dependent	
	Subject	Object	Subject Marker	Personal Possessive
1st sg.	ko-n-ako	n-akw-a	{ - (a) ko -n-ako naw-	-li
2nd sg.	ko-so	mo-sw-a	-so	-so
3rd sg.	{ definite (ko-a-ni)	(i-ny-a)	∅	-i-ni
	{ indef. (ko-a-Da)	(i-Da)	∅	-i-Da
1st pl.	{ inc. ko-ta	mi-ta	-ta	{ -ta -i-ta -mi-ta
	{ exc. ko-nai	nay-a	-nai	-nai
2nd pl.	ko-nomi	nomy-a	-nomi	-nomi
3rd pl.	{ definite (ko-l-i-ni)	(l-i-ny-a)	∅	-l-i-ni
	{ indef. (ko-l-i-Da)	(l-i-Da)	∅	-l-i-Da

Appendix IV. Rukai Determiners*

	<u>kay (vay)</u>	<u>kikai</u>	<u>kwani</u>	<u>inya</u> <u>ina</u> <u>na</u>	<u>kwada</u>	<u>iDa</u>	<u>ko</u>	<u>ki</u>	<u>ka</u>	<u>ka</u>	<u>sa</u>
Dem.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Nom.	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
Rem.	-	-	-	-	+	+					
Prox.	+	+	-	-	(-)	(-)					
Pers.							+	+	-	-	-
Spec.										-	+
Def.	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)

*The abbreviations are as follows: Dem., Demonstrative; Nom., Nominative; Rem., Remote; Prox., Proximate; Pers., Personal; Spec., Specific; Def., Definite.

Appendix V. Rukai Sound System

Consonant Phonemes:

		Labial	Dent/Alveo	Retrof.	Velar	Glottal
Stop	vl.	p	t	T	k	ʔ
	vd.	b	d	D	g	
Affr.	vl.		c			
Nasal	vd.	m	n		ŋ	
Fric.	vl. strid.		s			
	non-st.		θ			h
	vd.	v	ð			
Semic.	vd.	w	y			
Lat.	vd.		l	L		
Trill	vd.		r			
Vowel Phonemes:			i		ɨ o	
					a	

The voiceless stops /p, t, T, k/ and the affricate /c/ [ts] are unaspirated. The voiced stops /b, d, D, g/ have rather strong voicing throughout. /t, d/ are dentals pronounced with the tongue tip touching the back of the upper teeth, /θ, ð/ interdental pronounced with the tongue tip protruding between the upper and lower teeth, and /c, s, n, l/ alveolars pronounced with the tongue tip further back. /c, s/ are palatalized before /i/. The younger generation tends to lose the distinction between the strident /s/ and non-strident /θ/. /r/ is a weak trill and sometimes sounds like a retroflexed voiced fricative [ʒ]. /T, D, L/ are retroflexed and phonemically distinct from /t, d, l/ respectively. /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative. /y, w/ are palatal and labio-velar semiconsonants respectively. /ɨ/ is an unrounded back vowel in the position between high and mid.

Bibliography

- ABE, Akiyoshi. 1930. 蕃語研究 Bango kenkyū [Study of languages of native tribes]. Taipei: Bango kenkyūkai.
- BLOOMFIELD, Leonard. 1917. Tagalog texts with grammatical analysis. Urbana: University of Illinois.
- CHEN, Chi-lu. 1955. Family and marriage of the Budai Rukai of Pingtung, Taiwan. Taipei: Bulletin of the Ethnological Society of China 1:103-23.
- ELSON, Benjamin and Velma PICKETT. 1967. An introduction to morphology and syntax. Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- HSIEH, Jih-chang. 1967. The marriage of the Taromak Rukai. Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 23:195-227.
- _____. 1968. The continuation of the family line among the Taromak Rukai. Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 26:67-81.
- _____. 1970. Componential and formal analyses of Taromak Rukai kinship terminology. Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 30:47-68.
- JEN, Shien-min. 1956. A study of men's house of the Tanan Rukai. Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1:141-61.
- LI, Paul Jen-kuei. 1973. Rukai structure. Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Special Publications No.64.
- _____. Alternations between semiconsonants and fricatives or liquids. To appear in Oceanic Linguistics Vol.13.
- _____. The internal relationships of Rukai. To appear in Nguyen Dang LIEM, ed., South-East Asian Linguistic Studies, Vol.2, PACIFIC LINGUISTICS, Series C, No.42. Canberra: Linguistic Circle of Canberra, Australian National University.
- OGAWA, Naoyoshi and Erin ASAI. 1935. 原語による臺灣高砂族傳説集 Gengo ni yoru taiwan takasagozoku densetsu-shū [The myths and traditions of the Formosan native tribes]. Taihoku: Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku.
- TUNG, Tung-ho et al. 1964. A descriptive study of the Tsou language, Formosa. Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Special Publications No.48.

魯 凱 語 料

這些語料都是在臺東縣卑南鄉大南村東園所蒐集的。所有的故事都是作者根據當地魯凱族人的口述，一句一句記錄下來的。全部都已錄了音，錄音帶現存在中央研究院歷史語言研究所。這些語料分數次在田野中蒐集，民國59年7月16日～8月14日，9月24日～10月24日，12月15～26日，60年3月5～18日，4月27日～5月16日，8月17～23日。又在64年3月21～28日由作者跟主要魯凱發音人林得次先生從頭到尾把所有的語料核對過一遍，並做必要的修改。

魯凱語料跟魯凱語結構配合。後者已在兩年前出版。還有魯凱詞彙尚在整理中，希望不久即可問世，使有關這一種高山族語言的三大部份材料得以比較完整地提供給學者使用。簡單地說，魯凱語結構是分析的部份，魯凱語料是材料的部份。但有不少的現象前書還沒有處理，在本書中都有簡略的註解說明。每一種語料之後都附有註解。註解部份性質很雜，有的說明語法結構，有的是單字的構成，即其所包含的各種語位，以及每個語位的意義。也有的舉例說明一個字詞的用法，或者跟它有關的各種形體，還有一些尚未解決的問題也都一一指出。為讀者閱讀語料的方便，附加成份的註解稍有重覆的地方。

這些語料記錄的都是大南村的方言。只有四首歌是霧台方言的，所以放在附錄 I。二十六則語料如下：

- I. 豹子來了（陳清香錄音，王高尙說明）
- II. 大南村的大火（王福壽錄音跟說明）
- III. 變鳥的故事（林得次錄音跟說明）
- IV. 慕阿嘉蓋的法術（吳素娥錄音，林得次說明）
- V. 借宿（林得次錄音跟說明）
- VI. 變香腸（林得次錄音跟說明）
- VII. 生產（林得次錄音跟說明）
- VIII. 熊跟豹子（林得次錄音跟說明）

- IX. 一個殘廢者的自述(杜福金錄音, 林得次說明)
- X. 殺荷蘭人跟遷村歷史(林得義錄音, 林得次說明)
- XI. 猴子跟穿山甲(毛路資錄音, 林得次說明)
- XII. 查看鐵夾(王福壽錄音跟說明)
- XIII. 好茶之旅(王福壽錄音跟說明)
- XIV. 大南村少年集會所(孟泰斗錄音, 林得次說明)
- XV. 水災(溫金鴻錄音跟說明)
- XVI. 上山下田(溫金鴻錄音跟說明)
- XVII. 我們的習慣(王福壽錄音跟說明)
- XVIII. 我的紋身(吳素娥錄音, 林得次說明)
- XIX. 我的婚姻(吳素娥錄音, 林得次說明)
- XX. 喜愛酸檸檬(吳素娥錄音, 林得次說明)
- XXI. 化身岩石跟植物(吳素娥錄音, 林得次說明)
- XXII. 逃往今獨奧山(吳素娥錄音, 林得次說明)
- XXIII. 靈媒(吳素娥錄音, 林得次說明)
- XXIV. 咱們殺吧(田文思錄音, 溫金枝說明)
- XXV. 做米糕(杜阿金錄音, 溫金枝說明)
- XXVI. 釀酒(杜阿金錄音, 溫金枝說明)

附錄 I. 歌(霧台方言)

- A. 情歌(賴運文跟王秀琴唱, 林得次說明)
- B. 窮苦(麥墾治跟東先生唱, 林得次說明)
- C. 大南村的古舞(九男三女唱, 林得次說明)
- D. 出征前的打氣(劉桂英領唱, 林得次說明)

附錄 II. 附加成份表(依字母次序排列, 舉語料中的例子)

附錄 III. 魯凱人稱代名詞(包括自由式與附加詞)

附錄 IV. 魯凱限定詞(包括指示詞與冠詞)

附錄 V. 魯凱語音系統

上面四種附錄是閱讀語料的重要參考資料。最後的三個附錄都是取材自魯凱語結構而稍做修改的。

魯凱語料不僅為語言學界提供資料，而且也可供民俗學家的參考，例如，語料 XXIII 靈媒。雖然語料 IV, VIII, XI 及 XXI 中所記的傳說在小川尙義跟淺井惠倫合著的傳說集裏也有類似的記載，但本書的傳說很多都是以前從未有過記載的。更有一些語料是真實生活的記錄，如，語料 II, VII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXIV。語料 XXV, XXVI 是族人做米糕跟釀酒的方法，語料 XIV 談大南村少年集會所，是追述以往魯凱族的訓練過程，有些地方可能稍嫌誇張。其他的語料是傳說故事，也有笑話，如，語料 V 跟 VI。

語料中的記音採用了結構學派的分類音位學 (taxonomic phonemics)，而不是魯凱語結構書中所採用的系統音位學 (systematic phonemics)。系統音位學的優點是同位語的寫法完全一致，但比分類音位學的寫法還要抽象。可以抽象到什麼程度是令人困擾的問題。接近語音現實的記音可以有新的解釋的餘地，對於後人要做音韻上的研究可能方便些。雖然基本音韻系統並沒有改變，但為了更接近語音，前書的 u 本書改寫為 o，長元音用：號表示，例如 i:，a:，i:，o: 而不再寫成連音 ii，aa，ii，uu 了。回響元音仍然不記，只記接有詞尾 -ini 語幹的回響元音 o 與 i (變成半元音 w 與 i 了)。元音 i 與 o 後頭是元音時就改寫成半元音 y 與 w 了。遺憾的是在記音上本書對(一)字詞的界限，(二)長短元音，(三)i, o 與 y, w 的分別還沒有達到百分之百的一致。

除了魯凱語結構頁63上所列的8條音韻律外，我們至少還可以補充這樣一條：如果一個單字具有 CVCVCV(C)(V)(C) 的形式，通常第二個元音丟失，例如 /ritisan/ > [ritsa] ‘親屬’，/laritisan/ > [lartisa] ‘親屬們’ (見語料 II，註20)，/?asodaLo/ > [?asdaLo] ‘邀請’。但似只限於非低元音才會丟失。

自從魯凱語結構一書在兩年前出版以來，對於魯凱語我們有進一步的了解。以下幾點值得一提：

(一)短式人稱代詞通常附在動詞的後面，但也可出現在動詞的前面，可是意思就不同了，比較 Labwabwal-so? 「你在跑嗎？」 so Labwabwal 「你為什麼在跑？」

wakani-ta「咱們吃了」 ta kani「咱們吃吧！」 davac-ako「我走了」 naw davac「我要走了」(注意第一人稱在不同的位置形式上不同)。

(二) ma- 式是靜態動詞，但 ka- 式並不一定是變成式(見李1973, 5.1.1節)。事實上，ka- 式只是動態式，從它可以衍生許多動詞形式。這要比較 m-~?- 的轉換，如 mikakoa~?ikakoa「怎麼？」?- 式就是動態式。

(三) wa-, -a-, a- 等不僅表過去式，也可以表「現實現在式」。把魯凱語的時態分成現在——過去——未來的三分法不盡妥當。可能以分成「未來」與「非未來」的二分法更妥當。

本書所有的魯凱字下面都加了橫線。每一個實字都有直譯，全句又有意譯。虛字難譯，但都有註解說明其功能，也可以從句子中看出它的用法。每一個實字的直譯意思並不完整，由意譯句子中得到補充。在意譯的句子裏，有些字是英文所必需，但非原文所有的就用()表示。

民國59~60年中央研究院歷史語言研究所推動臺灣高山族語言調查計劃，得到中美人文社會科學委員會的資助，使作者有機會去調查魯凱語言，今年又承國家科學委員會專案撥款資助出版，使本書得以順利問世，特此誌謝。

中央研究院李方桂先生、李濟先生、屈萬里先生、李亦園先生、丁邦新先生先後都曾積極推動高山族語言調查計劃，作者由衷感謝。

大南村的人一直很熱心協助我們的調查工作，特別是林得次先生跟王福壽先生，沒有他們兩位耐心跟幫忙，就不可能這樣順利蒐集到這麼多可貴的魯凱語言資料。吳素娥、陳清香、王福壽、林得次、杜福金、林得義、毛路資、孟泰斗、溫金鴻、田文思、杜阿金都為我們提供語料。說明人除了林得次、王福壽外，又有王高尙、溫金鴻、溫金枝等幾位。

陳秀雲小姐辛苦地打了兩個多月的字，而且常發現原稿中的錯誤。內人王心玲不僅為前書魯凱語結構，也為本書細心校對過一遍，訂正許多疏漏與錯誤的地方，作者在此一併誌謝。

民國64年6月李壬癸謹誌於南港舊庄

中央研究院歷史語言研究所

中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊之六十四之二

魯 凱 語 料

全一册定價：精裝本新臺幣 400 元
平裝本新臺幣 300 元

(外幣定價按當時美金匯率換算，匯票每張另加匯兌費美金10元)

不 准 翻 印

著 者 李 壬 癸
編 輯 者 中央研究院歷史語言研究所
出 版 品 編 輯 委 員 會
發 行 者 中央研究院歷史語言研究所
臺 北 市 南 港 區
印 刷 者 崇寶彩藝印刷股份有限公司
三 重 市 三 和 路 四 段 89 巷 4 號
經 銷 商 樂 學 書 局
臺 北 市 金 山 南 路 二 段 138 號 10 樓 之 1
電 話：(02) 23219033

中 華 民 國 六 十 四 年 十 月 出 版
中 華 民 國 八 十 八 年 六 月 景 印 一 版