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【論文】

Reconstruction of “parent” and “grandparent” in Atayalic languages

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ABSTRACT

This paper concerns the kinship terms “father,” “mother,” “grandfather,” and “grandmother” in the Atayalic languages, Atayal and Seediq, which belong to the Austronesian language family. This paper reconstructs the Proto-Atayalic forms for “parent” and “grandparent.” First, neither “father” nor “mother” in Proto-Atayalic are reconstructed through comparison with Atayal *aba* or Seediq *tama* for “father” and Atayal *aya* or Seediq *bubu* for “mother.” However, a form *aya can be reconstructed as “parent” in Proto-Austronesian, and Atayal *aya* is a retention of this form with a semantic change to a female parent. The other forms, *aba*, *tama*, and *bubu*, are shown to be innovations. Likewise, neither “grandfather” nor “grandmother” in Proto-Atayalic can be reconstructed through comparison with Atayal *utas* or Seediq *baki* for “grandfather” and Atayal *aki* or Seediq *pai* for “grandmother.” However, a form *aki can be reconstructed as “grandparent” in Proto-Austronesian, and Atayal *aki* is a retention of this form with a semantic change to a female grandparent. The other forms, *utas*, *baki*, and *pai*, are shown to be innovations. Thus, the Proto-Austronesian as well as the Proto-Atayalic forms for “parent” and “grandparent” are *aya and *aki. These forms are genderless. In addition, in the course of reconstructing these terms, previously reconstructed Proto-Austronesian forms *ama “father” and *ina “mother” are modified to meanings “son-in-law” and “daughter-in-law.”

Keywords: Atayal, Seediq, parent, grandparent, reconstruction

1. Introduction**

Atayalic languages are indigenous languages spoken in Taiwan. The Atayalic subgroup includes two languages, Atayal and Seediq. Atayal includes two dialects, Squliq Atayal and C’uli’ Atayal. Seediq also includes two dialects, Paran Seediq and Truku Seediq.[1]

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1 Based on my field notes, Squliq Atayal has the following phonemes: the vowels /a e i o u ə/, and the consonants /p β t k ɣ q ʔ s x h z̪ r l m n ŋ y w/. The consonants /β/ and /ɣ/ are written orthographically as *b* and *g*. Among these vowels, *e* and *o* are observed to date back to the diphthongs *ay* [aj] and *aw*. According to Huang (1995:16–17), C’uli’ Atayal has the same phoneme inventories except that it adds /ʦ/ (written as *c* in this paper) and lacks the /ə/.
As for Seediq, Paran Seediq has five vowels /a e i u o/, 18 consonants /p b t d ʦ k g q s x h m n ŋ l ɾ w j/, and the diphthong /uj/ (Ochiai 2016: 19). Truku Seediq has the four vowels /a i u ə/ and three diphthongs /aw/ /aj/ /uj/ (Tsukida 2009: 56–62). The consonants are the same as those in Paran Seediq, excepting /ʦ/, which becomes /s/ in Truku Seediq. Throughout this paper, /ɾ/, /j/, and /ʦ/ are transcribed as *r*, *y* and *c*, respectively. According to Tsukida (2009), *l* is [ɮ] and g is [ɣ] in Truku Seediq.

There are many other indigenous languages spoken in Taiwan, such as Saisiyat, Pazih, Hoanya, Thao, Saaroa, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis, Kavalan, and Basai. These languages are collectively referred to as Formosan languages.[2] The Formosan languages all belong to the Austronesian language family. Proto-Austronesian is said to have diverged into ten subgroups, according to Blust (1999): 1. Atayalic (Atayal, Seediq), 2. East Formosan (Siraya, Amis, Kavalan, Basai), 3. Puyuma, 4. Paiwan, 5. Rukai, 6. Tsouic (Tsou, Kanakanabu, Saaroa), 7. Bunun, 8. Western Plains (Papora, Hoanya, Thao, Babuza, Taokas), 9. Northwest Formosan (Saisiyat, Pazih), and 10. Malayo-Polynesian. Nine subgroups (1 to 9) comprise languages spoken in Taiwan, the Formosan languages. The tenth, Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, comprises all Austronesian languages spoken outside mainland Taiwan.

The purpose of this paper is to reconstruct the genderless forms for "parent" and "grandparent" in Proto-Atayalic as *aya and *aki, respectively, through a comparison of the two Atayalic languages as well as the dialects of each language, even though each Atayalic language now have gender-dependent forms for "parent" and "grandparent." In the course of the argument set out below, Formosan languages other than Atayalic subgroup as well as Malayo-Polynesian languages will also be touched upon. Section 2 and Section 3 examine the forms for "father" and "mother" in Atayalic languages, respectively. By analyzing the forms for "father" and "mother", Section 4 reconstructs the form for "parent" in Proto-Atayalic. Similarly, Section 5 and Section 6 examine the forms for "grandfather" and "grandmother" in Atayalic languages, respectively. By analyzing the forms for "grandfather" and "grandmother", Section 7 reconstructs the form for "grandparent" in Proto-Atayalic. Section 8 concludes this paper. The Atayal data as well as Truku Seediq data cited in this paper are taken from previous studies. The Paran Seediq data are taken from the author's field notes unless otherwise cited.

The kinship terms cited in the following sections are given in the address form, unless otherwise described. Atayal distinguishes between the address and reference terms of kinship terms but only under certain phonological conditions. Seediq uses the same form for both the address and reference forms of kinship terms. According to Ochiai (2021), the kinship terms in Atayal show an attached fossilized personal article, *i-*, when the root form of the kinship term begins with a vowel, and the fossilized personal article appears as *y-* [j]. For instance, Egerod (1980: 3) says *aba* is an address term in Atayal meaning "father." Its reference form is *y-aba*. In such cases, the root form *aba* is used for analysis in the following sections.

2 One exception is Yami, the language spoken on Orchid Island, an isolate island off mainland Taiwan. Yami is non-Formosan, but it belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup.

2. "Father" in Atayal and Seediq

Table 1 shows the forms for "father" in Atayal and Seediq. Atayal has *aba* and Seediq has *tama*.

Table 1 "Father" in Atayalic languages

	"Father"
Atayal	*aba*
Seediq	*tama*

The following subsection deals with the form shown in Seediq, *tama*. This form is widely observed in Austronesian languages with the meaning of "father," however, Atayalic data as well as some Formosan data suggests that its original meaning was "son-in-law." So, the meaning as "father" is likely an innovation.

2.1 Proto-Austronesian *ama as "father" in previous studies

First, *tama* can be further divided into a prefix *t-* and a root *ama*. This division is indicated in Blust and Trussel (2010) who reconstructed *amax "father" and *ta-amax "father (reference term)" in Proto-Austronesian.[3] For the reconstruction of *amax, Blust and Trussel (2010) used the data shown in Table 2.[4] Rukai (Budai) and Paiwan languages have both reflexes of *amax and *ta-amah. These languages are shown in bold font.

Table 2 Proto-Austronesian *amax "father" and *ta-amax "father (reference)" in Blust and Trussel (2010)[5]

Proto-Austronesian *amax "father"	Proto-Austronesian *ta-amax "father (reference)"
Amis (Sakizaya) *w-amaʔ* "father"	Saisiyat *t-amæh* "father"
Amis *w-ama*, *ama* "father"	Seediq (Truku) *t-ama* "father"
Thao *ama* "father"	Bunun *t-ama* "father"
Tsou *amó* "father"	Bunun (Takituduh) *t-amah* "father"

3 This prefix *ta- seen in *ta-amax (*ta-ama in this paper) could be the same prefix as *ta- in Proto-Austronesian, which was described as "sudden, unexpected, or accidental action" by Blust (2013: 382). However, according to Blust (2013), it derives a verb. In the form in question, the prefix *ta- is attached to the noun *ama, to derive a noun in the same semantic group, kinship terms. So, the meaning, function, and derivation pattern of *ta- seems to be broader than that described by Blust (2013). Ochiai (2016) reconstructed *tə- in Proto-Seediq, as a possible reflex of the Proto-Austronesian *ta. One of the uses of *tə- discussed in Ochiai (2016) is to express similarity. In the case of *ta-ama, it could mean "a person similar to one's son-in-law."

4 This table is not exhaustive, but it shows all the Formosan data in Blust and Trussel (2010).

5 In the data taken from Blust and Trussel (2010), the parentheses following the language name indicates a dialect. Also, for the reflexes of *ta-amah, the prefix is not separated from the root in the forms for Seediq (Truku), Bunun, and Paiwan in the data of Blust and Trussel (2010). In this paper, the author has added a hyphen between the prefix and the root.

6 Siraya is a dormant language. Here, "Gravius" does not refer to a dialect, but that the data was documented by Gravius (1661).

Saaroa *amaʔa* "father"
Siraya (Gravius)[6] *ama* "father"
Rukai (Budai) *ama* "father (address)"
Puyuma (Tamalakaw) *ama* "father, uncle"
Paiwan *ama* "father!"
Rukai (Budai) *t-áma* "father (reference)"
Rukai (Tanan) *t-amá* "father (reference)"
Paiwan *tj-ama* "father"

This paper modifies the pairs of proto-forms to *ama and *ta-ama, as the basis for reconstructing final consonant *x is not evident. Also, Blust (1999: 84) reconstructs *t-ama "father" without the final consonant *x in Proto-Austronesian. Further, Wolff (2010: 742) reconstructs *ama "father" in Proto-Austronesian without the final consonant *x. As for *ta-ama, the prefix likely goes back to *ta-; however, the Formosan data used for reconstruction by Blust and Trussel (2010) and cited in Table 2, suggest that it can only be reconstructed as *t-ama. There is no data showing the retention of a vowel in the prefix. However, the vowel *a* in the prefix is retained in the form for "mother" in a few Formosan languages, such as Puyuma and Paiwan, as seen in Section 3.1.[7] Thus, this paper considers the Proto-Austronesian form for "father" to *ta-ama, which underwent haplology to become *t-ama.

2.2 Proto-Austronesian *ama as "son-in-law"

This paper also modifies the meaning of the root *ama (See Table 2) from "father" to "son-in-law" through analysis of the cognates in Saisiyat and Pazih as well as in Atayalic languages. Saisiyat and Pazih both belong to Northwest Formosan subgroup according to Blust (1999). In Atayalic languages, *ama* means "son-in-law." In addition, another Formosan language, Saisiyat, has *y-ama*, which means "son-in-law."[8] Yang (1957: 682) suggests that *yama* in Saisiyat can be regarded as consisting of the root *ama*, which is prefixed with a fossilized personal article *i*. Pazih also has *ama* meaning the "husband of one's wife's younger sister" instead of "son-in-law."

In addition, this paper argues that the root *ama* derives the form for "uncle" through the addition of a prefix *m-* in Atayal and Seediq, resulting in *m-ama*.[9] The same derivation of the reflexes of *ama

7 In fact, *t-ama is reconstructed by Blust and Trussel (2010), not in Proto-Austronesian, but in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian.

8 The forms in Saisiyat are taken from Li (1978: 160), where it was transcribed as *yamaʔ*, with the final glottal stop. In this paper, the author did not transcribe this glottal stop, considering the final glottal stop to be a phonetic realization that appears after any word-final vowel.

9 Atayal form is taken form Egerod (1980: 361), where it was transcribed as *mamaʔ*, with the final glottal stop. In this paper, the author did not transcribe this glottal stop, considering the final glottal stop to be a phonetic realization that appears after any word-final vowel. In Seediq, the form *mama* meaning "uncle" is taken from Bullock (1874: 41). This is an archaic and obsolete form. In present day Seediq, "uncle" is expressed by *tama*, the same form as for "father."

can also be seen in Saisiyat and Pazih as the forms *m-ama* and *m-amah*, respectively.[10] As mentioned above, the root *ama* derives *t-ama* "father" in Seediq as well as *t-amæh* in Saisiyat (See Table 2). The derivatives from the reflex of *ama in these languages are shown in Table 3. It should be noted that *t-amæh* in Saisiyat is used as a reference term, and it has a different form, *y-aba*, as the address term according to Li (1978: 158) as shown in Table 3.

Table 3 The root *ama "son-in-law" and derived forms for "uncle" and "father" in Atayalic and Northwest Formosan languages[11]

	"Son-in-law"	"Uncle"	"Father"
Atayal	*ama*	*m-ama*	(*aba*)
Seediq	*ama*	*m-ama*	*t-ama*
Saisiyat	*y-ama*	*m-ama*	*t-amæh* (reference), (*y-aba* (address))
Pazih	*ama* "husband of one's wife's younger sister"	*m-amah*[11]	(*aba*)
Proto- Atayalic and Northwest Formosan	*ama "son-in-law"	*m-ama "uncle"	(Unreconstructible)

If we tentatively include these four languages under a subgroup called Proto-Atayalic and Northwest Formosan, the root form *ama is reconstructed with the meaning of "son-in-law" as languages other than Pazih have this meaning. Pazih likely shifted the original meaning of "son-in-law" to the "husband of one's wife's younger sister." Then, the root *ama "son-in-law" derives *m-ama with the meaning "uncle" by adding a prefix *m-. For "father," *ta-ama is difficult to reconstruct in its proto-forms as only Seediq and Saisiyat have the reflex of *ta-ama as *t-ama* and *t-amæh*, respectively. The Atayal and Pazih share a different form for "father;" that is *aba*, as shown in parentheses in Table 3.[12] Saisiyat has the cognate *y-aba*, for which Yang (1957: 682) suggests that the root *aba* is prefixed with a fossilized personal article *i*.[13]

According to Blust and Trussel (2010), the root *ama means "father" and its derivative *ta-

10 The Saisiyat form is taken from Languages Research and Development Foundation (2020), where it was transcribed as *mama'* [mama?], with the final glottal stop. In this paper, the author did not transcribe this glottal stop, considering the final glottal stop to be a phonetic realization that appears after any word-final vowel. The form in Pazih, *amah*, is taken from Ferrell (1970: 97).

11 his form *mamah* in Pazih also means "elder brother, wife's elder brother," according to Li and Tsuchida (2001: 181). Ochiai (2022) suggests that this meaning is innovative as Pazih has another form for "elder sibling," irrespective of gender. The form is *abasan* (Li and Tsuchida 2001: 60). Pazih innovated distinctive gender meanings for sibling such as *mamah* "elder brother, wife's elder brother" by reusing the form that originally meant "uncle."

12 The Pazih form *aba* is taken from Li and Tsuchida (2001: 59).

13 The form in Saisiyat is taken from Li (1978: 150), where it was transcribed as *yaba?*, with the final glottal stop. In this paper, this glottal stop is not transcribed as mentioned in footnote 8.

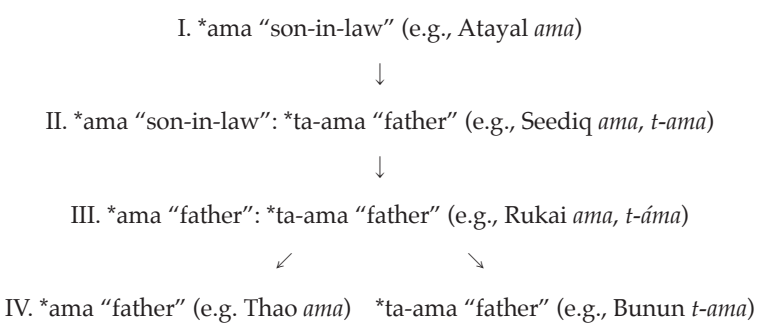
ama means "father (reference)." This indicates that *ama is an address term of "father" and the prefixation of *t- derives the reference term of "father." However, as far as the Formosan languages are considered, the evidence for the reference usage is seen in one language, Rukai, only (See Table 2).

This paper, on the other hand, proposes that *ama had a meaning different from "father." The original meaning of the root *ama should have been "son-in-law." The original meaning of *ama is barely retained in Saisiyat and Atayalic languages. The root *ama "son-in-law" then derives the meaning and the form of "father" by adding the prefix *ta- in a stage later than Proto-Austronesian, tentatively called Post-Proto-Austronesian in this paper. The innovative form *ta-ama with the meaning of "father" spread across most of the Austronesian languages including Seediq (See Table 2). After that, the original meaning of *ama was likely lost and its meaning shifted to "father" (See Table 2), resulting in the same meaning for *ama and its derivative *ta-ama.

Either of the forms with the same meaning, *ama or *ta-ama, was likely retained in each individual Austronesian language with the other form disappearing. For example, Thao retained *ama* while Bunun retained *t-ama* (Table 2).[14]

However, some languages such as Rukai (Budai) and Paiwan, retain the reflexes of both forms *ama and *ta-ama as "father." In these languages, the function of *ama and *ta-ama are differentiated. In Rukai (Budai), *ama* is an address term while *t-ama* is a reference term (Table 2). In Paiwan, *ama* is a vocative-term and *tj-ama* is a non-vocative term (Table 2). The changes relating to *ama and *ta-ama over four stages of their development are summarized in Figure 1.

Figure 1 The shift in meaning of *ama and *ta-ama



14 It is also possible that for some languages that do not have a reflex of *ta-ama, they did not even go through the *ta-prefixing stage, and directly changed the meaning of *ama from "son-in-law" to "father."

First, Proto-Austronesian had a form *ama meaning "son-in-law" (Stage I). This meaning is retained in Atayalic languages and Saisiyat. Then, the prefix *ta- was added to this root and the meaning "father" derived (Stage II). Seediq retains the paradigm of *ama and *ta-ama in Stage II. Then, the meaning of *ama shifted from "son-in-law" to "father," so it came to mean the same as *ta-ama "father." Rukai and Paiwan retain the form and meaning paradigm of *ama and *ta-ama in Stage III. Then, one of the forms (either *ama or *ta-ama) remained while the other disappeared in Stage IV. In Thao, *ama was retained while in Bunun *ta-ama was retained.

2.3 Atayal and Northwest Formosan *aba* "father"

This subsection proposes a possible origin of the root *aba* "father" seen in Atayal, Saisiyat and Pazih. According to Table 5, "father" is not reconstructed in Proto-Austronesian. Thus, it seems that the root *aba* could be a candidate for the form for "father" in Proto-Austronesian. However, this is unlikely as this root *aba* is seen only in these three Formosan languages: one Atayalic language, Atayal, and two languages in the Northwest Formosan subgroup, Pazih and Saisiyat.

The form *aba might have been innovated in Proto-Northwest Formosan, then borrowed into one of the Atayalic languages, Atayal. This is regarded as possible due to the fact that Atayal and Northwest Formosan communities were adjacent to each other. However, the other Atayalic language, Seediq, did not borrow this form.

The question that next arises is that of the origin of the innovative *aba in Proto-Northwest Formosan. One possibility is that this form is related to the Proto-Austronesian *ama "son-in-law." By denasalizing the medial nasal consonant *m*, the new form *aba could be obtained, and its meaning could be altered to "father." Another possibility is that *aba* is a loanword *a-ba* (阿爸) from a Sinitic language, either Hakka or Southern Hokkien.

2.4 Interim summary for Atayalic "father"

If the explanation above is correct, the forms for "father" in the Atayalic languages, *aba* in Atayal and *t-ama* in Seediq (See Table 1), are later innovations. So, it is difficult to reconstruct the form for "father" in Proto-Atayalic based on these innovative forms. The next section analyses the forms for "mother" in Atayalic languages and outlines the same difficulty in reconstructing "mother" in Proto-Atayalic.

3. "Mother" in Atayal and Seediq

Table 4 shows the forms for "mother" in Atayal and Seediq. Atayal has *aya* and Seediq has *bubu*. Both forms are likely innovations. Section 3.1 first introduces the Proto-Austronesian form for "mother," and then discusses the forms related to "mother" in Atayal in Section 3.2 and Seediq in Section 3.3.

Table 4 "Mother" in Atayalic languages

	"Mother"
Atayal	*aya*
Seediq	*bubu*

3.1 Proto-Austronesian *ina "mother"

Blust and Trussel (2010) reconstruct *ina with the meaning of "mother" in Proto-Austronesian.[15] Just like the pair *amax (*ama in this paper) and *ta-amax (*ta-ama in this paper) for "father" in Blust and Trussel (2010) also present the pair *ina and *ta-ina for "mother." They reconstructed *ta-ina with the meaning "mother (reference)," just like they reconstructed *ta-amax with the meaning "father (reference)." Thereafter, according to Blust and Trussel (2010), *ta-ina in Proto-Autronesian became *t-ina in Malayo-Polynesian by dropping the vowel in the prefix. The data used for the reconstruction of *ina "mother" and *ta-ina "mother (reference)" in Blust and Trussel (2010) are shown in Table 5. The languages that possess both reflexes of *ina and *ta-ina are Rukai, Puyuma and Paiwan. They are shown in bold font.

Table 5 Proto-Austronesian *ina "mother" and *ta-ina "mother (reference)" in Blust and Trussel (2010)[16]

Proto-Austronesion* *ina* "mother"	Proto-Austronesion* *ta-ina* "mother (reference)"
Saisiyat[17] *ina* "mother"	Kavalan *t-ina* "mother (reference)"
Pazih *ina* "mother"	Bunun *t-ina* "mother"
Amis (Sakizaya) *w-ina*ʔ "mother"	**Rukai (Budai)** *t-ina* "mother"
Amis *ina* "mother"	**Puyuma (Tamalakaw)** *ta-yna* "mother (reference, respectful)"

15 To be precise, Blust and Trussel (2010) glossed the meaning of *ina as "mother, mother's sister." However, the meaning of "mother's sister" should have been derived from the original meaning "mother." As far as Formosan languages are concerned, only Puyuma has the meaning of "mother's sister."

16 For the reflexes of *ta-ina, the prefix is not separated from the root in the forms for Kavalan and Bunun in the data of Blust and Trussel (2010). In this paper, the author added a hyphen between the prefix and the root.

17 Blust and Trussel (2010) has *ina* for Saisiyat "mother;" however, this from is not seen in the Saisiyat wordlist of Li (1978), where "mother" is written as *tinæh* instead (See Table 6).

18 For the Paiwan form, Blust and Trussel (2010) have the following additional explanation "affectionate term, most frequently used in speaking to children."

Thao *ina* "mother"
Tsou *inó* "mother"
Rukai (Budai) *iná-a* "mother (address)"
Puyuma (Tamalakaw) *ina* "mother, mother's sister, father's sister (reference)"
Paiwan *ina* "mother! (vocative)"
Paiwan *tya-ina* "mother"[18]

However, just like the discussion for *ama ("father" corrected to "son-in-law") in Section 2, the root *ina, which is allegedly a Proto-Austronesian form for "mother," could mean "daughter-in-law," with the meaning of "mother" derived by adding the prefix *ta-. For *ama "son-in-law," Atayalic languages and Saisiyat retain this meaning (See Table 3). For *ina, both Atayal and Seediq, have the meaning "daughter-in-law." Regarding *ama, Saisiyat and Pazih, in the Northwest Formosan subgroup, had the same paradigm as Atayalic languages (Table 3). However, as Table 6 shows, Northwest Formosan languages show non-cognate forms for "daughter-in-law." Saisiyat has *ka-ʔanay-an* (Li 1978: 159), which is derived from the root *anay* "brother-in-law," and Pazih has *maxiasu* (Pan 2015: 106).[19]

Northwest Formosan languages likely had *ina as "daughter-in-law;" however, this meaning was later lost and they innovated new forms for "daughter-in-law." In the Northwest Formosan languages, the reflexes of *ina and its derivative *ta-ina shifted meaning to "mother." In Saisiyat, the derived form *t-inæh* means "mother," and it is a reference term.[20] The address term is *oya*, which I will touch upon in 3.2 in relation to *aya* in Atayal.[21] In Pazih, the root *ina* itself means "mother" (Li and Tsuchida 2001: 130). Table 6 summarizes the arguments above relating to *ina and the forms for "daughter-in-law" and "mother" in Atayalic and Northwest Formosan languages.

Table 6 The reflexes of *ina "daughter-in-law" and its derivatives in Atayalic and Northwest Formosan languages

	"Daughter-in-law"	"Mother"
Atayal	***ina***	*aya*
Seediq	***ina***	*bubu*
Saisiyat	*ka-ʔanay-an*	*t-**inæh*** (reference), *oya* (address)
Pazih	*maxiasu*	***ina***

19 Li (1978: 159) has *yanay* "brother-in-law." It can be argued that the personal article *i* is prefixed to the root *anay* as it is thought to be for *yama* (< *i-ama*) "son-in-law" by Yang (1957) (See Section 2.2).

20 The Saisiyat form is taken from Li (1978: 158), where it was transcribed as *tinæh*. The present author separated the prefix from the root by a hyphen.

21 The Saisiyat form is taken from Li (1978: 158), where it was transcribed as *ʔoyaʔ*, with the initial and final glottal stop. In this paper, the author did not transcribe this glottal stop, considering the initial and final glottal stop to be a phonetic realization that appears before and after any word-initial and word-final vowel.

As shown in Figure 2, *ina might have undergone similar changes to those of *ama "son-in-law." In Proto-Austronesian, *ina meant "daughter-in-law." This meaning is retained in Atayalic languages. Thereafter, it derived *ta-ina by the addition of the prefix *ta-, and the derivative *ta-ina meant "mother." No existing language retains this paradigm: *ina "daughter-in-law" and *ta-ina "mother."

In Stage III, *ina shifted its meaning to "mother" and came to have the same meaning as its derivative *ta-ina. This paradigm is observed in Rukai (Budai), Puyuma (Tamalakaw) and Paiwan. However, the two forms have different functions in these languages as shown in Table 5. In Rukai (Budai), *iná-a* is an address term while *t-ina* is likely a reference term.[22] In Puyuma (Tamalakaw), *ina* is a reference term and *ta-yna* is also a reference term but denotes respect. In Paiwan, *ina* is a vocative term and *tja-ina* is a non-vocative term.

In Stage IV, one of the forms, *ina or *ta-ina, with the same meaning "mother" was retained and the other was lost. For instance, Pazih retained *ina*, while Saisiyat retained *t-inæh* (Table 6).

Figure 2 The shift in the meaning of *ina and *ta-ina

I. *ina "daugher-in-law" (e.g., Atayal *ina*)

↓

II. *ina "daughter-in-law": *ta-ina "mother"

↓

III. *ina "mother": *ta-ina "mother" (e.g., Rukai *iná-a*, *t-ina*)

↙ ↘

IV. *ina "mother" (e.g. Pazih ina) *ta-ina "mother" (e.g., Saisiyat *t-inæh*)

In summary, neither Atayal nor Seediq has *ina or *ta-ina as "mother" (Table 4). The next section provides a discussion of the origin of *aya* "mother" in Atayal and reconstructs its meaning as "parent."

3.2 Proto-Austronesian *aya as "parent"

Blust (1980: 216) identifies *y-aya* in Atayal as the reflex of the Proto-Austronesian *aya. With regard to the meaning of *aya, Blust (1980) tentatively reconstructs it as meaning "father's sister" as a few languages have the meaning "aunt" and the like. For instance, Manobo, spoken in Mindanao, has the reflex *aya-ʔ* meaning "aunt." However, Blust (1980) admits that it means either "father" or

22 Even though Blust and Trussel (2010) do not clearly say that *t-ina* in Rukai (Budai) is a reference term for "mother," it can be inferred as such though a comparison with the parallel data for "father" in Table 2.

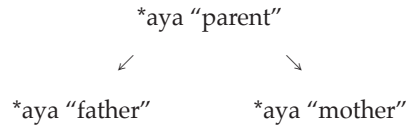
"mother" in many cases as represented in Table 7, where the name of a language is followed by the reflex of *aya. Table 7 replicates the data in Blust (1980: 216) except for Saisiyat, which is added by the present author.

Table 7 The reflexes of Proto-Austronesian *aya meaning either "father" or "mother"[23]

"Father"	"Mother"
Iban *aya*	Atayal y-*aya*
Malay *aya-h*	Saisiyat *oya*[24]
Simalur *aea*	Tagabili *yè*
Merina *r-ay*	Kembayan *oya*
Leti *y-ei*	Bunau *aya-ŋ*
Kei *y-ai*	Aru *y-ay*
	Fagudu *y-aya*
	Buli ayē, *aya-kē*[25]

Blust (1980) speculates what *aya could have meant if it meant neither "father" nor "mother." This paper proposes that *aya meant "parent." As discussed in Section 2 and Section 3, neither "father" nor "mother" are reconstructed in Proto-Austronesian. The Proto-Austronesian forms of "father" and "mother," *ama and *ina, were modified to mean "son-in-law" and "daughter-in-law." Therefore, *aya could be a candidate for "father" or "mother." However, as Table 7 shows, there is indecision in the daughter languages regarding the gender of *aya. This suggests that *aya originally meant "parent" and the meaning diverged into either "father" or "mother" in the daughter languages as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 The shift in the meaning of Proto-Austronesian *aya "parent"



23 According to Blust (1980: 216), Tagabili is spoken in the Phillipines. Iban, Kenbayan and Bunau are spoke in Borneo. Simalur is spoken in Sumatra, Merina is spoken in Madagascar. Leti, Kei, Aru, Fagudu, and Buli are spoken in the Lesser Sundas.

24 The initial vowel *o* in Saisiyat *oya* shows an irregular sound correspondence for unknown reason. It is expected to appear as *a*.

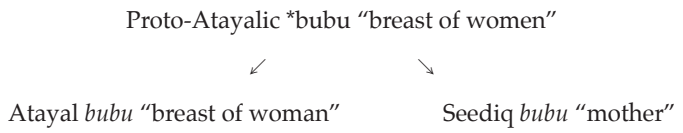
25 Blust (1980) notes that *aya-kē* in Buli is a vocative form.

Regarding Atayal, the Proto-Austronesian *aya "parent" is retained as *aya* with the meaning of "mother."

3.3 Seediq bubu "mother"

The Seediq form for "mother" is *bubu* (Table 4). This is not related to either *ina "daughter-in-law" or *aya "parent." There should have been an innovation in Seediq; however, no clues for the innovations are found in Seediq. Rather, the clue is observable in Atayal, in which the same form *bubu* means "breast of women."[26] There could have been a Proto-Atayalic form *bubu which meant "breast of women." Atayal retains the form and meaning, while Seediq shifted its meaning to "mother" as shown in Figure 4.[27]

Figure 4 The shift in the meaning of Proto-Atayalic *bubu "breast of woman"



3.4 Interim summary for Atayalic "mother"

To summarize the discussion in this section, Atayal *aya* "mother" is a reflex of the Proto-Austronesian *aya "parent." The meaning subsequently changed to mean a female parent. In Seediq, *bubu* "mother" underwent a semantic shift from "breast of woman."

4. "Parent" in Proto-Atayalic

The forms for "father" and "mother" in the Atayalic languages are summarized in Table 8. Sections 2 and 3 presented the reconstructed Proto-Austronesian forms *ama, *ina, and *aya with the meanings "son-in-law," "daughter-in-law" and "parent," respectively (See Table 13), among which the terms *ama and *ina are retained in the Atayalic languages with their original meanings.

In Post-Proto-Austronesian *ta-ama "father" is an innovation. This form and meaning are seen in Seediq as *tama* "father." The Atayal form for "father" could be an innovation from *ama through a change in the medial consonant from the nasal *m* to the voiced stop *b*. It could also be a loanword

26 The form and meaning of *bubu* in Atayal are taken from Ogawa (1931: 229).

27 Seediq replaced "breast of woman" with the form *nunuh*. Its origin is unknown; however, a cognate is found in Pazih *mu-nunuh* "to suck milk" and in Tsouic languages such as Tsou *nun?u* "breast of woman." The Pazih and Tsou forms are taken from Tsuchida (1975: 229).

from a Sinitic language.

With regard to the forms for "mother," Atayal retains the Proto-Austronesian form *aya "parent" as *aya*, although the meaning changed from "parent" to "mother." In Seediq, the word *bubu*, which originally meant "breast of woman," changed its meaning to "mother."

Table 8 "Father" and "mother" in Atayalic languages

Proto-Atayalic	Atayal	Seediq
*aya "parent"	*aba* "father"	*tama* "father"
	aya "mother"	*bubu* "mother"

Neither "father" nor "mother" can be reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian. This situation holds true for the Atayalic languages. Among the four forms in Table 8, *aba*, *tama* and *bubu* are innovations so that no unified form for "father" and "mother" can be reconstructed for Proto-Atayalic either. Only *aya* in Atayal (shown in bold font) retains the Proto-Austronesian form. This paper proposes that in Proto-Atayalic, neither "father" nor "mother" can be reconstructed but "parent" can be reconstructed as *aya.

5. "Grandfather" and "grandmother" in Atayal and Seediq

The previous sections presented the argument that the forms for "father" and "mother" cannot be reconstructed, but "parent" can be reconstructed in Proto-Austronesian. Thus, it can be inferred that "grandfather" and "grandmother" cannot be reconstructed in Proto-Austronesian as these are farther in relationships from the ego than "father" and "mother." No gender distinction is observed in the proto-form for "parent," so there might not be a gender distinction in the proto-form for "grandparent. To support this argument, I examine the Atayalic forms for "grandfather" and "grandmother" in this section. Table 9 shows the forms for "grandfather" and "grandmother" in the Atayalic languages.

Table 9 "Grandfather" and "grandmother" in Atayalic languages

	"Grandfather"	"Grandmother"
Atayal	*utas*	*aki*
Seediq	*baki*	*pai*

5.1 Atayal *utas* "grandfather"

Among the four forms shown in Table 9, *utas* "grandfather" in Atayal is an innovation. As

Egerod (1980: 772–773) says, *utas* means "penis" and "grandfather." Likely, "penis" was the original meaning of *utas* and the meaning was extended to include "grandfather."[28] It is similar to the innovation of *bubu* "mother" in Seediq, which originally meant "breast of woman."

The other three forms, *aki* "grandmother" in Atayal, *baki* "grandfather" in Seediq and *pai* "grandmother" in Seediq are discussed in relation to Proto-Austronesian *aki, *baki, and *baqi in Sections 5.2 and 5.3, and in the course of this discussion the Proto-Austronesian forms and meanings are modified.

5.2 Proto-Austronesian *aki and *baki as "grandfather" in previous studies

In Atayal, "grandmother" is *aki*, and in Seediq "grandfather" is *baki*. These forms are the reflexes of the Proto-Austronesian *aki and *baki; however, according to Blust and Trussel (2010), both mean "grandfather," although *aki* means "grandmother" in Atayal. They call the pair *aki and *baki a "doublet" in relation to each other, which means that they are variants with slightly different forms. A part of the data used for the reconstruction of *aki and *baki by Blust and Trussel (2010) is shown in Table 10. The emphasis is added by the present author in relation to the form and meaning in Atayal, which provides a clue to uncovering the original meaning of *aki.

Table 10 The reflexes of *aki and *baki in Austronesian languages in Blust and Trussel (2010)[29]

Proto-Austronesian *aki "grandfather"	Proto-Austronesian *baki "grandfather"
Atayal *aki* "grandmother"[29]	Seediq *baki* "grandfather"
Thao *aki* "grandfather"	Saisiyat *baki* "grandfather"
Tsou *aki*ʔ*i* "grandfather"	Kavalan *baqi* "grandfather"[30]
	Amis *faki* "grandfather"[31]
	Hoanya *vaki* "grandfather"

As discussed in Section 3.2, the Proto-Austronesian *aya was reconstructed to mean "parent" on the basis of its meanings in the daughter languages appearing as either "father" or "mother" (Table 7). A similar pattern is observed in the data for the Proto-Austronesian *aki in Table 10. The

28 The relation between "grandfather" and "penis" for the form *utas* is suggested in Egerod (1980: 772–773).

29 The form in Atayal in Blust and Trussel (2010) was transcribed as *aki*ʔ, with the final glottal stop. In this paper, the author did not transcribe this glottal stop, considering the final glottal stop to be a phonetic realization that appears after any word-final vowel.

30 According to Blust and Trussel (2010), *baqi* in Kavalan also means "grandson."

31 Blust and Trussel (2010) cite Fey (1986) and say that *faki* in Amis also means "uncle (the authority figure in the home for giving instructions)."

daughter languages have meanings of either "grandfather" or "grandmother."

Among the languages that have the reflexes of *aki in Blust and Trussel (2010), only the Atayal form *aki* means "grandmother," with the other reflexes meaning "grandfather." For instance, alongside Thao and Tsou cited in Table 10, Blust and Trussel (2010) listed reflexes from the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, such as Molbog *aki*, Murut (Timugon) *aki*, Tatana *aki* and *yaki*, all meaning "grandfather." Therefore, Blust and Trussel (2010) judged the meaning of the Proto-Austronesian *aki to be "grandfather."

However, the evidence from Atayal for "grandmother" should not be neglected. The diversification into "grandfather" and "grandmother" suggests that the original meaning of *aki was "grandparent." Also, as mentioned above, no gender distinction is observed in the form for "parent" in Proto-Austronesian, so it is understandable that no gender distinction would be seen in the form for "grandparent."

Given that the meaning of the Proto-Austronesian *aki is modified to "grandparent," its doublet *baki might be derived from *aki in the Post-Proto-Austronesian stage by adding a prefix *b-, i.e., *b-aki, which specified the male grandparent, or "grandfather."[32] As shown in Table 10, all the reflexes of *b-aki have a homogeneous meaning of "grandfather."[33]

To sum up, the Proto-Austronesian *aki meant "grandfather." This root itself came to differentiate gender in the daughter languages. Atayal reflex *aki* has the female meaning "grandmother," while in the other languages such as Thao, *aki* has the male meaning "grandfather." Then, in Post-Proto-Austronesian, *aki derived *b-aki, which has the male meaning "grandfather" (Figure 5). In the next section, it is argued that the Proto-Austronesian *baqi "grandmother" is another derivative of *aki "grandparent."

5.3 Proto-Austronesian *baqi "grandmother" in previous studies

There is another Proto-Austronesian form *baqi, which is reconstructed to mean "grandmother"

32 However, *b- is not a common prefix in Austronesian languages, so its function is uncertain.

33 Incidentally, *aki derives forms meaning "old person (irrespective of gender)" in Atayal. The Squliq Atayal forms are either *bənəki-s* or *nəbakis* "old person" in Egerod (1980: 81), which can be segmented as *b-<ən>əki-s* or *nə-bəki-s*. The C'uli' Atayal form is *nabakis* "old person" in Languages Research and Development Foundation (2020), which can be segmented as *na-b-aki-s*. From Squliq Atayal form *nə-b-əki-s* and C'uli' Atayal *na-b-aki-s*, a Proto-Atayal form can be reconstructed as *nə-b-aki-s. From the Squliq Atayal *b-<ən>əki-s*, a Proto-Atayal form can be reconstructed as *b-<ən>aki-s. Two forms, *nə-b-aki-s and *b-<ən>aki-s are reconstructed as "old person" in Proto-Atayal. The former form is derived from the root aki by prefixing *b-* first (as in *b-aki "grandfather" in Post-Proto-Austronesian) and *nə-* later, and suffixing *-s*, i.e., *nə-b-aki-s*. The latter form derived from the root *aki* by prefixing *b-* and suffixing *-s* and then inserting the infix *<ən>* to the stem *b-aki-s*, i.e., *b-<ən>aki-s*. For *nə-baki-s* in C'uli' Atayal, the antepenultimate schwa became *a*, resulting in *na-b-aki-s*. For *nə-b-aki-s* and *b-<ən>aki-s* in Squliq Atayal, the penultimate vowel underwent vowel weakening, resulting in *nə-b-əki-s* and *b<ən>əki-s*. The suffix *-s* is not seen in other words in Atayalic languages. Therefore, its function is unknown. For the prefix *nə-* and infix *<ən>*, they may be affixes with the function indicating past tense.

by Blust and Trussel (2010). Part of the data they use for the reconstruction of *baqi are shown in Table 11 along with the Seediq data added as a cognate by the present author.

Regarding the evidence for cognancy, Li (1981: 249) observes that the consonant *q is known to be randomly dropped in Seediq. Thus, it is possible that the medial consonant *q* in *baqi dropped in Seediq, resulting in **bai.[34] Then, it might have undergone devoicing of the initial consonant *b*, resulting in *pai*. This type of devoicing is not common in Seediq, but it is not altogether unknown. The Proto-Atayalic form for "to wash clothes" can be reconstructed as *bahəq based on an Atayal form *bahuq* "to wash clothes," and its Proto-Austronesian form reconstructed by Blust and Trussel (2010), *basuq "to wash."[35] Its Seediq cognate is *pahu* "to wash clothes." Its initial consonant *p* shows the devoicing of *b. In addition, the final consonant *q is dropped. Based on this example, it is possible that Proto-Austronesian *baqi became *pai* in Seediq, by devoicing the voiced stop *b to *p* and dropping the *q.

Table 11 Reflexes of Proto-Austronesian *baqi "grandmother" in Blust and Trussel (2010)

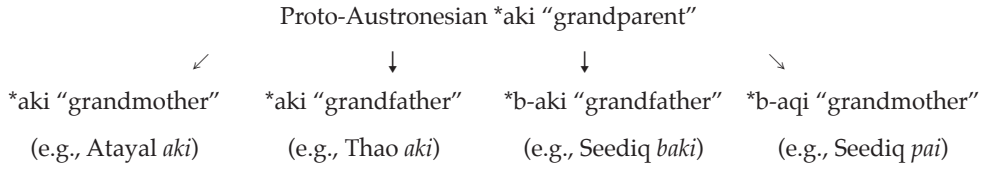
Proto-Austronesian *baqi "grandmother"
Seediq *pai* "grandmother"
Basai *bai* "grandmother"
Kavalan *bai* "grandmother"
Amis (Central) *faʔi* "grandmother"
Tsou *baʔi* "grandmother"

In this paper, I propose that *baqi is further divided into the prefix *b-, the same prefix as in *b-aki, and the root *aqi; i.e., *b-aqi, and that *b-aqi is derived from *aki, just like *b-aki is derived from *aki. The formal and semantic similarities of *b-aqi "grandmother" with *aki "grandparent" and *b-aki "grandfather" are obvious. The root *aki might be prefixed with *b-, and then the medial *k, a voiceless velar stop, is changed to *q, a voiceless uvular stop. The derivative *b-aqi means the female grandparent, or "grandmother." The consonant change from *k to *q is formally differentiated to give *b-aki "grandfather" and *b-aqi "grandmother." The form and meaning changes in the Proto-Austronesian *aki are summarized in Figure 5.

34 The double asterisk means that the form is inferable but unattested.

35 The Atayal form *bahuq* is taken from Ogawa (1931: 16).

Figure 5 The shift in the meaning of Proto-Atayalic *aki "grandparent"



In Proto-Austronesian, *aki meant "grandparent." In some daughter languages, the meaning of this root shifted either to "grandmother" or "grandfather." The meaning as "grandmother" is seen in *aki* in Atayal only, while the forms in other languages such as *aki* in Thao, mean "grandfather."

In the other daughter languages, *aki was prefixed with *b- in Post-Proto-Austronesian. While *b-aki derived the meaning "grandfather" as in Seediq *baki*, *b-aqi with a consonant change derived the meaning "grandmother" as in Seediq *pai*.[36]

6. "Grandparent" in Proto-Atayalic

"Grandfather" in Atayal is *utas*, which comes from the semantic extension of "penis." "Grandmother" in Atayal is *aki*, which reflects the Proto-Austronesian *aki "grandparent." In Seediq, *b-aki* "grandfather" and *p-ai* "grandmother" originate in the derivatives of the Proto-Austronesian *aki, which are *b-aki and *b-aqi, respectively. As summarized in Table 12, the forms for "grandfather" and "grandmother" in Atayalic languages shown in bold font relate to *aki. The Proto-Atayalic form can be reconstructed as *aki, and it means "grandparent" as it is in Proto-Austronesian.

Table 12 "Grandfather" and "grandmother" in Atayalic languages

Proto-Atayalic	Atayal	Seediq
*aki "grandparent"	*utas* "grandfather"	*b-**aki*** "grandfather"
	aki "grandmother"	*p-**ai*** "grandmother"

7. Conclusion

In the course of reconstructing the Proto-Atayalic forms for "parent" and "grandparent," some kinship terms in the previously reconstructed Proto-Austronesian in Blust (1980) and Blust and Trussel (2010) were modified as summarized in Table 13. Section 2 presented a revised meaning of

36 The devoicing of *b in *pai* "grandmother" (< **bai) in Seediq might be triggered by the formal similarity with *baki* "grandfather" in Seediq. The inferable form **bai "grandmother" is similar in form to *baki* "grandfather." To avoid the confusion caused by this similarity, the initial consonant *b might undergo devoicing in the case of *pai*.

the Proto-Austronesian *ama from “father” to “son-in-law.” Section 3 presented a revised meaning of the Proto-Austronesian *ina from “mother” to “daughter-in-law” as well as that of the Proto-Austronesian *aya from “father’s sister” to “parent.” Section 5 presented a revised meaning of the Proto-Austronesian *aki from “grandfather” to “grandparent.”

Table 13 Revision of the meanings of kinship terms in Proto-Austronesian

	Previous studies	This paper
*ama	father	son-in-law
*ina	mother	daughter-in-law
*aya	father’s sister	parent
*aki	grandfather	grandparent

In conclusion, Proto-Atayalic form for “parent” was reconstructed as *aya in Section 4 and that for “grandparent” was reconstructed as *aki in Section 6. These proceed from the patterns reconstructed in Proto-Austronesian in this paper (Table 13). The proto-forms for “parent” and “grandparent” in Proto-Atayalic and Proto-Austronesian are summarized in Table 14.

Table 14 Proto-Atayalic “parent” and “grandparent”

Proto-Atayalic	Proto-Austronesian
*aya “parent”	*aya “parent”
*aki “grandparent”	*aki “grandparent”

Gender is not distinguished for “parent” and “grandparent” in Proto-Austronesian as well as in Proto-Atayalic. As for Atayalic languages, Atayal is more conservative than Seedig in retaining the root forms of the reflex of *aya and *aki as *aya* “mother” and *aki* “grandmother,” while Seediq lost *aya and retains *aki in the derived forms *b-aki* “grandfather” and *p-ai* “grandmother.” The Atayal *aya* “mother” and *aki* “grandmother” share a common element in that both shifted from their original genderless meaning to a female meaning.

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アタヤル語群における「オヤ」と「オヤのオヤ」の再建

落　合　いずみ*

要　旨

オーストロネシア語族のアタヤル語群（アタヤル語とセデック語）において、「父」「母」「祖父」「祖母」を表す語を分析し、アタヤル語群祖語における形式を再建する。アタヤル語とセデック語の「父」の形式*aba*と*tama*を比較しても、「母」の形式*aya*と*bubu*を比較しても、アタヤル語群祖語が再建できないが、オーストロネシア祖語に**aya*という形式があり「親」と再建されうる。そのためアタヤル語の*aya*「母」が古形を保有しており、「親」から「母」へ意味が変わった。その他は改新によるものである。また、アタヤル語とセデック語の「祖父」の形式*utas*と*baki*を比較しても、「祖母」の形式*aki*と*pai*を比較しても、アタヤル語群祖語が再建できないが、オーストロネシア祖語に*akiという形式があり「親の親」と再建されうる。そのためアタヤル語の*aki*「祖母」が古形を保有しており、「親の親」から「祖母」へ意味が変わった。その他は改新によるものである。アタヤル語群祖語並びにオーストロネシア祖語に再建されたのは*aya「親」と*aki「親の親」であり、性別を区別しない。また、これらの再建の過程で、オーストロネシア祖語の「父」と「母」とされてきた*amaと*inaを「婿」と「嫁」に修正した。

キーワード：アタヤル語、セデック語、オヤ、オヤのオヤ、再建

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