

中央研究院民族學研究所

專刊之十七

臺灣土著族的文化，語言分類探究

費羅禮 著

中華民國五十八年

臺灣 南港

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PREFACE

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

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own notes covering ethnographic and linguistic work in Taiwan in 1964-1965 and 1967, six are derived from published and unpublished studies by comparatively recent investigators, and two for now-extinct languages are from 17th-century Dutch sources.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Raleigh Ferrell

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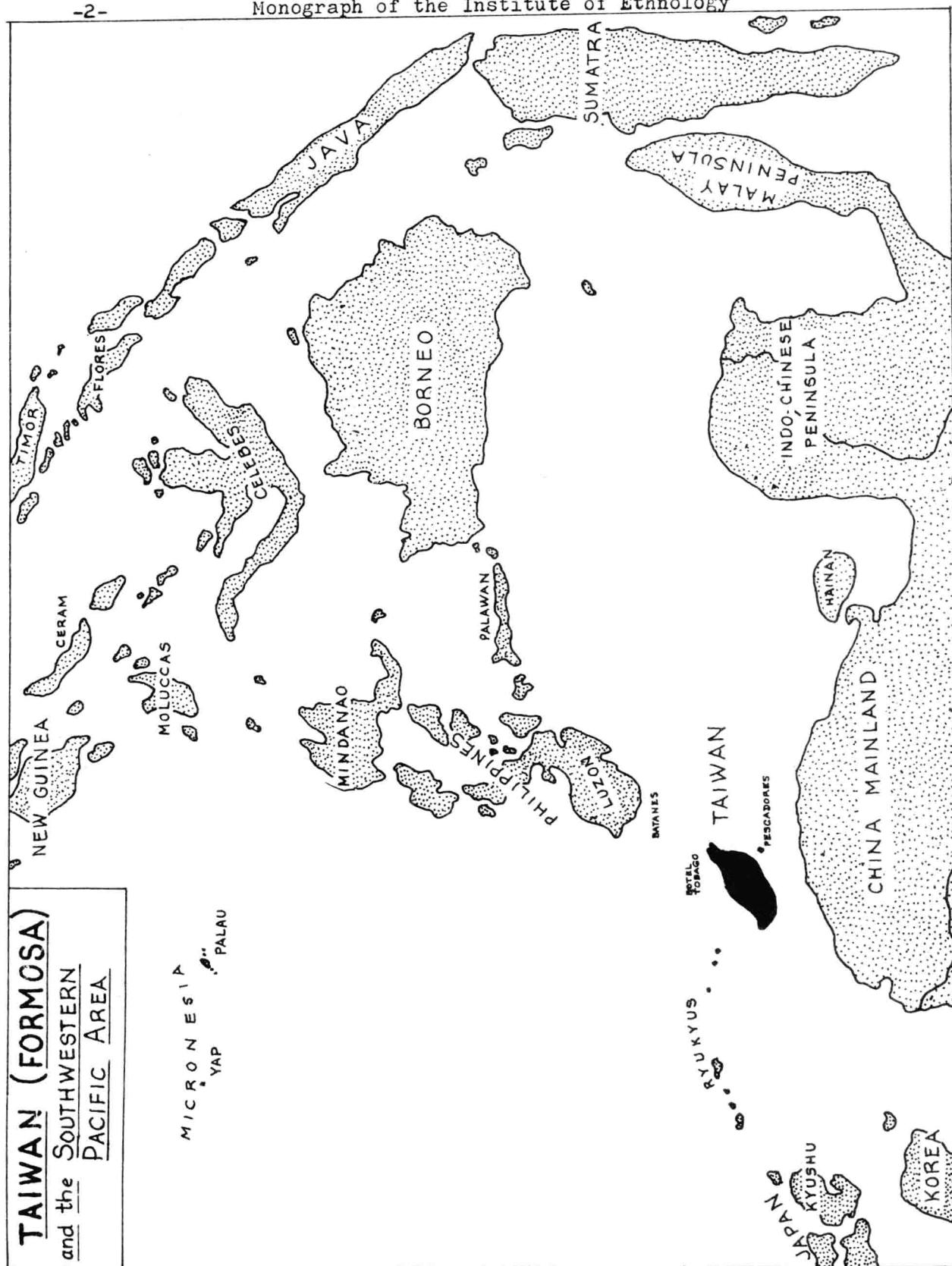
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TAIWAN ABORIGINAL GROUPS :
PROBLEMS IN
CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

by

RALEIGH FERRELL

NANKANG, TAIPEI, TAIWAN
REPUBLIC OF CHINA
1969



I. BACKGROUND AND HISTORICAL REVIEW

A. GENERAL SETTING

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

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

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

B. TAIWAN ARCHAEOLOGY

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

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

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

1. The Early Period

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

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

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

2. The Middle Period

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

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

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

Figure 1. OUTLINE OF TAIWAN ARCHAEOLOGY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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