

A Preliminary Investigation of Yilan Creole in Taiwan:
Discussing predicate position in Yilan Creole

by

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ABSTRACT

Yilan Creole is a Japanese-based creole with features from an Austronesian language, Atayal, spoken in Yilan County, Taiwan. It was recognized by Chien and Sanada in 2006 (Chien & Sanada, 2010a), but much is still unknown about the language. Yilan Creole possesses many linguistic features of the Japanese language, yet it is still incomprehensible to either Japanese or Atayal native speakers.

My thesis is based on elicitations and recordings of actual speech from the fieldwork that I did in Yilan County during the months of July of 2013, January and February of 2014. It consists of three chapters. Chapter one focuses on the social and historical perspectives of Yilan Creole. Chapter two presents a grammatical sketch of Yilan Creole, focusing on sound system, lexicon, morphology and syntax. Chapter three analyzes the various predicate positions found in Yilan Creole, a mostly predicate final order language similar to that of Japanese (Sanada & Chien, 2008a, p.72). Interestingly, the Yilan Creole also features other types of predicates in medial positions found in the examples of the clauses that contain the verbs *mietala* ‘look like’ and *aru* ‘have’. The examples of the sentences that contain object clauses as the main clause verbs are in the medial position but the object clause predicates are still in the final position.

Dedication

To my mother, Yuecheng Chen.

Her support, encouragement and constant love have sustained me through my life.

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List of Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative
DAT	Dative
HES	Hesitation
NOM	Nominalizer
TOP	Topic marker
Q	Question marker

Introduction

Creole, *crioulo* in Portuguese, originally referred to a group of African descent who was born in the colonies in the 16th century (“creole,” n.d.). Later, the word was acquired by the French as *créole*, the Spanish as *criollo*, and the English as *creole*. The meaning of the word in each of these languages alludes to the two words “slave” and “colony” as the social conditions of the creole “were often the results of slavery” (Holm, 2000, p.6). The creole language, developed from a simplified language that resulted from contact between groups of people in a community who had no language in common, was acquired as the first language of a succeeding generation of that community (Holm, 2000).

The creole language has been studied since the late 1950s (Holm, 2000). Most previous studies focused on Western European language based creoles, such as the English-based creole in Jamaica, the French-based creole in Haiti, and the Portuguese-based creole in Angola; studies of Asian-based creoles are not as common as studies of European-based creoles (Alder, 1977; Holm, 2000). In this thesis I focus on the Yilan Creole, a Japanese-based creole language that developed in Taiwan.

During World War II, Japan invaded territories in Asia which became colonies of Japan. To integrate the colonies fully into the Empire Japan carried out a series of assimilation policies; for instance, a Japanese language policy (Thornber, 2009). Taiwan, as the first colony of the Empire of Japan, was ruled by Japan for half a century, resulting in the development of a creole in Taiwan between the Japanese and one of the Austronesian communities in Taiwan.

Yilan Creole is Japanese-based with Atayal (one of the Austronesian languages) features and is spoken in Yilan County in Eastern Taiwan. The native speakers of Yilan

Creole are descendants of Taiwanese Aborigines, the Atayal and the Seediq, who were physically and culturally distinct from the Chinese. Yilan Creole possesses many linguistic features of the Japanese language. Most of the creole’s vocabulary is derived from Japanese (Abe, Tsuchida, & Niida, 2008) and requires similar postpositions (e.g., *to* ‘with’, *ni* ‘to’, *kara* ‘from’) to Japanese (Sanada & Chien 2008a). Despite such derivative features, Yilan Creole has developed an independent language system that consists of the Japanese language as the superstratum and the Atayal language as the substratum (Chien & Sanada, 2010a). An example is the following Yilan creole sentence from my elicitation data¹:

asita waha wayey katte kuru²
 tomorrow I noodle buy come
 “I come (to) buy noodle tomorrow.” (ED)

The above sentence contains the Japanese noun *asita* ‘tomorrow’, the first-person pronoun *waha* ‘I’ that appears to be related to the Japanese first-person pronoun *watasi* ‘I’, the Atayal noun *wayey* ‘noodle’, the Japanese verb *katte* ‘to buy’, and the Japanese verb *kuru* ‘to come’ (Chien & Sanada, 2010a). Yilan Creole contains words along with semantic and grammatical innovations from Japanese and Atayal. This language variety is incomprehensible to both Japanese native speakers and Atayal native speakers who live in New Taipei City, Hsinchu County, Miaoli County, Taichung City, and Nantou County

¹ The data in this work is based on elicited data (henceforth, ED), discourse data (henceforth, DD), public sources, and the Yilan Hanhsi Atayal language Textbook (2007) (henceforth, YT). I will discuss the sources in detail in section 5.

² The transcriptions of Yilan Creole words of Japanese origin and Japanese are written using Kunrei-shiki Romanization; the descriptions of Yilan Creole words of Atayal origin and Atayal are adopted from the Atayal writing system promulgated by the Council of Indigenous Peoples and the Ministry of Education (Taiwan) in December 2005; Mandarin examples are written as Pinyin. In all Taiwanese place-names I adhere to the Wade-Giles transcription current in Taiwan, which occurs on road signs in Taiwan. The phonetic transcriptions in chapter 2 are used by the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

(Ang 2013. P. 339; Chien & Sanada, 2010a; Chen, 2010). Thus, Yilan Creole provides opportunities to investigate its linguistic features. I will attempt to determine how the two languages—Japanese and Atayal might have contributed to the creation of the first Japanese-based creole that does not involve Western European languages (Chien & Sanada, 2010a).

This thesis is a preliminary investigation of Yilan Creole, and it is divided into three chapters. Chapter 1 contains five sections: the socio-historical context of Yilan Creole, the current situation of Yilan Creole, previous work, methods of inquiry, and the data collected in this work. In section 1, basic information about Taiwan is introduced. Next, as Yilan Creole speakers are the succeeding generation of Aborigines in Taiwan, I review how the Aborigines were treated in Taiwan during four eras: the Ching Dynasty of China (1684–1895), the Japanese occupations (1985–1945), the Chinese Nationalist Party authoritarian rule (1945–1987), and the contemporary democratic era (1987–present). During each era, the Aborigines experienced treatment and language policies that served the needs of the foreign regime; however, the language policy of each era also contributed to the creation and development of Yilan Creole. Section 2 discusses the current situation of Yilan Creole spoken in Hanhsi Village in Yilan County; the original ethnic languages in Hanhsi Village and the language distribution by the age of the speakers are reviewed. Section 3 outlines previously published work concerning Yilan Creole. Section 4 describes the methods used in the fieldwork, and section 5 presents data elicited and the discourse data that I used in this work.

Chapter 2 presents a grammatical sketch—that is, the sound system, lexicon, morphology, and syntax—of Yilan Creole. Having spent a limited time in the field, I

cannot provide all the grammatical details of Yilan Creole. Rather, I show the main features of Yilan Creole grammar based on the data that I have gathered and discuss the features that I have clarified at the current stage of the preliminary research.

Chapter 3 focuses on the various predicate positions of Yilan Creole. Sentences are mostly constructed with a predicate final order similar to that of the Japanese language (Sanada & Chien, 2008a, p.72). Other types of the predicates, such as those in clause-medial position, also exist in Yilan Creole. For example, Yilan Creole speakers use the main-clause predicates in medial position when the sentences contain the object clauses. Chapter 3 also discusses examples of the predicate positions found in the Yilan Hanhsi Atayal Language Textbook (2007), the elicitation and discourse data, which document the types of word order encountered in Yilan Creole.

Chapter 1

1. Socio-historical context of Yilan Creole

Taiwan, a mountainous area with numerous islands, is located in the western Pacific Ocean, and is bordered by the Taiwan Strait that separates it from Mainland China, some 133 kilometers away. The population of Taiwan is made up of four ethnic groups: Mainlanders, Hakka, Holo³, and Aborigines (Tsao, 2000). The first three groups are commonly referred to as the Chinese or Han nations (Scott & Tiun, 2007). It is estimated that the Aborigines arrived in Taiwan 6000–8000 years ago, which was much earlier than the Chinese arrival (Li, 1979, 1992; Chang, 1995). The Aborigines of Taiwan are Austronesian, and their linguistics and gene pool are similar to those of other Austronesian ethnic groups in the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia (Hill et al., 2007; Blust, 2009).

Currently, there are 14 Aboriginal tribes⁴ and 24 Aboriginal languages that are recognized in Taiwan (Blust, 2009). However, only nine tribes were recognized in the 19th century. They are the Atayal (the Atayal and the Seediq)⁵, the Thao, the Runun, the Tsou, the Rukai, the Paiwan, the Yami, the Puyuma, and the Amis, as presented in Map 1. It should be noted that Map 1 depicts 10 tribes because the Atayal and the Seediq are shown separately.

³ Holo, also known as Min-nan, refers to those people whose ancestral home is in Southern Fujian Province (e.g., Zhangzhou, Quanzhou and Xiamen) in Mainland China.

⁴ Council of Indigenous Peoples, “Aboriginal population statistics.” Last modified February 16, 2014. Accessed May 1, 2014.

<http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=6726E5B80C8822F9>

⁵ The Atayal includes the Atayal and the Seediq in the 19th century.



Map 1 Distribution of the 10 tribes⁶ that existed in Taiwan in the 19th Century. Green color represents the plains; brown color represents mountain regions (Li, 1979).

Most tribes had clear geographical boundaries, except the tribes of the Atayal and the Seediq. The Atayal and the Seediq shared the mountain areas (see the red outlined region in Map 1) of northern Taiwan but they did not live together (Chen, 1997).

Historically, the Atayal and the Seediq had the unique custom of tattooing their faces, leading the Japanese regime to mistakenly group the Atayal and the Seediq as a singular ethnic group, the Atayal, in the 19th century (Nokan & Yu, 2002). In 2008, the Chen

⁶ In the map, I indicate the Atayal and the Seediq, although the Japanese grouped them as one ethnic group (the Atayal) in the 19th century.

Shui-bian⁷ administration of Taiwan officially acknowledged that the Atayal and the Seediq are two distinct tribes. Linguistically, Atayal and Seediq languages originally belonged to the Atayalic language, but were separated into two different languages by the year 1600 (Li, 1996; Blust, 2009). For example, the Atayal language possesses distinct lexical forms for both men and women's speech (Li, 1980b, 1982; Blust, 2009). However, the Seediq language does not possess such distinct lexical forms.

Atayal means "real people" in the Atayal language. Traditionally, this tribe was considered to be "more uncivilized than any of the others, and it was divided into many small groups under the patriarchal rule of the chieftain" (Takekoshi, 1997, p.219). Those small groups were mostly independent, but sometimes, when the head of a group had an "unusual ability" to influence other isolated tribes, two or more groups would unite as a single large group (Takekoshi, 1997).

Seediq also means "real people" in the Seediq language. Anthropologically speaking, the Seediq and the Atayal are classified as a group, because of their similarities in culture and customs such as religious concepts, and facial tattoos (Nokan & Yu, 2002). Nevertheless, the Seediq considered themselves to be different from the Atayal; indeed, the Seediq and the Atayal were foes before Japan occupied Taiwan (Nokan & Yu, 2002).

The current Atayal population, which is approximately 81,848,⁸ resides mainly in New Taipei City, Yilan County, Hsinchu County, Miaoli County, Taichung City, and Nantou County (Chien & Sanada, 2010a; Chen, 2010). The Seediq population, currently

⁷ Chen Shui-bian was president of the Republic of China (Taiwan) from 2000 to 2008.

⁸ The population statistic is from the Taiwan Provincial Government Aboriginal Committee, 2014.

7,275,⁹ dwells mainly in Hualien County and the eastern portion of Nantou County (“Seediq” n.d.), as illustrated in Map 2.



Map 2 The current distribution of the Atayal and the Seediq in Taiwan. Orange color represents areas in which mainly Atayal populations reside; yellow color represents areas in which mainly Seediq populations reside.

The Atayalic language retains features of the Austronesian languages, such as verb-initial word order and affixes that are crucial for word-formation and voice systems.

⁹ The population statistic is from the Taiwan Provincial Government Aboriginal Committee, 2014.

Moreover, its two subgroups Atayal and Seediq each have a number of distinct dialects, as illustrated in Figure 1.

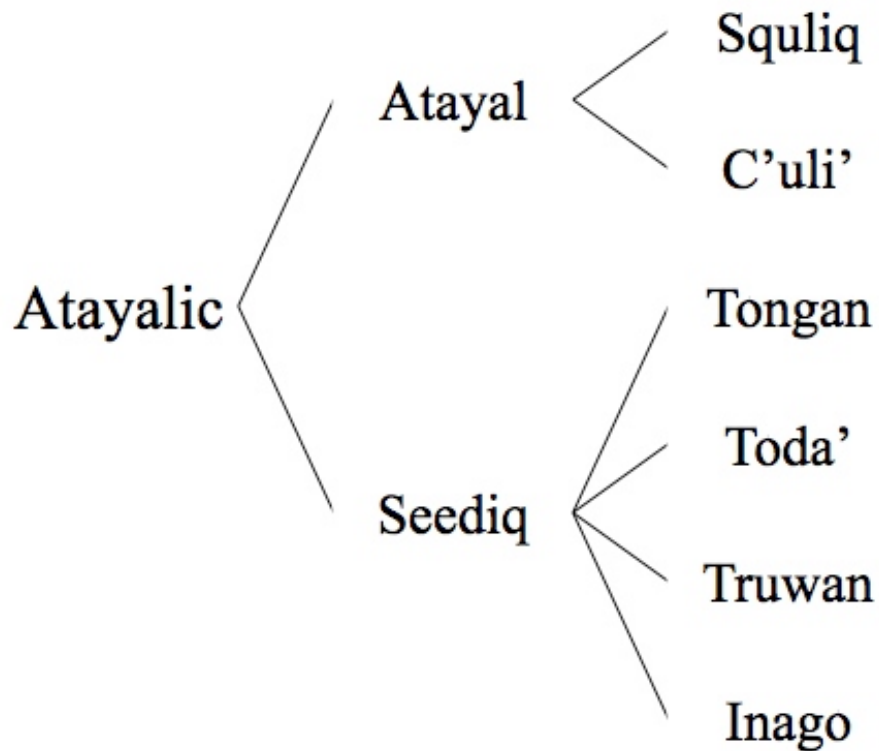


Figure 1 The Atayalic language family tree (Li, 1985; Blust, 2009).

The Atayal language can be divided into two dialects: Squliq and C'uli'¹⁰ (Li, 1996); Squliq is more innovative, and C'uli' is more conservative (Huang & Hayung, 2011; Li, 1996). The Seediq language consists of four major dialects: Tongan, Toda', Truwan, and Inago; each dialect contains differences in grammar, phonology, and lexicon (Li, 1985; Holmer, 1996).

¹⁰ C'uli' is also written as Ts'ole'. The apostrophe represents the glottal stop.

1.1 Taiwan under the rule of the Ching Dynasty of China (1684–1895)

The Ching Dynasty, which was the last imperial dynasty of China, ruled Taiwan from 1684 to 1895. Historically, the Ching referred to the Taiwanese Aborigines as *fan*¹¹, meaning foreigners and aborigines. The Ching classified the Aborigines into three types: *shufan* ‘cooked aborigines’, *guihuashengfan* ‘naturalized raw aborigines’, and *shengfan* ‘raw aborigines’ (Wen, 2007). The term *shufan* ‘cooked aborigines’ refers to Aborigines who were highly assimilated into the Chinese culture, while the term *guihuashengfan* ‘naturalized raw aborigines’ refers to Aborigines who paid taxes to the Ching but were loosely ruled. The term *shengfan* ‘raw aborigines’ pertains to Aborigines who would not submit taxes to the Ching. These criteria reflected the distance in relations between the Ching and the Aborigines, and did not denote Aborigines’ distinct cultures and languages.

Aboriginal tribes categorized as *shufan* ‘cooked aborigines’ or *guihuashengfan* ‘naturalized raw aborigines’ were called *Pingpuzu* ‘the plain tribes’ by the Ching government, whereas *shengfan* ‘raw aborigines’ were referred to as *Gaoshanzu* ‘the mountain tribes’. The Atayal and the Seediq were considered to be *shengfan* ‘raw aborigines’ because they lived in the remote mountains where the authority of the Ching government at that time was feeble.

Traditionally, the *shengfan* ‘raw aborigines’ were considered to be “vicious, violent, and cruel” (Kleeman, 2003; Wen, 2007) by the Ching government. To protect the Chinese in Taiwan, the Ching constructed a line of embankments between the *shengfan* and Chinese territories (Takekoshi, 1996; Wen, 2007). The Ching then implemented an isolation policy in order to restrict communications between the Chinese and the

¹¹ *fan* is the Chinese term for foreigners and aborigines.

shengfan by prohibiting entry into each other's territories (Takekoshi, 1996; Wen, 2007). This policy made the *shengfans*' lives difficult because many excellent and important resources were in the plains including agricultural and educational resources. Yet, the policy served to shelter the *shengfan* from assimilating to the Chinese language and culture. The *shengfans*' situation changed, however, after Japan occupied Taiwan.

1.2 Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule (1895–1945)

The Ching government was defeated in the First Sino-Japanese War, in which Japan occupied Taiwan, remaining as a colony from 1895 to 1945.

The Japanese regime inherited the *shengfan* 'raw aborigines' from the Ching and referred to those Aborigines, using the Japanese pronunciation, as *seiban*. Hereafter, the *seiban*, the "raw aborigines" that lived in the mountains, will be referred to as the Aborigines. The Aborigines that lived in the plains will be referred to as "assimilated Aborigines". The Japanese regime approached assimilation of the Aborigines in two stages. In the initial stage (1895–1902), the beginning of the colonization, the Japanese approached the Aborigines more actively than the Ching. For example, the Japanese regime implemented a conciliatory policy with optional military suppression of the Aborigines. According to Fujii (1995), the Japanese rulers provided food and rice land, and even education in Japanese to the Aborigines. In return, the Aborigines allowed the Japanese rulers to enter the mountainous regions to cut and gather the camphor trees that were important to the economy and the establishment of the Empire of Japan in the 19th century.

However, as the number of camphor trees required by Japanese enterprises increased, the Japanese rulers further encroached upon the Aborigines' territory, furthering conflicts between the Japanese and the Aborigines (Fujii, 1995). The most severe conflict was the Taroko Sincheng Incident¹² in 1896, which foreshadowed the failure of the Japanese conciliatory policy (Fujii, 1995). By 1903, the policy had been replaced by a collective emigration policy, forcing the Aborigines to move from the mountains (Chien & Sanada, 2010a).

From 1903–1945, the Japanese regime focused on the collective emigration of Aborigines from the mountains.¹³ This led to the categorization and grouping of the Aborigines according to Japanese anthropological studies which had been investigating Aborigine culture and language since the earlier colonization (Takekoshi, 1996, p.219). At that time, nine tribes were recognized by the Japanese regime; these were the Atayal (which included the Atayal and the Seediq),¹⁴ the Thao, the Runun, the Tsou, the Rukai, the Paiwan, the Yami, the Puyuma, and the Amis.

Throughout the colonial era, the aim of the Japanese regime was to incorporate Taiwan into the Japanese political orbit, thereby developing and integrating it into the Empire of Japan. In this process, the Aborigines were the key aspect to be “cultivated” for the Japanese, inasmuch as the Aborigines were the biggest obstruction to mountainous resources (Nokan & Yu, 2002). To accomplish this goal, the Japanese regime took two main approaches: assimilation within the Japanese mold and military

¹² Taroko Sincheng Incident of 1896 refers to the conflicts that occurred between the Japanese and the Seediq in Sincheng of Hualien County. The Japanese raped the Seediq's woman and the Seediq counterattacked against the Japanese, resulting in 23 Japanese deaths (Nokan & Yu, 2002).

¹³ I discuss the collective emigration policy in detail in section 1.2.1.

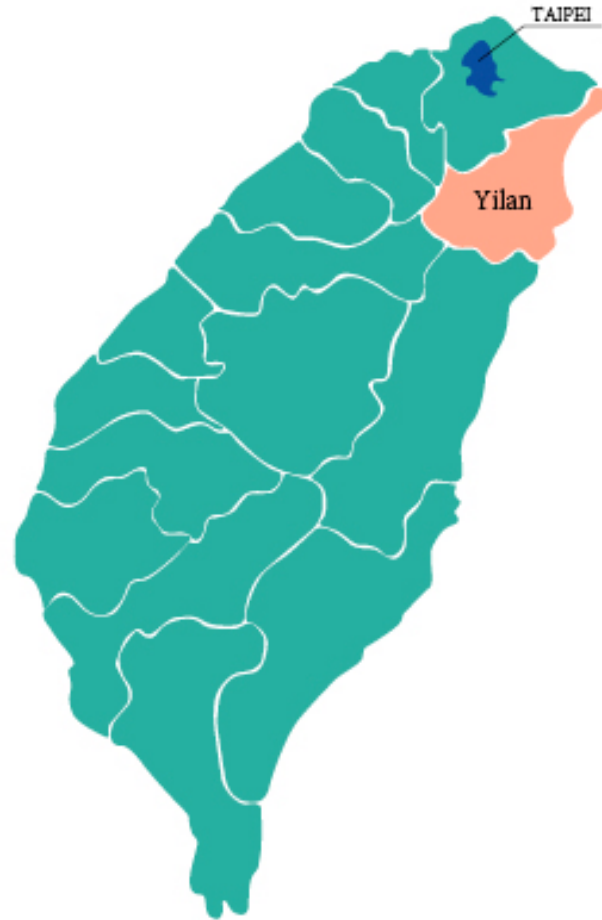
¹⁴ The Atayal includes the Atayal and the Seediq in the 19th century.

suppression. The means of assimilating the Aborigines consisted of the collective emigration policy (see section 1.2.1) and the language policy (see section 1.2.2), which were the crucial steps in the creation of Yilan Creole.

1.2.1 Colonial collective emigration policy in Taiwan

To gain more control over the Aborigines, Japan implemented a collective emigration policy that forced those residing in the remote mountains to be transported to the plains (Dai, 1990, p. 150; Fujii, 1995; Chen, 2010). After the Aborigines were grouped into different communities, the Japanese regime established modern community facilities, such as schools and clinics. The Aborigines learned the Japanese language and the skills of weaving and knitting. However, their original lifestyle traditions, such as facial tattoos and hunting, were prohibited in these communities.

Since 1910, Yilan County, illustrated in Map 3, was adopted as a “home” for several relocated tribes, including some of the Atayal and Seediq people, who, being forced to live together, soon began to constitute new communities. Not recognizing the differences between the two factions, the government of Japan grouped the Atayal and Seediq people as the same ethnic group (the Atayal) and moved them into the same communities in Yilan County.



Map 3 Yilan County, Taiwan.

1.2.2 Colonial language policy in Taiwan.

The Japanese language policy played a crucial role in integrating Taiwan into the Empire of Japan. The Japanese regime created two different language policies, one for the Chinese and tribes that were assimilated into the Chinese culture, and one for the Aborigines (the original mountain dwellers). For the Chinese and the assimilated Aborigines, the Japanese regime carried out the policies of teaching Japanese at schools using gradually more oppressive orientations. For the Aborigines, however, the regime provided education in the Japanese language from the beginning of the colonization

(Tsao, 2000). The reason for having two separate language policies was that, for the Japanese regime, the Chinese and the assimilated Aborigines were civilized but the unassimilated Aborigines were uncivilized people who needed “real” education (Fujii, 1995). In effect, the Japanese regime intended to establish a Japanese identity in the Aborigines by the means of education in the Japanese language. This way the Japanese could obtain more camphor trees in the mountains without the resistance of the Aborigines.

At that time, the Japanese regime strongly encouraged the Taiwanese to study abroad in Japan. Also, the Taiwanese recognized that they could earn more money after studying abroad in Japan, which made them eager to strengthen their Japanese language skills (Tsurumi, 1999).

Japanese policemen undertook much of the burden to provide primary education of the Aborigines, although they were primarily assigned to guard the Aborigines (Tsurumi, 1999). Thus, the Aborigines were taught by those who lacked professional teaching skills. According to Jan and Chen (2006), most policemen came from Western Japan, such as Kyushu and Okinawa, where the dialects were distinct from Standard Japanese (Shibatani, 1990); furthermore, the Japanese policemen in Taiwan did not have the same education level as the policemen in Japan. Therefore, not all the Aborigines received lessons in Standard Japanese. The Aborigines attempted to compete with the Japanese by studying abroad in Japan, so as to strengthen their Japanese language skills. Some Aborigines were sent to serve in the Japanese military, which required them to be fluent in the Japanese (Tsurumi, 1999).

1.2.3 The creation of Yilan Creole

Since 1910, due to the collective emigration policy in the mountains (cf. 1.2.1), the Atayal and the Seediq were forced to move and live together in the new communities in Yilan County. In the earlier interior communities, there was a language shift from the Seediq language to the Atayal language because there were many more Atayal people,¹⁵ putting the Seediq group in a vulnerable position in these communities (Utsushikawa, Miyamoto & Mabuchi, 1935; Chien & Sanada, 2010a).

The Atayal and the Seediq used Japanese as a lingua franca as a means of facilitating communication,¹⁶ but this Japanese language was mixed with the Atayal language because the Japanese education facilities were not yet established in Yilan County communities (Girancho, 1918). After the education facilities were established, the Atayal and the Seediq received Japanese education and learned the Japanese language systematically. Also, the diffusion of Japanese education was stronger in the later communities than in the earlier communities (Utsushikawa, Miyamoto & Mabuchi, 1935; Chien & Sanada, 2010a).

Presumably the Japanese language with Atayal features later became a pidgin language in those communities. Eventually, pidgin Japanese was acquired as a first language by the people in these communities and developed into a creole thereafter. Most strikingly, though the collective emigration policy was carried out throughout all of

¹⁵ In 1931 in Yilan County, the Atayal people comprised approximately 87% and the Seediq people comprised approximately 14% of the population (Utsushikawa, Miyamoto, & Mabuchi 1935).

¹⁶ The reason the Atayal and the Seediq adopted Japanese rather than Atayal as a lingua franca is unknown in the preliminary investigation of this work, but I presume that the people living in the communities were forced to use Japanese after the education facilities were established.

Taiwan, Yilan Creole is the only known instance of a Japanese-based creole spoken in Taiwan (Chien & Sanada, 2010a).

1.3 Taiwan under the Chinese Nationalist Party authoritarian rule (1945–1987)

Japan's 50 years of colonial rule over Taiwan ended in 1945. Taiwan was returned to China and governed by the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang; hereafter, KMT).

In 1949, in losing the Chinese Civil War to the Chinese Communist Party that later established the People's Republic of China in Beijing, the KMT retreated to Taiwan. Meanwhile, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's KMT government "brought over one million people from all parts of China to Taiwan, speaking various Chinese dialects" (Wu, 2011, p.21). The Taiwan immigrants that accompanied the KMT's troops were referred to as "mainlanders" (*waishengren*, lit. "outside-province-people"), whereas the Chinese people who inhabited Taiwan before 1949 were "local people" (*benshengren*, lit. "local-province-people"). Also, the local Chinese people were commonly classified into two different groups: Hakka and Holo.

To counterattack Mainland China, the KMT "instituted several ambitious nation-building programs" in Taiwan: the title of the Republic of China (ROC) was reinstated, and an authoritarian government was established (Wu, 2011, p. 21). These moves were intended to erase Japanese influence and bring Chinese identity to Taiwan (Harrison, 2001).

Language policy played a crucial role in the Chinese identity of Taiwan. The KMT implemented a language policy whereby Mandarin (the term for Mandarin used in Taiwan is *guoyu*, which means "national language") was the official language in Taiwan.

“In 1948, the KMT declared that local languages were inappropriate for academic and cultural communication and strenuous efforts were made to suppress local languages” (Wu, 2011, p. 21). The use of Mandarin in schools was particularly enforced. For instance, children who spoke non-Mandarin languages such as Hakka, Holo, and Austronesian languages were subjected to physical punishment (Dreyer, 2003).

Due to the reinforcement of Mandarin use in Taiwan, non-Mandarin languages were used much less, especially the Aboriginal languages. In the earlier period of authoritarian rule, the KMT pushed the *Shandi Pingdi Hua* “the ‘plainization of the Aborigines’ policy to ‘make the mountains like the plains’”(Aboriginal Education, 2014; Harrison, 2003, p.351). To accomplish this goal, the government strongly promoted Mandarin within the Aborigines’ communities, and forced them to adopt Chinese customs in an effort to change their lifestyle and culture (Fujii, 1995). In the later period of the KMT authoritarian rule (1963–1987), Taiwan gradually moved toward an industrial economy, and many agricultural lands were changed into industrial lands. As agricultural land decreased, many Aboriginal people immigrated to the cities to earn a living, an exodus that the KMT strongly encouraged (Fujii, 1995). In the cities, Aboriginal people competed with the Chinese for jobs. To gain employment in the cities the Aborigines needed to strengthen their Mandarin skills, and gradually the use of their own languages declined.

1.4 Taiwan in the contemporary democratic era (1987–present)

When the Chiang Kai-shek regime was replaced by the Lee Teng-hui¹⁷ administration, the KMT authority ended and a new attention to the development of ethnic groups' human rights commenced. Meanwhile, the policies of Taiwan's highly centralized national culture ended after the abrogation of martial Law in 1987. By then Taiwan had gradually transitioned towards a democracy, inasmuch as the KMT focused on the modernization of Taiwan rather than the counter offensive to Mainland China (Fujii, 1995; Chan, 2013). Since 1987, the situation of the Aborigines has improved.

In 1987, the Aborigines Rights' Movement was established, and it allowed all Aborigines in Taiwan to demand their rights, including rights to land, water, self-government, and language (Fujii, 1995). In 1996, the Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP) was founded to plan and coordinate indigenous affairs, and to serve as an interface between the Indigenous community and the government.

In 2007, the Chen Shui-bian administration started to promote the Aborigines' Languages Examination. This includes a bonus examination policy for Aboriginal students who pass the exam, boosting their university entrance score by 35%. Although no Aborigines' languages were officially documented in the past, the CIP collected available materials of the languages and language learning textbooks (Abe, Tsuchida, & Niida, 2008). At that time, Yilan Creole, as one of Atayal dialects, was included in the Aborigines' Languages Examinations.

¹⁷ Lee Teng-hui was president of the Republic of China (Taiwan) from 1988 to 2000.

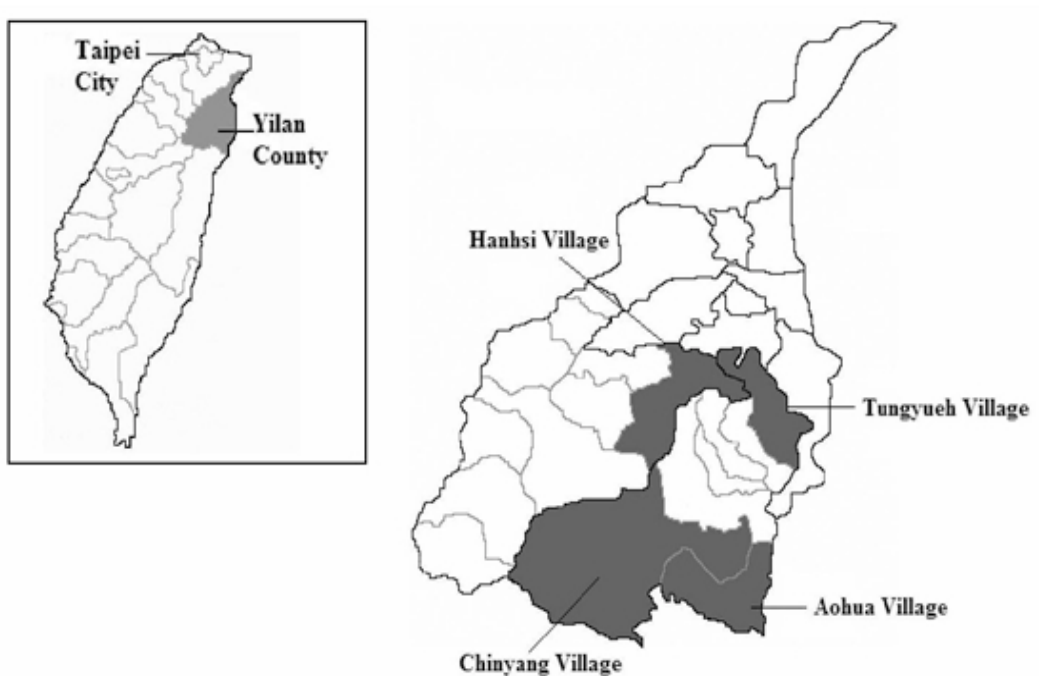
However, in 2011, the Chen Shui-bian administration was replaced by the Ma Ying-jeou¹⁸ administration that began to promote the use of Atayal¹⁹ in places where Yilan Creole was spoken. This change occurred because many Yilan Creole native speakers, adamantly asserting their Atayal heritage, insisted on the need to speak the "pure" Atayalic language instead of the "mixed" Yilan Creole, which contains many Japanese features (Chien & Sanada, 2010a). For these reasons, Yilan Creole has been removed from the language examinations. There are now few to no motivations or perceived benefits by the younger generation to learn Yilan Creole. Mandarin is now the dominant language in Taiwan and is highly embraced by the younger generation. Therefore people born after 2011 will likely speak Mandarin.

2. The current situation of Yilan Creole

Yilan Creole is presently spoken in four villages of Yilan County: Hanhsi, Tungyueh, Chiyang, and Aohua, as illustrated in Map 4.

¹⁸ Ma Ying-jeou has occupied the Republic of China (Taiwan) presidency from 2008 to the present.

¹⁹ The reason for promoting Atayal was that Yilan Creole was considered to be an Atayal dialect when the Aborigines' Languages Examination was created.



Map 4 Distribution of Yilan Creole in Yilan County, Taiwan (Chien & Sanada, 2010a, p. 351)

The total population of the four villages depicted in Map 4 was 3,407 in 2010 (Sanada & Chien, 2010a, p. 36). However, the actual number of native Yilan Creole speakers is less than the number of people in these four villages as Yilan Creole is not used village-wide (e.g., on Hsin Kuang road in Hanhsi village). It seems safe to suggest that the number of current native Yilan Creole speakers is approximately 2,000 to 3,000 individuals.

It should be noted that Yilan Creole is identified by Sanada and Chien (Chien & Sanada, 2010b), which not the name used to refer to this language in the villages shown in Map 4. Each village has a different name for Yilan Creole; some examples are: *tang-ow no ke* ‘tung yueh language’ and *tifangyuyen* ‘local language’ in Tungyueh Village; *zinbun no hanasi* ‘our own language’ and *ribentuhua* ‘Japanese vernacular’ in Aohua

village; *bo'ailudehua*²⁰ ‘the language in bo'ai road’ in Chinyang Village and *kangke*²¹ *no ke*²² ‘Hanhsi language’, *Kangke no hanasi* ‘Hanhsi language’, and *riyu* ‘Japanese’ in Hanhsi Village (Chien & Sanada, 2010a, p. 350). Although people in the four villages use different names, they all seem to refer to Yilan Creole as *nihongo* “Japanese” (Chien & Sanada, 2010a).

2.1 Yilan Creole in Hanhsi village

Hanhsi Village is approximately 76 kilometers southeast of Taipei city. Hanhsi Village is comprised of four roads²³: HuaHsing, Hsi Fang Lin, Hanhsi, and HsinKuang. The residents of Hanhsi village are scattered near the south reaches of the Luodong River, as illustrated in Map 5.



Map 5 Map of Hanhsi Village (adapted from the Google Map of Hanhsi village, Taiwan).

²⁰ *bo'ai* includes an apostrophe to distinguish it from a single-syllable word *boai*.

²¹ *kangke* is the name of Hanhsi in Japanese.

²² *ke* means language in Yilan Creole.

²³ For the purposes of this research, the names of the four communities are translated. The original names of the communities are 華興巷、四方林巷、寒溪巷、新光巷, respectively. In particular, 巷 *hsiang* means road in English.

The population of Hanhsi village is approximately 1,123 (Yilan Civil Affairs, 2011). The native speakers of Yilan Creole mainly live on Hanhsi road and Hsi Fang Lin road, while the speakers of Atayal live on Hsin Kuang road and Hua Hsing road. According to my informants, the Atayal language on Hsin Kuang and Hua Hsing roads is simplified compared to standard Atayal languages.

The original groups living on the four roads in Hanhsi village vary, as is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1 Characteristics of the original Hanhsi Village groups (Chien & Sanada, 2010b, p.82)

Current place names	Current languages spoken	Place names under Japanese rule	Names of the original groups before Japanese rule	Languages originally spoken	Emigration date
Hua Hsing road	Atayal Mandarin	Dayuan	kurugeefu biyahau kinsyan kigayan	Squliq & C'uli C'uli Squliq Squliq	1912-1914 1914-1919 1916-1917 1917
Hsi Fang Lin road	Yilan Creole Mandarin	Sifanglin	tobera ryohen	Squliq & C'uli Seediq & C'uli	1912 1912
		Xiaonan	hagabariji	Squliq & C'uli	1913
Hanhsi road	Yilan Creole Mandarin	Hanhsi	tobera hagabariji kinsyan	Squliq & C'uli Squliq & C'uli Squliq	1912 1915, 1963 1963
Hsin Kuang road	Atayal Mandarin	Gulu	hagabariji gukugeepu ryohen	Squliq & C'uli Squliq & C'uli Seediq & C'uli	1915 1915 1915

Native speakers of Yilan Creole mainly live on Hanhsi road and Hsi Fang Lin road. For the purposes of this thesis, I focused on speakers living on Hanhsi road. The present conditions of languages used on Hanhsi road are summarized in Table 2. It should be noted that Table 2 was produced based on the observations made through the interviews with my informants. In the limited time I was there I was able to interview 11 native Yilan Creole speakers whose ages ranged from the middle generation to the old generation (see Table 2 for generation distinctions).

Table 2 Age distribution of native Yilan Creole speakers on Hanhsi road in Hanhsi village

Year of Birth	1930²⁴ to 1940 (older generation)	1940s–1970s (middle generation)	1980–present (younger generation)
Present languages used	Yilan Creole Japanese Atayal* Mandarin*	Yilan Creole Mandarin	Mandarin Yilan Creole*

*Indicates that the language is not used as much as other languages in the cell.

Yilan Creole speakers' ages can be divided into three approximate groups. Speakers born 1930 to 1940 are considered to be the older generation, speakers born 1940 to 1970 are the middle generation, and speakers born after 1980 are the younger generation. As it can be seen in Table 2, Yilan Creole is not used in the younger generation as much as in the older and middle generations.

In the older generation, most of the speakers received Japanese education at least in primary school. According to my informants in the older generation, their parents

²⁴ The oldest informant of mine is 60 year-old, and the informant reported that his parents who spoke Yilan Creole were born around 1934. Thus, I presume that the earliest year is 1930.

spoke to them in Japanese mixed with Atayal. In daily life, individuals in the older generation prefer to speak Japanese to their friends of the same age in their community, while they speak Yilan Creole to their children and to people in the middle generation. Sometimes, speakers in the older generation communicate with people in the same age group in basic Atayal, for instance, in greeting and when shopping. To the younger generation and to people from outside the community, these speakers use Mandarin or Mandarin mixed with Yilan Creole. The older generation speaks Japanese or Yilan Creole fluently but has weaker fluency in Atayal and Mandarin.

People born between the 1940s and 1970s acquired Yilan Creole as their first language, and Mandarin was acquired during schooling. They use Yilan Creole with their parents and siblings, as well as with their friends in the middle generation and the older generation in their community. Like the older generation, the middle generation also speaks Mandarin to people of the younger generation and to people from outside the community.

In these communities younger generation speakers use Mandarin rather than Yilan Creole because Mandarin is the dominant language in Taiwan. This is reinforced by the fact that the older generation and the middle generation predominantly use Mandarin to speak to the younger people in their community, therefore, most of the younger people do not understand Yilan Creole²⁵ and are not motivated to learn it. The current situation in Hanhsi village indicates that Yilan Creole is vanishing.

²⁵ In my fieldwork, most of the younger generation reported that they do not understand Yilan Creole, except for some phrases such as “come to eat” and “how are you?”

3. Previous work

Currently, primarily linguistics studies of Yilan Creole have been published by Otani & Huang (2009), Sanada & Chien (2008a; 2008b; 2010a; 2010b; 2011), and Abe, Tsuchida, & Niida (2009).

Otani and Huang (2009) briefly illustrated the differences in phonology between Japanese and Yilan Creole. Abe, Tsuchida, and Niida (2009) classified the basic words that are derived from either Japanese or Atayal, based on the Yilan Hanhsi Language Textbook²⁶ (2007) and their findings in Hanhsi Village.

Based on the fieldwork in Tyungyueh Village, Sanada and Chien published the general research notes on Yilan Creole in Japanese (2008a, 2008b), Mandarin (2010b), and English (2010a). Also, Sanada and Chien (2011) studied the negation in Yilan Creole and found that the form of negation in Yilan Creole is derived from Japanese but the function of negation is similar to that in Atayal. Sanada and Chien (2010a) attested that Yilan Creole is formed by Japanese as a superstratum and Atayal as a substratum.

4. Methods of inquiry

To investigate the Yilan Creole language, I visited speakers of Yilan Creole currently residing in the village of Hanhsi during the months of July 2013, and January and February 2014. During the fieldwork, I mainly used Mandarin to communicate with the speakers. Occasionally, I used Standard Japanese to communicate with people in the older generation.

²⁶ I translated this title. The original title is “[宜蘭寒溪泰雅語] 基本詞彙、生活會話百句、模擬考試及練習題” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2007).

My fieldwork involved three methods:

1. Interviewing the speakers to find out about the background of Hanhsi village, such as what kinds of local customs do the people in Hanhsi have. I used knowledge of background and customs of Hanhsi village to establish closely working relationship with the native speakers.

2. I used elicitation of words and sentences, such as how to express ‘I saw that he ate noodle’ in Yilan Creole. Indeed, This method has two stages. In the first stage, eliciting basic words and sentences (e.g., *hoyin* (A) ‘dog’, *bla su* (A) ‘how are you’) would assist my understanding of this otherwise unfamiliar language. I made the word list that is based on the section of “basic vocabulary²⁷” (page 1 to page 3) in Yilan language textbook, and made the sentence list that is mostly based on the section of “life conversation: hundred sentences²⁸” (page 4 to page 8) in Yilan language textbook. I then used these lists to inquire about the pronunciation, and I marked them down in my notes. In the second stage, after I found some certain clauses that contain different predicate positions in the textbook and in the actual speech, I started to inquire about the use of various predicate position types based on the basic sentence list from the textbook “200 Essential Japanese Expressions: a guide to correct usage of key sentence patterns” (Tomomatsu, Miyamoto & Wakuri, 2000) that is for beginners and intermediate Japanese learners, which it is clear for me to compare the similarity and the differences between Yilan Creole and Japanese. Also, I inquired about the types according to the situation of that time; for example, when I helped to pull up the weeds for my speakers, I would ask

²⁷ I translated this title. The original title is “基本詞彙” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2007).

²⁸ I translated this title. The original title is “生活會話百句” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2007)

my speakers how to express “I’m going to pull up the weeds tomorrow” in Yilan Creole, and then I recorded it.

3. Collecting discourse data. I recorded approximately three hours of discourse data consisting of conversations among friends or family members. The three hours worth of recordings contain five different conversations settings, as illustrated in Table 3. In these recordings, I was not involved in the conversations.

Table 3 The recordings of the conversation settings

The recordings²⁹	The conversation setting.	Number of speakers, relationship between speakers, speakers’ gender and approximate age	Recording length
Recording 1	Work break sitting on the lawn.	Three people. They are relatives. Two males & one female. The two males are about 48 years old, and the female is 50 years old.	48 minutes
Recording 2	After dinner in one of the speaker’s living room.	Two people. They are sisters. Two females, and their age are about 50.	37 minutes
Recording 3	During lunch time in the noodle restaurant.	Two people. They are relatives. One male & one female. The male’s age is 60, and the female’s age is 54.	20 minutes
Recording 4	Before dinner in the speakers’ living room (different from Recording 2)	Two people. They are couple. One female & one male. The female’s age is around 45, and the male’s age is 50.	15 minutes
Recording 5	During a work break around the fire.	Three people. They are friends. Three females. Their ages are around 50.	25 minutes

²⁹ The numbers present the recordings in chronological order.

5. Sources of data

The five speakers who I worked with had an average age of 50. The oldest was a 60 year-old male, and the youngest was a 45 year-old female. Yilan Creole was their first language, and Mandarin was their schooling language. They did not have knowledge of the Japanese language, which would reduce the influence of Japanese in their spoken Yilan Creole. Two important speakers in my work were a 50 year-old female who was chairman of the Hanhsi Development Association, and a 60 year-old male who owned a local noodle restaurant on Hanhsi road in Hanhsi village.

The data in this work was based on elicited data (henceforth, ED) and recordings of discourse data (henceforth, DD) as well as public sources, i.e., the Yilan Hanhsi Atayal Language Textbook³⁰ (2007) (henceforth, YT) published by the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan (Taiwan) for the language examination (*Aborigines' Languages Examination*, p. 18). This textbook was written using Kunrei-shiki Romanization for Yilan Creole words of Japanese origin and the Atayal writing system³¹ that is reinforced by the Council of Indigenous Peoples and the Ministry of Education (Taiwan) (“Aboriginal language writing system³²”, 1995) for Yilan Creole words of Atayal origin. It is useful for detecting and verifying distributional restrictions. Egerod’s (1980) Atayal-English Dictionary was also used, as it provided Atayal words in Yilan Creole where needed for eliciting words and sentences and communicating with my interview subjects.

³⁰ I translated this title. The original title is “[宜蘭寒溪泰雅語] 基本詞彙、生活會話百句、模擬考試及練習題” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2007).

³¹ I translated this title. The original title is “泰雅族書寫系統” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 1995).

³² I translated this title. The original title is “原住民語言書寫系統” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 1995).

With regard to the transcriptions of this thesis, Yilan Creole words of Japanese origin and Japanese are written using Kunrei-shiki Romanization; the descriptions of Yilan Creole words of Atayal origin and Atayal are adopted from the Atayal writing system reinforced by the Council of Indigenous Peoples and the Ministry of Education (Taiwan) in December 2005; Mandarin examples are written as Pinyin. In all Taiwanese place-names I adhere to the Wade-Giles transcriptions currently used in Taiwan. The phonetic transcriptions in chapter 2 are written using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

For the purpose of this thesis, the Yilan Creole examples from the Yilan Hanhsi Atayal Language Textbook³³ (2007) are translated. Because the textbook contains Yilan Creole and Mandarin only, the meanings of Yilan Creole and the gloss of Yilan Creole clause are translated based on Mandarin. In order to clearly understand the origins of Yilan Creole words, the language of origin is indicated by the first letter of said language; that is, A indicates Atayal, J indicates Japanese, and M indicates Mandarin. For instance, Yilan Creole *hoyin* ‘dog’ that is from Atayal will be indicated as *hoyin* ‘dog’ (A). Yilan Creole *iku* ‘to go’ that is from Japanese will be presented as *iku* ‘to go’ (J). Yilan Creole *meymey* ‘younger sister’ that is from Mandarin will be indicated as *meymey* ‘younger sister’ (M).

³³ I translated this title. The original title is “[宜蘭寒溪泰雅語] 基本詞彙、生活會話百句、模擬考試及練習題” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2007).

Chapter 2

6 Grammar

This chapter presents a grammatical sketch of Yilan Creole, and has the following general structure: the sound system, lexicon, morphology³⁴ and syntax of Yilan Creole.

6.1 Sound system

Yilan Creole consonants, vowels, long consonants, long vowels, and stress are discussed in sections 6.1.1, 6.1.2, 6.1.3 and 6.1.4, respectively.

6.1.1 Consonants

There are twenty-two consonants in Yilan Creole. The major feature that characterizes the consonant system of Yilan Creole is that it consists of consonants from Japanese and Atayal, as Japanese functions as the superstratum and Atayal as the substratum of Yilan Creole (Chien & Sanada, 2010a).

The chart of Yilan Creole consonants used by International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is given in Table 4. I will review all the consonants of Yilan Creole in the following order: stops, nasals, fricatives, affricates, glides, and liquids.

³⁴ Lexicon and morphology are grouped into section 6.2 in this work.

Table 4 Summary of Yilan Creole Consonants.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Velar	Palatal	Glottal
Stops	p b	t d		k g		ʔ
Nasals	m	n		ŋ		
Fricatives		s z	ç	x		h
Affricates		ts	tç dz			
Glides				w	y	
Liquids		r l				

Not all consonants that are found in Japanese and Atayal are found in Yilan Creole. According to Chien and Sanada (2010b) and Otani and Huang (2009), the inventory of Yilan Creole consonants does not have the bilabial fricative [ɸ] and the uvular nasal [ɴ] found in Japanese. Also, the Yilan Creole consonant inventory does not have the uvular stop [q] found in Atayal. In my research, I did not find [ɸ] [ɴ] and [q], and therefore follow the convention of the previous studies. The origins of some consonants can be traced directly to either Japanese or Atayal. For example, the glottal stop [ʔ], the alveolar liquid [l] and the velar fricative [x] are of Atayal origin, as they are not found in the Japanese language. Similarly, the voiced stops [b], [d] and [g], voiced alveolar fricative [z], alveo-palatal fricative [ç], alveolar affricate [ts], and alveo-palatal affricates [tç] and [dz] are of Japanese origin as they are not found in Atayal.

Yilan Creole sounds are represented using a combination of Kunrei-shiki romanization and the Atayal writing system reinforced by the Council of Indigenous Peoples and the Ministry of Education (Taiwan), which is discussed below:

- (1). stops [p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ]: p, b, t, d, k, g, ³⁵
- (2). nasals [m, n, ŋ] : m, n, ng
- (3). fricatives [s, z, ɕ, x, h]: s, z, s, x, h
- (4). affricates [ts, tɕ, dz]: t, t, z
- (5). glides [w, y]: w, y
- (6). liquids [r, l]: r, l

In the Atayal writing system, the glottal stop, [ʔ], is represented by an apostrophe ', such as in the word *m'es* 'happy' (YT, 2007; A). Also, the velar nasal, [ŋ], is written as ng, and can be found in the words such as *ngasal* 'home' (YT, 2007; A).

In Kunrei-shiki romanization, the alveo-palatal fricative [ɕ] is represented as s, as is exemplified by the first sound in *sinbun* 'news' (ED; J). The alveolar affricate [ts] is represented as t, as is exemplified in the first sound in the word *tumori* 'intention' (DD; J). Likewise, the voiceless alveo-palatal affricate, [tɕ], is written as t, as is seen in words such as *tigaw* 'not' (DD), derived from the Japanese verb *tigau* 'to differ'. The voiced alveo-palatal affricate, [dz], is written as z, and can be exemplified by the first sound in *zikan* 'time' (ED; J).

Stops

Two major features characterize the Yilan Creole stops [p,b,t,d,k,g]. First, Yilan Creole preserves the Japanese feature that the voiceless consonants, [p], [t] and [k], have voiced counterparts [b], [d] and [g], although these voiced stops are not found in Atayal (Li, 1980). Second, Yilan Creole includes the Atayal feature that [t] and [k] can occur word-finally, as is seen in *mit* 'goat' (YT, 2007; A) and *biyok* 'pig' (YT, 2007; A). In Japanese, only nasal consonants can occur word-finally.

³⁵ The apostrophe represents the glottal stop [ʔ].

Next, the Yilan Creole glottal stop [ʔ] derives from Atayal (Chien & Sanada, 2010a), and can be either in syllable-initial position or syllable-final position as in *'ba* [ʔba] ‘hand’ (DD; A) and *wagi'* [wagiʔ] ‘sun’ (YT, 2007; A).

Nasals

The set of nasal consonants [m, n, ŋ] is similar to both Japanese and Atayal, although Japanese does not phonemically have the velar nasal [ŋ] (Shibatani, 1990). Additionally, Yilan Creole does not have the uvular nasal [ɴ] that is particular to Japanese.

The Yilan Creole nasals, [m] and [n] can occur word-initially, similar to Japanese and Atayal. For example, the [m] found in *mpuw* ‘ten’ (YT, 2007; A) and in *mie* ‘to see’ (ED; J), and the [n] found in *nerin* ‘girl’ (YT, 2007; A) and in *namae* ‘name’ (DD; J). [m] and [n] can also appear word-finally in Yilan Creole, which derives from Atayal only; for instance, the [m] in *ssom* ‘easer’ (YT, 2007) derives from the Atayal noun *ccom* ‘easer’, and the [n] found in *sasan* ‘morning’ (ED; A).

The Yilan Creole nasal [ŋ] can appear in the word-initial position, which does not occur in Japanese. For example, [ŋ] is in the word *ngsan* ‘home’ (YT, 2007; A). Also, [ŋ] appears in the word-final position, which also does not occur in Japanese, such as in the word *yulung* ‘cloud’ (YT, 2007; A).

Fricatives

The Yilan Creole voiced alveolar fricative [z] derives from Japanese, although Atayal does not have [z] (Li, 1980). The voiceless alveolar fricative [s], on the other hand, appears in both Japanese and Atayal.

The Yilan Creole alveo-palatal [ç] derives from Japanese only, whereas the velar fricative [x] derives from Atayal only. The glottal fricative, [h], derives from Japanese and Atayal.

There are both voiced and voiceless alveolar fricatives [z] and [s], which is exemplified by the Yilan Creole words *izen* ‘before’ (ED; J) and *seito* ‘student’ (YT, 2007; J), respectively. The alveo-palatal fricative, [ç], is found in *sinbun* ‘news’ (ED; J) as the first sound. The velar fricative [x] occurs, for instance, in *utux* ‘one’ (ED; A) and *toyux* ‘long’ (YT, 2007; A). The glottal fricative [h] can be found in words such as *lokah* ‘good’ (ED; A) and *hana* ‘flower’ (ED; J).

The Yilan Creole fricatives, [s], [x] and [h], occur in word-final position, which derives from an Atayal feature that does not occur in Japanese. For example, [s] is in *yutas* ‘grandfather’ (ED; A), [x] is in *walax* ‘rain’ (ED; A), and [h] is in *talah* ‘red’ (YT, 2007; A).

Affricates

The Yilan Creole affricates, [ts], [tɕ] and [dʒ], derive from Japanese, which are not seen in the Atayal consonant inventory (Li, 1980).

The voiceless alveolar affricate, [ts], is seen in words such as *tumori* ‘intention’ (ED; J). The affricates also include the alveo-palatal [tɕ] (voiceless) and [dʒ] (voiced).

The former is exemplified by the first sound in the word *tigaw* ‘not’ (ED) that derives from the Japanese verb *tigau* ‘to differ’, and the latter occurs as the first sound in the Yilan Creole word *zibun* ‘s/he’ (YT, 2007) which derives from the Japanese noun *zibun* ‘oneself’.

Glides

The Yilan Creole velar glide [w] and the palatal glide [y] derive from Japanese and Atayal.

The velar, [w], is found in words such as *waha* ‘I’ (ED), a word that seems to relate to Japanese *watasi* ‘I’ (Sanada & Chien, 2008a), *uwax* ‘mouth’ (YT, 2007; A) and *tigaw* ‘not’ (ED) which derives from the Japanese verb *tigau* ‘to differ’. The palatal [y] is found in the words *yama* ‘mountain’ (ED; J) and *yutas* ‘grandfather’ (YT, 2007; A).

Liquids

The Yilan Creole liquid [r] is similar to that found in Japanese and Atayal. The other Yilan Creole liquid [l] derives from Atayal and is not found in Japanese.

In Yilan Creole, [r] can be exemplified in words such as *nerin* ‘female’ (ED; A), and [l] can be found in words such as *likuy* ‘male’ (ED; A).

Interestingly, [l] seems to replace the liquid [r] in some Yilan Creole words of Japanese origin; for instance, *suware* ‘to sit’ in Japanese becomes *suwale* ‘to sit’ in Yilan Creole.

Also, [l] can substitute for the stop [d] on occasion, which occurs in some Yilan Creole words of Japanese origin. For example, *kyôdai*³⁶ ‘sibling’ in Japanese becomes *kyôlai* ‘sibling’ (DD) in Yilan Creole; likewise, *dakara* ‘so’ in Japanese becomes *lakara* ‘so’ (DD) in Yilan Creole. Also, *denwa* ‘telephone’ in Japanese becomes *lenwa* ‘telephone’ (YT, 2007) in Yilan Creole. Nevertheless, [d] is not consistently replaced by [l] as is shown by *desyô* ‘I wonder’ (DD) in Yilan Creole, which is *desyô* ‘I wonder’ in Japanese. Based on these observations, it is currently hypothesized that [d] is replaced by [l] when [d] precedes the central low vowel [a], however, this still needs further investigation.

In summary, Yilan Creole consonants include most consonants of Japanese and Atayal except for the Japanese bilabial fricative [ɸ] and the uvular nasal [ŋ], and an Atayal consonant the uvular stop [q]. In particular, Yilan Creole consonants preserve many Atayal features, as the creole is adopted from Atayal words; for instance, [t], [k], [s], [x] and [h] can occur word-finally as is seen in *spat* ‘eight’ (YT, 2007; A), *papak* ‘ear’ (YT 2007; A), *lukus* ‘cloth’ (YT, 2007; A), *toyox* ‘long’ (YT, 2007; A) and *lokah* ‘good’ (ED; A), all of which come from Atayal. On the other hand, some consonants in words of Japanese origin have been changed in Yilan Creole; for instance, *kyôdai* ‘brother’ in Japanese becomes *kyôlai* ‘brother’ (ED; A) in Yilan Creole.

6.1.2 Vowels

Yilan Creole vowels are similar to Japanese and Atayal, as illustrated in Table 5³⁷.

³⁶ The circumflex accent marks a long vowel in Kunrei-shiki romanization.

³⁷ The inventory of Yilan Creole vowel is slightly different from Otani & Huang (2009). Otani and Huang’s study does not have the mid vowel [ə].

Table 5 Summary of Yilan Creole vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

Both Japanese and Atayal vowel inventories include [a], [i], [u], [e] and [o] (Tsujimura, 2007; Li, 1980), except for [ə] which derives from Atayal (Li, 1980).

High vowels

The front, [i], is exemplified in the words *oli* ‘mouse’ (YT, 2007; A) and *okire* ‘to wake up’ (YT, 2007; J), and the back, [u], appears in the words such as *labu* ‘white’ (YT, 2007; A) and *uta* ‘to sing’ (ED) that derives from the Japanese verb *utau* ‘to sing’.

Mid vowels

The front, [e], is exemplified in the words *tabe* ‘to eat’ (YT, 2007; J) and *benah* ‘star’ (YT, 2007; A). The central [ə], which does not occur in Japanese, appears in *tmut* [təmʉt] ‘random’ (YT, 2007; A). The back, [o], can be found in the words *okire* ‘to wake up’ (YT, 2007; J) and *lokah* ‘good’ (ED; A).

Low vowels

The central, [a], is exemplified in the words *are* ‘that’ (YT, 2007; J) and *musa* ‘to go’ (ED; A).

6.1.3 Long consonants and vowels

Otani and Huang (2009) suggested that Japanese long consonants and vowels are occasionally shortened in Yilan Creole. For example, the Japanese word *gakkô* ‘school’ becomes *gako* ‘school’ (YT, 2007) in Yilan Creole. The Japanese word *byôki* ‘illness’ becomes *byoki* ‘illness’ (YT, 2007); however, the Japanese word *kyôdai* ‘sibling’ still retains the long vowel in Yilan Creole *kyôlai* ‘sibling’.

6.1.4 Stress

Stress normally falls on the final syllable in Yilan Creole, as seen in
^{*38} [waha] ‘I’ (ED) (J) and [lalaŋ] ‘before’ (ED; A). This feature derives from Atayal, which is known to be a stress-final language (Li, 1980, p. 356), whereas Japanese is a pitch-accent language (Tsuji-mura, 2007) in which the location of a word’s accent is not predicable.

6.2 Lexicon and Morphology

This section presents the pronouns, demonstratives, nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs found in Yilan Creole respectively.

6.2.1 Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
The first-person pronoun	wa/waha	watati/wahatati
The second-person pronoun	su/anta	Antatati

³⁸ The diacritic * indicates the location of the accent of the word.

The third-person pronoun	hiya/zibun/zin/are	zintati/zibuntati/aretati
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Unlike Japanese, I have found no gender distinction or honorific forms in Yilan Creole pronouns. Additionally, Yilan Creole pronouns are not inflected to indicate the subject or the object in a clause. Whether there are different functions between pronouns, such as *wa* ‘I’ and *waha* ‘I’, is still unknown.

The first-person pronouns *wa* (ED) and *waha* (YT, 2007) ‘I’ seem to relate to Japanese *watasi* ‘I’ (Sanada & Chien, 2008a). The frequency of using *wa* ‘I’ seems to be higher than that of *waha*.

The second-person pronouns in Yilan Creole include the second-person pronouns of Japanese *anta* ‘you’ and Atayal *su* ‘you’. The Japanese *anta* ‘you’ is the more commonly used of the two, while the Atayal *su* ‘you’ (ED) is mainly used for greeting as in *bla su* ‘how are you’ in Yilan Creole (YT, 2007).

The third-person pronouns also derive from both Japanese and Atayal. *hiya* ‘he/she’ (ED) is originally from Atayal. *zibun* ‘he/she’ derives from the Japanese *zibun* ‘oneself’ (YT, 2007), which the shorter pronoun *zin* ‘he/she’ (ED) also seems to derive from (Sanada & Chien, 2008a). *are* ‘he/she’ (ED) derives from the Japanese noun *are* ‘that’.

Forming plural pronouns is done by adding the affix *-tati* to singular pronouns in Yilan Creole, but the affixation only occurs in those pronouns that are derived from Japanese; the Atayal *su* ‘you’ (ED) and *hiya* ‘he/she’ (ED) do not have plurals in Yilan Creole.

6.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

English	Yilan Creole
Here	koti
There	asoko
This	kore
That	are

Three major features characterize the Yilan Creole demonstratives. First, they all derive from Japanese. Second, the consonant shortening feature occasionally found in Yilan Creole is demonstrated with *koti* ‘here’ (YT, 2007), a shortened form of Japanese *kotti* ‘here’. Last, an example of multiple derivations of the same word can be found, with the word *are* as an example, which can mean either ‘he/she’ or ‘that’ in Yilan Creole, but only functions as the demonstrative ‘that’ in Japanese.

6.2.3 Nouns

According to Abe, Tsuchida and Niida (2008), nouns derived from Japanese in Yilan Creole mostly refer to temporal ideas, occupations (e.g., *lainen* ‘next year (ED) that derives from the Japanese noun *rainen* ‘next year’, *isya* ‘doctor’ (YT, 2007; J)) and modern subjects (e.g., *enpitsu* ‘pencil’ (YT, 2007; J)), while Atayal words tend to refer to plants and animals, such as *mman* ‘grass’ (ED; A) and *ulih* ‘fish’ (YT, 2007; A). Moreover, the speakers whom I worked with would use Mandarin and Min dialects of Chinese for kinship terms. The former can be seen with the word *shenshen* ‘aunt’ (ED; M), and the latter with the word *akong* ‘grandfather’ (YT, 2007; Min-dialect). Even,

some of the words designating more modern subjects, such as *shouji* ‘cell-phone’ (ED) and *dianshi*³⁹ ‘TV’ (ED), are derived from Mandarin.

6.2.4 Adjectives and Adverbs

Yilan Creole adjectives derive from both Japanese and Atayal. For example, the adjectives for size and length, such as *nagai* ‘long’ (ED) and *semai* ‘narrow’ (ED), seem to be mostly Japanese. The Atayal adjectives are mostly used to describe color and subjective feelings in Yilan Creole, such as *labu* ‘white’ (YT, 2007) and *m’es* ‘happy’ (YT, 2007).

Moreover, unlike Japanese adjectives that are inflected in order to express tense or negation, Yilan Creole adjectives are not inflected. Rather, tense is expressed by using a variety of adverbs that refer to time. For example, *kilux* ‘hot’ (A) in *kyô kilux* ‘Today (is) hot’ (ED) vs. *kinô kilux* ‘Yesterday (was) hot’ (ED). Negation is expressed by following an adjective with *sinai* ‘do-not’ (J), as is seen with *samui* ‘cold’ (J) in *kyô samui sinai* ‘Today (is) not cold’ (ED) vs. *kinô samui sinai* ‘Yesterday (was) not cold’ (Chien & Sanada, 2010b, p. 81).

With regards to Yilan Creole adverbs, it seems that the adjectives can also serve to describe verbs, functioning as adverbs. For example, *lokah* ‘good, strong’ (YT, 2007; A) functions as an adjective when describing *anta* ‘you’ in the phrase *lokah anta* ‘you (are) strong’ (DD), while *lokah* functions as an adverb as in *lokah benkyo* ‘to study hard’ (ED) when it precedes *benkyo* ‘study’ (J) and *lokah yube* ‘to speak loudly’ (DD) when it

³⁹ In my data, the speakers pronounced *dianshi* ‘TV’ with the retroflex consonant *shi* [ʂɿ] in Standard Mandarin, which is written in Pinyin. Also, *densu* ‘TV’ with the alveolar fricative consonant *su* [su] is acceptable in Yilan Creole, which is written in Romanization in the textbook.

precedes *yube* ‘to speak’, which seems to derive from the imperative form *yobe* of the Japanese verb *yobu* ‘to call’.

6.2.5 Verbs

Yilan Creole verbs derive from both Japanese and Atayal (Otani & Huang, 2009). Nevertheless, the verbal conjugation patterns in Yilan Creole are different from Japanese and Atayal.

Japanese verbs are mostly identified by “the various conjugational endings that can be placed on them” (Tsujiura, 2007, p. 116). For example, the verbal ending *nai* is used to signify the negative present tense, such as with *taberu* ‘to eat’ that becomes *tabe nai* ‘do/does not eat’. For the negative past tense, *tabe nai* becomes *tabe nakatta* ‘did not eat’. Some such forms, including *tabe nai*, exist in Yilan Creole. However, several unique patterns that do not conform to Japanese have been identified, as illustrated in Table 6.

Table 6 The verbs with various tenses

	to eat		to sing	
	Yilan Creole	Japanese	Yilan Creole	Japanese
Affirmative present	taberu	taberu	uta	utau
Affirmative past	past-tense adv. tabeta	tabeta	past-tense adv. utata	utatta
Negative present	tabe nai	tabe nai	uta nai	utawa nai
Negative past	past-tense adv. tabe nai	tabe nakatta	past-tense adv. uta nai	utawa nakatta
Present Progressive	present-tense adv. Tabeteru	tabete (i)ru	present-tense adv. utateru	utatte (i)ru
Negative present progressive	present-tense adv.	tabete (i)nai	present-tense adv.	utatte (i)nai

	tabeteru nai		utateru nai	
Past progressive	past-tense adv. tabeteru	tabete (i)ta	past-tense adv. utateru	utatte (i)ta
Negative past progressive	past-tense adv. tabeteru nai	tabete (i)nakatta	past-tense adv. utateru nai	utatte (i)nakatta

In Japanese, the tense and aspect of the verbs are indicated by various inflections for instance, the verbs are affixed with *-teru* ‘is/has been ~ing’ to indicate the present progressive, such as *tabeteru* ‘eating’. However, in Yilan Creole, the tense and aspect of a verb is indicated by adding affixes and temporal adverbs. For instance, to indicate the present progressive verbs are affixed with *-teru* ‘is/has been ~ing’ as they are in Japanese. However, the present progressive tense still needs to be indicated by an adverb of present time, such as *ima* ‘now’ (YT, 2007; J) in order to create a grammatical phrase. The past tense is indicated using a past tense adverb, such as *izen* ‘before’ (ED; J) or *kinō* ‘yesterday’ (ED; J). The future-tense is indicated using a future tense adverb, such as *asita* ‘tomorrow’ (ED; J) or *lainen* ‘next year’ (ED) which both derive from Japanese, *asita* ‘tomorrow’ and *rainen* ‘next year’ respectively.

Yilan Creole verbs conjugations also differ from the Atayal verbal system. In Atayal, verb conjugations are indicated by different affixes. For example, the Atayal verb *yugi* ‘to dance’ is prefixed by *m-* to become *myugi* ‘dancing’ indicating the progressive tense (Egerod, 1980; Huang, 2009). However, in Yilan Creole, the Atayal verb *yugi* ‘to dance’ (YT, 2007) is affixed by *-teru* ‘is/has been ~ing’ from Japanese, and becomes *yugiteru* ‘dancing’ (YT, 2007) to refer to the progressive tense.

6.3 Syntax

This section will discuss the syntax of Yilan Creole in the following order: basic clause structure based on lexical categories, negation, adverbial clauses, serial-verb constructions, interrogatives and imperatives. In this section, the main-clause predicates are indicated in bold.

6.3.1 Basic clause structure

This section presents the predicate nominal, the predicate adjectives and the verbal predicates of Yilan Creole.

6.3.1.1 Predicate nominal

In Yilan Creole, the independent clauses involving predicate nouns do not need a copula.

- (1) *kore* *ga*⁴⁰ ***handai***
 this TOP desk
 ‘This (is a) desk.’ (YT, 2007, p. 5)

Example (1) contains *kore* ‘this’ (J), *ga* ‘the topic marker’ (A), and *handai* ‘desk’ (J).

Adjective predicates behave similarly, as is seen in example (2).

6.3.1.2 Predicate adjective

- (2) *zibun* *no* *yonux* *yaba* ***tonux***
 s/he of hair very long
 ‘His/her hair (is) very long.’ (YT, 2007, p. 7)

⁴⁰ *ga* is served as a topic marker in Yilan Textbook (2007) and the Atayal (Huang, 2000), but it is considered to be a subject marker in Sanada and Chien (2012). In this work, I follow the convention that *ga* serves as a topic marker.

Example (2) contains *zibun* ‘s/he’ (J), *no* ‘of’ (J), *yonux* ‘hair’ (A), *yaba* ‘very’ which likely relates to the Japanese *yabai* ‘terrific’ and *tonux* ‘long’ (A).

6.3.1.3 Verbal predicates

- (3) *saing* *koko* *to* *utux* *meimei* **aru**
 three older brother and one younger sister have
 ‘(I) have three older brothers and one younger sister.’ (YT, 2007, p. 5)

Example (3) contains *saing* ‘three’ (A), *koko* ‘older brother’ which derives from Mandarin *gege* ‘older brother’, *to* ‘and’ (J), *utux* ‘one’ (A), *meimei* (M), and *aru* ‘have’ (J).

6.3.2 Negation

There are four negative forms in Yilan Creole: *cigaw*, *-nai*, *-ng* and *tikang*.

6.3.2.1 *cigaw* ‘not’

In Yilan Creole, *cigaw* ‘not’ which derives from the Japanese verb *cigau* ‘to differ’ serves as a marker of negation, and seems to occur in nominal predicate clauses such as those in (4) and (5).

- (4) *izen* *zin* *ga* **keisatu** *cigaw*
 before s/he TOP policeman not
 ‘S/he was not a policeman before.’ (ED)
- (5) *are* **hana** *cigaw* *lasî*
 that flower not seem
 ‘That (does) not appear to be a flower.’ (ED)

Example (4) contains *zin* ‘s/he’ (J), and *keisatu* ‘policeman’ (J). Example (5) contains *are* ‘that’ (J), *hana* ‘flower’ (J) and *lasî* ‘seem’ which derives from the Japanese adjective *rasî* ‘seem’.

6.3.2.2 -nai

In Yilan Creole, *-nai*, which derives from Japanese, appears to negate verbal predicates.

(6) *saki kara uwow mada owatte-nai*
 earlier from wine yet finish-not
 ‘The wine from earlier is not finished yet.’ (DD)

(7) *asita sigoto takusan kara are bang tabe-nai*
 tomorrow work a lot because s/he evening eat-not
 ‘Because tomorrow s/he has a lot of work, s/he will not eat dinner. (ED)

Example (6) contains *saki* ‘earlier’ (J), *kara* ‘from’ (J), *uwow* ‘wine’ (A), *mada* ‘yet/still’ (J) and *owattenai* ‘not to finish’ (J).

Example (7) contains *asita* ‘tomorrow’ (J), *sigoto* ‘job’ (J), *takusan* ‘a lot’ (J), *kara* ‘because’ (J), *are* ‘s/he’ (J), *bang* ‘evening’ (J), and *tabe-nai* ‘eat-not’ (J).

6.3.2.3 -ng

Another form, *-ng*, seems to derive from the Japanese negative *-n*. This negative *-ng* is used to negate verbal predicates by suffixing to the verb.

(8) *lainen wa Taihoku ni ika-ng*
 next year I Taipei to go-not
 ‘I will not go to Taipei next year.’ (ED)

(9) *isya yuta kono byoki naona-ng*
 doctor said this illness cure-not
 ‘The doctor says this illness will not be cured.’ (ED)

Example (8) contains *lainen* ‘next year’ (J), *wa* ‘I’ (J), *Taihoku* ‘Taipei’ (J), *ni* ‘to’ (J) and *ika-ng* ‘go-not’ (J).

Example (9) contains *isya* ‘doctor’ (J), *yuta* ‘said’ which derives from the Japanese verb *yutta* ‘said’, *kono* ‘this’ (J), *byoki* ‘illness’ (J), and *naona-ng* ‘cure-not’ where the verb *naona* ‘to cure’ derives from the Japanese verb *naosu* ‘to cure’ and is affixed by *-ng*.

6.3.2.4 *tikang* ‘don’t’

In Yilan Creole, *tikang* ‘not’ seems to derive from the Japanese *-te* and *ikang* ‘don’t’, and serves to negate the imperative.

(10) *gako* ***skrui*** *tikang*
 school late not
 ‘Don’t be late for school’ (YT, 2007, p. 8)

(11) ***yu*** *tikang*
 say not
 ‘Don’t tell’ (YT, 2007, p. 35)

Example (10) contains *gako* ‘school’ which derives from the Japanese noun *gakkô* ‘school’, *skrui* ‘late’ that derives from the Atayal verb *ccu’y* ‘late’. Example (11) contains *yu* ‘to say’ which derives from the Japanese verb *yuu* ‘to say’.

To sum up, in Yilan Creole the negator *cigaw* ‘no’ follows nouns and is used for nouns only (Sanada & Chien, 2011), and *tikang* ‘not’ is used to indicate prohibition (YT, 2007). According to Sanada and Chien (2011), the negative suffix *-nai* refers to incidents that have occurred prior to the speech event (6), while the suffix *-ng* refers to incidents that occur after the speech event ((8), (9)). However, the suffix *-nai* can be used with incidents that occur after the speech event (7), which still needs further investigation.

6.3.3 Serial-verb constructions

In Yilan Creole, verbs can be linked to create serial verbs by using either the particle *to* ‘and’ (J) or suffixing *-te* (J) to the first verb. This differs from Japanese where *to* ‘and’ only serves to link nouns.

(12) *ngasan doko waha huahua to benkyo uta*
 home at I draw and study singing
 ‘I draw and study singing at home.’ (YT, 2007, p.16)

(13) *wahatati isyo bang mami tabete benah mieru*
 we together evening meal eat stars see
 ‘We eat evening meal and see stars together’ (Sanada & Chien, 2008a, p.73)

Example (12) contains *ngasan* ‘home’ (A), *doko*⁴¹ ‘at’ which seems to derive from the Japanese word *toko (ro)* ‘place’, *waha* ‘I’ (J), *hwahwa* ‘to draw’ (M), *benkyo*⁴² ‘to study’ (J).

Example (13) contains *wahatati* ‘we’ (J), *isyo* ‘together’ (J), *bang* ‘evening’ (J), *tabete* ‘to eat’ (J), *benah* ‘star’ (A), and *mieru* ‘to see’ (J).

6.3.4 Adverbial clauses

This section discusses conditional clauses, temporal clauses, and reason clauses.

6.3.4.1 Conditional clauses

In Yilan Creole, the suffix *-tara* is used in conditional clauses, as is illustrated in (14) and (15).

⁴¹ Presumably, *doko* takes the meaning of ‘at’ here instead of ‘where’ (YT, 2007) as it is indicating the location in this example and is not found with the *wh*-question marker. Whether *doko* ‘where’ is commonly used as a location particle in Yilan Creole is still unknown.

⁴² *benkyo* is a verb in Yilan Creole, whereas *benkyô* is a noun in Japanese.

- (14) zikan a-**tara** moo mae kara kuru
 time have-if again beginning from come
 ‘If there is time, (I hope) to start at the beginning again’ (ED)

- (15) honto na-**tara** moo keisatu ski-si-ng
 truth become-if any more policeman like-do-not
 ‘If possible, I would not be a policeman.’ (ED)

(lit. If (it) becomes truth, (I) do not like policeman any more.)

Example (14) contains *zikan* ‘time’ (J), *a-tara* ‘have-if’ which derives from the

Japanese verb *attara* ‘have-if’, *moo* ‘again’ (J), *mae* ‘beginning’ (J), *kara* ‘from’ (J) and *kuru* ‘to come’ (J).

Example (15) contains *honto* ‘truth’ (J), *na-tara* ‘become-if’ which derives from the Japanese verb *nattara* ‘become-if’, *keisatu* ‘policeman’ (J), *ski-si-ng* ‘like-do-not’ which appears to have derived from the Japanese verb *suki* ‘like’ suffixed by the verb *-si* ‘do’ (J) and the negative form *-ng* ‘not’ (J).

6.3.4.2 Temporal clauses

In Yilan Creole, *toki* ‘when’ is used to express time clauses, which is identical to Japanese.

- (16) waha kinô tota **toki** zibun jianghua-si-nai
 I yesterday took when he say-do-not
 ‘When I took (it), he did not tell.’ (DD)

Example (16) contains *waha* ‘I’ (J), *kinô* ‘yesterday’ (J), *tota* ‘took’ which derives from the Japanese verb *totta* ‘took’, *zibun* ‘he’ (J), *jianghua-si-nai* ‘say-do-not’ which is the verb *jianghua* ‘to say’ (M) suffixed by the verb *-si* ‘do’ (J) and the negative form *-nai* ‘not’ (J).

6.3.4.3 Reason clauses

In Yilan Creole, *kara* ‘because’ is used to express a reason clause, similar to Japanese.

- (17) *asita* *sigoto* *takusan* ***kara*** *are* *bang* *tabe-nai*
 tomorrow work a lot because she evening eat-not
 ‘She (will) not eat in the evening because she (has) a lot of work.’ (ED)

Example (17) contains *asita* ‘tomorrow’ (J), *sigoto* ‘job’ (J), *takusan* ‘a lot’ (J), *kara* ‘because’ (J), *are* ‘s/he’ (J), *bang* ‘evening’ (J), and *tabe-nai* ‘eat-not’ (J).

6.3.5 Comparison

In Yilan Creole, *donazi* ‘the same as’ is used in comparison clauses.

- (18) *anta* *yaba* *kilei* *ano* *eiga* *mingxing* ***donazi***
 you very beautiful that movie star the same as
 ‘You (are) as very beautiful as that movie star.’ (ED)

It includes *anta* ‘you’(J), *yaba* ‘very’ (J), *kilei* ‘beautiful’ which derives from the Japanese adjective *kirei* ‘beautiful’, *ano* ‘that’ (J), *eiga* ‘movie’ (J), *mingxing* ‘star’ (M), and *donazi* ‘the same as’ which appears to have derived from the Japanese verb phrase – *to onazi* ‘it’s the same as’.

6.3.6 Interrogatives

This section discusses the following structures: WH-questions associated with things, places, person and names, how much/many questions, and yes-no questions.

6.3.6.1 *WH*-Questions associated with things

In Yilan Creole, the Japanese derived *nani* ‘what’ is used to refer to either predicates (19) or arguments (20), as illustrated in bold in the following examples.

(19) *kore ga nani*
 this TOP what
 ‘What (is) this?’ (YT, 2007, p. 5)

(20) ***nani*** *sagateru*
 what looking for
 ‘What (are you) looking for?’ (ED)

Example (19) includes *kore* ‘this’ (J), *ga* ‘the topic marker’ (A) and *nani* ‘what’ (J). Example (20) contains *nani* ‘what’ (J), *sagateru* ‘looking for’ which seems to relate to the Japanese verb *sagasu* ‘look for’ suffixed with *-teru* ‘ing’.

6.3.6.2 *WH*-Questions associated with locations

Yilan Creole *doko* ‘where’ which derives from Japanese is in bold in examples (21) and (22).

(21) *anta kinô doko ita*
 you yesterday where went
 ‘Yesterday, where (did) you go?’ (YT, 2007, p.6)

(22) *anta no sinsiy doko aru*
 you of teacher where exist
 ‘Where (is) your teacher?’ (YT, 2007, p. 40)

Example (21) contains *anta* ‘you’ (J), *kinô* ‘yesterday’ (J), *doko* ‘where’ (J) and *ita* ‘went’ which derives from the Japanese past tense verb *itta* ‘went’. Example (22)

contains *anta* ‘you’ (J), *sinsiy*⁴³ ‘teacher’ which derives from the Japanese noun *sensei* ‘teacher’, *doko* ‘where’ (J) and *aru* ‘to exist’ (J).

6.3.6.3 WH-Questions associated with person and names

In Yilan Creole, *lare* ‘who’ derives from the Japanese word *dare* ‘who’, and can be used to ask about identity (e.g., who are you?) or a person’s name (e.g., what is your name?), but Japanese *dare* ‘who’ cannot be used to ask a person’s name.

(23) *lisizang lare*
 chairman who
 ‘Who (is) the chairman (of Hanhsi Development Association)?’ (ED)

(24) *anta no namae ga lare*
 you of name TOP who
 ‘What (is) your name?’ (YT, 2007, p. 4)

Example (23) includes *lisizang* ‘the chairman’ which derives from the Mandarin word *lishizhang* ‘the chairman’, and *lare* ‘who’ (J). Example (24) contains *anta* ‘you’ (J), *namae* ‘name’ (J) and *lare* ‘who’ (J).

6.3.6.4 How much/many-Questions

In Yilan Creole, *name* ‘how many’, which derives from the Japanese phrase *nanmei* ‘how many people’, is used to ask questions about the number in terms of people (25), while *ikura* ‘how many/much’ (J) is used to ask questions about the quantity of objects (26) and price (27), similar to Japanese.

(25) *anta no lpyung name aru*
 you of friend how many have

⁴³ Some Yilan Creole speakers use *sensei* ‘teacher’ instead of *sinsiy* ‘teacher’.

‘How many friends (do) you have?’ (YT, 2007, p. 5)

- (26) are nerin **ikura** hana aru
 that woman how many flower have
 ‘How many flowers (does) that woman have?’ (YT, 2007, p. 5)

- (27) kono wayey **ikura**
 this noodle how much
 ‘How much (is) this noodle?’ (ED)

Example (25) contains *anta* ‘you’ (J), *lpyung* ‘friend’ (A), *name* ‘how many’ which derives from the Japanese word *nanmei* ‘how many people’ and *aru* ‘to have’ (J).

Example (26) contains *are* ‘that’ (J), *nerin* ‘woman’ (A), *ikura* ‘how many’ (J), *hana* ‘flower’ (J) and *aru* ‘to have’ (J). Example (27) contains *kono* ‘this’ (J), *wayey* ‘noodle’ (A) and *ikura* ‘how much’ (J).

6.3.6.5 *yes-no Questions*

Yilan Creole *yes-no* questions are formed by adding question markers, either *ga* (A⁴⁴) ((28), (29)) or *no* (J) ((30), (31)), to a declarative clause with rising intonation clause-finally. In Yilan Creole, *so* ‘yes’ (J) is for the affirmative, while *tigaw* ‘no’ that derives from the Japanese verb *tigau* ‘to differ’ is for the negative.

- (28) anta seyto **ga**
 you student Q
 ‘(Are) you student?’ (YT, 2007, p. 6)

- (29) anta kyolai aru **ga**
 you sibling have Q
 ‘(Do) you have siblings?’ (DD)

- (30) anta no hoyin ga qalux **no**
 you of dog TOP black Q
 ‘(Is) your dog black?’ (YT, 2007, p. 6)

⁴⁴ “The questions can be formed in Atayal by adding a question marker *ga* before the subject or clause-finally” (Erlewine, 2013, p. 7).

- (31) anta 'may Tayan no ke yubu **no**
 you can Atayal of language speak Q
 'Can you speak the Atayal language?' (YT, 2007, p.16)

Example (28) contains *anta* 'you' (J) and *seyto* 'student' (J). Example (29) contains *anta* 'you' (J), *kyolai* 'sibling' which derives from the Japanese noun *kyōdai* 'sibling' and *aru* 'to have' (J).

Example (30) contains *anta* 'you' (J), *hoyin* 'dog' (A) and *qalux* 'black' (A). Example (31) contains *anta* 'you' (J), ' may 'be able to' (A), *Tayan* 'Atayal' (A), *no* 'of' (J), *ke*⁴⁵ 'language' in Yilan Creole, and *yubu* 'to speak' which appears to derive from the Japanese verb *yobu* 'to call'.

However, *yes-no* questions sometimes can be formed without *ga* or *no* such as those in (32) and (33).

- (32) anta kokumin gako **benkyo-teru** ↑⁴⁶
 you public school study-ing
 'Are you studying in the public school?' (YT, 2007, p. 7)

- (33) anta teykan 'suw ↑
 you chair heavy
 '(Is) your chair heavy?' (YT, 2007, p. 6)

Example (32) includes *anta* 'you' (J), *kokumin* 'public' (J), *gako* 'school' (J) and *benkyo-teru* 'studying' which derives from the Japanese verb *benkyo siteru* 'studying'. Example (33) includes *teykan* 'chair' which derives from the Atayal noun *thikan* 'chair' and 'suw 'heavy' (A).

Without adding the clause ending particles *ga* or *no*, the Yilan Creole *yes-no* question can be formed with rising intonation at the end of a declarative clause.

⁴⁵ *ke* is the term for language in Yilan Creole. I have not found the original word in either Atayal or Japanese.

⁴⁶ This symbol ↑ indicates rising intonation at the end of the clause.

6.3.7 Imperative

In Yilan Creole, there are two forms of imperatives. One is formed by using a verb with no inflection, and the other is formed by following a verb with *-tike* ‘to go’.

- (34) *suwale*⁴⁷
 to sit
 ‘Sit.’ (ED)
- (35) **ara** tike anta no lukus
 wash go you of cloth
 ‘Go wash your cloth’ (YT, 2007, p. 35)

Example (34) contains *suwale* ‘to sit’ which derives from the Japanese imperative form *suware* of the verb *suwaru* ‘to sit’. Example (35) contains *ara* ‘to wash (clothes)’ which derives from the Japanese verb *arau* ‘to wash’, *tike* ‘to go’ which seems to be related to the imperative form *ike* of the Japanese verb *iku* ‘go’.

In Yilan Creole, *tikang* ‘not’ is used for the prohibition mood and occurs after verbs as in (36) and (37).

- (36) gako **skruy**⁴⁸ tikang
 school late not
 ‘(Do) not be late for school’ (YT, 2007, p. 8)
- (37) **ki** tikang
 listen not
 ‘(Do) not listen’ (YT, 2007, p. 35)

⁴⁷ This is adapted from the Japanese verb with the imperative mood *suware* ‘sit’.

⁴⁸ *skruy* ‘be late’ is a verb from Atayal.

Chapter 3

7 Predicate positions

Linguistically, a clause is consisted of a subject and a predicate. In Japanese, the verb must be in the final position of the clause (Shibatani, 1990), as illustrated in examples (1) and (2):

(1) basic clause

Taroo ga Hanako ni hon o **yatta**⁴⁹
 NOM DAT book ACC gave
 ‘Taro gave a book to Hanako.’ (Shibatani, 1990, p.257)

(2) sentence

boku wa [hon o kau]⁵⁰ **tsumorida**
 I TOP book ACC buy intend
 ‘I intend to buy (a) book.’ (Adapted from Shibatani, 1990, p. 384)

Example (1) is a basic clause, and demonstrates the predicate final position found in Japanese with *yatta* ‘gave’. Example (2) contains a main clause and an embedded clause, and has the main clause predicate *tsumorida* ‘intend’ in the final position of the sentence and the embedded predicate *kau* ‘buy’ in the final position of the embedded clause.

The Yilan Creole, predicates appear in the clause final position, similar to that of Japanese, as illustrated in the following examples from the Yilan Hanhsi Atayal Language Textbook⁵¹ (2007) (YT):

(3) are kiluy de’es **mema**
 that children face wash
 ‘Those children wash (their) faces.’⁵² (YT, 2007, p.29)

⁴⁹ The bold indicates the main predicate of the sentence.

⁵⁰ The brackets indicate the embedded clause, and the underline indicates the predicate of this clause.

⁵¹ I translated this title. The original title is “[宜蘭寒溪泰雅語] 基本詞彙、生活會話百句、模擬考試及練習題” (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2007).

- (4) kore ga **de'es**
 this TOP face
 'This (is a) face.' (YT, 2007, p.18)

Example (3) has a verb-predicate *mema* 'wash' (A) in the final position of the clause, and example (4) has a nominal predicate *de'es* 'face' (A) in the final position of the clause.

Indeed, in YT, 74 percent of the clauses (370 out of 500 clauses) have verb-predicates in the final position of the clause and 22 percent of the clauses (110 out of 500 clauses) have nominal predicates in the clause-final position, as seen in (4). In total, 96 percent of the clauses have their predicate in the final position, which suggests that Yilan Creole is a predicate-final language for main predicates.

Nevertheless, 4 percent of the clauses (20 out of 500 clauses) have the predicate in the medial position of the clause; that is, the main predicate appears between the subject and the object, such as in example (5).

- (5) waha **ski** [gako iku]
 I like school go
 'I like (to) go (to) school.' (YT, 2007, p.16)

Clause-medial position predicates are found in all of my data sources: YT (2007), ED and DD. The aim of this chapter is to describe where this predicate order is used.

This chapter will present examples of Yilan Creole predicates in clause-medial position in YT (2007), ED and DD, and discuss each predicate's order and noun phrase arguments. This chapter will introduce the examples found in the Yilan Hanhsi Atayal Language Textbook (2007) and the elicitation data, followed by a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the discourse data and a summary.

⁵² The English translation and gloss for the examples from YT (2007) are a direct translation I did based on the Mandarin translations in this textbook.

7.1 The Yilan Hanhsi Atayal Language Textbook (2007) and elicitation data

The Yilan Hanhsi Atayal Language Textbook (2007) (YT) is designed for official language examination (*Aborigines' Languages Examination*, p. 18), which I complemented with elicitation data (ED). Investigating the predicate positions in the textbook was meant to reveal how predicate positioning is taught in language learning material, while examining the elicitation data is meant to shed light on “ native speakers’ intuitions of decontextualized utterances” (Chelliah, 2001, p. 152).

In YT (2007) and ED, medial position predicates appear to occur in two different situations: (1) when the predicate is *mietala* ‘look (like)’, (2) when a sentence contains an object clause, the main-clause predicate appears in the medial position followed by the object predicate in the final position of the clause.

7.1.1 *mietala* ‘look (like)’ as a verb-predicate

mietala ‘look (like)’ in Yilan Creole derives from the Japanese conditional verb *mie-tara* ‘look/see-if’. In general, the Japanese conditional form *-tara* is preceded by the stem form of a verb. However, *mietala* has come to mean ‘look (like)’ in Yilan Creole, and is not conditional. *mietala* can be seen occurring after the subjects in (6) and (7).

(6) wagi **mietala** yaba myasa
 sun look very beautiful
 ‘The sun looks very beautiful.’ (YT, 2007, p. 30)

(7) anta **mietala** m’es
 you look happy
 ‘You look happy.’ (ED)

Both examples (6) and (7) show that the verb-predicate *mietala* ‘look (like)’ appears in the medial position of the clause, and is followed by an adjective, *myasa* ‘beautiful’ and *m’es* ‘happy’ respectively, as its complement.

7.1.2 Object clause sentences

In sentences involving an object clause, the main predicate appears in the medial position, while the object predicate, which would occur as an embedded clause in Japanese, occurs clause-finally in Yilan Creole, as illustrated in (8) and (9).

(8) are laitati **ski** [densu misey-suru]⁵³
 That children like TV watch-do
 ‘Those children like to watch/watching TV.’ (YT, 2007, p. 29)

(9) asita no bang waha **ogolu** zin [koti tabe-te koi]
 Tomorrow of evening I invite him/her here eat-and come
 ‘I invited him/her (to) come here and (to) eat tomorrow evening.’ (ED)

In example (8), the main predicate *ski* ‘like’ and the predicate with an object *misey-suru* ‘watch-do’ share a common doer *laitaici* ‘children’, but, in example (9), the main predicate *ogolu* ‘invite’ and the predicate with an object *tabe-te koi* ‘eat-and come’ have different doers; that is, the doer of the main predicate is *waha* ‘I’, but the doer of the object predicate is *zin* ‘him/her’.

Indeed, in example (9), the doer of the predicate *zin* in Yilan Creole might be the object of the main predicate *ogolu* ‘invite’, but it also might grammatically be the subject of the predicate *tabete koi* ‘eat-and come’. Its actual status is currently unknown partly because Yilan Creole does not use overt inflection to mark a pronoun’s function.

Moreover, the role of a pronoun in a sentence does not seem to be indicated by case

⁵³ The brackets indicate the object clauses

particles in my data. In particular, Yilan Creole does not have subject and object particles, which play a crucial role in Japanese. Thus, *zin* in example (9) can grammatically act as the object of *ogolu* ‘invite’, and mean ‘I invited him/her (to) come and (eat)’, or it can refer to the subject of *tabete-koi* ‘eat-and come’, and mean ‘I invited (that) s/he comes and eats’. Examples (10) – (12) show a similar pattern.

- (10) waha **kikoeta** [anta izen sensei cigaw]⁵⁴
 I heard you before teacher not
 ‘I heard (that) you (were) not (a) teacher before.’ (ED)
- (11) kinô wa **mieta** [anta no la’i mono saga-teru]
 Yesterday I saw you of child thing find-ing
 ‘Yesterday, I saw (that) your child (was) looking for something.’ (ED)
- (12) kacyang **yuta** [kono wayey oisii]
 mother said this noodle delicious
 ‘Mother said (that) these noodle(s) (were) delicious.’ (ED)

The above examples show that the main clause predicates *kikoeta* ‘heard’, *mieta* ‘saw’ and *yuta* ‘said’ appear in the medial position of the clause; that is, they are between the subject and the object. The object predicates, however, occur in the final position of the clause. The positioning of the predicates in Yilan Creole differs from that of Japanese where both the main clause predicate and the object predicate occur in the final position of the clause, as is shown in example (13).

- (13) Taroo ga [Hanako ga sono hon o kaita] to **omotteiru**
 that book wrote that thinking
 ‘Taro thinks that Hanako wrote that book.’ (Shibatani, 1990, p. 260)

⁵⁴ In this section, the bold indicates the predicate of the main clause. The brackets indicate the object clause, and the underline indicates the predicate of the object clause.

7.2 The discourse data

While the textbook reflects what can be learnt of Yilan Creole from language learning material and the elicitation data reflects “ native speakers’ intuitions of decontextualized utterances” (Chelliah, 2001, p. 152), investigating discourse data demonstrates how native speakers use Yilan Creole in actual speech.

The verb *mietala* ‘see’ occurs as a medial position predicate in YT (2007) and ED, but the verb *aru* ‘have’ can also occur in the medial position of the clause as is seen in DD, which I will discuss in section 7.2.1. Moreover, similar to the examples involving objects in YT (2007) and ED (see *section 7.1.2*), main clause predicates are found in the medial position of clauses and object predicates are found in the final position in DD, which I will discuss in section 7.2.2.

7.2.1 *aru* ‘have’ as the verb-predicate

The verb-predicate *aru* ‘have’ occurs in the medial position of the clause, similar to the examples of *mietala* ‘look (like)’ in the above section 7.1.1. However, *aru* ‘have’ is followed by a noun as an object.

In example (14), S talks about someone who came to Hanhsi village to study Japanese. This is because, S, as well as other people in Hanhsi village, thought of Yilan Creole as a version of Japanese, and use *nihongo* ‘Japanese’ to refer to Yilan Creole (cf. *the current situation of Yilan Creole*, p.22).

(14)S: →yuanlai Taiwan moo **aru** /ano [gona no nihongo donazi no hua]
 in the past Taiwan also have HES this of Japanese same of language
 ‘In the past, Taiwan also had a language like Japanese,

rakara zin benkyo sita

so she study came
so she came (here) to study.’
(lit.) In the past, Taiwan also has such language the same as Japanese language,
so she came to study.’

As the arrow indicates, the predicate *aru* ‘have’ appears in the medial position of the clause, and is followed by the noun phrase *gona no nihongo donaji no hua* ‘the same language as Japanese’ (*gona* ‘this’ refers to Yilan Creole in this example). In this noun phrase, *hua* ‘language’ is the noun, and is modified by *gona no nihongo donaji* ‘the same language as Japanese’, because in Yilan Creole the function of *no* ‘of’ is to connect two nouns, where the first noun modifies the second noun, for example *sasang no mami* ‘breakfast (lit. meal of morning)’ (YT, 2007, p. 8).

7.2.2 Object predicates

Similar to examples (10), (11) and (12) in YT (2007) and ED, examples in the discourse data show the main-clause predicate in the medial position of the clause and the object predicate in the final position.

For the purpose of this thesis, each new line indicates a clause, but if the discussed sentence contains two clauses (as indicated by an arrow), the clauses will be presented on one line separated by a slash.

Example (15) involves a conversation between family members, S (female) and her cousins. S and the other speakers are cutting the grass with a mower. Unfortunately, the mower breaks down as they are working, and they have to stop. During the break, S starts to talk about what happened when she borrowed the mower the previous day.

- (15) S: ngate mo-te sta
Intention took-and came
(lit.) ‘(He) took (with) the intention (of drinking beer) and came

moo ya'ehta yobu ha⁵⁵ moo zin ni
 already broke said HA already he to
 He said (the mower) was already broken,

rakara kore mie-te sta
 so this see-and came
 so (he) saw (it) and came

kinoo tota toki
 yesterday took when
 Yesterday, when (I) took (the mower),

→ honto **yobu**⁵⁶ / [Sumei ya'ehteru moo]⁵⁷
 should said Sumei broken already
 (He) should (have) said Sumei, (it was) broken already'

'He came with the intention of drinking our beer. He said the mower was already broken, so he came to see it. Yesterday, when I took the mower, he should have already said Sumei, it is broken.'

As indicated by the arrow, the sentence *honto yobu Sumei ya'eh teru moo* '(He) should (have) said Sumei (it was) already broken' contains the object clause *Sumei ya'eh teru moo* 'Sumei, (it was) already broken'.

The main predicate *yobu* 'say' appears in the medial position of the clause, followed by the object clause. The object predicate is still considered to be in the final position as *moo* 'already' is an adverb and is not one of the main constituents.

Example (16) involves the main-clause predicate *mie* 'to see' where S talks about one of her friends who came to find her. S's friend climbed the hillside in less than five minutes, which is unexpected by S.

(16) S: zin no imi wagaru

⁵⁵ *ha* indicates the speakers' tone of emphasizing in Yilan Creole, according to my informants. Whether or not *ha* contains negative feeling and what it is served for are still needs to be investigated further.

⁵⁶ The bold indicates the main clause predicate.

⁵⁷ The brackets indicate the object clause, and the underline indicates the predicate of the object clauses.

she of meaning know
(lit.) ‘(I) know her meaning

Shuhui kore gau ha
Shuhui this buy HA
Shuhui (wants to) buy this.

zainalite renshi
where know
I know where (he can buy it)

wa gonata
I like this
(I said) like this

suhu aga-te sta zin yaba yingga
quick climb-and came he Very quick
(When she found out I know where she can buy it) she climbed and came
very quickly

→ **mie** / [gohun nai kakai aga-te⁵⁸ sta ha moo]
see five not feet climb-and came HA already
(I) see (that) (she) climbed (the hillside) already not five minutes.’

‘ I know Shuhui’s intention that she wants to buy this. I said I know where she can buy it. Then, she climbed and came to me very quickly. I saw her climb the hillside in not even five minutes.’

As shown by the arrow, the main predicate *mie* ‘see’ appears before the object clause *gohun nai kakai aga-te sta ha moo* ‘(he) climbed (the hillside) already not five minutes’. Again, in this object clause, the object predicate *aga-te sta* ‘climb-and came’ is still considered to be in the final position of the clause, because the Yilan Creole adverb *moo* ‘already’ is used to modify the verb-predicate *agate-sta* ‘climb-and came’ and is not a main constituent.

⁵⁸ *kakai aga* ‘feet climb’ means climb in Yilan Creole, which refers to a person climbing with his/her feet.

In the discourse data, approximately 94 percent of clauses (6456 out of 6837⁵⁹ clauses) have the predicate in the final position of the clause, while 6 percent of clauses (381 out of 6837 clauses) have the predicate occur in the medial position of the clause.

7.3 Summary

Based on the investigation of YT (2007), ED and DD, Yilan Creole positions its predicates clause-finally, as in Japanese. Also, the patterns of the predicate positions in YT (2007) are mostly similar with the patterns of the predicate positions found in the ED and DD. However, in some cases the predicate can appear in the medial position of the clause. For example, the verbs *mietala* ‘look (like)’ and *aru* ‘have’ can occur medially. The use of *mietala* ‘look (like)’ is similar in YT (2007), ED and DD. Whereas, the use of *aru* ‘have’ is different between YT (2007) and the data; that is, *aru* ‘have’ occurs in clause-finally in YT (2007), but it occurs in clause-medially in ED and DD. In the sentences that contain object clauses, the main predicate occurs in the medial position of the sentence, and the object predicate appears clause finally, which YT (2007) does not present the use of object clauses, and the type of object clauses is only found in ED and DD.

⁵⁹ The 6837 clauses do not include the segments that are not distinguishable and contain Mandarin only.

Conclusion

This thesis is a preliminary research project about Yilan Creole, in light of my fieldwork research in Hanhsi Village in Yilan County during the months of July of 2013, and January and February of 2014.

Yilan Creole, as the first Japanese-based creole language, was formed when Taiwan was occupied by Japan. Since 1910, not recognizing linguistic differences between the Atayal and the Seediq, the Japan regime grouped these two groups in Yilan County into the Atayal group. Meanwhile, having established communities for the Atayal and Seediq people, the Japanese language was being taught as the standard language in colonial Taiwan. As a means of facilitating in-group communication, the Atayal and Seediq people—the majority and minority groups, respectively—mixed Japanese and Atayal to form a pidgin (Chien & Sanada, 2010). Eventually, this pidgin was acquired as a first language by the succeeding generation of the Atayal and Seediq in those communities, thereafter developing into Yilan Creole.

After the KMT regime took over Taiwan, reinforcing Mandarin use in public and in schools, promoting the Chinese identity in Taiwan, and competing with the Chinese for jobs caused the native speakers of Yilan Creole to strengthen their Mandarin rather than Yilan Creole. However, in 2007, since the Chen Shui-bian administration was to encourage Aboriginal people to speak their own languages other than Mandarin, they promoted the Aborigines' Languages Examination to allow Aboriginal students to be able to boost their university entrance score by 35%. At that time, Yilan Creole was included in the examinations as one of the Atayal dialects. In 2011, the Ma Ying-jeou administration removed Yilan Creole from the language examinations because Yilan

Creole contains many Japanese features. Removing Yilan Creole from the language examinations and surrounded Mandarin as the dominant language have caused the younger generation to lose the motivation to learn Yilan Creole.

Yilan Creole has developed into an independent language system that consists of Japanese as the superstratum and the Atayal as the substratum (Chien & Sanada, 2010a). Based on YT (2007), ED and DD, Yilan Creole contains most of consonants and vowels from Japanese and Atayal, as well as Yilan Creole nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs come from Japanese and Atayal. Yilan Creole pronouns and demonstrative pronouns are similar to Japanese. Likewise, its verb inflections are similar to Japanese, but Yilan Creole verb inflections still need to be indicated by the tense adverbs, which is different from Japanese.

Moreover, most examples show that the predicates occur in the final position in Yilan Creole, which is similar to Japanese. Other examples of the predicates in the medial position, however, are found in YT (2007), ED and DD. Although examples of predicates in the clause-medial position occur far less often than the examples with clause-final predicates, these clause-medial examples call into question how the grammatical role of noun phrases are assigned in Yilan Creole. While Japanese uses case particles to designate the role of each noun phrase (Tsujimura, 2007), Yilan Creole has not been found to use case particles. Based on the data currently at my disposal, it seems that if grammatical roles of noun phrases in Yilan Creole are designated by their structural positions, the role is decided based on whether the predicate occurs medially or clause-finally.

Because of the limited time, this theory could not be fully explored at this current stage of preliminary research. To closely examine the relation between the predicate positions and the grammatical roles of NPs, I hope to investigate whether or not the predicate positions in clause-finally that are found in ED and DD could occur in clause-medially, and how the context of the predicate in clause-medially contracted the context of the predicates in clause-finally. Moreover, since the data in this research is from interviewing 11 native speakers and collecting approximate three hours worth of conversations, future research would increase the number of native speakers and the time period of conversations. Also, since the preliminary research only focuses on Yilan Creole in people in the middle generation, further research could compare the use of the predicate position between people in the older generation and people in the middle generation, which would help in developing an understanding of the trend of the predicate position in Yilan Creole.

By studying the predicate positions in Yilan Creole, I hope that this investigation will serve as a first step towards researching the relation between the role of noun phrases and predicate positions in Yilan Creole.

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