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# Favorlang songs transcribed in Southern-Hokkien: Decipherment\*

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## Abstract

Favorlang is an extinct language of indigenous people in Taiwan (Austronesian). This language was documented in Bible translation by Dutch missionary in the 17th century. However, the grammar of this language remains unclear. The only useful literature for the analysis is a Vertrecht's wordlist of Favorlang-Dutch written in 1650 which was published in Campbell (1896). Under the rule of Qing dynasty, a Chinese officer investigated aboriginal customs and documented folklores from 34 villages (including six Favorlang songs) using Chinese characters (Huang 1722). These Chinese character should be pronounced by Southern-Hokkien. These songs were provided with translation in Chinese for each verse, but there were no inter-linear glosses. As a first step to the decipherment, Florenz (1898) transliterated these songs into roman letters, Ogawa (date unknown) identified some words, and Sato (1936:410-411) attempted to decipher one Siraya song and one Favorlang song. This study presents a preliminary decipherment for all six Favorlang songs and discuss some linguistic features observable in the songs.

keywords: Favorlang, Southern-Hokkien, Dutch, Pazih, philology

## 1 Introduction

Favorlang, also known as Babuza, is an Austronesian language once spoken in the western plains in Taiwan. This language was first recorded by Dutch, who ruled over the western plains in the 17th century (1624-1661) until they were expelled by Koxinga. There were several tribes in the western plains at the time of Dutch occupation. Among these tribes, Siraya and Favorlang were strongly influenced by the Dutch. Dutch priests earnestly converted Siraya and Favorlang people into Christianity. As for Favorlang, Dutch priests studied their language and compiled a Favorlang-Dutch dictionary (Happart 1650). They also wrote Bible in Favorlang (Campbell 1986).

Koxinga and his descendant's occupation in Taiwan lasted about two decades (1661-1663). Then, it was taken over by Qing dynasty. It was not until the Qing dynasty's rule that the document on Favorlang language reappeared.

Huang (1722) in his famous book *Taihaishichalu*, recorded lifestyles and social customs of people in Taiwan. There was a section called 番俗六考 [the customs of Taiwan savages in six aspects], where Huang discuss resident, food, clothes, marriage, funeral, and tools of the Taiwan aborigines such as Siraya, Hoanya, Favorlang, Papora and Taokas. In these sections, he added folk songs (番歌) of each tribes as appendices. These folk songs are the subject of investigation.

There are six Favorlang songs<sup>\*1</sup>, which were recorded in different villages of Favorlang. In some cases, a few villages shares the same song (section 2.1 and section 2.3). The name for these villages were

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<sup>\*1</sup> Ogawa (1999) gave correspondence of a village to the tribal classification. I referred to this to decide on which song belongs to Favorlang tribe among 34 songs recorded in Huang (1722).

transcribed in Chinese characters with Southern Hokkien pronunciation. These are 二林\*<sup>2</sup>, 馬芝遴, 貓兒干\*<sup>3</sup>, 大突 (section 2.1), 南 (section 2.2), 東螺, 西螺 (section 2.3), 阿東\*<sup>4</sup> (section 2.4), 半線 (section 2.5), and 貓霧揀\*<sup>5</sup> (section 2.6). The exact village name in Favorlang is not clear in some cases, so these are represented by Southern Hokkien pronunciation in the following sections, according to Florenz's (1898) transliteration.

With the help of the Favorlang-Dutch dictionary and Bible in Favorlang, Ogawa (date unknown) tried to decipher some Favorlang words in these six songs. Sato (1936) also tried to decipher one Favorlang song recorded in 東螺 and 西螺 villages (section 2.3). Florenz (1898) transliterated the songs in Chinese characters into roman letters using Southern Hokkien pronunciation also translated the meaning of the songs into German.

Supplementing Ogawa and Sato's decipherment and referring to Florenz's transliteration, this paper aims to provide a preliminary interpretation for all six Favorlang songs. Section 2 presents the six songs in original texts and adds the tentative transcription by the author. Section 3 discusses some findings and observations.

## 2 Data

The original text in Huang (1722) is presented first. The songs are transcribed in Chinese characters with Southern Hokkien pronunciation (shown on the left). There are several verses in each song. Each verse is followed by Chinese translation (shown on the right).

Then, Florenz's (1898) transliteration of the songs (on the left) and translation of the verses into German (on the right) are shown\*<sup>6</sup>.

Finally, the author gives the transcription. The Florenz's transliteration is segmented into words in the first line with some modification by the present author. Florenz sometimes showed two variations of transliteration for a Chinese word that has more than one pronunciation. The author decided which should be used based on the identified words and its orthography in Happart's dictionary as well as the experience in the decipherment of Siraya songs (Ochiai and Shih 2018). The transcriber of the songs, Shu-jing Huang, was likely to have a tendency to reuse a Chinese character assigning the same phonetic value. For example, in Siraya songs, there are 麻; it is transliterated as ba or ma by Florenz (1898). As the result of our decipherment, it should be read as ma. This reading is applicable to 麻 appearing in Favorlang songs (e.g. section 2.3).

The second line shows interlinear glossing. Some words were identified with words in the Happart's (1650) dictionary. In this case, the fourth line shows the words in Happart's dictionary. Note that the orthography is innovated by the Dutch. In most cases the roman letter more or less correspond to the phonetic symbols in IPA; however, ei might be [i:], oe might be [u], g might be [ɣ] or [x], ch might be [x] or [h], a consonant geminate might indicate that the preceding vowel was short. For other words that were not seen in Happart's dictionary, the author inferred their meaning by preceding and following words and the position they appear in a verse. Also, the identification words appearing more than once (see section 3.1) were useful. The third line is the Chinese translation of the songs into English. Fourth line shows the identified words as it appears in Happart's dictionary with exception of the song in Babuza village (section 2.6). This song is peculiar in that it has several words that belongs to Pazih. In this case, the Pazih words in Li and Tsuchida's (2001) Pazih dictionary, which was compiled based on Naoyoshi Ogawa's manuscript, are presented.

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\*<sup>2</sup> Takeis village in Happart (1650).

\*<sup>3</sup> Batshekan village in Happart (1650).

\*<sup>4</sup> Asock village (Ino 1996).

\*<sup>5</sup> It is most likely to be Babuza village.

\*<sup>6</sup> German translation is not so important in deciphering the songs; however the author decided to show Florenz's attempt in translating Chinese into German. Perhaps, some may appreciate his translation.

## 2.1 “Tax payments” in Jilim, Matsilin, Batsikan and Toatut villages

『二林馬芝遴貓兒干大突四社納餉歌』

吧圓吧達敘每鄰

其嗎耶珍那

夫甲馬溜文蘭

其文蘭株屢

甘換溜沙麻力岐甘換

馬尤耶\*7 啤耶\*8 其喇印耶\*9

圍含呵煞平萬耶\*10 嚟其喃買逸

「耕田園」

「愛好年景」

「捕鹿去」

「鹿不得逸」

「易餉銀得早完餉」

「可邀老爺愛惜」

「我等回來快樂飲酒酣歌」

*Drei Stämme der Jilim, Toatut und Matsilin, Zahlung der Abgaben*

pa-oan-pa-tat-si-boe-lin

ki-ma-ya-tin-na

hu-kah-ma-lyu-bun-lan

ki-bun-lan-thi-li

kam-hoan/oan-lyu-ba/mo-lek-tsi/ki-kam-hoan/oan

ma-yu-ya-lo-ya-ki-im-ya

ui-ham-o-soah-peng-ban-ya-ho-ki-lam-mai-it

“Wir pflügen die Felder,

Wir lieben den Prospekt eines guten Jahres.

Hirsche zu gehen wir;

Die Hirsche können uns nicht entfliehen.

Eintauschend [dafür] Abgaben-Silber,

können wir früh die Abgaben bezahlen,

Und werden (können) die Liebe

und Teilnahme des Alten gewinnen.

Wir kommen zurück, vergnügen und freuen uns,

trinken Wein und singen in wein heiterer Stimmung.”

(1) paoan patatsi boelin

go? plow? ?

‘We plough the field.’

(2) kima ya tinna

expect? NOM? harvest?

‘We expect a good harvest.’

(3) hukah malyu bunlan

hunt? good deer

‘We hunt deers.’

- *mario* ‘good,’ *binnan* ‘deer’

(4) ki bunlan thili

OBL? deer inescapable?

‘Deers cannot be escaped.’

- *binnan* ‘deer’

(5) kamhoan lyusa balek ki kamhoan

exchange? ? money(copper) OBL? exchange?

‘We exchange it with money and pay the tax.’

- *barieg* ‘copper’

(6) mayu ya loya ki liimya

? NOM? elder OBL ?

We will get the respect and compassion from our elders.

\*7 This character as the radial of “mouth.”

\*8 This character as the radial of “mouth.”

\*9 This character as the radial of “mouth.”

\*10 This character as the radial of “mouth.”

- *loya* 老爺 is a loanword from Southern Hokkien (Florenz 1898:143)

- (7) uiham o soah pengban ya hoki lammaiit  
drink wine ? ? NOM? together? sing  
'We come back, then happily we drink and sing together.  
- *eicham* 'drink,' *o* 'liquor,' *rummaiit* 'sing'

## 2.2 "Drinking together" in Lam village

『南社會飲歌』

吧老灣啞嗎流未矢

吧思沙螺吧思轆鎖

馬溜文蘭啞打咳

打茅打奈打匏公申耶\*<sup>11</sup>奢

招彌流噯啞喃買逸

「耕田園遇好年歲」

「收得麻收得米」

「捕得鹿且多」

「父子祖孫齊來飲酒」

「歡呼歌唱為樂」

*Stamm der Lam*, Versammelt trinken

pa-lo/no-oan-li-ma-lyu-boat-si

pa-su-sa-le-pa-su-lok-so

ma-lyu-bun-lan-ki-ta-hai

ta-mau-ta-nai-ta-pau/pū-kong-sim-ya-ts'ya

tasu/tsiau-bi/mi-lyu-ho-ki-lam-mai-it

“Die Felder pflügend treffen wir ein glückliches Jahr an:  
Wir haben Hanf geerntet und haben Reis geerntet;  
Überdies haben wir Hirsche zahlreich gefangen.  
Vater und Shon, Grossvater und Enkel  
kommen allesamt und trinken Wein;  
Freudig johlend und Lieder singend vergnügen wir uns.”

- (8) palooan ki malyu boatsi  
work.in.field? OBL good year  
'We plough the field and we have a good year[’s harvest].'  
- *mario* 'good,' *baas* 'year'
- (9) pasu sale pasu lokso  
get thread[made of ramie] get rice  
'We get ramie and we get rice.'  
- *sarries* 'thread, yarn,' *dasso* 'rice'
- (10) malyu bunlan ki tahai  
good deer OBL? many?  
'We hunt many deers.'  
- *mario* 'good,' *binnan* 'deer'
- (11) tamau tanai tapu kongsim ya ts'ya  
father mother all together NOM drinking.party?  
'Father, son, grandfather and grandson come together to drinking party.'  
- *tamau* 'father,' *tanai* 'mother,' *tapos* 'all'
- (12) tsaubilyu hoki lammaiit  
happy? together? sing  
'We happily sing together.'  
- *rummaiit* 'sing'

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\*<sup>11</sup> This character as the radical of "mouth."

## 2.3 “Seeing out the year” in Tangle and Saile villages

『東西螺社度年歌』  
 吧園吧達敘每鄰無那  
 馬流平耶\*<sup>12</sup>珍那麻留呵嗒  
 夫甲馬溜文蘭  
 甘換麻文欣麻力  
 密林嗎流耶\*<sup>13</sup>豪章\*<sup>14</sup>含

「耕田園」  
 「愛年歲收成」  
 「捕鹿」  
 「易銀完餉」  
 「可去釀酒過年」

*Stämme der Tang-sai-le, Beim Zurücklegen des Jahres*  
 pa-oan-pa-tat-si/su-bae-moa-lin-bu-na “Wir pflügen die Felder,  
 ma-lyu-peng-ya-tin-na-ba/mo-lyu-o/a-tap Wir lieben die Ernte des Jahres,  
 hu-kah-ma-lyu-bun-lan Wir fangen Hirsche,  
 kam-hoan-ba/mo-bun-hin-ba/mo-lek Tauschen Silber [dafür] ein und bezahlen  
 [damit] die Abgaben.  
 bit-lim-ma-lyu-ya-ho-hui/ui-ham Wir wollen gehen und Wein brauen,  
 um das Neujahrsfest zu feiern.”

- (13) paoan patatsi boelin buna  
 go? plough? field  
 ‘We plough the field.’  
 - *bonna* ‘field’
- (14) malyu pengya tinna malyu atap  
 good? ? good harvest?  
 ‘We are delighted with this year’s harvest.’  
 - *mario* ‘good’
- (15) hukah malyu bunlan  
 get? good deer  
 ‘We hunt deers.’  
 - *mario* ‘good’, *binnan* ‘deer’
- (16) kamhoan mabun hinmalek  
 exchange? silver? exchange  
 ‘We exchange it to silver and pay the tax.’  
 - *chummollok* ‘to exchange’
- (17) bitlim malyu ya ho uiham  
 brew? good? NOM? wine drink  
 ‘We are able to go brewing wine and see out the year.’  
 - *mario* ‘good,’ *eicham* ‘drink’

In (17), *cha huicham* could be one word, consisting of *cha-* [xa?] a reduplicated prefix and a stem, *huicham*. However, there remains a problem that segments x and h were indistinguishable if this was the case.

\*<sup>12</sup> This character as the radical of “mouth.”

\*<sup>13</sup> This character as the radical of “mouth.”

\*<sup>14</sup> This character as the radical of “mouth.”

## 2.4 “Praising ancestors” in Asok village

『阿東社誦祖歌』	
嗎留耶茅務嗎吧那	「我祖翁最勇猛」
麻里末文蘭布務務巴那	「遇鹿能活捉」
吧出呂噶甲買打招	「鬪走直同於馬」
布務務勃呵沙彌酣	「遇酒縱飲不醉」

*Stamm der Asok, Lobpries der Ahnen*

ma-lyu-ya-mau-bu-ma-pa-na	“Unsere Ahnen [waren] im höchsten Grade tapfer;
ba/mo-li-bi-bun-lan-po-bu-pa-na	Antreffend den Hirsch, konnten sie [ihn] lebendig fangen;
pa-ts‘ut-li-ki-kah-mai-ta-chau	Im Weltlauf [ware sie] vollkommen gleich einem Pferde;
po-bu-bu-pot/put-o/a-sa-bi/mi-ham	Antreffend den Wein, wie viel sie auch tranken, wurden sie nicht betrunken.”

- (18) malyu ya mau buma pa na  
good NOM ? ancestor? ? 1SG.GEN  
‘My ancestors were the bravest.’  
- *mario* ‘good,’ *naa* ‘my’
- (19) malibi bunlan po bubu pa na  
hunt.animal.while.alive? deer ? ancestor ? 1sg.gen?  
‘When they hunted, they could catch a deer while it is still alive.’  
- *boeboe* ‘ancestor,’ *naa* ‘my’
- (20) pat‘utliki kamai tachau  
run.straight? like? horse?  
‘They ran fast and straight like a horse’
- (21) po bubu poto sa miham  
? ancestor NEG? ? drink  
‘They never got drunk.’  
- *boeboe* ‘ancestor,’ *micham* ‘drink’

There are unknown elements *po* before *bubu* ‘ancestor’ in (19) and (21). This may be an prefix attaching to *bubu*, probably indicating plurality. In (18), it is likely that *maubuma* corresponds to ‘ancestor.’ This is rather different but has some resemblance to *po-bubu* in (19) and (21).

## 2.5 “Drinking together” in Poansan village

『半線社聚飲歌』	
眞角夫甲文南	「捕得鹿」
支備辰呵打	「收得米」
密林嗎流呵嚶	「做下酒」
保務務其阿肖萬什呵嚶	「社衆齊來賽戲會飲」

*Stamm der Poansan, Versammelt trinken*

tsin-kak-hu-kah-bun-lam	“Wir haben Hirsche gefangen,
tsi-pi-sin-o/a-ta	Wir haben Reis geerntet,
bit-lim-ma-lyu-o/a-ho	Wir haben Wein bereitet;
po-bu-bu-ki-a-syau-ban-sip-o/a-ho	[Ihr] Leute des Stammes allesamt kommet, veranstaltet eine festliche Ceremonie und trinket im Verein!”

- (22) tsinkak hukah bunlam  
 hunt hunt? deer  
 ‘We could catch deers.’  
 - *tumkah* ‘hunt,’ *binnan* ‘deer’
- (23) ki pisin ota  
 LNK? get? rice  
 ‘We could get rice.’  
 - *adda* ‘rice’
- (24) bitlim malyu o ho  
 brew? good wine? wine?  
 ‘Then, we brew wine.’  
 - *mario* ‘good,’ *o* ‘wine’
- (25) po bubu ki asyau bansip o ho  
 ? ancestor/people? LNK? play drink? wine? wine?  
 ‘People play and drink wine together.’  
 - *boeboe* ‘ancestor,’ *o* ‘wine’

## 2.6 “A man and a woman singing in turn in a party” in Babusa village

『貓霧揀社男婦會飲應答歌』

爾貓呻莫\*15

爾達惹巫腦

爾貓力邁邁由系引呂乞麻甬\*16

爾達惹麻達馬鱗呷什格

爾貓力邁邁符馬乞打老末轆引奴薩

爾達惹達赫赫麻允倒叮文南乞網果嗎

美什果孩耶\*17彎哩勺根莫\*18巫腦岐引奴薩

「幼番請番婦先歌」

「番婦請幼番先歌」

「番日汝婦人賢而且美」

「婦日汝男人英雄兼能捷走」

「番日汝婦人在家能養雞豕并能釀酒」

「婦日汝男人上山能捕鹿又能耕田園」

「今衆社皆大歡喜和歌飲酒」

*Stamme der Babusa (Niaubūsa)*, Männer und Weiber vereint trinken und halten ein Zwiegespräch

ji/ni-ba/nyau-sin-bok

“Der junge Barbar bittet das Barbarenweib  
 zuerst zu singen:

ji/ni-tat-ja-bu-nau

Das Barbarenweib bittet  
 den jungen Barbaren zuerst zu singen.

ji/ni-ba/nyau-lek-mai-mai-yu-he-in-li-k'it-ba/mo-yong

Der Barbar spricht: Du Weib bist  
 weise und noch dazu schön

ji/ni-at-ja-ba/mo-tat-ma-lin-ki-sip-kek

Das Weib sagt: Du Mann bist ein Held und  
 verstehst dich zugleich auf das Schnellaufen.

ji/ni-ba-nyau-lek-mai-mai-hu-ma-k'i-ta-lo-boat-lok-  
 in-lok-sat

Der Barbar spricht: Du Weib kannst zu Hause  
 die Hühner und Schweine pflegen und kannst  
 Wein brauen.

ji/ni-tat-ja-hek-hek-ba/mo-un/in-to-teng-bung-lam  
 -k'it-bong-koh-ma

Das Weib spricht: Du Mann steigst  
 in die Berge und kannst Hirsche fangen,  
 und kannst auch die Felder pflügen.

bi-sip-koh-hai-ya-oan-li-chak/chok-kin-  
 bo/mo-bu-nau/lo-tsi/ki-in-no-sat

Jetzt sing [wir] Alle im ganzen Stamme  
 in grosser Freude und Lust,  
 und zum Gesang einstimmend trinken [wir] Wein.”

\*15 This character as the radial of “mouth.”

\*16 This character as the radial of “mouth.”

\*17 This character as the radial of “mouth.”

\*18 This character as the radial of “mouth.”



- (26) jiba sinbok  
 woman? first?  
 ‘A young man asks a woman to sing first.’
- (27) jitat ja bunau  
 man? ? song?  
 ‘The woman asks the man to sing first.’
- (28) jiba lek maimai yuheinlik‘it mayong  
 woman ? woman wise? beautiful?  
 ‘The man says the woman is wise and beautiful.’  
 - Pazih *mamais* ‘woman’ (Li and Tsuchida 2001:181)
- (29) jitat ja batat malin ki sipkek  
 man? ? young.man brave? LNK? run.fast?  
 ‘The woman says the man is not only brave but also able to run fast.’  
 - *badda* ‘child (male)’
- (30) jiba lek maimai huma k‘itta loboatlak innosat  
 woman? ? woman house see(take.care?)? domesticated.animals? wine  
 ‘The man says the woman is not only capable of raising chickens and pigs at home but also brewing wine.’  
 - Pazih *mamais* ‘woman’ (Li and Tsuchida 2001:181), *xuma* ‘house’ (Li and Tsuchida 2001:325),  
*inusat* ‘wine’ (Li and Tsuchida 2001:131)
- (31) jitat ja tathekhek main toteg bunlam k‘itbong kohma  
 man? ? ? hunt? deer cultivate? field  
 ‘The woman says the man is capable of hunting deers in the mountain but also cultivating land.’  
 - *binnan* ‘deer,’ *ema* ‘field’
- (32) bisipkohhai ya oanlichakkinbo bunau ki innosat  
 ? ? ? song? LNK? wine  
 ‘Today everyone in the village is very happy and sings and drinks together.’  
 - Pazih *inusat* (Li and Tsuchida 2001:131)

### 3 Discussion

#### 3.1 Repetitive words

Some identified words appears more than once. These include *malyu* (*mario*) ‘good,’ *bunlan/bunlam* (*binnan*) ‘deer,’ *ho* (*o*) ‘wine,’<sup>\*19</sup> *uiham/miham* (*eicham/micham*) ‘to drink,’ *lammaiit* (*rummaiit*) ‘to sing,’ *po-bubu* (*boeboe*) ‘ancestor.’ The words in brackets show Happart’s orthography.

Table 7 shows the list of identified repetitive words. The transliteration of the repetitive words followed by the example number and the original transcription in Chinese character.

Table. 7: Identified repetitive words

Transliteration	Example number	Chinese character	Happart (1650)
<i>malyu</i>	(3)	馬溜	<i>mario</i> ‘good’
<i>malyu</i>	(8)	嗎流	
<i>malyu</i>	(10)	馬溜	
<i>malyu</i>	(14)	馬流	
<i>malyu</i>	(14)	麻留	
<i>malyu</i>	(15)	嗎溜	

<sup>\*19</sup> In the song in Babuza village (section 2.6), *innosat* (*inusat*) ‘wine’ appears twice but this word belongs to Pazih.

malyu	(17)	嗎流	
malyu	(18)	嗎留	
malyu	(24)	嗎流	
bunlan	(3)	文蘭	<i>binnan</i> ‘deer’
bunlan	(4)	文蘭	
bunlan	(10)	文蘭	
bunlan	(15)	文蘭	
bunlan	(19)	文蘭	
bunlam	(22)	文南	
bunlam	(31)	文喃	
o	(7)	呵	<i>o</i> ‘wine’
ho	(17)	嚙	
o/ho	(24)	呵/嚙	
o/ho	(25)	呵/嚙	
uiham	(7)	圍含	<i>eicham</i> ‘to drink’
uiham	(17)	韋* <sup>20</sup> 含	
miham	(21)	彌酣	<i>micham</i> * <sup>21</sup> ‘to drink’
lammaiit	(7)	喃買逸	<i>rummaiit</i> ‘to sing’
lammaiit	(12)	喃買逸	
po-bubu	(19)	布務務	<i>boeboe</i> ‘ancestor’
po-bubu	(21)	布務務	
po-bubu	(25)	保務務	

It can be said that Huang’s (1722) use of Chinese character for a particular sound is not consistent in some cases. For *malyu* (*mario* ‘good’), he uses 馬 嗎 or 麻 in the first syllable. The same root 馬 is used in the two characters. For the second syllable, 流 溜 or 留 for the second syllable. The same root 留 is used in two characters.

‘Deer’ (*binnan*) has two variations; one has a word-final n, the other has a word-final m. It is not clear whether this difference shows the dialectal variation. For the words with word-final m, the final syllable is wither 南 or 喃; the root is the same.

For ‘drink’ (*eicham*), the first syllable is written by either 圍 or 韋 (with the radical of mouth). Including *micham* (*m-icham* ‘drink (actor voice)’), the final syllable is written by either 含 or 酣. For ancestor (*boeboe*), the common prefix-like element, po, is either written by 布 or 保.

There are other repetitive words which the author could not find in Happart’s (1650) dictionary. However, the overall meaning is inferable from the Chinese translation. The following table shows the list of these repetitive words, the example number, the original Chinese transcription, and the inferred meaning (Table 8).

Table 8: Unidentified repetitive words

Tarnsliteration	Example number	Chinese character	Inferred meaning
paoan (patatsi boelin)	(1)	吧園 (吧達敘每鄰)	‘cultivate?’
paoan (patatsi boelin)	(13)	吧園 (吧達敘每鄰)	
palooan* <sup>22</sup>	(8)	吧老灣	
tinna	(2)	珍那	‘year-end?’
tinna	(14)	珍那	
hukah	(3)	夫甲	‘to hunt?’
hukah	(15)	夫甲	
hukah	(22)	夫甲	

\*<sup>20</sup> This character as the radial of “mouth.”

\*<sup>21</sup> This shares the root with the preceding two items. In *micham*, the initial m is probably an actor voice prefix.

\*<sup>22</sup> This form has an extra segment l compared to the preceding words.

kamhoan	(5)	甘換	‘to exchange?’
kamhoan	(5)	甘換	
kamhoan	(16)	甘換	
pasu	(9)	吧思	‘get?’
pasu	(9)	吧思	
bitlim	(17)	密林	‘brew?’
bitlim	(24)	密林	
hoki* <sup>23</sup>	(7)	噤其	‘together?’
hoki	(12)	噤其	
jiba (lek)	(28)	爾貓 (力)	‘woman?’
jiba (lek)	(30)	爾貓 (力)	
jiba	(26)	爾貓	
jitat(ja)	(27)	爾達 (惹)	‘man?’
jitat(ja)	(29)	爾達 (惹)	
jitat(ja)	(31)	爾達 (惹)	
bunau	(27)	巫腦	‘song?’* <sup>24</sup>
bunau	(32)	巫腦	

### 3.2 Sound correspondence

In the six Favorlang songs, 23 words were identified with Happart’s (1650) vocabularies as seen in Table 9. These words are the object of phonological analysis in this section. The author compared the transliteration from the original Chinese transcription to the orthography in the Happart’s dictionary.

Table 9: Sound correspondence in the identified words

	Transliteration	Example number	Happart’s orthography
i	uiham	(7)	<i>eicham</i> ‘to drink’
ii	miham	(21)	<i>micham</i> ‘to drink’
iii	o	(7)	<i>o</i> ‘wine’
iv	tamau	(11)	<i>tamau</i> ‘father’
v	tanai	(11)	<i>tanai</i> ‘mother’
vi	buna	(13)	<i>bonna</i> ‘field’
vii	hinmalek	(16)	<i>chummollok</i> ‘to exchange’
viii	na	(18)	<i>naa</i> ‘I, mine’
ix	bubu	(18)	<i>boeboe</i> ‘ancestor’
x	malyu	(3)	<i>mario</i> ‘good’
xi	lammaiit	(7)	<i>rummait</i> ‘to sing’
xii	bunlan	(3)	<i>binnan</i> ‘deer’
xiii	lokso	(9)	<i>dasso</i> ‘rice’
xiv	bunlam	(22)	<i>binnan</i> ‘deer’
xv	balek	(5)	<i>barieg</i> ‘copper’
xvi	tsinkak	(22)	<i>tumkah</i> ‘to hunt’
xvii	ota	(23)	<i>adda</i> ‘rice’
xviii	batat	(29)	<i>badda</i> ‘children [male]’
xix	ho	(17)	<i>o</i> ‘wine’
xx	kohma	(31)	<i>ema</i> ‘field’
xxi	sale	(9)	<i>sarries</i> ‘yarn’

\*<sup>23</sup> This and the next item both precedes *rummait* ‘to sing.’

\*<sup>24</sup> It was Ogawa (date unknown) who analyzed this word as ‘song’ (or ‘to sing?’); however, I do not know which Formosan language he had in mind. At least, there seems to be no identical word in Favorlang dictionary (Happart 1650).

xxii	tapu	(11)	<i>tapos</i> ‘all’
xxiii	boatsi	(8)	<i>baas</i> ‘year’

From (i) to (ix), the Florenz’s transliteration and the Happart’s orthography corresponds rather well except for some vowel differences. In (x), (xi), and (xv), l in Florenz’s transliteration corresponds to r in Happart’s orthography. In (xiv), l in the transliteration corresponds to n and in (xiii) it corresponds to d. There is also an l in the transliteration that corresponds to l (vii).

In (xiv), the word-final consonant m in the transliteration appears as n in Happart’s orthography. In (xv), the word-final consonant k in the transliteration appears as g [ɣ] in Happart’s orthography. In (xvi), the word-final consonant k in the transliteration appears as h in Happart’s orthography. In (xvii) and (xviii), the word-medial t in the transliteration appears as d in the Happart’s orthography.

In (xvi), the word-initial ts in the transliteration appears as t in the Happart’s orthography. In (xx), the word-initial h in the transliteration is missing in Happart’s orthography; similarly in (xxi), the word-initial k is missing.

In (xxi) and (xxii), the word-final s in Happart’s orthography is missing in the transliteration. Conversely, the word-final s in Happart’s orthography appears in (xxiii); however, the segment is not word-final in the translation. This appears as the onset, and it is followed by an extra vowel i.

In (xiii) and (xx), there are extra consonants, k<sup>\*25</sup> and h [ʔ] in the transliteration. The extra consonants appear word-initially.

In (vii), the segments m and i are doubled in the transliteration. First, m appears as the coda of the first syllable. The same segment reappears as the onset of the following syllable. Similarly, i appears in final position in the second syllable, and the same segment reappears as the initial vowel in the following syllable. This kind of doubling method is also seen in (vii); however, the doubled segments are similar but not identical (n and m).

In short, Chinese character, which contains a syllable, is not the most useful letter to transcribe Favorlang. There were missing segments and unnecessary segments in the Chinese transcriptions which lead to the difficulty in decipherment.

### 3.3 The song in Babuza village: Favorlang or Pazih

The song in Babuza village (section 2.6) is different from others in that it included Pazih words as well as Favorlang words.<sup>\*26</sup> Table 10 shows the list of identified words in Favorlang and Pazih. For Favorlang, the Happart’s orthography is shown in brackets. For Pazih, Li and Tsuchida’s (2001) orthography is shown in brackets.

Table. 10: Favorlang and Pazih words

Favorlang	Pazih
bata ( <i>badda</i> ) ‘child [male]’	maimai ( <i>mamais</i> ) ‘woman’
kohma ( <i>ema</i> ) ‘field’	huma ( <i>xuma</i> ) ‘house’
bunlam ( <i>binnan</i> )	innosat ( <i>inusat</i> ) ‘wine’

The location of Babuza village may explain the possibility of language contact with Pazih people. Among several Favorlang villages, Babuza was situated in the northernmost position (Tsuchida 1982). Babuza village was situated on the north of Dadu river, which separates Babuza village from other Favorlang villages which were situated on the south of Dadu river. In the north of Babuza village, there were a few Pazih villages. Among Favorlang villages, Babuza village was closest to Pazih villages.

<sup>\*25</sup> However, the initial consonant k in the transliteration could be a retention of the earlier form (Proto-Austronesian \*qumah ‘swidden’ (Blust and Trussel). However, this is contradictory to the description in Li (2003:6) that Proto-Austronesian \*q had disappeared at the time of Happart (1650).

<sup>\*26</sup> It was Ogawa who first noticed this, which is evident in his notes in the manuscript (Ogawa, date unknown). He wrote the name of a few Pazih village and Pazih words next to the words he deciphered.

People in Babuza village probably had frequent contact with Pazih people and eventually the language in Babuza village underwent assimilation to Pazih by adopting Pazih words.

## 4 Conclusion

This paper tried to decipher six Favorlang songs transcribed by Chinese characters with Southern Hokkien pronunciation in the early 18th century. This paper showed a preliminary result of the decipherment (section 2) with the help of Favorlang dictionary and the identification of repetitive words (section 3.1). Based on this result, phonological observations were discussed (section 3.2). Among six songs, the song in Babuza village was peculiar in that it contained Pazih words (section 3.3). This may suggest the language contact between Babuza village and the villages of Pazih tribe.

These Favorlang songs need syntactic analysis in the future. The songs recorded by Huang (1722) still includes languages such as Taokas, Hoanya, Papora, which have not been deciphered. The observations made in this study would be applicable in deciphering songs in other extinct Formosan languages.

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