

# The Phonological Patterning of the Segment /w/ in Paiwan and Seediq

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Despite the fact that most Formosan languages are seen to be on the verge of extinction in the near future, a comprehensive description of their phonology is still in progress. This paper describes the different patterning of the segment /w/ in two Formosan languages: Paiwan and Seediq. The former is spoken in the south-western and south-eastern parts of Taiwan, while the latter with three distinctive dialects—Tgdaya, Truku, and Toda, is spoken in Central and Eastern Taiwan. Based on Blust (1999), the two languages are in different subgroups. Paiwan forms a subgroup by itself, whose internal relationship is tentatively divided into the north-west and the south-east branches (Ho 1978). Seediq is one of the two main branches of the Atayalic subgroup. Therefore, this paper also provides a comparative perspective towards the double-faced glide /w/ in the two languages.

In Paiwan the morphophonemic alternation between the segment /w/ and the labiodental fricative [v] is found in most Paiwan villages. Previous documentation from the villages in the western part considered that the derivation is from /w/ to [v] (Ho 1977, Ferrell 1982, and Chang 2000). Comparing this alternation in Central Piuma Paiwan and Southern Paiwan, Chen (2006: 94-96) states that this alternation is not found in the former, and in the latter the alternation only occurs in suffixation.

In this paper I present new data collected from the Paiwan villages in the eastern part, which has been little studied in the literature. The data show that in the villages where this alternation occurs, the condition is morphological rather than phonological. This pattern appears to be similar to that in Southern Paiwan (cf. Chen 2006).

As for Seediq, this paper provides the data from the Toda dialect in the east, which has not been reported before. Regarding the segment /w/, there is a sound correspondence of /g/ (Tgdaya/Paran)-/ɣ/ (Truku)-/w/ (Toda) in the three dialects. Li (1981)'s comparative study on the Atayalic dialects reports some phonological features in Central Toda, yet the Toda data from the east show a slightly different picture. This paper thus discusses how this sound correspondence reflects the phonological patterning of the segment /w/ in Toda Seediq, with a comparison from the phonology of the other two dialects (cf. Yang 1976, Lee 2009, 2010).

This paper concludes with a theoretical account of the phonological patterning of the segment /w/ and the diachronic implications obtained from observation and comparison.

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