

行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 成果報告

人類學門赴澳洲、斐濟及夏威夷考察訪問 研究成果報告(精簡版)

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計畫主持人：童元昭

計畫參與人員：主持人：童元昭
此計畫無參與人員：無

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「人類學門赴澳洲、斐濟及夏威夷考察訪問」計畫結案報告

這次赴澳洲、斐濟及夏威夷考察訪問計畫，主要是訪問與南島民族（語族）研究有關的幾個重要教學研究單位：在坎培拉的澳洲國立大學「太平洋與亞洲研究院」的人類學系，在斐濟蘇瓦的南太平洋大學之「大洋洲藝術與文化中心」及「太平洋發展及統治進階研究所」，以及在 Manoa 夏威夷大學的人類學系。訪問考察的目的，除了希望能藉機讓英語世界多少能瞭解台灣的南島民族研究成果而吸引他們的注意外，也希望能與相關教學研究機構發展出進一步的長期合作關係，以提升台灣相關領域的研究水準，並尋求未來研究可發展的方向，以便對國際學界提供獨特的貢獻。下面就參觀訪問的活動行程與內容、具體成果、感想與建議，進一步說明。

一、參觀訪問的活動行程與內容

參觀訪問的活動行程與內容，可由下述表格具體說明如下：

參訪澳洲、斐濟及夏威夷從事南島民族教學研究機構的內容

日期	參訪國家與單位	活動內容	交流事項	備註
10月28日到11月1日	澳洲國立大學太平洋與亞洲研究院 (Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies)	27日晚上從台北搭機，28日早上抵達Brisben，適逢假日加上沒有趕上班機，抵達Canberra 時間已是近晚上11時		
29日		人類學系系主任 Mark Mosko 教授主持工作坊(詳細內容如附件1)		聽眾除了學院的教授外，也包括在此讀書的台灣與中國大陸學生
30日		國科會駐澳洲代表處人員載送前往參觀 National Reserve		
31日		(1)準備1日舉行的澳洲人類學年會 (2)參訪 National Museum，瞭解當地原住民與政府的關係 (3)澳洲代表處宴請晚餐，James Fox 教授也出席	與 Mosko 教授討論將工作坊文章修改並以 E-press 方式出版的相關事宜	
1日		(1)在2007年澳洲人類學會年會中以 Change and Continuity in the Aboriginal Societies of Taiwan 為題舉行 panel (2)參加年會的晚餐	與 Mosko 和 Fox 教授討論後續交流以及組 panel 參加國外有關南島民族研究的國際研討會的可能性	

11月2日到11月4日	2日		早上從 Canberra 搭機前往 Sydney 機場，轉機到斐濟 Suva，約當地時間晚上 10 時抵達		
	3日	訪問南太平洋大學 (University of the South Pacific)	(1)參觀斐濟博物館 (2)參訪 Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture 周遭的藝術作品，並由在此展演與創作者進一步得知此中心的運作情形 (3)參觀斐濟聚落		原先約定見面的 Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture 的主任 Epeli Hauofa 教授生病
	4日		(1)與 Elise Huffer 博士碰面，對於南太平洋大學有關太平洋研究的情形 (2)參訪聚落與市集		
11月4日到11月9日	4日	訪問夏威夷大學人類學系與語言學系	早上抵達夏威夷，下午參訪 Bishop Museum		因為經過國際換日線，到夏威夷時仍是 11 月 4 日
	5日		(1)早上與人類學系教師交換意見 (2)下午在人類學系舉行 roundtable (3)晚上與人類學系等單位的老師聚餐	(1)學生就讀夏威夷大學人類學系的相關資訊 (2)夏威夷大學人類學系與國內南島民族研究機構之間的合作	(1)舉行 roundtable 時，從事南島語言研究的 Robert Blust 等位教授也出席 (2)夏威夷大學人類學系教師強調太平洋研究，對於「南島民族」的用語有所保留
	6日		(1)早上參訪語言學系，並由蔣斌和黃宜衛分別報告台灣南島民族研究情形以及語言與族群關係 (2)參訪玻里尼西亞文化中心	台灣南島社會文化研究與語言學研究的互動	
	7日		(1)早上參訪夏威夷大學圖書，尤其是太平洋地區圖書等資料蒐藏情形 (2)晚上與就讀夏威夷大學人類學的台灣學生聚會，詢問其就讀情況	(1)加強從事大洋洲地區研究的台灣學界運用該校館藏資源的可能 (2)提供該館有關台灣南島研究的書籍與相關訊息	
	8日		早上搭機返台		

二、具體的成果

就參訪活動的具體成果，可分兩部份。一部份是對於我們參訪單位的進一步瞭解。另一部份是我們如何讓對方進一步瞭解我們的台灣南島民族研究成果。就第一部份而言，而見於下面的說明：

壹：大洋洲研究的教學、研究組織與特色

1. 澳洲國立大學(ANU)大洋洲的研究人才與資源非常豐富，但也有它的特殊發展重點與方向。ANU 由於是國家培植，經費極為充裕，但也必須扮演政府智庫的角色。是故，政府一方面提供了研究與應用的機會，一方面也引導或限制了研究的趨勢。ANU 於 2005 年重組了與亞太研究相關的研究與教學單位，整合了「亞太外交學院」、「克勞福政經學院」、「亞洲研究院」(RSPAS)、「卓越亞太研究國際中心」與「亞太研究院」，成立了「亞太學院」。「學院」當中，以主題來看，可以區分為四個核心。

(1) 人類學、考古學與語言學

這一部份在 ANU 成立以來，便是大學的發展重點，而三個學門之間也有積極的對話，其中 Peter Bellwood 教授對整體南島語族使用者在起源與分布的討論，在南島研究上有絕對的影響。另外 Jim Fox 教授也採納世界南島的整體架構，推動比較研究，與台灣南島研究對話，持續至他目前進行的親屬稱謂研究。社會文化人類學方面的學者，多數以新幾內亞為研究地點，包括重要學者如 Margaret Jolly、James Weiner 與 Chris Gregory。

(2) 歷史

ANU 曾經主導大洋洲史的研究。早自 1950 年，成立大洋洲史研究單位之初，便以文化接觸為研究重點，脫離之前由西方殖民發展史來處理太平洋島嶼的偏狹觀點。雖然近年面臨「缺乏土著觀點」的批評，大洋洲史研究仍有良好的基礎，有學者如 Brij Lal 等人，Lal 亦負責 Pacific Manuscript Bureau 的管理。

(3) 人文地理與資源管理

偏向生態與生計等方向，經由顧問工作，也影響了澳洲的援外政策。部分人類學家亦參與如與採礦、伐木等開發行為相關的土地所有權、土地利用一類議題的探討。資源管理包括文化資產研究的重要充分反映在此次 Australian Anthropological Society 的小組討論中。

(4) 政治、安全與經濟

研究人員主要集中在「克勞福政經學院」與「美拉尼西亞國家、社會與治理計畫辦公室」。

由組織上看，「亞太研究院」(RSPAS)是 ANU 於 1946 年成立時，四個創始學院之一，備受國家看重。RSPAS 是澳洲研究亞太地區的重鎮，大洋洲研究重要的人類學、考古學、語言學、歷史、人文地理等學者，也都集中在此。RSPAS 下面依主題分為四個部分：分別是包括了人類學、考古學的、語言學、人文地理，以及資源管理的「社會與環境」、「亞太歷史」、「經濟」、「政治與國際關係」。

「亞太歷史」之下有一個研究行政支援單位「當代太平洋中心」，提供平台，發展並且引起大學內、政府、研究單位對大洋洲研究的重視，並提出一不同單位間可用的資訊網絡，促進學術交流，政策建議與國際間的理解。Pacific Research Collections (PRC) 則在圖書、文獻上的購藏上支援研究工作。RSPAS 的研究地區有一個優先順序，分別是東北亞、東南亞、南亞與西南太平洋。西南太平洋主要包括了新幾內亞與美拉尼西亞，這也就說明了其中學者研究地點集中在新幾內亞的現況。

2. 南太平洋大學(USP)中與大洋洲人文社會相關的教學研究集中在 Pacific Institute for Advanced Studies in Development and Governance(PAIS-DG)。我們於 11 月 3 日與 Epeli Hau'ofa，負責 Oceania Center 教授的會面，因 Hau'ofa 教授生病而取消。11 月 4 日與 Elise Huffer 教授會談中，得以略知 USP 大洋洲方面的研究規劃。PAIS-DG 之下，包括了五個學程，Pacific Studies Program 是其一。其他的為 Development、Governance、Public Sector Management & Corporate Governance Training Program、USP Regional Knowledgebase。「太平洋研究學程」提供學士後文憑。核心課程包括大洋洲特有的哲學、思想與倫理，大洋洲知識論，大洋洲研究史，當代大洋洲研究議題，以及發展與實習等五門課。五門課中涵蓋了三個考慮：(1) 建立大洋洲知識系統的整體性與特殊性，(2) 整理並評論外界如學界、顧問、媒體與觀光業的大洋洲論述，並提出自己與關心的議題，(3) 國家立場下的發展。Pacific Studies Program 在 USP 已有良好的基礎與聲譽，近年因學校內單位重組，使得 Pacific Studies Program 被納入 PAIS-DG 之中，而整個 Institute 強調發展與治理，教導西方發展出來的經濟成長與政府管理的理論與實務，相對的忽略了大洋洲的獨特性。Pacific Studies Program 代理主任 Huffer 博士本身是政治學者，但極注意地方社會的觀點，他曾探討一般所謂貪腐 (corruption) 的地方脈絡與意義。Huffer 所規劃與推動的課程有兩個特色。一是區域的視野，另一是地方的觀點。教學與研究上都意圖超越單一社會的格局，同時能警覺西方理論的局限。

3. 夏威夷大學的大洋洲研究學者屬於兩個單位，分別是人類學系與「The Center for Pacific Island Studies」

- (i) 夏威夷大學人類學系有四位教師的研究地點在大洋洲，我們在 11 月 5 日上午有一次座談的機會，其間每人均簡單說明了自己的研究主題，

也交換了部分個人著作。

人類系從事大洋洲研究的四位教師，分別是

- (a) Dr. Jeffrey White
- (b) Dr. Andrew R. Arno
- (c) Dr. Alex Golub
- (d) Dr. Ty Tengan

Dr. Golub 的田野地在新幾內亞高地，針對 Pogera 的採礦而觸及所有權、文化權的探討，他也正試探網路社群的研究。Dr. Tengan 與 Dr. Golub 均是新近博士，Tengan 主要研究主題是夏威夷國族主義與男性氣質。Dr. Arno 的專長在口語溝通與斐濟。Dr. White 則是在 1990 年代初，Identity Through History 一書出版後，持續關注歷史與記憶的議題。2000 年與 Dr. David Hanlon 合編了 Voyaging Through the Contemporary Pacific。

- (ii) The Center for Pacific Island Studies 成立於 1950 年，於 1987 年歸屬於新成立的 School of Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Studies。2007 年，Hawaiian Studies 獨立，重組為 School of Asian and Pacific Studies。「太平洋島嶼研究中心」以太平洋島嶼中跨領域的研究教學為方向。中心提供學士與碩士課程。教師包括歷史、文學、視覺藝術與政治學的不同背景，而與人類學、地理、語言學等系所亦有良好的合作關係，Dr. Hanlon 自 2002 年起，擔任中心的負責人，他與 Dr. White 研究上的合作，便可以看出兩個單位的密切關係。Dr. Hanlon 的研究以密克羅尼西亞為對象，尤其是針對其中的 Phonpei。他的研究重點分別在德國影響下的教會活動與改宗，以及美國治理下的發展論述。「中心」也負責出版「The Contemporary Pacific」季刊，人類系的 White 與中心的 Hanlon 都曾擔任總編輯。Hanlon 也負責 PIMS (Pacific Islands Monograph Series) 之出版。中心除了 Hanlon 的歷史研究外，老師亦參與東西中心的大型計劃，如 Moving Culture、與 Islands of Globalization 等。「中心」的專任教師人數雖然不多，但出版與舉辦會議非常活潑。
- (iii) 夏威夷研究中心，提供由語言，到夏威夷文獻、研究資料導讀到專題研究等課程。

除了人類學系的大洋洲研究，「太平洋島嶼研究中心」與「夏威夷研究中心」，共同提供與大洋洲有關的課程。大洋洲相關的課程，有二個特點，一個是注重當代現象與議題，如全球暖化、核子試爆、人口遷徙以及觀光等。另一是強調社區合作，或是夏威夷當地特色。夏威夷在近年文化復振的努力下，夏威夷研究日益受到重視，地位提升，也表現在課程上面。Hamilton 圖書館也強調與各島嶼國家圖書館的互惠合作。大學也提供語言課程，目前有「夏威夷語」、「東加語」、「薩摩亞語」以及「大溪地語」。Hamilton 圖書館提供圖書資料的支援，其中也包含

了語言自我學習的教材。

貳：大洋洲研究相關圖書資源

圖書資源在研究與教學的發展上，有著重要的位置，此次參訪，也對太平洋島嶼相關的圖書資源有了一較完整的認識。

1. 澳洲國立大學與太平洋島嶼相關的圖書、文獻收藏與三個單位有關，分別是 Pacific Manuscript Bureau (PMB)、Pacific Research Collection (PRC)，以及大學圖書館。我分別在 10 月 31 日拜訪了 PMB 的 Zwan Waidment 先生，並在 11 月 1 日拜訪了圖書館負責大洋洲收藏的 Deveni Temu 先生。另外，參考了 PMB 發行的 PMB 通訊「Pambu」，整理出 ANU 太平洋島嶼圖書資源的特色。
 - (i) ANU 曾經一度將大洋洲圖書資訊的購藏，列為優先工作，而擁有豐富的資料。但在澳洲整個轉向強調與亞洲的關聯，而減弱了對大洋洲的興趣與財力、心力的投入，因而在圖書購藏上，出現了將近十年的空白。但是在斐濟、巴布亞新幾內亞與所羅門群島接連發生的政治緊張、暴動，甚至軍事政變，引發澳洲對國家區域安全的顧慮後，回頭關注島嶼國家政府的運作，如 RSPAS 之下的「State, Society and Government in Melanesia」計劃辦公室便因應成立，並且成立 Pacific Research Collection，延攬了 Karina Taylor 為 Pacific Archivist，並且聘用 Deveni Temu 先生，補實了懸缺近 10 年的大洋洲圖書館員。
 - (ii) PAMBU 成立於 1968 年，是由九個圖書館資助的非營利組織，工作內容在複製歷史檔案、手稿以及罕見書籍，目的在保存與流通。九個成員圖書館提供研究需求與資料訊息，Pambu 負責複製的工作，會員圖書館可以獲得一份拷貝，Pambu 網站上提供收藏目錄，但不包括全文。全文查閱必須在圖書館進行。收藏包括船隻記錄、公司檔案、教會檔案、私人書信等。目前管理委員會的負責人是知名的大洋洲史學者 Brij Lal。
 - (iii) Pacific Research Collection 由 International Center for Excellence in Asia-Pacific Studies，RSPAS 之下的 Pacific Center 與 ANU Division of Information 共同支持成立。目的在成為太平洋島嶼研究的資源中心。由一文獻專家與一圖書館員負責檔案、手稿與出版品的購藏。PRC 配合 RSPAS 研究人員在研究與教學上的圖書需求，規劃 PRC 的進度。
2. 夏威夷大學的 Hamilton Library 五樓為針對夏威夷與太平洋島嶼的特藏。負責人是 Karen Peacock 女士。夏威夷大學的太平洋島嶼收藏是公認的豐富與完整。我們於 11 月 7 日拜訪「Pacific Collection」負責的 Peacock 女士，並由其簡介收藏之特色。
 - (i) Peacock 女士自 1970 年代中期開始在圖書館工作，在 30 年的工作中，他注意到一個新趨勢的出現，那就是島嶼文學作品的出版活潑，以及

島嶼學者研究出版的增加。普遍來說，島嶼文學有復興的現象。與語言學習有關的材料增加，而使用當地語言或英法文的島嶼作家作品日益受到國際重視。Hamilton 圖書館收藏的特色便是能夠鉅細靡遺的網羅島嶼國家當地的官方與民間出版品，包括了官方調查統計、發展規劃書等，以及民間的文學與學術作品。大洋洲收藏部門有五位工作人員，每年均會有「購藏之旅」(acquisition trip)，尋訪、收購發行量少，流通有限的地方出版品。相對於多數圖書館偏重某一島嶼或地區的收藏，Hamilton 圖書館所收藏最為完整。圖書館也主動配合課程需要，購置圖書，並在相關課堂上介紹「Pacific Collection」，幫助學生熟悉資源、學習。

- (ii) 夏威夷大學另外有一類大洋洲相關的收藏是影像資料，其中大宗為夏威夷。目前收藏在 Sinclair Library。
- (iii) 大洋洲的移民資料如斐濟的印度裔，法屬波里尼西亞的華裔相關資料，均包括在 Pacific Collection 當中，其中夾雜有中文材料。
- (iv) Hamilton Library 是 Pambu 的創始成員之一，故收藏有一份 Pambu 所有的複製檔案。

其次，就這次參訪過程，所有計畫參與者均參加了由澳洲國立大學 the International Center for Excellence in Asia Pacific Studies 及該校亞太研究院的人類學系共同主辦有關台灣南島民族研究而以 CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE ABORIGINAL SOCIETIES OF TAIWAN 為主題的一天工作坊，以及澳洲人類學會 (AAS) 年會同一題目的小組討論會(panel discussion)。在這會議中，我們個別發表了論文。其題目如下 (參見附錄)：

黃應貴: 'Cultural Formation and Recreation in the Chenyoulan River Region from 1895 to the Present'

蔣斌: 'Articulation of Hierarchies: House, Community and Value among the Paiwan'

黃宣衛: 'Cultural Construction and a New Ethnic Movement-- The Name Rectification Campaign and the Fire God Ritual of the Sakizaya in Eastern Taiwan'

陳文德: 'Incorporating the Foreign as the Autochthonous-- An Ethnographic Study of the Puyuma People of Eastern Taiwan'

童元昭: 'Fa-Amu('To Feed'): Adopting Tahitian Children, and Becoming Tahitians?'

後來在夏威夷大學人類學系的圓桌會談中，由於每個報告的時間更短，我們調整了原在澳洲所講的題目。除了蔣斌仍談 'Articulation of Hierarchies'，陳文德則繼續談 'Incorporating the Foreign as the Autochthonous: An Ethnographic Study of the Puyuma People of Eastern Taiwan'，以及黃宣衛談 'Cultural Construction and a New

Ethnic Movement: The Name Rectification Campaign and the Fire God Ritual of the Sakizaya in Eastern Taiwan’外，黃應貴的題目則改成‘The Impact of Neoliberalism: The Formation of New Local Societies’，童元昭則談‘Pacific Studies in Taiwan’。另外，在夏威夷大學語言學系的報告，則有蔣斌講‘A critical review of the cultural anthropological studies of the Austronesian people in Taiwan’及黃宣衛講‘Language as a factor in the Sakizaya’s new ethnic group movement’。由這些論文的發表與報告中，雖還無法讓參與的英語世界學者充分瞭解台灣南島民族研究的成果，但已引起他們的一些興趣。至少，負責澳洲國立大學工作坊的 Mark Mosko 教授，希望將這些論文進一步修改後出版，以便能夠搭起溝通台灣南島民族研究與其他地區的南島民族研究的橋樑。

三、結論與建議

透過這次參訪，已初步達到原計畫的目的：讓英語世界多少能瞭解台灣的南島民族研究成果而吸引他們的注意外，也希望能與相關教學研究機構發展出進一步的長期合作關係，以提升台灣相關領域的研究水準，並尋求未來研究可發展的方向，以便對國際學界提供獨特的貢獻。至少，在這次參觀訪問過程，已與澳洲國立大學及夏威夷大學的人類學系達到某種程度的共識，均希望未來雙方能有進一步的合作研究、乃至於交換學生等長期合作的可能性。這就看未來主導國家學術發展的國科會是否能夠利用這次參訪所建立的關係，進一步推展未來可能的長期合作發展計畫。

雖然如此，由這次參訪的經驗裡，我們也提出幾個意見，以便未來推動類似計畫的參考。第一，下次要在國外舉辦這類以台灣南島民族的研究為主題的工作坊或研討會，必須更有系統地組織，才更易突顯出台灣南島民族研究上的特色。其次，要讓英語世界的學者容易進入我們的研究與討論，正如 Mosko 教授的企圖，最好能與大洋洲民族誌比較，使他們更易知道台灣南島民族與大洋洲民族誌的相同處與連結。第三，台灣南島民族的研究必須找到獨特而有理論意涵的研究課題，才容易引起西方學者的興趣與注意。第四，這次參加 AAS 的研討會，由於我們自己要發表論文而沒有心情及時間去聽其他有意思的演講與討論，很可能錯失了許多有用的新思考與新想法，實是一大損失。尤其是這次澳洲人類學大會的主題，Transforming Economies, Changing States，正是在處理新自由主義下政治經濟上的相關問題。這個既是現實上普遍存在的棘手問題，又是學術理論發展上有可能的新突破點，故該學會才會傾整個學會的力量來面對它。而國內有關這方面的研究，還很少人觸及，是很值得我們進一步瞭解澳洲人類學界努力的成果。但通常只有在有發表論文而有較多自己控制的時間之情況下，才比較可能專心地去思索如何吸取他人的優點。像目前這樣風塵僕僕地參訪，是很難做到。也

許，這必須另一種方式來做。無論如何，所有參與者還是認為這類的參訪計畫，對於國內學術的發展，還是有其非常正面的意義與作用，質得繼續推動。

附錄

Cultural Formation and Recreation in the Chenyoulan River Region from 1895 to the Present

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Outline

- 1) The Chenyoulan River Region Before the Japanese Era (1895-1945)**
- 2) The Establishment of the Local Administration System and the Implementation of the Policy of “Civilization”**
 - 1. The Establishment of the Local Administration System and the Implementation of the Policy of “Civilization”**
 - 2. The Formation of Bunun Cultural Tradition Under Colonial Rule**
 - (1)Personhood**
 - (2)Space**
 - (3)Things**
 - (4)Time and history**
 - 3. Cultural tradition in conflict with colonial policy**
- 3) Cultural Creation Under Guomintang¹ “Modernization” (1945-1987)**
 - 1. Christianity**
 - 2. Capitalism**
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- 4) Re-creation Under Neoliberalism (1987-)**
- 5) Conclusion**

This paper uses the Bunun aborigines² living in the Chenyoulan River region³ as a case study of cultural formation and recreation. The author has been studying the Chenyoulan Bunun for the past thirty years. This paper addresses the question of how people actively re-form or re-create culture in new historical environments.⁴ As this

¹ Once called the Kuomintang or Chinese Nationalist Party, the 國民黨 now refers to itself as the Guomindang or GMD.

² The Bunun are a tribe of Formosan or Taiwanese aborigines, who are Austronesian peoples.

³ Today, the Chenyoulan region is located in Xinyi (Hsinyi) Rural Township, Nantou County, in central Taiwan.

⁴ Formation and reformation implies a natural process but does not necessarily deny human agency; creation stresses human agency. In this paper I shall be stressing the active Bunun *response* to historical change, considering the Bunun more as subjects than as objects of history.

paper is a précis of a much larger research project (which will extend to three volumes), much ethnographic detail has been omitted; references are provided for readers who wish to learn more. This paper is in other words limited to larger trends, to the big picture. It is intended as a preliminary basis for consideration and comprehension of the little understood phenomena of cultural formation and recreation.

1) The Chenyoulan River Region Before the Japanese Era (1895-1945)⁵

Though a dearth of historical records makes it difficult to know what the Chenyoulan River region was like before 1895, when the Japanese took power, we have enough historical materials to contrast the Qing and Japanese periods. In terms of ethnic relations, official Qing records recognized only three communities: the Tsou villages of Nan-zi-jiao-wan-she (today Jiumei) and Heshe⁶ (Bukiu), and the Bunun village of Taketonpu (Neighborhood 1, Dong-pu-cun administratively but still called Taketonpu by the locals). At the time, however, there were Han Chinese people living in the region; many had become squatters, reclaiming “wasteland” and living in communities not yet recognized by the authorities, such as Nei-mao-pu (today Xinyi, also known as Mingde), Tou-she-ping (today Fengqiu), and especially Niu-wen-lu (today Yongxing or Yunghsing), a prosperous river harbor town. Located on the Zhuoshui (Choshui) River just downstream from where the Chenyoulan meets the Zhuoshui,⁷ Niu-wen-lu was a rafting point for logs felled in the Danda Mountain area, which is upstream along the Zhuoshui River. There were no Han Chinese villages farther into the hilly area through which the upper Zhuoshui flowed. Niu-wen-lu was also the entrance to the Chenyoulan River area. The Bunun and the Tsou launched headhunting attacks on each other; and both tribes headhunted the Chinese. The latter did not reciprocate. In fact, the Chinese would often mediate between the Bunun and Tsou. Chinese traders in the area licensed as “interpreters” often lived in the aboriginal villages, learnt the local languages and customs and even married local girls; and it was especially through marriage relations that they were able to mitigate conflict, which is striking given that the Chenyoulan and the Zhuoshui regions⁸ were

⁵ For details and references, see Huang Yinggui(2007).

⁶ 社 *she* meant village, so that the ‘she’ in Heshe (Hoshe) Village is technically redundant. Pinyin has been used. For longer names, such as Nan-zi-jiao-wan-she, dashes have been used. For Taketonpushe, located south up the Chenyoulan River, Taketonpu is often used. The Bunun of Taketonpushe are referred to as the Taketonpu Bunun.

⁷ In Xinyi Township, the Zhuoshui flows roughly east to west, while the Chenyoulan flows roughly south to north until it flows into the Zhuoshui.

⁸ Both the upper Zhuoshui and the Chenyoulan rivers formed river valleys, but as many communities were located up in the hills the word “region” will be used instead of “valley.” Sometimes a “region” will be used to indicate a larger area including sub-regions, though the term “sub-region” will not be

at this time already part of the same market economy or regional system, the center of which was Jiji (Chichi).⁹

Residents of the Chenyoulan and Zhuoshui regions, both Chinese and aboriginal, went to Jiji to trade, turning Jiji into the largest commercial center in the region and a base of interregional trade. Jiji gave the different ethnic groups a place to interact. Many of the interpreters living in aboriginal villages maintained separate households in Jiji, to facilitate their trade and mediation work. Residence in Jiji increased social interaction amongst interpreters, allowing the various communities within the economic or intraregional system to resolve conflicts and disputes by making use of the interpreters' division of labor and contacts. For instance, disputes arising from headhunting attacks between the Bunun living along the upper Zhuoshui and the Tsou of Nan-zi-jiao-wan-she or even Alishan (Mount Ali) were resolved at Jiji by the interpreters of the parties involved. Interpreter trade was conducive to conflict resolution, but intermarriage between Chinese interpreters and native girls was even more important. In fact, strict Bunun marriage prohibitions against forms of endogamy increased the likelihood of intermarriage. Finally, in addition to trade and marriage, there was education. Nothing illustrates the interactive relations and ethnic boundary crossing that characterized the Chenyoulan River region at this time better than the Wan-xing-guan School, which Yunlin Pacification and Reclamation Bureau Commissioner Chen Shilie founded in Nan-zi-jiao-wan-she to teach Chinese to young Tsou and Bunun aborigines.

Between the Han and aborigines there were thus relationships of trade, marriage, and education. The Bunun and Tsou maintained the tradition of the headhunt, a source of antagonism in a multi-ethnic setting. But there was another form of intercultural interaction or influence here—the relation between the Han and aborigines was most concretely expressed in terms of clothing: the Bunun, especially the Taketonpu Bunun, adopted Han Chinese dress. They surprised Japanese anthropologists at the beginning of the colonial era by observing the Chinese New Year and wearing Chinese-style dress. These practices were described as instances of “Sinicization” (Torii Ryuzo (1870-1953) 2000: 391). In fact, even before the Japanese took over, a cross-island trail had been built in the latter half of the 19th century to facilitate inter-communal or interregional contact: the Ba-tong-guan Trail passed through the Chenyoulan River region, running from Zhushan (Jhushan or Chushan) past Nan-ji-jiao-she, Heshe,

used. For instance, the Jiji region includes the Chenyoulan and Zhuoshui regions.

⁹ Jiji is located on the Zhuoshui River downstream from Yongxing (Niu-wen-lu). It is a town and also the seat of what is now called Jiji Township, Nantou County.

Take-tonpu, and then farther east past Ba-tong-guan, Mount Xiugulan (Hsiu-ku-lan), Dafen (Tafen), to Pu-shi-ge (today Yuli) on the east coast of Taiwan. The Ba-tong-guan Trail was an important cross-island trade route. Thus, by the early Japanese period and even before, the Chenyoulan River region was both a hinterland for Jiji and itself a “circle of life,” an area where groups of Han Chinese and Formosan aborigines lived in close relation with one another. In fact, Chinese loggers, pioneers and even traders often passed through the area, some temporarily, some as settlers. Although relations between the Bunun and the Tsou were traditionally antagonistic, intermarriage, trade, and cultural interaction and reciprocal influence ensured that there were no longer any isolated groups in the region with “authentic traditional cultures” independent of outside influence.

2) The Formation of the Bunun Cultural Tradition During the Japanese Era (1895-1945)

1. The Establishment of the Local Administration System and the Implementation of the Policy of “Civilization”¹⁰

Before the Japanese period, Bunun culture interacted a great deal with outside cultures. After 1895, the colonial government drove the Chinese (including the interpreters) out of the Chenyoulan River region and established police stations, clinics, schools for aboriginal children, and trading posts in the center of local communities, so as to ensure effective management of local society. The next step they took was to install local chiefs, set up cultivation classes (or experimental farms), youth associations, women’s associations and other voluntary organizations to facilitate social control. By around 1924, the Japanese colonial government had effective control over local society in the entire Chenyoulan River region, preempting rebellion¹¹ and collectivizing local society. They built or repaired roads, planted hazel trees, designated public cemeteries, cut aborigines’ hair, educated children and spread the Japanese language, all parts of the policy of “civilization.” The Bunun traditionally did not bathe regularly. Out of concern for hygiene, the state installed bathrooms in the chiefs’ houses (as a model for other households) and built public bathing facilities in each community. There was also the unhygienic practice of lateral incisor or canine tooth removal, to which the government put a stop through the new local administration system. Thereby, local Bunun society not only became part of the colonial administrative system but also became in a sense culturally

¹⁰ For details and references, see Huang Yinggui(2007).

¹¹ However, the government did not establish firm control over the Bunun in Taidong (Taitung) County in southeastern Taiwan until after the Dagan (Takuan) Mountain incident in 1932.

autarkic—isolated from Chinese society.

The Japanese colonial government's policy of civilization contained a specific prohibition directed at the Bunun, which was related to Bunun marriage and ritual practice. The government considered the Bunun to be culturally relatively backward, ahead only of the Yamei (now often called the Dawu) of Orchid Island (formerly Botel Tobago). Contemporary Japanese anthropologists (especially Toichi Mabuchi 馬淵東一) felt that the strict Bunun marriage restrictions against near relation endogamy made it more difficult for Bunun youth than for the youth of any other tribe to find suitable marriage partners. The anthropologists therefore recommended that the restriction be relaxed, so that the restriction only applied to members of the individual's lineage (relatively small), rather than to all the members of the individual's clan (larger). The clan itself, the members of which shared the same surname, was itself redefined so that it only included kin within three degrees of kinship. In addition, the state encouraged exogamous marriage, not with the Chinese but rather with other aboriginal tribes, such as marriage between Bunun and Taroko (now called Truku, a branch of the Atayal).

Improving ritual practices was more difficult, because excepting the “shoot the ear” ceremony (*Malahodaigian*)¹² all other practices were carried out within the individual family rather than in a communal context. In some communities, even the “shoot the ear” practice was family-based. Generally speaking, for the annual millet productive ritual, the community shaman would sometimes be the first to carry out the ritual. Afterward the family would invite the other members of the community for a celebration, which could last for several days. This process was repeated until all of the families in turn had performed the ritual. Thus the performance of the entire ritual could last for two or even up to three weeks. To the Japanese colonial government, the Bunun were a tribe that “kept holding rituals throughout the year and drinking innumerable bottles of wine.” In fact, according to Toichi Mabuchi's estimate, the average Bunun observed from 70-80 to 120-130 festival days every year. If attendance at the rituals of other families were factored in, the Bunun spent over half the year drinking. With this in mind, the colonial government actively promoted the integration of all Bunun rituals, which were now all held concurrently. For some rituals—the “shoot the ear,” cultivation, and harvest rituals—several communities within the jurisdiction of a single police station would carry out the ritual together. In addition, to civilize the Bunun and reduce interethnic strife, the government actively

¹² *Malahodaigian* or “shoot the ear” ceremony (打耳祭) was a yearly cycle ceremony for Bunun males (including boys), who would shoot arrows at the ears of animals like the muntjac.

promoted inter-communal sporting events. Finally, the state combined the sporting and ritual activities into a single “ritual sporting event.”

The governmental effectiveness of the local administrative system was even more apparent when policies of paddy rice agriculture and collective relocation were carried out in the Chenyoulan River region. The government experimented with paddy rice agriculture in 1912 in Nan-zi-jiao-wan-she. In 1924 they had the Bunun dig irrigation channels there. Moving south, they repeated this process two years later farther up the Chenyoulan at Heshe, at what is now NTU experimental forest land. In 1938 they cultivated rice even farther up the Chenyoulan, at Taketonpu. The government intended that rice would replace millet as the staple food for the Bunun in the area and that the food supply would be adequate after collective relocation into the Chenyoulan region. However, during the testing and promotional phases of implementation, officials and experts had misgivings about both economic feasibility and local resistance. After the Wushe (Musha) Incident of 1930, a better understanding of local needs was stressed and there was less enthusiasm for imposing paddy rice agriculture. But after Pearl Harbor, the need for Japanese domestic food supplies and military provisions as well as local Bunun food needs after group relocation left the state with no choice but to impose rice farming on the local people. This imposition had a huge effect on the Bunun people. After the final relocation in 1944 was completed, there were now eight communities in the Chenyoulan River region where before there had only been three.

2. The Formation of Bunun Cultural Tradition Under Colonial Rule¹³

The Japanese stamped out the practices they found backward and imposed a new form of agriculture, but they tolerated and even respected customs of the Formosan aborigines that did not contradict the imperial policy of civilization. Thus, in their daily practice under Japanese rule, the Bunun continued to form and maintain their own cultural “tradition.” And in their cultural tradition, “personhood” is a key concept of classification.

(1) Personhood

The concept of personhood of the Taketonpu Bunun was¹⁴ practiced and represented through their life cycle ceremonies (infancy, childhood, marriage, and

¹³ For concepts, details and references, see Huang Yinggui(1989a, 1995, 1999, and 2004).

¹⁴ I have chosen to use past tense because we are talking about the Japanese period here. This is not to imply that traditional Bunun culture has disappeared. Clearly, like everyone else, the Bunun have had to negotiate modernity. When present tense is used, the author is describing our contemporary perspective; the use of the present tense is not meant to impute an essential Bunun-ness beyond the vicissitudes of history.

death). Implicit in these ceremonies was a symbolic system that includes a concept of person (*bunun*) and two spirits (*hanitu*). The spirit of the right shoulder, *mashia hanitu*, was altruistic, while the spirit of the left shoulder, *makwan hanitu*, was selfish. The tug-of-war between the two was resolved by “mind” (*is-ang*). As a person matures, his or her mind learned to balance the two spirits. The spirits were inherited from the father, while the body (*logbo*) came from the mother. Although the capabilities of the spirits were inherited to some extent, they could be continuously altered by nurture or hard work, and acquired abilities could be passed on to the next generation. The Bunun emphasized that people were born with different abilities, even brothers and sisters, because of their different times of birth. However, only when a person used his or her ability to make a contribution to the group would he or she receive communal recognition and affirmation. A person pursuing only his or her selfish interests would not be given social affirmation and might even be expelled. Practitioners of black magic were only allowed to live outside the village, in a kind of exile. Because people had different abilities, the meaning of life was that while alive each person must develop his or her talents to the fullest and contribute to the community. The strong must care for the weak. Only in this way would the spirits of the person return after death to *maiason*, the happy land where the righteous ancestors resided forever.

For the Bunun, a person’s social status was also determined by his or her contribution to the group. It was not inherited. With this emphasis on relations of sharing where the strong assist the weak, Bunun society in the Japanese period can be characterized as egalitarian. They also had a relatively communal society, in that the life cycle ceremonies are community-based, especially the infancy¹⁵ and “shoot the ear” ceremonies. The village was already the basic unit of Bunun society by the Japanese period. Personhood was such a crucial aspect of Bunun culture because it was an important foundation for understanding other layers of the culture. For instance, dream omen interpretation was a part of Bunun daily decision-making, regardless of whether the issue was cultivation, hunting, headhunting, building, traveling, or major decisions in a person’s life. Dreams were caused by a person’s spirit leaving his body and encountering things; the results of the encounters showed what would happen in the future with regard to matters of concern to the person. Furthermore, if a person was sick, it might be that a foreign *hanitu* had invaded his or her body. The acquisition of the Bunun shamanic art was also distinctive. It was not simply through training under another shaman but also through dream experience that the Bunun acquired shamanic ability. Socially, this meant that anyone could act as a

¹⁵ (M) *Indohdohan*, celebrated the birth of the baby in the past one year on the sixth full moon of the year. The major function of this ritual was to confirm this baby as a social being.

shaman by his/her capability regardless of family or social status,¹⁶ once more highlighting the egalitarian character of the society. However, dream omen interpretation, sickness, and shamanic art are all derived from their concept of the person and the belief of *hanitu* behind it. In addition, the importance of personhood in Bunun culture can in part only be observed in its jurisdiction over other basic fields of classification, as will become apparent in the following discussions.

(2) Space

Above we discussed how the Bunun conception of personhood included the idea of innate differences in human ability, and how this idea developed into sharing relationships in which the strong help the weak, which in turn are characteristic of egalitarian society. Egalitarianism was also expressed in the conception and classification of space. In traditional Bunun communities, each home became a kind of community center in reference to the locations of other households in the village. In other words, speakers specified the positions or locations of other homes in relation to their own homes, using relational terms like beside (*sicila*) or distance terms such as distant (*damaƒ*) or farthest (*undamaƒ*). The interlocutor needed to know not only where the speaker's home was located but also that each locative term might refer not just to one home but to two or three homes. Even the term *mishan* (meaning in the middle or between) used to position a speaker's home often included the several homes closest to the speaker's home. Thus, the conceptual map each family had of the community was unique, rather than there being one map common to all. Moreover, as each home was considered to be at the center of the community, there was therefore no objective spatial structure that expressed the objective position of each home in the village, and there was certainly no custom of "address plates" or clearly identified positions on a common planar map. Nor was there a distinction between center and periphery, as we are now fond of making. Naturally there was no concept of a fixed sacred space or public space. In fact, the spatial range of traditional Bunun communities was not fixed in the past. Every year, when the "shoot the ear" ceremony was held, they would first confirm who the members of the community were. Only then would they know what land—the plots of land used or possessed by the various members—was part of the village. Whenever the membership of the community changed, the spatial range of the village would alter accordingly. What is more, the location of the annual "shoot the ear" ceremony was not fixed. It was held at the home of the best hunter over the preceding year. This is why the formation of a fixed public or sacred space was impossible. In this way, egalitarianism was reflected in the

¹⁶ By contrast, in hierarchical Paiwan society, only a member of a noble family may learn the art of shamanism, which the Paiwan aborigines regard as a major source of social capital.

traditional Bunun conception of space.

In discussing the space-concept of the Bunun, we must also talk about their classification of space. The Bunun classified space into the following categories: dry field (*kaihoman*), hunting ground (*hanubag*) and residential area (*kat-asgan*). “Dry field” included the land cultivated by the households; the hunting ground belonged to the clan, and the residential area indicated all the land in the community where people built their homes. However, in some cases these three types might apply to the same piece of land. In other words, in their conception of space, different spatial concepts might be distinguished for the same piece of land due to differences in usage, and pertaining to different people or groups. For instance, in the prevailing spatial structure at the time, one was in the main space in the home as soon as one came through the door, and this space served as the living room (*mogulavan*), the eating area (*bidi-i-yan*) and the place of burial for family members (*bazavugan*). The area in front of the door, a kind of yard (*mogulavan*), was a space for family or community activities. It was also the space for drying grain (*la-i-sa*). In this overlapping spatial classification, function mainly determined the land’s type, highlighting not only the relation of conversion of family and village land, but also the role of people as the subjects of spatial classification and use. Moreover, the Bunun spatial classification was related to the classification of animals: animals were divided into three categories: first, animals free to enter the inner space of a home, like dogs, mice and snakes had the closest relationship to people and were considered inedible; second, animals allowed to wander around the community, including domestic pigs, sheep, chickens and wild animals like muntjacs, deer and boars had an ordinary relationship to people and were edible; and third animals restricted to activity only outside the village, like black bears and leopards had the most distant relationship to people, were most dangerous and were considered edible though with restrictions. In summary, traditional Bunun classified animals according to space of activity, distance from humanity and edibility, as can be seen from Table 1:

Table 1: The traditional Taketonpu Bunun classification of animals

	Inedible	Edible		Edible but restricted
		Reared	Wild	
Restriction on the living space of the animal	No restriction; activity within the home permitted	Restricted to outside the home		Restricted to outside the village
Distance from society	Closest relationship to human beings	Ordinary relationship to human beings		Most distant in relation to humanity

Animal classification	Dog, cat, mouse, frog, snake and other domestic animals	Pig, sheep, cattle, chicken, duck	Goat, muntjac, deer, boar, pheasant, monkey	Black bear, leopard
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Source: Huang Yinggui(2004: 338).

(3) Things

An animal is a kind of thing, so that Table 1 already touches on the Bunun classification of things. However, we generally feel that except for animals other things are inanimate, lacking spirit. The Bunun, by contrast, believed that each natural thing, be it animal, mineral, vegetable or landform such as mountain or river, had its own unique *hanitu* and independent nature, and that therefore a kind of “subjective” interaction took place between human beings and natural things. They also personified natural things, likening them to human beings. Thus, each natural thing had “subjectivity.” There was for the Bunun no operation or process of “distanciation” from the objective world, no radical split between subjective and objective as in modern Western philosophy and science. This is not to say that the subjectivities of natural things were equally conspicuous, or that Bunun treated all things with the same respect. Bunun treatment of a thing depended on its actual importance in their daily life and on frequency of interaction. The subjectivities of things with which people interacted often were highlighted or emphasized, which relates to the Bunun emphasis on praxis and also shows that the “subjectivity” of natural things is to some extent established in the course of ongoing interaction. The only difference between the spirits of people and things that the former had two *hanitu* while the latter had only one. For this reason, natural things (even belonging to the same type) were the same as people, in that they had different strengths of *hanitu*. The interaction between people and things depended on the spiritual strengths of the two parties, and as a result the Bunun created different categories of things, as shown Table 2 below:

Table 2: Traditional Bunun people’s different relationships to things

Type of thing	Related ritual	Type of relation
Land	<i>Mapulaho</i> (cultivation) and house building rituals	Conquest or submission ¹⁷
Edible wild animal	Various hunting-related rituals	Conquest or submission
Reared edible animal	No special ritual	Equal and mutually beneficial

¹⁷ That is to say, the people submit to the natural thing.

Inedible animal	No special ritual	Sharing or coexistence
Plant	Rituals for millet and other crops	Conquest, submission, or equal and mutually beneficial

Source: Huang Yinggui(2004: 387).

Table 2 illustrates the interaction between people and natural things will result in 1) conquest, 2) equal and mutually beneficial or sharing, and 3) submission, depending on differences of strength between the two sides, and that these results are also expressed in interpersonal interaction.

Although traditional Bunun people believe that inanimate natural things possessed *hanitu*, after people used their special knowledge (*hanshiap*) to work on the thing and transform it, the result was an artificial thing (*haimashu*) without *hanitu* and thus with an altered nature. The classic example is millet. No special knowledge was required to cook millet, which still partook of the nature of millet, meaning that certain taboos related to millet still had to be observed when eating: only the grain harvested by the family could be eaten by the family members; if others ate it they would take sick or vomit blood. Yet, once women had used their special “knowledge” to ferment and thereby transform millet into wine, the wine was an artificial thing without *hanitu*. Similarly, the pelt of an animal a man captured still had *hanitu*, but once women’s “knowledge” was applied to it, transforming it into an article of clothing, the article lacked *hanitu*. The case of ramie, which was gathered by women, turned into thread, and then woven into fabric, is similar. In all these cases, the artificial thing lacked *hanitu* well as subjectivity. It became what we would call an “object.” This process of “objectification” caused a natural thing to lose its original *hanitu* and inter-subjective relationship with human beings. In this process, the identity or significance of the natural thing as a part of local society was weakened. No wonder there is no such thing as “classic” or “authentic” Bunun clothing. This not only explains why the Taketonpu Bunun accepted Han clothing and ornamentation so quickly, but also why Bunun clothing was easily influenced in interaction with people from other tribes, to the point where it has sometimes been assumed that traditional Bunun attire has already disappeared (Liu Binxiang and Lai Zhiping 1988). How do we know that the distinguishing quality of Bunun attire did not rather lie in its tendency to be influenced? This acceptance of external influences highlights Bunun egalitarianism—it was impossible among the Bunun for attire and ornament to label social status and position. This distinctive characteristic was based on the Bunun concept of “thing” and behind it the belief in *hanitu*.

In Bunun tradition, natural objects or things lost their original *hanitu* and became manipulated or transformed for human use by virtue of specific kinds of “knowledge.” Here “knowledge” included all techniques, arts, skills, and crafts, shamanic or otherwise, for changing the nature of a natural thing. These kinds of “knowledge” could be acquired by studying with practitioners, or they could be learned in a dream and honed and adjusted by conscious realization. The creative capability implied in learning through dream and realization was no longer simply “knowledge,” however, but was now what was called *diaglas*, or, roughly, intelligence. The Bunun of Taketonpu regarded the ability to learn from others or in dreams as part of a person’s *hanitu*. As well, they viewed a person’s creative intelligence as a part of mind (*is-ang*). The ability of each traditional Bunun woman’s ability to learn the knowledge of weaving was related to the strength of her *hanitu*; but the ability to create new patterns resided in the intelligence of *is-ang*. Thus, when traditional Taketonpu Bunun engaged in “creative” work to create artifacts or objects without *hanitu*, this was fundamentally different from engaging in the “productive” work of “knowledge,” by which altered but still natural things with *hanitu* like cooked millet or an animal pelt or ramie thread were produced. But no matter whether the work was “productive” or “creative,” what is striking is that behind the Bunun classification of things was the supremacy of personhood and *hanitu* belief.

(4) Time

Although in the Japanese period colonial rule brought linear time and the Western calendar to Taiwan, in their daily lives the Bunun of the Chenyoulan region continued to act according to their original time-concept. In particular they followed a lunar calendar, which told them the main agricultural and ritual duties of the months, each of which was named according to what should be done. For instance, the month roughly corresponding to May was called *Boan Malahdaigian*. *Malahdaigian* was the name of the “shoot the ear” ceremony. Similarly, they divided the time in a day into periods, and the name of each period reminded people of what they should be doing. At three or four in the afternoon, the local Bunun heard the sound of the *saguvan* bird and knew the sun would soon set. This period of time was *balulun vani*, meaning the sun would soon set. Every day at this time, the Bunun knew to stop working and prepare to head home. They had an illocutionary conception of time, one with performative force, which the author terms “practical time.” Furthermore, their conception of time was directly related to their idea of history.

The Bunun did not have a linear concept of time, so they could not indicate a precise point in the “line” of time. They could only indicate time in terms of sequence,

so that in a situation where they lacked specific people, times, places or things, they would use “image” to replace “event” in recounting “history.” Moreover, only what they themselves had done and what had been beneficial to the social group counted as history. The Japanese were defeated by the Americans and left Taketonpu village and Taiwan. But the Taketonpu Bunun did not view this departure as “history,” because they did not do it themselves. What they considered to be the important “history” in the postwar period included “converting to Christianity” and “improving their lifestyle.” There were no specific or particular people, times, places or things associated with religious conversion and lifestyle improvement, but the Bunun still thought both were their own doing as well as beneficial to the whole community. This mode of history as representation through image arose directly out of their concepts of time and personhood.

3. Cultural tradition in conflict with colonial policy

The above is a brief discussion of the meaning of a few conceptual classifications in traditional Bunun culture which formed in the context of the Japanese colonial policy of “civilization.” These were aspects of Bunun culture the Japanese could tolerate. But in some respects the Japanese tried to force the Bunun to conform to colonial policy. The conflict became most intense when the Japanese tried to impose paddy rice cultivation and to change Bunun marriage practices.

The first example of conflict was over paddy agriculture. For the colonial government, the settled cultivation of paddy rice was a precondition for collective movement into the region. Through the local police stations, the state forced the Bunun to prepare the land for paddy farming, including building irrigation channels and other infrastructure, and then to engage collectively in rice production. In this way, the Japanese mobilized the intensive labor needed for waterwheel irrigation, seedling transplantation, and reaping. The police stations had been built in the “center” of the villages, in an attempt to teach the Bunun a spatial conception of center versus periphery; and rice farming also impacted Bunun spatial perception, as now there was “public space” (the irrigation channels, the paths around the paddies, etc.) that the Bunun had to respect. The collective mode of production caused the product to obscure the ownership of the family or the individual, causing the importance of the village to exceed that of the family and thus conflicting with the original relation of conversion between family and public land. In fact, to plant rice, the Taketonpu Bunun were forced to move from a relatively high altitude of 1500 meters above sea level down to 1200 meters, where they built new homes. Paddy rice in Taiwan is only feasible below 1200 meters, which also happens to be the maximum altitude of

malarial mosquitoes. For people who had previously lived between 1500 and 2000 meters above sea level, malaria was outside their folk medical experience and knowledge. The result was an outbreak of malaria which reduced the population by almost a third, from 9,009 in 1923 to 6,344 in 1942. In the Japanese period, the Bunun was the only Austronesian people whose population declined (Lin Zefu 1998: 100-102). However, the local Bunun believed the crisis had another cause—they had abandoned the annual millet productive rituals because they were now planting rice, a crop with a different life cycle. This was tantamount to abandoning the original ritual of thanksgiving, which brought on the punishment of “heaven.” According to the myths and beliefs of the related rituals, the only way for them to deal with the disaster was to revive or recreate the ritual of thanksgiving. Their desire to revive or recreate this ritual conditioned their conversion to Christianity after the war.

The second instance of conflict was against state efforts to change Bunun marriage. The efforts were ultimately unsuccessful. Japanese wanted to forbid exchange marriage and relax prohibitions against endogamy. Behind the strict marriage law the Bunun followed was the particular concept of personhood we discussed above and the hierarchical relations between different patrilineal clans. The Bunun believed that a person’s body comes from the mother, and that it was most important to get the blessing of the *hanitu* of the members of the mother’s patrilineal clan. This belief created a hierarchical relation in which the clan giving the bride away was superior to the clan taking the wife. Exchange marriage, in which both clans gave a bride and took a wife, was the best way of maintaining equality and reciprocity. Otherwise, a class society might form, as among the Kachin in the highlands of Burma. Moreover, inequality ran contrary to the Bunun ideal of the egalitarianism which had developed out of their concept of personhood.¹⁸ Thus, all efforts the Japanese government made in this respect met with opposition (Huang Yinggui 2007). In addition, to avoid certain prohibitions against endogamy, the Bunun often had no choice but to arrange prescriptive marriages with members of certain clans (Mabuchi 1974). Marriage affinities often developed between villages, where the members of certain clans in one community tended to marry the members of certain clans of another community. Finally, networks based on such affinal relations linked different villages in the region. The networks had already formed by the time the Japanese government completed the group relocation into the Chenyoulan region. The colonial government wanted to isolate the local societies in each community from one another, but it failed to break up these networks of affinal relations, which can be thought of as forming a “**regional affinal-kinship system.**” This system was to be an important

¹⁸ For discussion see Mabuchi (1974), Zheng Yiyi (1990), and Yang Shuyuan (1992, 2005).

foundation for later development in the Chenyoulan River region.

The two examples above show how with the confines of “civilizing” colonial rule, the Bunun constructed and maintained a “traditional culture” in the practice of their daily life that did not entirely conform to the ideal of colonial policy. There were not only subjective differences between Bunun and colonizers in terms of interpretations or meanings but overt conflicts, out of which developed an ongoing cultural life characterized by resistance, laying a foundation for cultural innovation during the period of GMD “modernization.”

3. Cultural Creation Under Guomintang¹⁹ “Modernization” (1945-1987)

After the end of the Second World War, the GMD government took over from the Japanese colonial government. The GMD continued the Japanese policy of “civilization” but also embarked on a new policy of “modernization,” the goal of which was to “plainify the mountains,” to bring the standard of living in the mountains “up” to the level of the plains. Several policies of the GMD government had a profound impact on the Formosan Austronesian aborigines of Taiwan. Compulsory education was extended to nine years. There was more time to inculcate the nationalist ideology of modernization and turn Taiwan into a modern country, as well as to spread the faith in the universalism of modern western scientific civilization. Land surveys clarified usufruct and ownership rights. Transportation networks were developed, nurturing the individualism conducive to the development of a capitalist market economy. At the same time as capitalism was introduced, missionaries were allowed to proselytize. Capitalism and Christianity became part of the lives of the aborigines. These postwar developments affected the Bunun living in the Chenyoulan River region, but also presented them with challenges and opportunities to engage in cultural recreation.

1. Christianity²⁰

Above we related how, after being moved to a lower altitude in the late colonial period by the Japanese for wetfield rice cultivation, the Bunun suffered an epidemic of malaria and a sharp reduction in population, how the Bunun attributed this crisis to their failure to practice the traditional annual ritual of thanksgiving which had developed out of millet agriculture, and how the only solution in their mind was a new

¹⁹ Once called the Kuomintang or Chinese Nationalist Party, the 國民黨 now refers to itself as the Guomintang or GMD.

²⁰ For ethnographic detail related to Christianization, see Huang Yinggui (1983, 1991a, 1991b) and Huang (1988).

thanksgiving ritual. In the postwar period, the GMD authorized Christian missionaries to enter the restricted mountain area and proselytize to the aborigines. Those who were baptized could enjoy modern medical treatment at the Christian hospital at Puli. Bunun who were treated at this time felt that conducting the new ritual of thanksgiving had resolved the crisis. Thus, by the late 1950s, forms of Christianity (Presbyterianism and Catholicism) had been accepted by the local people. The local people, however, called conversion *lisdamu gamisama*, which means to accept God in order to find and pursue one's own way in life. How to interpret this mass conversion? It can be attributed to the prosperity of the church, or explained as local people mobilizing their fellow Bunun through the church, in order to create various organizations and systems appropriate to the capitalist market economy.

2. Capitalism²¹

The goals of the GMD government after 1945 were the plainification of the mountains and modernization. They not only allowed missionaries into the restricted area in the mountains but also improved transportation, water and electricity services, hygiene, medical services, and education. They were creating the infrastructure and attitudes on which capitalist economic development depends. By the 1960s, Taiwan's western plains had been fully developed. The slogan "up to the mountains, down to the sea" was heard. Many Chinese people "flooded" into the mountains, bringing capitalism with them. As a result of these many developments, cash crops began to be planted in the late 1960s in the Chenyoulan River region, eventually replacing wetfield rice and slash-and-burn agriculture. In other words, commercial agriculture gradually replaced subsistence agriculture.

Commercial agriculture appeared when a few village "entrepreneurs" learned cash crop cultivation from neighboring Han Chinese farmers. The crops were mainly tomatoes, cabbage, peas, beans, mushrooms, and tree mushroom. However, due to differences in understanding, the Bunun cultivation practice was manifestly different from the Chinese practice. For example, earlier on the Bunun still practiced slash-and-burn agriculture and planted the new crops farther away from their homes on hillsides after carrying out the cultivation festival (*Mapulaho*). The Chinese farmers, by contrast, planted the crops in paddies near their homes. The Bunun consideration was as follows: only where the cultivation ceremony had been performed would the *hanitu* of a piece of land support the activity. The paddies were from the colonial era, when the Japanese had forced the Bunun to prepare the land

²¹ For ethnographic detail related to becoming capitalist, see Huang Yinggui (1974, 1975, 1982, 1989b, 1993).

collectively. *Mapulaho* was not performed. The *hanitu*'s permission had not been obtained. Thus, when the author started fieldwork in Taketonpu in 1978, he observed a distinctive phenomenon: most of the paddies near the Bunun homes had been given to Chinese farmers to plant cash crops, while the Bunun planted the same crops as best they could on the hillsides opposite their homes—it took them an hour and a half each way, each day to make the trip. After the harvest, they had to carry the produce from the hillside to the side of the road near their homes, so that a truck could come and take it to market.

However, the Bunun faced three basic problems: assets, intensive labor and marketing. The Bunun in the area had never used cash before and had no concept of saving. How well they avoided exploitation at the hands of the Chinese middleman determined the amount of profit they earned. Another problem was mobilizing enough labor to intensively farm the cash crops. These problems were not solved until the Bunun of Jiumei (Chiumei, the new name of Nan-zi-jiao-wan-she) founded a savings cooperative, a labor collective, and marketing and purchasing cooperatives, etc., through the local church. These organizations extended through the other seven villages of the Chenyoulan River region through in-law relations in the **regional affinal-kinship system**. In this way, the eight villages of the region formed a “**regional economic system**” with Jiumei at the center.

The various organizations founded at Jiumei to adapt to the capitalist market economy operated effectively, allowing all the aborigines in the region to participate in cash crop cultivation and increase economic benefit. It also allowed the church itself, which had guided this successful economic adaptation, to convert almost all the local people, which was unprecedented. The Bunun villages in the area called themselves “Christian communities” and the mechanisms and logic of the market economy operated effectively in the region. This resulted in economic inequality within villages. Moreover, well-capitalized external organization such as banks, post offices, farmer associations, and private produce purchasing firms perceived economic opportunity and entered the area. The savings, marketing and purchasing cooperatives in Jiumei had no way to compete and forced out by these powerful interests. At the same time, these new economic forces often combined with the local government administration to influence all the villages in Xinyi Rural Township, including Han Chinese communities in the Chenyoulan River region like Aiguo, Ziqiang, Tongfu, Shenmu, Tuchang, Neighborhood 4 in Dongpucun, as well as the Han Chinese in Luona and Xinyi. There were also Bunun communities along the upper Zhuoshui—Tannan, Shuanglong, Dili and Renhe. Xinyi Township was named

for the town of Xinyi, where the local government was centered. The two river regions were in the jurisdiction of Xinyi Township, and Xinyi thereby became the center of the newly formed “**regional politico-economic system.**” Xinyi gradually took over the economic functions originally served by Jiumei, the old economic center. This new regional system was no longer limited to the Bunun but also included Han Chinese. Also, economic prospects in Xinyi attracted the attention of other regions, gradually causing Shuili (Shueili) Rural Township to overtake Jiji as the new regional trading center. Shuili was a transport hub linking Sun Moon Lake, Puli, the Chenyoulan River region, the upper Zhuoshui, and more distantly Nantou and Taizhong (Taichung); it mediated trade between the upper Zhuoshui and Chenyoulan regions and other regions. The Han Chinese were predominant in this new regional system. The Austronesian people of the Chenyoulan River region became further subject to Han exploitation.

The new “**regional politico-economic system**” gradually replaced the Jiumei-centered “**regional economic system.**” The Chenyoulan Bunun faced great difficulties, for in addition to the market mechanisms and logic that created economic inequality in Austronesian communities, there was uncertainty in market prices to contend with. In the end the local people found a way to meet these challenges: they used traditional dream omen interpretation to decide when, where and what cash crop to plant. In this way, dream omen interpretation, which had been seen by the church as heterodox, made a covert revival. The worst time for the Bunun was the 1980s, when three years without a typhoon caused a precipitous drop in produce prices. The poorest third of Taketonpu families were unable to pay their pesticide loans to private pesticide firms (the agreement being repayment on harvest) and went bankrupt. It was the first serious social crisis for the Chenyoulan Bunun since malaria. In the end, the poor of Taketonpu joined in a religious movement with Bunun in the same circumstances in other Chenyoulan communities. They criticized the Han Chinese middlemen for exploitation and explained bankruptcy as a divine punishment meted out because of Bunun greed and impiety. They also felt that church leaders were all successful capitalists who cared only about cultivation and overlooked the importance of faith. They also claimed each person could communicate with *Dehanin* (sky or heaven) or Christian God through dream omen and thereby decide whether or not to engage in a certain activity. They engaged in collective fasting and prayer, which they felt could cure illness and secure individual welfare. It is this recreation of a new fasting prayer ritual to remove the curse of heaven and solve the social crisis like their acceptance of the rituals of Presbyterian Church in the past. This religious movement was strongly critical of capitalist economy and consumer culture. The movement not

only set the affluent church leaders against the oppressed poor but also rapidly spread throughout all the Bunun villages in Central Taiwan, forming a new “**regional religious system**.” It was active for almost a decade, until the end of the 1980s, when certain activities (such as the fasting ritual) were incorporated into the regular activities of the church. But the church itself in the course of this movement started to decline. Thus, we can say that the Christianization of the Chenyoulan Bunun reached a zenith but eventually stalled and failed—all due to capitalist development. More importantly, in this process, the local Bunun combined traditional culture (especially personhood and *hanitu* belief) with Presbyterian organizations, rituals and beliefs and capitalist concepts to create new “religious” and “economic” activities and express individual creativity in new contexts.

3. Nationalization²²

In the formation of the “**regional politico-economic system**” described above, Xinyi replaced Jiumei as the center of the Chenyoulan region, but what was more important in the restructuring of the region was the power of the modern state, which was behind the new systems and structures penetrating local society. The Japanese state had already tried to project its power into local society, but Japanese rule had isolated the Bunun and other Austronesian aborigines in a restricted zone, where as long as they did not rebel they were allowed to maintain many of their original customs under the policy of “civilization.” The GMD’s “modernization” policy, on the other hand, had effectively established a new political, economic and even sociocultural order in the Chenyoulan River region by 1987, when martial law was lifted. GMD national ideology had had an unprecedented influence on local society, far beyond what the Japanese had achieved. This is especially apparent in establishment of the category of “politics.”

In the Japanese period the Bunun in the area (especially in Taketonpu) were developing the classificatory concept of *seizin* (roughly, politics), which meant “external matters to do with the government.” They called officials in the administration system *sasipinal*. The Bunun felt the *sasipinal* were like *Lavian* (military leaders), *Lisigadan lus-an* (community shamans), or the newly appointed chiefs, in that they could compete amongst themselves through competitive exchanges but should protect rather than oppress the weak. But the difference between the *sasipinal* and these other figures was that the *sasipinal* were in charge of the political (*seizin*)—external government matters. Affairs inside the community were still decided by “democracy” or “everyone agrees” (*mabeedasan*). After the war, the GMD

²² For related ethnographic information, see Huang Yinggui (1998) and Huang (1995).

brought “democratic” local government elections and self-government to Bunun communities. However, more and more Han Chinese became involved in these activities. In this way, the definition of *seizin* as “outside the village” gradually lost hold. The Bunun had always stressed that a person’s status was the result of not of birth (or ethnicity) but rather of hard work and contribution to the community. With this in mind, many Bunun campaigned for public office, competing with Han Chinese. Finally, the Bunun came to feel that by and large “politics” in the local region was controlled by the Han Chinese, who had formed the “Taiwan Mountain Township Plainsmen’s Rights Association,” which was and is a liberal citizen’s advocacy group that sought equal civil rights for Han Chinese in the mountain area.²³ Han dominance naturally aggravated the inequality between Han and aborigine in the area and led to the religious movement discussed in the previous section to spread throughout the Bunun of central Taiwan. This movement, which combined Bunun dream omen interpretation, personhood, *hanitu* belief and the changing concept of *dehanin* with Presbyterian organizations, rituals and beliefs, gave the Bunun a new space for self-expression and formed a “**regional religious system**” that embodied their cultural identity and helped them resist the Han-dominated “**regional politico-economic system.**”

As the GMD government implemented the “modernization” policy, the Chenyoulan Bunun combined traditional cultural notions and new cultural categories to create and develop new religious, economic, and political ideas and practices. However, external circumstances kept changing, forcing the Bunun to confront and respond to forces that were more powerful, removed and imperceptible. These new forces were related to what we now call neoliberalism, the economic motor of “globalization.” It is to the era of neoliberalism that we turn in the following section.

4) Re-creation Under Neoliberalism (1987-)

Neoliberalism is dated to 1979 or 1980, when UK Prime Minister Thatcher and US President Reagan started liberalizing the market, privatizing state-run firms, deregulating the economy, and implementing a tight fiscal and monetary policy, in order to revive the economy after a decade of declining profits.²⁴ But a more important aspect of neoliberalism is the rapid development of the computer, information, transportation and shipping industries, which greatly increased the velocity of movement of people, things, information, and money and made it much

²³ They have been lobbying to be allowed to buy aborigine land.

²⁴ See Harvey (2005).

more difficult for the state to exert the same level of control as before. In the old capitalist order, “economic processes” mainly referred to production, exchange and distribution, and consumption. In the neoliberal order, there has been an exponential increase in international monetary or capital flows, and fiscal or financial management has become an important economic process in its own right. Hence, the description of neoliberalism as “financial capitalism.” In the earlier capitalism, the national economy was the major unit of development; national economies might interact, but the development of each national economy had an internal logic and was viewed as to some extent independent and self-sufficient. But, in the neoliberal order, the finance and banking industries are multinational or transnational, so that the operation of the economy is no longer seen as primarily a function of the modern state. Moreover, economic power is often now articulated in other forms, particularly cultural forms. In a nutshell, culture has become a form of capital.

This brief discussion will help us understand new developments in the Chenyoulan River region in the age of “globalization.” In the reconstruction following the September 21, 1999 earthquake, roads, the high speed rail, airports and other transportation infrastructure were promptly built or rebuilt. There has been a similar lightning-speed development of informational and communication tools. There has also been regional development of new capitalist industries (such as the integrated development of the tourism industry in the sightseeing areas along the east coast), and state-run industrial, science and technology and agricultural development zones. In combination, these developments promote the rapid flow of people, things, knowledge, and liquid capital, thereby enlarging and altering the units of social life.²⁵ The main social unit in the past was the village. Now the regional system is the main unit. There are now six regions in the medical system in Taiwan, greater Taipei (Taipei), north, central, Jiayi (Chiayi) and Tainan, Gaoxiong (Kaohsiung) and Pingdong (Pingtung), and the east coast. There are only four regions in the educational system, north, central, south and east, each with a central university designated by the Ministry of Education. Thus, regional systems have gradually replaced villages as the central formations of social life. This change has had a revolutionary impact on local society, of the order of the introduction of writing into a society that only had speech.

However, for the residents of the Chenyoulan River region, the most direct and obvious influence today is that due to convenience of transportation their consumer behavior has been incorporated into the “**Greater Taizhong (Taichung) regional**

²⁵ See Huang Yinggui (2006a, 2006b).

system.” Almost every week they drive to Taizhong to visit a shopping center and buy daily necessities, just like the residents of Taizhong. These shopping centers, which are large superstores, are owned by foreign capital interests or are foreign-local joint ventures. In terms of medical behavior the same trend is evident. People no longer go to Shuili or Puli to see a doctor. They will go all the way to a large hospital in Taizhong. The 1960s economic development in the Chenyoulan and upstream Zhuoshui regions caused Shuili Rural Township to overtake Jiji Township. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, Shuili is in decline. Aborigines, Chinese and foreign laborers now coexist and interact in the new “**Greater Taizhong regional system.**”

Though they now belong to the “**Greater Taizhong regional system,**” various regional systems that developed earlier continue to operate. For instance, the “**regional economic system**” composed of the eight Austronesian aborigine villages in the Chenyoulan River region: though this system is gradually being replaced by the Austronesian-Chinese “**regional politico-economic system,**” but it has not disappeared. An analogy is the continued existence of the savings cooperatives. As for the “**regional religious system**” formed by the Bunun of central Taiwan, its resistance to the “**regional politico-economic system**” is striking. Other “**regional economic system**” or “**regional politico-economic system**” are gradually being engulfed by the “**Greater Taizhong regional system,**” which, however, with its larger area and population offers the tourism and culture industries greater room for development. This same opportunity exists in Taketonpu, where the Bunun Culture Association, with the support of the Bunun villages in the Chenyoulan and upstream Zhuoshui regions, established Yushan Bunun Grapes and Guanyu Tea brand name local cultural products to be marketed in the superstores. In 2005, the Foundation established the Yushan Bunun Store, which is at the forefront of the cultural and local industries in both the Chenyoulan and Zhuoshui regions. Behind these developments is the network of personal relations based on the “**regional affinal-kinship system**” that developed during the Japanese period. Moreover, this network has continued to grow as intertribal marriages have become more common. Though the Chenyoulan Bunun are still mainly concerned with interacting with their folks on a daily basis, the setting for their interactions is no longer simply the village-unit but has enlarged to include the Chenyoulan River region and upstream Zhuoshui region. For this reason, under neoliberalism and globalization, the daily lives of the Bunun in the Chenyoulan River region are no longer confined to the village and environs but now extend into various regional systems of differing types. These different types of systems (affinal-kinship, economic, politico-economic, religious, and Greater Taizhong) come in different sizes,

and they often include members of other ethnic groups. For instance, the “**regional religious system**” and “**regional economic system**” include only the Bunun, but the “**regional politico-economic system**” includes Chinese as well, and the “**Greater Taizhong regional system**” includes foreign labor. These developments raise the issue of whether and to what extent different aspects of Bunun thought and behavior have been influenced by ways of thinking and mental classifications of other ethnic groups. When new modes of life are compartmentalized into different fields, each field will have its own classificatory concepts (for instance, conversion to Christianity naturally involves the conception of personhood and heaven or divinity, while modern consumption patterns influence people’s conceptions and classifications of people and things, and so on). But as the systems in which people operate now include people from other ethnic groups, this is an age of multiple systems of classification, some of which have been created in the new economic conditions. There are many questions to be considered. Have new inequitable power relations emerged? More importantly, given the new economic conditions, what are the real concerns of ordinary people at the lowest rungs of society?

5) Summary

In the history of the Bunun of the Chenyoulan River region, the “civilization” policy of the colonial state and the “modernization” policy of the GMD influenced the Bunun, but also challenged them to shape or create new cultural traditions. Their new cultural outlook was that as individuals they now had more opportunities to contribute to society, to find their own paths through life, and to discover their own modes of personal expression. They had their own consciousness of history. History for them was not simply the policies of Japanese and GMD and objective developments. From 1987(or 1999 in this case) to the present can be seen as the era of neoliberalism in Taiwan. The author has not reached a full understanding of the historical consciousness and general cultural outlook of the Bunun under neoliberalism. However, one can sense a certain degree of anxiety in the new situation as well as a questioning and pursuit of the meaning of existence. Time will tell whether neo-liberalism is a resurgence of capitalism or a prelude to its dissolution. For the time being, the Bunun are not the only ones experiencing uncertainty, insecurity, and anxiety or searching for the meaning of life as they try to make a living. These are global phenomena.

Second, the Chenyoulan River region’s “**politico-economic system**” and the “**Greater Taizhong regional system**” are now home to many different ethnicities and

cultures, the aborigines, the Chinese and foreign workers. Putting the foreign labor aside, research on the Formosan Austronesian aborigines and the Chinese was divided into two academic streams or traditions by the Japanese. Even today, we still have not combined these two streams. Joining the streams will facilitate research progress.

Third, in the context of neoliberalism, culture is now a form of capital,²⁶ and like any commodity it can be reified or objectified. In a process of “sublation,”²⁷ consumers can represent themselves by bestowing new meaning and value on cultural commodities. This process highlights the “formal” particularity and importance of “culture.” Moreover, the higher psychological processes involved in new systems of symbolic communication²⁸ raise issues of historicization (when the products in question are inspired by traditional culture and new external forces, and the traditional culture itself is the historical product) and innovation. Developing or creating new concepts or theories of “culture” to deal with the new processes is another priority for future research.

²⁶ Particularly in the work of Bourdieu.

²⁷ The English word often used to translate *Aufhebung*, a term in Hegel’s dialectical philosophy that describes the process by or moment in which a (new) synthesis is achieved. This term has been used in anthropological studies by Miller (1987).

²⁸ The theoretical background is Vygotsky’s concept of the development of higher psychological processes (1978) and Elias’ symbol theory of new technology of communication (1991).

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Articulation of Hierarchies: House, Community and Value among the Paiwan

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ABSTRACTThe Paiwan is one of the Austronesian speaking indigenous populations of Taiwan. Ethnographically, it is known for a highly explicit as well as expressive social hierarchical order. However, in-depth examination of ethnographic materials from different Paiwan villages shows that the mythical and historical origins of this hierarchical order are far from homogenous. Inside the house, hierarchy is based on birth order among siblings. Inter house and intra village hierarchy show various combinations of principles that include marriage alliance, land ownership, founding of village, personal prowess, ritual domination and display of valuables. This paper explores the articulation of these various hierarchical orders and tries to provide a more comprehensive understanding of Paiwan society.

I. Introduction

No ethnographer or casual visitor could miss the most prominent feature of traditional Paiwan community: a social hierarchy consisting of aristocrats and commoners. The difference is first of all recognizable from the embellishments of the aristocratic houses. In ceremonial occasions, such as wedding, when the entire village gather in their formal attire, experienced observer would tell an onlooker the unique pattern an decoration that only members of the aristocratic houses are allow to wear. Village history is recounted in terms of the establishment of founding houses, which are often the aristocratic houses of today. In the period of Japanese colonization, these aristocrats were designated as chiefs or headmen and were recognized by the authority as official leaders of the villages. Before the land-reform project that was launched by the Chinese Nationalist government in the

1960s', in many Paiwan villages, land resources were consider "own" by the chiefly houses. The chiefly house, like all Paiwan houses, was succeeded by an heir with it possession largely intact. The non-heir members of these chiefly houses became lesser aristocrats. All these are ethnographic "facts" that can be easily obtained through conversation with reasonably knowledgeable Paiwan adult in the village.

However, if we look more closely into the ethnohistorical bases of the Paiwan social hierarchy, we notice that there is more than one hierarchical order working. "Founder factor" and land ownership alone cannot explain in entirety social hierarchy of the Paiwan. This is what the paper tries to explore.

II. The Paiwan and Their House

The Paiwan is one of the Austronesian speaking indigenous peoples on the island of Taiwan. In the 1990s', the Paiwan has a population of sixty thousands plus (Chen and Sun 1994). They inhabit the southern part of the Central Mountain Range of Taiwan, living in villages ranging from a few hundreds to a thousand souls each. Traditional Paiwan subsistence economy was a combination of slash-and-burn agriculture and hunting. Pigs and chickens are common domestic animals. Men and women share agricultural works. Major crops include millet, taro and sweet potato. In the old time, pigs were kept in the house and attended by women. Hunting for wild boar, deer, muntjac etc., on the other hand, was exclusively men's occupation. Nowadays, almost every household has a few members working for wage and other forms of cash income.

Paiwan villages are usually built on mountain slops no more than 1,000 meters above sea level. Most villages range from tens to a hundred houses in size. A typical "traditional" Paiwan house (*uma* or *umaq*) is an asymmetrical, gabled building made of slate and wood. These houses are built to last; with regular maintenance,

they can easily last for several decades. Slate slabs are used for walls, roofs, sleeping platform, benches, and all pavements inside and out. Wooden parts include posts, beams, ridgepole, rafters, and doors. The most luxurious chiefly houses have carvings on the wooden eaves-beams, doors, screens, main posts (ancestor posts), and even walls. However, a Paiwan house is more than a familial dwelling on a plot of land. It represents a perpetual socio-cultural entity that is, in a sense, separable from the people who dwell in it. Every house has a name (*ngadan na umaq*). The name refers primarily to the building, only secondarily to the domestic group that resides in it.

Although in Paiwan village genesis, the founders of the original houses were often depicted as siblings rather than pairs of spouses, in real life practice a house is built as the result of marriage. The eldest child, male or female, of the founding couple inherits the house thus built. When the heir marries, his or her spouse moves in to the house. All the non-heir children move out of their natal house when married. If a non-heir child marries the heir of another house, he or she moves to live with that spouse. The marriage between two non-heirs means the building of a new house, which will be inherited according to the same principle. In Paiwan notion, the eldest child is the true steward of the house. In the case of divorce and second marriage of the parents, which is not uncommon among the Paiwan, the parents would usually move out and build a new house to be inherited by the heir of that marriage. Gender-free primogeniture and cognatic kinship are two principles of Paiwan house organization that are well recognized by the Paiwan themselves.

The moving out of the non-heir children, however, is not eternal. The Paiwan value the return burial of those out-married siblings after they die. Before it was banned by the Japanese colonial regime in the 1930s', in-house burial was the norm for normal death. Ideally, according Paiwan value, a person should be buried in the

house he/she was born. This means that spouses will not be buried together in the same house after they die. In-married spouses are thus only temporary residents of the house. The house, along with the tomb underneath it, is the eternal resting place for generations of heirs and their siblings.

While the material durability and spatial layout of a house represent the perpetual solidarity of siblingship, the significance of alliance is not entirely denied by the Paiwan. Marriage is needed in the creation, reproduction and continuation of a house. In addition, the Paiwan upholds a bilateral namesake value that stipulates the naming of children after their senior relatives of both sides. The four grandparents are the main contestants in naming a newborn child. Through contesting and negotiation, balance is carefully and diplomatically reached so that the names from the houses of all four grandparents are more or less evenly represented in a group of full siblings. The result of this is that a sibling set actually carries the names of former affine and even spouses. The combined effect of bilateral namesake, in-house burial and the idea of burying in one's natal house is that a Paiwan house actually contains the values of both siblings and affine, continuation and exchange. It is also the central medium through which the Paiwan accesses their past.

III. *vusam*: Heir as Seed-millet

The position of heir in Paiwan house ideology is superbly illustrated by the term itself. In Paiwan language, the heir, the eldest brother or sister who remains at the natal house, is called *vusam* by the younger siblings. *Vusam*, however, also means "seed millet", -- the bundles of best millet from a harvest that are selected and stored away to be used as seed for the next growing season.

In the reproduction of Paiwan houses, it is the heir's duty to help the out-marrying siblings to build a new house. In addition to building material and

food for the helpers, it is the heir's duty to provide seed millet and, in some cases, fire wood or embers from the hearth of the natal house to the new houses. In the village of Parilaiyan, a natal house is referred to as *qumusam*, to seed, while the derived houses are correspondingly designated as *qusam*, seeds. Therefore, the semantic equivalence between "heir" and "seed millet" conveys unambiguously the cultural emphasis on the generation of new houses out of old ones. And this idea is vividly expressed by the act of providing real millet seeds, the most important food crop, by the heir to out-marrying siblings. This contribution is ritually acknowledged in various ways by the married-out siblings after they have successfully established their own households. In the village of Makazayazaya, after each harvest, the married-out siblings will return the gift of seed millet by presenting a bundle of the best millet, a smaller bundle of millet for wine making, and some pork to their vusam. This gift-giving from younger siblings to their vusam is called *pasadan* (Suenari 1973).

In daily life, younger siblings also look up vusam as leader, benefactor and protector. In their upbringing, Vusam are usually taught to shoulder extra responsibility in taking care of the younger brothers and sisters. A grown up vusam is actually the head of the house, even if one or both of the parents are still alive. There were cases that the vusam had a saying or even veto power over the matters of the second marriage of the parents. In addition to providing material and symbolic support to out-marrying siblings to set up new houses, in cases of marital dispute and divorce, vusam is expected to back up their younger brothers and sisters in negotiation. It is also a norm for a divorce person to move back to his/her natal house to be supported by the vusam. In principle, the house and land resource, if any, are inherited by the vusam in totality. The house of a groom is responsible for bride-wealth in marriage, the content of which is decided by the relative statuses of the two houses. Other than the bride-wealth, out-marrying siblings might receive a

portion of the movable valuables of the house, but this is at the discretion of the *vusam*. The lyric of a Paiwan lullaby teaches children: “If you can, do not marry a *vusam*, because the burden of helping younger siblings out is a really heavy one. If you can, do not marry someone who is the youngest among the siblings, because the youngest might receive nothing at all.”

The birth order among siblings is thus endowed with a hierarchical order of material and symbolic capacities. Through the processes of house hiving and reproduction, the central value of *vusam* is transformed into the central value of natal house. The natal house, where *vusam* continues to inhabit, becomes the unmoving center to the derived houses and the out-married siblings. It is a center where they came from as well as where they will eventually return for burial.

IV. *mamazangilan*: The Chief as *vusam* Written Large

Among some Paiwan villages, the origin and development of the village is considered identical to the processes of house hiving and reproduction. After either a mythical birth or a migration in search of land, the founding house or houses were built. All the other houses that emerged afterward were considered deriving from the founding house. For example, the origin myth of the Vungalid village relates:

There was a pond in the place named Itjimu. Sun came down and laid three red eggs in the pond. A dog came and barked at the eggs; the water in the pond receded. A cat came to scratch the eggs and three babies were born. The eldest girl was named Tjuku; she grew up to become the founder of chiefly Ruvaniau house. The second child was a boy named Tjevuluan; he grew up to become the founder of chiefly Gadu house. The third child was a boy named Salingulj; he grew up to become the founder of certain house. All the present villagers are descendants of these three founders. (FGDBX 2003: 73)

A common Paiwan understanding of social hierarchy that derives from this perception of village history is that, as the founder of the village, the founding houses “own” all

the land in the vicinity of the village, including building plots, farmland, hunting grounds and rivers. The founding houses are thus the *mamazangilan*, chief, of the village. All the other houses of the village need to ask for usufruct right from the landowning *mamazangilan* houses. In return, *mamazangilan* are entitled to a portion of the crops, games and fish from the territory. These tribute or “tax” that *mamazangilan* receive are called *kazelu* when referring to crops, mainly millet and taro, and *vadis* when referring to game animals, fish and other forms of gifts.

It is noteworthy that, in the above story, the third child is remembered as the founder of some house the name of which is unknown or forgotten, and, therefore, mostly likely not a chiefly house. This reflects the same hierarchy among siblings based on birth order. The theme is even more vividly shown in the genesis of Kuvulj village:

In time unmemorable, there were two stones, one red one green, on the mountain near Tjaljaqavus village. Some said they were laid by the Sun. The red stone cracked and gave birth to the ancestors of chiefly houses; the green stone cracked and gave birth to the ancestor of commoner houses. (FGDBX 2003: 117)

A variation of the birth order is the hierarchy based on the less mythical order of arrival, or the founding of a village, such as illustrated by the following story of the Duvong village, which was across a river from Tavalan, the origin village of Parilaiyan (Chiang 1993: 65-66):

One day, while Sa-Del was working at the riverside near Tavalan, a man came by, apparently travelling alone. “Do you want to settle down and live in my village?” asked Sa-Del. The man said; “No thanks. I would like to find my companions on the other side of the river. I will *pnanang* (making a shrill victory shout) when I’ve found one. If not, I will come back to join you.” The man moved on and came to a nice level place called Duvong on the other side of the river. Actually he sought no company, rather, what really wanted was to establish his own village instead of joining the village founded by Sa-Del. When he was about to make a fire and *pnanang* to inform Sa-Del that he was settling down, another man came by. “Come, my friend. Let us

sinan vetjek (become siblings) and live together,” he said to the newcomer. The first man built the house of Ubalat, the second man built the house of Madilin. Later, there came a third man, who was also invited to reside in the new village of Duvong. Ubalat became the chiefly house, *mamazangilan*; the latest comer, who established the house of Vikian, became the *utsiputsipen* (client, subordinate) of Ubalat, while the Madilin, which was neither a *mamazangilan* nor *utsiputsipen*, became the “sibling” of Ubalat. This is the beginning of Duvong village.

This story illustrates the transformation of arrival order firstly into a sibling (birth) order, and secondly into a hierarchy of chief and commoner.

This “principle of seniority” and “extension of ranking within a family to ranking within the entire society” (Sahlins 1958: 141), render the Paiwan social hierarchy comparable to the Polynesian systems. Except that the Paiwan follow an explicit gender-free principle in their primogeniture succession. In the same vein, Suenari (1973) argues for the parallelism between *pasadan* and the paying of *kazelu* and *vadis* to the chief. Following Suenari’s argument, Matsuzawa (1976) suggests that we should pay more attention to the symbolic rather than politico-economic aspects of Paiwan chieftain. The Paiwan chief might be understood as *vusam* written large in the extra-familial context.

V. *mamazangilan*: The Stranger King/Queen

While the *vusam* “model” depicted Paiwan *mamazagnilan* as autochthonous chief, other genesis stories unambiguously convey the idea of “stranger king”. The origin myth of the Parilaiyan village serves as a good example (Chiang 1993:65-68):

In the beginning, a boulder at the place called Iderao cracked and gave birth to a man named Kalua and a woman name Kaliu. They moved to the other side of the river and settled down at a place called Tavalan. The couple had three children: the eldest son was Sa-Del, the second son, Sa-Pili, and the youngest daughter, Sa-Kai. That was the founding of the Takivalit house. Later, there appeared another two houses, the Manigai and the Tu’ulingit. They did not hived off from

the Takivalit, but were probably, created by god to be Takivalit's companions.

Sa-Del and his brother Sa-Pili went hunting in the mountain one day. Sa-Del took the trail under the sun; Sa-Pili took the shaded one. Sa-Pili spotted at the roadside a pot, *djilung*, about the size of a clenched fist. He picked it up and tried to put it into his knitted backpack, but the pot kept rolling out. Sa-Pili called to his brother, Sa-Del, to come over. Sa-Del came and put the pot into his backpack without any difficulty. They took the pot home, put it in a far side corner of the house and paid no attention to it thenceforth. As time went by, the pot grew bigger. One morning, Sa-Del and Sa-Pili were sitting outside their house, and, as the sun rose, a sunbeam shined through the skylight in the roof and onto the pot. Upon hearing a big explosion, the brothers ran into the house and saw an infant girl on the floor, along with the shattered pot. The Sun named the girl Malevlev.

The people of Takivalit house tried to nurse the girl, but she refused to be fed by them. The people of Manigai house tried to feed her, and she accepted. The Takivalit people tried to bathe her and to wash her diaper, but without success. The Tu'ulingit people took over and accomplished the tasks. However, Malevlev grew up in Takivalit house. The Takivalit collected tributary food from other houses of Ravalan to feed her. Since she was born of the Sun and a pot, Malevlev was considered noble, *mamazagnilan*. The Manigai and Tu'ulingit houses became *pualu*, a special class because of their deeds.

Malevlev was mute. When she grew up to be a young woman, she was found pregnant. The Takivalit summoned all the young men of Tavalan so Malevlev could identify the father. She immediately identified Palipelip of the Takivalit house, who was hiding behind a big wooden mortar, as the father of her baby.

The offspring of Malevlev continued to live with the Takivalit. One day, a young boy of the Takivalit was ordered to take care of an infant of noble descent. He carried the baby on his back and wandered about; he happened to be underneath a piled granary when he tried to lift the baby up a little with a shrug to prevent it from sliding down his back. The baby's head hit the slate rat guard of the granary, and the baby died. The noble descendants were furious and they demanded

compensation from the Takivalit: (1) The noble descendants would establish another house with another name, Dalimalao, and exercise the right of collecting tribute from villagers themselves; (2) The Takivalit should transfer all their emblematic privileges to the Dalimalao; and (3) the boy who was guilty of causing the death of the noble baby should be buried alive with the baby. Thenceforth, Takivalit house was deprived of all its ritual privileges and became commoner, *qatitan*.

We see that in the vusam model of Paiwan hierarchy, the natal house, where the vusam live, encompasses the derived houses established by out-married siblings; the seed millet encompasses those spread out and grow; the chiefly founding house encompasses the commoner houses that derived from it. In this particular stranger king story of Parilaiyan, the noble of foreign and other worldly origin, along with the life-giving valuable object, the pot, have to be first encompassed by the founding house, both as siblings and as spouse, and then re-emerge to usurp the status of the later.

The Parilaiyan story illustrates first the assimilation of the foreign and the autochthonous and then the replacement of the autochthonous by the foreign. The genesis of Talavatsal village, on the other hand, is even more complex. It relates the arrival of “stranger queens” and illustrates the division of authority between the two chiefly houses.

Before moving to Talavatsal, the village was at a place called Tavatavan. Taruzarung was the founding house of Tavatavan and the head of Taruzarung was a giant named Ruprun. Ruprun used a pounding stick to push the low-lying sky up to its current height. Ruprun’s wife, Rugurau, came from afar, where the sun sets and the land reaches the sea. Rugurau loathed at Ruprun’s gigantic body, so she cut him up at the joints. Ruprun’s fingertips became commoners and knuckles became chiefs. Ruprun ate no cereal; he ate only soil, earthworm, frog, fish and wild boar, all the

things that Rugurau disliked. So she taught people the cultivation of millet, Japanese barnyard millet, taro and peas, and the raising of pigs.

The descendants of Taruzarung house went hunting and came to Talavatsal, where there was a deep pond. The hunting dog lied on the ground and refused to leave. So the Taruzarung chief invited those houses derived from them to move to Talavatsal together. Those houses included the Tuvatsinga, the Raligoan, the Vilau and the Kalulikul.

After settling down at Talavatsal, a man of Taruzarung house went to farm in the mountain. He heard a sound and found a bronze-handle dagger, *lagam*, on the ground. The man brought the dagger home and gave it to his father, Kui, who wrapped the dagger in a red cloth. The dagger became the heirloom as well as the “strength” of Talavatsal village.

Talavatsal was a small village; they were under constant attack by more powerful neighbors. They learnt that the Kazangizan house of Padain village was invincible so they approach them for help. Saurarei, the woman chief of Kazagnizan house told them: “We are willing to help. But if you don’t have a house ready for us nor giving us any land, how could we move over to your village?” So the people of Talavatsal built a house and named it Pakedavai. They also planted a banyan tree in the frontcourt to symbolize that this was a chiefly house. Saurarei then ask for land, river and other privileges. After the people of Talavatsal had agreed to all her requests, Saurarei carried a not-yet-weaned baby girl on her back and moved to Talavatsal with a group of able body men from Padain.

Saurarei was extremely resourceful. Under her leadership, the people of Talavatsal defeated the attackers and won peace. Saurarei told thee people of Talavatsal: “I am not satisfied with all these you provide me.” So she carried the

baby girl on her back again and traveled to other places to acquire land, *muli katjunangan*. She marched north, to the village of Talalekan, came to the door of the Djaljiyan house and proclaimed: “Up here is the limit of my land.” The people of Djaljiyan house invited her in, entertained her and presented her a pot called *kulali* as token of friendship. Saurarei then marched south, to the village of Pulti, came to the door of the Duvuduvung house and proclaimed: “Up here is the limit of my land.” The people of Duvuduvung house did not invite her in so Saurarei turned back to Talavatsal.

Today, people of Talavatsal still consider the Taruzarung house as the “real” chief of the village. The Pakedavai house is also chief, but they were invited to move in from another village. The land that Saurarei acquired should be the joint property of the Taruzarung and the Pakedavai houses. The two houses should be equal. To these days, when Taruzarung’s follower presents part of the bride wealth items to them, it is the Pakedavai who receives and un-seals the gifts, and vice versa. However, the distinction lies in that when the Pakedavai house member come to the Taruzarung house, they are allowed to sit down, while the Taruzarung house members are not allowed to sit down in the Pakedavai house.

In the first episode, the stranger queen, Ruguau, was apparently the creator of culture, which includes agriculture, animal domestication and social hierarchy. The relationship between chief and commoner is perceived as that between root (knuckle) and tip. In the second episode, the stranger queen, Saurarei, did not go through the process of being adopted into the house of the autochthonous chief, the Taruzarung. Her demand of a new house, the Pakedavai, to be built for her, however, bears similarity with the establishing of Dalimalao house in Parilaiyan. Both stories demonstrate the need to have a house as the seat of chiefly privilege. On the other

hand, Saurarei's heroic (heroic?) deed and expansionism represent a value that is distinct from that of the autochthonous founder. The valuable, a pot, which Saurarei receives from the chief of another village, is also in contrast to the valuable, a bronze-handle dagger, which the Taruzarung found on the ground while working in the mountain. Maintaining equality between two chiefly houses is probably the ideal situation in the mind of Talavatsal villagers, the difference in "sitting" privilege between the two houses, however, shows the encompassing capacity of the Pakedavai, since the "right to sit at will" implies that the Pakedavai takes the house of Taruzarung as their own house.

VI. The Articulation of Autochthonous and Stranger-King/Queen Hierarchical Orders

In this section I would like to use the ethnography of the village of Parilaiyan to expound the articulation of the two hierarchical orders. The present village of Parilaiyan is the combination of former Tavalan and Duvong villages. Seven houses are publicly recognized as chiefly houses. Six commoner houses are also recognized as prestigious houses. These thirteen houses enjoy the privilege of being mentioned, a line for each house, in the song *pu-le'ai*. *Pu-le'ai* can be sung either by one person or by a small chorus made up of a few elderly villagers who have the knowledge of the history of Parilaiyan. It is sung at various ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, harvest rituals, and newyear celebrations. The lines are about the heroic deeds of the forbears of the houses, and are sung in fixed order. This order, *qarutail*, is also the order of distributing shares of game or fishes during the collective hunting and fishing efforts, and the order of ritual drinking during harvest celebration. Most of the houses that are included in *pu-le'ai* are also the earliest houses to have been established in Parilaiyan. However, the appointed content of the song is about heroic deeds rather than the chronological priority of the houses concerned. Some other

primordial houses are not included in pu-le'ai, because there is no memorable heroic deed about them.

The order (qarutail) of the thirteen prestigious houses and their respective lyrics in pu-le'ai are as followed:

Aristocratic Houses:

- (1) The Dalimalao: Dalimalao is the one who kills the monstrous *tangapul*.
- (2) The Demalalat: Demalalat is the one who entertains the guests from afar.
- (3) The Kazangilan: Kazangilan is established nearby to shine upon darkness.
- (4) The Ubalat: Ubalat is the chief from another place (Duvong).
- (5) The Aelengan: Aelengan is the house of famous hunter.
- (6) The Madalalap: Madalalap receives an ornamented pot from enemy.
- (7) The Dalivadan: Dalivadan is like the locust (insect).

Commoner Houses:

- (8) The Takivalit: Ruvalitan (ritual name of the Takivalit) grows from the land and is the source of all the houses.
- (9) Vavalin: Vavalin is the role model for everyone (they help the Demalalat in entertaining guests).
- (10) Palavelav: Everyone likes to contract marriages with the Palavelav (they are resourceful and versatile people).
- (11) Madilin: Madilin originated in another place (Duvung).
- (12) Vikian: Vikian originated in another place (Duvung, like the Madilin).
- (13) Malangup: Ruvavalung (ritual name of the Malangup) grows from the land (derived from the Takivalit).

This ritual singing order needs to be juxtaposed with the other two hierarchical orders to produce a comprehensive picture of the social hierarchy of Parilaiyan: land ownership and patron-client pact.

1. *pu-katjunangan*: Landlord Houses of Parilaiyan

According to the FGDBX Report, land in Paiwan society belongs mostly, but not exclusively, to the chiefly houses of each village. In Parilaiyan, in addition to the paramount Dalimalao house, a number of lesser aristocratic houses and prestigious commoner houses also claimed to own farmland and building sites. Land ownership among commoners was also known among other Paiwan villages. These facts notwithstanding, the basic structure of Paiwan social hierarchy was still depicted by the authors of FGDBX Reports as “centered around the rights and obligations between land-owning chiefly houses and landless commoners.” The commoners were granted the right to hunt in a particular area in the mountain or to till a plot of land on the slope to which they did not own the title, and were obliged to offer a part of their products as tax to the chiefly house that owned it. The two major kinds of tax were the agricultural tax (*katzelu* or *satja*) and game tax (*vadis*) (FGDBX 2004: [414-416]).

In this regard, the situation in the village of Parilaiyan is of particular significance, and it is a situation directly related to the stranger king genesis of the village. According to the villagers of Parilaiyan, traditionally, agricultural land and building sites of the village belonged to eleven houses, which were believed to be the earliest settlers from Tavalan.²⁹ Among these eleven houses, the Ubalat, the Aelengan, the Dalivadan, the Madalalap and the Tu'ulingit were aristocrats (The Madalalap and the Tu'ulingit were *pualu*, based on their graceful deeds after the

²⁹ Except one, the Tu'ulingit House, these houses, plus the three highest ranking chiefly houses, the Dalimalao, the Demalalat, and the Kazangilan, were also the houses that were honored by the ritual song of *pu-le'ai* (p.155). In the story of the legendary birth of the noble baby, the members of the Tu'ulingit House were remembered as diaper washers, which was considered not a honorable deed to be mentioned in *pu-le'ai*. However, both Tu'ulingit and Madalalap were regarded as *pualu* house in Parilaiyan.

legendary birth of the noble baby mentioned above); the Takivalit, the Vavalin, the Palavelav, the Madilin, the Vikian and the Malangup were commoners. These eleven houses were known as *pukatjunanga*, "people with land." The estates of a single landowner did not form an unbroken tract, rather, they scattered throughout the village's territory and interspersed with those of the others. Stone landmarks (*lalaediyān*) were erected at every boundary. It is interesting to note that, the three highest-ranking chiefly houses in the pu-le'ai order, the Dalimalao, the Demalalad, and the Kazangilan were considered by the villagers of Parilaiyan as not "owning" any particular piece of land but at the same time were entitled to "claim everything" (*demalinalinai*). They were not *pukatjunanga*, only *mamazangilan*. This differentiation was reflected in the distinction between the categories of prestation made by the users to the "owners" of land and those to the "chiefly houses".

In theory, a landless household might request usufruct of a fallow land from any of the landowners and offered part of the crops in return. In Parilaiyan, there are five *kazelu* items to be presented to landlords:

- (1) A jar of millet wine, *vawa*;
- (2) A basket of bundled un-hulled millet called *inuman* (about one-tenth of the harvest);
- (3) A piece of sticky millet cake called *lalak*;
- (4) A *aluvuluvu*, which is a piece of sticky millet cake, about one foot in diameter, hung on a string;
- (5) A pot of millet paste, called *simangtsingel*.

These five items are to be presented, in different combinations, to landlords to whom a tenant is differently related.

To a landlord who was also one's *vusam*, a tenant should present a *aluvuluvu* (item 4) at the time of harvest rite. Some villagers called the *aluvuluvu* a "necklace"

for the children of the landlord. It was considered as a gift between houses that maintained intimate relationship.

If the landlord is a first cousin to the tenant, the landlord house would receive a jar of millet wine (item 1) at the time of harvest and a aluvuluvu (item 4) at harvest rite. This relationship was considered more distant than that of siblings, but still recognized as being between relatives, instead of being purely a landlord-tenant relationship.

Between landlords and tenants who are not closer than first cousins, the price of using the land included a jar of millet wine (item 1), a basket of bundled unhulled millet (item 2), a piece of sticky millet cake, lalak (item 3), and a pot of millet paste (item 5). Bundled un-hulled millet should be presented at the time of harvest; other items were presented during the harvest rite

Whatever the combinations, the presentation of these items was called *kinasengesengan* or *kinisamulan*, meaning “prestation (for the right) of cultivation”. In addition to *kinasengesengan*, which was made by tenant to landlords, the three highest-ranking chiefly houses, which were not “landlords” by definition, were also entitled to a part of the crops produced by all the other households. In harvest season, collecting posts were set up along major trails, between the village and the fields, at which about two-tenth of the harvest from each household was collected. This was called *kavul*, “request”.

From the different combination of *kinasengesengan*, we may reconstruct the development of the landlord-tenant relationship. Based on the principle of primogeniture inheritance, land owned by the founding houses was kept intact in these houses. Married-out siblings would have to cultivate the land that was kept by the natal houses and managed by the *vusam*. The most basic *kinasengesengan* was indeed what Suenari called *pasadan*, the prestation given to *vusam* by the younger

married-out siblings. With the growing of the village population and the hiving of more houses, new landless house continued to be established, either by the junior siblings of landlords or by the descendants of early landless household. And landlord-tenant relationship could not be restricted to those who were siblings or first cousins. Landless villagers might cultivate the land of those households that they were only distantly related, or not related at all. And there was no rule against cultivating the land of several landlords. This is the core of an autochthonous hierarchy. The three highest ranking chiefly house, all of foreign origin, impose themselves on the autochthonous system and claim tribute of another order.

2. *mazagnizangin* and *utsibutsipen*: The Patron-Client Pact

In Parilaiyan, a kind of patron-client pact may be contracted between individual commoner house and chiefly house. The patronizing chiefly house in this pact is called *mazagnizangin* to the cliental house, while the commoner house is a *utsibutsipen* to the former. Strictly speaking, only the seven primordial chiefly houses can legitimately recruit commoner houses as *utsibutsipen* -- the Dalimalao, the Demalalat, the Kazangilan, the Ubalat, the Aelengan, the Madalalap and the Dalivadan. In reality, however, the aristocratic households that claim to have clients are not restricted to these seven. These households and the number of clients each one has are listed below:

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>mazagnizangin</i> houses</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">The Dalimalao</p>	

The Demalalat	
The Kazangilan	
The Ubalat	
The Aelengan	
The Madalalap (formerly the Manningai)	
The Dalivadan	
The Mavaliu	
The Dralavungan	
without mazangizangin	

Comparing the number of clients that each aristocratic house has to the position of each house in the order of ritual drinking (qarutail) mentioned above, we notice that the two orders are not congruent. A high-ranking house does not necessarily have more utsibutsipen than a lower ranking one. This is because that contracting patron-client pact is essentially a matter of personal preference, and the sustaining of such a relationship is subjected to the willingness and continuous efforts of both parties.

According to custom, the patron should be the party that proposes the

contracting of such a relationship. When a new household is about to be established, an interesting aristocratic household may provide the couple with proper and timely gifts to show his/her concern. Accepting these gifts, the newly established household becomes a client to this aristocratic household. Usually, a patron will provide these gift items to the out-marrying members of those houses that are already his/her clients and continue the relationship with the clients' younger siblings. In practice, personal preference (of both parties, the proposed patron and client) and possible competition between the patrons of each of the new couple's natal households are also important factors in deciding whether the relationship will extend along the network of natal-derived households. In other words, the patron of a commoner household does not always continue to be the patron of the households established by its out-marrying members.

The patron-client pact involves constant exchange of gifts. At the time of establishing a new household, the best gifts that a patron may provide are household items (hoes, iron wok, knives etc.), millet seeds, material and labour expenses for the construction of new dwelling, and, most significantly, the usufruct of agricultural land. This last item causes the patron-client relationship to be easily confused -- from an observer's point of view -- with the landlord-tenant relationship discussed in the previous section. It is true that, in most cases, a patron is also the major landlord to a landless commoner; the right and obligation between the two, in this respect, are defined according to the norms described above. However, a landless commoner is in no way prohibited from cultivating the land of other landlords, aristocratic or commoner; a landless household may become the tenant of more than one landlord, but it can have only one patron. Furthermore, a land-owning commoner house is still a commoner house; it can never become a patron to others. All of the six commoner land-owning households mentioned above are clients of one or another

aristocratic household. It is clear that, analytically, patron-client and landlord-tenant are two independent pacts of relationships.

The gift-exchanges between patron and client are basically centered around the life-cycle of human being rather than the production cycle of agriculture. In addition to the gifts and other kinds of help at the time of the establishment of a new household -- in other words, at the time of marriage -- a patron is expected to present gifts like gingers and pork at the time of child birth, and to provide items such as blanket and clothing for the dead at the time of funeral, of the cliental household. The client, on the other hand, is expected to provide labour service at feasts (wedding, seasonal celebration, funeral, and other household events) hosted by his/her patron, to reserved a special portion of pork whenever they butcher a pig for the patron, to present a part of the game animals that they have caught, and to present items such as millet cake, millet wine and even handicraft objects at the time harvest rite. Generally speaking, the gift exchanges between client and patron are less subjected to fixed regulation, and have more room for personal taste, individual choice, and showing of affection.

From the patron's point of view, the advantages of having *utsibutsipen* are to have helping hands in time of need and to have a constant inflow of gifts. From a client's point of view, in addition to the various supports at the crucial points of life-cycle, perhaps the most important service provided by *mazangizangin* is protection at time of dispute. In the negotiation for a settlement over disputes, commoners are always expected to be represented by an aristocrat. Whenever a client is involved in a dispute -- over bridewealth, compensation for wrong doing, or more serious cases such as thief, injury or murder -- the patron is responsible to negotiate a settlement on the client's behalf. If the client was determined as the wrongdoer, the patron should provided all the items demanded by the other party;

conversely, if the client was the victim, the patron should negotiate for the best compensation, and would be entitled to a good portion of it.

A patron-client relationship may be deteriorated if either party neglects its obligation in more than one occasion. This may be caused by the economic capability of a mazangizangin or some incompatibilities between personal characteristics. When a relationship deteriorates, the commoner is free to accept offers from other qualified aristocratic household and become the utsibutsipen of it. Partly because of the flexibility of this system, three self-motivated minor aristocratic households choose to enter this relationship with some commoner households to the disapproval of conventionalists. On the other hand, there are also households that have no mazangizangin. These include not only the households of minor aristocrats and shaman, which are considered by others as "capable of taking care of themselves", but also some notoriously poor or disintegrating household, which "no one wants to pay any attention to."

Therefore, the role of these aristocratic households is more like negotiators than rulers. In fact, one of the basic cultural idea of the Paiwan about the aristocrats is that they should be kept from involving in disputes themselves. Far from being leaders in military actions, Paiwan aristocrats were not allowed to take part in these actions at all. "Mamazangilan shall not kill!" According to the customary law of Parilaiyan, in the old days, a villager who had killed someone, either by accident or on purpose, might seek refuge in the dwelling of any of the aristocratic household in the village. No one was allowed to hunt him/her out of there. If the dwelling happened not to be that of his/her own patron's, his/her patron should come to the dwelling and escort him/her to the patron's own dwelling and sought to reach a settlement with the pursuing party.

The real ruling body of Parilaiyan, in the old time, was an elder council.

These elders were called *lauduan*. The council consisted of five or six members, which were elected from the commoners according to personal competency. Both male and female were eligible to be elected as *lauduan*. The duties of this elder council include: arbitrating all the disputes and negotiations between villagers, receiving tributes from other villages, assigning public works to commoners households, and making decision on village-wide matter, such as moving, battling with other villages or launching a headhunting campaign etc.

Thus, we may understand the social hierarchical system of Parilaiyan as closely related with the structure of house succession and branching. The uneven distribution of land ownership was a result of the principle of priority in land occupancy and primogenitary succession of corporate household. When landless households needed land to subsist upon, what they originally did was to request usufruct from the households of their eldest siblings. And the price for this usufruct was a gift from junior siblings to the eldest ones. With the growth in population and the further branching of households, the landlord-tenant relationship became more formalized and the price of usufruct more complicated. The differentiation between two kinds of people, the aristocrats and the commoners, justified by mythology, emerged not so much as a result of uneven distribution of land. Rather, it was more related to the need of inter-village affairs and intra-village peacekeeping. The intra-village peacekeeping requirement was not achieved by having these aristocrats as arbitrating authorities. Rather, it is achieved by establishing them as a special category of people who, ideally, never involved in disputes themselves. The aristocrats were like a sponge cushion of society: functioning properly, it absorbs the shock caused by the clash of parties that had conflicting interest; the way it provided this function was by controlling and adjusting the flows of accumulation and redistribution of wealth produced by the society.

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Cultural Construction and a New Ethnic Group Movement: The Name Rectification Campaign and the Fire God Ritual of the Sakizaya in Eastern Taiwan

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General Background

At a reception held at the Executive Yuan on January 17, 2007, the Premier officially announced the Sakizaya as the 13th Aboriginal Group of Taiwan. At that time, twelve of the Austronesian peoples had already been recognized by the government.³⁰ They are the Atayal, Saisiyat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis, Yami, Thao, Kavalan and Truku. During the celebration at the Executive Yuan, the Sakizayas wore ‘traditional’ costumes and received the blessings of the Amis and society in general. This moment symbolized the achievement of a preliminary goal in the Sakizaya’s new ethnic group movement.

After the KMT succeeded the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan in 1945, officials continued to apply the then current method of categorizing the Taiwanese aborigines into nine groups. Yet since the 1980’s, many aboriginal groups have launched Name Rectification Campaigns; for example, the Thao, Kavalan and Truku have all called for ‘independence’ from their originally designated groups.³¹ This phenomenon indicates that the officially recognized categorization of Taiwanese aborigines differs vastly from how they categorize or distinguish themselves. When trying to explicate the reasons for a group name rectification, many scholars (e.g. Chan 1998 and Pan 2005) point out that the old system of categorization obscures originally complex ethnic relationships, and the primary reason lies in how the state, in the past, has manipulated the ways aborigines have categorized themselves. The occurrence of various name rectification campaigns not only sheds light on the inadequacies of the old system of categorization, but it also reflects the rise of the aborigines’ own awareness. The Sakizaya’s Name Rectification Campaign can thus be observed in this context.

The social atmosphere in Taiwan has grown more and more receptive to aboriginal movements in the past twenty years. On July 15, 1987, after more than 38 years, martial law was lifted. In 1996 the central government set up the Council of Indigenous People, elevating aboriginal affairs to the national level. Further, in 2000 the Democratic Progressive Party won the presidential election, which encouraged

³⁰ With a population of around 480,000, less than 2% of the total population, the Austronesians, also called “aborigines,” are minorities in Taiwan.

³¹ Thao, Kavalan, and Truku left from Tsou, Amis, and Atayal respectively.

many aborigines to devote more time and fervent energy to ethnic movements.

Dutch records in the 17th century identify the Sakizaya as a distinct group different from the Amis people (Kang 1999). Nevertheless historical documents since then have not provided sufficient information about the culture of the Sakizaya and the nature of their relationship with the Amis. According to local legends, the Sakizaya, now scattered across eastern Taiwan, all originated from Takobowan, which is now near the Shih-Wei High School in Hualien City. Villages were formed due to an increase in population and a need for more farmland during the rule of the Ching Dynasty in the late 19th Century. At that time, the Kavalan had just migrated to the Hualien plain from the Ilan plain to escape persecution by Chinese settlers. Documents further show that the Sakizayas, like the Amis in this region, had a very active relationship with the Dutch and the Chinese peoples during their historic occupations.

The decline of the Sakizayas was initiated by the Jia-Li-Wan uprising. In 1874, an incident in southern Taiwan alarmed the Ching government and caused them to tighten their control over the aborigines in eastern Taiwan. To prevent eastern Taiwan from falling victim to foreign powers, the Ching government started to build roads to eastern Taiwan and lifted its restrictions on traveling there, which allowed many Chinese people to migrate and interact with the aborigines in that area. In 1875, the Ching ruling powers officially entered eastern Taiwan, and in March and April of 1878, the Kavalans of Jia-Li-Wan united with the Sakizayas in a battle against the Ching government. This resistance, called the Jia-Li-Wan uprising in historical documents,³² failed and their villages were broken up, forcing Kavalans and Sakizayas into exile. To escape persecution, the Sakizayas obscured their identities by mixing themselves among the Amis, thus vastly decreasing their size and power. When the Japanese started their ethnographic research in the early 20th century, the Sakizayas had become relatively “Amis-ized,” and were regarded as a sub-branch of the Amis for both academic and official purposes.

The Sakizaya’s new ethnic group movement was initiated in 1990, when the now deceased Tiway-Sayion, well known as ‘Headmaster Lee Lai-Wang’ in Chinese, a primary school principle, called upon his fellow group members to hold an ancestor worship ritual. In May 2005, the “Sakizaya New Ethnic Group Campaign League” was founded, and on October 13th of that year, the league officially presented its name rectification petition to the Council of Indigenous People at the Executive Yuan. On July 1, 2006, the first Fire God Ritual (*Palamal*) was held at the original Takobowan site, and later on January 17, 2007, as a result of the cultural-political momentum initiated by the Fire God Ritual and by other developments in the movement, the

³² Rather than the “Jia-Li-Wan uprising,” the Sakizaya call it the “Takobowan event.”

Sakizayas officially became the 13th Aboriginal group in Taiwan.

According to the latest estimate by the core members in the ethnic group movement, the population of the Sakizaya is between 5000 and 15,000.³³ However, even core members admit that it is very difficult to distinguish the Sakizaya from the Amis not only in terms of bloodline but also in terms of culture (SNEGCL 2007:10). Furthermore, these days almost all Sakizaya descendants speak the Amis language. Although some recent studies identify the Sakizaya language as significantly different from the Amis language (e.g. Chen 1999, Lin S-H 2007), the Sakizaya language is only spoken among a few elderly people over 70. How the Sakizaya ethnic group movement emerged under those conditions attracted my attention.

As a part of the ‘Formation and Reinvention of Cultures and Ethnic Groups among Austronesians in Taiwan’ project, organized by Dr. Ying-kuei Huang, this study reanalyzes the concepts of culture and ethnic group with a case study on the Sakizaya. However, in this first report of the three-year project, I will concentrate on the Sakizaya’s Name Rectification Campaign and its rise as a result of the Fire God Ritual. Special emphasis will be given to the role that cultural construction plays in the new ethnic group movement.

Historical memory and the difficulty of separating from the Amis

The incorporation of the Kavalans and the Sakizayas into the Amis group is a significant phenomenon in the history of eastern Taiwan. Before the Jia-Li-Wan uprising, the three were independent and distinct groups, but during the Japanese occupation, the Kavalans and Sakizayas ceased to be individual units, at least in the population census. Although they were both considered a branch of the Amis, the Kavalans had started their name rectification campaign as early as the 1980s, and were successfully recognized as the 11th Aboriginal group in 2002. The question posed here is: with the rise of Aboriginal Campaigns in the 1980s, why did the Sakizayas Name Rectification Campaign come so much later than the Kavalan’s?

It is difficult to answer this question based on objective criteria; in terms of population, the Sakizayas outnumber the Kavalans; in terms of language, the Sakizayas have also preserved their native tongue to a greater degree than their neighbors. The Sakizayas greatest obstacle lies not in the conditions of their population and language, but perhaps in a lack of political determination: they have deferred independence in order not to offend the Amis.³⁴ To put it briefly, the Amis consider the Kavalans to be a different group from them, yet they consider the

³³ In the same data, the number of aborigines expected to register officially as “Sakizaya” is between 2000 and 3000.

³⁴ The Amis, with a population of around 160,000, is the largest group among the Taiwanese aborigines.

Sakizayas a sub-group of their own. Moreover, not only do many Amis consider the Sakizayas as part of their own group, some Sakizayas also identify themselves as part of the Amis, thus complicating and slowing the campaign's progress. In other words, even though by objective criteria the Sakizayas may be more qualified than others to be designated a new group, the divergent self-identifications among the Sakizayas make their name rectification campaign more difficult to put into action than the Kavalan's. What they need to overcome are no longer identification qualifications such as population and language, but rather: firstly, how to persuade those Sakizayas, who have long identified themselves as Amis, of the importance of being recognized as a new group; and secondly, how to delineate themselves from the Amis without offending or creative hostility and gain their support.

When the Sakizaya's campaign was initiated, there were indeed some doubts expressed by Sakizaya descendents. Doko-Sayion, a key organizer behind the campaign, said in an interview:

People are afraid that name rectification may hurt the Amis, since during their nurturing, the Amis genuinely looked after them. So if the Sakizayas successfully separated and gained more resources, which are then only shared among the Sakizayas, that may be seen as an ungrateful gesture toward the Amis.

These words reveal the instrumental aspect of the Sakizaya ethnic group movement. In fact in an open talk Doko-Sayion (2005: 190-191) stated three objectives for the movement: name rectification for the short term, cultural revival for the next term, and group self-governance as a final goal. Various objectives in this movement and the motivation to improve the conditions of the group have been common themes among Taiwanese aboriginal movements in general.

Doko-Saiyon's words touch upon an additional historical experience: after the Jia-Li-Wan uprising, many Sakizayas, fleeing persecution by Ching soldiers, scattered into hiding among the Amis villages, where they were taken in and sheltered. For this, Headmaster Lee, the most prominent leader of the Sakizaya movement, felt indebted to the Amis, and passed on that historical memory to his eldest son, Doko. Concerns about intermarriage have also factored in the decision to separate from the Amis since, presently, it is difficult to find a Sakizaya descendent whose parents and grandparents are of "pure" Sakizaya blood.³⁵ In most cases Sakizayas have Amis relatives who have married into the family. Thus, if separation from the Amis results in unfavorable

³⁵ For example, regarding Tiway-Sayion, the most important leader of the Sakizaya movement, only a quarter of his origin has been traced to the Sakizaya, from his father's mother (Lin P-C 2000:13). The complex development of his Sakizaya identity requires further study.

consequences for the group, that may also cause irreparable damage to many single families in both groups. This factor regarding emotional attitudes toward family and toward the Amis has been the greatest obstacle in their campaign.

Interestingly, even though many Sakizayas are afraid of fragmenting their solidarity with the Amis, Doko emphasizes that: "The elders have a great need for name rectification, as they wish to achieve this goal to gain approval from their ancestors when they 'return'." We may say that, their fear of harming relationships notwithstanding, the Sakizayas or at least the promoters of the campaign, have a desire to establish an ethnic identity, which reflect the descendants' obligation and promise to commemorate their ancestors. Of course, consideration must be given not only to the Sakizaya's desire for group recognition but also to the Amis's view of that objective. In a press release given by the Sakizaya on January 17, 2007 during the reception at the Executive Yuan, one section states:

After the battle, the Ching General, fearing that the Kavalans and Sakizayas would regain strength later, forced the villages to disperse. After the Sakizayas were exiled, most were assimilated by the Amis, and only a minority talked to each other in the Sakizaya language in public. Most Sakizayas didn't dare confess that they were Sakizayas, yet the Amis clearly distinguished them as different, always referring to them, saying, "They are the Sakizayas." (SNEGCL 2007:42)

The campaign leaders, contending that the Amis have clearly differentiated the Sakizayas from the Amis group, have used that as a rallying call to strengthen their campaign. However, in a more conciliatory tone, they also honor the Amis for providing support and protection after the Jia-Li-Wan uprising. For the Sakizayas, these conflicting sentiments of differentiation from and gratitude toward the Amis have resulted in misgivings that have weakened the campaign.

Nevertheless, the Sakizayas have managed to become an officially recognized independent group, and the way they have balanced their need for name rectification and sentiments towards the Amis is as follows:

The Sakizayas for all future generations must remember the blood and tears shed at Takobowan... Most importantly, the Amis's generosity and courage must be kept in our hearts for all time, honoring them as the Sakizaya's "eternal mother group." (SNEGCL 2007: i)

To regard the Amis as the Sakizaya's "eternal mother" not only appeases the Amis's feelings, and maintains their friendship, but it also achieves a successful political

balance to sustain the campaign. When and how the Sakizayas created this balance requires further investigation, but certainly without it, the campaign would not have been as effectively set in motion. The search for this balance, furthermore, took the Sakizayas a long time, so their campaign did not start out as decisively as the Kavalan's.

'Traditional' costume and the construction of a new ethnic boundary

As with other aboriginal groups in Taiwan, it is nearly impossible to differentiate the Sakizayas, Amis, and Han Chinese by their daily clothing alone. Yet as a common cultural symbol, clothing can be an important factor in creating a boundary between other groups and one's own, especially during a ceremonial event. For the leaders of the name rectification campaign, creating "costumes representative of their ethnic characteristics" from an obscure historical memory has been a challenging task, as those costumes are no longer worn in daily life, even during annual harvest rites, a few of the occasions in which traditional costumes were often worn. Furthermore, traditional Sakizaya costumes have seen heavily influenced by the Amis.

According to the "Forgotten Sakizayas" website, as the Sakizayas have assimilated into Amis society, clothing used in village rites has become essentially the same as the Amis'. Therefore, the Sakizayas have searched for clues to traditional costumes from historical documents. According to Li Shiu-Lan, Doko-Sayion's wife, who took part in this effort:

The prototype for our traditional costume was found in an old photo which took a long time to find. We showed the photo to many Amis elders to determine if it was traditional Amis clothing or not, in order to deduce that it may belong to the Sakizayas. The largest groups active on the Hualien Plain at that time were the Sakizayas and the Amis, which is why we decided to use this as our traditional clothing. Because the photo is in black and white, we couldn't determine the original colors, so we had a meeting and by discussion chose the colors for the clothing.

In other words, the costume worn at the name rectification reception had been "invented": the style was redesigned following clothing from earlier times, and the chosen colors were given new meanings. There are seven colors present in the costume, including mud gold, dark red, dark blue, blackish green, black, brown and pearl white. Mud gold represents a return to the land, which holds a calling and gold. Dark red represents dried blood or the sacrifice of ancestors, reminding descendants to commemorate their forefathers. Dark blue represents the memory of the Amis' friendship. Blackish green is for the pricked bamboo representing the age group

system and ethnic spirit. Black is for the village and ancestral spirits. Brown is a reminder not to forget the hardship the forefathers went through when they were in exile. Pearl white represents tears, to remember the suffering of living with a hidden identity (SNEGCL 2007:18).

Through this traditional costume, the Sakizayas express both their historical memory and their hopes for the future. Costume also plays an important role in marking boundaries in two ways. Firstly, costume distinguishes them from the Han Chinese, and secondly, or more importantly, it marks their difference from the Amis.

In a meeting before the name rectification reception, the participants came to the rehearsal wearing newly made bright yellow costumes that were different from the original concept designs. This caused one leader to emphasize to the participants again:

The main color of our clothing is yellow, dark yellow to symbolize our land. We shouldn't use bright yellow because it is too much like the sun, and in the Amis' head dress the feathers represent the sun. So we must keep the distinction clear. Our red is dark red, which is also different from the Amis' bright red. Their red represents passion, but ours means dried blood. Our bloodline was cut before, but now we will continue to pass on the Sakizaya's legacy.

From this statement we can see that not only do they need to differentiate themselves from the Han Chinese, they also need an effective boundary between them and the Amis to justify their group's separation. Thus, costume serves as a symbolic boundary for ethnic groups not in the sense of 'persistence' but 'creation' (cf Barth ed. 1969). Yet owing to the aforementioned sentiments, Sakizayas cannot over emphasize their difference and destroy their bond with the Amis. In another meeting, a leader remarked upon the relationship between the Amis and Sakizayas, using clothing as a metaphor: "We are neither blue nor green, we are red like the Amis, but they are bright red, and we are dark red."³⁶ This reflects again the complex and nearly inseparable bond between the Sakizayas and the Amis.

Preliminary analysis of the Fire God Ritual

The process of producing the 'traditional' costume is a case of cultural construction, yet during the process of the Sakizayas name rectification campaign, the Fire God Ritual is the most important cultural construction thus far. The Fire God Ritual, a worship ceremony for commemorating ancestors, was held at the Te-Shin baseball

³⁶ Blue and green are metaphors of two major Taiwanese political parties: KMT and DDP.

stadium in Hualien City, the site of the Sakizayas' original village, Takobowan, on July 1, 2006, 128 years after the Jia-Li-Wan uprising. In other words, it has initiated a journey of reconstructing the past for the Sakizayas whose unity had been destroyed by the Ching government nearly one hundred years ago.

Historical memory in rituals

Connerton (1992) wrote in *How Societies Remember* how memories focus on two special social activities: commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices. Connerton argues that “images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past are conveyed and sustained by (more or less ritual) performances” (p40). Also, “if the ceremonies are to work for their participants, if they are to be persuasive to them, then those participants must be not simply cognitively competent to execute the performance; they must be habituated to those performances” (p71). In other words, collective social memory has to have commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices in order to be remembered from generation to generation. The Fire God Ritual may be understood from this perspective.

The first paragraph of the Fire God Ritual's proposal states “the origin of the plan”:³⁷

Before 1878, the Sakizayas lived on the Hualien plain in six main villages: Takobowan [around Tzu-Chi Hospital and Shih-Wei High School], Nabakowan [around the old Hualien train station and Nan-Ching Street], Cipawkan [around the area of Te-An, Hualien city], Tamasaydan [around Bei-Bing Street, Hualien city], Toapon [around Hua-Tung Road beside Hualien Bay], and Pazik [beside Mei-Luen Hill]. At that time there were five leaders in Takobowan, who were the political leaders that planned and decided everything for the village. (SNEGCL 2005:3)

This situates the Sakizaya in the time and place just before the Jia-Li-Wan uprising. Moreover, the following reveals: “Because the Sakizayas lived on the best part of the plain, they were often attacked by other ethnic groups” (ibid.3). In this sentence the writer assumes that the Sakizaya are a distinct ethnic group. Further, the document describes the interaction between the Kavalans from the Yilan plain and the Sakizayas after they moved to Hualien: At first, there was some conflict over their areas of control, then the Kavalans settled in the area of Jia-Li-Wan, fostering their interaction with the Sakizayas on the Hualien plain: “the two groups got on well, and had

³⁷ This proposal was mainly written to seek funds from the public and private sectors and especially from governments who support indigenous affair. The budget for this activity was 350,000 NTD, around 10,000 USD.

together fought the Trukus from the mountains” (ibid.:3). However this relationship changed vastly after the Han peoples entered and overran the Hualien plain. At that time, the Sakizayas fought the newcomers culminating with the Jia-Li-Wan uprising. In the proposal, the uprising is described as follows:

In March and April of 1878, the Kavalans of Jia-Li-Wan formed an alliance with the Sakizayas to fight against the Ching army, because of Chen-Hue-Huang’s deceit,³⁸ oppression and humiliation of Kavalan women in buying land. (ibid.4)

In fact, this interpretation of the Jia-Li-Wan uprising and the earlier history of the Sakizaya primarily come from colonial historical documents. Also, the historical development of the Sakizaya after the event, and the “historical truths” they wrote about, have come from these documents. Of course, among those “historical truths” are many subjective interpretations made by the Sakizayas: for example, their view of themselves as an “ethnic group” which is not clearly stated in the historical documents.

In addition, in the reconstruction of historical memory, narrations made by Sakizaya elders were equally important. For example, the following shows the view of the Sakizayas, why they lost and how they dispersed into hiding: “In the past, the Sakizayas used pricked bamboos between the new railway station to the Sakura Cemetery to bridge out intruders” (ibid.4). According to the narrative folk stories of the Sakizayas at that time, the Ching army could not intrude because of the pricked bamboos around the village of Takobowan. But afterwards, the Vaguais (probably a sub-group of Truku), who lived at Cikasowan and who didn’t get along with the Sakizayas, betrayed the entrance of the Sakizaya village to the Ching army: the first entrance was by Bazaiwan (near Mei-Luen River); the second was near Shih-Wei High School. The Ching army attacked the entrance near Shih-Wei High School but was defeated by the Takobowans upon arrival, creating a large pile of dead soldiers. Afterwards, the Ching army attacked with fire, lighting the heads of arrows and shooting them into the village, burning down the pricked bamboos and straw houses. In order to avoid complete destruction, the five leaders decided to surrender.

After the war, Komod Pazik, one of the Takobowan leaders, and his wife, Icep Kanasaw, were put to death. Afterwards:

Owing to the war, villagers had no place to settle down, and the bodies of Komod Pazik and Icep Kanasaw were not buried, thus preventing descendants from worshiping them.

³⁸ Chen Hue-Huang was a landlord and merchant who had a close business relationship with the Ching army.

However, the story of their sacrifice lived on among the descendants. (ibid.5)

The purpose of the Fire God Ritual is to remember this part of history. Not only did handbooks and posters at the 2006 Fire God Ritual note that history, but the host of the ceremony used different languages to communicate that message. More importantly, ritual organizers tried to create a feeling of “going back into that historical time and place.” For example, the entrance was decorated with pricked bamboos beside straw houses which represented traditional houses. Also, those who participated were asked: “to wear old clothes, shoes (black if possible) or traditional costumes; and to bring backpacks, knives and old pots, bowls and cups to the worshipping area.” In addition, the core members of the movement all wore the new invented ‘traditional’ costume.

Thus the Fire God Ritual may be seen as a commemorative ceremony that promotes a shared historical memory through songs, dances and worshipping activities, fostering a sense of participant identity as a Sakizaya member.

The meaning of “fire” and “rebirth”

Undoubtedly, the Fire God Ritual conjures historical memories. However, this ritual has also been used to create those historical memories for use today. In memorial rituals, apart from bodily movements, symbolic objects play an important role. The Fire God Ritual contains many symbolic objects. In the Fire God Ritual, starting at 5PM, a symbolic fire is lighted that lasts from the beginning of the ritual to the end. In a change from traditional ancestor worshipping, the Sakizayas have elevated Komod Pazik and his wife Icep Kanasaw from “humans” to “god,” naming them “Fire God” and “Fire God’s Wife,” and naming the entire ritual “Fire God Ritual.”³⁹ Why do they use fire as a symbol for their ancestors? In the handbook, it is written:

After discussion, it was decided that we should stand up from where we fell; fire brought us near to extinction, but also lit the path for our people to hide and run, allowing us to survive under such circumstances. Therefore, we decided to deify Komod Pazik as the Fire God and Icep Kanasaw as the Fire God’s Wife, at the same time worshipping all ancestors that made sacrifices in the course of the ritual; thanking them and asking them to protect all their descendants. (Ibid.4-5)

After welcoming the Gods, praying for good fortune, worshipping and remembering,

³⁹ On February 25, 2006, the Sakizaya Development Committee of Hualien held a general members meeting and decided to deify Komod Pazik and his wife as the Fire God and Goddess, and hold a “Fire God Ritual” on July 1, 2006 at the Te-Shin baseball stadium.

the highlight of the Fire God Ritual is setting fire to the worshipping stage—a symbolic coffin—by five representatives with torches. The ritual does not end until the stage has completely burned down. For the participants, this is a very important part, which symbolizes the transition from one stage to another, the passage from extinction to rebirth. In other words, there are two reasons for the use of fire in the ritual; the first is the Ching's use of fire, which nearly destroyed the Sakizayas; the second is the new path which the fire has led the group to today. In the group's interpretation, the Fire God Ritual symbolizes the remembrance of the past to rebirth. The Fire God Ritual is not only an ancestor worshipping activity, but it is also an activity that facilitates a reconnection with their history, leading to a new stage in their development.

The Fire God Ritual and the cohesion of Sakizaya consciousness

Doko-Sayion, an important movement activist behind the organization of the Fire God Ritual event, said in an interview:

We felt a need to organize an ancestral worship event for the Sakizayas, especially after the Great Ancestral Worship Ceremony in 1990. Every year we hold an ancestral worship ceremony, but none as grand as the Fire God Ritual, which is held especially for the Sakizaya people.

This passage suggests that the Fire God Ritual is an extended version of the preexisting Ancestral Worship Ceremony. Yet from another point of view, one might argue that the Fire God Ritual is an “invented” ritual. Not only are the Fire God and the Fire God's Wife new cultural components, but many parts of the ritual are new additions as well. Nevertheless, the Fire God Ritual is held to emphasize the possession of their own ancestors and historic experiences in support of their evident declaration as an independent ethnic group.

At the beginning of the Name Rectification Campaign in 1990, since most Sakizayas had not yet developed a strong personal or collective incentive for independence and since many had misgivings about potential opposition from the Amis, I speculate that only those with a very strong ethnic awareness of the Sakizaya community attended public events for the movement, thus, due to small participant numbers, curtailing the promotion of the campaign by leaders. It was only until 2003, when the death of Headmaster Lee had aroused a sense of regret in the community and a desire to change, and as objective factors (such as costumes and rituals) were taking shape, that the movement entered a new phase. With the establishment of the Sakizaya's New Ethnic Campaign Alliance in May 2005, and the issuing of the official petition in October, the Name Rectification Campaign was officially set in motion, increasing supporters in great numbers.

When and who came up with the concept for the Fire God Ritual is yet undocumented. A certain fact is that in the process of signing the petition, the core members of the campaign had traveled to all geographical areas where the Sakizayas had migrated, such as Copo', Ma'ifor, Ciwidian, and Karoro'an.⁴⁰ Core members tried to establish a consensus for the campaign among those communities. In the end, the arrangement and procedures for the Fire God Ritual resulted from a general agreement among descendants from different places.

In the proposal for organizing the Fire God Ritual, four main objectives for the ritual are: 1. to commemorate ancestors and martyred heroes; 2. to worship and honor Komod Pazik as the Fire God and Icep Kanasaw as the Fire God's wife; 3. to reclaim the Sakizayas's name and past glory; 4. to recommence the group's own solemn rituals. In light of those objectives one may argue that the seemingly simple ancestor worship ceremony is actually an act of establishing (or creating) common ancestors, as well as a declaration of difference or distinction from the Amis. It is also clear that this event successfully marks ethnic boundaries, as well as the social and cultural position of their group. These conditions resulted in an increased response from different villages, which helped boost the morale of the campaign.

The Fire God Ritual is not just for worshipping the lost ancestors of 1878, but more importantly, the ritual is utilized for proclaiming an ethnic identity. Some actions are worship related, while others and their symbolic meanings have been created to accommodate the ritual. These meanings urge participants toward a new identity and announce the phase they are in. The "Introduction to the Sakizayas" states:

There are five colored heralds - red, green, blue, white and black - in the Fire God Ritual, designed to pray for good fortune for the participants. The white herald represents the Fire God's light; in lighting a torch, the ancestors' legacy is passed on, and a bright future shines for the Sakizayas. The red herald paints a red flower on the forehead to open the soul's eye, greeting the Fire God, and passes on wisdom; the green herald pats participants on the head, body, and feet with green pricked bamboo to get rid of bad luck. The black herald makes himself invisible with black coal to keep evil away; and the blue

⁴⁰ Copo' is in a suburb of Hualien city and has a large aboriginal population and a strong identification with the Sakizaya community. Apart from Hualien city, Sakizaya descendants mostly live in ten other settlements, and Mai'for, Ciwidian and Kororo'an are three locations which movement activists consider 'targeting places.' Mai'for is in the Taitung valley about 70 kilometers south of Hualien City. Ciwidian and Karoro'an are respectively 23 and 40 kilometers south of Hualien City along the eastern coastline.

herald uses wine and water to quench the Sakizaya's thirst of heart and mind. During the ritual, the priest moistens banana leaves with wine for the participants' protection, and asks the participants to circle the ritual grounds with burning torches, to reenact their ancestors' plight, and to embrace the Sakizaya's birth place. (SNEGCL 2007:15-16)

In the ritual, the Sakizayas pass on their ancestors' traditions, as well as create a new future. Symbolic elements are given multiple meanings through their passing from one generation to the next; the pricked bamboo symbolizes the age group, yet in the ritual functions to rid the group of bad luck. Coal black represents invisibility, thus shielding one from evil spirits. The four wings of the windmill in the ritual represent the gods of heaven, earth, right and left, and they are used to bring forth wind and spirits.

In the handbook for the 2006 Fire God Ritual, the Sakizayas voice their feelings over this matter:

Since the Takobowan village was burnt to the ground in 1878, we have lived in exile for 128 years. During that time, we hid our identities among the Amis, afraid to speak our own language and acknowledge our distinction.

The Fire God Ritual is an event that allows the Sakizayas to speak their language and acknowledge their group identity. Thus, in addition to invoking shared historical memories for the participants, the ritual also creates a sense of community among group members, establishing ethnic identity and raising group awareness. Through the carefully designed ritual orientation and through ritual body movements, the participants express their ethnic awareness in the act of commemorating a painful historic event.

The second Fire God Ritual and the current religious distribution

The second Fire God Ritual was held beside the Te-Shin baseball stadium, Hualien City, at the round riverbank park on July 7, 2007. This year was the first Fire God Ritual following the success of the Name Rectification Campaign, and the focus was not only on the worshipping of ancestors but also on the transmission of culture. The ritual was divided into two main parts, culture tours in the daytime and ancestor worshipping at night. With the help of culture tour passports that admitted participants to 25 themed activities, which included educational billboards, the tours provided a chance for visitors and all descendants to learn more about the history and culture of the Sakizaya. Of course, the worshipping of ancestors was still at the core of the ritual, but allowing visitors and descendants to connect with the Sakizayas and their culture was an especially important aspect this year.

Due to the influence of the Name Rectification Campaign and the goal of distinguishing their clothing from the Amis', the 2007 Fire God Ritual featured an overall consistency in clothing. The number of participants also increased.⁴¹ Furthermore, after last year's experience, the core organizers of the ritual were well prepared with background information for reporters and maintained secure control of the environment. The success of the activities was also due to an effective work distribution and a generated consensus among members. After last year's Name Rectification Campaign, committee members held frequent meetings, which fostered a deeper understanding of the Fire God Ritual and which aided in preparations.

However, although the activities went more smoothly and the ritual was more widely promoted than last year's, unexpected events took place. Firstly, apart from people who lived in and around Hualien city, such as Copo', that didn't need transportation, the organization committee arranged for three buses to go to Ciwidian, Karoro'an, and Ma'ifor, places where many Sakizaya people lived, to pick up those who wished to participate in the ritual. However, fewer people than expected showed up, especially in Ciwidian, where only five people got on a bus for 45-50 people. Secondly, the committee wanted parents to bring their children, with the hope that the culture tours would deepen their understanding of their own culture. However, few children showed up. This phenomenon suggests that beneath their united appearance, this newly independent ethnic group faces many challenges ahead. Here I will elaborate on one important aspect: the differences in their current religions.

Like other aborigines in Taiwan, the Sakizayas primarily practice Christianity, with Catholicism, Presbyterianism, and the Holiness Church as the most dominant.⁴² The Presbyterian and the Holiness Church started their sermons in the 1930s during Japanese colonial rule; however, due to restrictions imposed by the Japanese government, mass conversions did not occur until 1945 when the KMT government assumed power. Catholicism also spread to eastern Taiwan at this time. The table below, based on an incomplete survey, shows the religious distributions among the aborigines in four fieldwork sites.

Headmaster Lee, the leader of the Sakizayas' Name Rectification Campaign during the early stages, was from Ciwidian; he argued against Christianity's influence on aboriginal society and cultures. In a paper he wrote 10 years ago, he said:

From 1946 to 1950, many Western churches were established in Amis villages. In Ciwidian alone, there were five churches: the Catholic Church, the Presbyterian Church,

⁴¹ According to Doko-Sayion, the number of adult participants for the first Fire God Ritual was around 100 and for the second time was around 200.

⁴² The aborigines' acceptance of Christianity, to some extent, symbolizes their resistance against Chinese domination.

the Holiness Church, the True Jesus Church and the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The different churches each had their own influences. Only 13 out of 120 households did not join church activities. Although every church had a different belief, they all were against their followers' participation in age-set organization activities and any traditional ceremonies. (Lee 1992:224)

Headmaster Lee refused to participate in any Christian activities because he believed that the churches were cultural intruders. His eldest son, Doko, a later key member in the Name Rectification Campaign, shared his father's belief in traditional religions. When planning the Fire God Ritual, Doko faced many challenges. The Amis' traditional religion had nearly vanished as a result of the influence of Christianity and the Han religions, not to mention their influence on the Sakizayas who lived among the Amis. The invention of many parts of the Fire God Ritual may have been an inevitable outcome intended to satisfy the government's requirements for achieving official recognition as an ethnic group, yet it also suffered from criticism by their fellow members. Criticism was expressed in the form of two major concerns. The first is the authenticity of the contents of the invented rituals. For example, some people think that the designs of the 'traditional' costumes are different from the costumes they remember from the past. The second and greater concern is the attitudes of several churches, which are skeptical about the nature of the rituals.

Religion/Site	Copo'	Ciwidian	Ma'ifor	Karoro'an
Catholicism	About 40 households	About 20 households	13 households	About 40 households
Presbyterianism	About 20 households	About 25 households	15 households	About 10 households
The Holiness Church	About 20 households	About 25 households	Less than 10 households	None?
Traditional aboriginal religions	A few households	4 households	None?	A few households
Other Christian religions	A few households	A few households	None?	A few households
Han religions	A few households	A few households	None?	None?

Apart from those members who maintain traditional beliefs, Catholics (and some

of the Han religion followers) have accepted the cultural invention of the Fire God Ritual more than Protestant group members. For example, in Ma'ifor, a village whose members possess a strong cultural awareness, many Presbyterian followers there are active in the Name Rectification Campaign. However, one priest in that village says that he is against the worshipping of ancestors, because he thinks that that kind of worshipping is akin to superstition from an outdated past. Therefore, their followers participate in the Fire God Ritual's activities, but they will not join in the last part of the ritual, which consists of holding torches and setting fire to the symbolic coffin of the Fire God and the Fire God's Wife. Also, they will not let their children attend several themed activities in the culture tour where participants might receive blessings from ancestors, via the symbolic actions of heralds, because that activity is against their religion. The Holiness Church maintains a similar stand as the Presbyterians. In this context, we can understand why participation in the Fire God Ritual in Ciwidian is so low. In contrast, a higher percentage of people in Copo' and Karoro'an, where Catholicism is dominant, attend the event. In Copo' the head of aborigines in that village, and a Catholic himself, conducted a small-scale Fire God Ritual during the harvest rite in 2007; this made the harvest rite there very different from that practiced in other villages. The cultural discourse surrounding these events requires further study.

Conclusion

In my reading of the Sakizaya's new ethnic group movement, the influences of the wider society play an important role. In other words, in the past two decades Taiwanese society as a whole has provided many resources and has encouraged aboriginal groups to strive for ethnic identification. The Sakizayas' new ethnic group movement has followed that trend, and their name rectification campaign is only the first in steps to come. Furthermore, considering the Sakizaya's Name Rectification Campaign itself, the group's petition of willingness to be independent and the objectification of their linguistic differences are government requirements in designating a new ethnic group.⁴³ I suggest that the creation of the group's 'traditional' costume and the Fire God Ritual may be understood within this perspective. It seems to me that cultural constructions like these are primarily shaped by the pressures and forces of mainstream society in this particular context.

Before the Sakizayas started the Name Rectification Campaign, their clothing, language and cultural traditions were almost unnoticed. It was only after the Name Rectification Campaign began that their 'traditions' were recognized. In other words,

⁴³ The concept of 'ethnic group' in this context is constrained by modern Western theories. Yet this part remains to be further studied.

what remains of their history and culture has been sporadically sustained over time; some Sakizayas having more knowledge of what their ancestors did, others preserving more parts of the culture their ancestors left behind. However, it was not until the 1980s under the trend of Name Rectification Campaigns among the aborigines, those historic memories of ancestors and the differences between the Sakizaya and Amis languages and culture were made obvious, which played an important part in the Sakizaya's Name Rectification Campaign.

When looking at the Sakizayas new ethnic group movement, we find that the leaders are confronted with two problems. The first is how to persuade Sakizaya descendants to subjectively separate themselves from the Amis. The second is how to objectively present cultural characteristics so as to differentiate themselves from the Amis.

After more than a hundred years of intermarriage, it can be said that the Sakizaya's culture has been nearly subsumed by the Amis' culture. However, some Sakizaya members who identify strongly with the group attempt to use language as evidence of their differentiation from the Amis. They further insist that their ancestry is different from the Amis'. It appears that these arguments have not yet convinced the majority of Sakizaya descendants, let alone the Amis, to advocate their group's entire campaign. Therefore, for the sake of timing, the leaders of the movement decided to pursue the goal of name rectification first. Consequently, cultural construction has become an inevitable outcome in navigating the requirements of the government and the wider society. An obvious example is the costume worn at the reception at the Executive Yuan. That costume, which "represented the characteristics of their group," was actually an 'invented' tradition.

It is mentioned in the second section that the Sakizaya's relationship with the Amis is difficult to change, making the Name Rectification Campaign more difficult to accomplish. This subjective concern lends a dual tone to the cultural construction behind the Name Rectification Campaign. On the one hand, the Sakizayas need to emphasize their difference from the Amis to justify their campaign, but on the other hand, they cannot overemphasize their difference lest they damage their strong relationship with the Amis. This phenomenon is explained in the second section in a discussion of their 'traditional' costume as an example of cultural construction.

Recapping the Sakizaya's cultural development after the success of their Name Rectification Campaign, there are two main tendencies. The first is related to their practicing traditions, such as their harvest festivals and their Sea God festival. In the past those activities were seen as part of a subculture of the Amis people. Now, the Sakizaya's either claim that these activities belong to their group, for instance the Sea God Ritual in Karoro'an, or they add new elements to make those activities different

from the Amis', for instance the harvest rite in Copo'. The second tendency is related to the new invention or re-discovery of their cultural traditions. Apart from their 'traditional' costume and the Fire God Ritual, some core members are trying to create a new ritual called "the Wood God Ritual," also an invention, to make it "a characteristic of the Sakizaya people." Also, some forgotten cultural practices from the past have gradually been revived. This kind of cultural development in relationship to the development of a new Sakizaya ethnic group will be the focus of my research in the following years.

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Incorporating ‘the Foreign’ as ‘the Autochthonous’:
An Ethnographic Study of the Piniyumayan people in Eastern Taiwan⁴⁴

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ABSTRACT Compared with other Austronesian-speaking peoples on the island of Taiwan, the Piniyumayan people (formerly called the Puyuma) have been well known for their intimate relationship with, and active efforts to co-opt, powerful regimes from the outside world. These kinds of interaction can be traced to as early as the 1630s when the Dutch occupied the island, and continued through to the mid-twentieth century. Underlying these relationships is the important dimension of dialectical relation between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider,’ i.e., the co-existence of inclusion and exclusion. In order to demonstrate how this theme is intimately related to the constitution of the Piniyumayan and their distinctive socio-cultural features, the paper will explore the making of traditional costumes and growing of staple foods, and, more importantly, the establishments of chiefly families and boys’ houses. Mechanisms by which the foreign has been incorporated as the autochthonous vary and are differently articulated through time. This study should have comparative implications for the studies of Austronesian- speaking peoples in Taiwan and beyond.

Incorporating the foreign (including people, materials and concepts) as the autochthonous is a common phenomenon in ethnography. It is a major theme in studies on the Austronesian-speaking peoples (see Fox 2005; Reuter 1999, 2005), especially its resulting impacts on the local community’s society and culture when the foreigners have become the ruling class and a complicated relationship or a diarchy has developed. This study aimed to describe the relationship between the autochthonous (natives) and the foreign (newcomers) and the incorporation of the latter into the former by taking the Piniyumayan people as an example with the focus on the Puyuma community. Discussion as such will not only cast lights on the structure and categorization of the local community, but also provide essential links to exploration of its socio-cultural sustainability and transformation. Hopefully, this study will also be a major reference for subsequent comparative Austronesian research.

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⁴⁴ ‘Puyuma’ has always been the English translation commonly adopted by the government and academia. It is the same as what the Puyuma community calls itself. This community has a past so glorious that it might have been mistaken for **the ethnic group as a whole**. To steer clear of confusion, Japanese scholars (Utsurikawa et al. 1935) substituted ‘Panapanayan’—the tribe’s place of origin—for ‘Puyuma’. At the 1997 Joint Annual Festival, the attending tribesmen decided to rename the ethnic group. After the discussion, the Puyuma community chose the term ‘Pinuyumayan,’ whereas the rest ‘Piniyumayan.’ For convenience, the group as a whole is hereafter referred to as Piniyumayan.

The Piniyumayan people

The Piniyumayan people, a population of 10 thousand, are scattered around the Taitung Plain and its surrounding foothills. Since the first half of the 17th century, they had close involvement with foreign authorities, including the Dutch, Ching, Japanese and Nationalist governments and rose up as a powerful ethnic group in Easter Taiwan (Chen 2001; Kang 2005). This **people have** a very complicated composition, as legend suggests. Utsurikawa et al. (1935) posits that the Piniyumayan people consist mainly of the KatipuL, Kasavakan, Likavung and Puyuma communities, for their oral histories all point to Panapanayan (or RuvuaHan) as the place of origin. While the Puyuma is an independent community, the first three are of the same decent. Moreover, the forebears of the KatipuL and Kasavakan communities were brother and sister.⁴⁵ The Pinaski community's ancestor is believed to descend from the KatipuL and the Puyuma whereas the TamaLakaw and the Ulivulivuk are 'Piniyumanized outsiders.' Besides, the communities of the Piniyumayan people all have multiple chiefly families of various origins, each of which has its own men's house (*palakuan*) and ritual house (*karumaan*) where tribesmen are educated and ritual ceremonies held (Chen 2001; Utsurikawa et al. 1935).⁴⁶ Some of these families trace their roots back to the same place of origin, Panapanayan (or RuvuaHan), while others' ancestries relate to nearby indigenous peoples, especially the Paiwan and the Rukai.⁴⁷ Given such circumstances, how did the Piniyumayan people emerge as an ethnic group and what made this possible?

This study vindicates the possibility of the Piniyumayan people's establishment as an ethnic group by investigating how they manage distinctions between the autochthonous and the foreign. In a nutshell, *'the foreign' (including people, materials and concepts) can be indigenized through certain means that enable them to be distinguished from 'the foreign' that is introduced or introduces itself to the tribe at an even later period. Nevertheless, some significant distinctions still are made between "the foreign", which have been indigenized, and "the autochthonous". Depending on external circumstances, such incorporated distinction has manifestations of various forms in different subjects of life.*

Distinction between 'the autochthonous' and 'the foreign' remains in other communities as well but manifests in different manners than the Puyuma community. Part One of this study uses the Puyuma community as the subject of a case study; Part Two draws a comparison between it and other communities and discusses some

⁴⁵ Legend goes that the forebears of the KatipuL, Kasavakan and Likavung communities were descended from rocks whereas the Puyuma's from bamboos. Therefore, the Piniyumayan is divided by some scholars into two subgroups: 'rock descent' and 'bamboo descent' (Sung 1997:69).

⁴⁶ The Kasavakan community has many ritual houses but only one men's house.

⁴⁷ There used to be intermarriage between chiefly families of the Piniyumayan, Paiwan and Rukai. These three ethnic groups were once deemed the Paiwan during the Japanese colonial period.

relevant issues.

Part One: A case study of the Puyuma community

Incorporated distinction between ‘the autochthonous’ and ‘the foreign’ in the Puyuma community not only can be seen in the modern making of traditional costumes and growing of staple foods, but also has been preserved in oral accounts regarding establishments of chiefly families and the boys’ house (*Takuban*). The establishments of chiefly families and the power shift can be dated back to the middle of the 17th century, part of which is evidenced by historical documents. The community has a north and south division, which resembles a dual organization and clearly exemplifies the relationship between ‘the autochthonous’ (natives) and ‘the foreign’ (newcomers). When outsiders (the Dutch and Ching government) set foot on this territory, the balance of power shifted. The differentiation ushered in the birth of a new tribe (*zekaL*) in 1929, which assumed a different character. From an outsider’s view, the north and south divisions make up an entity that stands apart from the later-arriving Han Chinese immigrants. On the other hand, for the community itself the split remains obvious during annual rites.

In other words, this study argues that tracing the establishment of the boys’ house and the emergence of chiefly families helps to capture the ideas of ‘the autochthonous’ and ‘the foreign’.⁴⁸ In addition, a men’s house or a ritual house is both a token of status for a chiefly family and a congregation center. The relationship among chiefly families of different origins provides not only an explanation for the formation of a new tribe, but also clues as to how the Piniyumayan people as an ethnic group came into being.

Making of traditional costumes: weaving vs. embroidery⁴⁹

The Piniyumayan people wear traditional costumes, which are both gender and age specific, on occasions of annual rites. The style of their clothing is quite distinctive among the indigenous peoples in the area. Costumes are either woven or embroidered, with the latter being the majority. However, there is a major distinction

⁴⁸ Technically speaking, “‘natives’ vs. ‘newcomers’” is better suited for discussion of the boys’ house and chiefly families than “‘the autochthonous’ vs. ‘the foreign’”. However, in the examples of millet vs. rice and weaving vs. embroidery, distinction by means of the sequence of arrival cannot explain why millet and weaving are considered part of the tribe’s cultural heritage. This means that the distinction between ‘natives’ and ‘newcomers’ has been transformed into that of ‘autochthonous’ and ‘the foreign’ in later context of historical development. For example, the Han Chinese are both ‘newcomers’ and ‘foreign’ as opposed to the south division, whose status has been transformed from ‘newcomers’ into the ‘autochthonous’.

⁴⁹ Please refer to Chen (2000, 2001, 2004) for identification of community members and detailed discussion on weaving and embroidery.

between weaving and embroidery for the tribesmen. *Temnun*, the weaving, has been passed down through generations. At the beginning and upon the completion of an apprenticeship when the first piece of work is finished, a shaman must be invited to perform rites. Dissemination of the skills to other communities or even demonstration outside the community is prohibited. When a fellow tribesman dies, weaving activities must cease until after the funeral. Besides, adult men are forbidden to touch weaving tools lest they encounter misfortune as a consequence. These taboos and customs are still observed to this day by the tribesmen even if some of them have been converted to Christianity. Woven costumes are invaluable and very costly, which only chiefs or the wealthy could afford. The significance of woven fabrics to the tribe is disclosed in a report in the early 20th century (Kōno 2000 [1915]: 275-276, 309):

A piece of woven fabric was left [by the ancestor who invented the weaving techniques] on the roof of PasarraD's house, and later found by a man named Demaluway.⁵⁰ He was soon acknowledged as a priest in the tribe and started to give instructions in sowing and harvesting of rice or millet. The sash (*labyt*) that elders and chiefs wear to ritual ceremonies is actually derived from the woven cloth draped over Demaluway's shoulders.

The Puyuma in Maydatar are known for countless triumphs on the battlefield and attribute their repeated victories to the blessing of god of war in return for their offering of unfinished patches of woven cloth.⁵¹ They believe that they can easily wound the enemies and win the war. Such belief reflects the tribe's superstition around weaving machines and woven cloth.

Unlike weaving, *meleuT* embroidery was introduced in the late 19th century. Beginning in the late 1950s, embroidery was done on canvas. Since that time, the technique has become an increasingly popular choice for making traditional costumes. In contrast with weaving, despite the common use of it for ceremonial purposes, there has never been legend or taboo attached to embroidery. The major distinction between weaving and embroidery is also manifest in the production process: embroidery is created on a piece of prepared cloth with stitches in different colors; the pattern of woven fabric takes shape as the fabric itself is being made.

Embroidered costumes are different from woven ones, for innovations are permitted in patterns and colors. However, their style is expected to conform to social norms. When wearing them, tribesmen still need to observe long-established dressing etiquette. As a result, embroidery has been increasingly accepted and thought of as precious giftware. However, when embroidered costumes can function as an important mark for the distinction between 'us' and 'them,' embroidered and woven costumes are still different for the Puyuma people. In addition to the aforementioned

⁵⁰ The PasaraaD family is the chiefly family in the north division. Demaluway was purportedly a member of Pataban men's house managed by the PasaraaD family.

⁵¹ Legend goes that Maydatar was the Puyuma community's first stronghold.

differences, embroidery has developed commercial value.

In recent years, indigenous peoples' traditional clothing has become very popular in the tourist market. Hand-embroidered costumes are expensive, and so tourists are provided with cheaper machine-made alternatives, which are mainly manufactured for members of performance troupes. Machine-embroidered vests are usually prepared for attending government officials on indigenous cultural occasions. However, tribesmen seldom buy and do not consider them traditional costumes.

Cultivation of staple crops: millet, upland rice vs. paddy rice

Paddy rice was introduced to the Piniyumayan people in the late 19th century and replaced millet and upland rice as the tribe's staple crop in the 1950s. It must be noted that in contrast to neighboring tribes' rejection (e.g. the Paiwan) or neglect (e.g. the Ami), the Puyuma community performs rites which are similar to those for millet when they sow and harvest paddy rice (Furuno 1975[1945]: 123, footnote 2). Some of the ideas and taboos surrounding millet and upland rice have been grafted onto paddy rice.⁵²

Despite the Puyuma community's accepting attitude toward paddy rice, distinction between it and the previous staple crops, millet and upland rice, remains clear in everyday life and festive rituals. For example, the place where the seeds of paddy rice are stored is referred to as *soko* (a Japanese borrowing, which means "warehouse") and the storage for millet seeds is called *alili*. Even if stored in the same barn, they must be kept on different sides. The author of this study was in a chat with some tribesmen. One of the tribesmen present said, "I heard that someone's millet had been harvested. He would have had to wait a few more days!" The author asked, "Who would do that?" A tribesman replied immediately, "That must have been a Han Chinese. A Puyuma would never do that. There are taboos about millet!" Besides, tribesmen often suggest that *bini*—the seed of millet—is very tricky and must be handled with extra care. It is unimaginable to the Puyuma people that millet could be traded like paddy rice. In the past newly-harvested millet must stay in the community until rites of millet harvest were completed. One's family had to perform barn rites before he was allowed to eat the millet grown by other families. However, these taboos and customs do not apply to paddy rice. Today the performance of barn rites in the ritual house is still restricted to millet (in July) and upland rice (in December).

However, when the legend is taken into account that millet and upland rice were

⁵² In the past, if any tribesman already began to harvest millet, the rite of lifting the mourning of the bereaved house performed by the shaman must wait until after the rites of millet harvest. However, paddy rice becomes a major crop so the custom is adapted. The timing of the lifting the mourning depends on whether rice has been harvested. Nevertheless, there are two crops of paddy rice a year. Shamans now use as a reference the dates of the rituals for the rite of officiating the new millet and monkey sacrifice.

both introduced to the tribe (Lin 1997; Mabuchi 1974: 406, footnote 73), discussion becomes more complicated. The example of millet vs. paddy rice demonstrates the complexity in the process of “the foreign” turning into “the autochthonous and in the incorporation mechanism.

Relationships among chiefly families

Natives vs. Newcomers

Each community of the Piniyumayan tribe has several chiefly families, which have their own names. Next to a chiefly family’s residence are a ritual house and a men’s house. A ritual house is where rites are performed; a men’s house has a name and is where the family’s leadership is exercised. In the Puyuma community, the name of the men’s house is substituted for the given names of its members in some situations. For example, a member of Pataban Men’s House is called ‘taban’, instead of his real name, by his parents-in-law.

Men’s houses also exist in other indigenous peoples, including the Ami, Tsou, Eastern Rukai and part of the Paiwan. However, only the Piniyumayan people have the boys’ congregational system.⁵³ Elevated boys’ houses are found in both the Puyuma and the KatipuL communities. In other communities boys live in the men’s house.

Distinction between natives (the autochthonous) and newcomers (the foreign) is visible among the Puyuma chiefly families. There are six of them in total; three in the north and the other three in the south. In each division, there is the largest chiefly family: PasarraD of the north and Raera of the south. Legend goes that the three families in the north were founded by settlers from the place of origin. It was the PasarraD family that first established a men’s house in the community (Sung 1997:13). The three chiefly families in the south were from foreign or unknown origins. These six families do not worship in the same direction when performing rites for millet harvests, nor do they worship towards the place of origin (See Table 1).

The north, natives from the place of origin, and the south, newcomers from foreign origins are two separate powers. The evidence of the two being in opposition to each other includes: (1) each has its own boys’ house; monkey sacrifice (*mangamangayaw*) is made separately to welcome the arrival of a new year; (2) each has its own guardian rock (*tirwazekaL*; *zekaL*, literally, ‘tribe’), which is a sacred relic believed to have protective powers over the tribe.⁵⁴ The community’s priest (*Tangkangkar*) must pay tribute to the guardian rock before performing *mangayaw*,

⁵³ In the past, boys joined the boys’ house at the age of 11 or 12 for 6 years of training to be qualified for a membership in the men’s house.

⁵⁴ Each of the other communities has only one guardian rock. The KatipuL community has only one boys’ house.

the headhunting rite, for adult men.

Table 1 Overview of the Puyuma Chiefly Families

Division	Chiefly family	Name of men's house	Officiating Direction	Boys' house	The supreme chiefly family	Community leader
North	PasaraaD	Pataban	Mt. Tu-luan	<i>Takuban i ami</i>	PasarraD	The PasarraD family was the political and religious leader. However, the Raera family replaced it politically and managed foreign relations on the community's behalf. The PasarraD family still retains its superior status at ceremonies.
	BaLangatu	Kinutul	Mt. Tu-luan			
	Sapayan	Balubalu	Orchid Is.			
South	Raera	Karunun	Orchid Is.	<i>Takuban i timul</i>	Raera	
	Arasis	Gamugamut	Green Is.			
	Lungadan	Kinaburaw	not clear			

When the men's houses and ritual houses of the other chiefly families were dissolved one after another in the early 20th century, the PasarraD and Raera families managed to keep their own and the two boys' houses respectively for the north and south divisions. These two boys' houses were rebuilt in 1929 separately at the northern and southern entrances to the community's new territory.⁵⁵ Their location was a major distinction from "the foreign authorities" at the center, including the police station symbolic of the colonial regime, the commissary, and the lab for infectious disease containment. Also located at the center was the residence of the community leader, who emerged to power during the Japanese colonial period. There was no ritual house in its vicinity.⁵⁶

The ritual house and the guardian rock remain to this day in both divisions. The rite for millet harvests is still held separately. Due to typhoon-caused damage and land disputes in the 1950s, the community now has one men's house and one boys' house at its center. However, ceremonial offerings respectively representing the north and the south have to be placed apart. When the same rite is performed twice in the house,

⁵⁵ Relocation was the result of incessant malaria epidemics and frequent conflicts with the Han-Chinese immigrants. After consulting the Puyuma elites, the Japanese colonial government decided to relocate the community to the current location.

⁵⁶ In the new territory, ordinary Puyuma do not live in segregation according to the division they belonged to. However, the distinction between the north and south still exists. For example, it can be observed in a shaman's initiation rite. (1) The bamboo stick used as a ritual instrument at the altar must be acquired depending on the location of the shaman's residence: bamboos north of the street for shamans living in the north and vice versa. (2) After the initiation rite, the novice shaman has to follow the master to the chiefly family's residence to perform a simulated curing ritual. Shamans living in the north are taken to the PasarraD family, and those living in the south to the Raera family.

the north precedes the south, which indicates the PasarraD's superior status as an autochthonous and native family at ceremonies.

How did the foreign newcomers—the south division—manage to advance to a status parallel to the north? Both literature and legend suggest that the Raera family rose to prominence with outsiders' support. However, closer investigation reveals that it was the result of the Piniyumayan tribe's socio-cultural mechanism at work: the establishment of a ritual house transformed the Raeras into a quasi-autochthonous chiefly family.

Powerful Raera and Sacred PasarraD

It is documented that the Dutch arrived in eastern Taiwan in the early 1640s to mine gold. They built good relations with the Puyuma people.⁵⁷ Both parties reaped benefits they had set out looking for: the Dutch built a bridgehead, and the Puyuma community extended its influence and outreach with the Dutch's backup. The Raera family's rise to power has been attributed to their close ties with the Dutch. When the Dutch arrived in Taitung, they were given a cold shoulder or even treated with hostility by the PasarraD's family. On the contrary, the Raera family welcomed them with open arms. In their eyes, the Raera family was the better partner (Sung 1998b: 173-180).

In addition to the external aid, the Raera's exalted status can also be ascribed to the legitimacy provided by the establishment of a ritual house and regular performance of festive rites. Legend goes that a Sapayan man from a chiefly family in the north division was married to a Raera woman. His dowry included property and hunting grounds and created prosperity for the Raera family.⁵⁸ Moreover, he helped them set up a ritual house (Chen 1998:215), which enabled the once-foreign Raera family to be incorporated as the autochthonous and to sustain or expand its influence.

According to the genealogy compiled by a Puyuma tribesman in 1970 and previous research (Utsurikawa et al. 1935), the ritual house was built two generations after the Dutch received hospitable treatment from the Raera family. In the 18th century, the Raera family's power was boosted again for repeatedly collaborating with the Ching government in the crackdown on seditionists. The leader of the Raera family was summoned and rewarded by the emperor, from which the legend of "The Puyuma King" is derived. In subsequent political developments, the Raera family continued to play an instrumental role. For example, its leader was informed by the

⁵⁷ The Dutch colonialists established Landdag in Taiwan. It was an annual meeting convened to administer the aboriginal villages. This meeting took place at four venues around the island. In the east, it was held in the Puyuma community.

⁵⁸ The chiefly family thus changed its name from Alialip to Raera (Sung 1998b: 99-106); *muraera* means "vast".

Ching government before it implemented the policy of “opening mountains and pacifying the aborigines” in 1875. Earlier on, the Han-Chinese people had been prohibited from entering eastern Taiwan for a long time. Besides, the Puyuma’s support was critical for the Japanese army’s successful landing on the east coast in 1896. For outsiders, the Raeras became the sole chiefly family of the Puyuma community.

Albeit the balance of power tipped in their favor, the Raera family was unable to surpass the native PasarraD family from the place of origin in every aspect. Between 1908 and 1909, the Japanese colonial government revoked these two chiefly families’ right to demand tribute from neighboring indigenous peoples, which indicated that the PasarraD family had retained a superior status and power until then. The ritual house which they keep watch over is still considered *rami*, the root, of the Puyuma community (including both divisions here). Their superiority to the other communities was apparent in the rites performed for the sowing, harvesting and warehousing of millet in the mid 20th century when millet was the staple crop (Wei et al. 1954). The order of performing rites placed the PasarraD family first, followed by the Raera family and then the rest, which once again proves that the PasarraD family held an irreplaceable place in the community. It is also evident that the ritual house reinforces the hierarchy in the Puyuma community.⁵⁹

Indigenizing “the foreign” as “the autochthonous” and distinction in between

The relative status of the PasarraD and the Raera families illustrates the distinction and hierarchical relations between the north and south divisions, which continued to evolve along with the Puyuma community’s development and influx of Han-Chinese people into the region. In this context, the Raera-led south division distinguishes itself from the PasarraD-led northern counterpart, but on the other hand, it conjoins the north to distinguish the Puyuma community as a whole from the new arrivals. Owing to such incorporated distinction, the Raera family, the south division’s proxy, plays the role of a mediator.

“Incorporated distinction” is often seen in annual rites. For example, members of the boys’ house of each division wrestle with the other division’s players. The wrestling match has a symbolic meaning: it is intended to ensure that the community enjoys a good harvest of millet next year (Sung 1997: 30). Before the relocation and in the early years after it, the boys’ house of each division performed rites on its own. Members of the north visited households in the north with the first leg of the visit at the house of origin of the PasarraD; by contrast, in the south, the first stop they made

⁵⁹ In the KatipuL and Kasavakan communities where the ritual house still exists, millet-related rites are also performed first by the chiefly family and then ordinary households.

was at the house of origin of the Raera. In the late 1950s, the men's houses of the two divisions were merged and so were the boys' houses. Members of the boys' house visit households along the same route. They first stop by at the aforementioned PasarraD house, then move on to the Raera's house and finish the rest. Even though the north and the south visit households as one group, they still maintain the distinction. In addition, monkey sacrifices are held alternately in the north and south or west (both south and west are considered part of the south division).

Incorporated distinction can be seen in the purging rite performed before the arrival of a new year. It is observed by both divisions respectively in the ritual houses of the PasarraD family and the Raera family. In the rite, betel nuts are the deceased of the year, and the number of betel nuts is the same in both houses. However, only the Puyuma people are counted, and the deaths of Han or other ethnicities in the community are not included. However, the rite symbolic of the Puyuma community's (both divisions) living space is performed only in the PasarraD family's ritual house. In other words, the PasarraD family represents the entire Puyuma community, and the distinction between the divisions still exists. Karunun is the name of the largest men's house in the south division, but it is the designated title for male outsiders.

Incorporated distinction is reflected in the structure of the boys' house and legend about its establishment. The trainings at the boys' house are essential experiences in a Piniyumayan man's life course and what makes this tribal society and culture unique.

Outsiders and establishment of the boys' house

The years in a boys' house form an important stage in the passage to adulthood for a Piniyumayan man. The training provided in the house not only emboldens its young members but most of all educates them to be respectful and obedient. A tribesman's comment on a youth's demeanour is usually preceded by a question: "Who was the young man's senior age set back in the boys' house?" No question is raised about his parental upbringing. Only the senior age set can give orders to the boy members, not any member from the men's house, nor can the elderly in the tribe.

In the Puyuma community, only senior family members (such as parents) or tribesmen of an older age can call a person his name in public. One must address his son-, daughter- or siblings-in-law by proper appellations even if they live under the same roof. Besides, the Puyuma adopts tecknomy to address married tribesmen.⁶⁰

After joining the boys' house, a boy is given a new name by his senior age set

⁶⁰ A married-in man is referred to as the name of the men's house his father-in-law belongs to. With the tecknomy system, the ethnic background of a married-in outsider will become tenuously through time.

based on his manner, personality traits or talent (e.g. a fast runner). This new name is a replacement of his original one until he is upgraded to the men's house. In the past, during the 6 years of training, the boys slept at home for half a year and in the house for the other half. In contrast, members of the men's house are not given a new name and have to live in the house until they get married. Besides, the word '*mangamangayaw*,' a monkey sacrifice held by members of the boys' house, is derived from "*mangayaw*," a headhunting rite performed by members of the men's house.⁶¹ The above seems to indicate that adolescence is a man's transitional phase from home to public domain. It is also a preparatory period before he proceeds to the men's house. However, as suggested by legend, this process is anything but natural and has inherent socio-cultural complexity. It is believed that the first boys' house was established because of a murder of an outsider. The victim was the murderer's "immediate family". The following is part of the legend about the establishment of the boys' house (Lin and Chen 1994: 13-23; Ogawa and Asai 1935, Sung 1998: 11-18, 92-96, 119-124, 129-134, 198):

Once upon a time, there were two brothers. Their mother was a Puyuma and their father was a KatipuL chief. One day, they and their younger sister went to visit their grandmother, but the sister got lost on the way back. The brothers returned without her and were questioned by the father about her whereabouts. They left again to look for the sister but only found the clothes she wore that day and winding traces left behind by a giant snake. They hunted it down and chopped it into pieces. Her sister's bracelet dropped out of its stomach. Then they buried the snake, and it was so venomous that the nearby vegetations all died. The tribesmen worried about their own safety so the brothers were asked to stay in the wild. An elder advised them to build an elevated shelter for themselves, which was the prototype of the boys' house. When the construction was nearly completed, the brothers let the word out to the KatipuL community and their own that "the house will be completed soon and no one should come close." Their father, the KatipuL chief, decided to go and check it out. The brothers were very upset about his intrusion. The older brother could not bring himself to kill the father, but the younger one shot him with an arrow. The father's blood was used as an offering and spread on the house. The younger brother was crippled in one leg by heaven for the horrendous crime...

An elder in the community advised the brothers to seek a bird divination. The bird went, "kukuT-kukuT, -ura-ura, -keryu -keryu, publiaw-publiaw", which means "strap, deer, ramie, offering". Therefore, they captured a deer, strapped it up with ramie ropes and used it as an offering to gods. From then on, rites are performed in the ritual house to purge tribesmen of sins and to express gratefulness to gods.

This story about the two brothers also mentions why their mother was married to a KatipuL chief, the ritual was established, and the deer sacrifice (*publiaw*) was held. It

⁶¹ Monkeys are considered the animal most akin to human. In the past, when a member of the boys' house got into a fight with a member of the men's house, the adult must hunt a human head to prove his valor if the boy brought a monkey's carcass to him as a provocative gesture.

provides explanations for some of the Piniyumayan tribe's customs and norms, such as competition out of jealousy, importance of keeping one's word and young people appearing tougher than seniors. However, there is very little mention of how an 'outsider' as an incorporated distinction assumed the role of a mediator.⁶² In other words, the father in the tale was an outsider and more importantly he was another community's chief. Murder of the father implies that the boys' house and its seniority-based age organization serve as a social system which transcends kinship and becomes an alternative source of power besides chiefly families (Chen 1999a).⁶³

The aforementioned phenomenon is evidenced by two important titles in the boys' house—*tinumaiDang* and *tinuayawan*. The root of the former, *maiDang*, means 'senior, elderly, ancestor' and that of the latter, *ayawan*, means 'chief, leader'. In other words, *tinumaiDang* is the oldest member in the senior age set, and *tinuayawan* is descended from a chiefly family—the PasarraD in the north and the Raera in the south. The beds in the house are arranged counterclockwise in the order of the members' age sets: *tinumaiDang* is the first, followed by *tinuayawan*, and the rest goes from senior to junior. These two terms can be applied to the relationship between the PasarraD and the Raera families. The PasarraD family is *tinumaiDang*, the senior, and the younger Raera family is *tinuayawan*, the chief.

Summary

Based on all the above, in the case study of the Puyuma community, examples of weaving vs. embroidery, millet vs. rice, relationships and balance of power among chiefly families and legend about the establishment of the boys' house are vivid depictions of the influences of the foreign (persons or materials) on the community and the complicated relationship between 'the autochthonous' and 'the foreign'. These outsiders include foreign authorities (e.g. the Dutch and the Ching government) and husbands of marriage between chiefly families (e.g. the Sapayan man married into the Raera family). Furthermore, inter-community marriage could lead to power shift between two communities. For example, legend goes that the priest and also the heir of the KatipuL community's supreme chiefly family, the Mavaliw, was married into

⁶² Cauquelin is one of the few scholars who have studied the relation of an age organization to other social organizations. She believes that the murdered father story implies a kind of 'double separation': (1) The relationship between the boys and the natal family—they joined their grandmother after their mother passed away, but they had to live outside the village because of their sister's death. (2) The relationship between the chief father and the two brothers—the enemy's head in the headhunting rite was a replacement for the chief's (the father's) death; a son and his father do not belong to the same men's house. An elderly tribesman presides over a man's adult rite and plays the role of a godfather (1995: 165ff). However, it must be noted that the body of a family's first newborn is wrapped around in the waistcloth worn by its father for his adult rite (Wei et al. 1954: 21), which means continuity of the family line.

⁶³ The priest responsible for the rites in the ritual house is also a house member, but does not necessarily belong to the chiefly family.

the Puyuma community. Thanks to the marriage, the balance of power tipped in favor of the Puyuma community. It began to receive tribute from the KatipuL community (Utsurikawa et al. 1935; Tseng 1998:142-245). Even to this day, on the last day of the rite for the harvest of millet, the KatipuL community still place offerings and rice cake in the direction of the Puyuma community as a tribute to the priest.

‘The foreign’ (persons or materials) in the aforementioned examples differ in significance. Take embroidery for example. The patterns and styles of embroidery are approved of by the community, and they play the role of a mediator in social relations. After the recontextualization process, embroidered costumes have become one of the community’s distinctions to set it apart from other communities, tribes or outsiders. However, unlike the other examples, embroidery and weaving did not merge. Rites similar to those for millet are now performed for the sowing and harvesting of paddy rice. Nevertheless, even after being incorporated as ‘the autochthonous’, ‘the foreign’ might not be a thorough replacement. Paddy rice, today’s staple crop, still cannot maintain relationships between households as millet did in the past. On the contrary, each household is more independent than ever (Chen 1999b). As for the chiefly families, they have been united as one ‘Puyuma tribe’ in distinction from the area’s Han Chinese and the outside world.

Given that millet and upland rice are also introduced crops, it will probably take paddy rice and embroidery some more time to be incorporated as ‘the autochthonous.’ Indeed, there are different ways ‘the foreign’ can be incorporated as ‘the autochthonous’ and still be distinguished from it. This implies that environmental factors are different, and there are multiple dimensions to incorporation and distinction. Perhaps it will shed more light to look at how the Puyuma community defines a member.

The Han Chinese began to move into the region in the 1950s and forms the majority group now. Besides, 20% of the indigenous households in the area have been converted to Christianity. Before these overwhelming changes took place, the ritual house had been a center of religious activities, and a community and its members had been defined by the rites they performed. Under such circumstance, outsiders have been incorporated for involvement in organizations. As people of different ethnicity continue to migrate in and local indigenous people move out of the area, the remaining tribesmen increasingly identify with the ‘tribe’ and distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups. When a man marries a local woman and actively participates in the tribe’s public affairs or interacts with locals, he is deemed a ‘tribal member’ as well. In the year he passes away, tribesmen perform rites for him and other deceased tribesmen in the ritual house

Shaman apprenticeship is another example of incorporating an outsider into the

community. There are two prerequisites to become a shaman. One has to be chosen by one's ancestor, who was a shaman during her lifetime, and one must undertake an apprenticeship. However, apprenticeship can be undertaken in other communities. In their association, the status of shamans is determined by seniority in the trade—years of practice since her initiation rite rather whom they learned the skills from.⁶⁴ Such organization is unseen in other communities. Usually, it is a shaman master leading his disciples. Shamans in the same community do not organize themselves into a group.

Part Two: Cases from other communities

In summary, the Puyuma community's feature is that of placing itself at the core and incorporating outsiders but maintaining the distinction in between, which has given rise to a dual organization. It may further the understanding of the cultural mechanism through which the Piniyumayan ethnicity has been built to look at how other communities incorporate outsiders.

The Case of KatipuL Community: Parallelism

As an instance in the discussion, the KatipuL community comprises three major chiefly families. The Mavaliw is from the place of origin and the first one that arrived. The second is the Pakaruku with relations to the Rukai tribe. The last one is the Ruvaniaw, originating from the Paiwan tribe. Mavaliw is considered KatipuL's supreme chiefly family and serves as the head chief of the community. The Mavaliw had been 'the autochthonous' and the Pakaruku 'the foreign.' Later when the Ruvaniaw arrived, it perceived itself as the foreigner in the community and kept a distance from the other two families (Tseng 1998: 149-150). Today, each of the three families has its own ritual house, but together they appear as one 'KatipuL tribe' in distinction from outsiders, which is evidenced by the following example.

According to research done during the Japanese colonial period (Utsurikawa et al. 1935), there was one independent men's house apart from the men's and ritual houses of the aforementioned three chiefly families. This men's house did not belong to any chiefly family and had no ritual house next to it. It was built to provide accommodation for lodgers who found the other three too far away. Beginning in the early 1990s when annual rites were resumed one after another in KatipuL, the community not only had three priests from the three chiefly families but also invited a Han-Chinese person who was committed to the community's wellbeing to preside

⁶⁴ There are some Puyuma shamans who have been converted to Christianity. However, it is worth mentioning that these shamans did not undertake their apprenticeships with Puyuma shaman masters.

over Han Chinese's initiation rites as a priest (*rahan*). These youth participants came to visit and showed great interest in the community. The KatipuL suggested that there has always been a men's house reserved for visitors.

In another regard, fellow tribesmen of differently families bond with each other by participating in the rites at the same ritual house. Other than the kind of ritual house built by aforementioned major chiefly families or ordinary families, there is a kind of small ritual houses. It is built for the sick, whose illness was diagnosed for their ignorance of the prayer that they should have made. However, the sick tribesmen's full siblings might not go to this kind of ritual house or if they do, they may go to a different one. Takoshima (2003) states that involvement in the same ritual house due to illness helps to increase tribesmen's limited and declining genealogical knowledge. Indeed, participation in the rites at this kind of ritual house brings the community's tribesmen of different origins closer together.⁶⁵ In a word, between the natives (the autochthonous) and newcomers (the foreign) in the KatipuL community is *juxtaposed distinction*, which is different from *incorporated distinction* in the Puyuma community.

The Case of Kasavakan Community: Syncretism

The Kasavakan community's ethnic roots are very close to the KatipuL's. However, they regard outsiders differently, especially the Han Chinese. The Kasavakan is the only Piniyumayan community that does not have a Christian church, and shows many signs of sinicization. For example, even if they pay homage to ancestors in the place of origin every year as the KatipuL, for many years they go on the 3rd of the 3rd lunar month—the same day as Han people. Offerings include not only betel nuts and foods commonly seen in indigenous rites but also chicken, fish and pork. They also burn incense and paper money.⁶⁶ The Han Chinese temple in the community was built jointly by local Han Chinese and tribesmen. An 'aboriginal temple' was built next to the current chief's house in 1992. Tribesmen come to worship in mid-July every year. Inside the 'temple' are three sculptures. "In the middle is the Ancestor, bearded and seated with folded arms. On the left is the Shaman in a standing position with a wreath on her head. On the right is the Warrior, also in a standing position holding a spear in his left hand and carrying a knife on the right of his waist. Besides, there are 7 lotus-shaped lamps on the offering table, and underneath is a tourmaline stone" (Chao 1996: 72-73).

Examples of 'syncretism' with the Han Chinese can be found in shaman practice

⁶⁵ Chiao (1961: 21) records that a Likavung tribesman goes to three ritual houses: his parents', paternal grandmother's (Paiwan) and a maternal grandfather's (Rukai).

⁶⁶ In contrast, tribesmen in KatipuL pay homage to ancestors in the place of origin in early April. Their offerings do not include fish, pork or chicken but only betel nuts and liquor.

as well. In contrast with other communities, Kasavakan shamans not only worship Han Chinese deities but also assume the role of a Han Chinese spirit medium (Takoshima 2003; Yang 2003). These phenomena indicate that the composition of today's Kasavakan community is reflected in these supposedly-"autochthonous" people or customs.

The Case of Ulivulivuk Community: Integration?

Mabuchi (1976: 99-102) classifies memberships of the ritual house among the Piniyumayan people into two types. One is social-familial type: membership is determined by parents' residence. The Puyuma community is an example. The other is shamanistic-diagnostic type: members make a choice to join a ritual house on a shaman's or bamboo diviner's advice. The example in Mabuchi's research is the Ulivulivuk. In fact, shamanistic-diagnostic type is also seen in the KatipuL, Kasavakan and Likavung communities.

It must be noted that the Ulivulivuk community is organized more loosely and does not have a hierarchy as rigorous as the Puyuma and KatipuL communities. The only evidence that the Ulivulivuk community is related to the other Piniyumayan communities is a legend that their ancestors were born of rocks. Besides, this community is diversified and heterogeneous (Huang 2001). Utsurikawa et al. (1935) note that formerly an Ami ritual house in Ulivulivuk performed rites in the direction towards the place of origin while other ritual houses did so in other directions. When a child was ill and no other ritual house but the Amis' cured him, he would be considered of Ami descent. House (*rumaH*) can be an important mechanism through which the Ulivulivuk community integrates the autochthonous and the foreign (Huang 2001), which might indicate how this community has been formed.

Concluding Remarks

The Piniyumayan has a diversified and complicated composition. Each of its communities is different in terms of relationships between the autochthonous and the foreign.⁶⁷ However, the Puyuma community is particularly unique for having developed a dualist structure, possessing north and south divisions. Several important issues may arise if a comparison is drawn between the Puyuma and other communities:

(1) *Given the legend that other indigenous peoples, such as the Paiwan, Ami and even the Rukai, were involved in the origin of the Piniyumayan people, how did its ethnic*

⁶⁷ Western religious sects distinguish groups in the Pinaski community: Catholics are mostly Puyuma-related, whereas most 'ka-Pinaski' (Pinaski natives) are Presbyterians.

identity come into being?

As mentioned in the above, the ritual house and men's house of a chiefly family are an important organizing mechanism. A larger organization, the community, is then built upon the relationships among chiefly families. Besides, ritual houses established or existing for illness-curing purposes are an additional bonding occasion where tribesmen are brought to the same place by a shamanistic diagnosis. Legend has it that the Piniyumayan people are descended from either bamboos or rocks. There is no higher organization above either line of lineage. Even the oral accounts about the place of origin also suggest that the Piniyumayan people share ancestry with other peoples. Does this imply that the incorporated distinction seen in a community is a depiction of inter-ethnic interaction in miniature?

(2) If all the aforementioned communities comprise people of diverse origins, why is the Puyuma the only one that has developed a dual organization?

Some scholars suggest that a dual organization is not in a static equilibrium, but instead related to the articulations between the natives and the external forces throughout history (Gelles 1995). Such dual organization even 'serve as channels for the struggle for dominance between contending groups, or the imposition of domination by one group upon another' or as Claude Lévi-Strauss believed, "dualistic structures, whether social or purely symbolic, must be understood as devices for the imposition of hierarchy" (Turner 1991:217; see also Turner 1984). In this regard, the features of 'Powerful Raera and Sacred PasarraD' demonstrate the nature of the Puyuma community's composition. They also exemplify the complicated process of the natives' articulation with powerful outsiders. Besides, theories regarding how an external power is incorporated to the internal hierarchical order are embodied by the evolution of the relationships among chiefly families—from distinction between 'natives' and 'newcomers' to articulation and distinction between 'the autochthonous' and 'the foreign'. Perhaps, more profound analyses will be generated if more ethnographic data—especially on other communities apart from KatipuL and Puyuma—are collected.

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Adopting children and becoming Tahitian?

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Adoption is commonly observed in Oceania. This issue drew the attention of anthropologists working on Pacific islands in the 1960s and 1970s (Treide 2004). Two edited volumes resulted from this period (Carroll 1970; Brady 1976). Few articles of these two volumes examined adoption practices involving residents of different islands. Lieber (1990) in a later work on cultural identity deals with adoption between Kapinga and Pohnpeians. To what extent can adoption incorporate outsiders and transform them? How different are the outsiders? There is a population of Chinese immigrants and their descendents in French Polynesia. How are they engaged in adoption practices? What do the practices mean to them? How have the practices and their meanings changed? In this paper, I argue that in addition to an emphasis on having sons to continue patrilineal lines, Chinese male household heads are likely to be involved with circulation of children if they are married to Tahitian women. Tahitian practices of *faa'amu* (to feed) often take place between grandparents and grandchildren. Tahitian grandparents take in grandchildren including ones by Chinese parents. Since the 1990s, intensifying government regulations concerning parental authority have made *faa'amu* problematic and largely replaced by legal adoption.

The Chinese in Tahiti

In the mid-1860s, a Scottish planter speculated the shortage of cotton supply due to American Civil War, recruited nearly 1,000 Chinese contract laborers from Hong Kong and Canton to work in a short-lived cotton plantation on Atima'ono, today a golf course at the far end of Tahiti. The plantation went bankrupted in ten years, and Chinese laborers came and went. Every year, hundreds of Chinese came to try their luck, and hundreds left. Sacrifices offered, myths created, land given and purchased, club houses built, schools formed and finally a stable growing Chinese community came into being in the 1920s. Chinese women reunited with their husbands; sons came to take over from their immigrant fathers; children by Tahitian mistresses settled in Chinese schools. Chinese with and without capital weaved into a web collecting mothers-of-pearls, vanilla beans, and copra, and distributing kerosene oil, food, clothing etc. They ran grocery stores on small islands with goods provided by import/export firms on Papeete, and they paid for goods after vanilla harvest. This

distributive network also served as a network of social services. Wholesale businesses, club houses and schools were all clustered around a few blocks of the city center of Papeete. The Chinese were mainly retailers and farmers together with a small number of import/export entrepreneurs. Their lives were turned upside down since 1949. They had to face the possibility of permanently settling down in Tahiti. Anxiety over their foreigner status intensified and local-born Chinese began to campaign for French citizenship by naturalization in the early 1960s. Chinese social life faded and has been transformed into city affairs and tourist attraction since the 1980s. Descendants of Chinese immigrants constituted around 4.5% of the population of French Polynesia in the mid-1990s. Annual Chinese New Year Celebrations, Lantern Day Parades, and a dazzling Kanti Temple overshadow the differential conditions of existence of this population (Tung 2000, 2002).

From my previous studies of a sample of Chinese (*1) household heads, I have gathered 70 cases of adoptions (fig. 1). The following is a preliminary analysis of adoption practices relating to sampled Chinese households (fig. 2; fig. 3).

Fig. 1 : ethnic background of household heads engaged in adoption

Between Chinese families	23
Between Chinese and Tahitian families	36
Between Tahitian families	10
other	1
total	70

Fig. 2 : motivation for adoptions between Chinese families

No children or no sons	15
Providing better opportunities for children	6
other	1
total	22 *

*discrepancy due to insufficient data

Fig. 3 : motivation for adoptions between Chinese and Tahitian families

No children or no sons	8
No Chinese children	2
Acquiring French citizenship	5
Three children required to retire early	2
Obliged to Tahitian relations	7
Children brought by Tahitian spouses	2
Helping poor or motherless Tahitian relatives	3

Required by Tahitian in-laws	2	
total		24 *

* discrepancy due to insufficient data

Continuous lines from the ancestors

Early Chinese immigrants embarked Tahiti sponsored by their relatives of the same lineage or friends from the same village. Other than two exceptions, there are no formal clan or lineage organizations in Tahiti. The unique connection of same surname-sakes is reinforced bi-annually at kasan. (memorial at gravesite). There are announcements on newspapers concerning the time and place of gravesite memorial, and following reunion. Announcements detail all known spellings of their original Chinese surname to effectively pass on the information to younger, Chinese-illiterate generation. For couples without sons, it is a serious threat of losing their future status as ancestors and breaking lineal links with their ancestors. There are cases of brothers giving their sons to sonless brothers. One childless couple adopted a girl and later adopted the son of their daughter to resume the continuity of their line with the daughter serving as a medium. The demand of lineal continuity is so severe that some go after boys of Tahitian/Chinese parentage or of purely Tahitian parents. Nora's father migrated to Tahiti and married a local-born Chinese woman to have two daughters Nora and her younger sister. Nora's father wanted to have a son and adopted a boy. Mother's friend helped with this arrangement. She told them the boy's father was a Chinese. Father registered himself as the birth father and never told the boy about his adoption. Nora's parents later arranged for another adoption with an expecting Tahitian mother that they would take her child if it were a boy. They took the boy in when he was two months old. This son was told about his adoption and kept contacts with his biological family. Nora's parents tried to adopt a child of Chinese parents if possible. They pretended the adoptive child to be their biological child by registering it as its birth father and keeping the child from knowing his background. Though Nora's mother was born and grew up in Tahiti, she insisted on living with a resentful son instead of hospitable daughters. She wanted to leave for her burial from her son's living room than elsewhere. Girls do not pass on family names; thus, they are more available for adoption.

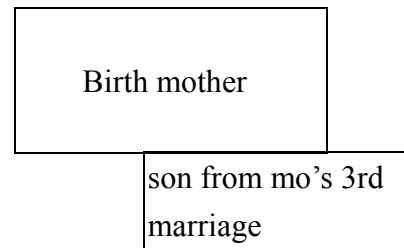
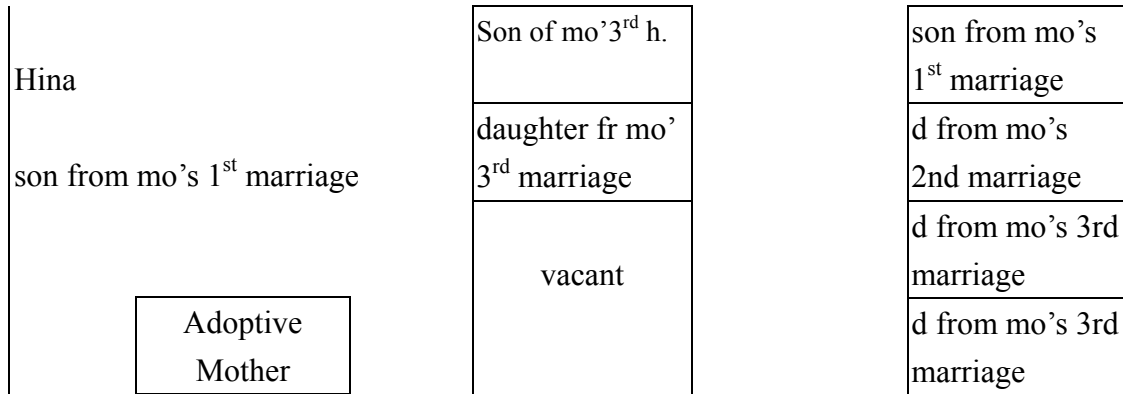
Most of the Chinese children giving up for adoption were girls. While early immigrants took adoptive sons back to China, they left their birth daughters in Tahiti. They were more concerned with socially constructed lineality than their blood. Chinese boys were harder to locate. Boys came from brothers or good friends. Girls were distributed more widely. Children adopted by Tahitian families were likely to be girls. Tahitian families took in small children to ta'uturu(help) the parents in need.

Georgina's mother was given to a Tahitian woman when her parents returned to China. They considered her too tender to travel and didn't worth the trouble. She grew up with her Tahitian mother and a *faa'amu*ed brother. They lived off the land, collecting coconuts to sell like other Tahitian. In families with twelve or thirteen children, the youngest daughters were likely to be given away.

Sharing children within one belly

Faa'amu is common in French Polynesia (Brooks 1976; Hooper 1970; Ottino 1970). Most *faa'amu* take place within the *opu* (belly) *feti'I* (close relations). *Opu feti'i* consists of parents and their sibs and ones own set of siblings. They live on ancestral land. Children adopted know both sets of parents, and come and go between birth parents and parents *faa'amu*. Babies after reaching two months may be given for *faa'mu*. Young parents usually settle down after they have one or two children. Grandparents care for children to allow their own children a prolonged period of *ta'ure' are'a* (pleasure) (Hooper 1970; Levy 1970; Ottino 1970; Brooks 1976). Also, grandparents are considered more capable of caring for small children and passing along traditional skills to young children (Langevin 1984). Grandparents especially expect to *faa'amu* their first grand child and sometimes they ask directly to adopt a grand child. It is hard to refuse a grandparent's request for a child. Parents' sibs and one' own sibs also often ask for children. Hina is a good example. Hina's mother ventured to France to look for Hina's father and left her and an older brother of a different father with her own adoptive mother. Hina and her brother were actually cared for by the daughter-in-law of her mother's adoptive mother. Her husband died early and they were childless. They call her Mama and their birth mother *mami*. Grandmother passed away before mother returned to Tahiti, and they were entirely under the care of *mama*. After mother returned, they moved in with mother's new family of five more children. There was tension between two mothers. Hina and her brother remain close to *mama* till today. Hina's older brother takes care of her and she visits her twice a week. They all live on the same piece of land inherited from mother's adoptive mother(*map*). Mother inherited part of the land and her sister-in-law the other half. Hina and her older brother were legally adopted recently and each received a parcel of her land. Mother gives each child a lot and a house on her inherited share of the ancestral land. Hina at her early 50s, with a son and a daughter, adopted a cousin's baby. She wanted to extend her experience of being loved by two families to a child in need.

map: Residential pattern of Hina's birth and adoptive families



Hinano, born in 1980, was the eldest of seven children. Her maternal grandmother *faa'amued* her since she was two. Though parents were stable and father was working at Moruroa could afford raising her, it is considered obligatory to give the first child to grandparents. Hinano lived with her maternal grandparents, 200m apart from her parents' house. She spent mornings with grandparents and played with her sibs in the afternoon at her parents' house. She had threatened grandparents to leave if her certain demands were not met. Hinano returned to her parents at 16 when she followed a religious denomination different from her grandparents'. In Hina's case, her grandmother and aunt raised her when her mother was away. It is very common to *faa'amu* children when birth parents are not able to feed their own children. Usually when birth mother died leaving small children, *opu feti'i* come in to *ta'uturu* (help) by taking small children in.

Here (love) is the word Tahitians evoke when they explain why they give children away. They give children out of love for childless couples. A woman proudly said that she has given six of her eight children to families who wanted them. Sharing children is a gesture of love. It is also a gesture of love for children who need it. Childless couples share their love with children in need of love will later be rewarded with their own children.

Adoption in Tahitian context

The Chinese had been taking in Tahitian children since their immigration days, but their reasons for adoption had changed. Early Chinese used to adopt boys to carry on their name. Childless or sonless wife sometimes raised boys born to her husband by his Tahitian mistress. Tahitian children flow from one household to another related household with containable tension. This is supported by the idea of *opu feti'i*, people who came from one belly and sustained by living on the ancestral land. The expectation of grandparents to raise grandchildren and the exchange of children within sibs incorporate Chinese parents when they are married into Tahitian families. In Tahitian-Chinese unions, they often adopt children as to help out (*ta'uturu*) siblings or cousins with difficulties. Marco Tevane, once the Minister of Culture was *faa'amued* by his mother's cousin. She was married to a Chinese man. Tevane's father died early, then his mother passed away when he was two or three. He became the first child of this Chinese/Tahitian couple who later had five children of their own. Tevane was considered an heir and received a parcel of land of equal value. Assam's wife was from Rai'atea. They had three daughters and two sons of their own at age 18, 16, 15, 12, and 8 then. They took in the son of wife's younger sister because its mother had no means to raise him. This boy was eight years younger than their youngest child.

Tatiana at her late 20s is an example telling how insignificant lineality has become concerning adoption. Tatiana's maternal grandmother was married to a Chinese man. They didn't have own children and together raised Tatiana's mother. She later had Tatiana and gave her to them for adoption. Tatiana was married to the grandson of this Chinese father's older sister. Tatiana was close to her father. He took her two children to attend Sunday school at a Chinese mainly church where Tatiana used to go. This Chinese man married to a Tahitian woman and raised her daughter. He later acted as a typical Tahitian grandparent to take in his first grand child and raised her as his own. Adoption served as a mechanism that could generate further relationships. Families already became related through giving and taking of children might strengthen their connection by arranging for more adoptions. Nora's youngest brother was *faa'amued* since he was two-month old. His older sister offered the son of her daughter to Nora's mother's sister for adoption. The son of Nora's aunt was considering of taking in the child.

New relations generated by adoption

Traditional Tahitian *faa'amui*, children know their birth parents, stay with parents *faa'amui* and visit natal families who usually live on the same neighborhood. Adopted children are supposed to maintain contact with both sets of parents. Children threat to move back to birth parents and sometimes they do. This contributes to the confusion between adoption and fosterage. Maeva, born in 1965, is entangled in a series of adoptions. She adopted a boy; she herself was adopted; some of her siblings were given up for adoption. She has maintained relationships with all of them, but of different nature.

- (1) Maeva was born of a Tuamotu mother and a Chinese father. She was the youngest of thirteen children. Her mother died when she was three months old. Father asked both Chinese and Tuamotuan relatives to help raise the two youngest children with no success until a brother of mother's volunteered. Adoptive parents had three grown-up children. One son acted like a father, paid for expenses after adoptive father passed away when Maeva was ten, and continued until his own death when she was eighteen. Maeva considered herself having two fathers, one she called Papa, and the other Papi. Maeva then started working and provided for the three children left by Papi. One daughter had a son when she was sixteen without a job. Maeva adopted this boy, great grandson of her adoptive mother. Her sister by adoption stayed with her when she visited Tahiti from Tuamotu and Maeva told her adopted son about adoption when he reached ten. Mother adopted a great granddaughter by Papi's another daughter. She asked Maeva to take in

this girl when she was dying. In 2005, Maeva was taking care of four children, aged 18, 15, 7, and 5 months.

- (2) Papi's wife left after Papi passed away. She later offered to take care of Maeva's adoptive son, ie. her grandson, and also Maeva's other two children. Maeva brought food for children and occasional gifts to her. They celebrate important days Christmas and New Year together.
- (3) Maeva's parents used to live in Tautira, a rural village in Tahiti. Their friends were mainly Tahitian-Chinese couples like themselves. They gave their second son to mother's childless uncle, but he returned home after his adoptive father died and stepfather was abusive. Another childless couple asked mother for a child every time when she became pregnant, mother finally gave them a daughter. The Chinese parent preferred to cut ties with birth parents, while the Tahitian mother told Maeva's sister to visit her birth parents.
 - i. Maeva's eldest sister, about twenty years older, looked after her at a distance when she was a small child. She requested Maeva to be baptized Catholic as their mother wished, and she became her god mother. As a god mother, she visited Maeva at Christmas, New Year and birthdays at home and sometimes took her out for a day. Maeva didn't know their relations until she was eight. Adoptive mother was reluctant to reveal.
 - ii. Maeva's siblings knew about her, they accidentally ran into each other, and developed close and regular contact. A sister living in Hawaii, sent her son to live with Maeva for a year when the son was eleven. This son returned to work in Tahiti as a journalist later and came to Maeva for meals and laundry. He bought food or contributed financially to *ta'uturu*. Brothers living in Tuamotu and Raiatea stayed with Maeva when they came to Tahiti. The son of the brother on Raiatea came to her place for meals when he went to a local university in Tahiti. He helped with maintenance works. Maeva also received her older brother visiting from France. He stayed with one of their father's brothers for a week, a different uncle for another week, and three weeks with Maeva. Maeva sometimes shopped for a sister living in a rural village. They had a feast of *maa* Tahiti (Tahitian food cooked in earth oven) at father's brother's place on New Year of 2005. To Maeva, her relationships to them were mutual, and balanced. She threw out an older brother who didn't properly reciprocate her

hospitality.

- (4) Maeva was close to her Maman *faa'amu*. When she was a small child, she was her mother's helper. Mother was hard working. Maeva helped when mother was preparing coconut milk (*mitihue*), or washing clothes, while her two birth daughters watched television. Maeva knew her mother better and respected her more than her birth daughters. For example, mother didn't like people come into her room while she was away, Maeva kept her children out of mother's room, and her sister let her children jump on mother's bed. Mother lived with Maeva when she was in Tahiti, and she provided her food and clothing. She sent to Tuamotu whatever mother requested. Maeva built a house for mother on Tuamotu. She alone paid for mother's body to be transported from Tahiti to Tuamotu for burial. Mother filed for legal adoption so Maeva could succeed to her land on Tuamotu. To Maeva this legal action was justified. Her mother's land was part of a reciprocal exchange for her care of her mother at old age by sending her food and money, however, her mother's brother disapproved.

The emerging ideal of nuclear family

The Chinese had ideas of families quite different from the Tahitians'. Although immigrants came to Tahiti relying on lineage as well as village networks, they gradually shifted to the ideal of nuclear families. Each nuclear family worked to assure its connection with its ancestors singularly rather than brothers as a set. There were four Ching brothers. A brother promised to give his childless brother his first child, but he didn't honor his words because it turned out to be a boy. He then had two daughters and another son. He finally gave the fifth child, a daughter to his brother. It is as difficult for brothers to transfer sons. The individuality of brothers can be exemplified by their different surnames franchised when they become naturalized. Grown-up children applied for citizenship individually and received a specific French name, disregarding family connections. The specific situation of being foreigners and the France's citizenship laws contributed to the spread of the ideal of nuclear family. When the Chinese applied for French citizenship, they had to demonstrate how assimilated they had become. Living arrangement was of concern. Living alone was more favorably considered than living with one's parents.

Celine was from Huahine. There was a Chinese store in their neighborhood. They had amiable relations with Tahitian neighbors. Celine's family had cash after selling their copra, and they relied on credit offered by the store. Chinese storeowner had no children and adopted Celine's two younger brothers after they were born. Brothers knew their birth parents and siblings, and kept their Tahitian family name. They had

Chinese education like a Chinese son, but they were excluded from succession. Adoptive father remarried and had a daughter after adoptive mother passed away. Contrary to Nora's father who insisted on having a male heir, Celine's brothers' adoptive parents relaxed on gender. Blood relations overrode gender, and birth daughter became the sole heir. The elder son died young, leaving a daughter raised by her maternal grandparents. She now moved in to live on her father's family land. Celine's story strikingly exemplifies that to the Chinese family birth weighed more than upbringing. Her brothers were raised by a Chinese family, educated like Chinese, but allowed only partial membership in the family. While, her brother's daughter carrying a different surname, and raised by another family was permitted access to ancestral land. Blood relation assures rights, but we can't be sure how Tahitians measure the relative importance of blood to upbringing. Maeva was close to her adoptive mother, and cared for her at her old age, however, her mother's brother challenged her right to inherit on the ground of her being part-Chinese. Celine expected her brothers were granted some access to their adoptive parents' wealth, since they were raised like Chinese sons. There are no agreements but arguments regarding relative significance of upbringing and birth.

Adoption as a legal device

Faa'amu has gone through transformations. *Faa'amu* used to be on individual basis. A child was taken into a family and given rights to cultivate and harvest crops and trees on ancestral land. Land rights of a *faa'amu* child were limited to usufruct rights only (Oliver 1974). Usually there would be other *faa'amu* arranged for his/her children, thus maintained related to adoptive families. Continuing relations through generations were sustained by a series of adoptions. Legal adoption guarantees adoptive children's rights to inherit. Maeva and Hina were legally adopted when they were grown-ups. Adoption of adults has to have the consent of other children. The filing is obviously related to property inheritance. Mr. McGregor was compiling his family genealogy, and when he could find landowners among them, he would then have a claim on their land. Use of land for over thirty years also constitutes a ground for ownership claim. Mrs. McGregor's mother was adopted by a man who had land on Matai'ea. She visited her adoptive brother there several times, but she never lived on Matai'ea. Mr. McGregor called it a mistake since she couldn't establish any claim to land on Matai'ea. Tahitians aggressively go through land records and birth certificates looking for links between persons and land. Adoption with the addition of another family name offered one more possible access to land. Having another family name signified a legal adoption to Tahitians, while having a Tahitian family name did it to the Chinese. Chinese immigrants once gave children up for legal adoption

expecting promises of French citizenship. Being foreigner, Chinese both China-born and local-born had been sensitive to state authority and cautious of government regulations. There have had examples that they raised others' children, but hesitated to document. Celine's brother was caught in such an awkward situation.

Adoption also offered a legal device for Chinese parents to acquire French citizenship for their children and resultant rights to own properties. In this case, adoption was in name only, opposite to Tahitian *faa'amu*. Children were sent to live with adoptive families or moved between two households in order to be legally recognized. For Chinese immigrants, they were sensitive to restrictions applicable to foreigners. Their application for business licenses would be facilitated if they were French citizens. They would be allowed to own properties if they were French citizens. In most cases, parents were never able to purchase properties. When French government modified citizenship laws and all locally born Chinese were automatically granted citizenship in 1973, such a strategy became obsolete.

Though some Chinese strategically placed their children in Tahitian households, some left their children in the care of Tahitian babysitters and groomed to be Tahitian language proficient, Protestant church-going Chinese. Yvonne moved between her Tahitian babysitter's household and that of her parents. She was legally adopted only when she was an adult. Her relationships with several families were reflected on childcare arrangements for her four children. Her Chinese mother took care of her daughter. Her Tahitian mother was responsible for her eldest son, while her Tahitian father and his then current wife helped to care for the second son. She hired a Tahitian girl to care for the youngest child at home.

Legal adoption for the benefits of children

In the early 1990s, studies (Coppentrath 1990; L'A.P.R.I.F. 1993) identified the poor performance of *tamari'i faa'amu* (adoptive children) at school and attributed it to divided parental authority. Since school children moved between different households, it became difficult for health workers and teachers to follow up progresses of children. *Faa'amu* has become a social problem. Service d'Assistance Sociale offers information on legal adoption and helps to resolve conflicts between birth parents and adoptive parents. Parents came to Social Services arguing for which school, or church the concerned child should go to, or whether to feed a child three meals a day or whenever the child wanted. As nuclear families increased, *opu feti'i* became dispersed and it was burdensome for two families concerned with *faa'amu* to communicate. People who want to give up children for adoption and those who want to take children in visit Social Services. Social Services informs them of three kinds of legal adoption and their consequences. Adoption Simple adds an additional surname to the child's name and he/she keeps his/her birth parent's surname on birth certificate. Adoption

Pleniere registers the concerned child as biological child and leaves no trace of biological parents. The third one is Delegation of Parental Authority, which is suggested as a temporary arrangement before formal adoption. All these three kinds of adoption are applicable in metropolitan France and Overseas Territories. There is one rule requiring a two-year waiting period applicable only in French Polynesia. Parents on either side of adoption agree that Tahitian parents expect to see the child after they give it up for adoption. Legal adoption unifies parental authority with caretakers, while it also protects interests of adoptive parents. There are increasing cases of adoption by metropolitan French couples, who prefer to register as biological parents. A growing number of Tahitian children are taken out of *opu feti'i*. *Faa'amu* allows sharing of parenting and encourages contacts between two sets of parents. Through Tahitian adoptive parents, Chinese children could become localized by equal rights guaranteed by French citizenship, access to land, and most of all a network of kin. Chinese household heads usually are engaged in adoptions with their Tahitian spouses' families. Their participation of adoption often results from their attachment to an *opu feti'i* through marriage.

Concluding Remarks

In the mid 1960s, on the wide circulated *Ve'a Poritani*, a journal published by Evangelical Church of French Polynesia, *faa'amu* began to be considered as problematic. In the 1980s, a pastor saw three things essential to *ma'ohi* identity (Faua 1985). *Faa'amu* within *opu feti'i* was one. Since 1990, there came another wave of talk problematizing *faa'amu*. Schoolteachers ask for parents' signature on various reports; pediatricians require parents' consent on medical procedures for children. Teachers and pediatricians ask older women 'are you the mother?' and advise them to file for legal adoption of the children they daily care for. There has been an increasing degree of urbanization. Residents of outer islands concentrate on urban area of Tahiti for education and employment. Youth with a high school education have limited employment opportunities. It takes longer for them to be financially independent. *Opu feti'i* is a cultural ideal, but a large household with differently related individuals has class connotations. *Faa'amu* in urban Tahiti requires government intervention to protect the welfare of young children.

Some early Chinese immigrants adopted children Chinese, Tahitian-Chinese or Tahitian to assure lineal continuity through ancestors. They adopted Tahitian boys to remain loyal Chinese descendents. Some nominally gave their children to Tahitian families to become French citizens. Some have been married and become incorporated into Tahitian *opu feti'i*. They have participated in a circulation of children and acted like a Tahitian relative. Today the quest for male descendents is

losing its importance, while more adoptions take place within *opu feti'i*. A recent surge of adoption by metropolitan French diverts children to France, and leaves fewer children for *opu feti'i*. The Chinese family size is becoming smaller (2), and they have fewer children to give away. The few people who adopt only do so for specific personal reasons. Adoption once offering Chinese a mechanism to establish kinship links with the Tahitians has become less desirable and less available.

This is a preliminary analysis of data collected during a two-year research funded by National Science Council between 2004 and 2005

(1) Chinese according to government census conducted in 1988. Criteria of ethnic background had varied from one census to another. The last census ethnicity was inquired was in 1996.

(2) Chinese women aged 85 and above have an average of 7.83 children. The number decreases and for the cohorts between 35 and 49, it reduces to less than 3. Polynesian women between 45 and 64 averagely have about six children (ITSTAT 1991: 93).

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