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THE AMIS VILLAGE OF LIGATS, CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

by

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SUMMARY

The thesis attempts to demonstrate the process of kin grouping in terms of the native concepts still existing in the Amis village of Ligats in eastern Taiwan. The thesis refers to village change as a result of political measures imposed by the Chinese and Japanese government. I am suggesting that in the organization of grouping, it is its expression which has been changed rather than the basic structural principles. The previous theoretical model on Amis kinship and social organization, which presumes a persistent attachment between a household and its divided households, is insufficient to understand the dynamic aspect of kin grouping. The native concepts of siblingship and the importance of male kin in the household are important in understanding the society. And the model of 'the continuity of the household line' is considered to be a conceptual phenomenon rather than an operational truth.

In the thesis, kin grouping is viewed as one means of expressing the power and prestige of powerful males in the village. Ligats shows that, despite the loose organization and the mini-factionalism, some named groupings are still publicly acknowledged as existing. Their existence relies mainly on an effective leadership exercised by their males as *vake*. The effectiveness is mostly derived and can be observed through the traditional pattern of behaviour expected of *vake*.

Moreover, in the cases of alleged important local figures such as the *li* head, the chief *lin* head, the largest landowner, the headman and the vice-headman, all show that formal offices do not necessarily guarantee effective leadership and support. They have to be substantiated by expected performances. In the current village of Ligats, such expectations seem to be of a traditional type, a similar pattern of behavior to that of *vake*.

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**In Memory of
Katsaw Homyo, 1913 - 1988**

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NOTES ON THE FIGURES

The symbols I use in the figures are:

○ = female

△ = male

● or ▲ = living members of a group

| = parental tie

┌┐┐ = a sibling set

↓ = married out of one's natal household

┌┐
○ A → B the arrow means (A or the one in the sibling
set) 'married out' into (B)'s natal household

D → ┌┐
C ○ the arrow means (D, or the one out of the
sibling set) 'married into' (C)'s natal
household

→
|
┌┐
A B refers to that A and B are children of a
married-out member of a household

ORTHOGRAPHY

The spellings of Amis native words by previous researchers are divergent. It is therefore necessary to give a few words about my spellings of Amis words. Some phonological, morphological and syntactical features which I am able to perceive and are relevant for the presentation of native terms in the thesis will be introduced here. They are the base of my spelling of Amis words. (see Table 1 and 2).

In The Amis Dictionary (Fey 1986: 18) and A Grammar of Hsiukuluan Amis (Edmonson 1987: 37), the mid-central vowel is written as *e* and only one phoneme /i/ is distinguished as far as the front vowel is concerned. I distinguish the mid-front vowel as *e* so as to conform with my spelling of the native words such as *vake* etc.. This is also common to previous researchers. With the same consideration, I write *v* and *ts* instead of *f* and *c* which are used by Fey and Edmonson. Parts of the sounds listed in Table 1 and 2 are expressed irregularly in other symbols by other researchers. *o* is now and then presented as *u*; *v* as *f*; *d* as *θ* or *l*; *g* as *ng* or *ŋ*; *h* as *x*; *l* as *r*; *r* as *ʃ*. I do not list the symbol for the glottal stop used by Fey and Edmonson or *ʔ*, *Q* and the symbol for the weak vowel *ə* by Suenari (1983: 9, 329-353) for I can not really distinguish them in a systematic and significant manner.

I find that in the articulation of the language, either a higher or a falling pitch with stress is always used at the final syllable of a word, with the rest of the syllables pronounced with a level pitch. Thus there is a tendency to pronounce a consonant as voiced when before a vowel of a final syllable, though it often appears voiceless when with other syllables or after a vowel. Also, vowels in the final syllable usually become contracted and backward when they are in high or

Table 1 Orthography of vowels

	<u>front</u>	<u>central</u>	<u>back</u>
<u>high</u>	i		
<u>mid</u>	e	er	o
<u>low</u>		a	

Table 2 Orthography of consonants

	labio-			post-		
	bilabial	dental	dental	alveolar	alveolar	velar
plosive	p			t		k
frictive		v	d		s	h
affrictive				ts		
lateral					l	
flapped or					r	
trilled						
nasal		m			n	g
glide or		w			y	
semi-vowel						

falling pitch. Therefore /v/ is frequently loosely pronounced as /f/; the dental frictive *d* is pronounced as /θ/ after a vowel and /o/ becomes like /u/ sometimes. The variation due to the shift of position in a sound sequence is not regarded here as so significant as to give a separate symbol.

Many researchers use ? for glottal stops in their presentation of Amis words. It however seems to me a question whether the glottal stop should be regarded as a necessary component of some Amis words. Certain glottal closure in my view is generally used to mark the end of clauses or lesser breaks and thus gives the final vowels or consonants a glottal element. Therefore I prefer to omit the symbol for glottal stops in my spelling of Amis words. I wrote *kadavo* instead of *kadavo?*, *loma* for *loma?*.

It seems to me that in the language one vowel either with or without attached consonants usually constitutes one syllable. However, as to a word like *toas*, it was taken down by some researchers as *to?as*. I do not use ? in my spelling of the word because it seems to me natural to have a slight stop to separate syllables, which is not regarded by me as a glottal stop. Therefore, I write *lalomaan* and *vae* instead of *laloma?an* and *va?e* which were the written forms of some researchers.

However, in order to discriminate between the situation where two vowels constitute two syllables from where two vowels constitute one syllable without any interruption between, the latter will be expressed in the form of a semi-vowel. Therefore I write *malinaay* instead of *malinaai*.

I also regard it an acceptable articulation in Amis language to have two consonants immediately connected. Therefore a weaker vowel is not introduced in my expression of the term *slal* and *tstsay*,

which were expressed by other writers as *sarar* and *tsitsay*.

Syntax

An Amis sentence always has the predicate put before the subject, and the object at the rear. The slot for a subject or an object is sometimes introduced by the marker *ko*, and the predicate by *o*; eg.

O maan ko rayray no namo? *Maan* means what, and *rayray no namo* means your pedigree. In a discourse, the articulation of *e* is usually employed between sentences for junction. For example, *Away ko matoasay e, tao to.*

Besides, *a* is used as a linking particle to connect noun phrases which are in equational or appositional relationship. For example, *papotalay a malinaay*. *Papotalay* is outsiders; *malinaay* is relatives. The whole phrase can be translated as the outsiders who are relatives.

To is a prepositional-like specifier for complement. For example, *wawa to vaynayan*, *wawa* is children; *vaynayan* is male. The whole phrase can be translated as male children.

No is a prepositional-like specifier for genitive or partitive relationship and is similar to 'of' in English. For example, *mama no loma*, *mama* is father; *loma* is household. The whole means father of the household.

I is a place or a time marker. For example, *i tswa* means where. *I tiaho* means long before in the past.

In another respect, a word stem can always have different meanings added onto it by different inflectional forms. Here I will introduce some affixes

and inflected words to aid with the understanding of the relevant native terms in the thesis.

The prefixes *ka-*, *pi-*, *ma-*, *mi-*, *pa-* can all be related to action or acting. The critical difference between them lies in the degree of intentive strength. *Ka-* or *pi-* makes a stem word noun-like, *ma-* adjective-like, *mi-* verb-like, *pa-* transitive verb-like. In other words, *pi-* or *ka-* is added to name an action. The addition of *ma-* implies having been with the action. *Mi-* means doing with, and *pa-* means executing an action onto somebody or something. For example, *tsay-ka-gado*, *tsay* means not, and the whole means not shy; *ma-gado* means feeling shy. *Tsay-pi-nanom* means not touch water; *mi-nanom* mean drink water; *mananom* means having had water. *Pa-nokay* means bring home as *nokay* means going back home.

The suffix *-ay* is added to mean the person who has to do with what is referred to by the stem word. For example, *malakaka* means being siblings to each other; *malakaka-ay* refers to those who are siblings to each other.

The suffix *-an* is added to refer to the time when or the place where what is referred to by the stem word is carried out. For example, *pi-kadavo-an*, *kadavo* means married-in members. The whole word means the household into which one is married.

The prefix *tsi-* is added to a noun stem to imply the existence or possession of what is referred to by the noun stem. For example, *tsi-loma*, *loma* means household; the word means having a household established.

The prefix *sa-* is added to refer to an instrument relevant to what is referred by the stem

word, or to mean having the quality of what is referred to by the stem word. For example, *sa-pi-alop*, *alop* refers to game; the word refers to the installation that is used for hunting game. Or *sa-ale*, *ale* refers to sibling's spouse or spouse's sibling; the word means those who are like *ale*.

The prefix *paka-* means reaching through or to what is referred to by the stem word. For example, *paka-ina-ay*, *ina* is mother; the word means maternal relatives.

The prefix *saka-* is added onto a cardinal number to refer to the ordinal. For example, *saka-tstsay* means the first as *tstsay* means one.

The prefix *mala-* is similar to 'as' in English. For example, *mala-taylin*, *taylin* is a policeman; the word means being a policeman.

The prefix *tata-* is added for intensification and may be translated as genuine. For example, *tata-malinaay* means genuine relatives as *malinaay* means relatives.

One can see in some expressions such as *gagasawan*, *lalomaan*, *kakitaan*, *tatapaan*, *tatoasan* a regularity in the reduplication of the initial of a word stem plus *-a-* plus the stem word then plus *-an*. In the case of *gagasawan*, it clearly refers to the same thing as its stem word *gasaw*. In the other cases, *loma* means house, household or family, *kita* means we, *tapan* means origin, and *toas* means grow up or old. Derivative meanings however have developed to refer to various social entities referred to by these derivative expressions (see Glossary); thus they are not the same as the stem words.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I first intended to write a thesis on the Amis' migration from a rural to an urban environment and the related adaptation in urban areas. My search for an urban Amis settlement was not successful in the beginning. I then decided to move to eastern Taiwan starting in a rural area and coming back to the city later. After about two months' contact with some Amis villages (see Appendix 1), I moved into Ligats in mid-January 1986 and found accomodation in an Amis family of the village.

My stay in Ligats lasted till the beginning of September 1986 until the end of the major cultural event *ilisin*, the annual festival. I did not however continue with any urban research for two reasons.

(1) I found that the previous theoretical models of Amis kinship and social organizations proposed by previous researchers were not successful in understanding what I saw in my village. A clarification of the basic social organization of a current rural Amis village seemed to me to be a worthwhile aim.

(2) I ran out of time and finance to undertake further research in the urban field. The addition of an urban section would have made the research too large for me to handle.

When in the village of Ligats, I never used a translator or informant to accompany me for my interviews and contacts with the villagers for there were none available. The fieldwork was carried out in both the Amis language and Mandarin with any villagers who were free.

1.1 Aim and strategy

The analysis in the thesis focuses mainly on kin grouping; 'village solidarity' will be partly explained in Chapter five following the reasoning developed in the analysis of kin grouping. In both contexts, *malatstsay* would be called upon by the leaders as a theme.

I became unaware that 'solidarity' was emphasized till I began actually living among the Amis. In the Amis' language, it is expressed as *malatstsay* - united as one. The expression was often heard from speech givers at gatherings of relatives or villagers. I attended a birthday feast for a one-year-old baby where about twenty-five relatives of the household were gathered. While senior male kin were giving speeches at the feast, the father of the household told me to give a speech too (not seriously). I replied that I did not know what to say. He then showed me a simple example with some sentences, of which *malatstsay* was the only theme.

From the point of view of those allowed to speak, the so called 'solidarity' seems to be an outcome of successful leadership. It refers to a situation where a leader can summon or organise followers by asserting some traditional relationship. On the one hand reality shows all personal links to be ephemeral; on the other hand, the speaker constantly asserts the reality of appropriate social ties.

Cases in Ligats show that kin groupings did not necessarily last for long. Many of them were quite short-lived. In demonstrating the process of kin grouping, I find that neither a descent rule nor a postmarital residence rule as employed by previous researchers (see Chapter 4.1) can account for the temporary nature of the kin grouping and what I saw in my village. The operation of simulated kinship pointed out by Suenari (1983) could solve part of the problem but still cannot tell the story in a comprehensive way.

On the other hand, if the basic cognatic nature of the Amis' descent construct (I use the term in Sheffler's definition, 1966: 543-544) is justly recognized, then relations between kin of the Amis society can be seen to be close in many aspects to the bilateral Iban society described by Freeman (1961: 209-201). Freeman has pointed out for us the feature of a bilateral society.

..., it presents an individual with a wide range of optative relationships - relationships which, in the absence of any binding descent principle, it is possible for him to accentuate as he pleases or as suits his special interests,... (1961: 210-211)

I find this a familiar phenomenon in Ligats also where the basic organizational principle operating in the grouping process is also more personally orientated. Also Sheffler's distinguishing the 'abstract reality' which serves as the organizational idiom for the 'concrete reality' (1966: 547) is appreciated as a helpful tool in my analysis. With this clarification, I can consider the model frequently used by previous researchers, the continuity of household line (see Chapter 4.1, 4.3), as an organizational idiom, or an ideological or conceptual phenomenon rather than an operational truth. Facts are not as restricted as the ideological idiom prescribes. The simulated kinship is precise evidence and a result of the deviation from the 'abstract reality'.

I further demonstrate the way how non-kin are easily connected as kin, and remote kin as close kin by Amis kinship terminology and the sibling relation. Pehrson (1954) regards the sibling relationship in the Lapp bilateral society as a structural feature significantly operating in its organization of grouping. I find the Amis' sibling relation almost playing an equally important role. In fact, it is even more commonly used than other organizational idioms in legitimizing one's entitlement to group membership.

Today in Ligats, active kin groupings appear only loosely organized. The weakening off of old kin groupings could be easily explained as resulting from changes of outer circumstances and the loss of their previous usages. However I do not believe this to be the case as I would argue that the constant reorganisation of local small groups has always been a feature of Amis society. The change that is taking place is in the use of these small groups with respect to religious protection, and collective financial and economic cooperation which is tending to disapper. More symbolic usages such as expressions of power and prestigious status require the support of these small pseudo-kinship groups to be successfully recognised. This is why in this thesis I look not only at the present but also at the historical past to see in what way these kin groupings have changed their role in society.

In this thesis, the kin grouping is viewed as one means of expressing the power and prestige of powerful males in the village. In other words, kinship behavior to be expressed under a leadership is at the same time seeking expression of ability and power. This function is not recent but could also be part of the old kin groupings.

As the traditional religious and economic behavior of the villagers becomes more individualized and hence has less need of being organised through the kin groupings, the opportunity by a leader to gain support from such a group becomes even greater in modern times. But why should the kin respond to the summoning of a leader to form a group if there has been no practical use for them? It seems to me that this can be understood only through a recognition of the culturally determined morality of the society. In other words, if the leaders behave properly in fulfilment of a culturally prescribed role, then the kin will give support as an obligation in a mutually supportive way.

This relation between leaders and followers makes the character of the local leadership appear to be the big man type. The incumbents in formal offices recognized by the government nowadays need to validate constantly their occupancy with culturally determined performances so that they can have a genuine influence over the villagers.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PEOPLE IN THE HISTORY OF EASTERN TAIWAN

The Amis is the most numerous population among the existing nine aboriginal peoples in Taiwan. It numbers 120,439 in 1986, which is 37% of the total aborigines in Taiwan and is four times the Amis population in 1906 although its percentage in the total population of the island is less (see Table 3).

When first identified as an ethnic group by the Japanese scholars R. Torii 鳥居龍藏 (1897), Ino Yoshinori 伊能嘉矩 and D. Awano 粟野傳之丞 (1899), and U. Mori 森丑之助 the Amis people were reported scattered on the valleys, foothills and coasts of eastern Taiwan from Hualien to Taitung (Liu et al. 1965: 6; Liu 1975: 8-9). Very few were situated in the southern tip area of the island being separated by different ethnic groups. The groups to the south are Puyuma in the plains and Paiwan in central mountains. North-west of the Amis in the Central mountains are the Atayal, and to the west in the Central mountains are the Bunun (see Map 1). All the plains aborigines in western Taiwan had already been sinicized and were regarded as Chinese as far as the administration was concerned (see below).

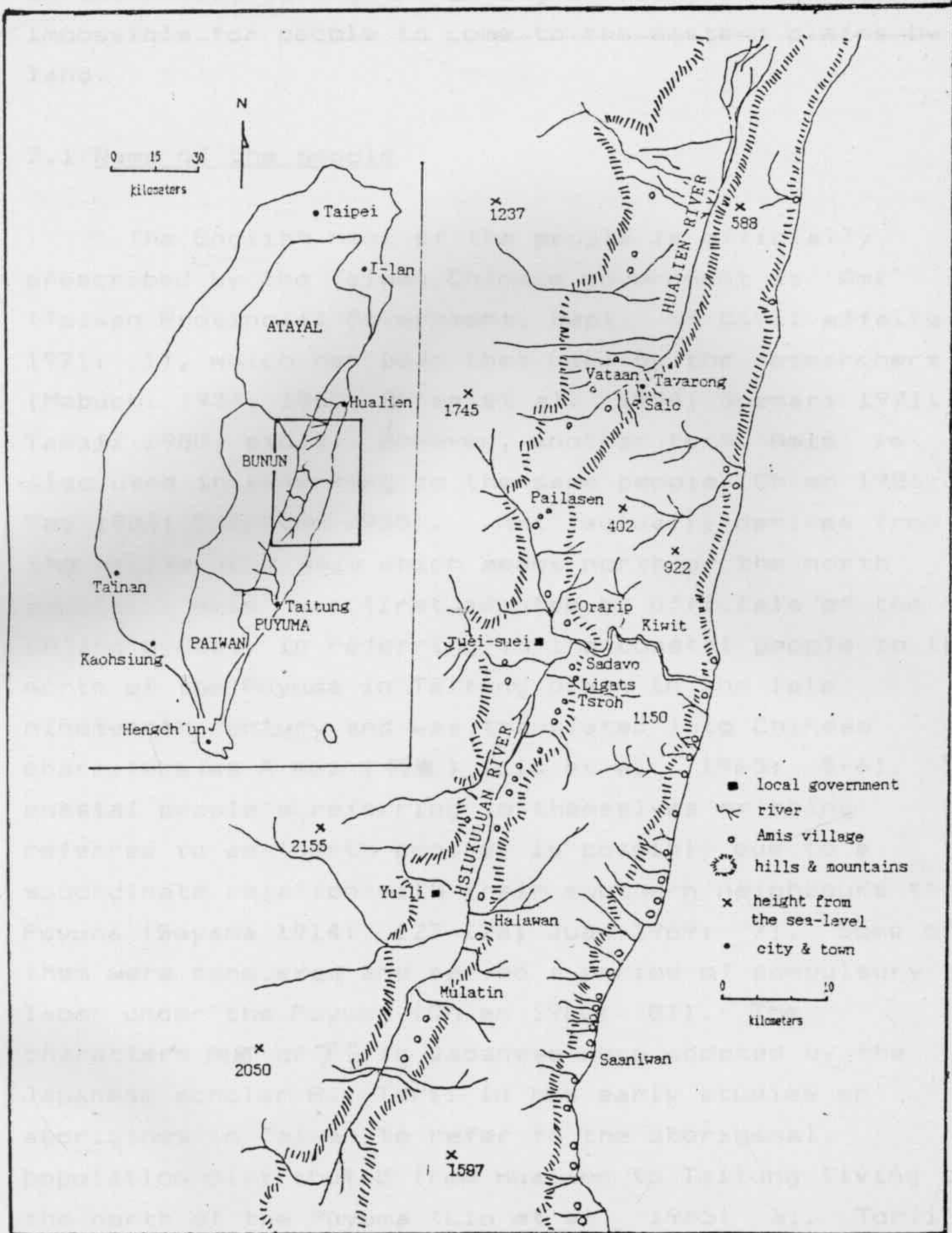
The relatively late sinicization of aborigines in eastern Taiwan, compared with that of plains aborigines in western Taiwan is attributed to its geographical isolation divided by the central mountain range. Generally speaking, the island can be divided into two parts, a rugged mountainous eastern section which occupies roughly two thirds of the island's area and a low flat coastal plain which occupies the western third. More than 30 peaks of the Central mountains attain heights of over 3,000 meters. As the relief is great and mountains are densely-forested, it was formerly almost impossible for people to walk across. Also the mountains come down to the coast, to the north and south

Table 3 Amis Population and the Percentage in the
Aboriginal and the Total Population,
1906-1986

	1906	%	1942	%	1986	%
<u>Amis</u>						
population	27,867		54,991		120,439	
percentage in aborigines		24.6		33.9		37.7
<u>Aborigines</u>						
population	113,163		162,031		319,007	
percentage in the total		3.6		2.5		1.7
<u>Total</u>						
population of Taiwan	3,156,708		6,427,930		19,509,082	

Note: Aboriginal identity is recognized through tracing the household registration (see Appendix 2) established under Japanese rule. Today, aboriginality can be identified by the seal with words *shan - paq* (山胞) meaning mountain fellow country-men, stamped in the individual's profile of household registers. According to the regulation on aboriginal identification issued by the government in 1980 (Taiwan Provincial Government, 1985: 109-110), children of a couple of aborigines are registered as aborigines. The aboriginality is forfeited when an aborigine is adopted by a Chinese or a male aborigine marries a female Chinese uxorilocally or when a female aborigine marries a male Chinese virilocally; their children are registered as Chinese. By contrast, a male or female Chinese who marries into an aboriginal household cannot obtain aboriginality; the same non-recognition happens to a Chinese adopted by an aborigine. Aboriginality can also be forfeited by an aborigine's own wish and application.

Source: The Abstract of Statistics on Taiwan Province in the Last Fifty-one Years (1946); Statistics on Civil Affairs, Taiwan Province, No. 16 (1987).



Map 1 Central Amis Area and Taiwan

making it difficult to reach the east coast except by ship in the nineteenth century. Especially to the north, some shore lines rise to an elevation of over 2,000 metres directly from the sea (Hsieh 1952: 5-6). On the whole, during the Ch'ing dynasty, it was almost impossible for people to come to the eastern plains by land.

2.1 Name of the people

The English name of the people is officially prescribed by the Taiwan Chinese government as 'Ami' (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil affairs 1971: 1), which has been that used by the researchers (Mabuchi 1954, 1960; Ch'en et al. 1954; Suenari 1971; Yamaji 1980; etc.). However, another term 'Amis' is also used in referring to the same people (Ch'en 1986; Fey 1986; Edmonson 1985). 'Ami' actually derives from the native word *Amis* which means north or the north people. 'Amis' was first adopted by officials of the Ch'ing dynasty in referring to the coastal people to the north of the Puyuma in Taitung plain in the late nineteenth century and was translated into Chinese characters as A mei (阿美) (Liu et al. 1965: 5-6). The coastal people's referring to themselves or being referred to as 'north people' is possibly due to a subordinate relation with their southern neighbours the Puyuma (Sayama 1914: 127-128; Juan 1969: 7). Some of them were conquered and served a period of compulsory labor under the Puyuma (Ch'en 1960: 81). The characters 阿美 or 阿美 in Japanese were adopted by the Japanese scholar R. Torii in his early studies on aborigines in Taiwan to refer to the aboriginal population distributed from Hualien to Taitung living to the north of the Puyuma (Liu et al. 1965: 6). Torii's definition of the term was followed by both the Japanese government and researchers (Mabuchi 1954a: 1-2; Yoshiharo 1967: 183-191; Liu 1975: 8-9). The usage was later followed by Taiwan Chinese government with a modification of the character 美 into 美, and the English translation is written as 'Ami' (Taiwan

Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil affairs 1971: 1). I will however in this thesis use the term 'Amis' as it is close to the original sound.

In terms of my fieldwork experience, the villagers of Ligats and Pailasen and most Amis in the valley areas however more often call themselves 'Pantsah', and use 'Amis' in referring to north or people in the north. Some Japanese scholars regarded 'Pantsah' as a term more suitable in naming the people (Mabuchi and Utsurikawa 1935: 389). I however doubt the authenticity of 'Pantsah' as originally a native term of the people to name themselves for I was informed by some old Amis that 'Pantsah' was derived from the Chinese words *fan she* (番社), which means in Chinese aboriginal village. The term *fan-she* was used throughout the Ch'ing dynasty by the Chinese to refer to aboriginal villages in Taiwan. Taiwan aborigines were generally termed *fan* (番) which implied a meaning of 'outside Chinese cultural influences' (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 349; Wen 1957: 3). *She* (社) was used to distinguish a village of aboriginal character from the *chuan* (莊) of Chinese who were subjects of the Ch'ing court (Wen 1957: 3; Tai 1979: 351). The reason that *Pantsah* is widely used among Amis in addressing themselves is therefore traced back to the Ch'ing dynasty when identification of Taiwan aborigines with the term *fan-she* was first adopted by the government.

It seems peculiar however that only Amis adopted the term to address themselves for the term was also applicable to other aboriginal peoples in Taiwan. The question is unlikely to be answered. We must remember however that at a time when the Chinese government entered into the Amis area from 1875 to 1895, aboriginal peoples in the low lands of other parts of Taiwan had been almost completely sinicized after about 200 years of Chinese rule, and had already lost their aboriginality (Hsu 1975: 225; Kotsumi 1933: 10), and aboriginal peoples in the central mountains who were

later named separately by the Japanese were mostly still out of the control of the Chinese government. There are different phases in the history when different aboriginal peoples came into contact with Chinese and Japanese so there are likely to be different terms.

2.2 Variation and distribution

Though recognized as a separate ethnic group, variations of culture among the Amis were noticed by Japanese researchers. A tentative classification was accordingly made for designation. The broadest classification is by Torii (1898) who first contrasted differences in languages and customs between the Amis to the north and to the south of the Hsiukuluan river; southern Amis was said to be very similar to the ethnic group Puyuma.

... 阿眉種族分佈於北自臺來南到卑南間的海岸與河谷。從風俗語言上說.... 可分為南北二派：南方阿眉其風俗類似卑南番，... 男子的頭髮在前額剪齊，後部披垂於肩部。... 北方阿眉以臺來之南番為典型，開化的程度比南方阿眉低的多，男子平常裸體，僅用一小塊布遮蔽陰部，青年結髮，中年以上者剪成光頭，但留五分。

[...the Amis people dwell on valleys and coasts between Ch'i-lai in the north and Puyuma in the south. It can be divided into two sub-groups in terms of the customs and languages. The southern Amis have customs similar to Puyuma. The men have the hair cut to a straight line at the forehead and leaving the back hair fallen to the shoulder. The northern Amis, to take Nan-shi Amis as a typical example, appear much less civilized than the southern Amis. Their men are usually naked, only having the genitals covered with a small piece of cloth. The young men have the hair tied; the middle-aged men and the old have it cut short....] (cited from Liu et al. 1965: 6, translated by myself).

A category proposed by Ino Yoshinori (1900) is based on geographical distribution; besides the northern Amis termed Ch'i-lai Amis and the southern Amis known as Pei-nan Amis, there were also the Hsiukuluan Amis in the inner valley and Coastal Amis on the coast. The Amis isolated in the southern end was distinguished as the Heng-ch'un Amis. Another later classification by

Kano Tadao prefers to combine the valley and the coastal Amis as a category - the Central group, and the Pei-nan and the Heng-ch'un as one Southern group (Liu et al. 1965: 6-7).

The classification of Amis into five subgroups was employed by Mabuchi in his study of the migration and distribution of Amis. He estimated the population of each subgroup in 1931 by his general survey as follows, which modified the figures provided by the government.

Table 4 Amis population in subgroups 1931

subgroup	household	population
Nan-shi Amis	1,650	7,000
Hsiukuluan Amis	1,850	14,000
Coastal Amis	850	9,000
Pei-nan Amis	950	10,000
Heng-ch'un Amis	400	4,000
Total	5,700	44,000

Source: cited from Mabuchi (1954b, part 2: 50)

This type of classification was however regarded by Koitsumi (1930: 12) as providing nothing about affiliation but regional distribution. With an emphasis on the affiliation of villages, he suggested that the Nan-shi Amis contained two village families; one derived from the village of Pokpok and the other from the village of Li-yu-wei (鯉魚尾). The Hsiukuluan or the central Amis (with the coastal Amis included) consisted of the different village families of Kiwit, Tavarong or Vataan etc. The Pei-nan Amis had a village family of Valanaw and another one of Heng-ch'un. This type of classification can also be seen employed in the early survey (Kono 1915: 3-12), but it had hardly been further adopted in the later Amis study.

All these classifications by early researchers are nevertheless made from general ethnological surveys but not by an intensive investigation required by anthropological methodology. Some differences in visible cultural traits were employed as reference. For instance, the naming method of age set organization varied between the north and the south groups; the north used a fixed number of names in a circular way whereas the south invented new names for each new age set. Also one can see a mixed type in the central. The traits however have never been viewed as part of a cultural whole or as an aspect of a social system. In other words, there has never been an attempt to explain or understand the differences through their relation with other aspects of society.

An attempt to explain variations was made by Mabuchi using a historical reference. Mabuchi (1935: 530) considered that there were originally three separate sources from where Amis traced their movements: the north - a region to the north of the Hsiukuluan river, the south- a region near the Puyuma's area, and migrants from islets to the east who mostly settled in the central region. The people did not confine themselves to one specific area but migrated to and fro; thus they became mixed up. But eventually they were distinguished from each other as described by Mabuchi (1954 part 2: 23) as follows,

... by about the later part of the 19th century, the Amis had been distributed separately into four groups, each with its regional culture discernible even now: the northern and central groups who were independent and the southern group subordinate to the Puyuma leaving two no-man's land area between these groups, and a group in southernmost Formosa, who became tenants of the chiefly families of the Puyuma descent.

It was estimated that the separation between the three sub-groups, the north, the central and the south existed in the nineteenth century before the invasion into the east by the Chinese and Japanese although

Atayal and Bunun from the west were already pressing on Amis territory as they were forced over the central mountain chain by Chinese intrusion of their territory in the west (Mabuchi 1954a: 123; 1954b: 23). The empty plain between the central and the north Amis and the valley and foothills between the central and the southern Amis thus became hunting areas. Several reasons were given by Mabuchi for this separation (1935: 531-532).

(1) Non-Amis head-hunters inhabited the central mountains to the west. Their threats caused a southward movement from the empty plains or movements into the north Amis or other villages as Vataan, Tavarong, Pailasen, Kiwit and Makutaay which offered stubborn resistance.

(2) Warfare was endemic between the extinct villages in the region between the north and central Amis. The defeated scattered away from their original settlements and moved southward to seek new space for their livelihood.

(3) The conquest by the south neighbouring group, the Puyuma. As the conquered Amis were forced to provide labor and tribute to the Puyuma, those who would not surrender retreated northwards from the vacated territory to an area out of reach of the Puyuma.

(4) For seeking lands and livelihood.

Though the separation was taken by Mabuchi as a cause of cultural variations among the Amis, and the classification of five subgroups in his view implied a cultural designation, such a distribution pattern however changed since the mid-19th century with immigrants and new villages filling up the empty areas to form the current pattern (Mabuchi 1935: 537). According to Mabuchi (pp. 540-542), there were various movements, southward and northward, of Amis and sinicized aborigines taking place in eastern Taiwan during the later part of the 19th century.

To be more precise, some Heng-ch'un Amis moved northward to the Taitung plain or even further north in the 1850s. Before this round about the 1830s, some sinicized plains aborigines in southwestern Taiwan had started their moving into the empty area between the central and the south Amis; some moved even further to the coastal areas. About the same time, some sinicized plains aborigines from the I-lan plain in the northeast started to move southward and established settlements in the coastal areas; along with this trend, some northern Amis took moves to settle in the southern part of some coastal areas during the period 1860 - 1890. According to Mabuchi, the sinicized aboriginal villages generally could maintain a peaceful relation with the Amis villages though they were hardly intimate with each other (p.537). Also, these movements did not incur disputes with the Puyuma whose dominant power had seemingly decreased at that time. From 1870s to 1880s, many central Amis moved from the large villages southwards to seek living space and established new villages to the east of Hsiukuluan river which sheltered them from head-hunting to the west; some migrated to the coastal area. It was not until the Japanese rule over eastern Taiwan that there were settlements established in the west side of Hsiukuluan river and the empty area between the north Amis and the central Amis by immigrants from both the central and the north Amis (p.541).

As a result of these movements, the classification of Amis into 5 or 3 subgroups no longer seems to be valid in explaining the current situations. In fact it cannot be supported by the current distribution of the people as today even in one village there is a mixture of households many of which trace their origin from different places in the east. Moreover, the later intrusion of authorities from the outside since the late 19th century should be taken into account. It brought even great changes to the whole social and economic environment of eastern Taiwan and various aspects of the

Amis culture were affected ever since. In the following, I should give an introduction to the general history of eastern Taiwan in which various changes due to the intrusion of outside authorities occurred. Because of the limitation of the historical materials and the lack of historical studies on this topic, I am not able to deal with all the events and their causes and effects in a complete way. I only intend to provide a general idea about the important measures imposed and their significant effects upon the people. In other words, it is a description of the general historical background but not a precise historical study of the changes.

Broadly speaking, eastern Taiwan was hardly colonized by outsiders until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

There was a short period in the seventeenth century when the Dutch established a government at Tainan in the southwest plain of Taiwan. Six expeditions were sent to eastern Taiwan in search of gold (Hsu 1975: 205). The search was made via sea routes from southwestern Taiwan to the Puyuma area. The Dutch first made friends with the Puyuma in Taitung and with their assistance, they proceeded northward through the Amis area to try to reach a gold mine reputed to exist somewhere in the central mountains near Hualien (Nakamura 1957: 102; Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 79).

They brought gifts such as cloth for the chiefs of several Amis villages and it was recorded that seven villages in the north had made a peaceful agreement with the Dutch in 1641. There were also other villages who never agreed to allow Dutch into their territory and were punished by the Dutch (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 79-80). It was reported that the resistance of the Amis was mainly instigated by early Chinese traders. The Dutch authority therefore had to issue a notice commanding the Chinese to go back to

western Taiwan in 1641 (Nakamura 1957: 111). In 1644, a meeting of aboriginal chiefs was for the first time summoned to Tainan and eleven Amis chiefs attended the meeting. They were given a silver stick as a sanction of their power and agreed to offer tribute. At the same time, other Amis villages such as Badaan and Tessercema not only refused to attend but also tried to prevent their neighbouring villages from going and offering tributes (Nakamura 1957: 121).

The efforts of the Dutch to conquer eastern Taiwan was not continued after 1645. Obstacles created by geographical barriers seemed to be the main reason. It was inconvenient to transport necessities and food by sea routes and the land routes along the valleys in the Amis areas were narrow and always flooded when raining (Nakamura 1957: 123).

In 1661, the Dutch were defeated by the loyalists of the Ming dynasty under Chen Ch'en-kon and this ended their rule in Taiwan. The Chinese once attempted to pursue a gold expedition to eastern Taiwan but it never succeeded because of the stubborn resistance of the Puyuma in Taitung against anyone passing through their territory (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 179).

2.3 The Ch'ing period (1684-1894)

Taiwan was taken over by the Ch'ing court and incorporated into the empire to be under the direct jurisdiction of Fukien in 1684 (Hsu 1975: 247). Eight northern Amis villages were listed on the aboriginal record of the Ch'ing government in 1690s as some Chinese traders sailed annually into Amis areas for barter and paid tax to the Ch'ing government for their business activities (Sung 1980: 219). Such Chinese traders were nominally termed as *t'ung-shi* and were regarded as intermediary between the Ch'ing government and aboriginal villages in the aboriginal administration

(Tai 1979: 386-393, 455), though in fact the administration of the Ch'ing never really established itself among the Amis and during the 18th and the former part of the 19th centuries, the Amis area remained separate from Chinese colonization.

In 1722, the Ch'ing government decreed that eastern Taiwan be closed and the Chinese there driven away in order to finally eliminate Chu I-kuei's uprising, whose remainders took refuge in Taitung (Sung 1980: 219; Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 347). Eastern Taiwan was thereafter demarcated into an aboriginal area which was demarcated symbolically by erection of earthwork lines with armed forces established intermittently at the strategic positions along west sides of the Central mountains from north to south of the island (Hsu 1975: 310; Tai 1979: 7; Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 338). The aborigines (including Amis) in the aboriginal area are termed as 'raw aborigines' (生番) in contrast to the plains aborigines outside the area in western Taiwan who were regarded as subjects of the Ch'ing court, referred to as 'cooked aborigines' (熟番) and were governed under an aboriginal administration separate from that for Taiwanese Chinese (Tai 1979: 350-351; Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 271, 352). In the eyes of the Ch'ing government, the lines established expressed the boundary of their rule; transgression of the boundaries by persons at either side were formally banned to avoid fights and casualties. Increasing Chinese immigrants however continued to ignore the ban until it was officially lifted in 1875 (Tai 1979: 425-426; Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 355-358).

In 1797 for the first time Chinese settlers obtained official permission from the government to colonize I-lan plain in the corner of north-east Taiwan and in 1812, the area became a subprefecture with a local government established (Hsu 1975: 209). This

move implies that most arable land in western Taiwan had been developed and the number of Chinese immigrants still continued to increase. In the 1820s some 'cooked' plains aborigines in southwest Taiwan started migrating toward the east; a village Ta-chuang was later formed between Puyuma and the central Amis areas (Hsu 1975: 230; Sung 1980: 222). About the same time, the aborigines in the I-lan plain of northeast Taiwan were facing intrusions of Chinese settlers; their migrations southwards into the Amis area were then set off in 1840s and a village Tamayan was established on the northwest side of Hsiukuluan river in the central Amis area (Hsu 1975: 231; Sung 1980: 221).

The Chinese started to colonize Hualien in 1812 when two settlers leased a piece of land from the Amis there. In 1825, another settler Wu Ch'uan organized some 2,800 people to till the area south of Hualien. For the same reason in 1851 Huang A-feng led 2,200 people to the area. It was reported that because of aboriginal attacks and endemic malaria, neither succeeded. Some of them scattered further southwards into Yu-li on the west side of the Hsiukuluan river, where several Chinese had already crossed the central mountains from the west and settled there. In 1853, a Chinese settlement Ke-jen town was founded in the central Amis area (Hsu 1975: 210-211; Sung 1980: 219-223). It was recorded that on the eve of the incorporation of eastern Taiwan into Ch'ing territory in 1874, Chinese immigrants numbered some 40 households in Hualien, 40 households in Yu-li, 5-6 households in Ch'en-kon on the coast, 28 households in Taitung (Ch'en 1890s: 82).

The attitude of the Ch'ing court toward Taiwan had always been negative and there had never been any intention to claim eastern Taiwan until the Japanese military invasion of the 'raw' aborigines of southern Taiwan in 1874 which made the Ch'ing court realize that this island could be taken over by other nations (Sheng

1979: 1). Therefore the negative policy toward Taiwan was modified into a positive colonization in 1875. Taiwan became a subprefecture of the Ch'ing government with a local government established in Tainan. The post of assistant prefect for 'cooked' aborigines', *li-fan t'ung chih* (理番同知), established originally in the southwestern plains was then transferred to the east since plains aborigines in western Taiwan had become fully sinicized. Therefore a separate administration was no longer necessary (Hsu 1975: 225; Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 371). At the same time, a policy of opening up the mountains and taming aborigines (開山撫番) was implemented. Therefore, three Ch'ing columns of troops traversed the central mountains to open up three separate routes: north, central and south to arrive in the east. They became established separately at Hualien, Juei-suei, Yu-li and Taitung.

Some Chinese traders then became regarded as *t'ung-shi* so they persuaded and guarded leaders of Amis villagers to recognize the Ch'ing authority (Sheng 1979: 5). Amis were then rewarded with wine, food or other goods presented by the Ch'ing military commanders. In this way, Amis were regarded as 'subjects' of the Ch'ing court and referred to as 'compliant raw aborigines' (歸化生番) in the Ch'ing's classification in contrast to those classified as 'raw' (生) and 'cooked' (熟) aborigines for they had not been sinicized (Sheng 1979: 7-8; Tai 1979: 350,355).

According to the Ch'ing policy toward the 'compliant raw aborigines' issued by the Fukien governor Ting Ji-ch'ang in 1877, the 'compliant raw aborigines' were ordered to have their hair cut and arranged like that of Ch'ing subjects. Clothes were distributed to them. Village names and village population were registered. Boundaries of each village territory were to be clearly defined and were not to be transgressed by both the neighbouring aborigines and Chinese settlers. A village headman *t'ou-mu* (頭目) was established

and paid a monthly salary so as to be responsible to the Ch'ing government for the behaviour of the villagers not to kill people. To lower the chance of attacks by hostile aborigines, trees along the roads should be cleared by the 'compliant raw aborigines'. 'Compliant raw aborigines' were allowed to trade with the Chinese but guns and bullets were not allowed to be sold to them. They should be provided with medicines, seeds and tools, and be taught about planting and behavior. Those 'raw aborigines' who did not have their hair cut were not allowed to be supplied with goods such as salt, rice etc. (Sheng 1979: 7-8).

Most 'compliant raw aborigines' in fact freely violated their oral compliance with the Ch'ing. In 1877, the Amis village, Kivit situated in the coastal mountains to the east of Juei-suei, killed its Chinese *t'ung-shi*, and in coordination with another coastal Amis village fought against the Ch'ing troop's action in opening up a road across the coastal mountains from Juei-sui to the coast in 1877. They were defeated by additional Ch'ing troops with cannon sent from Taipei and Tainan and subsequently dispersed (Suenari 1983: 19; Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 398-399). In 1878, a Chinese cultivator and a Ch'ing soldier were killed by the sinicized aborigines in the north Amis area. The sinicized aboriginal village Kaliwan then coordinated with the Amis village Juwowan (Jinlawye) to fight against the Ch'ing but were defeated by additional Ch'ing troops sent from Taipei. The aboriginal elders finally surrendered to have their village renamed by the Ch'ing and to sell part of their land to the Ch'ing in exchange for wine and cloth.

Under the Ch'ing rule, Chinese armed forces were stationed at strategic sites along the roads in the valley (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 380). Head-hunting was however still carried on (p.371). A Bureau of Colonization (招墾局) was installed by the government in 1875 to encourage Chinese

migration and cultivation in east Taiwan. It was terminated after five years as the cost of subsidies was great but the results were not satisfactory (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 271). Four community schools were established in Amis areas to teach reading, writing and speaking Chinese in 1880 but the efforts turned out to be ineffective after five years (p.386). The promotion of wet-rice cultivation among the Amis appeared to be successful only in the coastal area near the Puyuma as it was recorded that the Amis there asked the government to measure their rice fields to obtain a license in 1880 (Sheng 1979: 16).

In 1884, Taiwan became a province. The first governor, Liu Ming-ch'uan, critically commented on the work undertaken to subjugate the aborigines for the previous ten years as a failure as the aborigines were still hostile and the Chinese cultivators suffered casualties (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 377-375). The offices for aboriginal affairs were thereafter widely established to execute the Ch'ing policy toward 'compliant raw aborigines'; three aboriginal offices were separately established in Hualien, Yu-li and Taitung. An order to wear pigtails was stringently enforced, and aborigines having their hair cut were rewarded with two units of silver coin annually. Village heads were paid a monthly salary and given clothes twice a year (Sheng 1979: 17; Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 375). These measures lasted for nine years and were abrogated because of the diminution of the government budget. Compliant aborigines then became wild again (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 376).

On the other hand, at the same time, Ch'ing local commanders were requested to renew the work of taming the 'raw aborigines'. Military power was employed to threaten aborigines into compliance. It was recorded that 24 Amis villages near Juei-suei, with a then population of 4,000 or so, were persuaded by Ching's

military power in opening up a road from Juei-suei to cross the central mountains to reach western Taiwan. They pledged their compliance and had their hair cut in 1887 (Sheng 1979: 22). In the same year, the local commander Chang Chao-lien moved his troop to threaten the most powerful Atayal village, Taroko near the northern Amis area. This action affected Taroko and the Amis villages as Tavarong, Vataan etc. About 53 aboriginal villages, with a population of 15,000, surrendered to the Ch'ing and had their hair cut. The same strategy was used in the same year to force the most powerful Puyuma village Rokavon, who opposed the neighbouring aboriginal villages having their hair cut, into surrender. It was recorded that there were 218 aboriginal villages in eastern Taiwan, with a population of 50,000 or so, who had agreed to comply with the Ch'ing's governing order in 1887 (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 375).

Despite this, aboriginal resistance against the Ch'ing's rule still lasted. In 1888, the sinicized aboriginals of Ta-chuang near the southern Amis area in coordination with the Puyuma village Rokavon, attacked the garrison stations at Juei-suei and Taitung. It was backed up by other sinicized aborigines, some Puyuma and Amis villages such as Vataan, Tavarong etc.. The revolt soon spread to the Ch'ing's outpost at Hualien (Sheng 1979: 23-24; Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 402). The revolt lasted for three months and was finally pacified by military fleets sent from northern China. Two battalions were later placed in six strategic settlements of eastern Taiwan, which included the Amis villages, Tavarong and Pailasen (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 402).

In the main, the Ch'ing administration of Amis villages was established through two positions, village headman - *Suatiu* (社長) or *t'ou-mu* (頭目), and an informant - *t'ung-shi* (通事). Both positions were paid a monthly salary (Hu 1890s: 29-39).

T'ung-shi was a Chinese who knew the aboriginal language and served as an intermediary between the Chinese government and the aboriginal people. One village usually had one *tung-shi*, but in some cases, several villages shared a common *tung-shi*. The village headman was supposed to be an aboriginal leader to transmit instructions of the government onto the villagers, but how he was appointed and how effective the authority was, are not clear. One incident probably can illustrate the function of the institution of headmanship. In 1887, the Ch'ing government planned to establish Juei-suei in the central Amis area as a main civil office in eastern Taiwan in place of the previous military office of Juei-suei. This action was nevertheless thwarted by the aboriginal uprising there. The Ch'ing commander Chang Chao-lien ordered that a chief *t'ung-shi* in that area led some Amis village chiefs in his area to tour cities of western Taiwan and China to broaden the Amis world view. Amis village chiefs after this trip, surprised at the large population and prosperity outside, advised their villagers not to kill Ch'ing soldiers any more as the small Amis population was deemed to fail if killings were carried out. It was stated that the central Amis were therefore more compliant than those in the north and the south (Wen 1957: 842; Ch'en 1890s: 84-85).

The influence of the Ch'ing rule over the Amis is perhaps not as significant as a change in the internal organization of Amis villages. The Ch'ing final positive policy in managing and developing eastern Taiwan however did ultimately bring a change in the distribution of ethnic groups. According to a census collected by the Japanese government in 1896, the second year after they took over Taiwan, the total population in eastern Taiwan was 36,194, of which 60% were Amis, 17% Puyuma, and 10% sinicized aborigines from the west, 9% Chinese, and 3% sinicized aborigines from the I-lan area. On the other hand, the number of settlements was estimated as 150, 23 of which were Chinese, 70 or so of

aborigines and the rest of sinicized aborigines migrated from other parts of Taiwan. Moreover, the previously vacated region between the central and the south Amis had become filled by a movement of 1,119 households which was 14% of the total households in eastern Taiwan. Among these 14%, 50% were sinicized aborigines and 43% were Amis (Ch'en 1959: 326).

2.4 The Japanese Period (1895-1945)

Taiwan was ceded to Japan by the Ch'ing court in 1895 under Japanese pressure as a compensation for the Ch'ing's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War. After the suppression of Chinese revolts in western Taiwan, the Japanese government proceeded with a stringent suppression of mountain aborigines from 1905 to 1915. Enormous armed forces and casualties were involved in the action as mountain aborigines were stubbornly opposing the Japanese intrusion. It is recorded that a total of 27,000 guns held by mountain aborigines, which were smuggled in mainly by Chinese, were forcibly collected by the Japanese authority during the period (Sinomi 1953: 266). Mountain aborigines were first forced to retreat into inner mountains by Japanese armed police forces and were in the end bounded in the so called 'aboriginal area' (蕃地 or 蕃界) which was approximately 1,600,000 hectares, about 47% of the island (Wang 1964: 302). These boundaries were surrounded by garrisoned lines installed with wire traps and telephones (Sung 1980: 274-277). They were restricted by having to hold their activities within this prescribed area; any entry into the area from outside could only be authorized by the police authority (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1971: 52). The bounded aboriginal areas covered mainly the central mountain areas; the coastal mountains and the plains and valleys in which the Amis resided were not included.

In the eyes of the Japanese government, plains aborigines such as Amis were far more compliant than the

mountain aborigines (Wen 1957: 689; Takekoshi 1907: 211). Therefore they were early allowed to have guns and bullets for defense against the attacks of mountain aborigines (Wen 1957: 687-688). Many of their guns were however confiscated from 1911 by which time most of the mountain aborigines had come under control. At the same time the head-hunting and hunting by Amis were also prohibited (Nobuto 1954: 181; Huang 1986: 414; Li 1962: 46). As a result of the effective pacification and strict control, previous attempts to head-hunt from the mountain aborigines toward the Amis were diminished (Sinomi 1953: 260-261). And the vacated area between the north Amis and the central Amis became gradually occupied by immigrants (Mabuchi 1935: 541; Gazetteer Committee of Hualien County 1979: 12).

In 1903, the Japanese government modified its aboriginal administration from indirect to direct rule through the police (Sung 1980: 241-242). Taiwan was divided into prefectures (廳) and sub-prefectures (支廳). Eastern Taiwan was first regarded as one Taitung prefecture and was later divided into two subprefectures, the Hualien subprefecture and the Taitung subprefecture since 1909 (Taiwan Provincial Government 1946: 80). Generally the north Amis and the Amis in Hsiukuluan valley were in Hualien subprefecture, the coastal and the south Amis in Taitung subprefecture. The officers heading the subprefectures were actually appointed from among the police and the staff responsible for administrative work were also policemen (Sinomi 1953: 254). In other words, the general administration in local government was carried out by the police who took charge of not only the social order but also various affairs such as sanitation, public health, household registration, agricultural development and tax-collection etc. (pp.268-269). The police administration was especially employed in governing aborigines throughout the Japanese period, namely aboriginal affairs were all assigned to the police department (p.269). Police offices were established to

take charge of aboriginal villages in demarcated areas which did not necessarily correspond with ordinary administrative divisions. Directions from the government were exclusively transmitted to local police offices who had to issue orders to the aborigines. The police therefore can be regarded as the only authority for Amis in their daily contact with the Japanese government.

Following the Ch'ing's measure, the Japanese government had the headmanship *tomok* (頭目) and the deputy head officially established. They were given absolute authority in respect to village order. They were however subordinate to local policemen to whom they were obliged to make reports on village affairs regularly and from whom they received instructions and directions (Wada 1929b: 11, 49). The appointment of a headman was to be certified by the local police officers; it was regarded as a life-time job so that the authority and prestige of being a headman could be held till one's death. Headmen were now and then led to have tours in Japan and western Taiwan. Totally 71 Amis headmen had been to Japan for tourism in 1911, 1925 and 1929 (Wen 1957: 843). Today in the village of Ligats, the authority of headmanship seems to be still accepted as an Amis custom (see Chapter 3.5) despite the fact that it was an innovated institution under Japanese rule in contrast to the previous religious leader sanctioned by Amis traditional idea (Wada 1929: 40-49).

Under the local police, also established among the Amis was the post of *kotsju*, a district head for every ten households to help with execution of orders from either the headman or the police (see Chapter 3.5; Sinomi 1953: 272-273; Wada 1929b: 11).

On the other hand, in order to assist the transmission of directions, the execution of village affairs on request from the police and for a mobilization of labor force, all grown-ups in a village

were more or less organized. There was a young men group mainly formed for compulsory labor service; boys who had graduated from the aboriginal public school were all enlisted. Posts of *Vanti* were installed to lead the group in undertaking assigned works (see 3.5). There was also a girls' group and a wives' group which were responsible for cooking and other service work for the village. In the 1930s, a men's group was formally organized in a village under the local police to maintain order, build roads and bridges, and to assist in the control of fires and various disasters etc. (Suenari 1983: 27-28; Chung 1981c: 22; Sung 1980: 280; Wada 1929a: 76-77). Some of these organizations still remain in the village of Ligats although the sanction from the Japanese government no longer exists (see Chapter 3.5).

Though outside the bounded aboriginal area, Amis movements were restricted by another measure, the compulsory labor service which, according to my informant, was especially imposed upon the Amis under the Japanese government. Young men of Amis villages were heavily employed for construction works ever since the Japanese government started road and railway constructions in eastern Taiwan in 1910. They were summoned on a compulsory and regular basis, and worked either without payment for public works or with a pay half the ordinary price in labor market for private enterprises. Whatever request the local police made for labor it had to be complied with (Yanaihara 1974: 50). Amis were not allowed to work freely outside their villages as labourers. Control over this forced labour was made easier by the introduction of the household registration system from 1920s.

Some effects of compulsory labor service should be particularly mentioned. To control the Amis labor force, the police issued prohibition on an Amis working freely outside the village, those who sought higher education or outside jobs were to be fined one ox.

Further, endogamy was enforced by the headman and the village as a whole. An informant told me, 'If too many young men married out of the village, young males would run short for labor.' As the headman and the village as a whole were responsible for supply of forced labor, there was a ban on young men marrying out of the village. In another aspect, it is said that as young men often worked outside for compulsory labor service, a shortage of labor for cultivation within the village often resulted (Yanaihara 1956: 50; Suenari 1983: 30-38); agricultural work thus to a great extent was dependent on the women.

Though the cultivation of wet-rice had been introduced into eastern Taiwan by sinicized aborigines and Chinese in the nineteenth century, the Amis' general adoption of it did not take place until it was formally promoted by the Japanese government in the 1920s (Sung 1980: 280). The Amis traditional mode of agriculture was dry farming. Lands were to be fallow regularly for fertility reason. The traditional crops were millet, dry rice, sweet potato and taro. The wet lowlands were usually abandoned before the wet-rice cultivation was adopted (Kono 1915: 29). An ethnological survey carried out in the Amis area in the early 1910s (Kono 1915: 1-2) described the cultivation in the Amis area as follows,

... 縦谷野ノ南端ヨリ大庄附近ニ至ル地域ハ平埔番及ヒ本島人ノ部落ヲ以テ充テサレ開拓普及シ耕作ノ周到見ルヘキモノアルモ足一度あみす族ノ分布區域、璞石閣以北ニ入レハ耕耨粗放ニシテ未墾地多ク北スルニ從ヒ其度ヲ加ヘ天然ノ瘠利豊ナルヲ見ル...

[... the southern part of the valley up to the Ta-chuang area, is mainly occupied by sinicized aboriginal and Chinese settlements. By contrast, the cultivation in the Amis areas north of Yu-li is primitive; the more northern it becomes, the more wild the land appears.]

(Kono 1915: 1-2, translated by myself)

Under the Ch'ing government, the legal procedure for non-aborigines to cultivate aboriginal lands in eastern Taiwan was that settlers should first obtain

cultivation right conferred from the aboriginal land owners by paying cloth, food or money, and regular rents termed *fan-tsu* (番租) - aboriginal rent should be paid to the aborigines after the completion of a piece of cultivation under the understanding that the cultivators should not be attacked. Such cultivation of aboriginal lands was also acknowledged by the Ch'ing government by the issue of a legal license. The paying *fan-tsu* to aboriginal landowners did not excuse the cultivators from paying land tax to the government¹. This procedure however only applied to the wet-rice cultivation (Ch'en 1954: 132; Ch'en 1959: 325). It was estimated that in 1896, registered wet-rice fields in eastern Taiwan amounted to only 888 hectares. The area of fields under dry farming was not known.

In 1924, the cultivated lands in the valley side of eastern Taiwan was estimated as 24,975 hectares, 7,297 or 29% of which were wet-rice fields with the rest being under dry farming. The wet-rice fields increased to 13,783 hectares after ten years in 1939 partly due to the establishment of an irrigation system. By contrast, the increase in the following ten years was much less as the amount of wet-rice fields in 1949 was 14,669 hectares (Ch'en 1954: 144).

The wet-rice cultivation's successful substitution for dry farming and the traditional crops such as millet and dry rice to become a principal crop for the Amis could be partly attributed to the existence of compulsory labor service, the registration of private land ownership and the expropriation of most hills and mountains by the Japanese government in terms of the law. This substitution seemed to have also affected the previously most significant agrarian rite, *ilisin*

1 Aboriginal landowners did not have to pay land tax for their land.

among the Amis, which was carried out in terms of the agricultural cycle of millet cultivation. *Ilisin* was reported to have diminished in 1920s (Yu, no date).

In 1905, the Japanese government issued a law which proscribed land registration as a prime requirement for official recognition of private landownership and legal transfer of land ownership (Wang 1964: 311). According to another law - the regulations on expropriation of the government land (官有林野取締規則) issued earlier by the Japanese government in 1895, all lands not having a title were to be property of the government; only lands under cultivation or in actual use were entitled to the official registration of private ownership, and claims to lands not in actual use were to be supported or proved by certificates or other evidence. As the Ch'ing government did not issue certificates of registration for dry fields or arable hills and mountain land in its administration, people thus could not provide documents or evidence for their ownership of this type of land and almost all the hills and mountains became lands of the government (Wang 1964: 315-316; Yanaihara 1956: 8). Thereafter any private employment of the land owned by the government was only to be permitted by the government through an application for official, legal recognition and tax payment.

After the land survey of hills and mountains carried out by the government during 1910-1914, 916,000 *chia*, 94% of the surveyed land became registered as government land and only 56,000 were registered as privately owned (Wang 1964: 315; Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 618). This did not include the central mountains demarcated as the 'aboriginal area', which covered about 1,720,000 *chia*, 200,000 *chia* of which were further demarcated as reserved lands for mountain aboriginal subsistence use since 1925 (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1971a: 109). The reserved lands were demarcated on maps under the calculating principle that each mountain

aborigine was entitled to 3 *chia* of land (Wang 1964: 317-318). The employment of the reserved lands by mountain aborigines were exempt from tax-paying.

The actual work of land registration by the government for official recognition of the private land ownership of arable land among the Amis in eastern Taiwan however was not undertaken until 1915. It was almost twenty years late compared with the time when the work was started in 1898 and ended in 1904 in western Taiwan. It was recorded that an early attempt to register land failed since the aborigines resisted any intrusion of outsiders into a territory claimed by themselves. But after a period the situation changed as the aborigines became more compliant and they started to have a different desire toward the land from in early times; the action of the government thus could be accepted later (Yanaihara 1974: 9). All the land cultivated by the Amis before 1910 was allowed to be legally registered as privately owned. Thus all land used either for cultivation or residence thereafter paid taxes to the government.

However, as a result of the land registration, a great amount of arable land in eastern Taiwan registered as owned by the government were taken over by Japanese sugar cane companies later under a regulation issued by the government in 1902 to encourage sugar cane enterprises, which allowed lands be leased and conferred freely for sugar cane cultivation if the cultivation was successful. By 1926, about 5,000 *chia*, one fourth of the cultivated land in Hualien subprefecture was owned by a Japanese sugar company (鹽水港製糖株式會社) (Yanaihara 1956: 12).

The government also provided subsidization to encourage Japanese immigration into eastern Taiwan. Three Japanese immigrant villages were thus established in the west side of the north Amis area. They numbered 3,148 population, totally owned 2,700 *chia* of

cultivated lands in 1940, of which 1,523 were wet-rice fields. On average, each household owned 4 hectares of land (Ch'en 1954: 33-34). The immigration into the south part of the valley side in Taitung subprefecture was mainly encouraged and managed by Japanese private companies to obtain agricultural labor for the sugar cane cultivation. The policy of employing Japanese immigrant agricultural labor was later changed in 1926 to include Chinese from the west for the early strategy was not successful. Totally there were ten villages established; the cultivated lands amounted 2,238 hectares in 1940, of which the wet-rice fields were 10%. On average, each household owned 7.6 hectares of land in 1934 (Chen 1954: 135-136; Wang 1964: 321).

As a result of the above immigration into eastern Taiwan, in 1940, the Japanese numbered 23,654, 10% of the total population of eastern Taiwan. The percentage of the aboriginal population in the total population of the valley area reduced from 55% in 1920 to 48% in 1935, though the aborigines actually increased from 34,525 population to 43,955 (Ch'en 1954: 142). On the other hand, there were 10,850 mountain aborigines forced onto the valley area by 1938 because of the compulsory movement of mountain aborigines into the plains by the government. All the new villages were mainly situated on the west side of the valley.

The Amis population increased 40.3% from 37,148 in 1920 to 53,266 in 1940 (Wang 1967: 56; Taiwan Provincial Government 1946: 94-95). The death rate among per hundred children younger than seven years old decreased from 51.7 in 1925 to 34.3 in 1929 (Hualien subprefecture 1929: 75). This should be attributed to the Japanese government's efforts to improve sanitation of the villages and to introduce modern medical treatments for illness and to eliminate the epidemic malaria (Chung 1981a: 41). Household constructions, the inner arrangements and immediate surroundings were greatly modified under instructions of the police

authority (Sung 1980: 280). The bed was to be lifted higher away from the ground than before. The previous unitary space inside was ordered to be divided into sections by walls for household members to separately sleep in. The trees which densely surrounded a house were cut down. The original custom of burying the dead around one's own house was forbidden and a public graveyard was built near the village (Commission on Inquiry for Important Measures of Hualien Subprefecture 1929: 76).

Throughout the Japanese period, the occupation of most Amis remained farming for only a small number were allowed to take other jobs. In general, Amis were prohibited to work outside freely in the larger society of Taiwan by the police authority. They were generally not allowed to run private businesses (Chung 1981b: 22) but were restricted to only three types of jobs: the assistant policeman in local police offices for aboriginal villages, teachers in aboriginal public elementary schools and servants in local government, public or private companies. Only graduates of elementary schools with honors would be selected to become servants in the governmental offices etc.. Some could pass an entrance examination for professional school for police or teaching. An investigation on the occupation of Amis in 1930 shows that there were totally 13 Amis school teachers, 64 policemen and 86 servants (Wen 1957: 833-835; Suenari 1983: 29-30).

Aboriginal public schools which provided a four-year elementary education were widely established among the Amis. If an Amis child intended to pursue a higher education, after aboriginal public school, he had to attend an ordinary elementary school which provided a normal six-year education for the local school lacked the two last years. Only then was one qualified to enter an examination for middle schools. The ratio of studying at school is estimated as 55.9% among Amis children in 1939 (Wen 1957: 828). More Amis than other

aborigines went to a higher level of school education (Wen 1957: 838).

Only in the last ten years of Japanese rule did the government remove discrimination in education between Japanese, Taiwanese Chinese and aborigines as part of a campaign to encourage the Japanization (皇民化運動) of both Taiwanese Chinese and aborigines (Sung 1980: 283). Those Chinese and aboriginal households who spoke Japanese at home were honored as 'family of national language' (國語之家). They were allowed to have Japanese names and acquire other privileges (Chung 1981: 22). Japanized aborigines had more access to a higher education and occupation than non-Japanese speaking aborigines. During the world war two, aboriginal young men were encouraged to organize military units to fight for Japan (Sung 1980: 283).

During the Japanization campaign, an active abolition of most Amis customs was practiced for they were regarded as harmful (Furuno 1945: 4-6). Traditional religious behaviour such as curative rituals was prohibited. Chinese religion and western Christianity were forbidden in aboriginal areas (Luo 1972: 43). Japanese religion was advocated and Amis were ordered to attend worship in shrines set up by the government (Chung 1981b: 22). A notable modification of Amis custom was in the marriage ceremony and the attempt to oppose matriuxorilocal residence (Wada 1929b: 40-41). Amis were asked to follow the more formal marriage procedures prescribed by the Japanese government and virilocality was propagated as a more proper practice (Yang 1978: 111; Ino 1957: 867).

In conclusion, one can see from the above that the various measures imposed upon Amis under Japanese rule resulted in an uprooting of the traditional Amis way of life and its replacement by a system of control from outside the village. Some of the changes forced upon the people were the establishment of an

authoritative headmanship of central control, virilocal marriage, private land ownership and wet-rice cultivation. The various ritual practices associated with agriculture, hunting and the men's age organization were substantially modified or destroyed. Because of a lack of historical sources prior to the 1890s, it is difficult to document many of these changes in detail but the direction of changes is clear. However, drastic though the changes were, direct contact of the Amis with the larger society of Taiwan was still limited in the sense that the village was still the only social world of most Amis for free migration was not permitted. The policy of ethnic segregation meant that the Amis did not really have free direct access to many of the various agents of changes in the pre-War modern world. The changes were more artificial results of direct intervention by the government especially through the agency of the local Japanese policemen than a process of self-selection of desirable change.

2.5 The Chinese Period (1945-)

In 1945 Taiwan changed its rulers from Japanese to Chinese. Hualien subprefecture becomes Hualien county and Taitung subprefecture Taitung county. The employment of the word *fan* to refer to aborigines is officially changed to use the expression *shan-pao* (山胞) - mountain fellow country-men instead (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1971a: 1). Mountain aborigines are referred to as *shan-ti shan-pao*; *shan-ti* (山地) means mountain areas. Plains aborigines such as the Amis are in the other category called *ping-ti shan-pao*; *ping-ti* (平地) means plain areas. The Taiwan Chinese government in general follows the Japanese demarcation of the 'aboriginal area' in central mountains, which is administratively divided into thirty *hsiang* (the same level as *chen*) under the so called 'mountain administration', in terms of which the *hsiang* heads should be aborigines. For national security from the

point of view of the government, plains residents have to apply for permission to enter areas of 'mountain administration' (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1971: 53). Mountain aborigines are no longer restricted to hold their activities within the boundaries of the areas and can go out of and into the areas in a free manner. The Japanese policy that the mountain aborigines within the 'aboriginal area' were exempt from tax-paying was maintained by the Chinese government under the condition that they did not hold any land privately but were entitled to use the reserved lands demarcated by the Japanese government (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1971: 23). As reserved lands were demarcated only on maps without any fieldwork survey at the sites, they were not necessarily suitable for agricultural use (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1971a: 105, 114). In fact, only 19% of the reserved areas are arable lands, 73.6% are lands suitable only for forestry. In order to facilitate the development in the areas, a policy of conferring private land ownership to mountain aborigines was implemented by the government during the period 1966 - 1971, when the reserved lands were allocated in terms of the principle that each mountain aborigine is entitled to 0.4 hectare of wet-rice field or 0.8 dry field and one hectare of forest land. The right of land employment is registered; after a continuous use of the allocated lands for ten years, the cultivators can obtain private land ownership of the lands, which are subject then to a tax levy (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1985: 128). However, these privately owned lands are allowed to be sold only to mountain aborigines. Besides, other forest lands can be leased to mountain aborigines for forestry purpose and exempt from tax for thirty years. Non-aborigines are allowed to apply to use reserved lands to the *hsiang* office, which needs to be certified by the provincial government. The rent income is included in the *hsiang* budget for the purpose of economic development of the reserved lands (Taiwan

Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1985: 846-848).

That land in Taiwan which was owned by the Japanese government, by Japanese companies or by immigrant farmers all of whom had gone back to Japan, were taken over by the Chinese government as public land in 1945 to be owned by different levels of government (Hsiung 1984:35-36). All private land certificates with Japanese government endorsement were to be re-registered and be acknowledged by the Chinese government. Besides, any land not registered as privately owned falls into the category of public land. On the other hand, for the land cultivated or occupied but not having been previously registered as privately owned, a registration can be obtained through a legal procedure with a factual proof of continuous cultivation for more than ten years; a regular tax is to be paid to the government then.

Most of the hilly and mountain lands in the Japanese period, were owned by the government as public land, and have been delegated to different sections of the government according to the land features or proposed land use (Hsiung 1984:85-86). The valley and banks of rivers are controlled by the water conservation bureau of the provincial government, the hilly lands below 1,000 meters by the mountain livestock-agriculture bureau, and the mountains lands above 1,000 meters by the forestry bureau. In 1947, the registered lands, including both public land and private land, amounted to 40% of the total area of Taiwan; the figure increased to 48.69% in 1974 (see Table 5). In fact, only 11% or 285,050 hectares of the public land were registered in 1947, 176,031 hectares of which, about one fifth of the total cultivated lands of the island, were mainly left by the Japanese government, Japanese companies or immigrants. Under a policy of 'sale of public land' (公地放領) since 1940, 45.6% or 130,176 hectares of the public cultivated lands had been sold to farmers by 1973, of which 12.7% or 16,623 hectares were in Hualien county (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984:

Table 5 Land Ownership of the island of Taiwan,
in 1947 and 1974

	1947	1974
Public land	2,561,358	2,482,136
registered	285,051	586,363
unregistered	2,276,307	1,895,773
Private land	1,034,763	1,088,826
registered	1,034,763	1,088,826
Total	3,596,121	3,570,962

Source: Statistics on Civil Affairs, Taiwan
Province No.5.

819-820; Sion 1984: 36; Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs, 1974b; Hualien County Government, Office of Statistics, 1987: 9). The policy however has been modified into conferring only right of employment instead of private ownership since 1976 (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1985: 197) as it was found that the expropriation of private lands for public construction was enormously difficult due to disagreements from private landowners ¹.

As hilly and mountain lands cover about two-thirds of the island, the arable land is limited. The rate of land cultivation has slowed down its increase since 1940 when the cultivated lands amounted to 860,439 hectares from 347,408 hectares of 1900 and the amount in 1980 was 899,369 (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1985: 154-155). The small size of farmland owned by the majority of agricultural households thus has become a feature of Taiwan agriculture. It was estimated that on average the cultivated land of an agricultural household in Taiwan was about one hectare from 1940 to 1977; part-time farmers who owned farms smaller than 0.5 hectare amounted to 42% of total agricultural households in 1980s (Hsiung 1984:237). By contrast, the average cultivated land owned by a plains aboriginal household was estimated as 0.67 hectare in 1969 (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs, 1971b), and 0.48 hectare in 1985 (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1986: 30).

Though the total arable land was estimated as about 1,071,400 hectares in 1977, 42% of which were hills, 57% were lowlands and plains (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1985: 156). By 1970, lowlands and plains had all been taken for use and hilly lands below 1,000 meters and with favorable conditions for usage had also been developed (Taiwan Provincial Government,

1. Interview with the director of Yu-li land administration office.

Economic Construction Committee 1971: 184). It is thus not uncommon that many cultivators are actually cultivating on the public lands without a prior legal application to the government. A report (Taiwan Provincial Government, Economic Construction Committee 1971: 28-29) pointed out that in 1971, 15.75% of the hilly lands in eastern Taiwan owned by the mountain livestock-agriculture bureau were under illegal cultivation. To help water and soil conservation, the government started to grant legal cultivation rights of hilly and mountain lands to the cultivators through a leasing procedure since 1964 under the condition that the cultivators should undertake water and soil conservation (Hsiung 1984:83). The forest lands can also be leased for forestry purpose under the supervision of the forestry bureau. The valley and banks of rivers are to be applied for cultivation to the county government (Chinese Daily 1975: 849-851).

As a matter of fact, the increasing industrialization of Taiwan has been absorbing many farmers into other sectors of the national economy. The number of agricultural labourers has started to decrease since the mid-1960s during which period the agricultural structure is regarded as being changed by agricultural economists; a shortage of labor in the agricultural sector became evident and costs for agricultural production were rising faster than the costs of agricultural production (Sheng 1971: 130-131). The agricultural employee population has decreased from 56.69% of the total employed population in 1951 to 17.03% in 1986 (Executive Yuan, Directorate-General of Statistics 1987). The income of an agricultural household was estimated as 95% of a non-agricultural household in 1966, but in 1970 the percentage dropped to 73% (Hsiung 1984:200). The average income of plains aborigines was estimated as 68.43% of that of the general agricultural population in 1969 according to a survey on the economy of the plains aborigines (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1971).

And 62.35% of the sampled plains aboriginal households made their living by farming, fishing and hunting etc. while 35.48% had shifted to non-agricultural sectors. In 1986, the percentage of agricultural population among plains aborigines was further reduced to 42.32% (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1986: 21).

Most farmers in Taiwan nowadays have to earn their living, apart from running their own farms, from casual work or part-time jobs of various types. The percentage of part-time agricultural households among the total agricultural households of Taiwan increased from 52.4% in 1960 to 82.3% in 1975 (Hsiung 1984:166). Agricultural income of a plains aboriginal household was estimated as 52.67% of its total income in 1969, 43.43% in 1974, 28.96% in 1978 and 16.89% in 1986 (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1986: 57). More and more aborigines started to look for work for cash away from their native villages in western Taiwan. It was estimated that about one fourth of aborigines are living in towns with more than 20,000 population and one seventh have virtually migrated out of their villages (Wu 1984: 66). More precisely, 19,176 Amis which is 16% of the total Amis population have moved and registered as residents of counties and cities of western Taiwan (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1987: 126-133).

Meanwhile, the continuous population increase has pushed more Taiwanese Chinese to migrate to eastern Taiwan which might seem less congested than the west. In 1986, the population of aborigines in eastern Taiwan was 165,047 which is 26% of the total population of eastern Taiwan (Hualien and Taitung County) (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1987: 122-123).

During the last forty years under the Taiwan Chinese government, direct and free contacts of Amis

with the outside were increasing. As demand for new consumer goods increased the faster the villagers flow out to work for cash. However, apart from the economic factor, the sinicization imposed upon the people by the government should be taken into account.

Amis as plains aborigines do not inhabit areas of mountain administration. They are thus obliged to pay tax for their lands. All other obligations prescribed by the law for being local citizens of the nation fall upon aborigines and Amis as well. Amis children have to fulfil a compulsory education up to the level of middle school. Amis young men should enter military service at 18 years old. All Amis above 20 years old are expected to vote for certain political offices and representation in the government. An Amis village often is not recognized as an independent territorial unit as in previous times, but is treated as part of an administrative unit demarcated by the government. As they share a common territorial administration, which basically disregards aboriginality as an administrative category, with their neighbouring Taiwanese Chinese, they and their neighbouring Taiwanese Chinese within the same administrative area share a common administrative head, are under the same administrative personnel, study in the same local school, belong to the same local associations and vote for local administrative heads in the same election campaigns. The coexistence under the same administration which operates only in Chinese as it is used as a national language, compulsorily imposes a Chinese culture upon the Amis. In another aspect, there is no possibility for an Amis to achieve in the political system of the larger society if he or she cannot employ Chinese well.

In consideration of an aboriginal's difficulty in competing with Taiwanese Chinese for entrance examination to receive education beyond the middle school level, aboriginal students are granted a special privilege of being accepted with a standard either 20

scores or 25% of the total scores lower than that of Taiwanese Chinese (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1971a: 60-63). Special educational allowances and scholarships are also provided specially for aboriginal students. Up to 1980s, 32,500 aboriginal students have received education beyond the middle school level, and 25,000 of which are qualified to a level of college education or above (Wu 1984: 65). Since all the courses in the school are designed without an acknowledgement of the existence of aborigines as different ethnic groups from Chinese, the aboriginal students can learn only Chinese culture from the formal school education.

It should be noted here that the general administration does not distinguish plains aborigines from Taiwanese Chinese whereas the political representation does. The political representation however does not conform to the classification of ethnic groups but employs a simpler administrative classification. Namely, there are electorates of 'mountain aborigines' and electorates of 'plains aborigines' but not that of Amis (as distinguished from that of Taiwanese Chinese which are regarded as ordinary electorates). As the Amis have long been out of the areas of the aboriginal administration which was established among 'mountain aborigines' under Japanese rule, they now belong to an electorate of 'plains aborigines'. The identity of plains aboriginality is recorded on the household register of the local government (see Appendix 2). This record has to be shown whenever a right of being a plains aborigine has to be exerted, for example, when voting for special member or applying under the special programme for aboriginal welfare. In other words, the identity of the Amis as an ethnic group is not recognized normally where it counts in the regular administration and the political representation. Amis appear only as plains aborigines in the official politics of Taiwan and there is no political category of Amis.

A special treatment towards plains aborigines is shown only in those special programmes proposed by the government, which are programmed not usually by an official who understands aboriginal culture. There was no such program for plains aborigines until 1954 when the provincial assembly pointed out that plains aborigines had been ignored and should be provided with the same special assistance as mountain aborigines (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1971a: 41). The civil affairs department of the provincial government is the highest office that takes charge of aboriginal affairs and implements special programmes for aboriginal welfare¹. All programmes are however to be implemented by the local county government and such administratively subordinate groups as *chen* office under supervision of the county government. They fall under the responsibility of the civil section of the local government but there is not a special personnel for aboriginal affairs. In 1950s, under a programme for the improvement of agricultural production of plains aborigines, a post of agricultural instructor for plains aborigines was installed in the *chen* office for a period in the 1950s to teach plains aborigines about the employment of pesticides, new rice breedings and other technique in cultivation (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs 1971a: 164). Today there is only one post particularly established in the *chen* office to do with plains aboriginal affairs. It provides courses on cooking, crafts and domestic husbandry and concerns the improvement of a wife's household management; that is it is only for married plains aboriginal women.

Under the request of the plains aborigines' provincial representatives, the provincial government

1 An office of aboriginal affairs has just been established in the Ministry of Interior in the Executive Yuan in 1988.

implemented a five-year program for plains aborigines' welfare in 1980, the budget of which was 560 million NT dollars (Keng 1978: 21-22). The program aims at improving house, toilet, kitchen conditions and water supply of plains aborigines. A household can apply for a subsidy of 40,000 NT dollars for a house renewal. It also assists to run part-time agricultural production such as the cultivation of domestic poultry etc., provides various job trainings for the unemployed and assists those who intend to work in the urban environment. It also gives loans to agricultural households for the establishment or improvement of their management. A number of aboriginal community centres were subsidized to instal facilities for games.

Also, a meeting to improving the aboriginal way of life is organized in many aboriginal villages, in which each household should have one adult attend. Again this provision is designed only from a Chinese point of view. I experienced one such meeting for housewives which was held in the community centre of the village of Ligats for one day under the name of improving aboriginal way of life. According to the *li* clerk (see 3.2) who is responsible for its execution, it is only held irregularly for the government budget does not always come through. The programme was actually designed by the teachers of the elementary school of Ligats under the *li* clerk's request. There were three speakers who were all Chinese; one was a teacher, another the school principal and the other a social worker from the local public clinic. The teacher's and the principal's talks were mainly on the cultivation of good habits such as not to drink wine excessively, saving, diligence, etc. The social worker's talk on baby caring was helpful but it was spoken in so rapid a Chinese that middle-aged aboriginal housewives in fact could not really appreciate its content.

Another endeavor by the government was a policy to teach aborigines business management by assisting

aborigines to establish and run a cooperative shop of their own in an aboriginal village. The county government subsidizes each such aboriginal shop with 200,000 NT dollars. Shares of the corporation are subscribed by aboriginal villagers; each share is 100 NT dollars. To take the case of Ligats, it was established in July 1985; there are 102 members and each had 20 shares. An executive and a supervisory panel, totalling eight persons, were elected; it employs a manager and a shop girl who are paid monthly. The aboriginal co-operative shop of Ligats however did not run well and was burdened with deficits. There are already 9 shops in the village, three of which are run by Amis and three by Chinese whose spouse are Amis so it is not easy for the new to compete over the old. It is difficult to assess the effect of the shop, but the establishment of it at a time when a great number of aboriginal villagers have stayed outside the village is probably too late to achieve any great influence. As far as the economy of the aboriginal village is concerned, the shop seems to me to have less business value than that of just proving that aborigines are able to run business. Most villagers do not think about the shop. Under the serious financial difficulties, the shop was at first going to be closed down, but it has been sustained with the government's additional support. Some local leaders regard it a disgrace to outsiders and their next generation if it cannot exist.

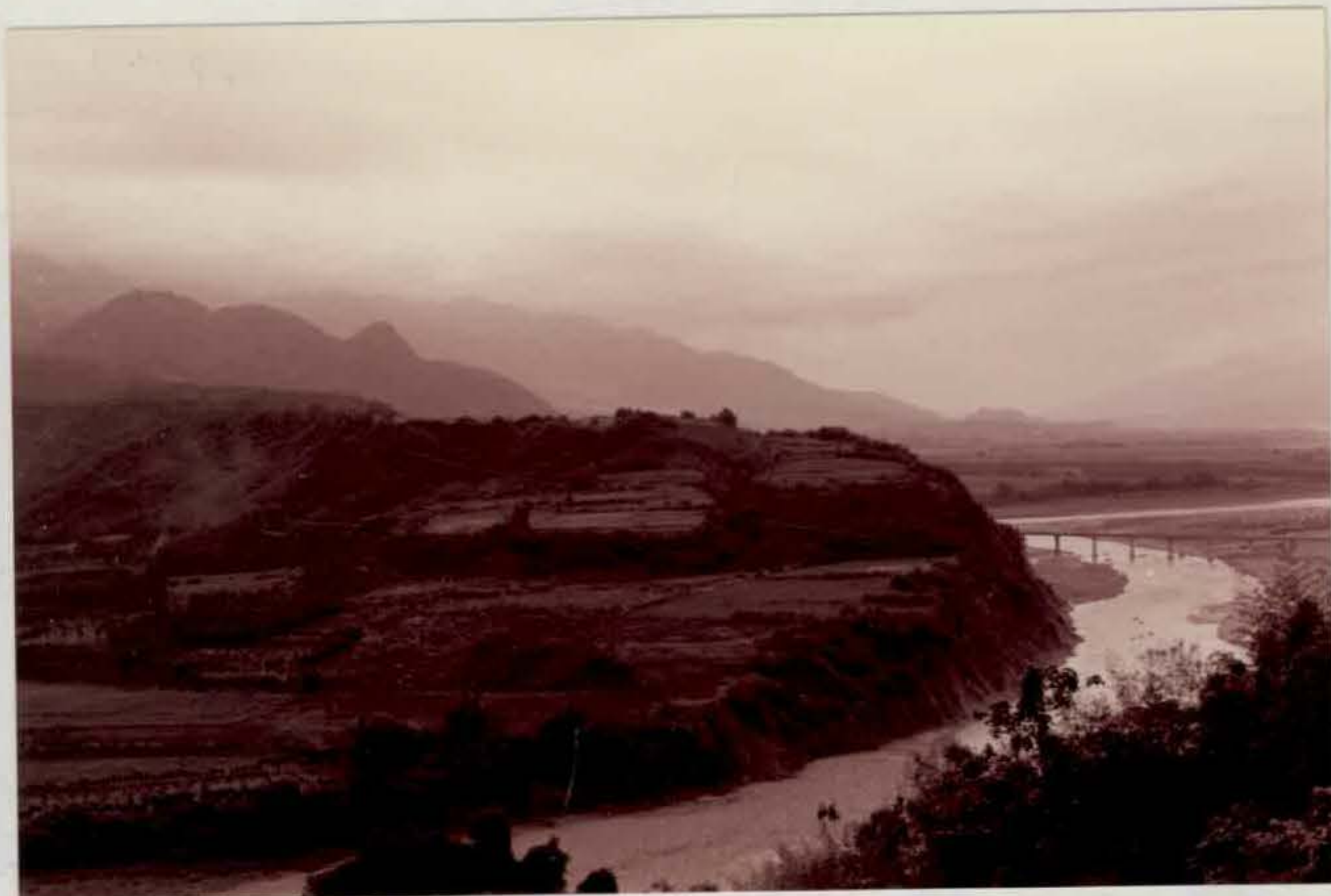
CHAPTER THREE

THE VILLAGE OF LIGATS IN THE LARGER SOCIETY OF TAIWAN

The Amis village of Ligats is situated on a foothill on the west side of Coastal mountains. The Hsiukuluan river to its west cuts across these mountains nearby at the north of the village to reach the Pacific ocean. Further a Palanen (Linya) river originating in these mountains runs westwards to meet the Hsiukuluan river. This constitutes the southern boundary of the village (see Map 2).

The village Ligats could have been founded in the latter half of the nineteenth century for it was recorded by the Ch'ing officer that there were 42 households and 140 people in the village in the 1880s (Hu 1960: 29). The nearby more populous towns Juei-suei and Yu-li have been established since the Ch'ing dynasty and are mainly composed of Taiwanese Chinese.

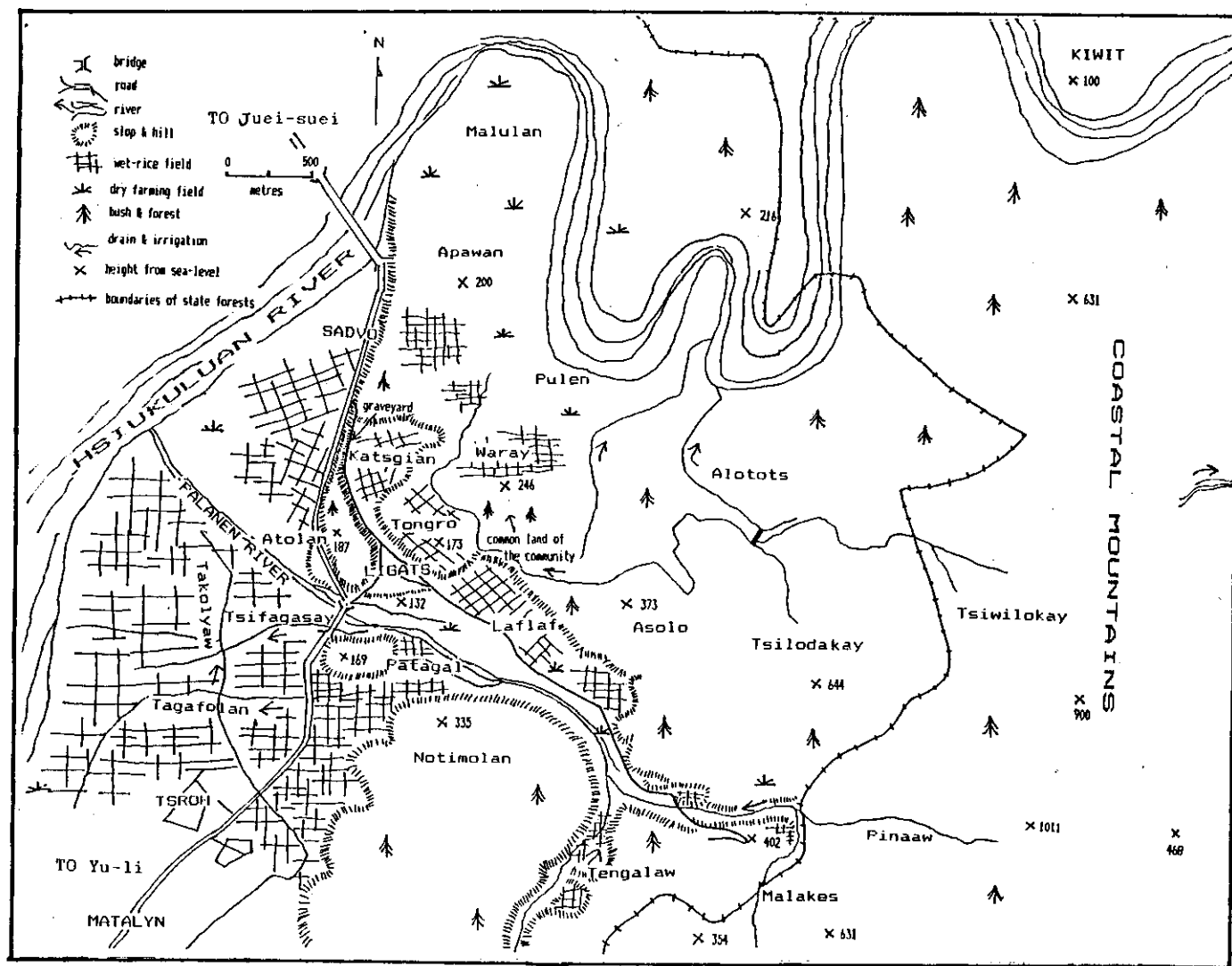
Being surrounded by the two rivers and the coastal mountains to the east, Ligats was somewhat isolated from outside in previous times before modern transportation arrived. Since the two rivers were bridged in 1973, and a regular bus route was established afterwards in 1976, it now takes only two or three minutes for villagers of Ligats to reach the neighbouring village, Sadvo situated to the north on the same foothill and Tsroh to the south at the other side of the Linya river. The nearest town, Juei-suei is also within ten minutes' by bus via the Juei-suei bridge over the Hsiukuluan river, where one can travel either by rail or a bus all over the island. It takes about one hour from Juei-suei to Hualien or Taitung and about four hours from Hualien to Taipei by railway. Administratively speaking, Ligats is affiliated to the *chen* office situated at the town of Yu-li. Yu-li is however about forty minutes' away by



Malulan and Hsiukuluan river, looking south



Ligats, rice fields in Tagafolan and Takolyaw,
looking southwest



Map 2 Village Ligats and Environs

bus for it is to the south and at the other side of the Hsiukuluan river. The bus has to run southwards along the western sides of coastal mountains to cross the Yu-li bridge over the Hsiukuluan river in order to reach Yu-li.

Amis villages are usually compact with households clustered together. Within a village, Chinese houses are built on the edges or along the main road. As the Chinese increase with the addition of new migrants, they form a block next to their Amis neighbours. Chinese blocks usually consist of shops and other types of business. Chinese farmers do not necessarily attach themselves to the Chinese mercantile block; quite often they live on their scattered fields.

Compared with other Amis villages, there are fewer Chinese settlers attached to the village of Ligats. In the neighbouring Amis village - Tsroh, there exists a Chinese block with a Chinese temple. There is no temple in existence in Ligats. And while the main road for cars runs through the middle of Tsroh, in Ligats, it skirts only a corner. Amis villagers not only shop at Chinese village stores but trade in nearby towns. The Chinese pedlars residing in nearby towns would now and then tour into the village to sell their goods and services.

In the following, the demographic, political, economic, religious and traditional aspects of the contemporary Ligats will be described. My aim is to introduce a general background in which the kin grouping (to be dealt with in chapter 4) and the local leadership (Chapter 5) operate. Significant changes in the past will be mentioned when relevant so that the changes of kin grouping can be viewed with reference to them. In order to reach the conclusion put forward in Chapter 5 and 6, I also describe the local situation necessary to understand the local leadership.

3.1 Population

The village of Ligats consists of 166 households. 148 of them are Amis, 17 are Taiwanese Chinese and 1 is of Bunun ethnicity (House 119) (see Table 6). The household registers of the Japanese period show that the number of Amis households when first registered was 45 in the 1920s. Before 1930, there were two Chinese households living in the village; one took up residence in the midst of Amis households, the other was situated on the outskirts. From the early 1930s to 1945, 8 Chinese households were newly registered and all of them scattered their houses in the area next to the village but a bit further up the hill thus slightly separated from Amis households. According to the household registers in 1946, there were 90 households in the village and ten of them were Chinese (see Table 6). Since 1945, ten Amis households have set up their houses in the area of their Chinese neighbours and twelve Chinese households have moved into and settled themselves amidst Amis households. The previous spatial separation in household distribution thus no longer exists (see Table 7, Map 3).

Among the early Chinese settlers in Ligats before 1945, only one household ran a rice and grocery shop (House 20); all of them were farmers. By contrast, all the recent Chinese immigrants after 1945 make their living mainly by running small businesses such as a grocery shop, a barber shop (House 152) and a motor-bike shop (House 142). Three of them live here because of their occupation as teachers in the primary school of the *li* (House 170, 173, 178). Ten Chinese men in the village are married with Amis women of the village (see Table 7). Chinese households would usually contribute money or gifts for the Amis annual festival no matter whether they attend it or not as the festival is regarded by the Amis villagers as a local event to be supported by all residents of the locality. Ceremonial occasions such as marriages and funerals of Amis

Table 6 Distribution of households by ethnicity, 1920s-1986

	1920s	1945	1986
Amis	45	90	148
Chinese	2	10	17
Bunun			1
Total	47	100	166

Source: Household registers in the Household Registration Office of Yu-li chen and my own survey during the fieldwork in 1986.

Table 8 Frequency of intra- and inter-village marriage among Amis and with other ethnic groups by generation

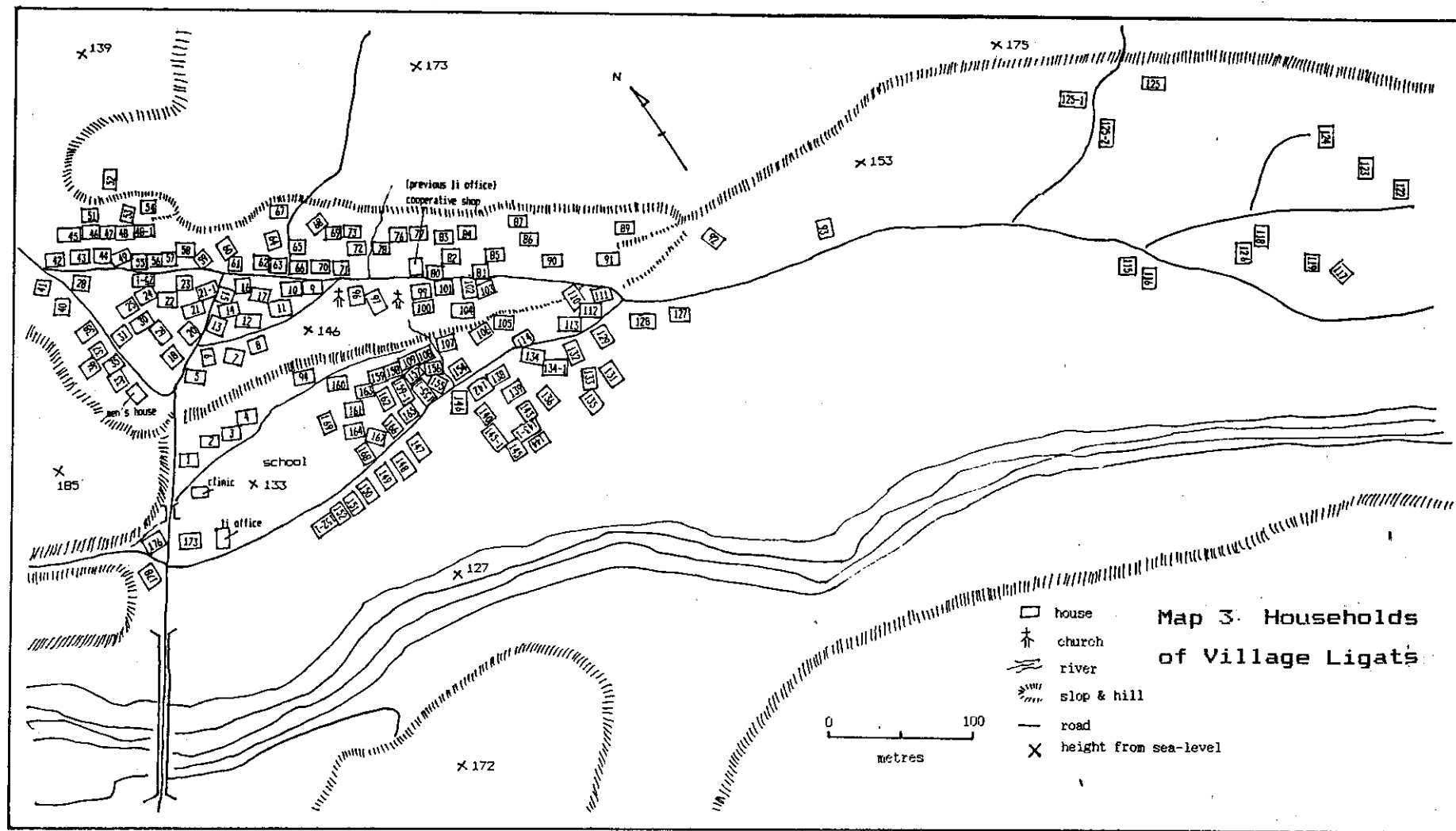
	the upper generation		the middle generation		the lower generation	
marriage with Amis						
intra-village	148	88.6%	231	70%	161	47%
inter-village	17	10.2%	75	22.7%	125	36.7%
marriage with Chinese	2	1.2%	21	6.4%	48	14%
other ethnicity	-	-	3	0.9%	7	2.1%
Total	167	100%	327	100%	341	100%

Source: My own survey during the fieldwork in 1986.

Table 7 Distribution of Households by Lin

<i>lin</i>	Amis House	Total	Other House	Total
1	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12, 13,14,15,16,17,	17	-	-
2	18,21,21-1,22,23,24,25,(28), 29,30,(31),33,35,36,37,38, (40),(41)	18	20,[25-1]	2
3	42,43,44,45,46,47,48,48-1, 49,(51),52,53,54,55,56,57, 58,59,60	19	[61],[62]	2
4	63,64,65,66,67,68,69,70,71, 72,73,	11	-	-
5	(76),(77),78,(82),83,84,84, 85,86,87,89,90,91,93	13	(80),81 [92]	3
6	94,96,99,100,101,(102),103, 104,105,106,107,108,109,110, 111,(112),113	17	[97],[114]	2
7	115,116,(117),118,122,123, 124,125,125-1,125-2	10	119,[126]	2
8	(127),129,130,131,132,133, 134,134-1,135,136,138,(139), 140,143,143-1,144,145,145-1, 147,148,149,150,151,152-1	24	128,142, 146,152	4
9	[154],(155),155-1,156,(157), 158,159,159-1,160,161,162, 163,164,165,166,167,168, 176,127-1	19	[169],[173], 178	3
Total		148		18

Note: 1.() refers to the household actually staying outside the village most of the time.
 2. Except House 119 is Bunun, others in the Other House column are all Han.
 3. [] refers to a Chinese man marrying an Amis woman of the village in the household.
 4. During the Japanese period, most of the households sit in the areas of *Lin* 1-6, the areas of *Lin* 7, 8, 9 were only sparsely occupied by about one fifth of the total household at that time. The later population increase and household divisions have made more households established in the latter areas, where now sit about one third of the total households of Ligats (see Map 3).



households would frequently have their Chinese neighbours invited.

Five languages can be heard in the village: Amis, Japanese, Mandarin (the current official dialect), Hokkien and Hakka (dialects in southern China). The most commonly used is the Amis language. Only two of the Chinese households can speak fluent Amis language. Japanese is often used as a means of communication between Amis and Chinese above 50 years old as both groups had been educated in Japanese when they were children. Mandarin is used more among the young generation who do not know Japanese. Among the earlier Chinese settlers, Hakka is more a daily dialect than Hokkien which is the main non-official dialect of the island.

Because of lack of job opportunities nearby in eastern Taiwan, there is a tendency to move into urban areas for labouring work and cash earning since the 1960s. A number of villagers live outside the village to work while still maintaining a close connection with the village. While keeping houses and assets in the village, three Chinese households and 15 Amis households actually reside mainly outside in other towns for job reasons (see Table 7). They either let farms to their relatives or other villagers for cultivation or have close relatives here with whom they still have rights and obligations.

Marriages and funerals provided occasions when I was able to meet villagers staying most of the time outside. People would come back to hold or attend ceremonies of their kin no matter how far away they were. As long as they were informed, they would return. The obligation to attend marriages, funerals and other important events of household such as feasting, or completing house building with support in the form of money is evident. Thus the social boundaries of the village are not limited by the physical boundaries but

may extend even to Taipei or Kaohsiung.

Almost all of the young generation stay in the village till they finish their compulsory middle school education at the public Juei-suei middle school five minutes' away by bus. Some continue their high school education in the nearby town Yu-li and still reside in the village. Those who do not continue with school would usually be introduced by their relatives or acquaintances to factories or businesses in urban areas for wage earning. As I count, there are about 240 unmarried young Amis villagers currently working away from the village as labourers. By contrast, only 7 unmarried young Amis not at school are working at home in the village.

As most of the young people are away, they frequently meet marriage partners from other villages, and in this way increase the incidence of inter-village marriage. Among the 342 married villagers of the young generation in Ligats my calculation shows that 161 married Amis of Ligats, 125 are married to Amis of other villages, 48 with Chinese, and 7 with aborigines of other ethnicity. To compare the incidence of intra-village marriage in different generations shown in the genealogies collected by myself, one can see clearly that its previous dominance has been greatly reduced among the young villagers (see Table 8).

Marriages of the young generation are always held in the village. Most young couples however do not stay at home after the marriage; they usually soon go back to their working places in the urban areas. According to my figures, there are about 82 couples of the younger generation staying outside for cash earning and 15 couples making their living at their parents' homes in the village. Occasionally the young will come back to the village when they temporarily lose their jobs. But for the sake of earning cash, however, it is inevitable that they have to leave the village for

the chance of unemployment is always greater in the village. The agricultural labor of Ligats indeed has been insufficient under such circumstances. Some of the young come back during the busy season for agricultural assistance and some do not.

Therefore, it is not very easy to give a precise figure of the village population and the household population as it is difficult to decide whether a school graduate will be back eventually and whether they will ultimately inherit a portion of the household property. Further, there are members of a household who are of a senior parent's sibling generation and yet have been out of the village for a number of years. However there is no rule to assess how much they are entitled to the household property once they decide to come back. According to the villagers, only when a division of household property occurs, does one have to decide whether a separate residence outside is regarded as an independent household in economic terms. It happens though that a separate residence outside makes economic sharing and cooperation difficult or impossible. This lessens the economic relation of separately living members before the household property is divided and possibly brings conflicts to the division agreement.

Bearing in mind that many villagers are actually staying outside, even a possible guess at the total population is difficult to make. I count the population of current Amis residents of Ligats as 538 and each household averages 4 persons, excluding the 16 Amis household living outside the village most of the time. Those villagers who stay outside Ligats most of the time could either remain registered as residents in the village or have a registration as a citizen in the actual administrative area where they reside (see Appendix 2). Some villagers are registered in both Ligats and their working place; some are no longer registered in Ligats though they still come back to exercise their rights and obligations. I count the

household members who are registered in Ligats but hardly appear in the village, excluding the 16 usually absent Amis households, as 475. Thus totally the population of Ligats on the household registration is 1013; each household averages 8.4 persons. For comparative reasons, I give the figure of the household register of 1945 when the population was 664 and each household averaged 8.5 persons.

3.2 In the political system of Taiwan

Ligats is not treated as an official administrative unit in the eyes of government but is part of the basic administrative unit - *li* (里). Ligats, Sádvo - the neighbouring Amis village about 15 minutes' walk away, and other Chinese households scattered within the administrative boundaries of De-wu *li* artificially constitute a local political unit recognized by the government. The boundaries generally coincide with the demarcation of the two rivers surrounding the hill where the two villages are situated.

A post of *li* head is instituted as the head of a *li*. A *li* head is elected by all citizens aged above 20 who have been registered residents of the administrative area of the *li* for six months. Voting takes place every four years. The present *li* head is an Amis resident of Ligats who has retained his position for 12 years by winning the election for three terms. The primary conditions for standing for office are two: first, one has to be a resident of the *li* aged above 23 years old; second, one has to have completed primary school education. The second condition has however been raised since 1987 to only grant candidature to those who have graduated from middle school.

The *li* head is regularly assisted by a paid employee - *li* executive. This clerk holds the

status of civil servant which is obtained through passing a civil examination of the government. The present *li* executive is neither a resident of the De-wu *li* nor an Amis but assigned to the *li* as a civil servant. This clerk is directly appointed by the *chen* office - a higher administrative office above *li*. His daily working place is at the local *li* office. The administrative instructions or programs handed down from the *chen* to the *li* are always undertaken and completed by *li* executives. All local affairs however are to be notified to the *li* head before being carried out. A *li* executive is more like a messenger or chore-runner of the administrative offices than an official. Whatever messages have to be issued to the villagers, the *li* clerk would always ask the *li* head to announce them to the public through a microphone installed at the house of *li* head and never do it himself.

Households within the De-wo *li* are further divided into 15 administrative neighbourhoods - *lin* (鄰). Nine of them are in Ligats (see Table 7). A *lin* head is instituted to take charge of a *lin*. Among the nine *lin* heads, one is a Chinese whose household has settled in Ligats since 1930s but all the others are Amis. A wooden plate hangs on the door of a *lin* head's household. Apart from this, there is no other reward from the government for the job. The government does not prescribe conditions and procedures for the appointment of a *lin* head. The terms for the *lin* head change in accordance with that of *li* head. Usually a new *lin* head is elected by the meeting of household representatives of a *lin*.

In short, both the *li* and the *lin* heads merely act as agents for passing down the orders of the government and any initiative by the *li* head is strongly limited.

According to the law, under the supervision of the

chen office, a *li* should have a meeting of the *li* residents at least once a year in which local affairs can be discussed and suggestions can be made to the upper government. Each household should have an adult member attend the meeting. The *li* head can also summon the meeting under the request of one fifth of the households. Usually local institutions such as the primary school, the police office, the public health office, the farmers' association, local political representatives and local officers would also be invited to attend by the *chen* office. The suggestions made at the meeting are then sent to the *chen* office for confirmation or execution. However, the *li* clerk commented negatively on the effect; he said, 'Most of the suggestions will not be directly put into practice. The reply of the government is usually that the execution has to wait till the budget can include it.' Thus the villagers are hardly keen to initiate any proposal at the meeting.

The higher administrative office to which De-wu *li* is subordinate is Yu-li *chen* office. Yu-li *chen* office administers 14 *lis* of which De-wu is one. The *chen* head is elected by votes of *chen* citizens. The *chen* office bears the responsibility to undertake programs transmitted from above. It also carries out the activities prescribed by the local self-governing law and controls the budget agreed to by the *chen* assembly which is composed of *chen* representatives voted by *chen* citizens. As far as the election of *chen* head is concerned, there is no separate electorate between Amis and Chinese. In this aspect, Amis and Chinese share the same administrative head regardless of ethnicity. By contrast, in the field of representation in the *chen* assembly, a quota of plains aboriginal representation is instituted according to the principle that if there are more than 1,500 plains aboriginal residents in a *chen*, they should have one plains aboriginal *chen* representative. If the number of plains aboriginal residents exceeds 3,000

in a *chen*, every 3,000 can have one representative. The present *chen* head is a Chinese and among the 10 *chen* representatives, 3 of them are Amis ¹.

Above the level of *chen* administrative unit the higher political units are the county - *hsien*, the province and the nation where quotas for plains aboriginal representation are also prescribed (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1984: 746-753). Thus in 1986 there were 7 plains aboriginal representatives in the Hualien county assembly, which totally has 33 members ², 2 in the Taiwan provincial assembly which totally has 77 members, 1 in the legislative assembly and 1 in the National assembly. All of which the Amis of Ligats are entitled to vote for not as Amis but as plains aboriginals.

Elections for aboriginal representation in a sense have connected different Amis villages together for as when there is no candidate from one's own village, one has to vote for a candidate from other villages. Also, in order to win representative seats at higher political levels, candidates usually have to seek votes from more villages in a wider area. The political resource and prestige involved in the seats of aboriginal representation therefore seemingly have become a social force operating not only within an Amis village but also outside of it among Amis villages.

In the 1950s, an Amis villager of Ligats, Kwa, who is now 76 and had been a teacher and a principal in primary schools was elected as county representative for

1 The total population of Yu-li *chen* is 40,424, of which 8,843 are plains aborigines (Hualien County Government, 1987).

2 The principle is that if there are more than 1,500 plains aboriginal residents in a county, they can have one representative. If the number exceeds 5,000, every 5,000 can have one. When it is over 20,000, every 10,000 can have one.

four terms, the second, third, fourth and the seventh. His major contribution to the Amis at that time was to expose to the government the serious problem of the usury burden faced by the Amis and the resultant loss of the lands to the Chinese. A special loan fund was thus installed to assist the Amis in solving the problem. The fund however did not continue for long as many of the loans could not be paid off by the debtors in time. One of the sons of Kwa failed to get elected as a provincial representative after nomination and has moved to the urban area permanently.

The Amis *chen* representative Huang (surname in Chinese) who was supported by Ligats in the election in 1982, is a resident of the neighbouring village Tsroh. In that election, two candidates were from Tsroh and both won. Huang said that the votes of Tsroh amounted to about 300; apparently they had to depend on votes of other villages (according to the election held in 1986, one has to gain more than 500 to win the election). His success in winning the votes in Ligats was to some extent due to his being supported by the Kuomintang party organization. An Amis male of the neighbouring village Sadvo Ch'en (surname in Chinese) also intended to stand for election. As Ch'en came from in the same *li* as villagers of Ligats, he was seemingly in an advantageous position to ask for support of Ligats' residents. But the party organization supported Huang instead of Ch'en though Ch'en was also a party member. Huang said that three meetings were held to persuade Ch'en to quit the election. One of them had the attendance of the *chen* head, another the participation of the farmers' association. The last one was held at the former headman of Ligats Motsoh's house when the local officers of the party were present. Though Ch'en agreed not to stand nominated but he finally still failed the election.

In 1986, Ch'en stood for the election of county representative and was supported by Ligats, but he

failed again. There were eighteen Amis candidates to compete for seven seats in the county representative assembly in the election. Three of them were from the Yu-li *chen*. Huang said that it was expected that two Yu-li candidates could win if one of the three did not stand so that the votes would not be dispersed. He said that the party and the Yu-li headman association tried to negotiate a resignation but were not successful. Thus only one of the three won. A village meeting was summoned by the *li* head of Ligats specially for Ch'en, where the headman of Sadvo also appeared. At the meeting, the vice-headman, the farmers' representative of Ligats and the chairman of the De-wu community organization (see below) were asked by the *li* head to give talks in support of Ch'en. As a result, Ch'en obtained 311 votes from the *li* voters while another Amis candidate Lin (surname in Chinese) supported by the party gained only 26 from the *li*. A young man of Ligats who was assigned the responsibility of supporting Lin by the party organization told me that as Ch'en was overtly supported by the village leaders, he dare not carry out his propaganda in any open way; he only approached the young men as they, unlike the elders, did not necessarily follow the advice of the headman.

In the above cases, a tendency seemingly is to support a candidate who resides in a neighbouring village. My experience in my first village Lagasan of Pailasen, however, demonstrates an example where the candidate Chou (surname in Chinese) residing one hour away by bus at Mulatin was supported. The election was held in February 1986 for county representatives and Chou won the election. The Amis *ts'un* head told me that he could not meet the party's wish to support the Amis candidate Li who finally failed the election for Li was a Presbyterian while Chou was his kin and the chairman of the the association of Catholic assistant preachers, of which the *ts'un* head was also a member. I actually attended a meeting summoned by Chou

in October 1985; it was later admitted by the *ts'un* head that the meeting was held mainly for strengthening solidarity of the group to pave a way for election support for Chou.

I was informed by Huang that each *chen* representative is granted a right to NT\$ 20,000 to be at his disposal for local construction in each budget year. As far as the county representative is concerned, the amount of the budget to be at his disposal, also for local construction, is NT\$ 200,000. This right actually becomes a political source to be operated on by local political figures.

The village of Tsroh renewed its dance ground for the annual festival in 1986. Huang said that the construction cost 500 bags of cement which was about NT\$ 140,000. He asked for a subsidy of 200 packages from the *chen* office, 100 packages from the World Vision Association. Besides, the county representative was requested to use NT\$ 20,000 from his entitlement in the budget of local construction. He also asked each of the two Amis *chen* representatives, one from Matalyn and the other from Halawan, to allocate NT\$ 10,000 to assist the construction. He said, 'Matalyn and Tsroh are in the same *li*; there would be no excuse for him to refuse my request. The cousin of the *chen* representative in Halawan would stand for the election of legislative representatives next year. If NT\$ 10,000 were granted, the favor would be appreciated by the villagers in Tsroh.'

Besides, Huang has just had his motion agreed to to build a road for his *li* to transport products from the mountains. The cost is about seven million NT dollars and was financed and executed by the county government. He said that it was agreed because the officer of the section of water and soil conservation in the county government owed him a favor. Without a prior consultation with the Yu-li *chen* assembly, the

section had started to build an agricultural road which went through a hill owned by the Yu-li *chen* office. The Yu-li *chen* assembly thus proposed a penalty against the illegal construction. Huang said that he was the only one in the assembly speaking for the section's action as it was in fact a construction also favorable to the hill owned by the Yu-li *chen*. The argument was thus settled and the section officer was exempt from punishment.

Moreover, there are other affairs which Huang as a local representative has to care about. It is necessary for him to attend the marriage, funeral and other important feasts of those who provided support to him during the election campaign. He said, 'If you do not appear, people think that they are despised.' Also he had to spend a lot of time in assisting the people to solve their problems in daily life such as a change of household registration, land registration or other document affairs, the settlement of a car accident, a family conflict such as a child's running away from home etc., or to accompany people to the court. He said, 'People need my help and come to ask for it, if I do not go, they do not know how to defend their own interests. They do not know about the law, documents and evidence.'

Huang lost to a young man of Ligats the election of *chen* representative in 1986. A villager of Ligats said, 'it is a shame to our village if our own candidate could not win. It is better to have a representative from our own village. Sometimes we asked the representative in Tsroh to help with our affairs. He promised but did not really do it.'

A public primary school which is regarded as a school for De-wu *li* is situated next to the village. However, I was told that most children of Sadvo, the neighbouring village in the same *li*, actually attend one in a neighbouring town instead of the one in the

li. The school is closely related to the li as all the students, numbering about 105, are from the li. The annual athletic game of the li is held in coordination with that of the school. The villagers were commanded by the li head and lin heads to help with clearance of the school playground for the event. The wives' group of the village presented a dance performance for the opening ceremony. Various matches were arranged for both students and the villagers. On the front stage, principals of the public primary schools nearby were invited as guests to sit side by side with the retired headmen and prestigious figures of the village. The parents' association takes an active role in supporting the event and the school in financial terms under the leadership of the chairman of the association who is an Amis of the village. The principal and the teachers are Chinese. The language used in the school is Mandarin, an officially designated national language.

A small public clinic is established next to the school by the county government for the li residents' medical treatment and public health. The doctor and nurses come to serve only for two afternoons a week.

In front of the village stands a concrete column about six meters high with the Chinese words 'De-wu community' on it, which however theoretically symbolizes a different entity from either the De-wu li or the Amis village of Ligats. 'De-wu community' is an officially recognized and organized formal organization and was established in 1975 due to a program on community development implemented by the provincial government (Taiwan Provincial Government, Dept. of Civil Affairs, 1982). This formal community is to operate according to the regulations drawn up by the government which say that the li head should be automatically included into the community committee and the li clerk is to serve as secretary of the

community committee. The community always has a building termed 'community activity center' established, which though for the community's use however is a piece of property regarded as belonging to the *chen* office. The 'community activity center' of the 'De-wu community' sits just at the entrance of the village; it also preferably serves as the *li* office as suggested in the regulation on community organization and the building thus is under charge of both the *li* and the 'community'.

A community committee is formed by votes of household heads of *Ligats* to take charge of the relevant business and interests prescribed by the formal regulations. As the program of community development is not particularly for aborigines, the local Chinese neighbours are automatically included in the organization. The present committee is composed of three Chinese and 17 Amis; the seats are to be renewed by votes every four years and each seat cannot be held by the same person over two successive terms. The committee is supposed to meet every three months under the summon of its chairman and the record of the meeting should be submitted to the *chen* office. Operation of the committee is generally under supervision of the *chen* office.

A regulation - Measures of strengthening community activity (台灣省加強社區活動實施要點) issued by the government in 1972 suggests that various programs motivated by the government are to be carried out either by the *li* head in coordination with the community committee or the committee itself. Other local institutions such as the public primary school, local public clinic, farmers' association and related sections of the *chen* office are also regarded as relevant and are expected to provide assistance to its activities. It seems to me that the formalized community organization is installed with an attempt to activate the one-way routine administration from *chen* office

to *li* head into a more involved participation by the villagers in local affairs.

Various subsidized programs are implemented in the name of community development by the government such as improvement of the roads, drains and toilets. Also the rudimentary water supply system of the village was installed with subsidized construction from the *chen* office. The water supply used to be administered by an Amis team composed of the *li* head and *lin* heads who were responsible for clearing any difficulties when supply problems arise. Two accountants were appointed to collect charges from households and the income was used for the expenditure on meals for the team on their working days, employing an Amis technician for repairing the pipes, and compensations to the two accountants. Because the supply of water was irregular, and accountants did not collect the fees regularly, a school teacher insisted on calling a meeting of the community committee to settle the problem. The Amis team was therefore dismissed and a new panel composed of two Chinese and one Amis was set up instead. The teacher dominated the meeting and the Amis members were seemingly not able to stand against his handling of the affair. The event was afterwards reported by the Amis chairman of the community committee on the third day of the annual festival to the men's organization of the village (see Chapter 3.5). He felt sorry about their failure and wished for improvement in the future.

Under the regulations concerning community organization, the community can support itself by retaining a common property the profit of which is to enrich a common fund. A piece of land about eight *chia* which is in the area Waray therefore has been set up as common land of the community since the former *li* head. Parts of the land were provided by some private owners of the village. A road was afterwards constructed by the *chen* office with subsidies from upper levels of governments. Several different types of

economic crops had been planted and the profits gained were spent on feasts. The cultivation of the land was now said to be neglected, 'because it is not private but collective, so no one really pays attention to it'.

A common fund of NT\$ 500,000 was also installed in 1985 under a regulation for establishing a community productive construction fund (台灣省社區生產建設基金設置要點). One fifth of it is provided by the village and the rest are subsidized by the *chen* office, the county and the provincial governments. The employment of the fund is to be agreed to by the community committee and certified by the *chen* office. Reports on the financial balance of the fund is subject to audit by the upper levels of the upper governments.

Since the organization is entirely formally programmed by the government and since members of the community committee, partly because of illiteracy, do not really understand the written regulations in detail, the operative instructions from the secretary of the committee become the guide at meetings of the committee. Many Amis villagers tend to see the community as identical with their village and told me that the village has common land and a common fund of NT\$ 500,000. This can be shown in its first time decision on employment of the fund. A proposal was put forward from the men's organization of the village to use the fund for the Amis annual festival. It was rejected by the community committee on the grounds that a 'community' is different from an Amis village - *niaroh*, so it would not be proper to use the fund just for drinking and fun at the Amis annual festival. The money should be saved for more important and serious local use. This idea was actually provided by the secretary (also *li* clerk). When he explained the regulations for the employment of the fund to the committee, he emphasized the unsuitability of using the fund for providing drinking money as he did not interpret the annual festival as a cultural event with

educational significance for the young generation. Whether in fact the fund can be used in this way seems dependent on the way the meaning of the festival is viewed. According to the regulations, it is feasible to use the fund for activities which have an educational and moral function. Because of ignorance of the regulations, the Amis members could not put forward any argument.

The villagers of Ligats are connected with higher levels of government also through the local farmers' association - Yu-hsi farmers' association. Farmers' associations actually act as executive units for the agricultural policy of the government (Hsiung 1984:102; Yu et al 1978: 73-74). They are always delegated to supply fertilizers, chemicals etc. to the farmers and collect rice from the farmers for the government. Various loans and promotions of agricultural technology provided by the government are managed through the association. The local farmers' association is to constitute and subordinate to the county farmers' association, and further is below the provincial farmers' association (Yu et al, 1978: 10-11, 44-45; Ch'iu 1971: 191). The businesses of the local farmers' association cover mainly three sections: the promotion of new agricultural technology, a local financial center for saving and loans, and a trading function of buying and selling. The representative assembly composed of farmers' representatives elected by farmer members in Yu-li chen and Chuo-hsi hsiang (an administrative area to the west of Yu-li chen) is the highest authority of the local Yu-hsi farmers' association¹, which is entitled to elect an executive and a supervising panel to take charge of members of the whole li constitute a farmers' unit which elects two heads to work as an intermediary who

1 There are now 4,437 members and 49 farmers' representatives in this association (Hualien County Government, 1987: 44-45).

brings messages from the farmers' association to the villagers. One of the farmers' unit those local affairs allowed by the higher authority. The executive panel then has to appoint a qualified person as a prime executive to take charge of the business delegated by the the executive panel. One Amis of Ligats is elected by residents of the *li* to join the farmers' representative assembly. The farmer head is the present *li* head of Ligats; the other is an Amis in Sadvo.

The local farmers' association is supposed to play a significant role in assisting local farmers to improve their agricultural management. However, I cannot assess here the extent to which it does actually assist the Amis agriculture and economy and the efficiency. The previous provincial plains aboriginal representative Chuang (1985: 151-159) used to question the head of the agricultural department of the provincial government as to the fact that in some local famers' associations, there was no aborigine employed as staff; there is no special service provided to suit aboriginal needs. The same problem of disregarding aboriginality as in the general administraiton makes me doubt that the local farmers' association can look to agricultural problems of Amis farmers and implement special measures for them.

3.3 Agriculture, land and the economy

Rice is now the main crop cultivated by the villagers of Ligats. The cultivation of wet-rice is considered by the villagers as essential to their subsistence as rice has been the staple food among the villagers. Some Amis may cultivate dry rice and millet in small amounts for making traditional food as 'hakhak' and 'toron' on special occasions. Most villagers seemingly prefer rice to other crops as to their diet. They said, 'There is no famine, no shortage of rice, so there is no need now to grow sweet potatos and dry rice. Dry rice needs less care but you do not get many packages. Sweet potato is easy to grow but also easy to

get hungry having it as food'.

Most villagers grow vegetables, fruits and betel nut trees in the gardens around their houses or on the marginal plots of their farm fields for their own daily consumption. Poultry and husbandry cultivation are not popular and are only incidentally found. Buffalo raising is common for animal labor. It is still customary for the villagers to collect wild vegetation in the in the fields for their daily diet. Amis villagers do not buy food in the market regularly; they do food shopping mainly on feasting occasions and most of the time they grow their own vegetables.

Most of the villagers can be regarded as subsistence farmers as far as the ordinary daily diet is concerned. But the majority of the households cannot be regarded as agricultural households living exclusively on income from their own agricultural production. The number of full-time farmers in the village who subsist mainly on their farms instead of being employed by others as laborers is far less than that of part-time farmers whose livelihood cannot be sustained without being wage earners. All the households in Ligats are more or less dependent on outside work to top up their income. During the rice transplanting season, many women will work for cash; each is paid 500 NT dollars per day without meals or 400 NT dollars with meals provided. During the rice off season, even more villagers than usual will work outside the village as temporary laborers for Chinese farmers in cultivating other cash crops. For instance, a laborer working in the watermelon field is paid 200 NT dollars a day, in the papaya field 300 NT dollars, in the golden needle flower field 400 NT dollars. Many men work as construction laborers in eastern Taiwan or further away in the urban areas of northern or western Taiwan. There the pay is 600 NT dollars a day in eastern Taiwan and 800 NT dollars in northern or western Taiwan.

In most cases in the village, wet-rice production constitutes a major part of the income of the agricultural household who cultivate cash crops. In fact, rice has been a major cash crop in the village because of the agricultural policy of the Taiwan Chinese government since 1949. Other cash crops such as maize, sorghum and soybean are more or less cultivated in the village also due to the government's policy (see below).

Apart from the crops encouraged by the government, peanuts are a cash crop as the price is considered good; it is regarded being labor intensive so most households do not like it. Only four households in Ligats currently cultivate cash crops other than those mentioned above in a substantial terms. House 2 grows tobacco, House 85 grows papaya and the other two, House 72 and House 168, grow watermelon. These crops are regarded as involving more sophisticated techniques, labor, investment and risks though the profits can be more rewarding to the successful farmers.

The role of wet rice cultivation in the village's subsistence should be attributed to the government's encouragement of rice cultivation.

It was estimated by the villagers that productivity in rice has doubled during the last forty years. The increase of productivity is attributed to the introduction of fertilizers and pesticide through promotion by the government in coordination with the farmers' association in the 1950s. The improvement of irrigation and drainage system in the 1950s also favors a number of lowland paddy fields¹. The major irrigation and drainage systems essential to wet-rice

1 All farmers are obliged to pay tax for the irrigation and drainage systems which are charged by the agricultural water supply's associations. The farmers of Ligats and of Hualien county belong to the Hualien agricultural water supply's association (Chinese Daily 1975: 1034-1035).

cultivation were installed at the same time as wet-rice cultivation was first introduced by the Japanese government in the 1920s. The wet-rice fields in the areas Tongro, Waray (see map 2) are irrigated by the canal named after its source Alotots, which is connected to the waterflow from Tsiwilokay and Tsilodakay. The wet-rice fields named Atolan, Tsifagasay, Tagafolan and Patagal are irrigated by canals of the river Palanen. The construction of the canal Takoljaw in the 1950s favors those paddy fields which used to receive the overflow from Tsifagasay and Tagafolan. The problem of water supply for the fields in Katsgian, which used to take water from the end of the drain Alotots, has been solved since the villagers have learned to dig wells for irrigation. The irrigation for the fields in Laflaf is also improved by the underground water of the wells.

However, before a satisfactory return in rice productivity was achieved, the Taiwan Chinese government used to try to control the supply of rice as a national staple in order to prevent shortages and provide subsidized rice to government employees. Several measures such as tax-paying, loan-returning, and fertilizer-buying by means of rice, were adopted to collect rice by the bureau of crops of the provincial government and all these were processed through local farmers' associations (Yu et al. 1974: 201). It was estimated that more than 30% of the rice produced in Taiwan was always collected by the government at a price lower than that in the market. It was not till 1973 that the fertilizer-buying by means of rice was abolished and the policy was modified into plain subsidies, under which the government bought rice from the farmers at a price with a guaranteed profit of 20% over production costs. Under the encouraging profits, rice production and the selling of rice to the government increased rapidly. Also a sudden oversupply of rice filled up all the government warehouses. In 1977, a new measure to restrict the amount of selling to the government was launched in order to lessen the

budget burden on the rice fund. Each hectare of wet-rice field is permitted to sell 970 kilograms of rice at the protected price to the government each term¹. More rice thus flows into the free market and has caused the price to drop rapidly since 1977 (Sion 1984: 117-118; Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1985: 34-48; Huang 1987: 33-131).

A new policy to encourage the transfer of wet-rice cultivation to other crops has also been implemented by the government since 1977 in trying to reduce the oversupply of rice (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee 1985: 49). A subsidy is granted when wet-rice cultivation is replaced by maize, soybean and sorghum which are also bought by the government at guaranteed prices. Under the influence of this policy, the cultivation of maize has been extended to include most of the dry fields in the village of Ligats. The villagers are however not enthusiastic about the campaign; they commented on the crops encouraged by the government as 'the profit is not that great compared to that of growing rice, though it would be more profitable for a large landowner.' The reason could be due to the fact that maize, soybean and sorghum are not food crops but crops for husbandry and wine industries in Taiwan as the villagers say, 'Rice is the crop which feeds people. It can be sold freely everywhere.'

The crops preferred by the government actually do not have better prices in the free market than other crops such as vegetables and fruits. As far as the whole island is concerned, maize achieved only 39% of the transfer target expected by the government and sorghum 47% in 1984 (Huang 1987: 186). By contrast, the production of vegetables and fruits increased nine

1 In the village of Ligats, there are two seasons for wet-rice cultivation. The first term starts in February and ends in June, the second term from July to November. According to my informant, a hectare of wet-rice field usually can have a harvest of 3,600 kilograms a term.

times over the target set by the government. However, as mentioned above, the villagers in Ligats do not seem to have caught up the trend in producing vegetables and fruits as cash crops. Lack of markets in eastern Taiwan should be taken into account here.

The geographical closeness of eastern Taiwan toward larger markets results in a more or less backwardness in its agricultural development. The largest Amis landowner, also the farmers' representative in Ligats, Olwi commented on the land use in eastern Taiwan as now as under its maximum productive capacity. 'We do not keep our land in use all the year as farmers in western Taiwan do because the demand of market in eastern Taiwan is small and the products lose their competitive ability with an addition of extra transportation toward the west market.' (Taiwan Provincial Government 1971: 57). On the other hand, the more limited marketing in eastern Taiwan compared with that of the west does restrict its agricultural development when the farmers cannot have more choice in growing other profitable crops. The farmers' representative of Ligats said that, 'the farmers' Association here buys only rice, maize, sorghum and soybean from us farmers. Wholesalers for other agricultural crops are not interested in the business here as the supply and demand is small.' I was informed of a case in Ligats when an Amis villager, Katsaw of House 168, tried to grow vegetables once as cash crops. He failed because there was no channel through which the vegetables could be sold. He could not but distribute all the vegetables to the villagers free. Also a Chinese farmer tried to grow mandarin oranges once; because there is no regular marketing for mandarin in eastern Taiwan, all the products were sold at a lower price to the local towns without any profit.

An Amis in Ligats described their economic crisis as follows, 'The first crisis is gone, that is when we did not have cash, but still went to shops for goods,

and could not but leave our lands to shops for paying debts afterwards; we have learned not to go to shops taking food without cash in our hands since the establishment of our cooperative shop (see pp. 46-47). The second crisis is threatening us now; the price of rice is too low to make fair profits'. The above statement expresses the significance of rice production in the minds and the actual livelihood of the villagers nowadays.

I was informed by an experienced Chinese farmer that if a wet-rice farm being owned amounts to 1.2 *chia*¹, the farmer then is able to make a living for his household without difficulties and also with leisure to earn some extra cash by laboring during the idle season. In terms of the standard stated, there are 23 Amis households in Ligats who meet the criterion (see Table 9).

The four households who own wet-rice fields more than 2 *chia* are House 13 - 5.49 *chia*, House 2 - 2.87 *chia*, House 6 and House 96, each 2.03 *chia*. The fields owned by them were actually bought within the last fifteen years due to their successful operation and luck in the financial organization - *mikafo* (see below). The households who own land more than one *chia* but less than 2 are mainly original households, which are regarded as more significant than their separated households, and thus were allocated more land when household divisions took place (see 4.4); there are 16 of them: House 7, 11, 17, 21, 29, 38, 49, 64, 85, 86, 91, 99, 107, 125, 127, 130. Some separated households own more land than their original households because either they bought land as House 25, 29, 42, 45, 78, 162 or their original household had sold some land afterwards. Many households do not have land as House

1 This size could earn about 66,000 NT dollars half a year for an agricultural household.

Table 9 Area of wet-rice fields owned
by households in 1986

<i>chia</i>	households	
2 -	4	
1 - 1.99	19	
0.5 - 0.99	37	
0.1 - 0.4	48	
0	37	
Total	145	(1 <i>chia</i> = 0.97 hectares)

Note: I was not successful in obtaining precise acreage figures of the farms owned by the Amis villagers from the land office of the government for I was only allowed to read a registration installed in terms of land coding numbers but not the names of the owners and an owner frequently owns plots of land dispersed at different sites. Moreover, through a long history of changes of hands, patches of land nearby can be owned by Chinese and residents of neighbouring villages, at the same time, while villagers of Ligats can own farms far away from the village. There are no visible boundaries for owned lands. The effort to obtain realistic figures through direct question does not seem workable for some villagers would exaggerate to hide their embarrassment of poverty; others would refuse to reply pretending that they do need sympathy. Nevertheless, a list of figures is available from the *li* office for calculation of the amount of rice which is allowed to be sold to the government at a better price in proportion to the acreage of the wet rice farm owned. Figures of all households are not listed as some farmers prefer to sell their rice to rice shops in the town with whom they have frequent loan relation regardless of the lower selling price being provided. I add the figures obtained by my interviews and observation to the list, and present the current distribution of wet rice farms as above.

47, 51, 53, 54, 59, 73, 100, 129, 125-1, 125-2, 136, 138, 143-1, 150, 157, 159-1 (totally 16 households) or have less than 0.5 *chia* as House 4, 8, 10, 23, 28, 36, 37, 44, 48-1, 52, 55, 63, 67, 76, 94, 101, 103, 104, 106, 113, 115, 116, 124, 131, 134, 140, 144, 145-1, 148, 151, 154, 155, 155-1, 159, 163, 164, 168, 176 (totally 38 households). This is because they did not receive land at allocation as such when household division happened.

I was told that in the early times under Japanese rule, on average each household owned about two *chia* of land and some even had more than five *chia*. A survey under the Japanese (Commission for Inquiry on Important Measures in Hualien Subprefecture 1929: 27) shows that the 124 Amis households in the Tsroh area, which in fact included the three Amis villages: Sadvo, Ligats, and Tsroh, totally owned 263.65 *chia* of land, 125.6 *chia* of which were wet-rice fields and 125 *chia* dry farms; each on average had one *chia* of wet-rice farm and one *chia* of dry farm. As mentioned in Chapter 2.2, under the land registration of Japanese rule, an accepted claim to a piece of land ususally had to meet the requirement of being under actual use, therefore the larger a household size was, the more lands could be opened up and claimed. Some villagers said that because of the compulsory labor service demanded by the police authority at that time, the burden of agricultural work was frequently carried out by females of a household, and there was not much chance for males of a household to open up more lands to attain ownership. Most villagers therefore claimed only the amount up to their capacity to cultivate. Also without cash in hands for tax payment the villagers did not claim the ownership of all the lands available. The villagers said, 'the more you claim, the more tax you pay'.

The villagers informed me that in early times when the traditional mode of agriculture, dry farming, was

practiced, their ancestors exploited the lands much further into such inner mountains as Malakes and Tsiwilokay than nowadays they do (1). As they-used simple implements, no fertilizer, slash and burn woods to clear lands for short-term cultivation of several years, lands were to be fallow in rotation and more lands were needed for employment. During the Japanese period, villagers no longer slashed and burned the mountains but concentrated mainly on wet-rice cultivation. The inner mountains at the same time was demarcated as state land for the purpose of forestry and was not allowed to be privately exploited by the villagers (Map 2).

I was told that in the first ten to fifteen years after the end of Japanese rule, the village was suddenly flooded with young men coming back from the military service, so mountains became exploited again. But when leaving the village for wage earning became a main trend since 1960s, mountains again have been neglected. In the 1970s, there had been only a few young people staying in the village. Today, despite the possibility of employment on the steeper mountain and hilly lands owned by the government, because of their unfavorable conditions for agricultural management, the opened public lands are not valued by the villagers. They said, 'the river lands are not safe for they are easily flooded'; 'the hills are steep and easy to collapse, and there is no water and roads'. Today of the farthest wet-rice farms, only two patches owned by the villagers of Ligats. They are about one hour away by motorbike in a region of Malakes. A closer region Tigalaw where more wet-rice fields are being developed is about half an hour away by motor bike.

Many households lost their lands during the first fifteen to twenty years under the Taiwan Chinese

(1) The names used for tributaries also name the areas.

government because of the mercantile contacts with the Taiwanese Chinese businessmen, some of them living in nearby towns. Some households as House 14, 15, 21-1, 102 sold their land to their Chinese neighbours, some to the Amis as House 41, 134-1, 135. House 123, 143, 145 sold out their house sites to the churches. The villagers said that the old generations in the beginning did not appreciate the value of land; they gave away land cheaply. Not until twenty years later did they find that the land surrounding became owned by other people and there was no more for them to claim ¹.

The reason that households sold their land could be a failure in their business adventure as House 7 who tried gold mining in the 1950s, House 48 whose family head used to be a prominent leader in the village taking charge of a cooperative shop during the Japanese period, finally fell into serious debts because the villagers always did not pay cash for buying. Or it could be due to a failure in election campaigns as House 77 and House 60 whose male kin stood for the seat of provincial representative. Famine and sickness made some households lose their lands to the Taiwanese Chinese for food and medical treatment because land was the only valuable property aborigines had for exchange. Some other households such as House 33, 41, 158 lost their lands because some irresponsible males of the households always went to shops for drink and cigarettes so debts were accumulated which with added interest led to a big debt.

1 There seems to be a vague but not definite village boundary. The regions named Apawan, Malulan and Pulen and the wet-rice fields north of Atolan are owned by the villagers of Sadvo. The lands in Waray, Tongro, Tsifagasay, Atolan, Katsgian, Laflaf and Patagal are mainly owned by the villagers of Ligats. Some wet-rice fields in the area of Tagafolan and Takolyaw are owned by the villagers of Tsroh. The hills west of the village Ligats are owned by the villagers. The north side of the hill Patagal is owned by two Amis who though living there are regarded as members of Ligats, and the south side by Chinese. Two males of House 21 bought 6 *chia* of the hill Notimolan from Chinese.

I do not know all the reasons that a household sold their land. A careless expenditure on goods in their early trading contact with the cunning Chinese, as described by my informant about the first economic crisis, could be significant. However, it should be noted that in the first fifteen years after the war when most of the land was lost, the agricultural productivity of the village was only half of the present standard and the mouths to be fed were no less (see p. 59). Most Chinese attributed the economic problem of the Amis villagers at that time to their lack of savings to meet emergency needs. It is said that there were hardly any savings but only debts and usury. In fact, money was not the prime means for exchange in the village until about 1970¹; rice usually served as a means for payment before. In other words, commercial and financial transactions were made even when there was no cash at hand. The villagers took goods from shops or borrowed money from Taiwanese Chinese, and paid or returned the loans later by rice or finally their land. On the other hand, in general, the pressure of population increase over the limited land should also be taken into account. The informant in House 38 told me their case in which each of the eligible siblings can be allocated only 0.2 to 0.3 hectares of land, which is too small to make a living so some preferred to sell it and seek a job in the urban areas.

The increasing industrialization of Taiwan since mid-1960s (see Chapter 2.5) not only took the villagers into the factories but also had an impact on Ligats by transforming it into a complete cash economy. When the idea that labor is a means for earning cash was introduced into the village by youth, mutual help in the

1 The first saving organization called tsjutsiko (互助會), mutual aid society, in Ligats was introduced by Catholic fathers in 1971 for the purpose of solving the serious financial problems prevalent among the Amis at that time.

form of labor exchange disappeared rapidly. The mode of agricultural labor supply was thus greatly changed.

Before the young were absorbed into factories, various corporate groups for labor supply, *pakaliga*, (see 4.5 and p. 202) were organized within the village, and the labor supply when asked was regarded as an obligation of being a member of such a group. Since they no longer exist nowadays, here I can give only a general description about them told by my informants. These groups were organized either in terms of sex, age or kin relationship. The males were always motivated as a men's group - *vinawlan* (see 3.5) for household constructions in the village. Usually all males of the village participated and some labor division was organized in terms of age. Thus old men would trim bamboos and make bamboo beds while young men were erecting the base and frame of the houses. As far as females were concerned, only kin would be involved; the young gathered together for food preparation such as pounding millet to make cakes etc. while the elder usually worked on interlacing grasses for the thatch. Also, if any household in the village was in need of more labor supply for harvest work, it could always go to the leader of the young men's group, *kapah*, to ask for labor assistance. The young men then could be gathered under the direction of their leader *tsipootay* (see 3.5) to carry out the work. They were paid by the household at a lower price than in the labor market outside and the payments were pooled as a common fund of the young men for their common expenditure such as feasting and drinking. Unmarried girls of the same age could also be gathered to provide such agricultural labor assistance as rice transplanting and weeding. A male called *sense no kayin*, sir of girls, who was assigned by the headman, used to take charge in summoning eligible girls and keeping their common fund. The common fund was also built by pooling the payments from the household to the girls and was spent for common expenditure such as buying clothes to

make clothes for the group of girls.

Such corporate groups however started to disorganize when most young people started to work outside as wage laborers. Those households whose young members because of staying outside could not contribute to the collective labor supply and did need labor assistance, would not ask for it from the corporate groups for they themselves could not reciprocate. The villagers said, 'some people became rich with money; they did not come to help with labor.' 'Some people would give money for labor repayment; people would refuse to help as what they wanted was labor return not the money.' Some said that 'children do not like to help as it is not worth it.'

Today in Ligats, agricultural work either by machine or by manual labor is all to be paid by cash. There are now only two sets of households who do not exchange labor assistance for agricultural work in terms of cash calculation. One set consists of House 18, 36, 57, 156; it is a team not necessarily composed of kin but has lasted for years. The size of farmland being cultivated is not the same, thus the households with small size of farm actually provide more labor assistance to the group than what they obtain. However, the return could be in the form of other assistance as I noticed that in a funeral of House 156, whose farm is the smallest in the group, the House 18 whose farm is the largest stayed at the occasion for the whole day for various assistance. Another set is newly formed of eight households who are not necessarily kin.

Following the industrialization of Taiwan, the shortage of agricultural labor has become endemic and is recognized by the government as a problem. Under the policy of agricultural mechanization implemented by the government since 1977 (Sion 1984: 169-171), the problem is partly solved for some households who have bought machinery with the aid of loans or subsidies provided by

the government. Today in Ligats, almost all the agricultural households are equipped with machines for husk-removing and ploughing. Other types of machinery are also introduced for rice-shoot planting, rice harvesting and rice drying. In total, there are 22 households who have bought the machine of rice harvesting, 13 for rice drying and 12 for rice-shoot planting. Only one household has a tractor. All the rice harvesting in the village in fact is carried out by machine but rice-shoot planting by female labor is still common.

The complete entry into cash economy indeed creates heavier financial burden as it increases the expenses on hired labor or machine. Thus it is even harder for the farmers to make profits from their agricultural management. One pays about 6,000 NT dollars for one *chia*'s employment of a hired harvesting machine, 3,250 NT dollars for a rice planting machine, 4,000 NT dollars for the preparation of land by a large plowing machine and 1,200 NT dollars for moving 60 packages of rice (3,600 kilograms) to the local farmers' association for selling; one package costs 7 NT dollars if by a motorbike. However, most of the households are short of cash to pay for hired agricultural labor or machine. The condition of cash payment seems to be favorable to households with a large land-holding as they can afford to buy machines through loans with their lands as security. Small land holders can not afford machines and usually have to pay for hired machine operation even it is a machine from their relative. I saw a case in which a separated household House 155-1 and a household with kin relation House 111 were rejected by House 7 who would rather provide the machine for another Taiwanese Chinese household in the village because the latter could pay cash for the service whereas the former cannot.

The size of land-holding however does not seem to be a guarantee for wealth. Households with larger lands

could also have financial difficulties. For instance, House 7 with wet-rice farms of 1.6 hectares, reputed as rich in the village, is carrying a heavy financial burden of repaying loans for machinery and other investments, and the father aged 55 has to seek labor work outside though all his sons, either married or not, work outside already. Other villagers seem to be surprised at hearing that the rich household also has to work outside as laborer.

Under a cash economy, money has become a concern frequently heard among the villagers. Many of them complained about their difficulties as '*away ko paytsi*' - have no money, or '*away ko tan*' - have no profits. Nowadays, a type of financial organization for money pooling, termed *mikafo* or *piau-huei* (標會) - tender meetings, has become popular in the village and is playing a significant role in the economy of the village.

Earlier in 1966, the Amis villager Sawma in House 96 first adopted this mutual aid organization from their Taiwanese Chinese neighbours in order to buy a husk-removing machine. It became popular among the villagers afterwards. The procedure was for a man who wished to raise a sum of money to get together a number of persons who paid the desired sum in equal shares and then recouped themselves in turn at fixed intervals. The order in which the members, other than the promoter, drew the pool was determined by means of tenders to forgo a proportion of the contribution due. It was actually rice being pooled at that time as cash had not been prevalent in the village. Not until 1971 has it been changed to operate by means of money. In Ligats nowadays, the associations vary in terms of the full amount of money prescribed, the number of participants and the interval of meetings. The full amount of money is usually decided by the promoter who invites persons to join. The more common type is with a full amount of NT\$ 10,000 dollars, for 10-12 members to meet every six

months when the winner of the money pooled at the next time meeting is decided on the interests proposed which are written and sealed in tenders. Suppose that there are ten members including the promoter and the full amount is 10,000 NT dollars. Tenders are submitted at the first meeting. If the highest bid is 280, the successful bidder then obtains $10,000 - 280 = 9,720$ NT dollars from each of the other members at the second meeting. Suppose that at the second meeting, the successful bidder offers to forgo 300, he then receives 10,000 from the previous winner and $10,000 - 300 = 9,700$ from each of the remaining eight members. In other words, after one has drawn the pool, he had at each subsequent pooling to pay a full contribution of 10,000. The last drawer always contributes less than 10,000 at each of the previous nine meetings but receives 90,000 at the end. There are other types which are with a maximum of NT\$ 2,000 to 5,000, members meeting every two to four months etc. Participants could be villagers residing in the town and the Chinese neighbours. The smaller scale one is said mainly popular among the women.

As the earlier one wins in the order of taking the pooled money, the higher interest one usually has to pay, the association actually involves credit, saving and interest (Freedman 1979: 23-24). Also, once one wins the order, a big sum of money is then pooled immediately for one's own employment without all the troublesome procedures as application for loans from public financial institutions. This convenience perhaps explains the reason why it is widely accepted in the village ¹. An informant said that it is because the blooming of such financial cooperations that

1 By contrast, the saving organization promoted by Catholic fathers appears to be less popular in the village as it provides loans in terms of the amount of savings and the savings are not to be withdrawn. There

housewives of the village become keen on seeking cash by working as agricultural laborers outside the village; they have to prepare cash for the next time meeting. The largest landowner of Ligats is said to gain his assets actually by his cleverness in operating this type of organizations. Some said that he operates 12 such groups at the same time; some said 20. I was told that before its introduction into Ligats, his family was just poor. The second largest landowner House 2 bought 1.3 *chia* of land eight years ago actually by this form of money collection. As far as I know, other households with lands more than one hectare at most join 5 or 6 at a period.

Although the village of Ligats is surrounded by paddy fields and various agricultural cultivation, under the economic influence of the larger society of Taiwan, it no longer subsists purely on farming. As mentioned earlier, about two fifths of the villagers, especially the younger generation in fact stay outside the village (see 3.1) for cash-earning most of the time. The village should be viewed as a semi-agricultural society at the present time because the real boundaries of the village subsume all the villagers working outside the village for wages or other forms of cash reward. I cannot tell how much passes between the younger and older generations in view of the greater expenses of living in a town. The villagers however told me that the economic situation has been improved because of the cash-earning outside the village. A villager said, 'we relied on relatives and neighbours for labor assistance

are now 158 members in the branch whose headquarter is set at Ligats; some are from neighbouring Amis villages. On average, each year, 106 cases of loan are processed with each one amounting to NT\$ 6,938. The same organization covers also other parts of the island and is connected with an organization abroad. I attended an 5 annual meeting of the Ligats branch, where the saving achievement of Ligats was said to be far behind of other branches. Some villagers told me that they keep their savings at the local post office or at the local farmers' association.

in former times, but nowadays it is more important to have a connection or friends to seek jobs outside for cash earning.

As the farming on the land does not necessarily produce enough cash for livelihood, but cash can buy land and machinery and can improve agricultural investment and management, it seems to me not a valid strategy to distinguish the social stratification of the village only in terms of the land owned. The labor market outside the village is open equally to everyone in the village. Therefore the economic mobility of households in the village could change in short period due to the opportunities of employment. Opportunities of social mobility no longer rest on land ownership. The cases of the large landowners in Ligats, who obtained land actually through their successful manipulation of money poolings serve as examples.

3.4 Conversion to Christianity

As traditional Amis ritual enshrinements and practices were prohibited and became extinct during Japanese rule, today in Ligats, the only religious shrine to be seen in households is that of Christianity. Religious service for blessings conducted by a Presbyterian minister or a Catholic French father has become an indispensable item on ceremonial occasions such as marriage, funeral and completion of house construction. The chairman, the general chairman of Catholic church also play a significant role as assistants to the Catholic Father in leading prayers in the service.

Christianity was first introduced into the village in 1947 when a Presbyterian church was established. Later in 1954, more households were converted into becoming Roman Catholics. Today in Ligats, there are 33 households attached to the Presbyterian church, and 106 who have joined the Catholic church (Figure 5). In a

sense, the practice of Christianity seemingly serves also as a symbol of Amis in contrast to their Taiwanese Chinese neighbours who are evidently practicing a different type of religion which is unknown to the Amis. The Amis villagers sometimes said to me, 'We Amis are Christians. Our religion differs from you Chinese'.

An old informant said, 'we accepted Christianity because we have to have a religious ceremony for our death. In the Japanese period, we had been adopting Japanese religion; however Japanese religion no longer existed after the war.' Traditional Amis religion, being abolished for a period since 1930s under the Japanese government, seems to be no longer a religious option for the Amis villagers to the newly introduced Christianity. The villagers said that 'for the old Amis rituals, too many superstitious prohibitions had to be observed and food offerings be prepared. It is not so troublesome to carry out the religion of Christianity; we just go to the church once a week.' Some Presbyterians told me that there used to be more Presbyterian households in the village as it came into the village earlier, some of them shifted to the Catholic church because of the charitable goods being provided by the latter. The first general chairman of the Catholic church Katsaw remarked on the village's conversion to Christianity as, 'After the coming of Christianity, the true god - *kawas*, there is no longer starvation, sickness, and fear of death; all were improved.' The present chairman of Catholic church Mayaw said that the majority households joined the Roman Catholics jointly at that time.

Generally, the villagers regard the Presbyterian church and the Roman Catholic church as similar to each other. Some Catholic followers said that 'Presbyterians are proud of themselves, they laugh at our devotion as stupid.' Some regard the major difference between the two as Catholics worship Jesus's mother but Presbyterian do not. As a matter of fact, the Presbyterian's church

is more strick than the Roman Catholic in prohibiting the practice of Amis custom. Prebyterians are not allowed to drink wine and to chew betel nut. It is told that the annual festival was rejected by the Presbyterians until about ten years ago, when under the efforts of the present Ji head, a Presbyterian, Presbyterians were gradually persuaded to attend. This annual festival was almost boycotted in the beginning also by Catholic followers according to the general chairman Mayaw. The elders at that time considered the abolition of it as an expression of their sincere conversion into the new religion of Christianity. But it finally had been maintained still by the Catholic villagers of Ligats.

Both the Amis Presbyterian minister and the French Catholic father who perform religious service for the villagers of Ligats do not reside in the village but reside in the neighbouring villages, Sadfo and Tsroh. The Amis Presbyterian minister serves two Amis villages, Sadvo and Ligats; the French Catholic father takes charge of churches in six Amis villages in proximity: Ligats, Tsroh, Matalyn, Tokal, Mantslan, Makutay. As far as the situation of the Catholic church is concerned, the followers in Ligats number more than that in all the other five villages. There are 65 Catholic households in Tsroh, 15 in Matalyn, 35 in Tokal, 70 in Mantslan and 56 in Makutaay.

The six Amis churches under the same French father are organized as one parish with a common committee. The committee is composed of the chairmen and vice-chairmen elected from each church by its members every four years and a general chairman of the committee is further elected among members of the committee. The present general chairman Mayaw who has been in the position for eight years is also the vice-headman of Ligats. Before him, the headman of Ligats, Lafi and a previous headman Katsaw ha also held the same position for a number years. The committee usually holds meeting

for important religious events as Christmas and Easter. Though people are informed of such religious events held in another village as a common event of the parish, usually only those who are with positions and special duties in the church organization would go outside the village. However, the inter-village church organization does to some extent associate the Amis villages in proximity. In a funeral for a dead headman of the village Matalyn where only 15 households have joined the Catholic church, the woman choir of Ligats was summoned to provide service in Matalyn. For a Easter celebration held in the village Tsroh, the women's group of the Catholic church in Ligats was also summoned to perform traditional Amis dances on the occasion.

People in the same church are referred to in Amis term as 'salikaka' - classificatory siblings. When members of the same church die, the chairman would always give an announcement through a loudspeaker to summon *salikaka* of the church to go to the household to express concern. The women's choir is also under obligation to attend. On the other hand, it is also possible for people belonging to different churches to attend a common household ceremonial event because of personal relations. There is no prohibition on marriage of members from different churches. The two parties can separately have their own ceremony at their own household but the major ceremony is always held at the church to which the spouse moves.

Though the Catholic followers outnumber that of the Presbyterians, the former's rate of absence in attending the Sunday service is much higher than that of the latter. During my fieldwork in Ligats, only at Easter Mass did I see most of the Catholic members appear, a fivefold increase over a normal Sunday. Catholic followers are always urged by the Catholic chairman through a loudspeaker to attend Sunday service. And usually only women and the aged appear. The Presbyterian church is also fitted with a microphone

over the village circuit but is rarely used as such. Besides the Sunday service, the Presbyterians also meet at church for singing every Thursday night and at households in one's *lin* by turn once a week, which is not practised by the Catholics. Although many Catholic male members in Ligats hardly attend Sunday service, they are still members of the church and are entitled to a religious service from the Catholic father for marriage, funerals etc. at their households. Every household gives a donation to the church even though it is only their wives who usually attend the Sunday service.

3.4 Traditional aspect of a *niaroh*

Though part of the larger society, Ligats retains its independent unity as an Amis village, *niaroh*, because of its spatial separation from other villages and its retainment of the previous organization: the men's organization and the headmanhsip. These two are essential elements in the only local extant cultural event - the annual festival which is normally held by each village once a year. In fact, nowadays it is only during the annual festival that one can see a previous Amis village organization alive. It seems left aside by the villagers most of other times. But before I deal with the current annual festival, I shall give an introduction to its previous meaning.

The annual festival is termed *ilisin* in the vernacular. The present day annual festival is a modification of the traditional *ilisin* which can be translated as the annual ritual event. *I* means at or in; *lisiin* refers to a religious affair. The *ilisin* differed between the north Amis and the central Amis (Sayama 1914; Furuno 1945: 75-116, 213-284; Liu et al. 1965: 111-210; Koitsumi 1933: 121-138). *Ilisin* was not as important a ritual among north Amis whereas it was regarded as the most important ritual among the central Amis. It was



Lin 7, Laflaf, Asolo and Coastal mountains



A road in the village

interpreted in previous studies as an agrarian ritual for the blessing of the agricultural success of a whole village annually held at the end of an agricultural cycle and to mark the beginning of another new period. The whole village was involved in its various activities and it used to last for seven to ten days. Here I do not intend to describe and analyze the complex of meanings implied in this religious event. I am able to designate only some features of it to show its apparent difference from its current form and meaning.

Kakitaan

The priest of the ritual was generally termed *kakitaan* in previous records, though the meaning of *kakitaan* was not defined consistently (Koitsumi 1933: 221-285; Mabuchi 1935:474-480; Furuno 1945: 431-454; Liu et al. 1965: 182). *Kakitaan* was frequently translated as religious leader of a village by previous researchers. Another more general term to refer to priesthood was *tsilisinay*, which means the one who has *lisin*. Both my informants and previous records also showed me that it could also be referred to as *tsikawasay*, the one who has spirits (Sayama 1914).

The priesthood was hereditarily vested in one or several particular houses of a village. Only males born in these houses (even if they were married out and residing in their wife's houses) were entitled to the post. When the ritual was held, the priest had to go back to his natal house to undertake his responsibilities. Such a house also served as a place for worship, common dance and eating to be practiced during the ritual period. The spirits worshipped were forebears or guardian spirits - *malataw* of the house (Koitsumi 1933: 282). The kin as *gagasawan* of the house were regarded as religiously relevant to share the same ritual responsibility. They had to observe particular prohibitions attached to the house during the

ritual period.

The priesthood of *ilisin* was frequently entitled to the ritual of head-hunting (Mabuchi 1935: 454). One of the important items during the event was to renew the hut for storing hunted heads and to practice worship and offerings to the relevant guardian spirits. However, not all villages were installed with such a ritual and priesthood.

It was pointed out by Furuno that an Amis village usually had a *kakitaan* as its religious center (1945: 81). Koitsumi noticed that there could be no such *kakitaan* in the smaller and new villages (1933: 117, 280, 284). In the old village Kiwit, it was reported (Furuno 1945: 91-96; 448-450) that there were two *kakitaan*. One of them had exclusive ownership of the ritual of head-hunting while the other was entitled to the ritual of millet. The ritual of head-hunting was conducted by the former at his natal house during *ilisin*; the latter was significant mainly at the ritual of millet when the millet harvest was brought out by the villagers. It was shown in this case that *kakitaan* actually referred to those who were entitled to significant rituals which were relevant to the well-being of the whole village, though in different aspects.

Such a division of ritual responsibility was even diversified among the eight *kakitaan* in the old village Tavarong (Liu et al. 1965: 182-185). In the villages of the north Amis, Taolan and Ridao, the diversification used to be the degree of eleven priesthoods who were separately charged with different rituals (Furuno 1945: 213-284). It seems to me therefore that traditionally an Amis village was not necessarily instituted with one religious leader. It could usually be more in a large and old village.

My informants in my first village Lagasan of

Pailasen emphasized to me that the term *kakitaan* implied the spirits, '*o kawas kya kakitaan hananay*'. A house was referred to as *kakitaan* because it was endowed with certain great ritual and spirits - *tataak ko lisin, tataak ko kawas*, thus was regarded as relevant to the blessing of the crop harvest, the whole village and the young men - *mamitapih to losay, niaroh, kapah*.

In another aspect, *kakitaan* was frequently also the owner of land (Furuno 1945: 95; Koitsumi 1933: 282). The territory owned was termed *salioh* or *sailoh* which was translated as a hunting territory by Liu et al. (1965: 185). A household which was the owner of a hunting territory, *tsisalisiohay*, was entitled to the lower jaws of game hunted in its territory to hang on the outer walls of the house. A ritual or group hunt had to be performed to worship the relevant spirits by the owner once a year (p.219). According to Liu's materials about Tavarong, the eight *kakitaan* of the village were all *tsisalisiohay*. Meanwhile, there were also other *tsisalisiohay* who were not *kakitaan* but were regarded as having a hereditary status with social prestige (p.185). It was recorded that there were twenty *tsisalisiohay* in the old village of Vataan (p.49). By contrast, in the village of Makutaay, there was only one *tsisalisiohay*, who was the founder and the *kakitaan* of the village (Juan 1969: 195, 110-111, 334, 9).

For further demonstration of the function of *kakitaan* and the relation between the founder and the *kakitaan* of a village, I shall quote the materials of Juan about the village Makutaay for it is the only case so far where the relation is demonstrated clearly.

... 這五氏族中, *tailanasan* 氏族為領導氏族, 因其為最先遷入此社, 負責全部落公共祭祀與全社安全。

(p.334)

[... among the five clans, Tsilagasan was the leading one for it was the first clan to move into the village and was charged with rituals for blessings of the whole village.] (translated by myself).

... 地境祭 *misalisin to saijulox*, 由土地領主 *teilanasan* 之族翼 *vake* 亦即 *kakitaan*, 在 *ilisin* 時主持, 作祭之目的在求作物豐收, 漁獵物豐獲, 人們安康。

(p.302)

[... the ritual for the blessing of the territory, *misalisin to saijulox*, was carried out by the owner of the land, namely *kakitaan*, who was *vake* of the clan Tsilagasan, in the period of *ilisin*. The aim of the ritual was for the well-being of the village, the success of agricultural harvest, and of hunting and fishing.] (translated by myself).

其主要權能如下: 對部落發布祭儀日期, 主持祭儀. ...其本人及其家族與氏族遵守特殊的禁忌. ...任內部落內發生不吉利事多次和求神不應, ...*teilanasan* 氏族重選 *kakitaan*.

(pp.110-111)

[One of the function of being *kakitaan* was to announce the commencement of a ritual period to the village and to act as the relevant priest. Both the priest and his kin should observe certain prohibitions in the period. During his occupancy of the post, if continuous misfortunes happened to the village and his plea for blessing did not work, he should be replaced by another eligible person.] (translated by myself).

... 獵頭為 *kakitaan* 氏族的責任. ...祭司權屬其氏族所有. 所以祭神是 *teilanasan* 之事, 求境內作物豐收與人民平安亦為其職務所在. ...獵頭是危險的, 是 *teilanasan* 氏族的青年責任所在, 其若不殺則其一家或其中一人會生病或死亡.

(pp.302-303)

[As Tsilagasan was entitled to attend the ritual of head-hunting and was also its priest, the worship of the spirits for the prosperity of the territory and well-being of the village was also their concern. Although it was dangerous to undertake head-hunting, the young males of Tsilagasan were obliged to do it. If they did not practice it, members and kin of their house could become sick or die.] (translated by myself).

每年 *ilisin* 之前由 *tsilanagan* 氏族之青年向泰雅人出沒處獵頭，用來祭神以求豐。

(p.113)

[Each year before *ilisin*, for the worship of their spirits, the young males of *Tsilagasan* had to practice head-hunting to Atayal. The main purpose of head-hunting was for successful harvests.]
(translated by myself).

Another interesting fact recorded by Juan is that there was a period when no *kakitaan* was installed in Makutaay for the *kakitaan* had moved to another place. After a continuous unsuccessful harvest for several years, the failure was attributed to the absence of a *kakitaan*. The *kakitaan* was then invited to move back to the village. (p.11).

Though found in other villages, the relation between *kakitaan* as a priest of a village, the ownership of a head-hunting ritual and the ownership of a hunting territory, never existed as such in the village of Ligats. The oldest informant told me, 'the *kakitaan* of our village was not like that of other villages. The *kakitaan* here was not installed with hunted heads and any head-hunting ritual. The household became *kakitaan* because their forebear was the founder of the village - *patireng to niaroh*.' Another informant in the village Mulutsan of Pailasen told me that 'it was because the *kakitaan* did not emigrate into Ligats that there was no *kakitaan* of head-hunting; the neighbouring village Sadvo had a *kakitaan* because descendants of the *kakitaan* of our village moved there from here.' Moreover, in Ligats, forebears of House 13 used to have the men's group of the village to help with its undertaking of group hunting every three years. They were regarded as *tsisaliokay* though not a *kakitaan*. Today in Ligats, as the informant said, since the descendants of *kakitaan* no longer worship their forbears, there has been no religious performance of *ilisin* in the

village.

Vinawlan - the men's group

It is clear in the previous records that the men's group of a village was always involved in the *ilisin*. From the previous ethnological materials, it seems to me that a distinction between the public and the private rituals in a village can be made in terms of the participation of the men's group. The rituals which were practiced for the blessing of a whole village were always carried out with the assistance and participation of the men's group. During the ritual period, the men's group would get together for group hunting, fishing, dancing and eating or work such as the renewal of the hut for storing hunted-heads. The priest and his family and kin would practice certain religious prohibitions and prepare some items of offerings such as pig, wine and millet cakes etc. for their spirits. A great part of the foodstuffs and labor for the common activities during the period however was gathered through the men's organization.

In previous records (Sayama 1914; Koitsumi 1933; Furuno 1945; Liu et al. 1965), such public affairs of the village as rituals for the sunshine - *pakatsidal*, for the rain - *misaoral* etc. for agricultural needs of the whole village, and according to my informants, group activities such as the building and renewal of roads, bridges, and houses used to be the tasks of the men's group. As most houses and bridges are now of concrete, roads are tarred and the number of religious affairs were greatly reduced under Japanese rule, the annual festival appears to be the only public affair left for the group to perform as a village. Though closely linked with the public affairs of a village, a men's group is conceptually distinct from a village in the minds of the Amis. The men's group is termed *vinawlan* in contrast to the village - *niaroh*. *Vinawlan* is used for a collection of

male individuals and *niaroh* refers to a collection of households.

The entry into the men's group through an initiation ceremony was regarded by Koitsumi (1933: 108-109, 269) as a procedure to attain male citizenship or an independent membership in the village, thus conferring rights and obligations as a male individual to attend public meetings and affairs. Today in Ligats, *vinawlan* is sometimes also used for the wives' group which always represents the village to attend Amis dance competitions held by the government. The villagers said that there are two *vinawlan*, a male and a female. In other words, *vinawlan* is also applicable to a collection of wives who gather for public affairs.

The wives' group is composed of married women. The internal organization of it is not the same as that of the men's group. There is no initiation ceremony and theoretically all the married women should be members, however not all of them join the group activity. The members are charged fees only on their collective feasting occasion which is open to any married women in the village. A chairman, a vice-chairman and two treasurers are established. The group was first formed in 1973 mainly for the dance competitions among Amis villages held by the government. As the competition is no longer held as regularly as before, it has become loose. The first chairman was in the position for twelve years since the group was first organized. She summoned a feasting meeting of the members on the New Year's day of 1986 to insist on resignating. She told me that the wives today are not as cooperative as before. It is getting more and more difficult to lead the wives to act as a group. They come as late as possible to the meeting. They do not help and all the work falls on her shoulders.

The election of the new chairmen and treasurers was carried out by votes. The nomination of candidates

was open to all the married female participants. There is no special requirement of being a candidate. As a result, a younger woman was elected as the chairman and a senior woman as a vice-chairman. The former chairman became a treasurer. However, in a meeting of the new chairmen and treasurers, in view of the seniority principle, the new chairman insisted on letting the senior position go to the older woman and took the position of the vice-chairman herself. The senior vice-chairman could not but agree; she also suggested that the former chairman should be respected as an honorable leader as *komod* (see below) of the wives' group. The former chairman thus is no longer in the minor role of treasurer.

In the feasting meeting of the wives' group, a pig was killed to be consumed, which was financed mainly by the fees charged to the female participants, and subsidies from the chief *lin* head who is in charge of the village fund and the *tsipootay* who is the leader of the young men's group (see below). The *li* head, the chief *lin* head and the headmen were also invited to the feasting and to give speeches to the meeting.

In Ligats, the men's group has a men's house (*adawan*) established by the previous entrance of the village. It used to be a place for men to gather to undertake public affairs and to rest, sleep and pass their leisure time. Women were never allowed to enter into it. Today it is closed the whole year except for the three days for *ilisin*.

In the ethnological surveys under the Japanese, the initiation ceremony for entry into the men's group was generally held in *ilisin*. Only a few exceptions could be seen in the village of Kiwit (Koitsumi 1933: 256) and those in the north Amis area (Furuno 1945: 213-284). In the case of Kiwit, the initiation ceremony was independent of the event of *ilisin*. It was held

during the weeding season of millet cultivation, namely in March but not the time of *ilisin* in July or August. A seclusion period of five days by the new members was practiced in a house beside the house of *kakitaan* of head-hunting. The whole event could last for ten days with group hunting, eating and dancing.

Koitsumi designated that in some small and new villages and among the villagers of the coastal areas, the initiation ceremonies were almost non-existent at the time when he carried out surveys on Amis men's organization (1933: 249-262). In other villages, the content and form of the ceremony varied greatly from village to village (p.104). However, a form of group labor training was seen and the main thesis of the ceremony appeared to focus on the young men's devotion of labor service to the village (p.263). I doubt the ceremony at that time had been much changed under the influence of compulsory labor service during the Japanese period. But this is a historical problem I am not able to deal with here.

Today in Ligats, there is no special ceremonial procedure for entry into the men's group. The men's group accepts new members as an age set every three years. About ten days before *ilisin* of the year when a new set is to enter, leaders of the young men's group will start to issue announcements through a loudspeaker to call for joining. Young men about the right age will be pushed by their families or friends to register their entry and pay a membership fee to the treasurer which is termed *kaike* in the third lower age sub-grade - *sava to koro*.

The men's group of Ligats as a corporation is divided into two grades, the elder - *matoasay* and the young men - *kapah*, which is also a division universally used among Amis. During the festival, it is clear that the elder are privileged by exemption from

supplying material and labor but may enjoy the food, drinks and service provided by the young men. Only in the grade *kapah*, named sub-grades were further divided to differentiate the order of status in terms of age seniority. There are five of them: *tsipootay*, *kaka to koro*, *sava to koro*, *tsi-opihay*, *pakalgaw*, which are almost the same as those in the village of Kiwit but different from those in other villages (Liu et al. 1965).

The men's group can also be viewed as composed of a number of named sets. Here in Table 10 I list names of all the age sets of the village and the number of its members who attended the *ilisin* in 1986. The names are freely adopted. The number of young men who attended the event amounted to only one fourth of the registered figure. Also about half the males in the three lower sets of the elder grade were absent due to work or stay outside the village. An absent young man has to contribute more than five times the money charged to his age-mate in the same set who attends the event. The amount of fine is decided by his age-mates of the set. The males in the elder grade no matter whether absent or not do not have to pay any money.

Each set - *slal* in vernacular term, is a corporate group with members joining at the same time, and always acts as a unit in the men's group. Members of the same set are referred to as *wilan*, age-mates, of each other and are obliged to attend each other's marriages and other events of one's life crisis. A set becomes extinct when all its members die.

Sets are ranked in order of age seniority. Each set moves as a unit toward higher grades or positions in the men's group every three years which is also the interval for a new set to enter. The senior set is privileged and has authority over the junior set. As a set is always regarded as an unseparated unit, when command or words are directed to and fro in the men's

Table 10 Number of participants in ilisin 1986
by men's age sets

grade	sub-grade	age set	number of participants
matoasay		la kalan	2
		la fadas	7
		la tikel	3
		la kafos	3
		la kaket	6
		la foken	9
		la folol	10
		la tolok	10
		la kojo	12
		la fohe	11
		la para	13
		la kakang	9
		la tsahon	13
		la kara	7
		la kafon	9
		la pohon	6
			130
kapah	tsipootay	la tiol	8
	kaka to koro	la fokon	3
	sava to koro	la siwal	7
	tsiopihay	la pis	6
	pakalgaw	la lion	6
			30
<u>Total</u>			160

group activitiy, it is always a sub-grade name (or a set name in the elder grade as there is no sub-grade name for them) that is called or referred to. A personal name is hardly used in this context.

Each set has two representatives - *sasiketan*. They are responsible for the execution of an order transmitted from their senior set. Representatives for sub-grades in the youth grade are selected by the elder and are regarded as model young men for the appropriate sets. Persons who hold this position of *sasiketan* when at the sub-grade of *tsipootay*, would occupy the position for life. Continuous holding of the position at a lower sub-grade than *tsipootay* would depend on personal merit, namely if they are responsible and diligent, or they could be changed through judgements of the elder's grade.

Also there is a position of treasurer, *kaike*, separately established in the three upper sub-grades of the young men's grade, who is responsible for collecting fees from its age-mates. The treasure of the *sava to koro* works also as a treasure for its two lower sub-grades. The amount of the fee is decided by the age-mates of a set themselves. In order to buy drinks and fish for the collective consumption of the men's group in the annual festival of 1986, the four sub-grades below the *tsipootay* paid NT\$ 100 each person and NT \$600 each person by the *tsipootay*. The larger amount being paid by the top sub-grade of the young men's group shows that they are under a heavier responsibility than their lower sub-grades in the event.

A new set always enters in the lowest sub-grade *pakalgaw* which can be translated as 'having been grown out'. *Paka* means having been; *Igaw* means growing out. They have to join group dances but are exempt from labor service which falls mainly upon its upper grade - *tsiopiha*y and are not entitled to the group eating held at the men's house.

Jobs assigned to the young men's grade are handed downward set by set. Each set is not allowed to disobey a command from above but are always free to use anyone from the junior sets. The youngest set in the sub-grade *tsiopihi* are always the hardest workers among all. *Opih* means feather; they not only wear a feather on their caps but are expected to move as fast and light as a feather in any direction transmitted from above. During the festival, it is they who chop wood, fetch water and set up the fire for cooking and the *tsipootay* who allocate cooked meat for the hierarchy. The youngest set is expected to dance more and harder than all others. They and their upper sub-grade - *save to koro*, their lower sub-grade - *pakalgaw* go to the dance ground earliest, and are not allowed to stop dancing before all the others have stopped, whereas the elders can attend as late, leave as early and dance as little as they wish.

The sub-grade *tsipootay* acts as leaders of the young men's group. They are also called *mama no kapah* - father of the young men. Their role is to link the elder and the young men's grades. They are to consult the elder grade seeking advice and direction on affairs of *ilisin* of the village by attending the elder's meeting, and then take responsibility for execution through their command over the young men's grade. They are to take criticism and reprimand from the elders though at the same time have absolute authority and command over their junior sets.

Traditionally, *tsipootay* would meet by themselves to form their proposal, then seeked agreement and comment from the elder through the procedure - *miholol*. It was a series of meetings with representatives of lower sets visiting representatives of higher sets step by step. The upward movement started with *tsipootay* visiting representatives of their immediate higher set for consultation on the affair; two sets then visited representatives of the

next higher set together for further consultation and agreement, then continued upward in the same way, etc. The series of meetings ended at the place of the *kakitaan* or the *komod* (see below), or the *tomok* - the headman in the Japanese period, with all representatives of sets gathered.

One informant described the importance of *tsipootay*, 'they are the earthquake, the village will not move if they do not move.' As they are imbedded in the men's organization of the village, they are subject to the elders for their actions. They would execute only the proposals agreed among the elders. It is the elders, more precisely representatives of elders, who are entitled to exercise their right to make decisions on public affairs for the village.

Komonkay - the elder's assembly

Today in Ligats the meeting of the elder representatives' assembly - *komonkay* is the Amis institution where decisions of village affairs are made. The meeting is always held several days before *ilisin* and is convened by the headman or the retired headman termed *komod* to discuss affairs of *ilisin*. The assembly was traditionally composed of representatives from each set in the elder grade and the *tsipootay*, derived from the previous procedure for decision-making - *miholol* in the men's organization. It was modified into the present form of one meeting 15 years ago. As village affairs have become frequently related to the outside, nowadays other political figures who hold positions in the political system of the larger society are included to hear their opinions. The *li* head and *lin* heads are thus members of it. In the first meeting called upon by the headman through the loudspeaker, a previous county representative aged about 75 and who never was a *sasiketan*, and a newly elected *chen* representative in the sub-grade *sava to koro* who is still too young to be a member,

appeared punctually when only three of the members were present. Both of the two looked embarrassed and left shortly as if they were not really involved with it.

In the meeting, discussion usually goes along the hierarchical order of sets. Opinions are to be expressed by a set as a unit from the bottom to the top without omitting any set. The turn entitled to each set is not to be ignored or denied. The senior set is always entitled to give comments at the end of the series of talks. Different opinions usually start from the junior, then evoke series of talks along the age line of hierarchical order. As the higher set always has opportunity to comment on or reject a previous opinion from the junior set and make conclusions at its will, the highest set also has a veto right over previous decisions so actually control such decisions.

Innovation and modification of village affairs and annual festivals are proposed and discussed at the meeting of the *komonkay*. For example, the village used to collect 20 *chins* of rice from each household twice a year to make a common fund for the public expenditure of the village. In the meeting of 1986, the collection in terms of rice was criticized as backward having been abandoned by the larger society. It was thus modified into a collection of cash. To give another case, a *lin* head suggested that the women should also be entitled to vote at the election of the headman; in this way *Ligats* can become the most advanced village among Amis. His idea however was not responded to and did not even go into discussion.

The headman - *tomok*

According to the previous surveys, the men's group was always instituted with leaders (Wei 1958; Kono 1915). In the village of Kiwit, there were two who were termed *papoloay* which means orator (Furono 1945: 450). Traditionally their leadership was delegated by

kakitaan (Koitsumi 1933: 116, 282-283). However, they should always consult the elder *matoasay* for their opinions on village affairs or even summoned a meeting of men's group if necessary. In other villages, the leaders were sometimes termed *komod* or *kakitaan* (Koitsumi 1933: 115, 276-279) and were selected through a general agreement of the elder group (p.284). Such a leadership was substituted by the institution of a village headmanship in the Japanese period.

A headman is termed *tomok* (頭目) which is both a Chinese and Japanese word introduced into Amis from outside. The headmanship as the absolute and highest political authority in an Amis village was first established under Japanese rule, and employed by the Japanese authority as a means of governing an Amis village. A vice-headman was always established and was officially recognized by the Japanese authority. The vice-headman is usually also referred to as *tomok*. When asked about the previous headmen in the Japanese period, the informants always provided names of both the headman and the vice-headman together.

During the Japanese period, order in a village was almost entirely regarded as the responsibility of the headmen. It is said by the villagers that the orders of a headman were law at that time. Though dispute settlement and punishment for crimes such as stealing, adultery etc. were delegated to the headman, the headman was to a large extent subordinate to the Japanese police. They were required to attend regular meetings held at the local police office to receive instructions and make reports on their village affairs (Wen 1957: 690-692). Discussions on measures for administering villages were held on these occasions, also modification of customs, methods of control and ways of dispute settlement were agreed at the meetings.

According to my informants, the basic requirement

for being a headman was wealth (so that he was able to receive and entertain visitors of the village) and competence. Ability in giving speeches is essential. Being a *sasiketan* is usually relevant as it is a credit in the men's organization. The appointment of a headman was to be confirmed by the Japanese police. It usually was supported by the elders. The traditional *kakitaan* was in some case agreed by the police to be an incumbent of the position of *tomok* (Wada 1929b: 49) or in other case *papoloay* or *komod* was preferred.

In Ligats, *tomok* seemed to have taken over the position of *kakitaan* since the establishment of the first headman. The prestige of House 64 which was previously the *kakitaan* has been totally forgotten by the villagers. Most villagers today know only the name of the first headman and are ignorant of his earlier authority. Thus today among the villagers *kakitaan* only connotes a household of prominence while *tomok* is a post with political prestige. Only among old informants the term *kakitaan* is regarded as the same thing as *tomok*. As to most other villagers, *kakitaan* is a word referring to wealthy households.

During the Japanese period, the absolute prestige and authority of the headman was established through many ways. It was a life time job which means once selected, the power endured for the whole life. The headman is said to have been privileged with special treatment by the police. Since they attended headmen's meetings at the local police office, sociability among headmen was so developed that a message was often sent to neighbouring villages to invite headmen in other villages for the annual festival in one's own village. The meeting of headmen was occasionally held. Every now and then the government gave them tours in western Taiwan (Wen, 1957: 843).

Moreover, the political power of the headman was supported by an installation of its staff, and its authority over the men's organization was confirmed. Below the headman was a post of *kotsju* and a post of *vanti*. They were positions under the authority of the headman. They could always be ordered to execute the headman's orders.

Ten households or so used to constitute a subdivision of the village under a *kotsju*, who was a person responsible for carrying orders from the top downward to the households. There were four *kotsju* in Ligats in the Japanese period. They were appointed by the headman. It was they who directly commanded the young men to the draft of compulsory labor service. Whenever a sentence was made for an illegal deed, they could go to the house of the punished party to take cattle or a pig as repayment, which was then consumed by the men's group at the men's house. Or if the punishment were made in the form of money repayment, the money would be kept by them as a common fund of the village. They were then responsible for preparing food and drink to entertain visitors in the village.

Today in Ligats, the post of *kotsju* is substituted by the *lin* head in the mind of the villagers. The term *kotsju* is no longer used; on the other hand, one *lin* head is elected among the nine *lin* heads of Ligats to work as a chief executive, also as treasurer of the village. As there is no native term as equal to the position, in this thesis, I will use 'chief *lin* head' when referring to it. The chief *lin* head is responsible for collecting contributions from each household twice a year to make a village fund for common expenditure on the village affairs. The village fund can ordinarily be used for entertaining visitors from outside such as administrators of farmers' associations, local government or headmen of other villages. Apart from being on the staff of the *li* head, today the chief

lin head still works under the *tomok* as it was a post instituted below the *tomok* in the Japanese period. During the meeting of *komonkay*, it is the chief *lin* head who receives the message from the *tomok* to command all to stand up and bow to one another as signal of the start and the end of the meeting.

A position of *vanti* was imposed upon the young men's group - *kapah*. There were four of them in *Ligats*. The post of *vanti* was said to be always filled by someone from the *sasiketan* of the *tsipootay*. The job of *vanti* was said to be a supervisor of a young men's work team for compulsory labor service. *Vanti* did not have to labor as heavily as other young men of the team but were responsible for cooking and preparing meals for the team. Today in *Ligats* the post of *vanti* no longer exists.

As directions were always transmitted from *tomok* to *kotsju* to *vanti*, a social ladder was thus instituted as it was said that the prospective promotion of a *vanti* was toward the post of *kotsju*, then to *tomok*. Only those who were in the elder grade, *matoasay*, were entitled to the post of *kotsju*. The principle of seniority was still implied in this hierarchical order of posts. In this aspect, the traditional age organization of a men's group was only confirmed by the Japanese regime.

Under the current Chinese rule, the *tomok* has no political power or authority. It is the *li* head who has the formal connection with the administrative system, and thus takes charge of public affairs of the village. Because the authority of the headman has shrunk into only those bestowed in the Japanese period but ignored by the Chinese government, there were only two events chaired by the headman nowadays: the annual festival and the farewell party for seeing off young men

going for military service.

In Ligats today, election by votes has been adopted as a measure for renewal of a headman on a regular base every three years. Before voting was adopted seven years ago, the holding of the post of headman used to be confirmed annually during *ilisin* by the elders' group. One's occupancy could be continued if the majority of the elders raised their hands to show their approval. Otherwise one could be replaced by someone in the set immediately below who was generally regarded as suitable. Thus the time of occupancy by different headmen varied; some held the post for only one year while others could be up to twelve.

In the voting for the renewal of the headman held in 1986, according to a previous decision made by the meeting of *komonkay*, seven males were nominated for the election of one headman and one vice-headman. Six of them are *sasiketan* of the three set groups immediately junior to the headman's set. The only exception is the chairman of the Catholic church in Ligats. The nomination of the chairman of Catholic church for the position of headman has been a routine for years as for a period of about thirty years, *ilisin* and the meeting of *komonkay* had been kept only by those villagers who were attached to the Catholic church while abandoned by the villagers who joined the Presbyterian church. It is only about ten years ago that the Presbyterian villagers under the persuasion of the present *li* head (a Presbyterian follower), gradually started to participate in the event. However, the tradition of having the Catholic chairman as entitled to the position (which was renewed during *ilisin*) maintained by the Catholic villagers seemingly cannot be denied. The prestige of religious leadership seems to still exist in this respect.

The regular renewal of the headman evidently

reduces the authority previously vested in the post. A retired headman becomes no different from anyone else. This drastic change of the headman's status still can not be accepted by some old villagers. In one meeting of the *komonkay*, the present headman who was going to be replaced questioned the change, 'election is a thing of state, why should it be adopted into the village - *niaroh*. State and *niaroh* should be regarded as different things'. Another old villager who used to be a headman asked, 'why do the villagers go to the police and the court by themselves nowadays instead of going to the headman for consultation and settlement first as in former times'.

In fact, the authority of headman has been greatly reduced to such a degree as to be non-existent. A girl of twenty years old said, 'The headman is somebody only during the annual festival'. I was told that at a previous annual festival, the headman was nearly dismissed as the young men's group proposed to replace him. This proposal was however rejected by the elders. A lady said, 'The young men did not like the headman because of his stern appearance'. The first meeting of the *komonkay* summoned by the headman was supposed to start at 8:00 p.m. but however did not really begin until 10:00 p.m. It was not only the elders who came late but also most of the young men of *tsipootay* who would be responsible for the execution of its decisions were late. This showed that the decisions still remaining in the hands of a headman's authority were no longer important.

However, the status of a headman with authority is still a memory in the mind of villagers. Village solidarity resulting from the exercise of absolute authority by the headman is an admired tradition among some villagers. The headman is still regarded as a representative of the village. The *li* executive told me that the government is always interested to know which one the headman is for he is expected to be able

to affect the villagers. Outsiders usually imagine that the headman as a traditional leader of a village is still a powerful figure in the mind of the villagers. When Ligats is admired by outsiders as a typical and model Amis village with strong solidarity, a remark would always be appended, 'They listen to the words of their headman.'

The existence of the association of headmen in the Yu-li chen seems to me to confirm this. According to the first written regulations on its organization of 1985 by the chairman Te-fo Liu, though the association had been established long before, the main tasks of it are to assist the government in propagating policies to execute community development programs, to consult the political representatives on improvement of local constructions and to undertake work regarding plains aboriginals' cultural activities and social welfare. The association totally has 54 members which include the headmen, vice-headmen of 18 Amis villages in Yu-li chen and political figures such as Amis li heads, Amis chen representatives and county representatives etc.. The office is temporarily set in the house of the chairman, who is renewed every two years. The association must meet regularly twice a year, which is held by each village headman in turn. Income from the membership fee is the main financial source of the association. It also accepts donations from private and governmental institutions. I unfortunately did not have a chance to participate in the association's activity. It is therefore difficult for me to assess the role of it in unifying their villages. But my fieldwork experience showed me that to some extent it can work as a group for the headmen's own social benefits.

The members are expected to provide support to one another. Thus they are obliged to attend the marriages, funerals and other important feastings held in one of their houses. When the son of the headman Lafi in

Ligats married, in the marriage feasting held in his house, guests numbered about 400. Many of them were from other villages and some of them were politically important such as the county and the provincial representatives. A busar, as he writes beautiful Chinese has been frequently asked by the villagers to record the names and the money contributed by those attending this type of event, told me that compared with those in his previous experience, the total income of this time was remarkably great; there were more guests who gave a large amount which hardly happened in other households. Thus, in the ceremonial feasting held in the headman's house, there is not only social prestige expressed by the attendance of important figures from outside the village but also a financially practical benefit from the income (it should be noted that such a benefit is expected to be returned next time with the same amount).

Komod

Since the headman is deprived of absolute authority by a different administration imposed by the Chinese government, one can see that decision-making in the village is no longer in the hands of one figure. The traditional collective leadership and the principle of age seniority operates nowadays.

The principle of age seniority can still be seen operating in the status of a retired headman. A headman after retirement is termed *komod* and in theory still contains a higher authority than the new headman for he is in a set senior than that of the new headman. *Komod*, a native term as mentioned earlier used to refer to leaders in the men's organization prior to the Japanese rule. The application of it to a retired headman implies that he is still politically prestigious and respected. The prestige of the latest retired headman seems to be particularly retained compared with that of those earlier retired headmen. The meeting of

komonkay can be summoned by a *komod* who is a latest retired headman. For instance, the second time a meeting of the *komonkay* for a discussion of annual festival affairs which was held at the house of a latest *komod* Asano where the headman Lafi was neither the most senior nor the highest authority because of the presence of *komod*. On the other hand, a former headman Motsoh who was a headman before Asano is also referred to as *komod*. I was told by his wife that Motsoh was expecting to attend the meeting and he had waited for an oral invitation till mid-night but no messenger went. The authority of retired headman can be seen not fixed but limited due to their being aged and out of a formal position for longer time.

The present *komod* Asano was actually also deprived of his authority by the headman Lafi at the first *komonkay* when the decision about the date of the annual festival was made. The headman summoned a meeting at his house through the village loudspeaker, which asked all *sasiketan* below his set to attend. There had been a meeting of Yu-li headmen's association and an agreement was made there to hold the annual festival simultaneously by all villages in Yu-li *chen*. As Lafi intended to make the date for Ligats conform to that of other villages, he endeavored to avoid the presence of the *komod* who are the persons with authority who might disagree with him.

When asked to compare the authority of the post of *komod* and that of *tomok*, the chief *lin* head cannot really put one above the other. He said, '*komod* is higher than the headman in the village; a headman is only a member of Yu-li headmen's association. I work for the *li* head and the *komod*.' But he also said, 'Anyway *komod*, the *li* head and the headman should cooperate with one another; *komod* is internal, not out of the village; *tomok* is particularly toward the outside for they go to the headmen's association.'

As there is not much opportunity within a village for a headman to employ his authority, it seems to me that the main supportive source for the position is from the idea held by outsiders toward it. The triumph of being a headman is most expressed in the annual festival during which headmanship is conceived as an indispensable item in the eyes of outsiders. The headmanship serves as a symbol of aboriginality and unity of aboriginal village. In spite of strong jealousy toward the authority of a headman, the *li* head only represents the government so he can do nothing in the sphere of aboriginality. He told me that this is one public thing to which he is not entitled. He said, 'the annual festival is just none of a *li* head's business'. Therefore an 'authoritative' headmanship only exists when facing toward the outside for it is he who is always regarded as a representative and an authority on Ligats by outsiders.

The annual festival - *ilisin*

The annual ritual (*ilisin*) was not held like most religious practices for a period under the Japanese. It was revived with a programmed modification by the Japanese government later in 1927 with the intention of impeding the Japanization of Amis villages (Yu, no date). The appearance of the event was intended to be a copy of the previous one. Still the contents and functions drastically changed. The spirits worshipped came from Japanese immigrant villages, therefore were considered as Japanese gods instead of Amis traditional gods. The traditional role of priesthood (*kakitaan*) who led the annual ritual in Amis traditional times was taken over by the headman (*tomok*) who was the officially recognized leader of a village. The activity of the men's group itself, the initiation and entry into a new age set was incorporated into the annual festival. Thus the headman and the men's organization became the main actors of the event.

The period was shortened. The programmes were simplified and the sacredness was lessened.

Despite its being a traditional term, the nature of the event at the present time is very different from that of former times, though it is regarded as the only legacy with a traditional flavor by the villagers. The old informants said that in previous times, when the *kakitaan* announced the commencement of *ilisin*, all the villagers started to practice food prohibition; nowadays it is no longer religious but only a dance event. The event is however regarded as having cultural and tourist value and is written up in local newspapers for the public.

It lasts for three days at the end of August and fills the village with people, both city emigrants, relatives and visitors such as acquaintances and friends from outside. The first day is mainly for the men's group of the village. Women and visitors join the dancing and singing on the second day making the festival into a most happy and colorful affair. The third day is again held by the men's group only to make a proper ending.

In the first and the third day of *ilisin*, women stayed at home or were bystanders of the men's activities. Some young men would come back from the urban environment. Those who did not come back said, 'it was tough. If your performance did not satisfy the elders, you would be reprimanded or punished.' I was told that in the annual festival of 1984, the set at the sub-grade *tsipootay* was sentenced by the elder to a delay of promotion into the elder grade, thus worked as *tsipootay* again in the *ilisin* of 1985. The set was strongly criticized by the elder mainly because one of the young men in the set had an impolite argument against the *komod* on the third day, and one of the *sasiketan* in the set was drunken, which was regarded as improper behavior for this sub-grade. As a result,

the whole young men's group remained at their grades for one more year. The punishment means that they have to provide material and labor service to the elder one more time; in financial terms, they have to contribute money to the annual event. I witnessed a severe reprimand to the *tsipootay* in the second meeting of *komonkay*.

One of the young men in the *tsipootay* stood up to complain about the elder's being late in attending the meeting. A *sasiketan* of a set *la kokong* in the elder grade was angry with the criticism and shouted back his disapproval to the sub-grade. All the sets in the elder grade then expressed their disagreement with the *tsipootay* in turn; the only thing the *tsipootay* could do was to stay quiet to accept all the rebukes. The next day the young man went to his neighbouring shop. The Chinese neighbour chatted with him about Amis affairs; he replied negatively, 'The Amis is none of my business.' A middle-aged male regretted the lack of village solidarity nowadays; he said, 'In previous times, the young men always obeyed the elders. The men's group was united as one. But today, the young men no longer regard the elder as somebody.'

In the following, I shall give a description of the annual festival which I attended in 1986.

In the morning of the first day, a pig was killed for the group breakfast which is termed *maranam*. The group eating was carried out about the same time separately by both the men's group and the wives' group. The men's group gathered at the men's house while the wives' group met at the open ground before the previous *li* office. The pig was bought by the village fund. One half of it was consumed by the men's group and the other half by the wives's group. The killing of the pig for group breakfast actually has just been restored two years ago. The chief *lin* head said that he proposed the restoration in *komonkay* because in this way the men's group could be gathered more easily. The young had to come early to make fires and cook the meat, the

elders bringing one's own rice to enjoy the meat. The cooked meat was allocated into shares by *tsipootay* under the direction of their *sasiketan*. Each share was consumed by a set; the eating was thus carried out in groups. The two eldest sets were too aged to come; their shares were sent to their houses by the *tsiopihey*.

It was two years ago that the wivies' group started to share half of the pig to have the breakfast together. The cooking was mainly carried out by the vice-chairman and the treasurers of the group. The eating was also held in age groups which however was in terms of the interval of one year. The strategy was that those who used to be in the same school year constituted an age group.

The renewal of the headman by votes was held at the men's house after the eating. Only the elders were entitled to vote; the young men's group were bystanders. The votes were immediately counted. Among the 121 voters, the new headman Haro won 37, the vice-headman Sawma 22. Both then gave a speech to the men's group. When the oldest set started to leave, the group immediately below dismissed automatically. No young men could leave while there were still elders present; their departure was only valid when ordered to leave by the *sasiketan* of the *tsipootay*.

After lunch, the four lower sub-grades gathered at the dance ground before the previous *li* office to sing and dance. They stood in a circle with the highest of them, the *kaka to koro* as its leader in initiating a song and suitable dance steps for the junior sets to follow. The *kaka to koro* sang out the main song first, the other three sub-grades then gave the chord in chorus. Then the junior sets took turns in terms of seniority order to sing the main part of the song having other sets of the grouping to sing the chord part. Usually a song was repeatedly sung by

all the sets in turn at least once and even more if the senior set did not initiate another song. The *tsipootay* came a bit later. They joined the dancing circle by adding themselves to the front of their immediately junior set. They then became a leader in initiating singing and its steps. Usually the more senior the later the older males could come. The sets in the elder grade joined the dancing in the same way as the *tsipootay* did. They were also entitled to initiate the singing of a song. Only the most senior set was exempt from the dancing; they just sat inside the circle. Any of them was free to join the dancing however if they wanted.

After about three hours dancing, a ceremonial event *pakomodan* was held. Two young men of each of the three lower sub-grades were called up to the front. Each of them was given a large can of wine to drink up in one draught and was given a cloth belt with Chinese words 模範青年, model young man, to hang on the shoulder. This performance connotes a meaning of training and encouragement to these young men. According to the informants, what was originally given was big pieces of thick pig skin for them to bite into halves. It was changed into the present form thirty years ago for the use of pig skin was considered by the elders at that time as uncivilized. A 'model young man' is a prospective *sasiketan* of a set. They were selected by the *tsipootay* first, then to be confirmed by each of all the senior sets in the *komonkay*.

The whole grouping was afterwards divided into two, a young men's and an elder's. The young men still sang and danced in a circle under the supervision of the *sasiketan* of *tsipootay*. The *tsiopihay* were especially required to dance vigorously so that the bow made the feather on the cap touch the ground. The young men were asked to devote themselves to the group in this way. Next to the young men also in a circle the elder sat, they drank and sang their songs together using one

leg to tap the tempo. The four lower sub-grades of young men alone danced till it turned dark when the seniors, the elders and female bystanders had all gone home.

The wine consumed in the afternoon was provided by the young men. The way of drinking is termed *patawsi*, which is a typical way used in gatherings and meetings. One person, usually a junior, presents wine to each of a gathering one by one in the same cup.

The activity in the second day is termed *mahayhay*. *Hayhay* is a sound note frequently used in singing. The use of this word to refer to the second day implies that it is a day for singing and fun. As the annual ritual was originally carried out solely by the males of the village, the second day of the festival, with an active participation by women and the attendance of visitors from outside, was a later addition to the event. All the females, city emigrants, relatives and visitors appeared formally at the annual festival only on the second day. It included the whole village and related it to the outside. The drinks expended on the day were financed by the village fund instead of from the funds of the young men's group.

The dancing was expected by the chief *lin* head to start in the morning; he hurried the villagers to the dance ground through a loudspeaker. The young men were thus gathered at the dance ground. They, however, danced only intermittently for the wives' group did not really appear; only some women sporadically joined the dancing. It was only after the lunch when the chairman of the wives' group asked the wives' group to come to the dance group through a loudspeaker that most of the village women appeared. The singing was led by the head of the wives' group through a microphone which broadcast her singing over the whole village. As the women were all dressed in colorful costumes in Amis style, the dancing ground was soon active. The women danced in a

circle surrounded by a circle of men. The circles were generally constituted by age groups in the order of seniority. Like the old men, the old women sit in the center inside the circle. Young girls were brought by their female relatives to the dancing. Visitors from the outside were also invited to join and were put to proper positions in the circles. Whenever important figures arrived, it would be announced, and the singing became louder and the dance more vigorous to express a welcome. Gradually young girls would be individually moved between the young men by the *sasiketan* of the *tsipootay*. It was not until almost the end of the dancing that the order of the position mixed up to be a free combination, and the young children joined the fun by themselves at the rear of the open and outer circle. The dancing ended when the wives' group stopped their lead of singing.

A special ceremony for the transfer of the headman's mark of office was held in an interval at the center of the dance ground on this second day before the public. The actual shift of office would not happen until after the festival. As visitors such as acquaintances, friends, businessmen, local civil servants and political figures would usually contribute gifts in the form of either money or drinks, in the several other intervals, those who occupy positions in organizations related to the larger society like the *li* head, the chief *lin* head and the farmers' representative of Ligats, would stand at the centre of the occasion to announce gifts and contributions brought by the visitors to the village. The contributions were written on red paper strips, read out to the public and then stuck to the wall for presentation. The list of names included some Chinese businessmen, Chinese neighbours, Amis villagers who run shops in the village, Amis villagers who work in the governmental institutions, teachers and the principal of the primary school in Ligats, news reporters, the headman of Sadvo, the local policeman, current and former *chen*, county

and provinial Amis representatives from other Amis villages, the aboriginal National representative, the Yu-li local office of the National party, etc.. It is thus an occasion for an expression of relation with the outside.

Totally, 118 households paid a fee of NT\$ 100 each to the village fund for the annual festival. There were 49 individuals or group units contributing money or drinks. According to the red paper listed, the money amounted NT\$ 4,870 and the drinks numbered 36 boxes of wine (a box is NT\$ 360) and 5 boxes of soda drink (a box is NT\$ 360). 15 boxes of wine and 4 boxes of soda drink were consumed on the day.

The third day was held at the men's house again. It is termed *paklan*, which is actually a traditional way of ending a ritual period by going fishing and eating the fish by all participants; the prohibition for ritual cleanness was lifted then. Only the young men's group went fishing; in fact, they went to the market to buy fish for there has been hardly any fish in the rivers. On the other hand, only a few stayed at the men's house to make fires and entertain the senior sets in the elder grade who gathered there. The elders senior to the set of the headman took turns to give talks and comments on the village affairs. The talks appeared to be only an exchange of opinions but did not constitute any decision for execution.

After the eating of the fish, the *komod* first gave a speech, then followed the headman. The chief *li* head gave a report on the financial balance to the village fund. The *li* head, the chairman of the community organization separately reported and commented on the reorganization of their Amis water supply team. Theoretically any male who had opinions on the village affairs were entitled to express them. Privately, the young men regarded it as a meeting for criticism of the young men's performances. In fact, only those who ever

became incumbents of some formal position would stand up to speak. A senior male who used to be a policeman and are now residing in the urban area criticized the report of the financial balance for it did not provide any receipt as evidence. Others suggested that a measure of severe fine should be adopted to make more young men attend the annual festival. No discussion and decision was made of these opinions however. The elder's group dismissed automatically after two senior males completed their speeches and left the meeting by themselves. The young men's group was directed by the *tsipootay* to complete the cleaning and then was permitted to leave.





Four lower sub-grades starting the dance of *ilisin*



An age set gathering at their *sasiketan's* house



Aged sets sitting, middle-aged sets dancing



Pakomodan



The old and
the young in two
separate circles



Dancing of *tsiopihay* under the supervision
of *tsipootay*



Chairman of the wives' gorup leading singing



The second day of *ilisin*



Local leaders announcing contributions and
the contributors



Transfer of the headman's mark



Allocating fish for age sets



Headman giving a speech at the men's house
on the last day of *ilisin*

CHAPTER FOUR

KINSHIP ORGANIZATION

The previous theories on Amis kinship and social organization has been presented to us as a static model. In short, it took a household as a constituent of the larger group although it also improperly use the term 'matrilineal' to describe the group. In the following section, I will demonstrate that the previous model has missed out some important features of Amis kinship by misinterpreting the vernacular terms. To grasp fully the native definition of native terms seems to me a helpful strategy to understand Amis kinship and social organization.

4.1 A review of previous studies

It has long been alleged that there are matriclans and matrilineages existing in Amis society. Matriclans are named and are recognized as pervasive mainly among the central and the south Amis. For the north Amis, they are matrilineages. The named matriclan is defined by previous researchers as *gagasawan* or *gasaw* in Amis native terminology.

... 氏族制を有するものはパンダハ族の中部及び南部であつて、右の諸群について云へば、'卑南アミ'、'恆春アミ'、'海岸アミ'の全部及び'秀姑巒アミ'の過半数がこれに属し、凡ての'南勢アミ'は氏族制を缺き、また、'秀姑巒アミ'のうち、太巴堅、馬太鞍兩社及びその分社（推定七五〇戸、五五〇〇人）はこの點に於て明瞭でない。

明確な氏族制を有するもの

三三〇〇戸 三二、五〇〇人

然れどももの

二四〇〇戸 一二、五〇〇人

(Mabuchi 1935: 392)

[Clans exist in the central and the south areas of Pansah; it includes the so called Puyuma Amis, Heng-ch'un Amis, Coastal Amis and over half of the Hsiukuluan Amis. No clan is found among Nanshi Amis; it is also unclear whether some Hsiukuluan Amis such as Tavarong, Vataan and their separated villages (estimated as 750 households, 5500 population) ever have it.

clan

existed clearly 3300 households 32,500 population

unclear

2400 households 12,500 population]

(translated by myself)

... 氏族は卓南アミ、恆春アミでは *Rarugawan* 或は *Rarumaan* 呼ばれ、秀姑巒アミ、海岸アミでは *gasau*, *gasa-nasau*, *gagasawan* と呼ばれることが多い。氏族制度の缺けておる南勢アミ及び秀姑巒アミの一部では、母系をたどって現實に知り得る血縁者の一團がやはり氏族と同様の機能を果たしてゐるのである。

(Okada 1942: 242-243)

[Clan is termed *Rarugawan* or *Rarumaan* among the Puyuma Amis and the Heng-ch'un Amis and is usually referred to as *gasau*, *gasa-gasau*, *gagasawan* by Hsiukuluan Amis and Coastal Amis. ... Among Nanshi Amis and part of the Hsiukuluan Amis who did not have clans, the kin groups formed according to traceable matrilineal connections perform the same kind of function.] (translated by myself)

'... In some north Amis villages the relatives of certain priests distinguished by the observation of particular rituals, form matrilineages of three or four families each, but with this exception the northern Amis reveal no evidence of matrilineal organization. ... The central and southern Amis, on the other hand, are organized into about fifty matrilineal clans, subdivided into more or less local lineages. Each clan bears a distinctive name, often that of the village where it traditionally originated, and is commonly, though by no means universally, distinguished from others by special food taboo, characteristic rituals, and distinctive funerary practices. Though their membership is ordinarily dispersed, clans do not exert an integrating influence beyond the local community. Nor are they strongly functional even within the community, where their solidarity, to the extent that it exists, is greatly overshadowed by that of the village.' (Mabuchi 1960: 133).

The similar recognition was followed by Wei. However, in his definition, *gagasawan* refers to matrilineage and matriclan is defined as *lalomaan*.

... 從親屬組織來看，可分為二群，大港口以南，海岸山脈以東，及卓南溪流域，直到恆春為南部群，是母系氏族 *raruma'an* 的社會。秀姑巒溪谷到奇萊平原的南勢阿美群為北部群，是無氏族的母系世系群 *nanasawan* 的社會。... 惟自家族構成形態，婚姻與繼承法則，整個阿美族大致是相同的。

(Wei 1964: 1)

[With respect to the organization of kin grouping, two types can generally be distinguished. The southern type, from Makutaay (where Hsiukuluan river enters into the sea), to the east of coastal

mountains, downward to Heng-ch'un, including Pei-nan river areas, is matriclan or *raruma?an* society. The northern type, covering Hsiukuluan valley upward to the Nanshi Amis area, which lacks a clan system, is matrilineage or *gagasawan* society,... though the whole Amis generally reveal the same principles regarding family type, marriage and descent rule.] (translated by myself)

... (in the) *gagasawan* system of the northern type, ... descent units are reduced into two, the *gagasawan* and *rarumaan*. The former is maximal lineage unit, and the latter minimal lineage segment, each having a leading household as their center. (p.32).

... (as to) the *rarumaan* system of the southern Amis, the tribal constituent elements of the southern Amis are their matriclans and lineage units. The maximal descent groups are matriclans, ... called *rarumaan*.(p.33). ... the clan units (were) segmented into lineage groups, ... within every lineage group there are two kinds of households, the leading household of a lineage, ... and newly detached families. (p.34)

One can see from the above statements that the organization of the descent group, *gagasawan* or *lalomaan*, is depicted with households as components (see also Liu et al. 1965: 46). In other words, they are several groups of households, each with a leading household as its centre. A group of households divided from a common original household is identified as a social unit contained in the larger group *gasaw* or *gagasawan*.

The relation between households in the organization of a group is also emphasized by later researchers in their presentation of Amis kinship organization (Juan 1969: 39-40, Suenari 1983: 155, Ch'en 1987: 41). However, in Suenari's study (1971, 1983), the group of households with common original households was defined in the vernacular as *malinaay* rather than *raromaan*. Suenari also pointed out that the Amis organization of kin grouping should be explained in terms of residence rather than matrilineality. He remarked (1971: 1-2) that,

... since uxori-local residence was the norm and practice until fifteen years ago, membership in the *loma* (household), *malininai* and *gasaw* was obtained mostly through women. This gave the coastal Amis a matrilineal appearance. However, closer study shows that membership in these groups is determined by the residence pattern of the parent at the time of their marriage. Thus for example, when virilocal marriage is practiced, full membership is obtained through the man.

On the other hand, a principle of simulated kinship in the organization of the group *gasaw* is recognized by Suenari as he found that the group *gasaw* is not always based on genuine common descent.

親族集団アリニナイ (*malinininaʔay*) は... 本家と分家より成る系統の集団で、その成員は皆も一家族のような親密な関係で結ばれるものとされ、石碇の人々はそれぞれがひとつの集団に属している... 更に、具体的な系譜関係は述べないが同一の祖先または同じ故地より発生したと伝えられるがサウ (*gasaw*) の紐帯によって結ばれている。しかし、上位の活動集団を形成するには、この紐帯だけでは不十分で更に人為的な擬制関係がアリニナイ間設定される必要がある。

(Suenari 1983: 155).

[The kin group, *Malininai*, ... composed of a household and its divided households, is a group with continuity. Members of the group are related as close as a family. In the village of , all belong to one or to another such a group. The groups further constitute larger combinations - *gasaw*, which is lack of precise genealogical memory and is regarded as derived from a common ancestor or a common previous village. Formation of the larger group is based mainly on a fictive type of kinship] (translated by myself).

In short, the studies of the previous researchers Wei, Juan, Suenari, Ch'en present an Amis village as composed of three types of social units. The basic household - *loma*, a group of households with a common originality from an old household - *lalomaan*, *malinaay*, or *salaoinaay* (by Wei 1961: 18), and the largest unit *gasaw* which consists of several *malinaay* or *lalomaan*.

The only exceptional interpretation of *gasaw* was proposed by Liu et al. (1965: 262), in which he regards *gasaw* as a kindred-based group,

... kindred is an occasionally aggregated kin group and called *gagasawan*. The participation of the relatives vary very much case to case. ... In the village of Pairasun, intimate friends called *gasau* are also expected to join the activities of the *gagasawan*.

Liu however made a mistake in distinguishing *gagasawan* and *gasaw* as two different terms. Also, he was not consistent with his definition of the term as he at the same time regards *gasaw* as a lineage (p.261). Although he did not provide us with a coherent interpretation of the native idiom, he did point out some important features of the Amis society (p.261),

... Among the Hsiukuluan Amis, a descent group is not a corporate kin group but a circumscriptive one, which merely serves to define the limits of certain rights and duties of their members, and distinguishes itself from others by the keeping of special food taboos and by observing distinctive rules for rituals and funerals.

My fieldwork experiences with the village of Ligats show me that the model commonly used by previous researchers has missed out some important features of Amis kinship organization by misinterpreting the vernacular terms. It can be easily discerned that the definitions of the native terms given by previous researchers are divergent yet overlapping.

Gasaw or *gagasawan* is defined as,

(1) a named group such as Patsilar, Tsiwilian, Salipoan, etc. which are often names of previous places (Mabuchi 1935: 395; Suenari 1983: 187).

(2) a descent group with a common ancestor but without a name (Wei 1961: 1, 11; Liu et al. 1965: 261).

(3) a group organized by simulated kinship (Suenari 1983: 187; Liu et al. 1965: 70-71).

(4) kindred and affines. (Liu et al. 1965: 262)

(5) a group derived from a previous common residence (Suenari 1983: 192).

(6) a group of households with a common original household (Wei 1961: 11).

Malinaay is defined as,

(1) kin of a common ancestress (Okada 1942: 246; Wei 1961: 14).

(2) close kin who are prohibited from intermarry (Wei 1961: 16; Liu 1965: 262).

(3) a group of households with a common original household (Suenari 1983: 155; Wei 1961: 3, 10, 18).

(4) kindred and affines (Yamaji 1980: 105, 144)

(5) matrilineal kin (Mabuchi 1980: 40-41; Suenari 1983: 156-157; Nakashima 1983: 83).

lalomaan is defined as,

(1) a group of households with a common original household (Wei 1961: 7; Juan 1969: 39-40; Ch'en 1987: 41, 78).

(2) close kin of a common ancestress (Juan 1969: 39).

All three terms are by different researchers regarded as connoting the meaning of a group of households with a common original household, also kin of a common ancestor. Both *malinaay* and *gagasawan* are regarded as referring to kindred and affines by different researchers. In other words, there has not been agreement but confusion with the social meaning of these native terms.

My study with the Amis village of Ligats shows me that it is wrong to define *gasaw* as a matriclan and to assume that the existence of a really old name definitely implies a named group. Also, to define the native terms *gasaw*, *malinaay* and *lalomaan* by the model of a group of households connected by a continuous household line with a common original household does not suffice in understanding the native concepts and organizational principles.

It is the factor of previous common residence that seems to be decisive in the differentiation of kin or relatives. The siblings or classificatory siblings who used to live in the same household are regarded as the closest. The relation of a set of sibling or classificatory siblings with a common parent or grandparent seems to be one of the important principles in organizing Amis kinship. It is termed as *malakakaay* or *sadak no malakakaay*, or is sometimes referred to as *lalomaan* (also see Juan 1969: 39). Regardless of separate residence after marriage or household division, they should always appear at social events happening to any one of them.

In another aspect, spouses of the siblings should always accompany them in attending household events and are obliged to bring food stuffs, if it involves a feasting, or other forms of assistance in support of the event. Thus whatever the household event, both kin and affine appear together.

The affine is included in the native category of *malinaay*. Also, children of a sibling of a household and children of a married-out sibling of a household are usually regarded as *malinaay* of each other though they are kin but not affines. It is therefore wrong to translate *malinaay* as a matrilineage, or a group of households with a common origin. In my view, *malinaay* refers to a category of relatives who are either kin or affines regardless of any residence affiliation but are under obligation to provide support to a household event.

It has been recognized by previous researchers that a *gasaw* always has a head household as its center and divided households of it are still components. It seems to me however that a more precise description of the organization of the group should take into consideration the native concept of the sibling relation due to a previous common residence. As far as

gasaw is concerned, the related households are usually described by the villagers of Ligats as descendants of a set of siblings or classificatory siblings rather than in terms of a stem - branch relation among households. Members of a *gasaw*, even if remote genealogically, usually regard each other as sibling - *salikaka* if they are about the same age. Also, when *gasaw* come together for a ritual event, their spouses though not necessarily under a common religious responsibility, would usually bring material support to attend. Therefore, *malinaay* appear always mixed with *gasaw*.

As pointed out by Suenari, another principle, the simulated kinship, operates in the organization of *gasaw* (see also Liu et al. 1965: 70-71). It is possible for an individual, a set of sibling or a household to artificially attach themselves to a head household and be included as its members, as long as they will share the common ritual responsibility and cooperation. The attachment can also occur in the case of children of married-out members despite their being without any common residential relation with the household.

Moreover, it seems to me wrong, as previous researchers usually did, to presume a persistent attachment existing between divided households and their original households. If we overlook the process where a divided household starts to make for itself an independent status of leading household with its own attached members, the dynamic aspect of function of the group *gasaw* will be missed.

In the following, I will first deal with the native concepts contained in the native terminology for kin and relatives, and then point out the important relations or organizational idioms used to show how they operate in an Amis kinship system.

4.2 Terms for kin and relatives

The following list presents in pairs terms for direct address among kin and relatives in daily contact to show the two parties between whom the term is used. It should be noted however that terms of direct address are used mainly for polite or respectful treatment therefore toward senior relatives. People usually address one another of about same age and toward those who are younger than themselves by name.

ina, vake, mama, vae / wawa, kadavo
kaka / sava
ale / ale
apert / apert

ina - mother, parent's sister, parent's mother,
parent's parent's sister

vake - parent's brother, parent's parent's
brother

mama - father, *ina*'s husband, parent's
father

vae - *vake*'s wife

kaka - sibling (or classificatory sibling)
elder than oneself

sava - sibling (or classificatory sibling)
younger than oneself

wawa - children and children's descendant

kadavo - children's and children's
descendant's spouse

ale - spouse's sibling, sibling's spouse

apert - people whose spouses are siblings

As the contingent translation on the right side of the list cannot completely cover the applicable range, I will give more words on the extended usage of these terms. A minor note for the list is provided here first as they are more easily presented.

All the terms of address can also be used as terms

of reference. Because the number of the terms is not many, and the terms are often widely extended in their actual usage, terms always have to be specified further with pronouns and possessive words for the purpose. This however seems to be used mainly in answering my inquiries about the specific genealogical connection between persons. Among Amis themselves, they do not usually seem to use such a specification.

As *wawa*, *kadavo*, *sava* are usually not heard in direct address, they are only terms of reference. *Ale* and *apert* are usually of the same age generation as oneself and are therefore often addressed by name. When the terms are used in direct address, it shows politeness and is particularly intended to remind the person addressed of his relationship. Besides these, there are other terms of reference listed as follows.

vaynay - husband

vavahe - wife

salikaka - sibling and classificatory sibling

malakakaay - a set of sibling

malinaay (or *malawinaay*) - relatives

One can see that the basic terms available so far distinguish only between two generations. Kin terms used for the upper generation are applied to the grand-parent generation and above. The terms used for lower generations also cover all generations below.

Sex distinction is made in the upper generation. There are *vake* and *mama* for male relatives, and *ina*, *vae* for the female. It is clear that the classification for the female is made in a line between kin and affine, thus *ina* is for female kin in the upper generation leaving *vae* for the affine - *vake's* wif (see Figure 1). The classification for males in the upper generation however does not follow the same strategy and awaits explanation later.

For the upper generation, the focus does not seem to be on a pair of parents in contrast to their siblings, but immerse the pair in a set of siblings in contrast to their spouses (Figure 1). For instance, *mama* is a term for both lineal male kin and affines; *vae* is only a term for affines.

For the lower generation, distinction is made between children *wawa* and children's spouse *kadavo* regardless of the sex.

For kin in the same generation as one's own, we see no sex distinction either but a classification by age between the older as *kaka* and the younger as *sava* with ego as an indicator. The terms are extended to include cousins with a common grandparent or great-grandparent. Thus children of siblings' children still regard each other as siblings.

A set of siblings either with a pair of common parents or one common parent is referred to as *malakakaay*. For a classificatory sibling whose genealogical distance is remote and ambiguous, *salikaka* is used for referential purposes. Even if the parents divorce, children with a common mother but different fathers or vice versa still regard each other as siblings.

For one's own generation, we see that the kin terms make a line separating siblings from their spouses *ale* (Figure 2). A as B's spouse sibling and B as A's sibling's spouse who are related by one marital link address each other as *ale*. Further *apert* is used between affines B and C who are connected by two marital links. The two affinal terms are extended in a classificatory sense in the same mode as terms for sibling.

The distinction of generations as upper, lower and one's own as so far being mentioned is in fact made in

Figure 1 Terms for the generation above ego

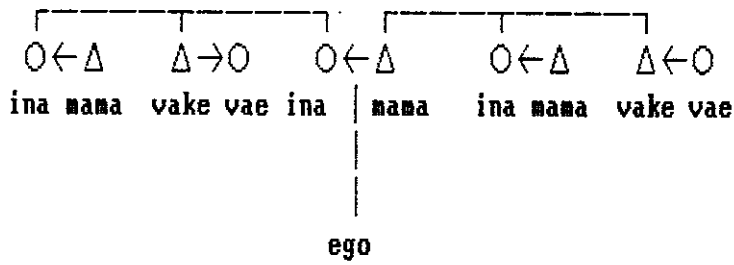
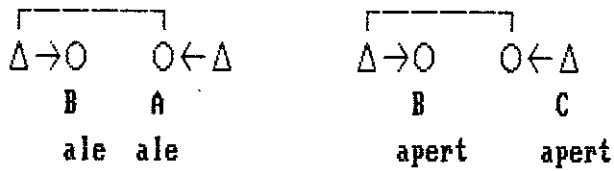


Figure 2 Terms for affines in one's own generation



terms of age. Therefore, female kin who are of the parents' generation but only slightly older than oneself are called *kaka* instead of *ina*. On the other hand, those who are of one's own generation but much younger than oneself are called by name instead of by sibling term. The prime principle is not of generation but of age. In other words, *ina* is applied to female kin of about parent's age and older; *vake* to the male. *Ina's* spouse is *mama*; *vake's* spouse *vae*. The kin who are about same age as oneself but a bit older are called *kaka*; a bit younger *sava*. Those who are about one's children's age and below are *wawa*, whose spouse is *kadavo*.

As no emphasis is paid to the generation and descent in using terms of reference or address, it is not uncommon for people to confound ancestors of different generations because such forebears address each other as siblings even when this may not be the case genealogically. In one sense it is not necessary for siblings to have one common parent. In fact, the most commonly employed explanation for being kin with each other is that the ancestors were seemingly siblings. In the Amis idiom, they may be either *salikaka*, *malakaka* or *sadak no malakakaay*. *Sadak* means out. *Sadak no malakakaay* can be translated as offspring of siblings. By contrast, a common ancestor is hardly mentioned as a significant factor for a common identity.

Theoretically people who are classificatory siblings are regarded as close to one another and it would not be appropriate for them to get married. In Ligats, nevertheless there have been cases of marriage among classificatory siblings. It is said that such cases would never be allowed by the elders in the past. I cannot tell if this were the case.

Malinaay is the term most commonly used in referring to relatives today in Ligats. *Malinaay* in

its broadest sense includes affines and even non-relatives. People who are nearby and in frequent contact such as neighbours, and members of the same age group can be included in the category of *malinaay*.

As one of my informant gave the definition of the term, a core meaning of *malinaay* however seems to be, 'children of a set of siblings, despite the fact of being born and brought up in separate households as a result of some siblings' marrying out.' It is not difficult to find that *malinaay* defined here connotes the same thing as *sadak no malakakaay* which is expressed in a sibling term. Further, even the fact of separate residence due to marriages does not affect the use of the term.

As far as ego's generation is concerned, the boundary of *malinaay* lies between those who are called *ale* - spouse's siblings and siblings' spouses; no one beyond this is termed *malinaay*. The kin above and below ego's generation due to marriage such as spouse parents and children of married-out siblings are always included. Also it is clear that application of kin terms extends to senior affines following the usages adopted by one's spouse, and that of one's sibling. Individuals address spouse's senior kin in the same way as their spouse, and further one's sibling's spouse's senior kin would be addressed the same way as one's sibling does.

Besides, a common residence is always an important factor in relating kin or relatives. After living under the same roof for a period, no matter whether one is originally a kin or not, a close relationship similar to that of kin would be created. It usually happens when people move to a new place where no close kin are available. Often one would seek remote kin for shelter. They would forget the unknown distance in actual genealogy between them and address each other in the ordinarily used kin terms. An informant replied to my

question on why a household is regarded as his relative by saying that 'the forebears used to live together -5 *mapolong*; the ancestor of the household was also from the common original household.'

Simulated kin ties can be established purely under the condition that both sides treat each other as kin, namely they provide material support or help whenever in need or on occasions of a ceremony and are in intimate and frequent contacts. The establishment of simulated kinship is described in vernacular terms as *misa - tatapaan*, *misa - ina* or *misa - vake* which means relating as one's original household, senior female kin or senior male kin. In daily contact, senior male kin of the fictively original household are then addressed by the term *vake*, senior female kin *ina*, and kin about one's age *salikaka*. Once a sibling tie is established and remembered as such, descendants of this simulated kinship tend to remain kin with a recognition that their ancestors are siblings. In this way, the application of kin terms among Amis is extended to non-kin in creating a simulated kinship.

Mi - kafit which means attach or link up is another idiom used in describing such establishment of simulated kinship. *Papotalay a malinaay* - relatives at the outside, *pakaetsepay a malinaay* - relatives through taking betel nuts, are expressions to describe this type of relationship while kinship with common blood is expressed as *tata - malinaay* - genuine relatives.

4.2.1 Relationships

The relationships implied in the terminology introduced above will be dealt with in this section. They are in a sense prescribed behaviors brooded over for a long period in the old social situations as soon as situational change started within the last one hundred years. It seems to me therefore more convenient

to demonstrate their use with a reference to the previous social arrangement which has to some extent fallen into disuse today.

The traditional mode of Amis marriage involved hardly any elaborated procedure (also Liu et al. 1965: 127). Young people were free to court a steady partner for a period of time, during which they provided their labor service for the households of their partners, and when the personal goods of the male were moved from the male's natal household to the wife's household, a marital relationship was then established. A marital relation was also easy to dissolve (also Koitsumi 1928: 36-38). When personal objects of married-in males were put outside the front door, it implied that a husband was 'divorced'. The short life of many marriages in previous times can be inferred from a statement of an informant, 'there were a number of *ina* (mothers) in our household, we did not know about the *mama* (father). They just came and left.' However, monogamy was strictly observed under the customary law. Adultery was conceived as a serious crime which would anger the spirits and evoked misfortunes and sickness (also Liu et al. 1965: 137-138, 147).

A divorced man would usually marry into another household or stay in his natal household and the children remained residents of his wife's household (also Liu et al. 1965: 102). It was not uncommon for a woman to have had several different husbands and a man to have children dispersed in different households. Also it happened that A and B had a common father, B and C had a common mother while A and C did not have any common parent.

A household was composed mainly of mothers, their married-in husbands and children under the traditional custom of matri-uxorilocal residence. It was generally held that a traditionally large-sized household was preferred to frequently divided small units. A

household thus usually consisted of more than two generations and was filled with an extended family.

In a household, regardless of collaterality, all the senior females about and above the age of one's parents are called *ina*, the males as *mama*. Those slightly older than oneself are called *kaka*, those slightly younger are regarded as *sava*. The married-in males were referred to as *kadavo* when they were young by the upper generation in the household and were called *mama* when they themselves were in the old generation. Between the married-in males and the members who were born in the household, if they were about the same age generation, *ale* was used to address each other. The married-in males who were about the same age generation addressed each other as *apert*.

Married-in males particularly had to do with hunting, fishing and clearance of land, thus constituting a main labor force as far as the subsistence of the household was concerned, but the right to apportion household budget was in the hands of the senior females of the household. As *kadavo* they were supposed to be polite toward and obey senior members of a household (also Liu et al. 1965: 105; Suenari 1983: 117-118) and were not entitled to take part in decision-making in household affairs.

Kadavo was actually a term with a connotation of inferiority as far as status in a household is concerned. Among married-in males, order was organized in terms of age seniority. The most senior male in age held the status of father of a household, *mama no loma*, as male head of household in directing labor work among males. Married-in males who had stayed in a household for a long period of time without being 'divorced', and were old enough to have *kadavo* - married-in children-in-law at their command, were naturally promoted to the position of father of

household from the position of *kadavo* of household. They at this stage would be hardly heard referred to as *kadavo*, but addressed either as *mama* or *ale* in correspondance with their senior status in the household.

Even though residing in the household as a *mama*, according to the old burial custom, he still had to be buried in his natal household instead of his wife's. It was not uncommon that a married-in male was sent back to his natal household for a curative ritual when he was old and sick. His natal household actually relied heavily on him as far as important household decisions and events were concerned. He was referred to as *vake*, *kaka* or *wawa to* *vaynayan* by his natal household.

As a matter of fact, *mama* is said to be mainly used for elders and is widely used for senior male non-kin outside the household in daily contact. Such an extension seems to me in conformity with the fact that being addressed as *mama* in a household one has to be old and usually is a married-in male who has not been born in the household. By contrast, *vake* and his wife *vae* are the two terms hardly heard in daily contact in a household. They are also not as commonly used by the villagers as *ina* and *mama* in daily contact outside the household. The two terms do appear in the household but mainly on occasions of household meetings or events when they are invited to attend. According to my informant, *vake* and *vae* imply respect in contrast to *mama* and *ina*, and *vake* is a position heavily involved with responsibilities and care toward a household and the individuals. Whenever household meetings or feastings are held, *vake* are to be invited and respectfully received. *Vake* is always the person to seek advice from; the advice-giving is referred to as *palimoot*. In a household gathering, *vake* is more like a family head than *mama* as far as the actual performance is

concerned. In a sense the term *vake* perhaps is even more related to a household than the term *mama* as an old informant says to me, 'I am called *mama* outside, but *vake* at home. It is improper to be called in the reverse order.'

The application of the term *vake* can also be extended in the same line as sibling terms are. One's parent's classificatory brother is addressed as *vake* therefore (Figure 3). A male who is a *vake* in the eyes of children of a household is *kaka* from the point view of the mother of a household. Thus female members of a household are subordinate not only to the authority of their parent's brothers who are addressed as *vake* but also to that of their classificatory brothers on both the paternal and the maternal sides although addressed as *kaka*.

Although all classificatory brothers of one's parents could be *vake*, as far as the individual is concerned, the more relevant *vake* with more responsibility toward oneself are those of one's parent's generation, particularly one's mother's brother regardless of their age and status of marriage. When a marriage is negotiated, one's mother's brother would always be invited for the discussion and settlement. Their opinions would be respected; any disagreement from them could be an obstacle to the affair. Also from one's harvest of game a share should usually be given to the maternal *vake* (Liu et al. 1965: 105).

On the other hand, there is still a distinction being made between paternal *vake* and maternal *vake* intervened by residential cause. When division of household property occurs, the married-out males of a household are sent for and given authority in the settlement. But male kin as *vake* without a previous residential affiliation have little to say in the matter. By contrast, on the occasion of a ceremony concerning an individual's life crisis such as marriage,

Figure 3 Vake of a house

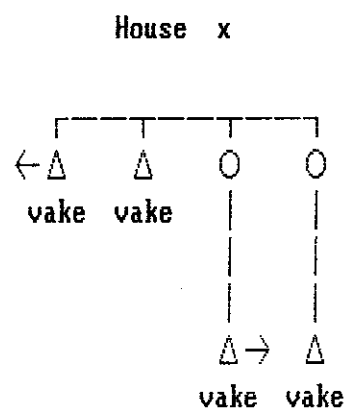
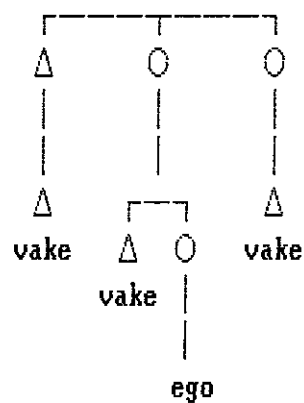


Figure 4 Vake of an individual



the *vake* on the paternal side are usually given priority in giving the main speech at the feast. The prominence of the paternal *vake* is particularly expressed by the term *tata - vake - great vake*.

According to the villagers in Ligats, all male descendants of a household who are referred to as *wawa to vaynay no loma*, in adulthood can become *vake* in a household (Figure 4). *Vaynayan* means male; *wawa to vaynayan* can be translated as male children or descendants. In other words, males born in a household, being married out of the household afterwards, and sons and grandsons of married-out males of a household never residing in the household are all included as relevant male kin of a household. This is clearly a different definition from that of *vake* mentioned earlier where *vake* refers to parent's brother, grandparent's brother, etc.. One feature of *vake* of household as a position in this context is that they do not have to be as old as the parent; young as they may be, still they are entitled to it. In this context, the identification of *vake* disregards age and being born in the household or not.

Children of married-out males of a household, even without residential relation with their father's household, had a special relation in the household, and were referred to as *mitosay* of the household. Meanwhile, in contrast to their maternal household where they were born and brought up, the paternal household was regarded as their *pitoasan*. Children of married-out male's son were related as *sakatosa a mitosay*; *sakatosa* means the second. The children of a married-out male's son's son if still related, could be referred to as *sakatoro a mitosay*; *sakatoro* means the third. The male *mitosay* were especially endowed with right and responsibility toward the *pitoasan* and were referred to as *tata - wawa a vaynayan - great junior male*.

Therefore each male actually had a series of households to be related with. And a household had a group of relevant males whose cognatic distance from it varied.

In fact, when a group of males related to a household meets to take care of household affairs, the ranking inside is ordered in terms of age rather than genealogical distance. They usually take turns in giving opinions on matters under discussion following order of age seniority. In this context, the order of authority is a matter of age. As terms of address are based on age rather than generation the term *vake* often becomes interchangeable with the term for elder sibling *kaka*. Moreover, though a higher rank is given to senior *vake*, older *vake* acquire a somewhat retired status. It is the *vake* of middle age who are active in carrying out activities. Or in sibling term, it is always the elder - *kaka* who issue directions and the younger *sava* who obey orders.

Also, as among those entitled to the status of *vake*, actual performance and prestige however vary from one to another. Some tend to be active while others appear silent. There is a tendency that the more competent *vake* are invited to a household event while some other *vake* are overlooked. The villagers seemingly are proud of a prestigious figure being their *vake* and are anxious to attach themselves to someone prestigious. Personal ability therefore is one credential for actual performance of the role when the factor of age does not make any difference.

Therefore, one can see that under the previous matriuxorilocal residence, despite the married-in husbands, females of a household could not carry out all household affairs without consultation and assistance of their cognatically related male kin who were referred to as *vake*, *kaka* or *wawa* to *vaynayan*.

On the other hand, marriage does indeed combine rather than separate kin. On important occasions in a household, siblings of the concerned individual always appear, as do their spouses no matter what postmarital residence is adopted. The combination of husband and wife as an unit is clearly recognized by the villagers as they say, 'two households are united into one through marriage; whenever events happen, parents and siblings of both sides would come together and it is just like one household.' Therefore spouses of *vake*, *kaka*, or *wawa to vaynayan* referred to as *vae*, *ale* or *kadavo*, always appeared on important occasions in a household. They as affines should attend with gifts of beverage, meat or other food stuff if there was feasting. Such an attendance with material support was termed as *migilaw* and was a typical obligation implied in the relation of *malinaay*. The obligation was expected to be returned next time. In a sense, social relations between siblings are not reduced by separate residence due to marriage.

Nor does separate residence resulted from division of household in most cases affect general obligations among the kin. A household and its divided households are sometimes referred to as *lalomaan*, which has been translated as households with a common original household by previous researchers (see chapter 4.1). However, *lalomaan* according to my informant, can also be defined as *sadak no malakakaay* - offspring of siblings or those who used to live together. Thus the reason that divided households are still close to its original household seemingly is that it is still grounded in the sibling relationship even if the members are not necessarily current residents of a divided household. Therefore regardless of separate residence, a divided household, its original and other divided households should attend events in any one of them as they are either its siblings or classificatory siblings.

The definition given by my informant of a more

inclusive term of kin grouping *gasaw* or *gagasawan* seems similar to that of *lalomaan*. It is defined as households with a common original household or grouping of siblings or classificatory siblings. The only difference between *lalomaan* and *gagasawan* is that the former refers to households with close relations while the latter can be more remote kin in the genealogical sense and sometimes living at some distance. An important feature of *gasaw* is that it usually appears with a prefix *misa* which means more than two people doing something together (Koitsumi 1933: 225) or is sometimes translated by my informants as *make*. *Misa-gasaw* literally can be translated as having a meeting of kin; namely it refers to a meeting or gathering of kin. *Misa-gasaw* is often expressed by another term in Japanese as *misa-kyodai*; *kyodai* in Japanese means sibling. In other words, *gasaw* is also conceived of in a sibling term and relationship.

Simulated kinship can also be created in *gasaw*. Non-kin of the same age generation may be connected in a sibling relationship; the seniors are regarded as *ina* or *vake*. Due to the operation of sibling relationship, it appears easy to have all siblings of a non-kin together join a *gasaw*. A villager said to me, 'I call Logi *kaka* because my sister calls her *kaka*. I do not know where the relation comes about; I just follow my sister.' It has been mentioned in the last section that simulated kinship can be established either by common residence or intimate and frequent contacts and help usually carried out among kin. However, it should be noted that a simulated kinship with *gasaw* particularly had to do with common ritual undertaking, which will be dealt with in the next section. In other words, in previous times, being a *gasaw* by simulated kinship meant to be attached to a ritual group or a religious corporation.

Therefore, it appears to me that the difference

between the two native concepts, *lalomaan* and *gagasawan*, in a sense is a matter of degree, as is the range of included members. The motivation of *lalomaan* or *gagasawan* for a household event usually depends on the scale and the significance of the affair. The form of obligation fulfilment through *migilaw* is same. The character of such participation means more a mutual support rather than a compulsory obligation for it is expected to be returned. The villagers said, 'once informed and invited, people usually will attend, otherwise the household will feel dispised.'

However, one can see that there is flexibility in attending if a relation is not intended to be maintained. The flexibility was made possible by the way relatives are gathered - *mililyo*, that is a messenger would send oral invitation to those to be invited on occasion of household events. Usually those kin not invited would not appear. In this way a selective maintenance of kin or simulated kin tie is possible as *mililyo* can be employed either for strengthening or lessening a relation.

In Ligats, the mobilization and grouping of kin nowadays appears more a matter of individual choice and practical consideration. Kin of the same genealogical distance toward a household or individual could be of different importance and require different treatment. On the occasion of feasting in a household, a host could send an invitation only to those in more frequent contact and ignore others. Genealogical distance is not the only condition for deciding which kin to invite but also as to whether a particular tie is in actual use. Households with more classificatory siblings tend to shrink the boundary and ignore those who would be included by households with fewer kin.

Today in Ligats postmarital residence has been changing to virilocality (see Chapter 4.4). The sibling

relation does not seem affected. For important events a household, married-out females and their husbands would always be informed or invited. They are called *ina* and their spouse *mama*. On the other hand, more and more males tend to stay in their natal households after marriage. They are also called *mama*. They are usually put ahead of the other married-out siblings, either male or female, and be regarded as jurally more powerful when age difference does not exist because of the fact that they are residing in the household - *maroay i loma*. On the other hand, in the context of the meeting and grouping of classificatory siblings, they still act the role of *vake* and are called as such by junior kin.

4.3 The social groups : *loma* and *gasaw*

In this section, I will deal with two kinds of important social groups *loma* and *gasaw* in Amis society with reference to the previous social situation when most of Amis traditional customs were still alive. It aims to clarify the relation between *loma* and *gasaw*, which seems to have been misinterpreted by the previous researchers. It shows that *gasaw* was not just constituted by the continuity of household line between a household and its separated households. Rather, the actual performance or power of household members in religious terms was a significant factor.

Loma is the vernacular referring to a house and a household, namely it means a construction and the social group residing within. It is the basic social group of the Amis village in the sense that it is a domestic, residential group. It owns its tangible assets and manages its daily production and consumption as a unit.

Traditionally the ideal was for a larger number of residents to live together in a household. A marriage did not create a new household but a division of a new

household from its old household did. A household was not divided until it was too big to operate well. Causes of household divisions were most often said to be quarrels and disharmony between mothers over children. A household was not divided into several at one time, but into several small families one after the other. My informant compared the size of the family being separated out in previous times as always larger than that of nowadays. House 166 serves an example where the new household contained a family of three generations and had 11 persons when first established in 1920s.

Land in previous times was always owned by the household in a collective form. Under Japanese rule and its law, the land was sometimes registered in the name of a senior married-in male; the formal owner however never took the land with him to go back to his natal household when divorced because of the native idea about land ownership (also Wada 1929b: 59). It was said that in previous times when dry farming was practiced and the registration of private land ownership was not introduced, any land not being cultivated or marked as privately owned was regarded as though the owner was absent and was allowed to be taken for use freely. Under these circumstances, a new household did not receive land from its original household when separated; they had to open up new land for their own cultivation. They could obtain movable properties such as utensils and crops when separated. Labor support could always be summoned from the *malinaay* and *gasaw* when establishing a new household.

It used to be common that households cooperated with other households and acted as a work team exchanging labor for agricultural work. Four or five households usually constituted a team. There was no fixed rule as to whom one should choose as partners so long as the cooperation was mutually reciprocal. Neighbours were often called upon for they were closest. Households with affines or kin were frequent partners.

There were also no fixed terms about the association. Some lasted for years; some did not.

On the other hand, a house itself had attached to it a unique religious meaning. It was presided over or charged with spirits. According to previous records (Wang 1961: 136-137; Liu et al. 1965: 47), the only way for a household to stop the ritual service of its shrine was to abandon the house and establish another new one for residence. If continuous deaths happened to a household in a short period, the house would be abandoned to escape from the bad luck (Ino 1911: 464). If a house were beaten or cursed by the opponents in a dispute, it would be impossible for the residents to live in it (Liu et al. 1965: 232).

In previous times when traditional Amis religion still existed, kin and relatives were frequently invited for household ritual events and ritual occasions provided contexts when kin and relatives residing in different households were grouped to exercise rights and fulfil obligations. Only the core group of a ritual gathering referred as *gasaw* were especially expected to undertake food prohibitions on water, vegetables and fish during the ritual period. It was a unit of collective ritual responsibility, which was supposed to share a common blessing or punishment (Juan 1969: 285). It was the males of the group *gasaw* who practiced the offering of food and wine toward the spirits; females were responsible for rice-cooking and millet-cake making etc.

To understand the meaning of *gasaw*, a general idea about ritual activities in previous times seem indispensable. It is unfortunate that the written materials on this aspect were almost all biased to rituals concerned with the well-being of a village as a whole. I will base my analysis on my own interviews which are far from ideal as most of the informants were still young when the relevant rituals had begun

diminishing.

There were various rituals of different importance carried out by a household to obtain blessings from the forebears of a household or to expiate those wrongdoings which arouse punishments in the form of misfortunes and sickness. A pig was usually killed for sacrifice and certain food stuffs were provided as offerings to the spirits. Such offerings were interpreted by my informants as *pafakin*, means to pay a fine to the spirits. The misfortunes or sickness did not necessarily fall upon the wrongdoers but could fall on any one who was in the group of collective ritual responsibility. For example, a member of a household who violated the ritual prohibition on touching water, which could be identified as a cause of another person's sickness afterwards. Or, in terms of the previous customs, two households usually became opposed to each other - *mairo* - and were forbidden to have marital relation ever since because of a 'divorce' due to an adultery event. Descendants of the two households however forgot about it and began to marry one another again. A sickness in the household then could be considered as a punishment resulting from the violation of the custom thus angering the forebears. The spirit medium (*tsikasasay*) was sent for when illness happened. The *tsikawasay* is said to be able to visit the spiritual world to ascertain which spirits were relevant, and what the cause of offence was, to judge which type of ritual would be appropriate. On this basis they would decide whether the curing was to be on a large or small scale. In another way, a divination by means of bamboo stick - *daw*, could be performed by elders of a household to select a mode of healing.

The simplest cure is that illness is removed from the inside of a patient's body by the *tsikawasay*. This is called *paters* or *miters*. It is said that female *tsikawasay* were particularly expert in this type of cure.

Another type of cure is *mipohpoh*. The actions are in the form of fanning or sweeping away the illness by those persons who were attached to a shrine or specific guardian spirits, the spiritual power of which sickened the people. The shrine and the religious power were always employed to protect household belongings and cultivated gardens from transgressors who would be sickened if intruding (Wang 1961: 139, 140, 144; Juan 1967: 277-278). People could usually judge from the specific symptom of illness to tell which supernatural was responsible for the illness which was usually connected with a specific person or a specific shrine.

The evocation of a specific illness is called *lati*. There were different *lati* to be distinguished such as stomach ache, headache, skin disease - *makolits*, hand paralysis - *pikin*, mouth paralysis, waist ache, swollen feet etc. It was believed that good hunters and those who practiced rituals more often were spiritually stronger than others and were equipped with the power of issuing *lati*, thus should be treated cautiously; careless offences otherwise would make oneself hurt and ill - *ma-lati*. Different hunting traditions were expressed by different hunting practices and symptoms of illness or *lati*. The power was not only centred in the hunter's body but also spread over his belongings and household which were not to be used or touched for the transgressors could become sick. People in everyday contact with him under the same roof were regarded as somehow sharing the charge of *lati*, therefore they were able to cure the victim in his place during his absence.

As far as the power regarding hunting is concerned, it was thought as being able to 'swim', namely transmitted to the next generation. But all sons could not inherit this power but only those who followed their father's footsteps in carrying out certain hunting

practices. In fact, good hunters, frequent huntings and ritual offering toward the hunting shrine are two sides of one coin as hunters were obliged to provide offerings and worship their shrines before and after each of their hunting excursions.

Apart from the two simple forms of cure mentioned above, there used to be three types of curative ritual but of different scales for different degrees of seriousness or spiritual power involved. The larger the scale, the more participants and offerings were involved.

The ritual event in another aspect is also a feasting occasion since the killed pig was to be consumed by all the participants. Ritual always had to be ended with going fishing - *paklan* by male kin of a household and a feasting on the fish by all those attending. It was an obligation that those attending a ritual event of household should bring gifts such as rice, millet cakes, beverage or other food stuff for supporting the event. The participation with material support is termed *mi-gilaw* and is expected to be returned equally next time when a ritual was held in the other households.

The minor ritual is *paminmin* which was held in one night; the participants are only residents of a household and the nearby neighbours. The medium one is *misasail* which was held in one afternoon when all *malinaay* and *gasaw* residing in separate households were to be invited. This type of ritual was held not only for the curing of serious illness but also for important events in a household such as funerals, pregnancy of female members of a household and the completion of a house construction. Both *paminmin* and *misasail* were mainly performed for blessings from or expiating the forebears of a household, *tatoasan*, who are considered as the spirits usually likely to be offended by the descendants.

When continuous illnesses happened in a household which could not be settled by *misasail*, or there was bad omen in the dream indicating the message of dissatisfaction from some unknown spirits, a more serious ritual *misikawas* would be held for two days. Theoretically the spirits involved were more than forebears of a household and could be any other spirits. It took more time for a *tsikasasay* to identify the relevant *kawas*. In the expression of my informant, the practice of this ritual is conceived as similar to going to the largest and the most famous hospital in Taiwan.

Though these rituals all appeared to be basically curative there were major differences in the practice. This expressed the strength of religious power in a household and could be seen in the case of the hunting shrine of the household, which shall be dealt with here.

When the traditional Amis religion still existed, there was usually a female priest in a household in charge of the ritual for food, termed *tsilisinay to kakaenen*. *Tsilisinay* means a person with ritual, namely the representative of a household to undertake ritual communication with spirits (*kawas*). She was selected from among the female members of a household with good luck. For crop harvesting, the female priest had to perform worship and do the first cutting. Afterwards the harvesting could be carried out by other members of the household with religious safety. The female priest was the only person who was entitled to entry into the crop storage house; it was she who took out the amount of rice or crops to be consumed by the household for a day before breakfast in the morning. On the other hand, in some houses where a hunting shrine, *sapialop*, was established, there was usually a male priest responsible for the ritual for game, termed *tsilisinay to sapialop*. Women were prohibited from undertaking the hunting ritual or touching the weapons. The male priest was selected from among males who were

born in a household though usually did not reside in the household because of uxorilocality. He had to conduct prayer and ritual offerings toward the hunting shrine - before and after their hunting trips.

Though the spirits worshiped by the two priests were not identical and the enshrinements were separate, the hunting shrine was regarded as a shrine of the whole household. When hunting by men was still carried out and blessed by the shrine, women in the household were under an obligation to observe ritual prohibitions towards the shrine. Moreover, a household was regarded as having strong spiritual power during the period when a hunting practice such as the installation of a trap in the field for game, *tilo*, was undertaken. Outsiders who were spiritually weak could be sickened, *lati*, particularly during this period if they went to the house. For safety's reason, such a hunting practice was usually suspended, having the *tilo* taken back, on household occasions when some outsiders would come to attend an event in case they were spiritually weak and possibly sickened.

Although most Amis men went hunting, a hunting shrine was not installed in all households. It was told that only after a long time when a household with a large family was reached, a hunting shrine would be established. A newly divided household with one or two couples did not usually have its own hunting priest. No household could have its own hunting shrine set up if a hunting tradition had not been already established among its male descendants.

Shrines established by distinguished hunters tended to be kept for as long as, in the minds of the household members, the spiritual power of the prominent hunter's shrine continued. Descendants believed that it had to be served otherwise misfortunes would arise. In other words, an established powerful shrine would usually become part of a household; serving of the

shrine was closely related to the fortune and well-being of the household. Misfortunes and illness could always be attributed to offense toward spirits of the shrine.

The existence of a hunting shrine in one's mother's household did not prevent one from joining a hunting trip led by one's wife's brother under the blessing of the hunting shrine of one's wife's household. The rule was that in the hunting period, one must not undertake another hunt for another shrine. If, at the same ritual period for hunting, one were to undertake two hunts blessed separately by shrines of his wife's household and that of his mother's household, an offense toward both the shrines could result in illness to any member of the two households.

On ritual occasions of the three types mentioned above, for households with a hunting shrine, it is always necessary to practice a rite called *palamatao*. The rite of *palamatao* though conducted by *tsikawasay*, was performed particularly for the worship of the hunting shrine by male descendants of a household - *wawa to vaynyan no loma*. The purpose of the rite was said to enhance the harvest of game in hunting, it was however more a worship for forebears as the spirits being called upon for offerings were the dead male ascendants - *mama*. In the rite of *palamatao*, the residentially dispersed males of a household would come together and line up at their mother's or father's household to call upon their male forebears, *mama*, for offerings. The worship was for founders of the hunt shrine as my informant explained, 'we provided offerings to our forebears - *tatoasan*, the founder of the hunt shrine - *tsitapanay to sapialop*, it is they who gave male descendants, the worshippers, the means of hunting - *pafoli ko tatoasan to sakatsitama to wawa to vaynayn palamataoay*.'

The priest of a hunting shrine was always a male

born in the household. By contrast, worshippers were not necessarily confined to members born in the household. As is mentioned earlier, a hunting tradition in the form of *lati* was transmitted through a paternal link though not necessarily a continuous and regular inheritance. The sons who adopted the *lati* of the hunting tradition of their fathers were to be included into a ritual grouping for the hunting shrine established in their father's household. A ritual grouping for the hunting shrine of a household in this way could be composed of descendants through both male and female members of a household.

One fact to be mentioned here is that the fathers, although married-in members under matriuxorilocal residence, were buried in their natal households. They were not life members of their wife's households. However, as long as they had established a shrine in the household, dead fathers could still be worshipped by sons in the wife's household to bless his sons' or male descendants' hunting harvest even if they, after adulthood, were all to be married-out and were to reside in other households. On the other hand, when males gathered at the father's household, they were worshipping life members of that household as their father's body was buried there even if they themselves were neither born nor brought up nor residing in the household.

The rite of *palamatao* shows that even though members of different households, the solidarity between father and son was still confirmed by a common interest in the activity of hunting and expressed through this ritual for hunting blessings. The hunting shrine organized a group of males in a household, which is referred to as *o gasaw o wawa to vaynayan* acting as a group of sons worshipping their fathers. The relevance of the hunting shrine in grouping males together for *palamatao* is clear. One of my informants explained to me that 'there was no hunting

shrine in our household and we did not practice *palamatao* because our *mama* - fathers did not go hunting often.' Therefore there was always a possibility for a household to develop itself as a centre of a ritual group as long as its former males, *mama*, and male descendants were good hunters and there was some continuity with the present. It is natural that descendants of a household with its own hunting shrine would not need attachment to another original household for religious protection and blessings. On the other hand, a household's capacity to provide ritual blessings through paternal links attracted more religious dependants than those whose religious power would only come through the matrilineal line.

Since the ritual group formed for a hunting shrine, *o gasaw o wawa to vaynayan*, was not formed on any fixed descent principle but on male hunting success, it is clear that the group *gasaw* in this context is flexible as far as membership is concerned.

From another aspect, the gathering of the males of a household together performing ritual for a hunting shrine could be an expression of hunting capacity and religious power of the male in such a household. Also, as the religious power was always relevant to cure certain illnesses in daily life, it conferred the household with such a power a special and prominent status in the village. The social prestige contained in ritual grouping is apparent as one informant said, 'the larger the number of participants at a ritual, the more envious other villagers felt about it.' It seems to me therefore that the kin grouping of male descendants in former times was a symbol of men's capacity in hunting, religious power and social status. Joining a grouping perhaps is not purely a religious matter but also a matter of prestige and honor.

The previous researchers (Wang 1961, Wei 1961, Liu et al. 1965) pointed out that in the Amis villages,

usually some households had their own specific shrines and ritual practices which were not installed and practiced in other households. Namely certain households owned particular ritual practices for serving their specific shrines. The shrines varied in presentation, age as well as power. The origin of some was sanctioned by myths. Innovation of some others was still within memory of the household history. Moreover, some ritual practices owned by certain households were related to blessings for the whole village while others were concerned only with private well-being. Also in Furuno's survey of the north Amis ritual practices (1945: 214), he found that *gasaw* was only co-existent with the households continuously charged with specific ritual practices. These households were regarded as occupying a higher social status than the households which were not endowed with any of them.

However, today in Ligats, it is no longer possible for us to observe any operation of the ritual grouping *gasaw* in its traditional sense. But from the native interpretations of *gasaw*, we can still obtain a clear idea about the meaning of the term. *Gasaw* is regarded as having a common shrine or ritual, *tsatsay ko kawas*, in contrast to *malinaay*'s being frequently interpreted by informants as relatives with different religious filiation, *tsayka tsa ko kawas*. Further, it is defined as '*U nani tatoas koraan, sadak, sadak,...*' - It is from the forbears, descendants, descendants, ... '*U rayay to koraan*' - It is a continuous sequence. The image is of generation after generation of ancestors for a long period of time and is clearly expressed in the above sentence. Moreover, it is expressed as '*o gasaw, o loma koraan, tsiloma, tsiloma,...*' - it is about the house, its separated house, its separated house, ... '*Tsatsay ho ko sadak no loma ko gasaw*' - it is as though the descendants of a house were still united as one. One can see that the memory of depth of the time however does not start from time immemorial but

a common founding household. Regardless of the actual separation of the divided households, a grouping can still be composed for as long as they were held in unity with a common founding household.

It is clear that the native definitions express *gasaw* as a cognatic descent construct in Sheffler's definition of the term (1966: 544); namely the aspect of continuum itself is emphasized irrespective of sex of the linking kinsman. Moreover, the concept of a household and its separated household etc. is also contained in the native definition. This concept seems to be another ideological means or organizational idiom employed in relating kin. In forming a group, they need to be circumscribed by other factors however. The sentence, '*tstsay ho ko sadak no loma*' - descendants of a household are still united as one, points out that it is not a *de jure* but a *de facto* category; if with a common founding household or ancestor, the descendants however no longer remain united as one, they do not constitute one *gasaw*. The operational factor which enters in forming a *gasaw* is religious unity - *tstsay ko kawas*.

Formation of a grouping *gasaw* is described by such expressions as '*lgaw no loma*' - coming out of a household, *lalgawan* - growing out, *palgaway* - bringing out, etc. In other words, it is due to a household which started to distinguish itself as a founding household of a grouping.

When asked the name of the *gasaw* or the religion to which a household used to belong, some villagers gave me answers such as *tsilogian*. *Logi* is the name of the first ancestress at the time the household was first established. *Tsi - an* is a morpheme for place or site. It is clear in this case that the founding household is taken as a symbol of a grouping and its religious identification.

There is another way of naming a grouping, however, by giving a proper name such as Kayan or adopting a ready name as Rarages. In the village of Ligats, there were five old names - Salipoan, Papian, Patsilar, Rarages, Kiwit which are also to be seen in other villages.

Old names are frequently associated with a religious reference. This can be evidenced by an old woman's reply to my question about their family's religion prior to Catholicism; she gave me only one word 'Patsilar'. These names were sometimes used as a name for grouping together households which could not be related in a genealogical sense. The households regarded themselves as closer to one another since they had the same name prior to their moving into the village. They therefore formed a group or a sort of *gasaw* for ritual cooperation and behaved toward each other as kin. As an informant explained the meaning of the name Papian as '*Papian ko toas*', '*Papian ko kawas*', which means that Papian refers to the spirits and the forbears. The group Papian was formed because the early settlers with the name regarded them as '*tstsay to ko kawas ita san*' - having common spirits already. Also the informants explained the old names to me as names for households -*gagan no loma* and for shrines -*gagan no lisin*. Here the old names can be seen used in distinguishing religious affiliations among households.

Simply a same name however did not necessarily make a grouping. Patsilar was an example as my informant said, 'Though one common name Patsilar, there were many *gasaw* within it. Households of Patsilar were found not necessarily practicing rituals in exactly the same way and slight difference could exist.' An informant was also puzzled at this and commented, 'the elders just made the ritual (or shrine) at their will themselves - *misaga to kawas ko matoasay*.' Therefore we possibly could reach a conclusion that what basically

distinguishes a grouping is the common religious practice but not a common name.

With all this, I shall conclude that *gasaw* in previous times refers to a ritual grouping with a common shrine. Continuous connection between newly separated households and the original household is one aspect of the grouping but not a basic organizational principle in forming it. The prime factor in operation is whether a household is religiously independent. If it is, a connection with the original household will be cut off, otherwise it will still be linked up for the sake of ritual cooperation. The fact that non-kin or households which could not be related in a genealogical sense could still be included or united in simulated kinship proves it to be primarily an organizational idiom rather than an operational rule. Besides, *matriuxorilocality* does not necessarily exclude children of married-out males from joining the grouping. To have a sole reason of residence affiliation does not proscribe membership of the group to others. Cognatic descent also plays a role in conferring entitlement to membership.

4.4 Social groups in Ligats

In this section, the social groups in contemporary Ligats will be demonstrated. Despite the difference of the current household from the previous *loma* in such aspect as land entitlement, one can sense a similarity to the past in so far as household separation can bestow an independence to the new household in its relation to the original household. Also, the factor of power is still decisive in formation of new groupings though the previous religious expression is no longer important.

4.4.1. Households

Under a project of renewal of aboriginal houses launched by the government since 1979 for the improvement of housing conditions, most houses in the

village have been rebuilt into concrete buildings in the last ten years. Only five houses are made of traditional materials, that is bamboo and thatched roof (1). The others are of wood with a bricked roof and bare soil inside. These were reconstructed during the Japanese period. The inner arrangements, outer design of the household and the surrounding had been basically changed during Japanese rule for the sake of alleged sanitary reasons. Today no house design can be identified as standard or typical. All villagers design and build their houses to their own preference.

The traditional custom of a big household began to be undermined during the Japanese period. The breaking up of a big-sized household was advocated by the police for economic efficiency according to my informants. 18 households which were established because of the divisions in the Japanese period still continue in Ligats. Actual house divisions could be more than the number of 18 as this figure shows that some households no longer reside in the village although the number of households in Ligats had doubled during the entire Japanese period. The Japanese household register shows that half of the 18 households separated from their original household in the year 1940, when the average household size was 11 persons, the village population 464, and the number of households 42 (Wada 1929b: 43). Three of them were after 1940. Five households with a family size of 8 to 10 persons separated to establish new households; the others were of three to six person.

Having as a base the 46 households which were first recorded at the beginning of Japanese household registration, 7 of them no longer reside in the village, and 8 did not ever multiply to establish more households

(1) Three of them, House 125-1, 125-2, 152-1, have just been established in recent years. It is possibly because newly separated households are usually financially weak and the traditional construction costs less.

in the village (House 15, 16, 40, 43, 70, 84, 112, 123). Most of the current Amis households can be traced to the original 31 old households which have existed since the village was established in early times. After 1945, 5 Amis households (House 58, 71, 108, 122, 156) were established by moving from other villages while 85 were created by divisions from already existing households. The division relations among the households of Ligats is diagrammed in Figure 5. In other words, the village size has almost doubled after the Japanese period. Most of the households in *Lin* 7, 8, 9 (see Table 7, Map 3) are separated from the households in *Lin* 1 to 6. Areas occupied by *Lin* 7, 8, 9 used to be only fields owned by different households. However, today even this new part of the village appears to be too congested to accomodate any more homesteads.

I did not meet any new households created during my fieldwork. This is partly because young couples and neclear families would stay in the towns rather than build a separate house in the village. In fact, many nuclear families are now living outside the village, who are not considered as having separated from their households in the village because they are still entitled to parts of the household property, mainly the land. In such cases, the entitlement is not based on actual common residence in the same house for any period after the marriage. It usually relies on the reason that one was not married out, which was determined during the negotiation for engagement and was expressed in the marriage form.

Today a household does not have to be big to separate. House 152-1 separated from House 152 when the former had a size of 3 persons and the latter a size of 4. The old mother did not agree to separate but the son in House 152-1 insisted. House 155 and House 155-1 separated because of the request of the son in House 155, who actually stayed outside the village most of the time and now lets his kin cultivate his land obtained

Figure 5 Divisions of households before 1930,
1930-1944, and after 1945

{89}	/	[85]	-	(110)	{105}#	/	[140]#	{136}#
	-	(115)				-	(139)#	
	\	(116)				\	(124)#	
	\	(53)						
{107}	/	[127]#	-	(127-1)#	{145}#	-	(145-1)	{165}
	-	[134]				\	(165)	
	\	(158)	-	(152-1)				
{72}#	/	(133)#			{17}	/	(161)	{167}
	-	{83}#	-	(90)#		-	(132)	
	\	(73)#				\	(167)	
{77}#	-	(78)			{60}	/	(147)	{164}
	\	(144)#				-	(150)	
{41}#	-	(47)				\	(159-1)	
						\	(164)	
{64}#	-	(63)#			{11}	/	[33]	{59}
						{86}	-	
	/					\	(131)	
{11}	-	(3)			{12}	/	{2}#	{1}
	\	(4)#				-	[111]	
	\	(8)				\	(134-1)	
	\	(30)				[35]	-	
{12}					{7}	/	[5]	{37}
						/	(155)#	
						-	(155-1)#	
						\	(82)	
{38}					{14}	/	[29]	{106}
	-	[36]				-	[103]	
	\	(57)	-	(56)		\	(25)	
	(28)							
{14}	/	[125]	-	(125-1)	{105}#	/	[140]#	{136}#
	-	[36]				-	(139)#	
	\	(57)	-	(56)		\	(124)#	
	(28)							
{14}	/	[29]	-	(106)	{105}#	/	[140]#	{136}#
	-	[103]	-	(104)		-	(139)#	
	\	(25)				\	(124)#	

{69}	-	[45]	-	(44)		
{48}	-	(129)				
	\	(151)				
		/	(162)			
		{166}	-	(148)	/	(76)
	/	\	(149)	/	(55)#	
	/	[93]		{49}	-	(54)
{21}	-	(21-1)			\	(67)#
	\	(138)			\	/ (42)
	\	(168)			(65)	- (48-1)
	\	(154)				\ (66)
	/	[91]	-	(94)		
{102}	-	(101)		{13}	-	(96)
	\	(176)			\	(6)
	/	(9)			/	(23)
{10}	-	(163)		{22}	-	(24)
	\	(160)			\	(31)
{143}#	-	[109]#	-	(143-1)#	{99}	- (100)
{130}#	-	(118)#		{117}#	-	(46)#
	\	(68)				
<58>	-	(51)		<108>	-	(159)

Note: - means the house on the right separated from the house on the left, / (the upper right) from the lower left, \ (the lower right) from the left upper.
 { } an original household or separated before 1930
 [] separated during 1930 to 1944
 () separated after 1945
 < > moved into the village after 1945
 # Presbyterian household

from the separation.

Due to the establishment of registration of private land ownership, the adoption of wet-rice cultivation and a growing population over limited arable land around the village, the problem of land shortage faced by newly separated household occurs in most households. The division of cultivated land for new households was therefore instituted to assist new households. The division of land, however, has never been equal. Original households always retain more land for themselves as the separated households usually contain fewer residents. Also there is an idea that the original household and its continuity is more important (see 3.3).

From another point of view, as far as the individual is concerned, postmarital residence becomes a credential for obtaining land. Only those who continue to be residents of a household after marriage are entitled to a share of the land when separated to establish a new household. However, as virilocal marriage becomes a trend and many young couples, though working and staying outside the village, continue a financial connection with their natal households in Ligats, the emphasis on the holding of land by those inhabiting the natal household seems to have changed today into an equal division among male members. There are however cases, though only a few, in which married-out daughters were granted a small amount of land by their fathers. The villagers' comment on the cases is 'the land was earned by the father, the father is surely entitled to the disposal.' But when a household division happens, the more usual routine is for those entitled to a share invite their senior kin, including the married-out members of the household, to discuss and assist the settlement. The division is said to be always full of disputes and bargains even when the senior male - vake are present.

Division of land today does not necessarily happen at the same time as the creation of separate residence. Land is sometimes allotted by parents either before actual separate residence or before their death in order to confirm distribution of the right and to avoid later disputes among the children. A division of land for a separated household however does not necessarily become registered with the government as the procedure and tax payment are felt to be troublesome. It is said that at the beginning of Japanese rule, households were forcibly divided by the police, such land as was allotted to a separated household's use usually continued to be kept by the original household under the name of its head. Today there are still cases in which separated households are not registered as owners of the lands which they work (1).

It has been mentioned earlier that most of the households in Ligats have some members living outside the village either for a long or a short period. Since those members are possibly still entitled to the land

(1) This is partly due to difficulties resulting from the laws of the Chinese government. Some villagers said that the tax for inheriting the land from the dead owner is high, so is the fine for delay in completing the legal procedure. In the case of House 16, the land was sold by private contract to a Chinese's dead father by a senior brother of the household who is now not living in the village. The Chinese however has not obtained the legal ownership. The law prescribes that the children of the dead owner of House 16 are equally entitled to the land regardless of their postmarital residence. Thus the sole inheritance by one of them, the seller, should obtain formal permission from all the others in the form of stamping their seals. As most of them scatter in the cities and hardly come back to the village, the Chinese can not obtain the seal of each of them, thus can not complete a legal procedure for the ownership. Another case is the House 17 where the ownership is still under the name of a dead female forebear. Because the current residents are in fact her collateral descendants, the genealogical connection among them cannot be stated in the way recognized by the law. Moreover, the delay makes it difficult to identify a legal priority among the current residents to complete the legal procedure.

but hardly have any continuous financial connection with the household of origin still in the village, it is difficult to identify the members of the family outside the household. However, I still tabulate the composition of household in Table 11, considering both the real residents and the members entitled to the household property but staying outside most of the time. Generally, among the 133 usual Amis households, (1) 59 appear to be nuclear families consisting of parents and dependent children, though 48 of them either have one to five unmarried members (usually age 18 -25 years old) or have one or two pairs of married members (and their children) who are staying outside the village most of the time. (2) 33 households are like 'incomplete' families usually inhabited by either one or two aged parents with the lower generation mainly staying outside the village; some have grandchildren left by the grown-up generation for the old to look after them; (3) 41 households consist of parents with one married couple of the lower generation or one aged grandparent while among them 36 have either one to four unmarried members or one or two married couples of the lower generation (and their children) always absent at home. Among the 133 households, only three households have an affine, a married-in husband or his brother or father residing with them. Two households have one collateral senior kin in each, and one a collateral junior kin.

As postmarital residence is one of the factors to do with the constitution of household personnel, it is to be dealt with here. According to my informant, the virilocal form was first advocated in the village by the Japanese police. In terms of the marriage form taken by a married couple, here in Table 12 I will compare the adoption of either of the two marriage forms, virilocal or uxrilocal in a household in order to show the trend of postmarital residence preferred in the nowadays Ligats. Today, of the 130 Amis households who are always living in the village, as to the households with one parent generation, 37 appear to be virilocal, 18

Table 11 Household Composition

Type	-	
<u>Nuclear Family</u>		59
no member outside		11
with members outside the village as follows:		48
1 - 5 unmarried children	31	
1 - 2 married couples of the lower generation & their children	12	
1 - 2 pairs of married couple of the upper generation & their children	5	
<u>'Incomplete' Family</u>		33
one parent with outside members as follows:		7
1 - 4 unmarried children	3	
1 - 3 unmarried children & 1 - 2 married couples of the lower generation (& their children)	3	
2 married pairs of the lower generation & children	1	
two parents with outside members as follows		26
1 - 3 unmarried children	10	
1 - 4 unmarried children & married pairs of the lower generation & their children	16	
<u>Extended Family</u>		41
nuclear family plus:		
one married pair of the lower generation (& their children) with no member outside		15
1 - 4 unmarried children outside	4	
1 - 2 married couples of the lower generation (& their children) & 1 - 4 unmarried children outside	5!	
1 - 4 married couples of the lower generation & their children outside	5!!	
one grandparent with no family member outside		24
1 - 3 unmarried children outside	6	
1 - 5 unmarried children & 1 - 2 married couples of the lower generation & their children outside	9	
1 - 3 married couples of the lower generation & their children outside	5	
other relatives (no member outside)		2
<u>Total</u>		133

! Two households in this category have an old grandmother living with them; one has a collateral senior kin. !! One household has a collateral junior kin living with them.

uxorilocal. Among the households with a parent and a grandparent generations, 27 are uxorilocal in the grandparent generation, virilocal in the parent generation; 12 are uxorilocal in the grandparent generation and both uxorilocal and virilocal in the parent generation. 26 households are virilocal in both the grandparent and the parent generation; 10 are virilocal in the grandparent generation but both virilocal and uxorilocal in the parent generation. Therefore, despite a general trend toward virilocal form, in the ten cases, one can still see the uxorilocality adopted in the new generation after a previous virilocal practice in the generation above. Under the influence of the Chinese virilocal norm, today few Amis young men are willing to marry into wife's household. A male informant said, 'we no longer like being married out, for in a wife's household, we are just a minor without right and power.' I have calculated the number of uxorilocal marriages among married villagers of the most recent generation; there are 47 out of a total of 342 with the rest being virilocal.

The current marriage form in Ligats was created during the Japanese period. The traditional mode of Amis marriage was regarded by the Japanese government as immoral. Instead, a marriage ceremony with religious blessing was to be held at a nearby Japanese Shinto temple. Marriage feasting with attendance of relatives of both parties and local prestigious figures such as policemen and school masters was required. Marriage registration was enforced. The institution of the go-between was introduced. Today in Ligats, such customs as go-between - *kayakay* or *patapanay*, engagement - *patapan*, payment of certain amount of money, *nasavitan*, to express thanks to the parents or household for bringing up the married-out person, religious ceremony in the church and marriage feasting at home are commonly practiced and have become essential items for establishing a marital relation.

Table 12 Postmarital Residence (or Marriage Form) by Household

<u>Type of Household</u>	<u>Marital Residence or Marriage From</u>		<u>Number</u>
One Generation	Uxori.		37
	Viri.		18
	Upper Gene.	Lower Gene.	
Two Generation	Uxori.	Viri.	27
	Uxori.	Uxori. & Viri.	12
	Viri.	Viri.	26
	Viri.	Uxori. & Viri.	10
<u>Total</u>			130

Note: Although mentioned earlier in 3.1, most of the young couples do not stay at home after the marriage but usually go back to their working places in the urban areas before long. Here I prefer to put them into the dichotomy of either virilocality or uxoricity rather than a neolocality on the grounds that the marriages were held in the village and it is distinguished clearly between one party to the house of the other party to take a man and to take a woman (see pp. 183-186). Staying outside does not forfeit one's entitlement to the household property. On the other hand, the marriage form can usually be taken as a reason for claiming the household property. In other words, in Table 12, 'virilocal' and 'uxoricity' refer to the marriage form if the couple actually stay outside after their marriage. The term refers both to residence and as to where residence rights can be exercised.

An informant who used to work in the household registration section under the Japanese government said that the institution of the go-between was endowed with the responsibility of making sure a marriage be registered immediately after it happened. On the other hand, the go-between also played an important role in the change of an uxori-local marriage into a viri-local one which was advocated by the Japanese police as the supremacy of the mother's right in households over that of the father was regarded as improper. Since most of the older generation were still dominated by the idea of marrying males into a household instead of sending out daughters, they were reluctant to change. A go-between had to be good at talking to carry out the job of negotiating between elders of the two parties. Today in Ligats, it has almost become routine that one party always puts forward obstacles to confront the go-between who is on behalf of the other party in initiating and proceeding the negotiation. This however hardly thwarts an engagement or a marriage but only prolong or delay the negotiation.

Today in Ligats, a ceremony and feasting for engagement is always held at the household which gives away the man or woman. It is the *malinaay* of this party that are invited for the feast; the feast is all paid for by the party who takes a man or a woman. A finger ring, a watch for male or earrings and a necklace for female are given to the bridegroom or the bride who is to be married out. It is instituted that a certain amount of money, *nasavitan*, should be given to the parents or household who give away a person. In Ligats, the amount is regulated as about NT\$ 3,000 by the elder assembly (*komonkay*) to prevent any financial difficulties in the negotiations. It is said that the amount requested in marrying Amis of other villages can be twenty times or more than that. On the day of marriage in the morning, male kin of the taking party shall bring various food stuffs such as beverages, meat, cigarettes, millet cakes, betel nuts, noodles etc. to the giving

party for entertaining its *vake* before the taking action. The formal feasts are held at noon at the two households, the giving and the taking party who separately invite their own *malinaay* and friends. It is not uncommon for a household with kin on both sides to appear - *migilaw* at both households. To miss either side of the two means a non-fulfilment of obligation.

It is clearly expressed in the marriage procedures which show that one party is taking a man or a woman and the other is giving. The direction of the movement is shown by where the go-between travel for negotiation, the place where the male kin of the receiving party perform the taking and valuable ornaments and food stuffs were sent. Household membership however is not entirely fixed by these. A later residential shift can still cause one to forfeit some of one's rights and claim another marriage form simply by a *de facto* residential fact. Many cases show that a later actual residence and economic situation would change people's cognition about their marriage form.

House 105 and house 38 are two such cases which happened in the Japanese period, in which the already married-out males, under the encouragement of Japanese police, went back to their natal households with their wives and were then recognized as marrying a wife into one's own household and assumed a full membership in the natal household. House 123, 87, and 15 are the same type of case but happened at the time of household division when a married-in husband took his wife away from the wife's household and set up a new house for themselves. The husbands claimed to me that they are no longer married-in members of their wife's households for they have taken the wife with them - *tsay pikadavo*, *miala to vavahe*. Such a claim however could be disputed by the wife's household especially if the newly established household did divide from the wife's household with some conferred property. In fact, it is

mainly because they are regarded as members of the wife's household that they were able to be granted property when divided.

There are some cases such as House 143-1, 125-1, 100, 59, 48-1, 53, 101 in which we see that a virilocal marriage goes with uxorilocality on land of the wife's household, or vice versa. Economic reasons are frequently involved in these cases where the husband's household has no more space or land to provide for a new building while the wife's household does. The land is regarded as being borrowed but not conferred. It is, however, not impossible that after a period of time, it will be conferred. Another situation happens usually on the death of a married-in member's spouse, the married-in member then moves back to his or her natal household and sets up a new house nearby.

From the cases above, we see that neither a marriage ceremony nor a postmarital residence of any period, nor a property grant can identify or confirm household membership. Such an uncertainty in identity is reflected in the tendency for a female of a household to usually be in a disadvantageous position in obtaining an equal share of land when she leaves at household division. My informant said, 'her husband is an outsider; this is to prevent the land being taken away too much by the outsider.' Comparatively speaking, the factor of residence however seems to be more effective in deciding social character of a member than the other two factors - marriage ceremony and property entitlement. On the other hand, we see that an actual separation of divided household from its original household does bestow an independence to the new household.

Today in Ligats one can see that a household is also a religious unit in the sense that the members go to the same church. A married-in husband, despite a previous attachment to the Presbyterian church will

shift to Catholic church for the latter is the one the wife's household attends. The residential factor in deciding which church one should join operates clearly in the case of House 143-1. The husband told me that he married his wife virilocally. They however resided in the wife's mother's household for ten years. During the period, the couple went to the Catholic church as the wife's mother's household always did. When the couple established their own household near the husband's kin afterwards, they shifted to the Presbyterian church where the husband's kin always attend.

There is a tendency for a separated household usually to follow its original household's church attachment. An original household and its separate households mostly join the same church. Exceptions are not many but still to be seen (Figure 5). House 4, 55, 67, 78, 155-1 are cases where they go to a different church from their original households. After separation from the wife's household, House 155-1 shifted from the Catholic church to the Presbyterian one where the husband's original household goes. House 68 shifted from the Presbyterian to the Catholic after the husband's death to follow the wife's kin's attachment. House 46 remains in the wife's household's church though the husband has actually established a new house next to his natal household after his wife's death. The villagers do not seem to be strongly opposed to shifts in allegiance. A villager said, 'as long as it is separated, it is free to have its own choice.'

4.4.2 Gasaw and Named groupings

In Ligats, *gasaw* is hardly heard of in daily life. *Malinaay* by contrast is frequently employed in referring to relatives.

It seems that the use of the native concept of *gasaw* in calling upon kin to assist household events nowadays is evident only for kin outside the village.

Kin even in remote villages but still remembered as having a common descent from one household are invited for funerals, or feasting ceremonies or for the completion of house construction. They are invited because of the idea of *gasaw*.

A *gasaw* in this context does not have a name. One of the oldest households, House 9, serves as an example. The household still traces kin relationship with households in such remote villages as Avih and Saaniwan. It will receive invitations for attendance when a ceremony and feasting is held for completion of house construction or funeral in those households. The kin relation is remembered not by a complete genealogical record but a simple memory that the great grandmother Nakau first settled in Ligats while her three other siblings scattered to other villages. I visited the kin Ahino in Saaniwan where a named group was formed and called Tsiwilian. Ahino told me that their origin was the place Tsiwilian. The scattered kin in the different villages are *gagasawan* who are all descendants from four siblings. Ahino actually does not know the name of the great grandmother of House 9 and House 9 never identifies itself with the name Tsiwilian but has attached itself to the group Masafa through the married-in wife's connection. The separated household House 10 used to attend the group Muluk because of the married-in father. Another separated household, House 163, joined the group Gutsih for a short period. Despite the separate attachments to different groupings, House 9, 10 and 163 are still close to one another and claim that they are *lalomaan*.

During my fieldwork in Amis villages, I was shown two written genealogies in Ligats (one by Kwa in House 78, who used to be a county representative, the other by Mayaw, the vice-headman in House 86), two in Pailasen (my first village, see Appendix 1). They are said to be the record of *gasaw*. The names are all spelled in Japanese. They are not included in terms of

unilineality. Usually one or two female names are written for the early generations; names of the husband and the brothers are often missed out. But for the recent three or four generations, both male names and female names are written; grandchildren of married-out members could be included. Such a presentation seems to me a precise expression of Amis kinship. The female names in early generations in my view symbolize houses. It takes houses to associate kin, thus descendants of a common household belong to the same category. Meanwhile, it does not exclude descendants who are married-out or are not born in the household. However, these written things appear to be cherished by individuals rather than the groups. The villagers usually do not think about them and regard it only of concern to important figures - *tatamaanay a tamdaw*. There is no doubt that the written genealogies can be a useful tool for an ambitious leader to trace and keep kin connected. However, the leaders in Ligats do not seem to rely on it much.

One informant said, 'since joint rituals are not held, occasions for meeting relatives have been rare. We therefore call upon meeting, *misa-gagasawan*, so as to inform the younger generation about their relatives. Thus they can help each other when they meet and work together outside the village.' The meeting is also termed in Japanese as '*misa-kyodai*', meeting of siblings, and is held as a festival activity for feasting on New Year's day during the Japanese period and after. Most households have not held the meeting for years however. Some said the meetings frequently are held on occasions of funeral or ceremonial events of households when most of the kin and relatives, no matter whether residing inside or outside the village, would come together. Some said the meeting is called upon nowadays mainly for support of the same candidates in an election.

Being in the same church is regarded as somewhat

similar to the relation of being in the same *gasaw*. People in the same church are addressed in Amis term as *salikaka* - classificatory siblings. When asked about the meaning of the term *gasaw*, the villagers would frequently compare it with 'church'. They said, '*gasaw* is just like church, the different churches.' When I once checked those attending a marriage with a particular household, the informant could not trace any relative relationship with one of the guests; she then replied me, 'she came through a connection with the church.' Non-kin of the same church are entitled to attend ceremonial events in a household because of common religious affiliation. On the other hand, it is also possible for people belonging to different churches to attend a common household ceremonial event because of the relations of kin, affinity or neighbourhood, etc..

In fact, despite the changes of matriuxorilocality into virilocality, a large-sized household into a small-sized, the mobilization of relatives for household events does not seem to be affected. Siblings and the spouses of both the husband and the wife are still the main actors on occasions of important household events such as marriage negotiation. They would bring material support to a household at its house-building, which will be returned next time.

Nowadays there is in fact hardly any household event exclusively for *gasaw* to attend. Any acquaintance can come as long as they are invited. Neighbours, other villagers of Ligats, Chinese friends and prestigious figures from other villages all could be invited. It has been a custom that at the funeral of any household of the village, all households should attend by having one person appear at the event. Marriage feasting is the event when one always invites as many persons as possible. On small-scale feasting for events such as a farewell party for a male's entry into the Army, anniversary party for one year old baby, birthday party etc. only close kin and relatives in the

village would be informed. An invitation is sent to the household where a related person resides, whose spouse or child should appear as a representative if the related person can not attend.

It is a customary obligation that guests should come with some gift or contribution for the event, which is still referred to as *migilaw*. For small-scale feasting, usually two bottles of wine were presented; for the large-scale, the contribution has been formalized into giving the amount of money the participant received on a previous occasion from the household.

The main feasting is usually held at noon and is often prepared by hired professional Chinese or Amis cooks. The religious ceremony is conducted by a Presbyterian minister or Catholic father in the morning. Events usually end after a simple dinner which is mainly of fish for a funeral occasion or leftover from the lunch feast. During the main feasting, when all guests are gathered at the table, senior male kin, *vake*, will stand in front to give a talk. They also sit at the top table inside as hosts of the occasion. After the feasting, guests especially the close kin usually stay till late afternoon. For celebrations, they will sing and dance; for funerals, senior kin will take the opportunity to give speeches and introduce remote kin from other villages to kin in the village so that kin relationships will not easily be forgotten. At dinner senior male kin will give talks again but remote kin could have gone at this time as it has been late.

Despite the extinction of the ritual group of *gasaw* by the end of Japanese rule, in Ligats, new groupings were being organized now and then however. They are not referred to as *gasaw* and they are all named. The names are said by informants as invented for convenience in summoning the members and are regarded as different from old names which were denoted religious or

household affiliation. Most named groups do not continue for long. Different named groups rise and fall at different times. Members of one named group can easily shift to others.

The type of group is explained by the villagers as a group of *malinaay* or *sadak no malakakaay*. Sibling relationship appears a major principle in organizing the group and the fact of being married-out and born out is a totally neutral factor. Moreover, the boundary of the group seems unclear for the member's spouse always attend meetings of the group thus presenting an overlap if the member is married into his spouse's household and the spouse at the same time belongs to another group organized by her siblings. Also, a member of a group organized by maternal siblings can still be invited to meetings of his paternal siblings; this is usual in the case of males. In other words, there is no fixed rule of exclusiveness and membership of a group is even flexible.

On the other hand, the inclusion of some households in a group can be viewed as being due to their marital relations with the pair of sibling involved with the founding household. The founding household, *tatapaan*, is not necessarily the most original household in the group, nor was it established earliest in the village. Rather it is determined by its relation with organizers of the group, who usually are males referred to as *vake* or *kaka* of the group. In some cases, we see that the founding household is where the set of siblings were born and the name of their father (*mama*) was taken as the name of the group. However, a founding household can also be established elsewhere for other reasons and the name of the group named after the eldest brother of the sibling or by other means.

In another aspect, from the history of the named groups in Ligats, one can sense that the factor of power

is still operating, though it has changed into a secular expression from the old form of spiritual and ritual practices. A strong leadership becomes a decisive factor in the formation of a named group. A villager replied to my question on why Papian is no longer an effective grouping; he said, '*away ko malamamaanay mamikilok , fahale o loma.*' - there is no longer somebody who will keep the kin connections written, the household therefore shifts. A contemporary leader of the village, the *li* head, who recently has organized a named grouping Munalie, expressed his thinking about the group to me. He said that where holding a meeting of the grouping depends on which *vake* is powerful; one still remembers the links with one's descendants though they have been residents of other households and thus included in other branches due to marrying out; it is permissible to shift from one to another.' In the following, all these will be illustrated by actual cases in Ligats.

History of the named groups which have ever existed in the village will be given. I shall start with the old names which had existed before the Japanese period. They are Salipoan, Rarages, Kiwit, Papian and Patsilar.

(1) Patsilar. Four old households were Patsilar originally: House 85, 105, 107, 145. They, however, never formed a group. House 89 joined the group Kayan in 1950s while its divided household, House 85, joined the group Masafa. An informant in House 89 said that as the elders died, the name changed - *away to matoasay, mafalits to gagan.*

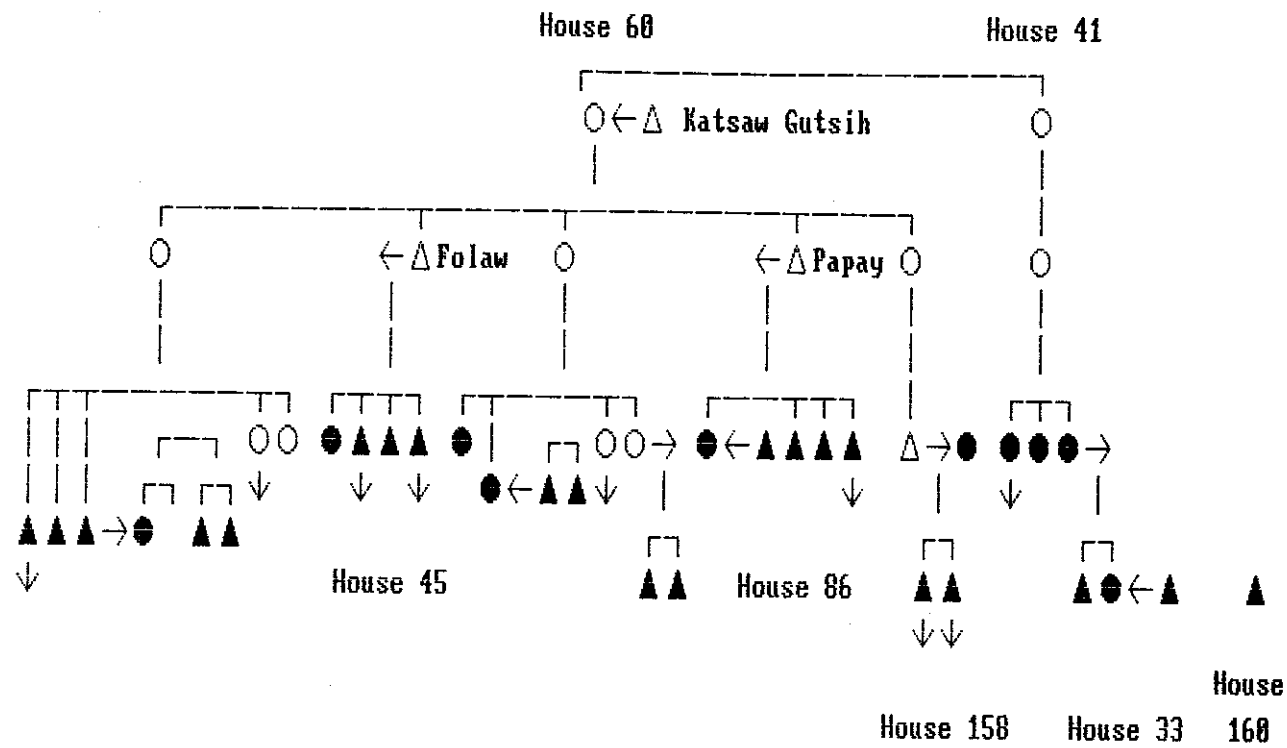
(2) Papian. The special ritual custom of Papian was that they wore red clothes for the rite *palamataw* and the pig sacrificed had to be killed by being thrown onto the wall. Four old households, House 17, 72, 77, 83, were Papian. House 17 is never regarded as kin of the other three and has organized a group

Tsilar in 1950s. House 72 and 83 are with a common ancestor and was a ritual group before with the shrine set up in House 72. House 77 and House 83 were connected by a marital relation. Thus the upper generations of the two households regard each other as one another's sibling.

(3) Salipoan. The name is also a name of an Amis village on the coast. Three old households, Houses 64, 41 and 60, used to unite in practicing ritual and in observing food prohibitions together in the ritual period. House 64 is one of the first settled in Ligats and was regarded as *kakitaan* of the village in early times. According to my informant, its association with the other two households is of simulated kinship. House 41 used to be prominent because its head, father (*mama*) of the household, a married-in male was the first headman in the Japanese period. This house is empty now as the younger generation is employed in south Taiwan.

In 1950s, a grouping named Gutsih with House 60 as the founding household was organized mainly for a business undertaking in hydraulic construction. 'Gutsih' is the name of the father of House 60 - Katsaw Gutsih, who is a married-in male. The grouping of Gutsih did not include House 64 and members were mainly descendants of House 60 and 41 regardless of their marital residence (Figure 6). Some affines as married-in spouse's classificatory siblings were also members of the group. Children of two married-out males of House 60, Folaw and Papay, were included though they were separately members of the groups of their mothers' households, Rarages and Kayan. House 160, neither a kin nor an affine, was also attached. An informant of fifty years old remarked on the operation of the grouping, 'Elders had all gone at that time, it was brothers, *kaka*, who directed the undertaking. We all obeyed orders of *kaka*. We are all old now. There is no young men, *kapah*, now.'

Figure 6 The Group Gutsih



House 60 can remember their grandparents' names but no those of earlier ascendants. On the other hand, they also know their kin in the village of Lagasan but only those at the two generations about their own age and used to send invitations to the kin in Lagasan on occasion of important ceremonial events when the elder generations were still alive. The kin in Lagasan is regarded as genuine kin for they are from a common household. The kin in Lagasan, however, know nothing about the names Salipoan and Gutsih and claim that they were always Patsilar before.

(4) Rarages. An old characteristic custom with Rarages is the employment of a specific trapping device for hunting called *talakal*. Two old households, Houses 86 and 11, are extant members. Another member, House 58, moved into Ligats in the 1950s. The association of House 86 with House 11 is based more on the common name than on any possible remote connection. It was reputed that House 86's great grandmother's brother married into Ligats and was afraid that there would not be a house of his kin for him to return to in order to be buried, so he took back the little girl from the village Salo where his kin resided in a secret way expecting that the girl could establish a household in Ligats when she got married. The girl resided in House 11 for there was no other kin to be attached to in the village and House 11 shared a common name with theirs. House 58 was Rarages in their previous village Orarip. When first moving here, they did not have any kin in Ligats. They, therefore, attached themselves to House 11 on the grounds of a common name. They treated each other as kin. House 58 could borrow tools and food from House 11 and whenever events happened in the households, they would provide aid.

The group is still operating nowadays despite the loss of its previous religious manifestation. Both fathers of House 11 and 86 residing at the household after marriage were regarded as *vake* on the occasion

of a funeral in house 58. The older *vake* from House 11 sat at the upper seat and *vake* from House 86 gave a speech and received visitors, playing the role of a household head. When the *vake* of House 11 had a birthday feasting, the *vake* from House 86 was late in attending. But when he arrived, he soon took command and ordered all relatives on the spot to leave the table and then led them vigorously in dancing.

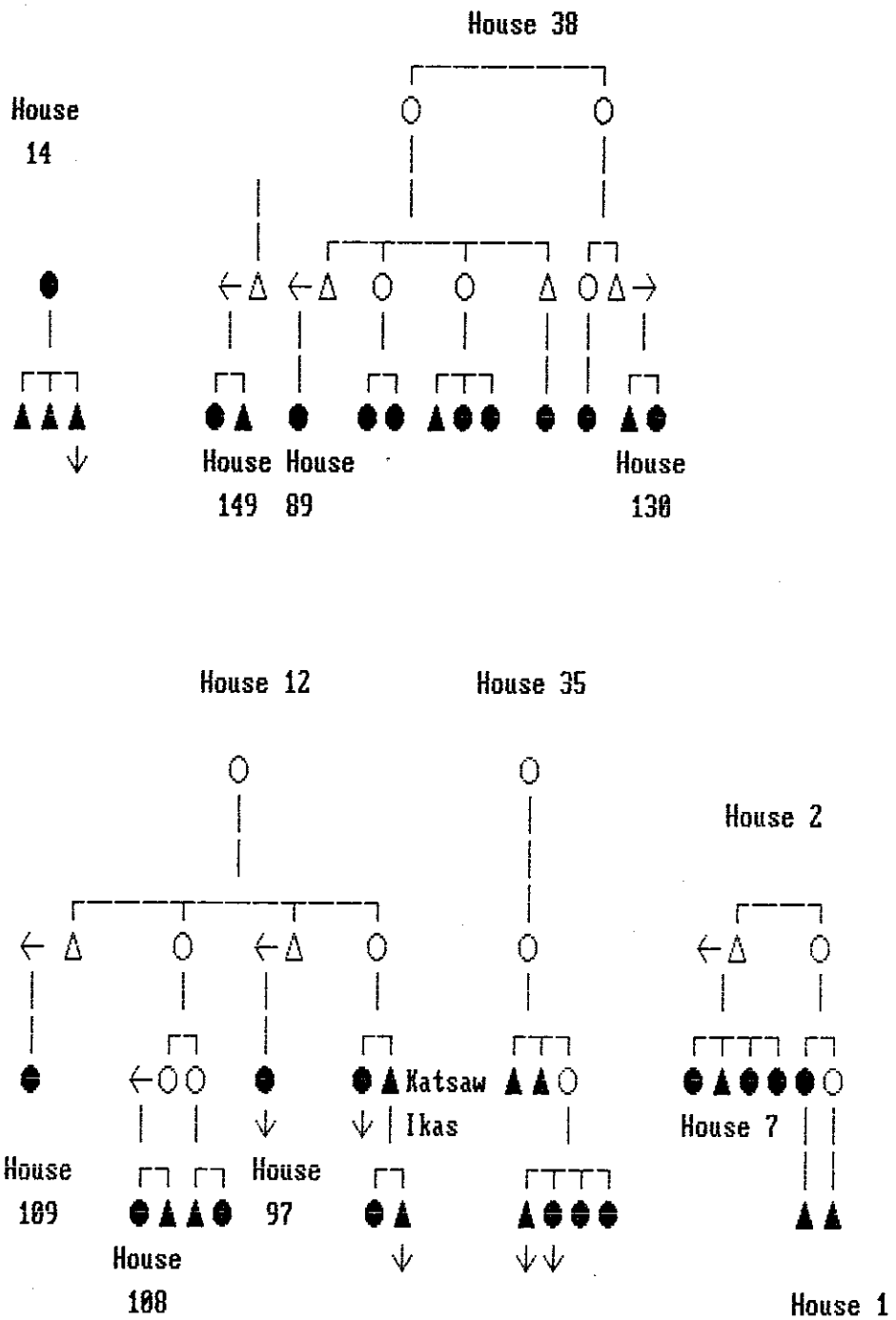
(5) *Kiwit* The hunting tradition of *Kiwit* was the use of hunting dogs - *misa-watsoay*. One of the first settlers in *Ligats*, House 12, was the founding household of the group. A villager said that in previous times, almost all households in *Ligats* were attached to *Kiwit*. The old House 14, 38 are said to be the members in old days though the association was hardly recognized as based on any genuine common descent. However, one old lady who was married-in said that the attachment of House 38 to *Kiwit* is due to its ancestress being a classificatory sibling of House 12 and was staying in House 12 when she first arrived in *Ligats*. The group revived after the loss of its ritual usage again in the 1950s when a competent *vake*, *Katsaw Ikas*, of House 12 came back to *Ligats* from his employment under the Japanese government in *Hualien*. The group is now in a state of disorganization. No meeting of kin has been held since ten years ago. A villager in House 143-1 used to join the group but said that, 'We were *Kiwit* because there was a person from our father's household calling for a meeting for unity of the kin. Since there was no one from our mother's household doing this, we joined *Kiwit*.' He said that he dropped in to House 12 often but since the death of the *vake* *Katsaw Ikas* he no longer feels like going as members of House 12 treat him like a stranger. He said, 'Once elders die, we are no longer their people, I am too shy to go there - *away to ko matoasay e, tao to, magodo tayla.*'

The second time grouping by *Katsaw Ikas* included

some households which were not members at the first. They were Houses 7, 108, 109 and their separated households (see Figure 7). 11 of the members had the status of children of married-out males of the attached households. Forebears of House 2 were said to be descendants of the classificatory siblings of House 12; they were actually brought up in House 12 since they moved into Ligats after their parents were head-hunted in Pailasen. House 108 was associated with Kiwit due to maternal affiliation though the mother who was born and brought up in House 12, was first married-out, came back to House 12 later and separated from House 12 afterwards. House 109's attachment was due to paternal affiliation; the father was born in and married out from House 12.

The joining of House 7 into the Kiwit group was due to the father, a married-in male who was a male of House 2 but brought up in House 12. House 7 are early immigrants from the northern Amis and used to have a religious identity called *tataloma*. Its forebears first stopped at the village Mulutsan for a period. They later moved to Ligats and established the household. On ceremonial occasions for marriage and funerals, it is a strong obligation for House 7 and their kin in Mulutsan to attend each other's events. The close relation can be seen through a marriage negotiation for the son of the kin Lafi in Mulutsan. Lafi's son will marry a girl in another village; it is necessary that they have to visit the girl's household to negotiate about the payment, *nasavitan*. Three go-betweens for settlement of the engagement are all Lafi's kin in Ligats. House 7 does not know clearly about their genealogical relation with Lafi. I visited Lafi and obtained a written record of the connections. The record keeps names of nine generations up to the ancestor originally settled in the north Amis village Rilao. Each of the early six generations is expressed by only a female name or with her husband's name. It is only within the recent two or three generations that

Figure 7 The Group Kiwit



more names, which cover both married-out males, females and their children, appear on the record. The relation expressed by such a list of names for a number of generations is referred to as *gagasawan*, and is regarded as close kin even though they live in different villages - *tsayka raay, magata*. Therefore, even when House 7 joins the Kiwit group in Ligats due to paternal filiation, the tie with its maternally original household still cannot be forfeited.

House 14 in the 1950s organized a new group named Muluk by its two married-out males. House 1 which separated from House 2 in the 1970s organized a new group named Munalie, in which House 108 also joins.

The group Kayan was established during the Japanese period. It was first organized by a father of House 45 Nowey who was a married-in male, whose natal household House 69 also joined the group. Seven old households, Houses 16, 45, 48, 69, 49, 70, were members when the group was first founded. They are seen as classificatory siblings of Nowey's mother though the common ancestor's name is not known. Only the attachment of House 70 is allegedly based on simulated kinship.

The group Kayan knows clearly that they came from the village Mulutsan and the original household is still there. The kin in Mulutsan attend ceremonial events of households of Kayan in Ligats but do not identify themselves with the name. Their oldest kin in Mulutsan Ayan told me that his household was Patsilar all the time. He explains the formation of Kayan as '*lgaw to ko loma*' - a household has come out. Members of Kayan attribute the rise of the group as 'a result of the elders' calling upon relatives to get united with our common shrine or spirits under the name of Kayan - *misa-kayanay gita, mala-tstsay gita, tstay ko kawas ita*.' The group is always regarded as a *gasaw* as it was mentioned by the oldest lady of the group in the

phrase '*o gasaw, sakayanay*'.

The old ritual groups wither inevitably as traditional religious practices become no longer carried out in Ligats. Rarages appears to be the only one still operating nowadays. Besides, Kayan and Kiwit revived again in 1950s because of new usages of grouping being created to meet economic and financial needs at that time. Other new groups such as Muluk, Masafa, Tsilar, Pokon were organized about the same time for a similar purpose. All of them are, however, now in a state of disorganization as the members no longer feel that the grouping has any vital base under the changed social and economic situations. There is, however, still a group Munalie formed in the 1970s. In the following, the grouping formed after the Japanese period will be introduced.

(1) Kayan In the 1950s, two prominent *vake* of Kayan, Tamo in House 65 and Osen in House 48 started to organize their kin as a work team for agricultural work - *pakaliga* of households of Kayan. Each household of Kayan was obliged to send one person if asked and was supposed to obtain a payment of five to ten *chins* of rice per day from the household they worked for. The payments were, however, not really collected by them but were pooled to make a common fund of the Kayan instead. When any household of Kayan had events such as funeral, sickness and other ceremonial feasting, a certain amount of money was then withdrawn from the fund as a contribution to the household for assistance. This new usage of grouping seems to be created with a similar purpose to that of the previous cooperation in the form of material support - *migilaw* on curative ritual occasion. On the other hand, as the payment for each labor unit was lower than the price in the labor market outside, it was of great help to the big land-owners of Kayan, whose agricultural work required more labor than a regular labor exchange could provide. The organizer Tamo thus also benefited in employing the

team to open up land for his household.

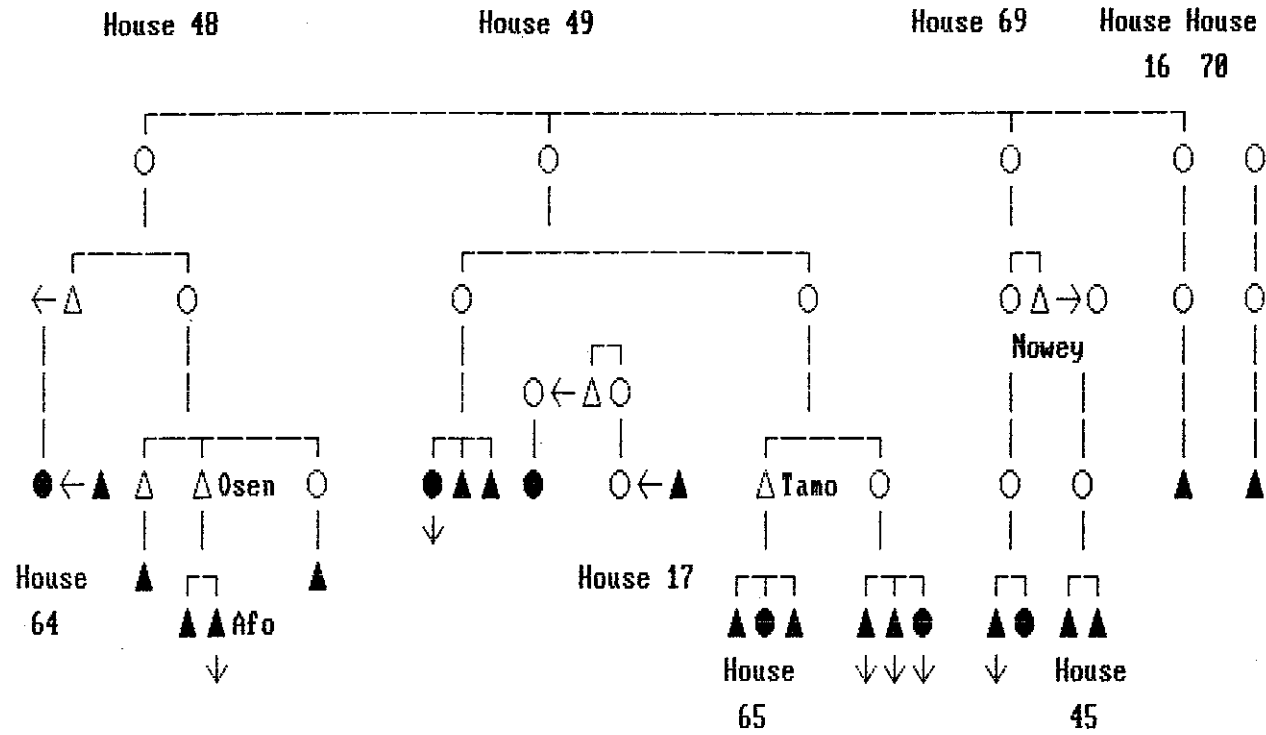
Besides those descendants of the old households as House 16, 45, 48, 49, 69, 70, due to the recently established marital relation, the second time grouping included new members such as House 64, whose father was married from House 48 and House 17 whose male married into House 49 (see Figure 8). Also five households in the neighbouring village Sadvo joined.

Such financial cooperation gradually ceased after the death of Tamo. People attributed this to the prevalence of cash economy. Some households with more cash in their hands would refuse to send any person for the team on the excuse that they did not have any surplus labor. I was told that the labor of the team actually relied on the male youth of the households. Therefore when the youth of Kayan had almost emigrated, only a few resided in the village, and the team collapsed. Another reason for failure was attributed to the ineffectiveness of the leadership. People said, 'After Tamo's death, it is no longer valid for there is no one capable; vake so and so does not really know how to speak.'

There is no common fund for the Kayan now. But when any household of Kayan meets sickness, funeral etc., each Kayan household still contributes a prescribed amount of money for support; this is termed *masasolo*. *Masasolo* is motivated usually by the *vake* of Kayan and collected by the treasurer of the group.

The present leader of Kayan being referred to as the *vake* of Kayan is a former headman Motsoh in House 48. The members said that meetings will be held in Motsoh's household if summoned. In fact, leadership of the group does not seem to be absolute and exclusively in one person's hands. All senior males of the group are entitled to give speeches and show their

Figure 8 The Group Kayan



authority in front of the group meeting as long as they intend to. Succession of the leadership does not appear to operate by any formal rule following either a household or a descent line. It is usually the most prominent male who can summon the group and give distinguished speeches who is made a leader.

Members of Kayan would usually point to the organizer Tamo's household as the founding household, *tatapaan*, of the group instead of House 45, the more remote founding household of the *vake* Nowey's. In fact, I was told that the real original household of Kayan in Ligats is House 16 which is said to be the first settler among Kayan households in the village. However, it seems to be a tendency to regard the present leader's household as a centre of the group. The so called original or founding household, *tatapaan*, is not always the most remote and original.

(2) Muluk. The group was said organized in 1970 and lasted for only about three years until the two founders' deaths. It had House 14 as its founding house and was organized mainly by two married-out males of the house, Namoh in House 9 and Folaw in House 23. Their children were all included regardless of their postmarital residence (Figure 9). Other members were children of females of House 14 and its divided houses, House 29 and House 103. The only two special members were House 1 which was neither a kin nor an affine.

(3) Pokon. The group is named after the living eldest brother Asano of the classificatory siblings descended from House 21. Asano is a cripple which is *pokon* in Amis. Asano was a headman and had achieved the position of representative in the agricultural water supply association of Hualien area. Several senior males of the group actually have jobs in the city and have purchased houses there. This is perhaps the reason that the group is no longer operating nowadays.

Figure 9 The Group Muluk

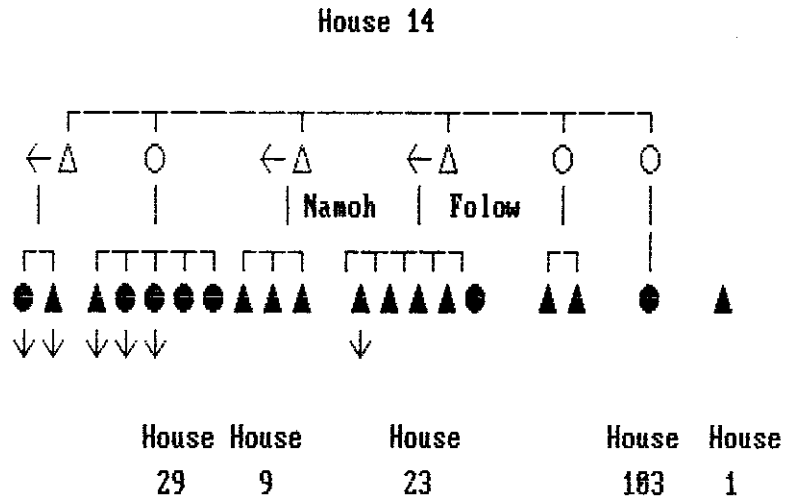
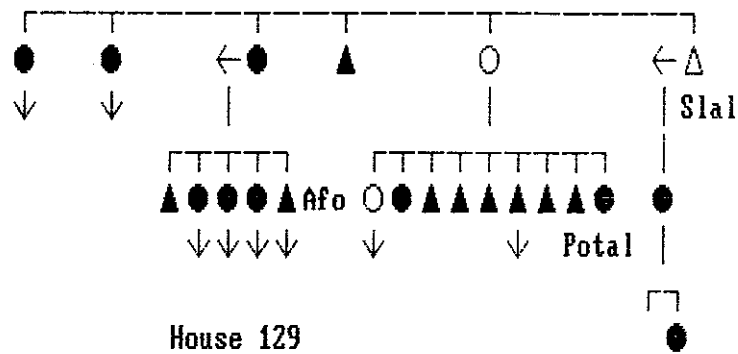


Figure 10 The Group Masafa



(4) Masafa. The group was organized by two fifty years old living males, Afo in House 91 and Potal. The mothers of the two are sisters and Masafa is named after the eldest brother of the set of siblings of their mothers'. In another term, the group is composed of Afo's set siblings and the Potal's (see Figure 10). Afo is also regarded as a member of Kayan because of his father's connection and is active in the feasting occasions of Kayan households. The leader of Kayan Motsoh attributes Afo's inclusion with Masafa to Afo's father's absence. After Afo's father's death, the children shifted to an association of classificatory siblings on the maternal side. But it appears that Afo has changed his mind and intends to return to Kayan since Masafa is almost is a state of disorganization.

(5) Tsilar. The group is founded by the married-in male Olay - father of House 17. Olay is aged eighty now and was a headman before. The authority over the group is said to be in the hands of those married-out males of the house who are regarded as *vake* of the group. Personnel of the group is generally composed of children of siblings of Olay's wife's mother (see Figure 11). House 166 is included because of the married-in husband Kapa who is a married-out male also being *vake* of House 17. Not all children of the married-out males join the group however; the children of the eldest brother of Olay's wife's mother who married into a household of Kiwit are members of Kiwit.

The previous examples of groupings show that most groupings are evident because of the existence of some active *vake*. The loss of a religious function and financial cooperation should be taken into account; however the continuous operation of Rarages and the rising of Munalie seem to me a clear demonstration of the relation between active males and the vitality of the grouping. An old man of Papian explained the reason why the meeting of their kin - *misa-gagasawan* has

Figure 11 The Group Tsilar

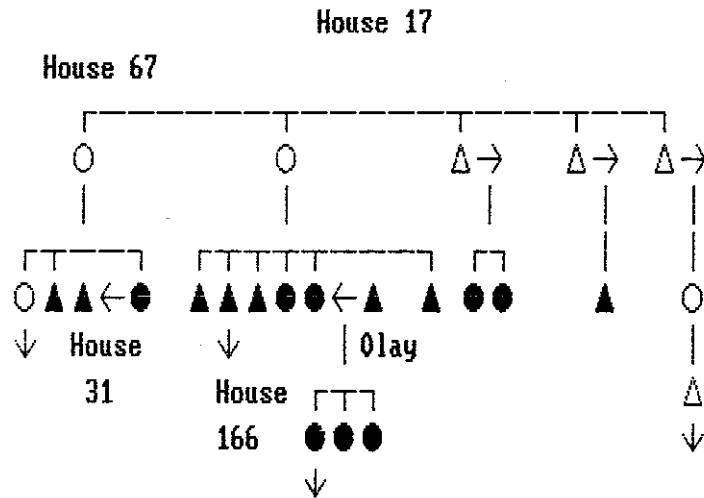
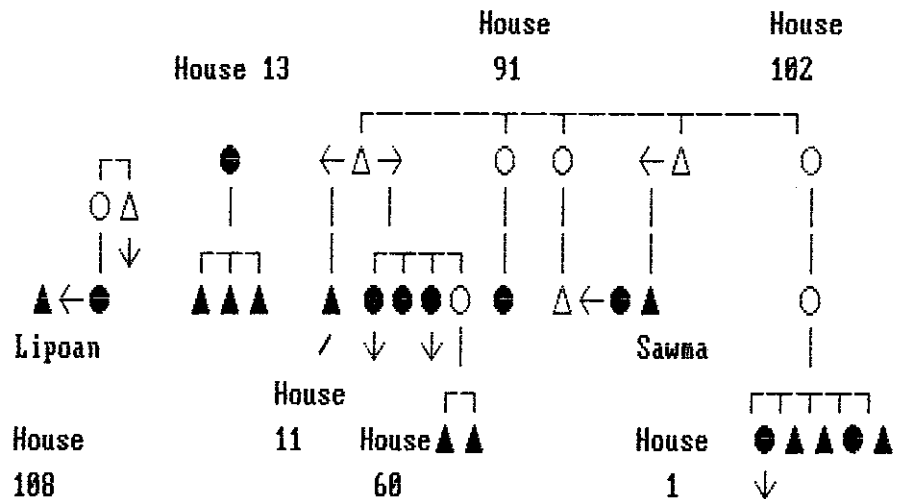


Figure 12 The Group Munalie



not been held for a long time as 'male kin, *wawa to vaynayn*, of the younger generation are no longer interested in the affair.' In the following, I will demonstrate that the formation and vitality of grouping today in Ligats is based mainly on the actual performance of its male kin as *vake* in consolidating group solidarity.

(1) Rarages. It is the only old grouping which, regardless of its loss of previous usage, still continues till today. It has never organized itself for the new usage of financial cooperation - *pakaliga*, thus a later revival as Kiwit, Kayan and other new groupings. Also the members know clearly that the three main households are connected by simulated kinship but not by a genuine kin tie. It seems to me that the active performance of the role of *vake* by Mayaw of House 86 should be the main reason for its continuance. Some descriptions of his behaving as a leader of the group has been given earlier. Besides, his special status with the village and the church is also relevant. He is the vice-headman of the village and the chairman of church organization of the parish which covers six Amis Catholic churches. All households of Rarages in Ligats are Catholic. As a chairman of the church, he always helps with the religious service not only in the church every Sunday morning but also in the households whenever marriages, funerals and other ceremonial event such as completion of house construction are held. This makes him even more an effective leader as the amount of service and attendance provided by him to all the households of Rarages is more than that of anyone else.

(2) Munalie. It is organized by the present *li* head Sawma in House 1 ten years ago while all other groups for financial and economic cooperation are reckoned as no longer valid. 17 households are included in the group. Two households, House 102 and House 91 are regarded as the founding household, *tatapaan*. House 91 is a divided household of House 102. Ancestors

of the two are conceived as kin not due to common blood but because of living under the same roof when first settling in Ligats. Theoretically the *li* head can be a member of the Kiwit group as his original house was attached to Kiwit. He organizes Munalie in terms of the paternal link with House 102 which is his father's natal household. He is regarded as the *vake* of the group and behaves as a leader of it.

The group is mainly composed of children and grandchildren of members of the two houses regardless of the type of marital residence involved (Figure 12). House 13 and its divided households are attached because the grandmother used to be taken care of (*milipodan*) by House 102. A more special member is the chief *lin* head Lipoan in House 108. He used to be a member of Kiwit through maternal affiliation though his mother was married into his father's household. He is related to Munalie through his married-in wife's mother's brother who is married into a household attached to Munalie in an Amis village on the coast. He also holds the position of accountant of the group in charge of collecting money from the members.

The boundary between extinct and existing groups is actually not demarcated clearly. Households not attached to any named group are still entitled to assistance and support of their relatives either in kin or affinal terms or because of common neighbourhood, or being in the same age group, village or church. Also right and obligation toward kin are still to be fulfilled no matter whether one joins a formal group or not. On most occasions of household events, one can see members of a group mixed with general relatives of the household. Therefore, members of Munalie are still to be invited for household events of their kin who are not included in the group. On the other hand, close kin not being included into Munalie still cannot be neglected by their kin who join Munalie. A formal group thus does not really make any serious difference as far as

fulfillment of general kin obligation is concerned.

The chief *lin* head regards the grouping of Munalie as a success in comparison with the failure of Kiwit; he said, 'it is successful as the money could be collected, the gathering would listen to our speech and the meeting is not out of control.'

It appears to me that the group Munalie became visible mainly because meetings of kin were now and then summoned during which the organizers would give speeches to call up ethics of solidarity, *mala-tstsay*, united as one. The members are supposed to take active participation in feasting events of the related households and are obliged to contribute a prescribed amount of money - *masasolo*, whenever any member is sick or requiring money for a *rite de passage*. The leaders, *vake*, should show more concern to the members, to give speeches and advice, and to act as heads at household events in receiving guests. A remote or ordinary kin tie is thus strengthened and a certain range of kin consolidated. The new group's being distinguished, however, is purely an artificial outcome as a result of endeavours by the organizers.

One of the usages of the grouping mentioned, the collection of money for assistance of household event, in my view, is more an expression of common concern than practical assistance. The amount is never large enough to substantially make a financial solution to the difficulty. Members of Munalie, compared with other households not being assisted from any named group, are not so particularly poor to need such a form of assistance. Also money is often collected for expenditure of meetings. By contrast, meetings are important and seem to be more a critical concern in the eyes of leaders of the group. I shall demonstrate in the following that the grouping is significant because it creates occasions for organizers to present speeches and exercise the leadership.

In the case of the *li* head and the chief *lin* head, both of them being leaders of the group of *Munalie*, speech-giving is always given by them in the gathering where they attend. Speech-giving is not a social behavior only at meetings of kin. It is an indispensable item at all gatherings either on a small scale with less than ten persons or of a larger size up to one hundred. It is conceived as a performance by a person with status and authority. Ability at speech-giving is an essential condition for being a leader, either among kin or in the village. A good speaker should be able to present a speech without discontinuity - *mararid*, thus endows a speech with powerfulness, especially before a large gathering. Such a speech is sometimes termed in an old expression *papolo*. I heard frequently that when one is to degrade another, he gives comments such as 'he does not know speech-giving' or 'he can give speeches only when he is drunk.' It seems natural that the more meetings or gatherings a male attends and speaks at, the higher his status is.

The assistance males provide to their related households is mainly in the form of giving talks, consultation or speeches for gathering of relatives. When a group of males meet for a household event, they always take turns to give talks; the contents of the speech are not as important as the form of presentation as relevance and authority with the status of *vake* is to be expressed by the latter but not the former. Similar performances are as frequently seen at meetings of non-kin when prestigious figures all have to go to the front stage for a speech presentation. Since it is a means of expressing status and authority, males would never miss an opportunity to perform it; they would sometimes continue with it even if the speech be entirely neglected by others paying little attention to him.

Besides the announcement and tasks for the government, the *li* head is active on almost all occasions of meeting and gathering where he appears. He always acts in front as a leader or a head in giving directions, speeches and receiving visitors. As this kind of performance is not assigned to his administrative position, it should be regarded as an addition made by himself. He can be seen expending his entitlement to occasions not really within the range of his position. He is not a real representative (*sasiketan*) of his age set, who is regarded as leader of the set. He, however, behaves like a leader during a funeral of a member of his set. At a celebration feasting for the newly elected headman Haro who is in the same set as the *li* head and has always been a *sasiketan* of the set, the *li* head gave speeches toward the young set, which in fact is a right vested with the position of *sasiketan*. The *li* head is a Presbyterian as his household is Presbyterian; on a birthday party for the Catholic Father, he also is active on the stage. At marriage events of Catholic households, he would usually appear and more or less perform leadership. As ceremonial events of households usually last for a whole day, there is always plenty of time for senior male kin to give speeches and there is always some spare time for the *li* head to exercise authority or give a speech.

The post of chief *lin* head operates in coordination with both the headman and the *li* head. Whenever the headman or the *li* head is absent from their duty, the chief *lin* head would be their deputy in carrying out necessary tasks. The chief *lin* head was proud of his achievement at the annual festival last year, when both the headman and the *li* head were absent; however, the annual festival was still completed satisfactorily under his direction. He said to me, 'it was I who stood at the center of the occasion on the second day to carry out all the receivings and announcements.' He felt very disappointed when he knew

that I did not take a picture of him on the second day of the annual festival when he stood at the same position as he was going to retire and that was his last chance to perform the role. I compensated for this on the third day when he gave long talks to the meeting of the men's group on the budget report for the event. Since the chief *lin* head is making himself actively involved in village affairs in performing his job, he goes to the microphone installed in the *li* head's house often to give announcements to the villagers. He is reputed as working hard, *malalok*, by the villagers.

The chief *lin* head has more chance to play an active role before the public as the post of chief *lin* head can be linked to both the old and the new administrations of the village. He however further employs another measure in acquiring more channels to expose himself before the gatherings of households and serve the villagers. He often undertakes the work of a match-maker. Being go-between of marriages gives the chief *lin* head entitlement to make speeches on household ceremonial occasions. It seems to me that this entitlement is especially cherished by him but not among all go-betweens. On an engagement feasting, when I sat beside the chief *lin* head, when he is usually expected to sit at the main table inside but seats there were all occupied by other senior relatives of the households, he looked a bit embarrassed and not in a mood to eat. He ate very little. I did not understand the reason and asked him to eat more, and he said, 'I will give a speech later. I have to give a speech.' Half-way through the feasting, he then went to the front of the gathering by himself and started his speech but all those present still went on with their eating as if nothing had happened.

Since the *li* head is making himself a leader in front of gatherings, the headman, even though he has no substantial power, is treated as an opponent by him.

The conflict does not lie with competition for power in making decisions or maneuvering material or followers, but for position as a chairman in public meetings or the highest authority in giving lengthy speeches. Feelings of opposition between the *li* head and the headman can be seen from their being sulky and aloof to each other. The icy relationship was however immediately dissolved after a new headman was elected. The case of the second time *komonkay* also provides some clues about the competition. As mentioned Chapter 3.4, a *komod* Motsoh was not asked to attend.

Motsoh later asked me whether the *li* head went to the meeting, I told him that the *li* head did not. He said, 'no wonder, if the *li* head went, an invitation would definitely have come.' The reason that the *li* head would ask a message be sent to Motsoh, in my view, is because Motsoh as he is senior can act as a counter force to reduce the authority expressed by the headman at the meeting.

The headman and the *li* head are descendants of classificatory siblings of Kiwit. It is inevitable for them to appear on the same occasion before gatherings of relatives. The headman is older than the *li* head, and he was therefore always given the honor to speak first before a meeting of kin and this has always made the *li* head uncomfortable. One time when the headman stood up to give a speech in front of a gathering for a funeral, the *li* head tried to avoid the embarrassing situation and came to the far rear corner to sit beside me and said to me, 'let us two be relatives - *malaoinaoina gita*.' As the *li* head is younger than the headman, he has to be put in a more disadvantageous position than the headman in the grouping of Kiwit. It is thus impossible for the *li* head to achieve his desire as an authoritative leader in the grouping. This seems to me an important cause for the *li* head to organize the group Munalie from his paternal side.

It is however unfortunate that the headman's father's brother was married into House 102, the founding house of the group of Munalie. Since the headman is son of father's brother of members of House 102, he is regarded as brother (*kaka*) and is to be given honorable respect. He is often invited to events of House 102 where he could show his authority and status over that of the *li* head. At a feasting occasion held at House 176, a separated household of house 102, both the *li* head and the headman were invited though the latter came as *kaka* (brother) of the hostess and the former as *vake* of Munalie to which House 102 is attached. The headman sat at the top seat and gave a speech first of his own will at the beginning of the feasting. Great envy was shown on the face of the *li* head and he stood up to give an even longer speech immediately after the headman. The difficulty for the *li* head is partly solved by the establishment of another headquarter, *tatapaan*, at House 91 where the headman is not connected as close kin and would not be invited for feastings. The *li* head therefore could express his authority and leadership without competition.

The joining of the chief *lin* head to Munalie did prove to be useful as far as giving speeches was concerned for the *li* head. At a funeral event in House 156 where the chief *lin* head has the status of *vake* as the woman died is his father's sister, the chief *lin* head was evidently a prominent *vake*, *tata-vake*, of the household for giving speeches and being chairman at the occasion. The *li* head, only remotely related, nevertheless gave a lengthy speech also. Before leaving, the *li* head went to shake hands with the chief *lin* head to express his gratitude. The chief *lin* head told me afterwards that, 'if it were not that I stand by him, he would not have dared to have given such a lengthy speech here for nobody would have listened to him. After his talk, I immediately stood up to give words sympathizing him.' He

said, 'being a *li* head and to be successful, you need other people in positions to cooperate with you.' He said that he had done his best to cooperate with and support the present *li* head. The close cooperation between the *li* head and the chief *lin* head is clearly based on their common recognition of the significance of speech-giving as an expression of the prestigious status of leadership.

Therefore, the formation of a kin grouping in Ligats nowadays is primarily motivated by its political function. The existence of a grouping actually means a successful leadership supported by some of his kin and relatives.

But one may ask why the kin still respond positively to support the summoning since the grouping is no longer indispensable either religiously or financially as before. The successful leader of Rarages Mayaw told me that the meeting is particularly summoned nowadays only at election campaigns. I was told that the kin tie is always more influential than other linkages for obtaining support for a candidate during an election campaign, and most people tend to follow directions from their *vake*. In other words, many meetings would be summoned by males in the name of *vake* for the event. They say that they are sorry and shamed, *magalo*, if they do not respond to a *vake*'s summoning to a meeting and asking for support. It seems to me that the power of *vake* in manoeuvring votes during an election is mainly from his relative kinship status and obligatory duties. The *vake* must attend whenever an ordinary or special occasion demands. The villagers talked about the relation of *vake* with themselves as *adihay ko nimilipodan no vake* - the cares given by *vake* are a lot. In other words, the traditional role of senior male kin as *vake* becomes a resource from which one can gain support if one performs it to the expectations. Following the directions of a

vake therefore can be viewed as a reciprocal return for what one has received before. Such a support is not a blind obedience but an obligation toward the senior kin who could always be sought for consultation and help.

CHAPTER FIVE

LOCAL LEADERSHIP

In the chapter on kin grouping, we have seen the role of male kin in group formation and maintenance. I shall demonstrate in this chapter that the three figures active in kin grouping of Ligats also play a significant role in the village. If it be accepted that solidarity of a kin grouping is mainly a result of mutual support with its vake, I would further extend this line of interpretation to so called 'solidarity' of the village. It seems to me that mutual support is also a basic principle in the sphere of village leadership.

If there is a village solidarity in Ligats, I would attribute it to the actual performance of the vice-headman Mayaw rather than that of the headman Lafi. The headman does not really make any effort in summoning and attending gatherings. There is no kin grouping consolidated by him. His personal history shows that his occupancy of the headmanship is actually his final and highest achievement. He was previously a *li* head, and a chairman of Catholic church. This might account for his lack of interest in doing a good job. By contrast, the vice-headman plays a more active role as village leader than the headman does. He appeared before the public to give a speech more frequently and showed his concern about public affairs in his actions. This is partly because as the general chairman of the Catholic church he has more chance to provide services to the villagers.

Mayaw's influential power is evidenced by the election of a new headman during the annual festival I attended. The candidate Haro supported by him won the election. A secret meeting with Haro's brother and the largest landowner Olwy was summoned by him to Haro's house (the family I stayed during fieldwork) to discuss the affair. The largest landowner did not really

support Haro for after the results he gave his comments to his neighbour, a Taiwanese Chinese, 'How come he should win, I expected that Tagay would win the election.' Tagay belongs to an age set younger than Haro's and according to the seniority principle, he actually deserves a lower rank. On the other hand, the victory also violated the traditional principle as it was the younger candidate who won the position of headman and the older one at an age set senior than the winner became the vice-headman. As the result did not meet the principle of age seniority, a villager said to me that 'it is actually an embarrassing thing for the newly elected vice-headman as he is older but comes after the younger.'

The case of the election for *chen* representatives held in June 1986 provided a typical example of solidarity of Ligats in the eyes of other villages. The former *chen* representative, inhabiting the neighbouring village Tsroh, is quite able and always has frequent contacts with Ligats. He expected to win his election again but failed for the majority of Ligats gave their support to its own candidate. The candidate is 27 years old, recently graduated from a military school. He had just come back to the village and started a motor car repairing shop. He could not give a good Amis speech and had been almost an unknown in the village. He is the nephew of the vice-headman of Ligats. His standing for election actually surprised the vice-headman too. The vice-headman said that he did not understand why his nephew should decide to come out for election, and if it had not been because of his social relations and help it would have been impossible for the young man to win. He said that people in nearby villages all know that the young man is the general chairman's nephew. He hopes that the young man would do the job well otherwise he will lose his face to his supporters. He tried his best to obtain votes for his nephew not only because of his kinship obligation as *vake* of the young man but also in the name of

village solidarity. He said, 'people of other villages would laugh at Ligats if he failed the election, which means though large the village, had no solidarity inside.' Besides, the *li* head also requested the villagers not to allow their votes be robbed by outsiders.

From the votes gained by the six candidates in this election, Ligats or De-wu *li* proved to have more solidarity than other *li* in supporting its own candidate. Ligats' candidate won 513 votes, the other two winners separately gained 685 and 655. The percentage of votes gained by Ligats' candidate from De-wu *li*, which was 336 in his total votes gained is 65%, which is higher than the other two winners, one 312 and 47.5%, the other 275 and 40%. Ligats' candidate gained 83% of the total votes of De-wu *li* while another winner 86% of his *li*, and the other 54% of his *li*.

The efforts of the *li* head in attending gatherings has been described in the last chapter. His endeavors seem to have created positive effects in his success in summoning the villagers for meetings and task performances. The *li* executive is confident of the *li* head's capacity to command the villagers. Government tasks handed down from above were always fulfilled in a more satisfactory way compared with that of other Amis villages in the eyes of the *li* executive. In fact, most of the tasks and meetings which were supposed to be carried out by the whole *li* were attended only by villagers of Ligats. The villagers of Sadvo are said to be hardly concerned with *li* affairs. However, when Sadvo needs support, the villagers of Ligats would support them in the name of being under the same *li* head. During the election campaign for seats for county representative, a villager from Sadvo entered into the candidature. The *li* head summoned a meeting of villagers of Ligats to support the candidate. The gathering appeared to be

successful as the number of villagers attending was adequate. One lady said, 'We should go. If we do not go, they would not come in the future. We have the same *li* head therefore we go.'

Comments made about the position of *li* head among Amis are disrespectful; 'It is only related to letters from the *chen* office.' 'It does not make any difference who takes the position; we let the position to whoever wants it.' In the eyes of Chinese and the *li* executive, the position costs time and energy but gains little substantial profit. The *li* executive said, 'There has always been little competition for the position; there was always only one candidate for the election. People just take turns to fill the position.' However, during my stay in the village, I found that the position was in fact privately valued by some males. Four persons intended to nominate for it. Though the position itself is not vested with any substantial political power delegated from the government, it seems to me still to be an useful title for males as it provides a chance to make speeches before the public. If the position has become popular only in recent years, the present *li* head's efforts to exercise the leadership in gatherings could be a cause. As giving a speech in itself implies a meaning of power and prestige, the authority of the *li* head can actually be increased through the Amis' own measure. Both the *li* head and the chief *lin* head, whose efforts in attending meetings, public gatherings and making speeches are greater than anyone else in the village, serve us the example.

The *li* head does not actually have a strong confidence about himself in leading the people. His wife told me that he was hesitating whether he should stand for the election for another term. He worries that there is no companion as his faithful staff to assist him with the leading. His faithful supporter the chief *lin* head has shown clearly an intention in

standing election for the post of *li* head and is not doubtful about his capacity and potential. He is proud of himself as he said, 'I am not somebody but even people in Sadvo would come to me for consultation and help with their problems'. He was keen on standing for being a *li* head, but his wife did not agree because it costs too much time in service to people.

The active performance of the chief *lin* head in gatherings of the villagers has been described in the last chapter. His great efforts proved to be effective in the election for provincial representatives during the end of 1986. I was told that Ligats was for the first time divided into two factions for support of different candidates. The chief *lin* head was supporting a candidate from the Amis village Orarip which is about 15 minutes' away by car and a headquarter for the campaign was established at his house. The other headquarters for support of a candidate from the village Tavarong was set up in the largest landowner's house. The largest landowner together with the newly elected headman Haro were supporting a candidate who had held the seat of provincial representative for eight years and was coming out for his third term. It is said that the former won about 300 votes from the village and the latter obtained only about 40. Though the villagers said that they voted for the former because he was from a nearby village, the chief *lin* head's being a link between the candidate and the villagers seems to me more critical as a factor in decision-making among the villagers.

The case of the largest landowner seems to me a useful example in verifying the significance of actual performance of the role expected for the position of leadership. The largest landowner also would like to be a *li* head but has little confidence in his being supported by the villagers. He is the representative of Ligats in the local farmers' association. He is better-known among outsiders than anyone else in the

village. He speaks fluent Mandarin, and is a clever person. All the outsiders think that he is fairly qualified for the position of *li* head. He is a good friend to the Yu-li *chen* head, a Taiwanese Chinese, and it is said that the *chen* head also encouraged him to stand for the election. He is a sasiketan of his age set and was always prominent and dominant in expressing his opinions in the men's group. As he is the wealthiest in the village, villagers would go to him for borrowing money and the possibility of being rejected is said to be fifty-fifty. He is not keen on attending ceremonial events of households and usually keeps quiet on these occasions. He has never been enthusiastic about giving speeches as are other Amis leaders. To compare his actual performance as a powerful figure with that of the other local leaders, his failure to gain support from the villagers seems to me a natural outcome as he appears negligent of the traditional norm of Amis leadership, which is based on mutual support but not individual dominance and material success. His achievement in wealth is great and respected by the villagers, but his efforts in showing interests in the household events of the villagers lessen interest in him among supporters.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

From the Amis history of the recent one hundred years, we have seen various changes of the society resulted from political measures imposed by external governments. The religious leadership had long been substituted by a formal authoritative headmanship, which is now being replaced to a great extent by other formal leaders in offices. The men's group used to be an organization of community service for public affairs. But it has lost all its function except during the annual festival. Since the establishment of private land ownership registration, the prevalence of wet rice cultivation, and the conversion to Christianity, the new demand of labor supply for the rice planting and harvesting by large landowners became a need. The powerfulness, which used to be symbolized by shrines and ritual groupings, was seen operating in the form of financial and economic cooperation. Later, the outflow of the youth, the introduction of cash economy and the mechanization of agricultural management diminish the need of forming groupings for economic cooperation. Therefore, one hardly can see a practical usage in maintaining or forming a new grouping in the modern circumstances.

Nevertheless, Ligats shows that, despite the loose organization and the mini-factionalism, some named groupings are still publicly acknowledged as existent. Their existence relies mainly on an effective leadership exercised by their males as *vake*. The effectiveness mostly is derived and can be observed through the traditional pattern of behavior expected of *vake*; that is to attend meetings, gatherings of their relatives and act as a family head to show cares and concern, give advices and formal speeches etc. *Vake* are regarded as family heads not just because they are senior thus authoritative, but mainly for their personal

concern and frequently being involved with family affairs. To be a leading *vake*, ability is a prerequisite, and powerfulness is necessary to actually organize a group.

Moreover, the cases of the alleged important local figures, the headman, the vice-headman, the *li* head, the chief *lin* head and the largest landowner show that formal offices do not necessarily guarantee effective leadership and support. They have to be substantiated by expected performances. In the current village of Ligats, the expectations seem to be of traditional type. It is a similar pattern of behavior with that of *vake*. As leaders, they should attend gatherings, participate in activities and give formal speeches. Without such commitments, one will not be recognized as others' leaders or will become a mere leader with lack of real influence. Therefore, despite the formal administration imposed upon the village by the Chinese government, the organizational principle actually continues to be Amis' own.

Finally, I suggest that the relation between a grouping and the power of its male head is a constant in the organizational aspect of the society. In early Japanese records, there have been cases of shifting to other groupings (Furuno 1945: 91-92; Mabuchi 1935: 439-441). The continuity of the descent group and the household line had probably been ideological idioms rather than operational facts in early times. Continuity could only be maintained under the condition that there were adequate powerful male members available to keep its vitality. What has been changed in the organization of grouping is its expression rather than the basic principle. It was first expressed in a male's hunting ability reflected in the household guardian spirits and shrine. This exhibited openly the religious protection of household property and fortunes. It was later supported by the men's ability in gaining lands and organizing economic and financial cooperation.

Nowadays, it is often associated with political ambitious and powerful local leaders in formal offices. The serious problem of population outflow, thus with less capable male residents in the village should be taken into account in explaining the lack of new groupings today.

GLOSSARY

- adawan* - the men's house of an Amis village.
- chia* 甲 - a unit for the measurement of size commonly used among farmers in Taiwan. One *chia* is 0.9699 hectare.
- chin* 斤 - a unit for the measurement of weight commonly used in local Taiwan. One *chin* is 0.65 kilograms.
- chen* 鎮 - a local administrative, territorial unit under the county government.
- chuang* 莊 - a term used in the Ch'ing dynasty in referring to a village composed of Chinese.
- fan-she* - aboriginal village. 番 (*fan*) is a term used in the Ch'ing dynasty, or 蕃 during the Japanese period in referring to Taiwan aborigines. 社 (*she*) is a term used by the Ch'ing for a village composed of aborigines.
- gasaw* or *gagasawan* - a kin grouping, frequently used as *misa-gasaw* or *misa-gagasawan* to refer to a meeting of a kin grouping.
- hsiang* 鄉 - a local administrative, territorial unit under the county government, of which the administrative level is the same as *chen*; the population however is less than a *chen*.
- hakhak* - Amis' rice which is eaten by hand in a traditional way rather than with a bowl or a plate, today usually having it on special occasions.
- ilisin* - the annual ritual or festival of an Amis village.
- kotsju* - a post under the headman and the police during the Japanese period, usually taking charge of ten households in a village.
- kakitaan* - a term refers to the traditional religious leadership of an Amis village,

which usually was hereditarily vested in a household. It is possibly a derivative of *kita* which means 'we'; thus the whole expression implies 'our (religious place)'. Other additional connotations are derived to mean the rich household, or sometimes the political leadership such as the headmanship.

- kapah* - the young men, also an age grade in Amis men's age organization.
- kayke* - the treasure or the accountant of a group, possibly derived from the Chinese word 會計 .
- kawas* - spirits, ghosts or gods.
- komod* - leaders in the men's organization.
- komonkay* - the assembly of the men's age organization, entitled to decision-making on village affairs.
- lati* - witch(craft) which can afflict people.
- lalomaan* - related households or close kin.
- li* 里 - the administrative territorial unit under the *chen* office.
- lin* 鄰 - the component unit of a *li* or a *ts'un*, usually consisting of ten to twenty households.
- lisin* - a ritual, enshrinement or religious establishment.
- lgaw* - a stem word meaning budding out or growing out.
- loma* - a house, a household or a family.
- malataw* - guardian spirits.
- malakaka* - the sibling relation.
- malatstsay* - united as one.
- malinaay* - relatives.
- mama* - father, grandfather or senior male relatives.
- mama no kapah* - the leading age subgrade of the young men's grade.
- masasolo* - to contribute a share each household

- in a group.
- matoasay* - the elders, also a term for the age grade in the men's age organization.
 - miholol* - to visit.
 - milipodan* - to look after or take care of.
 - mililyu* - to send an oral invitation or notice.
 - migilaw* - to take part in or attend with material support or gift.
 - mikafo* - the meeting of financial cooperation.
 - misasail* - a ritual to the forebears.
 - misakawas* - a curative ritual to spirits.
 - misalisin* - to hold a ritual.
 - misaoral* - to hold a ritual for rain.
 - misakyodai* - the meeting of kin and relatives, an equivalent of *misa-gagasawan*.
'Kyodai' means siblings in Japanese.
 - mitoasay* - children or descendants of married-out members of a household.
 - nasavitan* - the payment from the taking party in a marriage to the parents or household who give away a man or a woman.
 - niaroh* - a village or a settlement.
 - palyu* - the traditional labor exchange among a group of households.
 - paklan* - the traditional way of ending a ritual, usually held on the last day of a ritual period by having fish together.
 - pakaliga* - grouping by working together; *liga* means work.
 - pakomodan* - the appointment of leaders of the young men's group.
 - palamataw* - a rite held by male descendants of a household for its hunting shrine.
 - palimoot* - to give advice or talks to the junior or the kin.
 - papolo* - to orate.
 - patapanay* - match-maker or go-between.
 - pitoasan* - the natal household of one's parent who married into the household.
 - rayray* - pedigree, or a continuous sequence.

- salioh* or - a hunting territory.
- sailoh*
- sadak no malakakaay* - offsprings of a set of
siblings.
- salikaka* - classificatory siblings.
- sasiketan* - the leaders or representatives of an
age set.
- slal* - an age set.
- suadju* 社長 - aboriginal village head derived from
the Chinese word .
- tatapaan* - a founding household or an original
household.
- tatoasan* - the forebears or the ancestors.
- or *toas*
- tomok* - the headmanship established since
Japanese rule.
- toron* - cakes made from millet or dry rice,
traditionally offered to the spirits.
- tilo* - a kind of hunting method employed by
some households following their
forebears as a household tradition.
- tsikawasay* - spirit medium who could
communicate with various spirits, ghosts
or gods.
- tsilisinay* - the priest of an enshrinement.
- tsiloma* - the separation and establishment of a
household.
- tsisailohay* - those who owned a hunting territory.
- tsipootay* - the top subgrade of the
age grade of the young men in the
village of Ligats.
- ts'un* 村 - the component unit of a *hsiang*,
the administrative level of which is the
same as that of *li* but the
population usually smaller.
- t'ung-shi* - a post established as an intermediary
通事 between the aboriginal village and the
Ch'ing government.
- vake* - a kin term for senior male kin who are
entitled to advise on household affairs.

- vanti* - a post established during the Japanese occupation to take charge of the Amis work team for compulsory labor service.
- vinawlan* - a grouping of the men or the women of a village.
- wawa to vaynayan* - male children or male descendants.
- wilan* - age mates of the same age set.

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APPENDIX 1 : SELECTING A SITE FOR FIELDWORK

My first trip to eastern Taiwan was in October 1985. I visited the Amis village Mulatin. On a feasting occasion there I met a French Catholic father, Shi-kuan P'an, who has been working in Amis villages for more than twenty years. He suggested that I try the Amis settlement Pailasen because 'Mulatin is too young a village as it has a history of only three to four generations. Pailasen is a centre. It is old and the dialect spoken there is the most standard.'

Pailasen is a place name. Three Amis villages Lagasan, Atolan and Mulutsan are situated next to each other. The three villages now constitute one *ts'un* which is a basic administrative unit officially recognized by the government. I stayed with the family of the *ts'un* head who are Amis for five weeks. During the period, I tried to learn the Amis language, interviewed them about their old customs, and attended some gatherings and ceremonies inside as well as outside the village. I accompanied the *ts'un* head and his wife to a marriage feast held at a new Amis village Kan-san to the south about one hour away by train, and also to a funeral at Ta-fu to the north about thirty minutes' ride by motorbike. I was there while an election campaign was proceeding for a provincial seat and the post for *ts'un* head was also being contested. Later despite all these advantages in introduction I decided that that particular village was not ideal for anthropological fieldwork. More than half of the households had moved to Kan-san about fifteen years ago because a development program was launched there by the government and there was more land available for cultivation. The distribution of households in the village therefore appeared quite unlike the usual settlement pattern of an Amis village as most Amis villages are compact. I hardly could meet other villagers for many of the households were distant from one another. Moreover, a straight street with

regular bus routes cut the village into two halves. The village was thus entirely exposed to the outside and many members of the households did not usually stay in the village. There also seemed few available events in which I could participate and few Amis to talk to.

Still considering whether I should keep Pailasen as a spot for my intensive study, I left eastern Taiwan for one month and went back with a decision to select a new spot in January 1986. I visited Father P'an and he pointed out two villages possibly suitable for they were not directly connected by public bus transportation and the settlement pattern is as concentrated as I might wish. His comments on these two villages were decisive in deciding the direction of the thesis. He said, 'Ligats is better because the villagers have more solidarity. By contrast, Halawan is not like an Amis village; for there is continuous competitive conflicts among the *gasaws*, and there is little solidarity in the whole village.'

I, accompanying about fifteen villagers of Ligats, visited only once Halawan to attend a marriage feast of their kin held there, thus can not judge whether there were more *gasaws* or less 'solidarity' in Halawan compared with that of Ligats. After the intensive study of Ligats however, it seems to me that Halawan should also contain a 'solidarity' though possibly more at the level of kin grouping *gasaw* rather than of village. Presumably there were more competent and ambitious males in Halawan, who separately summoned their kin to organize their own groupings. As a consequence, the 'village solidarity' would be 'splitted' by the 'solidarity' of kin grouping. The so-called 'more solidarity' of Ligats could be a contingent phenomenon due to less ambitious males simultaneously aiming at establishing a separate leadership by one's own grouping of kin and relatives. In fact, as shown in Chapter 4.4.2 and 5, there was a competitive conflict among some local leaders of Ligats,

which once resulted in a tentative 'split' of the village into two in an election campaign even though it is not a competition between *gasaws*. "

APPENDIX 2: HOUSEHOLD REGISTRATION

Household registration, *hu chi* (戶籍), has been practiced in Taiwan since Japanese rule till the Chinese government. There are both similarities and differences in the form of registration under the two governments. Basically, both the two take household as a unit to be recognized. Each household should has one member registered as the household head. The other members then are indicated and listed with a reference to their separate relations with the household head. Each member of the household has his or her profile which includes such information as one's parents' names, spouse's name, birth date, birth order and occupation. One's movements, divorce and death are also recorded. Thus when any member moves or marries out, his or her entries can be crossed out and be copied to join another household.

However, there are two significant differences between the Japanese and the Chinese registration. Under the Japanese, aboriginality was registered by household and referred to as *fan-hu* (番戶) - aboriginal household. By contrast, the identity of aboriginality under the Chinese is recognized in the individual and is referred to as *shan pao* (山胞) - a mountain country fellow. Further for administrative purposes, aborigines are classified into two categories by the Chinese, *shan di shan pao* (山地山胞), mountain mountain country-fellow, who are under the so called 'mountain or aboriginal' administration and *p'in di shan pao* (平地山胞), plains mountain country-fellow, who are not. Therefore, in the Chinese register, an aborigine usually has either (平地山胞) or (山地山胞) stamped in his or her own profile. This constitutes the only official record which an aborigine has to show to an official whenever an aboriginal interest is to be claimed or acknowledged.

Moreover, there is an entry on 'original domicile'

- *pen chi* (本籍), which was non-existent in the Japanese registers. One's original domicile is indicated by the county and the province where one originated from. The Amis residents of Ligats all have this entry written as Hualien County of Taiwan Province while most of the Amis in the coastal areas have their original domicile registered as Taitung County of Taiwan Province as this is the administrative territory they belong to. There are also some Amis who have moved to the urban areas in the western and northern Taiwan such as Taipei city, Taipei county etc.. Some of them have had their original domicile registered as Taipei City or Taipei County. In this way, they form an electorate, if they number enough in a legal sense, to have their own political representative elected (for instance, there is now a plain aboriginal county representative in Taipei county but none in Taipei city).

The important rule about the original domicile is that each person can choose only one as his or her original domicile for registration purpose. According to the law, the original domicile can be changed under certain circumstances however. A married woman, if she wishes, can have her original domicile registered as the same as her husband's though originally different. Usually a child's original domicile follows the father's. Thus children of 'mainland' Chinese who migrated to Taiwan after 1945, are usually registered as having an original domicile in a county of a province in China as their father. One is allowed to have another place registered as his or her original domicile so long as one has moved there for more than three years. Or it can be registered as a 'tentative' domicile if one has resided there for more than one year but does not intend to change his registration of original domicile. Also one is allowed to have only one 'tentative' domicile if any.

Theoretically, any person who moves to reside at another place for more than one month should report to

the office of household registration (every *hsiang* or *chen* has an office of household registration taking charge of the affairs in its territory) to have the real living address recorded on the register. If it is shorter than one month, one reports it only to the local *li* office.

In fact, as the cases in Ligats show, movements for more than one month do not always go into registration for the villagers do not report and the registration office and the local *li* office are not strick in enforcing the report. In this respect, the number of residents in the register is much greater than that of actual residents in the village. On the other hand, the local registration can also miss out some persons whose profiles have been moved to where they mainly reside although they still keep close contact with their kin in their original village. Therefore, although household registration has been a base on which the government build various statistics, one cannot just rely on it for accurate village population, household size and other demographic information (also see Tang 1978: Appendix 3).