

DANCE OF THE PAIWAN ABORIGINAL
PEOPLE OF PINGTUNG COUNTY, TAIWAN
WITH IMPLICATIONS OF DANCE FOR
TRIBAL CLASSIFICATION

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN MUSIC (DANCE ETHNOLOGY)

AUGUST 1977

By

Madeline Kwok

Thesis Committee:

Barbara B. Smith, Chairman
David Y.H. Wu
Judy Van Zile

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Music (Dance Ethnology).

THESIS COMMITTEE

Barbara B. Smith

Chairman

Louise J. Smith

Paula Van Zile

Copy © 1977 by Madeline Kwok

All rights reserved.

No part of this thesis may be produced in any form
without permission from author.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I want to thank the Taiwan Provincial Government, the Pingtung County Government, the Institute of Ethnology - Academia Sinica, and Professors Shih Lei and Yuen Chan-Rue of the Taiwan National Chen-Chi University for their advice and assistance. I am especially indebted to the 'Paiwan' people themselves, without whose patience, understanding and encouragement this study could never have been attempted.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	1
The Field	1
Limitations	3
Purpose	5
Format	6
CHAPTER II. LAND AND PEOPLE	7
People	7
Prehistory	9
Ethnohistory	11
CHAPTER III. ORIGIN AND CLASSIFICATION	13
General Classifications	14
The 'Paiwan'	16
CHAPTER IV. 'PAIWAN' CULTURE	24
Traditional 'Paiwan' Culture	24
1. Material Culture	27
2. Daily Attire	29
The Changing Culture	37
Special Events and Rituals	38
1. The Five-Year-Ritual and Six-Year-Ritual	39
2. Marriage	40
3. Victory Rituals	41
4. Death Ritual	41
CHAPTER V. TRADITIONAL DANCE	44
Dance Music	44
1. Song Types	45
Traditional Dance	46
1. Dance Types	46
2. Setting	47
3. Sex Segregation	47
4. Age	48
5. Taboo	48

6. Group Formation, Rank and Sex Distribution	48
7. Movement Types	49
8. Circling Direction	49
9. Choreography	50
10. Daily Attire	50
The Changing Dance	50
CHAPTER VI. ANALYSIS OF DANCE	53
Glossary	55
Dance Components	58
A. Non-movement Components	58
1. Group Formation	58
2. Sex Distribution	58
B. Movement Components	60
1. Leg Motifs	60
2. Focal Point	65
3. Line of Direction-Starting Leg	67
4. Arm Motifs	69
5. Choreography	74
6. Qualitative Elements	76
C. Relationship Between Components	77
1. Ground Plan	78
2. Leg and Arm Motifs	81
3. Leg Motifs and Sex Distribution	81
CHAPTER VII. SUMMARY, PROPOSITION AND CONCLUSION	86
Proposition	87
Conclusion	89
Future Research	92
APPENDIX	93
REFERENCES CITED	94

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Villages in this study	3
2	Locations of villages in this study	4
3	Physical geography of Taiwan	8
4	Location of Taiwan aboriginal tribes	15
5	Taiwan Provincial Government: Paiwan and Rukai tribes .	16
6	Taiwan Provincial Government: Location of Paiwan and Rukai tribes and subtribes	17
7	Kano: Classification of the 'Paiwan'	19
8	Kano: Location of the 'Paiwan'	20
9	Wei: Classification of the 'Paiwan'	22
10	Wei: Location of the 'Paiwan'	23
11	Men's clothing: Tê-wen village	32
12	Men's clothing: San-ti village	33
13	Women's clothing: Mao-lin village	34
14	Women's clothing: San-ti village	34
15	Women's clothing: Tai-wu village	35
16	Women's and men's clothing: Kuo-shih village	36
17	Ball-game: Wu-tai village	42
18	Dancing in bride's courtyard on wedding day: Wu-tai village	42
19a	Evening dancing on wedding day: Pei-yeh village	43
19b	Evening dancing on wedding day: Pei-yeh village	43
20	Village repertoire	54
21	Arc formation with closed circle: Wu-tai village	59
22	Leg motifs in Labanotation	62

Figure		Page
23	Frequency of Leg Motifs	63
24	Leg motifs (Sharing Chart)	66
25	Frequency of line of direction-starting leg	68
26	Front-basket-hold, arm-hold: San-ti village	70
27	Head and tail dancers, front-basket-hold: Ta-shê village	70
28	Head and tail dancers, side-hold: Ku-lou village	71
29	Arm motifs in Labanotation	72
30	Frequency of arm motifs	73
31	Frequency of ground plans	80
32	Relationship: Arm and leg motifs	82
33	Relationship: Leg motifs and sex distribution	85
34	Dance-based classification: Pingtung 'Paiwan'	90
35	Dance-based location: Pingtung 'Paiwan'	91

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The field work for this study was conducted in Pingtung County, Taiwan over a five-month period in 1976 from February to July. Upon arrival in Taiwan, I found out by chance that an aboriginal culture center would be built near Santimen town in Pingtung County. Previously established aboriginal culture centers elsewhere in Taiwan have been largely responsible for the introduction of an "improved" (改良 kai-lan) dance style which is in fact a pan-aboriginal style. The "improved" dance style is performed primarily for entertainment of a non-aboriginal audience. Many aboriginal villages have either adopted or incorporated this style into their repertoire. In the "improved" dance, differences in styles among the several aboriginal tribes are disregarded; instead, one synthesized style is designated "aboriginal".

The Field

The Paiwan (排灣族 Paiwan tsu) occupy the southernmost part of the central mountain range and the southern foothills of the island of Taiwan. According to the Taiwan government, the Institute of Ethnology-Academia Sinica (in Taiwan) and anthropologists, the majority of the Paiwan tribe live in Pingtung County, although some Paiwan villages are located in Taitung County in eastern Taiwan. The Paiwan villages are located at elevations between 500 and 1,300 meters above sea level (Anonymous 1972:5). Of the 300,000 Taiwan aborigines on the island today, approximately 45,000 are Paiwan, of which roughly 42,000

live in Pingtung County (Anonymous [Chinese] 1974: Table 20). The majority of the Rukai tribe (魯凱族 Rukai tsu), (also known as Tsarisen or mountain people) live in the territory north of the Pingtung Paiwan (in San-ti township of Pingtung County and the adjacent Mao-lin township of Kao-hsiung County). A few Rukai villages are also located in Bi-nan township of Taitung County in eastern Taiwan. Of the total aboriginal population on the island today, approximately 6,300 are Rukai, of which roughly 5,000 live in northern Pingtung County (San-ti township) and Kao-hsiung County (Mao-lin township).

With the assistance of the Pingtung County government, I was able to travel to villages in different townships. I was eager to learn the "traditional" (固有 ku-yu) or "old" (古老 ku-lao)* dances, and to record them before they are either incorporated into the "improved" style or displaced by it. However, I did not have an opportunity to observe the "traditional" dances in all the villages, so those villages in which I saw dances of the "improved" style only are excluded from this study.

Two Rukai villages (one situated in northern Pingtung County and the other in Kao-hsiung County) are included in the study since most anthropologists consider Paiwan and Rukai cultures similar. Another reason for including the Rukai is their proximity; in fact, some Rukai live in Paiwan villages in northern Pingtung County. Acculturation is extensive between the two peoples.

*My informants used these two words ("traditional" and "old") interchangeably.

The locations of the villages (arranged in a north to south order) in which data were collected are shown in Figure 1.

<u>Village(村 ts'un)</u>	<u>Township(鄉 hsiang)</u>	<u>County(村 hsien)</u>
To-na 多納	Mao-lin 茂林	Kao-hsiung 高雄
Wu-tai 霧臺	Wu-tai 霧臺	Pingtung 屏東
Ta-shê 大社	San-ti 三地	"
Tê-wen 德文	"	"
San-ti 三地	"	"
Pei-yeh 北葉	Ma-chia 瑪家	"
Chia-yeh 佳義	"	"
Tai-wu 泰武	Tai-wu 泰武	"
Ku-lou 古樓	Lai-i 來義	"
Chun-jih 春日	Chun-jih 春日	"
Shih-men 石門	Mu-tan 牡丹	"
Kuo-shih 高士	"	"

Figure 1: Villages in this Study

The township and village locations are shown in the map in Figure 2.

Limitations

There are three main limitations in this study: 1) the decision to select Pingtung County as the field was based upon the general agreement of anthropologists and the Taiwan government that this County is the home of the Paiwan tribe, 2) the criteria for considering the dances as "traditional" or "old" was based exclusively on their being so designated by 'Paiwan' informants, and 3) the age of

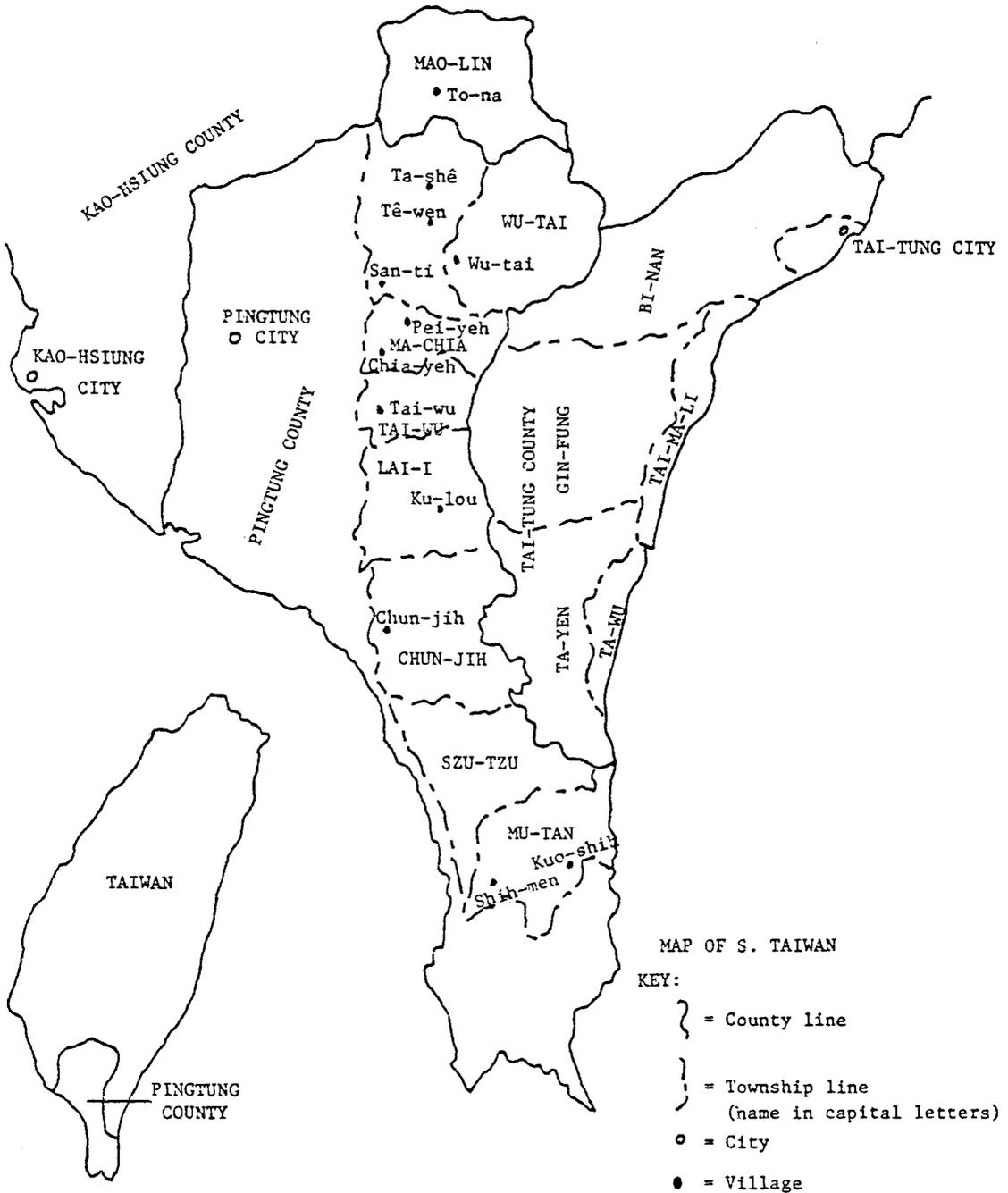


Figure 2: Location of Villages in this Study

informants was limited to roughly 40 years and up because the 'Paiwan' consider such persons the knowledge retainers of the "traditional" or "old" culture. No independent research was undertaken in any of the above three.

Purpose

While I was travelling from village to village, the one thing that impressed me most were the similarities and differences in the dance movement vocabulary of different regions. It seemed to me that dance, like other aspects of culture (e.g. language), is equally valid as a means of tribal classification. So I became interested in finding out if the traditional dance has distinct tribal and subtribal territories or boundaries, and if so, whether these agree with other classifications.

My data is limited in scope in two ways: 1) it does not include the Paiwan villages in Taitung County or in Szu-tzu township of Pingtung County, and 2) not all of the different dance types were observed in each village. Some informants remember and can reconstruct more than others, so the data collected in each village may not necessarily represent the entire village repertoire of the present or recent past.

As a result, the main contribution of this study is limited to a description and analysis of the dance culture of the Pingtung 'Paiwan' as I witnessed it, and a suggestive rather than a conclusive dance-based tribal classification of the Pingtung 'Paiwan'.

Format

References are given as internal citations which refer to the References Cited. Direct quotations are entered between quotation marks or indented and single spaced. Where Chinese material is translated into English giving the general meaning, no quotation marks are used. Explanatory notes are given as footnotes. A foreign word (in Chinese characters) and transliteration are enclosed in parentheses following the English (translation). Following Chinese practice, the surname of a foreign author is written before the given name. Maps drawn for this study are based on maps published by the Taiwan government.

CHAPTER II
LAND AND PEOPLE

Taiwan, also known as Formosa, lies between Japan and the Philippines. It is situated off the southeastern coast of mainland China and separated from Fukien province by the Taiwan Strait. "Small islands off Taiwan further serve as stepping-stones between Taiwan and mainland China on the west, and the Philippines on the south--the Pescadores in the former case and Botel Tobago and the Bataan and Babuyan islands in the latter" (Chang 1969:1).

Taiwan may be divided into six major geographical regions (Figure 3): 1) the northern mountains, 2) the northern foothills and basins, 3) the western foothills and plains, 4) the southern foothills and plains, 5) the central mountain range, and 6) the eastern mountains and basins. The central mountain range which runs from north to south is important ethnologically because it is believed by many aborigines to be their ancestral home.

People

The population of Taiwan is comprised of two distinct ethnic groups, the native aborigines and the Chinese. The aborigines occupy the more mountainous regions. Physically and culturally, they belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family. Many of them are completely sinicized, live among the Chinese and are indistinguishable from them. The total population as recorded in 1974 is nearly 15.6 million (Anonymous [English] 1974 [i]). The total population of the aborigines (excluding

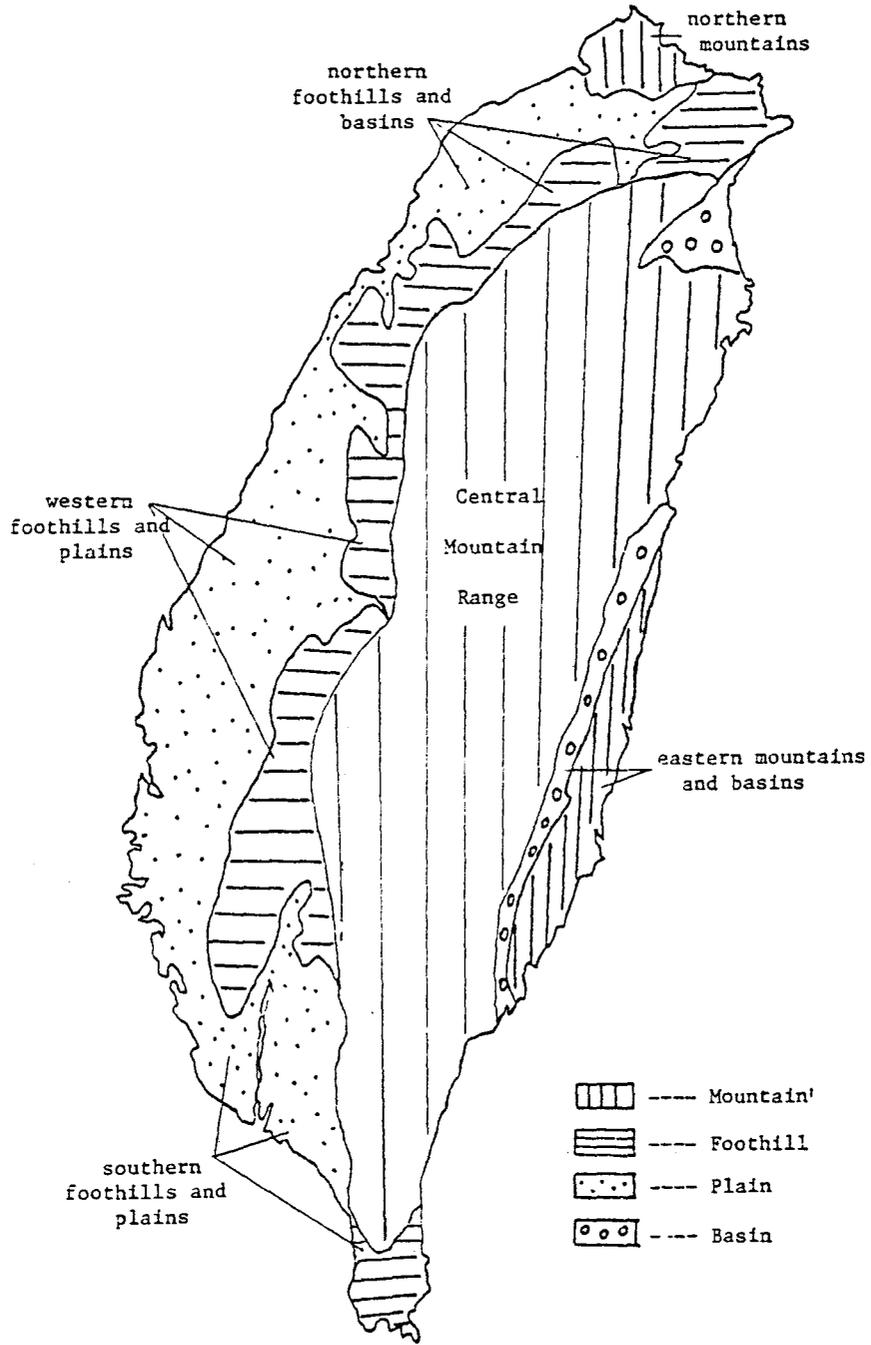


Figure 3: Physical Geography of Taiwan

the sinicized ones) is about 300,000.

Each of the nine aboriginal tribes (Chapter III) has its own spoken but no written language. Since 1945, the Mandarin dialect of the Chinese language has been the official language of Taiwan. Other dialects spoken are Amoy (Fukienese) and Hakka. Japanese is also widely spoken among the older generations (especially the aborigines) who learned it at school when they were under Japanese rule.

Prehistory

"Despite the speculative role of Formosa in Pleistocene [1,000,000-50,000 B.C.] Sino-Malayan faunal migrations when a land bridge connected the island with China and the Philippines, no conclusive evidence of Paleolithic man has been brought to light" (Chang 1969:215). The next prehistoric culture unearthed is the Corded Ware culture of northern Taiwan. "The age of this culture is uncertain, but apparently it antedates, by a considerable interval, the subsequent prehistoric cultures that began around 2500 B.C." (Chang 1969:217). Archaeological finds do not indicate the presence of agriculture during this period.

The Lungshanoid culture emerged in central and southwestern Taiwan around 2,500 B.C. "The Lungshanoid cultures of central and southwestern Taiwan, accounting for the bulk of the prehistoric remains of the west coast and probably the population ancestral to the present-day aborigines, can definitely be traced to the Lungshanoid cultures of the southeastern coastal areas of China" (Chang 1969:238). Archaeological finds indicate the presence of agriculture. The variety of

pottery found has been of interest. Chang Kwang-Chih suggests that:

"While internal development from one type of pottery to another is far from impossible, it seems more likely, from the variety of pottery and stone inventories at the Lungshanoid sites, that the Lungshanoid inhabitants arrived at the island in different waves at different localities at different times."

(1969:220)

Also beginning around 2,500 B.C., a culture decisively different from the Lungshanoid is known to have existed in northern Taiwan. This is the Yüan-Shan culture. Archaeological finds suggest that they were essentially non-Chinese both culturally and physically. Chang Kwang-Chih (in the same book as above) suggests several alternative hypotheses:

"It could be descended from the Corded Ware culture, brought about by inspiration and influx from the Lungshanoid and from cultures of southwest China and Indochina. It could also be a new culture coming, as it were, from the latter direction. It was a prosperous though highly isolated culture during the last two thousand years before Christ, but it was intruded into and partially absorbed by the Lungshanoid cultures ascending from the south during the last centuries before Christ."

(1969:251)

No significant accounts of the aborigines are known until around 1,600 A.D. when large numbers of immigrants entered Taiwan from mainland China. Therefore, a tremendous amount of research is needed to fill the gap between archaeology and ethnology.

Ethnohistory

Throughout historic times, Taiwan has been under the influence of various cultures. The first mention of Taiwan appeared as early as the Han dynasty (漢 206 B.C.-219 A.D.) in a historical work titled Ch'ien Han Shu (前漢書) which covers the period from 206 B.C. to 24 A.D. (Wei and Ho 1956:3 and Figure 2). After the Han dynasty, Taiwan has always been included in Chinese history, though under different names. It was not until the Ming dynasty (明 1368-1663 A.D.) that the name Taiwan (臺灣 meaning a table land in the gulf) came into existence.

Immigration of Chinese settlers into Taiwan started around the South Sung dynasty (南宋 1127-1277 A.D.). Most of these were fishermen from the southwest and southeast coasts (mainly Fukien and Kwangtung provinces) of China. Subsequent immigrations took place during the transition periods between the South Sung (1127-1277 A.D.), Yüan (元 1277-1368 A.D.), Ming (1368-1663 A.D.) and Ching (清 1663-1912 A.D.) dynasties.

From the 14th to 16th centuries until the maritime powers of the West began to penetrate the Far East in the 17th century, Taiwan was a base for Chinese and Japanese pirates and traders. Then, Taiwan was better known to the West as Formosa (Ilha Formosa meaning 'beautiful island'), a name bestowed by Portuguese sailors. The Dutch ruled and occupied the southern and western parts of the island through the Dutch West Indies Company from 1624 till 1661, when they were expelled by the Chinese and the aborigines under the leadership of Chang Cheng-Kung

(鄭成功 , better known to the West as Koxinga), a loyal supporter of the Ming dynasty. While the Dutch were in southern and western Taiwan, the north was controlled and occupied by the Spanish for 17 years. The Spanish were finally driven out by the Dutch in 1642.

During the 18th and 19th centuries (Ching dynasty), a great number of mainland Chinese migrated to Taiwan. This influx greatly altered the island's population. As a result, the lowland aborigines were either sinicized or pushed further into the mountains. In 1895 at the end of the Sino-Japanese war, Taiwan was ceded to Japan which ruled for 50 years. At the end of World War II, Taiwan was restored to Chinese rule, and from then on, Taiwan has been a part of the Republic of China.

Intensive contacts with Far Eastern and European powers from 17th century until today, caused deep and rapid changes in the ways of life and value system of the Taiwan aborigines. Thus, in studying the Taiwan aborigines today, it is necessary to bear in mind that the Taiwan aboriginal cultures are not pure, "authentic", and untouched cultures, but rather existing cultures that have been influenced and changed through time.

CHAPTER III

ORIGIN AND CLASSIFICATION

Little is known of the exact origin of the Taiwan aborigines. Chinese historians reported that on the arrival of early Chinese immigrants in the island, different tribes with totally incomprehensible languages were found living in various parts of the island. Subsequent accounts, mostly general description regarding the aborigines by Chinese and Europeans, afford little information regarding the aborigines. Serious scholarly studies of the aborigines were not undertaken until Japanese anthropologists carried on systematic investigations during the Japanese occupation (1895-1945).

Scholars generally agree that physically the aborigines are Malay; linguistically they belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family; and culturally they are Austronesian (Anonymous 1972:1). Not all aboriginal tribes arrived in Taiwan at the same time nor all settled in the same area. Some tribes trace their ancestry in Taiwan to an earlier date than others, each tribe claiming a unique ancestral home in their myths and legends. Some say their ancestral homes were in the mountains, others in the plains and coastal areas, and yet others overseas. Some pinpoint the exact location while others are rather vague. For example, the Paiwan tribe claims Tawu Mountain (大武山 Ta-wu Shan) in the south of the central mountain range as their ancestral home, while the Rukai claims the legendary Kalia Mountain as theirs (Wei 1952:3).

Before 1945, most Japanese scholars held the single-origin theory of migration. They believed that the aborigines came from the south through the Malayan Archipelago. However, post-1945 archaeological finds and anthropological studies reveal diverse origins and migration routes: 1) from the Chinese mainland to Taiwan, and 2) from the Chinese mainland through Indo-China, Indonesia and the Philippines to Taiwan. In both cases, their cultures were apparently untouched by the three great Far Eastern civilizations (Chinese, Indian and Arabic), suggesting therefore that the aborigines must have arrived in Taiwan at least 3,500 years ago.

General classifications

Though living on the same island, the aboriginal tribes have distinct cultures. Early classifications of the aborigines were based mainly on their degree of sinicization; around the 17th century, they were called 'raw-savages' (生蕃 Sheng-fan) and 'ripe-savages' (熟蕃 Shu-fan). Later, these terms were replaced by geographical classification such as 'high mountain tribes' (高山族 Kao-shan tsu) and 'plains tribes' (平埔族 Ping-pu tsu). Among the Japanese anthropologists, different criteria are utilized for classification: genealogy, linguistics, material culture, mythology, physical-type, and religion. The most widely accepted classification, adopted by the Institute of Ethnology-Academia Sinica, divides the aborigines into nine tribes (Figure 4): 1) Atayal, 2) Saisiat, 3) Bunun, 4) Tsou, 5) Rukai, 6) Paiwan, 7) Puyuma, 8) Ami, and 9) Yami. Figures 5 and 6 show the geographical location of the Paiwan and Rukai tribes by the Taiwan

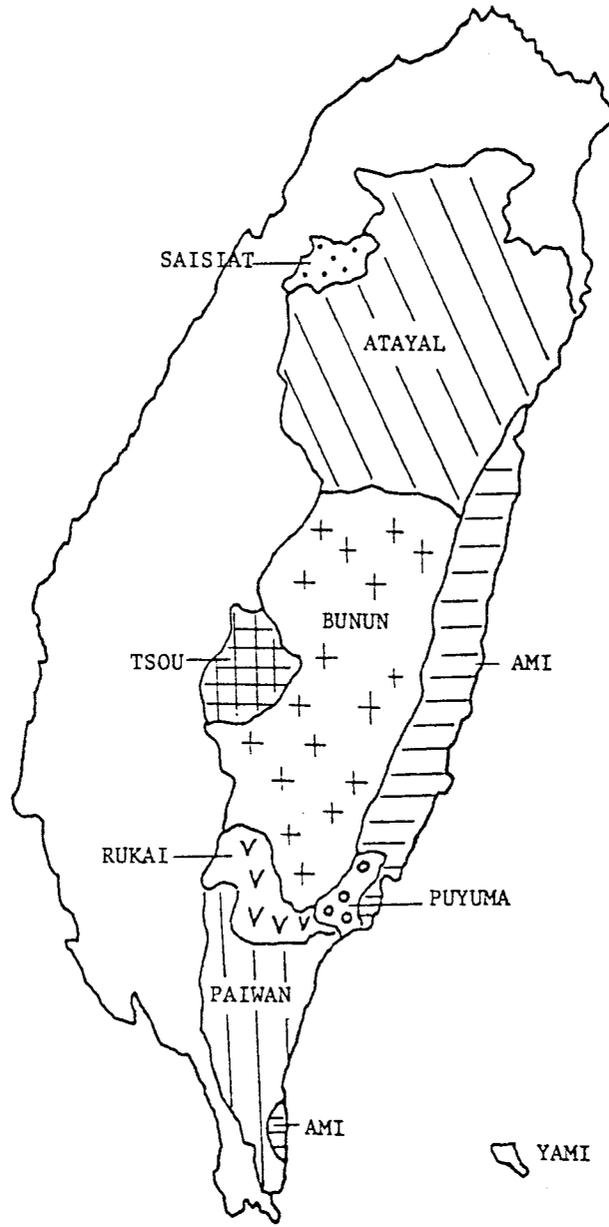


Figure 4: Location of Taiwan Aborigines

Provincial Government (Anonymous 1971:4-5):

<u>Tribe</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Township</u>
Paiwan	Kao-hsiung	Mao-lin
	Pingtung	San-ti
		Ma-chia
		Tai-wu
		Lai-i
		Chun-jih
		Szu-tzu
		Mu-tan
		Taitung
		Ta-yeh
	Gin-fung	
	Ta-wu	
	Tai-ma-li	
Rukai	Pingtung	Wu-tai
	Kao-hsiung	Mao-lin

Figure 5: Taiwan Provincial Government:
Paiwan and Rukai Tribes.

The 'Paiwan'

The name Paiwan has been used in two ways: 1) as a single tribe (Paiwan), and 2) as a composite ('Paiwan') for the Paiwan, Rukai and in some cases the Puyuma tribe (in eastern Taiwan). In the latest English source that I have encountered on the Taiwan aborigines, Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia, Vol. II: Philippines and Formosa, the term 'Paiwan' is used as a composite for the Paiwan and Rukai tribes (Lebar 1975).

The material of this section is drawn mostly from Tso Tsu P'ien (曹族篇) by Wei Hwei-Lin, and Tai-wan K'ao Ku Hsüeh Min Tsu Hsüeh

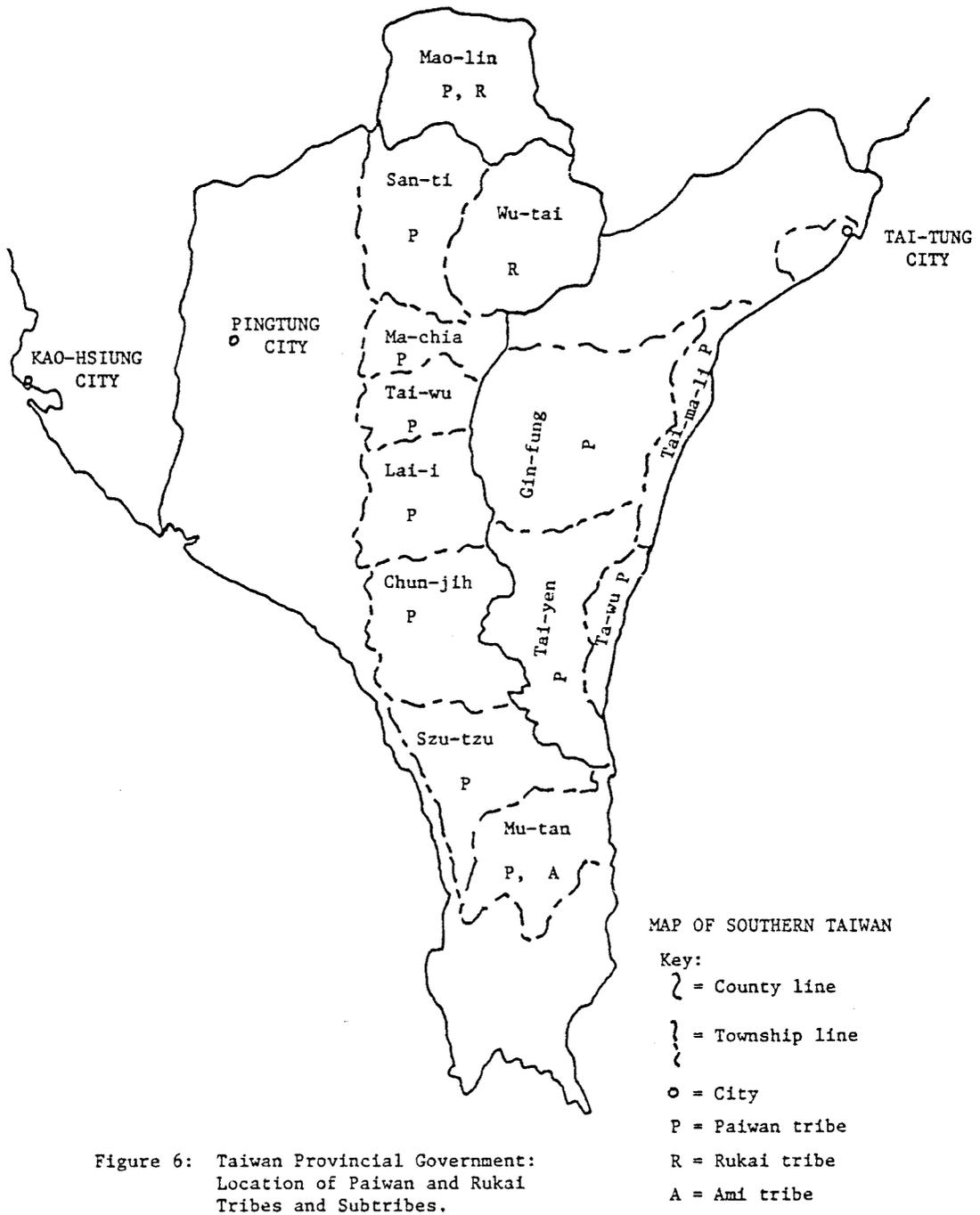


Figure 6: Taiwan Provincial Government: Location of Paiwan and Rukai Tribes and Subtribes.

K'ai Kuan (臺灣考古民族學概觀) by Sung Wen-Hsun. The latter is a Chinese translation of Kano Tadao's Tōnan Ajiya Minzokugaku Senshigaku Kenkyū, Vol. II (東南亞細亞民族先史學研究第二卷).

Of the sources I have read, I have chosen to discuss two classifications: one by Kano Tadao and the other by Wei Hwei-Lin. This choice is based upon the fact that within my knowledge, Kano and Wei present the most detailed subclassifications of the Paiwan and Rukai tribes. Locations of the subtribes are also indicated.

In 1939, using material culture as his main criterion, Kano presented a classification using the term 'Paiwan' compositely. In Figure 7, the parts of Kano's classification that are relevant to this study are presented in the left hand column. The county and township designations are updated to their current names. The map in Figure 8 shows Kano's location of the 'Paiwan' subtribes.

According to Kano (basing his assumptions on Paiwan's oral history), the West Paiwan group may be the oldest group among the Paiwan subtribe, and the Chaoboobol group a southward continuation of it. Kano also suggests that the East Coast group of the Suqaroqaro subtribe may be a mixture of Paiwan, Puyuma and even Ami tribes. The Parilarilao group also of the same subtribe may be related to the East Coast group; however, some scholars (e.g. Miyamoto Nobuto) support the theory that the Parilarilao may be a southward continuation of the West Paiwan group.

In 1952, Wei Hwei-Lin modified Kano's classification and presented two slightly different versions (Wei 1952:12,28-29):

<u>PAIWAN TRIBE</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Township</u>
A. Rukai Subtribe		
1. Torokuka-Kongatawan-Oponohu group	Kao-hsiung	Mao-lin
2. West Rukai group	Pingtung	Wu-tai
3. East Rukai group	Taitung	Bi-nan
B. Paiwan Subtribe		
4. West Paiwan group		
a. Raval sub-group	Pingtung	San-ti
b. Butsul sub-group	Pingtung	Ma-chia
c. Pau-maumaq sub-group	Pingtung	Tai-wu
5. Chaoboobol group		
a. Chaoboobol sub-group	Pingtung	Chun-jih Szu-tzu
b. Sabdek sub-group	Taitung	Ta-yen Gin-fung
6. East Paiwan group (also known as Pa-qaro-qaro)	Taitung	Gin-fung Tai-ma-li
C. Suqaroqaro Subtribe		
7. Parilarilao group		
	Pingtung	Chin-jih Mu-tan
8. East Coast group		
	Taitung	Tai-ma-li Ta-wu

Figure 7: Kano: Classification of the 'Paiwan'.

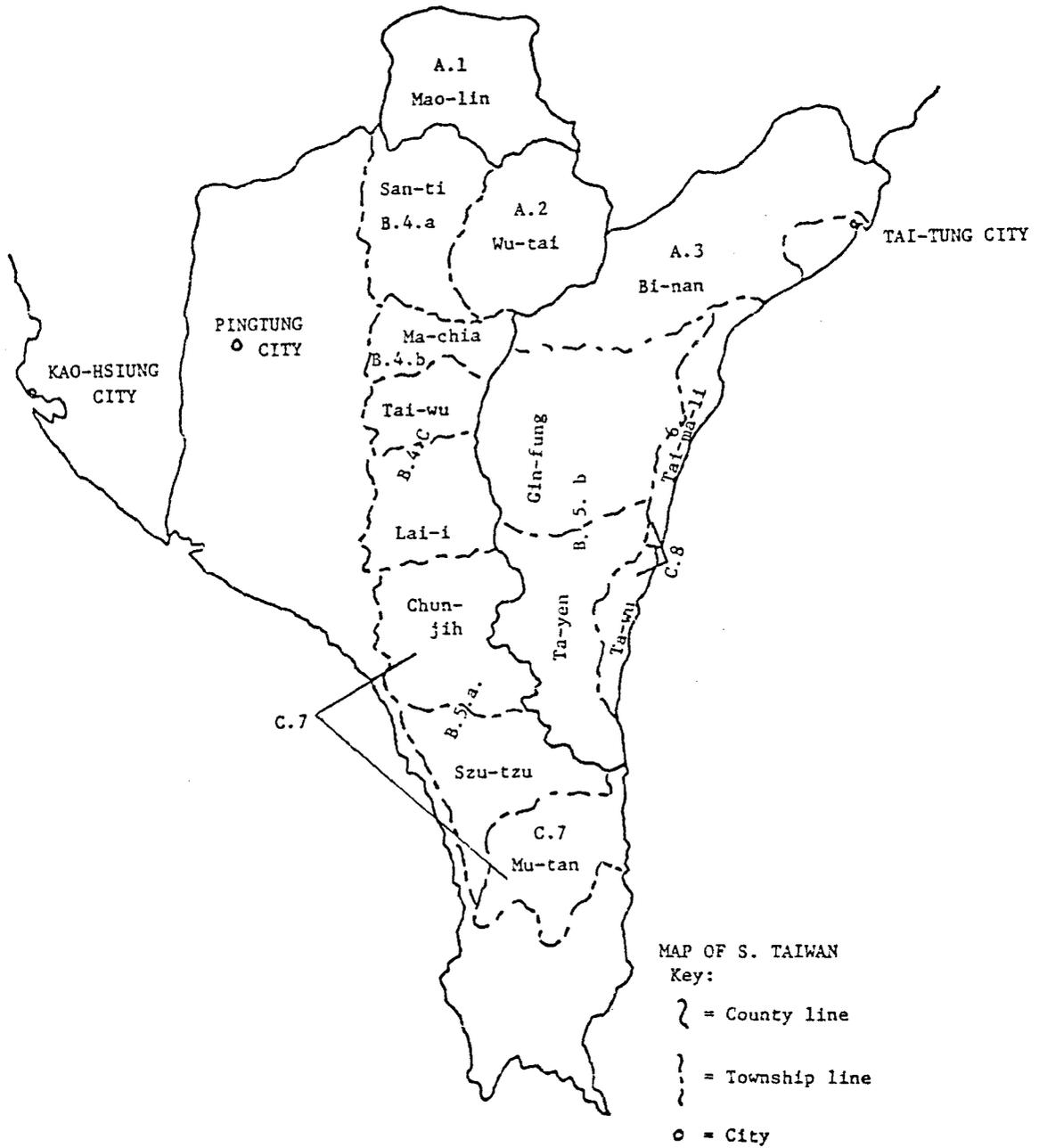


Figure 8: Kano: Location of the 'Paiwan'.

1. On page 12, he groups Wu-tai township under the Paiwan tribe whereas on page 28, he groups it under the Rukai.
2. On page 12, he groups Chun-jih township under the Butsul whereas on page 28, he groups it under the Chaoboobol.
3. On page 12, he groups Mu-tan and Szu-tzu townships under the Parilarilao, whereas on page 29, he groups Mu-tan and Man-chou townships under the same name (i.e. Parilarilao).

Figure 9 presents Wei's classification presented on page 28 of his book. The parts of Wei's classification that are relevant to this study are presented in the left hand column. The county and township designations are updated to their current names. The map in Figure 10 shows Wei's location of the 'Paiwan' subtribes.

The classifications by Kano and Wei will be referred to again in Chapter VII in the discussion of regional dance differences. In the remainder of this study, the designation 'Paiwan' (i.e. enclosed in single quotation marks) will refer to the Paiwan and Rukai tribes jointly.

<u>V. RUKAI TRIBE</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Township</u>
A. Torokuka-Kongatawan- Oponohu group	Kao-hsiung	Mao-lin
B. Rukai group	Pingtung	Wu-tai
C. Taromak group	Taitung	Bi-nan
<u>VI. PAIWAN TRIBE</u>		
A. Raval Subtribe	Pingtung	San-ti (North)
B. Butsul Subtribe		
1. Pau-maumaq group	Pingtung	San-ti (South) Ma-chia Tai-wu Lai-i
2. Chaoboobol group	Pingtung	Chun-jih Szu-tzu
3. Parilarilao group	Pingtung	Mu-tan Man-chou
4. Paqaroqaro group (also known as Pakarokaro)	Pingtung	Gin-fung Ta-yen Ta-wu Tai-ma-li

Figure 9: Wei: Classification of the 'Paiwan'.

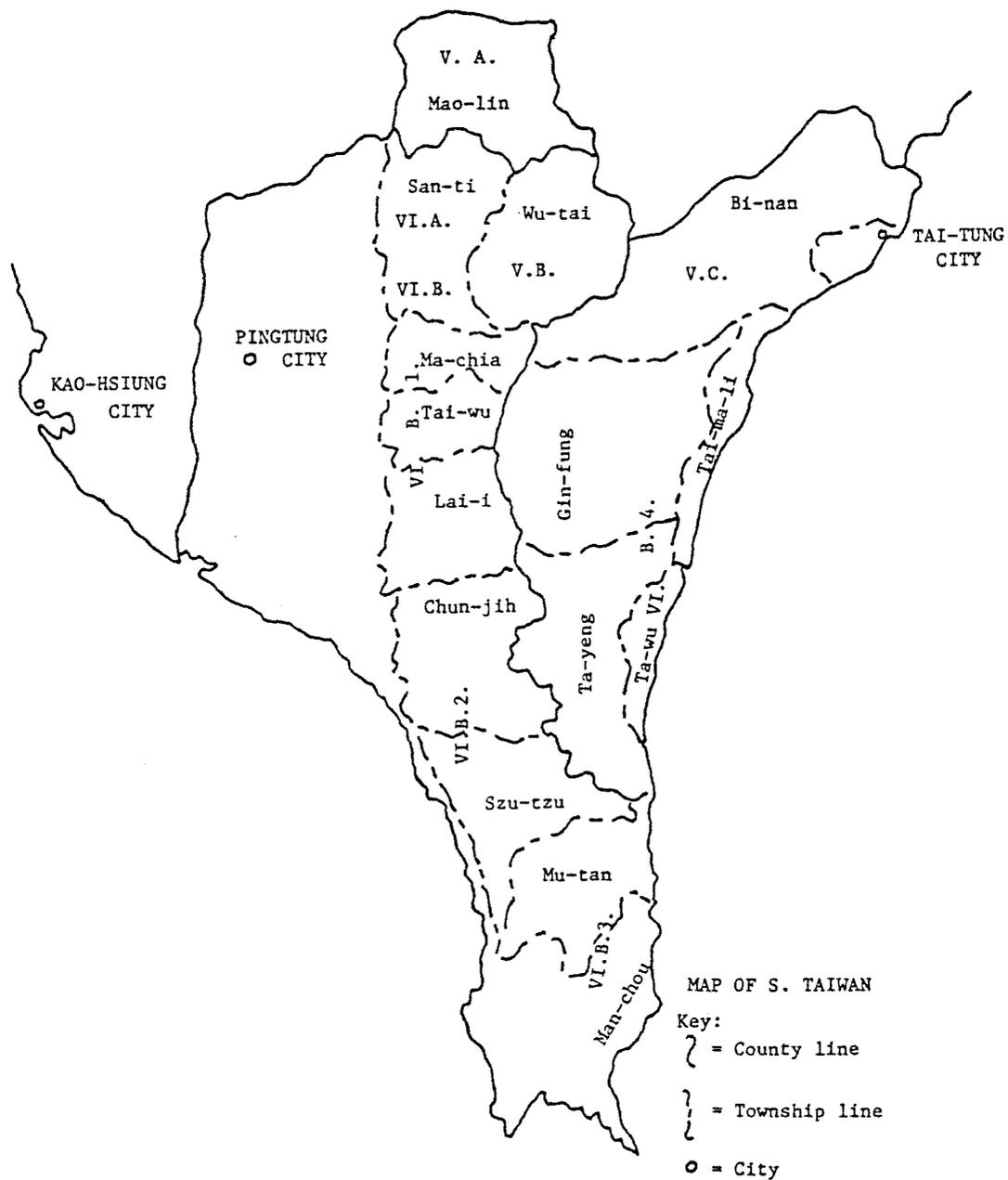


Figure 10: Wei: Location of the 'Paiwan'.

CHAPTER IV

'PAIWAN' CULTURE

'Paiwan' culture is a loose grouping with local diversity. In material culture, the Rukai and the northern Pingtung Paiwan are nearly indistinguishable, and therefore will be treated together as 'Paiwan'. Local diversity, wherever applicable, is pointed out. The information below on material culture and means of subsistence is drawn mostly from Material Culture of the Formosan Aborigines by Chen Chi-Lu (1968).

Traditional 'Paiwan' Culture

'Paiwan' society is the only one among all Taiwan aborigines that is socially stratified. There are two classes: aristocrat and commoner. There is a big chief (大頭目 ta t'ou mu) and several lesser chiefs (小頭目 hsiao t'ou mu) within a village. They belong to the aristocracy and have special privileges. 'Paiwan' villages are governed primarily by two councils: the aristocratic council which is comprised of all the aristocratic household-heads, and the village council which is comprised of all the other household-heads. Both councils are headed by the big chief.

The household which was first established in a village is regarded as the grand lineage of the village. Succession to the position of household-head is by male primogeniture among the Rukai and some northern Pingtung Paiwan; the rest of the Pingtung Paiwan practice strict primogeniture allowing the eldest, whether male or female, to succeed. When other offspring marry, they have to leave and establish their own new households which are considered of a lesser lineage.

This practice applies to both the aristocrats and commoners.

The 'Paiwan' kinship system is a lineage group with the family as its nucleus. It is bilateral and the relative-group embraces five generations. 'Paiwan' practice monogamy. A wife or husband (in ambilanak marriage) is acquired by bride/husband wealth. Patrilocal, matriloca and neolocal residences are found in 'Paiwan' society. As a rule, the eldest child (regardless of sex) remains in the family after marriage. In contrast, in Rukai society, the eldest male (if there is one) remains. In cases in which both spouses are eldest children, the couple lives in the household that is the richer and higher in rank. Neolocal system applies to couples neither of whom is an eldest child and who have to move out and build a new home. Since all households may be "related" in varying degrees of genealogical seniority to the chiefly households, there is no restriction as to marriage between the classes; however, class-endogamy is preferred by the aristocrats.

'Paiwan' traditionally earn their livelihood by agriculture, stockbreeding, hunting and fishing, the first two of which are most important. Although sweet-potato and taro are their staple food, millet is considered the most valuable crop because it is sacred. Traditionally, 'Paiwan' practice slash-and-burn agriculture. Domestic animals are indispensable items in religious rituals and rites of passage such as birth, marriage and death. Pigs, chickens, and cows are kept. Before agriculture became the most important means of livelihood, hunting (either singly or by a team) was the main occupation. Wild game was formerly the main source of protein because pigs and

chickens were only for sacrifices. There are three types of stimulants consumed: wine (traditionally home-made from millet), tobacco and betelnut. The latter two are not cultivated.

Among the 'Paiwan', hunting, fishing, and planting are done by men, but women are responsible for harvesting and stockbreeding (men can help in the slaying of animals). Food is prepared by both sexes and stimulants can be consumed by both. Traditionally, the aristocrats (regardless of sex) do not work although the men may participate in hunting and fishing if they wish; and the women embroider.

There is little concern with cosmology among the 'Paiwan'. Two prominent motifs in their myths and legends are the sun and the hundred-pace snake. These are symbols of the chiefly households--in fact many villagers believe that the hundred-pace snake is the "ancestor" of the chiefly house. 'Paiwan' believe there are pantheons of deities who are responsible for natural catastrophes, and therefore have to be propitiated. There is also a belief of a spirit world in which souls of the dead reside. Priests are responsible for dealing with the deities and shamans with the spirits.

Many types of taboos are observed by the 'Paiwan'. They can be divided into those related to rites of passage and to economic activities. Dreams are significant omens and so are direction of flight, sound and sex of a bird.

Rituals are conducted by priests or shamans. A priest is a person with great knowledge. There are family priests and village priests. A family priest is an elder of either sex. Each family has a family priest who, in most cases, is a member of that family (if no family

member is qualified, a priest from another family can be hired). There are two village priests in a village and they can be of either sex. The village priests are concerned with village-level rituals and the family priests with family-level rituals. Shamans are usually female and are distinguished by their supernatural power. A shaman can also be a family priest.

'Paiwan' rituals can be divided into three categories: 1) those connected with village affairs, 2) those connected with family affairs, and 3) those connected with personal affairs (Shih 1971:171). The first category is comprised of the head-hunting ritual, the animal-hunting ritual, and the important Five-Year-Ritual. The second category is comprised of millet sowing and harvesting rituals, house-building rituals, and other minor rituals. The third category includes rituals for rites of passage.

1. Material Culture. 'Paiwan' material culture is related to the class system, and most local diversities are found within this cultural aspect. The most spectacular feature of the material culture is the stylized wood and stone carving. It is most highly developed among the Rukai and the northern Pingtung Paiwan. The main decoration motifs are stylized human heads and bodies, snakes, and geometric patterns. Except for the geometric patterns, these motifs are the property of the aristocracy. Carving is a leisure activity of male aristocrats since they do not have to work. Besides being symbols of the chiefly class, carving is also used for recording tribal history and for decoration.

Seven types of house structures are found among the 'Paiwan': dwelling house, men's house (found only in the Taromak Rukai on the

east coast), courtyard, resting platform, outdoor granary (with rat guard), working hut, and privy. The privies of the northern Pingtung Paiwan are attached to the dwelling house and used as a pigsty as well, whereas those of the southern Pingtung Paiwan are separated from the house. Courtyard and resting platforms of the chiefly houses serve as public meeting places.

Most 'Paiwan' dwelling houses have only one room. The emergence of houses with more than one room results from Chinese influence. All 'Paiwan' houses belong to the front-entrance type. Two styles of houses according to floor level can be seen: 1) semi-subterranean (among the Rukai and northern Pingtung Paiwan), and 2) ground level (among the central and southern Pingtung Paiwan). Among the Rukai and the northern Pingtung Paiwan, the roofs and floors are covered with slate. Thatched roofs and dirt floors are found among the central and southern Pingtung Paiwan. Walls are made of stones in the north and adobe in the south. The houses of the aristocracy are usually carved with symbols of their rank whereas the houses of the commoners are usually without decoration and are smaller in size. House-building is the work of men, although women may gather the grass for thatched roofs.

Although the 'Paiwan' possess earthenware, it is no longer made. The remaining pots are possessed by the aristocrats, regarded as precious inheritance, and treated as sacred objects. Baskets are made from natural materials such as bamboo and rattan. Although the Rukai and Paiwan create similar styles of basketry, they differ in their labor division. Among the Paiwan, basketry is done by men, but among the Rukai, it is done by women.

The 'Paiwan' use the back-strap horizontal loom for weaving. Textiles are traditionally made of ramie. Four types of textile designs are present: 1) in-woven designs, 2) embroidery (most common among the northern Pingtung Paiwan and the Rukai), 3) appliqué, and 4) beadwork. Appliqué is practiced only by the 'Paiwan' among all Taiwan aborigines. White designs on a black, green or blue background are prominent among the northern Pingtung Paiwan and the Rukai, whereas red designs on black background or vice versa are found among the southern Pingtung Paiwan. Although beadwork is practiced by all 'Paiwan', it is most popular among the northern Pingtung Paiwan.

2. Daily Attire. Daily attire can be divided into four categories: 1) headgear, 2) clothing, 3) ornaments, and 4) Tattoo. Examples from the first three categories are shown in Figures 11-16.

Headgear

Two types of headgear are worn by the men: caps made of animal's skin and hats made of animal's scalp (with antlers or ears in place). Headgear is worn mostly by the aristocrats and great hunters. A noble can also wear other headgear decorations made of cloth, feathers, beads, wild boar's tusks or leopard-cat's teeth. Women usually wear a headband made of black cloth. However, in some villages, the headband is elaborated into a crown of flowers, grass or tree leaves, and is sometimes worn by men.

Clothing

The main garments worn by men are: a waistcloth, an upper garment, and leg-cloths. The northern Pingtung Paiwan men wear a

skirt-like waistcloth which is usually made of a piece of black cotton sewn onto a belt. Those worn by the nobility are embroidered or beaded. Among the southern Pingtung Paiwan, the waistcloth is often made of two pieces of red cloth.

The upper garment is a short jacket made by sewing two pieces of cloth together. It is found among the majority of the 'Paiwan'. In some villages (e.g. Ku-lou village), the jacket is similar to a Chinese jacket with long sleeves, neck opening, and Chinese style loops and knobs for fastening. Jackets worn by the nobility of northern Pingtung are richly decorated with embroidery and beads, whereas those worn by the nobility of southern Pingtung are usually ornamented with appliqué in red and black. "This type of jacket was probably introduced by the Chinese" (Chen 1968:167). Knee-length jackets made of animal's skin or fur are sometimes worn by the chiefs over the upper garment on special occasions.

Leg-cloths are made by sewing two pieces of cloth the length of the calf to a belt. The belt is tied around the waist in such a way that each of the attached cloths covers the front of each leg. The cloth is tied to the lower leg with strings. On some occasions, nobles wear leg-cloths the length of the leg with alternating vertical colored stripes running down the whole length of the leg-cloths. Traditionally, men wear no footwear.

The main garments worn by women are: a skirt, an upper garment, leg-cloths and footwear. The skirt is made of a piece of black cotton cloth and sewn onto a belt. Those worn by the nobles are decorated with embroidery, beads and appliqué. Among the southern Pingtung Paiwan,

the skirts are often red.

Over the skirt, 'Paiwan' women wear an upper garment which is similar to the Manchu women's "flag-dress". The areas around the neck opening, the cuffs, the sides, and the lower edges are often decorated. Those worn by the nobility are decorated with symbols associated with aristocracy.

Leggings, the length of the calf and tied on by small strings are worn by women. The only form of footwear is socks the length of the calf and made of a thick white cloth. These socks are worn by Rukai women of noble birth on ceremonial occasions only.

Ornaments

Ornaments worn by the 'Paiwan' are headdresses (see above hats made of scalp), ear ornaments, necklaces, breast ornaments, shoulder bands, wrist ornaments and leg ornaments. Multi-color beads, cowry shells and cone shells often serve as clothing ornaments. Headdresses decorated with teeth of leopard-cat and wild boar are worn only by the chiefs. The shells are sewn onto shoulder bands which resemble a soldier's sash. Silver coins dating back to the Dutch and Japanese colonial periods are sometimes used in place of shells.

Tattoo

Tattoo, a sign of aristocracy, was practiced by the 'Paiwan' nobles before its prohibition during the Japanese rule. A man was tattooed on the chest, arms, knees and calves, and a woman on the arms, back of hands, knees and calves. The designs were mainly lines and dots although stylized human heads and bodies as well as snake designs



Figure 11: Men's Clothing: Tê-wen village



Figure 12: Men's Clothing: San-ti village



Figure 13: Women's Clothing: Mao-lin village



Figure 14: Women's Clothing: San-ti village



Figure 15: Women's Clothing: Tai-wu village



Figure 16: Women's and Men's Clothing: Kuo-shih village

were also employed. Brave hunters could obtain permission from the chiefs to tattoo themselves, but other commoners were barred from the practice

The Changing 'Paiwan' Culture

Since the establishment of the Taiwan government in 1945, there has been a vast amount of change in the traditional 'Paiwan' society. The chiefly families lost their power, privileges and lands. They have to work like everyone else, although they still retain some influence in social and religious functions. Village-level governments are set up in place of the traditional aristocratic and village councils. The village head is elected by the people, and the staff is appointed by the government. The chiefs, instead of collecting taxes, are required to pay. Every man is subjected to military service. Compulsory education up to junior high school level is practiced.

Since the introduction of Christianity by the Dutch in the 17th century, many aborigines have been converted. Protestant and Catholic churches often co-exist in a village with priests and shamans. Priests and shamans are no longer influential, although they still carry out some minor functions. Nowadays, young people are often married in a church or by a local government official.

Agriculture is the most important means of subsistence. Nowadays, fields are being cleared and cultivated by modern methods. In recent years, wet-rice is also grown and the water buffalo was introduced for its cultivation. The government has instilled in the aborigines a sense of working hours. Now, both sexes work in the fields. Formerly, drinking, singing and dancing were the favorite activities of the

'Paiwan' at night. Nowadays, television and radio have replaced them.

There is a decline in the artistry of the 'Paiwan' material culture due to the lack of practice and interest. Woodcarving and stone carving are seldom done and houses are built in Chinese style. Sanitation is the main focus in house-keeping. Basketry and weaving are not taken up by the younger generations, although bead-work is still done to decorate clothing. Commercially sold materials are replacing traditionally woven textiles. Restrictions on decoration motifs are also relaxed.

Most of the 'Paiwan' have adopted Western clothing and footwear, although the older generations still adhere to the traditional mode of clothing. Traditional clothing is worn by the young as "costume" for performances and on special occasions such as a wedding.

Many of the young people (especially women) have moved to the towns and cities in search of a better life. The choice of mate is expanded to include the Chinese; however, the 'Paiwan' still prefer to marry a 'Paiwan'.

Changes have occurred in almost every aspect of 'Paiwan' culture, including dance and music. The particular changes in them will be discussed in the next chapter.

Special Events and Rituals

There are several events and rituals that deserve separate mention because of their special features or the intentional abstinence from dancing practiced by the 'Paiwan'.

1. The Five-Year Ritual and Six-Year-Ritual. Most of the 'Paiwan' but not the Rukai and the adjacent northern Pingtung Paiwan, celebrate the Five-Year-Ritual (五年祭 wu nien chi), also called malavo (Wei 1955:105), malavaq (Farrell 1969:45), malavuuq (Ho 1955:49) and maluva (Shih 1971:172) once every five years in late autumn. In this ritual, the ancestors and other spirits are summoned from their dwelling places to the villages, and are 'fed' and 'conducted' by priests around the villages to witness that ancestral customs are being observed. Depending on the region, this ritual can last from five to 11 days. Regardless of the duration, the actual day of ritualistic activities occurs only on the last day. The preceding days are for food and wine preparation. A special type of ball-game, called mavayaiya by Davidson, is held during this ritual (1905:575). A ball made of bark is tossed into the air by the priest, and the men of the village who surround the priest, compete to catch it on the ends of 45- to 50-foot bamboo lances (Figure 17). Some scholars report that the ball represents a spirit, but the majority believe it symbolizes heads acquired in head-hunting, and is a "survival of an ancient game in which human heads were tossed up as offerings to the spirits" (Davidson 1905:576). In any case, the victor of this game is believed to be blessed with good luck throughout the following five-year period. My informants in Wu-tai village consider this game a victory dance although the Five-Year-Ritual is not celebrated there.

In all the literature that I have encountered, the Six-Year-Ritual (六年祭 liu nien chi), also called pusao, is reported only by Wei Hwei-Lin in an article on Lai-i township (1955:105). While I was in Lai-i,

I witnessed some dances which my informants reported as dances of the Six-Year-Ritual. However, no ball-game as described above was mentioned. Neither the Rukai nor the adjacent northern Pingtung Paiwan celebrate this ritual.

2. Marriage. Marriage in 'Paiwan' society can be considered in four stages: courtship, wife-bargaining, engagement, and the wedding day. Courtship is a group activity in which eligible young men and women often get together in the evening to dance and sing. A young man seldom goes alone to visit a young woman; usually a group of young men go together. Wife-bargaining centers on the amount of bride-wealth, and if the settlement is agreeable to both sides, this stage is concluded with wine-drinking. The bride-wealth is inspected by the family of the bride-to-be on the engagement day. If they are pleased, the wedding date will be set.

Singing, dancing and drinking are major wedding activities. The duration of such activities is determined by the rank of the bride and groom. Dancing and singing may start any day before the wedding day and ends on the morning after. It is believed that the longer the duration of dancing, the more successful a marriage will be. During the days preceding the wedding day, dancing and singing are done in the evenings; on the wedding day, however, they begin in the morning. People can join or leave these activities at any time. Wine, betelnuts and sweets are passed around (from within the circle) to the dancers-singers during these activities without interrupting or stopping them.

Second marriage and re-marriage are frequent. No dancing is done if the woman is a widow, and dancing days are fewer in a re-marriage.

No ceremony is held for re-marriage of the elderly.

Another special feature on the wedding day of an aristocrat is the swing-game (打鞦韆 ta ch'ien ch'iu). The building of the swing is a joint effort of the bride's and groom's families. The swing is in the form of a tepee, with a rope hanging down from the top. A representative from each of the bride's and groom's family is chosen to climb up the rope to the top. If the groom's side fails, wine has to be offered to the bride's side as a punishment; if the bride's side fails, nothing has to be done (Shih 1971:115).

3. Victory Rituals. Head-hunting and animal-hunting rituals were conducted by the village priest before and after the hunt. Music and dance were not usually performed before the hunt but were major activities of a victory ritual after a successful hunt.

4. Death Ritual. Sickness and death rituals are conducted by shamans. No dancing or singing are done during mourning. The mode as well as the duration of the mourning period are determined by the rank of the deceased. If a big chief dies, the entire village has to mourn for a month. Traditionally, the 'Paiwan' buried their dead in a squatting position, a custom not practiced by other Taiwan aborigines. Indoor burial had been outlawed since the Japanese occupation.



Figure 17: Ball-Game: Wu-tai village



Figure 18: Dancing in Bride's Courtyard
on Wedding Day: Wu-tai village



Figure 19a: Evening Dancing on Wedding
Day: Pei-yeh village



Figure 19b: Evening Dancing on Wedding
Day: Pei-yeh village

CHAPTER V
TRADITIONAL DANCE

This chapter presents information elicited from the 'Paiwan' through interviews. Since dance and music are related, it is necessary to include some information about 'Paiwan' music.

Dance Music

Dances are performed to vocal music only and it is the associated song that gives a dance its name. Thus, one can say that a traditional 'Paiwan' dance has no name of its own. Vocal music is governed by the occasions on which it is sung. Although the number of song melodies is limited, freedom of text improvisation provides a channel for variation. Songs can be used to gossip or to ridicule, but never for quarrelling. To the 'Paiwan', singing comes naturally--one is born with the ability to sing. No story of the origin of music was elicited. The three most common ways songs can be sung are:

a) Call-Response

Both solo-chorus and chorus-chorus call-response singing are practiced, solo-chorus being the more frequently used for singing associated with dancing. Solo parts are not sung by the same person throughout. The leader of the dance is always the first soloist; subsequent solo parts may be sung by any dancer-singer. The leader (man or woman) tells the singers the type of song and its general textual content before the dance starts, and is the person who sets the tempo of the song and dance. The 'best' singer is usually the dance leader--'best' being judged by voice quality, volume and also

how well a person can improvise a text. 'Paiwan' song texts can also be of nonsense syllables.

b) Chorus

A chorus may be sex segregated (male or female) or not sex segregated (mixed chorus). Sometimes, a male and a female chorus simultaneously singing different songs (different melodies but with similar textual content) can be observed in dancing with composite circular units ground plan (see page 58).

c) Solo

A solo may be sung by either man or woman, regardless of age or rank.

1. Song Types. A song has no fixed length--it continues as long as someone has something to express. There are many existing song types, each performed for certain special occasions. The indigenous classification is based on the occasions for which the songs are sung:

a) Drinking Songs

These are sung during any individual or community celebration. A text may be improvised by a singer with no restriction in sex or age. Very often the 'Paiwan' gather at night after dinner to drink and sing. A wedding is a typical occasion for the delivery of drinking songs.

b) Ritual Songs

These are traditionally sung during harvest and sowing rituals, war and hunt rituals, thanksgiving rituals and special communal rituals such as the Five-Year-Ritual. Many of these songs are restrictive in terms of sex, age and rank of singers. Some are sung only by men

who have acquired a head (animal or human), and some are the property of the chiefly families.

c) Historical Songs

Historical songs recounting tribal history and genealogy are performed during rituals and are not improvised. Those sung to glorify a brave chief or hunter are sung during drinking occasions and may be improvised. Some of the historical songs are the properties of the chiefly households and can be sung only by them.

d) Welcome Songs

These are sung for special guests.

Traditional Dance Culture

As in music, no story of the origin of dance was elicited. To the 'Paiwan', the ability to dance is something one is born with--everyone is a dancer since they consider their dances simple and easy to do. There is no formal teaching of dance, nor do the 'Paiwan' verbalize a dance vocabulary. It is through observation and participation that the 'Paiwan' learn and refine their dance skill. Participants are also non-participants because a dancer (participant) can join or leave the dance circle any time desired.

1. Dance Types. The indigenous dance classification is similar to that of music: a) Drinking Dances, b) Ritual Dances, c) Historical Dances, and d) Welcome Dances.

In addition to the above, two improvisational dances were observed. Improvisation is a name which I have chosen to refer to what the 'Paiwan' designate as dances with "unfixed" (不一定 pu i ting) movements. These

include the hunting re-enactment which I witnessed in Ta-shê village, the ball-game which only my Wu-tai village informants referred to as a dance, and movements of singers who accompany these two dances (the dancers do not sing in improvisational dances). The movements in these dances are not prescribed; they are up to the individual dancer. There is no definite ground plan. In the hunting re-enactment, the dancer usually carries a knife or spear, and in the ball-game, the dancers carry long bamboo lances. In both, however, these hand-carried properties are not manipulated in any special or prescribed manner. The hunting re-enactment is performed to a historical song glorifying a brave hunter, and the ball-game to a ritual song. These two improvisational dances will not be included for analysis in Chapter VI.

2. Setting. Traditionally, dances are performed outdoors, and the courtyard of the chief's house is the preferred place. The courtyard of the bride's or groom's house is also a desirable dancing area during wedding celebration. Normally, any open space that is big enough for the number of participants may be used as a dance area.

3. Sex Segregation. Women and men traditionally dance separately. This is especially so with ritual dances and among the older generation. Young people are allowed to dance together in a group but not as couples. Older people can dance with the opposite sex in drinking dances when members of the younger generation are present. Hunting dances are done only by men, as are the hunting re-enactment and the ball-game.

4. Age. Old and young can dance together. There is no rule against children participating, but normally they do not. The 'Paiwan' in Pingtung County have no adulthood initiation rite; thus the age line when one would participate is not clear. Women carrying toddlers on their backs were not observed dancing.

5. Taboo. There is no taboo against widows or widowers, shamans, priests or pregnant women dancing. The only taboo is that one should not dance or sing during mourning.

6. Group Formation, Rank and Sex Distribution. The majority of the 'Paiwan' dances are in circular formations: arc, open circle, spiral. In some cases, composite circular formations (arc and a closed circle) are also employed. The leader of the dance circle heads the line of direction. In dances where sex segregation is not important (e.g. drinking dances), the position of the male and female in a dance circle is not restricted, and sex distribution can take any combination (e.g. male-male-female, female-male-female, etc.).

There is no prescribed position in a dance circle for the general villagers or for the bride and groom. The big chief, if he does not participate, usually sits inside the circle with his relatives. Important guests can also sit inside. I received different answers as to where a big chief would place himself/herself in a dance circle if he/she chose to participate. The majority agree that the chief would be situated at the midpoint of a dance circle. In Ta-shê village, however, my informants specified that the chief is the third person in the dance circle (i.e. dance leader-lesser chief/close friend-big chief).

On his side(s) would be the lesser chiefs and his close friends. In Tê-wen village, my informants reported that there is no fixed position for the chief. The chief, if he/she desires, can also be the dance leader. Usually, however, as stated above, the leader is the one who can sing best. In a closed circle, no leader was observed.

7. Movement Types. The 'Paiwan' recognize three types of movement: the "jumpy" (跳起來 t'iao ch'i lai), the "non-jumpy" (不跳起 pu t'iao ch'i) and the improvised movements. By "non-jumpy", they refer to movements of the legs which do not elevate the body off the ground. The "non-jumpy" movements can be executed by all--young and old, male and female. The "jumpy" (i.e. elevating) movements, however, are traditionally done by men who have acquired heads (in the olden days, an enemy's head; nowadays, an animal head). It is said that women do not know how to execute the "jumpy" movements, and were traditionally prohibited from doing so. Hand-clapping and stamping are not observed. The "unfixed" movements of the improvisational dances were not verbalized by the 'Paiwan' as a movement type.

8. Circling Direction. The majority of the 'Paiwan' dances move in an open circle in a clockwise direction. However, some villagers also mention that they have dances which move anti-clockwise. These dances contain leg movements which reverse direction; however, the dominant circling direction is always resumed after the execution of these leg movements. This type of direction-reversal dance can only be done by men over thirty years old who have acquired a head. No prescribed ground plan is observed in either the hunt re-enactment or the ball-game.

9. Choreography. The 'Paiwan' do not verbalize about choreography. There is no formal entrance or exit to the dance area. People simply gather together in a circular formation when the occasions call for dance and music. A dance begins and ends with the associated song. 'Paiwan' dances are always group circle dances with the exception of the re-enactment dance.

10. Dance Attire. Traditionally, the 'Paiwan' make no distinction between daily attire and dance costume. People usually wear their best clothes for special occasions.

The Changing Dance

As with other aspects of the 'Paiwan' culture, dance and music are changing. Some ritual dances are still performed in relatively remote villages. Chinese New Year has replaced the annual millet harvest as the major communal dance event and many outsiders and tourists come then to observe the aboriginal dance and song celebration which are performed for the spectators with or without profit. Nowadays, singing and dancing for self-entertainment are done at night because the villagers have regular working hours. Usually, dancing activity starts around 9:00 p.m. and lasts until midnight.

Most of the younger generation do not know the traditional dance and music. There is no teaching system or dance vocabulary through which an older 'Paiwan' hands down his/her dance and music knowledge. What the younger generation is familiar with is the "improved" style. Some of the songs and dances are composed and choreographed by non-aborigines who make no distinction between the music and dance styles

of different tribes. New dances, new movements, and a new concept of performance (i.e. for a non-participating audience) are some of the changes that have been introduced into the villages.

Traditional music and dance are not part of the school curriculum. Instead, the aboriginal children are taught international folk songs (translated into Mandarin) and dances. The songs sung by the younger generation outside of the classroom today are greatly influenced by Japanese folk songs and popular Chinese songs heard over the radio and television. Nowadays, these new songs are often sung in association with dancing on wedding days.

Many villages organize their own Village Performing Club (文康隊 Wen K'ang Tui) and Youth Service Club (青年服務團 Ch'ing Nien Fu Mu T'uan). The former includes villagers ranging from approximately 18 to 40 years old and the latter of young adults and teenagers. Both groups travel to different villages and military camps to entertain. The Youth Service Club is also responsible for village road repair and other voluntary jobs. Their dances and songs are mostly of the "improved" style.

The Taiwan government exercises compulsory military service. Thus, all young men from the villages have been exposed to town or city life. Many villages have only primary schools. Those who wish to further their education have to go to the larger villages and towns to study. Many adults migrate to the towns and cities to work. They often decide to remain there and marry a 'lowlander' (Taiwanese or mainland Chinese). This is especially so among the young women. Thus, all of them contribute to introducing new trends in dance and music when they return

to their communities to visit.

Today, sex segregation is relaxed. However, older people still recognize that some dances should be done by men only (e.g. hunting dance because hunting is still exclusively a male activity). The older generation know the movements of the "improved" dances, but they seldom participate in them. Now, women also can execute "jumpy" movements. Songs and dances that formerly were restricted by rank can now be done by everyone.

Today, traditional clothing has become costume (i.e. clothes that are worn only for special occasions). Most 'Paiwan' have adopted modern Western style clothes. However, some old 'Paiwan' still wear the traditional clothes as daily attire. A mixture of everyday wear and costume may be seen during weddings. The restrictions concerning clothing decoration are relaxed. Formerly, if a commoner over-stepped his/her rank by wearing noble designs, he/she would have been ridiculed and reprimanded; today, this is not considered a serious offense.

The 'Paiwan' dance culture in general, has lost its ritualistic association although some of its social association still exists. Song and dance have been taken out of their traditional context; instead, they have become performance-oriented entertainment for a modern audience.

CHAPTER VI
ANALYSIS OF DANCE

This chapter presents detailed description and analysis of the data collected in the field. The methods employed in the collection of the raw data were: 1) observing and recording dances roughly in Labanotation, 2) participating in dancing, 3) filming dances, and 4) interviewing informants. Dances were observed in two ways--in their actual context, or especially elicited. Dances elicited include some which are still performed today but were demonstrated for me by request apart from their natural context, and some which are no longer performed today but were recalled by my informants.

After my return to Hawaii, Labanotation was refined and checked against films, and the raw data was then categorized and analyzed. The purpose of the categorization is to identify similar dance components and group them together for analysis. The purpose of the analysis is to investigate and summarize the characteristics of 'Paiwan' dance based on the data collected. A total of 62 dances were witnessed. Not all dance types were observed in each village (Figure 20). In many cases, the same movements were executed in dances of the same or different dance types. It is the associated song and song text that differentiates the dances.

Illustrations are used whenever helpful to clarify the data and to present them in a ^{holistic} manner. In all the charts, the villages are arranged in a north to south order. The number of dances observed in each village is shown in parenthesis adjacent to the village name.

<u>Dance Types</u>					<u>Village</u>	<u>Township</u>	<u>Estimated Percentage*</u>
I	II	III	IV	V			
1	1	1			To-na (3)	Mao-lin	70-80%
3	3	2		1	Wu-tai (9)	Wu-tai	90-100%
1	2			1	Ta-shê (4)	San-ti	80-90%
2	1	2			Tê-wen (5)	" "	80-90%
2	3	3	1		San-ti (9)	" "	90-100%
6			2		Pei-yeh (8)	Ma-chia	60%
1	1				Chia-yeh (2)	" "	40-50%
2	1				Tai-wu (3)	Tai-wu	50-60%
1	2	2			Ku-lou (5)	Lai-i	70-80%
2	1				Chun-jih (3)	Chun-jih	50-60%
3			1		Shih-men (4)	Mu-tan	50-60%
1	2	2	2		Kuo-shih (7)	" "	90-100%
					62		

Total number of dances = 62

Key:

Dance Types: I - Drinking Dance
 II - Ritual Dance
 III - Historical Dance
 IV - Welcome Dance
 V - Improvisation

*Estimated Percentage = how representative the data is of the entire village repertoire.

Figure 20: Village Repertoire Chart

Except in Figures 24 and 32, the number of dances in which a designated dance component(s) is present is shown in the respective column of the chart. The subtotal and total number of dances in which a designated dance component(s) is present are shown below the double line. Except in Figure 20, only the names of villages (but not townships) are given.

Glossary

The terminology and definition as used in this study is arranged in a classified order.

General Concepts

- | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| motif | The smallest movement unit for analysis. |
| step | A complete transference of weight from one foot to another. |
| gesture | A movement of a limb (i.e. arm or leg) when carrying no body weight (body weight is supported by another limb). |

Progression

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| line of direction | Direction in which the circle progresses (all Paiwan dances are circle dances, except those that are improvised). |
| advance | Moving ahead in the line of direction from a previously established position. |
| retreat | Moving back (away), opposite to the line of direction from a previously established position. |

Locomotion

- | | |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| locomotion | Step(s) progressing through space (stepping in place is not locomotion). |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|

no locomotion A motif with either no directional step(s) or with reciprocatory advance and retreat steps (i.e. motif starts and ends in the same place; see e.g. III.A.1.a. in Figure 22).

minimal locomotion A motif with less than 2 steps progressing in the line of direction (one large advance step and one smaller retreat step would take the dancer slightly away from the starting point; see e.g. II.A.1.a. in Figure 22).

maximal locomotion A motif with the equivalent of at least 2 advance steps progressing in the line of direction (3 advance and 1 retreat steps would take the dancer away from the starting point a distance of 2 steps; see e.g. I.A.1.b. in Figure 22).

Direction

lateral A motif with side-to-side movements.

sagittal Sagittal, which normally refers to pure forward-and-backward direction, is expanded in this study to refer to a motif with movements in an augmented range embracing forward right diagonal to forward left diagonal, and backward right diagonal to backward left diagonal (i.e. all except the side-to-side movements described as lateral).

lateral-sagittal A motif with lateral movement followed by sagittal movement.

Elevation

aerial A motif with 1 or more movements elevating the body off the ground.

non-aerial A motif with no movement elevating the body off the ground.

Formation

closed circle A complete circle.

open circle A circle with a break of link.

arc A segment of an open circle whose size is dependent on the number of dancers. When occurring with a closed circle, the arc partially surrounds it.

spiral A spiral with the head dancer's position closer to the center than the tail dancer's position.

Qualitative Elements

kinesphere The total space around the body which potentially can be reached without taking a step.

reach space The space around the body (within the kinesphere) which is actually reached by gestures of the limbs (i.e. arm or leg).

near reach space The area closest to the body.

far reach space The area at the outer limits of the kinesphere.

intermediate reach space The area approximately halfway between near reach space and far reach space.

Dance Components

Components of 'Paiwan' dances can be divided into non-movement and movement categories. Each of the components will be treated separately; then relationships between the components will be investigated.

A. Non-Movement Components

The non-movement components include group formation and sex distribution.

1. Group Formation

'Paiwan' dances are group circle dances except for improvisational dances. There are several variations of group formation:

A) Single Circular Unit. Depending on the number of participants, there are three forms of single circular unit (e.g. a small group would form an arc, a large group a spiral).

1) arc


2) open circle


3) spiral


B) Composite Circular Units.

1) arc with closed circle (Figure 21)


A closed circle never appears alone as a single circular unit.

2. Sex Distribution

Male and female are traditionally segregated in 'Paiwan' dances. There are two types of segregation: who may perform, and where a person is situated in a dance circle.



Figure 21: Arc Formation with Closed Circle: Wu-tai village

Group Formation and Sex Distribution will be discussed later in relation to other components.

B. Movement Components

The majority of the dance movements/are in the legs. There are no distinct head movements; the head is simply carried along with the major movements of the body. Only two torso movements were observed, both are pure forward-and-backward movements executed only in combination with two distinct leg movements. Therefore, the torso movements shall be notated and analyzed with the leg movements. Movement motifs are isolated, notated and used as the basic analytical units. The dances observed are performed to songs of quadruple meter which is taken as the basic durational unit for the dance notation.

1. Leg Motifs

The dominant 'feel' obtained from observing the 'Paiwan' dances is that of advance-retreat. The majority of the leg movements involve locomotion. Depending on the number of steps taken away from the starting position in the line of direction, the motifs can be divided into maximal locomotion, minimal locomotion, and no locomotion. The leg motifs may be composed of sagittal, lateral or lateral-sagittal movements. These movements are either non-aerial or aerial.

In Figure 22, leg movement motifs are presented in Labanotation. Motifs with similar basic stepping or jumping movements (gestures excluded) are placed as close together as possible. They are then arranged according to the number of gestures in each motif in an increasing order. Hopefully, such an arrangement

will give the reader a sense of continuity in what appears to be basic movement patterns and their variations. However, the 'Paiwan' themselves do not verbalize or view them as such.

From the total of 62 dances, 38 leg motifs are observed. Figure 22 presents the leg motifs in Labanotation, and Figure 23, their frequency. From this material, several statements can be made:

- A) 'Paiwan' dances are mostly locomoting (only 2 no locomotion motifs are found; they appear in 21 of the 62 dances).
- B) Most leg motifs are sagittal; 29 of the 38 leg motifs are sagittal (19 maximal locomotion and 10 minimal locomotion).
- C) Most of the leg movements are non-aerial. Although a total of 22 non-aerial versus a total of 16 aerial are observed, the non-aerial motifs appear in a greater number of dances. The number of non-aerial versus aerial motifs as found in each leg motif categories are:

		<u>Non-aerial</u>	<u>Aerial</u>
Maximal Locomotion	a) Sagittal	52	39
	b) Lateral	5	0
	c) Lateral-Sagittal	0	2
Minimal Locomotion	a) Sagittal	47	6
	b) Lateral	16	4
	c) Lateral-Sagittal	4	0
No Locomotion	a) Sagittal	21	0

- D) Many of the aerial motifs contain basic movements which are similar to those found in the non-aerial. (See e.g. I.A.1.ci.

I. MAXIMAL LOCOMOTION(21)

Village	A. Sagittal(19)						B. Lateral(1)						C. Lateral-Sagittal(1)						
	1. Non-aerial(8)			2. Aerial(11)			1. Non-aerial(1)*			1. Aerial(1)*			a.						
	a.	b.	c.1	d.	e.	f. g.	a.	b.	c.	d.1	d.2	e.	f.1	g.	h.	i.	j.	a.	a.
To-na (3)	2					1					2								
Wu-tai (9)	7					1				5								3	
Ta-shé (4)	2																	1	
Té-wen (5)	3					1				2								1	
San-ti (9)	6	3		2		1				6	2	3	2						
Pei-yeh (8)		2	5	6													3		
Chia-yih (2)		1	2														1		
Tai-wu (3)						3			1	1									
Ku-lou (5)							2		1	1									
Chun-jih (3)										1									
Shih-men (4)										3									
Kuo-shih (7)		2								2									2
	2	20	6	6	7	2	6	3	4	2	1	2	2	15	2	3	2	4	2
	52																		
	39																		
	5																		
	2																		

* in I.B. — only non-aerial is observed
in I.C. — only aerial is observed

Figure 23: Frequency of Leg Motifs (continue on next page)

II. MINIMAL LOCOMOTION(15)

III. NO-LOCOMOTION(2)

Village	A. Sagittal(10)						B. Lateral(4)				C. Lateral-Sagittal(1)		A. Sagittal(2)	
	1. Non-aerial(8)			2. Aerial(2)			1. Non-aerial(2)		2. Aerial(2)		1. Non-aerial(1)		1. Non-aerial(2)*	
	a.	b.	c. d. l d. 2 e. f. g.	a.	b.		a.	b.	a.	b.	a.		a.	b.
To-na(3)	2					1					1		2	
Wu-tai(9)	3	1	1	3	2						3		5	
Ta-shê(4)	1			2										
Tê-wen(5)	1		1 1										2	
San-ti(9)	2	2	1 2			2							4	6
Pei-yeh(8)	3		3			3								
Chia-yih(2)	2	1	2 1										1	
Tai-wu(3)	2	1	1 1			2 2							1	
Ku-lou(5)	1		2 1 1			1 1								
Chun-jih(3)			1											
Shih-men(4)			3											
Kuo-shih(7)							2	2						
Total (62)	13	7	1 12 4 5 4 2	3	3	6	5	11	16	4	4	4	13	8

Summary: Total number of Sagittal Motifs = 29
 " " " Lateral Motifs = 7
 " " " Lateral-Sagittal Motifs = 2
 " " " Non-aerial Motifs = 22
 " " " Aerial Motifs = 16

* in III. A., only non-aerial is observed.

Figure 23: Frequency of Leg Motifs (continued)

and I.A.2.h.).

E) Motifs with different basic movements are limited.

Many of the motifs (especially in I.A.--maximal locomotion, sagittal) contain similar basic movements. The difference lies in either the number of gestures or the type of gestures employed.

F) Torso

Movements of the torso are few. They are pure sagittal movements, and are associated with specific leg motifs. The backward-forward motif is associated with leg motif III.A.1.a and b; the forward-backward with leg motif I.A.2.c.

The number of leg motifs that are shared and not shared among the villages is indicated in Figure 24. From this material, several comments can be made:

A) San-ti village has the largest leg movement vocabulary

(16 different leg motifs). Most of its leg motifs are shared with other villages situated north of Chun-jih village.

B) Kuo-shih village has the largest number of unshared leg

motifs (5 of 6). It has one leg motif in common with Chun-jih and Shih-men village.

2. Focal Point

The center of the circle is normally considered the focal point of circle dances. During a single leg motif, the dancers' relationship to the focal point may remain constant throughout the motif (e.g. II.B.1.a.) or it may change (e.g. I.A.1.a.). There are five possible ways in which a dancer can relate to

Township	Village	Number of Motifs		Total
		Shared	Unshared	
Mao-lin	To-na	7	0	7
San-ti	Wu-tai	12	0	12
" "	Ta-shê	4	0	4
" "	Tê-wen	8	0	8
" "	San-ti	6	4	16
Ma-chia	Pei-yeh	7	0	7
" "	Chia-yih	2	0	8
Tai-wu	Tai-wu	9	2	11
Lai-i	Ku-lou	7	2	9
Chun-jih	Chun-jih	2	1	3
Mu-tan	Shih-men	2	0	2
" "	Kuo-shih	1	5	6

KEY:

-] embraces villages which have the specified number of leg motif(s) in common.
- [at least 3 villages among all the villages embraced have a specified number of leg motif(s) in common.

Figure 24: Leg Motifs (Sharing Chant)

the focal point: 1) facing it directly, 2) having a front diagonal relationship to it (i.e. the focal point is to the left front diagonal or right front diagonal of the dancer's front), 3) facing it with the side of the body (left or right side), 4) having a back diagonal relationship to it (i.e. the focal point is to the left back diagonal or right back diagonal of the dancer's back), and 5) facing the focal point with the back. Of the five, only two are employed by the 'Paiwan'.

The dancers always have a frontal orientation to the focal point, facing it directly with the front of the body (), having a left front diagonal relationship () or right front diagonal relationship () to it with the front of the body. They never relate to the center of the circle with their backs. No frequency chart is provided because of constant changes of relationships within a single motif (see Figure 22).

3. Line of Direction-Starting Leg

Circle dances move in either an overall clockwise or anti-clockwise direction, with the dancers starting the first steps with either their left or right legs. There are four possible combinations of the line of direction and starting leg:

<u>Line of Direction</u>	<u>Starting Leg</u>
1) Clockwise (C)	left leg (l)
2) Clockwise (C)	right leg (r)
3) Anti-clockwise (AC)	left leg (l)
4) Anti-clockwise (AC)	right leg (r)

Village	1. (C-l)	2. (C-r)	3. (AC-l)	4. (AC-r)
To-na (3)	3			
Wu-tai (9)	9			
Ta-shê (4)	4			
Tê-wen (5)	5			
San-ti (9)	9			
Pei-yeh (8)	8			
Chia-yih (2)	2			
Tai-wu (3)	3			
Ku-lou (5)	5			
Chun-jih (3)			2	
Shih-men (4)		1	3	
Kuo-shih (7)	1	2	4	
Total (62)	49	3	9	0

Key:

C = Clockwise
 AC = anti-clockwise
 l = left leg
 r = right leg

Line of Direction
 Starting Leg

Figure 25: Frequency of Line of Direction - Starting Leg

Figure 25 shows the frequency of direction and starting leg combinations. From the information in Figure 25, it can be said that the majority of 'Paiwan' dances found in the villages north of Chun-jih village, circle in the clockwise direction, with dancers starting with their left legs (C-l). Circling clockwise is observed only in one dance in the south. Circling anti-clockwise seems to occur only in villages in southern Pingtung County (i.e. Chun-jih and Mu-tan townships). Among the four possible combinations, circling clockwise and starting with the right leg (AC-r) was not observed in any village.

4. Arm Motifs

In 'Paiwan' dances, arm motifs are relatively few (six) compared to leg motifs (38). Except for the head and tail dancers in some dances, the arms are always joined. Arm motifs can be divided into two categories with arm-hold (the way the arms are joined between dancers) as the criteria. The two arm-holds may be referred to as front-basket-hold and side-hold. In the front-basket-hold, dancers join hands with alternate dancers on both sides, with their arms in front of the adjacent dancers (Figure 26). The head dancer crosses the left arm in front of the body to join hands with the left arm of the adjacent dancer, and the tail dancer makes a comparable adjustment (Figure 27). In the side-hold, each dancer holds the hand of the adjacent dancer on each side. The head and tail dancers leave one arm free (Figure 28). Figure 29 presents the arm motifs in Labanotation, and Figure 30 the frequency. From the



Figure 26: Front-basket-hold, Arm-hold: San-ti village



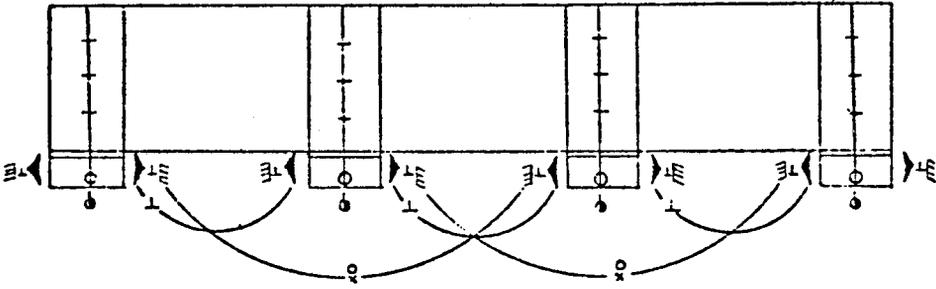
Figure 27: Head and Tail Dancers, Front-basket-hold:
Ta-shê village



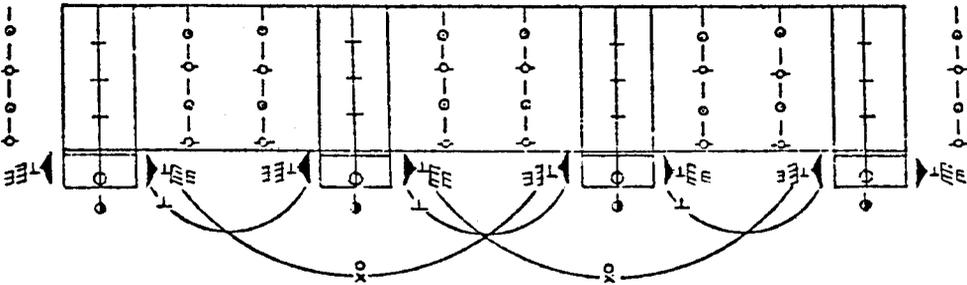
Figure 28: Head and Tail Dancers,
Side-hold: Ku-lou village

A. Front-basket-hold

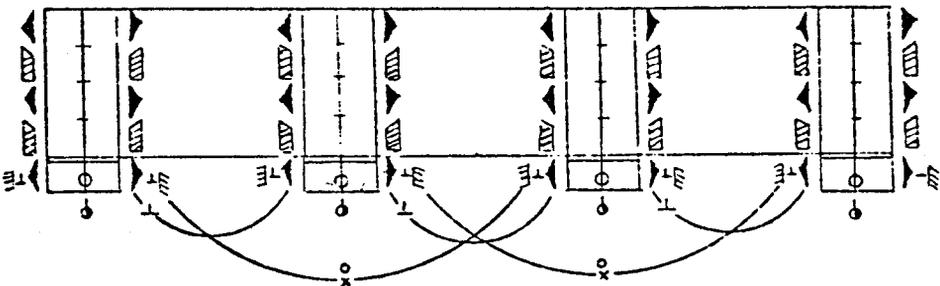
1. With no particular movements of its own



2. With bouncy movements

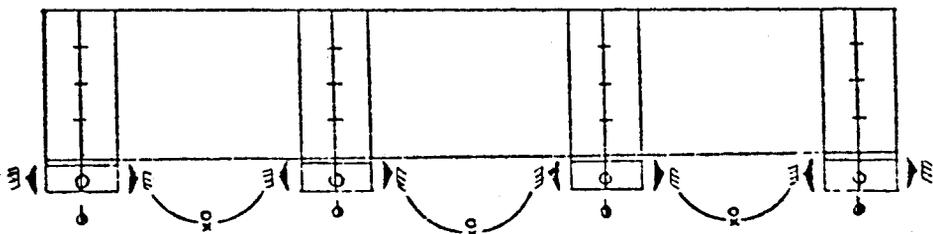


3. With raising and lowering movements

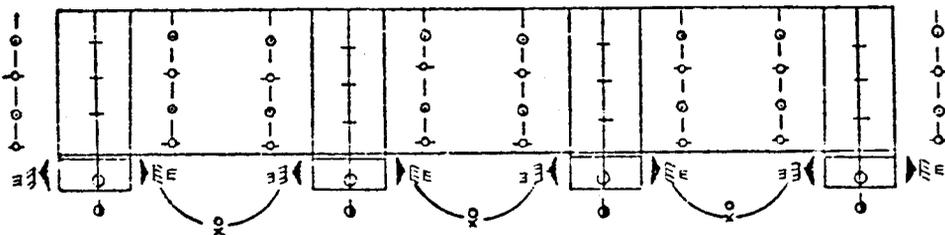


B. Side-hold

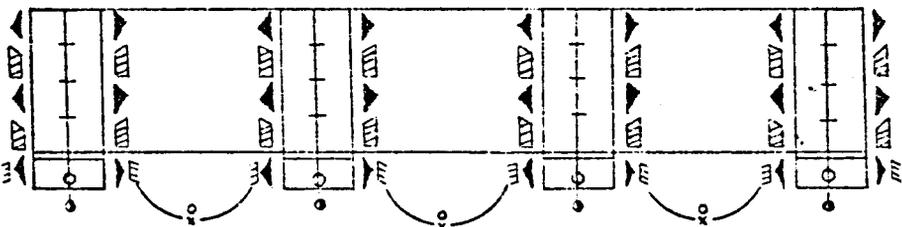
1. With no particular movements of its own



2. With bouncy movements



3. With raising and lowering movements



Norm:

Arms are held comfortably and may contract up to three degrees from \parallel to \times .

	ARM MOTIFS					
	Front-Basket-Hold			Side-Hold		
	A.1	A.2	A.3	B.1	B.2	B.3
To-na (3)	3		2			
Wu-tai (9)	9	1	5			
Ta-shê (4)	4					
Tê-wen (5)	5	2	2			
San-ti (9)	9	3	6			
Pei-yeh (8)	8	3				
Chia-yih (2)	2	2	1			
Tai-wu (3)	3	2	1			
Ku-lou (5)	5		2		1	
Chun-jih (3)				3		1
Shih-men (4)				3		
Kuo-shih (7)	2			5	2	
Total (62)	50	13	19	11	3	1

Figure 30: Frequency of Arm Motifs

information in the two preceding figures, several comments can be made:

- A) In both types of arm-holds, the arms either have no particular movement of their own (i.e. they are simply carried along with the major movements of the body), or they move vertically (i.e. in an up-and-down manner). The only difference between A.1-3 and B.1-3 is the arm-hold type.
- B) Even though the number of arm motifs in each category of arm-hold is the same, the number of dances in which the arm motifs are employed is different. The front-basket-hold is dominant in villages north of Chun-jih village, and the side-hold in villages of southern Pingtung (i.e. Chun-jih and Mu-tan townships). The front-basket-hold is observed only in 2 dances in the southern townships, and the side-hold is observed in only one dance in a village north of Chun-jih (i.e. in Ku-lou village).
- C) Within each arm-hold category, the dominant subcategory is 1 (A.1 and B.1), i.e. frequently the arms have no particular movements of their own, but are simply carried along. (Of the total 62 dances, A.1 is observed in 50 and B.1 in 11).

5. Choreography

This section is based on the leg motifs since they constitute the largest movement vocabulary observed. A leg motif can be performed once or repeated to a maximum of eight times.

A dance can be choreographed: 1) with a single repeating leg motif, or 2) with two or three different repeating leg motifs. Both are employed in all the villages in this study.

In the first, only non-aerial leg motifs can be used. In the second, non-aerial leg motifs can be the sole leg movement components, or they can be performed preceding aerial leg motifs. To illustrate these, certain symbols will be used.

Key:

|| = beginning of a dance

||end = ending of a dance

| = dividing line between movement phrases

$\frac{\cdot}{2}$ = identical repeat(s). The number of repeats is at the dancers' discretion--from 1-8 times.

--> = keep repeating the same phrase until the end.

M_{NA} = non-aerial leg motif

M_A = aerial leg motif

1,2,3 = the number of different leg motifs used in a dance.

The choreographic structure of the 'Paiwan' dances observed falls into the following patterns:

A) A single Repeating Non-aerial Leg Motif

|| M_{NA1} | $\frac{\cdot}{2}$ ||-->end

B) Different Repeating Leg Motifs

1) Non-aerial Leg Motifs

$$\left\| \left| M_{NA1} \frac{1}{2} M_{NA2} \frac{1}{2} \right| \frac{1}{2} \right\| \text{---} \rightarrow \text{end}$$

M_{NA2} is usually a leg motif with bouncy movements.

2) Non-aerial and Aerial Leg Motifs

a) Non-aerial to Aerial

$$\left\| \left| M_{NA1} \frac{1}{2} M_{A1} \frac{1}{2} \right| \frac{1}{2} \right\| \text{---} \rightarrow \text{end}$$

b) Non-aerial, Non-aerial, Aerial

$$\left\| \left| M_{NA1} \frac{1}{2} M_{NA2} \frac{1}{2} M_{A1} \frac{1}{2} \right| \frac{1}{2} \right\| \text{---} \rightarrow \text{end}$$

M_{NA2} is usually a leg motif which involves torso movements.

An aerial leg motif is always preceded and followed by a non-aerial leg motif. Since all the above choreographic patterns were observed in all the villages, no distribution or frequency chart is presented.

6. Qualitative Elements

No attempt is made in this study to analyze the movements in Effort/Shape* terms since I am not trained in Effort/Shape analysis. However, there are a few important qualities in 'Paiwan' dances that deserve specific mention.

Tension

Two tension factors are observed in 'Paiwan' dances. One seems to be brought about by the advance and retreat steps which

*Effort/Shape is an analytical and notation system which analyzes the qualitative elements of movements (see Dell 1970).

cause the dance circle to move towards and away from the center of the circle continuously in a pulsating manner. Another tension factor is present in dances with front-basket-hold but not in those with side-hold. This particular arm-hold seems to create a feeling of tightness and enhances a strong group feeling as well. When dancers take advance steps, a tugging feeling of being pulled backward into the opposing line of direction is created.

Space Use

Gestures of the arms and legs seldom reach the edge of the individual's kinesphere. Leg gestures are performed close to the body and the ground. Arm gestures are performed mostly in the near reach space and intermediate reach space in front of the body. Movements seldom venture into far reach space.

Other Elements

The basic body attitude is erectness. Movements are earthbound and emphasize width rather than height--even in the aerial leg motifs.

In most cases, when the dancers progress from non-aerial to aerial movements, the tempo of the dance and its associated song accelerate.

C. Relationship Between Components

In this section, significant relationships between movement and non-movement components will be discussed.

1. Ground Plan (Line of Direction, Sex Distribution,
Group Formation)

The 'Paiwan' utilize several types of ground plans in their dances. The relationship between line of direction, sex distribution and group formation is illustrated by the use of symbols as follows:

Line of direction: indicated by an arrow

Sex Distribution: indicated by signs borrowed from Labanotation

○ = all females

● = all males

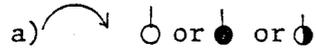
◐ = persons (males and females)

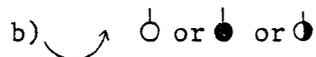
Group Formation: already established symbols (see page 58)
will be used

Ground Plans:

A. Single Circular Unit

1) arc

a)  ○ or ● or ◐

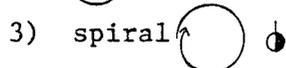
b)  ○ or ● or ◐

c) 

2) open circle

a)  ○ or ● or ◐

b)  ○ or ● or ◐

3) spiral 

B. Composite Circular Units 

1) arc with closed circle 

Some ground plans call for sex segregation (e.g. A.1.c) and some not (e.g. A.1.a). Figure 29 shows the frequency of ground plans. For dances in which there is only one type of sex distribution, only the number of dances is given below the category; in those where several types of sex distribution are allowed, both the sex type and the number of dances are given.

From the total of 62 dances, seven types of ground plan are observed as displayed in Figure 31. From this material, several statements can be made:

1) The single circular unit is the most frequently used ground plan. There are 43 dances in which one type of single circular unit (arc, open circle, spiral) is employed.

2) Sex segregation is still an important factor in ground plan (only 15 dances are not sex segregated). Non-sex-segregated dances seem to predominate in the villages of southern Pingtung (of the 15 non-sex-segregated dances, 12 are observed in the south; these 12 constitute 6/7 of the total dances observed in the south).

3) Spiral ground plan as well as the composite circular units (arc with closed circle) are absent in the south.

4) Ground plans in which the line of direction is anti-clockwise (e.g. A.1.b and A.2.b) are found only in southern villages (i.e. Chun-jih, Shih-men and Kuo-shih).

GROUND PLAN(7)										
Village	A. Open circle						B. Combination			
	1. a.	1. b.	c.	2. a.	2. b.	3.	1.			
To-na(3)										1
Wu-tai(9)										2
Ta-shê(4)										1
Tê-wen(5)										2
San-tí(9)										1
Pei-yeh (8)										1
Chia-yih(2)										1
Tai-wu(3)										1
Ku-lou(5)										2
Chun-jih(3)										1
Shih-men(4)										3
Kuo-shih(7)										2
Total (62)	6	2	8	13	11	6	43	8	8	8

= 15 (non-sex-segregated)

Figure 31: Frequency of Ground Plans

2. Leg and Arm Motifs

There are definite relationships between the type of leg and arm movements employed. These relationships are displayed in Figure 32 in which the leg motifs are numbered as in Figure 22 and the arm motifs, as in Figure 29. Of this material, several comments can be made:

1) Arm motif A.1 (front-basket-hold with no particular movements of its own) is the most frequently used arm motif associated with maximal and minimal locomotion leg motifs (see Figure 30 for exact numbers).

2) Arm motifs A.2 (front-basket-hold with bouncy movements) and B.2 (side-hold with bouncy movements) appear only with leg motifs which involve bouncy leg movements (A.2 appears in leg motifs I.A.2.h-i and II.A.1.e-g; B.2 appears in leg motif I.A.2.j). Even though the arm-holds are different, the arm movements are the same.

3) Arm motifs A.3 (front-basket-hold with raising and lowering movements) and B.3 (side-hold with raising and lowering movements) appear only with leg motifs that involve torso movements (A.3 appears in leg motifs III.A.1.a-b and I.A.2.b; B.3 appears in leg motif I.A.2.c). Even though the arm-holds are different, the arm movements are the same.

3. Leg Motifs and Sex Distribution

Traditionally, certain types of leg movements are performed by male and certain types by female. However, sex segregation is less strict nowadays, and women (usually those under 30 years

LEG MOTIFS

I. MAXIMAL LOCOMOTION

Village	1.						2.												
	a.	b.	c.1	c.2	d.	e.	f.	g.	a.	b.	c.	d.1	d.2	e.	f.	g.	h.	i.	j.
To-na (3)	<u>AI(2)</u>								<u>AI(1)</u>					<u>AI(2)</u>					
Wu-tai (9)	<u>AI(7)</u>								<u>AI(1)</u>					<u>AI(5)</u>					
Ta-shê (4)	<u>AI(2)</u>																		
Tê-wen (5)	<u>AI(3)</u>								<u>AI(1)</u>					<u>AI(2)</u>					
San-ti (9)	<u>AI(6)</u>	<u>AI(3)</u>				<u>AI(2)</u>			<u>AI(1)</u>					<u>AI(6)</u>	<u>AI(2)</u>	<u>AI(3)</u>	<u>A2(2)</u>		
Pei-yeh (8)			<u>AI(2)</u>		<u>AI(5)</u>		<u>AI(6)</u>											<u>A2(3)</u>	
Chia-yih (2)			<u>AI(1)</u>		<u>AI(2)</u>													<u>A2(1)</u>	
Tai-wu (3)								<u>AI(3)</u>				<u>AI(1)</u>	<u>AI(1)</u>						
Ku-lou (5)										<u>A3(2)</u>		<u>AI(1)</u>	<u>AI(1)</u>						
Chun-jih (3)											<u>B3(1)</u>								
Shih-men (4)																			
Kuo-shih (7)	<u>AI(2)</u>																		<u>B2(2)</u>
Total (62)	<u>AI(2)</u>	<u>AI(20)</u>	<u>AI(6)</u>	<u>AI(6)</u>	<u>AI(7)</u>	<u>AI(2)</u>	<u>AI(6)</u>	<u>AI(3)</u>	<u>AI(4)</u>	<u>A3(2)</u>	<u>B3(1)</u>	<u>AI(2)</u>	<u>AI(2)</u>	<u>AI(1.5)</u>	<u>AI(2)</u>	<u>AI(3)</u>	<u>A2(2)</u>	<u>A2(4)</u>	<u>B2(2)</u>
														<u>AI(28)</u>					
														<u>A2(6)</u>					
														<u>A3(2)</u>					
														<u>B2(2)</u>					
														<u>B3(1)</u>					

Figure 32: Relationship: Arm and Leg Motifs
(continued on next page)

old) can be seen executing some movements that are traditionally reserved for members of the opposite sex.

Since my informants mentioned that women traditionally do not execute "jumpy" movements, "jumpy" and "non-jumpy" (here identified as "aerial" and "non-aerial" respectively) are the criteria which I have chosen for analyzing the relationships between leg motifs and sex distribution. From the material presented in Figure 33, several statements can be made:

- 1) Sex segregation is still prominent in the execution of aerial ("jumpy") leg motifs in the maximal and minimal locomotion categories (18 of 21 aerial leg motifs are sex-segregated in maximal locomotion, and 4 of 6 in the minimal). All the non-locomotion leg motifs are sex-segregated, even though they are non-aerial.

- 2) Sex segregation is less important for non-aerial leg motifs (all of the non-aerial motifs in maximal locomotion can be executed by either sex; and 15 out of 39 in minimal locomotion also by either sex).

From this chapter, it can be concluded that the Pingtung 'Paiwan' dance style is homogeneous with regional differences which are most prominent in southern Pingtung townships.

LEG MOTIFS

I. Maximal Locomotion		II. Minimal Locomotion		III. No Locomotion		Village	NA	A	Total
1. Non-aerial	2. Aerial	1. Non-aerial	2. Aerial	1. Non-aerial	2. Aerial				
♂ 1	♂ 2	♂ 1	♂ 2	♂ 1		To-na	5	2	7
♂ 2	♂ 2		♂ 7	♂ 1		Wu-tai	10	2	12
♂ 2		♂ 1	♂ 1			Ta-shê	4	0	4
♂ 2	♂ 2	♂ 1	♂ 2	♂ 1		Tê-wen	6	2	8
♂ 3	♂ 5	♂ 2	♂ 4	♂ 2		San-ti	11	5	16
♂ 3	♂ 1	♂ 2	♂ 1			Pei-yeh	6	1	7
♂ 2	♂ 1	♂ 2	♂ 2	♂ 1		Chia-yih	7	1	8
♂ 1		♂ 3	♂ 2	♂ 2		Tai-wu	7	4	11
	♂ 3	♂ 2	♂ 3	♂ 2		Ku-lou	5	5	10
♂ 1	♂ 1	♂ 1				Chun-jih	2	1	3
♂ 2						Shih-men	2	0	2
♂ 2	♂ 2		♂ 2			Kuo-shih	2	4	6
♂ 21	♂ 18♂ 3	♂ 15	♂ 24	♂ 4♂ 2	♂ 7				
	21	39	6						

Key:

- ♂ = all female
- ♂ = all male
- ♂ = both sexes - non-sex-segregated
- ♂-sex-segregated
- NA = non-aerial
- A = aerial

Figure 33: Relationship: Leg Motifs and Sex Segregation

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, PROPOSITION AND CONCLUSION

Traditional 'Paiwan' dances are group circle dances. They are performed outdoors and are usually sex-segregated. Dances are performed to vocal music only and begin and end with the song. The name of a dance is derived from that of the associated song and the occasion for which it is sung. Most of the songs heard are in quadruple meter. The song tempo accelerates when the dance movements speed up, because the dancers are usually the singers.

The 'Paiwan' do not verbalize about the function of dance except to point out that one dances only when one is happy. Dancing is part of ritual, ceremony, entertainment and socialization. Everyone is considered to be born with dancing ability because the 'Paiwan' consider their dance movements simple and easy to execute. There is no formal teaching system; learning is by observation and participation. Traditionally, the 'Paiwan' wear their best daily attire on special occasions that involve dancing and singing activities.

The majority of the 'Paiwan' dances involve locomotion in a clockwise direction. The front of the dancers' bodies are usually in a diagonal relationship to the center of the circle. Most of the movements occur in the legs and are earthbound. The predominant movement of the legs is directional (augmented sagittal and lateral but never pure sagittal) while that of the arms involves level changes (vertical). Leg movements are often ornamented with gestures. Segmentation of the torso is rare.

Many villages have incorporated the "improved" style into their repertoire. New dances, new music, a new concept of performance (for a non-participating audience), and relaxation of sex segregation are some of the changes that have taken place. Traditional attire is now considered costume by the younger generation, and is worn only on special occasions.

In addition to the general characteristics within the Pingtung 'Paiwan' dance style, regional differences were observed primarily in southern Pingtung villages (in Chun-jih and Mu-tan townships). As described in this study, the three predominant southern regional diversities are:

- 1) Arm-hold. Although the arm movements are similar, the southern townships employ the side-hold instead of the front-basket-hold.
- 2) Line of direction and starting leg. Circling anti-clockwise and starting with the right leg predominates rather than circling clockwise and starting with the left leg.
- 3) Group Formation. The spiral and the composite circular units (arc with closed circle) which are found in townships north of Chun-jih, are not found in the south (i.e. Chun-jih and Mu-tan townships).

Proposition

Two distinct subtribes can be proposed within the 'Paiwan' tribe in Pingtung County, if the three main regional diversities discussed are taken as classificatory criteria: one embraces the townships north of Chun-jih township (i.e. from Mao-lin to Lai-i townships) and

the other, embraces the township of and south of Chun-jih township (i.e. Chun-jih and Mu-tan townships). I will call the first the Northern Pingtung Subtribe and the other, the Southern Pingtung Subtribe. The first corresponds to what Kano refers to as the West Paiwan Group and the other to the Parilarilao Group. The homogeneity observed in the Northern and Southern Pingtung Subtribes supports Miyamoto Nobuto's theory that the Southern Subtribe (Parilarilao) may be a southward continuation of the Northern Paiwan (West Paiwan Group), while the regional differences observed between the two support Kano's theory that the Southern Paiwan Subtribe (Parilarilao) may be a mixture of Paiwan, Puyuma and Ami cultures. This is feasible since there are Ami settlements reported in southern Pingtung County (see Figure 4).

If the presence of shared and unshared leg motifs (see Figure 24) is taken as a classificatory criterion (since they constitute the most extensive data), further propositions can be made:

- 1) Wu-tai, Ta-shê and Tê-wen villages form a distinct group within the Northern Pingtung Subtribe which I will call the Raval Group since this agrees with Kano's classification in which he named them the Raval (see Figure 6).

- 2) Ma-chia township forms a distinct group within the Northern Pingtung Subtribe which I will call the Butsul Group since this agrees with Kano's classification in which he named them the Butsul (see Figure 6).

- 3) San-ti village of San-ti township is a special case because it shares motifs with both the Raval and the adjacent Butsul Group. This is not surprising because of the constant interaction between the

villagers of the two areas. Therefore, I have placed San-ti township in both Raval and Butsul groups.

4) Tai-wu and Lai-i townships form a distinct group within the Northern Pingtung Subtribe which I will call the Pau-maumaq Group since this agrees with Kano's classification in which he named them the Pau-maumaq (see Figure 6).

5) Mu-tan township within the Southern Pingtung Subtribe presents a unique case. Since it shares common motifs with Chun-jih township, it can be included with the latter as a single group. However, it can also stand alone because of the large number of unshared motifs (5 unshared of the total of 6). I view Mu-tan township separate from Chun-jih township, agreeing with Wei in calling Mu-tan township as the Parilarilao and Chun-jih township as the Chaoboobol. (This study does not contribute to clarification of Szu-tzu township's group affiliation which Wei in one case classified as Parilarilao and another case as Chaoboobol).

Using the propositions already mentioned, a dance-based tribal classification and a map of the Pingtung 'Paiwan' can be suggested based on the limited data (Figures 34 and 35).

Conclusion

The Pingtung 'Paiwan' dance style is largely homogeneous. This study supports the use of the name 'Paiwan' for referring to the Rukai and Paiwan jointly (i.e. in terms of dance, they should be considered as a single tribe). However, regional differences are also revealed. It is the homogeneity and the regional diversities which serve as the

<u>Pingtung 'Paiwan'</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>Township</u>
I. Northern Pingtung Subtribe	To-na	Mao-lin
A. Raval Group	Wu-tai	Wu-tai
	Ta-shê	San-ti
	Tê-wen	" "
	San-ti	" "
B. Butsul Group	San-ti	" "
	Pei-yeh	Ma-chia
	Chia-yeh	" "
C. Pau-maumaq Group	Tai-wu	Tai-wu
	Ku-lou	Lai-i
II. Southern Pingtung Subtribe		
A. Chaoboobol Group	Chun-jih	Chun-jih
B. Parilarilao Group	Shih-men	Mu-tan
	Kuo-shih	Mu-tan

Figure 34: Dance-based Classification: Pingtung 'Paiwan'

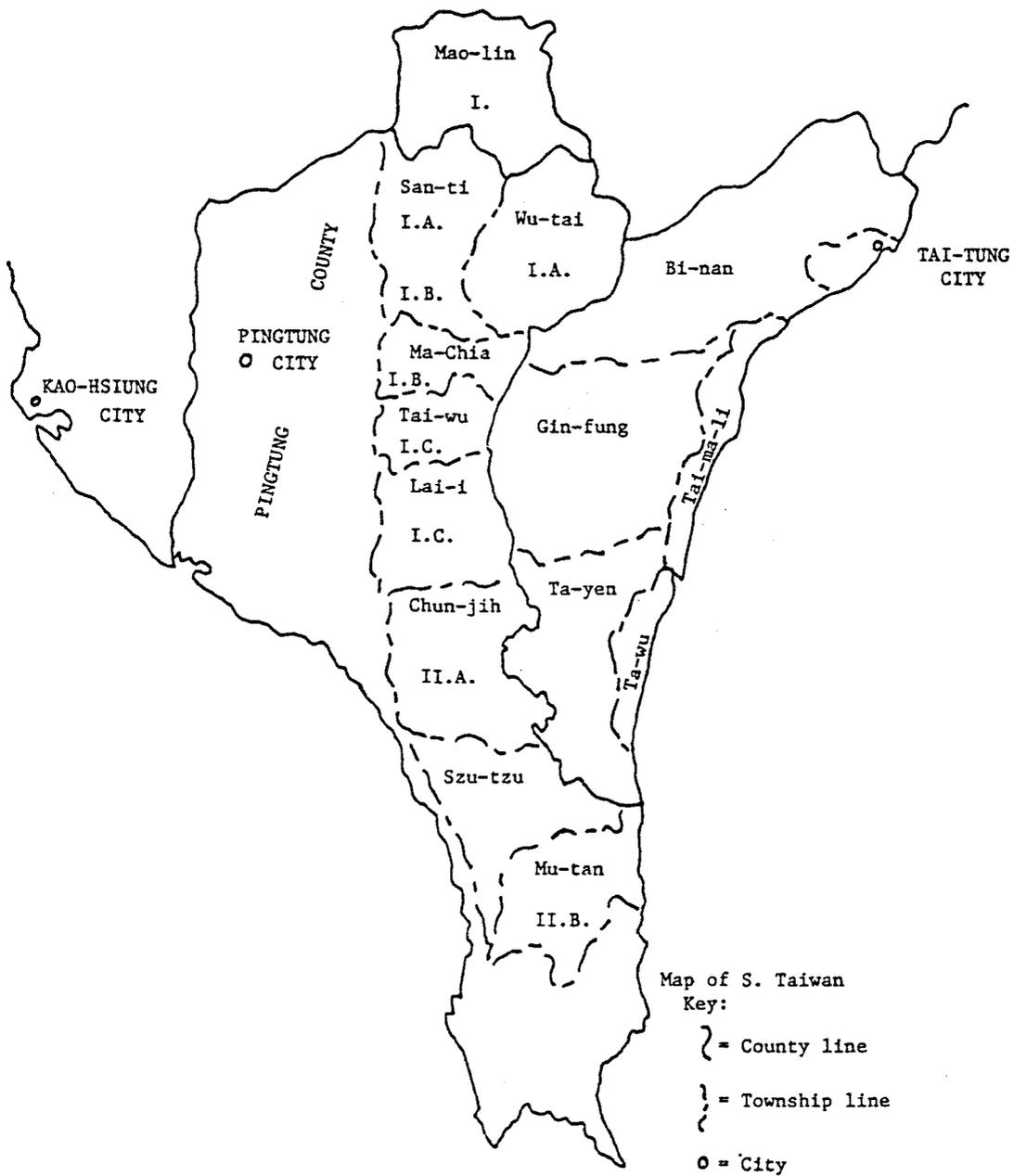


Figure 35: Dance-based Location: Pingtung 'Paiwan'

basis for the proposed Pingtung 'Paiwan' tribal classification which in general, supports classifications presented by some scholars utilizing criteria other than dance for tribal and subtribal classifications.

Future Research

If a complete study of 'Paiwan' dance and a complete dance-based tribal classification is to be attempted, future research covering areas not included in this study is necessary. It would be interesting if research could also be undertaken on the Ami and the Puyuma tribes to determine the amount of similarity and difference between them and the Southern Pingtung 'Paiwan'. A follow-up study on the Pingtung 'Paiwan' dance after the establishment of the culture center near Santimen town in San-ti township, would also be desirable as a comparative study.

APPENDIX

A half-hour video-tape comprised of excerpts from dances of the Paiwan tribe filmed in Pingtung County, Taiwan, is deposited in the Hawaii Archives of Ethnic Musics and Dances in the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

REFERENCES CITED

English

Anonymous

- 1974 Questions and Answers about the Republic of China, Chung Hwa.
Taipei: Information Service

Chang, Kwang-Chih

- 1969 Fengpitou, Tapenkeng, and the Prehistory of Taiwan.
New Haven: Department of Anthropology, Yale University.

Chen, Chi-Lu

- 1968 Material Culture of the Formosan Aborigines.
Taipei: The Taiwan Museum.

Davidson, James W.

- 1905 The Island of Formosa, Past and Present.
London: Kelly and Walsh.

Dell, Cecily

- 1970 A Primer for Movement Description.
New York: Dance Notation Bureau, Inc.

Ferrell, Raleigh

- 1969 Taiwan Aboriginal Groups: Problems in Cultural and Linguistic
Classification. Monograph of the Institute of Ethnology,
No. 17, Academia Sinica, Taipei.

Ho, Ting-Jui

- 1971 A Comparative Study of Myths and Legends of Formosan
Aborigines. Asian Folklore and Social Life Monograph,

Vo. XVIII. Taipei: Oriental Cultural Service.

Hutchinson, Ann

1973 Labanotation. New York: Theatre Arts Books.

Lebar, Frank M. (ed.)

1975 Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia, Vo.. II: Philippines and Formosa. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press.

Chinese

Anonymous

1971 Fa Chan Chung Tê Tai-wan Shan Ti Hsing Cheng (發展中的台灣山地行政 The Development of Administrative Policy regarding the Taiwan Aborigines). Taipei: Tai-wan Sheng Cheng Fu Min Cheng T'ing (台灣省政府民政廳, Taiwan Provincial Government).

1972 Tai-wan T'u Chu Tsu Kai K'uang (台灣土著族概況 A General Survey of Taiwan Aborigines). Taipei: Institute of Ethnology.

1974 Ping-tung Hsien T'ung Chi Yao Lan, No. 25 (屏東縣統計要覽 A statistical Report of Pingtung County No. 25). Pingtung (Taiwan): Ping-tung Hsien Cheng Fu (屏東縣政府 Pingtung County Government).

Ho, Ting-Jui (何廷瑞)

1955 "Ping-tung Hsien Lai-i Hsiang Paiwan Tsu Chih Wen Chüan Yü Lieh T'ou (屏東縣來義鄉排灣族之文身與獵頭 Tattoo and Head-hunting among the Lai-i Paiwan)". Bulletin

of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, No. 6: 47-49
National Taiwan University, Taipei.

Shih, Lei (石磊)

- 1971 Fa-wan: I Kê Paiwan Tsu Pu Lo Tê Min Tsu Hsüeh T'ien Yeh Pao
Kao (臺灣: 一個排灣部落民族學田野調查
Su-Paiwan: An Anthropological Investigation of a Paiwan
Village)". Monograph of the Institute of Ethnology, No. 21,
Academia Sinica, Taipei.

Sung, Wen-Hsun (宋文薰)

- 1955 Tai-wan K'ao Ku Hsüeh Min Tsu Hsüeh K'ai Kuan
(臺灣考古學民族學概觀 Outline Review of the
Taiwan Archaeology and Ethnology)", a translation of Tadao
Kano's (鹿野忠雄) Tonan Ajiya Minzokigaku Senshigaku
Kenkyu (東南亞細亞民族先史學研究第二卷
Studies in the Ethnology and Prehistory of Southeast Asia,
Vol. 2, 1952). Taipei: Tai-wan Sheng Wen Hsien Wei Yüan Hui
(台灣省文獻委員會 Commission of Historical Research of
Taiwan).

Wei, Hwei-Lin (衛惠林)

- 1952 Tsao Tsu P'ien (曹族篇 Ethnography of the Ethnic Group
Tsou), Taiwan Sheng T'ung Chih Kao 8. Taipei: Tai-wan
Sheng Wen Hsien Wei Yüan Hui (台灣省文獻委員會
Commission of Historical Research of Taiwan).

- 1955 "Ping-tung Hsien Lai-i Hsiang Lai-i Ts'un Paiwan Tsu Min
Tsu Hsüeh Tiao Ch'a Chien Pao (屏東縣來義鄉來義
村排灣族民族學調查簡報社會組織部份
Investigation of Social Organization of the Chala'bus
Paiwan, Pingtung County)." Bulletin of the Department of
Archaeology and Anthropology, No. 5: 20-28.

Wei, Hwei-Lin, Lien-K'uei Ho (衛惠林, 何聯奎)

- 1956 Tai-wan Fêng T'u Chih (台灣風土志, A Record of Taiwan
Customs and Traditions). Taipei: Chung Hwa Book Co.

97 HAWN
CB5
H3
No. 1287
cop. 2