

## 1. Description

- 1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: Paiwan, Paiwan, Austronesian
- 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): pwn
- 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Southern Taiwan and southeastern Taiwan mountains, latitude and longitude not specified.
- 1.4 Brief history: After the 12<sup>th</sup> century, commercial contact opened between the Chinese and the aborigines of Taiwan. The first colony was established by the Dutch, and they maintained control from 1624 to 1661. They presided over a period of relative peace and prosperity, as the Dutch allowed the native customs to continue. From 1662 to 1895, Taiwan came under Chinese authority. As Chinese immigrants came over, conflicts over land resources broke out. The Paiwan were involved in several large-scale battles with foreign powers during this period. Japan took over Taiwan in 1895, and their goal was for the aboriginal groups to support the mother country, so schools and police stations were established. In 1945 the Chinese regained control, and tried to reorganize the system of land distribution. (2p31-53)
- 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: Dutch missionaries attempted to convert the Paiwan to Christianity, though these initial attempts ultimately failed. (2p39) As noted above, the Chinese and Japanese enacted regulations to attempt to control the Paiwan, but were often met with resistance. However, trading relationships were established due to the influence of these groups. (2p31-53)
- 1.6 Ecology (natural environment): High mountains give way to foothills, and “swift mountain streams become meandering rivers.” The climate is “maritime and subtropical”, except in high mountain ranges, where temperatures become extremely cold. Torrential rains are frequent. (2p14-16)
- 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: The Paiwan population is around 66,100 according to 2002 numbers. (3p1) The average village size is around 375 with around 67 households, averaging 5.58 people per household. (2p95) No exact population density specified.

## 2. Economy

- 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Millet is the major crop. Secondary crops include rice, maize, sweet potato, and peanut. “Millet, uncooked or variously processed, is the major item for payments of tax and tribute.” (2p30-32, 35)
- 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: These sources include game animals and fish. Major game animals include boar, goat, deer, leopard, hawk, and flying squirrel. (2p35-36)
- 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: Weapons include harpoons, bows and arrows, spears, and guns. Women are strictly prohibited from using any weapons. (2p36) “The bow is simple, usually made from wood of a tree, the bowstring being made of the tough ‘China grass’.” The arrow is made of bamboo, and the arrows are not feathered. (1p120)
- 2.4 Food storage: Dehydrated taro serves as travel and hunting provision. Millet is “stored in bundles, either inside the house or in a special, piled granary in the household courtyard.” The “seed millet”, the best from the harvest, is preserved and used as seed for next season. (2p34-35)
- 2.5 Sexual division of production: “Hunting is exclusively a male occupation.” (2p36) “The granaries are under the control of women.” (1p124) “The women scratch the ground with a primitive short-handled hoe.” Women primarily raise crops while men hunt. However, the two sexes are essentially equal. (1p125-126)
- 2.6 Land tenure: “The most prominent aspect of the Paiwan economy is the redistributive feature of the offices of the chiefs (mamazangilan). As chiefs and landlords, some, but not all, Paiwan aristocrats enjoy the privilege of collecting tribute and tax from commoners.” In turn, the chief uses the surplus to help those in need, such as the childless elderly. Additionally, chiefs are “expected to be the major sponsors of the weddings of their subordinates. They are also expected to provide land-- farm land as well as house sites -- to the new households that are established by new marriages.” (2p37-38)
- 2.7 Ceramics: Making ceramics seems to have degenerated, as “many...have lost the art of successful pottery making.” (1p196)
- 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: Labor exchange is carried out, and “such labor is rewarded directly with meals, shares of pork, or returned labor.” (2p37)
- 2.9 Food taboos: Taboo against chicken. A story claims that in the olden days, when strangers landed on the shores to capture Paiwan people as slaves, they took refuge in a “secret place among the hills, but they were betrayed by the crowing of a cock, which revealed their hiding place to the strangers.” Many were killed or

captured because of this, so chicken is not eaten. (1p117) Certain Paiwan communities also “used to observe a kind of taboo against rice cultivation.” (2p32)

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? “Degeneration has taken place...both in the craft of boat-building and in the understanding of navigation.” Rafts and crude canoes are used for fishing. (1p195)

### 3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): Not specified in numbers, but described as the “Malay type” in physical aspects. (1p104)

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): Not specified in numbers, but described as having a “Mongoloid build.” (1p104)

### 4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): No exact average age given, but a “puberty ceremony” is performed at the age of 13 or 14, in which the two upper lateral incisor teeth are pulled out, signifying that they are no longer children. (1p187)

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): Not found

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): No specified family size, but families are generally smaller, and “the family as an institution is recognized by three aspects: the house, the name attached to it, and the people living in it. Even a single man or woman when provided with a house along with its traditional name may be considered as a family. A house-name represents not only a house but also the members of a family living in the house.” (2p164)

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): Not found, but sex is considered a “thing of mystery, one fraught with danger, not only to the man and woman concerned, but to the tribal group.” Women do not have a lot of children. (1p153)

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): Not specified, but Montgomery refers to the newlyweds as “young men” and “young ladies.” (1p154-155)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: Divorce is more frequent than in northern aboriginal groups, where it is almost unknown. The cause is usually cited as “mutual incompatibility”, and the divorces are relatively peaceful, with the two frequently remarrying. (1p162) The exact divorce rates is not found, but in 2 Paiwan villages, Parilaiyan and Tjuabar, the number of remarriages was 55 out of 309 and 53 out of 609 people over 25. (2p119)

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: The fidelity of marriage is taken extremely seriously; polygynous relationships are not allowed, though men and women can remarry once divorced. “A striking feature of the social organization of these aborigines is their strict monogamy and their marriage fidelity for the duration of the marriage.” (1p128)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: The bride is courted for several weeks “when the young man’s fancy turns to love.” The man squats in front of her house nightly and plays upon a bamboo instrument. After a few weeks of this, he will leave the instrument at her door, along with food and water. If the instrument is still there, he has been rejected. If she accepts the instrument, the two are betrothed. (1p154-155) There is no dowry, as the chief is crucial in securing land for the couple. (2p37-38)

4.9 Inheritance patterns: The oldest child is the heir, as “the properties of the household, which include the dwelling as well as other material and nonmaterial properties, actually belong to the first-born child, male or female, of that marriage.” (2p119)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: Montgomery witnessed “many young mothers...nursing and tending their babies with the greatest devotion.” However, twins are considered “unlucky”, and the weaker of the pair is usually killed at birth. Illegitimate children are also not allowed to live. Except in these instances, “both men and women seem particularly devoted to their offspring.” (1p121-122)

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: Not found

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): “Among none of the tribes did I find evidence of exogamy.” (1p161) Evidence points toward strictly endogamous marriages.

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized? No evidence of partible paternity.

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”) Life-force for the child, and has the primary job of caring for it. (2p105)

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? Not Found

- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: If a woman refuses to be courted by a man, the man must stop his advances. If the man knows that his suit has been rejected, “he makes no further attempts to renew the courtship.” An attempt to do otherwise is just “not done” in Paiwan society, and would be entirely against social etiquette. (1p155)
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): “Preference for intra-class marriage” and “inter-group marital connections are extensive among nobles”. (2p29) Marriages between first cousins are not allowed, but no information found on other relatives. (1p161)
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? No, marriage is sacred and fidelity is extremely important. In some cases, adultery is punishable with death, and an unfaithful husband suffers the same fate as an unfaithful wife. “Prostitution is unknown.” (1p129)
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: Illegitimate children are not allowed to live, and extramarital partners are not allowed. (1p122)
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? No specific answer found, but during a divorce, a child can live with either parent, so the father is a crucial part of the child’s life. Often a grandparent will help decide the matter. (1p162)
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: Not found
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades: None
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): None
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? “A rather strict age-grade, or system of rank regulated according to age” exists among the Paiwan. “The older the man or woman, the more he or she is held in reverence.” (1p122) There also exists a system of “bachelor houses”, in which boys and young men live temporarily to “make them more courageous” and to foster chastity. (1p122-123)
- 4.24 Joking relationships? None found
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: “The descent rule of the Paiwan is neither bilateral nor unilineal. It is a peculiar ambilateral residential form based on the house. This system uses house and house name, rather than person, as its representation.” (2p117)
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules: “The regulations restricting the marriage of near relatives are rigid. Marriage of the first cousin is forbidden.” These rules have been implemented sternly for so long that “it does not ever seem to occur to the young people even to attempt to defy these tribal taboos.” (1p161)
- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? Yes, the bride and groom wear their best clothes, and “squat in the center of a circle formed by relatives and friends.” A priestess dances, and cuts the air with knives to draw away evil spirits from the couple. (1p159)
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? “A Paiwan's last name is determined by the place of their birth, and their first name is taken from his ancestors.” (4p1) Names also help distinguish class, as generally “commoners cannot use those names that are deemed restricted to aristocrats.” In terms of marriage, children take the ancestral name of the higher-ranking parent. (2p146-147)
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) “Inter-village and inter-group marital connections are extensive.” (2p29) No evidence found for exogamic marriage.
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? Marriages are not typically arranged, but there have been marriages for strategic purposes. (2p87)
- 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: Not found

### **Warfare/homicide**

- 4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: No specific numbers found, but the Paiwan have engaged in various battles between the Japan and Chinese during periods of colonization, and more indirect methods like head-hunting were common. (1p111)
- 4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: Outgroup killing was fairly common because “head-hunting regulates the social and political standing of the men in the tribe.” (1p110) Ingroup killings out of anger are not tolerated, as one “never seeks private vengeance, whatever his provocation, on one of his fellow-tribesmen.” Private disputes are always laid before the chief. (1p111)
- 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: “A number of acts regarded as culpable by the codes of all civilized states are yet tolerated, and even extolled, in certain particular circumstances; such as the taking of life, for example, in legitimate defense, in a duel, during war, or as capital punishment.” (1p110) The Paiwan

also believe the spirits of ancestors dwell in certain knives that have been in possession for the tribe for several generations. A successful warrior is marked by a special kind of cap made by the tribal women. (1p115) Among the Paiwan, killing strangers, “except those with fair hair and blue eyes (indicative of Dutch, who were kind) is alleged to be an act of self-defense, to prevent ‘being carried away as their fathers were.’” (1p116-117)

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): There is evidence to suggest the Paiwan have had contact with the Rukai and Puyuma, as the three groups are “spatially adjoining each other, and are the only societies in Taiwan that have formally stratified social systems.” The aristocracies of Paiwan and Rukai have “virtually identical” operation and continuation. There have been cases of Rukai commoners contracting landlord-tenant relationships with neighboring Paiwan nobles, and some incidences of some Paiwan villages forced to pay tax to the Puyuma chiefs for a brief period. (2p38)

4.18 Cannibalism? Since the Paiwan are head-hunters, they have gained a false reputation of being cannibals as well, though there is no certain evidence to support this claim. The observer “seeing a pile of skulls in a native village-often several skulls over, or at the site of the doorway of the chief’s house- is apt to assume that the villagers must necessarily be cannibals. But, while head-hunters certainly, I [Mongomery] do not believe that the Formosan aborigines are, or have ever been, cannibals.” (1p116)

## **5. Socio-Political organization and interaction**

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: There is an average of 67 households, with around 375 people, but the number can vary greatly depending on the village (2p95)

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): Paiwan villages are “conceived as permanent and perennial” and do not move according to changes of seasons or the annual cycle of subsistence activities. Movement of villages is mostly triggered by unpredictable threats such as enemies, colonial authorities, and natural disasters. (2p95)

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): The Paiwan political system is “characterized by highly institutionalized leadership and positions with formal rules of succession.” Political units center around the land-owning aristocracy. There are 2 social classes: aristocrats and commoners, and in some northern villages there is an intermediate class. The position of the head of the chiefly house is succeeded by the oldest son or daughter. (2p222)

5.4 Post marital residence: After marriage, housekeeping is set up for the newlyweds. (1p160) The house will eventually be inherited by the eldest child, and all younger siblings will move out as they marry. Non-heirs will either marry heirs and move into their natal house, or marry other non-heirs and set up new households. (2p103)

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): The Paiwan will kill in self-defense (1p116-117) A man is supposed to keep watch at all times for enemies. (1p175)

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): There is a strict age grade, and the older one is, the more they are respected, regardless of gender. There are two bachelor houses, one for boys aged 12 to 15 and one for men over 15. Each age group is to “obey without question the orders of those of the superior age.” (1p121-122)

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: None found

5.8 Village and house organization: “The household is the basic, and, one may argue, the only component of a Paiwan village.” Prior to the construction of village schools, police stations, and medical stations set up during the Japanese occupation, the only public facility was the ritual dancing ground. Prior to introduction of Christianity, some villages has a religious structure called a vinegastan. “Houses of a village may differ in size, floor plan, decorative refinement, and in their relative social ranking, but all are equally full-fledged socio-cultural units in the sense that each has a name and is designed to accommodate an individual household group.” (2p97-98)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses): There are two bachelor houses, one for boys aged 12 to 15 and one for men over 15. (1p121-122) The “nearest approach to a temple” is the house of a chief, in which carvings are etched on the doorway. (1p150-151) There is also a dancing ground, during which a celebration would take place after successful head-hunting raids. (2p038)

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? The Paiwan have slate slabs that are used for “sleeping platforms.” (2p153)

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: The household is the central component of the village, composed of nuclear families. They lack an “articulate clan or lineage organization” due to a lack of “unilineal descent principal,” unlike other Taiwan aboriginal groups. (2p102-103) Two social classes are recognized, the aristocrats and commoners. (2p222)

- 5.12 Trade: Money is essentially meaningless. When Montgomery gave the Paiwan some coins, they “inserted them into holes in their ears.” (1p211) Land was traded to Chinese in exchange for guns, gunpowder, blankets, and other commodities. (1p210)
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? Paiwan has a “highly institutionalized hierarchical system” encompassing aristocrats and commoners. In most Paiwan villages, “there is one paramount chiefly house that is referred to as ka-mamatsangilan-an, while other lower ranking chiefly houses are mamatsangilan.” Tribute is collected by the aristocratic landlords. (2p226, 229)

## **6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)**

6.0 Time allocation to RCR: Not found

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): “A kadalingan is the house shaman of the paramount chief and principal shaman of the village.” A kadalingan is the leader of the other ordinary shamans when they perform major village rituals. Some villages have a “palakalai”, a male ritualist “who’s sole duty is to be the leader of the Five-year rite.” Other villages also include a “palisilisi ugalay” who is the male ritualist responsible for all hunting-related rituals. Ritualists can be male or female, except for these particular positions. (2p258-259)

6.2 Stimulants: During celebration, wine is consumed and tobacco is smoked. (1p113)

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): There is a puberty ceremony during which the two upper lateral incisor teeth are knocked out at the age of 12 or 13. (1p187) There is a harvest ritual held called Masarut to give thanks to the deities for the previous year’s blessings. This ritual marks the beginning of a new year. (6p1) Weather related rituals include rain praying, sun praying, wind stopping, and thunder stopping. (5p1)

6.4 Other rituals: The “five-year rite” is a ritual in which every five years “tens and hundreds of native officers and the populace gather,” each holding a long bamboo pole. A man “tosses a rattan ball into the air, and all the others compete in impaling the ball with their bamboo poles.” The one successful in impaling the ball is the winner and is presented with wine. The purpose of the rite is to “receive certain deities and ancestral spirits.” (2p266) Spearing the balls “is a way to pray for a good harvest, a fruitful hunt, good health, prosperity, successful defense, or conquest.” (5p1)

6.5 Myths (Creation): Maintain the belief that humans originated from the sun. (6p1) One story expresses that commoners are “born from the earth, and aristocrats come from a union between the sun a sacred pot.” (2p224) A second creation myth states that the founders of the village had a mystical birth, such as “from the sun’s egg” or “from hundred-pacer snake” and commoners came into being as a result of population growth after the village was founded. (2p225)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): Weaving is critical to Paiwan women, as “the pride of the woman in each household is the loom.” The coloring for the loom comes from the juice of a tuber (a potato-like food) and dyes bartered from the Chinese. Women also make net-bags, which are prized by the men because they put the heads of their enemies in the bags after a successful head-hunting expedition. “A woman who is not a good weaver or bag maker is held in contempt” by both the other women and the men. The cap of a successful warrior is decorated. (1p179-181). Only the aristocrats have the privilege of installing wood and stone carvings on their houses. (5p1) Music is played in courting rituals on handcrafted harp-like instruments made of bamboo. (1p154-155)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: There are some shaman positions that are strictly male roles. (2p259)

6.8 Missionary effect: Missionary activities began around 1629, and there were efforts to convert the tribe to Christianity, and though there was some success, Christianity was wiped out for a time. (2p39)

6.9 RCR revival: In the 1940’s and 1950’s, western religion made a comeback, and some aspects of Christianity and traditional supernatural customs are intertwined. (5p1)

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: The spirits of all the deceased will one day return, and there are some malevolent spirits who “might disturb the performance of serious ceremonies, so they are not welcome.” (2p278) The dead are buried in a crouching position under the hearthstone of the family home, and oftentimes belongings are buried with them because the Paiwan believe in an afterlife for the spirits. (1p169-170)

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? None found

6.12 Is there teknonymy? No evidence found for teknonymy

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) “There are two features of the Paiwan supernatural system: first, ghosts and gods are in the same category, tsamas, but some are good and some are evil; second, the supernatural world is another world parallel to the human world and both worlds exist

in the same space and time,” corresponding with the social hierarchy of the living. People are punished for disobeying the will of the gods. Since the 1950’s, those who are Christian have their own cultural and recreational activities. (5p1) Those practicing traditional Paiwan religion “pay greater reverence to the spirits of ancestral spirits than to any deity.” Ancestral spirits are believed to inhabit ancient swords or knives. All are worshiped twice a year at festivals. (1p136)

## **7. Adornment**

7.1 Body paint: None found

7.2 Piercings: Ears are typically pierced, and often they are “perforated”, meaning that a major portion of the earlobe is cut away for a bamboo ear-plug. Women will decorate their earplugs with rosettes. (1p186)

7.3 Haircut: Not found, but hair is generally photographed as long for both men and women.

7.4 Scarification: In the olden times, an enemy was slain and his head was used to play a game called Mavayaiya, in which several warriors would try to impale the head with spears. (1p118)

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): On festal occasions long garlands of flowers are worn. (1p124) “Wire is considered highly ornamental” and is “bound about the arms” and worn as a bracelet for both men and women. (1p178-179) Beads are also valuable and worn mostly by aristocrats (2p129) and so is elaborate headwear (5p1)

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: During festivals garlands of flowers are worn. (1p124)

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Women wear necklaces made of small rectangular bits of bone that they carefully polish and string together. The bone usually comes from deer. Though both sexes wear tubes of bamboo through their earholes, women often adorn theirs with brightly colored yarn or form a rosette. “The larger the bamboo...the more its owner is admired.” (1p185) For men, the successful warriors are tattooed on the chest, arms, or other parts of the body. (1p191)

7.8 Missionary effect: Some western clothing is worn. (2p49)

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: None found, but since head-hunting has greatly declined, adornment for these occasions is declining as well.

## **8. Kinship systems**

8.1 Sibling classification system: The eldest child becomes the heir of the house, regardless of gender. “Since the heir’s right of inheritance is established at the time of his or her birth, it is not subject to challenge by other siblings.” (2p130)

8.2 Sororate, levirate: No evidence supporting either.

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): Marriage of the first cousin is forbidden. Marriage with the first cousin on the mother’s side is “absolutely forbidden,” and marriage with the first cousin on the father’s side is “strictly taboo.” (1p161)

## **9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):**

-The Paiwan are the only aboriginal tribe that has anything approaching what missionaries call idols-carved representations of a deity. (1p134)

-The Paiwan “venerate the snake as being the most dangerous living creature.” They have carved representations of the snake, and believe that constantly having a representation of this creature before their eyes will inspire bravery. (1p35)

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