

CHAPTER 5—ETHNOHISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

“I do my best to answer what you ask. All my grandkids now speak only Chinese. How can they be Bunun when they don’t even know the language? Now, my own family doesn’t use Bunun, and the grandkids don’t try to learn Bunun. I asked them, they know it is important to me, but they don’t try.

I hope I am not the last of our family to have been mangan.

If today we are shishivin, then that is our own isbuka”

TamaBiung Istanda

Ethnographic Narratives

Ethnographic narrative was employed as a component to this thesis for four reasons: (1) the limited availability of literature; (2) the absence of ethnographic material regarding this topic; (3) the availability of ethnographic data was discovered during fieldwork; (4) the author identified the potential need for *rescue ethnography*.

Two participants, brother and sister, were chosen for four reasons. Firstly, I had access to field data for them. Secondly, they were of age (over eighty years old), having lived in Laipunuk before the arrival of the Japanese and are able to recollect the culture of that period as well as the socio-political periods that followed. Thirdly, their family initiated a cultural revival movement including an NGO, which was able to provide four key components to this study: access to essential materials for Laipunuk history; location for interviewing; participation in expeditions to the Laipunuk region (see Appendix); and translation assistance. Fourthly, they are highly respected in the Bunun community and have acquired important collective knowledge from other Laipunuk-born individuals.

The abovementioned NGO, the *Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation*, was founded by informant Langus Istanda’s eldest son, Pastor Bai Guang Sheng (Biung Husungan Istanda). Nabu Istanda, Langus Istanda’s youngest son, serves as Culture Director for the NGO. Relevant to the gathering of ethnographic data, Nabu Istanda and the author jointly supplied the video and sound recording equipment, and all translation was co-produced by Nabu Istanda and the author.

Nabu Istanda is a polyglot able to speak Bunun, Chinese, Japanese, and English. He learned Bunun primarily from his mother, Langus Istanda and his Uncle, Tama Biung Istanda¹³⁹. N. Istanda shares their dialect of Isbukun and has led nineteen expeditions to Laipunuk since 2000 to conduct tribal mapping¹⁴⁰. According to elders at the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation, Tama Biung Istanda has a deep and unique knowledge of Laipunuk due to his age, memory, and the events of his childhood and relationship to his father.

Data Collection and Presentation

All questions presented to the informants were generated by the author and written in English. All questions were presented by N. Istanda (referred to as ‘interviewer’ from here forward) to the informants in the Isbukun dialect of the Bunun language. Often these questions initiated short exchanges of dialogue between the interviewer and the informants. All answers and dialogue between interviewer and informants were in Bunun language, with the exception of some words or short exchanges of dialogues in Japanese. All information was recorded and translated. Unclear information was presented to informants for clarification.

Translation was conducted solely by the interviewer and author by viewing and reviewing videotapes. All transcription was done by author. Two methods of translation were employed: word-by-word and short summaries of dialogue. The former averaged two hours per minute of videotape; the latter averaged two hours per ten minutes of videotape to translate. However, inclusive of translation, transcription, presentation of findings and questions regarding the findings, and the generation of categories, amounted to approximately four hours per minute of video tape.

The text presented in this section of the thesis is as accurate as possible. Care was given in choosing the most appropriate English words and explanations¹⁴¹. Bunun vocabulary was incorporated into this document wherever the interviewer and author felt it was significant or relevant. As Bunun language varies significantly from English, and to preserve authenticity of the narrative material presented, the English sentence structure in these narratives may not always follow correct English grammar. All Bunun text is in italics throughout this section of the thesis.

¹³⁹ *Tama* means father, uncle, and is also a sign of elder respect when placed before the first name. It is appropriate to address him as ‘Tama Biung Istanda’. His reference throughout this thesis is: (Istanda, T.B.).

¹⁴⁰ Refer to *Map 10: Laipunuk Reference* (opposite page).

¹⁴¹ Currently there is no Bunun – English or English – Bunun dictionary. However there are Bunun – Mandarin dictionaries.

Questions prepared for informants were often identical; however, as many Bunun cultural behaviors are gender specific, some questions were also gender specific. For example, Tama Biung Istanda was asked more questions about hunting and guns, whereas Langus Istanda was asked more questions about childbirth and cooking.

Although some categories of data were intended, informant data naturally generated new categories as informants were moved to share experiences or stories important to them. In the early stages of data collection, it became apparent that informants were highly knowledgeable with respect to certain topics and that the data collected was valuable. *Figure 5* outlines the author's procedure of ethnographic data collection:

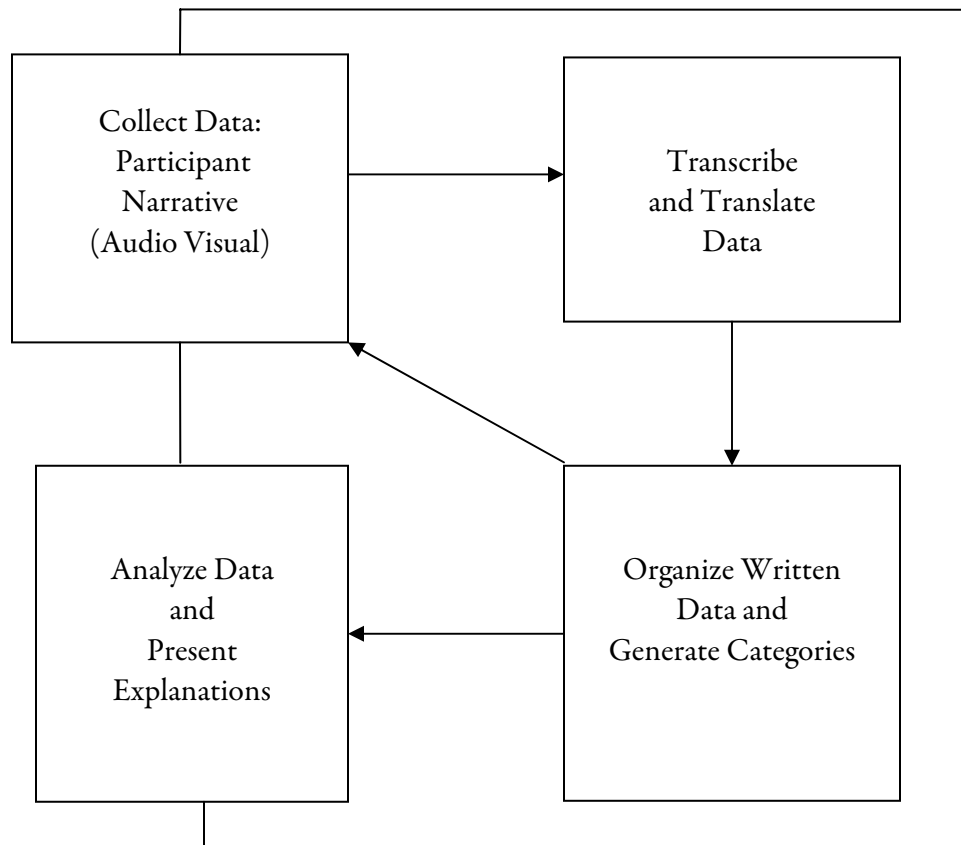


Figure 5: Ethnohistorical Narrative Research Method Flow Chart

Data Collection Procedure Sample

The following samples are from informant Langus Istanda. Data collection sheets reflect four aspects of data collected and generated. Firstly, the Bunun language was transcribed into a Romanized alphabetization system adopted from the *Bible system*¹⁴². The *Bible system* is appropriate for this study for three reasons: the interviewer and informants are familiar with the *Bible system*; they are unfamiliar with the new government system; and out of respect for the translator and informants. Secondly, the translation into English was placed under the Bunun words to insure content accuracy. Thirdly, when vocabulary was unclear, it was presented to the informants for clarification; this data is referenced as footnotes. Fourthly, an English text translation was generated.

Informant Interview Sample 1¹⁴³

12:17:18 p.m. (time code)

Question:

Can you tell us what your age is?

Answer:

ni tu hayiap pun sayia i au pa ka i bav au pa sia libus tus wu vazus chi na
via tu na hayiap tu tau na isa a hamisan
tus ka mah zan lau pa kau tu si lib a tu ka masial a liban na vai pikun patal i suh
ka mal bu ha yia pauntia ka bu chi hun mas tu baun tu kuling taigaz mai u ni liv
ha bas hai wu gan nga liv van ka ku u nian mas a pa sa pa ma su bu su bu vai yia ni
ai na ha yiapav tu pia hamisan mas tus wu va zan ni wuka sian
ma viais nai na dama as cina, mi lis kin na yia tu tas u va dun hai ka pin tu buan
kabalivan ka nah du in hai na intuhtuhan min na vai yian wu ngat
tu dip pin ha yiapun tu mais kabalivananin hai ha yiapun tu ah
tail mas amn tail pitu inn na sian mais intuhtuhan nin hai
a du das tu buan nin a du ka imin tu buan
au pa na da tu paun tu intuhtuhan na wu vadan hai
ma lan san mas kamatuh dan tu andadaz a du
ma dian pus hai tu di wu va dan hai

12:18:48 p.m. (time code)

¹⁴² There are currently two systems for Romanized script of the Bunun language. One is the *Bible system* developed by Christian missionaries and the other is a much newer government system (made official on Dec. 15, 2005). Romanization systems for all indigenous languages were banned in 1951 by the KMT under the National Language Policy (*guo-yu zheng-ce*), as discussed in Chapter 2.3.

¹⁴³ Syllables, as recorded here, are not accurate to linguistic standards.

English translation placed under Romanized Bunun:

Ni tu hayiap pun sayia i au pa ka i bav au pa sia libus tus wu vazus chi na
Do not know that because above at forest born mama

Via tu na hayiap tu tau na is a *hamisan*
Why can I know when millet harvest ceremony

Ni sian ama ama tu na ha yiap pun
Not this possible to know

Tus ka mah zan lau pa kau tu si lib a tu ka masial a liban na vai pikun patal i suh
It's not like modern/now baby good cradle the baby how to clean/bathe

ka mal bu ha yia pauntia ka bu chi hun mas tu baun tu *kuling taigaz* mai u ni *liv*
Just naked like that cover by named/called bag big made by fiber

ha bas hai wu gan nga liv van ka ku u nian mas a pa sa pa ma su bu su bu vai yia ni
Before do not have fiber just made by leather cover cover baby

ai na ha yiapav tu pia hamisan mas tus wu va zan ni wuka sian
how know how many years born nothing happened/don't know

Ma viais nai na dama as cina, mi lis kin na yia tu tas u va dun hai ka pin tu *buan*
how should be Papa and Mama, they'll think that have been born count months

mais tas u vadun hai tal bia ka wu nia *kabalivan*
if born how many thing doing ceremony

kabalivan ka nah du in hai na *intuhtuhan* min na vai yian wu ngat
ceremony When it was done baby ceremony the kids and

tu dip pin ha yiapun tu mais *kabalivananin* hai ha yiapun tu ah
at that time know if ceremony we will know

tail mas amn tail pitu inn na sian mais *intuhtuhan* nin hai
it is ten or seven already he/she if baby ceremony already/past

a du das tu buan nin a du ka imin tu buan
maybe once month already or maybe five times of month

au pa na da tu paun tu intuhtuhan na wu vadan hai
because that been called ceremony is kids was

ma lan san mas *kamatuh* dan tu *andadaz* a du
following as millet harvest road/line of millet harvest ceremony

ma dian pus hai tu di wu va dan hai
put in place was at that time kids was

Direct Translation:

12:17:18 p.m. (time code)

do not know that because above at forest born mama
why can I know when millet harvest festival
not this possible to know
it's not like modern/naw baby good cradle the baby how to clean/bathe
just naked like that cover by named/called bag big made by fiber
before do not have fiber just made by leather cover, cover baby
how know how many years born nothing happened/don't know
how should be papa and mama, they'll think that have been born count moons
if born how many thing doing baby blessing ceremony
baby blessing ceremony when it was done baby name announcing ceremony the kids and
at that time know if baby blessing ritual we will know
it is ten or seven already he/she if name announcing ceremony already/past
maybe once month already or maybe five times of month
because that been called name ceremony is kids was
following as millet harvest road/line of millet harvest ceremony
put in place was at that time kids was

12:18:48 p.m. (time code)



*Photo 9: Interview Setup
Source: Author, 2004*

This page serves as an example of the method used in the translation and generation of categories, as well as the footnoting procedure adopted and incorporated into sections 5.1 and 5.2.

My Age

Actually, I don't know exactly when I was born because we lived in the high forest and I didn't count the *hamisan*¹⁴⁴. It's not like now, when a baby is born and bathed and well cared for. Before, the naked baby was just covered with a *kuling taigaz*¹⁴⁵. We even used not to have *liv*¹⁴⁶ so we just used animal skin. We just cared for our babies; we didn't think to count the years.

Our Babies

Our parents know our ages because they count the times they held the *kabalivan*¹⁴⁷. Once the *intuhtuhan*¹⁴⁸ is done, then after *kabalivananin*¹⁴⁹ time comes, then we will know if the children are for example ten or seven already, because their *intuhtuhan* has past. Maybe once a month or maybe five times a month because *intuhtuhan* follows the *kamatuh*¹⁵⁰ and *andadaz*¹⁵¹, so it was at that time we might think about the age of our children.

¹⁴⁴ *Hamisan*: The Bunun New Year ceremony of the millet harvest festival. Bunun may use this concept for the concept of year.

¹⁴⁵ *Kuling Taigaz*: literally *bag big*, referring to the large Bunun waste bag worn by a strap around the neck or shoulders. Originally made from animal skin, but cloth may be preferred when available.

¹⁴⁶ *Liv*: a word meaning fiber; can refer to cloth. More specifically it refers to ramie fiber or ramie cloth, the native plant used in cloth making.

¹⁴⁷ *Kabalivan*: Ceremony to bless the newborn involving millet wine and gift giving.

¹⁴⁸ *Intuhtuhan*: Annual name announcing ceremony (follows millet harvest calendar).

¹⁴⁹ *Kabalivananin*: Kabalivan as a verb or action.

¹⁵⁰ *Kamatuh*: While in the field and aligned in a row, Kamatuh is the tradition of Istanda family passing the harvested tops of millet flowers bunched together in their hands, from person to person and from right to left down the row the person at the end.

¹⁵¹ *Andadaz*: A stage of the millet ceremony whereby it is left in the field to dry.

Review of sample data:

From the above data sample, seven important points are worthy of consideration:

1. The literal translation to English is problematic to understand and needs to be organized.
2. Very few individuals can comprehend Bunun language in a Romanized form, and this posed significant challenges to the research process.
3. Cultural terms need to be defined through further inquiry and added as footnotes.
4. Bunun language mirrors the culture and environment where it was used. For example, moon is month, the millet harvest ceremony is the closest thing they have to the western concept of 'year', babies mature and their aging recognized in accordance with the appropriate ceremonies, and the Bunun didn't necessarily keep track of their ages after childhood¹⁵².
5. Bunun culture is filled with ceremony and ritual, and these cultural behaviors are deeply related to millet agriculture.
6. The answer received from the informant may generate an unexpected category for the thesis. For example, the answer to the question "Can you tell us what your age is?" generated a category on how babies were cared for and how names were given. And we learned that age is not given the same significance or context that a non-Bunun might have.
7. Discussion is need with interviewer and author in the final stages of translation.
8. One minute and thirty seconds of videotape generated a wealth of information regarding Bunun culture.

¹⁵² Author's note: very few Laipunuk-born Bunun elders interviewed knew their true age.

5.1. Memories of Tama Biung Istanda: Ethnohistorical Narratives

Introduction to Informant Tama Biung Istanda

Age at time of interviewing: 88

Chinese name: *Hu Yun-Lin*

Japanese name: *Nishimura Yasu*

Current residence: Tao-Yuan Village

Birthplace: Sunjik

Family tree: Takisusugan (Father's side); Istanda (Mother's side)

Sister: Langus Istanda

Nephew: Nabu Husungan Istanda

Participated in Japanese military *Takasago Volunteer Service*¹⁵³



Photo 10: Tama Biung Istanda

Source: Author, 2004

Self-Introduction

I was born in Laipunuk area to *Takivablas* tribe in approximately 1918. In the beginning, my ancestors lived in the earliest tribe. Then more and more people came to live with them in the Isbukun group. My ancestors decided to move to *Mundavan* (near present day Hualien). Then more and more people came so our tribe moved again. We moved to the mountain in *Bulbul* (today called *Wulu*) and lived there.

My grandfather heard that his clan had moved again. So my grandfather moved to Laipunuk with his clan. He chose to live in *Takivablas* tribe area because there are many good places there and it was close to the river. Then more and more people came there to live and it became a big tribe. Our tribe's power was big. Other aboriginal people and Japanese were all afraid of us. My grandfather and his people fought with other aboriginal people and Japanese often.

I still remember that there were many human heads on the shelf. I remember when my grandfather and his people sang *malastabang* to show off their achievement, they always sang loudly and described proudly that how many heads were killed.

When I was young, I heard that some Japanese will go to Laipunuk and open up a road there. Maybe it was far from my tribe because I never saw them. Then one day they really came. My

¹⁵³ The Takasago Volunteers are called *Gao-Sha* in Chinese.

father said Japanese were really wordy and they have too many rules, so we don't have to listen to them. My father said we can kill them all.

When I was around ten years old, the Japanese went to my home. A Japanese man said all of the kids have to study in the mission. My father hid me because I was the first son in my family. In Bunun culture, the first son should always stay with and serve his family, and importantly, go hunting with his father. I remember my father used to say to me, "We are a hunting tribe and don't need to waste time on studying."

That was when my younger brother (Nabu) and my younger sister (Langus) went to the Japanese elementary school at *Shou*. Because I stayed with my father, I never learned to write Japanese like my brother and sister, but I did eventually learn to speak it.

Then the Japanese asked us to move from Takivahlas to the lowlands near *Tulandan* (Nuan-Shan), so my family moved to *Tulandan*. The year my family left Laipunuk I was about twenty years old. My sister, Langus was fourteen. Except Takivahlas tribe, nearly all the other tribes had already moved down to *Tulandan*. I didn't feel there was much decision about their governance. They were powerful and we knew that we must obey.

In simple terms, when the Japanese came, Bunun people were scattered in the mountains. The Japanese brought them together to Takivahlas. I think in many ways that our lives got better. I don't harbor bad feelings about it: the Japanese brought better cloth and nice clothing, and they brought a sense of unity and peace. The Japanese taught Bunun not to steal and not to kill or headhunt. I respected the power of the Japanese weapons.

During the Japanese time, they never pushed any religion on us; they let Bunun follow their own beliefs except for headhunting and some cultural practices. When the war came, we had already been living near *Tulandan*. I was very proud to join and serve in the military. In Bunun culture the man should be brave. Traditionally we fought with other tribes and were headhunters. At that time in my life it seemed the same: be brave and fight with other tribes. Joining with the Japanese was like joining a strong tribe.

I felt I should be honest to the Japanese king and not be afraid to fight. I presented myself to the powerful Japanese. My decision was spontaneous. In Bunun culture, when we are needed, we go to fight. Bravery is rewarded in your social standing in the tribe. I was not afraid of getting hurt or to die. That's why we show this ancient custom on the stage at the Bunun Culture and Education Foundation's stage: we drink alcohol from the gourd and encourage each other to be brave toward life.

I was around twenty-one or twenty-two years old when I joined the Japanese *Takasago Volunteers*. Our military group left from Kaohsiung for the island of Palau to train for two months. Then I was transferred to Papua New Guinea for a period of three years. I served as a guard in the commanding division. My job was to protect my Japanese commander (March 1942 – 1945). We fought with the Americans in New Guinea. It was my duty. I decapitated two Americans and felt it was the proudest event of my life. But now I am a Christian. The Christian God may punish me for what I did. When the Japanese lost the war we were suddenly sent home to Taiwan by the Americans.

When I got off the American ship in Taiwan, I went back to Nuan Shan (*Tulandan*) to find my father. But he had moved. The town's people told me that all my family moved to Lu Ming (also called *Pasikau*, now called Tao-Yuan Village). So I went to *Pasikau* to find my father. I will always remember that my father gave me a big hug, held me tightly, and he said, Biung, you finally came home. He couldn't believe I was still alive. I was so happy that I sang a song for him. People said I was the only Laipunuk Bunun who came back alive from the volunteer service in New Guinea.

Today, I hope our younger generations can learn from my experiences and not forget about the history of Bunun tribe. For example, I would never abuse alcohol, because alcohol is something sacred to Bunun culture. Young people today use it as an entertainment outlet.

I have agreed to do these on-camera interviews to have the history for the next generation, have the kids to know, the next generation may want to dig for our story, to know the living style and experience. So the next generation can know our words. The words we tell, our story, will not be forgotten by the next generation.

Our Spirit Beliefs

Hanitu has many meanings, such as spirit or ghost. When my memory goes back, the *hanitu* goes back with me: "All the places I've been my *hanitu* doesn't fall asleep."

In my dream *hanitu* I never saw a ghost. Our people were afraid of that; we got the unlucky things from *hanitu*, like falling down while in the mountain.

I don't know about that, about *hanitu*, about *masial* and *makuang*, maybe that's a dream, maybe that's a ghost. But the elder, a leader, may know how to answer this question.

I remember that *hanitu* was clever. Before *makavas* (headhunting), early in the morning, the leader will wake everyone, maybe ten people, and ask what your dream was. The elder will interpret or translate the dream. He may decide that some men cannot go based on this. Once a man dreamed that when meat was distributed everyone got a piece, but the dreamer didn't get anything. Then a stranger came and gave him just a small piece of meat. *Lavaian* (meaning the headhunting team leader) thought about the meaning of this dream. He knew it was a bad sign that the man dreamed about not getting meat but he figured it was okay because he did get a small piece from the stranger. He reasoned that as long as you get something, that's okay, and he let the man come with them to headhunt. In the battle the man who had the dream got shot in the back. Then he realized that the small piece of meat was a small bullet. The *hanitu* had fooled *lavaian*. So the *hanitu* can cheat you.

Now there are no more Bunun taboos because I have been a Christian for about forty or fifty years. I can't translate dreams, God¹⁵⁴ can't even do that.

When you kill an animal you should cut off different meats from the animal and put it on a flat stone or rock as a sacrifice to the spirits. We called this action *mapatabu*¹⁵⁵. This is for *hanitu*. When we don't do this the *hanitu* will bring bad luck, and our people really believe that. Before hunting, that night we send the kids out because their sneezing would bring *mashahun* (bad luck).

Birds flying in certain directions were unlucky. And sneezing is bad luck too. I remember a story, "There was a man, a hunter, he heard a sneeze, but he went hunting anyways, and he got lots of meat. And when returning to the village he sang *machiluma* so everyone would know he was back and had gotten lots of meat. Not long after he fell down and died." So before you leave for hunting never hear a sneeze. You should believe that this is real. He got a lot of meat but died when almost home.

Headhunting

You should not kill as if their possessions will belong to you; it's for the Bunun man to participate and to be proud for Bunun social standing. If someone says you never *makavas* (headhunt), you will try to join a group so that you can go. When you come back, you can be

¹⁵⁴ God in a Christian context; today the meaning of *hanitu* is reinterpreted by the Christian church and associated with the devil. The Bunun concept of sky (*dehanin*) is now associated with God (Haung, 1988 unpublished dissertation). Currently the Bunun word for the Christian God is *Tama Dehanin*.

¹⁵⁵ T.B. Istanda clearly stated that meat from both inside and outside of the carcass are required for *mapatabu*.

proud. If you don't go (never go) no one will respect you, they won't share meat and wine with you.

I've seen the skulls hanging, but you should never go near them, or you will get sick. This is *samu* (taboo), you'll have bad luck. *Maputus* is the name for eating a piece of meat and then giving a piece to the skulls. Only men do this. This place was not near the house. We only did this during the *malahodagian* (*ear-shooting festival*).

Mangan is to have power: "People who are not afraid," even in a fight they are not afraid. But if they don't do anything then they are not *mangan*, like people who eat too much or just always stay home with the women.

When we arrived in Takivahlas, we still did some headhunting but not much. When my brother and sisters were at home, we remember waiting and worrying about our father when he went headhunting.

There is a ceremony before headhunting, called *gabatham*. Headhunting depends on your dream and *gabatham*. *Gabatham* is when we cut a short piece of *tagnas* reed, but not the flower, only the stem, and put it on the trail. This is called *kus* (stick). The *kus* is going to carry or bring the *hanitu*, so the spirit will go from that *kus* to everyone, so when they go, they will carry the *kus*. If that night they don't have a good dream they won't bring the *kus*.

Everyone can have their own *kus* to put in the trail. Mix it with the dream. And the birds at the *makuang* (left side). If the bird sings on the right side that's good, then you will get a head and not get hurt. Bird's name is *thedu*. We wait for bird's singing. Dream, bird's sing, the *kus*, it takes time.

Only the leader has the stick. If everything is good then you take the stick with you. If everything is not good then you throw the stick away. Everyone who wants to go can come. Even if the dream is not good, the Bunun can cheat the *lavaian* because he wants to go. We have stories about the *hanitu* cheating *lavaian*.

When we go headhunting depends on the male leaders dream and the feeling. If he feels he should go – then he should go. And he may just go, and plan to be alone. But the others in the family will know he's going. They may want to increase their social position and request to go along. It may start in this way.

You don't invite anyone to go with you. We are individual in that way. But you won't refuse someone who is determined to come with you. The person will just come to you and ask if they can come with you. The leader will answer, "That's up to you."

When a man has the feeling to *makavas*, he cannot stop the feeling. It's an individual event, just how you feel. The wife should not try to stop the husband, but she can, and should, feel worried. The wife's action in the house should be fast and serious. If she is slow and lazy the husband will be made slow and weak. Before you go headhunting you should hide the kids. Only the wife stays to help, and the woman should work very fast – make your man fast, and then he may be the first to have a head. We never knew where our father was going to headhunt.

Enemies are called *bingbingan*¹⁵⁶ (a strong enemy) or we may say *vaival* (means different). If we go to headhunt *put*¹⁵⁷ (Taiwanese) we would not *malastabang* this. It's not so proud.

Killing *put* is not proud; it should be *bingbingan*. When we show up to kill *put* they always go "iu iu" (oh no oh no) and they try to run away. We should fight powerful people. When you *malastabang*, you cannot count *put*.

Our father went headhunting four times so he *malastabang* four times. *Malastabang* has its own counting system¹⁵⁸: one time is *makatasa*; two times is *makapusan*; three times is *makajune*; four times is *makapat*; five times is *makaima*.

The most times I ever heard of someone headhunting was *Anu Shikish* from *Palalavi* family. He went 13 times. But his headhunting group had a member, a man from Asahi village named Biung *tangus* (ahead). He was always ahead of the others; he was always the first to cut. And I remember Biung Ikit also from *Palalavi*; he went fourteen times.

For our Husungan family, I think the most *mamangan*¹⁵⁹ person was my father Anu. He was *mamangan*. But his oldest brother Biung had gone three times, Dahu went five times, and my father went four times.

¹⁵⁶ *Bingbingan* means enemy of the Bunun and refers only to indigenous tribes. Chinese and Japanese are not *bingbingan*.

¹⁵⁷ *Put* refers to all Chinese. There is no distinction between Hakka and Holo Chinese. As the Bunun have a strict taboo against farting, which was not observed by Chinese when in Bunun company, the Bunun call them *put* or literally *fart* (Istanda, N., 2006).

¹⁵⁸ This follows the Bunun numbers but with some variance. According to N. Istanda, from one to five in Bunun are: *tasa, dusa, tao, pat, ima*.

¹⁵⁹ *Mamangan* is a verb (similar to adding *ing* in English), whereas *mamang* is a noun.

I remember a story about *Lapus Ang*, the woman whose husband went head hunting. The group came back with victory but the husband didn't return. No one knew what happened to him. Every evening she went outside to wait for him. She called *mapuaisang*¹⁶⁰. There is a bird in the high mountains that makes this song. My sister always says she is so sad when we hear that bird in the evening.

When you're headhunting, if someone in the group gets hurt, we leave them behind. Someone will tell his wife why he didn't come back. The leader of the group won't feel sorry or guilty, that's not his responsibility. No one can blame him. Each person goes on his own will. It's an individual decision/event. It's a gamble to go. You may win, you may lose.

The wife can marry another, but I never heard of it. I never heard of a widow from headhunting to remarry, but maybe it did happen. But today people divorce and remarry like it doesn't mean anything.

We stopped headhunting *bingbingan*. Because we stopped headhunting our people became foolish idiots. Other tribes also became like idiots. So now we can get along, there is no more revenge.

Hunting

The first time was with my father. I just thought, "Get the meat." In the old times every family had their own hunting place to get meat. You can go to other peoples hunting area but you should ask first.

We have many types of hunting. *Hulmu* is when you wait or hide for hunting. *Mapuas* is using a dog for hunting. *Hulmu* and *mapuas* can be done at the same time. *Matahavan* is when you use a bow and arrow or gun, and you go looking for the animal. *Ishnudan* is hunting by fire. That's good in a razor grass area. You burn, and the area not burning you *bulmu* for them. I've hunted that way. Yes we have burned the mountain. We don't use that burned area for growing millet because it would be too far.

Our Hunting Taboos

Women cannot touch the hunter's knife, sword, or gun. *Unhusingan* means if a woman touches it, you can't use it. But she can prepare or touch the hunter's backpack.

¹⁶⁰ *Mapuaisang* meaning is *Mapua* (sad) *Isang* (heart).

When we get the first animal in an area, we must make a sacrifice, only the first animal, and then if we go to another place and don't get any game, we should still offer something from the first place's kill. The meaning is to invite and mention to the ancestors that we are here, to ask them to protect us and to give us meat.

The meats we call *ji ji* are *vanish* (pig), *shidi* (goat), *sakut* (bark deer), *hangvan* (deer), and *utung* (monkey). Bear, deer, bark deer, goat, and pig, these are the biggest animals. But my favorite meat is bark deer, also wild pig because it's so delicious. But, wild pigs in the mountains are so skinny. There are not too many bears, but if you meet one, you just kill it. But we don't go hunting for bear, it is just *tamuli*¹⁶¹, "I don't want to meet you, but I must kill you." Bear is too dangerous and has too many taboos, so we don't consider bear to be Ji Ji. We never used to shoot flying squirrel like people do today, we had plenty of meat, we didn't need that.

Our Old Guns

In Laipunuk we had four kinds of guns: *jimbabatus* was a single shot muzzle loader; *tuabak* was also a single shot muzzle loader but with a very large barrel and large shot; *jintatasa* was a single shot but it used a shell with a casing; and *jinnum* was a six shot rifle and good for hunting (*num* means six). These guns all came from Taiwanese people. These guns didn't come from Anu *Magavan* the gun maker in Laipunuk. I never saw the Old Dutch guns.

The amount of guns you have depends on how many men in your family. In *Takivablas* we had two guns in our house. My father had a six-shooter, but mine was a single shot. My brother Nabu was too young to have a gun. A young man should be fifteen or sixteen years old to have a gun. Our guns all came from Taiwanese, we bought them from Taiwanese.

Gunpowder

In Laipunuk we used to make gunpowder *karanak*¹⁶² (by ourselves). You first must have the *batuklukan* (chicken house). Then we collected the mud under the layer of chicken manure. Then we cooked this mud with water. Next we added *dainalu* (saltpeter¹⁶³), which is a liquid we get from *put* people. When we add a little *dianalu* the water turns white that's good, it will be success. Then we just take the water and get rid of the mud. The water is boiled until dry (reduced) and becomes a powder. Then take the pot, make it cold, wait until the next day. Then

¹⁶¹ *Tamuli* means that you have no choice.

¹⁶² *Karanak* means *by yourself*.

¹⁶³ *Dainalu* is most likely saltpeter.

there is powder that's white like snow, like crystals. Next we collect *madiav*¹⁶⁴ (sulfur) from Laipunuk's hot springs. If we can't get sulfur from hot springs then sometimes we got it from the Japanese telephone line connectors. If we can't get sulfur from telephone insulators or hot springs, then it comes from the *put* people in *Lakuli*. Lastly we make charcoal from the *hulas* (*yen fu mu*) tree. Then we must cook it together, which is very dangerous. We need all three colors: white powder from the cooked chicken poop (cooked with *dainalu*); yellow sulfur (*madiav*) from hot springs or line connectors; and black charcoal made from *hulas* wood. Then you have gunpowder. All the elders know how to make gunpowder.

Our Father

I learned from our father where the river goes and how the mountains are; he wanted me to know every area of the mountains: "You should know everywhere." He taught me that there are many types of hunting style, such as *bulmu* (wait for prey), or hunt with a dog, or go looking for the game. Father taught me that I must "know each area and know the winds, then you know how to hunt in that area."

I remember my mother and father, how they walked to their fields. Mama worked at the house. Papa went hunting maybe four days a week, and when he came home he would work with mama. I never saw my grandparents. My father was from *Mudan*, his family name *Husungan*. My mama was from a *Takibanuan* family.

My father hid me from the Japanese but he was foolish – the Japanese already knew about me – they had a name list paper. But each time the Japanese came my father said, "No, no one named Biung." He would push them out. But the Japanese can never find me, I was in the forest. I was six or seven then and my brother Nabu was not born yet.

My Papa always hid me. Papa always said to our family, "Don't talk about that, I will hide him." Papa was worried about *halavan* (robbing). Papa said, "Biung is my only son, he is our family treasure." But the Japanese ended up taking me to fight. It was to be my obligation.

My Papa trained me from a little boy. I started hunting much earlier than other boys my age. Papa was *mamangan* (powerful); he took me when he was so young. I already had a short gun, a bow and arrow, a dog, and a backpack. Papa's way to train me was different and earlier than other's ways. If papa hadn't trained me so young, I would have died already. I never would have survived the Pacific war.

¹⁶⁴ *Madiav* is the Bunun word for both 'yellow' and 'sulfur'.

Our Old Village of Sunjik

There was a *Jivablan* (watchtower) at *Sunjik*¹⁶⁵. There was a gun there. *Sunjik* had a stone wall to protect the village. The entire area was called *Sunjik*.

I think our old house at Sunjik was made of *banil*¹⁶⁶: the sides were made of *banil* bark; the posts and front of *banil* wood; but the 3 sides were stone. Rich people, families with many boys who can hunt and get meat would build with *banil* boards, the poor just use stones. When we were in Sunjik we didn't use money.

My sister was three when we left, so her memory really begins with Takivahlas. But she has some memory of Sunjik, and our father used to talk about that time. She remembers that *kalabatun* bark was the house material, but I know that place better than my sister because I went back there with my father to go hunting. From Takivahlas to Sunjik took about one hour to hike. Sunjik was a cold place. I remember that when it was cold, our family all sat around the stoves.

There were five main families living in *Sunjik*, I can remember *Takiludun*, *Balavi*, *Tashimusan*, and *Husungan*, which is our family village. The area was big and the families lived at different mountains, they were very spread out.

In *Sunjik* we had forty people in our family, all living in the same house. When we moved to *Takivahlas* we separated and each group built their own house. I remember when we moved to *Takivahlas* that our family had to decide to stay together or separate, there were five which made the decision for the family of forty¹⁶⁷: *Dabu*, *Husung*, *Tulian*, *Tamuniikid* and *Anu* (our father). *Tamuniikid* and his family stayed in *Sunjik*.

Our father had six brothers and four sisters, the oldest brother was *Lamata*: *Lamata*, *Dabu*, *Biung*, *Anu* (my father), *Atul*, *Tahai*, and *Nabu*. My father's sisters were named *Langus* and *Abus*, but I forget the others names. *Abus* married to Kaohsiung's Bunun *Ismahasan* Family. *Langus* married to a *Takiludun* family, a man named *Bisado Atul*. *Langus* had come down with us to *Takivahlas* but she was already married in *Sunjik*, but I didn't meet her again until many years later. *Abus* went to where her new husband's house in Kaohsiung County. We were

¹⁶⁵ See *Map 10* of Laipunuk with toponyms relevant to this section.

¹⁶⁶ Taiwan Yellow Cypress.

¹⁶⁷ This point concerning who and how they planned their relocation is currently under review.

*Mavalan*¹⁶⁸ of *Abus* so we went to visit her family in Kaohsiung County. There was no trail. We just followed the mountains, we never got lost. But the way to there is very dangerous.

We didn't raise pigs in Sunjik, nor did we *mankaun*¹⁶⁹ with pigs and wine. Maybe this behavior is from another tribe. We are real Bunun; we didn't *mankuan* before.

Our Clothes in Sunjik

Our clothes in *Sunjik* were just *tabish* (a traditional skirt), *habong* (vest with open front made of two pieces of cloth sewn together, and *pitub* (jacket/shirt which were white).

Many things are from fiber. We already had cloth from Han people, we had cloth and leather. But we were not naked like the natives on TV. We had cloth to wear as a loincloth, it was small and just covered our genitals, but our back sides were open. When we lived in *Sunjik* had things from Taiwanese people but not actually from trade. And we didn't take things from headhunting; we only take the head. After we came down to *Takivablas* we had lots of cloth

Our Move to Laipunuk

Palalavi and *Istanda* families moved because of the marriage relationship. When you have marriage exchange you have information exchange and families may move together. Also for animal meat, when Bunun go out to hunt, the hunter finds and learns about a new place. The hunter knows – these are the reasons we move.

Our New House at Takivablas

Our *tainidalan* (first to open the land) at *Takivablas* was a man called *Tahai Binad* from *Mundavan* of *Istanda* family. And when Japanese came into *Takivablas*, he was the first to move down to *Gainusungan* village near Hong Ye.

We carried the *banil* bark to *Takivablas* from *Sunjik*, so our first house was made of *banil* but later we used *tagnas* reeds¹⁷⁰ for the walls and roof in *Takivablas*, then later we built a rock house¹⁷¹. We have seen this type of rock house before, so we learned from other people, maybe from Rukai or Paiwan people. I think when the men went hunting or headhunting we saw the

¹⁶⁸ *Mavalan* refers to *affine*. In this thesis, *affine* may imply the wives' family as the Bunun are patrilocal.

¹⁶⁹ *Mankuan* is the practice of thanking the affine family for the wife having given birth.

¹⁷⁰ *Tagnas* is Bunun for *gao shan wujiemang* 高山五節芒.

¹⁷¹ See section 5.3 regarding the *Takivablas* House and its construction.

Rukai or Paiwan rock house. In Laipunuk everyone was making the stone house. If Bunun have rock, we use it.

I was too young to help build our house in *Takivablas*, maybe just five or six years old.

Our house had windows, but not a shooting window like our house in *Sunjik*. Our house was rock on three sides but had wooden boards in the front.

The beds were around the sides and against the walls. Our beds in *Takivablas* were made of *tagnas* reeds and with leather, fiber, and cloth to put on top, and it was warm because we also had the stoves. And we had blankets made of goat skin called *gulung*. My sister remembers that we used *kuling taigaz* (large bags) made of *liv* (ramie fiber) to cover us too.

There were five of us kids, we all slept together, ate together, and everyone should have equal meat from the soup. Everyone got a piece of meat, even the baby. Even though the baby can't eat it, a baby is a person too. We always ate with the piece of meat in one hand and a spoon in the other. The spoon was used to eat rice, millet, or soup.

The front wall of the house was wood, and when you opened the door and saw straight ahead was the *bachilasan* (granary). And besides the granary was a small place to keep the things used for ceremonies. Our ceremony items could be placed on either side of the granary, it didn't matter. The granary was supported by four *banil* posts so it was about a meter off the floor.

As soon as we built the house, there were two stoves inside. My father *Anu* was always kind and good, and wanted to share his wisdom. Everyone always wanted to come to his *banin* (stove). There were two stoves; I don't know why we had two stoves maybe because of separate responsibilities, but not because of *samu* (taboo), maybe because there were two brothers so we had two stoves.

I remember the *luluman*¹⁷² (pig pen) didn't have a door and was to the left side of the house. We fed the pigs inside but didn't let them walk around. We also had a chicken (*tuluk*) house.

There was a special place for our ceremonies but it wasn't near the house. We were only allowed to go to that place if there was a ceremony, otherwise we shouldn't go there. There was a building where we kept animal jawbones from hunting. We call that *lulusanan* because *lusan* is an animal ceremony place.

¹⁷² *Luluman* also means 'jail', a house without a door.

Many years later I went back and saw the house foundation and area. That was during the KMT forestry time in the 1970s.

Our Family Witch Doctor

Bunun prefer *palabas* (marriage by exchange). *Langus* married to *Ala-ala's* brother from *Takiludun*, and *Dabu* married *Ala-ala*. *Dabu* was a *tasiun* (witch) so we were very afraid of him. He could use *matatashi*, which is a witch's way to kill people. He used hair, blood, bones. He could take the spirit out of your liver and heart. Medicine people could do this, they can talk to the evil spirits of the sick person's body and make them go out, and then you will get better.

Dabu, who was an *amaminan* (witch doctor), always led the ceremonies in our new village. People were afraid of him or to go freely to his house. People always came to my father's *habu*¹⁷³. They liked to come inside the house to be close to him. No one went to *Tama Dabu's* stove. He didn't have papa's kind of knowledge; no one wanted to be close to him. My sister said he could kill people with his power. When our mother used to cook things for the pigs, *Dabu's* wife (*Ala-ala*) would always come to take the best part to their pigs, but their pigs were always skinny and my mama's were fat. I believe, "that is *dahinan's*¹⁷⁴ will."

Our Beauty Concepts

What is most beautiful and handsome for Bunun men and women is long hair, pierced ears, and *umanun* (pulling) of their *vanish*¹⁷⁵ (front incisors). My father pulled all four of my incisors when I was only five years old. This is because when they are kids so they don't feel the pain. Ears should be pierced at one or two years old. We do this because we believe that a pierced ear is beautiful and pulled teeth are handsome. The mouth looks smaller when the teeth are pulled. Small jaw looks beautiful. I remember a story of a girl who pulled her top teeth and felt she was more beautiful, so she wanted to do the bottoms too, but then she died. If you don't pull the teeth you will look *masampav* (ugly). After pulling them you will look *manimnin* (attractive). Seediq tribe also does this. I don't really know why, it just looks good. My brother *Nabu* and sister *Langus* never pulled their teeth. My brother *Nabu's* mouth didn't look good.

¹⁷³ *Habu* means *ashes* and may also mean *gunpowder*. Here T.B. Istanda uses *ashes* to refer to the stove, but the meaning is of a closer relationship. Coming to someone's *ashes* is closer to that person's *spirit* comparative to visiting their *stove*.

¹⁷⁴ Here Tama Biung used the word *dahinan*, which is translated to *heaven* in the post-Christianization era.

¹⁷⁵ *Vanish* means wild pig and refers to the incisor teeth. The upper incisor and the tooth behind it are pulled on each side of the jaw.

Bunun say that *masampav* is a person who doesn't take out their teeth. *Baintusan* means *pull the teeth* – that is the action. *Manimnin* is after you pull the teeth. *Put* people don't do that, only *true* Bunun do it. It is a *samu* (taboo) not to do that.

Our Bathing

We used to bathe with cold water and we had no soap. We bathed at the river or at the house. How often depends on if it's was hot outside, then we took bath – if it was cold, maybe not. We never had a bathroom or soap, but we used plant seeds named *dabu dabu*¹⁷⁶. Today many organic people use it; they put it in the net bag and wash with it. This plant used to grow at *Takivablas*.

My Red Scarf

I always wear my red scarf tied on my head this way because it looks good. It should be red. When we gather you should wear it. Before we wore very long hair so the hair should be twisted into a ponytail and wrapped with the cloth so that the hair is not outside the cloth.

If you kill the animal, put the blood on your knife, gun, or scarf. I don't know, we just do it. People will know you killed many animals. Red means fine, a good symbol, power, have something to cook. Red color is meaningful.

Our Taiwanese (*put*) Culture

I don't think *put* are called *put* from fart, maybe that's a joke¹⁷⁷, it's from our ancestors, and it's just a name of a tribe.

The *put* in *Takivablas* were mostly Holo *put* people. I don't know if the *put* in our village really followed *put* or *ngai ngai* (Hakka), we didn't go to their houses, we just played outside, and they were same as Bunun. Tokiwa (village) had all true Bunun children.

There were four or five *put* houses were in *Takivablas*, maybe *Anu Manglav*, *Ja Nu*, *Xing* (Lin Zu Mei's papa), and *Xingniu*. *Anu Manglav's* people once lived in *Sunjik*.

¹⁷⁶ *Dabu dabu* is called *wu huan zi* in Chinese.

¹⁷⁷ N. Istanda believes that informant (T.B. Istanda) may have given this answer out of respect, due to the presence of a *maiput* woman (Lin Zu Mei) who was on set at the time of the on camera interview.

Put people were being pushed – pushed toward *Lakuli*. Then they stay there. *Lakuli* had many *put* mixed with Bunun. Many *put* who were with Bunun were pushed by Japanese toward *Lakuli*.

There was a marriage relation between *Tamabukun*, a Bunun elder from Laipunuk, and the *put* people. The elders learn from the *put*.

Our Neighbors the Mantauran

I don't know the names of the people from *Upunuku* (Mantauran¹⁷⁸), but I know they came to *Madaipulan*¹⁷⁹, maybe for *mavalan* (affine). People from *Kutubuki*¹⁸⁰ would go to meet them at *Madaipulan*. Because of the marriage exchange they came to visit. I remember the name of a man called *Uvak* who married a *Mantauran* girl. And *Uvak* is a *Mantauran* name, so I'm not sure about that, maybe *Uvak*'s father had already married a *Mantauran* woman.

Marriage

Before there was money, if the wedding was not by exchange we would trade a gun for a woman, "you can have my daughter but give me your gun."

My sister says if the boy's papa knows the other family has a young girl, they will go to visit and check to see the family line. If it's okay, they will just take the little girl home. But it's not so easy, it should have *mapashingav*. It should be very formal. They need to make an agreement, even if it's just a little girl. If the girl's family refuses, that's fine. You should prepare wine and pig (even if they are just kids). You should feed the pig for one year.

Our Jobs at Home

We work at the field and when it's the time to hunt, we just go. Women stay at home to tend to the millet and take care of the house. When we come home we all make leather things like shoes. The millet field was not so big, not so much work. Women have jobs at home, like mending the cloth. We get the needle and thread from trade with *put*. When we were young in Laipunuk there wasn't so much work, just take care of millet and have ceremonies.

¹⁷⁸ As aforementioned in Chapter 4, the *Mantauran* self identify as *Oponoho* and the Laipunuk Bunun refer to them as *Upunuku*. See reference list for the works of E. Zeitoun.

¹⁷⁹ *Madaipulan* is an old Bunun village believed to have strong ties with the *Mantauran* villages in Pingtung County. The author explored this location during the 2006 Expedition.

¹⁸⁰ *Kutubuki* was an important Japanese police station in Laipunuk. Refer to Chapter 4.3 for alternative Japanese, Chinese, and Bunun names.

Our Farming

When we lived in Sunjik we only grew *maduh* (millet) and sugar cane, but when we moved to *Takivblas* we grew *salath*, *mukun*, *batal*, and *katchpulun* (corn), but we did not eat *katchpulun*. I heard from other people that it can be used to make wine. We only made wine for ceremonies, mainly weddings and when affine come. We normally just visit other's houses when there were decisions to make.

Our village at *Takivblas* was big, so the *huma* (millet field) was across the river. Anyone can grow millet, if we want a place we just make it, we just do as we can, everyone can have a field, you can make it¹⁸¹.

Tobacco

We used to have tobacco, and we planted a lot of it. We could trade it in *Lakuli*; also *Mantauran* people came to Laipunuk to trade for tobacco. I didn't smoke but my father did. My father had a small bag he carried with tobacco and a pipe. Our family planted the tobacco plant on their own. My father showed me how to make it dry. We dried it by hanging it inside the house. It can't get wet. After the leaves were dry we tied it in a bundle, like a roll, and then you can just cut some off the end when you want to smoke. The roll of tobacco can be carried in a piece of bamboo, so you can take it everywhere. My father used to plant tobacco for trade and for use, but actually, my father just used it and shared it, but others used it for trade.

Our Music

We only have songs during ceremony times. You should not sing alone, only when gathering. No drink, no song.

We sing *machiluma* when we carry heavy things, even meat or millet because it makes things feel lighter. Not just when nearby the house, but anytime you carry things. We *machiluma* on the way and you can sing this song when you're alone because *machiluma* is not for ceremony. Even walk together, carry things together, *machiluma* is for your own feeling. I learned *machiluma* from Tama Dahu, and it's very simple. I remember there was one Bunun man who always went off-tune. It was very funny. Sometime I imitate him because it was so funny.

¹⁸¹ N. Intanda explains: "you must have a dream to open the land, you need to ask heaven." Even today, T.B. Istanda wanted a place for his cow, so he opened a place for it on nearby land without government involvement by asking the people who used it before; then when he became too old to feed and care for the cow, he just let the land be free.

Pasibutbut is only done once a year and it must have a good harmony. If not done correctly then the year will not be good. *Pasibutbut* is only a ceremony for headhunting. It's only done by men. Circle from left to right. You put the head in the middle and circle around. But I remember our Papa just hung the head on the side at the ceremony. When we gather and learn to make the song good, we try to match the sound and volume. Each person has their own sound. *Mashling* means many voices, like harmony. You can't have *mashling* alone.

Malastabang is when we tell how many times you have gone headhunting. Before the Japanese time, we only tell about headhunting (*makavas* or *haingut* meaning 'cut head'). But after the Japanese came we just tell about hunting, especially big animals. Now our kids say anything on stage because the Chinese can't understand our language, they say, "I got one mouse, or I killed three frogs," and make jokes. It's funny but also sad.

Pisilaiya is for our ritual music for headhunting only. But that was in that time, and now it's different. Today it's just for hunting, we just say, "All of the meat just come in front of my gun." The meaning is *jislai*: even if the knife just cuts the skin, may they die. "Let the knife have magic." So *pisilaiya* is to pray to God¹⁸², let our weapons have magic. That's like an electric shock to your body or like poison – even just a few drops and you die.

These things (*pisilaiya* and *malastabang*) were just for headhunting. *Pisilaiya* is done before you headhunt; *malastabang* is done after you headhunt.

There's another song used when we walk around the heads in a circle and sing to call the heads brother's heads to come to you. You lead their spirits and you respect their spirits. At this time we feed the skulls meat.

Our Play

We went to each other's houses to play. When we were young, ten or eleven, we played bow and arrow to shoot birds and small animals. We used to throw a kind of round vegetable up on the hill and try to shoot it as it rolled down.

Our Trade

Bunun have brass or silver bracelets. Those things came from trade with *put* people. There was a *maiput* gun maker in Laipunuk named *Anu Mangan*, he had a lot of adornments, maybe he

¹⁸² God is replacing the term *Dabinan*.

made them himself, maybe it was from *put* people. We have a history of *mapuwive* (trade exchange) with *put* in Laipunuk.

Our Trading Posts

When I was maybe sixteen years old, I first had money to buy something at Laipunuk. My family had money but not much. Japanese brought money. Before Japanese we had trade exchange. One big deer antler can trade for one metal pot. I remember my father and I went alone to *Lakuli* with a deer antler¹⁸³ and skin to the trade place and Japanese gave us money.

After the Japanese came, there were two types of stores in Laipunuk: Koikisho and Shihu¹⁸⁴. Koikisho was a Japanese trading post that sells cloth, knives, machetes, but no gunpowder; Shihu was a Taiwanese trading post, and even Japanese would buy things there, they sold rice, noodles, things for daily life. Bunun can buy things at either type of store as long as they have money, they didn't allow trade exchange

Bingbingan in Laipunuk

We could not live with *bingbingan*. They were road makers. They were from the lowlands. They were friends with the Japanese. They were servants and road makers. When they worked on the roads, there were Japanese in front and back, with *bingbingan* in the middle. The Japanese used to beat the lazy workers. There was a man named Xingxing from another tribe. We called those tribes *Jivulan* (plains indigenes). He could speak Bunun. He knew our elder sister *Kiwa*. His kind of people were used by Japanese to discipline other aboriginal workers, servants, also Bunun. He worked at *Bulubulu* before as a road worker.

The Aiyong (workers) Jobs

Aiyong jobs were sweeping, cooking, cutting the trees for the fire, and making charcoal. The Japanese liked to use coals in their rooms. Aiyong were used to carry the supplies from the lowlands. Some carried documents, like a mail man, from one office to another. Each office must send to the next. Kutubuki office had four Aiyong, but other office maybe only had two.

¹⁸³ Deer antler blood is used as Chinese medicine.

¹⁸⁴ Koikisho and Shihu are Japanese names.

Our Japanese Mail: Kutzu

I used to carry supplies from Kokayo to Kutubuki. Kutzu is the Japanese name for a mail man. I was so young for this work, but I was not afraid. We took turns. One day I was Kutzu, the next day-off. Mail was taken from office to office, some offices were bypassed. It took two days and one night (two days one way). Japanese were my boss but not *put*. If your strong (can carry a lot), maybe you make three cents. The Aiyong made fifteen dollars (yen) a month. The Kibusan (police office chief) made fifty yen per month. When I went to be a Takasago Volunteer I made eight yen per month.

Our Laipunuk Hero: Lamataxinxin

Lamataxinxin was from *Mundavan*, my grandpa was from there too. I've seen him. He was a big man. His knees were big. Like a giant. His hair was long. He came for *tangtungun*. *Mapa-tangtungun* means a regular visit. *Mapa-dulap* means rare and special visiting. He came to see my father at *Takivablas*, but not at the village, rather at nearby areas. We moved from *Sunjik* to *Takivablas* area (the highland area) for a period of time. The *put* were in the lower place. *Lamataxinxin* was a relative of our family so he would come if he was passing by. From hunting and headhunting, a strong man should move through the mountains: Hualien, Kaohsiung, Laidong.

Lamataxinxin was *Husungan* (family name). He was *mamangan* (brave). If you kill Japanese you are *mamangan*, because Japanese were a strong people who killed our people. The Bunun who resisted were always caught by Japanese. The Japanese caught *Lamataxinxin* but they didn't kill him. They made him/them promise not to kill Japanese.

But *Lamataxinxin* still made gunpowder and went secretly to headhunt. He killed a chief of a police office. *Lamataxinxin* came to *Linkav* village of *Istanda* family, but the village told the Japanese (*Hyduan* area). After they caught him, they killed his family, or maybe just caught them.

Tekansui was the *put* man who helped catch *Lamataxinxin*. Tekansui's family then opened/had a store in Laipunuk. Tekanshui was *maiput* Aiyong. The Japanese gave him a high position because he can speak Japanese, Bunun, and he is a businessman. He is the one who always caught our people so Japanese liked him. His Japanese was good (clear). He then came to live at Shou. His family name was *Kimlan*, which was *put* name. Kimlan family married to Bunun. Tekanshui also married to Bunun.

Husung was a man who made gunpowder. My uncle *Adul's* kids. My cousin. He made the very good gun. Single shot. Good for long distance. It uses one single bullet (a shell). He can make the shell and the iron barrel with a hole. He must have had a machine to make that. We had the machine to make iron.

I know that *Lamataxinxin* got his gunpowder from Laipunuk.

Our Laipunuk Rebel

I remember about *Haisul*, I was twenty years old. *Haisul* was forty-seven years old. He was from *Halipusun*. In 1941, they were relocated to *Taminik*, where they just built a new house with the help of Japanese, but the new house wasn't finished yet when *Haisul* went to fight.

He (they) had a deal with another family in Asahi to fight Japanese. *Palalavi* family from *Halipusun* and *Biung Anika* from *Takiludun* family from Asahi. They had a plan for the date to fight the Japanese in Laipunuk. *Haisul* was to attack from the east toward the west, and *Takiludun* family to attack from the west toward the east. They planned to meet at Shou. They thought that there were only a few Japanese at each office so they thought it would be easy. *Haisul* really went on time, but *Biung Anika* was late. *Haisul* was too hasty. *Haisul* was *malavann* (powerful). *Haisul* is so upset about moving down. *Haisul* didn't have a good plan, he just sees Japanese as another tribe. After the Japanese find him, they left him in the village. Life was almost normal for him. *Haisul* was working hard in his fields. *Haisul* and his wife and kids had no millet so the Japanese wanted him to work all year. At harvest time, once the family had enough millet, Japanese took him to court and killed him. The Japanese were very clever.

We Follow the Japanese

Japanese purpose is to push us down. First they educate and brainwash us, then Bunun will obey. They pushed us together to the Schools and the committee conferences at Shou. These are the two purpose of Shou. They have us go *bansha kaigi* (savage village meeting) as a group so we must follow Japanese. *Bansha* meeting always at the police office, each office had this. The *tou mu* established by Japanese organized this.

Our Life Yesterday and Today

My sister says the life at the mountain was better, there was nothing to worry about, but before Japanese came we are always anxious, there were enemies all around. You must always be on guard. My father's brother *Dahu* was always readying the guns. Every day you must prepare

your gun. If you see an enemy come and you prepare your gun then, that is too late. The gun must be loaded and ready. *Duhu's* wife *Ala-ala* was carrying *mukun*¹⁸⁵ home one day to use for making wine and she accidentally knocked a gun over and it fired. Their son *Husung* was hit by the shot. He died. This happened in *Sunjik*. But I think life in the mountains was better than today's way of life, men were always hunting, women always at the millet field. It was natural to headhunt and feel on-duty. That was our life.

My sister says that today young people, well, how can we encourage them, push them to learn, to think, to care? Those who want to return, go back, try that way, they can make that choice, this way is the traditional way – if you have that power (that feeling) – you just follow that way.

We never thought about having the land taken away from us and being forced to leave forever. We didn't know that behavior. We just live in the forest, follow our ancestors, make a village. We never made a decision to leave that place. We naturally grew up there – it would be natural to go back.

To recognize our history, first we must *pasahal* (know each other). Our family system was destroyed by the Japanese, and again by the Chinese. The way to go back is to rebuild the family circle. Today the family doesn't communicate, religions and voting have separated us: Christian, Buddhist, Taoist, different beliefs, this broke our social structure.

I agree with what my nephew *Nabu's* says: "*palihadasan*¹⁸⁶, discuss and talk about the history; *palihansa*, show and share your own opinion and what you know; *palimantuk*, make agreement (being sure); *palishnulu*, review the promise. For old Bunun this is natural; for young Bunun this needs to be learned.

Bunun culture and society was like a circle, we keep moving and end up back again.

This is like the headhunt, it's your individual event, your own life business, and it's up to yourself. It's, "Up to you." *Uninang* (fortunately) at least I have the opportunity to show what Bunun is. My body can still show the ceremony – the body movements and words.

For me it's difficult to have this happen. But I do my best to answer what you ask. All my grandkids now speak only Chinese. How can they be Bunun when they don't even know the

¹⁸⁵ *Mukun* is a root plant required for wine-making by Bunun tradition. See Section 5.2 Narratives of L. Istanda for further mention.

¹⁸⁶ *Pali* means talk or discuss

language? Now, my own family doesn't use Bunun, and the grandkids don't try to learn Bunun. I asked them, they know it is important to me, but they don't try. I hope I am not the last of our family to have been *mangan* (powerful/strong). If today we are *shishivin*¹⁸⁷ then that is our own *ishuka*¹⁸⁸.

If later, I'm still alive, we can talk again.

Analysis of Tama Biung Istanda Narrative

In the widest sense, the author and translator perceive that the informant's memory of the time and place in question is extensive, including his knowledge of Bunun culture and Japanese system in Laipunuk. His early childhood memory is vivid and his childhood knowledge of Bunun culture is extensive.

Based on several observations, author and translator infer that the informant's relationship with his father was very close and that his father was resolute to convey Bunun culture to his son. We base this inference on the following: informant began hunting and his teeth were pulled at a younger than usual age; his father was aware that there was a threat to their culture and way of life because he had met with *Lamataxinxin* and knew that the Japanese influence and dominance were likely to spread to Laipunuk; certainly gunpowder and the manufacture and availability firearms was prolific in Laipunuk before the Japanese arrived and that guns were primarily manufactured by the Taiwanese (*put/maiput*) who had intermarried with Bunun; indeed *Lamataxinxin* was in Laipunuk and obtained gunpowder there. Additionally, informant commented that there were many kinds of guns used by the Bunun in Laipunuk: single-shot (both long- and short-range); and those using shells (both single- and multiple-shot).

The informant and his family were unique and dynamic: many people came to visit his father's *habu* (stove and ash); informant's father hid him from the Japanese, educating and training him in numerous cultural traits and skills. The informant's narratives support the hypotheses that Laipunuk was moving toward a *new scheme* of social systems, trade, and intermarriage. Bunun children were very independent and adult behavior, such as headhunting, is an individual event, inasmuch as decisions to headhunt were based on the individual's feeling. Especially worthy of research is that Bunun music appears to be more deeply connected to headhunting than available literature suggests.

¹⁸⁷ *Shishivu* means *just stay or be still*.

¹⁸⁸ *Ishuka* means *someone/yourself* and is the cause of the emptiness of *not having*.

5.2. Memories of Langus Istanda: Ethnohistorical Narratives

Introduction of Informant Langus Istanda

Age at time of interview: 84

Chinese name: *Hu Chun Lan* 胡春蘭

Japanese name: *Nishimura Yiko*

Bunun name: Langus Husungan Istanda

Family tree: Takisusugan (Father's side); Istanda (Mother's side)

Brother: *Tama* Biung Istanda

Son: Nabu Husungan Istanda

Birthplace: Sunjik Village

Current Residence: Yen-Ping Village, Taitung County



Photo 11: Langus Istanda
Source: Author, 2004

Self-Introduction

During the Bunun time living in the village as a young girl was easy and simple. Then all the laws and rules came from Japanese. Whether they were good or bad I didn't know. In my childhood, first my parents guided us, and then the Japanese guided us. I felt confused and frustrated about whom to obey, my parents or the Japanese? It seemed complicated to me. At that age I just obeyed the wishes of my parents. I remember my parents were always waiting for Japanese decisions regarding our fate.

The Japanese came to our village and took me to a Japanese school in another village in Laipunuk. I stayed there nine years. In 1940 they moved us down to the lowland a few miles from present-day Yen-ping village to a place called *Tubabalu*. That was sixty-five years ago. I fell in love and married a man from the Paiwan tribe. We met in *Pasikau*. At first, our families didn't want us to marry outside of our tribes.

Why We Moved to Takivahlas

We used to be divided by the mountains, but the hunters would meet when they went hunting and they would communicate. They had information exchange. Everyone was sharing information. We knew about Japanese before we came and everyone decided to leave and come to *Takivahlas*. We all came together.

My Age

Actually, I don't know exactly when I was born because we lived in the high forest and I didn't count the *hamisan*¹⁸⁹. It's not possible to know. It's not like now, when a baby is born, bathed, and well cared for. Before, the naked baby was just covered with a *kuling taigaz*¹⁹⁰. We even used not to have *liv*¹⁹¹ so we just used animal skin. That was how we cared for our babies; we didn't think to count the years.

Our Babies

Our parents know our ages because they count the times they held the *kabalivan*¹⁹². Once the *intuhtuhan*¹⁹³ is done, then after *kabalivananin*¹⁹⁴ time comes, then we will know if the children are, for example, ten or seven already, because their *intuhtuhan* has passed. Maybe once a month or maybe five times a month because *intuhtuhan* follows the *kamatuh*¹⁹⁵ and *andadaz*¹⁹⁶, so it was at that time we remember the age of our children. Directly after the birth we apply *ngan*¹⁹⁷ plant to the head. At the moment of birth they're named.

Our Baby Ceremonies

For every newborn there are three rituals to do before we announce their name to our village and they can be counted as one year old. They should be done in the correct order: *puangan*, *kabalivan*, and *iswulumah*. First we do *puangan* by applying *nang* on the head to keep away *makuang*¹⁹⁸. We make a necklace from the root of the plant. *Kabalivan* is a ceremony held at home and wine is prepared. The soft and soggy millet kernels left in the jar after brewing are put in the baby's mouth to introduce them to the taste. This ceremony includes giving a boy a knife

¹⁸⁹ *Hamisan*: The Bunun New Year ceremony of the millet harvest festival. Bunun may use this concept to for the concept of year.

¹⁹⁰ *Kuling Taigaz*: literally 'bag big' referring to the large Bunun waste bag worn by a strap around the neck or shoulders. Originally made from animal skin, but cloth may be preferred when available

¹⁹¹ *Liv*: a word meaning fiber; can refer to cloth. More specifically it refers to ramie fiber or ramie cloth, the native plant used in cloth making

¹⁹² *Kabalivan*: Ceremony to bless the newborn involving millet wine and gift giving.

¹⁹³ *Intuhtuhan*: Annual name announcing ceremony (follows millet harvest calendar).

¹⁹⁴ *Kabalivananin*: *Kabalivan* as a verb or action.

¹⁹⁵ *Kamatuh*: the tradition of Istanda family passing the harvested tops of millet flowers bunched together in their hands, from person to person and from right to left while in the field and aligned in a row, down the row the person at the end.

¹⁹⁶ *Andadaz*: A stage of the millet ceremony when it is left in the field to dry.

¹⁹⁷ *Ngan* plant: Sweet flag root, *Acorus calamus* L. (Chiang Pu)

¹⁹⁸ *Makuang*: As aforementioned, this is the part of *hanitu* that represents evil, individual desire, and female. Post Christianization this word is synonymous with the devil.

and a girl a necklace or a pot. Only after this ritual can the mother take the baby outside without worrying about natural disasters like bad weather or a typhoon that could make the baby sick. *Iswu-lumah* is our ritual of taking the baby to show respect to the mother's side of the family. The husband's side of the family should prepare a pig to give to the wife's side of the family (an action called *mankaun*). If the husband cannot afford to *mankaun*, they may wait until two or three children are born and then have one *mankaun* (this is called *ispan law du*). Only after these three rituals have been completed can we have *intuhtuhan* and announce the name of the baby. And at that moment the baby is one year old.

Our Names

As soon as the baby is born, the mother chews *ngan* and places it on the crown of the baby's head and prays to have a good life, to be powerful, and not to have bad luck forever: "Let the *hanitu* be afraid of you by the *ngan*." You should do this just as soon as possible. And after the baby comes out, wrap the baby in cloth and discuss what name will be used. We should choose the father and father's father name. Names always continue in our family. We do not choose the name by ourselves; they come from our lineage. Until now our names continue.

Respecting Our Affine

It is very important to respect the wife's family; we do this in two ways. One is *mankaun*, and we do it to thank her family because she was able to bear children. The other is *Isbaka-mavala*¹⁹⁹, which expresses recognition to the wife's family for her hard work and contribution to her husband's family. It is very important for the respect of the marriage and the two families' collective relationship.

Our Millet Fields

Our millet fields were planted by scattering seeds, and a healthy field will be thick with young sprouts. To have the field grow up strong we have *minghulau*²⁰⁰. During *minghulau* several girls will be chosen by the clan to stay at a tree house, where their family will bring food to them. During this time there are three taboos: First is that they are not to touch a cooking pot with their hands, if their hands get black then the millet in the field will get black; the second is that they are not to wash their faces, if they rub their faces it would be like knocking down the milled seedlings; the third is that their dishes should be quickly washed by the other family

¹⁹⁹ *Mavala* means relationship. *Isbaka-mavala* is the act of giving the pig.

²⁰⁰ *Minghulau* is the time when the millet field is weeded or thinned out.

members. Dirty dishes will mean that the millet field will have many weeds. During this time, Bunun hunters cannot bring home a bear to the house or millet field. The black color will bring bad luck. A hunter who is away cannot return home during this time, he may need to stay in the mountain until the *malahodaigian* (ear-shooting festival).

Our Childhood

We kids used to just play on the ground; our hair was always long and we always had runny noses. At night, mother never let us take a bath. We just would eat and brush off, and sleep that way. Our beds were made from *bual* (a type of blanket) and of *kuling taigas* made from *liv*. The plants we should have to make for weaving are *liv*, *ngan*, *salath*, *mukun*, *maduh*, and *katchpulun*. I learned all these things from my mother; she only spoke Bunun.

Our Childhood Games

From three years old, my mother always took me the place we got vegetables. And my mother [knew] what kinds you can eat and what kinds not to eat. She showed me how to plant sweet potato, and where the wild vegetables are. She showed me how she wrapped me and carried me on her back. My sisters and I used to play that as kids, how to wrap and carry a baby. And the boys played *busulgaril* (bow and arrow) and *baugan* (spear), and the boys will go with their father and learn how to use the dog for hunting. The boys learn to hunt at three, four, or five years old. By five or six he should start to carry *busul* (gun) for his father.

Our Childhood Snacks

When we were kids, our mother and father always taught us what things we can eat. They showed us about *tagnas*. There is an insect in the stem of *tagnas*, you can eat it. So when we were kids, we always look for insects that you can catch and eat. There were the insects from the stem and another kind on the leaves. We used to find wild fruits, like *bakaun* (mulberry) and *halushingut*²⁰¹; that was my favorite. These are the things we ate as small kids.

Our Housework

We are always busy weaving, such as to make *kuling taigaz* from *liv*. We pound the millet and take the husks off, just for each time, each meal and cook what is needed, especially for wine, which takes a lot. *Mukun* is needed for wine; it is harder to pound that. After the millet is done cooking and cools, then we put it in a big wood tub with *mukun* and cover for three days (the

²⁰¹ A type of nut in a thick shell, which when heated on the fire pops open.

mukun is also cooked). The iron pots from Taiwanese people, called *jiping*. Before we had iron, it was *jicu* (pottery made of clay). Our father got a *jiping* from *Lakuli*. When Aunt *Ibu* was married, they took it to her new house. My father had a young deer antler that had blood inside²⁰² and he took it to *Lakuli* to trade for the *jiping*. This kind of antler can have blood inside for several months.

Our Wine

First you must pound the millet, and then you wash it and cook it. When you cook it, you must control the fire so it doesn't burn, and then you can cook it down. Next we put it in a big tub and mix it with *mukun* and cover it for 3 days. You must have *mukun* to make wine; it is like yeast. I remember, when our parents poured off the wine, that there was still millet in the bottom of the tub, it was sweet and delicious.

And there were many taboos for wine. You cannot sneeze or fart when you make it, and a woman cannot have her period or be pregnant; if so she cannot touch it or look at it. If someone farts, sneezes, or touches it in this way the wine will not be true wine. The family leader should get to drink the first bowl. Since we only use one bowl, one person drinks at a time.

Our Clothes

My father used the bark deer's leather to be the baby's cloth. The goat leather was for two or three years old. And deer skin was used for the older kids. You could make a nice dress for a girl or a nice vest for a boy from deer skin.

Our Japanese School

When the Japanese came to Shou, I learned Japanese, but before that we never saw Japanese before. I used to walk to Shou just to play. There were young men there exercising, running, jumping. We always followed the elder boys around and we stayed at the Japanese wives' house and learned from them. This was before we went to school there. We just went in a small group to play.

The first time to Shou was when we went there for trading; always my mother took us kids. So at that time we learned about other tribes, such as *jivula*²⁰³, *bingbingan*, and Japanese. The *jivula*

²⁰² Deer antler blood was valued as Chinese medicine.

²⁰³ *Jivula* normally refers to any of the sinicized plain tribes (pingpu).

and *bingbingan* were servants and road workers. I was a little afraid to go to Shou. There was a store there, a doctor, policemen²⁰⁴, and there was a jail there too. I was eight or nine when I started school in Shou. Because I'm lazy and walk slowly, I only went three days a week. I stayed home whenever it was rainy. At the Japanese school, we just learn simple words like *dog* or *ear*, and we only learned simple katakana writing. I was twelve or thirteen when I finished Japanese school at Shou. Then I just stayed home at *Takivablas*.

The Japanese in Laipunuk

At school the teacher and police were so serious. And they had everything, like magic. How can we go against them? Even the chief said we should follow. In earlier times, the Japanese used to kill Bunun for no reason, but only at that early time. Once the chief obeyed, then the people would obey. The chief says because the Japanese feed us so we should not fight them.

We knew the Japanese were going to make us move, they had been softening our minds, promising to treat us good, telling us that life will be better in the lowland. The Japanese cheated us. We Bunun know we cannot resist them, we say that we agree to avoid problems. They had meetings to say they want to treat us good. They treat the village leader very well, so he will convince us to follow Japanese. No one will be against the village leader; they are going to listen to him.

During the *Haisul* event many people went to the mountains to find him. Everyone was worried: those still living in the mountains; and those already at the lowlands. They pushed us to move down. My father didn't want to go but the family was going. *Madaipulan's* man *Uvak* was the first to move down. After the *Haisul* event, everyone was moved out. Bunun from *Takivablas* were moved down Kamino (Shang-ye).

Our Saddest Hour

Japanese gave us land to plant, but the living was difficult. We had to carry our water for plants and to use. My father, *Anu*, was so sad because *Tama Biung* left with the Japanese to go fight. I was so sad too. The police office had *bingbingan* that worked for them as policemen; they came to tell us not to worry. *Anu* was so troubled. He had hid *Biung*, his eldest son, from the Japanese. I remember him saying, "They robbed my eldest son." All the men that went to war were killed, only their ashes came back. Our family waited for *Biung's* ashes, we just worry. When he never came home and why his ashes never came. Then one day the Japanese office called for the family

²⁰⁴ The word actually used here was *Kiboza*, a Japanese police rank.

to come²⁰⁵, they said *Nishimura Yasu* (T.B. Istanda's Japanese name) will return. My father just grabbed him, he said, "Are you really *Biung*?"

Malaria

At *Sadasa* there were three small villages where everyone was moved down to. We don't want to go; we really don't want to go. All the people come down and they realize that it has really happened. The elders had warned them. Then the malaria came and the people were shaking. We burned *hunungah* plant to make smoke to keep the mosquitoes away. People were trembling all day, many families. Japanese feed us their medicine (*umalung*). It was very bitter. Because of that medicine not many babies came.

Talunas

At the age of fifteen, we moved to *Talunas* because there were three houses of *Husungan* family where everyone died, so the Japanese just closed the doors and burned the houses. At *Talunas* life was still not good. Just work so hard in the field. *Takishjanan* family received us in *Talunas*, we were thankful to them. That place was better than Kamino; it had not been all divided by the Japanese. The Bunun living in *Talunas* just let us find our own area to grow millet, similar to tradition Bunun way. At that time we were happier. There was not so much disease. We just used *lapashbash* (witch's actions) for our healing.

The Animal Ceremony Place

There still used to be a place for that here in Yen-ping, but I think the government didn't approve and the people became Buddhists, so they stopped using it.

My Life

In my life there has been *masial* (good) and *makuang* (bad), so how can I know when to be happy and when to be sad? When our family members died, that was sad. In the summer when the typhoons came and we didn't have enough to eat, that was sad – it all belongs to dream, to *dahinan*. We just do our best on Earth. I can't say anything about Japanese, we just follow – there is no opinion to have. The Japanese just left slowly and the KMT came. When the

²⁰⁵ Note: L. Istanda remembers it was Talunas where T.B. Istanda's returned. However, T.B. Istanda's version is slightly different (see self-introduction of T.B. Istanda).

Japanese left, the all KMT came. The KMT *masiapuk*²⁰⁶ us. When I look back, we had our own way, then Japanese changed our lives, KMT time we just follow, each time was that time, each way we just have to follow.

I wish the young men, the young people, can share and have the power like the elders, but it's difficult, how can they make it back? I have that wish, but it's so difficult. Actually, I think it's impossible. I told my son (N. Istanda) "if you go back, and that makes your heart happy, happy because you really want to go back there, maybe *Nabu* will have success, it depends on your *malavan*."

Analysis of Langus Istanda Narrative

Informant's memories and understanding of life cycle rituals is comprehensive, including those of childbirth, childrearing, naming, and the associated vocabulary. From the informant we gain insight to this unique area of Bunun vocabulary. Informant's knowledge of millet cultivation and associated agricultural rituals are detailed, including those regarding wine making.

Informant's childhood memories are generally positive, inasmuch as she tells stories of games, adventures, a safe and comfortable environment, and wonder (the *magic*) for the modernity of the Japanese. Informant memories move to a negative tone regarding the forced relocations and the period of illness and death of friends and relatives she experienced.

Children were taught survival skills at a very young age, such as what insects were edible and where to find them.

Significant in its own right, Langus Istanda's narrative adds a noteworthy component of sentiment to this thesis.

²⁰⁶ *Masiapuk* means feed. However, Bunun often use this word to mean control. L. Istanda confirms she means *control*.

5.3. The Takivahlas House: An Ethnohistorical Reconstruction

The Memory

The *Takivahlas* house²⁰⁷ is recalled by Langus Istanda (2006 interview):

“Although I was very young, I remember my father *Anu* moved us to *Takivahlas*. He carried the roofing materials on his back from *Sunjik* village area. This was *kalabatune*²⁰⁸ bark for both roofing and siding. Our family house went through several stages of construction and reconstruction, and then later he rebuilt it using *tagnas*²⁰⁹ leaves for roofing and *tagnas* reeds for siding. I remember we used these same *tagnas* reeds for bedding. Then later, after living in *Takivahlas*, my father learned both the skill to cut slate and the technology to construct with slate. This work utilized special iron tools likely gained through trade with outside cultures. I think that maybe the entire house was made of slate when I last saw it. I think that the sides were likely stone all the way to the roof at that time. I remember my mother and father were crying when they learned the Japanese had set fire to the houses in *Takivahlas* village.”

The Field Research

During the January 2006 Laipunuk expedition, the author located, photographed, and measured the ruins of Tama Biung Istanda and Langus Istanda’s house in *Takivahlas*²¹⁰. According to GPS reading on January 10, 2006, the coordinates were as follows: 240814 + 2540986, and elevation was 1,365 meters.

The following are the author’s field notes: “The orientations of house foundations in this area appear to have no particular alignment other than that they face downhill and toward the stream. From the *Takivahlas* base camp²¹¹ to the Istanda’s house and nearby surrounding area, there are approximately thirty house foundations. The nearest house foundation was ten meters away.”

Using a metal tape measure, and taking all measurements from the inside of the walls, the author added two feet six inches for each wall in order to get the correct external dimensions as follows: the house is thirty-six feet wide (note: back wall is six feet high) and twenty-three feet

²⁰⁷ Refer to *Map 10* for the location of *Takivahlas*.

²⁰⁸ T.B. Istanda reported that it was *banil* bark.

²⁰⁹ As mentioned by T.B. Istanda in Section 5.1, *Tagnas* is *gao shan wujie mang*.

²¹⁰ See Appendix for field work dates and information.

²¹¹ See Appendix for *Takivahlas* base camp figure.

deep; court yard is 36 feet wide (same width as the house) and seventeen feet deep; the pig pen, which is thirteen feet from the house, is twenty-four feet wide by fifteen feet deep (note that the pig pen walls are two feet wide by three feet high). The rock pile near the house is approximately seven feet long by five feet wide. The total length from inside corner of house to inside corner of pig pen is seventy-three feet. See computerized rendition of field sketch below.

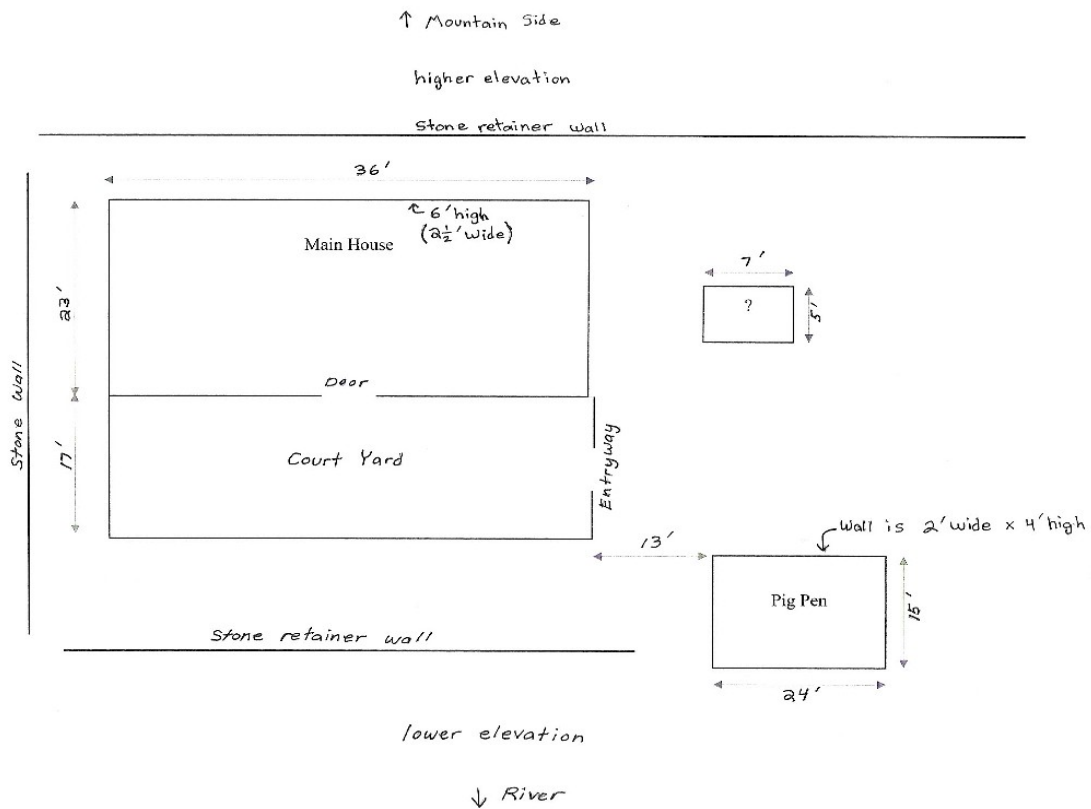


Figure 6: Field Sketch of the Istanda's House Floor Plan

Source: Author's Field Notes, January 10, 2006

Photos and field sketches supplied by author from on-location were used to assist L. Istanda in remembering the house. *Photo 12* was taken from the rear right corner of the house (if the observer is facing the front of the house). *Photo 13* is of the pig pen taken from the corner of the house.



Photo 12: Takivablas House
Source: Author, January 10, 2006



Photo 13: Takivablas House Pig Pen
Source: Author, January 10, 2006

Upon returning to the Bunun Culture Center, the author (with support of interviewer) re-interviewed L. Istanda on January 25, 2006. Based on this interview, with the support of the above visual materials, the following sketches were generated. They went through several drafts. Each draft was presented to the informant and alterations were made until they represented her recollection of her family house and demonstrated the three phases of development seen in *Figure 7, Figure 8, Figure 9, and Figure 10* house sketches:



Figure 7: Kalabatune Bark

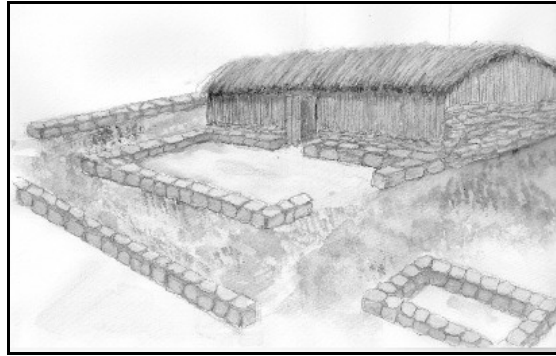


Figure 8: Tagnas Reeds (w/Pig Pen in Bottom Right Corner)

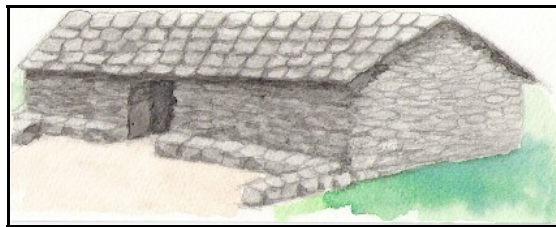


Figure 9:²¹² River Rock and Slate

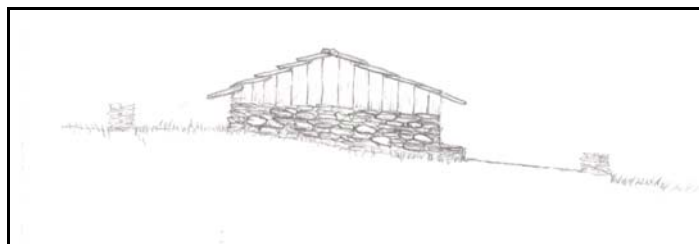


Figure 10: Side View (showing ground slope)

²¹² According to T.B. Istanda, the front wall of the house was made of *banil* planks. This corresponds to the lack of a standing rock wall at the site. He also clearly remembers that their having been windows (openings).

Using these visual materials, the informant was then able to direct our follow-up sketches and add the internal design of the external house, which was not discernible in the field. *Figure 11*, below, was filled in on June 13, 2006; informants T.B. Istanda and L. Istanda, working together, were able to identify the location of the beds, stoves, and granary. The granary was elevated approximately three feet off the floor and supported by posts made of *bani*. However, they were unable to identify the rock pile adjacent to the side of the house.

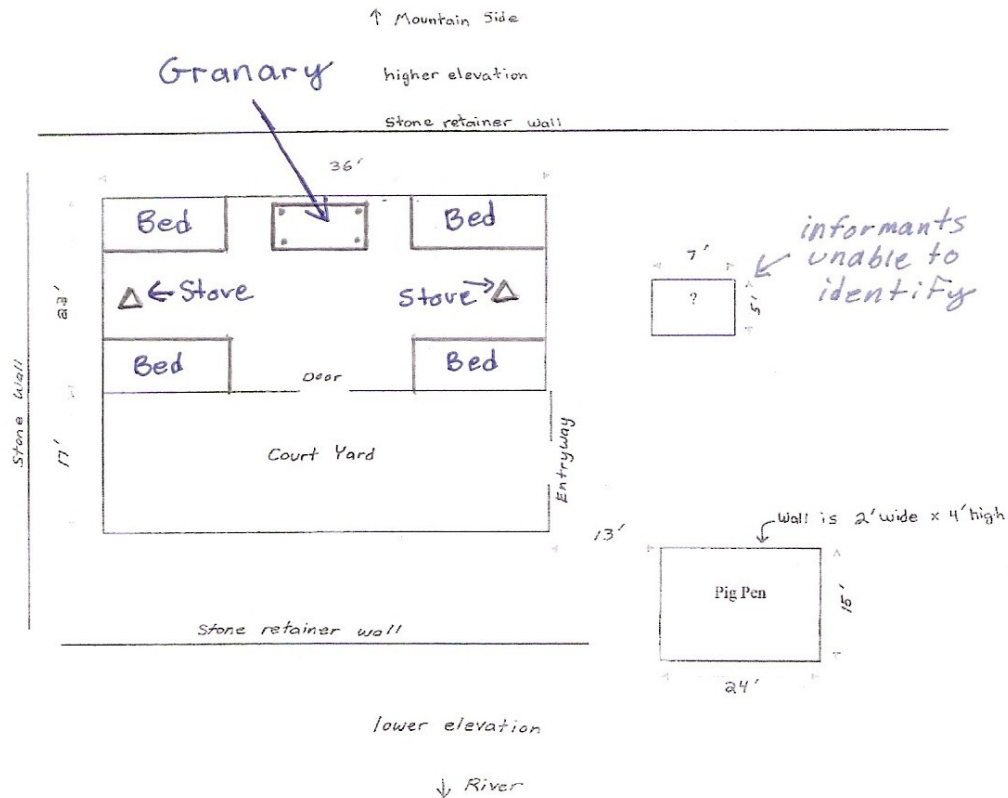


Figure 11: House Floor Plan Based on Informant's Memories
Source: Author's Field Notes, June 13, 2006

Analysis

Based on this ethnohistorical research, a hypothesis can be formed: the Istanda family witnessed material, technological, and spatial developmental changes in the development of their domicile while in Laipunuk. Originally the house was built with the materials they were familiar with and already had in the original village of *Sunjik*, and then it was rebuilt with local materials (*tagnas* reeds). Technologically, they learned about using slate for construction from other

people already in *Takivablas*²¹³. Spatially, the houses in *Takivablas* were smaller and closer together than Bunun traditionally build (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). Furthermore, T.B. Istanda recalls that there were windows (openings); this represents a shift in normal construction with regard to household defense. Normally, the Bunun house would not have windows for defensive reasons; rather there would be only a small hole from which to shoot. *Takivablas* village was larger than normal, with houses constructed closer together than normal. These changes may indicate that there was not a significant need for fortification, and may indicate a shift in their social environment.

Given time and circumstance, the house foundation showed no evidence of the construction and reconstruction which L. Istanda and T.B. Istanda recount, other than that the three sides were made of stone and that there was no stone used for the front wall. Based on author's observation, and following informant's testimony that the Japanese burned the house; the heat of the fire probably caused the wooden beams that supported the slate roofing material to collapse. Additionally, the Taiwan Forestry Bureau (TFB) had been active in the area. Pine trees were planted in and around the structure that are now as large as two feet in diameter. This activity disturbed the site considerably; thus further on-site confirmation is limited.

²¹³ T.B. Istanda (2006 interview) confirmed his sister's testimony regarding the three periods of the house's development and reconstruction.