NAMING AND SOCIAL LIFE: THE CASE OF THE PINUYUMAYAN (PUYUMA) PEOPLE IN EASTERN TAIWAN[1]

Wen-Te Chen
Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica

Personal names are a distinctive feature widespread in human societies. Culturally universal as they seem, their constitution and meaning vary ethnographically (cf. Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006; Tooker and Conklin 1984; Wilson 1998; Zheng and Macdonald 2010). For the Inupiaq in Alaska, for example, personal names evoke the sociality of a priori relationships and provide means to explain their behavior, as opposed to nicknames, which are assigned to non-Inupiaqs and have never been used among themselves (Bodenhorn 2006). The Amis in Taiwan, on the other hand, use the personal names of living elder kin to incorporate outsider, while addressing each other by nicknames to differentiate themselves from others and to individualize themselves (cf. Huang 2005).[2] Moreover, the meaning and significance of personal names vary throughout one's life as well. In her study in the New Territories, Rubie S. Watson (1986), for instance, illustrates the connection between name, gender difference, and the constitution of personhood in Chinese society. She mentions that a male throughout the course of his life acquires more names to indicate his social position, while a female gradually becomes nameless, which implies that the latter is not capable of attaining full personhood. In sum, her study suggests that the name constitutes an essential part of a person.

Indeed, people usually think of personal names as being important both in marking one's individuality and in inscribing sociocultural identity, the indigenous "Name Rectification" movement in Taiwan being a well-known case

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(see Ku 2012). However, the avoidance of any personal name for address characteristic of the teknonym naming system obviously contradicts this presupposition (cf. Bloch 2006). In the case of the Pinuyumayan in Taiwan, it is even considered impolite to call or address someone by their personal names; it is said that a person being so addressed must make the other person admit being at fault and promise never to use the personal name as a form of address again (cf. Kōno 2000, 312). The Pinuyumayan think that this mode of address is characteristic of some neighboring aboriginal peoples whom they have looked down on.

Based on the study of the Pinuyumayan in eastern Taiwan and in light of previous documents, I shall argue that the personal name among the Pinuyumayan is related to their notion of personhood and, as a mode of address, is limited in its usage to specific occasions. In other words, they conceive of a person as a kind of "social person" who develops through various stages, associated with which are different norms of address. I also suggest that by looking at modes of naming throughout a person's life, we can illustrate the relationship between name, personhood, and social life, and reveal the interconnectedness of seemingly separate domains, such as kinship (household), community (age organization), and gender.

Who Am I? Fieldwork Experience among the Pinuyumayan

One day in October 1984, I arrived at Pinaski, a Pinuyumayan community (Fig. 1), to undertake a research project on human rights among the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Earlier that summer, I had just finished my MA thesis on an Amis community in eastern coastal Taiwan. Both the Pinuyumayan and the Amis are among the Austronesian-speaking peoples in Taiwan (Fig. 2) and, in contrast with other indigenous peoples, were (and are) renowned for both their age organization and uxorilocal marriage.[3] However, my personal fieldwork experience with these two peoples was so strikingly different that I was keen to find out what the source of that difference was.

Whenever we chatted or met each other, middle-aged and elder Pinaski villagers usually addressed me with very polite and courteous terms, such as "Teacher Chen," "Dr. Chen," "Professor Chen," or "Mr. Chen." Even today, I have never been given any Pinuyumayan personal name except the use of the Japanese pronunciation of my Chinese name by some elders who know me well.[4] Neither am I considered a member of the family where I have lived since the early 1980s. Occasionally, some elders from the neighboring Puyuma village do call me by the name of a men's house. It is worth mentioning that the men's house name is the term that elders use to address their sons-in-law or whoever marries their female kin of

FIGURE 1. **Geographical distribution of Pinuyumayan communities.**

a younger generation, a feature implying that it is a term for an outsider (for the family or the kin group concerned). In this sense, my experience among the Pinuyumayan was in striking contrast with that in the Amis village, in which I not only had a nickname, "Katalingu," literally, "someone who wears glasses," as soon as I arrived there, but had a proper Amis name, "Kulas," after my adopted father's father, by the time I finished my MA thesis and was treated as adopted kin thereafter. Even my wife and two daughters eventually received Amis personal names.

Furthermore, on learning that I had stayed with the Amis before, the Pinuyumayan were not shy in expressing their negative attitudes toward the Amis. They often started with the question "How could you address your seniors with their personal names?" and explained to me, "It is an impolite and shameful demeanor that would never happen among us, the Pinuyumayan."

However, the longer I did my fieldwork among the Pinuyumayan, the more I found that the reasons offered to me were incomplete and unsatisfactory, even though showing respect to one's seniors is indeed a highly

FIGURE 2. **Geographical distribution of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Two new groups, the Kanakanavu and Hlaalua, separated from the Tsou in 2014.**

praised virtue. First, while personal names are seldom mentioned or referred to on most occasions, throughout one's life, other terms of address are used, depending on which stage one has passed as well as on the relationship between the addressor and the addressee. Second, they also address their own fellow Pinuyumayan in polite and courteous terms, such as they used to refer to me. How do we interpret these features?

Indeed, today this sort of traditional naming practice has been severely affected by modern education institutions, and youngsters use Chinese names—the predominant identity marker sanctioned by the state and dis-

tinctively different from the Pinuyumayan names—in school and daily life. But it does not mean the Pinuyumayan mode of address is used no longer. On the contrary, we will see the limitation of the influence from the outside later. Before describing the life course of the Pinuyumayan people in more detail, I would like to present a brief sketch of their geographical location and sociocultural features.

The Pinuyumayan and Their Setting[5]

The Pinuyumayan is one of the sixteen officially recognized indigenous groups in Taiwan, with a population estimated at 13,129 in 2013.[6] They have long been living in the plain areas of eastern Taitung and settled mainly in ten villages, especially, from south to north, Katratripulr, Kasavakan, Likavung, Tamalakaw, Halipay, Ulrivulrivuk, Danadanaw, Pinaski, Puyuma, and Papulu. These ten villages constitute a part of Taitung City and Beinan Township in Taitung County (see Fig. 2). Today, however, approximately 40 percent of the Pinuyumayan have registered their households in other metropolitan cities and counties.

Since the first half of the seventeenth century, the Pinuyumayan, particularly the Puyuma, have actively established relations with outside ruling powers and, as a result, rose up as the most powerful indigenous people in eastern Taiwan. They have had continuous contact with the Han, who gradually migrated to eastern Taiwan beginning in early nineteenth century, and were considered by the Japanese regime to be the most sinicized and the "most civilized" of all indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, they have managed to maintain their cultural identity by conducting annual rites as well as initiation ceremonies for young males. By the late 1980s, under the influence of the indigenous movement to "Rebuild Tribe and Revitalize Culture," they established their own committees and organizations using their "tribal names" and highlighting the significance of "culture" to differentiate themselves from the Han-Chinese residents.

With regard to their sociocultural features, a Pinuyumayan community was composed of multiple chiefly families of different origins. Each chiefly family was associated with a *palakuwan*, a named men's house in which tribesmen were initiated and educated, and a *karumaHan*, a ritual house where annual and other important rites were conducted. Traditionally, the chiefly families were in charge of tribal politics. The ancestral houses they guard continue to be centers for annual rites and blessings today.

The Pinuyumayan social order is mainly based on seniority.[7] However, the privileged position of the elders is much more manifest in the case of male elders than their female counterparts due to the age organization system.

The authority of male elders is fully demonstrated in the coming-of-age initiation for young males. Indigenous expressions for the elders illustrate this distinctive feature. For instance, the word *maidrang* (plural, *maidrangan*) means both "the elder" and "seniority." In the case of the Puyuma village, the phrase "*imanay na maramaidrang*" (literally, "which/who is the older?") serves to inquire into who the older sibling is. It also refers to the "hierarchical relationship" between chiefly and other common families as well as that among chiefly families: *maramaidrang* (i.e., the senior/ the upper side) is used to address the greatest chiefly family in the north, whereas *malralralrak* (i.e., the junior/the lower side, *lralrak*, literally, "child") is used to address its southern counterpart.

More significantly, a pair of botanical metaphors, *rami* ("root") and *ludus* ("branch") also expresses the contrast between the senior and the junior, as reflected in phrases such as *maidrangan kyaramian, lralralrakan kyaludusan* ("the elder to the younger is what the root to the branch").[8] Furthermore, the Puyuma express their notion of history in terms of something transmitted from ancestors to descendants, in which the elder performs the role of narrating historical happenings and legends related to customs and rites that were and still are observed (Chen 2001b).

In addition to age, gender also constitutes a crucial component of the Pinuyumayan social life. Throughout their life course, both sexes participate in various social groupings outside the domain of the household. For example, males learn respect through their training in boyhood and in men's houses, whereas females acquire agricultural skills, respect for elders, and other norms in female groups. Gender differences take place in labor divisions and on social occasions and become gradually prominent as the Pinuyumayan age. The transformation is especially pronounced in the case of the male Pinuyumayan due to the activities of the institutionalized age organization. In a nutshell, there is an intimate and inexorable relationship between the individual, the household, and community life.

From Birth to Death: Life Course of a Pinuyumayan[9]

The life of a Pinuyumayan is marked clearly by several phases, with different arrangements for men and women. The course consists of (1) conception and birth, (2) childhood, (3) adolescence, (4) marriage and becoming parents, and (5) elderhood (see Table 1). These phases show both differentiation from and interconnectedness between separate domains, such as kinship (household), social groupings (age organization or women's agricultural team), and others. As a person grows older and moves along the life course, more "power, potency" (*kelan*) is accumulated.

Conception and Birth

To the Pinuyumayan people, *trau*, a human being, is not born with the capacity to bear children. Rather, they attribute that capacity through the work of the spirit, Pagtrau, who gives life and takes it away. Whenever a woman is unable to conceive a child or has difficulties in giving birth, her family will conduct a rite to ask for help from this spirit. The same is true if a person becomes seriously sick.

Once a woman is pregnant, the members of the same household, especially the pregnant woman herself and her husband, should strictly observe prohibitions; otherwise, misfortune would befall. The Puyuma consider it inauspicious if a woman dies in childbirth.

In the past, when a baby was born, particularly the first child regardless of sex, the father would wrap it with a special piece of cloth he had worn during his initiation to be a *miyabetan* ("a novice in the men's house"), through which he had become an adult. A few days later, a female elder of the family would take it out of the house to perform a rite called *puanan*. In the case of a male baby, an elder woman would put a knife in his right hand and help him cut a branch of a tree three times, implying that he would go hunting in the mountains and fetch firewood once he grew up. By contrast, the female baby's right hand would hold a sickle and be waved three times as if she were weeding millet, indicating that she would accompany her family and female peers to participate in agricultural activities when she became a teenager. The Puyuma consider a baby to be a human being only after it has gone through the *puanan* rite; otherwise, "it is rather like water" and would be roughly dealt with had it died. Consequently, a family would not be counted as bereaved during the course of the year if a newborn had died before the rite was performed.

After the rite, near kin visit the family and give blessings to the baby. At that time, an elder of the family gives the child a name, which may refer to an ancestor of the same gender or the characteristics that one expects the child to have or incorporate events or other happenings occurring before or at the time the child was born (cf. Takoshima 1997).[10] Although the name seems to be chosen on the basis of a variety of principles, it is intimately tied up with the child's character or fate. I heard that a three-year-old boy was renamed after his middle-aged father learned that the elder, namely, his maternal grandfather's younger brother, whom the child was originally named after, was doomed. Renaming his son was expected to help him surpass his peers in learning and overall performance when he grew up, as the new name implied.

This naming ceremony indeed shows the significance of one's personal name (given by the parents). As the following discussion will show, however,

Table 1. **The Life Course of the Male and Female Puyuma and Their Addresses.**

<table>
<tr><th>Phases of life course</th><th colspan="2">Male</th><th>Age</th><th colspan="2">Female</th><th>Age</th></tr>
<tr><td>Infancy</td><td colspan="2">manguden</td><td>less than one year old</td><td colspan="2">manguden</td><td>less than one year old</td></tr>
<tr><td>Childhood</td><td rowspan="2">kis</td><td>called by his personal name</td><td>2–12</td><td colspan="2">tiyan</td><td>2–12, 13 (age of puberty)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Teenager</td><td>enters the boys' house and replaces personal name with a new name</td><td>13–18</td><td rowspan="3">tiyan</td><td>this phase is termed meladaladam milrabit, "beginning to practice wearing skirts"</td><td>13–18</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Adulthood</td><td rowspan="2">tan</td><td>initiated as a miyabetan, "a novice of the men's house"</td><td>18–21</td><td>this phase is termed paseket milrabit, "formally wearing skirts"</td><td>18–21 (marriageable)</td></tr>
<tr><td>initiated and upgraded to be a bangsaran, "a young man who is marriageable"</td><td>21–before getting married</td><td>Bulabulayan, "young lady"</td><td>before getting married</td></tr>
<tr><td>Married</td><td colspan="2">alabalabat</td><td>getting married–less than 55 years old</td><td colspan="2">mikatauguin</td><td>getting married–less than 55 years old</td></tr>
<tr><td>Elderhood</td><td colspan="2">maidrang</td><td>55 and up</td><td colspan="2">maidrang</td><td>55 and up</td></tr>
</table>

personal names in Pinuyumayan are seldom used as a mode of address in their social life, nor are they considered prestigious, as is the case among the ranked Paiwan[11]; instead, they are replaced by other kinds of address, depending on the stages of one's life course. To my knowledge, based on my long-term fieldwork in Puyuma since 1984, except for being called by one's elder generation, such as parents or grandparents, personal names were ever mentioned only on occasions such as healing rituals, in which specialists used a name to summon one's soul.

Childhood: Age Less Than Twelve (or Thirteen)

The Pinuyumayan used to have many terms to describe the development of an infant. For instance, a newborn baby was called *manguden*, *kirarami mikakupu* when it could turn its head, *mudradrangi* when toddling, and *lralrak* when capable of walking. While some terms are obsolete today, *lralrak* generically refers to both infants and younger children.

The term *lralrak* does not specify sex, however. There are two other terms for that: *kis* for boys and *tiyan* for girls. The terms reveal the fact that the issue of gender gradually becomes significant as a Pinuyumayan ages. Formerly, this change was associated with the chores they did to help their family. For example, a young boy around nine or ten years old helped his family take care of the cattle; his female counterpart at home tended to household chores and younger siblings. During this phase, they are addressed by their personal names by their parents, family members, and near kin who are senior in age or generation.

Teenagers: Age Between Twelve and Eighteen Years Old

Today, most teenagers enter elementary and high school under the Nationalist government's compulsory education policy to learn knowledge required for citizens regardless of their ethnic background. In former times, however, this period was socially crucial to the Pinuyumayan because both sexes started to participate in activities beyond the confinement of their families. This was particularly noticeable for males.

The case of the male teenager, trakubakuban *(member of boys' house,* trakuban*)*

Among the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, the Pinuyumayan, the Amis, and some other peoples were known for their age organization system. However, only the Pinuyumayan had an age grade exclusively for male teenagers,

accompanied by a series of strict behavior codes, including the cultivation of a courageous spirit, respecting the seniors, and learning good demeanor. To my knowledge, of the ten Pinuyumayan villages, only Katratripulr, Puyuma, and Pinaski had an independent boys' house, *trakuban*, built next to the men's house, *palakuwan*. The boys' house in Pinaski was a one-story building, and those in Katratripulr and Puyuma stood high off the ground, with a ladder that the teenagers could climb up (Fig. 3).

Once becoming a member of the boys' house (i.e., a *maranakan*), the personal name of each teenager would be replaced with a new one. This new name was given by one of the highest-ranked members of the boys' house (i.e., the *maradawan*), according to their character, capability, or other features.[12] For example, an elder born in 1929 said that he had been named "しか" (*sika*, literally, "deer"), in the Japanese pronunciation, by the senior *maradawan* due to his deer-like qualities, such as being clever and agile. It would become his name during his stay in the boys' house. Thereafter, the teenager and his male peers either addressed each other as *ali* (literally, "friend") or by their respective new names. One's personal name was

FIGURE 3. **The boys' house *trakuban* in Puyuma community.**

no longer used, except by one's parents and other senior family members at home.

Formerly, as a *trakubakuban*, a member of the boys' house, the male teenager slept in the boys' house about half the year (between around July and the late December) and in his own home for the rest until he was initiated into the men's house after six years of training in the boys' house. Some boys who were too young or too weak to endure serious training did not enter the boys' house together with their peers. It is said that they would be teased by their peers as if they were staying at home sucking their mothers' breasts. It is significant that whenever the elders praise a young man for his good demeanor, they express their opinion as "Who was his *maradawan* then?" rather than "Who is his father or parents?" All these features reveal the fact that this period of life is a transitional stage between kinship (family) and community (male age organization).

The case of the female teenager

In contrast with the colorful but harsh experience of their male counterparts, girls did not undergo a similar kind of initiation during this period. They were occupied primarily with accompanying their mothers, older sisters, and other senior female kin doing agricultural tasks or taking up a significant share of household work (see Dong 2012).

Although the girls did not have formal training as the boys had, their participation in the agricultural activities did provide a channel through which they learned something beyond agricultural techniques. For instance, they were taught to respect their seniors and elders of both sexes. They also learned how to make flower wreaths or do embroidery and other skills that would make them a good wife, a benevolent sister-in-law, and an exemplary mother.

Some Pinuyumayan communities, such as the Pinaski, had a tradition that elderly women would give a new name to a young girl after her participation in the agricultural team. She would be named after her personal characteristics, habits, or other abilities. For example, a roughly seventy-five-year-old woman once recalled to me that the elders had called her "*lagalaw*" when she was a young girl because she was adept at twining this kind of flower into a garland. Thereafter, village adults and female peers addressed her with this new name as well. Unlike male teenagers, women could continuously address their female peers with the new names even after they were married and gave birth.[13]

Giving new names to girls was not as widespread and institutionalized as males' youth names. The contrast between sexes demonstrates that it is the males rather than the females who were most remarked on when passing

through this striking transformation in their life. The transformation happens again once they become adults.

Adulthood and Marriage

Adulthood is an important stage in many aspects during one's life course. Entering adulthood often involves getting married and establishing one's own family of procreation. For women, the transition from adolescence to adulthood could be smooth and natural, especially when uxorilocal marriage was commonly practiced. The term "*tiyan*" (literally, "younger girl") epitomizes this sense of continuity: it refers to young girls and could also be used by elders to address married women. For men, on the other hand, two phases of initiations awaited them after being detached from their home: the first brings them to adulthood, and the second makes them marriageable.

At the end of his six-year experience in the boys' house, a male teenager is initiated into another stage through rites held by his godfather[14] to become a *miyabetan*,[15] a novice in the men's house. The transformations are remarkable and can be seen in many aspects, including the mode of address. Instead of the name he acquired in the boys' house or the term "*kis*" (literally, "younger boy"),[16] he is now addressed by generic terms, such as "*tan*" (referring to a specific piece of blue cloth used in initiation) or "*ali*" (literally, "friend").[17] In former times, a *miyabetan* lived a rather ascetic life. He was not allowed to sleep at home and had to endure hunger and undergo strenuous physical training. He refrained from sensual pleasures such as dancing, singing, flirting with his female peers, or even dressing up for public celebrations. After three years of harsh training, a *miyabetan* was upgraded to *bangsaran* through a second phase of initiation conducted by his godfather. Only then could he begin to flirt with his female peers and court them for marriage.

Gender differentiations were in full bloom at this stage, and some taboos were strictly observed. As an adult, men could not touch some gendered objects, such as weaving paraphernalia, and women were forbidden from being at or even approaching locations where their male counterparts held rites; otherwise, the menfolk would get hurt while hunting, and misfortunes would occur.

To the Pinuyumayan, the relationship between a young man and his godfather is much more important and intimate than that with his own father. It is from the godfather that he learns knowledge and discipline. A young man follows in his godfather's footsteps and becomes a member of the men's house that his godfather used to belong to. And the name of the men's house stays with him into his marriage as the term that his parents-in-law and affines of elder generations address him by.[18] When he is engaged, his godfather

would be the representative in charge of negotiating matters with the girl's kin and would be seated with the newlyweds during the wedding reception. In return, when the godfather or his wife passed away, all initiates are obliged to be present at the funeral to perform their roles as if they were his sons. Back when agriculture was still the main means of livelihood, helping the godfather with harvesting was morally imperative.[19]

As stated above, a young man seems to be nameless after becoming a member of the men's house. Neither his personal name nor the one acquired during boyhood are in use, just a generic term, such as "*tan*." However, it is noteworthy that a young man follows in his godfather's footsteps to become a member of the men's house that his "godfather" belonged to, as his "godfather" had done previously. The name of the men's house would be how a young man, when married, is addressed by his parents-in-law and affines of the elder generation (see below).

Marriage and setting up one's family of procreation

Marriage is monumental in one's life course in terms of change in status.[20] *Puaruma*,[21] the Pinuyumayan term for "getting married," means "setting up a family or a house." Once married, a male reaches the status of *alabalabat* and a female that of *mikatauguin* or *mihalin*.[22] Terms of address between in-laws are different as well. For instance, parents-in-law or elderly affines address a male by the name of the men's house into which he was initiated; a married woman is addressed as *imi*. Siblings-in-law use the specific affinal terms to address each other without mentioning one's personal name. While siblings-in-laws of other categories demonstrate the significance of age difference between the addresser and the addressed, brothers-in-law reciprocally address each other as *guravak* or *yanay* regardless of age (Figs. 1–3; Appendix).

Teknonym use is widely practiced in public spheres. Parents are addressed in public by their firstborn child's name, for example, as "*temamadaw* A" (literally, "A's father") and "*tinadaw* A" (literally, "A's mother").[23] The use of teknonym implies a distance between the speaker and the one referred to. I once heard that an elderly woman called her younger cousin's wife, a middle-aged woman, by her teknonym and was rebuked on the grounds that that form of address seemed to be treating her as an "outsider." The woman preferred to be called *umus* (literally, "younger sister-in-law").

Nevertheless, the teknonym system varies in practice. It refers mostly to the oldest child, but it may also refer to another child who stays home with parents when the oldest child died early or had already moved out of the community for a long time. In the case of deuterogamy due to the death of

a spouse or divorce, a person is usually addressed by the name of the eldest child born during the first marriage, while the spouse of the second marriage is referred to by the name of the eldest child born in the current wedlock. Moreover, a stepparent may be called by a teknonym as if he or she were the real parent. What emerges from these derivations is that teknonym as a kind of name is implicated in marriage.

The married couple does not refer to, let alone address, each other by their personal names. If one person wants to call his or her spouse at a gathering, he or she simply calls out "*ei, ei*," "*temamadaw* (*tinadaw*) *a*!" (literally, "*ei, ei*," "father/mother" [of someone]) or shouts their oldest child's name to elicit the partner's attention.

Elders and Beyond

The Pinuyumayan people show great respect to the elders, *maidrang*. As I have mentioned above, there is a root-branch metaphor used to describe the relation between elders and youths. The lyrics of ritual songs always depict the elders as "persons of wisdom and knowledge." *Maidrang* invariably refers to both male and female elders; however, some terms discriminate between the sexes. The word *lakanna*, borrowed from the neighboring Amis people, provides a good example: it refers exclusively to male elders. Nevertheless, the fact that a male elder can serve as an initiator and godfather for a young man only when his wife is still alive suggests that the sexes are complementary and united in a couple.

The age qualification for the elder seems clearer today than before, particularly after household registration was introduced at the turn of the twentieth century under the Japanese colonial regime (1895–1945). A male elder's association established in 1986 stipulated that anyone who was at least fifty-five years of age is eligible for membership and that only the association's members are entitled to act as initiators for young men. However, I often heard criticisms over a younger middle-aged male being an initiator, even though his demeanor was such that he was considered a good model for young men. The indigenous notion of being an initiator suggests that one's "energy or power" would be sapped;[24] therefore, for his well-being, it is not ideal for someone who is not senior enough in age to take the position.

Female elders are also well respected by their juniors and young people. A male elder is called *ama* by the younger generation, a term for one's own father or men of his generation, while a female elder is called *ina*, a term for one's mother or women of her generation. In former times, there were no "demarcated" activities to define a female elder. Today, the establishment of a kind of female association solves that issue. Take the case of the Puyuma

as an example: an elderly female organization, founded in 1988, requires its members to be age sixty or older.

As I have described, in indigenous terms, a young man is recognized as an adult and would be entitled to marry only after being initiated as a *miyabetan*. The elder's ability to initiate young persons suggests that they possess the power to regenerate both the age organization and the biological family. That a male elder can serve as an initiator provided that his wife is still alive reveals a complementary relationship between an elderly couple, who represent the apogee of both spheres: the female-focused household and the male-centered "community" represented by the men's age organization.

Whenever a Pinuyumayan reaches the age of around seventy, he or she might be addressed as *mu*, literally "grandparent(s)." In fact, the term for elder, *maidrang*, and that for ancestor, *temuamuan*, are interchangeable in ritual spells. The term *maidrang* signifies the final stage and the completeness of a Pinuyumayan's life course. After they die, their descendants will make offerings to them and ask for their blessings. Associated with the elder's respected position is the common use of teknonyms by elders to address each other or refer to an absent elder, even when the referee was dead.

To sum up, I have described the different stages of development in the life course through which a Pinuyumayan ideally would pass. A remarkable feature is that one's personal name, given by parents at *puanan* rite (i.e., rite for a newborn baby), is not used throughout this life course. Instead, other terms of address replace it. This shows that "life course" is a series of phases marked by various activities and rites. In these processes, there are different paths for the two sexes: the social identity for a male is more pronounced than that of a female.

Naming and Social Life: Change and Continuity

Up to now, based mainly on the cases of Puyuma and Pinaski, I have depicted a holistic though rather idealized picture of how Pinuyumayan people pass through phases of their lives and how naming and modes of address change along the way. Indeed, variations in naming practices exist in reality. For instance, the male teenagers of Puyuma and Pinaski are given new names to replace their personal ones and are later called by a generic term when they are initiated into the men's house. However, their male counterparts from the Likavung, Tamalakaw, and Ulrivulrivuk communities (see Fig. 1) do not acquire new names until initiated into the men's house. I would suggest that the implication of these variations can be illuminated by relating them to other sociocultural features. Both Puyuma and Pinaski used to have

boys' houses where teenagers slept for half the year,[25] while male teenagers in communities such as Likavung, Tamalakaw, and Ulrivulrivuk did not have boys' houses and rather lived with their families, though they received boyhood-stage training like the boys in Puyuma and Pinaski. Despite these differences, the Pinuyumayan acknowledge that the initiator and his initiates should not live in the same house.[26] Such avoidance or forbiddance well illustrates that name changing is associated with the change from familial to communal domains.

The naming practice during the stage of adulthood needs further discussion here too. The fact that only after his godfather's initiation is a young man able to establish his "family of procreation" shows that biological reproduction presupposes and is intimately related to the process of social reproduction, of which the naming practice constitutes an important part. As shown in Likavung and Tamalakaw, the fact that the godfather passes his personal name in the men's house on to his initiate during initiation exemplifies this distinctive relationship.[27] Although the naming practices are different, there is some analogy in Puyuma regarding the process of social reproduction. Not only does a young man join the men's house to which his godfather belongs, whose name is used to address him by his wife's senior affine, but his first child, regardless of sex, will be wrapped with a special piece of cloth that he wore during the time of his initiation as a *miyabetan*.

Moreover, that a male elder is qualified to be an initiator only if his wife is still alive represents the apogee of both social spheres, namely, the female-focused household and the "community" represented by the male-centered age organization. Likewise, that teknonyms are commonly used during the elderly stage exemplifies the fact that naming practices such as the teknonym constitute the "social" and the "reproduction of society" (Bloch 2006; see Fig. 4).

In sum, this research into the changing naming practices throughout one's life course demonstrates that the Pinuyumayan conceive of a person as a kind of "social person" who develops through various stages, associated with which are different norms of address. Also, it illustrates the complicated relationships between seemingly separate domains, such as kinship (household), community (male age organization), and so on. In light of the aforementioned description and analysis, I now come back to an anecdote from my fieldwork experience with the Pinaski and then the Puyuma.

Exonymic Naming Systems

As mentioned at the very beginning of this article, the Pinaski villagers addressed me in generous terms during my stay there. At first, I thought

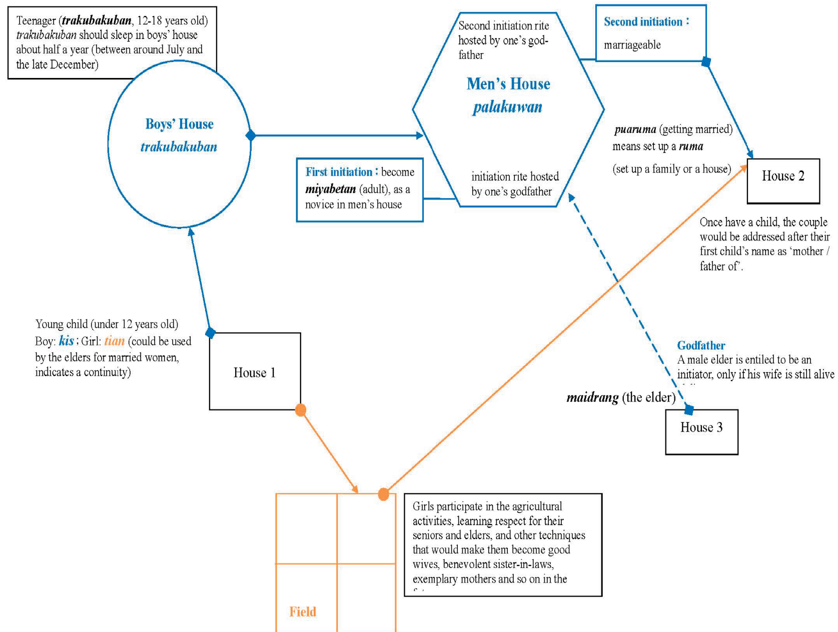

FIGURE 4. **The life course of a Pinuyumayan.**

that this way of address might be particular to the Pinaski and was just a form of politeness, perhaps because they had learned that I came from Academia Sinica, the highest research institution of the country. This opinion seemed to be further corroborated when some elders with whom I became well acquainted after a period of fieldwork began to address me as "ブンド" (Bundou), my personal name in the Japanese pronunciation. Moreover, some called me by the name of a men's house. Addressing someone by their personal name, as stated above, is usually a way that the elderly generation (e.g., parents, grandparents) address their children or someone of a younger generation on occasions involving domestic affairs and implies a kind of intimacy. The longer I stayed with them, however, the more I realized that the situation was not as simple as it appeared. In fact, not only the Pinaski but also other Pinuyumayan villagers use honorific terms such as "Teacher," "Doctor," "Professor," "Mister," or "Principal" to address or refer to their own folk as well. Why were these persons so exceptional? And what are the implications of this form of address?

A closer look at the respectful terms shows that most of them represent official titles and positions issued by the government and are often followed

by surnames. The surname may be in Japanese or in Chinese, depending on the date that it was registered (i.e., under Japanese colonial rule or the Nationalist regime). Note that these terms do not differentiate people on the basis of sex, nor do they reflect the addressee's current position.

Take the late Lu Sen-Bao（陸森寶）as an example. He was born in the Puyuma village and was a well-known ethnomusicologist. He used to be an elementary school teacher and therefore was usually addressed as "モリせえんせい" (Mori *sensei*), literally "Teacher Mori." モリ(Mori), or "森" in Chinese characters, was his Japanese surname. "せえんせい" was a respectful term for teachers, doctors, and other prestigious positions regardless of sex. Another case is an elderly woman, also born in Puyuma, who was trained to be a teacher under Japanese rule and later became a headmaster of the village's elementary school. On many occasions, I heard the villagers address her as "イナアバせえんせい" (Inaba *sensei*, "Teacher Inaba") in Japanese; イナアバ (Inaba, 稻葉 in Chinese characters) was her Japanese surname. As villagers engage more actively in public affairs today, various titles are introduced. For example, a female Puyuma nearly in her sixties who had retired from a local primary school a few years ago is both called and referred to as "Principal Zheng"; a middle-aged researcher who just finished his PhD program in 2012 has been called "Dr. Lin" since the beginning of his studies nearly a decade ago. A male in his seventies is still addressed as "Civil Representative Tien," even though he is no longer a city council representative and now holds a position in a legislator's local service office.

In contrast with terms of address that are closely associated with the phases of one's life course, the aforementioned examples do not concern gender or age, nor do they change corresponding to life course. In this way, the influence from outside seems to function through the creation of a new mode of address or new naming practices. This mode of address contradicts the Pinuyumayan naming practices. However, its usage is confined to public occasions and does not change the ways that the Pinuyumayan and their kin or affines address each other in their daily lives.

The same is true with endonymic names. Take my experience in Puyuma as an example. Some elders use "Kalunung," the name of the well-known men's house of the community, to address me as well as other researchers visiting them as if we were initiated into the men's house as their youth were. It seems that we are considered as their young male folks. But it may also allude to the fact that we are still considered as "outsiders"[28] if the way the name of the men's house is used as described above is taken seriously into account. In this regard, the naming system among the Pinuyumayan does constitute an important role in social interactions and in establishing social relationships

with outsiders. Similar arguments are also put forward by scholars of different Austronesian-speaking groups, such as Fang (2012, 2014) and Huang (2005) on the Bunun and the Amis in Taiwan, respectively, and Marshall (2014) on the Namoluk in Micronesia.

The Personal Name Today

It is widely acknowledged that personal names are considered important both in marking one's individuality and in inscribing sociocultural identity. For instance, since the early 1980s, the indigenous elites in Taiwan have been publicly advocating for the restoration of their native names, and the "Name Rectification" movement was well received by various ethnic groups (Chen 2009; Ku 2012). They claim to restore previous individual, tribal, and ethnic names to replace the Chinese ones adopted in household registrations and other personal documents since the mid-1940s. They believe that this is a significant step toward their cultural revival. However, as evinced earlier, the Pinuyumayan provides a counterexample. They replace personal names with different terms of address throughout one's life course, seldom mention a person's name in public, and even consider it improper and impolite to address and refer to someone in this way.

Nevertheless, personal names are currently in use by the Pinuyumayan, especially among youngsters. Unlike the elder generation, the youth call each other by their Chinese names as they do in school. As I have described and analyzed in this article, modes of address throughout one's life are related to social positions that are village based and not applicable to those coming from different villages. But modern education, among other factors, has extended social and cultural interactions beyond the ambit of village life and has greatly changed the modes of address.[29] Until very recently, however, under the influence of the indigenous movement, restoring one's ethnic names has become a growing trend (cf. Chen 2011). Some youngsters will ask their parents or elders for native personal names, usually names derived from ancestors. Those who had been given ones from birth are beginning to identify themselves with Romanized native names in online social networks (such as Facebook)[30] and electronic communications even though they seldom address each other by their native names in daily life or rectify their names officially. In this sense, issues concerning the development of the idea of personal names as a kind of self-identity, the form and the way personal names are adopted and used, and how these in turn shape the notion of what a Pinuyumayan will be deserve our further attention. Moreover, as described above, the use of personal names is confined largely to the stage of childhood and within the ambit of the domestic domain. After achieving adulthood,

one's personal name is used by only one's elder generation, such as parents or grandparents, except for occasions where specialists conduct healing rites to summon one's soul by name to cure an illness. Therefore, from a comparative perspective, the case of the Pinuyumayan people asks us to inquire more about the meaning of the personal name as an identity symbol, particularly when identity politics are widely advocated today.

Conclusion

I have shown in this article that the Pinuyumayan people are an example of a kind of naming system in which name and mode of address change throughout one's life course, each referring to one's social position and associated social occasions. I also analyzed the distinctive features of the naming system. Based on this study, I suggest that, regarding the studies of names and modes of address, the case has implications for other indigenous peoples in Taiwan and beyond.

Let me begin with the studies of indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Previous studies on names and modes of address focus on the issue of how aboriginal peoples acquire other systems of personal names, such as official or Christian ones. These studies illustrate indigenous notions of name and naming, how names mediate the influence of external forces, and so on (cf. Huang 2005; Ku 2010). However, the contexts in which various modes of address coexist are left unanalyzed. Instead, I have argued in this article that in light of the notion of life course, we can better understand how these peoples mediate external influences through their naming systems.

Moreover, the assumption behind previous studies was that of a fairly static use of personal names—there seems to be no change in modes of address throughout one's life. Here, the case of the Paiwan in southern and southeast Taiwan challenges that assumption with dynamic naming and modes of address. A personal name is used throughout one's life course but is replaced either by a nickname or by some sort of abbreviation of the personal name after one becomes an adult, gets married, and achieves the status of parenthood.[31] In other words, name changing itself reveals something important that has been overlooked.

In this regard, this article makes a contribution to the study of the Pinuyumayan too. Sunao Takoshima is one of a few scholars who have been concerned with the issue of the Pinuyumayan naming system. Based on his long-term fieldwork in Kasavakan village, Takoshima (1997, 1999) gives detailed and interesting data on personal names and name-changing customs. He also notes the custom of avoiding mentioning one's personal name when the person concerned is present. However, because he confines his

study to personal names, he seldom mentions the naming system in the village and leaves unanalyzed the features of the pattern of changing names throughout one's life course and its implications.

For instance, as mentioned above, during the adolescent period, the male teenager did have a personal name, but it was the new one he acquired in the boys' house, not the one given when he was born. During this period, he spent half a year with his peers in the boys' house and the remaining half with his family. Once initiated as a novice in the men's house, he was addressed by a generic term without a personal name and stayed in men's house at night until he married. By looking at the phases of adolescence and adulthood together, we can not only reconsider the avoidance of personal names as not simply showing respect for others but also get a fuller picture of social life.

The significance of changing names throughout one's life is also found in Denis Regnier's (2014) study in Madagascar. She argues that the Malagasy change their names several times in life through rites to demonstrate one's senior status in society. Indeed, there are obvious differences between the Pinuyumayan and the Malagasy; for instance, name changing in the former is regulated by the society in different phases of one's life course, whereas a new name in the latter displays one's agency and social status. But both cases clearly demonstrate the importance of name changing and its relation to the indigenous constitution of the person.

In this respect, this article not only echoes other studies beyond Taiwan in considering the naming system in the context of the life cycle (Bloch 2006; Hugh-Jones 2006; Watson 1986) but also further argues that once names and modes of address are contextualized in a life-course perspective, they can contribute to our understandings of the indigenous notion of person and indigenous social life in a more comprehensive picture through which to conceptualize relationships between the individual and those seemingly separate social domains, such as kinship and community.[32]

NOTES

1. The people are named "Puyuma" in the official classification system of Taiwan indigenous peoples. Because the term "Puyuma" is also the name of a historically well-known village, the people have adopted "Pinuyumayan" as their ethnic name for the sake of not confusing the people and the village. I follow their usage in this article and reserve the term "Puyuma" for the Puyuma village only.

2. The Amis practice a naming system whereby a newborn baby is named after its elder kin, such as grandparent, uncle, or aunt. Therefore, some descendants from a set of siblings usually share the same personal names. It is common for persons in a village to have the same name.

3. Nevertheless, differences exist between these two peoples. For instance, the age system of the Pinuyumayan is an age-grade type, while the Amis an age-set one (see Chen 1990). Regarding the marriage pattern, when the uxorilocal residence was still prevalent in both peoples, the ratio among the Amis was higher than that of the Pinuyumayan.

4. Because Taiwan was ruled by the Japanese regime from 1895 to 1945, most of the elder generation can speak Japanese.

5. For more details about the historical and sociocultural background of the Pinuyumayan people, see Chen (2001a, 2010).

6. In 2014, Kanakanavu and Saalua, both living in southern Taiwan and formerly classified as the Tsou, were recognized by the government as independent ethnic groups. The total population of aboriginal peoples at the end of 2013 was 533,601, approximately 2.23 percent of Taiwan's total population of 23,373,517.

7. The Pinuyumayan also acknowledge the importance of generation and show it in their kin address. However, when someone is older in age but younger in generation than another, the principle of age seniority often dominates, except where the genealogical relationship between them is clearly recognized.

8. Botanical metaphors commonly exist among other Austronesian-speaking peoples outside of Taiwan (see Fox and Sather 1996).

9. The following description is mainly from the case of the Puyuma community and complemented by other Pinuyumayan communities if relevant. I use "present tense" to mean that these rites or customs are still held today, even if not by many people.

10. For example, a baby in Puyuma community was named "Soungtuk" because the governor-general, the highest rank of the Japanese regime in Taiwan, had visited the community that year.

11. The Paiwan are the most highly ranked among the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. The name for a newborn baby has to be seriously considered to ensure that it is appropriate to the ranked position of its parents. Moreover, it is common to give a baby a name that reflects the higher position that the infant's parent holds regardless of whether the parent is on the paternal or maternal side (see Ku in this issue).

12. In the case of the Pinaski, the new name was taken from the name of the land the boy's family had cultivated.

13. These new names, similar to young male teenagers' names given in the boys' house, are like nicknames.

14. The term "godfather" in the article refers to an elder who conducts the initiation rite for a youth. It does not have religious implications such as those found in the case of a Christian godfather.

15. The prefix "*miya*" indicates an ongoing condition, and the root "*betan*" means waistcloth. Unlike the Puyuma, the rest of the Pinuyumayan villagers address this period as

valisen, where “*valis*” means “transformation.” Previously, a young man, if necessary, would join in head hunting only after he was initiated as a *miyabetan/valisen* (Shröder and Quack 2009; Wang 2012, 96). Before the Japanese colonization, headhunting used to be widespread among the indigenous peoples in Taiwan except among the Yami (Tao) on Orchid Island off Taiwan (see McGovern 1997).

16. I once heard an elder call his male peer using the name given in the boys’ house. But the referee was angry and reprimanded the former for his impoliteness. The former apologized and addressed the latter with his teknonym.

17. Male peers call each other *ali*. However, whereas a man can call someone *ali* who is a few years younger, the latter cannot call the former *ali* but, rather, *ba*, meaning “older sibling.”

18. Among other Pinuyumayan villages, such as Likavung and Tamalakaw, a young man instead takes a new name from his “godfather,” who is named in the same fashion when being initiated as a novice in the men’s house.

19. Beyond the obligation of the initiate to his initiator, there are also intimate interactions between them. But today, there are fewer interactions due to the fact that the men’s house no longer performs its function as before.

20. For a Pinuyumayan man, marriage involved a change of residence from the men’s house to his spouse’s natal household, as uxorilocal marriage was prevalent. In Katratripulr village, the term for married male is “*musavasavak*,” meaning “those who ‘marry in.’” The prefix “*mu*” means “to enter, move,” and the root of the word, *savak*, means “interior.” The usage well displays the uxorilocal residence that used to be prevalent.

21. The root of this word is “*ruma*” (house). It is common in the Austronesian world that the house refers not only to a physical building but also to the people living together. Even the name of the house signifies the social position of its inhabitants (cf. Fox 1993).

22. Both “*kataquin*” and “*halin*” mean “spouse”: the Puyuma commonly use the former term, whereas the latter is in use among other Pinuyumayan communities.

23. However, they usually use the first child’s name only, which makes outsiders mistake it for the elder’s personal name. On occasions where persons middle aged and older address each other in this way, younger parents would then be referred to differently, depending on the relations between the addresser and the addressee.

24. I once asked the elders, “Does it mean that energy or power will be diffused to those initiates?,” but I could not get any further information. It is interesting to find that similar information is reported in the case of the initiation of a *temaramaw* (literally, shaman): a senior *temaramaw* will lose her energy once she initiates a disciple.

25. Today, a boys’ house is still extant in Puyuma but is no longer a place to sleep as before, except on the occasion of the annual rites conducted by the teenagers. In the case of the Pinaksi, the boys’ house was abolished in the early 1960s, and the nearby men’s house has since then performed the functions of both the boys’ and the men’s house (cf. Dong 2012). After teenagers have accomplished their annual rites, male adults then use the same building for their own rites.

26. There are some cases in which initiators are uncles and even grandfathers (paternal or maternal) of their initiates, but they do not live together, that is, in the same household.

27. It is noteworthy that young males and their godfathers in these villages reciprocally call each other "*ali*" ("friend"), while their counterparts in Puyuma and the Pinaski, respectively, address their godfathers as "*ama*," meaning "father."

28. For a more detailed discussion of the construction of "the foreign/outsider" and their shifting connotations and relations to "the autochthonous," see Chen (2004, 2007).

29. Maybe another important factor is the "assimilation policy" enacted by the government between the 1950s and 1980s. As a consequence, the indigenous peoples believed it shameful to use native names.

30. The forms are varied. For example, there are indigenous personal names followed by family names, such as Ahung Masikad, Urumakan Tatiyam, Gumalay Balangatu, and Varanuvan Mavaliw; Chinese personal names followed by indigenous ones, such as Weiwen Benaw; and indigenous personal names followed by Chinese surnames, such as Senayan Lai.

31. I personally thank Mr. Tong, himself a Paiwan, for providing this information.

32. Although published near fifty years ago, Goodenough's (1965) study is still relevant for reminding us of the importance of considering the personal naming system as constituting a part of society and avoiding inferring from the personal name that it is individualistic or sociocentric by itself.

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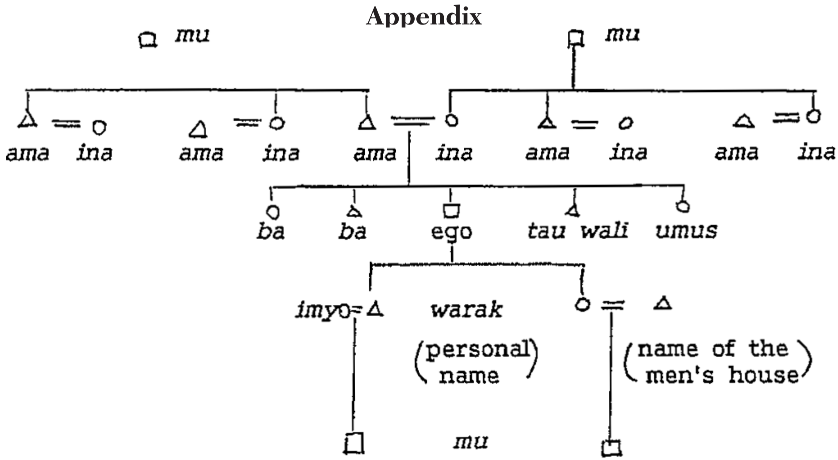
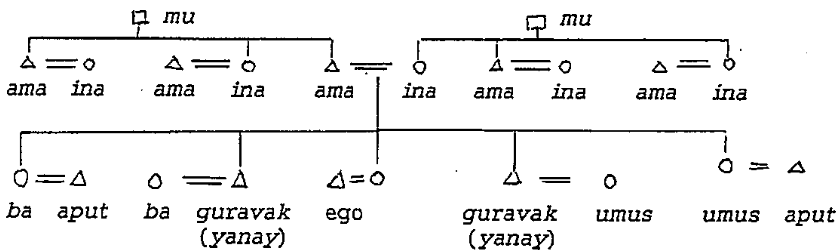
Appendix

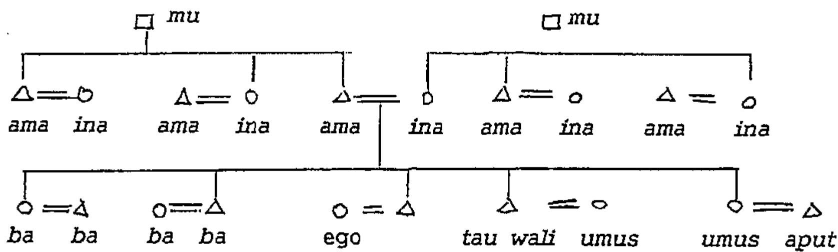


Appendix Figure 1 **The Puyuma Kin and Affinal Terms**

Note: *mu* (grandparents, grandchildren); *ama* (father and males at his generation); *ina* (mother and females at her generation); *ba* (siblings older than ego regardless of sex, *tau wali* (younger brother, including first and second cousins); *umus* (younger sister); *imy* (daughter-in-law). Son-in-law is addressed with the name of men's house into which he is initiated.



Appendix Figure 2 **The Puyuma Affinal Terms (male speaker)**



Appendix Figure 3 **The Puyuma Affinal Terms (female speaker)**