NAMING RELATIONSHIP AND CONSTRUCTING HIERARCHY: NAMES, VALUE, AND HIERARCHY AMONG THE AUSTRONESIAN PAIWAN, TAIWAN

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My first contact with the Paiwan people was in mid-1980s when I started a six-month teaching post at *Makazayazaya*. I came into contact with my students' families and neighbors through regular visits. After a couple of months, one of my students' elder brother suggested giving me the Paiwanese name "*Muni*." He explained to me that to give me this name, he had to ask permission from one of his father's relatives who could provide this name. Muni is a name belonging to certain noble families. The reason why he chose a noble name was partly related to his own status. He was called *Tanupak*, also a name of nobility, although he was peripheral to the house of origin of this name. Even with his noble name, he could not assign names to people other than those belonging to his own family. The privilege of naming is often reserved for the *vusam* (firstborn), the heir of the house where the name originated.

There was no public event organized for this naming occasion and the name Muni was only used in certain private settings. This relative of Tanupak's originally came from *Piuma*, which happened to be my fieldsite later in the mid-1990s. This coincidence, however, has some bearing on my understanding of the naming relationship and politics; namely, the legitimacy of the name given is related to the status of the name giver and that of the name giver's house. The genealogical seniority of both is important.

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The other name that I had was *Paules*, given by my neighbor, *Cankim*, whose age is about my mother's and, thus, is addressed as mother (*kina* in the Paiwan). One day kina invited me over and asked me whether I had a Paiwanese name. I replied, "Muni." She hesitated and asked who gave me the name. I replied, "Tanupak a *Tanulivak*." She said that it was a name of *mamazangilan* (nobility) and confessed that she did not belong to that category. "We *adidan* (commoner) have our own names. I will give you the name of my mother, Paules." It is a common practice to give one's child your parent's or grandparent's name. Again, it was a private naming event, only between kina's family and me. It is possible for a person to have two names, or more, with different "weight" or values when this person's parents come from families with different ranks. However, it is common today for people to drop the name of lower rank altogether. As in my case, naming an outsider represents establishing a closer relationship, and the name given is dependent on the status of the name giver.

Disputes surrounding naming became obvious when I arrived in *Piuma*. A township delegate, who was also a noble, made the following remark, "You'd better associate yourself with a mamazangilan so you have a chance to get a noble name. A name that deserves attention and respect." He was making a comment on the aesthetic and politics of naming which prevail among the Piuma inhabitants; distinctive sets of names are endowed with differential values and the alliance relationships are formed through the act of name giving. I was, however, reminded by others that in Piuma they did not give out "good names" easily to outsiders with the exception of those who married people of Piuma origin.

Not long after I arrived in Piuma, I was asked by *Aselep* the same question: "Have you had a Paiwanese name?" I naively mentioned the first name I was given at Makazayazaya. "Muni? Who gave you the name?" she asked, "You have to understand that we do not necessarily accept the names given by other villages." It is true that each name has differential currency in different regions, but in this case the statement was a question as to why I deserved this name.[1] The speaker's subject position is important here; Aselep is a commoner herself. Realizing the sensitive nature of naming, I promptly replied that I had another name, Paules. Aselep then said, "Paules is used in the north, here we say *Pailis*. They are the same name but with different accent. This name is okay, but you'd better have your mother give you a name. The student who stayed here last time was named *Akai* (shorthand of *Muakai*) by the pastor. It is the most ordinary name." The pastor's name was *Lamayav*, a commoner's name. Aselep was aware where I lived and the status of the family that had direct impact on the kind of names they could provide. The varying values attached to different names became clear. Among both the nobles and the commoners, competition for "better names" among peers is severe.

I later brought up the subject with kina "*Kereker a Pacikel*" with whom I lived and asked her to give me a name. She paused and then said there were several names that I could choose from: *Tuku*, *Paqesan*, Pailis, Kereker, etc. "We are not mamazangilan, but nor are we the lowest," she said. She did not mention her daughter's name *Remereman*, which belonged to a slightly higher rank, because she had to ask permission from her affine who could bestow the name. I then said I did have names given at Makazayazaya. "What are they?" "Muni," I said. Kina said nothing. "And Paules." "Oh, Pailis," she replied, "my mother was called Pailis, you can use that name, it is a name for the vusam" (meaning first-born in this case). She then asked who gave me the names. She listened carefully to the personal names, and the house names, of these people to verify their legitimacy. Once she realized one of the name givers was a remote relative of her husband's, the legitimacy of the name was established. This relative of her husband's, who belonged to *La Mavaliu* house, had the right to give both the name Muni and Paules. Paules was a marginal noble name but was later more adopted by commoners. Afterward, kina Kereker became my spokeswoman regarding how and where I got my names. She would recount the relationship to the audience to establish the validity of the name, Pailis.

Later, I was known as *Ilis* (shorthand for Pailis) at Piuma. (Although some Muni(s) privately mentioned to me that I could still use the name Muni. "If anyone challenges you, just say that I agree to you using the name," they said.) I was aware then that a name was socially defined and it was not good to go against that, although I did respect the person who gave me the name, Muni. I replied, "I am *masia* (embarrassed) to use the name Muni here." This statement was well received and said to show that I was respectful and humble, not taking on something that did not belong to me. Several months later, *Ciuciul a Gaguligul* (current ka-mamazangilan) offered to give me a name if I wished. By then I was aware of the internal struggle between members of *La Kazangilan* and La Gaguligul over the titlement of the leadership. My acceptance of a new name would be interpreted as affiliation with a particular side, even if she did not necessarily mean it that way, and this would make things complicated for me then. I declined her suggestion.

Paiwan is one of the sixteen officially recognized indigenous groups in Taiwan, the second largest in number. The sixteen officially recognized groups are as follows: Amis, Paiwan, Atayal, Bunun, Truku, Puyuma, Rukai, Sediq, Tsou, Saisyiat, Yami (Tao), Kavalan, Sakizaya, Thao, Hlaalua, and Kanakanavu (the last two were recognized in June 2014) (Fig. 1). The indigenous population was estimated at 545,000 in mid–2015 , which constituted

FIGURE 1. **Distribution of Austronesian Taiwan (Photo Credit: Presbyterian Church of Taiwan).**

2.3% of the total population in Taiwan. However, a historical linguist map of Austronesian Taiwan indicates a different story (Fig. 2). More than twenty languages were identified, even though some are extinct and others endangered, but some of these linguist groups are not officially recognized under the current regime due to complex historical reasons.

Even though the indigenous settlements are largely located at the edge of the mountainous central ridge and east coast, a significant number (estimated to be around 50%) of indigenous peoples have migrated to live in the urban areas. Christianity of various denominations has been a dominant religion among the indigenes since mass conversion occurred

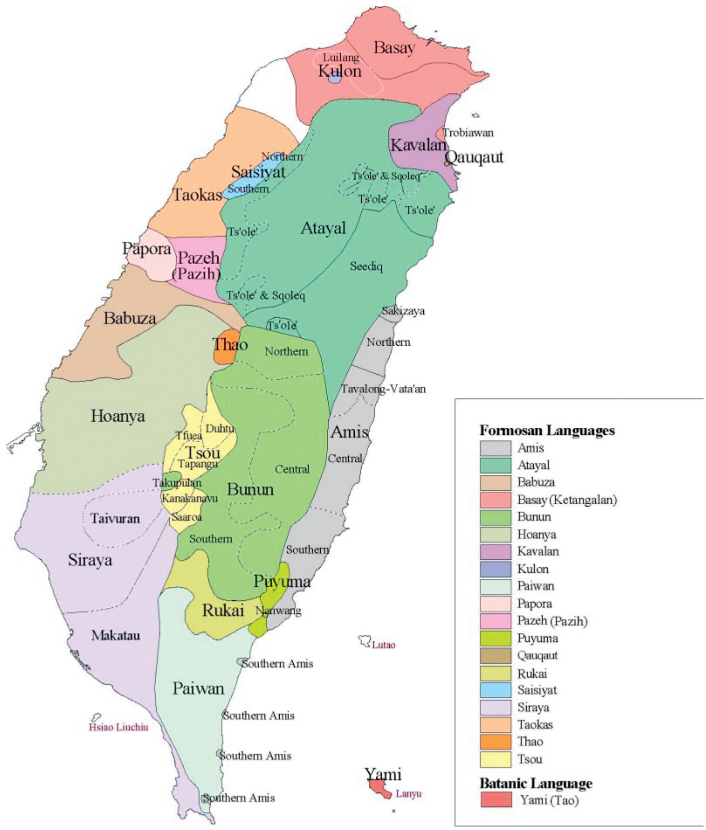

FIGURE 2. **Map of Austronesian Formosan and Yami Languages (1983). Adapted from Tsuchida (2009).**

after World War II, but with migration to the cities, there have been signs of decline in recent years, even though church organizations (especially the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan and, to a lesser degree, the Catholic Church) remain important in local communities. Recent cultural revival, coupled with tourism, has again prompted concerns over social, economic, and politic rights as embedded in the Indigenous Basic Law (2005). The Executive Yuan passed the Indigenous Self-Determination Temporary Ordinance in February 2015 in response to the critique of slow progress on self-governance after the passing of the Indigenous Basic Law even though this version was heavily resisted by indigenous activists because of its restricted nature and scope.

Names and Naming in Piuma

Personal names are not only individual possessions but also social ones in that individuals are defined and classified according to certain sociocultural parameters (e.g., kin relations, hierarchical ranking, and political alliance). Naming also pushes the envelope of these parameters in times of change. Thus, the act of naming not only serves instrumental purposes in identifying individuals and classificatory purposes in grouping them, but it is also a social praxis for renegotiating relationships. Naming in Piuma defines social relationships with varying value, and it links people in the past and present. In other words, the diachronic dimension of naming is as important as the synchronic aspect, and a successive naming history often constitutes the source of a strong claim to authority. I take Keane's (1997) approach to look at the representational practices (verbal and material) in Piuma public life and in how they are both implicated in social arrangements.

There are six types of appellations used among people in Piuma: personal name plus house name, kinship terms, status title, nickname, Chinese and/or Japanese name (given by the state), and Christian name (baptismal name) (Ku 2010, 201). Here, I focus on the first category. Of what is a Paiwan name constituted? A Paiwan name includes a personal name and a house name, for example, "*Lavaus* (personal name) a *Paqalius* (house name)," where the house name normally refers to the name of the house into which one is born. This can be changed when people marry into another house, in which case they could adopt the house name of their spouse. This can be applied to either sex.

The reason that I combine personal name and house name for discussion is twofold. First, a house name alone cannot be used to identify an individual, but it can be used by an individual for self-identification with a group of people related to the same house. The interconnection among the houses resulting from generations of intermarriage makes it difficult to disassociate one from the other entirely. It is more an issue of identification. People with more ancestors from or identifying with La Mavaliu (house name) would claim to be a member of La Mavaliu. If a genealogy of houses can be established, people would claim to belong to the ultimate house of origin. Second, a house name is often added to a personal name to identify an individual among a group of people who share the same name attributable to the repetitive use of same names in the community. That is, both personal names and house names represent individual identity in different contexts.

House Names

A house name refers to the name given to the physical structure of a particular house.[2] A house name, however, can outlive the physical structure of a house, and it can be appropriated by different residential groups. Thus, analytically, house as name and house as physical structure should be distinguished. Do house names have different values like personal names? I was constantly told in Piuma that house names did not carry any value, although some houses were considered to be "from the beginning of time" (*vinqacan*), which justified their chiefly status. The language of history is used to express hierarchy, and the indigenous conception of the past continues to play an important role in a contemporary status competition. Contrary to some early reports on this issue, which place strong emphasis on noble houses (Shih [1956] 1971; Chiang 1993), the rhetoric adopted by people in Piuma relates to the particularity of their history regarding the respective status of La Kazangilan and La Gaguligul houses in relation to La Mavaliu (the vinqacan house). It suggests that the value of a house name can be changed for historical reasons. There are two houses named Mavalu with different ranking status, for example, and I was told that commoners occasionally seek advice for getting house name from their affiliated noble. Levi-Strauss's emphasis on the material (e.g., house as physical structure) or immaterial (e.g., house as name) nature of house wealth is important here when considering the relation of house both to hierarchies of status or ritual power and to economic stratification (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995, 51).

Because the firstborn inherit house property, and thus house names, a nonfirstborn who marries another nonfirstborn has to establish a new house and create a new house name.[3] There is a cultural emphasis on the house of origin having higher status than the derived houses, which often have to rely on the house of origin for financial and other support. This branching off of new households from established ones is a constant process among the Paiwan, and the recognition of interrelatedness between natal and derived houses is frequently emphasized. People might not be able to detail the exact genealogical juncture of the branching off, but they all recognize the derivative relation among houses (Chiang 1993, 185). The same analogy (original vs. derivative) also applies to the relationship between the nobility and the commoners, although in a symbolic sense. In practice, name bestowing (an act indicating that the social status of the name giver is higher than that of the named) also allows the nobility to extend influence over the commoners. The same applies to name giving, an act through which the relationships between the firstborn and the rest of the siblings are bound, recognized, and valued.

Strategic use of house names demonstrates an act of identification in a particular context. For a politics of naming, we need to decide which names have value and significance for whom and in which situation. People often use the expression "I am also from that house" as a qualifier to legitimate their position when expressing opinions. Theoretically, one can claim to belong to the houses where all of one's ancestors came from—that is, if these ties are traceable and well maintained. When an exact link between two houses is untraceable, people express the link through the memory of objects transmitted between the houses at marriage (e.g., cooking utensils or ploughs).[4] Marriage payment only flows from the groom's natal house to the bride's house; thus, the objects represent an affinal kin tie through a male ancestor from other houses.

Personal Names

The social order defined by personal names is complicated. What I mean by a Paiwan personal name is the answer that people often give to the following question: *Tima su ngadan?* (Who is your name?). Bodenhorn (2006) points out that in Inupiaq one must ask "Who is your name?" and never use "What is your name?" It is the same among the Paiwan (Ku 2010). This personified form indicates a strong personal connection between the name bearers and the name providers whose identity and status they come to assume. This is also why they keep referring back to ancestors in naming. Names are not impersonal objects detached from the bodily self. Name giving in a sense is giving away part of a personal quality or personality. The word *ngadan* is also the term for "reputation" in Paiwan language. Thus, *nanguaq a ngadan* (good name) thus refers to either the nobility or a person of good reputation (see also Janowski on Kelabit in this volume).

Personal names are drawn from an established pool of names, although there is the possibility of creating new ones. One is usually named after one's ancestors—a practice that results in the frequent duplication of names within any given group, particularly among first cousins. More important, names indicate familial connections and affiliation of a sort, which in turn reveal the status of the named. Why does a name matter? A name represents who you are, your status, how you will be treated, and the rights to which you might be entitled. In Piuma today, these include the rights of decoration[5] and marriage payment.[6] A name is not just an individual marker but is also embedded in complex social networks and carries significant symbolic meanings. Thus, personal names are not just personal; they also reveal social relations and the cultural value attached to these relations.

Most Paiwan personal names are gendered, and the name pool in a small community can be beyond a hundred (not all currently in use). In Piuma, I was told that all names are gendered. Most of the Paiwan names currently in use are inherited rather than created. In all the naming events I witnessed in Piuma, newborn babies were named after someone else, although I know of only several cases outside Piuma where newborns are given new names that have never before been used (e.g., *Leledan,* meaning "pottery," given to the son by a young artisan because he is famous for recreating ancient Paiwan pottery).

Social Life of Names and Politics of Naming

Names among the Paiwan have the quality of "symbolic capital" as formulated by Bourdieu (1977). Therefore, the question of how to characterize the shifting value of names is important: The symbolic capital of names is not fixed, and the social life of names can reveal the larger processes involved in the transaction of value in both social and political fields. "From a theoretical point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context" (Appadurai 1986, 5). The symbolic value of names is never an inherent property but is a judgment made about them by subjects, although the subjectivity is always circumscribed by previous transactions and politics (see also Keane 1997).

The instability of the name pool and name values may be used to question the cultural importance of names and naming in Paiwan society, but I argue that names are important because of the differences they create and the social contexts they illuminate. In adopting this processual view, I demonstrate that the social life of a name is culturally regulated and its interpretation is subject, to a certain degree, to individual manipulation.

The process of circulation of names not only signifies relations of privilege and social control but also contains the possibility of changing these relations. The politics of naming exists for the parties involved in the exchange not necessarily sharing the same interest. For example, the nobility often try to freeze the flow of prestigious names by endogamous practices among their own ranking circles and rigid regulation of the movement of noble names. Some commoners who aspire to greater prestige invite a loosening of these rules and an expansion of their own pool of names. The flow of names in any given situation is a shifting compromise between socially regulated paths and competitively inspired diversions (Appadurai 1986, 17). As Thomas (1992) mentions, the meanings of valuables cannot be specified in the absence of local information about the ways that things were received.

I chart a process whereby names are given meanings as a significant element in ongoing social and political relations among people in Piuma. I contextualize the discussion in the following two ways. First, I describe specific procedures by which names are acquired and changed in daily social processes. Second, I examine how the processes involved are a part of other areas of social life, especially indigenous political dynamics. That is, the seemingly private and personal act of naming is intertwined with political strategies, and in the public display of words in matrimonial negotiation and the struggle for political legitimacy, participants risk the loss of personal status.

Pu-Ngadan (Acquiring a Name)

A Paiwan name is generally given, not long after a baby is born, by a family member or member of higher rank if a "better name" is sought. Most naming occasions occur privately within a family, unless one asks for a name that is beyond the control of one's family. Normally, when both parents come from the same rank, the firstborn child is named after an ancestor of the vusam; the next child is named after an ancestor of the in-marrying spouse; and the remaining children alternate between the two. The sequence is not often followed exactly and can be discussed if special conditions occur, for example, to memorialize a newly deceased relative. If neither parent is vusam, then a negotiation can be made between these two houses, and permission may be sought from the firstborn regarding the names of the next generation. If the rank of the parents differs, children are often named after the higher-ranking ancestors. Instead, some might carry names from both sides, although the latter is seldom practiced in Piuma.

Specific personal names are often retained within particular ranking groups, and the right to give names is reserved for the vusam of the house from which the name originated. Usually, a name giver would be one's parents or grandparents if the names are common within the family. When one would like to name a child after an in-marrying ancestor whose name is "better" than the rest of the names in the family, then one has to ask permission from the current firstborn of the house from which this in-marrying ancestor originally came. In other cases where names can be asked for from a higher-ranking member, this signifies an act of identification. It is said that high-ranking noble families that "married down" for more than three generations would lose their noble status and thus their access to "good names" would gradually decline. However, if one person married down, it does not affect their family's ability to marry at the same level or up again.

Basically, the principle of seniority (precedence[7]) governs the relationships between the name giver and the named, linking the firstborn with the rest of the siblings through the act of name giving and linking the nobility with the commoners through the act of name bestowing. Again, the analogy between the firstborn and the nobility is enacted in the naming.[8]

The relationship between the named and the person one is named after (the name provider—in most cases, a deceased person[9]) is that of commemoration and emulation. When people come to choose names, they often discuss the personality and reputation of the people with the same name, and more often they name a child after an ancestor or a person they admire. In other cases, more than one name is given to a child, and it is only later, by common agreement, that one is selected that is thought to best suit the character of the child.[10] Names thus represent a partible self and carry the name provider's personality.

The relationship among the living people who share the same name (name sharers) varies greatly, but common names often signify common ancestry, and kin ties can be reproduced through name sharing. People identify with those sharing the same ancestral names, and this is sometimes used to declare a closer bond between two houses. One can have several choices of names from different ancestral lines. By choosing one particular line of ancestry (from different regions), those ties are retained, as are the exchange relations that come with the tie on various ritual occasions (e.g., marriage feasts). This is particularly important for regional alliances made by the nobility. When an intervillage marriage takes place, the groom's house members would stop by either the house of the local nobility or that of a traceable relative in the bride's village before the formal ceremony takes place. There was the case in 1995 in which members of *Dalimalau* (a noble house) in Sandimen Township came to Piuma and chose to sojourn at La Kazangilan house rather than La Gaguligul house before the ceremony took place. This event was criticized by La Gaguligul's supporters as violating custom, and they suspected it was an attempt to reestablish the authority of the descendants of La Mavaliu who now resided in La Kazangilan. Members of La Dalimalau have distant kin ties with both La Gaguligul and La Mavaliu members. When I asked the members of La Dalimalau how they came to the decision, I was told, "*Elaiyung* is an ancestral name of La Dalimalau." It can be said that kinship, to a certain degree, is articulated through names. Thus, to widen the range of noble names from different regions is to sustain kin ties widely,[11] as well as to increase prestige.

From Personal to Political

Here, I analyze the strategies individuals adopt to secure prestigious names and accumulate symbolic capital, as well as how this series of strategies is linked to the struggle for leadership in Piuma.

Names at Marriage Negotiations

Paiwan names are constantly in the state of being renegotiated in each matrimonial bargain. When the endogamous rule was more strictly observed, names were compared and set the terms for the materials exchanged between those parties involved. Recently, marriage union between female nobility and male commoners was made possible by reference to the concept of "buying names." Despite of the change in marriage practices, Paiwan names as symbolic capital remain the reference for which material wealth is exchanged.

The endogamous marriage rule (among the same ranking group) is often used to control the flow of names within the circles of the nobility. However, even among the nobility, long-term endogamy within the same circle causes a stagnation (or even a fall) in status. Regional alliance among the nobility is thus preferred. The category of "*sangasangasan*" (the second cousins) was the ideal criterion for choosing a mate in the past, but as in the case of La Mavaliu, attributable to constant endogamous practices, the status of La Mavaliu members stagnated compared to that of La Gaguligul members, whose marriage strategy proved to be successful in linking the highest nobles from different regions. Constant flow of new names from the nobility of other regions is shown in La Gaguligul's genealogy. This contrasts with that of La Mavaliu, where similar names repeated themselves over a couple of generations and were used by more people.[12]

Like the tournaments of value described by Appadurai, marriage negotiations are events that are removed in some culturally well-defined way from the routines of economic life, yet the forms and outcomes of the tournaments are consequential for the more mundane realities of power and value in ordinary life (1986, 21). Matrimonial negotiations among the high-ranking nobility constitute the special events where the participants gather to contest their respective status, and only these types of marriage are likely to be set apart through a culturally marked mechanism. These tournaments are publicly witnessed, and knowledge about the paths of names in turn increases one's capacity to win the negotiation. Like ritual knowledge, knowledge about names is an asset for the orator, and the better orator, the greater the chance of striking a better bargain at such an occasion.

Marriage negotiation often takes place in two steps. First, the male's relatives, particularly the vusam, visit the female's house to see whether the female's immediate relatives are willing to enter further negotiation. If they agree to pursue the matter, a date is set so that all parties concerned can gather at the female's house to discuss in detail the marriage ceremony and bride price. Second, before the details of the marriage ceremony and bride price can be decided, a status competition between the bride's and the groom's houses takes place.

In this competition, both sides first have to identify the sources of their names: Where did they acquire their names? The gathering from all branches of relatives serves the purpose of witnessing, and the bigger the crowd one can mobilize, the greater the chance of proving one's status (see also Roth 2002). Often both sides name the noble houses to which they are connected; the more prestigious the houses to which one is connected by blood or marriage, the higher one's status. If both sides have a similar ancestry, the question is then asked, which house is closer to the vusam line? (Birth order matters.) Having commoner ancestry may be used by the opponent to pull down one's status in the negotiation. The kind of marriage ceremony and bride price one is entitled to is determined by the result of the status competition. Only when the female's status is agreed to be higher than the male's status can the bride enjoy the honor of a *diuma* (nuptial swing) being erected on her behalf (Fig. 3). Marriage negotiation often fails when both sides cannot come to agreement on the respective ranks or when one side refuses to comply with what is required of it. However, contemporary compromises sometimes occur when the rhetoric of (Christian) faith is asserted. Also, female commoners with higher education achievement or desired occupations (such as teacher, pastor, or government employee) can often bargain for a better deal. That is, the supposedly inherited ascribed status can be renegotiated side by side with the achieved status in certain domain of life.

Buying Names

As mentioned earlier, Paiwan names are often circulated among people of similar rank, but the cultural desire for a better name can also lead people to breach the existing framework and create exchange relations between groups of different rank. The endogamous marriage practice in turn feeds the cultural desire for a "better name" among the lower-ranking groups. Several cultural mechanisms can be followed to breach the rule. Bourdieu (1977) adopts the term "matrimonial strategies" and refers to the "social use of kinship" to treat kin relationships as something people make through individual strategy. Thus, a marriage or kinship rule is followed if it fulfills or satisfies the desire.

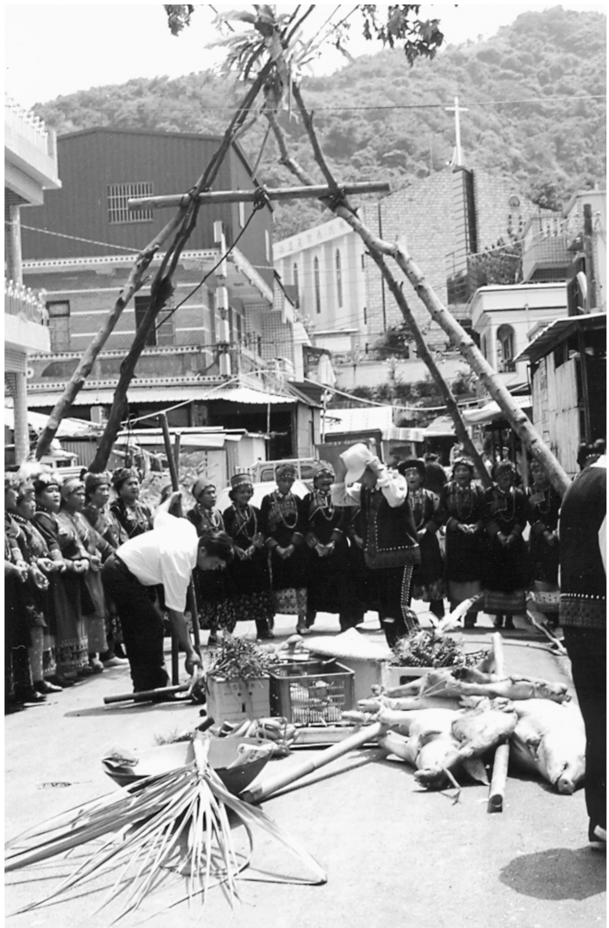

FIGURE 3. **Nuptial Swing Being Erected With the Decoration of Bird's-Nest Fern on the Top. Photo Taken by Kun-hui Ku.**

The transactional maneuvering involved in marriage can only be understood in the context of a family strategy aimed at an ongoing series of material and symbolic exchanges between houses.

"Buying names" refers particularly to marriages between female nobles and male commoners, unusual unions in the past. *Vuquvu's* marriage is such a case. Vuquvu's desire for a better name for his next generation is fulfilled by the sacrifice of traditional valuables, which is the focus of the desire of the bride's natal house. The traditional valuables are in turn used in the next marriage negotiation by the bride's natal house for an equivalent—or higher-status bride to increase the symbolic capital of the house and the chance to get even better names. Those whose marriage is characterized as buying names for their next generation still need to go through the proper procedure for acquiring names. Because few firstborn female nobles would take the option of marrying down (with male commoners), the house of origin would retain the power of name giving and thus preserve the "best" names intact.

Vuquvu (in his early forties in 1998) was born in *La Pacikel* but later was adopted, when he was twenty years old, by his father's sister, who did not have children of her own. Vuquvu said that he had different standards in seeking his prospective spouse before and after his adoption: before the adoption, he was looking for a vusam; after the adoption, he was looking for a noble mate. The difference was that being a second child in Pacikel, he was encouraged to marry someone with established house property. Yet after the adoption, being the first and only child of the new house, *La Leleman*, he was encouraged to marry someone with a good name. Vuquvu paid a great deal more for the marriage because of the difference in rank between his bride and himself, but he said that it was worthwhile because his next generation could now have a better name. The marriage negotiation then focused on the bride price that Vuquvu needed to prepare. Because of his athletic talents and service to the church, he was later in life bestowed a noble name by his higher ranking affine who held a ceremony to recognize their bond as fictive brothers. So he himself can wear the prestigious feather in public along with his children who received their noble names from their mother side.

Adoption and Names

Adoption is one such cultural mechanism today that allows for the flow of names between houses of different ranks. This following case, however, also indicates the decline of chiefly authority as the center of the community because the nobility used to provide shelter for orphans, the elderly, and the homeless. This case of adoption from a high-ranking house was thus portrayed as an attempt to gain access to good names and to consolidate the relationship between the two houses involved. After eight years of waiting for pregnancy, Aselep adopted a son from *La Vavulelen* named *Basulan*. La Vavulelen had close kin tie with both La Mavaliu and La Gaguligul and was a high-ranking house. Aselep, a commoner, identified herself with La Mavaliu, as a subordinate to the noble house. The adoption specified that Basulan would have to be the sole beneficiary of the adopting house's property as a vusam. Not long after the adoption, Aselep gave birth to a boy named *Baru* whose name was given by Basulan's natal house. In principle, the younger boy was not supposed to have a name that was as high ranking as that of his adopted brother, but Aselep resorted to Basulan's natal family on the ground that the huge difference in rank, as presented in names, between the brothers might cause some difficulty for the little boy when he was growing up. Thus, the name Baru was given, but without the associated rights that Basulan would have. The interaction between the brothers might later change the relation and the rights that Baru could have if Basulan bestows the rights upon his younger brother, which remains to be seen. (After the national law was established after World War II and exerted increased power on the communities, it is common for the parents to distribute the property beforehand with larger share to the vusam and small portion to the younger siblings to avoid a possible legal battle after they pass away.) For Aselep, this adoption brings good names into the house, and for the members of La Vavulelen, the same act extends control over the property of another house. The bond between these two houses is further strengthened by this adoption.

Rights Associated with Names

People often use the Japanese term *kin-li* (rights) or simply use the possessive form *niaken aitsu* (this is mine) to refer to certain rights (material or symbolic) associated with names.[13] In contemporary Piuma, the rights of the nobility mainly refer to marriage payments and decorative rights, as mentioned earlier. The nobility used to claim all decorative items that were considered special before the political status of the nobility declined because of external (Japanese and Chinese) states' intervention. The importance of a market economy in Paiwan regions is also reflected in the change of naming practices (buying names) and the use of decoration rights. As a market economy was introduced in the late 1960s, some of the decorative rights were "sold" on the market by the nobility in exchange for either material or political capital (Ku 1989; Guo 2006). The rise of a market economy contributed to social mobility in the Paiwan region partly because the commoners tended to work on the land and were able to sell produce for profit. The nobility were no longer in the position of collecting tributes for redistribution in the community, and their lack of experience in labor work impeded them from participating in the new forms of the economy in its early stage. The nobility lost their monopoly over most decorative rights by selling them in the market; yet eagle feathers remain the privilege of the nobility today (Fig. 4). Some nobility participate in the trade of eagle feathers, and they only sell the feathers to the customers according to their ranks (i.e., names). In Piuma, three eagle feathers represent the highest status, and few firstborns can have this honor. The branching-off siblings from these high-ranking houses can

FIGURE 4. **An Example of Feather Decoration of a Bride and Groom in a Marriage Dancing Occasion. Photo Taken by Kun-hui Ku.**

only wear two eagle feathers, and marginal nobles and publicly recognized heroes can wear one feather.

According to elderly hunters, the use of feathers by the nobility is a rather recent phenomenon. New technologies adopted in hunting, which increased the catch of eagle, indirectly promoted the use of feathers as a sign of status. In the mid-1990s, Taiwu Township attempted to regulate the use of eagle feathers, but the proposal was postponed. In this revived ethnic adornment industry, the producers were not necessarily the Paiwan themselves, and the trade routes of these items, such as old glass beads and decorative shell coins, can be as far as inland China, Southeast Asia, Americas, and Europe. Some also sell plastic feathers for cheaper price.

As I mentioned earlier, there is no inherent right to a particular name, not only because the rank of names fluctuates over time but also because the processes of naming and the people involved affect the value of names in a particular context. Some people take advantage of names given from other regions to claim certain rights. If a person has no right in the village to wear a particular kind of feather, when challenged, questions are often

FIGURE 5. **The Elder in the Middle Served in the Church but Also as a Mediator to Adjudicate the Conflict Over Decorative Rights Before His Passing. Photo Taken by Kun-hui Ku.**

asked whether this personal adornment is given by the associated nobles from other villages. Even so, the rights given from the outside can never overshadow the rights of the nobility in the home village. People openly display their rights in public, and the legitimacy is to be confirmed or contested by people with *djemdjem* authority (Fig. 5).[14] In each ritualistic display, people assert claims to higher status, and if they are able to use certain symbols without being challenged, new status may be secured (see also Gibson 1995).

This happens in both marriage negotiations and public decorations. As Howe (2000) argues, the risk involved in public rituals is comparable to political contest, and the outcome has direct implications for daily routine life.

The same personal names from other villages, or within the village in some cases, do not necessarily carry the same rank or value. Names also can be given without associated rights and status. This mostly happens when commoners ask their associated nobles to bestow a "better" name for a member of a new generation. Some marginal nobles who marry down for a couple of generations may retain marginal noble names but without associated rights. Thus, names are the contested site for status and rights associated with that status. People who share the same names would still rank themselves higher or lower than others with the same names on the grounds of the process of gaining the name and different sources of names. However, names acquired without the proper procedure are seen to be a sign of transgression—a desire for greater status and power.

Inflation of a Name's Value

Although the same names do not necessarily carry the same rank, personal names are still the most important media through which people talk about differential status. Despite the stress on the legitimacy of the name, there has been a lot of discussion about the inflation of names and illegitimate use of names. Here, I use the economic analogy that the inflation results in the devaluation of names. The more people adopted good names, the less precious these names became and the more frequently new names had to be introduced to mark the distinction. Naming, nonetheless, continues to function in creating status differences among people.

Whenever a baby is born, the discussion of names abounds. The act of acquiring names from remote relatives whose relationship could barely be established is interpreted in different ways: Only those acknowledging the higher status of the name giver receive names from them; to ask a favor is to acknowledge the relatively low status of self (patronage relationship). However, to name is to recognize the relationship, to form an alliance and, even in some cases, to elevate one's status. The alliance aspect of name exchange is particularly clear in the way the nobility in different regions use it to achieve even higher status through marriage unions.

The scarcity of certain names is sometimes used to claim a better value for these names. The less often a name is used, the more valuable it becomes, especially a name given by high-ranking people. *Laucu* a Kazangilan, a descendant of La Mavaliu, gave *Djepelang's* family a name that was not used at the time. Djepelang refused to reveal this name to others after Laucu died, not even to Laucu's daughter, because she wanted to keep this name in the family and retain the currency of the name by preventing others from having the same name before it was used in the family. "It does not 'sound' prestigious if everybody has the same name," she said.

The name system, nonetheless, has been inflated recently because more people adopt higher-status names; thus, the name itself is depreciated. Recent increase of intermarriage between nobility and commoners contributes to this phenomenon, and status competition intensifies among lesser nobles as a result of it.

The Christian discourse of equality is sometimes deployed to demand a better name among lower-ranking commoners, although this appeal to equality serves in reality to reproduce social distinction through customary practices. "We all deserve a 'good' name as long as we follow the proper procedure," the Christian commoners often said. The statement is not really egalitarian because the underlying assumption is to maintain the status quo of the nobility yet to advance the commoners' own position. The naming system cannot be said to be under the control of the nobility only; commoners are also the major players in the game. Often, it is said that commoners are the gatekeepers of the system once they acquire better names. Names and naming functions reproduce this ideology of Paiwan hierarchy. Christianity becomes an indigenized source of politics and religious principles and values; Christian idioms are deployed to sustain the legitimacy of the hierarchy in naming practices.

The fate of a name can be changed over generations. The devaluation of a name resulting in the inflationary process can best be shown by the discussion of names in the local mythical stories (*mirimiringan*[15]). Personal names used in local mythical stories about the nobility are *Kulililili*, *Muakaikai*, *Kalarularu*, *Pularuyanruyan*, and so on. These are names still in use today in Piuma; the difference is that Kulili, Muakai, Kalaru, and Pularuyan are the names of commoners. One possible explanation would be that these were noble names that are now adopted by commoners following their loss of currency as more people adopted them. (However, this explanation does not apply to southern Paiwan, where the currency of these names remains.) A closer examination of the recent genealogy of La Mavaliu supports this explanation.[12]

The same phenomenon applies to the commoners' name pool. Because of the cultural desire for noble names, I asked how many people in the community still held the most ordinary commoner's name. Those mentioned are all in their sixties (as of the late 1990s), and all have grandchildren. It is interesting to find a three-stage mobility in the names of different generations, which means that each generation seeks to step up in the hierarchy of names through various means. There is no one named *Udalan* or *Lamawan* in the newborn generation. However, this does not mean that the difference in status and ranking has been eliminated. Those who disagreed with a particular naming often said that when the named person reached the age for marriage, everyone would know exactly how much they were "worth." Marriage negotiation is an occasion when people of concerned groups come to contest their status, and this is usually out of the control of the marrying couple. Despite Paiwan Presbytery's attempt to promote Christian marriage ceremonies, status competition remains an important part of the process when two parties have relatively close rank. When the differential status of two parties is clear, people of lower status often expect to hear the sources of names from the higher-status partners, a legacy that would become part of their own. There would not be any argument in these cases. Church marriage ceremonies do take place, but they are used more often by people who cannot have an elaborate "traditional" ceremony, such as low-ranking commoners, or by people who use the ceremony to highlight their Christian identity, along with their traditional title.

This common complaint about the deflation of name value was leveled at the nobility, who were blamed for giving away names for their own benefit, as I described earlier. This also caused a devaluation of names that originated in the community (e.g., *Tjemeresai* and *Ligiai*, names of La Mavaliu). This situation accelerated after the status of the nobility was shaken not only by external political institutions but also by economic, religious, and social factors. The status of nobility was partly supported by their ritual efficacy, which justified their collection of tribute during harvest seasons from commoners whose livelihood depended on it. The introduction of new crops, political intervention of Japanese police, and later introduction of Christianity all contributed to the decline of their status. After they lost their previous rights to gather tributes from the commoners, symbolic capital of noble names was used to exchange for other forms of capital—material or political. This situation, however, has been reversed in recent years as the concern for cultural revival has grown.[16] There was a case in which the name given by one noble to a commoner was challenged by another noble, who resorted to the civil court. The court decision was made to respect local customary practices, and the name was dropped. The impact of the decision of the civil court remains to be seen in future developments (see also Tsai 2015).

Appropriation of Names: Name, Blood and Traditional Title

As Bourdieu (1977, 36) witnessed in the Kabyle region of Algeria, the competition and conflicts incurred by the transmission of personal names provide an opportunity to observe the practical and political functions of these genealogical markers: To appropriate these markers is in a sense to take control of a title, giving special rights to a particular group through the symbolic capital accumulated by the house. The current struggle for traditional leadership in Piuma between members of La Mavaliu and those of La Gaguligul also takes the form of appropriation of prestigious names.

Names and blood *(djamuq)* are concepts often associated in discussing title in Piuma. La Mavaliu members often complained that their names were appropriated by La Gaguligul members, such as the name Ligiai. Normally, only those who share blood share names, especially in the community, except for special ritual occasions. Appropriation of names other than those of one's own ancestors is often explained as a transgression of the norm, which implies an appropriation of the status associated with the name, if the proper procedure is not followed.[17] The question arose as to who has the right to bestow the ancestral names of La Mavaliu.

Current debates surrounding the leadership in the community also center on the issue of how to settle the legitimate heir of La Mavaliu. In other words, who has the right to act on behalf of the name of La Mavaliu? Elaiyung a Kazangilan, a distant descendant of La Mavaliu whose ancestors left Piuma and, thus, lost the status of heading the community, claimed that La Gaguligul members (whose ancestors took the place of leadership after the fall of La Mavaliu) can take her ancestors' names but cannot change the blood. The notion of blood as a quantitative substance is clear from the marriage negotiation, where status competition is calculated in terms of blood passing from generation to generation. This appeal to the principle of blood is used to claim her noble status even though she resides in a commoner's house. La Gaguligul members' attempt to expand their name pool shows that the right to bestow names is a sign of legitimating authority. Kin groups and political groups intersect in this case, and the claims for familial names become a political claim.

The followers of La Mavaliu claim that they need to go to their vusam for their names, and Elaiyung is the biological vusam of La Mavaliu, although she is no longer considered a representative of Piuma because of the historical events. The right to bestow ancestral names is used in appeals to recover her claim to leadership over issues related to La Mavaliu in the community. The supporters of La Kazangilan insist that her status should be revived because the principle of blood cannot simply be overridden by historical events. The legitimacy of their names can only come from the firstborn of La Mavaliu. She might have overemphasized the importance of blood, because we see cases in which ritual recognition is more important than biological factors, yet the right of bestowing ancestral names is hard to alienate. Members of La Gaguligul, however, fear that this would in turn increase her authority to reclaim the rights over the house (and house name) of La Mavaliu, which Elaiyung was rebuilding, a sign for reclaiming the leadership of the community.

The house was eventually rebuilt partly with the fund from the project for reviving traditional dwelling form provided by the township. It took a long time to complete because furnishing a proper noble slate house required a lot of labor and money, however, the house completion ceremony was not well attended as I was told, a sign of lack of consensus in the community. Yet, since the completion, Elaiyung has managed to hold annual kin group gathering(s) to show her ambition to rebuild the fame and power of La Mavaliu.

The hierarchical nature of names in Piuma is tied into the local political dynamics, which revolves around the struggle between members of La Gaguligul and those of La Kazangilan over the leadership of the community. Elaiyung appeals to the principle of blood and the right to bestow ancestral names, whereas Tsiutsiul (a Gaguligul) appeals to the historical legitimacy of her status.

Conclusion

The nature of the Paiwan hierarchy has been a subject of interest and debates ever since the Japanese era. Studies have pointed to the control of property (either immovable kinds such as land or movable ones such as heirlooms) as an explanation. This paper argues that in Piuma naming and names play a significant role in reproducing social relationships, especially those of a hierarchical nature, no less than do Paiwan heirlooms that are traditionally inherited by firstborns. The dynamic interplay between symbolic dimensions of names and naming and material objects is key to understanding the nature of Paiwan hierarchy and its fluidity. Furthermore, the movement of valuables mainly follows the path of names, and these valuables are often used to objectify social relationships among individuals or groups as represented by names. The authority constructed in ritual speech, the legitimacy founded in exchange relationships, and the power of valuables (material and nonmaterial) are in play in understanding Paiwan hierarchy, which is irreducible to any single dimension.

People in Piuma do not consider holding something material (valuables) to be the only factor central to the recognition of one's status. Instead, they treat names as the most important indicator of their status (with some qualifications, as mentioned earlier). I have shown that it is not a specific name that matters, because the value of a name can fluctuate over time. Rather, it is the act of naming and the system of names that make differences visible in everyday life. I have used cases from matrimonial negotiation, adoption between different ranking houses, same-sex fictive kin recognition ceremony, buying names, struggle for local leadership, and inflation of a name to examine the relationships among name, valuables, and hierarchy in Piuma. Verbal representation (reciting names in public) and material representation (exchanged objects) are both linked to the expression of hierarchy, yet there are "tensions inherent to representations in their roles as media of action and in their relationship to everyday activities," as Keane pointed out (1997, xiv).

Names represent not only identity and subjectivity but also ranking difference and political relations. Names are signs of potency (see also Errington 1989, 191) and are contested sites for hierarchy. Because noble names are the object of desire, the process of name acquisition becomes highly politicized and the paths taken by these names are thus both "reflective" and "constitutive" of social alliance and struggle for preeminence. Thus, the strategic use of Paiwan names and naming is a social praxis in renegotiating social relations in daily interaction, which can also have an impact on long-term historical trajectories.

NOTES

1. A name can have different currency in different regions. For example, the name Tuku is a commoner's name in the northern Paiwan area but it is a noble's name in the southern area.

2. For example, house names are most often used in the daily context of being asked, *Mainu sun?* (Where are you going?), to which one might reply, *Ma* Pacikel (To the house of Pacikel).

3. It is also possible to create more than one house in a lifetime. Often, once a firstborn has grown to maturity, the parents can leave the house to that offspring and create another house (and house name) with a new partner, regardless of whether they are a firstborn, an in-marrying spouse, or a founder of the house.

4. As *Djeperang* a Paqaljius told me, "I know that La Paqaljius is related to La Pacikel because my grandmother told me that our cooking utensils came from that house."

5. The decoration rights include personal adornment and house decoration. In contemporary Piuma, an eagle feather remains the privilege of the nobility and traditional carvings *(sasuayan)* and a stone tablet *(saulai)* can only be installed for noble houses. For details on personal adornment (such as embroidered cloth with the images of sun, human heads, snake, precious pottery, butterfly, and other hunting scenes), see Ku (1989) and Guo (2006).

6. This statement needs further qualification. Although marriage payment is often paid to the bride's family, the actual amount depends upon the relative status of bride's and

groom's houses. In the case of a high-ranking man with a low-ranking woman, nothing was required in the past. Tanupak married a firstborn commoner, Pailis, and did not pay any bride price because of the differential status between Tanupak and Pailis. But this case was criticized for being inconsiderate to the bride in a contemporary situation. According to Paiwan Presbytery regulation, although a bride's status is lower than that of the groom, her family should still receive part of the payment.

7. See also Fox 1994.

8. A child is often given a second personal name if the parents come from different regions. If a person is called by his first personal name by his paternal kinsmen in the village where he resides, he can be called by his second personal name in his maternal kinsmen's district. This is particularly common among the nobility, among whom regional intermarriage is often practiced. Following this logic, a person can have third or fourth names if his maternal grandparents and paternal grandparents also come from different regions with their own distinct name stock. Once ties are weakened, a name is not often used and will eventually be dropped. A name that is not used in daily life is considered nonexistent, although the name remains a possibility for a subsequent naming occasion.

9. In referring to a recent deceased relative, kin term and personal name with a past tense signifier *(anga)* are used. For example, *vuvu* Pailis-*anga.* Otherwise, personal names are not applied to the deceased. In the ancestral rite or five-year rite *(Maleveq),* the collective term *vuvu* is used to refer to all ancestors.

10. It was said of the name *Kui* (a high-ranking name) that several of its name bearers showed the characteristics of drunken men. The name Kui was quite popular at one time but is not anymore. A name can be "too good" for a person (in terms of ranking differences), and it can also be spoiled by a person (in terms of personal reputation and quality).

11. This was also a defense device in the past when raiding between villages was prevalent.

12. Firstborns were named, in turn, *Puraluyan*, *Tjemeresai*, *Gilegilav*, *Lavuqas*, *Gilegilav*, *Lavuqas*, *Laucu*, and *Elaiyung*.

13. Although there is no equivalent indigenous (single) vocabulary for the concept of rights, a similar concept is expressed in indigenous phrases using a possessive form.

14. *Djemdjem* refers to the power of policing and gatekeeping to uphold social norms, particularly regarding issues related to status and rights associated with status.

15. There are two categories of Paiwan narratives that should not be confused. *Tautsikel* means historical happenings, or happenings of personal experience. *Mirimiringan* refers to stories that cannot be proved to be true (Ku 2004). See also Harrison (1990).

16. The cultural revival started in the 1970s by local governments to facilitate cultural tourism, but it has gradually taken root in local communities to promote cultural awareness. This trend was enhanced by the rise of the indigenous rights movement to demand cultural rights from the government (see also Ku 2012).

17. This case was often used to explain to me that the status of La Mavaliu is higher than that of La Gaguligul. However, the individuals within these two houses occupy different positions in the ranking according to their genealogical positions within each house.

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