An Ethnolinguistic Note on the Etymology of 'Puyuma'[*]

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The term 'Puyuma' came into usage only at the end of the 19th century with Ino's (1898) classification of the Formosan ethnic groups/languages into seven groups: Atayal, Bunun, Tsou, Supaiwan [Paiwan], Tsarisen [Rukai], Puyuma and Ami. Since the early 20th century, outsiders have tried to impose – with varied degrees of success – other ethnonyms to the Puyuma. This paper shows that the word *puyuma* actually comes from *pu- ʔuma* and was actually conferred to this group to refer to a drastic social change, i.e., the entrance into the modern world, the coming to an end of male (practitioners)/hunting practices and their being thrown into the feminine world of farming/agriculture.

Key words: Puyuma, ethnolinguistics, ethnonym, etymology

1. Setting the stage

It is well-known that many of the Formosan ethnonyms, which also usually designate corresponding languages (e.g., Atayal, Seediq, Bunun, Tsou, Thao), etymologically derive from the Pan word *Cau 'person' (Blust 1999:84).

The names of certain languages/dialects are more opaque but linguistic evidence and/or oral traditions about late migrations may help understand their origins. For instance, the Mantauran (Rukai) call themselves *ʔoponoho*. This word has become morphologically indivisible but it is actually derived from: Pr *swa-ponogo 'from-toponym' with regular sound changes from Proto Rukai (henceforth Pr) *s > Mt ʔ; Pr *wa > Mt o; Pr *g > Mt h (see Zeitoun, in press). Teruku /truku/, which constitutes one of the three Seediq dialects (Teruku, Tkadayan (= Paran) and Toda) is spoken principally in Hualien prefecture, in the east of Taiwan. It is said, however, that this linguistic community migrated to the east about two hundred and fifty years ago (Li

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2005) from a place located in the center of Taiwan in Nantou prefecture, Ren-ai county called Teruku /truku/.

It is much more difficult to understand other ethnonyms, e.g., Saisiyat /ʃaiʃiat/[1] (< from ʃai- 'from', ʃiat likely a toponym but unknown to the Saisiyat) or Puyuma. This note deals with the latter.

The Puyuma live in the Taitung plain in the south-east of Taiwan (cf. Table 1 for a distribution of the Puyuma villages). The term 'Puyuma' has been attributed to two related ethnic/linguistic subgroups, the Katipul and the Puyuma proper. The first is said to have been 'born of a stone' and the second to have been 'born of the bamboo'.[2] Puyuma proper is commonly referred to in the literature as Nanwang, a term drawn from *peinan dawang* 卑南大王 'the Great King of Peinan', title given to a chief, *Pinadai*, who had helped the Emperor Kanghsi to capture outlaws in 1722 (Cauquelin 2004:34).

2. Different etymologies for the term 'Puyuma'

Formerly, the Puyuma proper used to be referred to as the 'Pilam' or 'Pinan' group, in reference to the region they inhabited. Bullock (1874, cited by Cauquelin 2004:18) talks about the 'Pe-lam-hwan' (i.e., the savages of Pilam)[3] as 'a tribe of wild savages on the East Coast'. In all the works that were consulted, e.g., Taylor (1885, 1885-6, 1888), Bullock (1874-5) and Legendre (1885), there is no other mention than Pilam/ Pilan/Pinan/Pelam to refer to the Puyuma proper. Among these, Taylor (1888) provides a very precise report of this travel from the South Cape to 'Pilam'.

To our knowledge, the term 'Puyuma' came into usage only at the end of the 19th century with Ino's (1898) classification of the Formosan ethnic groups/languages into seven groups: Atayal, Bunun, Tsou, Supaiwan [Paiwan], Tsarisen [Rukai], Puyuma and Ami. In other words and for reasons that have not yet been accounted for, reference to this group/language changed and this change happened at the end of the 19th century.

Since the early 20th century, outsiders have tried to impose – with varied degrees

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[1] Form used in the Tungho dialect; /ʃaiʃirat/ in the Taai dialect.

[2] Both groups claim the same ancestral place of origin, cf. *rəvoaʔan* [Katipul dialect]/*nirbuaʔan* [Nanwang dialect] (Cauquelin 2004:26).

[3] "Pilam is known as the plain of the eight cities of Pilam, Tipun, Nièka, Balangau, Neekee-neekee, Cowahsan, Pinasíkee, and Paksikou. Pilam is the oldest village, and residence of the Chief of the eight cities. The Pilam chieftainship, long ago, passed into the hands of Tipuns, Nieka, Pinaskie and Paksikou, Cowahsan and Neekee-neekee are Amia villages." (Taylor 1888:150) The 'Tipuns' represent the Katipul, the Nieka, the Rikabong and the Pinaskie, i.e., the Pinaski (cf. Table 1).

of success – other ethnonyms to the Puyuma. Cauquelin (2004:27) notes that "[t]he Japanese administration imposed the expression *hasshaban* 'natives of eight villages', and in 1935 Utsurikawa proposed the collective term of Panapanayan, 'to go out'." Chen (2001:2, 2002:60) observes that since 1989 joined festivals between the two rival groups, Katipul and Puyuma proper, have been held annually, and that a term *pinuyumayan*[4] was invented in 1997 to refer to the gathering of all the Puyuma together.[5] Today, modernization and folklorization of the Puyuma rituals have helped construct this new identity and fix in the villagers' mind this new meaning for their ethnonym.[6]

Table 1: Distribution of Puyuma villages (after Cauquelin 2004:27)

Mythical origin	Groups	Villages' names in Puyuma	Villages' names in Chinese
'Born of the bamboo'	Puyuma	Puyuma	Nanwang 南王
		Apapolo	Paosang 寶桑
'Born of a stone'	Katipul	Alipai	Pinglang 賓朗
		Pinaski[7]	Hsia pinglang 下賓朗
		Bankiu	Pankiu 斑鳩
		Kasabakan	Chienhe 建和
		Katipul	Chihpen 知本
		Rikabung	Lichia 利嘉
		Tamalakaw	Taian 泰安
		Ulibulibuk	Chulu 初鹿

3. An alternative hypothesis

Although the morphology of the term 'Puyuma' has become opaque, ethno-linguistic evidence points to another hypothesis which has actually nothing to do with

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[4] Chen (2001, 2002) uses the term *pinuyumayan* to refer to the Puyuma in general while he keeps the word *puyuma* to refer to the Puyuma proper.

[5] This new ethnonym is based on this distribution and advocates that the term 'Puyuma' refers to the gathering of these six founding households – three in each moiety of the village – that had once been dispersed (Chen 1999:361, 2001:3).

[6] Chen (2001:6) states that "the process of the Puyuma's construction of a 'community' in today's Nanwang settlement reveals a complicated interrelationship between 'indigenous, au-tochthonous' forces and those from 'outside'."

[7] This village is situated two kilometers north of Puyuma. The two villages have always maintained close relations together.

the notion of 'gathering'. Rather, the term 'Puyuma' was constructed to reflect a drastic social change in the society, i.e., the loss of (male) shamanic/hunting practices and males' being thrown into the world of wide-scale agriculture. It is actually formed of two morphemes, the prefix *pu-* 'send' (causative of movement, see Blust 2003) and the base *ʔuma* 'field' and can be translated as: 'send to the field'.

3.1 Puyuma/pu-ʔuma: from headhunting to the modern world

Indeed, until the late 19th century, the Puyuma used to be hunters/horticulturists/gatherers. At the turn of the 20th century, men abandoned their hunting practices and started to practice wide-scale agriculture, a move that had a strong impact on the whole Puyuma society. This is demonstrated below from an ethnographic point of view. The word formation of the term 'Puyuma' is further accounted for in section 3.2.

3.1.1 Distinction between 'horticulture' and 'agriculture'

It is essential at this point to explain the difference between 'horticulture' (or 'gardening') and 'agriculture', a distinction that is not made in all linguistic/archaeological works in the Austronesian field (e.g., Blust 1996, Bellwood et al. 1995 among others), perhaps because of the semantic overlap between these two terms.

The notion of 'horticulture' characterizes a society where crops are planted for one's own subsistence/personal consumption. The term 'agriculture', on the other hand, refers to a larger production of crops used for trading and/or commercialization.[8]

Imbault-Huart (1893:253) mentions that the Puyuma: "grow only enough grain to last them from one season to the next, and do not keep any in reserve." Thus, until the end of the 19th century, the Puyuma used to grow what was only needed for their daily consumption.

3.1.2 Cultivation of rice and millet

Blust (1996:31) argues that "[b]ased on the linguistic evidence, there can be no

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[8] The definition given by Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gardening#Gardening_compared_to_farming) goes as follows: "In respect to its food in producing purpose, gardening is distinguished from farming chiefly by scale and intent. Farming occurs on a large scale, and with the production of saleable goods as a major motivation. Gardening is done on a smaller scale, primarily for pleasure and to produce goods for the gardener's own family or community. There is some overlap between the terms, particularly in that some moderate-sized vegetable growing concerns, often called market gardening, can fit in either category."

question that AN speakers in Taiwan around 4000 B.C.

1) cultivated rice and millet,
2) lived in substantial timber houses raised on piles,
3) had domesticated pigs, and dogs (which were important as companions of the hunt), water buffaloes, and perhaps chickens, although the evidence for the latter is indirect,
4) practiced true weaving, probably on a simple back loom,
5) used the bow and arrow,
6) made pottery, and
7) were familiar with some metals, including at least tin."

As mentioned to us by Blust (p.c.) in a review of the previous version of this paper, there is a great deal of linguistic evidence showing that the Puyuma have lived a sedentary lifestyle for centuries (see also Blust 1976). Indeed, Puyuma proper exhibits a number of reflexes from PAn, including: *ruma?* 'house' < PAn *Rumaq, *dikeʈ-an* 'glutinous rice' < PAn *dikeC, *darami-an* 'rice straw' < PAn *zaRami, *dawa* 'millet' < PAn *zawa, *beras* 'husked rice' < PAn *beRas.[9]

What is important to note, however, is that while the Puyuma used to grow several varieties of millet, they did not practice the cultivation of watered-field rice. Mabuchi (1974:51) dates the Puyuma's adoption of irrigated rice growing at the turn of the 20th century: "[t]he Ami and Puyuma of the coastal plains in eastern Formosa subsist primarily by the cultivation of irrigated rice, which they adopted from the Chinese in the late nineteenth century." Such a dating is supported by Taylor's (1888:150) observation: "From Tipun to Pohson,[10] a distance I should say of nearly ten miles, our way lay through highly cultivated fields; the whole valley being as level as a billiard table, and fairly watered, although not sufficiently so for rice cultivation." On the other hand, they used to practice slash-and-burn agriculture and planted dry rice. Ma Touan-lin (Hervey de Saint-Deny's translation 1876-82:421) mentions that "[t]he soil is fertile and rich. Those who cultivate it start burning the weeds, and then water the fields, bringing water from rivers and streams." (cited in Cauquelin 2004:209)

Such statements add to the evidence that until the end of the 19th century, the Puyuma did not practice extensive agriculture.

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[9] There is no reflex in Nanwang Puyuma of PAn *pajay 'rice' (no distinction between the dry and watered rice plant).

[10] i.e., Paosong, cf. Table 1.

3.1.3 The division of tasks

There was a division of (daily) tasks in the Puyuma society: hunting was a male activity, whereas horticulture (or gardening) and gathering was a female activity.

Imbault-Huart (1893:253) gives the following account: "There is very little cultivated land, since the very nature of the ground forbids it, quite apart from the fact that the savages are averse to working in the fields; they are not farmers, but rather hunters, both by taste and by necessity." Cauquelin also shows in her book that the Puyuma 'belong to the mountain', and 'turn their backs to the sea'. They "express their ideological [i.e., conceptual – authors' addition] relationship with their environment in the following way: 'It is the mountain that rises towards man, whereas in the plains, it is man that bends towards the earth.'" (Cauquelin 2004:105) This conceptual relationship is also reflected in their linguistic ignorance of fish names, non-distinctively referred to as *kuraw* 'fish'.

Horticulture/gathering, on the other hand, was a female activity. At least "until the arrival of the Japanese in 1895, women were in charge of the domestic world, brought up the children, gardened and gathered food." (Cauquelin 2004:196) Imbault-Huart (1893:253) explains that "[t]he women do all the chores and work in the fields; they are often seen bent over the ground, weeding or picking potatoes, with their children strapped to their backs." When men went to the fields, it was not to garden but rather to protect women.[11]

The division of tasks can be summarized as follows (cf. Cauquelin 2004:106):

Men	*Women*
Hunted	Worked in the fields
Guarded the village	Fetched wood and water
Protected the women while they worked in the fields	Gathered crops
	Brought up children
Drove away enemies	Cooked
Prepared their hunting expeditions in the men's house	Brought breakfast to the men's house at 3 a.m.

3.1.4 Implications of hunting prohibition on the whole society

After the colonization of Taiwan by the Japanese, men abandoned their hunting practices and were forced into agriculture: "[p]rohibition of hunting and war imposed

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[11] As reported to J. Cauquelin by Puyuma informants.

by the colonial government destabilized the social balance. The women then farmed the land more intensively and the men, rendered inactive, were thrown in the feminine world of farming." (Cauquelin 2004:196) Farming was not regarding a valorizing task: "In Puyuma, it dishonors a man to take part in the work of the fields." (Cauquelin 2004:194)[12] At about the same time, agricultural equipments to work in the plains were introduced among the Puyuma. Cauquelin (2004:34, 36) mentions "a certain Pinadai, a man of the Raera household […who] returned to the village with new objects unknown to the Puyuma: the plough,[13] the grindstone…"

The prohibition of hunting along with that of shamanistic practices had a strong impact on society. Cauquelin (2004) shows that when the Puyuma were still hunters, men used to be religious practitioners. They would be elected as shamans[14] to establish an alliance between their society and (super)nature in order to guarantee fruitful hunting: "[i]n hunting societies the main function of the male shaman is negotiation with the 'masters of the hunt', *miʔalup*, to obtain luck in hunting during the year." (Cauquelin 2004:189) When hunting was forbidden, the social organization changed: men were forced into wide-scale farming and women took over the practice of shamanism. In other words, while the society of the Puyuma used to be a male shamanic society; it became at the turn of the 20th century a society with (female) shamans.

3.2 Linguistic evidence

The linguistic evidence allows us to deduce at least two things related to the word formation of Puyuma and its etymology: (i) first, it is not a toponym, (ii) second, it can be replaced and undergoes the same derivation as *pu-ʔuma* 'send to the field'.

3.2.1 Toponyms/ethnonyms chosen in relation to the actual world

In the Formosan languages, topononyms/ethnonyms are usually chosen in relation to environment[15].

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[12] A Puyuma proverb on men's laziness and unwillingness to cultivate the fields would be uttered to a young husband arriving at his in-laws' house: *Dua yu musabaka kadi, amanai nu kinasu, nu kasuyaw nu buTu* 'You have come in here, and what have you brought? Your balls!' (Cauquelin 2004:106)

[13] Until 1880, carts could not cross the village gates, and had to be stored outside.

[14] Hamayon (1986, 1990) in her study of hunting and farming in the communities of Siberia has shown that "in the context of a hunting society, [the] spirits are the shaman's marriage partners, whereas in a farming society they are ancestors…" (cited in Cauquelin 2004:185)

[15] Less commonly from a person's name, e.g., in Paiwan, a toponym actually designates the place where a Japanese was assassinated. This toponym, cf. *makisunaŋ*, can be preceded by

(1) a. Nanwang Puyuma

alipai   'Pinglang (village)' < 'name of a tree
                                   (sp., *Elaeagnus aldhamii*, Cauquelin 1991:54)

ulibulibuk 'Chulu (village)' < *ulibulibuk* [Red-stag-LocNmz]
                                    'the place where they are many
                                    stags'

b. Rukai

ɖəkai   'Rukai'   <   '(populations living in the) high
                        mountains'

c. Saisiyat (Tungho dialect)

βatβatoʔan 'toponym (place situated in the mountains, near Penglai,
              Miaoli prefecture)' < *βatβatoʔan* [Red-stone-LocNmz]
              'the place where they are many stones'

d. Tsou (Tfuya dialect)

ɖa-ɖauya 'village name (place of maples) < *ɖauya* 'maple' (Wright
                                                1996:56)

3.2.2 'True' toponyms

By contrast, certain language/ethnic names come from 'true' toponyms – by 'true' toponyms (for want of a better term), we mean names for places that are not related to the actual world (as in (1) above) – which cannot usually be reduplicated (2).

(2) a. *ʔoponoho* ~ * *ʔopono-pono-ho*, * *ʔoponoho-ho*[16]
    b. *truku*   ~ **tru-truku*, **truku-ku*
    c. *ʃaiʃiyat* ~ * *ʃai-ʃi-ʃiyat*, * *ʃai-ʃiya-yat*

Even if they do, the reduplication processes they can undergo are extremely restricted (3).

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either *i* 'locative' or *ti* 'nominative case marker' (Data extracted from the Formosan Language Archive – We are thankful to Jia-jing Hua for pointing this out to us.)

[16] Though the word for 'speak the Mantauran language" *ʔako-ʔoponoh-aə* can undergo reduplication, as in *ʔako-ʔoponoponoh-aə*. This reduplication pattern is not accepted among the elders, and represents a recent development.

(3) Nanwang Puyuma
 a. *talawi*   'toponym/household's name' ~
    talalawi-mi 'we (the Talawi) are all together'
 b. *arə-talawi/*arə-talawi-lawi*   'smell/behave like a Talawi'
 c. **talawi-lawi*

The term 'Puyuma' cannot be treated as a 'true' toponym because it can undergo reduplication:

(4) Nanwang Puyuma
 a. *arə-puyuma-yuma*   'smell/behave like a Puyuma'
 b. *kur-puyuma-yuma*   'perform an action with the Puyuma'
 c. *kitu-puyuma-yuma*   'to be ready to become Puyuma'

The meaning is unknown for the Puyuma and does not refer to any known place. It was therefore not chosen in relation to environment. Rather, it was made up to reflect a change in the society. Indeed, the term *pu-ʔuma* 'send to the fields' (that gave rise to 'Puyuma') was created to refer to the fact that the Puyuma were sent to do the farming (see sections 3.1.1-3.1.4 above). This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that both *pu-ʔuma* and *puyuma* can be used and derived the same way:

(5) Nanwang Puyuma
 a. *sadu*   *tu-p<in>u-ʔuma-[y]an.*
    a lot   3S.Gen-CausMvt<Perf>-field-LocNmz
    'He has a lot of fields/His richness is in his fields.'
 a'. *sadu*   *tu-p<in>uyuma[y]-an.*
    a lot   3S.Gen-Puyuma-LocNmz
    'He has a lot of fields/His richness is in his fields.'

The loss of the glottal stop in the word 'Puyuma' is reflected in other words, cf. the term for 'farmer' is *muwauma*, which actually derives from *mu-a-ʔuma* 'go-AgtNmz-field'.[17] The replacement of the glottal stop by a glide (cf. pu-ʔuma > pu-[y]uma) is not problematic either, as we find there are numerous instances where the glottal stop is replaced by another consonant or even a vowel, cf. the variants of *sarumaʔan* 'the last segmentation of a house', also pronounced *sarumaŋan* and *sarumaənan*.

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[17] This is also found in other Formosan languages, e.g., Saisiyat: *pa-* 'causative' + *ʔokaʔ* 'Neg' > *pawkaʔ* 'get lost' (data extracted from *The Formosan Language Archive*); *ʔokaʔ* 'Neg' + *ʔi* > *ʔokay* 'Neg' (see Yeh 2000).

4. Conclusion

It has been shown that the word *puyuma* (< *pu-ʔuma*) was actually conferred to this group to refer to a drastic social change, i.e., the entrance into the modern world, the coming to an end of male (practitioners)/hunting practices and their being thrown into the feminine world of farming/agriculture.

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