MOVEMENT IN SHAMAN RITUAL: THE MIRECUK RITUAL IN THE AMIS VILLAGE OF LIDOW, TAIWAN

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Abstract

This thesis proposes that a detailed analysis and interpretation of the relationship between the movement of the Amis spirit masters of Taiwan known as the cikawasays and the ritual of the mirecuk (the worship of spirits), can aid in our understanding of the meanings significant to the belief system as related to the spirits they worship and the realm from whence the kawas (spirits) come.

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the Amis village of Lidow while delineating the specific methods and appropriate ways used to participate in the mirecuk ritual. Interviews with the members of the cikawasay are also found in this chapter. Following this introductory section is a discussion of the different notions of and approaches to dance used in Laban Movement Analysis, structural movement analysis and Labanotation in the form of a review of the existing literature about these three fields. Then, a methodology of this study is proposed: an application of Laban Movement Analysis to the examination of the cikawasays’ movement qualities, focusing on the cikawasays’ concept of space so as to understand the relationships between the movement and space.

Chapter 2 reviews literature on the anthropological approaches and ethnological approaches to dance, movement and ritual studies. In the review, however, I consider that anthropological approaches to studying movement and ritual have limitations in dealing with how movement, particularly the aspect of kinetic quality, is employed by those performing the ritual. Such a consideration is central to this thesis, opening the door to further considerations of the importance of study felt experience or movement qualities in a ritual context. Following this, a discussion of difference between viewing ritual as text and performance is undertaken, through which the framework of this study is presented.
In Chapter 3, the Amis people and their geographic location are illustrated in the context of Taiwan's nine varying indigenous groups wherein the Amis village of Lidow is situated. In addition, the institution of the *cikawasays* in relation to the Amis traditional beliefs of soul and illness is presented. What is also described is the hierarchical statute among the members and the criteria on which are based their capacity of spirit power to interact with the *kawas* and their knowledge of the *kawas* rituals.

Chapter 4 examines the Amis concept of cardinal points as applied to everyday life and ultimately to the world of the *kawas*. In this chapter, the description of the process of the *mirecuk* is undertaken where attention is focused on describing how the *cikawasays* employ their movements to practise different phases of the ritual while interacting with the *kawas* and various spatial orientations. I also apply Labanotation to aid my representation of the *cikawasays*’ movements in the *mirecuk*.

Chapter 5 analyses and interprets the *cikawasays*’ movement qualities by applying Laban Movement Analysis to identify salient features of the movement. The interpretation of the movement qualities focuses on the sensory experience of the *cikawasays* in relation to the *calay* (the spirit thread), the concept of the hierarchical group system, and the *kawas*. Besides this, a discussion of the correlation between the *cikawasays*’ posture in the ritual and the *cikawasays*’ habitual actions, a function of their everyday activities is also brought to attention. I, thus apply Bourdieu’s theory of *habitus* to account for this practical knowledge of the *cikawasays*.

Chapter 6 examines the relationship between the movement and the ritual space based on the *cikawasays*’ concept of the space, which is believed to be the dwelling place of the *kawas*. By exploring this relationship, a distinct pattern in the *kawas* journey emerges and reveals a specific order of worship of the different characters of the *kawas*. In addition, this characteristic pattern of progression in distance travelled
is not only embedded in each *kawas* journey but is also found in activities following the concluded *mirecuk*.

Finally, in Chapter 7 I draw upon the dominant themes of this study and argue further about the significance of movement study in shamanism. I examine anthropological approaches to dance study and shamanic ritual study, arguing that dance in the context of such rituals cannot be viewed as merely the function of trance state or ecstasy, nor the triggering factor inducing such states.
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Chapter 1

Context and Focus: an introduction of fieldwork and the exposition of a methodology for this study

Having finished the preliminary study of the ilisin (the annual harvest festival) in the Amis village of Makutaai as the subject of my master dissertation (1995), I continued to conduct fieldwork in different Amis villages and was suggested by most villagers to observe in the cikawasays' (spirit masters whose sexes include males and females) rituals.

The cikawasays' rituals of the Amis of Taiwan are little known to the outside of Taiwan, much less even to those who now inhabit the island. As a result of the establishment of Catholic and Presbyterian influence in the early twentieth century, the institution of the cikawasays has been displaced—more commonly replaced and the rituals used to interact with the kawas (spirits and ancestors) are rarely performed. What remains well known then, however, is the ilisin (the annual harvest festival) recognised for its memorable displays of Amis singing and dancing. The ilisin has become a public occasion, attracting many visitors, television broadcasters and journalists who gather at the festival to film, watch and report on its progress. Worthy of mention is the fact that the Taiwanese government provides funding for the ilisin festival throughout the entire Amis region since, the government uses the mass media to attract tourists by promoting the festival as a cultural activity. This thesis, however, focuses on one of the rituals of the cikawasays as practised in the Amis village of Lidow in eastern Taiwan, the mirecuk (the worship of kawas). In particular the discussion will focus on the cikawasays' movements, which are symbolic gestures of their interaction with the spirits.

The cikawasays' rituals must take place in specific circumstances. This is
to say, the cikawasays' songs and dances cannot be performed unless the rituals are carried out at a particular time and location with a specific purpose. If they are not performed exactly in this manner, the kawas will be improperly invoked, thus bringing misfortune to the people. During fieldwork conducted in the Amis villages of Tabalong and Makutaai, I interviewed some of the older villagers only to find that they were unwilling to discuss the topic of the cikawasays, because they were afraid that the kawas would bring sickness upon them. Other villagers who once were members of the cikawasays but had since converted to Catholicism either refused to demonstrate the rituals or merely described a very small portion of them since, they too feared that the kawas would approach them and make them sick. Many accounts of the older Amis villagers in Lidow describe a display of supernatural power practised by one of the male cikawasays who used a knife to cut off half his tongue after falling into a trance while worshipping one of his guardian kawas. To please the kawas, he then walked around with his severed tongue stuck to the knife, until the kawas permitted him to miraculously re-attach it. Such displays of ascetic religious bodily practice to worship the kawas is my inspiration for studying the cikawasays' phenomena in the village of Lidow.

The cikawasays of the Lidow village differs from other Amis villages first in its geographical situation. The settlement is within the modern city of Hualien rather than in the remote areas along the Pacific coast or in the mountains where most Amis villages reside. In addition, based on fieldwork the activities of cikawasays in Lidow are still practised whereas the activities are no longer held in the villages of the remote areas. Moreover, fortunately, I also met Panay Mulu (who is an Amis ethnomusicologist who has been conducting extensive research into the cikawasays' rituals music in Lidow over a period of ten years) who informed me some information about the rituals in the village of Lidow and suggested me to participate and observe
Lidow is one of the villages in the Amis Nan-shin group. It is called Tong-Chang Ts’un (東昌村) in the Chinese language, which is an official administrative unit of Taiwan’s political system and also one of the sub-units of Hualien county. Here, the cikasuwan (七腳川) river forms a natural border between the village and Hualien city (figures 1&2). After a modern transport infrastructure was established between the village and Hualien, immigration of ethnic Taiwanese into the village increased. Today, the village of Lidow consists of 1,519 households: 378 of which are Amis and 1,141 Taiwanese. As the Taiwanese population has grown within the village, traditional Taiwanese religions such as Taoism have become more pervasive within the village (see Chapter 3 for more detail on the sociocultural institutions of the village).

Taoism is the dominant religious belief in the village, followed by Catholicism and Presbyterianism (institutions which were established in the village prior to Taoism). Faced with these alien religions, the tradition of the cikawasays has almost disappeared. In fact, there are now only 50 households whose members practise the traditional Amis religion. For this minority, when they face health problems or other serious difficulties in the course of their family, personal or social lives, these Amis villagers still prefer the rich variety of traditional methods offered by the cikawasays.

The cikawasays system of social services has always been a vital element of Amis culture and an illustration of the connection between communal action and human suffering. This is to say, traditionally and in some instances today, the cikawasays penetrate deeply into the Amis people’s lives. It is common, for example, to consult members of the cikawasay before a funeral. Upon request, the cikawasays then conduct the funeral ceremony on behalf of a given household to
Figure 1: The outside environment of the village.

Figure 2: The village of Lidow.
ensure that the deceased will be looked after by his or her ancestors who live in the east. In this scenario, the cikawasays serve to bestow good fortune and ensure that the family and its property are protected. When a new house is built, the family will ask members of the cikawasay to perform the ritual of miyasik, a ritual for exorcising the kawas from the house. In this ritual, the cikawasays take the offerings prepared by the family and present them to the family’s ancestors in order to engender well-being for the family. Sometimes, when one of the villagers has an illness which cannot be treated by modern medical science, he or she seeks two members of the cikawasay for a cure. In such an instance, the cikawasays call on the Help Spirit to diagnose the condition of the patient, believing that the patient’s soul has either been invaded by the kawas or is lost and imprisoned by the kawas. If the diagnosis proves that this is the case, the cikawasays perform mipohpoh or badevu (two different healing rituals) to expel the kawas from the body or to search for the victim’s soul and return it to his/her body.

One of the most important annual rituals for the cikawasays is the mirecuk, held every October. The ritual is comprised of sequences of codified action, divided into several sections. Each section performed by the cikawasays is done so facing a different spatial orientation whereby particular gestures, body movements, songs, and chants are executed in worship of a particular kawas. An important phase of the mirecuk is the undertaking of the kawas journey where the cikawasays walk on the lalan (the spirit roads) to reach the different places of the kawas so as to worship different kawas. During the journey, the group appears to be walking in a single-file order turning in both clockwise and anti-clockwise directions. I say ‘appears’ since to the cikawasays, while on the kawas roads, the group climbs over a spirit mountain, steps across a spirit ladder to enter into the dwelling place of the kawas; they descend to the underworld to worship the kawas located there, crouch across a spirit road thick
with thistles and thorns, and crawl into a spirit hole to worship the snake spirits. When the cikawasays worship the monkey kawas, they are possessed by the playful baby monkey spirits. Such spirit possession is believed by the cikawasays as a way of pleasing the kawas. After various forms of pleasing the kawas and offering gifts, the cikawasays leave the spirit realm for the living world. As we will soon discover with the exploratory discussion of all the elements, which make up the mirecuk, the mirecuk ritual is a complex product of much more than an isolated number of movements.

The following is a description of my impression of the body movements and group formations used by the cikawasays in the mirecuk. In the opening rite of mavuhega (the rite, which notifies the kawas that the ritual is beginning), thirteen members of the cikawasay form a circle in a sacred place. Here, the sacred place would be the living room of a cikawasay member’s household. The movements are restrained yet rhythmic, as the cikawasays step side to side, slightly shifting their body weight from one foot to another. The movement is accompanied by special chants and arms swinging freely back and forth through the air as if they are sensing their inner worlds. With a steadfast countenance, each member concentrates on the sacred offerings placed at the centre of the group.

At this point, Gamaya (the name of the highest ranking of the cikawasay) faces south, gestures to beckon the kawas down to the ritual place where they can enjoy the offerings. She then asks the kawas to give her calay. Calay, according to Gamaya’s description, is a spiritual thread, sticky to the touch and fluorescent. When she senses it between her thumb and forefinger, she elongates it and offers it to the rest of the cikawasays. They then gently move their fingers to sense calay in their hands. Then, one by one, they draw a small circle in the air with lifted legs, thus catching calay around their feet. The torso, then, is bent slightly forward with
arms raised to shoulder height in order to put calay around and into the body, thus making a spiritual bridge between the body and the kawas.

Another section of the ritual is meragad (walking on the lalan). The cikawasays form a row behind Gamaya, who leads the group along the lalan. Since physically the cikawasays are moving in revolutions on a ground level but spiritually they are traversing a much different terrain, it is necessary to have an experienced member in the lead. In this section, the group starts on the descent to the underworld to meet malanenu and to make the appropriate offerings. Since Gamaya is entirely able to sense the lalan with the help of calay in her hands, the other cikawasays follow her lead in a focused manner. While travelling to meet malanenu, the group alternately walks in both directions, clockwise and anti-clockwise, in the symbolic form of a spiral pathway. After the group has been travelling for a time, it reaches the first celestial door and halts in preparation for entering onto the next lalan. This lalan is crawling with ants and covered in weeds. They are able to cross the lalan only by slowly crouching across while spreading their arms out in front of them so as to drive the ants away from their bodies and the road.8

Gamaya also stops before the second celestial door, which is the entrance to a spirit tunnel, leading to the underworld. She opens the door and lies down on the right side of her body. Physically pushing and wriggling across the ground, she moves spiritually towards the exit of the spirit tunnel. The other cikawasays follow her one by one, performing the same bodily movement as they pass through the tunnel. During this passage, those cikawasays whose guardian spirit is malanenu, cry out in an expression of their emotions. This expression may be caused by that of the darkness of the tunnel, which frightens them, or by the sight of their deceased ancestors in the tunnel. These experiences are in part induced by the emotional relationship each member has with the kawas. This is to say, the physical
experience of the ritual is that of the body executing various movements pertaining to
the ritual, but the spiritual experience (movement) is proportional to the amount of
love or fear the member has for the kawas so that for some members, the ritual may
be strictly movement in the corporeal sense whereas for others, movement is not
limited to one's physical dimensions. In either case, the physical and spiritual
realms are in close relation.

Having crawled out from the tunnel, the cikawasays are exhausted and lean
against each other for a short rest while, Gamaya comforts those cikawasays who
have become emotional. Next, they continue on to the last section of the road to the
underworld, where malanenu is waiting for them. When they reach the dwelling of
the kawas, Gamaya uses the calay to smash open the last celestial door. Once open,
she looks through the hole that she has made and calls to the soul of her deceased
husband with a leaf of a betel-nut in hand. She bids it to leave the spirit world,
where the soul is imprisoned, and to jump onto the leaf. After this, Gamaya tosses
the leaf towards the east as a way of reuniting the soul with its ancestors. She then
practises a libation to the kawas as a demonstration of her veneration. When this is
completed, Gamaya pours rice wine onto the ground and with her feet spreads the
wine out into the shape of a circle, thus closing the celestial door. Finally, the entire
group leaves the underworld for the living world.

The ritual consists of meaningful gestures, body movements, songs, and the
unique spirit journey undertaken as a group along the spiral pathway. Distinctive
arm gestures coincide with specific linear directions and spatial dimensions as a form
of communication and interaction with the kawas. Drama is generated as a result of
the cikawasay's emotions which, drawn from their inner motives, are inseparable
from their bodily experiences. This is true even if a member has neither much love
nor fear for the kawas since this emotion or in some cases non-emotion, realises itself
still in the bodily experience. The cikawasay’s communicative style of contact with the kawas then is the drama of their emotional attachment to the kawas, acted out.

What is the meaning of the bodily gestures and the experiences created by movement during the cikawasays’ ritual interaction with the kawas? How does the movement support and lead the cikawasays to perform their ritualised actions? These are the central questions addressed in this study. The answers lie in the inner world of Amis shamanism and cosmology, and the symbolism that resides in the representational body movements executed during rituals. This thesis aims to gain an understanding of these issues by analysing the mirecuk and relationships between the movements of the cikawasays with the kawas.

During my fieldwork (October 1997 to October 1998), I stayed in the village of Lidow for twelve months with the aim of participating in, observing, and recording the daily life of cikawasays. The methods employed to collect fieldwork data were: 1) observation of and participation in rituals 2) use of a camcorder and camera for visual documentation of ritual activities 3) compilation of field notes, and 4) formal and informal interviews. The main informants in Lidow village were the senior members of the cikawasay, the younger cikawasay (who can speak Mandarin), and the villagers. One of the biggest challenges that I confronted during fieldwork was understanding the native language of the Amis. This was because most senior cikawasay members in the village are unable to speak Mandarin.

Therefore, I sought the younger cikawasay to help translate from the Amis vernacular into Mandarin. During the middle stage of my fieldwork, I was accompanied by Mulu to help me in translating the cikawasay’s ritual language and the words of their ritual songs, both of which are part of a discrete phonic lexicon that cannot be understood by reference to the Amis vernacular. Some of the cikawasays’ ritual words are homophones of words found in the Amis vernacular, however, their
meaning as ritual utterances is distinguished from the everyday speech of the Amis. Thus, the translation of the ritual language required three procedures. Firstly, with the interpreter's help, I asked the *cikawasays* to explain the meaning of the ritual words. Secondly, the interpreter abstracted the basic sense of each word as explained by the *cikawasays*, in order to find its equivalent in the native language.

Finally, we translated the *cikawasay* words as rendered in the Amis vernacular into Mandarin; in so doing, the words were interpreted as closely as possible to the original. It was though quite rare that the meaning of a single word or phrase in Mandarin matched the vernacular utterance. In fact, it was a challenge to go beyond the limitations imposed by translating and preserve the essence of the original meaning sought to be interpreted.

The Amis society is oral and as such there are no written records of the ritual language used by the *cikawasays*. Thus, it was necessary to transcribe the words of the songs and ritual words. This posed to be a difficult task, since the invocations, songs and prayers to the spirits performed during the rituals are delivered by the *cikawasays* in a low, muffled voice. The rituals do not require that the *cikawasays* articulate clearly or communicate with the audience and non-*cikawasay* participants. Rather, the mode of communication in the *cikawasays* ritual is an inward expression to the *kawas*—not an extroverted performance for an audience. Therefore, in order to define a phonic lexicon of *cikawasay* speech and song, I first recorded both ritual languages on tape and then transcribed the sounds phonetically. The transcription was notated using the Roman alphabet. I then submitted the transcription and tapes to senior members of the *cikawasay* for comments and approval. When the accuracy of the Roman transcription had been confirmed, the same method was employed to translate the meaning of *cikawasay* speech as closely as possible into Mandarin.
During interviews with the senior cikawasays, I found that answers to the same question were often slightly or even totally different. Sometimes, when senior members of the cikawasay were unable to answer my questions, they would suggest that I ask Gamaya, considering that she possesses the richest amount of ritual knowledge among the members. Thus, in order to gain the most accurate and honest answers, I conducted most of the interviews with her.

There are two reasons why I asked Gamaya for explanations. Firstly, the members of the cikawasay respect her position and leadership in the group; and secondly, other members might not have been sure how to respond to some of my questions owing to a lack of cikawasay wisdom or cikawasay experiences. This does not mean, however, that the answers given by the other senior members of the cikawasay were less important than those of Gamaya. Each member of the cikawasay has his/her own explanation based on personal experience of the rituals. These I have also taken into account for the ethnographic description and movement analysis of the ritual.

I also found that it was inappropriate to conduct interviews during the short breaks which the cikawasays take in between sections of the ritual. In most instances, having just returned to the material world from the place of the kawas, they were physically and mentally exhausted. When I tried to conduct interviews at that time, I received unhappy responses and reluctance to answer my questions. Thus, I decided to make appointments to interview them in their homes after the entire ritual was finished. Yet, I had to avoid spending too long on one interview, especially as time was required to show the interviewee the video recording that I had made of the ritual.

For example, during one interview with Gamaya, we watched the ritual as recorded on video tape. I spent five hours asking her about the meanings of the
body gestures, the songs, the chanting, the name of the different kawas and their relationship with different linear directions, and about the interaction with the kawas amongst the group. When I visited her the next day, she was ill as a result of hearing the recording of the cikawasays chanting repeatedly and talking during the interview. Practising the ritual out of context had invoked kawas and the duration of the interview took too long, resulting in causing her to fall ill. In another instance, I conducted an interview with the youngest of the cikawasay. During the interview, she sensed her body was gradually becoming cold; she felt that kawas were around her, attracted by the cikawasay songs recorded on the tapes. After the interview, she felt uncomfortable. I respected their intuition and learnt that it was better to employ a different strategy for conducting interviews. From then on, I restricted the length of each interview to one hour per day as opposed to those initially conducted, which had required a long time from the informants and had not taken into consideration the taboos that have such a strong influence on the life of cikawasays. I became more sensitive to these issues as I came to understand them better, and took care when initiating conversations, particularly on the subject of cikawasays ritual. As a result, daily conversations with the cikawasays were interspersed with other topics: questions of ritual were integrated into casual conversation, rather than isolated as a single topic, and focused on as the only subject of the communication.

During the ritual of mirecuk, strict dietary rules are followed by the cikawasays. In order to observe this practice, I would eat with a cikawasay household, or go without any food before participating in their rituals. The prohibition of certain foods is part of a conception of ritual cleanliness (Douglas 1966). This is an important element of the cikawasays ritual. If the cikawasays fail to follow the dietary rules, there is a risk that the kawas may inflict spiritual and bodily torments on the cikawasays. The cikawasays also believe that their families,
non-cikawasay villagers and outsiders, who participate in the rituals should respect
the prohibition of certain foods with them. The extent to which participants abide
by the prohibition will influence the degree of “completeness” achieved in the
cikawasay rituals.

During fieldwork, I noted that each member possesses a different number of
the kawas, which affects the length of time of the ritual. This is to say, the more
kawas possessed by a cikawasay, the longer the ritual process takes. I participated
in a total of thirteen repetition of the ritual, each varying in duration according to the
practising members. In this thesis, I will not describe the process of thirteen types of
the mirecuk rituals; instead, I choose to focus only on the mirecuk held in Gamaya’s
household. The rationale behind this choice is explained as follows: 1) Gamaya is
the highest-ranking member, 2) she possesses the richest ritual knowledge among the
members, 3) she can articulate to perform the ritual languages, songs and movements
and 4) she controls more numbers of the kawas than the other lower ranking members.
Through observing in thirteen types of the mirecuk, I found that there are some
characters of the kawas who are not possessed by the other lower-ranking members
but are controlled by Gamaya. In contrast, there are certain characters of the kawas
possessed by the lower-ranking members are also possessed by Gamaya. In other
words, the focus on the description of the mirecuk held in Gamaya’s household
provides more comprehensive accounts of ritual process than the other members.

Besides these reasons, there are certain ritual phases which must be
practised when the mirecuk is held in each member’s household. This is to say,
there is a basic ritual script carried out by every member within each performance of
the mirecuk. Thus, I will not repetitively present the same ritual script as practised
in thirteen members’ households. Meanwhile, the ritual songs play an important
role for the cikawasays to worship the kawas. The analysis of components of the
ritual singing, such as melody and scale of the songs, however, is beyond my competence. In order to overcome this aspect of limitation, I will use Panay Mulu's M.A. dissertation (1995) as a reference to explain how the cikawasays perform the ritual songs to communicate with the kawas.

During the mirecuk ritual, the cikawasays undertake several spirit journeys to reach different kawas' dwellings to worship the kawas. I observed that the cikawasays perform spirit possession as a way of worshipping the monkey spirits: the way induces possessed members to imitate movements of the spirits. Singing accompanied by footsteps as another way to worship the other kawas, however, does not involve the spirit possession.

When observing in the ritual, I was not allowed to join the ritual dance that served as an act of worship to the kawas. I was allowed, however, to record the worshipping dance on videotape. Analysis of the recordings helped me to imitate the movement afterwards and in so doing, sense the movements kinesthetically (Sklar 1991). This method of imitation is based on the principles of Laban Movement Analysis (LMA), which I use to identify the elements that in concert constitute the cikawasays ritual body movement. At the same time, I ask what sensory experience is embedded in the cikawasays' movements and how the cikawasays interpret that experience in relation to the world of the kawas in order to check and adjust my imitation of their movement qualities. In addition to participation in and observation of the ritual context, the daily activities of cikawasays such as farming and social interaction were also studied to find further possible correlation with the cikawasays' bodily posture in the ritual (Lomax, 1968). Examining these non-ritual activities will help decipher the meaning of cikawasays body movements and reveal the extent to which these movements are shaped by habitual movement patterns (this subject will be discussed further in Chapter 5).
Methodology

Panay Mulu's (1995) master dissertation, "Ritual Music of the mirecuk in the Amis village of Lidow" focuses on the analysis of form and structure of the ritual music and examines both in relation to their cultural functions within the ritual context. Her dissertation provides ethnographic accounts of the ritual process and explores the significant meaning of the cikawasays' concept of the ritual space (see Chapter 4). Since she herself is Amis, Mulu was able to engage in research at a level of depth inaccessible to most, revealing much of the enigmatic world of the mirecuk.

In describing the ritual movements, she classifies them into four categories: hands, legs, mouth and the whole body. Her analysis of these movement forms focuses on the gestural meanings, examined in relation to the spiritual purpose of employing that action. According to Mulu's findings (pp. 100-103), each gesture has a vernacular term denoting its meaning. For example, midenden refers to the execution of a pulling gesture enabling one to sense the sticky calay given out by the kawas (p 100). When they are ready to enter the kawas world, they rhythmically shake their right heels up and down as a preparation gesture called midirdir (p101). Micuhcuh, is a mouth gesture employed in ritual healing (one of the sub-sections of mirecuk) when the senior members use their mouths to suck pollutants out of the patient's body as a cure (p 102). In her analysis of whole body movement, Mulu examines this movement in relation with the ritual music. For example, when the members swing their arms forwards, the first beat of the arm movement accents the first beat of the ritual song. She asserts that the rhythmic body movements are inseparable from the ritual music. Mulu, however, does not go further to analyse the cikawasays' body movement in detail, such as, what kind of movement quality is employed or what latent meaning of the group walking is embedded in the ritual
action (p 103). Although analysing movement is not her specialism, Mulu has provided a detailed explanation of the ritual’s chanting and words through her translation into Mandarin. Therefore, besides my own ethnographic data, her dissertation then, will be a main source of reference in my depictions of the mirecuk ritual process.

Ming-May, Lin’s (1996) *The study of the Amis shaman dance: the mirecuk as an example in Ci-An county, Lidow village* master dissertation focuses on the relationship between the group dance forms and the kawas worship, using Labanotation to analyse the cikawasays’ movement styles. She describes positioning and its relevance to the cikawasays’ hierarchical principles; she describes the particular stepping movements employed in relation to the spiritual terrain, which calls for specific motion; Lin categorises movement motifs utilising the principles of Labanotation. Side-to-side stepping and walking, for example, are characterised as ‘stepping movements’. ‘Hand movements’, are categorised as those movements which represent various spirit acts including pinching the calay, using both arms to present offerings to the kawas, and waving spirit pollutants away in order to perceive the lalan. Crawling and wriggling such as that executed when entering the underworld, belong to Lin’s whole body movement’ category.

Locomotion of the group dance forms, in Lin’s analysis, includes two different characteristics in terms of travelling extensive and restricted (p 181). Extensive locomotion, such as circular and spiral group walking patterns, is executed when the cikawasays walk on the lalan. An example of a restricted form would be when the cikawasays dance in a circle by stepping side to side. In contrast with both travelling motifs, when the cikawasays sit to worship the swirling kawas or stand in two rows to present offerings to the kawas, Lin characterises this motion as being
non-locomotary or in one place. Lin also determines the plane in which the movement occurs based on the relationship between the cikawasay’s body and the ground. The vertical dimension is articulated when the cikawasay’s body is entirely perpendicular to the ground upon which that member stands. When undertaking the journey into the netherworld on the other hand, the cikawasays lie down on the ground and wriggle through the spirit tunnel. This relationship between the body and the ground then, is movement which Lin would determine to be that of the horizontal dimension. Although Lin uses Labanotation to analyse and record the body gestures and group dance forms from an etic perspective, she does not thoroughly decode the meaning of the cikawasays’ movements in that the cikawasays’ perspective on ritual movement has not been included in her movement analysis.

Both Mulu and Lin describe and explain the meanings of the cikawasays’ gestures and postures in the ritual, yet, I argue that such an approach to analyse the cikawasays’ ritual movement may overlook complex nature of movement. Groff (1990, p 66) notes that movement is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon in that “any movement event, no matter how short in duration, is already a complex organization of elements; body shapes, qualities, spatial forms, etc.” My observations lead me to believe that the cikawasays not only execute certain gestures and postures particular to the different phases and sub-rites of the ritual, but also employ certain movement qualities (e.g., energy use and bodily attitude) in the ritual process. That is, it is the movement behind the action, which renders the cikawasays’ movement more than just empty gesture of practised posture. Thus, I have chosen LMA for the task of coming to understand what meaning is embedded in the relationship between movement qualities and ritual actions.

Novack (1988), the anthropologist and dancer, points out, however, that the
LMA perception of movement is unique in its language, but it is nevertheless based on some cultural assumptions. Groff also notes that there is no question that since the LMA system evolved in the context of European culture, there are consequently stylistic features of German Expressionism found in the movement vocabulary with which Laban's insights are expressed. Novack writes that:

In particular, Laban's system reflects a line of European thought which posits the individual as the unit to be measured—a unit which may be divided into parts, categorized, and thereby understood. Further, when applying this system to non-European modes of movement or dance, it may be difficult, or even impossible, to catalog elements that are important in other cultures.

Novack, 1988, pp. 120-122

Therefore, for the purpose of mapping out the methodology of studying the movement of the cikawasays, I will discuss why certain aspects of LMA are appropriate and why some are inappropriate for this study; what differences and similarities there are among LMA, Labanotation, and structural movement analysis; followed by a discussion of which features of Labanotation and structural movement analysis will be beneficial to my usage of LMA.

The concept of action is considered to be key in the movement theories of both LMA and structural movement analysis, though the two systems are the products of two different theories. Practitioners of LMA hold the view that human movement is intentional (Moore, 1988). Laban believed that a person's mental and spiritual capacity for feeling/thinking/seeing/intuiting, is the stuff of formed intention, which yields action. According to Groff, Laban's thoughts on those internal sources of formed intention developed from his curiosity about human psychology. Furthermore, Laban's involvement in the "Expressionist" movement in the art world, and commitment to the rejuvenation of art as an expression of the soul were surely
early affirmations of his later formed theory. Laban was also influenced by Wagner's concept of tripolar expression, "feeling-thinking-willing" which reinforces Laban's own view that the outward expression of movement is a manifestation of mental, emotional and spiritual sources (Groff, 1990, p 72). Hence, Laban said:

The will or the decision to move springs from the depth of our being. We not only alter the positions of our bodies and change the environment by our activity, but bring an additional color or mood to our movements from our psyche. We speak of feeling, or thought which precedes or accompanies movements.

Laban, 1966, p 48

This statement indicates that Laban’s conception of movement is that an action guided by the inner motives of the mover is made clear by the way in which the person moves. Movement or an action based on Laban’s explanation is viewed as an integrated expression of inner intent and outer manifestation. Such a threefold vision of movement has been criticised by Best (1974) from a philosophical standpoint. Best claims that this theory is a questionable perspective in that it is not necessary to have a certain correlation between inner intent and outer expression. Best further contests that no one else can know directly what is going on in someone’s mind, because mind is inaccessibly private. According to Best (1974, pp. 6-10), it is almost impossible for an observer to know exactly another’s emotion or intended expression through a physical movement since, because "any sort of behaviour could be expressing any sort of emotion."

I agree with Best and assert that Laban’s concept of movement, as an expression of inner motivation is not suited for analysing Amis movement in the ritual context. To better illustrate my reasoning behind this opinion, let us look to basic activities and occasions, such as farming, weeding and funerals when the Amis people
execute movement accompanied by lyrical songs of meaning as an expression of their feelings and/or emotion. For example, according to Huang (1998), a native Amis folklorist who has conducted extensive research on Amis culture for 30 years, when Amis people perform agricultural tasks, they often use singing and stepping movements to comfort their weary bodies and minds, after a long day of farming. In such instances, physical tiredness and the need for reinvigoration is not only expressed in movement but with music as well, which together with the corresponding actions could be said to, in this sense, as one entity. If, however, we agree and refer to this action-and-musical accompaniment as a one entity, we must adjust our working definition of movement so that conceptually, the error lies not in an ill-fitting application of Laban’s theory of movement, but in the incomplete definition of the term ‘movement’ and therefore an incomplete analysis of the concept in its application.

When holding the ilisin, for example, the Amis people consider that the main purpose of which is to misakelu (which means signing and dancing together) as a way of praying to their ancestors who would bestow an abundant food to the Amis for another new year.15 In my master’s dissertation, I describe that in the ilisin held at the Amis village of Mautaai, dancing is accompanied by vocal music where the leader-chorus singing style is not only a style of singing but also a method of interaction among the villagers. For example, a given age set sings a short “wou” song to stimulate their agemates who respond to this action with their bodies by dancing more vigorously. When the group reacts in unison, the dance immediately achieves totality, and the members, a sense of community.

I have concluded that the Amis people’s inner motivations are not fully reflected in their actions alone. In other words, for the Amis it is their songs and
movements which convey that inner stuff Laban theorises is realised in movement. That is to say, Laban fails to take indigenous conceptions of dance into account. As Kaeppler points out:

In analysing the movement dimensions of activities, a researcher should try to discover how a society conceptualizes movement and its concepts about the body through which movement takes place. Does the society have a concept similar to the Western notion of “dance” and if so, how does this category differ from other “dance”.

Kaeppler, 1992, p 52

What I have also found to be problematic is Laban’s use of the term “expression”. “Expression” for Laban, refers to the relationship between movement and intention. This is to say that which connects movement with the intention of movement is expression. However, as Sheet-Johnstone (1979) points out, the notion that dance is expressive is a limiting perspective on the human body in that it reduces the body to an instrument or a medium, and overlooks the crucial question of whom is playing the instrument. Williams (1991) argues that is an insufficient attempt at understanding why and how an agent employs movement by simply applying such a concept of expression to a dance since, professional dancers rarely express themselves in a dance but instead enact roles. These roles are governed by the rules of dance (Williams, 1991, p 21). Similarly, people enact roles in everyday life, and these roles i.e., “ordinary” actions, are governed by social rules. Such a concept is neglected in Laban’s philosophical ground, in other words Laban fails to deal with the relationship between movement and an agent. Farnell (1994, 1995) in her theory of the moving body, explores such a relationship. Discussion of such a metaphysical topic will undoubtedly lead us to question what in fact is movement, which is inevitably related to the classic problem of the mind-body connection and the question of agency.

Farnell’s theory draws from Best’s philosophical perspective on action,
where an action is not a purely physical movement but is inseparable from an agent’s intention and is imbued with reason and purpose. So then Best asserts that:

Most of what we may want to know about a person’s intentional action cannot be understood by a narrow concentration upon his physical movement but by standing back from it and seeing it in context.

Best, 1974, p 193

In this light, one can begin to differentiate between “the arm goes up” and “I raise my arm” in which the former is regarded a gross physical movement and the latter is an action (Farnell, 1994, p 931). What is needed then, to fully grasp the illustration above, is insight into the nature of agency. That is, one must understand what agency entails and further, in what form is agency found. If in fact we are agents then, the delineation between gross physical movement and action is quite clear supposing that the movement of an agent is of at least two types. There are a variety of mind-body theories which may or may not shed light upon the body and mind relationship including Cartesianism, Merleau-Ponty’s existential phenomenology (1992), and Harrés New Realist philosophy (1986) all of which I will elaborate upon for the purpose at hand. 16

Merleau-Ponty elucidates the phenomenal body, the body as I live it, as I experience it, and as it shapes my experience. This is, Merleau-Ponty (1992) uses the term “lived body” to refer to the body as experienced, as a living subject itself. The phenomenological description of the lived body then, considers the self to be an embodied subject, not separated from the world or from others.

Farnell agrees with Varela that Merleau-Ponty’s notion of ‘lived body’ or ‘bodily intentionality’ is not a definitive conceptual solution to the problem of the disembodied actor in the behavioral sciences. Varela argues that Merleau-Ponty’s existential phenomenology fails to deal with the concept of person. 17 Although
Merleau-Ponty's concept of 'subject' involves the idea of agency, Varela argues that it has no real power or force. The subject is thus a free-floating quality, not grounded in a substance—body. Therefore, without a concept of a person, the body itself for Merleau-Ponty is ambiguously granted agency. Varela contests that the source of the problem in Merleau-Ponty's faulty theory is the notion of agency of intentionality, which is acausal since, Merleau-Ponty tacitly associates causation with determinism. This is to say that,

As long as the agentic status of intentionality is implicitly taken to be acausal, neither the facticity of the body—the objective body—nor the experientiality of the body—the subjective body—can grant intentionality the status of reality. For the reality of the agency of intentionality is the power of causation, and that power belongs to a person not an intention. People intend not bodies; minds don't intend, people do.

Varela, 1992, pp. 7-8

The New Realist Philosophy of Science developed by Harré (1986) is an approach to further exploration of the connection between language and gesture. Such is the groundwork for William's semasiological approach to human movement, which is applied by Farnell in her work. The New Realist Philosophy of Science considers that causation acts as power "for agency grounded in the unique structure of the human organism makes possible the realization of personal power that is grounded in, and thus afforded by, social life" (Farnell, 1994, p 933). Concluded then, is that "causal powers thus belong to the embodied person" (Farnell, 1994, p 933). That is, to be a person is to be embodied, and that a body is active because persons are agents. Varela, however, points out that Harré does not consider movement, or the moving body, as a primary feature in his concept of body, thus implicitly rendering the body static. This is to say, Harré's perspective fails to view the body as a "moving thing in the semasiological sense of generating body languages,
involving the executive generation of movement for expressive purpose” (Varela, 1993, p 228). Furthermore, Varela considers the paradox in the New Realist Philosophy of Science to be the view that causal powers do not necessarily lead to the action-sign, even though semasiological theory presupposes causal powers. Thus, according to Williams, central to semasiology is the action sign. Varela succinctly summarises Williams’ this theory:

Human bodies move in an enactment space, that is, in a culturally grounded and socially mediated canonical coordinate space in relation to the agency of persons. Semasiologically, movement and action are mapped onto one another in such a way that movement is seen to be action and action is movement, thus, the notion of embodiment in semasiology constitutes genuine agency.

Varela, 1993, p 222

Williams applies her theory of semasiology to structural movement analysis, a very different approach to that of Laban’s approach to analysing movement. As in Saussurian linguistics, Williams considers human movement to contain analogous features with that of spoken language. For Williams, there is a fundamental duality in the relationship between mental images and articulated motion comparable to the difference between Saussures’s *la langue* and *la parole* (1979, pp. 42-43). Williams thus argues that, “what is natural to human beings is not moving per se, but the faculty of constructing systems of distinct action sign and symbols corresponding to distinct ideas” (1979, p 43). Some distinct ideas fundamental to some languages include: right/left, up/down, front/back, inside/outside, here and there, now and then, above and below, etc.

For Williams, these are important ideas to cultures and languages but also comprise the deictic coordinate system of human body languages. This deictic view of body language is analogous to the linguistic concept of *deixis* used by Lyons who
holds that the spoken components of deixis "are such adverbials of place and time as which the grammatical structure of [spoken] language may reflect the spatio-temporal coordinates of the typical situation of utterance" (1968, p 275). This is to say that the fundamental ideas expressed in body language are the words that spoken language expresses in relation to where the speaker is located at the time of utterance. In other words, language is a coded transmission of spatio-temporal coordinates.

Williams's concept of action sign provides a mode of studying structural movement systems based on linguistic analogies. Laban, however, was seeking a means to describe the elemental features of human movement expression, such that the language of description could be as relevantly applied to the actions of a Central European folk dancer or an Asian martial practitioner. LMA strives to find the basic elements common to all movement—the fundamental expression of all agents. LMA categorises movement into the following types: (a) that of the body, (b) that of space, and (c) that of the dynamic. Attention to both the locale or space in which the movement occurs, and the shape of the trace-form together with the dimension orientation of the action is a means to understanding the use of space. Analysis of the qualitative variations in focus, pressure, time, and flow provides insights into the changing dynamic of human movement. By developing a language for movement description and a framework for movement study, LMA becomes an analytical tool for attempting to decipher the ever-changing and indivisible flow that is human movement. It is worth mentioning, however, that LMA focuses on describing and analysing execution of movement from an etic point of view. If then, as Kaeppler (1976) suggests, we combine both the etic and emic perspectives in analysis, the researcher should retain fuller understanding of the movements from the mover's point of view.

Kaeppler's approach to study Tongan structural movement systems is based
on linguistic analogies, phonemes and morphemes. Kaeppler applies both linguistic approaches to distinguish movements into kinemes and morphokine. According to Kaeppler (1972, pp. 172-185), kinemes are minimal units of movement recognised as contrastive by people of a given dance tradition and are distinguishable from an etic (a research) point of view. These units of movement as separate entities, are largely unconscious to the people who perform. In order to test her hypotheses about what the significant units are, Kaeppler performs the movement for "holder of the dance tradition, thus verifying, modifying, or rejecting them" (1972, p 176). According to Kaeppler, the kinemes include position as well as small units of motion which can be found in three parts of the body's performance—legs, arms and head. The Tongas employ these three parts of the body to enact its significance in the Tonga movement system. Morphokines are composed of kinemes and possess a clear movement sequence manifested in its process as having a pattern of a beginning and ending. Kaeppler notes that only certain combination of the kinemes are meaningful in the structured movement system. Kaeppler classified Tonga morphokines into four larger groups: 1) morphokines of the hands and arms, 2) morphokines of the legs, 3) morphokines of the head and 4) other morphokines.

Another two levels analysed by Kaeppler are the motifs and the genres. The motifs are the combination of movement patterns (morphokines) which form a short entity itself. Each motif of the movement sequence has its native term to denote its meaning. The genres are the broadest level of dance organisation in Tonga, including six native genres performed on special, formal and entertainment occasions. The performance of six native genres is associated with movement and poetry and accompanies music. Kaeppler, thus proposes that only by applying both the researcher and the participants' points of view to describe and analyse the structured movement "can we achieve any real understanding of dance as human
behavior" (1972, p. 215).

Labanotation, originated in 1920, is a system of notation which describes the structure of a movement by focusing on the "what", "where", and "when" of movement. In the notation, the shape of the basic score indicates the direction of movement, the shaping of the score refers to the level of movement (high, middle, low), and the relative length of the score expresses the time duration of the movement. The placement of a symbol on a three-line vertical staff indicates the body part moving. Reading the staff vertically reveals the movement's succession in time; reading horizontally reveals the interrelationships of body parts at given moments in time. In Labanotation then, direction, level, and timing of an action are represented in one symbol.

In terms of documenting dance, Labanotation is considered to have distinct advantages for recording movement when compared with other systems such as human memory, written description or videotape. Human memory is considered to be unreliable by most; written description rarely articulates the movement process and is cumbersome; videotape cannot record the three dimensional aspect of movement during a performance but only two dimensions which is often misleading (Farnell 1994, Johnson Jones, 1999 & Van Zile 1999). Van Zile (1999, p. 85) states that one of the most important functions of movement notation "is its ability to freeze an activity that occurs in time." This important feature of movement notation provides a means in which one can move easily back and forth and jump from one section of the dance to another to examine a dance from the written movement scores. The written scores also create an easy way to read a dance in that one can examine particular features and lay portions of a dance side by side to analyse simultaneously (1999, pp. 85-86).

Besides this, Van Zile notes that notation scores can assist a viewer in
focusing on movement components by delineating movement characteristics. For example, when Van Zile watches performances and teaching sessions of the Korean dance, *Ch'oyongmu*, she senses solidity and stability. Based on her examinations of a notated score of the dance, Van Zile considers that the dance’s use of space contributes to the qualities of the dance. In analysing a different dance, *Chinju kommu*, Van Zile discovered a similar use of space, and so she suggests that a recurring characteristic of Korean dance can be observed from these two studies. She does, however, point out that the two studies are insufficient for drawing significant conclusions, “but it does suggest a possibility of pursuing through analysis other dances to provide a sufficient database for articulating a common aesthetic principle of Korean dance” (1999, p 87).

In addition to using Labanotation to identify certain characteristics of a dance, Van Zile points out that some notation systems and the writing style of the notator can subjectively reflect the movement. Van Zile stresses that for the researcher, the ability of perceiving precisely what is happening in a movement performance is critical. Equally important is the ability to understand how movement is conceptualised by the mover. Van Zile illustrates this point with the example of a seated Javanese dance position in which, from a Javanese dancer’s point of view, the Labanotation is as follows: “the pelvis was tilted forward-high and the chest and head were each, also, tilted forward-high” (1999, p 90). The dancer’s notation teacher, who was not familiar with Javanese dance “corrected” the notation by suggesting that a simple indication that the whole torso was tilted forward-high was all that was necessary. According to Van Zile, the non-Javanese teacher’s version automatically included the pelvis, chest, and head as being tilted forward-high. This is because the teacher’s observation is based on assumptions of how a particular movement should be notated. For the dancer though, the focus is on how the
movement is conceptualised within the indigenous tradition (1999, p 90). Therefore, Van Zile considers that Labanotation not only can be used to document a dance as an end in itself, but can also aid in the goal of movement analysis which hopes to lead us in an understanding of movement.

The qualitative aspects of movement analysis cannot be overlooked. Using LMA to distinguish movement style and decode the meaning of movement in a given cultural context has been considered as an important aspect in movement studies (Daly 1988, Gellerman 1976, Novack 1988, Ness 1988, 1992, Sklar 1991, 2001 and Van Zile 1977). Van Zile (1977) presents us with a series of observations where the focus of attention is on the importance of energy use, one aspect of LMA. The first example is her observation of a prominent male Balinese dancer participating in modern dance technique classes (techniques which include those of José Limón, Doris Humphrey, and Martha Graham). According to Van Zile's observations, no matter whether he dances Limon or Graham, or any other techniques, he always looks like he is performing Balinese dance. Based on her knowledge of Balinese dance, Van Zile notes that the salient feature of dance in Bali is high degree tension and an overall high energy level that is punctuated regularly by even stronger energy bursts (1977, p 86). She thus concludes that the dancer uses this type of energy pattern when executing modern dance sequences, which result in the seemingly Balinese modern dance sequences.

On another occasion, Van Zile participated in a Javanese dance-drama at the University of Hawaii and observed a male student, (recognised as an accomplished performer of an ancient Hawaiian music and dance), to be consistently finding difficulty in executing a particular portion of Javanese dance. The student was observed repeatedly to slip into an undulating quality, the predominant characteristic of Hawaiian dance, which is incorrect for an accurate portrayal of a Javanese
character. After a rehearsal several weeks later, Van Zile observed that the movement looks right because the student now uses a burst of energy at the end of each movement, one of the major characteristics in Javanese dance.

Besides these two examples, Van Zile offers further observations from Korean dance with Chun Heung Kim, a dancer and teacher who has been declared a National Living Treasure by the Korean Government. A basic pattern for Korean Dance, according to Van Zile's description is as follows:

...a three count walk in which the dancer steps forward on count one, slides the free leg to meet the supporting leg on count two, and sinks into a small knee bend on count three. The feel of the movement, however, is not as three separate actions. Rather, the step and the sliding of the opposite foot to a closed position are performed as one movement, and the sinking as another.

Van Zile, 1977, p 88

During the learning process, Van Zile observes the sequence of movement manifested in “a gradual rise in the energy level on the first two counts, and then an easy letting go with the knee bend on count three” (1977, p 88). Van Zile however, points out that Mr. Kim tries to show the students something that is missing when they learn the movement. After Mr. Kim's exaggerated demonstration, she notices that “at the end of count two, just prior to the sinking, there was a tiny surge of energy” (1977, p 89). Based on this instance, Van Zile believes that it is this specific energy use that makes this three counts style distinguishable as the Korean walking pattern. It is clear to Van Zile that energy use can be seen as a key factor in differentiating one dance genre from another and the dance of one individual from another. This view contains implications for teaching dance cross-culturally. Van Zile thus argues that it is important to include an examination of energy use in the study of dance.
Ness (1988) uses LMA to analyse the different movement characteristics of cricket play between Trobriand and Britain (the contents of analysis is based on the ethnographical film *Trobriand Cricket: An Ingenious Response to Colonialism*). Ness observes that the film clips of British cricket show that the British fielding team organises itself in defined linear relationships that form various rectangular and triangular configurations among the players who receive hit balls. The bodies of the individual players serve as points on the field, points in the lines of tension which do not change in direction or in size throughout the game. According to Ness’s observation, when the fielding team celebrates an “out”, the players on the fielding team expresses their victory by jumping into the air as one body, extending their arms over their heads, in a simultaneous collective action. Ness notices at this moment, the players do not leave their positions on the field but instead, “remain a scattered bunch, holding down the network of linear tension that stabilizes the field” (1988, p 139).

The Trobriand fielding style, in contrast, is a continual state of collectively growing and shrinking on the occasion of every out. In addition, Ness observes that the dynamic energy used by the Trobriand players is an integral part of the performance of spatial organisation in that the relationship between moving inward and outward is characterised by a distinctive qualitative pattern. This qualitative pattern, is described by Ness as follows:

The gathering is followed by a show of force: the group dance and chant using synchronized body movements that are designed to be loud and strong. This display reaches its conclusion in a brief moment of confusion that is followed by a change in direction, when the group disperse, traveling outwards...Moving towards the dense center is associated with urgency and eventually with strength, while moving away is related to a loss of focus and release from the center point’s magnetic pull.

Ness, 1988, p 140
Ness claims the manner in which the phrasing of growing and shrinking—
gathering and scattering, dominates the Trobriand cricket game. In addition to this,
Ness notices that the dances performed during the cricket match, such as, the
Airplane dance, the Rowing dance, and the Seabird dance, as described in the film’s
narrative, are perhaps overlooked as being simply imitative styles of dancing. She
thus points out such a perspective on these dances is misleading in that “it conveys to
the viewer the impression that abstract, nominative processes are not operated in the
movement and are not significant features of the dance performance” (1988, p 143).
Hence, based on the approach of LMA, Ness observes that the leg movement used in
the “imitative” Airplane dance and the arm movement of the “imitative” Rowing
dance all exhibit the character of emphatic phrasing, which is common to the
Trobriand movement patternings of a finished action, in that completion is accented.
Having identified these movement characteristics, Ness proposes that the importance
of emphatic phrasing and the growing and shrinking spatial forms may have very
general and profound meanings in Trobriand life. Answers to such questions need
to conduct further study. Nevertheless, Ness states that, “the fact that they have
come to light at all demonstrates the value of movement analysis” (1988, p 145).

Gellerman applies Labanalysis\textsuperscript{22} to compare and contrast the meanings of
dance styles performed by women in three different groups. Gellerman (1978)
focuses on the contemporary cultures of three American Hasidic communities: the
Satmarer, Bobover and Lubavitcher in New York, and compares three groups of
women from their respective communities in the analysis of the Mayim dance pattern,
a popular Israeli folk dance performed as part of the women’s repertoire at Hasidic
weddings in Brooklyn. In analysing the Mayim dance Gellerman focuses on distinct
stylistic differences inherent in the dance patterns of the three communities in order to
illustrate how and why subtle differences in style may be developed within the
Hasidic culture at large. In doing so, Gellerman employs the system of Laban analysis as a research tool for describing the significant structural aspects of movement and interpreting the qualitative elements of the movement sequences, in addition to providing a comparative analysis of the movement patterns as observed in the three communities. According to Gellerman, the three communities represent conservative, moderate and progressive attitudes found in contemporary Hasidism—varying attitudes towards fundamental ideas and customs.

Gellerman also uses Laban analysis to analyse and record the similarities and differences of the Mayim dance pattern in relation to the socio-religious attitude of the people among the communities. Gellerman considers that the basic movement parameters may be seen to occur in women’s non-dance activity. Such an approach to examining the correlation between everyday movement and dance is similar to Choreometrics, which she also uses to test her hypothesis. She observes that the women’s narrow, sagittal and confined body orientation, suggests a reserved movement norm, evident in all three communities. According to Gellerman’s interpretation, this movement characteristic is representative of the way in which Hasidic women control and channel their movement towards one goal: tsnies or, modesty (1978, p 125).

There are also subtle differences in the dance performance among the three communities. She notes that such differences in features among the communities can be seen in the individual characteristics and behaviour of each Rebbe (a religious leader of a Hasidic community), as well as the region and from which he and his congregants have come. Gellerman observes that movement space utilised by the women in Satmar is limited which is consistent with Satmar’s segregative attitude toward outside communities its fundamentalist belief of core Hasidic values such as modesty. Gellerman describes that the Satmarer Rebbe is known for his religious
ferocity, his intolerance toward other Hasidic courts (dynasties built by disciples of Besht, the founder of the religion), and his strict adherence to the Law and to specific Hungarian Hasidic customs. Gellerman writes of the women's movement style:

...illustrated by the extremely small steps, the flexed arm held close to the body, the small kinesphere25 and territory, and the absence of the vertical or "presenting" plane...The Satmar carries the idea of tsnies and woman's role to movement extremes is evident in their effort qualities as well. The women's rhythmic attitude of sustained passive weight with arms held in bound flow and torsos almost inert emphasizes the very ordered lifestyle and extremely modest demeanor expected of women in Satmar society.

Gellerman, 1978, p 128

In contrast, Lubavitcher Hasidim does not isolate itself from the surrounding non-Hasidic Jewish environment and actively seeks to interact with it. The Lubavitcher community is known for its greater willingness to adopt certain Western style of dress, to deal with Jewish outsiders and to use English (except during prayer). As a result, Gellerman states that the movement characteristics of Lubavitcher have adopted a more "American" dance feel.

The young women show a more "American", acculturated, actively effortful behaviours as evidenced in a more westernized dress, a great number of American dance patterns (e.g., Mexican Hat Dance, Hasidic hustle variations), and, in movement terms, a more syncopated, resilient rhythmic bounce phrasing, clear centrally initiated postural steps, and an accelerating free flow mobility in the arms.

Gellerman, 1978, p 128

The Bobover community, according to Gellerman, is the conservative middle ground between the Satmarer and the Lubavitcher. The Bobover Hasidim, do not hold back an interest in other Jews yet, they are not excessively anxious for other Jews to come in direct contact with them. Gellerman points out that although the members in the Bobover are friendly to non-Hasidic Jews, they tend to hold
outsiders at arm's length, developing rapport and relationships predominately within the court. By using effort/shape terminology, Gellerman describes the movement characteristics of the members of this community as follows:

Bobov's in-group emphasis might be expressed in its more restraining "dimensional style" in contrast to Lubavitch with its more complex freely promoting diagonal stress that opens the space even more...the women's movement style is characterized by a sensitive poised lightness, a refined expressiveness and inner rapport, and the use of more space, flow and buoyancy. This movement style is in keeping with the Bobover Rebbe's emphasis on warm communal relationships and the high value placed upon expressive behaviour, especially music and dance.

Gellerman, 1978, p 129

By the use of Laban analysis, Gellerman shows the similarities as well as differences in stylistic movement patterns of the Mayim performed by the women of the Satmarer, Bobover and Lubavitcher communities. Gellerman argues that comparison and analysis of movement among the communities reveal important clues to understanding the relationship between "a society and its expressive behaviour—in this case, movement choices/its view of the world, and its expression of and relations to it" (1978, p 129).

Through the review of these three literatures, LMA can be viewed as a tool for movement analysis in a cross-cultural context. As Daly said:

Movement analysis does not always stop at observation. LMA has been established as an objective observational tool, but the propose of movement analysis in performance studies is to help yield meaning—an essentially subjective undertaking. As with any interpretive methodology, meaning is ultimately mediated by the observer and by the purpose of the study.

Daly, 1988, p 47

Thus, LMA is applied in this study as a research method and tool to interpret the meanings of qualitative aspects of the cikawasays' movement in their
ritual context. In reviewing Mulu and Lin's literature, I am of the opinion that both not only fail to see the movement of the cikawasays as a complex phenomenon but also restrict the movement to a purely physical movement. I argue that such an approach to analysing the cikawasays' movement does not consider movement as that of a moving body, or view movement from an agent-centered perspective. Semasiologically, the intentions, purposes and reasons embedded in the cikawasays' actions within the context of the mirecuk are still unexplored. This is to say, without understanding the cikawasays' action signs, interpretation of the movement is at risk of merely falling into a subjective, romantic relating of the movement. So then, I will adopt the concept of a moving body not only for interpretation of the movement qualities but also for examining the relationship between the movement and the ritual space (another subject of the cikawasays' movements study in the mirecuk).

In examining the relationship between the ritual space and the movement, the cikawasays' concept of ritual space will be taken as a primary focus, rather than using the LMA theory of space. I choose not to use LMA for this purpose since the theory looks at individual movement as confined to one's three-dimensional personal space. In other words, LMA views the relationship between human movement and space in the form of octahedrons and icosahedrons. In these geometrical forms, the axis shapes the vertical, the horizontal and the sagittal dimensions, where human movement is perceived and categorised into one, two and three-dimensional space. In the mirecuk, however, the concept of space is related to cardinal points, which are believed by the cikawasays to be the dwelling places of the kawas. This is an indigenous concept, which certainly calls for an in-depth analysis of the relationship between the movement and the ritual spatial orientations as presented in Chapter 6.

Kaeppler's concept of combining etic and emic perspectives when analysing structured movement systems will also be used to understand the cikawasays'
perspective, whereas the significances of the movement patterns will be understood from an emic point of view only. In terms of describing the *cikawasays'* movements, written description will be used mostly, with the aid of Labanotation.

This chapter has briefly mapped out the scope of my research; overviewed some of the details of the questions asked in the study, and has outlined the methodologies used to address them during fieldwork. Body movement is fundamental to this thesis, and it seems, the thesis itself acts as an active element of body movement in that it propels both the process of study and the intention behind the study—which is movement. This is to say, the movement analysis of the *cikawasays* in the *mirecuk* within the framework of dance ethnology is the focus of this thesis.²⁷

A consideration of the theoretical problems presented by writing about dance and movement in ritual context will be discussed in the next chapter wherein reference is made to anthropological studies and dance ethnology in particular.
1. *Ilisin* is regarded as a religious affair for the Amis villagers of Makutaai. The ritual is practiced for praying to their God *malatau* (the cosmos spirits) and their ancestors' spirits. The villagers believed that *malatau* and their ancestors' spirit would bestow good fortune, abundant food, and protect the village for another new year.

2. The dissertation was finished during the course of my studying at the graduate program of dance ethnology in UCLA. The dissertation explores the relationship between the annual festival, *ilisin*, its dance and the social structure of the Amis, the largest indigenous group in Taiwan, in the village of Makutaai. This relationship reveals the importance of the age-set system which is expressed in the form of the dance and the quality of the movement. *Ilisin* is the most important annual event for the village today, therefore, this study also concerns the purpose of holding the *ilisin* in the contemporary Taiwanese society. Through examining the ritual use of time and space, it is clear that the purpose of holding *ilisin* has changed. The significance of expression of unity of the village has become the main factor bringing people together to dance.

3. Based on fieldwork, most Amis villagers told me that the characteristics of the *cikawasays* rituals are mystic and private in terms of interaction with the *kawas*.

4. The *cikawasays* in Lidow practise many different kinds of rituals such as *pananu* (family ancestors rite), *milacal* (funeral ritual), *mipopoh* (healing ritual), *daladuas* (village ancestors ritual) and so on. The *mirecuk* is considered by the *cikawasays* to be the most elaborate ritual.

5. See Chapter 4 for a more detailed definition of the term.

6. During fieldwork, the informants told me that they believe angels and God are different characters of the *kawas* (spirits). I also noticed that Amis fathers of the Catholic Church sometimes use this native term to represent angels or God, when they pray for the church members. In other words, the concept of the *kawas* has been transplanted into Catholicism.

7. According to local legend, the Amis believe that they are the children of the sun which is personified as *ina*, the Mother. A family member who dies will be accompanied by his or her ancestors, returning in an easterly direction to their Mother's dwelling and live in the east.
8. The description of this spirit scene is based on Gamaya's and some senior members' bodily experiences derived from their interaction with the kawas world.

9. Mandarin is Taiwan's official language, which is used in school teaching.

10. Laban Movement Analysis today is a creative synthesis that has been enriched considerably by concepts developed by Laban's colleagues and later students of human movement working within the Laban tradition (Moore, 1988). Laban Movement Analysis categorises movement into elements of body, effort, shape and space. The researcher analyses the bodily manner which changes in response to internal and external stimulation, manifested in qualitative aspects of time, space and weight.

11. The term "locomotion" is given to all movements of the body which progress in space. This consists mainly of walking, running, leaping, jumping, crawling, creeping, strutting and their many variations.

12. The concept of body attitude is concerned with what qualities are maintained in the body, which spatial emphases, body part relationships and tension are held in the body as a kind of baseline from which the mover operates.

13. According to Williams (1979, p 39), the theory of structural movement analysis treats movements as actions which are linguistically tied, mathematically structured and empirically based.

14. According to Groff (1990), Laban was influenced by Wagner's article of 1880 entitled "Religion and Art," and was also familiar with writings of Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), a philosopher who began an experimental psychology laboratory.

15. Kaeppler (1992, p 52) points out that many places in the world—movement itself cannot be separated from its musical, social and ritual context. For example, she illustrates Hawaii's ritual movements "performed on outdoor temples in conjunction with religious texts and sharkskin-covered wooden drums, were called ha'a." That is to say according to Kaeppler, to examine the concept of movement from people's points of view is an important method to find how movement systems are constructed by people.

16. In his book, The Body &Society, Turner (1984) gives an account of the subject of body which has been neglected in social theory and considers that the body is
an integral part of a society and culture rather than a biological or mechanistic entity. Those who specialise in the anthropology (Farnell 1994, Williams 1995) of human movement note that the body in Turner's point of view still remains a static object.

17. Harré's New Realist Philosophy of Science claims that the ideas of substance, causation, and agency are intrinsically connected and compatible with each other. In this light, human agency entails that the person is a real entity—a substance, and that agency is a real causal event.

18. *La langue and la parole* for Saussure can be translated into English as, the language and the act of speaking or speech (Williams, 1979, p 62).

19. Varela (1993, p 241) points out that "semasiologically, there can be no universal context-independent non-linguistic significance to human movement."

20. The notion of deixis (which is the Greek word for 'pointing' for 'indicating'; it has become a technical term of grammatical theory) is introduced to handle the 'orientation' features of language which are relative to time and place of utterance (Lyons, 1968, p 275).

21. For a more detailed discussion about the advantage of Labanotation over film and video for recording movement in an ethnographic context, see Farnell, 1994, pp. 962-964.

22. According to Gellerman, Labananalysis is an elaborate system for studying movement developed by Rudolf Laban in Europe in the early part of the 20th century. It includes a notation system (Labanotation), and method for analysing the use of space and dynamics (choreutics or space harmony and effort-shape).

23. Gellerman describes that Hasidium as a mystic branch of Orthodox Judaism born in late eighteenth-century Eastern Europe.

24. According to Gellerman, within Choreometrics, dance is a form of expressive behaviour, which is an organised elaboration, repetition, and intensification of everyday movement patterns. Choreometrics, however, has been criticised for its theoretical orientation, which applies both an ecological determinism and a unilineal evolutionary model of culture change.
25. “By extending the farthest reaches of the length, width and depth of the body in the upright position a sense of the three-dimensional space around it is created. This way of reaching space around the body forms the kinesphere” (Bartenieff and Lewis, 1980, p 25).

26. The octahedron is composed of vertical, sagittal and horizontal two dimensional-planes. The icosahehedron is formed when three planes are superimposed onto each other and their peripheral points are connected.

27. To examine dance from an ethnographic perspective is to consider that dance is a kind of cultural knowledge. As Sklar (1991, p 6) points out, that “dance ethnography depends upon the postulate that cultural knowledge is embodied in movement, especially the highly stylized and codified movement we call dance.” Kaeppler (1978, p 41) considers that such an approach is different from dance anthropology, which looks at dance as an integral part of a culture and through studying dance, one can understand about society and behaviour that has generated diverse cultural systems.
Chapter 2
Dances and Movements in Rituals

In Chapter 1, I have mapped out the approach to study the cikawasays’ movement. The focus of this chapter is to discuss what methods will be applied to serve as a framework to examine the relationship between the cikawasays’ movements and the mirecuk ritual. Prior to that, I will select and review some relevant literature to my study; their subject will be dance, movement in ritual or in shamanic ritual in particular, having been drawn from the fields of anthropology and dance ethnology. In this way, the approaches to studying the relationship between dance, movement and ritual will be delineated.

Selected literature on anthropological approaches to analyse dance in ritual include Sue Jennings (1985, 1995), Edward Schiefflin (1976) and Dobbin Jay (1986). Such approaches give several important premises. First, the relationship between ritual and dance contributes and corresponds to larger pattern of thought and organisation. Second, a focus of the approach shifts discussion from analysing the dance itself as a self-explanatory structural entity to its ritual context. Third, the approach allows us to understand that dancing is relevant to the circumstances it occurs in, such that dancing can evoke an emotional response that may transcend the boundaries of normal consciousness. Fourth, dance is related to perceptions of the body, of movement, of time and of space. Fifth, dancing is relevant and even vital to the analysis of ritual behaviour and to the distinction between normal life and ritual drama. As Spencer states that:

dance may be defined in whatever way seems most appropriate to the study of any specific situation or society. Dance is not an entity in itself, but belongs rightfully to the wider analysis of ritual action, and it is in this context one can approach it analytically and grant it the attention it demands.
In this view, I consider that the anthropological approach to study dance in ritual helps us to understand the social and public nature of dance and the way in which dance creates meaning.

I chose Jennings’ (1985) article, “Temiar dance and the maintenance of order” to review her approach to look at how the native meanings of Temiar body movement can be revealed through the trance dance. This approach will be useful to examine the cikawasays’ concept of movement in relation to the mirecuk. Jennings focuses on the description of Temair dance in seances officiated by the shaman in Temiar, and considers that the trance dance releases tension in those who participate in the dance. Jennings elucidates that the dance has a cathartic function as trance ritual to dispel the tension of the participants (dancers and onlookers) to maintain the social order. Through analysing Temair dance, Jennings reveals the native meanings of body movements such as the symbolic meanings behind the distinction between the upper and lower body movement, a reflection of the Temair’s conception of space, such that those who enter the trance are believed to lose their head-soul or r̄wāray in the resulting trance state.2

According to Jennings, Temair is an ordered society. There are rules against conspicuous behaviour and shouting and there is no license for aggression. There are many occasions on which Temair hold the trance dance.

For example there would be anxiety after visits from outside: officials from government departments, or the army on patrol for communist guerrillas...On other occasions, when there appeared to be a general sense of irritability in the village and body movements that suggested greater social distance between villagers, one of the older men and women might suggest a trance dance for the same evening.

Jennings, 1985, p 50

The trance dance appears to be the principal activity that best releases any
tension when the above situations occur. The occasion is not exclusive to those who will enter trance. All others who do not enter the trance state watch and in this way participate, as it is this occasion which is for the benefit of the entire Temair community. Jennings (1985, p 62) points out "the dances are felt to relax tension for everyone and not just those who have entered into trance." Thus, it is important to stress that those who are not allowed to trance are at least permitted to dance vicariously. They play almost as important a part in engendering the dance as the dancers themselves. The women, for example, stomp forcefully to increase the intensity of their singing and the girls join with the women. The joint occasion brings the village together as a group and has the effect of drawing in the more marginal members, releasing their anxieties. Through the dance, the villagers are brought firmly into the peaceful ordered world of the village and into the rejuvenation of the entire life of the village.

During the dance, the shaman leads the proceedings by singing whereby his singing is echoed in response by women playing bamboo stompers. The singing is a way of making contact with his spirit guide, who will assist the shaman in the seance. The shaman controls the development of the session in order to restrain those who fall into trance too soon. There is then, a slow build-up leading to a group climax. The movement of trance according to Jennings' observation appears to be divided into the upper and lower body. Jennings notices that the lower body is used to support the main movement performance which takes place in the upper body, in the arms and head and bending of the waist. The concept of this characteristic movement is interpreted to reflect the symbolic dichotomy between the space on and off the ground. According to Jennings (1985, p 51), the Temair concept of space can be categorised into the vertical in terms of "off the ground" and "on the ground", and the horizontal in terms of "village" or "house' and 'jungle". Temair houses are built
in the village on stilts so that the home is off ground whereas temporary hunting
shelters built in the jungle are on the ground. Most animals are killed in the jungle
and must then be immediately taken into a house off the ground. Jennings infers
that:

It would be seem that on the ground and in the jungle belong to the world
of nature, and off the ground and in the village or house belong to the
world of culture.

Jennings, 1985, p 51

Thus, the movements of the lower body are constrained "on the ground", and tend to
allow greater freedom of expression in the movement of upper body which
symbolises "off the ground". For Jennings, the upper body movement symbolically
belongs to the village and to culture and by extension that dance and trance belong to
the cultural world, and thus would not occur on the ground.

Besides this, the trance dance performed by the younger men is
characterised as bouncing, twirling and spinning with the arms flailing. Sometimes
the entranced person may lose balance and fall over. If the trance leads to chaos, the
musicians stop and move away until the proceedings have calmed down. In contrast,
when the older men fall into trance, Jennings describes them as:

...unobtrusively fanning themselves and gently moving backwards and
forwards into a trance state, which they achieve with minimum movement
compared with the vigorous efforts required by younger people.

Jennings, 1985, p 54

After the trance, some of them become unconscious and fall to the floor. The
shaman massages their heads, or blows through a clenched fist into their heads in
order to bring them back to a state of consciousness. Jennings points out that the
concept of the head-soul is key to the trance since, during the trance, the head-soul is
thought to leave his/her body and journeys to meet other head-souls.

45
Jennings (1985, p 60) states that the dance itself is an activity that bridges "the physical world, to which the body is tied, and the metaphysical through which the head soul is released." The role of the trance dance among the Temiar, then, is an integral part of the Temiar cosmology. She learns that the Temiar see themselves as a peaceful people living within a world that is hostile and chaotic for the breaking of certain rules. The people believe that thunderstorms are the sign punishment from Thunder who is the malevolent deity of violence and anger. So then, the Temiar live in a society in which non-violence is vehemently practised although aggression is revealed on a cosmic scale. Therefore, in order to release the tension caused by such contradiction, the trance dance is an activity to dispel unease and a general sense of tension. This is in contrast with the feeling of relaxation and ease which permeates the village afterwards.

Jennings (1985, p 63) concludes that although a theory of "tension release" is the most logical explanation of Temiar dance, this should be considered in conjunction with "an understanding that this operates at the level of the group rather than the individual and serves at the same time to reinforce those beliefs that together form the Temiar cosmos." Thus, Jennings claims that the dance practice within the ritual cannot be isolated from the beliefs of the Temiar and their cosmic world.

Jennings (1995) in her book *Theatre, ritual and transformation*, discusses further how Temair practise their bodily concepts manifested in their everyday life as well as in the trance performance. Jennings observes that Temair's concepts of body are practised from their childhood; the bodies of small babies are massaged from their birth, particularly their heads massaged for several months in order to strengthen the head-soul. Ears of infants are covered during thunderstorms, their eyes shielded from lightning for the purpose of protecting them from punishment given by the evil presence of Karey, the thunder deity. In addition, Temair babies are discouraged
from crawling until they can walk independently, and therefore are allowed to walk outside on the ground. Jennings (1995, p 75) notes that these evidence of Temair beliefs "has embodied the most important restrictions, the institutionalised feeling, reinforced by a fear of supernatural punishment, that are basic to Temair life." For Temair infants, embodiment of these beliefs and feelings are practised continuously throughout their life and is reinforced through soul beliefs. Such beliefs are activated in trance and dance performances.

Jennings' approach to study the trance dance by looking at the native concept of soul belief also can be found in relation to the cikawasay's ritual, which will be presented in the next Chapter.

The second work of literature that I review is anthropologist Edward Schiefflin's (1976) book, The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of the Dancers. Dance, in combination with songs in Schiefflin's work, possesses therapeutic value, and I consider that such a combination plays an important factor to reveal an inner state of the cikawasays in the mirecuk. Schiefflin illustrates that dance and song, in the Gisaro ceremony of the Papau New Guinea Kaluli, serves as a medium for communication between two parties (the host and the guests). This marriage of dance and sorrowful song is specifically employed to evoke nostalgic emotions in the on-looking party (the host clan). The contents of the songs relate to particular places and persons within the host village, thus helping to induce a mood of nostalgia and prompt the audience's mourning. The dancers, painted colourfully and decorated with natural objects, are themselves metaphorical entities. For example, Schiefflin observes that a slow bouncing movement of the highly decorated body, suggests the motion of forest waterfalls. Yet, he also observes that the image of the dancer, embodying the movements of the deceased, arouses the audience's grief for their deceased kinfolk. And still, the movement reflects the Kaluli themselves; for
example, the manner in which the Kaluli walk is characterised by a slight bouncing movement. On other occasions, the bouncing is exaggerated into the up and down of a more vigorous bounding movement, used to express a particular emotion such as excitement.

Although dance movement contains metaphorical value for the people, in that it evokes their reminiscing in the ceremony, the significance of Gisaro dance lies in its relationship with song—sounds formulated into well-composed texts. This is to say, the Gisaro song consists of sound symbols which, are transformed into words thus becoming semantically dynamic. Thus, the mutual relationships between dance and sounds in the context of Gisaro ceremony provide a symbolic means for the Kaluli to express their life, which is centred on opposition and reciprocity. Such a relationship occurs on the end of the ceremony.

During the dance performance, the emotions experienced by the host clan are gradually amplified, even reaching levels of violence stimulated by the song and dance. Then, at the moment of the occasion's climax, it is observed that host spectators and visitors seek to release their tension by attacking the dancers with torches. Schieffelin notes that the purpose of such action from the Kaluli point of view is not the burning of the dancers. Instead, the point is that the dancers make the host burst into tears. Schieffelin (1976, p 24) states that “the hosts then burn the dancers in angry revenge for the suffering they have been made to feel.” Only after the Gisaro has concluded, do the hosts feel as though they have received compensation for their anguish and sorrow from the dancers who apparently caused the grief to begin with.

In the case of the Gisaro then, drama of opposition is initiated by the dancers and practised by all participants. In addition, Schieffelin observes that in the Gisaro the two parties, (the host clans and longhouse visitors, raiders), confront each other in
an interaction of such tension that it may cause the performance fall into chaos. Moreover, since the conflict between the two opposing groups exists not only during the ritual but also in daily life, through payment via this form of compensation, the groups can be reconciled. Yet, “Gisaro is not really concerned with how conflicts are resolved but rather with how conflict resolution is integral to human relationships and life” (Schiefflin, 1976, p 211). “Gisaro is itself, therefore, a reciprocal transaction in the esthetic domain” (Schiefflin, 1976, p 172). All this suggests that social reciprocity is not only punctuated by ceremonious acts such as Gisaro but also is based on emotion.5

Schiefflin concludes that the dance and the song in Gisaro have a cathartic function, of releasing the audience’s inner state. Once their inner states are released, their anger and vulnerability are now strength and positive action. Through this process, a vehicle is generated for the expression of social ambivalence between the opposing social groups. It can be understood then that by way of the process that extracts the groups’ emotions and transforms them into a benign yet consciously induced expression, such that antagonistic forces between the two groups will be countered, thereby avoiding the danger of social disintegration among the Kaluli.

The third review of literature is anthropologist Dobin Jay’s (1986) book, *The Jombee dance of Montserrat*, who considers Jombee dance to be ritual drama (Turner, 1978) and attempts to decipher the symbolism of the dance. I consider the theory of social drama to be useful in interpreting the structure of the *mirecuk*, which will be discussed in Chapter 6. Jay applies Turner’s theory of social drama and liminality6 to comprehend the meaning of the Montserrat’s Jombee dance—a trance ritual. Jombees in Montserratian folk religion are believed to be the spirits of the past. They are seen by the living, and they appear in dreams walking and talking with the living.
In Montserrat life, dreams are as important as waking moments because it is in those sleeping moments that the spirits of the past speak out. For the Montserrat, the Jombee are a real and active force. Thus, in order to solve problems that pertain to some evil, the afflicted party hosts and serves as the sponsor of the jombee dance.

In the ritual, kin and close friends are invited to gather and provide support for the sponsor. The participating ritual specialists (musicians, dancers, and those adept in Obeah magic) may come from the same kin group. In the ritual, the participating friends and relatives begin to perform the quadrille dance, which takes place in the small living room (approximately twelve by twelve feet) of the host's home. The quadrille continues as some dancers from the group perform progressively more rapid and extensive movements which, ultimately lead to trance "dancing" characterised by turning of the body. When the dancers enter into their turning, different individuals have different ways of moving with facial expressions. One of the dancers described:

Veronica, for example, achieved hyperventilation by a gyrating, up and down torso, and arm-flaying movement...She responded to the auditory bombardment by faster and jerkier movements. After two to fifteen minutes of this response, I noticed her eyes became glassy and she did not focus or respond to light or movements of people around her. Her jaw jutted forward, and the neck muscles became visibly taut. Her normally peaceful face changed into an almost total grimace of intense seriousness. As her body gyrated and twisted her head remained relatively stable, and her eyes stared out into some unknown point in space. Fagan's facial transformation, on the other hand, was quite different. She kept her arms close to her body, but her buttocks twisted around, and her head twitched as though hit by a branch.

Jay, 1986, p 118

These characteristic movements are the salient features of the trance dance. One of the important functions of the trance dance is communication with the
Jombees. The Jombees speak to the sponsor through the turning of the dancers and offer consolation to the sponsor. A turning dancer may speak in an altered tone and pitch, which the participants interpret as the Jombee's voice. The dancer may also imitate a deceased ancestor by gesturing a limp or a sloping shoulder that would remind the guests of the deceased ancestor or friend. Many of the Jombees' secret words are incomprehensible even to the participants, although some words and phrases are repeated several times. The messages can also be interpreted by an Obeahman after the dance. Jay notes that sometimes in the ritual the dancer uses alcohol to force turning, which is then considered to be a feigned trance and the participants do not take serious consideration of the dancer's words.

Trance dancing, according to Jay's definition, is dancing in an altered state of consciousness, which may not necessarily be equated with spirit possession, though an altered state is behaviour which, in some degree, is beyond normal. In the case of the Jombee dance, however, the participants interpret turning as possession by the Jombee. Thus, in the dance, the term "altered state of consciousness" describes the behaviour or experience of the turning dancer, but possession by the Jombees is the cultural interpretation of the turning witnessed.

The general phenomena of the trance dance, according to Jay's observations can be understood physiologically. The dancers, by their erratic dance movements, reach a state of "overbreathing" or "hyperventilation" (Jay, 1986, p 117). The frenzied body movement is triggered by auditory bombardment (the integration of sounds of the feet stomping and the musical instruments that trigger frenzy). Meanwhile, the hyperventilation and auditory bombardment produce hyperactivity that causes the dancers to collapse, writhe, or perform other uncontrolled paroxysms for a short period of time after they stop dancing. Yet from another perspective, Jay sees the dance as that which possesses the character of "liminality" (Turner 1982).
In other words, the Jombee turning can be seen as a relationship instead of a type of dance. The liminality of the trance dance instills in the relatives and friends of the sponsor a sense of communion. "All the dancers, regardless of sex, age, or religion enter their support of or opposition to the sponsor’s cause" (Jay, 1986, p 121). This bond can be referred to as what Turner calls “communitas”.

Jay also treats the dance as a social drama, which has four phases: break in social relationship, mounting crisis or escalation—entering into the trance state, redressive action (this is seen when the Jombees offer advice), and reintegration (Turner 1974, p 41). However, in the case of the Jombee dance, the phases do not appear in sequence, and so the dance is not structured in this sense.

Jay has demonstrated that the social meanings of the Jombee dance in the context of trance ritual can be interpreted through Turner’s model. The concept of drama applied to the relation between trance dancing and ritual contributes to creating a sense of liminality which leads to consolation and advice for solving a history of personal problems. Moreover, Jay treats the turning in the dance as a relationship, which contains a social nature, rather than a type of dancing.

Through reviewing these three works of literature, the authors have demonstrated that dance and movement in ritual contain complex social and cultural meanings which interrelate people’s beliefs, modes of communication, social relationships, and spiritual experiences. As Bell (1992, p 27) indicates, ritual integrates thought (e.g. beliefs) and action and it “is seen to “fuse” a people’s conceptions of order and their dispositions (moods and motivations) for action.” In addition, the these writers have analysed patterns of movement in different context of ritual and interpreted those patterns as distinct cultural features. Their approaches to studying dance and movement in rituals however, which focus on what patterns of movement are performed by people in relation to why people move, relates to other
aspects of culture. For example, Jennings observed the characteristics of Temiar trance manifestes in the upper and lower body movement which reflects Temiar's conception of space and their soul belief. Schiefflin describes that Gisaro dancers execute a slow bouncing movement which makes their decorated body strike a certain image in order to evoke the nostalgic emotions of the visitors. Jay describes that the frenzied body movement, the salient feature of trance dance, is triggered by the sound and music; the dance serves as a medium to seek answers from Jombee in order to solve personal problems. Such approaches offer a means to help us to understand the roles of dance and its functions in the context of ritual.

The approaches, however, do not deal with how people move in ritual. Sklar (1991) points out that to explain a movement in terms of social codes is not enough. She continues to state the importance of the argument by using Geertz's (1973) example "it is necessary to know not just that a person is winking, but how he is winking" (1991, p 6). Sklar (1991, p 6), thus notes that "both the "message" and the experience of a wink are impossible to determine without discussion of the movement itself, for the way people move provide a key to the way they think and feel and to what they know." Sklar (1991) takes this viewpoint into account to define her concept of dance ethnography as follows:

...a dance ethnographer seeks to discover: why do people move the way they do, and how does the way they move relate to how they live, what they believe, and what they value? Dance ethnographers put their movement observation and analysis skills to work towards understanding people. That is why we peer beyond dance toward all aspects of life and perceive dance in the contextual web of social relationships, environment, religion, aesthetics, politics, economics, and history.

Sklar, 1991, p 6

In order to understand how and why people employ their movement qualities in a ritual context, Ness (1992) and Sklar (1991, 2001) apply Laban Movement Analysis.
to examine their hypotheses in relation to case studies.

Ness's (1992) book, *Body, Movement, and Culture*, provides an original interpretative account of *sinulog* dancing, a dance which takes on three forms as practised in Cebu City in the Philippines. Ness applies LMA methods to assist her as an outsider in conceptualising and formulating an identifiable characterisation of “Resilient Phrasing” in the *sinulog* dancing that she attempts to understand. The first form of *sinulog* dancing is an individual, improvisational ritual dance symbolic of pilgrims arriving to worship the Santo Nino, the principal religious figure in the community. This dance is practised on a daily basis in front of the main cathedral mainly by female candle sellers known as *tinderas*. The second form of *sinulog* is a troupe dance drama, originally a boy's ritual, but now performed by several local troupes which include adults and children alike. This form depicts the battles between "Christian infidels" and "Muslims" and is performed only on religious festivals at the Santo Nino's church and at select homes containing religious images similar to those of the Church’s. Finally, the third *sinulog* is a parade demonstration form.9

Ness observes that one predominant feature of movement in *sinulog* dance is the “Resilient Phrase”. The concept of “Resilient Phrasing” is considered to be one variant of LMA phrasing typology. Phrasing types according to LMA theory refer to the manner of execution, or the way in which energy is distributed in the execution of a sequence of movement through a period of time (the total duration of a piece containing a beginning, middle, and end). Thus, Ness defines “Resilient” phrasing as follows:

1) short in individual phrase duration, 2) involves maintained repetition of short individual phrases, 3) exhibits an Effort signature that in layman’s terms would be characterized as “bouncing”. 

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Although the concept of "Resilient" phrase is not part of the native conceptualisation of their own movement, Ness, through dialogue with participants, is able to ascertain that the concept of "Resilient" phrase is translatable in many local cultural practises.

According to Ness, such a concept can be found in the movement of the ritual practitioner, tindera, when tindera sells a candle to petitioners and then presents it to the divinity. Tindera holds the candle at chest level and moves gently back and forward, swaying when she offers it to the Nino statue in the cathedral. This is the "Resilient Phrasing" within the performance. Ness asserts that the cultural philosophy of Cebu City is revealed if one scrutinises sinulog's choreography, paying close attention to the "resilient phrasing" found in local cultural contexts. For example, Ness demonstrates the linguistic elements of resilient phrasing as follows:

The extent to which resilient phrasing influences Cebuano life . . . could best be measured by its incorporation into the vernacular language itself. Sayawsayaw [is an example of] reduplication. Highly duplicable, quickened patterning was thus a mode of organizing social energy, both mental and physical, in time and space . . . In the sinulog performances, this phrasing style was perhaps the most powerful polysemic or multivocal sign evident in the performance process.

Ness, 1992, p 55

Besides Resilient Phrasing serves as a functional role in the vernacular language, Ness explains that symbolic meanings of using the props (candles and Nino effigies) in the sinulog performance can be interpreted in relation to other cultural practices. In her own words:

Manipulation, in the most literal sense of the term was a key theme in the tindera sinulog, as it was in social life in general. People tended to have 'life in hand'.

Ness, 1992, p122

According to Ness in city public life, an individual moving from one
location to another without a bag or basket in hand is rarely seen. Manual contact is a pervasive feature of public life. Ness describes this specific contact as follows:

Hands were not clasped firmly, shoulders and waists were not hugged closely, arms were not taken tightly. In all forms of friendly manual contact between acquaintances, the touch was light, the placement of the contacting agent was somewhat vague, and above all, the grasp used was loose. Clutching and grabbing were rarely seen in public. A person in Cebu faces more contact but less than in the United States.

Ness, 1992, p 122

Ness further relates that the style of loosened grasp underlines many activities of the city such as playing basketball, which is the most popular sport in the city. Not through strength but by loosened manipulation, is the basketball is kept in control. In other functional activities, the loosened grasp is used when handling bottles, glasses, forks and spoons and food of most kinds. These habitual expressions form a collective attitude toward object control and manipulation. Through the varied activities of eating, game playing and the ritual, the quality of everyday movement articulates the principles of Cebu City's public life.

Ness also observes that the peripheral spatial tension in the tinderas' movement style can be defined as a distance between the hand gesturing end of the body and the centre of the upper torso. During the performance, the spatial tension in the tinderas' movement creates latent symbolism in that, when the tinderas take a candle, a candle which they just sold to a stranger, what is symbolised is the relationship between an "other" and "hostesses", the tinderas. According to Ness (1992, p 127), "the treatment extended to the candle by the tinderas' body represented the treatment visitors or guests were ideally accorded in Cebuano society." Thus, the dance conveys the meaning of the patron-client relationship. Ness observes that a guest shall be treated with generous delicacy, and indulged in
whatever way possible. Furthermore, "the behaviour of the ideal visitor in social interaction resembled the behavior of the candle, buoyantly animated by its own impulses to action" (Ness, 1992, p 128).

Ness also observes that architecture of the city influences the form of parade choreography. She says:

Abstract curvilinear forms employed in the parade choreography bore a marked resemblance to the floral patterns that typically served as borders around the stone relief figures of Philippine churches... The choreography in other words, tended to reproduce designs in the traditional 'incipient baroque' style. In this regard the parade sinulog choreography effectively symbolized on different levels both its origins and its present status.

Ness, 1992, pp. 201-202

Ness's approach to understanding the culture bearers' habitus through analysing the body movement of the sinulog's choreography has been criticised by Majorie Franken (1994) for failing to examine the evidence sufficiently and closely to support her argument. That is, Franken considers Ness's perspective to be deterministic. Franken questions whether other folk dances in the Philippines have the same movement style as the sinulog ritual dance. She accuses Ness of mismatching comparisons between her own choreographic experience in America and a traditional Philippine sinulog performance. This incompatible comparison, according to Franken, fails to give an account of what specific relationships can be applied to mediate both different cultural experiences. Franken also doubts Ness's postulated relationship between the sinulog parade choreography and the traditional incipient baroque style. Franken points out that a presumed connection between the sinulog processional walking pattern and an architectural form needs empirical tests to show whether or not the choreographer is unconsciously influenced by nearby architectural forms. Such tests, however, are not offered by Ness to prove her
assumptions are correct. Hence, Franken asserts that Ness’s deterministic view of connections between the dance form and other aspects of the culture may lead her to misinterpret the meanings of any existing relationship.

I agree with Franken’s criticism of Ness’s deterministic perspective in terms of failing to provide sufficient evidence to examine the relationship between the movement and culture. I argue that Ness treats movement as emergent, felt experience analysed by Laban Movement Analysis which opens “the way for exploring the sociocultural significance of qualitative, felt bodily knowledge” (Sklar, 2000, p 70). Ness (1995) in her article “Laban Movement Analysis in Humanistic Cross-cultural Dance Research” demonstrates that LMA serves as a framework to clarify and organise impressions of both the sinulog movement and the habitual daily movement of Cebu city inhabitants. She states that the concept of “Resilient” is considered to be helpful to her in undertaking initial observational study of sinulog ritual dance and in overcoming two difficulties:

1) the dancing to my uncultured eye exhibited a wide variety of individual performance strategies that made generalization difficult to identify, and 2) the dancing was considered by its practitioners to be a subjective, spontaneous, and largely undeniable (and thus indescribable) movement experience.

Ness, 1995, pp. 82-83

Ness (1992, p 80) considers that the local people’s habitual action “typically went without saying unless discussion about them was somehow externally provoked.” In this respect, Ness emphasises that LMA plays an important part for the entire ethnographic account that is the basis for the “intersubjective, co-creative, culture-making dialogues”(Ness, 1995, p 81).

Sklar in her book, Dancing with the Virgin, (2001) applies Labananalysis to deal with qualitative aspect of movement in her study of the annual fiesta of Tortugas,
New Mexico. The fiesta is a three day performance honoring Our Lady of Guadalupe, who is believed to have appeared in Mexico City shortly after the Spanish conquest as a “dark virgin”. The fiesta begins on December 10th and danzantes (the male dancers who wear the festival costume) open it by leading the evening precession that carries the Virgin from the capilla (a small chapel) to the Casa de Pueblo (a meetinghouse). There the Virgin will be welcomed with a one-night, velorio (a wake for the virgin). Sklar notices that the focal point of the fiesta is the altar, which is actually a composite scene on a platform. The platform includes a miniature mountain where there is a plaster statue of a Juan Diego (the man who was inspired by the Virgin to build her church on Tepeyac Hill) who kneels and looks at a portrait of the Virgin. According to Sklar’s observation, there are certain expressive images of the portrait which can be described as follows:

She tilted her head to the right and downward as if to hear better. Her eyelids were half closed, but her eyes were focused...She rested her weight backward, her body slightly curving in an arc toward the left...There were no sharp edges anywhere; she was all welcoming softness...The Virgin seemed to invite the man, or the viewer, to rest in her attention.

Sklar, 2001, p 31

The statue on the other hand:

Looking up at the Virgin, the kneeling man met her gaze...Poised at the uncomfortable midpoint between sitting back onto his right foot and lifting himself up onto his left, his lower body appeared taut with urgency. By contrast, his upper body appeared limp. His right arm hung at his side, his shoulders were collapsed, and his head was tilted back. Whereas the women’s softness suggested solicitude, his slackness announced surrender. The man’s contradictory qualities of melting and eagerness gave the impression that, in the presence of the women, he was both submissive and inspired to action.

Sklar, 2001, p 31

According to Sklar, this movement quality captured in the postures
exchanged between the Virgin and Juan Diego on the fiesta altar, embodies an ideal relationship between humanity and Our Lady of Guadalupe. Sklar states that symbolically, the spirit of humanity, looks up to Our Lady of Guadalupe the way a child would at his unconditionally loving mother. The relationship is reciprocal in that Juan Diego proved his wholehearted acceptance to the Virgin with his prompt willingness to do as she asked.\textsuperscript{10} The Virgin bestows her blessing, not only in the form of help for people's problems, but in the powerful feeling people have that she is present during the fiesta.

Sklar notes that to feel the Virgin's presence during the fiesta for the dancers is an important factor in effecting the movement quality of their dancing. Sklar observes that in the men's dancing there is a sense of heavy weight on rebounding steps, however, the quality of "softness and vulnerability" seems contradictory to the forcefulness of the dance. This movement quality, according to Sklar's interpretation, is related to the focus of the dancers and their attention. In an interview with Rico (one of the senior danzantes), Sklar confirms her interpretation. Rico says:

I always tell them, I guess I shall until I die, that if they want me to dance—somewhere, in the church, in any church, for the Catholic religion—that we must have the Virgin Mary in front of us all the time, the Lady of Guadalupe... When you're dancing it's the same as dancing with the virgin. It's something like if I were talking to her, expressing our gratitude for what she had done....Every time we're dancing there, it's like we were saying thank you and just talking to her, giving her our thanks.

Sklar, 1999, pp. 27-28

Sklar states (1999, p 27) that "the image the men faced was the image they carried within." She (1999, p 27) interprets that "the softness that contradicts the driving power of the men's dancing is not a structural element of the dance", but instead a
manifestation of the men’s offering of themselves to the Virgin, which reinforces the reciprocal relationship between the Virgin and the devotees.

For Sklar, Rico’s comments echo the meaning of Juan Diego’s posture on the altar. She describes that:

Juan Diego’s legs were at the ready, action imminent, but they were matched, even driven, by the yielding of his upper body, as if surrounding to the virgin was the condition propelling him to action. Like Juan Diego, the danzantes worked the potent territory of this contradiction, where surrender becomes kinetic force. Their vulnerability was the space where the men held the virgin. It was the open and receptive core of the dance, its ineffable subtext of belief manifested as quality of energy.

Sklar, 1999, p 28

Sklar examines the movement quality from two perspectives: one from her subjective response and the other from the dancer’s body experience of narration, so as to interpret the meaning of “softness and vulnerability” identified as “the tender and devoted core of feeling the dancers had for the Virgin” (Sklar, 1991, p 8). Her way of understanding the meaning of the movement is based on Laban’s theory of qualitative movement analysis which compromises the dancer who learns through kinesthetic sensation and “the fieldworker who learns via visual apprehension” (Sklar, 2001, p 3). In addition, Sklar applies to her understanding, the concept of ‘empathic kinesthetic perception’ derived from feminist theory, particularly that of Mary Belenky’s (1986) theory of “separate” and “connected” knowing. According to Sklar, the concept of kinesthetic empathy means “the capacity to participate with another’s movement or another’s sensory experience of movement” (1994, p 15). In other words, empathic kinesthetic suggests a combination of mimesis and empathy (Sklar, 1991, p 11). She thus considers her own body and feeling as a research tool for understanding other people’s experience (Sklar, 1991, p 12). Such an approach is similar to Jackson’s concept of bodily praxis (1989) which is applied to examine
the interaction between individuals' movements and the organised environment, thereby offering an explanation of human action. Jackson describes a conversion experience from his usual participation in Kuranko ritual which is characterised as "to stand aside from the action, take up a point of view and ask endless questions" to the learning of practical, everyday skills as well as dance techniques (1989, p 134). Jackson considers that this conversion experience is an important precursor to many of his valued insights into Kuranko social life.

In semasiological terms, Jackson is aware of the necessity of leading himself into signifying acts, performed by the body (Farnell 1994, p 936). Jackson's approach however, is criticised by Farnell on the grounds of "romantic assumption", i.e. Jackson views that "in recognition of the embodiedness of our being-in-the-world is to discover a common ground where self and other are the one" (1989, p 135). That is, this approach comes dangerously close to reducing the cultural body to a biological organism where people's common physical features imply that events will be experienced in the same way (Farnell, 1994, p 937).12

Sklar and Jackson's approach to reveal the meaning of movement may near naive subjectivism. So, Sklar uses words to find out both what experience others have and how they interpret that experience. She asserts that talking serves as a check against the dangers of projection, the dangers of assuming that her "empathic kinesthetic perceptions" accurately mirror other people's experience. She explains:

After checking my perceptions against reports by others, I would return again to "empathic kinesthetic perception," adjusting my responses to what I'd learned through words. My research went back and forth between mimesis and conceptualization, combining the empathic kinesthetic techniques I'd developed with more traditional methods of participant observation.

Sklar, 1991, p 12
Sklar stresses that the inner expression of the dancer is impossible to perceive with movement analysis only. The essential meaning of the dance relies on a combination of conceptual, affective and kinesthetic conveyance. Furthermore, through understanding the informant’s description of his/her inner feelings about the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe and shifting focus from the dance itself to the fiesta context, it is possible to appreciate fully the meaning of the dance and the quality of the Danzante’s experience. Sklar (1991, p 7), thus, considers that empathic kinesthetic perception not only allows one to sense particular movements but to grasp “the whole complex of concepts, values, effects and action that comprises the Tortugas fiesta.”

In this view, Sklar considers that movement is always immediate corporeal experience. Sklar argues that resorting to words is one way to understand the symbolic meaning of movement, however, talking cannot reveal what is known through the medium of movement. The cultural knowledge that is embodied in movement can only be known by means of movement. Therefore, she states that:

This is why I am uncomfortable with the currently popular semiotic metaphor which treats everything as “text” to be “read.” The metaphor is certainly useful, but it pushes perception away from hearing, seeing, and feeling words and events kinesthetically.

Sklar, 1991, p 10

Based on the statements, Sklar points out that sensory experience cannot be overlooked in a cultural study. Such an experience is important for the cikawasays in that they are only able to practise the mirecuk by way of sensing and following the calay thus interacting and communicating with the kawas, the aim of practising is to offer their worship. That is to say, the cikawasays employ such felt experience through the movements to enter the realm of the kawas to perform different spirit acts within different phases of the ritual, such as, spirit possession, invoking the kawas to
descend and wriggling in the spirit tunnel. In the actual ritual performance, the cikawasays' unique emotional state is evoked when confronting the kawas. Thus, I argue that the mirecuk is a form of ritual performance. Such an argument is discussed as follows.

Hughes-Freeland (1998) considers that the concept of ritualised act is an important factor in finding the relation between ritual and performance. Hughes-Freeland takes Bell's (1992, p 74) definition of ritualisation "is as a way of acting that is designed and orchestrated to distinguish and privilege what is being done in comparison to other, usually more quotidian activities" to support her argument. She also agrees with Bell that if the notion of ritualisation is applied equally well to performance, the notion shifts from performance analogies to actual performance contexts in themselves rather than the model of the text. That is, if it is not understood as the replication of a given script or text (Hughes-Freeland, 1998, p 3).

Hughes-Freeland suggests that such an approach allows performance theorists to explore themes such as agency and intentionality and the interplay between creativity and constraint in social action. She elaborates on this in an account of some significant aspects of performance theory in ritual study:

Instead of a ritual process which moves from one moment to another in time and space, ritualised performative practices embody creativity and constraint to be thought of as simultaneous, co-present, and embodied in different forms of participation. This entails a shift in focus from form and meaning in ritual, to the different aspects of participation. It also provides insight into the analysis of spectatorship as participation.

Hughes-Freeland, 1998, p 3

These specific features of performance discussed by Hughes-Freeland are concerned with a different textual approach. Schieffelin (1998, p199) argues that text and performance are not the same in that while they "may be produced out of one
another, this is very different from saying they are reducible to one another.” Schieffelin, however, considers that texts share some qualities with performances: they both have a definite sequential pattern, an internal structure, and may be self-referential. Nonetheless, Schieffelin (1998, p 198) claims that “it is precisely the performativity of performance for which there is no analogue in text.”

Performativity, then, recaptures the elements of uniqueness, strategy, evanescence, presence and becoming in social action. And it is these elements, therefore, that are thought to be lost by a concentration on the meanings in fixed texts. According to Schieffelin (1998, p 198), texts are “changeless” whereas “performances are assertive, strategic and not fully predictable”, thus:

Performance can never be text, and its strategic properties are destroyed when it is considered as, or reduced to text...Unlike text, performances are ephemeral. They create their effects and then are gone—leaving their reverberations (fresh insights, reconstituted selves, new statues, altered realities) behind them.

Schieffelin, 1998, p 198

Based on the above discussion, the text analogy neglects certain way in which actions are performed since it is their enactment which is significant to performance. In the mirecuk, the cikawasays’ movements are ritual actions which make the mirecuk a form of performance.

For my own approach to this analytical study of the qualitative aspect of the cikawasays’ movements, I will not consider to use Sklar’s method of empathic kinesthetic perception. A reason for rejecting this method is that the method is rooted in feminist modes as explained earlier which consider subjective experiences must be taken into account in an ethnographic text. Sklar states her choice of such an experience in her ethnography:

Because the report exposes the ethnographic process of coming—to-know. I have also chosen to reflect in writing the relational nature of fieldwork
and therefore include myself as a character in the narrative... Most importantly, I chose a style—personal, particular and inclusive of my own unfolding process of discovery—that I thought would most fully reveal what I had learned about the feeling qualities of people's religious experience.

Sklar, 1991, p 13

Contrarily, I will choose a more objectified method to represent my ethnographic accounts of the *cikawasays'* movement qualities. My reasons for applying such a method are explained as follows. First, the *cikawasays* usually ask onlookers to keep distance from the ritual place to observe in the *mirecuk*; if not, the *cikawasays* believe that the *kawas* will bring sickness to those onlookers who move too close to the place. Second, I am not a member of the *cikawasay* and not allowed to join the ritual dance with them. Third, the body of the *cikawasays* possesses the capacity of sensing the *calay* and perceiving the *kawas* and this bodily capacity is not possible for me to empathise with. Within these fieldwork's conditions, I locate myself as a participant-observer to approach the ethnography from objective perspectives to describe and interpret the *cikawasays'* bodily experiences in the *mirecuk*. That is to say, I will use LMA and consider adopting Sklar's approach in terms of her method of checking her perception and other's experience, conducting thick description\textsuperscript{14} of the movements, to objectively interpret how the movements can illuminate the multiple relationships between the *cikawasays* and the *kawas* within the *mirecuk* ritual.

Before interpreting the *cikawasays'* symbolic actions in the *mirecuk*, the next chapter will focus on description of the traditional beliefs of the Amis, followed by an explanation of the criteria for becoming a *cikawasay* and the organisation of the *cikawasays* in the Amis village of Lidow. Following this, the *cikawasays'* ritual with the movement analysis will be presented in subsequent chapters.
1. According to Jennings (1995, p 62), Temair believe that their “head-soul rests on the crown of the head on a tuft of hair”.

2. Jennings describes that babies’ head souls are seen as being weak which is why their heads are constantly protected and massaged until they become mature (Jennings, 1985, p 57). Jennings (1995) also notes that the Temair refer to their lungs, liver and heart as *hup* which is essential for life. Sickness in the *hup* can cause lack of desire or will to do anything. The significance of *hup* is to represent the function of the heart, liver and Lung, in terms of a living, breathing, feeling person.

3. Schiefflin (1976) states that Gisaro is the most elaborate and characteristic ceremony in Bosavi. It is performed by the guests at a formal social occasion for the benefit of their host.

4. Kealiinohmoku (1977, p 26) points out that without sound there would be no Gisaro dance. In this view, she considers that dance cannot be defined merely as being nonverbal.

5. Williams (1997) presents an extract from Schieffelin’s book in her reader *Anthropology and Human Movement* and stresses that this kind of social giving and exchanging is basic to the Kaluli way of life. Such a way of life is described by Schieffelin as follows:

   Friend and relatives gather in the same longhouse community normally expecting to be able to borrow food and tools or request gifts of wealth from each other if the need arises...Gisaro embodies some of its characteristics. Compensation (*su*), must be paid for feelings deeply moved, and one ceremony is explicitly given in return (*wel*) for another. A performance that has caused a lot of grief motivates the hosts to return an equally affecting one to their guests.

   Schieffelin, cited in Williams, 1997, pp. 171-172

6. According to Turner (1978, p 249), “during the liminal period, the characteristics of the *liminars* [the ritual subjects in this phase] are ambiguous, for they pass through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state. Liminar are betwixt and between.”

7. Jay (1986, p 115) notes that not all trance is interpreted as possession. He cites Bourguignon’s definition; “[possession refers only to those] native beliefs concerning certain potential relations between human beings and postulated spiritual entities” (Bourguignon, 1970, p 88).
8. According to Davis (1970, p. 31), LMA is a system for describing movement dynamic and style, a group of terms and concepts logically and intricately related to each other which refer to the qualitative aspects of movement. While movement can be described as a series of actions, for example leaping, sitting down, scratching one's head, and so on. LMA deals with how the action is done, for example lightly, quickly, and sinuously. Because it describes quality with style apart from "content" or what is done, it is applicable to many areas of movement from description of dance style to individual movement patterns.

9. This sinulog form was first instituted in 1980 as the National Ministry of Youth and Sports Development's attempt at reviving the sinulog ritual tradition targeted at college students. The revival form was reorganised in 1981 as a civic celebration of Cebuno identity. It was also associated with a form of competition designed to develop tourism. The development of the parade sinulog form fundamentally alters the meaning of the sinulog dance tradition in the city's local culture. It expresses in physical symbolism the impact that recent changes in political, economic, and religious life are having on the residents of the city and their visitors.

10. Devotion in Tortugas implies a combination of faith and what Sklar calls "sacred work," whether it be dancing or staying all night for the velorio.

11. Sklar notes that the concept of kinesthetic empathy was criticised by Best (1975 and 1978), who argues that empathy refers to emotional responses, thus, denies a place to reason in the apprehension of dance. Sklar, however, argues that her usage of the term does not refer to emotional responses but to kinetic ones. For her (2001, p. 199), kinesthetic empathy "is a mode of apprehending kinetic qualities, no more or less reasonable than the mode of apprehending words."

12. Farnell states that Jackson appears to propose a reality in the experience of the body apart from semiotic practices, cultural context, belief and intention (Farnell, 1994, p. 937).

13. Howe succinctly summarised Geertz's concept of ritual as text:

In Geertz's approach there is basically semantic: ritual is primarily communicative because symbols carry meanings, and understanding the efficacy of symbols is mostly a matter of revealing the logic of thought and the motivational force that underpins them. Rituals are 'texts' which can be 'read' for their symbolic significance.

Howe, 2000, p 64

Here, the analogy is used in association with interpretive anthropology where the anthropologist constructs the meaning of ritual action from the interpretation.
of his/her informants. But as Bell (1992) points out, this analogy used in ritual theory emphasises the interpretive position of the theorists in each case, rather than true relationship between texts and rites. In other words, focus shift from what the ritual text implicitly says—what it says per se, to what the interpreter says it says.

14. The term is borrowed from Clifford Geertz. Thick description, for Geertz (1973, p 18), "takes us into the heart of that of which it is an interpretation."
Chapter 3

The Amis Village of Lidow and the Institution of the Cikawasays

Etymology of the name “Amis”

The name “Ami” is the official term prescribed by the Taiwanese government used to refer to the people, and has since been adopted, from the time of its first usage, by Japanese and Taiwanese researchers alike. According to Chang (1989, p 9), however, in her Ph.D. thesis, *The Amis Village of Lights, Change and Continuity*, states that the term “Ami” was derived from the Amis people’s own word “Amis”, which means “north” or “to the north.” The Amis villagers in Taiwan’s southern regions and valleys refer to themselves as “Pancah” as opposed to those in the northern areas who call themselves “Amis” perhaps because they are ‘to the north’ of their southern neighbors, fellow tribesmen and the Puyma tribe. The Japanese scholars Mabuchi and Utsuikawa agree that the term “Pancah” is best suited to refer to the Amis people since it is the term that is more commonly used by the people to refer to themselves. Chang however, claims that “pancah” is in fact not a term native to the Amis language, but is derived from the Chinese term for aboriginal village, “fan she” (蕃社).

During the reign of the Ch’ing dynasty (1701), the Chinese term “fan she” was used specifically to refer to the aboriginal villages of Taiwan. The character “fan” has the meaning of savage with implications that, Taiwan’s aborigines were outside of the Chinese cultural influence of that time. The character “she” is used to differentiate between the Taiwanese aboriginal villages and the Chinese “chuan” (蕃), which were governed by the Ch’ing court (Wen, 1958 p 3; Tai, 1979 p 351). If Chang is correct then, the term “Pancah” has its origins in the Ch’ing dynasty. Yet according to Mulu (1995 p 16), “Pancah” is derived from the Malaysian word for
mankind, blood lineage and homogeneity: "panca". Nevertheless, this thesis will adopt the term “Amis”, as it is used by the people in the village of Lidow to refer to themselves.

Variation and Distribution

The Amis tribe is the most numerously populated of the nine indigenous tribes of Taiwan, numbering approximately 13,000 people in 1996—forty percent of the total population of Taiwan’s aboriginal people. In 1991, the Japanese scholar Ino Yoshinori 伊能嘉矩 was reportedly the first to identify the Amis residing in the valley between the foothills and coasts of eastern Taiwan, from Hualien to Taitung. (Liu, 1975, pp. 8-9) (Figure 3).

The earliest classification of the Amis tribe was by the Japanese researcher Torii, R. 鳥居龍藏 in 1898. His system used differences of language and custom within the tribe as the basis for his classifications. Torii found distinctions between the Amis to the north of the Hsiululuan River and those to the south of it. He also considered the Amis located in the more southern regions of the island to be strikingly similar to their neighbors, the Puyma Tribe.

Yoshinori proposed a classification system based on geographical distribution of the tribe where the northern Amis he referred to as “Ch’i-lai Amis”; the southern Amis he termed “Pei-nan Amis”; the Amis of the inner valley he referred to as the “Hsiukuluan Amis”; those located near the coast he called “Coastal Amis”; and finally, the Amis living in the southern most parts he classified as the “Heng-ch’un Amis.”

Tadao (1956) suggested another classification system in which he categorised both the Amis of the valley and those of the coast as a single “Central Group”, and
Figure 3: Location of Taiwan indigenous people.
those of the Pei-nan and the Heng-ch’un as one “Southern Group” (Liu et. al, 1965 pp. 6-7). These classifications made by early researchers, however, are the result of superficial ethnological surveys. That is, acknowledgement of the differences in the various social institutions among the geographically dispersed Amis groups have been overlooked as the possible means to a more precise classification system of the various Amis groupings within the tribe.

Loh, in his Ph.D. thesis, *Tribal Music of Taiwan* (1982), redefines the old classifications based on geographical distribution, which categorised the Amis into the five groups of the “Nan-she Amis” (南勢阿美), the “Hsuikulan Amis” (秀姑巒阿美), the “Coastal Amis” (海岸阿美), the “Pei-nan Amis” (卑南阿美), and the “Heng-ch’un Amis” (恒春阿美) (Figure 4). For Loh, the five groups are defined as followed:

1) **Nan-she Group:** The northernmost group of the Amis, located in the Hualien area and is surrounded by the Atayal and some of Kavalan people. The group includes the seven villages Nataula, Pokpok, Lidow, Cikasaowan, Varvaran, Cipaukan and Sakor.

2) **Hsiukulan Group:** Sometimes referred to as the Central Amis, this group occupies the region to the south of Feng-Lin and north of Hsin-Kang in the Tai-tung rift village, which is between the central mountain range and the coastal range. The group includes the villages of Tavarong, Vataan, Kivit, and Pairasun. Neighboring villages includes those of the Atayal and Bunun tribes.

3) **Coastal Group:** This group is also part of the central group, which occupies the area east of the coastal range and the pacific coast. The group includes the Tianalao, Vakon, Makutaii, Tsavue.
Figure 4: Geographical distribution of the five Amis groups.
4) Tsiukanan(長光), Psielen(白守蓮), and Malalaon(成功) villages.

5) Pei-nan Group: Since these Amis are scattered in the Tai-tung areas, they are also called “Tai-Tung Amis”. The group’s villages are found in Valanao, Lai or Ma-lan(馬蘭).

5) Heng-ch’un Group: The smallest group, living in the southernmost area, Heng-ch’un, they are physically separated from the other Amis by the surrounding Puyma and Paiwan tribes (Wei 1961; Yuan 1969).

Chang (1989, p 15), however, points out that such classification of Amis into five subgroups is problematic in that it cannot be applied to explain the current situation. Chang states that the current distribution of the people is a mixture of households and many of which trace their origin from different places in the east of Taiwan. Moreover, Chang states:

The later intrusion of authorities from the outside since the late 19th century should be taken into account. It brought even great changes to whole social and economic environment of eastern Taiwan and various aspects of the Amis culture were affected ever since.

Chang 1989, p 15

Indeed, I agree with Chang because the method of classification of Amis groups fails to take the factor of social change into account. I, however, will apply Loh’s classification to distinguish different subgroups of the Amis in terms of geographical location.

The History of Lidow

Lidow is one of the villages of the Amis Nan-she group. The earliest record of the Nan-she group can be dated back to the Ch’ing dynasty (1701) where in government records of foreign affairs the Nan-she group was documented as being
composed of nine different villages: Chong-yaur, Zewulan, Bou-dan, Biyaya, Du-nan, Shou-niaan, Pop-pop, and Gigliaushun. Du-nan, Pop-pop, and Gigliaushun are identified as today’s Nataulan, Pokpok, and Cikasowan villages respectively. In 1890, the Note on Taitung Prefecture recorded the Nan-she group having the same seven villages listed in Loh’s classification. Under the Japanese occupation of Taiwan in 1937, the village of Lidow was referred to as “Tsio-ging” meaning, ships to the shore. The Chinese government in 1948 then renamed the village as “Hwa-ren”. This name, however, is currently no longer used by the Lidow villagers.

According to the Lidow legend of the village’s origin, their ancestors came from the southern areas of Hua-lien approximately 200 years ago. Accounts of the origin of Lidow village, however, can also be found in the legends of different villages within the Nan-she group. In the Natauland and Pokpok villages, one such legend describes the origins of Lidow as being that of the same as Natauland and Pokpok:

In ancient times, a sweeping flood covered the earth, which caused most all humans to drown. A brother and a sister did survive the flood by riding on a rectangular mortar, which saved them from the catastrophe. They rode the floating mortar to the mountain of Tatevuracan, and settled down there. At that time, there were no other human beings in the areas of the mountain. So, the sister married the brother, became husband and wife and had many children. After the flood had receded, they moved to the mountain of Cirangasan, which was close to Kiwi village (Kivit village of the Amis Hsiukuluan Group). The population of the Cirangasan mountain gradually increased and some of the people migrated to the mountain of Cikasowan. Those people became the ancestors of Cikasowan. Another group of people traveled along Hualien River toward the north to Naromaan. They then scattered to Nataulan, Pokpok, and Lidow. Tao-aps, the chief of Nataulan, taught many ways of producing different kinds of foods and instructed the people of all three villages to hold various rituals. He designated the job of fishing to the village of Lidow. The villagers of Nataulan and Pokpok were to farm and hunt. The population of Lidow was
the least among the three villages and so the Sakilaya group immigrated from the south to Lidow.

(Mulu, 1995 p 38) (My translation from Chinese)

Another legend reveals the differences between the Lidow, Nataulan and Pokpok villages:

Fishing and producing salt for the villagers of Nataulan and Pokpok are taboo. At that time the villagers however, took charge of both activities and exchanged fish and salt for millet produced by Nataulan and Pokpok. When bartering, the people of Lidow were not allowed to enter either Nataulan or Pokpok village. So instead, the villagers of Nataulan and Pokpok brought millet to the village of Lidow and exchanged it for salt. Those who returned from Lidow needed to hold a ritual in order to prevent the spirits of Lidow from following them before entering their own village. The villagers of Lidow and the villagers of the other two villages were prohibited to marry each other, due to their different beliefs.

(Mulu, 1995 p 38) (My translation from Chinese)

The following is another origin legend of the Lidow themselves:

The villagers of Lidow once lived in Li-long (one of the villages of the Paiwan tribe in Tai-tung). One day the villagers went fishing and unfortunately, they encountered a flood that obstructed their way home. Ni-Fu, the god of the sea, taught them how to swim and make boats. Thus, they sailed the boats to a place and began their new life from one generation to the next generation. They named the inhabitance “Li-long” in order to commemorate their homeland but, after several hundred years, the people miscalled Li-long as “Lidow” and have kept the name until today.

(Mulu, 1995, p 39) (My translation from Chinese)

Within these three legends alone are three common aspects of the origin of Lidow: 1) Due to flooding, Lidow ancestors were forced to leave their original homeland and migrate to Lidow; 2) Lidow ancestors, adopted the name of their homeland as a commemorative gesture to their origins; 3) Lidow villagers believe their ancestors immigrated to Lidow from the south.
The Village of Lidow

In the modern Chinese vernacular, Lidow is called Tong-chang ts'un. Ts'un is an official administrative unit in Taiwan's political system. Tong-chang ts'un is one of the sub-units in the Gi-ang hsiang within Hua-lien county. The village of Lidow consists of 374 Amis households and 1,141 Taiwanese households, totaling a population of 5,242. The Amis population of 1,565 based on a 1998 survey is composed of 859 males and 706 females. Today, due to the economic influence of a predominantly Taiwanese society, Lidow's original form of economic activity of producing salt, as in the legend stated above has changed accordingly. The village is now a semi-agricultural society since it is also the case that many of the villagers work outside of the village for their wages. Most of the younger generations go to the nearby urban centres to labour and make their living.

Yet, one of the primary activities in the village is water-rice cultivation. The cultivation of wet-rice is considered by the villagers as essential to their existence. Traditional ways of cultivation—use of the water buffalo, for example has been replaced by modern tractor. Some villagers cultivate dry rice and millet in small amounts for making traditional foods such as hakhak (sticky rice) and doron (sticky cakes) on special occasions. Most villagers grow crops for their own daily consumption, vegetables, fruits and betel nut trees in their gardens or on the marginal plots of their farmlands. The raising of domestic animals for consumption is not popular but is also not a rare occurrence. Despite the modern changes the village has adapted to, it is customary for the villagers to gather wild vegetation as a supplement to their daily diets.

The Age-Set System of the Village

I must preface my discussion of the cikawasays institution, where age is not
considered a main factor in identifying a group member’s status, with an introduction
to the village’s age-set system so as to later make a comparison between the two
systems. In addition, the headmanship is another essential element for all kind of
ritual practices and the village organisation in Amis. Thus, I will introduce briefly
the role of headmen in Lidow and then characteristics of the age-set system will be
described. The headman in the village today is a volunteer who is elected every
four years. He is elected by all members of the community who are twenty years of
age and above, and who have been registered as residents of the administrative area of
the village for a minimum of six months. The present headman is an Amis resident
who has retained his position for eight years by winning two elections in succession.
One of the main obligations of the headman is to notify the village of local affairs
prior to their being carried out via the public affairs announcement van, which is
equipped with a loud speaker and travels throughout the village relaying the message.
When the public ritual of village ancestor worship is held, the headman serves as an
assistant in helping the cikawasays to call and organise the villagers for participation.
In private rituals, he participates with members of a family in a given household to
show his genuine support of the rituals.

According to the village headman, *slai* is the term used to refer to a
collection of male individuals, or the men’s age-set system in general. In this system,
each male’s social status, obligations, and responsibilities are predetermined by his
age. According to the headman, the men’s age group is composed of a number of
name sets to differentiate the order of status. The males in this village are classified
into three grades: 1) *kapax*, young man (19-42 years old), 2) *matoasai*, older men (43-
84 years old), 3) *vakevakeijang*, retired grade (who are over 85 years old).

In the past, participation in the men’s group was the key factor in
determining which type of ritual—public or private, was needed for the village at any
given time. Furthermore, those public rituals or festivals, carried out for the blessing of the village, can be fulfilled only with the assistance and participation of the men's age groups i.e. with the village's men. When examining the village's records, we discover the records have always shown the application of the men's age-set system. As Yuan (1969, p 135) states that the political organisation of the village is based on the age-sets system, "with the men's house serving as a sort of combined dormitory, military barracks, and club house."

According to Wei (1958), the naming systems within the age-set system are of two kinds. The first system is termed "terminal" applied to men who are over 85 years old and discharged from the age-set system. In the "nominal" naming system, applied only to the village men, each age category has a fixed name used by those in the age sets to identify their group in relation to others. Age then, determines the order and status of the sets thus establishing a hierarchy based on age (Wei, 1958 p 10). The age-set system in Lidow is composed of nine sets (Figure 5).

When the boys of Lidow reached fifteen years, it was mandatory that they participated in marnene a training organisation, wherein the boys were isolated from the village. At this time, the boys had no status and were in the "stage of liminality" (Turner, 1978), allowed only to live out of doors, under trees, or in storehouses. Their hair was worn tied back and they were dressed in vests throughout the entire year. They were prohibited from smoking, from drinking alcohol, and from meeting or having physical contact with girls. During this stage, the boys underwent an arduous training program of strength building and skill sharpening for hunting, fishing, and battle—strictly under the supervision of senior members of the age-set system. Every seven years, boys of eighteen years whom had successfully completed the training programme must participate in the initiation rite whereby they became members of a new set. At that time, conferred upon the boys were the rights
### Age-Set System in the Village of Lidow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Names of the Age Set</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kapax (19-42)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(the young men)</td>
<td>1. Alamai</td>
<td>22-28</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Aladewas</td>
<td>29-35</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. Alabangas</td>
<td>36-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matoasai (43-84)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the older men)</td>
<td>4. Madavok</td>
<td>43-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Maroad</td>
<td>50-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Maolates</td>
<td>57-63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Maowai</td>
<td>64-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Alamud</td>
<td>71-77</td>
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<td></td>
<td>9. Rarao</td>
<td>78-84</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vakevakeijang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(the retired grade)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The men over the age of 85 are discharged from the age set system.
and obligations of the individual man. Included were those rights and obligations to attend public meetings and affairs. The oldest set, however, was discharged from the age-set system.

Each set is a unit, consisting of members of the same age whom have all been initiated at the same time. During men's activities when orders are assigned, they are given to a set since, a set is always regarded as an inseparable unit. Since the senior set is privileged and has authority over a junior set, job assignments are handed down set by set. That is, each set is not allowed to disobey a command from above, yet has privileges to order anything to anyone in sets lower than his own. Every seven years, the set is promoted to a higher age set. Members of a set are referred to as "age-mates" and are obligated to attend the important events of the lives of other members of their set. A set is extinct when all the members of the set are deceased and the name of the set is adopted by a new set.

The women's age-set system in Lidow consists of members of the same range of age (20-25 years old, for example) and relationships among members include relatives and good friends. The main purpose for gathering the members is to participate in occasions of entertainment, such as dance activities held for wedding ceremony or group dinner prepared for the members to have an enjoyable evening. There is no initiation ceremony for the women and the women's age-sets do not take charge of any public affair of the village as opposed to the men age-sets.

Traditional Religious Beliefs among the Amis

Traditionally, the Amis practise animism. The Amis people believe that the natural world is controlled by the kawas thus enlivening all natural phenomena and nature in general. Each kind of kawas has its particular place of dwelling in the kawas world (Chang, "Amis People's Concept of Gods and Personhood", 1989).
According to the records of Japanese researcher Sayama (1914), *logi* are female spirits whom dwell in the nine different mountains of the kawas world. The other kinds of *kawas* live in various places in the sky (Sayama, 1914). For example, *logi* dwell in the north, *malatao* the *kawas* of cosmos dwell in the west, daemons are in the east, and ancestors live in the south. In addition to these spirits, deceased *sapalgaw* (village chiefs), *cikawasays* (spirit masters), *csitafaday* (head-hunting warriors), along with those who have died either naturally or accidentally, have specific places they inhabit in the *kawas* world. One's status and role in society is the key in determining one's dwelling place in the *kawas* world after life.

In the tradition of the Amis belief system, members of any given household will worship their own guardian *kawas* because it is those *kawas* that protect the family's property and well-being. Members of a household might also perform a ritual requesting that their *kawas* will influence a thief who suffer a bodily affliction due to stealing from their property. If the thief then steals from them and is in turn influenced by their *kawas*, he must seek the members of that household to cure his sickness. One's individual reasons for worshipping the *kawas* may vary according to desired outcomes. A hunter, for example, practises a personal ritual for asking his *kawas* to protect his hunting knife. Protection of his knife is in the form of causing sickness to befall on those who attempt to steal or touch the knife. If a person falls ill due to coming in contact with the knife, then he or she must seek out the hunter to perform the acts that will unravel the "protection" in order to cure the illness. Worshipping the *kawas* establishes a specific relationship between the person and the *kawas* and ensures protection of property and/or of one's self. The *kawas* is the core of the Amis belief system as is closely related to the people's conceptualisations of the soul, of ancestors, and of spirits.

The Amis people believe that the body is composed of flesh and *adigo*—
another kind of *kawas*. The meaning of *adigo* is "mirror" or "soul". When a person is in the realm of the living, the Amis believe that *adigo* will follow that person throughout the duration of their earthly lives acting as a mirror for that person. According to Huang (1988), *adigo* lives in the males’ right shoulders and in the females’ left shoulders. In contrast, according to Huang (1988) souls of children in the Amis society are called *sahaklog* in order to differ from adults. Huang states that functions of children’s physical bodies have not developed maturely, therefore, their souls are not matured. He also notes that the children’s’ souls are believed either live in the crown of the head or the back of the body. Nevertheless, both adults and children’s souls can be called *kawas* in the Amis belief.

*Adada (Illness)*

Amis people believe that the conditions for being a normal and complete person are that each internal and external part of the body function normally. If this is not the case, the person is perceived as an "incomplete" person (Mulu, 1995 p 66). There are two types of bodily affliction that may identify a person as being an incomplete entity: 1) physical sickness such as headache, fever, blindness, deafness, and so on 2) psychological disability such as psychosis, mental illness and so on. Regardless of the causes for either type of illness, either due to hereditary traits or the results of accidents, both types are characterised as *adada* (misfortunate illness). Women that are barren or a family whose children die young in succession, such phenomena too is characterised by senior villagers as *adada*.

There are two factors involved in inducing *adada*: the persons themselves and the *kawas* (Huang, 1991). When the *adada* is self-induced, this simply is the result usually of some form of self-indulgence that is contrary to that person’s normal mode of behaviour. For instance, if a person eats more than usual in one sitting and
consequently suffers from stomach pain. This type of adada is not related to the food then, but rather to whether or not the person has disrupted his or her own behavioral pattern. Kawas-induced adada are also somewhat based on the person’s behaviour. If, for example, one violates village mores, endangers the social order, or dreams of ancestors, the result is one’s soul is caused to wander lost in the kawas world. A more severe consequence: the person’s soul is imprisoned by the kawas. This severity is reflected in a more serious and lingering adada. Such illnesses are believed to be incurable by modern medicine and must be tended to by the cikawasays. During the healing, the cikawasays call on the login, the female spirits, to divine which kinds of adada are induced by the kawas so as to ascertain which type of ritual must take place. The cikawasays must determine if the person’s soul requires summoning or if the kawas must be driven out. In some cases, the cikawasays suggest that a patient change his or her name in order to avoid encountering a streak of bad luck and affliction. That is, if the kawas is looking specifically to afflict that person, that person will not be so easily found since his or her name is no longer the name the kawas assumes it to be.

For example, I once observed a situation where a family’s young child cried continuously for several days. The child’s parents assumed that the kawas had taken the child’s soul away and so they sought the cikawasays for a healing ritual to summon the child’s soul back to the child’s body. During the ritual, the cikawasays asked the parents what the Amis name of the child was but since the child had only a Chinese name, the cikawasays ascribed an Amis name to him. In this particular case, and usually in the case that the patient has no name, the cikawasays used the name cida, the sun, the cikawasays believe that this Amis name acts as a treatment that bestows strength for rejuvenation because the Amis believe they are descendents of the sun. Also, by giving the child a vernacular name, the health of the child is
ensured since the child is then under ancestors’ protection.

The Cikawasay Calling

There is a legend about the origin of the cikawasay in the Amis society:

In ancient times, a kawas or descended to the earth from the sky and told the Amis people that he was called Vasonihar (spirit of well-being). He came to the world with the purpose of eliminating misfortune and giving luck and peacefulness to the people. He also was called Sapalgaw-Cikawasay (the ancestor of cikawasay). Therefore, he set up the institution of the Cikawasay on the earth to continue his duty.

Huang, 1991, p170

Etymologically, the term cikawasay can be decoded as follows: ci is the definite article; kawas refers to sprits, ghosts, or gods; ay refers to man (Mulu, 1995; Huang, 1991). Generally, the characteristics of the cikawasays are able to possess the spirit of power and the capacity for controlling spirits. A person is called to the cikawasay by way of a selective process that is initiated when one’s soul is taken away by the kawas or a household ancestor, or when the kawas appear in one’s dream. As a result of this calling, the selected person suffers a particular bodily affliction.

The affliction induced by the kawas may or may not relate to the cikawasay calling, and so only with the aid of a helpful spirit, senior members of the cikawasay may practise the appropriate healing ritual that will determine and confirm whether the victim’s symptoms are in fact the result of a cikawasay calling. If the affliction is confirmed as being the consequence of the calling, the person suffering the affliction must then accept the kawas vocation and become a member of the cikawasay, thereby releasing him/herself from whatever bodily torment was inflicted. After the candidate has recovered and is willing to join the group, he/she enters the group as a neophyte and is then given a cikawasay name by senior members. The
name given is based on which kawas caused the neophyte to be afflicted. For example, Sera of the cikawasays is called lalevuhan whom is the spirit fire kawas, and whom consequently caused Sera to suffer from a festering skin disease. The cikawasay's spirit name is used only during the ritual process and cannot be used in everyday life. Sera told me how she became a member of the cikawasay:

When I was about three years old, I suffered from a festering skin disease. The disease was healed by Gamaya several times until I was ten years old. During the period of healing, I participated in the cikawasay rituals while Gamaya carried me on her back. Through the healing and participation in the ritual, the skin disease was controlled, and I gradually recovered from the affliction. Gamaya told me I was possessed by my dead father (he was a cikawasay), and that he had selected me to succeed in his profession.

Fieldnotes, 14 March 1998

Another example, I was told by one of the female cikawasays that her calling was in the form of a dream. She had dreamt of her deceased father, also a cikawasay, who told her that he was suffering from hunger in the kawas world. Her deceased father had asked her to hold a ritual in his honour, worshipping and making offerings to him. After the ritual however, she felt uncomfortable, and the condition of her body degenerated despite the help of modern medicine. Her health did not improve and so she decided to seek senior members of the cikawasay for a cure. Once the healing ritual was completed, she recovered from her illness and joined the group. Today, she is the only member in her group to have been called by way of a dream. As for the other members of the Lidow cikawasay, their calling was initiated by the imprisoning of their soul by the kawas in conjunction with their bodily torment. Cangla, one of the neophytes, described to me how she joined the group:

I had been suffering from an uncontrollable shaking of my legs for over two years. In the beginning stage of the adada, I went to see a doctor to take a medical treatment to cure the adada. It seemed that the painful
condition was gradually improving. However, the adada still happened from time to time. Sometimes, I used my arms to grip the shaky legs but it was fruitless. I was concerned that I was possessed by the kawas, which may have been because of my dead father (who used to be a cikawasay). I doubted such a situation could happen to me so I tried to resist it and fought against the spiritual power of the kawas as much as I could. I did not want to join the cikawasay because I had to obey many prohibitions in everyday life and it would have been bothersome. Until the day of the ritual of daladuas (village ancestors worship) I participated in the ritual with the villagers and stood at one side of the main road to observe the cikawasays' journey. Suddenly, my legs began to shake violently and I was unable to stand. My sisters helped me to sustain my body and brought me home to rest. The shaking, however, was much worse than before and so I decided to seek Gamaya to cure the adada. After mipohpoh (the healing ritual), my legs stopped shaking and I was exhausted. Gamaya told me I was chosen by my dead father to succeed his cikawasay career in order to worship his kawas, otherwise he would continue to suffer from hunger in the kawas world. The illness that overtook me on this specific day was the sign of the kawas vocation. I was fated to become the cikawasay. I asked myself why my dead father chose me...maybe because on all of my father's side of the family I am the only one who is not a Christian.

Fieldnotes, 27 February, 1998

It is evident that one such way of recruiting the cikawasay is that of hereditary transmission.7 Types of symptoms given to those who will become a cikawasay vary. Afflictions include: headache, baldness, skin disease, foot pain, waist and backache, and an accelerated heartbeat.8 Once the neophyte is initiated into the group, he/she must learn how to obtain the cikawasay power in order to heal others and practise various rituals. The neophyte's method of learning does not include questioning senior members, rather, observation of the cikawasay taboos and active participation in various rituals that are carried out in detail.

Taboos, as described to me by senior members, include being prohibited from eating onion, garlic, sheep, chicken, rabbit, and fox. The cikawasays
particularly disapprove of consuming foods with onion or garlic—and are even displeased by the scent of those who do consume these foods, since they believe that the *kawas* do not like these flavours. If the *cikawasays* accidentally come in contact with such foods, the *kawas* will be displeased and consequently will bring misfortune. During ritual periods, such as the *mirecuk*, *cikawasays* are prohibited from eating fruits, vegetables, and fish, and are not allowed to have sexual contact with his or her spouse. At this time, he/she cannot touch water, take a long trip, or eat food outside of his/her household. These taboos are means to bodily purification. The *cikawasays* vocation is accepted ultimately by choice—that of the *kawas* afflicting the candidate, and that of the candidate who then must seek out senior *cikawasays* to remedy his/herself desires to be truly healed. Once the candidate becomes a member of the group, he/she is required to follow the new rule of life.

The Hierarchical Institution within the *Cikawasays* Organisation

In Lidow, the *cikawasays* are hierarchically categorised into four ranks. The highest rank is titled *sakakaai no aisidan*; males in the second and third highest are titled as *aisidan* and females are titled as *kursud*; and the lowest rank is referred to as *sudai* (Tang, 1957 p 42; Mulu, 1995 p 62). Members of the lower ranking groups refer to those in the highest-ranking group as their fathers and mothers, *wama* and *wina* respectively. Conversely, those in the highest-ranking group refer to all those under them as their *vinasuwans*, or children. Such family-like relationships are established when those of the *sakakaai no aisidan* cure new members of their illnesses, thus, saving their lives and forming bonds that are the metaphorical bonds of parent and child. Within the ranks themselves, members regard each other as sisters and brothers. Such relationships unite the members forming a single cohesive organisation.
Members of each rank have different responsibilities and roles to perform. The *sudai*, or *neophyte*, role is one of following the senior *cikawasays*—learning and practising the rituals. *Kursud* and *aisidan* have the capabilities to heal patients and serve as assistants to help senior *cikawasays* prepare and carry ritual objects. Besides possessing the ability to heal, *sakakaai no aisidan* also have visionary abilities to see and communicate with the *kawas*. These members also possess a wealth of knowledge pertaining to ritual words, movement, and song, and have mastered the calling of the various *kawas’* names from different spatial orientations.

There are four factors involved in the promotion from lower ranks to higher ranks within the *cikawasays* institution. Seniority is one such factor. Sera, the youngest *cikawasay* for example, is 42 years old and has been with the group since she was the age of three. She has thirty-nine years seniority over Cangla, who is 58 years old. This is because Cangla has only been with the group since 1996. During rituals, Sera is entitled to invoke the *kawas* to descend on earth so that she may lead the junior members of the entire group on a journey into the kawas world. Cangla, in contrast, must follow Sera with the rest of the junior members when practising and observing rituals.

Earlier I had described how the Lidow village’s age-set system for men used age as the basis for differentiating the roles of group members and for determining one’s hierarchical status; that, in the men’s age-set system, younger members unconditionally accept orders and criticism from older members. The life course of a man then, in terms of his social identity and obligation, is found within the age-set system—one’s life course is identical to the cyclical patterns of the age-set system.

The hierarchy of the *cikawasays* institution, however, does not base status on age. Instead, the *cikawasays* hierarchy determines members’ roles and responsibilities based wholly on a member’s seniority.
The second factor in promoting members to a higher rank is an increase in the member's power as a cikawasay. Sudai are incapable of conducting healing rituals, but under the instruction of senior members if after four years the sudai member's power is observed to have increased, they may be promoted to kursud. By observing how a sudai member practises a ritual, a senior member can judge the degree of power the sudai member possesses. Their visionary abilities are proven to be considerably better if the sudai member perceives the kawas and if he/she can see the rice seeds within the ritual offerings. If in fact the sudai member's power has increased, they are then allowed to practise healing rituals. Five or six years later, that member may be promoted to the aisidan rank depending on whether or not the candidate is proficient in the healing ritual. Members in the aisidan can officiate healing rituals to cure patients suffering from various serious illnesses, and the female members may serve as midwives.

I was told by senior members of the cikawasay, that one way of increasing the cikawasay power is to possess the ability to control many different kawas' characters. This is achieved by falling ill several times within one's lifetime as the result of the kawas or duas (ancestral spirits). Gamaya told me how she increased her cikawasay power:

When I was two years old, I participated in the patingdah rite (an initiation rite) held by a senior cikawasay in order to obtain protection from the kawas and to ensure my health condition. After the rite, however, I was still sick and needed to be cured by the cikawasays until I was fifteen. Then my afflicted body gradually recovered. Such a situation was not the case for those other children who had participated in the patingdah and suffered an illness caused by kawas. For me, I considered this a process induced by my ancestors and was my karma that I was fated to succeed in the cikawasay profession. When I officially became a cikawasay, I underwent several adada. I considered this to be a good sign that the kawas would protect my family's well being. I also felt that the more
sickness I had, the more the cikawasay's power increased.

Fieldnotes, 19 October, 1998

For Gamaya, adada becomes an important way to increase more chances to interact with the kawas and results in strengthening her spirit power.

Besides this, it is important to note that one may not necessarily be promoted by virtue of accumulating seniority. Some members of the cikawasay may join the group and after ten years may still remain a sudai. An instance like this would be the case if that member possessed few kawas and lacked the power to cure patients. Thus, the power of the cikawasay must be taken into account when promotion is considered. When the cikawasay's power is stronger, the member's chances of dreaming of the kawas is more likely and a sense of capability when holding the cikawasays' rituals is instilled because his/her knowledge of rituals is enriched. That is, the member's knowledge is more complete since is able to perform the ritual songs, movements, and can articulate the names of the kawas from the different special directions.

The third factor involved in upgrading a cikawasay's status is the member's manner in participation during rituals. Devi, a kursud, for instance, shows her dedication by actively participating during rituals. Senior members observe Devi's manner and offer her many chances to officiate so that they may test her spirit power. The fourth factor is one's humility. Sera, has been with the group for over 39 years yet, she rarely refers to herself as wina and humbly accepts esteem from the junior members.

The right of decision-making and promotion is not inherently possessed by the senior members. Instead, it is transmitted through the kawas to the senior members who then officiate the rite of passage, or bavavui (the rite of killing a pig), on behalf of the candidate. In short, the factors involved in the decision to promote a
member are: 1) seniority, 2) possessing various characters of the kawas, 3) active participation in the rituals, and 4) modesty.

A member of the cikawasay cannot abandon the role without giving a reasonable explanation. Otherwise, he/she will be stricken with a serious illness, which will threaten his/her life and possibly result in death. Perhaps this is because the cikawasays' obligations extend to that of observing taboos. The cikawasays are required to hold rituals for individual households at the request of the family and for the entire village. If a cikawasay refuses to host such rituals, the kawas will bring sickness to the cikawasay. And so, to prevent such an outcome, and for the benefit of the entire village, the cikawasays help those who are in need of their assistance.

Today, the group composed of thirteen members include one male and twelve females. I was told by Gamaya, there were another five male members in the group about ten years ago. Those five male members, however, were impossible to regularly participate in the cikawasays' rituals in that they have to work outside village in order to provide finical needs for their families. Due to encountering the family's economic situation in their life, the five male cikawasays were allowed to withdraw from the group and discharge the responsibility for practising the rituals. The reason why the only male member still stays in the group is that he is the jobless and uses opportunities of parctising the rituals to receive foods from hosts of households. The followings introduce the name and ranking of each member.

Dibus gamaya belongs to the rank of sakakaai no aisdan. Cuis parata and Sera ngigui belong to the rank of aisdan. Devi dubau, Ebah havai, Abi visai, and Vunga valah (male) belong to the rank of kursud. Lisin parata, Lisin ribun, Dibus vudin, Dibus lala, and Cangla daliph belong to the rank of sudai (for detailed information for each member of the cikawasay, see figure 6). Most members within the group have a kinship relationship, such as sister, sister and brother, mother-in-law
### Information of each member of the cikawasay in 1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Cikawasay's name</th>
<th>Amis' Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sakakaai nu aisidan</td>
<td>Sasabayan</td>
<td>Dibus Gamaya</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rarengyan</td>
<td>Cuis Parata</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lalevuhan</td>
<td>Sera Ngigui</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aisidan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansorai</td>
<td>Abi Visai</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasabayan</td>
<td>Devi Duban</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saragadau</td>
<td>Ebah Havai</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kursud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magagudul</td>
<td>Lisin Parata</td>
<td>70</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madaingul</td>
<td>Lisin Ribun</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudai</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusiyau</td>
<td>Dibus Vudin</td>
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<td>Female</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magagudul</td>
<td>Dibus Rara</td>
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<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madaingul</td>
<td>Cangla Daliph</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A formal Amis name is composed of a nickname and a last name, for example, Dibus is last name and Gamaya is the nickname.
and daughter-in-law, brother-in-law and sister-in-law. Such relationship unites these members together as a cohesive group.

The Cikawasay Ritual Objects

There are ritual objects commonly used in all types of Amis rituals. They include: lingawalai (rice wine), selen (sticky rice cakes), harakihak (sticky rice), dayu (betel-nut), haidab (leaf of betel-nut), dewas (a male vessel), sivanuhai (a female vessel), and vudug (a circular jar) (Figure 7). A dewas represents male kawas, and a sivanuhai represents female kawas. In the mirecuk, most kawas include both different sexes, thus both ritual vessels are used to represent and symbolise both sexes of the kawas. The dewas, however, is used solely, for example, to the worship of the sasululan (the fishing spirits protect the Amis men who go fishing safely) in the mirecuk. In the ritual, both vessels filled with a small amount of rice wine are used as an offering to attract the kawas to descend on the place of the ritual. The consumable offerings should be fresh so as to show respect for the kawas and should be placed on top of a banana leaf. In particular rituals, the kawas are worshipped using specific ritual objects that are the material representations of the kawas. In the mirecuk for example, when the cikawasays worship the bikup (deer) kawas, a tiny deer horn along with sivanuhai are placed in the ritual area symbolising the kawas. In worshipping madaingu (the sun spirits), senior members of the cikawasay wear a red apron, a scarf around their head, and red clothes to symbolise the colour of the sun kawas.

This chapter illustrates the geographical location of the village of Lidow, the social organisation of the village, its traditional beliefs and the institution of the cikawasays. The Amis concept of soul, illness and dream are the primary cultural factors in relation to the cikawasay calling.
Figure 7: The ritual objects

The objects include three plates, five stick cakes, five bottles of rice wine, bunches of ginger leaves, bunches of betel-nuts, one *dewas*, one *sivanuhai*, one banana’s leaf and a bow filled with a piece of cooked pork.
Moreover, the concept of the *kawas* is the central subject of the *cikawasays'* beliefs. The following chapter will describe in further detail, the process of *mirecuk* and will depict how the *cikawasays* execute the ritual movements, which are accompanied by singing and chanting. Also, a discussion on the ritual spatial orientations of the *mirecuk* will elaborate on how ritual movements are needed to establish a relationship with the *kawas*.
1. Taiwan is also known as Formosa—a beautiful island. It lies between Japan and the Philippines, situated off the southeastern coast of Mainland China, separated from Fukien province by the Taiwan Strait. It is a small island approximately 246 miles long from north to south and 90 miles wide at its broadest point from west to east. It is known as a mountainous country; nearly two-thirds of the island is mountainous. Geographically, Taiwan has six distinct regions: 1) the northern mountains, 2) the northern foothills and basins, 3) the western foothills and plains, 4) the southern foothills and plains, 5) the central mountain range, and 6) the eastern mountains and basins. The central mountain range stretches from north to south and is important ethnologically because it is believed by many indigenous people to be their ancestral home.

2. Systematic classifications for the Taiwanese indigenous people by scholars began in 1809. According to linguistics, material cultural, mythology, physical-type, and religion, the number of divisions ranges from three to ten. The most widely accepted classification, adopted by the Institute of Ethnology-Academia Sinica, divides the indigenous people into nine tribes: 1) Atayal(泰雅族) 2) Saisiat(賽夏族) 3) Bunun(布農族) 4) Tsou(鄒族) 5) Rukai(魯凱族) 6) Paiwan (排灣族) 7) Puyuma(卑南族) 8) Amis (阿美族)

3. *hsiang* is a local administrative, territorial unit under the county government and *ts' un* is the component unit of a *hsiang*.

4. The Amis eat *hakhak* and *doron* during the harvest festival, wedding and funeral and present both foods as offerings to worship their ancestors. Since both foods are made by millet and amounts of harvest of millet are very few, the Amis make the foods only for these occasions.

5. During the festival period, the men's age-set will get together for group hunting, fishing, dancing and eating. A great part of the foodstuff and labour for the common activities during the ritual period are gathered through the men's organisation.

6. I was told by the senior *cikawasays* that when one dreams his/her ancestors, his/her soul may follow the ancestors to journey in the *kawas* world.
7. The inheritance of the cikawasay's calling for the candidate from his/her dead father is not the only case in Lidow. Some senior members (Lisin and Dibus, for examples) have inherited the calling from their dead mothers (who were the cikawasays).

8. There are several literatures on shamanism which describes the shamanic calling come during some great misfortune, dangerous and protracted illness. For example, in his book, *Shamanism: Archaic techniques of ecstasy* (1964, p 33) Eliade describes that pathological sickness, dreams, and ecstasies are the means to reach the condition of shaman. Lewis (1971, p 60) states that shamans are summons by dreams and visions to their calling is by no means the universal pattern of recruitment. Kendall (1996, p 21) describes that Korea shamans draw legitimacy from personal histories of affliction, constructed as evidence of a calling.

9. Gamaya told me that when the kawas appeared in her dream, the kawas taught her ritual songs and dances
Chapter 4

Description of the Mirecuk

The focus of this chapter is on the description of the mirecuk ritual process. Prefacing this description, the notion of ritual space—in terms of its inseparable relationship with the concept of the kawas, must be introduced.

The ritual space

The notion of ritual space is derived from the already present concept of space in Amis everyday life. In the Amis mythology, edib (the east) is believed to be the dwelling place of the sun, which is the forbearer of the people. The front door of each household then, customarily faces east so as to protect the people’s lives and property from the sun. Baruvuan (the northeast) in a household is the place where only the females are allowed to enter and is where female ritual potteries (sivanuhai) are stored.1 In the village of Lidow, male entry into baruvuan is restricted. Cacalaan (the southwest), is a place where animals’ jaw bones (calal) are stored. According to the elders, after hunting, the men store the animals’ jaws on the davad (the shelf of skulls), and worship the dead animals’ souls while facing the southwest direction. Bavudingan (the northwest) is the action of hanging up one’s fishing nets towards a northwesterly direction after fishing. The latter two directions belong to males in contrast with baruvuan, which belongs to females. Basaaigan (the southeast) is the action of placing—or a place designated for, a broom (saaig). This direction is acknowledged when a new house is built. On such an occasion, elders in the family of the new household ask the cikawasays to perform the ritual of exorcism (miasik) in their new home. The cikawasays use brooms made of leaves of the betel-nut to brush the inner room of the new house, thus expelling malevolent
spirits. After having purified the house, they throw the brooms towards the southeast direction of the living room to collect spirit pollutants in one area.

In the mirecuk, these five directions along with: the north (amis), the south (dimul), the west (wail), the sky and the underworld, are woven together into ten kawas spatial orientations. Kawas, in terms of the mirecuk, is a collective noun which denotes three different subjects: duas, the spirits of dead family members and ancestors; the haidan, guardian spirits who bring illness to the cikawasays and the villagers; and the salaavan, who are the dead peoples outside Amis society (Mulu, 1995, p 12). These three types of kawas dwell at different spatial orientations: the duas inhabit the south, the haidan are scattered inhabiting all directions, and the salaavan inhabit the north. Besides this, the other kinds of kawas dwell in the various spatial orientations described briefly as follows:

Basaedib (the west):
1) Gagacawan nu Wungai (the monkey spirits)
2) Saragadau (the ladder and bridge spirits)
3) Mayumayun (the growth spirits)

Basacacalaan (the southwest):
1) Anavuyan (the twined hair spirits)
2) Miriyuarn (the rotating plates spirits)

Basadimul (the south):
1) Raruguran (the life spirits)
2) Daniyuran (the spinning spirits)
3) Magagudul nu Rinubas (the lifting rice spirits)
4) Gagacawan nu Vavaliyuan (carrying a basket on the back spirits)
5) Gagacawan nu Masidug (the sore throat spirits)
6) Rinmai (the bird spirits) including Avad Wuvad (the femalebird spirits) and Vudun
Rinmai (the male bird spirits)

**Basasigan** (the southeast):

1) Dusiuau (the spring water spirits)
2) Cingacingau (the bell spirits)
3) Raringaran (the copper bell male spirits)
4) Rarengayan (the copper bell female spirits)
5) Vedeliyan (the lightning spirits)
6) Magengen (the thunder spirits)

**Basawai** (the east):

1) Sasabayan (the moss spirits)
2) Madaingu (the sun female spirits)
3) Mamuyuyan (the sun male spirits)
4) Maroyan (the sea spirits)

**Baruvoan** (the northeast):

1) Sasululan (the fishing spirits)
2) Harharai nu Cida (the sun rise spirits)
3) Lalevungan nu Cida (the sun set spirits)
4) Vedagai nu Cida (the explosion spirits)
5) Lamugai nu Cida (the burnt sand spirits)

**Basaamis** (the north):

1) Magagudul Du Dunsu (the female spinning spirits)
2) Daniyuran (the male spinning spirits)
3) Lalevuhan (the fire spirits)
4) Ladladaan (the knife spirits)
5) Adundun (the cutting off tongue spirits)
6) Madadegi (the chopstick spirits)
7) Madadais (the weaving spirits)
8) Dadugaran (the knife and ladder spirits)
9) Langusudan (the bloody nose spirits)
10) Ansorai (the aborigine knife spirits)

Bavdingan (the north-west):
1) Vavuduan (the stolen wine spirits)
2) Gagaidaan nu Maruebah (the wine making spirits)
3) Gagidaan nu Mayah (the pottery making spirits)
4) Gagidaan nu Maruerau (the rice wine making spirits)

Basagudul (the sky):
1) Magagudul nu Nirubas (the female eagle spirits)
2) Ansoria Bagawau (the male eagle spirits)
3) Ansoria Dusiyai (the male snake spirits)
4) Sabansul nu Guwau (the female baby eagle spirits)
5) Ansoria Malubalan (the male baby eagle spirits)

Basasasa (the underworld):
1) Malalenu (the underworld spirits)

The distinctive characteristics of the various kawas can be recognised in their specific powers, when inflicting certain types of bodily pain on their victims. The following description explains in which ways the kawas power relates to the Amis people’s lives.

Gagacawan nu Wungai (the monkey spirits) cause victims to suffer from itchy skin. Sarargadau (the ladder and bridge spirits) possess a spirit bridge, which is made of boards and resembles the form of a ladder. Like a ladder, there are gaps between each “rung”. When the soul of a person possessed by this kawas travels upon the ladder with the kawas in the kawas world, he/she may fall into a gap,
consequently resulting in an injury of the leg. When a victim suffers such an
affliction, he/she must be healed by the senior cikawasays. After recovering, the
victim worships this kawas to prevent the reoccurrence of such physical torment.

Mayumayun (the growth spirits) are also referred to as Wuicebiceban in the
vernacular (iceb refers to betel-nut which is one of the Amis’s staples). Mayumayun
oversee not only the growth of the betel-nut trees but also the growth of humans,
animals, and plants.

Ananvuyan (the twined hair spirits) are the female kawas who use their long,
curly hair to twine victims’ necks causing their victims to suffer from a sore throat.

At the beginning of mirecuk, the junior cikawasays use their forefingers to
rotate a plate placed on top of a jar, symbolising the swirling of the Miriyuran (the
rotated plates spirits). The word riyur has the meaning of swirling. The act of
symbolising this kawas has two important meanings: it is to call all kawas to descend
to the plate, and it is to prevent the junior members from suffering from dizziness
during the ritual.

Gagacawan nu Vavaliyuan (carrying a basket on the back spirits) are the
spirits of the Taluku tribe—another of Taiwan’s aboriginal tribes. Their character as
spirits is such that these kawas are said to carry a traditional Taluku basket on their
back containing flaxen threads and a rotten pumpkin. These kawas cause their
victims to have a sore waist and an aching back. The cikawasays believe that
worshiping Gagacawan nu Vavaliyuan can cure this type of illness.

Rinmai (the bird spirits) includes Avad Wuvad (the female bird spirits) and
Vudun Rinmai (the male bird spirits). They are husband and wife, governing all
species of birds. In the mirecuk, the members of the cikawasay consider themselves,
metaphorically, as birds flying into the realm of the kawas thus beginning the ritual.

Raruguran (the life spirits) appear in one’s dreams in the form of a bamboo
fence, the length of which is determined by the *Raruguran*. These *kawas* decide upon whether one's life is long or short.

*Dusiyau* (the spring water spirits) are the female spirits of the Taluku tribe who play Jew's Harps. When the *cikawasays* pass through the place of *dusiyau*, spring water gushes forth from the dwelling of these *kawas*, creating a delightful atmosphere.

*Cingacingau* (the bell spirits), *Raringaran* (the male copper bell spirits), *Rarengayan* (the female copper bell spirits), and *Magengen* (the thunder spirits) induce various illnesses of the ears including even deafness.

*Vedeliyan* (the lightning spirits) cause their victims dim eyesight.

*Sasabayan's* (the moss spirits) dwelling is covered with mossy rocks so as to make the spirit roads in this place slippery. The roads may cause one's soul to fall down when travelling upon and so, the soul therefore walks in an attentive manner while in the *Sasabayan's* realm. This *kawas* causes the victim's legs to feel like jelly.

*Ma daingu* (the female sun spirits) and *Mamuyuyan* (the male sun spirits) are husband and wife who cause their victims to suffer from sunstroke.

*Sasululan* (the fishing spirits) are the guardian *kawas* of the Amis male fishermen whom bless those who can catch an abundance of fish and return home from safely.

*Harharai nu Cida* (the sun rise spirits), *Lalevungan nu Cida* (the sun set spirits), *Vedagai nu Cida* (the explosion spirits), and *Lamugai nu Cida* (the burnt sand spirits) inflict headache and fever on their victims.

*Ladladaan* (the knife spirits), *Adundun* (the cutting off tongue spirits), *Dadugaran* (the knife and ladder spirits), and *Langusudan* (the bloody nose spirits) are *kawas* within the belief system of the Taiwanese shamans but are recognised by
the cikawasays as well. These kawas cause the body to suffer from knife wounds.

Ansoria Dusiyal (the snake spirits) have their origins in the belief system of the Amis people in Fan-Ping village. Once Vunga valah (a senior male cikawasay from Fan-Ping) married a wife in Lidow, worship of the snake kawas was introduced to Lidow, since the traditional Amis institution of family is matrilocal. Ansoria Dusiyal cause dizziness to patients who cannot stably stand.

Gagacawan nu Masidu (the itchy throat spirits) inhabit a spirit woodland. In this place, there are many small hairs which grow on the surfaces of the trees. If victims casually touch these trees, the hairs fall on the victims thus inducing itchy throats.

Malalenu are the underworld kawas. Len refers to the underworld in the Amis vernacular. Malalenu are considered by the cikawasays as the highest deity, dwelling in the inner core of the underworld.

The above descriptions of the individual characteristics of the kawas also reveal that the kawas have gender differences, which are identifiable by their names. Gagacawan refers to male spirits and Magagudul refers to female spirits. Some of the kawas, however, are only of a single sex as, for example, Adundun and Ansoria represent all male spirits. Adundun, nevertheless, refer not to an individual spirit but is a collective term representing three different kawas characters: Adundun (the cutting off tongue spirits), Dadugaran (the knife and ladder spirits), and Ansoria (the aboriginal knife spirits). That is, Adundun refers to those kawas related to the knife. Ansoria, not only refers to the aboriginal Knife kawas, but also to the male Eagle kawas in the mirecuk.

Recognisably so, the characters of the kawas possess a complex nature in terms of their relation with the mirecuk (which will be discussed in greater detail in latter sections), illnesses, myths, legends of the tribe, and the lives of the Amis
The ritual of mirecuk

The ritual of mirecuk is comprised of three stages: the pre-stage of the ritual, the ritual itself, and the post-stage. The pre-stage of the mirecuk is the rite of malialac\(^2\) (eating fish) which, takes place three days before the mirecuk. Following the malialac is the mirecuk and then the activities of the post-stage, including the rites of dalawumah (collecting raw vegetables), dara madadingu (collecting sea-shells), and malavi (eating the last dinner).

The rite of malialac is a transitional stage for the members whereupon completion is the beginning of a dietary period. During this period, the members must abstain from certain foods (they only eat pork, ginger and beans). After the rite of malialac, the eating of fish is forbidden until the rite of midiwai which, is the rite of beginning to plant millet (held in the beginning of December). Between the malialac and mirecuk, there are three days for the cikawasays use to discuss the ritual schedule and to finalise which day is suitable for every member to hold the mirecuk in his/her household. During this interval, some of the members suffer certain types of illness induced by the kawas. Symptoms of the afflictions experienced by the cikawasays include stabbing pains in their legs and physical exhaustion. In addition to this, a general feeling of anticipation is common among the members. Sera told me that when the day of holding the mirecuk was approaching, she was quite looking forward to participating in it and even had a strong motive to walk on the lalan (the spirit roads). When she was a junior member, she told me at a particular time of the year the senior cikawasays advised her that she could begin harvesting ginger. This statement implied that the time of holding the mirecuk is near, since ginger is one of the main ritual objects used to purify the cikawasays' bodies.
Lisin, another of the junior member, told me that many of her dreams were related to the world of the kawas when it was soon time for the mirecuk. Also, she felt her physical condition gradually weakening during this interval prior to the mirecuk. So then, bodily affliction, dreams of a certain nature, the harvesting of ginger, and anticipation in the form of a strong motivation to perform the ritual, act as reminders to inform the cikawasays that the mirecuk is fast approaching. Furthermore, with practising the rule of food restrictions, the cikawasays are able to locate themselves in a state of "preparedness" and are thus found ready to enter progressively into the time of the forthcoming ritual.

The day before the mirecuk, the family of each cikawasay assists him/her to prepare ritual containers and food stored private places (in order to avoid contact with non-ritual objects). The cikawasays believe that the kawas can even smell "unclean" ritual containers and "unclean" food. If this were to happen and the kawas detect any unclean aspects of the ritual, the kawas will cause the progress of the ritual to proceed unsmoothly. Thus it becomes an important matter that all families involved in the ritual's preparations are diligent in their efforts to keep the ritual objects untainted.

The ritual process itself

According to Gamaya, there is no specific vernacular word related to the term mirecuk. Based on the context of the ritual, however, the term can be explained as "one after another" since it is a one-day ritual held successively in each of the cikawasay members' households, at which the same ritual procedures are performed. According to Mulu (1995, p 15), the essential meaning of the ritual is to worship duas—that is, dead family members such as dead fathers, mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers and so on, as well as the kawas.
On the day of the ritual, the female cikawasay members wear a traditional black costume of a long skirt made of a piece of square cloth wrapped around the waist, and a long sleeved jacket. Their hair is twisted into a bun at the back of the head and a bunch of ginger flowers is inserted into the bun as a headdress. They carry an aluvu (a white haversack, see figure 8) in order containing rice wine and ginger. Leggings are tied around the calves with small strings. For a male cikawasay, he wears a white head-towel around his head, a traditional dance skirt and ties a cotton-belt around his waist. After dressing up, they set out to one of the cikawasays’ households to participate in the mirecuk. On arrival, the members take their shoes off before entering the living room of the household so as to practise the ritual in bare feet.

In the living room the members sit in a circle, they are positioned according to their rank and seniority in the group. Gamaya is the highest rank of the members and her sitting position is located in the middle of the circle (figure 9). The senior members, descending in rank, position themselves at the right hand side of Gamaya. In contrast, the juniors position themselves at the left hand side of Gamaya accordingly. Before the ritual officially begins, the members are free to chat with each other, creating a relaxed atmosphere. The subject of chatting usually pertains to the family affairs of the host and reminiscences of many interesting experiences derived from the members’ interactions with the host’s family. To better illustrate the ritual I shall recount that which I have witnessed. The following description of the ritual process focuses on the household of Gamaya.

The day of the ritual is held at Gamaya’s household where the members recall Gamaya’s dead husband who had a good sense of humour and often joked with the members bringing the cikawasays a lot of fun. They also talk about a close
Figure 8: the *aluvu*.

Figure 9: The sitting positions of the members in the group circle.
relative of Gamaya who did not participate in the ritual last year without a reason. They criticise this relative who was not concerned about the ritual and failed to show her support for Gamaya’s family. The light conversation carries on until Gamaya nods her head toward the rest of the members indicating that the ritual shall begin. In other words, there is no specific articulated time to commence the ritual. The activity of chatting among the members serves as a form of “warming up”, to some extent, gradually bringing together the members in preparation of entering a state of the mirecuk.

*Mavuhegad, the first phase of the mirecuk*

*Mavuhegad* (notifying the *kawas* that the ritual has begun) is composed of five sub-rites. These sub-rites are held in the living room of Gamaya’s household. The first sub-rite is *malingadu*, the opening. In this rite, the members stand up from their sitting positions and Gamaya, the host of the ritual, faces south and initiates the *cikai* (leg movement) and *luku* (singing and speaking) in the group circle (figure 10). One of the singing styles in the ritual is call and response: Gamaya sings a longer melody and the other members all respond with the same short phrase. Once the singing has begun, the *cikawasays* begin to execute movements. They step side to side firmly and continuously in place while their body weight is slightly shifted from one leg to the other (figure 11). The quality of the movement is expressed in a controlled manner. Without linking hands, their arms slightly yet gently swing back and forth through the air. They gaze on the offerings placed in the centre of the group circle. In this sub-rite, Gamaya’s singing is a way of invoking the *kawas* to descend from all spatial directions, informing them that the ritual has begun. Through invocation, Gamaya also seeks protection for the group during the ritual, and blessings so that the ritual courses of action progress smoothly without obstruction.
Figure 10: Gamaya faces the direction of the south in the group circle.

Figure 11: The movement notation for stepping style
The contents of the song are transcribed as follows:

Lugui yaca haidan  The spirits! Let us sing together one more time
Baveli du hemai adu icebiceb du kawas  The spirits! Here is the sticky rice and the betel-nuts
Luku hau hidan  Friends, shall we sing together?
Bilugudu hau idan  Come friends, let us sing
O gadi gadi yaca  Please, spirits come
Yoseli selicadau  Please, spirits descend to the ritual place
Bilegalau  Father! the spirit of hunting birds, Bilegalau and Dadaduiy
Ina au magagudul  Mother! Magagudul
Cigudul nu rinubas  The Lifting Rice spirit
Amaau Cingacingau  Father! the Bell spirit
A gadi gadi yaca  Please spirits come
Vurasi den gami yama  Father! release the calay to us
Miciuwa gu Sagusan  The spirit has the power to give ciwa
Idini gu ragadu  We are walking now
Ibanah nu aisidan  Here is the rank of Aisidan
Ibanah no vurasid  Please release the spirit roads to us
Hunuiien gu ami hunui  Kawas, please carry the cikawasay on your back
Gidinen du hanaca  Kawas, please guide us
Ama Adundun  Father! Adundun

(Mulu, 1995 pp. 312-314) (My translation)

_Balalan_, the second sub-rite, invokes the _kawas_ to deliver the _calay_ (the spirit thread) to the members so that with it, the _cikawasays_ will be guided and will not lose their orientation during the spirit journey. In this rite, Gamaya raises her arms toward Place High, calling the _kawas_ to deliver the _calay_ to the members while executing in place side-to-side stepping. As a way of establishing its existence in the earthly realm, Gamaya pinches the _calay_ between her thumb and forefinger (figure 12). After which she chants _kalimakimai_ (hand), gesturing with the spreading of her arms for the others to accept the carefully distributed the _calay_. The group gently move their fingers in response to receive the _calay_. Gamaya then chants _calukucuku_ (foot) and again distributes the _calay_ to those whose legs are slightly lifted in the air, by drawing a small circle in the air so as to wrap the _calay_.

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around their feet. Then the calay is distributed to all the members. When distributing the calay, Gamaya chants vurasid (spreading) and the members bend their upper torsos forward slightly, executing a movement in which the arms glide downward as if to encompass the body with the calay. Following this is the next rite.

Daniyur, the third sub-rite, is the worshipping of the spinning kawas. Before the rite begins, Gamaya’s eldest daughter brings the prepared offerings and ritual utensils to the senior cikawasays who properly arrange these objects within the group circle. The objects include: three shallow bamboo baskets (dahega) filled with sticky rice (selen), betel-nuts (daya), leaves of the betel-nut tree (haidab), five bottles of rice wine (lingawalai), a round vessel (vudug), a female vessel (sihvanuhai), a male vessel (dewas), a plate (kariyas), and a bunch of ginger leaves (cadamicam). Gamaya then blends some sticky rice and ginger on the plate with a little rice wine. Once the offerings have been presented thus, the rite can commence.

At this time, the members sit on short stools forming a circle where, three junior members sit adjacently to each other and all of whom are on the left-hand side of Gamaya. These three members’ right forefingers touch the rim of the plate atop the vudug. Gamaya faces south, gazing at the offerings while singing. As she sings, the junior members rotate the plate slowly to the song’s rhythm. The other members join the worshipping by leaning their right arms on their right legs, listening to the singing while their torsos sway gently and their forefingers point towards the offerings (figure 13). After singing, Gamaya walks towards one of the junior members, lifts the junior’s right hand to her lips, and blows air from the junior’s fingertips into the arm. While blowing, Gamaya rubs the junior’s arm in order to prevent the arm from suffering paralysis when the junior interacts with the kawas.

Dawadawad, the fourth sub-rite, purifies the offerings. Gamaya invokes
Figure 12: Gamaya pinches the *calay*.

Figure 13: The group form in the rite of *daniyur*.
the *kawas* to bless the offerings. The words of the invocation are transcribed as follows:

- **Ado---ha ina**
  - The spirits!

- **Hau duman vai hau**
  - Those who are dead elders

- **Ira salunganai yaca ira gumi damdam mai**
  - The spirits, as you cure the people's illness, please remove pollutants of all kinds of food for the children

- **Ira madini gedami hau ami sirir**
  - Spirits, please use your hands to remove them

- **Ira madini gedami hau ami sirir**
  - We take the children to leave the spirit places

- **Ginaini gamu hau amariygami amaluiulina**
  - The spirits, please approach us and help my children

- **Ira girami wuidanidan**
  - We are like friends and let us harmoniously treat each other

- **Ira balugidinen sani galimagimai**
  - [The mother addresses the spirits] Later, let the children hold hands together

- **Hau ira dayu diniyan gerami hau**
  - There are plenty of betel-nuts

- **Hau haidan samanan samadai**
  - The spirits, do not awaken the children when they walk in the spirit road

- **Hau namudu girami gira mayumyun**
  - Here are your betel-nuts

- **Hau duman vai**
  - Those dead elders

- **Ira gemdama Ansoria ira**
  - The spirits! Ansoria is here

- **Ira damidaduai misuwarai damiyan mali idanidan**
  - You [the spirits] please speak to us

- **Ira balaaavaavangen han ansani basinsindeven**
  - Let our children be shoulder to shoulder to unify themselves

- **Ira basaliyuden ansani**
  - Later, the children will walk forward and backward on the spirit roads

- **Ira bidagauen naca diniya sabadavu**
  - Let the children ride on the back of pigs and tell the spirits that the pigs are your offerings

(Mulu 1995, pp. 379-380) (My translation)

When invoking the *kawas* to bless the offerings, Gamaya stands in place with her right hand holding the plate and her left hand placed on the head of the lowest ranking member. She gently sways her torso and moves the plate horizontally in a circular path (figure 14). This motion accompanies the invocation, and is as a way of wishing the *kawas* to bestow health upon those who eat the offerings. After the prayer, the members take turns eating portions, starting with the lowest ranking member to the highest ranking; this shared food must be finished. Some senior members even told me that the offerings tasted especially delicious since they were made by Gamaya and were mixed with the *calay*.

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Maranam, the fifth sub-rite, is having breakfast. The female members of the host’s family serve pork soup, pieces of ginger and sticky rice as the breakfast on this occasion (figure 15). Breakfast is the main meal for the cikawasays during the ritual of mirecuk. The host of the following day’s ritual is obligated to abstain from this rite, in the order of the dietary rule; this one-day fasting purifies the following day’s host member and displays the member’s sincerity to the kawas.

Barinama, the second phase of the mirecuk

This phase is divided into six, all of which are held in the living room of the house as well. The first sub-rite is the worshipping of barinmai (the eagle spirits). The group forms two parallel rows facing south. One of the members, of the kursub rank, is positioned in the centre of the front row; this member holds ritual offerings at waist height (figure 16). The cikawasays sing and execute a stepping movement: the right leg firmly steps forward and then steps backwards, while the left leg stays loosely in place and the torso sways slightly (figure 17). The execution of movement is repeated until the singing concludes.

Milimud du Hemai is the second sub-rite. Gamaya takes charge of this sub-rite while the other members travel as a group in a circle. This sub-rite is that of packing the sticky rice offering. Before doing this, however, Gamaya mividik (prays) over this offering by placing her forefinger into a cup of rice wine and murmuring an invocation. Upon finishing the invocation, she twice sprinkles the air with rice wine by the flick of her forefinger; hence, indicating the completion of the mividik. All the while, the others travel anti-clockwise.

After travelling, the members face Gamaya who leads them in another mividik for the offering. The words of the mividik are transcribed as follows:

Anini sadu amilimud du hemai  The spirits! We are packing the sticky rice for the children
Figure 14: Gamaya prays for the offerings while the others listen to her prayer.

Figure 15: The breakfast.
Figure 16: One of the members in the rank of *kursub* positions herself in the middle of the front row.

Figure 17: The movement notation for the stepping style in the worship of *barinmai*.
Mivihvih, the fourth sub-rite, is the purification of the body. Cuis, one of the senior members, holds a bunch of ginger leaves as well as a cup of rice wine, and positions herself inside the group circle (figure 18). Before the purification is carried out, she first purifies herself. She sprays a little rice wine on the leaves with her mouth and then uses the wet leaves to tap her head, arms and legs, then brushes her whole body, sweeping away the pollutants. After her own purification, she does the same for the other members. As Cuis purifies each of them, the others sing the song appropriate for this action, while executing a side-stepping motion and travelling anti-clockwise. Gamaya, on the other hand, stands outside of the circle allocating the packed sticky rice.

After this, the members are ready to finish this sub-rite by performing the following sequence of movements. All members slightly twist and bend their torsos towards the right side of their bodies while facing the centre of the circle. Both knees slightly bend and the foot executes masiyur (quick, short steps as of a shuffling-like movement) to travel backwards anti-clockwise for one revolution. After travelling, the members firmly jump up and down in place several times, making an “ah, ah...” sound to completely shake off midihdih, pollutants from the body. Then, they take a small leap backwards (micaku), initiated by the right leg, so as to leave the polluted area (figure19). This sequence of movements—masiyur, midihdih and micaku characterises the fifth sub-rite yet, is the way for the members to disengage from it.

In Banukas, the final sub-rite in the second phase of the mirecuk, after the
Figure 18: One of the members positions herself inside of the circle to practise the rite of purification.

Figure 19: The movement notation for the stepping style to leave the ritual place.
members have left the area, Cuis uses the leaves of ginger to purify her body one more time. She then uses the leaves to sweep up the ritual place thus cleansing the area. After sweeping, Cuis executes a sending gesture from Place Low to Forward High (\(\downarrow \uparrow\)) to return the spirit pollutants to the south. After the rite, all the members walk towards a yard located in front of the household to practise the third phase of the mirecuk.

**Druiac, the third phase of the mirecuk**

In this phase the cikawasays walk on the *lalan*, the spirit roads, to reach a spirit place so as to practise the next rite—*segam*, feeding the offerings to the household ancestors. Before the rite is performed, one of the members in the *kursud* rank, Lisin, purifies the space by spraying rice wine (*micuplas*) towards every corner of the court with her mouth. The area within these corners can then be used by the cikawasays to undertake the *kawas* journey.

Before setting out, the members form two parallel rows facing south. The junior members position themselves in the back row whereas the seniors are positioned in the front row. Gamaya positions herself at the head of the front row in order to lead the others. At the rear of the row is Cuis who acts as protector of the group and assistant to Gamaya during the journey. Next, all begin to shift their body weight to their left legs, while the right heel is shaken in place in preparation for entering the realm of the *kawas*. When shaking their heels, they gaze southwards in a steadfast manner. Then, the senior members execute a waving gesture to further sweep away spirit pollutants, creating a clear field of vision to perceive a spirit environment. After this, they alternately shift legs, slightly bouncing the balls of their feet, while bending their torsos forward in order to squeeze (*mimumuk*) into the world of the *kawas* from the human world. This sequence of movement is
performed twice. Gamaya then takes one step forward and extends the right arm towards the south. In doing this, Gamaya *midenden*, which means to use the right forefinger and thumb to gently pull and pinch the sticky *calay*.

Gamaya told me that the *calay* must be pulled twice in order to differentiate between the "real" *calay* and the "fake" *calay* both of which the *kawas* present her in order to test her abilities. On the first pulling, the *kawas* deliver to her the fake *calay*, which is detectible as being such due to its lack of stickiness. She therefore tosses it to back to the *kawas* and continues to pull for the *calay* a second time. As long as the *calay* is stuck to her hand, she knows it truly is the *calay*. Once in hand, she casts it to the last person behind her as a way of elongating and expanding it so that the other members can immediately possess it. Gamaya then tosses the *calay* again, this time in front of her, transforming it into the *lalan*, a medium to lead the members into the *kawas* world. The group form changes into a single file and the procession on the *lalan* is underway. Gamaya calls to Cuis to keep her eyes on everyone. They set out on their journey.

When the *cikawasays* travel on the *lalan*, the pattern of the group’s circle procession moves in two directions: clockwise and anti-clockwise (figures 20 & 21). Each time the direction is changed, Gamaya gestures to those following. At this time, the members shuffle backwards, while facing south (the direction of the ancestors’ dwelling), revealing the next *lalan*. The journey proceeds. After the group has alternately walked in both directions five times, the members step onto another *lalan* and perform the following three different sequences of movement.

The first movement is referred to as *kalimakimai* (hand). In this sequence, Gamaya faces south and takes one step forward, then extends the right arm to pull the *calay* twice. When the *calay* is stuck to her fingers, she carefully lengthens it and tosses it to Cuis, whose is positioned on the opposite side of Gamaya, facing north.
Figure 20: Travelling anti-clockwise.

Figure 21: Travelling clockwise.
The calay thus is elongated in the air. When travelling this lalan, the members take turns travelling with small side-to-side steps while the palms of their hands face upward and their fingers move loosely and slightly along the calay to find their orientation with the lalan (figure 22). Since the junior members still lack the capability of travelling by themselves, they are positioned adjacent to the senior members who lead them in the crossing of this lalan. (figure 23). As soon as the last person, Cuis, finishes the sequence, she collects the lalan and hands it to Gamaya who then waves it back towards the south.

After kalimakimai has been performed, the members then execute the second movement, calugucugu (foot). For this sequence, the group remains in the same place. With the calay in hand, Gamaya tosses it to Cuis and the calay is again transformed into the lalan. Before proceeding on to it, the senior members first sweep away any spirit pollutants so as to provide a clear vision for walking on this spirit road. The members take turns, alternating seniors then juniors, employing side-to-side stepping to cross the lalan. Gamaya is the last person to walk across it, after which she collects and tosses to Cuis who waves it back towards the south. The group then travels another three lengths of the lalan to reach the spirit ladders in order to perform the third sequence of movement, makadukar (ladders).

On arriving, the group comes to a halt and faces south whereupon Gamaya pulls the calay and drops it to the ground. She then steps firmly on it, slowly shuffles backwards on it, thus lengthening and realising the lalan. The shuffling of the feet is accompanied by the back-and-forth swinging of the arms—a means of purifying the lalan. Then the members take turns executing a foot combination in which the right foot steps forwards and hops slightly in place followed by the lifting of the left knee to waist height with arms swinging. The left foot then steps forwards and hops slightly in place, the right knee is lifted to waist height, and both
Figure 22: The movement notation for crossing the spirit road of *kalimakimai*.

Figure 23: The junior members positioned adjacently to the left hand side of the senior members to travel the *lalan*.
Figure 24: The movement style of travelling the spirit road of makadukar.

Figure 25: The travelling notation for travelling the spirit road of makadukar.
arms swing back-and-forth (figures 24&25). This sequence is repeated until the group arrives at the end of the lalan. Gamaya is the last to cross. Her movement is slightly different than that of the others since, as she travels forwards, she collects the lalan at the same time without executing the steps’ combination. After the lalan has been waved back towards a southeasterly direction, this phase of the mirecuk is finished. Next, the cikawasays begin to practise the fourth phase of the mirecuk: segam.

**Segam, the fourth phase of the mirecuk**

This phase has three main purposes: the first is that of worshipping duas (ancestors and dead families), the second is that of providing offerings to the dead villagers (*bagan duma badayai*) and the third is that of healing the host herself, as well as her family. Ritual objects in the segam include three plates, two *vudugs*, one *dewas*, one *sivanuhai*, a bowl filled with uncooked rice and a piece of cooked pork, five sticky cakes, five bottles of rice wine, betel-nuts, a bunch of ginger leaves and a long banana leaf upon which all the objects are placed (see figure 7 of Chapter 3). The females of the family present these ritual objects to the senior cikawasays who arrange them on the banana leaf.

Gamaya sprays a little rice wine on the leaf with her mouth for the purification of the ritual objects. When the leaf is placed on the ground, its tip is towards the south and its stem is towards the north. After all the ritual objects have been arranged properly, four senior members position themselves in groups of two where one group faces south and the other group faces north to invoke the *kawas*. The following movements are executed synchronically (figure 26). The members extend their arms toward Place High (ركة) and glide their arms downwards as an invocation of the *kawas* to descend to the ritual place. After the invocation, the
kawas descend and scatter themselves around the ritual objects. The seniors then gather the kawas together at the offerings.

Once the kawas are assembled, the rest of the members join the four seniors and form a half circle facing east. Gamaya, however, faces north and invokes specific kawas, including raringaran (the male bell spirits), ansoria (the aboriginal knife spirit), anahwai (the sore throat spirits), and avunarau (the female guardian spirits). She then turns and faces the group to initiate the singing, at which point the others sing in unison a short phrase as a response to Gamaya's song. The group's response is also a means of communicating with the kawas. The singing is accompanied by side-to-side steps in place, while Gamaya calls the kawas to balalan (this sequence is performed in an identical fashion with the second sub-rite of the first phase).

After singing, Gamaya faces east and Wama (the highest ranking of the male members) faces southeast to invoke the kawas who dwell in this direction. After the kawas have descended onto the ritual objects, Gamaya and Wama squat in front of the three plates and begin to tear the betel-nuts and their leaves into small pieces, distributing on the three plates portions for these kawas to share. The plates are orderly positioned thus: the first is placed towards the north for the male ancestors, another plate is positioned for the female ancestors, and the last is positioned towards the south for all other dead people (see figure 7 of Chapter 3).

Following this, Gamaya begins the badaesu (pouring one's soul into one's body). The cikawasays believe that if one of the family members has suffered a lingering illness, his/her soul has been taken away by the kawas. Gamaya holds a betel-nut leaf and looks closely at the direction of the vudug, sivnuhai and dewas containers respectively, so as to ascertain whose adingo (souls) are imprisoned by the kawas. When searching for this knowledge, Gamaya discovers that one of her
Figure 26: Four senior members are positioned separately in the form of a rectangle and their torsos bend forward in order to enter the *kawas* world.

Figure 27: Gamaya holds a leaf of the betel-nut to invoke the soul of the patient.
relative’s souls is detained in the vudug by the kawas. She holds a betel-nut leaf and stoops down by the vudug imploiring the victim’s soul to leave the kawas world by jumping on to the leaf (figure 27). Gamaya then calls the kawas to use their "spirit hands" to assist her in pouring the soul back into the body of the victim.

In this phase, those other family members of Gamaya are allowed to enter the ritual place and are given healing by way of ritual performed by the senior members. The family sits on short benches with their legs stretched out towards the south. A team of two senior members or one senior member heals Gamaya’s family. The senior members are positioned on either side of the patient. Then, the cikawasays elongate the calay, which will penetrate the patient’s body and purify it. When purifying, the seniors stand closely to the patient and guide the calay, cleaning the inside of the patient’s body and purifying such parts of the body as the ears, arms, pelvis, knees, and heels. Then the senior cikawasays cause the calay to pass through the patient’s body as a means of removing pollutants (figure 28).

After this, one of the female senior cikawasays employs a sucking technique of healing. The pollutants which exist on the inside of the body are sucked out, spat onto the senior’s right hand and thrown towards the opposite direction of the patient’s position, either ahead of or behind the patient (figure 29). Following this, a senior cikawasay utters an invocation over the patient to bless the patient with a healthy body. After the invocation, she requests that the kawas bestow the lasu (the spirit dew) to her. The lasu drips from the bunch of ginger leaves so the senior uses a betel-nut leaf to catch the lasu. She then is able to pour the lasu into the top of the patient’s body (thus filling the body) after which, she uses the leaf to brush the patient while invoking blessings for the patient’s now healthy body.

The host of the ritual, Gamaya, is healed by Cuis. The healing procedure for Gamaya is performed the same as that performed for the rest of the family.
Figure 28: Two senior members as a team use the *calay* and circulate it to purify the inside of the patient’s body.

Figure 29: One senior cikawasay sucks the pollutant out from another cikawasay’s body.
However, the *kawas* offer Gamaya a pair of spirit glasses transformed from the *calay*. Cuis takes this particular *calay* and calls the *kawas* to assist her in putting this spirit object on Gamaya's eyes. According to Gamaya, if she feels a headache after wearing the spirit glasses, this means that the glasses do not fit her eyes.

In such a case, the practitioner asks the *kawas* again to give her the correct pair. Finally, the practitioner holds a cup of the rice wine mixed with the *calay* and offers it to Gamaya to drink. Gamaya comments that the wine blended with the *calay*, is good for her health and will increase her capability to heal. After the *badaesu*, the members begin *mergad du kawas* (the worship of all spirits in the *segam* phase), which is comprised of three sub-sections. The first sub-section is *balalan*. *Malubalan* is the second sub-section and is performed by four senior members. In this sub-section, two members each hold bottles of rice wine, while the third member holds the offerings of a bowl filled with uncooked rice and a piece of pork, and the last one carries the round vessel. Gamaya leads four of them to present the offerings to the *kawas*, scattering some rice onto the ritual objects (the betel-nuts, the leaves of the betel-nuts, the *dewas*, and the *sivanhai*) (figure 30). The other members raise their right forefingers toward the offerings as a way of joining in worship with the seniors.

After this, Gamaya invokes the *ansoria* (the male eagle spirits), *sabansul nu guwau* (the female eagle spirits) as the third sub-section of *mergad du kawas*. She and the senior members gaze towards the south and the others step in place from side-to-side within the circle. Gamaya sings and raises her arms toward Forward High while her wrists move up and down slightly, symbolising the flight of the eagle spirits. This motion is also a means of communicating with the *kawas*.

After singing, the senior members toss the offerings upward to the *ansoria*. Gamaya then faces south, sings another song and travels anti-clockwise with the
group. She raises her arms toward Forward High then rolls up the calay of the eagle kawas in her hands until the singing is ended. The members then proceed to the next rite: bavelac

In bavelac (presenting the offerings to the spinning female spirits), four members are positioned at the tip of the leaf, the outer two being seniors while the inner two are junior members. The rest of the members split into two rows and position themselves along the periphery of the leaf parallel to each other. Both senior members then execute the proper movements for entering the kawas world. Having perceived the calay, they distribute the calay to them. During this sequence of movement, another senior cikawasay holds a shallow bamboo basket filled with the sticky rice as an offering (and places it close to the heads of the junior members).

Then, the members sway as their torsos are bent forward and their palms face upwards, while they step side-to-side in place (figure 31). This movement is accompanied with singing. Once the song has been repeated five times, the cikawasays stop stepping. Then, both senior members lift the shallow basket and follow Gamaya in facing south to invoke the kawas. The content of their invocation is transcribed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Rapanui</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ado ---------haidan hau</td>
<td>The spirits!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iniyaen magagudul nu rinubas</td>
<td>The Rice Carrying spirits!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asau selen iniyen</td>
<td>You can see there is sticky rice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hau haidan damuwan</td>
<td>The spirits!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abasadag namu haidan</td>
<td>The spirits, please take us away from the spirit world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Au sadi gidin namu haidan</td>
<td>The spirits! Please, you use the sticky rice to lead us.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Mulu 1995, p 395) (My translation)

After the invocation, the two junior members are discovered to have fainted for a short period of time. This is a result of their bodies being "wrapped" round by the calay causing their souls to leave their bodies and follow the kawas to journey the

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Figure 30: The senior cikawasays scatter some offerings onto the other ritual objects.

Figure 31: The members pass the calay to the junior member who sits on the ground.
realm of the spirits world. The phenomenon of the soul leaving the body is regarded as a positive result in that the junior members can, through such a journey, obtain spirit power bestowed by the *kawas*, and can increase their capability of interaction with the *kawas*. Gamaya and Cuis awaken the “sleeping” junior members by rubbing their right hands against the hearts of the juniors while invoking the names of the two, summoning their souls to return to their bodies. Then both Gamaya and Cuis suck the air from the members’ heart areas to recover the juniors’ consciousness. After this, the sub-rite is finished and most members take a short rest except for two of the senior members who practise the next sub-rite: *misanga du dayu*.

The *cikawasays* believe that after they have practised several sub-rites, the leaves of the ginger bunch are filled with many *calay*. This rite is to tidy the *calay*. In this rite, the bunch of ginger is always held in a certain way: its stems face upward and its leaves face downward. Both senior members face each other, holding the ginger and travelling four steps forwards and backward five times (figure 32). After this, the two members gently brush the leaves as a way of tidying them up. The *cikawasays* believe that some of the *calay* will fall off from the leaves when the leaves are tidied. Therefore, they catch this *calay* and replace it on the leaves by gently patting the stems twice.

After the bunch of ginger has been tidied, one of the senior members allocates the ginger to each member. Upon receiving it, the members praise the beauty of the ginger to show their appreciation of the efforts of the host’s family displayed in preparing such fresh ginger for the ritual. The *cikawasays* will take the ginger to their homes and usually place it under their pillows so that while sleeping, the *calay* will induce a dream about the journey to the *kawas* world. The dream, in relation to the *kawas*, is believed to be one of the ways of increasing the *cikawasay*’s spiritual power and ability to interact with the *kawas*. When this sub-rite is finished,
Figure 32: Two senior members face each other to tidy a bunch of the ginger.
all the members leave the ritual place and gather together at one side of the yard to take a short break.

_Meragad du kawas, the fifth phase of the mirecuk_

The purpose of _meragad du kawas_ is to reach different dwelling places of the _kawas_ by undertaking a spirit journey. The first journey undertaken is towards the dwelling of _wungai_, the monkey spirits who inhabit the western orientation. Before setting out, the members form two rows facing west. Two members in the _kursu_ rank position themselves in the middle of the front row, carrying bottles of rice wine, a bunch of betel-nuts, the _sivanuhai_, and the _dewas_. The sequence of movement to enter the _kawas_ world is executed. After stepping into the world, Gamaya takes one step forward to pull the _calay_ and slightly elongates it before tossing it to the other members. Then, Gamaya leads the members in a shuffling movement of four small steps backward and two small steps forward, a total of five times thus beginning the journey. She then tosses the _calay_ towards the south, which is the starting direction of the group’s journey, and the _calay_ is transformed into the _lalan_. With her spiritual power, she pinches the _calay_ between her right forefinger and thumb, leading the members to travel the realm of the _kawas_. The group’s form then changes into a single file line.

With the journey underway, the _cikawasays_ will change their direction of travelling (the direction opposite their preceding direction—either clockwise or anti-clockwise) with every completed section of the _lalan_. The distance of travelling the first section is equivalent to walking the circular pattern for three revolutions. When changing their direction, the _cikawasays_ face west and Gamaya waves backwards, sweeping away spirit pollutants, then extends the new section of the _lalan_ to the rest of members. The _cikawasays_ then repeat the circular walking pattern, moving in a
clockwise direction, twice. The group changes direction a third time, travelling anti-clockwise and the members face west. They walk this section of the lalan for two cycles. Then, the cikawasays switch their direction for a fourth time, travelling clockwise for one revolution and change direction again a fifth time to travel anti-clockwise. After this, the group enters another section of the lalan whereupon they travel backwards in the clockwise direction the distance of one circle, and then travel forward. They then travel backwards one cycle anti-clockwise, followed by travelling forwards in the same direction. According to the senior members, backwards walking represents they are walking on a kind of lalan that slopes downward.

The cikawasays have now come to a spirit bridge and accordingly employ the movement for walking on it: each cikawasay steps slowly forward on his/her right foot, then the left foot joins the right foot. Both feet alternately bounce on the balls in place, while the torso bends slightly forwards (figure 33). This movement is executed for the distance of the spirit bridge, one revolution. After the group has crossed, the cikawasays continue the journey travelling anti-clockwise. The members then shuffle backwards four small steps backwards then forward four small steps a total of five times (figure 34) after which, Gamaya tosses the calay to Cuis and the group formation changes back into two rows, facing west. Gamaya nods her head toward the others indicating her intention for them to execute the following movement together. They jump up and down in place five times while extending their arms toward Forward High and pull the calay from the west. Following this, they shuffle back and forth five times and approach the place of the kawas. Then, Gamaya spreads out the calay into the shape of a semicircle and, the rest of the members enter the semicircle by stepping forward on their right foot, thereby arriving at the place of the monkey spirits. Upon arrival, the two assistants place offerings
Figure 33: The movement notation for the style of walking on the spirit bridge.
Figure 34: The movement notation for shuffling back and forth.
on the ground while Gamaya and the seniors invoke the monkey spirits to follow the *calay* and descend upon the offerings (figure 35). According to Gamaya, the monkey spirits are believed to be a collective entity, composed of male adults and juveniles and their figures are looked like very tiny. One way of worshipping the monkeys is through spirit possession wherein the monkeys possess the bodies of the *cikawasays*. Spirit possession is pleasing and satisfying to the *kawas*. Gamaya told me that such interaction with the *kawas* is the only way to obtain from the *kawas*, the next spirit roads needed for returning to the living.

At the beginning of this form of worship, Gamaya is the first one among the members to be possessed by this spirit. The reason is that when she was a junior member, she suffered a kind of lingering illness caused by this *kawas*. The affliction was cured by a senior *cikawasay* at that time and so, since she had recovered from such suffering, the worship of the monkey spirits through spirit possession must be carried out. So then, Cuis holds the *calay* and slowly places it onto the body of Gamaya who then involuntarily falls slowly to the ground (figure 36). One factor in inducing such spirit possession is the *calay*, which directly connects the *kawas* with the *cikawasay* thus acting as a medium with which to possess Gamaya's body. Immediately Gamaya's right hand involuntarily scratches the right side of her body while her pelvis shakes up and down quickly. These movements are the result of the *kawas* using their spirit power to cause the *cikawasay* to imitate the movement of the monkeys.

The spirit possession lasts for about one minute, and then Cuis executes a pressing downward gesture (without touching the body of Gamaya) to remove the *calay*. Cuis then throws the *calay* towards the others. Some of them avoid it screaming with laughter, but those who cannot escape in time are possessed by it. Such an entertaining situation creates an atmosphere of playfulness during the ritual.
Figure 35: The members form a half circle to invoke the monkey spirits to descend.

Figure 36: One of the senior members lies on the ground and scratches the right side of her body involuntary as a way of imaging the movement of the monkeys.
The possessed members lie involuntarily on the ground and scratch the right side of their bodies while making a "ku ku..." sound to imitate the sound of the spirits. After a moment, the senior members remove the *calay* from the bodies of the possessed members. Offerings are then presented to this *kawas*. While the offerings are presented, Gamaya utters an invocation and the *sivanuhai* and *dewas* are placed on the ground. One of the seniors then pours a little rice wine onto both containers, as libation, while the rest of the members raise their right forefingers towards the west to join in the invocation with Gamaya (figure 37). After this, Gamaya gathers the monkey spirits into the centre of the group circle, then waves them towards the south to send them back to their dwelling (figure 38). Before the *cikawasays* leave the *kawas* world, Gamaya tears a betel-nut leaf and wraps it around a small piece of the sticky cake along with a betel nut. She then tosses the wrapped offering towards the west in order to show the sincerity of the *cikawasays* to the *kawas*. After this, they can leave the spirit place and return to the human world.

The way of returning is different from entering the *kawas* world. The *cikawasays* begin to travel and pace of travelling is quicker than travelling towards the place of the *kawas*. They begin to change the direction of travelling for a first time to anti-clockwise. After having repeated the circular walking pattern twice anti-clockwise, the group alternates the direction a second time to clockwise while facing west. Having travelled two circles clockwise, the group alternates the direction a third time back to anti-clockwise. Following this, the group repeats the circular walking pattern twice then, changes the direction a fourth time back to clockwise. After travelling one revolution clockwise, the group alternates the direction again for a fifth time to anti-clockwise. Finally, the group walks the distance of a circle and a half then stops to face east. Gamaya calls Wama\(^\text{10}\) (who did not join the journey, but instead stayed in the living world) to position himself on
Figure 37: One member pours the rice wine towards the ground as a libation to the monkey spirits.

Figure 38: One of the senior members gathers the monkey spirits together in the ritual place.
the opposite side of the group, and receive the *calay* from the members. Gamaya is the first to exit the place of the *kawas*. Before she meets Wama, she hands the *calay* over to him extending the *calay* across to the others in a straight line. The rest of the members then take turns, based on their hierarchical rank, walking along the *calay* toward the exit (figure 39). Cuis is the last person to leave the place. When exiting, she collects the *calay* and waves it back towards a westerly direction. Following this, the members begin to practise the following sub-rite, *salemuh*.

The group forms a circle and Gamaya positions herself inside the circle initiating the appropriate singing and movement (figure 40). Her movements in this sub-rite are more expressive than those of other sub-rites. For instance, when singing, Gamaya pities herself as being a *cikawasay* since during the worship of monkey spirits, she has to suffer bodily affliction caused by the spirit possession. To express this emotion, Gamaya bends her torso forward towards the other members who respond to her by imitating her movement. After *salemuh*, Gamaya leads the members to *mivedik* the offerings by raising her right forefinger towards the offerings. She then flicks her finger once into the air to end the prayer. Following this, the members are ready to withdraw from the world of the *kawas*. The sequence of movements for withdrawing is performed in the same way as the fifth sub-rite in the second phase that is —*midihdih*, *micaku* and *micagu* (see p 120). After these procedures have been performed, the entire process of the worship of the monkey spirits is finished. The *cikawasays* take a short break to recuperate and then set out on the next journey to worship *gagacacwan nu vavaliyuan* (the deer horn spirits).

On this journey, they form two rows facing south and execute the sequences of movements of entering the *kawas* world and then travel along the *lalan*. The pathway on this journey is similar to the *lalan* walked on to reach the dwelling place of the monkey spirits. After having walked over several sections of *lalan*, the
Figure 39: The members take turns to follow along the *calay* to the exit from the *kawas* journey.

Figure 40: Gamaya is positioned on the inside of the group circle to share the rice wine to the others.
members form a semi-circle to worship vavaliyuan. Two members in the kursub rank place ritual objects, the sivanuhai and dewas, on the ground toward the south. The tiny horn of the deer is placed in the centre of the group circle, and the offerings of a bottle of the rice wine, two sticky cakes, betel-nuts and the leaves of betel-nuts are placed behind the horn (figure 41). Gamaya faces south to invoke the kawas gagacacwan un vavaliyuan to descend to the offerings.

After the invocation, the members sing and execute a sequence of movement within the group circle to worship this kawas (figure 42): the left foot steps to the right forward middle ( ), and the right foot steps in place, while both feet maintain a wide stance. The arms swing gently forwards and the torso bends slightly at the waist towards the offerings, while the rite is sung. Then, the right foot steps right backward middle ( ), and the left foot steps in place. The sequence of stepping is repeated five times, accompanied by singing. This entire process is the worshipping of this kawas.

Following this, the two members hold the offerings towards the south presenting them to the kawas. This action is executed to the invocation Gamaya utters, while the others' forefingers point towards the south in participation. Then, a member pours a little rice wine onto shivanuhai and dewa as libation. Another member tosses a wrapped offering towards the south representing the sincerity of the members. Without returning to the living world, the cikawasays undertake the next two journeys to the place of masidug and the place of dusiyuaau. The cikawasays believe that the dwelling places of these three kawas neighbour each other in the spirit world.

Setting out, they travel in an anti-clockwise direction for two and half revolutions then shuffle back and forth. After this, they walk another two rotations anti-clockwise, then quickly shuffle back and forth one more time. Gamaya then
Figure 41: The group form is presented in the worship of gagacacwan nu vavaliyuan.

Figure 42: The movement notation for the style of worshipping gagacacwan nu vavaliyuan.
waves backward, thus passing the *lalan* to the other members. Following this, she tosses the *lalan* towards the south in order to provide a spirit place for the members to worship *masidug*. At this place the group forms a row facing south, singing and side stepping in place as they worship. Gamaya then invokes *masidug* while assistants hold offerings to present to the *kawas*, while the others' forefingers point towards the south joining Gamaya in worship of *masidug*.

After the invocation, Gamaya pulls the *calay* from south-east and proceeds to lead the group to the dwelling of *dusiyua*. They travel three and half circles anti-clockwise, shuffle, and then travel two more circles in the same direction. The group then shuffles once more as they approach the dwelling of the *kawas*. While approaching, Gamaya tosses the *calay* towards the south-east transforming it into a place where the members worship *dusiyua* facing this spatial orientation (figure 43). The worship of this *kawas* is similar to the worship of *masidug* except for the content and melody of the song. After worshipping, they set out to return to the human world. The members walk the same pathway of the return as the previous journey where they walk through five different sections of the *lalan*, alternating directions five times. Their exit from the *kawas* world is similar to that executed in the place of the *wungai*.

Having returned to the human world, the *cikawasays* take a rest to collect themselves in preparation for the next journey to the place of *sasabayan* (the moss spirits). Devi, of the *asidan* rank, is assigned by Gamaya to lead this journey. Gamaya uses this opportunity to test Devi’s spiritual power. The members form two rows facing east then, enact the sequence of movements proper for entering into the *kawas* world. The group’s travelling in this journey is similar to the previous journeys. There is, however, a distinctive characteristic of the travelling used on this journey, which distinguishes this journey from all others. When the group has
Figure 43: The members face southeast to worship dusiyuau.

Figure 44: The movement notation for the style of travelling the moss lalan.
traversed several sections of the *lalan*, they come to a specific type of the spirit road, the surface of which is covered by moss. Crossing this section requires that one employs gliding steps to the side. Devi punches the *calay* to the spirit ground, shaping it into the form of a spirit column. When travelling on the spirit column, Devi deeply bends both knees, slowly glides her right leg sideways, then joins the right leg with the left leg (figure 44). This sequence of movement gives the viewer a sense of the group's attentive manner in avoiding falling off the spirit column. The other members take turns following Devi through the moss *lalan*, gliding sideways carefully.

After travelling for one rotation anti-clockwise, Devi strides to leave the *lalan* and waits for the others to join her. When all the members have finished crossing the moss *lalan*, Devi uses the *calay* to seal off that section of the *lalan* in order to prevent the members from falling into the spirit sea (the *cikawasays* believe that the *lalan* of *sasabayan* is close to the spirit beach). Then, she pulls on the *calay* and continues to lead the group along the next sections of the *lalan* approaching the place of *sasabayan*. The group travels two and half circles anti-clockwise and then shuffles back and forth. After this the members come to a stop and Devi tosses the *calay* whereupon the members step onto that place the *calay* has landed and form two rows facing east. The two rows shuffle back and forth five times and arrive at the dwelling place of *sasabayan*. Here, the *cikawasays* face east singing and stepping side-to-side in place, worshipping *sasabayan*. After presenting offerings to *sasabayan*, they leave for the human world. Following the worship of *sasabayan*, the members are ready to undertake the next journey to reach the place of *malalenu*, the underworld *kawas*.

There are three important characteristics of this unique journey: first, the distance of travelling is longer than the other journeys (I will elaborate on this in
Chapter 6); second, there is a specific *lalan* that requires that the members execute a
crouching style of travelling; and third, the group must wriggle through the spirit
tunnel before entering the underworld. When setting out on this journey, the
*cikawasays* obtain the *calay*, and travel over several more sections of *lalan* than in
previous journeys.

Gamaya then tosses the *calay* in an easterly direction transforming the *calay*
into a *lalan*, which here is described as being surrounded by many *baguwa* (a kind of
short spirit tree). In a crouching posture Gamaya walks slowly while sweeping soil
off her body in order to have a better vision to perceive the road. Her manner of
walking is with a sense of alertness so as to prevent contact with the *baguwa.*
According to the senior members’ explanation, the leaves of the *baguwa* are covered
with numerous tiny hairs, which cause them to sneeze heavily. The entire length of
this *lalan* is one revolution. After all the members have travelled it, Gamaya uses
the *calay* to seal off the section.

The journey then proceeds and the group travels one and a half circles anti-
clockwise. After this, Gamaya uses the *calay* to punch an opening in the ground,
opening a spirit hole to enter the spirit tunnel. When entering the tunnel, Gamaya
lies on her right side, strenuously pushing forward and wriggling slowly towards the
end of the tunnel (figure 45). The other members follow her, travelling in the same
manner. In the tunnel, some senior members cough from time to time due to the
difficulty of breathing in this place. Some even sob because they are frightened of
the tunnel’s dark environment, or they see their dead family who are suffering in the
tunnel. Sera told me that the ground of the tunnel felt cold and she felt even colder
when she descended further towards the exit. She continued to say:

The tunnel was very dark and I could not see its environment. I thought I
was alone and I was frightened to be there. However, I touched a leg of a

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member who was in front of me. Thus, I followed behind him/her to pass through the tunnel. When I had nearly reached the exit, I heard the voice of Gamaya who called us to come out from the tunnel. At that moment, I released my tension and continued to wriggle towards the last section of the road.

Fieldnotes, 12 February, 1997

When all the members crawl out from the tunnel, they are exhausted and sit on the ground leaning closely against each other to rest. After this, Gamaya uses the calay to seal the exit, then leads the group to travel a final section of the lalan towards the place of malalenu. When the group approaches the place, Gamaya quickens her pace and pulls up the calay from the spirit ground, rolling it up into her hands. She then uses the calay to punch the ground twice and then walks anti-clockwise. Gamaya then stands in place facing east, and again punches the ground three times to open the spirit door located in the spirit place of malalenu. She then strides to the entrance and stands firmly in a wide stance.

Cuis hands a cup of rice wine to Gamaya who, with her mouth, sprays the wine on the area she stands on—the door. Then, holding a betel-nut leaf, Gamaya looks through the door and invokes the soul of her dead husband to leave the kawas's dwelling by jumping onto the leaf (figure 46). Having confirmed that the soul has jumped onto the leaf, she then tosses the leaf as a way of sending the soul towards the east to be reunited with his ancestors. Following this, Gamaya pours a little rice wine towards the door as a libation to the kawas. She then pours more rice wine on the area of the door and uses her right foot to stamp on the wet place thus sealing the door tightly. Next, she pulls the calay from the place of malanenu and leads the group to return to the human world. They travel at a faster pace, passing along five different sections of the lalan on their return to the human world. The sequences of the movement for withdrawing from the kawas world are executed
Figure 45: The members wriggling to travel the spirit tunnel.

Figure 46: Gamaya holds the betel-nut leaf to look through the spirit door in the underworld.
in the same way as aforementioned journeys. Gamaya then, with the senior members, wave the pollutants and calay together towards the east to return them to the kawas.

At this time, all members except for Gamaya enjoy a short break. Gamaya accompanies one of her senior male family to practise the worship of sasuluan (the fishing spirits) (figure 47). Sasuluan are believed to be the guardian spirits of Gamaya's dead husband as well as that of the male villagers in Lidow. Furthermore, in a dream Gamaya's dead husband requested that she worship sasuluan. The two then execute the sequence of movement for entering the kawas world. In this rite Gamaya faces north and alternately uses either of her legs to draw half circles in the air to open the spirit gate of the place of sasuluan (figure 48). She and the male senior then step together into the place of the kawas. After this, Gamaya invokes sasuluan to descend, while the male senior presents the offerings of a piece of raw pork, two bottles of rice wine and betel-nuts towards the north to the kawas. After the invocation, Gamaya tosses the wrapped offering to the north, then the two shuffle four steps backward and two steps forward five times in order to retreat from the kawas world. After returning to the living world, the senior male shares the offerings only with the other male villagers, who gather at one side of the yard.\textsuperscript{12}

The following phases are to worship the Taiwanese kawas. The cikawasays regard those dead Taiwanese who have an affinity with the villagers are also considered as Amis ancestors. The offerings in this rite include incense and paper money, both of which are necessary objects in Taiwanese traditional ancestor worship.

\textit{Samdiau, the sixth phase of the mirecuk}

\textit{Samdiau} is held in the living room of the household and it is the prelude to the
Figure 47: Gamaya with a male member of a family to worship the *sasuluan*.

Figure 48: Gamaya kicks her legs alternately to draw a half circle in the air in order to open the spirit gate in the place of *sasuluan*.
following sub-rite, cacudadan (the worship of Taiwanese spirits). The ritual offerings and vessels are placed on top of a short rectangular wooden table and members of the kursu rank are in charge of arranging these. The members surround the table and form a half circle facing north while Gamaya lights incense sticks and distributes them to each of the members. After this, she begins to invoke the kawas by stepping forward with her right foot and backward firmly, repeating the stepping in place. The rest of the members follow her, stepping in the same way.

Gamaya invokes adundun (the cutting tongue off spirits), langusudan (the bloody nose spirits), ansorai (the aborigine knife spirits), raruguran (the copper bell spirits), and avunaraau (the females guardian spirits) and other kawas. Once these kawas have descended on the ritual place, they deliver the calay to Gamaya. Having received it, she tosses it to one of the senior members who is positioned opposite of Gamaya. Gamaya then leads the members in travelling anti-clockwise around the table.

After having travelled two revolutions, the group stops and faces west while steps are performed continuously in place. Gamaya gazes at the west to invoke saragadau (the ladder and bridge spirits) mayumayun (the growth spirit) and gagaidaan nu maruebah (the making wine spirits), and gagidaan nu mayah (the making pottery spirit) and other kawas. After invocation, the group continues to travel another two circles anti-clockwise, then faces south where Gamaya invokes sasululan (the fishing spirits), ansorai (the aborigine knife spirits) and saragadau (the bridge and ladder spirits), to descend. Following this, the group travels two circles then stops to face east as Gamaya calls on cingacingau (the female bell spirits), madadingu (the sun spirits), sasululan (the fishing spirits), harharai nu cida (the sun rise spirits), and lamugai nu cida (the burning sand spirits) and others. Finally, the group travels two final revolutions returning to face the north.
Gamaya pulls the calay from the direction of north then spreads it out, distributing it to each member. The members use a bunch of smouldering incense sticks held in their hands to obtain the calay. Having received the calay, the members hold the incense in their right hands to smoke their left palms, then smoke their entire bodies (figures 49&50). The purpose of this process is to sabalalan, insert into or "wear" the calay on the hand so that the hand can be healed by the kawas.

Following this, Gamaya and the members repeat the procedure. This time, the cikawasays will obtain sabisuri, the healed calay, which not only has the function of bestowing health to the members but also enhances the members' capability of healing. Gamaya then, with one of the senior members, executes a turn towards the north in order to open the spirit gate from the spirit table. They then step into the kawas world and repeat the execution towards the south to allow the rest of the members to step into the world. The members can then begin to worship the kawas by bowing slightly towards the ritual table where the kawas have descended, while holding the incense sticks in front of them. Once the worship is completed, the incense is placed into bowls filled with raw rice. The members then take turns pouring rice wine into the five cups and vudug to liberate the kawas and their ancestors.

Following this, Gamaya and the senior member execute a lifting gesture to symbolically cast the spirit table towards the north to return it to the kawas. They then begin to sing mayaho, the song ending the samdiau, while stepping side-to-side in place. At this time, Gamaya’s daughter is allowed to join the group in sharing the rice wine with the cikawasays, as a way of showing her gratitude to the cikawasays who have held the ritual for worshipping the ancestors of this household. As soon as the song has ended, the members carry the ritual table with the offerings towards
Figure 49: The members hold the incense to smoke their left palms.

Figure 50: The members hold the incense to smoke the back of their hands.
outside of the household for the next phase of the *mirecuk—cacudadan*.

**Cacudada, the seventh phase of the mirecuk**

The process of *cacudadan* is similar to *samdiau* except that the use of incense is not present. In this phase, the group journeys to the place of *daniyuran* (the spinning spirits) (figure 51). The process of travelling to this place is simply that of walking in a single file line in an anti-clockwise direction (figure 52). During the travelling, the group passes over a certain number of sections of the *lalan* where the shuffling movement is executed. Once the members enter upon the last section of *lalan* to reach the place of *daniyuran*, Gamaya nods her head indicating to the others to walk and turn the upper torso while the arms alternately are waved at the ground.

They repeat this sequence of movement five times. When executing the movement, Gamaya pulls the *calay* from the *vudug* twice and holds it in her right hand. The *calay* then is thrown intentionally towards two members of the *soadi* rank (the juniors), in order to tie the legs and make them stumble. Consequently, the two members fall on the ground in a dead faint. The two possessed members lie outside of the group circle while the others continue to travel anti-clockwise. When the group is close to the dwelling place of *daniyura*, the members hold hands with each other, swinging their arms slightly back and forth and moving backwards one revolution anti-clockwise. Then they stride to the place of their destination (figure 53).

Upon arrival, Gamaya takes the *calay* again from the *vudug*. The *calay* is lengthened vertically and transformed into the spirit mirror to assist Gamaya in her search for both possessed members within the realm of the *kawas*. Gamaya focuses on the spirit mirror and follows its guidance to find the location of both members.
Figure 51: Gamaya with Devi lead the rest of the members to face each spatial orientation to invoke the *kawas*.

Figure 52: The members travel anti-clockwise along the table.
Figure 53: The members hold hands with each other in the group circle to represent the approach toward the place of the *kawas*.

Figure 54: The two possessed junior members lie on the ground in a dead faint.
Once they are found, they are carried by four members and placed near the table (figure 54). Gamaya then assigns two senior members to practise the sub-rite misangan, the purpose of which is to allow both junior members obtain a healthy body and good fortune as bestowed by the kawas.

After the rite, Gamaya accompanies two senior members in the burning of the paper money. The paper money is placed on the ground and incinerated while the members face north and invoke the kawas. Rice wine is then poured on the ground in a circle acting as a boundary for the flames of the burning money. Then, they call the family and the other participants including the relatives, friends, myself and acquaintances to take turns to cross over the flames three times to purify the body (figure 55). If the participant is suffering from bodily affliction, he/she is allowed to move near to the flames to let the smoke cure the afflicted body part. When all the individuals have crossed over the flame three times, the senior members hold the burning papers and smoke each participant’s body for further purification.

Next, two senior members go into the living room to awake the two possessed members. They use their right hands to press the tops of the possessed members’ heads and call their names thus summoning the souls of the possessed to return from the realm of the kawas to their bodies. After the possessed members have recovered their consciousness, they are assisted by the senior members to sit on a nearby mat. The seniors spray rice wine on the bodies of the juniors and then rub the stomach area of the possessed members in order to help them stand stably.

**Daligul, the eighth phase of the mirecuk**

After this, the members practise daligul, which informs the kawas that the mirecuk held in this household is nearing its end. The cikawasays form two rows facing east, and while holding offerings, they sing and execute stepping movements
Figure 55: The *cikawasays* and their relative cross the flame for purification.

Figure 56: The members form two rows to practise the rite of *daligul*.
The movement of the *cikawasays* is that of the right foot stepping firmly forwards then backward. After this, Gamaya tosses pieces of the offerings to the east and the rite of *daligul* is finished.

**Malisen, the ninth phase of the mirecuk**

This purpose of this phase is to allocate the ritual offerings (such as the sticky rice, the cakes, bottles of rice wine, and the betel nuts) to each of the members to take home. When the ritual offerings have been packed into the *aluvu*, the members gather and sit in a circle in the living room while placing the *aluvu* in front of them in preparation for the next sub-rite, *micingacin*.

**Miccingacin, the tenth phase of the mirecuk.**

The purpose of this phase is to call all the *kawas* from each orientation one more time as a way of addressing the *kawas* that their worship is finished. In this rite, Gamaya holds a bronze bell in her right hand to invoke all the *kawas* from every spatial orientation. When invoking, she shakes the bell and moves it in a circular pattern while the rest of the members close their eyes and listen to the invocation. Following this, Gamaya sprays rice wine, with her mouth, towards the heads of all the members, and uses her hand to touch each head of the members firmly to awaken them. The members then are led by Gamaya in a prayer for the ritual offerings packed in the *aluvu*. When the prayer has finished, they pat the *aluvu* several times and execute a grabbing gesture to throw pollutants away from the offerings. Following this, Gamaya’s female family relatives serve dinner for the *cikawasays*. The dishes include sticky rice, pork soup, beans and vegetables, and pieces of ginger. The family are prohibited from dining with the *cikawasays*—instead, they eat dinner in the kitchen. After dinner, Gamaya’s eldest daughter brings a tub of water and
places it in the centre of the group circle for the final phase of the ritual—mililuc (figure 57).

**Mililuc, the eleventh phase of the mirecuk**

In this phase, Gamaya wets a bunch of ginger leaves in the tub. Using the wet ginger leaves, Gamaya pats members’ bodies while uttering an invocation. Finally, the members use the water in the tub to wet their hands as a way of officially ending the day of the mirecuk of this household. After this, the cikawasays can use the water for showering or washing their hands in their homes. By late evening, the cikawasays then are ready to leave for their homes. All the family of Gamaya show their gratitude to the cikawasays and stand at the door to see off the members.

Given the description of the process of the mirecuk, the ritual itself consists of eleven different phases of rites and the length of time of each phase varies. The following table illustrates the ritual process and the length of time of each phase of the rite.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:50</td>
<td>The members gather in Gamaya’s living room and chat with each other while the family prepare the ritual objects for the opening rite, mavuhegad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:35</td>
<td>Mavuhegad, the first phase beginning the ritual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>Balalan, the second sub-rite of the first phase, is the asking of the kawas to deliver the calay to the members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:50</td>
<td>Daniyur, the third sub-rite of the first phase, is the worshipping of the Spinning spirits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:05</td>
<td>Dawadawad, the fourth sub-rite of the first phase, is the purification of the offerings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20</td>
<td>Maranam, the fifth sub-rite of the first phase, is the eating breakfast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:50</td>
<td>Barinama, the second phase of the ritual, is the wishing of the cikawasays to obtain the blessings from the kawas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Milimud du Hemai, the second sub-rite of the second phase, is the packing of the offerings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:10</td>
<td>Mivihvih, the third sub-rite of the second phase, is the purification of the body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:20</td>
<td>Masirir, the fourth sub-rite of the second phase, is the disengaging with the rite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:25</td>
<td>Banukas, the fifth sub-rite of the second phase, is the purification of the body one more time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 57: A tub of water is used by the cikawasays to act out the purification and represents the fact that one day of the mirecuk has officially ended.
12:30 Druiac, the third phase of the ritual, is the walking on the lalan.
12:50 Segam, the fourth phase of the ritual, is the worshipping of the duas (the ancestors) and kawas.
14:10 Mergad du kawas, the fifth phase of the ritual, is the reaching of different kawas dwelling places by undertaking the spirit journey.
14:10—14:30 The worship of wungai, the monkey spirits.
14:35—15:30 The worship of three different kawas, vavaliyuan, masidug and dustyua.
15:38—16:10 The worship of sasbayan.
16:15—17:12 The worship of malalenu.
17:15—17:21 The worship of sasluuan.
17:40 Samdiau, the sixth phase of the ritual, is the prelude to the following sub-rite, cacudadan.
18:00 Cacudadan, the seventh phase of the ritual, is the worshipping of Taiwanese kawas.
19:20 Daligul, the eighth phase of the ritual, is the informing of the kawas that the ritual held in this household is toward the end.
19:36 Malisen, the ninth phase of the ritual, is the allocation of the ritual offerings.
19:54 Micingacin, the tenth phase of the ritual, is the invoking of all the kawas one more time.
20:30 Mililuc, the eleventh phase of the ritual, is the using of water to purify the body.

The following chapter will focus on analysis and interpretation of the cikawasays’ movements in the context of the mirecuk. The method of analysis used is that of Laban Movement Analysis.
ENDNOTES

1. A ruvu is a warehouse.

2. In the Amis society, the traditional way of beginning and ending rituals is to hold an activity of eating fish which is termed malialac (used by the north of the Amis people), or pakalang (used by the central and south of the Amis people) in the vernacular.

3. It does not mean that the ritual lasts 24 hours; instead it lasts within 10 hours (from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m.).

4. Ciwa is a kind of spirit object which possesses the quality of stickiness. If the body of the cikawasay is stuck to the ciwa, it will cause the cikawasay to suffer an illness.

5. Place High is the term of Laban Notation to describe the level of movement in a straight up direction (\[\frac{2}{4}\]).

6. ‘We’ here refers to both the kawas and the mother, Gamaya who addresses this kawas.

7. Ansoria here, is the spirit’s name of the cikawasay.

8. According to the senior members, the calay can be transformed into any kind of shape and penetrate any object existing in the material world.

9. According to Gamaya, those shuffling steps executed in the journey act as a transitional medium to allow the cikawasays to enter the next spirit road in order to approach the dwelling place of the kawas.

10. He has suffered from a lung ailment for a long period time so he is unable to join with the other member to undertake the journey.

11. Gamaya told me that sometimes she sees the soul of her dead husband held captive by malanenu. If, however, the captive soul is not her dead husband, it is
one of her relatives who suffers affliction as a result of the *malanenu*.

12. These offerings are used particularly to worship *sasuluan*. Since this *kawas* is the guardian spirits of all male villagers, only the males share the offerings.
Chapter 5
Interpretation of the Cikawasays’ Movement Qualities

This chapter focuses on the analysis and interpretation of the cikawasays’ movement qualities in the context of the mirecuk. In the literature reviewed in Chapter 1, it has already been discussed that LMA is a method for analysing qualitative aspects of movement and is different from structural movement analysis and from Labanotation. In this chapter, LMA will be used to identify what components constitute the cikawasays movement qualities and to decipher what meanings are embedded within the movement qualities in the mirecuk. Meanwhile, I will focus on how the cikawasays interpret their sensory experiences in relation to the kawas world, thus yielding the meanings of the movement qualities within the cikawasays’ ritual.

Effort and Body Attitude are observed as the salient features in the cikawasays’ ritual actions. Effort, according to Groff (1990), is defined as an aspect of a system in which is presented the range of qualitative expression found in movement. Effort relates to the manner in which the performer’s energy is directed to produce inner impulses. It is a reflection of a mover’s inner attitude as manifested in the physical properties of Weight, Space, Time and Flow. Flow, based on Groff’s definition, is a continuous process of all movement. It underscores the progression of all movements presented in either unrestrained or inhibited flow. Flow is related to an inner attitude toward the progression of energy, resulting in a rhythmic fluctuation between binding or freeing of the flow. The Efforts Free and Bound create a continuum “for differentiating between an attitude of restraining, restricting or inhibiting the flow and that of indulging, liberating or promoting the flow” (Groff, 1990, p 88).
Weight is the quality of assertion of body weight. It represents a continuum between a light use of body weight and a strong use of body weight in its active aspect. The Effort element of Lightness, such as, delicacy, gentle touch, decreasing pressure, is seen in contrast to the Effort element of Strength; forcefulness, firm touch, increasing pressure. In its passive aspect, Weight is considered as a continuum fluctuating between limpness and heaviness. Passivity of Weight refers to body weight as it is given to the pulls of gravity rather than when body weight is actively supported and utilised in relationship to gravity. Another attribute of Weight Effort is Weight Sensing in which the importance of the body weight is presented in the movement, and its expression is articulated into neither active lightness or strength, nor is it passively limp or heavy.

Space in terms of the Effort factor is not synonymous with space, a spatial orientation: it is the quality of attention towards the environment expressed in movement. In this regard Space Effort provides a spectrum of differentiation between a direction: a channelled, single focused attention to the environment; and an indirection: an encompassing, multi-focused attention to the environment. Time in relation to Effort is not the measure of a duration, a tempo, a pulse, but rather the expressed quality of the mover’s inner attitude toward the passage of time. According to Groff, the distinction between the Effort elements, Quickness and Sustainment, is marked by a differentiation between an inner attitude of urgency, acceleration, condensation of time and that of drawing out, deceleration, and indulging in the passage of time (Groff, 1990, p 88). Within these definitions, each type of Effort includes polar qualities: the Bound and Free qualities within Flow Effort; the Light and Strong qualities within Weight Effort; the qualities of Sustained and Quick in the Time Effort, and Direct and Indirect within Space Effort (figure 58).

In the mirecuk, I observed that there are three main elements of Efforts
Figure 58: Effort Notation Scores

Free

Sustained

FL

SPACE

E

TI IM E

Direct

Bound

Direct

Quick

Light

Indirect
namely, Bound ($\mathcal{B}$), Direct ($\mathcal{D}$), and Weight Sensing ($\mathcal{W}$) identified in the cikawasays' movements. I am of opinion that the cikawasays employ Weight Sensing as the basis of movement quality in their spirit ritual acts. Further, that the cikawasays' sensing of the calay is the key factor in causing the manifestation of Weight Sensing in the movements. So then, prior to interpreting Weight Sensing in relation to the cikawasays' movements, the relationship between the calay and the cikawasays in terms of the mirecuk will be analysed first.

In the mirecuk, the calay is the most important spiritual element for the cikawasays in that it is a spiritual connection bridging the cikawasays with the kawas. According to the senior cikawasays, the calay is given out by the kawas to the cikawasays who use it for different purposes in the mirecuk's sub-rites. In the opening rite, mavuhegad, for instance the cikawasays receive the calay, putting it on their hands, feet and bodies in order to prepare re to practise the spirit acts. What is more, the highest ranking cikawasay is the only one who possesses the capacity to sense and distribute the calay to the members in this sub-rite. Thus, the capacity for being able to sense and allot the calay to the others becomes an essential factor in embodying the authoritative power of the highest cikawasay rank, and in the submissive character of the lower rank members. That is, a member's hierarchical status can be ascertained by the member's ability to sense and adorn the calay.

In the sub-rite, meragad du kawas (walk on the lalan), the calay is the spiritual guide, which is sensed by the leader of the cikawasay who relies upon such a sensation to lead the members to travel the realm of the kawas and reach the kawas' dwelling. The calay in this sub-rite is also transformed into the lalan, thus, allowing the cikawasays to proceed toward their destination. When the cikawasays travel in the kawas realm, the calay orients the members and leads them, such that it orients them in the correct direction in which to proceed and, to cross over various types of
the lalan, distinguished by the movements of the cikawasays. When the cikawasays arrive at their destination, the kawas dwelling, they invoke the kawas to descend. According to the senior cikawasays, the calay is the route by which the kawas come down to the ritual place and interact with the cikawasays. One of the forms of interaction is spirit possession where the calay acts as a means by which the kawas possess the cikawasays. For example, in the worship of monkey kawas, the kawas cause the cikawasays to involuntary lie down on the floor and perform the monkey-like movement which they find pleasing.

In the sub-rite, bavelac, however, the calay is not used as a mode for the kawas to possess the junior members; rather the calay is wrapped around the juniors whose souls then leave their bodies to follow the kawas to travel in the kawas realm. This is a rather different form of spirit possession. Similarly to this type of spiritual experience is another found in the sub-rite, cacudadan, where the cikawasays travel the dwelling place of daniyurau (the spinning spirits). When the members arrive at the dwelling, Gamaya wraps the calay around the junior members' feet who immediately fall down on the floor in a dead faint. The calay in this situation has the same function as that in the bavelac. That is, in both scenarios the calay causes the souls of the juniors to leave their bodies to travel with the kawas. The cikawasays believe these types of spiritual experiences induced in part by the calay, is one way to increase their spirit capacity for interacting with the kawas.

Other functions of the calay in relation to the mirecuk are described as follows. The calay in the sub-rite, segam, particularly in the section of the healing rite, is used to purify the body of the host cikawasay and her family members. Here, the senior cikawasays elongate the calay so that it penetrates the patients' bodies in order to remove existing pollutants. In addition, when the host cikawasay (Gamaya), in this instance is healed by one of the senior members, Gamaya drinks a cup of rice
wine mixed with the calay since it is believed to be good for her health. For Gamaya, the calay in the healing rite is not only a means to physical purification, but is also a spiritual resource for the cikawasays. In other words, the calay is a means to several states.

En route to the under world, the calay is used to pound on the spirit ground to open up the spirit hole. Once open, the cikawasays can invoke the captive soul to return to the south (the cardinal point of ancestors). When the calay is used with the incense in the sub-rite, samdiau, the calay is believed by the cikawasays to work with the incense together to heal their hands and in effect to increase their ability for healing. In the sub-rite, cacudadan, the calay can be transformed into the spirit mirror to aid Gamaya who lengthens it vertically and looks through it to search for the location of the possessed members in the realm of the kawas. Also, the calay is believed to transform into the spirit shoes used for preventing their feet from burning when the cikawasays wear them to cross over fire.

Based on the above, the calay can be viewed as an integral part of the mirecuk and as inseparable from the cikawasays' ritual actions. In addition to this specific relationship between the calay and the cikawasays, the cikawasays use their bodies to sense the calay—the only way to ascertain the existence of the calay.

According to what Ahbi (one of the senior members) told me, the calay is perceived as having a quality of stickiness and can affix onto the body. She further described this sensory experience as being similar to wearing a thin cloth and putting on a thin pair of gloves. I continued to ask her whether the calay is felt to possess a certain weight or not. She replied that she feels the calay is heavy. These statements indicate that when the calay sticks to the body of the cikawasay it is physically and thus actually perceived.

Sera told me that when she obtains the calay, she senses that the calay sticks
to her forefinger and thumb and attaches to the middle of the sole of her feet. And what is more, Sera continued to say, since each member’s hands hold on to the *calay* during the ritual, that is why the *cikawasays* do not necessarily hold hands with each other on this occasion.\(^2\) Ebah, another senior member, told me that when she walks on the *lalan*, the weight of the *calay* makes her feel as if she is dragging along an heavy object with her hands and legs while undertaking the spirit journey. Such a bodily sensation causes her fatigue after the journey. Devi told me that when she holds the *calay* in her hands while travelling on the *lalan*, she tends to alternate holding it in both hands so that each arm has a chance for a brief rest. She said; If she only held the *calay* in one hand throughout the entire journey, the weight of the *calay* would make her arm sore.

These different sensory experiences are derived from the member’s own levels of perception. That is, the degree of how much the *calay* is sensed depends on the member’s spiritual interaction with the *kawas* realm. The weight and the stickiness of the *calay* are common qualities felt by the *cikawasays* who reflect this in their movements. Based on my imitation of their movement, the interrelation between the *cikawasays*’ movement quality, and the *calay*, the movement quality do not reflect a dominantly strong or light quality, nor passivity, yet there is a certain degree of weight quality presented in the movements. In LMA’s terms, Weight Sensing is employed by the *cikawasays* as a means of embodying the *calay* which thus leads the *cikawasays* to enact their spirit acts in relation to the *kawas*.

Besides Weight Sensing, Bound Flow is used to underscore a restricted manner of movement, that is performed within each *cikawasay’s* own volume of space, or Kinesphere, in the group forms. Groff defines the Kinesphere:

> He [Laban] perceived the essential zone of movement as a spatial sphere surrounding the body and called this the Kinesphere. He perceived this
sphere as a volume of personal space that could grow and shrink with the extension and contraction of the body parts, distinguishing between near, middle and far reaches of space. The centre of the Kinesphere corresponds to the centre of gravity in the human body which directly correlates to the proprioceptive sensation of the body’s axis’ with their extension into space. The concept of periphery, in contrast to centre, identifies the outer boundary of kinesphere, the surface of this personal volume of space.

Groff, 1990, p 85

In the group formation, the members slightly swing their arms back and forth within the degree of Middle Reach. When pulling the calay, Gamaya extends her right arm to the degree of Far Reach space towards Forward High ( ). Then the peripheral spreading of the arms’ movement is executed horizontally in front of her chest in order to distribute the calay to the rest of members. The others extend their arms to the Middle Reach space in response to Gamaya’s bodily message that they must receive the calay. When wriggling through the spirit tunnel, Gamaya lies on the right side of her body reaching her arms to Far Reach space in order to open the spirit door. These spatial spheres of the movements are performed within an individual person’s Kinesphere which relates a sense of a restricted manner.

Such a manner is also associated with the positions of the members and each member’s volume of space in group formation. In the group circle, for example, the rule of arranging the positions of the members is based on hierarchical status: the higher ranked members are positioned adjacent to the left hand side of the lower ranking members. When the cikawasays employ the single formation for travelling for the realm of the kawas, the junior members are incapable of travelling by themselves. So then, they are led by the seniors and their positioning themselves right behind the seniors. When Gamaya as the highest rank of the cikawasay invokes the kawas to descend, she positions herself in the middle of the group circle.

It becomes evident that these spirit acts are performed by the group members on the
basis of status and position within the group.

In addition to the principled hierarchy, the movement to the *cikawasays* in fact is governed by the *calay* which transforms the body into a "spiritual receptacle" allowing it to perform the spirit acts. In other words, the employment of movement cannot be performed without taking both factors into account. The significance of the *calay* is its function of controlling the performance of movement while at the same time the execution of movement is in conjunction with sensing the *calay*. Meanwhile, the concept of hierarchical status has been established to ensure that the members perform their roles properly and implicitly to circumscribe each individual movement's volume of space. Both factors—the *calay* and the hierarchical structure, dominate and construct the movement of the *cikawasays* into a rigid form, which integrated with a restrained motion quality or Bound Flow, is manifested in a controlled fashion.

Direct Effort is expressed by the members when they gaze upon the offerings or in the direction of the spatial orientations of the ritual. In the sub-rite of *segam*, for example, the offerings are placed in the centre of the group circle where the *kawas* descend temporarily. When the *kawas* have descended, the area becomes a divine place and is prohibited to any non-*cikawasay* villagers who want to approach this place. This place, as the focal point in the group circle, immediately draws the attention of the members. According to Sera:

> When I begin the stepping and the singing with the rest of the members in the group, my eyes are looking towards the offerings inevitably. Although sometimes I attempt to look at what Gamaya is doing, it is impossible for me to take such an action. I feel there is a strong spirit power which radiates from the offerings, magnetises my focus on it

*Fieldnotes, 23 May, 1997*

This statement indicates that the *kawas*'s power attracts the focus of the members.
Direct Effort can also be found when Gamaya gazes on the directions of the ritual space when invoking the kawas. Her focus on the spatial orientations is accompanied by arm movements and chanting so as to form a communicative style in which she summons the kawas from each cardinal point to descend. Another example related to this usage of Effort is when the cikawasays prepare for setting out on the spirit journey. In this case, the members form two rows facing the direction of the kawas's dwelling which is also the destination of the journey; through the combination of Direct Effort employed in an arms' gesture and a vocal expression, the location of the kawas in the ritual space is depicted.

Another movement quality identified in the cikawasays' movements is the Rhythm State ( ) which is composed of Strong ( ) and Sudden ( ) Effort, and possesses a distinctive function in demarcating both the worlds of the kawas and the human. Sudden Effort is a mover's inner impulse towards the passage of time—it does not refer to a measure of duration and tempo. For example, quick, urgent, abrupt, instantaneous, fighting/condensing expression in time exemplifies the primary feature of Sudden Effort. Strong Effort refers to a sensation of force or pressure exerted in a movement, actively using the sensation of body weight to make an impact.

The expression of Rhythm State occurs particularly in the return journey to the living realm when the members take turns to exit from the kawas realm. The way of exiting is by way of pinching the calay, feeling along it, to leave the previous lalan and to enter the final phase of the rite—misalemuh. After this, the group forms a circle to sing and execute the certain stepping to comfort their weary bodies and minds due to having undergone such a long journey. At this stage, they have not withdrawn completely from the realm of the kawas because their body still possesses the calay. Then, when the performance of movement and singing is finished, they
travel backward anti-clockwise for one circle. The members, then, jump up and
down quickly and forcefully in place several times while they lower their body
weight towards the ground in order to shake the calay off the body. Then, they
employ a small leap backwards to leave the area where the calay scatters in the air.
The calay then is collected and then waved back to the world of the kawas by the
senior members. After this, the sub-rite can be finished whereupon the members
take this opportunity to recuperate themselves by chatting to each other and drinking
a little of the rice wine in preparation for the next journey.

Quick Effort then can be found in the shaking movement employed when
the cikawasays ride their bodies of calay. This Quick Effort relates a sense of
urgency in conjunction with the fact that the cikawasays must immediately disconnect
themselves from the calay in order to return to the living. According to the senior
members, the calay belongs to the world of the kawas. So, if they still possess it in
the living world, it will cause them to suffer sickness or the kawas will induce dreams.
Strong Effort, therefore, plays a significant role in inducing the determination which
leads the members to disengage themselves fully from the calay. The sequences of
movements described above combine Quick and Strong Effort or Rhythm State, thus
allowing the cikawasays to withdraw from the place of the kawas and clearly
delineate the boundary between the quotidian world and the kawas world.

When performing the shaking movement, the cikawasays employ their low
body weight. Factors of shaping this particular bodily posture might be examined in
the cikawasays' way of using the body in daily activities. But first, this approach to
explore the relationship between daily posture and the ritual posture of the
cikawasays' must be discussed.

Such an argument is derived from Lomax's hypothesis "that dance
movement is patterned reinforcement of habitual movement patterns of each culture
and culture area” (1968, p 15). In order to prove his hypothesis, Lomax with his collaborators, Bartenieff and Paulay (both use Effort/Shape analysis) devised Choreometrics (which means the measure of the dance or dance as a measure of society) by looking at more than 200 films for analogies between work style and dance style within homogeneous societies. Lomax’s (1968) argument is that:

[D]ance is composed of those gestures, postures, movements, and movement qualities most characteristic and most essential of the activity of everyday, and thus crucial to cultural continuity.

Lomax, 1968, p 224

His argument has been criticised, however, by Youngerman (1974) for his theoretical orientation which posits both an ecological determinism and a unilineal evolutionary mode of culture change. Youngerman points out that Lomax uses dubious resource of film as his data and applies a static conception of culture based on the correlation of traits and uses the confusion of geographic areas with ecological zones. Such false premise according to Youngerman “destroy any hypothesis which maintain that culture circles or clusters are the product of adaptation to a specific environment” (1974, p 17).

Kealiinohomoku (1974) also contests that work habits and dance might not have any definite correlation. Kealiinohomoku observes that Okinawans habitually rest on their hamstrings for resting, talking, and working, however, a squatting gesture does not appear in Okinawan dances and they never include squatting movements nor any movements related to this habitual posture (1974, p 21). Kealiinohomoku also points out that Lomax’s assumption cannot answer the question whether if everyday behaviour changes then, dance styles then must change. She considers that such a relationship should be examined using varying ratios and with varying degrees of adaptation. Lomax makes other suggestions concerning
"carryovers" from the work/dance analogy. Though he explains that the films studied indicate that there are "many examples of the carryover of posture from work stance into dance stance, of work-team shape into choreographic shape" (1968, pp. 224-225). Kealiinohomoku points out, however, that there are many examples from real life showing that one cannot predicate "choreography shape" from "work-team shape". For example, she states that the North American Hopi aborigines do not work in teams, but they always dance in a team. Navajo aboriginal men do not work in teams, but, they dance in teams as well (1974, p 22).

Kealiinohomoku points out that Lomax's argument about position causation is suspect because of the inadequacy of his film sample. The sample does not fulfil minimal requirements because it is too limited and in some cases atypical, she argues. Another flaw that Kealiinohomoku finds in Lomax's work are his conclusions which Kealiinohomoku considers too general and subjective. For example:

Europe: The Caucasian Georgian dance style has a strong stylistic affinity with African movement styles, a weaker one with Old High Culture. Indeed the tightly coordinated Georgian dances are performed with typically Oriental loops and delicate peripheral developments...The four-square leg dances of England and western France strongly resemble each other, but show stylistic similarity, as does Portuguese dance, to the style of New Guinea and Amerindia. This strange connection may be a product of a very meager sample which does not represent the variety of European dance style; nevertheless, northwestern European dancing, with its attachment to the one-unit system of body attitude and simple reversal, properly shows its strongest ties with four-square, solid-trunk style of the primitive Pacific.

Lomax, 1968, p 234

Kealiinohomoku criticises these statements as the result of failing to look at the intra-cultural and cross-cultural varieties of dance on a word-wide basis.

Williams (1974, 1991) argues that dancing in Choreometric theory does
not negotiate insight or mediate meaning. The theory ignores the nature of dance—
of the syntactical, grammatical, spatio-linguistic and semantic features of dances.
Rather, within Choreometric theory, dancing "effectively organizes joint motor
activity" and is "the most repetitious, redundant and organized system of movement"
(Lomax, 1968, p 238). In this view, Williams says, dance is not about the dances of
people, but assumes that human danced actions are mechanical.

Williams points out that the data that is the basis for Choreometrics is filmed,
not actual "behaviour" and because of this, the data is value-laden, prejudiced and
incomplete. As a result, Choreometrics is internally inconsistent, owing to many
ambiguities surrounding the movement units' on which it is based. In addition,
Williams notes that "it is impossible to tell on what population parameters
Choreometric samples are based; are they geographical or political boundaries,
linguistic similarities, agricultural distributions, skin-pigmentation or continental
units?" (1974, p 27). Furthermore, Williams considers that this project cannot
answer anthropological questions about consistency, continuity and change in human
society because it is supposed to do this by correlation of filmed dance and non-dance
activities; which does not provide even adequate, far less satisfactory, answers to such
questions.

I agree with both Williams and Kealiinohomoku that the Choreometrics
project was limited to a finite array of film materials available from which it derived
its conclusions, and did not conduct comprehensive observations of the dance and
cultures represented in the study. As a result, the findings on the relationship
between dance and the rest of human life have been held suspect and inconclusive.
In this thesis, however, my method of examining the relationship between daily work
and certain bodily postures used in ritual does not rely upon film materials and
Lomax's evolutionist interpretation, but instead is based on observation of actual
behaviour and movement practised in both daily activities and a ritual context.

In my fieldwork, I observed that the cikawasays life is not confined to a life of partitioning of rituals alone, but also includes a household life of mothering and farming. I observed that as they perform agricultural tasks, squatting and sitting on the ground are predominant in their body position. In other activities, such as gathering food at the seashore, hunting for crab in the river and collecting vegetables in the yard, the squatting postures reinforce the sense of being grounded and supports the body while it executes these labour intensive tasks more effectively. When chatting with each other, they habitually sit on low stools with outstretched legs in a resting posture. From such observations, it is evident that the cikawasays tend to lower their body weight when performing their habitual acts in daily life.

In the ritual, the cikawasays use these same acts observed in daily life and are evident on several occasions during the ritual practice. In the sub-rite, segam, for example, three senior cikawasays squat in front of the three plates tearing betel-nuts leaves and chewing betel-nuts so as to provide small pieces of offering to feed the kawas. The squatting posture supported by the lower body weight allows the body to remain steady on the floor and controlled. When crossing the lalan filled with ants and wild grass, the cikawasays employ the squatting posture again in which the lower body weight supports the body grounding it on the lalan thus allowing the cikawasays to travel attentively and steadily. When the cikawasays employ the shaking movement to shake the calay off the body, the cikawasays use their lower body weight to employ a sinking movement quality while at the same time they jump up and down in place on the floor firmly and forcefully, reinforcing the shaking action.

Based on such observations, it is evident to me that daily postures act as correlative factors to shape the cikawasays' distribution of body weight in a ritual
context. As the critiques on Choreometrics have illustrated, however, dance and work styles might not have a direct relationship. Yet, in this thesis the Effort/Shape approach used in my particular case study suggests that possible qualitative aspects are to be found in relation to ritual bodily posture and everyday behaviour.

The movement behaviour of the cikawasays associated with, and inherent in the ritual and non-ritual activities can be considered as a part of what Bourdieu (1977) has defined as the habitus of local culture which accounts for the practical knowledge of social actors. Jenkins (1992, p 74) states that Bourdieu's theory of "disposition" and generative classificatory schema which are the essence of the habitus are embodied in real human beings.” Furthermore, Jenkins concisely summarises Bourdieu’s concept of embodiment considered to have three meanings in Bourdieu’s work:

First, in a trivial sense, the habitus only exists inasmuch as it is ‘inside the heads’ of actors (and the head is, after all part of the body). Second, the habitus only exists in, through, and because of the practices of actors and their interaction with each other and with the rest of their environment: ways of talking, ways of moving, ways of making things, or whatever. In this respect, the habitus is emphatically not an abstract or idealistic concept...Third, the ‘practical taxonomies’ which are at the heart of the generative schemes of the habitus, are rooted in the body.

Jenkins, 1992, pp. 74-75

Indeed, Bourdieu notes that the concept of male/female, front/back, up/down, hot/cold, these are all primarily sensible in terms of making sense and of being rooted in sensory experience based on the point of view of the embodied person. In addition, the embodiment of the habitus finds another expression in Bourdieu's use of the word “hexis”. Inscribed in “bodily hexis" according to Bourdieu, the habitus is habitual and unreflexive:

Bodily hexis...turned into a permanent disposition, a durable manner of standing, speaking and thereby of feeling and thinking...The principles
embodied in this way are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness, and hence cannot be touched by voluntary deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit.

Bourdieu, cited in Farnell, 2000, p 402

Farnell (2000, p 402) notes that Bourdieu attempts to “avoid determinism by suggesting that the habitus only disposes actors to do certain things. It provides a ground for the generation of practices but does not determine them.” Farnell thus points out that if habitual schemas are generative there must be some means by which agents draw on their habitus as a resource. Based on her critique on Bourdieu’s theory, Farnell considers that:

The problem with this formulation is that the process of generation, the social-cultural content generated and subsequent adjustments to external constraints (demands and opportunities) of the social world, are all apparently unconscious, or less than consciousness.

Farnell, 2000, pp. 402-403

Hence, Farnell criticises Bourdieu for not providing an account of how such a casual link might actually work, or how it can be the doing of an agentic person. This is to say, according to Farnell (2000, p 403), “Bourdieu’s theory lacks an adequate conception of the nature and location of agency, and an adequate conception of the nature of human power and capacity.” Although the concept of habitus fails to look at human agency as personhood, the concept provides an account for the cikawasays’ habitual bodily pattern. The observed cikawasays pattern is a consequence of the ways in which they use their bodies in relation to habits, within a shared environment—rather than as a result of obedience to rules or conscious intentions.

Another observed bodily posture in the ritual process is employed when the members hold their torsos in either one unit (a vertical dimension or erect) () or bend their torsos slightly forwards (). This posture of the upper body is
characterised as Body Attitude. Its definition according to Bartenieff and Lewis is as follows:

In the coding of the Alan Lomax Choreometric projects, a specific definition of body attitude was developed. Recurrent or constant features of the performance of different movement were tabulated to identify an overall body attitude. Thus a combination of torso changes, torso level, torso unit usage, relation to verticality, relation to stance and isolation of segments that were recurrent or constant would describe the body attitude of the performer.

Bartenieff & Lewis, 1975, p 111

The employment of this bodily attitude can be seen when the members invoke the kawas to descend to the offerings. At this time, the torso is held erect while the cikawasays chant. During most travelling on the kawas' journey, the cikawasays hold their upper body in the vertical position. Performing this salient posture of the torso symbolically indicates that the cikawasays locate themselves in the ritual state where the torso acts as a rigid form to confront the kawas.

Another posture is observed when the cikawasays bend their torsos slightly forwards, performed on three different occasions in the ritual: the first is when the members enter the kawas' world, the second is when they travel from one of the lalan to next, and the third is during the worship of the pigu kawas. On the first occasion, the cikawasays form two rows in preparation for setting out on the journey. They then shift their body weight to the left leg to shake the right heel up and down repeatedly while the torso is held in an upright position. After this, the senior members wave their arms alternately in the air twice to sweep pollutants away. Then the cikawasays alternately shift their weight on the balls of their feet and gently bounce while torso leaning them forward. The waving arms gesture is then repeated. After this, the foot movement and inclined torso movement are synchronically performed twice. After finishing these sequences of movement, the members set out
According to the senior members, the bending of the upper body forwards in this movement is termed *mimukmu* which means moving from the human world to enter the *kawas’* world. Sera described this bodily sensory experience to me:

> When I perform the *mimukmu*, I sense squeezing forward progressively. Then I perceive a brighter *kawas’* surroundings. Therefore, I can begin to pull the *calay* from the direction of *kawas* world.

Fieldnotes, 11 January, 1998

It is important to note that the entire sequences of movement representing this crossing over from the living to the spirit world is performed in place. Moreover, the meaning of bending the torso forwards, according to the senior members, is entering into the realm of the *kawas*. The posture is repeatedly executed three times within the movement sequence. The repetitive movement has its significance in that each time the *cikawasays* bend their torsos forward, the members move progressively forward into the world of the *kawas*. As a result, the members can perceive a clearer and brighter *kawas’* environment for pulling and obtaining the *calay* with each repetition.

On the second occasion when the members travel from one *lalan* to the next, the same torso gesture is executed. During the transition from *lalan*, Gamaya executes a waving backwards gesture as a way of delivering the *lalan* to the rest of members so that they can all travel together on the *lalan* on this journey. When receiving the *calay*, the members bend their torsos slightly forward and in this way receive it and then on to the next *kawas* road. The torso gesture also can be seen on a third occasion when *piku kawas* are worshipped. The *piku’s* horn, which symbolises this *kawas*, is placed with the offerings in the centre of the group circle. During the rite, the focus of the members is on the ritual objects and the torso posture.
accompanies the foot steps and the singing to form a communicative style which pleases the *kawas*. The notion of pleasing, according to Gamaya, is practised by the *cikawasays* who carry the offerings to the place of the *kawas* and perform the ritual movements and singing to entertain and satisfy the *kawas*. Such a notion can be revealed from the content of the song, composed of a set of the ritual language described as follows:

Wu lugudu hauidan hau hai  
Amaau Gacawan hau hai  
Amaau Anesorai hau hai  
Amaau Sasoyoyan hau hai  
Balidemuhai hanaca hau hai  
Nu namu a dadudun hau hai  
Wu dayu ini yaca hau hai  
Wu lumud ini yaca hau hai  
Lingalau ini yaca hau hai  
Wu selen ini yaca hau hai  
Bihulag ini yaca hau hai  
Machiu du vuresen hau hai  
Hadiladu hau haid hau hai

Singing the song, fellows!  
The Fathers! Gacawan (the names of all male spirits).  
The Fathers! Anesorai (the names of all male spirits).  
The Father! Sasoyoyan (the name of fishing spirits).  
Giving the sticky rice and the betel-nuts to you, the spirits.  
This offerings are for you.  
Come over here, the betel-nuts are to be given to you.  
Come, your favorite pottery is here.  
Come! Here is the rice wine.  
Come! Here is the sticky rice.  
Get rid of our illness!.  
Like paralysis.  
The spirits! This is the end

(Mulu, 1995, p 357) (my translation)

The main contents of the song include invoking the different characters of the *kawas* in this rite, inviting the *kawas* to eat the offerings and wishing the *kawas* to remove bodily afflictions from the members. By holding this ritual annually, the members please and satisfy the *kawas*, who in turn re-ensure the *cikawasays* maintain their health. On the other hand, a reciprocal relationship between the members and the *kawas* is carried out through the *cikawasays* to practise the ritual and is one way to make the members avoid suffering from an illness. Thus, the employment of bodily posture with the singing informs the *kawas* that the members have returned to the dwellings for a re-practising and re-affirming of this particular mode of reciprocal relationship.
Another observed torso gesture is stooping (\[\text{\rotatebox[origin=c]{90}{\includegraphics{stooping.png}}}\]), executed in two different sub-rites: the *mivivih* and the *misaleme*. The *mivivih* as described in the previous chapter is the stage of purifying the body of the *cikawasays*. The members form a circle where one of the senior members positions herself inside a circle holding a bunch of ginger to pat and brush each member. In this rite, they sing and execute footsteps travelling slowly in an anti-clockwise direction. During the travelling, the senior member sometimes uses the ginger to brush the others' bodies playfully engendering an atmosphere of mirth. Meanwhile, chatting occurs from time to time among the members while the singing and stepping are performed. With this manner of practising the rite, an atmosphere of relaxation permeates among the members. In such an atmosphere, the holding of the erect torso is not necessary. Instead, the upper body movement is allowed to bend deeply, having the appearance of stooping. So then, the rite reaches its peak moment, the senior members initiate the stooping while the singing and stepping side to side proceed. The stooping gesture is also reflective of the hierarchical system within the group in that the senior members have the authority to initiate such a movement. The junior members, in contrast, execute the movement immediately after the seniors.

In the sub-rite of the *misaleme*, the members are in a situation where they have just exited from the last section of the *kawas' lalan*, but have not yet returned to the living. In this phase of the rite, the members all sing and execute the steps in the group circle, except for Gamaya who positions herself on the inside of the circle. She faces the rest of the members in order to comfort their weariness by placing her hands gently on their shoulders, while all step side to side travelling in the anti-clockwise direction. The weariness in the ritual context is interpreted as an expression of their *maramu*, self-pity, as a result of their *cikawasay* calling.

Each of them was a victim of the *kawas* and had endured a lingering bodily
affliction given out by the *kawas*. Through the healing rituals, his/her affliction was cured by a senior *cikawasay* and entitled to be one of the members. The identity of the *cikawasay*, however, was not given from his/her willingness but from their reluctance. Most members told me that they wish they could abandon this role and their relationships with the *kawas*. In reality, if they are unwilling to practise the *mirecuk*, the affliction given to the *cikawasay* will be induced by the *kawas*. The only way to avoid such suffering is to be devoted to the practice of the *mirecuk* by providing offerings to the *kawas*. In other words, on the one hand the *cikawasays* are afraid of having relationships with the *kawas*, on the other they must practise the spirit acts in order to satisfy the *kawas’* needs. In this condition, the *cikawasays* convey a state of ambivalence to confront the *kawas*. During the ritual, after the members have finished the worship of the *kawas* and have undergone a long journey, the sentiment of *maranu* is usually evoked. This mode of encountering *kawas* affects an inner intent of the members expressed through the emotion of self-pity.

In this rite, the emotional statement is reflected in the movement and the singing. Combined with the stooping underlined by Weight Sensing and Bound Flow, the movement is performed to convey the feeling of contradiction. As the emotional state reaches its climax, some of the members burst into tears and their torsos bend even deeper and Gamaya extends her arms to touch them gently in consolation.

These three gestures of the upper body: erect position, bending forward and stooping possess their own significant meanings in the ritual actions. The erect and slightly bent forward gestures are performed when the *cikawasays* enter the world of the *kawas* and in this way are a means to interact with the *kawas*. The stooping gesture is executed particularly to convey the emotional states of the members. In this gesture, the greater the degree of bending the torso forwards implies that the torso
is “liberated” from the upright position. With this change, the freer upper body movement is adopted to act as an expressive form of human nature to allow the cikawasays to release their emotion. In contrast, the lesser the degree of bending the torso indicates that the cikawasays are subject to interact with the kawas and the movement then is performed in a restricted manner. The cikawasays employ these different torso gestures to encounter the different ritual subjects—the kawas and themselves, symbolically distinguishing the worlds of human and the kawas within the ritual context.

In summation, this chapter has considered the method of LMA to analyse and interpret the meanings of movement quality and bodily postures of the cikawasays in the mirecuk. Weight Sensing, Bound Flow and Rhythm State are the identifiable components of Effort quality in the ritual actions. Weight Sensing is the movement base used by the cikawasays to embody the unique nature of the calay, and through which the cikawasays enable their bodies to interact and communicate with the kawas. Using Bound Flow in the ritual makes manifest the controlled manner of the cikawasays, thereby enabling one to sense the existence of the calay. Here, the controlled manner is also that way in which the cikawasays institution is hierarchically structured. The Rhythm State employed by the cikawasays is interpreted as a way of shaking the calay off the body in a determined manner, allowing the cikawasays to disengage from the realm of the kawas. The three different styles of torso gestures performed in the ritual allow an observer to differentiate between the worlds of the kawas and the living and the different manners in which the subjects interact. In order to find what other possible factors shape the posture of the cikawasays in the ritual, I have examined the correlation between daily behaviour and ritual posture. Such an attempt has been criticised in terms of its implication for cause and effect (Kealiinohomuk, 1974, p 20). Bourdieu’s theory of
*habitus*, however, shifts the focus of this implication to account for the practical knowledge of the *cikawasays* within the Amis cultural context.

The next chapter will deal with the relationship between ritual space and the movement of the *cikawasays*. In addition, a detailed examination of the length of distance of the *cikawasay*’s journey to reach different dwelling places of the *kawas* will be discussed.
ENDNOTES

1. According to Groff (1990, p 73), Laban considers that movement is not a simplistic correlation of intent and form. Laban suggests that forms of movement expression can be gained from personal experience and close observation of other dancers. Groff, thus considers that actual kinesthetic participation in movement and empathetic observation is the way to interpret others' inner intent.

2. In the Amis non-cikawasay rituals, such as the harvest festival, and wedding ceremonies, the Amis usually hold hands with each other to sing and dance within the group circle in celebration.

3. She gives another example regarding typical Russian folk dances for men in which it is observed that the dance employs a number squatting movements. According to Kealinohomoku, however, such behaviour is not considered as their habitual everyday pattern.

4. The trunk articulated as one piece.

5. A summation of the criteria for the movement units in Choreometrics reads as follows:
   a) body parts most frequently articulated, b) body attitude or active stance, c) shape of the movement path and of transitions, d) patterns that link body and limb and e) dynamic quality.

   Lomax, 1971, p 25

6. According to Bourdieu, the word “disposition” encompasses three distinct meanings: (a) “the result of an organising action”, a set of outcomes which he describes as approximating to “structure”; (b) a “way of being” or a “habitual state”; and (c) a “tendency”, propensity or “inclination” (Bourdieu, 1977, p 214)

7. According to Bourdieu:
   
   Our perception and our practice, especially our perception of the social world, are guided by practical taxonomies, oppositions between up and down, masculine (or virile) and feminine, etc., and the classifications produced by these taxonomies owe their effectiveness to the fact that they are ‘practical’ that they allow one to introduce just enough logic for the needs of practical behaviour, neither too much—since a certain vagueness is often indispensable, especially in negotiations—nor too little, since life would then be impossible.

   Bourdieu, 1990, p 73
These "practical taxonomies" linked by processes of generative analogy and homology, are important to Bourdieu's model of practice.

8. Bourdieu (1977, p 87) states that "body hexis speaks directly to the motor function, in the form of a pattern of postures that is both individual and systematic, because linked to a whole system of techniques involving the body and tools, and charged with a host of social meanings and values."
Chapter 6
The Cikawasays’ Movements and Ritual Space in The Mirecuk

Recent anthropological studies of space have included analyses of space in relation to body positioning, body postures, and the system of relativity but for the most part these areas of study have been insufficient. More often what is analysed is the symbolism behind architectures and homestead locale, as well as the symbolic meaning in burial positions. For our purposes, however, we will look further into that of the previous mentioned studies so as to gain an insightful perspective when discussion of the cikawasay resumes.

In studying the Marakwet of Kenya, Moor (1986) believes that spatial orientations do not absolutely express a culture’s standard views on relativity, nor do they necessarily encode themes. Instead, space is not “space” per se until it is interpreted as such from a given perspective. Furthermore, the reinterpretation of space is an ongoing work that is realised in the embodiment knowledge. For Moore, this work is in part the product of the material conditions of history and the chosen responses people have to their own interpretations of space.

Parkin (1992) in his article “Ritual as spatial direction and bodily division” assumes that rituals are constituted of action, the meanings of which can not be expressed with words. He states:

Thus while myth is rendered as privileging words, ritual is held to privilege physical action; it is an action that can only be understood as bodily movement towards or positions with respect to other bodily movement and positions. If such movements are a principal feature of ritual, then it must be through them rather than through verbal assertions that people make their main statements.

Parkin, 1992, p12
Taking body positioning and postures into account, Parkin (1992, p. 18) views ritual as “formulaic spatiality” in that, ritual is enacted by a group of participants and manifested in “idioms of passage, movement, including exchange, journey, axis, concentricism, and up-and down directions.” Both Parkin and Moor have a shared perspective that without taking the body into account, the meaning of space in relation to a ritual and cultural context cannot be understood. This is to say, that for Parkin and Moore, space ultimately is that which is in relation to the body. Yet, the body is that which is moved and not movement per se—not a self-mover, a moving agent. In other words, for Parkin and Moor, the human body is static since, within an enactment space, the human body is not an agent and is then only physical action. Williams (1995) and Farnell (1995) explore this argument further from an agent’s perspective.

In her article (1995), “Space, Intersubjectivity, and the Conceptual Imperative: Three Ethnographic Cases”, Williams takes the system of semasiology as her theoretical framework to study human movement. She conceives of human movement itself as an action sign and the human body as a signifying body. So then, when human acts are performed in relation to space, the spaces performed in are also the social values, concepts of religious belief, and ethical norms within a given society. In her own words:

The spaces in which human acts occur are not only simply physical spaces. They are simultaneously physical, conceptual, moral and ethical spaces. The people who generate and occupy these spaces are subjects in their own natural language(s).

Williams, 1995, p 52

This is to say, space is relative yet inseparable from movement (in the physical and conceptual senses) so that movement is a language just as the space movement occurs in is. To add weight to her theory that semasiology is a universal framework which
makes sense of a particularised cultural activity in the study of structured human movement, she presents three ethnographic cases in her work Title of Work: *tai chi chuan*, the Latin mass, and ballet, specifically *Checkmate*.

People in China who practise *tai chi* face the geographical direction south. In the I-Ching (Book of Changes) spatial orientations correspond to various hexagram arrangements. According to the Book of Changes, *ch'ien* (heaven) and *k'un* (earth) are the two poles which form the north-south axis; *Ken* (mountain), *tui* (lake) form the southwest-northeast axis; *Chen* (thunder) and *Sun* (wind) form the southeast-northwest axis; *Li* (fire) and *k'an* (water) are unable to be reconciled in the material world and so form the east-west axis. When the various elements intermingle, double movement can be observed. Williams quotes the Book of Changes to explain further the relationship between *tai chi* movement and the concept of Chinese cosmology:

First, the usual clockwise movement, calmative and expanding as time goes on, and determining the events that are passing; second, an opposite, backward movement, folding up and contracting as time goes on, through which the seeds of the future take form. To know this movement is to know the future. In figurative terms, if we understand how a tree is contracted into a seed, we understand the future unfolding of the seed into a tree

*Book of Changes*, cited in Williams, 1995, p 61

The above description recounts the meaning of the movement in relation to the Chinese culture's philosophical perspective on the subject. The relationship between *yang* (heaven), *yin* (earth), and humanity (standing on earth in between *yang* and *yin*) is the basis upon which this system functions. The *yang* is light, expressed in *tai chi* by the foot which has no weight on it. A foot bearing weight is heavy, or *yin*. Thus, the continuous distribution of weight is the vital part of the exercise. Williams points out that the movement cannot be fully understood by merely focusing
on a tai chi performer’s body. One must also look to the relationship between the movement and the conceptual space to find the meaning in the physical action.

In the case of the Latin Mass, the Dominican friar-preachers face the liturgical east when they celebrate Mass. The significance of the east in this religious system can be found in the Book of Psalms where many references to the duality between east/light/dawn and west/dark/sunset are cited. That is to say, a theological metaphor by which the Divinity is associated with light, illumination and understanding in contrast to the darkness of ignorance, confusion, and absence of understanding. The liturgical east is significant in that since the priest is in persona Christ, the Lord, therefore, “comes” through the consecration and then communion from the altar, that “is why the high altar was liturgical east in the semantic and conceptual space of the High Mass” (1995, p 64). Thus, the priest, the altar, and the actions such as blessing, pouring, and distributing are the essential elements of the rite.

In her examination of Checkmate, Williams observes that the body movement of the ballet performers corresponds to the number of walls and corners of a classroom. She claims that the conceptualisation of space on the stage does not accord with geographical directions, but instead is in relation to an audience, thus orienting the dancer. For example, in Checkmate the Red King’s throne is located in upstage or in front of wall seven and the King is situated in the up centre stage area. When the Red Knight bows to the King, the Knight’s back is towards the audience. Nevertheless, specific ballets are performed in conjunction with the space where the numbered walls and corners create different metaphorical properties and provide semantic enactment.

Williams concludes by giving further accounts of the values of spaces in relation to itself where orientations and directions are manifested in a system of
Farnell’s (1995) article, “Where Mind Is a Verb: Spatial Orientation And Deixis In Plains Indian Sign Talk And Assiniboine (Dakota) Culture”, examines the relationship between spoken languages and bodily gestures executed by the indigenous people of the North American Dakotas. Dakota people use sign language to tell stories, communicate and describe the geographical locations of the tribe. Farnell observes that the Dakota sign language is accompanied with vernacular speech:

When I asked how to say in Nakota that someone has a good mind, I was taught the phrase “tawac’I wast’e.” When I asked how to say this in signs, I was taught to move a pointed indexed finger from the heart away from the chest with the finger pointing straight forward, and then add the sign Good, a flat hand with the palm down moving from the center of the chest diagonally to the right.

Farnell, 1996, p 88

The Dakota sign language can be “decoded” if the signing actions and the accompanying speech are understood to be a single expression being expressed in tandem. This example shows that the movement is emphasised and there is no reference to head as a place where the mind is located. She argues with Siouxian linguists (Boas and Deloria 1941), that the mind in Nakota is likened more to a verb than a noun; in other words it is an action not an object. Wac’i “to think,” is conceived of as a way of thinking, a verb with a very wide semantic range. From this, she argues that the relationship between mind and body cannot be taken to be the Cartesian dualism, where the body is characterised as a machine and the mind dominates thought, emotion, and rationality. Instead, Farnell pulls away from Cartesianism to an agent-self orientation. She asserts that body and mind are inseparable. It is this perspective, which shapes her discussion of the relationship
between sign talk and spatial concepts.

The Nakota deictic spaces, *ne*, *ze*, and *ka* are the prefixes for a series of words, which refer to near, farther and far respectively. There are, of course, corresponding body gestures, which illustrate these three indigenous concepts of space. When *ne* is used, the gestures are performed closest to the body itself. For *ze*, the movements reach into a space farther from the body than the *ne* space. The *ka* is a visible yet relative space rather than an actual positioning, so that it is unnecessary to gesture beyond the reaches of the comfortable signing space.

Farnell also discusses that the four cardinal directions are part of this deictic system and are referred to in Nakota as *t'atetopa*, the four winds. Each wind possesses its own spiritual power and contains some central concepts of the cosmology of Nakota. She explains that the concept of cardinal directions has four quarters, differing from the Euro-American conventional picture of the cardinal directions as confined to a lineal dimension. For example, a day for the people is marked by the circular passage of the sun from southeast-northwest in that, the east refers to the sunrise, the south refers literally to the “sun in the middle” or noon; and the west refers to “sun going down” (Farnell, 1995, p 98). In her discussion of the theory of the body and the mind, Farnell holds that Cartesianism is flawed in considering the body and the mind to be separate entities. She reiterates that many cultural resources prove some of the integral connections between spoken language and body gesture. Moreover, she claims one can access one’s own cultural epistemologies and metaphysics if one holds the view that language is inseparable from action (Farnell, 1995, p. 106).

With respect to recording sign language, Farnell finds that Labanotation is a useful tool to illustrate the movement process as it corresponds to the native concept of spatial orientation and body gesture. Farnell states that Labanotation is always
written from the actor’s perspective rather than the observer’s, and so has a build-in assumption of agency.⁶ For example, Farnell notes that for the Ibo of south-eastern Nigeria, the action of handshake performed not just the part of hand as defined in English, but executed through any part of the arm from just below the shoulder, down to, and including the hand. Farnell, thus points out that:

If a transcription of the action ‘handshake’ is to record the Ibo conception of ji aka, it would have to be notated as an action involving a unit that corresponds to the Ibo body part called ‘aka’—the whole arm from just below the shoulder, including the hand.

Farnell, 1994, p 941

In this light, Labanotation is a flexible tool to accommodate such matters. Besides this, Farnell notes that the Assiniboine conception of the cardinal directions in which the storyteller is facing, is the key factor to understanding the narratives. Such features can also be illustrated by Labanotation which provides a symbol for “a constant cross of axes” which means that direction is determined from features that are “constant” in the environment. Farnell explains that this symbol applied in the context of Assiniboine storyteller relates to the cardinal directions, but it may refer to other geographic features, the wall of the room, the side of a village plaza, or the location of the musicians; “whatever a person is judging direction from externally located features rather than from her own body” (Farnell, 1994, p 945).

For my purposes, we will aim to understand what is said of space by the cikawasays’ movements in the context of the mirecuk ritual. This is to say, using the semantic approach to movement, we will analyse the body in motion to decipher what is being said by the movements, and how the movements speak for themselves. Meanwhile, the cikawasays’ concept of cardinal directions in relation to the ritual movements within the mirecuk will be illustrated by Labanotation.

Facing the cardinal directions to carry out the different purposes of the sub-
rites such as, invoking the *kawas* or entering the world of the *kawas* through a journey, is one of the distinctive features in the *mirecuk*. What is more, not only does one simply face the cardinal direction, but the *cikawasays* stand in group formations: rows, circles, and semi-circles. For the observer, the *cikawasays*’ group positioning in relation to the cardinal direction seems to indicate that the cardinal direction is more than just a direction but something closer to a "where"—an area.

When I asked Gamaya which *kawas* reside in the east, she answered the question by executing a hand gesture. Gamaya pointed towards an eastern direction enumerating the names of the *kawas* who live in the eastern directions (northeast and southeast). From this instance, it occurred to me that when calling the names of the *kawas* it is not necessary for the entire body to face the direction of the *kawas*’ dwelling. I found this to be true in other instances as well, such as in the sub-rite of the *mavuhedag*, for example. In this sub-rite, Gamaya positions herself in the group circle, facing the south. During the invocation of the *kawas* from each of the directions, her body does not necessarily turn to face each spatial orientation frontally. Instead, with the exception of the south, she twists her torso slightly, turning her head to gaze at each of the directions, while her arms rise to shoulder height and the appropriate steps are executed on the spot. Thus, by the way she executes each body gesture towards the direction, it is suggested that the dimension of the cardinal direction is composed of an area, in that it is not necessary for her to align her body up to the direction.

In both rites of the *sekam* and the *turic*, the members undertake several journeys to reach different dwelling places of the *kawas*, and present them with offerings brought by the group. Before setting out, the *cikawasays* position themselves, based on the hierarchy within the group, to form two rows facing the direction of the *kawas* dwelling. In the rows, the members arrange themselves from
southeast to southwest, facing south. The group formation delineates the dimension of the direction as well as a sense of the area.

The characteristic of the direction-area is also reflected in the semi-circle group formation in the sub-rite, turic, when the cikawasays invoke the kawas. For instance, when the monkey kawas descend and gather where the cikawasays are, they are entertained, and then sent back to their dwelling. When the monkey spirits return to their dwelling, they leave through the opening in the group circle that is, they leave in the direction the semi-circle faces.

Thus, the characterisation of the cardinal direction-area is understood in relation to both the bodily gestures of the cikawasays and the different group formations. However, the group’s procession into the realm of the kawas is one in relation to spatial orientations. In order to explore further what specifically constitutes the process of the kawas’ journeys in relation to the inner world of the kawas, an examination of the style of the group’s travelling will be the next focus.

In the mergad, one of the phases of the mirecuk, walking and running is the main mode of movement. Which mode is to be used, and when is determined by the calay (the spirit thread) which is given to the cikawasays by the kawas and is essential to walking on the lalan (the spirit roads). The group walks on a circular pathway throughout the entire journey in both clockwise and anti-clockwise revolutions. When I asked about the meaning behind the travelling directions, the members simply answered that the calay led them to walk on the lalan. Gamaya told me about her bodily experience during the travelling:

When beginning to travel, I follow the calay to walk. On the roads, turning in another direction while the group is walking, is not initiated by my own free will. It is decided by the calay which radiates a kind of turning signal to me. I rely upon such sense to change the direction of the group walking.

Fieldnotes, 22 July, 1998
This statement indicates explicitly that the sense of changing the direction for the *cikawasays* is induced from the interplay between the body and the *calay*. In other words, the *cikawasays* are not conscious of either direction and do not consider these directions as part of the spirit knowledge of walking in the journeys. It is frustrating for me to attempt to find out what is the meaning of the repetitive mode of alternating between both directions. I have only come to understand that it is the result of the *calay*’s manipulation. Just as Parkin (1992, p 18) points out, “ritual is formulaic spatiality carried out by groups of people who are conscious of its imperative or compulsory nature and who may or may not further inform this spatially with spoken words.”

From the observer’s point of view, it is hard to imagine how the *cikawasays* actually arrive at the *kawas*’ dwellings because the circular processional walking is performed on a one-dimensional plane within the ritual area. Since the route of the spirit roads does not go beyond the perimeter of the ritual place, the journey looks as if it is not a journey at all in that forward progression does not appear to be made. This gives rise to the question of what forms and patterns of the group walking constitute an entire length of the distance for journeying to the destinations. Yet this question remains to be answered since, the journey is in fact determined by the *kawas* for they have distributed the *calay* to the *cikawasays*, which acts as a map of sorts.

So, I have divided the entire distance of travelling into three phases—the beginning, the middle and the end and each phase will be analysed mathematically. I apply mathematics in counting how many revolutions are walked, in both clockwise and anti-clockwise directions, within a journey. I have chosen to apply a mathematical analysis since I have observed that on a journey, certain orders and regularities of the group walking consistently emerge.

To illustrate my point, I will look closely at the journey to the monkey spirits.
When travelling to the dwelling of the *wungai* (the monkey spirits), before setting out, the members position themselves in two rows facing west. After executing a bending the torso, as a means to step into the realm of the *kawas*, Gamaya faces a western direction and uses her thumb and forefinger to pinch (sense) the *calay* given to her by the *kawas*. The *calay* is then distributed to the rest of the members and then is tossed onto the ground whereby it transforms into the *lalan*. They then set out on the spirit road in a single file with Gamaya in the lead.

During the beginning phase of the journey, the group travels in revolutions alternating between the anti-clockwise, clockwise, anti-clockwise directions (figure 59, Labanotation). Each direction, which represents one of the sections of the *lalan* is travelled for a certain number of revolutions. The first section of the *lalan*, in this beginning phase, is observed to be equivalent to travelling three revolutions anti-clockwise. After walking in the anti-clockwise direction for the third time, the direction is alternated to clockwise, thus connecting the first section of the *lalan* with the second section. Both the second and the third lengths are each equivalent to travelling a revolution and a half.

When the direction of travelling is changed, the members must face the westerly direction in a transitional gesture, before setting off on the next section of the *lalan*. In this gesture, Gamaya lowers her arms slowly as a means of sensing the next section of the *calay* and in effect, the next *lalan*. She told me that changing directions is to step onto the next *lalan* which is perceived differently from the previous length. This is to say, although the group travels only in two anti-clockwise and clockwise directions, each direction’s travel on the journey is one type of the *lalan*.

After the third section of walking has been travelled, the *cikawasays* enter the middle phase of the journey composed of the fourth to the ninth sections of the
Figure 59: The common walking pattern of each kawas journey.
This phase is markedly quite different from the beginning phase. The walking styles, for example, vary to include backwards shuffling, a combination of sideways and forward stepping, and short, quick stepping. By the way in which the members travel on the lalan, the observer is able to visualise the conditions of the spirit road. Regardless of the variations of stepping, the lalan remains a spiral road travelled on in alternating directions.

In the fourth and sixth sections of the lalan, the group executes backwards shuffling in the anti-clockwise direction. For the cikawasays, however, they are not simply executing a backwards shuffling but are walking on the lalan which slopes downward. In the seventh section, the cikawasays travel anti-clockwise. Upon reaching the end of the length of the lalan, while facing west the members gently swing their arms back and forth while executing four quick steps backwards and two steps forwards. For the traveller, this movement is the act of crossing over the spirit threshold into further realms of the kawas. When the cikawasays walk on the eighth section of the lalan, they are crossing the spirit bridge. To the observer, the members step forward with the right foot, step together on the left, and bounce both feet alternately on the balls. This act is accompanied with singing, and in this manner, the cikawasays travel the eighth length.

In the ninth section, upon reaching the dwelling place of the kawas, a special sequence of movement is executed. First, the group crosses over the spirit threshold, then, using both hands, Gamaya casts the calay over her shoulders to the members behind her. The group responds to this by twice executing steps backwards and steps forwards with a torso bend. By doing so, they are able to travel nearer the dwelling. Second, the group arranges itself in two rows facing west. Third, the members execute backwards forwards stepping, a total of five times where the first steppings are of five steps backwards followed by two steps forward; the second to
the fifth stepping are the same as the first stepping with the execution that with each time, the backwards steps are progressively less then the previous time until the fifth time, only one step backwards is executed. Fourth, the members jump up and down in place several times in order to possess the calay of the dwelling. Fifth, backward and forward stepping is executed again in the same way as described above. Finally, the leader spreads the calay on the ground, and the members step over it and form a semicircle towards the west to invoke the kawas to descend to the ritual area. When the kawas descend, they are worshipped and presented with the offerings.

The return to the human world (the end of the phase) occurs after the kawas have received their offerings. The route of the return is divided into five sections of the lalan, traversed in the anti-clockwise and clockwise direction alternately. After having crossed these five sections of the lalan, the group walks at slower pace until they reach the west whereupon the members take turns, walking along with the calay in their right hands, returning to the human world.

After the worship of the wungai, the members are ready to worship three different others characters of the kawas—the vavaliyuan, the masidug, and the dusiyuau. Travelling to these kawas' dwellings is undertaken in one journey rather than three, since it is not necessary to return to the material world immediately to offer worshipping one of these three kawas. Instead, the journey is a continuous one travelling from one dwelling place to the next one. Furthermore, the cikawasays consider that these three kawas live as closely to each other as neighbours.

The return journey takes place after the practice of the worship of the dusiyuau is finished. The distance between the three dwelling places can be determined by counting how many revolutions the directional circular travelling has been performed. In the worshipping of the vavaliyuan, the length of travelling to arrive at the place is comprised of eleven revolutions in alternating directions. That
is seven times anti-clockwise and four times clockwise, all the while proceeding
towards the south (figure 60). The journey to the masidug follows immediately after
the previous practice. On this journey, the members cross another four sections of
the lalan, walking in an anti-clockwise direction to reach the dwelling (figure 61).
The movement style for crossing over the spirit threshold, which allows members to
travel closer to the dwelling, is executed in the last part of the first, the second
sections and after the final sections of the lalan.

Following the worship of the masidug is the journey to the dusiyuau who
reside in the southeast of the ritual space. As with all the others journeying, the
orientation of the journey accords with the location of the kawas. With the guidance
of the calay, the length of the journey is only two sections of the lalan where the
members execute only anti-clockwise walking (figure 62). The movement for
crossing over the spirit threshold is performed facing south-east at the end of the first
section and acts as a transition on to the second section. The return to the human
world occurs after the cikawasays have sung the song of masidug, and have given this
kawas offerings. The length of the return journey is equivalent to travelling five
length of the lalan in alternating the directions (figure 63).

It is interesting to note that the journey from the vavaliyuan to the masidug
was travelled in four sections of the lalan. From the masidug to the dusiyuau, the
cikawasays travel two sections of the lalan. Thus, the difference of the length of the
distance between the previous dwelling and the next is established upon the reducing
number of the sections of the lalan from four to two. In other words, the
significance of the number suggests that the relationship of the dwellings among the
three kawas is set up by reducing the length of the journey progressively. Following
the worship of the three neighbouring kawas, the cikawasays are ready to conduct the
journey to the dwelling place of the malalenu (the underworld spirits). Starting off
Figure 60: The pathway to the \textit{vavaliyuan}
Figure 61: The pathway from the vavaliyuan to the masidug.

1 is composed of four revolutions anti-clockwise
2 is composed of two revolutions anti-clockwise
3 is composed of three revolutions anti-clockwise
4 is composed of four revolutions anti-clockwise
Figure 62: The pathway from the masidug to the dusiyaua

1 is composed of four revolutions anti-clockwise

2 is composed of four revolutions anti-clockwise
Figure 63: The pathway back to the human world.

1 is composed of three revolutions anti-clockwise

2 is composed of one and about half revolutions clockwise

3 is composed of one and about half revolutions anti-clockwise

4 is composed of one and about half revolutions clockwise

5 is composed of two and about half revolutions anti-clockwise
in the anti-clockwise direction, the members proceed, alternating directions with each section of the lalan. The entire distance of the journey is summarised as follows; a total of 13 sections of the lala are travelled; two of these are traversed clockwise, eleven are in the anti-clockwise direction (figure 64). During this journey, when the members travel on the fourth and the sixth sections of the lalan, they execute a shuffling backward step since these two sections are on descending roads. The eighth section of the road is the spirit bridge. On the tenth, the members execute a crouching gesture, taking turns one after another to travel slowly and cautiously on the lalan. This is because this road is described by the cikawasays as filled with the spirit wild grass and the spirit creatures. The twelfth section is perceived as a narrow spirit tunnel believed by the cikawasays to be the most hazardous part of the journey. Upon entering the tunnel, the members lie on the right side of their bodies wriggling slowly towards the other end.

Noteworthy is that these specific characteristics of this lalan are present on the even numbered sections (4,6,8,10,12) whereas all the cardinal numbered sections (1,3,5,7,9,11,13) are consistently travelled in an anti-clockwise direction. From the wungai to the malalenu, a certain rule in terms of comparison to the length of the journeys among these kawas can be observed. The journey to the dwelling place of the wungai is observed to be equivalent to nine sections from the beginning of the journey to the destination. In the journey to the vavaliyuan, the members travel 11 sections to reach the kawas' dwelling. To reach the malalenu, the length of the journey is a measured 13 sections. These measured distances indicate that there is a relationship between the journeys; such that the order in which the cikawasays worship these kawas in the ritual space is determined by the length of the distance of the journey. If we juxtapose journeys, we find that a subsequence journey contains two more sections of the lalan than the previous journey. This pattern reveals with
Figure 64: The pathway to the malanenu.
that each journey, the cikawasays travel progressively further into the realm of the kawas.

This pattern, however, is not limited to travelling on the *lalan*, but also is applied in three types of activities held on the three days after the *mirecuk*. The order of holding the activities is based on the distance of these places from the village. On the first day, the members gather together at the front yard of the *tu-di* temple (one type of Taiwanese temple) located about 500 metres away from the village. The traditional activity on this day, called *dalawumah*, is going to the fields outside the village to collect wild vegetables. But on this day they gather in the yard to picnic, since the purpose of the activity is to eat certain kinds of vegetables. On the second day, the members take a ten-minute bus-ride to a beach side park. The activity on the second day is called *daira lagelal* which means collecting wood; what the group will do, however, is eat fruit. On the third day, the cikawasays take a twenty minute bus-ride to the beach near Hualien harbour. *Dara Madaingu*, the vernacular for the third day's event can be translated as bathing in the sea. The cikawasays will eat some seafood (not including fish) and before leaving the beach, they use the seawater to wash their hands as a means of disconnecting themselves from the state of the ritual. The seawater has an analogous meaning with the water used in the *mirecuk* in that both act as a medium to divorce the cikawasays from the ritual. In the last phase of the *mirecuk*, Gamaya uses ginger leaves wetted by the water to pat each body of the members in order to end the ritual officially.

In the context of these three activities, the pattern of travelling progressively longer distances to partake in an activity does not bring the members closer to the kawas as did the progressively longer journeys undertaken in the spirit realm. On the contrary, these three activities serve to gradually distance the members from the kawas realm as experienced in the ritual. That is, the activities draw the members
closer to their ordinary lives. Furthermore, when retreating to mundane life after the mirecuk, the cikawasays are relieved of the strict diet and the prohibition of taking trips to places beyond the boundary of the village. The release of the prohibitive rules is the final detachment from the state of the ritual.

In addition to the progressive pattern of the journeys, there are symbolic actions which are repeated five times thus enabling the cikawasays to move from one of the phases of the ritual to another. Also the repetition is the bodily action of the members spiritually moving closer to a kawas dwelling place, such as, in the stepping forwards and backwards five times in the worship of the wungai. The action repeated five times is reflected in the return journey in that the cikawasays travel through five sections of the lalan. During the worship of the vavaliyuan, the members sing the song of kawas five times in which five of the senior members take turns to sing a verse, and the rest of the members join in at the end of the song. The number 5 not only is significant to the actual journeying, but also to the sub-rite cacudadan. In this sub-rite, there is a set of ritual objects, the five kubu (small bowls) which represent five different characters of the kawas—lalevuhan, lalda'an, adundun, madadegi, and madadais positioned on the short and square table (Mulu 1995, p 98). The cikawasays pour rice wine into the five bowls as a means of libation. Thus, the number 5, has its significant meaning in the context of the ritual.

The symbolic progressive pattern can also be observed on several occasions in relation to the mirecuk. For example, chatting occurs as the first activity for the members and usually lasts for a few minutes before commencing the mavuhegad. The contents of the conversation are related to the ritual affairs of the host cikawasay's family and the chatting itself serves as a phase of “warming up” until Gamaya feels the atmosphere of the ritual has been reached. She then asks the members to begin the rite. Another example is that the cikawasays hold the
transitional rite (*malialac*) three days before the *mirecuk* in order to separate themselves from ordinary life, through which they can enter the period of dietary obedience. The significance of the progressive further pattern underscores the process of the *mirecuk*. It is enacted by the members to enter the ritual, reach the dwelling place of the *kawas* and withdraw from the state of the ritual to reintegrate into non-ritual life.

The structure of the *mirecuk* seems to have a similar structure to Turner's (1974, p 38) theory of social drama which is distinguished into four phrases—breach, crisis, redress and reintegration. I argue, some phases of social drama are not equally applied to analyse the *mirecuk*. According to Turner (1973, p 33), social dramas are defined as "aharmonic" phases of the ongoing social process. They arise out of conflict situations—a village falls into factions, a husband beats a wife, a region rises against a state—and proceed to their denouements through publicly performed conventionalised behaviour. Turner considers that the phase of breach occurs when social relations are broken. For the *cikawasays*, however, a conflict situation is not caused by a breach of regular or norm-governed social relations. It relates to their reciprocal relationship with the *kawas* who might cause them to suffer illness if they do not hold the *mirecuk* to worship the *kawas*. Since the *mirecuk* is held annually, the *cikawasays* have a strong motivation to practise the *mirecuk* when the date of holding the ritual is approaching. The *cikawasays*, however, do not enter the phase of crisis; instead, they begin to hold the *mirecuk* as the third phase of social drama—redress.

The third state of redress is also called ritual process that Turner draws from Van Gennep's (1960) concept of rite of passage in which ritual subjects (novices, candidates, and neophytes) are separated from secular space and time and then enter a sacred space to undergo a period of ambiguity through which their previous social
status changes into a new and well-defined position in a total society. Turner agrees with Van Gennep in considering that it is rare to find no trace of the three-part schema in "tribal" and "agrarian" rituals (1992, p 25). Turner in Schechner and Apple's (1990, p 11) collection By Means of Performance goes beyond Van Gennep and develops the concept of liminality which is a phase of threshold and "is no-man's-land betwixt-and between the structural past and the structural feature as anticipated by a society's normative control of biological development." Turner explains this term further:

I[Turner] sometimes talk about the liminal phase being dominantly in the "subjunctive mood" of culture, the mood of maybe, might-be, as-if, hypothesis, fantasy, conjecture, desire, depending on which of the trinity, cognition, affect and conation (thought, feeling, or intention) is situationally dominant..."Ordinary" day-to-day life is in the indicative mood, where we expect the invariant operation of cause-and-effect, of rationality and commonsense. Liminality can perhaps be described as a fructile chaos, a fertile nothingness, a storehouse of possibilities, not by any means a random assemblage but a striving after new forms and structure, a gestation process, a fetation of modes appropriate to and anticipating postliminal existence.

Turner, cited in Schechner and Apple (eds), 1990, pp. 11-12

For the cikawasays, they hold malialac as a transition rite to separate themselves from their secular life and to enter the phase of food dietary in order to proceed the practice of the mirecuk. In other words, the mirecuk itself is a state or process betwixt and between two phases of daily life. It is separated from ordinary cikawasays' life, and at the mirecuk's end, the cikawasays will be reintegrated into their ordinary life. In the mirecuk, I consider that when undertaking the kawas journey to the underworld, the cikawasays are in a betwixt and between state of liminality. When the cikawasays enter the kawas tunnel, the process of travelling this spirit road is highly unstructured and unsettled. Some senior members may
perceive their disease, members of their family who suffer in the underworld and the others are frightened by the darkness of the tunnel and worry about unexpected situations which may occur and be dangerous to them.

The cikawasays consider that the journey to the underworld is rather arduous particularly when entering the section of the kawas tunnel. However, not every member feels this way. The senior members sense different things when undergoing the journey through the tunnel. Abi described to me how she feels when travelling this spirit road:

The tunnel is very dark and I can barely see the rest of the members positioned in front of me. All I can do is to follow them. Sometimes if an earthquake occurs we won't be able to find any roads to reach the exit of the tunnel. The situation is suffocating and that makes me fear dying in the tunnel. So, we try to move as quickly as possible to avoid a catastrophe. The tunnel is very narrow, therefore, I have to squeeze myself to get into the hole, and the uncomfortable gesture, which I have to hold, causes my shoulders a lot of pain when wriggling slowly and strenuously. At the beginning of entering into the tunnel, there exist three different characters of the kawas, the adusale (the snake spirits), the ant spirits, and paktwai, whose hairs induce me to sneeze. On the way, both kawas, the ants and snakes, appear tiny and stick to my legs. I use my feet to push these kawas aside while my hands are spreading searching for the road. When spreading, I pray to the kawas to show their mercy, to give me the lalan. Gamaya takes the responsibility to find the road for the group in order to reach the exit. As I approach the exit, I feel there is a wind which blows over to me and I see the light pass through the hole. After all the members have crawled out of the tunnel, we travel continuously and then Gamaya begins to execute a pounding gesture as a means of opening a hole on the ground to search for a victim's soul which belongs to one of the families of the host. In order to find where the soul is imprisoned by the malanenu under the earth, Gamaya digs the hole deeper. As the soul is found and identified, she pulls and invokes it to come out from the underworld. Then, she uses a betel-nut leaf to carry the soul and then pours and presses it from the top of the victim's head into his body to heal the affliction.
For Gamaya, her ecstatic experience of the underworld differs slightly from that of Abi. She described generally the scene of the tunnel to me, she sees many ants and other kinds of reptiles, such as snakes, and mice crawling on the way through the kawas tunnel. In addition, the spirit hole, both the prison of the victim’s soul and the dwelling of the malanenu, is perceived to be full of light. When calling the soul to leave the spirit’s prison, if the victim’s soul is identified as one of her family, it makes her sorrowful because this means the relative has suffered a long period of bodily affliction from the kawas. She goes on to recall a particular spiritual experience where her soul had been taken away by the kawas to the underworld during her youth. This horrible encounter threatened her life. The scene is described as follows:

During my youth, there was a time when my soul was taken away by the kawas to the underworld. I remembered I kept following the kawas into deeper levels of the world. Suddenly, I heard someone call me back and I recognised the voice which was my deceased husband. If I did not stop the journey with the kawas, I wouldn’t be able to go back to the human world and would die in the subterranean

Fieldnotes, 29 November, 1998

During that particular period of time, Gamaya described to me that she had fallen into a state of unconsciousness for nine days until awoken by the voice of a deceased member of her family. After the event, one of the senior members told her that the bodily ordeal caused by this particular ecstatic journey was the sign to practise the worship of this kawas during the mirecuk, otherwise the affliction would continually be upon her. Such suffering from the bodily affliction induced by the soul’s journey is the prerequisite for worshiping malanenu in the ritual. Gamaya told me that she was selected by her grandmother, the deceased cikawasay (who used to worship the malanenu) from the family to inherit the calling. The worship of the malanenu does
not involve all the members of the *cikawasay*, but is practised by only those who have been chosen.

Among those journeys as I have described, travelling to the underworld is regarded as the longest and tiresome. These ecstatic moments experienced by the *cikawasays* can be viewed as one of the aspects of the liminal state in that the dramatic scenario generated by the emotional states—of both fear and sorrow. Fear is evoked when the *cikawasays* encounter the *kawas* in conjunction with the unpredictable occurrences that come upon them when in the spirit realm. Sorrow is associated with the lost soul which results in bodily torment for the family. The relationship between the *kawas* and the individual’s experience results in the calling to the *cikawasays* and is the integral part of the personal history of being a *cikawasay*. The ambivalent emotion is the *cikawasays’* attitude towards the *kawas* in that members experience both the fear of suffering from the afflictions by the spirit attack and the obligation of practising the rituals to encounter the *kawas*.

The status of the *cikawasays* in the ritual process, however, does not fall into a state of liminality or ambiguity in that their roles are identifiable from the group hierarchical ranking system. After the *mirecuk*, the *cikawasays* hold the three different activities as a means of withdrawing themselves from the state of the ritual and reintegrating into their ordinary life. In Turner’s mode of the ritual, these four phases of social drama do not all appear in the structure of the *mirecuk*. The liminal state, however, does not occur in most phases of the ritual process and occurs only when the *cikawasays* undergo the unsettling situation of the spirit tunnel. In other words, the certain phase of the *cikawasay’s* ritual involves a creative state (Turner 1969)8 which has been criticised in Bloch’s (1989) theory of ritual. Bloch’s theory, deduced from a linguistic approach, states that by invoking the illocutionary power of speech which acts as a culturally constituted social action—as a means of achieving
coercion, "formalised language" becomes "an inferior form of communication" in which form and content are highly constrained. Bloch, thus, considers ritual as a restricted form, which involves no creativity. Although the mirecuk ritual is a restricted form in terms of the constrained relationship between the cikawasays, the calay and the kawas, the phase of liminal phenomena is significant to reveal the unique human character of the cikawasays.

To conclude this chapter, the cikawasays practise their indigenous concept of cardinal directions to travel the realm of the kawas in order to reach the dwelling of the kawas. When the body of the cikawasay faces the cardinal direction, that suggests the direction is conceived more as an area than as a linear direction. The cikawasays employ the circular pathway to undertake the kawas journey and when the length of each journey is compared, the characteristic of progressive further patterning is revealed. The pattern acts as a framework of the pre-rite of the mirecuk, the process of the mirecuk itself and post-activities of the mirecuk. The significance of the number 5 embedded in a certain stage of the journey represents the sequence of the action, and through which the cikawasays are enabled to proceed further into the world of the kawas or to return to the human world. When they undergo the journey to the underworld as the phase of liminality, the conflict nature of being the cikawasays is evoked when confronting the kawas.

In the next Chapter, I will focus on shamanism in relation to the body movement within the ritual in relation to aspects of the ritual discussed in Chapter 5 and 6.
Bourdieu (1977) in his study Kabyle house focuses on the relationship between social location and embodiment and means that a notion of position and positionality runs through his work. In his study case, Bourdieu interprets that the Kabyle house is organised according to a set of opposition-fire:water, cooked:raw, high:low, light:shade, day:night, male:female—and these oppositions are all metaphors of each other. Bourdieu argues that these symbolic meanings are not inherent in the organisation of space. It is only when you actually place a sick person against the wall darkness or place a guest in front of the loom that meanings are evokes. Moor (1986), Pader (1988) and Levinson (1996) argue that a space is a giving meaning by the particular actions performed by an individual inside of it.

2. Williams cites Verse 5, 6 and 34 to explain the significance of the east in Latin Mass:

Verse 5: Sing ye to God; sing a psalm to his name: make a way for him who ascendeth upon the west...
6: God who maketh men of one manner: to dwell in a house...
34:... who mounteth above the heaven of heavens, to the east

Williams, 1995, p 63

3. This space was created by ballet masters and it was adapted for use in the classroom. The ballet dancer's concept of space, which is (walls of 5,8,6,7) an abstract space, is presented in the idioms of ballet dancing and orientates the individual dancer to a real or imagined audience.

4. For example, Williams (1995, p 78) illustrates where upstage left becomes "the forest" and downstage right becomes "the village" in Swan Lake.

5. Another aspect of the Nakota spoken language combines space and time, e.g. e'tu refers to both near time and space and the sign is performed in near space.

6. Farnell cites Harré and Second's statements to stress the importance of action from an agent-centre perspective which can be applied in Labanotation to observe and record movements from indigenous points of view:

What we see in social reality is not, for example, an arm moving upwards, but a man trying to attract attention, a man greeting a friend and so on. When we see an action of a certain sort we thus connect what we see with conceptual context utterly different from that involved in seeing movements, and this context determines the form of explanation that is
7. According to Turner (1974, p 37), following a breach of social relations, there is a tendency for the breach to widen and extend until it becomes coextensive with some dominant cleavage in the widest set of relevant social relations to which the conflicting or antagonistic parties belong. Such a situation, however, does not occur in the relationship between the cikawasays and kawas. The only way to seal the conflict situation for the cikawasays is to confront the kawas through the ritual.

8. Turner (1969) considers that ritual has the potential to release humans from the structure of their quotidian life into a creative and liberating “anti-structure” or “communitas”.

appropria t e. Harré and Second, cited in Farnell, 1994, p 939

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Chapter 7

Conclusion

This final chapter draws together dominant themes in relation to the cikawasays' beliefs within the Amis culture and the cikawasays' movements in the mirecuk. Following this, a review and critique on anthropological approaches to the study of dance and shamanism will be discussed and then an argument for the significant study of movement in shamanism will be considered.

In Chapter 3, I stated that the criteria to become a cikawasay are associated with the Amis concept of adada (illness) which is interwoven with beliefs of the kawas and soul. Thus, the cikawasay calling is often foreshadowed by a serious illness and other affliction caused by the kawas. It is believed that such a type of adada which occurs to the cikawasays, causes a victim's soul to leave his/her body to follow the kawas to journey in the kawas realm. The victim must seek the senior cikawasays to cure his/her spiritual illness through badevu, the healing ritual. By holding the badevu, the senior cikawasays are assisted by the login, the female spirit, while entering the realm of the kawas to summon the victim's soul to return the body. Such an adada may or may not be a sign of the cikawasay calling, and this is to be determined by the kawas through the senior cikawasays whose duty is to inform the victim of the results. Once the symptom of illness is confirmed as a sign of the calling, the victim must accept this vocation to become a member of the cikawasay in order to worship the kawas and rid him or herself of the illness. If the candidate is unwilling to join the group of the cikawasays, the candidate will continuously suffer from a bodily affliction caused by the kawas.

The system of the cikawasays is hierarchical in that the members are categorised into four ranks. The highest ranking members possess rich knowledge
of various kawas rituals and the capability to call various kawas' names from the cardinal points. He/she also possesses the ability to communicate with the kawas, to officiate at the rituals and to lead the members to interact with the kawas. The second and third highest ranking members have the capacity to hold a healing rite to cure patients and assist the members of the highest rank in preparing and carrying offerings when worshipping the kawas. The lowest ranking members lack the necessary spiritual capacity; thus they must follow the higher ranking members and act as apprentices for learning knowledge of the rituals. The practice of various private and public rituals on behalf of the villagers and village is the primary obligation of the cikawasays. In addition, the cikawasays hold the mirecuk ritual on their own behalf to worship their kawas.

The mirecuk is considered by the cikawasays as the most important ritual compared to all of the others they perform. They use this occasion to re-inform the kawas that their worship in presenting offerings has been practised and to call on the kawas to bestow a healthy body to each of the cikawasays. Such reciprocal relationships between the kawas and the cikawasays are re-confirmed by holding the ritual annually. The process of the ritual is also considered by the cikawasays to be the most elaborate one because the ritual contains several phases, which involve various spirit journeys to reach the different dwellings of the kawas. In addition, the cikawasays' concept of the spatial orientations in the mirecuk is manifested in the cardinal points believed by the cikawasays to be the dwelling places of the kawas.

The movements of the cikawasays during the mirecuk are the focus of this thesis and Chapters 5 and 6 have focused on the movement analysis of the ritual in relation to various spatial orientations identified by the cikawasays. Through detailed description and analysis of the steps, gestures and postures executed, the bodily kinetic qualities in relation to the spatial orientations, I have decoded the
meanings of these movements in the ritual action. In my application of LMA to
examine cikawasays' movement qualities, I have identified Weight Sensing and
Bound Flow as the salient features in their movements. Using LMA methods to
understand how the cikawasays interpret their sensory experiences in the mirecuk, I
have interpreted latent meanings of both movement qualities found in the cikawasays' acts, and I have found that they as being embedded in the relationship between the calay and the hierarchical structure of the group.

As a cikawasay, one's body is transformed into a "spiritual receptacle" of a sort used for specific spiritual acts, such as sensing the existence of the calay, and voluntary and involuntary spirit possession in the realm of the kawas. According to the testimony of the senior cikawasays, it is determined that the calay can be worn on the body, which in turn gives the possessor a sense of heaviness. With such a bodily sensation, the body itself in the ritual is no longer a "natural" body, but bears the weight of the calay, thus in effect, causing the cikawasays' movement to be associated this with the specific quality. This particular bodily manner characterised by LMA as Weight Sensing, underlies the entire ritual action, and the cikawasays take on this movement quality as a means to spiritually relate with the kawas.

In addition, Weight Sensing is not only a result of the interaction between the calay and the body: the cikawasays' movement quality of Bound Flow is also employed in relation to the rules of the hierarchical organisation of the group. In a group circle formation, for example, the lower ranking members are positioned on the left side of the higher ranking members. The senior members have an authoritative right to initiate particular movements whereas junior members must imitate the senior members when performing the movements. Upon undertaking the journey to the world of the kawas, the group forms a single file line with the junior members following behind the senior members as they proceed to the dwelling of the kawas.
Both factors, the interaction with the calay and the principle of hierarchy, are manifested in the movements of cikawasays' qualitative aspects. These two factors results in their movements being constrained to a controlled manner of expression.

The restricted manner of the cikawasays' movement can be underlined in terms of the limits of each individual's Kinesphere. It can be observed that the senior and the junior cikawasay execute the movements differently in his/her volume of space within the group circle formation. During the invocation, for example, senior members are entitled to raise their arms at shoulder height when invoking the kawas to descend, while the rest of the members swing their arms within the Middle Reach of their bodies. Such a degree of extension in the arms from the body centre is also affected by the calay. The members in the group circle do not necessarily hold hands with adjacent persons, but instead, they sense the calay in their hands. The calay can be said to control the degree of the arm reach manifested in Middle Reach. The bodily experience of the cikawasays in the mirecuk is best understood in terms of Groff's (1990, p 83) view that: "the body is the senses, perceptual mechanisms that gather information and regulate interaction with the environment."

Besides Weight Sensing and Bound Flow, Direct Effort and Rhythm State are identifiable movement components in the cikawasays' movement qualities. Direct Effort is occurs when the members gaze at the offerings placed in the divine area, the centre of the group circle. Within the divine circle, the kawas descend to the offerings drawing the focus of the members with their power. When setting out on the spirit journey, members focus on various spatial orientations, thus indicating the cardinal location of the dwelling places of the kawas. Rhythm State consists of both quickness and heaviness, employed when the cikawasays shake the calay off their bodies. By engaging in such a State the members are allowed to leave the world of the kawas and return to the living. Employment of the Rhythm State
disconnects the body from the *calay* thereby avoiding contamination from it in the form of bodily affliction in the human world. The *cikawasays* employ their lower body weight to perform the ritual actions. The factor of shaping this bodily posture, I suggest correlates with the *cikawasays*’ habitual action found in their everyday activities.

Although these Effort components cannot be regarded as indigenous perceptions and expressions of the movement, LMA with its terminology provides an interpretive framework helpful in assisting my decoding of the latent meanings of the movements. Through using LMA, a general explanation of the meaning of a movement can be further explored and understood when the movement quality is identified. LMA has also extended my focus on the subjective experience to examine the other conceptual factors and possibilities in the ritual context incorporated into the shaping of the energy quality of the movement. As Ness says:

> LMA terminology raised the level of discussion to an exchange where relatively subtle kinds of distinctions in dance experience could be articulated, and where values connecting physical experience with social action were more readily expressed.

Ness 1995, p 86

Ness (1992), however, points out there is no absolutely and completely unproblematic description of an “other” culture’s dances and movements. She states that “there are no easy solutions to the problem of representing choreographic phenomena legitimately and without distortion in linguistic textual form, just as there are no easy alternative for Western readers to the philosophical paradigms problematizing “the body” and its practices” (1992, p 238). Ness uses her study of the *sinulog* dance as an example to explain further her statements. She says that there is a potential for distortion when applying linguistic account of choreographic experiences. Thus, she proposes that one must seek to use the full resource of the
language in terms of creativity and consciousness to represent these experiences in a form of vividness and accuracy in accord with the language will allow. Ness, thus considers that:

Linguistic systems and the ideological frameworks they include must be recognized as deeply compromised instruments of communication, insofar as the field of cross-cultural dance research is concerned. However, they remain nonetheless widely accessible modes of representation and analysis that the discipline cannot yet do without.

Ness, 1992, p 238

I consider my method of linguistic representation of the cikawasays' movements to involve the similar situation as Ness's assertion in that the language that I chose to describe the cikawasays' movements is within a universalist assumption in terms of concept of the "body" as well as onto the concept of the "movement" which do not undergo cross-cultural reconceptualisation. Nevertheless, I utilise Labanotation, pictures and graphs together to assist my description and interpretation of the movements in trying to represent the movements in more vivid and accurate ways.

Besides the interpretation of the energy use of the movement, the torso gesture—an important characteristic of the mirecuk is employed by the cikawasays when enacting two main actions: the first when entering the world of the kawas; and the second when differentiating between the members' locale within the world of the kawas and the human world. The erect torso is maintained in most actions of the ritual. I observed, however, that in the world of the kawas, the torso is to a minimal degree bent forwards. To bend the torso slightly forward in the sequence of movements upon entering the kawas world is a means for the cikawasays to minumuk (squeeze) into the realm of the kawas. In contrast, the combination of the deeper bending of the torso forwards with leg movements is executed as an expression of the
emotional state of the cikawasays. For example when the members leave the world of the kawas after their journey, misalameh takes place where singing and dancing are employed to comfort their weary bodies and minds. In this scenario, the cikawasays confront not the kawas but themselves. Hence, the cikawasays do not necessarily need to hold the torso in an erect position as when interacting with the kawas, but rather they loosely hold their posture in a stooping-like stance so as to convey their emotion. The different degrees of executing the torso bend during different sub-rites is closely related to the subjective experience of members in that the gesture is reflective of his/her interaction with the kawas or the inner state of the cikawasays.

Such an aspect of interpretation of the movement is overlooked in Lin, Ming-May's analysis of the cikawasays' movements (1997) (see Chapter 1). Lin's primary concern is the relationship between the group form in relation to the space. She has given an account of the calay as the primary spirit object, which is sensed by the cikawasays during the journey to the world of the kawas. In addition, Lin employs Labanotation to indicate the indigenous concept of ritual space. Lin, however, neglects to examine further how the cikawasays employ their bodies when interacting with the calay, leaving unexplained how and why the movement is shaped into the specific style performed in the ritual.

A focus on examining the movement of shamans as a means to interpret their roles in shamanic ritual is not regarded as a major issue in most anthropological studies on shamanism (e.g., Eliade 1964, Bourguinon 1965; Prince 1968; Wittkower 1970). Eliade (1964, p 88) in his major work Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, defines the shaman as: "a man who has immediate, concert experiences with the gods and spirits; he sees them face to face, he talks with them, prays with them, implores them—but he does not "control" more than a limited number of them."
Eliade describes how the shamans in central Asia set out on a magical flight to the spirit world by way of an out of body experience. On the magical flight, according to Eliade, the soul of the shaman flies into the realm of the spirits and obtains knowledge from the spirit world. The journey is induced by the soul of the shaman whereupon the soul leaves its body and is assisted by spirits to ascend to the spirit world. Eliade takes this point of view into account:

The shamans did not create the cosmology, the mythology, and the theology of their respective tribes; they only interiorized it, “experienced” it, and used it as the itinerary for their ecstatic journey...The shaman is the great specialist in the human soul; he alone ‘sees’ it for he knows its ‘form’ and its destiny.

And wherever the immediate fate of the soul is not at issue, wherever there is no question of sickness (=loss of the soul) or death, or of misfortune, or of a great sacrificial rite involving some ecstatic experience (mystical journey to the sky or the underworld), the shaman is not indispensable. A large part of religious life takes place without him.

Eliade, 1964, pp. 265-266 & p 8

Shirokogoroff in, Psychomental Complex of the Tungus, defines the shaman:

In all Tungus languages this term refers to persons of both sexes who have mastered spirits, who at will can introduce these spirits into themselves and use their power over the spirits in their own interests, particularly helping other peoples, who suffer from the spirits; in such a capacity they may possess a complex of special methods for dealing with spirits.

Shirokogoroff, 1935, p 269

Shirokogoroff considers that the mastery of spirits is what largely defines shamanism. Jakobsen (1999, p 7), however, argues that mastery of spirits is insufficient to define what a shaman is, as this ability may occur in other areas such as that of the magician. She holds that while the magician is capable of using his power over spirits for personal quests, the shaman is basically, using his spirit power on behalf of other people, or society as a whole. Jakobsen characterises these spirit
features as an altered state of consciousness, which extends into trance itself.

In Lewis’s (1981) article, “What is a Shaman?”, he points out that spirit possession is a “universally distributed phenomenon” and therefore not specific to shamanism. Lewis later concludes that:

A shaman is an inspired prophet and healer, a charismatic religious figure, with the power to control spirits, usually by incarnating them. If spirits speak through him, so he is also likely to have the capacity to engage in mystical flight and other “out of body” experiences.

Lewis, 1981, p 32

In his conclusion, Lewis does not include ecstasy in his definition of a shaman but he does recognise that the capacity for controlling the spirit’s has its importance in the shaman’s role. He also introduces the concept of incarnation of spirits, and states that “Shamanism and spirit possession regularly occur together and this is true particularly in the Arctic locus classicus of shamanism” (1964, p 51). Thus, the definitions emphasise different aspects of shamanism including the mastery of spirits, ecstasy and spirit possession.

These definitions provide descriptive value in explaining the function and characteristics of a shaman in relation to spirits. Yet, such descriptions tend to focus on the debate about the correct definition of shaman which fails to account for how shamanism is understood in practice. Kapferer (1983) makes a similar point when claiming that in most anthropological studies the concept of trance is categorised as a state with little attention paid to describing its internal property. That is, trance is described as an altered state of consciousness, a state of dissociation, a state of unawareness, and so on, however, “these descriptions are often static and leave us little the wiser as to what this state is and how it is produced” (Kapferer, 1983, p 272).

Nevertheless, shaman dance has been studied but mostly within the context of trance, as it is defined basically as one of the triggering factors of trance.
Jakobsen (1999, p 12), for example, considers that dance accompanied by drumming is the most important tool for inducing trance. Shirokogoroff mentions not only dance but also music and words as trance-inducing, in his description of the Tungus:

In almost all forms of shamanic performance, when the extasy of the shaman and the excitation of the audience are needed, i.e. with the exception of some cases where the shaman is alone, several technical methods for bringing up a necessary psychic condition of the shaman and the audience are used. These are rhythmic effects, music of the performance, particular rhythmic movements, dancing drumming and productions of various noises with the costume, also descriptions in words of the relations between the shaman and the spirit, the people and the spirits.

Shirokogoroff, 1935, p 325

Shirokogoroff views the dance as inseparable from the rhythmic music, which plays an important role in inducing ecstasy. A similar point can be found in Jakobsen's view of trance dance: “drumming, dance and the already established expectation of being in contact with the defined spirits seems in many cultures to suffice as a ‘drug’. The trance state and ecstasy are by no means limited to shamanism” (Shirokogoroff, 1935, p 12).

Rouget (1985) in his major book Music and Trance, A theory of the relations between Music and Possession, claims that during possession ceremonies the music is what triggers the trance dance (p 114). He applies his typological terms, "abstract dance" and "figurative dance" to the various forms of the possessed states of the Songhay shaman. Abstract dances involve trance; however, the dance is not representative of any gods but functions as a means to summon the gods' descent. Its characteristic movement is described as: “[the] head turning, slowly at first then more quickly, drawing the whole torso into its rotation” (1985, p 115). In contrast, the figurative dances are constituted of identificatory behaviour patterns. These
dances occur when the participants, the women, in *hau bong* ceremonies are possessed completely by spirits whence they perform "the sword dance, flame dance, oar dance, ...and the wands with pellet-bells dance" (1985, p 115). In Rouget's analysis of the shaman's dance, he focuses on the description of the movement style in the spirit-possessed states.

Although I agree that trance, ecstasy, the loss of one's soul and spirit possession are relevant issues in studies of shamanism, the dance of a shaman, however, cannot be reduced merely to a factor involved in inducing these states. As Kapferer points out, the study of trance in most anthropological literature on shamanism focuses on the roles of drugs and rhythm in music as specific factors in inducing trance. He claims that these factors are isolated from the overall process in and with which they are located and interrelated. It is as if the elements of the state are scrutinised out of context.

Kapferer draws upon Sheets-Johnstone's research when considering that the dance of exorcism has been generally described as "form-in-the-making" (Sheets-Johnstone, 1966). This is to say, the dance in the ritual is the process of the cosmos and the beings within it taking form. He describes how the dance of exorcism creates a dynamic and tense relationship between the demonic and the divine. Kapferer observes that there are five basic steps interpreted as the form of exorcism dance. These steps are also linked to the five elements (sky, earth, fire, heat, and wind) of all matter in the universe. In addition, Kapferer considers that the dance of exorcists is an extension of ritual music in that the tempo of the steps is identically matched to the beat of drums. The dynamic movement is then increasingly manifested in leaping and swirling motions. Thus, Kapferer points out with regard to Sinhalese exorcisms:

Sinhalese exorcisms are artistic form. But their art is turned to the practical
purpose of acting upon the problems which affect the lives of human beings in a mundane world. In both cases, music and dance are part of an indigenous praxis.

Kapferer, 1983, p 245

In the description of the exorcists' movement, Kapferer stresses that the hand, limbs and body postures of the exorcists are loaded with cultural meanings of both the demonic and the divine. He also considers that the gesture of dance is a feeling-form, which conveys the feelings and emotions of the exorcists. Kapferer claims that the gesture of feeling is defined equally by using Langer's term, natural gestures, which are distinguished from virtual gestures. According to Langer (1953, p 175), natural gestures are expressive movements, seen by others as signals of its will. Virtual gestures on the other hand, are not singlas, but are symbols of will performed in dance. In the performance of Mahasona, Kapferer considers that the movement of exorcists is towards the conjunction of natural gesture with virtual gesture. When the trance occurs, at the peak of the performance, the dance of natural gesture appears to overcome its virtual gesture. According to his description (1983, p 269): "the virtual gesture of dance is no more simply a symboling of emotion and feeling, but is the direct and spontaneous expression of the feeling-form which dance presents."

Kapferer concludes that the characteristic of exorcism trance within the relationship between the demonic and divine is analysed as "taking the form of dance, adopting its feeling-form and realizing the virtual as the natural, [the trance] is enabled relatively unambiguously to carry the full weight of the cultural import of the demonic" (Kapferer, 1983, p 272). Thus, trance in his view is considered as a product of a particular culturally constituted structural process and its characteristics and significance are integral parts of this structural process. Kapferer, therefore, claims that the meaning of Sinhalese exorcisms inherent in the structure of artistic forms (dance, song, music and drama), and through the ritual performance, is found in
the context of ritual action and experience, moulded and mediated in those forms.

In Kapferer's view, the meaning of trance is revealed through examining the various "artistic" forms and not merely in the specific external factors which induce trance. Yet, I argue that Kapferer's treatment of dance as one aspect of artistic form in ritual is reductionist in that Kapferer overlooks the complex nature of dance or movement. Thus, in terms of focusing on dealing with movement as a subject matter in shaman-related activities, Van Zile's (1998) article "Movement in Shamanic Context: An Inquiry" observes and examines movement in three Korean shamanic performances which take place in formal theatre settings. According to Van Zile, movement features of these presentations are related to specific characteristics found in the movement of shamans executing kut. Van Zile gives a detailed description of movement and compares similarities and differences of the movement qualities, walking patterns and ways of executing foot movements among these three occasions performed by Korean shamans, professional dancers and teachers. Furthermore, through such a comparative method while conducting interviews with some performers, Van Zile is able to delineate some significant recurring themes of Korean shamanic movement patterns. That is to say, as I have demonstrated in the study of the cikawasays' movements in the mirecuk, if we merely focus on examining the presentation of movement styles without taking account what components constitute the shamans' movement, the meanings of movement in a shamanic ritual context cannot be further understood.

What is more in this study, it is impossible to talk about the body movement without referring to the spatial orientations within the mirecuk. In Chapter 6 the notion of ritual space is examined as an integral part of the mirecuk and is inseparable from the action of the cikawasays. Its unique dimensional form is portrayed as an area rather than as a linear direction as in the Western conventional notion of the
cardinal points (Farnell 1996). The area is embodied through the interplay between body movement and spatial orientation.

The method of analysis of the relationship between these ritual elements and the space does not require the application of LMA, instead it uses the deductive method for examination. The notion of space in the theory of LMA classifies body movement executed in space into three characteristics: one dimension, two dimensions and three dimensions of the movement. This notion, however, is inapplicable to the concept of space in the mirecuk, which is related to the cikawasays' notion of the cardinal points.

In the ritual, the spatial orientation becomes a lived space which interweaves with the calay and the body movement. The cikawasays operate these three essential ritual elements to invoke the kawas to descend to the ritual place or to reach the kawas dwelling. The action of the invocation is performed by bodily gesture and by facing the spatial orientation. The travelling to the world of the kawas is manifested in alternating both clockwise and anti-clockwise directions while the members are performing the group processional walking and facing towards the orientation of the kawas.

In the ritual, Gamaya raises her arms at shoulder height towards the space to invoke the kawas to descend. It is not necessary for her to face frontally to every cardinal point in a linear dimension; as long as her arms gesture towards the area of the orientation (for example from south-east to north-east which constitutes the sphere of east) the relationship between the movement and the space is regarded as valid. The cikawasays, however, are not conscious of this distinctive form of space, it is embedded in the practical enactment. As Moore, reviewing Bourdieu's theory of habitus suggests:

...for an actor to strategically invoke or revoke certain meanings, it is not
necessary for the actor to be involved in conscious, intellectual reasoning about alternative interpretation and strategies. The ability to pursue alternative strategies within symbolically structured space requires no more than the practical knowledge of how to proceed within that space, of what should and should not do.

Moore, 1994, p 76

Each direction of the walking is executed at certain times of circular travelling and then changes to the other. When one of the directions alternates with the other, the members focus on the spatial orientation of the kawas while proceeding to the following lalan. According to the senior cikawasays, every direction of walking represents passing through one type of the lalan. In addition, the character of each of the lalan is manifested in executing different combinations of the footsteps. During the journey to the dwelling place of the wungai, for example, the cikawasays have to walk through two specific types of the lalan: the descending spirit road and the spirit bridge. The characteristic of the former is presented by executing backward walking in an anti-clockwise direction. The latter is performed by the right foot stepping forwards then the left foot joining the right foot while the slower tempo of the movement is executed.

When proceeding to every dwelling place of the kawas, the cikawasays maintain the group walking pattern to travel from one section of the lalan to the following one. The direction of walking is also alternated with the other. When each of the lalan is linked together, the entire length of the journey emerges. Thus, the measure of the length of the journey is by counting how many sections of the lalan through which the cikawasays have passed. As a result, each of the distances to travel to the dwelling of the kawas has its own length.

The entire journey to the wungai, for example, when the members travel through the nine sections of the lalan, corresponds to alternating both directions nine
times. The length of the journey to the vavaliyuan is measured in alternating both
directions eleven times, and to the malanenu is measured in alternating both
directions thirteen times. Through this observation, the shorter length of the journey
is undertaken before the longer one, in consequence, an order of worship is created.
On the other hand, these specific numbers result from the interaction between the
cikawasays and the space which creates a hierarchical order of worship among the
kawas in accordance with the different distances of the journey. The difference is
derived from the hierarchical relationship of distances in that the longer length of the
journey possesses two more lalan than the shorter one. This hierarchical
characteristic embodies a mode of progressive further distance of travelling within the
realm of the kawas.

The mode not only exists in the larger structure of the kawas' journey but
can also be examined in each specific form of travelling within a single journey. It is
practised particularly when the cikawasays travel back and forth by executing quick
and small steps in a shuffling-like movement. Following this, the leader performs
the backward waving gesture as a way of sending the following lalan to the rest of the
members. This sequence of movements makes the members transmit themselves
from a previous phase of the ritual to the next one in order to move close to the place
of the kawas. Thus, the distinctive movement creates a sense of further action within
the entire distance of the journey.

The mode of progressive action is practised as well in three types of outdoor
activities which take place over three days after the mirecuk. On the first day the
cikawasays travel the shorter distance from the village to arrive at the place of the
activity and then the longer trip to the beach is held on the following day. It allows
the members to withdraw gradually from the state of the ritual and return to their non-
ritual life when travelling different lengths of distances, so that a hierarchical order is
practised. The outdoor activities have their important function, beginning to release the *cikawasays* from the prohibition of going outside the sphere of the village during the course of the ritual. Living within the village during this specific period of time for the members protects themselves from contamination by pollutants given out by the *kawas* which are dangerous to them.

The progressive further action can be viewed as a framework in the *mirecuk* that the members enact in several phases of the ritual. Before commencing the *mavuhegad*, for example, the members chat to each other as an activity, which usually lasts for a few minutes. The content of chatting is related to the ritual itself and the activity cannot be stopped until Gamaya feels the atmosphere of the ritual has built up sufficiently. She then asks the members to begin the rite. Another example is when the date of holding the *mirecuk* is finalised, the *cikawasays* hold the transitional rite (*malialac*) three days before the *mirecuk* to separate themselves from ordinary life, in order to enter into the period of practising dietary obedience. The significance of the progressive further action underscores the process of the *mirecuk*. It is enacted by the members to enter into the rites, reach the dwelling place of the *kawas* and withdraw from the state of the ritual to reintegrate into non-ritual life.

Another salient feature during the journey is spirit possession. During the worship of the *wungai* (the monkey spirits), for example, although the senior members are possessed by the *kawas*, they neither fall into trance nor do their souls leave their bodies to journey to the spirit world. This form of possession is induced by the *calay*, which in fact connects with the *kawas* and Gamaya holds the *calay* to place it upon the body of the members. The power of the *calay* forces the *cikawasays* involuntarily to lie on the ground; however, they maintain a state of awareness to imitate the characteristic movement of the *wungai*. Another type of spirit possession occurs during the worship of Taiwanese *kawas*. Gamaya throws the
calay towards the legs of junior members whose legs are tied by the calay and consequently they lie on the ground and lose their consciousness. The role of the calay in this condition is to cause the souls of possessed personas to leave their bodies and follow the kawas to journey to the other world.

That is to say, I consider that the spirit possession of the cikawasays is a somatic experience. It involves a partial letting go of conscious control in order for the experienced “other” to emerge. It is in enactment that the spirit possession through the calay allows the experienced “other” to be made manifest.

In sum, in the mirecuk the knowledge of spatial orientation coincides with the concept of the kawas, which is carried out by the unique form of body movement, singing and utterance invocation. As Farnell points out, the knowledge of spatial orientation in the culture of the Assiniboine is usually tacit—that is, not normally expressed in words—it is nevertheless organised. She considers such knowledge to illustrate some of the integral connections between gestural and spoken language. This relationship is reasonable to “posit a core of deictic features of this kind that will be common to both speech and action in any language community” (Farnell 1995, p 106).

I agree with Farnell that through viewing language and action as interrelated, one can perhaps gain entry into one’s own and other cultural epistemologies and metaphysics. The cikawasays, however, believe that without the calay to lead them to enter the world of the kawas, they will not be able to practise the purpose of the ritual. Therefore, the capability of sensing the calay through the body movement is the primary action for them. Such bodily experience, which is the prerequisite of interacting with the kawas for this particular group of members, is manifested in the expression of movement qualities. Maintaining the movement qualities throughout the ritual process, the cikawasays accompany the singing and the utterance invocation
by facing towards the spatial orientation to interact with the *kawas*. Although Farnell provides a theoretical account of looking at movement as action, the meaning of which is codified in the indigenous concept of language and space, she may neglect to examine a qualitative expression of movement. I argue that movement qualities as inner impulses enable a person to sense his/her own body weight and the intention of the force of its impact. The characteristics of movement quality should be viewed as an integral part of bodily action.

It is important to note that the *cikawasays* in the context of the *mirecuk* employ their bodies’ movement to enter the world of the *kawas*. As discussed, except for Van Zile, most literature on shamanism focuses on trance and ecstatic experience as the main features to define the capacity of shaman, and treat movement as only a trigger or vehicle to induce these states. Therefore, in this study, the movement is the focal point in the *mirecuk* and when it is practised in the context of interaction between the space and the *kawas*, some significant meanings in relation to the cosmology of the world of the *kawas* are revealed. Moreover, the structure of the *mirecuk* is embodied in an integration of the movement, the *calay* and the ritual space as a whole.¹
1. Best (1974, p 184) criticises Langer’s approach for failing to examine meaning of
dance within a dance’s content and form. Best points out that Langer considers
the meaning of a dance “is simply its expressing what the dancer happens to be
feeling as she performs.” Langer states that the meaning of any work of art lies in
its expression of a logical form of feeling. Thus, one can know what a dance
means only by recognising the logical form it expresses. Best, however, argues
that “since art is said to be a projection of something else, this separates the
content from the form, in which case how can we know that this dance does
express a specifiable, or indeed any, logical form of feeling?” (1974, p 184).

2. Van Zile’s description of Lee Ji-san’s (a visiting shaman from Seoul) movement
sequences and body configurations, one of three presentations are as follows:

1. an overall orientation that shifts between the onstage musicians,
   the onstage altar tables, onstage dancers acting as clients, and
   occasionally the audience;
2. a zigzag floor pattern traced with simple walking steps;
3. large steps and a basic stance in which the feet are spread
   broadly apart;
4. outwardly turned legs
5. counterclockwise turns and circular paths, generally performed
   with arms stretched sideward at shoulder height; and
6. jumping.

Van Zile, 1998, p 157

3. In the mirecuk ritual, the aspect of the cikawasays’ singing and chanting has not
been studied in depth in this study. I consider that the singing seems to play
another significant factor to effect the cikawasays’ movement qualities. Thus,
进一步 research in relationship between the movement and the singing by
conducting an interdisciplinary study (a combination of ethnomusicology and
dance ethnology) is necessary.
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