**The origin of headhunting**

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Speaker A: Gogan 38

Speaker B: Tranan 51

A

a: ruu, maki’ gaga’ mamu musa’ mgaga’ uzi ra, simu ga.

e: Did you also have the custom of going headhunting?

B

a: kiaa

e: Yes, of course.

A

a: hmsua’ musa’ mgaga’, iasa qu’ skaial cikai uzi.

e: Let us also discuss a little for what reason you went headhunting.

a: son muci…, nanu’ son nha’ muci musa’ mgaga’ ga.

e: What is it they call headhunting [<doing the customary thing, carrying out the customary thing, carrying out the custom, fulfilling the law]?

a: taial sua’ lux muci…

e: Why did the Atayals have this unfortunate habit?

B

a: nanu qu’ mha mgaga’ hia ga’, kia qu’ spngan na’ mnkis gau.

e: The so-called headhunting was the criterion of our forefathers for judging between two parties.

a: me’a sna’ kia qu’ liziau ra. kia qu’ ziau, ii, ki’a su’ kuzing qu’ ual mziui’ squ’ qaia’ su ga.

e: If for example there is a problem. There is a problem, for example I have stolen something of yours.

a: ual saku’ mziui’ qaia’ su ru’, nanak gaga’ mrhuu raral hia’.

e: I have stolen something of yours, and in this case the custom of our ancestors is very strange.

a: qaia’ su’ ual maku’ pzi’un ru’ nial qu’ cqaia’ qasa.

e: I have stolen your thing and the owner of that thing [i.e. you] comes.

a: ini’ kaial muci, phogun misu’ ai qasa ga.

e: Maybe you say, “I will fine you for this”.

a: sua’, ini’ uah, niux saku’ pbabau. babau nia’ lasa la.

e: Oh, no, I am ahead of my story. That comes later.

a: kmal qu’ mrhuu raral ma.

e: Our ancestors tell a story.

a: rua ru’ maki’ qu’ lmha kia, kmut tunux kmukan qasa pi.

e: You know, when they had such an argument, they would cut off Chinese heads.

a: ee. kmal qu’ mrhuu raral qasa ma. hkangi’ ta’ qutux mosa’ balai liqan balai ihoiai balai na’ pkaial laqi’ ui.

e: The ancestors said, “Let us find a method by which our children can settle their disputes.

a: nuai ta’ maki’ inu’ qbaqan ta’ kialan na’, thoiai laqi’ ta, mha kia qu’ ispmgan na’ laqi’, muci qu’ mnkis sma.

e: Let us find out where the method is by which we can discuss …, by which our children can settle their disputes, so that our children shall have a criterion for judging”.

a: nanu qu’ ini’ ta’ tusi qasa ga’, mosa’ ungat gaga’, muci qu’ nkis nha’ ma.

e: The old people said like that. “If we do not do like that, there will be no law”.

a: nanu qu’ kmal qu’, spkaial nha’ balai ma au’,

e: This was how those ancestors thought.

a: nanu iasa qu’ mkaial balai mrhuu ta’ raral qasa ma ru’, nuai ta’ balai, nuai ins’urux i squliq hkngiau ta’, mha ma.

e: So they said …, they really discussed the matter, and then those ancestors of ours said, “Let it be like this, let us seek a living [<standing] man [as the criterion by which we judge].

a: ini’ ta uci…, ini’ ta’ uahi snhoiai kmut squliq ga’, iiat ta’ thiaiun qu’, iiat ta’ thoiai squ’ pkaial, muci ke’ na’ mrhuu raral ma.

e: Otherwise, if we do not succeed, we shall not have won the argument”. Our ancestors spoke like that.

a: nanu, ii, maki’ qu’ pkaial ta ga’, nanu’ maki’ pkaial ta’ ziau na’ laqi’ ga’, mosa’ ta’ kmut squ’ …, kmut kmukan ga’, mosa’ maki’ kia qu’ baqun ta mhau.

e: “So if we have a dispute, if an argument arises between two of our children, we shall cut those…, we shall cut Chinese [heads], and so we shall have a method by which to know whom to fine.

a: ual snhi’ ru’ ual ini’ ksiau ru’ snhiun utux, son na’ mrhuu raral sma.

e: If a person is honest and has not been lying, the spirits will trust him”, the ancestors said.

a: nanu’ klaiun nha’ balai ma ru’, nanu’, aa, maki’ qu’ ziau qasa la ma ga’, nanu’, aa, mosa’ balai imrhuu raral ma.

e: So they made the rule that if an argument of this kind came up, our ancestors would actually go [headhunting].

a: nuahan nha’ balai tmalam ma.

e: They went and tried their luck.

a: iiat nha’ balai iknbaq ha ma uah.

e: Before they did not know this method.

a: nuan balai tmalam, mha ke’ nia’.

e: They went to try their luck, so the story says.

a: puqing mrhuu raral maki’ kia igogan sa ha ma gaau.

e: Originally our ancestors lived at Gogan.

a: nanu si usa’ ma ru’ iiat nha’ knbaq kriax muah bstunux hia’.

e: They just went without knowing the road people use all the time for going to Stunux.

a: ini’ kaki’, ini’ ki’i squliq kuara’ i bstunux hia’ ma rua.

e: They did not live there, nobody lived at Stunux then, you know.

a: nanu si usa’ kriax ma ru’, sazing balai hi’ nha’ ma.

e: So they just went on and on, just two people.

a: ana mrhuu mamu ga’ kina nha’ ciux baqun uzi pi.

e: Maybe also your ancestors [A’s ancestors] know about this.

B

a: niux niux muah stunux.

e: They went on their way to Stunux.

a: si nha’ sr’agi ma ai.

e: They went along the river.

a: ciux kia istunux qu’ son nha’ lxiux, aa, pskli’ rua gau.

e: The story says that at Stunux there is a rock called Pskli’.

a: son nha’ m’ab’ siau silung ma.

e: They went there to sleep [stay] on the coast of the ocean.

a: ki’a pira’ biacing nuah kia qu’ mrhuu ta’ raral qasa ma ga.

e: I do not know how many months our ancestors were gone to that place.

a: nuah maki’ kia ma l’ui.

e: They went to live there.

a: nanu qutux qutux riax si kaial utux kriax ma ru’, ziau mian qani ga’ bali sami muah ptma’.

e: Every day they said to the spirits, “As far as our errand is concerned, we have not come here for no reason.

a: niux sami maras muah sami shoiai ipkaial na’ ilaqi’ sami qani.

e: We have brought with us the errand of wanting to solve the disputes of our children.

a: ana ungat qu’ kmukan qa ga’, niux mian uahan qani ga.

e: Even though there are no Chinese here, we have come to this place.

a: tpehun sna’ utux qu’ inaras mian squ’ ipkaial mian qani, ru’ muah squ’ mosa’ mian, ii, ispkaial ilaqi’ qani, irasun mian ngasal ga, son nha’ ma.

e: The spirits will call them, and because of this question which we have brought with us, they will come, and we can solve the disputes of our children, and we can bring home [the solution, the Chinese head]”, so they said.

a: son nha’ tmapeh. Nanu’ kira’ kira’ la ma ga’, kina baqun utux la ma ui.

e: So they called them, and somewhat later perhaps the spirits knew.

a: ruu’ si ktai lozi qu’ nial nial balai siutun qu’, aa, nial mha sqani ma ga’,

e: Suddenly somebody really came from far away, they came like this [B mimics the gestures of rowing a boat].

a: nial si ktai cipoq balai ktan ma ai.

e: Suddenly they came, they could just a little bit see them.

a: nial nial muci sqani, nial hmkani’ umi’ ma gau.

e: They came and came like this, they came walking [i.e. sailing] on the ocean.

a: kaki’ nha’ siau mita’ ma ga’, nanu’ lalu’ nasa, muci pkaial ma.

e: They saw them from the beach and said, “What is that?”.

a: kira’ kira’ la ma ui ru’ si ktai balai qu’ nial qmasu’ balai la ma, squliq balai la ma ga.

e: Afterwards they really suddenly came rowing, real people.

a: uu nanak srua nia’ raral srxan nia’ blbah, bun behui ga’, iasa qu’ hmului.

e: They had that funny kind of sail which they used to put up in the old days. When the wind blew the sail, it pulled them along.

a: iupan behui lbah qasa.

e: The wind filled that sail, then they came.

a: nanu qu’ nial lpi, nanu qu’ tpehun nha’ malat ma.

e: They beckoned them with a piece of white hemp cloth.

a: nanu kina ini’ gngi na’ asang pi qu’ pqziuan mrhuu raral ga.

e: Maybe Asang [B’s son] has not forgotten this legend of our forefathers.

a: tpehun nha’ malat, uah, uah, snhoiai su na’ moha’ su’ iiat kiut pkaial laqi’ qani ga.

e: They beckoned them with a piece of white hemp cloth. “Come, come. You will succeed and not make impossible the solution of our children’s disputes.

a: iiat bzinah muah su’ balai. son nha’ ma.

e: You have come, never to return”. Thus they said.

a: tpehun nha’ malat ma ru’ cziu’ stapeh nha’ ma pi.

e: They beckoned them with a piece of white hemp cloth. They used a piece of cloth for beckoning them.

a: si ktai nial nial balai, kmukan qasa la ma.

e: They suddenly really came, those Chinese.

a: sazing balai ma pi, kmukan qasa ma ga.

e: They were just two, those Chinese.

a: sazing taial uzi ma ui.

e: There were also two Atayals.

a: inu’ aa. khmai taial hia’ ma. khamai mpuu msiau.

e: What am I talking about? There were many Atayals, more than ten.

A

a: tpehun nia’ ru’ nial.

e: They backboned and they came?

B

a: tpehun nia’ balai ma ru’ nial balai ma.

e: They really beckoned them, and they really came.

a: hi’ balai na’ kmukan nial balai la, laqi’. bla’ balai uah.

e: “Real Chinese people have come, my children. That is good.

a: ia’ qani balai snpung na’ utux,

e: This was certainly the design of the spirits.

a: muah qmes, aa, ipkaial ilaqi’ naras ta la, mha mnkis qasa ma.

e: They have come to put an end to our children’s dispute which we have brought with us”, thus spoke those old people.

a: nanu’, aa, nial balai, aa, kmukan qasa tehuk balai siau balai ma ga.

e: So those Chinese really came. They came right to the beach.

a: kutan nha’ balai la ma.

e: They [the Atayals] cut [off their heads].

a: kutan nha’ qu’ kmukan qasa ma ru’ nanu iasa qu’ muah la ma ru’, ha ta’ la, laqi’, mha ma.

e: When they had killed the Chinese they started back. “Let us be off, children”, said [the old people].

a: laxi ta’ llgi inuahan ta’ qani la.

e: “Let us not follow the way we came.

a: aa, hkngian ta’ qu’ lliung ’son ta’ la.

e: Let us find another river and go that way.

a: ssiukai ta’ lliung qa.

e: Let us turn off from the river over there [where we came from].

a: tlamai ta’ smsiuk liiung son ta’ qani la.

e: Let us try to turn off from the river and go this way.

a: si ta’ balai r’agi inuahan ta’ qani ru’ si ta’ htuu kia gogan la, mha ma.

e: Let us follow the way we came [as far as Liung Tranan], so that we come out in Gogan”, so they said.

a: nanu muah la ma.

e: So they started back.

a: ta ka hbun balai mnka’ la ma ga’.

e: Imagine that flat land by Taipei.

a: sua’ nha’ baqun qu’ hbun balai na’ qu’ lliung qa rua qa uzi pi.

e: How could they know that there was a flat place on that never at that point?

a: niux hbun qu’ liung nuni ga.

e: There is a flat place on the river at this point.

A

a: usa’ tansui ga.

e: Where one goes to Tansui?

B

a: aau. nanu si nha’ ssiuki ma ru’. ta qu’, aa, kizang ga’, tlaman nha’ smsiuk sa ma ru’ muah pucing kia, ii, sakau ma.

e: Yes. Anyhow, they turned off there. You know Kizang [kusua]. They tried turning off there and came as far as Sakau.

a: ktan ma ga’ ual sqasa ma ga’, iiat qani, laqi’, niux ta’ kin’uqu’ uah. ciux mha sqani lliung nuahan lasa la ga’, iiat lasa la, mha ma.

e: When they saw that the road went that way, [the old people] said, “This is wrong, children, we have made a mistake. The river we have thus come along was not the right one”.

a: binah lma ru’ muah kia hbun snaqii qasa ma ru’ muah lma ru’, ta balai hbun balai, aa, ulai.

e: They went back and came to HbunSnaqii [between Ulai and Tampia] over there,

and then the next place they got to, what do you know, it was the real Hbun Ulai.

a: kiahu’ cikai iaqu’ , kraia’ cikai ente’ balai qa ga. uu mshziu’ lliung raral lasa ha rua. si si ktai qu’ puniq. qutux inutu’ krahu’ puniq ulai qa lmga.

e: It was a little below ... [Ulai], a little above the dam over there [built by the Japanese]. You know that before, in the old days, the river used to be straight. All of a sudden they saw fire, a big bon fire burning at Ulai.

a: kmukan, laqi’, iani snpung na’ utux rua, mha ma. taal, hiagun nha’ la ma. si nha’ kmukan ipuniq ulai qani lmga. niux shiloq rua.

e: “The Chinese! Children, this was the design of the spirits”, they said. Whew, they ran after them. They thought that the fire [smoke, steam] from Ulai [hot springs] was Chinese, it was smoking .

a: kmukan, laqi’, agal, ngarux, mha mnkis ma. hiagun nha’ ma. tehuk qu’ qsia’ saqu’ kilux qasa lma ui.

e: “The Chinese! Children, get them, you bears”, thus the old people cried. They ran after them. They came to that hot water.

a: inu’, inu’ qu’ ngasal, inu’ qutux utu’ hiloq ma pi. qplan nha’ qsia’. sika, kilux kilux, kuara’ mrhuu raral lasa ma. aau, sua’ mkilux qsia’ qani.

e: “Where are the houses? Where is the smoking fire?” They jumped into the water. All those ancestors of curs only shouted, “It is hot! Hot! Why is this water so hot?

a: uu kia qani niux shiloq. niux, aa, mnahu’ qa gui, mha ma. s’urux liqun nha’ balai mita’ qsia’, mha sqani ma ga.

e: Since it is smoking, somebody must be burning a fire”. They stood up and carefully looked at the water like this [B shows with gestures how].

a: iasa balai ma ga, kahul balai sqa ulai qasa qu’ niux shiloq qasa ma. nanu, siaqan mrhuu raral pi. uu ta’ mn’uqu’ qani la. sua’ nanak hial qani. sua’ niux ki’an na’ ulai mkilux qani, muci mha ma.

e: Really, the smoke came from those hot springs. Our ancestors laughed. “We were mistaken. Why is the earth so strange here? Why are there hot springs here?” They spoke like that.

a: nanu iasa qu’ ’luan nha’ m’ulai mkilux pi. hga’ thazi’ qasa uzi. ktan nha’ ma ga’ niux hmgun qutux liung lozi ma. ai, baqau ta’, ii kuni kzia’ qu’ lliung qani gau, muci ma.

e: So they had discovered the hot springs. So they also gave the place that name [Ulai = hot springs]. They saw there was also another river [Liung Agiq] emerging there. "Who knows, maybe this is the right river". they said.

a: ssiukan nha’ qutux lozi, qutux liung qasa ma ru’ muah pucing agiq ma. san nha’ pkiaia’ balai ma ga’, ual lozi te suruu qasa qu’ pruagan liung lozi ma ga.

e: They changed direction again and went along this other river, and came as far as Agiq. While they went scouting for the right way, they also came to the point behind [the Agiq mountains] where the tributary branches off.

B

a: ai, ini’ ini’ bu’ sqani nuahan ta’, laqi’. si ta’ r’agi bznaha ta’ lozi, mha. bzinah lozi ma ru’ mhtuu hbun qa lozi ma.

e: “Alas! We have not come to our goal, children. Let us go back along the river”, they said.

a: si nha’ r’agi lozi qu’ liung qani ma ru’ tehuk balai hbun tranan la ma, niux ki’an ngasal na’ tarus ga.

e: They went back and came out again by this flat area [Hbun Ulai]. They followed this river [Liung Tranan] again and arrived at Hbun Tranan, where the home of Tarus [the garndson of Masing, chief of Tranan] is.

a: musa’ lozi ma ru’ siukan nha’ hbun slaq ma ru’ nuah pucing hbun slaq lozi ma. iiat lasa uzi ma.

e: They went there and turned off to Hbun Slaq [within four hours walk from Ilan]. They went as far as Hbun Slaq. That was not the right way either.

a: bzinah lozi ma ru’, aa, ksiukan nia’ qutux qu’ , aa, gong tranan lozi ma ru’, iiat qani uah, mha ma.

e: They turned back again and turned off along another stream, the Gong Tranan. “This is not right”, they said.

a: sua’ nha’ baqun qasa ga, ta qu’ hbun baiai ciaqung lma ga. si balai tazil kia lma. si baiai tazil ki gong ciaqung.

e: How could they know their way there? Suddenly they were at Hbun Ciaqung. They went up at that point. They went up the Gong Ciaqung.

a: si nha’ llgi gong ciaqung ru’ si balai ta balai maki’ balai ska’ balai na’ gong balai mga’. skrian mita’ mha sqani son nha’ sqani smpung inuahan nha’ ma ga.

They followed the Gong Ciaqung and really, lo and behold, when they were right at the middle point of the stream [between Hbun Ciaqung and Ciaqung], they looked far out in the distance like this [B shows how]. They did like this, surveying the way they had come.

a: ia’ qa balai, llaqi’, iiat ta balai, macigainai. ia’ qani balai tuqii nia’, mha ma. nanu si balai usa’ qu’ mrhuu qasa ma ru’ klubuk ai qasa ga’, nanu si balai tta’ quri’ balai tman. quri’ tman si baiai tta’ kia ma.

e: “This is right, children. We have no longer … [lost our way]. We were not wrong. This is the right road”, they said. Then that chief-Lubuk was his name-went all the way up the Quri’ Tman. He went all the way up the Quri’ Tman.

a: tta’ kia la si nia’ ktai balai kia hbun gogan la ma. si nia’ ktai hbun gogan. si nia’ ktai kuara’ qu’ ngasal ma ga.

e: When he had reached that point he at once saw Hbun Gogan. He saw Hbun Gogan. He saw all the houses [of Gogan].

a: aa, ia’ qasa la, laqi’ , aa ngasal ta la. anai ta’ pshiloq sqani qu’ qalang ta’ tai nha’ ktan, mha qa qu’ klubuk qasa ma.

e: “Oh! This is right, children, these are our houses. Let us send up a smoke signal, so that those people in our village can see it”, said Lubuk.

a: tmutu’ qhoniq la ru’ mnahu’ la ma. sian nha’ abau qhoniq la ma, sluqan nha’ ma. iia’ balai hiloq iasa balai qutux inutu’ qara’ hiloq.

e: So they felled trees and made a fire. They put leaves on to make it smoke. The smoke was just like smoke from a [burning] pile of logs.

a: nanu skaki’ nha’ hbun gogan mita’ lma ga’ , si nha’ ktai qa bbu’ iaba’ balai, bu’ tman ma ga, aa, iasa lubuk, laqi’, nial la, mha qu’ taial maki’ gogan uzi. nial la, mha ma.

e: As people looked from Hbun Gogan, and saw the highest peak, that is the Bu’ Tman, the Atayals who live at Gogan said, “That is Lubuk, children, he has come back”. “He has come back”, they said.

a: nanu, aa, mosa’ lubuk ma ru’ bziaq balai hbun gogan la ma ga, nanu’ baqun nha’ kia qu’, aa, snhi’ niux kmut kmukan lma pi.

e: Since Lubuk went and came down to Hbun Gogan, they have known about the belief in killing Chinese [for solving a dispute].

a: bali kia kuara’ kmukan qani, aa, nuni ru’ qa ra. mnuah snhi’ kia kmut kia, ii, mnka’ qani tmapeh nha’ kahul kia, kia kahul inu’ qu’ kmukan nial mluu qasu’ ma ga. nanu iasa qu’ iringan nha’ kia qu’ muluu, ii, iaqu’ kutan kmukan qa ma pi.

e: At that time this whole area was not yet Chinese. When they came back they adopted the faith because at Taipei they had taken the heads of the Chinese they had beckoned to come, who came sailing in a boat from somewhere. So now for the first time they discovered the method of hunting Chinese [heads].

a: nanu babau nasa lga’, nanu kiaqu’ pkaial lga’, nanu iasa qu’ s’usa’ , s’usa’ nha’ kmut ga. nanu iasa qu’ kiaqu’ ini’ ksiau ga’, kmut pi.

e: So from then on, if they had a problem to solve, they would avail themselves of the method of killing. The one who has no falsehood, will [be able to] kill [a Chinese].

a: kiaqu’ msiau ga’, nanu ual, ual nqun kmut kmukan uzi, qu’, aa, rua qasa la, kiaqu’ msiau hia’ lga.

e: The one who is false, on the other hand, the Chinese will kill, that is what is what happens to the one who is wrong.

A

a: son nha’ mgaga’ taial ga’ , ita’ nanak taial ubui gogan ga, kmut khgan raral. ungat iaqu’ niia’ na’ kahul ci taiciuu qasa ru’ kahul ci qalang na’ bzinah ga, mgaga’ ga. ki klesan ru’ rua ga.

e: The method which the Atayals call headhunting, is it only used by us, the descendants of the people from Gogan who went headhuntiag there a long time ago? Is there no similar custom of headhunting in the direction of Tai Chung and in the other villages? And what about the people of Klesan?

B

a: ini’ ta’ pgaga’ ita’ taial hia’ ai. ita’ taial hia’ ga.

e: [misunderstands the questions:] We Atayals do not hunt each other's heads. We are [all] Atayals.

A

a: ini’ ta’ pgaga’ hga’ ga.

e: [misunderstands the answer:] They do not hunt heads?

B

a: sua’ mgaga’ uzi. tnaq kuara’ uzi. baha rua qu’ ...

e: Of course they do. They all do it in the same way. Certainly.

A

a: aring balai puqing nia’ ga, aring gogan iasa klubuk, klubuk son rua. ru’ hia’ qu’ aring’ balai muci mgaga’.

e: Did headhunting originate in Gogan with that Lubuk, the one they call Lubuk? Was that really the beginning of headhunting?

B

a: sua’, aring kia gogan sa, knualai nha’ qu’ rua hia’ qu’ kut kmukan qa ga.

e: Of course, it began in Gogan, they invented that kind of killing of Chinese [for solving a dispute].

A

a: iaqu’ gaga’ na’ kut kmukan hia’ ga.

e: I mean the custom of killing Chinese [for any reason].

B

a: aring kia, ii, ana knalai aring kia puqing sbkan lasa gau. ta qu’ son nha’ ual pgagai kia khmaiun ga, khmai ual t’abas qu’, aa, rua hia rua. khian hia’ ga.

e: That they may have done all the way back at the place of the splitting of the stone. You know they say that they separated there from the Khmaiun who were numerous, multiplying excessively, those people[as distinct from the Atayals].

a: cikui ita’ taial hia’ ma. ual mqing hi’ hga’. nanu’ ual pgagai lma ga’, ana simu, aa, skunai hazi’ simu taial ga’, ana sami khmai hazi’ kmukan qani ga’, moha sa kmukan sami ga’, uahun sami kmut sami hia’, ual mha kmukan ma. aa, nanu, aa, ual sbil kmal qu’ kmukan qasa ma pi.

e: We Atayals were very few. They [the Khmaiu] hid themselves. At the time we split up, the Kmukan [derogatory expression for those people whose heads are hunted, usually the Chinese] said, “Even though you Atayals are fewer than we, even though we Kmukan are more numerous than you, we are going to be objects of your headhunting, we are going to be killed by you,” thus spoke the Kmukan. The Kmukan left that testament.

a: ana sami ana simu muah kmut ga’, iaqeh iaqeh inaras mamu ga’, iiat simu si pqeci musa’ ngasal ai.

a: ssiukan simu kutun simu uzi, ual mha kmukan qasa ma siga blaq balai inaras mamu, ungat balai nanu’ inaras mamu ga’, thoiai simu qutux ru’ iiat simu siukun. ual mha kmukan uzi ma.

e: Even though you come to kill us, if the matter you bring with you is not just, we will not let you return home without further ado. On the contrary we will kill you’’. Those Kmukan spoke like that. “But if you bring a righteous case, if you bring nothing [bad] with you, you will succeed in getting one [head], and we shall not turn the situation against you”. The Kmukan spoke like that.

a: iaqu’ ual balai pgagai mnkis qasa ma ga. ki’a nha’ knualai squ’ mkahul kii mlahui kia sbaian qasa ma. son mkut kmukan hia’. sua’ lxi baq kuara’ na’ squliq kmut kuara’ qalang qalamg squliq pi au.

e: It truly was like that at the time of the parting of our forefathers. Maybe they instituted this rite at the time of the meeting at Sbaian [the place of origin]. I mean the rite of killing Kmukan. Why do the people of all villages know this unfortunate custom?

A

a: ru’ , ii, kmut, ii, musa’ mgaga’ muah knutan nha’ itumix ga’, rasun nha’, siun nha’ paga’, son nha’ rua.

e: And so when they kill they go headhunting according to the rite, and when they come back having cut off the head they bring it with them and place it on the skull stand, do not people say so?

B

a: sblaq nha’ balai kualai phpa’ ma ru’ liqun nha’ balai kbalai ma ru’ , aa, tmon nha’ kia qu’ tunux ma ru’ rua. nanu kia nanak gaga’ nia’ ma gau. nanu, aa, liqun nha’, a kia qu’ hbgan nia’ kialan nha’.

e: They used to make the stand good and flat, and arrange it very well, and place the head there. And there were other rites connected with it. They very carefully performed … , maybe they performed magic rites, and talked to the head.

a: stunml nha’ lepun niia’ qani ma ru’ pkatan nha’ lepuu ma. pkatan nha’ lepuu ma ru’, nanu, aa, sp’azii nha’ lma ra. sp’azii nha’ ma ru’, nanu, aa, kia kuara’ qnuzi’ ptrang nha’ rua.

e: They moulded dregs into a pellet like this [B shows how] and made him swallow the dregs, and danced for him. They would dance for him and all put on their decorations.

a: ptrangan nha’ kuara’ qu’ hi’ nha’ ma ru’ nanu, aa, lbuloq mziui’ ma ru’ iasa qu’ gaga’ mrhuu raral la. nanu, aa, kiaqu’ ual mhutau qutux qu’ ngatoq naqu’ ptrang nha’ ma ga’, aa, qasun nha’ balai ma ai qasa.

e: They all decorated themselves and skipped and danced [around the head]. This was the custom of the people of old. And if they lost an ornamental button, they were very happy [because this was a sign that the invisible spirits of the Chinese were having fun dancing with them].

a: moha’ imga’ [~zinga’] kmut muha’ ta’ mciriq muha’ ta’ mgaga’, mha ma. nanu, aa, muci kia qu’, gaga’ ta’ mrhuu raral sa pi.

e: “We shall soon go killing, we shall go to war and go head­hunting”, they said. So this was the custom of the people of old.

a: nanu, aa, nanu’ kia iasa qu’ tehuk riax naqu’, aa, masoq m’azii nha’ qasa lga’, galun nha’ ru’ san nha’ qmuzi’, aa, knalai nha.’ paga’ qasa ma ru’, iasa qu’ sen nha’ tukun na’ kekai kai lpi.

e: When the time had come for finishing the dance, they took the head and went to hang it [B probably means to say smi’ or ptama’ ‘place it’ instead of qmazi’ ‘hang it’] on the stand they had made. This, they call letting the kekai birds hack the head.

A

a: qutux ke’ nha’ pongan maku’ uzi ga, pnbuan nha’ quau ma ru’, ii, snaga’ nha’ kiahu’ zik naqu’ rua mga, ii, quau mga, nbun nha’ kuara’ qu’ rua uzi. maki’ uzi sa ga.

e: I have heard one more thing they tell. They give [the head]. wine to drink and they wait for the wine [to drip into a container] underneath, and all the Atayals drink it. Was there also that custom?

B

a: sua’, msiau sa. ki’a ana qutux qalang qasa hia’. gage’ na’ mrhuu ta’ raral ga’, ita’ nanak, qani hia’ ga. ke’ mu qa. gaga’ ta’ nuni qani ga’ , ana gaga’ gogan, ana gaga’ nuni, tnaq sa. laxan nha’ kneril hia’.

e: No, that is not right. Maybe some other village had that custom. The rites of our own ancestors were as I have told. As for our customs at this place [at Wulai]…, the customs of Gogan and the customs of this place were the same. They did not want the heads of women.

A

a: kiaqu’ kmut kneril hia ga’, kngnguan son nha’.

e: Did they consider it cowardice to take the heads of women?

B

a: kngnguan sa.

e: Yes.

A

a: ini’ nha’ kuci kneril hia’ ga.

e: So they did not kill women?

B

a: laqi’ ru’ kneril hia ga’, laxi kuci ma.

e: They avoided killing children and women.

A

a: mlikui mlikui nanak ga.

e: Oh, only men!

B

a: mtnaq ta’ ita’ icinimai qu’, aa, mnkis ga, ana kutan, muci ke’ nia’. nanu iasa qu’ son nha’ taial balai, muci ke’ nha’ gau.

e: Only grown-up men like ourselves can we hunt, so they said. That is what is called being a true Atayal, so they said.

a: nasu qu’ , aa, lasa hia’ lga’, asa qu’, aa, mrkias mlikui uzi lga’, ini’ su’, aa, ini’ nha’ ruaki smi’ squliq qu’ mlikui uzi rua. nanu siga ual balai kmut kmukan lga’, lkhuzian ha. lkhuzian ha ru’ pira’ kauas nia’ lga’ spngun nha’ la, squliq qani ga.

e: As for that [custom of headhunting], even when a young man had come of age they did not prematurely [before he had taken a Chinese head] let him marry a girl. Only when he had really killed a Chinese did they permit him to be tattooed. They first tattooed him, then they decided how many years before they would say, “He is a [real] man” [able to get married].

a: iiat nia’ iaba’ nanak smpung ai. mrhuu smpung qasa. mrhuu nanu, aa, laqi’ su’ qani ga’, blaq balai na’ squliq laqi’ su’ qani, icininmai tehuk srxan squliq laqi’ su’ qani la. ana, ana biqan kneril lga’, nuai la. mha qu’ mrhuu qasa lga. nanu, nanu, aa, biqai ta’ la pi, muci iaba’ qlaqi’ qasa lga’. nanu biqan nha’ la pi. hazimete biqan nha’ qu’ laqi’ qasa la pi.

e: It was not his own father who decided. The chief decided that. The chief would say, “This child of yours is a fine man, he is an adult and he can stand on his own feet. It will be all right to give him a wife”. The chief said like that and the father answered, “All right, let us give him a wife”. So they gave him a wife. Only then did they permit that young man to get married.

a: ana cziul kauas, ana npusal kauas, pusal msiau, ini’ tehuk qu’ qnxan nha’ ga’, ini’ biqi na ru’.

e: Whether he was thirty years old, or twenty, or somewhere in between, if he had not yet qualified as an adult, they would not give him a wife.

A

a: ini’ kut squliq laqi’ ga’, ini’, ini’ biqi uzi, ini’ si, ini’ tlhuzi uzi.

e: If a young man had not killed a [Chines] man, they would neither give him a wife nor let him be tattooed?

B

a: ini’ si, kiaqu’ iaqeh squliq hia’ ai, ini’ tlhuzi. nanu iasa qu’ son nha’ tahal lihui lasa pi. aau. sqriah nha’ sa. nanu mha kia gaga’ ta’ mrhuu raral sa pi.

e: No. Since he was a bad person, they would not let him be tattooed. They called him a naked forehead.

Yes, they made fun of him. This was the custom of the people of old.

A

a: aan. sua’ nha’ xun smi’ lihui hia’ pi

e: Oh. Why did they insist on tattooing the forehead?

B

a: nanu qu’ lihui qasa ga’, aa, sian lihui qasa lga’, taial balai la rua, aa, icininmai na’ otoko sa ma.

e: As for the forehead, when they tattooed the forehead, one became a true Atayal, an adult man.

a: niux tehuk balai qu’, aa, baq nanu’ kuara’ qu’ mlikui qani la ma. ana nanu ga’, kuara’ ziau ga’, ana kmukan ru’ ana qumah ru’ ana bziok baqun nia’ metaq ma. icininmai no otoko la ma, sian nia’ lihui lasa la. ini’ kngungu lma ga’, taial balai la ma.

e: The time had come when this man could do everything. Whatever matter it is [he knows how to doit], whether [killing] Chinese, or working the field; he also knows how to stab a boar. He is an adult man, that is why they tattoo his forehead. He is no coward, he is a true Atayal.