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Pursuing Taiwanese-ness:
The Contemporary Music Practices of
Taitung Indigenous People

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Abstract

This research is an ethnography exploring the contemporary music practices of the indigenous people of Taitung, a southeastern county in Taiwan. Indigenous people make up a large proportion of the population of Taitung, and their music has in recent years been used in international and local events to portray a unique Taiwanese identity. I discuss how indigenous and other Taiwanese have collaborated to create this identity – the Taiwanese-ness – and how they have done so with tangled webs of concerns for authenticity, hybridisation and Otherness. I examine two opposite approaches in heredity and maintenance of the tradition: first, sticking to locality, and therefore passing down the tradition in a functional way; second, endorsing and appropriating transnational pop practices in order to garner commercial success. I argue that living experience – the familiarity to a musical culture which Mantle Hood (1982) considered the way that enabled ethnic groups to understand and evaluate their own musical traditions – is essential and irreplaceable. Hence, affiliation to a homeland, as depicted through notions of mountain and sea, becomes a key element in the self-identity of musicians as ‘indigenous’ (*yuanzhumin* in Mandarin, meaning ‘original inhabitants’), and that the homeland, as the place of ancestors, allows indigenous groups to safeguard their traditions. However, indigenous Taiwanese are comfortable with and uphold a shared culture that was brought to the island by Han migrants, and this is evident in the influences of trans-cultural commercial and global Mandopop. Musicians tend to apply elements of their traditions such as indigenous languages, pentatonicism, ancient songs, specific rhythms and the incorporation of non-lexical vocables, wherever they can, using a bricolage approach. At the same time, musicians enrich the music culture, keeping tradition alive by adding to it in reciprocal ways elements from the outside, but also introducing the potential for cultural ‘grey-out’ as elements of traditional music are altered.

Keywords: Taitung, indigenous people, music practices, mountain and sea, Taiwanese-ness.

Contents

<i>List of Photos, Illustrations, Tables and Maps</i>	8
<i>List of Notations</i>	10
Introduction	11
0.1 Taiwan, the Austronesian and China: Music, Liberalism and Human Rights	12
0.2 Methodology	19
0.2.1 The Inductive, Ethnographical and Collaborative Approaches	19
0.2.2 Cultural Ringers and Concentric Circle	24
0.3 Literature Review	28
0.4 Research Purpose and Contribution	30
0.4.1 Platform for Dialogue	30
0.4.2 Revised Perspectives and Diachronic Observations	31
0.5 Terminology, Definitions and Music Notation	33
0.5.1 Han Taiwanese, Taiwanese, Chinese and Mandarin	33
0.5.2 Austronesian, Formosan, Aborigine and Taiwan Indigenous Peoples	35
0.5.3 Taiwanese Indigenous Popular Music, <i>Shandige</i> and Contemporary Music	36
0.5.4 Traditional and Popular	36
0.5.5 Choice of Music Notation Style and Font	37
Chapter 1: Indigenous Music at Taitung: Inheritance and the Contemporary	38
1.1 Taitung, Indigenous People and Popular Music	38
1.2 The Great Public Concern and the Music Heritage	46
1.2.1 Significance of the 2000 Golden Melody Awards	46
1.2.2 The Decay and the Revival	50
1.2.3 The Heritage of the Music of the Indigenous People	52
1.3 The Folksong Collection Movement: the Moot Point	55
1.4 Indigenous Music at the Turn of the Millennium	58
1.5 Rights, Images and Music of the Indigenous People	65
1.6 The Legacy of Han Immigration: A Case Study of ‘Rabbit Kid’	70
1.6.1 ‘Brat? Who?’ the Legacy of Han Immigration	70
1.6.2 Matzka, Reggae and ‘ <i>Tuzaizi</i> ’: Carriers of Historic Incidents	73
1.6.3 The Human Equation: to Ask or not to Ask?	80
1.7 Musical Characteristics of Ancient Tunes and Social Contexts	82

1.7.1 Panai, Cultural Disconnection and Indigenous Peoples’ Protests against Mistreatment	82
1.7.2 Wandering: Theme, Music Characteristics and Live Performance	85
1.7.3 Musicking about Social Contexts	92
Conclusion	94
Chapter 2: The Amis: Traditional Music and Recording Culture	96
2.1 An Ethnographic Case Study of Malan Amis Singing	96
2.1.1. Multipart-singing: the Calls and Responses, ‘ <i>Misa’aretic</i> ’ High Register and ‘ <i>Ikung</i> ’ Improvisation	96
2.1.2. The Music Tradition of Malan Amis	101
2.1.3 The Character of Amis Singing in Live Performance	103
2.2 Difang Incident and Recording Culture	109
2.2.1 Wu’s 1993 Recording of ‘ <i>Huanlege</i> ’	111
2.2.2 Hsu-Difang’s 1978 Recording of ‘ <i>Huanjuge</i> ’	114
2.2.3 Cretu’s 1993 ‘Return to Innocence’	116
2.2.4 A Music Textbook with Recording	123
2.2.5 More Versions of ‘ <i>Sakatusa</i> ’	125
2.2.6 From Singing Together to Singing Alone	128
2.3 The Music of Suming Rupi	129
2.3.1 The Music Video and Hallyu: the Flow of K-pop into the Amis World	131
2.3.2 Amis Traditionesque and the Effect of Cultural Spillover	137
2.3.3 Orientations of Amis Folk Music in Pop Culture	143
2.3.4 The East-Asian Grist to the Amis Tradition’s Mill	147
Conclusion	152
Chapter 3: Beinan, Pan-indigenous and Paiwan:	
Distinguishing Taiwan, Pursuing Taiwanese-ness	154
3.1 Japan’s Colonisation and Nationalist Martial Law	154
3.1.1 Pop Songs of Various Languages: Legacy of Japanisation and Sinification	154
3.1.2 Western Pop and Mandarin Songs: The Crowding-Out Effect on Indigenouspop	157
3.1.3 Sounds of the Indigenous People: Ethnomusicological Studies and Preservation	161
3.2 Being Indigenous and Singing in Ancestral Tones	163
3.3 Right of Blood or Right of Soil – <i>Jia-shandige</i>	173
3.4 2000 Presidential Inauguration: Beinan’s Indigeneity for Taiwanese-ness	180
3.4.1 The Indigenous Wave and the Best National Anthem	180

3.4.2 The 2000 Attempt to Distinguish Taiwan and Pursuit Taiwanese-ness	184
3.5 2011 ROC Centennial Celebrations: Song of the Pan-indigenous	187
3.6 2016 Inauguration of Tsai Ing-weng: Paiwan's Ancient Songs	193
3.7 Musical Indigeneity and Taiwanese Identity	201
Conclusion	205
Chapter 4: Bunun Chants and Tao Voices: the Notions of Mountain and Sea	208
4.1 ' <i>Taiwan Dao</i> ' and the Notions of Mountain and Sea	208
4.1.1 Taiwanese Concept of Homeland and 'Geographical Time'	208
4.1.2 The Notions of Mountain and Sea	211
4.2 ' <i>Pasibutbut</i> ' and Bunun Chants at Its Eminence	218
4.2.1 ' <i>Pasibutbut</i> ': Indigenous Music Exposed to the World Outside	218
4.2.2 Bunun Chants: Change, Authenticity, Hybridity and Otherness	222
4.3 Partial Truths: The Impacts of Kurosawa's Records and the Reality	228
4.4 Typhoon Morakot and Biung's Compositions	233
4.5 Three Levels of Depth in ' <i>Ana Tupa Tu</i> '	236
4.6 Identity, Authenticity, Hybridity and Otherness: A Further Discourse	244
4.7 Tao Voices of the Ocean Culture	248
4.7.1 The Music of Tao Boat Ritual	249
4.7.2 The Theme Song of 'Cross <i>Kuroshio</i> to Visit Taiwan'	252
4.8 Cultural Issues of Today's Tao Society	254
Conclusion	258
Chapter 5: Songs of the Mountain People – <i>Shandige</i> and Indigenospop	260
5.1 <i>Shandige</i> : Songs of the Mountain People	260
5.2 Indigenospop's Morganian Evolution along Boasian Paths	264
5.3 The Patriotic <i>Shandige</i> , Banned <i>Shandige</i> and ' <i>Shandi</i> ' Rhythm	267
5.4 The Pending Court Case of ' <i>Kelian de luoporen</i> '	276
5.4.1 Handle with Care: Ownership and Control of Intellectual Property	276
5.4.2 A Court Case All Way Through	280
5.4.3 A Brothers Kind of Thing	284
5.5 Manuscript, Oral Tradition and Music on Defining Indigenospop	286
5.5.1 The Problematic 'Notational Centricity' and 'Melodic Centricity'	286
5.5.2 Ingredients of Musical Embodiment	289
5.6 Expressions of the Inexpressible: Vocables and the Status of the People	294
5.6.1 Vocables in <i>Shandige</i> and Indigenospop	294
5.6.2 1980s Images of Disadvantaged Indigenous People	297
5.6.3 The 1990s Paradigm: Status of the Indigenous People in Transition	299
5.6.4 Multitude of the New Millennium:	

The Hybrid Self, Angry and Happy-go-lucky	300
5.6.5 Status of the People: Is Anger Heard?	302
5.7 Technology, ‘Old-fashioned Materialism’ and the ‘Up-to-Date’	304
Conclusion	306
Conclusion	309
Bibliography	318
Appendices	
1. Taiwanese Indigenous People and Their Prominent Figures in Music	345
2. List of Musical Recordings on YouTube Cited in Footnotes	357
3. Whose Ethnomusicology? The Challenge of Analytical Approaches	365
Glossary of Mandarin Characters for Terms and Names	374

List of Photos, Illustrations, Tables and Maps

Photos

1.1 Paudull performing at a concert in hometown Taitung	47
1.2 Matzka in traditional Paiwan attire on his wedding day in 2011	74
1.3 Panai Kusui and her husband Nabu at their protest campaign	83
2.1 Chu-Yin Cultural and Arts Troupe	100
2.2 Difang, Hongay, and the Amis Malan Choir	104
2.3 Suming Rupi and band	130
2.4 <i>Kulakur</i> traditional guardian dance of the 'Etolan Amis	134
3.1 Students of National Taitung University at the Australia-Taiwan indigenous music exchange mini concert on 17 May 2014	169
3.2 Hu De-fu talking at a workshop in Taitung	177
3.3 Zhang Hui-mei performing at a concert in Taitung	181
3.4 <i>Puzangalan Children's Choir</i> at inauguration of President Tsai Ing-weng in 2016	193
4.1 Bunun ' <i>Pasibutbut</i> ' offering prayer	216
4.2 The carriers of the newly-built fishing boat in the launching ritual <i>Manwawai</i>	250
5.1 100-delegate choir singing Taiwan national anthem on 10 October 2011	263
5.2 Gao Zi-yang at concert	276

Illustrations

0.1 Taiwan's model of 'concentric circle' and its 'rings' in the study of ethnomusicology centred on Taiwan's subject matters	26
1.1 Timeline of incidents described in ' <i>Tuzaizi</i> '	76
2.1 Waveforms of Difang's voices in two recordings	118
4.1 Adjacent Cultural Rings in producing the theme song of ' <i>Cross Kuroshio to Visit Taiwan</i> '	256

Tables

1.1 Population of the six major indigenous peoples in Taitung, in comparison with Taiwanese indigenous people nationwide	38
1.2 Population of other indigenous peoples in Taitung in comparison with Taiwanese indigenous peoples nationwide	38
1.3 Timeline of Polity Changes, Land Ownership Alteration and Layers of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples' Music Culture	53
5.1 Timeline of ' <i>Kelian</i> ': versions and incidents	279

Maps

0.1 Taiwan's location at the intersection of the East Asian cultural sphere and Austronesian countries	13
0.2 The 15 townships in Taitung and venues, musicians and musical origins of the contemporary music practices of Taitung indigenous people	15
1.1 Administrative and political demarcations of Taiwan, with Taitung highlighted	41
1.2 Geographic distribution of Taiwanese indigenous peoples	42
4.1 Lanyu, Batanes and the <i>Kuroshio</i>	249

List of Notations

1.1 Opening licks of ‘ <i>Sakatusa’ Ku’edaway a Radiw’</i>	58
1.2 ‘ <i>Liulangji/Wandering’</i> , excerpt of field recording made on 20 November 2010, at Night with International Indigenous Music Fest	89
2.1 Excerpt of ‘ <i>Huanlege/Song of joy’</i> (Wu 1993)	113
2.2 ‘ <i>Huanjuge/Song of happy gathering’</i> (Hsu-Difang-Hongay 1978)	115
2.3 The sampled voices of Difang and Hongay in ‘Return to Innocence’ (Cretu 1993)	118
2.4 The first line of ‘ <i>Huanjuge’</i> (1978) matches the ‘Introduction (A)’ of ‘Return’ (1993)	120
2.5 The first second and third lines of ‘ <i>Huanjuge’</i> match the ‘Interlude (B)’ of ‘Return’	120
2.6 The second, third and fourth lines of ‘ <i>Huanjuge’</i> match the ‘Interlude (C)’ of ‘Return’	121
2.7 The second, third and fourth lines of ‘ <i>Huanjuge’</i> match the ‘Coda (D)’ of ‘Return’	122
2.8 The fourth and fifth lines of ‘ <i>Huanjuge’</i> (High register) match Hongay voices in ‘Return’	122
2.9 ‘ <i>Saka Lipah no Mato’aseuy a Radiw/Elders Drinking Song’</i> (Yu 1998)	124
2.10 The main riff and catchy hook of the refrain in ‘ <i>Kayoing’</i>	140
3.1 The widely circulated R.O.C./Taiwan National Anthem score illustrated in <i>The Republic of China Yearbook 2016</i>	183
3.2 National Anthem of R.O.C. transcribed from rendition at inauguration of President Chen Shui-bian on 20 May 2000	186
3.3 National Anthem of R.O.C., taken from 2011 music video issued to promote Taiwan tourism as part of ROC’s centennial celebrations	192
3.4 ‘ <i>Rongyao Song/Glorious Hymn’</i> , transcribed from rendition at inauguration of the new president, Tsai Ing-weng, on 20 May 2016	195
3.5 ‘ <i>Meili de zantan/Glamorous Praise’</i> , transcribed from rendition at inauguration of the new president, Tsai Ing-weng, on 20 May 2016	196
3.6 National Anthem of R.O.C., transcribed from rendition at inauguration of the new president, Tsai Ing-weng, on 20 May 2016	198
4.1 ‘ <i>Ana Tupa Tu’</i>	239
5.1 The Basic Form of <i>Shandi Jiezou</i> (<i>Shandi</i> Rhythm, the Rhythm of the Mountain)	274
5.2 ‘ <i>Kelian de luoporen/Just a Pathetic Nobody’</i> , in Beiyuan Shanmao’s 11 January 2014 live performance on CTS	292
5.3 The short and simple vocables lick ‘hoii~yoo~hoioi~yan’ in an early 1980s Chen Ming-ren’s rendition	296
5.4 The open calling licks and vocables responses in the 2014 version by Beiyuan Shanmao	297
5.5 The counter-melodic and harmonic lines for the melody in the 2014 version	297

Introduction

I have no idea to what extent I would be successful in the future, or my career may not be as smooth as I expect it to be. But there is something that could not be replaced – the experience living with my grandmother. This shirt is a message she sent and a lesson she taught, that is, no matter where I go, never get disorientated; my homeland is at Taitung; my name is Biung Sauhluman Tankisia Takisvislainan Tak-Banuaz; and I have a Mandarin name; it is Wang Hong-en.

*‘Words of grandmother, the forever light house of creativity’
documentary by Biung Wang ¹*

The above statement is the very last part of a public speech given at TEDx in Taitung on 10 August 2014. TEDx is a programme designed to help communities, organizations and individuals to spark conversations and connections through local technology, entertainment, and design products and use. It consists of global conferences run by the private non-profit Sapling Foundation, under the slogan ‘Ideas Worth Spreading’.² In the speech cited above, the Taitung musician Biung Tak-Banuaz (or Wang Hong-en)³ made clear the ideas of Taitung’s indigenous popular musicians. First, concealed in the opening sentence is the issue of heredity and maintenance in a music tradition: the making of indigenous popular music is a choice of its musicians, whether sticking to locality and therefore being more functional in order to pass down the tradition, or endorsing transnational pop practices in order to gain commercial success (see also Moskowitz 2011: i, where he explores popular culture in Taiwan). Second, Biung states the importance and irreplaceability of experience in a living music practice – the familiarity to a musician’s own culture which Mantle Hood considers gives the ability to a native to understand and evaluate his/her music tradition; these understandings and evaluations, he considers, are per-

¹ TEDx Taitung 2014 public speech of Biung Wang on 10 August 2014, at: youtu.be/ucs_u-f0Vku (accessed 16 February 2019).

² TED official site, at: <http://www.ted.com/about/our-organization> (accessed 21 August 2016).

³ For the reason Taiwanese bear names in various languages, see Chapter Three: 155–56.

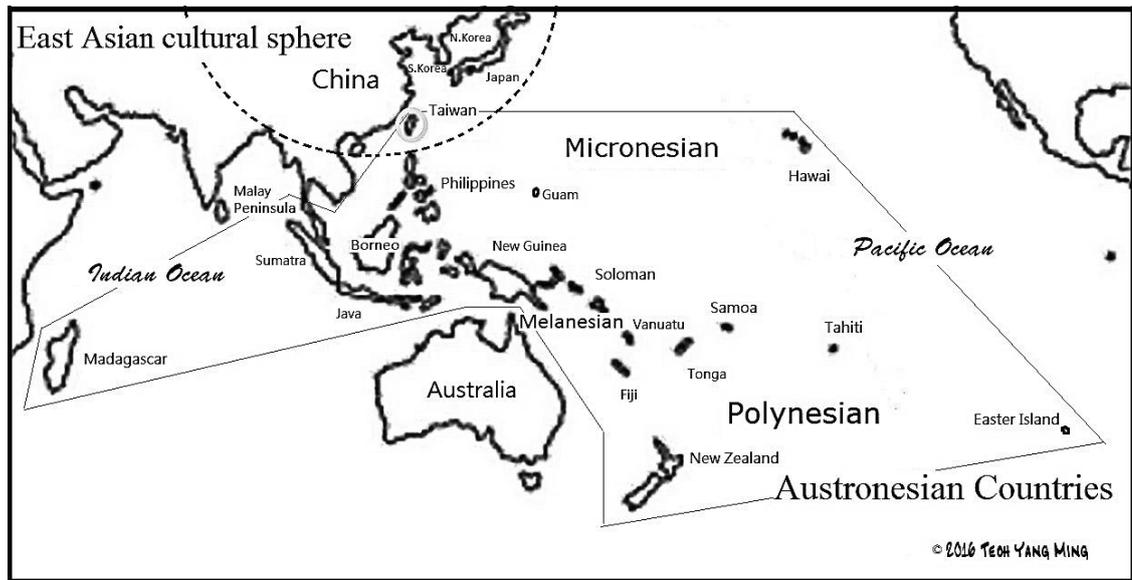
ceived differently by non-natives (1982: 374). Lastly, Biung states his affiliation with his homeland, Taitung, and stresses his identity as an ethnically indigenous Bunun, but at the same time makes clear he is comfortable with and upholds a shared culture brought by the majority Han Taiwanese population.

Biung's statement offers a concise description of my research. This is a study of Taitung indigenous popular music, and a musical ethnography, which explores the issues of heredity and maintenance within music traditions. I prioritise the experience of local participants in living music practice and pay attention to the affections for the homeland. In Taitung's indigenous popular music, musicians play the roles as carriers who endorse a complex ideology of self-recognition as being indigenous while liaising with the culture brought by the dominant Han Taiwanese and by Western civilisation.

0.1 Taiwan, the Austronesians and China: Music, Liberalism and Human Rights

The indigenous peoples of Taiwan belong to the family of Austronesians, along with the indigenous ethnic groups of Malaysia, East Timor, the Philippines, Indonesia, Brunei, Madagascar, Micronesia, and Polynesia. On one hand, the Austronesian connection has enabled Taiwan to develop relationships with other Austronesian countries. It is an effective tool with which to enhance multilateral ties through exchanges of cultural experiences such as music and dance performances. On the other hand, Taiwan (or, more properly, The Republic of China, ROC) is still tangled up in a web of political and cultural linkages and conflicts with Mainland China (or, more properly, the People's Republic of China, PRC). It struggles for international recognition as an independent state. Its stress on being a liberal country that protects human rights presents it as a unique entity distinct from China, which continues to function as a one-party state governed by the Communist Party. At the same time, it accommodates Han/Chinese culture, due to its majority population. In practicing democracy, the ideology of valuing diverse individuals and ethnic groups, and emphasizing cultural multiplicity and ethnic plurality, allows Taiwan to

strive hard to uphold its vibrant Austronesian resources (Tsai, 2010: 15–16). Note that on Map 0.1, I label the ROC as Taiwan and the PRC as China, for convenience. Taiwan’s strategic location at the intersection of the East Asian cultural sphere and Austronesian countries provides it with an advantageous ground that can be nourished by cultures originating from both regions (Executive 2014: 47–53).



Map 0.1 Taiwan’s location at the intersection of the East Asian cultural sphere and Austronesian countries. Map by Teoh Yang-ming.⁴

Indigenous popular music stands as the epitome of the most intricate characteristics of Taiwanese culture and society – liberalism and human rights. These are umbrella concepts of Taiwan’s politics and identity. In 2000, Taiwan came for the first time ever to be governed by the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party), which held an ideology against reunification with China. The same political stance, which seeks independence, has proliferated since. The regime changed back to the more China-friendly KMT (Kuomintang) in 2008, but once again the DPP regained power in 2016. In the midst of polarised opinions and fierce discord among people about reunification or independence, a narrowly defined national and ethnic identity in which

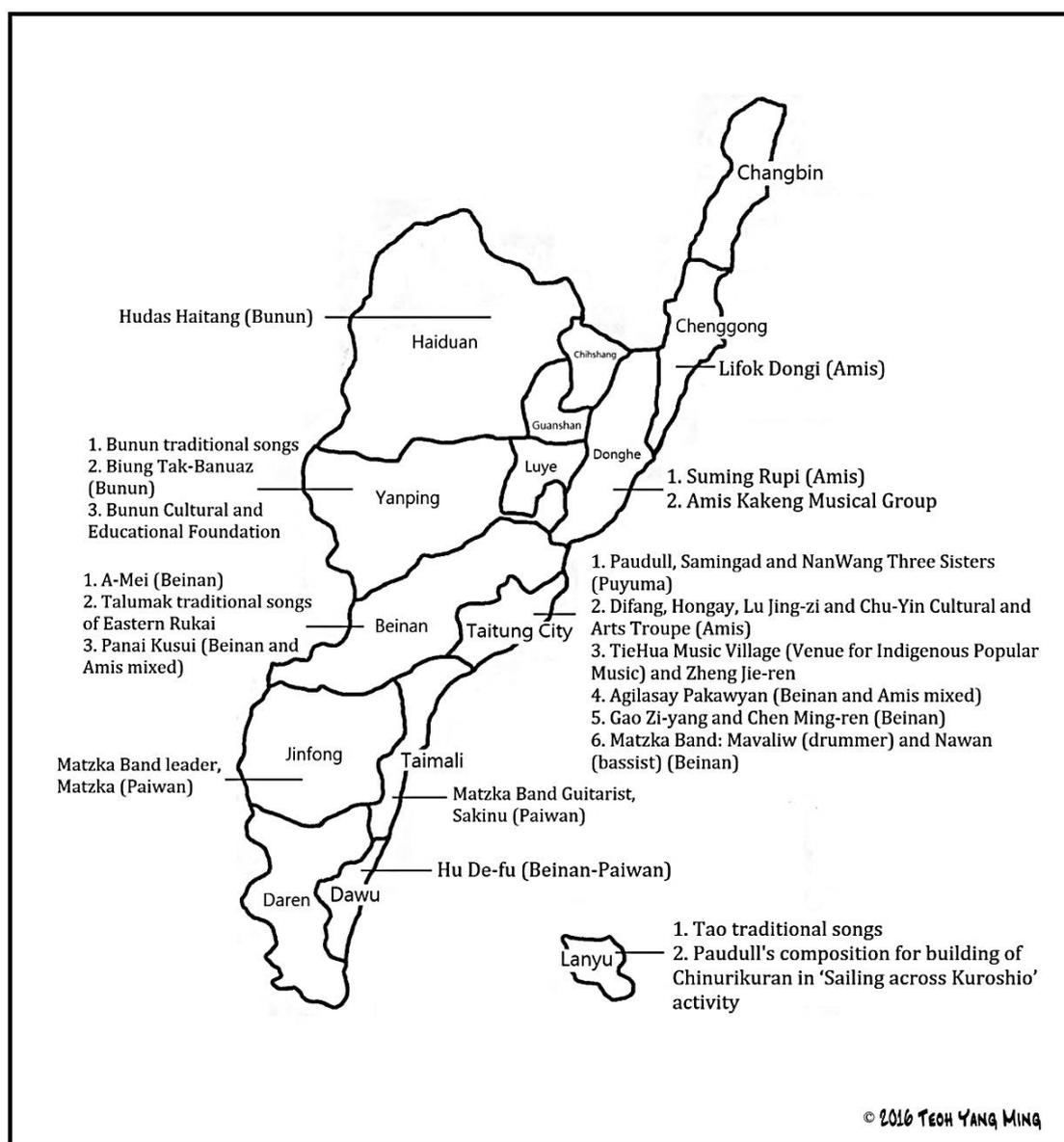
⁴ With reference to Tsai (2010: 21), Chen Y. (2004: 17) and Lu (2003: 41).

the basic question is ‘Are Taiwanese people Chinese?’ further complicates the situation of Taiwan: issues of localisation, and in being internationally recognised as independent, come to the fore. To avoid being trapped in such inextricable political arguments, I frame my discourse here around the accommodation of multiculturalism, that is, the co-locations of democracy. By doing this, I hope to explore the advantages Taiwan has from being a diverse society that, at least in recent years, respects the rights of all ethnic groups. On one hand, Taiwan’s cultural affiliations with China, where Han culture dominates, are accepted and facilitated; on the other, its roots on the island, where indigenous and local traditions flourish, are stressed and valued.

Most importantly, indigenous people are concerned about maintaining their indigenous subjectivity. At the surface of current political discourses, Taiwanese people are free to self-ascribe their identity, whether it be as Taiwanese, Chinese or indigenous, depending on their ethnic background and sense of belonging. This reflects a move away from being taught by the earlier ruling authorities to see oneself as colonised Japanese or Chinese.⁵ Under such a humanitarian atmosphere, indigenous popular musicians in Taitung (Map 0.2) endeavour to reinvigorate their traditions, which are the traditionally informed practices synchronic to issues such as assimilation, foreign oppression and forced removal from the cultural homeland. Musicians express desires to rectify what has previously been ignored and to show solidarity with those who have been mistreated, and these expressions and manifestations are composed of their life experiences, which are intimately bound with local performance practices and based on perspectives centred on their homeland.

Chapter One starts with the musical inheritance and the contemporary music of Taitung’s indigenous people. In Taitung, the multiplicity and interconnectedness of musical practices across different groups and regions are commonly seen. The Paiwan-Beinan reggae-rock Matzka Band and the Beinan-Amis musician Panai Kusui (Chapter One, Photo 1.3, p.84) are

⁵ Gang, Lin and Robert M. Hathaway. ‘The Evolution of a Taiwanese National Identity’, at: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/the-evolution-taiwanese-national-identity> (accessed 27 February 2016).



Map 0.2 The 15 townships in Taitung and venues, musicians and musical origins of the contemporary music practices of Taitung indigenous people, as discussed in this research.

Map by Teoh Yang-ming.⁶

looked at in this regard for this research. The Paiwan, whose name means ‘human being’, live in the southern chain of the Central Mountain Range, and in the hills and coastal plains of south-eastern Taiwan include Jinfong, Taimali, Dawu and Daren.⁷ The lead singer and namesake of

⁶ With reference to the Taitung Administrative Region Map, Taitung City Office, at: <http://www.taitungcity.gov.tw/images/ckeditor/images/taitungtourmap.jpg> (accessed 15 April 2019).

⁷ Paiwan, Digital Museum of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples, at: <http://www.dmtip.gov.tw/Eng/Paiwan.htm> (accessed 27 February 2016).

Matzka band, Matzka (or Song Wei-nong, Chapter One, Photo 1.2, p.74), and the guitarist of the band, Sakinu (or A-hui), are both Paiwanese. They work with bassist Nawan (or A-xiu) and drummer Mavaliw (or A-sheng), both Beinanese, in a band which is therefore exclusively comprised of indigenous members in partnership and with Taitung characteristics.

In Chapter Two I continue to the music tradition of the Malan Amis. In addition to indigenous language lyrics, Malan Amis music presents a collective characteristic that can be defined in terms of musical indigeneity. Yang She-fan (2009: 109) matches this indigeneity, including pentatonicism, adaptations of traditional songs, lyrics that talk with affection about the homeland, rhythmic structures and specific non-lexical vocables, to the concept of *bricolage* (as used by Hebdige 1979; see also Bennett 2001: 90, 164, where it is used in the analysis of punk rock), a French term referring to the cultural transformation of the meaning of objects and symbols. However, Yang, a sociologist, focuses his research more on social aspects, and does not elaborate on the musical application of musical indigeneity. I extend his investigation and verify his findings by comparing arrangements and musical approaches in different versions of Malan songs, specifically through various versions of its most well-known song, ‘*Sakatusa’ Ku’edaway a Radiw*’, an Amis traditional rendition made popular by Difang Tuwana (Chapter Two, Photo 2.2, p.104) and the Euro-pop project of Enigma. This chapter is then followed by a consideration of the music of Suming Rupi (Chapter Two, Photo 2.3, p.130). Suming endeavours to revive Amis language and Amis tradition. The discourse circles around the advocacy of Panai Mulu, a Taiwanese indigenous ethnomusicologist, who proposes that the indigenous music culture has to be cultivated by, as well as projected and perceived from, the stance and perspective of its people. According to Panai, indigenous people and *weiren* (outsiders) understand and evaluate music from different perspectives and with different approaches (Lin 1993: 95). In Suming's case, his concern about his people has always provided the urge for his music-making, as he noted in a workshop I participated in on 3 December 2012. Aiming to lead the cultural revival, he purposely utilises Amis language, the language of his people, instead of Mandarin. In his music, his efforts to pass down the tradition to younger generations comes in the form of the

inclusion of foreign elements, for example, Electronic Dance Music, in his compositions such as ‘*Kayoing*’. This raises questions as to what the role of these foreign elements is, and whether a musician’s endeavour can be justified even if the music includes a significant proportion of non-traditional elements. To answer such questions, I introduce a discussion about preservation *versus* conservation, the application of top-down *versus* bottom-up approaches, and the contrast between local purism *versus* transnational fusion.

Chapter Three focuses on the increasing importance of indigenous culture in shaping a national Taiwanese identity. I utilise the culturally orientated term ‘identifier’ to discuss the unique characteristics of genres, rather than the political or ethnicity orientated ‘identity’ that would indicate nationality or bloodline. I examine the contexts and meanings of newly composed and newly arranged indigenous songs, and their relationship with the contemporary political reality. Music has given indigenous people a sense of pride and cultural ownership, and has thereby become an asset with which to identify oneself. My argument is that the facilitation of this musical indigeneity, to a great extent, also manifests Taiwanese-ness – an identity that distinguishes Taiwan from China. I take Maori music in New Zealand for comparison (after Cai 2016), and analyse three versions of the Taiwanese national anthem to show diachronic change in respect to local nationalism, namely, that used in the 2000 presidential inauguration, the 2011 centennial celebration, and the 2016 presidential inauguration.

Next, in Chapter Four, I use the notion of ‘mountain and sea’ to feel Taiwanese peoples’ lives, taking the native researcher approach suggested by the Taiwanese scholar Chou Chien-er (2002) to explore how ‘experienced musicians within the tradition...subsequently choose to investigate [it] ethnomusicologically’. I elaborate on J. Lawrence Witzleben’s (1997) highlighting of the importance of ‘home’ and of familiarity with the music of home as a convention of East Asian scholarship to connect East Asia with my diachronic research within the Western discipline of ethnomusicology, the music of the Bunun and that of Biung Tak-Banuaz, who utilises hybridisation to speak out for those who have suffered natural disaster. This chapter concerns authenticity, otherness and hybridity in popular music. I examine hybridity in Biung’s

compositions with the racial theory of ‘inauspicious hybridization’, a theory that speaks to cultural degeneration, as compared to a ‘healthy hybridisation’ that leads to cultural strengthening (Brown 2000: 131). I also present further consideration of hybridity in respect to the Tao New Voices of the Ocean Culture: in 2011, the Puyuma musician Paudull (Chapter One, Photo 1.1, p.47) composed the theme song for the Republic of China’s centennial celebration event, ‘Cross the *Kuroshio* to Visit Taiwan’. This song is a hybrid of an ancient chant, mixed with Mandarin lyrics, made with MIDI arrangements and a guitar accompaniment, produced through modern recording equipment as a studio production. It is a collaborative effort of indigenous Tao, indigenous Puyuma and Taiwanese Han musicians, fusing Han and Western effects with the musical heritage of Lanyu islanders to create what might be referred to as a ‘traditionally informed’ composition.⁸ There are two kinds of determinations and affiliations shown by the music of the Bunun compared to that of the Tao. For the Bunun, musical vitality and viability is nourished by connection to the motherland. For the Tao, new voices convey their spirit of adventure and discovery, and their willingness to exchange with foreign culture.

Chapter Five is a development of Chapter One and Chapter Three, as further discussion of ‘*shandige*’, the songs of the mountain people, or simply ‘mountain songs’ (where *shandi* means mountain, and *ge* songs), starting from the pan-indigenous characteristics of the pop-genre and concluded with a common element in *shandige* (the songs of the mountain people)—the vocables ‘*hohaiyan*’ and ‘*naluwan*’. I take the most popular *shandige* ‘*Kelian de luoporen/Just a pathetic nobody*’ as my case study, discussing its ‘always unfinished, always being remade’ (after Gilroy 1993: xi) phenomenon in its ‘heteroglossia’ and ‘polyphonic’ existence (after Bakhtin 1981). To explore it, I discuss cassette culture and technology (after Manuel 1993), putting emphasis on music analysis and ethnographic observation, connecting the social and cultural background of *shandige* to my investigation of the change of social status of indigenous people over time. In doing this, I argue that vocables (after Turino 2004; Nettl 2004;

⁸ The description ‘traditionally informed pieces’ is an adaptation of ‘historically informed performance’, which in Western art music, has replaced any notion of ‘authentic’ (Howard 2014b: 350).

McAllester 2005 and Halpern 1976) are not an ‘inexpressible and unspeakable’ entity. I conclude that understanding an essence conceived from within is vital in sustaining a music tradition.

0.2 Methodology

0.2.1 The Inductive, Ethnographical and Collaborative Approaches

I attempt to structure the materials gained during fieldwork into a full understanding that resists top-down approaches. In other words, I draw on theories only to support my themes and advocacy of Taiwanese indigenous music. I use an inductive approach that derives from my long-term experience living in Taitung, long engagement with the music, an affiliation with the people, and a multi-faceted knowledge and perspective brought about by regular contacts with music activities and musicians in the field. My research sits between musicology and anthropology, constructed using music analysis, theory and discussions of politics and identity (see Chapter Three). With a practitioner’s background, I am primarily a musicologist, in the sense that I tend to transcribe and analyse, much as does Martin Clayton (2007), who can be considered a musicological-oriented ethnomusicologist. But, I have become engaged with theories as my research has developed, as John Baily (2011), an anthropology-oriented ethnomusicologist outlines in his own case. I champion Anthony Seeger’s proposal: music and sounds should occupy the central position in our investigations of musical products (1992: 89). My research interest is to link theoretical discourse to practical applications. That is to say, in-depth explorations on musical contexts should bridge the gap between theories and facts. While questions such as ‘who or which party owns the music?’ circle around discourses on intellectual property, and are common, the study of music itself should not be ignored (as discussed in Chapter Two). The latter requires analysis, which Mantle Hood once emphasised should be ‘the primary subject of study in ethnomusicology’ (1982: 4). To try to get at an Asian perspective, I differentiate the observations of Western ethnomusicologists such as Nancy Guy (2002) and Helen Rees (2003), from those of local academics. My research underlines the importance of experience in a living music practice

– the familiarity to a musician’s own culture which Mantle Hood considers gives ability to a native to understand and evaluate his/her music tradition differently from non-natives (1982: 374).

I cross-examine my observations with my research subjects; on one hand, my in-depth and long-term involvement with the people and my research subject remind me of the approach of auto-ethnography, but in reality, it is not one with it. In saying this, I admit that I did compose pieces which were inspired by the music tradition of the indigenous people and performed them at, among others, the Electronic Music Festival at Busan, Korea in 2009. Also, the music department at the university I currently lecture at, National Taitung University (NTTU), provides courses that introduce technological approaches and skills to achieve indigenous-oriented ‘world music’ (after Brown 1992). These music-making courses sit alongside those concerning the preservation of tradition and research on the people, which are equally weighted in the department. As I give lessons on music making, Associate Professor Lin Ching-tsai, who was an informant and guide to British ethnomusicologists David Hughes (specialist in Japan) and Jonathan Stock (China) when they conducted preliminary research on the music of Taiwanese indigenous people some years ago, is in charge of fieldwork and our digital archive. To a great extent, indigenous musicians in Taitung seek collaborations with us. For example, Kao Shu-chuan (or Banay, using her Amis name), the leader of the Chu-Yin Cultural and Arts Troupe (Chapter Two, Photo 2.1, p.100), which is a preservationist and performer group of the Malan Amis indigenous community, asked me several times to arrange music for her group. The most recent invitation came at a time when the group was requested to perform on China Central Television (CCT) – the pre-eminent state television broadcaster in the People’s Republic of China. Kao wanted an arrangement with someone who really understands their music, who would make the music fully fit the language of the tradition. This request looks similar to the experience of British-trained Taiwanese ethnomusicologist Chou Chien-er (2002: 458) in her research on Taiwanese *nanguan*: native researchers were eventually expected by informants to become their successor, or in my case, a music contributor to the performing group. In brief,

making music and living permanently in Taitung provides me advantages to communicate effectively with my informants, to equip myself with insightful understanding about the music, and to appreciate what the musicians feel about the people.

On the other hand, in term of representation, what is at times known as ‘collaborative ethnomusicology’ implies the incorporation of the perceptions of my research subjects, Taiwanese indigenous people. That is why I presented a paper concerning the Malan Amis at the BFE/RMA research students’ conference in 2016, and then presented it again to my informants after I got back to Taiwan – for them to examine and to exchange their views. Stephen Cottrell (2010: 21) calls to mind the concept of ‘territorialisation’, highlighting how certain Western scholars gain dominance over representing particular music cultures. For example, consider whose ethnomusicological work comes to mind when one thinks of the Kaluli (Feld), the Suyá (Seeger), or the Venda (Blacking)? Expounding this concept to relate to the focal point of my argument, the nature of a Taiwanese researcher’s writing will reflect the concerns of a researcher who intends to sustain his academic career in Taiwan, and differs from the writings of those who represent music cultures and write for readers outside the tradition. The former will be examined intensively by facts and experience derived from other Taiwanese researchers’ and local musicians’ long-term ‘musical ethnography’ – the ‘highly specialised’ and ‘purely descriptive’ knowledge that could resemble an ‘intellectual Tower of Babel’ (Miller 1994; cited by Witzleben 1997: 228) of local tradition. But some of this knowledge is hard for outsiders to fully embrace, such as in the occasion when ‘the Javanists talk matters of “wilet” and “garap”, [and] the others [are only able to] listen in mute amazement’ (Lysloff 1994). For Taiwanese scholars in general, their highly specialised studies of the music of the indigenous people constitute concepts and theories that are familiar to and practised by musicians. In my research, I try to accommodate the discourse from Taiwanese perceptions and complement them with Western theories and interpretations – being informed by other researchers’ paradigms, generating concepts as frameworks in which to engage discussion, and creating a comprehensible writing for outside ethnomusicologists – to fulfil the ‘scholastic correctness’ of an Asian-natured research

for achieving competence in Western-oriented forums. I do not intend to break away from the epistemologies of Western ethnomusicological analysis, but only to add local perspectives as I investigate and reveal musical thoughts and practices of Taiwanese indigenous people.

I compare my ethnography writing to those of Western ethnomusicologists, showing the significance of musicians' interpretations of the music of their own, gained mainly through my interviews with these musicians and being an audience at workshops given by them. Then, I examined what they had proposed with music analyses. On one hand, accounts given by these musicians are supportive evidence for my arguments; and on the other hand, they are materials for examining whether these accounts speak for or contradict their music. I endorse a friendly attitude and follow paths set by Taiwanese scholars and researchers in collaborating with indigenous musicians and in searching for ways to keep the music of the people alive. In Taiwan, Lu Yu-hsiu (2013) works with Amis preservationist and practitioner Kao Shu-chuan to collect and analyse Amis polyphonic singing in Taitung, because the people's ancient songs might be lost if preservation efforts are not done soon. A similar effort can be seen in Atayal Yu Jin-Fu's (or Matts Sattu using his Atayal name) (1998) work on collecting, studying and safeguarding indigenous inherited songs, Paiwan Chou Ming-jay's (2002) exploration of the practices and characteristics of Paiwan polyphonic singing, Amis Huang Kuei-chao's (or Lifok Dongi, using his Amis name, 2000) research on Amis contemporary and modern compositions, and another Amis, Lin Gui-zhi's (or Panai Mulu) (1993) exploration of difficulties of the music and dance of the indigenous peoples, as well as Puyuma Lin Zhi-xing's (or Agilasay Pakawyan) (2000) diachronic research on popular music. These examples show that indigenous musicians in earlier times tended to sing Japanese, Mandarin and Western songs, but have started to be attracted by their own tradition since the 1990s.

It is worth noting that collaborative ethnomusicology that goes beyond the Western epistemologies will likely be an important topic for comparative and decentralised East Asian studies in the future. By citing ethnomusicologists both from the West and from Taiwan, I try to generate a frame in which to engage our discussions toward post-colonial studies, emulating

those of the non-European who justifies themselves through dialogues with Western academia – drawing on Western ideas to support the incorporation of the non-Western ideas into the discipline. In brief, my research aims to contribute to the bank of scholarship to create a more effective communication between Asia and the West, and to extend the horizon of ethnomusicology – even if Taiwanese academia may or may not be aware of such critical need at the moment.

There are rather few English-language writings that match native researcher approaches and form models for East Asian ‘home’ fieldworkers to draw on. American-born but ethnically Chinese Rulan Pian Chao’s (1992: 1–7) conclusion – ‘such research was emotionally difficult and the native researcher should aspire to the viewpoint of an outsider and to objectivity’ (as cited by Stock and Chou 2008: 108) – sounds cynical today: she was having difficulty in being ‘native’. According to another East Asian researcher, Taiwanese Chou Chiener, a fieldworker who had shared ethnicity but lived away from her native country for years, and who only briefly visited her Chinese ‘field’ that was not her homeland and with which she had no previous cultural contact as a native, should not self-identify herself as being native (2002: 457-8). So, I take the advantage of staying many years in my ‘home’ field, or simply ‘home’, rather than in a place being called the ‘field’ – having common languages such as Mandarin, Minnan (or Fujian/Hoklo) and some Austronesian/Bahasa Malaysia, and sharing musical language with my research subjects. I use Mandarin, the *lingua franca* in Taiwan, as my first language, having acquired Fujian (or Hokkien), the equivalent of Taiwanese Minnan, through being a Malaysian *hua* people community whose ancestors came from Fujian. I also used Bahasa Malaysia, the national language of Malaysia and one of the variations of Austronesian language, before I came to Taiwan for higher education. I am a practitioner, used to work in the music industry and therefore am able to sharing knowledge of popular music with my musician’s research subjects, in a way that matches what Mantle Hood (1960) termed ‘bi-musicality’. Most importantly, I am affectionately and intimately tied to Taiwan and Taiwanese in terms of kinship affiliation, a sense of belonging and shared destiny – I live here, work here and have my family here.

In this research, I include a considerable number of quotations by musicians and scholars, subscribing to the ethnomusicology tradition of talking to the people who make music. At the same time, quotations by audience members, listeners and fans are not left out. Aiming to lighten the reliance on or provide a counterpoint to the hyperbolic elite, academic or media reports that are presumably not entirely representative of mainstream thinking, I also include a significant number of voices of audience members, listeners and fans – these mainly come from my Taiwanese friends and students. As a non-indigenous researcher, I understand that a balanced observation from the perspectives of participants coming from different backgrounds is helpful to assuage potential criticism from indigenous readers of this thesis.

0.2.2 Cultural Ringers and the Concentric Circle

I am reminded by British ethnomusicologist Keith Howard's (2015: 16) keynote speech at the International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy in the Commonwealth in July 2015 in London, which noted that although theories and methodologies practised in Asia by Asians have gained increased attention in academic discourse as the political-economic power and status of non-Euro-Americans grows, the discipline of ethnomusicology still relies on promotion and engagement by a mix of cultural 'ringers' and 'others'. Howard's 'ringers' description partially matches Ricardo D. Trimillos' (2004: 107) reference to local musicians, resident researchers or visiting scholars and students, who perform and/or teach their own musics, or represent the musics of the Others, but removes the negative connotation the term has often had. Both Howard's and Trimillos' definitions of 'ringers' fit neatly into Jeff Todd Titon's World Music's model of music-culture relationship, in which performers, audience and community are positioned in a concentric circle – the [rings] of musical performance (2009:14–15). Titon's concentric circles visualisation of a specific concept is not a unique approach; above all, evaluating the influence of an entity and how its position – away from or at its 'core', which may be a principle, identity or essential quality – justifies its stance or determines its involvement in the subject matter, are conveniently but efficiently envisaged and conceptualised with this structure.

The concept of concentric circles is particularly crucial in the case of Taiwan in its pursuit for Taiwanese-ness, an identity that distinguishes Taiwan from China. In the 1990s, Taiwanese historian Tu Cheng-sheng, an academician of Taiwan's Central Research Institute, proposed '*tongxinyuan*/concentric circle theory', an innovative perspective on how Taiwanese people perceive their/our own country, China and the rest of the World.⁹ Tu argues that Taiwan *per se*, and its own issues, should be located at the core of any discussion about it, provided Taiwan is a place where Taiwanese live, make homes and interact with people. This argument differs from what had been taught to Taiwanese people and imposed by the Nationalist government before the 1990s, when Taiwan's authorities put all their resources into stressing a 'Great Chinese' ideology. China, in Tu's theory, is secondary and is put in the outer ring. It is worthy of note that in this model, although China is not completely neglected, it is treated as less significant, becoming a pathway for Taiwanese people to approach the world. This theory grew to be influential when Tu became Minister of Education in 2004 (through to 2008), applying his theory to the editorial guidelines to be conformed to by publishers for high school history textbooks since 2006. The influence of Tu's '*tongxinyuan*' theory extended, transforming into a 'Taiwan – East Asia – the World' model in later years – to be specific, in the 2018 guidelines – where the sections on China are further decreased or merged into sections on East Asia. The objective of restructuring these guidelines, according to Taiwan's National Academy for Educational Research (a sub-division of Ministry of Education) which is in charge of drafting them, is to convert the approach that paid particular attention to China – and therefore did not take the prospects of other countries into consideration – into a more dynamic and multi-lateral perspective, studying interactions among countries in East Asia and their contributions to its regional history and development.¹⁰

⁹ Han Guo-dong, '*Cong Tu Cheng-sheng "Tongxinyuan" Shiguan Kan Taiwan Zhuti Jiaoyu de Tiaozhan/ From Tu Cheng-sheng's "Concentric Circle" Historiographical Perspective Viewing the Challenge of Taiwan's Subjectivity in its Educational System*', *The Storm Media*, 14 March 2016, at: <https://www.storm.mg/article/87214> (accessed 2 April 2019).

¹⁰ Press release by National Academy for Educational Research at its official website at: https://www.edu.tw/News_Content.aspx?n=9E7AC85F1954DDA8&s=3A12FE24DB15AB2E (accessed 2 April 2019).

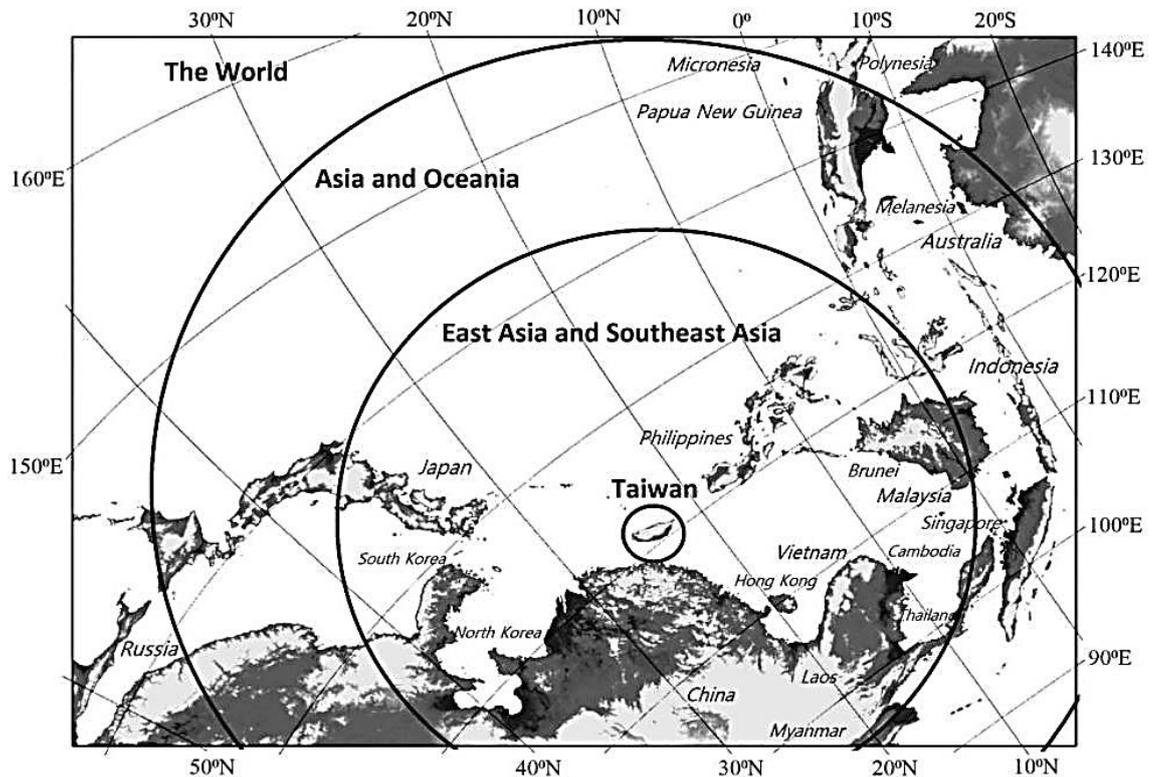


Illustration 0.1 Taiwan's model of 'concentric circles' and its 'rings' in the study of ethnomusicology centred on Taiwan's issues. Illustration by Teoh Yang-ming

Being informed by the 'Taiwan – East Asia – the World' historiographical perspective and the Western ethnomusicologists' 'ringers' definition, I found an adapted model comes automatically to my research. To be more precise than the 'Taiwan – East Asia – the World' model, the East Asia ring is further divided into 'East Asia and Southeast Asia' (Illustration 0.1) as I compare the music of Taiwanese indigenous people to that of the East Asian (Japanese and Korean, see for example, p.139) and Southeast Asian (Filipino, p.29 and Indonesian, p.215) and 'Asia and Oceania' (Australia, pp.74–75). To a great extent, this is not only a model for Taiwanese people to perceive Taiwan, but also provides coordinates for a researcher to examine and/or manifest his/her stance and involvement in the subjects related to Taiwan's ideology, issues concerning its people's identity and its nature of being a distinguishable political entity.

In illustrating this model, I follow Tu's suggestion of turning the map the other way around in order to see Taiwan and its neighbouring countries from an alternative angle. The

‘turn-around’ suggestion may be a true projection from Tu’s heart. Supported by many Taiwanese, it is probably a frustrated reaction to the long-term attitude of Communist China, which – according to democratic countries including Taiwan, which endorse liberalism and human rights, and those who had been bullied and badly treated by Communist China – deems itself superior to Taiwan. On a conventional north–south map, Taiwan is always ‘underneath’ China, which feels no shame from time to time in forcing other countries and their institutions to kowtow to its might. A recent example is the unsuccessful request from Beijing in 2017, threatening to have the entire site of Cambridge University Press (CUP) in China shut down if they did not remove articles of ‘politically sensitive’ nature about China from *The China Quarterly*, a prominent journal covering contemporary China.¹¹ Another example is Beijing’s successful demand in 2018 that Taiwan be referred to as part of China, rather than a separate country. Rather than face sanctions that could hurt their business in China, airlines around the world including Lufthansa, Air Canada, and British Airways were forced to comply with China’s so-called ‘Orwellian nonsense’, an effort which is in nature bullying to achieve political objectives.¹² By turning the map the other way around, Taiwan will no longer be underneath and presented as being submissive to China. Positioning myself at the core of this circle, I argue that each researcher has a specific position relative to Taiwan’s core. An example in this research is the one (Illustration 4.1: 257) I create in Chapter 4 to depict how indigenous and non-indigenous Taiwanese musicians, along with their musical ideas, are positioned according to where they live, make homes and interact with people.

Hence, taking the perspectives of foreign researchers on Taiwan and concepts such as ‘Otherness’ into account, and valuing ‘authenticity’ (after Goertzen 2014: 258–59) in experience

¹¹ Sarah Zheng, ‘Cambridge University Press Reverses Block on Banned Articles in China, Decides Not to Kowtow to Beijing’, *South China Morning Post*, 21 August 2017, at: <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/2107695/cambridge-university-press-reverses-decision-block> (accessed 2 April 2019).

¹² Onize Ohikere, ‘Global Airlines Kowtow to China’s Claim on Taiwan’, *World*, at: <https://world.wng.org/content/global-airlines-kowtow-to-china-s-claim-on-taiwan> (accessed 2 April 2019).

in respect to music that embodies ‘tradition’, I prioritise cultural relativism and the representation of difference, since my writing is intended for Western readers and my research is conducted in a British institution. Above all, no matter how virtuosic or knowledgeable a musician or an informant is, he won’t be automatically recognised for his scholarship unless he is able to produce an empirical, positivist and inductive piece of research or a scientific hypothetical-deductive work; even auto-ethnography is not excluded from these paradigms. To sum up, my research sits between Taiwanese experience and a fieldworker’s observations, and tries to construct ‘credibility’ through three factors which Ricardo Trimillos (2004: 35– 37) proposes be reference points: my East Asian bloodline (‘ancestry’), my ability to share the same ‘languages’ with research subjects, and the fact that I am a Taiwanese person (‘ethnic and racial typology’).

0.3 Literature Review

Taiwanese historian Cao Yong-he (1990) provides this research with the concept of *Taiwan Dao*, ‘the island of Taiwan’, taking this idea from French historian Fernand Braudel’s (1949) *Annales* school approach to examine countries and people around the Mediterranean (see Chapter Four). Cao emphasises ‘geographical time’ and argues that Taiwan’s environment marks the island over time and should be prioritised over ideas of cultural ancestry. He therefore substitutes the perspectives of colonisers with a Taiwanese perspective and serves to de-Sinify Taiwan’s Chinese-bounded ethnic origin. Strengthening Cao’s concept is Taiwanese and indigenous people’s culture of ocean and island – or, as I will tend to refer to it here, ‘mountain and sea’ (after Sun, 2000), the intimacy of people’s livelihoods with the natural environment. Although culturally affiliated with Han Chinese, Taiwanese notions of mountain and sea are separated from that of China, which is best depicted by its *Classic of Mountains and Seas/Shan Hai Jing*, a book that has recorded geography and myth in China, filled with folklore, history, religion, ethnology and medical information about the continental Chinese. By comparison, island-centred Taiwanese and the indigenous peoples respond to nature in different ways, notably, using a cosmology of the Southeast Asian and Austronesian peoples. In a similar way, Biung Tak-Banuaz’s (Chapter

Four) approach coincides with that of the Filipino singer Joey Ayala; they combine the sounds of indigenous Bunun or Filipino instruments with modern pop music to comfort their people from catastrophic natural disasters.¹³ Another example of this similarity can be found at roles played by Hu Jin-niang, a Bunun shaman and preservationist (Chapter Four), and Filipino Grace Nono, an ethnomusicologist of Philippine shamanism, who in a charity concert raised donations for recovering survivors of deadly typhoons. In both cases chants are rendered, mixed with indigenous elements and inspired by the local ecosystem, as a remedy promoting social healing.¹⁴ Hence, indigeneity and Austronesian characteristics are prioritised in the contemporary music practices of Taiwan's indigenous people, although influences of globalisation and universality can be found, because elements of Western popular music and Mandopop permeate the local sound culture.

Another framework for my research is the United Nations' *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People* (2007). It provides me with justification that both Taiwanese identity and the indigenous status are determined by cultural self-identification (see Chapter Three). Interestingly, the great Chinese philosopher Confucius also proposed the spirit of self-identification, that individuals have right to choose their cultural self-determination and determination should not be decided by their blood-tie: 'Chinese who practice foreign customs become foreigners; foreigners who migrate to China become Chinese.'¹⁵ Hence, according to this ancient criterion, Taiwan is an independent country, in line with the spirit of *Tino rangatiratanga*, the New Zealand Maori term for 'absolute sovereignty', 'self-determination', 'autonomy', or 'independence' (Awatere 1984: 38–42; Waitangi Tribunal 1996: 154–161). These terms manifest indigenous people's rights for suitable lifestyles and freedom in their choice of language and culture within the framework of law.

¹³ 'Joey Ayala is back for homecoming concert in Ateneo de Davao,' *Minda News*, at: <http://www.mindanews.com/top-stories/2015/11/joey-ayala-is-back-for-homecoming-concert-in-ateneo-de-davao/> (accessed 17 June 2018)

¹⁴ 'Grace Nono Sings for the Philippines,' *Asia Society*, at: <https://asiasociety.org/philippines/grace-nono-sings-philippines> (accessed 17 June 2018).

¹⁵ This statement was uttered by the influential Chinese Neo-Confucianism poet Han Yu (768–824 during Tang dynasty).

Finally, the British-American ethnomusicologist Colin Turnbull (1983) and American Steven Feld (1996: 1) remind me of the importance of musical understanding and engagement for music study. My microscopic approach on music and lyrics, which Mantle Hood (1982: 4) designates ‘the primary *subject* of study in ethnomusicology’, distinguishes my research from a ‘culturalism’ approach. However, it is not new, since practitioner-background researchers such as David Novak (2013), Christopher Scales (2012) and Louise Meintjes (2003) have used observations on musical details to support their socio-cultural and political arguments. I argue that music elements and the applications of them in their socio-cultural and political context are linked, for example, to shaping Taiwan’s national identity (see Chapter Three, in respect to the national anthems of ROC). On top of this, the study of musical texts is the centre of intellectual property discourse – how a piece of music and its arrangement support and determine the ownership of the music (see Chapter Two, in respect to the Difang incident, and Chapter Five, in respect to defining indigenospop).

0.4 Research Purpose and Contribution

0.4.1 Platform for Dialogue

This research aims to flip subject-object with self-other, establishing a platform for dialogue and sharing among the indigenous people, non-indigenous Taiwanese and outsiders. The designation of ‘indigenous’ to music is applied to songs, performances and compositions of the people, and to works created or performed by non-indigenous Taiwanese. I explore how the efforts of outsiders are often ignored locally, although they highlight differing attitudes among groups. I recognise the efforts of both local and foreign commentators, much as Mantle Hood (1971: 374) argues that both outsiders and insiders make contributions to our understandings: the former can act as the transmitters of a non-Western music, while the latter are, or can be, carriers of their own tradition. I balance the contributions by outsiders who promote cultural otherness, with that of insiders who occupy positions as ‘cultural ringers’ (after Howard 2015; Trimillos 2004; see

also section 0.2.2, p.24–28) to promote the tradition of their own; both are involved in the more hybrid genre of world music that is evident today.

As a Taiwanese researcher who lives among my research subjects, I must respect and be sympathetic to indigenous people, to see things from their perspective in engaging in music practice and study. The indigenous people have not been allowed autonomy since the arrival of colonisers; their rights have been ignored, and they have been controlled by external authorities. Their ability to speak for themselves is today, however, increasing; we can see this as a phenomenon of bouncing back – from oppression and mistreatment experienced for centuries. Researchers from outside Taiwan need to be aware that the Taiwanese public has in recent decades begun to share a feeling for the indigenous people, who were massacred for disobedience during colonisation, or were cheated out of land. Facing the increasingly assertive voices of indigenous people, the Taiwanese tend to be sympathetic, and attempt to conscientiously make up for the misconduct of earlier regimes. In general, then, my research clarifies how indigenous people take the initiative to claim their rights, to safeguard their culture and to get rid of the control that others have applied to them. There are still a few scholars and musicians of indigenous ethnicities who remain antagonistic towards outsiders, and claim that only the indigenous are eligible to speak about their traditions, but friendly attitudes are more common. Therefore, I aim to provide a platform for dialogue and sharing between Taiwan and the larger world, where East Asian scholarship in ethnomusicology, and how it might be different to Western ethnomusicology, is increasingly discussed.

0.4.2 Revised Perspectives and Diachronic Observations

Although born and brought up in Malaysia, I have been exposed to the topics in this research since childhood; in other words, materials for this research just came to me. I grew up in a Mandarin-speaking environment where Mandopop – mostly coming from Taiwan via cassette tapes, vinyl records and broadcasts on Malaysian radio and television – prevailed. At that time, we called ourselves *hua* people in Mandarin, *tang* people in Fujian (where my grandparents came

from), and Malaysian Chinese in English. The so-called *hua* people are those whose ancestors came from the southern part of China (mainly the Fujian and Guangdong provinces of today's China) at the time it was ruled by the Qing Dynasty, the Manchurian Court. Threatened by cultural assimilation, *hua* people are keen to practise customs of their own, including to retain education in Mandarin/Chinese, speaking their ancestral tongues and listening to Mandarin songs. In this way, the Mandarin and Fujian genres discussed in this research, including Taiwan's Minnan (*taigi*, an equivalent to Fujian language) songs, patriotic songs (*aiguo gequ*), banned songs, campus folksongs, indigenouspop (*shandige*), contemporary songs (*shidaiqu*) and Mandopop (see section 3.1: 154–63; section 3.3: 173–80; section 5.1: 260–64; section 5.2: 264–67; section 5.3: 267–76) insinuated themselves into my childhood and teenage life as I listened to these musics without consciously choosing to and knew these songs without being aware of how exactly I knew them.

In a similar way, I acquired my understanding of and experience in Taiwan's politics, society and music, first as a university undergraduate (to study Chemical Engineering) on my arrival in 1989 through to 1994, then as a post-graduate student (to study arts and major in Taiwanese music, which was explored with an East Asian methodology incorporating Western ethnomusicology) from 1995 to 1999, working as a part-time keyboardist, recording engineer and music maker intermittently during my university years before becoming a full-timer from 1999 onwards. In 2001, I became a part-time lecturer, teaching courses about commercial and popular music-making at three different universities (including National Taitung University, NTTU) across Taiwan, and became a full-timer in 2007 (at NTTU). At the beginning of my permanent lectureship, I still prioritised music-making and teaching instead of research. The first transition from my being an amateur scholar to a serious researcher happened in 2010, which led me to the completion of a book (Teoh 2012) on the contemporary music of Taiwan's indigenous people. Before I became a serious researcher, Taiwan and Taitung was where I had been living, making a home and interacting with people. But after I become a researcher, although this relationship with the field/home remains, Taiwan and Taitung have become study objects and the people

subjects. On one hand, my sense of belonging, kinship ties and affiliation with the field are linked by shared destiny which have become more intense. On the other hand, I am bounded by empirical evidence and theoretical reasoning as I discourse about the music, the people and socio-political and cultural phenomena. It is worthy of note that I renounced my Malaysian citizenship in order to naturalise as Taiwanese in 2010 at the age of 42. Being a PhD candidate impacted both perspectives to an even greater extent. That is to say, being away from 2014 to 2107 from my naturalised home country when I studied further in the UK yielded a strong sense of nostalgia, which drove me into a broad and in-depth acquisition of knowledge about Taiwan's historical, political and sociological past, and this in return has strengthened my sentimentality for the country. Coming to academic training, however, has constrained me to work within the rational and logical frameworks of scholarly discourses. These led me to develop an approach to present my research to audiences in Taiwan in a combined Merriamesque way of four kinds of participations in ethnomusicology (1975: 50–54): as a musicologist I provide specialised, descriptive and analytical studies of their/our musical cultures; as an anthropologist I present comprehensible research in a 'larger frame' in which to engage discussion (Lysloff 1994, quoted by Witzleben 1997: 228); as a musician I prioritise 'practical applications' (Tagg 1982:178); and as a teacher I make the 'discourse of the hallway' (that focuses on one's feelings) a 'discourse of the classroom' (that focuses on an issue) (Kogan, quoted by Frith 1991: 103), see for example, discourses on Taiwan's national anthem (Chapter Three, section 3.4 through section 3.6, pp.180–93).

0.5 Terminology, Definitions and Music Notation

0.5.1 Han Taiwanese, Taiwanese, Chinese and Mandarin

Since this research focusses on the subject of Taiwan, the term 'Han' (*hanren*) or 'Han Taiwanese' (*Taiwan hanren*) here refers to the descendants of immigrants from Fujian and Guangdong provinces of Southern China who have inhabited the island since the Ming and Qing dynasties,

as well as some two million people, consisting mainly of soldiers, members of the ruling Kuomintang and intellectual and business elites, who moved from mainland China in 1949, and their descendants. It differs from ‘Han Chinese’ as is often rendered in English for citizens of China who belong to the most populous of the 56 officially recognized ethnic groups there, or which are often simply referred to as ‘Chinese’ (*zhongguoren*).

The descriptor ‘Taiwanese’ is used throughout this dissertation. In places where the subjectivity of Taiwan is stressed, and where cultures and styles of different ethnic groups are distinguishable, additional descriptors such as Minnan (or Hoklo) and Hakka are applied; these emphasise the essence of locality. As a noun, ‘Taiwanese’ refers to Taiwan’s people (*Taiwanren*), including the *benshengren* (Taiwanese people), the roughly 72%¹⁶ of the population of Taiwan descending from the massive early migrations from China between 1661 and 1895 (Shambaugh 2006: 179–183; Executive 2014: 47–48). ‘Taiwanese’ promotes a distinct identity of Taiwan (as opposed to Taiwanese identity as a subset of a Chinese identity). Taiwanese cultures comprise the heritages of Minnan (Southern Fujian), which were heavily influenced by the Japanese during their occupation from 1895 to 1945, Hakka, and those of the indigenous people, as well as the cultural forms brought by the Han Chinese who arrived in the late 1940s. On other occasions, ‘Taiwan citizen’ (*Taiwan gongmin* or *Taiwan renmin*) is used as a nationality reference to describe all the diverse ethnic groups living in Taiwan or originating in Taiwan but living overseas, as well as those on Penghu, Kinmen and other small islands who hold Republic of China (Taiwan) citizenship.

Since only a small proportion of Taiwan’s people consider themselves Chinese, the term ‘Chinese’ as an ethnic affiliation increasingly and inclusively refers to people in China (the People’s Republic of China). Further elaboration will be provided as necessary when I refer to people of Chinese descent residing in Taiwan. In a recent (2014) survey conducted by National

¹⁶ This figure does not include the roughly 13% Hakka, whose ancestors also migrated from China between 1661 and 1895.

Chengchi University published in early 2015, 60.6% of respondents identified themselves exclusively as Taiwanese, 32.5% identified themselves as both Taiwanese and Chinese and 3.5% identified themselves as Chinese.¹⁷ It is worth noting that Taiwan people's affiliation with Chinese culture can still be considered strong, since most identify themselves as of Minnan, Hakka or Han descent. 'Mandarin' (*huawen*, the writing and *huayu*, the spoken language) refers to Standard Chinese, equivalent to the PRC's *putonghua* (common language), and the ROC's *guoyu* (national language), the official language and lingua franca of Taiwan based on modern vernacular Chinese (*baihuawen* (the writing) and *baihua* (the spoken language)).

0.5.2 Austronesian, Formosan, Aborigine and Taiwan Indigenous Peoples

'Taiwanese Austronesian' is used to stress a connection to the Southeast Asia, Madagascar and Pacific island Austronesian language family. 'Formosa' is an alternative name of Taiwan in Portuguese which means the 'enchanted' or the 'beautiful', and which is widely considered as having been coined by astonished Portuguese sailors who passed by the island in the 16th century and were enthralled by its natural beauty.¹⁸ It is occasionally used where the status and history of the island before the arrival of the Han (ca. 1683) are the focus. 'Aborigine' with an initial capital refers to 'a member of the race of people who were the original people of Australia.'¹⁹ 'Indigenous people' is used to refer to the original peoples who live in Taiwan and other countries or regions. One of Taiwan's indigenous groups is known as 'Beinan' in Mandarin but 'Puyuma' with its Beinan pronunciation. So, in this research, Beinan and Puyuma are used rather interchangeably but Puyuma is specifically referring to people belonged to those who live in Taitung Nanwang village or the Puyuma community.

¹⁷ <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/politics/breakingnews/1052425> (accessed 1 February 2016).

¹⁸ Government Information Office, Republic of China, *Republic of China Yearbook 2011*: 4, at <http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/yearbook/docs/ch03.pdf> (accessed 1 February 2016).

¹⁹ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 8th Edition (2014: 3), the second meaning listed for 'aborigine'.

0.5.3 Taiwanese indigenous popular music, Shandige and Contemporary Music

I use ‘Taiwanese indigenous popular music’ following the nomenclature conventions of East Asian popular music, such as ‘Mandopop’ (in which ‘Mando’ being a prefix for Mandarin, which is the *lingua franca* in Taiwan and China, and ‘pop’ for popular music), ‘Cantopop’ (‘Canto’ Hong Kong Cantonese), ‘J-pop’ (‘J’ Japanese) and K-pop (‘K’ Korean). However, I sometime differentiate ‘indigenous popular music’ with ‘indigenospop’, where I use the former as an umbrella term for all indigenous music which was non-traditional and wide circulated for leisure and amusement, regardless of its existence in relation to history and time, and the latter for a more recent genre, that is to say, after 1987 when Taiwan’s martial law lifted and at the same time technology, commercialism and innovative ideas became core elements or concepts in music making. Similar definition is also implied to the terminologies for Cantonese popular music, Japanese popular music and South Korean popular music. To put it more simply, popular music may be classic, in other words, judged over a period of time to be of the prominent of its kind, but pop is usually new and innovative. *Shandige* in this research is specially referring to indigenospop from 1945 to 1987, when the indigenous people were called *shandiren*, the mountain people. Contemporary music of the indigenous people may include the non-traditional songs composed after World War II, either by academically and classically trained composers or by popular musicians.

0.5.4 Traditional and Popular

In this dissertation, ‘traditional music’ (*chuantong yinyue*) refers to music made or practiced before the end of World War II, and continuations of that music in the present day. It is taken as the opposite to ‘contemporary’ (*dangdai*). This convention follows Lu Yu-hsiu (2003: 14), as well Lu Ping Chuan (1982) and Lu Chui Kuan (2009). I make the general implication of ‘traditional’ to refer to music that is ‘part of the beliefs, customs or ways of life of a particular group

of people, that has not changed for a long time',²⁰ although I am aware of the challenges to that definition given by, for example, Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983).

In this dissertation, 'popular' refers to music practiced, performed and appreciated by a large group – the masses. The concept appeared with the introduction of Western popular music to Taiwan and can be understood by its characteristics: easy to understand, structurally short and simple, with lyrics that respond to Taiwan social issues, manufactured and consumed in large quantity, promoted by and triggering developments in recording, manufacturing, staging, engineering, lighting systems, fashion and costume, and advertising. In *Taiwan Yinyue Shi/The History of the Music of Taiwan*, Lu Yu-Hsiu places 'popular' music within her Western music category (2003: 16). In Taiwan, as in much of East Asia, popular music has developed particularly through *karaoke*, in which amateur singers sing along to a recorded audio or video track; this has become a major leisure and entertainment activity of people (Lu Yu-Hsiu 2003: 16).

0.5.5 Choice of Music Notation Style and Font

All music notation in this research is transcribed on a five-line staff, primarily showing the melody lines which trained musicians are skilled at singing to. Where there is harmony and accompaniment involved, I use the jazz/pop 'polynomial notation' (after Hood, 1982: 76), a system where symbols represent musical ideas, showing chord symbols above measures and on the relevant beats. The reason I use the polynomial system is to accommodate the musicians' free expression as required, and for the readers to interpret the music to meet the flexibility of harmonic, rhythmic and melodic requirements within the genre. For example, in Chapter 4, Notation 4.1 (p.239) is good for showing the chords used by the guitarist(s) in recording studio (for Biung's 2000 album track) and live performance (in 2014), although the fingerings of playing the instrument varied on these occasions. In addition, I also provide the skeleton melodies on these five-line staves.

²⁰ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 8th Edition (2014: 1642), the first meaning listed for 'traditional'.

Chapter 1

Indigenous Music at Taitung: Inheritance and the Contemporary

1.1 Taitung, Indigenous People and Popular Music

Taitung County (*Taidong Xian*), the third largest county in Taiwan, is located at the southeast of the island (Map 1.1, p.41), where indigenous people make up a large portion of the population (Map 1.2, p.42). In December 2015, out of the population of 222,452 in Taitung,¹ 79,155 were indigenous people, comprising 35.58% of the total. This proportion also stood as the highest in Taiwan, compared to 91,999 indigenous people out of 331,945 in Hualien (27.72%)² and

	Amis	Paiwan	Bunun	Puyuma (or Beinan)	Tao	Rukai	Others	Non- resgis- tered	Total
Taiwan	203,377	97,649	56,761	13,629	4,483	12,971	143,489	14,339	546,698
Tai- tung	36,876	16,545	8,277	7,643	4,062	2,069	904	2,779	79,155

Table 1.1 Population of the six major indigenous peoples in Taitung, in comparison with Taiwanese indigenous peoples nationwide. Table by Teoh Yang-ming.³

	Atayal	Tsou	Saisiyat	Thao	Kavalan	Truku	Sakizaya	Sediq	Hla'alua	Kanakanavu
Taiwan	87,041	6,672	6,483	769	1,412	30,308	865	9,399	287	253
Taitung	465	43	50	4	109	193	5	32	2	1

Table 1.2 Population of other indigenous peoples in Taitung in comparison with Taiwanese indigenous peoples nationwide. Table by Teoh Yang-ming.⁴

¹ Taitung County Government, at: <http://www.taitung.gov.tw/status-tics/News.aspx?n=624F98642E38DF4C&sms=69CA9940FDCD788E&theme-site=BAA86C8F16BADDE6> (accessed 29 January 2016).

² Hualien County Government, at: <http://static.hl.gov.tw/files/11-1054-2294.php> (accessed 29 January 2016).

³ Council of Indigenous People, at: <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docDetail.html?CID=940F9579765AC6A0&DID=0C3331F0EBD318C250723039230B4821> (accessed 29 January 2016).

⁴ Council of Indigenous People, at: <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docDetail.html?CID=940F9579765AC6A0&DID=0C3331F0EBD318C250723039230B4821> (accessed 29 January 2016).

546,698 out of 23,492,074 nationwide (2.33%).⁵ The Amis (36,876), Paiwan (16,545), Bunun (8,277), Puyuma (or Beinan, 7,643), Tao (4,062) and Rukai (2,069) are the six major indigenous peoples having their homes and the highest populations in Taitung (Table 1.1 and Table 1.2).⁶ According to Taiwan's Yuanzhuminzu Jibenfa/The Indigenous Peoples Basic Law, there are 55 territories belongs to the indigenous people where the peoples' fundamental rights are protected, and their subsistence and development promoted; and all the 15 townships in Taitung (Map 0.2, p.15) are included into these 55 territories. In terms of smaller indigenous community, buluo, Taitung ties Hualien with 186 resgistred buluos apiece – out of the total 746 nationwide, excluding those not yet registered –, for the highest among all Taiwan's major local administration (regions demarcated by county and city). It is worth of note that Taitung and Hualien are followed by Hsinchu County (in the westcoast of Taiwan), which is the third region populated with indig-enous buluos, but only able to record a number of 83, which is far less than those of the two eastcoast cuntries.⁷

Tourism Bureau, Ministry of Transport and Communication of Taiwan list eight indige-nous communities for '*buluo guanguang*' or 'tribal tourism' along the East Coast National Sce-nic Area, that is to say, along the coastal area of Taitung and Hualien.⁸ It is also worthy of note that in Taiwanese transliteration, *buluo*, the Mandarin term for 'tribe', has no derogatory impli-cations, instead meaning 'a living community, village or township. For example, the official website of the above-mentioned ministry promotes this so-called 'tribal tourism' in such de-scriptions as 'Immerse yourself in tribes between the mountain and sea; discover ancient tales and legends'; these eight *buluos* or tribes are all populated by the Amis, namely Marongarong, Pisirian, Pakara'ac and Toric in Taitung, and Kiwit, Cawi', Ciwidian and Paterongan in Hual-

⁵ Ministry of Interior, Department of Statistics, at: http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat_chart/chart_full.aspx (ac-
cessed 29 January 2016).

⁶ Refer to Map 1.2.

⁷ Council of Indigenous Peoples, at: <https://www.apc.gov.tw/port-tal/docDetail.html?CID=70BB33E603A72F50&DID=0C3331F0EBD318C27663B7B0AC83ABB6> (ac-
cessed 18 February 2019).

⁸ East Coast National Scenic Area, at: <https://www.eastcoast-nsa.gov.tw/en> (accessed 18 February 2019).

ien. A ‘person-in-charge’ is assigned to take care of some two to three days’ trips where ‘indigenous experiences’ such as storytelling, local diet made with wild vegetables and seafood, bamboo rafting, and ‘tribal’ house accommodation, are provided. However, in this research, I put more emphasis on and explore those *buluos* which are significant with its musical heritage, for example, Falangaw (Malan) for Amis polyphonic singing and Difang Incident (Chapter Two: 110–30), ‘Etolan’⁹ for the music of Suming Rupi (Chapter Two: 129–51), Puyuma (Nanwang) for the music of Beinan musicians such as Paudull, Samingad and the Nanwan Sisters (Chapter Three: 166–67), and Chihpen for ‘songs of the mountain people’ (Chapter Five: 260–76).

Taitung, meaning ‘Eastern Taiwan’ in Mandarin, is commonly known as ‘behind the mountains’ or ‘the back mountains’ (*houshan*) among Taiwanese people. The remote location and isolation that comes because of the mountains that separate Taitung from the population centres in the western parts of Taiwan safeguard it from environmental deterioration urbanization and pollution. Taitung was the last part of the island to be included into Qing-ruled Taiwan in the late 19th century. Throughout the 20th and into the early 21st centuries, this sparsely populated county has remained clean with an unpolluted, natural environment. The result is it has become a tourist attraction, sitting between the wide-open Pacific to the east and the Central Mountain Range to the west. Taitung also includes two outlying islands, Green Island and Orchid Island.

Indigenous popular musicians transmit multiculturalism in Taitung. They inter-connect across different groups and perform at inter-township events, pan-indigenous festivals and for international gatherings. For example, on 20 November 2010, the Taitung County government held the ‘Austronesian Music Festival 2010’ at Atolan Cultural Park (turned into a park from the redundant Atolan Sugar Factory). It should be noted that ‘Atolan’ is mis-spelled ‘Etolan, an officially registered indigenous community in Taitung; ‘Atolan’ is sometimes used in location boards or other occasions, but is registered by another Amis community in Hualien. In this

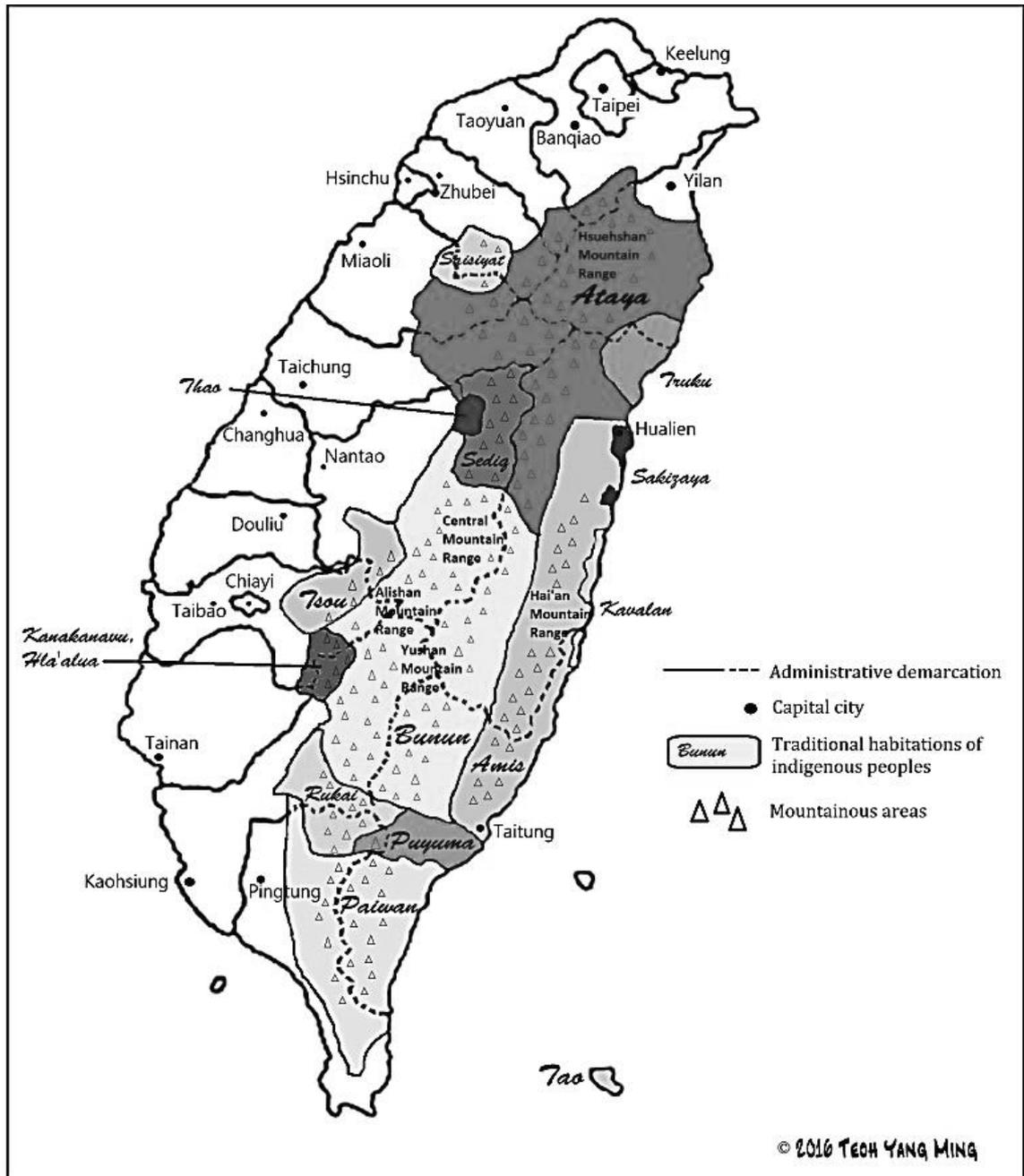
⁹ ‘Etolan, an officially registered indigenous community in Taitung, is sometimes spelled ‘Atolan’, ‘Tolan’ or ‘Tulan’ in location boards.



Map 1.1 Administrative and political demarcations of Taiwan, with Taitung highlighted. Map by Teoh Yang-ming.¹⁰

¹⁰ With reference to Taiwan Administrative Region, Ministry of the Interior, Taiwan, at: <http://taiwanar-map.moi.gov.tw/moi/run.htm> (accessed 18 January 2016).

research, both 'Etolan and Atolan refer to the same Amis community in Taitung. Since this was produced by the record company Taiwan Colors Music, I participated in it. International musicians such as the Madagascar singer Kilema, the Hawaiian band Skaraoke, the Indonesian band



Map 1.2 Geographic distribution of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples. Map by Teoh Yang-ming.¹¹

¹¹ Sorted out through fieldwork, with reference to the maps in *Republic of China Yearbook 2014* (Executive 2014: 47-53), and Chen (1992: 3), Kurosawa (2008: 24), Lu (2003: 43), Wang (2001: 11) and Tan (2012: 32), Huang (2004: 7-16) and Council of Indigenous Peoples, Taiwan, at: <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=6726E5B80C8822F9> (accessed 20 January 2016).

Andre Harihandoyo & Sonic People, and locals including the singer Panai Kusui, Matzka Band and Hot Meat Band shared their music and promoted their common identity as Austronesians. Through similar events, Taitung indigenous musicians come to interact with Han Taiwanese and with others, thereby exposing themselves to an eclectic environment from which they have the potential to emulate traits from different sources. This results in a dilution of the clear-cut distinction between ethnic origins and regional characteristics. Also, younger generations are changing their patterns of migration, making borders among indigenous people less clear. So, when music of a minority transforms from a tradition into a contemporary popular form, it can be expected to lose some of its recognisable characteristics. However, in the case of Taitung indigenous popular music, heritage such as ancient songs (*gutiao*) which are distinguishable according to indigenous people's distinctiveness, and Austronesian languages which are also set apart by groups, are still sustained. What is further discernible is the musicians' constant response to issues concerning their life environment, community, and social change. That is to say, Taitung indigenous popular music which is musically integrated with tradition, and ideologically and factually in line with the historical continuum from which it has emerged,¹² is distinct and separated from other Taiwanese popular music such as Mandopop (Mandarin popular music, or *Huayu liuxing yinyue*), and Taiwanese Minnan songs (popular songs in the style and language of Minnan Taiwanese, or *taiyu gequ*).

As the largest group of Taitung's indigenous people, Amis popular musicians are the most active and prolific.¹³ In Taitung, the Pacific coastal plain east of the Hai'an Mountains (or Coastal Mountains) is their traditional territory (Hsu 1976); this is where Suming Rupi, the celebrated young and multi-talented musician, comes from. Taitung city was home to Difang Tuwana (Kuo Ying-nan) and his wife, Hongay Niyuwit (Kuo Hsiu-chu) (see Photo 2.2 on p.104), the singers of the Amis complex contrapuntal polyphonic chant used in Enigma's multimillion

¹² Inspired by Howard (2014b: 350): '...an appreciation of music in the present can indeed illuminate the historical continuum from which it emerged.'

¹³ At the time of writing, there are at least 25 Amis musicians well-known nationally; comparatively, there are less musicians from other groups, though these are no less popular.

seller track 'Return to Innocence' on *The Cross of Change* album (Virgin CDVIR-20, 1993¹⁴), and later the theme song of the 1996 Atlanta Olympics (Guy 2002; He 2000; Huang 2000).

Other Amis that I consider to be of note, and who I cite in this dissertation, include the Chu-yin Amis group based in Malan community, Taitung city, the musician-researcher Lifok Dongi who originated from Sa'aniwan, Chenggong Township, and the Kakeng Musical Group of Donghe (Huang 2000; Hsieh 2007).

The Puyuma (or Beinan) settled in Taitung city include, according to my research, the prominent musicians Paudull (or Chen Jian-nian), Samingad (or Ji Xiao-jun) and the Nanwan Sisters (or *Nanwang Jiemeihua*) from Nanwang village. Other musical figures include Zhang Hui-mei (Chapter Three, Photo 3.3, p.181) from Beinan Township and Gao Zi-yang (Chapter Five, Photo 5.2, p.276), Mavaliw and Nawan from Chihpen. Taitung Puyuma and Beinan musicians played a key role in the so-called 'Indigenous Wave' (*Yuanlangchao*), which can be dated back to 1997 when indigenous artists such as Zhang and Difang emerged as international musicians. Taitung Puyuma and Beinan musicians continued to be at the centre of indigenous popular music throughout the first decade of the 2000s.

The Bunun (or Bunong), the 'high-mountain tribe' distributed over the southern part of the island's rugged central mountain range at elevations above 1,500 metres, is best known for their sophisticated polyphonic vocal music (Kurosawa 2008; Zemp 1996b). There are five distinct Bunun sub-groups: Takituduh, Takibaka, Takivatan, Takbunuaz and Isbukun. From these, I explore the compositions of Biung Tak-Banuaz, from the Takbunuaz group in Yanping in this dissertation, and take Kurosawa's version of '*Pasibutbut*' or the 'Song of Praying for Good Harvest for Millet' (Chapter Four, Photo 4.1, p.216) that he recorded in 1943 at Haiduan (as it was republished in 2008) for comparison. It is worth of note that the spellings of '*Pasibutbut*' may be vary in occasions – such as '*Pasipotpot*' in Kurosawa (1974), and '*Pasiputput*' in article by

¹⁴ one of the many releases.

Western writer¹⁵ and also in the introductory section by YouTube uploader¹⁶ – due to the Bunun, who had been practising oral tradition, did not set any written title for the song. In reality, Romanised titles of ‘*Pasibutbut*’ have only been created in the 20th century for text materials in a way that writers spelled ‘*Pasibutbut*’ with slight variations according to what they think best representing the original pronunciations they heard. Until the coming of Christian missionaries at the beginning of the 20th century, the Bunun were known to be fierce warriors and head-hunters. They were hostile to outsiders, whether these were Han immigrants or indigenous tribes from surrounding areas (Davidson 1903).¹⁷ The Bunun have actively protected themselves from acculturation, helped by their remote and geographically inaccessible habitats. This protective attitude towards the preservation of culture has passed down to Biung in his ambition to maintain locality and to function within Bunun heredity. What makes Biung’s ambition difficult is his career as a popular musician – he has to champion commercialisation in order to earn a living (Fan 2000). I also compare Biung with the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation, an organisation adapting a different approach as a group, to discuss achieving transmission and sustaining the musicians’ living without recourse to commercialism.

The Tao, also known as the Yami, are native to the tiny outlying Orchid Island (‘Ponso no Tao’, Lanyu). Tao people retain unique customs and cultural practices; their indigenous traditions have been maintained, but are increasingly challenged by social and economic change (Chen Y. 2004; Wang 2001). The island population relies heavily on fishing, and an emphasis on ocean culture is clear. In 2011, the year of the Republic of China’s (that is, Taiwan’s) centennial celebration, the central government and local authorities jointly organised a ‘Cross *Kuroshio* to Visit Taiwan’ event to revive and promote the ocean culture of the Tao. I have exchanged information with participants such as the photographer Hsu Ming-cheng, interviewed the music arranger and producer of the theme song, Zheng Jie-ren, collected news reports and

¹⁵ ‘From composer Joby Talbot’, *Handel Choir of Baltimore*, at: https://www.handelchoir.org/Concert2_Talbot.htm (accessed 18 March 2019).

¹⁶ <youtu.be/OcB-BmqTJNU> (accessed 19 March 2019).

¹⁷ *Taiwan Autochthonous Election*, at: <http://www.kgu.com.tw/front/bin/ptlist.phtml?Category=361765> (accessed 19 February 2016).

examined documentary movies. The event was a microcosm of the evolution of Tao culture and music, but it also illustrated how assimilation, accommodation and integration have occurred in recent times.

On the wide plain of Taitung, there is an area occupied by the Rukai people (distinct as the Eastern Rukai), who populate Tunghsin village (autonym Taronak, previously known as Tanan). For my research, I visited Tunghsin village more than six times, becoming friendly with chief Gu Ming-de and elder Lin De-ci. I accompanied them on an overnight ‘root-seeking’ trip to western Taiwan (where they consider their ancestors migrated from) in October 2008. The Rukai have faced competition with other groups such as the Amis, Beinan and Paiwan. They have developed a strong hereditary aristocratic social structure in their fight for survival, and this has served to preserve their culture. Although their traditional dance and music activities are lively, they rarely participate in the popular music scene, and are therefore passed over in most research. Along with other indigenous groups in Taitung, the Kavalan, who are comparatively small in number, have had a minor involvement with the indigenous popular music scene.

1.2 The Great Public Concern and the Music Heritage

1.2.1 Significance of the 2000 Golden Melody Awards

Then: the winner is... The scene was the presentation ceremony of the 11th Golden Melody Awards, the Taiwanese equivalent to the USA Grammy Awards, on 28 April 2000 at National Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in Taipei. Everyone heard the presenter pronounce ‘Chen Jian-nian’ (or Paudull, using his Beinan name, Photo 1.1) as the winner of the ‘best male vocalist in Mandarin’. The camera caught a live image of the singer which was broadcasted nationwide, but no one had the slightest knowledge about who the singer was.¹⁸ At that time, I was working as a recording engineer for Global Music & Media Limited, a record company, watching the

¹⁸ youtu.be/dbemmDzX9F0 (accessed 11 February 2019).

live telecast and chatting about the event with colleagues and other musicians in a recording studio.



Photo 1.1 Paudull (guitarist) performing at a concert in hometown Taitung on 13 October 2018. Photo by Teoh Yang-ming.

In the ceremony, the non-lexical vocables *hohaiyan* and *naluwan* in the background music were heard through the sound system at the introduction of nominees and the announcement of winners in the various categories, namely Chen Jian-nian (preferably, Paudull, using his indigenous name, Photo 1.1) for the ‘best male vocalist’ and ‘composer of the year’, Ji Xiao-jun (or Samingad) for the ‘best new artist’ and ‘best female vocalist in dialect’, Kuo Ying-nan (or Difang Tuwana) for the ‘best ethnic music album’ and Zhang Hui-mei (Amei) for the ‘best female vocalist’. These vocables, commonly used in indigenous songs, lingered throughout the night. The accolades given to indigenous popular music through the awards marked a belated recognition by the Ministry of Culture, the organiser, of the musicians’ outstanding achievements in the Taiwanese music industry, but it raised great public concern.

Of course, everyone knew the other contestants in the ‘best male vocalist in Mandarin’, as those nominated in the Golden Melody Awards, the most prestigious award in the Mandarin-speaking world, are always extremely well-known artists. They will routinely be the equivalent

to Justin Bieber in Western pop or PSY in K-pop. For example, Jacky ‘God of singing’ Hok-yau Cheung (Zhang Xue-you) has been a Hong Kong superstar for years and Leehom Wang (or Wang Li-hong) remains a popular male idol and nine-time nominee in his category. Others would include David Tao (or Tao Zhe) and Harlem Yu (or Yu Cheng-qing). Tao is an R & B singer raised in a celebrity family and his late father, Tao Da-wei, was a well-known singer, TV host and comedian, and had been an important promoter of Western music in Taiwan, whereas David’s mother Wang Fu-rong was a famous Beijing opera actress. Yu is the son of Zhang Zheng-fen, another respected Beijing opera actress. All of these either have dual nationality (American-Taiwanese) or foreign citizenship (American or Hong Kong/PRC);¹⁹ their given names or stage names (Jacky, David and Harlem) are common as first names, or Mandarin pronunciations of names that the audiences could easily repeat in English (Leehom), revealing the trans-cultural mainstream commercialised and globalised industry that they endorse. In comparison, Chen’s indigenous name, Paudull, and his Puyuma attire at the ceremony and at other musical events, implied a local and traditional orientation, rooted in Austronesian and Taiwanese culture. We can assume that his music – although it is written in Mandarin as those of his superstar counterparts are – will possess some unique characteristics to distinguish it from the mainstream.

More importantly, the cultural implications of indigenous popular music are profound, rather than being superficial, relating to popularity and the number of records sold as those of Mandopop are. Paudull’s music and the other well-known artists’ Mandopop ably depict two models of music-making in the Taiwanese commercial scene: the first sticks to locality in order to endow traditional values, while the second keeps up with Chinese and trans-national trends in order to achieve commercial success among the large Mandarin-speaking world. Paudull’s success is meaningful as his music for the first time ever presented a genuine Taiwanese genre; he

¹⁹ Pop stars are public figures, so their personal particulars such as nationalities and family backgrounds are made open to the public through news stories and media interviews. Here I add knowledge from my personal long-term involvement in the scene.

is, as a result, honoured under the spotlight in prestigious musical events. In other words, a musical tradition from ‘inside Taiwan’ prevailed over those influenced by China, the West or other regions – ‘the outside’. From the information I collected from newspapers and the mass media, and through a mutual friend, Hsu Ming-cheng, I can report that Paudull, a Taitung Puyuma, is a policeman, a bashful music hobbyist who only works part-time in the commercial music scene. It makes his unprecedented triumph, topping other full-time, professional and well-resourced Mandopop artists, a motivation to his people and to musicians more generally in Taitung. In addition to winning ‘best male vocalist in Mandarin’ with *The Ocean/Haiyan* album, Paudull bagged the title of ‘composer of the year’ with his composition ‘The Myth/*Shenhua*’²⁰ (On *The Sounds of Sun, Wind and Pasture*, Magic Stone MSD-071, 1999); Samingad, Paudull’s niece and the vocalist of ‘The Myth’, clinched ‘best new artist’ title. Difang, an Amis from Taitung, and his album, *Across the Yellow Earth* (Magic Stone MSD-070, 1999), captured ‘best ethnic music album’. Other accomplishments of Taitung indigenous musicians included the nominations of Zhang Hui-mei, who was at the zenith of her career, as ‘best female vocalist in Mandarin’ and Samingad as ‘best female vocalist in Taiwan local language’.

In my informal conversation with an indigenous fan of indigenoupop, he told me that ‘the music of Taiwanese indigenous people extends the horizon of [his] music appreciation at both ends: the traditional and the contemporary.’ Another non-Taiwanese audience member said, ‘Paudull’s music impresses me with his boy next-door look; he is earnest and his daily life is also ours.’ That is to say, the music has become an essence of Taiwan in its ‘purest and most natural form’ (quoted from another Taiwanese audience member). Enthusiastic fans share their experiences with me; for example, one of my students recommended: ‘Dear teacher,’ he wrote, ‘you should listen to Sangpuy Katatepan Mavaliyw (or Lu Jie-xing), a talented new artist from Chipen, Taitung.’ Furthermore, the pride of successful artists is shared; that is to say, the success of individuals at international events represents success for all Taiwanese, as in the way

²⁰ youtu.be/E-9cb5aiE3g (accessed 11 February 2019).

overseas Taiwanese fervently greeted Suming Rupi at Village Underground live house, London (on 21 June 2016, see p.130, p.146–47) and Chalaw at SOAS, University of London (on 23 September, pp.160 and 165).

1.2.2 The Decay and the Revival

Before the 1990s, Taiwanese indigenous people went through four stages in terms of ownership of their motherland – from an initial stage of being sole governors of Taiwan (before 1624), to the second stage of being one of the co-owners of the island (ca. 1624–1683), to the third stage of being colonised (ca. 1683–1945) and finally as they have become culturally endangered groups in the fourth (1945–1987) (Chen Zheng-gang 2000: 7). The first stage started approximately 8,000 years before the present, before the massive Han migration to Taiwan which began in the 17th century (Blust 1999). The second stage is a legacy of the ‘Age of Discovery’, when Dutch and Spanish travellers established a settlement; this was in existence from 1624 to 1662, and continued through Ming Dynasty influence when Zheng Cheng-gong established the (Chinese) Kingdom of Tungning from 1662 to 1683 (Hsieh 1987: 15–25). The indigenous people were gradually assimilated by the Han Chinese who migrated from Fujian and Guangdong in large numbers (Chen 2004: 26–29). The third stage overlapped with the Ming polity and the ensuing Qing period (1683–1895), lasting through the Japanese occupation (1895–1945). The Japanese colonialists applied harsh ruling mechanisms under the Kominka Movement, an assimilation project designed to teach all inhabitants of the island to see themselves as Japanese, and this caused the diminishment of indigenous culture.²¹ Nationalists regained control in 1945, and their authoritarian government imposed martial law from 1949. Cultural activities were restricted and held tightly in check, while the traditions of indigenous peoples further deteriorated (Lu 2003: 17).

²¹ Huang, Fu-san. 2005. ‘Colonization and Modernization under Japanese Rule (1895–1945)’, at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20070317044611/http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/history/tw07.html> (accessed 27 February 2016).

After martial law was finally lifted in 1987, democratisation arrived in Taiwan. The country underwent a process of localisation in which local culture and history were promoted.²² In seeking liberalism and equal human rights, Taiwan transformed itself into a society where various cultures were equally respected. Multiculturalism started to flourish while Taiwanese identity was re-defined as a collectively held system of meanings, customary patterns, thoughts and shared behaviour (Hsiau 2005: 125–9). In this respect, an important development was that various ethnic groups, namely Han descendants who had migrated from Fujian and Guangdong before the 1940s (namely, the Minnan and Hakka) and Han descendants from various provinces who arrived after World War II, as well as the indigenous peoples, started to be addressed by the authorities in accordance with the group to which they primarily belonged.²³ Indigenous musicians have paced themselves to the social and political changes, and have sought to revive their music traditions, which were subdued until after 1987 by Chinese nationalism.

A significant part of my research explores the revival of and the multitude of indigenous music compositions, particularly after public concern increased around the year 2000. The achievements in 2000 came through the *Het Eyland Formosa Wave*²⁴, which continued to gain momentum through the early years of the new millennium. Its mixed Taiwanese-Dutch/Portuguese title, *Het Eyland Formosa*, was used. While ‘*Het Eyland*’ is homophonous to ‘*hohaiyan*’, the most commonly heard vocable in indigenous music, meaning ‘the island’ (the precise spelling is *het eiland*) in Dutch, ‘Formosa’ is an alternative name for Taiwan in Portuguese which means the ‘enchanted’ or ‘beautiful’, highlighting the island’s historic past. On some occasions, non-Chinese/Mandarin terms are used to avoid Taiwan’s affiliation with the Chinese. Distancing themselves/ourselves from China is a common practice in today’s Taiwanese’ self-identification. Other example of practicing this is substituting ‘Lunar New Year’ for ‘Chinese New Year’, for not only Chinese (peoples in China) celebrate the festival, but other East Asians

²²‘Taiwan Timeline – Path to democracy’, *BBC News*, at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in_depth/asia_pacific/2000/taiwan_elections2000/1986_1999.stm (accessed 4 March 2016).

²³ Government Information Office, *Republic of China Yearbook 2014*: 47–50, at: <http://issuu.com/ey-roc/docs/rocyetbook2014> (accessed 4 March 2016).

²⁴ Or ‘Indigenous Wave’ (*Yuanlangchao*).

such as Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese, and of course, Taiwanese, also mark the first day of the same lunar calendar. The success of indigenous popular music has not only strengthened a long-term impression among the public – who today consider indigenous peoples to be good singers and musicians – but has also helped to spread the ideology and propaganda of these same musicians, carrying and transmitting it because of regional characteristics. My close contact with indigenous popular music comes through my experience of working in the music industry, as indigenous popular music has come to flourish. My engagement with the musicians of Taitung has been enhanced because I am a permanent resident there, and so am exposed to the musical environment. It has been 12 years since I began to work as a faculty member at the Department of Music, National Taitung University, the only university in the county.

1.2.3 The Heritage of the Music of the Indigenous People

By 2000, Taiwanese indigenous people had travelled a long and winding path over 400 years striving to maintain their status as an ethnic group deserving respect and autonomy, to preserve their ‘indigenous subjectivity’ and their rights to an indigenous heritage. Prior to 2000, multiple aspects of their culture, including music, had been threatened with decline leading to its potential eventual disappearance. For example, in the case of the Falangaw and Fukid communities of Taitung, the Amis seniors’ memories of their multipart songs which had always been performed in groups – with polyphonic melodies, improvisation, unique interpretations, stresses and rhythmic synchronization, all intimately related to their traditions and still sung when they were young – had faded (Lu and Kao 2013: 33–9). The opportunities in the present day to sing together as they used to do during working and resting, in which events providing suitable atmospheres for music activities to happen were once common, have become rare, disrupting the continuity of their culture.

From the perspective of historical and political realities, and as outlined by Lin Zhi-xing (2000: 40), Taiwanese indigenous people have gone through four stages in their music culture from the 17th century to the turn of the new millennium (Table 1.3): traditional, militarised and

transformations in indigenous music practices. For example, the indigenous people were exposed to monophonic melodies and simple or duple metric rhythmic structures of 4/4 and 2/4, particularly through marching music (Chen Z. 2000: 7–10). Furthermore, the colonisers obliged people to sing patriotic songs that evoked and eulogised cultural affiliations with the colonisers' home countries, namely Japan and China. Inevitably, this new music, arranged as morale-boosting marches and fanfares, trickled down to the music practices of the indigenous people.

Christianity influenced their music as missionary groups arrived in the 1940s, leaving a distinctly indigenous-European hybrid. Through my fieldwork, my long-term acquaintances with indigenous friends, and my participation at services, I can report how the musical ministries of churches adapted indigenous songs and lyrics in a cross-cultural context, for example, using the frame of indigenous traditional melodies but filling them up with newly-written lyrics about the Christian gospel. Another approach used the frames of Western gospel songs but added new lyrics in indigenous languages such as Amis and Bunun. There were also versions of the gospel translated into indigenous tongues, to be sung to locally composed melodies. In such ways, contemporary indigenous music was heavily influenced by the West. Shortly after World War II, Taiwanese indigenous music flourished as a sub-genre of contemporary music. In this, Amis musicians were the largest constituent group involved among the indigenous people. Contemporary indigenous music divided into localised versions for or of different groups. To a certain extent, musicians made music part of a pan-indigenous populism, utilising indigenous music for commercial purposes. Beyond this, composers appropriated indigenous music, and indigenous music was part of a social movement conveying specific ideologies (Chen Z. 2000: 7–10).

The significant proliferation of contemporary indigenous music can be seen from two contrasting angles, as either positive or negative. From a positive perspective, it illustrates the versatility and liveliness of indigenous culture, encapsulating the dynamic cultural flows through musician and audience involvement, and can be considered a successful model of multicultural fusion, its musicality and contents providing both amusement as well as entertainment.

This is how Huang Guo-chao characterises it (2009: iii). In contrast, from a negative perspective, it can be claimed that indigenous musicians play only passive roles within the commodifying music industry. Chen Chun-bin, taking this line, adds that some of the results have been mediocre, featuring musical compositions and lyrics from a ‘low culture’ (2013: 68). One Beinan song writer, Gao Zi-yang, has remarked that contemporary indigenous music is pessimistic, expressing negative feelings such as despair, suffering, misery and an unrealistic, imagined take on indigenous people.²⁶ It can certainly be stated that not everybody is happy with the way the musicians present themselves. The stereotypical clown-like performance styles and the images have often been somehow entertaining and amusing, and at times are even expected when indigenous artists appear on stage, but these arouse anger among the more self-conscious of indigenous people, who want to see their fellow artists respected for their professionalism and talent, not for entertainment or comedy (as discussed by Wsay Kolas and Mayaw Biho 2006). The cruel reality is that this music rarely results in good financial returns for the performers.

1.3 The Folksong Collection Movement: the Moot Point

When the late Taiwanese scholar Hsu Tsang-houei (1929–2001) launched the *Mingde caiji yundong* (Folksong Collection Movement) in the 1960s and promoted it during the 1970s, he likely did not foresee the huge impact his endeavour would have. The high profile given to Difang’s (Photo 2.1, with his wife Hongay) case initiated a chain reaction to the music-making and practices of indigenous popular music from the 1990s through to contemporary times. The so-called Difang Incident began at the time when Taiwan was in a political, social and cultural transition. It was moving from a regime of authoritarian dictatorship that had lasted until 1987, when martial law was lifted, to a liberal and democratic polity that became embedded in the late 1980s and 1990s. Socially and culturally it was moving from a strict Chinese-orientated and homogeneous society to a multicultural state. For indigenous people, their latent self-consciousness was

²⁶ Gao Zi-yang, cited by Jiang Guan-ming (2002) in ‘*Dongdang shidai de gesheng*’ (Voices in the restless era), at: <http://blog.xuite.net/lin887882/tpbs/8623498> (accessed 29 July 2017).

excited, and their status as a ‘silent other’ (after Lin 2003; see also Chen 2013: 94) came to an end. Among events that awakened indigenous people to their previously neglected rights and boosted morale, ‘*Sakatusa’ Ku’edaway a Radiw*’, the Amis traditional rendition made popular by Difang, was particularly important. It is jocularly considered the ‘anthem of Malan’ in, for example, Chen Yu-xiu’s *Encyclopedia of Taiwan Music* (2008: 139), and is always the most recognisable tune today on an Amis CD (e.g. *Falangaw Makapahay – Music from the Land of Malan Group of Amis and Polyphonic Music of the Amis Tribe*). 21 years after the airing of this most recognisable Amis voice at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics, and 24 years after the original Enigma album *The Cross of Change* was published in 1993, both of which sampled Difang’s voice²⁷, research on Taiwanese indigenous popular music has sprouted across musicological and anthropological domains (see, e.g., the Masters’ dissertations by Liao Tzu-ying 2006, Hsieh Tsung-han 2007, Guo Yu-Ting 2007, Hsu Hui-chien 2008, Hsueh Mei-chu 2007 and Chen Syuan-ling 2010). But it has done so in a slow and gradual way, so that the preservationist approach towards traditional music still dominates academic discourse.

The Folksong Collection Movement was led by two Taiwanese scholars. Hsu was joined by Shi Wei-liang (1925–1977), and their aim together was to establish a databank for academic use. Hsu realised that indigenous music – as well as other Taiwanese traditions – would disappear once skilful musicians declined in number. Hsu’s recording was made most likely on 8 August 1978 when Hsu, leading his *Minzu yinyue diaochadui* (Folksong survey team, arrived in Taitung (Huang Xiu-lan 2000: 82; see also Chen Yu-xiu et al, eds, 2008: 32–33), as part of their Folksong Collection Movement. No one anticipated that this recording would have such far-reaching influence. Difang’s version of ‘*Sakatusa*’ was only one of the more than 3000 Taiwanese folksongs and traditional musical pieces collected by those in the movement (Liao in Chen et al, eds, 2008: 83–84). Another Taiwanese folksong collector, Lu Ping-chuan, had recorded Difang in the 1960s when the singer was already well-known for his virtuosity. Both

²⁷ youtu.be/Rk_sAHh9s08 (accessed 11 February 2019).

renditions might well have remained buried, obscured by and hidden among the hundreds of CDs in the databank or archived in one or two libraries such as National Center for Traditional Arts, where they would have been available only for academic access. But, suddenly, ‘*Sakatusa*’ sparked international attention, because the Folksong Collection recording was included within the French album that was meant to showcase a Taiwanese group’s performances in Paris. It was in this format that it was discovered by Engima’s Michael Cretu, and sampled. At that point, the connection back to the original Folksong Collection recording had been lost. But, from that point, it generated international attention, the impact of which continues today. For more about Difang Incident and ‘*Sakatusa*’, see Chapter Two (pp.109–29).

Musically, the song was transformed, creating a re-invention of a music tradition made different through arrangement but always remaining recognisable. Among academics, the use made of the song became a central topic. The cross-border and cross-disciplinary significances of what happened were discussed. What began as an appropriated sample of Taiwanese indigenous music, obtained by a French institute, was developed in a recording project by a Romanian-German musician and producer, and then came to the attention of other international musicians. It was the first time since World War II that an indigenous music crossed beyond the borders of Taiwan to surge to popularity in the international market. Then, the parties involved plunged into an international infringement lawsuit over the unauthorised use of the original ethnographic material. This prompted a rise in consciousness of the rights of indigenous people. Consequently, the controversy around the case drove Taiwan to promulgate a ‘*Yuanzhuminzu chuantong zhihui chuangzuo baohu tiaoli*’ (Protection Act for the Traditional Intellectual Creations of Indigenous Peoples) on 26 December 2007. This legislation was designed to ensure the proper and acceptable use of indigenous people’s intellectual property. Furthermore, academic discourse among local and foreign scholars provided an examination of approaches, perspectives and differences between Taiwanese scholarship and Western scholarship. The Taiwanese researcher He Dong-hong (2000) and lawyer Huang Xiu-lan (2000) questioned the ethical responsibilities of fieldworkers and their writings. Their observations and arguments intersected

with those of accounts by the America-based British Helen Rees (2003), American Nancy Guy (2002) and British-based Singaporean Tan Shzr-ee (2012).

Apart from the function of preservation, the phenomena of music-making have become far more intriguing and far more sophisticated, hence they are worthy of note. Various recordings and adaptations contain the ideas of musicians from all over the world, from Taiwan, Romania and Germany, Southeast Asia and China. These versions provide research objects for comparison, and prove to be fertile material for the examination of musical elements. Perspectives projected from and approaches applied by Western ethnomusicologists and participant-observers such as Guy and Tan, by native researchers such as Lin Zhi-xing (2000), folksong collectors such as Shi Wei-liang (1967), Hsu Tsang-houei (1976, 1991) and Wu Rong-shun (1993), musicologists such as Lu Yu-hsiu (2003) and Sun Chun-yen (2004), sociologists and anthropologists such as He Dong-hong (2000), Huang Guo-chao (2009) and Yang She-Fan (2009), and Taiwanese ethnomusicologists including Wang Ying-fen (2000) and Chen Chun-bin (2013), all reveal the unique characteristics of Taiwanese indigenous popular music. This will be explored further in the following section.

1.4 Indigenous Music at the Turn of the Millennium



Notation 1.1 Opening licks of 'Sakatusa' Ku'edaway a Radiw'. Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.

He yan ho yiwu way hoy yan ~ Ho way ho yiwu way hoy yahu ya... These appealing high rising opening licks of the Amis complex contrapuntal polyphonic chant 'Sakatusa' Ku'edaway a Radiw/The Second Lengthy Song'²⁸ comprise what is probably the most well-known skeleton

²⁸ The song has various titles, including 'Saka Lipah no Mato'aseuy a Radiw' (Yu Chin-fu 1998). I adapt the name used by the Chu-yin Cultural and Arts Troupe.

melody of Taiwanese indigenous people around the world (Notation 1.1). Various versions have been heard on albums and commercial adverts both internationally and domestically since the turn of the millennium. Among my collection, it features in a book and CD compilation, *Searching for Polyphony: Recollecting the Lost Old Songs of Taitung Amis* (Lu Yu-hsiu and Kao Shu-chuan 2013), presented by the Chu-Yin Cultural and Arts Troupe, an Amis folklore society of the Falangaw (or Malan) community. Chu-Yin was founded by Kao Shu-chuan and was established to preserve Amis traditional dance and music. The song is also regularly presented live by Amis Kakeng, a particularly active percussion group, in local events which I have attended several times, and in national and international arenas.²⁹ The popularity and representative nature of this song as the musical epitome of Amis heritage has made it a standard in most commercial publications of Amis traditional songs (using ‘traditional’ here in the sense of the pre-Pacific War, as discussed in the introduction to this dissertation); among these I could cite the Golden Melody Award-nominated album *Falangaw Makapahay – Music from the Land of Malan Group of Amis* (Yun Shun, 2002), produced by Taitung Indigenous Music and Culture Group, and the long-selling album *Polyphonic Music of the Amis Tribe* (Wind Music TCD-1502, 1993), produced by Taiwanese scholar Wu Rung-shun. It is also in one of the CDs enclosed with *A Collection of the Aboriginal Folksongs of Taiwan*, a book edited and produced by Yu Jin-fu (1998).

Ironically, the best known version of this indigenous chant was not recorded – or, more accurately, arranged – by Amis singers *per se*, but by Enigma, a German new-age musical project formed in 1990 by Michael Cretu, David Fairstein and Frank Peterson.³⁰ Their hugely successful and internationally acclaimed composition, ‘Return to Innocence’, was used as the 1996 Atlanta Olympics theme song. It featured a sample of Difang Tuwana’s chant – who was originated from Taitung Falangaw Amis community –, ‘*Laoren Yinjiu Ge/Drinking Song Sung by*

²⁹ At the National Concert Hall (Taipei) on 9 November 2009, at: youtu.be/BbnnQl4ZHXA (accessed 3 May 2016) and at TaiwanFest 2013 (Vancouver, Canada) during August and September 2013, at: youtu.be/yNs_5Lk8CLc (accessed 3 May 2016).

³⁰ ‘Profile of Enigma’, at Discogs internet database and marketplace, at: <http://www.discogs.com/artist/7717-Enigma> (accessed 4 May 2016).

Seniors’; the title could be better translated as ‘Elders’ Drinking Song’, which is more in keeping with how it is discussed in the Taiwanese English-language media and recordings. In this, Difang is accompanied contrapuntally by his wife, Hongay. Enigma fuses contemporary electronic dance music with the Amis song, creating a ‘worldbeat’, ‘ethnopol’ and ‘new-age’ hybrid that might be better referred to as ‘world music’ (after Guilbault 2001: 176) than as something ethnographic. The track reached the peak of its fame three years after its initial release through the Olympics’ promotion. However, the song attracted an infringement lawsuit over the issue of the unauthorised use of Difang’s voice – the sampled recording was originally made by an academic for the purpose of preservation (Huang 2000; Guy 2002a; see also Tan 2012: Introduction). The controversy surrounding the case propelled Difang and his chant into the international spotlight.

Shortly after the lawsuit was settled in June 1999, Difang, contracted to Magic Stone Records, a subsidiary of the Taiwanese indie label, Rock Records, collaborated on two albums, *Circle of Life* (Magic Stone MSD-030, 1998)³¹ and *Across the Yellow Earth* (Magic Stone MSD-070, 1999), with another new-age/world music producer, the Belgian Dan Lacksman.³² Lacksman was a composer and sound engineer, and the producer of Deep Forest, a musical group consisting of two French musicians, Michel Sanchez and Eric Mouquet, for their critically acclaimed and high-selling debut album, the self-titled *Deep Forest* (Epic EK-53747, 1992) (for discussions of which, see Zemp 1996a: 46 and Cottrell 2010: 15), an album distributed worldwide which was nominated for Grammy Awards for the ‘best world music album’.³³ In the two albums featuring Difang, Lacksman worked with another producer, Christian Martin, with Zhang Pei-ren, and with additional musicians from Taiwan (Cheng Jie-ren and Chen Ming-

³¹ youtu.be/R-MKmVift3A, and youtu.be/nHqBhRGGPbQ (accessed 11 February 2019).

³² Information given in CD liner notes, ‘Profile of Dan Lacksman at Discogs’, at: <http://www.discogs.com/artist/115524-Dan-Lacksman> (accessed 4 May 2016).

³³ Moon, Tom, ‘Sting, R.E.M., Houston Grab Grammy Bids Nominations Predictably Conservative; Mariah Carey, Michael Bolton Blocked From Big Awards’, *Philly.com the Inquirer News*, at: http://articles.philly.com/1994-01-07/living/25824842_1_donald-fagen-s-kamakiriad-award-nominations-song-of-the-year-category (accessed 3 May 2016).

zhang), Japan (Araki Makihiko and Suzuki Masaya), Hong Kong (Edmund Leung) and Malaysia (Dong An).³⁴ *Circle of Life* seems to try to make up for the Enigma sample not acknowledging the original musicians and not paying royalties to them, while at the same time being heavily influenced by Enigma's success. Hence, it includes two versions of 'Elders' Drinking Song' – one resembling Enigma's electronic dance music, new-age and world music hybridity, backed by electronic drum loops, ambient effects and synthesized sounds, and the other given *a cappella* without instrumental accompaniment. The response of audiences, given that the sales figures were not as good as expected, was not particularly encouraging: compare the approximately 26,000 views of Lacksman's version with the over 50,000,000 for Enigma on YouTube at the time of writing (April 2016), which is a ratio of 1:192.

Circle of Life gained some compensation through its peripheral recognition: it reached number one on the Tokyo Shibuya music chart, surpassing some Euro-American and East Asian pop stars. Again, a single from the album, 'Visiting Song', charted at number one on Japan's Fujiwara Radio, while the album ranked number 15 in the early 2002 Taiwanese IFPI (International Federation of the Phonographic Industry) chart.³⁵ Again, *Across the Yellow Earth* won 'best ethnic music album' in the 2000 Golden Melody Awards, where it was regarded as an authorised and representative version of Amis song. Difang, born 1921 (Chen Y. (eds) 2008: 32), died in March 2002 at the age of 81, followed by his wife three weeks later – her vocals had always played a role as polyphonic countermelodies for Difang's chants. Lacksman has talked about the albums. He intended to make them distinguishable as the music of Difang, so the first known album was conceptualised and initiated by Difang as a Taiwanese indigenous musician, and focused on his vocals.³⁶ As a result, the musical arrangements were constructed around Difang's chants, and his chants were based on traditional Amis songs of love, work and celebra-

³⁴ <http://www.books.com.tw/products/0020079828> (accessed 7 November 2016).

³⁵ Wang Zhi-bo, Tian Yu-ping, 30 March 2002, 'Guo Ying-nan Shishi, Yuanzhumin Tongshi Tianlai/Kuo Ying-nan Died, Indigene lost their 'Sound from Heaven', *Chinatimes*.

³⁶ Ceng Shi-ying, 'Circle of Life – Difang and the Malan Choir', Taiwan Indigenous People's Resource Centre, at: http://www.tiprc.org.tw/ePaper/04/04_difang.html (accessed 26 April 2016).

tion. This is meant to remain the case, whether Lacksman uses slow and laid-back beats, a tinkling piano, note sequences of synthesised or sampled instruments, upbeat tempos with Deep Forest-style wind instrument effects, or dark and low string backgrounds. All were supposed to support the singing, rather than be the highlight of any track. Essentially considering the Enigma court-case, Lacksman aimed for a gentler rendition in which layers of reverential sound would accompany Difang's vocals.³⁷

In my view, Lacksman was not as successful as one would have hoped he would be. *Circle of Life* and *Across the Yellow Earth* function as models of the adaptation, recreation and circulation of Taiwanese indigenous people through the addition of contemporary elements. It can be said that the Amis contribute the majority of popular indigenous music in Taiwan, due to their large population relative to other indigenous groups. While this puts them at an advantage, in terms of maintaining and circulating their musical heritage, their typical lyrical and melodic characteristics have proven attractive to promoters at home and abroad. However, in Lacksman's albums, synthesised sounds and electronic percussion dominate the Amis vocals (as has been pointed out by Jiang Guan-ming 2000a: 98). The excessive reliance on rhythmic grooves and drums loops – most likely generated by sampling software and obtained from commercially accessible sound banks – suppress the free and waving melodic contours and the subtle vibrato and irregular alternating intensities and timbres typical of Amis music. That is to say, the producer and arranger lacked familiarity with the unique nuances of Amis traditional music. Therefore the interpretation is left far behind that of the Enigma use, where the treatment is much lighter and is just adequate to support the vocal sample. Overall, Lacksman distorts and attenuates the charm of Amis music.

My criticism here not only refers to Difang or to Amis music but can be applied to all Taiwanese indigenous popular music when considered in more general terms. The Taiwanese veteran singer Shi Xiao-rong, in an interview about 20 years of indigenous popular music, states

³⁷ CD buyers' guide, at: <http://www.books.com.tw/exep/cdfile.php?item=0020085555> (accessed 7 May 2016).

that the musical cultural layer depicted by pop singers is very superficial, misleading the public and outsiders who lack in-depth understanding of and fuller engagement with the music. So, unknowing listeners can be deceived by the stereotypical images of the musicians and their music, regarding them as representing the music culture and tradition (Shi Xiao-rong, interviewed in Luo 1998: 122). This parallels the postmodern criticism of primitivism, where non-Western cultures participate in the modern world in a way that demonstrates the ‘elusive ideal’ of the primitive, ‘whose very condition of desirability resides in some form of distance and difference’ (Solomon-Godeau 1986: 314). Shi, who holds a Bachelor of Education degree, asserted that when the indigenous trend is no longer new, fresh and appealing to listeners, the reoccurring style of music productions is so similar to what has been heard before as to be considered mediocre. The phenomenon can be considered as a matter of over-communication – a threat of consumerism, the ability to consume anything from any place in the world and from any culture, but in a way that loses all originality – where cultural production is ignorant of cultural roots (after Lévi-Strauss 1978: 20). A further Taiwanese scholar, Lu Yu-hsiu, recognises the popularisation of indigenous music and its function to promote to the public (2003: 221–2), arguing it provides a way to preserve lyrics and melodies. However, the metricised rhythms and standardised intonations and rhymes within the formats typical of popular or world music may result in constraints as well as the loss of free expression and improvisation, elements that are the essence of oral tradition.

The series of recordings outlined here relating to Difang nonetheless spearheaded what could be called a consciousness of revival, in which sustaining the Amis music heritage was embroiled at the turn of the millennium. The success of ‘Return to Innocence’ impacted Amis musicians in multiple ways: it promoted Amis singing across the world, and this gave the Amis a great sense of pride.³⁸ But at the same time the adaptation of Difang’s vocals by Enigma constituted an act of theft.³⁹ So, it provided a model of how Amis musical heritage could be utilised

³⁸ Kao Shu-chuan, in interview with the author on 27 July 2014.

³⁹ Wang Zhi-bo, a Puyuma friend of Difang, at a public seminar on 6 June 2014 that I attended.

as a commercial product, but the model was manipulated by foreign musicians (see section 2.2: 109–29 for more about Difang incident and discourse on ‘*Sakatusa*’). At that point, revenues went to international record companies and Western participants, while the Amis became exploited victims of capitalism. A cynical view has been given by Adam Hsu, administrator and manager of What’s Music International Incorporated, a mainstream Taiwanese record company which endorsed the trans-cultural commercialised and globalised ideology of Mandopop. He remarked that the success of indigenous popular singers was based on their ability to mix with contemporary and Westernised features, rather than because of their traditional indigenous music conventions (cited in Luo 1998: 119).

However, movements in 2000 kick-started a new era in which the cultural heritage of Taiwanese indigenous people and a respect for their rights was valued. The influence of this thinking spread to include indigenous popular music. The first and most important shift at the time was the election for the first time to government of the DPP. The DPP is against reunification with China, and found that vibrant indigenous cultural resources could be used as valuable assets in their attempt to identify Taiwan as a unique entity distinct from China (where Han culture dominates). Hence, the DPP government exerted economic and political resources to nurture local and indigenous cultural industries.⁴⁰ First, the Puyuma singer Zhang Hui-mei was invited to sing the Republic of China (Taiwanese) national anthem at the inauguration ceremony for the new president on 20 May 2000. A second surprise came at the 11th Golden Melody Awards, where indigenous popular music was victorious in major categories. But, the most important force that has contributed to the resurrection of the culture of indigenous people is the inception of the ‘Indigenous Literature Awards’, supported financially by Taiwanese China Motors. The long-term influence of such awards is to ‘awaken the indigenous people’, around the concept of preserving ‘indigenous subjectivity’ (Jiang 2001).⁴¹

⁴⁰ Press release, 19 October 2002, Office of the President, Taiwan, ‘President Participated at the New Partner Relationship Between the Indigenous People and Taiwanese Government Reconfirmation Ceremony’ (in Mandarin), at: <http://www.president.gov.tw/Default.aspx?tabid=131&itemid=1011> (accessed 10 May 2016).

⁴¹ Jiang Guan-ming, ‘*Kuabu Shanhai Jian Zhuizhu Wenxue Lu/Walking in the World of Mountain and*

Two pivotal concepts in sustaining indigenous musical tradition which emerged when the latent energy of awakening the indigenous people erupted in 2000 may be seen through Difang's case. The first concept is the subjectivity of indigenous people, that is their perspectives on representing indigenous music culture, and the second is the musicality, that is the ability to make music appealing to Taiwanese and international audiences. Lacksman's and Enigma's versions provide two models. Lacksman gained approval from indigenous musicians, so his version can be considered an authorised representation of their music. By comparison, Enigma is a more famous group. In other words, Lacksman worked with a group of 'credible' world music participants (after Trimillos 2004: 33): they were the makers of the original music, singing in their mother tongue. But Enigma, an experienced practitioner of 'world music', was a 'mediator' who cannily presented 'lite difference' through 'audio tourism' (Kassabian 2004; Gomez-Pena 2001), creating an imaginary soundworld of otherness through technology. We can, though, learn from Difang's case, and hope for a future with a more balanced scenario that combines the two approaches, one in which indigenous musicians of high musical calibre can control the promotion of their own music tradition across the globe.

1.5 Rights, Images and Music of the Indigenous People

On 23 May 2016, Minister Cheng Li-chiun apologised to the public on behalf of the Ministry of Culture and newly elected DPP government for discriminative descriptions of indigenous people used a few days before.⁴² The ceremony for the inauguration of the new president on 20 May 2016 had used the terms *cuguang* (rugged) and *caomang* (wild), referring to indigenous customs. The narration ran as follows:

Sea, Pursuing Literature Dream', *New Taiwan Weekly* 282 (2001), at: <http://www.newtaiwan.com.tw/bulletinview.jsp?bulletinid=7397> (accessed 8 May 2016).

⁴² Li Bing-fang, Taipei, 'Organiser criticised for disrespecting indigenous people, minister demand MOC do not repeat mistake' (in Mandarin), *Taiwan People News*, at: <http://tw.news.yahoo.com/-053227036.html> (accessed 8 June 2016).

Religions from the Western world thus spread to Taiwan, and changed many rugged and wild customs of indigenous people. But what can't be changed is the innocence and nature of indigenous people. They like to sing and dance.

I compare this with an earlier statement of the newly elected president, Tsai Ing-wen, given during her trip to pay gratitude to supporters in Taitung – the county with the highest ratio of indigenous voters – on 26 January 2016. Shortly after winning the general poll, Tsai promised to apologise to the indigenous people on 1 August 2016, Taiwan's Indigenous People Day, to recognise the oppression suffered by them in earlier times.⁴³ In assuring them that the new government was concerned about their economy, education, employment and health, and how they were disadvantaged in respect to these, she resolved to emulate standards set by the United Nations' *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People*, enshrining them in Taiwan.⁴⁴ Tsai also promised to push for indigenous autonomy and to ultimately make indigenous groups independent legal entities, but in a gradual way.

Who are 'rugged' and 'wild'? The images of the original inhabitants that contrast with later incomers are based on polar opposites. In fact, before the arrival of Westerners and Minnan Han Chinese, the indigenous people had a well-developed culture, peacefully living by fishing, hunting and foraging, gathering, and growing crops on slash-and-burn mountain fields. The people practiced weaving, net knotting and woodworking; music activities and dances were vital parts of life (Harrell 1996: 1–18). However, Dutch, Spanish and Chinese observations, based on their cultural understandings of the behaviour of and contacts with the people, together with traditional Western and Han concepts of what constituted 'civilised' behaviour, combined with some indigenous practices, especially headhunting, helped promote the image of violence (Teng 2004: 230–6), hence, the notion of being rugged and wild. The practice of headhunting, which

⁴³ Lu Tai-cheng, Taitung, 'President Tsai promises to apologise to the indigenous people on 1 August' (in Mandarin), *The Central News Agency*, at: <http://www.cna.com.tw/news/aip/201601260456-1.aspx> (accessed 13 June 2016).

⁴⁴ 1 August 2015, 'DPP's Tsai promises to apologize to aboriginal peoples if elected', *Radio Taiwan International*, at: <http://english.rti.org.tw/news/?recordId=30497> (accessed 7 June 2016).

was a symbol of bravery and valour, was a calculated risk of tribal life practiced by every indigenous group except the Tao (Hsu 1991: 29–36). Taiwanese Minnan Han settlers and the Japanese often found themselves the victims of headhunting raids, because they were considered liars and enemies.

The American-based ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger mentions his experience, which he coins ‘the inversion of commonly held stereotypes’, based on fieldwork with the Suyá, an Amazonian people of the Mato Grosso, Brazil (2003: 148). Shortly after the 11 September 2001 attack on New York, the Suyá sent their regards to Seeger, worried about his safety in the United States and inviting him to live with them in Mato Grosso. The Amazonians deemed their home village in the rainforest as safer. But, at the time Seeger had gone to his ‘field’ for the first time in 1971, he left his ‘safe home’ and ventured into a ‘dangerous’ jungle. Concepts of safe and dangerous, and of home and field, are somehow inversely seen from the perspective of the Amazonian inhabitants. Something similar applies in Taiwan, only the different perceptions happen on a larger scale and in various sectors. During the 2010s, an awareness of being autonomous as an ethnic group, taking initiatives to claim rights for ones’ people, being responsible to safeguard culture and getting rid of control by an external authority, all of these flourished among ethnic Taiwanese groups, namely the Minnan, Hakka and other indigenous peoples. One important example relevant to my research was the indigenous literature movement started in 1987 that became fully-fledged in 2000 (Sun 2010c: 7). This can be seen as a miniature of flipping subject-object and self-other discourses between indigenous, Han and other outsiders. Writers and committee members of the Indigenous Literature Awards (*Yuanzhumin wenxue jiang*), in 2000 reached consensus upon the concept of ‘indigenous literature’ (*Yuanzhumin wenxue*), defining three sub-categories: the compositions of indigenous writers, the works of non-indigenous Taiwanese, and travel literature (Jiang 2000). It is worth noting that the travel literature criteria distinguished foreign writers, who typically make use of exoticism to evoke an atmosphere of far-off lands or ancient times, from the reactions depicted by indigenous people. They excluded portraits by outsiders, because of ‘the otherness of the object it depicts’ (after

Busby, Korstanje & Mansfield 2011: 1–18), regarding these as being loose, relaxed, broad and free interpretations based on a lack of familiarity.

The influence of such a categorisation has come to permeate every corner of the indigenous scene. The American ethnomusicologist Alan P. Merriam identified four groups of participants in ethnomusicology: musicians, teachers, musicologists and anthropologists (1975: 50–54). Placing the function of these four groups in the context of the music of Taiwanese indigenous people allows me to further distinguish them according to their origins, whether indigenous, Taiwanese or foreign, according to whether they are rooted on the island or just visiting, and dependent on how they understand and evaluate music from different perspectives and with different approaches. Panai Mulu, the Taiwanese indigenous ethnomusicologist, advocates that indigenous music has to be cultivated by, as well as projected from and perceived by, the stance of its users – the indigenous people (after Lin 1993: 95). While participants in the world music scene encounter such phenomena as ‘audio tourism’ (after Kassabian 2004) – a strategy of music appropriation providing music excerpts originated from locations which are hard to access, and through which the audience do not need to travel away from their home armchairs to experience – Taiwanese indigenous people have found a course that justifies and champions their authority in the discourse of their music traditions and practices. That is to say, according to indigenous scholarly discourse, indigenous musicians are more ‘credible’ (after Trimillos 2004) than non-indigenous Taiwanese and foreigners in representing the music; likewise, scholars who are descendants of indigenous people are more authoritative in the study of their music, given that indigenous people are their core subject and they are talking about themselves. Nevertheless, all indigenous, Taiwanese and foreign participants play their roles as ‘carriers’ or ‘transmitters’ (after Hood 1982: 374), some as cultural ‘ringers’ (after Howard 2016: 16), within their positions and functions in relation to their origins and self-recognition.

In retrospect, the endangered music traditions of indigenous people reached a critical point during the late 1980s, at the end of martial law, and as the transition period during the 1990s began, and started to bounce back and move forward towards a new era in 2000, when

national politics changed. The calls for indigenous rights appeared from time to time, and the echoes and reverberations of these calls linger until today; protests against being mistreated are made, responses and promises are made, apologies given. In short, the awareness of being self-recognised indigenous people has become widespread. Take the music scene, for example. The versions of the Taiwanese (Republic of China) national anthem used in the 2000 presidential inauguration ceremony, the 2011 ROC centennial celebration and the presidential inauguration in 2016 show significant changes (as I will discuss in Chapter Three, pp.180–201). My research, exploring the indigeneity of the music, reveals signs in this of Taiwan becoming a separate entity from China (the People’s Republic of China, PRC). At the event in 2000, Zhang Hui-mei, the most commercially successful singer in Mandopop at the time, sang the national anthem, simply, in a way that indicated her Puyuma indigenous identity, thereby symbolising Taiwan’s Austronesian connection (see Guy 2002b). However, the anthem⁴⁵ barely possessed any musical indigeneity: it was arranged in a melody-dominated homophonic and homorhythmic structure much as would be commonly heard from Western classical choirs and orchestras. It did not include the polyphonic vocal practices of Taiwanese indigenous people. In 2011, though, another version of the national anthem⁴⁶ was purposely created to embrace musical indigeneity. This version was widely liked by the public, and has been given repeatedly at national as well as international events. It introduced the vocables *ho hai yan* and *naluwan*, which are emblems of unity that share memories and a sense of belonging to Taitung’s and Hualien’s Puyuma, Amis, Paiwan and Rukai people. This version was also sung for the opening ceremony of *Asia Series 2013*, a baseball competition where Taiwanese, Japanese, Korean, Australian and Italian teams competed. Because of an unsuccessful request for the national flag of the Republic of China (Taiwan) not to appear in the event, China (PRC) gave up its attendance as an act of protest. This version was also sung in the 2016 National Inter-Collegiate Athletic Games and National Inter-High School Games, both held in Taitung.

⁴⁵ youtu.be/fHsZRfOurQ8 (accessed 13 June 2016).

⁴⁶ youtu.be/p1QYt0oexp8 (accessed 13 June 2016).

Hence, at the time of writing (2019), indigenous people have become important participants in shaping the culture of Taiwan, and we can predict that their participation will gradually increase further. In the 2016 inauguration of president Tsai, a Paiwan ancient chant occupied the central part of the national anthem,⁴⁷ because Tsai is one quarter indigenous through her Pingtung Paiwan grandmother.⁴⁸ Indigeneity in Taiwan's culture is therefore not only significant as a part of multiculturalism, but also as part of the democratic polity where the rights and dignity of the first inhabitants of Taiwan are respected (see also Chapter Three: 180–205).

1.6 *The Legacy of Han Immigration: A Case Study of 'Rabbit Kid'*

1.6.1 *'Brat? Who?' the Legacy of Han Immigration*

In Chapter Thirteen of serialised story *Shendiao Xialu/The Divine Eagle and the Heroic Couple*,⁴⁹ Mongolian prince Huodu, the cunning and witty antagonist, shouts with anger: 'Brat, go away!' This 40-chapter story is one of the best-known *wuxia* novels – a genre of Chinese fiction theming adventures of ancient China's martial heroes – by the all-time greatest and most popular writer of the genre, Jin Yong (Jing and Ikeda 2013). Immediately, Yangguo, the protagonist of the fiction, responds: 'Brat? Who?' Instantly, Huodu points his finger at Yangguo: 'Brat! You!' But this comment can also be taken as 'a brat is cursing at you', meaning Huodu admits he himself is a brat. So, 'Brat!' in street bandy and in rough neighbourhoods may be used as a verbal pun to trap a person into taking the condemnation he makes. I have no idea to what extent Matzka, the musician (and his band) that I am going to discuss in this section, had experience of *wuxia* novels, but I can report that the influence of these novels is clear in the Sino-ophone world (after Saussy 2012; see also Keen 1988: 231, Shih 2004: 29 and Barmé 2008),⁵⁰

⁴⁷ youtu.be/APstJvITkT8 (accessed 13 June 2016).

⁴⁸ 'Having a Quarter Indigenous Blood, Tasi Ing-wen: I am Paiwan!' (in Mandarin) *Taiwan People News*, at <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/7a16ca6e-aa04-4208-9e5e-87a5738d4dc4> (accessed 13 June 2016).

⁴⁹ Jin Yong, *Shendiao Xialu* (Guangzhou: Guangzhou, 2013), the second part of the 'Condor Trilogy' first serialised between 1959 and 1961 in the Hong Kong newspaper *Ming Pao*.

⁵⁰ Saussy, Haun (2012), 'On the Phone', *Printculture*, at: <http://printculture.com/on-the-phone/> (accessed 5 April 2018).

where Mandarin is the lingua franca. Often, Taiwanese politicians borrow Jin's storylines to metaphorically describe a difficult situation or to mock opponents.

'*Tuzai zi*/Rabbit Kid'⁵¹, a track on *Matzka* (EBTC AMP-001, 2010), the eponymous album of a Taiwanese indigenous reggae band, means 'brat' in Mandarin. As far as I am aware, the main riff in '*Tuzai zi*', along with its music video, show connections with Jin's Huodu–Yangguo storyline. Both are based on a similar background, where one's homeland is occupied by foreigners or an invasion is happening. Second, they both play with language and twisted meaning – 'rabbit kid' and 'brat' – taking advantage of the characteristic of Mandarin where such manipulations are possible. And third, there are shared characters in the '*Tuzai zi*' music video and Jin's *Shendiao* story: wives who used special skills to spit particles from their mouth.

In '*Tuzai zi*', the colloquial comment may refer to the Han immigrants who are responsible for the land stolen and the cultural loss of indigenous people. The Han immigrants constitute the *benshengren*/Taiwanese people and the *waishengren*/outer-Taiwanese people (see section 0.5.1, pp.33–35). Generally, the *benshengren* take the blame for the results of large land transfers from indigenous people to themselves following their arrival (Harrison 2003: 351). Three centuries later, the *waishengren*, especially their intellectuals, with privileges protected by the Nationalist government, became a disproportionately large faction in bureaucratic and military institutions, as well as the dominant group in society at large and in the economy. Their privileged status not only generated resentment among the *benshengren*, but also signalled an ever-widening gap between rich and poor – between the Han and the indigenous people. One exception was the less privileged group of *waishengren* military veterans, who lived among indigenous people, often intermarrying, and who were regularly found running small businesses and managing grocery stores.

I observe three alternative routes that are used to understand the interactions between Han and indigenous people. The first is subjective notions based on individual experience. For

⁵¹ youtu.be/l3juCnXpV4Q (accessed 11 February 2019).

example, indigenous scholar Sun Da-chuan (or Paelabang Danapan, using his Puyuma name) – who is intimately affiliated with the *waishengren* (as many of his family members married exogamously with them, Sun 2016) – was an intimate friend with a veteran who was single but eventually became a part of Sun’s family. Not only did Sun’s family take care of this veteran, managing his funeral when he died, but they also settled his burial at their family’s cemetery, an act of being within the family.⁵² Hence, based on their life experience, a considerable number of Taiwanese hold benevolent feelings towards *waishengren*, as depicted in ‘*Tuzai*’; the veterans are routinely considered part of the indigenous community.

The second route is through comprehensive study and long-term observation. One researcher specialising in Taiwanese literature, Huang Guo-chao (2009: 520–2), however, is keen on the phenomenon of exoticism. His study on *shandige* focuses on their lyrics and postmodern criticism, matching the Taiwanese ‘scholastic correctness’ that tries to reverse the stereotypical images of the indigenous people. Nevertheless, stereotypical images can be deceptive, since the ally–adversary relationships between Han immigrants and the indigenous people are complex. The Han legacy has a much greater impact than relatively simple issues such as oversimplification and exoticism. Gulali, Matzka’s mother, made this point in our interview on 20 April 2018, pointing out that the indigenous people should face the reality that they are lagging behind in a world of harsh competition and increasing urbanization. Sharing the opinion of Taiwanese ethnographer Hsu Ming-chen, who joined our conversation, Gulali was conscious of criticisms of her people, although these criticisms may be taken as discriminatory if they are made by outsiders. Hence, people like Gulali and Hsu are calm and rational when identifying the weaknesses of the indigenous people, intending to advise and help their people towards better livelihoods.

The third route is two-sided: one side comes from accounts by foreign writers and the other from compositions by indigenous writers. Journalist Jiang Guan-ming, reporting on the criteria of the Indigenous Literature Awards – one of Taiwan’s prestigious awards presented to

⁵² Sun Da-chuan, ‘*Women de chunpu zhengzai jieti zhong/Our innocence is falling apart*’, at: <http://www.storm.mg/article/98687> (accessed 30 July 2018).

indigenous artists and writers –, differentiates foreign literature from indigenous literature according to indigenous subject matter, the concern for the people, cultural autonomy, and the identity of the writer.⁵³ His criteria deserve attention among Taiwan’s multicultural society as new media and foreign language is replacing indigenous people’s oral tradition. In reality, a surge of indigenous writers appeared at the turn of new millennium, but the involvement of non-indigenous writers in indigenous subject matters has been common. On one hand, indigenous writers are recognised through their ideologies and manifestation; from a first-person stance and perspective, they propose how their rights should be justified and their social, political and economic interests taken care of. On the other hand, where non-indigenous writers take a third-person view, they distinguish themselves with paradigmatic, theoretical and interpretative methodologies and generate frames in which to engage discussions, separating their outputs from ‘travel literature’ which depends heavily on descriptive ethnography. To sum up, there seems to be a plethora of ways to approach the subject matter, and I would like to stress the following points: scholarly works must go beyond reiteration, the particulars provided by informants are insufficient to lead to conclusive judgements, and the researcher should not become the proxy of the people and musicians he observes.

1.6.2 *Matzka, Reggae and ‘Tuzaizi’: Carriers of Historic Incidents*

Matzka was formed in 2008 when its namesake, band leader and vocalist, Matzka (Paiwanese, Photo 1.2), and guitarist Sakinu (Paiwan), drummer Mavaliw (Beinan) and bassist Nawan (Beinan), collaborated to compete in the Taiwan Music Composition and Song Writing Contest, which was organised by Taiwan’s Information Office. In this contest, their Paiwanese lyrics and original composition ‘*Mado Vado/Like a Dog*’ (track 1, *Matzka* album) won first prize.⁵⁴ Despite being reggae-oriented, their experiments mixed indigenous elements with Western popular music. For example, ‘*Qingren liulangji/Wandering of a Lover*’ (track 1, *Matzka Live CD+DVD*,

⁵³ Jiang Guan-ming, ‘*Kuabu Shanhai Jian Zhuizhu Wenxue Lu*’ see footnote 41.

⁵⁴ youtu.be/d0prgmgNqbA (accessed 13 April 2018).



Photo 1.2 Matzka in traditional Paiwan attire on his wedding day in 2011. Photo by Hsu Ming-cheng, used with permission.

EBTC AMP-002, 2014)⁵⁵ is slow rock, ‘*Taitung shuaige/Handsome Guy from Taitung*’ (track 6, *Matzka*, EBTC AMP-001, 2010)⁵⁶ is hard rock, and ‘*Shuizai/Flood*’ (track 4, *Matzka 089*, EBTC AMP-006, 2014)⁵⁷ is a ballad.

It is clear that Matzka utilises reggae to speak for his people – those who have been removed from cultural homelands –, much as Andy Bennett (2001: 85) has documented as being the case with Australian Aboriginal and Afro-Caribbean people. The indigeneity in Matzka’s music resembles worldwide indigenous counterparts such as the Australian Tjintu Desert Band, who sing in a mixture of Aborigine Luritja and English, recalling the land of their ancestors and stressing cultural connections to the natural environment.⁵⁸ Another reggae-indigenous example is Afro-Caribbean music, which moves between the extremes of pleasure/relaxation and anger/protest at oppression, exploitation and poverty – these are among the common themes of indigenous peoples’ endeavours, and their agendas of resistance. Matzka, the vocalist in the band, emulates a Rastafarian look. His stage outfit, which is often traditional dress, is colourful, ornamented with ethnic strips and geometric patterns, and couples to his dark complexion, rough

⁵⁵ youtu.be/VYZe4EAsYy0 (accessed 13 April 2018).

⁵⁶ youtu.be/3woKdrZmZsg (accessed 13 April 2018).

⁵⁷ youtu.be/Bj6hDRIdlC4 (accessed 13 April 2018).

⁵⁸ <https://www.caamamusic.com.au/artists/tjintudesertband/> (accessed 2 August 2018).

eyebrows, black beard and dreadlocked hair, creating an appearance of the ‘exotic’ to a Taiwanese non-indigenous audience. Saying they did not purposely formulate the arrangement in any sense, Matzka claims their music was naturally suited to reggae. However, Matzka and his band have been exposed to the music and politically inspired character of reggae, so intensely that it affects their sub-consciousness and their compositions.

‘*Tuzai zi*’ was published as indigenous awareness thrived within the Taiwanese localisation movement, and its lyrics described dwindling hopes for reunification with China. It was sung from the 1990s perspective of a veteran who had moved to Taiwan following the relocation of the Nationalist government during the 1940s. The vocalisation of lyrics and the narration change back and forth from first person to second and third, distinguishing a *waishengren*, a narrator, and joking indigenous people. The ambiguity of the subjects presented gave stereotypical impressions of Taiwanese groups, namely, lonely Chinese veterans, observing and perceiving outsiders, and relaxed indigenous people. The song starts with an off-screen narration by a *waishengren* senior citizen with a ‘foreign’ Chinese accent, who with excessive pride and self-satisfaction lists his achievements. The image couples to a music video⁵⁹ filled with Chinese civil war clips. In the 1990s, Chinese veterans were metaphorically called ‘old yam’ (*lau-o-a*) among Minnan people, referring to a people from China at large as a yam, which is considered a foreign plant, compared to ‘sweet potatoes’ (*han-tsi-a*), an analogy by which Minnan people refer to themselves. I have translated the lyrics below for ‘*Tuzai zi*’ from Mandarin, using the album sleeve notes:

Matzka, do you know, back then,

We had to travel for 8,000 miles across the mainland before we reached Taiwan.

And do you know, it was very hard; look, look at me, there is a hole here...

Here the lyricist interpolates two opposing values of Han virtue. The first is explicit and heard in the cliché ‘*baqianlilu/8,000 miles*’ – originating from ‘*Manjianghong/A river of blossoms*’, a

⁵⁹ youtu.be/l3juCnXpV4Q, see fn.51.

patriotic poem by the 12th-century Chinese general Yue Fei: a soldier shows his bravery through surviving extreme warfare and violent combat. In contrast, these lines also implicitly remind listeners that a respectful man should not boast about his past, prompted by another cliché, ‘*haohan buti dangnian yong*’.

The second section is the main verse, sung from an observer’s perspective to point out the huge gap between the veteran’s anticipation of going home on China through unification and the cruel reality. Veterans liked to talk about their adventures; since they were recruited at a young age, they were nostalgic for China and strongly desired to be reunited with their families. A considerable number of retired military personnel who moved to Taiwan in 1950, led by the Nationalist government, must have experienced much turmoil in the first half of the 20th century. They were engaged in one or more of the significant events: the 1911 Xinhai Revolution that overthrew the Qing dynasty and established the ROC, the Northern Expedition military campaign (1926–1928) that reunified China taking back the power of regional warlords, the first Chinese Civil War (1927–1937) between the KMT and the Communist Party of China (CPC), the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) that ended with surrender of Japanese forces in China (excluding Manchuria) and Taiwan, and the second Chinese Civil War (1945–1950) that resulted in the Communists gaining control of mainland China and establishing the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, forcing the ROC to retreat to Taiwan (Illustration 1.1).

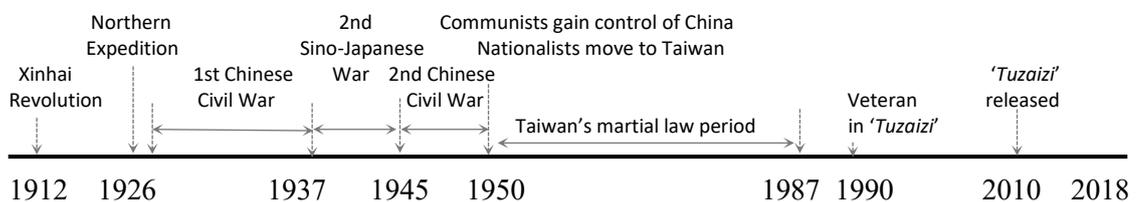


Illustration 1.1 Timeline of incidents described in ‘*Tuzazi*’. Illustration by Teoh Yang-ming

I recall my acquaintance with a veteran in the 1990s, when I was a college student and worked part-time in a restaurant. This veteran, Zhaobo (meaning Uncle Zhao), was my co-

worker and a person to talk with during breaks. He was friendly, good-tempered and rather slow moving due to his age. Much to my amusement, Zhaobo often recounted expeditions he had made alongside stories about engagements on battlefields, I assumed with a degree of exaggeration. However, to the ears of the younger generation, stories such as these are distant from daily experience; due to generation and cultural gaps, they are no more than tales that can only be reached in the imagination. Zhaobo's stories are pretty much similar to what is sung by Matzka in the main verse (at 0'28" in the music video):

By 1949, the cause of fate meant he ended up in Taiwan.

He was still full of hope then, always expecting to go home one day.

Chronic scars on his body were evident:

They were the record of a young fellow who fought hard on the battlefield.

The melodic line repeats itself with a variation as Matzka goes on (0'42"):

Time flew, and after many years this young fellow has become an old man,

the owner of a grocery store, who tells stories of his earlier adventures.

He married a lady from the 'high mountain tribe', seems to have a lot of free time,

every day scolding kids and teaching them lessons.

Then it comes to the intriguing chorus and the catchy hook of a refrain (0'55"). The message is loud and clear: someone has stolen other people's property, but the identity of the subject and that of the object are vague. It can be interpreted from the perspectives of two groups. The first is that of indigenous people, who often accuse the Han settlers, or *bailang* ('bad guys'), in their description, of land and property dispossession. For certain indigenous people, the *benshengren* had been worse than the *waishengren*, as the former was once dominant, exploiting the people, discriminating against them – including calling them *huan-a* 'barbarians', and cheating them when trading land and agricultural products. The sense of anger persists, and is expressed in the second and third lines: the formerly valiant hunters used to fight enemies and hunted their heads, and they now demand respect and understanding for their oral

tradition. The second perspective is that of the veteran, starting with a Chinese-style rebuke, boasting of past bravery and then flattering oneself about the attractiveness of war stories.

You rabbit kid, did your father and mother not teach you to get things by paying for them?

You rabbit kid – do you not know that I have killed many bad guys?

You rabbit kid – sit down and behave, if you want to listen to stories.

You rabbit kid

Even more intriguing is the last line of the chorus (1'10"): 'I am the "rabbit kid" that he abused until I grew into an adult.' 'I' can be either interpreted as Matzka referring to himself in first person narration, admitting that he is the rabbit kid, or as the indigenous people reprimanding the settling colonisers. In the second interpretation, I would stress the 'wo', 'ta', 'ma', 'de' and 'tuzai zi' in these Mandarin lyrics, *wo jiushi ta kouzhong mada de tuzai zi*, for a hidden meaning: 'son of the bitch, brat!' The song continues with another off-screen narration by the veteran (1'25"): 'I am telling you ... Now we have arrived here, Taiwan ... the *Lugouqiao* incident ... Pong! Pong!' So, it becomes clear that this veteran participated in the *Lugouqiao* incident (also called the Marco Polo Bridge Incident), a dispute between Japanese and Chinese troops that escalated into the Second Sino-Japanese War.

The song features a Chinese *erhu* fiddle – an implication of Han culture – in the above main (or first) verse and its repeated second (1'34"). In new lines of lyrics, the second verse further expresses the veteran's sadness and fear of approaching death, followed by a repeated chorus (2'01"):

He never forgot the reminders of the Big Brother,

while his pale old eyes tried so hard to contain the falling tears.

Seeing his fellow countrymen die one after another,

he feels scared while his own end approaches. He still waits for his turn.

He sighs at the rapid changes in the world;

Like dying leaves falling from trees during the change of the seasons,

no one can do anything about it.

Trails of smoke exhale from his mouth, the wisps of smoke rising;
the air lingers above his head, capturing the feeling of nostalgia,
hovers and becomes stronger and stronger.

If the narration sections, the verses and the chorus each convey a new idea, the vocables (2'30") definitely bring out a specific message. These comprise 'ho', 'hai' and 'yan', delivered in a teasing tone with homophonic words, making comedic use of double meanings, and played with sexist remarks that are interpreted in Mandarin, which I translate as, 'My aunt feels itchy; hey, I still feel itchy; and do you feel itchy too?' The melody line and vocalisation of this section sound similar to 'Song of Puyuma'⁶⁰, an ancient chant originating from the Puyuma Nanwang community, but it would be uncommon for an indigenous musician to ridicule his own tradition, especially as the topic of ethnicity is considered sensitive and serious in today's Taiwan. Probably, then, we should see the Matzka vocables in two ways: on one hand, the indigenous people's victimised past is the source of their anger and protest, but these people are also by nature humorous, optimistic and relaxed. On the other hand, mutual ridiculing and mocking other among Taiwan's ethnic groups does happen.

The concluding narration, which is given as the music fades, is uncouth and raunchy too. It comes from the veteran. The anger in the narration and the use of Chinese swear-words reflects a cruel reality: 'veterans can do no more than talk.'

If it was back then, you would never get a chance to run away.

Your grandmother's (xxx), how dare you run away!

Don't you dare run away! Matzka, I command you to come back to me!

Who do you think you are, f**k! Your grandmother's (xxx)!

You rabbit kid, rabbit kid.....

You take it again and I will chop off your hand!

⁶⁰ youtu.be/topq-X6g90Y (accessed 15 April 2019).

1.6.3 *The Human Equation: to Ask or not to Ask?*

The American ethnomusicologist Mantle Hood (1982: 197–246) experienced what he defined as the phenomenon of the ‘human equation’ with his research subject and rebab teacher in Java. On elaborating the tuning of *slendro*, a pentatonic scale that is the older of the two most common scales (*laras*) used in Indonesian gamelan music (the other being *pelog*), Hood’s Indonesian teacher told him that *slendro* was tuned equidistantly. A demonstration was given by this teacher, but to Hood’s bewilderment, it showed that the tuning was not equidistant. Hood realised the best way for a researcher to find out the truth was not by asking direct questions and not trying to get direct answers, but by cooperating with musicians, acquainting oneself with the culture in question, until the researcher becomes capable of making their own judgement. But, Hood also reminds fieldworkers about not ‘going native’: they have to remain aware of the line between people’s beliefs and fieldworkers’ observations (more discussion about human equation in Appendix Three: 372).

Hence, being aware of Hood’s account, I decided not to interview Matzka nor ask him about his music. Instead, I have constructed a scenario where readers can make their interpretation according to their experience and engagement with the subject matter. In other words, I adapt Hood’s observation to a Merriamesque analysis of music culture, highlighting ‘the factor of human strength or weakness that needs to be considered in predicting the outcome of any social, political, economic, or mechanical process operated by human agency’.⁶¹ Nevertheless, I did interview Matzka’s mother, Gulali. She provided me with two examples that support my observations. In a jocular tone but with firm attitude, she said some Taiwanese, including a few Paiwans, do not believe that the incumbent President of Taiwan, Tsai Ing-wen, bears Paiwan blood, something which has been widely reported but only after she was nominated for president in 2015, and which is claimed by Tsai herself, who says her grandmother was a Pingtung

⁶¹ Definition of Human Equation by Merriam-Webster, at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/human%20equation> (accessed 5 April 2018).

Paiwan. Gulali continued: 'It is like whenever Paiwan singers release albums, they always proclaim themselves princes and princesses, sons and daughters of chiefs.' She added: 'That is not true; there are not so many nobles in Paiwan society.' However, different opinions come from opposition camps and are therefore politically motivated, or from competing record companies countering rival musicians' advertising efforts. No matter how convincing or unconvincing it might sound, information given by informants or indigenous people has to be cross-examined and confirmed.

My discussions with a prominent indigenous scholar, the Atayal Yu Jin-Fu, shows me that information provided by indigenous people must be scrutinised before it can be considered as evidence. Indigenous people are known for their relaxed nature, and they may joke with researchers, respond with perfunctory answers, or keep taboos about religion from outsiders, all of which can divert researchers from the reality. Another reason I did not interview Matzka, though, was so as not to cause him trouble. Ethnicity and political self-identification are sensitive and controversial in today's society; a musician who speaks out about their political ideology has to be prepared for negative comments that will affect their popularity and challenge their career. However, to get material for my research, I attended Matzka's live concerts, most recently in Taitung on 3 August 2018. At the end of the band's last song and when Matzka waved goodbye to the audience, who cried with a rebel yell, 'encore, encore, encore', I joined the throng but instead shouted: '*Tuzai zi, Tuzai zi, Tuzai zi*' – a song request, of course. Matzka did not respond to my request but offered another song. At other live performances where '*Tuzai zi*' was performed,⁶² Matzka omitted all the narrative parts by the veteran which, through aural effect and lyrical context, strengthened the tones and stance of the indigenous people represented.

⁶² youtu.be/9YKXiSSMjuo (accessed 5 August 2018).

Hence, the human equation appears to be incompatible with the scientific deductive approach, as the former is subject to human influence or behaviour,⁶³ but the latter is rooted tenaciously on rationality (as the conclusion of Professor James Mallard in Russell Maloney’s 1940 mathematical fiction ‘Inflexible Logic’ states when he compares the two).⁶⁴ However, when theorists are keen on supporting a prevailing belief that has been taken as science, they tend to exert human interference to sustain their belief, but this is in reality adversarial to science. So, there is flexibility for human judgement in making decisions based upon circumstances surrounding the need (much as the 1960 *The Andy Griffith Show* ‘Ellie Comes to Town’ episode implies⁶⁵). In the case of ‘*Tuzaizi*’, there remain four possible realities. First, the childhood Matzka is a brat, as told by Matzka’s band to the Chinese writer Li Na (2013: 71–7). Second, the Han immigrants in the main are brats, as generally perceived by the indigenous people. Third, the *waishengren* are brats, as generally perceived by a significant number of *benshengren* and some indigenous people. Or, fourth, the *benshengren* are brats, as perceived by some indigenous people. The Taiwanese, including me as a naturalised Taiwanese, have our perceptions, judgements and determinations on who may be brats. I asked Matzka’s mother hers, but what did she say? Answering this will be the last thing to do in this section.

1.7 Musical Characteristics of Ancient Tunes and Social Contexts

1.7.1 Panai, Cultural Disconnection and Indigenous Peoples’ Protests against

Mistreatment

Born in 1969 to a Beinan father and Amis mother, Panai Kusui⁶⁶ (Photo 1.3) is an indie artist whose music is rooted in her indigenous heritage and personal experience. Coming from a broken family, Panai has been moving around since childhood: she was born in Tainan, a city in the

⁶³ Definition of Human Equation by Oxford Living Dictionaries, at: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/human_equation (accessed 29 July 2018).

⁶⁴ Reprinted in James R. Newman ed., *The World of Mathematics* 4 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956): 2262–67.

⁶⁵ The theme of this episode was ‘Human Equation’.

⁶⁶ Banai, Panai and Banay are common female names among Amis, literally ‘the spike of rice’. Panai

south-west of Taiwan, returned to her parents' hometown in Taitung at seven, and has travelled in her adulthood from city to city as a peripatetic singer working at live music restaurants.⁶⁷ Better known for being an activist, Panai strives to raise awareness of social issues concerning the rights of her people, fighting for full recognition of traditional territories which have been lost due to exploitation by authorities and various deceptions carried out by outsiders. In melancholic and nostalgic tones, her music tells stories about the 'drifting' and 'wandering' lives of indigenous people. Moving around from townships to cities and from hometowns to new living environments, these people work hard in order to improve their living but are often upset by the harsh reality and tough competition they encounter in their meetings with privileged urbanites. Panai first caught the public's attention through her *Niwawa* debut album (Taiwan Color Music TCM008, 2000), which clinched a place in *China Times*' 'Top 10 albums of the year', and her forceful voice has since been ever present as she actively participates in Taiwan's live music scene, giving workshops and contributing to social movements.



Photo 1.3 Panai Kusui (back) and her husband Nabu (front) have been camping in the neighbourhood of Taiwan's Presidential Office for more than 797 days (and counting, at the time of this writing on 30 April 2019) for their protest campaign. Photo by Teoh Yang-ming.

Kusui is a musician-activist; Panai Mulu is an ethnomusicologist and Banay Kao the leader of the preservation group Chu-yin Cultural Arts Troupe.

⁶⁷ Chen Yi-jie, 'Behind fierceness: Panai becomes soft-hearted and touching' (in Mandarin), *Up Media*, at: https://www.upmedia.mg/news_info.php?SerialNo=19587 (accessed 10 August 2018).

At the time of this writing in 2019, a group of indigenous people have been protesting, initially at Ketagalan Boulevard, but was forced to move by police to the nearby 228 Peace Memorial Park; both venues are in the neighbourhood of Taiwan's Presidential Office Building. Led by Panai, her husband Nabu Husungan Istanda (who is a Bunun and also an activist) and documentary filmmaker Mayaw Biho, the on-going protest started on 23 February 2017. Under the slogan 'no one is an outsider', Panai's group are demanding official recognition of land as traditional territory, holding tenaciously to an ideology: 'on the beautiful island of Taiwan, everyone is a passer-by; all Taiwanese are responsible for preserving the living environment and handing down the uncontaminated land to the next generations.'⁶⁸ They want to revive an ecologically balanced lifestyle, one which had been practised for so long by their ancestors, and deem land exploitation by Japanese and Chinese regimes and occupation by business interests as injustices to be redressed. Although lacking governmental and commercial support, Panai and friends use music and movies to intensify their appeal; their built-up anger and its outbursts come from a deep hurt which derives from the inequity of the long-standing social system.⁶⁹ The indigenous people previously lived outside modern industrialised society, but some sub-populations now live in urbanised regions. Striving for better livelihoods, these sub-populations would prefer to return to their traditional territories if living was sustainable there. However, the territories where their ancestors used to live, hunt and farm have now either been turned into national parks or are privately owned. The people are displaced from their traditional territories and thus generally discontent with government policies. This is evident in Nabu's accusation: 'The R.O.C. government takes advantage of aborigines when it wants to promote the image of Taiwan, but it never relents when it comes to sacrificing their interests.'⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Zhang Ya-yun, 'I sing, I resist, therefore I am: interview with Panai Kusui' (in Mandarin), *Civil media at Taiwan*, at: <https://www.civilmedia.tw/archives/77948> (accessed 6 August 2018).

⁶⁹ Marie Claire, 'Interview with Panai Kusui: we are orphans, no one loves us' (in Mandarin), *Womany*, at: <https://womany.net/read/article/13740> (accessed 6 August 2018).

⁷⁰ Chen Wei-han, 'Aborigines demand rights to land,' *Taipei Times*, at: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2017/03/01/2003665917> (accessed 14 December 2017).

According to Panai, the indigenous people used to live peacefully and in harmony with nature, sharing and making use of natural resources without squandering them. Then, science, technology and capitalism arrived, bringing the concept of private property. Since then, natural resources have been exploited, not only for daily consumption but also as a commodity; the indigenous ‘logic of nature’ has been replaced by the ‘logic of money’ (Sun 2010a: 51). Colonisers encroached and foreign settlers transferred land to themselves, resulting in the widespread disappearance of hunting grounds, farming lands, ritual sites and living areas. Indigenous people were forced to adapt to the modern lifestyle and comply with the colonisers’ socio-political system, further weakening the sustainability of ancestral practices. As a consequence, they were forced to change, as hunting and firearms were forbidden, fishing and sailing restricted, and slate-house and traditional building techniques regulated. Hence, Panai presents a strong message on behalf of the island’s original inhabitants, demanding environmentally friendly and culturally sensitive developments for the indigenous people, along with better education, healthcare and economic opportunities.

1.7.2 Wandering: Theme, Music Characteristics and Live Performance

The subject of wandering in Panai’s music has persisted for almost two decades, from her 2000 *Niwawa* (muddy doll) debut album, to live performances in the following years, to her 2018 EP *Panai: Wandering at Ketagalan Boulevard* (In Utero OT-028, 2018).⁷¹ When I first heard ‘*Liu-langji/Wandering*’ on the *Niwawa* album (Track 3),⁷² I was attracted by the arrangement, expressing four musical and extra-musical ideas in sections (the introduction, verse and chorus, non-lexical vocables, and the ending). This commercially made studio recording opens with a popular indigenous song from the so-called *linbange* (songs of the forest). *Linbange* is known for transmission from one singer to another, a practice known as ‘song relay’ (Yang 2009: 109) which involved moderation and, to an extent, re-creation. The origins of *linbange* are usually

⁷¹ youtu.be/hOKnN1PkN8 (accessed 13 August 2018).

⁷² youtu.be/QRD6L92rAAA (accessed 13 August 2018).

not known and therefore these songs are subject to copyright infringement. In the introductory section of 'Wandering', a man who it is implied is an indigenous labourer sings in a husky and coarse voice. A particular rhythm, the *shandi jiezou*, is heard along with sounds of waves in the background; this rhythm is associated with the indigenous people who were called '*shandiren*' ('mountain people') in earlier times. The lyrics of this part are:

My papa and mama ask me to wander around;
Tears shed from my eyes as I departed.
I wander and wander around until I reach Taipei.
There is no one who cares for me;
I feel miserable because no one cares for me.

The second section, the verse and chorus, has a slow, heavy rock feel. Vocalised in Mandarin and in melancholic crooning, it tells how migrant workers feel challenged in the harsh new environments and are nostalgic for their hometowns. Originally by Panai, this section has been well received and covered by a number of indigenous singers, most of whom adopt a similar crooning and nostalgic vocalisation. Panai here occupies a kind of subculture which resembles a 'counter-culture' (after Kappen 1994), in that the singer's and her fans' values and behaviour sit opposite those of the urban mainstream. Taiwanese indigenous people fight for their rights, and musicians actively encourage their participation, in a way that echoes the analysis by Canadian-based Anthony Hall (2003) of encounters between indigenous people and European empires, national governments, and global corporations as the frontiers of globalisation shifted and moved after Columbus 'discovered' America. It is, of course, the ideology of Fourth World activists, academics, and leaders of indigenous resistance to global hegemony who seek solutions for marginalised people.

The third section, however, is very different, comprising a medley of ancient melodies sung in vocables (Notation 1.2 below). I consider this vocable section on the 2000 studio version to be good, but a rendition of it in live performance on 20 November 2010 at the 'Night with International Indigenous Music Fest'⁷³ stands out even more to me. The concert was a part

⁷³ youtu.be/_YPp4NKbyDI (accessed 12 August 2018).

of the Austronesian Music Festival, held at Atolan Cultural Park by the Taitung County government. For her rendition, Panai incorporated the vocable section with her campaign for ‘no nuclear waste’, a protest against the government’s project to build a Taiwanese facility for radioactive waste in Taitung. While the studio version is a solo, fixed, and refined take, the live performance was an extemporisation that evoked interaction with a group among her audience. At the concert, Panai seemed to pick randomly from a pool of familiar melodies, which were either enunciated as calls to elicit responses, as initiatives to start some sing-along lines, or as evocations resonating with communal sentimentality, all sung *a cappella*, without accompaniment by an on-stage band.

At the concert, the interaction was intense. Amid the melancholy and nostalgic essence of the song were mixed emotions of joy, excitement and passion. Local participants came from Etolan, mostly Amis and Beinan, who sang along with Panai in a generally ragged and non-uniform timbre that mixed bright or muddy, loud or soft, breathy or clear, or warm or harsh tonal qualities. To my ears, the singing resembled a lullaby, a field shout, humming, or yelling at drinking and dining sessions. The call-and-response session was a rite for shared experiences,

A

Panai (the call)
 HO OH HAI AI YAN HEY YA HO OH HAI YAN HEY YA HO OH HAI YAN

Other participants (the respond)
 HO OH HAI AI YAN HEY YA HO OH HAI YAN

Call
 HO OH HAI AI YAN HO I YE YAN HO OH HAI AI YAN I YA HO OH HAI YAN

Respond
 HO OH HAI AI YAN I YA HO OH HAI YAN

B

Call
 HO YAN HO HAI YE YAN HO HAI YAN

Respond
 HO HAI YE YAN HO HAI HO HAI YAN

Call  HEY YA HO HAI YAN HO HIN HI YE HO HIN HI YE YAN

Respond  YAN HO HIN HI YE YAN HO HIN HI YE YAN HAI YAN

Call  HO HAI YE YAN HO HAI YAN

Respond  HO HAI YE YAN HO HAI YAN HO HAI YAN

Call  HEY YA HO HAI YAN HO

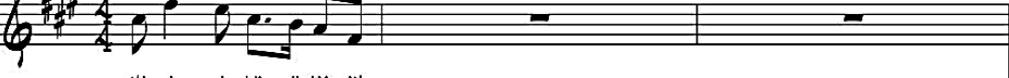
Respond  YIN I YE YAN HO YIN I YE YAN HAI YAN

Call  NA RU WAN AN NA IN YA NA YA HON HAI YA

Respond  IN YA NA YA HON HAI YA

Call  NA RU WAN AN NA IN YA YA

Respond  NA RU WAN AN NA IN YA NA YA HON HAI YA

Call  NA A A LU U WA AN

Respond  HO AI YIN HOI YE YE YO YAN YI EH HO OI HIN HAI YAN

Call  HEY AN HAI YO YAN HI I HAI YO HI HI YO HIN HOI OI YAN

Respond  HI YO HIN HOI OI YAN

Call
HO HAI YA AN O AI I E YO YAN I YA O OH YIN HOI YAN

Respond
NA A LU U WA AN HO HAI YA AN O AI I E YO YAN I YA O OH YIN HOI YAN

Call
HEY HEY HEY YA HAI YO O YI AN HEY YA HEY AN O WOO HAI YO YIN HOI YAN

Respond
HEY YA O WOO AI AI YAN HEY AN O WOO HAI YO YIN HOI YAN

Call
HEY YA A O OH HO AH YE YEN

Respond
HO OH AI AI YE YAN HO AH YE YEN HAI YO YIN HAI YAN

Call
HEY YA OH OH HAI YAN HEY YA OH OH HAI YAN HE YO HIN

Respond
HEY YA OH OH HAI YAN HE YO HIN HIN HIN

Call
HE YA OH OH HO O AI YAI YE YAN OH AI YE YAN HAI AI YO O YIN HAI YAN OH AI YE YAN

Respond
HO O AI YAI YE YAN OH AI YE YAN HAI AI YO O YIN HAI YAN

Call
HAI YO YIN HAI YAN

Respond
HAI YO YIN HAI YAN

Notation 1.2 ‘*Liulangji/Wandering*’, excerpt of field recording made on 20 November 2010, at Night with International Indigenous Music Fest. Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming

protest and provocation, becoming an identifiable way to differentiate indigenous people from commercialised, globalised pop and Mandopop (the ‘cultural hegemony’, to use Antonio Gramsci’s term). It distinguished indigenous popular music in three aspects. First, indigenous popular music often comprises ancient chants, a communal memory shared for generations; that is to say, chants are not created by specific musicians. Second, the sing along and call-and-response reflect people’s daily practices in working and socialising. Third, in order to generate a live and prolonged call-and-response session, both singers and audiences must share a repertoire of familiar tunes; musically, these tunes must have enough shared elements that they can be easily linked to become a longer medley.

Seemingly confident and aggressive on stage, Panai, however, evidences some weakness in her endeavour to revive and sustain her people’s tradition. It is her definition of her music that reflects this weakness and her ambiguous feelings towards the deterioration of the culture and the people’s status. This definition comes from answering an audience request at the Austronesian Music Festival 2010’s closing ceremony and music concert on 27 November 2010 at Beinan Cultural Park, Taitung (which I also attended). On being asked to sing an ‘indigenous song’, Panai said in embarrassment: ‘Songs sung by indigenous people are all indigenous songs’. This statement sounded unconvincing to me, as Panai has been keen to reconnect her people to their ancestral land and tradition. There must, surely, be profound thoughts and an important essence that distinguishes the music, rather than an oversimplified notion and indigenous identity of the musician involved. I solved this puzzle through my knowledge of Panai’s self-identification: she considers herself as the first generation who have lost their ancestral tongue, thus witnessing a disconnection of indigenous practice. Despite being a former member of the Formosa Indigenous Dance Foundation of Culture and Arts, a Taiwanese dance and music group, Panai could not understand indigenous lyrics, and was barely able to recite these ancient tunes by heart. So, feeling vulnerable on one hand, and keen on the other, Panai takes language (in her case, the musical characteristics of ancient tunes) as a guiding light, to sustain and carry her people’s collective memory, and to approach ancestral practices. Most importantly,

land and the attachment of people's livelihood to it are fundamental; people have to protect their land so that it in return protects them from language loss, memory disruption and cultural diminution. Hence, Panai has said:

'Groves of horsetail trees by the roadside used to lead me home. But, they have been cut down for road widening. And now there is nothing to guide me home anymore. I feel a sense of loss whenever I look at the widened road with no trees; this empty view evokes our lost culture and nostalgia for the past.'⁷⁴

Back to 'Wandering'. The final section fades out, humorous and yet serious in its identification of the prevailing problems of the indigenous people, by nature two-faced. In other words, the indigenous people face two sharply contrasting attitudes: *helping*, an endeavour to improve their livelihoods, and *discrimination*, an imposition of stereotypical images onto them. Lyrics in this section preach to the young about three things: not to become an alcoholic, not to chew betel nut, and not to smoke. It encourages the young to be honest and diligent. In reality, an individual's problems, such as being addicted to alcohol, habitual consumption of betel nut and smoking, are miniature manifestations of graver social problems such as poverty, unemployment and the lack of education. After many years living in Taiwan, I can report that these personal problems reflect the poor condition of these people's lives in general, and infuse into family relationships, health and livelihoods.

I played several versions of 'Wandering' in class for my students so they could understand the characteristics of indigenouspop. One of these students, who is indigenous, responded:

I really like this song very much. Indeed, I have listened to its various versions such as that rendered by Aska Yang's (a non-indigenous Mandopop singer) in live performance, which is a cover of Panai Kusui in *Niwawa* album (Track 3), and that of Samingad (or Ji Xiao-jun). Although Aska Yang excels for his dazzling vocalisation, Samingad wins my favour over Aska for her chanting

⁷⁴ Zhong Yue-ming, 'Wandering at Ketagalan Boulevard, Panai' (in Mandarin), *Mirror Media*, at: <https://www.mirrormedia.mg/story/20170630pol001/> (accessed 8 August 2018).

approach, which is to me natural, but at the same time piercing and powerful. ('Music Appreciation' course report, first semester 2017/18 academic year)

Musical indigeneity is proved to be the most prominent element of indigenoupop, as a member of the audience whom I met at a live concert said: 'The vocables and the call and response sections are always overwhelmingly moving for me.' Indigenoupop also makes Taiwanese people proud of themselves. In contrast to calling Taiwan the derogatory '*guidao*/ghost island' for its socio-cultural problems that have occurred in various walks of life – a side effect and a calculated cost during Taiwan's transition from authoritarian dictatorship to full democracy – one of my indigenous students said:

Taiwan is absolutely not a '*guidao*'; because of the cultural heritage of our indigenous people, we are instead living on a treasure island. Watching documentaries related to the issue of the indigenous people, listening to the ancestral singing and watching our traditional dances are all just evocative. ('Arts and Humanity' course report, first semester 2017/18 academic year)

1.7.3 Musicking about Social Contexts

In 2018, 'Wandering', on Panai's newly released EP, became a hard rock piece, skipping the *linbange* introduction section, its *shandi jiezou* arrangement and sounds of tidal waves, and omitting the vocable section and the preaching at the end.⁷⁵ Instead, the new arrangement gives prominence to Panai's composed elements, namely the main verse and its chorus, permeating these with aggressive and angry emotions accompanied by assertive drums, vigorous electric guitars, dynamic bass and strong keyboard. However, Panai sounds tired and out of breath; it is probable that her health has deteriorated due to living in poor conditions. For more than two years (reached 797 days on 30 April 2019 when I took her photo), she has been camping for her protest campaign, initially at Ketagalan Boulevard, but then was forced to move to the nearby

⁷⁵ The afore-mentioned 2018 version on p.85.

228 Peace Memorial Park by police in January 2019. Or, she is simply ageing. Nevertheless, the music video for the song is vivid and evocative, incorporating images and clips of the street movement. By the roadside, in open air and inside a tent, and in heavy rain, under starlight and in scorching heat, the activists and their supporters dance in groups, manifest their ideology, organise talks, and give interviews to local and international reporters. On such occasions, the relational meanings among performers and their audiences change in accordance with the nature of each event, sometimes being nostalgic, sometimes angry and sometimes entertaining, rather than being fixed.

My observations compare to those of the American-based ethnomusicologist Christopher Scales (2012: 2–3), who observes the music-making of Native Americans. He creates ethnological records out of live events to supplement commercial CDs and videos on social media sites, and concludes that Native North Americans not only actively participate in cultural and social events, adopting the mechanisms of modernity, but are also prolific record-makers. My observations overlap, but add that indigenous musicians are active participants at events, proficiently accessing technology, and producing music at speed and in quantity. At the same time, the live experience is irreplaceable, and bears significance far beyond that of commercially produced CDs and social media videos. Live performances connect people, reflecting relationships that exist between indigenous people, the natural environment, Taiwan at large, and the government.

Panai's renditions are actions of musicking (after Small 1998) about the social context of the indigenous people which display the interactions (or conflicts) among communities and consider issues of pan-indigeneity. That is to say, 'musical' characteristics co-exist with 'extra-musical' elements, which in Panai's case mix anti-government protest with her people's affection towards their environment. Her experience epitomises her manifestation and argument. She has wandered around, disconnected from her homeland where the indigenous are supposed to put down roots. Having lost the ability to speak her people's language, she tries to re-connect herself, through songs, with vocables and ancient tunes. Highlighting the current social context

of the indigenous community, she tries to carry her people's communal memory in her compositions. Eventually, she and her people hope to return to their land, where their tradition can be sustained and their ancestral livelihood practised. Hence, the musical characteristics of ancient tunes, and their sustainability and re-construction, are much like the 'groves of horsetail trees by the roadside' that used to lead Panai home. Musicking indigenous ancient tunes is rooted in the sentiment of belonging to the land, in efforts to sustain the environment for future generations, struggles to live a better life, and, of course, the pursuit of rights and compensation for indigenous people.

Conclusion

Despite all the difficulties in sustaining the music traditions of Taiwanese indigenous people, preservationists often hold to some positive attitudes. The Taiwanese Puyuma scholar Sun Dachuan, for example, envisages an optimistic future for Taiwanese indigeneity. He anticipates that innovations shaped by the cultural heritage and values inherited from the past will generate a better future (2010a: 14–15). The canon of the music of Taiwanese indigenous people is in a state of continual formation, and in the process attempts are made, to quote Philip Bolhman writing about music more generally, 'to appropriate the past for use in the present, thereby preserving it for the future ... models of the past are important' (1992: 204). Indigenous people interact with other ethnic groups, namely the Minnan, Hakka and the recent Han Chinese arrivals after World War II. They interact with the legacy of colonisation by Dutch, Spanish, Qing, and Japanese as well as the Nationalist government, and this impacts their music. To understand these interactions, researchers and those from outside Taiwan adopt three routes, namely, subjective notions based on individual experience (Sun 2016), comprehensive studies based on

long-term observation and participation (Huang 2009: 520–2) and accounts by indigenous writers and foreign writers.⁷⁶ Through studying recordings, ethnographic studies and literature, additional traces of foreign influence such as Christianity and Westernisation become clear; these footprints have left an irreversible impact and continue to be the fertile material for musicians to draw on; they are the inspiration for constructing musical indigeneity among Taiwanese indigenous people.

In brief, indigenous music in Taitung has special characteristics. These are heard through the musical indigeneity in chants of Difang (Amis) and indigenouspop of Matzka (Paiwan) and Panai (Beinan-Amis). This musical indigeneity is distinguished and made unique as it separates itself from ‘cultural hegemony’ (after Antonio Francesco Gramsci), the influences of the present day’s globalisation processes. In other words, Difang, Matzka and Panai have developed a kind of subculture, resembling a ‘counter-culture’ (after Sebastian Kappen 1994), whose values and norms differ substantially from those of mainstream Mandopop. In recordings and videos, musical indigeneity has been used as an essence of Taiwanese identity by the government, but at the same time indigenous people feel that they have been cheated and exploited, as heard and shown in Matzka Band’s ‘Rabbit Kid’. In a similar way, and in live performances, musicians such as Panai demand the government should make efforts to redress injustices done in the past. The counter-culture flourishes in musicians’ hometowns, notably in Taitung, as well as at the centre of Taiwan’s music industry in Taipei, mixing Western capitalism with the people’s efforts to sustain a music tradition. As it flourishes, so indigenous musicians strive to keep their identity while reviving inherited practices such as pentatonicism, the adaptation of traditional songs, expressions of affection for the homeland, the adoption of specific rhythmic structures in arrangements, and the construction of non-lexical vocables, *hohaiyan* and *naruwan*.

⁷⁶ Jiang Guan-ming, ‘*Kuabu Shanhai Jian Zhuizhu Wenxue Lu*’ see fn. 41.

Chapter 2

The Amis: Traditional Music and Recording Culture

2.1 An Ethnographic Case Study of Malan Amis Singing

2.1.1. Multipart-singing: the Calls and Responses, 'Misa'aretic' High Register and 'Ikung' Improvisation¹

It was Friday 22 July 2016 when I participated in a regular practice of Taitung Malan Amis singing at their *juhuisuo* (community gathering centre) located at 25, Lane 588, Xinsheng Road. In a meeting five days earlier, while Kao Shu-chuan, the person-in-charge of the Chu-Yin Cultural and Arts Troupe, knowing that my study in London was extremely challenging, promised me an *alufu*, the Amis belt-bag bearing blessings from friends, family members and seniors. The meeting was part of my research, through which I hoped to collect important information, but at the same time it was a get-together with an old friend. Kao told me that the *alufu* had to be specially and newly made. Despite the time-consuming process, my *alufu* would be ready just before I left Taitung. I did not expect Kao to arrange an informal presentation ceremony for me and when it happened it came as a surprise.

The clock struck 10.00pm as I walked into the centre, having just left a dinner gathering with another old acquaintance in Taitung who works for the county government. Stepping into the community centre, I received a welcome that was overwhelming. There were 10 senior members in casual western attire rather than in Amis traditional outfits, two men and eight women all aged 50 or older. We greeted each other and talked for a while. Some were familiar to me. Kao stood in front of everyone and introduced me, bringing up my musical and academic background. She invited me to address the group. I remember I mentioned my nostalgia at listening to voices from Taiwan while I was in London. The sound of the Amis was so beautiful; it sometimes moved me to tears.

¹ youtu.be/6JdpOfUaQg (accessed 11 February 2019).

I was presented with the *alufu*, in a slightly more than casual formality, but still a relaxed atmosphere. As Taiwanese, we all knew that indigenous people are endowed with characters of kindness and gentleness; they always perceive things from positive perspectives and tend to try to remain in harmony with others. Most of the time, they have fun, and try to maintain a cheerful climate. Kao offered blessings, through singing. She gave a medley of three songs, in which the second was the internationally acclaimed ‘*Sakatusa’ Ku’edaway a Radiw*’, the Amis contrapuntal, polyphonic melody sampled for Enigma’s theme song of the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. Obviously, these Amis took me as their fellow homelander, who shared their mission of promoting Taiwan to the world outside. Of course, I was honoured to contribute to my naturalised home country, where I had been living for more than 25 years. Indeed, we shared a common lifestyle, a Taiwanese nationality, a sense of linked destiny and an affinity with Taitung. Furthermore, we cherished the music of indigenous people, and felt obligated to help sustain its tradition.

It was certainly not the first time I had listened to ‘*Sakatusa’ Ku’edaway a Radiw*’, but it was the first time I had listened to it in a Malan Amis live performance. Luckily, just before they started to sing, I had been prepared for recording it on my smart phone. It was a brand new experience for me, being the only audience for a performance especially dedicated to me. What is more, it was presented by a group of venerable elders. What I felt at that moment is hard to describe; all I can say is that it was sensational. Before they sang, the singers discussed among themselves who should take the two important roles, namely as lead singer and high-pitched singer. The singing started with a solo, a lead melody sang by a male, Fong Fu-ming (or Fe’ek in his Amis name). In my research, I have discovered that those who are entitled to lead, such as Difang – probably the most well-known Amis singer – and Fong Fu-ming on this occasion, will be proficient singers. More importantly, the lead singer has to be a popular and venerable figure, good in interpersonal relationships. Fong, born in Malan in 1944, had been a lead singer in Chu-Yin for years, and had led a touring group to the USA and Belarus. He had taught traditional Amis singing at National Taitung University, the university I currently teach at.

He began with a short melodic phrase, the first call of the song, which was taken up by the other singers as a response. During the response, one pre-appointed singer created an improvisation at a higher tessitura based on the lead melody. This high and bright timbre, the *misa'aretic* or *misa'akawang* (or *gaoyin* in Mandarin; the Mandarin term is commonly used since most Amis communicate in Mandarin in their daily lives), literally means 'high pitch' or 'high voice' (interview with Kao 12 June, 27 July 2014 and 17 July 2016; see also Sun Chun-yen 2013; Lu Yu-hsiu 2013). The lead singer initiated a second and several consecutive calls, followed by responses from the other singers and the high-pitched singer respectively. While the song continued in this way, each singer improvised their parts, all intimately linked with the lead melody, but with some slight differences. All phrases ended with the same notes, or notes at a higher or lower octave. Improvisation in Amis singing is called *ikung* (*wanqu*, curving). In brief, the three major characteristics of Amis singing are the call and response, the *misa'aretic* high-register melodies, and *ikung* improvisation.

In Taiwanese literature, musicologists use the term 'polyphony' widely to describe the characteristic of Amis singing (Hsu 1991:34; Lu and Kao ed., 2013). Nevertheless, further elaborations are often added. For example, the Japanese researcher Kurosawa Takatomo used the description '*ziyou hechang*' (free ensemble) to generalise about the singing style (2008: 23, 199). Again, the Atayal scholar Yu Jin-fu refers to the phenomenon as the '*lingchang yu heqiang*' ('leading and echoing' style), and as the '*buluo changfa*' (traditional way of singing in an indigenous community) (2000: 6–7). Another Amis researcher, Lifok, terms it the '*yanxu chuantong de hechang fangshi*' (choir singing style which sustains Amis tradition), or *misa-kapolongan* (2000: 72), while Sun Chun-yen (2013) amends the term to '*duiweishi fuyin gechang*' (polyphonic singing with contrapuntal motions), thereby adding a supplementary concept, namely counterpoint. Adding to these descriptions, I introduce a perspective from my own observation, as heard in, among others and more recently at the '2018 *Misafalo*, First Symposium on the Amisology' at National Museum of Prehistory, Taitung, on 20 October 2018, which

I attended.² An Amis group from Taitung Malan community, the afore-mentioned Chu-Yin Cultural and Arts Troupe demonstrated the polyphonic singing which is coincident with my observations at my visit to their practice section on 22 July 2016,³ on a CD track, ‘*Yinjiu huanle*/Song of Drinking and Joy’, produced by Lu Yu-hsiu (2002),⁴ and, ‘*Huanlege*/Song of joy’ (*Polyphonic Music of the Amis Tribe*, Wind Music TCD-1502, 1993) produced by Wu Rungshun,⁵ which will be explored with music analysis and notations in section 2.2.1 and 2.2.5.

Among its important characteristics of multipart-singing such as the calls and responses, ‘*Misa’aretic*’ high register and ‘*Ikung*’ improvisation, it is discernible that the multiple voices of Malan Amis singing all have in mind a skeleton melody to which all the other melodic parts are attached. Although each singer sings their melody in their own way, either adding different rhythms or notes, or with embellishments and elaboration, the deviations from the skeleton melody are minor. Therefore, this kind of Amis polyphonic singing can be considered heterophonic. That is to say, from one perspective, it is a kind of complex monophony, and from the other, it is a subcategory of polyphony. As they sing, the texture is characterised by simultaneous, slight variations on a single melodic line. It is worth of note that in the effort to preserve the music tradition of Amis polyphonic singing, the leader of Chu-Yin, Kao Shu-chuan, and her collaborator, Han scholar Lu Yu-hsiu told me in the 2018 *Misafalo* conference that the elderly singers who are more conversant and skilful in rendering Amis polyphonic songs are capable to produce variations on the skeleton melodies and therefore render the heterophonic. Amis youngsters, however, tend to sing in unison, sticking firmly to the skeleton melodies which are notated in five-line Western musical staves.

Nevertheless, some Amis researchers, in the 2018 *Misafalo* conference, questioned the side effect of using stave-notation for preserving traditional Amis music: Wouldn’t this a threat to the music tradition as it may minimise its improvisation and heterophony? In responding to

² youtu.be/-VzMiKGvj3I (accessed 20 February 2019).

³ youtu.be/Drgy46FU0UQ (accessed 20 February 2019).

⁴ youtu.be/md6tmxevkOs (accessed 20 February 2019).

⁵ <http://store.windmusic.com.tw/zh/CD/TCD-1502> (accessed 20 February 2019).

the question, Lu and Koa clarified that revival of the improvisation and heterophony of Amis singing is the ultimate goal, but at the moment, they are satisfied with preserving the pre-exist lines and passing down them to their younger generation. Hence, despite being aware of its side effect, both of Lu and Kao recognise the handy function of stave notation. This reminds me our meeting on 3 October 2017, when I presented a paper concerning the music of the Amis to members of Chu-Yin; this paper had been presented at the BFE/RMA research students' conference in 2016 for a Western audience. This meeting held at their gathering centre (Photo 2.1) is for them to examine whether I represented them. I show the Amis singers my notation on '*Sa-katusa Ku'adaway a Radiw*' which attracted surprised looks when I vocalised the polyphonic lines one after another. After all, some of them had been practising hard to recite the lines (especially the high-pitch, which only few people are capable of singing it and therefore need preserving) through a revived oral tradition. Considering time and efforts they had paid into learning the ancient chants, it is no wonder that they were amazed with how easily I vocalised these lines with the help of a stave-notation.



Photo 2.1 Chu-Yin Cultural and Arts Troupe with the author (front, first left). Photo by Teoh Yang-ming

2.1.2. *The Music Tradition of Malan Amis*

Approximately a week before my visit to Chu-Yin's practice on 22 July 2016, while on a train returning to Taitung, I contacted Kao for a meeting. Through Facebook texts, she told me that she was leading the Chu-Yin Culture and Arts Troupe for a tour to Beijing, and would be recording at China Central Television – the pre-eminent state television broadcaster in the People's Republic of China.⁶ Kao, a teacher at National Taitung College, works hard on the preservation of the Amis musical tradition. She had previously told me several times about her concern for the declining culture. When telling me this, her tone always sounded anxious and she appeared worried. This time, on Facebook, she wrote several short sentences with poignant intonation: 'The seniors die one by one; I am really worried.' It is worth noting that Kao used the term *laorenjia* referring to her seniors, in which 'lao' means old, 'ren' people and 'jia' family. So the subtle but discernible aura in Kao's expression, 'the family-like elders', epitomised the strong bond in sustaining the culture and the ties of kinship among Malan Amis. Kao continued: 'The music of the indigenous people has to be saved.' Again, there was desperation in her words: 'has to be saved', *qiangjiu*, bears the meaning of saving something that is in a critical condition.

It is obvious to observers that the music tradition of the Malan Amis is threatened with a decline that is likely to lead to its eventual disappearance. In confronting possible cultural loss, Kao and her fellow Amis established the Chu-Yin troupe in 1997. '*Chuyin*' literally means 'sound of pestles'. According to Kao, the mortar and pestle is an important necessity in the daily life of indigenous people: the pestle symbolises a source of vitality whereas the mortar represent the origin of life. There is an ancient practice in which people take their mortar and pestle when they move home. It is a tool for preparing food and therefore indispensable in raising a family.

⁶ youtu.be/ALvV5piNlwM ('*Fengnianji*/Harvest Festival'), youtu.be/TZ2BzLiPR-8 ('Song of Drinking and Joy'), and youtu.be/GPXJQZittJ8 ('Farewell Song') (accessed 11 February 2019).

‘*Chuyin*’ hence stands for the inner urge of people to sustain the lineage of Amis culture by promoting and spreading its traditional practices. The Chu-Yin troupe interacts with other indigenous groups, aiming to preserve cultural roots mainly through singing and dancing.⁷

Malan, also known as Falangaw, is an Amis community in the city of Taitung. In mentioning it, Difang’s name and his famous chant will always be brought up: they give the people pride. Due to the influx of Han immigrants who moved into the community and replaced earlier Amis residents, the density of the indigenous population is decreasing (Li Yu-fen 2007). The Amis who have left have settled in Fukid (*Nanyongli* in Mandarin), in the proximity of Malan. Fukid has an alternative name, ‘New Malan’; it shares a cultural root and tie of kinship with Malan. Traditionally, the Amis sing on every occasion. They sing while farming; they sing during their leisure time. They also sing when completing a new house, on a friend’s departure, and at weddings, receiving guests, drink-outs and after work gatherings. Amis songs usually do not have titles, but only melodies. Once a lead singer initiates a phrase, the others follow. The singers are co-workers, friends and neighbours; they are familiar with each other as well as their songs. Singing becomes a spontaneous response, in which voices fit into the choir, each singer improvising heterophonic melodies, all being confined by the conventions of the tradition.

During my visit to Chu-Yin on 22 July 2016, I realised that the Malan Amis singers usually sit, but not always, when they sing. Then, they sat in a way that meant they were able to communicate with each other: they sat in a curve in order to exchange looks, signals and cues. Sitting, *kamoro* in Amis, becomes the equivalent of gathering, meeting or reunion. Songs are sung consecutively, and I was presented with three songs during the evening. Dancing usually accompanies singing as the atmosphere heats up. At my meeting with Kao and two other Chu-Yin members two years earlier on 1 August 2014, where I played some piano pieces, they got up from sitting and danced in Amis style to the music. Once they got into the groove, their embodiment of the music seemed totally natural. In recent years, as indigenous performance has

⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1652876394951293/> (accessed 23 October 2016).

become a default setting in the programmes of government-organised festivities, Amis music and dance has been increasing in demand. They are also asked to perform for celebrations and in tourist spots. Nevertheless, younger Amis have different lifestyles detached from the traditional practices, including music practices, of their parents and grandparents. The younger generation seldom sing together. The gap in the generations seems to have appeared when farm machines replaced *mipaliw*, communal work where Amis farmers used to gather. During *mipaliw*, the Amis would take turns to provide help and work on each other's plantations. *Mipaliw* was common until the 1970s, and the Amis lived through this practice, experiencing singing together and developing competent skills in singing as a group. The workers of the 1970s, though, are now in their sixties or older. It is, then, evident that both the practice of *mipaliw* and singing together is declining.

2.1.3 The Character of Amis Singing in Live Performance

On the morning of 23 July 2011, I attended a spectacular Amis chorus performance accompanied by a huge dancing crowd at the opening ceremony of the National Amis United Harvest Festival. The festival was particularly splendid that year, intended to be larger than normal since it was co-celebrated by Amis communities from around the country. It was part of the 2011 International Cultural and Tourism Festival 'Let's *Makapahay* in Taitung', a series of activities held by the Taitung City municipal government. '*Makapahay*', an Amis term, means 'get together for a joyful moment'. Several cultural groups from abroad were invited to participate, but the Taitung indigenous tradition was highlighted alongside a mixture of popular Han and Hakka culture.

Across the Taitung municipal outdoor stadium, the exceptionally loud and vibrating sound of cicadas marked a bright sunny day that was typical of Taitung's hot tropical summer. In fact, the mercury often surges above 35°C in July. I brought two Korean friends, both musicians. We took seats opposite the central stage, where the masters of ceremony and important guests were to sit. Strategically, we had picked a good spot. It was about 12m high from the

ground and 150m from the stage. We got a clear and unblocked view of performers and the field. The field was initially empty; the performing groups, except when on-stage and standing-by, stayed in their tents, which were arrayed in an orderly manner around the field. At the centre of the stage, it seemed like several Amis seniors were about to pronounce the opening of the event. There were women and men, all dressed in indigenous costumes, standing shoulder to shoulder. The style of their costumes revealed their Malan origin: blue tops, colourful thick waist belts, black pants with rich tapestry decorations, red headbands mixed with other bright colours for the men; colourful and flashily decorated black shirts and pants for women (an example but in another performance of this setting can be seen in Photo 2.2). Both men and women appeared to have *alufu*, the Amis belt bags that contain blessings from friends and family which comprise one of the 39 common accoutrements among Austronesians, as ‘knitwear hung around the waist’ (Tsai 2010: 26–7).



Photo 2.2 Difang (fourth right), Honggay (third right), and the Amis Malan Choir. Photo by Hsu Ming-cheng, used with permission.

I was attracted to these seniors because of their elderly appearance; they were probably in their sixties or older. In many ways, the seniors are the Amis’ living human treasures.⁸

⁸ After Patricia Abe (1999) ‘Treasures of Japan – Its Living Artists,’ Special to the Chronicle, at:

Among Amis communities, preserving styles learned from ones' seniors appears to be the most traditional thing to do, although there is always room for interpretation in the styles adopted by younger singers. The elderly singers on stage were grouped into pairs, each woman coupled to a man, leaving a two-man duo. Several microphones were on stands in front of each pair of singers. Three additional hand-held microphones were provided, I assume to be used by the lead singer, the high-pitched (usually woman) singer, and one of the *ikung* improvisers.

The chorus started right away at 10.00. It was amplified and sent through the public address system. Matching my anticipation, the lead singer began a melodic phrase – the first call – which was followed by others giving heterophonically improvised melodies, one in an exceptional higher tessitura. This process continued, with sequences of calls and responses, from song to song, one after another. At first, the singing was energetic but well-controlled. Then in the space of three or four warming-up songs, the atmosphere became impassioned. The choir seemed to know an unlimited repertoire, drawing one song after another from their memory, rallying to create a seemingly endless medley. Non-lexical vocables, '*hohaiyan*', lingered around the stadium, scything above the sound of cicadas, and occasionally mixed with Amis phrases.

The audience in the stands were locals and visitors; those watching from the tents were Amis delegates from Taitung, Hualien, Taipei, Taichung and Kaohsiung. And there were some international groups. Attracted by the songs, people started to flock to the field, first trickling in, but then arriving at an accelerating pace. Dancing hand in hand and moving in a circular motion is common at indigenous rituals and festivals. Those who were familiar with the custom invited and led visitors. Steps were simple but steady, moving sideways, orbiting around to form a gigantic human spiral. The dance step was of a kind used in rituals, valued for its unifying and egalitarianist function, and contrasted the choir's entertaining virtuosity. Everyone could sense the rising excitement of the choir. My estimation would be that the total number of people in the spiral reached many hundred. Dancing in a circle is common among Austronesians and across

<http://www.sfgate.com/books/article/Treasures-of-Japan-Its-Living-Artists-2928110.php> (accessed 3 June 2016).

Siberia, Mongolia and Russia. According to a report later released by the Taitung municipal office, there were 2,000 people present. The Amis from different groups in their vivid outfits, and dancers moving in synchronised motion, all lent a spectacular image to the scene. With my persuasion, my Korean friends, although shy at the beginning, jumped into the parade for a once-in-a-lifetime experience.

I stayed where I was to observe what was going on, making a recording and listening with interest, enchanted by the magnificent scene as well as the stimulating singing. Interactions among the singers were reciprocated, and this could be heard through the voices, rather as though a game was being played out. If the lead singer sang with excitement, other singers would respond with equivalent passion. They competed yet cooperated in the ascending atmosphere of joy. On first hearing, the high-pitched melodic responses were often not much different from the lead singer; they always began and ended on notes an octave apart. However, according to Malan Amis polyphonic convention, flexibility was allowed. So, singers spontaneously modified pitches, rhythms and the duration of their heterophonic melodies. In addition, ornamentation was freely added, using pitch sliding, adjacent or stepwise pitch motion, or skips. Thus, the multipart sound was made richer and denser, driven along by occasional syncopation.

The Malan Amis have endeavoured to transmit their singing tradition, a tradition made famous internationally by Difang and his group. Malan is important for its populous Amis community. Compared with other areas where indigenous people live, Malan and Taitung are accessible, connected with a network of rail, air and road links. Quite a number of Taiwanese researchers, as well as researchers from overseas, have picked Malan Amis as their starting point, exploring the rich cultural heritage (see, e.g., Chen Y. 2008: 70). By the turn of the second decade of the twenty-first century, the number of published books and recordings was stacking up. However, most of the publications aim at the preservation of a tradition, keeping records of the kind of tradition that is felt to be disappearing. On top of this preservationist endeavour, a significant portion of researchers have contributed to archival collections, that is, they have gath-

ered materials that might be used for later study (e.g. Sun 2004; Lu 2003; Hsu 1991). In contrast, studies on the interactions of Amis music-makers with the music industry, ranging from appropriation, sampling, and recording – as a phenomenon of musical ‘exotica’ – are still at an early stage of development. Shzr Ee Tan (2012), for instance, explores Difang from the perspective of the industry, as his vocal sampling was taken up by the group Enigma, but mainly discusses the copyright lawsuit relating to the ‘Return to Innocence’ case. Again, Nancy Guy (2002a; 2002b) puts all her effort on the handle of ownership and control of ethnographic material, as she circles around the same incident.

Back at the festival, based on my previous knowledge of Amis music, I could pick up the separate high-pitched melodies, not only through aural sensitivity but because I could perceive the piercing, tightened, nasal sounds. My experience with a university choir during undergraduate studies was that a choir should produce a homogenous sound, in terms of quality and timbre. Singing in a choir, in the Western sense, is about merging individual voices and parts, namely, soprano, alto, tenor and bass, into a harmonious and unified whole. In other words, the aesthetic lies in chord progressions and melodic contours, but not on unique qualities of separate timbres created by individual voices. The opposite is the case in Amis singing, where melodic homogeneity is not the main concern, but discernible and disunited sound qualities (*Spaltklang* in German, after Gerhard Stradner 1996: 246) are (Lu 2013: 30). This sums up the musical aesthetics of the Amis: in signifying a diversity of voices, singing in chorus is multipart but not in unison. Take the Amis performance I was observing. The high-pitched voice channelled through the sound, reinforced a quality of sharpness, in addition to its huskiness. In this aspect, Malan Amis use terms such as *misa'aretic* and *misa'akawang* to describe the high tessitura. The former means ‘sharp’, weighing the piercing quality of the voice, while the latter means ‘high’, emphasising the register that the singer was able to achieve (Chen 2008: 86–87). However, the Amis community in Rekat (*Luye*) refer to the high-pitched singer as *satangahngahay*, literally, the ‘loud one’ (Lu 2013: 32–3). So, pursuing ‘an ideal sound’ has diverse regional concepts, with different aesthetic values being applied by different communities.

I observed how the calls and responses, the high-pitched lines, and *ikung* improvisations were all superbly handled. There appeared to me to be an appropriate proportion of loud and sharp vocals in singing groups made up of childhood friends, old acquaintances and couples who had been singing together for a lifetime. In public events, singing as a daily activity was made into a more magnificent larger-scale activity as hundreds of people danced, jumping into a tradition to which they were entrained. At times, the broadcast sound could be heard miles away. But, no matter how much one part was assertive and powerful, or high and sharp, all the other voices needed to be heard. The experience of listening to Amis singing in live performance, particularly when on this scale, is irreplaceable. Listening to a recorded track, or to a performance given on a smaller scale, would give a totally different experience.

In 2013, Kao Shu-chuan worked with the Han Taiwanese Lu Yu-hsiu and Peng Wen-ming on a preservation project that they titled ‘Searching for Polyphony: Recollecting the Lost Old Songs of Taitung Amis’. Kuo Kuo-chih, Yang Shun-ying, Kuo Lin-ku, Chang Ming-fu and Wang Yin-hua, members of the ‘Malan Choir’, contributed their singing skills to the project. The first Malan choir to be founded had been led by Difang, but Difang and his wife, Hongay or Kuo Xiu-zhu (who was also a member of the choir) died in 2002. Another member, Kuo Xiu-ying, had also died. Kuo Kuo-chih took over as lead singer and invited new members to maintain the group. In our conversation on 28 May 2014, Kuo Jun-yi (Laway Napiday, using his Amis name), the great-grandson of Difang and at the time also a student at National Taitung University, told me that Kuo Kuo-chih was his grandfather. He was attending my lecture on world music. But, time flies, and 18 months later, when I was based in London working on this project, I learned that Kuo Kuo-chih had died on 7 November 2015.⁹ As a permanent resident of Taitung, I know how Amis music lingers in our daily lives. People in Taitung have overlapping social networks, through which I share Kao Shu-chuan’s worry: ‘The seniors die one by one; I am really worried.’ And, ‘The music of the indigenous people has to be saved.’ At the National

⁹ <http://solomo.xinmedia.com/music/55836-29fkjlvrR> (accessed 7 November 2016).

Amis United Harvest Festival, the singing and dancing went on for about 35 minutes. My Korean musician friends returned from dancing soaked in sweat, flushed but with smiles on their faces. I knew that due to political and financial difficulties, a festival on this scale would become less common in future years. Its situation would be worsened by the advent of popular culture, as this ‘substituted machines for people, replaced live music with canned’ (after Keil and Feld 1994: 248). And, most critically, senior Amis who excel at singing together are dying.

2.2 *Difang Incident and Recording Culture*

In the following section, I further explore Malan Amis music and the recording culture surrounding it, taking ‘*Sakatusa’ Ku’edaway a Radiw*’ – the disputed appropriation of which by Michael Cretu in his ‘Enigma’ project is well known – as the focal point of analysis and discussion. In the so-called Difang Incident (taking the indigenous singer as the centre of the discourse), Cretu used a field recording of ‘*Sakatusa*’ as the foundation of ‘Return to Innocence’, a successful track on the Enigma album, *The Cross of Change*. The incident was then made more serious when the Enigma sampling was promoted as the main song for the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. ‘*Sakatusa’ Ku’edaway a Radiw*’ translates as ‘second long song’, in which *sakatusa* means ‘second’, *ku’edaway* ‘long’ and *radiw* ‘song’ in the Amis context (*Encyclopedia of Taiwan Music* 2008: 55, 139). The tune appears to have different titles such as ‘*Huanlege*/Song of joy’, ‘*Huanjuge*/Song of happy gathering’ and ‘*Saka Lipah no Mato’aseuy a Radiw*/Elders’ Drinking Song’.

Our story began when the Taiwanese folksong collector, Hsu Tsang-houei, recorded the virtuoso Amis singer, Difang, and Difang’s wife, Hongay (Photo 2.2, p.104), at their relative’s residence in their home village in Taitung Malan, in 1978. Ten years later, in 1988, Hsu, Difang and a Taiwanese indigenous group of 40 went on tour to perform in Europe. During their appearance at the Festival Pacifique in Paris, the French organiser, the Maison des Cultures, recorded them as well as other groups from other countries. The recording was published as a com-

pilation CD, *Polyphonies Vocales des Aborigènes de Taïwan*, in the ensuing year, 1989. However, instead of putting the live recording from 1988 on the CD, the publisher demanded that Hsu-Difang's 1978 recording of this song be substituted. It was said that the 1978 version had a more 'ideal' sound quality (Huang 2000: 82). The point at which Hsu agreed to submit the 1978 recording to the Maison des Cultures was when his original preserving and promoting a tradition endeavour shifted to become one of 'commoditisation of ethnographic material'. As a result, Hsu's acceptance to submit the 1978 recording exposed the risk of that recording moving into the commercial sector and going beyond the original research and teaching intention expressed to Difang by Hsu Tsang-houei (Guy 2002a: 201, 209). Among many songs that had been recorded and were put out on the 1989 CD, it was the 1978 'Sakatusa' that caught Cretu's attention. Cretu used 'Sakatusa' in his project, sampling the ethnographic material and adapting it for his composition, 'Return to Innocence'.

'Return to Innocence', and the album, *The Cross of Change*, were published in 1993. 'Return to Innocence' was then used as the theme song for the Atlanta Olympics in 1996. After gaining huge commercial success and international acclaim for three years, the recording finally reached Difang's ears in 1996, at his home in Taitung Malan. In fact, he first heard his appropriated voice in a broadcast commercial. It was recalled to me by Wang Zhi-bo (2014), a friend of Difang, that this was broadcast through loudspeakers on a campaign truck, as it travelled the streets to promote a candidate for a local electoral seat. Another story was told by Huang Xiu-lan (2000: 86). Huang, who was Difang's lawyer in the lawsuit later filed against the unauthorised use of his voice, stated that Cretu's appropriation was revealed through a television broadcast. With the help of the Taiwanese record company Magic Stone and the then mayor of Taipei, Chen Shui-bian (who would later become the president of Taiwan from 2000 to 2008), Difang initiated an infringement lawsuit in 1997. The lawsuit charged those who benefited from his singing, including Cretu and his record company, with neglect, with not getting approval for use, and with not crediting Difang and his wife Hongay, the two singers heard in the 1978 recording, as the original singers.

The case was settled out of court in 1999, in respect to the allocation of profits. However, the efforts to sustain Amis music have thrived ever since, hence the impacts of the Difang Incident continue to be felt. On one hand, in academia, researchers – especially those from outside Taiwan – are attracted by the dramatic story and how it reflects on the contemporary ‘world music’ phenomenon, taking it as an example to explore issues such as the protection (or abuse) of intellectual property (Guy 2002a: 195–209; Rees 2003: 144–5), on authorship and politics in the age of digital music (Taylor 2001: 130–5), and on how it illustrates the culture and life of the Amis and their music (Tan 2012). On the other hand, in the music industry, musicians continue to transform this same song in various ways and for various uses – for preservation, for performance and for entertainment. My research interest is to link the theoretical discourse to practical applications. That is to say, further in-depth exploration on the context and meaning of the song can bridge the gap between presumptions and facts. While questions such as ‘who or which party owns the music?’ circle around discourses on intellectual property, and are common, the study of the music itself is usually side-stepped. The latter requires analysis, which Mantle Hood once emphasised should be ‘the primary *subject* of study in ethnomusicology’ (1982: 4).

2.2.1 Wu’s 1993 recording of ‘Huanlege’

‘*Sakatusa*’ and its variants can offer researchers fertile diachronic materials of Amis group singing. Among its dozens of variants, I begin with a 1993 recording by Wu Rung-shun, a Taiwanese scholar and folksong collector, issued on *Polyphonic Music of the Amis Tribe* (Wind Music TCD-1502, 1993). On this album, ‘*Sakatusa*’ is titled ‘*Huanlege*/Song of joy’¹⁰. ‘*Huanlege*’ clearly expresses the three major characteristics of Amis group singing: the call and response, the *misa’aretic* high-register counter-melody, and heterophonic *ikung* improvisation.

¹⁰ <http://store.windmusic.com.tw/zh/CD/TCD-1502> (accessed 11 February 2019).

(A) THE CALL

Misa'aretic
(High-pitched singer)

Lead singer

Ikung improvisation
(Other singers)

HAI YAN _____

HEY I YAN HAI YA HO I HO A I YAN _____

HEY _____

(B) THE RESPONSE

High

Lead

Impro

YAI I YAI O WOU WOU OU AI YA YE YOU

HEY I YAN HAI YA HO I HO A I HA O YA HO HO I YAN HO _____

HEY I YAN HAI YA HO I HO A I HO YA HO HO I YAN HO CH _____

High

Lead

Impro

O AH O CH AH I YA CH WOU WOU OU AI YA YI YA WOU A YA I YA _____

O EI E HE I YAN HE E EI YAN HE YAN HE YAN EH YAN _____

CH E HE I YA AN HE E EI YAN E HE E YAN HAI YAN _____

(C) POLYPHONIC SINGING WITH HETEROPHONY AND COUNTER-MELODY

High

Lead

Impro

HA AI YA I YE YOU O A O CH A I YA CH

AU EI E HE YAN HO HO I YAN HO O I E EH YAN

WE E HE YA AN HO HO I YAN HO O E EH YE YE I EH

Notation 2.1 Excerpt of ‘*Huanlege*/Song of joy’ (Wu 1993). Transcription by Teoh Yangming.

In my transcription (Notation 2.1), we can see that each phrase ends on the same note, G, the dominant in the key of C, or D, the supertonic. Besides this, melodies are in the C major pentatonic scale, and the lyrics all comprise non-lexical vocables (*‘hohaiyan’* and variants). From the recording, a quality of Amis singing which cannot be shown on the staff transcription is that Amis singing possesses a unique wavering sound: the modulation of a note is not based on pitch variation and vibrato, but on the trembling sound quality given in varying amplitude. To be specific, the components of the fundamental frequencies and their harmonics change from note to note. The loudness of a sound also fluctuates from note to note. As a consequence of this singing technique, there are oscillation effects in the chorus, heard in the *‘ho-o-ei-e-he-i’* and *‘wow-wow-ow’* made by altering mouth shape and throat control. These wavering tones epitomise Amis singing, shifting between melismatic and syllabic enunciation. It should be noted that only the outline for the vocalisations and pronunciations is provided. For example, the pronunciation of *‘wow’* may in reality falls between *‘wo-u’* and *‘wa-u’*, depends on singer’s free expressions, which are always subtle and changeable, and difficult to be stated precisely with specific phonetic symbols.

2.2.2 Hsu-Difang's 1978 recording of 'Huanjuge'

The 1978 Hsu-Difang recording is probably the earliest and most widely disseminated to feature Difang as the lead singer. Difang, who lived from the 1920s until the early 2000s, would be regarded by almost all researchers who study Malan Amis music to be a virtuoso (*Encyclopedia of Taiwan Music* 2008: 32–3). This version is called 'Huanjuge/Song of happy gathering'.¹¹ It is one of the over 3000 songs collected during the second Folksong Collection Movement. As a purist, Hsu was conservative, often showing materials collected by Japanese researcher Kurosawa Takatomo before and during World War II when he arrived in indigenous communities, as he looked for people who were capable of singing in a similar way.¹²

Five names appeared on Hsu's list: Difang, Hongay, Kuo Xiu-ying, Yang Deng-hui and Hu Jia-yong, but only two voices are actually heard in the recording – the lead and the high-pitched, presumably Difang and his wife, Hongay. This rendition was originally in the key of Bb; but in the transcription I have transposed it to C for convenience, as shown in Notation 2.2. I should note that Notation 2.2 contains complete detail of this Difang-Hongay version in a concise way: Difang sang in solo first, as notated below in Difang (the lead singer) part from the first measure to the 16th measure (the last), then, in the same and repeated rendition of Difang, Hongay (the high-pitched singer) sang in duet with Difang, and their voices were mixed to give a stereo track. In other words, Difang sang in solo first and then in duet with Hongay; in this way they repeated for three times until the recording ended.

Difang, born on 20 March 1921,¹³ was 57 whereas Hongay, probably born in 1922,¹⁴ was 56, when this recording was made. Both were in the optimum condition to produce their best singing. By this time, Difang and Hongay would have had experienced the vicissitudes of life, and they had been working as farmers all their lives. Their vocal timbres have unique

¹¹ youtu.be/J6AUJeRXnpE (accessed 12 February 2019).

¹² Hsu Tsang-houei, 'Zhuixun minzu yinyue de gen/Searching for the Roots of Our Music' (4) at: <http://hsu-tsang-houei.org/collection/27> (accessed 16 April 2019).

¹³ Chen Yu-xiu et al, eds, *Encyclopedia of Taiwan Music* (2008: 32).

¹⁴ <http://old.ltn.com.tw/2002/new/apl/19/life/art-1.htm> (accessed 23 November 2016).

A

Honggay
(High-pitched singer
in duet)

Difang
(Lead singer
in solo and duet)

HAI YA AI

YE E YA I HAI — YO YAI HAI I YAI AI

B

High

Lead

HO HA U A AN HOLO HOLO OLO AO AN — A YO A E YA O OH

YE E YA I HAI — YO YAI HAI I YO O A AN AN O OH YA AN HA AH YE YA I YA I O

C

High

Lead

AN, YE YA OH YA OH — YA YE YA OH A YAN...AI

AH YE O AI HO E I AN OH AH OH O OH AN A YA AI

D

High

Lead

OH — AH — AH — I E YAN A YE OH O OH

YE E YO O OH A AN AN O YE E A HO HA I YA I YA I O

E

High

Lead

AN, YE YA OH YA OH — YA YE YA OH A YAN AI

AI O O I O — AN O I O OH AN NA YAN AI

Notation 2.2 ‘Huanjuge/Song of happy gathering’ (Hsu-Difang-Honggay, 1978). Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.

qualities of huskiness which very much can be identified with Amis singing. Honggay’s high register embodies a bright and piercing essence. Although both voices were processed in the final recording, the loud and energetic articulation set up a solid foundation for a tight, assertive and powerful sound. Nevertheless, what listeners miss here is the response in the call and response

form, which is the convention in Amis group singing. Singers who give the response might respond with heterophonic *ikung* improvisation. But, here, with only two singers involved, the *aperek* (low or short) or *langohngoh* (below or loose) part is omitted, thereby diluting the density and sophistication of Amis polyphonic tradition. In short, this version is a diminution of group singing. I have an opportunity to talk to Hsu then student, Lin Ching-tsai, in April 2018 about this 1978 recording. He said he was helping Hsu in the recording session, or in reality, he was the main recordist. According to Lin, Difang and Hongay were asked to render solo and duet in turn simply to fulfil Hsu's original intention: research and teaching. That is to say, the 1978 recording was purposely made to be convenient and easier for transcription purpose.

2.2.3 Cretu's 1993 'Return to Innocence'

In his effort to fit the sampled recording into his composition 'Return to Innocence'¹⁵, Cretu cut Difang's voice, which was sung in counter-melody with Hongay, into segments. These segments were then re-assembled into four parts – 17" (eight bars) for the introduction, 20" (eight bars) for the first interlude, 34" (13 bars) the second, and 1'26" (29 bars) the coda. Altogether, then, Difang is heard for 2'17" in the total of 4'55" of 'Return to Innocence'. Since the samples originated from the 1978 Hsu-Difang recording, 'Return to Innocence' is also in the key of Bb. Likewise, I transpose it to C for convenience (Notation 2.3; the enclosed rectangles with numbers and asterisks are for further analyses in the following section). I also show chord symbols to indicate the chord progressions which Cretu created for his 'Return to Innocence'; both voices of Difang and Hongay in the 1978 '*Sakatusa*' were disintegrated into segments, and then these partial samples were assembled to become an 'exotic' World Music melody. It is extremely helpful that transcriptions can be given as proofs to, helping visualising the way Amis singers' voices in the 1978 recording and in 'Return' are connected, as 'seeing is believing'

¹⁵ At: youtu.be/Rk_sAHh9s08 (accessed 11 February 2019).

(compare Notation 2.2 and Notation 2.3 with the aid of Notation 2.4, Notation 2.5, Notation 2.6, Notation 2.7 and Notation 2.8).

1

INTRODUCTION

Difang
(Lead singer)

A C G

YE E YA I HAI YO YAI HAI I YAI AI

1 **1ST INTERLUDE** 2

Lead

B C G F G

YE E YA I HAI YO YAI HAI I YO O A AN AN O OH YA AN HA AH YE YA I YA I O

2

Lead

C G F G

AH YE O AI HO E I AN OH AH OH O OH AN A YA AI

1 **2ND INTERLUDE** 2

Lead

C C G F G

YE E YA I HAI YO YAI HAI I YO O A AN AN O OH YA AN HA AH YE YA I YA I O

Hongay
(High-pitched singer)

Lead

C G * F G

AH YE O AI HO E I AN OH AH OH O OH AN A YA AI AN HA AH YE YA I

High

Lead

C G F * G

3 4 5

YAI O AH YE O AI HO HO E AN HO HA I YA OH AH OH O OH AN A

High

5

Lead

C

YA...AI

1 CODA
Lead YE E YA I HAI YO HAI YO YA
2 F G
Lead O A AN AN O OH YA AN HA AH YE YA
1 YE E YA I
High OH AH AH I E YAN OH AH AH I
Lead YA
6 O OH A AN AN O YE E A HO HA I YA
High E YAN OH AH AH I E YAN TO AT THE 320 TIME
Lead 7 O AH YE O AI I E EH AN HO HA I YA OH AH I O OH AN A
High OH AH AH I E YAN REPEAT 2 TIMES OH AH AH I
Lead 8 YA...AI
6 O OH A AN AN O YE E A HO HA I YA
Lead YA...AI
Lead YA...AI

Notation 2.3 The sampled voices of Difang and Honggay in 'Return to Innocence' (Cretu 1993). Transcription by Teoh Yang-Ming.

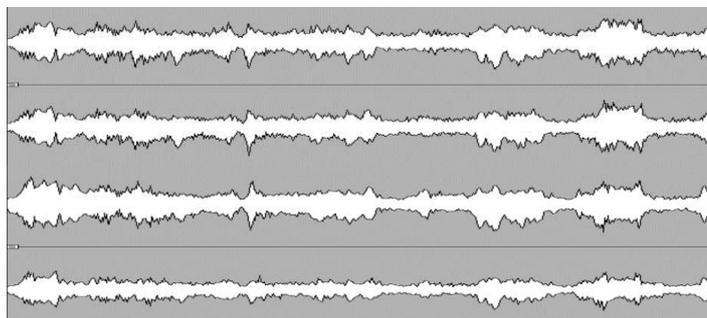


Illustration 2.1 Waveforms of the opening three measures of Difang's voices – in Cretu's (1993) 'Return' (two tracks of the above) and in Hsu-Difang-Honggay (1978) field recording (below) – in the waveform window of Steinberg Cubase digital audio software. Illustration by Teoh Yang-ming.

Another visualised evidence is the waveform of the recorded and sampled sound, for example, the opening three measures looks identical for their overall outlines, the peaks and valleys, which represent the intensities (or amplitude or volume) of the sound, only the version in 'Return' is more complicated due to instruments – here, synthesised pad/string-ensemble-like timbres –, on top of the vocal, are added for accompaniments. However, conclusion can only be made through hearing the field recording and its World Music version, comparing the two by ear before making a judgement: Amis singing used by Cretu originated from the 1978 recording. To put it more simply, in determining matters concerning music, 'hearing is believing', or in other words, the proof of the 'sound' is in the 'hearing'.

In June 2014, Wang Zhi-bo, a friend of Difang who is also an indigenous Taiwanese but from another group, the Puyuma, and who lives in the neighbouring Malan village, Nanwang *Buluo*, told me that on first hearing his voice in 'Return to Innocence', Difang sunk into depression: 'How could I manage to sing with a Westerner?' I suppose Difang was bewildered by the strange combinations he heard, within a vocal ensemble he had never encountered. Even stranger would have been that all the vocal parts fitted together to give an apparently natural and fluent musical totality. In 1993, technology was still in the age of linear editing, and the more advanced non-linear, regional or hard disk editing technology was still rare. Tapes, whether analogue or digital, were widely used for storing and recording, as well as for playing audio materials. In the operating of a tape recorder, pitch and tempo are always inter-related, that is to say, changing the pitch alters a recording's tempo, and vice versa. This explains why Cretu kept the original key and tempo identical to Hsu-Difang's 1978 recording.

As afore-mentioned, all the excerpts of Amis singing used by Cretu can be found on the 1978 recording (compare Notation 2.2 and Notation 2.3, with reference to Notation 2.4 thru 2.8); this proves where the samples originated. Difang's solo from 1978 was easy to access for Cretu: it is isolated, clean and not mixed with anything. Hongay's voice is slightly more complicated to use because she sings in duet with Difang and their voices had been mixed to give a stereo track. However, Hongay's voice was filtered out, probably through an equaliser, boosting

specified frequency bands while cutting off the rest. In addition, when prolonged notes were needed, for instance, at the ending of a melodic phrase, audio effects were added. Two obvious audio effects that can be heard are reverb and delay, producing a number of reflective and repeated sounds not part of the original recording. Another method to provide a long note at the end of the melodic phrase is simply copy a same note but a longer one from other part of the rendition and install it into the appropriate location (Notation 2.8). The following are a series of notations highlighting the 1978 ‘*Sakatusa*’ melodic fragments’ which were the origins of the assembled melody of ‘Return’. For the melody of ‘Return’, please refer to Notation 2.3.

Notation 2.4 shows two staves of music. The top staff is for Honggay (High-pitched singer in duet) and the bottom staff is for Difang (Lead singer in solo and duet). The music is in 4/4 time. The lyrics are: YE E YA I HAI YO YAI HAI I YAI AI. There are some markings like '1' and 'A' above the notes.

Notation 2.4 The first line of ‘*Huanjuge*’ (1978) (Notation 2.2): segment 1 in this notation matches the ‘Introduction (A)’ of ‘Return’ (1993) (Notation 2.3). Transcription by Teoh Yang-Ming.

Notation 2.5 shows three systems of musical notation. Each system has a 'High' staff and a 'Lead' staff. The lyrics are: HO HA U A AN HOUS HOUS OUS AU AN A YO A E YA O OH, YE E YA I HAI YO YAI HAI I YO O A AN AN O OH YA AN HA AH YE YA I YA I O, AN YE YA OH YA OH YA YE YA OH A YAN...AI, AH YE O AI HO E I AN OH AH OH O OH AN A YA AI. There are markings like 'B', '4', '2', and '8' above the staves.

Notation 2.5 The first, second and third lines of ‘*Huanjuge*’ (Notation 2.2): a combination of segment 1 (Notation 2.4) and segment 2 (this notation) matches the ‘Interlude (B)’ of ‘Return’ (Notation 2.3). Transcription by Teoh Yang-Ming.

High

Lead

8

4

HO HA U A AN HOW HOW OJ AU AN A YO A E YA O OH

YE E YA I HAI YO YAI HAI I YO O A AN AN O OH YA AN HA AH YE YA I YA I O

8

High

Lead

AN. YE YA OH YA OH YA YE YA OH A YAN...AI

AH YE O AI HO E I AN OH AH OH O OH AN A YA AI

11

High

Lead

OH AH AH I E YAN A YE OH O OH

YE E YO O OH A AN AN O YE E A HO HA I YA I YA I O

Notation 2.6 The second, third and fourth lines of 'Huanjuge' (Notation 2.2): a combination of segment 2 (Notation 2.5) and segments 3, 4 and 5 in (this notation) matches the 'Interlude (C)' of 'Return' (Notation 2.3). Transcription by Teoh Yang-Ming.

High

Lead

8

4

HO HA U A AN HOW HOW OJ AU AN A YO A E YA O OH

YE E YA I HAI YO YAI HAI I YO O A AN AN O OH YA AN HA AH YE YA I YA I O

8

High

Lead

AN. YE YA OH YA OH YA YE YA OH A YAN...AI

AH YE O AI HO E I AN OH AH OH O OH AN A YA AI

High

Lead

OH AH AH I E YAN A YE OH O OH

YE E YO O OH A AN AN O YE E A HO HA I YA I YA I O

Notation 2.7 The second, third and fourth lines of ‘*Huanjuge*’ (Notation 2.2): a combination of a partial of segment 1 (Notation 2.4), a partial of segment 2 (Notation 2.5) and segments 6, 7, 8 and 9 (this Notation) matches the ‘Coda (D)’ of ‘Return’ (Notation 2.3). Transcription by Teoh Yang-Ming.

High

Lead

*1

OH AH AH I E YAN A YE OH O OH

YE E YO O OH A AN AN O YE E A HO HA I YA I YA I O

High

Lead

*2

AN. YE YA OH YA OH YA YE YA OH A YAN AI

AI O O I O AN O I O OH AN NA YAN AI

Notation 2.8 The fourth and fifth lines of ‘*Huanjuge*’ (High register): a combination of segment *1 and segment *2 (this notation) matches Honggay voices (*) in ‘Return’ (Notation 2.3). Transcription by Teoh Yang-Ming.

The mix in ‘Return to Innocence’, however, has nothing to do with the Amis group singing tradition. Firstly, it is monophonic, and does not include either the call-and-response or *ikung* improvisation. Any portion of the requisite high-pitched melody is sparse. Secondly, it leaves out large parts of the lead and high-pitched singers, that is to say, it dilutes the dense es-

sence of Amis group singing. Thirdly, it incorporates fancy electronic dance rhythms which detract the attention of the audience, and these added elements become core. It also implies Western chord progressions (see the chord symbols in Notation 2.3) that remove the Amis tint. Nevertheless, Cretu did create a catchy ‘hook’ with Difang’s voice, making it the most important musical idea within the piece, the element that is easiest to remember, and thereby the most popular element. To summarise, what remains of Amis singing in Cretu’s project matches American ethnomusicologists Terry Miller and Andrew Shahriari’s (2008: 56) observation of commercialised world music: it becomes something able to ‘provide an enjoyable listening experience’ but is ‘simply [a] tourist trinket slapped together to make a quick buck’ – or, in this case, a huge amount of money.

2.2.4 *A Music Textbook with Recording*

‘*Sakatusa*’ is so well known in Taiwan that it is included in primary and secondary school textbooks.¹⁶ Among others, a volume by Yu Jin-fu (1998) has attracted my attention. Yu’s *A Collection of the Aboriginal Folksongs of Taiwan* includes music examples on CDs, with the aim to preserve and pass down 100 indigenous songs of the Atayal, Amis, Beinan, Paiwan, Rukai, Truku, Tsou and Bunun groups. Yu has been head of the Department of Music at Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary for many years. He received his MMus degree from Boston Conservatory, and is an active singer and choir conductor as well as one of the few indigenous-descent researchers of indigenous music. ‘*Sakatusa*’ is titled ‘*Saka Lipah no Mato'aseuy a Radiw/Laoren yinjiu ge/Elders Drinking Song*’¹⁷ in Yu’s edition (Notation 2.4 below). Yu is trained in Western art music; therefore the choir he leads on this recording uses the aesthetics and technique of *bel canto*, the Italian-originating style that prevailed across most of Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries. His version fulfils the Amis ‘call and response’ tradition,

¹⁶ http://www.lungteng.com.tw/LungTengNet/HtmlPopUp/web/PopUp_20070417/pdf/music/H2-02.pdf (accessed 8 November 2016).

¹⁷ <youtu.be/90gmFGiscZU> (accessed 12 February 2019).

with soloist and chorus taking turns to sing the main melody. But they do so simply in unison – in a melody-dominated homophonic and homo-rhythmic structure that simplifies Amis group singing and reduces the emphasis to basic melody lines.

The image shows a musical score for a song in Amis. It consists of four staves of music in a single system, all in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words underlined. The lyrics are: HE YAN HO YI WO WAY HOY YAN, HO WAY HO YI WO WAY HOY YA HU YA, HO YAN, HO HU WAY YI YAN, HO O I YA O YAN HO YI HOY HAY YA AI.

Notation 2.9 ‘Saka Lipah no Mato’aseuy a Radiw/Elders Drinking Song’ (Yu 1998) Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.

2.2.5 More Versions of ‘Sakatusa’

The flourishing of the one song in the preservation movement, in live performance and as entertainment, is unprecedented. Different versions provide fertile ground for comparison and evaluation of their characteristics. They also provide food for thought: what is the essence of Amis music that is to be preserved and sustained? How can this music maintain its appeal to listeners? Are audiences sensitive to the tradition or only to fancy arrangements? Do they have sufficient knowledge to appreciate the beauty of the music? If a musician claims to own the piece – as Difang did in the 1997 lawsuit –, to what extent can this ownership be upheld in respect to musical content? What evidence in terms of musicality should a musician provide?

Let us turn to Dan Lacksman’s arrangement of ‘Elders Drinking Song’¹⁸ (a widely-used title for ‘Sakatusa’) from 1998, recorded on *Circle of Life* (Magic Stone MSD-030, 1998). This

¹⁸ youtu.be/R-MKmVIft3A (accessed 11 February 2019).

is another world music rendition, showing some similarity to Cretu's 'Return to Innocence'. Synthesised sounds and electronic percussion dominate Amis vocals, and the excessive reliance on rhythmic groove and drum loops suppresses the free and wavering melodic contours of the Amis tradition. Also, the subtle trembling sounds and irregular alternating amplitudes and wavering timbres typical of Amis group singing are lost. Another version, 'Yinjiu huanle ge/Song of drinking and joy'¹⁹ on *Falangaw Makapahay – Music from the Land of Malan Group of Amis* (Yun Shun, 2002), produced by Lu Yu-hsiu, compares with Wu's 1993 version, the 'Huanle ge'. Both were taken from Malan Amis, as was another 'Sakatusa Ku'edaway a Radiw'²⁰ recording – which I made during fieldwork at the Chu-Yin regular practice session on 22 July 2016. Taking the three together, all were sung in the tradition but by different groups. The three verify the principle of Malan Amis singing: a chorus is always considered *fuyin*/multipart/polyphonic when the 'call and response', the 'high-pitched' and the *ikung* improvisation convention is practiced. However, according to musicologists, polyphony occurs only when two or more parts have different, independent melodies. This is the reason why some Amis polyphonic songs were categorised as monophonic by the collector Hsu Tsang-houei (1987:76). In general, songs passed down for generations tend to have greater melodic variation, in comparison with recently-composed songs. Virtuoso singers always experiment, extemporising and developing personal melodic lines, while novice singers feel safer sticking to a given melody. In this context, listening to the 1993 alongside the 2002 version indicates a slight decline in Amis multipart/polyphonic singing.

On live stages, 'Sakatusa' has been performed widely in diverse arrangements, presented by musicians and groups, if mostly by Amis. For example, Amis Kakeng, a semi-professional group of Torik, re-arranged the song with dance. At their Indigenous Music at Symphonic Night concert on 9 November 2009 at the National Concert Hall, the founder and group leader Sawtoy Saytay took the high-pitched role, making this the lead part and implying he was

¹⁹ youtu.be/md6tmxevkOs (accessed 12 February 2019).

²⁰ youtu.be/Drgy46FU0UQ (accessed 12 February 2019).

the most proficient and venerable member of the group.²¹ My observation here matches that of Hsu Ming-cheng, a Taitung ethnographer (interviewed in April 2014). Kakeng's rendition lacks the unique husky quality, and the bright, energetic and piercing timbres which are so much part of Amis traditional singing. The reason is that the group's teenage singers are not capable of such vocalization. Nevertheless, the performers provide an Amis tint through colourful costumes and dance steps.

In the pop scene, A-lin (Huang Li-ling), born in Kaohsiung with Taitung Amis parents, dressed in an updated, stylish Amis costume, has performed '*Sakatusa*'. On 27 February 2015, on *Woshi geshou* (I am a singer) on China Hunan TV, a singing programme featuring well-known artists from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, she was accompanied by pop instrumentalizations and Western harmonies, attempting to capture Amis group singing alongside friends and relatives.²² Since the high register is the most prominent component, A-lin took this role, making herself conspicuous as her group's figurehead. Likewise, in a pop oriented performance in London on 21 June 2016 that I attended, Suming Rupi (where his music will be discussed in section 2.4), who originated from Taitung 'Etolan Township, sang '*Laoren yinjiu ge*' as soloist.²³ Both A-lin and Suming's versions focused on the melody lines while simplifying other Amis group singing characteristics.

'*Sakatusa*' is a song developed in the Amis' living environment by the sea and whose rituals, music and dances have intimate connections to their ancestral homeland on Taiwan's eastern coast (Chen 2004: 40, 106–107). Difang's '*Sakatusa*' is important for a number of cultural and temporal reasons, but the so-called Difang Incident crosses two eras: before 1987, when Taiwan was still under martial law, when it was recorded, and the era after 1987, when Taiwan moved to embrace democracy, when it was appropriated. The impacts of the case continue to be felt. Musicians continue to transform this same song in various ways and for various

²¹ youtu.be/BbnnQ14ZHXA, starting at 2'19" (accessed 20 December 2016).

²² youtu.be/PnCK5HxZcSM (accessed 20 December 2016).

²³ youtu.be/6Rt2CTTHEqs (accessed 12 February 2019).

uses – for preservation, performance and entertainment. The high profile given to Difang’s case initiated a chain reaction so that, in the wider public domain of popular music, Taiwanese fans were introduced to music rooted in indigenous cultures and traditions. To use Bourdieu’s (1977) phrase, the cultural capital of indigenous people was raised; conversely, their hidden music traditions were made public, and began to be presented outside of their customary cultural activities. On some occasions, the rights of the indigenous people were promoted and their musical events became a podium for voicing concerns and needs. ‘*Sakatusa*’ and its variants therefore offer rich diachronic examples of Amis group singing, while the Difang Incident has provided opportunities for dialogue between Taiwan and the larger world. In Taiwan, the perspectives projected from and approaches applied by native researchers tend, rather, to explore the unique characteristics of Taiwanese indigenous music. Taking all this into account, the on-going popularity of ‘*Sakatusa*’ shows how the seeds planted by Hsu in recording Difang continue to grow and now bear fruit well beyond mere preservation.

Proof of the above argument can be found in the responses of the audience members, listeners and fans. After I had played movie and audio clips of ‘*Sakatusa*’ *Ku’edaway a Radiw*’ and its variants to my students in ‘Popular Music’, ‘Music Appreciation’ and ‘Arts and Humanity’ courses during the 2017/18 and 2018/19 academic years, one of them wrote in his report: ‘I am glad that the cultural heritage of Taiwanese indigenous people has been taken seriously in recent years.’ Then he continued: ‘I resonate with their music and dance, which is extremely evocative and sensational to us Taiwanese people.’ Another student wrote: ‘Everyone should take part in the endeavour of keeping this tradition alive; it is utterly unique to and distinguishes Taiwan.’ Most importantly, the sense of shared experience prevails, as a non-indigenous student wrote: ‘Although I do not understand even a bit of indigenous language, I am able to feel the beauty within.’ A stronger assertion comes from ‘we should not let our culture be “swallowed” by foreign culture; our roots in Taiwan are preserved only when our tradition is preserved.’ The consciousness of Taiwanese-ness might erupt at local concerts featuring indigenous musicians.

During one such concert in Taitung, my friends told me: ‘We should contemplate the significance of the indigenous people; their heritage deserves proper care and preservation.’ In December 2018 – 19 years after the so-called Difang Incident was settled in 1999 – ‘*Sakatusa*’ *Ku’edaway a Radiw*’ was officially designated as the intellectual property of Malan (or Great Malan) community, and protected by Taiwan’s intellectual law. Positive opinion is projected from a Malan resident (interview in February 2019): ‘We are glad that our music is promoted to the world.’ He continued: ‘People from outside Taiwan may know our country first, then be invited to appreciate our cultural heritage, and finally pay respect to the sovereignty we deserve.’ Deeming the music practices of Taiwanese indigenous people a national treasure, indigenous people are desperate to preserve them, and they are also aware of Taiwanese cultures being in decline, as one of my Beinan students said: ‘Just like with the *nanguan*/wind ensemble of the south, the *beiguan*/wind ensemble of the north (p.261), the *pò-o-tē-hì*/glove puppet theatre and the *kua-á-hì*/Taiwanese opera, the preservation of our music needs governmental involvement.’ He continued: ‘It might be very helpful to learn from archival recordings, transcriptions and scholarly discourses, but as a music fan, I start with appreciating indigenouspop.’

2.2.6 *From Singing Together to Singing Alone*

Group singing used to be an inseparable part of Amis life. By tacit understanding, singers took up their roles to be the call or response, the high-pitched, or the improvising singers. Inheriting the oral tradition, the Amis had special ways to recall different tunes. It is by associating them, for example, with harvest, or to celebrated people, connecting to a place, or performing them alongside certain dance moves, gestures and other elements of entrainment that they are identified. It is clear that singing together is considered natural and enjoyable; it ‘savours life’ (Lifok Dongi, cited by Sun 2010a: 154–5), and is ‘filled with simplicity of happiness and fulfilment’ (Lifok, interview with the author, 2 July 2014). More importantly, through the adaptations of ‘*Sakatusa*’, we can appreciate the impact of media and technology in shaping music-making in a culture, and the promotion of that culture – as discussed by, for example, Arjun Appadurai in

his assessment of mediascapes and technoscapes (1996: 33– 6). From a perspective of the desirability to sustain a music culture and continue the appeal of a tradition, I would argue that the essence of tradition can be maintained only by passing down the aesthetics and values, and the skills with which to maintain them.

Amis polyphonic tradition has been disrupted by modernity, by changes in lifestyle, and by the commercialization of the media. The Australian-Georgian ethnomusicologist Joseph Jordania (2011) reminds us that choral singing is an ancient activity that is gradually disappearing. His hypothesis is based on environmental change and human survival – defending, scavenging, and competing – where individuals are united into a synchronous group prepared for battles in hostile surroundings. In the maintenance and restoration of Amis group singing, challenges lie with the commodification and modernisation of the tradition itself. That the Amis young generation have different lifestyles and tastes in music to their elders is something that is irreversible. In today’s pop culture, singing solo is a prevailing trend, boosted by *karaoke*. The result is that Amis traditional ways of singing are declining due to the fact that elders who are proficient at singing together are dying.

2.3 The Music of Suming Rupi

Suming Rupi (Photo 2.3) often goes by the name Suming and sometimes by the Han name Chiang Sheng-min. Born on 17 July 1978, he is an Amis musician, singer and songwriter from ‘Etolan.²⁴ Rupi is actually his grandmother’s name, the affiliation being a legacy of Amis matriarchal society. He is a member of the *Lacienci* age batch, enrolled according to the Amis age-grade system. The age-grade system is a characteristic Amis political unit that practices rigid organisation of males within a specific age range (the *kapot*).

²⁴ Workshop and interview on 3 December 2012 and 22 June 2015.



Photo 2.3 Suming Rupi (centre front) and band at the Village Underground live house in Camden, London, on 21 June 2016. Photo by the author.

On *Suming* (Asia Muse, WM-2010018), his 2010 eponymous album the videos for which were filmed in ‘Etolan, Suming purposely uses Amis language along with images of traditional costumes and dances, featuring teenagers from his hometown. Among the songs on the album, I will explore ‘*Kayoing/Beautiful Girls*’²⁵; and ‘*Kapah/Young Guys*’²⁶ and their music videos. These not only represent the unique characteristics of the local culture of ‘Etolan Amis, but also attempt to make this cultural tradition appealing. Suming’s album was released as indigenous awareness thrived within the Taiwanese localisation movement. The slogan expressing young Amis’ determination to revive their declining language and traditions – ‘*Ziji de Wenhua Ziji Jiu!*’ (We are responsible for safeguarding our own culture!) – echoed Suming’s intention for the whole album. I first heard about the background of the slogan during an interview on 28 May 2014 with Laway Napiday, the great grandson of the internationally renowned Amis singer Difang Tuwana from Taitung, whose voice was sampled in ‘Return to Innocence’.

²⁵ youtu.be/00QyUsJyKSs (accessed 14 June 2016).

²⁶ youtu.be/kX6RWEoaR3M (accessed 14 June 2016).

In a workshop I attended on 3 December 2012, Suming told me about his concern at the invasion of what he termed ‘foreign culture’: venues for rituals and gatherings have become restaurants, and then snooker rooms, game rooms, and finally internet cafés. These provide young Amis places in which to indulge in pop culture rather than maintaining spaces where they can learn their own traditions. In contrast, seeing tradition as fashionable and stylish, he tried to embrace the essence of East Asian pop, namely, using vivid audio-visual shots, hybridity, fancy dance and colourful outfits, rather as if he was producing K-pop or the traditionesque elements of J-pop, or perhaps the album concept of Mandopop, but in a way designed to revive the traditions of his people.

2.3.1 The Music Video and Hallyu: the Flow of K-pop into the Amis World

The video for ‘*Kayoing*’ was collaboration between Suming and Wang Zhong-xin while ‘*Kapah*’ was made by another Amis documentary filmmaker, Lungnan Isak Fangas.²⁷ ‘*Kayoing*’ won the first prize in the ‘2009 Wow! eye Taiwan’ music video competition. ‘Wow! eye Taiwan’ uses a homophone to *wo ai Taiwan* /I love Taiwan, an event organised by the government to promote a greater sense of belonging and love for the homeland among Taiwanese people. The videos for the two songs connected with Suming’s intention to sustain Amis tradition but were more diverse than we might expect in several aspects. ‘*Kayoing*’ characterised the ‘Etolan community, depicting an essence of locality seen close to nature, and matched the conventions of indigenous music practices affiliated to the sun, wind, ocean or grasslands. While ‘*Kayoing*’ was intimately tied to the people and their surroundings, ‘*Kapah*’ was shot in a studio, and only presented the Amis as modern and fashionable.

²⁷ Friedman, P. Kerim. 2010. ‘*Kapah* (Young Men): Alternative Cultural Activism in Taiwan’, Savage Mind Internet Press, at <http://savageminds.org/2010/08/04/kapah-young-men> (accessed 10 June 2016).

From the last decade of the 20th century into the new millennium, K-pop, South Korean popular music, an important part of *Hallyu* (Korean Wave) along with TV drama shows, became overwhelmingly popular in Taiwan, reaching a wide audience in even the remotest parts of the island, including the eastern coastal 'Etolan Township in Taitung, notably through the spread of online social media. Suming was aware of how the Amis young generation indulged themselves in internet cafés, and that the rapid growth of K-pop in Amis life had meant it had become a subculture among teenagers and young adults. The motivation behind 'Kayoing' and 'Kaph' was to adapt the innovative concepts and novel approaches he encountered in K-pop, which Suming discovered in certain ways resembled Amis cultural production. Suming wanted to set an example for his people, especially the youth, and to revive and promote Amis culture and 'Etolan domestic tourism, in a way that demonstrated tradition could be up-to-date, stylish and attractive.

At his workshop on 3 December 2012, Suming shared with the audience the secret of his strategy to affix fancy K-pop traits to Amis music. The Amis talk about *makapahay*, a concept that involves the pursuit of beauty, glitter, dazzle, and liveliness. Its etymon, *kaph* (young guys), bears the implication of 'being like youngsters'. Therefore, the Amis uphold vivid and lively performances, in a manner that can be matched to the striking audio-visual content that in all its vast spectrum of variations is encountered in K-pop. Since K-pop often mixes Western soundworlds with Asian aspects of performance to become what has been called 'a vision of modernity' (Shim 2005), Suming, in copying the idea, dedicated his songs to 'younger brothers and sisters' (*didi han meimei*) in his hometown, who were the performers of high-quality output that presented Amis tradition.

'Kayoing' is basically a rap-electronic dance music hybrid whereas 'Kaph' is electronic dance music and hip hop, but both include other elements derived from a variety of Western pop genres, just like K-pop. These two songs are not composed with elements of Amis traditional songs, but the musical indigeneity of them is heard in their vocables, Amis lyrics and pen-

tatonicism. The catchy hooks of the refrains – ‘*Heiyo ~ kayoing! O maan ka olahan?*’ (in ‘*Kayoing*’) and ‘*O kapah no Atolan*²⁸!’ (in ‘*Kapah*’) – copy the way K-pop uses English phrases – ‘Hey, sexy lady’ in Psy’s ‘Gangnam Style’ (YG Entertainment CD Single, 2012), Super Junior’s ‘Sorry, Sorry!’ in ‘Sorry, Sorry’ (on *Super Junior the Third Album*, S.M. Entertainment, 2009), Wonder Girls’ ‘I want nobody, nobody but you’ in ‘Nobody’ (on *The Wonder Years: Trilogy*, JYP Entertainment EP, 2008), and Girls’ Generation’s ‘Gee Gee Gee Gee baby baby’ in ‘Gee’ (S.M. Entertainment CD Single, 2009). Suming described his intention to me in an interview (3 December 2012):

I am capable of making synthesised music and producing fusion of pop, rock, hip hop, R&B and electronic dance music. Our Amis traditional costume can be a version of the colourful outfits which are typically seen in K-pop. Let me blend these elements and let our guys have an opportunity to show their sharp dance which they have learnt through the internet. They are obsessed with pop culture and I have to make good use of it in asserting our tradition. I am confident that even when the audiences do not understand Amis, my music will still sound appealing, since many of us do not understand English and Korean but still we are fanatic fans of K-pop.

Both Amis and other K-pop participants across East Asia are traditionally nurtured with a work ethic and polite social demeanours, based on common Austronesian and East Asian transnational values. This, it could be argued, leads to the success of artists. Systematic training at a young age in K-pop is common: trainees live together in a regulated environment and spend many hours each day learning music, dance, foreign languages and other necessary skills in preparation for their performing careers.²⁹ This is analogous to Amis *kapot*, the male age-grade system, which creates a specific hierarchical relation between elders and youngsters (Tsai 2006). In the Amis system, the young respect the elders, and the elders take a responsibility of care to

²⁸ Due to the inconsistency of Romanisation, the official and registered name for the community, ‘Etolan’, is sometimes spelt as ‘Atolan’, ‘Tulan’ or ‘Dulan’ in some occasions such as on road signs.

²⁹ Chosun Ilbo, ‘NYT Draws Attention to K-Pop Idol-Making Factories’, at: http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2011/10/27/2011102700691.html (accessed 18 June 2016).

their youngers. Hence, in the video for ‘*Kapah*’, a sequence serving alcohol epitomises the relationship between age sets, so the elder brother has the privilege of being served first and youngers yield their seat to him. Again, in ‘*Kayoing*’, Suming gathered ‘Etolan youngsters to take part, using his authority as an elder brother but at the same time acting in a way that took care of his juniors. Interestingly, Suming’s approach is similar to Korean institutionalised music training and iconicity of folk music practices in SamulNori, functions to preserve, teach and promote music to a younger generation within the process of modernisation (Howard 2015: 13). The term ‘folk’ is used here in the common Chinese and Taiwanese sense, as a type of music in contrast to that of the court (as defined in Lu Chui-kuan 2009). ‘Iconicity’ broadly follows Howard (2015: 13; see also Becker and Becker 1981), in respect to how power and meaning is assigned to musical forms. In ‘Etolan, *kapot* practices are still important to both daily and ritual life, hence Suming’s efforts can be said to generate a way to enhance tradition and sustain culture.



Photo 2.4 *Kulakur* traditional guardian dance of the ‘Etolan Amis. Photo by Hsu Ming-cheng, used with permission.

The components of Amis tradition, its costumes, dances and decorations, provide advantages for video filming and dance choreography, and are even more attractive than their parallels in K-pop. In ‘*Kayoing*’ and ‘*Kapah*’, then, imitations of K-pop choreography are built through Amis characteristics, as steps and points are articulated in movement, and this creates an attraction that distinguishes the music videos while promoting the popularity of the music. Also, in ‘*Kapah*’, the use of umbrellas as replacements for traditional spears, colourful ribbon embellishments, the flying jumps and falling movements, are all inspired by *kulakur* (Photo 2.4), a traditional guardian dance of the ‘Etolan Amis that is performed by young men (Tsai 2006; see also Friedman 2010). The lyrics below for both songs contain a mixture of Mandarin and Amis; using the album’s sleeve notes I have translated the Amis from Mandarin:

‘*Kapah/Young Guys*’

Lyrics and Music by Suming

<i>Mafana'ay lumadiw a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who can sing?
<i>Mafana'ay makelo a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who can dance?
<i>Mafana'ay mitilid a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who perform well at school?
<i>Mafana'ay milifung a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who can make money?
<i>Mafana'ay paluma a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who can plant?
<i>Mafana'ay milakelaw a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who can hunt?
<i>Mafana'ay micinku a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who can spear fish?
<i>Mafana'ay mitangtang a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who can cook?
<i>Ma'elamay ku suwad a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who can joke?
<i>Ci'ic'lay ku tiding a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who are strong?
<i>Matanengay matayad a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who work hard?
<i>Maiacafay matayad a kapah ila'aysaw?</i>	Are there any guys who are team workers?
<i>O kapah no Atolan!</i>	Yes, there are! They are the young guys from Atolan!

[Amis non lexical vocables]:

Ho i yo ho i yo ho wan ho ai yo o wa wu hay yan

Hey yan hey yan wu ha wu wa wu hey yan

O a i yan ho i ya wu wa wu hay yan

Ho i yo ho i ye ho ai yo o wa wu ha i yan

Ho a i ya ho i yan ho a i ya ho i yan

Ho a i ya ho i ya wu wa wu hay yan

‘*Kayoing/Beautiful Girls*’

Lyrics and music by Suming Rupi

Refrain:

Heiyo ~ kayoing! O maan ka olahan?

Hey~babe! What do you like?

(Repeated four times)

Rap:

*Awaay ko payci ako. kaolila inanengay a matayal
kako.*

I have no money, but I work hard.

*Caay ka taneng kako. kaolila maiclay minanam
kako.*

I am not smart, but I study hard.

Sahalatenge tenge. Satengitengilen.

Think clear by and listen to what I say.

Latekay maolah kiso i takowanan.

Maybe you will fall for me.

Kayoing ~ Mahemekay kiso? Maolahay kiso?

Hey babe! Are you happy? Do you like me?

Mapawanay iso? Mahalatengay iso?

Did you forget? Did you think it right?

*Caay ka kapah kako. kaolila koepeday ko keter
ako.*

Maybe I am not good-looking, but I am gentle.

Maomoyay kako. kaolila maelamay kako.

Although I appear to be a little boring, I actually have a sense of humour.

Sahalatenge tenge. Satengitengilen.

Think clear by and listen to what I say.

Latekay maolah kiso i takowanan.

Maybe you will fall for me.

<i>O cangaw, o fati, o ekim, o kapang, o toki~</i>	Necklaces, rings, gold, purses and watches~
<i>O maan ka olahan iso? O maan ka olahan iso?</i>	What do you like actually? What do you like?
<i>O loma, o tosiya, o riko, o omah, o hafay~</i>	Houses, cars, clothing, land and money~
<i>O maan ka olahan iso? O maan ka olahan iso?</i>	What do you like actually? What do you like?

2.3.2 Amis Traditionesque and the Effect of Cultural Spillover

Nevertheless, instead of imitating K-Pop in every aspect, Suming developed something that we can categorise as the ‘traditionesque’ (after Andrew Killick’s description of the Korean staged opera genre, *ch’anggŭk* (2002: 67; see also Killick 1998 and 2001)). By invoking traditionesque, I am making an association between Amis popular music and its tradition. That is to say, Suming’s music and the videos for it are hybrid-popular, and are basically not traditional, but their attractiveness is based on tradition rather than innovation. Traditionesque, then, is for entertainment, but it is intimately bound to the culture and tradition of a people – their customary practices and familiar past. To illustrate my point, the Amis anthropologist Futuru Tsai Cheng-liang points out that in the dance motions of the Amis, body expressions are a hybrid of modernity and tradition (2006). Therefore, dancing represents the cultural status of the people and is the people’s self-interpretation, done in a way designed to uphold their subjectivity. As we can see in ‘*Kapah*’, members of an age group join together in Amis traditional dance; they are re-organised to be part of Amis society and given responsibility to safeguard and sustain Amis culture. In this way, the music of Suming is traditionesque, being not only entertaining but also rooted in Amis tradition.

The Taiwan-based anthropologist Kerim Friedman recognises Suming’s endeavour to mix tradition and modernity while breaking rigid stereotypes of indigenous cultures as an ‘alternative form of cultural activism’ (2010). The release and promotion of ‘*Kapah*’ and ‘*Kayoing*’ thus aimed to waken young-generation Amis, and to do this more than to achieve commercial success. The aim was accomplished by including non-professional young Amis who looked

good in their traditional costumes and showed off their fancy dance skills. ‘*Kayoing*’ was filmed in the scenic ‘Etolan natural surroundings, presenting an atmosphere separated from urban life. A hut made from dry grass was shown in the centre back, and *tiepiwu*/a house built with metal sheets (much as is commonly seen in Taiwan's rural communities) was also depicted. Other settings were sunset by the Pacific Ocean, ‘Etolan streets, a fruit hawker, grasslands and country paths; all of these symbolised ‘Etolan locality and provoked hometown resonances for its residents. Suming mentioned to me in an interview (3 December 2012):

How we teach and what we pass on to our younger generation should be something connected to the land. We should not simply endorse the popular trend in a blindfolded way. We Taitung people have our own local cultures and styles. Let us build our hotels and vacation houses as *maocaowu*/huts made from dry grass. If people want to experience Mediterranean-style holidays and stay in Mediterranean-style buildings, let them go to the Mediterranean – but not to Taitung, a tourist hotspot made unique by its indigenous culture and by Taiwan’s sub-tropical natural resources.

Suming proudly pointed out some seemingly everyday aspects that, in fact, held cultural significance. He told me in a joking and humorous tone, with a smile on his face: ‘I bet you have never seen a group of young and fashionable ladies dancing in front of a *maocaowu*.’ Again: ‘Our guys kept on street-dancing on the shore from sunrise to sunset; the tight and smooth surface gave way as holes appeared in the slack sand.’ And: ‘This grandma, without much facial expression, stayed all day long on the street; she was so keen to be part of our music video.’ Far back behind the scenes were the Hai’an Mountain Range and the Pacific, because, intimately tied with the ‘world of mountain and sea’ (*shanhai shijie*), the Amis people identify themselves as ‘sons and daughters of mountain and sea’ (*shanhai zimin*), being endowed with ‘hearts and souls of mountain and sea’ (*shanhai xinling*) (Sun 2010c). Mount ‘Etolan, the sacred mountain of the Amis as well as of a second indigenous group, the Beinan, lies among the Hai’an Mountain Range. In between the mountain and the Pacific sits ‘Etolan. Born and raised in such an environment, the Amis’ connection with the ocean culture is clear: fishing

was an important activity, and oral history tells how Amis ancestors arrived from across the sea, while Amis rituals, music and dance have all been developed in close proximity to the sea (Chen 2004: 40, 106–107).

I consider it appropriate to compare the Amis' firm attachment to the natural environment with other East Asian music practices, namely in Japan and Korea. David Hughes explores the Japanese concept of *furusato* – a term implying the hometown, home community, the native place or the old village – as source of identity, nostalgia and solace that resonates with its people's heart-felt longings for peace and comfort (2008: 1 and Chapter Six). This sentiment bonds with the rural origin and native place a person feels, where the ties of kinship and sense of belonging are strong. Hughes uses the description of *furusato* as the heart's hometown, a comfort for the soul of those who have become detached from its familiar surroundings in the rapidly changing world of fast-paced urban environments. He also described often how songs are 'owned' by particular communities, leading in the latter 20th century to locally based single-song folk song contests and local preservation societies (保存会/*hozonkai*). In Hayashi Eitetsu's examination of the ownership for *taiko*, Japanese percussion instruments, the performing group re-structures and re-arranges local folklore, associates its creations with a domestic lifestyle rather than with the regional or national norm (1992: 63). Hayashi's study sits in parallel with Keith Howard's research on Korean music as intangible cultural heritage, where images of the *kohyang*, hometown, are evoked by local percussion bands, and where local rituals override regional patterns (2016a). The concept of home in 'Kayoing' resides in the video, which first comes from Suming wearing his 'village boy' attire of singlet, beach shorts and flip-flops. The Amis younger generation continue to leave their hometowns, seduced by the idealised images of the big cities they experience through the media's selective lens. As a consequence, the challenge for the Amis to sustain their home community is to convince their youth to stay and carry on traditional culture. Given this, the luggage placed by Suming's side in the video implies that

he is leaving home to seek a better life in a place such as Taipei. Or, maybe, aspiring to his personal responsibly to promote and sustain his people, Suming is returning home after having witnessed the harsh realities of the big city.

Both ‘*Kapah*’ and ‘*Kayoing*’ were originally written in the Amis language. Suming told me that this was a way to remind the Amis younger generation of the need to speak and understand their mother tongue. Suming’s traditionesque take may be compared to K-pop, but a difference is clear, because K-pop gives marketing a central position. Take Psy’s strategy and slogan ‘dress classy, dance cheesy’³⁰ to promote ‘Gangnam Style’, which has nothing to do with Korea’s musical tradition. Furthermore, his intention to write some of his lyrics in English³¹ was designed for his larger international audience. In fact, there is an English version of K-pop’s Wonder Girls’ ‘Nobody’ that targets the wider international consumer audience and was released in the hope of achieving commercial success in America. In the music of Suming, though, ‘*Kapah*’ was an effort to evoke the old work ethic and polite social demeanour among Amis young men, while ‘*Kayoing*’ showcased Amis morality such as hard work, gentleness, and a sense of humour. Non-lexical vocables, ‘*hohaiyan*’ and ‘*naluwan*’, were used to depict Amis musical indigeneity in ‘*Kapah*’, while indigeneity comes in ‘*Kayoing*’ as a riff, a simplified version of a pentatonic melody used as the catchy hook of the refrain (Notation 2.5 below):



Notation 2.10 The main riff and catchy hook of the refrain in ‘*Kayoing*’.

Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.

³⁰ ‘Surprise! Britney Learns “Gangnam Style” from Psy!’ The Ellen Show, at: youtu.be/QZmkU5Pg1sw (accessed 18 June 2016).

³¹ “‘Gangnam Style’ Singer PSY Visits Harvard’ on 9 May 2013, at: youtu.be/wJKjsb_A8M4 (accessed 18 June 2016).

The traditionesque practices are in line with Taiwanisation (*Taiwan bentuhua yundong*), a movement started in the 1980s that stressed Taiwanese tradition as being local rather than Chinese.³² Taiwanisation was originally propagated by the descendants of Minnan Chinese who had migrated to Taiwan in early Qing times, the *benshengren* (Taiwanese people), but over time it has come to include all cultures of the diversified ethnic make-up of Taiwan, differentiating the Taiwanese from those who firmly and singularly endorse Chinese (*zhongguoren*) identity. One of the most important components of Taiwanisation is the legacy of Japanese culture, left behind after the Japanese colonisation of 50 years, from 1895 to 1945. The characteristic *taiyuge* (Taiwanese Minnan popular song), also known as Taiwanese-pop, is rooted in a mix of Minnan (Fujian, Hokkien or Holo) and Japanese *enka* popular songs rather than Chinese orientated *shidaiqu* (contemporary songs) (Wang 2000). *Enka*, a stylistic genre of older or old-fashioned Japanese popular music, resembles traditional music but is cast in a popular form, and provides the major influence on *taiyuge*. Such songs as ‘*Honghun e Kohyong*/Hometown in the evening’³³, performed at the ceremony for inaugurating the new president on 20 May 2016, epitomises the most important component of Taiwanisation – the local language, that is to say, the Taiwanese Minnan language in this case. *Taiyuge* also portrays the spirit of being Taiwanese – a spirit characterised as a tolerance of hardship and perseverance at times of difficulty. Both *taiyuge* and *enka* facilitate traditional elements such as pentatonicism and melodic melisma in which the pitch of the singer’s voice fluctuates irregularly across a tone or more.³⁴

Another genre of J-pop that has traditionesque elements is *visual kei*. This too permeates through Taiwanese music. *Visual kei* emphasises on-stage appearance, shown in heavy make-up, elaborate hair styles and flamboyant costumes, often coupled to an aesthetic of androgyny. Iconic *visual kei* bands from Taiwan such as ChthoniC (or *Shanling*), like Japanese bands such as X Japan, are eclectic and experimental in allying themselves to their music genre.

³² Zhuang Jin-guo, ‘Decolonised Taiwan Should Create Taiwanese Language’ (in Mandarin), *Taiwan News*, at <http://www.newtaiwan.com.tw/bulletinview.jsp?bulletinid=20740> (accessed 20 June 2016).

³³ youtu.be/UehTlvCl_M0 (accessed 12 February 2019).

³⁴ Martin, Alex, ‘Enka still strikes nostalgic nerve’, *Japan Times*, at: <http://www.japan-times.co.jp/news/2008/11/18/news/enka-still-strikes-nostalgic-nerve/> (accessed 17 June 2016).

As a fan of *visual kei*, I note that although the outrageous looks and glitter of bands may suggest glam rock, punk rock and heavy metal, the bands choose to mix traits from various genres, namely, Western classical music, electronica, pop, and East Asian traditional music. For example, X Japan's '*Endless Rain*' (CSDL-3020, 1989) and '*Forever Love*' (AMDM-6170, 1996) are light electronica pop ballads with symphonic elements. ChthoniC chooses subject matter that is often adapted from local history, folk literature and mythology, and its music is a fusion of pentatonic melodies, Taiwanese *xiaodiao*/small tune modes, Japanese *enka*, and the Chinese *erhu* fiddle.³⁵ Elements of East Asian tradition make the powerful heavy metal and rock of ChthoniC poignant, sad and mysterious. Chen Yang-de, the image designer for ChthoniC, mentions that his inspirations often come from the eclectic characteristics of Taiwanese culture – a blend of Western, Chinese, Japanese and the indigenous.³⁶ Complementing Chen's creative ideas are the images of ghosts and devils in Western illustrations, Chinese *shuimo*/water-ink drawings, Buddhist portraits, Tibetan paintings, indigenous geometrical diagrams that may relate animism, local deities known as *bajiajiang*, and make-up and outfits.

Likewise, in Japan, one of the main inspirations of *visual kei* comes from anime and *manga*, Japanese comics that relate to historical art forms.³⁷ A number of features in *manga* were inspired by the exquisite costumes and make-up of Japanese traditional theatre, *kabuki*. For example, the characters in *Kabuki Juhachiban* (Eighteen Best *Kabuki* Plays), which began to emerge during the Edo period between 1603 and 1868, are mined by *manga* and anime, and provide material for the Japanese-originating subculture of cosplay (costume play).³⁸ Dramatic interpretations include gender switches, images and actions of puppets, and role-plays involving movies and historical characters. All of these become common elements in the cosplay of *visual*

³⁵ *Zenhun Huguo*/Tranquillise the Spirits and Safeguard the Country, DVD collections and records (CIONG ZO, CHAC-160228, 2016).

³⁶ 'Chen Yang-de Reveal the Secrets in Designing ChthoniC', *Street Voice*, at: <http://tw.streetvoice.com/streetdesign/articles/1500980/> (accessed 19 June 2016).

³⁷ Feng Ya, 'The Origin and Changes of Visual kei' (in Mandarin), *Formoz Festival 2008* blog, at: <http://blog.yam.com/q71011/article/14738707> (accessed 19 June 2016).

³⁸ 'Appreciating Kabuki', *Japan National Tourism Organisation*, at: <http://www.welcome2japan.tw/in-depth/cultural/experience/kabuki.html> (accessed 20 June 2016).

kei as participants dress up to stress the continuity of Japanese cultural and aesthetic traditions. Just as Japanese and Taiwanese cultures are linked, so Japanese popular music, Taiwanese popular music and Suming's music are linked to the extent that they make good use of all the accessible elements that can strengthen and sustain a tradition.

Suming's music can be said to be inward facing, touching audiences who possess shared feelings and memories for a tradition, for a familiar past, which was once nurtured in rural villages or country towns where ancestral customs were practiced. It aims to glue itself to its people's tradition, their internal character, and as such it is distinct from the commercialised and globalised ideology of K-pop and Mandopop musicians. In other words, K-pop and Mandopop are outward facing, targeting wider and more international consumers. On some occasions, the traditionesque can gain huge popularity and commercial success; it spreads overseas and gains global influence. However, on such occasions the traditionesque appears to be designed for monetary profit, although rarely does it yield significant cash income from trans-national fames, and more often it requires some kind of subsidy. In other words, the traditionesque, such as in Suming's music, is affiliated with the music tradition in an essential way, but when it achieves more than its nature and basic purpose, it can be considered as an effect of 'cultural spillover', borrowing the economics terms 'spillover effects', which mean one context occurs because of something else in a seemingly unrelated context (Garmaise 2016), that 'the effects of an activity have spread further than was originally intended'³⁹. In Suming case, the music gains additional returns and has additional results through achieving more than it was planned to achieve.

2.3.3 Orientations of Amis Folk Music in Pop Culture

Taiwanese indigenous people have been affected by changes in society in recent decades. These changes have taken place so rapidly that traditional society has scarcely been able to keep up with their speed. Suming is not, however, simply concerned about the inevitable assimilation of

³⁹ *Cambridge Dictionary*, at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/spillover> (accessed 2 June 2018).

Amis 'folk music'⁴⁰, but also seeks to initiate a bottom-up effort enjoining his people to sustain local traditions, find ways to be innovative, and to incorporate the contemporary into Amis music in ways that can facilitate the survival of the tradition. To explore this effort, I analyse the Amis Music Festival at 'Etolan on 7 December 2013, at which the audience had to buy tickets to gain admittance. The event was a collaboration of Suming and 'Etolan people, a result of him successfully convincing elders to participate at, perform in, and run such an event. Suming told me in interview on 21 June 2014 that the elders essentially had extremely negative ideas about music festivals, thinking that they were merely excuses for merry-making. This impression had become stereotypical because of 'Spring Scream', a high profile music festival that had become notoriously chaotic. To the elders, a festival of this sort was the equivalent to orgiastic revelries involving the excessive consumption of alcohol, drug abuse, traffic jams and environmental pollution.

Nevertheless, the Amis Music Festival turned out to be a breakthrough as well as a great success: box office receipts were higher than expected, since it attracted audiences of more than 1,000 who came from across Taiwan; cultural products sold well, and Amis-styled souvenirs and crafts brought in around \$20,000 NT (£400) a day; the audiences and the indigenous people who attended didn't consume large amounts of alcohol – in fact, only coffee was sold, and the venue was kept clean and tidy. Most importantly, different age groups were well represented in the Amis-style 'historically informed performance' (using the term from the European Early Music movement). Before going on stage, performers were fully trained, not to follow the former daily practices or rituals, but to sing and dance in front of stage lights and the vast, passionate audience. Suming jokingly told me, 'Our young guys over-imagined what they should look like on stage; they thought everyone should be as glamorous as Aaron Kwok (or Guo Fu-cheng). Kwok is a Ricky Martin equivalent heart-throb in Mandopop. Suming continued: 'Alt-

⁴⁰ See p.134 for the definition of 'folk music'.

hough our grandpas and grandmas dance and sing regularly, performing on stage is a totally different thing.’ He named the performance of the middle-aged aunts ‘*Funü Shidai*’ (Women’s Generation), a parody of the popular K-pop girl group ‘*Shaonü Shidai*’ (*Sonyeo Shidae*, or Girl’s Generation). The slogan of the festival was: ‘When in Taitung, listen to the music of the locals and watch the performance of the locals.’ There was a flag raising ceremony, one exclusive to the event, as a symbol of respect for the local community and to remind outsiders they were becoming conversant with Amis *buluo* (community) culture. The dances and songs were staged by being adapted into quasi-harvest versions so that the sacred rules and constraints of rituals would not be violated.

To analyse the event, I will borrow the theory of language orientation, that is, ‘language-as-problem, language-as-right and language-as-resource’ (Ruiz 1984) to support Suming’s endeavour in transforming Amis language and music for its survival. The America-based linguist Richard Ruiz observed that in language planning, language itself had often initially been treated as a problem-orientated subject, using the case of the United States. Parallels of his observation can be seen with the Amis language in Taiwan and with Maori in New Zealand (Cai 2016). Orientation in language planning provides a microcosm of cultural policies, and so the Taiwanese government once deemed cultural variations impediments to the solidarity of its diverse ethnic make-up and, therefore, to the unity of the country. A similar situation happened in New Zealand, where the privileges provided to a dominant language allowed the government to mould the country into an English-speaking nation.⁴¹ Inevitably, other languages, such as Maori, were suppressed. Later, with an awareness and renewed emphasis on the protection of minority groups, the neglected groups gained rights to affirm the importance of their languages and, to a greater extent, their cultures. Eventually, bilingual/bicultural or multilingual/multicultural policies came into being, and the development of responsible and effective strategies were made

⁴¹ Cai, Rong-feng, ‘English is more competitive than Maori? Sounds familiar? The revelation of “transitional justice” of New Zealand to Taiwan’ (in Mandarin), News Lens, at: <http://www.the-news-lens.com/post/290288/> (accessed 29 August 2016).

possible. To this end, awareness and emphasis evoked the realisation that ethnic and cultural heritages could be valuable resources, through which the uniqueness and identity of the nation and its peoples could be embraced.

Admittedly, Suming's approach in employing Amis elements, especially its language, is bold, given that Mandarin is still the *lingua franca* in Taiwan, and Mandopop has the greatest potential market among East-Asians. Nevertheless, indigenous lyrics are now much more commonly heard in the compositions of Taitung's indigenous musicians, despite the problem of understanding that this gives to broader audiences. In effect, Taiwan is aligning itself with the trend of the Fourth World or Global South; my observation in the case of Taiwan is 'to recognise the importance of local dialects, grant them legitimation, and assess them as useful resources for the dignity, solidarity and welfare of its entire people' (after Antony Hall (2003) on ideology of Fourth World activists). Indigenous culture is one of Taiwan's most fertile and important soft powers, representing a diverse state identity of the sort that is no longer ignored in the international community – even though Taiwan is not an official member of the United Nations.

Exemplifying my point here is my observation of Suming's 21 June 2016 press conference and performance held at the Village Underground live house in Camden, London. It was a Taiwanese pop music showcase which included Suming and two other Taiwanese musicians, namely 'Peggy' Hsu Zhe-pei, a Taiwanese Mandopop singer, and 'Miss Ko' Ge Zhong-shan, a hip-hop artist. The event was held prior to Suming's 24 June performance at the Glastonbury Festival, a festival claimed to be the world's largest open-air music event and the 'Jerusalem of rock 'n roll'.⁴² Obviously, Suming's performance represented the particularity of 'Taiwaneseness', and distinguished Taiwan because of its culture and tradition – a balanced combination of sophisticated Amis music, lyrics in Amis, splendid traditional costumes, dance moves

⁴² Taiwan Beat @ Glastonbury, at: <http://taiwan-eurock.webnode.tw/> (accessed 29 August 2016).

and rhythmic entrainments, all interpreted subjectively by the audience, and all delivering a separated Taiwanese identity that was attractive and fashionable to foreigners. In comparison, Hsu, who had four nominations in the 2016 Golden Melody Awards for her album *Swing, Inc.* (Wonder Music WM2015-032, 2015), was only able to convey the universality of pop; the features and qualities of her songs were familiar to pop-balladry and rock 'n roll. Likewise, Ge, who had won 'best new artist' in the 2013 Golden Melody Awards, presented Mandopop deriving from a universalised, cross-boarder pop, namely, hip-hop, rhythm and blues, rap and other appropriations, in addition to street dance gestures, urbanite body language and an eponymous western look, all blended to lyrics in Mandarin.

Briefly, the circulation of the fertile heritages and resources for innovative performance and creation happens in two ways. First, musicians such as Suming acquire their inspiration and material from the folk tradition, while, second, these 'cultural ringers' (after Trimillos 2004) help sustain the folk tradition by disseminating it via contemporary popular culture. There is an increasing tendency among the Taiwanese to identify themselves through the depictions of indigenous-style tints such as crafts, clothing, music and dance, and through academic and public discourse; this echoes the advent of 'language-as-resource', constituting, if you like, 'folk music as resource' and 'local tradition as resource' in self-identification. That is to say, indigeneity becomes the prominent essence separating Taiwanese from the vast population of the Mandarin speaking world as well as from the universality of Western cultural forms.

2.3.4 The East-Asian Grist to the Amis Tradition's Mill

Suming is flexible, and changes his approach from time to time. Sometimes, when seen from a particular perspective, his ambitions and approaches may seem to contradict each other. For example, in the filming of '*Kapah*', Suming emphasised fashion and modernity, opting for a studio take instead of shooting in nature, the latter being the stereotypical living environment of the indigenous people. But in '*Kayoing*', the iconography focused on Amis' intimacy with the sun, ocean, mountains and home villages. Again, although keen to deliver Amis language through

his 2010 album, three years later, he switched to lyrics in Mandarin for his third album ‘*Meishi Shenghuo/Amis Life*’ (Asia Muse 3873585, 2013), and the next, *Amis* (Wonder Music WM2012-024, 2012). In my analysis, two important factors need to be considered in the sustainability of a music tradition: the need of promotion through performance and creation as a lived experience, and the need to earn a decent living. In other words, Suming seemed to put aside his ambition to revive Amis tradition as well as his determination to promote Amis language, to compromise with the need to be commercial. What this illustrates is that Suming, in order to sustain his career as a musician, has to be conscious of his market. For the sake of achieving his long term goal, he moderates his approach to acquaint himself with the commercial world.

His 2010 album drew interest from a commercial recording company, Wonder Music. He got a contract from this company and collaborated with it for his ensuing project. His *Amis* album (Wonder Music WM2012-024, 2012), shows compromise with commercial Mandopop. Although aiming to attract more listeners to the musical practices of the indigenous people, the musical indigeneity of the music of the Amis is further diluted. The album’s topics, such as romance, friendships between people from different countries, environment protection and the living conditions of ‘Etolan residents are many and varied. Furthermore, styles such as electronic dance music, Latin American ballroom dance music, British rock and classical strings ensembles – a Mandopop approach relying on a universality in music to promote it rather than focusing on the particularity of the Amis – prevail. Its hit single ‘*John Shumin/John Suming/Yuehan* (約翰)*Shumin*(淑敏)’⁴³ was given a title implying romance although this is not what it is about, but presumably it was designed to generate interest among CD buyers. Its title deliberately links two common names, the masculine *Yuehan* (約翰) for boys and feminine *Shumin* (淑敏) for girls in Mandarin (rather than *Shu Mi-en* and 舒米恩, the pronunciation and written form of Suming’s name in Mandarin). Much like the masculine and feminine versions of English names

⁴³ Available on YouTube, at: youtu.be/iHo5171qXT0 (accessed 1 September 2016).

such as Christian and Christine, Patrick and Patricia, and so on, there is a convention for denoting masculine and feminine names with Mandarin characters. Even though these names are homophones, the gender difference is clear to those who are conversant with the convention. The music video of ‘*John Shumin*’ teased viewers through cutting-edge visual effects featuring the Mandopop idol Yen-j and was directed by the Han Taiwanese Cheng Wei-hao. Yen-j’s appearance had little relevance to the music, and was probably introduced to advertise himself, a hitch-hiking strategy to increase his exposure. As for choreography, American street *krumping* mingled with the Brazilian martial art, *capoeira*, designed to give an idea of primitivism by borrowing visual forms from non-Western people, and giving a sense of exoticism – a type of fantasy for the urbanised Taiwanese. The Facebook note from the director tells us that he situates himself distant from Amis culture, with no specific knowledge about its traditions. To summarize my observations, this music video is an example of inappropriate appropriation, a phenomenon relating to ‘over-communication’ and inferior consumerism – the consumption of anything from any place in the world from any culture, but in a way that loses originality and any sense of cultural roots (after Lévi-Strauss 1978: 20). That is to say, although sung in Amis language, the essence of Amis music in ‘*John Shumin*’ is diluted.

Similarly, another song from the same album, ‘*Biezai Doulan de Tudi Shang Qingyi de Shuo zhe Ni Ai Wo*/Don’t Be So Quick to Say You Love Me When You Are in Dulan’⁴⁴ also uses Mandopop. Its lyrics are in Mandarin, again implying romance between lovers. Although hiding the context, Suming in reality wanted to convey love for his ‘Etolan hometown. Its lyrics in English subtitles are indeed vague and puzzling. It seems to me that Suming adopts a convenient way to explain his ambiguous lyrics: ‘It is all right if the listeners do not understand my songs. I want to render an aura similar to that generated by tidal waves when they hit the shores: discernible but difficult to describe.’ So, the ‘discernible but difficult to describe’ are the fragmentary lines, scattering at sections which might be, according to my perception, at 0’48” into

⁴⁴ youtu.be/qIJw05Oa7cM (accessed 1 September 2016).

the song: ‘Do you hear it?’ And after a few seconds of silence, at 0’53’’: ‘The sound of the sea fades away like bubbles.’ Then, at 1’55’’: ‘In the beginning, everyone owns the sea’ and at 2’53’’: ‘Do you still remember, we heard the sound of the sea again that day.’ The music is in the style and idiom of a laid back *bossa nova*, but any essence of Amis culture and tradition is hard to find. The music video features fashion model Sonia Sui (*Sui Tang*), probably because of her fame and beauty, but whether she has or has no connection with the Amis is never revealed – it seems to be irrelevant. What reminds audiences about the Amis is the background, featuring scenes from ‘Etolan. The video was directed by another Han Taiwanese, Chen Chih-hsiang.

Although he seemed to deviate from his previous course, Suming has recently returned to his revival efforts. In accessing and incorporating a diversity of musical resources, he indicates he remains concerned about indigenous land and people. He won the 2016 ‘best song of the year’ at the 27th Annual Golden Melody Awards, with the theme song ‘*Aka Pisaward/Never Give Up*’ from the movie *Wawa No Cidal/Taiyan de Haize/Children of the Sun*.⁴⁵ This features on the original soundtrack album (Yiqi Yihui OT-019, 2015). The significance of this song matches the theme of the movie, exposing the recent predicament in which Taiwanese indigenous people have found themselves.⁴⁶ The movie was directed by an inter-ethnic duo, the Han Taiwanese Cheng Yu-chieh and Han-Amis Lekal Sumi. The reality is that the rich and organically developing culture of the indigenous people is in crisis. Through the return to their roots and the regaining of long-submerged identities, this lost and found generation envision a future where indigenous people can sustain their homelands through ecologically friendly lifestyles, and yet, in reality, they are already far removed from this.

It is clear that through efforts to sustain a music tradition by musicians such as Suming, language and other locally foreign but familiar elements enhance the idea. In questioning the

⁴⁵ Wawa No Cidal facebook, at: <http://www.facebook.com/wawanocidalmovie> and Suming facebook, at: <http://www.facebook.com/sumingfans> (accessed 29 August 2016).

⁴⁶ Tsui, Clarence, ‘*Wawa No Cidal*: Taipei Review’, *Hollywood Reporter*, at: <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/review/wawa-no-cidal-taipei-review-810425> (accessed 21 September 2016).

role of such elements, and the justification for their inclusion within the promotion of Amis music, we could argue that Taiwanese multiculturalism – its plethora of ritual musics and dances, the technology involved in creating innovative soundworlds and vivid videos, and the embrace of East Asian regional cultural flows – showcases music as part of a rich tapestry. Suming’s music seeks originality and indicates an awareness of cultural roots, sticking to locality and attempting to be functional in its aim to pass down Amis tradition, but at the same time it endorses Mandarin and transnational popular music in order to be commercially viable. To put it more simply, Suming aims to get a larger audience to be interested in Amis people and culture. In doing this, he accesses and incorporates a diversity of resources, but his music is distinct from the negative elements within the phenomena of ‘over-communication’ (after Lévi-Strauss 1978: 20). Above all, his music is a model of ‘edutainment’, an entertainment designed to teach, in contrast to the tourist-oriented ‘airport art’ (Kaepler 1977, 1979) and consumer-oriented ‘eatertainments’ and ‘shoppertainments’ of the contemporary West (Howard 2012: 6–7).

To sum up, Suming clearly states his intention: ‘We indigenous people live in the present and let our traditions live and continue; whereas those cultural forms preserved in museums mark a historical past that is not part of our living culture.’ This statement reminds me of scholars who once warned that preserving the intangible heritage in performance and creation without change is not an option as society evolves (in this, Howard (2012: 2–3) cites John Blacking, Bruno Nettl and Philip Bohlman). As Taiwanese and Amis society evolves, the flexible and changeable approaches explored by Suming and his collaborators, and their combining of local and foreign elements, may turn out to be an effective strategy in preserving and sustaining the intangible heritage of Taiwanese indigenous people. For the moment, we can only conclude that they are vigorous forces driving tradition forward and building blocks constructing a kind of ‘historically informed performance’ for the present day.

Conclusion

The study of Amis popular music occupies a significantly large proportion in this research; they come first as a subject matter of a specific group due to their acknowledged excellence in music creativity and performance. The Amis are highly regarded, not only because the people comprise nearly 50% of the overall Taitung indigenous population, giving them an advantageous condition in being able to perform music and dance on a larger scale than others, but also because of their well-known musicians such as Difang Tuwana, Chu-Yin Cultural and Art Troupe and Suming Rupi. While Difang Tuwana and Chu-Yin represent the line of heredity, Suming Rupi represents contemporary trends. Although the music and issues of the Amis, especially those surrounded Difang, has been discussed at length elsewhere, my analysis approach is different from all of the previous published accounts. In dealing with the preservation, sustainability and re-creation of it, I establish a music-centred and sound-centred study for Taiwan's ethnomusicology. My discussions specify the music's key characters, namely, the calls and responses, '*Misa'aretic*' high register and '*Ikung*' improvisation. I also provide five-line stave notation to elaborate how the music has transformed and evolved from its origin from that sang by the Malan Amis, through to that by Difang and Hongay, then to that in Enigma 'Return to Innocence' and in other versions. In other words, I show – while changes happen as society evolves – how music is preserved in archival materials, sustained in performances, and re-created in pop and commercial scenes. In my research, the study of the music itself has never been side-stepped.

On one hand, the recorded music of Difang and Chu-Yin preserves the convention of group singing, as we can see through the example of '*Sakatusa*', Wu Rong-shun's 1993 recording. In Wu's recording, the tradition is maintained to its fullest extent, although similar productive results can be identified in the Chu-Yin group and in Lu Yu-hsiu's endeavours. All these recordings stand as seeds planted on good soil, rooted in the culture, and all three can be expected to yield fruit. On the other hand, pop musicians and other performers reflect and adapt

Amis tradition in the context of today's multifaceted commercialised and industrialised recording culture. The innovative approach to music creation undertaken has been nourished by their knowledge of contemporary East Asia, namely, K-pop, J-pop and Mandopop, and by drawing materials from various sources that have been inherited, imitated, and figured out from the indigenous tradition. The old is juxtaposed with modern music and video technology, non-traditional stylistic and idiomatic elements, and the incorporation of Western instruments – which we might term as a presentation within the genre of 'world music'. The mix not only functions to delight, but carries a duty to sustain. In saying this, foreign elements can be grist to the mill of the indigenous tradition, but indigenous subject matter lies at the core. In other words, the yield of processed cultural products depends on the inner force of the mill, the internal characters of the people, and the determination and abilities of the people to sustain their cultural roots.

Chapter 3

Beinan, Pan-indigenous and Paiwan:

Distinguishing Taiwan, Pursuing Taiwanese-ness

3.1 Japan's Colonisation and Nationalist Martial Law

3.1.1 Pop Songs of Various Languages: Legacy of Japanisation and Sinification

Language policies during Japan's colonisation and Nationalist Sinification have left clear traces on multiple aspects of life in terms of cultural legacies and self-identifications among the Taiwanese. Taiwan's society at present still has diversity in its endorsement of a unified national identity, and this is probably best epitomised in the ideologies held by Taiwan's elected presidents. For example, Taiwan's first elected president, Lee Teng-hui (in office from 1988 to 2000), was educated in Japanese, just like many current senior citizens. Lee had a Japanese name during his youth, Iwasato Masao, enjoyed a warm relationship with the people and culture of Japan, and promoted Taiwanese localisation instead of Chinese ideologies.¹ Lee's successor, Chen Shui-bian (2000 to 2008), despite being educated in Mandarin, which replaced Japanese as the national language following the end of the Japanese administration, took advantage of his Minnan origin to portray a Taiwan-centred ideology. His ancestors had migrated to Taiwan in the 18th century from Minnan (southern Fujian), China.² However, the third elected president, Ma Ying-jeou (2008 to 2016), was Hong Kong born and not surprisingly, he endorsed a Han-Chinese Sinocentrism.³ After a change in government, eight years after Ma came to office, Tsai Ing-wen, the current President of the Republic of China, commonly known as the President of Taiwan, altered the stance of the government to officially support a fully independent Taiwan and initiate the 'New Southbound Policy' – a state effort to enhance cooperation and exchanges

¹ Han Cheung, 'From Lee to Iwasato back to Lee', *Taipei Times*, at: <http://www.taipei-times.com/News/feat/archives/2016/02/07/2003639001> (accessed 13 July 2018).

² Lam Peng-Er, 'Japan-Taiwan Relations: Between Affinity and Reality', *Asian Affairs* 30/4 (2004): 251.

³ Sherman Hollar, 'Ma Ying-jeou, President of Taiwan', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ma-Ying-jeou> (accessed 13 July 2018).

between Taiwan and 18 countries in South East Asia, South Asia and Australasia, making Taiwan less dependent on China.⁴ The restrictive language policies imposed during Japan's colonisation and KMT martial law had caused Taiwan's ethnic groups to lose their Minnan, Hakka and indigenous mother tongues. One of the consequences is that Taiwanese citizens such as Lee Teng-hui bear names in various languages, in Japanese, Mandarin, Minnan, Hakka or indigenous languages, or have more than one in these. In other words, names adapted by the Taiwanese can give information about their ethnic origins and self-identification from the way they introduce, pronounce and Romanise them.

Taiwan would appear to have Chinese heritage: its majority population descends from migrants from China, practises Han customs, and preserves Han traditions. Further, Mandarin has been the official language in the country. However, Minnan, Hakka, or indigenous people separate themselves from the Han Chinese, claiming that traditions they hold are either divergent from the earlier period, or unique in their own way. Taiwan's cultural roots nowadays are overlaid with a universalised Western style but also permeated with South East Asian elements, due to the increased influx of newcomer migrants in recent years. For example, nearly 700,000 Vietnamese, Filipino, Indonesian and Thai migrant workers have come to the island for public construction and long-term care work as of 2018,⁵ and nearly 120,000 spouses from these same countries were naturalised between 1987 and 2017,⁶ bringing South East Asian languages, religions, cuisines and customs into the country. An indication of disengagement from China was present when Taiwan's early migrants left their homes in China to search for a new place in which to settle, and by the fact that their new homeland was separated from the Mainland China they abandoned. This sense of separation and disengagement intensified when the Japanese, bringing a culture and regime from another country, took over the administration of Taiwan in 1895. However, before the Japanese introduced their single-language policy, different ethnic

⁴ Lu, Yi-hsuan, Jake Chung, 'Task force to help promote the "new southbound policy"', *Taipei Times*, at: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2016/11/01/2003658346> (accessed 13 July 2018).

⁵ National Statistics, R.O.C., at: <http://statdb.mol.gov.tw/html/mon/212030.htm> (accessed 25 July 2018).

⁶ National Immigration Agency, at: <https://www.immigration.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=1334306&ctNode=29699&mp=1> (accessed 25 July 2018).

groups on the island spoke their own languages. To be more specific, Minnan (or Southern Fujian) and Hakka (from Guangdong) migrants spoke their Sino-Tibetan Minnan and Hakka dialects whereas indigenous Amis, Bunun, Beinan and others spoke Austronesian languages. But the dialects of the Minnan (comprising approximately 70% of current Taiwanese population), Hakka (15%) and the languages of indigenous people (2%)⁷ have been in continuous decline since the Japanese colonialist government embarked on a complete Japanisation movement in 1937, and thereafter as a result of the KMT Nationalist's Sinification process.

The Japanese *kominka undo* aimed to transform Taiwan into a monolingual society where Japanese would be spoken by all (Ching 2001: 93–95). Then, from 1945 onwards, the KMT Nationalists enforced the Mandarin Movement, a policy by the National Language Committee to stop people speaking Japanese and use Mandarin instead. During the first stage of the Mandarin Movement, the KMT government targeted the removal of the Japanese legacy and stressed a 'Great Chinese' ideology while still allowing other local languages (see, for example, Lattimore 1962: 197 and C. Hughes 2011). But a harsher implementation was enforced in the 1970s, when all languages except Mandarin were forbidden. Since then, Mandarin has been dominant and has prevailed, so generations of Taiwanese – no matter from which ethnic groups they originate – are able to speak and write in Mandarin, the national language, and in most situations use only Mandarin.

Despite the difficulty, indigenous musicians have endeavoured to keep their vernacular languages alive. Gao Yi-sheng (Uyongu Yata'uyungana, using his Tsou name, or Yata Kazuo (矢多一夫) and later Yata Issei (矢多一生) his Japanese names) composed the Tsou-Japanese mixed '*Zhangchunhua*/Rose Periwinkle'⁸ in 1949. In his composition, Japanese cultural influence was clear, but the composer's ethnic identity is core. History remembers him as one of the

⁷ United States Central Intelligence Agency, *CIA World Factbook*, at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tw.html> (accessed 30 April 2018).

⁸ youtu.be/duzURYpjdic (accessed 12 February 2019).

earliest indigenous musicians to create a contemporary composition. Likewise, Baliwakes, another indigenous musician, in his case a Puyuma, wanted to highlight his ethnic identity, but in a different way: he wrote Puyuma lyrics. His ‘*Meili de daosui/Beautiful Rice Grain*’ (1958)⁹ is widely heard even today, and is considered the earliest example of its kind.¹⁰ Baliwakes was a pioneer in two aspects, since he incorporated a Western style but composed in a mother tongue. Musically, he was Western classical trained, and his self-identification was complex, as is seen in the changing of his names: born with a Puyuma name, changed to ‘Senbao Ichiro’ during the Japanese regime, and to the Mandarin ‘Lu Sen-bao’ during KMT governance. Last, but not least, indigenous music after World War II was also distinguished with vocables and pentatonism, as heard in ‘*Hohaiyan*’ (ca. 1950)¹¹ which used the non-lexical ‘*ho*’, ‘*hai*’ and ‘*yan*’ and pentatonic melodic lines for the vocalisation’s frame. ‘*Zhangchunhua*’, ‘*Meili*’ and ‘*Hohaiyan*’ came into being when popular musics started to flourish in Taiwan. That is to say, amid the prevalence of Western popular music, Mandopop and Minnan pop, and struggling to keep their music tradition alive, indigenous musicians worked on contemporary compositions that might be viable.

3.1.2 Western Pop and Mandarin Songs: The Crowding-Out Effect on Indigenouspop

When I first arrived in Taiwan from Malaysia at age 21, to enrol as a university student in 1989, I was bewildered by how local schoolmates identified themselves. According to the convention at that time, people took ‘Taiwanese’ to mean a *benshengren* (Taiwanese people) or ‘Minnan’ or ‘Hakka’. In this sense, Minnan pop referred to Minnan lyrical compositions, but was equivalent to Taiwanese pop or *taigi* song (*tai* = an abbreviation of Taiwan, *gi* = language). By comparison, Taiwan’s people took ‘non-Taiwanese’ to mean non-Minnan and non-Hakka, which

⁹ youtu.be/rYOSSLXFcjk (accessed 12 February 2019).

¹⁰ *The Solace of Music: Shared Memories of Contemporary Taiwanese Indigenous Song* exhibition, National Museum of Prehistory, Taitung (2018).

¹¹ youtu.be/nfbQ7XUR2NE (accessed 12 February 2019)

could be further subdivided into ‘*shandiren*’ (mountain people) for indigenous people, and ‘Chinese’ or *waishengren* (outer-Taiwanese people) for those who moved to Taiwan from China after 1945. Of course, I did not identify myself and nor was I identified as Taiwanese or Chinese, but as Malaysian or ‘foreign’, because I had been born and brought up in Malaysia. To my surprise, the ROC government, which considered itself the only legitimate representative of China – for the territories it controlled in Taiwan and the territories the government of the People’s Republic of China controlled in mainland China –, categorised me as an ‘Overseas Chinese’. This categorisation was consistent with the self-identification of ROC government then: people with a Chinese bloodline were considered Chinese, and those who lived outside Taiwan were the diasporic citizens of the regime.

In the 1980s, Taiwan appeared to be an extremely stable, unchallengeable and safe country. Indeed, I was told that there had been no bank robbery until 1982.¹² However, this stability was achieved through the rigorous enforcement of martial law, which got its notorious term ‘the White Terror’ for suppressing any political opposition to the ruling KMT. It is estimated that 140,000 people were imprisoned or executed for being or perceived as being anti-KMT or linked to the Communists.¹³ Under such a threatening atmosphere, local-conscious musicians, who wanted their identities to be a separated Taiwanese rather than Chinese, had to conceal their ideology to avoid getting into trouble.¹⁴ The KMT government promoted a strong sense of the ‘Great Chinese’ through policies, campaigns and cultural activities. Minnan, Hakka and indigenous music was suppressed and the so-called ‘patriotic songs’ (*aiguo gequ*, see Chapter Five: 267) were promoted.

Another invasion of foreign culture in music – much as the Chinese and Japanese influences had impacted the traditions of Minnan and the indigenous people – was Western popular

¹² ‘the First Armed Bank Robbery in Taiwan,’ *Sanlih E-Television News*, at: <http://www.setn.com/News.aspx?NewsID=318606> (accessed 2 May 2018).

¹³ Huang, Tai-lin, ‘White Terror exhibit unveils part of the truth’, *Taipei Times*, at: <http://www.taipei-times.com/News/taiwan/archives/2005/05/20/2003255840> (accessed 30 April 2018).

¹⁴ Chris Horton (2017) ‘Martial Law to Mosh Pit: Taiwan’s Path to Freedom’, *Nikkei Asian Review*, at: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics-Economy/Policy-Politics/Martial-law-to-mosh-pit-Taiwan-s-path-to-freedom> (accessed 30 April 2018).

music. Being the world's leading nation and an ally of Taiwan in confronting communism, American culture was widely acceptable and influential. American popular music thrived, spread through broadcast stations, and gaining cult status.¹⁵ As American values permeated all walks of life, especially among the white-collar and the well-educated, it changed Taiwanese norms on fashion, entertainment and ways of living, and diverted people's attention from the grass-roots local.¹⁶ For example, *shidaiqu*/contemporary song, Shanghai-convention or Hong Kong-style pop songs sung with Mandarin lyrics, stopped being among the most popular genres. *Shidaiqu* such as 'Suzhou hepan/Riverbank of Suzhou'¹⁷ and 'Ludao xiaoyequ/The Green Island Serenade'¹⁸ had once flourished in KMT-ruled Taiwan. However, the genre was transformed into Mandopop (Mandarin popular songs) and its popularity remains; songs such as 'Yueliang daibiao wo de xin/Moon Expresses my Heart-felt Love'¹⁹ popularised by Teresa Teng, the 'diva of Mandopop', is still well-received today across the Sinophone world. Western popular music provided models for Mandopop to emulate, and acted as the spokespersons for commercialism, mass media promotion and values of universalism. Remarkably, the television show 'Qunxing-hui' (All-Stars Rendezvous) (Taiwan Television (TTV), 1962), the first of its kind, nurtured superstar figures such as Tsuei Tai-jing, Fong Fei-fei and Liu Wen-Cheng, bringing Taiwan's entertainment into a glittering sight-and-sound world at the expense of traditional arts and grass-roots performances.²⁰ It is clear that indigenous musicians did not have the resources that their Mandopop contemporaries had. On television shows, Mandopop performers were privileged, showcasing themselves in eye-catching costumes, heavy makeup, elaborate hairstyles and shiny shoes – spotlighted figures with fascinating stage lighting and backed by exquisite band or orchestra accompaniments.

¹⁵ 'Taiwan Liuxing Yinyue Fazhan Shi/the history of Taiwan's popular songs', at: <http://www.tpmw.org.tw/index.php/台灣流行音樂發展史> (accessed 28 April 2018).

¹⁶ American Institute in Taiwan, *American footsteps in Taiwan: 1950-1980 exhibit*, at: <https://web-archieve-2017.ait.org.tw/zh/american-footsteps-in-taiwan.html> (accessed 1 May 2018).

¹⁷ youtu.be/Urpmx_mvng (accessed 1 May 2018).

¹⁸ <youtu.be/wDje7JQJfSQ> (accessed 1 May 2018).

¹⁹ <youtu.be/iFm7AWP9n4> (accessed 1 May 2018).

²⁰ The editorial board, *20th year of TTV: from 1962 to 1982* (Taipei: TTV, 1982: 64).

Indigenous music and its musicians were kept in the background due to a musical ‘crowding-out’ effect. ‘Crowding out’ (after Blanchard 2008; and Spencer 1970: 12–24) is an economic theory proposing that increased government involvement in a sector may substantially affect the remainder of the market, leading to a lessened overall output and a decreased private sector. The first form of government involvement in the pop scene during the martial law period involved the promotion of patriotic songs, which reduced available broadcast time on radio, cinema and television. This was a mind-control policy to alter the mentality of citizens and to reduce their ability to think critically or independently. The second form was Mandopop, which was also promoted by state-run radio and television. Mandopop proved more appealing to a general audience and reflected existing trends; its enticing nature made it ubiquitous and this hindered the success of other genres such as indigenospop. Finally, Western pop, although not officially sponsored by Taiwan’s government, through its cultural hegemony captured a great number of urban consumers, and thus attracted the attention of indigenospop’s potential fans.

Patriotic song is now history and its influence has dwindled; Mandopop and Western pop, however, still dominate the market. Indigenous musicians nowadays often write in Mandarin. That is why at the 11th Taiwanese Golden Melody Award in 2000, on hearing the award-winning Paudull’s composition, the Han Taiwanese judge commented that he was singing Mandopop and not that of his tradition.²¹ In a similar way, Paiwan musician Dakanow attributes the origins of his inspiration to Bob Dylan, while Amis Chalaw grew up listening to Dylan, Elvis Presley and the Beatles. Elements of Mandopop and Western pop are, therefore, common in indigenous musicians’ repertoires. They are heard in the Nanwan Sisters’ renditions of Liu Wen-Cheng’s (see also p.159) classics, with particular influence from The Carpenters (see p.166), and in Gao Zi-yang’s soul- and funk-oriented music (Chapter Five: 276). This shows that indigenous musicians have been synchronized with the Western world since as early as the 1950s. In

²¹ Huang Guo-chao (2014: 92–93). See also Liu Xiang-jun, *Taiwan Panorama online magazine*, ‘Indigenospop Recording – Chen Jian-nian and Ji Xiao-jun’ (in Mandarin), at: <http://www.taiwan-panorama.com/Articles/Details?Guid=c2ed5937-22d3-4256-8724-d642a0fac5db&CatId=3> (accessed 15 February 2017).

other words, Taiwan's island world of mountain and sea – an East Asian and Austronesian enclave – has long been pervaded by the far reach of 1950s Elvis Presley's rock 'n' roll beat, 1960s Beatlemania, 1970s The Carpenters' sentimentality, and 1980s Stevie Wonder's compo-
sure.

3.1.3 *Sounds of the Indigenous People: Ethnomusicological Studies and Preservation*

The first time ever in the history of Taiwan that local musicians made a recording for release was in Japan in 1914. Then, eight kinds of Hakka traditional instruments (*bayin*) were recorded alongside songs of tea workers (National Museum of Taiwan History 2016).²² However, documentaries for scholarly purposes were not recorded in significant numbers until the 1940s, when recording technology became more common and the cost for a recording project more affordable. Such recordings proved a useful way to study and sustain the oral tradition of the indigenous people. But, commercial publication and radio transmission had started earlier than the mass production of recordings as physical objects, when Taiwan's first radio station 'Taipei Broadcast' began its operation in 1928,²³ catching up with America's first radio station Westinghouse's KDKA that began in 1920, Japan's NHK that began in 1925, and the UK's establishment of the BBC Music Department in 1927 (Frith 2001: xii). The trend in urbanised areas was to take up new technology, with the vinyl record becoming an important product to disseminate popular music such as Western pop and Mandopop, but also, as costs of production came down, of Minnan pop – due to Taiwan's majority Minnan population – for commercial purposes and popular consumption (see Lin 2014: 341). But, in remote villages, recording was a tool for research and preservation as anthropologists, musicologists and linguists employed portable gramophones in fieldwork, as seen in the Japanese company Nippon Columbia's publication of a Thao group's 'Chuge/Pestle Song', the first of its kind, in 1929 (Huang 2016: 44–47).

²² *The 100 years of Taiwanese Sounds* (in Mandarin), at: <http://audio.nmth.gov.tw/audio/zh-TW/Article/Forums/ab81d668-6a91-4efb-ae32-7bf3e5b86747> (accessed 28 April 2018).

²³ *Taiwan People News*, at: <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/9b5e1ca1-0023-4833-b83b-382864949099> (accessed 7 April 2018).

Larger scale and more comprehensive surveys of indigenous music were conducted in the 1940s, when a Formosan Folk Music Investigation Team led by Kurosawa Takatomo and Masu Genjiro, supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the (Japanese) Government-General of Taiwan, documented and recorded a variety of Taiwanese songs, instrumental music and languages from various groups for the Japanese (see also Chapter Four: 228–33). From then onwards, recordings of indigenous music became more diverse and were meticulously annotated into the 1950s, but in this the preservation of languages and traditional music was prioritised over popular songs. For example, the 1930s' Sedik, Hla'alua and Kanakanavu recordings made by Japanese linguist Asai Erin (淺井惠倫, published in 1953), alongside recordings of other 'plains-group' (or assimilated indigenous people), were treated as linguistic materials archived in Kanazawa University and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Studies by the Japanese, then, went through three stages. The first stage, through to the first half of the 1940s, aimed to obtain a general knowledge that would guide the Japanese in how to govern. The second stage, between 1940 and 1950, used direct observations, including resemblances to Manchurian Qing Dynasty materials, but went beyond this, as the Japanese ambitiously sought to promulgate their concept of 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (大東亜共栄圏, *Dai Tōa Kyōeiken*). In this, Asian countries, whether occupied by Japan or not, should stand in solidarity for cultural and economic unity, to achieve freedom and independence from Western oppression (Tolland 2011: 447–48). In practice, however, it was a strategy and vehicle through which Japan strengthened its position and advanced its dominance within Asia. Ethnographic studies might prove that Taiwanese, South East Asian Chinese and other East Asians were linked, as shown in ethnographic materials on Confucian rituals, Tao religious music, *nanguan*²⁴ and *beiguan*,²⁵ and *kua-a-hi* (Taiwanese opera)²⁶ (Wang 2008: 155–162, 187; see also Kurosawa 2008). At the same time, surveys might also suggest that the indigenous people

²⁴ Wind orchestra originating from the southern part of China, the remote areas in present day's Fujian province, and Taiwanese Minnan community as well as certain Chinese communities in Southeast Asia.

²⁵ Wind orchestra originating from the northern part of China, the administrative and cultural centre of Han civilisation.

²⁶ A genre brought along with Minnan migrants but changed and developed locally in Taiwan.

of Japan, the Ainu, and Austronesians such as Indonesian Balinese, Malaysian Malays and Taiwanese indigenous people were connected. Indeed, for the latter, compelling evidence lies in musical instruments such as the mouth harp and traditional performing arts such as shadow puppetry.²⁷ Being the most powerful country in Asia and demonstrating that Asian countries are culturally linked, Japan might therefore seek to justify its supremacy over, or rather, invasion of and occupation of these same countries.

In the third stage, from the 1950s to the present day, these ethnographic studies and surveys have become legacies contributed by Japanese scholars as they re-establish themselves as benevolent experts and contributors who sympathise with the Taiwanese (Liou, 'editor's preface,' in Kurosawa 2008: 184). For example, Kurosawa produced valuable texts and concrete recordings for studying the pre-1945 Taiwanese indigenous and non-indigenous music. A shortened version of his recordings was sent at the request of Ralph Vaughan Williams, then president of the IFMC (International Folk Music Council), to IFMC headquarters in London and to the UNESCO office in Paris in 1951. Two years later, Kurosawa presented a paper at the sixth IFMC congress in Biarritz, France, based on his studies on Taiwanese indigenous music. His ethnography gained Taiwan worldwide attention, contributing to the development of ethnomusicology, as these materials became study objects in Jaap Kunst's (1955: 151) *Ethnomusicology*, Curt Sachs' (1962: 172) *The Wellsprings of Music*, and Alan Lomax's (1968: 25) *Folksong Style and Culture*.²⁸ In brief, the Japanese scholars such as Kurosawa alongside his collaborator Masu Genjiro helped Taiwan to promote and preserve its music (Wang 2018: 84).

3.2 *Being Indigenous and Singing in Ancestral Tones*

Are they singing songs of their own? If the 2016 Nobel Laureate Bob Dylan (born Robert Allen Zimmerman) heard the popular songs of Taiwanese indigenous people, would he exclaim in

²⁷ A traditional performing art where 'shadows/*wayangs*' are produced through puppet figures made of animal hide/*kulit* rear-projected on a taut linen screen.

²⁸ It is remarkable that Lomax includes Kurosawa's samples for his cantometrics method.

surprise: ‘They are singing my song’? The reality is that Euro-American pop music has had great influence on Taiwanese indigenous musicians. In a workshop held to promote the H.O.T. (the initials of Hualien, Okinawa and Taitung) Island Music Festival, an event I attended on 22 June 2014 at Tiehua Music Village, Taitung, the Paiwan-Rukai mixed musician Dakanow mentioned the origins of his musical inspiration. At the very top of his list was Bob Dylan. Dakanow plays folk guitar, strumming with American country and folk rhythms, plucking in arpeggios and broken chords. Supporting the question I opened this chapter with, but taken from a different occasion, was the comment at the 11th Taiwanese Golden Melody Award 2000: ‘The indigenous people are singing our songs’, the Han Taiwanese judge said, on hearing the award-winning Puyuma musician Paudull.

In the contemporary music of indigenous people, I argue that an excessive mixing of foreign elements has become common. Pop music from the West dominates in the music industry, in recordings and on radio, accompanied by styles from other regions around the world. In writing this, we should bear in mind that some would argue that reggae is not so much Western as Jamaican, so whether appropriation is wrong or right is a moot point. Although styles do not always originate from Europe or America, they are still popularised through Western media and a Western-centric music industry. Pop songs and folk ballads prevail, and this can be seen as music crosses over into the indigenous sphere – for example, among the Amis in the ‘Born to be Pop Diva’ Alin’s decennial selections, *Love Songs* (Avex AVCCD90160/A, 2016), an album published in August 2016. Mixes of Taiwanese indigenous elements and American blues are well received, as, for example, they are juxtaposed on Hu De-fu’s (Photo 3.2, p.177) album, *Congcong* (In a Hurry) (Thirty Seven Productions WFM05001, 2006). As a consequence of the popularity of his music, Hu is proud to acclaim himself as the inventor and promoter of the genre ‘Haiyan Blues’. World music sampling, MIDI arranging and mixing approaches and technology have all been applied, in, for example, in the composition and production of Zheng Jie-

ren for Samingad of their Golden Melody Award-winning ‘Song of Puyuma’²⁹ (see also pp.170–71). Electronic dance music and K-pop within the recent Korean Wave have inspired Suming Rupi, in, for example, his production of ‘*Kayoing*’ and ‘*Kapah*’ (see Chapter Two: 129–51). Reggae was utilised to allow indigenous people to speak when the Matzka band produced ‘*Tuzaizi/Rabbit Kid*’ (see Chapter One: 70–83), a track on their eponymous *Matzka* (EBTC AMP-001, 2010).

The young generation of indigenous musicians adapt pop culture simply by constantly being exposed to its music. This process of acquiring knowledge from what one adores and is interested in was the case for Chalaw, a Taiwanese Amis musician from Hualien, a neighbouring county to Taitung. Chalaw was invited to give a workshop in London in 2016. I attended this; it was held at SOAS, University of London, on 23 September, and was presented as a run-up event to Chalaw’s ensuing performance. In the question and answer section of the presentation, a local audience member expressed his curiosity about Chalaw’s music, suggesting that there is no reason that the music of a Taiwanese indigenous musician should mainly comprise blues, rock and bossa nova. In responding, Chalaw commented that he grew up listening to Bob Dylan, Elvis Presley and the Beatles, and he endorses the quality of all of these. Even though Chalaw was just talking about his idols from the West, I could sense the feeling of excitement that they provoked within him. He further explained that foreign elements needed to be added to make his music appealing at home: according to him, Amis music in its purest form is too simple and too limited. Chalaw exemplified his argument through offering a tune he had composed, varying the accompaniment and switching among indigenous rhythmic constructs and the more fancy blues and rock styles. Although he worked hard to convince the audience, his questioner seemed not to be persuaded, although with courtesy, politeness and a smile on his face, he remarked: ‘Oh, that is fascinating! I wish I could listen to and know more about the music of Taiwanese indigenous people in the future.’

²⁹ youtu.be/topq-X6g90Y, an identical link to Chapter One, fn.60.

Another occasion where fans expected to hear indigenous musicians singing songs of their own tradition came during my fieldwork. In the evening of 6 June 2014, filled with anticipation, I went on a gig given by *Nanwang Jiemeihua* (the ‘Nanwan Sisters’, or in some occasions ‘Sisters of Sakuban’) at Tiehua Music Village. Tiehua is a music venue renovated from the redundant warehouse of Taitung’s railway station, which showcases indigenous popular music. The Nanwan Sisters are an all-singer trio who always jocularly call themselves ‘middle-aged beauties’. They are Puyuma, and by 2014 they had won several awards for their sweet vocals, lyrical melodies and enthralling chorus lines, all distinguishable because of their indigenous origin. Much to my disappointment, the two hours of this live performance mostly consisted of Mandopop, oldies and folksongs, mingling styles and traditions from America, East Asia and Southeast Asia. I have grown familiar with Taiwanese songs because I have been staying in Taiwan for more than 25 years. By coincidence, the trio presented two tunes related to where I was born and brought up: Georgetown, a Malaysian city in the state of Penang. In addition to my life experience, my occupation prior to becoming an academic was working as a keyboardist, MIDI arranger and recording engineer, and this has provided me with a considerable knowledge base about popular song styles. One end of the Nanwan Sisters’ song list that evening depicted the nature of universality and globalisation, represented by internationally well-known and Western pop songs. To be specific, they included The Carpenters’ ‘I long to be close to you’³⁰ and Bette Midler’s ‘The Rose’³¹. The other end focused on the local and indigenous tradition, represented by Puyuma originals such as ‘*Jiemeihua xiaomijiu zuqu*/Mallet Wine, the Sisters’ Medley’³², an adaptation of ancient Puyuma tunes, and ‘*Ruzai tiantang*/Such as in the Paradise’³³, a song written by the late Puyuma composer Baliwakes (see also p.157).

³⁰ youtu.be/-9RSVd3D0bA (accessed 11February 2019).

³¹ youtu.be/eNh9g_fOEI4 (accessed 11February 2019).

³² youtu.be/NEDXbY2gIQo (accessed 11February 2019).

³³ youtu.be/Z9UWTqfQpYM (accessed 11February 2019).

My observation was that the Nanwan Sisters showcased – unintentionally of course – how indigenous musicians have been influenced. The influences are essentially in line with Taiwan’s rich history of colonisation and interaction with foreign cultures. The Japanese have left their legacy, heard in the Nanwan Sisters through ‘*Leiguang shanshan*/The Glittering Tears’³⁴ – which is generally considered in Taiwan as a *shima-uta* tune from Ryukyu Islands. The Japanese legacy was also heard in the 1949 ‘*Zhangchunhua*/Rose Periwinkle’³⁵ (see also p.156). Besides this, works of Minnan composers were also included: ‘*Khan guan e tshiu*/Hold Your Hand’³⁶ and ‘*Suboo e lang*/The One I Admire’³⁷. It was not surprising that the domination of Chinese songs was clear, heard through ‘*Qiuchan* /Cicadas in the Winter’³⁸, a tune composed during the ‘Let’s Sing Our Songs!’ or *Xiaoyuan Minge Yundong* (campus folksong movement) – which thrived in the 1970s through the 1980s. Chinese legacies were also heard through the Mandarin oldies ‘*Qianshou*/Hold Hands’³⁹, ‘*Weihe mengjian ta*/Why I still Dream of Him’⁴⁰ and ‘*Fei*/To fly’⁴¹, all conjuring up nostalgia to the middle-aged audience. Cultural interactions with Southeast Asia were also not left out. The trio rendered ‘*Nanhai Guniang*/Lady from the South China Sea’⁴², a song with eclectic origins, but epitomising the multicultural population of Penang, with its three major groups – the descendants of Han Chinese, Hindus and ethnic Malays. To my surprise and amusement, they shared the fruit of their recent learning, another Malaysian folksong, ‘*Rasa Sayang*’. This was my Malaysian childhood favourite song, but the trio had just become acquainted with it as they toured my tropical and former home country.

Indigeneity may match the general assumption that indigenous musicians will be familiar with their own music tradition and good at practicing it, and that this may bring career op-

³⁴ youtu.be/9ut3K8iW8qI (accessed 11February 2019).

³⁵ youtu.be/7hPu-SPMUeI (accessed 11February 2019).

³⁶ youtu.be/K7N6di4AfLg (accessed 11February 2019).

³⁷ youtu.be/6KYTsigroOw (accessed 11February 2019).

³⁸ youtu.be/-EZHIWtvtNE (accessed 11February 2019).

³⁹ youtu.be/IjB_UHk_I8s (accessed 11February 2019).

⁴⁰ youtu.be/42SchZi53sI (accessed 11February 2019).

⁴¹ youtu.be/gSxtEWOCJns (accessed 11February 2019).

⁴² youtu.be/2vMjKOxa3-I (accessed 11February 2019).

portunities. At the 2014 Australia-Taiwan Indigenous Music Exchange Tour Concerts, an international event co-organised by the Australian and Taiwanese governments, a group of indigenous musicians had benefited for an opportunity to perform overseas. Microwave Jenny, a husband and wife duo of Australian Aboriginal background, was introduced to the Taiwanese public by the Taipei Australian Office (the *de-facto* Australian embassy), playing the role of music ambassadors for Australian indigenous people. I observed their mini concert at National Taitung University (NTTU) on 17 May 2014. While Microwave Jenny were performing, students from the Department of Music, privileged because of their indigenous origins, were waiting their turn to go on stage. These students were dressed up in Amis, Paiwan, Bunun, Beinan and Atayal traditional attire. Their appearance gave the first indication of indigeneity – physical features and traditional clothing – factors that influenced the credibility of their performance although they have little to do with competence in music but create an imagined universe of ethnic and racial typology, much as Ricardo Trimillos argues (2004: 37). Usually, compared with Han Taiwanese, indigenous people have darker skins and deeper facial features, black straight hair and brown eyes. Over time, they came to know how to value their existence, and became more confident of being who they were, holding in high regard their appearance and skin colour, and expressing their feelings in reaction to what the Han had done to them. Also, indigenous performers are often distinguishable by their stage costumes. They dress in traditional outfits. On special occasions, they put on striking headgear and ornaments, along with shoulder-length capes, knitted textiles, waistcoats, embroidery, colourful tapestries and belts, as well as handcrafted bracelets and necklaces.

Traditional costumes of the indigenous people are further distinguished according to their ethnic group. Among the eight students who were ambassadors at the event, two were Paiwan and two Han (dressed as Amis and Beinan); the rest were Rukai, Bunun, Atayal and Amis (Photo 3.1). Five regularly attended my lectures at the university. After living in Taiwan for more than 26 years and in Taitung for nine years, I have many friends and students who are indigenous. The Paiwan, Rukai, Bunun and Amis students can be grouped together as they come

from south and southeastern parts of Taiwan, namely, Taitung and Pingtung counties, while the Atayal student was separated from them in terms of her place of origin.



Photo 3.1 Students of National Taitung University at the Australia-Taiwan indigenous music exchange mini concert on 17 May 2014. Photo by Teoh Yang-ming.

Due to frequent connections, the Paiwan, Rukai, Bunun and Amis have reciprocally influenced each other, and share similar elements in their traditional clothing, such as cutting patterns, graphics and stripes. Their costumes stylistically form a chorus. The Atayal student was distinctly different, though. The Atayal used to live in the middle of the central mountain range, further north, hundreds of kilometres from the traditional territories of the Paiwan, Rukai and Bunun. Therefore, the Atayal developed an isolated clothing tradition with customary white cloth with red stripes (or blue and black).

Indigenous costumes develop according to the living environment and matters relating to their society. The Bunun and Atayal live in high mountains, so they wear shank-guards to protect themselves from being cut by twitch grass. The Amis, especially those in Taitung, learning from Christian missionaries and inspired by religious habits, modified their capes from the clothing of nuns, and fancily embellished them with colourful ornamentation. Shapes of a sharp-

nosed viper's head are all over the Bunun, Paiwan and Rukai clothing, because all three groups have myths about this reptile. Even more than that, the snake is considered sacred, so its outline and lateral triangular skin markings are inspirational within Bunun, Paiwan and Rukai arts, including costume designs. The Paiwan and Rukai live in hierarchical societies, and this is also shown in clothing and ornaments. For example, in Rukai tradition, only young girls are allowed to wear a lily, a symbol of purity, although an exception exists in which hunters who have successfully captured a number of male wild boars might also be allowed to do so with the approval of their chief. Hunters might also decorate their outfits with animal bones, hides and teeth, to portray their bravery. Indigenous musicians' costumes are not just stage costumes, but are a heritage of a people's long developed culture and social system; they also indicate the diverse natural environments in which the indigenous people have lived generation after generation, and the island ecological system which sustains their culture and tradition.⁴³

The second indication of musical indigeneity lies in the music itself. In the preservation of tradition, and highlighting the culture of indigenous people in shaping a national Taiwanese identity, the essence of indigenous music, alongside other aspects of culture, occupies a centre position. Taking the student renditions at the concert, the indigenous students gave three songs, all originating with and popularised by contemporary musicians. Their first song was the 'Song of Puyuma' (see also p.165), a popular song in the early 2000s, when the Het Eyland Formosa Wave trend was strong in promoting indigenouspop (see also Chapter One: 50). This song had featured on Samingad's first album, *Voice of Puyuma* (Magic Stone MSD071, 1999). That album won Samingad best new artist award at the 11th Golden Melody Awards. The awards described her voice as 'the wind of the plains and the rays of the sun'.⁴⁴ Samingad and her uncle, Paudull, another well-established musician, and the duo Hao-en and Jiajia, together with the Nanwan Sisters, all come from the same Beinan clan, the Taitung Nanwan community.

⁴³ For traditional costumes of Taiwanese indigenous people, see Wang Song-shan (2001: 50–56) and Chen Yu-lan (2004: 132–43).

⁴⁴ Taiwan Color Music, at: <http://www.tcmusic.com.tw/cd/samingad/MSD071-EG.htm> (accessed 3 March 2017).

Nanwan, with a population of slightly more than a thousand, has two aliases, Sakuban and Puyuma. The alias Puyuma is so well-known that it refers to the whole Beinan community. Nanwan also has another claim to fame, the *Jinqucun* (Golden Melody village) which has won prizes in the Golden Melody Award since 2000.

Award-winning albums such as *The Ocean* and *Voice of Puyuma* have mainly been produced in collaboration with the Han musician Zheng Jie-ren, and share a common character: the feature songs are inherited from the oral tradition. Zheng, pop- and world music-influenced, told me that Nanwan musicians draw much inspiration from the Christian gospel, from tales of earlier agricultural and hunting lifestyles, and from the complex emotions triggered by their struggles in Taiwanese society (interview, 3 September 2014).⁴⁵ I conclude that indigenous musicians are influenced by a great diversity of styles, and mix styles from outside the indigenous tradition in an on-going process. However, indigenous musicians such as Suming and Paudull state clearly the origin of their music (namely, the traditions of the Amis and Puyuma). Their songs are drawn from their oral tradition, often having been taught to them by their grandparents or community elders. In other words, indigenous musicians give high respect to their heritage, the so-called *gutiao* (ancient tunes). The ‘Song of Puyuma’, then, is an adaptation of Beinan *gutiao* rendered as world music.

The second song at the concert, ‘*Laisu*/Song of the Night’⁴⁶, was also a *gutiao*, but from the Paiwan. The Paiwan are good at hymns and lyrical chants, as epitomised by the solo ‘*Laisu*’. This ancient tune with Paiwan lyrics was sung by postgraduate student Liu Yi-xiang (Cemelesai Pasasauv, using his Paiwan name), who comes from Majia (called Makazayazaya by the Paiwanese) Township. Majia shares its Paiwanese origin with Paumauma, the community where ‘*Laisu*’ originated. ‘*Laisu*’ conveys thoughts of place: remembering the past, cherishing the present, and venerating the natural environment (Yu, ed., 1998: 130–31). The Paiwan used to live

⁴⁵ ‘Beinan community, Nanwan Buluo’ (in Mandarin), *Electronic Journal of the Indigenous People*, Council of Indigenous People, 12/18, 2014, at: <http://ihc.apc.gov.tw/Journals.php?pid=625&id=817> (accessed 4 March 2017)

⁴⁶ youtu.be/fiqRViZV1eg (accessed 11 February 2019).

amid mountain plains and hunt, plant and gather from the forest. They would assemble together at dusk, singing in the sunset. Their voices would echo amid the valleys of the southern mountain range around Dawu (Kavulugan) mountain, which crosses the borders between Taitung and Pingtung counties. They would linger as they marked the passing of a day. ‘Ancient tunes’ have developed over time; they became a tradition by being passed down from generation to generation. Their lyrics are nostalgic, telling stories, narrating history and unfolding myths through which the people’s roots are traced. More importantly, they are rich in affection and sentiment; they convey thoughts, endow blessings and evoke contemplation.

The third song at the student concert, ‘Song of Tafalong’⁴⁷, was also a *gutiao* but from an Amis community (or Pangcah, as the Hualien Amis call themselves), the Tafalong community (or *buluo* in Mandarin) in Hualien County.⁴⁸ According to my 2013 research, this song was remembered by elders, and as a childhood experience of the Tafalong shaman and chief Lin Zheng-zhi. It was a song about the ancestors, and told how in ancient times, when Pangcah walked to work through forests and hiked up mountains to plant crops, the adults would sing and chant, holding their children, young and weak, in their arms. In this way, children would be distracted during the exhausting journeys, and leave behind any feelings of fatigue.⁴⁹ This song is considered to always comfort the Pangcah’s hearts, and serves as a reminder to them not to forget their origin and the hardships which their ancestors endured. Tafalong’s Pangcah used to travel from one place to another, crossing mountainous areas in the search for richer living environments; they practiced unsettled agriculture. In his re-adaptation and re-arrangement of the ‘Song of Tafalong’, Lin was inspired and motivated by preserving the Pangcah tradition, its music and dance. This sort of effort is in line with the endeavour to overcome social problems such as unemployment and economic trouble. Last but not least, the song is pentatonic, typical of the music of Taiwanese indigenous people.

⁴⁷ youtu.be/56Gox6QuhAI (accessed 12 February 2019).

⁴⁸ *INDIEVOX*, at: <http://www.indievox.com/song/91907> (accessed 3 March 2017).

⁴⁹ Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Portal, at: http://www.tipp.org.tw/news_article.asp?F_ID=27350&FT_No=1 (accessed 5 March 2016).

So, Taiwanese indigenous songs are recognised by their supposedly ancient tunes, which are intimately bound up with sentiments about the natural environment, by indigenous languages, and through their pentatonicism. On one hand, the musical characteristics seem similar to those of other ethnic groups across the world; on the other hand, they emphasise an original ethnic identity of those who ‘come into their own, on the basis of their own cultures and traditions’ (Hall 2003: 238). Where Taiwanese indigenous people are intimately dependent on the culture of ‘mountain and sea’, they resemble indigenous groups from other places. For example, Native Americans are reported to respect the ‘spirits of the earth’: symbols and stories of nature are revelations and lessons taught by ancestors to endow people with wisdom (Lake-Thom 1997: 1–20). Again, through reviving *joik*, Sami performance ‘provides opportunities to articulate connections to the nature environment’ (Hilder 2015: 119). As for music and language, Taiwanese indigenous people are, then, far from alone. For example, Australian Aboriginal languages are important mediums with which to express complex thoughts; lyrics in Aboriginal languages are vital in preserving and teaching the languages (Dunbar-Hall and Gibson 2004: 158). The pentatonicism of Taiwanese indigenous music is also not an isolated phenomenon, but is common across much of the world, in, for example, the Andes (Olsen and Sheehy 1998: 217) – although, as noted by Thomas Turino (2004: 141), it should not be considered predominant across all the Andes. Matching Turino’s observation to Taiwan, among the three songs the NTTU students presented, the ‘Song of Puyuma’ and ‘Song of Tavalong’ are pentatonic but ‘*Lai Su*’ is not.

3.3 Right of Blood or Right of Soil – Jia-shandige

During the martial law period, many songs were composed in the indigenous style, but some of them were composed by non-indigenous musicians, as is generally believed, for example, in the

case of ‘*Yama no musume*/Girl from the Mountain Community’ (1939).⁵⁰ Such songs were labelled *jia-shandige* (after Huang 2009) or *fang-shandige*.⁵¹ Literally, *jia* means ‘fake’ and *fang* ‘imitated’, so the labels imply ‘counterfeit’ of the ‘genuine’, with a sense of the pejorative. It is clear that the coining of *jia-shandige* was closely related to the principle of ‘right of blood’ (or ‘*Jus Sanguinis*’, Kostakopoulou 2008: 26–27), one of the principles of national law. This principle has been applied to the music of indigenous people in that a genre is determined by the bloodlines of its creator – music may be automatically an indigenous composition if its creator has indigenous identity of ethnic origin, or otherwise, it would be non-indigenous. Take ‘Girl from the Mountain Community’ for example, its skeleton melody is an indigenous folksong adapted by Deng Yu-xian (Minnan Taiwanese), and its lyrics were written in Japanese by Kurihara Hakuya (Japanese).⁵² A rendition given by Suke Tsuka Sawako (Japanese-Atayal)⁵³ is the earliest known version of the song, and its non-indigenous composer also makes it the earliest known *jia-shandige*. Covered by a number of indigenous and non-indigenous singers, lyrics of this song have been re-written in Mandarin, Minnan, Cantonese, Hakka and English – but not in any indigenous language, as far as this research found. These have become, among others, a Mandarin version, ‘*Shiba Guniang Yiduohua*/The Pretty Eighteen-year-old Girl’⁵⁴ and an English version, ‘Secret Place’.⁵⁵

Probably the best known *jia-shandige* is ‘*Gaoshanqing*/High Mountain Green’⁵⁶; the original composer is uncertain but this song is widely thought to be a co-effort of Deng Yu-ping, Zhang Che and/or Zhou Lan-ping made in 1963. Other examples of popular songs labelled

⁵⁰ youtu.be/I0uvsusVpbQ (accessed 22 July 2018).

⁵¹ *Fang-shandige* is used at ‘The Solace of Music: Shared Memories of Contemporary Taiwanese Indigenous Song’ exhibition in 2018, National Museum of Prehistory, Taitung.

⁵² ‘Manuscript of Deng Yu-xian’, *100 years of Taiwan’s Sounds*, at: <http://audio.nmth.gov.tw/audio/zh-TW/Article/Forums/0c1504fc-a611-4350-84ff-9bfe59eed685> (accessed 22 July 2018).

⁵³ ‘The Original Singer of “the Girl from Mountain Community”’, *Xuite movie*, at: <https://vlog.xuite.net/play/OXFxTWxDLTE3OTQzNzExLmZsdg==/原主唱佐塚佐和子-蕃社の娘-鄧雨賢曲歌詞平假名注音-中文翻譯-> (accessed 22 July 2018).

⁵⁴ youtu.be/UwMxCvmYyCE (accessed 22 July 2018).

⁵⁵ youtu.be/BdY0_ptMTl0 (accessed 22 July 2018).

⁵⁶ youtu.be/tnm9yXmqspI (accessed 22 July 2018).

as *jia-shandige* are ‘*Nanuwa Qingge/Nanuwa Love Song*’⁵⁷ by Han Taiwanese Zuo Hong-yuan (or Gu Yue, using his pen-name, 1972), ‘*Bilancun de Guniang/Girl from Bilan Village*’⁵⁸ by Taiwanese Wang Da-chuan and Zhou Lan-ping (1958), and ‘*Lishan chiqinghua/Lovesick Girl of Lishan*’⁵⁹ by Yu Wen (1969). None of these songs have been composed or re-composed in indigenous languages, except in the interlude of ‘*Gaoshanqing*’, among others, the pentatonic melody line was sung in vocables ‘*hohaiyan*’ and ‘*naruwan*’ which are commonly heard in indigenous songs. The 1960s through to the 1970s saw a flourishing period of *jia-shandige*, which were mostly sung and popularised by indigenous singers such as Wanshalang, a notable Puyuma artist who established a successful career at a young age. However, so-called *jia-shandige* songs have recently become a target of negative criticism as being falsely exotic (see, for example, Huang 2009). That is to say, their representations of indigenous men and women are either beautiful and alluringly young, or strong and virile. Thus, the songs are criticised for oversimplifying self–other comparisons between Han urban populations and mountain habitat indigenous people. One spin-off from this is that even the ‘real’ *shandige* have been despised, especially by scholars such as Hsu Tsang-houei and Shi Wei-liang (see Chapter 5: 236). To them, the genre is fake, empty and disappointing, ‘influenced by Japanese and other kinds of Taiwanese popular music’. As an ethnomusicologist who is also a practising musician, my observation may be different to that of pure anthropologists. My question would be that, beyond the origins of the creator and the imagined imagery of the people, should indigenous subject matter – for instance, the aspiration of the people, the music and the cultural heritage – be taken into account when considering what constitutes an indigenous composition? How should we define indigenouspop?

To answer these questions, I argue that indigenous people will always find ways to sustain their tradition, no matter how difficult their livelihoods are. Music reflects their endeavours

⁵⁷ youtu.be/jRitkM-Ix4w (accessed 24 July 2018).

⁵⁸ youtu.be/4OQ_Ih8Kf0k (accessed 24 July 2018).

⁵⁹ youtu.be/l3OphvmePzo (accessed 24 July 2018).

in the face of harsh competition with, and the dominance of, foreign culture. In such situations, traditional music has branched out into indigenospop to survive Japanisation and Sinification, and has become imprinted with Japanese, Mandarin, Western and Minnan popular music elements. Although indigenospop is eclectic and experimental in nature, it is a musical tradition from ‘inside Taiwan’, prevailing over musics rooted in Japan, China and the West, ‘the outside’. It distinguishes Taiwan at international occasions, as it did as early as the time when US President Dwight Eisenhower visited in 1960. Then, the Nanwang Performing and Entertaining Troupe, a group of popular singers and instrumentalists from the Taitung Puyuma Nanwang community, performed for him in Taipei. Their performance was a symbol of Taiwanese-ness, a national identity that distinguished Taiwan from other countries, especially China. Furthermore, indigenospop reflects Taiwan’s history. First, the benefits of vinyl records reached indigenous musicians in the 1950s, as seen in the well reception of indigenous popular music, among others, the song ‘*Malan Zhilian/Malan Love Affair*’⁶⁰, an Amis song came into existence in the early 1960s that in later years with re-written Mandarin lyrics to become ‘*Malan Gunian/Young Lady of Malan*’. ‘*Malan*’ was undoubtedly popularised by Lu Jing-zi, the *shandi gehou*/queen singer of the mountain songs (see Chapter Five: Songs of the Mountain People), who hailed from the Taitung Malan community. Second, indigenous song showed incipient signs of awakening Taiwan’s localisation as the Paiwan-Puyuma musician Hu De-fu (or Ara Kimbo using his self-identified Japanese name, Photo 3.2) spearheaded the ‘to sing our own songs’ movement in the 1970s. Then and third, songs were a carrier for the social movement in the 1980s, as Hu continued to initiate protests against mistreatments endured by indigenous labourers at coal mines, most remarkably in his composition ‘*Weishenme/Why*’.⁶¹ Lastly, indigenospop reflects the harsh realities of capitalist society, hence the 1970s ‘*Liulang dao Taipei/Wandering before Arriving in Taipei*’⁶² expresses indigenous workers’ homesickness and the difficulties they

⁶⁰ youtu.be/FbBKtaoMG-I (accessed 24 July 2018).

⁶¹ youtu.be/QVOWLS2TtSY (accessed 24 July 2018).

⁶² youtu.be/0Ky-KPMBE_M (accessed 24 July 2018).

faced when they had to earn their living in big cities. *Liulang* literally means ‘wander’ in Mandarin; and a part of the melody of ‘*Liulang dao Taipei*’ was used as the introduction section of Panai Kusui’s composition ‘Wandering’ (see Chapter One: 82–93).



Photo 3.2 Hu De-fu (standing) talking at a workshop at National Taitung University, Taitung where the author (front) attended, on 24 December 2010. Photo by Teoh Yang-ming.

Perhaps listeners should place themselves in the position of the musicians, and take a Taiwanese perspective to understand the projection of depressed feelings under foreign regimes and at the cultural ‘invasion’ (used in a similar way as in the phenomenon of the ‘British Invasion’) that they have faced. That is to say, indigenouspop has been an outlet for indigenous people, who had long lived peacefully in a natural environment, at a time when they had to endure rapid changes. In contrast to the ‘right of blood’, the definition of indigenouspop is a matter of the ‘right of soil’ (or ‘*Jus soli*’, Vincent 2002) determined by the people’s relationship to social and cultural change on the island. However, I do not suggest something would automatically be

indigenous merely due to the Taiwanese or indigenous background of the composer. Even the incorporation of musical indigeneity – lyrics in indigenous languages, vocables, pentatonicism and the inclusion of ancient tunes – can be deceptive, since these elements can be easily appropriated to create commercial products. Instead, we should look for the mentality and spirit of indigenous people, that is to say, how the people comply with Taiwan’s social system despite its cruelty, how they look for ways to sustain their pride, and how they make vocal their suffering and their earnest aspirations. These are the elements essential in determining an indigenous composition.

Counter-evidence for *jia-shandige* was provided by Lu Jing-zi, the queen singer of *shandige*, whom I interviewed on 15 May 2018. Looking for a way to claim her rights as the composer of several popular *shandige* such as ‘*Taiwanhao – an early Amis version*’⁶³, ‘*Hohaiyan*’ and ‘*Gaoshanqing*’⁶⁴, Lu told me the stories behind these songs that inspired her to create them. In a reserved way, she mentioned that the stories were the ‘secrets’ of the songs, and worried that what she deemed as the sole evidence of her being the composer would be stolen again. Lu was not able to notate or read notation, so needed another musician to write down her music as she rendered a melody fresh from her mind, so that this melody could be recorded on paper. According to Lu, she extemporised a new melody, sometimes enunciating notes for warming up her voice but more often recalling daily life experiences and expressing her feelings about events through music. Her melodies, either hummed in vocables or in Amis and Mandarin lyrics, often caught the attention of other musicians and her co-workers. Being productive in creating appealing melodies, she was on many occasions asked to record her extemporisations at breaks in scheduled recording sessions. Back in the 1950s and through to the 1970s, intellectual property laws were loose, and indigenous musicians were relaxed and unfamiliar with their

⁶³ youtu.be/y7TsxTzVVK8 (accessed 24 July 2018).

⁶⁴ There are several tunes named ‘*hohaiyan*’; here I refer to the one previously discussed on p.157; and the YouTube link of *Gaoshanqing* has been provided in fn.56.

rights. They were either persuaded to let other musicians or the owners of record companies replace their names, or were shielded from the reality where composers' names were intentionally written down incorrectly for the benefit of copyright infringers, leading to a total neglect of indigenous composers' rights. In general, indigenous people were simple and innocent, subject to deception at their places of work and disadvantaged when competing with street-wise businessmen in the music industry. Currently, the only evidence Lu holds is her stories, but information about the 'feelings', 'romantic incidents' and 'plots and tales about people' can hardly be considered strong and solid enough to support her in an intellectual property court. Nevertheless, as someone who has talked with her, and who has listened to demonstrations of her composition ability, I believe her claims. In this sense, if Lu's stories are true, then many of these '*jia-shandige*' have to be distanced from the labels of 'fake' and 'imitated', as they began as genuinely composed works by an indigenous musician.

Hence, the term *jia-shandige* marks a false agenda. It cannot distinguish compositions according to a composer's identity – an ethnic origin should not be a determining factor of a song's quality of being 'genuine' or 'fake'. If we look at European classical music, we can see how composers of different nationalities and identities have been included in the tradition, even if these composers were originated from ethnicities other than German and Austrian who dominated classical music. Frédéric Chopin who is considered one of the greatest composers in classical music, and who incorporated Poland's nationalistic elements and folk idioms into his compositions, was originated from Poland. Similarly but from a different ethnic group (or country), Béla Bartók collaborated with his fellow Hungarian Zoltán Kodály to compose folk-influenced pieces; both musicians are still considered classical-oriented. For those who are Asians or Africans, through practicing music nationalism and reacting against the dominance of mainstream European classical tradition, they might probably be included in the tradition too if their compositions are based on the central norms and common-practices of classical music (which were codified between 16th and 20th century). This scenario is also true in African American music; for example, a blues piece is still considered blues even if it is created by a European or

an Asian. Along the continuum of Taiwan's post-World War II history, musicians of a specific group have always been influenced by the works of others. So, generally speaking, local genres such as indigenous, Minnan and Hakka were once suppressed but now flourish; foreign Western and Chinese genres were once dominant but their influence lessens; and Japan's legacy retains only a modest presence. Under such circumstances, Taiwan's popular musics turn into hybrid genres in their own various ways. For example, the Anglo-American 'Dreaming of Home and Mother' became the Mandarin 'Songbie/Farewell',⁶⁵ and the Japanese '俺らは東京へ来たけれど' / 'Although We had Arrived in Tokyo'⁶⁶ became the Minnan 'Ma-ma tshiann li-ia po-tiong/Mama Please Take Care of Yourself'.⁶⁷ Hence, we see two sides of the same coin: participants of various backgrounds are attracted to indigenospop, and in reverse, their participation generates a norm through which to adopt multiple musical heritages. From a positive perspective, indigenospop has been the grit in the oyster that turns into a pearl in the shell – that is to say, once deemed a low culture and a target for negative criticism as exoticism, this music not only carries fertile information about Taiwan's post-World War II social and cultural change, but is also transformed into an appealing and entertaining style for cross-ethnic fans in today's Taiwan.

3.4 2000 presidential inauguration: Beinan's indigeneity for

Taiwanese-ness

3.4.1 The Indigenous Wave and the Best National Anthem

Public interest in indigeneity in Taiwan has risen since the *Yuanlangchao* (Indigenous Wave, also known as Het Eyland Formosa Wave, see Chapter One: 50 and p.170) started in 1997, spreading out from the home island and making many indigenous musicians international pop stars. Indigenous musicians such as Zhang Hui-mei (Photo 3.3) and Difang have emerged on the

⁶⁵ youtu.be/Rpkrme2mCcI (accessed 24 July 2018).

⁶⁶ youtu.be/B1kFFUFCCgg (accessed 24 July 2018).

⁶⁷ youtu.be/COmf4pN9TKg (accessed 24 July 2018).

international scene, and the trend has been sustained; its music continues to appeal. Many of the musicians come from Taitung. Indigenous music continues to thrive in commercial recordings, local performances and international events; this phenomenon was coined by internet author Jimmy Lin as a ‘New Wave of Indigenouspop’.⁶⁸ *Yuanlangchao* was originally the title of a compilation CD which included a collection of mixed traditional and contemporary compositions by indigenous musicians such as Zhang, Difang, Paudull and Samingad.



Photo 3.3 Zhang Hui-mei performing at a concert in Taitung. Photo by Hsu Ming-cheng, used with permission.

However, the Republic of China’s (ROC) national anthem – that is, Taiwan’s national anthem – is controversial. It comes from an exhortation by the first president, Sun Yat-sen, at the opening ceremony of the Whampoa Military Academy on 16 June 1924, and was designated as the Nationalist (Kuomintang (KMT)) party song in 1928, with a melody by Cheng Mao-yun. It was then used by the KMT government in mainland China as a temporary national anthem into the early 1930s.⁶⁹ The Sun-Cheng composition finally became the official anthem in 1937, still on the mainland, after two competitions for lyrics had been held in which no entry was

⁶⁸ Liu, Alexandria, Brent Heinrich (trans), ‘A New Wave of Indigenouspop – The Music of Purdul and Samingad’, *Taiwan Panorama magazine*, at: <http://www.taiwan-panorama.com/en/Articles/Details?Guid=c1270a25-759e-44fc-a702-1fc3a84ac91d&CatId=3> (accessed 3 April 2017).

⁶⁹ The Republic of China Year Book 2016 (p.6), at: http://issuu.com/eyroc/docs/the_republic_of_china_yearbook_2016 (accessed 16 March 2017).

deemed appropriate. So, what has become the ROC national anthem was in reality originally a KMT party song. Since 2000, there have been three political changes in Taiwan, and in these, the KMT lost their mandate twice. The KMT's Three People's Principles is no longer an ideology trusted by the people nationwide. It is clear that today's Taiwanese generally do not uphold these as the appropriate foundation of the nation.

Furthermore, the national anthem's popularity has been questioned. There have been two polarised attitudes towards it: on one hand, it evokes and eulogizes the patriotism of people and their recognition of Taiwan as a sovereign country. In 1936, when it applied to the mainland, it was crowned the 'best national anthem of the Games' at the Berlin Olympics.⁷⁰ On the other hand, its slow and solemn arrangement is often said to be boring and monotonous. For example, the opening phrases develop from a motive of repeated long notes, taken from the tonic major triad: 'do-do mi-mi so-so mi do'. On 12 March 2017, sociologist Lee Ming-tsung published the results of a survey of 139 prospective students for his music sociology course. These students study at National Taiwan University, and they named the ROC national anthem their most favourite song on a 'wish to vanish' list.⁷¹

The widely circulated score is available in *The Republic of China Yearbook* (2016: 7),⁷² reproduced here as Notation 3.1. This score has been hand-notated and used for many years, is posted on Wikipedia,⁷³ and has also been used by researchers such as the American ethnomusicologist Nancy Guy (2000: 108). It is believed that the accompaniment was composed by Xiao You-mei, and later revised by Chao Yuen-ren and Huang Zi – Chao was the father of the well-known Harvard ethnomusicologist Rulan Chao Pian.⁷⁴ It is worth noting that all three of these arrangers were classically-trained, so their orchestrations matched Western conventions.

⁷⁰ *The Republic of China Yearbook 2001*, at: http://web.archive.org/web/20110606062801/http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/yearbook/2001/national_anthem.htm (accessed 18 March 2017).

⁷¹ 'Songs NTU students wish for their vanishing' (in Mandarin), *Liberty Times Net*, at: <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/life/breakingnews/2001574> (accessed 18 March 2017).

⁷² http://issuu.com/eyroc/docs/the_republic_of_china_yearbook_2016 (accessed 16 March 2017).

⁷³ <http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-tw/中華民國國歌> (accessed 18 March 2017).

⁷⁴ Li Shi-zhao ed., *Collection of Songs of the United Nation* (Shanghai: Shanghai Education Books, 1947: 20).

三民主義，吾黨所宗，以建民國，
 San - min - chu - i, wu - tang so tsung, i - chien min -
 San - min - chu - i, our aim shall be; To found a free

國，以進大同，咨爾多士，為民前鋒，夙
 kuo, i - chin ta - t'ung. Tzu erh to - shih wei min hsien - feng, su -
 land, world peace be our stand. Lead on, com - rades, van - guards ye are; Hold

夜匪懈，主義是從，矢勤矢勇，必信必
 yeh fei - hsieh, chu - i shih ts'ung. Shih ch'in, shih yung, pi hsin, pi
 fast your aim. by sun and star. Be ear-nest and brave, your coun-try to

忠，一心一德，貫徹始終！
 chung; i - hsin, i - te, kuan - ch'e shih - chung.
 save; One heart, one soul, one mind, one goal!

Notation 3.1 The widely circulated R.O.C./Taiwan National Anthem score illustrated in *The Republic of China Yearbook 2016*.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Reproduced from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Anthem_of_the_Republic_of_China (accessed 18 March 2017).

The period from 2000 to today has seen an increasing importance and greater involvement of indigenous culture in shaping Taiwanese national identity. I will now analyse three versions of the national anthem to show the changes in respect to local nationalism: as used in the 2000 presidential inauguration, the 2011 centennial celebration, and the 2016 presidential inauguration.

3.4.2 *The 2000 Attempt to Distinguish Taiwan and Pursuit Taiwanese-ness*

At the inauguration ceremony for the new president on 20 May 2000, the Beinan (or Puyuma) singer Zhang Hui-mei (Amei) was invited to sing the national anthem⁷⁶. Zhang was selected for two reasons: she is a bestselling diva and the number one pop icon, and she is indigenous.

Across the international border, Zhang made the cover of *Asiaweek*, won prestigious awards, and was the face of brands in China, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. In her home country, though, she represented Taiwanese indigenous people. Not only was Zhang honoured as the ‘Pride of Taiwan’ but also as the ‘Pride of the indigenous people’. The indigenous people and their indigeneity are essentially from ‘inside Taiwan’, distinguishing Taiwan from mainland China, as ‘the outside’. This awareness came to prominence in 2000, when the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was elected to govern. It is conscious of Taiwan as an independent entity, promoting its territory as distinct and different from the earlier Chinese self-identification. The DPP are against reunification with China, and identify Taiwanese-ness through indigenous cultural resources, and they made their very first attempt to do this at the very moment that the new president, Chen Shui-bian, was sworn into office on 20 May.

The 2000 rendition was conventional. It was accompanied by a symphony orchestra and choir, with the lead singer, Zhang, centre-stage. The monophonic, solemn pace and hymn-like arrangement was driven by a unison melody supported by diatonic harmony. Borrowing from the American civil right activist Malcolm Boyd’s (1923–2015) five categories of national anthems (hymns, marches, operatic tunes, folk tunes, and fanfare; Fornäs 2012: 150), the rendition

⁷⁶ youtu.be/fHsZRfOurQ8 (accessed 13 February 2019).

leant towards being a hymn, an approach adhering to classical European musical convention. The ‘meta design’ generated a ‘generic’ nationalism, as Martin Daughtry (2003: 44) might argue, by musical means signalling a musical nationalism, as a kind of ‘specific supranational genre’, perceived as sounding familiarly ‘anthemic’ rather than specific to a nation (see also Schiller 2009: 32; Connell & Gibson 2003; and Biddle & Knights 2007). This anthemic meta-design left Zhang little room to explore her trademark vocals, or to incorporate vigorous dance moves to create an infectious stage performance. In rather formal operatic stage attire, with heavy make-up, and with simple but elegant hair, she sang standing to attention. She had no opportunity to showcase Beinan indigenous music practice, in which ancient tunes, non-lexical vocables, traditional stage costume and dance would occupy a significant part.

I translate the Mandarin lyrics to English – in phrases and whole sentences rather than word for word:

San Min Zhu I – the Three People’s Principles, these are what we cherish.

This is our ideology for establishing the Republic of China.

Our country will be an ideal state.

And you, you are the vanguards.

Together we work hard and stick firmly to the three principles.

Through persisting with hard work, courage, faith and loyalty,

We will safeguard our country and fulfil our goals.

These are our virtues. These determine our future.

Also, I have transcribed the 2000 rendition in Notation 3.2. The yearbook’s score is in C major but it was performed in B major. In order to make comparison with Notation 3.1 easier, I transpose the B major version to C in Notation 3.2. I have also corrected the wrong note notated in the yearbook, aligned ledger lines, assigned additional time signatures, re-drawn metric lines for the 8th bar and 12th bar (for an accurate representation of the downbeats, upbeats, on-beats and off-beats of the music), marked tempo, indicated chord progressions, centred notes to spaces

and lines, and finally, have produced the score with Finale notation software. Why does the yearbook not do this, given it is such an essential song?

♩ = 58-62

Zhang Hui-mei
(the lead singer)

三民主義，吾黨所宗，以建民國，以進大同。
SAN MIN ZHU YI, WU DANG SUO ZONG, YI JIAN MIN GUO YI JIN DA TONG.

String and Brass Section, and Choir
(the accompaniment)

9

lead

咨爾多士，為民前鋒；夙夜匪懈，主義是從。矢
ZI ER DUO SHI, WEI MIN QIAN FENG; SU YE FEI XIE ZHU YI SHI CONG, SHI

Acc

13

lead

勤矢勇，必信必忠，一心一德，貫徹始終。
QIN SHI YONG BI XIN BI ZHONG YI XIN YI DE GUAN CHE SHI ZHONG.

Acc

Percussions

TIMPANI

CYMBAL

Notation 3.2 National Anthem of R.O.C. transcribed from rendition at inauguration of President Chen Shui-bian on 20 May 2000. Translation and transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.

The 2000 presidential inauguration marked the commencement of a new era: Taiwan would be governed by a party that is against reunification with China. The ruling party to 2008, and again from 2016 onwards when it led the Pan-Green Coalition, has advocated a general use of ‘Taiwan’ as the country’s name instead of ‘Republic of China’. Members and supporters strongly champion a substitution for the national anthem and usually refuse to sing this KMT

party song as the anthem. For example, former vice-president Annette Lu was filmed in 2006 keeping her lips tight shut all through the song,⁷⁷ and Tsai Ing-weng, the incumbent Taiwan president, has always deliberately skipped singing the opening phrases ‘*San Min Zhu I, wudang suo zong*’ (the Three People’s Principles, these are what our party cherish).⁷⁸

One consequence which was never anticipated by Zhang was that she became the target for political conflict between Taiwan and China after her performance. She was labelled a ‘green artist’ by the mainland Chinese government, in their eyes a supporter of separatism and independence. The furious communist authorities forbade her to perform in mainland China for more than four years, until July 2004. Of course, China would never admit to this unspoken ban. Under pressure from Beijing, the company Sprite also terminated their contract with Zhang, removing her from their advertising, and Chinese radio stations stopped broadcasting her songs.⁷⁹ However, her case was not unprecedented or exclusive. In an attempt to punish criticism of its policies and government, China maintains a blacklist of individuals who are not permitted to enter its territory. The American actor Brad Pitt got his unspoken ban after he angered the authorities by appearing in the 1997 film *Seven Years in Tibet*, as did Richard Gere because of his support for Tibetan independence, and Harrison Ford was similarly banned from entering Tibet because he had spoken before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee in support of Tibet.⁸⁰

3.5 2011 ROC Centennial Celebrations: Song of the Pan-indigenous

Zhang’s performance kick-started a new era in which indigeneity became the official identification of Taiwan. Since 2000, as indigenous performance has become a default setting in government-organised festivities, indigenous musicians and dancers have found themselves in demand;

⁷⁷ ‘Ruling party DPP transformed’ (in Mandarin), 14 May 2006, *Epoch Times*, at: <http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/6/5/13/n1317283.htm> (accessed 13 March 2017).

⁷⁸ ‘Tsai criticised for not singing national anthem’ (in Mandarin), *Liberty Times*, at: <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/politics/breakingnews/1472204> (accessed 13 March 2017).

⁷⁹ ‘Zhang sing at Beijing’ (in Mandarin), *Apple Daily*, at: <http://www.appledaily.com.tw/appledaily/article/headline/20040801/1126291/> (accessed 13 March 2017).

⁸⁰ Darvich, Khashyar, ‘Celebrities and others banned from entering Tibet or China’, at: <http://www.dailailamafilm.com/celebrities-and-others-banned-from-entering-tibet-or-china-109> (accessed 20 March 2017).

they are invited for celebrations and to perform for tourists. For example, Atayal Gao-jin Su-mei (or Ciwas Ali using her Atayal name) was invited to sing the national anthem in 2002 at the national day celebration; so was Ji Xiao-jun at the inauguration for the re-elected Chen Shui-bian in 2004. Music indigeneity gives the Taiwanese a sense of pride and cultural ownership, thereby becoming an asset with which the people can identify themselves. The facilitation of this through music expresses Taiwanese-ness, and often, to the ire of the mainland Chinese regime, a pro-independence act. Not surprisingly, because of Ji's singing at the inauguration of Chen, she was also barred from performing in China late in 2004.⁸¹

Among the national anthem renditions featuring musical indigeneity, a version at the 2011 ROC's centennial celebration stands out⁸². This version has been given repeatedly at international and national events such as the opening ceremony of an international baseball competition, the *Asia Series 2013*, and at the 2016 National Inter-Collegiate Athletic Games and the 2016 National Inter-High School Games. It was sung in the celebration of National Day (the 'Double Ten Day') on 10 October 2011, commemorating 100 years of the Wuchang Uprising of 1911 (10-10 or double ten), which led to the collapse of the Qing Dynasty and the establishment of the Republic of China on 1 January 1912. In 2011, the anthem singing group was selected through a competition among five teams which represented five different counties. The 100-delegate Taitung group won the contest: it comprised representatives from Minnan, Hakka, Han Taiwanese, new residents, and seven indigenous groups, all from Taitung. The group featured Chen Shu-chu, a vegetable vendor and philanthropist who was honoured as one of the 100 heroes in the 'Time 100' for 2010, and other venerables including magistrate Huang Jian-ting, Council Speaker Rao Qing-ling, indigenous musicians Hu De-fu, Paudull, Suming, Biung, the Nanwan Sisters, and Difang's son Jiang Jin-xing, along with the Amis professional baseball player Zhang Tai-shan,⁸³ Lin Ching-tsai and Tsai Mei-ling (professors at NTTU), and students

⁸¹ 'Taiwanese Artists Avoid Singing National Anthem' (in Mandarin), *Liberty Times*, at: <http://ent.ltn.com.tw/news/paper/433962> (accessed 20 March 2017).

⁸² youtu.be/p1QYt0oexp8 (accessed 13 February 2019).

⁸³ 'National Day Celebrated by Multitude of Common People' (in Mandarin), *Independence Evening Post*, at: http://www.idn.com.tw/news/news_content.php?artid=20111010abcd003 (accessed 18 March 2017).

Zhang Shi-yin, Sun Jia-lu, Liu Yi-xiang, and other Taitung friends (Photo 5.1, p.263). The version of the national anthem sung on 10 October 2011 was taken from the afore-mentioned 2011 ROC's centennial celebration and a music video⁸⁴ issued to promote tourism as part of the celebration. This video was a production by Kuangchishe, with the music arranged by Lee Che-yi, featuring the Evergreen Symphony Orchestra and the Taipei Philharmonic Chorus, and filmed by Hu Yu-zhen.⁸⁵ The key figure was Lee Che-yi, classically trained but eclectic, mixing contemporary and traditional Taiwanese styles. Lee, a Han Taiwanese composer and harpist, is particularly prolific in producing music portraying Taiwanese characters; his recent project, *Wansheng* (The Sound of Taiwan Band), uses a 25-member string band established in February 2017 which performs a diverse range of Taiwanese music.

The video possesses one major advantage: it is able to depict Taiwanese-ness through footage of landscapes, costumes, festivals, food and dances of its multiple ethnic groups, alongside showcasing musical indigeneity. The opening image is of Yushan, the Jade Mountain, often capped with thick snow in winter to make the entire peak shine like stainless jade – hence its name. This iconic landmark is the highest mountain on the island, famous for its natural beauty and valued for its pristine forests and its diversity of fauna. Following the opening image, a man dressed in Atayal customary rectangular cloth, white and red with blue-black stripes, sings the loud vocables ‘*naruwan ho hin naah hohaiyan*’ to which the chorus responds ‘*naruwan*’. The vocables are the first indigenous musical feature, and the call and response the second. Then, a woman, also dressed in indigenous traditional costume but from the Amis, repeats the opening phrases and the chorus echoes her. The settings shift to two tourist hotspots, namely, Taitung *Sansiantai* (platform of three celestial beings) and Hualien *Qixingtian* (pond of the seven stars), both located by the Pacific Ocean. The Atayal used to live in the middle of the central mountain range, and the Amis along Taiwan's eastern coast.

2017).

⁸⁴ youtu.be/p1QYt0oexp8, see fn.82

⁸⁵ ‘Premier Attends Music Video Launch’ (in Mandarin), *Executive Yuan*, at: http://www.ey.gov.tw/News_Content.aspx?n=F8BAEBE9491FC830&s=8565E812FD852BE2 (accessed 20 March 2017).

This opening lasts less than 30 seconds but expresses several Saussurian sound or image ‘signifiers’ (Berger 2013: 22– 6) which conceptualise Taiwanese indigeneity. First, a world of mountains and oceans is shown, indicating people’s connection with their living environment. Then, traditional attire is depicted, as the heritage of the people’s long-developed culture. Third, there are non-lexical vocables, ‘*naruwan*’ and ‘*hohaiyan*’, which evoke a sense of belonging and solidarity among indigenous people. The yells develop using a pentatonic scale based on B flat, this making the fourth signifier, while the fifth is the practice of solo call and chorus response. Panoramas of rhythm, sounds and sights follow, all circling around two main subjects: Taiwan as a nation and its indigenous people. In the introductory bars, the simple but assertive rhythm, *shandi jiezou*, the typical rhythm of the mountainous region, is heard, typical of indigenous popular music from the 1940s through to the 1990s (Notation 3.3). This 2011 rendition was performed in the key of B flat major but in order to make comparison with Notation 3.1 and Notation 3.2 easier, I transpose the B flat major version to C in Notation 3.3. The characteristic groove stresses the first beat of each metrical four, and is blended into an orchestration that accents the first and third beats. This differentiates the song as indigenouspop from rock, jazz and other genres which emphasise beats two and four. On top of the basic groove, vocables are inserted in an ingenious way, filling spaces between long melodic notes. The combination of melody and vocables resembles the familiar ‘call and response’, at the same time embellishing by adding extra pulsation. Altogether, rich orchestration, polyrhythms, choral textures, clear soprano and alto melody lines at the top and tenor and bass foundations create a lavish sound image. The studio-produced music is enhanced by mixing, heard in reverb effects and stereo images. The chord progressions are simple, built on three major triads of the tonic (C), the fourth (F) and the fifth degrees (G),⁸⁶ giving room to emphasise rhythm and pulsation. The clear and easy to follow rhythm and the vocables drive the rendition forward, turning it into an indigenous march. From one perspective, the rhythm and vocables can be considered supplementary to the

⁸⁶ Be reminded that I have transposed the rendition from the key of B flat to C; so, in the original rendition, they are B flat (tonic), E flat (fourth) and F (fifth).

anthem; from another, they are the main elements. In other words, we hear a tune of indigenous people embellished by the anthem.

♩ = 90

Soprano
Alto
Tenor
Bass
Rhythm

NA RU WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI YAN NA RU WAN

5
Solo~ Choir~
Soprano
Alto
Tenor
Bass
Rhythm

NA RU WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI YAN HO HAI YAN SAN

HO HAI YAN Shan-di rhythm~

10
Soprano
Alto
Tenor
Bass
Rhythm

MIN ZHU YI, WU DANG SUO LONG, YI

NA RU WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI YAN NA RU WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI YAN WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI

14
Soprano
Alto
Tenor
Bass
Rhythm

JIAN MIN GUO YI JIN DA TONG.

YAN NA RU WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI YAN WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI YAN WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI YAN

18
Soprano
Alto
Tenor
Bass
Rhythm

ZI ER DUO SHI, WEI MIN QIAN FENG; SU YE FEI XIE ZHU YI SHI CONG, SHI

ZI ER DUO SHI, WEI MIN QIAN FENG; SU YE FEI XIE ZHU YI SHI CONG, SHI

22
Soprano
Alto
Tenor
Bass
Rhythm

QIN SHI YONG BI XIN BI ZHONG YI

NA RU WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI YAN WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI YAN WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI YAN NA RU WAN TO HIN NA HO HAI

Notation 3.3 National Anthem of R.O.C., taken from 2011 music video issued to promote Taiwan tourism as part of ROC’s centennial celebrations. Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.

Among many positive responses to the 2011 rendition, Taiwanese internet writer Shaoda was critical. He pointed out that the anthem was arranged to convey high indigeneity, but this was diluted by the Taipei Philharmonic Chorus providing a Western, classical vocalisation.⁸⁷ In other words, some audience members expected the unique husky but natural piercing timbres of indigenous singing, as well as the beauty of randomness when indigenous people improvise. But, as the anthem broke the paradigmatic conservative hymn model, it then fell into another anthemic category by becoming a march. Choral arrangements are common to national anthems around the world, and Lee’s arrangement stayed in a safe zone of the typical meta-design. In his pursuit of Taiwanese identity, Shaoda epitomised the expectations of a number of the Taiwanese: he looked forward to a unique national anthem. Nonetheless, this anthem represented a big leap forward from the 2000 performance by Zhang.

⁸⁷ *Guavanthropology*, at: <http://guavanthropology.tw/article/3349> (accessed 20 March 2017).

3.6 2016 Inauguration of Tsai Ing-weng: Paiwan's Ancient Songs



Photo 3.4 *Puzangalan Children's Choir* at inauguration of President Tsai Ing-weng in 2016.

Photo generated from a broadcasted TV clip.⁸⁸

The 2016 version of the anthem⁸⁹ was led by the Puzangalan children's choir (Photo 3.4 above), jointly with the Timur elementary school choir, both were based in Pingtung, and representatives from Taipei Jingmei Girls High School and National Nantao Senior High School. The choirs featured Paiwan indigenous people and gave prominence to Paiwanese tradition; the majority of the people live in the southern part of Taiwan's central mountain ranges, distributed across the mountainous areas and coastal plains of Taitung County and Pingtung County. Although Puzangalan is not based in Taitung, it is included in this research to allow a diachronic examination of how musical indigeneity in Taiwan's national anthem was used in 2000, 2011 and 2016 to manifest Taiwanese-ness. The Paiwan and Pingtung are ethnically and geographically connected to the incoming President Tsai, or rather to her grandmother who originated

⁸⁸ youtu.be/APstJvITkT8 (accessed 14 February 2019).

⁸⁹ See fn.86.

from the Paiwanese and from Pingtung County, where the Paiwanese have lived for many generations.⁹⁰ Paiwanese always have their names affiliated to the natural environment and to spiritual implications. For example, President Tsai's Paiwan name Tjuku means 'daughter of the chief', whose responsibility is to safeguard the light, people and God of their community';⁹¹ similarly, Timur means 'children of the sun' and Puzangalan 'hope'. The Paiwan lyrics were composed by Du Yu-lan and Kualj Selaulauz, with the song arranged by Muni Takivaljt (or Wu Sheng-ying, using her Mandarin name) and Tang Jia-jun.⁹² The high school representatives were chosen due to their tug-of-war achievements, honouring them as the 'pride of Taiwan' – they had won a number of international championships since the beginning of the 2000s.

The two arrangers also conducted and played piano; they were Western classically trained, and both had graduated in music from Tainan University of Technology.⁹³ The Paiwanese Muni and Han Taiwanese Tang are long-term collaborators, the former a school teacher and choirmaster and the latter a freelance keyboardist, music teacher and arranger. My analysis here will start from the master of ceremony's announcement: 'Please stand to sing the national anthem'. The rendition then divided into five parts: '*Rongyao Song*/Glorious Hymn', '*Meili de zantan*/Glamorous Praise', the national anthem, a new Paiwan melody, and an assertive piano accompaniment. The story is told that the Paiwanese anthem version began with a postcard: Timur grade four student Hong Fen-ni, under music teacher Muni's encouragement, wrote to President Tsai to express her wish to sing and bless the new president, since she is also Paiwanese.⁹⁴ Responding to Hong's request, the inauguration committee invited the Timur and Puzangalan choirs, both conducted by Muni, to sing the national anthem. Muni picked Paiwan ancient tunes

⁹⁰ 'Primary School Renamed in Paiwan' (in Mandarin), *Liberty Times*, at: <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/local/paper/873089> (accessed 25 March 2017).

⁹¹ 'A Quarter of Indigenous Bloodline, Tsai: I am Paiwanese' (in Mandarin), *Taiwan People News*, at: <https://www.peoplenews.tw/news/7a16ca6e-aa04-4208-9e5e-87a5738d4dc4> (accessed 15 April 2019).

⁹² 'Democratic March Sung at the Inauguration' (in Mandarin), *China Review News Agency* (CRNTT), at: <http://hk.crntt.com/crn-webapp/touch/detail.jsp?coluid=46&kindid=0&docid=104229909> (accessed 25 March 2017).

⁹³ Muni Takivaljt and Tang Jia-jun, Facebook, at: <http://www.facebook.com/muni.takivaljit> and <http://www.facebook.com/eden.tang.94> (accessed 25 March 2017).

⁹⁴ 'A unique National Anthem' (in Mandarin), *Commonwealth Magazine*, at: <http://www.cw.com.tw/article/article.action?id=5076428> (last accessed 25 March 2017).

to open the anthem, ‘Glorious Hymn’ and ‘Glamorous Praise’, which were recommended by Paiwanese elders to her. With a newly composed melody sung alongside the anthem, these tunes conveyed blessings to Tsai as the new president of Taiwan as a sovereign state, mixing the lyrics with blessings to the land from elders. Although DPP leaders usually have refused to sing this KMT party song turned into national anthem, Tsai Ing-wen did sing it, or at least pretended to do so on this occasion. It is worth noting that whether or not the new president would vocalise the opening phrases ‘*San Min Zhu I, wudang suo zong*’, became a discussion point for reporters and broadcasters nationwide.

The slow and melismatic ‘Glorious Hymn’ and ‘Glamorous Praise’, rich in affection and sentiment, are typical of the Paiwanese, who are considered good at hymns and lyrical chants (Notation 3.4 below). The indigeneity was given by the use of the Paiwanese language, and through pentatonicism. The choirs’ appearance, the physical features of school children in traditional clothing, also gave indications of indigeneity. On top of these, Timur and Puzangalan synchronised a simple dance move, a convention of indigenous people practiced in their music. It was the first time ever the ‘Glorious Hymn’ had been presented publicly beyond Paiwanese occasions, so the standing guests and participants were not able to sing along, leaving the choir

♩ = 66-68

Q U A LGA I YU !! KIQ A U NGI TA I LE MAS,
This is a moment of glory! We pray to the heaven

PA PU PI CU LI A NGA QEI, PA PU CA GUA NI A NGA TA,
to bestow courage and wisdom to her,

SI EA SU DAN TA KU NI. Q U A LGA I YU !! GU A LGA I YU I YO HEI!
guiding her in governing this country. This is a moment of glory! This is a moment of glory!

Notation 3.4 ‘*Rongyao Song/Glorious Hymn*’, transcribed from rendition at inauguration of the new president Tsai Ing-weng on 20 May 2016. Translation and transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ I translate the Paiwan lyrics from Mandarin as reported by Taiwan Indigenous TV, at <http://titv.ipcf.org.tw/news-21165> (accessed 25 March 2017).

singing alone, *a capella*. Bearing in mind that Paiwanese ancient tunes sit outside Western tonality, I notate the rendition below in G major for convenience. The arrangement is Western oriented and leans towards the contemporary because both arrangers were classically trained and had been working to innovate Paiwanese music to suit a non-Paiwanese public for many years.

‘Glamorous Praise’ followed, after a brief piano interlude navigating around chords that modulated to the key of D major (Notation 3.5). It is worth noting that the conductor and pianist were the only two grown-up and experienced musicians at the performance, so they took heavier than usual duties to lead the first-timer school children. In doing so, the conductor and pianist worked in tandem, giving signs, hand gestures and eye contacts, accenting cues and outlining the melody line. In reality, the piano soon took over as the most projected part, playing the role of conductor and main performer. On this occasion, cues were the outer voices of the piano

♩ = 66-68

Lead Melody

E₆ sus4 G₆ A₇ (no3rd) D E₆ D₇ sus2 E₇ (no3rd)

1 — ye — yo — wa — 1 — wa — lu

The Elders said: ‘Lives will be sustained when

Piano

Melody

E₆ sus4 G₆ A₇ (no3rd) Similar ‘open’ and contemporary chords and voicings~

1 — ye — yo — wa — 1 — ya

we preserve our natural environment,

Melody

Similar chords and voicings~ D₇ sus4

ya — a — 1 — 1 — ye — yo — a — 1 —

and live peacefully with it.’

Notation 3.5 ‘Meili de zantan/Glamorous Praise’, transcribed from rendition at inauguration of the new president Tsai Ing-weng on 20 May 2016. Translation and transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.

accompaniment, that is to say, the lowest and highest notes of broken chords, played on a one-chord-per-beat basis. The broken chords lacked thirds and sevenths; in other words, they omitted the minor/major third and seventh, the so-called 'guide tones'. Guide tones provide major or minor tonalities and generate tints of jazz and blues. Lacking thirds and sevenths created an atmosphere of being contemporary and, specifically in this occasion, spacy and open New Age sounds coupled to the folksy aura of commodified world music. A second interlude, comprising piano chord progressions modulating from D major to B flat, resting on F dominant seventh, staying there for several beats, then resolved onto a new tonic that introduced the national anthem.

The national anthem began at 1'45" after the announcement (Notation 3.6). It had three parts: the anthem proper, a new Paiwanese melody, and an assertive piano accompaniment. The anthem was rendered in its slow, solemn and monotonous customary way. The children chanted in airy voices as counterparts to the anthem, much more elaborate than it, and responding to the slow anthem with faster-moving phrases, filling in the spaces between its long notes. After eight measures, this melody suddenly became rhythmic, doing so for two measures before going into a unison for six more. The chorus subsided to low notes which were too soft and too rapid for listeners to hear the melody or lyrics. As for the piano part, without doubt it was controlling and dominant, as if the pianist was the main soloist. The style and patterns of the accompaniment varied every two or four measures, and were clearly heard throughout the rendition.

This rendition seems to resemble the anthem of Japan, '*Kimi ga yo*', a slow and strongly influenced by Japanese 'classical' genre *gagaku*, resembling the folk anthems found elsewhere in Asia, such as Sri Lanka, by expressing a Taiwanese integrated ethnicity through a specific musical nationalism (after Fornäs 2012: 150).⁹⁶ It is worth of note that the Japan's Law for the

⁹⁶ Votruba, Martin, 'Herder on Language', Slovak Studies Program, University of Pittsburgh, at: http://www.pitt.edu/~votruba/ssttopics/slovaklawsonlanguage/Herder_on_Language.pdf (accessed 20 March 2017).

Protection of Cultural Properties (*bunkazai hogoho*) distinguishes ‘classical’ and ‘folk’ performing arts according to their respective cultural properties (Arisawa 2012: 181): the former alludes to court music, dance and theatre such as *gagaku*, *noh* and *kabuki* while the latter refers to local festivals, ritual performances and other forms of performance and creative arts that incorporates

♩ = 58-62

National Anthem

The New Melody

SAN MIN ZHU YI, WU DANG SUO ZONG, YI
 KEL GU SE NA SE NA I A MA PU LGAT! PA PU LGA TI TUA TGA VA EUNG.
 Come, my friends, let us sing together! We pray together with our whole heart.

5

N. Ant

New Mel.

MIN GUO YI QIN DA TONG.
 IN I KA PU TI SUN. IN I KA PU TIA KEN.
 You and I are the people of this country. There is no segregation among us.

9

N. Ant

New Mel.

ZI ER DUO SHI, WEI MINGQIAN FENG; SU YE FEI XIE ZHU YI SHI CONG SHI
 Blurry → KA VA LANGA A TGA KI NA TE VE VE L TAN NA MA RA SUO SA KA NA MA I TA. NE KA NU BI NA MA YA TGA U NI TGEN, NE
 We are a country admired by others, that is integrated and united. We are unique,

13

N. Ant

New Mel.

QIN SHI YONG BI XIN BI ZHONG YI
 Very Blurry → KA NUO IN AMAYA TGA UNIT GEN, NE KA NUO IN AMAYA TGA UNIT GEN,
 we are distinctive, and we are one of a kind.

17

N. Ant

New Mel.

XIN YI DE QUAN CHE SHI ZHONG.
 Completely Blurry →
 NASUL TIVAT SAKANAMAREKIL TIVAK, NASUL TIVAT SAKANAMAREKIL TIVAK, NASUL TIVAT SAKANAMAREKIL TIVAK, LA HO!

We will live in harmony and love, in harmony and love, in harmony and love.

Notation 3.6 National Anthem of R.O.C., transcribed from rendition at inauguration of the new president Tsai Ing-weng on 20 May 2016. Translation and transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.

elements rooted in communal and everyday life. Likewise, Taiwanese concept of ‘folk’ relates to the Little Tradition, being distinct from the Great Tradition which comprise genres considered to have high artistic merit (as elaborated by Bauman (1992: xiii–xxi) and Howard (2012a: 20–21) in their study of East Asian traditional music).

However, I do not only use the term ‘folk’ in this research in the common Japanese and Taiwanese sense, as a type of music in contrast to that of the court (see also Chapter Two: 135 and 144), but also in its broader implication in ‘folk music’ (as implied in the title of the early International Folk Music Council). Here, the implication in ‘folk music’ is its relationship to a national culture, performances by custom, and being a music that contrasts with commercial and classical styles. In contrast to a generic nationalism, the Taiwanese are seeking for the notion of a nation linked to language(s) and cultural tradition(s), incorporating folklore, dance, music and arts; this parallels the idea of *Volksgeist* that is attributed to German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). I borrow Herder’s idea in its original meaning, as a way of encouraging people to forge a national and cultural identity: the national character is a unique spirit possessed collectively by the people (Bunzl 1998: 48). Tsai made a clear statement in her inauguration speech: ‘The significance of Paiwan *gutiao* ancient chanting is to remind us about the arrival order of the various people on this island.’ Timur headmistress, the indigenous Rukai Wu Li-hua was more overt in her comment: ‘We wish to sing as indigenous people, whose music tradition is the main subject, not an accompaniment.’ The indigenous choir entrained their vocals: they were not presenting the national anthem, but the *gutiao* ancient songs that genuinely belong to Taiwan.⁹⁷

Central News Agency journalist Guo Zhi-xuan reported the next day that this rendition was ‘the most appealing of all time’, because over a million Facebook viewers had already watched the video.⁹⁸ However, according to my research, Guo overstated the case, since the

⁹⁷ ‘A unique National Anthem’ (in Mandarin), *Commonwealth Magazine*, at: <http://www.cw.com.tw/article/article.action?id=5076428> (accessed 25 March 2017).

⁹⁸ ‘20 May Paiwan Arrangement Named the Most Appealing National Anthem’ (in Mandarin), *Central News Agency*, at: <http://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/201605210288-1.aspx> (accessed 25 March 2017).

supposed popularity is not borne out by YouTube, other newspaper reports, or my interviews. I conclude that the majority Taiwanese remain reserved in their opinions instead of showing approval. For example, a movie clip posted by Taiwan Indigenous Television (TITV) showed that among a total 44,700 views, there were 226 likes and 12 dislikes; SET News Channel reported 71 likes and 1 dislike from 12,793 views. This means that less than 1% of the viewers endorsed the rendition, even though the first channel exists for Taiwanese indigenous people and the second is known to be friendly to the Tsai government. Another clip posted on YouTube under the seemingly persuasive title, ‘The heavenly beautiful Paiwan hymn mixed anthem amazed everyone’, attracted 54,687 views by the time I checked, with 415 likes and 7 dislikes.⁹⁹ It is clear that after a considerable period of time, the total viewers remain only a tenth of a million, far less than Guo claimed. Her statement is also questionable because of the popularity of the Puzangalan Choir. Their 3,020 followers and 3,040 likes¹⁰⁰ can be considered to represent moderate popularity only; if ‘the most appealing of all time’ is the case, there should be many more followers and many more ‘likes’.

Han Taiwanese cellist and music professor Zhang Zheng-jie, although he acknowledged the idea of stressing Taiwanese cultural plurality at the high-profile event, expressed his disapproval at the rendition. He pointed out that the most serious drawback it had was that it was difficult for guests and participants to follow and sing along with the unfamiliar elements. According to Zhang, the downbeats were obscured so the rhythmic structure became blurred: ‘When everyone does not have the courage to sing confidently, their facial expressions become contorted;’ ‘this arrangement makes the national anthem challenging to everyone,’ and ‘the piano accompaniment was too thin for a national celebration, insufficiently rich and dense.’¹⁰¹ One of my Taiwanese friends, an Amis musician, offered a more critical problem: ‘They just put to-

⁹⁹ youtu.be/jmUX2Y3Gx4; youtu.be/zyqNd-1lgpA; and youtu.be/APstJvITkT8 (accessed 25 March 2017).

¹⁰⁰ dated to 25 March 2017.

¹⁰¹ ‘This Anthem Deemed too Hard to Sing Along to’ (in Mandarin), *United News*, at: <http://video.udn.com/news/493846> (accessed 25 March 2017).

gether four different songs.’ It is worth mentioning that after this inauguration presentation, Puzangalan were scheduled to perform at a joint concert in China but their trip was cancelled by the Chinese organiser. Puzangalan was told their identity had become controversial and sensitive. This comes as no surprise: they have probably been labelled as a pro-separatist group promoting Taiwan’s independence.¹⁰² However, the choir did go to the 11th Cantemus International Choir Festival in Nyíregyháza, Hungary, in August 2016, where they won a silver medal.

3.7 Musical indigeneity and Taiwanese identity

Taiwanese sociologist Yang She-fan (2009) borrows the concept of ‘bricolage’ (after e.g., Lévi-Strauss 1966, Hebdige 1979 and Zetzel 1983) to match the approach of indigenous musicians in using indigenous languages, vocables, pentatonicism, ancient tunes and the call and response practice as tools to represent their identity. It is through this approach and this indigeneity that musicians create models and form canons, much as Philip Bohlman has described the more overt attempts to appropriate tradition for use in contemporary times, thereby sustaining a tradition for time to come (1992: 204). In the case of Taiwan’s national anthem, musicians incorporate their musical experience, ideology and taste, creating a national identity where certain groups appear as surrogates or are imagined to be so.

However, the Taiwanese approach is innovative, if not unprecedented. For example, the national anthem of New Zealand, ‘God Defend New Zealand’, has English and Maori lyrics that stress the Maori connection and indigeneity, making the island nation distinct from any European ancestry (Cai Rong-feng 2016). South Africa shows to a greater extent the combining of different languages in its national anthem, extracting ‘*Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika*/God Bless Africa’ and ‘*Die Stem van Suid-Afrika*/The Call of South Africa’, and employing Xhosa, Zulu, Sesotho, Afrikaans and English lyrics. Shifts and modulations, although unusual, appear in ‘*Fratelli d’Italia*’ (Brothers of Italy), the Italian national anthem. Germany may have inspired Taiwan: a national anthem is not necessarily fixed and can be changed depending on circumstances, hence

¹⁰² ‘Puzangalan’s Invitation Cancelled’ (in Mandarin), *Liberty Times*, at: <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/focus/paper/1001188> (accessed 25 March 2017).

the German anthem has been changed several times in 150 years, from ‘*Heil dir im Siegerkranz/Hail to Thee in Victor’s Crown*’ (1871–1918), to ‘*Das Deutschlandlied/Song of Germany*’ (1922–1945) and so on, adding today’s third stanza to represent the united Germany from 1991 on. The Taiwanese, I suspect, will keep searching for the most appropriate anthem, and it appears that musical indigeneity will continue to be central to this search. The models cited here provide references with which Taiwanese musicians can adapt their self-identification and ideology, expressed through compositions that acknowledge Taiwanese-ness. The young generation aspires to reinterpret traditional elements in responding to multiple changes, but this has to be done through understanding cultural contexts and meanings. In doing this, musical practices which are familiar to an audience and which are easy to follow are vital. In other words, successful music evokes an internalised aural perception of its listeners that they can resonate with.

My case studies here compare to Steven Feld’s (1996: 26) criteria for world music: ‘a great diversity of sub-genres to suit all consumers’ positions and tastes’ which should ‘retain the original roots of traditional music’ – but in a reverse way. The Taiwanese anthems appropriate music from various traditional roots, adapt elements to fit a single frame, namely, the existing national anthem. In other words, music is taken from various origins and mixed into the anthemic core to suit specific political motivations. However, in order to fulfil a function such as to evoke patriotism, anthems should retain a basic principle, in letting people feel they are easy to follow and sing along with, much as Zhang Zheng-jie proposes. In other words, there is a difference between music used for ceremonies and for entertainment: the former induces unity and egalitarianism for the public whereas the latter depicts musicians’ virtuosity in maintaining interest and raising attractiveness for specific audiences, as Keith Howard observes in respect to Korean *SamulNori* percussion musicians (1992: 27–28).

How did non-indigenous or non-Paiwan feel about their languages and cultures being excluded, for example, in the 2016 National Anthem? On one hand, it is impractical and cumbersome for the government to fulfil every group’s expectations for their voices to be heard and

their rights privileged. For example, trains were named, such as the *Taroko* Express in 2006, to honour the indigenous Truku group. Then, the Puyuma successfully requested a similar treatment for their group, and the *Puyuma* Express started to operate in 2013. This made other groups feel they had been neglected and so they demanded the same treatment.¹⁰³ Another example is the announcements in public venues in English (for international audiences), Mandarin, Minnan and Hakka (for the locals), indigenous languages (for the indigenous people) and Japanese and Korean (for tourists from both countries). Passengers on buses and underground trains have complained about the long announcements in multiple languages, which constitute noise pollution.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, Legislator Lin Li-chan, a Cambodian Chinese descendant married to a Taiwanese, who eventually become a so-called new resident of Taiwan (as a foreign immigrant), suggests that Southeast Asian languages such as Vietnamese, Indonesian, Thai and Tagalog (language of the Filipinos) should be added, considering more than 500,000 foreign spouses and migrant workers live in Taiwan. In the foreseeable future, simply satisfying the formality of naming public transportation, buildings and parks to honour multiple groups could prove a gigantic administrative load for Taiwan's government. On the other hand, Taiwanese people are always proud of their/our accommodation of multiculturalism and the co-location of democracy, especially after martial law was lifted in 1987 and as liberal Taiwan has become keen to distance itself from the authoritative Communist China. Endeavouring to portray itself as a diverse society in which the rights of all are respected, Taiwanese people are generally happy to see their roots on the island valued and stressed, and local traditions flourishing, whether represented by indigenous or non-indigenous groups. Hence, feelings and opinions about linguistic and cultural issues of Taiwanese indigenous and non-indigenous peoples are diverse.

¹⁰³ 'The Amis want Their Pangcah Express' (Mandarin), *Liberty Times*, at: <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/life/breakingnews/1179933> (accessed 13 March 2017).

¹⁰⁴ Formosa TV News, at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=haebxz-foQE> (accessed 16 February 2017).

Most importantly, however, Taiwanese in general think the rights of the indigenous people need to be respected, as one of my students wrote: ‘The indigenous people are the earliest inhabitants on Taiwan; it is an innovative idea for them to lead our national anthem, starting with their traditional chant.’ At the same time, another student focused on the issue of Taiwan being blocked at international events, wrote: ‘I feel sad and angry that our national anthem is excluded.’ Another echoed: ‘I hope we can sing our national anthem out loud in front of world audiences, proud to be a citizen of Taiwan, a sovereign country.’ There seems to be a considerable number of young Taiwanese who do not know that the present national anthem of ROC originates from the anthem of the Chinese Nationalist Party. Also, some of my students feel that the national anthem sounds too solemn and sad for prize-awarding occasions. A student expressed his view bluntly: ‘I prefer Taiwan’s national banner song’, considering it a substitute for the national anthem, which is forbidden at international events. Many of these students are inspired by the new arrangements, and with enthusiasm they said, ‘We have been listening to the national anthem since childhood, but never thought that it could be re-arranged in such interesting ways; these variants make us proud of our Taiwanese identification and uniqueness.’ This feeling of being proud is also expressed in other comments, such as: ‘I like versions incorporating music indigeneity since I have been a fan of the music; indigenous elements are absolutely a big plus to the new arrangements’ and ‘incorporation of musical indigeneity has successfully transformed the solemn and sad national anthem into a light and pleasant tune’. Going further, a student stated: ‘Every Taiwanese should strive to promote Taiwan, competing in international events and winning the opportunity to let our national anthem be heard at medal presentations.’ Again, another student paying attention to the characteristics of being Taiwanese, stressed that ‘we should have our Taiwan-style anthem, like every other country; a banner song for Taiwan at international event is just not right.’ This brings us to the ultimate idea of how Taiwan’s national anthem should be, as another student wrote: ‘I strongly suggest that our national anthem be changed, not because of my political stance, but because everything is different from when

the existing anthem was created: Taiwan is now a totally different country, standing in a different era and endorsing a different self-identification.’

It appears to have been accepted that the easiest way to accommodate Taiwan’s diverse ethnicities is to respect the cultures of the people and to enforce a policy of equality: every group has their language and tradition to be practiced on every occasion. The Taiwanese historian Li Xiao-feng proposes that Minnan songs should be used for Taiwan’s National Anthem, specifically ‘Taiwan the Green’ and ‘Maritime Nation’ – songs popular in Minnan political circles. Li suggests that Mandarin, Hakka and Austronesian (indigenous) lyrics should be added to portray Taiwan’s multicultural identity.¹⁰⁵ However, due to the diversity of Taiwan, Minister-without-Portfolio Chang Jin-sen disapproves of equality envisaged in this way, because of political correctness.¹⁰⁶ That is to say, too much political correctness is impractical, making government policy cumbersome. From a historical perspective, Taiwan was originally occupied by indigenous peoples until 1624, when the Dutch started to establish a polity. Since then, indigenous people have gone through a long period of colonisation by the Dutch, Spanish, Chinese, Manchurians and Japanese, and latterly by the Nationalists. When martial law was lifted in 1987, it marked a liberation for the indigenous people alongside other ethnic groups. Again and with this in mind, Taiwan is still at an early stage in its pursuit and representation of a national and multicultural identity.

Conclusion

Practising multiculturalism in Taiwan has always been challenging for Taiwanese. But is Taiwan a multicultural society at all? An incident in 2011 shocked the world and its aftermath alerted the Taiwanese people to the need to inspect their attitudes to Taiwan’s diverse ethnicity and foreign groups living in the country. On 22 July 2011, Anders Behring Breivik (born 1979),

¹⁰⁵ ‘Let’s sing ‘Taiwan the Green’ (in Mandarin), *Liberty Times*, at: <http://talk.ltn.com.tw/article/paper/994614> (accessed 25 March 2017).

¹⁰⁶ ‘Multi-languages Announcement on Public Transportation Causes Disagreement’, *United News*, at: <https://udn.com/news/story/7314/2011086> (accessed 29 March 2017).

a Norwegian far-right terrorist who endorses extreme opposition to Islam and feminism, committed mass murder in Oslo and on the island of Utoya, killing 77 people and injuring 319. Much to the astonishment of Taiwan's public, Breivik mentions Taiwan as many as 16 times in his 1515-page manifesto '2083 – A European Declaration of Independence'. This far-right extremist names Taiwan as one of the national political systems he admires most, alongside Japan and South Korea. According to him, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea 'reject multiculturalism outright and have instead focused on maintaining and protecting their monoculture' (p.1404). I am aware of how Breivik looks at East Asian countries but reject his misleading and disputed claim for Taiwan. Instead, I argue that Taiwan's multiculturalism is unique in its own way. Living in Malaysia for 21 years, Taiwan for 27 and the United Kingdom for three, I can report that these three countries practise multiculturalism in different ways. Malaysia leans towards the 'salad bowl' or 'cultural mosaic' model (Kalman 2010: 4): Malays, Indians and *Hua*/Chinese are brought together and accommodated, but do not form a single homogeneous society; instead, each keeps their own distinct cultural qualities. The UK leans towards a more traditional notion of cultural 'melting pot', where a homogeneous society becomes more heterogeneous through the influx of foreign elements with different cultural backgrounds (Kolb 2009). Taiwan, I propose, was initially forced to take a 'blended' approach, where under Japan's *Kominka*/Japanisation and the Nationalists' Sinification policies, the culture and tradition of the Minnan, Hakka and indigenous peoples were brutally broken, lost and assimilated into the dominant culture, creating a homogenous and monocultural national identity. However, these different groups now want their cultural roots revived and distinguished. Hence, a national identity of Taiwan is in formation and different groups are employed on various occasions to represent, stress and value Taiwan's definitions of multiculturalism.

As can be seen and heard, the facilitation of the musical indigeneity manifests Taiwanese-ness – an identity that is increasingly being used to distinguish Taiwan as a unique entity and as a sovereign state. However, one needs to be careful in extending the analogy beyond mu-

sic, because the application of music for political uses is based on sophisticated elements of indigenous traditions, hence a musical piece with an overt political message cannot be sustained if it does not fit the language of that tradition. As I have shown, the national anthem was a leftover from earlier times that was put aside at the turn of the millennium, because it neither reflected the current political reality nor matched Taiwanese cultural traditions. The 2011 arrangement then became a favourite rendition, and has ever since been repeatedly used in international and national events, while the 2016 arrangement is still questioned in terms of its popularity and representation: does it represent all Taiwanese or only the Pingtung Paiwan? My examination shows traces of macro-manipulation at certain times, when national state authorities attempted to disseminate ideology through events aimed to generate a general consensus. But, my examination reveals that a micro approach is more preferable, in recognising technical elements of the music, and practicing music as a part of a shared Taiwanese culture. Performances accumulate the efforts of individuals and small local groups, who involve themselves in tradition in order to shape a national identity. Musical indigeneity, alongside the musical practices of mainstream and previously dominant Taiwanese groups, become significant and complimentary parts of a multicultural Taiwan, and are integrated as parts of the democratic polity.

Chapter 4

Bunun Chants and Tao Voices: The Notions of Mountain and Sea

4.1 '*Taiwan Dao*' and the Notions of Mountain and Sea

4.1.1 Taiwanese Concept of Homeland and 'Geographical Time'

This section explores indigenous music using the concept of *Taiwan Dao*, 'the island of Taiwan', as attributed to Taiwanese historian Cao Yong-he (1990). Cao emphasises 'geographical time', taking this from French historian Fernand Braudel's (1949) examination of countries and people around the Mediterranean. Braudel centres on sea, desert and mountains, and these coincide with Taiwanese notions of ocean/sea and island/mountain. Cao argues that Taiwan's environment, its geographical characteristics, and slow but irresistible changes, mark the island over time and should be prioritised over ideas of cultural ancestry. That is to say, Cao substitutes the perspectives of colonisers which had prevailed since the 17th century with a Taiwanese perspective. *Taiwan Dao* stresses both the local island and how the ocean provides a route to the world. To an extent, *Taiwan Dao* serves to de-Sinify, challenging Chinese-bounded ethnic origins.¹ Hence, taking from Cao, I argue that ocean and island create the essence of the Taiwanese character. The first marks openness, standing at one end of a continuum on which the second, seclusion, forms the other end. At one end, Taiwan endorses international and transcultural ideologies, as well as promoting universalism, commercialism and globalisation. At the other, it promotes local and traditional values rooted in Austronesian indigeneity and Han Taiwanese culture.² The ocean/island or mountain/sea dichotomy is reflected in government policies and in the

¹ Shi Jia-yin, '*Taiwan Dao Shi de Zhenmianmu*/The reality of the history of the island of Taiwan', *prescience.tw*, at: http://presciencetw.blogspot.co.uk/2015/11/blog-post_20.html (accessed 11 July 2017).

² Liu Xin-yuan, '*Taiwan Xuyao Fazhan Zenyang de Haiyang Wenhua*/What kind of oceanic culture does Taiwan need to develop?' *National Policy Foundation*, at: <http://blog.sina.com.tw/tcmt/article.php?entryid=576744>; and Li Wei-wen, '*Daoyu Minzhong Jianli Haiyang Wenhua de Qidian*/The starting point: oceanic culture established by island residents', *China Times*, at: <http://newsblog.chinatimes.com/sow/archive/35233> (accessed 28 April 2017).

attitudes of Taiwanese people, which fluctuate between being outward-facing and settled, and which juxtapose the courage to explore the new with a sense of security gained from staying put without change.³

One of the roots of Taiwanese local and traditional values, the music of the indigenous people, has been known – at least to a degree – in the West since Kurosawa Takatomo (1895–1987) sent a copy of his recording *Formosan Folk Music* to the International Folk Music Council in 1951 (Wang 2008). However, its culture of ocean and island – or, as I will tend to refer to it here, mountain and sea – was not widely promoted prior to the last 20 years. In 2000, the Puyuma scholar Sun Da-chuan (2000c) published the influential *Shanghai shijie: Taiwan yu-anzhuamin xinling shijie de moxie* (The world of mountain and sea: depictions of heart and soul of Taiwanese indigenous peoples), manifesting the determination of indigenous people to speak for themselves. His concept of mountain and sea emphasised the intimacy of people’s livelihoods with the natural environment, and flipped the subject-object discourse between indigenous people and the Han Taiwanese, paralleling the intersubjective approach proposed more recently by Hong Kong scholar Chi-Yue Chiu (2010) as a way to understand the interaction between individuals and ecology. To Sun, the indigenous Taiwanese identify themselves as sons and daughters (*zimin*) with hearts and souls (*xinling*) of mountain and sea. Sun’s account was considered revolutionary, given that indigenous music had once been called ‘mountain songs’ (*shandige*) and – alongside dance, traditional clothing and physical features – had been kept out of the public gaze after World War II by the Chinese-oriented ‘internal colonialism’ (after Gladney 1994: 98) of the regime.

After martial law was lifted in 1987, both the indigenous Taiwanese and other groups began to make sustained efforts beyond the potentially fossilizing preservation systems to revive and reinvigorate their music traditions. Before this, indigenous musicians had only played

³ Hong Zi-min, ‘Weihe Taiwanren de Jiaobu Zhongjie Zai Haiyang Qishi de Nayiduan/Are Taiwanese constrained by the ocean?’ *Storm Media*, at: <http://www.storm.mg/lifestyle/51810> (accessed 28 April 2017).

passive roles within the music industry, represented by compositions deemed as ‘low culture’ (Chen 2013: 68) that imagined a reality.⁴ Indigenous musicians’ performances in the turn of the millennium successfully highlighted Taiwan’s locality as well as its Austronesian connections, kick-starting an era in which indigeneity was to become an official symbol of the island. The successful popular indigenous musicians inspired others to embrace the seemingly opposite but complementary ocean/island and sea/mountain dichotomy through rooted trans-cultural engagements.

Here I explore what I consider a form of aggressive conservation in the music of Taiwanese indigenous people, and the complexity of music-making in the island’s multicultural and poly-ethnic society. I utilise the culturally orientated term ‘identification’ to discuss unique characteristics of indigenous music, rather than the politically or ethnically orientated ‘identity’ that is associated with nationality or bloodline. My approach combines two main strands: First, I trace and inquire into the notion of mountain and sea as a way of understanding Taiwanese peoples’ lives. Second, I draw upon a native researcher approach suggested by the Taiwanese scholar Chou Chien-er (2002: 457–58). I argue that Taiwan’s cultural identification now has a major role in presenting Taiwan’s status as a sovereign state, and that understanding the essence as well as the experience of being in a world of mountain and sea is a vital part of this cultural identification. Taiwanese indigenous music is but one component of this cultural portrayal. Yet, the sustainability of Taiwanese indigenous music now depends on its roots being nourished through a sense of continued belonging and destiny being shared by the indigenous people who have lived, generation after generation, on the island, together with more recent settlers.

Referring to the ‘geographical time’ of Taiwanese indigenous people, the legacy of the environment, that is to say, the notions of mountain and sea and their changed depictions within music, is clear. During my fieldwork from 2008 to 2014 in Pingtung County’s Sandimen, Majia and Laiyi townships and Taitung’s Taimali and Dawu, I heard mountain-living Paiwanese

⁴ Gao Zi-yang, cited by Jiang Guan-ming (2002) in ‘*Dongdang shidai de gesheng/Voices in the restless era*’, at: <http://blog.xuite.net/lin887882/tpbs/8623498> (accessed 29 July 2017).

chanting in ways that functioned as dialogues with ancestors and interacted with nature spirits, epitomised by, for example, its subgroup Paumauma's '*Laisu*/Song of the Night' – a song sung for leisure or to accompany work but also used to praise spirits as people gather (see also Chapter Three: 171). The chant was mountain-orientated – slow-paced and sentimental–, effectively echoing and lingering across mountains and valleys. Today, however, indigenous musicians draw from traditional songs, sometimes associating their arrangements with contemporary issues, but more often creating music influenced by music in urban settings, mixing western elements with the traditional. For example, being aware of the intriguing legacy of Han immigration among indigenous people and the resulting ally/adversary relationships, Paiwanese musician Matzka uses reggae in '*Tuzai*/Rabbit kid' (see section 1.6: 70–82).

My discussion on the legacy of colonisation and the nature of foreign impact is inspired by Braudel's first level of time, the geographical. On one hand, the music of indigenous people was once intimately bounded by Taiwan's mountain and sea environment; on the other, change was inevitable as society evolved. Change accelerated when interactions became frequent, bringing us to Braudel's second level of time – the 'socio-economic and cultural' (in this case, colonisation) –, and third, the 'events'. Referring to the Taiwanese timeline, the introduction of the Bunun '*Pasibutbut*'⁵ in the 1950s to the International Folk Music Council (IFMC, now the International Council for Traditional Music, ICTM) was crucial. There, it reached Western attention through a recording. I will also below explore the rise of *shandige*, a pop hybrid of Western, Chinese and Japanese influences that flourished from the 1950s to the 1990s.

4.1.2 *The Notions of Mountain and Sea*

The Taiwanese attitude towards such transcultural manoeuvres is complex, probably best depicted through the notions of mountain, sea and continent. In general, Taiwan's current governing party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), considers itself open-minded, encouraging

⁵ youtu.be/CcGzU5okUic (accessed 13 February 2019).

boldness and adventure in shaping Taiwan's emerging identity.⁶ The local character as an island shaped by sea and mountain sits in opposition to Mainland China's continental culture, and DPP supporters deem the latter to be 'stationary' and 'conservative'.⁷ The DPP argue that Taiwan's Han ancestors moved from China by crossing the Taiwan Strait, leaving the mainland to search for a new place in which to settle, and therefore Taiwan is the new homeland, a separate territory from the abandoned Mainland China. The opposition Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) criticises the DPP as having a 'contemptuous' attitude towards China, seeking the exclusion of China, and claims that the DPP isolates Taiwan from the world's most populated and most powerful country.⁸ My observation is that Taiwan's cultural affiliation with China, where the Han dominate, is generally accepted by the Taiwanese, but their implanted roots on the island, where indigenous traditions flourish, are also stressed and valued. So, regardless of political allegiance, Taiwanese people generally show affection towards the notion of the island as their homeland. Hence, the Han Taiwanese writer Lin Wen-yi (1991) writes: 'Taiwan is our home, and we should care about this beautiful island. We should sustain and truly understand our island homeland.'

During Taiwan's history, foreign influences have for centuries permeated into people's lives, often at the expense of the local. As with other similarly appropriated indigenous musics standardised and marketed as world music, the Amis chant featured in Enigma's 'Return to Innocence' loses its original characteristics – its cultural values disappear and, to use Lomax's (1985) words, cultural 'grey-out' occurs. Here, and in similar situations, sampling utilizes elements of musical traditions unfamiliar to the Western audience as the main attraction of hit songs, doing so without acknowledgement of or collaboration with the original artists. As a result, the voices of the indigenous singers lose identity and ethnicity, even though these features

⁶ 'Tsai: Haiyang guojia kai damen/Tsai: open the door of our ocean country', *Liberty Times*, at: <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/focus/paper/934927> (accessed 28 April 2017).

⁷ 'Gaobie hunluan, haiyang zhizi zhaohui renting/No more confusion, sons of ocean find self-recognition', *Taiwan Church News*, at: <http://tcnn.org.tw/archives/15946> (accessed 27 April 2017).

⁸ 'DPP Suoguo suozai nali/DPP's closed-door policy', *KMT Worldwide*, at: http://www.360doc.com/content/10/0505/19/803452_26235697.shtml (accessed 29 May 2017).

are important factors in their music, lending them credibility (after Trimillos 2004: 37). For example, Difang's 'Sakatusa' *Ku'edaway a Radiw*' was – surprisingly – used in a video put together to introduce the Colombian-Swedish-Sami singer Jon Henrik at Talang Sverige 2014.⁹ Henrik is promoted as a *joikare*, an interpreter of Sami *joik*. In the video, Amis chant joins Sami *joik* as part of a commodified 'world music' – that overarching genre which consigns music outside Euro-American art or pop into a 'shop display ghetto' (Frith 2000: 306), the phenomenon that Stephen Cottrell refers to as the 'Western difference' (2010: 16). In the Henrik example, Amis chant comes to resemble Sami *joik*: ancient pentatonic melodies, the use of vocables and incorporating indigenous languages all suggest common features, but the music of an indigenous people is still removed from its cultural context. This brings us to the paradoxical 'Western indifference' (Cottrell 2010:16) where, lacking substantial knowledge about music from outside the Euro-American norm, an audience is unable to differentiate distinct and distant styles and genres – in Henrik's case, Amis chant and Sami *joik*.

Music reflects how descendants of early Han immigrants today regard Taiwan as their homeland, in songs such as 'Butshin e mia kio Taiwan/Taiwan is Our Mother's Name'¹⁰. Such songs highlight Taiwanese landscapes, and this particular song has lyrics that include, 'Mother is the mountain; mother is the ocean; mother is the river; and mother's name is Taiwan.' Taiwanese Minnan, a localised Fujian language, is used, to distinguish Taiwanese-ness. 'Butshin' was composed in 1996 by truck driver Wang Wen-de, submitted to Greenpeace Broadcasting Station to reach a wider audience, and popularised through the grass-roots singer Cai Zhen-nan.¹¹ Its lyrics imply a criticism of foreign rulers, namely, the KMT but also Communist China's threats and actions. Similar Taiwanese songs with Minnan lyrics were heard at the 2016 presidential inauguration ceremony, linking Taiwan's landscapes with notions of the motherland

⁹ youtu.be/woEcdqqbEVg (accessed 27 April 2017). Talang Sverige is the Swedish version of the reality show 'Britain's Got Talent', where performers compete against each other for audience support and prize money.

¹⁰ youtu.be/K2Q_N0vyLUc (accessed 13 February 2019).

¹¹ Li Nan-heng, at: http://www.greenpeace.com.tw/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=4370&Itemid=33 (accessed 5 July 2017).

and homeland chosen to portray patriotism: ‘*Honghun e kohyong*/Hometown in the Evening’ (see Chapter Two: 141; Chapter Five: 273), ‘*Dawushan meili de mama*/Beautiful Mother of Dawu Mountain’¹² and ‘*Meilidao*/The Beautiful Island’.¹³

Unlike Han immigrants, Taiwanese indigenous people, who comprise only two per cent of Taiwan’s total population, followed a different pattern of migration: they stayed in their inherited habitat. The American linguist Robert A. Blust (1999) regards Taiwan as the first homeland of Austronesians, who dispersed ‘out of Taiwan’, navigating across the Pacific and the Indian Ocean to the Philippines, Borneo and Indonesia, spreading across the islands of Melanesia and Micronesia and reaching as far as Madagascar, Easter Island and New Zealand. Those who stayed established an intimate relationship to the island, seen in their beliefs, rituals and songs; they practiced pantheism and animism (Wang 2001: 82–98). As a result, their understanding of the Taiwanese landscape, as mountains and sea, relate to the natural world, and have come to resonate with the Han’s heart-felt longing to settle down. Both groups, then, share a sense of belonging in which Taiwan is the homeland. The music of the indigenous people continues to be a part of the ongoing cultural interaction between Taiwan and the world, forming a part of reciprocal cultural flows as the music is disseminated overseas and as foreign influences continue to affect indigenous people’s musical traditions.

How can Taiwan, as ocean and island, interact with the world? Its status as a member of the international community has become difficult due to Mainland China’s vetoes, which were exhibited recently, for example, on 3 May 2017 at the Kimberley Process, a meeting to discuss how to stop the trade in diamonds from conflict areas. The Chinese delegation, furious over the attendance of a Taiwanese delegation, disrupted the opening ceremony and called, successfully, for the delegation to be ejected.¹⁴ This is not an isolated case: in 2017, China also rejected Taiwan’s participation at the World Health Assembly (WHA), and boycotted the World University

¹² youtu.be/4INqxxEAw2M (accessed 13 February 2019).

¹³ ‘520 minzhu jinxingqu jinian sheyun langchao/Democracy march commemorates social movement’, *Now News*, at: <http://www.nownews.com/n/2016/05/20/2105623> and youtu.be/l69Mntjx4fM (accessed 13 February 2019).

¹⁴ ‘Chinese delegates disrupt blood diamond forum in Perth in noisy protest over Taiwan’s attendance,’

Games hosted in Taiwan. Taiwan attempts to urge the international community to reject the political motivations behind Chinese actions and, instead, to appreciate Taiwan's 'soft power' – its cultural activities, rather than economic might and military power.¹⁵ Taiwan claims a moral and humane right to be part of the world community, and one strategy it uses to work towards this is to boost its presence in cultural exchange – especially through its art, cuisine and fashion. In the latter context, the culture of mountain and sea, with the music of Taiwanese indigenous people, has been widely promoted since the turn of the new millennium.

Performances by Taiwanese indigenous musicians at prominent events contribute to and demonstrate the use of indigenous people and their music to create a Taiwanese identification. However, it is hard to separate emblems such as a national anthem and a presidential inauguration from politics. Hence, after their performances, Taiwanese indigenous musicians such as Zhang Hui-mei (see section 3.4: 180–84), Ji Xiao-jun (or Samingad, who sang the national anthem at the inauguration for the re-elected Chen Shui-bian in 2004) and Puzangalan children's choir (section 3.6: 193–205) were blacklisted by the People's Republic of China's authorities, who banned their performances in China for several years. Identifying Taiwan with indigeneity, particularly at international events, thus brings trouble to its performers, even though it also gives a sense of pride and cultural ownership to all Taiwanese. Indigenous music makes a clear statement when used to signify rootedness: Taiwan is unique because of its indigenous people and their culture. The mountain and sea dichotomy as a fundamental cosmological orientation and its implications adhered to the music of Taiwanese indigenous people can be compared to the Balinese kaja-kelod where kaja means towards the mountains and kelod towards the sea (see for example, Swellengrebel 1960; Covarrubias 1999; Bandem 1996).

The Telegraph, at: <http://uk.news.yahoo.com/chinese-delegates-disrupt-blood-diamond-140032771.html> and "Disgusting" and "extraordinary" scenes as Chinese delegation shouts down welcome ceremony', *Sydney Morning Herald*, at: <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/disgusting-and-extraordinary-scenes-as-chinese-delegation-shouts-down-welcome-ceremony-20170502-gvxbou.html> (accessed 3 May 2017).

¹⁵ Cindy Sui, "'Soft power' raises Taiwan's profile", *BBC News*, at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-11609099> (accessed 30 May 2017).



Photo 4.1 Bunun '*Pasibutbut*' offering prayer. Photo by Hsu Ming-cheng, used with permission.

Similarly, in the music practices of Taiwanese indigenous people, either for the traditional such as in the rendering of '*pasibutbut*/Song of Praying for Good Harvest for Millet' (Photo 4.1), the cult of the ancestors is integrated and spiritual power of nature is invoked, resembling those of the Balinese (see also Miller and Williams (eds) 1998). Indigenous people consider their island to be populated by Gods, deceased ancestors, humans and demons, and they feel responsible for the maintenance of this cosmological condition. In that particular way, peoples' affiliation with the island is irreplaceable due to their intimate bond with Taiwan's natural environment, a mountainous island surrounded by sea. This cosmological concept happens in every aspect of the indigenous people's life, whether in the construction of houses, the way people dine and drink, their clothing, music practices, and as well in their behaviours.

The Taiwanese equivalent of indigenous music for rootedness is also true when indigeneity is used in domestic events where specific sounds and images become Saussurian 'signifiers' (Berger 2013: 22–26). For instance, as part of the 2011 'Cross *Kuroshio* to Visit Taiwan' (*Hengdu Heichao baifang Taiwan*) event for the island's centennial celebrations, a documentary

was made to conceptualise Taiwanese indigeneity (see pp.248–57). It featured images of mountain and sea to illustrate the people’s connections to their living environment, while the traditional heritage was signalled through the use of indigenous costumes and through incorporating ancient chants. The documentary utilized customary indigenous practices to invoke nostalgia for a familiar past. Its theme song was a collaboration between the Tao – an indigenous group native to Orchid Island (‘Ponso no Tao’, or Lanyu) – and other Taiwanese indigenous groups, celebrating the Tao endeavours to reinvigorate their sea-faring tradition. One of the main activities of the event was the launching ritual, *Manwawai*, of a newly-built fishing boat like those once used to voyage to the Batanes; as the boat carriers threw the boat into the air, they cast away evil spirits and prayed for safe journeys, as shown in Photo 4.2.

4.2 ‘Pasibutbut’ and Bunun Chants at its Eminence

4.2.1 ‘Pasibutbut’: Indigenous Music Exposed to the World Outside

The representation of Taiwanese indigenous people in written and illustrative documentation began in the seventeenth century. Until then, folk tales, ballads, chants, prose and verse were transmitted through speech and song (Lin 1997: 10). Soldiers and traders of the Dutch East India Company successfully established a colony in southwestern Taiwan in 1624, while the Spanish did so in the north by 1626. Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong took control over Taiwan in 1662, and the Qing Empire succeeded the Ming in 1683. In the colonisers’ systems, indigenous people were marginalised, and they were depicted as uncivilised and untamed. The Dutch referred to Taiwan’s original inhabitants as ‘Indians’ or ‘blacks’ – based on their prior experience in Indonesia.

Qing depictions of the indigenous people by Huang Shu-jing in *Taihai shicha lu* (Record on the Mission across the Strait of Taiwan, 1723), and by Liu Shi-qi in *Fanshe caifeng tucao* (Illustrations on the customs of the primitive community, 1747), are among the earliest records (Chen 2008: 123–5; 36–39). These were based on direct observations, produced to edu-

cate officials about non-Han peoples in the empire and help them govern (Hostetler 2001). Taiwanese indigenous people were called *fan* in such writings, paralleling the convention of earlier Chinese texts to denote foreign groups such as *yi* (foreigners of the East), *rong* (West), *man* (South), *di* (North), and other minorities, derogatively. *Fan* literally derives from ‘animal feet’, describing people who speak unfamiliar language or those not able to communicate, or, at the extreme, ‘barbarians’. The term is still widely used by Southeast Asian Han Chinese descendants to refer to other non-Han groups. For example, in Malaysian Penang, the Hokkien use *huan* (the Hokkien equivalent to Mandarin *fan*) to describe the Malays. Likewise, the Han Taiwanese used to call indigenous people *huan* (Barclay 1999: 12–13). Hence, indigenous music was classified as *fan’ge* (barbarian songs) in Qing writings, and through this a bifurcated classification of indigenous people was created, according to their level of assimilation: *shengfan* (raw or uncivilized barbarians) were those who maintained indigeneity while *shufan* (cooked or civilized barbarians) were those who adopted Han customs. This calls to mind Lévi-Strauss’s (1964) distinction between ‘uncultivated’ (raw) and ‘cultivated’ (cooked).

Taiwan was ceded to Japan on 17 April 1895 through the Treaty of Shimonoseki which ended the First Sino-Japanese War (Gold 1986: 36). The Japanese anthropologists who subsequently arrived used the term *heiho-zoku* (へいほぞく, plains tribes) for the so-called ‘cooked’ peoples, but distinguished the ‘raw’ as *takasago-zoku* (たかさごぞく, mountain tribes) (Tai 1999: 294) (the mountain tribes included nine groups: the Atayal, Bunun, Tsou, Saisiat, Paiwan, Puyuma, Ami (Amis), Yami (Tao) and Rukai (Harrison 2001: 54–55)). Acculturation and assimilation followed in the wake of social currents, and involved in particular the removal of ethnic markers such as language, rituals, music and dance, diet, customs and clothing (Brown 2004: 38–50), even as some Japanese scholars studied these same ethnic markers. Along the continuum of Taiwan’s colonial history, then, the recognisable characters of the indigenous peoples declined as they were suppressed by colonialists and as they encountered an unfavourable atmosphere. And, after being ceded to Japan, the militarised *Kominka* (Japanisation movement) made the Taiwanese subjects of the emperor, promoted the Japanese language

as the lingua franca, and banned local languages and customs that were deemed unsavoury (such as tattooing; Simon 2006: 4–7).

The Japanese, I argue, studied indigenous people in order to classify, locate and civilise them, much as the Chinese had. In this regard, the phonograph, invented by Thomas Edison in 1877, became a tool that assisted in categorizing and creating the sonic images of indigenous people for popular consumption (Matsuda 2003: 181), as well as for ethnographic study. Their music was electro-acoustically reproduced and dispersed, through a phenomenon that has been called, on a broader global scale, ‘schizophonia’ by Murray Schafer (1969). Between January and April 1943, Japanese folksong collector Kurosawa Takatomo (1895–1987) surveyed Taiwanese music, releasing a recording in December 1943 (Wang 2008: 177). In 1951, he sent this to the IFMC; suddenly, Western listeners were able to hear indigenous Taiwanese music. The multipart singing of the Bunun ‘*Pasibutbut*’ stood out, and Kurosawa explored it in an article read at the sixth IFMC congress in Biarritz, France, in July 1953: ‘Vunun Family and the Growth of the Pentatonic Scale’ (Kurosawa 2008: 200). The paper caught the attention of ethnomusicologists, including the Dutchman Jaap Kunst and the Frenchman André Schaeffner. It is worth of note that the spelling of ‘*Pasibutbut*’ may be varied in occasions – such as ‘*Pasipotpot*’ in Kurosawa (1974), and ‘*Pasiputput*’ in article by Western writer¹⁶ and also in the introductory section by YouTube uploader¹⁷ – due to the Bunun, who had been practising oral tradition, did not set any written title for the song. In reality, Romanised titles of ‘*Pasibutbut*’ and its variations have only been created in the 20th century for text materials in a way that writers spelled ‘*Pasibutbut*’ slightly differently according to what they think best representing the original pronunciations they heard from the Bunun.

¹⁶‘From composer Joby Talbot’, *Handel Choir of Baltimore*, at: https://www.handelchoir.org/Concert2_Talbot.htm (accessed 18 March 2019).

¹⁷ youtu.be/OcB-BmqTJNU (accessed 19 March 2019).

Back in the 1950s, the quest to find origins for music was the subject of heated debate. One prevailing hypothesis was that music developed from and transformed speech, but ‘*Pasibutbut*’ seemed to render this untenable: it is a petition to gods made in harmonic terms rather than through lyrics (Lu 2003: 280). This could be taken to indicate that, in the Bunun case, music preceded the creation of language. A further hot topic was the origin of modes and the prevalence of pentatonic scales, which Kunst argued derived from blowpipes; Kurosawa recorded that Kunst expressed he had been pleased to discover that the Bunun song could add to the evidence for his argument. Kunst assumed ‘*Pasibutbut*’ was a vocalised imitation of blowpipes and musical bows. He believed it illustrated how the harmonics of such instruments had evolved into pentatonic scalar structures, and how complex the resulting structures could become (as repeated in the programme notes to the later CD set released as *Les Voix du Monde*).¹⁸ Also, another hypothesis – that music derived from a single note, which develops in multiple ways and later multiple tones to finally emerge as complex harmonies – was challenged by the vocalising of ‘*Pasibutbut*’ (Lu 2003: 280). In this respect, Schaeffner took ‘*Pasibutbut*’ as support for his rejection of the idea that music evolved from single pitches, writing to Kurosawa, ‘I deeply feel grateful to you for your research concerning the origin of music’ (Kurosawa 2008: 200).

Most Bunun live in Taiwan’s mountain ranges at elevations above 1,500m, and hence represent the notion of mountain in the mountain/sea or island/ocean dichotomy. ‘*Pasibutbut*’ brought international attention to this high mountain group, and the Taiwanese scholar and Bunun specialist Wu Rung-shun (2008: 100)¹⁹ notes that the French acoustician Gilles Léothaud therefore was able to name the Bunun as one of the world’s eight ethnic groups who excel in harmonic singing. Although Bunun singers do have proficient skills, heard on *Les Voix du Monde*, on *Polyphonies vocales des Aborigènes de Taïwan* (Inedit W260011, 1989) and on *The Song of the Bunun* (Wind Record TCD-1501 1993), and these skills are diverse, and although

¹⁸ *Les Voix du Monde: Une Anthologie des Expression Vocales/Voices of the World: An Anthology of Vocal Expression* (Le Chant du Monde CMX 3741010.12 1996).

¹⁹ Chen, Yu-xiu et al (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Taiwan Music* (2008: 100).

the harmonic structures used on these three albums vary, the basic structures of ‘*Pasibutbut*’ remain similar on all recordings. The group employs overtone singing, a matter that did not escape Zemp (1996b) and his assistant Tran Quang Hai’s attention in the 1990s, and taken together their vocal techniques intimate ancient animistic practices, where singers offer prayers to spiritual elements encountered or affiliated with their environments (much as has been claimed in respect to Tuvan and Mongolian *khoomi/xhoomi* singing; see, for example, Slobin 1992: 444–6).

Bear in mind that ‘*Pasibutbut*’ is rooted by a ritualistic function; it reflects a people’s life experience and their instinct for harmony and balance. I began to be attracted to Bunun singing in the 1990s, when I was introduced to ‘*Pasibutbut*’. In 1998, I carried out fieldwork in Namasia District (then Sanmin), in southern Taiwan, where many Bunun live; later I moved to Taitung, a county which also contains many Bunun communities. Based on my acquaintance, I recognise that performing ‘*Pasibutbut*’ was initially taboo within the tradition unless sung in ritual. However, in recent years, we can see the Bunun are no longer sticking firmly to this taboo as ‘*Pasibutbut*’ is sung on occasions such as for tourists and music competitions, and for researchers to make recordings for academic purposes. Firstly, this is driven by profit-making; music and dance is a way for the Bunun to earn a living. Secondly, the rendering of ‘*Pasibutbut*’ is in demand due to its reputation epitomising the Bunun as the most skilful group singers. Lastly, the people are keen to sustain and revive their tradition, which will otherwise continue to decline. My unique observation in the field – where I was told by an elderly Bunun – is that when the Bunun are asked to render ‘*Pasibutbut*’ on occasions other than singing it in ritual, the singers, according to a tacit understanding, will keep a part which is considered sacred unsung. So, they are reminded of the solemn origin of ‘*Pasibutbut*’: an unsatisfactory rendition will offend the god Dehanin. In earlier times, when millet planting was still widely practised by the people, the consequence of a poor rendition might bring punishment by Dehanin on the people, namely, a poor harvest of millet, their staple food, throughout the year. Only men are allowed to render the prayer, and they do this in pairs, forming a standing circle, facing inwards, orbiting

counter-clockwise at a slow pace, as shown in Photo 4.1. As a ritual offering, the multipart voices form a consistent whole that, it is believed, will lead to a good millet harvest. It is this expected outcome that gives the music its name, which translates as ‘Song of Prayer for a Rich Millet Harvest’.

Three local myths explain the origin. The first remembers an oracle given by the god Dehanin, who enlightened the Bunun through the heavenly sound of a waterfall and its echoes, indicating to the people that he would bestow a rich harvest if they sang a prayer mimetically. The second tells how Bunun hunters were attracted by the sound of humming bees reverberating resonantly in a hollowed-out tree burr and were inspired to imitate the sound. The third records how as Bunun ancestors reaped their millet harvest they heard beautiful birdsong, and knowing that the abundance of birds signalled a good harvest, they imitated this sound as a prayer for the harvest (Wu 1995: 190–91; Bukun 2000: 55–58). In summary, the exposition of indigenous music to the world outside echoes Braudel’s three levels of time: tradition is intimately bounded by the mountain and sea environment, linked to seasonal rituals and changing only slowly over time; colonisation brought rapid change, and cultural decline; ripples set off by the promotion of ‘*Pasibutbut*’ showed how Taiwanese indigenous music could create an identity for Taiwan.

4.2.2 Bunun Chants: Change, Authenticity, Hybridity and Otherness

In the following part, I focus on how the singing of the Bunun has changed since Kurosawa’s ethnographic recordings were made in the 1940s, centering my attention on Bunun pop artist Biung Tak-Banuaz’s compositions. Also, I will have an in-depth discourse about the authenticity, hybridity and Otherness of or in Bunun music and how Biung’s compositions render these elements. Biung presents an example of the safeguarding of Bunun singing and making a living from it as a tradition. I compare Biung’s compositions to those taught by the 77-year-old shaman (at time I interview her in 2018), Hu Jin-niang (or Hudas Haitang, using her Bunun

name; born 1941²⁰) from Haiduan – a neighbouring township to Yenping where Kurosawa in 1943 recorded ‘*Pasibutbut*’, the multipart Bunun singing – and to commercial performances by the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation, a leisure park providing entertainment for tourists and jobs for Bunun youth. I juxtapose Biung’s hybridisation with questions: will sustaining the heritage be intimately linked to a clear distinguishable character belonging to the Bunun, or can it form a sub-genre of commercialized world music, showcasing Otherness?

‘Authenticity’ is a contested term; I define ‘authenticity’ as originality, drawing on the concept of authentic performance in reference to ‘performances that use period instruments (or facsimiles) and that attempt to re-create period performance idioms’ (Sherman 1998), paralleling ‘historically informed performance’ (HIP, after Christopher Hogwood²¹); both pursue ‘authenticity’ in performances of early Western classical music. In East Asia, and in respect to Korea’s state sacrificial rituals, Keith Howard (2012: 117) refers to authenticity in terms of the perceived preservation of an ‘original form’, a concept found repeatedly in reports, and based on Article 3 in the 1962 cultural property preservation law. The Taiwanese folklorist Lu Chui-kuan (2005:199) mentions *zhengtong*, an equivalent to authenticity, as a ‘bond to the origins’. According to Lu, *beiguan* opera is a term that references the preservation of earlier Chinese court Mandarin, hence Mandarin-affiliated nuances mark authenticity for performing groups; originally, Mandarin was the *lingua franca* and official language of northern China, where this ‘ensemble of the north’ (*bei*/north + *guan*/musical instruments) derived. In contrast, the *nanguan* (*nan*/south) tradition is closely linked to Minnan, a region in southern China. So, *nanguan* performers preserve Minnan pronunciation and articulation in order to demonstrate their authenticity to the genre.

²⁰ ‘Hu Jin-niang’s Account of Her Own Life’, *New Taiwanese Cultural Foundation*, at: <http://newtaiwanese.org.tw/news/news.php?Sn=63> (accessed 10 February 2019).

²¹ The British, Cambridge-based Hogwood (1941–2014) was the artistic director of Boston’s Handel and Haydn Society. He was an influential promoter of the HIP movement, from its beginnings in the 1970s (Handel and Haydn Society, at: <http://handelandhaydn.org/about/historically-informed-performance/> (accessed 28 October 2017)).

Hybridisation refers to a cross-genre (or hybrid genre), using the definition in literature referring to fiction that blends themes and elements from two or more different genres.²² In this sense, Biung's compositions are not intended to fit a specific genre, that is to say, rock, jazz or Mandopop, but to appeal to fans because of their inclusion of an unfamiliar, exotic aura of Otherness. There is an impression that Otherness was once a derogatory and discriminatory assignment, since indigenous people were marginalised and placed outside Japanese or Han Taiwanese norms during the colonial period and both earlier and later; they were stigmatised as weak and conservative (after Said 1978: 357). From a more positive perspective, however, being other than Han-Taiwanese, and other than urban cosmopolitans, established a unique identity, hence to preserve Bunun-ness is to portray musical indigeneity. This is a favourable characteristic in today's social and political atmosphere, in which indigeneity erects a stage for pride and dignity while accessing local cultural capital (after Bourdieu 1977: 6). The flip from the former marginalisation to pride and dignity allows the Taiwanese to emphasise the diverse nature of their society, which in turn serves to repair the damage perceived to have been done to non-Japanese and non-Chinese heritage during earlier times under the *Kominka*/Japanisation and Sinification policies.

Bunun singing gains its reputation due to its complicated multi-part (polyphonic) structure, and this is how it is introduced on Swiss-French ethnomusicologist Hugo Zemp's production *Voices of the World: An Anthology of Vocal Expression* (1996b). My research suggests something more. The widespread presumption that the Bunun are the best indigenous group for group singing introduces a different hypothesis, namely, that when musicians such as Biung work alone, the polyphonic feature is lost. This may explain why Biung finds himself stuck in an 'in-between' situation: he wanders back and forth from 'traditional' to 'popular', changing from exerting efforts to sustain Bunun tradition to striving for commercial success, and then to efforts that moderate both (Fan 2000). However, Biung's continuous output needs to be seen in

²² Ousby, I. ed., *The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English* (1995: 367).

terms of these shifts, so a diachronic consideration is important when considering his efforts to sustain a living tradition. In searching for the best strategy for a successful career, Biung strove to return to Bunun tradition – the authentic kind of tradition – by which it was implied that the music elements, performing skills and creative inspirations had to be balanced. It is clear that Bunun's singing derives from nature, experiences of living in the mountains and coping with the island's sub-tropical climate. Taitung, my fieldwork location, for me takes advantage of being in near proximity to my research subjects, so, in addition to scrutinizing the work of earlier researchers (such as Kurosawa), I can accumulate considerable fact-orientated and experience-based data.

On 19 September 2017, I took a fieldwork trip to Taoyuan (Pasikau, using its Bunun name), a village populated by Bunun in Yanping Township (or Inpiing), Taitung County. This was one of my regular visits to the countryside. I visited Wuling (Buklavu) on 18 October, revisited both Taoyuan and Wuling on 1 November and Wuling again on 8 November. Taoyuan, in the lower plain, is connected to the higher altitude central mountain range, where the Bunun used to live for many generations until they were forced to move by the Japanese when they occupied the island from 1895 to 1945. The mountainous landscape and slopes can still be seen, but Taoyuan sits in a basin, at not such a high altitude as the mountains. 19 September was a cloudy day with occasional showers. Traces of heavy rain remained in the overflow of water from retaining walls built to prevent mudslide. The walls were decorated with mosaics illustrating Bunun lifestyles: millet-harvesting rituals, women working with mortars and pestles, performance of '*Pasibutbut*' and '*Malasdabag*/Reporting a plentiful catch or a triumphant war'. The surrounding mountains came into view: they form Taiwan's highest and least accessible national park, containing the largest tract of wilderness remaining on the island and being valued for pristine forests and a diversity of fauna. Making predictions about the weather in this area is challenging due to its changeable nature. The eastern part of Taiwan, where Taitung gets its name from ('Tai' = an abbreviation of 'Taiwan', 'tung' = east), has often been the first region

where typhoons and heavy downpours hit. Located near the mountainous east, it is often severely damaged by typhoons that usually come from the southeast; the rotating storm and thick clouds are often obstructed by the central mountain range, in such a way that they weaken. On such occasions, extreme weather covers the eastern parts of the island, but the island remains clear to the west.²³ The topography and weather sets the lifestyle of the indigenous people, especially the Bunun, making it distinct from elsewhere. Taiwan is generally divided into two parts: the flat, gently rolling plains of the west that is home to 90% of the Taiwanese and rugged, forest-covered mountains of the east that are home to the other 10%.

The Bunun are among the largest group of indigenous people in the east; indigenous people amount to 36% of the population in Taitung and 27% in Hualien, another eastern county. Along with the Tao, who inhabit the outlying island of Lanyu, Bunun's remote and geographically inaccessible habitat protects them from acculturation, which would otherwise have been caused by interaction with the dominant Han culture and by the Japanese influence during the colonial period (Lu 2003: 279). 'Bunun' means 'human being'; much like other indigenous groups such as the Puyuma, Amis and Tao, the name implies 'men' or 'real humans' (Lin 1997: 10; Wang 2001: 2). The interaction of people with nature is clearly seen. An extreme example is found in the depiction of natural disasters such as typhoons in circle dances. Circle dancing is one of the 39 shared characteristics of Austronesians, put together with wooden mortar and pestle work, knitwear hung at the waist, mat weaving, rattan or bamboo basket making, the use of mouth harps, nose flutes, bowed instrument, taboos, totemic beliefs, shamanism and rituals (Tsai 2010: 26–27). In '*Pasibutbut*', the circle is always closed and rotates counter-clockwise. Shapes and the rotations reflect those of typhoons. In circle dancing, participants hold hands to prevent any invasion by evil spirits, the 'haneto'. According to the Bunun Aziman Madiklan

²³ Satellite images on The United Kingdom's national weather service (the Met Office), at: <http://www.facebook.com/metoffice/photos/a.10150314673409209.351339.287501884208/10155289029639209/?type=3&theater> (accessed 30 October 2017).

and the Atayal Matts Sattu who I interviewed, clockwise rotations are used when the Amis express joyfulness, signalling happiness and celebration. In other words, although not strictly followed today, and following adaptations to the condition of the dancing arena, generally, situations of danger such as typhoon or rituals involving evil spirits use counter-clockwise rotations, but celebrations and joyous occasions clockwise. The circles may be closed or open, in the shape of single ring or concentric multiple rings, a spiral, a figure-of-eight or snake-like, depending on regional differences. Only men are allowed to present ‘*Pasibutbut*’, and they do so in a hand-in-hand, slow paced and counter-clockwise orbit. The Amis ‘*Malikuda*’ is another circle dance; it is led by between one and four singers, responses coming from participants at a harvest festival (see also Sun 2008: 72–3).²⁴

Another factor unique to Taiwanese indigenous people that may influence their musical traditions is seismic activity: the frequency, type and size of earthquakes experienced over a period of time. Taiwan is located on the ‘Ring of Fire’, a major area in the basin of the Pacific where a large number of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions occur. Indigenous people used to pray to the ancestors to prevent earthquakes. According to Dai Ming-xiong, a Christian priest who served in Xianglan village, Taimali Township, the whole community would shout together when an earthquake happened (interviewed by Zhuang Mei-Fang 2016).²⁵ Shouting at earthquakes was an interaction between human beings and the earth. In earlier times, people in a community were closely acquainted with each other; they shared their experiences of working outdoors, on plantations and in the forests. So, shouting and responding to each other was part of an instinct that came naturally in response to shocks, a reaction to terrifying situations and a way to communicate with others. Praying to ancestors and calls and responses are no longer practiced widely since Christianity has taken the place of ancient beliefs. Having a dialogue with the earth is today deemed superstitious. Indigenous people now usually work and live far

²⁴ Chen Yu-xiu, Lu Yu-hsiu, et al (2008: 72–73).

²⁵ ‘Myths about earthquake among Taiwanese indigenous people’ (in Mandarin), *Electronic Journal of the Indigenous People*, Council of Indigenous People, 8/28 (2016), at: <https://ihc.apc.gov.tw/Journals.php?pid=637&id=948> (accessed 7 November 2017).

away from their ancestral homelands, in communities of diverse ethnicity and faith, where co-workers and friends perceive and respond to natural disasters differently. But, earlier practices are still commonly heard in their singing.

4.3 Partial Truths: The Impacts of Kurosawa's Records and the Reality

The Bunun intimate bond with the natural environment formed the background for their 'authentic' singing when the Japanese ethnographic researcher and anthropologist Kurosawa Takatomo recorded his seven Bunun songs and six instrumental pieces (book alongside CDs by Kurosawa 1974; reissued version by Wang and Liuo (eds) 2008). He recorded 'Pasibutbut', 'Marasitonmal/Song for the Festival of Shooting the Ears', 'Manakaire/New Year's Song', 'Makausohesi/Female Shaman's Prayer', 'Pisira reirazu/Feeling Sorrow for Loneliness', 'Tosais/Song of Triumphant Return', 'Hozashi/Song of Love', three mouth harp pieces, one musical bow piece, one piece for the *toro-toro* five-string psaltery, and a duet for musical bow and psaltery. The psaltery is a Bunun five-string instrument much like the ancient and medieval musical instrument and like a dulcimer but played by plucking the strings with the fingers or a plectrum.²⁶ Japanese scholars made a great contribution to the knowledge of indigenous culture in the world beyond Taiwan; Kurosawa introduced the Bunun to Western scholars, in turn making the Bunun proud of their multipart singing – a pride that remains to this day. Praise given to the Bunun includes that 'they are excellent multipart singers' (in Chen Yu-xiu *et al* 2008: 100), while, as we have seen earlier, 'Pasibutbut' impacted on theories about the development of music, and on the origins of modes and pentatonic scales. To a great extent, the world outside considers that the Bunun still have a positive attitude towards the Japanese colonial regime, because it helped them to preserve and value their cultural heritage.

However, my research reveals that the Japanese treated the Bunun so badly that there remains fury and hatred among older Bunun towards the Japanese. Hu Jin-niang, the old

²⁶ youtu.be/6YXMJnRQrCk (accessed 19 March 2019).

shaman and safeguarder of Bunun tradition, recalls only unpleasant memories of her early life and that of other fellow Bunun (interview, 1 November 2017). The Japanese government, according to her, set up nine police stations from the lowest altitude Haiduan to Lidao and Xiangyang, the highest community where the Bunun live, along the Southern Thruway, which is a mountain road crossing Taiwan's Central Mountain Range to connect Taiwan's eastern part to its western plain, in order to monitor and control people.²⁷ Bunun elders also retain resentful emotions towards the Japanese for forcing them to move from their ancestral homelands in the high mountains to the plains, just to keep the people in check. This caused great changes in lifestyles and considerable cultural loss. Hu told me that the Japanese neglected the well-being of the Bunun, taking advantage of their superiority of power in order to benefit themselves. One example is they forced the Bunun to buy inferior quality copper cooking pots, which caused poisoning. As a consequence, thyroid disorders and degenerative joint diseases became common. Images of the sick remained terrifying but fresh to Hu, who herself suffered from knuckle arthritis as a child; people's throats swelled, their eyes jugged out, the sick crawled on the floor, limping and moving awkwardly due to their disfigurement.

What I discovered about their music had not been noticed by Kurosawa. So, although the Bunun were and are still best known for their multipart singing, we should not ignore their solo genres and duet genres. To an extent, solos and duets are more sophisticated and delicate than multipart singing, but they are today in a moribund state and therefore worthy of immediate attention. Hu sang me several solo songs that I found fascinating. Even more attractive were the words she used to describe them, indicating how such songs incorporate the rich soundscape of the mountains, the sweet sounds of babbling rivers, melodic raindrops, rustling leaves, piercing 'whooshes' and ripples. The sounds of nature merge into complete wholes in such ancient Bunun tunes. The best tunes were sung solo, so that the most subtle nuances can be detailed. In

²⁷ <http://web.pts.org.tw/titv/mealc/main.php?Channel=titv&XMAENO=1721&XMBENO=4413> (accessed 2 November 2017).

Hu's melodic lines and lyrical yells, I could feel the differences between a hunter-farmer coming home with a light catch, happy and eager to reunite with his family, and a hunter-farmer with a heavy load, seeking help from those he was returning to in order to ease his burden, in song such as 'Maciluma/Coming Down the Mountain with a Heavy Load'²⁸. More importantly, these solo and duet melodies were functional to kinship: from dialogue-like exchanges of thoughts expressed by one person at a time when singers took turns to sing, to men and women with knowledge of the family backgrounds of those who they sang with. In other words, singing solo and in duet promoted the love of prospective lovers while at the same time preventing those with shared bloodlines from becoming lovers.

Kurosawa's recordings were made from the perspective of an ethnographer from outside Taiwan, and took Bunun music as an object of study. On one hand, he was amazed by the complex polyphonic structure and harmonious multipart singing of the Bunun, and wanted to promote these to the world outside. On the other hand, his brief descriptions of musicians give us a glimpse on how a researcher from a culture that considered itself superior and powerful perceived Otherness. Kurosawa took the Bunun to be the best of the indigenous peoples, recognising their 'genius' – in Kurosawa's words – and feeling 'physical consonances of 3:2 and 4:3 with their skin' (2008: 200). But he reveals a belittling opinion on their ability for matters other than music, 'concerning mathematics, only to such a degree as for them to be able to do simple addition and subtraction, and using the fingers of their hands and feet'. He mixes praise with denigrating comments: 'such a wonderful choral singing was being sung among the primitive people who do not possess musical instruments, do not know notated music, and are said to have the lowest IQ' ('*Pisira reirazu*', 2008: 204). In other words, he deemed the Bunun to excel in music but to lack knowledge and unintelligence.

²⁸ youtu.be/rxsVp9zoz2A; Hu Jin-niang's singings can be heard in interviews with her on TV programmes and documentary, at: youtu.be/f4Q3bx9Ck18 (in Bunun with Mandarin subtitles) and youtu.be/J2Jr4AbZOx4 (accessed 19 March 2019).

However, the Bunun and their music were regarded in a different, positive and respectful way by, for example, Hu Jin-niang, whom I mentioned two pages ago. Hu's high regard for the Bunun and their culture sits at the opposite end of the scale to Kurosawa's. Hers is a native perspective, and music is perceived for its roots and original function. Hu has taught Bunun singing for more than 40 years, first at Wulu Primary School, in the Taitung mountainous area where the Bunun community used to be large, then, after retirement, as a volunteer among other Bunun communities. According to Hu, five-line staff notation is restricted to representing a prescribed set of values in which melodies have discrete pitches and durations.²⁹ Hence, using this notation produces, in Hu's words, a 'step-wise', 'diagonal' and 'ragged-shaped' contour of melodic singing, despite the smooth and continuous rise and fall in Bunun songs that articulates the highs and lows of the mountainous terrain in which they once lived. In this sense, Bunun singing is unique not only for its harmonic structures, but for its melodies. Furthermore, singing is a carrier of Bunun culture. To her, the Bunun perceive their singing, metaphorically, as 'currents of streams, flowing naturally from the waterhead to the sea and to the lakes, sometimes separated by stones, but later reuniting, sometimes curling and wavering, but often flowing peacefully'. So, today's efforts to preserve songs teach Bunun youths in accordance with an earlier oral tradition, by-passing notation. The youths are required to memorise lyrics, melodies and intonation, and are encouraged to explore the activities practiced by earlier people that songs were linked to, such as farming and hunting.

Most importantly, the wisdom of the Bunun comes from their sustainable life, living peacefully with nature. People adjust themselves to the natural eco-system. For example, they were able to build houses at high altitudes with materials obtained in the surrounding area. They were careful about taking tree bark, limiting themselves to one third of the bark on a tree, and used it as a water-proofing material for roofs. Community members told me that restricting themselves to this proportion allowed trees to regenerate new outer layers, and their knowledge

²⁹ 'World heard voices of the mountain' (in Mandarin), *United Daily*, at: <https://www.ptt.cc/bbs/sttmountain/M.1211689420.A.D0D.html> (accessed 15 April 2019).

came from their ancestors rather than being based on plant science or mathematics. Their intimate bond to nature developed in line with their knowledge of naturopathy (after Jagtenberg, etc. 2006: 323–8); it was based on a daily life practice as well as ritual. People kept in contact with the earth through their bare feet, preferring to live in wooden houses instead of cement buildings. Hu mentioned that the sick healed themselves through the natural environment. In such a tradition, people have inherited a fondness for the wilderness of forests and rivers, know floral diversity well, and differentiate the good from poisonous plants as they collect herbs. Travelling in the forest, emptying oneself and having conversations with mountain spirits and deceased ancestors would often help them to sustain their vitality and restore their innermost being.

Another example which shows Bunun's ancestral knowledge is their precise prediction of weather. On 15 September 1945, a month after the surrender of Imperial Japan that brought World War II or the Pacific War to a close, an American military aircraft took off from the Philippines and passed Taiwan. This was carrying American prisoners of war who had been rescued, and it crashed at Shancha Mountain in Taitung County, killing 26 onboard. At the request of the Americans, an elite mountaineering team of 89, including Amis, Bunun Beinan, and other plains indigenous people, as well as Minnan, Hakka, but led by Japanese officers and soldiers, was dispatched. The plan was to bury the dead where the plane had come down, since it would be difficult to bring their bodies back due to the harsh topography. On the way to the crash location, at an elevation of more than 3,000 metres, a strong typhoon developed in the Pacific, hitting the island and resulting in a heavy downpour, strong winds and icy temperatures. The Bunun read the rapidly developing clouds as a sign of the weather changing, and just before the typhoon struck requested immediate evacuation. They successfully found places to shelter, but the others with them thought the situation was not so dangerous, and persisted to continue with

their task. Many were scattered and vanished in the hostile terrain. The Bunun coped with the situation, not going head-to-head against nature but living peaceful with it.³⁰

Anyhow, Kurosawa saw the Bunun differently to how the Bunun see themselves. In the continuum of time and cultural interaction, implications of Otherness develop, moving, hopefully, from outsider 'exotic' and 'unfamiliar' angles to the inclusion of assertions by the subjects. If we go back in time to early ethnomusicology, the American anthropologist Alice C. Fletcher (1893: 237–8) was not conscious of the concept of Otherness, but just took music of North American native people that matched her aesthetical taste and gut feeling, writing down her observations in the first person. The influential anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1989: 167), after World War I, wrote how he saw 'the life of the natives as utterly devoid of interest or importance,' as 'something as remote from [him] as the life of a dog'. However, a change of attitude came with critics of colonialism. Albert Schweitzer (1970: 112–15), the Franco-German humanitarian and musicologist, championed native people who were by many considered lazy and socially problematic in the forests of West-Central Africa: to him, they were 'free men', 'children of nature', and had little interest in wealth, being satisfied with the shelter, food and materials the forest provided, working on only a little planting, fishing and hunting. The Beinan Taiwanese scholar Sun Da-chuan (2010a: 51) has used Schweitzer's apologetics to argue there is a distinction between the logic of nature and the logic of money. Judged by the latter, Sun argues, indigenous people are stereotypically taken as uncultivated and weak Others, but in reality, they keep the logic of nature in a manner similar to the 'free' and easily satisfied Africans. In Sun's opinion, a modernised indigenous society, an idea often brought up in today's discourse on how to sustain indigenous traditions in urbanised and western-influenced societies, should not exclude considerations of the cultural differences between indigenous people and the

³⁰ 'Wailing by Ghosts and Spirits: Crash at Shancha Mountain and 26 Deaths in an International Effort' (in Mandarin), *epochtimes.com*, at: <http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/7/6/17/n1746861.htm> (accessed 11 November 2017).

dominant culture, as well as differences in work and production. My research confirms that cultural interaction changes the positions of self/other and researcher/subject so that perceptive judgements are often projected from the other/subject. Hence, native researcher's approach (after Chou 2002: 457–58) incorporating Bunun views brings the inside to outside worlds and compensates for the earlier accounts of indigenous people that described inferiority and powerlessness from Kurosawa's perspective.

4.4 Typhoon Morakot and Biung's Compositions

On 8 August 2009, Taiwan was hit by Typhoon Morakot, the deadliest typhoon to impact Taiwan in recorded history. According to statistics of the Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council, Morakot resulted in 728 deaths, including those missing and unaccounted for.³¹ The record-breaking rains also caused catastrophic agricultural loss, power failures and interruptions to the water supply.³² Taitung, along with other parts of Taiwan, was flooded by overnight rain. The swollen Taimali River undermined 51 homes and swept them away into the Pacific, leaving numerous people homeless. A six-storey hotel collapsed into the Zhiben River; nearby stores were washed away.³³ Those who lived in the countryside and the mountains were seriously affected – mostly indigenous people. Xiaolin, a mountain village in Kaohsiung, a county at the south, was buried by a massive landslide, resulting in 465 deaths out of its 1,300 indigenous residents. The Bunun community in Namasia, also in Kaohsiung, was isolated because roads became inaccessible or simply vanished; residents were trapped for four days with no food, water or electricity.

The extreme weather condition associated with typhoons is familiar to all Taiwanese. The Beinan scholar Sun Da-chuan (Paelabang Danapan, using his Beinan name) mentions his anticipation from childhood onwards of typhoons, year by year (cited in Sun 2010a: 15–17). To him, typhoons bring sensational experiences and the excitement of the seasons changing, even

³¹ <http://www.taiwan921.lib.ntu.edu.tw/88pdf/A8801M.html> (accessed 12 November 2017).

³² <http://tw.news.yahoo.com/新聞檔案-莫拉克風災-台灣50年來最嚴重八八風災-075818035.html> (accessed 12 November 2017).

³³ 'Downpour Continues to Pummel South', *Taipei Times*, at: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2009/08/10/2003450812> (accessed 12 November 2017).

many years later, providing stories that he could tell when he was studying abroad in Belgium – trees were pulled out from their roots, when the winds reached the scary seventeenth level – the maximum recorded – winds whooshed, gigantic waves hit the shores, mountain torrents broke out, rivers overflowed, houses, roads and bridges were smashed and collapsed, all within a few hours. Sun’s narration amazed his western friends, making him appear like somebody who had experienced the mythical stories of primeval times. In Sun’s opinion, natural disasters such as typhoons were adhesive forces for human relationships, especially for those of indigenous people. People helped each other and worked as groups reconstructing and restoring in their aftermath, cleaning drains, fixing roads, and rebuilding bridges and houses. The collective efforts were a revival of traditional practices, a re-establishment of human ties and a reminder of community consciousness as people became closer friends, fixed broken relationships, conveyed their concerns for others and apologised for former misconduct. Natural disasters are also considered to be a message from nature to remind people to be humble, to control themselves in life, and to be aware of the limits of technology.

On 14 August 2009, the Taiwan company LinFair Records and the television channels CtiTV (Chong-tian Television, Taiwan) and CTV (China Television, Taiwan) co-organised a charity programme, ‘*Baai chuan chuqu*’ (Bring out Your Love), which was broadcasted live for a campaign to raise fund for the victims of Morakot.³⁴ This concert was initiated by Hong Kong artists Andy Lau Tak-wah, Eric Tsang Chi-wai and Alan Tam Wing Lun, although Hong Kong was not damaged by the typhoon. It included a six-hour live concert that featured more than 200 artists – in choirs as well as in solos, duets and groups – from Taiwan, Hong Kong and China, the ‘*Liangsan sandi*/three regions across two sides of Taiwan Strait’, to perform in a relay. One of the performance was rendered by LinFair Records artists, namely, Christine Fan Wei-qi, Angela Chang Shao-han and Tseng Jin-wen who were led by Biung Wang Hong-en (or

³⁴ ‘Linfair singers all out for funds raising concert and sang ‘*Yueguang*’ together’ (in Mandarin), *Beijing Sina Daily*, at: <http://dailynews.sina.com/bg/ent/music/sinacn/20090814/0205572058.html> (accessed 13 November 2017).

Tak-Banuaz, using his Bunun name) to sing together the song ‘*Yueguang*/Moonlight’.³⁵ ‘*Yueguang*’ was being originally recorded in Bunun as ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ (which also means moonlight in Bunun), the third track on the *Hunter* (Wind Music TCD-5601, 2000), Biung’s debut album. However, ‘*Yueguang*’, the tenth track on Biung’s *Men Walk with Wind* (republished on Feeling Good Music PSCD04001, 2016), was a rewritten of ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ in a different set of lyrics in Mandarin. Biung is a Bunun artist who grew up in Wuling, Taitung. The song appears to have been selected because it was by an indigenous artist (as were the majority of those living in the disaster-struck areas), and since its lyrics expressed strong feeling for the natural environment (which had been devastatingly damaged by the typhoon). A few days later, a number of video clips about the typhoon appeared on YouTube. Two were particularly worthy of note: one employed ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ as its background music, and the other used the revised version, ‘*Yueguang*’. Biung’s sentimental vocalisations made the scenes of calamity sensational. Views of damage provoked affection for the motherland, but also motivated people to rebuild in the face of adversity. The clips went viral, promoting both ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ and ‘*Yueguang*’ as the epitome of courage, love and strength, quickly attracting more than 60,000 views.³⁶

4.5 Three levels of depth in ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’

Biung in his career has shifted back and forth from Bunun tradition to mainstream Taiwanese Mandopop. His first album is in Bunun, the second, *Biung* (Wind Music TCD-5603, 2001), in a mix of Bunun and Mandarin, and the third, *Men Walk with Wind*, in Mandarin only. The shift from Bunun to Mandarin in the lyrics to ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ and ‘*Yueguang*’ witness this change. ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ was created with a second Bunun, the Lutheran pastor Wang Tian-jin (Pima Tansikian, using his Bunun name),³⁷ a revered priest who served at Wuling Presbyterian Church. Biung remarked: ‘My Bunun is only adequate for daily conversation, but Revd. Wang’s

³⁵ youtu.be/FJB06zyX8Sk (accessed 19 March 2019)

³⁶ youtu.be/iiOgX-9j4-g (‘*Yueguang*’ is used as the soundtrack) and youtu.be/VRPQgrL90VE (‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’) (accessed 4 February 2019).

³⁷ Biung Facebook, at: <http://www.facebook.com/Biung.HungEnWang/posts/1929667490393477:0> (accessed 21 October 2017).

is professional quality and touching.’ According to Aziman Madiklan (interview, 18 October 2017), Biung’s primary school music teacher, Wang balances artistry and intellectualism in his lyrics, deploying the Bunun language in profound ways, and yet his words are easy to understand. It is worthy of note that the song’s title in Bunun, ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’, means ‘moonlight’, and another in Mandarin, ‘*Yueguang*’, also bears the same meaning. However, there are two sets of lyrics – in Bunun and in Mandarin – for the song. ‘*Yueguang*’ and ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ essentially suggest three levels of depth in Biung’s activities. The first is the superficial, and is in ‘*Yueguang*’, where the lyrics in Mandarin and the rendition is like Mandopop, ‘songs about romantic love’ or, in Paul McCartney’s words, the ‘silly love song’, or, sentimental songs that almost exclusively relate to ‘affairs of the heart’ (Frith 2001: 102).

The rewriting for ‘*Yueguang*’ was done with another lyricist, Ka Fei-er.³⁸ The new lyrics, in the first-person singular, are elaborate but deliberate, in such a way that they create a romantic atmosphere and an imaginative setting, the subject being a girl (this is confirmed by the grammar). In one sense, it becomes a song in which a man pours out his heart to a prospective lover. On the other hand, though, the lyrics can also be interpreted as a depiction of an enchanting scene: the moon casts light over and is reflected in a clear lake, and there is a flowing stream, green mountain range and gentle breeze. At the end, the depiction of the moon changes from second person to third person, confusing the subject/object depiction.³⁹ It seems, then, that ‘*Yueguang*’ has not been deeply thought through, and is simply a commercial product of Mandopop made for profit rather than art. In other words, Bunun artistry is not emphasised. Below is my translation of the lyrics for ‘*Yueguang*’, using the album’s sleeve notes:

The river is clear. The image of it flows quietly in your eyes.

Your smile triggers ripples. They agitate on the surface of a lake.

The mountain range is green. The image of it raises and falls between your eyebrows.

Your silence moves the evening breeze. The wind blows softly across my ears.

³⁸ This is most likely a penname.

³⁹ Sleeve note for *Men Walk with Wind* (Feeling Good Music PSCD04001, 2016).

You blossom quietly like a lily in the deep forest.

You bring comfort and serenity, like a fair breath of wind.

The sky is brightened with stars tonight.

The lily in the deep forest evokes sense of nostalgia.

I feel like I am flying and the moon is fluttering.

These are what I have been dreaming about.

In this quiet night, a gentle breeze blows across your face.

In the dark blue sky the moon shines.

Light cast on the surface of the earth, what a fascinating and enigmatic scene.

‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ occupies a second level, going a little deeper into Bunun tradition. It was initially composed for a use that was more than public consumption, and so Biung intended to give a more abstract and transcendental sense of things, hiding the message in its lyrics, even if not through musical elements. Biung reports that his inspiration came from his grandmother.⁴⁰ When he left his country hometown ambitious for the future in metropolitan Taipei, his grandmother presented him the moon as a reminder of the courage and strength he should keep if he found himself in difficulty. Biung was initially bewildered by this ‘natural logicity’ (or, logic

ANA TUPA TU
THIRD TRACK ON THE HUNTER ALBUM
(WIND MUSIC TCD-5001, 2000)

LYRICS AND MELODY BY BIUNG TAK-BANUAZ
TRANSCRIPTION BY TEOH YANG MING
22 MARCH 2019

SLOW FOLK BALLAD WITH GUITAR ARPEGGIOS
♩ = 68-80

Verse 1

Verse 1 consists of two staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a common time signature. The bottom staff is the guitar accompaniment in treble clef with the same key signature and time signature. Handwritten guitar chords are written above the notes: A, A, A MA7/G#, F#mi, F#mi, F#mi7/E. The lyrics are written below the notes: A NA TU PA TU U KA MI TA MAH TU SI NA DAN A SA KA TA NU MAL LI NAS KAL AU PA AI ZAG A SUAN A NA

Verse 2 (variation of verse 1)

Verse 2 consists of two staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a common time signature. The bottom staff is the guitar accompaniment in treble clef with the same key signature and time signature. Handwritten guitar chords are written above the notes: A, A, A MA7/G#, F#mi, F#mi, F#mi7/E. The lyrics are written below the notes: TU PA TU U KA MI TA MAH TU KA NA DAN A SA KA TA LU MA LIS VA LA AU PA AI ZAG A SU NUN I SIA MI TA TU I

⁴⁰ See Introduction (p.11) and watch youtu.be/ucs_u-f0VvKU (accessed 16 February 2019).

Chorus 1

SAG MA ZA MAS TAN KAI SAL SUN A DU AI ZA SI PU
 QU LUN MI TA I SIA MI TA TU I SAG MAIS SA OU KA TA

Chorus 2 (variation of chorus 1)

SUAN MA ZA MI TA I LIS KI NAN MAI LIAN TA QUS NAI TIA TU
 SIN HA SAM A OU AL DI KU SUN NIN DA HEY YO A NA

Verse 3 (variation of verse 1)

TU PA TU U KA MI TA MAH TU SI NA DAN A SA KA TA LU MA
 LIS VA LA AU PA AI ZAG A BU NON

Vocables Section

HEY YO..... (vocables, for 20 measures)

Ending (variation of verse 1)

TU PA TU U KA MI TA MAH TU KA NA DAN A SA KA TA LU MA
 LIS VA LA AU PA AI ZAG A SUAN KA TU SI BU NON KA TA HI BU
 NON

D.C. AL CODA

Notation 4.1 'Ana Tupa Tu' in five-line staff with chord symbols. Transcription by Teoh

Yang-ming.

of nature), which valued the link with land and nature, but later appreciated the blessing. From the album's sleeve notes, the lyrics can be concisely translated:

Whoever is lost should remain joyful, because the moon will always be there. So, one should hope. Even at times of great adversity, keep in one's heart the teachings of the ancestors; the moon is our reminder.

I have transcribed his rendition for '*Ana Tupa Tu*'⁴¹, simplifying the chorus of vocables (*hey~yo~*), using the jazz/pop 'polynomial notation' (after Hood, 1982: 76), a system where a symbol can represent several things. The reason I use this notation system is to give musicians room for interpretation to meet the flexibility of harmonic, rhythmic and melodic requirements within the genre (Notation 4.1). For example, the recording studio version of the third track on the *Hunter* (Wind Music TCD-5601, 2000), which is used in the video clips about Typhoon Morakot is slightly different in ornamentation and/or timing from that of Biung sang in live performances⁴², such as in his TEDx Taitung 2014 public speech on 10 August 2014, 'Words of grandmother, the forever light house of creativity'. However, my transcription in Notation 4.1 is basically based on the recording studio version on the *Hunter*.

The arrangement of '*Ana Tupa Tu*' is in a style commonly heard in pop songs: a simple slow folk ballad with guitar arpeggios. Indeed, Biung often self-accompanied himself on the guitar when performing. The harmonic arpeggios comprise A major diatonic chords, arranged in such a way that the progression of the bass descends in scalar steps. For example, in the first measure of the verse, the bass note, A, is applied below the tonic chord, descending through a leading G sharp, submediant F sharp, dominant E, and subdominant D, all complemented by the appropriate diatonic chords. This kind of arrangement is familiar, frequently heard in Taiwanese Mandopop such as David Tao's '*Aihenjiandan/Love is Simple*', on the album *David Tao* (Shocks Records SCD-9701, 1997), and American R&B Whitney Houston's 'I will Always Love You' on *The Bodyguard* OST (Arista 18699-2, 1992), Jackson 5's 'I Will Be There' on

⁴¹ youtu.be/VRPQgrL90VE, see fn.36.

⁴² youtu.be/QKgTsfaaT4M (accessed 28 March 2019).

Third Album/Maybe Tomorrow (Motown MCD08011MD, 1986), Michael Bolton's R&B soul ballad 'When a Man Loves a Woman' (Columbia 38-74020, 1991), and Aphrodite's Child 'Rain and Tears' (Mercury MF1039, 1968). All of these remind us of Pachelbel's 'Canon'. It is a repeatedly used approach, as has been observed by Bruno Nettl (1985: ix, 84–86), who points out that pop, which 'thrives in the modern, intercultural context dominant by mass media', has become a 'phenomenon of urban life'. Despite this, Biung tried to create a sense of musical indigeneity or Bunun-ness, not just a pop song, by using Bunun lyrics, and thereby tried to capture the special relationship of Bunun with nature and ancestors. He also included non-lexical vocables (see Notation 4.1 Vocables Section), as in local songs.

However, I was reminded by a musician that the sequence of the bass notes is A moving downwards to G sharp, and further downwards to F sharp, but then jumping up an octave to a higher F sharp, instead of remains at its initial position to continue a descent to E and D. Here, I borrow Mantle Hood's (1982: 197–246) experience amidst the phenomenon of 'human equation' (see Chapter One, section 1.6.3, p.80–82) to clarify my argument. In my case, I perceive the one octave higher F sharp plays a similar function to the initial which is one octave lower, and the descending bass in scalar steps continues. Therefore, I sit in a similar position to Hood's Indonesian teacher, who perceived *slendro* being tuned equidistantly. But to this musician, who sits in a similar position to Hood (who perceive the tuning was not equidistant), the one octave higher F sharp is in reality a disruption to the descending bass. By convention and from my experience, pop audiences usually perceive A, G sharp, F sharp (whether an octave higher or not), E and D motion as descending A major scalar steps, or just pay little attention to its being disrupted (see Appendix Three for further discussion, pp.365–73).

Hence, the Bunun-ness is diluted by the pop arrangement, which provides a dominant setting familiar to commercialism and cosmopolitanism. Or is it so familiar? When the original lyricist, Wang, guided Biung to compose '*Ana Tupa Tu*', he planted hidden reminders to ancient beliefs, bringing listeners to the third and deepest level in which we can listen to the song. This

comes from resonances with the collective sentiment of the Bunun, which will only be recognised by experienced listeners – elder Bunun. In my interviews, I realised that the implication of the moon comes from Bunun myths which I had heard many times before I connected the myths to the lyrics. According to Bunun mythology, there were two suns in ancient times (see Du 1993: Chapter One). These took turns to shine on the earth so that humans suffered from scorching heat. A farmer laid his sleeping baby under the shade of a tree, covered him with palm leaves, and went to work. Unfortunately, the baby burned to death, transforming into a lizard that vanished into the cracks of the rocks. The father, who was a skilful archer, swore revenge. He waited by the pathway that the sun took, and shot one of the sun's eyes. This sun instantly lost its brightness and turned into the moon, shouting in pain while grasping everything it could, haphazardly. This scared the other sun, and both of them hid. Eternal darkness descended, and there was no sunrise. People had to work, farm and hunt in total darkness; before they put their foot out to walk, they had to throw a stone to make sure that there was no precipice in front of them – remember, the Bunun used to live in mountainous areas. This changed when a stone thrown by a Bunun hit a deer and prompted it to bellow out an enormously huge noise that was so loud that the sun came out from its hiding place to find out what had happened. From that moment on, the sun resumed his duty and the Bunun could return to their normal life. The moon reconciled itself with the Bunun, and agreed on rituals and rules for seasonal practices that would observe its waxing and waning. The waning would signify dying and the waxing growth, setting the times for farming and hunting. The Bunun, respecting this, get rid of pests and weeds at its waning, reap at its waxing, and have a harvest ritual when autumn comes. The full moon became a symbol of perfection, through which they pray for rich harvests, while as the moon wanes they pray for it to carry away bad luck. As it waxes, signalling vitality, they pray for children and health. The Bunun value reconciliation, because they reconciled with the moon, and this is remembered when they offer lime leaves during rituals. In summary, the planted significance hidden in Bunun's ancient belief about the moon, but recognisable, resonates with the people's collective sentiments.

Biung has become an influential Bunun figure. He won the best male singer award in the Taiwanese song category (a category distinguished from Mandopop) at the thirteenth Golden Melody Award in 2002, and his active participation in indigenospop has promoted Bunun-ness to Taiwan's music industry. Alongside the 14 August 2009 charity show and YouTube clips, '*Ana Tupa Tu*' is repeatedly used for other occasions. It became the theme song for 'Fishing Luck', a movie featuring indigenous subjects, and has featured in many of his live shows and campus appearances. Its Mandarin version was selected for the 14 August 2009 grand finale because Mandarin is easier for non-Bunun singers to sing along to than Bunun. While many people think of the song as Mandopop, they identify with it because of its other uses. And, because it epitomises the courage, spirit and strength of Taiwanese indigenous people in encountering great difficulties such as the typhoon, the Bunun version connects people to their ancestral homelands.

Due to '*Ana Tupa Tu*' and '*Yueguang*' has become a part of a Taiwanese experience encountering typhoon and re-construction after natural disaster struck, responses in listening to these songs and watching the movie clips are often poignant for local audience. After our discussion in class and responding to my music analysis, a student wrote: 'It is only after going through analysing the music I realise that our aural perception is often neglected. Before that, I seldom paid much attention to the harmonic and rhythmic structure of the music, neither did I pay much attention to how this music is produced on instruments.' Students also realised that the traditional music epitomises daily lives, as one of them wrote: 'Traditional music connects us to our land; like our ancestors, we have to live with natural disasters, reviving and regenerating through this connection: a rooted relationship with Taiwan.' A common phenomenon is that not all indigenous people know their traditional songs and language well, as they left their ancestral homeland long ago and moved to cities. For example, a Bunun student wrote, 'It is the first time I have listened to *Pasibutbut* and I am moved by its rich harmonies.' Also, listening to '*Ana Tupa Tu*', this youngster contemplates music hybridisation with an open attitude, saying, 'The multitudes of indigenospop introduce me to our ancestral practices; the sentimentality

and vocables in the songs sound familiar to me although this is the first time I have listened to these songs,' and 'the disastrous images of Typhoon Morakot, and 'Ana Tupa Tu' used for sound-tracking the movie, strengthen my connection to the 'mountain and sea' ancestral homeland.' Further, another student wrote: 'Now I know there are many forms and rich content of the music, today's lecture drives me to discover more about its history and culture.' Hence, the young generation are reminded of their ancestral practices, as one of them said: 'Influences of foreign cultures are overwhelming, but it's time for us, Taiwanese indigenous people, to recollect our lost culture and stick firmly to it, it is the origin, root and stone of Taiwan.'

4.6 Identity, Authenticity, Hybridity and Otherness: A Further Discourse

Hu Jin-niang, the elderly shaman (see pp.222, 229 and 231), was appointed to lead the opening ceremony and to perform a Bunun ritual on 1 August 2016 before President Tsai Ing-wen offered a formal apology for the injustices made to indigenous people by former regimes.⁴³ Hu, standing at one end of the continuum of the preservationist effort, is a safeguarder of the Bunun 'authentic' tradition – artistry and music in a supposedly original form, that is, as it was practiced before the end of World War II (Lu 2003: 14; see, though, my definition for 'traditional' in the Introduction above). Standing at the other end is the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation. This organisation, in Taitung, is well known for its cultural tourism provision; it manages a leisure park in Yenping Township giving Bunun experiences such as weaving, hunting, farming and forest expeditions.⁴⁴ Hu endorses the East Asian preservationist practice (Kun 1981: 1–16), connecting to and inspired by the homelands of the Bunun, proposing a sustainable living environment, and keeping the long and distinguished Bunun historical legacy. In contrast,

⁴³ Ramzy, Austin, 'Taiwan's President Apologizes to Aborigines for Centuries of Injustice', *The New York Times*, at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/02/world/asia/taiwan-aborigines-tsai-apology.html> (accessed 19 November 2017).

⁴⁴ Fieldwork October 2017, see also Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation, at: http://www.bunun.org.tw/tw/index.asp?au_id=247&sub_id=248 (accessed 19 November 2017).

the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation by-passes ancestral practices and draws materials from multiple places. It showcases songs and dances in a variety show fashioned by hybridity, mixing the performances belonging to diverse groups into a commercialized pop.

Fluctuating between the two is Biung Tak-Banuaz. He is working on a new album as I write this (November 2017), trying to identify himself as a Bunun artist once again. He has posted photos taken in the recording studio on Facebook, showing him with a group of more than 20 people, who appear to be skilful singers dressed in Bunun costumes. Biung writes about his excitement at recording ‘*Pasibutbut*’ alongside his compositions; he writes about his collaboration with Wang Tian-jin, which he began on his all-Bunun debut album back in 2000.⁴⁵ Hoping to bounce back from a slump in his career, Biung once compared himself, jocularly, to a bat when he released his fifth album, *Never Stop* (Linfair Records 70248, 2010), back in 2010.⁴⁶ This comparison can be taken positively as being ambitious, and as an attempt to attract fans of both Mandopop and indigenoupop, since bats adapt to their environment and habitat. However, the comparison could also refer to something else, as a bat confuses people in its classification: is it a mammal or a bird? A negative implication might be that Biung is stuck between the mainstream and the non-mainstream, struggling after a string of low-selling albums (starting from his third, *Men Walk with Wind*, and continuing with his fourth, *War Dance* (republished on Feeling Good Music IMCD-06002, 2016)). In short, Biung has a hint of otherness, standing between Hu Jin-niang’s ‘authentic’ representations of Bunun singing and the highly hybridised Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation performances.

When performers of indigenous origin such as Hu, Biung or those of the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation come into public view, a distinct identity of singer and group is expected, even though the portrayal of Bunun identity can be dynamic, changing from the impression of an inherited authenticity to today’s hybridised image. That is to say, audiences and

⁴⁵ Biung Facebook, at: http://www.facebook.com/Biung.HungEnWang/?ref=br_tf (accessed 19 November 2017).

⁴⁶ Chung Hua Entertainment Net 2010, at: <http://www.shcaoan.com/wy/satellite/27093.html> (accessed 19 November 2017).

listeners look for an individuality or a distinctive characteristic, much as has been depicted as the Sami's endeavours to maintain their tradition in Scandinavia, expressed through *joiking* (Hilder 2015: Chapter One). Those who recognise Bunun music look for 'Bunun's elements', a Bunun-ness, which distinguishes the music and the people: Bruno Nettl suggests that the concept of authenticity lies in the impression it gives of 'the music unmistakably belonging to a particular society' (2005: 373). No matter how diluted this Bunun-ness becomes, it is the essence of a genuine significance – 'this is the music that makes us different from other people', as the British ethnomusicologist Martin Stokes puts it (1997: 7) –, a significance that comes from the intimate connection with notions of authenticity. On one hand, consumers of indigenous music consider Biung's music too popular and too commercialised, no longer intact or well preserved, but contaminated through hybridisation, as Nettl (1985: 126) reminds us is one way that music can lose the value of a tradition. So, when the good and the old integrate with the impure new, it is considered exploitative, an example of what many might call primitivism and exoticism. On the other hand, a prevailing and contrasting attitude in pop is to bypass the obligation to keep a tradition intact, but, instead, to prioritize creative ideas. Producer Zhang Pei-ren (aka Landy Zhang) states: 'Indigenous singers such as Zhang Hui-mei and Power Station are successful only because of their popular appeal and innovative ideas which, admittedly, derive from indigenous tradition, but we do not care whether it is traditional in its purest form' (interviewed by Luo 1998: 119). Zhang endorses the ideology that British musicologist Richard Middleton (1990: 168–169) criticises when he refers to an exploitation of the 'other' by capitalist cultural industries. In Middleton's opinion, these idealise practices and identify, isolate and marginalise them, drawing whatever materials are felt to be refreshing as inspiration at times when those who work in the studio struggle with their own creativity. In this sense, we can say that Biung's career slump and his decreasing popular appeal indicate that he has run out of creative ideas.

However, the observations of scholars within the cultural studies tradition, such as Middleton's, need to be employed carefully, and we need to question whether in theorising they

have actually talked to the people who make music. Zheng Jie-ren (interview, 7 August 2014), the Han Taiwanese producer who collaborated with indigenous musicians to win multiple awards in the wake of the Indigenous Wave around 2000, told me how indigenous musicians always cultivate their music tradition, whether consciously or unconsciously, and without caring about success or sales figures. Instead, their concern for the motherland and for their people is at the centre. Examples of this would include the Paiwan musician Dakanow's '*Qinaide Piaoli-umu/Dear Driftwood*'⁴⁷, which raises concerns about illegal logging and the damage to forest ecology, and the Beinan-Amis Panai Kusui's '*Liulangji/Wandering*' (see also Chapter One: 83–94), a song about indigenous people living difficult lives in the big city. These compositions thrive within the proper socio-political atmosphere, such as at a time when Taiwan wanted to transform itself into a democracy as martial law was lifted, allowing people to speak out about their previously suppressed emotions. Such compositions may not make profits, but they are certainly sincere in depicting indigenous issues. In reality, the Indigenous Wave rose as Taiwan's localisation movement developed.

In her study of peasant and gypsy music through Bartok's later essays, British musicologist Julie Brown (2000: 131) proposes a racial theory in which "healthy" hybridisation leads to cultural strengthening' and "inauspicious" hybridisation leads to cultural degeneration.' This offers two contrary opinions to hybridisation in the case of the Bunun tradition. According to Hu Jin-nian, Christianity and Westernised music education changed Bunun singing from its traditional forms. But according to Aziman Madiklan, Christian pastors who preach in Bunun help sustain the Bunun language, which might otherwise have been lost under the Japanisation and Sinification policies of earlier times. Such different perspectives make it difficult to prove that hybridisation strengthens or degenerates a tradition, but, in general, indigenous scholars and musicians today hold open attitudes towards the incorporation of elements originating outside the indigenous. For example, the Amis ethnomusicologist Panai Mulu (2000: 206) deems the

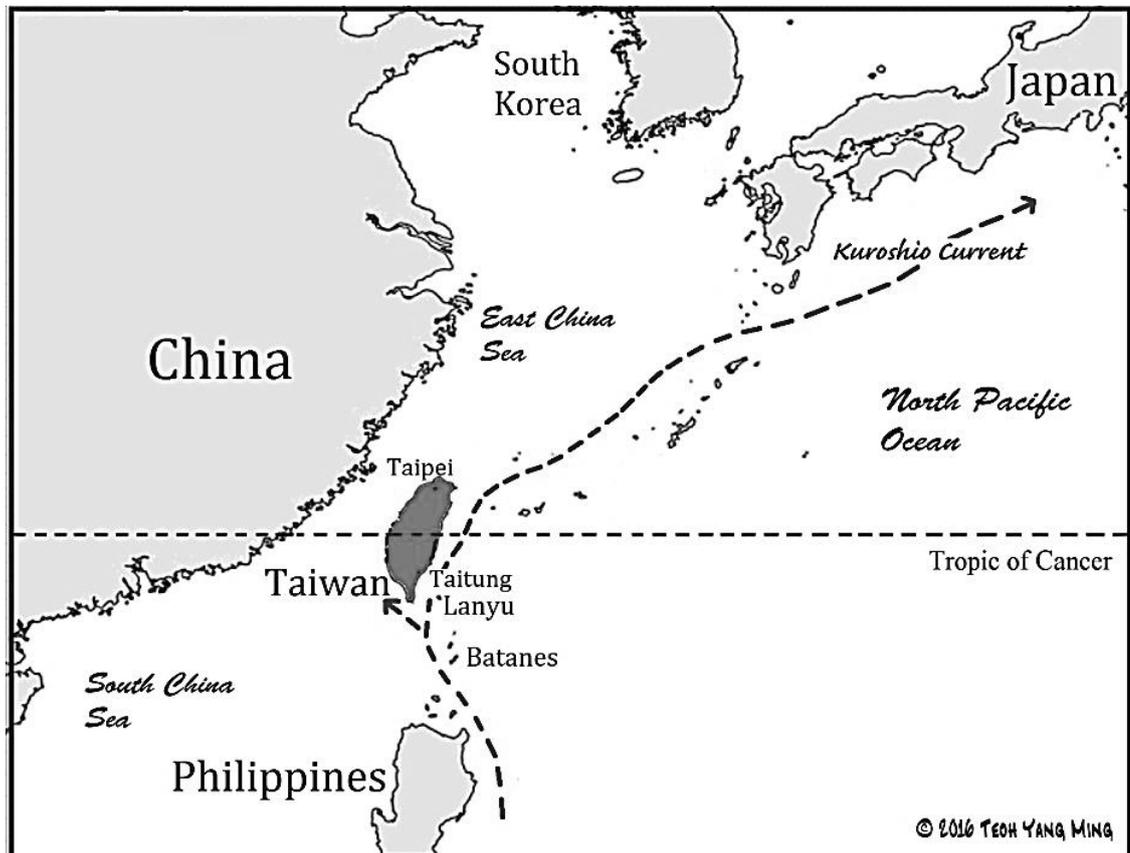
⁴⁷ youtu.be/rznnmZMH0fs (accessed 14 February 2019).

nature of indigenous music in terms of its development, often as it takes on other musical elements, but equally as its vocables use a form of special language to communicate with an ‘unknown world’, producing imaginations and fantasies that end up exploring new ideas. Likewise, the Amis senior musician (Huang Gui-chao) was relaxed about concepts of authenticity and hybridity, believing that each group had the freedom to interpret for themselves and create their own music (interview by Sun 2010a:154–55). According to Lifok, time, efforts and resources need to be spent on understanding people’s life and their exposure to regional living experiences, because it is through the relationship with their environment that people ‘feel’ their music. In other words, the relative positions of the researcher and the ‘other’ change, and I therefore argue that understanding the experiences of the subject as the ‘other’ is important for us to appreciate the perspectives of people. Similarly, there is a difference between product-centred and listener-centred songs: the former represents commercialism, in that musicians should strive for popular appeal and use innovative ideas to attract consumers, whereas the latter sticks to a shared experience, in which the depth of understanding among listeners depends on their involvement with the subject matter, as exemplified in the case of the versions of ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’. His continuing efforts suggest that Biung is still searching for the most appropriate way to create hybrid music, but that his effort can be seen as a constructive process in which ‘the fusion of tradition and pop provokes a broader interest in world music’ (after Jower 1993: 69–71), so as in Biung’s music. In this process, Biung stresses his identity from time to time, and tries to provide a tint of otherness to satisfy those who seek for a Bunun ‘means of placement’ (after Frith 1991: 106) that is distinct for their spatial, seasonal and individual characteristics.

4.7 Tao Voices of the Ocean Culture

In 2011, the year of Taiwan’s centennial celebration, the central government in Taipei and the local authority of Lanyu (which literally means Orchid Island in Mandarin, or called *Ponso no Tao* in the Tao language, means the island of human beings), an outlying island, jointly organised a ‘Cross *Kuroshio* to Visit Taiwan’ event to revive and promote the ocean culture of Tao, a

native Lanyu Formosan Austronesian group. It included the making of an 18-seat *chinurikuran* (a fishing and travelling rowboat) ‘Si Mangavang’, its launching ritual and its navigating across *Kuroshio* (an ocean current) towards Taiwan (Map 4.1). During this event, there were rituals, dance and music performances at places where the boat landed.⁴⁸ The event’s theme song was a hybridisation of ancient chant and contemporary musical elements.



Map 4.1 Lanyu, Batanes and the *Kuroshio*. Map by Teoh Yang-ming.

4.7.1 The Music of Tao Boat Ritual

There were dark skins, but now there are white skins.

This observation of the long-term ethnographer and photographer Hsu Ming-cheng of the Lanyu Tao tradition reveals how the dark skins and white skins reflection depicts the microcosm of evolution within Tao culture, in which the new generation is distanced from the inheritance of tradition. The complexity was exposed by the carriers of the newly-built fishing boat in the

⁴⁸ youtu.be/TULt7gc-1vA (accessed 14 February 2019).

launching ritual, *Manwawai*, a ritual of throwing the boat up into the air: they were not used to dressing in Tao traditional attire, T-shaped pants, so were exposed to too much sunlight and got burnt, as shown in Photo 4.2



Photo 4.2 The carriers of the newly-built fishing boat in the launching ritual *Manwawai*. Photo by Hsu Ming-cheng, used with permission.

The Tao, also known as the Yami, make up 90% of the population of Lanyu (Orchid Island), which is a forgotten pearl in the Pacific Ocean. The population of the Tao stood at 4,062 in 2015. The Tao retain unique customs and cultural practices where indigenous traditions have been preserved. The island population relies heavily on fishing, and the emphasis on an ocean culture is clear. The Tao are recognised as a group of *Formosan Austronesian*, in which the state name of Taiwan is replaced by the Portuguese term. This term is occasionally used where Taiwanese identity is stressed to distinguish it from something Chinese. Lanyu is an outlying island off the coast of Taitung. The strategic location of Lanyu, Taitung and Taiwan at the intersection of the East Asian cultural sphere and Austronesian countries provides an advantageous ground for the people to be nourished by the cultures originating from East Asia and Austronesian countries. But, unfortunately, due to modernity and social change, Tao people are suffering a loss of their tradition (Tsai 2009).

The Tao moved to Lanyu from the Batanes, the Philippines, about 800 years ago; both the Tao and Batanes have a lot of commonality in language and culture. The Tao navigate with *chinurikuran*, boats made from assembling planks together, during spring and summer. This is called the ‘flying fish season’, when they catch flying fish. This is why Lanyu gets its nickname, ‘the homeland of the flying fish’. *Chinurikurans* are assembled from several kinds of wood rather than being made out of one log. The biggest *chinurikurans* on Lanyu at the present day have ten seats.⁴⁹ In fact, according to oral history, the Tao had been in communication with the Batanes people until a century ago, travelling by 40-seat *chinurikurans*. The demand for big boats diminished after communication channels were broken, and subsequently the making of boats larger than today’s versions is no longer practiced.

In 2011, the year of the Republic of China centennial celebration, the central government and local authorities jointly organised the ‘Cross *Kuroshio* to Visit Taiwan’ event to revive and promote the ocean culture of the Tao. In this, the building of an 18-seat *chinurikuran* was a significant attempt to restore the ability of the Tao to build bigger boats. The *Kuroshio* (Japan Current, see Map 4.1 below) is a strong north-flowing surface current to the west of the Pacific, streaming off the East coast of Taiwan at rates ranging between 20 and 120 inches (50 to 300 cm) per second.⁵⁰ It is often called the ‘black current’ (*heichao*), due to its deep blue waters. Before the 2011 event, no man-powered vessel had ever crossed the fast and dangerous current, confronting it directly; rather, people voyaged counter-clockwise round the outer sea of Taiwan. Therefore, the spirit of the event was unprecedented. During it, there were rituals, dances and music performances at the places where the boat landed.

The making of the 18-seat *chinurikuran* took six months, using traditional crafts. It was named *Si Mangavang* (the Visiting, bringing abundant blessings); and the launch was conducted

⁴⁹ Huang Zheng-de, Secretary of Lanyu township office, *Liberty Times*, at: <https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/politics/paper/504436> (accessed 15 April 2019).

⁵⁰ Guo, Rui-tao and Chen Zheng-hong, *Introduction to Earth Science: 251–52* (Taipei: New Knowledge Publication, 1984).

in accordance with an ancient ritual during the morning of 25 June 2011. The boat owners distributed offerings – yam and pork meat – to fellow people and guests, in a traditional Tao practice of sharing. Then, the event proceeded to the *manwawai*, the ritual of throwing the boat up into the air. In *manwawai*, some 60 men clad in the typical old T-shaped pants – mostly Tao but including some volunteers – bent their knees, clenched their fists and adopted fierce looking facial gestures, while making a scary *wu-wu-wu* and *hoh-hoh-hoh* yell. The hostile and terrifying looks were for the purpose of casting away the evil spirit, *anito*. The huge boat was carried to the sea on their shoulders. Finally, the ritual ended with a successful trial ride in the boat, witnessed by 600 Tao people and tourists.

4.7.2 *The Theme Song of 'Cross Kuroshio to Visit Taiwan'*

The theme song⁵¹ used throughout the event was composed by Paudull, an indigenous Puyuma from Taitung and a policeman stationed at Lanyu. It was arranged by the non-indigenous Taiwanese Zheng Jie-ren, a long-term music partner of Paudull. Trying to retain the roots of Tao tradition and at the same time create hybridity with new musical elements (after Feld 1996: 26, where he remarks on the criteria of world music), this song comprised a *gutiao*/ancient chant sung by Tao elder Huang Du-hun, mixed with a song with Mandarin lyrics sung by Paudull, made with MIDI arrangements and guitar accompaniment and produced through modern recording equipment as a studio production. In other words, Tao, Puyuma and non-indigenous musicians worked in collaboration to fuse foreign effects – Han and Western – into the musical heritage of Tao, creating what might be referred to as the commercial and commodified genre of 'world music'.

The first part of the song was based on a fixed melody, the *anohod*, to pray for a smooth journey. It was an *Anohod no mapaned*, a kind of Tao traditional song sung before going fishing. The melodies of *anohods* are made up of two to three notes repeated constantly, paired with

⁵¹ youtu.be/jzj04hEXJR0 (accessed 14 February 2014).

the interval of a major second. The chant started with a sustained high note, proceeded with three to four short notes that slid onto a lower middle pitch and sometimes from the middle pitch to the lowest. The singing went back and forth from higher to lower melodic pitches. Here, though, it adapted the newly composed lyrics, where usually it would wish for an abundance of fish and coming safely back with a good catch. The long, sustained notes signified the ebb and flow of the waves. In this *Anohod no mapaned*, the singer prays in the Tao language:

I want to sing out loud on this glorious day to praise the completion of the chinurikuran.

It is time, and we are fully prepared.

We are voyaging toward the deep ocean,

bearing the knowledge we have inherited from our ancestors.

We are going to visit our far away friends, bringing along with us abundant blessings.

We will pass over different territories of the ocean to reach out with our friendship.

The second part, in Mandarin, was an extension of the ritual chant, expressing the main spirit of the event:

Oh ~ the sons of Ponso no Tao [Lanyu], island of human beings,

are going to launch a romantic challenge at sea,

Oh ~ riding on the big boat our ancestors taught us to build,

targeting towards the legend of the ocean,

which has been unchanging since time immemorial.

Manga gagei gei gamu (Tao language: row quickly, my friends),

Let your passion rush out amidst the waves,

Manga gagei gei gamu,

Row hard and be fearless of the danger or any impediment.

It is about going across the route that no one had ever gone before,

And passing over different ocean territories lived in by diverse ethnic groups,

And bringing blessings, visiting and sharing with people far away.

The third part returned to Tao. It adapted the melodic mode of *mivaci*, which would usually be sung after obtaining a satisfactory catch, on the Tao fishermen's way home. The lyrics of *mivaci* were relevant to rowing hard or working hard.

4.8 Cultural Issues of Today's Tao Society

The Tao are well known for their peaceful nature and willingness to share. With this foundation, they are open to inspiration from the outside world but try to keep their culture well preserved. They blame all misfortune on the evil spirit, *anito*, and this minimises conflict among Tao people. The major *anito* in recent years is nuclear waste, which was deposited on the island by the Taiwan Power Company from 1982 onwards. Another development that may promote or threaten Tao tradition and lifestyle, depending on the perspective of how it is seen, is the thriving tourism on the island. For example, in August 2014, the opening of a convenience chain store, 7-11, brought discord among the Tao; most of the locals welcomed amenities from the modern world that brought convenience and economic growth, but some felt it would bring pollution through increasing numbers of tourists. In brief, although the Tao are challenged by assimilation, their attitudes towards cultural and social progress are generally peaceful, as is shown through the 'Cross Kuroshio' event. This was also specifically expressed in the second part of the song.

This event offers an interesting comparison with something American. On Saturday 10 October 1992, while Americans of European heritage celebrated the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's *The Age of Discovery* journey, Native Americans held a counter celebration, *500 Years of Resistance*, a protest against modern doctrines of discovery and settlement. They were joined by Africans, Hispanics, Asians and others – all Americans – who danced, drummed and offered prayers to the Great Spirit, repeatedly marking what they hoped would be the beginning of a revolution, arguing that the New World did not need to be discovered. In fact, there was no such place as the 'New World', for when Columbus arrived in the Americas, more than

100 million people already inhabited it. The arrival of Europeans was just a meeting of different people with different cultures.

So, the shared issue among the Tao and indigenous people around the world is to find ways to accommodate or integrate the diversity of people and cultures, and not to glorify one and at the same time oppress and persecute others. The song was made for rituals, performances and entertainments; it adapted different versions for different uses. There was a live accompaniment version for Paudull's performance, another for Tao chant, and a third instrumental sound track for the documentary movie that recorded everything for posterity. Keith Howard has explored a similar kind of ritual valued by unity and egalitarianist functions, which contrasts performances for entertainment which tend to be evaluated through the demonstration of musicians' skills (1992: 28). Since one of the main functions of this song was for dancing and group performance, unity and egalitarianism was stressed.

The mode of the song was tangled up in the heated discussions surrounding the genre of world music – Western influenced appropriations of non-Western sounds (Jowers 1993: 69–71). Two well-known but disputed Taiwanese-originating cases are the Amis chant used in Enigma's multimillion seller 'Return to Innocence' and the Bunun multipart vocal used in Taiwanese Minnan singer Jutoupi (Zhu Yue-xin) in '*Hexie de Yewan OAA/The harmonious night OAA*'⁵² (Magic Stone MSD021, 1996) (Chen 2013: 112). In contrast, the making of the song for the 2011 event involved a collaboration between Tao, Puyuma and Han musicians, which we can suggest supports Feld's observation of appropriate appropriation in world music, namely, that there should be veneration for the original music and its makers (1996: 26).

The purpose of the 2011 event paralleled the meaning of the lyrics which expressed a concern for the future of the tradition of the indigenous people. The goal of the organiser, the Ministry of Interior, who would typically apply a commonly seen top down approach, was manifested through minister Jiang Yi-hua. It was an event that it was hoped would be remembered

⁵² youtu.be/18D_i9Q5Nhc (accessed 14 February 2019).

by the next generation of Tao and by later generations, he remarked, whose ancestors had negotiated across the *Kuroshio* to visit Taiwan. Both central government and the local authorities believed that the courage to explore new territories and the friendliness to foreigners portrayed by the Tao, as well as the strong will to adventure the difficult sea route and the physical strength shown by Tao seafarers, would be virtues for their children to emulate. In other words, the event was in fact intangible cultural heritage. The central government and local authorities hoped that the consciousness of local tradition would sustain Taiwanese culture, making it ready to thrive at the right moment and in any suitable environment.

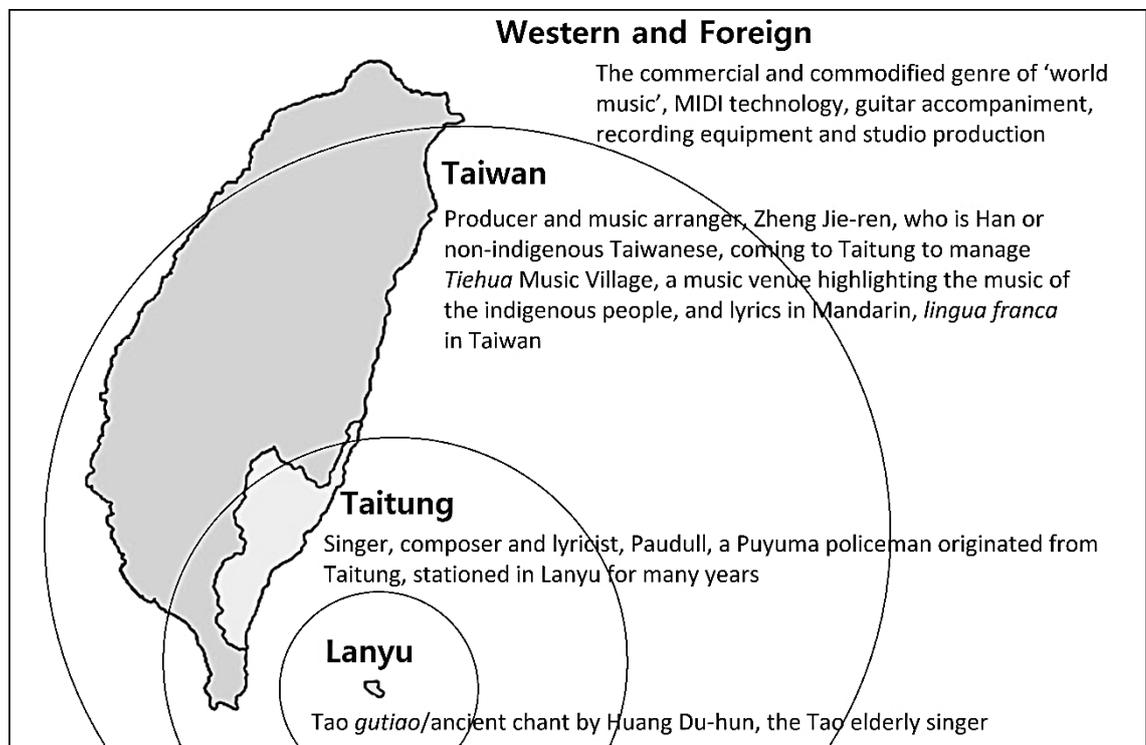


Illustration 4.1 Adjacent cultural rings in producing the theme song of 'Cross *Kuroshio* to Visit Taiwan': A model of retaining the roots of Tao tradition and creating hybridity with new musical elements. Illustration by Teoh Yang-ming.

At present, fishing is no longer a commonly seen daily activity of the Tao. So, the boat launching ritual is mostly held for tourism. To Tao elders, the boat launching is their nostalgia for a fading tradition, an event recalling memories of the old days. Middle-aged Tao generally struggle for better living, and are moving away from their home island because the economy is

under-developed. The young generation of Tao are not interested in maintaining their traditions since they are somehow detached from their experiences in the modern world. Despite the resulting difficulty in maintaining Tao tradition, efforts have been made to reinvigorate it by the government, by Lanyu locals, Taiwanese participants, scholars and others. The 2011 event joined musicians from 'inside Taiwan' to project a concern for Taiwan. They facilitated the materials at hand, mingled Tao musical heritage with elements influenced by China, the West and other regions – 'the outside' – through a process of hybridisation. I have a positive perspective of the 'inside' and 'outside' combination: they were the positions of the various musicians as they contributed in relation to their cultural origins and self-recognitions. From this perspective, the cultural 'ringers' and the 'credible performers of world music ensemble' (after Trimillos 2004) were Huang Du-hun at the core (who is Tao), joined by Paudull in the middle (being Taiwanese indigenous, but from another group), and Zheng Jie-ren at the outer ring (a non-indigenous Minnan, Hakka or Han Taiwanese) (Illustration 4.1). These musicians shared a sense of belonging to Taiwan, endorsed the practice of world music, and strove for a balance between living experience and the duty to maintain tradition. Inevitably, they were confronted with diverse representations and interpretations because they were working within the multicultural context of Taiwan. Taiwanese audience's responses to 'Cross Kuroshio to Visit Taiwan' are good. One of my students wrote in response to 'Cross Kuroshio to Visit Taiwan', 'It is brilliant to open a nation-wide celebration with a Tao elder chanting ... an emphasis on a Taiwanese identification is the most meaningful and most valuable.' Similar to the responses to '*Ana Tupa Tu*', students look at the theme song of 'Cross Kuroshio to Visit Taiwan', a hybrid and world music style, with open attitudes, as one of them commented, 'This event centred on Taiwan, celebrating our tradition in a cool and fashionable style.' Another wrote, 'This theme song is for us to understand our history.'

Conclusion

There are two kinds of phenomena shown by Bunun chants and Tao voices as the representation of Taiwanese indigenous people's notions of mountain and sea. On one hand the Bunun chants as heard in *pasibutbut* and Biung's contemporary music imply roots to the people's homeland; on the other, the ancient blessing song for Tao *chinurikuran* and a traditional-contemporary world music composition for its launching ritual manifest a sense of adventure. Biung's musical vitality and viability is nourished by his connection to the motherland, hence, while 'Ana Tupa Tu' functions in different ways in the 14 August 2009 charity and YouTube clips, the song is rooted in Bunun tradition. It has become, in effect, a Bunun equivalent of 'Do they know it's Christmas?' (Phonogram FEED 112, 1984) and 'We are the World' (Columbia US2-05179, 1985), both for their charity intention, as the former was recorded by British artists and the latter by Americans, aspiring to relieve famine in Ethiopia. But 'Ana Tupa Tu' incorporates local viewpoints and sentiments of Taiwanese indigenous people.⁵³ Ever since the Bunun were introduced to the world at large, their skilful multipart singing has made them a significant Other, and the difference between 'us' and 'them' has become a quality, giving them a unique identity. The Bunun have inherited a strong sense of belonging, and their earlier practices have given them a collective self, as a family and a community. Nevertheless, their identity as Bunun has gradually blurred, not least because today many are of mixed ethnicity. For example, Pai Kwang-sheng, the person in charge of the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation, is both Bunun and Paiwan. Hybridisation happens through descent as ties of kinship expand, and this is one element that changes the contexts of performance and creation (after Blacking 1978; 1987: 112). The Bunun case can be seen as a microcosm of Taiwanese society, where a unique iden-

⁵³ 'Do They Know How Racist They Sound?' Uprising Radio, at: <http://upris-ingradio.org/home/2005/12/15/do-they-know-how-racist-they-sound> ; and 'In Africa, do they know it's Christmas time at all?' *Crikey*, at: <http://www.crikey.com.au/2011/12/23/in-africa-do-they-know-its-christmas-time-at-all> (both accessed 4 November 2017).

tity is being formed. Both the sense of belonging and kinship ties create a present that will persist in the future, featuring cross-ethnic partnerships. This generates a shared destiny, a destiny created by the people who have lived together on the island for generations.

As for the Tao, their new voices convey a spirit of adventure and discovery, and a willingness to exchange with foreigners (and foreign cultures). In 'Cross the *Kuroshio* to Visit Taiwan', the musicality and literality of the song are in line with the ideology of both organisers and participants. It shows that people's hearts and minds value the diversity of individuals and of the ethnic groups on both islands, and are proud of their cultural and ethnic plurality. It is clear that the Tao's cultural affiliation with Taiwan, where Han culture dominates, is accepted and maintained. This is not to say that Tao roots on the island, where indigenous and local traditions are maintained, are ignored; rather, they are stressed and valued. Compared with the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's inauguration of *The Age of Discovery* celebration, the arrival of Tao mariners to Taiwan was a friendly meeting of different people with different cultures. Hence, the implication of Tao's discovery and othering sits at the opposite end to that of Columbus: the Tao brought blessings as they visited and shared with people far away, rather than having any intention to conquer and rule.

Chapter 5

Songs of the Mountain People – *Shandige* and Indigenouspop

5.1 *Shandige: Songs of the Mountain People*

In this research, I use ‘contemporary indigenous music’ as an umbrella term for all composed indigenous pieces, including indigenouspop and pieces by classically trained musicians. The range of ‘contemporary indigenous music’ may overlap with *shandige*, which specifically refers to indigenous popular music – both composed pieces (by classically trained and non-classically trained musicians) and traditional songs, which were music transmitted orally, music with unknown composers, or music performed by custom over a long period of time – from 1945 to 1987, when the indigenous people were called *shandiren*, the mountain people. When the Chinese Nationalists (KMT) lost the Chinese civil war on the mainland in 1950, around 2,000,000 military personnel, civil employees and other followers moved to Taiwan. At the time of the total relocation of the KMT government, martial law was already in place, having been imposed in Taiwan in May 1949 to counter the conflict between the original inhabitants (the Minnan, Hakka and indigenous people) and the Chinese who arrived after World War II. Martial law was only lifted in July 1987. The authoritarian nationalist government exerted great efforts to make Taiwan a part of China, seeking to eradicate the influence of Japan’s 50-year colonial rule (Wilson 1970). Implementing a one-language policy, the government mixed social Darwinism and culturalism to campaign and push indigenous people to become Chinese, in order to achieve successful ethnic assimilation (Harrison 2001: 60–67; see also Duara 1995). During the martial law period, indigenous people were unofficially called *shandiren* (mountain people) despite the formal *shandi tongbao* (mountain compatriots) and *pingdi tongbao* (plains compatriots) as substitutions for the Japanese-designated *takasago-zoku* (for those who lived in secluded communities and/or remote areas, in one way or another still practicing their traditional customs) and *heiho-zoku* (for those who were to a significant extent assimilated to Han customs). Under such

difficulties, indigenous people tried to hold on to their traditions, but nevertheless the traditions changed rapidly. The arrival of Christian missionaries in the 1940s accelerated the process of hybridisation, while music technology in the form of vinyl records and cassette tapes brought innovation. Eventually, a pan-indigenous genre – that is to say, a genre with no specific group identified but potentially including all groups – appeared as a genre to present entertainment and cater for popular tourism. In this prevailing indigenouspop genre, the *shandige* (where ‘ge’ means song), distinctions among groups were purposely put aside to create an overall impression of indigenous people (Chen Z. 2000: 7–10).

During the iron-fisted rule of the Nationalists and in the midst of their Sinification policy, a few scholars saw the importance of safeguarding Taiwanese local cultural heritage. Two of the most prominent, the Han Taiwanese Hsu Tsang-houei (1929–2001) and Shi Wei-liang (1925–1977), jointly launched the *Minge caiji yundong* (Folksong Collection Movement) in the 1960s, aiming to preserve the tradition as much as possible through archival recordings (see, for example, Lu 2003). In reality, indigenous traditional music, alongside that of other Taiwanese Minnan and Hakka, disappeared bit by bit as skilful musicians declined in number. Both Hsu and Shi were trained in Western classical music, but they were ‘ethno’ minded – in the way that ‘ethno-musicology’ in the early 1950s referred to non-classical music and non-popular music – and aimed to establish a rich repository of Taiwanese traditional music (Lu 1979). Taiwanese Traditional arts such as *kua--á-hì*/Taiwanese opera, *yueqin*/moon zither, *minyao*/folksong and *shuochang*/storysinging, *pòo-tē-hì*/glove puppet, *beiguan*/wind ensemble of the north and *nanguan*/wind ensemble of the south, which promoted by Hsu and Shi during Folksong Collection Movement have become *zhongyao chuantong yishu* (important traditional arts). Skilful artists/groups such as Liao Qiong-zhi (*kua--á-hì*), Chen Da, Yang Xiu-Qing (*yueqin*, *minyao* and *shuochang*), Li Tian-lu (*pòo-tē-hì*), Han-Yang Beiguan Group (*beiguan*) and Nanshengshe (*nanguan*) have been either honoured by government institute such as National Center for Traditional Arts, or widely recognised by the public, as *guobao* (national human treasures) and *baocunzhe* (safeguarders). Much like Hugh Tracey (1948: x–xi) in respect of Africa and Danielou

(1971: 61) in respect of South and Southeast Asia, they despised fusions of traditional with pop.¹ To them, indigenous popular music² was fake, empty and disappointing, ‘influenced by Japanese and Taiwanese popular music’ (Hsu 1987: 57). They took Kurosawa’s 1940s recordings as models (see Chapter Four: 219), and their methodology had great impact – not least since they founded academic departments of music and trained new researchers who later became key figures in the field (Lu 2003: 7). However, the result was that for many years Taiwanese scholars and collectors followed Kurosawa’s approach, using a 1940s colonial methodology to measure local heritage.

Despite being neglected by preservationists, *shandige* flourished. The genre was closely linked to the living experiences of indigenous people during martial law, which lagged behind those of others in terms of economic and social development. Indigenous labourers were recruited for development projects, clearing barren areas for cultivation, building roads and managing forests. Labourers came from disadvantaged social and educational backgrounds, and worked long hours away from home for minimum wages. To deal with their misery, they sought consolation through singing, reviving common tunes and devising new melodies, reflecting their experiences. Notwithstanding the fact that indigenous people are said to have optimistic attitudes and senses of humour towards life’s troubles, and despite their self-deprecating attitude to misfortune, *shandige* were often permeated with a sense of sorrowful grass-rooted sarcasm and ridicule. The singing was often matched to a specific rhythm known as *shandi jiezou*, a so-called ‘simple’³ rhythm of the mountain people that offered great scope for free expression.

Although the obsolete and politically incorrect term *shandiren* has today been replaced by *yuanzhumin* (original inhabitants), the legacy of *shandige* remains. Indigenous music collected during the Folksong Collection Movement, and its *shandige* pop song variation, embrace

¹ See also Kunst’s (1973: 4) ‘degenerating influences’, through which he referred to the effect of ‘other Western-derived musics on the indigenous musical traditions of Indonesia’, and also critiques by Chen C. (2013: 61, 71), Kartomi (1981: 227) and Kornhauser (1978: 104–105).

² Here, we should distinguish indigenous-popular music before the 1990s from more recent indigenoupop.

³ Here, I cite a comment by Chalaw, an Amis singer and award winner, whom I interviewed on 23 September 2016.

three sub-genres: preserved traditional pieces, tourist-oriented pan-indigenous dance music, and popular hybrids that mix Western, Chinese and Japanese elements (Huang 2008: 142).⁴ The first sub-genre developed out of concern for the disappearance of local traditions under Sinification, and from a motivation to gather materials for later study. The second sub-genre is a mix, with little emphasis on specific groups and particular traditions, aiming to create an invocation of the Other and the exotic by demonstrating indigenous differences from Han Chinese in Taiwan. One of the more recent occasions where this genre was highlighted was the national anthem sung on Taiwan's national day, on 10 October 2011, by a 100-delegate choir that mixed representatives from various ethnic groups, as shown in Photo 5.1, which grew out of a video⁵ promoting tourism to Taiwan (see section 3.5: 187–93). Aimed at tourists, the video stressed pan-indigeneity through images of landscapes, costumes, festivals, food and dances, but in a way that mixed together indigenous people indiscriminately. The third sub-genre has seen the emergence of transnational fusion and has dominated contemporary indigenous music since the turn of the new millennium.



Photo 5.1 100-delegate choir singing Taiwan national anthem on 10 October 2011. Photo by Hsu Ming-cheng, used with permission.

The coexisting sub-genres show a contrast between optimistic and pessimistic takes. Pessimists take the development of indigenous music as a zero-sum game – a situation in which each participant's gain or loss is balanced by those of others. Hsu Tsang-houei's opinion, then, was that the prevalence of pop hybridisation could lead to the decline of traditional music. In

⁴ In Chen, Yu-xiu et al., (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Taiwan Music* (2008).

⁵ youtu.be/p1QYt0oexp8, see fn.75, Chapter Three.

contrast, preserved heritage is deemed to be historical rather than part of a living culture, so putting too much emphasis on it can hinder people moving forward, as Suming Rupi, the aforementioned Amis musician, argued in interview (3 December 2012). I tend to be more optimistic, noting that the fruits of *shandige* have grown since democratisation arrived in the late 1980s, endorsed by the Taiwanese outward, oceanic character. Popular hybrids have also become competitive products that attract indigenous youth to their heritage, and thereby help sustain the tradition. All three sub-genres, then, function to consolidate a sense of pride and cultural ownership among and for indigenous people.

5.2 *Indigenospop's Morganian Evolution along Boasian Paths*

Indigenospop provides fertile material for cross-examining 'unilinear evolutionism' (Morgan 1877 and Tylor 1871) with 'historical particularism' (Boas 1940) and 'cultural relativism' (Locke 1924). By offering a definition of culture, Lewis Henry Morgan and Sir Edward Burnett Tylor proposed that evolution of a culture could be studied scientifically, assuming human society evolved through a series of stages following a similar, if not identical, and preordained evolutionary path. This theory could be appropriate to explain the developments of Taiwanese indigenospop as well as Minnan pop. For example, both are subtle and complex in their spiritual and soulful content, rendered in a tone of passionate yet suppressed sentiment, dealing with an emotion longing for love, persistence when facing an uncertain destiny and living in a difficult time. Both came into existence as consequences of Japanese colonisation and KMT Sinification, at times when the Taiwanese were prohibited from promoting or restrained from practising their traditions. Then, lighter, eclectic and not inherently 'authentic' (after Dutton 2009 in his discussion on art)⁶ forms appeared, mixed with contemporary elements and composers' synchronic

⁶ Dutton, Denis, 'Authenticity in Art', in Jerrold Levinson, *The Oxford Handbook of Aesthetics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

feelings. Hence, we might say that both evolved along a similar path, as Morgan and Tylor proposed, to become grass-rooted and melancholic pop genres, expressing ‘personal woes in a world of harsh reality: a lost love, the cruelty of police officers, oppression at the hands of [the authority], and hard times’ (as Ewen 1957: 142–43 puts it for African American blues).

However, Minnan pop and indigenouspop are distinct and distant in nature. Their differences proffer evidence for ‘historical particularism’ and ‘cultural relativism’. Franz Boas rejected Morgan and Tylor’s evolutionary approaches, proposing that each society was a collective representation of its unique history. Likewise, philosopher Alain Locke rejected universality and suggested a comprehensive understanding of a people’s beliefs, values, and practices based on their culture rather than judging them against the criteria of another. In reality, the awareness of a Taiwanese identity – as separate from those of the outside ‘Other’, namely, the Japanese and the Chinese – started to develop in the 1920s. Best epitomising essence of the music of the locals, the lyrics of Minnan pop often expressed self-pity and regret about foreign oppression. However, pop music in Taiwan is diverse; artists have long competed among themselves but at the same time generate impacts and influence to change others. Among these, Chinese-oriented Mandopop has been the most influential, dominating the local scene since the end of World War II. Indigenouspop came in the late 1950s, when it was popular among low-income labourers who were usually marginalised in cities, and also the indigenous population in remote villages. The pop scene became even livelier when Western pop came in the mid-1960s, accompanying full-scale American involvement in the Vietnam War and the stationing of a large number of U.S. military personnel, 200,000 at its peak, in Taiwan. These types of music have developed and interacted ever since through exchanges of ideas and ‘cultural interpenetration’ (after Andreasen 1990); for example, the Japanese *enka* ‘*Kuko/Airport*’⁷ was sung with Mandarin lyrics to become ‘*Qingren de guanhuai/Lover’s Concern*’,⁸ and the indigenous tune

⁷ youtu.be/GC54uDvdpFs (accessed 20 April 2019).

⁸ youtu.be/v3q-qG-hkK0 (accessed 14 February 2019).

‘*Kayoing no Falangaw/Lady from Falangaw*’ (another title of this song is ‘*Malan Zhilian/Malan Love Affair*’, see Chapter Three: 176) turned into Minnan pop’s ‘*Malan tsiluan/Malan Love Affair*’⁹ and Mandarin ‘*Malan Guniang/Young Lady of Malan*’. Also, American folksong ‘Turkey in the Straw’ was transformed into Minnan pop ‘*Wuzuibugui/Stay or Get Drunk*’.¹⁰ Although musicians use communal material to create such tunes, the Taiwanese audience is able to distinguish the different characteristics, unique language, intonation, lyrical meaning and music style, so Minnan pop and *shandige* attracted different consumers. The former was dominant among Minnan Taiwanese, but its dominance declined due to World War II and the emergence of Mandopop and Western pop.

Shandige, however, prevailed among indigenous communities except on rare occasions when a *shandige* might become Minnan pop. For example, ‘*Gueh-ia-tshiu/Moon Night Melancholy*’ (1933)¹¹, is an evergreen Minnan pop song which originated from a melody widely spread among assimilated indigenous people, the plains (*pingpu*) group. And although comparable – lyrics about hardship, depressing tones and grassroots orientation – Minnan pop is to a greater extent influenced by Japan’s legacy, whereas *shandige* sticks to its indigenous conventions such as pentatonicism, ancient melodies, specific *shandi* rhythms and the incorporation of non-lexical vocables. Indigenous musicians lived in remote villages and marginalised areas, and mostly lacked higher education, so *shandige* draws materials from daily life, being creative but only constructing things using materials at hand. In brief, *shandige* gained its popularity among indigenous communities due to distinct characteristics separating it from the ‘refined’ Japanese operatic vocalisations, the ‘distant’ artistic Mandopop arrangement, and poetic Western pop lyrics.¹²

Hence, *shandige* survived and developed during the martial law period, an age characterised by eclecticism, hybridisation and experimentation. The living conditions of indigenous

⁹ youtu.be/NQa2KUC4zSs (accessed 14 February 2019).

¹⁰ youtu.be/mJtK_8Xctsk (accessed 14 February 2019).

¹¹ youtu.be/Uw8IB93RKVI, and youtu.be/iUuMAHqcXE4 (accessed 14 February 2019).

¹² Taiwanese Literature Workshop, ‘The earliest Taiwanese pop’ (in Mandarin), *The News Lens*, at: <http://www.thenewslens.com/article/29540> (accessed 28 April 2018).

people have gradually improved since martial law was lifted. The content of indigenous music has been changing, as well as the form of their traditional and contemporary music. The first indication was the transformation into a Christianity-infused form that leaned towards Western style instead of the indigenous (see Chapter One: 54). Due to being neglected in the school curriculum, where classical music became the sole authority, the second indication of transformation – or decline – was the falling off and diminution of practices where consciousness of locality and awareness of Taiwan’s nationalism were weak and where indigenous, Minnan and Hakka people were kept down. One of the strategies for indigenous people to sustain their music practices was through daily activities instead of rituals and ceremonies. So, the third indication was that music practices reduced into simple forms of happiness and fulfilment, entertainment and enjoyment (Lifok Dongi, a prominent Amis scholar, interview with the author, 2 July 2014). In other words, *shandige* deviated from its pure traditional nature, being neglected by the dominant Sinification policies and Western trends, but eventually turned itself into a popular style. As this, it competed with other pop genres to gain popularity, and survived in a harsh environment alongside its counterparts, each genre mutually contributing elements to establish and change themselves.

5.3 *The Patriotic Shandige, Banned Shandige and ‘Shandi’ Rhythm*

Taiwanese *shandige*, Minnan pop and Mandopop could be further classified into patriotic songs and banned songs with respect to the martial law period. The so-called ‘*aiguo gequ*’ (patriotic songs) are musical pieces composed during the rule of ROC former presidents Chiang Kai-shek (aka Chiang Chung-cheng, in office from 1945 to 1975) and his son and successor Chiang Ching-kuo (in office from 1978 to 1988) – the Two Chiangs. These songs were generated to evoke and eulogise the history, traditions, and struggles of the ROC Nationalist government and to create a strong sense of the ‘Great Chinese’. The majority were marches, hymns, operatic pieces and fanfares to manifest anti-communist ideology and boost morale at a time when Taiwan was encountering diplomatic setbacks – the PRC (Mainland China) has consistently

claimed sovereignty over Taiwan and asserted the ROC (Taiwan) is not in legitimate existence; under the One-China Policy, countries that recognise the PRC have to cut diplomatic relations with the ROC. Contrary but in a similar way, the ROC ruled by the KMT also endorsed its One-China Policy but this referred to the ROC (Republic of China) itself, claiming sovereignty over Mainland China and asserting its legitimate territory in the mainland was stolen by the *gongfei* (bandit communists). Today, only 17 countries maintain official ties with the ROC. Patriotic songs aimed to increase Taiwanese willingness to fight for the ROC against the communist PRC. Furthermore, they intended to publicise Chinese nationalism and fortify the personality cults of the Two Chiangs. Most importantly, they were tools to whitewash the authoritarian dictatorship, crafting the Chiangs' images as determined, positive, aggressive and optimistic. In schools, radio and television, national service and other mass media, patriotic songs were promoted as popular. For example, 'Meihua/Plum Blossom'¹³, a song using the national flower of the ROC, was used to stand for a Taiwanese – or rather, Chinese – strong personality, unafraid of difficulties, and a symbol of winter (since the tree blossoms at the end of winter). 'Zhonghua minguo song/Ode to the Republic of China'¹⁴ was about Mainland China's topography, including the vast Qinghai grasslands, the magnificent Himalayas, the long Yellow River and Yangtze River, all symbolising the endurance of Chinese civilisation over five thousand years.

A popular but controversial patriotic song, said to be a *shandige*, is 'Taiwanhao/Wonderful Taiwan'¹⁵. The origin of the melody is untraceable, but is generally believed to be an indigenous tune that circulated among Taitung Amis and Beinan that was transformed into a patriotic song with new lyrics by Luo Jia-lun. However, according to my interview on 15 May 2018 with Lu Jing-zi, the queen of *shandige*, 'Taiwanhao' was composed by her in 1958 at the age of 15 (see Chapter Three: 178 for Lu's early Amis version of 'Taiwanhao'). Lu mentioned she was

¹³ youtu.be/1BJ3K5Tk70Q (accessed 14 February 2019).

¹⁴ youtu.be/ZYKPPWby48A (accessed 14 February 2019).

¹⁵ youtu.be/Zo8vIqjC4M (accessed 14 February 2019).

not proficient at reading and writing in her teenage years, but often extemporised melodies that might turn into a new song; with vocables ‘*hohaiyan*’ and ‘*naruwan*’, these melodies were appropriate for warming up her voice before recording sessions. Often, she was recorded by a studio engineer. Back in the 1950s and through to the 1970s, the concept of intellectual property was still uncommon; indigenous people practiced communal ownership to share intangible assets. In this sense, if Lu’s story is true, ‘*Taiwanhao*’ is a contemporary indigenous composition with a specific composer. Lu mentioned to me that she was still looking for a way to claim her rights as the composer. Instead of being patriotic, the Mandarin version of this song is in reality revolutionary, targeted at the collapse of the communist PRC. Chiang senior and the ROC’s Nationalist government in the 1950s were extremely keen on preparing for military action to regain control of their lost territory of Mainland China. As propaganda and agitation against the communists, ‘*Taiwanhao*’ is one of the very few of its kind to incorporate Taiwanese subjects – the notions of mountain and sea – as its core elements to boost morale.

Sitting at the opposite side of patriotic songs are banned songs. There were a wide variety of reasons for the KMT government to prohibit their broadcasting, publication and circulation, from being taken as raunchy and provocative – even it is mild or misunderstood –, and for the controversy they sparked. For example, one of the banned songs, a *shandige* turned into indigenouspop and a million-seller, ‘*Kelian de luoporen/Just a Pathetic Nobody*’, was banned due to its lyrics that was deemed provocative. Among various versions which show differences in lyrics but these differences are minor, and the implications of the lyrics which can be vary due to words bearing hidden meaning and double meaning, I translate one of several prevailing versions of ‘*Kelian*’ as below:

Feel free to be flirtatious with me, and to take advantage of me;

even if you do not love me anymore, you should greet me when I am in sight.

Feel easy to be playful with me, and to break up with me at any time;

even if you do not love me anymore, you should greet me when I am in sight.

Every time we meet, you always look at the other direction;

the most I might get is nothing more than a fierce glare.

Please tell me what I have done wrong, and please be sympathetic to a pathetic nobody.

It is worthy of note that readers who are outside Taiwan and those who have not experienced martial law find it hard to imagine such mild lyrics can be considered ‘raunchy and provocative’. ‘*Kelian*’ may be far from vulgar compared with those ‘dirty songs’ in today’s pop scene, where swear words and sexual implications are straightforward. For example, American Eminem (or Marshall Bruce Mathers III by his real name) was bold enough to name his rap tune ‘F**k You’, and Namewee (or Wee Meng Chee, a Malaysian singer and a successful Mandopop artist) titles his pop-ballad ‘*Jibairen/Bitch*’.¹⁶ Other examples are DJ Jerry (or Luo Bai-ji, an American-born Taiwanese hip hop and electronic dance music musician) using swear words such as ‘*Kànlíniâ/f**k your mother*’¹⁷ and ‘*Chuibaba/fellatio*’¹⁸ to express indignation, *Jiuyiyi* (or Nine One One, a Taiwanese rap band) mingling homophones ‘*xinjiao/have faith*’ and ‘*xingjiao/have sex*’ in their ‘*Waiguoren/foreigners: people from the twisted countries*’¹⁹ to mock the obsession for foreign products.

In comparison and almost at the same time in 1978, a sound-alike Europop song from Sweden, ABBA’s ‘Take a Chance On Me’ (Epic EPC5950, 1978), became one of the group’s most successful hits, topping the official UK Top 40 chart,²⁰ as well as those in Austria, Belgium, Ireland and Mexico. This ABBA song sings aloud a desire of a girl falling for a guy, inviting him to look at her and to take her out, much like what ‘*Kelian*’ has expressed. In contrast with the case of ‘*Kelian*’, ABBA enjoyed the privilege of living in democratic Europe, which protects civil liberties, gender equality and human development: their so-called ‘slick choreography’, ‘tacky erotic glamour’ and ‘camp appeal’ had become ‘a major [and positive] influence on the late 1970s gay music culture [which is accepted and respected]’ (Frith 2001: 200). In other words, the unfortunate fate

¹⁶ youtu.be/yL1lr2gxRn4 (accessed 8 April 2019).

¹⁷ youtu.be/nmA7ZTMZXE8 (accessed 8 April 2019).

¹⁸ youtu.be/Ufjaqe_2CIc (accessed 8 April 2019).

¹⁹ youtu.be/kkc797WQfs0 (accessed 8 April 2019).

²⁰ <https://www.officialcharts.com/search/singles/take-a-chance-on-me/> (accessed 7 April 2019).

of ‘*Kelian*’ epitomised the nature of an authoritarian regime which is characterised by suppressing freedom of thought and speech of the masses. In the martial law period, even a slight tint and minor implication of sexual enjoyment and sensual satisfaction, such as in ‘*Aiai kanpai* 愛愛乾杯/Bottoms Up, Lover’ (see paragraph below) could cause trouble for the musician and to get the song banned. Other absurd reasons such as ‘too joyful’ (in ‘*Suannting e ookáuhiann*/The Black-Dog Dude at the Hilltop’ case, see paragraph below), ‘adversely affect the morale of military personnel’ (in ‘*Ma-ma tshiann li-ia po-tiog*/Mama, Please Take Care of Yourself’ case, below) and ‘sexually orientated’ (in ‘*Reqing de shamo*/The Hot and Passionate Desert’ case below) are among the possible causes which in the martial law government’s perspective, improper for public consumption, although these songs did not sound offending at all to common Taiwanese.

At the introductory concert of the 29th Olympic Games’ Opening Ceremony in Beijing on 8 August 2008, a group of Taiwanese indigenous singers joined by a Chinese minority group performed ‘*Women doushi yijiaren*/We are Family’²¹ on stage. Behind the passionate atmosphere that impressed worldwide spectators lay the tragic experience of the piece’s composer, who is the Beinan musician Gao Zi-yang. Due to the title and lyrics of the song, it was deemed propaganda for forming a secret organisation, which in the authoritative government’s eyes was a potential threat, and Gao was imprisoned for two years and eight months. Another banned song originated from the indigenous melody ‘*Loaho li kamchai*/Do you know how good it is?’²² This song survived both Japan’s colonisation and KMT Sinification, adapted itself with Japanese and Minnan lyrics, and moderated its earthy and sexually explicit content. According to a common belief, its melody had been circulating among the Taitung Amis for more than 60 years, and was rearranged with Japanese lyrics to become ‘*Aiai kanpai* 愛愛乾杯/Bottoms Up, Lover’²³ in 1965. It was rewritten again in 1966 by the Beinan musician Chen Qing-wen with

²¹ youtu.be/NIUXy4Elw00 (accessed 14 February 2019).

²² youtu.be/O8cde-cNpYE (accessed 14 February 2019).

²³ youtu.be/sSK_SMfwW8o (accessed 14 February 2019).

Minnan lyrics, and its title changed to ‘*Song oai-oai/So Much Pleasure*’²⁴. Unfortunately, this version was banned for implied sexual enjoyment and sensual satisfaction. However, an arrangement in 1970 got lucky; with new lyrics (also in Minnan), it became popular. Re-titled ‘*Iabehho iabehsong/Be Nice and Be Pleasant*’²⁵, it was used as a song for dancing and leisure occasions, whereas ‘*Loaho li kamchai*’, which is mentioned above, the theme song of a television glove-puppet drama that gained huge commercial success across Taiwan.

From one point of view, banned songs were best sellers and the most well-received songs of their times. They were so influential and widespread that they generated a threat to authority. Ironically, legal actions to prevent them from reaching the public usually failed and made them much more popular: the harsher the efforts put into suppressing their circulation, the more they would arouse the curiosity of the public. From another perspective, they were the victims of the Two Chiangs’ regime, which has been described as Fascist (Lee 2009: 159). Taiwanese popular music had already faced inspection during the period of Japanese rule, and this continued under the Nationalist regime; restrictions were only lifted in the early 1990s. They were also a by-product of the effort to promote the ‘Great Chinese’ ideology and its arts and traditions, including calligraphy, traditional painting, folk arts and opera. As a consequence, non-Chinese composers, lyricists and singers, and their works, were considered an impediment to the ideology and so were stigmatised, deemed uncultivated and taboo – quite frequently for ridiculous reasons. For example, the Alpine yodelling style in ‘*Suannting e ookáuhiann/The Black-Dog Dude at the Hilltop*’²⁶, sung and popularised by Taiwanese Minnan singer Hong Yifeng, was considered too joyful, so not suiting the ROC in a critical time. That is to say, music was expected to reflect the tragic loss of the civil war, and the Taiwanese should always be ready for war. Another example was ‘*Ma-ma tshiann li-ia po-tiog/Mama, Please Take Care of Yourself*’ (see Chapter Three: 180), sung and popularised by Taiwanese Minnan singer Wenxia,

²⁴ This music and video versions are not available for the public.

²⁵ youtu.be/mTRt1bjE5_Y (accessed 14 February 2019).

²⁶ youtu.be/KAXs-JS9XbM (accessed 15 February 2019).

which was a musical equivalent of a ‘flat mommy’²⁷. The touching lyrics that connect mothers with sons, effective remembrances for those who serve in the army, was unreasonably taken as a subject that might adversely affect the morale of military personnel. Even more interestingly, a short moaning sound ‘ah’ in another banned song, ‘*Reqing de shamo*/The Hot and Passionate Desert’²⁸, sung and popularised by Auyang Fei Fei but originally a Japanese pop song by ‘The Peanuts (ザ・ピーナッツ/Za Pīnattsu)’²⁹, was taken as too sexually orientated.

It is worth mentioning that the Taiwanese were able to find ways to sustain their Taiwanese identity. As blacklisted politicians promoted their ideology, musicians circulated their works through underground radio stations. The distribution of banned songs at night markets was common, and the advancement of technology such as cassettes helped. Banned songs were sold in concealed stores, and performed at restaurants and clubs, though the dealers and performers had to be aware and keep themselves from discovery by the authorities. Interestingly, when times change, a patriotic song may become a banned song and a banned song a patriotic song. The lyrics of both ‘*Fangong kang-e ge*/Song of Anti-Communism and Resist Russia’³⁰, and ‘*Fangong dalu qu*/Recover Mainland China’³¹ were patriotic songs written by the late President Chiang Kai-shek, with musicians and lyricists Xiao Er-hua, Li Zhong-he and Jing Shu. Their lyrics, such as ‘oppose communism!’ and ‘kill Mao Ze-dong’, were many years later sung by Taiwanese protestors against Chinese officer Chen Yun-lin during his formal visit to Taiwan in 2008 and Zhang Zhi-jun in 2014.³² On such occasions, the ruling party, KMT, employed its power to forbid the opposition party, DPP, and its followers to sing these songs in front of visit-

27 A ‘flat mommy’ or ‘flat daddy’ (also ‘flat soldier’) is a life-sized cardboard cut-out of someone absent from home, to help maintain connections to family members during a deployment.

²⁸ youtu.be/rIwWF4NCcqw (accessed 15 February 2019).

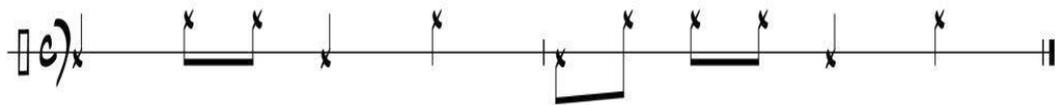
²⁹ youtu.be/yTkbtPUTisU (accessed 25 February 2019).

³⁰ youtu.be/fZl1b6-YGM8 (accessed 15 February 2019).

³¹ youtu.be/vC8BXXTsNgQ (accessed 15 February 2019).

³² Li Dai-na, ‘Protest everywhere, Chen Yun-lin verbally insulted in Taiwan’ (in Mandarin), *Epoch Weekly*, at: <https://www.epochweekly.com/b5/156/7381.htm> and Chen Jun-ting, ‘Professor Lee Shiao-feng speech in Tainan: Song and the history of Taiwan’ (in Mandarin), at: <http://www.people-news.tw/news/c9857ca6-86a8-4452-ba01-90ab3eb30941> (accessed 25 April 2018).

ing officers. On another occasion, the Minnan song that used to be banned, ‘*Honghun e ko-hyong/Hometown in the Evening*’ (see also Chapter Two: 141; Chapter Four: 214), was sung at the 2016 presidential inauguration of Tsai Ing-weng, the chairperson of the DPP. Then, ‘*Honghun*’ linked Taiwan’s landscape with notions of the motherland and homeland to portray patriotism, despite it being initially banned by the KMT government. Taiwanese scholar Chen Fang-ming, who endorses Taiwan’s independence, comments that looking back on history, when foreign regimes intended to strengthen their control over the Taiwanese, they prescribed songs urging everyone to obey and to submit themselves, while in the present day it is these pro-China Taiwanese politicians who obey and submit themselves to the Chinese communist regime.³³



Notation 5.1 The Basic Form of *Shandi Jiezou* (*Shandi* Rhythm, the Rhythm of the Mountain). Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming

Shandi rhythm (Notation 5.1 above) is simple but strong and assertive, although such a description has sometimes been contested. It is, though, a distinguishable characteristic that gives *shandige* its musical indigeneity. Although *shandi* rhythm has been widely used in Taiwan’s pop scene, certain scholars – for example, an anonymous reviewer of my book *Contemporary Music Compositions of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples: from 1992 to 2011* (Teoh 2012: 157– 59) – disapprove of the term, probably due to unfamiliarity with its usage. *Shandi* rhythm first came to my attention for its usage in a songbook by guitarist Lin Hui-zhe and others (1982: 195) *The Complete Folk Guitar*.³⁴ Lin was influential for self-taught young players and singers in the 1980s through to the 1990s, a time when campus folksongs, a style with light guitar accompaniment for college students to sing along to, were popular. The popularity and influence

³³ Chen fang-ming, ‘KMT is still shirking its historical responsibility’ (in Mandarin), *Apple Daily*, at: <https://tw.appledaily.com/new/realtime/20180208/1294259/> (accessed 11 July 2018).

³⁴ Lin Hui-zhe et al. (eds), *The Complete Folk Guitar* (Taipei: Tian Tong, 1982).

of this book is huge, and Lin used *shandi* rhythm to refer to a notated and widely heard rhythmic pattern. Lin's influence can also be shown because he was a cult figure of his time: in 1992, I attended a workshop he conducted; the venue was packed with college students coming for enlightenment and inspiration. In another workshop I attended in June 2014, Paiwanese musician Dakanow used the term *shandi* rhythm to describe his favourite style in demonstrating his piece 'Qinaide Piaoliumu/Dear Driftwood' (see Chapter Four: 246). On another occasion, Chalaw, an Amis guitarist-singer, played what he termed *shandi* rhythm and described it as 'the rhythm of the indigenous people'.³⁵ In general, because indigenous people focus on multi-part singing at the expense of instrumental and percussive elements, at the beginning of indigenous contemporary popular songs, musicians had little to draw from and this 'simple' (interview with Chalaw in June 2014) *shandi* rhythm became a typical incorporation, and later a common and distinguishable character in *shandige*.

The origin of *shandi* rhythm, according to anthropologist and musician Lin Che-Sin (or Agilasay Pakawyan, using his Beinan name), was the 1948 'Kuaile de Juhui/Happy Gathering'³⁶ and its arrangement by Lu Quan-sheng, who incorporated an indigenous tune. Later, *shandi* rhythm was more widely heard on vinyl, where indigenouspop or *shandige* developed a percussive sound to accompany vocals. The Nanwang Popular Welfare Recreation Troupe in the 1960s was the first indigenous group to make a record,³⁷ and they used the *shandi* rhythm. Compositions arranged with *shandi* rhythm always place emphasis on the downbeat (beats one and three), instead of the backbeat (beats two and four). This is why quite a considerable number of *shandige* songs in their later versions were rearranged using African American, or to be more specific, funk. *Shandige* can easily fit into a funk formula which usually consists of a variety of polyrhythms, strong backbeats, syncopated bass line, counter guitar lines, keyboard

³⁵ It was in a workshop held in London and which I attended, conducted by Chalaw and organised by Centre of Taiwan Studies, SOAS, University of London, in September 2016.

³⁶ youtu.be/DsiQERo7OEs (accessed 15 February 2019).

³⁷ From the vinyl record 'Taiwan shandi tongbao tiaowu geji/The Taiwan's mountain compatriots' dance song collection' (other publication information unknown) at 'The Solace of Music: Shared Memories of Contemporary Taiwanese Indigenous Song' exhibition in 2018, National Museum of Prehistory, Taitung.

chords, heavy soul vocals, and a definite pulse on the ‘one’. An example discussed in the next section is the 2011 ‘*Kelian de luoporen/Just a Pathetic Nobody*’³⁸, a *shandige* turned into indigenoupop, and its music video. At first glance, the appearance of its singer and composer, Beinan Gao Zi-yang (Photo 5.2) – sunglasses³⁹ and ethnic-style outfit – resembled the commercially successful African American musician Stevie Wonder. Likewise, the musical arrangements, such as the funky groove and bluesy guitar solos, appear African American orientated, which he attributes to the style of ‘soul’.



Photo 5.2 Gao Zi-yang at concert. Photo provided by Gao, used with permission.

5.4 The Pending Court Case of ‘*Kelian de luoporen*’

5.4.1 Handle with Care: Ownership and Control of Intellectual Property⁴⁰

Being the best-known *shandige* and a million-seller, ‘*Kelian*’ was first published in 1981 and popularised by Beinan Chen Ming-ren (Lisheng Record, no catalogue number)⁴¹. Chen, often coupling with Atayal Durai Watan (Wu Ting-hong) as the duo Beiyuan Shanmao in later years

³⁸ youtu.be/Xmu08_wAcGQ (accessed 15 February 2019).

³⁹ In our correspondence, Gao told me that he had a chronic eye problem and was just recovering from cornea treatment.

⁴⁰ This subtitle is borrowed from Sjoerd R. Jaarsma (ed.) *Handle with Care: Ownership and Control of Ethnographic Materials* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 2002).

⁴¹ youtu.be/2Ak50FLihOk (accessed 14 December 2017).

(from the 1990s onward), has been rendering this song since through the present. Its lyrics epitomised the persistence of indigenous pop in a humorous way at a time when people endured poverty and restricted freedom of speech. Back in the 1980s, the song was banned by the Nationalist regime; it was considered sexually provocative (as discussed in pp.269–70) and became a target of strict political censorship under the *Jiayan qijian xinwenzhi zazhi tushu guanzhi banfa* (Measures to regulate newspapers, magazines and book publication under the martial law). However, underground distribution at the subcultural level (after Hebdige 1979) meant the song survived, was warmly received and widely circulated, spreading through a form of inexpensive, grassroots-based ‘micro-media’ (after Aparicio 1998; Lange 1996; Lockard 1998; Monson 1997 and Smith 2007).

Gao Zi-yang from Chihpen, a township in Taitung County, claims he finalised the composition of the song in 1981. Chihpen is a *buluo* – the Mandarin term for ‘tribe’ that has no derogatory implications, instead meaning ‘a living community, village or township’ – from an area with a mixed population of Beinan, Minnan, Hakka and Chinese immigrants. The music traditions of these peoples inspire Gao in his music making, as can be heard in ‘*Kelian*’. However, according to Chen Ming-ren (born 1952), another musician from Chihpen, this song had been circulating long before Gao claimed ownership in 1981. Chen said he learned it from his nephew on a home-coming trip in 1979 and soon included it in his repertoire due to the positive responses he received in Taipei, where he was a house performer for a restaurant.⁴² Chen argues that there had been an earlier version on vinyl which had been around for years, by Beinan Zheng Xiao-yu, which circulated around Tai-an *buluo*. The other story also told by Chen is that he put Gao’s name as composer and lyricist, because of the sympathy and mutual home-village relationship between himself and Gao. He intended to help the under-employed and financially

⁴² Four legal documents concerning Gao Zi-yang’s intellectual property lawsuit, namely, Taiwan Taipei District Court ‘No. 17 Intellectual Property Case 2013 (issued on 23 July 2013)’ and ‘No. 197 Ruling Document 2013 (13 January 2014)’, and Intellectual Property Court ‘No. 49 Civil Authorship Legal Complaint 2013 (25 February 2015)’ and ‘No. 8 Civil Authorship Appeal 2015 (25 August 2016)’, at: <http://www.104law.com/search.aspx?q=高子洋> (accessed 14 April 2018).

unstable Gao to collect royalties.⁴³ Despite this, the earliest material that I can get for this research with Gao's name on it as the composer and lyricist is the 1981 (p.276) commercial cartridge recording by Chen and the photo of this cartridge was shown to me by Gao on 15 May 2018. The disagreement about the origin emerged when Gao told me in another interview on 7 February 2019 that he performed '*Kelian*' at pubs and restaurants in the 1970s. His friend and record company owner Wang Yin-pan heard this song and proposed Gao to record for publication under Wang's record company label. However, due to the quality of Wang's production, which was considered mediocre by Gao, Gao rejected Wang's proposal. Nevertheless, Wang went on with Zheng Xiao-yu, who might have learn this song through one way or another, to publish '*Kelian*' without Gao's approval. To make thing more complicated, Gao said in court that he transferred the authorship of '*Kelian*' to Cai Xue-liang, who published two vinyl records with Chen, but claimed the authorship back by registering the copyright to himself in 1991. I should note that court documents related to this case shows that the accused were only able to defend themselves with testimonies, but Gao was able to provide abundant evidences (documents, contracts, agreements etc). In brief, my observasion is based on legal documents concerning Gao's lawsuit, namely, Taiwan Taipei District Court 'No. 17 Intellectual Property Case 2013 (issued on 23 July 2013)', 'No. 197 Ruling Document 2013 (13 January 2014)', Intellectual Property Court 'No. 49 Civil Authorship Legal Complaint 2013 (25 February 2015)' and 'No. 8 Civil Authorship Appeal 2015 (25 August 2016)', as well as interviews with Gao.

The minor flaw in Gao's evidence is the complexity of the case, which involves a large number of musicians, business persons and accumulated facts in a timeline of more than 30 years, but only a vague outline – as details of publications were often not stated on vinyl records and cassettes, and the dates of incidents shown in documents or given in testimonies were often inconsistent with each other (but to me these inconsistencies are within acceptable ranges) – can be obtained. This became even more problematic as often more information and questions

⁴³ The 'No. 8 Civil Authorship Appeal 2015', at: <http://www.104law.com/search.aspx?q=高子洋> (accessed 14 April 2018).

emerged when I investigated more deeply. Keeping to ethnomusicological examination on music and preventing this research from being stuck amidst the tangled web of issues which were unclear, I manage to draw a brief timeline to depict the background of what had happened in Illustration 5.1:

Timeline	Nationalist KMT took over Taiwan after World War II	1987	Martial law lifted	2008	1st Polity Change	2008	2nd Polity Change	2016	3rd Polity Change
The Polity of Taiwan	Martial Law Period	Taiwan in transition		Democratic Country					
'Kelian' versions	1979: Zheng Xiao-yu (Beinan) 1981: Chen Ming-ren (Beinan) 1981: Shen Wen-chen (Rukai-Han mixed)	Many versions of 'Kelian' circulated: 1987: Gao Sheng-mei (Bunun, woman singer) 1998: Beiyuan Shanmao (duo of Beinan Chen Ming-ren and Atayal Durai Watan)		Versions discussed in this research: 2011: Ye Ai-ling (woman artist) and Zu Xiao-shun (man) (both non-indigenous Taiwanese) 2011: Gao Zi-yang (Beinan) 2014: Beiyuan Shanmao					
Incidents	1. Gao performed an early version in live performance in the late 70s. 2. 'Kelian' became a banned song. 3. It was distributed through micro-media and underground distribution. 4. Record company wanted to buy 'Kelian', but Gao refused. 5. Gao claimed authorship of 'Kelian' in the early 1980s.	1. 'Kelian' is no more a banned song. 2. Gao registered 'Kelian' in early 1990s. 3. In general, 'Kelian' was attributed to Gao. 4. The people are no more called 'mountain patriot' but 'indigenous people'.		1. 'Kelian' becomes a popular song in karaoke venues in indigenous community as well as in public performances. 2. Record company apologised to Gao and compensate him for its unauthorised publication. 3. Indigenouspop become an important Taiwan's genre.					
Status and images of the people			The people's lives improved but still difficult						
	The disadvantaged and marginalised					The people's lives and images are further improved; portrayed as the happy go lucky 'Other', the 'angry' people and the hybrid-selves			
Musical indigeneity and music elements	vocables, pentatonicism, shandi rhythm, subject matters of indigenous people, new musical arrangements (funk), traditional melody, costumes of the indigenous people								

Table 5.1 Timeline and information related to 'Kelian': the polity of Taiwan, versions, incidents, status and images of the people, and musical indigeneity and music elements.

Table by Teoh Yang-ming.

Gao's claiming the authorship of '*Kelian*' leading to songbook, newspaper and music video content from the 1990s onwards widely ascribing the authorship to him. Considering Chen and those who used '*Kelian*' without authorisation for commercial purposes guilty of infringement, Gao submitted a copyright breach lawsuit in 2013, asking for compensation. This took three years to reach a verdict and unfortunately, Gao lost. Nevertheless, he appealed to a higher judiciary authority, the Supreme Court, and the ultimate outcome is still pending at the time of writing.

5.4.2 A Court Case All Way Through

The court case may have a greater impact on intellectual property than the previously discussed Difang 'Return to Innocence' incident, although this research is the first to discuss it, as far as I know. First, the time span of the '*Kelian*' dispute covers a much longer period than the Difang incident (Chapter Two: 109–29), beginning in a regime of authoritarian dictatorship in the late 1970s, moving through a change to the democratic era in the late 1980s. The song was transformed into the 1990s and continued to thrive throughout two polity changes in the 2000s. Its popularity reached its height in the 2010s, when the court case erupted in 2013 and until a verdict was reached in 2016. The second reason is that the court case provides fertile materials for examination of access to an ethno-oriented popular song – Difang's case never went forward but was settled out of court. Those concerned about copyright want to see a step-by-step scenario to provide a guide for handling copyright issues. Finally, lawyer Huang Xiu-lan, who represented Difang in initiating his case, this time took the opposite stance; she defended a group of people who were considered to be violating an existing copyright. Another party liaising with Huang was Magic Stone Records, which also helped Difang to sue Enigma, but here its position changed to be the sued party for publishing unauthorised records.

The intellectual property act was loose and limited due to ROC copyright law. It had been brought into being in 1928 and had not been amended regularly to reflect changes until the 1990s. Commercial profits were not previously as great as in the present day; returns were not

allocated in detailed written contracts but based on tacit understandings or oral agreements. To register a music piece was a rudimentary process, and although Gao claimed the authorship for ‘*Kelian*’ but transferred it to a publisher in 1981. For this reason, Gao registered ‘*Kelian*’ again in 1991 to make certain of his copyright. This provides evidence for his claim to be the original composer. Hence, without much dispute, musicians from 1991 onwards who performed the song stated clearly it was a composition by Gao, despite sometimes not paying royalties. Taiwan was entering a fully liberal society where sophisticated thoughts were valued, fitting well with the recently liberated social atmosphere. ‘*Kelian*’ was one of the songs that stood out due to its characteristics; its uncouth and raunchy lyrics functioned as an avant-garde challenge to social taboos, its exotic indigeneity a manifestation of marginalised urbanite identity, and its satirical tones and anger provided an attitude for protest. Indigenous popular songs were no longer called *shandige*, since the formal term for the people has changed to *yuanzhumin* (indigenous people or original inhabitants). ‘*Kelian*’ was covered by various singers and became a karaoke hit, especially in *buluos*. Suddenly, due to its popularity, its ownership and intellectual property became a major issue.

Although a verdict on the case was reached in 2016, there are doubts over the ruling. I base my observations on the court documents and my interview with Gao Zi-yang, who showed me more documents related to the case. Apparently, Gao lost for being so confident of winning – he listed seven further people as well as the accused. All these put all their energy into defending themselves, working together. People in Taitung have overlapping social networks through relatives or long-term friends. For example, Chen Ming-ren is a member of *Feiyu yunbao yinyue gongtuan* (The Flying Fish and Clouded Leopard Music Group), which includes others such as Matzka (a Paiwan), Lin Guang-cai (or Ngernger, using his Paiwan name) and Yun Li-si (or Inka Mbing, using her Atayal name). Chen is the son of Chen Shi,⁴⁴ the late Beinan music teacher who taught Chihpen people to sing and dance. This network might even extend to other

⁴⁴ The afore-mentioned influential and productive indigenous musician who was trained in classical music.

indigenous groups. For example, Matzka's mother, Gulali, is Samingad's (the afore-mentioned Puyuma singer) godmother; Samingad is Paudull's (another afore-mentioned Puyuma musician) niece; Paudull is the well-respected musician Lu Sen-bao's (or Baliwakes, using his Puyuma name, an influential composer) grandson, and so on. These webs grow complicated when musicians work together and become members of a group; for instance, *Feiyu yunbao* collaborates with legislator Gaojin Su-mei (or Ciwas Ali, using her Atayal name). Gaojin is mixed Han-Atayal, originating from a Chinese *waishengren* (outer-Taiwanese) father, and is the dominant lead administrator of *Feiyu yunbao*, steering the group in its ideology for reuniting with the PRC. The group invokes hatred toward Japan, a friendly entity for their rival contingent, the pro-independent Taiwanese, but a hostile subject for their alliance with pro-Chinese politicians.⁴⁵ Gao Zi-yang demanded a large sum of compensation, equivalent to more than £20,000, which led to retaliation from those who had benefited from the song – namely Chen and members of *Feiyu yunbao*, as well as Gaojin and their friends and Chihpen kin. In other words, people became a united force to counter Gao, helping each other to get the court case dismissed.

One of my informants, who is a revered Puyuma, an anthropologist and a musician, but who requests anonymity, provided me his opinion (interview 2 February 2018). On his arrival at our meeting, I told him my plan to interview Gao at his current home in Tamsui, which is a township in the northern part of Taiwan. To my surprise, this informant boldly said: 'Some people gave false testimony, and they did it as a corporation.' His opinion is consistent with the general view that Gao is the original composer of some indigenouspop songs such as '*Kelian*'. He added that one of his own compositions was also used in recordings but he was not credited nor paid. Sharing his original idea of the composition to convince me, he sang and demonstrated how it developed from scratch in a drinking session which involved improvised singing. Again,

⁴⁵ Lin Shu-ling, 'Spring belongs to us, Taiwan's reunited with China contingent bid farewell to Xu Jinyu' (in Mandarin), *China Review News Agency*, at: http://hk.crntt.com/doc/1050/5/3/6/105053637_2.html?coluid=93&kindid=2777&docid=105053637&mdate=0429003613 (accessed 8 May 2018).

as video interviews reveal, a heavyweight Taiwanese anthropologist, Hu Tai-li, the head of Institute of Ethnology and the central research academy, Academia Sinica,⁴⁶ and a respected musician and prominent film-maker, Tsai Chen-nan,⁴⁷ among others, believe that Gao is the original composer of '*Kelian*'. Gao's case points to the tendency for testimonies to become of paramount importance when it is difficult to determine the origin of a composition through hard evidence. However, testimonies are subject to manipulation, such as happened in Gao's case. For instance, Chen explained his relationship with Gao had been so intimate that the two 'shared the same underwear'. Unfortunately, at the time monetary matters were involved, Chen twisted this for his own benefit, suggesting that he had identified Gao as the composer just out of sympathy.

Things became extremely ugly when the dispute was brought to court. Gaojin Su-mei, the lead administrator of Chen Ming-ren's Flying Fish group, openly accused Gao of being a 'rat of intellectual property', somebody who steals intellectual property for his own benefit.⁴⁸ Instead of arguing openly, Gao put his efforts into the judiciary procedure. However, when a preliminary verdict was reached in 2016, which was favourable to Gaojin and Chen, Gao started to fight back fiercely, accusing the defendants in public. Gao condemned Gaojin and Chen for instigating people to commit corporate perjury, which is a heavy offense in indigenous people as well as in Christianity (which the majority of indigenous people have converted to).⁴⁹ Gao also accused Gaojin and Chen of bringing disgrace to friends and family. This time, it was Gaojin and Chen's turn to not respond. The reasons may be many, but in many people's opinions, it was an indication that the accused were guilty. Others who contradicted their earlier stance were Magic Stone Records and its lawyer Huang Xiu-lan. It is understandable that a commercial group would work for monetary return, but Magic Stone and Huang, who had been emblematic in fighting for intellectual property and the rights of Difang, were now defending

⁴⁶ youtu.be/4SLSeSxvHN8 (accessed 28 May 2018).

⁴⁷ youtu.be/MMw0V5uhzdw (accessed 28 May 2018).

⁴⁸ Chen Nai-yu, 'Legislator sued for singing "*Women doushi yijiaren*"' (in Mandarin), *TVBS News*, at: <https://news.tvbs.com.tw/local/515897> (accessed 12 July 2018).

⁴⁹ youtu.be/tjPQgrr7NOQ, and <https://www.facebook.com/ntnuirdc/posts/484542628396756> (accessed 12 July 2018).

the violation of intellectual property, proposing a freedom from control to access ‘communal’ property. This inconsistency had a negative impact on their credibility. In the ‘*Kelian*’ case they were sued for not properly paying the composer and for turning Gao’s composition into a commercial product.

5.4.3 *A Brothers Kind of Thing*

The prominent African American pianist-composer Herbie Hancock, when questioned about the adaptation of *hindewhu*⁵⁰ in his recording ‘Watermelon Man’, argued that the moral universe, ethic and aesthetic was part of the African family, ‘a brothers kind of thing’ – an authorisation gained automatically by people from the same clan to take certain actions and to promote traditional culture in a way that is politically and culturally acceptable (Feld, 1996: 5–6). In other words, although violating intellectual property law through the adaptation of traditional songs, Hancock did not directly credit the source material or pay the original performers or owners, nor did he invoke copyright law or cite industry-wide practice as his justification, but claimed oral tradition recycling as an African American ethic and aesthetic. So, my question here is: Is this ‘brothers kind of thing’ argument applicable to support Chen and the other defendants in the ‘*Kelian*’ case?

We should probably ask why, in most circumstances – especially where profit is not involved – musicians, consumers and audiences choose to believe ‘*Kelian*’ was composed by Gao. It is clear that articles such as that by Taiwanese social observer, Qiu Fei-xian (2016)⁵¹ attribute Gao as the composer, as do audio-visual products, for example, Chen Ming-ren’s sleeve notes on Lisheng Record (the 1981 version by Chen mentioned above), the duo Beiyuan Shanmao’s on Honggu Record (1998)⁵², Ye Ai-ling and Zu Xiao-shun on Taiwan Television (TTV 2011)⁵³, the afore-mentioned Gao Zi-yang on the 2011 music video and Beiyuan

⁵⁰ *Hindewhu* is a style of singing/whistle-playing typical of the BaBenzélé pygmies of the Central African Republic.

⁵¹ Qiu Fei-xian, ‘Puyuma herdsman Gao Zi-yang put into prison due to his compositions’ (in Mandarin), *Taiwan People News*, at: <https://tw.news.yahoo.com/-042919185.html> (accessed 10 June 2018).

⁵² <youtu.be/Ky4y3FYSkts> (accessed 15 February 2019).

⁵³ <youtu.be/MP8CvnHXSsE> (accessed 15 February 2019).

Shanmao again on Chinese Television System (CTS 2014)⁵⁴. It is worthy of note that European internet-based music streaming services such as Deezer (France) and Spotify (Sweden) – probably mistaking Beiyuan Shanmao as Japanese – Romanise the title of the duo in mixed Japanese-English ‘Kitahara Lynx’. Beiyuan Shanmao, or 北原山貓, literally means ‘indigenous musicians’ (*yuan* 原) ‘from the north’ (*bei* 北) (北原=北部原住民) and ‘cats’ (*mao* 貓) ‘in the mountain’ (*shan* 山) (山貓=山中之貓), then become ‘*kita*’ (north, Japanese transliteration and Romanisation for *bei* 北) and ‘*hara*’ (*yuan* 原), plus ‘Lynx’, a family of the wild cat genus. Back to ‘*Kelian*’, obviously, there must be a musician who created the song; Chen said it was not his own creation, so it was most probably Gao’s. My research rules out ‘*Kelian*’ as a communal asset, a non-excludable ‘public good’ (after Varian 1992), because those who claim that it is tend to have a ‘vested interest’ (after Crano 1995),⁵⁵ benefitting from the condition that a song is not ascribed to a particular creator. If ‘*Kelian*’ comprises licks sung among the Chihpen community, as Chen testified in court, then the rights belong to those people, explicitly and exclusively to Chihpen Beinan. So when ‘outside’ non-Beinan singers such as Han-Rukai Shen Wen-cheng, Bunun Gao Sheng-mei, Atayal Durai Watan (or Wu Ting-hong, who coupled with Chen for duo Beiyuan Shanmao), Han-Taiwanese Ye Ai-ling and Zu Xiao-shun have performed the song, they should pay royalties to the Chihpen Beinan people.

Seemingly, the defendants in Gao’s case contradicted themselves, first proposing ‘*Kelian*’ comprised ancient tunes or traditional melodies, then altering their argument to say that it was a *linbange* – a modern genre whose composers are many but unknown – to justify their unauthorised use of it. In brief, ancient tunes are assets belonging to a group or a community sung by its people but not for commercial gain; it depletes the rights of the people if this intellectual property be used by an unlimited number of people who consume it. The Difang incident provided a precedent or guideline: the Malan Amis disagree with musicians outside appropriating

⁵⁴ youtu.be/Imx8hD-cvs4, youtu.be/6oILmmNTupk, youtu.be/06-6Xwh0IK8 and youtu.be/S_I01059Mjs (accessed 15 February 2019).

⁵⁵ ‘Vested interest’ derives from communication theory, which is a field of information theory and mathematics that studies the process of human communication (Dainton et al. 2011: 247).

their heritage elements, especially if the people are not notified or paid royalties, or their traditions not respected.

5.5 Manuscript, Oral Tradition and Music on Defining Indigenouspop

5.5.1 The Problematic 'Notational Centricity' and 'Melodic Centricity'

Musicology can provide an alternative perspective: are conventional criteria such as notation and orality appropriate for defining an ethnic-oriented contemporary music such as '*Kelian*', and hence appropriate for judging who is its composer? In my interview with Gao in May 2018, I was told that a folksong collector, an anonymous classically trained Taiwanese scholar who testified for Chen, placed '*Kelian*' in a classical music context, a method that British musicologist Philip Tagg (quoted by Middleton 2001: 217) calls 'notational centricity', prioritising notation over sound. When I talked with this scholar in March 2018, he pointed out that at the court hearing, Gao had not been able to sing exactly what had been written on the notation he himself provided as evidence for his composition. This led to disproving Gao to be the composer, despite the fact that a considerable number of pop musicians and folksong singers are not familiar with notation. For example, Lu Jing-zi, the queen singer of *shandige*, told me she was not able to notate her extemporised new melodies but only knew how to enunciate them, and therefore another musician was needed to edit her imprecise scratch writing (interview 15 May 2018). Likewise, she might also not be able to sing her composition exactly like previously when asked to, but only manage the outline of the melody. Since extemporisation with free expression was always incorporated in her singing, she had to listen to recorded versions if she was to reproduce an identical rendition.

The defendants and their home-towner witnesses from Chihpen argued that some similar licks were heard prior to the 1980s, when Gao claims he composed '*Kelian*'. This could designate '*Kelian*' as pre-existing music put together to become a collectively composed tune, widely disseminated but with no specific composer, for which no one should claim copyright. My opinion is in line with that of Gao – this argument is not tenable. At the time of writing,

there is widespread belief in the origin of a genre called *linbange* – collectively composed songs of indigenous people created from the 1950s through the 1970s, or the ‘work song’ of Taiwan’s forestry workers (after Cohen 1993: 334). *Linbange* (‘song of forest batch’) are pieces connected to a form of forestry (where *lin* means forest, *ban* batch and *ge* song), sung by indigenous workers conducting heavy tasks such as processing timber and managing woodland, weeding and nurturing plantations, and cultivating the wilderness and building paths in mountainous areas. It has been romanticised by several writings (such as in Huang (2009) and Li (2013)), where ‘*Kelian*’ is wrongly described as *linbange*, accomplished through the communal contributions of indigenous workers when they sang together, improvising fragmented licks from the traditions brought along by different groups and mixed with spontaneous lyrics and melodies.

Based on my interviews and fieldwork among senior citizens, when there were sessions where forestry workers sang in group and took turns, they usually happened in a disorganised way. Song relays happened when each participant rendered a tune or tunes closely related to their tradition and experience. If one person, for example, of Puyuma origin, sang his traditional songs, then the outline melody would be imprecisely absorbed by another worker, probably a non-Puyuma, and then this melody might be regenerated on other occasions. In such a way, representations of originals spread, but songs were altered, and became *linbange*, generating a phenomenon where the passing down of the origin involved moderation and distortion. However, in such a difficult working environment as forestry, it is hard to imagine workers had the luxury of time and energy to compose and produce high-quality music. Furthermore, *linban* (forest batch) workers usually came from the lowest level of society; they were poor, barely educated, without professional skills and could only communicate in their mother tongues. That is to say, they were usually not able to speak Mandarin, Minnan or Japanese, so a middle man monitored and translated to ease communication, coordinating and giving instructions. It is clear that to produce such a well-structured song as ‘*Kelian*’ was beyond what can be expected from the *linban* labourers.

Further, judging a song for its originality based merely on melody might propose ethnography is suited also to pop-oriented music, advocating a melodic centrality for Taiwanese indigenoupop. That is to say, it transfers criteria from ethnography and misapplies them to popular music. In other words, the judges in Gao's case were persuaded by ethnographers that the song was original when they were persuaded that its melody was generated fresh from a composer's mind. But, in other parts of the world, a new melody is not always a true measure of a composed song. The plagiarism case over the Disco-R&B hit 'Blurred Lines' (Star Trak Entertainment and Interscope Records, no catalogue number, 2013), where the family of Marvin Gaye, the American songwriter who helped to shape Motown in the 1960s, sued Robin Thicke, an American soul/R&B singer-songwriter who collaborates with Pharrell Williams, another American rapper-songwriter, for copying a Marvin Gaye song, suggested that where a musical style is involved in creation, this should be a registered copyright. The outcome of the lawsuit in 2014 was that the jury found Thicke and Williams had infringed copyright on Gaye's 1977 song 'Got to Give It Up' (Single on Motown Y-619F, 1977) due to great similarity in musical arrangement. That verdict expands the potential for copyright litigation in musical arrangement, for example, the groove, the sense of propulsive rhythmic feel.⁵⁶ This litigation supports the Gao case: even though the melodic composition of 'Kelian' may or may not be heard in earlier singing by the people, Gao's efforts in putting together the appropriate music elements into a well-structured song was an act of composing that should be entitled to 'broad copyright protection'.

⁵⁶ 'Marvin Gaye family prevails in 'Blurred Lines' plagiarism case', *Reuters Entertainment News*, at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-music-blurredlines/marvin-gaye-family-prevails-in-blurred-lines-plagiarism-case-idUSKBN1GX27P> and 'Marvin Gaye's Family Wins 'Blurred Lines' Appeal; Pharrell, Robin Thicke Must Pay,' *Forbes Media and Entertainment*, at: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/adriennegibbs/2018/03/21/marvin-gaye-wins-blurred-lines-lawsuit-pharrell-robin-thicke-t-i-off-hook/#69a2b06e689b> (accessed 3 June 2018).

5.5.2 *Ingredients of Musical Embodiment*

The American musician Eric Turkel (1988: 10)⁵⁷ talks about the arranger's tools, the 'ingredients' for popular music – melody, rhythm, form, timbre, harmony and idiom. On one hand, the composer of '*Kelian*' made good use of these ingredients to manifest his people. On the other hand, this manifestation is special, mixed with critical tones, angry demeanour and incisive thought, embodying personal musical and non-musical ideas in a composition which circulated for decades. Clearly, '*Kelian*' has been sung by many, but its versions have seemingly reached their optimum stage, that is to say, arranged into a rather fixed structure. Almost without exception, a set of fixed lyrics has been used in the various versions. My question is if '*Kelian*' is a pre-existing tune that was re-created, there must be a degree of difference between the pre-existing and the re-created. Differences in various versions of '*Kelian*' are minor; if '*Kelian*' is a product of communal re-creations originated from an ancient tune or ancient tunes, it should be a considerable degree of separation, at least in the lyrics, from singers to singers and from time to time, due to the continuing re-creation process. But the lyrics are almost fixed, then we can argue that these singers or the people do not have the ability or practice to re-create, and a specific musician must have done the work and therefore he should be considered the composer of the song. In this research, the only version where a difference is heard in lyrics is in Gao Ziyang's 2011 music video on rendering '*Kelian*': he made amendments to the lyrics, which is a privilege of a composer or an authorised lyricist (p.302). In addition, a composition worked out of shared sentimentality of a people further complicated the issue. On 8 March 2019, I delivered a Mandarin presentation for my research on '*Kelian*' at a symposium at National Taitung University, Taiwan. During the Q&A section, an audience member who is a Paiwan and whose name is undisclosed here, proposed that '*Kelian*' shares a Paiwan characteristic in that the singer always portrays a quality of modesty and unpretentiousness, to such an extent that is a self-deprecation. So, it is no surprise for lyrics such as 'feel free to be flirtatious with me, and to

⁵⁷ Turkel, Eric, *Arranging Techniques for Synthesists* (New York: Amsco, 1988).

take advantage of me; even if you do not love me anymore, you should greet me when I am in sight' to be argued to be a common practice of the Paiwan.

This makes the issue even more complicated because the Paiwan are likely to get involved initially in the concern of another indigenous group, the Beinan. It is worth mentioning that this audience is also a musician who has published two albums. He provided to this research supportive material from his own experience, which resembled Gao Zi-yang's case: he claims copyright of a widely disseminated Paiwan tune which is generally believed to be an ancient chant that has been orally transmitted, its composer unidentifiable. However, contradictory to his case, he told me that Gao Zi-yang should not claim the copyright of '*Kelian*' since the tune is probably a communal asset, although from how he addressed Gao in our conversation, I could feel that he held high respect for him. From what I have observed of this musician, it is reasonable to speculate that those who have a 'vested interest' through rendering composed tunes in the commercial scene and on records tend to advocate the composition be a non-excludable 'public good' (see also p.285), unless at a particular event where they would then propose otherwise and claim copyrights for themselves.

A pick-up motif omitting the first beat starts the melody, followed with a one-bar note (verse A, Vocal 1 in Notation 5.2)⁵⁸. This pattern repeats for eight measures before moving to an identical verse B. The chorus, C, also starts with a pick-up and lasts for seven measures before ending with a yell-like vocable lick. The musical indigeneity is distinct, with use of pentatonism and vocables. The long notes between motifs leave room for a call and response, where in later versions such as that by the duo Beiyuan Shanmao in 2014 (Notation 5.2), the melodic motifs become a call responded to with the vocables '*heye~e yo~o hai~aiyan*'. A number of singers have covered '*Kelian*', though Chen is undoubtedly the best-known, but if '*Kelian*' is a *linbange* which involves 'song relay' as Taiwanese sociologist Yang She-fan (2009: 109) observes, or communal singing practice in which transmission of melodies happens from one

⁵⁸ youtu.be/MP8CvnHXSsE, see fn.53.

singer to another, there must be an extent of moderation and re-creation involved. However, versions explored in this research, such as by Chen Ming-ren (1981), Shen Wen-cheng (1981), Gao Sheng-mei (1987), the duo Beiyuan Shanmao (1998), Ye Ai-ling and Zu Xiao-shun (2011), Gao Zi-yang (2011) and again by Beiyuan Shanmao (2014) remain its fixed structure.

The harmony in Beiyuan Shanmao's 11 January 2014 funk-arranged live performance on CTS (Notation 5.2)⁵⁹ was simple, repeating for several measures on an E minor triad, then progressing to A minor, then alternating B dominant seventh, C, D and G major triads amid a

♩ = 92-96

A

Vocal 1
 NI KE YI YA XI NONG WO, YE KE YI YA BU LI WO; JIU SUAN NI BU ZAI AI

Vocal 2
 HE YE E YO O HAI AI YAN HE YE E YO O HAI AI YAN

V1
 WO, JIAN MIAN YE GAI SHUO HAL LO! NI KE YI YA QI PIAN

V2
 HE YE E YO O HAI AI YAN HE YE E YO O HAI AI YAN

B

V1
 WO YE KE YI YA LI YONG WO JIU SUAN NI BU ZAI AI

V2
 HE YE E YO O HAI AI YAN HE YE E YO O HAI AI YAN

V1
 WO JIAN MIAN YE GAI SHUO HAL LO! MEI YI CI WO

V2
 HE YE E YO O HAI AI YAN HE YE E YO O HAI AI YAN MEI YI CI WO

C

V1
 JIAN DAO LE NI NI ZONG SHI XIE YAN KAN KAN WO YA DENG YI YAN DAO DI WO NA LI LUO

V2
 JIAN DAO LE NI NI ZONG SHI XIE YAN KAN KAN WO YA DENG YI YAN DAO DI WO NA LI LUO

⁵⁹ See fn.54.

The image displays a musical score for two voices, V1 and V2, in a key of one sharp (F#). The score is divided into several systems, each with a key signature change indicated by a circled letter (A, C, G, E). The lyrics are in Chinese characters and Pinyin. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

System 1: Key signature: A. Measures 22-25. Lyrics: QUO QING NI KE LIAN YA XIN SHANG ZEN. Chords: A MIN, A MIN, B7, E MIN, TO.

System 2: Key signature: C. Measures 26-29. Lyrics: HOI I YO O HOI OI YAN AI. Chords: C, D, E MIN.

System 3: Key signature: G. Measures 30-33. Lyrics: HO HAI YE E YAN HE YE YAN HO HAI HAI AI YAN HE HAI YO HE E HO OI HIN HOI YAN. Chords: E MIN, E MIN, G, E MIN, E MIN, E MIN.

System 4: Key signature: G. Measures 34-37. Lyrics: HO HAI YO O YAN HE YE YAN HO HAI HAI AI. Chords: G, E MIN, G, E MIN.

System 5: Key signature: E. Measures 38-41. Lyrics: YAN HE HAI YO HE E HO OI HIN HOI YAN HE E HO OI HIN HOI YAN NI KE YI YA XI NONG. Chords: E MIN, E MIN, E MIN, E MIN.

System 6: Key signature: E. Measures 42-45. Lyrics: HOI I YO O HOI OI YAN HOI I YO O HOI OI YAN YA!. Chords: C, D, E MIN, NO CHORD, E MIN, E MIN.

Notation 5.2 'Kelian de luoporen/Just a Pathetic Nobody', in Beiyuan Shanmao's 11 January 2014 live performance on CTS.⁶⁰ Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.

⁶⁰ See fn.54.

skeleton E minor chord, all in medium tempo. This rendition, based on a bluesy electric keyboard's brassy riffs, drew on elements of R&B and soul/jazz, combined with a funk hook, attracting attention for its timbre and pitch nuances, and signifying textures and forms to relate social function. It is worthy of note that notation can only outline the arranger's intention, showing the musical ingredients such as chordal progressions and melodic lines, but is based on homology rather than articulation. But the interpretation of musicians make differences. Hence, sing or play plainly according to the notated notes and written instruction, and with no interpretation of musician's own is 'simply transferred from its classical home and applied (or misapplied) [as shown in this in this case] to a repertory with arguably different requirements' (Middleton 2001: 216). To put it more simply, making good use of the 'tools' and 'ingredients' of his/her music, mingling traits to generate a unique version of his/her own, is a vital way to identify a musician.

For example, the vocalisation of Gao's rendition speaks in a sensational and convincing way: 'This is my composition!' Gao is a prolific musician and performer; he writes his own songs, he determines his own production values and makes his own career moves. In other words, he is self-sustained and 'autonomic' (after Frith 2001: 77). Apart from looking similar to Stevie Wonder (Photo 5.2), Gao trademarked his strong physical expression, involving his whole body and full facial expression, instead of only exercising hands and fingers to play an instrument, or the mouth to sing.⁶¹ Gao told me his stage gestures are 'embodiments' of his faith rather than musical content; they are acts of receiving rather than portraying. He asked to be endowed with the spirits of his ancestors, as indigenous people are intimately bonded to ancestors. Gao prayed for strength and meditated for peace when preparing to sing. However, strength from the ancestors was limited: turning into a faithful Christian in middle age, he now asks God to bestow on him enlightenment. Hence, Gao is special; his rendition is uniquely subtle. When musicians perform their own pieces, a sense of connection is often clear right away. It comes

⁶¹ youtu.be/Xmu08_wAcGQ see fn.38.

naturally and instinctively likes distinguishing a mother and daughter, siblings and lovers, before having deeper interactions with the connected. For me and many others who have attended his performances, there is a certainty in our belief that ‘*Kelian*’ is Gao’s creation.

5.6 Expressions of the Inexpressible: Vocables and the Status of the People

5.6.1 Vocables in *Shandige* and Indigenouspop

‘*Kelian*’s’ different versions reveal the common element of *shandige*, the vocables. Although the raunchy and uncouth lyrics were considered a portrayal of extreme and outrageous conduct,⁶² its widespread distribution was a successful form of ‘decentralisation, diversification, autonomy, dissent and freedom’ – a phenomenon of cassette culture discussed by Manuel (1993: 2–3). ‘*Kelian*’ was covered by several indigenous singers in the 1980s, such as the Han-Rukai Shen Wen-cheng on his ‘*Simsu sianglang chai/Who Knows My Deepest Thought*’ (Ailia A6002, 1981),⁶³ and the Bunun Gao Sheng-mei on her ‘*Shandi* love songs: Vol. 1’ album (Shangge Record SKN6618, 1987).⁶⁴ Chen Ming-ren, the first singer to gain fame for rendering it, coupled with Atayal Durai Watan (Wu Ting-hong) as the duo Beiyuan Shanmao – which literally means ‘indigenous musicians from the north’ (*beiyuan*) as ‘cats in the mountain’ (*shanmao*) –, republished it on *The Return of ‘Kelian de luoporen’* (Honggu Record, 1998). Adding to the song’s earlier interpretations of the image of the indigenous people, the later versions settled on an optimistic and humorous image in the face of life’s troubles.

Their vocables express the social status of indigenous people, functioning in an opposite way to idealism in music, which French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu (1984: 19) asserted as being ‘the ‘pure’ art par excellence. It says nothing and has nothing to say.’ On first hearing, the vocables ‘*hohaiyan*’ and ‘*naluwan*’ are similar to instrumental music: according to an idealist

⁶² Liu Zhe-hao, ‘*Heijiao changpian sushuo Taiwan jinge fazhan mailuo/Contextualise Taiwanese banned songs: stories told by vinyl records*’, *The Journalist*, at: <https://www.new7.com.tw/NewsView.aspx?t=07&i=TXT20170920171807MQ6> (accessed 14 December 2017).

⁶³ <youtu.be/Xdqk-Ejy04A> (accessed 14 December 2017).

⁶⁴ <youtu.be/T7ri3Q373lc> (accessed 14 December 2017).

aesthetic, they are imprecise, functioning as meta-languages in an ideal world, the ‘wondrous realm of the infinite’ (Bonds 1997: 392, citing Prussian critic E. T. A. Hoffmann’s celebrated phrase). That is to say, they are a language of the ‘inexpressible and unspeakable’ (Dahlhaus 1989: 90). However, on occasions such as with the Bunun ‘*Pasibutbut*/Song of Praying for Good Harvest for Millet’, ‘*Misav*/Song for Drinking’ and ‘*Maciluma*/Coming Down the Mountain with a Heavy Load’, although having no lexical lyrics with semantic meanings, participants conversant with tradition know clearly what the tunes are about. Hence, non-lexical vocables have semiotic significance, forming meaningful lyrics in the understanding of people who associate physical stimuli and other abstract concepts with them. This is how Ming Li-kuo phrased it, commenting on Panay Mulu (2004: 113).

From the perspective of kinship ties and in their cultural context, vocables are emblems of unity that share memories and a sense of belonging among Taitung and Hualien groups – the Puyuma, Amis, Paiwan and Rukai (Chen C. 2013: 165–175). They resemble what happens with indigenous groups outside Taiwan, such as with the music of Sub-Saharan African (Turino 2008: 194), First Nation North American singing (Nettl 2008: 349, 353–54; McAllester 2009: 35) and, in one specific case, in Pacific Northwest Indian music (Halpern 1976). The roots of such vocalisations are in the cultural contexts of a group’s activities. For ethnomusicologist David P. McAllester, vocalisation uses ‘nonlexical syllables’ or ‘meaningless syllables’ (2009: 35) while the Canadian Ida Halpern refers to it as using ‘meaningless-nonsensical syllables’ (1976). Another ethnomusicologist, Thomas Turino, prefers ‘rhythmic syllables that have no semantic meaning’ (2008: 194). On certain occasions, these non-lexical vocables can be onomatopoeic. However, holding a different opinion from that of McAllester, Halpern and Turino, the London-based David W. Hughes (2000: 93–94) argues that vocables often have specific and meaningful functions, even though they may still be called ‘nonsense syllables’. According to Hughes, syllables in Japanese and Ugandan music – including the mnemonics which have been generally categorised as ‘nonsense syllables’ – transmit melodic intervals and are the result of acoustic preferences. These syllables are also arranged in logical ways for duration, loudness, resonance,

timbre, and attack and decay, which carry functions based on a universal perception and the subliminal comprehension of people. In Taiwanese literature, the Han-Taiwanese ethnomusicologist Chen Chun-bin (2008: 139) opts for *shengci* ('sounding words'), Amis musician Huang Kuei-chao (Lifok Dongi, using his Amis name, 2000: 71) proposes *xuci* ('empty words'), and another Amis ethnomusicologist, Panay Mulu (2004), settles on *chenci* ('padded lyrics')⁶⁵.

In the next section, I will elaborate how function of vocables have evolved, as exemplified by '*Kelian*'. Originally, and in its purest form, the vocables in '*Kelian*' were short and simple, lacking meaning. The licks comprised the meaningless syllables '*hoii~yoo~hoioi~yan*' (Notation 5.3). However, singers expressed their difficulties and feelings through their intonations, such as in those were heard in the vocalisations of Chen Ming-ren, Sheng Wen-cheng and Gao Sheng-Mei in the 1980s. Hence, these vocables became bearing expressive functions and social messages, evoking affinity with the values and expectations of its audience. Then, these have been passed down in later versions in the 1990s through the 2000s, adding licks and melodies as countermelodies and, on one occasion, a prolonged interlude. '*Kelian*' shows how a simple folk-oriented song was altered and rearranged to become more sophisticated for urban audiences. A musical chant or ceremonial text, introduced to be exotic but comprehensible – much as Australian anthropologist A. W. Howitt (1904: 414) and Javanese specialist Dr Poerbardjaraka (in Kleen 1923) noted –, are developed. For example, in Beiyuan Shanmao's 2014 rendition, the vocables become the response parts to calling licks in the verses (Notation 5.4) and counter-melodic and harmonic lines (Notation 5.5).



Notation 5.3 The short and simple vocables lick 'hoii~yoo~hoioi~yan' in an early 1980s Chen Ming-ren rendition. Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming

⁶⁵ Lin Gui-zhi (or Panay Mulu), 'The Cultural Meaning of Padded Lyrics in Ritual Music' (in Mandarin), International Conference of Religious Music 2004, Banqiao: National Taiwan University of Arts, 20-24 October 2004 (<http://portal2.ntua.edu.tw/~gspa/web/pdf/4.pdf>, accessed 4 April 2017).

Musical notation for Notation 5.4. It features two vocal lines, Vocal 1 and Vocal 2, in a 4/4 time signature with a tempo of 92-96. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The notation includes lyrics in Chinese characters and Pinyin. Chord markings above the staff indicate E MIN. A circled letter 'A' is placed above the first measure of the vocal line.

Notation 5.4 The open calling licks and vocables responses in the 2014 version by Beiyuan Shanmao (Notation 5.2). Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming

Musical notation for Notation 5.5, showing counter-melodic and harmonic lines for the melody in the 2014 version. It consists of three systems of two vocal lines, V1 and V2. The notation includes lyrics in Chinese characters and Pinyin. Chord markings above the staff indicate E MIN and G. A circled letter 'D' is placed above the first measure of the first system.

Notation 5.5 The counter-melodic and harmonic lines for the melody in the 2014 version (Notation 5.2). Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming

5.6.2 1980s Images of Disadvantaged Indigenous People

The legacy of 'Kelian' started with Chen Ming-ren's 1981 version (p.276), the earliest commercial recording to be distributed and promoted through night markets, restaurants, pirate cassettes and record stores. It presented the most common stereotypical image of indigenous people looking for good earnings in the city. Its lyrics (pp.269–70; also p.302) told about struggling low-income labourers – not having sufficient professional knowledge or skill to lift themselves out

of poverty, working away from home, longing for companionships. Chen's version was published on cheap cassette and vinyl, comparing to Mandopop and Western pop where big money was spent in promotion. '*Kelian*' did not have such luxurious promotion, and Chen identified himself as the 'best down-and-out male vocalist'.

Chen conveyed self-deprecating lyrics alongside indigeneity in pentatonicism, the *shandi* rhythm and the vocables '*hoiyo-hoiyan*'. Taiwanese sociologist Yang She-fan (2009: 109) matches the use of these elements with the concept of bricolage (where he borrows from Lévi-Strauss), as an attempt to assemble contemporary indigenoupop. According to Yang, indigenous musicians were relaxed and free, applying the materials at hand, on many occasions using vocables as symbols to transform songs into culturally significant compositions. In other words, they worked with their 'savage thoughts' (after Lévi-Strauss 1966), the continual gathering of whatever useable structures they had to construct music. Nevertheless, only one short vocables lick was heard in the 1981 version, at the end of the chorus, although repeated several times. The yell-like utterance became a catchy hook. Approximately at the same time in 1981, another indigenous singer, the mixed Han-Rukai Shen Wen-cheng, covered the song, gaining a positive response from the market. Shen added solo narration in the interlude to introduce self-pity and a sense of satire. He told how he was a lonely man who disappointed his mother for not having a lover, although he had tried to get one. Hints of solitude, struggling and hopelessness permeate his rendition. There was no music video of Shen's version, and the only visual of Shen's version on YouTube⁶⁶ is a photo of Taiwan's natural environment to imply the original habitat of the indigenous people. It is worth noting that another element Shen added was the onomatopoeic vocable '*hohohei~ hohohei~*' (a variation of '*hohaiyan*') implying, in the opening section, the hard work of indigenous people.

⁶⁶ youtu.be/Xdqk-Ejy04A, see fn.63.

Bunun Gao Sheng-mei, however, did not change the arrangement much for her 1987 rendition⁶⁷, but her agenda was gender, social and cultural change, and new liberalism and democracy. In 1987, martial law was lifted, and ‘*Kelian*’ was no longer banned. Hence, Gao’s rendition was significant due to her feminine character: her girlish voice sang lyrics that used to be regarded as uncouth and raunchy. Clearly, her Bunun origin added to the focus, representing the disadvantaged Bunun and women alike. Gao’s version also added an element of onomatopoeic vocable ‘*heit-hsio~ ho-heit-hsio~*’ (a variation of ‘*hohaiyan*’) in the opening section to imply the hard work of indigenous people. She, too, could not afford a music video; only a still cover photo of the cassette tape appears on the YouTube file. Remember, the MTV channel was launched in 1981, and while Western pop artists such as Michael Jackson gained huge success through integrating songs with imagery, music videos were also commonly seen in late 1980s Taiwan as a way to promote commercial songs.

5.6.3 *The 1990s Paradigm: Status of the Indigenous People in Transition*

The significance of the 1998 Beiyuan Shanmao version⁶⁸ is clear: its arrangement transformed the song into funk. A music video was produced to illustrate the song’s lyrics, and to generate a theme showing the living and working conditions of indigenous people in the city. In the meantime, the term ‘*shandige*’ had been changed to ‘indigenoupop’ (or *yuanzhumin liuxing yinyue* in Mandarin term, where *yuanzhumin* means indigenous people, *liuxing* popular and *yinyue* music), following the 1994 third amendment of the ROC constitution, which renounced *shandi tongbao* (mountain compatriot) and substituted ‘*yuanzhumin*’ (original inhabitants). Beiyuan Shanmao’s video tended to be funny; its musical arrangement depicted the satirical sides of the character of indigenous people. Beiyuan Shanmao played the sour-faced protagonists, ridiculing their nostalgic sentiment by constantly looking at an old photo held in their hands, which turned

⁶⁷ youtu.be/T7ri3Q373lc, see fn.64.

⁶⁸ youtu.be/Ky4y3FYSkts, see fn.52.

out to be the photo of the dog owned by them in their hometown. They were surrounded by unfriendly urbanites who represented two opposite groups – capitalists in ostentatious suits and ties, and working class indigenous people in sloppy casual outfits, uniforms or traditional dress. Musically, a counter-melody employing vocables was added; vocables were also used as the skeleton of a vocal line in the interlude. The catchy hook ‘*hoiyo~ hoiyan*’ remained.

5.6.4 *Multitude of the New Millennium: The Hybrid Self, Angry and Happy-go-lucky*

We can see the period 1987 through to 2000 as one of transition in politics and society, where Taiwan transformed itself into a democracy. From 2000 forwards, there have been three polity changes: for the first time ever in 2000, when the KMT government was replaced by the DPP, the second in 2008 when KMT regained power, and the latest in 2016 when the DPP was elected again. In the 30 years since martial law lifted, Taiwan has developed into a democratic country that values diversity and ethnic plurality. From one perspective, the indigenous are much less in number, comprising only two per cent of Taiwan’s overall population, although the term ‘minority’ has never been used to denote them. From another perspective, though, their cultural capital is highly valued as Taiwan strives to identify and distinguish itself from China, upholding their vibrant Austronesian heritage. In other words, Taiwanese indigenous people have become privileged, their rights and status protected compared with the Han-dominated mainland China and its treatment of minority groups. This can be seen in the 2011 rendition of ‘*Kelian*’ by the Han Taiwanese duo Ye Ai-ling and Zu Xiao-shun on a 2011 TV variety show⁶⁹ in a comedic way, which also introduced Beiyuan Shanmao to the show. Ye and Zu retained Beiyuan Shanmao’s 1998 funk arrangement but made some minor changes. Indigenouspop was no longer the satirical song of the poor but a playful and joyful performance with spectacular stage effects such as lightning to create a bright atmosphere. This Han Taiwanese duo incorporated calls with melodic motifs, and responses with repeats of these motifs. They took turns as

⁶⁹ ‘TTV All Stars 108: We are a Family’, 2 December 2011, *TTV*, at: youtu.be/MP8CvnHXSsE, see fn.53).

lead vocal, pretending to flirt, as if a scornful man and an attractive woman. Later in the same programme, Bei Yuan came on stage to perform and to interact with the host; in a similar manner, they were humorous, adding stage effects. Hence, the indigenous people's image as happy-go-lucky 'Others' remained, but diverse origins were added to fill out dance, music, jokes and laughter. Mandarin, Western pop and musical indigeneity were accessed, exemplifying Taiwan's multicultural society, where each group was a member of Taiwanese hybridity in an early stage of formation.

Gao Zi-yang's 2011 music video of '*Kelian*' is different in terms of performer demeanour, musical arrangement and sound quality.⁷⁰ First, Gao's unsmiling expression and aggressive movement project a sense of anger. According to him, he was protesting to Taiwan's authority for mistreatment, ignorance and exploitation of indigenous people. Second, musical indigeneity remained: the vocable lick functioned as a catchy hook and was repeated even more. The captivating backing vocals, sweet and soothing women's voices, to a certain extent imply sexual allure. Third, the sound quality is considerably improved: the mix allows every part to be heard in stereophonic sound, with considerable dynamic contrast and depth of range.

My last example is Bei Yuan Shanmao's 2014 presentation of '*Kelian*' on CTS (Natation 5.2).⁷¹ Compared with earlier versions, the musical structure is more complex and the use of vocables maximised, but the song's grassroots orientation remains. Bei Yuan sang live, adapting the standardised arrangement to a dance hall ambience. The duo induced the audience to dance a simple indigenous style dance step. It is touristic populism, indigenous performers evoking the pan-indigenous *shandige* for non-indigenous Taiwanese. Musically, vocables are maximised, first responding to the calling licks, then to the skeleton solo in the interlude, and at the same time a countermelody. It is cheerful, illustrating the versatility and liveliness of indigenous culture, encapsulating dynamic cultural flows through audience involvement, and can be considered a successful multicultural fusion.

⁷⁰ youtu.be/Xmu08_wAcGQ, see fn.38.

⁷¹ See fn.54.

5.6.5 Status of the People: Is Anger Heard?

Chen Ming-ren, the most recognisable singer of ‘*Kelian*’, is a veteran active in indigenous pop since the 1980s.⁷² Starting his career at a young age, Chen is now an activist, having involved himself in the revival of Taiwanese indigenous music. At one performance in 2004, the host viewed ‘*Kelian*’ as rough and vulgar, but was curious about Chen’s favouring it. He asked why.⁷³ Chen sternly replied, facing the audience: ‘Please change the “you” in the lyrics into “Taiwan’s government”, and “me” into “indigenous people”, then you will understand the cruel reality of the song’ (Chen Ming-ren, quoted by Monaneng 2017). Chen’s comment was greeted by complete silence. The song goes beyond its lyrics, as one of the prevailing ‘*Kelian*’ versions states: ‘See how you make fun of me, and how you ignore me; but even if you totally do not care for me, at least you should say “hello!” when I am in sight.’ It continues: ‘See how you deceive me; and how you take advantage of me; but even if you do not like me at all, you should not disregard me.’ And the chorus: ‘Every time we meet, you are just unwilling to have eye contact; the most I might get is nothing more than a fierce glare. Please tell me what I have done wrong, and please be sympathetic to a pathetic nobody.’ Astonishingly, after martial law was lifted, and the song’s ban was removed, its popularity increased, in live performances as well as karaoke. Lyrics are diverse in versions of ‘*Kelian*’ but the variations are minor, although double meanings and hidden implications resonate with individuals according to their life experiences and diversify listeners’ interpretations. However, in reality and in general, ‘*Kelian*’ reflects the dilemma of indigenous people in Taiwan’s society, despite them being showcased as jolly and playful.

Chen’s response was a result of contemplating indigenous people’s rights. Nevertheless, he has never transformed this into his performances or videos, nor has he composed songs reflecting his grievance. In practice, his performances are always joyous and entertaining. Just the

⁷² Chen Ming-ren, ‘*Jinge jiemi: Kelian de luoporen/Decryption of those Songs which had been banned*’, *Monaneng’s buluo*, at: <http://blog.udn.com/abohomeweb/1149312> (accessed 14 April 2018).

⁷³ Malieyafusi Monaneng, ‘Decoding Banned Song: *Kelian de luoporen*’ (in Mandarin), at: <http://blog.udn.com/abohomeweb/1149312> (accessed 12 June 2018).

opposite, Gao Zi-yang's enunciation makes this obvious, and his body language in the 2011 music video explicitly showed anger as a protest. Also, he made considerable amendments to the lyrics, which would by convention be done only by a composer, adding, 'Why your promises are always lies to put me off?' among others. These are metaphoric: Taiwan's government often ignores indigenous people. A considerable number of Gao's compositions, such as '*Shihua shishuo*/To Tell You the Truth'⁷⁴ and '*Aliyang de xinsheng*/Our Heartfelt Expression'⁷⁵ (on *Shihua shishuo*, Music Power KTYCD-0001, 1999) and '*Bushi kelian de luoporen*/No More a Pathetic Nobody'⁷⁶ (on *Places Our Ancestors had Walked Past*, Shengyao Music KDYCD-0002, year unstated), manifest a determination to fight for the people. To put it more simply, Gao is an indigenous-minded musician who on a regular basis incorporates social commentary into his music.

We can see that *shandige*, with its use of vocables, flourished from the 1950s to the 1990s, and continued into the new millennium. Through to the 1980s, vocables were 'nonlexical syllables' or 'meaningless syllables' for extemporised melodies, much as Lu Jing-zi's '*Taiwan-hao*' showed, matching Taiwanese scholars' concepts of 'sounding words' (Chen C. 2008: 139) and 'empty words' (Huang 2000: 71). Indigenous people were subjected to violation of their rights and exploitation. In the 1980s, vocables became ingredients for the *bricolage* to express misery and marginalisation, as exemplified by the early versions of '*Kelian*'. In recent years, vocables are either performed cheerfully, or with sarcasm and ridicule, or anger, all reflecting transformations of the people's status in a multi-cultural society where they have become part of the Taiwanese 'hybrid self', the optimistic group, or the mistreated fighting for rights. Musically, indigenouspop has changed from matching *shandi* rhythm to sophisticated hybrid arrangements. Much as Fairley describes how Western pop stars appropriate non-Western sounds (2001: 274), '*Kelian*' and its variations use a hybrid approach to incorporate foreign elements

⁷⁴ youtu.be/xlfZa08kXfo (accessed 15 February 2019).

⁷⁵ The music is not available on YouTube, but the author was given one with a CD album – as a gift – by Gao during interviewing him.

⁷⁶ Not available on YouTube; the author obtained one with a CD album from Gao.

into music deriving from local musicians – third-world musicians use the Western rock and pop model.

5.7 Technology, 'Old-fashioned Materialism' and the 'Up-to-Date'

The contemporary music of Taiwanese indigenous people, as exemplified by '*Kelian*', is a product of the music industry in which technology plays a vital part to determine musical content.

The more recent a piece of music, the more it relies on studio recording and mixing technology: sounds are amplified, electric instruments are used, and singers' vocalisations are processed.

Recorded sounds may be further processed for loudness and stereophonic imaging, and also for audibility and range. Technology separates contemporary recordings from earlier ethnographic records, the contemporary always as created commercial products, and the ethnographic intended to re-present original field sounds.

The American music scholar Gerald Hartnett (1995)⁷⁷ challenges the old-fashioned materialism approach to technology, taken as the macroscopic inspection of production and distribution, as well as the extent of home-made audio cassettes in the late 1970s (Jones 1992). The ways cutting-edge knowledge and modern technology are used to improve the quality of a recorded sound is often ignored, even though these have brought tremendous changes to the making of popular music. Since the 1990s, the trend has been for musicological analysis to be overshadowed by ethnographic studies (see Witzleben 1997: 227; Manuel 1995) in which, while macroscopic discussion about technology is present, microscopic explorations are scarce. Hence, researchers talk about the influences of technology but focus on subjects such as artistic movements and trading modes, the DIY ethic and the production of independent music. To some, these 'remain at the level of abstraction' (Middleton 1990, Hamm 1991), an alternative description to Hartnett's 'old-fashioned materialism'. Peter Manuel (1988) incorporates music-making expertise in pop music research, discussing dissemination, change, and influence, much

⁷⁷ Gerald Hartnett, book review on '*Cassette Culture* by Peter Manuel', *Leonardo Music Journal* 5 (1995): 75–76, at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1513166> (accessed 16 December 2017).

similar to the British-based Singaporean Tan Shzr Ee (2017: 28–52) discussion of Taiwanese indigenous music on the internet. Likewise, the Indian American sociologist Arjun Appadurai (1996) sets out a meta-theory about interrelated global cultural flows, and particularly cultural interactions due to the promotion of technology, the ‘technoscape’, and the use of media that shapes the way we understand our imagined world, the ‘mediascape’, but he does not break free from social-cultural discourse to incorporate an up-to date technology discussion.

It is clear that analysing technology and its resulting outcomes on music is different from social-cultural studies and the musicology-anthropology approach. David Novak (2013) judges ‘Japanoise’ through its ‘liveness’ and ‘deadness’ – acoustic effects generated by electronic mechanisms. Christopher Scales (2012) examines Native North American powwow music through its recorded drum beats, and Louise Meintjes (2003) explores South African Zulu music through the access to studio technology. In such cases, technology has already left its traces on music long before it is disseminated – musicians, engineers and producers have wrangled and competed at knobs, switches and faders, each exerting power onto the product to fulfil personal tastes and ideologies. This research shows how technology has become a useful tool to analyse music in Difang Incident (see Chapter Two, Illustration 2.1, p.118).

My point is that when Taiwan’s pop scene endorses technology for practices such as karaoke so strongly, exploring the functions of the devices and their impact on music making offers us insight of the subject matter. Karaoke machines manipulate right–left channel settings by switching off or decreasing the sound volume of the recorded vocal, so everyone can sing along to just the accompaniment in order to become the sole main singer.⁷⁸ Again, when a singer has recorded the same song at different times, as Chen Ming-ren did in 1981, 1998 (as half of the duo Beiyuan Shanmao) and 2014 (also as Beiyuan), the non-musical and technological aspects, the equalised quality of the sounds, shows changes in consumers’ and singers’ tastes. Likewise, the female backing vocal in Gao’s 2011 rendition had both musical and non-

⁷⁸ A karaoke version of ‘*Kelian*’ is available at: youtu.be/7S4StQvF_UQ (accessed 4 July 2018).

musical significance. Compared with earlier versions, Gao's rendition resembles the changes between 1984's and 2014's 'Do They Know It's Christmas', first sung without any female vocalists. Musically, the later version puts emphasis on the woman's voice, fulfilling audience expectations for a more pleasant and balanced sound. The high-register, soothing voice can be considered a symbol of gender equality. These examples give us glimpses of how recording technology and the processing of sounds accomplish musicians' ideas and express social-cultural interests.

Apart from technology, the music practices of indigenous people have changed. Regulations have been promulgated to modulate the use and distribution of recordings; copyright law was introduced in 1928 for the first time while under Japan's colonisation, and this underwent its first amendment in 1944. After the Nationalist government took over, the same law continued in place, and was amended again in 1949 and 1964. From the 1980s onwards, it saw more frequent amendments – once in the 1980s (1985), five times in the 1990s (1990, 1992 (twice), 1993 and 1998) and six times in the 2000s (2001, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007 and 2009). It is worthy of note that due to Taiwan's intimate ties with America and the unequal balance of economic power, copyright law has either been amended to reflect the changing music industry or because of pressure of trade sanctions by the Americans.

Conclusion

Bruno Nettl notes that Western ethnomusicologists initially assumed non-Western music was stable while Western music developed, but after 1950, they began to look at the world's musics as capable of change (1985:12–16, 17–22). Hence, based on music analysis and ethnographic observation, my research connects the social and cultural background of *shandige* to an investigation of the changing social status of indigenous people over time. Problems for indigenous people occurred as a result of their competition for social resources with Han immigrants; they were ruled and oppressed by the authoritative Japanese regime and the KMT government. As early as the 17th century, when the Chinese and indigenous people came into contact for the

first time, the indigenous – who maintained an oral tradition and tribal culture, and who had been living peacefully in their world of mountain and sea – had to adapt to the dominant colonisers. Writing and a ‘civilised’ way of living were introduced, and indigenous traditional practices were impacted and altered. While the Japanese, Qing Manchurians and Chinese (whose descendants become Minnan and Hakka Taiwanese) practised capitalism and commercialism, indigenous people who endorsed the logic of nature were inevitably taken as strange Others. The image of ‘Other’ was stereotypical and discriminative, and the happy-go-lucky, relaxed and ‘good at singing and dancing’ images were magnified, leading to idealisations as primitivism, oriental, and exotic.

The idealistic oversimplifications developed in stages, and to a certain extent, the ignorance of cultural difference was gradually corrected in, for example, anthropological literature, building better understandings of the previously deemed ‘primitive people’ or ‘savage other’ (Bhabha 1994: 113). For this, Western and non-Western researchers worked in tandem. In today’s Taiwan, a consensus has been reached that generalising the nature of a people is politically incorrect; that is to say, it is wrong to criticise indigenous people for the prevailing and misinterpreted impressions that they are loose, always seeking fun, good at drinking but victims of alcohol abuse. But, a prevailing generalisation exists for a reason. Unfortunately, the indigenous people still encounter difficulties, matching the negative generalisations about themselves – poverty, marriage and family problems, drinking problems, a lack of academic and commercial aspiration – that reflect some form of a reality. These difficulties are often pointed out so school teachers, social workers and government agencies can help improve the people, but the act of commenting and analysing is easily labelled as stereotypical or discriminative.

We have to rethink the essence of criticism, re-examine the nature of stereotypical impressions and reconsider the dogmatic criteria for contemporary music practices of indigenous people. In *shandige* and indigenous popular music, we see and hear changes in form and content, which inspires us to consider intellectual property and rights. We see how technology plays

a role in music making and how it affects the music of the people. In the same way, our perspectives need to change, to revise our arguments on this dynamic genre and its transformation in Taiwan's stage of flux. Further, a revision of the over-reaction to criticising stereotyping is needed. 'Kelian' and its re-arrangements epitomise the culmination of an 'always unfinished, always being remade' phenomenon (after Gilroy 1993: xi) in its 'heteroglossia' and 'polyphonic' existence (after Bakhtin 1981). What we learn is that there is always a 'next stage' – from Difang's court case to Gao Zi-yang's, from oral tradition and manuscript to pop convention, and from ethnographic recordings to commercial songs. In drawing things to a close, I would like to say that vocables in *shandige* and indigenospop are not an inexpressible and unspeakable entity, but an expression of the songs, alongside stage etiquette, videos, arrangements, and what is done to create the desired atmosphere – all as vital parts of a song's social and cultural ramifications as meaningful communication.

Conclusion

The challenges I have sought to address in this dissertation involve flipping subject-object and self-other discourses between the perspectives and practices of the indigenous Taiwanese, the Han Taiwanese, and outsiders (including the work of Western ethnomusicologists). The designation of ‘indigenous’ music is usually applied without any dissent to songs, performances and compositions of indigenous people, and works created or performed by non-indigenous Taiwanese, but it is also applied by outsiders in ways that introduce additional perspectives. At first glance, the apparently prejudicial marginalisation of the efforts of foreigners that persists among some local people and local scholars highlights differing attitudes between insiders and outsiders. ‘You will never understand this music,’ the senior ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl was once told by his Persian music teacher in Tehran (2005: 149). Mantle Hood (1971: 374), however, argues we should recognise the efforts of both sides: both outsiders and insiders make contributions to our understandings. The former can act as the transmitter of a non-Western music, while the latter is, or can be, a carrier of his/her own tradition. In championing outsider contributions, Keith Howard (2016b: 15) states that, ‘ethnomusicological theory and methodology is primarily drawn from Euro-American discourse,’ and notes that to many ethnomusicologists, ‘baptism through fieldwork carried out among a musical other is a necessary part of training.’ Ethnomusicologists are, ultimately, a mix of outsider and insider – the latter occupying the position of ‘cultural ringer’. Hence, outsiders may promote cultural others as insiders promote their own traditions, but both may also become involved in the more hybrid genres of world music performance.

As a naturalised Taiwanese who has lived on the island for decades, I feel I have come to understand indigenous people and their perspectives. In general, then, the Taiwanese are happy to see indigenous people taking the initiative to claim their rights, to safeguard their cul-

ture, and to get rid of the control that others have asserted over them. In a few instances, scholars and musicians of indigenous ethnicities remain antagonistic towards outsiders, and claim that only the indigenous are eligible to speak about their traditions. Some continue to claim that only inaccurate interpretations are given by those coming to the 'field', because such outsiders analyse music, customs and people as if they are dissecting scientific objects, neglecting the living experience of the tradition (see, for example, Lin 1993: 95). However, friendly attitudes are more commonly encountered. The Atayal Yu Jin-fu (or Matts Sattu) credits everyone who has helped to sustain the Atayal music tradition, in so doing showing appreciation for all the work generated by practitioners and scholars, notwithstanding the fact that their work often leaves room for improvement (as he told me in interview, June 2014). The Amis Kao Shu-chuan (or Banay), similarly, recognises and values contributions of all indigenous and non-indigenous participants, stating that collaboration of her people with a mix of local and foreign groups is key to finding ways to keep the music of the people alive (as she told me in interview, June 2014). The Bunun Aziman Madiklan hopes that more outsiders will get involved in indigenous traditions, helping local people record and communicate what is difficult to express, and for which in the earlier oral tradition knowledge came from daily experience – tradition was, in a nutshell, 'felt but not told'.

As pointed out by indigenous scholar Sun Da-chuan (or Paelabang Danapan using his Beinan name), Taiwanese indigenous people have experienced considerable difficulties, with probably their darkest hour being in the 1990s (keynote speech, 2019 Symposium of Art and Music: The Multitudes of Arts and Cross-border Studies, presented by College of Humanities, National Taitung University, which I attended). But the dawn seems to be at hand: government policies are being made favourable towards these people. For example, a beneficial quota system is set to enrol indigenous university students whose tuition fees are fully subsidised by the state, and companies owned by indigenous entrepreneurs take priority over non-indigenous in tendering for government projects. Nevertheless, academic performances or achievements of the individuals of or companies owned by the people are not always satisfactory. Taking the likely

risk of being labelled discriminatory, and in jocular tones, Sun turned the title of a popular Taiwanese oldie '*Tianzhen huopo you meili*/Naïve, lively and pretty' into the rhyming '*Tianzhen huopo you landuo*', which literally means 'naïve, lively but "lazy"' (*meili*= pretty; *landuo*= lazy), to describe the nature of the indigenous people as they are widely perceived. He further pointed out that indigenous people tend to be 'lying down straight where they fall down/*zai nali diedao, zai nali tanghao*', instead of emulating the motivational Taiwanese proverb 'standing up where one falls down/*zai nali diedao, zai nali paqilai*'. Sun, the former Minister of Taiwan's Council of Indigenous People, must have seen many cases of how indigenous people encounter difficulties and their attitudes and strategies on encountering them: many of them are either irresponsible or incompetent. This seems to be a change of attitude by Sun, who has used Schweizer's apologetics to defend Taiwanese indigenous people's 'free men' and 'children of nature' characteristics, as they endorse the 'logic of nature' rather than the 'logic of money' (see p.233). However, I do not think Sun's changed opinion is sheer criticism or condemnation. In contrast, he is pointing out the predicament of the people only as a means to self-assessment and self-reflection, urging indigenous people to beware of their bad habits and to improve themselves. It is also an invitation to participants from Taiwan's wider community to help people increase their access to education and better their living and working conditions. Sun's comments resonate with my long-term experience working with indigenous friends and students. In the same manner as Sun, I hold a friendly attitude towards people and a positive vision for their future, being aware of their problems and at the same time optimistic for the sustainability of their cultures and traditions.

This optimism is because, although the music of Taiwanese indigenous people in general has long been threatened with decline since Japanisation and Sinification periods their contemporary music practices have turned risk into opportunity. In this research, we can see how Het Eyland Formosa Wave (or '*Yuanlangchao*/Indigenous Wave') came into being for a revival when Beinan Zhang Hui-mei (Amei) and Amis Difang Tuwana emerged as international musicians, and Chen Jian-nian (Paudull) and Ji Xiao-jun (Samingad) achieved successes in the

Golden Melody Awards. Turning to the socio-cultural aspect, Matzka utilises reggae to speak for his people, and Panai Kusui pressures the authorities to take issues around the people's ancestral environment, their rights and the compensation for them seriously. Preservationists' endeavours are definitely not left out. Kao Shu-chuan and her fellow Amis Chu-Yin troupe strive to sustain the lineage of Amis culture by promoting its traditional practices, and Hu Jin-niang safeguards the Bunun's 'authentic' tradition and preserves the people's cultural roots through teaching. On the other side, the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation showcases songs and dances in a variety show fashioned by hybridity and adopts a commercialised approach. Whereas in the pop scene, Amis Suming Rupi endeavours to preserve his ancestral heritage through performing and creating a Western–East Asian and Taiwanese–Amis indigenouspop, also with a hybrid approach, Biung Tak-Banuaz strives to vitalise Bunun tradition but stays connected to his ancestral language and motherland sentimentality.

Furthermore, participants such as Taiwan's government, Lanyu locals, non-indigenous musicians and scholars join in as 'cultural ringers', as can be seen in the production of the theme song of '*Cross Kuroshio to Visit Taiwan*'. Last but not least, the voices of those who leave their home villages and move to cities, competing with urbanites for a better living, are always prominent. Manifestations, advocacies and satires in the music of Gao Zi-yang (Beinan) are loud and clear, and voices of the people's pride and anger assertive, becoming aspirations and reminders of the people facing adversity. Most importantly, music practices – along with dance, costume, folklore, ritual and other forms and content in cultural and traditional contexts – of the indigenous people are in an advantageous position: they have become symbols of Taiwanese-ness, a national identity that has distinguished Taiwan from China. First, Zhang Hui-mei was selected to portray this Taiwanese-ness at the inauguration ceremony for the new president in 2000. Then, in Taiwan's continuing efforts, musical indigeneity – the depiction of mountain and sea, traditional attires, vocables '*naruwan*' and '*hohaiyan*', pentatonicism, practice of call and response, *shandi jiezou*/rhythm of the indigenous people – forms a prominent

identification in national and international events to epitomise a concept and make a proclamation for Taiwan being a sovereign state and a separate political entity from China.

Hence, the music of indigenous people increases Taiwan's visibility and highlights something distinctively Taiwanese, it has become a key component in the island's cultural identification. The music is employed to communicate overtly political messages. When this happens, adaptations move beyond the musical sphere and awaken issues that lead to tough responses from China. However, Taiwan's cultural identity incorporates the dichotomous notions of island/ocean and mountain/sea, notions that are both spatially and socio-culturally significant. Spatial significance derives from the fact that this self-ruled island strives for visibility across the sea/ocean while grasping firmly to its island/mountain roots. The socio-cultural significance comes because it links to projected characteristics of its (Taiwanese) people, characteristics that are liberal and forward-looking while holding dear notions of homeland and heritage. In fact, despite commonly-heard concerns about decline, the new millennium has seen a surge in public presentations of indigenous music. Hence, and notwithstanding considerable cultural loss during the centuries of colonisation, the culture of island/ocean and mountains/sea is proving resilient.

In this research, I have used the cases of '*Sakatusa*' *Ku'edaway a Radiw*', '*Pasibutbut*', the *shandige* genre (and indigenospop) and compositions of contemporary indigenous musicians to illustrate three ways in which indigenous music has interacted with the broader world. Chants such as Difang's version of '*Sakatusa*' and his singing, as sampled in 'Return to Innocence', and in the video clip promoting Jon Henrik, although functional as commodity, has nothing to do with Taiwan's cultural essence. Using a business term, Difang's is a case of reverse importing:¹ Amis heritage has been processed overseas and then exported back to the home country. His rendition of '*Sakatusa*' appears to be one of a kind: no other Taiwanese indigenous recording has ever had such international acclaim, an acclaim that reflects the unique

¹ All Business Networks, Dictionary of Business Terms for 'reverse imports', at: http://www.allbusiness.com/barrons_dictionary/dictionary-reverse-imports-4964981-1.html (accessed 2 June 2017).

character and quality of the music that was recorded. However, in reality, 'Sakatusa' is a micro-cosmic representation of three sub-genres that had developed earlier. In the first of these, the Amis unique characteristics of group singing (heterophonic voices, *ikung* improvisation, leading and solo call with chorus response, *misa'aretic* high-register melodies, wavering tones, and the husky, bright, energetic and piercing timbres) stand as witness to tradition. In the second, versions of the chants share common features with the pan-indigenous *shandige*, as heard in the use of pentatonic modes, non-lexical vocables, ancient melodies, and as seen in indigenous costumes and dance moves, which, taken together, give an overall perspective of mountains and sea. In the third, it becomes a track on commercial records, where it features as important programmes used to display the contexts of Amis entertainment.

'*Pasibutbut*' and compositions of Biung Tak-Banuaz, however, present a different case. '*Pasibutbut*' in its recorded form became known to outsiders as an object of study that could demonstrate theories about music, but in so doing, its roots and original functions were neglected. Kurosawa's recording of '*Pasibutbut*' and compositions of Biung Tak-Banuaz function in a similar function to Difang's rendition of 'Sakatusa', in that they become microcosms of three sub-genres that had developed earlier: the Bunun harmonic structures and use of overtone singing stand as witness to tradition; versions of the song share common features with the pan-indigenous *shandige*; and the versions become tracks on commercial records to display the contexts of Bunun tradition. '*Pasibutbut*' was created through a belief that was felt but not told, in the natural environment that formed its people's habitat. It originated, according to myths, in an oracle received from a god. It was the product of sensory perceptions and a response to innermost desires. From a Taiwanese perspective, and following the recommendation of the ethnomusicologist J. Lawrence Witzleben (1997), a detailed consideration of 'home' is essential where a living music tradition is involved. In the case of '*Pasibutbut*', 'home' reflects where it originated, and how. The same applies to Biung's compositions.

Shandige, songs of the mountain people, became, in contrast, known through commercial pop. In reality, the songs came into being because of reactions to difficulties and challenges

experienced in hard times. To justify the participation of non-indigenous musicians in indigenouspop, many *shandige* and indigenouspop songs are created by non-indigenous musicians, but indigenous elements and the soul of mountain and sea are heard in them. So, these compositions are oriented towards the indigenous, rendering the composition intimately bounded with Taiwan's land and natural environment, and with sentiments derived from local culture. In this sense, the musical 'right of the soil', that is to say, the quality of being indigenous and the music's right to be an emblem of Taiwan and an identifier for the nationality and people, comes before the 'right of blood'.

Comparatively, we can consider compositions of contemporary indigenous musicians, and pieces within the *Yuanlangchao*/Het Eyland Formosa Wave/Indigenous Wave category, in which the Taiwanese understand their cultural essence from within, as achieving self-identification through putting a spotlight on Taiwanese indigenous music. As for renditions of the national anthem, it is obvious that after nearly 400 years of colonisation and assimilation, indigenous people are drifting away from a 'historical identity of culture' (after Bhabha 1994). However, it seems like a homogenizing, unifying force – to continue with Bhabha's terminology – is in a fledgling state: the Taiwanese try to keep their identity separate from Chinese (citizens of the People's Republic of China), alongside the indigenous people who strive to trace their origins through their music traditions and help Taiwan to express itself as an independent state. The 2000, 2011 and 2016 national anthem express Taiwan's aspiration to distinguish itself from China and to pursue a unique Taiwanese identity. After Dutch, Qing and Japanese colonisers of Taiwan left, after martial law by Nationalist government lifted, after apologies for injustice and misconduct were made, and as regular natural disasters continue to happen, those who have chosen to make Taiwan their homeland stay, and cultural exchanges within the country between its many people go on. Therefore, the origin of a living music tradition, its authenticity (whether supposed or, over time, real), is rooted in the willingness of people to safeguard their homeland, and their ability to create hybrids of earlier music and contemporary musical forms, as well as their acceptance of nature and life experience on the island, given its seasons, climate, flora and

fauna. No matter how the process of hybridisation develops as the implication of othering changes, the affiliation of Taiwanese with their island homeland is always the key factor to distinguish their identity from that of being Chinese.

My main concern in this research has been to isolate the elements that function to preserve or express sonic familiarity within songs that originate from indigenous tradition, from elements that indicate pop hybridisation. It is clear that local, indigenous musicians prioritise the preserved elements of tradition, while those from outside Taiwan favour hybridisation. In doing so, those conversant with the tradition – that is, those intimately affiliated to Taiwan and the indigenous world of mountain and sea – tend to keep elements which are functional within the music tradition and compatible with the island's indigenous people and their culture. Festivals remain widely celebrated as the indigenous people deliver tradition, not only to a younger generation but also to the public at large, using native languages, musics and dances, reviving and preserving these activities from earlier times. Curiously though, Taiwanese indigeneity, as displayed in indigenous music, was partly sustained through interactions with the colonisers of former times, and more recently by Western scholars and Western consumers.

Indigenous music has proved to be fertile but adaptable, even when practiced at a time when many consider culture to be in a state of flux. Researchers have become participants, and participants have become researchers, as 'Western indifference' and 'Western difference' collide, allowing similarities and differences to appear and disappear as Taiwanese indigenous music meets other music around the world, becoming a platform for dialogue and sharing.² My hope is that this dissertation will form part of what needs to be an ongoing discussion of how the music of a Western Other and a Chinese Other can become a model for self-identity and solidarity. This discussion should not be restricted to responding to the hostility of a neighbour, but will relate, above all, to how indigenous communities come to shape a broader identity, in this case, Taiwanese-ness. A people's rights should be protected. Their culture should be preserved.

² Here, I am mindful of perspectives about the 'complete participant' and 'participant-as-observer' (Junker 1952; Gold 1958), which situate research far from many music collecting and archiving endeavours.

Their dignity should be respected. This is all the more important if Taiwan, in proclaiming itself to be a democratic country, is to be allowed to establish itself. For Taiwan's identification to fit the United Nations' *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People* (2007), in which a people's status is determined by their cultural self-identification, indigenous music becomes a sonic reminder of the ocean/island and sea/mountain dichotomy, allowing indigeneity to lead a 'resurgence in ethnic pride for cultural renaissance'.³

To sum up, all ethnic groups in Taiwan should bear the attitudes of openness. They should be rational and tolerant in countering the various problems that emerge as its young democratisation era matures, since the shaping of Taiwanese-ness depends on participation of all Taiwanese people. The 'foreign' and 'original' elements in the music of the indigenous people both help to invigorate the culture and tradition. The former configures the contour of its popular characteristics, carrying the historical past of interactions with the colonisers and the world outside, whereas the latter sustains Taiwanese indigeneity to distinguish the people, rendering the notions of mountain and sea. Taiwan had gone through several stages in its development, and we must envision a broad stage when prejudices will be put aside, and where its cultural participants will stand at a high point. Looking at the overall musical scene from a macroscopic point of view, the stance of cultural autonomy, in which people maintain Taiwanese subjectivity and the life force of the country and people, is essential. From being colonised to democracy and liberalism, as exemplified by changes in the music of the indigenous people, Taiwan might serve as a model for multi-ethnic groups living in a peaceful society. Together, their cultures and traditions co-exist, and from them a vivid and harmonious country can be sustained.

³ Cited from Caroline Gluck, 'Taiwan's aborigines find new voice', *BBC News*, 4 July 2005, at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/4649257.stm> (accessed 26 April 2017).

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Appendix 1

Taiwanese Indigenous People and Their Prominent Figures in Music

There are 16 officially recognised indigenous peoples, comprising a total of 546,698 people in 2016. The following sections provide information about five of the major groups living in Taitung – the Amis (their population in the county in 2016 had reached 36,876), Puyuma (or Beinan, 7,643), Bunun (8,277), Tao (4,062) and Paiwan (16,545) – and the so-called ‘mixed-indigenous’ people, and their prominent musicians and groups, who are discussed in this thesis.

Amis

The Amis are the largest indigenous group among the recognised peoples, with a population that reached 203,377 (approximately 37 per cent of Taiwan’s total indigenous population) in 2016. They live on the Pacific coastal plain to the east of the coastal mountains of Hualian and Taitung, and also in the Hualian and Taitung Valley, which is located between the central and coastal mountain ranges, and on the Hengchun Peninsula at the southern part of Taiwan. Traditionally, these people spoke the Amis language. They were primarily fishermen due to their coastal location, and they were matrilineal. In today’s Taiwan, the Amis who move to cities comprise the majority of ‘urban indigenous people’. They have developed urban communities all around the island. They are distinctive for their rituals and ceremonies, especially the Harvest Festival, where dance and music activities are lively, and for their colourful outfits consisting of striking headgear and ornaments, shoulder-length capes, knitted textiles, waistcoats, embroidery, tapestries, belts, handcrafted bracelets and necklaces. Further, Amis singing is famous, distinguished by its complex contrapuntal polyphony. In recent decades, the Amis have at times married exogamously, with other indigenous groups as well as non-indigenous people.

1. *Difang Tuwana and Hongay Niyuwit*

Difang Tuwana (1921–2002) and Hongay (1922–2002) (Chapter Two, Photo 2.2, p.104) were an Amis couple, farmers and traditional singers from Falangaw (or the Malan community), Taitung. Their most recognised performance is of a traditional Amis chant, ‘*Sakatusa’ Ku’edaway a Radiw*’ – alternatively called ‘Cheerful Drinking Song’, ‘Song of joy’, ‘Song of Happy Gathering’ and ‘Elders’ Drinking Song’. Using non-lexical vocables it is mainly constructed with ‘*ho*’, ‘*hai*’ and ‘*yan*’. This song was released through a French government project and EMI, and was subsequently sampled by the project group Enigma in their international hit single ‘Return to Innocence’. The so-called ‘Difang Incident’ started in 1978, when a Taiwanese Folksong collector, Hsu Tsang-houei, recorded Difang and Hongay at their relative’s residence in their home village in Taitung Malan. Ten years later, in 1988, Hsu, Difang and a Taiwanese indigenous group of 40 went on tour to Europe. During their appearance at the Festival Pacifique in Paris, the French organiser, the Maison des Cultures, recorded them as well as other groups from other countries. This recording was published as a compilation CD, *Polyphonies Vocales des Aborigenes de Taiwan*, the next year, 1989. However, instead of putting the live recording from 1988 on the CD, the publisher demanded that the 1978 Hsu–Difang recording of this song be substituted. Four years later, the recording caught the attention of Michael Cretu, the key musician behind the Ibiza-based Romanian-German project, Enigma. Cretu used ‘*Sakatusa*’ in his project, sampling the ethnographic recording and adapting it for his composition, ‘Return to Innocence’. ‘Return’, and the album, *The Cross of Change*, were released in 1993. It was then used as the theme song for the Atlanta Olympics in 1996. After gaining huge commercial success and international acclaim for three years (after it was released in 1993), the recording finally reached Difang’s ears in 1996, at his home in Taitung Malan. Difang initiated an infringement lawsuit in 1997. The lawsuit charged those who benefited from his singing, including Cretu and his record company, with neglect, with not getting approval for use, and with not crediting Difang as the original singer.

The case was settled out of court in 1999, in respect to the allocation of profits. However, efforts to sustain Amis music have thrived ever since, hence the impacts of the Difang Incident continue to be felt. The couple reportedly used some of the money to set up a scholarship fund for Amis children. The media attention garnered by Difang's legal case piqued public interest in their music. Dan Lacksman of Deep Forest – a musical group whose album was nominated for Grammy Awards for the 'best world music album' –, in collaboration with Magic Stone Records and Difang, produced an ethnic electronica album, *Circle of Life*, which was released in 1998. A second album, *Across the Yellow Earth*, was released in 2001. Difang died in March 2002 from septicaemia. He had struggled with diabetes for many years, and his health deteriorated significantly after he was bitten by a venomous centipede the previous year. Honggay died shortly thereafter in the same year after a lengthy battle with breast cancer.

2. *Chu-Yin Cultural and Arts Troupe*

The Chu-Yin Culture and Arts Troupe (Chapter Two, Photo 2.1, p.100) was established by its lead administrator Kao Shu-chuan and her fellow Amis in 1997, based at their *juhuisuo* (community) centre at the Malan community, Taitung. The objective of Chu-Yin is to sustain Malan Amis' traditional music and dance. It is a self-reminder that the people have been a joyful and energetic community excelling in cultural activities. Chu-Yin, literally, 'sounds of pestle', is named after *chu* (pestle) and *jiu* (mortar), a traditional household and farming tool. According to the people, the mortar and pestle is an important necessity in the daily life of indigenous people: the pestle symbolises a source of vitality whereas the mortar represents the origin of life. There is an ancient practice in which people take their mortar and pestle with them when they move home. '*Chuyin*' hence stands for the inner urge of people to sustain the lineage of the Amis culture by promoting and spreading its traditional practices. The Chu-Yin troupe interacts with other indigenous groups, aiming to preserve cultural roots through singing and dancing.

3. Suming Rupi (Chiang Sheng-min)

Suming Rupi (Chapter Two, Photo 2.3, p.130; born 1978) is a versatile artist from the 'Etolan Amis community, Taitung, who excels not only in music and dance, but also in other traditional crafts such as vine-and-bamboo weaving. Inspired by his ancestral tradition, Suming began his music career by generating lyrics in his mother tongue and his endeavour was well received in musical circles, gaining good responses from a general audience and being deemed a rather successful attempt. However, Suming not only performs in traditional Amis but also experiments with fusions of pop. He has proved himself versatile, releasing a considerable number of solo albums, participating in international festivals, conducting workshops and giving seminars. Although local-minded, Suming is creative, helping to sustain tradition with a transformed style. The fruits of his efforts are significant, as he is recognised widely by his people and by a broader Taiwanese audience, and is honoured from time to time with awards such as Taiwan's Golden Melody Award.

Beinan/Puyuma

The population of Beinan, who are also known as the Puyuma or Pinuyumayan, reached 13,629 (approximately 2.5 per cent of Taiwan's total indigenous population) in 2016, making them the sixth largest among Taiwan's indigenous group. The people are sub-divided into the Chihpen, Nanwang and additional groups living in Taitung County. The Beinan used to speak their own language, but now Mandarin is more common in daily life, although Taiwanese Hokkien (or Minnan) is also heard.

1. Zhang Hui-mei (Amei, or Kulilay Amit)

Zhang Hui-mei (born 1972) (Chapter Three, Photo 3.3, p.181), better known by her stage name Amei, is probably the most internationally acclaimed Taiwanese artist. She is a multiple award-winner and superstar. She originates from Taitung Tamalrokaw, which is a Beinan community. This Queen of Mandopop has had countless hit songs, millions of album sales and world tours, and she has appeared on the covers of the world's top magazines, such as *Time*,

Asiaweek and *Newsweek*. Her songs are found in KTVs across China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore, where she is the face of brands. Her albums *Truth* (2001), *Amit* (2009), and *Faces of Paranoia* (2014) won Golden Melody Awards for ‘Best female vocalist in Mandarin’, the most prestigious award in the Sinophone world.

2. Paudull (*Chen Jian-nian*)

Paudull (born 1967) (Chapter Obe, Photo 1.1, p.47) is a retired policeman and a highly influential singer-songwriter originating from the Puyuma community of Nanwang, Taitung. His part-time music career has brought him great success. His rise to fame is down to his simple and easy-listening music, fusing Western folk, blues and jazz with Puyuma traditional music elements. But the music is not so simple: it is a genre his long-term collaborator and producer Zheng Jie-ren designates ‘World Music’. Paudull self-identifies as ‘a man of idyllic happiness’ and this joyful musician won the ‘Best male vocalist’ and the ‘Composer of the year’ in Taiwan’s Golden Melody Awards in 2000, beating contemporary superstars. Not surprisingly, despite his overnight rise, Paudull lived a low-key life, working in the outlying island of Lanyu before his retirement.

Bunun

The Bunun are best known for their sophisticated harmonies and polyphonic singing. They were genuine ‘high-mountain inhabitants’ who traditionally spoke Bunun and lived in small family units dispersed widely across the central mountain ranges and were hostile to all outsiders. In 2016, the Bunun numbered 56,761. This was approximately 10 per cent of Taiwan’s total indigenous population, making them the fourth-largest group. Until the arrival of Christian missionaries in the early 20th century, the Bunun were known to be fierce warriors and head-hunters. Besides hunting wild animals for daily consumption, the people practiced slash-and-burn agriculture for millet and sweet potatoes, their staple diet. The Bunun were the last to succumb to Japanese colonisers during Japanese rule; there was fierce resistance to the attempts of the Japanese authorities to civilise and govern the Bunun, and clashes were often cruel and brutal. Then,

the Bunun were forced to move down from their mountain habitats and settle in lower altitude villages. The Bunun's traditional practices declined due to the colonisers' strict policies, which included hunting restrictions that banned the use of weapons. Paddy-field rice agriculture was introduced to replace slash-and-burn millet planting. Adapting to a new kind of social structure, their traditional and small family units collapsed, and as the intimate bonds between family members loosened, individuals became independent or dependent on larger communities.

1. *Hu Jin-niang (Hudas Haitang)*

Hu Jin-niang (born 1940) is 79-years-old at the time of writing. She is a Bunun shaman from Haiduan, the region where some 80 years ago Kurosawa recorded '*Pasibutbut*', the globally acclaimed Bunun multipart song. She was appointed to lead the inauguration opening ceremony and to perform a ritual on 1 August 2016 for President Tsai Ing-wen. Tsai, on behalf of Taiwan's government and former regimes, offered a formal apology for the injustices done to indigenous people. Hu is a safe-guarder of Bunun tradition, artistry and music as practised pre-World War II.

2. *Wang Hong-en (Biung Tak-Banuaz)*

Wang Hong-en (born 1975) is a musician from the Bunun community of Yenping, Taitung. Biung has in his career shifted back and forth from tradition and mainstream Mandopop, choosing to stick to locality in order to pass down tradition, but sometimes endorsing transnational pop practices in order to gain commercial success. He is an influential figure who won 'Best male singer' at the thirteenth Golden Melody Awards in 2002. His active participation in indigenopop has promoted Bunun-ness within Taiwan's music industry. This is epitomised by his '*Ana Tupa Tu*', which was used for a fundraising charity campaign for the victims of Typhoon Morakot in 2009. As '*Ana*' went viral on YouTube and social media, the courage, love and strength expressed in it showcased a combination of Taiwanese sentimentalities and indigenous people's faiths.

Tao (formerly known as Yami)

The Tao, also known as the Yami, are native to the tiny outlying island of Lanyu (Orchid Island) off of the main island of Taiwan. In 2016, the Tao population stood at 4,483. Although in earlier times recognised as the ‘Yami’, a term coined by Japanese anthropologist Ryuzo Torii, these island inhabitants prefer ‘Tao’ as their group identifier. The Tao are linked to Filipino indigenous people on the islands of Batanes; both share customs and cultural practices, with fishing and ocean culture are emphasised, reflecting an intense connection to the sea. Tao life centres on building fishing boats, and once a boat is completed, the owner hosts a large launching ceremony, *manwawai*, to cast away evil spirits and pray for safe journeys (Chapter Four, Photo 4.2, p.250). However, the Tao way of life has been threatened by continued emigration to the mainland in search of jobs and education. As a result, the continuation of Tao tradition is hindered.

Paiwan

The Paiwan population reached 97,649 (approximately 18 per cent of Taiwan’s total indigenous population) in 2016, the second largest among Taiwan’s indigenous group. The majority live in the southern part of Taiwan’s central mountain ranges, distributed across the mountainous areas and coastal plains of Taitung County and Pingtung County. In the past, the people spoke Paiwan, but this language – alongside Amis, Bunun, Puyuma, Tao, and other indigenous languages – has been listed as vulnerable on the UNESCO *Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger*. The Paiwan were known for their fearsome head-hunting. They also had a tradition of tattooing their hands. Another Paiwan tradition is wood carving, often comprising images of human heads, snakes, deer, and geometric patterns. An important part of Paiwan culture is shamanism, and a shaman inherits his role by blood-line. Although they used to be polytheists, a large proportion have converted to Christianity since the end of World War II. Interestingly, the translation of the bible into Paiwan helps sustain the endangered language, as is also the case with the Bunun. Although their traditional practices are in decline, the Paiwan sustain their unique ceremonies,

notably the Masaru, which is a ceremony for celebrating the harvest of rice, and Maleveq, which commemorates ancestors and gods.

1. Matzka (Song Wei-nong)

Matzka is a popular band from Taitung. With its namesake, band leader and vocalist, Matzka (Chapter One, Photo 1.2, p.74) (Paiwan), and guitarist Sakinu (Paiwan), drummer Mavaliw (Beinan) and bassist Nawan (Beinan), the band utilises reggae to speak for their people who have been removed from cultural homelands. Matzka (born 1981) originated from the Zhengshin community in Tamali, Taitung. He launched a solo career in 2015. Despite continuing to use reggae and indigenous ancestral tones, Matzka constantly experiments with styles ranging from rock, jazz, rap, R&B and heavy metal to hip-hop. His lyrics often generate a sense of humour as well as profundity, and are derived from people's daily life, including the colonised past. Matzka has gained popularity all around Taiwan, and has been nominated for and won awards at, among others, Taiwan's Golden Melody Awards. On top of this, Matzka performs regularly at international events such as the Taiwan Fest (Canada 2010), Summer Sonic Festival (Tokyo 2013), Liverpool Sound City (Liverpool 2013) and Glastonbury Festival (Somerset 2017).

2. Puzangalan Children's Choir

The Puzangalan Children's Choir (Chapter Three, Photo 3.4, p.193) was founded in Pingtung County in 2008, and consists of school children mainly from the Paiwan. Although Puzangalan is not based in Taitung, it is included in this research to allow a diachronic examination of how musical indigeneity in Taiwan's national anthem was used in 2000, 2011 and 2016 to manifest Taiwanese-ness. 'Puzangalan' means 'hope' in Paiwanese; the choir serves to inherit Paiwan's culture, training its members for a better understanding of ancient chants. Further, through singing in a group, children are taught polite demeanour and self-discipline. Above all, it provides a

basis for the young generation to have fun and to nurture their ability to interact through an afterschool community. The choir is recognised internationally and domestically, being awarded the ‘Gold Medal First Prize’ in the China Choral Festival and Xinghai International Choral Festival, and being a three-time winner of Taiwan’s National Inter-School Music Competition. They regularly make appearances at home and abroad, including at the Taipei International Choral Festival, Japan Choral Association KODOMO Children’s Choir Festival and Dresden International Children’s Choir Festival.

The Mixed-indigenous Group and Pan-indigenous Culture

The term ‘mixed indigenous’ involves a biological or heredity perspective, referring to those who have a mother from one group and a father from another. ‘Pan-indigenous’ is a cultural perspective, meaning dance and music that does not emphasise the characteristics of a single group, but fulfils a general concept of being indigenous. The mixed indigenous and pan-indigenous sit in between a ‘pure’ heredity or a notion of ‘genuineness’, and an ‘outsider’s’ identity or notion of being ‘non-indigenous’. In terms of biology or heredity, verifying a person through his/her blood-line appears easy, but self-identification and exogamous marriage complicates the issue. Since the Taiwanese have the freedom to self-proclaim themselves to be indigenous to a specific group, whether they partly or fully possess indigenous blood, uphold indigenous ideology or concern themselves with indigenous subject matters can be down to personal preference. In terms of culture and music, such musicians interconnect across groups and perform at international events. In other words, pan-indigenous culture and music is dominant. Musicians tend to incorporate common elements from traditions such as vocables, pentatonicism, ancient melodies and lyrics in indigenous dialects, in Western pop and world-music-oriented compositions. In music videos, sounds accompany local imagery of landscapes, traditional costumes and ceremonial dances, catering to tourism or expressing concerns about indigenous subjects. The tendency in Taiwanese society today is clear: ‘mixed-indigenous’ identity is becoming a norm and ‘pan-indigenous’ culture is replacing that specific to single groups.

1. *Gao Zi-yang*

Gao Zi-yang (Chapter Five, Photo 5.2, p.276; born 1952) is generally considered a Beinan, but his grandfather came from China's Fujian province and his mother was educated in Japanese, making him a person influenced by indigenous, Chinese and Japanese culture. Gao is also fluent in Amis and Paiwan, simply through being exposed to multiple groups in his hometown, Chihpen Township in Taitung County. Gao left Taitung at age 16 to pursue a career in Taipei. His most renowned composition, a banned song in the 1980s under the Nationalist government, '*Kelian de luoporen/Just a Pathetic Nobody*', despite being prohibited on television and radio, has sold more than a million copies. It has been a popular song to cover, and karaoke fans have sung along to it since it was released in 1980. Another composition, '*Women doushi yijia- ren/We are Family*', caused him two years and eight months imprisonment; under martial law, he was accused by the authorities of trying to form a secret organisation. However, in today's liberal and multi-cultural society in Taiwan, '*Women*' has become a favourite song at events to celebrate Taiwan's peoples and groups and getting along peacefully. In brief, Gao is an example of how indigenous people leave their home villages, move to cities, and compete with urbanites for a better living. They try hard to fit into their new environment and learn new languages at the expense of losing inherited traditions and ancestral tones. Nevertheless, musicians such as Gao are often optimistic and keen, and this is heard in their compositions, which mix languages in order to promote their music to a wider audience. Gao Zi-yang is a positive model for others, epitomising those who fit within a social system that once did them wrong. He always looks for ways to sustain his people's pride, making their voices and aspirations heard in today's capitalist society.

2. *Panai Kusui (Ke Mei-dai)*

Born in 1969 to a Beinan father and Amis mother, Panai Kusui (Chapter One, Photo 1.3, p.83) is an indie artist whose music is rooted in her indigenous heritage and personal experience. Better known for being an activist, Panai strives to raise awareness of social issues concerning the

rights of her people, fighting for full recognition of traditional territories which have been lost due to exploitation by authorities and various deceptions carried out by outsiders. In melancholic and nostalgic tones, her music tells stories about the drifting, wandering lives of indigenous peoples. Moving from townships to cities and from hometowns to new environments, these people work hard to improve their living but often upset by the harsh realities and tough competition they encounter in their meetings with privileged urbanites. Panai first caught the public attention through her *Niwawa* debut album (Taiwan Color Music TCM008, 2000), which clinched a place in *China Times*' 'Top 10 albums of the year'; her forceful voice has since been ever present as she actively participates in Taiwan's live music scene, in workshops and social protests.

3. *Hu De-fu (Ara Kimbo)*

Dubbed 'the father of Taiwan's campus folksong', Taipei-based Hu De-fu (Chapter Three, Photo 3.2, p.178; born 1950) is native to Taitung. Born to a Puyuma father and a Paiwanese mother, his music is deeply influenced by his childhood upbringing in natural surroundings, on a coastal plain sitting between the Pacific and the Dawu mountain range. However, rather than being indigenous, his musical interests are mainly Western pop – Hu names blues ballads as his preference – nurtured and developed at a time when he was studying in Taipei, where a French teacher introduced him to a wide range of Western music. Hu and other key figures of campus folksongs have been influential. Their endeavours add to the prevalence of Western pop to generate a Taiwanese version of the American folk ballad. Campus folksongs are often heard with light acoustic guitar or piano accompaniments, and bear resemblance to the songs of Bob Dylan, Peter, Paul and Mary, and Joan Baez. So, despite aiming to create a Taiwanese sound, the campus folksong's 'let's sing our songs!' campaign was in reality Western-oriented. In trying to get away from foreign influences, the sense of locality that was stressed was merely an ideology to stop copying or covering other people's songs. So-called campus folksongs offered lyrics with

original texts permeated with a sentimentality of nostalgia, but this sentimentality was on occasion related to imagination and ostentatious display. Hu has in later years engaged in social movements and fights for the rights of indigenous people. His debut album *Congcong/In a Hurry* (Thirty Seven Productions WFM05001, 2006) successfully made the ‘Top ten albums of the year’ in 2006. Returning to his Taitung home from time to time, his intimate bond with the land and his people is clear, and is conveyed through his deep and resonant voice, which is noted by internationally acclaimed director Tsai Ming-liang as ‘honest and soul-touching, an evocation of mountains, rivers, oceans and skies’¹.

¹ ‘Puyuma-Paiwan Musician: Ara Kimbo’, *Ministry of Culture*, at: http://english.moc.gov.tw/information_234_77176.html (accessed 26 August 2018).

Appendix 2

List of Musical Recordings on YouTube Cited in Footnotes

Chapter 1 Footnotes:

- 20: ‘Shenhua 神話/The Myth’ (Samingad 1999): youtu.be/E-9cb5aiE3g
- 27: ‘Return to Innocence’ (Enigma 1993): youtu.be/Rk_sAHh9s08
- 29: Amis Kakeng performance: youtu.be/BbnnQl4ZHXA and youtu.be/yNs_5Lk8CLc
- 31: ‘Elders Drinking Song’ (world music version on *Circle of Life*, 1998): youtu.be/R-MKmVift3A and ‘Elders Drinking Song’ (a *cappella* version on *Circle of Life*): youtu.be/nHqBhRGGPbQ
- 45: National Anthem of R.O.C./Taiwan at the inauguration ceremony on 20 May 2000: youtu.be/fHsZRfOurQ8
- 46: National Anthem of R.O.C./Taiwan music video in 2011: youtu.be/p1QYt0oexp8
- 47: National Anthem of R.O.C./Taiwan at the inauguration ceremony on 20 May 2016: youtu.be/APstJvITkT8
- 51: ‘Tuzaizi 兔崽子/Rabbit Kid’ (Matzka 2010): youtu.be/l3juCnXpV4Q
- 54: ‘Mado Vado 像狗一樣/Like a Dog’: youtu.be/d0prgmgNqbA
- 55: ‘Qingren liulangji 情人流浪記/Wandering of a Lover’: youtu.be/VYZe4EAsYy0
- 56: ‘Taitung shuaige 台東帥哥/Handsome Guy from Taitung’: youtu.be/3woKdrZmZsg
- 57: ‘Shuizai 水災/Flood’: youtu.be/Bj6hDRIdlC4
- 60: ‘Song of Puyuma 南王系之歌’ (Samingad): youtu.be/topq-X6g90Y
- 62: ‘Tuzaizi’ (Matzka in a live performance in 2010): youtu.be/9YKXiSSMjuo
- 71: ‘Liulangji 流浪記/Wandering’ (Panai: *Wandering at Ketagalan Boulevard* 2018): youtu.be/_hOKnN1PkN8
- 72: ‘Liulangji’ (Niwawa 2000): youtu.be/QRD6L92rAAA
- 73: ‘Liulangji’ (Panai in a live performance in 2010): youtu.be/_YPp4NKbyDI

Chapter 2 Footnotes:

- 1: Chu-Yin's Amis medley in polyphonic singing (2017): youtu.be/6JdpOfUaQg
- 2: Chu-Yin's demonstration at 2018 *Misafalo*: youtu.be/-VzMiKGvj3I
- 3: *Sakatusa Ku'edaway a Radiw*' (Chu-Yin 2016): youtu.be/Drgy46FU0UQ
- 4: *Yinjiu huanle ge* 飲酒歡樂歌/Song of Drinking and Joy' (production by Lu Yu-hsiu, 2002): youtu.be/md6tmxevkOs
- 5: '*Huanle ge* 歡樂歌/Song of joy' (production by Wu Rung-shun, 1993): <http://store.wind-music.com.tw/zh/CD/TCD-1502> (accessed 20 February 2019).
- 6: '*Fengnianji* 豐年祭/Harvest Festival': youtu.be/ALvV5piNlwM; '*Yinjiu huanle ge* 飲酒歡樂歌/ Song of Drinking and Joy': youtu.be/TZ2BzLiPR-8; and '*Huijia de ge* 回家的歌/Farewell Song' (Chu-Yin at China Central Television, 2016): youtu.be/GPXJQZittJ8
- 11: '*Huanjuge* 歡聚歌/Song of happy gathering' (rendition by Difang and Hongay, 1978): youtu.be/J6AUJeRXnpE
- 15: 'Return to Innocence' (Enigma 1993): youtu.be/Rk_sAHh9s08
- 17: '*Saka Lipah no Mato'aseuy a Radiw/Laoren yinjiu ge*/Elders Drinking Song' (Yu Jin-fu 1998): youtu.be/90gmFGiscZU
- 18: 'Elders Drinking Song' (world music on *Circle of Life*, 1998): youtu.be/R-MKmVIft3A
- 19: '*Yinjiu huanle ge* 飲酒歡樂歌/Song of Drinking and Joy' (production by Lu Yu-hsiu, 2002): youtu.be/md6tmxevkOs
- 20: '*Sakatusa Ku'edaway a Radiw*' (Chu-Yin 2016): youtu.be/Drgy46FU0UQ
- 21: '*Laoren Yinjiu Ge* 老人飲酒歌/Elders Drinking Song' (Amis Kakeng 2009): youtu.be/BbnnQl4ZHXA
- 22: '*Laoren Yinjiu Ge* 老人飲酒歌' (Alin 2015): youtu.be/PnCK5HxZcSM
- 23: '*Laoren Yinjiu Ge* 老人飲酒歌' (Suming 2016): youtu.be/6Rt2CTTHEqs
- 25: '*Kayoing* 美少女/Beautiful Girls' (Suming 2010): youtu.be/00QyUsJyKSs
- 26: '*Kapah* 年輕人/Young Guys' (Suming 2010): youtu.be/kX6RWEoaR3M

- 33: ‘*Honghun e Kohyong* 黃昏的故鄉/Hometown in the evening’ (Wen Xia): youtu.be/UehT-lvCl_M0
- 43: ‘*John Shumin* 約翰淑敏/John Suming’ (Single 2012): youtu.be/iHo5171qXT0
- 44: ‘*Biezai Doulan de Tudi Shang Qingyi de Shuozhe Ni Ai Wo* 別在都蘭的土地上輕易的說著你愛我/Don’t Easily Say That You Love Me on Atolan Land’ (Amis 2012): youtu.be/qIJw05Oa7cM

Chapter 3 Footnotes:

- 8: One of many versions of ‘*Zhangchunhua* 長春花/Rose Periwinkle’ (rendition by Ilid Kaolo 2013): youtu.be/duzURYpjdic
- 9: ‘*Meili de daosui* 美麗的稻穗/Beautiful Rice Grain’ (Wu Hua-zhi): youtu.be/rYOslXfCjk
- 11: ‘*Hohaiyan*’ (a re-arranged, more recent version) (unknown singers): youtu.be/nfbQ7XUR2NE
- 17: One of many versions of ‘*Suzhou hepan* 蘇州河畔/Riverbank of Suzhou’ (Cai Qin): youtu.be/Urpmx_mvng
- 18: One of many versions of ‘*Ludao Xiaoyequ* 綠島小夜曲/The Green Island Serenade’ (Teresa Teng): youtu.be/wDje7JQJfSQ
- 19: A version of Teresa Teng’s ‘*Yueliang daibiao wo de xin* 月亮代表我的心/Moon Expresses my Heart-felt Love’ (Teresa Teng): youtu.be/IiFm7AWP9n4
- 30: ‘I long to be close to you’ (live performance covered by Nanwan Sisters 2014): youtu.be/-9RSVd3D0bA
- 31: ‘The Rose’ (covered by Nanwan Sisters 2014): youtu.be/eNh9g_fOE14
- 32: ‘*Jiemeihua xiaomijiu zuqu* 姐妹花小米酒組曲/Mallet Wine, the Sisters’ Medley’ (Nanwan Sisters): youtu.be/NEDXbY2gIQo
- 33: ‘*Ruzai tiantang* 如在天堂/Such as in the Paradise’ (Nanwan Sisters): youtu.be/Z9UWTqfQpYM

- 34: '*Leiguang shanshan* 淚光閃閃/The Glittering Tears' (Nanwan Sisters):
youtu.be/9ut3K8iW8qI
- 35: '*Zhangchunhua* 長春花/Rose Periwinkle' (Nanwan Sisters): youtu.be/7hPu-SPMUEI
- 36: '*Khan guan e tshiu* 牽阮的手/Hold Your Hand' (Nanwan Sisters): youtu.be/K7N6di4AfLg
- 37: '*Suboo e lang* 思慕的人/The One I Admire' (Nanwan Sisters): youtu.be/6KYTsigroOw
- 38: '*Qiuchan* 秋蟬/Cicadas in the Winter' (Nanwan Sisters): youtu.be/-EZHIWvtvNE
- 39: '*Qianshou* 牽手/Hold Hands' (Nanwan Sisters): youtu.be/IjB_UHk_I8s
- 40: '*Weihe mengjian ta* 為何夢見他/Why I still Dream of Him' (Nanwan Sisters):
youtu.be/42SchZi53sI
- 41: '*Fei* 飛/To fly' (Nanwan Sisters): youtu.be/gSxtEWOCjns
- 42: '*Nanghai Guniang* 南海姑娘/Lady from South China Sea' (Nanwan Sisters):
youtu.be/2vMjKOxa3-I
- 46: '*Laisu*/Song of the Night' (unknown indigenous singer): youtu.be/fiqRViZV1eg
- 47: 'Song of Tafalong' (a version rendered in ritual): youtu.be/56Gox6QuhAI
- 50: '*Yama no musume*/蕃社の娘 /Girl from the Mountain Community': youtu.be/I0uvsusVpbQ
- 54: '*Shiba Guniang Yiduo hua* 十八姑娘一朵花/The Pretty Eighteen-year-old Girl' (Feng Fei-fei): youtu.be/UwMxCvmYyCE
- 55: 'Secret Place' (Sofia Källgren): youtu.be/BdY0_ptMTl0
- 56: '*Gaoshanqing* 高山青/High Mountain Green' (Gao Sheng-mei): youtu.be/tnm9yXmqSPI
- 57: '*Nanuwa Qingge* 娜奴娃情歌/Nanuwa Love Song' Gao Sheng-mei: youtu.be/jRitkM-Ix4w
- 58: '*Bilancun de Guniang* 碧蘭村的姑娘/Girl from Bilan Village' (Lin Yu-ying):
youtu.be/4OQ_Ih8Kf0k
- 59: '*Lishan chiqinghua* 梨山痴情花/Lovesick Girl of Lishan' (Long Piao-piao):
youtu.be/l3OphvmePzo
- 60: '*Malan Zhilian* 馬蘭之戀/Malan Love Affair' (Lu Jing-zi): youtu.be/FbBKtaoMG-I
- 61: '*Weishenme* 為什麼/Why' (Hu De-fu): youtu.be/QVOWLS2TtSY

- 62: ‘*Liulang dao Taipei* 流浪到台北/Wandering before Arriving in Taipei’ (an excerpt of the movie *Two Painters*): youtu.be/0Ky-KPMB_e_M
- 63: ‘*Taiwanhao* 台灣好– an early Amis version’ (Lu Jing-zi): youtu.be/y7TsxTzVVK8
- 65: ‘*Songbie* 送別/Farewell’: youtu.be/Rpkrme2mCcI
- 66: ‘俺らは東京へ来たけれど/Although We had Arrived in Tokyo’:
youtu.be/B1kFFUFCCgg
- 67: ‘*Ma-ma tshiann li-ia po-tiong* 媽媽請妳也保重/Mama Please Take Care of Yourself’:
youtu.be/COmf4pN9TKg
- 76: National Anthem of R.O.C./Taiwan at the inauguration ceremony on 20 May 2000:
youtu.be/fHsZRfOurQ8
- 82: National Anthem of R.O.C./Taiwan music video in 2011: youtu.be/p1QYt0oexp8
- 88: National Anthem of R.O.C./Taiwan at the inauguration ceremony on 20 May 2016, including the introductions ‘*Rongyao Song* 榮耀頌/Glorious Hymn’ and ‘*Meili de zantan* 美麗的讚嘆/Glamorous Praise’: youtu.be/APstJvITkT8

Chapter 4 Footnotes:

- 5: ‘*Pasibutbut*’ (Bunun of Dahdah community (*Hongye buluo*) in Yenping Township, Taitung):
youtu.be/CcGzU5okUic
- 9: ‘Daniels Jojk’ (Jon Henrik at Talang Sverige 2014): youtu.be/woEcdqqbEVg
- 10: ‘*Butshin e mia kio Taiwan* 母親的名叫臺灣/Taiwan is Our Mother’s Name’ (with English subtitle): youtu.be/K2Q_N0vyLUc
- 12: ‘*Honghun e kohyong* 黃昏的故鄉/Hometown in the Evening’ and ‘*Dawushan meili de mama* 大武山美麗的媽媽/Beautiful Mother of Dawu Mountain’ medley: youtu.be/4IN-qxxEAw2M
- 13: ‘*Meilidao*/美麗島/The Beautiful Island’: youtu.be/l69MNtjx4fM
- 26: Music Excerpts from Kurosawa’s 1943 Recordings of the Bunun (Wang and Liuo, 2008):
youtu.be/6YXMJnRQrCk

- 28: ‘Maciluma/Coming Down the Mountain with a Heavy Load’ (Paiwanese Djanav Zengror):
youtu.be/rxsVp9zoz2A; Hu Jin-niang’s singings TV: youtu.be/f4Q3bx9Ck18 and
youtu.be/J2Jr4AbZOx4
- 35: ‘Yueguang 月光/Moonlight’ performed by LinFair Records artists on 14 August 2009 charity programme: youtu.be/FJB06zyX8Sk
- 36: Two video clips about typhoon Morakot with ‘Yueguang 月光/Moonlight’ (youtu.be/iiOgX-9j4-g) and ‘Ana Tupa Tu/Moonlight’ (youtu.be/VRPQgrL90VE) as sound tracks
- 42: Biung play ‘Ana Tupa Tu’ live at TEDx Taitung 2014: youtu.be/QKgTsfaaT4M
- 47: ‘Qinaide Piaoliumu 親愛的漂流木/Dear Driftwood’ (Dakanow): youtu.be/rznnmZMH0fs
- 48: A brief introduction of ‘Cross Kuroshio to Visit Taiwan’ with English subtitle:
youtu.be/TULt7gc-1vA
- 51: The Theme Song of ‘Cross Kuroshio to Visit Taiwan’: youtu.be/jzj04hEXJR0
- 52: ‘Hexie de Yewan OAA 和諧的夜晚 OAA/ The harmonious night OAA’ (Jutoupi/Zhu Yue-xin): youtu.be/18D_i9Q5Nhc

Chapter 5 Footnotes:

- 7: ‘Kuko 空港/Airport’: youtu.be/GC54uDvpdFs
- 8: ‘Qingren de guanhuai 情人的關懷/Lover’s Concern’: youtu.be/v3q-qG-hkK0
- 9: ‘Malan tsiluan 馬蘭之戀/Malan Love Affair’: youtu.be/NQa2KUC4zSs
- 10: ‘Wuzuibugui 無醉不歸/Stay or Get Drunk’: youtu.be/mJtK_8Xctsk
- 11: Two versions of ‘Gueh-ia-tshiu 月夜愁/Moon Night Melancholy’ (1933 and the 1990s):
youtu.be/Uw8IB93RKVI and youtu.be/iUuMAHqcXE4
- 13: ‘Meihua 梅花/Plum Blossom’: youtu.be/1BJ3K5Tk70Q
- 14: ‘Zhonghua minguo song 中華民國頌/ Ode to the Republic of China’:
youtu.be/ZYKPPWby48A
- 15: ‘Taiwanhao 台灣好/Wonderful Taiwan’: youtu.be/Zo8vlqjcD4M

- 16: ‘*Jibairen* 擊敗人/Bitch’: youtu.be/yL1r2gxRn4
- 17: ‘*Kànlíniâ* 幹你娘/f**k your mother’: youtu.be/nmA7ZTMZXE8
- 18: ‘*Chuilaaba* 吹喇叭/fellatio’: youtu.be/Ufjaqe_2CIc
- 19: ‘*Waiguoren* 歪國人/foreigners: People from the Twisted Countries’:
youtu.be/kkc797WQfs0
- 21: ‘*Women doushi yijiaren* 我們都是一家人/We are Family’: youtu.be/NIUXy4Elw00
- 22: ‘*Loaho li kamchai* 外好汝甘知/Do you know how good it is?’: youtu.be/O8cds-cNpYE
- 23: ‘*Aiai kanpai* 愛愛乾杯/Bottoms Up, Lover’: youtu.be/sSK_SMfwW8o
- 25: ‘*Iabehho iabehsong* 也要好也要爽/Be Nice and Be Pleasant’: youtu.be/mTRt1bjE5_Y
- 26: ‘*Suannting e ookáuhiann* 山頂黑狗兄/The Black-Dog Dude at the Hilltop’: youtu.be/KAXs-JS9XbM
- 28: ‘*Reqing de shamo* 熱情的沙漠/The Hot and Passionate Desert’ (Auyang Fei Fei):
youtu.be/rIwWF4NCcqw
- 29: ‘情熱の砂漠/ he Hot and Passionate Desert’ (The Peanuts/ザ・ピーナッツ/Za Pīnattsu):
youtu.be/yTkbTpUTisU
- 30: ‘*Fangong kang-e ge* 反攻抗俄歌/Song of Anti-Communism and Resist Russia’:
youtu.be/fZIIb6-YGM8
- 31: ‘*Fangong dalu qu* 反攻大陸去/Recover Mainland China’: youtu.be/vC8BXXTsNgQ
- 36: ‘*Kuaile de Juhui* 快樂的聚會/Happy Gathering’: youtu.be/DsiQERo7OFs
- 38: 2011 ‘*Kelian de luoporen* 可憐的落魄人/ Just a Pathetic Nobody’ (Gao Zi-yang):
youtu.be/Xmu08_wAcGQ
- 41: 1981 ‘*Kelian*’ (Chen Ming-ren): youtu.be/2Ak50FLihOk
- 52: 1998 ‘*Kelian*’ (Beiyuan Shanmao): youtu.be/Ky4y3FYSkts
- 53: 2011 ‘*Kelian*’ (Ye Ai-ling and Zu Xiao-shun): youtu.be/MP8CvnHXSsE
- 54: 2014 ‘*Kelian*’ (Beiyuan Shanmao): section A youtu.be/Imx8hD-cvs4, C
youtu.be/6oILmmNTupk, D youtu.be/06-6Xwh0lK8 and E youtu.be/S_1O1059Mjs
- 63: 1981 ‘*Kelian*’ (Shen Wen-cheng): youtu.be/Xdqk-Ejy04A

64: 1987 'Kelian' (Gao Sheng-mei): youtu.be/T7ri3Q373lc

74: 'Shihua shishuo 實話實說/To Tell You the Truth' (Gao Zi-yang): youtu.be/xlfZa08kXfo

Appendix 3

Whose Ethnomusicology? The Challenge of Analytical Approaches

A Reverse Path to the Study of Asian Music

In 1997, the American ethnomusicologist J. Lawrence Witzleben explored the encounter between Western ethnomusicology and East Asian studies involving music (that is, including anthropologists, musicologists, and cultural studies theorists). Witzleben, an American who taught and conducted fieldwork in East Asia, was Western trained and educated before settling for a period in Hong Kong. He points out that ethnomusicological analyses tend to be overshadowed by studies of ethnology drawn mainly from anthropology – rather than from musicology, where analysis is less readable and less accessible (1997: 227). My path to the study of Asian music goes in a reverse direction to what Witzleben went through. Initially, I was an Asian musician familiar with my own music culture, who then went to the West for academic and theoretical training. I went through a path which Anthony Seeger (2003: 148) considers ‘the inversion of commonly held stereotypes’, that is to say, the inversion of safe with dangerous territories. At the time the American ethnomusicologist Seeger went to his ‘field’, the Mato Grosso in Brazil, for the first time in 1971, he left his ‘safe home’ and ventured into a ‘dangerous’ jungle to work with the Suya, an Amazonian people. Shortly after the 11 September 2001 attack on New York, the Suya sent their regards to Seeger, worried about his safety in the United States and inviting him to live with them in Mato Grosso. The Amazonians deemed their home village in the rainforest as safer than the United States. Concepts of safe and dangerous, and of home and field, were somehow inversely seen from the perspective of the Amazonian inhabitants. Similarly, on my very first arrival in London, I came to my ‘field’, leaving my familiar safe ‘home’ and venturing into a new unexplored domain. Concepts of home/field, familiar/new and safe/unexplored were somehow inversely applied for me, compared with my Western counterparts. As a result, my immersion in Asia is longterm rather than brief; hence, my study on the musical content of

‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ spans almost the whole decade of the 2010s, running the gamut of what Witzleben describes in his 1997 paper as the ‘the inversion of commonly use approach’.

Technical Aspects: Easy for Musicians but Hard for Common Readers

Initially, I dealt with the inherently less readable and less accessible, the potentially more difficult and esoteric analysis of technical aspects. In respect of this, Witzleben offers Nazir Jairazbhoy’s (1971) *The Rags of North Indian Music: Their Structure and Evolution* as an example.

Around 2010, I transcribed ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ in a simplified notation for self-accompanied guitar

ANA TUPA TU LYRICS & MELODY BY BIUNG TAK-BANUAZ
 THIRD TRACK ON THE *HUNTER* ALBUM
 TRANSCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS BY TEOH YANG MING

Key in which the guitar sounds Key of fingering the guitarist applies How the device is placed at the fretboard

KEY=A PLAY G CAPO=2

♩ = 68 TO 80 4/4 SLOW FOLK BALLAD WITH GUITAR ARPEGGIOS

Verse 1

:G	G GMA7/F#	EMI	EMI EMI/O
ANA TU PA NU	U KA MI TA MAH TU	SI NA DAN	A SA KA TA NU MA
CMA7	CMA7	D7sus4	D7
LI NAS KAL	AU PA AI ZAG A SUAN		A NA

Notation A1 An excerpt of ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ in simplified notation for guitar, using a capo.

Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.

ANA TUPA TU LYRICS & MELODY BY BIUNG TAK-BANUAZ
 THIRD TRACK ON THE *HUNTER* ALBUM
 TRANSCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS BY TEOH YANG MING

KEY=A

♩ = 68 TO 80 4/4 SLOW FOLK BALLAD WITH GUITAR ARPEGGIOS

Verse 1

:A	A AMA7/G#	F#MI	F#MI F#MI7/E
ANA TU PA NU	U KA MI TA MAH TU	SI NA DAN	A SA KA TA NU MA
DMA7	DMA7	E7sus4	E7
LI NAS KAL	AU PA AI ZAG A SUAN		A NA

Notation A2 ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ in guitarist simplified staff, played in the key of A. Transcription by Teoh Yang-ming.

and vocal, for my leisure use (Notation 1). It was a jazz/pop ‘polynomial notation’ (after Hood, 1982: 76), a lyrical outline with chord symbols allocated in measures, the ‘invisible’ melody held in memory. On first hearing of the 2000 studio-recorded ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’, I was rather confident that the guitarist used a capo (Illustration 1, left), allowing him/her to quickly transpose the key of what he played on the guitar.

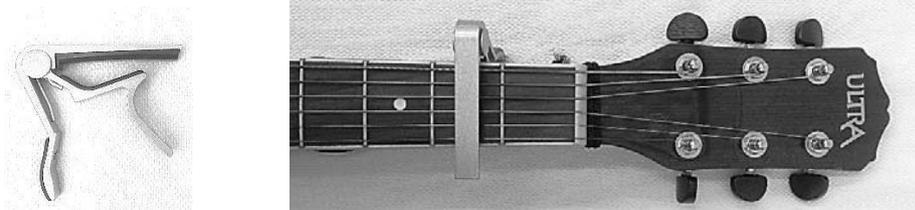


Illustration A1 Capo (left) and the created temporary new ‘nut’ position across the second fret on the fretboard of a guitar (right). Illustration by Teoh Yang-ming.

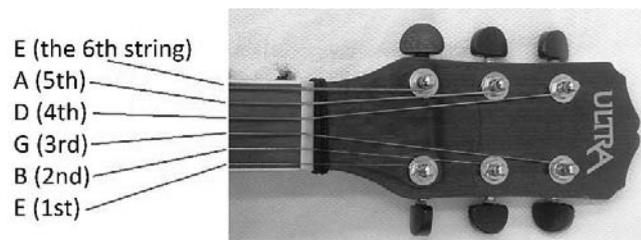


Illustration A2 The ‘open string’ notes on a guitar, where no capo is used. Illustration by Teoh Yang-ming.

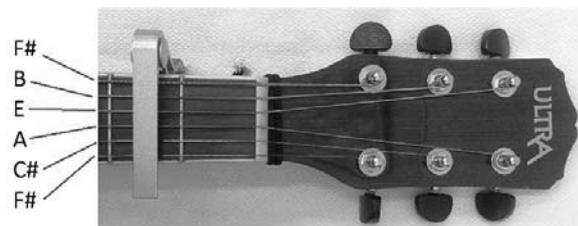


Illustration A3 The ‘open strings’ notes on a guitar when a capo is clipped at the second fret. Illustration by Teoh Yang-ming.

The basic mechanism for using a capo is moving from one fret to its neighbour to give pitches a note a semitone higher (toward the body of a guitar) or lower (away from the body). So, placing a capo across a fret creates a new ‘nut’ position (Illustration A1, right), and guitar

strings pressed at the relatively same fret distances from this new ‘nut’ position (with fret distances from the un-capo nut position); when plucked this will generate transposed notes in a new key. My initial assumption was that the guitarist clipped a capo across the second fret to play ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ in both occasions, that is, in the recording studio and in live performance. In this way, ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ played in the fingering of G (Notation A1) sounds in A (Notation A2). The capo may produce satisfactory but slightly less vibrant acoustic effects than when the guitar is played without it. However, the advantage of the capo is its potential to make good use of ‘open strings’ – when the strings are not pressed (Illustration A2), producing an E on the sixth string when plucked, A on the fifth, D on the fourth, G on the third, B on the second and E on the first, from top to bottom. A further elaboration of the mechanism of accessing a capo and creating a new ‘nut’ position is given in Illustration 3: clipping a capo at the second fret changes the open strings to F sharp, B, E, A, C sharp and F sharp. Open strings generate ideal sounds: strings vibrating at their full lengths produce rich mixes of fundamental and harmonics tones and resonances. In the most common guitar tuning, pitches of open strings match five of the seven diatonic notes (G, A, B, D and E, but not C and F sharp) in the scale of G major.

So, guitarists are more comfortable playing in G, providing ease in accessing un-pressed open strings, with no extensive finger stretching and physical force applied for chords and notes. For ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’, it would be easier transposing it from G, alongside its shifted fret fingerings of G-related chords, to A, by clipping a capo at the second fret. For convenience and sound, a considerable guitar-oriented repertory of pop and rock tunes is composed in G (such as The Eagles’ ‘Take it Easy’), and played in fingerings of G, with or without a capo applied. Furthermore, using the capo may reduce the number of ‘barre chords’, a type of fingering – which is technically more challenging – where the guitarist uses one or more fingers to press down multiple strings across a single fret (see Illustration A4 for the chords A major and F sharp minor). Comparing the fingerings in playing ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’, such as those of the F sharp minor chord with that of E minor, A with G and E dominant seventh with D dominant seventh (Illustration A4), it is obvious that the capo approach eases the guitarist’s job.

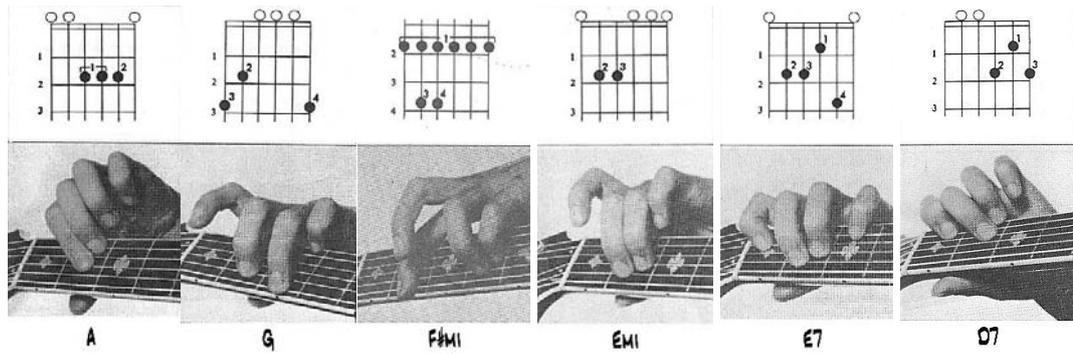


Illustration A4 Chord fingerings (A and its substitution G when a capo is used, F sharp minor and E minor, and E dominant seventh and D dominant seventh) for non-capo-facilitated approach and capo-facilitated approach on guitar, played to accompany ‘Ana Tupa Tu’ in 2000 studio recorded version and 2014 live version. Illustration by Teoh Yang-ming.

As can be seen from the above, analysis of technical aspects of music can be rather pesky and is likely to appeal to only a small number of people with special interests, limiting readership to serious academics. In 2011, I gave a simplified and capo-approach notation, an earlier version of Notation 1 to the ‘Band Performance’ class I was conducting – to give students a reference, as an example of how to notate a pop song. In 2012, I included this notation along with another five-line staff (see Chapter Four, Notation 4.1 in the dissertation, p.239) in my *Contemporary Music Compositions of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples: from 1992 to 2011* (Teoh 2012), material submitted for my application for promotion. In respect to ‘Ana Tupa Tu’, one reviewer questioned my transcriptions, comparing the five-line staff with the simplified notation, and commented: ‘These are different notations; the two do not match each other because they are in different keys!’ In reality, they do match, only the reviewer was not familiar with the conventions of guitar notation. Therefore, he/she could not interpret the capo approach. Hence, and to a greater extent than Witzleben points out, analysis carries the risk of being misunderstood.

Those Who Bear Sweeping Rejection to Analytical Approaches: Are You Going to Talk Music in a Vacuum?

In 2015, I found a video clip on YouTube² which was removed a few months later, showing Biung playing guitar to accompany himself at his public TEDx speech in Taitung on 10 August 2014. When he gave ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’, he did not use a capo. Conscious of the contradiction between what I had assumed and what I now saw, I thought my deduction upon the capo approach had been incorrect. One year later, on 7 January 2016, I presented a paper ‘Authenticity, Otherness and Hybridity in Taiwan Indigenous Popular Songs: the Music of Bunun and Biung Tak-Banuaz’ at the British Forum for Ethnomusicology/Royal Musical Association Research Students’ Conference at Bangor University. Driven from analysis by an extremely unpleasant encounter with supervisors in a Western institute, who sweepingly rejected analytical approaches of the kind I had been using, I turned to exploring the implications of Otherness and exoticism in the music of the Bunun. In doing so, I link the concepts of Otherness and exoticism to the notion of authenticity and the phenomena of hybridity in people’s music-making, conceptualising these with indigenous people’s notions of mountain and sea which establish a sense of Taiwanese identity – Taiwanese-ness. I was hoping that by moving to safe territory my writing would be more accessible to a wider audience, following Witzleben’s description on Steven Feld’s (1982) *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression* – a more anthropological than musical study, containing little technical and musicological analysis. In 2018, under a new supervisor, I submitted this dissertation, but in it I have been able to re-establish the analytical aspects and technical discourse of my earlier works, now incorporating them into an ethnography of Taiwanese indigenous people, combining musical transcriptions with my arguments on the people’s music and culture.

² Available on YouTube, at: youtu.be/QKgTsfaaT4M

Believe Nothing You Hear, and Only One Half That You See ...

The story, however, does not end with the draft of this dissertation. In 2019, a kind reminder from an ethnomusicologist in London triggered a new chain reaction in which further observations could take place. Examining carefully my observation on the harmonic arpeggios comprising A major diatonic chords and the descending bass notes in scalar steps, he pointed out that this was ‘not true of the music you cite,’ ‘the sequence of the bass notes is A moving downward to G sharp, again to F sharp, but then jumping up an octave to continue a descent F sharp, E and D’. I am rather glad that his examination drove my research forward, giving me ground to strengthen my proposal to study music *as* music, dealing with music technically and locating music in the centre of my discourse (after Seeger 1992:89). The most convenient way to clarify my argument is to borrow Mantle Hood’s (1982: 197–246) experience of the ‘human equation’. In my case, I perceive the octave F sharp jump as a continuation of the descending bass in scalar steps, and therefore I occupy a similar position to Hood’s Indonesian teacher who perceived *slendro* being tuned equidistantly. But to the London ethnomusicologist, who occupies a similar position to Hood (who perceived the tuning was not equidistant), the octave jump is a disruption to the descending bass. By convention and from my experience, pop musicians and audience usually perceive A, G sharp, F sharp (an octave higher or not), E and D motion as descending A major scalar steps, or just pay negligible attention to its octave disruption. However, when notating such a passage, an author must clarify whether the notation is intended to show the feeling – one kind of ‘aural perception’ – of the passage, or to show the actual performance and fingering.

A further observation is that the descending scalar bass could be ideally played on piano, which reigns supremacy over other instruments with its typical 88 keys ranging over more than seven octaves. Guitars, however, do not have the advantage of a wide range, and this is why sometimes guitarists move the bass up an octave while maintaining the aural perception of the descending formula. This brings me to another question: why did the guitarist of ‘*Ana Tupa Tu*’ do this at F sharp? Since the lowest note of the guitar is E, it would be more reasonable to

arrange and play the descending bass from A to E before jumping up to the one octave higher D. Re-examining the accompaniment to the live version (2014), I realised that Biung on that occasion did jump up to D at the fifth measure, but not at F sharp as was done in the 2000 recording. This discovery drove me to further scrutinise the 2000 version, matching note by note how the guitar sounds: I realised that its player did use a capo, since when a capo is clipped at the second fret, the lowest note on the sixth string is F sharp (Illustration A3). So, in order to sustain the aural perception of a descending bass, the guitarist had to jump up to F sharp in the fourth measure. Hence, my assumption in 2010 had been correct, and my later discoveries in 2015 and 2019 added additional pieces to the full picture.



Photo A1 Biung Wang Hong-en (left) with the author at Wang's music workshop at the Eslite bookshop in Taitung, on 4 November 2018. Photo by the author.

Conclusion

Different results can be obtained by analysing music through recordings and transcriptions or from actually interviewing the musician or watching live performances. To put this more simply, diachronic study and fieldwork are of paramount importance in contextualising musicological research. Ascribing to the cultural studies tradition of theorising about music without talking to the people who make it and without going to the field is, therefore, inadequate for creditable ethnomusicological work. I interviewed Biung and attended his workshop and his speech in November 2018 (Photo A1). The development from 2010 to 2019 of my research on

'Ana Tupa Tu' argues for musicological analysis to be re-orientated into and to be a key component of the study of ethnomusicology. Serious readers may look for detailed and animated elaborations, as well as notations, which include specific musical and technical theories other than descriptions in abstraction. In addition to *'Ana Tupa Tu'*, my analytical approach to Enigma's 1993 'Return to Innocence' and Hsu-Difang's 1978 '*Sakatusa' Ku'edaway a Radiw'* attest to the same. Fortunately, we are now in a favourable position, since abundant recordings which are crucial to our presentations can be conveniently found on YouTube, allowing anthropological study, musicological analysis and videos to work in complementary fashion. While Witzleben's 1997 observations come from researching other researchers' researches, my research has been a journey of finding the appropriate interpretation by using approaches of my own, being content to use them at one point and eventually find myself encouraged and supported by individuals or groups of Taiwanese and Western scholars, to propel it forward and accommodate it. After my journey, my conclusion is that the study of ethnomusicology needs to find a broader audience, not only among fellow ethnomusicologists, but by catering to the needs and understanding of a wider group of Western and East Asian musicians.

Glossary of Mandarin Characters for Terms and

Names

Institutions and Events

Nandao Wenhua jie 南島文化節/Austronesian Music Festival 2010,

Caituan Faren Bunong Wenjiao Jijinhui 財團法人布農文教基金會/Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation

Bunong buluo 布農部落/Bunun Leisure Farming

Xiaoyuan Minge Yundong 校園民歌運動/Campus folksong movement

Chu-Yin Wenhua Yishutuan 杵音文化藝術團/Chu-Yin Cultural Arts Troupe

Hengdu Heichao Baifang Taiwan 橫渡黑潮拜訪臺灣/Cross the *Kuroshio* to Visit Taiwan

Minge Caiji Yundong 民歌採集運動/Folksong Collection Movement

Caituan Faren Yuanwuzhe Wenhua Yishu Jijinhui 財團法人原舞者文化藝術基金/Formosa Indigenous Dance Foundation of Culture and Arts; *Yuanwuzhe* 原舞者/The Indigenous Dancers

Jinqu Jiang 金曲獎/Golden Melody Awards,

Yuanlangchao 原浪潮/Het Eyland Formosa Wave/Indigenous Wave,

Yuanzhumin Wenxue Jiang 原住民文學獎/Indigenous Literature Awards,

Yuanyin Xinjiaoxiang Yinyuehui 原音新交響音樂會/Indigenous Music at Symphonic Night,

Quoji Wenhua Guanguangji 國際文化觀光季/International Cultural and Tourism Festival,

Kakeng Musical Group 咎互樂團

Wozai Taidong Makabahei 我在臺東馬卡巴嗨/Let's *Makapahay* in Taitung,

Nanwang Minsheng Kangledui 南王民生康樂隊/Nanwang Performing and Entertaining Troupe,

Quanguo Amei Lianhe Fengnianji 全國阿美聯合豐年祭/National Amis United Harvest Festival,

Nandao Guoji Zhiye Yinlehui 南島國際之夜音樂會/Night with International Indigenous Music Fest,

Jiaotou Yinyue 角頭音樂/Taiwan Colors Music

Tiehuacun Yinyue Juluo 鐵花村音樂聚落/Tie-hua Music Village

Minzu yinyue diaochadui 民族音樂調查隊/Folksong survey team

Music

Gutiao 古調/ancient songs,

fang-shandige 仿山地歌/imitated mountain song

jia-shandige/假山地歌/fake mountain song

Shandige 山地歌/mountain songs,

Musicians and Informants

Aziman Madiklan 王武榮 (Bunun)

Beiyuan Shanmao 北原山貓 (a duo of Beinan and Atayal)

Chen Jian-nian 陳建年/Paudull (Beinan)

Chen Ming-ren 陳明仁 (Beinan)

Chiang Sheng-min 姜聖民/Suming Rupi 舒米恩 (Amis)

Dakanow 達卡鬧/ Li Guo-xiong 李國雄 (Paiwan-Rukai)

Gao Sheng-mei 高勝美/Malas Kao (Bunun)

Gao Zi-yang 高子洋 (Beinan)

Hu De-fu 胡德夫/Ara Kimbo (Beinan-Paiwan)

Hu Jin-niang 胡金娘/Hudas Haitang (Bunun)

Huang Gui-chao 黃貴潮/Lifok Dongi (Amis)

Ji Xiao-jun 紀曉君/Samingad (Beinan)

Kao Shu-chuan 高淑娟/Banay (Amis)

Ke Mei-dai 柯美黛/Panai Kusui 巴奈 (Beinan-Amis)

Kuo Xiu-zhu 郭秀珠/Hongay Niyuwit (Amis)

Kuo Ying-nan 郭英男/Difang Tuwana (Amis)
Lin Che-Sin 林志興/Agilasay Pakawyan
Lu Jing-zi 盧靜子 (Amis)
Shen Wen-cheng 沈文程 (Han-Rukai)
Wang Hong-en 王宏恩/Biung Tak-Banuaz (Bunun)
Wu Ting-hong 吳廷宏/Durai Watan (Atayal)
Ye Ai-ling 葉瓊菱 (Han)
Yu Jin-fu 余錦福/Matts Sattu (Atayal)
Zhang Hui-mei 張惠妹/Amei, Kulilay Amit (Beinan-Han)
Zheng Jie-ren 鄭捷任 (Han)
Zu Xiao-shun 許效舜 (Han)

Regulation etc

Jiayan qijian xinwenzhi zazhi tushu guanzhi banfa 戒嚴期間新聞紙雜誌圖書管制辦法

/Measures to regulate newspapers, magazines and book publication under the martial law

Yuanzhuminzu chuantong zhihui chuangzuo baohu tiaoli 原住民族傳統智慧創作保護條例

/Protection Act for the Traditional Intellectual Creations of Indigenous Peoples

Yuanzhuminzu Jibenfa 原住民族基本法/The Indigenous Peoples Basic Law