Voices of Eternal Spring:

A study of the *Hingcun diau* Song Family and Other Folk Songs of the Hingcun Area, Taiwan

Submitted for PhD

Ву

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January 2009

Chapter Four

The Developmental Process and Historical Background of Hingcun Diau and Its Song Family

Introduction

The previous three chapters of this thesis detailed the three major systems of Taiwanese folksongs - Aboriginal, Holo and Hakka. Concentrating on the area of Hingcun, one of the primary cradles of Holo folksongs, these three chapters also explored how the geographical conditions, natural landscape, and historical and cultural background of the area influence local folksongs and what the mutual relations between these factors and the local folksongs are. Furthermore, the three chapters studied in depth not only the background, characteristics and cultural influences of each of the Hingcun folk songs but also local prominent folksong figures, major accompanying musical instruments, musical activities and so on. Chapter Four narrows the focus specifically to *Hingcun diau* and its song family. In this chapter, on the one hand, I examine carefully the changes in *Hingcun diau* and its song family activated from within a culture; on the other hand, I also pay attention to the changes in these songs caused by their contact with other cultures. In other words, in addition to a careful study of the origin, developmental process and historical background of Hingcun diau and its song family, I shall also dissect how the interaction of different ethnic groups, languages used in the area, political and economic factors, and various local cultures influence Hingcun diau and its song family, and what the mutual relations between the former factors and *Hingcun diau* and its song family are.

In the developmental process of *Hingcun diau* and its song family, a series of songs with various names have been derived from the same tune. They are *Yuanzhumin diau* [An aboriginal tune], *Hingcun diau* (flexible) [A flexible tune of Hingcun], *Daidang diau* [Tune of Daidang], *Gamzia horziah siangtau dinn* [Delicious sugarcane sweet from top to bottom], *Gengnongge* [Ploughman's song], *Ginglonggua* [Ploughman's song], *Sann siann bhornai* (dramatic) [Helpless groans], *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized) [Helpless groans (urbanized)], *Hingcun diau* (fixed) [A fixed tune

Alan P. Merriam *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964, pp. 306-7.

of Hingcun], Cenn or 'a sor [A oyster fishermen's wife] and so on. With reference to these songs, there are several issues worthy of our consideration. How was Hingcun diau affected by the interaction of ethnic groups, social structures, economic activities, political climate, cultural phenomena, and linguistic characteristics? What are the qualities of each song of Hingcun diau's song family? How does the melody of each song vary?

In this chapter, I shall first conduct a study of the developmental process and historical background of *Hingcun diau* and its song family; then I shall analyse the melodic structure, musical organization, and content of *Hingcun diau* and each variant in its song family. Furthermore, Holo language is a language with a particular repertory of tonal devices. Specifically, there are seven tones whose rise and fall decides the meaning of a word. As such, how the language tones inherent in lyrics influence the notes and direction of the melody of *Hingcun diau* appears to be a fascinating issue. In addition, I shall ask how the tune of *Hingcun diau* has fared under the great impact of Western music whose theories and techniques are prevalent in today's Taiwanese society.

One means of approaching this changing material is to employ a perspective proposed by Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn, who look at a culture's economic and transmission support systems to classify a particular music as belonging to one of three categories: folk, art, or pop music. This helps us appreciate how the music genre which *Hingcun diau* and its song family represents has transformed itself in various eras.²

The gist of the theory of Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn is as follows: economic support makes the existence of music activities possible and an economic support system significantly influences or even determines the central features of a particular musical tradition. A transmission support system encompasses all the ways a given musical content or repertoire is transmitted from an individual to other individuals and from one generation to another generation.³ In a folk music system, the economic support system involves communal suspension of direct sustenance activities and support from the system is very scanty. Therefore, most its music

Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn, "Economic and Transmission Factors as Essential Elements in the Definition of Folk, Art, and Pop Music", *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 74, No.3, 1990, pp. 414-416.

³ Ibid., pp. 414-16.

activities are tied to some nonmusical tasks or events, having socio-cultural purpose and function. The dissemination of folk music is often incidental. By means of the mode of oral tradition, people learn and spread folk music in their daily lives. Repetitive phrases are frequently used in performance and the form of songs is usually short. Everyone of a social group is a musician and the boundaries between musicians and the audience are indistinct. In an art music system, music activities are directly sponsored by wealthy individuals or institutions. The music abilities of an individual art musician are cultivated by apprenticeship, in an extended intentional, purposive and formal training. The content of art music is characterized by complex musical structures and elaborative patterns. Art musicians normally possess professional and specialized abilities; individual art music patrons mostly have a high social status and many of them are dilettante performers. In a pop music system, music activities are indirectly supported by a mass audience. The existence of intermediaries who perform a business function is essential. By means of the management methods of an enterprise, intermediaries transmit pop music to a mass audience through broadcast media, recorded media, live performance, and promotion of artefacts. Individual audiences then select music which appeals to them for learning, entertainment and transmission. Pop musicians are specialized and professional. Nevertheless, the impact of market forces frequently causes the homogenization and simplification of pop music content.4

In short, I explore the mutual relations between these songs and their historical background; the transformation of a song in different times from flexible singing forms such as that of oral transmission and impromptu performance to fixed forms of expression such as songs with fixed tunes, and modern instrumental music; and the inspirations deriving from the special quality of vitality of these songs. Finally, in the conclusion of the chapter, in addition to providing a concise flow chart illustrating the development process of *Hingcun diau* and its song family, I stress again the everlasting vitality of this series of songs.

4.1 From *Yuanzhunmin Diau* [An aboriginal tune] to *Hingcun Diau* [Tune of Hingcun]

⁴ Ibid., pp. 416-29, 436-7.

The earliest residents of the Hingcun area were the aborigines of the Paiwan, Amis, and Puyuma tribes. After 1664, Han people (Holo and Hakka) started moving in and cultivating land there, and a large number of Han people resided there after the Qing government had established Hingcun as a county in 1875. Around the year 1830, Makatao, a branch of the Pennbo Siraya tribe, had also taken a roundabout course from the area of Tainan, headed south and finally settled there with the other ethnic groups.⁵

The original tune of *Hingcun diau* was a tune that was sung in aboriginal language and transmitted in the society of aborigines in Hingcun area. Although music scholars in Taiwan are unanimous that this tune originated from the aborigines, they differ in their opinions as to whether the tune belonged to the Paiwan, Amis or Pennbo tribe. Moreover, no solid proof exists to support any of these differing opinions. The only clue to the way of how to sing this aboriginal tune is the lyrics and tune provided by Zhong Mingkun, a local musician in Hingcun area:⁶

In my childhood, I often heard some elders in Bhuanziu Xiang singing a couple of original old tunes. They might be old tunes belonging to Skaro or Parilarilao tribe. People called them *Huan a kiok* [Aboriginal tune] around the year Japan ended colonization in Taiwan (i.e. 1945). Nevertheless, even the aborigines, few are able to sing these tunes. Wang Ronggeng, who has lived in Mudan Xiang for over fifty years, can sing one of them. Although Wang does not understand the meanings of the lyrics and is not sure of the language in the song, it is commendable that Wang can sing the tune. The form and initial tune of the song that Wang sings is similar to *Pennbo diau* (i.e. *Hingcun diau*). It could be a drinking song sung by Han people from Fujian and Guangdong provinces together with their aboriginal friends when they drank and sang in merrymaking...as such, the tune became widely popular.

Zhong Mingkun names this old tune *Hingcun godiau* [The ancient tune of Hingcun]. Wang Ronggeng, who lived in Mudan Xiang, sang the lyrics in this transcription based on the sounds in his memory. Wang was completely unaware which language these sounds belonged to and what they meant exactly. According to

⁵ For details, please see Chapter 2, Section 2.3: Ethnic Groups in Hingcun.

⁶ Zhong Mingkun was a musician born in Bhuanziu Xiang in the Hingcun area in 1935. He was a lecturer in the Music Department of National Tainan Educational University, primarily teaching Taiwanese folk music. He also composed numerous songs. Zhong has devoted his life to preserving and disseminating folksongs in the Hingcun area.

Zhong Mingkun likes to call *Hingcun diau* as discussed in this dissertation, "Pennpo diau".

Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun Town Hall, 1999, p. 63.

Zhong, because Mr. Wang sang the song in free rhythm as he pleased, it was difficult for him to transcribe the melody precisely. As a result, Zhong transcribed what he heard using the regular musical notation to which he is accustomed. Its melody and lyrics are illustrated in the following (Fig. 4.1):

Transcription: Zhong Mingkun

[Fig. 4.1] Hingcun godiau [The ancient tune of Hingcun]

Sung by Wang Ronggeng Usual pattern Opening pattern I ▶ Mi Mi-0 Ma Mi Ta Mi Nu A Do o Lo Ta Lu Po Ιa Usual pattern-11 10 Lu Mu Mi Lo Mi Ma Me Candence pattern 15 La Lo Mu Mu Ja . Ga Lo Ma

As to its musical structure and characteristics, they can be inferred from an analysis of its tone set, scale and tonality, usual interval, melodic pattern and melodic movement:

Analysis of music organization

Tone set: La, Do, Re, Mi.

Scales and Tonality: tetratonic, A minor.

Usual Intervals: major second, minor third.

Melodic patterns:

For the positions and structures of the opening pattern, the usual pattern and cadence pattern, please see Fig. 4.1.

Melody movement:

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The first phrase (I: bars 1-7):

La \rightarrow Mi'; Mi' \rightarrow La; Do' \rightarrow La.

The second phrase (II: bars 9-16):

La \rightarrow Mi'; Mi' \rightarrow La; Do' \rightarrow La.
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Note: Do, Re, Mi, Sol, and La represent the first or last tone of each phrase; the "' to the upper right of a tone means high octave; the ", " to the lower right of a tone means low octave.

Comparing the above analysis of the musical structure and characteristics of "Hingcun godiau" with the "Hingcun diau" sung in Holo by the older generations in the Hingcun area, we are better able to understand if the former is the origin of the latter. I shall discuss this issue further in the later part of this section.

After the Han people swarmed into the Hingcun area in 1895, the year when Hingcun was established as a county, Holo people gradually became the major ethnic group in the area. Furthermore, the blend of various ethnic groups caused by intermarriage, trading, and cultural exchanges led to people singing the song in Holo and naming it "Hingcun diau". According to Zhong Mingkun, a local musician, the earliest version of Hingcun diau sung in Holo also inherited this short form of two phrases; however, to comply with the poetic form that Holo people frequently used at that time, Sihgulian, it was gradually transformed into the form of a two-phrases repetition, as the lyrics sung went from two phrases to four phrases. Now, it is impossible to verify the first "Hingcun diau" sung in Holo. Nevertheless, from the older generation in the Hingcun area, we are still able to collect the "Hingcun diau" that contains archaic flavours. The following love song which Gong Pan XiuXiang (b.1938) learned from the older generation appears to be a good example (Fig. 4.2;

Different names such as Gele diau, Pennpo diau or Hingcun diau were given to this song after people began to sing it in Holo. This dissertation adopts the name "Hingcun diau". Please see Chapter One, Section 1.2 for details.

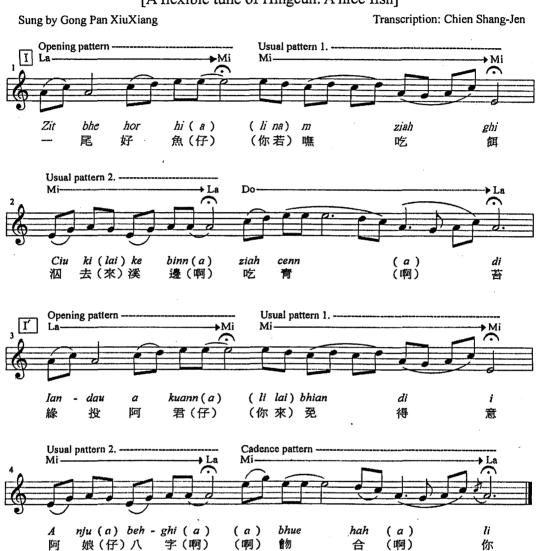
¹⁰ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 21 August 2003, Hingcun area.

Singulian is also named "seven-character poem". It is a poetic form frequently used by people in Taiwan. In this poetic form, a poem has four rhymed sentences, each of which is composed of seven characters. There are various means of writing Singulian: all four sentences describe feelings directly or depict them indirectly through scenes; one sentence is about scenes and three about feelings; two sentences are about scenes and two about feelings; three sentences are about scenes and one about feelings; or all four sentences are about scenes, in which feelings are hidden. Please see Chapter One, Section 1.3.7 for details.

[Fig. 4.2]

Hingcun diau (flexible): Zitbhe Horhi

[A flexible tune of Hingcun: A nice fish]



Lyrics:

Zit bhe Hor hi m ziah ghi, Ciu ki ke binn ziah cenndi;

一尾好魚嘸吃餌,泅去溪邊吃青苔;

[A nice fish does not eat the bait, it swims to the river side for green moss;] Iandau akuann bhian diti, Aniu behghi bhue hahli.

緣投阿君免得意,阿娘八字劊合你。

[Don't be complacent, handsome chap, my birth time doesn't match yours.] 13

Gong Pan XiuXiang, personal communication, 25 August 2003, Hingcun area.

In early Han society in Taiwan, the terms for the Celestial Stems [天干] and the Terrestrial Branches [地支], which denote the time, date, month and year of a person's birth, were used by a fortune teller

The lyrics of this song have the structure of the Sihgulian in which two phrases depicting scenes lead to two others describing feelings. 14 Its melody consists of two phrases, i.e. I + I'. However, except for the fact that the note of its seventh beat rises from DoRe to MiSo (considered to be an acceptable change), the second phrase is virtually a repeat of the first one. As such, this song is thought to be in a form that has two-phrase repetitions in one stanza. Specifically, the melody of the second phrase, Iandau agor bhian dit i, Aniu behghi bhue hahli, is in fact the repetition of that of the first phrase, Zit bhe hor hi m ziah ghi, Ciu ki ke binn ziah cenndi. The analysis of its music, tone set, scale and tonality, usual interval, melodic patterns, as well as melodic movement is provided below:

Analysis of music organization:

Tone set: la, do, re, mi, sol.

Scales and tonality: pentatonic, A minor.

Usual intervals: major second, minor third.

Melodic patterns:

For the positions and structures of the opening pattern, usual pattern and cadence pattern, please see Fig. 4.2.

Melodic movement:

First phrase (I):

La → Mi'; Mi'→ Mi; Mi → La; Do' → La

Second phrase (I'):

 $La \rightarrow Mi'; Mi' \rightarrow Mi; Mi \rightarrow La; Mi' \rightarrow La$

The musical qualities of Hingcun godiau (Fig. 4.1) and those of Hingcun diau in Holo (Fig. 4.2) are similar in intervals and opening patterns, but the songs differ in most other qualities. As a result, both Zhong Mingkun and local elders in Hingcun area prudently evade claiming that Hingcun godiau is the original tune of Hingcun diau. Therefore, before more reliable evidence surfaces, we can only suggest that this is a possibility. Generally speaking, up to the present, evidence is scant, and none of the singers in Hingcun area I have interviewed was able to sing Hingcun godiau in any of the aboriginal languages. 15

¹⁴ See Note 11 for the structure of the *Sihgulian* in which two sentences depicting scenes lead to two

sentences describing feelings.

to decide whether a man and a woman would be well-matched in their future marriage. Accordingly, if a woman was unwilling to accept a man, she frequently used the excuse 'time of birth does not match' to reject his courtship or proposal.

¹⁵ Notable singers in the Hingcun area such as Chen Da, Zhang Xinchuan, Zhu Dingshun, and Zhang Wenjie were not able to sing folksongs in aboriginal languages and had never heard anyone singing

In the early phase of *Hingcun diau* in Holo, people fitted lyrics in the form of *Sihgulian* to the tune according to their wishes and performed the tune in free tempo. People sang *Hingcun diau* in Holo by themselves, or with others in antiphonal form, when they worked in the rice fields, collected firewood in the wild, did housework at home or simply entertained themselves or others. The contents of the lyrics cover almost every aspect of life: New Year's customs; praise for the hometown, Hingcun; intimate dialogue between lovers; exhorting others to do good; the principles of interaction between wife and husband; representations of history; lamenting over becoming old and feeble; bemoaning a difficult life; disseminating Buddhism, and so on. The following are some durable examples that vividly depict local ways of life in the Hingcun area. In these examples, we can also glimpse the thoughts and behaviours of the locals.

(1) Description of festive customs and worship of gods:

Beh gheh zap gho diongciu bhin, tinnding gheh niu zinziann inn;

八月十五中秋暝,天頂月娘真正圓;

[Night of Moon Festival on August fifteenth, Moon lady in the sky looks perfectly round;]

Tode gongzo lai borbi, borbi hongsiu dua tanzinn.

土地公祖來保庇,保庇豊收大賺錢。

[God of Earth, please bless us, bestowing us rich harvests and an ample fortune.]
(Sung by Pan Jinnu)¹⁶

Hokdik ziannsin di bhior lai, sianlam sinlu lai gingbai;

福德正神在廟內,善男信女來敬拜;

[Hokdik God sits inside the temple, devout men and women come to worship;] Hiunnhe ongsiann ton suhai, bor iu dage dua huatzai.

香火旺盛通四海,保佑大家大發財。

[The prestige and power of the temple has spread everywhere, Fude God blesses us with an ample fortune.]

(Sung by Pan Jinnu)¹⁷

folksongs in aboriginal languages. This song has acquired various names such as "Gale diau", "Pennbo diau" or "Hingcun diau". However, since there is still no agreement as its origin, it is inappropriate to call it either "Gale diau" or "Pennbo diau", which seem to indicate sources. Nowadays, scholars, publishers, singers and the public usually call it "Hingcun diau", a choice also adopted here.

Pan Jinnu, personal communication, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.
Pan Jinnu, personal communication, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

There are two important activities in the Hingcun area on 15 August in the Lunar Calendar: the ceremony for the Moon Festival, and the celebration of the birthday of the God of Earth. Like other Han people, people in the Hingcun area have inherited the customs of Han culture and celebrate the Moon Festival. The locals believe that the moon is a deity, in particular the August moon, which is bright white and perfectly round. As a result, people pray for a satisfactory life and a happy family by presenting moon cakes as offerings to the goddess.

Folk in Taiwan worship Tinngong [the God of Heaven] and Todegong [the God of Earth]. Among all the different gods and goddesses in Taiwan, the God of Earth outnumbers others, with temples of various sizes. This has led to sayings like "Cantau" Canbhe Todegong" [God of Earth lives in both the front and back of the field], and "Zngtau zngbhe Todegong" [God of Earth resides in both the front and back of a village]. The God of Earth is also named Hokdik ziannsin [God proper of blessing and virtues]; he is usually called the former by farmers, and the latter by businessmen. People in the Hingcun area believe that the God of Earth is the protector of earth, crops and property. He guards farmers' land, blesses them with rich harvests, and grants businessmen prosperity in business. Accordingly, on 15 August, the birthday of the God of Earth, people worship at home not only their ancestors but also the God of Earth. Moreover, temples of the God of Earth also hold grand ceremonies on the Moon Festival to appreciate the blessings and virtues bestowed by Him. These temples also provide rich varieties of food to gods and goddesses as offerings, which are taken home free by worshippers to bring blessings and peace to their family. Nonetheless, because worshippers are requested to pay back double what they have taken in the previous year, offerings in the temple increase annually. 18 Of all the temples of the God of Earth of various sizes prevalent in the Hingcun area, the Fuangong [Fuan Temple] in Casiann is the most magnificent. The imposing and grand Fuan'gong, which has six floors, is the biggest Todegong temple in Taiwan. ¹⁹ This famed temple is so popular that it has become an essential spot for tourists who visit the Hingcun area. Consequently, the following song is disseminated widely:

Ciasiann hok'an'giong dioh cuttau, duabhior lakzan e gorlau; 車城福安宮得出頭,大廟六層的高樓;

⁹ Lin Xianshui (ed.), *Casiann Xiangzhi* [The village record of Casiann], Casiann Xianggongsuo, 2004, p. 75.

¹⁸ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun Town Hall, 1999, p. 182.

[Hok'an Temple in Ciasiann far surpasses others, it's a six-floor grand building;] Todegongzo miasiann tau, zuansiann iukeh zeze gau.

土地公祖名聲透,全省遊客齊齊到。

[The fame of Todegong spreads far and wide, there come tourists from everywhere in Taiwan.]

(Sung by Chen Mingzhang)²⁰

In the ceremonies, the "Singing Contest of Hingcun Folksongs" is an important annual event for folk music. Lovers of folksongs of all ages and sexes gather in one place, ensuring the transmission of folksongs from generation to generation. The two songs above are lyrics frequently adopted by contestants in this competition.

(2) Praise of local scenery and expressing the confidence and passion of Hingcun people:

Hingcun sitzai hor gingdi, gokgang giansiat muamuasi;

恆春實在好景緻,各項建設滿滿是;

[Hingcun owns truly picturesque scenery, everywhere we find various infrastructure;]

Sugui rucun hor tinnki, gorsuann siongsui honghunsi.

四季如春好天氣,高山上媠黄昏時。

[It's like spring all year round, dusk is the most beautiful moment in the mountain.]

(Sung by You Xia xiantao)21

Dangbinn ritcut muatinn ang, Hingcun hongging zin bhelang

東邊日出滿天紅,恆春風景真迷人;

[The sunrise reddens the eastern sky, the scenery in Hingcun is truly attractive;] Gokga gonghng hor, deyit riatziann Hingcun lang.

國家公園好遊覽,第一熱情恆春人。

[The National Park is a picturesque spot, people in Hingcun are the most passionate.]

(Sung by Chen Zhang Xiuyue)²²

People in the Hingcun area are proud of their scenic spots such as the National Kengding Park, Jialuoshui, and Maobitou, and of their constructions such as the

²⁰ Chen Mingzhang, personal communication, 19 July 1989, Hingcun area.

You Xia xiantao, personal communication, 14 July 1998, Hingcun area.

²² Chen Zhang Xiuyue, personal communication, 25 August 2003, Hingcun area.

nuclear power plant. Although the Hingcun area is short of fertile land and in addition to its hot and humid climate is attacked by strong monsoons for six months a year, the locals always proudly tell visitors, "Because we have spring all year round, this place is named 'Hingcun'".²³

As mentioned in section 1.2-7 (3) B of Chapter One of this thesis, the Hingcun area is a closed and secluded place. Local residents live by farming and fishing and are far from rich; however, they have a deep affection for their homeland. They frequently state, "Our homeland is like our parents who reared us; no parents are ever at fault." Moreover, thanks to the seclusion of the area, people there are rarely influenced by material civilization from outside, and are able to maintain their traits of simplicity, practicality, passion and hospitality.

(3) Associating radiophone with romantic love:

Dingtah duigong bhorsuanndian, ghuagok gong'ue tiann hianhian;

燈塔對講無線電,外國講話聽現現;

[Speaking by radiophone in the lighthouse, foreigners are clearly heard;]

A kun gah niu u giat ian, cian li loto giann bhe sian.

阿君佮娘有結緣,千里路途行納倦。

[If our love is predestined, one thousand miles of trip won't deter you.] (Sung by Chen Piao)²⁴

The first two phrases that describe the powerful long-distance communication function of a radiophone lead to the last two which express a woman's romantic love for her lover. Radiophone communication was rare when Erruanbi Lighthouse was built in Hingcun in 1883. People were amazed that one could talk with others on a ship or in another country thousands of miles away simply by radiophone. Thus a local woman reasoned that if people could communicate with others thousands miles away, her lover should not be deterred by hardship on the trip and should come to see her even if he had to walk one thousand miles.

(4) Depicting hardship of life in the war:

Ricu daizian e sidai, lamlu kecua bhor di tai;

^{23 &}quot;Hingcun [恆春]" literally means "always spring".

²⁴ Chen Piao, personal communication, 22 August 2003, Hingcun area.

二次大戰的時代,男女嫁娶無猪刣;

[During the Second World War, none could afford pork in a wedding;]

Bhut'zu kuat'huann pegip lai, Ziorh bhah ciann ke korlian dai.

物資缺罕配給來,借肉請客可憐代。

[Goods were scanty and were rationed, hosts pitifully borrowed meats to treat their guests.]

(Sung by Chen Ying)²⁵

Mui rit kongsip dui zia lai, dua sior m guann dua culai;

每日空襲對這來,大小不敢住厝內;

[Air raids attacked every day, none dared to stay indoors;]

Laulang enn a ki sokai; Ziauhor dauhang zia dnglai.

老人嬰仔去疏開,昭和投降才返來。

[Elders and children were dispersed to the countryside, they returned only after the surrender in 1945.]

(Sung by Chen Ying)²⁶

During the Second World War, Taiwan was colonized by Japan. To win victory in the war, the Japanese government exercised strict control over goods by rationing daily necessities. Therefore, people normally practised austerity in every respect. In agricultural society in the past, it was customary for the families of both bride and groom to butcher pigs as an offering to worship deceased ancestors and gods and as the principal dish to treat guests. As such, keeping pigs became a sideline for most farming families. Under the strict rationing system, because each family was periodically allocated a limited amount of pork, families who had weddings had no choice but to borrow pork from neighbours, relatives or friends.

Being an important fortress of coastal defence, the Hingcun area was one of the major targets in Taiwan bombarded by the allied forces during the Second World War. At that time, there was an air raid on the Hingcun area almost every day. Countless people ran away from home for their lives. In particular, most elders and young children were evacuated to safe and secluded places. They returned home only after the Japanese government had surrendered in 1945.

(5) Disseminating Buddhism by singing Buddhist doctrines:

²⁵ Chen Ying, personal communication, 24 August 2003, Hingcun area.

²⁶ Chen Ying, personal communication, 24 August 2003, Hingcun area.

Ingor sunhuan sam seian, zingse zor hok gimse hian;

因果循環三世緣,前世造福今世現;

[Cause and effect circulate in three lives, good deeds done in the previous life are reciprocated in this one;]

Zit se zor ze au se ian, zu ok bhok zor zing hok dian.

這世造罪後世延,諸惡莫做種福田。

[Sins done in this life extend to the next, doing no evil breeds good fortune.] (Sung by Xie Ermei)²⁷

Ziongsiann bunsinn ong sehong, sim liam sia bhong zor ghiap ziong;

聚生本性往西方,心染邪妄造業障;

[Real human nature intends to return to the Buddhist paradise, hearts tainted with evil ideas and fancies accumulate karma.]

Duilorh liodor lai liulong, ing'uan kohei luanluanzong.

墜落六道來流浪,永遠苦海亂亂撞。

[Wandering in six paths to which they have fallen, dashing around blindly in this boundless eternal hardship.]

(Sung by Xie Ermei)²⁸

Like their counterparts in other places in Taiwan, people in the Hingcun area believe primarily in Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity, and so on. Of all these, Buddhism is the religion most widely accepted by people in the Hingcun area. Buddhists mainly worship Guanshiyin [the Goddess of Mercy] (transcending hardship in worldly life), Dizangwang [the God of Hell] (transcending hardship after death), and Mituo [God of Buddha] (helping humans to reach the Buddhist paradise). They believe deeply in the concepts of judgement in the future life such as "reincarnation" and "retribution for sin", which enforce their sense of morality, and make them inclined to virtue.

The Buddhists in the Hingcun area even sing out their Buddhist beliefs to the tune of *Hingcun diau*. They believe that cause and effect circulate in three lives. One reaps in this life the good seeds one sowed in the last, and one will be punished in the next life for evils done in this one. As such, one should avoid sowing evil seeds and should cultivate the *Zhongfutian* [field of good fortune]. The so-called "*Zhongfutian*" is the aggregate of good fortune accumulated by doing three pious and charitable

²⁷ Xie Ermei, personal communication, 25 August 2003, Hingcun area.

²⁸ Xie Ermei, personal communication, 25 August 2003, Hingcun area.

deeds: worshipping Buddha, repaying others' kindness, and helping poor neighbours. The deceased local folksong singer, Chen Da, had a strong belief in karma. A serious illness he suffered at twenty-nine left him with a blind eye, a wry mouth, and distorted limbs; moreover, his lover, a widow who had raised his three children for more than a decade, left him. Being handicapped and brokenhearted, he performed poorly in his work, became eccentric and sank into the deepest misery of his life. He later relieved the misery by taking his misfortune as the punishment for the sins he had committed in the last life. He also believed that as long as he was able to accumulate enough good deeds in this life, he would transcend the evils done in the last life and would have good luck in the future. A miracle occurred in the year when he was sixty-five – except for his left eye, his distorted limbs were restored to their original condition.²⁹

Buddhists in the Hingcun area also believe that human nature is kind and all long for the Buddhist paradise. A person who has a tainted heart, behaves wickedly, tells a lie, or commits a sin will be sent to *Liudao lunhui* [Six paths of transmigration], which include heaven, human beings, demons, animals, and hell. These lonely souls will wander in helplessness and find no refuge.

The above-mentioned songs represent only a small part of all the songs that use the tune of *Hingucn diau*. Those songs that describe the migration of Hingcun people to Daidang constitute a larger percentage. The content and cultural meanings of these songs will be explored in detail in the next section.

We can examine the music type of *Hingcun diau* and its song family at this period on the basis of Booth and Kuhn's theory model. At that time, both *Yuanzhumin diau* [An aboriginal tune] and *Hingcun diau* [Tune of Hingcun] were circulated orally and learned incidentally. Tied to non-musical activity, this tune was sung in work, and was used for depicting festive customs, praying for gods' blessings, expressing romantic love, celebrating the beauty of hometown, and narrating historical anecdotes, etc. At the time, rather than for a payment, singing was part of Hingcun people's life; people received neither economic nor transmission support. In other words, *Yuanzhumin diau* [An aboriginal tune] or *Hingcun diau* [Tune of Hingcun] is typical of the genre of folk music.

Chien Shangjen, Taiwan Yinyue zhi Lu [On the travel of Taiwanease music], Zihli wanbao wenhua chubanbu, 1988, pp. 20-21.

4.2 Evolutionary Changes in Hingcun Diau

Geographically, the Hingcun area is not an ideal environment for living in because the area is mountainous and struck by violent monsoons for half of every year.³⁰ Moreover, natural disasters, political factors, and population and economic pressures drove countless people in Hingcun to Daidang in "the rear mountain".³¹

After the establishment of the county government in Hingcun in 1875, owing to the fact that a large number of Han people migrated into the area, the population increased rapidly. The resulting acute shortage of land and food drove numerous people to eastern Taiwan. Furthermore, the Oing government also encouraged migration to eastern Taiwan by subsidizing farm tools and oxen used in farming.³² To improve their living, some poor people therefore moved to Daidang. However, inefficient administration, underdeveloped transportation, and grudges between Han people and the aborigines deterred many Han people from moving to the east. Approximately two thousand Han people from all over Taiwan had settled in Daidang by the end of the nineteenth century, not to mention people from Hingcun.³³ After the Japanese occupied Taiwan in 1895, although the Japanese government actively recruited Japanese settlers to migrate to Daidang, set up Daidang Zhitang Zhushi Huishe [Daidang Sugar Refinery] in Daidang, and improved the transportation in eastern Taiwan, settlers left their settlement gradually due to inefficient administration, natural disasters and their own failure to acclimatize themselves to the new environment. It was not until 1918 that Daidang Sugar Refinery began to recruit Taiwanese to settle in Daidang.³⁴ After that time, some people who saw only gloomy prospects in Hingcun began to consider the possibility of moving to Daidang and building a new home there.

Of those people who migrated from Hingcun to Daidang, some groups were composed of single people who intended to try their luck in the east while others were

For details, please see Chapter Two, Section 2.1 of this dissertation.

Shi Tianfu (ed.), History of Daidang County: Settlement, Daidang County Government, 2001, p. 70-71. Cited in Wen Ji, 'Record of Policies to Manage the Aborigines', Taiwan Provincial Association for Documents, 1957, pp. 256-57.

33 Shi Tianfu (ed.), *History of Daidang County: Han People*, Daidang County Government, 2001, p.

³¹ The Central Mountain Range stands in the middle of Taiwan stretching from north to south. Because Han people began the development of Taiwan from west to east, they called the west, which was developed first, "the front mountain", and the east, which was developed later, "the rear mountain". Daidang is located in the southern part of the rear mountain.

³⁴ Shi Tianfu (ed.), History of Daidang County: Settlement, Daidang County Government, 2001, pp. 109-120.

either families or couples who were determined to settle down there. Chen Da once sang of the mood and the situation of a poor couple who headed towards the east together in order to pursue a better life:³⁵

Kahza e lang ziok ganko, lng lang igi gue dangbo;

較早的人足艱苦,二人移居過東部,

[People had difficult life before; two of us moved to the east of Taiwan;]

Angbho hosiong ai ziorgo, hibhang aulai hor zingdo.

尪某互相愛照顧,希望後來好前途。

[Husband and wife care for each other; we hope for a bright future.]

Hingcun kahza ziok ganko, Sionnbheh igi gue dangbo;

恆春較早足艱苦,想欲移居過東部,

[Life being difficult in Hingcun, I want to move to the east of Taiwan;]

Gueki angbho siorcing zit niako, Bhehho bhogiann haulai ditdioh singuahlo.

過去尪某相穿一領褲,欲互某子後來得著生活路。

[I used to share pants with my wife, I want to improve my family's life in the future.]

At that time, there were two routes for Hingcun people to get to Daidang. One was a mountain path via Fenggang to the east, and the other was a watercourse along the coastline to Daidang. To lower costs, young people who were virtually penniless normally went to Daidang on foot. They walked on the rugged paths in the mountain day and night. The journey was perilous and intolerable; however, to pursue a new life, they had no choice but to overcome the unbearable pain. The following song illustrates this fact:

Bebhu senn lan Painn bhiann giann, Buann suann guenia iadioh giann;

父母生咱歹命子,盤山過嶺也得行。

[Born to be a poor child, I have to endure journeys over mountains and valleys;] Gianngah kade bhin rit tang, Uidioh kuangging dioh pahbiann.

行到腳底暝日痛,爲著環境著打拼。

[Endless walking hurts my feet every day, I have to strive for a better life.] (Sung by Han Zhuang Gan)³⁶

⁶ Han Zhuang Gan, personal communication, 19 July 1989.

³⁵ Shi weiliang (recorder), *Minzu Yueshou Chen Da he Tade Ge* [Chen Da, the National Folksong Singer, and His Songs], sung by Chen Da, Taipei: Xiwang Publisher, 1971.

During the era of Japanese colonization, although the colonizing government devoted more resources to the development of the Hingcun area than the Qing government, numerous people in Hingcun still lived on the brink of starvation. Many, therefore, fastened their hope on the possible job opportunities provided in Daidang and expected to improve their lives by working there. Consequently, people in Hingcun never ceased to seek opportunities in the east. In 1929, the steamer Fushunhao joined in the transportation of passengers between Hingcun and eastern Taiwan. Some people who intended to settle in Daidang headed for the east via this steamboat.

Giansim bheh lai li hingcun, hiah zun pah duann beh ze "bhusun";

堅心欲來離恆春,彼陣打單欲坐「撫順」;

[I am determined to leave Hingcun, I bought a ticket for the steamer, Fushun, at that time;]

Lan dua Hingcun painn zia kun, kutghua kuannhe tang cut un.

咱住恆春歹食睏,出外看會通出運。

[Life is hard in Hingcun; Let's leave and seek our fortune.] (Sung by Chen Da, b.1906)³⁷

During the agricultural age in the countryside in Taiwan, only the rich ate rice. Most others had sweet potato mixed with rice, and the poor in Hingcun could eat only coarse grains. Those people from Hingcun who anticipated a better life in Daidang hoped that they would succeed and be able someday to enjoy rice for three meals a day. Unfortunately, their dreams were shattered by a famine that broke out in Daidang due to the inefficiency of governmental administration, poor geographical conditions, barren soil, and unexpected natural disasters. Consequently, seeing the pathetic situation in Daidang, some disillusioned migrants from Hingcun packed up their belongings, put umbrellas on their shoulders, and without hesitation hurried back to their hometown. At that moment, they realized that nothing was comparable to home.

Bhehki Daidang ziah liapbng, m zai Daidang dua gihng;

欲去台東吃粒飯,嘸知台東大飢荒;

[Having planned to enjoy rice in Daidang, I wasn't aware of the famine there;]

Bauhok hosuann kuann ladng, dngki Hingcun ka gudng.

包袱雨傘款來返,返來恆春較久長。

³⁷ Shi weiliang (recorder), *Minzu Yueshou Chen Da he Tade Ge* [Chen Da, the National Folksong Singer, and His Songs], sung by Chen Da, Taipei: Xiwang Publisher, 1971.

[Packing up and putting my umbrella on my shoulder, I'm going back to Hingcun, which suits me better.]
(Sung by Chen Da)³⁸

However, others who failed to make their fortune in Daidang resigned themselves to their fate and decided to remain in Daidang. Some even married into local families. It mainly because they considered that it was pointless to return to Hingcun, which was also a difficult place to make a living, and furthermore they feared the possible ridicule of family and friends back in their hometown. Almost all of the residents in Daidang at that time were aboriginals; therefore, marriageable Han men who settled there alone usually married local aboriginal women. The *Hingcun diau* sung by Zhu Dingshun (b.1928) depicts the predicament of men who moved from Hingcun to Daidang.³⁹

Beh ki Daidang tuan (a) ghin (a) pior, bhe zai kigau Daidang tuan(a) bhor (a) dior;

欲去台東賺(仔)銀(仔)票,未知去到台東(啊)賺(仔)未(仔)著; [Having planned to make money in Daidang, I didn't expect failure there;] Siunn beh dordng giann(a) lang coir, gobut(lai a) ghiziong(a wei) ho a niu(a) zior.

想欲倒返驚(仔)人笑,辜不(來仔)而終(啊喂)乎阿娘(仔)招。 [Fearing ridicule from others back home, I decided to stay and marry into your family.]

Beh ki Daidang ziah(a) lia(a) pbng, bhe zai kigau Daidang lo(a) zia(a) hng; 欲去台東吃(仔)粒(仔)飯,未知去到台東(啊)路(仔)即(仔)遠; [I'm going to Daidong for rice but didn't know it's so faraway;] Siunn beh dordng zia(a) nenn hng, siunn diok(lan e) gohiong(a ue) sim(a) tausng 想欲倒返這(仔)呢遠,想到(咱的)故鄉(啊喂)心(仔)頭酸。 [I intended to return but the distant homeward journey saddened me.]

All of the *Hingcun diau* songs cited above, which describe Hingcun people migrating to Daidang in search of a better life, maintain the form and characteristic of being sung in a free rhythm. Zhu Dingshun's "*Hingcun diau* (flexible)" is a good example: in performance Zhu pays attention to the meaning of the lyrics, extending

[&]quot; Ibid.

³⁹ Zhu Dingshun, personal communication, on 23 August 2003.

the length of the notes at the end of a sentence better to suit the content of each line. (Fig. 4.3; CD 2-2)

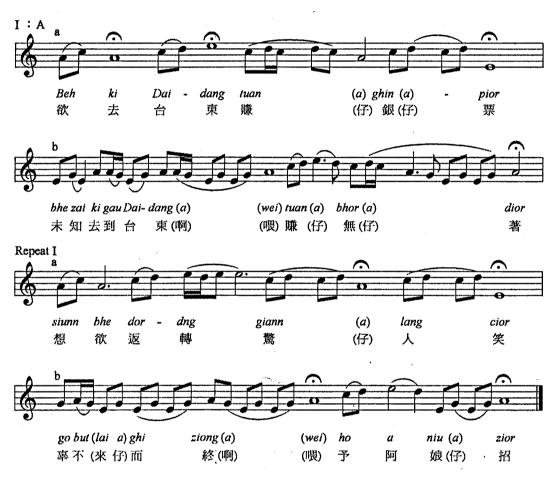
[Fig. 4.3]

Hingcun diau: Beh ki Daidang

[A flexible tune of Hingcun: Having plan to Daidang]

Sung by Zhu Dingshun

Transcription: Chien Shangjen



Note: The above notation is not marked with bar lines to indicate that Zhu sings as he pleases.

The position of shows the notes freely extended in duration.

The melody of the 3rd and 4th lines is actually the repetition of the 1st and 2nd lines; however, the influence of language tones in the lyrics and the impromptu singing of the singer make them somewhat different.

One thing worth noting here is that, of all stories expressed in songs which concern Hingcun people seeking for a better life in Daidang, "The Story of a Father and Son, A Yuan and A Fa" sung by Chen Da, appears to be most complete. This story, which lasts for 18 minutes and 30 seconds, fully describes the hardships, grief and sorrow experienced by Hingcun people who struggled for a new life in Daidang.⁴⁰

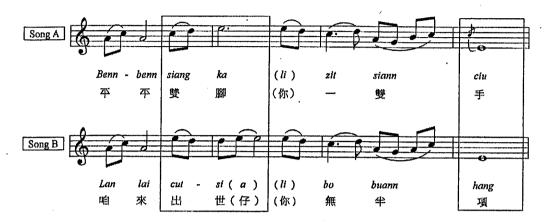
Hsu Tssanghouei (edit), Chen Da he Hingcun Shuochang [Chen Da and Hingcun Shuochang], The First Record Co., Taipei, 1979. Besides Hingcun diau, the tunes used by Chen Da also include

Hingcun diau [Tune of Hingcun] in this period still maintained the typical characteristics of the genre of folk music. That is, the boundary between the singer and the audience was unclear; almost all Hingcun people were folk singers and no professional musicians existed. In addition, this folk tune was given another name, Daidang diau [Tune of Daidang], because it was used to describe how a large number of Hingcun people migrated to Daidang to build their new homes. Daidang diau also belonged to the genre of folk music. However, Chen Da, who appeared in this period, was a special case. In his lifelong singing career, like other Hingcun people who loved singing, he began as a simple folk song singer. At twenty (1925), after his initial performance in public having earned him acclaim, he strived even harder to learn singing and playing instruments from others and to train himself. At twenty-nine (1934), although he was somewhat disabled due to illness, fully applying Hingcun folksongs, he strived for perfection and created narrative-poem lyrics as well as a unique individual singing style, the "Chen-Da singing-and-storytelling art". By the age of sixty-five, he moved around the Hingcun area and received economic support (in the form of money or food) from individuals or directly from the government. Chen Da at the time was like a singer of art music. Late in life, his songs were recorded as records and were published; furthermore, he was invited by TV and radio stations for interview and performance. In addition, he also performed in concert halls, outdoor sites, restaurants, and coffee shops. In the spotlight, although he still wore what he normally wore in the countryside, and maintained the bearing of a plain rural folksong singer, his singing conveyed the refinement of art music. On the other hand, his performance having been organized by mass-media companies as well as commercial organizations and having been indirectly supported economically by the audience, he also seemed to be moulded as a singer of popular songs.

4.3 The Relationship between Folk Song Melody and Linguistic Tones

Hingcun diau (or Daidang diau) appeared during the period of impromptu singing in the form of a two-phrase repetition. At this time, the tune spread among the people by word of mouth. Based on the same tune, the performer sang whatever lyrics he or she favoured and the usage of notes remained quite flexible. As such, linguistic tones exerted their influence, leading to the singing of slightly different melodies from one instance or verse to the next. For example, in Fig. 4.4 a singer sings two different versions of a phrase of lyrics based on the tune of *Hingcun diau*; the notes inside the rectangular boxes show the sections that differ.

[Fig. 4.4] Comparison of different lyrics sung by a singer in the same tune.



Song A

Benn benn siang ka (li) zit siann ciu.

平平雙腳(你)一雙手。

[I also have two feet and one pair of hands.]

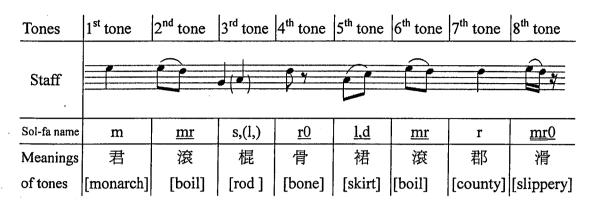
Song B Lan lai cutsi (a) bo buannhang. 咱來出世(仔)無半項。

[When we are born, there is nothing in our hand.]

As a tone language, Holo is characterized by phonetic content including vowel and consonant sounds, rhythm stress and syllable length and by the pitch and the rise and fall of tones. For example, the sound "gun" in the Holo language pronounced at a higher-pitch level indicates the character 君 [monarch]; if pronounced at a slightly lower pitch it signals 郡 [county]; and if pronounced at a far lower pitch, it means 棍 [rod]. In other words, although the same combination of consonant and vowel sounds is present, meaning differs due to the variation in tone. As such, to express the meanings of the lyrics correctly, the singer must pay special attention to the fit of the melody and linguistic tones. There are essentially eight tones in Holo, but during the development of this language, the second and the sixth tones gradually became the same. In Fig. 4.5 these are mapped onto a staff to show the pitch and durational implications of each.

⁴¹ Hong Weiren, Taiwan Holoue Ghighian Sianndiau Ghiangiu [A Study of the tones of the language of Holo in Taiwan], Zili Evening News chubanshe, 1985, pp. 34-47.

[Fig. 4.5] Eight Tones for "Gun" in Holo



According to the above, we can be sure that the first tone, a high-level sound, has the highest pitch of all the eight tones of Holo language. Both the second tone (which is now the same as the sixth tone) and the eighth tone have two notes; they slide down a major second from the pitch position of the first tone; nevertheless, the eighth tone is an abrupt tone whereas the second tone is not. The third tone has the lowest pitch; it is a low-level sound. Both the fourth and seventh tones are two major degrees lower than the first tone. They both are middle-level sound; however, while the fourth tone is an abrupt tone, the seventh tone is not. The fifth tone also has two notes; it slides up a minor third from the pitch position slightly higher than that of the third tone. Although this method for illustrating Holo language tones which utilizes the staff and notes cannot be absolutely precise, in terms of music, it is able not only to measure the comparative pitch of each tone and the interval between them but also is able to show clearly the sliding distance of the interval inside the double-note tones (the second, fifth, sixth, and eighth tones) themselves. 42

Consequently, after seeing the above musical features of Holo language tones, we can easily understand why the notes and melody of the "flexible *Hingcun diau*" in the impromptu period frequently varied according to the variation of the lyrics. However, there exist some exceptions to this flexibility. Some singers sang the melody they

Holo tones have been theorised as including original, changed and real tones. The Holo tones discussed in this dissertation are those pertaining to single characters, which are commonly called original (or inherent) tones. In use as part of a phrase, a character is often modified by proximity to one or more modifiers, such as adjacent words or position in a sentence. This led to both the phenomenon of changing tones and to descriptions of what people actually pronounce in speech, which is called real tone. For further details, please refer to *Taiwan Holoue ghighian sianndiau gah guakik kikdiau e guanhe ham congzok zi ghianngiu* [A Study of the Relations between Language Tones of Taiwanese Holo and Song Tunes and of the Creation of Songs in Taiwanese Holo] (Chien Shangjen, 2001, pp. 17-36). In addition to the interactive relations between Holo tones and song tunes, I also explore the musical characteristics of Holo tones such as range, interval, tonal set, tonality, and matters of melodic direction. Furthermore, I also discuss how to apply these musical characteristics to the creation of songs.

frequently used because of their habitual ways of singing. Others, who were influenced by local representative singers, imitated those singers' habitual ways of singing with different lyrics. Furthermore, because some singers were not familiar with how to apply language tones to the variation of notes, they had no choice but to sing the melody they commonly used.

Generally speaking, the constant slight variation of the melody and notes of a folksong, caused by language tones and singers' different singing habits, is what is commonly called the folksong's quality of "flexibility under the basic tune structure", and is the phenomenon of the incessant change and revitalization of a folksong, which is commonly found in Taiwanese folksongs.⁴³

The purpose of this section is to discuss the influence of language tone on folk tune; any specific song of Hingcun diau and its song family is not touched on. Nevertheless, concerning the distinction between folk song and popular song, one thing deserves our attention. Popular song is the music which has fixed text as well as melody and is made into a recording product for promotion. As a result, the problem of the influence of language tone on the melodies or notes of a popular song does not exist. Namely, of Hingcun diau and its song family, Hingcun diau (flexible) [A flexible tune of Hingcun] and Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) [Helplessness groans] belong to the folk music system; therefore, their melody and notes somewhat alter along with the change of the language tone of their texts because their texts are changeable. On the other hand, Hingcun diau (fixed) [A fixed tune of Hingcun], Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) [Helplessness groans], and Cenn or 'a sor [An oyster fisherman's wife] belong to the pop music system; Ginglonggua (Holo) [Ploughman's song] as well as Gengnongge (Mandarin) [Ploughman's song] belongs to the art music system. The texts of these songs are fixed; normally their melodies and notes do not alter easily.

4.4 Spreading out from the Hingcun Area: from *Hingcun Diau* to *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) [Ploughman's song] and *Ginglonggua* (Holo) [Ploughman's song]

⁴³ (1) In traditional Taiwanese Holo folksongs, almost each tune has the same flexibility as that of *Hingcun diau*.

⁽²⁾ In all systems of traditional Taiwanese folksongs, in addition to the Holo language, Hakka is also a tone language, whose tunes such as *Laoshan'ge*, *Shan'gezi* and *Pingban*, etc. have sufficient flexibility.

As time went by, the population of Han people in the Hingcun area increased, and the influence of Han culture in the area also expanded. Influenced by the poetic structures that Han people were accustomed to, the form of *Hingcun diau* was transformed hugely. Due to the participation of musical professionals, the accompaniment and the manner of performance also changed. Furthermore, political changes brought about an abrupt change in the language used in the lyrics. As such, the tune of *Hingcun diau* changed its name and appeared as *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) and *Ginglonggua* (Holo) in Taiwanese society.

Han people who migrated from China were long habituated to using the poetic form of Sihgulian, which comprised four phrases with seven one-syllable characters in each phrase. The tunes of numerous folksongs of the Han people in Taiwan, such as Susianggi, Diudiu dang a, Caume lang guegang, Gang o diau, Ghogenngo and Doma diau in Holo and Laoshan'ge, Shan'gezi and Pingban in Hakka etc., were filled with lyrics using this poetic form. He cultural concepts of Han people, four phrases contained a structure of introduction, development, transition and conclusion; therefore, four phrases was the minimum complete poetic form. The early form of Hingcun diau, the third and fourth phrases of which repeated the first and second phrases, gradually failed to satisfy people's demands. Therefore, some singers changed certain notes slightly in the third phrase; others varied the melody by raising the beginning melody of the third phrase, for instance, by five degrees. Gumziah hor ziah siangtau dinn [Delicious sugarcane, sweet from end to end] is a good example of this latter transformation (Fig. 4.6). 45

[Fig. 4.6] Gumziah hor ziah siangtau dinn
[Delicious sugarcane, sweet from end to end]
Transcription: Yan Wenxiong



Please refer to Chapter One, Sections 1.2-7 and 1.2-8 of this dissertation for more information.
 Yan Wenxiong *Taiwan Min'yao* (II) [Taiwanese folk songs], Zhonghua dadian bianyinhui, 1969, p. 25.

Lyrics:

Gumziah hor ziah siangtau dinn, siormuai ai gor(ue) bhor ai zinn;

甘蔗好吃雙頭甜,小妹愛哥(喂)無愛錢;

[Sugar sweet at both ends is delicious; I love you, brother, 46 not money;]

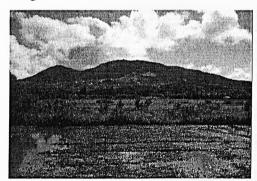
Aibheh lnglang lai zorhue, zinnghin kaze(ue) bheh gong ue.

愛欲二人來做伙,錢銀較多(喂) 會講話。

[I'd like to be with you; money can't talk no matter how much there is.]

The transformations mentioned above, such as changing notes or position of a melodic segment, increasingly extended and expanded the tunes of *Hingcun diau*, which thus developed from the form of one-stanza-two-phrases (four bars) to that of two-stanzas-four-phrases (eight bars), that is, I + II = A + A' = (a + b) + (a' + b). Of all the examples that became expanded in this way, *Gengnongge* (Mandarin), arranged by Zeng Xingde, whose family have lived in Bhuanziu xiang, Hingcun area for generations, deserves our particular attention.

Zeng Xinde was a Hakka born in Bhuanziu xiang, Hingcun area in 1911. He was the principal of Bhuanziu Primary School for twenty-four years (1945-69) and of Donggang Primary School for over six years. Furthermore, Zeng Xingde excelled in violin and was an amateur composer.⁴⁷ In front of Zeng Xingde's house is a rice-field and a grass field, while behind it stands a small hill (Fig. 4.7, 4.8).



[Fig. 4.7] The rice and grass fields in front of Zeng's house.

Photo by Chien Shangjen, 2003.



[Fig. 4.8] The house in which Zeng was born and grew up. Photo by Chien Shangjen, 2003.

Zeng, who had always been interested in music, was familiar with the singing of farmers and shepherds who worked in the fields and in his childhood he learned from them the basic tune and impromptu singing techniques of *Hingcun diau*. ⁴⁸ In 1952, at

¹⁸ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 21 August 2003, Hingcun area.

⁴⁶ An intimate way for a woman to refer to her lover; likewise, intimately, a man calls his lover 'love-sister'.

⁷ Zeng Xingde, personal communication, 15 July 1989, Hingcun area. In addition to *Gengnongge*, Zeng Xingde's notable works include "Betel Tree", "Little Bees", and "Fields in the Hometown".

his post as the principal of Bhuanziu Primary School, Zeng Xinde rearranged and polished *Hingcun diau* based on the tune in his memory. He fixed the main melody in the form of two eight-bar stanzas (A + A'), each of four phrases [(a + b) + (a' + b')]. He provided the tune with a piano accompaniment, and added lyrics in Mandarin. He named the song "Gengnongge (Mandarin)" (Fig. 4.9; CD 2-3).⁴⁹

[Fig. 4.9] Gengnongge (Mandarin) [Ploughman's song]



Note: this notation is directly copied from Xinxuan Geyao [Newly Selected Folksongs].

⁴⁹ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun Town Hall, 1999, p. 59; excerpt from *Xinxuan Geyao* [Newly selected songs], Taiwan sheng jiaoyuhui, vol. 8, 1952.

Lyrics:

1. Yi nian rongyi you chuntian, fantu bozhong mang tianbian;

一年容易又春天,翻土播種忙田邊;

[Spring approaches fast, farmers are busy tilling the earth and sowing seeds;] *Tianli yangmiao yoululu, jiajia fufu bu fengnian.*

田裡秧苗油綠綠,家家戶戶卜豊年。

[Rice seedlings are bright green, every family expects a year of good harvest.]

2. Dong lin he chu shang shan'gang, xi lin gan niu xia chitang;

東鄰荷鋤上山崗,西鄰趕牛下池塘;

[Neighbour in the east is climbing the mountain carrying a hoe on his shoulder, neighbour in the west is herding the ox into the pond;]

Gege litian sao bozhong, hanzhu ruyu man yishang.

哥哥犂田嫂播種,汗珠如雨滿衣裳。

[Brother is ploughing and sister-in-law is sowing seeds, clothes are soaked by beads of perspiration.]

3. Mutong wangui ba gechang, shanshuo xingxing ban yincang;

牧童晚歸把歌唱, 閃爍星星半隱藏;

[A late shepherd boy is singing on his way home, twinkling stars are hiding half their faces behind the clouds;]

Jintian zuowan jintian shi, qie kan zhinu duei niulang.

今天做完今天事,且看織女對牛郎。

[Today's business is finished today, they enjoy observing the Weaving Maid and the Cowherd watching each other across the Milky Way.]



[Fig. 4.10] Amateur composer, principal of primary school: Zeng Xinde

The lyrics written by Zeng vividly depict the life of early farmers in the Hingcun area. Year by year, farmers worked hard in the rice fields, anticipating a rich harvest and a better life. They were not afraid of hard work; frequently, the whole family, including the old and the young, toiled in the fields. The adults cultivated land and grew crops whereas the children herded cattle. Because they were content with their lot, they sang songs and found joy amid hardship. Farmers followed the ancient teaching of "finish today's work today". On beautiful nights, they appreciated the constellations in the Milky Way and recalled traditional folk stories of the Han people.

At that time, most of the tunes of *Hingcun diau* that Zeng had heard and learned were sung in Holo. Why did Zeng not adopt the language commonly used by the public, but purposely use Mandarin? This was primarily due to the GMD government's aggressive policy in promoting Mandarin as the only national language at this time, the historical background of which is as follows.

At the end of the World War Two in 1945, the defeated Japanese withdrew from Taiwan. Meanwhile, the GMD government in Mainland China took over Taiwan and appointed Chen Yi as the governor, Administrator of Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office, to carry out its mandate in Taiwan.⁵⁰ Chen Yi held administrative, legislative, judicial and military power over Taiwan, and he proved to be fiercely dictatorial and discriminatory against the Taiwanese, whom he controlled even more strictly than any Japanese governor had done during the period of Japanese colonization. The Taiwanese dared not voice their indignation. In order to dominate the Taiwanese and eliminate the influence left by Japanese colonizers, the GMD government pushed ahead with a series of educational and cultural campaigns, including training Mandarin teachers and actively promoting Mandarin as the only national language. Furthermore, in 1948, the nationalist government set up the Mandarin Promotion Committee, strictly prohibiting students from speaking in their mother tongues. Students who violated this regulation were fined and had a board hung on their chests, saying 'I won't speak mother tongues; I'll speak Guoyu' [Mandarin].⁵¹ After the Nationalist central government withdrew to Taiwan in 1949, this language policy was rigorously executed in schools and government

⁵⁰ Li Xiaofeng, *Jiedu 228* [Interpretation on 228], Yusanshe, 1998, p. 12.

⁵¹ Zeng Huijia, Cong Liuxing Gequ kan Taiwan Shehui [Observing Taiwanese society from pop songs], Appendix One, Record of Important Events, 1945-1995, Guiguan book Co., 1998, p. 274.

organizations. As a result, students were frequently punished for their violation of the prohibition. Under this situation, as principal of a primary school, Zeng had no choice but to forgo the language commonly used by the public, namely Holo, and use lyrics in Mandarin instead. At the same time, Zeng also changed the name of the song to *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) [Ploughman's song (Mandarin)]. This demonstrates that under a dictatorial regime, the development of folksongs is easily affected by official policies.

In 1952, Gengnongge (Mandarin) was published in the eighth volume of the monthly Xinxuan Geyao [Newly Selected Songs], issued by the Taiwan Provincial Education Association. Later, Gengnongge was put into the music textbook of primary schools as teaching material. ⁵² Incidentally, having originated from an aboriginal tune and based on a Holo predecessor, the new Mandarin version prepared by a Hakka music teacher and adopted in the compulsory education curriculum in elementary schools, symbolizes a fusion of the cultures of the four main ethnic groups in the modern state.

Turning to its music, Zeng adopted the form of two-stanzas-four-phrases rather than the old form of one-stanza-two-phrases repetition. By doing this, he fixed the primary melody, and thus lost the flexibility of *Hingcun diau* in his version called *Gengnongge*. Moreover, Zeng provided *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) with a piano accompaniment, and filled the tune with neat lyrics in the *sihgulian* form already described. As a result, in the eyes of the people, *Hingcun diau* turned into a more "formal", "serious", and "artistic" song.

Although *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) was used as music teaching material in elementary schools, the scope of its influence was limited. Not only did the general public rarely sing this song, but also primary school students were seldom taught this song, because music classes were usually used to teach other courses required for the entrance exam to junior high school and not for musical instruction itself. Nevertheless, it became popular enough for a version, *Ginglonggua* (Holo) [Ploughman's song], to be made which employed Holo in the lyrics. This song was collected by Li Anhe and was transcribed and included in a songbook in 1963. In 1968, it was also included in the album/cassette, *Collection of Taiwanese Folksongs*,

⁵² Zeng Xinde, Personal communication, 15 July 1989, Hingcun area.

published by Lucky Record Co.⁵³ This album was sung by the Lucky Choir. In the following are the front and back covers of its cassette and the score of *Ginglonggua* (Holo) (Fig. 4.11, 4.13, 4.13; CD 2-4).⁵⁴





[Fig. 4.11]

U-4:--- - CT-:---- E-U

[Fig. 4.11] The front cover of the cassette of *Collection of Taiwanese Folksongs*. [Fig. 4.12] The back cover of the cassette of *Collection of Taiwanese Folksongs*.

[Fig. 4.13]

Ginglonggua (Holo) [Ploughmen's song]

Sung by Lucky Choir

Transcription: Chien Shangjen





Lyrics:

Lucky Choir, Collection of Taiwanese Folksongs, Lucky Record Co., CLY-9009, 1968, track B-4.

Lin Fuyue, personal communication, 22 July, 1990, Taipei. Lin is the producer of Lucky Record Co. He composed the harmony and instrumental accompaniment for the album, *Collection of Taiwanese Folksong*.

1. Zit ni gueliau iu zit ni, dang tinn gueliau iu cuntinn

一年调了又一年,冬天過了又春天;

[One year follows another, spring comes after winter;]

Cande diu a cennginnginn, ginni dianndioh si hangni.

田底稻仔青見見,今年定著是豊年。

[The rice plant on the field grows green, this year must have a good harvest.]

2. Zuighu ciahghu mua suannbo, kuannghu gianna ciunn suanngor;

水牛赤牛滿山埔,看牛囝仔唱山歌;

[Water buffaloes and oxen are roaming everywhere on the hillside, a cowboy is singing country songs;]

Zuighu ciahghu mua suannbo, kuannghu gianna ciunn suanngor;

青年男女犁田土,頂坵下坵相照顧。

[Young men and women are ploughing fields, farmers working on the upper field and the lower field, they look after one another.]

Although political factors stimulated its creation, they also prevented Gengnongge (Mandarin) from being disseminated widely among the people, or even caused people's rejection of it. On the contrary, due to the use of Holo in its lyrics, a language which reinforces people's sense of belonging, Ginglonggua (Holo) was attractive to the people at large, and became more popular than Gengnongge (Mandarin).

The despotic measures, rampant corruption and economic collapse of Chen Yi's administration left the Taiwanese completely disillusioned. On 27 February 1947, when attempting to confiscate illegal cigarettes, some GMD officers seriously hurt a middle-aged widow, who later died in hospital, and shot a bystander to death. Besides causing the anger of the crowd on the scene, this incident sparked uprisings all over Taiwan, called the "February 28 Incident" ⁵⁵ (or 228, showing the month and day). The GMD landed troops on Taiwan and immediately began the brutal massacre of

The term "February 28 Incident" has been defined in a narrow and a broad sense. The former means the period during the incident, that is, from 27 February 1947 to 10 March 1947, while the latter has extended the period to encompass the 'white terror' of 1950s. After 10 March 1947, the Nationalist government resorted to even more stringent measures to govern Taiwan. As such, after the incident, the oppression and the terror caused by the incident was prolonged until the lifting of martial law in 1987. (Qiu Limin, "228 Wexue Yanjiu: Zhanqian Chusheng zhi Taiji Zuojia dui "228 de Shuxie Chutan" [Literary study: Initial exploration of the 228 texts by Taiwanese writers born before the World War Two], Masters thesis, National Hsinchu University of Education, 2003, p. 2).

unarmed Taiwanese civilians, which lasted for more than ten days.⁵⁶ Estimates in "The Report of the 228 Incident" by the Executive Yuan of the GMD government in 1994 vary between 18,000 and 28,000. Based on the total population at that time, a death toll of 28,000 means that one out of two hundred people was killed.⁵⁷ In addition, Chen Yi started arresting those who might have offended government officials and rounding up any of those involved in the incident who had hidden in the countryside. This campaign, aimed at eliminating dissidents, put the Taiwanese in further fear and aggravated their anger. ⁵⁸ After that, the GMD government implemented an emergency decree, with the stated aim of suppressing Communist rebels (the real aim of eliminating the political dissidents in Taiwan).⁵⁹ Furthermore, in order to reinforce its control, the GMD imposed Martial Law in 1949, which was lifted in 1987, to dominate Taiwan by one-party dictatorship.⁶⁰

Having been defeated and driven by the Chinese Communists to Taiwan, the GMD government set "counter-attacking the Chinese Communists" as its only goal and did not intend to settle down permanently in Taiwan.⁶¹ The Taiwanese were treated as a resource to reach this goal. As a result of all this pressure, except at school where students had no choice, the Taiwanese often refused to sing songs written in Mandarin, such as *Gengnongge*.

Although Ginglonggua (Holo) was released in the form of a record, its market was limited by the people's poor purchasing power caused by the weak economy at

Liu Yuqing, Chilu Zaji [Chily miscellany], Printing Committee of General Liu Yuqing's Posthumous Works, 1982, cited in Li Xiaofeng, Jiedu 228 [Interpretation On 228], Yusanshe, 1998, p. 173.

Itou Kiyosi, Jiang Wanzhe(tr.), Taiwan Sihbainian de Lishi yu Zhanwang [Taiwanese 400-year history and prospects], New Yuandong Publisher, 1994, pp. 127-43.

Martial Law in Taiwan lasted for thirty-eight years, from 20 May 1949 to 17 July 1987. It was the longest period of martial law in the world.

⁶¹ In 1950, Chiang Kai-shek announced the objectives of the GMD government: "Preparation in the first year, counter-attack in the second, mopping-up in the third, and success in the fifth" (Department of editors of China Times, *Taiwan, Zhanhou Wushinian: Tudi, Renmin Suiyue* [Taiwan, Fifty Years After the World War II: Earth, People, and Time], China Times Culture Co., 1995, p. 44.)

⁵⁷ Itou Kiyosi, Jiang Wanzhe (tr.), *Taiwan Sihbainian de Lishi yu Zhanwang* [Taiwanese 400-year history and prospects], New Yuandong Publisher, 1994, pp. 127-43. The number of casualties was estimated by the GMD government and is thus a quite conservative estimate. Even today, the number of victims who died in the incident has still not been clarified. A wide range of numbers has been claimed – from 1,760 to 100,000.

^{59 &}quot;The Emergency of Decree of the Period of Communist Rebellion" was originally enacted specifically for the purpose of quelling and suppressing the Chinese Communists. The original period of effectiveness of the decree was two years; however, it was extended to 1991 and lasted forty-three years in total, in the name of the un-quelled communist rebellion. In fact, the GMD utilized this decree and martial law to eliminate political dissidents and exercise a strict control over Taiwan. It ou Kiyosi, Jiang Wanzhe (tr.), Taiwan Sihbainian de Lishi yu Zhanwang [Taiwanese 400-year history and prospects], New Yuandong Publisher, 1994, pp. 151-152.

that time. Even access to the market was not unproblematic. The mass media were under the strict control of the GMD government, and Lucky Record Company, which released the record of *Ginglonggua* (Holo), was a small company. Lin Fuyu, the owner of Lucky Record Company, stated, "We're a small company set up for interest and for the purpose of preserving the cultural heritage of folksongs; therefore, it's difficult for us to promote the record on a large scale through business mechanisms." Moreover, this song was presented in the form of choral arrangement created by Lin Fuyu himself, who employed the harmonic techniques of Western music to rearrange the song. That limited the number of consumers who were interested in this form of presentation. As a result, the primary consumers of *Ginglonggua* (Holo) at that time were the intellectuals, and hence the stratum and scope of its influence were not extensive. Nevertheless, thanks to the appearance of *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) and *Ginglonggua* (Holo), the tune of *Hingcun diau* spread out of the Hingcun area and entered into elementary schools all over Taiwan and into the lives of those intellectuals who loved traditional folksongs.

In this phase, Hingcun diau fully demonstrated its revitalization. Having kept its original music organization, tonality and musical pattern, Hingcun diau developed from the structure of one-stanza-two-phrases repetition the two-stanzas-four-phrases form. After having expanded its song structure, both versions of Gengnongge (Mandarin) and Ginglonggua (Holo) were sung or spread with fixed lyrics and melody. When singing these songs, only very few singers were capable of modifying certain notes according to their singing habits or the movement direction of language tones. In other words, the fixed form of these versions of Hingcun diau gradually became normative. In addition, due to the application of basic Western music theories and techniques to Gengnongge (Mandarin) and Ginglonggua (Holo) by Zeng Xinde and Lin Fuyu respectively, these Western theories and techniques became part of the content of *Hingcun diau* and its song family.

After Zheng Xinder, the music teacher, adapted *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) from this folk tune in 1952, the government selected it as teaching material in the music textbook of the primary school. Moreover, occasionally sponsored directly by specific individuals and public or private institutions, the song was performed by vocalists in

Lin Fuyu, interview conducted on 15 December 1989. Lin Fuyu graduated from Taipei Teached School. He has worked as a schoolteacher and a record producer, and has organized and directed choirs.

concerts. In fact, the adapter, singer and audience all treated it as music teaching material or as one similar to "art song". Based on Booth and Cuhn's perspectives, most of the characteristics of *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) indicate that it belongs to the art music system. However, Zheng Xinder is not a professional composer of art or pop music; the content of the song does not have a complex musical structure and elaborative pattern; and the melody of *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) originally came from the folk tune of *Hingcun diau* (flexible). Therefore, it seems that we may say that *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) is a revival folk song subsumed under the "art music" system.

In addition, the chorus of *Ginglonggua* (Holo) [Ploughman's song] was composed by Lin Fuyu, a music educator. Its form, structure and music content were not as complex and sophisticated as a symphony. However, because the arrangement techniques of the chorus were of a certain standard, and most of its singers were all school teachers with extended musical training, when Mr. Lin promoted it in the form of a record for the purpose of "preserving folk song heritage", *Ginglonggua* (Holo) was considered as an "art song" in the record market of Taiwan at that time. Moreover, only a few intellectuals who loved folk music purchased the record, so the record achieved only small sales. Consequently, based on the theory of economic and transmission systems, the song does not quite comply with the definition of pop music. Instead, it is closer to the definition of art music. Further, since its basic melody and its text were taken from *Hingcun diau*, which had been passed down from generation to generation, the appearance of this chorus seemed as music behaviour to be a revival of a traditional folk song. In short, the chorus of *Ginglonggua* (Holo) can be considered as a revival folk song belonging to the genre of "art music".

4.5 The Melancholy Adagio Sann siann bhornai [Helpless groans]

In the 1950s, in the name of the Emergency Decree of the Period of Communist Rebellion, Martial Law, and other regulations, the GMD government deprived the people in Taiwan of their basic human rights such as freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. The people were also

prohibited from establishing new political parties and publishing new newspapers. In addition, the GMD government set up secret intelligence organizations to spy on people's thoughts and behaviour, and even encouraged family and friends to inform on one another. As a result, numerous people in Taiwan lost their trust in others. The GMD government also framed charges of "Collaboration with Chinese Communists", "Hiding Chinese Communist bandits", or "Conspiring to overthrow the government" against dissidents who criticized the GMD government or urged reforms. He GMD's dictatorial measures and close surveillance of people's thoughts and behaviour put Taiwanese society into an atmosphere of nervousness, depression and helplessness, and this period is now referred to as the "White Terror". In this oppressive atmosphere, new changes were made to the tune *Hingcun diau* to reflect the mood of society. Its speed clearly slowed down, transforming from the original fast-paced to a slow song. This new variation is called *Sann siann bhornai diau* [A tune of helpless groans].

Like many traditional folksongs whose origins remain unknown, up to now no one knows who started singing this slow-tempo Sann siann bhornai diau or how it first developed. Nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that its song structure continued the two-phrases-four-stanzas form of Gumziah hor ziah siangtau dinn, Ginglonggua (Holo) and Gengnongge (Mandarin). In the process of dissemination, the tune acquired multi-purpose functions. In addition to maintaining its features as a folksong, it was flexibly employed as a tune in Taiwanese opera and even adopted as a popular urban folksong. Although this tune retained its original title in each of the above two adaptations (just dropping the designation diau), for the clarity of discussion, I call the tune in the former situation "Sann siann bhornai (dramatic)", and in the latter "Sann siann bhornai (urbanized)". In the following, the development of the tune in the circle of gua'a hi [Taiwanese] opera and in the market of pop songs will be discussed separately.

According to Liao Qiongzhi,65 the prominent Taiwanese opera actress:

Itou Kiyosi, Jiang Wanzhe(tr.), Taiwan Sihbainian de Lishi yu Zhanwang [Taiwanese 400-year history and prospects], New Yuandong Publisher, 1994, pp. 148-155.
 Ibid., pp. 161-63.

Liao Qiongzhi, personal communication, 13 September 2003, Taipei. Born in 1935, Liao began to learn Taiwanese opera at the age of 14. She has devoted her life to the performance, teaching and propagation of Taiwanese opera. She has won numerous awards such as the National Award of Art Dissemination (Ministry of Education) in 1988, the National Award of Literature and Art (National Cultural Art Foundation) in 1998, and the Best Artiste in Asia – Life Achievement Award of Art (New York Cultural Bureau, Lincoln Art Center and Chinese American Art Association) in 2000.

Beginning from the 1950s, when the tune of Sann siann bhornai diau started to spread, it was like an old folksong that everyone could fill in words they liked. Later, thanks to the popularity of radio and broadcasting media, Taiwanese opera sped up its growth besides being performed on the stage, it was also put on the air. 66 To meet performance needs, Taiwanese opera adopted a large amount of folksongs to serve it as further melodic material. At that time, because Sann siann bhornai diau was commonly loved by the public and its depressed mood fitted the needs of certain kinds of operatic plot, it was natural for it to be adopted for Taiwanese opera.





[Fig. 4.14] Liao Qiongzhi as a young artist. [Fig. 4.15] Liao Qiongzhi educating young performers.

Liao also indicated that it was around 1959 when she adopted the Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) in her performance. At that time, she was performing Tajwanese opera on the air for the Zhonghua, Youshi and Minsheng guangbo diantai [Minsheng broadcasting stations]. ⁶⁷ The tune adopted in Taiwanese opera was used as one of the Kau diau [Tune for crying], 68 a tune reserved for special use in sentimental and

⁶⁶ From 1954 to 1955, due to the popularity of radio, broadcasting programmes became a major entertainment among the people. As such, Taiwanese opera performers came up with the "broadcasting Taiwanese opera", in which actors/actress and musicians sang and played the opera in serial form on the air. The "broadcasting Taiwanese opera" found a large enthusiastic audience and quickly became a vogue. Zhengsheng Tianma Opera Troupe, established in 1962, was most representative. (For further information, please refer to Zheng Yongyi, Taiwan Gua'a hi de fazhan yu biangian [The Development and Transformation of Taiwanese Opera], Lianjing Publishing Co., 1988, or website: itrifamily.itri.org.tw/activity/93/1mages/act930831-1.doc, accessed on 1 August 2006).

⁶⁷ Liao Qiongzhi, interview conducted on 28 July 1989.

Taiwanese opera is a traditional opera unique to Taiwan. Each Taiwanese opera is composed of some pre-existing tunes, one of which is Kau diau [Crying tune]. There are several Kau diau, including Tainan kau [Tainan Crying tune], Zhanghua kau [Zhanghua Crying tune], Dua kua [Deep sorrow crying tune], Sior kau [Small crying tune], Ziann Kau [Positive crying] and Dor kau [Contrary

sorrowful scenes. Based on the requirements of the particular plot, various lyrics were set to *Sann siann bhornai* (dramatic), the actors/actresses adjusting certain notes so as to clearly express the lyrics, according to their singing habits or the linguistic tones. The following is *Sann siann bhornai* (dramatic) as sung by *Nanguan* musician Huang Yaohui. (Fig. 4.16; CD 2-5):⁶⁹

[Fig. 4.16]

Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) [Helpless groans]

Sung by Huang Yaohui

Excerpt from: Hsu Tssanghouei, Taiwan Holoxi Min'ge



Lyrics:

Siunnlai gehsim mizit hau, muizit bhaksai yitdit lau;

想來格心瞑日哮,每日目屎一直流;

[Feeling so regretful, I cry day and night; tears keep on dropping every day;]

Kabo(lai) sitbai siunnbo gau, kuannbua(lai) sennbhiann bo ai lau.

腳步(來)失敗想無到,看破(來)生命不愛留。

[Taking a careless step, I failed; disappointed in life, I'd like to live no more.]

After Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) was used in Taiwanese opera, it became even more widely popular among the people. In addition, its quality of measured sorrowfulness properly reflected the repressed feelings of the Taiwanese under the dictatorial domination of the GMD government. Besides realizing people's need for

crying]. The tune of Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) is also called Sann siann bhornai kau.

The notation and words of this song are taken from Hsu Tssanghouei, Taiwan Holoxi Min'ge, Baike Cultural Co., 1982, p. 5. Hsu collected the notation and words from those sung by Zhang Guizi, a Taiwanese opera actress. Nevertheless, because both Hsu and Zhang have passed away, to offer the sound of the song as a reference, I invited Huang Yaohui, a Nanguan musician specializing in the singing of Taiwanese opera, to sing the song for recording based on Hsu's notation and words.

an outlet for emotions, the record company was also deeply aware that as long as the lyrics did not touch on sensitive political and social issues, which the GMD government kept under strict surveillance, it was all right to publish the song. As a result, this tune was also made into a record and songbook under the title of *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized) to be sold in the market (Fig. 4.17, 4.18). *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized) even became the focus of promotion of the record, *Collection of Memorable Taiwanese Songs*.





[Fig. 4.17] [Fig. 4.18]

[Fig. 4.17] The front cover of the record, Collection of Memorable Taiwanese Song. On the cover is a photo of the singer, Lin Xiuzhu.

[Fig. 4.18] The back cover of the record, Collection of Memorable Taiwanese Song, which contains the lyrics.

As to the origin of the lyrics of *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized), according to Lin Jinpo,⁷⁰ who rearranged the lyrics of this song, they were rearranged based on incomplete original material provided by Huang Guolong and other lovers of Taiwanese songs. The lyrics had three stanzas, each stanza beginning with a number in the order of 1, 2, 3....⁷¹ Moreover, Huang Guolong indicated in the book he co-edited with Wu Aiqing, *Taiwan Ge'gao 101* [Taiwanese songs 101]:

The original material of the lyrics of *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized) was collected by me from the lyrics sung in the *Tainan kau diau* [Tainan crying tune] of Taiwanese opera by Xianglan, a waitress, when in 1965 some friends and I drank at the Beihai

Lin Jinpo, interview conducted on 29 July 1989. Lin lives in Taipei. He is a laundry owner and an amateur lyrics writer.

In Taiwan, there is no unified term for songs whose sentences of the lyrics begin with numbers, in the order of 1, 2, 3... I call them "Numerical songs". This form of lyrics is frequently used in children's songs in Taiwan. Lin Jinpo, interview conducted on 29 July 1989.

Jiujia [North sea tavern] in Zhongli.72

Despite their similar lyrics, the tunes of *Tainan kau tiau* and *Sann siann bhornai* (dramatic) are totally different. In other words, lyrics similar to those of *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized) are often used in other tunes. Accordingly, Lin's contribution was in fact to create a new combination of pre-existing models.

Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) was first published by Leida [Radar] Record Company in 1966. The record company invited Ding Ling (Lin Xiuzhi), a hit singer at that time, to sing the song, and Guo Dacheng to produce the record. Unfortunately, after finishing production of the record, Radar Record Company ran into financial trouble; therefore, the song was transferred to Wulong [Five Dragons] Record Company, which published the song in 1968. (Fig. 4.19; CD 2-6)

[Fig. 4.19]

Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) [Helpless groans]



Lyrics:

1. Zitsi tamdorh a guan(a) sui, ciziann bhokziu gih buibui:

一時會著阿君(仔)美,痴情目睭格瞇瞇;

[Coveting a moment your handsomeness, I keep my eyes blind with passion half closed;]

Uiguan(a) gaai lai ziakui, haighun bhohsai silamsui.

Huang Guolong and Wu Aiqing, Taiwanese Folksongs 101 [Taiwanese songs 101], Tiantong Publishers, 1985.

Guo Dacheng, interview conducted on 9 August 1989. Guo Dacheng, whose real name is Guo Shunyang, was born in Taipei in 1937. He has been a singer, a record producer and a radio programme host of Huasheng Broadcasting Station.

爲君(仔)假愛來吃虧,害阮目屎四湳垂。 [Suffering for your false love, I weep abundant bitter tears.]

2. Ghi gin gueliau gheh cia sai, siunn ghun na e bhiann ziah bai;

二更過了月斜西,想阮那會命即歹;

[The moon slants to the west after the second watch,⁷⁴ I'm feeling sad for my desolate destiny;]

Hue kui zuan bhang a gun(a) cai, bhor ghi hiauhiong but ing gai. 花開全望阿君(仔)採,無疑僥雄不應該;

[I was hoping you'd pick this bloom; unexpectedly, you're unforgivably heartless.]

3. Sann siann bhornai kau biai, gheh'niu gam zai ghun simlai;

三聲無奈哭悲哀,月娘敢知阮心內;

[Lamenting helplessly, crying sadly; can the Lady Moon read my heart?] Sitluan siunn sim lau bhaksai, hor hue biansiann siunnsizai.

失戀傷心流目屎,好花變成相思栽。

[Jilted by my lover, I dissolve into tears; a beautiful flower becomes a dry, lovesick tree.]

As the above translation shows, the lyrics of Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) as a pop song depict the helplessness of a sad woman deserted by her lover. The helpless mood and the sentimental tune of the song allowed many Taiwanese to project their oppressed feelings through this song. Although at that time the GMD regime imposed a rigid limit on the broadcasting of material in native languages by means of media policies, 75 when made into a record the song gradually spread throughout

⁷⁴ In past Chinese societies the night was divided into five watch periods, each covering two hours.

How the GMD government suppressed native languages by pushing ahead the Mandarin policy has been discussed in 4.4 of this chapter. In the following, I shall explain how the GMD regime oppressed native languages by means of mass media. To begin with, the Ministry of Education established a committee in charge of broadcasting businesses in 1952, monitoring whether broadcasts complied with the highest national policy of "Anticommunism and resistance to the USSR". Because the promotion of Mandarin was one of the important national policies at that time, broadcasting stations needed to comply with it fully. In 1959, the Executive Yuan proclaimed and implemented "Regulations of broadcasts and radio programmes", regulating native-language programmes and the frequency of their broadcast. In 1963, through "Principles guiding broadcasts and radio programmes", the Executive Yuan reaffirmed that the primary broadcasting language was Mandarin. In addition, the Legislative Yuan passed "Implementation bylaws of radio and TV regulations" in 1976, regulating the rate of broadcasting in Mandarin, which should not be lower than 55% in AM stations and not lower than 75% in FM stations. In 1983, Government Information Office proclaimed "Regulations of TV programmes production", stipulating that programmes in

Taiwanese society.

Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) became a craze everywhere across Taiwan; throughout the late 1960s and 1970s it was very commonly performed in teahouses, taverns, on local radio stations and at pop-song concerts. In particular, in the taverns, it was the song that drinkers used to express their emotions and that barmaids utilized to relieve their own feelings of melancholy. In the 1950s-60s, it was uncommon for Taiwanese women to receive middle- or higher education and it was difficult for poorly-educated women to find a decent job. Most families were poverty-stricken after World War Two. As a result, to support their families, many women from poor families had no choice but to fall into socially disreputable vocations, such as working as a barmaid. Besides pouring wine and tea, and offering food, a barmaid had to drink and sing for the customers. They were obliged to please their customers by assuming a joyous mood and sometimes had to accept customers' requests for sex. Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) was a consolation to these barmaids, who regularly had to swallow insults and endure physical abuse in order to keep their jobs.

In the mid-1960s, when labour-intensive industrial production in Taiwan entered its prosperous period, high-quality and reasonably-priced records from Taiwan were successful in finding opportunities in international markets. In 1965, Haishan Record Company, led by Zeng Zhenkun, displayed both Mandarin and Taiwanese (Holo) records in the fairs held in Southeast Asia. Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, many of whom spoke Holo language, were attracted to these records. Therefore, after 1968, it was natural for *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized) in Holo, in vogue in Taiwan

native languages be limited to thirty minutes every evening, and in Mandarin song programmes only two native-language songs could be broadcast each day. It was not until 1993 that radio and TV regulations lifted the limitation of native-language programmes. Dominated by the various strict limitations on native-language programmes and native-language songs on radio and TV stations, most mass media were forced to self-censor themselves for survival. Sometimes self-censorship caused by political terror was more detrimental than the limitation imposed by visible regulations. For instance, the Board of Directors of Taiwan TV Station, which was established in 1962, requested that all programmes should be broadcast in Mandarin and any native-language programmes should be limited to entertainment ones and these programmes needed to be explained in Mandarin (Song Naihan, *Broadcasting and TV*, Taiwan Shangwu Book Store, 1962, p. 94; Zeng Huijia, *Cong Liuxing Gequ kan Taiwan Shehui* [Observing Taiwanese society from pop songs], Guiguan book Co., 1998, pp. 130-135; News Reporters' Association of Taipei city (ed.), *Broadcasting, TV, and Movies*, Reporters Series (3rd Type), News Reporters' Association of Taipei city, 1964, p. 169).

Yue Yanyan, Taiwan Changpian Sixiangqi [Recalling the history of Taiwanese records], Boyang Cultural Business Co., 2001, p. 147. In fact, Holo records were already exported to the area of Southeast Asia, primarily Malaysia and Singapore, by Columbia Record Co., in the 1930s-40s during Japanese rule. See further the documentary, Viva Tonal: The Dance Age (Producer: Ping Xianxian; Director: Chien Weisi, Guo Zhendi; Music Supervisor: Li Kuncheng, Taiwan Liantong keji gongsi,

VRD 024488, 2004.12.).

society, to spread to countries such as Malaysia and Singapore by means of records, tapes and concerts given by Taiwanese singers. In this way, *Hingcun diau* was exported to foreign countries. In the 1990s, Li Maoshan, a famous singer from Singapore, sang this song several times in programmes on Taiwanese TV and in live shows.

The Sann siann bhornai used in Taiwanese opera or that adopted in pop songs is performed at a slow tempo. Both have a song form of two-stanzas-four-phrases [I + II] = A + A' = (a + b) + (a' + b)]. Nevertheless, when adopted in Taiwanese opera, the tune remained quite flexible, and its lyrics were frequently varied in accordance with different plots of the opera. By contrast, when Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) was used in pop songs, people made it into records and collected it in songbooks that were widely circulated. It was disseminated with fixed lyrics and melody. Nevertheless, to reinforce the sorrowfulness of the song, people used quite a lot of appoggiaturas. The appearance of the two extended the function of the tune of Hingcun diau to the commercial entertainment fields of drama and popular music and thereby allowed it to broaden its scope of influence to foreign countries.

Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) [Helpless groans] which was adapted in gua'a hi [Taiwanese opera] adopted the folk music tradition – flexible tunes, performers singing different lyrics based on the requirements of the plot, and adjusting the melodies or notes according to the rise and fall of language tones. In particular, the live performance of gua'a hi in the folk festivals in honour of local deities had already become part of the lives of the people. Thus, from musical use and function, Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) possessed more the characteristics of folk music. Moreover, having been broadcast through radio stations as a tune of gua'a hi, Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) appeared to have the function of commercial music. However, because its primary transmission method was live performance and it was merely one tune applied in gua'a hi, Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) was not quite like a pop song, which was promoted by the intermediary as a commercial product. As to performance

At that time, various cities of Southeast Asian countries such as Singapore, Jakarta, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, and Manila one by one established nightclubs, and pop-song concert halls similar to those of Taiwan. As a result, like Taiwanese records, Taiwanese singers were exported to these countries as well; they performed in the above-mentioned cities. Because of performing in concert halls for years, some of the woman singers were even married to local overseas-Chinese businessmen. (Yue Yanyan, *Taiwan Changpian Sixiangqi* [Recalling the history of Taiwanese records], Boyang Cultural Business Co., 2001, p. 148)

expenses, part of them came from the indirect support of the audience; nevertheless, most of the gigantic cost was actually born by individuals, private or public institutes responsible for the preservation of the culture of traditional operas. This is another quality that made it different from pop music. Furthermore, because the actors/actresses of gua'a hi [Taiwanese opera] were all professional performers who received a long-term purposive, formal training in apprenticeship, according to Booth and Kuhn's theory model, Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) can be subsumed under the art music system. In short, it seems that Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) can be treated as a "folk music" which possesses the elements of "art music". As to Sann siann bhornai (urbanized), to make the song into records and tapes, record companies invited professional musicians to produce it, and hired professional singers and Western music bands (the most popular type of bands at that time) to perform it. After that, the intermediaries started to promote these songs (although restricted by GMD policies) through radio broadcast, live performance, newspapers, and magazines. Thanks to the indirect patronage of a mass audience, the song was able to be spread to every corner in society and became a popular artefact in a commercialized society. In light of the economic and transmission support systems, Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) which appeared in the form of "revived folk songs" indeed belonged to the system of pop music.

4.6 Returning to the Past and Heading Towards the Future: Hingcun Diau in a Fixed Form

In the early days, *Hingcun diau* had a song structure of one- stanza-two-phrases, and its lyrics and melody were flexible. Later, after it developed into *Gengnongge* (Mandarin), *Ginglonggua* (Holo), *Sann siann bhornai* (dramatic) and *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized) at different historical times, the song structure became two-stanzas-four-phrases. Except for *Sann siann bhornai* (dramatic), whose lyrics and melody remained flexible, all the others had fixed lyrics and melodies. In the latter part of the 1960s, when *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized) was spread widely among the people, a new recorded version was made of *Hingcun diau* in the former structure of one-stanza-two-phrases repetition. Although still entitled *Hingcun diau*, this version differed from that in the earlier folk tradition in that its lyrics and melody became fixed.

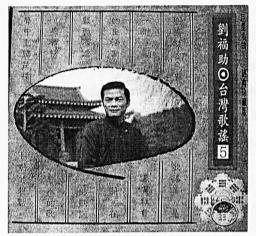
Lu Jinshou, a Taiwanese pop-song composer born in 1935,78 recalled that at about the age of 18 (around 1951), while working in Mt. Nandawu in the suburbs of Hingcun town, he met four or five woodsmen who were singing while they sawed logs. From these woodsmen, Lu Jinshou, who had a special love for music, learned a number of impromptu Hingcun diau depicting both Hingcun people pursuing a better life in Daidang and lovers chatting intimately. After Lu entered the circle of popular music at 24, he never ceased thinking of making records of the Hingcun diau he had learned in Mt. Nandawu. He had not put this into action, though, because, on the one hand. Lu thought that although the Hingcun diau he had learned from woodsmen contained vivid depictions, their lyrics also sounded a little bit vulgar and hardly suitable for sale to the public. On the other hand, the fear of being accused of plagiarism also deterred him from publishing these songs. Later, having found that Hingcun diau were traditional folksongs and thus lay in the public domain, Lu proceeded with the publication of these songs. In doing so, he changed a few characters of the lyrics which he considered vulgar and simplified and regulated the tune of the song. He turned the original Hingcun diau characterized by a strong "speech melody" quality, ⁷⁹ free rhythms, and impromptu singing form into a product with a stronger "music-based"80 melodic quality, clear rhythms, fixed melody and fixed lyrics. For the convenience of differentiation, research and discussion. I will name the older version Hingcun diau (flexible) and Lu's new version Hingcun diau (fixed). In 1967, Lu handed over Hingcun diau (fixed) to Lige Record Company, which later invited Liu Fuzhu, a distinguished folk singer, to sing the song. The song is included on the record, Taiwan Geyao (5) [Taiwanese Folksongs (5)] (Fig. 4.20, 4.21). Hingcun diau (fixed) entered the market at approximately the same time as Sann siann bhornai (urbanized). The following is the Hingcun diau (fixed) sung by Liu Fuzhu (Fig. 4.22; CD 2-7):81

"Hingcun diau", in Taiwan Geyao (5). [Taiwanese songs, album (5)], Taipei: Lige records Co., Ltd. ASK-0158, date of publication unknown, track 9.

⁷⁸ Lu Jinshou, born in 1935, who lives in Wanruan Xiang, Pingdong County, has devoted himself to the collection of traditional folksongs and the composition of Taiwanese pop songs. I interviewed Lu Jinshou twice, in 1996 and March 2006 respectively, talking about *Hingcun diau* and Taiwanese folksongs.

The so-called "speech melody" is a melody that is formed by following the rise and fall of language tones. As such, the movement-directions of both, i.e. "speech melody" and language tones, are the same.

By "music-based" I am referring to a melody that is not manipulated by language tones; instead, it is produced purely based on musical characteristics and functions. If the movement-direction of such a melody corresponds to that of language tones, the meanings of the lyrics are crystal clear when a singer sings the lyrics by following the movement-direction of the song melody. Otherwise, the meanings of the lyrics can be difficult to comprehend.





[Fig. 4.20]

[Fig. 4.21]

[Fig. 4.20] The front cover of the record, Taiwan Geyao (5). On the cover is a photo of the singer, Liu Fuzhu.

[Fig. 4.21] The back cover of the record, Taiwan Geyao (5).

[Fig. 4.22] Hingcun diau (fixed) [A tune of Hingcun]

Sung by Liu Fuzhu

Transcription: Chien Shangjen



Note: Bars 5 - 8 are actually a repetition of bars 1 - 4; however, bar 5 is not the exact repetition of bar 1, but a slight alteration.

Lyrics:

[Going to Daidang Huelian port, don't know anyone on these unfamiliar roads;]

Bhang beh a niu (lo lai) sior tianntang, tianntang a gor (ue ma) cutghua lang.

望欲阿娘(囉來)相痛疼,痛疼阿哥(喂嘛)出外人。

[Girl, please care for me, care for this poor man away from home.]

2. Woman: Beh ki Hingcun (ia) bhor ghua hng, Iausiu Ziamsuann (ue lai) din diongng;

欲去恆春無外遠,妖壽尖山(喂來)鎮中央;

[Hingcun is within sight, but the path is blocked by the loathsome Ziamsuann (name of a small hill);]

Dandai Ziamsuann (na) se landing, zit lai gah gun (ue li) kun gangcng. 等待尖山 (那) 迺輪轉,即來佮君 (喂你) 睏共床。

[I'm waiting for the Ziamsuann to move, until then I'll be willing to sleep in the same bed with you.]

3. Man: Beh ki hih biann (dioh) buann suannlun, kuanndioh a niu (ue lai) giat guigun;

欲去彼平(著)攀山崙,看著阿娘(喂來)結歸群;

[On my way to the mountain, I saw a group of girls walking together;]

Gidiong hih e ghun u iai, korsiorh bhor lang (ue lai) dau anbai.

甘山德個區有音器,可性無人(理本)醫學規。

其中彼個阮有意愛,可惜無人(喂來)鬪安排。

[I'm attracted by one of the girls, but it's a pity no one is arranging relationships for us.]

4. Woman: A gun m zai (si) dor ui lai, (Man) rittau lorhsuann (ue ziah) gong li zai; 阿君不知(是)叨位來,(男)日頭落山(喂才)講你知;

[I wonder where you're from, (Man) I'll let you know when the sun sets;]

A niu sennsui cinciunn Inndai, a gun sennsui (ue) cinciunn Niuhiann.
阿娘生美親像英台,(女)阿君生美(喂)親像梁兄。

[Girl, you're as beautiful as Inndai, (Woman) Brother, you're as handsome as Niuhiann.]⁸²

Because of this record and songbook, the lyrics and melody of the *Hingcun diau* (fixed) which entered the pop-song market were no longer as flexible as those of the early-day *Hingcun diau* (flexible). Moreover, the influence of linguistic tones on its tune was also declining. Nevertheless, at this stage, the lyrics of *Hingcun diau* (fixed) still maintained a local flavour and its melody preserved the original rustic charm – simple and easy to sing. Most interesting is the fact that after having been disseminated in the two-stanzas-four-phrases form for sixteen years (since 1952), *Gengnongge* (Mandarin), there was a return to the old form of one-stanza-two-phrases repetition of the *Hingcun diau* (fixed).

Inndai is the first name of Zhu Inndai; Niuhiann is Niu Sanbik. Zhu Inndai and Niu Sanbik (Zhu Yingtai and Liang Shanbo in Mandarin) are protagonists of a sad and beautiful love story in China. In Taiwan, early Han immigrants from China liked to quote characters in Chinese folk stories for figurative purpose.

Unfortunately, the sales of the record of the Hingcun diau (fixed) were no more than average. Lu Jinshou commented with emotion, "Whatever good songs at that time could not resist the censorship the GMD government imposed on the media. Not to mention the competition from Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) at that time."83 In the 1960s in Taiwan, besides the implementation of Martial Law and the dreadful atmosphere of White Terror, the GMD government vigorously pushed forward different regulations to limit use of native languages in radio and TV programmes.⁸⁴ Consequently, under the situation at this juncture, it is natural that the Hingcun diau (fixed) had limited space to expand. Moreover, lacking the overt lamentation that Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) used to appeal to people suffering political oppression, it was difficult for the Hingcun diau (fixed) to attract the attention of the public. Furthermore, the lyrics of Hingcun diau (fixed) were characterized by the locality of Hingcun (for instance, "Ziamsuann" is a small hill familiar only to locals in Hingcun) and so had difficulty attracting consumers from other areas. Nevertheless, its easy-to-learn lyrics and rich local flavour were still able to arouse some resonance in society. In particular, the fixed melody of Hingcun diau (fixed) provided a model for Cenn or 'a sor [The oyster fisherman's wife], that appeared two years later, referred to below.

Hingcun diau (fixed) [A fixed tune of Hingcun] is the revived folk song of traditional Hingcun diau (flexible) [A flexible tune of Hingcun]. The melody as well as the text of traditional Hingcun diau (flexible) was rearranged, fixed and turned into Hingcun diau (fixed) by pop music professionals. Record companies hired professional producers, singers and Western music bands to produce the song and made it into a record. After that, the record was merchandized by intermediaries and was indirectly patronized by a mass audience. According to the model of economic and transmission support systems proposed by Booth and Kuhn, Hingcun diau (fixed) is a revived folk song commonly found in the homogenization of pop music products.

4.7 Entering a New Age: Cenn or'a sor [The oyster fisherman's wife]

In the 1970s, when the economy flourished, the political climate improved and society

Lu Jinshou, personal communication, 16 September 2006, Taipei.

See section 4.4 and notes 59, 60 above for more information about how the GMD government oppressed the native languages of various ethnic groups.

was transformed from an agricultural to an industrial basis. In line with this shift, a new, lively version of *Hingcun diau* appeared and has actively circulated among the people until today. This new tune with its brisk tempo was named *Cenn or 'a sor* [The oyster fisherman's wife].

In contrast with the dictatorial measures in politics, the economic policies carried out by the GMD government have received a somewhat more favourable evaluation. When the Korean War broke out in 1950, in addition to sending the Seventh Fleet to help defend Taiwan against attack by Communist China, the United States furnished economic and military aid to Taiwan to build its infrastructure and to strengthen its defences. In 1954, the USA and Taiwan signed US-ROC Mutual Defence Treaty. In 1956, the USA even made a formal statement warning Communist China not to invade Kinmen and Matzu or American military force would definitely interfere in the ensuing war. 85 Strongly backed up by the USA, Taiwan temporarily passed the crisis of attack from Communist China and gradually entered an era of economic stability. 86 From 1953 onward, the GMD administration began to implement a five-period- (four years per period) and-two-year economic construction plan, which to a degree was helpful to economic growth in Taiwan. As to the people, under the strict oppression of the GMD and unable to express their political opinions freely, they had no choice but to focus their attention on economic interests. Consequently, the economy in Taiwan grew steadily, and labour-intensive industries gradually earned huge sums of foreign exchange for Taiwan. In the 1960s, due to the improvement of the economy, the national income increased year by year. For example, in the 1970s, the annual national income per head grew to US\$360.00, having increased 2.63 times compared with that of US\$137.00 in 1951.87 The improvement of people's economic situation, the stability of their lives, and the consequent rise of the entertainment business lessened their grievances against the GMD government and dimmed their memory of the fear and uneasiness inflicted by dictatorship. As a result, singing Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) [Helpless groans] was not entirely the reflection of White Terror any more. The fact is that people at that time even expected a tune that was more able to relax

86 Editorial Department of China Times, Taiwan: Fifty Years after the War – Earth, People, and Time,

China Times Culture, 1995, p. 43.

Kinmen and Matzu are two small islands within the jurisdiction of the government of Taiwan. They are located in the Taiwan Strait and are close to the Chinese mainland. See further: Zeng Huijia, Cong Liuxing gequ kan Taiwan Shehui [Observing Taiwan society from pop songs], Guiguan book Co., 1998, pp. 257-77.

⁸⁷ Zeng Huijia, Cong Liuxing Gequ kan Taiwan Shehui [Observing Taiwan society from pop songs], Guiguan Book Co., 1998, pp. 57-58. Cited in Yearbook of National Income, Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting, and Statistics, Executive Yuan, 1997, pp. 14-18.

their minds.

In the 1960s, Taiwan transformed from an agricultural society to an industrial and commercial one and thus the value of the industrial output gradually exceeded that of the agricultural output. At this historical juncture, to earn a living, countrymen from central and south Taiwan, where people mainly lived on agriculture, swarmed into the cities in north Taiwan, where people primarily depended for a living on industry and commerce. This was the so-called "big migration within the island". 88 Most migrants from central and south Taiwan settled down in Taipei County and Taipei city, which, therefore, turned into a metropolitan area with a new demographic structure composed of old and new residents. This metropolitan area, formed by Taipei city and its satellite cities, not only reinforced Chinese culture brought by the GMD government, but also actively absorbed many aspects of material culture from the West. In terms of pop music, Mandarin pop songs flourished vigorously under the protection of the GMD's Mandarin policy;⁸⁹ and Western songs were gradually gathering momentum among young people who had learned English. 90 Nonetheless, middle-aged and older urban residents, together with new residents from the countryside, were still full of nostalgia for the rustic life they had experienced during childhood. What captivated these people's hearts were not new Mandarin and/or English songs but old songs containing local charm that were gradually being forgotten. As a result, traditional folksongs such as Hingcun diau [Tune of Hingcun], Susianggi [Song to narrate what one thinks of], Caume lang guegang [Grasshopper playing jokes on the cock], Ghule gua [Song of the plough], Benngiann'gua [Song of pregnancy], Torhue guedo [Lady Torhue crosses the river by ferry] and Diudiu dang'a [Drip of water], were promoted and disseminated in order to satisfy this nostalgia. This was not a complete return to old practices, though. These songs were now actively promoted via the latest business methods – they were re-written with new lyrics and arrangements, accompanied by

Providing defensive assistance to Taiwan, American soldiers stationed in Taiwan increased to tens of thousands. To satisfy their entertainment needs, bars and clubs were established everywhere and ignited a vogue for American pop music. Meanwhile, countless young people also became crazy

about Western pop songs.

⁸⁸ In contrast with the "big migration within the island", there was also the so-called "big emigration out of the island", which specifically indicates the phenomenon that numerous people who feared the attack of Taiwan by Communist China and/or who could not bear the oppression of the GMD government and so moved out of Taiwan.

From the 1950s to 1960s, when producing Mandarin pop songs, people mostly copied records from the original ones from Hong Kong. Therefore, the composers and singers of these songs were mostly from Shanghai, and Hong Kong. After the 1960s, record companies in Taiwan began to cultivate local singers and produce their own Mandarin pop songs, which were spread via music concert halls, radio stations, TV stations and theatres. (Zeng Huijia, Cong Liuxing Gequ kan Taiwan Shehui [Observing Taiwan society from pop songs], Guiguan book Co., 1998, pp. 105-106, 109-110).

Western-style bands, sung by popular singers and made into records. The tune of *Hingcun diau*, renamed as *Cenn or 'a sor* [The oyster fisherman's wife], appeared in society once again.

When commenting on how the record of *Cenn or 'a sor* was produced, Guo Dacheng, the producer of the records of *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized) and the writer of the lyrics of *Cenn or 'a sor*, stated:

It is essential for a record producer to grab the 'pulse' and the 'trend' of an age. Because the economy of Taiwan turned better and people's consumption power became stronger, it was time for record production. We tried to gear the records to the needs of the city dwellers from the countryside who missed traditional songs about local geography and history and of the younger generations who favoured brisk rhythms.⁹¹

Guo's successful combination of the background and the social phenomena of the time led, in 1970, to *Cenn or 'a sor* sung by Lina and included in her record, *Lina's Holo Pop Songs* VII, by Sanyang Record Co. As soon as it was published, it spread quickly in concert halls, nightclubs and on the streets and became a song well-known to everyone. The following are the lyrics and melody of *Cenn or 'a sor*, the album and its front and back covers (Fig. 4.23, 4.24, 4.25; CD 2-8). ⁹²

Cenn or 'a sor [The oyster fisherman's wife] [Fig. 4.23] Transcription: Chien Shangjen Sung by Lina ciun , se bi Bat lang e u lork ghun e gun si a gun (ue) si or 别人的阿 是 Ŧ '西米 君 阮的阿 君 (喂) 是 4: 脯 Repeat I

sor

嫂

Lyrics:

1. Batlang e agun si ciun sebilorh, ghun e agun (ue) si beh cenn or;
別人的阿君是穿西米囉,阮的阿君(喂)是賣生蚵;
[Others' husbands wear handsome suits, my husband is selling raw oysters;]

beh ziah cenn or (a) (ue) si bhan

欲吃 生 蚵(仔)(喂) 是 觅

bhor

無

giann

⁹¹ Guo Dacheng, personal communication, 25 May 2005.

阮 是

cenn

4

or

蚵

Lang lang gior ghun si

人叫

[&]quot;Cenn or 'a sor", lyrics written by Guo Dacheng, in Lina's Holo Pop Songs VII, Sanyang Records Company Co., SAL-012, 1970, record track 1.

Lsnglang gior ghun Cenn or 'a sor, beh ziah cenn or (a ue) bhan giann bhor. 人人叫阮是生蚵嫂,欲吃生蚵(仔喂)是発驚無。

[Everyone calls me the oyster fisherman's wife, we have abundant oysters as food at home.]

2. *Batlang e agun si dua se iunn lau, ghun e agun (ue) si bhakziu tuah tang;* 別人的阿君是緣投仔桑,阮的阿君喂是目睭脫窗;

[Others' husbands are handsome gentlemen, my husband has a squint;]

Sennzue sui bai si bhian uantan, lang gong bai ang (a ue) si ziah bhe kang.

生做美醜是免怨嘆,人講醜尪仔喂是吃劒空。

[We shouldn't be bothered by appearance, an ugly husband is said to be more reliable.]

3. *Batlang e agun si dua se iunn lau, ghun e agun (ue) si kun to ka dou;* 別人的阿君是住西洋樓,阮的阿君喂是睏土脚兜;

[Others' husbands live in western-style mansions, my husband sleeps on a clay floor;]

Un bhiann hor bai si bhian ke kau, na u rinzin (a ue) si e cut tau. 運命好歹是発計較,若有認真仔喂是會出頭。

[We shouldn't be particular about fate, we'll succeed if we work hard.]





[Fig. 4.24] [Fig. 4.25]

[Fig. 4.24] The front cover of the record, *Lina's Holo Pop Songs VII*. ⁹³ On the cover are the singers, Lina (left) and Lizhen (right).

[Fig. 4.25] The back cover of the record, on which are the lyrics.

What is printed on the record as "青蚵仔嫂" is the "生蚵仔嫂" used in this thesis. The characters "青" and "生" have the same pronunciation "cenn" in Holo. However, "青" means "green" while "生" means "fresh", which implies that the oysters were freshly caught. Therefore, the correct way of writing the name should be "生蚵仔嫂". Because there was not a unified written form of Holo at that time, Guo Dacheng, the lyrics writer, used the character "青", another character with the same sound. (personal communication, 9 August 1989, Taipei).

Another reason for the popularity of *Cenn or 'a so* is that its lyrics resonated easily with the people. Because Taiwan is an island, a large percentage of the population lived by fishing. Therefore, folksongs with themes such as fishing on the sea, bidding farewell by the sea, and fishing life, etc abounded. Hanks to its realistic and affable lyrics, *Cenn or 'a so*, a song about fishing life, was naturally well-received by the fisher people of Taiwan. Furthermore, the philosophy of "predestination", that "fate is decided by the Heavens" in the lyrics states the heart's desire of the middle- and lower-class people in Taiwan, while the belief of "hard work leading to success" in the lyrics encourages poverty-stricken people to strive upward. The lyrics, which reveal complaints without loss of determination and lament without loss of control, and contain a touch of wit and humour, deeply moved people's hearts. Due to its ability to inspire this resonance with the public, *Cenn or 'a so* was even selected as the theme song of the TV serial, *Cenn or 'a so*.

As to the music characteristics of *Cenn or'a so*, it not only forwent the melancholy adagio of *Sann siann bhornai*, but also gave up the two-phrases-four-stanzas form of *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized), *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) and *Ginglonggua* (Holo) and returned to the two-phrases-one-stanza one of *Hingcun diau*. As to the lyrics and melody, *Cenn or'a so* was promoted in the form of record and book so as to meet the demands of the market. Consequently, it was presented in a fixed form and lost its original quality of rich flexibility. It, however, provided an easy-to-learn and easy-to-sing model for people to imitate and follow.

In its thirty years of transmission, *Cenn or 'a so* was repeatedly featured in their albums by various singers such as Jiang Hui, Chen Shuhua, Zhang Qingfang and Luo Dayou, and earned colossal fortunes for their record companies. In the mid-1990s, the fad of rap music and hip-hop culture, which originated from urban African-American teenagers, spread into Taiwan. ⁹⁵ Both rap music and hip-hop culture were gradually accepted after having undergone conflict and enculturation with local teenage

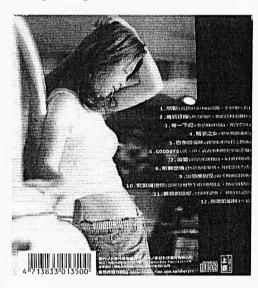
⁹⁴ Good examples are 'Taiwanese songs' such as Sangcutbang [Bidding farewell and setting sail], Gangbinn Siorhbat [Saying farewell at a harbour], Anbing Duisiongkik [Song of recollection in Anping harbour], Lorsiann Nahionn [If a gong is struck], Gangdo Ia u [Night rain in a harbour City], Giannzunlang [Seamen], Giannzunlang e Sunziannkik [Love Songs of Seamen]. These are all songs received well in their own time.

Hip-hop began in the Bronx, the northeast tip of New York City. Kool Herc and Afrika Bambaataa were two leaders of early hip-hop movement. Later, hip-hop developed into a street subculture of black youth in American cities in the 1980s. The behavioural elements of hip-hop culture are breakdancing, graffiti, and DJing. Rap music is its most commonly-used music. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hip_hop_music, accessed on 3 August 2006).

cultures. Quite a few youngsters became crazy about rap music, and began street dancing; rap music and hip-hop culture became a vogue. As a result, practitioners in the pop music circle began to apply the features of rap music in pop songs. In 2002, influenced by this trend, a new version of *Cenn or 'a so* was created by combining the form of rap music and the lyrics and melody of *Cenn or 'a so*. In the new version, the lyrics and melody of *Cenn or 'a so* intersect with English rap-words, performed by a young singer, Huang Siting, and an African-American rapper. The release of this rap-style *Cenn or 'a so*, which was published by Haoji Record Company in the album, *Gan Dong* [moving], immediately aroused public attention (Fig. 4.26, 4.27; CD 2-9). The rap version of *Cenn or 'a so* proves again the great adaptability of *Hingcun diau* in a new age. The following are the front and back covers of this CD. On both covers there is a photo of the singer, Huang Siting.



[Fig. 4.26] The front cover of the CD "Moving".



[Fig. 4.27] The back cover of the CD "Moving".

⁹⁶ Zhuang Jinghe, *Zhengtongxing de Duizhan: Taiwan Hip-hop Rap yue de Yinyue Zhengzhi* [Fighting the orthodoxy: music politics of hip-hop rap music in Taiwan], Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue masters thesis, 2005, p. 98.

Pop songs in Taiwan began with Taiwanese (Holo) songs in the 1930s; Chinese (Mandarin) songs appeared in the 1950s after the GMD government moved to Taiwan; the aboriginal and Hakka pop songs gradually came into sight after Taiwan entered the period of pluralism in the 1990s. Mandarin pop songs first adopted rap music in the composition, and then Taiwanese (Holo) pop songs followed suit. Up to the present, aboriginal and Hakka pop songs have not employed rap music.

The name of the rap singer was not printed on the CD cover. According to Wu Qingwen (the producer of Haoji Record Company) and Zhang Yawen (producer's assistant), Haoji Record Company was only responsible for the style direction of music, and the transcription, accompaniment, and recording of the singing of the rap version of "Cenn or 'a so" were all executed by Sebastian Zhang in Singapore. Haoji was only aware that the rapper was an African-American who died in the bomb explosion in Bali in 2004. I asked Wu to ask Zhang the name of the rapper; unfortunately, up to 30 July 2007, there has not been any response. (Wu Qingwen, personal communication by telephone, 30 July and 27 June 2007; Zhang Yawen, communication by correspondence, 20 October 2006).

Singer: Huang Siting (stage name: Sheryl), "Cenn or'a sor", Gan Dong [moving], Haoji records company, 2002.10, track 2.

In fieldwork enquiries at Haoji Record Company, I asked, why did the company invite an African-American singer to participate in the production of this rap music version? And what did he want to express in the lyrics? Zhang Yawen, the assistant producer of Haoji Record Company, explained:

Honestly speaking, an African-American singer is able to chant English rap works much better than local singers. The participation of an American in the production of our record not only created an exotic effect but also gave an impression of internationalization. This African-American singer earned his living by performing everywhere in the world. Because of his unique quality in chanting the rap, we invited him. At that time, he was performing in a pub in Singapore and accepted our invitation immediately. Recording in the studio, he chanted impromptu without any notes. As a result, we did not know the content of his rap lyrics. It was his unique flavour that we wanted. Unfortunately, the rap version of *Cenn or'a sor* is his posthumous work; he died in an explosion when he travelled in Bali the year before last. We still don't know his name to this day.

Three parts of the primary lyrics of the rap style *Cenn or 'a so* still use the lyrics written by Guo Dacheng. Transcribed from the CD, parts of the lyrics of the rap are approximately as follows:¹⁰⁰

The rap lyrics of Cenn or'a sor

Chorus: Get ready, get funky, shake your body down! (four times)

Rap Solo: Ah Yeah... Huh! give your brother groove to move

Huh Yeah! Can't slow me down now

Huh! Got the wind in your mist

So what are we gonna do right here

2002, you know what to do

It's all about grooving

It's part of our brew

So let we move you, huh, we're part of this track like getta.. huh

Singing solo: the first and second parts of the main lyrics (omitted here; the same as the lyrics listed in *Cenn or 'a sor* mentioned above).

People involved in the transcription of the rap lyrics include Loo Fungying, Tim Kempton, Chien Shangjen and others.

Chorus: Get ready, get funky, shake your body down! (twice)

Rap solo: Hey! As I said before,

And when I swing when I sing and when I rock them no more

Huh! They put their hands up in the air

They beat my body, just don't care, they want to rock.

Come on every body!

They wanna move they wanna groove they wanna swing with the wind

Because it is in the mist of 2002 was right here

Because I don't doubt it's right

I keep it on and on and off the clock huh

When it broke say, we got the move

Take tight girl

Huh! Come'on wave your hand huh

Don't so lika-so lika lika that Huh

Right down the beach

East coast in the meet

No west coast coz you know

We got the move huh

You're right, we swing, we bought it, we do our thing

Huh out there tweet there outa thing

Men with whole heels?

Singapore swing huh

You ah ... got that body ring out

Solo singing: the third part of the main lyrics (omitted here; the same as the lyrics listed in *Cenn or 'a sor* mentioned above).

Rap solo: Yeah, as I do my thing

I learn the chicken's wing, ring

Huh singing in the middle rocking the party

Yeah everybody checking da body coz I don't stop

They know they got the man

Not the mixing who's on the clock huh

I got the gold I got the drinks

Huh I got the white gold no I got the swing click

Huh that's it go down

Huh do with me round...

Huh swing to the back coz she like-sa like that huh
I told her what huh, I told the swing huh
I told her come'on let's spree mah gotta hey you ring
Huh I don't do this for nothing
I do this for the money
I do this for the fame and for the fortune huh
You want the gold you want the rocks huh uh
You want the diamonds on the clock huh?
Now swing sing rocka for the big big baby body bling
Please come'on now swing to the clock now

Chorus: Get ready, get funky, shake your body down......

Note: Underlined words indicate that I am unsure whether they are correct or not; sometimes the sentences sung or read by a rap singer are ungrammatical and the words used are at the rapper's pleasure.

Obviously, the appearance of the rap version of *Cenn or 'a sor* shows the gradual modernization, Westernization and internationalization of modern commercial and industrial music culture. It also shows how new linguistic resources can be applied to and interfaced with the song itself.

The basic tune of *Cenn or 'a sor* [An oyster fisherman's wife] (including the rap version), like those of *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized) and *Hingcun diau* (fixed), originated from the traditional folk tune of *Hingcun diau*. *Cenn or 'a sor* even had a new text created by a professional writer of pop music lyrics. This song was selected as a commercial music, produced by a professional producer, sung by a professional singer, and made into a record. After that, it was merchandized by the intermediary as a commercialized music product. Those who like this song learned it from the music product or mass media; therefore, their music learning process was informal and merchandized. All these conditions meet the definition of pop music in Booth and Kuhn's theory model.

4.8 The Application of Western Music and Revitalization of Hingcun Diau

From the 1970s onward, the international status of Taiwan was seriously jeopardized

because of her renunciation of membership of the United Nations and her severance of diplomatic relations with the United States of America. The impact of these two moves tested Taiwan's capacity to survive and meanwhile woke her people, who were accustomed to the status quo, from their insensitivity to possible perils. Encountering these severe tests, the direction of Taiwanese policies began to alter and the Taiwanese population changed their thoughts accordingly. Not surprisingly, this led to major changes in the development of the music culture in Taiwan as well. Nevertheless, *Hingcun diau* did not disappear at this time but was instead employed as material in the composition of art music, numerous pieces of which were created at this time.

The global political situation changed tremendously in the 1970s. A gradual reconciliation between democratic and communist camps led the United States to adopt the strategy to "subdue the USSR by uniting with China". The international status of Taiwan, which had long depended on the USA's support, suffered a severe blow owing to the American decision to become more closely associated with China and so to distance Taiwan. After her renunciation of membership of the United Nations in 1971 and her severance of diplomatic relations with the United States in 1978, 101 Taiwan faced a series of heavy blows as, one by one, other nations began to break off diplomatic relations. 102 The GMD's "Hans and bandits never stand together" and "One-China" foreign policies further jeopardized Taiwan's position in the international world. 103 This reveals that the GMD government, although it had sovereignty only over Taiwan and was quite unable to counter-attack China, absurdly kept on claiming that it was the orthodox representative of China. As Taiwan became isolated internationally, the GMD government began to admit the hopelessness of counter-attacking China and had no choice but to focus its attention on the development of Taiwan. This situation encouraged people in Taiwan seriously to consider such issues as: "What are the relations between Taiwan and China?", "Are the Taiwanese Chinese?", "Where should Taiwan be heading next?", "How should tradition be passed on and how should the contradiction between the traditional and the modern be resolved?", "What does 'the Chinese nation' mean?", "What is the

On 25 October 1971, the United Nations voted to substitute the People's Republic of China for the membership of the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan).

When Taiwan renounced her membership of the United Nations in 1971, the number of nations she had diplomatic relations with was comparable to that of China. However, by 1973, the number of nations Beijing had diplomatic relations with was 83 whereas those of Taipei had declined to a mere 39.

[&]quot;Hans-and-bandits-never-stand-together" was a foreign policy formulated by Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the GMD government at that time. That policy indicated that the ROC (the Hans) should immediately break diplomatic relations with any country that established diplomatic relations with Communist China, considered "bandits" who had usurped control of mainland China.

indigenous spirit of Taiwan?" and so on. As a result, a spirit of autonomy and a sense of subjectivity centring on Taiwan were gradually formed. As part of this trend, people in the circles of art and culture continuously engaged in overall self-examination to try to develop new prospects in their respective fields. Art groups and individuals whose works were based on indigenous themes and employed local material gradually appeared. At that time, groups and individuals who received the acclaim of society included: the Cloud Gate Dance Theatre; 104 the sculptor Zhu Ming; 105 the self-educated painter Hong Tong; 106 and the folk singer, Chen Da. Stimulated by exterior environmental factors such as politics, diplomatic relations, and contemporaneous social change, the interior subjective consciousness of those in cultural life shifted and a new perception emerged. Based on a nativist consciousness and the use of local materials, professional artists in Taiwan gradually built a cultural perception of "standing locally and viewing globally", a stance whose influence has endured until today.

In the 1970s, stimulated and challenged by the aforementioned environmental factors, the music culture in Taiwan underwent an obvious change. Before the 1970s, Taiwanese traditional music and Western music had been almost parallel in development. However, in the 1970s, these two nearly parallel lines gradually approached one another and attempts were made to fuse the two, these interactions bearing fruit in the 1980s.

Western music was developed in Taiwan primarily via three channels: missionaries, schools, and students studying abroad. Western music first established its foundations in Taiwan when Taiwan opened its ports to foreign traders when China, America, Britain and France signed Treaties at Tianjin in 1858. Western music was disseminated through Catholic and Protestant missionaries, gradually taking root in numerous places due to the efforts of churches and missionary schools. ¹⁰⁷ After Japan

Cloud Gate Dance Theatre was established by Lin Huaimin in 1973. It was the first professional dance company in Taiwan and the first modern dance company in the wider Chinese-speaking world.

Born in 1938, Zhu Ming's first individual exhibition was held in 1976. The sculpture 'Of One Heart' displayed at this exhibition depicted a worker and an ox pushing an overloaded cart up a slope. This was an analogy of Taiwanese society in the 1970s struggling upwards with difficulty.

Hong Tong (b. 1920) started a tremendous vogue in Taiwan by means of his unique painting style and his nativist themes in the 1970s.

Three missionaries who made important contributions to the dissemination of Western music in Taiwan are: (1) Rev. David Smith, a preacher of the English Presbyterian Church in Taiwan from 1876 to 1882, who began to teach music courses in Tainan Theological College and Seminary from 1879; (2) Rev. George Leslie Mackay, a Canadian Christian preacher in Taiwan from 1872 to 1901, who introduced Western hymns into the northern part of Taiwan; (3) Mrs. William Gauld, who belonged to Canadian Presbyterian Church and was in Taiwan from 1892 to 1923. She established

colonized Taiwan in 1895, because the Japanese themselves already paid much attention to education in Western music, they not only furnished courses in Western music at schools but also actively cultivated music professionals in teachers' colleges. Furthermore, this giving of emphasis to Western music in school music education has remained a normal occurrence since the end of World War Two in 1945. From 1910 onwards, students in Taiwan never ceased to go abroad to learn Western music. For almost all of the students studying abroad, Japan had been the destination for study until the end of the 1930s. Around 1945, because of the influence of the war, students temporarily stopped going abroad for study. The number of students studying Western music abroad, nevertheless, recovered and increased steadily in the latter part of the 1950s. At that time, America and European countries were students' primary choices. Having returned to Taiwan after graduation, these people became a hard core who actively promoted Western music in Taiwan.

As to the traditional music in Taiwan, since the ancient time, it had been deeply ingrained in people's lives. In the early days, traditional music activities such as folksongs, *shuochang* (singing and narrating stories), *gewu siaosi* (singing and dancing small-scale stories) and traditional dramas, had never had much contact with Western music.

In the 1930s, however, Taiwanese (Holo) pop songs appeared in Taiwan and some musicians who had learned Western music, such as Yao Zanfu, Deng Yuxian and Wang Yunfeng, were involved in the creation of these pop songs. 110 However, these

During the period of Japanese rule famous musicians such as Zhang Fuxing and Ke Dingchou were supported by public funds when studying at music schools in Japan because of their performance at teachers' college in Taiwan.

the foundation of music education in church schools in northern Taiwan. (Yang Lixian, *Taiwan xiyang yinyue shigang* [A History of Western music in Taiwan], Ganlan Wenhua jijinhui, 1986, pp. 42-44, 65-66.)

Besides Zhang Fuxing and Ke Dingchou, those who studied music in Japan at that time included Li Jinshi (Tokyo Ueno Musical School), Wang Xiqi (Koubei Music College), Li Zhiqi and Gao Qiumei (Teikoku Musical School), Zhang CaiXiang (Musashino Musical School), Lu Quansheng and Lin Henian (Toyou Musical School), Wang Yunfeng (Tokyo Zinbo Music College), Guo Zhiyuan (Nihon Daigaku Music Department of Art), and Jiang Wenye (Tokyo Ueno Musical School and Tokyo Musashi Industry School) (Yang Lixian, Taiwan xiyang yinyue shigang [History of Western music in Taiwan], Ganlan wenhua jijinhui, 1986, p. 117; Hsu Tsanghouei, Jindai Zhongguo xin yinyue shihua [Historical sketches of new music in modern China], Baike wenhua shiye company, 1982, p. 27.)

Yao Zanfu, born in Taipei in 1908, studied in Taiwan Theological College and Seminary and worked as a pastor. His notable works include Simsngsng [Aching heart], and Koziu muabue [A cup full of bitter wine]. Deng Yuxian, born in Taoyuan in 1906, developed his music abilities in Taipei Teachers' College. His famous works include Bhangcunhong [Hoping for spring wind], Suguihong [Four-season red], Ghuat ia ciu [Melancholy in moonlight night], and U ia hue [Flowers in rainy night]. Wang Yunfeng (real name Wang Qi), born in Tainan in 1896, studied in a music college in Tokyo. His notable works include Torhue kiphiatgi [Weeping-blood peach blossom], and

composers employed the techniques of Western music in their creation of melodies. producing songs for the purpose of commercial profit and entertainment. Consequently, their works were never truly "recognized" by musicians within academia. 111 In the 1950s, therefore, although the transcribers of Gengnongge wrote a piano accompaniment for it and reworked Ginglonggua into the form of a chorus using techniques of Western music, these transcriptions were not taken seriously by academic musicians. In the eyes of these, only Western classical music, which was thought to contain a higher aesthetic value, was "orthodox music". To put it simply, the music they held in high esteem had no direct connection with the place and society in which they lived. Nonetheless, in the 1970s, some of these composers who had been trained in Western music composition theories and techniques began to turn to indigenous traditions, hoping to use elements from them, along with Western approaches, to create new music that was both modern and distinctively Taiwanese. Hsiao Tyzen, presently residing in Los Angeles, stated in one interview I conducted, "When using Taiwanese folksongs as material in musical composition, I wanted to express my permanent love for Taiwan; moreover, I intended to lift the aesthetic level of Taiwan's music and internationalize it by means of the theories and techniques of Western music."112 The attempts and efforts made by composers like Hsiao resulted in the steady growth of music that combined Western musical techniques and Taiwanese material.

Of the numerous Taiwanese folksongs that have been used in creating such music, Hingcun diau and its song family are frequently adopted. Works which employed Hingcun diau and its song family as basic material include Li TaiXiang's instrumental "Hingcun diau" and "Cenn or 'a sor", the Japanese composer Hayakawa Masaaki's chamber piece "Cenn or 'a sor", Lai Dehe's instrumental "Hingcun diau", Bao Yuankai's instrumental work "Daidang diau" and Hsiao Tyzen's "Fantasy Hingcun

Bopuabhang [Repairing broken nets].

By "musicians from academia" I mean vocalists, instrumental performers or composers who have received formal music education in schools. Most of them teach music courses in colleges or are professional instrumental performers.

Hsiao Tyzen, personal communication, 27 March 2006, Taipei. Hsiao was born in Kaohsiung, Taiwan in 1938. He graduated from Taiwan Normal University in 1963 and Musashino Musical University in Japan in 1967. Hsiao moved to the USA in 1977 and entered the graduate school of music at the University of California, Los Angeles to study modern music composition in 1985. He finished three widely-acclaimed works during his stay in America: "Violin Concerto", "Cello Concerto", and "Piano Concerto". Hsiao returned to Taiwan in 1995. "1947 Xuqu" (Prelude of 1947) and "Ah, Formosa – Wei xunnanzhe di zhenhunqu" [Ah, Formosa – Requiem for the 228 Martyrs], works composed in memory of the February 28 Incident, and the piano quintet "Yuanzhumin zuqu" (Aboriginal Suite) are also widely popular.

Melody" for violin solo. 113 Of all these, Li's application of the techniques of orchestral music, and utilization of drum and electric guitar, instruments usually used in pop music, in his instrumental "Hingcun diau", gives the song a unique style that combines qualities of rootedness in local tradition, formal compositional style and popular sound qualities. Consequently, it became highly popular among the public (CD 2-10). Hsiao Tyzen's "Fantasy Hingcun Melody" stresses the techniques of violin and successfully transforms Hingcun diau into a poetic and picturesque solo for that instrument. Except for that piece, which is highly imaginative, most of the works of these composers adopt the melody of Hingcun diau and add to it instrumental accompaniment and small variations. The following example illustrates the style of "Fantasy Hingcun Melody" composed by Hsiao Tyzen in 1980 and published in 1998, included in the album, Taiwan qing Tyzen xin: Menghuan de Hingcun xiaodiao [Taiwan sentiment, Tyzen heart: Fantasy Hingcun Melody]. (Fig. 4. 28, 4.29, 4.30; CD 2-11). 114



[Fig. 4.28] The front cover of the CD, Taiwan qing Tyzen xin.



[Fig. 4.29] The back cover of the CD, Taiwan qing Tyzen xin.

These pieces are recorded on: Li TaiXiang (ed.), Xiang: Hingcun min'yao [Native Place: Hingcun Folksong (i.e. Hingcun diau)], Rolling-Stone Records Co., CD No. SND-2002, 1997, track 14; Li TaiXiang (ed.), Fushi lianqing: Cenn or 'a sor [Love in an Unsettled World: Cenn or 'a sor], Jin'ge Records Co., CD No. JCD 2106, 1997, track 1; Hayakawa Masaaki, YiXiang yueye: Cenn or 'a sor [Faraway on a Moonlit Night: Cenn or 'a sor], Sunrise Records Co., CD No. 8525, publication year unlisted, track 9; Lai Dehe (ed.), Taiwan yinyue xilie "Xiangqing": Hingcun min'yao [Taiwanese music series "Love for one's native place": Hingcun Folksong (i.e., Hingcun diau), Taiwan Provincial Symphony Orchestra, publication year unlisted, CD track 8; and Bao Yuankai (ed.), Taiwan Geyao: Chuantong min'yao: Taidung tune [Taiwanese songs — Traditional Folk Songs: Taidung Tune], National Taiwan Symphony Orchestra, publication year unlisted, CD track 5. The recording works of Hsiao Tyzen are discussed in the note below.

Hsiao Tyzen, personal communication, 27 March 2006, Taipei. Hsiao Tyzen, Taiwan qing Tyzensim: Menghuan de Hingcun xiaodiao [Taiwan sentiment, Tyzen heart: Fantasy Hingcun Melody], Jiawei Music Co. Lt., 1998, CD track 12. In addition, it is worth noting that from the late 1970s, Hsiao frequently adopted Taiwanese traditional and new songs as material for composing symphonies and violin solos.

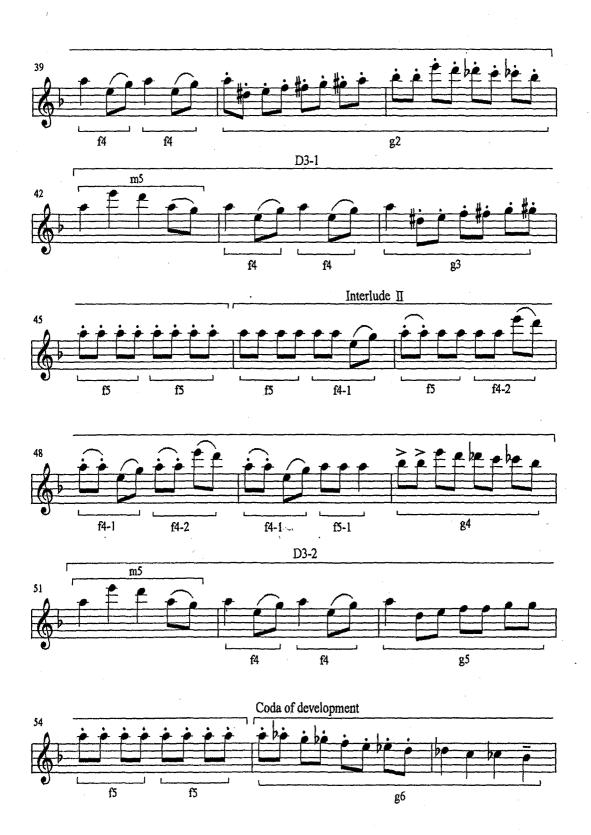
Fantasy Hingcun Melody

Composer: Hsiao Tyzen

Piano part omitted









Analysis and exposition of the melody:

Fantasy Hingcun Melody is a small-scale composition in the form of a violin sonatina, composed of three sections: A1, B, A2. A1 includes the prelude and the exposition; B is the development; and A2 includes the recapitulation and coda.

Prelude

Bars 1-7 use the key D minor, and are composed of the phrases of P1 and P2. Phrase P1 begins with motive m1, the motive of the theme of Hingcun diau (see bars 8-9), followed by three iterations of the figure labelled f1, taken from a fragment of m1, as well as a contrasting figure g1. Phrase P2 is composed of m1-1 and three f1s, and ends with the pitch an octave higher. 115

Exposition

Bars 8-15 are the theme, namely the theme of *Hingcun diau*. Again set in D minor, this is in the form of (E1+E2) + (E1-1+E2-1), that is two periods (four phrases). Phrase E1 is composed of motives m1 and m2; phrase E2 comprises motives m3 and m4; phrase E2-1 is composed of motives m3 and m4.

Development

The development of music changes to the dominant minor key and expands the variational development of the theme. The development is structured as below:

Bars 16-18 are phrase D1, composed of motive m1-3, four f2 figures and motive m4-1.

Bars 19-23 are phrase D2, composed of motive m1-4, four f3 figures, motive m4-2 and its extension.

Bars 24-32 are phrase D1-1, composed of a repeat of bars 16-22 plus two measures of the f4 figure.

Bars 33-37 comprise Interlude I, composed of figures of f5, f4-1, f4-2, f5-1 and f6.

Bars 38-41 are phrase D3, composed of motive m5, two f4 figures, two bars of the chromatic music group g2 that rise and fall in turn.

Bars 42-45 are phrase D3-1, composed of motive m5, two f4 figures, group g3 and two f5 figures.

Bars 46-50 are Interlude II, composed of figures f5, f4-1, f4-2, and f5-1 and group g4.

Bars 51-54 are phrase D3-2, composed of motive m5, two f4 figures, g5 group and two f5 figures.

Bars 55-59 are the coda of the development, composed of group g6, two bars of f7 figures, and two f8 figures. Then, the development ends.

¹¹⁵ Of the sections of music analysed, motives m1, m2, m3, m4 and m5 are prototypes, while m1-1, m1-2, m1-3, m1-4, m2-1, m4-1 and m4-2 are imitations of their respective prototypes. g1, g2, g3, g4, g5, and g6 are different kinds of groups. In the exposition, phrases D1, D2 and D3 are prototypes, whereas D1-1, D3-1 and D3-2 are phrases having developed from their respective prototypes.

Recapitulation

The music returns to its home key Dm, including the prelude, the recapitulation of the theme of the exposition, and the final coda.

Bars 60-66 are the recapitulation of the prelude (bars 1-7).

Bars 67-74 are the recapitulation of the theme (bars 8-15, namely the theme of *Hingcun diau*).

Bars 75-77 are the coda.

The involvement of composers who had been trained in Western music composition theories and techniques allowed the Hingcun diau song family to be presented in the form of instrumental music, in contrast to its previous existence as song. From the angle of pure music, these composers adopted only the melody as material for composition. In other words, by using folk songs as material, they employed purely instrumental music to express their moods and techniques. Although unlike vocal music, which is easier to be used to directly express human feelings and reflect social meanings by means of the texts, instrumental music can still reflect indirectly the meanings and environments of their age. It is because these Taiwanese composers who, in the specific historical background of their time, created their works clearly based on specific concepts and attitudes toward the world around them. Foremost among the concepts they relied on in creating these works was an approach to cultural nationalism familiar in the work of many nineteenth- and twentieth-century composers. Moreover, in reworking Hingcun diau in this way, these composers brought forward new forms and vitality for the tune, which is just as significant as the new technical means they applied.

The violin solo, "Fantasy Hingcun Melody", represents the folk tune of Hingcun diau in the art music system. Xiao Tairan, the author, is a professional composer who received extended training. He created this violin solo by employing Western musical theories and techniques. The music content of this violin solo has grammatical complexities and structural rules of the art music system. Having been directly patronized by specific individuals and foundations, this work was mostly performed by professionals having received long-term training in concert halls. Although recorded and made into CDs, it was not merchandized by intermediaries and was therefore purchased only by a limited number of people. In view of the characteristics of its economic and transmission support systems, Fantasy Hingcun Melody belongs to an art music system.

4.9 Experiences Combining Research and Performance

I have long been engaged in fieldwork on Taiwanese folksong using the methods of participation and observation. In addition, I have long played a role as a folksong performer. When I conducted fieldwork and performance in the Hingcun area, I often took the opportunity to investigate and understand what people in that region knew about Hingcun diau and its song family. In fact, only very few people knew that Hingcun diau had originated from an aboriginal tune. When I sang Hingcun diau (fixed), the locals, both young and old, could join in my singing and also clearly knew that it was a folksong from their place. Most of the old people were themselves able to sing a few phrases of Hingcun diau (flexible) but very few of them could finish it completely or fully work with it in a flexible way. Many young people were able to hum a few phrases of Hingcun diau (fixed) but did not know that Hingcun diau in earlier periods could be sung with flexibility. Only a very few children were not familiar with the song and followed the rhythm simply by clapping their hands. As for Gengnongge (Mandarin) written by Zeng Xinde, almost everyone knew the song, which they called "the principal's tune", as they respected Zeng greatly. Nevertheless, the older generation, who did not understand Mandarin, did not know how to sing it; middle-aged people, who knew Mandarin, seldom sang this song in their daily lives except in a choir or club activities; by contrast, children in elementary and junior high schools had more opportunities to sing the song. Furthermore, numerous locals were aware that Ginglonggua (Holo) had originated from the tune of the Hingcun area but not many people sang the song. When I sang and explained the background of Cenn or 'a sor and Sann siann bhornai (urbanized), although my audiences knew that these were pop songs, most of them had not realised that the melody of these two songs derived from the tune of *Hingcun diau*. Nevertheless, after hearing my explanation of the development of *Hingcun diau* and its song family, almost everyone felt that it was their highest honour that these two songs had originated from their place.

As to my performances in places other than the Hingcun area, most of the audience were able to accept *Hingcun diau* and its song family and were favourably impressed. During the processes of survey and performance, what impressed and surprised me most was that neither locals of the Hingcun area nor people of other places could sing the flexible version of *Hingcun diau* well, but generally acknowledged that this manner of singing was most touching and dynamic. Indeed, as

time passed, *Hingcun diau* and its song family were spread in the same way as those of other folksongs worldwide – from oral transmission, to notation transmission and finally to today's mass media transmission, and the way of performing *Hingcun diau* constantly changed as well. Nonetheless, these songs will always be a great honour to Hingcun locals.

Another thing worth mentioning is that, due to my personal interests in composition in addition to the collection, sorting and research of *Hingcun diau*, I myself adapted, varied and extended the main melody, mode, patterns and intervals of *Hingcun diau* to form *Hingcun xindiau* [A new Hingcun tune] in 1992. I have performed *Hingcun xindiau* on various occasions nationally and internationally, and have monitored audience reactions to this song. Most importantly, for experimental purpose, when I sang *Hinguen xindiau* in the Hingcun area, besides singing the song four times in formal concerts, I also sang it impromptu at informal gatherings with the locals. Although this version of the song was welcomed by people who had once left and later returned to the Hingcun area, Zhu Dingshun's (b. 1928) comments are representative of locals aged more than sixty:

The song is pleasant to hear, and suitable for performance. However, we'll stick to the original tune. It is the tune that's most natural to be sung without accompaniment and the one that best suits our tastes.

As this statement show, a folksong becomes part of the lives and culture of the people of a place after having been loved and employed for a long time. In expressing their particular feelings, the people in question always like to sing in their own ways, fashioning their own songs through this process. This sense of mutual belonging is difficult to shake with factors from the outside world, including newer versions of folksong tunes.

Conclusion

1. A timeline developmental summary for *Hingcun diau* and its song family

In the process of the development of *Hingcun diau* and its song family, the common tune these songs share has remained consistent in many aspects of its style and spirit.

Nevertheless, the titles of these songs have continuously changed according to different times, places, usages and users. Some of these titles are used just once while others are shared by several songs. Some examples of the former are the Yuanzhumin diau [An aboriginal tune], Daidang diau [Tune of Daidang] and Cenn or 'a sor [An oyster fisherman's wife]. Examples of the latter are: Hingcun diau, shared by fixed and flexible versions; Gengnongge (Mandarin) and Ginglonggua (Holo), both of which are written "耕農歌"; and Sann siann bhornai [Helpless groans], which is shared by the operatic and the urbanized versions. The timelist below helps the reader see more clearly the developmental process in question, showing these songs in the order in which they first appeared: (Fig. 4.31)

before 1895	1895-1950	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	2000s
Aboriginal	Hingcun	Gengnongge	Sann siann	Hingcun	instrumental	Cenn or 'a
diau	diau (flex)	(M)	bhornai	diau (fix)	versions	sor (rap
	1	↓	(dra)			version)
	Daidang	Ginglonggua	Sann siann	Cenn or 'a		
	diau	(H)	bhornai	sor		
		•	(urb)			

(flex): flexible (M): Mandarin (H): Holo (dra): dramatic (urb): urbanized (fix): fixed

[Fig. 4.31] A timeline showing the development of *Hingcun diau* and its song family.

2. The vitality of Hingcun diau and its song family

Hingcun diau has been widely circulated in the Hingcun area for more than one hundred years. The above examples show that throughout its process of development, Hingcun diau has continually presented distinct faces and adopted new functions as a result of the influences of social structure, economic activities, political situations and cultural phenomena. Notably, it appears with different names at different times and places, the melody varying somewhat as it is sung in different languages, with different lyrics or by different singers. Moreover, when the tune is used for different purposes, its form also changes accordingly. All this suggests that although Hingcun diau and its song family has long been important to Taiwanese of many backgrounds—the flexibility with which it has changed and proliferated over time is actually unique in the wider field of Taiwanese folksong—nevertheless people believe they are renewing their musical expressions through drawing on this material, not returning to a song that is treated as a fixed cultural inheritance.

One overarching trend can be drawn out from the material above, namely a shift from flexible local use of a song model to the wider usage of multiple fixed versions. During the period of oral transmission, the lyrics and tune of *Hingcun diau* were full of vitality and flexibility. A singer could fill in words he or she favoured, adjusting the melody somewhat in accordance with the language tones of the new lyrics and in accordance with his or her personal singing habits. However, after having been recorded as an audio product, printed in notation, mass-produced and spread in large quantities, the names, melodies of different versions and lyric content became fixed and the former flexibility was transformed. Today, flexibility in this song family is essentially that of the openness of the material to composers for their reinvention, with a proliferation of fixed versions resulting. Among these are several mass-mediated models which could be imitated, learnt and sung easily, and so could circulate even more widely than the earlier folk song versions. As such, the song can genuinely been seen as more popular than in preceding decades, even if its creation now rests mainly in the hands of specialist musicians. However, as the statements of my listeners in Hingcun itself remind us, it can still take a long time for a new version of this song to gain deep affection in the hearts of listeners.

3. Multiple musical styles of Hingcun diau and its song family

Based on Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn's theory, which is used to define various music systems, in the process of their development, initially *Hingcun diau* and its song family belonged to the folk music system; later, as the economic and transmission systems changed, they were either incorporated into the art music system or transformed into the pop music system. In other words, *Hingcun diau* is not only folk music but also patronized and mass culture music. This also indicates that folk songs are not only the primary content of the folk music system but also significant elements in the creation of art music, and important materials of pop songs which are used to attract a mass audience. However, Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn stress in their theory that the decisive factors of music genre are the condition and situation of economic and transmission support systems. Although they have touched on musical content, they seem to be less concerned about music organizational elements which influence the intrinsic quality, characteristic and style of music such as tone set, mode, tonality and pattern. In particular, at the present time folk and art

¹¹⁶ These music organizational elements have certain influences on demonstrating the folk music

music products are frequently marketed by intermediaries and folk and art music are often broadcast by radio and TV stations; old pop music is sometimes recorded and preserved under direct economic support of private or public organizations. As a result, it becomes more ambiguous and difficult to identify the genre of music simply by looking at a transcription of its melody. In fact, when deciding a music genre, organizational elements, including performance style and context, transmission, and economic support, seem to be essential factors to be taken into consideration.

Chapter Five

Conclusions

Introduction

Prior to beginning research for this thesis, I had worked simultaneously as a researcher, performer and melody/lyric writer in the field of Taiwanese folksongs, particularly Holo folksongs, and had undertaken relevant research for more than twenty years. From 1978 onwards, I had continuously undertaken field investigation, folksong collection/recording, data arrangement, comparison as well as analysis of folksongs, interdisciplinary exploration of related subjects and so on. In addition, in the process of fieldwork, I frequently took the opportunity to learn singing skills from the prominent folksong singers whom I was interviewing. Often I seized every chance to participate in and/or closely observe activities such as folksong-group rehearsals and folksong competitions. In the meantime, I have been a semi-professional folksong singer and creator. As to time provided to the above-mentioned jobs, I have continually adjusted the proportion of time that I allocated to each one in accordance with various needs that arose and with the increase of my ethnomusicological knowledge. For instance, in the earlier period, I placed more emphasis on interviewing folk artistes and the arrangement and analysis of folksong material, while recently I have spent more time observing and exploring the activities of folksong groups as well as the interactive relationships between musical culture and society. The methods I have adopted in my fieldwork and research are similar to bi-musicality, advocated by Mantle Hood (1960) and Jeff Todd Titon (1995), in which a researcher conducts his/her research and fieldwork by music learning. Although my methods are somewhat different, as I have not spent a year living in one place undertaking research and observation, I try to compensate for the inadequacy of time by my long-term devotion to fieldwork and the considerable number of times spent in the field. Furthermore, from the performances that I have given over a long period, I am clearly aware of folksongs' close relationship with people's lives and their

¹ Mantle Hood (1960) advocated that ethnomusicologists should develop bi-musicality. He divided musicality into Western art music and non-Western music and argues that a music researcher must not only possess the ability to play Western art music, but also learn other musical cultures. Other scholars who appeared later than Mantle Hood such as Jeff Todd Titon consider bi-musicality as a metaphor for research methods, and encourage researchers to enter into a research investigation via the method of learning music.

remarkable power in agglomerating people's affections.

With regard to research methods, when I was admitted to the University of Sheffield and began the research of this thesis in 2001, I had assimilated Alan Merriam's theory which treats human musical concepts, behaviours, and sound as an interrelated and interdependent cultural integral (1960, 1964), Anthony Seeger's sense of a musical anthropology (1987), and Timothy Rice's concepts which consider musical culture as the result of the interaction of historical construction, social maintenance and individual creation and experience.² As to research direction, I stress the exploration of the interrelationship between a folksong and its background factors such as political situation, social phenomena, and cultural elements. In short, in the process of my PhD research, I have assumed a dual position of an insider and outsider when I conduct fieldwork, pursue learning, make observations, give performances, and compose music or write lyrics. On the one hand, I explore the behaviours and purposes that people demonstrate when employing a folksong, trace the cultural meanings a folksong contains and the role a folksong plays in the transition of society; on the other hand, I study the musical structures and organizations of these folksongs in various times.

Nevertheless, a perplexing question has haunted me in my research process. As a music practitioner immersed in my own research subject for quite a long period of time, I have naturally acquired a certain degree of understanding of the studied folksongs and their cultural meanings. As a result, am I likely to consider insignificant those materials and issues about which a researcher who has just entered the field might be curious, and thus ignore their importance, and not interpret and explore them? What concerns me even more is — am I going to cause difficulties in understanding my thesis for Western readers, who have different cultures from mine, if I unintentionally skip those materials and issues requiring further exploration?

In this last chapter, I shall first summarize the research done in the previous four chapters, next lay out the research results, and finally propose some issues found during the research process which might be worth further exploration.

² (1) Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964, p. 33. (2) Anthony Seeger, *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an American People*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. (3)Timothy Rice, "Toward a Remodeling of Ethnomusicology", *Ethnomusicology* 31, 1987, pp. 469-88.

5.1 Summary

As time went by and as the theories and concepts of ethnomusicology have evolved, the scope of so-called "folksongs" is no longer limited to that of their traditional counterparts which in the early days were considered to be "pure" and "authentic". In Chapter One, Introduction, I laid down definitions of "folksongs" and "Taiwanese folksongs", taking into consideration the fact that the objective environment of folksong dissemination has altered as well as the necessity to maintain the music style and spirit of a folksong. "Folksongs" encompass old traditional folksongs, revived folksongs based on traditional ones, and even folksongs that have fixed words and melodies. After that, I expounded the scope of Taiwanese folksongs in detail and indicated that they include three systems - aboriginal, Holo and Hakka - each of which possesses its own distribution area, music qualities, lyrical contents, ethnic characteristics and cultural background. Because Holo people constitute the largest percentage of the Taiwanese population, Holo folksongs have naturally become quite a significant part of Taiwanese folksongs. Nevertheless, in the development process of Holo folksongs, Hingcun folksongs have attracted much attention in music circles in Taiwan due to their unique style which has been moulded by the closed geographical environment and special cultural background of the Hingcun area. In addition, I also emphasized particularly that Hingcun diau, which originated from the Hingcun area, is a tune replete with exuberant vitality. As time went by, this tune and its song family wore different clothes and played different roles at different times. They assumed a fairly distinctive position in Taiwanese folksongs. In this thesis, therefore, I went a step further and concentrated on "Hingcun diau and its song family" in the Hingcun area.

Furthermore, in that chapter I indicated that ethnomusicology in Taiwan had a late start and although scholars in the past have accomplished great achievements in the research of Taiwanese, Holo, and Hingcun folksongs, most of them focused only on the arrangement and analysis of folksong lyrics and melodies as well as on brief descriptions of the cultural backgrounds. In conducting the research of this thesis, I have been motivated by ideas and approaches in international ethnomusicology; most obviously, in addition to the analysis of the organization and structure of music per se, I also discuss the interactive relationships between folksongs and social situations, political factors, economic activities and cultural phenomena.

In Chapter Two, I narrowed the research scope from the folksongs of Taiwan to those of the Hingcun area. The focus was on the influences of geographical environment, natural scenery, climatic condition, industrial situation, transportation, primary constructions, historical background, ethnic relationship, and social transition on the creation and formation of folksongs in the Hingcun Peninsula. Although the geographical location of this small peninsula, located in a remote corner of Taiwan, made it difficult to communicate with other areas, it is exactly this seclusion that prevented its folksongs from being influenced much or earlier by cultures from outside and which enabled them meanwhile to maintain their unique qualities and to live on in people's lives until today. Moreover, its peculiar topography and sights, hot and humid weather, economic activities dependent primarily on agriculture, fishing and animal husbandry, and the giant lighthouse and scenic national park (of which Hingcun people are extremely proud), have all become major contents of the lyrics of Hingcun folksongs. The strong northeast monsoon is also a significant factor that has contributed to the vigorous and unrestrained style of Hingcun folksongs. Moreover, in this chapter, I also studied the evolution of Hingcun folksongs from the angle of the historical development of the area. In the aboriginal period, the residents in the Hingcun area were mostly aborigines; therefore, people sang local folksongs in Austronesian languages, which were intonation languages. It was not until Zheng Chenggong's family occupied Taiwan (1662-83) that Han people gradually moved into the area. Nevertheless, because Han people constituted only a small percentage of the population, they did not have much influence on Hingcun folksongs. After Hingcun was established as a county in 1875, which was near the end of the Qing government's occupation of Taiwan, large numbers of Han people began to migrate to the area. After that, although Hingcun folksongs still preserved some aboriginal music elements, people started to sing these folksongs in Holo, a tone language spoken by the largest number of people. As a result, Holo folksongs in the Hingcun area cultivated a unique style under the aforementioned conditions and after the blending of the cultures of different ethnic groups. Besides, the research of this chapter also reveals that human beings created folksongs via concepts and behaviour, which however were continuously affected by the geographical, historical and cultural backgrounds of an area. The former human concepts and behaviours, and the latter geographical, historical and cultural elements, exercised mutual influences on each other in the mighty torrents of history and at the same time strode forward together.

In Chapter Three, international ethnomusicological knowledge, in particular, Merriam's three levels model and Rice's three aspects model, was adopted as theoretical bases for studying folk songs in the Hingcun area. Furthermore, ethnomusicological fieldwork methods were also employed to expound in detail what I had experienced and learned in my fieldwork in the area. In this chapter, I aimed to explore the meaning and value of Hingcun folksongs in people's lives and the relationship between these folksongs and the society and cultures of the Hingcun area, through my field experience in observation, participation and learning, as well as by using the information collected in the fieldwork as material. First, through the study of the research objects, namely six folksongs - Susiang'gi, Ghubhe buann, Suguicun, Honggang siordiau, Ziu ghu diau and Hingcun diau - I found that Hingcun folksongs have a strong connection with the region where they were created. Each of them has its special origin and development process, and is closely intertwined with people's lives and society. People use them to express happiness, anger, sadness, and joy. These folksongs are not only employed to extol love, accompany people in work, relieve homesickness, but also used to narrate history or story, praise local scenery, and urge people to do good deeds. Moreover, they are even utilized in the ceremonies of celebrating birthdays and marrying daughters. Furthermore, as to music qualities, I have found that Hingcun folksongs only have two modes: La and So modes. They do not have the most common mode of Do. This is the special quality that makes them different from the folksongs of other areas in Taiwan.

Next, having Chen Da, the legendary singer in Hingcun area, as the subject, I probed his role and status in society. In the traditional agricultural society, in the eyes of Hingcun people, he was a beggar who performed to earn his living. After the mid-1960s, he was gradually paid much more attention due to recognition from the music circle. In the 1970s, thanks to the rise of native consciousness, Chen Da became the representative figure of native music in Taiwan. From that time, Chen suddenly became the "folksong hero" in the eyes of Hingcun people, a national treasure that the Taiwanese were much concerned about, and thus, an object pursued everywhere by the media. In fact, the way Chen Da performed Hingcun folksongs and his value in music and literature were never changed; instead it was people and society which changed. Finally, I discussed the interactive relationship between Hingcun folksongs and the Hingcun people together with Hingcun society. In the past, Hingcun folksongs naturally existed among Hingcun people. Few paid particular attention to their existence although they were an indispensable part of people's lives. At present, as

Hingcun folksongs are gradually disappearing from the scene owing to the impact of a new age and external cultures, Hingcun people treasure them as their most precious gem. Having formed community choirs and school singing groups, they attempt to extend the life of Hingcun folksongs through teaching. The Folksong Promotion Association was established to hold contests, concerts, and seminars to promote the spirit of Hingcun folksongs. As time passed and society altered, the purposes that Hingcun folksongs have fulfilled for the people and society in the area have also changed. However, the Hingcun people's affection for Hingcun folksongs still remains the same and the status of Hingcun folksongs in Hingcun society is maintained.

In the fourth chapter, I narrowed the scope of the research object again, by focusing on "Hingcun diau and its song family". Although the scope was narrower, the research breadth and depth were extended. The research objective of this chapter was to seek the origin and the historical track of "Hingcun diau and its song family" so as to prove that in their development, folksongs had intimate relationships with politics, economy, society, language, and culture, etc., as well as why these songs are able to live on endlessly. First, Hingcun diau originated from an aboriginal tune whose name is unknown. As Holo people swarmed into the area, the population structure was changed; namely, Holo people became the majority in the area. Influenced by the dominant Holo culture and language, this aboriginal tune was filled with Holo lyrics and in Han people's poetic forms. That is, the tune became Hingcun diau (flexible) after the fusion of elements of various ethnic cultures. During that period of oral transmission, the notes and melody of Hingcun diau frequently altered slightly and were replete with flexibility and vitality due to the influences of language tones and individuals' singing habits. After that, as Hingcun people travelled far to Daidang to pursue a better life, this tune became Daidang diau, the tune depicting the economic activities and homesickness of Hingcun people in Daidang. In the 1950s, on the one hand, affected by political power, the tune was adapted and became Gengnongge (Mandarin), used as a material of musical education in elementary schools. On the other hand, the tune was arranged and became a chorus, Ginglong gua (Holo), reflecting people's "resistance to political oppression". Ginglong gua (Holo) circulated in lesser dissemination channels. From this period onwards, the lyrics and melody of this tune were fixed in various names and the tune was spread to other areas in Taiwan by means of notation transmission. In the late 1950s, repressed by "White Terror" under dictatorial rule, this tune was sung in sorrowful adagio and

named Sann siann bhornai, which was used in Taiwanese opera as a Kau diau. In the meantime, the tune became an urbanized folksong and was recorded as a record for promotion; it even spread to Southeast Asia. In the 1970s, to meet the demands caused by the startling economic development in Taiwan, people's migration in the island, and the rise of native consciousness, this tune was promoted and spread everywhere in Taiwan in the names of *Hingcun diau* (fixed) and *Cenn or 'a sor* via record promotion and mass media. Cenn or 'a sor was even selected as the theme song of a TV serial. In the 1980s, stimulated by the gradual isolation of Taiwan from the international community, numerous composers who had been trained in Western music theories and techniques joined in the composition of instrumental music by using indigenous traditional material. At that time, Hingcun diau also became a popular object these composers liked to obtain. After that, as Hip-hop popular culture was disseminated to Taiwan, Cenn or 'a sor appeared with a new face in 2002 formed by combining the lyrics of Rap. Again, Cenn or 'a sor arrested the attention of the music circle in Taiwan. Moreover, I also applied the perspectives proposed by Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn to explore the music genre which *Hingcun diau* and its song family represented in various stages of evolution.

The exploration of "Hingcun diau and its song family" attests that the growth and development of a folk tune definitely have an intimate relationship with social structure, political climate, economic activities, languages used, historical background, transmission ways, cultural phenomena, and music trends. Over more than one hundred years, Hingcun diau spread from a small village in the Hingcun area to everywhere in Taiwan and to foreign countries. During its colourful and dramatic development process, at different times and places, its name has been changed at least seven times, it has been sung in four languages, and has been adopted by countless musicians as material for creation. Up to the present, it is still full of vigour, living among people in a variety of forms. Nevertheless, although Hingcun diau's inexhaustible vitality has something to do with the charm of the music per se, more importantly it is due to the fact that people know how to keep tradition and innovation as well as preservation and promotion in equilibrium. Consequently, they have enabled Hingcun diau to be adaptable enough to inherit the legacy but meanwhile stride courageously towards the future when encountering challenges in different times.

5.2 Research Results

In the process of research, I have acquired quite a few results which are scattered in various chapters. Some significant results from these are listed in the following:

5.2-1 Taiwanese folksongs, which contain a variety of cultural elements

Located in the westernmost part of the Pacific Ocean, Taiwan was sparsely populated and only had aborigines as residents during the eras when neither aircraft nor ships ever reached the island. Each tribe of the aborigines had its own music culture. The development of navigation skills improved Taiwan's external transportation and made her a hub of sea traffic and a strategic point for commerce and military affairs. Since the 1620s, outside regimes such as Holland, Spain, Zheng's family of the Ming Dynasty and the Qing Dynasty of China, Japan and the Nationalist government have ruled this island and brought with them their own cultures. In particular, due to her proximity to Fujian Province of China – on average only 200 kilometres apart – Taiwan became the emigration destination of Chinese people and thus received a large quantity of music and culture imported from China.

These external cultures brought by outside regimes repeatedly antagonized, were rejected by and clashed with the indigenous cultures, which had existed before the external ones were imported. However, eventually the external and local cultures recognized, absorbed, combined, and merged with each other. In this way, the external and local cultures repeatedly underwent the process of conflict and reconciliation. In addition, after the culture from each historical stage was accumulated, integrated, reconstructed, and revived, eventually a new Taiwanese culture which contained various cultural elements was formed.

In brief, due to the island-mode natural environment and the bitter historical experience of Taiwan, in addition to their traditional cultures, the Taiwanese have had to learn to absorb various external cultures and integrate them with their indigenous ones to form a new Taiwanese culture that contains special island-mode qualities.³

⁽a) There are two main types of islands: continental islands and oceanic islands. Continental islands are a part of a continent extended into the ocean. Continental islands in geological time were usually part of a continent but later were severed from the latter because of cataclysm or perennial slow erosion by sea. Continental islands normally cover big areas. Examples of continental islands are Britain, Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, Indonesia, Madagascar, Papua New Guinea, Cuba, and Jamaica. In contrast, in terms of geological structure, oceanic islands are not directly linked with any

This quality has been demonstrated distinctly in the development of Taiwanese folksongs. In particular, in the evolutionary process of *Hingcung diau* and its song family, this quality has been clearly displayed — various languages such as Austronesian languages, Holo, Hakka and Mandarin have been employed, and different ethnic groups such as the aborigines, Holo, Hakka, and Chinese peoples have all been involved. As such, *Hingcung diau* and its song family clearly manifest themselves as folksongs that possess a unique Taiwanese folksong style that incorporates the elements of a variety of cultures.

Another point worth mentioning is that for an island like Taiwan, which is adjacent to a continent, the developmental process of its music culture is normally dynamic and changeable. During the isolation period the music culture in Taiwan belonged purely to the aborigines. After the communication system had been improved, the music culture of the island was gradually affected by the continental cultures nearby; however, at the same time it also continuously mixed with these outside cultures and formed a new music culture of that time. In modern times, when transportation and communication have thrived, this island-mode culture has to face not only the influence of nearby continent-mode cultures but also the huge impact from international hegemonic cultures. In the process of its development, this island-mode culture (music culture included), if not engulfed by external dominating cultures, is able to absorb these foreign cultures and make them one part of it. As such, this island-mode culture is not only able to preserve its indigenous qualities but is also capable of assimilating the essences of various foreign cultures and evolving into a new one that owns an international dimension. The United Kingdom in Europe and Japan in Asia are two nations with distinguished achievements that possess island-mode cultures.⁴ Even today, these two countries still maintain various forms of music that appeared in different times of their history and meanwhile also possess thriving music cultures that own the quality of internationalism. Taiwanese folksongs (including Hingcun diau and its song family) also possess the island-mode musical culture which contains qualities of nativity and internationalism.

continent. Most oceanic islands are volcanic or coral islands and cover smaller areas. Examples of oceanic islands are East Timor, Cape Verde, Sao Tome, Mauritius, Iceland, and Nauru. Continental islands are closer to continents and, therefore, are apt to be influenced by external cultures and develop the "island-mode culture" proposed in this thesis, whereas, because oceanic islands are isolated lands on the sea and distant from the continents, they are not easily affected by external cultures. (b) The concept of island-mode culture in this thesis was partly inspired by Chen Wei's Daoguo Wenhua [Island-mode cultures] (Yangzhi wenhua shiyegongsi, 1993, pp. 137-175).

5.2-2 Language tones are important elements affecting the musical qualities of folksongs

It is generally acknowledged by ethnomusicological scholars that the lyrics and melodies of orally-transmitted folksongs normally contain considerable flexibility. In a time lacking printing and recording devices, it was natural for the lyrics and melody of a folksong spread orally to be modified according to a singer's impression and preference. Moreover, some singers would fill in words based on their own likings, or partially change the notes in accordance with their singing habits. However, in this thesis, in addition to a deeper discussion of the relationship between language tones and music tunes, I have also proved that language tones are a major factor that renders the tunes of Taiwanese (Holo) "traditional folksongs" flexible.

In the period of Yuanzumin diau [Aboriginal tune], the language used by Hingcun diau and its song family belonged to the Austronesian-Indonesian language family, which are intonation languages. The function of the pitch as well as the rise-fall of a sound of an intonation language is to express the emotions of their speakers/singers. A singer is able to convey his/her feelings, attitudes, and tastes by the height, rise-fall and length of a sound of an intonation language. After Yuanzumin diau was adopted by Holo people - that is, since Hingcun diau (flexible) - people employed the language of Holo when singing the song. Holo is a tone language, the height and rise or fall of its tones decide the meanings of each syllable. Consequently, when singing, in order to clearly illustrate the meanings of the lyrics, a singer frequently varies the melody somewhat due to the influence of language tones. In other words, because the meanings of the lyrics of a folksong in intonation languages are not determined by the height and rise or fall of the tunes, a singer has considerable latitude in singing the melody. Meanwhile, because the melody of folksongs in tone languages is conditioned by the lyrics, whose meanings are determined by the height and rise or fall of language tones, the performer has to take the direction of the "language melody" into consideration when performing. In a word, both intonation and tone languages influence the shape and character of folksong melody: the causes, function, process and significance of the influence on melody may differ in each type of language.

Consequently, we might conclude that in folksong research, the language of the

lyrics of a song might be less important for the area of intonation languages, while the close relationship between language tones and folksong tunes cannot be overlooked in the area of tone languages. The musical characteristics such as interval, range, tone set, and direction of a tone language distinctly affect the musical characteristics of a folksong. Moreover, we have also found that in folksongs created in a tone language, the older the song, the narrower its range and the closer it is to the speech melody. Of the folksongs mentioned in this dissertation, *Hingcun diau*, *Lakgheh canzui*, *Zitjhih ziao'a*, and *Tinn o o* are all good examples.

5.2-3 Multiple styles of folksongs: transformations and influences in different music systems

According to Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn, if we attempt to decide the genre of a specific music on the basis of a culture's economic and transmission support systems, we can subsume the music under one of three categories: folk, art or pop music. ⁵ From the development of *Hingcun diau* and its song family, we find that these songs, which represent various phases, actually played changeable and multiple roles in folk, art or pop music systems.

Before the 1950s, the period in which this folk tune appeared under the names of Yuanzhumin diau [An aboriginal tune], Hingcun diau (flexible) [A flexible tune of Hingcun] and Daidang diau [Tune of Daidang] tied to non-musical activity, this tune was sung at the tasks of farming, collecting firewood, producing charcoal, herding etc., or was employed to express the moods of leaving home, homesickness, romantic love and so on. These songs are obviously functional music in people's daily lives. In this period, learning of Hingcun diau was carried out totally by means of the mode of oral transmission. The boundary between the singer and the audience was unclear; and almost all Hingcun people were folk singers. Without economic benefits, the dissemination of Hingcun diau reflects the sociocultural phenomena in an agricultural society, and indicates that Hingcun diau is a typical style in a folk music system.

⁵ Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn, "Economic and Transmission Factors as Essential Elements in the Definition of Folk, Art, and Pop Music", *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 74, No. 3, 1990, pp. 414-416.

⁶ Chen Da appeared to be a peculiar case. He played the distinct role of folk, art or pop song singer at different stages of his life career as a minstrel singer. For details, please refer to 3.2 in Chapter Three and the last paragraph of 4.2 in Chapter Four. *Hingcun diau* (flexible) was the folk tune he used most frequently.

After the 1950s, this folk tune continuously appeared as distinct music genres in different phases. Gengnongge (Mandarin), which was adapted from Hingcun diau by Zheng Xinde, a music teacher, was selected as teaching material in the music textbook of the primary school. Moreover, occasionally sponsored directly by specific individuals and public or private institutions, the song was performed by vocalists in concerts. Further, the chorus of Ginglong gua (Holo) [Ploughman's song]. This chorus was adapted by a music educator, Lin Fuyu, whose arrangement techniques of the chorus were of a certain standard. Most of its singers were all school teachers with extended musical training. Because only a few intellectuals who loved folk music purchased the record, the record achieved only small sales. Consequently, people thought that the purpose of the appearance of Gengnongge (Mandarin) and Ginglong gua (Holo) was to "preserve folk song heritage". Nonetheless, because the basic melodies of these two songs all originated from the traditional folk tune of Hingcun diau, both can be considered as revival folk songs belonging to the genre of "art music".

Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) [Helpless groans] which was adapted in gua'a hi [Taiwanese opera] adopted the folk music tradition — performers singing different lyrics based on the requirements of the plot, and adjusting the melodies or notes according to the rise and fall of language tones. In particular, the live performance of gua'a hi in the folk festivals in honour of local deities had already become part of the lives of the people. Thus, from musical use and function, Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) possessed more the characteristics of folk music. However, although part of performance expenses came from the indirect support of the audience; most of the gigantic cost was actually born by individuals, private or public institutes. Furthermore, the actors/actresses of gua'a hi [Taiwanese opera] were all professional performers who received a long-term purposive, formal training in apprenticeship. Therefore, Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) can be treated as a "folk music" which possesses the elements of "art music".

After the late 1960s, having been filled in with texts which reflected the situation of the time and the moods of the people, this folk tune was transformed into songs such as Sann siann bhornai (urbanized), Hingcun diau (fixed), Cenn or'a sor and Cenn or'a sor (rap version). To make these songs into records and tapes, record

⁷ The term "revived folksongs" is mentioned in Chapter One. For further information, please refer to (2) of 1.2-1 of Chapter One.

companies invited professional musicians to produce them, and hired professional singers and Western music bands, the most popular type of bands at that time, to perform these songs. After that, the intermediaries started to promote these songs (although restricted by GMD policies) through radio broadcast, live performance, newspapers, and magazines. Thanks to the indirect patronage of a mass audience, these songs were able to be spread to every corner in society and became popular artefacts in a commercialized society. In light of the economic and transmission support systems, they are "revival folk songs" commonly found in the homogenization of pop music products.⁸

In the 1980s, used as music material, *Hingcun diau* was incorporated into the complex grammar and structural rules of art music by professional musicians, who had received extended training. These music specialists transformed the tune into instrumental music by employing Western music theories and techniques. For example, Xiao Tairan's violin solo, *Fantasy Hingcun Melody*, Lai Dehe's instrumental, *Hingcun diau*, and so on. Having been patronized by specific individuals and foundations, these works of instrumental music were mostly performed in concert halls. Although some of them were also recorded and made into CDs, they were not merchandized by intermediaries and were therefore purchased only by a limited number of people. In view of the characteristics of their economic and transmission support systems, *Fantasy Hingcun Melody* and the instrumental, *Hingcun diau*, and so on are all works belonging to an art music system.

In a word, *Hingcun diau* and its song family are not only folk music but also patronized and mass culture music. Specifically, in addition to the primary content of the folk music system, folk songs are also valuable elements in the creation of art music, and important materials of pop music. In the process of development, as the economic and transmission systems changed and the local cultural values altered, a folk tune was either incorporated into the art music system or transformed into the pop music system. *Hingcun diau* and its song family are the best example.

5.2-4 The influence of political interference on the development of a folk song

From the development of Taiwanese folksongs and Hingcun diau and its song family,

⁸ Ibid.

we know that each folksong had an equal opportunity of dissemination when each of them was spread orally, because at that time the circulation of folksongs depended on each singer's performance. Folksongs at that time reflected the sorrow and happiness of people's lives – via folksongs, people expressed their emotions and described economic activities, or even vented their indignation at politics and society. For example, *Ghule gua* [Song of the plough] depicts farming life, *Zitjhih ziao'a* [A bird] describes romantic love stories, and *Lang cah hue; I cah cau* [Others wear flowers on their heads, they wear grasses] expresses people's resentment at the Japanese rulers. Moreover, the *Hingcun diau* (fixed) [Tune of Hingcun (fixed)] and *Hingcun diau* (flexible) [Tune of Hingcun (flexible)] of "*Hingcun diau* and its song family" sings the mood of the people who moved from Hingcun to Daidang.

Nevertheless, after mass media such as magazines, newspapers, radio, and television gradually developed and were controlled step-by-step by the authorities, only those folksongs which were protected were able to prosper. Those folksongs that were suppressed by the government could merely linger on feebly. For instance, after having moved to Taiwan in 1949, the Nationalist government on the one hand promoted Mandarin as the only national language, and on the other hand, proclaimed regulations to limit the usage of the native languages of all ethnic groups in Taiwan, namely, the aboriginal languages, Holo and Hakka, and their folksongs. At that time, in addition to severe political suppression, schools and mass media actively promoted folksongs written in Mandarin and as a result folksongs of various ethnic groups in Taiwan gradually declined. Gengnongge [The Ploughman's song] of Hingcun diau and its song family, written in Mandarin, was born because of the rigorous Mandarin-only policy enforced by the Nationalist government, while Sannsiann bhornai (urbanized) [Helpless groans] was a mutation born during the period of martial law and White Terror. These are good examples illustrating how the establishment of a national mass media system and music industry combined with a particularly oppressive political interference reshaped folksong culture.

However, the gradual appearance of new mass media that most governments have difficulty in dominating, such as records, tapes, CDs, portable radios, Walkmans, and the internet, also led to the deterioration of the political powers which had limited

⁰ Chien Shangjen *Taiwan e Giann'a gua* [Taiwanese Children's Songs I], Zili wanbao wenhua chubanbu, song No. 11, (1992).

⁹ Chien Shangjen *Taiwan Min'yao* [Taiwanese folk song], Zhongwen tushu gongsi (second version), (1992), pp. 39, 121.

the dissemination of folksongs. In particular, as democracy was established and more lenient policies were adopted, folksongs of various ethnic groups were allowed an equal footing. For instance, after the lifting of martial law in 1987, various folksongs of different ethnic groups in Taiwan were used as teaching material at school and Hingcun diau and its song family were published as records or CDs. Consequently, Ginglong gua [Ploughman's song], Sannsiann bhornai (urbanized) [Helplessness groans], Hingcun diau (fixed) [Tune of Hingcun (fixed)], and Cenn or 'a sor [An oyster fisherman's wife] have revived in the memory of the old generations and meanwhile influenced the younger generations. It is thus evident that there is a close and interactive relationship between political organisation and folksong development.

5.2-5 Keeping variables and invariables in equilibrium to maintain the life of folksongs and foster Taiwanese culture

Hingcun diau and its song family possess the most precious quality of folksongs, namely, the ability to be reconstructed and revived. As time passes, space alters, function expands, and singers change, people modify appropriately the names, lyrics, languages, forms of song, tempos, rhythms, melody or notes of Hingcun diau and its song family to adapt to new environments and meet new requirements. This is the "adaptability" of a folksong that people utilize flexibly when encountering a new situation. Nonetheless, how a folksong is changed has to be conditioned by a basic regulation so as to maintain its invariable spirit and style under variation and enable it to live on forever. This regulation which people have to follow when modifying a folksong is the "conservatism" of a folksong, that is, the invariable part of a folksong in its development. Specifically, no matter how much the name, lyrics, melody or notes of a folksong are changed, its essential national qualities and native colours need to be maintained and its musical characteristics such as common scale, mode, and pattern used have to be preserved. As such, the spirit and style of a folksong can be maintained.

The research of this thesis clearly shows us that it is people's abilities to make good use of the principle of maintaining "variables and invariables" as well as "traditional and contemporary" in equilibrium in a new environment and time that enabled *Hingcun diau* and its song family to be full of vitality. As such, having maintained the independent spirit and subjective position of *Hingcun diau* and its song family, people adapted the tune, lyrics and forms of these songs properly to meet

different requirements arising in a new environment. This principle of equilibratory development is also inspiring to a nation or an area where they attempt to cultivate their musical, social, or national cultures. In other words, a musical culture needs to preserve its old elements and create new ones in order to live on; a society needs to maintain its old traditions and cultivate new opportunities in order to pass on its cultures; a nation needs to cherish its past and carve out its future for its cultures to survive.

5.2-6 Unique development of the form of a song – evolving first from simplicity to complexity, and then from complexity to simplicity

The song tune structures of *Hingcun diau* and its song family began from the one-period-two-phrase form of *Yuanzumin diau* [Aboriginal tune], developed to one-period-two-phrase-refrain form, and the two-period-four-phrase form of *Gengnong 'ge* (Mandarin) [Ploughman's song], *Ginglong 'gua* (Holo) [Ploughman's song], and *Sann siann bhor nai diau* [Helpless groans], and finally returned to the one-period-two-phrase-refrain form of *Hingcun diau* (fixed), and *Cenn or 'a sor* [The oyster fisherman's wife]. This reveals the fact that what meets the requirements of a suitable time and the appetite of the people will survive. For instance, of *Hingcun diau* and its song family, *Hingcun diau* (fixed), and *Cenn or 'a sor*, which have a form of one-period-two-phrase-refrain, were far more popular than *Gengnong 'ge*, *Ginglong gua*, and *Sann siann bhor nai*, which have a form of two-period-four-phrase, due to the former two songs' conformity to people's desire for simplicity, as well as their mood of homesickness and nostalgia, and because of the promotion and dissemination by record and the radio.¹¹

Nevertheless, we also have to note that, although in their developmental process *Hingcu diau* and its song family were presented in the simpler form of "one-stanza-and-two-sentence refrain" both in the earlier and later stages, in fact, having the same tune, these songs had different titles and lyric contents due to the variation in historical background, and subjective and objective situations. In particular, the former had flexible lyrics and tunes because they existed in a time of oral transmission whereas the latter had fixed lyrics and tunes because they fell in an era of sophisticated recording techniques and advanced mass media.

Through mass transmission and indirect economic support systems, marketing the songs in the form of pop music is the most important factor which makes them accepted more easily by a mass audience.

5.2-7 In addition to static preservation, the sustenance of a folksong's vitality requires dynamic promotion

In the early days, many scholars asserted that only those folksongs that were spread by word of mouth and whose lyrics and tunes possessed the quality of flexibility were to be counted as "authentic folksongs". As a result, in the past, ethnomusicologists endeavoured to maintain the original state of folksongs by following a fixed practice in dealing with them - fieldwork, collection, transcription, editing notation, and publishing. These concepts and methods were reasonable and acceptable during the period when folksongs were disseminated orally. However, almost all folksongs that had been arranged by the above method were preserved in government sound archives, private culture and education organizations, or individual hands. Except for a limited number of data used by few researchers, most of these folksongs are treated as antiques and are preserved in a static state. Nowadays, the so-called "authentic folksongs" are unable to continue the life and spirit of folksongs because they have already lost the basic ability to live among the people. Instead, at present, we need to employ modern technology such as various sophisticated sound recording products, and advanced mass media to reconstruct traditional folksongs and bring them back to life so that they can be revived and circulated again among the people. Hingcun diau and its song family form a good example of how songs can be adapted at various times by different people with different functions in mind, thus extending the lifespan of this repertory.

From the development of *Hingcun diau* and its song family, we found that due to the appearance of *Gengnong'ge* (in Mandarin and Holo) [Ploughman's song], *Sann siann bhor nai* (urbanized) [Helpless groans] and *Cenn or'a sor* [An oyster fisherman's wife], which have fixed lyrics and melodies, *Hingcun diau* and its song family are still known among the people by means of records, published notations and a variety of such modern channels of dissemination. Otherwise, it would be difficult to find any person who is able to sing the tune of *Hingcun diau* in a flexible and impromptu manner after the old artists such as Chen Da, Zhang Xinchuan and Zhu Dingshun passed away. In a word, although fixed lyrics and melody of a folksong decrease the flexibility of the folksong, it is a fact that when impacted by a new age, they can enable a folksong to extend its life by utilizing modern transmission media such as record, tape, CD, radio and TV and by adjusting itself to the requirements of

the time. For this reason, research in this dissertation included study of the revision of this folksong up to the present moment. This also raises the question of what role the ethnomusicologist should take in feeding back research results to the people themselves. Ideally, we should cooperate more with music educators, creators, and performers (including singing, drama, and dance) so as to increase the utilization of folksongs.

5.2-8 Reviewing the promotion of Taiwanese local music from the development of Western music in Taiwan

From the nineteenth century onward, Western music has been imported to Taiwan in vast quantities and has continuously influenced the content of Taiwanese musical culture. The Japanese government began to promote Western music after it occupied Taiwan in 1895. In the 1930s, Taiwanese pop songs appeared whose melodies were created in accordance with the concepts of Western music and which were accompanied by western musical instruments. After the Nationalist government migrated to Taiwan in 1949, it also actively promoted both Western and Chinese music. Let us take Hingcun diau and its song family as an example to discuss this issue. Gengnongge (Mandarin), which derived from Hingcun diau (flexible) in 1952, had been arranged by Zheng Xinde, who had received a Western music education, to become a song accompanied by the piano. After that, Sann siann bhor nai (urbanized), Hingcun diau (fixed), and Cenn or 'a sor, which were published in 1966, 1967, and 1970 respectively, were all accompanied primarily by Western musical instruments. From the 1980s onwards, having used Western music theories and techniques, Taiwanese composers have given Hingcun diau a new life by varying its tunes and producing different instrumental music such as a concerto or symphony. In 2002, Cenn or 'a sor, appearing with an unprecedented new aspect by combining with rap, shocked the Holo record market once more and greatly appealed to the young audience. From the influences Western music theories and techniques have exerted on Hingcun diau and its song family, we can see that in terms of the development of Western music in Taiwan, it gradually laid its foundation on the island as early as 100 years ago, and since then has continuously produced genuine influences and effects.

Without doubt, in the development of music culture in present Taiwan, Western music has established an absolute superiority over local music – Western music constitutes the vast majority of teaching material at school, repertoire in concerts, and

skills of pop music. Meanwhile, Taiwanese local music lay in a subordinate status. Although scholars in Taiwan in recent years have made great efforts to preserve and promote traditional local music, driven by the trend of the times, Western music (including both art and pop music) will continue influencing Taiwanese music culture. As to Taiwanese folksongs, except for some traditional music which was kept in static recorded form, very few are able to appear in the media or be used as teaching and creation material. *Hingcun diau* is a very exceptional example. Although in 5.2-6 I argued that we can take advantage of modern Western music theories and techniques in order to promote Taiwanese folksongs and extend their lives, the independence of the musical culture of a nation is likely to be hampered if it is overly reliant on external styles and fashions. Consequently, those engaged in the future maintenance and promotion of Taiwanese folksongs no doubt will have to pursue the objective of how to maintain a coexistent relationship with Western music as well as that of how to utilise Taiwanese folksongs as part of forming a genuinely independent musical culture.

5.3 Issues Worthy of Further Research

Although this thesis has probed deeply into the development of *Hingcun diau* and its song family and has accomplished some fruitful results, these constitute after all merely a small part of Taiwanese folksongs. Furthermore, it is impossible for a research to explore every detail of a research object. In the process of my research, I have found some issues in Taiwanese folksongs and its related fields which are worth further exploration. In the following, I suggest several such issues as a reference for future research, for myself and others who have similar concerns.

5.3-1 Two other folksong families worth deep exploration

In the field of Taiwanese Holo folksongs, up to present, I have found that two complete folksong families, *Ghule gua* [Song of the plough] and its song family, and *Zitjhih ziao'a* [A bird] and its song family, are similar to *Hingcun diau* and its song family in their vitality and ability to live on endlessly via reconstruction and rebirth. The former includes *Pennbo Siraya zok zegua* [Worship song of Pennbo tribe], *Ghule gua gewu siordiau* [Short song of the plough for dancing], *Tainan diau* [Tune of Tainan], *Sanggor diau* (operatic) [Tune of farewell to lover (operatic)], *Ghule gua*

[Song of the plough] and so on. This folksong family has existed for more than two hundred years. During the process of its development, there arose phenomena such as mixtures of different ethnic groups and cultures, changes of languages, augmentation of song function, and the expansion of influential space. The latter, whose history exceeds more than one hundred and fifty years, includes Lakgheh canzui [Water in the field in June], Zitjhih ziao'a [A bird], Zitjhih ziao'a hau ziuziu [A bird is chirping], Zitjhih ziao'a hau giugiu [A bird is crying for help], etc. In their development, these songs have recorded the characteristics of agricultural life in Taiwan, implicitly told erotic stories between men and women, depicted tragically heroic national emotions, and illustrated helplessness in political struggles. These two folksong families are worth further research.

5.3-2 Research to compare folksongs

As the scope of ethnomusicology is continually expanding, cross-regional, cross-national, and cross-linguistic comparisons and the research of the cultural background of the above will become one of the directions of future research. Two directions are worth further exploration if Taiwanese folksongs are the primary research subjects:

(1) Comparison between different systems of Taiwanese folksongs

Different ethnic groups in Taiwan – the aborigines, Hakka, and Holo people – have lived together for around four hundred years. Therefore, there are certain overlaps between their music and cultures. For instance, the tunes of *Ghule gua* [Song of the plough], *Hingcun diau* [Tune of Hingcun], *Caume lang guegang* [Grasshopper playing jokes on the cock], and *Diudiu dang'a* [Drip of water], have originated from the aborigines and the tunes of *Benn'giann'gua* [Song of pregnancy] and *Torhue guedo* [Lady Torhue crosses the river by ferry] are shared by Hakka and Holo people. Nevertheless, these ethnic groups are distinct in the characteristics of their folksongs as well as their cultural content due to the obvious differences of their historical experience, living environments, languages, and cultural backgrounds. ¹² The similarities and dissimilarities of their folksongs are therefore interesting subjects worth further study.

Please see Chapter One, sections 1.2-6 and 1.2-7 for details.

(2) Comparison between folksongs in Taiwan and folksongs in other areas in the world

The music of the aboriginal folksongs is rich and colourful because the aboriginal folksongs contain cultures and languages of over ten different Austronesian tribal groups. Hakka folksongs exhibit the conservatism of Hakka people, their distinctive cultural characters and earlier singing styles. Holo folksongs, which are characterized by rich language tones, possess changeable tunes and contain mixed cultural characters of the aborigines and Han people. These three different systems of Taiwanese folksongs, each of which has its own unique character, are good material to be compared with folksongs everywhere in the world. For example, what are the similarities and dissimilarities between the folksongs and cultures of Taiwanese aborigines, which belong to the Austronesian language group, and those of the Austronesian aboriginal groups in Hawaii, New Zealand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines? Moreover, Holo and Hakka people in Taiwan began to move from the areas of Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi provinces of China more than four hundred years ago. As such, Holo people in Taiwan and Chinese people in Fujian province belong to the same cultural circle, while Hakka people in Taiwan and Chinese people in Guangdong and Guangxi provinces have the same cultural background. After having lived in different geographical environments, natural situations, and mixed with different ethnic groups for over four hundred years, are there any similarities and dissimilarities between the folksongs and cultures of Holo and Hakka people in Taiwan and those of Chinese people in Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi provinces? It would be worthwhile to compare their differences and similarities.

5.3-3 The development of Taiwanese folksongs all over the world

In the past, because the Nationalist government dominated Taiwan by thirty-eight-year martial law and the subsequent White Terror (1949-1987), and at present, because of the serious antagonism among people holding different ideologies and political interests as well as the undecided national status of Taiwan, Taiwanese society is in turbulence. As a result, many people have emigrated to other countries for various reasons: pursuit of a better life for their children, fear of political struggle, or loss of faith in Taiwan. Recently, a large number of Taiwanese who were appointed to foreign subsidiaries of Taiwanese multinationals have also migrated to the countries where they have worked for a long time. Presently, Taiwanese emigrants can be found everywhere in the world – the United States, China, Canada, Japan, France, Germany,

the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand and so on. These overseas Taiwanese have a deep affection for Taiwan and are accustomed to Taiwanese cultural life due to the fact that their families had lived in Taiwan for generations. It is natural for the first generation of these Taiwanese emigrants, or even the second generation, to miss their home country very much. As such, they usually sing Taiwanese folksongs to relieve their homesickness. From 1987 onwards, I have been invited by overseas Taiwanese to their countries of residence to deliver speeches and perform Taiwanese folksongs in America, Canada, France, Switzerland, Australia, and New Zealand. Each time my speech and singing resonates with the audience. Some of the overseas Taiwanese, for instance, Chen Xinhong in America, Huang Rulan in Switzerland, and Cai Mingfa in New Zealand, confided to me, "Taiwanese folksongs are a good comfort which is able to help me relieve my homesickness and each time when I sing a Taiwanese folksong, tears naturally well from my eyes". There is thus scope for research into the meanings and values reflected by these Taiwanese folksongs as heard by Taiwanese people overseas.

5.3-4 The powerful influence of Western music and its role in the preservation of world folksongs

Western music (both art and popular music) is without doubt the most powerful music in the modern world. Western art music, which has a complete historical development, structure, sound musical system and content, has been the target of admiration and imitation by art musicians everywhere in the world. As for Western popular music, it is the pioneer of world trends and has been imitated by pop music all over the world. Particularly, as the speed of international transportation and information communication is improved and international political and economic relationships become closer, the influence of Western music on world music has become greater and has even strongly affected the rise and fall of folksongs worldwide.

I would like to emphasize that I divide the ways to deal with folksongs into two aspects: preservation and promotion. The purpose of preserving folksongs might be summarised as to maintain their original style and distinguishing characteristics as much as possible while that of promoting folksongs is to prolong their life and spirit. Although I think that traditional folksongs can be revived among the people by means

This is similar to those researches since the 1960s by some ethnomusicological scholars who studied the music of the native lands of minorities who had just immigrated to a new country.

of modern Western musical theories and techniques, I strongly hope that the original styles and rich national colours of traditional folksongs can be preserved. Without preserving the ancient style and distinguishing characteristics of folksongs in live performance, only published copies of songbooks and re-transcribed audio products are left. These publications in fixed forms necessarily lie far away from certain aspects of the more flexible older traditions. As a result, we can go further: without good preservation policies, in the foreseeable future folksongs that contain unique national colours and are presented solely by local instruments and singing forms will decline day by day, or even gradually die out. Consequently, songs all over the world will become more similar. If this truly happens, it will be a serious common loss to the musical culture of human beings. What are the reasons for the decline of worldwide folksongs? How big is the influence of Western music on world folksongs? How should human beings face this ongoing situation? What have international institutions and government organizations in the world done so far in terms of solutions to the balance of preservation and promotion, and what will they do in the future? These are all issues worthy of further study, issues in which a Taiwanese dimension can make a contribution.

Epilogue

It is a challenge to conduct research on issues involving historical, political, economic, social, folkloric and musical factors. In addition to the understanding of musical structure and characteristics, a researcher of such a study needs to have good knowledge of the relevant historical background, political factors, economic activities, social phenomena, national customs and so on. As this suggests, academic research is ideally limitless but it is also necessarily bounded by subject, access to materials, intellectual interests and other factors. Although the boundaries imposed in this dissertation suggest that this is a finished work, based on this research, I shall continue to excavate the field of ethnomusicology more widely and deeply in the future and continue to investigate Taiwan's folksong culture. Taiwanese musical culture will still be my primary research objective; nevertheless, expanding my research scope and conducting cross-area, cross-racial, and inter-disciplinary studies will be the goal of my future research.

Glossary

- 1. The glossary contains Song and Tune Tiles, Musical Terms, Personal Names, Place Names, Musical Instruments, Other Terms, etc.
- 2. Letters in parentheses represent different languages: (H): Holo, (Hk): Hakka, (M): Mandarin, (A): aboriginal languages, (J): Japanese.
- 3. To each proper noun, besides Romanization, languages, Chinese characters, English translations in [] are added for the convenience of reading and understanding of Western readers.

Song and Tune Titles

Anbing Duisiongkik (H) 安平追想曲 [Song of recollection in Anping harbor]

Andonggor bhecai (H) 安童哥買菜 [Brother An'dong goes to the market]

A'yan zi gua (H) 阿煙之歌 [A song for worshiping ancestral god]

Beh lingsi (H) 白鷺鷥 [White egret]

Benngiann gua (H) 病子歌 [Song of pregnancy]

Bhande siorbor (H) 挽茶相褒 [Antiphonal singing to each other when picking tea]

Bhangcunhong (H) 望春風 [Hoping for spring wind]

Bodo funggong (Hk) 寶島風光 [Formosa scenery]

Bodo Taiwan (Hk) 寶島台灣 [Taiwan the Formosa]

Bopuabhang (H) 補破網 [Repairing broken Nets]

Bu'gong (Hk) 補缸 [Patching pottery jug]

Caicha (Hk) 探茶 [Picking tea-leaves]

Caide gua (H) 採茶歌 [Song of picking tea-leaves]

Cangtuson (Hk) 撐渡船 [Poling ferry]

Caume lang gue 'gang (H) 草螟弄雞公 [Grasshopper playing jokes on the cock]

Cenn or 'a sor (H) 生蚵仔嫂 [An oyster fisherman's wife]

Chen Da's Susianggi (H) 陳達的思想起 [Chen Da's Thinking of]

Chunngiu diau (Hk) 春牛調 [Tune of spring cow]

Ciin siiyiun (Hk) 陳仕雲 [Ciin siiyiun (using a personal name as a song name)]

Citghi'a diau (H) 七字仔調 [Tune of seven words]

Ciunndior simlai hediau gua (H) 唱著心內彼條歌 (H) [Sing the song in your heart]

Cuimin kiuk (Hk) 催眠曲 [Lullaby]

Cunggiun go (Hk) 從軍歌 [Joining the army]

Cuyit zeu (Hk) 初一朝 [Morning on January first]

Daibak diau (H) 台北調 [Tune of Taipei]

Daidang diau (H) 台東調 [Tune of Daidang]

Dailam diau (H) 台南調 [Tune of Tainan]

Desuann siorbor (H) 茶山相褒 [Antiphonal singing to each other when working in the tea mountain]

Diam dann ang (H) 點燈紅 [Lighting the red lantern]

Diudiu dang'a (H) 丟丟銅仔 [Drip of water]

Doma diau (H) 都馬調 [A tune specially used by Doma Drama group]

Doun'a gua (H) 土蚓仔歌 [Song of earthworm]

Dorsu diau (H) 道士調 [Tune of taoist priest]

Gale'a diau (H) 傀儡仔調 [A tune of aboriginal]

Gangbinn siorhbat (H) 港邊惜別 [Saying farewell at a harbor]

Gangdo ia u (H) 港都夜雨 [Night rain in a harbor city]

Gang'o diau (H) 江湖調 [Wandering tune]

Gamziah horziah siangtau dinn (H) 甘蔗好吃雙頭甜 [Delicious sugarcane, sweet from end to end]

Gauhiong min'iau(H) 高雄民謠 [Folk song of Gauhiong]

Gengnongge (M) 耕農歌 [Ploughman's song]

Ghilan diau (H) 宜蘭調 [Tune of Ghilan]

Ghogenn go (H) 五更鼓 [Song of the night watchman's drum]

Ghokong siordiau (H) 五孔小調 [Short tune of Ghokong]

Ghuat ia ciu (H) 月夜愁 [Melancholy in moonlight night]

Ghubhe buann (H) 牛尾絆 [Ox whisking its tail]

Ghule gua (H) 牛犁歌 [Song of plough]

Ghule gua gewu siordiau (H) 牛犁歌舞小調 [Short song of plough for dancing]

Giannzunlang (H) 行船人 [Seamen]

Giannzunlang e Sunziannkik (H) 行船人的純情曲 [Love Songs of Seamen]

Ginglonggua (H) 耕農歌 [Ploughman's song]

Gosin ngien (Hk) 過新年 [Celebrating the New Year]

Guaziiyin (Hk) 瓜子仁 [Melon seeds]

Hainn caide (H) 咳探茶 [Song sung when people of tea village playing and entertaining]

Hanam diau (Hk) 下南調 [Tune of Hanam]

Hingcun diau (H) 恒春調 [Tune of Hingcun]

Hingcun diau (fixed) (H) 恒春調 [A fixed tune of Hingcun]

Hingcun diau (flexible) (H) 恒春調 [A flexible tune of Hingcun]

Hingcun godiau (H) 恆春古調 [The ancient tune of Hingcun]

Hingcun siordiau (H) 恆春小調 [Short song of Hingcun]

Honggang siordiau (H) 楓港小調 [Short song of Honggang]

Huan'a kiok (H) 番仔曲 [Aboriginal tune]

Kam a ka diau (H) 崁仔腳調 [Tune of Kam'a ka (place name)]

Kanbhong gua (H) 牽亡歌 [Song to summon the soul of the dead]

Kau diau (H) 哭調 [Tune for crying]

Kausng diau (H) 哭喪調 [Song to cry for mourn]

Kiensiivun (Hk) 勸世文 [Urging all the people to virtue]

Kitziah diau (H) 乞丐食調 [Beggar's tune]

Kngse gua (H) 勸世歌 [Cautionary song]

Koziu muabue (H) 苦酒滿杯 [A full cup of bitter wine]

Kulit ngiong (Hk) 苦力娘 [Hard working women]

Lakgheh bhakni (H) 六月茉莉 [Jasmine in June]

Lakgheh canzui (H) 六月田水 [Water in the field in June]

Lang cah hue, I cah cau (H) 人插花,伊插草 [Others wear flowers on their heads, they wear grasses]

Liangsuann diau (H) 涼傘調 [Tune of Liangsuann]

Limziu gua (H) 飲酒歌 [Drinking song]

Loksuitien (Hk) 落水天 [Rainy day]

Longcuan ziugua (H) 農村酒歌 [Wine song in farm village]

Losan go (Hk) 老山歌 [Old mountain song]

Lorsiann Nahionn (H) 鑼聲若響 [If a gong is striked]

Maden diau (Hk) 馬燈調 [Tune of storm lamp]

Maica go (Hk) 賣茶歌 [Selling-tea]

Maiziu (Hk) 賣酒 [Selling wine]

Mi'nung san'ge diau (Hk) 美濃山歌調 [Tune of Mi'nung (place name) mountain song]

Nadau Ze (H) 林投姊 [Sister Nadau]

Nasi gua Hingcun (H) 若是到恆春 [If you come to Hingcun]

Ngganggu (Hk) 五更鼓 [Song of the night watchman's drum]

Ngiamfut diau (Hk) 唸佛調 [Tune of chanting Buddha's name]

Nisiok gua (H) 年俗歌 [Song about customs of lunar new year]

Onvi go (Hk) 安慰歌 [Sonf of consolation]

Pennbo diau (H) 平埔調 [A tune of Pennbo tribe]

Pennbo Siraya zok zegua (H) 平埔西拉雅族祭歌 [Worship tune of Pennbo tribe]

Piangzii go (Hk) 病子歌 [Song of pregnancy]

Pinban diau (Hk) 平板調 [A tune of Pinban]

Pokgua diau (H) 卜卦調 [Tune of divining by the eight diagrams]

Pong debuann (H) 捧茶盤 [Carrying tea tray]

Sangcutbang (H) 送出帆 [Bidding farewell and setting sail]

Sanggor diau (dramatic) (H) 送哥調 (戲曲用) [Tune of farewell to lover]

San'go zii (Hk) 山歌子 [Mountain song]

Sann siann bhornai (dramatic) (H) 三聲無奈 (戲曲用) [Helplessness groans]

Sann siann bhornai (urbanized) (H) 三聲無奈 (城市化) [Helplessness groans]

Shemui sugun (H) 雪梅思君 [Lady Shemui misses her husband]

Shii ngi ngiet gu'ngin'go (Hk) 十二月古人歌 [Song of the ancient in December]

Siilien go (Hk) 思戀歌 [Admiration song]

Shiibatmia (Hk) 十八摸 [Eighteen touch]

Simsngsng (H) 心酸酸 [Aching heart]

Siunggin diau (Hk) 誦經調 [Tune of reciting scriptures]

Songsan caica (Hk) 上山採茶 [Picking tea on the mountain]

Suatbui sugun (H) 雪梅思君 [Suatbui is missing her husband]

Suguicun (H) 四季春 [All seasons are spring]

Suguihong (H) 四季紅 [Four-season red]

Sunggimcai (Hk) 送金釵 [Giving golden hairpin as gift]

Sung ngiong go (Hk) 送郎歌 [Seeing lover off]

Susianggi (H) 思想起 [Thinking of]

Tainan diau (H) 台南調 [A tune of Tainan]

Tainan kau diau (H) [Tainan crying tune]

Taipei diau (H) 台北調 [A tune popularized in Taipei]

Taisan'go (Hk) 大山歌 [Old mountain song]

Tavulo (A) [sung as the high priest presents offerings to the ancestral god]

Tiaudam'go (Hk) 挑擔歌 [Song of shouldering load]

Tinn o o (H) 天鳥鳥 [The sky is dark]

Tofakoi (Hk) 桃花開 [Peach blossoms bloom]

Torhue guedo (H) 桃花過渡 [Lady Torhue crosses the river by ferry]

Torhue kiphiatgi (H) 桃花泣血記 [Weeping-blood peach blossom]

Ugong gong (H) 五工工 [The notes of Taiwan traditional music]

U'ia hue (H) 雨夜花 [Flowers in rainy night]

Xinchuan – Duhai (M) 薪傳 – 渡海 [Inheritance: crossing strait]

Yuanzhumin diau (M) 原住民調 [An aboriginal tune]

Yueqin (M) 月琴 [A song of Yueqin]

Zitjhih ziao 'a (H) 一隻鳥仔 [A bird]

Zitjhih ziao 'a cuebhorsiu (H) 一隻鳥仔找無巢 [A bird cannot find its nest]

Zitjhih ziao'a hau giugiu (H) 一隻鳥仔哮救救 [A bird is crying for help]

Zitjhih ziao 'a hau ziuziu (H) 一隻鳥仔哮啁啁 [A bird is chirping]

Zionghua diau (H) 彰化調 [Tune of Zhanghua]

Ziu ghu diau (H) 守牛調 [Tune of guarding cattle]

Zue lang e sinbu (H) 做人的新婦 [Being a daughter-in-law]

Musical Terms

ayan (H) 阿煙 [singing ritual of Pennbo Pazeh tribe in worshiping ancestors]

bangkang hi (H) 幫工戲 [singing and dancing activities Pennbo Siraya tribe did after finishing helping each other's work]

beiguan (M) 北管 ["northern pipe", a traditional vocal-instrumental operatic form from Fujian and Taiwan]

beiguansi (M) 北管戲 [beiguan drama]

bhin iau (H) 民謠 [folk song and ballad]

citghi'a (H) 七字仔 [seven characters in a sentence]

dua diau (H) 大調 [literally, large tune or major scale]

fengyao (M) 風謠 [folk song and ballad]

fulu (M) 福路 [a old faction of beiguan]

gak'a hian (H) 殼仔弦 [a traditional Taiwanese two-stringed instrument, like er hu] ge (M) 歌 [song]

gewu xiaoxi (M) 歌舞小戲 [singing and dancing for small story]

geyao (M) 歌謠 [song and ballad]

gocue (H) 古吹 [suona horn]

gongchipu (M) 工尺譜 [traditional system of notation in Taiwan and Chinese]

gua'a diau (H) 歌仔調 [the tune of song]

gua'a hi (H) 歌仔戲 [Taiwanese opera]

Hakka xiaudiau (M) 客家小調 [a type of Hakka folksongs, circulating in town]

Hingcun diau Bhin'iau (H) 恆春調民謠 [a general name of Hingcun folksongs]

jiuqiang shihba diau (M) 九腔十八調 ["nine accents and eighteen tunes", indicating

the number of Hakka folksongs is considerable]

kanhi (H) 牽戲 [a ceremonial process of Pennbo Siraya tribe to worship ancestors, to resemble the performance of a small drama]

kankik (H) 牽曲 [a singing ritual of Pennbo Siraya tribe to worship their ancestors] kau diau (H) 哭調 [tune for crying, used to express sadness and sentiments in

Taiwanese opera]

Kavalanzu geyao (M) 噶瑪蘭歌謠 [folk songs of Kavalan tribe]

Liam gua (H) 唸歌 [singing and narrative form]

lo go (H) 鑼鼓 [gongs and drums].

min'ge (M) 民歌 [folksong]

min'yao (M) 民謠 [folk song and ballad]

qiyan jueju (M) 七言絕句 [a poetic structure in Tang Dynasty]

shan'ge (M) 山歌 ["mountain song", usually sung in a wide field]

shuochang (M) 說唱 [singing and narrating story]

siaudiau (M) 小調 ["small tune", usually circulating in town]

sihgulian (H) 四句聯 [four sentences and seven characters in each sentence]

xingge (M) 行歌 [another title of folksongs]

sipi (M) 西皮 [a new faction of beiguan]

Taiwan bhin'iau (H) 台灣民謠 [Taiwan folk song and ballad]

Taiwan chuantong min'ge (M) 台灣傳統民歌 [Taiwanese traditional folk songs]

Taiwan chuantong min'yao (M) 台灣傳統民謠 [Taiwanese traditional folk songs]

Taiwan chuantong ziran min'ge (M) 台灣傳統自然民歌 [Taiwanese traditional naturally-developed folk songs]

Taiwan min'ge (M) 台灣民歌 [Taiwan folk song]

tiauhi (H) 跳戲 [a ceremonial process of Pennbo Makatao tribe to worship ancestors]

yangge (M) 秧歌 [another title of folksongs]

yao 謠 (M) [ballad]

yueqin (M) 月琴 [a two-stringed musical instrument, whose name come from the moon-like shape of its resonance box]

zapliam'a (H) 雜唸仔 [unregulated sentence; song with inconsistent length of lyric phrases]

Personal Names

Interviewees:

Chen Da (M) 陳達 (1906-81) [musician, prominent folksong singer]

Chen Juhua (M) 陳菊花 (b. 1939) [amateur singer]

Chen Mingzhang (M) 陳明章 (b. 1922) [amateur singer]

Chen Piao (M) 陳票 (b. 1928) [housewife, amateur singer]

Chen Shuhua (M) 陳淑華 [amateur singer]

Chen Sunian (M) 陳素年 [amateur singer in Hingcun]

Chen Ying (M) 陳英 (b. 1948) [amateur singer in Hingcun]

Chen You Yuhao (M) 陳尤玉好 (b. 1930) [housewife, amateur singer in Hingcun]

Chen Zhang Mi (M) 陳張密 (b. 1931) [housewife, amateur singer]

Chen Zhang Xiuyue (M) 陳張秀月 (b. 1951) [amateur singer in Hingcun]

Dong Guo Xiuhua (M) 董郭秀花 (b. 1937) [housewife, amateur singer]

Dong Yanting (M) 董廷庭 [musician, yueqin's performer in Hingcun area]

Gho Dibhe (H) 吳知尾 (dec.) [prominent folksong singer in Hingcun area]

Gong Pan Xiuxiang (M) 龔潘秀香 (b. 1938) [housewife, amateur singer]

Gong Shumei (M) 龔淑美 (b. 1977) [music teacher]

Guo Dacheng (M) 郭大誠 [song writer, producer of records]

Han Zhuang Gan (M) 韓莊柑 (b.1925) [an amateur singer in Hingcun]

Hsiao Tyzen (H) 蕭泰然 [musician, composer]

Huang Jinyun (M) 黃錦雲 (b. 1936) [housewife, amateur singer]

Huang Wu Guixiang (M) 黃吳桂香 (b. 1927) [housewife, amateur singer]

Huang Xiamao (M) 黃夏茂 [principal of elementary school]

Ke Mingzheng (M) 柯明正 [public official, amateur singer]

Li Anhe (M) 李安和 [musician, singer]

Li Xie Mianqing (M) 李謝綿卿 (b. 1953) [amateur singer, excel at Ghubhe buann]

Liao Qiongzhi (M) 廖瓊枝 [famous performer and teacher of Taiwanese opera]

Lin Bihui (M) 林碧惠 (b. 1960) [housewife, amateur singer]

Lin Lu Guiyun (M) 林盧桂雲 [housewife, amateur singer]

Lin Jinpo (M) 林金波 [writer of the lyrics of Taiwanese songs]

Lin Tianfa (M) 林添發 [amateur singer]

Liu Fuzhu (M) 劉福助 [professional singer of Holo songs in Taiwan]

Liu Shufang (M) 劉淑芳 (b. 1954) [owner of grocery, amateur singer]

Lu Jinshou (M) 呂金守 [Taiwanese pop-song composer, producer of records]

Pan Gu Liyu (M) 潘古麗玉 (b. 1946) [retirement, amateur singer]

Pan Jinnu (M) 潘金女 (b. 1946) [amateur singer]

Pan Qiujian (M) 潘秋儉 (b. 1953) [amateur singer]

Pan Zhang Biying (M) 潘張碧英 (b. 1947) [housewife, amateur singer]

Pan Zhengxing (M) 潘正行 (b. 1943) [sponsor, amateur singer]

Wang Bizhu (M) 王碧珠 (b. 1953) [housewife, amateur singer]

Wu Cankun (M) 吳燦昆 [farmer, sponsor, amateur singer]

Wu Duizai (M) 吳對仔 (b.1933) [housewife, amateur singer]

Wu Xishui (M) 吳西水 (b. 1935) [sponsor, amateur singer]

Xia Meiying (M) 夏美英 (b.1961) [amateur singer in Hingcun area]

Xie Chen Yuxia (M) 謝陳玉霞 (b. 1948) [amateur singer, good at yueqin]

Xie Ermei (M) 謝二妹 (b.1946) [amateur singer in Hingcun area]

Xie Meizu (M) 謝美足 (b. 1958) [housewife, amateur singer]

Xu Fengmei (M) 許鳳妹 (M) (b. 1939) [amateur singer, Zeng Zhenghui 's wife]

Xu Tianque (M) 許天却 (b.1918) [farmer, sponsor, amateur singer]

Xu Xinyi (M) 許心怡 (b. 1982) [student]

Xu Baofa (M) 徐寶發 (b.1919) [musician, good at Er xian (similar er hu)]

Yang Jinshui (M) 楊金水 (b.1929) [farmer, amateur singer]

You Meiyan (M) 尤美燕 (b. 1954) [housewife, amateur singer]

You Pingsheng (M) 尤平生 [public official, amateur singer]

You Shenzhi (M) 尤伸志 (b. 1947) [public official, amateur singer]

You Xia xiantao (M) 尤夏仙桃 (b.1928) [amateur singer]

You Zhu Xiazai (M)尤朱蝦仔 (b.1925) [housewife, amateur singer]

Zen Xingde (M) 曾辛得 [musician, teacher, principal of elementary school]

Zeng Chunju (M) 曾春菊 (b. 1948) [housewife, amateur singer]

Zeng Zhenghui (M) 曾正輝 (b. 1934) [retiring teacher, amateur singer]

Zhang Lin Ashen (M) 張林阿伸 (1947) [housewife, amateur singer]

Zhang Rigui (M) 張日貴 (b. 1933) [prominent folksong singer, folk song teacher]

Zhang ShiJi (M) 張石吉 (b.1940) [amateur singer]

Zhang Wang Fumi (M) 張王富米 (b.1951) [housewife, amateur singer]

Zhang Wenjie (M) 張文傑 (1948-2004) [prominent folksong singer]

Zhang Xinchuan (M) 張新傳 (b. 1918) [prominent singer, folk song teacher]

Zhang Yawen (M) 張雅雯 [assistant producer of Haozhi Record Company]

Zhong Mingkun (M) 鍾明昆 (b. 1935) [musician, music teacher]

Zhu Dingshun (M) 朱丁順 (b. 1928) [prominent singer, folk song teacher]

Others:

Alipzo (H) 阿立祖 [ancestral deity of Pennbo Siraya tribe]

Chen Zhongshen (M) 陳中申 [prominent performer of bamboo flute]

Chen Junbin (M) 陳俊斌 [researcher on musicology]

Chen Yufeng (M) 陳玉峰 [scholar of nature and ecology]

Chi Zhizheng (M) 池志徵 [official and writer in the Qing dynasty]

Ding Ling (M) 丁玲 [singer of Taiwanese songs, stage name, autonym is Lin Xiuzhi]

Dizangwang (M) 地藏王 [God of Hell]

Guanshiyin (M) 觀世音 [Goddess of Mercy]

Guo Chengmeng (M) 郭城孟 [scholar of nature and ecology]

Guo Silang (M) 郭賜郎 [editor]

Hirasawa Teto (J) 平澤丁東 [Japanese writer of folk literature during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan]

Hsu Tsanghouei (M) 許常惠 [musicologist, composer, professor]

Hu Jenghua (M) 胡敬華 [scholar of nature and ecology]

Huang Guolong (M) 黄國隆 [musician]

Huang Siting (M) 黃思婷 [singing star of Taiwanese pop songs]

Huang Zhilin (M) 黃志林 [scholar of nature and ecology]

Inada Hitosi (J) 稻田尹 [a Japanese bookman during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan]

Jiang Hui (M) 江蕙 [notable singer of Taiwanese pop songs]

Jiang Jingguo (M) 蔣經國 [1910-88; the son of Chiang Kai-shek; president, Premier of Taiwan]

Jueluomanbao (M) 覺羅滿保 [governor-general of Fujian and Zhejiang, Qing dnasty]

Kataoka Gen (J) 片岡巖 [Japanese writer during Japanese occupation of Taiwan]

Kudou Suketaka (J) 工藤祐舜 [Japanese, scholar of nature and ecology]

Li Maoshan (M) 李茂山 [singing star, from Singapore]

Li Xianzhang (M) 李獻璋 [writer of Taiwanese folk literature]

Lin Fuyu (M) 林福裕 [musician]

Liu Mingdeng (M) 劉明燈 [high-ranking military officer, Qing dynasty]

Lu Bingchuan (M) 呂炳川 [ethnomusicologist]

Luo Dayou (M) 羅大佑 [song composer and singer]

Matsuura Sakuziro (J) 松浦作治郎 [Japanese, scholar of nature and ecology]

Ming Zheng (M) 明鄭 [Zheng Chenggong and his son and grandson ruled Taiwan]

Mituo (M) 彌陀 [Buddha]

Niu Sanbik (H) 梁山伯 [the hero of a Chinese folk love story]

Qianlong Emperor (M) 乾隆皇帝 [the sixth emperor in the Qing dynasty]錢

Qiu Kunliang (M) 邱坤良 [dramatist, President of University]

Shi Weiliang (M) 史惟亮 [musicologist, professor]

Song Yongqing (M) 宋永清 [magistrate of fengshan, Qing dynasty]

Taizu (M) 太祖 [ancestral god]

Tinngong (H) 天公 [God of Heaven]

Todegong (H) 土地公 [God of Earth]

Tok'e'tok (A) 卓杞篤 [chief of Paiwan in Zhulaoxhu she, leader of Langquao eighteen shes (?-1873)]

Touhou Takayosi (J) 東方孝義 [Japanese researcher of Taiwanese folklore during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan]

Wu Aiqing (M) 吳艾菁 [editor of Taiwanese folksongs]

Yu Boquan (M) 余伯泉 [linguist]

Yunmen Wuji (M) 雲門舞集 [Cloud Gate Dance Theater of Taiwan]

Zhang Qingen (M) 張慶恩 [scholar of nature and ecology]

Zhang Qingfang (M) 張清芳 [singing star]

Zheng Chenggong (M) 鄭成功 [known by the name Koxinga, Ming dynasty commander, anti-Qing fighter (r.1661-83)]

Zhang Guizi (M) 張桂子 [Taiwanese opera actress]

Zheng Keshuang (M) 鄭克塽 [grandson of Zheng chenggong]

Zheng Zhenkun (M) 鄭鎮坤 [owner of a record company]

Zhu Inndai (M) 祝英台 [heroine of a Chinese folk love story]

Zhu Yigui (M) 朱一貴 [leader of the first large-scale rebellion against the Qing dynasty in Taiwan (1690-1772)]

Zhu Ziqing (M) 朱自清 [Chinese poet and essayist, professor (1898-1937)]

Place Names

Anping (M) 安平

Bangliau (H) 枋寮

Bangsuann (H) 枋山

Bangsuann zng (H) 枋山庄

Baoli Pasture (M) 保力牧場

Beihai jiujia (M) 北海酒家

Bhanggah (H) 艋舺 [present: Wanhua (M) 萬華]

Bhodan (H) 牡丹

Bhuanziu (H) 滿州

Casiann (H) 柴城 [present: Checheng (M) 車城]

Casiannwan (H) 車城灣

Ciahsuann (H) 赤山

Ciakam (H) 赤崁

Quanzhou (M) 泉州

Dabanlu (M) 大板轆

Daguang (M) 大光

Daidang (H) 台東

Danngau (H) 打狗 [present: Gaoxiong (M) 高雄]

Dashufangzhuang (M) 大樹房莊

Dehe Li (M) 德和里

Donggan (M) 東港

Douliu (M) 斗六

Fengshan (M) 鳳山

Fujian (M) 福建

Fuzhou (M) 福州

Galozui (H) 佳洛水

Gangkou (M) 港口

Gaoxiong (M) 高雄

Ghorluanpinn (H) 鵝鑾鼻

Guagak (H) 龜仔角

Guangdong (M) 廣東

Hingcun (H) 恆春

Houbi Lake (M) 後壁湖

Honggang (H) 楓港

Huasia (M) 華夏

Huizhou (M) 惠州

Jianan Plains (M) 嘉南平原

Jianshan (M) 尖山

Kungding (H) 墾丁

Lan'yang (M) 闡陽

Lanyu (M) 蘭嶼

Maobitou (M) 猫鼻頭

Min'nan area (M) 閩南地區

Nandawu (M) 南大武

Nanren san (M) 南仁山

Nanwan (M) 南灣

Pingdong (M) 屏東

Qixingyan (M) 七星岩

Quanzhou fu (M) 泉州府

Shandong (M) 山東

Shantou (M) 汕頭

Suannka (H) 山腳

Tainan (M) 台南

Xiamin (M) 廈門

. Xisogang (M) 小港

Xuanhua li (M) 宣化里

Xuzhou (M) 徐州

Yilan (M) 宜蘭

Yilan area (M) 宜蘭地區

Jilong (M) 基隆

Zhanghua (M) 彰化

Zhangzhou (M) 漳州

Zhangzhou fu (M) 漳州府

Zhongyuan region (M) 中原地區

Ziamsuann (H) 尖山

Other Terms

A uan gah a huat begiann e bicam gosu (H) 阿遠恰阿發父子的悲慘故事 [The sad story of father and son, A Uan and A Huat]

Cantau canbhe Todegong (H) 田頭田尾土地公 [God of Earth lives in both the front and back of the field]

Chengtianfu (M) 承天府 [Chengtian prefecture]

Chubanshe (M) 出版社 [a publisher]

Daidong Zhitang Zhushi Huishe (H, M) 台東製糖株式會社 [Daidong Sugar Refinery]

Fengchuisha (M) 風吹沙 [sand dune formed by wind-blow]

Fuan gong (M) 福安宮 [temple's name, Ciasiann of Hingcu area]

Fushunhao (M) 撫順號 [a name of ship]

Gaoshanfan (M) 高山蕃 [mountain barbarians (aborigine), the name used in Qing Dynasty rule]

Gaoshanzu (M) 高山族 [mountain tribes, the name used in GMD rule]

Gaoshazu (M) 高砂族 [mountain tribes, the name used in Japanese rule]

GMD: Guomindang (M) 國民黨 [The Nationalist Party]

Gongpua bhordat sann e zinn (H) 講破無值三的錢 [a secret is worth nothing once it's disclosed]

Gongsi (M) 公司 [a company]

Guangxu Nianhao (M) 光緒年號 [Qing Dynasty, Dezong emperor]

Guihuafan (M) 歸化蕃 [naturalized Pennbo barbarians (aborigine)]

Guihua shengfan (M) 歸化生番 [naturalized mountain barbarians (aborigine)]

Guoyu (M) 國語 [Mandarin]

Haishan Changpian Gongsi (M) 海山唱片公司 [Haishan record company]

Haikou shamo (M) 海口沙漠 [desert at sea mouth]

Hokdik ziannsin (H) 福德正神 [God proper of blessing and virtues]

Huafan (M) 化番 [naturalized barbarians (aborigine)]

Jiupeng shamo (M) 九棚沙漠 [nine-stratum desert]

kanciu 牽手 (H) [wife]

kanji 漢字 (Japanese) [Chinese characters]

Leida Changpian Gongsi (M) 雷達唱片公司 [Radar record company]

li (M) 里 [a small unit of administrative area]

li (M) 里 [a unit of length equal to half kilometer]

Li Hokliong zi de di lam'uan diorhi camsi (H) 李福隆之弟在南灣釣魚慘死 [Li Hokliong's younger brother died miserably when fishing in Lam'uan]

liang 兩 [a unit of weight equal to 50 grams]

Lim'a gah gap Ior'a siorcuazau (H) 林仔佮腰仔相娶走 [Lim'a and Lor'a eloped]
Lim Sin'gau dautai bianghu (H) 林新教投胎做牛 [Lim Sin'gau was reincarnated as a bull]

Liudao lunhui (M) 六道輪迴 [six paths of transmigration]

Minsheng Guangbo Diantai (M) 民聲廣播電台 [Minsheng broadcasting station]

Pennbo aborigines (H) 平埔原住民 [Pennbo tribes]

Pennbofan (H) 平埔蕃 [Pennbo barbarians (aborigine)]

Pennbozok (H) 平埔族 [Pennbo tribes]

Pingdifan (M) 平地蕃 [plain barbarians (aborigine)]

satbhakhi (H) 虱目魚 [milkfish]

Shandi tongbao (M) 山地同胞 [mountainous region's fellowman]

Shengdu shiyin Musical Group (M) 省都什音樂團 [a music group]

Shengfan (M) 生蕃 [untamed barbarians (aborigine)]

Shoufan (M) 熟蕃 [well-assimilated barbarians (aborigine)]

Taiwan Fanzu (M) 台灣蕃族 [Taiwan barbarian races (aborigine)]

Taiwan geyao Chuanchang (M) 台灣歌謠傳唱 [transmission and singing of Taiwanese songs]

Tianxing xian (M) 天興縣 [county of Tianxing]

Tosennn giann (H) 土生子 [native-born baby]

Waisheng ren (M) 外省人 [people from other provinces]

Wuhu (M) 五胡 [five northern tribes of China: Xiongnu 匈奴, Sianbei 鮮卑, Di 氐, Yang 羌, and Jie 羯]

Wulong Changpian Gongsi (M) 五龍唱片公司 [Five dragons record company]

Yefan (M) 野蕃 [wild barbarians (aborigine)]

Youshi Guangbo Diantai (M) 幼獅廣播電台 [Youshi broadcasting station]

Wanniansian (M) 萬年縣 [county of Yuannian]

Xianzhumin (M) 先住民 [first residents]

Yuanzhumin (M) 原住民 [original residents]

zaubior (H) 走飇 [running]

zhongfutian (M) 種福田 [field of good fortune]

Zhonghua Guangbo Diantai (M) 中華廣播電台 [Zhonghua broadcasting station]

Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Minzu Yanjiusuo (M) 中央研究院民族研究所 [Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica]

zhuzhi ci (M) 竹枝詞 [a poetic form of four sentences and seven characters in each sentence]

zngtau zngbhe Todegong (H) 庄頭庄尾土地公 [God of Earth resides in both the front and back of a village]

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