

Voices of Eternal Spring:

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

Submitted for PhD

By

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Abstract

This thesis focuses first on Taiwanese folk songs in general, looking then in more detail at Hingcun [Hengchun in Mandarin] folk songs and finally zooming in to study in depth the tune *Hingcun diau* and its song family. In addition to the discussion of the musical qualities of folk songs per se, this thesis lays stress on how these folk songs were shaped by and interacted with the lives of the people in the societies where they were found.

Chapter One looks at the concept of folk song and then considers folk song in Taiwan from historical, musical and ethnomusicological perspectives, introducing three systems of folk song: aboriginal, Holo and Hakka folk songs. Of the three, Holo folk songs are the most significant part due to the fact that Holo people constitute the majority of the Taiwanese population. The folk songs of the Hingcun Peninsula, which is located at the southernmost tip of Taiwan, are part of the Holo category, and these are the topic of Chapters Two and Three. Chapter Two provides an account of the history and society of the Hingcun region, so describing the setting of the songs studied here. In Chapter Three I report on my fieldwork investigations into this repertory, revealing more of the folk song culture that surrounds the songs themselves, in particular the songs *Susianggi* and *Ghubhe buann*, and the outstanding vocalist Chen Da.

Chapter Four looks in depth at the remarkable song family that has emerged from the *Hingcun diau* tune over time, analysing variants from the earliest instances available to symphonic arrangements and the latest hip hop version. The relationship between political and cultural change and the emergence of new variants is assessed throughout. The thesis is then completed by a Conclusion (Chapter 5) and two CDs of examples.

Keywords: Ethnomusicology; Musicology; Asian music study; Folk song; Taiwanese folk songs; *Hingcun diau* ; Development of folk song

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Voices of Eternal Spring: A Study of the *Hingcun diau* Song Family and Other Folk Songs of the Hingcun Area, Taiwan¹

Chapter One Introduction

Prelude

The birth of a folk song definitely has its own origin and cause. There must be reasons why any particular folk song survives and develops among the lives of people, or not. Furthermore, each folk song is a portrayal of the society of its time, and so can naturally reflect the background and characteristics of its era. If we could find a folk song with a rich and colourful development process, study its historic traces in the past, its vitality at present, as well as its possible influence in the future, and even examine the local cultural development based on that song's progress, that would be meaningful and valuable research.

In the 1970s, a popular song *Cenn or'a sor* [An oyster fisherman's wife], describing the feelings of the wife of a fisherman, was widely sung among the people in Taiwan. Television dramas even used this song as a theme song. From the late 1950s to the 1960s, another popular song was called *Sann siann bhornai* [Helpless groans], describing the heartbroken helplessness of a woman deserted by her lover. Its melody has even been used as a tune in *Gua'a hi* [Taiwanese opera]. In the mid-1950s, there appeared two ploughman's songs, one in the Holo language named *Ginglonggua*, and the other, in Mandarin, called *Gengnongge*. The former gained much popularity among the people, and the latter was used as teaching material in primary schools. In the same period, a song called *Gamzia horziah siangtau dinn* [Delicious sugarcane, sweet from end to end] was widespread in the Hingcun area. As a matter of fact, the melodies of the above-mentioned songs, *Cenn or'a sor*, *Sann siann bhornai*,

¹ All the names and lyrics of Holo folk songs as well as some of the place names and proper nouns in this dissertation adopt the pronunciation of the Holo language. For more information on the phonetic transcription systems of Mandarin and Holo language in Taiwan as well as their related explanations, please see section 6 of this chapter.

The "*Diau*" of "*Hingcun diau*" means a tune. A tune does not have the same meaning as a melody. Here a tune is a basic framework for melodies; therefore, many melodies may come from the same tune. "*Hingcun diau*" here generally indicates the original framework of this tune and various melodies which have developed from it.

Ginglonggua, *Gengnongge*, and *Gamziah horzia Siangtau dinn* all came from the same source — *Hingcun diau* [Tune of Hingcun], a folk song from the Hingcun area situated at the southern tip of the island of Taiwan. This song is also called *Daidang diau* [Tune of Daidang] because the lyrics describe some Hingcun people moving to Daidang to cultivate new homeland.

The melody of *Hingcun diau* has been popular in the Hingcun area for more than one hundred years. At present, it is still loved by the local people. It is therefore worthwhile exploring the origin of its birth, not only because other songs originating from *Hingcun diau* have spread from one small village to everywhere in Taiwan, and even to foreign countries, but also because it has been transformed from a simple folk song to the tune of *Liam gua* [Singing and narrating]² into material for music education, tunes of dramas, the theme song of a television series, and even an urbanized folk song.

Due to the richness and vividness of their origin and process of development, the songs of the *Hingcun diau* family have attracted many researchers of ethnomusicology to explore and study them.

1.1 Research Motive and Objective

Although *Hingcun diau* was the basic tune of the six folk songs above, if we trace it to its source, we find that the tune of *Hingcun diau* came from a melody of Taiwanese Aborigines. Unfortunately, few Taiwanese people know this unusual phenomenon — that *Hingcun diau* and its song family have developed from an Aboriginal tune. Which particular region and which aborigine tribe has it originated from? Why was it named differently in different eras? What differences are there in the lyrics and musical structure of these variously-named songs? These are intriguing questions which really deserve further research. Therefore, tracing the source and history of *Hingcun diau* is the first objective of this research.

A folk song is like a mirror that is able truly to reflect what happened in any era.

² *Liam gua* (in Holo), also called *Shuochang* (in Mandarin) is a form of folk music performance popular with people in Taiwan. The performing of *Liam gua* alternates between singing and narrating stories, utilizing the tune of traditional *Gua'a diau* [the tune of song] as the base tune.

In other words, the origins, the development process, and the forms of a folk song displayed in different times have been shaped by its associated cultural phenomena, social structure, economic activities, political situation, etc. From an historical point of view, the origin and process of development of *Hingcun diau* is also the history of the development of Taiwan over more than 100 years. The second objective of this study is to prove the relationship between folk songs and their historical background.

In other parts of the world, the research of ethnomusicology has long been interdisciplinary, combining musicology and other disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and history. However, “ethnomusicology research” in Taiwan has remained at the stage of data collecting, organizing, and analyzing. The analysis has mainly focused on musical organization and structure but rarely on interdisciplinary study. This research will employ an interdisciplinary approach so as to widen and deepen the field of ethnomusicology research in Taiwan and thus break through the stagnation of ethnomusicology research in Taiwan. This is the third objective of my research.

This folk song has survived for more than a hundred years, and has had a unique representation in each particular era. There must be a reason behind this strong vitality. The fourth objective of this study is to locate this reason from the development of *Hingcun diau* and its related songs, with the hope that identifying it will be of help to the development of culture and of society in Taiwan.

1.2 Research Subject and Scope

Hingcun diau is also called *Pennbo diau* [A tune of the Pennbo tribe] or *Galea diau* [A tune of *Gale*] by the Hingcun people. In the circles of Taiwanese musicology, *Hingcun diau* has different definitions. In the wide sense, *Hingcun diau* indicates all those folk songs that originated and were sung in the Hingcun area. Scholars such as Hsu Tsanghouei and Chen Junbin support this definition.³ In the narrow sense, *Hingcun diau* means a particular tune upon which locals in the Hingcun area compose lyrics. It is the basic frame from which various songs with the same musical essence and style but somewhat different melodies have developed. In addition to me, the

³ Hsu Tsanghouei, *Xianjieduan Taiwan Min'yao Yanjiu* [Current research in Taiwanese folk songs], Quanyin yueyun chubanshe, 1986, p. 15. Chen Junbin, “Hingcun diau Min'yao Yanjiu” [Research in *Hingcun diau* folk songs], Taipei Yishu Daxue, Master's thesis, 1993, pp. 35-36. In addition, in his thesis, Chen in particular designated *Hingcun diau* in wide definition as *Hingcun diau min'yao*.

proponents of this definition include composer Hsiao Tyzen, Li Taixiang, Chen Zhongshen, and singer Liu Fuzhu, etc.⁴

Further explanations for my adoption of the definition of *Hingcun diau* in this narrow sense are provided here. According to the practices of naming folk songs all over Taiwan, a song called “*XX diau*” always indicates the tune of one single song or song family. For example, *Dailam diau* [Tune of Tainan] is the source tune of *Ghule gua* [Song of the plough], and *Ghilan diau* [Tune of Ghilan] the source tune of *Diudiu dang’a*. Furthermore, *Daibak diau* [Tune of Taipei] and *Jionghua diau* [Tune of Jionghua] each indicate the tune of one single song.⁵ Even the “*diau*” used in the names of *Pennbo diau* [A tune of the Pennbo tribe], *Ghokong siordiau* [Short tune of *Ghokong*], and *Ziu ghu diau* [Tune of guarding cattle] by Hingcun locals all refer to a single, specific tune.⁶ Thus it is confusing merely to define *Hingcun diau* in the wide sense in the Hingcun area. In order for the wide and narrow definitions of *Hingcun diau* to have clearer meanings, I have adopted the same nomenclature used for Taiwanese folk songs all over Taiwan. Thus I call *Hingcun diau* in the narrow sense “*Hingcun diau*” and *Hingcun diau* in the wide sense “*Hingcun bhin’gua*” [Hingcun Folk Songs]. Accordingly, the “*Hingcun diau* and its song family” of this thesis refers to *Hingcun diau* in the narrow sense plus other folk songs related to it in melody, such as *Daidang diau* [Tune of Daidang], *Gamziah horziah siangtau dinn* [Delicious sugarcane, sweet from end to end], *Ginglonggua* [Ploughman’s song – Taiwanese version], *Gengnongge* [Ploughman’s song – Mandarin version], *Sannsiann bhornai* [Helpless groans], and *Cenn or’a sor* [An oyster fisherman’s wife].

The *Hingcun diau* is generally thought to have developed in the Hingcun area, which has been a significant place in nurturing Holo folk songs in Taiwan. Holo folk songs in Taiwan are one of the three categories of Taiwanese folk songs: Aboriginal, Holo and Hakka. In the following passage, I shall introduce these three categories

⁴ Hsiao Tyzen and Li Taixiang treat *Hingcun diau* as a special tune and gave it other names respectively in the works they composed. In Hsiao’s work *Taiwanqing Tyzensim* [Taiwan love Tyzen heart], collection of violin works, Jiawei Co. Ltd., 1998, he calls it “*Hingcun siordiau*”. Li names it “*Hingcun Folk Song*” in his work *Xiang* [Hometown], Gunshi International Music Co. Ltd., SND-2002. Chen Zhongshen also calls it *Hingcun siordiau* in his work *Ang can’enn: Taiyu Chuantong Ergeji* [A red dragonfly: Collection of Taiwanese traditional children’s songs], Xinyi Foundation Chuban gongsi, 1998. And in Liu Fuzhu’s album *Taiwan Geyao 5* [Taiwanese Folk Songs 5], Lige Record Co., Ltd. ASK-0158, the song is named *Hingcun diau*.

⁵ Hsu Tsanghouei, *Sianjieduan Taiwan Min’yao Yanjiu* [Current Research in Taiwanese Folk Songs], Quanyin yueyun chubanshe, 1986, pp. 48-56.

⁶ Chen Junbin, “*Hingcun diau Min’yao Yanjiu*” [Research in *Hingcun diau* folk songs], Taipei Yishu Daxue, Master’s thesis, 1993, pp. 35-36.

from a broad to a narrow perspective, then briefly talk about Holo folk songs in Taiwan, and finally discuss the folk songs in the Hingcun area. This gradual narrowing of focus will allow me to locate precisely the position of *Hingcun diau* and its song family in the larger category of Taiwanese folk songs.

1.2-1 Folk song (music) in the West and Taiwanese Folk song

Folk songs long existed everywhere in the world in early times and Taiwan is no exception. However, what is “folk song”? The definition and scope of folk song have always been varied due to the transition of time and space as well as the difference of subjective and objective factors. Specifically, the recognition of its definition and scope has been closely related to the ethnomusicological research directions in the world and to the cultural values and historical backgrounds in different nations, areas and ethnic groups. In the following, I shall discuss the definitions and developments of folk song (music) in Western countries and the meanings and characteristics of “Taiwanese folk” as defined in this thesis.⁷

(1) Folk song (music) in the West

In the West, it is normally believed that the term of “folk song” (“volkslied”) was first coined by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), the German cultural philosopher, theologian, and writer, and was established in his article “Stimmen der Völker in Liedern”, *Volkslieder* (1778-9). Herder contends that in the production of a folk song, “communal composition” and an aesthetic of “dignity” are essential characteristics.⁸ Since the German word “volkslied” was translated into the English words “folk song”, the opinions about the definition and scope of “folk song” have been widely divided. In modern times, many musicians have even altered the definition of this term from “folk song” to “folk music”. The meaning of the latter includes cultural characteristics, uses and functions.

In the eighteenth century, the emphasis was placed on the lyrics of “folk song”. The lyrics were dissected as literary works, and therefore at that time were grouped in the field of literary research. In some areas such as German, people particularly

⁷ In fact, this section mainly focuses on Britain and America when discussing the term “folk song” as defined and used in Western countries.

⁸ “Folk Music”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musician*, edited by Stanley Sadie/ executive editor: John Tyrrell, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001 (2nd edition), vol. 9, p. 63.

upheld this view.

In the nineteenth century, ballads and “lyric songs” with various contents were spread throughout Europe, in particular in the British Isles. Essentially, a ballad was a story song which was written in a narrative style. “Lyric songs” did not contain a story line but were a series of catchy lyrics and might include rhyming lyrics. There were two kinds of traditional ballads: one, with unknown authors, came from the remote past, passed down orally over a long time; the other came from published broadsides - printed sheets with words but no music. Having begun to thrive in the urban areas, broadsides, whose authors were normally known, criticized contemporary events and individuals and had only a short public life. Furthermore, in the late nineteenth century, a large number of urban, industrial and maritime songs gradually became part of the scope of “folk music” and were transmitted to the twentieth century.⁹ By the early nineteenth century, “folk music” in the United States was profoundly influenced by both British and African musical styles. By the mid-nineteenth century, a large quantity of European immigrants and Mexican citizens whose lands were incorporated into the United States brought their own music and songs with them when they migrated to America. By the end of the nineteenth century, there existed numerous music forms and styles in America, including ballads, folk songs, spirituals, ethnic songs, instrumental numbers, dance and popular tunes, and a large variety of work songs of different professions. They were all subsumed under the wider heading of “folk music” and were spread throughout America.¹⁰

It is worth mentioning that in the early nineteenth century, there was no clear difference between popular songs and peasant, national and traditional songs – they were nearly synonymous. Nevertheless, towards the end of the century, the term “folk” was specifically used to mean peasant, national and traditional while the word “popular”, after having entered the music-hall repertory, was reserved for more recent urban popular music.¹¹

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the fear that the approach of

⁹ Ronald D. Cohen, *Folk music: the basics*, New York and London: Routledge, 2006, pp. 2-3, 7.

¹⁰ Ronald D. Cohen, *Folk music: the basics*, New York and London: Routledge, 2006, pp. 8-17.

¹¹ Helen Myers/ Peter Wilton, “Folk music”, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, article url: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2609>, accessed on 19 August 2008.

modern life might gradually force the old customs and folk songs to disappear instigated the first major movement of folk-song collection. A large number of collectors were involved in the movement. For example, Cecil Sharp, Vaughan Williams, Maud Karpeles, Mrs Leather and others in England; Kodály and Bartók in Hungary; and collectors in other European countries. In England, interested scholars and antiquarians established the Folk Song Society in 1898 to preserve and promote folk songs. Those who were actively engaged in the first movement of folk music collection and revival believed that folk music was only the music created by rural artisans and labouring peasants. Folk songs collected at that time were published by middle-class enthusiasts who were interested in antiques and music. Moreover, numerous composers such as Haydn, Grieg, Dvořák, Tchaikovsky, Bartók, Vaughan Williams, and others also used folk songs as materials in their works.¹² However, using “folk” as a concept to describe the “essence” of a nation was always controversial at that time. Some individual collectors, composers, and totalitarian regimes who sought to identify or create their own national music treated “folk” as a synonym of “nation”. They interpreted the concept in accordance with their own needs.

Cecil Sharp, the song-collecting pioneer in the “first folk revival”, considered continuity, variation and selection as the three vital components of folk songs, and anonymous composition and oral transmission as the defining elements of folk songs. Sharp confined the meaning of the term “folk”. Instead of indicating the vague idea of “national essence”, in Sharp’s definition, the term related only to the disappearing rural labouring classes (who were considered illiterate), and folk song was not contaminated by either commercial or art music. Consequently, Cecil Sharp argued that the above definition of “folk song (music)” could not be applied to broadside ballads, which were published and sold for public use in the urban areas. Nevertheless, those involved in the folk revival in England and North America subsumed broadside ballads under “folk song (music)”.

Sharp’s definition and arguments of “folk” have been changed with the rise of cheap printing media, in particular, the introduction of the phonograph, record, radio and TV in twentieth century. The appearance of radio and TV stations made it

¹² (1) “Folk Music”, *The Oxford dictionary of Music*, edited by Michael Kennedy/ associate editor: Joyce Bourne, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 309.

(2) <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e3871?print=true>, accessed on 19 August 2008.

possible to transmit all kinds of music, including folk song (music), to almost everyone in society. As a result, the division between “folk” and “popular” became even more difficult and confusing.

The definition and scope of “folk” was diverse and obscure, because it varied with time, space, cultural value, and individual interpretation. Under this situation, the International Folk Music Council (IFMC), which was founded in 1947, tried to provide a classic definition of folk music by acknowledging Sharp’s concept of folk music in the process of cultural development and the differentiation of art and popular music.¹³ Furthermore, it adopted the term “folk music” in the name of the association, and in its conference in São Paulo (1955) it proposed the classic definition which incorporated Sharp’s three criteria of “continuity, variation and selection” and the notions of “tradition” and “oral transmission” by stating:¹⁴

Folk-music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are: (i) continuity, which links the present with the past; (ii) variation, which springs from the creative impulse of individual or the group; and (iii) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms, in which the music survives.

Moreover, the following explanations are added to the above definition:

1. The term folk music can be applied to music that has been evolved from rudimentary beginnings by a community uninfluenced by popular and art-music and it can likewise be applied to music which has originated with an individual composer and has subsequently been absorbed into the unwritten living tradition of a community;
2. The term does not cover popular composed music that has been taken over ready-made by a community and remains unchanged, for it is the re-fashioning and re-creation of the music by the community which gives it its folk character.

However, this definition of “folk music” still stirred up a lot of controversy. As a matter of fact, the definition and scope of folk song (music) did not remain within the limit established by the song collectors in the first revival. In particular, due to the rise of cheap printing media and the prevalence of phonographs, records, radios, TV, films and concerts in the twentieth century, the notion and conditions which define folk music have been changed.

In the 1950s, the second phase of folk song revival occurred. Important initiators

¹³ Helen Myers/ Peter Wilton, “Folk music”, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, article url: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2609>, accessed on 19 August 2008.

¹⁴ Maud Karpeles, “Definition of Folk Music”, *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, vol. 7 (1995), p. 6.

of this phase were Ewan MacColl, a playwright, songwriter, and collector, and A.L. Lloyd, a singer and collector. MacColl and Lloyd, who both came from a background of left-wing socialism and radical Marxism, were inspired by the American labour movement, and the skiffle music of Lonnie Donegan. A. L. Lloyd extended the concept of “the folk” by including industrial labourers in the group of folk song transmitters. Due to Lloyd’s argument, the second revival emphasized the values of music and labourers, fought against the emptiness and capitalism sensed from pop music and its relevant industries. He also recognized that folk music performers were far from ignorant illiterates – they were frequently readers of music notation. Therefore, he concluded that folk songs did not depend exclusively on oral transmission.¹⁵ In addition, D. Harker maintains that the music the working class favoured was from the style of the concert hall repertoire. He also believes that “continuity, variation and selection by community”, the conditioning factors, and processes that were used to acknowledge folk music, can be applied to identify the production of all fields of music (also including popular and art music) and amateur or professional. Furthermore, for him, due to the mediation of the musical practices of working people by “bourgeois” collectors and publishers, “folksong” can be simply an ideological construction of these mediators; therefore, it can only be used in a figurative sense.¹⁶

Moreover, after the rise of ethnomusicology in the 1950s, folk song and folk music became a theme of ethnomusicological research. In particular, in North America in the 1960s, the meaning of “folk music” was extended to include hybridized music which blended various ethnic groups and forms, and to recognize the urban and community music cultures among different immigrant racial groups.

In America, the use of the term “folk song (music)” has not been quite fixed. In the 1960s, the term “folk” approximated to its usage American singer-songwriters such as Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Caroline Hester and Judy Collins. Accompanied by

¹⁵ (1) Helen Myers/ Peter Wilton, “Folk music”, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, article url: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2609>, accessed on 19 August 2008.

(2) For further information, please refer to A. L. Lloyd, *Folk song in England*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1967.

¹⁶ (1) Helen Myers/ Peter Wilton, “Folk music”, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, article url: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2609>, accessed on 19 August 2008.

(2) For further information, please refer to D. Harker, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong', 1700 to the Present Day*, Milton Keynes: OUP, 1985.

acoustic guitars, they sang traditional material as well as the songs created by themselves. This trend blurred the distinction between folk and pop music in America. Further, the term “folk” was used by the mass media to include any acoustic music. At the beginning of this folk music revival, participants divided folk music into “contemporary folk music” and “traditional folk music”. Contemporary songs include protest songs or songs about social issues, usually accompanied by acoustic guitars; traditional songs and melodies, unaccompanied or accompanied by instruments such as fiddles, melodeons, concertinas, tin whistles and pipes, were performed in traditional clubs. For neo-traditionalists, the definition of “traditional” encompassed the songs sung by traditional singers and those performed in concert halls.¹⁷

Since the second folk revival of the 1950s, the tendency of some folk song singers to sing their own songs as well as traditional songs has blurred the division between folk and popular songs. In this situation, many in relation to traditional music thought that the usage of the term “folk” was too obscure to specify their interested area clearly. In addition, although Sharp defined “folk music” at the beginning of the twentieth century, he actually treated “folk music” as “traditional music”. As a result, the IFMC added the term “traditional music” to its name and changed the name in 1981 to the International Council for Traditional Music to reflect its concern for “folk”.¹⁸ At the end of the twentieth century, the definition of “folk song” given by collectors in the beginning of the century was reassessed and it was noted that through music publishers, live concert performance and state educational systems, the term promoted was frequently heavily edited and reconstructed.¹⁹

In a word, the concept of “folk music” has been defined and developed by collectors, scholars and music practitioners in different places and at different historical periods. In the twentieth century, the traditional definition of folk has been reassessed and its meaning now is much wider. “Folk music” as defined by Western countries may include a variety of music genres. In addition to the eighteenth-century traditional ballads such as narrative ballads and broadsides, as well as lyric songs,

¹⁷ “Folk Music”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musician*, edited by Stanley Sadie/
executive editor: John Tyrrell, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001 (2nd edition), vol. 9, p.
65.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁹ (1) Helen Myers/ Peter Wilton, “Folk music”, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, article url:
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2609>, accessed on 19 August
2008.

(2) For further information, please refer to D. Harker, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British
'Folksong', 1700 to the Present Day*, Milton Keynes: OUP, 1985.

which were continually retained, nineteenth-century urban songs, blues, and popular songs from various professions joined the group. Furthermore, in the twentieth century, “folk music” was constantly extending its scope—songs of singer/songwriters, gospel songs, hybridized music and much more all became part of the expanded and flexible “folk music”. Consequently, the umbrella term of “folk song (music)” has included all these different songs which joined the group at various times in history.²⁰ Nowadays, like art music, folk songs are thought to have authors, albeit unknown. Although the definition of folk songs is decided by communal acceptance or rejection, they are far from communal creations. While people are attached to old folk songs and ballads, they are also fond of newly-created songs. In the twentieth century, some of the pop songs written by named writers are considered by the public as “folk songs” of modern times. It is impossible for us to predict at present the definition and development of “folk songs” in future epochs.

It is worth noting that although the concept of combining music with “folk” originated from Europe, sometimes Westerners tend inappropriately to categorize non-western art music to the categories defined by the West, and meanwhile subsume the music from those countries in which folk and art musics are not differentiated under the category of folk music. It is only after the rise of ethnomusicology that people began to understand that among different cultures, the relationship between music and social organizations is also different, and it seems that the concept of “folk” can hardly be applied everywhere in the world.²¹

(2) With regard to Taiwanese folk song

The term “folk song” was adopted by the academic community in East Asia in the twentieth century, before which time Japanese and Korean scholars generally used the term *min'yao*.²² In China, the term *min'ge* [folk song] was translated from English and first appeared in the book *Zhongguo geyao* [Chinese folk songs and ballads] written by Zhu Zhiqing in 1939.²³ Terms used in ancient China such as “ge”, “yao”,

²⁰ Ronald D. Cohen, *Folk music: the basics*, New York and London: Routledge, 2006, p. 3.

²¹ Helen Myers/ Peter Wilton, “Folk music”, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, article url: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2609>, accessed on 19 August 2008.

²² Editors: Robert C. Provine, Yosihiko Tokumaru and J. Lawrence Witzleben *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, New York: Routledge Publishing, vol. 7, 2002, pp. 599, 879.

²³ Zhu Ziqing, *Zhongguo geyao* [Chinese folk songs and ballads], Beijing University folklore collection of books, 1939, p. 7.

“geyao”, “shan’ge”, “xingge”, “yangge”, and “fengyao” are close in meaning to “folk song”.²⁴

In Taiwan, the term *min’yao* [folk songs and ballads] which was directly translated from the Japanese *kanji* [Chinese characters] of *min’yao* (民謠, みん よ う) around 1936, during rule by Japan, has been used since then.²⁵ Another term, *min’ge* [Folk song], was gradually adopted in academic circles and was used simultaneously with the term *min’yao* when in 1966 some musicians such as Shih Weiliang and Hsu Tsanghouei, who had studied in Europe, launched a campaign to collect folk songs.²⁶

After the 1970s, the term of “*min’ge*” was gradually used in music circles, for example, used by scholars, Lu Bingchuan, Yang Zhaozhen, and so on.²⁷ After the 1990s, almost all music scholars used this term, which has been utilized until now, for example, used by Chen Junbin, Huang Lingyu, Lu Yuxiu and Lu Chuikuan.²⁸ Furthermore, in the countries in east Asia, in addition to treating the lyrics of folk

²⁴ For further information about shan’ge, refer to Antoinet Schimmelpenninck “What About the Singers?” *CHIME: Journal of the European Foundation for Chinese Music Research* No. 4, Autumn 1991, pp. 34-39.

²⁵ Lu Bingchuan, *Lu Bingchuan Yinyue Lunshuji* [Lu Bingchuan treatise anthology of music], Shibao chubanshe, 1979, p. 233. Lu argues “*min’yao*” mostly appeared in Taiwan after 1936, probably due to the influence by Japan after World War I. Taiwan was already ruled by Japan in 1895. The term “*min’yao*” spread gradually after two Japanese scholars, Mori Ougai and Ueda Bin, translated from the English term “folk song” and German term “Das Volkslied” around 1892. (Same as this note, p. 230). Therefore, it is natural for people in Taiwan to use the term “*min’yao*” commonly during the rule of Japan.

²⁶ Shi Weiliang used the term “*min’ge*” in his article: “Amis *min’ge* zhi fenxi” [Analysis of folk songs of Amis tribe] (in: Guoli Yizhuan Xuekan [The journal of National Junior College of Arts], 1966, Guoli Yizhuan Press.) and his book *Lun Min’ge* [Discussing folk songs] (Youshih chubanshe, 1967). Hsu Tsanghouei used the named “*min’yao*” in his paper “Taiwan *Min’yao* Yanjiu” [Research in Taiwanese folk songs] (Aiyue zazhi, 1970), and his book *Sianjieduan Taiwan Min’yao Yanjiu* [Current research in Taiwanese folk songs] (Yueyun chubanshe, 1986). In his later such as *Minzu Yinyue lunshugao* (II) [Treatise anthology of ethnomusicology (II)] (Yueyun chubanshe, 1988), *Taiwan Yinyueshi chugao* [Preliminary draft of Taiwanese music history] (Quanyin yuepu chubanshe, 1991), and *Minzuyinyue lunshugao* (III) [Treatise anthology of ethnomusicology (III)] (Yueyun chubanshe, 1992), he used the term “*min’ge*”. Under the influence of Hsu Tsanghouei, a famous ethnomusicology scholar devoted to music education over 30 years in Taiwan, his students and scholars in the music field gradually started using the term “*min’ge*”.

²⁷ For example, Lu Bingchuan, *Lu Bingchuan Yinyue Lunshuji*. [Lu Bingchuan Treatise Anthology of Music], Taipei: Shibao chubanshe, 1979. One of the chapters devotes to “*min’ge*” (“*Min’ge? Min’ge?*” [Folksong? folksong?]). Yang Zhaozhen, *Taiwan Hakkasi Min’ge* [Folk songs of Hakka in Taiwan], Taipei: Baikewenhua shihyegongsi, 1982. The term “*min’ge*” is used in the book title.

²⁸ Chen Junbin, “Holosi *Min’ge*” [Holo folk songs], *Taiwan Yinyue Lanyue* [Reading Taiwanese Music], Taipei: Yushan she, 1997, p. 22; Huang Lingyu, *Taiwan Chuantong Yinyue* [Traditional music in Taiwan], Taipei: Guoli Taiwan yishu jiaoyu guan, 2001, pp. 10-67; The first chapter is about the folksongs in *Taiwan de min’ge* [Folksongs in Taiwan]; Lu Yuxiu, *Taiwan Yinyueshi* [Music History in Taiwan], Taipei: Wunan tushu chubangongsi, 2003, pp. 464-7; Lu Chuikuan, *Taiwan Chuantong Yinyue: Geyuepian* [Traditional music in Taiwan: Geyuepian], Wunan tushu chubangongsi, p. 21.

songs as "folk literature", people also place importance on the melody and emphasize the national characteristics it symbolizes.

The term "Taiwanese folksong" means those songs which originated from Taiwan, contain distinguishing characteristics of local culture, and have been disseminated among the public. They include two categories: one is old "traditional folksongs" and the other is modern "revived folksongs". "Traditional folksongs" are songs whose authors are unknown, have been acknowledged and identified with communally by the public generation by generation, and have been passed down orally. In the process of the dissemination of these songs their lyrics and melodies were somewhat changed at will; as a result, they are full of flexibility and variability. In other words, this definition of traditional folksongs, although different, is close to the definition provided by the International Folk Music Council. In the following paragraphs, I would like to outline the elements and qualities essential for the formation of traditional folk song based on the characteristics of Taiwanese traditional music culture and consulting the definition and conditions of folk song provided by Sharp and the IFMC:

- (1) Particularity: songs originated from particular ethnic groups or regions, possess cultural characteristics of these groups or regions, and reflect their national qualities, thoughts, behaviours, and life contents.
- (2) Continuity: the present is the continuity of the past; the present preserves the essence of the past which has been passed down from generation to generation.
- (3) Selection: various forms and contents which appeared at different times were selected, acknowledged, determined communally and passed on.
- (4) Variation: in the process of dissemination, individuals or groups can change appropriately the note or melody of a folk song, or create new lyrics for it at will, based on its original musical characteristics and foundations. Moreover, this phenomenon has been in the state of flexible variation.
- (5) Non-professional [amateur]: traditionally, the creators and performers of folk songs have been non-professionals; folk songs are not like commercial pop songs and seriously-composed art songs, which are both created and performed by professionals.
- (6) Oral transmission: although some traditional songs have been recorded and transcribed, historically they have been passed down orally.
- (7) Unknown authors: although melodies and lyrics were produced by individuals or

groups, historically their authors have been unknown and unable to be verified.

In the past, the term “revived folk song” was never used in the music circle in Taiwan. “Traditional folk song” and “revived folk song” were combined together and were named “folk song” without further subdivision. Nevertheless, as time develops, because the exchange of international music cultures has become more frequent, and the techniques of communication, electronic devices, recording and broadcasting have improved, and in particular after the popularization of printing media, phonograph records, radio, TV, films and concerts, the situation has been changed. A large number of traditional folk songs were readapted, and their lyrics and melodies were fixed. Further, they were even accompanied by western skills and instruments, recorded in the form of records and compact discs, published in music books, and promoted and spread through mass media. Consequently, except in a few places that are unaffected by modern civilization, the circulation of folksongs hardly relies on oral transmission any more. Nowadays, the folksongs defined as “old traditional folksongs” are gradually disappearing from the lives of the people; they are no longer transmitted orally and are instead preserved in a static form as data in an archive. Contrarily, it is those folksongs that have utilized Western musical theories and techniques, or even those that are accompanied by Western musical instruments, which possess the capability to survive and prolong the life of traditional folksongs. In brief, although the lyrics and melodies of these folk songs in new forms have been fixed, they have been recorded as records, and been sold in the market, they have still maintained the “particularity”, “continuity” and “selection” of old traditional folk songs, the spirit, style and basic framework of folksong tradition. As a consequence, I name these songs “revived folk song” and subsume them under the category of “folk song”.

One thing worth noting is that in the development of folk song, influenced by economic and transmission support systems, “traditional folk song” no longer depends on the method of oral transmission to circulate among the people. Instead, melodies and lyrics are fixed; they are readapted, accompanied by instruments, sung by singers, and made into records or compact discs. Moreover, they are sold to the public by intermediary businesses by means of mass media and commercial promotional methods, and thus musicians are supported by consumers economically. In this situation, according to the theory proposed by Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn, which defines music categories on the basis of economic and transmission support systems, this “folk song with a new form” should belong to the “pop song” category.

Therefore, in this thesis, “revived folk song” can also be considered as “pop-music-type folk song”.²⁹

The aforementioned entanglement between folk song and popular song was frequently seen in the developmental history of Taiwanese folk song. In Taiwan at present there are numerous examples of pop music products which have used the tunes of traditional folk songs, reproduced by means of modern music techniques and promoted in the market. For instance, *Ghule gua* [Song of plough] is adapted from *Pennbo Siraya zok zegua* [Worship tune of Pennbo tribe]; *Zitjih ziao'a* [A bird] is from *Lakgheh canzui* [Water in the field in June]; *Diudiu dang'a* [Drip of water] is from *Ghilan diau* [Tune of Ghilan]; *Sann siann bhornai* (urbanized) [Helpless groans], *Hingcun diau* (fixed) [A fixed tune of Hingcun], *Cenn or'a sor* [An oyster fisherman's wife] of *Hingcun diau* and its song family are from *Yuanzhumin diau* [An aboriginal tune] or *Hingcun diau* (flexible) [A flexible tune of Hingcun]. *Hingcun diau* and its song family is one of the significant research objects of this thesis. The music type each song produced in every stage of the development belongs to will be further explained and explored in Chapter Four, based on the concepts proposed by Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn.

As to those new works created by using certain fragments of folk song elements or melodies, they belong to popular music if their contents and forms are simpler and are used in the commercial market; they belong to art music if they are composed by professionals cultivated by long-term training and their contents are well-structured. Both, of course, do not belong to the field of folk music.

The current residents of Taiwan consist of four major groups: Aborigines, Holo people, Hakka people and new residents. Aborigines are also called “Xianzhumin” [first residents] whereas new residents are usually called “Waisheng ren” [people from other provinces]. Although new residents make up 13% of the total population of Taiwan,³⁰ the majority of these were members of the armed forces and civilians in 1949. Coming to Taiwan from various provinces of mainland China with the GMD

²⁹ According to the theory proposed by Gregory D. Booth and Terry Lee Kuhn, which defines music categories on the basis of economic and transmission support systems, the “revived folksongs” which were made into records and promoted in the market should belong to the pop music system. Please refer to “Introduction”, Chapter Four for relevant discussion.

³⁰ Huang Xuanfan, *Yuyan shehuei yu zuqun yishi* [The language, society and consciousness of ethnic group], Wenhe chuban kongsi, 1993, pp. 32-33.

[Guomindang: The Nationalist Party] government, these immigrants brought with them the folk songs of their respective native regions. Since these people arrived relatively recently, their songs are not yet included in the category of Taiwanese folk songs. Hence, based on the different groups and language systems, the term “Taiwanese folk songs” actually means the three categories of aborigine, Holo and Hakka songs. The folk songs of each language system have characteristics reflecting their own ethnic group, native place, historical background, and their common appreciation by the public.

1.2-2 Taiwan aborigines

Taiwan aborigines have been referred to by different names over time. During the rule of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1895), as a result of an indescribable sense of superiority, Han people called all aborigines of Taiwan “Taiwan Fanzu” [Taiwan barbarian races]. Later, the Han people divided the aborigines into two groups and called them “Shengfan” [untamed barbarians] and “Shoufan” [well-assimilated barbarians] respectively. In this dissertation, “Shengfan” (also named *Gaoshanfan* [mountain barbarians] and “Yefan” [wild barbarians]) are called “Mountain aborigines”; “Shoufan” (also named “Pingdifan” [plains barbarians], “Guihuafan” [naturalized barbarians], and “Pennbofan” [Pennbo barbarians]) are here called “Pennbo aborigines” or “Pennbozok” [Pennbo tribes]. During Japanese rule (1895-1945), aborigines were called “Gaoshazu” [mountain tribes]. After the end of the World War II, when the GMD government took over Taiwan, aborigines were first called “Gaoshanzu” [mountain tribes] but this was later changed into “Shandi tongbao” [mountainous region’s fellowman]. Nowadays, it has gradually become the convention in academic circles, government organizations and among the public to call aborigines “Yuanzhumin” [original residents] or “Xianzhumin” [first residents].

According to the languages, skin colours, customs and cultural characteristics of aborigines, scholars believe that they belong to the Indonesian–Malay language group of the Austronesian language family. Further, based on Taiwan’s geographical relationship with the continent of Asia as well as paleoanthropic evidence and migration trends, it is thought Taiwan aborigines did move from other lands to the island. Nevertheless, although scholars have tried to trace the origins of the tribes of Taiwan aborigines from the perspectives of linguistics, anthropology, ethnology and archaeology, they still have not reached a consensus on where the different tribes

came from and when they arrived.³¹

As stated above, Taiwan aborigines are divided into two groups: Mountain aborigines and Pennbo aborigines. Anthropologists basically use the word that means “person” in each language system to name each tribe,³² and divide the mountain aborigines into 10 tribes: Atayal, Saisiyat, Thao, Tsou, Bunun, Paiwan, Rukai, Puyuma, Amis and Tao.³³ As for the Pennbo aborigines, they are divided into 8 tribes: Ketagalan, Taokas, Pazeh, Paporo, Babusa, Haonya, Kavalan and Siraya (Fig. 1.1).³⁴



[Fig. 1.1] The map of distribution of Taiwanese aborigines³⁵

At the end of the sixteenth century, quite a few aborigines had lived in Taiwan before the Han ethnic group (Holo and Hakka people) migrated to the island. The

³¹ Liu Ningyan et al., ed. *Chungsiou Taiwan sheng Tongzhi: Juansan Zhuminzhi Tongzhoupian* (I) [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province: Annals of residents, descendants vol. III, book (I)], Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1995, pp. 8-19.

³² Lin Qingcai, "Taiwan Pennbozok Yinyue" [Taiwan Pennbo aborigines music] in *Taiwan Yinyue Lanyue* [Reading Taiwan music] (Chen Yusiou, ed.), Tpei: Yushanshe chuban gongsi, 1999, p. 10.

³³ Liu Ningyan et al., ed. *Chungsiou Taiwan sheng Tongzhi: Juansan Zhuminzhi Tongzhoupian* (I) [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province: Annals of residents, descendants volume III, book (I)], Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1995, p. 6. The classification of this book was based on the taxonomy established by Dr. Wei Hueilin.

³⁴ Liu Ningyan et al., ed. *Chungsiou Taiwan sheng Tongzhi: Juansan Zhuminzhi Tongzhoupian* (I) [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province: Annals of residents, descendants vol. III, book (I)], Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1995, p. 948.

³⁵ Redrawn from "The Distribution Map of Austronesian Tribes in Taiwan" which consulted *Chongxiu Taiwansheng Tongzhi: Juansan Zhuminzhi Tongzhoupian* (I) [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province: Annals of residents, descendants vol. III, book I] (Liu Ningyan, et al., ed.), Taizhong: Taiwan Provincial Documents Committee, p. 136.

places inhabited by the mountain aborigines at the beginning of the Han people's rule of Taiwan can be roughly divided into four areas, using the Central Mountain Range, which runs from north to south of the island, as an axis. These areas are the western hillside and hilly areas, Central Mountain Range, eastern coast area and Lanyu [Lan isle] area. Most of the Pennbo aborigines lived in the plains.

Mountain aborigines were a nomadic society living mainly by cultivation, travelling all over the mountains, burning straw as fertilizer. Hunting was auxiliary. In order to find fertile lands and good hunting grounds, they seldom stayed long in one place. They have only a short history of settling in a fixed place. Since the mid-eighteenth century, as the Han people and Pennbo aborigines expanded their living spaces to the edges of the mountains, sooner or later every tribe of mountain aborigines had to move. Their migration ceased little by little in the early years of Japanese rule in Taiwan (1895-1945) and various tribes gradually settled down in their respective living places and hunting grounds.³⁶ As for the Pennbo aborigines, they have long been living together with the Han ethnic group, and have been influenced by the different cultures of Holland (1624-62), Spain (1626-42),³⁷ Ming Zheng [Zheng Chenggong and his son and grandson ruled Taiwan] (1662-1683) and Qing Dynasty (1683-1895 in Taiwan). Hence their traditional customs, conventions and languages have disappeared by degrees.³⁸ At present a large number of mountain aborigines, especially the young generation, have gradually moved to towns and cities in the plains. As for tribes who have survived from the past, some are still scattered in hill and mountain regions, except the tribes of Tao, Amis and Puyuma, who live in the plains. According to population statistics published by the Ministry of the Interior in June 2002, the aborigines form a mere 1.88% (420,892 out of 22,339,759) of the population in Taiwan.³⁹ As for the Pennbo aborigines, they have already been almost completely absorbed into the Han people.⁴⁰

³⁶ Liu Ningyan et al., ed. *Chungsiou Taiwan sheng Tongjihii: Juansan Jhuminjhii Tongzhoupian* (I) [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province: Annals of residents, descendants vol. III, book (I)], Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1995, pp. 24-25.

³⁷ Holland occupied southern Taiwan in 1624, and Spain took possession of northern Taiwan in 1626. After defeat by Holland in 1642, Spain withdrew from Taiwan.

³⁸ Liu Ningyan et al., ed. *Chungsiou Taiwan sheng Tongjihii: Juansan Jhuminjhii Tongzhoupian* (I) [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province: Annals of residents, descendants vol. III, book (I)], Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1995, p. 947.

³⁹ Based on statistical analysis in Table 80; "Taimin Diqu Gesianshish Sianjhu Yuanjhumín Hukoushu an Singbie ji Hubie fen" [Current residents of aborigines in various counties and cities in the areas of Taiwan and Min nan and Table 81: "Taiwan Dicyu Li'nian Renkou Zongshu from 1946-2001" [Total population in the areas of Taiwan], in *Taimin Diqu Renkou Tongji* [Population statistics in the regions of Taiwan and Minnan] (Neijhengbu, 2002.6).

⁴⁰ Valuable information concerning the history, society and culture of Taiwan aborigines can be found

1.2-3 Folk songs of the Mountain aborigines

Taiwan aborigines belong to an ethnic group of the Austronesian language family. Because they were for many thousands of years isolated on the northernmost edge of the vast original ethnic area and so were rarely influenced by external cultures, they still retain considerable cultural features of ancient layers of this language family.⁴¹ Regarding aboriginal folk songs, their singing forms include the whole range from the simple to the most complicated, and their contents and functions are closely related to every facet of their lives.⁴²

Although mountain aborigines make up only a tiny percentage of the population of Taiwan, their folk songs are abundant in number and diverse in style. Of the nine tribes, each not only has its own language and lyrics but also has unique features in its singing skills and styles.

The folk songs of mountain aborigines can be classified in several ways. First, classifying songs based on the content of their lyrics, we find the following:⁴³

- (1) Songs of worship: sung in worshipping gods and ancestors, in successful head-hunting, in celebrating the harvest, in praying for good hunting, fishing, and cultivating in various ceremonies.
- (2) Songs of labour: sung in hunting, cultivating, fishing, building houses, pounding rice with pestle and mortar, and weaving cloth.
- (3) Songs of love: sung in courtship, proposing, meeting prospective spouses, quarrelling between couples, missing separated spouses, etc.
- (4) Songs of fighting: sung before a battle and after a victory.
- (5) Songs of daily life: sung in gathering, congratulating, exhorting, praying for rain, curing diseases, funerals, meetings, farewells, playing and visiting friends, etc.
- (6) Narrative songs: used in narrating legends and stories; glorifying ancestors;

in the book *Chungsiou Taiwan sheng Tongjihii: Juansan Jhuminjhii Tongzhoupian* (I), (II) [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province: Annals of residents, descendants vol. III, book (I), (II)], (Liu Ningyan et al., ed., 1995), Taiwan Provincial Document Committee.

⁴¹ According to linguistic research results, the eastern border of current territory of the Austronesian languages in the world is Easter Island in the eastern edge of the South Pacific Ocean, the western border is Madagascar Island at the southeast tip of Africa, the southern border is in New Zealand and the northern border is in Taiwan (Murdock, George P., "Genetic Classification of the Austronesian Languages: A key to Oceanic Culture History", *Ethnology*, vol.3, No.3, 1964, p. 119).

⁴² Hsu Tsanghouei, *Taiwan Yinyueshi Chugao* [Preliminary draft of Taiwanese music history], Quanyin chubanshe, 1991, pp. 2-3; *Minzu Yinyue Lunshugao*(III) [Treatise anthology of folk music (III)], Taipei: Yueyun chubanshe, 1992, p. 3.

⁴³ Primary references: Hsu Tsanghouei, *SianJieduan Taiwan Min'yao Yanjiu* [Current research in Taiwanese folk songs], Taipei: Yueyun chubanshe, 1986, pp. 12-14; Lu Bingchuan, *Taiwan Tuzhuzhu Yinyue* [The music of Taiwan aborigines], Baikewenhua gongsi, 1982, pp. 11-14.

boasting of victory; praising people, incidents and things; narrating customs and life, etc.

(7) Children's songs: fun songs, narrative songs, play songs and lullabies, etc.

If we classify songs based on singing style, we note the following characteristics of mountain aboriginal singing:⁴⁴

(1) Homophonic singing (solo or unison)

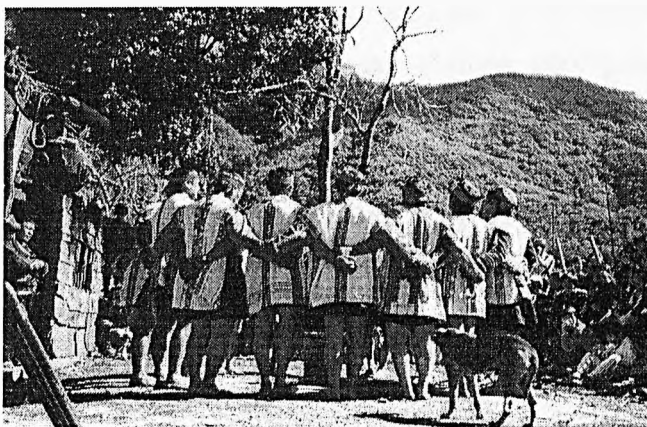
A. Ordinary singing: repeating a complete, fixed melody and lyrics. All mountain tribes have this style.

B. Chanting: chanting in narrow intervals, e.g. Tao tribe.

C. Antiphonal singing: one person leads the singing and others respond to him phrase by phrase in singing, e.g. Tsou tribe.

(2) Harmonic singing:

A. Natural harmonic singing: chorusing in natural harmony of overtones, e.g. *Pasibutbut* [Song of prayer for a rich harvest of millet] (CD 1-1),⁴⁵ a folksong of the Bunun tribe (Fig. 1.2), which became well-known around the world when presented by Kurosawa Taka'asa, a Japanese music scholar, at the sixth conference of the International Folk Music Council in 1953.⁴⁶



[Fig. 1.2] Men of the Bunun tribe singing “*Pasibutbut*”, hand in hand. Photo by Li Jinxia, 1997.

⁴⁴ Primary references: see note 42.

⁴⁵ Although there are many aboriginal folksongs, since they are not the focus of this thesis here only notable *pasibutbut* is selected for reference purposes. *Pasibutbut* has numerous voice-parts and its lyrics lack essential meaning, only containing sounds such as “o” and “u”. Therefore, its lyrics and score are not included here; only the sound is excerpted on the disk as a reference. *Pasibutbut* in *The Sound of the Bunnun Tribe*, recorded by Wu Rongshun, Yushan national park publishing Co., CD: TCD-1501, 1992, track 1.

⁴⁶ Kurosawa Taka'asa, *Music of Taiwanese Aborigines*, pp. 4, 9. Focusing on the subject of *Pasibutbut*, Kuro sawa Taka'asa presented the paper entitled “Vunun (present spelling, Bunun) Family and the Growth of the Pentatonic Scale” at the sixth conference of the International Folk Music Council (I.F.M.C.) held in Biarritz, France in 1953. At the conference, this paper drew the attention of ethnomusicologists such as Jaap Kunst, Paul Collacer and André Schaeffner.

B. Concordant harmonic singing: chorusing at the third-degree, sixth-degree or sometimes in triads, e.g. Bunun and Tsou tribe.

(3) Polyphonic singing:

A. Parallel singing: two voices singing in parallel fourths, or parallel fifths, e.g. Saisiyat tribe and part of the Tsou tribe.

B. Canon: the latter singer follows the former singer in impromptu singing after an appropriate number of beats, e.g. part of Atayal and Amis tribe.

C. Drone-singing (ground bass and melody singing): a main melody is sung in addition to a continually-repeated ground bass phrase, e.g. Rukai and Paiwan tribes.

D. Counterpoint-singing: in addition to the main melody, singers chorus to a corresponding melody, e.g. Amis and Paiwan tribes.

(4) Variation singing: singers vary the main melody by utilising numerous singing methods, either solo or in chords, e.g. Paiwan and Rukai tribes.

1.2-4 Folk songs of the Pennbo aborigines

Originally, when the Zhengs (Zheng Chenggong, his son and his grandson) ruled Taiwan (1662-83), the population of Pennbo aborigines was a mere 40-50000 people.⁴⁷ After more than 300 years of suppression and assimilation by the culture of the Han people, the traditional music of the Pennbo aborigines has practically vanished. Although in the past a large number of scholars of linguistics, anthropology, folklore and ethnomusicology endeavoured to collect and survey the cultural heritage of the Pennbo aborigines, their achievement was limited owing to the withering and decline of the traditional culture. Naturally only a limited number of folk songs was recorded. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that in the whole history of the development of Taiwan, some Han culture has in turn been deeply influenced by the Pennbo aborigines. For instance, through trading, marriage and association in daily life between the Han and Pennbo aborigines, the names of places such as Danngau [present: Gaoxiong], Bhanggah [present: Wanhua]; terms used in daily life such as *kanciu* [wife], *satbhakhi* [milkfish], *zaubior* [running]; and the habit of chewing betel-nut all originated from Pennbo aborigines.⁴⁸ In particular, the song tune of

⁴⁷ Wang Yigang, "Ketagalanzu De Yuanliu yu Fenbu" [Background and distribution of Ketagalan tribe], in *Taipei Wenwu*, vol.5, issue 3, 1959, pp. 25-28.

Liu Ningyan et al., ed., *Chungsiou Taiwan sheng Tongzhi: Juansan Zhuminzhi Tongzhoupian Dierce* (II) [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province: Annals of residents, descendants vol. III, book (II)], Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1995, p. 991.

⁴⁸ Xie Jichang, "Pennbozu zhi Hanhua: Taiwan Puli Pingyuan zhi Yanjiu" [Pennbo aborigines' assimilation by Hans: Research on Puli plain in Taiwan], in: *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Minzuxue*

Pennbo aborigines is indispensable in the search for the source of Han traditional folk songs in Taiwan. *Ghule gua*, *Caume lang guegang*, *Ghubhe buann*, and *Hingcun diau*, explored in this dissertation, are good examples.⁴⁹

The languages and traditional music of the tribes of Ketagalan, Taokas, Paporo, Babusa and Hoanya have disappeared along with their traditional culture due to the early sweeping influence of the culture of the Han ethnic group as well as the impact of modernization. Fortunately, the Pazeh tribe have been able to preserve some of their traditional folk songs, as in the early years they lived in the hinterland and only much later were influenced by the culture of the Han people. The Siraya tribe, who spread widely in a huge area but insisted on the conservation of their traditional worship rituals, have also maintained some of their folk songs. Also, the Kavalan tribe has been able to preserve some of its music, owing to the fact that it was the last tribe of Pennbo aborigines assimilated by the Han ethnic group. Therefore, currently, to understand the traditional music of Pennbo aborigines, we have no choice but to resort to the music of the Pazeh, Siraya and Kavalan tribes.

Based on the content of lyrics and the usage, the folk songs of Pennbo aborigines can be mainly divided into two kinds – songs of worship and songs for daily life:⁵⁰

Songs of worship are used to worship the ancestral god, Taizu, and the gods in heaven. They contain the major part of the traditional folk songs of the Pennbo peoples, for example:

Yanjiusuo Jikan [Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica], No. 47, 1979, pp. 49-72. For more on the history, society, and culture of Pennbo aborigines and their relationship with Hans, a large amount of research by local and foreign scholars is collected in *Chungsiou Taiwan sheng Tongzhi Juansan Zhuminjihii Tongzhoupian Dierce* [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province – Annals of residents, descendants, vol. III, book (II)] (Liu Ningyan et al., ed. 1995), Taiwan Provincial Document Committee.

⁴⁹ Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Holosi Min'ge de Yuanyuan ji Fazhan* [Origin and development of Taiwan Holo system folk song], Taipei: Zihli wanbao wenhua chubanbu, 1991, pp. 29-62.

⁵⁰ Primary references concerning the categorization of Pennbo aborigines folk songs used in this dissertation: (1) Luo Weidao, "Pennbozok Alipzo jidian jiqi shige" [Research on Pennbo tribe's Alipzo ceremony of sacrifice offering and its poems], in *Tunghai Minzu Yinyue Xuebao* [Tunghai ethnomusicology academic journal], Tunghai University Press, 1973. (2) Li Rengui and Lin Qingcai, "Pazehzok Jizu Gequ ji qita Geyao" [Pazeh tribe's ancestor worshipping songs as well as other songs and ballads], in *Jhongyang yanjiuyuan Minzuxue yanjiusuo Jikan* [Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica], Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, 1990. (3) Wu Rongshun (ed.) "Siraya Kankik Yinyue yu Tezheng" [*Siraya kankik* music and its characteristics]; "Siraya Kanhi Yinyue Neirong yu Tezheng" [*Siraya kanhi* musical content and characteristics]; "Siraya Makatao Tiauhi Geyao de Zhonglei yu Yunyong" [Kinds and application of *Siraya Makatao tiauhi* folk songs]; "Siraya changbuwan de Bangkang hi" [Siraya ever-singing *bangkang hi*]; "Kavalan Sianjieduan Yinyue Neirong yu Texing" [Content and characteristics of *Kavalan* music current stage]; "Pazeh Ayan Yinyue Caifeng Chuanzhen" [Vivid portrait of *Pazeh ayan* music], in *Pennbozok Yinyue Jishi Xilie* [The record of actual events of Pennbo tribes's music], vol. I-6, Fongchao yousheng chubanshe, 1998.

- (1) Pazeh tribe: *A'yan zi gua* [A song for worshipping the ancestral god].
- (2) Siraya tribe: *Kankei* [A worship song] of Toushe and Chipeishua village, *Tavulo* (sung as the high priest presents offerings to the ancestral god), *Kalawahe* and *Hahe* (sung in worship ceremony), etc.
- (3) Kavalan tribe: *Qumras tu tazusa* [Song to call gods], *Mara tu saray* [Song to communicate with gods], *Mpaak* (song to recite religious passages and perform supernatural feats) and *Maiti mta'raw* (song of recovering from illness), etc.

Other songs are sung in daily life rather than for the purpose of worship. For example:

- (1) Pazeh tribe: *Limziu gua* [Wine song], *Jorna a gua* [Lullaby], etc.
- (2) Siraya tribe: *Talivunvun* [Song of calling the names of a corpse], *Kiorc a gua* [Song for collecting firewood], *Guannghu'gua* [Song for cattle herding], *ZuiJing* and *Hoiheya* (impromptu lyrics are composed for songs based on these tunes), etc.
- (3) Kavalan tribe: *Miomio Sinawari* [Celebrating a year of a good harvest] (Fig. 1.3, 1.4; CD 1-2),⁵¹ *Marina* [Kavalan lullaby], *Masawa* [Fighting], *Mrarikid* [Song sung in the feast to celebrate victory], *Qataban pa ita* [Let's dance], *Kasianem* [Homesick song], *Quyqutay* [Song for collecting fern], etc.

[Fig. 1.3] *Miomio Sinawari* [Celebrating a year of a good harvest]

Sung by Zhu Abi

Excerpt from *Songs of Kavalan*, Fonfchao Record, TCD-1513

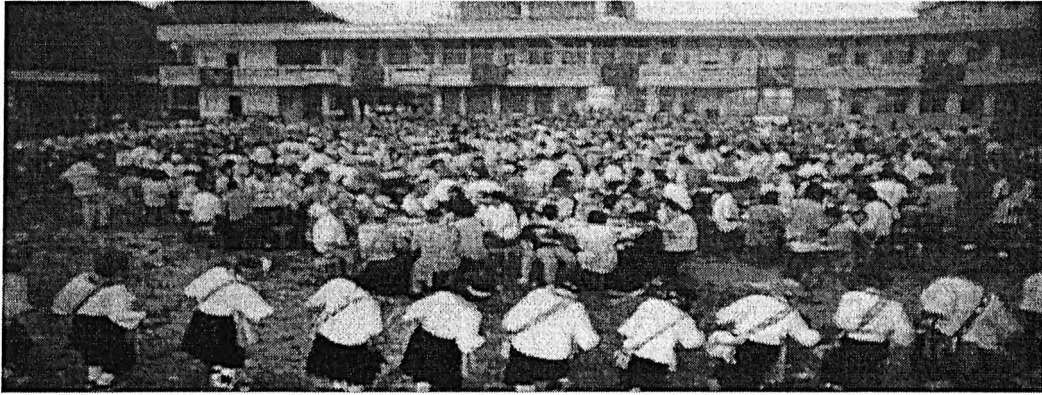
The musical score consists of three systems of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first system has a 3-measure rest at the beginning. The second system starts with a 4-measure rest. The third system starts with a 7-measure rest. Each system includes a melody line and three lines of lyrics in Chinese characters.

1. mi - o mi - o si - na - wa - ri au - ri ina na ya i
 2. mi - o mi - o si - na - wa - ri au - ri ina na ya i
 3. mi - o mi - o si - na - wa - ri au - ri ina na ya i

4. hi-na u-qa-ri-ri-za-gan ta ya s-ta-ngi de-dan-i a za-u, au-ri ina-na-yi
 2. hi-na au-ka-na mu-qu-na ya na i-ni ba-i-ba-i - ya-na,
 3. hi-na au-ka-na mu-qu-ni ya na i-ni ba-i-ba-i - ya-na,

7. mi - o mi - o si - na - wa - ri au - ri ina - na - ya - i

⁵¹ Kavalan is the last Pennbo tribe to be influenced by Han Culture. *Miomio Sinawari* is the most representative song of the Kavalan to celebrate a good harvest. Because Pennbo folksongs are not the theme of this thesis, only this song is selected as a reference. *Miomio Sinawari* in *Songs of Kavalan*, recorded and transcribed by Wu Rongshun, Fongchao Yousheng chubanshe, 1998, TCD-1513, track 10.



[Fig. 1.4] The singing ritual of a ceremony held to celebrate a plentiful harvest by the Pennbo Kavalan tribe.
Photo provided by Wu Rongshun, 1998.

1.2-5 Han migration to Taiwan

The Han people in Taiwan can be divided into two groups, Holo and Hakka.⁵² Originally, their ancestors resided in the Zhongyuan region [Down-stream regions of the Yellow River] in China. From the time of the Dongjin Dynasty (317-420), the people could not live in peace as result of the harsh deprivation imposed by their rulers, the ravages of war and invasions of the Wuhu [five northern tribes: Xiongnu, Sianbei, Di, Yang, and Jie], Liau, Jin, Mongolia, etc. and rampant attacks of flood and drought. Therefore the Han people left their homes to seek a happy and peaceful land. Central and southern China, where the climate was mild and the land was fertile, therefore became the ideal place for them to settle down. A large number of Han people, mostly farmers, migrated to South-East China and settled in the provinces of Jiangsi, Guangdong, Guangsi and Fujian.⁵³

Before the occupation by the Dutch and Spanish, Taiwan was still a tribal society – closed and unproductive – so it was very difficult to attract immigrants to this island. At the time, the few Han people who came to Taiwan were simply adventurers and small traders.

⁵² Most of the emperors and feudal princes in ancient China built their capitals in the north or south regions of the Yellow River, which were called “Zhongyuan Diqu” [The Central Plains] or “Huasia”. The definition of Han people has varied over time. The earliest definition referred to the Huasia people who originally came from the Central Plains; later, when the territory of each dynasty expanded, the definition was extended to mean the major mixed ethnic group encompassing Huasia people and others from different races. Here ‘Han people’ mainly means the Huasia people.

⁵³ Shi Ming, *Taiwanren Sibainian Shi* [Four hundred years history of Taiwanese people], Caogen wenhua chubanshe, 1998, pp. 38-43. For the Han people’s migration process to Taiwan, see also Zhang Zhijie (ed.) *Taiwan Quanjilu* [Taiwan records], Jinsiou chubanshe, 1990; Taiwan Shiji yanjiuhui (ed.) *Taiwan Congtan* [Talking about Taiwan], Youshi wenhua chuban gongsi, 1977, etc.

When the Dutch occupied Taiwan from 1624, they actively encouraged agriculture and trade to increase the economic benefits of a colonized Taiwan. Accordingly, Han people from the coastal areas of Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi gradually began to migrate to Taiwan to search for new opportunities. In 1662, when the Dutch withdrew from Taiwan, the population of Han people in the whole island was still only 34,000.⁵⁴

Although a batch of Han people moved with Zheng Chenggong to Taiwan as he took over the island, at the end of his rule (1662-83), there were merely around 30,000 households, with a population of about 150,000 to 200,000 people.⁵⁵

After the Qing Dynasty formally ruled Taiwan in 1684, although the Qing government had repeatedly prohibited immigration to Taiwan, a large number of Han people risked their lives and migrated to the island owing to social disturbance and difficult conditions in China – economic collapse, high unemployment rate and particularly the limited cultivable lands on the coastal areas.⁵⁶ The total population, including the aborigines, reached 2,000,000 in 1810 and 2,500,000 in 1890.

After Japan occupied Taiwan in 1895, the Han people who had come to Taiwan before the Japanese were called Taiwanese. The Japanese rulers did their utmost to separate Taiwan from China by forbidding the migration of Chinese to Taiwan and the return of Taiwanese to China. In fifty years of Japanese rule, the increase in the immigrant population was minimal, and that mainly brought about by natural changes. This can be called a “closed” population. According to a survey conducted by the colonial government in 1926, out of 3,750,000 people in Taiwan then, 83% originally came from Fujian (Holo people), 16% from Guangdong province (Hakka people), and the rest from other provinces of China.⁵⁷

Before they moved to Taiwan, the majority of the Holo people had lived in Quanzhou fu [Quanzhou prefecture] and Zhangzhou fu [Zhangzhou prefecture] of

⁵⁴ Chen Shaoxing, *Taiwan de Renkou Bianqian ji Shehui Bianqian* [Transition of population and society in Taiwan], Lianjing chuban gongsi, 1979, pp. 23-33. There were about 100,000 people in total, including the aborigines, in Taiwan at that time.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, note 53, pp. 116-117.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-136.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, note 54, pp. 23-33, 93-103.

Fujian Province in China. Quanzhou Prefecture includes the counties of Jinjiang, Hueian, Nanan, Ansi and Tongan, while Zhangzhou prefecture includes the counties of Longsi, Zhangpu, Zhao'an, Pinghe, Nanjing, Changtai and Haicheng. When these people migrated to Taiwan in large numbers at the beginning of the seventeenth century, most of them lived in the plains on the west coast. After two hundred years of development, by the early twentieth century the population of this area had gradually reached saturation point. All the cultivable lands had been developed and turned into fields. Consequently, immigrants who came later had no choice but to find living space in the areas close to the mountains or areas of Gaoxiong, Pingdong and Lanyang.⁵⁸ At present, the Holo people are scattered throughout the island. According to Huang Xuanfan (1983), at the end of 1989, approximately 73.3% of the population of Taiwan was Holo.⁵⁹ Due to the fact that the majority of the population in Taiwan is Holo, Holo language and culture naturally have been the mainstream culture of Taiwan. In other words, Holo folk songs have become an extremely important part of Taiwanese folk songs (see Fig. 1.5).



[Fig. 1.5] The map of distribution of Holo and Hakka People in Taiwan ⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Hsu Tsanghouei, *Taiwan Yinyueshi Chugao* [Preliminary draft of Taiwanese music history], Quanyin yuepu chubanshe, 1991, p. 122. The areas of Gaoxiong and Pingdong are located in the south of Taiwan. The area of Lanyang is located in northeast of Taiwan.

⁵⁹ Huang Xuanfan, *Yuyan Shehuei yu Zuqun Yishi* [The language, society and consciousness of ethnic group], Wenhe chuban kongsi, 1993, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁰ Redrawn from "The Distribution Map of Austronesian Tribes in Taiwan" which consulted *Chongxiu Taiwansheng Tongzhi: Juansan Zhuminzhi Tongzhoopian* (1) [The revisionary general

The Hakka people of Taiwan can be divided into two groups, Southern Hakka people and Northern Hakka people. Most Southern Hakka people live in small towns in Gaoxiong and Pingdong counties. They are called “Liouduei”. Northern Hakka people, who migrated to Taiwan later than Southern Hakka people, gathered in the counties of Miaoli, Sinzhu, Taoyuan and so on, and slowly moved to the Dongshih town of Taichung County, Guosing district of Nantou County, Daidang County, Hualian County, Taipei city and county (Fig. 1.5).

1.2-6 Hakka folk songs

The traditional way of life of the ancestors of the Hakka people was agricultural. They were not good at sea fishing and did not adopt the stressful life of marketing goods in the city. They were fond of a peaceful and carefree life, at the foot of a mountain or beside a river, building dikes and growing grain as well as vegetables.⁶¹ Thanks to this life style, their folk songs have been well-preserved.

The Hakka people of Taiwan adore singing songs in their daily life, and Hakka folk songs are a major spiritual consolation to them. As the society of Taiwan became more industrialized and commercialized, many Hakka people moved to the city and the number of Hakka people remaining in the country diminished year by year. Nevertheless, many *Shan'ge* competitions have been held in various Hakka towns in the last few years. Lots of contestants have participated in the competitions, including elders, children, men, women, scholars, farmers, civil servants and business persons. Gathering in public places such as parks and temples for impromptu singing has become a common practice for Hakka people. “Singing *Hakka Shan'ge*” is almost an indispensable part of the daily life of Hakka people.⁶²

Shan'ge and *Xiaodiao* of the Hakka people are all called Hakka folk songs.

annals of Taiwan province: Annals of residents, descendants vol. III, book (I)] (Liu Ningyan, et al., ed.), Taizhong: Taiwan Provincial Documents Committee, p. 136.

⁶¹ Zeng Xicheng, *Taiwan Hakka Wenhua Yanjiu* [Research on Hakkas culture in Taiwan], Guoli zhongyang tushuguan Taiwan fenguan, 1999, p. 26.

⁶² For further information about the society and culture of Hakka, see: (1) Zeng Xicheng, *Taiwan Hakkas Wenhua Yanjiu* [Research on Hakkas culture in Taiwan], Guoli zhongyang tushuguan Taiwan fenguan, 1999; (2) Luo Xianglin, *Hakka Yanjiu Daolun* [Introduction to research on Hakka culture], Guting shuwu, 1981; (3) Chen Yuntong, *Hakkaren* [Hakka people], Lianya chubanshe; (4) Lin Hengdao *Kundao Tanyuan* 1-4 [Exploring the origin of Kun island 1-4], Qingnian ribaoshe, 1988; (5) Jiang Yunguei, *Hakka yu Taiwan* [Hakka and Taiwan], Changmin wenhua xuehui, 1996.

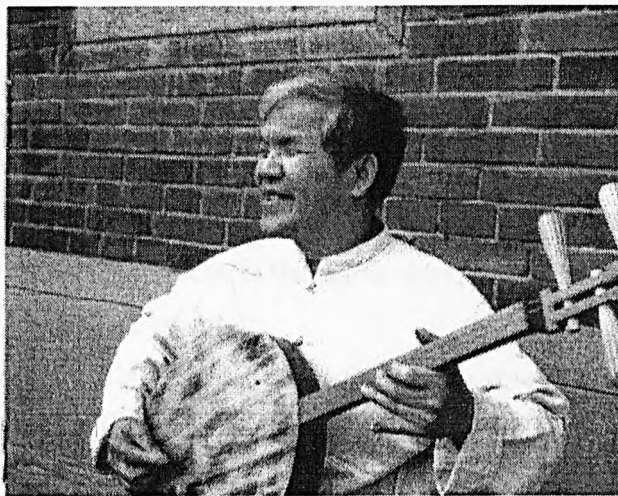
Hakka folk songs are famous for their numerous complex melodies, therefore they are known as “*Jiuciang shihbadiu*” [nine accents and eighteen tunes].

Based on the differences of the quality of melody, lyric content and form of singing, *Hakka* folk songs are classified into the following ways:⁶³

(1) Hakka folk songs with different tunes

A. *Losan go*

Losan go [Old mountain song] is also named *Taisan'go*, a name of tune. It is an ancient Hakka tune, antique and unadorned. Its tune is primarily composed of notes La, Do and Mi. In the past, these songs were sung in the wild fields without any instrumental accompaniment. When people sang, they lengthened and raised the pitch of the singing, which appeared to be free and unrestrained. The following is the *Losan go* sung by the blind Hakka folk artist, Xu Muzhen (Fig. 1.6, 1.7; CD 1-3).⁶⁴



[Fig 1.6] Xu Muzhen, a prominent Hakka folk singer.
Photo provided by Huang Yaohui. 2005.

⁶³ Primary references: (1) Yang Zhaozhen, *Taiwan Hakkasi Min'ge* [Folk songs of Hakka in Taiwan], Baike wenhua shiye gongsi, 1982; (2) Yang Buguang, *Hakka Min'yao zhi Yanjiu* [Research on folk songs of Hakka], Yueyun chubanshe, 1983; (3) Zheng Rongxing, “Taiwan Hakkazu Chuantong Yinyue” [Traditional music of Hakka in Taiwan], in *Taiwan Yinyue Lanyue* [Reading Taiwan music] (Chen Yusiou, ed.). Yushanshe chuban gongsi, 1997.

⁶⁴ *Dongshang Zaiqi* [staging a comeback], sung by Xu Muzhen, Miaoli: Muzhen publishing company, CD001, 2003, track 2. Xu Muzhen was born in 1944. He began to wander everywhere to earn his living by singing at 13. In 1988, he was bestowed the sixth Xinchuan Award of Folk Artistes by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan.

[Fig. 1.7]

Losan go [Old mountain song]

Sung by Xu Muzhen

Transcription: Chien Shangjen (music); Liu Yongyuan (lyrics)

(goi) Siip - cit siip - bat (a ciu) ziin dong - siit (na),
 (該) 十 七 十 八 (阿就) 正 當 時 (哪),

Gon - yim (a) go - liau (a) ciu - he yi (o)
 觀 音 (阿) 過 了 (阿) 就 係 佢 (嚟)

Vu - siin vu - vi (ciu) yiu kiet - diam,
 烏 身 無 位 (就) 有 缺 點,

Nan - guai (a) tai - ga ciu an siong yi (o)
 難 怪 (阿) 大 家 就 按 想 佢 (嚟)

Lyrics:

1. (goi) Siipcit siipbat (a ciu) ziin dong'siit (na), gon'yim (a) goliau (a) ciuhe yi (o);
 (該) 十七十八 (阿就) 正當時 (哪), 觀音 (阿) 過了 (阿) 就係佢 (嚟);
 [The age of seventeen or eighteen is the prime time, she is modest and graceful,
 second only to Guanyin Buddha;]
 Vusiin vuvi (ciu) yiu kiet'diam, nan'guai (a) taiga an siong yi (o).
 烏身無位 (就) 有缺點, 難怪 (阿) 大家按想佢 (嚟)。
 [No flaw can be found in her from head to toe, no wonder everyone misses her
 badly.]
2. (goi) Ngi'siit lang'se (a ciu) fa dang'koi (na), ienzii (a) sui fun (a) ngin sungloi (o);
 (該) 二十零歲 (阿就) 花當開 (哪), 煙脂 (阿) 水粉 (阿) 人送來 (嚟);
 [A girl in her early twenties is mature and attractive, men often express their love
 by giving her makeup as a gift;]
 Zaiga gi'ngien (ciu) ngien yiulo, bangin (a) yam cien vunaloi (o).
 再加幾年 (就) 年又老, 半斤 (阿) 塩錢無哪來 (嚟)。
 [When she grows older a few years later, she won't be given money even for a
 half catty of salt.]

3. (goi) *Shan'ge m he (a ciu) kausiucoi (na), yiu han (a) ga'gien (a) congdeuloi (o)*;
(該) 山歌毋係 (阿就) 考秀才 (哪), 有閒 (阿) 加減 (阿) 唱兜來 (喔);
[The purpose of singing is not to test a scholar, sing more when you have spare time;]

Ngin'ngin zogo (ciu) siitcitbat, Damgon (a) zogo nunsunloi (o).

人人做過 (就) 十七八, 擔竿 (阿) 做過嫩筍來 (喔)。

[All of us have once been saplings of seventeen or eighteen, a shoulder pole has also grown from a tender bamboo shoot.]

4. (goi) *Samsiit lang'se (a ciu) dang'heusen (na), yiusii (a) hozo (a) oi sat'mong (o)*;
(該) 三十零歲 (阿就) 當後生 (哪), 有事 (阿) 好做 (阿) 愛煞忙 (喔);
[People in their early thirties can still be counted as youngsters, be diligent when you have work to do;]

Lo'gu ngien'ngi (ciu) oi ziap'su, so'yiu (a) ziidiam ga'gien tang (o).

老古言語 (就) 愛接受, 所有 (阿) 指點加減聽 (喔)。

[Be sure to accept old mottos, take heed of all instructions and directions.]

B. San'go zii

San'go zii [Mountain song] is the name of a tune. Developed from *Losan go*, it still preserves quite a few special qualities of *Losan go*. Its tune also mainly consists of notes La, Do and Mi. People often sang *San'go zii* in the countryside freely and contentedly, without any accompaniment. Although more restrained than *Losan go*, *San'go zii* is still full of self-expression.

C. Pinban diau

Pinban diau [A tune of *Pingban*] is also called *Gailiang diau*, also the name of a music tune. It is developed from a modified and regularized *San'go zii*. In addition to La, Do and Mi, its melodies also include notes Re, So and Ti. The end note is located on So. *Pinban diau* is usually not sung in the wild country; it was gradually accepted in the tea plantation, in the family and even on the stage, becoming a tune loved by the general public.

D. Hakka Siaudiau

There are Hakka folk songs apart from *Shan'ge*, *San'go zii* and *Pinban diau* that have fixed lyrics and melodies. They are songs such as *Cuyit zeu* [Morning on January first], *Kuli ngiong* [Hard-working women], *Piangzii go* [Sickness caused by

pregnancy], *Tofakoi* [Peach blossoms bloom], *Shiibatmia* [Eighteen touch], *Siilien go* [Admiration song], *Guaziren* [Melon seeds], *Maijiu* [Selling wine], *Cangtuson* [Poling ferry] and *Songsan caica* [Picking tea on the mountain].

Losan go, *San'go zii* and *Pinban diau* mentioned above are all names of tunes. They do not have fixed lyrics. When singing, singers fill in impromptu lyrics based on these tunes according to how they feel and think at the moment. Usually, these impromptu songs are not given new names.

(2) Hakka songs with different lyrics

The lyrics of these Hakka folk songs are mostly connected with the love between man and woman, whereas the rest refer to details of everyday life. In his book, Yang Buguang classifies Hakka folk songs into 16 categories:⁶⁵

- A. Songs about love: *Caica* [Picking tea-leaves], *Tofakoi* [Peach blossoms are blooming], *Sunggimcaii* [Giving a golden hairpin as a gift], *Siilien go* [Song of admiration], *Maica go* [Selling tea] and *Gosin ngien* [Celebrating the New Year], etc.
- B. Songs about labour: *Caica* [Picking tea-leaves], *Maica go* [Selling tea], *Seshiugin* [Washing a handkerchief], *Cangtuson* [Poling ferry] and *Tiaudam'go* [Song of shouldering a load], etc.
- C. Songs of pastime: *Hanam diau* [Tune of *Xia'nan*], *Meinong shang'ge diau* [Tune of Meinong mountain song], etc.
- D. Songs of the household: *Piangzii go* [Sickness caused by pregnancy], *Cuyit zeu* [Morning on January first], *Shiibatmia* [Eighteen touch] and *Ciin siiyiun* [Ciin siiyiun (using a personal name as a song name)], etc.
- E. Songs urging to virtue: *Kiensiiyun* [Urging all the people to virtue].
- F. Songs of tales: *Shii ngi ngiet gu'ngin'go* [Song of the ancient in December].
- G. Songs of quarrels: *Cangtuson* [Poling ferry].
- H. Songs of lament: *Kulit ngiong* [Hard-working women], *Loksuitien* [Rainy day] and *Ng'gang'gu* [Song of the fifth watch of the night], etc.
- I. Drinking songs: *Maiziu* [Selling wine].
- J. Patriotic songs: *Cunggiun go* [Joining the army] and *Maden diau* [Tune of storm lamp].

⁶⁵ Yang Buguang, *Hakka Min'yao zhi Yanjiu* [Research on folk songs of Hakka], Taipei: Yueyun chubanshe, 1983, pp. 20-21.

- K. Songs of worship: *Siunggin diau* [Tune of reciting scriptures] and *Ngiamfut diau* [Tune of chanting Buddha's name].
- L. Lullaby: *Cuimin kiuk* [Lullaby].
- M. Fun song: *Bugong* [Patching a pottery jug].
- N. Soothing songs: *Onvi go* [Song of consolation (*Pingban*)].
- O. Songs of praising nature: *Bodo funggong* (*Pingban*) [Formosa scenery (*Pingban*)] and *Bodo Taiwan* [Taiwan the Formosa].
- P. Songs about daily life: *Sung ngiong go* [Seeing lover off], *Gosin ngien* [Celebrating the New Year], *Siilien go* [Song of admiration], *Guaziyyin* [Melon seeds] and *Chunngiu diau* [Tune of spring cow], etc.

The above approach to categorization seems to go into minute detail with no especial significance: songs of pastimes, songs of quarrels, songs of lament and soothing songs can be subsumed under the category of songs about daily life, for instance. The categorization seems logically faulty, too. For example, *Caica* [Picking tea-leaves] and *Maicai go* [Selling tea] belong to both love and labour songs; *Cangtuson* [Poling ferry] belongs to both labour and quarrel songs; *Gosin ngien* [Celebrating the New Year] and *Siilien go* [Song of admiration] belong to both love and daily life songs. In addition, as mentioned above, *Losan go*, *San'go zii* and *Pingban* are simply titles of tunes, which singers use as a base to fill in impromptu lyrics they favour, without providing new titles. As a result, citing instances of *Losan go*, *San'go zii* and *Pingban* becomes difficult if songs are classified based on lyric content.

(3) Hakka songs with different singing forms

Singing forms of Hakka folk songs are as follows:

- A. Solo: the form is most frequently seen; most of *Shan'ge* and *Siaudiau* can be sung solo.
- B. Antiphonal singing: two singers responding to each other by singing; examples of songs by this form are *Cangtuson* [Poling ferry], *Sunggimcai* [Giving a golden hairpin as a gift] and *Piangzii go* [Sickness caused by pregnancy], etc.
- C. Singing in unison: Usually done sparsely at happy occasions such as weddings or banquets; no limit in any songs.

Furthermore, when singing solo or antiphonally, sometimes singers recite the lyrics aloud. The recital usually occurs after the end of a section of melody so as to

add a special flavour to the song.

1.2-7 Holo folk songs

This thesis concentrates on the folksongs in the Hingcun area as well as *Hingcun diau* and its song family. Since these folksongs all belong to the category of Holo folksongs, they will be explored and explained in more depth than aboriginal and Hakka folksongs.

Folk songs are classified mainly for the convenience of research and ease of recognition. The classification frequently differs due to various conception, purpose, or time and space. Folk songs of a country are usually classified according to lyric contents, singing forms, or place of origin.⁶⁶ With Holo folk songs, scholars of literature, anthropology and sociology are concerned about their lyric contents and structure whereas scholars of music pay more attention to their purposes and places of origin.

Holo folk songs can be divided into the following categories: lyric structure; lyric content; place of origin; and function.

(1) Holo folk songs based on lyric structure

Based on the structure of the lyrics, Holo folk songs can be classified into two kinds: *Citghi'a* [seven characters in a sentence] and *Zapljam'a* [unregulated sentence].⁶⁷

A. *Citghi'a* [seven characters in a sentence]

Holo people generally call these "*Citghi'a*" because they have seven characters in each sentence and four sentences in every song or stanza. The structure of the lyrics of *Citghi'a* is like that of *Qiyao jueju* [a poetic structure in the Tang Dynasty]. *Citghi'a* is also called *sihgulian* [four sentences and seven characters in each sentence], a lyric structure frequently used in the past by the Han people in Taiwan. Some examples of Holo *Citghi'a* folk songs are *Ghogenn go* [Song of the night watchman's drum] (Fig.

⁶⁶ A good example is *The Voice of the People* (An Anthology edited by Reg. Hall, Topic Records Ltd., London 1988). Most of the eleven volumes of this anthology classify the folk songs of a nation by the content of lyrics, some categorize them by singing forms (such as song or ballad), and some even by function (such as dancing or working).

⁶⁷ Huang Deshi, "Taiwan Geyao zhi Xingtai" [Forms of Taiwanese folk songs and ballads], *Taiwan Wenxian Zhuankan* [Special Issue on Taiwan Documents], Taipei: Taiwan Wenxian, 1952, 3:1.

1.8; CD 1-4),⁶⁸ *Doma diau* [A tune specially used by *Doma Drama* group] and *Daidang diau* [Tune of *Daidang*], etc.

[Fig. 1.8]

Ghogenn go

[Song of the night watchman's drum]

1. *Zit'genn genn go ghehzior 'suann, kan'gum e ciu bhong sim'guann;*
一更更鼓月照山，牽君的手摸心肝；
[The moon shone upon the hill at midnight; I took my lover's hands to feel my heart;]
Gum lai mng niu bheh'an zuann, suicai a gum lisim'guann.
君來問娘欲按怎？隨在阿君你心肝。
[My lover asked "What do you wish? whatever your heart wishes.]
2. *Ghi'genn genn go ghehzior diann, kangum e ciu ghi dua'tiann;*
二更更鼓月照埕，牽君的手入大廳；
[The moon shone upon the yard at one o'clock, I took my lover's hands to enter the hall]
Sianlang siong'hor tinn zu'diann, batlang ghian'ghi m tang'tiann;
雙人相好天誌定，別人言語不可聽。
[Our love is destined, heed not the words of others]
3. *Sann'genn genn go ghehzior 'tang, Kan'gun e ciu ripsiu'bang;*
三更更鼓月照窗，牽君的手入繡房；
[The moon shone upon the window at two o'clock; I took my lover's hands and entered my chamber;]
Gah'gun sionhor u so'bhong, gior'gun hiau niu sian m tang.
恰君相好有所望，叫君儂娘先不可，
[There's much hope in our love, don't you ever desert me.]
4. *Si'genn genn go ghehzior 'bhng, kangun e ciu rip siucng;*
四更更鼓月照門，牽君的手入繡床；
[The moon shone upon the door at three o'clock; I took my lover's hands and lay down on the bed;]
Sianlang sion'ghor u so'ng, kahhor siorzui paubing'tng.
雙人相好有所映，較好燒水泡冰糖。

⁶⁸ (1) Lyrics from: Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Min'yao* [Taiwanese folk song], Taiwan sinwenchu, 1983, p. 253. (2) CD from: "Ghogenn go" (sung by Li Jingmei), *Taiwan Xiangtuqing* [Love of homeland, Taiwan], Sunrise recording LTD CD: 81001, 1992, track 4.

[Loving you I have someone to depend on, our love is much sweeter than sugar water.]

5. *Ghogenn genn go tinn bhueh'gng, lincu be'bhū gior ziah'bunn;*

五更更鼓天欲光，你厝父母叫吃飯；

[The morning was about to dawn when the watchman's drum struck at four o'clock; your parents were calling you to breakfast;]

Siunn'bhueh ku'bhng gior kan'dng, Ciuhuann bhng'cuann simtau'sng.

想欲開門叫君返，手按門門心頭酸。

[I wanted to open the door to let you go, but my heart ached as I put my hands on the bolt.]

“*Ghogenn go*” is a “*sihgulian*” – with the structure of four sentences in each stanza and seven characters in each sentence, and with a regular rhythm. The song depicts the affectionate story of two lovers having a secret tryst at night. The woman feels distressed and reluctant to let her boyfriend leave as dawn is breaking. This song indicates that it is natural for human beings to pursue love – without limits of time and space. Nonetheless, it also shows the conservativeness of old society in Taiwan. As a singer sings *Ghogenn go*, she usually utilizes *Ghogenn go diau*. *Ghogenn go diau* was a popular tune among the public in the past and can be used for various *sihgulian*.

B. *Zaplīam'a* [unregulated sentence]

Zaplīam'a are lyric structures that use sentences of different lengths (except for *Citghi'a*). Every song has a different number of characters and sentences, a sentence usually having three, five or seven characters. Examples of *Zaplīam'a* are *An'donggor bhecai* [Brother An'dong goes to the market] (Fig. 1.9; CD 1-5),⁶⁹ *Ghule gua* [Song of the plough], *Longcuan ziugua* (or *Lionsuann diau*) [Wine song in farm village], etc.

[Fig. 1.9]

An'donggor Bhecai

[Brother An'dong goes to the market]

An'donggor a lor, ghua zitsi u zu i, ciangciang giann, ciangciang ki.

安童哥仔囉，我一時有主意，噲噲行，噲噲去。

[Oh! Brother An'dong! I've suddenly got an idea, I stroll out of the house]

⁶⁹ (1) Ibid., p. 235. (2) “An'donggor Bhecai” [Brother An'dong goes to the market], *Taiwan Geyaoji*, Lige records company, record TS6301, 1974, track 7.

Ziunn'ge gaucaici, caina dingdonghinn.

上街到菜市，菜籃叮噹晃。

[To the market with a basket in hand]

An'donggor a lor, siangka giannrip gaucaici, kuicui giorzisiann, tau'ge'a!

安童哥仔囉，雙腳行入到菜市，開嘴叫一聲，頭家仔！

[Oh! Brother An'dong! I enter the market and shout "Boss"!]

Bhakziu capcap ni, dangbinn kuann'gue lai, saibinn kuann'gue ki.

目睷眨眨睷，東邊看過來，西邊看過去。

[I wink my eyes, glancing to the east and glancing to the west]

Ghiazitbhak, ai'iok, kuannzit gin, buidibhah, buizizi, san e ang gigi.

舉一目，咬啃，看一見，肥豬肉，肥脂脂，瘦的紅炬炬。

[Oh! Suddenly I see fat pork – fatty and greasy, lean meat – red as blood]

Ghua An'dong kuicui, diohmngki zilor zit gin siai ghuaze zinn.

我安童開嘴就問起，這囉一斤是要若多錢。

[I, Brother An'dong, open my mouth and ask 'How much is one pound?']

Taidi'a hiann, diohin i, bui e zigin gho gak ri, san e zitgin lak ko si.

殺豬仔兄，就應伊，肥的一斤五角二，瘦的一斤六元四。

[The butcher responds 'The fat pork fifty-two cents, the lean one six dollars forty cents']

An'donggor a lor, sitzai u suakpah.

安童哥仔囉，實在有煞打。

[Oh! Brother An'dong! It's really appropriate for me]

Sunsua bhelebhah, dnglaiki zusanbhah.

順續買螺肉，返來去煮瘦肉。

[To buy mussels and go home to cook them with lean pork]

Zinn ga'i iong ho'i dah, sunsua bhe dika, bhe ahka, bhe geka.

錢給伊用乎伊乾，順續買豬腳，買鴨腳，買雞腳。

[To use up the money I also buy pig legs, gingko and chicken legs]

An'donggor a lor, zuige sianhi bih, i dakhang ma gah'i.

安童哥仔囉，水雞鱔魚鱉，伊逐項嘛愜意。

[O! Brother An'dong! I like everything - the frog, eel, and green turtle]

Iu'gorh painbhuki, suah giatdi am'gun'a dingdonghinn.

又攞背不去，煞結佇奄頸叮噹晃。

[There are too many for me to take so I hang them around my neck]

Aiiok, dangbinn longguelai, iugorh, saibinn longgueki.

哎唷，東邊撞過來，又攔，西邊撞過去。

[Oh! Oh! They are dangling and bumping to the east and to the west]

An'donggor a lor, An'dong bhecai zinziann ghau, bhisio bhe dnglai cam tngtau.

安童哥仔囉，安童買菜真正賢，味素買返來摻湯頭。

[Oh! Brother An'dong! An'dong is very good at shopping and buys MSG for broth.]

Hainntau ziu, ghogabi, bheh'a ziu sibbeh ziah luahtinn.

晃頭酒，五加皮，麥仔酒是要吃熱天。

[Rice wine, Ng Ka Py liqueur, and beer for hot weather]

Guann'gin bhebhe painnpainn dnglaiki, An'donggor'a lor.

趕緊買買背背返來去，安童哥仔囉。

[I hurry up with the shopping and carry all the food home. Oh! Brother An'dong!]

“An'donggor *Bhecai*” adopts the lyric structure of various sentence lengths – the number of words of each sentence is different and the rhythm is full of freedom. This song provides a vivid description of the man named “An'dong” buying food in the market. When performing this, the singer utilizes the tune of *Zapljam'a* singing and chanting simultaneously by following the rises and falls of the language tones and the change of the song melodies. The tune and form of *Zapljam'a* are frequently adopted in the performance of *Liam gua* [Singing and narrative form] and *Gua'a hi* [Taiwanese opera].

(2) Holo folk songs based on lyric content

Based on lyric content, Holo folk songs can be divided into the following seven types:

70

A. Family-related and moral songs

In ancient Taiwan, agriculture was the major economic activity of the people and large families were the norm. In large families, there were certain moral principles regulating the relationships between young and old, husband and wife, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. And thus many folk songs were produced describing how the people of these different relationships interacted. They are songs such as *Benngiann gua* [Song of pregnancy], *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail] and *Zue lang e sinbu*

⁷⁰ Primary references: (1) Hsu Tsanghouei, *Taiwan Holosi Min'ge* [Holo folk songs of Taiwan], Baike wenhua Co., 1982. (2) Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Min'yao* [Taiwanese folk songs], Taiwan sheng sinwenchu, 1983. (3) Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Holosi Min'ge de Yuanyuan ji Fazhan* [Origin and development of Taiwan Holo system of folk song], Zili wanbao wenhua chubanbu, Taipei, 1991.

[Being a daughter-in-law].

B. Labour- and work-related songs

Folk songs have the themes of labouring such as cutting trees, fishing on the sea and working in the fields. These songs are spiritual food to workers to help them relieve tedium as well as to improve efficiency. Examples are *Ghule gua* [Song of the Plough], *Ginglonggua* [Ploughman's song], *Caide gua* [Song of picking tea-leaves] and *Lakgheh canzui* [Water in the field in June], etc. *Lakgheh canzui* [Water in the field in June] is a folk tune which originated from the area of Jiayi. As time went by, the song has developed into a song family that contains songs such as *Zitjih ziao'a* [A bird], *Zitjih ziao'a hau ziuziu* [A bird is chirping], and *Zitjih ziao'a hau giugiu* [A bird is crying for help]. They reflect appropriately the social backgrounds of their respective times. Below is *Lakgheh canzui* [Water in the field in June] sung by the prominent artist, Chen Guanhua (Fig. 1.10; CD 1-6)^{71; 72}



[Fig. 1.10] Chen Guanhua, a prominent Holo traditional musician.
Photo provided by Chen Guanhua, 1992.

⁷¹ Chen Guanhua, autonym Chen Shuiliu, was born in 1912. He is a prominent folk musician in Taiwan, proficient in Holo folk music and traditional musical instruments. Besides having worked as the director of backstage musical groups of Taiwanese opera troupes and glove puppetry troupes, he also often arranges and creates folk music. In 1956, he established the Shengdu'shiyin Musical Group. In 1967, his musical group defeated more than three hundred groups and won the championship in the folk music contest sponsored by Research Center of Chinese Folk Music (in Taiwan). As such he changed his first name from "Shuiliu" to "Guanhua". In 1985, the Xinchuan Award of Folk Art was bestowed on him by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan.

⁷² (1) In 1.2-7, although I have already mentioned that Holo folksongs will be expounded more deeply than aboriginal and Hakka folksongs, after all the core of the thesis lies in "*Hingcun diau* and its song family". On top of that, due to the limitations of space, when displaying notation and appending musical excerpts on the disk, I shall merely select a few representative examples as references in addition to "*Hingcun diau* and its song family". (2) "*Lakgheh canzui*" [Water in the field in June], *Chen Guanhua's Taiwanese Holo Folk Music* (1). Singer: Chen Guanhua, Taipei: Council for cultural affairs, 1992, CD track 10.

[Fig. 1.11]

Lakgheh canzui [Water in the field in June]

Sung by Chen Guanhua

Transcription: Chien Shangjen

1



Lak-gheh can-zui (He! He! He-do) dng de sior
六月田水 (嘿! 嘿! 嘿都) 當的燒

5



(le e), *Li-hi'a lorh zui (gok de gok!*
(咧 唉), 鯉魚仔 落水 (嗎的嗎!

9



gok de) bhue e ior (le e);
嗎的) 尾會 搖 (咧 唉);

13



(gok de gok! gok de gok! gok de) bhue e ior
(嗎的嗎! 嗎的嗎! 嗎的) 尾會 搖

17



(le e).
(咧 唉) .

Lyrics:

1. *Lakgheh canzui (he! He! Hedo!) dng de sior (le e),*
六月田水 (嘿! 嘿! 嘿都!) 當的燒 (咧唉),
[Field water in June (He! He! Hedo!) is warm right now,]
Lih'i'a lorh zui (gok de'gok! gok de) bhue e ior (le e), (gok de gok!
gok de gok! gok de) bhue e ior (le e).
鯉魚仔落水 (嗎的嗎! 嗎的) 尾會搖 (咧唉), (嗎的嗎! 嗎的嗎
! 嗎的) 尾會搖 (咧唉)。
[The tail of a carp falling into water can swing, the tail can swing.]
2. *Lakgheh canzui (he! He! Hedo!) ciah rit 'tau (le e),*
六月田水 (嘿! 嘿! 嘿都!) 赤日頭 (咧唉),
[The sun is beating on the field water in June,]
Mui rit dioh'ai (gok de gok! gok de) sun can tau (le e), (gok de gok!
gok de gok! gok de) sun can tau (le e).
每日著愛 (嗎的嗎! 嗎的) 巡田頭 (咧唉), (嗎的嗎! 嗎的嗎!

喞的) 巡田頭 (咧唉)。

[I have to go around and inspect the field every day, going around and inspecting the field.]

3. *Lakgheh canzui (he! He! Hedo!) guann na lau (le e)*,

六月巡田 (嘿! 嘿! 嘿都!) 汗那流 (咧唉),

[My sweat oozes out when I inspect the field,]

Diu'a bo liau (gok de gok! gok de) dioh sor cau (le e), (gok de gok! gok de gok! gok de) dioh sor cau (le e).

稻仔播了 (喞的喞! 喞的) 著搜草 (咧唉), (喞的喞! 喞的喞! 喞的) 著搜草 (咧唉)。

[After rice is sown the field needs weeding, needs weeding.]

4. *Lakgheh nui rti (he! He! Hedo!) giann bhor ting (le e)*,

六月每日 (嘿! 嘿! 嘿都!) 行無停 (咧唉),

[I never stop going round every day in June,]

Diu'a bo liau (gok de gok! gok de) hor siu sing (le e), (gok de gok! gok de gok! gok de) hor siu sing (le e).

稻仔播了 (喞的喞! 喞的) 好收成 (咧唉), (喞的喞! 喞的喞! 喞的) 好收成 (咧唉)。

[It's time for harvesting after the rice is sown, time for harvesting.]

C. Love songs

These are songs chanting words poured out from deep in lovers' hearts. They are songs such as *Lakgheh bhakni* [Jasmine in June], *Ghogenn go* [Song of the night watchman's drum], *Diam dann ang* [Lighting the red lantern], *Caume lang guegang* [Grasshopper playing jokes on the cock] and *Torhue guedo* [Lady Torhue crosses the river by ferry].

D. Narrative songs

Songs narrating social phenomena, historical events, anecdotes of people, folk tales, festive customs and all kinds of things in nature all belong to this category. For example, there are *Kngse gua* [Cautionary song], *Shemui sugun* [Lady Shemui misses her husband] and *Nisiok gua* [Song about customs of lunar New Year], etc. Among them, because the lyrics of *Kngse gua* warn people about good deeds and magnanimity as well as against greediness, they are rather popular among the people. In the following is *Kngse gua*, which is based on the *Gang'o diau* [Wandering tune],

sung by Liu Fuzhu, a famous singer in Taiwan (Fig 1.12; CD 1-7).⁷³

[Fig. 1.12]

Kngse gua [Cautionary song]

Sung by Liu Fuzhu

Transcription: Chien Shangjen

1



ghua lai laim gua (lor) (intermezzo)
我來唸歌(囉)(過門)

5



(*bheh*) *ho lin tiann (li), m bhan (gorh kap lin) kiorh zinn (a) (lin dioh) bhian*
9 (欲)予恁聽(哩), 嘛免(攔恰恁)卻錢(啊)(恁著)免



13 *dioh giann (e); (gong) kng-lin zue-lang dioh duan ziann, ho si*
著驚(唉); (講)勸恁做人著端正, 虎死



17 *lau-pue lang lau mia (e). gong gah dong'-gim*
留皮人留名(唉)。講到當今



21 (*lor*) (*intermezzo*) *e se' - gai*
(囉)(過門) 的世界



25 (*li*), *niau ui sit bhong (a) lang ui zai*
(哩), 鳥為食亡(啊)人為財



29 (*e*); *siunn zin zor'-lang dioh hai - hai, si ziong hor ki (ma) sing hor*
(唉); 想斟做人著嘛嘛, 死從何去(嘛)生何



33 *lai (li i). i).*
來(哩啲)。啲)。



⁷³ "Kngse gua" [Cautionary song], *Taiwan laoge* [Taiwanese Old Songs]. Sung by Liu Fuzhu, vol-12, Hongyang Audio Visual Co., Ltd., CD-6012, track 3. The CD was provided by Liu in an interview conducted by me on 3 January 2002.

Lyrics:

1. *Ghua lai laim gua (lor) (intermezzo) (bheh) ho lin tiann (li),*

我來唸歌(囉)(過門)(欲)予佢聽(哩)，

[I'm singing a song for you,]

M bhian (gorh kap lin) kiorh zinn (a) (lin dioh) bhian dioh giann (e);

嘸免(攞佢佢)卻錢(啊)(佢著)免著驚(唉)；

[Don't be afraid I'm going to charge nothing;]

(gong) knklin zuelang dioh duan ziann, ho si laupue lang lau mia (e).

(講)勸佢做人著端正，虎死留皮人留名(唉)。

[We should behave in a right manner, a tiger leaves behind its hide after it dies while a person leaves behind a good reputation.]

Gong gah dong 'gim (lor) (intermezzo) e se 'gai (li), niau ui sit bhong (a) lang ui zai (e) ;

講到當今(囉)(過門)的世界(哩)，鳥為食亡(啊)人為財(唉)：

[Speaking about the present world, birds die for food and people die for money.]

Siunn zin zorlang dioh haihai, si ziong hor ki (ma) sing hor lai (li i).

想斟做人著晦晦，死從何去(嘛)生何來(哩啲)。

[Realizing life is but a meaningless dream after serious thinking, we shouldn't be too concerned about personal benefits, where did we come from before birth and where will we go after demise?]

2. *Lan lai cutsi (lor) (intermezzo) bhor buann hang (li),*

咱來出世(囉)(過門)無半項(哩)，

[We came to this world bringing nothing with us,]

Dng ki siang ciu (a) iu kangkang (e);

返去雙手(啊)又空空(唉)；

[We'll leave this world with two empty hands;]

Diam zai segan na bhinbhang, dng ki gang san niunn bat lang (e).

踮在世間若眠夢，返去江山讓別人(唉)。

[Living in this world is like having a dream, after we die we concede our thrones to others.]

Zorlang dor dik (lor) (intermezzo) ai dioh siu (li), ing hua hu gui lan dik giu (e);

做人道德(囉)(過門)愛著守(哩)，榮華富貴難得求(唉)；

[We should safeguard our morals, wealth and rank are hard to obtain;]

M tang tam 'giu zai zu siu, bhan su kai hua bhian iu ciu (li i).

嚟通貪求財子壽，萬事開化免憂愁（哩啲）。

[Don't lust for wealth, children and longevity, philosophical thinking will dispel any worry.]

3. *Kng lan bing iu (lor) (intermezzo) dioh zor (li),*

勸咱朋友（囉）（過門）著做好（哩），

[Friends, be sure to behave with integrity,]

Segan ziamsi (a) lai tit tor (e);

世間暫時（啊）來佚陶（唉）；

[This world is a temporary place to sojourn;]

Zue hor zue painn long u bor, tien li ziau ziau m si bhor (e).

做好做歹攏有報，天理招招嚟是無（唉）。

[Those doing good or evil deeds will receive what they deserve, there indeed is justice of the gods.]

(Lan) tiann gua na u (lor) (intermezzo) (hi le) zue can lang (li), dng ki ho lin (a) hor siu dang (e);

（咱）聽歌若有（囉）（過門）（彼個）做田人（哩），返去予恁（啊）好收冬（唉）；

[To any farmer in the audience, I wish you a rich harvest on your return;]

U lang ze zun cut ghua gang, bau lin sun hong yit pian pang.

有人坐船出外港，包恁順風一片帆。

[To those sailing to other places, may you have favourable winds in your sails.]

Se gan (e) su ghiap (lor) (intermezzo) (u) bah bah kuann (li), lionsim zue su (a) (lan dioh) bhor cau hung (e);

世間（的）事業（囉）（過門）（有）百百款（哩），良心做事（啊）（咱就）無操煩（唉）；

[There are all walks of life in this world, your conscience won't trouble you if you behave righteously;]

Su su gah lang e uan bhuan, (ho lin) giann sun dai dai cut ziong ghuan (li i).

事事恰人會圓滿，（予恁）子孫代代出狀元（哩啲）。

[Everything will be satisfactory, all your descendants will accomplish both success and fame.]

E. Songs of entertainment

Joyful frolicsome folk songs are sung to increase the gaiety of a happy gathering. They are songs such as *Limziu gua* [Drinking song].

F. Songs of worship

In the period of agricultural society, people's lives had an intimate relationship with heaven, gods, ancestral gods and religious beliefs. People prayed for favourable weather, a rich grain harvest, a peaceful and propitious life and good fortune. Furthermore, they also worshipped the ancestors on their death anniversaries or festivals. Some folk songs of worship were born naturally in these ancestor-worshipping activities. They are songs such as *Dorsu diau* [Tune of Taoist priest], *Kanbhong gua* [Song to summon the soul of the dead], *Pokgua diau* [Tune of divining by the eight diagrams], and *Kausng diau* [Song to cry for mourning].

G. Children's songs

There are traditional songs hummed and sung by children in their daily lives. They are songs such as *Tinn o o* [The sky is dark] and *Beh lingsi* [White egret]. Children's songs, with their quality of innocence in terms of content, imagination and implication, are different from folk songs sung by adults and certainly should be classified as such.

Of the different categories of Holo folk songs mentioned above, love songs make up the highest percentage in quantity. Nevertheless, one should note that it is difficult to subsume Holo folk songs under a single category due to the numerous interpretations of their lyrics. For instance, *Ghule gua* [Song of the Plough] and *Caide gua* [Song of picking tea-leaves] are songs sung when lovers chat and work intimately at the same time. They may be considered as labouring songs or love songs. Another example is *Benngiann gua* [Song of pregnancy] that is sung by the wife and husband responding to each other. This antiphonal song may be subsumed under love songs or family-related and moral songs.

(3) Holo folk songs based on geographical region

Based on the places where Holo folk songs originated and spread, they can be divided

into four parts: Western plains; Hingcun area; Yilan area; and Taipei and other areas.⁷⁴ These places are exactly the major areas which Holo people settled, cultivated, and developed.

The folk songs of each area have their own historical background of growth, their unique music style and lyrics that represent their specific local culture and life style. As a result, categorization based on areas is more able to demonstrate the interaction between folk songs and the local culture of a specific area.

The historical background, geographical environment, cultural characteristics and folk songs of each of these four areas are described below.

A. Western plains

The Jianan Plains take up the major part of the so-called Western plains, which include the plains south of Zhanghua and north of Gaoxiong. At the end of the Ming Dynasty and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, Holo forebears who had risked their lives to cross the turbulent straits of Taiwan one after another chose the Jianan Plains as their first base of cultivation. During the rule of Zheng Chenggong and his descendants, the policy of stationing troops to reclaim land and live on it was adopted. The troops began in the area of Tainan, then moved to Jiai and Fengshan, and finally gradually expanded to the areas of Douliu and Zhanghua. It is obvious that the Jianan Plains was the primary area on which Zheng Chenggong focused his cultivation.

The Holo whose forebears came primarily from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou in Fujian Province followed their old life styles — those from Quanzhou lived near the sea while those from Zhangzhou lived inland. The Holo people lived mainly by agriculture, commerce and fishing. They underwent great hardship and privation, opening up wastelands and building new homes, fostering the culture of their new life. The earliest folk songs were gradually transmitted from these Holo pioneers to others and became their spiritual food as they strode optimistically toward new hopes. A few of these folk songs were transplanted and reborn from songs they had brought from Mainland China; some were developed based on elements assimilated from the folk songs of Minnan area (the southern part of Fujian Province in Mainland China); most

⁷⁴ Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Min'yao* [Taiwanese folk songs], Taichung: Taiwan sheng sinwenchu, 1983, p. 18, pp. 27-30.

of the folk songs were born from the process of cultivating these new lands.⁷⁵

Holo folk songs originating from and transmitted in the Western plains include *Pokgua diau* [Song of divining by the eight Diagrams], *Cishih diau* [Beggars' song], *Ghule gua* [Song of the plough], *Tinn o o* [The sky is dark], *Benngiann gua* [Song of pregnancy], *Kausng diau* [Song to cry for the dead], *Kngse gua* [Song advising people to do good deeds], *Lakgheh canzui* [Water in the field in June], *Zitjih ziao 'a* [A bird], *Lakgheh bhakni* [Jasmine in June], *Ghogenn go* [Song of the night watchman's drum], *Gaoxiong min'iau* [Folk songs of Gaoxiong] and *Doun'a gua* [Earthworm's song], *Torhue guedo* [Lady Torkue crossed the river by ferry], etc. *Ghule gua*, which originated in the area of Tainan, grew from the song which the Siraya tribe of Pennbo aborigines used to worship their ancestral god, Alizhu. After they moved into the area, intermarried and interchanged cultures with Pennbo aborigines, Holo people began to sing the song in Holo and named it "*Tainan diau*". "*Tainan diau*" was renamed as "*Ghule gua*" in modern times and is often adopted in the performance of *Gewu siaosi* [singing and dancing for a small story]. (Figs. 1.13, 1.14, 1.15; CD 1-8)⁷⁶



[Fig. 1.13] Chen Xueli and his wife, Lin Qiuxue.
Photo by Chien, Shangjen, 2003.



[Fig. 1.14] Chen Xueli, prominent performer of folk music. Photo by Chien, Shangjen, 2003.

⁷⁵ Hsu Tsanghouei, *Taiwan Yinyueshi Chugao* [Preliminary draft of Taiwanese music history], Taipei: Quanyin Yuepu chubanshe, 1991, p. 122.

⁷⁶ Singer: Chen Xueli, Lin Qiuxue, "*Ghule gua*" in *Guxiang di Ge, Zouchang Jianghu* [Songs from home and songs from the real world], Gunshi yousheng Chuban gongsi, CD-001, publication date unknown, CD track 3.

Chen Xueli (1905-2007) has been devoted to Taiwanese folk arts. He has won the Award of Legacy in National Folk Arts bestowed by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan. Chen Xueli and his wife, Lin Qiuxue, are both engaged in performance of *Gewu Siaosi*.

[Fig. 1.15]

Ghule gua [Song of the plough]

Sung by Chen Xueli and Lin Qiuxue

Trascription: Chien Shangjen

Su (a) liok su gong (a) liok su gong Su (a) liok su gong (a) liok su
 士(仔)六 士 工(仔)六 士 工 士(仔)六 士 工(仔)六 士

gong Ciu (a) huann le - bhe (a) bheh (a) ging-
 工 手(仔) 犁 尾 (啊) 欲 (啊) 耕

-dian Sior - mui zor au (a) hiann (di) zor
 田 小 妹 做 後 (啊) 兄 (厝) 做

zian Hong - diau u sun (a) ing (a) but
 前 風 調 雨 順 (啊) 永 (啊) 不

bian Gam - sia sion tinn (a) ziong (li) hut (a)
 變 感 謝 上 天 (啊) 眾 (哩) 佛 (仔)

sian Na ai - ior ai - ior le hiann (ue) ziong (a)
 仙 那 哎 哎 犁 兄 (喂) 眾 (仔)

hut (a) sian (a) (i - dor) siunn dioh sia - le hiann (ai - ior)
 佛 (仔) 仙(仔)(伊 都) 想 著 駛 犁 兄(哎 唷)

Diu diu dang a (i - dor) o - hai guann diam di
 丟 丟 銅 仔 (伊 都) 芋 橫 干 跔 置

siunn a (i - dor) lo - tau hiann (ai - ior)
 想 仔 (伊 都) 路 頭 兄 (哎 唷)

Lyrics:

1. Man: *Su (a) liok su gong (a) liok su gong, su (a) liok su gong (a) liok su gong.*⁷⁷

士(啊)六士 工(啊)六土工, 士(啊)六士 工(啊)六土工。

[*Su (a) liok su gong (a) liok su gong, su (a) liok su gong (a) liok su gong.*]

Ciu (a) huann (a) le 'bhe (a) bheh (a) gingdian, Siormui zor au (a) hiann zor zian cian.

手(啊)按(啊)犁尾(啊)欲(啊)耕田, 小妹做後(啊)兄做前。

[*Putting hands on the tail of the plough, I'm going to till land, little sister (lover) is behind me.*]

Hongdiao u sun (a) ing (a) but bian, Gamsia siongtinn (a) ziong (li) hut (a) sian.

風調雨順(啊)永(啊)不變, 感謝上天(啊)眾(哩)佛(啊)仙。

[*We pray for everlasting favourable weather, we thank all the gods in Heaven.*]

(Na ai ior ai ior) lehiann (ue) ziong (a) hut (a) sian, (Idor) siunn dioh saile hiann (ai ior).

哪啲啲啲! 犁兄(喂)眾(啊)佛(啊)仙, (伊都)想著駛犁兄(啲啲)。

[*Na ai ior ai ior! Ploughing brother (lover) and all gods, I'm missing my ploughing brother (lover).*]

Diudiu dang 'a (idor) ohai 'guann, diam di siunn 'a (idor) lotau hiann (aiior).

丟丟銅仔(伊都)芋橫干, 跔置想仔(伊都)路頭兄(啲啲)。

[*Diudiu dang 'a! dried taros, I'm missing the man I ran into on the road.*]

2. Woman: *Su (a) liok su gong (a) liok su gong, su (a) liok su gong (a) liok su gong.*

士(啊)六士 工(啊)六土工, 士(啊)六士 工(啊)六土工。

[*Su (a) liok su gong (a) liok su gong, su (a) liok su gong (a) liok su gong.*]

*Can 'gau (na) lehor (a) bheh (a) lorzing,*⁷⁸ *Taiwan (a) bordor (ue) zin (a) gong 'ing.*

田溝(哪)犁好(啊)欲(啊)落種, 台灣(啊)寶島(喂)真(啊)光榮。

[*After finishing ploughing the field ditch, we're going to plant seeds, we're proud of Taiwan, the precious island.*]

Bhunhua (na) huatdat (a) hor (a) gongging, bhansu (na) ru i (ue) gian (a) tai

⁷⁷ This *Gongchipu*: a traditional system of notation in Taiwan and Chinese.

⁷⁸ There are two pronunciations of the character 田 "tien" in Holo: One is the vernacular sound, pronounced as "can"; the other is the classic sound, pronounced as "dian".

bing.

文化（哪）發達（啊）好（啊）光景，萬事（哪）如意（喂）見（啊）太平。

[We have a superior culture and scenic sights, all things are smooth and peaceful.]

(Na aiior aiior) lehiann (ue) gian (a) tai (a) bing, (Idor) siunn dioh saile hiann (aiior).

哪哎唷哎唷！犁兄（喂）見（啊）太（啊）平，（伊都）想著駛犁兄（哎唷）。

[Ploughing brother! Society is in peace now, I'm missing my ploughing brother (lover).]

Diudiu dang'a! (idor) ohai'guann, diam di siunn'a (idor) lotau hiann (aiior).

丟丟銅仔（伊都）芋橫干，跔置想仔（伊都）路頭兄（哎唷）。

[*Diudiu dang'a!* dried taros, I'm missing the man I ran into on the road.]

B. Hingcun area

As to the development of Hingcun, although Zheng Chenggong once sent troops to go ashore at what is now Casiann and farm the lands, it was not until the early 20th Century that a large number of Han people came into this area. At that time, as a result of the fact that the Jianan Plains had gradually reached saturation point, Holo and Hakka people in the areas of Gaoxiong and Pingdong flocked continuously towards the south and finally took up residence in the sparsely-populated Hingcun area.

The Hingcun area is the area administered by the old Hingcun county government, including five administrative units – current Hingcun Town, Casiann District, Bhuanziu District, Bangsuann District and Bhodan District. Located at the southern tip of Taiwan, this area is a peninsula with three sides surrounded by seas (the Pacific Ocean in the east, the Straits of Taiwan in the west, and the Bashi Channel in the south) and one side adjoining the mountains. The Central Mountain Range extending from the north ends here, forming rugged hills. Thus this is an isolated and independent geographical environment.

In ancient times, this area depended upon narrow paths as well as simple and crude shipping to communicate with other areas. It was not until modern times that highways along the coast were constructed and used to communicate with others. From the point of view of ethnomusicology, because this area has long been isolated

from the influence of the material civilization of the cities, the folk songs in this area have preserved their distinctive style. Moreover, owing to the fact that the aborigines, Holo and Hakka people have long resided and mixed together in this area, the customs and cultures of these different groups have blended together and appear to be unique. The folk songs in this area also reflect this unique quality.

Holo folk songs from this area are songs such as *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail], *Suguicun* [All Seasons are spring], *Susianggi* [Song to narrate what one thinks of], *Hingcun diau* [Song of Hingcun], *Honggang siordiau* [Short song of Honggang], and *Ziu ghu diau* [Tune of guarding cattle]. These songs come from the same area as and are all closely related to *Hingcun diau*, the main focus of my dissertation. Thus they are excellent subjects for consideration in this dissertation.

C. Yilan area

Yilan is also called Lanyang. Regarding the development of this area by Holo people, there was small-scale cultivation by Wu Hansheng from Zhangzhou, Fujian Province in 1768.⁷⁹ In time, after planned persistent reclamation by Wu Sha in 1796, immigrants from Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, and Yue moved in one after another, of whom the majority were people from Zhangzhou.⁸⁰ In the early twentieth century, Holo people from the areas of Taizhong and Taipei also gradually moved into this area.

Yilan area is located at the northeastern tip of Taiwan, with three sides adjoining the mountains and one side facing the sea. In the past, communication with other areas relied on narrow trails through the mountains which blocked the way to the outside world. It was not until 1924, when a railway was driven through the endless mountains, that people and material goods from the cities could be moved conveniently. However, full-scale cultivation and economic development were initiated only after the construction of the Peiyi highway in recent times. Consequently, in terms of the preservation of traditional music, like the Hingcun area, the Yilan area was able to avoid the influence of material civilization from the cities and preserve its unique quality and naturalness.

⁷⁹ 1768 was only the 33rd year of rule of the Qianlong Emperor in the Qing Dynasty.

⁸⁰ Wu Sha migrated from Zhangzhou, Fujian Province, to Taiwan in 1773. Further, see Liao Fengde *Qingdaj zhi Kavalan* [The kavalan of Qing Dynasty], Taipei: Liren shuju, 1982, pp. 96-100.

The Yilan area includes the places Toucheng District, Jiaosi District, Luodong Zhen and Yilan City, where people are plain and honest and traditional arts and cultures have thrived. In particular, folk drama has had a glorious history. This fact is reflected in the fierce competition between *Fulu* and *Sipi* of *Beiguan* in the past.⁸¹ Nowadays, the *Yilan* folk songs relatively familiar to the public are *Diudiu dang'a* [Drip of water], *Ugonggong: La Mi Mi* [The notes of Taiwan traditional music], and *Zitjih ziao'a cue'bhorsiu*. [A bird cannot find its nest], etc. “*Diudiu dang'a*”, also called “*Yilang diu*”, is a tune full of flexibility. Even today, it is a folk tune still loved deeply by the Taiwanese and people frequently use it with different words when singing. Below is the “*Diudiu dang'a*” sung by Chen Guanhua, an old artiste. The lyrics, which reflect affection for the scenery, describe how, on arriving at a Hakka village, a man who had been crossed in love saw a group of pretty tea-picking girls and intended to approach them to express his adoration (Fig. 1.16; CD 1-9).⁸²

[Fig. 1.16]

Diudiu dang'a [Drip of water]

Sung by Chen Guanhua

Transcription: Chien Shangjen



Siang ka giann gau (li dor a mei m da - diu ai-ior) bong kang lai Bong kang
 雙 腳 行 到 (哩 都 阿 妹 嚙 踏 丟 哎 唷) 磅 空 內 磅 空



e zui (diu - diu dang'a li dor a mei m da - diu'a li dor) di - lor lai
 的 水 (丟 丟 咚 仔 哩 都 阿 妹 嚙 踏 丟 仔 哩 都) 滴 落 來

Lyrics

1. *Siang ka giann'gau (lidor amei m dadiu aior) bongkang lai,*
 雙腳行到 (哩都阿妹嚙踏丟哎唷) 磅空內，
 [I step into a tunnel,]

⁸¹ *Beiguansi* [Beiguan drama] is divided into *Fulosi* and *Sipisi*. The former was transmitted to Taiwan earlier than the latter, so the former is also called “old sort” and the latter “new sort”. In the area of Yilan, striving for the audience and the territory, these two sorts of dramas frequently competed fiercely in performance and sometimes even fought with each other. For further information, please see: (1) Qiu Kunliang, *Yetai Gaoge* [Singing aloud at outdoor stage], Shibao wenhua gongsi, 1980, and (2) Lu Chuikuan, *Taiwan Chuantong Yinyue* [Traditional music in Taiwan], Taiwan donghua shuju, 1996.

⁸² *Diudiu dang'a* (sung by Chen Guanhua), *Chen Guanhua's Taiwanese Holo Folk Music* (I), Taipei: Council for cultural affairs, 1992, CD's track 1.

Bongkang e zui (diudiu dang'a lidor amei m dadiu'a lidor) dilorlai;

磅空的水（丟丟咚仔哩都阿妹嘸踏丟仔哩都）滴落來；

[Water is dripping from the ceiling of the tunnel;]

Gunlai bhiann'un (lidor amei m dadiu aior) ziane bai,

近來命運（哩都阿妹嘸踏丟哎唷）這呢歹，

[Why is my fate so hard recently?]

Dui niu zinsim (diudiu dang'a lidor amei mdadiu'a si) niu m zai.

對娘真心（丟丟咚仔哩都阿妹嘸踏丟仔是）娘嘸知。

[The girl I admire doesn't understand my true heart.]

2. *Siang ka giann'gau (lidor amei m dadiu aior) giamcai ang,*

雙腳行到（哩都阿妹嘸踏丟哎唷）鹹菜甕，

[I walk into the Pickled-vegetable Village,]

Dudioh zit din (diudiu dang'a lidor amei m dadiu'a hialor) zuan kehlang;

遇著一陣（丟丟咚仔哩都阿妹嘸踏丟仔彼囉）全客人；

[I run into a group of Hakka people]

Kehlang gong'ue (lidor amei mdadiu aior) rucongcong,

客人講話（哩都阿妹嘸踏丟哎唷）如蔥蔥，

[The language they speak is barely intelligible,]

Tiann bhor buann'gu (diudiu dang'a lidor amei m dadiu'a lai) kisilang.

聽無半句（丟丟咚仔哩都阿妹嘸踏丟仔來）氣死人。

[Not understanding a word drives me crazy.]

3. *Siang ka giann'gau (lidor amei mdadiu aior) bhan de suann,*

雙腳行到（哩都阿妹嘸踏丟哎唷）挽茶山，

[I walk to the mountain where tea leaves are picked,]

Dudioh zit din (diudiu dang'a lidor amei m dadiu'a hialor) za 'bho 'guann;

遇著一陣（丟丟咚仔哩都阿妹嘸踏丟仔彼囉）查某官；

[I run into a group of girls picking tea;]

Kuann'i bhan de (lidor amei mdadiu aior) zinhorkuann,

看伊挽茶（哩都阿妹嘸踏丟哎唷）真好看，

[They're beautiful when picking tea leaves,]

Siunnbheh giann'ua (diudiu dang'a lidor amei m dadiu'a lidor) gah i luann.

想欲行俁（丟丟咚仔哩都阿妹嘸踏丟仔哩都）佢伊攔。

[I'd like to walk closer and follow them everywhere.]

D. Taipei and other areas

After the middle of the Qing Dynasty, Taipei's commercial activities gradually grew. Taipei was the capital city when Taiwan Province was established in the thirteenth year of Emperor Guangxu of the Qing Dynasty (1887), and during the Japanese occupation, the viceroy's office was also set up in Taipei. Nowadays, Taipei is the economic and political centre in Taiwan. Nonetheless, in terms of traditional folk music this is unfortunately an area which has lost its uniqueness, owing to considerable influences from technology, material civilization and foreign cultures. Generally, *Taipei diau* [A tune popularized in Taipei] and *Kam'a ka diau* [A tune popularized in Kam'a ka] applied in the tunes of *Gua'a hi* [Taiwanese opera] were folk songs thought to be commonly sung by people in this area in the past.

There are areas other than the Western plains, Hingcun and Yilan areas and Taipei. Here, I would like particularly to stress the folk songs born after the fusion of Holo and Hakka people.

In the early years when Holo and Hakka people arrived in Taiwan, quarrels and conflicts were inevitable because of the fight for living space. Nevertheless, for mutual benefit, both groups gradually broke down the barriers and started to do business together and inter-marry. Thus the two cultures were blended. As a result, assimilating the elements of Hakka melody, Holo folk songs with Hakka style have gradually evolved. They are songs such as *Caide gua* [Song of collecting tea leaves], *Hainncaide* [Song sung when people of a tea village are playing and entertaining], *Pongdebuann* [Carrying tea tray], *Bhande siorbor* [Antiphonal singing to each other when picking tea], *Desuann siorbor* [Antiphonal singing to each other when working in the tea mountain].

(4) Holo folk songs based on functions

Folk songs are the root of music and the basic source material for the development of various folk art forms. They combine with literary plays to become *Shuochang* [Singing and narrative form], also called *Liam gua* in Holo language, uniting with the body movement of dancing to become *Gewu Siaoosi* [singing and dancing for small story], and conjoining with literary plays and dancing to turn into dramas. In other words, according to a variety of functions, folk songs are applied to different folk art forms.

To put it simply, if folk songs are defined as folk music expressed in the form of singing, based on their functions, Holo folk songs can be divided into four types: tunes used in singing, tunes used in *Shuochang*, tunes used in singing and dancing, and tunes used in dramas.⁸³

A. Tunes used in singing

These are folk songs popularized among people simply in the form of singing, for example, *Susianggi* [Thinking of], *Diudiu dang'a* [Drip of water], *Lakgheh canzui* [Water in the field in June].

B. Tunes used in *Shuochang*

These are folk tunes specially used in simultaneously singing and telling folk tales, history, legends, and so on, for instance *Gang'o diau: Kngse gua* [A tune of itinerant entertainers: singing advising people to do good deeds], *Ghogenn go* [Song of the night watchman's drum],.

C. Tunes used in singing and dancing

These are folk tunes specially used in the performance of *Gewu Siaosi*, [singing and dancing to express simple stories], for example, *Torhue guedo* [Lady Torhue Crosses the River by Ferry] and *Benngiann gua* [Song of pregnancy].

D. Tunes used in dramas

These are folk songs used in the tunes of dramas, in particular the tunes frequently used in *Gua'a hi* such as *Citghi'a diau* [Tune of seven words in a sentence] and *Liangsuann diau* [A tune of *Liangsuann* used in *Gua'a hi*].

1.2-8 The Position of Folk songs in the Hingcun area and *Hingcun diau* and its song family in Taiwanese Folk songs

Holo folk songs are one of the three categories of folk songs in Taiwan. The Hingcun area is the key place in the development of Holo folk songs in Taiwan. Holo folk songs originating from the Hingcun area are mainly songs such as *Susianggi* [Thinking of], *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail], *Hingcun diau* [Song of Hingcun],

⁸³ In the past, in books about Holo folk songs, only Hsu Tsanghouei (1982, 1986) and Chien Shangjen (1983, 1990) classify Holo folk songs by function. Most of the discussions before add children's songs to the four types: tunes used in singing, in *Shouchang*, in singing and dancing, and in dramas. I personally believe that children's songs are mainly used to differentiate them from adults' songs. The criteria of differentiation between children's and adult's songs are not the same as the criteria we use to divide the various functions of folk songs in their developing process of folk arts in this dissertation.

Suguicun [All seasons are spring], *Honggang siordiau* [Short song of Honggang], and *Ziu ghu diau* [Tune of guarding cattle]. Nevertheless, over time, each folk song differs in its vitality because of the differences in its appeal to people and its adaptation to Taiwanese society. At present, impacted by music and culture from other countries, only *Susianggi* [Thinking of] and *Hingcun diau* [Song of Hingcun] are still sung in the society in Taiwan; other songs such as *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail], *Suguicun* [All seasons are spring], *Honggang siordiau* [Short song of Honggang], and *Ziu ghu diau* [Tune of guarding cattle], although still maintaining their uniqueness and circulating in the Hingcun area, are only hummed by middle-aged and elderly people in the area.

Although *Susianggi* [Thinking of] and *Hingcun diau* [Song of Hingcun] are both still sung in Taiwanese society, in terms of the process of development and the domain of influence, the former is much less energetic and unrestricted than the latter. As time passes, *Hingcun diau* shows different faces and plays different roles in different ages – *Hingcun diau* (flexible), *Daidang diau* [Tune of Daidang], *Gamziah horziah Siangtaudinn* [Delicious sugarcane – sweet from end to end], *Ginglonggua* (Holo version) [Ploughmen's song], *Gengnongge* (Mandarin version) [Ploughmen's song], *Sannsiann bhornai* [Helpless Groans] and *Cenn or 'a sor* [A oyster fisherman's wife] are its song family. Its endless vitality and its deep influence on Taiwanese folk music make it the most representative of folk songs in Taiwan.

1.3 Research on *Hingcun diau* in the Past – Retrospection and Exploration

In the following, I shall discuss the meaning and value of *Hingcun diau* and its song family in ethnomusicological research, by means of reviewing some research on Taiwanese ethnomusicology,⁸⁴ Holo folksongs and *Hingcun diau*.

1.3 -1 “Ethnomusicology” research in Taiwan

From the time the aborigines first settled in Taiwan, through the rule of the Dutch, the Spanish, the Zheng family,⁸⁵ the Qing Dynasty, and Japan, up until the current

⁸⁴ So-called “ethnomusicology” in the old days in fact meant the research of “folk music”. There will be a more lucid explanation in the following.

⁸⁵ Zheng's family: namely Zheng Chenggong, his son, and grandson.

Republic of China (Taiwan), the history of Taiwan is about six or seven thousand years long.⁸⁶ However, due to the lack of the written word, the aborigines could only pass on their folk music by oral transmission. Though records about missionaries teaching hymns to the aborigines were found in documents about Dutch and Spanish rule (1624-62), there were no records about the folk music of Taiwan.⁸⁷ No records about folk songs during the rule of the Zheng family (1662-83) were ever left. Although there are some records about music in the Qing Dynasty (1683-1895), scattered through local records, travel notes, etc., they were not written by music scholars. Some depicted lyrics in the Han language rendered from *Pennbo* folk songs, music and dancing activities, structures and functions of instruments; others recorded some ceremonial music and drama performances from festivals of the Han people.⁸⁸

Documents about folk music written by scholars began to appear during the rule of Japan (1895-1945). Scholars of music, folklore, ethnology, linguistics, and archeology conducted research in their respective fields. Music scholars started recording aboriginal music, writing down scores, analyzing, and publishing records as well as books. They have provided copious music material. As to the folk music of the Han people, they initiated the introduction of Han music by different categories. However, most of these are depiction and discussion of lyrics; music scores are hardly found. Besides, publication of records and scores was infrequent.⁸⁹

Folk music research remained dormant for twenty years from the end of Japanese occupation in 1945. 1966 was the turning point. The "Campaign for Folk Song Collection", initiated and led by two musicians, Shi Weiliang and Hsu Tsanghouei, stirred up enthusiasm for the gathering and research of folk songs. Since then

⁸⁶ According to anthropologists, there was a rich pre-earthenware culture of the Old Stone Age in Taiwan 20-30,000 years ago. Of the aborigines in Taiwan, Atayal is probably the first tribe to settle in Taiwan. They moved to Taiwan 6-7000 years ago. For further information, please refer to Liu Ningyan et al., ed. *Chungsiou Taiwan sheng Tongzhi: Juansan Zhuminzhi Tongzhoupian* (I) [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province: Annals of residents, descendants vol. III, book I], Taizhong: Taiwan Provincial Documents Committee, 1995, pp. 8-19.

⁸⁷ Yang Lixian, *Taiwan Xiyang Yinyue shigang* [Taiwan Western music history], Taipei: Ganlan wenhua jijinhui, 1986.

⁸⁸ For documents about *Pennbo* music in the Qing Dynasty, please refer to (1) Huang Shujing, "Taihai Shichailu" [A record written on the diplomat ship to Taiwan], *Fansu Liukao* [Six-time research of aboriginal customs], Taiwan bank, 1957 (reproduced version); (2) Liou Shiqi, *Fanshe Caifong Tukou* [Illustrated records of aboriginal customs] (1747), etc.

⁸⁹ Major musical scholars during the period of Japanese rule are: Ko Tingchou and Zhang Fuhsin in Taiwan; and Tanabei Hisao, Ichizyo sinzaburou, and Kurosawa Takwtomo in Japan. Scholars of folklore, ethnology and linguistics are: Li Hsien Chang in Taiwan, and Kataoka Gen, Touhou Yakayosi Takeuchi Osamu, Saoto Bunichi, Kokubun Naoichi, and Inada Hitosi in Japan. For further information, please see Hsu Tsanghouei, *Minzu Yinyue Lunshugao* (III) [Treatise anthology of ethnomusicology (III)], Yueyun chubanshe, 1992, pp. 12-14.

fieldwork, academic research, collection of information, and categorization have never stopped. Moreover, foundations have been set up by the public to sponsor the activities and research of folk music, and researchers have been trained by graduate schools of universities. Academic research of folk music has therefore gradually approached a new stage. At this time, musicians highly respected by the music field were Shi Weiliang, Lu Bingchuan and Hsu Tsanghouei. Hsu Tsanghouei brought a cautious music analytical approach into folk music research. By means of scientific analysis, the music structure, tune, lyric structure, and singing form of each song is analyzed so that its spirit, style and quality can be clearly discerned. Thus the research methodology of folk music has entered an unprecedented stage. The folk music research methods focusing on collecting and analyzing music materials lasted until the early 1980s. Up to the present, some researchers are still employing these methods in their researches. In this period of folk music research in Taiwan, in addition to Shi, Lu and Xu mentioned above, there were other researchers such as Yang Zhazhen, Zhang Xuanwen, and Wang Zhenyi. They made a special effort to search for “authentic traditions” and representative singers and players, in particular of folk music which had not been influenced by commercial manipulation and external cultures. Researchers transcribed the folk music collected in fieldwork onto a stave, carefully took down the lyrics, wrote the repertoire and explanation, stored the collected material in the archives of public and private museums, used published or recorded material in various educational institutions, or as a reference for creating music that possesses national colour. The purpose of this is similar to that of the research and collection conducted by Bela Bartók and Zoltan Kodály, two Hungarian musicians:⁹⁰ that is, to preserve the traditional music of a particular nation or country and raise their people’s awareness of the traditions of the country.⁹¹

In the 1980s, besides Hsu Tsanghouei, Yang Zhazhen, Zhang Xuanwen, and Wang Zhenyi, there were other researchers of Taiwanese folk music such as Lu

⁹⁰ Béla Bartók and Zoltan Kodály began to collect Hungarian folksongs in 1906. They finished the draft of their collaborative work, *The Collection Methods and Publication of Hungarian Folksongs* in 1913, a significant event in the musical history of Hungary. Unfortunately, because their outstanding achievement caused jealousy and interference from other experts, the book was not published until 1930. (Kang Ou, *Dalu Music Dictionary*, Dalu shuju, 1985, pp. 114, 603).

⁹¹ (1) Béla Bartók, *Hungarian Folk Music*, trans. M.D. Calvocoressi. London: Oxford University Press, 1931; *Rumanian Folk Music*, 3 vols., ed. Benjamin Suchoff. Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967. (2) Charles Seeger “Versions and Variants of the Tunes of ‘Barbara Allen’ in the Archive of American Folksong in the Library of Congress”, *Ethnomusicology* 1, No.1, 120-67, 1966. Cited in Chou Chiener *Cong Shishen dao Guojia de Yinyue: Taiwan Nanguan de Chuantong yu Bianqian* [From gentry music to national music: the tradition and transition of Taiwanese nanguan], Nantian shuju, 2006, p. 25.

Chuikuan, Zheng Rongxing, Lin Xinlai, Ming Ligu, Xu Lisha, Xu Ruikun, Lin Qingcai, Wu Rongshun, and Chien Shangjen. Although they gradually added the exploration of the interaction between music and society as well as culture to their researches, they still gave undue emphasis to the arrangement of domestic music data, and the analysis and comparison of music structure.⁹² Their research methods are similar to those of comparative musicology; however, the objects of their researches were materials of music culture in Taiwan. Indeed, their research methods are somewhat different from those that are defined in ethnomusicology by Western scholars. In spite of this, their efforts and contributions are still helpful to the development of ethnomusicology in Taiwan. In recent years, Taiwanese music scholars such as Wang Yingfang, Qian Shanhua, Yian Lufen, Cai Zongde, Chou Chiener, and Pan Yuanjuan, who received education abroad and returned to Taiwan, and the American scholar, Nancy Guy, have begun to conduct research using recent ethnomusicological concepts. Unfortunately, the publications of these scholars are limited. Consequently, there is still wide scope for the development of ethnomusicological research in Taiwan.

It was in the 1880s when Western scholars began to define the research of the music of exotic cultures as a discipline. The earliest of such discourses is the PhD dissertation of the American scholar, Theodore Baker (1851-1934), at the University of Leipzig in Germany in 1882, analyzing the music of Seneca Indians having lived in the city of New York.⁹³ The most representative of these is the work of Guido Adler, a scholar in Vienna, *Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft*, published in 1885.⁹⁴

Because the primary subjects of these researchers were non-Western music,

⁹² Some examples are Lu Chuikuan, *Taiwan de Nanguan* [*Nanguan* in Taiwan] (1986), Taipei: Yueyun chubanshe; Zheng Rongxing, *Taiwan de kejiabayin zhi Yanjiu* [Research on eight tones of Hakka in Taiwan] (1984), master's thesis. Taipei: Taiwan shida yinyue yanjiusuo; Hsu Tsanghouei, *Xianjieduan Taiwan Min'yao Yanjiu* [Current research in Taiwanese folk songs] (1986), Taipei: Quanyin yueyun chubanshe; Xu Lisha, *Taiwan Gua'a hi Changqu Laiyuan zhi Fenlei Yanjiu* [The Origin and Classification of Taiwanese Operatic Tunes] (1987), master's thesis. Taipei: Taiwan shida yinyue yanjiusuo; Lin Xinlai's *Taiwan Puyuma Zu jiqi Min'yao Qudiao Yanjiu* [Research on Puyuma tribe and their folk tunes] (1987), master's thesis. Taipei: Taiwan shida yinyue yanjiusuo; Chien Shangjen's *Taiwan Fulaoxi min'ge de Yuanyuan ji Fazhan zhi Yanjiu* [Research on the origin and development of Holo folksongs in Taiwan] (1989), master's thesis. Taipei: Taiwan shida yinyue yanjiusuo.

⁹³ Tokumaru Yoshihiko, Wang Yiaohua et al (translators), *Minzu Yinyuexue* [Ethnomusicology], Fujian Jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000, p. 4.

⁹⁴ Chou Chiener, *Cong Shishen dao Guojia de Yinyue: Taiwan Nanguan de Chuantong yu Bianqian* [From gentry music to national music: the tradition and transition of Taiwanese *nanguan*], Nantian shuju, 2006, p. 24.

when musical researchers discuss the developmental history of ethnomusicology, they frequently consider comparative musicology as the originator of this school of research. During the period of comparative musicology, the major research subjects were non-European music, and researchers usually employed their knowledge about Western music, and compared the organizations and structures of non-European music by means of scientific methods. At that time, there were two inventions very useful to comparative musicology research: (1) the cylinder phonograph, invented by Thomas Edison in 1877, which made a great contribution to the preservation, comparison and analysis of music data; (2) the “cents” system of pitch measurement, devised by Ellis Alexander in 1885, which was able to test the cents of pitches by scientific statistics to compare the scale systems of various music cultures.⁹⁵ In addition, other scholars have also contributed significantly to the field. Erich Moritz Von Hornbostel (1877–1935) taught a fascinating interdisciplinary course by combining music psychology, comparative musicology, and music ethnology. Franz Boas (1858-1942), who moved to America from Berlin in 1880, introduced the concept of the application of research methods of anthropological fieldwork to those of musicology. Boas’ concepts were further promoted by his students, and thus instigated a wide application of anthropological research methods to the research of music cultures. George Herzog (1901-1984) established a consistent methodology for comparative musicology and archival management as well as proposing a concept of cultural district division for studying the distribution of music styles. Charles Seeger made a brilliant contribution in the research of vernacular musics and linguistics. Furthermore, Alice Cunningham Fletcher (1838–1923), Francis La Flèche (1857–1932) and Frances Densmore (1867–1957) made a notable contribution, spending a lengthy period of time conducting in-depth research on various tribes of American Indians.⁹⁶ They employed a wide variety of methods to explore music from the angles of different disciplines such as musicology, sociology, cultural anthropology, linguistics, psychology, ethnology, and politics. The efforts they have made and the results they have achieved have exerted a remarkable influence on the development of ethnomusicology.

Generally speaking, the period which can be truly subsumed under comparative

⁹⁵ Helen Myers (ed.), “Ethnomusicology”, *New Grove Handbooks in Music*, London: Macmillan, 1992, pp. 3-18.

⁹⁶ “Ethnomusicology I, Introduction”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie/ executive editor: John Tyrrell, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001 (2nd edition), p. 367; “Ethnomusicology, I. Introduction (I)”, *Grove Music Online*, edited by Carole Pegg, London: Oxford University Press, 2007.
<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/print.html?section.52178.1>, accessed 1 July 2007.

musicology is relatively short, spanning from 1885 to 1935, the year of Hornbostel's death.⁹⁷

After Jaap Kunst, the Dutch scholar, suggested the term "ethnomusicology" in 1950, the nature of ethnomusicological research was gradually set. Nevertheless, its definition has varied in accordance with the accumulation of research experiences, different views appearing in different periods. In addition, its research subjects and methods have been changed and its research scope has sometimes been modified according to the researchers.

In 1960, when proposing the concept of "bi-musicality", Mantle Hood argued that "actual playing" is the prerequisite of the understanding of music. In other words, only through one's actual playing of music can one acquire the ability to understand musical culture and be able to depict it clearly in language and words. Later, this concept became a main component of ethnomusicological research.⁹⁸ On the other hand, Alan P. Merriam proposed that anthropological methods be used in studying music. He contended that music should be analyzed in the culture in which it lives. He suggested that a researcher must not only listen to the "sounds" of the culture but also explore the "concepts" of the "human beings" on which the sound relies for existence and furthermore one has to explore the behaviours of the human beings who have transformed the concepts into sounds.⁹⁹

At the beginning of its formation, ethnomusicology attracted a large number of people due to its great "tolerance" of other disciplines. However, because it concentrated primarily on the music of non-European and non-literate societies, and excluded Western art and pop music, this "exclusiveness" has aroused endless controversies. Scholars in the Asian countries, primarily Japan, also expressed their doubts about the limitation to non-Western music. For example, Kisibei Nalio and Yamaguchi Kyu from Japan, Ramayana from India, and Trần Văn Khê from Vietnam all questioned the confinement of research subjects of ethnomusicology to non-Western music.¹⁰⁰ As a result, in 1964, Nettl tentatively extended the term "folk music" to include the developed music cultures in China, Japan, Korea, Indonesia,

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Mantle Hood, "The Challenge of 'Bi-Musicality'", *Ethnomusicology* 4, pp. 55-59.

⁹⁹ In 1960, Merriam proposed the research concepts and direction of "studying music in culture" in his article "Ethnomusicology, discussion and definition of the field" in *Ethnomusicology* (4). In 1964, in his book, *The Anthropology of Music*, Merriam emphasized that music was the product of the interaction of three elements: concept, behaviour and sound.

¹⁰⁰ Wen Qiuju, On the renaming of Ethnomusicology in the New Century, in *Arts Review* vol.12, National Taipei Arts University, 2001, p. 3-5.

India, Iran and other Arabic-speaking countries, as well as orally transmitted music in Western cultures, and included them in the category of ethnomusicological research.¹⁰¹

Over time, the subject matter and scope of ethnomusicological research have been continuously expanded and diversified. After the formation and rise of individual Nation-states, the new form produced by the impact of culture and economy replaced the previous form that had existed in the European colonial age. After World War II, the music cultures of these newly-developed nations became hot subjects of ethnomusicological research. Consequently, the sites and scope of research were expanded. Moreover, ethnic music, such as music carried by immigrants to their new nations, rare music of minorities, music of some special classes of society - in particular, music of women and children - also gradually became subjects of research.¹⁰² As metropolitan populations have increased and big cities in third-world countries have risen, research of so-called "urban ethnomusicology" has attracted great attention.

It is worth pointing out that, due to the influence of technological revolutions, new recording techniques and products have been continuously improved and are available to help researchers collect, preserve, transmit, and analyze data, and transcend the limits of time and space. Particularly, the appearance of affordable sound devices and techniques such as cassettes, digital discs, and the internet has contributed to the globalization of music products and the speedy circulation of ethnomusicological messages and data. The thoughts of researchers have accordingly reflected these music cultural phenomena. The power of mass media in disseminating music cultures has surpassed that of oral transmission. Researchers have also recognized the status of pop music, which attracts the widest audience, as worthwhile research material: both local and global pop music have thus become the focus of ethnomusicological research.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Bruno Nettl, *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*, New York: The Free Press, 1964, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰² Bruno Nettl, "Recent Directions in Ethnomusicology", *Ethnomusicology: Chuban gongsi*. Chapter xvii, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, inc. p. 380. See further: Catherine J. Ellis, "The Role of the Ethnomusicologist in the Study of Andagarinja Women's Ceremonies", *Miscellanea Musicologica*. Adelaide, v, 1970; John Blacking, *Venda Children's Songs: A study in Ethnomusicological Analysis*. Hohannesbury: Witwatersrand University Press, 1967; Charlotte J. Frisbie, ed.: *Southwestern Indian Ritual Drama*. Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press, 1980.

¹⁰³ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musician*, edited by Stanley Sadie/executive edited John Tyrrell, 2001 (2nd edition), P. 368. See further: Peter Manuel, *Popular Musics of the Non-western World*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988; Christopher A. Waterman, *Juju, A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music*, Chicago, 1990; F. Paul Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz: the Infinite Arts of Improvization*, Chicago: Chicago of University Press, 1994; Tony Mitchell,

As to research methods, music scholars in the world have different opinions about the extent of the influence of anthropology on ethnomusicology. They can be roughly divided into two sides. American scholars advocate the adoption of anthropological methods in ethnomusicology research, whereas European and Asian researchers have doubts about the application of ethnographic approaches to the study of music.¹⁰⁴ As it is, up to the present, ethnomusicology seems to have developed by a rule in which order is always intertwining with confusion.

In contrast to ethnomusicology that has flourished in the rest of the world, numerous aspects of ethnomusicology research in Taiwan are in need of development. For example: active translation of international masterworks in the field so that researchers whose English is at a low level of proficiency can absorb new concepts and methods; cultivation of ethnomusicological talent with an international outlook; the encouragement of Taiwanese ethnomusicologists to be involved in international exchange; the sharing of research results with counterparts from other countries; and the holding of ethnomusicology-related conferences and seminars to promote development of the field in Taiwan.

I consider the reason why ethnomusicology became acknowledged as an independent discipline after the addition of the prefix "ethno" by Jaap Kunst in 1950 is its unique nature that makes it different from other music subjects. Ethnomusicology research does not concentrate purely on the structure and style of music itself, or music history as well as the background of musicians. Rather, it is an interdisciplinary research that combines music knowledge with other disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, historiography, and folklore. Up to the present, what the appropriate research subjects are and what methods should be employed in ethnomusicology are still controversial issues. If we simplify the situation and treat the research subject and research method as basic factors of ethnomusicology, I think that the research subject is a variable condition while the research method is an invariable one. In other words, the usage of anthropological fieldwork methods and spirit in ethnomusicology is an essential condition that will

Popular Music and Local Identity: Rock, Pop and Rap in Europe and Oceania, New York: Leicester University Press, 1996; Marc Schade-Poulsen, *Men and Popular Music in Algeria*, Austin: Leicester University Press, 1999.

¹⁰⁴ Ethnomusicology, III. Post-1945 developments (1), *Grove Music Online*, edited by Phillip V. Bohlman, Oxford University Press, 2007. See further: Phillip V. Bohlman, "Ethnomusicology's Challenge to the Canon: The Canon's Challenge to Ethnomusicology", *Disciplining music: Musicology and Its Canons*, eds. K. Bergeron and Phillip V. Bohlman, Chicago, 1992, pp. 116-136. <http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/print.html?section.52178.3.1>, accessed 1 July 2007.

never change. Without the process of fieldwork, ethnomusicology will not be able to be independent from other music subjects. Without doubt, just as I recognize the essentiality of field investigation, I do not exclude the necessity of the analysis of music structure. Nevertheless, research subjects can be changed due to the variation of time and space. Moreover, a researcher should also be allowed to select a research subject matter that suits his/her purpose and interests. For example, in the old days, the restriction of research to non-Western and non-literate music indeed implied a somewhat colonial background, which is out-of-date in the present world, in which people commonly value freedom and equality. Besides, it is a waste to apply a widely-acclaimed method merely to the research of non-Western music from a Western viewpoint. Furthermore, scholars nowadays are inclined to include folk music, pop music, modern music, and even European art and classical music in the range of their researches. Therefore, I think as long as an academic research has the music culture of a specific area or nation as research subject and it conscientiously studies the interactive relationships between music and local history, geography, ethnic groups, languages, social system, customs and conventions, economic activities, culture, as well as the people's life of this area or a nation by fieldwork methods, it can be counted as ethnomusicology. In short, ethnomusicology is a discipline that studies the symbiotic relationship between music and the cultural environment in which it is found by means of fieldwork investigation.

1.3-2 Research on Holo folk songs, including the folk songs in the Hingcun area

It has been over 300 years since Holo folk songs accompanied Holo people to Taiwan, took root and grew. In the beginning, Holo folk songs were transmitted by word of mouth. When the Qing dynasty occupied Taiwan, there gradually appeared a few written records relating to music activities. In fact, out of these records, only Chi Zhizheng mentions folk songs. In his book *Quandai Youji* [Travelogue of a journey around Taiwan] (1891-94) he depicts how, on his way from Taipei to the inter-mountain areas in Jilong, the author saw males and females amuse themselves by singing songs in the green mountains.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, the travelogue does not specify what system of songs these people were singing. Were they Aboriginal, Holo, or Hakka songs? All three are possible. Furthermore, without lyrics and notations, it is

¹⁰⁵ Chi Zhizheng, "Quandai Youji". [A Trip around Taiwan] (written around 1891-94), *Taiwan Wenxian Shiliao Congkan* (9) [Series on Taiwanese literature history – vol. (9)], Taiwanese Datong bookstore, reprinted in 1987 (published originally in 1903), p. 8.

impossible for his comments to provide much help in the research of folk songs.

During Japanese rule, the number of people involved in the arrangement and compilation of Holo folk songs gradually increased. It was quite common for them to record, define and explain the gist of the lyrics. Some even discussed tones and sentence structure. Several works worth paying attention to are listed here. Firstly, works written by Japanese researchers, including: Hirasawa Teto, *Taiwan Geyao yu Zhuming Gushi* [Well-known Tales and Folk Songs in Taiwan],¹⁰⁶ in which he studies folk songs from the perspective of literature; and Inada Hitosi, *Guanyu Taiwan de Geyao* [About the songs of Taiwan], *Taiwan de Geyao Yanjiu* [Research on Taiwanese songs], and *Taiwan Geyao yu Minzhong* [Taiwanese songs and the public], in which he applies serious academic research in profoundly dissecting the social phenomena reflected by folk songs.¹⁰⁷ As to content, Kataoka Gen's *Taiwan Fongsuzhi* [Record of Customs in Taiwan],¹⁰⁸ and Touhou Takayosi's *Taiwan Sisu* [Customs in Taiwan],¹⁰⁹ are the two books that contain the widest data about Holo folk songs in Taiwan during the middle and late years of Japanese occupation. Secondly, amongst works written by Taiwanese, only Li Xianzhang, *Taiwan Minjian Wenxueji* [Literature among the people in Taiwan] can be considered as containing adequate information about folk songs.¹¹⁰ This book lists where various songs were collected, as well as lyrics and some notes about pronunciation. Although it was quite an achievement in exploring and putting the lyrics down in writing, in terms of the research of Holo folk songs during Japanese rule, unfortunately, there was no record of the musical content of Holo folk songs, let alone musical analysis, except in the book written by Kataoka Gen, *Taiwan Fongsuzhi* [Record of customs in Taiwan], which includes the *Gongchipu*.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Hirasawa Teto, "Taiwan de Geyao" [Songs of Taiwan], *Taiwan de Geyao yu Zhuming Gushi* [Folk songs and well-known tales in Taiwan], Taipei: Huangwenguan, 1917, pp. 1-142.

¹⁰⁷ Inada Hitosi 1941: "Guan'yu Taiwan de Geyao" [About the songs of Taiwan], in *Taiwan Shibao* [Taiwan news], Taipei: Taiwan shibao, 25:1, pp. 86-90; "Taiwan de Geyao Yanjiu" [Research on Taiwanese songs], *Daida Wenxue* [Literature in Taiwan], Taipei: Taipei diguo daxue duangehuei, 6:1, pp. 42-50, 6:2, pp. 69-79, 6:3, pp. 34-43 and 6:4, pp. 46-60; "Taiwan Geyao yu Minzhong" [Taiwanese songs and the public], *Taiwan Shibao* [Taiwan news], Taipei: Taiwan shibao, 25:8, pp. 20-27 and 25:10, pp. 104-110.

¹⁰⁸ Kataoka Gen, *Taiwan Fongsuzhi* [Record of customs in Taiwan], Taipei: Rihrihsin baoshe, 1921.

¹⁰⁹ Touhou Takayosi, *Taiwan Xisu* [Customs in Taiwan], Taipei: Tongren yanjiuhuei, 1942.

¹¹⁰ Li Xianzhang, *Taiwan Minjian Wenxueji* [Literature among the people in Taiwan], Taipei: Taiwan wenyi xuehui, 1936.

¹¹¹ "gongchipu" is a traditional method of scoring. It was so named because of the use of characters such as "Gong" and "Chi" to write Sol-fa syllables. In brief, "Hap [合], Su [四], Siong [上], Ce [尺], Gong [工], Liu [六], Wu [五]" are the modern music alphabet "low-pitch g · low-pitch a · c · d · e · g · a". For further information, please refer to *China Yinyue Cidian* [Dictionary of Chinese music] (edited by Miao Tianrui, Ji Lian kang, Guo Naian, Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1984); *Nanguan*

In 1945, left in ruins at the end of World War II, Taiwan attempted reconstruction, and people generally lived in poverty. To make matters worse, the GMD government started to implement martial law when it moved to Taiwan in 1949, so local cultural activities were suppressed, including the research of Holo folk songs. As the economy and society in Taiwan became stabilized by degrees, some scholars of music, literature and folklore began to be involved in research into Holo folk songs. Unfortunately, in twenty years only the article *Taiwan Geyao zhi Xingtai* [Forms of Taiwanese Folk Songs],¹¹² written by Huang Deshih, was able to depict a complete structure for the frame of the lyrics of Taiwanese folk songs and is thus a precious reference. The book *Taiwan Dianying Xijushi* [History of film and drama in Taiwan]¹¹³ by Lu Sushang lists more than thirty scores which can be used as valuable material. Most others are merely records and explanation of lyrics. Since these belong to the field of folklore literature, there is limited research into the music.

Affected by the success of the "Campaign of Folk Song Collection" in 1966 and other activities (See 1.3-1), the number of people who devoted themselves to the research of Holo folk songs or their related field increased and research works frequently appeared. Researchers of literature and folklore include Wu Yingtao, Zang Tingsheng, LiaoHanchen, etc.,¹¹⁴ who primarily focused on the collection, organization and explanation of song lyrics. Researchers in musicology, in addition to the two initiators of the "Campaign of Folk Song Collection", Hsu Tsanghouei and Shi Weiliang, include Yan Wenxiong, Liou Wenliou, Zhang Xuanwen, Wang Zhenyi, Lin Er, Chien Shangjen, Lu Chuikuan, Huang Lingyu, Syu Lisha, and Chen Junbin, among others. The subjects of their researches usually concerned the entirety of Holo folk songs; the only exception was that of Chen Jubin, who focused on the folk songs in the Hingcun area. Adopting a serious attitude to research, they listed scores along with detailed explanations, and they even explored the characteristics of Holo folk

Jipufa Gaiyao [The essential notation of *nanguan*] (Lu Chuikuan, Xueyi chubanshe, 1984) and *China Yinyueshi: Yuepopian* [Music history of China: score] (Xue Zongming, Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1981), etc.

¹¹² Huang Deshi, "Taiwan Geyao zhi Xingtai" [Forms of Taiwanese folk songs], *Taiwan Wenxian Zhuankan* [Special Issue on Taiwan documents], Taipei: Taiwan Wenxian, 1952, 3:1.

¹¹³ Lu Sushang, *Taiwan Dianying Xijushi* [History of film and drama in Taiwan], Taipei: Yinhua chuban gongsi, 1961.

¹¹⁴ Wu Yingtao, *Taiwan Yanyu* [The proverbs of Taiwan], Taiwan yingwen zazhishe, 1975 and *Taiwan Minsu* [Taiwanese folklore], Zhongwen tushu gongsi, 1977.

Zang Tingsheng, *Taiwan de Minnanyu Geyao Yanjiu* [Research on Minnan folk songs in Taiwan], Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1980.

LiaoHanchen, *Taiwan Erge* [Taiwanese children songs], Taiwan sheng sinwenchu, 1980.

songs by means of musical analysis and comparative methods. Of all these scholars, Hsu Tsanghouei is the most representative and influential. Their research results relevant to Holo folk songs will be discussed in detail in this dissertation.

Nonetheless, although recognizing the importance of the analysis and comparison of music itself, ethnomusicology emphasizes fieldwork participation and observation, and incorporation of the concepts of relevant disciplines such as ethnology, anthropology, sociology and historiography into its research. Therefore, the research of ethnomusicology in Taiwan (including Holo folk songs) still has a great deal of room for development both in width and depth. This thesis is striving towards this goal.

1.3-3 Research on *Hingcun diau* and its song family

In the past, literature has been published that has mentioned the folk song of *Hingcun diau* (*Daidang diau*), but little research has focused on *Hingcun diau* and its related series of songs as the research subject.

Taiwan Minsu Geyao [Taiwanese folklore songs], written by Lin Er and Chien Shangjen in 1978, is the first to discuss the origin and development of *Hingcun diau* and its song family. This book encompasses the complete range of Taiwanese songs.¹¹⁵ In the second chapter of this book, “Collection of Holo folk songs”, the section “Trilogy of the development of *Daidang diau* (*Hingcun min'iau* : *Hingcun diau*)” states:¹¹⁶

Because the grandfather of Chen Da married a “mountain woman”,¹¹⁷ Chen Da had inherited one-fourth blood of an aborigine. Therefore, from his mother he also learned quite a number of aboriginal songs transmitted from his grandmother. However, these songs are all Hanized, for example, both *Hingcun min'iau* and *Caume lang guegang*¹¹⁸ are Hanized aboriginal songs – a hybrid from Han people and aborigines.

¹¹⁵ I defined “Taiwanese songs” as including the traditional and revival folk songs as well as created songs of the aborigines, Holo and Hakka.

¹¹⁶ Lin Er and Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Minsu Geyao* [Taiwanese folk songs], Zhongwen Tushu gongsi, 1979, p. 40.

¹¹⁷ In the 1970s, aborigines were called mountain people. Therefore, the so-called “mountain woman” means an aboriginal woman and “mountain songs” are aboriginal songs.

¹¹⁸ Here *Hingcun Min'iau* means *Daidang diau*, exactly *Hingcun diau* also. And *Caume lang guegang* is also a folk song favoured by people in the Hingcun area and of the South in Taiwan.

Daidang diau has been popular in the areas of Hingcun and Daidang. It was named *Daidang diau* because its lyrics describe an anecdote of Hingcun people earning their living in Daidang. This short, simple, and beautiful song was full of native flavour and was thus easily accepted by the public. Afterwards someone who grasped the qualities as well as style of its tune, and modified it to be a song with two-stanza-four-phrases song form of a, b, a', b.¹¹⁹ One, sung in Mandarin, depicts the hard yet happy farming life in which farmers turn the soil and sow seeds. This song was named *Gengnongge* (Mandarin). The other, sung in Taiwanese, describes farmers' anticipation of a fruitful harvest, male and female youths, ploughing the fields, kids herding cattle, and boundless joy of farming life in which people respect work and enjoy the company of others. This was named *Hingcun Ginglonggua* (Holo). Thanks to these bilingual forms, *Hingcun min'iau* (*Hingcun diau*) became fashionable everywhere in the island. In addition, after some small modification and beautification, the song turned into *Sannsiann bhornai*, reflecting young women's hearts interwoven with love and torments. The melody also became the theme song, *Cenn or 'a sor*, of a television serial which describes the mood of fisherwomen.

This article briefly points out the development of *Hingcun diau* (*Daidung diau*), *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) [Ploughman's song], *Hingcun Ginglonggua* (Holo) [Ploughman's song], *Sannsiann bhornai* [Helpless groans], and *Cenn or 'a sor* [The wife of an oyster fisherman]. Its explanation appears to be somewhat rudimentary in terms of academic research. Nonetheless, without doubt it is the first article to put forth views about the origin and development of *Hingcun diau* and its song family.

In April 1990, Hsu Tsanghouei introduced the article *Cong Daidang diau dao Cenn or 'a sor de Tuibian, tan Taiwan Holosi min'ge de Baoshouxing yu Shi-yingxing* [Talking about the conservativeness and adaptability of Holo folk songs in Taiwan – the transformation from *Daidang diau* to *Cenn or 'a sor* as an example] at the Fourth International Conference of Chinese Ethnomusicology. Using four songs as material, *Daidang diau*, *Gengnongge* (school version), *Sannsiann bhornai* (Urban song) and *Cenn or 'a sor* (Urban song), he analyzed the music structure, compared their melodies and lyrics, and at the end he pointed out the conservativeness and adaptability of Holo Folk Songs. This is an excellent article, the focus of which is,

¹¹⁹ Two-stanza include four phrases: (a, b), (a', b).

through analysis and comparison, to prove both the conservatism (invariability) and adaptability (variability) of folk songs in their long process of transformation. Conservatism is reflected in folk songs' unique national and native characteristics while adaptability is shown in their strong vitality.¹²⁰ However, it is less concerned with discussing the origin and development of these five songs or in providing abundant data. In indicating that *Hingcun diau* and its related songs have the qualities of conservatism and adaptability, Hsu's article does not discuss the reasons behind these qualities, nor does it provide adequate data to clarify the origin and development of the five songs. Consequently, subsequent research still has much to explore.

In the same year, 1990, I finished my master's thesis *Taiwan Holo si min'ge de yuanyuan ji fazhan zhi yanjiu* [Research on the origin and development of the Taiwan Holo system of folk song]. In Chapter Six of this thesis, "*Daidang diau (Hingcun diau) de yuanyuan ji fazhan guocheng*" [The origin and development of *Daidang diau*], using the eight songs *Hingcun diau* (flexible, chanting), *Daidang diau* (singing), *Gamziah horziah Siangtaudinn* [Delicious sugarcane – sweet from end to end], *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) [Ploughman's song], *Ginglonggua* (Holo) [Ploughman's song], *Sannsiann bhornai* [Helpless groans, tune of *Gua'a hi*], *Sannsiann bhornai* [Helpless groans, urban song], and *Cenn or'a sor* [An oyster fisherman's wife] as materials, I analyzed and compared their lyrics and tunes, using more data gathered from interviews and surveys for verification, and incorporated some historical and social concepts from ethnomusicology so as to explore the origin and development of these songs. In the conclusion of this thesis, I proposed the following concept: the value of folk songs rests on their unlimited vitality. Folk songs vary as time, space, function and singers change, but their human spirit and characteristics always remain the same. Folk songs may reasonably change to remain compatible with the needs of new environments. This is the adaptability of folk songs. However, change must observe certain basic norms in order to maintain the spirit and style of folk songs in the process of transformation. This is the conservatism of folk songs. In other words, conservatism tends to preserve the national and native colour of folk songs, for example keeping musical intervals, mode, tonality, usual melodic patterns and mother

¹²⁰ Hsu Tsanghouei, *Cong Daidang diau dao Cenn or'a sor de Tuibian, tan Taiwan Holo si Min'ge de Baoshouxing yu Shiyixing* [Discussing the conservatism and adaptability of Holo folk songs in Taiwan – the transformation from *Daidang diau* to *Cenn or'a sor* as an example], in *Minzu yinyue lunshugao* (III) [Treatise anthology of ethnomusicology (III)], Taipei: Yueyun chubanshe, 1992, pp. 159-175. This article was originally announced at the fourth International Conference of Ethnomusicology in April, 1990 and was also included in the *Anthology of the Fourth International Conference of Ethnomusicology*, Guoli shifan daxue yinyue yanjiusuo press, 1991.

tongue in common.¹²¹ Unfortunately, in my master's thesis there is a lack of detailed discussion about the origin of songs and an inadequate discussion of their development utilizing the perspectives of ethnomusicology, sociology or anthropology. In particular, the interaction between the *Hingcun diau* series of songs and various societies in different times warrants further research.

As for Chen Junbin (1993) and Huang Lingyu (2001), although their works provide explanations about the development of *Hingcun diau* and its related folk songs, their research results are within the range of those of Lin Er, Chien Shangjen and Hsu Tsanghouei. In 2000, Wu Rongshun proposed a different direction of opinion in his article, "*Kavalanzu Geyao*" [Folk songs of the Kavalan tribe], in *Zhongyang Yanjiu'yuan Minzu Yanjiusuo Jikanyi* [Bulletin of Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica]. Wu Rongshun believed that *Hingcun diau* might have originated from Yilan instead of Hingcun, as most people have thought. Unfortunately, in the article there is no clear and adequate information for further verification. However, it is a worthwhile reference for tracing the origin of *Hingcun diau*. Published in 2006, the book *Hingcun Bandaou Juexiang: Youchang Shiren Chen Da* [Lost artiste of the Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet Chen Da] co-authored by Xu Lisha and Lin Zheliang, gives a detailed account of Chen's life, anecdotes, and the Hingcun tunes frequently sung by him. This book is rich in content and is a valuable reference. However, it lays more emphasis on the biographical description of Chen Da rather than on ethnomusicology research.

In 1978, in the book *Taiwanese Folk Songs* written by Lin Er and me, we provided a basic blueprint of *Hingcun diau* (*Daidang diau*) and its related songs. Twelve years later, in 1990, in the thesis *Taiwan Holo si min'ge de yuanyuan ji fazhan zhi Yanjiu* [Research on origin and development of Taiwan Holo system of folk song], I studied the origin and development of *Daidang diau* (*Hingcun diau*) using more materials, a wider viewpoint, and more stringent research methods. Now, twelve years later (this dissertation was started in 2002), I personally believe that, in building on the research results of our predecessors, we need to widen the research scope and apply some perspectives of ethnomusicology, musicology, ethnology, anthropology, sociology and other fields so as to further explore the origin, development process, and social background of *Hingcun diau* and its song family. Moreover, we also need

¹²¹ Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Holo si Min'ge de Yuanyuan ji Fazhan zhi Yanjiu* [Research on origin and development of Taiwan Holo system of folk song], Guoli shifan daxue yinyue yanjiusuo Master's thesis, 1990, pp.130-163.

to probe deeply into their development model and content, as well as the possible values and inspirations they are able to offer to society and cultural development.

1.4 Research Procedure, Methods and Direction

To produce satisfactory academic research, one must follow proper sequences and make gradual progress. Good methods can help one achieve maximum results with little effort and correct direction can lead one to reach the expected goal.

1.4-1 Research procedure and methods

(1) Handling surveys to collect primary research data

Gathering primary data from fieldwork is an essential step for ethnomusicology researchers. Data collected from primary sources are the most direct and are able to compensate for the shortage of secondary data. Since 1978, I have been to Hingcun several times, carrying out fieldwork by collecting folk songs and interviewing locals. The primary subjects I interviewed at those times were prominent artistes such as Chen Da, who is recognized as a national treasure, Zhang Xinchuan, and Zhang Wenjie.¹²² I have collected a number of folk songs, including *Hingcun diau*. The purpose of doing more fieldwork in this area for this study is to search for anything which may previously have been overlooked, and to understand the current development of Hingcun folk songs, in particular, the present position of *Hingcun diau* in the eyes of the locals.

As for the scope of surveys, due to the fact that *Hingcun diau* and its song family have become popular all over Taiwan, although the focus of survey is in the Hingcun area, surveys also need to be conducted in selected places from other areas.

The subjects of surveys have to include people from all walks of life and from all ages so that the exploration can be wider and deeper. Of course, the interviewees are

¹²² Chen Da (1906-1981) was a famous folk song singer recognized as a national treasure, specializing in the folk songs of the Hingcun area. He sang and played *yuecin* [a two-stringed musical instrument] as accompaniment all by himself. He was able to compose lyrics impromptu by using the tunes of Hingcun folk songs. His singing voice reveals his individual creativity and distinctive style. In particular, the moving quality of lyrics he composed is considered as a part of folk literature in Taiwan. Therefore, Chen Da and his singing songs have long caught the attention of music scholars in Taiwan and have been treated as a research object.

frequently influenced by their personal subjective and subconscious concepts when they answer questions; therefore, the number of interviewees should be adequate for selection and comparison. In addition, in order to get quality answers from interviewees, it is necessary to accumulate interviewing knowledge, experience and techniques; so as to grasp the facts and gist of research subjects, we also need adequate abilities and techniques of judgment. In particular we should pay attention to the fact that the process of history is usually carved in the memories of the persons concerned as well as the onlookers at the time. The memories of older, experienced persons and folk singers are invaluable treasures worth researching. These people are important resources whom researchers should not overlook. Moreover, one thing worth mentioning is that, because I have long been involved in the fieldwork and performance of Holo folk songs, I have met countless folk artistes and established extensive connections. This, I believe, will be advantageous to my search for subjects and my communication with interviewees.

In the process of my fieldwork investigation, I shall use the following concepts: Mantle Hood's "bi-musicality" (1960); Alan P. Merriam's theory of three levels: "sound, behavior and concept" (1960, 1964); Timothy Rice's theory of three elements: "historical construction, social maintenance as well as individual experience and creation"; and John Baily's "learning to perform as a research technique in ethnomusicology". The above theories and methods used to employ them will be expounded further in the introduction to Chapter Three.

(2) Utilizing audio-visual data

Music is an art of sounds. Sometimes it is somewhat difficult to present the moods of a song completely by means of words and scores. On the other hand, visual and aural data record faithfully the genuine mood of a performance occasion or interview, and thus are excellent references for research. For example, films and records of deceased entertainers are invaluable data for the comparison, analysis and study of other times and areas and are able to confirm assumptions and provide accurate proof. At present, the organizations which preserve relatively copious audio-visual data of Taiwanese traditional folk music include the National Center for Traditional Arts of Taiwan Council for Cultural Affairs, the National Museum of History, and Shih Ho-cheng Folk Culture Foundation.

(3) Consulting the research results of other scholars

In the process of research, literature relevant to this study was collected continually and comprehended as much as possible from books, journals, newspapers, magazines as well as research papers presented in seminars. Sources included data gathered in public and private institutes. Although some of these data may not be totally correct, they have all provided inspiration or at the very least questions helpful to the progress of this research. For example, although *Hingcun zhen zhi*, compiled and published by Hingcun zhen office, is not an academic work, and so probably contains unverified information or hearsay, it remains a valuable reference book for the study of the history, geography, structure of ethnic groups, natural landscape, society, culture and so on of the Hingcun area. Moreover, the data of members and the records and photos of activities preserved by such groups as the Hingcun Folk Song Promotion Association and Bhuanziu Folk Song Association and by local non-governmental organizations devoted to the preservation and dissemination of Hingcun folk songs are useful for locating interviewees and for understanding the status of Hingcun folk songs in people's daily lives.

Consulting the research results of other scholars allows us to spare much research time and effort. Moreover, basing new work on existing achievements in research lets us advance the new research results further. If different scholars have different opinions about an issue, their disagreement reveals precisely the complexity and necessity of the issue, itself showing the need for further study on the problem.

1.4-2 Research direction

(1) Verification of point in time (history)

"Point in time" is very important for exploring the development process of a folk song. In this research, I have to locate the exact point in time when each song of the *Hingcun diau* series songs transformed from one period to the next one. Furthermore, I have to find the common names of *Hingcun diau* series songs in their respective periods. Only with the above data can I further explore their development and background in each period.

(2) Examination of the scope of space (region and use)

A folk song spreads continually as time passes, both in physical space and in use. *Susianggi* and *Hingcun diau*, besides still remaining popular in the Hingcun area where they were originally developed, are also gradually accepted by Taiwanese

society. They have spread everywhere in Taiwan by means of the transmission of mass communication, changes in society, and the migration of people. It has even been disseminated to Holo-speaking people in foreign counties.

In particular, how have the vital *Hingcun diau* and its song family been disseminated endlessly to a wider and wider space? What is the extent of the space in which they have extended their influence in different periods of time? Have the quality and quantity of the lyrics and melodies changed? What interrelationship has occurred between each song of the *Hingcun diau* and its song family in different regions and uses? These are all issues that are worth researching.

As *Hingcun diau* and its song family continue to spread, the breadth of their use is also expanding continually. From simple folk songs sung by the masses in their daily lives, *Hingcun diau* and its song family have not only become the tunes of *Liam gua* and *Gua'a hi*, but also been chosen as the teaching material of music books, and even appeared as a big hit in the popular music market.

Why have *Hingcun diau* series songs been used in these various domains? And what significance and values do the songs have in these different domains? These are all questions this research needs to answer.

(3) Analysis and comparison of musical structure and lyric contents

It is absolutely necessary to analyze and compare the music structure and lyric contents of Hingcun folk songs and *Hingcun diau* series songs. These analyses and comparisons are valuable to the understanding of Hingcun folk songs' musical characteristics such as tone set, range, scale, model, usual pattern, special pattern, song form and melody movement as well as the interactive relations between these songs and the society and culture. Furthermore, these analyses and comparisons help us find the sources and the development process of *Hingcun diau* series songs and in exploring why they have survived so well among the people in this region.

(4) Principles of the selection of songs

Hingcun folksongs use tunes flexibly; based on a common framework, one can fill in texts according to his/her own fondness. In addition to the flexibility of these tunes, the Hingcun people's long and active tradition of singing means that the researcher is

now faced with numerous sets of varying texts and slightly different melodies. Due to the limit of space, it was impossible in this thesis for me to present an analysis of every folksong I have collected or found in other collections. Instead, and depending on the demand of each case, I shall only present those songs which best meet the needs of the point in question. Specific details will be given when required in each case but my general principles of selection are as follows:

- (A) I normally choose examples sung by local singers who are prominent, notable and stylistically representative. This ensures that the examples selected are both typical but also high in quality, so best reflecting the artistry of singing in that region.
- (B) I choose songs variously to explain such points as the origins, characteristics, functions and singers' individual interpretations of a song. Here, I place an emphasis on the breadth of the repertory to show the full range of topics embraced in singing (always keeping in mind the issue of quality, as mentioned above).
- (C) Where possible (considering the above two points) I select songs by singers from both sexes, different ages and all walks of life to emphasize that singing is not confined to any one group.

(5) A note about the musical transcriptions and lyrics

In transcribing songs for presentation and analysis throughout the dissertation, for Western readers' convenience, I have quoted songs in Western staff notation despite the fact that in Taiwan most folk musicians and song books for general readers use *Jianpu* (cipher notation).¹²³ There are three sources of the musical notations selected in this thesis: (i) songs transcribed in my own fieldwork; (ii) songs transcribed from my own or others' published recording products; or (iii) songs directly taken from my own or others' books. As to the key signatures, for notations from the third source I adopt the key signatures used in the books, and for notations from the first and second sources I transpose the key sung by the original singers to the key of C for the convenience of scoring, reading, and comparing. If the musical transcriptions listed in the thesis are only provided for readers' reference, they will not be analyzed, for example, some musical transcriptions in Chapters One and Four. The purpose of analyzing musical transcriptions is to explore the origin of a song, examine its musical qualities, or compare the similarities and dissimilarities of the musical

¹²³ *Jianpu* [簡譜] is a system of musical notation which uses the Arabic numerals of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 to represent the notes and sounds of Do, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La and Si respectively. This system is commonly used by people in Asia.

qualities among various songs by the results of analyzing music organizations and structures.

Song titles are always given in Romanization and English translation. As to the presentation of texts, underneath the music of each song its words are listed, including its Chinese characters and Romanization phonetic transcription of the first stanza. The complete texts of a song, including their Chinese characters, Romanization and English translation of the words of each stanza, are given underneath the musical notation of the song. If a song is taken directly from a published book with Romanization of text, its original Romanization is adopted. For other songs without Romanization of text, *Taiwan Tongyong pinyin Romanization* is used to represent the native language used in the songs.¹²⁴ As to Chinese characters, for those songs directly taken from a published book, the original characters printed in the book are used. For other songs not taken from a published book, Chinese characters accepted through common practice in Taiwan are used. English translation is given based on the meaning of each sentence of a text, except for nonsense words and similar vocables: their original sounds are directly transcribed in Romanization.

(6) Application of various disciplinary concepts related to ethnomusicology

The historical development, political situations, economic activities, social structures and cultural phenomena in Taiwan have influenced the creation and development of Hingcun folk songs and *Hingcun diau* series songs. In return, the songs themselves have at times directly reflected the contents of these social movements. In other words, this research not only focuses on the organization and structure of music per se, but also touches on various issues related to social, historical, political, economic and cultural aspects. Therefore, I shall draw on the theories and methods of ethnomusicology to trace connections between the song repertory in question and the aforementioned issues.

1.5 Regarding Phonetic Transcription— Notes on Romanization and Translation

¹²⁴ *Taiwan Tongyong Pinyin Romanization* is created by *Taiwan Tongyong Yuyan Xuehui* [Association of Intercommunicating Languages of Taiwan]. This association consists of a group of linguists who devote themselves to the propagation of the native languages of various ethnic groups in Taiwan.

For the Western reader, the Romanization of Chinese characters is indeed not convenient. Furthermore, due to the various language pronunciations of different ethnic groups and at different times, there exist all kinds of Romanization systems and thus they cause problems. This dissertation adopts Taiwanese music and culture as its research material, so quite a few Pinyin Romanization words are found here.¹²⁵ As such it is the purpose of this section to provide some explanation about the Romanization systems adopted in this dissertation in the hope that they might be helpful to the English-speaking reader.

Holo language, Hakka language, and Yuanzhumin languages (which belong to the Austronesian language family, including the languages of Mountain and Pennbo aborigines) are spoken in addition to Mandarin in Taiwan. Among them, Holo language is most relevant to this research. Next in order is Mandarin, the third is Hakka, and least relevant is aboriginal language. For Mandarin, the *Pinyin* system used officially in mainland China today and used most frequently in the world is adopted. Nevertheless, this system is in fact unable to meet the requirements of pronunciation of Holo, Hakka and aboriginal languages, such as *bh*, *gh*, *ng*, *or*, and *nn*. Therefore, another Romanization system must be found for them. At present, there are quite a few Romanization systems of Holo and Hakka languages. The more popular ones are Church Romanization system, *Tongyong Pinyin* system, and TALBA system. The Taiwan *Tongyong Pinyin* is least different from the *China Pinyin* system. Consequently, until a new transcription system that can better meet the pronunciation needs of this dissertation is found, *Taiwan Tongyong Pinyin Romanization* will be used here for Holo and Hakka languages. For the names of aboriginal races, song titles and song lyrics, the Romanization used by researchers in their studies will be adopted.

Between China *Pinyin* system and Taiwan Holo and Hakka *Tongyong Pinyin* system, some of the same pronunciations differ in phonetic transcription. They are listed in the following table for comparison. (Fig. 1.17):¹²⁶

¹²⁵ 98% of Taiwanese people belong to the Han people who came from mainland China. They also use the Chinese characters.

¹²⁶ In this table only characters which differ in phonetic transcription between China Pinyin system and Taiwan Holo and Hakka *Tongyong Pinyin* system are listed. For more information about the detailed phonetic transcription of these two systems and their relevant content, refer to:
http://www.cp-edu.com/TW/CIKU/free_html/fl_hypyfa.asp (China Pinyin System) and
<http://888.rockin.net/pinyin> (Taiwan Holo and Hakka *Tongyong Pinyin* system).

[Fig. 1.17]

| <i>China Pinyin</i> | <i>Holo Tongyong</i> | <i>Hakka Tongyong</i> |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| j | zi | zi |
| q | ci | ci |
| x | si | si |
| zh | - | zh |
| r | ri | rh |
| - | ru | - |
| - | - | v |
| - | bh | - |
| - | gh | - |
| - | ng | ng |
| - | or | - |
| - | nn | - |
| - | p,t,k,h | p,t,k |

[Fig.17] Table of the same pronunciations with different phonetic alphabets in *China Pinyin, Taiwan Holo and Hakka Tongyong Pinyin*.

Remarks: (1) Holo language

bh: bilabial voiced initial;

gh: guttural voiced initial, as in ghost;

or: guttural voiced initial, as in tutor;

nn: nasal guttural voice in the rearward.

(2) *Hakka* language

v: sound of upper bite underlip, as in victor.

(3) Holo and *Hakka* languages

ng: nasal sound in the rearward, as in hang.

(4) *p,t,k,h* of Holo language and *p,t,k* of *Hakka* language: abrupt tone

Below is an explanation of how this dissertation uses Romanization to express names of persons, places, dynasties, works, songs, musical instruments, technical terms, as well as general items:

(1) Names of persons and places:

Their Romanization is written in Roman type. The first letters of the family names

and given names are capitalized. For instance, “Chen Da 陳達” is a name with single character in the surname and single character in the given name; its Romanization is “Chen Da”; “Zheng Cheng Gong 鄭成功” is a name with one character in the surname and two characters in the given name; its Romanization is “Zheng Chenggong”, and “Ou Yang Wen Zhong 歐陽文忠” is a name with two characters in the surname and two characters in the given name; its Romanization is “Ouyang Wenzhong”. The Romanization of place names is the same as that of personal names, but only the first letter is capitalised. For example, “Hincun”, “Jiayi”, “Jiong”, etc. However, for some personal and place names that have fixed Romanization and have been in use a long time, their original Romanization is adopted. Some examples are “Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙”, “Hsu Tsanghouei 許常惠”, “Taipei 台北” and “Taiwan 台灣”.

(2) Names of dynasties:

The Romanization is written in Roman type. The character “Chao 朝” has a precise English translation, “Dynasty”; therefore, no other Romanization is employed. The word “dynasty”, which is more intelligible to the Western reader, is used. For instance, “Qing Dynasty” is used for “Qing Chao”.

(3) Titles of works, names of songs and technical terms:

Besides offering the italicized Romanization, English translations of their meanings are put in square brackets after these names. For example: the book title, *Taiwan Chuantong Yinyue* [Traditional Music in Taiwan]; the song title, *Lakgheh bhakni* [Jasmine in June]; and the name for opera *gua'a hi* [Taiwanese opera].

(4) Names of musical instruments:

Besides offering the italicized Romanization, English analogies and explanations follow in round brackets. For instance, “*yueqin*” (a two-stringed musical instrument with the resonance box shaped like a moon).

In particular, in Taiwan there are three languages that use Chinese (Han) characters: Mandarin, Holo, and Hakka.¹²⁷ Of the aforementioned various names, song titles, lyrics, terminologies and idioms used by locals for a long time are spelled

¹²⁷ Chinese (Han) characters have been the common characters used by various languages since ancient time in China. Most people mistakenly think that Chinese characters exclusively belong to Mandarin due to its hegemonic status.

by the pronunciations of their original native languages in order to be faithful to the locals' habits of usage. For instance, the titles and lyrics of Holo folk songs such as *Susianggi*, *Hingcun diau*, and *Cenn or 'a sor* are spelled in Holo; the titles and lyrics of Hakka folk songs such as *Losan go* are spelled in Hakka; *Gua'a hi* [Taiwanese opera] is spelled in Holo. Other names are spelled in Mandarin for the convenience of modern readers.

Furthermore, to make it easier for the reader to compare, check and further understand the names of important persons, places, dynasties, works, songs, musical instruments, and technical terms which are mentioned in this research, the Pinyin system for Romanization (China *Pinyin* for Mandarin and Taiwan *Tongyong Pinyin* for Holo and Hakka languages), Chinese original written forms and their explanations will be rearranged and listed as a glossary in the appendix.

Chapter Two

The Geography, History and Culture of the Hingcun Area and its Influence on Hingcun Folksongs

Introduction

In the first chapter, we were provided with a thorough understanding of Taiwanese folk songs. From this chapter on, I gradually turn the focus of my research scope to the Hingcun area and its folk songs. In this chapter, I explore the geographical environment, historical development, ethnic relationships and customs of life in the Hingcun area, concentrating on the influences of these factors on the contents of lyrics of Hingcun folk songs. I also mention some effects these factors have had on the style of folk song tunes and the singing habits of Hingcun people.

After the fieldwork investigation methods of anthropology were introduced into the field of ethnomusicology research, the factor of “human beings” gradually became the focus of concern of researchers. In the 1960s, Alan P. Merriam (1960, 1964) proposed the three-level theory of “concept, behavior, and sound”. He explored music in the cultural context where it existed and argued that a researcher needs to listen to the “sound” of a culture, study the “concept” of “human beings” on whom “sound” relies for existence, and the human “behaviors” that transform “concept” into “sound”. His theory has been acknowledged and highly praised in the circle of ethnomusicology. From then on, human “behavior” and “concept” took on more significance in the field of ethnomusicology research, and I pay attention to each of these throughout this dissertation. The formation of such concepts and patterns of behaviour is necessarily influenced by a variety of factors over a long period of time. I think that natural scenery, geographical environment, climatic conditions, transportation, local products, historical background, ethnic relations, cultural phenomena and even language used are all important factors that shape and frame the conceptualizations of people in an area and that generate their musical behaviour and sounds. In other words, the formation, lyric content and melodic style of Hingcun folk songs as well as people’s singing habits are all closely related to the aforementioned contextual factors.

In this chapter, I pick out selected songs as examples which meet the research aim of this chapter. I have chosen songs which reflect geographical, communicative, industrial, constructional, political, ethno-relational and sociocultural phenomena, to explore in depth the close relationship between Hingcun folksongs and these phenomena. One further point that needs to be mentioned is that the texts of these songs are mostly based on the form of *sihgulian* [four sentences and seven characters in each sentence] and can be adopted flexibly in any different Hingcun folk tunes. That is why this chapter omits the melodies of these songs.

2.1 The Geographical Environment of the Hingcun Area

In this section, I shall first define the geographical and cultural range covered by the Hingcun area which this thesis is studying. Next, I shall explore its topography, climate, natural ecology, etc., as well as industry, transportation, natural resources, and infrastructure under these conditions. Many examples relevant to these factors will be used to illustrate their effect on folksongs.

2.1-1 Area, Geography, Climate and Industrial Condition

The Hingcun area is generally thought to cover present-day Hingcun town and the districts of Caciann, Bhuanziu and Bhodan. Since Holo folksongs are the focus of this research, the Hingcun area here indicates the area spanning Holo-speaking Hingcun town, Caciann district and Bhuanziu district, but excludes Bhodan district as it is populated by aborigines.

The Hingcun area is located at the southernmost tip of Hingcun peninsula, which is surrounded by the Taiwan Straits in the west, the Pacific Ocean in the east, and the Bashi Channel in the south. Along the coast of the Hingcun peninsula are coral reef tablelands such as the Hingcun West Tableland and Ghorluanpinn Tableland, which were raised from the sea by the movement of the earth's crust. The rugged Hingcun East Hill forms the southern part of the Central Mountain Range, the backbone of Taiwan, spanning from the north to the south of the island. Therefore this is a peninsula occupied mostly by hills rather than plains. Hingcun Longitudinal Valley Plain, which sits between Hingcun West Plateau Tableland and Hingcun East Hill, is the major plain in the peninsula.

The climate in the Hingcun area is characterized by year-round warmth, a strong north-east monsoon, and uneven rainfall. The highest average temperature, about 27.6 Celsius, occurs in July and the lowest average temperature, about 20.4 Celsius, in January.¹ The north-east monsoon is known as the *lorhsuannhong* [wind blowing from the mountains]. The *lorhsuannhong* not only poses a grave threat to fishermen at sea but also inflicts extensive damage on local agricultural and commercial activities, and it howls endlessly when it occurs. Its impact on singing has led to the strong singing style found in some of the agricultural or working songs, which were performed outdoors in noisy conditions, for instance, *Honggang siordiau*, *Ziu ghudiau* and others. (See Chapter Three, Section 3.1) Likewise, the occasionally heavy rain and typhoons that hit the Hingcun area in summer and autumn also cause great damage and inconvenience to people, and are factors which encouraged some of the people to migrate to other parts of Taiwan. In the past, a large number of folksongs about people in Hingcun moving to Daidang to earn their living were disseminated. One such song is as follows:²

Bhehki Daidangtuan ghinpior, giam giann zitbo tuan bhehdoir;

欲去台東賺錢票，減行一步賺不著；

[I wanted to make money in Daidang, I made none as I was one step behind the others];

Sionnbheh laidng giann lang coir, kuannpua diamzia holang zior;

想欲來返驚人笑，看破踎這予娘招。

[I wanted to return to Hingcun, but I feared others' laughter and married into my wife's family in Daidang].

As this implies, industrial and economic activities in the Hingcun area in the past were largely stagnant. In 1903, during the Japanese occupation, Kanagami Katzuichi, who worked in the police department of Fengshan court, mentioned in his *Survey of Daidang and Hingcun* four factors deterring people from moving into and prospering in the area: (1) barbarian damage (2) remote barren land (3) floods and inaccessibility

¹ Li Guangming, *Hingcun Bando de Qihou Texing yu Shengtai Huanjing zhi Yanjiu* [Research on the climatic characteristics and ecological environment of Hingcun peninsula], Master's thesis, Department of Soil and Water Conservation, National Pingtung University of Science and Technology, 2003, p. 12. The climatic numbers of this thesis were based on the data collected by Hingcun Weather Observation Station of Central Weather Bureau from 1897 to 2003.

² Zhu Dingshun, 20 July 1989, Hingcun area.

and (4) miasma.³ The so-called “barbarian damage” referred to the conflicts between the aborigine and Han people, which no longer occur nowadays. After a hundred years of development, miasma is also hardly seen any more. Nevertheless, the hilly terrain and extensive sandy and rocky coast, as well as unfavourable climatic conditions impeded agricultural, industrial and economic development in the Hingcun area. This is noted in the folk songs of the region. For example, Ms Pan Qiujian, a local resident, once sang such a song:⁴

Zazian ganko bhordebi, siong suann lorh nia rit lorh zi;

早前艱苦無底比，上山落嶺日落止；

[The hardness of life before was no comparison, working in the mountain until sunset;]

Lorh hai liau hi ge bhe ti, long si ui dior bhe zi gi.

落海掠魚雞未啼，攏是爲著欲止饑。

[Setting out to fish before sunrise, all these were just to earn bread.]

Due to the influence of the unique climate and geography, spectacular sights such as *fengchuishha* [sand dunes formed by the wind], *haikou shamo* [desert at the sea’s mouth] and *jiupengshamo* [nine-stratum desert] appear in this area. Furthermore, impressive sights such as gorges formed by coral reefs, ditches and reef pillars formed by sea erosion, fire erupting from mud volcanoes, stalactites, limestone caves and stalagmites have all become significant scenic attractions and tourist resources of the Hingcun area. Zhang Xingchuan, a folksinger in Hingcun, frequently celebrates the beautiful scenery of Hingcun by using the unique sights of the area as material.⁵

Kunding gonghng hohonggong, Gadang sinbhok ziohsun dong;

墾丁公園好風光，茄苳神木石筍洞；

[Beautiful sights in Kunding Park, Gadang God’s wood and stalagmite cave;]

Rinhor bangin sibhin pong, Bhonghai daiding kuann haihong.

銀葉板根四面擡，望海台頂看海方。

[The roots of silver-leaved trees are emerging everywhere, there is a viewing

³ Kanagami Katzuichi, “Daidang Hingcun Liang Ting Xiaqu Diaochashu [Survey of Daidang and Hingcun] (Japanese issue)”, 1903, in Chinese issue in *Taiwan Guanxi Jishi* [Record of customs in Taiwan], vol. 3, No. 12, Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1987, p. 276.

⁴ Pan Qiujian, personal communication, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

⁵ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, pp. 128-30.

platform adjacent to the sea].

*Hngging senniann gai zughian, laide zitdiau yixiantian.*⁶

園景生成蓋自然，內底一條一線天；

[The garden grows naturally, above is a ribbon of sky;]

Ia u siandong sennbianbian, singgue torghuan se ghua tian.

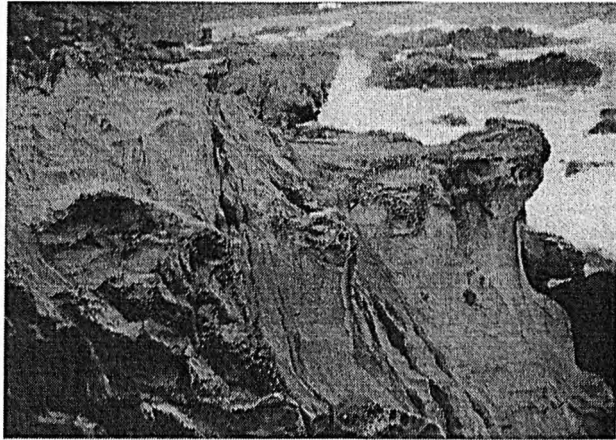
也有仙洞生便便，勝過桃源世外天。

[There are also fairy caves, more beautiful than a secluded paradise.]



[Fig. 2.1]

[Fig. 2.1] A spectacular sight in Kunding National Park: Yixiantian



[Fig. 2.2]

[Fig. 2.2] A wonderful sight in Bhuanziu seacoast: Galozui⁷

*Bhuanziu haiginn Galozui, gihing guaizior sennguidui;*⁸

滿州海墘佳洛水，奇形怪石生歸堆；

[Galozui close to the coast in Bhuanziu, a pile of weird rocks;]

Huatgak ziortau sennzinsui, kuanndior simliang bidokui.

發角石頭生真美，看著心涼脾肚開。

[Horned rocks are beautiful, viewers feel happily relaxed.]

⁶ Walking in the long and narrow valley between two parallel steep cliffs facing each other, as one looks up, he/she will see the sky framed above. Thus the sight is called *yixiantian*, which literally means “one-string sky”.

⁷ Galozui is located in the east coast of Hingcun Peninsula. From Galozui, people can see Ghorluanpinn and Bashi Channel in the distance. The coast of Galozui is formed by coral reef and shabei rocks. Oddly-shaped rocks are a fascinating sight in Galozui.

⁸ Galozui is a scenic sight by the sea in Hingcun, famous for its odd rocks formed by coral reefs.

2.1-2 Transportation and Natural Resources

Owing to the influence of local geography and climate, both inward and outward transportation systems were far from satisfactory. In the early days, there was once sea transportation via Dabanlu in Hingcun (the area near present Nanwan *li*), which, however, was an inconvenient outlet due to frequent violent waves. Other narrower outlets in Honggang, Caciann and Bangsuann were restricted for the distribution of goods to small ships in nearby areas and thus very few boats sailed through these outlets.⁹ Pangu Liyu, a local resident,¹⁰ sings the song “*Goza Bhuanziu bhangsuai bo*” [Early Bhuanziu bhangsuai meadow] to depict the inconvenience of transportation in the past which forced farmers to carry their crops by oxcart to these narrow channels:

Goza Bhuanziu Bhangsuaibo,¹¹ *Bhuanziu dehng long longhop*;

古早滿州蚊蟀埔，滿州地方攏農戶；

[Early Bhuanziu Bhangsuai meadow, Bhuanziu was packed with farmers;]

Kaza gautong zin ganko, cia bhe mihgiann lorh zunso.

較早交通真艱苦，車欲物件落船所。

[Transport was very difficult before, carrying crops to the port.]

As for land transportation, local terrain was still the biggest obstruction. All the way from the north to the south through Shitou, Honggang, Jianshan, to Caciann, there were mountains on the left and sea on the right, and lush growth of vegetation in between. Evidently, it was extremely difficult to travel in such a land.

Furthermore, in the early period of settlement of the Han people, aborigines, who thought that their living space was threatened by the migration of Han people, often ambushed travellers. This was another crucial factor that caused the backwardness of local transportation.

The first road from the outside world to Hingcun *din* was built in the 1690s but it

⁹ Kanagami Katzuichi, “Daidang Hingcun Liang Ting Xiaqu Diaochashu [Survey of Daidang and Hingcun] (Japanese issue)”, 1903, in Chinese issue in *Taiwan Guanxi Jishi* [Record of Customs in Taiwan], vol. 4, No. 2, Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1987, p. 57.

¹⁰ Pan Gu Liyu, personal communication, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

¹¹ Bhuanziu and Bhangsuaibo are place-names. Bhuanziu is a district. Bhangsuaibo, a small place in Bhuanziu, was covered with weeds.

was not until the 1870s that three more short-range roads were constructed.¹² Besides, these roads only reached a small portion of the Hingcun area and also were rather simple and crude. In brief, in its rule in Taiwan (1683-1895) the Qing government did not do much in the construction of the land communication system in the Hingcun area. Hence, Zhang Xingchuan (b. 1918), a notable singer in the area, once sang the following song to describe the transportation at that time:¹³

Gautong dorlo zor bhor tau, zuansi kehor gah zungau;

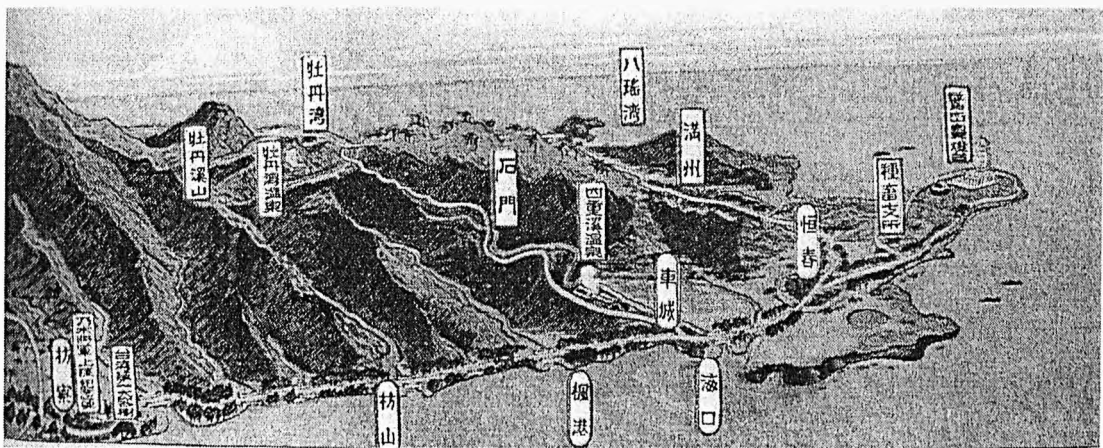
交通道路造無透，全是溪河伶圳溝；

[Roads were hardly built, streams and ditches were everywhere;]

Desan pauhng senn zapcau, lobinn sige zuan lanadau.

地瘦拋荒生雜草，路邊四界全林投。

[Weeds grew on deserted barren lands, lengtou trees stood by the roadside.]



[Fig. 2.3] A bird's eye view of the Hingcun area in 1934; Ghorluanpinn Lighthouse is on the extreme right, and the third from the right is Hingcun town.¹⁴

During Japanese rule (1895-1945), the launch of the commercial ship Fushun-hao and the construction of some roads greatly improved the sea and land transportation system in the Hingcun area and hence the area's development. Nowadays, the Hingcun area has a rather more convenient communication system, with the National Highway, the Coastal Highway, the Nanhui Railway and the

¹² Sheng Qingyi, Wang Shilang and Gao Shufan (eds.) *Taiwanshih* [History of Taiwan], Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1977, pp. 447-8.

¹³ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 166.

¹⁴ An excerpt from *Kaohsiung Zhou Daguan* [A Bird's Eye View of Kaohsiung Zhou], cited in Xu Lisha and Lin Liangzhe, *Hingcun Bandaou Juexiang: Youchang Shiren—Chen Da* [The last singing of Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet—Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin, 2006, p. 2.

Hingcun Domestic Airport. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the Hingcun peninsula is an enclosed area and even the advanced communication system is of little help with that.

Agriculture, pasturing, and fishing have long been the primary modes of living in the Hingcun area. Here people grow a wide variety of agricultural products such as rice, sisal, yam, onion, watermelon, and betel nut. Sisal was once the most representative cash crop in this area – approximately 85% of sisal in Taiwan was produced here in the early period of the World War II.¹⁵ There is a folksong citing the economic value of sisal as material (sung by Wang Bizhu).¹⁶

Susianggi,¹⁷ *Kaza kingmua hor miasiann, bhangok zin sigiann, a ue!*

思想起，較早瓊麻好名聲，萬國市場真時行，啊喂！

[*Susianggi*, sisal had good fame before, popular in markets of the world, a ue!]

Zing di suannding kah suannpiann, a ue! ai io, zitni buannzai e tuanngiann, a ue!

種在山頂恰山坪，啊喂！哎唷，一年半載會繁子，啊喂。

[Sisal grew in the mountains, a ue, ai io, it spit out seeds in half or one year, a ue.]

The economic value of sisal has depreciated today because hempen products have been replaced by man-made fibres. Today, sisal scattered along the coast has become a spectacular landscape feature in the Hingcun area. Onions are also an important agricultural product and the commercial centre for these is Honggang. Another special sight in the Hingcun area is the vendors dotted along the roadside selling tropical crops such as onions, coconut and watermelon. In addition, well-tasting and fragrant tea grown around the port has become one of the primary products here. With its three sides adjacent to the sea, the Hingcun peninsula is replete with aquatic products; moreover, its vast pasture land also makes possible a large-scale livestock industry of cattle and sheep in the area. In short, all these products of the area are mentioned in traditional folksongs.

¹⁵ Chen Zhengxiang "Taiwan Dili Dagang" [Summary of the geography of Taiwan], *Taiwan Documents*, vol. 10, No. 2, 1960, pp. 1-10.

¹⁶ Wang Bizhu, personal communication, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

¹⁷ *Susianggi* is the name of a folk tune and is also the beginning sentence of this song. For further information, refer to 3.1.1. (1) and (2) of Chapter 3.

2.1-3 Major Facilities and Constructions

Several major facilities and constructions in the Hingcun area are frequently referred to in the lyrics of folksongs. In the following, relevant records of some major facilities and constructions are discussed.

Ghorluanpinn Lighthouse: The Qing government began the construction of a lighthouse at Erruanbi in 1876 and finished it in 1883. This lighthouse was the biggest in Asia. Huang Yang Xiannu, a local old lady born in 1933, once praised the grandeur of the lighthouse and the strong rotating light that guided ships on the sea.¹⁸

Susianggi, Hingcun Ghorluan zue lamduan, zit zorh dingta siongkaiguan, a ue!
思想起，恆春鵝鑾最南端，一座燈塔上蓋高，啊喂！

[*Susianggi*, Ghorluan of Hingcun is the southernmost tip of Taiwan, the highest lighthouse was built, a ue!]

Zitpa dingngng le huezuan, a ue! ai io, zisi zunziah lai anzuan, a ue!
一葩燈光咧迴轉，啊喂！哎唷，指示船隻來安全，啊喂！

[A strong light is rotating, a ue! ai io, leading ships to a safe place, a ue!]

Another singer, Xia Meiyong,¹⁹ has used Ghorluanpinn Lighthouse in her lyrics and sung of her love for the folksong *Susianggi* and her hope of its being passed down from generation to generation.

Susianggi, Taiwan lambing ghorluampinn, Susu limlim susianggi, a ue! ;
思想起，台灣南邊鵝鑾鼻，思思念念思想起，啊喂！

[*Susianggi*, in Southern Taiwan there stands Ghorluanpinn Lighthouse, I miss *Susianggi*, a ue!]

Ciunncut Taiwan zin zianngghi, a ue! ai io, giann' giann sunsun tuan lorhki, a ue!
唱出台灣真情意，啊喂！哎唷，子子孫孫傳落去，啊喂！

[Sing out from our true hearts, a ue! ai io, pass it down from generation to generation, a ue!]

Kunding National Park (also named Kunding Amusement Forest): In 1982,

¹⁸ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 91.

¹⁹ Xia Meiyong, personal communication, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

the whole Kunding area was listed as the first national park in Taiwan and became a scenic spot of which people in Hingcun are proud. In the park, a wide variety of peculiar natural landscapes and a rich tropical forest are preserved. Zhang Xingchuan, a notable singer born in Hingcun town, sang this song in the interview:²⁰

Hingcun deyit hor hongging, Gokga gonghng dikunding;

恆春第一好風景，國家公園在墾丁；

[The most beautiful scenery is in Hingcun, the national park is in Kunding;]

Hnglai honggong gui bazging, Riatdai ciubhok sobhancian.

園內風光幾百景，熱帶樹木數萬千。

[Hundreds of sights are found in the park, there are thousands of tropical trees.]

Taiwan Nuclear Power Plant III: Despite opposition, owing to its threat to the health of local residents, this nuclear plant was finished in 1984. Since then, because of successful publicity, local residents have gradually accepted the plant and even praised it in songs. One example, sung by You Pingsheng, is as follows:²¹

Hianzai siahue dua zuanbian, Gagahoho zuan iongdian;

現在社會大轉變，家家戶戶全用電；

[The present society is in great transition, each family has electricity in the house;]

Uidor dehng e huatdian, giansat dianlik zue iusian.

為著地方的發展，建設電力最優先。

[For the development of Hingun, generating electricity is the first priority.]

Although local residents finally accepted the nuclear power plant, it is inevitable that the pollution produced by the nuclear power plant will damage the local ecology and environment as well. It may be that this will become a new topic in future songs.

2.1-4 Summary

Hingcun area has an enclosed geographical environment – three sides surrounded by sea and one side adjacent to the mountains. Its unique geographical characteristics, tropical climate, as well as its complex and rich natural ecology have both directly and

²⁰ Zhang Xinchuan, personal communication, 19 July 1989, Hingcun area.

²¹ You Pingsheng, personal communication, 18 July 1989, Hingcun area.

indirectly influenced the melody, style and lyric content of its folksongs, as have such aspects as the local patterns of agricultural life, and more recent developments, even including the building of a nuclear plant. In addition to the songs given above, I shall explore more examples in Chapter Three.

2.2 A Brief History of the Development of the Hingcun Area

The purpose of this section is to trace the developmental history of the Hingcun area to establish its relationship with the formation and evolution of local folksongs. According to the archaeologist and the ethnologist, aborigines have lived in the Hingcun area since ancient times, but it was only during the rule of the Zheng family in the seventeenth century that Han people began to move into this area.

This section divides the development of the Hingcun area into five periods: the period before Zheng rule (before 1662); the period of the Zheng family (1662-83); the rule of the Qing Dynasty (1684-1895); Japanese rule (1895-1945); and the post-World War II period (from 1945). In addition to a brief introduction to the processes of land reclamation, settlement, development and agriculture of each period, this section will also explore each period's influence on local folksongs.

2.2-1 The Period before Zheng Family Rule (before 1662)

The prehistoric relics in Ghorluanpinn Park and the stone slate houses on Nanren Mountain are up to the present the oldest relics discovered in the Hingcun area. The prehistoric relics to the west of Ghorluanpinn Lighthouse belong to the late Old Stone Age. This culture was characterized by hand-made stoneware as well as a hunter-gatherer life style.

The *Annals of Hingcun County* describes the stone slate houses from this period and their residents as follows:

The stone slate houses were located at the south of Mountain Luofu. There used to be two hundred or so houses at this location. The houses were all four *chi* [one Chinese foot] wide and five *chi* high and were built of stone slates on four sides. Inside the houses

were deep caves. Luofu aborigines were said to be the owners of these houses. They were less than four *chi* tall, and were fierce, powerful and dreadful enemies to other tribes. At last, they were induced by deceit by Zhulaoshuo aborigines to Lake Shitou at the foot of Mount Yizhu and ambushed. Those who survived escaped to Beinan. Very few slates of the houses are left because villagers have taken most of them.²²

According to the above quotation, fierce and powerful dwarfs are said to have lived in the stone slate houses. Up to the present there have not been any vestiges, such as stone coffins or cemeteries, unearthed on the relic site of Mountain Nanren that are able to attest to the existence of these dwarfs or afford any ethnographic details of them.²³ However, local residents have never ceased to celebrate this legend in folksong. In his narrative poem, *Scenery of Hingcun*, Zhang Xinhuan, a local singer, sings of the legend as follows:²⁴

Lamrin suann uan senngugu, guicing nilzing ielanggu;

南仁山彎生龜龜，幾千年前矮人居；

[Mt. Nanren curves like a turtle, here dwelt dwarfs thousands of years ago;]

Ielang gianzorh e gecu, liutuan gaugim iau kuann u.

矮人建造的石厝，流傳到今猶看有。

[Dwarfs built stone houses, which remain to be seen today.]

Zorhcu iunnsit bogongkuan, zorhban ciatzorh sannciorhguan;

石厝樣式無同款，石板砌造三尺高；

[Houses are in various shapes, slates were piled up three *chi* high;]

Lighua cutrip sin dorh uan, culai gagu longzezuan.

你我出入身著彎，厝內家具擺齊全。

[Bending ourselves to enter the house, inside we see well-furnished rooms.]

The mountain aborigines in the Hingcun area comprised the Amis, Paiwan and Puyuma tribes. They entered the area from 500-800 AD. At that time, the Hingcun

²² Tu Jishan (ed.), *Hingcun Xianzhi* [County annals of Hingcun], vol. 22, Taiwan bank, 1960, p. 243.

²³ Information about the prehistoric relics in Ghorluanpinn Park and the stone slate houses in Mountain Nanren is based on: Lu Jiahuang (ed), *Introduction of Scenic Sights in National Kunding Park*, Consumers' Co-op of Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of Interior, 1992, pp. 70-72; Shen Huamo (ed), *Jingtouzhong di Kunding* [Kunding Park in the camera lens], Hanguang wenhua shiye gongsi, 1986, pp. 88-90.

²⁴ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 131.

Amis tribe was a matriarchal society, in which the oldest woman was head of the large family and passed power and property to her daughters. Men had to participate in social organizations and activities. Almost all activities such as hunting, fishing, construction, ceremonies of offering sacrifices, and wars were carried out in groups in an organized way. All public affairs in a tribe were the duty of men. Rice cultivation was the primary economic activity and sea/freshwater fishing the secondary.²⁵ In the societies of the Paiwan and the Puyuma tribes, the eldest child inherited power and property from the head of the family. As such, their clan organization was based on the principle of the equality of the sexes. Their societies were composed of aristocrats/landlords and commoners/tenant farmers, a two-class feudal system. Normally, a few families formed a village, a few villages constituted a town, and a few towns comprised a regional autonomous unit. Economically, these aborigines earned their living primarily by agriculture, and secondarily by hunting and fishing in streams. Furthermore, they had highly advanced crafts of wood sculpture.²⁶

The Dutch occupied the southern part of Taiwan in 1624, and the Spanish occupied the northern part in 1626. In 1642, after the Dutch had expelled the Spanish, they dominated both the northern and southern parts of Taiwan. However, because the Dutch were primarily interested in exploiting the economic resources of the island, only a limited number of personnel was stationed in Taiwan. As a result, and as to the governance of the aborigines, the Dutch largely adopted a *laissez faire* policy, allowing the aborigines to practise their old customs. For the mountain aborigines who lived in remote areas, the Dutch were rulers in name only.

2.2-2 The Rule of the Zheng Family (1662-83)

Zheng Chenggong (also known as Koxinga) ended the rule of the Dutch in Taiwan after successfully capturing Chikan in Yongli in 1661. His family's kingdom in Taiwan lasted for twenty-two years until 1683, when his grandson surrendered to the Qing Dynasty.

²⁵ Liu Ningyan (et al., ed.), *Chungsiou Taiwansheng Tongjihii Jyuansan Jhuminjihii Tongzhoupian* (II) [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province – Annals of residents, descendants vol. III, book II], Taiwan Provincial Documents Committee, 1995, pp. 744-838.

²⁶ Liu Ningyan (et al., ed.), *Chungsiou Taiwansheng Tongjihii Jyuansan Jhuminjihii Tongzhoupian* (I) [The revisionary general annals of Taiwan province – Annals of residents, descendants vol. III, book I], Taiwan Provincial Documents Committee, 1995, pp. 619-56, 668-701.

In the early years of Zheng's rule of Taiwan, the major place of settlement of the Han people was in present-day Tainan.²⁷ After settling in Taiwan, in order to solve the problem of food shortages, Zheng ordered his army to engage in farming in places where they were stationed. In 1661, Zheng's troops landed at Caciannwan (the present Yufang port) and stationed themselves in the east of Caciann. At that time, Zheng adopted a tactic that combined the carrot and the stick – attacking aborigines who refused to yield by force but negotiating peace and arranging marriage with others. Officers and soldiers with the surnames Zhu, Ke, Dong, Zhao and Huang settled in the areas around Caciann and Hingcun. Two folk entertainers, Zhu Zhengshun in Hingcun and Dong Yanting in Caciann, are among their present-day descendants.²⁸ In 1682, people from east Guangdong with the surnames Yang, Zhang, Zheng and Gu settled in Caciann and built Baoli Village.²⁹ In addition, Zheng transported criminals to the Hingcun area at that time and these later became a small minority there.³⁰

In short, during their twenty-two-year rule in Taiwan, although Zheng Chenggong and his descendants enforced the policy of military farming in settled land, the drawbacks of the Hingcun area such as inconvenient transportation, aborigine-occupied land, difficulty in enforcing government orders, and the resettlement there of criminals limited the range of development. Generally speaking, Zheng's "military farming policy" was only executed on certain scattered spots on the plain, and the land occupied by the aborigines remained out of the reach of the Han settlers. This situation is reflected in words set to the tune of the local folksong *Susianggi* (sung by Zhang Xingchuan):

Susianggi, ghuanza Taiwan bhorliongguan, Bennionn guonto zuan cennhuan, a ue!

²⁷ Tainan is located in the southern part of Taiwan, but is still 100 km away from the Hingcun peninsula at the southernmost tip of Taiwan.

²⁸ (1) Zhuang Yingzhang (ed.), *Chongxiu Taiwansheng Tongzhi: Juansan Zhuminzhi Xingshipian* [Revised Taiwan provincial general annals: vol. 3, book of residents, chapter of family names], Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1997, pp. 106, 300, 345, 358, 415. (2) Zhu Dingshun, personal communication, 21 August 2003; Dong Yanting, personal communication, 22 August 2003.

²⁹ (1) In many parts of China villages were clan groups based around one or a small number of surnames. (2) Zhuang Yingzhang (ed.), *Chongxiu Taiwansheng Tongzhi: Juansan Zhuminzhi Xingshipian* [Revised Taiwan provincial general annals: vol. 3, book of residents, chapter of family names], Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1997, pp. 134, 188, 206, 421.

³⁰ Wang Yingzeng in Qianlong Years of the Qing Dynasty indicated in *Chongxiu Fengsan Zianzhi* [Revision in Fanshan county annals], "During the Koxinga era, the area from Gangdong li to Langqiao were places for exiled criminals" (cited in "Litan" [strict altar], *Dianlizhi* [Annals of rites], vol. 5).

思想起，原早台灣無人管，平陽廣土全生蕃，啊喂！

[*Susianggi*, none ruled Taiwan in ancient times, savages roamed the wide spaces, a ue!]

Bhingbhuat Cinnco tianha luan, a ue! ai io, goksenn zialai kui Taiwan, a ue!

明末清初天下亂，啊喂！ 哎唷，國姓者來開台灣，啊喂！

[The world plunged into chaos in the late Ming Dynasty and early Qing, a ue! ai io, Zheng Chenggong came to settle in Taiwan, a ue!]

2.2-3 The Rule of the Qing Dynasty (1684-1895)

The Qing Dynasty ruled Taiwan for 212 years, from 1683, when Zheng Chenggong's grandson Zheng Keshuang surrendered to them, until 1895, when Taiwan was ceded to Japan under the Treaty of Shimonoseki. In the first 192 years of Qing rule, the Hingcun area was ignored to the extent that it remained a district that was not within the formal jurisdiction of any administrative unit. It was not until 1875 that Hingcun was established as a county and the Qing government pushed ahead political, economic, cultural and educational construction in the Hingcun area more actively. In the following discussion, Qing rule in the Hingcun area is divided into two periods around this date.

(1) Before 1875

Due to reasons such as the aborigine-occupied land, remote location, inconvenient transportation, harsh climate, thick stagnant air causing disease, and lack of immediate economic benefits, the Qing government, after having taken over Taiwan in 1684, despised the Hingcun area and considered it a place unworthy of its attention. Indeed, rather than encouraging migration to and so development of the Hingcun area, the Qing government strictly prohibited any migration and some officials even suggested the abandonment of the administration of the area.

Despite these prohibitions, and in order to make a living, Han people never completely avoided the area. Little by little settlers moved to the Hingcun area – some set off from the Pingdong Plain and headed south along the coast, while others took the sea route and landed on Honggang or Caciann, and these people gradually mingled with the aborigines. After 1696, people from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou on

the coast of mainland China built villages in the coastal area of Caciann and Hingcun. The information recorded in Huang Shujing's *Six-time Research of Aboriginal Customs* illustrates this clearly:³¹

People used to grow rice in the vacant spaces of Langqiao. Due to the government's prohibition against immigration to this area, the fields are left uncultivated. However, boats never stop sailing around coastal places such as Yufang and Daxiufang.³²

Thereafter, Holo people gradually settled in the downtown areas of present Hingcun town and Caciann district. In addition, after 1723, Hakka began to settle in Baoli village in Hingcun, Bhuanziu and elsewhere. From around 1830, the Siraya and Makatao people, both tribes of plains aborigines, also entered the Hingcun area.³³

However, since the Han people and plains aborigines were ignoring the prohibition of the Qing Government and settling in the area secretly, they needed to maintain a low-key presence. Hence, their impact on the local culture, if any, was limited.

(2) After 1875

In 1875, to strengthen the defence of the area, the Qing became more active in the governance of Hingcun, establishing it as a county. Two incidents with reference to foreign nations brought about this huge change: the Rover Incident, involving an American merchant ship in 1867, and the Bhodan *She* Incident in 1875, in which Japanese troops invaded Taiwan due to the killing of Japanese fishermen by the aborigines.

In 1867, the American merchant ship, Rover, met with a strong wind and ran aground in Qixingyan, close to Lanyu Island off the coast of southeastern Taiwan. Unfortunately, the ship-owner Mr. Hunt, his wife, and fourteen other sailors were attacked by local aborigines when they landed on Guizijiao in Hingcun. Only one Chinese sailor escaped and was rescued; the other fifteen people were all killed. Immediately, the American consul protested via diplomatic channels and meanwhile

³¹ Huang Shujing, "Taihai Shichalu" [A record written on the diplomat ship to Taiwan], *Fansu Liukao* [Six-time research of aboriginal customs] Taiwan bank, 1957 (reproduced version).

³² Yufang and Daxiufang were fishing villages in the past.

³³ Further information about the movement of Siraya and Makatao people of Pennbo aborigines into the Hingcun area will be provided in Section 2.3 of this chapter.

ordered an American naval vessel anchored in Anping harbour to search for survivors. However, the American naval vessel was defeated by the aborigines when it reached Guizijiao. The American consul in Xiamen then went to Taiwan to handle the incident.

As a matter of fact, at that time the Qing government had barely any influence in Langqiao, and Qing officials treated Hingcun as an area of barbarians. The most influential ruler of the area was Tok'etok,³⁴ the leader of the eighteen Langqiao *shes*. As a result, the American consul Charles W. Le Gendre turned to Tok'etok for negotiation and gave up negotiating with the Qing government. On 10 October 1867, the dispute was finally resolved by an agreement signed by Le Gendre and Tok'etok, which dictated that in the future local aborigines had to assist any shipwrecked sailors landing on the coast of the area.³⁵

The occurrence and the handling of this incident attested again to the passive attitude of the Qing government towards ruling this area as well as the powerful strength of local aborigines before 1875. Like many other such incidents on the peripheries of the Qing lands, it hinted that such territories might be available to foreign colonial invaders (if they were aggressive enough to overcome the aboriginals).

In 1871, two fishing boats from Okinawa were struck by a heavy storm. One of the boats drifted to Bayaowan in Bhuanziu. Fifty-four of the sixty-six fishermen who landed for help were killed by the aborigines from Gaoshife and Bhuanziu *shes*. In 1873, when Japan approached the Qing government about this case, the latter responded that it was difficult to capture the killers, since they hid in an uncivilized area. As a result, the Japanese government used the term "uncivilized land" as a pretext for the invasion and occupation of Taiwan. In 1874, Japan launched its invasion of Taiwan. In May, Japanese troops landed on Langqiao and defeated the aborigines. Eventually, Pan Wenjie,³⁶ the leader of Zhulaoshu *she*, led the chiefs of

³⁴ Tok'etok (?-1873) was the chief of Sukalor tribe in Zhulaoxhu *she* as well as the leader of Langqiao eighteen *shes*. Tok'etok was said to be stout but not tall and was still vigorous and energetic in his old age. (Zhan Sujuan and Pu Zhongcheng, *Taiwan Yuanzhumin* [The aborigines in Taiwan], Yuanliu chuban gongsi, 2001, p. 60.)

³⁵ Chen Junbin, "Hingcun diau Min'yao yanjiu" [Research in *Hingcun diau* folk songs], Taipei Yishu Daxue, Master's thesis, 1993, p. 16; Zhan Sujuan and Pu Zhongcheng, *Taiwan Yuanzhumin* [The aborigines in Taiwan], Yuanliu Chuban gongsi, 2001, pp. 58-60; Zhang Yongtang (ed), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (I) [County annals of Hingcun (I)], vol. 1, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 13.

³⁶ The original name of Pan Wenjie (1854-1905) is Jagarushi Guri Bunkiet. Pan's father was a Hakka

other tribes under his rule to surrender to the Japanese.

This incident shows that at that time the mountain aborigines were the clear masters of the area.³⁷ They had not yet developed any form of compatriotism with the Han settlers from China; nor did they identify with the Qing government. Therefore, they had no alternative but to surrender to and make peace with whoever had defeated them.

After that, the Japanese shipped more troops to Taiwan. Accompanying these troops were Japanese women, farming implements, and hundreds of seedlings of pine trees, fir trees, flowers and grass. Evidently, Japan planned to station their troops in Taiwan for long-term farming. Finally realizing the seriousness of the situation, the Qing government appointed Shen Baodin as the Imperial Inspector General in charge of coastal defence and foreign affairs in Taiwan. Shen Baodin urged the Japanese commander to withdraw his troops from Taiwan but was rejected for the reason that the uncivilized land was not within the sovereignty of the Qing government. In October 1874, Japan and China negotiated peace in Beijing: the Qing government recognized the invasion of Japan as an act of charity to protect her subjects and paid an indemnity of 500,000 *liang* to Japan; the Japanese troops withdrew from Taiwan.³⁸

After the Bhodan *She* Incident came to an end, in 1875, based on the suggestions of Shen Baodin, the Qing government implemented the policy of “cultivating the mountains and pacifying the aborigines” and nullified the prohibition of Chinese immigration to Taiwan and cultivation in the mountains. Furthermore, the Qing government set up offices in Xiamen, Fuzhou, Shantou, and Hongkong to recruit settlers. In Langqiao, the Qing officials changed the name of “Langqiao” to “Hingcun”, established a county government, built a county town, pacified the

and his mother was an aborigine from Zhulaoshu *she*. Pan was adopted by Tok'etok from childhood and later became the chief of Zhulaoshu *she* and the leader of Langqiao eighteen *shes*. Pan was such a practical person that he was well aware of the secrets of survival. He led the chiefs of all tribes under his rule to surrender to the Japanese in the Bhodan *She* Incident. He also assisted the Qing government to resolve conflicts among different ethnic groups, promoted local construction and was conferred a fifth-pin official job. After Japan occupied Taiwan in 1895, Pan helped the Japanese govern Hingcun and Daidang, and was appointed as a councillor of Hingcun ting. (Zhan Sujuan and Pu Zhongcheng, *Yuanzhumin* [The aborigines in Taiwan], Yuanliu Chuban gongsi, 2001, pp. 83-84.)

³⁷ From ancient times, the aborigines have always considered themselves as the masters of Taiwan. This is certainly a fact worthy of our support.

³⁸ Chen Junbin, “Hingcun diau Min'yao Yanjiu” [Research in *Hingcun diau* folk songs], Taipei Yishu Daxue, Master's thesis, Master's thesis, 1993, 16-17; Zhan Sujuan and Pu Zhongcheng, *Taiwan Yuanzhumin* [The aborigines in Taiwan], Yuanliu Chuban gongsi, 2001, pp. 82-83.

aborigines, carried out a census, reclaimed waste land, regulated the waters of rivers, built free private schools, corrected bad customs, and even encouraged Han people to move in for settlement. Lamwan *li*,³⁹ Ghorluan *li*, and Kunding *li* (the name came from the fact that it is a village developed by *kundings* [reclaiming settlers] recruited by the government) of present Hingcun town were developed after 1875.⁴⁰

Local residents in the Hingcun area have long praised Shen Baodin's policies of "cultivating the mountains; pacifying the aborigines" and active development of the area. Many local singers such as Wu Duizi, Chen Lianye, and Chen Juhua have used this as material in their singing:⁴¹

Susianggi, Cindiau kimce Sim borzing, Sunsi Lonkiauw hor dehing, a ue!

思想起，清朝欽差沈葆楨，巡視琅嶠好地形，啊喂！

[Sim Borzing the Imperial Inspector General, inspecting good terrain in Lonkiauw, *a ue!*]

Sugui rucun hor hongging, a ue! ai io, gaimia Hingcun hor miacing, a ue!

四季如春好風景，啊喂！哎唷，改名恆春好名稱，啊喂！

[Spring all year round and beautiful scenery, *a ue! ai io*, Lonkiauw changed to a good name of Hingcun, *a ue!*]

Of the above singers, Chen Lianye even celebrated the length of the wall of Hingcun Town, cannon emplacement, stationed soldiers and the county magistrate at that time in her song:⁴²

Hingcun sianncionn dng sili, sizo pautai beh hong I, a ue!

恆春城牆長四里，四座炮台欲防夷，啊喂！

[Hingcun town wall is four *lis* long,⁴³ four emplacements defend the town against external intrusion, *a ue!*]

³⁹ *Li* [里]: a small unit of an administrative area.

⁴⁰ Chen Junbin, "Hingcun diau Min'yao Yanjiu" [Research in *Hingcun diau* folk songs], Master's thesis, Taipei: Taipei yishu daxue 1993, pp. 10-17; Zhan Sujuan and Pu Zhongcheng, *Taiwan Yuanzhumin* [The Aborigines in Taiwan], Yuanliu Chuban gongsi, 2001, pp. 82-83.

⁴¹ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, pp. 94, 96, 103, 133.

⁴² Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 97.

⁴³ *Li* [里]: a unit of length equal to half kilometre. There are two different meanings of the character 里. One is a unit of length, as here, and the other a small unit of an administrative area, as in Note 28, for example, Lamwan *li*, Ghorluan *li*, and Kunding *li*.

Zahbing uibhin siat guandi, a ue, ai io, yitdai diguan Ziu Iugi, a ue!

紮兵衛民社縣治，啊喂！唉唷，一代知縣周有基，啊喂！

[Stationing soldiers protecting people establishing county government, *a ue! ai io*, the county magistrate is Zhou youji, *a ue!*]



[Fig. 2.4] One of the gates of Hingcun old town: South Gate⁴⁴

In short, before the establishment of Hingcun County in 1875, due to the passive governance of the Qing government, only a limited number of Han settlers moved into the area and thus there was limited development. It was only after the Qing government began actively to govern the area and established Hingcun County in 1875 that the remarkable development and expansion of the Hingcun area took place.

From the perspectives of the Qing government and Han people, strengthening of coastal defences, land development, economic growth and cultural construction after 1875 were brilliant achievements. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that these measures had seriously spoiled local ecology and culture and brought great pressure and undesirable changes to the aborigines. The aborigines who had once been the leading players of the area little by little lost their power, their population, and their cultures. The Holo language also gradually replaced aboriginal languages as the primary language of the Hingcun area.

2.2-4 Japanese Rule

⁴⁴ The old town of Hingcun had four gates: East, West, South, and North Gates. This is the gate built in the south of the old town.

After China was defeated in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the Qing government signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki with Japan in 1895, in which Taiwan was ceded to Japan. Japan ruled Taiwan for fifty years, and finally withdrew in 1945 when it was defeated in World War Two.

The governance of the Japanese government in the Hingcun area can be briefly described from the following perspectives. Administratively, the Japanese government lowered the status that the former Hingcun County had previously had by abolishing the county government of Hingcun, putting it under the jurisdiction of Gaoxyong zhou and making it Hingcun prefecture, under which there were Hingcun, Caciann, and Bhuanziu *zhuangs*. As to social domination, the Japanese government implemented the three-in-one controlling system: household administration, police administration, and the tithing system.⁴⁵ Economically, the Japanese emphasized land reform and actively developed agricultural, fishing and pasturing industries. As to the administration of the aborigines, the Japanese government adopted a method combining the carrot and the stick – subjugating by force those who refused to surrender, and pushing forward pacifying education. Moreover, the Japanese also cultivated and developed the areas in which the aborigines resided. In brief, the Hingcun area under Japanese rule gradually moved towards a modern civilized society. However, owing to the remoteness of its location, the achievements of modern construction in the Hingcun area remained limited.

In its fifty-year rule in Taiwan, the Japanese government vigorously promoted education in the Japanese language, culture and Japanese songs at school. In society, besides fitting Japanese lyrics to aboriginal tunes, the Japanese also composed and promoted Japanese songs.⁴⁶ All these measures inflicted serious damage on the preservation of aboriginal folksongs. However, things have changed with the passage of time. Since 1979 I have conducted fieldwork several times in this area and found

⁴⁵ In 1898, the Office of the Taiwan Governor promulgated “Regulations of the Tithing System”, which stipulated that one *jia* [甲] consisted of ten households, ten *jas* constituted one *bao* [保] and several *baos* formed a *bao-jia* bureau. Each *bao* had a *baoding* [保正], who was elected by all *baos* and *jas* and approved by the Japanese government. In 1905, the Office of Taiwan Governor promulgated “Regulations to Implement the Tithing System”, stipulating that the Tithing System functioned as an aid to the police control system.

⁴⁶ During the Japanese era, primary schools in the Hingcun area offered music education and taught Japanese songs. In society, Japanese songs such as “*Drinking Song*” [飲酒歌] (in an aboriginal tune), “*Bhuanziu Ballad*” [滿州小調] (composed by Lin Rongxiang) and “*Hingcun Chant*” [恆春小唄] (melody and lyrics by Kinoshita Sutenosuke) circulated widely. Nevertheless, these songs are seldom sung today. For details, please see Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, pp. 41-52.

that only a few of the locals in the area were able to sing a whole Japanese song. Those songs they loved most and were most familiar with were Hingcun folksongs which contained the flavour of their hometown. They even showed certain grievances and discontent with the Japanese governance in the Hingcun area. For example, Chen Da, a resident in Hingcun, once sang out about the cruelty of Japanese officials during Japanese occupation on his album *Minzu Yueshou Chen Da ho Ta de Ge* [Chen Da, the National Artiste, and His Songs]:⁴⁷

Gonggau rit'rin siong koziann, tianndior langgong giorki hing;

講到日人上苦情，聽著人講叫去刑；

[Talking about the Japanese, I feel the saddest, I've heard about **their** torturing Taiwanese]

Bhorlang edang ki zorhzing, katau'u tihgi gui gorh ging.

無人會當去做證，腳頭舐鐵枝跪攔研。

[No witness was allowed, the Japanese trod and rolled iron clubs on **the** calves of the kneeling accused.]

2.2-5 After 1945

After retrocession from Japan in 1945, the Guomindang [Nationalist Party, henceforth GMD] government put the Hingcun area under Gaoxiong County **and** made it Hingcun district, comprising Hingcun town and the districts of Caciann, **Bhuanziu** and Bhodan. After 1950, this area was put under the newly-established Pingdong County, and has remained as such until today.

In the early period after its retreat to Taiwan in 1949, the GMD government concentrated on “counterattacking the communists” and had little or no **intention** of developing Taiwan. Under such circumstances, political, economic, cultural and social developments in the Hingcun area were hardly advanced and were **merely** the continuation of those during the rules of the Japanese and the Qing governments. Thanks to the recent development of communication and transportation, the government has achieved the promotion of tourism in the area. However, **most** tourists visit the area only during the hot season in July and August. You **Meiyan**, a local resident, having seen drunken young tourists driving recklessly during **the** tourist

⁴⁷ Chen Da, *Minzu Yueshou Chen Da ho Ta de Ge* [Chen Da, the National Artiste, and His Songs], recorded by Shi Weiliang, Siwang Publisher, 1971.

season, uses the tune of *Susianggi* in her song urging people not to drink-drive:⁴⁸

Susianggi, gok ui saicia hor bing iu, saicia cutmng mai limziu, a ue!

思想起，各位駛車好朋友，駛車出門勿飲酒，啊喂！

[*Susianggi, all drivers, our good friends, don't drink before driving, a ue!*]

Ziuki huatzorh si bor giu, a ue! ai io, zap e gau e sianmia hiu, a ue!

酒氣發作是無救，啊喂！哎唷，十個九個性命休，啊喂！

[*None can save a drunkard, a ue! ai io, nine out of ten will be gone, a ue!*]

Furthermore, owing to the remoteness of its location as well as the lack of a good economic environment, young people have gradually moved out and hence hampered the growth of the population in this area. City culture and the presence of tourists will surely impact on the development of Hingcun folksongs. Nevertheless, as young people moved out, the older generations who have remained have become the principal force in preserving the old tunes of the traditional folksongs in the Hingcun area.

2.2.6 Summary

The aborigines in Hingcun, wherever they originally came from, have been the major ethnic group in this peninsula for hundreds of years. From the era of Zheng's family (1662-1683), a scattering of Han people began to settle in the Hingcun area, but the area was still treated as an open prison for banished criminals. For almost two centuries after the Qing Dynasty occupied Taiwan, Han people were prohibited from migrating here because this area was considered as a den of banished criminals and bandits, although some Han people still settled in the Hingcun area. In other words, before 1875, the aborigines formed the majority of the residents in the area. They led their own ways of life freely.

After the establishment of Hingcun County in 1875, as this area prospered, the population, influence and culture of Han people also increased. Hence, the aborigines became a minority; in particular, seriously influenced by Han culture, their importance quickly diminished. During Japanese rule (1895-1945), little by little the area approached modern society, albeit at a very slow pace. After 1945, the GMD

⁴⁸ You Meiyuan, personal communication, 14 July 1998, Hingcun area.

government took over Taiwan, but the pace of development was still retarded. Nowadays, compared with other areas in Taiwan, the Hingcun area still lags behind in its infrastructure. Due to the backwardness of commerce and industry, the outflow of population, and the withering of local culture, this area is still unable to break away from the predicament in which it has been trapped since ancient times.

Generally speaking, the Hingcun area has long lagged behind in its development owing to its unsuitable geographical environment and the fact that rulers in different periods of time overlooked the area. However, from the perspective of culture and music, it is exactly the slow development of the area that has protected the traditional culture and music born here from the serious influence of Western civilization. As a result, the peninsula-style traditional culture and folksongs, its unique natural scenery, the rich primitive ecology, the prehistoric relics, and the well-preserved ancient towns have become unique treasures of which this area is extremely proud. Moreover, Hingcun folksongs, passed down from generation to generation, are the epitome of development of the Hingcun area.

2.3 Ethnic Groups in the Hingcun Area

In the past, the primary ethnic groups in the Hingcun area were the aborigines and Han people. The aborigines comprised the Paiwan, Puyuma, and Amis tribes, belonging to the mountain aborigines, and the Makatao and Siraya tribes, belonging to Pennbo aborigines.⁴⁹ The Han people consisted of Holo and Hakka people.

Besides the introduction to the composition and movement of the ethnic groups in the Hingcun area, this section will also explore the process of how these people were transformed from enemies into friends of each other. Furthermore, the influence of the interaction among these ethnic groups on Hingcun folksongs will be also discussed.

2.3-1 Composition and Movement of Ethnic Groups

Based on the order of moving into and settling in the Hingcun area, mountain

⁴⁹ "The aborigines" are the original residents in the island of Taiwan, including mountain aborigines and Pennbo aborigines. However, not all aborigines moved into Hingcun before Han people. Pennbo aborigines settled in this area later than Han people.

aborigines came before the Han people whereas Han people arrived before Pennbo aborigines. The composition and movement of various ethnic groups are detailed as follows:

(1) Mountain aborigines

According to *Revision of the Annals of Taiwan Fu* (1741), the mountain aborigines in Hingcun were called *Langqiao guihua shenghuan* [naturalized savages of Langqiao],⁵⁰ including eighteen *shes* such as Langqiao *she* and Zhulaoshu *she*.⁵¹ All these eighteen *shes* of the mountain aborigines were divided by names of tribes rather than by races. Based on races, the mountain aborigines in the Hingcun area include the following groups:

Hingcun Amis tribe: these people originally belonged to the Amis tribe, from places around Malan in Daidang county or Sakilaya in Hualian. They lived in Gangkou and Jiupeng villages in the Bhuanziu district, and Gaoshife, Bayao, Wanli in the Bhodan district.

Skaro people of the Paiwan tribe: Skaro people were Panapanayan people who had previously lived in Daidang. They belonged to the Parilarilao group of the Paiwan tribe. Skaro people lived in the present-day Bhuanziu district and Bhodan district. They set up Zhulaoshu, Shemali, Longruan and Maozi *shes* and dominated the Hingcun area.

Paiwanized Puyuma tribe: originally these belonged to Puyuma. Because they had been deeply influenced by the Paiwan tribe, people called them Paiwanized Puyuma tribe.⁵² They lived together with Pennbo aborigines, Han people, Amis and Paiwan tribes in Bhuanziu district and Yongjing villages in the Bhuanziu district, Xuhai village in the Bhodan district, the Renshou and Longshui *lis* of Hingcun town.

⁵⁰ During the rule of the Qing government, based on the degree of assimilation, the aborigines in Taiwan were categorized into “Shufan” [Well-assimilated aborigines], “Huafan” [Naturalized aborigines], and “Shengfan” [Uncivilized aborigines] and so on. The so-called “Guihua shengfan” is abbreviated as “Huafan”.

⁵¹ At that time, it was the so-called “*Langqiao guihua shenghuan*” [Naturalized aborigines of Langqiao], including eighteen *shes* [tribes]: Langqiao *she*, Maozi *she*, Shaomaoli *she*, Zhulaoshu *she*, Helan *she*, Shangduoluokuai *she*, Wenshuai *she*, Houdong *she*, Guilaolu *she*, Maolongyi *she*, Maolidu *she*, Huasihua *she*, Jiazhuilai *she*, Shinage *she*, XinraoBhodan *she*, Xiaduoluokuai *she*, De *she*, and Liliu *she*.

⁵² The Paiwanized Puyuma tribe is a branch of the Puyuma tribe of aborigines. They were assimilated to the ways of behaving and thinking of the Paiwan tribe.

(2) Han people

The settlement of Han people in the Hingcun area started during Zheng rule in Taiwan (1661-83). At that time, most of the land reclamation in the Hingcun area was promoted by Zheng's clan, officials, or powerful common people, who recruited settlers, levied rent, and paid taxes to the government. After the end of the Zheng era, while a large number of officials returned to China, most of Zheng's officers and soldiers who had been stationed in Hingcun and Caciann remained, negotiating peace and marrying with local aborigines.⁵³ Han people who settled in the Hingcun area at that time were mostly Holo people from Zhangzhou or Quanzhou of Fujian province who had accompanied Zheng's troops to Taiwan.

Because Shilang, the navy commander-in-chief of Fujian province in the early Qing Dynasty, prohibited "people from Huizhou and Chaozhou of Guangdong province" from moving to Taiwan, Hakka people were not able to migrate to Taiwan. It was not until Shilang died in 1696 that groups of Hakka people moved to Taiwan and even settled in the Hingcun area.

After the Qing government occupied Taiwan its passive attitude towards the development of the Hingcun area, and the continuous ban on Han people's immigration to Taiwan, deterred Han people from moving there. As a result, the number of Han people who moved into the area was very limited. It was not until Hingcun was established as a county and the government actively promoted migration that Han people flocked into the Hingcun area.

In addition, in modern times more and more Holo and Hakka people from other areas of Taiwan have moved into this area. Nevertheless, the number of these people is comparatively small, and thus they have been assimilated into rather than affected local culture and folksongs.

(3) Pennbo aborigines

Zhang Yaoqi describes in detail the process of how Makatao people of the Siraya tribe moved into the Hingcun area. In the appendix of his article, Zhang quotes the statement of Chen Asan (born around 1810), the chief of the Pennbo tribe who lived

⁵³ Pan Ying, *Taiwan Tuo zhishi jiqi Zuxing Fenbu Yanjiu* [Settlement history of Taiwan and research on the distribution of ethnic groups], Zili Evening News wenhua chubanshu, 1992.

in Suannka *zhuang* at that time, as follows:⁵⁴

Our tribe originally lived in a place called Vavakawakin around Wandan River of Fengshan but was expelled by Han people about seventy years ago. Led by a tribesman by the name of Syarn, our people moved to present Hingcun town. Because the place belonged to Longruan *she* then, our people negotiated with them and bartered water buffaloes for the land. At that time, our people had two thousand buffaloes and were good at cultivation. Later, due to water shortages some moved north to the area around Sichong River and others moved east to Shemali. Because Shemali *she* had long resided in Shemali, our people compromised, lived in amity with them and many married their women. When the Japanese attacked Bhodan *she*, some of our people still lived in Hingcun. These people moved to Shanjiao *zhuang* after Hingcun town was built in Guangxu 1st year of the Qing Dynasty.

Because the above interview took place in 1903, it must have been around 1830 that the Siraya tribe of Pennbo aborigines moved to the Hingcun area after having been expelled by Han people from Vavakawakin. Later, some of the Pennbo aborigines who moved to the Hingcun area lived in Shemali and some by Sichongxi. Those who lived by Sichongxi moved to Gongpupingye of Daidang (present Chishang district) between 1891 and 1892 because floods had wiped out their houses and fields.⁵⁵

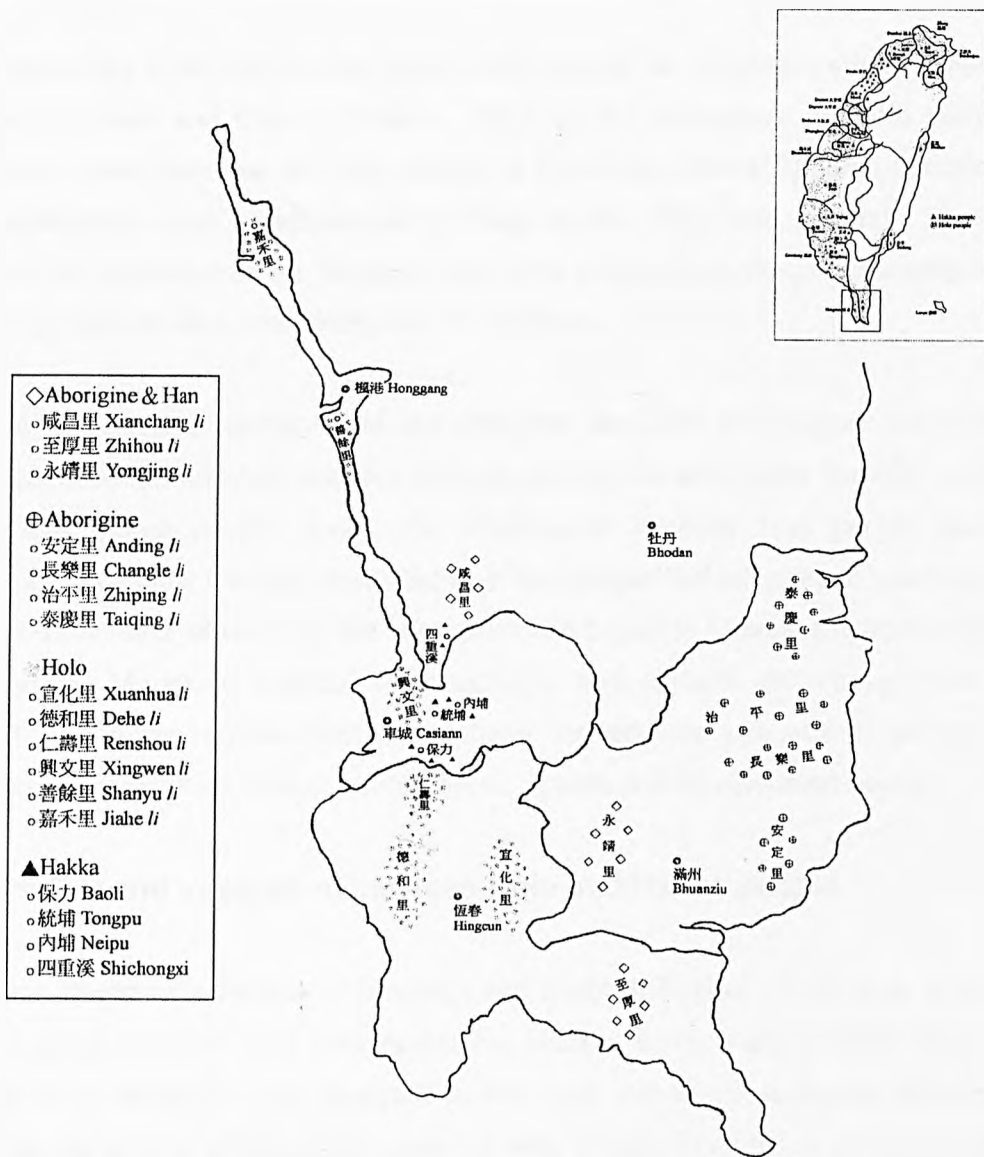
2.3-2 Relations between Ethnic Groups

After Hingcun was established as a county in 1875, flocks of Han people settled in this area. At that time, Han people primarily resided along the southwest coast of the area, including Xuanhua, Dehe, Renshou, Xingwen, Shanyu, and Jiahe *lis*. The aborigines lived in Anding, Changle, Zhiping and Taiqing *lis* in the east. Xianchang, Zhihou and Yongjing *lis* in the district between the west and the east are the area of residence where Han people mixed with the aborigines. Generally speaking, Holo people did not mix with Hakka people and the aborigines. In addition to Hakka *zhuangs* built in places such as Baoli, Tongpu, Shichongxi, Neipu and Hakka streets

⁵⁴ Zhang Yaoqi (ed.), “Wenxian Zhuankan: Pennbozu Sheming Duizhaobiao” [Special edition of documents: Table of comparison of the *she* names of Pennbo], *Western Pennbo Tribes Having Moved to Neishan and Houshan*. vol. 2, No.12, Appendix VI, VII, Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1951.

⁵⁵ Sheng Qingyi, Wang Shilang, and Gao Shufan (eds.), *Taiwashih* [History of Taiwan], Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1977, pp. 361-362.

formed in the county town, Hakka people also lived together with the aborigines in some villages in Bhuanziu, Bhodan and Hingcun (Fig. 2.5).⁵⁶ Basically, like the distribution of Han people in other areas in Taiwan, Holo people lived by the sea and Hakka near to the mountains, and this phenomenon has remained almost unchanged until today.



[Fig. 2.5] Distribution map of ethnic groups in Hingcun area in 1875: The Aborigines, Holo and Hakka.

According to *General Annals of Taiwan Province*, the distribution and percentages of various ethnic groups in the Hingcun area in modern times are as follows (for comparison, the percentages are in descending order):

⁵⁶ Tu Jishan (ed.), *Hingcun Xianzhi* [County annals of Hingcun], vol. 1, Taiwan bank, 1960.

Hingcun town: Holo people (88.1%), Mainlanders (5.9%), Hakka people (4.1%), aborigines (1.8%), others (0.1%).

Caciann district: Holo people (71.4%), Hakka people (26.4%), Mainlanders (1.2%), aborigines (0.9%), others (0.1%).

Bhuanziu district: Hakka people (43.8%), Holo people (39.2%), aborigines (14.8%), Mainlanders (2.1%), others (0.1%).

According to the above data, Holo people occupy an absolutely superior position in Hingcun *zhen* and Caciann district. Although the percentage of Holo people is somewhat lower than that of Hakka people in Bhuanziu district, Bhuanziu district has a comparatively small population in the Hingcun area. Therefore, generally speaking, in terms of population in the Hingcun area, Holo people form the greatest proportion, Hakka people the next, and aborigines the smallest.

In the early development of the Hingcun area, for the purpose of survival, conflicts occurred not only between Han people and the aborigines but also between Holo and Hakka people. Later, the relationship between Han people and the aborigines gradually became closer because Han people had suppressed, pacified, and educated the latter as well and the aborigines had begun to tolerate the domination of the former. Moreover, trading, intermarriage, and cultural interchange had also contributed to the improvement of relations between the two ethnic groups. The conflict and integration among various ethnic groups will be discussed below.

(1) Conflict and integration between Holo and Hakka people

Because of some differences of language and slight difference of cultures, Holo and Hakka people formed their own respective villages in the early period when they moved in the Hingcun area. However, at that time, due to a low-density population, the area was able to afford ample space for both groups. In addition, appreciating the same background as immigrants from China, the groups rarely came into serious conflict with each other except for isolated brawls and disputes. As more and more Han people moved in the area, conflict occurred more frequently between the two groups because of differences in their historical backgrounds and the struggle for living space; however, trading, intermarriage and cultural exchange eventually resulted in both groups integrating well with each other. For example, in the process of intermarriage, and cultural interchange, a ballad which borrowed the tune of

Susianggi was transmitted (sung by Lin biyu, b. 1901, deceased.):⁵⁷

Susianggi, lisi Keliong guasi Holo, likong keue gua tiannbo, ai io ue!

思想起，你是客人我福佬，你講客話我聽無，哎唷喂！

[You're Hakka, I'm Holo, I can't follow your Hakka language, *ai io ue!*]

Danhau keue naorhor, ai uo ue, ai io, calai kezng cua kepor, ai io ue!

等候客話若學好，哎唷喂！哎唷，才來客庄娶客婆，哎唷喂！

[Wait till I learn Hakka language, *ai io ue!* *ai io*, I'll marry a Hakka woman in your village, *ai io ue!*]

Furthermore, Holo people occupied a more advantageous position than Hakka people in the Hingcun area because they formed a higher proportion of the area's population than the latter. Hence, in order to communicate with the majority of people in society, Hakka people gradually spoke more Holo and less Hakka. As a result, after several generations, most Hakka people in Bhuanziu district, where Hakka people occupy the highest percentage of the population (43.8%), can hardly speak Hakka any more but only reveal their Hakka accent and intonation in their conversations in Holo. In 2002, when I conducted my fieldwork in Bhuanziu district, I was unable to find a single Hakka individual who could sing a Hakka folksong in Hakka. According to Zhong Mingkun, a local Hakka musician born in 1935, the generation of his grandfather gradually spoke less and less Hakka, his father spoke hardly any Hakka, and he himself does not know how to speak Hakka at all. Nor has Zhong ever heard anyone singing Hakka folksongs since his childhood. Nonetheless, the free rhythm, free meter, unconstrained and transitional singing style of Hakka people is spontaneously revealed in the Holo folksongs they sing.⁵⁸

During the Zheng and the Qing Dynasty eras, foot-binding was still practised among Han people in Taiwan.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, because Hakka people were mainly engaged in farming for a living, Hakka women did not follow the practice of foot-binding so they could devote themselves to work in the fields and at home.

⁵⁷ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 145.

⁵⁸ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 1 September 1986, Tainan.

⁵⁹ Foot-binding: in Chinese patriarchal society in the past, to control women, in particular women's sexual subjectivity, men required women to bind their feet in the name of beauty and virtue. Women were forced to bind their feet with a long strip of cloth in childhood to hamper the growth of the feet. The feet were deformed to such an extent that the women became cripples and were unable to walk normally.

Likewise, early Holo settlers in the Hingcun area made a living by farming. Hence, imitating Hakka women, Holo women gradually discarded foot-binding and actively participated in work in the house and in the fields.

(2) Conflict and integration between the aborigines and Han people

In the early period of their settlement in the Hingcun area, Han people frequently disputed or fought with the aborigines for land. The settlement of Han people in the Hingcun area threatened the aborigines' livelihood so greatly that it became more and more difficult for them to earn a living. Consequently, in addition to resistance, the aborigines even ambushed and beheaded Han people on narrow paths and in the wilderness. After the Qing government implemented the policy of "cultivating the mountains and pacifying the aborigines" and encouraged Han people to move into the Hingcun area, Han people mostly took possession of the aborigines' lands by trading, intermarriage, alliance, or deceit. Zhang Xinchuan, a famous singer in Hingcun, once sang a passage from one of his lengthy narrative songs, "*Cong Susianggi qiyuan shuo Taiwan gujin*" [From the source of *Susianggi*, talking about the present and past of Taiwan],⁶⁰ from the perspective of Han people:⁶¹

Losiang gautong lo siadiau, zamzam cennhuan dong diaudiau

路上交通路小條，站站生番擋住住；

[Small paths were the only land communications, savages blocked every stop;]

Hingdit zosian taukahhor, duihu cennhuan bhian mia liau.

幸得祖先頭腦好，對付生番免命了。

[Fortunately our forebears were bright, they survived by using their wits to deal with savages.]

The most common method for Han people to obtain their lands was to marry aboriginal women and cultivate the lands together with the latter. In fact, this phenomenon originally occurred because the soldiers who followed Zheng Chenggong to Taiwan were all male, so it was common for them to marry aboriginal women in the places where they were stationed. Further, the "Prohibition of taking

⁶⁰ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 133.

⁶¹ In the past, Han people often criticized the behaviour of the aborigines based on their own interests and value judgment. Han people even constructed a developmental history of various ethnic groups in Taiwan from a Han chauvinist view. This is a phenomenon worth examining.

family to Taiwan” proclaimed by Shilang was also an important factor in promoting marriage between single Han men and aboriginal women.

There exist abundant records of the examples of intermarriage. For instance, one example in *Zhongxiu Fengshan Xianzhi* [Revised Annals of Fengshan County] indicates:⁶²

The aborigines of Langqiao (Hingcun) *she* were fond of marrying with Han people. Presents for betrothal were four bolts of blue cloth, a small iron pot, and a catty of rice pearls (made into a necklace of several rings, whose pearls alternate in different colours).

Another example in *Dongying Record* says: ⁶³

Heading south from Fengsan to Majitou of Langqiao and turning there to northeast, one would find a wide-space land. In the deep mountain, the savages were extremely fierce. Few Han people dared to enter the area except for the *Hanjian* [Han traitor],⁶⁴ who spoke savage languages, married savage women or allied with savages.

Moreover, another example from *Daidang Hingcun Liang Ting Xiaqu Diaochashu* [Survey of Daidang and Hingcun] reveals.⁶⁵

For the convenience of bartering aboriginal products, Han men married women from Pennbo or mountain aboriginal tribes.....when marrying an aboriginal woman, a Han man bestowed buffaloes, young pigs, money and clothes as gifts.

The poem *Hingcun Zhuzhi ci* written by Tu Jishan,⁶⁶ which was recorded in

⁶² Wang Yingzeng, “Chongxiu Fengshan Xianzhi” [Revised annals of Fengshan county], *Taiwan Yuanjiu Congshu* (49). Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yuanjiushi, p. 47.

⁶³ Lin Hao, *Dongying Jishi* [Dongying records], Taipei: Taiwan bank, 1957. Cited from Chen Junbin, “Hingcun diau Min’yao Yanjiu” [Research in *Hingcun diau* folk songs], Master’s thesis, Taipei: Taipei yishu daxue 1993, p. 26.

⁶⁴ *Hanjian* [Han traitor]: This originally meant those who betrayed the benefits of Han people. Later, the term was expanded to encompass all those who have betrayed the collective interests of a group of people. Here, it specifically indicates those Han people who for personal interests or survival, associated with the aborigines by ignoring traditional Chinese beliefs.

⁶⁵ Kanagami katzuichi, *Daidang Hingcun Liang Ting Xiaqu Diaochashu* [Survey of Daidang and Hingcun], (Japanese issue), 1903; Chinese issue in *Record of Customs in Taiwan* [Record of customs in Taiwan], vol. 3, No. 12, Taiwan Provincial Document Committee, 1987.

⁶⁶ *Zhuzhi ci* 竹枝詞: This is a poetic form of four sentences and seven characters in each sentence. It was originally a form of folksong from Bashu 巴蜀, two ancient states in modern Sichuan province, in the Tang Dynasty in China. After Liu Yuxi, the notable poet in the Tang Dynasty, imitated the

Hingcun Xianzhi [Annals of Hingcun County], describes this phenomenon as follows:

*Tongsanlong cii hakzong loi, yiukhi fanpo long cii moi;*⁶⁷

唐山郎自客莊來，欲去番婆郎自媒；

[Tangshan man from Hakka village, he's going to find himself an aboriginal wife;]

Hokdet fanngi samliong gi, guamiang tungsii hau senco.

學得番言三兩句，挂名通事好生財。

[Having learned a little of aboriginal languages, he's going to make a fortune by working as an interpreter.]

Holo people called a mixed-blood child born to a Han man and an aboriginal woman a *To sennn giann* [native-born baby].⁶⁸ Native-born babies are the most representative result of the intermarriage of these two ethnic groups. After generations of intermarriage, native-born babies have even formed a "new ethnic group". This is an important group that reveals most clearly the new culture created by the blending of Han people and the aborigines.

As for family relationships between Han people and aborigines, there are some instances of aborigines adopting Han babies. Pan Wenjie represents the best example. Pan Wenjie was born in the family of Mr. Lin, a Hakka in Tongpu (present Caciann district), in 1854 and was adopted by Tok'etoku, the chief of Zhulaoshu *she* (around present Lide *li* of Bhuanziu district). After Pan grew up, he succeeded to Tok'etoku's title of chief of Zhulaoshu *she* and governed eighteen aboriginal *shes* of the Hingcun area. Pan was bestowed the last name "Pan" by the Qing government in recognition of his contribution to the construction of Hingcun town and he enjoyed an eminent reputation among both the aborigines and Han people. The aborigines of Zhulaoshu *she* and four other neighbouring aboriginal *shes* around Wenshuai *she* under his rule

form in his poems, *zhuzhi ci* became a popular literary form among men of letters. *Zhuzhi ci* is normally used to sing of worldly trifles, customs, and various phenomena in society.

⁶⁷ This poem is a seven-character *jueju* [絕句], a four-line verse with seven characters to each line. Normally, the first, second and fourth lines rhyme. By reading these three lines in Holo and Hakka respectively, I found that only the first and fourth lines rhyme in Holo, but three lines rhyme in Hakka. Hence, this poem must have been written in Hakka. Roman phonetic letters in parenthesis belong to Hakka with Xingzhu accent.

⁶⁸ (1) Hong Minlin et al., "Taiwan Tuzhu Lidai Zhili" [Governance of the aborigines in Taiwan in the past], *Minzupian Zhuanhao* (II) [Special issue of folklore (II)], Library Series of Folklore No.17 of Chinese Folklore Association, Beijing University, p. 43.

(2) Holo people call their children *giann* [罔].

wore Han-style plaits and clothes, appearing almost like Han people, and adopted Han agricultural methods. In addition to their own languages, they also spoke fluent Holo. *Hingcun Zhuzhi ci* written by Guilin Hu Zheng vividly describes how the aboriginal women imitated Han women, wearing make-up, and chewed betel nuts,⁶⁹ a favourite snack of the aborigines. Their lips were tinged with the red juice of betel nuts as if they had put on lipstick.⁷⁰

*Buanto yitbian hor cingsi, Bhuat siau longzong bhi hapsi;*⁷¹

盤頭一辮好青絲，莫笑儂妝未合時；

[A dark plait is coiled on my head, don't laugh at my out-of-date heavy makeup;]

Ziohdit binlng hong bhuan ko, diamsun but iong mai ian zi.

嚼得檳榔紅滿口，點唇不用買胭脂。

[Chewing betel nuts reddens my lips, I do not need to buy lipstick.]

At that time, Tok'etoku and Pan Wenjie, chiefs of Zhulashu *she*, who led the eighteen aboriginal tribes in the Hingcun area, lived in present Lide *li* of Bhuanziu district. Pan's mansion was even more magnificent than those of Han people. In the Japanese era, the first primary school built by the Japanese government in the area was in the vicinity of the old mansion of these two chiefs. People in Bhuanziu remain proud of this fact; as shown in the following folksong (sung by Zeng Chunju):⁷²

Susianggi Bhuanziu gomiann Wenshuaipu, ziohbi guonhau de yit so, ai io ue!

思想起，滿州古名蚊蟀埔，石碑公校第一所，哎唷喂！

[*Susianggi*, Bhuanziu was called Wenshuaipu in ancient times, a stone tablet marks the location of the first public school, *ai io ue*;]

Rinzai giat cut zorh zuondork, ai io ue, ai io, zapbeh huansia e taubhak, ai io ue!

人才傑出做總督，哎唷喂，哎唷，十八番社的頭目，哎唷喂！

[An eminent graduate became a governor, *ai io ue, ai io*, and the chief of eighteen tribes, *ai io ue*!]

⁶⁹ The aborigines chewed betel nuts like modern people chew gum. Betel nuts used to be an important gift in Taiwanese ancient custom. Betel nuts for chewing purpose are produced by adding slaked lime, additives and *laodinn* (sometimes wrapped up with *lao*-leaves) to areca nuts. Chewing betel nuts makes one warm up, perspire and feel energetic. Moreover, chewing betel nuts produces saliva; therefore, a person who chews betel nuts has to spit out red betel nut juice all the time.

⁷⁰ Guilin Hu Zheng, one of the eight Hingcun Zhuzhici, in Tu Jishan (ed.), *Hingcun Xianzhi* [County annals of Hingcun], vol. 14, Taiwan bank, 1960, (reprinted version, first version 1894), p. 249.

⁷¹ The Holo language has two pronunciations: colloquial and classical pronunciation. This poem was written in classical pronunciation and transcribed as such.

⁷² Zeng Chunju, personal communication, 24 August 2003, Hingcun area.

From 1875 to 1895, aboriginal groups such as the Skaro people of the Paiwan tribe, the Hingcun Amis, and the Makatao people of the Pennbo tribe, who were scattered through the area of present-day Hingcun Town, Caciann district and Bhuanziu district, were deeply "Sinicized". As a consequence, in the Japanese era, Makatao people of the Pennbo tribes mostly spoke Holo and rarely used their own language, whereas Skaro people of the Paiwan tribe and the Hingcun Amis tribe mixed their own languages and Holo in their speech.⁷³

The transformation of their languages after the aborigines integrated with Han people, which in turn exerted an influence upon their culture and music, is an issue worthy of further exploration. After the Han people had become the majority group in the area, they also gained the upper hand in political and economic positions. Therefore, the aborigines had no choice but to submit to reality. For the sake of convenience, the aborigines stressed Holo and despised their native languages. This phenomenon, which became worse and worse, even pushed the aboriginal languages to the verge of extinction. It also induces us to ask the following questions: Has the musical style of Holo folksongs in the Hingcun area been affected by this phenomenon? Are some (or all) Holo folksongs in Hingcun transformed from folksongs originally sung in aboriginal languages? Were Holo people the only ethnic group in Hingcun who loved to sing Hingcun Holo folksongs? These issues will be explored further in other chapters of this thesis.

2.3-3 Summary

To sum up, quite a few Han people settled in the Hingcun area before the establishment of Hingcun County in 1875. It seems natural that conflict occurred between Han people and the aborigines due to cultural differences and the struggle for limited resources. Since before 1875 the area still fell outside the jurisdiction of the Qing government, these disputes and conflicts were normally resolved by private individuals. After 1875, the number of Han immigrants gradually increased but the conflict between Han settlers and the aborigines had never ceased. Since the Qing government had jurisdiction over this area at this time, conflict between the two

⁷³ Abe Akigi, *Taiwan Diming Yanjiu* [Research of place names in Taiwan], Japanese version, Taipei: Fanyu Yanjiuhui, 1938; Chinese version, Taipei: Wuling publisher, 1987, pp. 18-20.

groups was usually resolved by the government by force or through mediation.⁷⁴ As time passed, a structure for co-existence and mutual dependence between the two groups gradually developed. This structure afforded the aborigines, Hakka and Holo people a neutral environment and certain basic conditions in which to interact and to mix with one another. Furthermore, their interaction and integration made possible the formation of the unique “Hingcun culture”, which contains the essence of the cultures of the three groups. Hence, the establishment of Hingcun County in 1875 was a turning point in the expansion and development of the area.

Conclusion

The area of Hingcun at the southernmost tip of Taiwan is a small peninsula adjoined by mountains on one side and facing the sea on the other three sides. Compared with other areas of Taiwan, the enclosed geographical environment of the Hingcun area has made it difficult to communicate with others, and thus seriously hindered its political and economic development and retarded the transformation of its culture. Nevertheless, from the perspective of ethnomusicology, its long-term isolation has successfully blocked the influence of external civilizations and thus provided a rare opportunity for the preservation of the unique folksong style of the area and for its unique quality to be passed on from generation to generation.

Before the establishment of Hingcun County in 1875, the aborigines and their cultures played a dominant role in the area. At that time, Hingcun folksongs were sung in aboriginal languages and contained the music style of aboriginal music. This age of aboriginal folksongs lasted for at least hundreds of years. After 1875, Holo gradually became the major language in the area and replaced the aboriginal languages as the language of Hingcun folksongs. Nevertheless, the element of aboriginal music persisted. This new style of Hingcun folksongs, which contains the mixed features of different ethnic groups, has already existed for over one hundred years up to the present day.

⁷⁴ Due to different historical and cultural backgrounds, the aborigines and Han people had distinct value systems. For instance, the aborigines treated the wilderness between tribes as a reserve for wild animals and plants as well as their hunting ground. However, Han people did not respect this concept and thought the wilderness was uncultivated land that they could take through obtaining government permission or by themselves. Another example is that when the aborigines attempted to seize back their original interests, they thought they were fighting for justice but Han people considered it as a “savage disaster”, and the government a “rebellion”.

The geographical environment of an area normally influences directly or indirectly the singing habits, song lyrics and singing places of the local people. The strong northeast monsoon, which occurs annually for over half the year, has forced people in the Hingcun area to raise up their voices when singing outdoors so as to allow the lyrics to be clearly heard. As such, people in the Hingcun area have nurtured a melodious and carefree singing style. On the other hand, the difficult living environment, caused by the hilly geography and the harsh climate of the area, has also fostered local people's firm but sentimental disposition. Consequently, as they narrate their lives, their experiences or their struggles in song, the audience can easily detect the regret and melancholy in their voices. Moreover, the adverse living environment drove many Hingcun people to seek a new life in Daidang. At the same time, *Hingcun diau*, which had been popular in the Hingcun area, also accompanied these people to their new homes in east Taiwan and was eventually transformed into *Daidang diau*.

The intricate interaction of different ethnic groups will often stimulate the transformation of the essence of their cultures. The new culture eventually appearing in the interactive process is a product fostered by long-term mutual influences among these groups. Although each culture occupies a different proportion of significance in the composition of the new culture, no single culture is able to produce the new culture by itself. This chapter has explored the geographical environment, the developmental process, and the interaction of different ethnic groups in Hingcun as well as the influence of these backgrounds on the folksongs of the area. This study has proved that the appearance of Holo folksongs in Hingcun was the result of the mutual interaction and blending of the aborigines and Han people. Although the Holo language, which holds a superior position in the area, has replaced aboriginal languages as the language of folksongs in the Hingcun area, the quality and style of these folksongs have still preserved the essence of aboriginal music. Nowadays, the aborigines constitute less than three percent of the population in Taiwan; nevertheless, the spirit of their music permeates all folksongs in Hingcun so thoroughly that it will never vanish.

Chapter Three

Hingcun Folk Songs and Fieldwork Experience

Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the aborigines were the leading inhabitants in the Hingcun area before 1875. In 1875, when the Qing government established Hingcun County and started encouraging Han people to settle in the Hingcun area, a large number of Holo and Hakka people gradually migrated into the area. Since Holo people constituted the biggest percentage of the Han population, they replaced the aborigines as the dominant group in the area. Consequently, the Holo language became the *lingua franca* among different ethnic groups and folksongs sung in Holo became the mainstream in the area. Holo folksongs in the Hingcun area are the subject of this chapter.

Fieldwork is an essential part of folk song research. Only through participation and observation onsite can a researcher truly understand the relationships between music and local society, culture as well as people's lives. Therefore, this chapter will use the records, experiences, data and results obtained in the process of my fieldwork as a basis for the discussion of Hingcun folk songs. Before detailing the theories and methods I have employed, I would like to retrace the developmental process in which fieldwork was applied to music research in the past. Of course, I shall lay particular stress on those theories and methods I have adopted.

Fieldwork is a method originally created by Western researchers who wanted to investigate the cultures of other areas by means of firsthand study. If ethnomusicology is now sometimes defined as a discipline founded on fieldwork, the people who were first involved with the collection of exotic music cultures were mostly not fieldworkers but instead amateur researchers such as travellers, missionaries or colonial officials.¹ After that, when academic disciplines of musical study arose, including comparative musicology, although some scholars were involved in the

¹ For example, Jean Joseph Amiot, a Jesuit missionary, who wrote "De la Musique des Chinois, tant Anciens que Modernes" in *Mémoires Concernant l'Histoire, les Sciences, les Arts, les Moeurs, les Usages, etc. des Chinois, par les Missionnaires de Pe-Kin* (Paris: Nyon l'Ainé, 1776-1814), VI, 1-254.; William Jones, a British magistrate in India, wrote "On the Musical Modes of the Hindoos," *Asiatic Researches* 3 (1792), pp. 55-87.

collection of data, they were primarily interested in detailing objective facts of musical sound, and not all carried out their own field collection by any means. They probed the pitches, tunings, scales, melody and so on of various musics with technical equipment, often using recordings as a basis for study, not live music making. For example, Alexander J. Ellis invented the “cents system” in order to analyse pitch levels in a wide variety of world music samples. This was an approach followed up by Charles Seeger’s invention of the melograph in 1953, a machine that improved the notation of sonic detail obtained from recorded samples.² Armed with such data, comparative musicologists analysed the organization of what they saw as the elements of music *per se* by scientific methods in a laboratory. Many of them overlooked the interactive relationship between music and the society where it existed as well as the connections between music culture and human behaviour. Consequently, approximately during the period of 1925-60, it was systematic inquisitive techniques that were generally discussed rather than the interactive process through which an individual fieldworker obtained an understanding about a particular situation.³

An interest in fieldwork has originated from two directions: one is scholars in folklore, who have long aimed at their own countries, concentrating on the fieldwork collection of folk culture material such as rural lore, stories or folksongs. A prominent example is Cecil J. Sharp, the English folksong collector, who conducted fieldwork research on old British folksongs.⁴ Meanwhile, scholars in anthropology mostly conducted more culturally holistic fieldwork research abroad, although a small number of them studied domestic minorities. For instance, Alfred Cort Haddon led the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits in an early piece of team research in 1898,⁵ and the American anthropologist Jesse Walter Fewkes investigated the Passamaquoddy Indians of Maine in 1890, making early field recordings in the process.⁶ As recording techniques improved and the 19th century turned into the 20th, folklorists and anthropologists had already recorded a large quantity of traditional folk

² “Ethnomusicology, III. Post-1945 development (2)”, *Grove Music Online*, edited by Phillip V. Bohlman, Oxford University Press, 2007. <http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/print.html?section.52178.3.2>, accessed 26 July 2007.

³ Chou Chiener, “Nanguan in Contemporary Taiwan: An Ethnomusicological Study of Learning Performance, Social Identity and Fieldwork Methodology,” PhD Dissertation, 2001, p.172.

⁴ “Ethnomusicology, I. Introduction”, *Grove Music Online*, edited by Carole Pegg, Oxford University Press, 2007. <http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/print.html?section.52178.1>, accessed 26 July 2007.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ “Ethnomusicology, II. Pre-1945 (1:ii)”, *Grove Music Online*, edited by Helen Myers, Oxford University Press, 2007. <http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/print.html?section.52178.2.1>, accessed 26 July 2007.

music by means of fieldwork investigation, and much further music was recorded for commercial purposes. Later, these two directions gradually merged into one, namely the application of anthropological fieldwork techniques to musical research, resulting in the later formation of ethnomusicology. The work of Béla Bartók, the Hungarian musician, illustrates this period of transformation. He began fieldwork investigation of folksongs in Hungary, extended his work to Romania after having looked at the music of Romanians in Hungary, and finally stretched his investigative scope to Turkey and North Africa.⁷ Fieldwork became established in the institutions training new generations of researchers too. For example, Franz Boas (1858-1942), after moving from Berlin to North America in the 1880s, established fieldwork as an essential part of anthropological research in America and through directing his students to the role of the expressive arts in society laid an anthropological foundation for American ethnomusicology.⁸ The accumulation and union of these two sources led to ethnomusicological research normatively using the method of anthropological fieldwork.

Without doubt, participant-observation is now well established as the basic method of ethnomusicological research. Unlike armchair research, this method requires that a researcher lives in a research site over a period of at least one year to learn the local languages and lifestyle; to actually participate in and observe local music cultural activities and social interactions; and to talk with subjects face-to-face for data collection. The information acquired by means of this method was considered more reliable by numerous researchers who believed that it emerged more smoothly from the kind of day-to-day interactions that normally occur in the society in question. However, arguments arose as to the issue of objectivity, with reflections on the so-called emic (insider) and etic (outsider) roles in research and, subsequently, the impact of the researcher in almost any field situation and through the subsequent writing process.⁹ In particular, since all over the world more and more local

⁷ Ibid.; <http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/print.html?section.52178.2.3.5>, accessed 27 July 2007.

⁸ "Ethnomusicology, I, Introduction", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie/ executive edited John Tyrrell, 2001 (2nd edition); Ethnomusicology, I. Introduction (I), *Grove Music Online*, edited by Carole Pegg, Oxford University Press, 2007. <http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/print.html?section.52178.1>, accessed 27 July 2007.

⁹ For instance: K. A Gourlay, "Towards a Reassessment of the Ethnomusicologist's Role in Research", *Ethnomusicology* 1978, 22, pp. 1-35; George W Stocking (ed. 1983), "Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork", *History of Anthropology* vol. 1. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press; Mellonee Burnim, "Culture Bearer and Tradition Bearer: An Ethnomusicologist's Research on Gospel Music", *Ethnomusicology* 1985, 29 (3), pp. 432-47; James Clifford and George E Marcus (ed. 1986), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California

researchers are now engaged in fieldwork on their own cultures, there remains a wide variety of opinions about this issue.¹⁰ Later in this thesis I shall discuss my own stance and opinions on these matters.

In the 1960s, Mantle Hood and Alan P. Merriam proposed two significant theories with reference to the methods of fieldwork in ethnomusicology, which are still influencing ethnomusicologists, in particular those in North America.¹¹ In 1960, Mantle Hood proposed the concept of “bi-musicality”, arguing that a music researcher needs not only to have the ability to perform Western classical music but also to be able to learn the other music culture which he or she is studying. In addition, Hood believed that only through actual playing of music could a researcher truly understand the music and so become able to demonstrate clearly his or her feelings on the music in writing.¹² Later, Jeff Todd Titon took the concept of “bi-musicality” as an analogy for a research method and encouraged researchers to conduct fieldwork research by actually learning music.¹³ This concept gradually became mainstream in the field of ethnomusicology research. Most ethnomusicologists acknowledge that the process of learning music is an effective way to be involved in and observe what a musician is saying and doing. In addition, actual music learning and interaction enable a researcher to gain the trust of local musicians, which smoothes the path during fieldwork. Meanwhile, via his/her learning experience, a researcher will be able to acquire a greater insight into the music, transcending initially superficial understandings and grasping the deeper meaning of musical sound and behaviour in that setting.

On the other hand, Alan P. Merriam proposed the concept of “the study of music in culture” in 1960, stressing the importance of fieldwork and exploration of music-related cultural context by each ethnomusicologist. He suggested in his work

Press; *Fieldwork Impact (special issue)*, British Journal of Ethnomusicology, 2003, special issue edited by Timothy J. Cooley.

¹⁰ For further information on “a native researcher’s view”, see Chou Chiener, “Experience and Fieldwork: A Native Researcher’s View”, *Ethnomusicology* 46, 2002, pp. 456-86. Moreover, recently Jonathan P. J. Stock and Chou Chiener have co-authored an unpublished article, “Fieldwork at Home: Asian and European Perspectives”. Through their fieldwork in their respective countries as well as overseas, they provide insights and attest that it is not only far-distant music that deserves research but all music in the world.

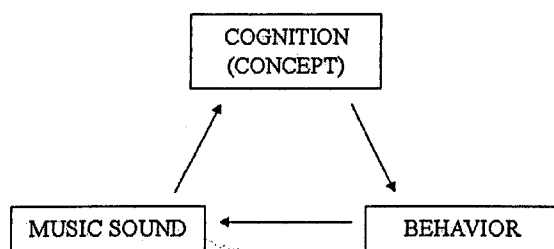
¹¹ Timothy J. Cooley, “Casting shadows in the Field: An Introduction”, *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, eds. by Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 10-11.

¹² Mantle Hood, “The Challenge of ‘Bi-Musicality’”, *Ethnomusicology*, 4(2), 1960, pp. 55-59.

¹³ Jeff Todd Titon, “Knowing Fieldwork”, *Shadows in the Field*, Edited by Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley. Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 87-100.

that in addition to study of music *per se* those who specialise in one certain music culture must also pay attention to six items relevant to fieldwork research: (1) instruments; (2) words of songs; (3) native typology or classification; (4) role and status of musicians; (5) function of music in relation to other aspects of the culture; (6) music as a creative activity.¹⁴ In his book *The Anthropology of Music*, published in 1964, Merriam reaffirmed this concept and acknowledged it as a basic theory of ethnomusicology. He argued that music is not simply a “sound”; music has an intimate relationship with the “behaviors” which produced it and the “concept” which induced those behaviours. He believed that human behaviour is the precondition of sound production; music cannot exist alone without human control and behaviour. He also contended that music behaviour is formed jointly by human beings living in the culture, their values, attitudes and beliefs. In other words, music is an inter-related and inter-dependent cultural system formed collectively on three levels: “concept, behavior, and sound”.¹⁵ The interrelationship of the levels of “concept, behaviour and sound” is clearly demonstrated in the following diagram, drawn by Rice on the basis of Merriam’s views (Fig. 3.1):¹⁶

[Fig. 3.1]



[Fig. 3.1] The Merriam Model; in the diagram, Rice replaced Merriam’s “concept” with “cognition”.

Merriam’s three-level theory has broadened the horizons of ethnomusicology. The content of his theory has been re-interpreted and enriched by other ethnomusicologists, of whom Timothy Rice’s version is probably the most influential. Rice also proposed in 1987 that the element of history needed to be added into ethnomusicological research, regarding music culture as an interactive result of three aspects: historical construction, social maintenance, and individual creation and

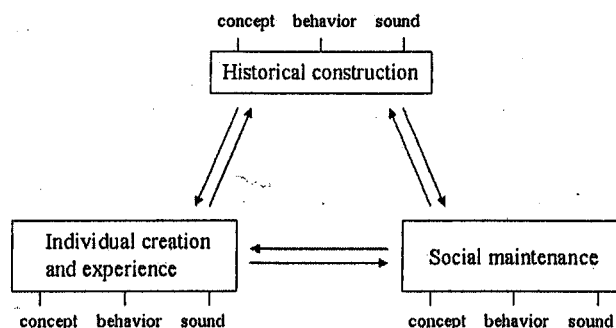
¹⁴ Alan P. Merriam, “Ethnomusicology, Discussion and Definition of the Field,” *Ethnomusicology* 4, 1960, pp. 109-110.

¹⁵ Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964, pp. 6, 33.

¹⁶ Timothy Rice, “Toward the Remodeling of Ethnomusicology”, *Ethnomusicology* 31 (3), 1987, p. 470.

experience. He asserted that ethnomusicologists should study the process of how music is constructed in history, how music is maintained in society, and how people create and put it into practice. “Historical construction” not only means transition in the process of time but also encompasses the existence of past forms, the reappearance of the residues and the recreation of the past. The addition of this item emphasised the role of diachronic research in ethnomusicology, which had sometimes been overlooked in synchronic research in the past. As to “social maintenance”, the focus there was on how people maintained their music culture by means of the system and beliefs formed in society, a category that grouped issues concerning how social systems and music influence each other mutually, for instance, social ecology, economic activities, music sponsors, the value and status of music and musicians in society, the environment and condition of music performance, and music education and training. As for “individual creation and experience”, Rice’s article drew attention to individual creation, impromptu performance, repertoire, style, individual’s identification with his/her music culture, individual contact with music, and material and immaterial feelings.¹⁷ Rice argues that each of the above-mentioned three aspects contains Merriam’s three levels of “concept, behavior, and sound” (Fig. 3.2).¹⁸

[Fig. 3.2]



[Fig. 3.2] Merriam’s model of levels embedded in Rice’s model of relationships.

I conducted my first fieldwork in the Hingcun area in 1978. After that, I frequently visited the area for fieldwork during summer vacations. In the first few years, my subjects were prominent local folk artists. I was actively engaged in interviewing these artists, collecting folk songs and making recordings. During that period, I associated with numerous folksong lovers in the area, recorded the life

¹⁷ Timothy Rice, “Toward the Remodeling of Ethnomusicology”, *Ethnomusicology* 31(3), 1987, pp. 473-80.

¹⁸ The diagram was drawn based on the information in Timothy Rice, “Toward the Remodeling of Ethnomusicology”, *Ethnomusicology* 31(3), 1987, pp. 470, 480.

background of several outstanding singers, and accumulated quite a quantity of local folksongs. Next, by means of a process of learning music from local singers and instrumentalists, as advocated by Hood and others, I learned folksong singing and *yueqin* playing whilst conducting my fieldwork. Through these processes of learning, participation and observation, I understood more clearly the frame of mind and the purpose of Hingcun people in singing their folksongs, the role and status of prominent old artists, the origin and developmental process of these folksongs, and the changing faces of these songs at different stages of development. Since 2001, the year when I started to write this thesis, I have absorbed the following scholars' ideas and theories: Alan Merriam's theory which treats music as an inter-related and inter-dependent cultural entity; Timothy Rice's viewpoints of "historical construction", "social maintenance", and "individual creation and experience"; and John Baily's ideas of "learning to perform as a research technique in ethnomusicology".¹⁹ Inspired by their theories and insights, I have extended my research attention to the interactive relationships of folksongs and singers with social phenomena and organisation, geographical conditions, the different races found in this region and the wider cultural background of the Hingcun area.

In the process of my own fieldwork participation and observation, I deeply feel that the proposition of "living on a research site for over one year" recommended by Western scholars does not seem to suit a researcher studying his or her own music culture. A researcher who studies the music and culture of another society will certainly need at least a year to become proficient in the local language, social norms and cultural habits and assumptions of those under study, and can gain personal contact with all activities held in a whole year if he or she stays on the research site for that time. In fact, this model of one year's onsite research originates from the requirements of classic "village anthropology", in which a researcher needed to observe and record daily all kinds of activities and behaviours of the local people on the site. However, for a researcher studying his or her own music culture, since he or she already knows the local language and culture, less intensive fieldwork over a longer-term is also possible. In my situation, my research concentrates on local folksongs in the Hingcun area where my primary research encounters are with individuals (sometimes including their families) and participation in group activities. For meetings with individuals, I can pre-arrange a time for interviews or a lesson.

¹⁹ John Baily, "Learning to perform as a research technique in ethnomusicology", *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* vol 10/ii, 2001, pp. 85-98.

Group activities such as practices, ceremonies and folksong competitions all recur each year, and so I can take in some of each on each of my visits, scheduling each subsequent visit to catch the events previously missed. Moreover, less intensive periodic visits over a longer time can overcome any possible weakness incurred by a one-off intensive visit, for instance by enabling the researcher to observe the variation of the folksongs in the area over time. Longer-term engagement like this further acts to maintain a long-term and continuous amicable relationship with the locals, allowing, over its larger timespan, more visits to interviewees and so a greater flow of research information.²⁰ It allows the researcher to become an apprentice to more senior folksong artists, participating more frequently in the music practices and activities of local folksong groups, paying long-term attention to local cultural development, and so understanding why locals love to sing folksongs, and how folksongs interact with local society and culture.

As to the issue about whether I am an insider or not in conducting this research, I also have some opinions. My mother tongue is Holo; I have devoted myself to the research and performance of Holo folksongs, and the creation of new songs using Holo folksong models, for a lengthy period of time. Therefore, from my background, I can be counted as an “insider”. Produced and developed in their unique historical, geographical and cultural backgrounds, however, Hingcun folksongs differ from those in other areas, and I myself am not from that particular area. Consequently, from the angle of a researcher, I seem to be an “outsider” to the folksong culture of Hingcun. In learning to play *yueqin* from local artists and picking up through imitation the unique manner of singing Hingcun folksongs (later working out elements of music structure such as intervals, usual patterns and modes), I was like a person who was cultivating “bi-musicality”. As a consequence, I seem to be at once both an “insider and outsider” and thus possess a contradictory and embarrassing status. Nevertheless, this status is particularly advantageous when I conduct fieldwork. As an outsider, I can maintain a certain amount of distance from the society and people of Hingcun, and can hold my teachers (folk artists) in esteem without trying exactly to model myself upon them. Hence, I am able to observe carefully Hingcun music, society and culture and recognize Hingcun people’s music-related behaviours and purposes. Meanwhile, as an insider to wider Holo folksong culture, I can connect these observations to such

²⁰ Many interviewees who have a vast quantity of worthwhile information are unable to speak or sing naturally or provide complete information at the first interview. However, after several visits, they can often speak with fervour and assurance and offer you unexpected information.

factors as my awareness of the influence of language tones on folksong melody, the impact of national politics on musical life in this region and the dissemination of folksong melodies across Taiwan generally. Moreover, because I am also a semi-professional folksong singer,²¹ I am able to understand better through my personal performance experience—whether joining in their singing or singing their songs in my own concerts—the reason, purpose and frame of mind of Hingcun people as expressed in these songs.

During my fieldwork, I found that maintaining a receptive mentality was more significant than my outward status as insider or outsider. Therefore, in the process of fieldwork investigation, I frequently reminded myself that in order to acquire data that are closer to real life, I needed to maintain an open attitude at any moment. For instance, some interviewees like to boast exaggeratedly, although bearing no malice. If allowed opportunities to brag, they will gradually return to the main subject and pour out the information we need. In addition, a smiling face and a sincere attitude will be also helpful in encouraging the interviewee to speak more.

The theories and methods of the above-mentioned ethnomusicologists have all provided important inspiration to me. Merriam's three levels model of concept, behaviour and sound, as well as Rice's three aspects model, in particular, has offered the best theoretical bases for my exploration of this chapter. The frameworks of these two theories have encouraged me to compensate for the neglect of the interactive relations between folk song and society/culture in my former research. More importantly, Merriam's three levels model is characterized by the qualities of being simple, inclusive, cogent, definitive and influential. Treating human musical behaviour, concepts and sounds as an inter-related and inter-dependent cultural totality,²² Merriam called ethnomusicologists to attend more explicitly to the meanings of music in culture and to the causes and effects of all details in the process of music formation. Rice incorporates Merriam's three levels into his three aspects of historical construction, social maintenance and individual creation and experience. In other words, his approach emphasizes the consideration of history, social forces and the role of individuals in music. As this shows, the exploration of concepts, behaviours and sounds includes those from history, from current society and from

²¹ Although I am not a professional singer or vocalist, I have already published eight albums of Holo songs.

²² Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964, p. 33.

individuals. Rice's new version also put forward concrete research questions for an investigation of any musical culture worldwide.²³ Stimulated and inspired by the theories and concepts of Merriam and Rice, my views of folk song research expanded, enabling me, in addition to the analysis of folk music itself, to place importance on the interrelationship between folk songs and the social culture they depend on for existence.

In this chapter, I use the concepts of Merriam and Rice as my major theoretical foundations. In addition to their concepts, I utilize my practical experiences and thoughts accumulated over a long period through the processes of participation, observation and learning. First, I explore the origin of Hingcun folk songs, assess the structure and content of texts, and discuss their musical characteristics. Then I go on to identify Hingcun people's cultural views and values in singing folk songs: I consider why they like to sing folk songs; when and how they sing them; where, when and how they learn; and what their purposes and functions of singing folk songs are. Next, I explore the status and role of Chen Da, a musician known in the Hingcun area and in Taiwan society more widely as an outstanding singer from this region. Finally, I examine the meanings and values of Hingcun folk songs to local people from the past to the present, assessing how Hingcun people maintain and promote their folk songs nowadays.

3.1 Folk Songs in the Hingcun Area

As mentioned before, Hingcun is an important site for Holo folksongs. Up to the present, folksongs in the area have been able to preserve their local flavour. This is not only because of that location's closed geographical environment but also primarily due to the fact that it has retained an agricultural and labouring society until today. Such an environment has provided people with more occasions and opportunities for learning and singing folksongs in everyday life. When I inquired when and where they began to learn these folksongs, Zhang Rigui, an old lady teaching folksongs in the community, said:

In our childhood, we had to help our families with farming. As we weeded in the field, we worked and sang folksongs at the same time. After having been married, I once

²³ Timothy Rice, "Toward the Remodeling of Ethnomusicology", *Ethnomusicology* 31(3), 1987, pp. 473, 478-80.

worked in the mountain making charcoal. When male and female workers gathered together, we loved to work and sing in order to lighten our toil. We learned numerous folksongs in these ways.²⁴

Zhu Dingshun, a prominent folksong singer, indicated that in his childhood he discontinued schooling and worked as a child worker owing to familial poverty. As he worked around the clock, he learned to sing Hingcun folksongs from those around him, those tunes later becoming spiritual food accompanying him at work.²⁵ He broke into song using the tune of a Hingcun folksong with lyrics of his own adaptation to recollect his childhood spent working away from home:²⁶

Cut'se lorhto kau sannsiann, zorhgiann dioh'ai zai pahbiann;

出世落土哭三聲，做子就愛知打拚；

[Upon being born, the baby cried unceasingly, a son needs to know it's his duty to be diligent;]

Sanngenn buannbhin iadioh giann, dua'han kuannhe kahorbhiann.

三更半暝也著行，大漢看會較好命。

[He has to work even at midnight, thus he may have a better life as an adult.]

In the early stages, folk tunes which circulated in the Hingcun area did not have fixed song names. In 1978, during my first visit to Chen Da, I requested that he tell me the name of his first song that I had collected. Chen responded, "I don't know; since my childhood I have never heard that the song was ever given a name." In 2003, I went to Hingcun town and Bhuanziu district again to visit other folk artists: Zhong Mingkun, Pan Zhengxing, Zhu Dingshun, Zhang Rigui, Zhang Bilan, Gu Liyu and so on. In our conversations, I tried to verify the names of several further Hingcun folksongs. Zhong Mingkun stressed:

I was born in 1935. At ten, I often heard adults singing folksongs solo or antiphonally when I grazed cattle or gathered firewood among the hills in Bhuanziu. I asked them for the names of the songs; the only answer I always received was, "I don't know the names; I simply followed the way others sing them."

As to the occasions where one person intended to sing for others, Zhong

²⁴ Zhang Rigui, personal communication, 22 August 2003.

²⁵ Zhu Dingshun, personal communication, 22 August 2003.

²⁶ Yiu Mingxiong, "Zhu Dingshun, the folk artist nurtured by luoshanfong", *The Yearbook of Annual Meeting 2005, Susianggi Folksong Promotion Association in Hingcun Town of Pingdong County*, Susianggi Folksong Promotion Association in Hingcun Town, 2005, p. 50.

explained that after having decided what to sing, one would simply say “I’ll sing a song” [*ge*] or “I’ll sing a tune” [*diauzi*] and then begin to sing. He added that as soon as the melody flew from the mouth of the singer, others knew which tune he or she was singing.²⁷ When requesting someone else to provide an accompaniment, the singer would normally hum part of the melody to help the accompanist differentiate the tune. Further, some people used the first phrase of the lyrics they intended to sing as the song name. Before they sang, they would announce, for example, “I am going to sing ‘*Laiki Daidung*’” [Going to Daidang]. Nevertheless, the audience still did not know what tune they would set these words to before they began to sing.²⁸ It was only when people first issued musical books and publications, which clearly marked the song names of a tune, that tunes in this repertory came with fixed names.²⁹

In practice, the term referring to folksongs in the Hingcun area “*Hingcun diau min’yao*” 謠[Hingcun tune folksongs] actually specifies Holo-language folksongs in that area.³⁰ Locals have simplified this name to “*Hingcun min’yao*”. Some of these tunes evolved from the original aboriginal songs in that region; others were created after Han people moved into the area.

What are included in the category of “Hingcun folksongs”? Researchers who are often involved in the research of Hingcun folksongs seem to have thought somewhat differently as to which songs should be included in the category. In 1978, Lin Er and Chien Shangjen mentioned in their coauthored book the following five songs: *Susianggi* [Thinking of], *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail], *Caume lang guegang* [Grasshopper playing jokes on the cock], *Ghokong siordiau* [Short tune of *Ghokong*] and *Hingcun diau* [Tune of Hingcun] (including songs in the same family: *Daidang diau* [Tune of Daidang], *Ginglonggua* (Holo) [Ploughman’s song], *Cenn or’a sor* [An oyster fisherman’s wife] and so on).³¹ In 1982, Hsu Tsanghouei only mentioned four songs in his book: *Susianggi* [Thinking of], *Suguicun* [All seasons are spring], *Daidang diau* [Tune of Daidang], and *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail].³² In 1983,

²⁷ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 23 August 2003.

Xu Tianque, a resident in Hingcun town, shares the same opinion (see Chen Junbin, 1993, p. 36).

²⁸ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 1 September 1986, Tainan.

²⁹ Examples of publications: *Lanqian Gechangji* [Collection of Lanqian’s songs], Asia Records Company, AL-152, 1950; Taiwan Xingtu Min’yao Quanjì [Complete works of Taiwanese native folk songs], King Records Company, KLK-60, 1962.

³⁰ Chen Junbin, “Hingcun diau Min’yao Yanjiu” [Research in *Hingcun diau* folk songs], Taipei yishu daxue, Master’s thesis, 1993, pp. 35-36, p. 61.

³¹ Lin Er and Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Minsu Geyao* [Taiwanese folk songs], Taipei: Zhongwen tushu gongsì, 1978, pp. 37-38, 40.

³² Hsu Tsanghouei, *Taiwan Holo’si Min’ge* [Taiwanese Holo folk songs], Taipei: Baiké wenhua gongsì, 1982, pp. 12-13.

Chien Shangjen included five songs in his book: *Susianggi* [Thinking of], *Suguicun* [All seasons are spring], *Daidang diau* [Tune of Daidang], *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail] and *Ghokong siordiau* [Short tune of *Ghokong*],³³ but in 1990, in his master's thesis, he removed *Ghokong siordiau* [Short tune of *Ghokong*] from the category.³⁴ In 1993, in his master's thesis Chen Junbin included *Ghokong siordiau* [Short tune of *Ghokong*] in the category and changed the name of *Daidang diau* [Tune of Daidang] to *Pennbo dau* [A tune of Pennbo tribe].³⁵ In 1999, in *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)] Zhong Mingkun, a musician in the Hingcun area, mentioned the following seven songs as local songs: *Susianggi* [Thinking of], *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail], *Pennbo dau* [A tune of Pennbo tribe], *Suguicun* [All seasons are spring], *Honggang siordiau* [Short song of Honggang], *Ghokong siordiau* [Short tune of *Ghokong*] and *Ziughu diau* [Tune of guarding cattle].³⁶ To sum up, it is generally thought that the eight Holo folk tunes which used to circulate in the Hingcun area are: *Susianggi* [Thinking of], *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail], *Hingcun diau* [Tune of Hingcun] (including songs in the same family: *Daidang diau* [Tune of Daidang], *Pennbo dau* [A tune of Pennbo tribe], *Ginglonggua* (Holo) [Ploughman's song], *Sann siann bhornai* [Helplessness groans], and *Cenn or'a sor* [An oyster fisherman's wife]),³⁷ *Suguicun* [All seasons are spring], *Honggang siordiau* [Short song of Honggang], *Ziughu diau* [Tune of guarding cattle], *Ghokong siordiau* [Short tune of *Ghokong*] and *Caume lang guegang* [Grasshopper playing jokes on the cock]. In fact, *Ghokong siordiau* is a tune frequently used in Taiwanese *shuochang* [singing and narrating a story] and drama.³⁸ Spread to the area by Han people, it is not a native-born work although it is often used by quasi-professional singers. *Caume lang guegang* was once considered to originate from the area. Chen Da stated that his grandmother taught his mother this tune, and in turn his mother passed it on to him.³⁹ However, except for having been used by Chen Da in telling stories, *Caume lang guegang* is seldom recognized by the locals or sung by them in their daily lives.⁴⁰ Consequently, it is the above six native tunes, *Susianggi*, *Ghubhe*

³³ Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Min'yao* [Taiwanese folk song], Taiwansheng sinwenchu. 1983, p. 32.

³⁴ Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Holosi Min'ge de Yuanyuan ji Fazhan* [Origin and development of Taiwan Holo system of folk song], Taipei: Zili wanbao wenhua chubanbu, p. 23.

³⁵ Chen Junbin, "Hingcun diau Min'yao Yanjiu" [Research in *Hingcun diau* folk songs], Taipei yishu daxue, master's thesis, 1993, pp. 35-36.

³⁶ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun Town Hall, 1999, p. 76.

³⁷ For details about "*Hingcun diau* and its song family", please refer to Chapter Four.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³⁹ Lin Er and Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Minsu Geyao* [Taiwanese folk songs], Taipei: Zhongwen tushu gongsi, 1978, p. 45.

⁴⁰ The fact whether or not a folksong is recognized by the locals of an area is a crucial condition as to

buann, *Hingcun diau*, *Suguicun*, *Honggang siordiau*, and *Ziu ghu diau*, that are unanimously believed to have originated, circulated and been recognized as folksongs in Hingcun area.⁴¹

All the six Hingcun folk tunes mentioned in the above have the quality of flexibility. People can fill in with texts based on their own fondness and interests. The melodies of these songs also vary somewhat due to the change of the language tones of the texts or the difference of the singing habits of a singer. That is, Hingcun songs with slightly different melodies will be produced from the tunes of these six Hingcun folksongs, and meanwhile numerous texts will be filled in these tunes. Of this large number of evolved songs, some have similar melodies and others have repeated texts; therefore, it does not seem helpful to include all of them as research material in this chapter. Moreover, the limited space of this thesis also makes it impossible to encompass all of them. As a consequence, based on the following principles of selection, I shall choose examples in this chapter that can best represent them as material for research and analysis.

- (1) Choosing songs sung by singers who are notable and well acknowledged by society: for example, prominent singers such as Gho Dibhe, Chen Da, Zhang Xinchuan, Zhu Dingshun, Zhang Rigui, Zhang Wenjie and so on. The melodies and texts of the songs they sing are frequently imitated by the locals and thus their songs are representative of the folksongs in the area.
- (2) Choosing songs that meet the research objective of this chapter – i.e. which can be utilized to explain the origins, characteristics, functions and sociocultural meanings of folksongs. For example, Zhang Xinchuan's narrative poem, "*Cong Susianggi qi yuan shuo Taiwan gujin*" [From the origin of *Susianggi*, talking about the past and the present of Taiwan] can be used to explore history; Zhu Dingshun's *Susianggi* which depicts farming life can be utilized to understand the economic life of Hingcun people who have lived on farming; Pan Zhang Biying's *Susianggi* with the theme of Buddha and gods worshipping describes the religious belief of the locals; Li Xie Mianqing expresses the reluctance to part and great fear of the bride on the eve of the wedding day and describes local wedding customs and

whether the song belongs to that area.

⁴¹ Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Min'yao* [Taiwanese folk song], Taiwansheng sinwenchu, 1983, p. 32; Hsu Tsanghouei, *Xianjieduan Taiwan Min'yao Yanjiu* [Current Research in Taiwanese Folk Songs], Quanyin yueyun chubanshe, 1986, p.13; Chen Junbin, "Hingcun diau Min'yao Yanjiu" [Research in Hingcun diau folk songs], Taipei yishu daxue, master's thesis, 1993, pp. 35-36; Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 2 August 2002.

culture through the song, *Ghubhe buann*; You Zhu Xiazai uses the same tune, namely *Ghubhe buann*, but for a different purpose – encouraging and comforting the bride; You Pingsheng, who excels in *yueqin*, celebrates romantic love by singing and playing *Suguicun*; You Shenzhi, who loves travelling, sings out the pride of Hingcun people by means of the tune, *Suguicun*.⁴²

- (3) Trying my best to choose songs sung by people from all walks of life, both sexes, various ages and so on in order for the selected songs to possess the quality of universality. For example. Xu Tianque (male, b. 1918), a retired farmer, narrates his experience of seeing his grandmother soothe her illness by singing *Ghubhe buann*; Zeng Zhenghui (male, b. 1934), a retired teacher, and his wife, Xu Fengmei (b. 1939) exchanges lovers' prattle by singing *Honggang siordiau* in antiphonal manner; Zhang Wenjie (male, 1958), an outstanding singer and a peddler, pays homage to Chen Da by the tune of *Susianggi*; Xu Xinyi (female, b. 1982), a young student, encourages local young people to sing Hingcun folksongs by singing *Susianggi*.⁴³
- (4) Choosing songs which reflect the background and meanings of different eras to cover longer historical time. For instance, Huang Wu Guixiang (b. 1927), a housewife, sings about her homesickness in youth when she left Hingcun and studied in other places; Liu Shufang (female, b. 1954) and Xie Meizu (female, b. 1958) sing about the disorderliness of young tourists who take drugs and disobey traffic laws when travelling in Hingcun; Lin Bihui (female, b. 1960) sings about the benevolent educational policies of the government.⁴⁴

Each Hingcun folksong is composed of a tune (melody) and a text. The elements of musical structure of a folk tune – tone set, range, scale, mode, special pattern, usual pattern, interval, song form and melody movement –are usually the decisive factors of the characteristics of a folk song. Therefore, the result of an analysis of the musical structure of a folk tune not only can work as a reference to its origin but also can be utilized to understand the characteristics of a folk tune, the differences of music style among Hingcun folk tunes, as well as between Hingcun folk tunes and folk tunes from other places. A text contains two parts: content and structure. The content of a text can directly present the thoughts, feelings, singing purposes and functions of a singer, or even reflect the social and cultural phenomena behind a song. As to text structure,

⁴² These examples will appear in later parts of the thesis.

⁴³ These examples will appear in later parts of the thesis.

⁴⁴ These examples will appear in later parts of the thesis.

each Hingcun folk song has its own customary usages. Whether a text is made up of sentences of the *citghi'a* [Seven characters in a sentence] or of *changduan ju* [unregulated sentence], whether it has vocables, or the positioning of vocables in the text, are all significant factors that influence the form of a song. Therefore, the exploration of tunes and texts is essential.

One thing needing to be mentioned is that, in the section where I discuss each Hingcun folk tune, I shall list some examples I personally experienced in the process of my fieldwork. I hope, through the description of these anecdotes, I can address the following questions: What are the motives and values behind the singing behaviour of Hingcun people? Do they need any accompaniment when they sing? What instruments do they frequently use if they need an accompaniment? What are the functions behind Hingcun people's musical behaviour? Purely entertainment, or specific cultural customs tied with non-musical activities? What is the purpose of singing – reaping payment, imparting feelings or simply as a part of life? Is a singer's singing content related to his/her life experience? What is the relationship between the content of singing and local socioculture? What influence does socioculture have on the content of singing? Who are singing Hingcun folksongs in the area? What ages, vocations or sexes? How do Hingcun people identify with their folksongs? Do they not care, or do they treat them as treasures, or feel proud of them? Are they willing to devote themselves to the dissemination of Hingcun folksongs? What methods will they employ to pass on their folksongs? These are all questions an ethnomusicologist is interested in probing into and in asking.

In the following I shall discuss the origin, cultural and social backgrounds and musical characteristics of the six Hingcun folksongs *Susianggi*, *Ghubhe buann*, *Hingcun diau*, *Suguicun*, *Honggang siordiau*, and *Ziu ghu diau*. Of these six songs, *Susianggi* and *Hingcun diau* are well-known all over the island of Taiwan. In particular, the latter has exhibited many-faceted performances, and, as the focus of this thesis, it will be discussed thoroughly in the fourth chapter. The former is the tune the locals are most proud of and like to talk about as well as to sing. Hence, the greater proportion of the following discussion will relate to *Susianggi*.

3.1-1 *Susianggi* [Thinking of]

(1) Origin of *Susianggi*

There is no unanimous opinion about the time and place when the tune of *Susianggi*

was first created, nor has there been any thorough exploration of this. This thesis provides an analysis and exploration of the different opinions that are available:

A. Song of homesickness of settlers from China at the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty

Those who advocate this opinion argue that quite a few Holo people settled in the Hingcun area in the early stages of Zheng Chenggong's rule in Taiwan. As a result, it was natural for the tune of *Susianggi* in Holo to be spread from that time. For example, Zhang Xinchuan (Fig. 3.3), an eminent singer born in 1918 in Hingcun town, created a long narrative poem, "*Cong Susianggi qiyuan shuo Taiwan gujin*" [From the origin of *Susianggi*, talking about the past and the present of Taiwan]. The nineteenth song in this set includes the following lyrics:⁴⁵

Hianzai deh ciunn su Susianggi, Bhingdiau inglik zapgho ni;

現在在唱思想起，明朝永曆十五年；⁴⁶

[Now I'm singing *Susianggi*, Yongli 15th year of Ming Dynasty;]

Zosian do dai laikaisi, ciunncut bhin'iau Susianggi.

祖先渡台來開始，唱出民謠思想起。

[Our ancestors crossed the strait, and started singing the folksong *Susianggi*.]



[Fig. 3.3] Prominent folksong singer Zhang Xinchuan.
Photo provided by Zhong Ming, 2003.

⁴⁵ This is the nineteenth poem of forty-eight narrative poems in the collection, *Cong Susianggi qiyuan shuo Taiwan gujin* [From the origin of *Susianggi*, talking about the ancient and present of Taiwan] in Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun Town Hall, 1999, p. 134.

⁴⁶ The Yongli 15th year of the Ming Dynasty is 1624.

Dong Guo Xiuhua (1937), an old lady in Hingcun, said she neither knew nor cared when *Susianggi* was born. However, she imitated her elders singing the following song to the tune of *Susianggi*:⁴⁷

Susianggi, Bhing'bhuah Cinnco e sidai, senn Bhu Ghuansok dng suann lai, ai io ue!

思想起，明末清初的時代，姓巫元東唐山來，哎唷喂！

[*Susianggi*, at the turn of the Ming and Qing Dynasty, Bhu Ghuansok came from China, *ai io ue!*]

*Laidua Lamuan e socai,*⁴⁸ *ai io ue! ai io, bhin'iau si i biancut lai, ai io ue!*

來住南灣的所在，哎唷喂！哎唷，民謠是伊編出來，哎唷喂！

[Settling in Lamuan, *ai io ue! ai io*, he composed the folksong, *ai io ue!*]

Furthermore, Lin Tianfa of Casiann district argues that *Susianggi* was circulating in the period when Zheng Chenggong occupied Taiwan. His idea was that there were male and female versions of the tune and it was Zheng Chenggong's court lady who spread the female tune of *Susianggi* to the area of Hingcun.⁴⁹

The above three arguments all lack sufficient proof. The lyrics of Dong Guo Xiuhua's song indicate that the time the song sings about is the turn of the Ming and Qing Dynasties (1660-90). Nevertheless, Bhu Ghuansok (1858-1909), the character mentioned in the lyrics, came with a flock of immigrants from China to Nanwan in Hingcun after Hingcun had been established as a county in 1875, two hundred years later than the turn of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and thus the argument is illogical.⁵⁰ Moreover, Lin Tianfa's argument that there are "male" and "female" *Susianggi* tunes is not recognized by the locals in the area and until now, none has been able to sing the male or female tunes of *Susianggi* to me. Zhong Mingkun, a local musician, contends:

It is unfounded to say that *Susianggi* was originally a song sung by settlers from China

⁴⁷ Dong Guo Xiuhua, personal communication, 12 July 1998, Hingcun area.

⁴⁸ Nanwan is a small village in Hingcun Town.

⁴⁹ Chen Junbin, "Hingcun diau Min'yao Yanjiu" [Research in *Hingcun diau* folk songs], Taipei yishu daxue, Master's thesis, 1993, p. 37.

⁵⁰ Bhu Ghuansok (1858-1902) was born on the southeast coast of China. After the establishment of Hingcun Town in 1875, he came alone to Taiwan with other Han settlers and finally settled around Tiaoshi of Hingcun. Wu was honest and diligent. He made charcoal for a living and was taken to be her husband by an aboriginal woman named Pan Zhimi (or Pan Yumi) in Longruan she. For details, please see Liu Qirui, "Renwu Caifeng" [Collection of People], in *Luoshanfeng de Guxiang* [Hometown of Luoshanfeng]. <http://totrue.idv.tw/htm/hito.htm#2>, 21 August 2005.

to express their homesickness at the turn of the Ming and the Qing Dynasties. It was nothing less than telling a legend to have said so. Those who had this opinion did not need any verification; they sang the song simply as an entertainment.⁵¹

B. Song of homesickness sung by settlers from China in the early establishment of Hingcun County

Advocates of this argument assert that the tune of *Susianggi* was created after the establishment of Hingcun County in 1875. At that time, the Qing government encouraged Han people to settle in the Hingcun area; therefore, a large number of immigrants from China crossed the Taiwan Strait and moved into the area. After work, because of missing their families in their hometowns, these Chinese settlers sang *Susianggi*. For instance, Guo Silang argues in *Hingcun Fengwu [Customs and Artifacts in Hingcun]*:⁵²

After the establishment of Langqiao County, more and more settlers moved from China. The father and son, Bhu Asok and Bhu Ingsing, and many others from Shantou, earned their living by making charcoal on the peak of Mt. Tiaoshi. They composed the tune of *Susianggi* to express their homesickness.

In another theory, Zhang Xinchuan asserts that people have mistaken *Susianggi* (思想起 which literally means “thinking of”) for *Susianggi* (思想枝 which literally means “acacia branches”). He suggests that the tune of *Susianggi* was first sung by Bhu Ghuansok and Bhu Ingsing,⁵³ the father and the son, whose homesickness was provoked by acacia branches that looked similar to willow branches in their hometown when they made charcoal by burning wood in the mountains. As such, Zhang Xinchuan sang about this in songs five to seven in the collection of narrative poems *Cong Susianggi qiyuan shuo Taiwan gujin*:⁵⁴

(5th) *Cingdiau kimce Sim Borzing, sunsi Longgiau hor dehing;*

清朝欽差沈葆楨，巡視琅嶠好地形；

[Sim Borzing the imperial inspector general of the Qing Dynasty, inspected good terrain in Lonkiauw;]

⁵¹ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 2 August 2002.

⁵² Guo Silang (ed.), *Hingcun Fengwu [Customs and artifacts in Hingcun]*, Hingcun Town Office, 1967, p. 4.

⁵³ The tombstone of Bhu Ghuansok verifies that Bhu's first name is Ghuansok, not Asok, the name given by Guo Silang in *Hingcun Fengwu [Customs and artifacts in Hingcun]*, Hingcun Town Office, 1967, p. 4.

⁵⁴ Zhang Xingchuan, personal communication, 2 September 1995, Hingcun area.

Sugui lucun hor hongging, Longgiau gaimia Hingcun mia.

四季如春好風景，琅嶠改名恆春名。

[Due to its being like spring all year round and beautiful scenery, the name of Lonkiauw was changed to Hingcun (literally, “everlasting spring”)]

(6th) *Dongsi giangiok Hingcun guan, Bindong lesiok Hingcun guan;*

當時建築恆春縣，屏東隸屬恆春管；

[Hingcun County was built then, Bingdong was within its jurisdiction;]

Zosian bhosian gau Daiuan, laigau Hingcun e Lamuan.

祖先謀生到台灣，來到恆春的南灣。

[To make a living, our forebears moved to Taiwan, to Nanwan in Hingcun County.]

(7th) *Ghuansok Daibangpu dinggi, rian'au gethun cua Ibhi;*⁵⁵

元東大板埤定居，然後結婚娶於米；

[Bhu Ghuansok settled in Dabanfu, got married to Ibhi;]

Suliam dailiok e hianndi, gaibhun ciunncut Susianggi.

思念大陸的兄弟，解悶唱出思想枝。

[Missing his brothers in China, he sang *Susianggi* to relieve his boredom.]

According to both Guo Silang and Zhang Xinchuan, the tune *Susianggi* was born in the early period of the establishment of Hingcun (Langqiao) County. However, there is no similar statement found in existing academic literature. As a result, I consulted Guo and Zhang as to how they came to such claims. Guo responded, “The information was provided by Lin Xianxiang, a journalist; later I wrote it in an article in *Hingcun Fengwu*.”; Zhang answered, “I saw the information from a newspaper in the 1960s. I have forgotten the name and the date of the newspaper, and lost the paper as well. I have paid my respects to Bhu Ghuansok, our forefather who created *Susianggi*, by visiting his tomb several times.” Accordingly, the claims of both are simply based on information provided by journalists, and evidently lack any concrete, collateral or theoretical evidence.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Zhang’s claim that acacia branches reminded Bhu Ghuansok of willow branches and provoked him to sing *Susianggi* to express his homesickness also is not reasonable. Except for the shape of their leaves,

⁵⁵ Daibangpu [also Dabanfu] is the old name of present Nanwan.

⁵⁶ In the 1960s, Taiwan was undergoing the period of white terror imposed by the GMD government, which at that time actively utilized mass media to control the thoughts of the Taiwanese. (Further discussion concerning this can be found in Chapter Four of this thesis.) The GMD aimed to teach them to believe that they were Chinese. As a result, information provided by journalists who were controlled by the GMD government at that time is normally doubted by academic circles in Taiwan.

willow and acacia trees differ in their overall appearance, so it is doubtful that the two could become associated visually. In addition, some songs in the collection, *Cong Susianggi qiyuan shuo Taiwan gujin*, contradict one another. From the fifth to seventh songs, Zhang Xinchuan argues that *Susianggi* was sung by Bhu Ghuansok after Hingcun County had been established. However, in the nineteenth song, Zhang claims that the tune of *Susianggi* was first sung by Han settlers in 1661 when they migrated across the Taiwan Strait. This self-contradiction reveals the perfunctoriness of Zhang's argument. Consequently, the argument that *Susianggi* is a song of homesickness sung by settlers from China in the early period of the establishment of Hingcun County probably cannot be an accepted academic theory. In addition, at present most Hingcun locals are doubtful about it. Zhong Mingkun, for example, writes as follows:⁵⁷

The business of "making charcoal by burning branches" in Taiwan began in the period of Japanese occupation (1895-1945). To supply demand in Japan, the Japanese promoted the business in Taiwan. Nevertheless, Hingcun folksongs had been born during the periods of the Ming and Qing Dynasties (about 1645-1895). In other words, long before the beginning of the business of charcoal making, Hingcun folksongs had circulated everywhere in Hingcun area.

My own experience in research and fieldwork also suggests that some folk artists, after being recognized by the public as representatives of their field, like to make unique but unfounded statements so as to maintain their authoritative status. In addition, some artists respond to a researcher's questions in the same way as they might fabricate entertaining or imaginative stories on stage. Therefore, however much we might admire an outstanding singer for his or her singing techniques and special qualities, carefully observing his or her status and role in society and perhaps even adopting his or her lyrics as research material, this does not mean that we should accept without question every word he or she has said. Ethnomusicologists frequently quote the adage, "the informant is always right," as a motto for getting on with their subjects in the process of fieldwork investigation.⁵⁸ I personally agree that a researcher should deal with his or her interviewees with sincerity and should not argue with them on the spot, even when the information provided is incorrect. It is necessary to show respect to those who assist us, and argument might deter them from speaking their minds freely. However, I also believe that a researcher is responsible for

⁵⁷ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun Town Hall, 1999, p. 69.

⁵⁸ Bruno Nettl, *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*, New York: The Free Press, 1964, p. 82.

critically evaluating all statements he or she then puts forward to the reader when writing a research report afterwards.

C. Homesickness of settlers from the Jia-nan Plains in west Taiwan

Han people who emigrated from China to Taiwan from the 1620s to the 1640s first settled in the Jia-nan Plains. This continued until the mid-nineteenth century. In 1875, encouraged by the Qing government, flocks of Han and Pennbo aboriginal settlers in the Jia-nan Plains now moved on into the Hingcun area in succession. According to this theory, these settlers from the Jia-nan Plains missed their hometowns in the Jian-nan Plains and began to sing the song of *Susianggi*.

In short, the tune of *Susianggi* might or might not have emerged during the rule of the Zheng family. This argument is not verifiable either way. All we can say for sure is that notable old singers in the Hingcun area who are good at using the tune, such as Chen Da (1906-81), Zhang Xinchuan (b. 1918), and Zhu Dingshun (b. 1928), must have begun to learn the tune in their childhood after having heard its Holo version from their elders. Therefore, there is no doubt that *Susianggi* in Holo must have circulated in the Hingcun area for at least one hundred years.

As for the source of the tune of *Susianggi*, there are two arguments. One claims that the tune originated from China and the other argues that it emerged in the Hingcun area. The rationale behind the first argument is that, since Holo and Hakka people in the Hingcun area were originally from China, the tune of *Susianggi* in Holo must have come with them when they migrated to Taiwan. Nevertheless, after having consulted numerous musical publications relevant to Fujian province, the point of origin of most of this incoming population, I could not find the same or a tune similar to *Susianggi*.⁵⁹ Thus, although reasonable as an inference, the Chinese origin theory is not proof in itself. In fact, musicians in Taiwan who have conducted research on Holo folksongs, including Hsu Tsanghouei, Zhong Mingkun and Chen Junbin, all claim that the argument that *Susianggi* was born in the Hingcun area is more logical until verification is found that the original tune of *Susianggi* came from China. Local musicians agree. On this question, Dong Yanting, who excels in playing *yueqin*, responded without any hesitation, “*Susianggi* is a tune that cannot be found in other

⁵⁹ Books consulted include: *Zhongguo Minjian Gequjicheng: Fujian Juan* [Chinese folksongs collection: Fujian], *Zhongguo minjian gequ jicheng quan'guo bianji weiyuanhui* (edited), Xinhua shuju Beijing faxingsuo, 1996; Wang Yaohua, *Fujian Daotong Yinyue*, [Fujian's traditional music], Fujian minzhong chubanshe, 2000; *Fujian Minjian Yanjiu* (II) [Fujian's folksongs (II)], Zhongguo yinxie Fujian fenhui minzu yinyue weiyuanhui, Fujiansheng qunzhong yishuguan, 1982.

places; of course, it's a native to Hingcun. My great-grandpa and grandpa sang the song and passed it down to us.”⁶⁰

(2) Tune name, pronunciation and written form of *Susianggi*

Although the tune is named *Susianggi*, there exist two kinds of explanation of the name. The first is that due to the influence of the poetic forms of Han culture, Hingcun people loved to fill in the tune of *Susianggi* with lyrics in the form of four seven-word sentences. A couplet of two sentences in Holo is referred to as “*zit gi*” [一枝], which literally means “one branch”. The first two sentences, the first “*gi*” [枝], normally describe the scenery and are expected to rhyme; the other two sentences, the second “*gi*”, which express feelings, must rhyme as well.⁶¹ The tune is thus called *Susianggi*, meaning “I would like to sing a song of two *gi*”, because of the combination of “*siang gi*” (two branches) to form a complete unit.⁶² The second explanation is contrasting. Lu Jinshou, a Taiwanese folksong composer, explains it as follows: “In the early days, besides his wife, a rich and powerful man liked to have a concubine. The wife and concubine lived in two separate places, so he could choose either place to stay overnight. People called these men who married two women and lived in two places *Susianggi*”,⁶³ which literally means “living in two homes”. In Holo, branch “枝” and home “居” are both pronounced *gi*. According to local researcher Zhong Mingkun, after “*Susianggi*” had circulated for a certain period of time, there appeared in addition to the original title other pronunciations such as *Zusianggi*, *Susiangki* and *Zusiangki*, although *Susianggi* remained the most common one. The written form of its name varies too, including such variants as “思想起” [*Susiangki*], “思想枝” [*Susianggi*], “思鄉起” [*Susiongki*], “士雙枝” [*Susianggi*], or “思雙居” [*Susianggi*].⁶⁴ At present, the most frequently used written form of *Susianggi* is the three characters “思想起”. According to Huang Xiamao, the principal of the Hingcun elementary school in the 1940s, this usage originated from Ye Dengfa, the first Mayor of Hingcun County (November 1946 – November 1948). Ye once responded to a visitor’s question by explaining that this song was named “思想起” because it was often used when people were recalling the past.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Dong Yanting, personal communication, 30 June 1989, Hingcun area.

⁶¹ In theory, although sometimes this principle is not strictly applied in practice.

⁶² Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 2 August 2002, Tainan.

⁶³ Lu Jinshou, personal communication, 12 October 1996, Taipei.

⁶⁴ Programme note for “*Bhuanziu, Hingcun Geyao zhi Ye: 2004 Dishijie Shida Yishujie*” [Night of Bhuanziu and Hingcun Folksongs: The Tenth Art Festival of the Normal University, 2004], 24 June 2004. (The programme note was written by Zhong Mingkun.)

⁶⁵ Huang Xiamao, personal communication, 24 August 1998, Hingcun area.

(3) Lyric structure and content

The musical structure of this song is discussed below. It can be filled in with words much as a singer favours. The lyrics consist of three parts: an introductory phrase; *sihgulian* (the afore-mentioned “two branches” of four seven-word phrases); and a concluding phrase. In other words, when singing this song, one begins with “*su sianggi*” as the introductory phrase, continues with the *sihgulian* as the main body, and ends with nonsense words such as “*ai io ue*” or “*ding ding lai yi dou long ding dong*” as the concluding phrase. Furthermore, one frequently embeds in a *sihgulian* similar vocables such as “*a*”, “*i do*” and “*ai io ue*” to vitalize the melody and the content of the song. For instance, the following version of *Susianggi* has long circulated in Taiwan, being frequently included in commercial albums. It is composed of two parts, A and B, both having the same structure:⁶⁶

A.

Introductory phrase:

Susianggi

思想起

[Thinking of]

Sihgulian:

Torhue hamdun (a) (i do) u ianzi,

桃花含唇(仔)(伊都)有胭脂,

[peach flowers hold on lips (a) (i do) paint them red,]

li (a) hue (na) hianbeh (a) (i do) bhor pangbhi (a) (i do ai io ue!);

李(仔)花(哪)獻白(仔)(伊都)無香味(仔)(伊都哎唷喂!)

[Plum (a) flowers (na) silver white (a) (yi do) radiate no fragrance (a) (i do ai io ue!)]

Guzing zilai susianggi (ai io ue!)

舊情再來思想起,(哎唷喂!)

[Old love returns thinking of, (ai io wei!)]

gamzia (na) horziah (a) (i do) siangtau dinn (a) (i do)

甘蔗(哪)好食(仔)(伊都)雙頭甜(仔)(伊都)

[Sugarcane (na) delicious (a) (i do) is sweet at both ends (a) (i do)]

Concluding phrase:

ai io ue!

⁶⁶ Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Min'yao* [Taiwanese folk song], Taiwansheng sinwenchu, 1983, p. 57.

哎唷喂！

[ai io ue!]

B.

Introductory phrase:

Susianggi

思想起

[Thinking of]

Sihgulian:

Likdik kuihue (a) (i do) likdik cinn,

綠竹開花（仔）（伊都）綠竹青，

[green bamboos that blossom (a) (i do) are green,]

dua (a) bho (na) cua liau (a) (i do) cua sei (a) (i do ai io ue!);

大（仔）某（哪）娶了（仔）（伊都）娶細姨（仔）（伊都哎唷喂）！

[After marrying (a) the first (a) wife (na) (i do) marrying the second (a) (i do ai io ue!)]

Sei cualai langlang ai (ai io ue!)

細姨娶來人人愛，（哎唷喂！）

[Concubine is loved by all, ai io ue!]

bang sia (na) dua bho (a) (i do) kor lian dai (a) (i do)

放捨（哪）大某（仔）（伊都）可憐代（仔）（伊都）

[Deserting (na) the first wife (a) (i do) is pathetic (a) (i do ai io ue!)]

Concluding phrase:

ai io ue!

哎唷喂！

[ai io ue!]

Note: Words in parentheses are vocables

The tune of *Susianggi* is melodious. The locals of the Hingcun area not only love the song but also feel proud of it. Lovers of *Susianggi* have filled its tune with various words in accordance with their feelings when it has been passed down from generation to generation. In the process of my fieldwork, I have found that people from various walks of life – farmers, workers, businessmen, government employees, housewives, and so on – sang continually with enthusiasm as they began singing *Susianggi*. The contents of the lyrics they sang were all-embracing. From them, we are able to understand the locals' economic activities, religious beliefs, practices and

customs; their values of family love, friendship, romantic love and affection for the native land; their opinions about history, politics, education, social phenomena, and local infrastructure; and even their feelings towards the swift transition of society. In the following are some examples of these from my own fieldwork.

According to Zhu Dingshun (born in 1928), a prominent folk song singer in Hingcun, he worked as a shepherd boy in his childhood and has lived by farming for his whole life.⁶⁷ He started learning to sing folksongs and play *yueqin* in his shepherd-boy years and won the championship in folksong singing contests in Hingcun area numerous times in middle age. His life-long farm work enables him to empathize with the poignancy and torments that farmers have undergone. These experiences often become the contents of the lyrics of folksongs he sings. Of all Hingcun folk tunes, he likes *Susianggi* most. He has sung out his experience as a farmer by means of *Susianggi*, describing the toilsome work: enduring bone-chilling wind, a farmer begins working in the field before dawn every day; he is not fearful of sweating in the sun at noon; he ends working at dusk. By working so hard, a farmer anticipates a good life. Unfortunately, a typhoon can destroy a year's hard work and dampen his joyful hope for a good harvest. In *Susianggi* below, Zhu Dingshun profoundly depicts the predicaments he and farmers in the Hingcun area commonly share (Fig. 3.4, 3.5, CD 1-10).⁶⁸



[Fig. 3.4]

[Fig. 3.4] From left to right: Zhong Mingkun, Zhu Dingshun, and Chien Shangjen.



[Fig. 3.5]

[Fig. 3.5] Prominent folksong singer, Zhu Dingshun. Photo by Chien Shangjen, 2003.

⁶⁷ Interviews with Zhu Dingshun have taken place intermittently from 1989 to 2003; therefore, information here comes from meetings with Zhu during this period.

⁶⁸ The interview was recorded in Zhu Dingshun's house on 22 August 2003, Hingcun area. Here only the text is listed and its CD is provided as a reference. After Zhu finished singing seven stanzas of lyrics for my recording, he told me two more stanzas in the same melody that he forgot to sing. Therefore, there were nine stanzas of lyrics in total. As to the melody of *Susianggi*, please refer to the next part of this section for musical qualities.

Susianggi [Thinking of] lyrics by Zhu Dingshun

1. *Susianggi, tauza kilai tinnbhue gng, ciu ghiah ditau suncanhng;*
思想起，透早起來天未光，手夯鋤頭巡田園；
[*Susianggi, rising before dawn, I inspect the field with a hoe in my hand;*]
Uidioh sinn'uah go sann'dng, ai io ue! ai io, m giann bakhong lingsngsng.
為著生活顧三頓，哎唷喂！哎唷，嘸驚北風冷酸酸。
[To earn three meals for my family, *ai io ue! ai io, I fear no chilly north wind.*]
2. *Susianggi, tauza kilai tabhong'bhu, ziging canliau ghun e cu;*
思想起，透早起來罩朦霧，這間田寮阮的厝；
[*Susianggi, I rise before dawn; the land is blanketed by fog. This farm hut is my house;*]
Laide zuanlorh long'gagu, ai io ue! ai io, biahbinn zitiziah duazuighu.
內底全落農家俱，哎唷喂！哎唷，壁邊一隻大水牛。
[Inside the hut is crowded with agricultural tools, *ai io ue! ai io, a big buffalo is standing by the wall*]
3. *Susianggi, muirit lecan gue diongdau, m giann ritpak guann lailau;*
思想起，每日犁田過中晝，嘸驚日曝汗來流；
[*Susianggi, keeping on ploughing at noon every day, ai io ue! ai io, I'm not afraid of sweat;*]
Ghule hiorhkun gutcantau, ai io ue! ai io, zikuan ganko hor bhueau.
牛犁歇困掘田頭，哎唷喂！哎唷，這款艱苦好尾後。
[After ending ploughing, I begin to dig the field, *ai io ue! ai io, present hard work will bring a better life in old age.*]
4. *Susianggi, muirit cutbhng gau ebo, cande bhorzui bhanglorh'ho;*
思想起，每日出門到下晡，田底無水望落雨；
[*Susianggi, arriving home at dusk every day, I anticipate rain because there's no water in the field;*]
Sinku gaudioh can nuato, ai io ue! ai io, ziziong longga zioh ganko.
身軀攪到田爛土，哎唷喂！哎唷，這種農家足艱苦。
[I am tainted by field mud all over the body, *ai io ue! ai io, farm life is really toilsome.*]
5. *Susianggi, zaki cutbhng hong'hun'am, zorlang dnggong zioh cinncam;*
思想起，早起出門黃昏暗，做人長工足悽慘；

[*Susianggi*, I leave early and return late; it's wretched to be a tenant-peasant;]
laugi sitdng m ziannlang, ai io ue! ai io, kuann behlingsi di doktang.

飢飢失頓嘍成人，哎唷喂！哎唷，看白鷺鷥佇啄蟲。

[Hunger and lack of food have made me starving, *ai io ue! ai io*, I drool when seeing egrets pecking at worms.]

6. *Susianggi, tauza kilai ghulebe, mui rit kangkue lorh cande;*

思想起，透早起來牛犁耙，每日工課落田底；

[*Susianggi*, I get up early to plough the field, where I spend everyday doing my work.]

Ziui leliau dah guahbe, ai io ue! ai io, deyt cinncam ghua zit'e.

這位犁了踏割耙，哎唷喂！哎唷，第一悽慘我一個。

[Finishing ploughing, I begin to tread *guhabe*,⁶⁹ *ai io ue! ai io*, I am the most wretched of all.]

7. *Susianggi, ladak pahliau ai tuabang, kau'ng borcan ziokzelang;*

思想起，磅磅打了愛拖板，摳秧播田足濟人；

[*Susianggi*, finishing using *ladak*,⁷⁰ I begin to manoeuvre *tuabang*;⁷¹ countless people are transplanting rice seedlings and sowing;]

Daikai gin'ni hor nidang, ai io ue! ai io, bhue zai hongtai pah kang kang

大概今年好年冬，哎唷喂！哎唷，未知風颳打空空。

[This year might be a good year, *ai io ue! ai io*, none is sure if the typhoon will ruin the crops.]

8. *Susianggi, ghua beh goghu huah ziunnsuann, siuhong siuho siu iauguann;*

思想起，我欲顧牛喊上山，受風受雨受飢寒；

[*Susianggi*, I guide the cattle up the mountain; I suffer wind, rain, and starvation;]

Caudiunn bhorhor ghu sisuann, ai io ue! ai io, zitziyah ghu'giann hau bhorpuann.

草場無好牛四散，哎唷喂！哎唷，一隻牛罔嚙無伴。

[Barren meadow disperses the cattle, *ai io ue! ai io*, a calf left behind is bleating.]

9. *Susianggi, kahza sicai ziok gihng, ziunnsuann lorhniann bhor duabng;*

⁶⁹ *Guahbe* (Holo): a farm tool to flatten the earth and dig up weeds.

⁷⁰ *Ladak* (Holo): a farm tool to break the clods and dig up weeds

⁷¹ *Tuabang* (Holo): a farm tool to break up clods.

思想起，較早實在足飢荒，上山落嶺無帶飯；

[*Susianggi*, there was a serious lack of food before; I went to work without taking any thing to eat;]

Bhan bheh suannbat dosannng, ai io ue! ai io, dorlorh ciuka zor bhincng.
挽欲山芭度三頓，哎唷喂！哎唷，倒落樹腳做眠床。

[I plucked guava as food, *ai io ue! ai io*, and slept on the ground under the tree.]

Pan Zhang Biying is a typical farm woman – spending most of her time serving her mother- and father-in-law, taking care of her husband, and educating her children. Besides daily chores such as cooking, washing clothes, and cleaning the house, she sometimes has to help on the farm. Although leading such a busy life, she spares a table for the idol of Guanyin Buddha, and tablets of deceased ancestors in the living room. Every morning, she rises early to chant scriptures, worship gods and offer incense to ancestors. When I visited her, she happened to return from the ceremony celebrating the birthday of Guanyin Buddha. She responded to my question about the relationship between Hingcun folksongs and folk religious belief with:

People in our area mostly believe in Buddhism. In fact, for us there is no difference between Buddhism and Taoism; some worship Buddha and Taishang Laojun [Most Exalted Lord Lao] at the same time.⁷² But most of we women often attend the activities held by Buddhist groups to beseech peace, a good harvest, and smoothness in raising the cattle and pigs. In particular, on the birthday of Buddha, we always go together to the temple to receive blessings from Buddha. All these religious activities, as well as worshipping Buddha, and Earth God can be adopted as material when singing Hingcun folksongs. We all believe in Buddhism. Sometimes, we will gather together to sing folksongs antiphonally.

In saying this, as an example she began to sing by using the tune of *Susianggi*:⁷³

Susianggi, guan'im hutzo zor cianciu, sianlam sinlu laigigiu, ai io ue!

思想起，觀音佛祖做千秋，善男信女來祈求，哎唷喂！

[*Susianggi*, it is the birthday of Guanyin Buddha, devout men and women come to beseech blessings, *ai io ue!*]

Hongdiao usun duahongsiu, ai io ue! ai io, lioktiok hing'ong lang iusiu, ai io ue!

風調雨順大豐收，哎唷喂！哎唷，六畜興旺人優秀，哎唷喂！

⁷² "Most Exalted Lord Lao" is a Taoist god.

⁷³ Pan Zhang Biying, personal communication, 24 August 2003, in Hingcun.

[Favourable weather has brought an abundant harvest, *ai io ue! ai io*, livestock flourish and people excel, *ai io ue!*]

New Year, festivals, weddings, and birthday celebrations are important activities in an agricultural society. These activities provide people with an opportunity for relaxation after a whole year of hard work and add fun and colour to their humdrum lives. Furthermore, these activities can also promote the affections of family members scattered all over Taiwan, towards one another when they gather together. In the process of these activities, folksongs play an important function of lubrication. Upon singing folksongs, people become closer in their feelings. Numerous locals use the tune of *Susianggi* to express their feelings. For instance, Hong Xifin (1936), who works out of town, comes home on every Lunar New Year's Eve singing *Susianggi* to express his filial piety towards his parents at a reunion dinner. To welcome his guests, Chen Qingzong (1936) proudly sings the *Susianggi* he has adapted during every Lunar New Year holiday. In the song, he describes the auspicious atmosphere of the first five days of Lunar New Year. To hear his song, "Celebrating the Lunar New Year *Susianggi*", some friends make a special effort to visit him. Zhang Jingui (1952) sings at a wedding to bless the bride and the groom and wish them a harmonious married life. On 13 July 1998 when I visited Yang Jinshui, an old man, his children and grandchildren were celebrating his birthday by eating trotters and noodles.⁷⁴ Some of them sang a Hingcun folksong filled in with their own words to express good wishes for Yang's birthday. At that time, I felt deeply how natural it was for Hingcun people to use their folksongs in their lives and how important Hingcun folksongs are to their daily lives. Inspired by this, I sang *Susianggi* impromptu, filling in my own words to express good wishes to Yang. In the words, I described my affection for him by means of the scenery of Hingcun area. Specifically, I praised his virtue and prestige by likening it to that of the giant lighthouse Hingcun people were proud of and wished him a life as long as the coast line of the Hingcun Peninsula that extended endlessly:

Susianggi, gorgor dinglau (i do) zior cianli, dngdng haihuann (i do) zuilientien,
ai io ue;

思想起，高高燈樓（伊都）照千里，長長海岸（伊都）水連天，哎唷喂；
[*Susianggi*, the huge lighthouse (*i do*) shines a thousand miles, the extending
coast line (*i do*) reaches the sky, *ai io ue!*]

⁷⁴ This is a Taiwanese tradition. To celebrate a family member's holiday, trotters and noodles are usually served for longevity.

Zui beh giankong ziah bahri, ai io ue! ai io, giannsun bhuantong cior bhi bhi (i do) ai io ue.

水伯健康吃百二，哎唷喂！哎唷，子孫滿堂笑咪咪（伊都）哎唷喂。

[Healthy Uncle A Shui shall live until one hundred and twenty years old, *ai io ue!*

ai io, Uncle A Shui smiled happily seeing the whole house of descendants (*i do*), *ai io ue!*]

As soon as I finished my singing, Mr. Yang was very pleased and kept on asking me, “Are you a native here? You must be, because you know how to sing *Susianggi* by ‘using’ the tune of *Susianggi*. An outsider can only ‘sing’ *Susianggi*”. Questioned by me, he explained further that a real Hingcun person uses the tune of *Susianggi* to fill in words and sings it; therefore, *Susianggi* is “alive”. He continued that, however, an outsider can only sing the song by following fixed words in a song book so *Susianggi* is “dead”. Indeed, Hingcun locals who know how to sing rarely sing the same words as those of others.

There is a special quality of love songs that employ the tune of *Susianggi*. They use sights to describe love. Although this is a technique frequently used by Holo folksongs, it is not strictly required. In Hingcun, if one does not know how to analogize love by sights, he or she will be considered below standard. Zhang Shiji (1940), who is known for his skills at several kinds of word-play, said:

In my youth, I learned to use the tune of *Susianggi* with the elders to sing love songs. They strictly required of us that we analogize love by sights. They told us if we lacked that ability we should quit or we would make a laughingstock of ourselves before others.

I asked the reason for the elders’ insistence. He said, “They told us that the words created in this way were more profound, refined, and implicit, and sound more educated. They would help us succeed in courtship.”⁷⁵ In the following are two of the eight *Susianggi* love songs he sang:

Susianggi, deyit horziau si banga, ciuding m hiorh hiorh toka, ai io ue!

思想起，第一好鳥是斑鳩，樹頂不歇歇土脚，哎唷喂！

⁷⁵ Zhang Shiji, personal communication, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

[*Susianggi*, the finest bird is the turtledove, it rests on the ground not on the tree top, *ai io ue!*]

A gun gah niunn u kahhah, ai io ue! ai io, tiuciam bokgua bhorzinnca, ai io ue!

阿君恰娘有較合，哎唷喂！哎唷，抽籤卜卦無精差，哎唷喂！

[Sir, you match perfectly with me, *ai io ue! ai io*, drawing lots and divining will just prove this, *ai io ue!*]

The first two phrases describe sights; the last two talk about love.

Susianggi, behziah cinnhi dihaigin, behepan siorniunn dicubinn, ai io ue!

思想起，欲吃鮮魚在海墘，欲攀小娘在厝邊，哎唷喂！

[*Susianggi*, to eat fresh fish, visit the seaside, to court beautiful girls, go to your neighbourhood, *ai io ue!*]

Cutcut riprip disiong'ginn, ai io ue! ai io, kahhor zianngeh gue sin ni, ai io ue!

出出入入佇相見，哎唷喂！哎唷，較好正月過新年，哎唷喂！

[Coming in and going out, you see each other often, *ai io ue! ai io*, better than having the New Year in January, *ai io ue!*]

The first phrases describe sights; the last three talk about love.

People in the Hingcun area have cultivated a strong identification and attachment towards their hometown because they have grown up in an area that possesses a unique culture due to its closed geographical environment. They identify with their own society and culture and take great pride in each and every sight of their homeland. An old lady named Huang Wu Guixiang (b. 1927) recalled that in her youth, she left home to go to the city for study and work. In the city, she often gathered together with her friends from her hometown to alleviate homesickness. She emphasized:⁷⁶

The best way to relieve homesickness is to sing songs of the homeland. Particularly, at the end of autumn and beginning of winter, it turned cooler. The weather reminded us that in our hometown it's time for 'luoshan feng' to start howling and shrikes to hover in the sky. Then we began singing *Susianggi*, which we learned in childhood.

Saying this, she started singing the song.

Susianggi, hanlo laisi lorhsuannhong, buantien hui'ing luanluan zong, ai io ue!

思想起，寒露來時落山風，半天飛鷹亂亂撞，哎唷喂！

⁷⁶ Huang Wu Guixiang, personal communication, 20 July 1989, Hingcun.

[*Susianggi*, at the end of autumn and beginning of winter “luoshan feng” begins, and shrieks dash about in midair, *ai io ue!*]

Iuzu tahiunn bhong tiensiong, ai io ue! ai io, deyt sionghor ghuan gohiong, ai io ue!

遊子他鄉望天相，哎唷喂！哎唷，第一上好阮故鄉，哎唷喂！

[Travellers in strange places observe the sky, *ai io ue! ai io*, the best place is our hometown, *ai io ue!*]

Moreover, Chen Lianye sang of the beauty of the historic spots of Hingcun. Chen Xinfu extolled in song that the beautiful natural scenery of Kenting National Park in Hingcun is paradise. Zhang Wenjie sang and played *yueqin* describing the odd-shaped rocks and seacoast scenery of Jialeshui, Yixiantian Cliff in Kenting National Park, and the magnificent views of sand rivers and sand waterfalls. Chen Ying proudly praised the lighthouse that has guided boats at night for more than one hundred years. From various angles, they used the tune of *Susianggi* to sing the praise of the Hingcun area and to express their love and strong attachment to their hometown.

As time passed, while other Hingcun folksongs gradually disappeared from the scene, only *Susianggi* and *Hingcun diau* still stand erect. Nevertheless, as far as the Hingcun area is concerned, *Susianggi* is still the tune which is sung most frequently by the largest number of Hingcun people. Accompanied with the approach of a new era are also new changes of the society and culture of Hingcun area. As Hingcun people continuously improve their living environment, they have also encountered challenges of numerous new difficulties. Nowadays, they employ *Susianggi* to draw people's attention to the environmental issue of the generation of electricity by nuclear energy, to encourage people to protect wild migratory birds and to remind young people not to forget the traditional culture of Hingcun. In recent years, tourism in Hingcun has prospered and millions of visitors travel in this area every year. Particularly, the pop music festival entitled “Spring Scream” in every spring draws hundreds of thousands of young people to the place.⁷⁷ Some of them ignore traffic regulations and rampage through the streets on motorbikes; the noise produced by their huge engines disrupts the peace of the place. Taking advantage of the spree of music festival, others sell and take drugs, disturbing the social order. Liu Shufang and Xie Meizu, who own shops on the streets of Kenting, share a common reaction towards these:

⁷⁷ In 2007, the name was changed into “Spring Music Festival of Kenting National Park”.

It's good for the town to flourish because of the development of tourism. Our income has thus increased. However, we'd rather not have these good-for-nothing youths here to disturb social order and pollute this simple place.

They sang their expectations concerning this by using the tune of *Susianggi*.⁷⁸

Liu Shufang:

Susianggi, cutbhng longsi zegicia, nabhor gaziau m tangkia, ai io ue!

思想起，出門攏是坐機車，若無駕照不當騎，哎唷喂！

[*Susianggi*, going out mostly on motorbikes, you'd better not ride one without a driving licence, *ai io ue!*]

Zinghu huatling m tanglia, ai io ue! ai io, gautong gingcat dng diliah, ai io ue!

政府法令不當惹，哎唷喂！哎唷，交通警察正在掠，哎唷喂！

[Don't ever violate the government's regulations, *ai io ue! ai io*, the traffic police are cracking down on offenders, *ai io ue!*]

Xie Meizu:

Susianggi, dokpin hailang zinbutcian, huandok suhdok si ghiktinn, ai io ue!

思想起，毒品害人真不淺，販毒吸毒是逆天，哎唷喂！

[*Susianggi*, drugs harm people badly, selling and taking drugs are against the will of Heaven, *ai io ue!*]

Zinghu hiongdok ziann suanzian, ai io ue! ai io, saudok gaidok ing anlian, ai io ue!

政府向毒正宣戰，哎唷喂！哎唷，掃毒戒毒永安然，哎唷喂！

[The government declares war on drugs, *ai io ue! ai io*, crackdown on and abstinence from drugs bring society peace, *ai io ue!*]

The above examples of *Susianggi* constitute merely a small part of the 225 songs I have collected. As a matter of fact, there are definitely many more songs that have used the tune of *Susianggi* in the Hingcun area, not to mention the ceaseless employment of the tune in daily life by locals. In August 2003, I paid a visit to Zhu Dingshun. Afterwards, we ate at a small restaurant near his house with Zhong Mingkun, Pan Zhengxing, the president of the Folksong Promotion Association of Buanziu district, Mrs. Pan, and Zhang Rigui. As soon as the boss served the first dish, Zhu Dingshun, a habitual wine drinker, consumed two cups of wine, and depicted

⁷⁸ Liu Shufang and Xie Meizu, personal communication, 25 August 2003, Hingcun.

impromptu his mood at that time in song by the tune of *Susianggi*:

Susianggi, langbhor limziu zingsinbai, ziuna lorh'au gauziulai, ai io ue!

思想起，人無飲酒精神壞，酒若落喉歌就來，哎唷喂！

[*Susianggi*, without drinking I am in a bad mood, as soon as the wine flows down my throat, here comes my song, *ai io ue!*]

Hingcun bhin'iau tonglangzai, ai io ue! ai io, limziu ciunn'gau ciorhaihai, ai io ue!

恆春民謠通人知，哎唷喂！哎唷，飲酒唱歌笑咳咳，哎唷喂！

[Everybody is aware of Hingcun folksongs, *ai io ue! ai io*, drinking and singing make me smile to my heart's content, *ai io ue!*]

When singing *Susianggi*, one normally starts with the characters “*Susianggi*” then continues with the words one favours. Nevertheless, there are also exceptions. A unique way of singing *Susianggi* by adding the phrase of “*a he'e baibai ue*” [one who looks ugly] before “*Susianggi*” has circulated in the Hingcun area. Locals call this *Baibai'a Susianggi*. According to the late Chen Da, there were different purposes in adding or not adding “*a he'e baibai ue*”.⁷⁹ He said that those who abided by the rules used the simple *Susianggi* as the introductory phrase and added subsequent words which had positive meanings such as praises of someone's virtues and achievements, beautiful scenery, pretty girls and so on, while those who used “*a he'e baibai ue, Susianggi*” tended to fill in subsequent words with negative connotations such as reprimand, and scolding, etc.⁸⁰ I was told by Hingcun locals, “We do have good manners. We warn people with “*a he'e baibai ue*” before we dress them down.” Unfortunately, lately except for a few elders who occasionally use *Baibai'a Susianggi*, the younger generation rarely employs the phrase any more.

The tune of *Susianggi* embraces all kinds of themes from people's daily lives. A flexibly-utilized tune, it could readily be filled in with many words and subject matters, and so it is not surprising that many contrasting examples of *Susianggi* can still be found today, even despite an overall decline in singing these songs in Taiwan. Its special appeal, however, is not simply as a bearer of lyrics but also as a set of musical qualities.

⁷⁹ Chen Da, personal communication, 24 December 1978, Hingcun area.

⁸⁰ In 2001, one Taiwanese pop song entitled “*Baibai Susianggi*” was popular in the market. (sung by Chen Lei). Although the title of the song is a copy of the traditional Hingcun folksong “*Baibai'a Susianggi*”, it has a totally different tune and newly-created words.

(4) Musical qualities

Over the years, Wu Zhiwei, Chen Da, Zhang Xinchuan, Zhang Wenjie and Zhu Dingshun, who amongst others are capable of creating lyrics and playing their own accompaniment at the same time, have been recognized as prominent folk singers by Hingcun locals. In particular, due to his ability spontaneously to compose lyrics (a skill which has drawn warm acclaim), his unique singing style and nationwide recognition of his name, Chen Da was generally acknowledged as the most outstanding singer of Hingcun folksongs. In the following, I shall analyse the music qualities of an instance of *Susiaggi* as performed impromptu by Chen Da, in which he urged people to be thrifty (Fig. 3.6, CD 1-11).⁸¹

[Fig. 3.6] Chen Da's *Susiaggi* [Chen Da's Thinking of]

Sung by Chen Da

Recording: Hsu Tsanghouei

Transcription: Chien Shangjen

(a) Su - siang - gi zit (a) ni gue-liau (a di) zit (a) ni (a) lai
 (啊)思 想 起 一(仔)年 過 了 (仔) 一(仔)年 (仔) 來

(a) lu lai gong-ging (a) (di) dioh lu bai (a ue)
 (啊) 愈 來 光 景(仔) (仔) 著 愈 歹 (啊) 喂

M tang (di lai) tan (a) zior (iu bheh lai) kuann - uah kai (a ue)
 嘸 通 (仔)來 賺(仔) 少 (又 欲 來) 快 活 開 (啊) 喂

bhue-dang gue-rit dua-sue (di) lau bhak (a) sai (a ue)
 袂 當 過 日 大 小 (仔) 流 目(仔) 屎 (啊) 喂

Notes: Accompaniment omitted.

The metre is free and not in a regular pattern. For the convenience of notation, I have slightly adapted the metre and made it regular.

⁸¹ *Susiaggi* sung by Chen Da, in *Shancheng Zouchang* [Mountain city singing circuit], Wind records Co., Ltd., 2000, CD TCD-1519, track 3.

Lyrics:

(a) *Susianggi, zit (a) ni gueliau (a di) zit (a) ni (a) lai, (a) lulai gongging (a) (di) dioh lubai (a ue);*

(啊) 思想起，一(仔)年過了(仔佇)一(仔)年(仔)來，(啊) 愈來光景(仔)(佇)著愈歹(啊喂)；

[*Susianggi, year after year, the situation is getting worse and worse (a ue);*]

M tang (d0 lai0 tan (a) zior (iu bheh lai) kuann'uah kai (a ue), bhuedang gue rit duasue (di) lau bhak (a) sai (a ue).

嚙通(佇來)賺(仔)少(又欲來)快活開(啊喂)，袂當過日大小(佇)流目(仔)屎(啊喂)。

[*Don't spend lavishly when you don't earn much, don't lead a life in which all family are shedding tears (a ue).]*

(a) *Susianggi, gongging ritghuat (ge lai) gai taulan, (ia) m tang gutlatziah (lilai) binduann tan (a Ue);*

(啊) 思想起，光景日月(攞來)蓋刁難，(吔) 不通骨力吃(你來)笨情賺(啊喂)；

[*Susianggi, the situation becomes more strained day by day, don't just love to eat but hate to work (a ue);]*

Binduann (a di) gagi (a di) bangho san (a ue), zialang bhehte lan gadiann (di lai) dau ciaulan (a ue).

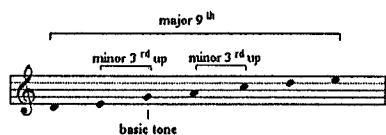
笨惰(仔佇)自己(仔佇)放給窮(啊喂)，誰人欲替咱家庭(佇來)鬥超難(啊喂)。

[*If you're lazy and content with poverty, who will help us conquer difficulties (a ue).]*

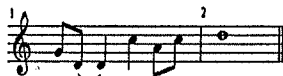
Analysis of music:

Tone set: Do, Re, Mi, Sol, La.

Range, Scale and mode: Major ninth; pentatonic scale, Sol mode.



Introductory pattern:



This has an atmosphere of recollection; it leads the song to proceed. Many singers treat it as a buffer to buy time in thinking up suitable words to sing next.

Special pattern: 

Usual pattern: 

The bars 6-7 and the bars 12-13 are actually identical, but differ somewhat because of the singer's impromptu performance.

Song form: two-stanzas-four-phrases.

Melody movement:

- 1st phrase (bars 1-4): Sol ↗ Re'; Sol ↗ La;
- 2nd phrase (bars 5-7): Re' → Re'; Sol → Sol;
- 3rd phrase (bars 8-10): La ↗ Do'; La → Re;
- 4th phrase (bars 11-13): La → La; Re' ↘ Sol.

Note: Do, Re, Mi, Sol, and La represent the first or last tone of each phrase; the marking " ' " to the top right of a tone denotes a higher octave; " , " to the right of a tone denotes a lower octave. This principle is also applicable to the analysis of other melody movements in this thesis.

In short, the tune of *Susianggi* is simply a basic frame. As long as a singer sings within that framework and follows its musical qualities, he or she is able to sing and fill in words impromptu. The metre and the tempo can be changed according to one's liking; the melodies and notes are slightly modulated based on the demands of individual singing habits and the direction of language tones.⁸² The progression of the melody is introduced by an introductory pattern of raised and lengthy sounds, like the "shouting sentence" of *San'ge*.⁸³ In the progression of the melody, besides the quality of the special pattern and usual pattern, the wave-motion melody line, which descends from a height and ascends again, appears frequently, for instance, the 3rd, 5th, 8th and 11th bars; occasionally, there also appears a mirror image of the melody line, for instance, the 4th, 6th-7th, and 12th-13th bars. In addition, there appears a sudden descent between phrases, for instance, the descent between the 2nd and the 3rd bars,

⁸² Refer to Chapter Four Section 4.3 of this thesis for more information about the relationship between language tones and song tunes.

⁸³ *Shan'ge* is a song sung in a wild field in the mountains. Singers usually begin their singing with a lengthy sentence of a higher pitch, which is called a "shouting sentence", in order to allow the other person in the distance to hear their singing clearly.

and the descent between the 5th and the 6th bars. This is another characteristic of the *Susianggi* sung by Chen Da.

(5) Correspondence between *Susianggi* and theories of Merriam and Rice

From the discussion of the tune and examples of *Susianggi*, we have found that many musical phenomena of *Susianggi* are revealing when considered from a perspective informed by the models of Merriam and Rice. Zhang Xinchuan, the prominent singer, inherited the folk tune passed on in the process of historical construction, adopted historical fragments from impressions, nurtured his concept through personal thinking, took action to create texts, and then sang about the origin of the *Susianggi* tune. It does not matter whether his texts conform to historical facts or not; the singing he developed via through his own combination of concepts, behaviours and sounds will continue to inspire other Hingcun people to rethink their own concepts and imaginings, handing these on in turn to become part of a further round of musical construction. Zhu Dingshun, another outstanding singer, employing the concepts received from his experience of farming life since childhood, sang a “farming *Susianggi*”, created by himself, to the accompaniment of *yueqin*. This represents not only his individual creation and experience but also shows how performance can emerge from a particular set of conceptualizations, through certain behaviours, leading to sets of sound as a whole. The song conveys the message that the Hingcun area is a society based on an agricultural economy and most people rely on nature to lead their lives, a set of ideas made all the more expressive through its musical setting as a song.

Through attending to examples like this, the Hingcun people have sustained a tradition of “love for singing”, a factor that has allowed Hingcun folksongs to be relatively widely maintained in the area even in the latest decades. Music here enables Hingcun people to share and express their feelings and mutual resonances. It also allows Hingcun people living in other places to gather together collectively to alleviate their homesickness by singing folksongs from their hometown, in particular *Susianggi*.

The explanation concerning the tune name of “*Susianggi*”, and the development of its pronunciation and written forms, shows how contemporary songs have retained elements of the concepts, behaviour and sound which existed in the past. When

Hingcun people sing *Susianggi*, they have to sing all parts of the tune to finish it – the introductory phrase, the body sentences (*sihgulian*) and the concluding phrase. Moreover, when singing a love song, their texts have to observe the principle of “love aroused by a scene” in order to be deemed as living up to the earlier standards. These requirements for textual structure and content are all built upon the values commonly identified, maintained and adhered to by the society and the ways they are performed are also part of what have been accumulated, transmitted, and retained in the process of historical construction.

In addition, the tune of *Susianggi* is also used on occasions such as New Year, festivals, weddings, the worship of Buddha, and birthday celebrations, where people sing their impromptu creations as a particularly interactive kind of musical behaviour. Their behaviours reflect not only their experiences of daily life, but also act to maintain and pass on the traditions from generation to generation. Moreover, through this singing behaviour, Hingcun people revisit aspects of traditional social values inherited in former sets of lyrics, so revisiting their own history as well as singing out their concerns for communal development and social security. In brief, *Susianggi* has social value for the community more widely as well as being a vehicle for individual creation and experience.

3.1-2 *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail]

(1) Origin

The prominent folksong singers in the Hingcun area, Chen Da, Zhang Xinchuan, Zhang Wenjie, Zhu Dingshun and Zhang Rigui all consider *Ghubhe buann* to be the oldest folk tune of the area.⁸⁴ Furthermore, local musician Zhong Mingkun thinks that *Ghubhe buann* is so old that it originated from aborigines of the local Paiwan tribe. As he said to me, “I cannot confirm this. However, I deeply believe that *Ghubhe buann* must have been influenced by the aboriginal tune.”⁸⁵

(2) From *Ciunn kik* to *Ghubhe buann*

At first, *Ghubhe buann* was a tune without words. It was hummed with the sound “m”.

⁸⁴ Personal communication: Chen Da, 17 August 1978; Zhang Xinchuan, 19 July 1989; Zhang Wenjie, 18 July 1989.

⁸⁵ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 1 September 1986, Tainan.

The song did not have a name, therefore, before performing, an elder simply said, "I'm going to *Ciunn kik* [sing a tune]". As a result, "*Ciunn kik*" became the surrogate name of the tune.⁸⁶

This song was associated with tragic situations. For example, some in Hingcun hummed the tune to express their sweet memories of their family members and old friends. In humming the tune, they embedded the names of those whom they missed in the tune, the rest being merely composed of the sound of "m". Sometimes, when an elder passed away, people hummed the tune before the coffin or in the funeral procession to express their gratitude, sadness and yearning. Zhong Mingkun said, "The tune was used in expressing yearning for a deceased family member. In particular, in the evening, when singers, with tears in their eyes, lamented to their hearts' content, onlookers could not help but shed tears of sympathy because of the sad desolation and sincere feelings revealed in their singing."⁸⁷ The high emotional charge this caused raised an issue for me in 1980, when I was less aware of the close relationship between folksong singing and the lives and rites of the locals. Visiting Wu Xishui (1912-92), I asked him to sing the *Ciunn kik* that cherished the memory of his deceased wife for me to record. Only later did I realise that this was a very impolite request. Knowing that it was purely for the purpose of research, Mr. Wu did not blame me but simply refused, saying, "That would bring me grief."⁸⁸

Xu Tianque, who lived at the foot of the mountains, provided a second explanation of the usage of the tune. He asserted, "When a person groans in great pain because of serious illness, he or she would hum this tune to soothe the pain." He offered his personal experience in childhood as an example:

My grandfather died young and my grandmother became a widow in her forties. Unfortunately, she suffered from serious asthma. On cold days, she always panted breathlessly and even coughed badly. At night, probably to drive away loneliness, she always had me to sleep with her. In the middle of winter nights of the year before she died, I often heard grandma's heavy panting in my sleep. The panting seemed to mingle with groans caused by illness but they also sounded like singing. I asked her, "Grandma, are you groaning because of pain?" She always sturdily hid the truth by answering, "No,

⁸⁶ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 60.

⁸⁷ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 1 September 1986, Tainan.

⁸⁸ Wu Xishui, personal communication, 15 July 1980, Hingcun area.

I'm just singing *Ciunn kik*." After I grew up, I realized that actually she wasn't singing; she was using the tune of *Ghubhe buann* to ease her pain.

As Xu said this, tears were rolling down his cheeks. Neither could I restrain my own tears.⁸⁹

The tune would also be used by a bride and her family to express their unwillingness to part from one another prior to the wedding ceremony. On this occasion, words expressing the grief of parting were gradually added to the tune. After that, as time passed, the purposes of *Ciunn kik* were simplified. It was rarely used on general occasions of nostalgia, parting and sorrow any more but was used particularly at the "farewell party" on the eve of a wedding and in the "sisters' gathering" before the bride boarded a sedan chair to be transported to the groom's house. Subsequently, the tune was gradually given the name of *Ghubhe buann* (see section 4 below).⁹⁰

(3) Exploration of song titles

Due presumably to the existence of varying dialects and many similar-sounding words in Holo, there appeared three versions of the name: "牛尾絆" [*ghu-bhe-buann* or *ghu-bho-buann*], "牛尾伴" [*ghu-bhe-puann* or *ghu-bho-puann*] and "牛母伴" [*ghu-bho-puann* or *ghu-bhu-puann*]. Opinions of the locals are widely divided as to which is correct. There are two pronunciations of the characters "牛尾", meaning "an ox's tail", and two of the characters "牛母", which mean "a mother cow". Furthermore, the pronunciation of "絆" [*buann*], which means "wagging", is similar to that of "伴" [*puann*], meaning "to accompany", leading to yet further variant interpretations of this title.

Three versions of this name have gained their own interpretations in the Hingcun area. Those who stick to the version of "牛母伴" [*Ghubho puann*] claim that at the farewell party on the eve before the daughter is married, the bride acted the major role and other participants sang antiphonally with her. Therefore, the bride is like a mother cow and others like a herd of cattle. Those who hold this view are mostly found in the Bhuanziu district.⁹¹ On the other hand, those who favour the "牛尾伴" [*Ghubhe*

⁸⁹ Xu Tianque, personal communication, 24 July 1988, Hingcun area.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Zhong Mingkun, a musician in Bhuanziu district, advocates this view. He contends that the most

puann] version believe that at the farewell party, the way in which family and friends take turns to sing antiphonally with the bride is like cattle walking behind each other. Thus, the name literally means following the tail of an ox. The number of people who hold this view is comparatively smaller. Further, people who advocate the “牛尾絆” [*Ghubhe buann*] title state that in singing, the melody of *Ghubhe buann* rises and falls and floats freely like an ox’s tail leisurely wagging as the carefree ox grazes in a meadow. Such an interpretation is preferred by most people in Hingcun town and Casiann district and by scholars.⁹²

(4) *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail] in the ceremony of marrying daughters

Up to the 1940s, in the ceremony of marrying a daughter in the Hingcun area people normally arranged two significant singing gatherings: one was the “farewell party” held on the eve of the wedding and the other was the “sisters’ gathering” held before the bride boarded a sedan chair on the morning of the wedding day. At these two gatherings, everyone expressed heart-felt words in song, and all of them used the same melody, the tune of *Ghubhe buann*.

Most people who knew the bride, whether grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts, siblings, neighbours or close friends, attended the farewell party held on the eve of the wedding. At the farewell party, in addition to a banquet to entertain family and friends, the most important activity was for the bride and her family and friends to sing *Ghubhe buann* antiphonally. Before the ritual, the bride and those who intended to sing to the bride formed a circle. After a speech delivered by an esteemed elder, the highly emotional singing began. The antiphonal singing generally proceeded according to the following plan: the bride sang a song, another person sang, the bride sang again and then another person sang, the process continuing until all who wished to participate had done so. In their songs, family and friends expressed blessings and advice while, in response, the bride conveyed her appreciation to her family and friends. Her words expressed lingering sorrow at parting and fears in relation to the

frequently used name in Bhuanzi is “牛母伴” [*Ghubho puann*].

⁹² For instance: Hsu Tsanghouei, *Taiwan Holosi Min'ge* [Taiwanese Holo folk songs], Baike wenhua gongsi, 1982; *Taiwan Min'yao* [Taiwanese folk song], Taiwansheng sinwenchu, 1983; Chen Junbin “Hingcun diau Min'yao Yanjiu” [Research in *Hingcun diau* folk songs], Taipei Yishu Daxue, Master's thesis, 1993.

marriage. The scene was very warm and moving.⁹³

There was no fixed form in singing *Ghubhe buann*. As long as a singer stuck to the musical style and basic two-line structure of *Ghubhe buann*, he or she could freely change the length of notes and the pitch of melody, or even alternate natural voice and falsetto according to his or her emotions. Sometimes a singer's voice range exceeded two octaves when he or she was expressing the saddest feelings. Numerous vocables were added to the lyrics, such that performances of *Ghubhe buann* could be both unpredictable and very touching. The following illustration is my transcription of the lyrics for *Ghubhe buann* as practised by the choir of the Folksong Promotion Association of Bhuanziu district at Pan Zhengxing's house on 23 August 2003 (see Fig. 3.7).⁹⁴



[Fig. 3.7] *Ghubhe buann* practised by the choir of the Folksong Promotion Association of Bhuanziu district. Photo by Chien Shangjen, 2003.

Bride: *Zainntau (a) ga'lorh gi (o) gi (a) tiann, ghuan e bebhu ai zabo but'ai zabho (hi lo) giann (a).*

指頭(仔)咬落支(哦)支(啊)痛, 阮的父母愛查甫不愛查某(彼個)子(啊)。

[As fingers are bitten, each painful, my parents love sons but not daughters.]

Father: *Zabo zabho longsi (a) giann, li (lai) cutsi zabho ziusi gucaimiann (a).*

查甫查某攏是(啊)子, 妳(來)出世查某就是韭菜命(啊)。

⁹³ Pan Zhenghang, personal communication, 22 August 2003, Hingcun area.

⁹⁴ Bride, Li Xie Mianqing; Father, He Niansheng; Aunt (paternal side), Pan Zhang Biyu; Aunt (maternal side), Xie Chen Yuxia; Uncle, Cao Zhenghui; First female friend, Pan Gu Liyu; Second female friend, Liao Wang Yangyue; mother, Zhang Rigui. Recorded on 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

[Sons and daughters are all my children, as a daughter you were born to the fate of leeks.]⁹⁵

Bride: *Ghua si hambhanlang e giannri, kigau langhia, lang e bng'uann, ghuagam pang e ki (a).*

我是慫慢人的子兒，去到人彼，人的飯碗，我咁捧會起（啊）。

[I am the daughter of incompetent parents, how will I be able to manage my husband's house?]

Aunt (paternal side): *Sunri, hi si ziahlauzui, lina gegau langhia ziuai horcuisui (a).*

孫兒，魚是食流水，妳若嫁到人彼就愛好嘴脣（啊）。

[My niece, a fish survives in flowing water, at your husband's house you must have a sweet mouth.]

Bride: *Ghua dicu si ding (a) ge buann (o) au (a) ge, ghua na kigau langhia (an ne) mui hang bhe (a).*

我在厝是頂（啊）街搬（哦）後（啊）街，我若去到人彼（按呢）每項餽。

[At home I was free and easy, at the other house I'll be clumsy in everything.]

Aunt (maternal side): *Angki horziah dui di ki si, lina kigau langhia, m tang bhong'un gah bue ghi (a).*

红柿好吃對佢起時，你若去到人彼，不當忘恩佻背義。

[Red persimmon is delicious when it's ripe, after you get married don't be ungrateful.]

Uncle: *Sunri, lina kigau langhia, lang'e kanga lidioh aitiann, lina gegau langhia, lidioh ai iuhau dageguann (a).*

孫兒，妳若去到人彼，人的牽教妳著愛聽，妳若嫁到人彼，妳著愛有孝大家官。

[Grandchild, at your husband's house, you should listen to others' advice, at their house you should obey your parents-in-law.]

First female friend: *Muigun, li'e bebhu gali zu'i si cianli lodo hng, lan'na bheh siorcau, zunziau'a laibue, sit ia e lng (a).*

⁹⁵ *Gucaimiann* (Holo, literally “the fate of leeks”): in the old agricultural society, women assumed a low status and had no say in their fate. Whatever families they were born and married into, they reconciled themselves to their situations and resigned themselves to their fate. In growing leeks, a farmer usually allowed leeks to emerge and perish by themselves. Consequently, a proverb says that women have the fate of leeks.

妹君，妳的父母予妳主意是千里路途遠，咱若欲相找，準鳥仔來飛，翅也會軟。

[Sister, your parents chose a husband whose house is far away, our wings would be exhausted, if we flew like birds to meet each other.]

Second female friend: *Muigun, li si bebhū laizuhun, bhanhang daizi lidioh ai tunlun (a).*

妹君，你是父母來主婚，萬項代誌妳著愛吞忍。

[Sister, your marriage is arranged by your parents, you should be tolerant in every thing.]

Mother: *Zabhogiann, bebhū gali ciga ziah duahan, bhehlai hunkui tiahsuann, a, nia ia zin m gam (a).*

查某子，父母予妳飼到即大漢，欲來分開拆散，阿娘也真不甘。

[My daughter, your parents brought you up, your mother is reluctant to let you go at this moment of separation.]

Bride: *Ghua si bebhū lai zu'I, letau didiann (an ne) ia diohki (a); ciupang zibue ging siang cin, lingghua zitbue behging bhor'i gah gugim (a).*

我是父母來主意，犁頭戴鼎（按呢）也著去；手捧這杯敬雙親，另外一杯欲敬母姨佻舅姪。

[My marriage was arranged by my parents, whatever is waiting for me I have to go; I drink this toast to my parents, and another to my aunts.]

Until the 1940s, when girls in the Hingcun area reached the age of fifteen or sixteen, they had to learn Hingcun folk songs, particularly *Ghubhe buann*. When a matchmaker brought a proposal of marriage, the prospective bride had to invite female elders who excelled in *Ghubhe buann* to teach her the tune, or asked “sisters” to practise with her to enhance her learning.⁹⁶ Zhang Rigui (see Fig. 3.8), a volunteer teaching children Hingcun folksongs at elementary schools, said:

In my childhood, when helping on the field, I often heard adults singing folksongs as they worked. Although I also hummed with them, I didn't learn the folksongs seriously. Fortunately, before my wedding, my parents forced me to learn folksongs. It was the first time I truly learned how to sing them and also found that I was quite a good singer. At my wedding, when I sang *Ghubhe buann*, I cried and sang in fits and

⁹⁶ In the past, girls in the Hingcun area called close female friends “sisters”.

starts, with tears all over my face. My parents and other family and friends also sang with me in tears. This is an unforgettable experience for my whole life. From then on, singing folksongs has become an important part of my life. That's why I have the ability to teach children to sing Hingcun folksongs now.⁹⁷



[Fig. 3.8] Zhang Rigui, the prominent folksong singer.
Photo by Zhong Mingkun, 2003.

At a “farewell party”, it was usually the bride who initiated the singing. Although some brides started with gratitude for their parents’ love and care since their childhood, or with expressions of sorrow over parting, most took this opportunity to sing about the fears and complaints that were in their hearts. At that time, the bride usually had limited understanding of the characteristics and habits of the groom’s family due to the fact that almost all marriages were arranged by parents. It was natural for her to feel frightened and resistant as on the next day she was going to leave her parents and the home that she had grown up in to enter a new, entirely strange environment. Therefore, the bride complained that her parents preferred sons (who would stay in or near the family home when they married) but married off daughters, even though all their sons and daughters were as important as their fingers, each of which hurt equally when it was bitten. She likened herself to a friendless and helpless discarded bird which had fallen into the abyss of a deep well and would live a miserable life without any light. Some also complained that under their parents’ arrangements they would marry into an impoverished family in an obscure village where the roads were rugged and rough. In the following are some examples of further lyrics learned by two old ladies, Wu Duizai and Chen Juhua, when they were young:⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Zhang Rigui, personal communication, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

⁹⁸ Wu Duizai, personal communication, 29 June 1989, Hingcun area; Chen Juhua, personal

Wu Duizai:

Bhor i bhor ua ghua gagi, cinnciunn goziau hiorh ciugi.

無依無俚我自己，親像孤鳥歇樹枝。

[I'm alone, friendless and helpless, like a lonely bird perching on a branch.]

Lang e bebhu zu I, cinnciunn tinnding ghuehgng'mi, ghun bebhu zu i cinnciunn gozinn ghueh'ammi.

人的父母主意，親像天頂月光暝，阮父母主意親像古井月暗暝。

[Other parents arranged for their daughters a marriage as bright as the brilliant moon in the sky, while my parents arranged me a marriage as dark as the abyss of an old well.]

Lang e bebhu zu i buanntiann ang, ghun bebhu lai zu i si muatiann kang.

人的父母主意半廳紅，阮父母來主意是滿廳空。

[Other brides' wedding halls are decorated with lanterns and red ribbons whereas my wedding hall is completely empty.]

Lang e bebhu zu i dualo horsaicia, ghun bebhu zu i cinnciunn suannlo dorteigiann.

人的父母主意，大路好駛車，阮父母主意，親像山路倒退行。

[In other brides' arranged marriages, the roads of their husbands' villages are broad and smooth, but for me, those of my husband are rugged and rough.]

Chen Juhua:

Lang e bebhu zu i oto siplunde, ghun e bebhu zu I suannsua ziohtaule.

人的父母主意，黑土濕潤地；阮的父母主意，散沙石頭螺。

[In the marriages arranged by parents, the land is wet and fertile; in the wedding arranged for me, the land is full of sand, pebbles and spiral shells.]

For their part, parents were fully aware that in a society profoundly influenced by Han culture, women were subordinate to men and could not control their own futures. Consequently, parents were usually tolerant of their daughter's complaints at the farewell party and responded euphemistically to show they well understood their

daughter's frame of mind and grievances. In their singing, parents comforted their daughter, hoping that by being able to leave their poor house, their daughter could marry a good husband and change her fate, like seeds sown in another mountain, rooting, sprouting, growing and bearing new fruit there. The following sets of lyrics sung by Zhang Wang Fumi and Wu Duizai are good examples.⁹⁹

Zhang Wang Fumi:

Zainntau'a galorh gigitang, zabo zabho bennbenn long si giann.

指頭仔咬落支支痛，查甫查某平平攏是子。

[Each finger hurts badly when it is bitten, sons and daughters are all my children.]

Wu Duizai:

Ghun gah zingzi iahdi hi suann, aulai senn'gin huathiorh holangkuann.

阮恰種子撒在彼山，後來生根發葉給人看。

[We sowed seeds in another mountain, hoping others could see them root, and grow leaves one day.]

Chen You Yuhao, born in 1930, offered another experience:¹⁰⁰

My parents arranged for me to be married off to my husband, who lived in a remote mountain, which could be reached only on foot. I was indeed like “water having been poured out”.¹⁰¹ It took eight hours for me to walk back to my parents' house. Therefore, at the farewell party, I expressed my complaints. My parents responded to my grumbles in a way that made me speechless and feel extremely sad.

Her parents response in singing was that they had undergone every conceivable hardship to bring her up and would never ask anything in return, implying that they hoped she should see things through their eyes:

Bebhu tanggiann si ritrit ziau'go, bhehbang giann tianntang bebh cinnciunn

⁹⁹ Wu Duizai, personal communication, 29 June 1989, Hingcun area; Zhang Wang Fumi, personal communication, 24 August 2003, Hingcun area.

¹⁰⁰ Chen You Yuhao, personal communication, 23 August 1998, Hingcun area.

¹⁰¹ According to a traditional custom in Taiwan, on the wedding day, as the bride leaves her parents' house striding across the threshold, one of her family will pour out a bucket of water after her to symbolize that the married daughter has severed her relationship with her parents' family forever.

sann si hong lng si ho.

父母痛子是日日照顧，欲望子疼痛父母，親像三時風二時雨。

[Parents love their children dearly and take daily care of them, for children to return their love is hard to come by. It is as rare as rain and wind together.]

Cianziam bhansuann zor giannsann, ciangin bhandann bhorlang teghuadann.

千針萬線做子衣服衫，千斤萬担無人替我担。

[I sewed my children's clothes with hundreds and thousands of threads and stitches, none of them has to bear the hundreds and thousands cattles of burden on my shoulder.]

Elders such as maternal and paternal aunts and uncles stood in an awkward position when parents and the marrying daughter poured out complaints against each other. They came to celebrate their niece's wedding but meanwhile had to play a role as mediators. Nevertheless, as elders, they would still most typically advise the bride to treat her parents and future parents-in-law with respect and filial piety. In particular, the bride was taught never to be ungrateful. In addition to the songs sung by the members of Bhuanziu Folk Song Promotion Association mentioned before, here are some more examples:

Zhang Lin Ashen:¹⁰²

Laubhu huailan zapghueh lai cutsi, landioh m'tang bhong'un gah bueghi.

老母懷咱十月來出世，咱著不當忘恩恰背義。

[We were born after our mothers suffered a ten-month pregnancy, we should never ever be ungrateful.]

Wu Duizai:¹⁰³

Bebhu sennlan lan sennlang, nalai buthau sian m'tang.

父母生咱咱生人，若來不孝先不當。

[Our parents bore us and we bear our own children, it is not right to be unfilial.]

Chen You Yuhao:¹⁰⁴

Sun'ghi li'gau batlancu, lanna duasiann huah, liai sesiann ing, cubinn lang ziah

¹⁰² Zhang Lin Ashen, personal communication, 25 August 2003, Hingcun area.

¹⁰³ Wu Duizai, personal communication, 3 July 1990, Hingcun area.

¹⁰⁴ Chen You Yuhao, personal communication, 23 August 1998, Hingcun area.

e orlor siahlang e giannri.

孫兒你到別人厝，人若大聲喊，你愛小聲應，厝邊人才會奧佬誰人的子兒。
[My niece, when married into your husband's home, you should respond in a soft voice to others' loud shouting, then the neighbours will praise you for your good upbringing.]

Zhang Wenjie:¹⁰⁵

Sunghi, agu gali gong, li bhinn'a aurit ki lang'hia, samziong sudik, li dioh ailai zorho ziann.

孫兒，阿舅加你講，你明仔後日去人彼；三從四德，你著要來做乎正。
[My niece, listen to your uncle, you should behave properly by following the rule of three obediences and four virtues after you're married into your husband's home tomorrow.]

Despite the advice of parents and elders, it was nevertheless difficult for the bride to remove the shadows in her heart. She had to encounter a totally new environment, in which serving parents-in-law, tending to her husband and dealing with her husband's relatives and friends would be an arduous test. Thinking that her upbringing left her unprepared for this, she felt even more frightened. At this moment, the bride's "sisters"—peers whom she usually confided in—played a significant role in comforting and encouraging her. Besides expressing their sorrow at parting, these "sisters" would also console the bride, empathize with her and understand that at the last moment before the wedding the bride was sure to feel unsettled and distressed by the predicament of having "one foot on each of two boats", an idiom that hints at the requirement of being both a good daughter and a dutiful daughter-in-law at the same time. Consequently, "sisters" encouraged their friend to look on the bright side and show gratitude for her parents' thoughtfulness in finding a husband for her. Further, the bride was told that it was beneficial to have parents-in-law, who would care for her like parents and not allow their daughter-in-law to be puzzled and helpless like a solitary bird. You Zhu Xiazai (b. 1925) sang out "sisters'" feelings:¹⁰⁶

Ziamuai li im'am simtau luanhunhun, bhinn'azai sim'guann siangka dahsiangzun.

姊妹你今晚心頭亂紛紛，明仔在心肝雙腳踏雙船。

¹⁰⁵ Zhang Wenjie, personal communication, 13 July 1995, Hingcun area.

¹⁰⁶ You Zhu Xiazai, personal communication, 19 July 1989, Hingcun area.

[Sister, you're confused tonight, and your heart will be on two boats tomorrow.]

Muaigun, lang hia ube ubhu sionggai hor, na bhorbe bhobhu ziu cinnciunn go ziau bhornaihor.

妹君，人彼有父有母上界好，若無父無母就親像孤鳥無奈何。

[My younger sister, it's best that he has parents, you'd be like a helpless lonely bird if he has no parents.]

The antiphonal singing between the bride and the relatives and friends did not seem to be able to untie the knot in the heart of the bride. At last, after the bride's mother sang her unwillingness to part from her daughter with a heart full of love for her child, the bride showed her appreciation for her parents' love and for the relatives' and friends' blessings by drinking a toast. Usually, the ceremony of the "farewell party" would linger on until dawn. At the end of the party, the host would sing to guests:¹⁰⁷

Im am gauzia, geti ingge siann, bhinn'a aurit ziahgorh guelai hoghunciann.

今暗到這，鷄啼應鷄聲，明仔後日才攔過來予阮請。

[Tonight, let's stop in the echoes of the cocks' crow, please come over again for the wedding feast tomorrow.]

Although the "sisters' gathering" on the wedding day was shorter than the "farewell party", it was also a very touching occasion. The "sisters' gathering" was mainly arranged for the bride and her "sisters" to confide their feelings to one another via antiphonal singing; nevertheless, occasionally parents and relatives also cut in at the right moment to supplement the occasion with words they did not sing the night before. Before the bride boarded the sedan chair, her "sisters" gathered together at the bride's house to extend their congratulations, consolation and encouragement while the bride continued to pour out her complaints and fears. Reluctant to separate from the bride, the "sisters" kept on singing by the sedan chair after the bride boarded it. Even after the sedan chair set out, the "sisters" still waved farewell and sang their last blessings. I had the good fortune to find and interview two women, Pan Gu Liyu (b.1946) and Hong Xiulan (b.1956), who sang for me, playing the roles of "sister" and bride respectively.¹⁰⁸ Pan Gu said, "Now that the family which the bride is going to marry into is settled, we should give her encouragement and tell her that it is for her

¹⁰⁷ Zhang Rigui, personal communication, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

¹⁰⁸ Pan Gu Liyu and Hong Xiulan, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

good that parents arranged the marriage.” Accordingly, in her singing Pan Gu used the image of Guan Yu’s helping Liu Bei ascend the throne (from the Three Kingdoms era in China) to symbolize the help parents gave their daughter in finding a husband.¹⁰⁹

Muai'gun, li e bebhu gahli zu I, si Guan Gong dihu Laubi.

妹君，你的父母佻你主意，是關公在扶劉備。

[Sister, your parents' arranging your marriage is like Guan Gong helping Liu Bei ascend the throne.]

Hong played the role of the bride; she sang complaints and expressions of helplessness, stating that her parents' arranged marriage brought her nothing but to a wasteland where only lintou trees and bamboos grew:

Ghua e bebhu gahghua zu I, si lanndau gorh gau dikci.

我的父母佻我主意，是林投攔厚竹刺。

[The family my parents arranged for me is in a place that grows only lush lintou trees and bamboos.]

Pan Gu consoled and encouraged the bride one more time:

Muai'gun, li e bebhu gahli zu I, si dingtau di kuannhongging.

妹君，你的父母佻你主意，是頂頭佇看風景。

[Sister, your parents arranged for you a place on broad uplands where you can enjoy a panoramic view.]

The bride still complained:

*Ghua e bebhu gahghua zu I, si hai'gin di tiann hong'ing.*¹¹⁰

我的父母佻我主意，是海墘佇聽風湧。

[My parents arranged for me a place at the seaside where I can hear only the howling wind and waves.]

Pan Gu said, “In fact, who knows if the marriage will be happy or not? We’ll just have to resign ourselves to our fate! But anyway, marriage is a happy occasion; we should after all offer our best wishes.” Finally, she sang:

¹⁰⁹ The three kingdoms in this era in Chinese history were Wei, Shu and Wu. Liu Bei, the emperor of the Kingdom of Shu, ascended the throne through the assistance of Guan Yu, who was just, loyal and devoted. The historical story about this is popular among the Taiwanese, who respect Guan Yu and call him Guan Gong.

¹¹⁰ Implying that her future husband was a poor fisherman.

Ziok li singsiang gah singdui, gongbhing singziu bhan'ni hu'gui.

祝你成雙佻成對，功名成就萬年富貴。

[I heartily wish you find a good match, and accomplish success, fame, and everlasting wealth and status.]

(5) Structure of the lyrics and musical characteristics

The lyrics and tune structure of *Ghubhe buann* belong to the two-phrase form. The lyrics are quite colloquial. In principle, they are formed by the two-phrase-seven-word form; however, a singer would normally add many vocables to the basic structure. Moreover, in performing, a singer mixed singing and humming somewhat freely while following the basic tune structure of *Ghubhe buann*. In the whole song there were numerous melodies which were transformed from language tones; the singing was like that of the *liam gua* genre. In the following, I shall introduce the *Ghubhe buann* Pan Yumei sang to say good-bye to the bride at a farewell party, and analyse its music characteristics (Fig. 3.9, CD 1-12):¹¹¹

[Fig. 3.9]

Ghubhe buann [Ox whisking its tail]

Sung by Pan Yumei

Recording: Zhong Mingkun
Transcription: Chien Shangjen

The musical score is written on a single staff in treble clef. It consists of 12 measures, numbered 1 through 12. The melody is characterized by a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often with slurs and accents. Below the staff, the lyrics are written in Chinese characters with phonetic annotations in parentheses. The lyrics are: 姊(zi) 妹(muai) 咱(lan) 今(ing) 晚(uan) 是(si) 同(gang) 桌(dok) 佻(gah) 哦(oh) 同(gang) 啊(a) 椅(i) 咱(lan) 仔(zi) 後(au) 日(rit) 仔(zi) 欲(beh) 分(hun) 開(kui) 拆(tiah) 散(suann) 你(li) 仔(zi) 隨(sui) 人(lang) 的(e) 啊(a) 去(ki) 啊(a)

Lyrics:

¹¹¹ Pan Yumei, personal communication, 24 August 2003, Hingcun area.

Ziamuai, lan im am si guongde gah guongyi, lan aurit'a bhe funkui tiasuann, li suilanki.

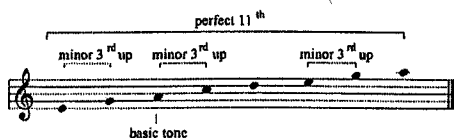
姊妹，咱今晚是同桌佻同椅，咱後日欲分間拆散，你隨人去。

[Sister, we sit at the same table and on the same chair tonight, we'll be separated in the future, you'll go away with another person.]

Music analysis:

Tone set: Do, Re, Mi, Sol, La.

Range, scale and mode: the range is as wide as major eleventh, a rare example in folksongs; pentatonic scale, La mode:



Special pattern and singing manner:

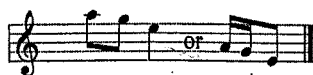
(1) from the 3rd beat of the 4th bar to the 6th bar:



(2) from the 3rd beat of the 11th bar to the 12th bar:



Usual pattern:



Song form: one-stanza-two-phrases.

Melody movement:

1st phrase (bars 1-6): La, ↗ Mi; La, ↗ La;

2nd phrase (bars 7-12): Re ↘ Mi; Mi ↗ La.

(6) Blending of the cultures of different ethnic groups

The gathering of family and friends to bid farewell to the bride in singing before leaving home was a rite unique to the Hingcun area in the past, one not practised in other parts of Taiwan, although some mainland Chinese traditions share aspects of this practice.¹¹² Ceremonies in the Hingcun area to bid farewell and express sorrow at

¹¹² In the Hunan and Hubei areas, which are located in the middle reaches of the Yangtze River in China, a song entitled “*Kujia'ge*” [Crying for the marrying daughter] once circulated, used when the marrying daughter and family members (parents, and siblings) were bidding farewell and urging

parting before a daughter's wedding are similar to the Cantonese bridal laments in Ha Tsuen village, located at the northwest corner of New Territories in Hong Kong.¹¹³ For example, before the marriage, girls had to learn the tune used in the ceremonies from others; the contents of the lyrics the bride sang to her family and relatives were all about her unwillingness to leave home and her fears and anxieties facing her future family; the bride and "sisters" exchanged secret thoughts, encouragement and so on with one another. Nevertheless, there are many differences between the two. For instance, the ancestors of Ha Tsuen village were mostly immigrants from Guangdong Province, whereas those of the Hingcun area included Han people from Fujian and Guangdong Provinces as well as aborigines, those from Fujian Province constituting the majority; the males in Ha Tsuen shared the last name of Teng while those of the Hingcun area had various last names; the activities in Ha Tsuen were more complex and usually lasted several days, whereas those in Hingcun included only the farewell party on the eve of the wedding and the sisters' gathering on the day of the wedding, simple and solemn ceremonies. As to the tunes employed, because Watson did not provide the notations, there is no way to know how many tunes were sung in Ha Tsuen and if the melodies of the two places were the same. Nonetheless, in the whole process of the ceremony in the Hingcun area, only the tune of *Ghubhe buann* was used. As mentioned above, Zhong Mingkun says that the tune of *Ghubhe buann* probably originated from the Paiwan tribe of aborigines and there also exists a Paiwan custom in which the bride sang at her wedding ceremony.¹¹⁴ Moreover, wedding gifts at Holo marriages in Hingcun included betel nuts, an essential gift in aboriginal ceremonies too. However, the lyrics of *Ghubhe buann* were in Holo and wedding gifts

one another to take care of themselves ("Kujia'ge: mingye gege jiuchongpe" [Crying for the marrying daughter: separated by nine hills tomorrow night], *Tudi yu ge* [Earth and songs], Wind records Co., Ltd, 1996, pp. 40-1, 68-9, CD 2 track 27.) As to the situation in Taiwan, for a long time, the common practices of Han people in marrying off daughters did not include bidding farewell with songs. Normally, the bride's family was busy preparing the dowry on the eve of the wedding. On the morning of the wedding, they worshipped and bid farewell to paternal ancestors. The music performed at the wedding was usually *nanguan* or *beiguan* music. As such, the custom of humming *Ghubhe buann* to give blessing and bid farewell to the bride would not have originated from Han culture in Taiwan. As to *Nanguan* and *beiguan* music, they originated from northern and southern parts of China respectively. Both types of music accompanied Han settlers to Taiwan at the turn of the Ming and Qing dynasties and later became the most important folk music in the early society of Han people. *Nanguan* and *beiguan* music has exerted a far-reaching influence on local operas and *gewu xiaoxi* [singing and dancing for small dramas] in Taiwan.

¹¹³ Rubie Watson, "Chinese Bridal Laments: The Claims of a Dutiful Daughter", *Harmony and Counterpoint: Ritual Music in Chinese Context*, ed. Bell Yung, Evelyn Rawski and Rubie Watson, Stanford University Press, 1996, pp. 107-29.

¹¹⁴ Huang Qiong'e, "Beipaiwan Lawaerya Zu de Chuantong Hunli Geyao: Xinniangu Songge" [Traditional wedding folksongs of Beipaiwan Lawaerya tribe: The bride's songs of praise], *Bingdong Wenxian* [Bingdong documents], Bingdong Xianzhengfu Wenhuaaju, 2005, vol. 9, pp.104-56.

included Han cakes as well. It appears that in the Hingcun area the bride's wedding gifts, ceremonies and singing activities all reflect the blending of the cultures of different ethnic groups.

(7) *Ghubhe buann* constantly moving forward in the model of concept, behaviour and sound

In the process of historical construction, Hingcun people expressed individual concepts of nostalgia, parting grief, sorrow, or illness by the behaviour of humming the sound of *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail], the folk tune, without text. Afterwards, as time advanced, Hingcun people mixed all cultures of various ethnic groups in the area, so individuals' concepts, behaviours and sounds which were repeatedly transformed were gradually agglomerated into concepts shared by society. Furthermore, through behaviours shared in the community, they tied *Ghubhe buann* to sociocultural activities which were related to wedding customs and transformed it into a tune commonly used by participants in expressing their thoughts in the farewell party on the eve of a wedding and in the "sisters'" gathering before the bride boarded a sedan chair.

Before the 1950s, Hingcun people applied the traditions inherited from the process of historical construction to these wedding singing rituals, which in turn became wedding customs and culture that are identified and shared by Hingcun society. Girls were required to receive training and to learn how to sing the tune. On the eve of the wedding and before boarding a sedan chair, the bride sang *Ghubhe buan* to express her parting grief toward her old family and her fear toward the new family. Parents, relatives, and the bride's girl friends used the same tune to comfort, encourage and bless the bride.

As those who can sing *Ghubhe buan* are dying out and society has undergone great changes, the traditional wedding singing rituals of *Ghubhe buann* have been substituted by the modern wedding ceremony. However, out of nostalgia and the identification of traditional values, Hingcun people, in particular residents in Bhuanziu, in the support of many enthusiasts such as retired teachers, government employees and businesspeople, organized a choir, practised regularly and performed everywhere in Taiwan. By following again the circular process of concept, behaviour and sound, they hope that their enthusiastic participation can result in the

representation of the venerable traditions in their mind. Nevertheless, these singing rituals of *Ghubhe buann* have been gradually taken away from people's daily lives and only performed on the stage.

3.1-3 *Suguicun* [All seasons are spring] and *Honggang siordiau* [Short song of Honggang]

Consideration of two further songs raises an issue found throughout folk song scholarship and so of interest outside the Taiwanese context. The two folk songs, *Suguicun* [All seasons are spring] and *Honggang siordiau* [Short song of Honggang] have been described by locals in the Hingcun area both as two different ways of singing the same tune and as two independent tunes. Those who hold the first opinion assert that *Honggang siordiau* is fundamentally a song that developed from *Suguicun*. People who hold the other view insist that they are two songs which developed separately. In order to investigate this issue further, in addition to exploring the origin of their names, lyric content and the transmission situation of these two songs, I also compare the similarities and differences of their musical structures and organization.

(1) Names and origin

A. *Suguicun* [All seasons are spring]

According to Zhang Xinchuan, a prominent singer in Hingcun town, *Suguicun* was originally named *Dua diau* [literally, large tune or major scale],¹¹⁵ which appeared and spread in the Hingcun area at the same time as *Susiaggi*. In the early days, all the lyrics employed in a performance of this tune used the names of flowers and plants of four seasons as introductory phrases. Later, people gave *Dua diau* the name of *Suguicun*. Zhang told me he has no idea why it was originally called *Da diau*.¹¹⁶ Lin Tianfa, a singer living in Casiann village, thinks that the name *Suguicun* [四季春] was transformed from *Sigucun* [四句餘, literally, Four sentences surplus]; the character “春” [*cun*] has an identical pronunciation to “餘” [*cun*], which means “surplus”. Lin points out that the lyrics of *Suguicun* are composed of four phrases, each of which has seven characters. In singing it, instrumental interludes are added between the first four characters and the last three characters of each phrase, except for the third phrase,

¹¹⁵ There are two meanings of *Dua diau* in Holo: (1) a large tune, (2) a major scale.

¹¹⁶ Zhang Xinchuan, personal communication, 19 July 1989, Hingcun area.

which cannot be interrupted. These interludes are the surpluses, hence the tune's name.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, this view is not supported by all others in Hingcun area. As a matter of fact, they point out, the folk song very likely was originally sung without any instrumental accompaniment, and—if *cun* refers to the instrumental interludes—it would be unusual to find a folk song with two such names, one referring to a vocal version and one to a version with added instrumental passages. If this is so, *Suguicun* [四季春] in the form of singing without any instrumental accompaniment must have circulated before the appearance of *Sigucun* [四句餘] with interludes. Support for this interpretation is found in the fact that the first name allegorizes that of the area of “Hingcun” [恆春], which literally means “spring all the year round”. Nevertheless, folksongs can be flexibly employed, a singer elaborating the basic structure of a tune by filling in words he or she favours, and Lin is a skilled singer, well able to sing and play his own accompaniment. During interview, I found that he liked to add fragments of interludes played on *yueqin* to the melody of his singing.¹¹⁸ We may infer from this that although Lin's opinion on the origin of this song's title does not represent those held more widely in the Hingcun area, it still points to a feature that is significant in his own way of singing, and there is no doubt that this style of singing with instrumental accompaniment is valued in that region. According to my fieldwork experience, most people in Hingcun would offer a more interesting answer, “If you want to sing a song, just sing it to your heart's content; who cares what the meaning behind the song's name is?” What is important to them is to sing an attractive song that allows them to express their true feelings.

B. *Honggang siordiau* [Short song of Honggang]

Travelling from Kaohsiung, via Pindong to Hingcun, one has to pass through Honggang. Moreover, Honggang is also unavoidable *en route* to Daidong. Although Honggang is not located on the Hingcun peninsula, a folk song named *Honggang siordiau* circulates in the Hingcun area. There are two explanations of the origin of *Honggang siordiau*. Firstly, Zhu Dingshun, Zhang Wenjie and You Pingsheng, folk singers in Hingcun, think that the tune had already existed in the Ming and Qing dynasties, although without a name. In the Japanese era, to supply the demands of charcoal in Japan, the Japanese actively promoted the industry of “made charcoal” in

¹¹⁷ Chen Junbin, “Hingcun diau Min'yao Yanjiu” [Research in *Hingcun diau* folk songs], Taipei Yishu Daxue, Master's thesis, 1993, p. 38. See also Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 71.

¹¹⁸ Lin Tianfa, personal communication, 4 July 1989, Hingcun area.

Taiwan. Hingcun also became an important place for charcoal production. At that time, people in Honggang were generally poor and a large number of them came to Hingcun to work in charcoal production mills. When they had free time or took a rest in the evening, they began to sing this somewhat melancholy folk tune. As a result, people in Hingcun called this tune *Honggang siordiau*.¹¹⁹

Secondly, Zhong Mingkun, a musician in Bhuanziu district, recounted the opinions of the old generation, saying that this folk song was first sung in the huts of workers who built the road from Honggang to Daidang. Therefore, people named it *Honggang siordiau*. Nevertheless, Zhong also rebutted this view because the time when the tune was spread in Hingcun area did not match the time when the road from Honggang to Daidang was built. I think if the second explanation is true, then the tune cannot be included in Hingcun folk songs; it should belong to Honggang folk songs. Moreover, when I interviewed some of the old generation in Honggang, they were not aware of this tune at all. Ke Mingzheng, who lived in Honggang, said frankly, "I envy Hingcun people having their own folk songs. However, if it's our song, we'll say 'yes'; if not, we'll say 'no'. To be an upright person, one has to tell the truth. *Honggang siordiau* is absolutely not a Honggang folk song."¹²⁰

(2) Analysis and comparison of the music structure of *Suguicun* and *Honggang siordiau*

A. Analysis

There are also various opinions about whether *Suguicun* and *Honggang siordiau* are the same tune. Some think that *Honggang siordiau* has developed from *Suguicun* because the tune of the former has many variations and its melody differs in accordance with the variation of person, place and words.¹²¹ However, others think that *Honggang siordiau* contains the elements of other folk songs such as *Hingcun diau*, *Suguicun*, and *Ghokong siordior*.¹²² Unfortunately, all these views are only hearsay without any actual proof. Next, I shall analyze and compare the similarities and differences in the music structure and organization, such as range, scale, mode,

¹¹⁹ Personal communication in Hincun area: Zhu Dingshun, 23 August 23 2003; Zhang Wenjie, 13 July 1995; You Pingsheng, 17 July 1989.

¹²⁰ Ke Mingzheng, personal communication, 1 July 1989, Fenggang.

¹²¹ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 71.

¹²² Ibid.

interval, melody movement, of *Suguicun* and *Honggang siordiau*. This is a more objective way of understanding these two songs. The following is *Suguicun* sung by Zhang Rigui (Fig. 3.10, CD 1-13):¹²³

[Fig. 3.10]

Suguicun [All seasons are spring]

Sung by Zhang Rigui

Transcription: Chien Shangjen

1 Hai-ing puah-lai cinn iu (a) iu
海湧濺來清幽 (啊) 幽

5 nng bhe liong-he ghua hai (a)
兩尾龍蝦外海 (啊)

10 siu daige zor - hue gau bing (a) iu
涸 大家做伙交朋 (啊) 友

15 ghun e go - hong diam (a) bhuan (a)
阮的故鄉 踠 (啊) 滿 (的)

19 (a) ziu
(啊) 州

Note: the performance of the singer is free and at his pleasure.

Lyrics:

1. Haiing puahlai cinn iu (a) iu, nngbhe lionghe ghuahai (a) siu;

海湧濺來清幽 (啊) 幽，兩尾龍蝦外海 (啊) 涸；

[The splashing surf is limpid, two lobsters are swimming in the faraway sea;]

Daige zorhue gau bing (a) iu, ghun e gohong diam bhuan (a) ziu.

大家做伙交朋 (啊) 友，阮的故鄉踠滿 (啊) 州。

¹²³ Zhang Rigui, personal communication, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

[We are together making good friends, my hometown is in Bhuanziu.]

2. *Haiing puahlai beh por (a) por, batsian guehai kia beh (a) hoh;*

海湧潑來白波（啊）波，八仙 celestial 過海騎白（啊）鶴。

[The splashing surf is brilliantly white, eight celestials are crossing the sea on white cranes;]

Daige zorhue ziann ni (a) hor, hunkui tiahsuann bhor nai (a) hor.

大家做伙正呢（啊）好，分開拆散無奈（啊）何。

[We have good time to be together, we won't separate if we have choice.]

3. *Haiing puahlai beh cang (a) cang, cidong kuihue tausin (a) ang;*

海湧潑來白蒼（啊）蒼，刺桐開花透身（啊）紅；

[The splashing surf is palely white, coral trees are in full crimson bloom.]

Lang lai cutsi zai se (a) gan, dioh ai pahbiann kah u (a) bhang.

人來出世在世（啊）間，著愛打拚較有（啊）望。

[We were born to this world, to have a great future we have to work hard.]

4. *Haigin cut u zuigim (a) ziann, gimziann duazai lor go (a) piann.*

海墘出有水金（啊）精，金精住在砗砗（啊）坪；

[Small plants, zuigimzinn, grow by the seaside, they live on the backs of coral reefs;]

Cutsi segan diohpah (a) biann, kahdua hongho ghun m (a) giann.

出世界間著打（啊）拚，較大風雨阮嘸（啊）驚。

[We have to work hard in this world, we should not fear rough wind and rain.]

5. *Haiing puah lai beh cai (a) cai, omua kuihue duom lorh (a) lai;*

海湧潑來自彩（啊）彩，黑麻開花頓落（啊）來；

[The spraying surf is sparkling white, blooming ramtil blossoms are drooping;]

Rinsing zorlang dioh hai (a) hai, m bhian gegau ziah'ing (a) gai.

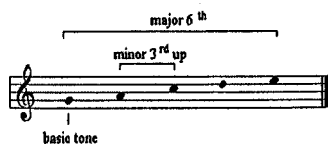
人生做人著海（啊）海，不免計較才應（啊）該。

[Human beings are passing visitors in this world, we should not fuss about trifles.]

Music analysis:

Tone set: Do, Re, Mi, Sol, La.

Range, Scale and mode: perfect 6th only; except for basic melody, quite a large quantity of speech melody; pentatonic scale and Sol mode.



- Intervals:** (1) major 2nd constituting 52.7% (including: rising major 2nd 28.4%, falling major 2nd 24.3%);
(2) parallel first constituting 21.6%;
(3) minor 3rd constituting 9.5% (including: rising minor 3rd 6.8%, falling minor 3rd 2.7%);
(4) perfect 4th constituting 8.2% (including: rising and falling perfect 4th both constituting 4.1%);
(5) perfect 5th constituting 5.5% (including: falling perfect 5th 4.1%, rising perfect 5th 1.4%);
(6) major 3rd constituting 2.7%.

A perfect 5th, the largest interval, only appears four times, of which a falling perfect 5th appears three times, in the 9th to 10th bars, 17th to 18th bars, and 19th to 20th bars respectively. This also one of the unique styles this tune possesses.

Usual pattern:  and .

Song form: two-stanzas-four-phrases.

The first stanza: from bar 1 to bar 10.

The second stanza: from bar 11 to bar 20.

Melody movement:

1st phrase (bars 1-4): Mi' \ Re'; Do' / Re';

2nd phrase (bars 5-10): La / Do'; La \ Sol; Do' \ Sol;

3rd phrase (bars 11-14): La / Do'; Do' → Do';

4th phrase (bars 15-20): Re' \ Do'; Re' \ Sol, Do' \ Sol.

The following is *Honggang siordiau* sung by the couple, Zeng Zhenghui and Xu Fengmei, who are amateur singers good at antiphonal love-song singing (Fig. 3.11, CD 1-14).¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Zeng Zhenghui and Xu Fengmei, a couple, personal communication, 17 July 1989, Pingdong. Zeng was born in Bhuanziu district and lives in Pingdong now because of his work. Both the wife and

[Fig. 3.11]

Honggang siordiau [Short song of Honggang]

Sung by Zeng Zhenghui and Xu Fengmei

Transcription: Chien Shangjen

1 *Ang hue (lai) kui liau (a) bhi bhue (le) pang*
紅花(來)開了(啊) 味袂(咧)香

2 3 4

5 *pang hue kui liau (a) sik bhue ang (ue)*
香花開了(啊) 色袂紅(喂)

6 7 8

9 *a niunn (na) suan gun (a) lai zue (a) ang*
阿娘(若)選君(啊) 來做(啊) 尪

10 11 12

13 *ziong lai ziah cing(a) (a) u so bhang (a ue)*
將來吃穿(仔)(啊) 有所望(啊 喂)

14 15 16

Lyrics:

Man: *Anghue (lai) kuiliau (a) bhi bhue (a) pang, panghue kuiliau (a) sik bhue ang (ue);*

紅花(來)開了(啊)味膾(啊)香，香花開了(啊)色膾紅(喂)；

[Red flowers which have bloomed do not smell fragrant, fragrant flowers which have blossomed are not red;]

A niunn (na) suan'gun (a) lai zor (a) ang, zionglai ziahcing (a) u sobhang (ue).

阿娘(若)選君(啊)來做(啊)尪，將來吃穿(啊)有所望(喂)。

[Girl, choose me to be your husband, you will have clothes to wear and food to eat in the future.]

husband love Hingcun folk songs dearly, so they use their spare time after work to collect and sing antiphonal love-songs in the Hingcun area, entertaining their friends and themselves.

Woman: *Lorhho (na) sesann (a) bhor de (a) pi, ghiahcut ghiahrip (a) kuann tinnsi (ue);*

落雨（若）洗衫（啊）無塊（啊）披，夯出夯入（啊）看天時（喂）；

[There's no place to dry the washed clothes on rainy days, the clothes are carried in and out depending on the weather.]

Tamdioh (le) agun (a) zinzing (a) I, gamghuan gegun (a) zor sue (se) i.

貪著（咧）阿君（啊）真情（啊）意，甘願嫁君（啊）做細姨（喂）。

[Appreciating your true love, I'm willing to be your concubine.]

Man: *Bhngkau (lai) zitzang (a) siunnsi (a) zang, siunnsi binglorh (a) m zainnlang (ue);*

門口（來）一欖（啊）相思（啊）欖，相思病落（啊）不知人（喂）；

[An acacia tree grows in the doorway, I've contracted lovesickness and become unconscious.]

Ising (na) laikuann (a) gongbhor (a) bhang, a'niunn laikuann (a) ziu kingsong (ue).

醫生（若）來看（啊）講無（啊）望，阿娘來看（啊）就輕鬆（喂）。

[A doctor will diagnose the illness as fatal, girl, your visit will alleviate my sickness.]

Woman: *Lobinn (na) zitzang (a) siunnsi (a) ciu, siunnsi binglorh (a) bhindai ciu (ue);*

路邊（若）一欖（啊）相思（啊）樹，相思病落（啊）面帶愁（喂）；

[An acacia tree grows by the roadside, I look agonized because of lovesickness.]

Ising (le) laikuann (a) gong bhor (a) giu, a'gun laikuann (a) hor liuliu (ue).

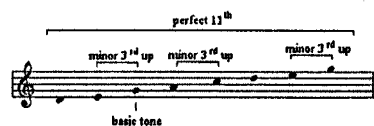
醫生（咧）來看（啊）講無（啊）救，阿君來看（啊）好溜溜（喂）。

[A doctor's diagnosis will say the illness is fatal, my love, your visit will relieve my sickness.]

Music analysis:

Tone set: Do, Re, Mi, Sol, La.

Range, Scale and mode:



Perfect 11th degree, having a larger range than general folk songs.¹²⁵ Speech melody constitutes a limited percentage; pentatonic scale, Sol mode.

- Interval:** (1) major 2nd constitutes 40.3% (including major rising 2nd 20.9%, falling major 2nd 19.4%);
- (2) perfect 4th constitutes 20.9% (including rising perfect 4th 13.4%, falling perfect 4th 7.5%);
- (3) parallel first constitutes 17.9%;
- (4) perfect 5th constitutes 9.0% (including rising and falling perfect 5th, both constituting 4.5%);
- (5) minor 3rd constitutes 9.0% (Including falling minor 3rd 7.5%, rising minor 3rd up 1.5%);
- (6) falling Major 3rd constitutes 3.0%.

Usual pattern:  and 

Song form: two-stanzas-four-phrases. Each phrase has 4 bars.

Melody movement:

- 1st phrase (4 bars): Re ↗ Sol; Do' ↗ Re';
- 2nd phrase (4 bars): Do' ↘ Sol; Re' ↘ Sol;
- 3rd phrase (4 bars): Re ↗ Sol; Do' → Do';
- 4th phrase (4 bars): Sol → Sol; Do' ↘ Sol.

B. Comparison

Similarities:

- (1) Tone set: Do, Re, Mi, Sol, La.
- (2) Interval and mode: Pentatonic scale, Sol mode.
- (3) Major 2nd constitutes the largest percentage.

Differences:

- (1) The Major 11th of *Honggang siordiau* is clearly larger than the major 6th of *Suguicun*. Thus the rise and fall of the former must be larger than that of the latter.
- (2) The perfect 4th in *Honggang siordiau* is clearly more important than that in *Suguicun*. They all occur between Re tone and Sol tone. It clearly shows that

¹²⁵ Generally speaking, the range of Taiwanese folksongs is a perfect 8th. (See Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Holo Yuyan Shengdiao yu Gecyu Cyudiao de Guansi ji Chuangzuo jhih Yanjiu* [Research on the relationship creation between the tone of Holo language and tune of songs], Jhongwen tushu gongsi, 2001, pp. 98-9.

the characteristic of the Sol mode in *Honggang siordiau* is stronger than that in *Suguicun*.

- (3) Except for the similarity of the third and fourth bars of both, most of the melody movements are different. The movement of the melody of *Honggang siordiau* is large in scale; a wave-like figure often appears at a high pitch of melody, and then down to Sol as a cadence. Contrarily, the movement of the melody of *Suguicun* is small; although sometimes a wave-like figure also appears and declines to the Sol tone, parallel or slow movement occurs more often and usually ends at the Do tone.
- (4) The usual patterns of both are totally different.

C. Results:

Although both *Honggang siordiau* and *Suguicun* are the same in tone sets, scale and mode, and use the interval of a major 2nd the most often, these three items are conditions shared by many songs and cannot be considered as adequate proof that these two songs originated from the same tune or that *Honggang siordiau* originated from *Suguicun*. Contrarily, because the range of *Honggang siordiau* is much bigger than that of *Suguicun*, the rise and fall of the melody of the former is wilder, and that of the latter is gentler. Moreover, the importance of the perfect 4th interval in *Honggang siordiau* projects its characteristics of Sol mode; however, *Suguicun* does not have similar characteristics. In addition, during the preceding part of the melody, *Suguicun* use Do and Sol as a phrase cadence four times, whereas *Honggang siordiau* use Sol as a phrase cadence six times and Do once. This fact clearly shows that the Sol-mode characteristic of *Honggang siordiau* is much more distinct than that of *Suguicun*. Consequently, if “*Da diau*” means “Major” of music, then Do takes quite a large percentage of the cadence of the stanza of *Suguicun*. Thus, Zhang Xinchuan’s opinion (mentioned above) that *Suguicun* was named “*Da diau*” seems to match this view quite well.

(3) Lyrics contents and structure: they sang in their daily lives

The lyrics of *Suguicun* and *Honggang siordiau* are in the form of four phrases and seven characters, which was frequently used among Han people. Vocables were added to each phrase. As to rhetoric, singers of *Suguicun* are accustomed to utilizing the technique of using two phrases describing scenery followed by two other phrases

depicting affection (see the examples above and below for this technique), while *Honggang siordiau* does not have strict requirements in this regard. The contents of the lyrics set to these two tunes contain descriptions of love, labour, leaving the hometown, earning a living, admonishment, scenery, history, folk stories, or even introducing the singer himself or herself.

As to the range of transmission and the frequency of usage, that of *Suguicun* is much wider and higher than that of *Honggang siordiau*. However, in the process of circulation, people in Bhuanziu mostly sing *Honggang siordiau*. Pan Zhengxing says, “We people of Bhuanziu mostly live by agriculture and livestock farming and work in open fields. We like to work and sing at the same time. However, with these open mountains and plains, and the ‘luoshan wind’, which is particularly strong here, if the range is not wide or the voice is not loud enough, people on the other side couldn’t possibly hear what we’re singing. We prefer *Honggang siordiau* because it has a wide range, which allows us to cry out loudly.”¹²⁶ Nevertheless, because Bhuanziu is a backcountry and the least populated place in Hingcun, the number of people singing and spreading *Honggang siordiau* is comparatively small. In spite of this, there is quite a large number of songs with wonderful lyrics. Of all these, the love songs young men and women sing antiphonally whilst working in the open country best reflect Bhuanziu people’s practices of working by singing as well as the usages of folk songs in their daily lives. In the early days, herding the cattle to the mountain and grazing them there was an indispensable duty of a young man, whereas collecting firewood was a necessary domestic chore for a young woman. When they ran into each other, they often expressed their affection or sounded out each other’s reaction by singing. The following is a love song sung antiphonally by a young man hired to herd cattle and a young woman collecting firewood, who ran into each other in the wild mountain. Xie Chen Yuxia and Pan Zhang Biyin learned this song, which employs the tune of *Honggang siordiau*, from their elders.¹²⁷

Man: *San diong duanlai ciunn'gua siann, ho'gun tiandioh zin giannhiann;*

山中傳來唱歌聲，給君聽著真驚嚇；

[Singing is coming from the mountains, I’m startled to hear it;]

Zitsiann lngsiann na giorhiann, haihiann kian'ghu huah bhegiann.

一聲二聲若叫兄，害兄牽牛喊祿行。

¹²⁶ Pan Zhengxing, 22-25 August 2003, Hingcun area.

¹²⁷ Xie Chen Yuxia and Pan Zhang Biying, personal communication, 24 August 2003, Hingcun area.

[One sound succeeds the other like calling my name, the singing stops my cattle from moving no matter how hard I urge them.]

Woman: *Cimsuann kiohca niunn piannmiann, m zainn ahiann di hia'giann;*

深山檢柴娘歹命，不知阿兄在彼行；

[Having a bitter fate, I'm collecting firewood in the remote mountains, I'm not aware that he is walking on the other side;]

Ghiahtau laikuan bhor lang'iann, muasuann ghubhou gior giannsiann.

舉頭來看無人影，滿山牛母叫子聲。

[Raising my head, I see no one, only the cow's calling for her calves is filling of the whole mountains.]

Man: *Zibing kuan'gue hi binglun, kuandioh a niunn cing anggung;*

這平看過彼平崙，看著阿娘穿紅裙；

[Seeing the other hill from this one, I see her wearing a red skirt;]

Siunbheh gueki sior ziorhmng, iu'giann tau'ge guelai mng.

想欲過去相借問，又驚頭家過來問。

[I desire to go over to speak to her, but fear my boss might query what I'm doing.]

Woman: *Zibing kuangue hi binglun, kuan'gin a gun coir bhunbhun;*

這平看過彼平崙，看見阿君笑咬咬；

[Seeing the other hill from this one, I see him all smiling;]

Kahhor agun bhor niunnhun, zuansim kiohca kah ziauun.

較好阿君無娘份，專心檢柴較照勻。

[No matter how nice he is, I won't have any chance to pair with him; I might as well focus on firewood collecting, which is more dependable for my future.]

Unlike people in Bhuanziu district, in Hingcun town and Casiann district people love *Suguicun* more. Xu Tianque, who lives in Hingcun town, says, "Because 'Hingcun' means 'Four seasons are springs', we, Hingcun town people, certainly prefer a song whose name has the same meaning as our town."¹²⁸ These two places are more populated than Bhuanziu district, so the frequency of using *Suguicun* is

¹²⁸ Xu Tianque, personal communication, 24 July 1988, Hingcun area.

higher. Besides, the fact that Chen Da, the famous folksong musician, only sang *Suguicun* but not *Honggang siordiau* is also another factor which made the former spread more widely. Here are two examples which show how Hingcun town people incorporated the tune of *Suguicun* into their lives:

You Pingsheng is one of the prominent singers in Hingcun town; his technique in *yueqin* is outstanding. Of the singers in the Hingcun area, he is skilled at using *yueqin* as subject matter in lyrics depicting love. You says, "For me, Hingcun folk songs and *yueqin* are like the *danggi* and the *doktau*¹²⁹. Without *yueqin*, I cannot sing a song; without singing, I have no intention to play *yueqin*."¹³⁰ In an agricultural society in old Taiwan, it was common for people to consult gods about their unrewarding careers, frustrating marriages, wearisome illness, etc. A god is a holy spirit in the Heaven and a *danggi* is His spokesperson in the world. However, the messages of gods conveyed by a *danggi* are incomprehensible to ordinary people; only a *doktau* is able to understand what a *danggi* says and translate it for the common people. Consequently, a *danggi* and a *doktau* form an unbreakable team; one cannot exist without the other. You Pingsheng uses the combination of *danggi* and *doktau* to symbolize the intimate relationship between his singing of folksongs and his playing *yueqin*. Usually, he speaks feebly; however, he is like another person who is full of spirit, as soon as he picks up his *yueqin* and is ready to sing. In the following, You Pingsheng employs the tune of *Suguicun* to recount love by means of *yueqin*:

1. *Ciu'ghiah ghuehkim ua sim'guann, zitciu zor'im zitciu duann;*

手舉月琴倚心肝，一手做音一手彈；

[I lean a *yueqing* against my chest, one hand is turning the tuners and one hand is playing;]

Agor u niunn laizorpuann, zapri ghueh tinn m zai'guann.

阿哥有娘來做伴，十二月天不知寒。

[I have you, girl, as my companion, I don't feel cold in December weather.]

2. *Ciu'ghiah ghuehkim zapri ui, nnggi gatieau ciunn gotui;*

¹²⁹ "Danggi" (Holo) is a medium between gods and humans in Taoism. When communicating with a god and conveying his messages, a possessed *danggi*, who stands in front of a large table and vibrates all over his body, strikes the table with his fists or a sword. A "doktau" is a translator of a possessed *danggi* who speaks a heavenly language. The job of a *doktau* is usually assumed by a Senior priest. <http://www.gyes.chc.edu.tw/2004web/newfile48.html> and <http://www.33beauty.com.tw/actions/lun/lum04.htm>, 21 August 2007.

¹³⁰ You Pingsheng, personal communication, 18 July 1989, Hingcun area.

手舉月琴十二徽，兩支捲柱像鼓槌；

[I'm holding a *yueqing* having twelve frets, two tuners are like drum sticks;]

Agor u niunn tanggualu, horhi horbah ziah bhuebui.

阿哥有娘當掛慮，好魚好肉食祿肥。

[Girl, I'm worried if I can win your heart, eating fatty fish and meat won't make me put on weight.]

3. *Zitgi ghuehkim nng diausuann, zitciu ga im zitciu duann;*

一支月琴二條線，一手捲音一手彈；

[A *yueqing* has two strings, one hand is turning the tuners and one hand is playing;]

A niunn na gang simguann, gam'ghuan lorhhai be dorsuann.

阿娘若肯同心肝，甘願落海爬刀山。

[Girl, if you can share joys and sorrows with me, I'm willing to risk my life for you.]

People living in the Hingcun area also sing out the pride of being Hingcun people using *Suguicun*. I once visited You Shenzhi, who loves to travel abroad. He used his experience of visiting Japan as an example to talk about the pride of Hingcun people in singing their folk songs. He said,

One time, my wife and I joined a tour group to Hokkaido in Japan; the members of the group were from all over Taiwan. One day, on our way to Furano, a scenic spot famous for its oceans of flowers, the tour guide suggested that each member take turns to sing a song to add to the fun, like singing karaoke. Most people sang pop songs. When it's our turn...

At that moment, Mrs. You cut in,

I would like to talk about it myself. At that time, I told other members that I was from Hingcun and I would like to sing *Susianggi*. When I said this, many of them stared at me with contempt as if I was a rustic. However, after I finished, they applauded my singing and looked at me with admiration. They said that the folksong sung by me, a person from Hingcun, was unique and had a special charm that the *Susianggi* sung by pop singers did not have.

Mr. You continued, “When it was my turn, I said I would like to sing a song that had unique characteristics, *Suguicun*. In my childhood, my grandfather taught me how to sing the song. However, none of the members knew this song.” Indeed, except for *Susianggi* and *Hingcun diau*, other Hingcun folk songs were only found in the area of Hingcun and were rarely known by people in other places. Mr. You continued, “After I finished, thunderous applause lasted for minutes. They asked me curiously, ‘Why do we still have such a beautiful folk song in Taiwan?’ On that day, I felt deep pride to be a Hingcun person.” Here are the lyrics of *Suguicun* Mr. You sang on that day.¹³¹

1. *Ghua e gohiong diam Hingcun, bhin'iau zitciunn bhor iubhun,*

我的故鄉踔恆春，民謠一唱無憂悶；

[My hometown is in Hingcun, singing folksongs takes away all of my worries;]

Sionsui sizun di hong'hun, cinnliang haihong puann caihun.

上美時陣佇黃昏，清涼海風伴彩雲。

[The most beautiful time is at dusk, cool sea breezes accompany colourful clouds.]

2. *Sugui lucun si ghundau, langlang porh si gamzing gau;*

四季如春是阮兜，人人樸實感情厚；

[The place with four spring seasons is my hometown, everyone is simple and enthusiastic;]

Ciunn'gua duannkim ghun siongghau, horde horziu lai suhau.

唱歌彈琴阮上敖，好茶好酒來侍候。

[I'm very good at singing and playing, nectarous tea and wine are served.]

Hingcun people accept the musical concepts that are in agreement with their culture in their daily lives, base the application, performance and production of the sounds of folksongs on these concepts, and even generate a strong identification with these folksongs. Consequently, they feel confident and proud when performing these songs in front of others. When they earn acclaim and recognition, unavoidably these praises will strengthen their confidence in concept and behaviour, and even redouble their efforts with which they identify and maintain these folksongs. Hingcun folksongs have therefore brought Hingcun people not only merry moods and colourful lives but also pride and honour which cannot be substituted for by material culture.

¹³¹ Lyrics from You Shenzhi, personal communication, 18 July 1989, Hingcun area.

3.1-4 *Ziu ghu diau* [The tune of guarding cattle]

Ziu ghu diau is a folk song created and circulated in Bhuanziu district. According to Zhong Mingkun, a musician in Bhuanziu district, it was in the 1970s when he first heard this song, which was sung by Zeng Xu Maomei (b. 1928). Mrs. Zeng Xu told him at that time, "This is a tune we sang as we guarded the cattle in childhood."¹³² I began to study this song after I had been introduced to it by Zhong Mingkun in the 1980s. Later, Zhang Rigui told me, "When I collected firewood as a child, I often heard people who herded the cattle singing this song to entertain themselves and others in their spare time. The tune they sang was not long but very pleasing to the ear."¹³³ Therefore, we know that *Ziu ghu diau* has circulated in Bhuanziu for quite a long time. Fewer and fewer people in Bhuanziu are able to sing this tune as the older generation dies out, and because of the disappearance of cattle-herding and the migration of Bhuanziu people to other places. Furthermore, the remoteness of Bhuanziu has made it difficult for the song to spread to other places and thus be able to draw the attention of people outside Bhuanziu.

The earliest *Ziu ghu diau* was the song form of one-stanza-two-phrases, short, and easy to learn and sing. Pan Jincai, a Bhuanziu native who now lives in Taipei, sang this song for others when the Bhuanziu Folksong Promotion Association was first established in 1979. Unfortunately, Pan is quite old and unable to speak owing to injury to his vocal cords caused by an operation on his neck. Therefore, it is difficult to verify with him how he shared this song with others at that time.¹³⁴ Zhong Mingkun, who knows of what happened at the time, says, "Mr. Pan used two lyrics to sing this tune of *Ziu ghu diau*. Although the melody was only a repetition of two small phrases, it was so pleasing that all present were greatly moved."¹³⁵ Of the two lyrics, one describes the frame of mind of a native who moved to Daidang to earn a living;¹³⁶ the other recounts how to be an upright person, warning people that good fortune may

¹³² Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 72.

¹³³ Zhang Rigui, personal communication, 22 August 2003, Hingcun area.

¹³⁴ Telephone interview with Pan Jincai's family in Taipei.

¹³⁵ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication. He also provided the lyrics sung by Pan Jincai.

¹³⁶ Similar lyric contents are given in 2.2-1 of Chapter Two and 4.2 of Chapter Four. This type of lyrics, depicting men who moved to Daidong for a better life, is very common in the Hingcun area. Most of them use *Hingcun diau*. Almost all the lyrics of Hingcun folksongs use the poetic form of *sihgulian* – a stanza has four sentences and each sentence has seven characters. As a result, numerous singers apply the same lyrics to various folk tunes.

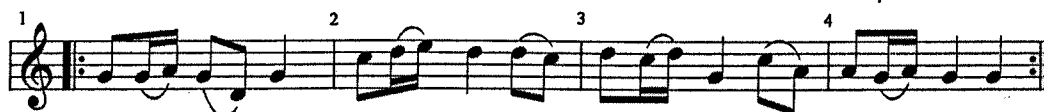
be able to afford momentary material enjoyment but the reliability of a person totally depends on his or her diligence and integrity. Below is the *Ziu ghu diau* sung by Pan Zhang Biying, wife of the president of the Folksong Promotion Association. At my particular request, she sang the song by imitating the singing and lyrics of Pan Jincai (Fig. 3.12, CD 1-15):¹³⁷

[Fig. 3.12]

Ziu ghu diau [The tune of guarding cattle]

Sung by Pan Zhang Piying

Transcription: Chien Shangjen



Bheh ki Dai - dang tan ghin - pior (le), giam hann zit bo tuan bhe dion (le),
 欲去台東趁銀票(咧), 減跨一步趁袂著(咧),
siu beh lai dng giann lang cior (le), go but ri ziong ho lang zior (le).
 想欲來返驚人笑(咧), 姑不而終予人招(咧)。

Lyrics:

(A) 1. *Bhehki Daidang tuan ghinpior, giamhua zitbo tan bhedor;*

欲去台東賺銀票，減跨一步賺袂著；

[I intended to make a fortune in Daidang, but by a narrow margin I failed to achieve success;]

Siunnbhe laidng giann langcior, gobut ghiziong ho langzior.

想欲來返驚人笑，姑不而終給人招。

[I wanted to go home but for fear of others' ridicule, I had no choice but to marry into my wife's family and bear her family name.

2. *Bhehki Daidang ziah liapbng, bhorghi Daidang suah gihng;*

欲去台東食粒飯，無疑台東遂飢荒；

[I wanted to eat fine rice in Daidang, unfortunately, a severe famine occurred;]

Hosuann bauhok kuann lading, dnglai gohionn kah gudng.

雨傘包袱款來返，返來故鄉較久長。

[I packed up my belongings, and I came home as this lasted longer.]

¹³⁷ Pan Zhang Biying, personal communication, 24 August 2003, Hingcun area.

(B) 1. *Zordioh horcan gue hordang, cingghah zitsin gim dangdang;*

做著好田遇好冬，穿甲一身金鑼鑼；

[Cultivating fertile lands and having good winters, wearing fine clothes from top to toe;]

Bhekin bhekiam bhezorlang, horghiah agun bhor caigang.

袂勤袂儉袂做人，好額阿君無彩工。

[Not industrious, frugal nor considerate, such a rich husband is unreliable.]

Zordioh painncan ghe painndang, cingghah zitsin o langlang;

做著歹田遇歹冬，穿甲一身黑窿窿；

[Farming barren lands and having bad winters, wearing ragged clothes from top to toe;]

Ekin ekiam ezorlang, sanciah agun kah undang.

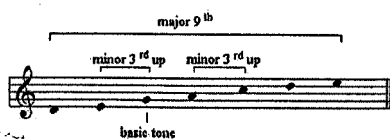
會勤會儉會做人，散赤阿君較穩當。

[Industrious, frugal and considerate, such a poor husband is more dependable.]

Analysis of music:

Tone set: Do, Re, Mi, Sol, La.

Range, scale and mode: major ninth; pentatonic scale, Sol mode.



Basic rhythm pattern:



Song form: a small one-stanza-two-phrases repetition

Melody movement:

1st phrase (bars 1-2): Sol, ↗ Do(La); This small phrase ends primarily with Do tone. However, after Do tone is sung, it normally decreases about minor third and is close to the position of La tone.

2nd phrase (bars 3-4): Re ↘ Sol,

At present, no Hingcun folksinger outside Bhuanziu district sings *Ziu ghu diau*. Some even say doubtfully, “Can a song only circulating in Bhuanziu be counted as a folk song of the Hingcun area?” It seems that they do not acknowledge *Ziu ghu diau* as a Hingcun folk song. In spite of this, Zhong Mingkun, born in Bhuanziu, says “Of course *Ziu ghu diau* is a folk song of the Hingcun area because Bhuanziu is also a

district of Hingcun. Moreover, *Ziu ghu diau* is a good song worth preservation; we, the Bhuanziu Folksong Promotion Association, have extended particular efforts in promoting this song.”¹³⁸ In the process of fieldwork in the Hingcun area, I found that many people in every place I visited were particular about the definition and acknowledgement of the belonging of a particular folk song and had strong provincial concepts as well as exclusive mindsets. A good example of this is that people of Hingcun town do not recognize *Ziu ghu diau* as a Hingcun folk song. Nevertheless, it does not matter if what they say is right or wrong, their serious attitude regarding this matter attests to the active concern of Hingcun people for folk songs.

Facing the gradual demise of *Ziu ghu diau*, Zhong Mingkun says,

Only a folk song which can return to the lives of people is able to survive. To actively carry out this concept, I add a tune with one phrase of the aboriginal style and another phrase of Hingcun *suona* horn style to the original tune of *Ziu ghu diau* and call it *Ziu ghu diau*: Bhuanziu scenery. As to lyrics, I have the scenes of Bhuanziu as the contents. The lyrics have four stanzas, each of which has eight phrases and each phrase contains seven characters. (CD 1-16)¹³⁹

This new adapted *Ziu ghu diau* has become one of the theme songs of the Bhuanziu Folksong Choir and has spread to those places where the Choir has performed. Although *Ziu ghu diau* has lost its previous purpose as a work song for use when herding the cattle in the mountains, it has become an indispensable song in the repertoire of the music activities of people in Bhuanziu district.

If we interpret the development of *Ziughu diau* [Tune of guarding cattle] by using Rice’s model of three aspects in the process of historical construction of music, the one-phrase form of *Ziughu diau* is a part remaining from the past whereas the two-phrase form of *Ziughu diau* adapted by Zhong Mingkun is the existent form after adaptation. From the perspective of social maintenance, governmental subsidization, entrepreneurial sponsorship, regular practice and around-the-island performances of choirs organized by music aficionados, zealous support and feedback from the

¹³⁸ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 21 August 2003, Hingcun area.

¹³⁹ (1) Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 21 August 2003, Hingcun area. He also provided the CD of *Ziu ghu diau*: Bhuanziu Scenery. (2) As the original *Ziu ghu diau* has already been given and this new *Ziu ghu diau* is quite long, to save space, I shall not list its notations but simply offer the CD for reference purposes.

audience are all active social forces to preserve *Ziughu diau*. As for individual creation and experience, *Ziughu diau: Bhuanziu Scenery* is a new text created by Zhong Mingkun and people in Bhuanziu consider treasuring *Ziughu diau* as a way of identifying with their hometown, cherishing old culture, and acknowledging one's own musical concepts, behaviour and sounds as well as one of the means for music lovers to gather and sing together for cultivating friendship.

3.1-5 Hingcun diau [Tune of Hingcun]

As mentioned above, Holo folk songs which have originated from the Hingcun area are mainly songs such as *Susianggi* [Thinking of], *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail], *Suguicun* [All seasons are spring], *Honggang siordiau* [Short song of Honggang], *Ziu ghu diau* [Tune of guarding cattle], and *Hingcun diau* [Tune of Hingcun]. Nevertheless, of all these, except for *Susianggi* and *Hingcun diau* which have circulated in the whole of Taiwanese society, most have been limited to the Hingcun area. In the development process of these two tunes, the name and melody of *Susianggi* have never changed much. However, *Hingcun diau*, which originated from an aboriginal tune, has appeared under various names at different times: *Hingcun diau* (flexible), *Daidang diau* [Tune of Daidang], *Ginglonggua* (Holo) [Ploughmen's song], *Gengnongge* (Mandarin) [Ploughmen's song], *Sannsiann bhornai* [Helpless Groans] and *Cenn or 'a sor* [An oyster fisherman's wife]. *Hingcun diau* and its song family utilized different languages and forms, played different roles and created different usages in Taiwanese society. In short, in their development process, *Hingcun diau* and its song family were always able to integrate with the transition and culture of Taiwanese society, and lived in people's daily lives in different forms in accordance with the variations of time and place. Its endless vitality and its deep influence on Taiwanese folk music make it the most representative of folk songs in Taiwan.

Hingcun diau and its song family are an important part of this thesis. Information about their development process and historical background will be explored and discussed in depth in Chapter Four.

3.2 Chen Da and His Songs

Chen Da is the most representative folksinger of the Hingcun area. He was drawn to public attention in 1967 after he was discovered and made known by two musicians,

Hsu Tsanghouei and Shi Weiliang. In the 1970s, thanks to the rise of native consciousness, Chen was adopted into the native music movement in Taiwan. Unfortunately, he died in 1981, aged 76, after he was hit by a car while crossing the road.

Taiwanese traditional folk songs had begun to arouse a great deal of my interest by the time I entered college in 1966. I became a loyal supporter of Chen's concerts and very much appreciated his singing and the stories he told in his songs. In 1971, I started formally to collect and arrange his music and lyrics. After having entered the world of his music, I gradually conceived the notion of enquiring further into his life, his relationship with Hingcun folk songs and the factors that enabled him to sing folk songs so movingly. In 1978, I paid my first research visit to Chen.

As to the methods of fieldwork process and writing up research results, in modern times, many an ethnomusicologist has recognized that an absolutely objective research is unlikely to exist. Some researchers have observed that methods in the past, with their clearly scientific inspiration, skewed studies towards overly-homogenous results and employed explanatory modes which lacked the aspects of human fluidity and introspection. As a consequence, quite a few scholars have employed ethnographic writing, which is primarily descriptive. For example, McLeod and Herndon in 1980, and Stone in 1982 recorded the people, events, time, places and backgrounds of music performance; Shelemay in 1991 recorded the interactive relations between the researcher and the interviewees; and Kisliuk in 1998 recorded the fieldwork process through which the researcher learnt a music culture. All these scholars wrote the processes and research results of their fieldwork by using the method of ethnographic writing. This type of interpretive method was also called "reflexive research" by Bruner in 1986.¹⁴⁰ In fact, academically, the methods of writing used in the past are still meaningful and valuable, but the "descriptive" way of writing possesses aspects of authenticity and sensitivity that the former lacks. Of these

¹⁴⁰ Chou Chiener, *Cong Shishen dao Guojia de Yinyue: Taiwan Nanguan de Chuantong yu Bianqian* [From music of the gentry to national music: The tradition and transition of Taiwanese nanguan], Taipei: Nantian shuju, p. 27. See further: N. McLeod and M. Herndon, eds. *The Ethnography of Musical Performance*. Norwood, Pennsylvania: Norwood editions, 1980; Ruth M. Stone, *Let the Inside Be Sweet: The Interpretation of Music Events among the Kpelle of Liberia*. IN: Indiana University Press, 1982; Kay Kaufman Shelemay, *A Song of Longing: An Ethiopian Journey*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991; Michelle Kisliuk, *Seize the Dance! BaAka musical life and Ethnography of Performance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998; Edward M. Bruner, "Ethnography as Narrative." In *The Anthropology of Experience*, edited by Victor W. Tunner and Edward M. Bruner. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

two ways of writing, I think the former is better in recounting events and matters clearly, whereas the latter is better in studying “human beings”. The descriptive way of writing can better depict the complex thoughts, concepts and behaviours of a musician and his relationship with society and culture. Therefore, in this section, which focuses on Chen Da and his songs, I shall adopt a descriptive method as my primary writing mode. As for research method, I shall still employ Merriam’s three levels and Rice’s three aspects as my theoretical bases in exploring the processes of his growth and learning of Hingcun folk songs, the influence of his life experiences on his song creation and singing, his role and standing in the Hingcun area and in Taiwanese society, and the musical and literary value of his songs. As to research material, in addition to records of interviews and the results of learning and observation obtained through my association with Chen Da from 1978-81, I shall also include some literature as further references.

3.2-1 The first meeting

In the summer of 1978, I paid my first visit to Chen Da in Hingcun. After a few minutes of driving down the narrow Shawei Road, I arrived at a shabby hut which had barely enough space for Chen to dwell in. Getting out of the car, I heard a thin stream of melancholy music floating from the hut. Chen Da was playing his beloved *yueqin* and singing *Suguicun* [All seasons are spring]. A yellow-brown dog was crouching on an open patch of ground in front of the door, looking up blearily. In the warm sunshine of the morning, I saw a picture of “a solitary old man, *yueqin* and a small dog”. I did not want to interrupt the old man who was absorbed by his own music. I stood about two metres away from his door, enjoying his singing. Although he had sensed the appearance of a stranger, Chen kept on singing song by song, ignoring my arrival. At the moment he seemed to pause, I walked to his side and greeted him politely, “Uncle A Da, I have come to visit you.” Chen Da nodded slightly and continued plucking his *yueqin* and singing *Susianggi* (Fig. 3.13). This was Chen Da – singing with confidence and an air of arrogance, ignoring others, but very intriguing.

Finally, he invited me into his hut. Crossing the threshold, I saw idols of gods and tablets of deceased ancestors hung on the wall facing the door. A square table was placed against the wall. On the table scattered here and there were a tea set, various commodities and an old portable radio-recorder. The walls on two sides were hung with a dazzling array of old and new photos, medals, and trophies from singing

contests. The most arresting of all these was a colourful photo taken with Jiang Jingguo.¹⁴¹ Chen Da explained, “This photo was taken at a banquet hosted by Zhang Fengxu, the Mayor of Taipei city, when I went to Taipei in 1973. At that time, I sang a few songs for Jiang Jingguo, expressing my best wishes for His Excellency’s health.” Chen Da was always proud of this historical moment and treated the photo as a treasure. The mementoes on the wall and the proud deeds behind these souvenirs were his spiritual food in the later years of his life.



[Fig. 3.13] Plucking the *yueqin*, Chen Da carried away by his own singing.
Photo by Lin Boliang, 1978.

3.2-2 Chen Da’s learning and my learning with him

To my question, “When did you begin to learn *yueqin* and sing Hingcun folk songs, and how?” he responded:¹⁴²

There are eight brothers and sisters in my family. I have four elder brothers and three elder sisters; I’m the youngest. Both my eldest brother, Chen Hu, and the fourth brother, Chen Feilong, are experts at singing in our village. My eldest brother is twenty years older than me. I’ve adored him since childhood. I listened to him and imitated him. He could sing folk songs and play the *yueqin* accompaniment himself. He’s especially good at *Ghubhe buann* [Ox whisking its tail]. Ordinarily, I observed how he sang and played. When he worked in the field or took a nap, I usually took his *yueqin* from where it hung on the wall and played secretly in a place away from other people. Sometimes, I also learned the Hingcun tunes sung by elders in our or adjacent villages. Besides, at about twelve, I went to live with my second sister, who was married to a Beinan in Daidang. I

¹⁴¹ Jiang Jingguo (1910-88), the son of Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi), was president of Taiwan from 1978-88. He was the Premier of Taiwan when the photograph of him with Chen Da was taken.

¹⁴² Chen Da, first personal communication, 10 July 1978, Hingcun area.

worked there until seventeen before I came back to Hingcun. At that time, I often learned Hingcun folk tunes and singing from my fellow villagers who liked to sing Hingcun folk songs such as *Hingcun diau* and *Susianggi* to relieve their homesickness after work. In this way, I laid my foundation and accumulated my skills for playing *yueqin* and singing Hingcun folk songs bit by bit.

Chen Da did not have any schooling and was illiterate. Relying on his natural endowments, he learned these Hingcun folk songs from what he constantly saw and heard through oral transmission. When I asked him, “Did your parents teach you singing when you were a child?” he said:

My father rarely taught me; my mother would teach us children singing songs when she was free. My mother had a good voice, which, she said, had been inherited from her mother. My maternal grandmother was a Galea,¹⁴³ who had taught my mother many aboriginal tunes. Some aboriginal tunes were filled in with Holo lyrics, like *Hingcun diau* and *Caume lang guegang* [Grasshopper playing jokes on the cock].¹⁴⁴

In fact, occasionally Chen Da also employed these two tunes when he sang long narrative poems. I consulted him about the secrets of his fascinating singing of Hingcun folk songs. He emphasized repeatedly that one had to listen, practise and think more. That is, one has to listen to the ways others sing more often and absorb their strengths; he or she must practise singing and playing *yueqin* repeatedly because skills come from practice and good skills induce the ability to apply them with flexibility; he or she also has to ponder how to develop one’s personal style because only uniqueness can make one stand out and be attractive. I asked him, “Your live singing is always much more moving than that of others. Why?” Chen Da responded earnestly, “There’re many singers with good voices; however, to touch others, you have to sing with all your heart and soul.”¹⁴⁵

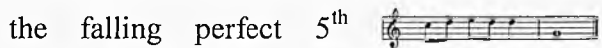
In August 1978, I grasped an opportunity to learn how to play *yueqin* and sing Hingcun folk songs with Chen Da for five days. I had done some homework beforehand, such as frequently imitating his singing from his tapes, and trying to understand the qualities of *yueqin* and its basic playing techniques. His teaching

¹⁴³ In the early days, Han people (using Holo) called the aborigines Galea. Chen Da’s maternal grandmother, Pan Maozhi, belonged to the Pennbo tribe of the aborigines. Therefore, Chen Da said that he was one-fourth aborigine in terms of lineage.

¹⁴⁴ Chen Da, personal communication, 10 July 1978, Hingcun area.

¹⁴⁵ Chen Da, personal communication, 17 August 1978, Hingcun area.

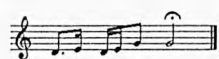
methods were mechanical but practical. He did not follow any explicit theory, nor did he explain the reason why singing in a specific way was better than any other way. He sang a phrase: I imitated his way of singing that phrase. By this method, I learned his way of singing a few folk songs: *Susianggi*, *Hingcun diau*, *Suguicun* and *Ghubhe buann*. Some melodies have large rises and falls, or particular patterns—for instance, the falling perfect 5th



and



characteristic pattern



of *Susianggi*. These he taught me with great patience until I learned the basic idea. He was surprised that I learned much faster than others in both singing folk songs and playing *yueqin*. I did not tell him that I had done some homework beforehand and my experience of playing guitar might also have helped. On the fifth day, he told me:¹⁴⁶

Your apprenticeship is over; you don't have to learn any more. Of course, it takes time to sing Hingcun folk songs in a way that fascinates your audience. Some techniques and personal style cannot be taught. You need to practise constantly and study carefully by yourself, and then you'll gradually master the knack. But one more important thing, you cannot keep on singing lyrics created by others. To be a good folk song singer, you need to sing your own words!

Five days is too short a time to acquire any real mastery, of course. However, in those five days I learned how to appreciate the attitude of respecting one's work as a folksinger. This realization has been of great help to my singing and creation. In particular, as I later observed his performance, I understood more why he could be so single-minded and confident in singing; why he had a great charm other singers did not have, and why his songs had a value and significance worth studying.

3.2-3 Chen Da's life as a minstrel

Chen Da and I met more frequently in 1978. I probed into his life, anecdotes and the experiences of his singing career in depth, and recorded many of his songs.

Although Chen Da did some odd-jobs when he did not perform, the Chen clan

¹⁴⁶ Chen Da, personal communication, 16-20 August 1978, Hingcun area.

still thought that he was a useless man—lazy and gluttonous, singing all day without the willingness to work in the fields.¹⁴⁷ However, Chen Da thought differently, “There’re lots of men in the family. It’ll do if there’s someone working on the field. Playing music and singing songs should be able to make money, too!” I asked him with curiosity, “In an agricultural society in the past, how could one make a living without working on the field?” He answered:¹⁴⁸

Before I formally began my career in singing, to earn a living, I had learned to blow a *suona* [double-reed instrument] and joined in a brass instrument band playing at funerals or weddings making some small money. Afterwards, I earned my confidence in living by singing when I had gained applause and encouragement from my performance in all sorts of festivities. Little by little, travelling everywhere to sing for others became the major source of my income.

In the old agricultural society of the Hingcun area, there was not much entertainment. As a result, singing became the best entertainment at festivities, religious activities, weddings and birthday parties. A singer who could sing and play his own accompaniment thus became a famed personage in a village. In 1925, when Chen Da was twenty years old, he came to the fore as a singer for the first time.¹⁴⁹ After that, he gradually established his reputation as a prominent singer and started his life-long quasi-professional singing career.

As a minstrel, Chen Da often earned tips by singing in festive activities or at the birthday parties of the rich. He also accepted invitations to sing for others or even volunteered to sing under trees for people working in the fields, or in temple squares for the public. Zhong Mingkun (b. 1935), born in Bhuanziu district, recollected that when he was young, Chen Da often walked from Hingcun to Bhuanziu (one trip took about three hours), carrying a *yueqin* on his back, to sing and earn money. Zhong’s mother loved and sang Hingcun folk songs well. On Lunar New Year’s Day or other festivals, his mother would invite Chen Da to sing at their house. Nearby neighbours were also invited to enjoy Chen’s singing. Each time, Zhong’s mother bestowed a

¹⁴⁷ Chen Zhang Mi (b. 1931), personal communication, 19 July 1989, Hingcun area. Chen Zhang Mi is the daughter-in-law of Chen Da’s third brother, Chen Chu. In the value system in the old agricultural society, men who only loved singing but did not want to work on the farm were despised.

¹⁴⁸ Chen Da, personal communication, 10 July 1978, Hingcun area.

¹⁴⁹ Shi Weiliang, *Yinyue xiang lishi qiuzheng* [Music verified by history], Taipei: Taiwan zhonghua book store, 1978, p. 3.

generous red packet (cash gift) upon Chen.¹⁵⁰

Unfortunately, at twenty-nine (1934), Chen Da was attacked by a stroke and suffered serious physical disabilities. He was left almost blind in his right eye, with a weak-sighted left eye, a slanting mouth and crippled limbs. These physical disabilities caused his psychological self-abasement and timidity. Fortunately, however, this physical and psychological harm could not subdue his passion for singing. Although physically handicapped, he would drag himself to a destination, no matter how far it was, rather than give up any chance of performance.¹⁵¹ Zhu Dingshun (b. 1928), who adored Chen Da's singing, recalls his impression at age ten:¹⁵²

At that time, he was unable to move around easily, but he still carried the *yueqin* on his back and walked slowly to our village. Sometimes, under a tree, other times on a rice-drying yard, he sang antiphonally with other old men. Moved by his singing and seeing his delicate health and poverty, many donated money or food grains, such as sweet potatoes, to him.

It was very unfortunate that the stroke harmed Chen Da's eyes and limbs. Nevertheless, when the Second World War broke out, he was exempt from conscription by the Japanese government (Japan ruled Taiwan from 1895 to 1945) because of his disability and so escaped the possibility of dying on the battlefield.¹⁵³ Furthermore, his handicap also provided a very good reason for his concentration on singing without working in the fields. His disability also confined him primarily to the area of Hingcun, although he occasionally also went to Daidang. This prevented his music acquiring much influence from either Western music or from urban culture, and thus preserved the traditional quality of his Hingcun folk songs. Consequently, judged from a less humane angle, Chen Da's personal misfortune was beneficial for the preservation and promotion of Taiwanese native music culture.

3.2-4 Chen Da's impromptu singing and creativity

In December 1978, invited by the production unit of *Penglai Xiandao* [Formosa, the

¹⁵⁰ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 19 July 1989, Hingcun area.

¹⁵¹ Chen Da, personal communication, 24 December 1978, Hingcun area.

¹⁵² Zhu Dingshun, personal communication, 20 July 1989, Hingcun area.

¹⁵³ Xu Lisa and Lin Liangzhe *Hingcun Bandao Juexiang: Youchang Shiren — Chen Da* [The last singing of Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet — Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin, 2006, p. 31.

Celestial Island], a programme of the CTV (China Television Company) in Taiwan, I accompanied Chen Da heading by bus from Hingcun, the southernmost tip of Taiwan, towards the North. We were going to perform in a special TV programme, “The Night to Count and Announce the Ballots of the Election for Legislators”, in Taipei. In order for Chen to experience the new infrastructural achievement in Taiwan, I arranged for us to travel by express bus via the superhighway which had just been completed (Fig. 3.14). On the bus, I witnessed Chen Da’s amazing talent for using people, affairs and subjects around him as material for impromptu folk song creation. After having listened to my explanation about the superhighway and the express bus, he suddenly told me in rhyme, “*Lanlai ghimsi ciunn bhin’iau, anne ciading bhe bhorliau* [Let’s hum verses and sing folk songs, so that we won’t feel bored in the bus.]” The following shows part of Chen’s singing:¹⁵⁴



[Fig. 3.14] Chen Da (left) and Chien Shangjen prepare to take the Guoguang express bus to Taipei from Gaoxiong. Photo by Chen Xianxian, 1978.

1. *Gokga zinbo zin giannlang, gorsokgonglo sui dangdang;*

國家進步真驚人，高速公路美咚咚；

[The nation has progressed amazingly, the superhighway is beautiful;]

Zitcia bheze ghozap lang, zedioh simzing zin kingsang.

一車欲坐五十人，坐著心情真輕鬆。

[The bus holds fifty passengers, I feel relaxed sitting on the seat.]

¹⁵⁴ Chen Da, personal communication, 24 December 1978, on the bus from Hingcun to Taipei.

2. *Gorsokgonglo zinziann hor, lambak hongbian hor cittor;*

高速公路真正好，南北方便好佚陶；

[The superhighway is truly superb, it's convenient to travel between the South and the North.]

Gingze zinbo cabutdor, tinnding sianging bhor kahhor.

經濟進步差不多，天頂仙境無較好。

[The economy has been improved, a fairyland is not better than this.]

After two and a half hours, when the bus stopped at a midway rest area, the conductress announced a ten-minute break. Following what the conductress had said, Chen Da sang an interesting song:

Kuaicia giannidoh long bhedor; kaciuh beling ia bhesior;

快車行著攏袂抖，脚手袂冷也袂燒；

[The express bus moved so smoothly that it did not shake at all, our feet and hands were neither hot nor cold (because the bus was air conditioned);]

Lamlu damzing ditdittior, hiukin zaphun bhe bangzior.

男女談情直直笑，休暍十分欲放尿。

[Men and women chatted intimately all smiling, (the conductress announced) ten minutes rest for a pee.]

During the break, I bought tangerines and *muazi* as our refreshments.¹⁵⁵ At that time, and following Chen's earlier advice, I seized the chance to practice impromptu singing, employing *Hingcun diau*:

Ghua bhe gam'a gah muazi, gam'a ziahliu cui dinndinn;

我買柑子佱麻糬，柑仔吃了嘴甜甜；

[I bought tangerines and *muazi*, tangerines sweeten your mouth;]

Muazi ziahdoh liam cuiki, hibhang (li) nrngang long gah'i.

麻糬吃著黏嘴齒，希望（您）二項攏愜意。

[*Muazi* stick to your teeth, I hope you're satisfied with both.]

Surprised at my impromptu singing, Chen Da said in a pleasant tone, "Didn't I

¹⁵⁵ *Muazi* (Holo) is a sticky, soft sweet dessert made from steamed ground glutinous rice. *Muazi* is usually kneaded into a small round shape and is eaten with sugar. There are also *Muazi* with stuffing of sugar, peanut powder or red beans.

tell you that your apprenticeship was over!” In fact, I had spent nearly ten minutes during the break thinking up these four phrases. I asked him, “Is your ability for impromptu creation of lyrics an innate gift?” Chen Da responded politely, “No, no, I’m not a naturally-born composer. When I was young, I spent a lot of effort in practising. I didn’t stop even when I sang myself hoarse. In particular, I often sang antiphonally with some elders and tried to absorb the essence of their skills. As time passed, their skills eventually became mine.” I asked again, “How do you use the material on the spot? And how do the sights you see stir up your feelings right away?” Chen Da laughed, “*Gongpua bhordat sann e zinn*’—You need only observe carefully the characteristics of people, affairs and topics around you and make them your subject. Then it’ll come naturally, as long as you’re able to master rhyming.”¹⁵⁶ What he said seems easy. But it must be something easier to know than to do!

On the journey, Chen Da sometimes took a rest by closing his eyes, and at other times he chanted and sang songs. When the bus was close to Taipei, evening lamps were beginning to be lit up. He gazed out of the window at the moon, and the sights inspired his feelings. Then, he sang in a slightly sorrowful tone employing the tune of *Suguicun*:

1. *Ghueh 'niunn gngng duicia hang, unmiann horpains tinnzudiann;*

月娘光光對車行，運命好壞天註定；

[The bright lady moon is following the bus, it is doomed to have a kind or a bitter fate;]

Tiensing ghuasi painnmiann giann, rinsing lodo zioh pain'giann.

天生我是歹命子，人生路途足歹行。

[I was born a child with a hard fate, the trip of my life is thus difficult.]

2. *Landui lang hor bhorlangbor, horhi hongziah hiam caucor;*

咱對人好無人褒，好魚奉吃嫌臭腥；

[Treating others well I received no appreciation, offering others fish I received a complaint at the stink;]

Uilang sitsiong bhor horbor, langki zaikang dakhangbhor.

爲人設想無好報，人去財空逐項無。

[Being considerate got me no return, I have nothing left after losing my woman and fortune.]

¹⁵⁶ “*Gongpua bhordat sann e zinn*” [A secret is worth nothing once it’s disclosed], a Holo saying, which means once one grasps the knack of a thing, nothing is too difficult to understand.

“Uncle A Da, you’re feeling low?” I asked. Chen sighed and said, “I’m feeling helpless!” After several interviews I understood that Chen Da was born into a poor family. In childhood, because he lived under another’s roof and often travelled between Hingcun and Daidang, he led an unstable life and lacked a sense of security. After the age of twenty (after 1925), he travelled everywhere performing and lived a life similar to that of a beggar who lived by singing.¹⁵⁷ Frequently, he did not know where his next meal would come from. Consequently, Chen often lamented his poor fate. After having been hit by a stroke at twenty-nine, he believed even more that he had not been treated fairly by God. He was unable to gather the courage to pursue marriage. Later, Chen had earned some money from selling property. About 1949, he fell deeply in love with a widow in the neighbouring village. Chen was very attentive to her and brought up the children she had borne with her deceased husband, treating them as his own.¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately, all his care and love for the widow and her family eventually became a sacrifice to his own wishful thinking. The widow fell in love with another man and married him instead. Chen Da said, “This more than ten-year relationship, which combined love with loyalty, gave me an even more anguished life in return.”¹⁵⁹ From then on, he totally lost his confidence and his will. The sorrow caused by the betrayal he received in return for a true heart brought him emotional instability—he became eccentric, uneasy and unsociable, sinking into the gloomiest phase of his life.¹⁶⁰ These miserable life experiences which continued to reverberate in his brain were reflected bit by bit between the lines of his lyrics as well as in his desolate but beautiful singing.

In fact, the legislator election was finally suspended due to the severance of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and America, so the live programme of CTV was also cancelled. In the bus returning to Hingcun, Chen Da was puzzled and asked me

¹⁵⁷ Before the 1960s, the economy in Taiwan was sluggish and most people were impoverished. Some down-and-outs, in particular the handicapped, who had learned the skills of singing and playing the instrument, often carried a *yueqin*, sang and uttered lucky words from door to door to store owners in a business area to earn meagre alms. According to Zhong Mingkun (personal interview, 21 August 2003), Chen Da mainly travelled in the Hingcun area, or occasionally to Daidang and Huanliang areas to perform; his life style, although not exactly like begging money by singing, was very close to the life of a beggar.

¹⁵⁸ Chen Da, personal communication, 24 December 1978. Another source states that when Chen Da went to Daidang to work in 1946, he cohabited with a widow, whose last name was Xie. They separated after living together over one year and Chen returned to Hingcun; see Xu Lisa and Lin Liangzhe *Hingcun Bandao Juexiang: Youchang Shiren—Chen Da* [The last singing of Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet—Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin Press, 2006, p. 34.)

¹⁵⁹ Chen Da, personal communication, 24 December 1978, in the bus from Hingcun to Taipei.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

repeatedly, “Why do we have to stop everything when we sever diplomatic relations with America? I rarely come to Taipei. I can’t believe now I’m going home without even singing a song in Taipei!” It was truly very difficult for me to find an appropriate answer to his question. However, at that moment, I sensed that Chen Da’s world was simple—it seemed to contain only *yueqin* and Hingcun folk songs.

According to my interviews with Chen Da, there was a period of time when Chen Da was so sorrowful that he was extremely low in spirit and did not feel like playing *yueqin*. Fortunately, when he was at the end of his means, he woke up. He told me, “Anyway, this is the worst situation I can possibly be in; there’s no fallback position. Besides, what’s the use of complaining? Probably I did something bad in the last life so I have to pay back in this one!” From then on, he no longer felt depressed or blamed God or others, and accepted peacefully the punishment which he believed was caused by karma. He did good deeds wherever he went and deeply believed that good will be recompensed with good. He thought that as long as the charity he practised in this world surpassed the evils he had done in the last one, bliss would come from his present misfortune. As a consequence, he picked up his *yueqin* again and sang day and night. Although it was inconvenient for him to walk around, whatever the occasion was, joyous or sad, he would show up and sing his wishes or comfort to others. Fang Ruilong, who lived opposite Chen’s hut, recalled:¹⁶¹

In my childhood, about six years old, every afternoon I saw Chen Da carry out an old rattan chair, sit in the shade and sing songs. He didn’t care if there was anyone listening; he always sang until sunset. He was a lonely old man. But he treated us children well. He often bought some milk candies from the grocery store and stored them in an iron jar. As long as we listened to his singing quietly, we would be given candies after he finished. At that time, most people in Hingcun were poor, so children rarely had any snacks to eat. Therefore, we children often waited in front of Chen Da’s hut even when it was not time yet.

I once asked Chen Da, “At that time, what was your means of living?” He said, “After the 1960s, I was listed as an underprivileged citizen and received a little supplementary benefit from the government and financial support from kind people

¹⁶¹ Xu Lisa and Lin Liangzhe *Hingcun Bandaos Juexiang: Youchang Shiren — Chen Da* [The last singing of Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet — Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin, 2006, pp. 58-60.

who loved folksongs.”¹⁶²

3.2-5 Singing from Hingcun to everywhere in Taiwan

In 1970, a seeming miracle occurred. Perhaps his frequent walking everywhere to sing and play *yueqin* entertaining people had produced an effect similar to physical therapy; except for his left eye, Chen Da’s hands and feet completely recovered. Chen himself thought, “It is because the good deeds I’ve accumulated surpassed the evils I did in the last life.”¹⁶³

After he was discovered in 1967 and later recognized by music and cultural circles, Chen Da became a celebrity in the news. In the 1970s, impacted by Taiwan’s withdrawal from the United Nations in 1971 and the severance of relations with the USA in 1978, Taiwan’s diplomatic sphere shrank rapidly, causing some panic among the people in Taiwan. However, there was also an upsurge of Taiwanese consciousness.¹⁶⁴ It became common for people in cultural circles to try to unearth the roots of native art and culture, and Chen Da became the representative of Taiwanese native music in that tide. After 1976, Chen’s opportunities for performance greatly increased. As a result, he reduced his activities in the Hingcun area and travelled everywhere in Taiwan, performing at major venues, festivals and shows across the island.



[Fig. 3.15] The record sleeve of *Chen Da yu Hingcun diao shuo chang*, published in 1979.

¹⁶² Chen Da, personal communication, 25 December 1978, on the bus from Taipei to Hingcun.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ See 4.8 of Chapter Four for details.

In April 1979, he was invited to record *Chen Da yu Hingcun diau shuochang* [Chen Da employs Hingcun folk songs in *shuochang*] (Fig. 3.15).¹⁶⁵ Taking advantage of this trip to Taipei, on 16 April 1979 he went to the Presidential office with the photograph he had had taken with Jiang Jingguo and requested to visit the president himself. Unfortunately, he was barred by the military police and sent to a psychiatric hospital as a psychotic patient. In the hospital, he cried that he wanted to see “Old Hsu” and “Young Chien”.¹⁶⁶ However, because he was unable to say Hsu Tsanghouei’s or my full name, the staff at the hospital did not pay special attention to what he was shouting about. When I visited him in the hospital after reading the news, he held the photo he had had taken with Jiang Jingguo and said insistently, “I’m not a lunatic. Jiang Jingguo had this picture taken with me and actually told me that I could ask for him if I encountered any difficulty. Did I do anything wrong?” In fact, he was not wrong; he was just too naïve. In the ward, he stressed that he had been framed and his reputation was injured. Moreover, he sighed and complained that life was pathetic and he could not understand why evil men wanted to harm him. When the doctor treated him as a madman, he insisted that he was normal and definitely not insane. Therefore, he sang to the doctor:¹⁶⁷

Ghua bi ganrin haidit miasiann bai, ghua e miaun na e ziabiai;

我被奸人害得名聲歹，我的命運那會這悲哀；

[I was framed by evil men who blackened my reputation, why is my life so pathetic?]

Siudioh anni e duidai, susitsiong, bingbhor sipmi simli binntai.

受著按呢的對待，事實上，並無什麼心理變態。

[I was treated unfairly, actually, I’m not insane.]

In the hospital, he kept on complaining and told me, “When a man has bad luck, *zing bu’a senn caigue* [although a gourd seed, it bears a loofah]. My luck has been bad from the Japanese era to the Chinese one.” He employed the Taiwanese proverb to allegorize his bad luck. Having treated me as his loyal listener, Chen Da talked about his adversities again:

During the Japanese occupation, because a villager loved my singing and the touching

¹⁶⁵ This record was produced by Hsu Tsanghouei, and published by The First Record Company in 1979.

¹⁶⁶ “Old Hsu” is namely Hsu Tsanghouei; “Young Chien” is namely Chien Shang-Jen.

¹⁶⁷ The information is based on the statements given by nurses in the hospital on 19 April 1979.

story in my songs, once he and other villagers collected money to invite me to sing for them. To our surprise, as I was singing with all my heart and villagers were fascinated by my singing, the Japanese police abruptly arrested me for the reason that I made a professional performance without applying for a permit. I could not understand why singing for others was counted as a crime. Now, I'm sent to a psychiatric hospital as a mentally disordered patient. They won't allow me to leave the hospital; it's the same as putting me in a jail. Look at me; I look fine, don't I? I cannot possibly be sick.

After he said this, he began singing again, stressing that if he had done evil like the bad men had said, how would he dare to associate with others in society? It was because he had treated others well, we, his old friends, would come to see him at the hospital.

Ganrin siorhai dorcu gongpain ue, ghuana anni ziu mgan cutsiahue;

奸人相害到處講歹話，我若按呢就不敢出社會；

[Evil people harm me by spreading rumours everywhere, I would not dare associate with others in society if I were like what they said.]

Lan zorlang ziuai utau gah ubhue, anni zia e holin gauzia lai siorcue.

咱做人就要有頭恰有尾，按呢這会乎恁到這來相找。

[We have to act righteously with consistency, then others will come to visit us.]

Although Chen Da insisted that he was not ill, the medical check-up showed that he had suffered a mental disorder caused by sclerosis of the blood vessels in his brain.¹⁶⁸ Fang Ruilong, Chen's neighbour, said:¹⁶⁹

In Chen's late years, he suffered mental illness. Sometimes when he came out in insanity, he climbed onto the roof with the upper part of his body naked and scolded others by singing in the evening. None of the neighbours could escape his scolding. He blamed everybody for harming him. When he was tired, he slept on the roof. In the beginning, everyone thought that he was rude and unreasonable but later we all knew that he suffered paranoia. When he was normal he got along well with everyone; however, when he fell ill, in his eyes, all were evil persons.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Xu Lisa and Lin Liangzhe *Hingcun Bandao Juexiang: Youchang Shiren – Chen Da* [The last singing of Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet – Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin Press, 2006, pp. 100-101.

3.2-6 The last glory and torment of life

In September 1980, after having heard that Chen Da was suffering serious financial problems again, I arranged two concerts of Taiwanese folk songs at the Western Coast Restaurant in Kaohsiung, the second-largest city in Taiwan, one which is close to Hingcun, for the purpose of raising funds for him. The concert was scheduled for 25-26 October, a national holiday; however, Chen was too impatient to wait and showed up one day early, although he had been told to arrive on the morning of the 25th. The sponsor did not know how to handle the situation and notified me of this by phone. I therefore rushed from Taipei to Kaohsiung by plane to accompany him. In the concert, Chen Da and I, an old man and a young man, worked well together – he sang his *Susianggi* and I sang my *Hingcun diau*. Chen usually went his own way and seldom smiled in his performance on the stage. However, on that day probably he felt it interesting to have me performing with him on the stage; he was all smiles during the whole concert. At the end of the concert, the sponsor bestowed upon him a big red packet (of cash) to show respect to him.

On two successive nights, I kept his company in the hotel. He could not sleep all night, smoking endlessly, chewing betel nuts, and uttering sighs of grief. I asked him, “Uncle Da, don’t you feel well?” Chen Da said with a sigh, “I contracted a bad spirit with someone because of a dispute about property. They tried all kinds of ways to frame me and practised black magic on me. The ringing in my ears becomes even louder at night! I can’t sleep at all!” On those two nights, I utterly understood the torture he suffered every night in his later years, which was difficult for others to appreciate.

His stroke at a young age, torment caused by his rough life, and loneliness he suffered after fifty-five might all be major reasons for his mental disorder. Nevertheless, I think that for a long time Chen Da’s singing in the temple square, under trees, at the side of the sea, in the fields or in others’ houses were all a natural, unrestricted, simple and plain form of performance. He and the Hingcun people considered folk songs part of their daily lives. However, from the 1970s onwards, he was treated as a professional singer and performances were occasionally arranged in the concert halls, restaurants and college campuses of a city, Chen Da sitting in glaring light and performing in front of hundreds or thousands of total strangers. In fact, in the eyes of modern city dwellers, Chen Da’s meteoric appearance was a

temporary wonder and he was appreciated merely as an antique. During that period, one moment he was in a quiet, solitary and sometimes despised position in Hingcun, and the next, he was thrust into the noise of bustling cities and the thunderous applause of the audience. Chen Da seemed to sink into a predicament in which he was disconnected from the reality of a metropolitan society but meanwhile could not live peacefully in the countryside. This is perhaps another reason why in his late years Chen Da was emotionally unstable and sometimes even out of his mind. It is no wonder Hong Jian, a writer, stated in an article:¹⁷⁰

Chen Da's temporarily uncontrollable behaviour must have something to do with his being taken away from home. It was basically wrong to take Chen Da to the city and force him into a situation in which he did not know what course to take. Contrarily, we should let him return to his hometown and allow him a peaceful old age so that he can play *yueqin* and sing before his fellow villagers with whom he is most familiar.

During the period of the Lantern Festival in February 1981, Chen Da was invited to perform for a short period of time in the Taiwan Xiaodiao Restaurant in Taipei. At that time I had visited him once and that was the last time we met in our lives. Seeing him perform in high spirits and seemingly alive again, I felt glad for him. At the time, because he had someone escorting him and many people speaking to him, I had no opportunity to speak with him much, but only made an appointment to visit him the following summer. Unfortunately, this appointment became a promise that could not be fulfilled.

On the afternoon of 11 April 1981, when crossing a road in Fenggang, Chen Da was hit by a car. He died on the way to the hospital. On the day of his funeral, I hastened to Hingcun from Taipei to accompany him to the cemetery and bestow my last salute to him. Thinking of his manner and of his version of *Susianggi*, I sang a song using this tune to express my earnest respect for him.

Susianggi, susianggi!

思想起，思想起!

[*Susianggi, Susianggi!*]

Gin'a rit tianndioh si gocua pundahdi, msi li duann ghuehkim liam guasi;

今仔日聽著是古吹噴嚙知,不是你彈月琴唸歌詩。

¹⁷⁰ Hong Jian, "Collection of refined songs: Chen Da's songs", *United News*, 25 January 1977, p. 9.

[Today what I hear is the da di of the horn, not the poetic songs you sang with *yueqin*]

Gocua pun lai sangli ziunnsetien, horcu tiannli duannkim zaiciunn

"*Susianggi*" ...

古吹噴來送你上西天，何處聽你彈琴再唱「思想起」....

[They're blowing the horn to send you to Heaven, but where will we hear you sing *Susianggi* with *yueqin* again?]

3.2-7 Meanings and values of Chen Da's songs

Chen Da left us a large quantity of folk songs. Taking a comprehensive look at Chen Da's songs, we can explore the meanings and values of his songs from the aspects of music and literature.

(1) The aspect of singing

Chen Da did not know what notes, melody and music theory were. Nor had he taken formal singing lessons. However, countless people have been moved by his engrossing singing which was tempered by his rough life. His unusually outstanding performance consisted of his unique singing, perfect transitions of rhymes and tones, and idiosyncratic repetitive singing methods such as the wide leaps (as mentioned in 3.2-2). In particular, his individually created *shuochang* art which purely employed the basic tune of *Hingcun diau* is unique, different from the tune and contents used in traditional *shuochang* art in Taiwan. Taiwanese traditional *shuochang* art is a folk art form in which a performer sings songs and tells stories at the same time. The tunes used in the general form of *shuochang* include *Citghi'a diau*, *gang'o diau*, *Zapljam'a*, *Ghogenn go*, *Moma diau*, etc. Sometimes the tunes Han people brought from Fujian Province to Taiwan are also used, but *Hingcun diau* is never employed. The contents of *shouchang* are primarily Chinese or Taiwanese folktales.¹⁷¹ However, contrary to the traditional *shuochang*, Chen Da used almost all of *Susianggi*, *Suguicun*, *Hingcun diau*, and *Ghubhe buann* as the basic tunes. As to contents, except in the early period of his career, he used folktales such as *Nadau Ze* [Sister Nadau], *Suatbui sugun* [Suatbui is missing her husband], and *Sanbik Inndai* [Niu Sanbik and Zhu Inndai]. Later he employed the folktales of the Hingcun area as his subjects almost all of the

¹⁷¹ Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan de Chuantong Yinyue* [The traditional music of Taiwan], Xingzhengyuan wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui, 2001, p. 125.

time, such as *A uan gah a huat begiann e bicam gosu* [The sad story of father and son, A Uan and A Huat], *Lim Sin'gau dautai bianghu* [Lim Sin'gau was reincarnated as a bull], *Lim'a gah gap Ior'a siorcuazau* [Lim'a and Lor'a eloped], and *Li Hokliong zi de di lam'uan diorhi camsi* [Li Hokliong's younger brother died miserably when fishing in Lam'uan].¹⁷² (*Xinchuan: Duhai* [Inheritance: crossing strait] which he sang for Yunmen Wuji [Cloud Gate Dance Theatre of Taiwan], is the only one in which he did not use a local Hingcun folktale.) Having employed the folk tunes of the Hingcun area, Chen Da sang and adapted local stories and created a Taiwanese *shuochang* that used “purely native” material.

(2) The aspect of literature

Chen Da's lyrics possess the qualities of folk literature. His lyrics are mostly the essence of his life experiences, containing countless life philosophies and wisdoms. The lyrics he sang can be roughly divided into two categories: short impromptu poems and long narrative poems.

Short impromptu poems were mostly inspired by times, places, persons, and events. The short impromptu poems mainly include contents such as: moral principles and family love; life experiences; local scenery; urging others to do good deeds; eulogizing someone's virtues and achievements; and auspicious words. Occasionally they also include complaints. For example, concerning family love, he once sang: “The highest in rank in the universe are gods in the heaven and on the earth; our parents are the next in rank; if you do not believe in this, then think carefully: it is our parents who bore and gave us all the bones and flesh of our bodies.” Below are the lyrics of this song:¹⁷³

Susianggi, deyit gaidua tinngahde, deri si laubhu cinmlaube, a ue!

思想起，第一界大天大地，第二是老母親老父，啊喂！

[*Susianggi*, the highest in rank are heaven and earth, and the second are our parents;]

Na msin lidioh siunnsiongse, ai io ue! guttau si laube holan'e, bah si laubhu'e, a ue!

¹⁷² Xu Lisa and Lin Liangzhe *Hingcun Bandao Juexiang: Youchang Shiren – Chen Da* [The last singing of Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet – Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin Press, 2006, pp. 149-163.

¹⁷³ Lin Er and Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan Minsu Geyao* [Taiwanese Folk Songs], Taipei: Zhongwen tushu gongsi, p. 39.

若不信你著想詳細，哎唷喂！骨頭是老父子咱的，肉是老母的，啊喂！
[Think carefully if you don't believe me, our bones were given by our fathers,
our flesh came from our mothers.]

Furthermore, he once used place names of the Hingcun area as introductory phrases to talk about the love between husbands and wives. He argued that men and wives are like mandarin ducks, whose relationship is similar to the interdependence of a creditor and a debtor. Consequently, husbands and wives have to be considerate and take care of each other. He sang as follows:¹⁷⁴

*Susianggi, bennbocu gueliau gau Bangsuann, cinnciunn uan'iunn
dehzorpuann;*

思想起，平埔厝過了到枋山，親像鴛鴦在做伴；

[*Susianggi*, after Pennbocuo there comes Bangsuann, we're like mandarin ducks who accompany each other;]

Lighua hing'ze hingbhuemua, angbho zorhue tauzitduann.

你我還債還未滿，尅某做伙頭一段。

[The debts between you and me are not cleared yet, this is our first time to be husband and wife.]

At others' weddings and babies' first-month birthday parties, Chen Da often sang lucky congratulatory words using the tune of *Ghubhe buann*.¹⁷⁵

Holin ziannsiang gah zianndui, gongbhin singki, bhanni dithugui.

予恁成双佻成對，光明成器，萬年得富貴。

[I wish you become a devoted pair, openheartedness as well as success, and everlasting wealth and high status.]

Ziokhor lin singgiann taukak ding, aurit'a duahan singgong kah gongbhin.

祝賀恁生子頭殼硬，後日仔大漢成功較光明。

[I wish you bear a healthy son, he'll be successful and have a bright future when he grows up.]

Chen Da's birthday was 16 April. He happened to be in Taipei on his birthday in

¹⁷⁴ Chien Shangjen, *Taiwan yinyue zhi Lu* [On the road of Taiwanese music], Taipei: Zihli wanbao wenhua chubunbu, 1988, p. 24.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

1977. The music circle held a party for him, at which he sang impromptu:¹⁷⁶

Zinglang hor 'i giorghualai, kuannlin dakge ze zitbai;

眾人好意叫我來，看佢大家坐一排；

[You're so kind to invite me here, I saw you sitting in a row;]

Siniann indi ghua nauhai, ghuana sitle bohgianguai.

身影印在我腦海，我若失禮莫見怪。

[You all imprint on my brain, forgive me if I'm not courteous enough.]

Zizun ghua ziah 'e si siannhue? Ge 'nnggor iasi siannmi gue;

這陣我吃的是啥貨？雞蛋糕也是甚麼嘍；

[What am I eating now? Chicken cake or glutinous rice cakes;]

Giorghua ghiahdor uehsiue, ge 'nnggor kuizor siprihue.

叫我斧刀劃四畫，雞蛋糕開做十字花。

[I was asked to cut the cake in four, chicken cake became blossoming cross flowers.]

Chen Da recalled that in his childhood, because it was difficult to make a living in Hingcun, many young men and women went far away to Daidang to work in the Daidang Sugar Plant, run by the Japanese government.¹⁷⁷ The job was hard and physical, unbearable because of the drudgery in the hot sun and the meagre daily wage of six cents. Moreover, the foreman was as mean as a fierce dog, abusing his power to bully the workers. Sometimes when workers slowed down slightly because of tiredness, they were reprimanded severely and money was deducted from their pay. These life experiences and feelings all became the subjects of Chen Da's songs. For instance: ¹⁷⁸

Hisi bhehzor huesia gang, zabo zabho ziokzuelang;

那時欲做會社工，查甫查某足多人；

[At that time many wanted to work as factory workers, there were numerous men and women;]

Zitgang lakgak siorzinn bheh dindang, ho rittau pakgah m ziannlang.

一工六角相爭欲振動，給日頭晒甲不成人。

[All fought for the work at six cents per day, we were sunburned badly.]

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 25-6.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

Zitgang bhehtan lakgakzinn, hi'e gamdok'a zin gauki;

一工欲賺六角錢，那個監督仔真狗氣；

[We wanted to earn the six-cent daily wage, the foreman was like a ferocious bulldog;]

Gangkue siunnbhan i ziu okcici, sunsuah kauhun iu giamzinn.

工作稍慢伊就惡刺刺，順煞扣分又減錢。

[He scolded us harshly if we slowed down a bit, and deducted our performance mark and reduced our money.]

Urging others to do good deeds, to work diligently, and to show filial devotion for parents are the subjects Chen Da was good at in his impromptu poems. Taking every opportunity of singing, Chen exhorted people earnestly to keep house with diligence, not to be gluttonous and lazy to make the family sink into an economic predicament. He urged people to appreciate their parents' painstaking efforts to raise them—they worked hard, pinched and scraped in order to provide children a life with adequate food and clothes. Therefore, children should show filial piety and respect for their parents all the time.¹⁷⁹

Susianggi, sing'uah zitri zitrilan, mtang bhehzhiah gorh mtortan;

思想起，生活一日一日難，不通欲吃攔不討賺；

[*Susianggi*, life is difficulty every day, don't be gluttonous and unwilling to work;]

Zugi na bheh binduann banghosan, bhorlang telan gadin do languann.

自己若欲貧惰放給窮，無人替咱家庭渡難關。

[If you're lazy and willingly accept poverty, none will help our family to overcome difficulties.]

Susianggi, ghuakng serin siunnhocing, bebhu tiannlan huisimzing;

思想起，我勸世人想乎清，父母疼咱費心情；

[*Susianggi*, I urge you to think clearly, parents love us and bore all kinds of hardship to raise us]

Holan ziahcing holan ing, iuhau nngri baitauzing.

予阮吃穿予咱用，友孝二字排頭前。

[They give us food clothes and daily needs, the two words of filial piety should come first.]

¹⁷⁹ Chen Da, personal communication, 18 August 1978, Hingcun area.

As for Chen Da's long narrative poems, there are two which are most representative. The first, the miserable story of father and son A Uan and A Huat, is a true story which occurred in Gangkou Village of Bhuanziu, Hingcun. In the story, A Huat, a young man living in Gangkou Village, went alone to Hualian to pursue a better life.¹⁸⁰ However, after A Huat left for Hualian, his family never received any information from him. A Uan missed A Huat so much that he made the arduous journey to Hualian to seek his son. Unfortunately, shortly after he found his son, A Uan contracted a serious illness and died. A Huat sold the land he had painstakingly cultivated to raise enough travelling expenses and carried his father back to Hingcun. Even more unfortunately, upon arriving home, A Huat was killed because other family members misunderstood his intention and thought he had returned for the inheritance. This long narrative poem touched countless Hingcun people, especially women, who usually cried from the beginning to the end of the tale as they listened to Chen's singing. In the following, only an excerpt is quoted for the purpose of reference.¹⁸¹

When A Huat, baggage in his hand, was about to leave home for Hualian, he comforted his father and told him not to worry. His mother had passed away; he asked his father to take good care of himself:

Hingli kuanhor beh kigiann, diacinn lidioh tiann ghau kokng kngguisiann;

行李款好欲起行，爹親您著聽我苦勸勸幾聲；

[I've finished packing and am ready to leave, father please listen to my sincere advice;]

Lidi gading m tang zuansiunngiann, ghua cun aba bhor a'niunn.

您在家庭嘸通全想子，我存阿爸無阿娘。

[At home, please don't spend all your time missing your son, I have no mother and only have you now.]

After several twists and turns, A Uan finally found his son in Hualian. A Uan unfortunately fell seriously ill. At night the temperature plunged, and A Uan suffered a

¹⁸⁰ Hualian is located in the area close to the central part of eastern Taiwan. At that time, it was difficult to travel from Hingcun to Hualian. Train and car transportation was only provided in some sections of the road; therefore, people had to travel on foot for most of the journey. If one missed a car or train at a transfer point, he or she had to spend two or three days reaching Hualian.

¹⁸¹ Xu Lisa and Lin Liangzhe *Hingcun Bandao Juexiang: Youchang Shiren — Chen Da* [The last singing of Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet — Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin Press, 2006, pp. 149-160.

great deal of unbearable pain; his son tried to warm A Uan by hugging him. Chen Da sang out the deep affection between father and son:

Father:

Zit ginn gueliao ri ginn si, ¹⁸² *kiho linghong gamdloh bi;*

一更過了二更時，去予冷風感著脾；

[The first watch has passed it's now the second watch, the cold wind has hurt my spleen;]

Sighua bunsin sitsin bhor seri, dannlai sinte didiohbinn

是我本身失神無細膩，擔來身體致著病。

[It was because of my carelessness, I have contracted a serious illness.]

Sinku didioh binn, sim 'guann a! ghua e giann! a ue.

身軀致著病，心肝啊！我的子！啊喂。

[I'm physically ill, dearest one! My dearest child! a ue!]

Son:

A Huat kuanndia ghiaghia gun, bhincng ditdit zun;

阿發看爹蠕蠕滾，眠床直直震；

[A Huat see Father toss and turn restlessly, the bed is shaking endlessly;]

Giann ualai camli zorhuekun, simguann siunndioh luanhunhun.

子俁來參你做伙暍，心肝想著亂紛紛。

[I'll hug you and accompany you, I'm distraught with worry.]

Simguann luanhunhun, simguann a! diacinn! a ue.

心肝亂紛紛，心肝啊！爹親！啊喂。

[I'm restless in heart. Dearest one! My father! a ue!]

Although feeling anguished over his father's serious illness, A Huat had no money to take his father to a doctor. A Uan's illness was getting worse; with his temperature rising and falling irregularly, A Uan was about to die. As A Huat carried his father on his back returning to Hingcun by train, his father passed away. On the whole journey home, A Huat summoned the soul of his father to follow him, boarding the train, walking across the bridge, and climbing over the hill. When the train was crossing Wanli Bridge, A Huat held his father tightly and reminded him that his soul must follow closely and not get lost. Chen Da sang:

¹⁸² *Ginn* [更]: the watches of the night (in the former Han society, the night was divided into five watches and each covered two hours.)

Susianggi, huecia bbeh giann'gue bhanligior, begiann siorlam ziokkorsior;

思想起，火車欲行過萬里橋，父子相攬足可惜；

[*Susianggi*, the train is crossing Wanli Bridge, father and son hold together dearly;]

Sinhun tiann'giann gahligior, ling'hun lidioh duigiann e dngdioh.

神魂聽子佻您叫，靈魂您著對子會當著。

[Soul you listen to your son, soul you must follow me closely.]

I once asked Chen Da, “The lyrics of narrative poems are very long. How do you remember them in singing?” Chen Da replied humorously:

Characters do not know me; I do not know how to write them, either. Probably because of this, I've trained my memory to be better than that of others. Normally, I sing a single song impromptu. However, in fact, this ability has developed from my long-term accumulation of experiences. You know, practice makes perfect. As to a long social realistic story whose material was taken from local events in the Hingcun area, because this kind of story needs to be based on facts, I usually spend more time understanding the truths. Ordinarily, I use more time to conceive and practise the contents. As time passes, I've memorized most of them. When I sing a long story for the first time, I might feel a little bit awkward. But after I sing here once, and sing there again, the experiences accumulated in different times help me remember the lyrics clearly.

I asked him again, “But how about the story, *Xinchuan: Tangshan guo Taiwan* [Inheritance: From China to Taiwan], which you didn't have time to conceive, practise and accumulate experiences for beforehand?” Chen Da responded seriously:

This was truly more challenging. I usually consulted the person who had invited me beforehand about the general content of his story. I conceived the lyrics while asking questions; then on top of it I took advantage of the impromptu ability I've developed ordinarily. Right before the formal performance began, I usually drank a small cup of wine, meditated on the lyrics for a while, and then I was ready to go. By the way, there's one thing I seldom tell others. Sometimes, I repeated, or prolonged the last tone of small phrase, *su-siang-gi*, in singing or played the preludes and interludes by *yueqin*. I used all these knacks to conceive the subsequent contents or search for rhyming characters needed by the subsequent lyrics.

Having been invited by the notable Taiwanese dance troupe, Yunmen Wuji, Chen

Da sang the other long narrative poem, *Tangshan guo Taiwan*, for the dance drama, *Xinchuan*. This work of art was highly recognized by the circles of literature and art and meanwhile won Chen Da an enduring reputation in society. The story is about the history of how, more than three hundred years ago, having undergone all conceivable hardships, the Han forebears of the Taiwanese left the coastal areas of China, crossed the Formosa Strait, arrived in Taiwan, reclaimed wasteland, opened up land for cultivation and established their homes. The long narrative poem lasted approximately three hours; here only three small sections are excerpted for reference purposes.¹⁸³

The land of the coastal areas of Fujian, Guangdong, and Guangxi provinces of China was never fertile. At that time, countless young men longed passionately for Taiwan and risked their lives crossing the Formosa Strait to seek better land. However, having worried about the unexpected calamities in an island of which their children were totally unaware, conservative parents actively dissuaded their children from going recklessly. Young men were determined and did not want to change their minds. Consequently, what parents could do was to wish their children a smooth future.

Susianggi, bebhu siorkng but lng zi, giannbheh cutghua ziu hoiki;

思想起，父母相勸不能止，子欲出外就予伊去；

[*Su sianggi*, parents' advice couldn't stop the children, just let them go if they're determined to leave;]

Horbai lingrit laitongdi, ai! zior hogiann liki Taiwan cuttautinn.

好歹另日來通知，唉！就予子你去台灣出頭天。

[Let us know no matter if it's good or bad in the future, ai! We'll just let you go to seek for a successful life.]

Because at that time navigation was not yet developed, the weather forecast was not accurate, and it was very difficult to predict possible dangers hidden in the Taiwan Strait, boats often capsized when crossing the Strait, causing heavy casualties. Therefore, Taiwanese forefathers called the Strait the "black ditch". In the story, immigrants steered the boats carefully, riding the wind and weathering the surge. However, unfortunately, they ran into a heavy storm. Roaring waves hit the boats

¹⁸³ (1) Chen Da, "Tangshan Guo Taiwan" [Inheritance: From China to Taiwan], *Lion Art*, vol. 95, 1979, pp. 166-69. (2) Cloud Gate Theatre of Taiwan, *The Songs of the homeland, Circuit Singing in All Corners of the Country*, Rolling-Stone Record Co. Ltd., 1992. (3) Xu Lisa and Lin Liangzhe *Hingcun Bandaou Juexiang: Youchang Shiren – Chen Da* [The last singing of Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet – Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu-zhongxin Press, 2006, pp. 88-90.

again and again. Some of the immigrants looked up at the sky begging the gods' pardon; others put their palms together beseeching the gods' protection. Chen Da sang:

Susianggi, ozuigau bhehgue gui a ding, sim ai ding, dudioh hongtai ki duaing;

思想起，黑水溝欲過幾仔層，心要定，碰著風颳起大湧；

[*Susianggi*, to evade numerous traps of the black ditch, we have to be calm, we run into high waves caused by storms;]

U'e ghiahtau kuann tinnding, u'e simlai giu sinbhing.

有的舉頭看天頂，有的啊！心內求神明。

[Some raise their heads looking at the sky, others beg gods in their hearts.]

After their lucky escape from sea disasters they arrived in Taiwan, without any cattle or farm implements. They had to move rocks and tree trunks, and pick up pebbles and earth with their bare hands in the process of cutting thistles and thorns, opening up forests, reclaiming the land and founding their homes. Since there was no way to expedite the cultivation, they had no choice but to beg the Time God to slow down so that their generation would be able to fulfil the mission of establishing their homes. The forefathers earnestly admonished their children, "You were brought up by us who revealed the soil with our bare hands." Chen Da sang:

Susianggi, siangciu oto lai gingcan, bhor ghu tangtua tiautiau lan;

思想起，双手挖土來耕田，無牛可托刁刁難；

[*Susianggi!* We use both hands to till the land, without the help of bulls doing everything is difficult;]

Sigan ziamsi liziudan, giannsun a! ghua siangciu oto cilin laiduahan.

時間暫時恁就等，子孫啊！阮双手挖土飼恁來大漢。

[Time God please wait for a while! Children, we dug earth with both hands to bring you up.]

Lin Huaimin, the founder of Cloud Gate Theatre of Taiwan, chose the night of 16 December 1978, the date when Taiwan and the USA severed diplomatic relations, to perform the opening of the dance drama in Jiayi, the place where the Taiwanese forebears had arrived and started their cultivation of Taiwan.¹⁸⁴ The combination of Chen Da's singing and the dance drama of Cloud Gate Theatre of Taiwan touched the

¹⁸⁴ The immigrants in the story of "Xingchuan", the dance drama, started reclaiming land in Bengang Shizhai of Jiayi County. See the programme of "Xingchuan" of Cloud Gate Theatre of Taiwan.

hearts of countless Taiwanese during a period when the future of Taiwan was uncertain. In 1992, Cloud Gate Theatre of Taiwan performed this drama again for two and half months domestically and internationally. Lin Huaimin commented about Chen Da's songs:¹⁸⁵

Chen Da was like a museum of the common people, a moveable information centre. He was able to sing the feelings and affection of the Taiwanese at any time. As soon as Chen Da's singing of *Susianggi* sounded, no one was able to restrain his tears because his singing touched the deepest feelings of the Taiwanese.

3.2-8 Impact and influence of Chen Da

In the old agricultural society, Chen Da was treated by some people in the Hingcun area as a performing street beggar, because he disliked working in the fields. During his lifetime, he did not acquire in his hometown the social status his artistry deserved. Nevertheless, in fact, his songs were the spiritual food of many people in the Hingcun area where he provided entertainment for farmers, fishermen and farm women, and sang songs that consoled people on different occasions in every corner of the Hingcun area.

In his later years, Chen Da journeyed beyond the Hingcun area, radiating his charm all over Taiwanese society, becoming highly acknowledged in all circles. Musician Hsu Tsanghouei said, "From his singing of *Ghubhe buann*, *Susianggi*, *Suguicun*, and *Hingcun diau*, I sensed how real the world that has been forgotten by the metropolis is! I finally found the soul of folk music."¹⁸⁶ Shi Weiliang, another musician, commented, "He's a composer – he was able to modify an existing tune to suit different lyrics; he's a poet – inspired by the sights he saw, he was able to create living words; he's also a professional singer who was able to sing and play the accompaniment."¹⁸⁷ Qiu Kunliang, the dramatist, praised Chen Da, "He's a folk song singer, and a realistic social poet." During the period when Chen Da performed all over Taiwan, Hingcun folk songs were also spread to every corner of the island and

¹⁸⁵ Cai Meijuan, "Geyao Bainian Wenhua Sanbu – Mingren Susianggi, Chen Da Changchu Taiwanren Ganqing" [Folksongs in one hundred years, culture pilgrimage – celebrity Susianggi, Chen Da sang out the feelings of the Taiwanese], *United News*, 16 October 2000, p. 14. Cited in Xu Lisa and Lin Liangzhe *Hingcun Bandaou Juexiang: Youchang Shiren – Chen Da* [The last singing of Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet – Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin, 2006, pp. 94-5.

¹⁸⁶ Xu Changhui, "Diary of folk song collection group", *Taiwan Xingsheng Newspaper*, 28 July 1967.

¹⁸⁷ Shi Weiliang, *Minzu Yueshou: Chen Da he Tade ge* [The national artiste, Chen Da and his songs], Taipei: Xiwang Publisher, 1971, p. 3.

the significant standing of Hingcun folk songs in Taiwanese musical culture was firmly established. From that time on, Hingcun people gradually recognized his accomplishment and contribution to musical culture. After he passed away in 1981, the Hingcun Town Hall established the Chen Da Foundation Committee named after him, held a public memorial ceremony and a memorial concert. All circles in Pingdong County also held a concert for Chen Da to praise in public his contribution to folk songs. After that, following in the footsteps and spirit of Chen Da, numerous singers in Hingcun area have continued the effort of maintaining and promoting Hingcun folk songs. Zhang Wenjie, an excellent folk song singer after Chen Da, sang out his admiration for Chen Da and his determination to follow in his footsteps by using the tune of *Susianggi*:¹⁸⁸

Susianggi, bhin'iau iging bahghua ni, ziapdai si Chen Da lausiansing;

思想起，民謠已經百外年，接代是陳達老先生；

[*Susianggi*, folk songs have existed over one hundred years, it was Chen Da who carried on the tradition;]

Lambo ciunn'gau bakhoki, zing'hu zinding ziah lai ziunn diansi.

南部唱到北部去，政府認定才來上電視。

[Chen Da sang from the South to the North of Taiwan, he appeared on TV because the government had acknowledged his achievement.]

Susianggi, bhin'iau iging bahghua ni, ziapdai si Chen Da lausiansing;

思想起，民謠已經百外年，接代是陳達老先生；

[*Susianggi*, folk songs have existed over one hundred years, it was Chen Da who carried on the tradition;]

Uidiuh ciahor buthing laisi, bhin'iau hiamhiam lai zuatgi.

爲著車禍不幸來死，民謠險險來絕跡。

[He died unfortunately in a car accident, folk songs were on the verge of extinction.]

Accompanying the improvement of economic life and the rise of cultural consciousness, Chen Da has become the pride of the Hingcun people and a unique cultural symbol in the Hingcun area, ranking alongside scenic spots such as Kenting

¹⁸⁸ Xu Lisa and Lin Liangzhe *Hingcun Bandao Juexiang: Youchang Shiren – Chen Da* [The last singing of Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet – Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin Press, p. 167.

National Park and Ghorluanpinn.

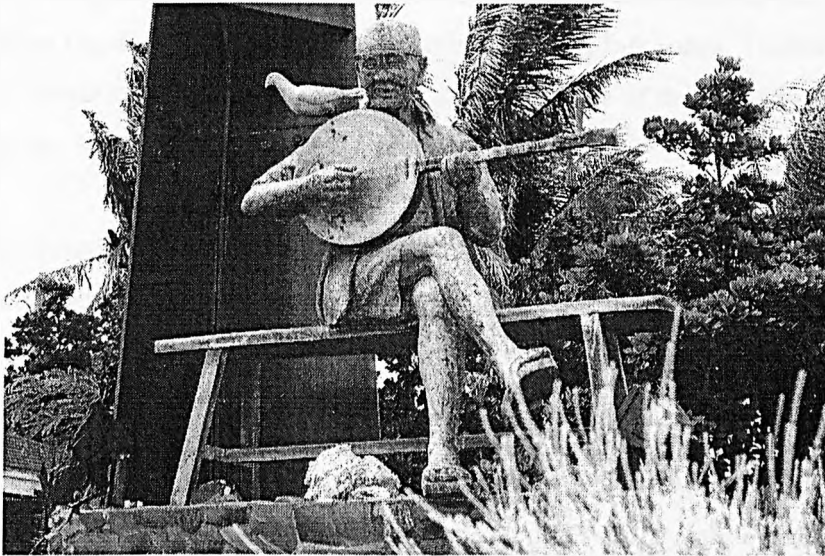
In the 1970s, the impact caused by Chen Da ignited the passion of the Taiwanese for native music. Because of his efforts, Chen Da deserves the glory for extending the life of Taiwanese native music. Consequently, after he passed away, in memory of him, numerous practitioners in the circles of literature and art have produced numerous works of song and a drama.¹⁸⁹

Although it is currently twenty-six years since Chen Da died, his singing remains memorable. The songs he left are always the most precious part of Taiwanese native music. In *Hingcun Town Record*, published by the Hingcun town government in 1989, Chen Da was listed in the “Who’s Who” of musical talents of Hingcun town. In 2002, the nuclear power plant in the Hingcun area erected a statue of Chen Da beside the front gate of Da Guang Elementary School, which is located in Da Guang village, Hingcun, Chen Da’s birthplace, in order to encourage all generations of Hingcun to remember him and imitate his spirit of promoting Hingcun folk songs (Fig. 3.16). Recently, some enthusiastic folk song lovers have also endeavoured to establish a memorial hall for Chen Da in the hope that the *yueqin* and works Chen Da has left and the audiovisual data relevant to him can be preserved at a permanent place, which will also be a base for people to learn Hingcun folk songs and to study his music.

Interpreting Chen Da by means of Merriam’s and Rice’s theory, we can state succinctly that the concept of “love for singing” spurred him on to the behaviour he loved; as a result, he kept on utilizing the sound of music to present his life. In his minstrelsy, confronted by the tests of the audience, he was repeatedly circling the loop of concept, behaviour and sound, and was thus growing by the improvement and accumulation of his unique singing skills and content. Chen was a prominent musician who was able to inherit tradition and initiate innovation at the same time. His appearance gave a new life to Hingcun folksongs which had been gradually disappearing from the scene. His creation, performance and impact awakened

¹⁸⁹ For example, *Yueqin* (“Yueqin”, *Special Collection of Zheng Yi, Wang Xinlian, and Ma Yizhong*, Xingge Industrial Co. Ltd., 1981, Tape TS-041, A: track 2.); *Ciunndior simlai hediau gua* [Sing the song in your heart] (“Sing the song in your heart”, in *Our Home*, Fei Die Record Company, 1992 (created in 1982), track 2.); *Nasi gua Hingcun* [If you come to Hingcun] (Xu Lisha and Lin Liangzhe, *Hingcun Bandao Juexiang: Youchang Shiren – Chen Da* [The Last Singing of Hingcun Peninsula: Minstrel Poet – Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin, p. 195.); [Red-eyed Da’a] (“Angbhak Da’a” [Red-eyed Da’a], *Xiawu de yichuxi*, Gunshiu records company, 1990, RD1104, track 8.). In 1994, Taiwan Television Company also produced and broadcast the drama, *Susianggi*, based on the legend of Chen Da.

Taiwanese people's love for native soil and consolidated and raised the position of Hingcun folksongs. In addition, he brought a new value and concept into society, enhanced Hingcun people's identification and love for their folksongs, and inspired them to resort to various ways actively to preserve the existence of these songs. Chen Da created and sang for interests and accomplished a remarkable achievement in terms of music and literature. Although his social position was raised by Hingcun people from a humble "folksong beggar" to a respectable "folksong hero", he still sang his songs with the same pure mind he had always had. His singing has been a spiritual food for Hingcun people, moved them and made them proud of having him and Hingcun folksongs. Chen Da's contributions will last forever in the history and society of Taiwanese music cultures.



[Fig. 3.16] The statue of Chen Da, standing beside the front gate of Daguang Elementary School. Photo by Chien Shangjen, 2003.

3.3 Hingcun Folk Song Activities – The Past and the Present

I have had continuous contact with the life, society and music culture of local people in the Hingcun area for the last twenty-nine years, from my first visit to Chen Da in 1978 to my latest visit to Zhong Mingkun in Bhuanziu district this year (2007). Through interviews, learning and observation, such opportunities have enabled me to understand the musical life and culture of Hingcun people in the past, its development process, and even the development of Hingcun folk songs in the area at present.

3.3-1 Hingcun folk songs in the past

People in the Hingcun area have always liked to sing. In the old agricultural society, they sang as they tilled the land, herded cattle, gathered firewood and produced charcoal. They worked in the company of music—working and singing at the same time. Notably, due to a severe shortage of labour, the system of “exchange of labourers” prevailed in society. Various farm tasks such as transplanting rice seedlings, weeding, fertilizing, irrigating, and harvesting were carried out by exchanging labour power among different families. The exchange of manpower created the chance for group work, and thus an opportunity for singing. The younger generations also used these occasions to learn folk songs. Chen Piao, an old lady, said:¹⁹⁰

I liked to sing when I was young. However, my family and relatives were not good at singing so I seldom had any opportunity to learn or sing folk songs. Therefore, I liked to join in labour exchange because I could take the chance of the gathering to learn, and practise my techniques of singing folk songs.

Of all Hingcun folk songs, *Ghubhe buann* is unique in purpose, in its use in wedding activities. Daughters were required to learn this tune before marriage and to perform what they had learned both on the eve of the wedding and before they left in a sedan chair for the groom’s house. Han Zhuang Gan, an old lady, said:¹⁹¹

I happened to live in an age when a bride had to sing *Ghubhe buann* in marriage ceremonies. That was a difficult but memorable experience. My voice was not good and I was afraid of singing. Before the wedding, at my mother’s insistence and instruction, I’d learned a whole week before my singing was presentable.

Furthermore, in the conservative agricultural society, singing folk songs was a common method for Hingcun people to express love euphemistically. Abolishing one’s own tedium, entertaining others, and communicating with others were also good occasions to sing Hingcun folk songs.

At that time, as to the form of singing, except for self-amusement and Chen Da’s individual performance, most singing was conducted in the mutually respectful form in which A finished singing, B sang, A sang again, B sang and so forth. In this singing

¹⁹⁰ Chen Piao (b.1928), personal communication, 22 August 2003, Hingcun area.

¹⁹¹ Han Zhuang Gan (b. 1925), personal communication, 19 July 1989, Hingcun area.

form, singers could learn from one another and it thus produced intimate interactive relations. As to the lyric contents, a wide variety of subjects was included—love between man and woman, family affection, work, homesickness, expressions of emotion, descriptions of scenery, depiction of events, arguments etc. In short, up to the end of the 1940s, folk singing was the best method to express the range of happiness, anger, sadness and joy in people's lives in the Hingcun area. Almost every one of the Hingcun people was a folk singer. In the 1950s, because of changes in their environment, the times, places, methods, contents, purposes and objectives of local people singing Hingcun folk songs also altered. Zhong Mingkun argued, "Since the 1950s, due to the change of life style of agricultural society, the influence of the government's educational system, and the diversification of entertainment, the former forms of folk song activities have gradually disappeared."¹⁹²

3.3-2 Hingcun folk song activities at present

During the occupation of the Qing and Ming dynasties, Hingcun folk songs circulated naturally in people's daily lives. At the end of Japanese rule, although the Japanese government actively promoted the Kominka Movement,¹⁹³ intending to replace Taiwanese culture with Japanese, the movement did not seem to influence the Hingcun area much due to its remote location. Moreover, most Hingcun people at that time lived primarily by agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing. When they worked in the fields, gathered firewood in the wilds, raised aquatic products at the seaside, fished on the sea, or even relaxed at home, folk singing was still one of their favourite activities.¹⁹⁴

In 1949, when the GMD government moved to Taiwan, under the impact of political and economic factors as well as external cultures the development of Hingcun folk songs encountered severe ordeals. First, the iron oppression of Taiwanese languages and culture by the GMD government suffocated the development of Taiwanese musical culture and Hingcun folk songs. As a result, the younger generations gradually lost their ability to use Holo fluently, and Hingcun folk

¹⁹² Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 19 July 1989, Hingcun area.

¹⁹³ The Kominka Movement was promoted by the Japanese government in Taiwan in response to need during the war (1937-45). In the movement, the Taiwanese were encouraged to use Japanese, develop a Japanese life style, change to Japanese names, and worship Japanese gods so as to be trained to possess the spirit of patriotism and sacrifice of Japanese citizens. Retrieved from <http://contest.ks.edu.tw/~taiwan/chap6/index623.htm>, 15 August 2007.

¹⁹⁴ Zhang Yongtang and Mingkun Zhong (eds.), *Hingcun Zhenzhi* (II) [County annals of Hingcun (II)], vol. 6, Hingcun town hall, 1999, p. 199.

songs were sung in Mandarin instead, owing to the strict Mandarin-only language policy.¹⁹⁵ In the late 1950s, as Taiwan was gradually transformed into a commercial and industrial society, the rural villages of the Hingcun area declined bit by bit and thus the former environment for working and singing disappeared at the same time. Moreover, because Hingcun people continuously moved out of the area to pursue better ways to make a living, the number of people who could gather together for singing also greatly decreased. Besides, influenced by external music and cultures, opportunities to use the New Year, festivals and celebratory activities to gather together and sing songs were reduced. The custom of singing *Ghubhe buann* in marriage ceremonies also disappeared from the scene due to the dearth of people able to sing the tune. With the advancement of technology, the gradual universality of the gramophone, recorder and radio, and the rise of mass media such as radio and TV broadcasting, there were more choices of entertainment available for people. Consequently, Hingcun people gradually lost the motivation to sing Hingcun folk songs in their daily lives and therefore the act of singing folk songs markedly decreased. Singing folk songs became a nostalgic comfort for the older generation in recollecting their lives in the past. Chen Da was the only person who treated folksinging as a tool for making a living. He not only sang folk songs every day but also enhanced and glorified them.

Times have changed, but the older generation's love for singing has never changed. When Hingcun folk songs were in their sluggish period, the older generation did not forget the folk songs that had accompanied them for most of their lives. As a consequence, they moved the usual places of singing to the temple. Although the number of people was limited, friends met regularly in their spare time in the temple, and they sang folk songs (Fig. 3.17). Since 1951, in the temple of Earth God in Casiann, the largest in the whole nation, a folk song competition has with the permission of the government been held annually at the Mid-Autumn Festival (the 15th day of the eighth month of the lunar calendar). The competition is held in the hope of preserving the tradition of Hingcun folk songs and fostering the interests of the younger generation. Chen Da was a contestant in the first competition. At that time, he used the tune of *Susianggi* to celebrate the spectacle of the worship of gods in the temple. However, he failed in the competition because the jury thought his impromptu lyrics were not serious enough.¹⁹⁶ Although the contest in the temple of

¹⁹⁵ See 4.5 of Chapter Four for details.

¹⁹⁶ Xu Lisa and Lin Liangzhe *Hingcun Bandaos Juexiang: Youchang Shiren — Chen Da* [The last

Earth God was held only once a year (1951-89), it set an example and one by one inspired other temples in the area, such as Wanyin Gong, Guanyin Shi and Jiadonggong Miao, to hold folk song contests. These activities continued for years. During that period, practising singing and attending contests were major factors that preserved Hingcun folk songs in society.



[Fig. 3.17] The temple of Earth God in Casiann was the first venue for a Hingcun folk song singing contest. Photo by Chien Shangjen, 2003.

Because of the looseness of the GMD government's control of thought, the improving economic level of people and the rise of Taiwanese consciousness, some intellectuals in the Hingcun area sensed the crisis of the gradual disappearance of Hingcun folk songs. In 1979, advocated enthusiastically by Zhong Mingkun, some people of insight set up the Bhuanziu District Folk Song Promotion Association, beginning the collection, arrangement and promotion of Hingcun folk songs. Zhong Mingkun said: ¹⁹⁷

At that time, seeing the continuous loss of Hingcun folk songs, I felt that, as an intellectual, I needed to have the conscience and passion to do something for passing on our culture. As a music teacher at university, it's my unavoidable duty to maintain the music culture of my hometown. Therefore, I actively looked for Bhuanziu people, both living in and out of the district, who were willing to devote their time and finance to the promotion of folk songs, to set up this association together.

singing of Hingcun peninsula: minstrel poet – Chen Da], Taipei: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin Press, pp. 175-6.

¹⁹⁷ Zhong Mingkun, personal communication, 1 September 1986, Tainan.

Nevertheless, in the beginning of the establishment of the Association, although they had achieved certain accomplishments in folk song collection and arrangement, they remained passive in promoting activities. Therefore, it was difficult to arouse a sweeping influence in the Hingcun area.

In 1981, when Chen Da passed away, a living treasury of Hingcun folk songs also disappeared. Only at that moment did Hingcun people sense the importance of preserving their folk songs. In addition, appreciative of Chen Da's accomplishments and devotion, people of art and literature all over Taiwan continuously paid attention to the preservation of Hingcun folk songs. This also awakened the Hingcun people to the need for the active preservation and promotion of their folk songs. Zhu Dingshun said, "Our own folk songs have to be preserved by ourselves." Chen Zhang Mi, an old lady, said, "These are songs taught by my parents; how could we allow them to be lost in our generation?" Huang Xiamao, principal of an elementary school, said, "Hingcun folk songs are an important part of Taiwanese folk songs because of their unique qualities; it will be also a loss of Taiwanese folk songs if we do not preserve them well."¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, Lin Lu Guiyun, who lived in Hingcun, even expressed in singing that it was a common hope of Hingcun people to pass down their folk songs.¹⁹⁹

Susianggi, Hingcun bhin'iau langlang ai, hongdong zuandai tonglangzainn, ai io ue!

思想起，恆春民謠人人愛，轟動全台通人知，哎唷喂！

[*Susianggi*, Hingcun folk songs are loved by everyone, a hit known all over Taiwan, ai io ue!]

Silan zosian duanglorhlai, ai io ue! ai io, lanbheh zitdai duang zitdai, ai io ue!

是咱祖先傳落來，哎唷喂！哎唷，咱欲一代傳一代，哎唷喂！

[They were passed down from our ancestors, ai io ue! ai io, passing on from generation to generation, ai io ue!]

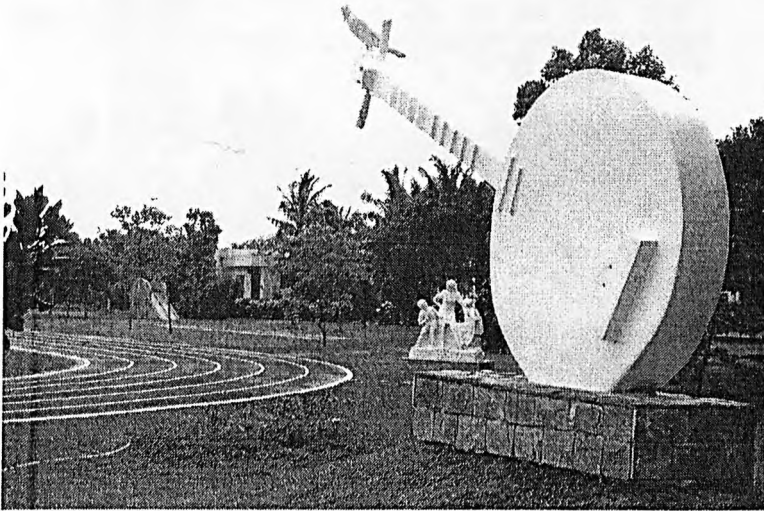
Consequently, supported by the Mayor, Dai Kunlin, the Hingcun *Susianggi* Folk Song Promotion Association was founded in 1990, striving for the promotion and instruction of Hingcun folk songs.

¹⁹⁸ Personal communication. Interviews were conducted with Zhu Dingshun, 20 July 1989; Chen Zhang Mi, 19 July 1989; Huang Xiamao, 24 August 1998.

¹⁹⁹ Lin Lu Guiyun, personal communication, 5 July 1989, Hingcun area.

In 1993, Da Guang Elementary School, located in Chen Da's hometown, set up a *yueqin* society. Instructors specializing in *yueqin* were invited to teach students in playing *yueqin* and singing folk songs. A model of a *yueqin* was erected on campus in order to inspire students' interests (Fig. 3.18). Every year, over one hundred students, approximately one-third of the students of the school, are able to play *yueqin* and sing folk songs. Wu Cankun, the Director of the school, is the person who has exerted great efforts in promoting this activity. I once asked him, "Are students interested in the activity?" Director Wu responded, "Most students can accept it but after all they're kids and cannot understand the value of culture. Therefore, some think these are some things out of date." I asked again, "What material and methods are used in teaching?" Wu said:²⁰⁰

We have to cudgel our brains thinking up suitable material and methods. For example, some kids told me they heard that Chen Da was an eccentric. Of course, they didn't know the truth. We simply followed their thoughts and designed a native course entitled "Hingcun eccentric – Chen Da *Susianggi*", introducing Chen Da's life and the songs he loved to sing. The course turned out to be a success. As a result, the number of students attending the *yueqin* society increased a lot.



[Fig. 3.18] A model of a *yueqin* is erected on campus. Photo by Chien Shangjen, 2003.

Hingcun Elementary School, Qiao Yong Elementary School, Bhuanziu Elementary School, Yonggang Elementary School, Bhuanziu Junior High School and Hingcun Industrial and Commercial High School all established folk song or *Yueqin* Societies in addition to Da Guang Elementary School. They hired outstanding local folksingers such as Zhang Wenjie, Zhang Xinchuan, Zhu Dingshun and Zhang Rigui

²⁰⁰ Wu Cankun, personal communication, 25 August 2003, Hingcun area.

to teach students during extracurricular activities in the hope that roots can be planted in young children and Hingcun folk songs can be passed down forever. Zhang Rigui is already a grandmother; however, she does not care how much the payment is and travels energetically around schools and communities to teach Hingcun folk songs and *yueqin*. Zhang Rigui said, “I do not treat Hingcun folk songs as simply something I love. I promote them like I’m preaching religious beliefs.” Indeed, her spirit of devotion is moving and respectable. I asked her, “How do you teach?” She responded with confidence, “I teach the way elders taught me. When I was a child, elders taught me orally. Now, I’m using this down-to-earth method to teach my students. We do not look at the notations, I sing one phrase; students learn one phrase. We learn slowly and solidly.” I asked with curiosity, “You don’t use any notation in the process of teaching?” She said, “Occasionally, I passed out notations but simply as a reference. We don’t read notations in class. I’m afraid if students read and follow the notations, they won’t know how to sing folk songs with flexibility and might sound toneless.” She added enthusiastically, “Sometimes, we learn under big trees or on the meadow; this way is more interesting and more life-like.”²⁰¹ (Fig. 3.19)



[Fig. 3. 19] Zhang Rigui teaching Hingcun folk songs to students under a tree.
Photo provided by Zhong Mingkun, 2005.

I once wondered if full-time music teachers at elementary and junior high schools would oppose hiring folk song singers from outside to teach students folk songs and *yueqin* in extracurricular time. Gong Shumei, a music teacher at an elementary school, told me:²⁰²

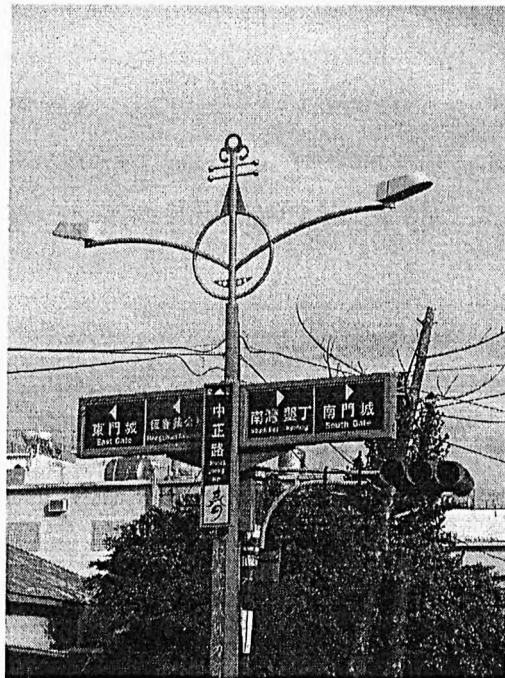
I think this is a wonderful idea! Through learning their own folk songs from childhood,

²⁰¹ Zhang Rigui, personal communication, 26 August 2003, Hingcun area.

²⁰² Gong Shumei, personal communication, 23 August 2003, Hingcun area.

children will develop a sense of honour towards their hometown and accordingly cultivate confidence in themselves. And this conforms to the spirit of Kodaly and Orff teaching methods, which have been highly praised internationally. Hiring prominent folk song singers to teach students is correct and meaningful. Sometimes, I myself also join in with kids listening to old performers' lessons!

In recent years, the passion of Hingcun people for preserving and promoting folk songs has continued to rise. Bhuanziu District Folk Song Promotion Association, the first established organization promoting Hingcun folk songs, has moved its focus to the training and performance of choirs. In 1990, the Association set up woman's folk song choirs in every village of Bhuanziu district. They practise regularly and perform frequently. Up to now, they have given over one hundred performances all over Taiwan. In 2005, they even performed in the Cultural Day of Taiwan in New York, America. In Hingcun town, besides contests, performances held in festivals, and active teaching, Hingcun people also put *yueqin* models on electric-wire poles to beautify the streets (Fig. 3.20). In other words, they have employed visible and invisible concepts to combine folk songs, *yueqin*, and Hingcun town into a unity. As for Casiann, another district in the Hingcun area, most Hingcun folk song lovers there usually offer their assistance in support of the needs of Hingcun town.



[Fig. 3.20] The *yueqin* models on the electric-wire poles symbolize Hingcun people's pride.
Photo provided by Xu Lisha, 2007.

In the Hingcun area, the promotion of folk songs has become a movement supported by all people—both the government organizations and non-government circles have been actively involved. Every time a folk song contest is held, all walks of life, men and women, young and old, all zealously participate in the occasion. By following the tradition that a good singer has to sing his or her own lyrics, many contestants in the competition sing their own lyrics to Hingcun folk tunes. Huang Jinyun, a farm woman who once participated in the contest, indicated to the audience that they should treasure folk songs and sing them more often. She shared her love for and learning experience of folk songs with the audience in her lyrics:²⁰³

Susianggi, Hingcun cut u hor bhin'iau, bhehciunn bhin'iau ghonnliokdiau, ai io ue!

思想起，恆春出有好民謠，欲唱民謠五六調，哎唷喂！

[*Susianggi*, there're wonderful folk songs in Hingcun, there're five or six tunes if you want to sing folk songs, ai io ue!]

Dakge king'or dioh ehiau, ai io ue! ai io, orhia mciunn dongbhediau, ai io ue!

大家肯學著會曉，哎唷喂！哎唷，學會嘸唱擋未住，哎唷喂！

[You'll learn them if you work hard, ai io ue! ai io, you can't resist singing if you've acquired them, ai io ue!]

Little by little, the younger generation of the Hingcun area is also beginning to sense the pride and honour of possessing its own folk songs. Some young singers sing of new subjects in accordance with the situation of a new time. For instance, in its educational policy, the current Taiwanese government has extended school education to communities and rural villages. Lin Bihui (b. 1960) has put this good policy of education for all people into her lyrics:²⁰⁴

Zing'hu siatsi zinziann hor, holan giuhak bhian huanlor;

政府設施真正好，獲咱求學免煩惱；

[The government has sound policies, it offers us opportunities to learn easily;]

Rit ia hongsik zorhcamkor, ai io ue! ai io! siunn bhue siongzin bhian'giann bhor, ai io ue!

日夜方式作參考，哎唷喂！哎唷，想欲上進免驚無，哎唷喂！

[There are day and night schools, different choices are available if you want to pursue further education.]

²⁰³ Huang Jinyun, personal communication, 24 August 2003, Hingcun area.

²⁰⁴ Lin Bihui, personal communication, 25 August 2003, Hingcun area.

Xu Xingyi, born in 1982, realized when she went to university in Taipei that many classmates envied her ability to sing folk songs from her hometown. Because of this fascinating experience, Xu frequently encourages young friends in the Hingcun area to learn more of their own folk songs. She even uses the tune of *Susianggi*, telling her friends that it is not difficult to learn folk songs well as long as they sing more and play instruments more.²⁰⁵

Susianggi, bhue or bhin'iau bhorkunlan, kingduann kingciunn tauzitzan, a ue!

思想起，欲學民謠無困難，肯彈肯唱頭一層，啊喂！

[*Susianggi*, It's not difficult to learn folk songs, the first thing is to play instruments more and sing more, a ue!]

Naciunn bhorrhhor bhian uantan, a ue! ai io, nigu ghuehchim diohgandan, a ue!

若唱不好免怨嘆，啊喂！哎唷，年久月深著簡單，啊喂！

[Don't feel bad if you don't sing well, a ue! ai io, it'll become easier as time goes by, a ue!]

In the process of historical construction, after Hingcun people bade farewell to the old agricultural era, their singing was no longer a behaviour tied to labour and traditional customs. However, they have maintained the old folk tunes transmitted from the past, changed the past occasions, purposes and singing forms in using their folk songs and sung out texts of the new era. As to social maintenance, they have preserved their folk songs by means of new values and concepts, as well as new behaviours and methods. At present, they promote folk songs by establishing associations or choirs; teach folk songs through schools and communities, and hold folk song contests and concerts to add colour to their lives. For prominent singers such as Chen Da, who have made an important contribution to local folk songs, they have cast statues, held concerts, and planned to build a commemorative music hall. Nowadays, Hingcun people, old and young, still fill in folk tunes with texts appropriate for various situations and sing impromptu at some essential occasions. As Holo folk songs in other areas are dying, Hingcun folk songs survive in new forms in the lives of people of the Hingcun area. The history of Hingcun folksong culture is still under construction, the social forces which have maintained the songs are constantly operating, and each generation of Hingcun folk song singers still has successors to take over its tasks.

²⁰⁵ Xu Xinyi, personal communication, 24 August 2003, Hingcun area.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I found that in studying Hingcun folk songs, I have obtained some special, fascinating and meaningful results, not only from the unique qualities of their music per se but also from their interactive relations with the society and cultures in which they exist.

As to musical structure, in addition to clear analyses of individual folk songs,²⁰⁶ here I would like to point out some of their special qualities when seen in the context of all Hingcun folk songs:

- (1) The tone sets of *Susianggi*, *Ghubhe buann*, *Suguicun*, *Honggang siordiau*, *Ziu ghu diau*, *Hingcun diau* are all composed of the five tones of Do, Re, Mi, Sol and La;
- (2) The lowest range is the Major 6th of *Suguicun*, the highest range is the perfect 11th of *Ghubhe buann* and *Honggang siordiau*; the range of *Susianggi* is major 9th and that of *Hingcun diau* is major 10th; as a whole, the ranges of all Hingcun folk songs are slightly higher than the average range of other Holo folk songs (perfect octave) in Taiwan;
- (3) There are only two models of Sol and La of Hingcun folk songs; the former constitutes the majority, including *Susianggi*, *Suguicun*, *Honggang siordiau*, and *Ziu ghu diau*; the latter is the minority, including *Ghubhe buann* and *Hingcun diau*; this is a unique quality of Hingcun folk tunes;
- (4) In the progression of melody, occasionally the leap of a major interval appears, for example, the ascent of a perfect octave in *Susianggi* and *Ghubhe buann*; the ascent of a perfect 5th in *Honggang siordiau* and *Hingcun diau*, and the descent of a perfect 5th in *Hingcun diau*, *Ghubhe buann*, and *Suguicun*; this is another special quality of Hingcun folk songs.

People in Hingcun have combined folk songs and life; singing folk songs is an indispensable part of their lives. The formation of this special culture of folk song has its historical context and tradition as the foundation for development, which consolidates the basic structure and musical characteristics of folk tunes so as to allow each singer to sing their own lyrics according to their frames of mind and interests. Although in the development process, Hingcun folk songs had somewhat stagnated

²⁰⁶ Except for *Hingcun diau*, the musical structures of other Hingcun folk songs have been analyzed in Chapter Three. Please see the analysis of the musical structure of *Hingcun diau* in Fig. 4.2., of Chapter Four.

due to political interference and the transition of the system of production, thanks to the profound and deep-rooted feelings Hingcun people had towards their folk songs, they eventually overcame these obstacles and began another new phase. Their places of folk song singing have been transferred from workplace to families, schools, competition venues, or concert halls. Having inherited the torch from their ancestors, new singers fill in old tunes which were passed down from their forefathers with new lyric content to suit a new time. In the continuous succession from old to new traditions Hingcun folk songs are striding forward under the historical structure of the musical culture of the area.

Hingcun people considered folk song singing as a very important behaviour which was a natural part of their lives. Prominent singers were loved as heroes. However, in the agricultural society, folksinging was not a profession but something done to accompany work or as an entertainment after work. Therefore, when Chen Da earned his living by singing, a large number of people influenced by the value system of the agricultural society at that time treated him as a street beggar too lazy to work in the fields. Consequently, Chen Da was a hero and a beggar at the same time. His social status was contradictory and embarrassed. However, in the modern industrial and commercial society, as people's economic lives improved greatly, people in Hingcun discarded the former agricultural value system and sensed the importance of spiritual culture. As a result, Chen Da and his songs were finally cherished and admired by people in the Hingcun area. Nowadays, Hingcun people all have the concept of being proud that they have their own folk songs. They hope that their folk songs will not disappear with the passage of time. Therefore, they have materialized their hopes into behaviour—donating money, contributing efforts, setting up folk song groups, fostering folk song teaching, holding contests and singing activities—for the purpose of passing on the sound of Hingcun folk songs for posterity.

It is undeniable that outstanding folk song singers usually play a critical role in maintaining and reviving the folk songs of an area. In Hingcun, because different generations of prominent and active folk song singers such as Wu Zhiwei, Zhang Xinchuan, Chen Da, Zhang Wenjie, Zhu Dingshun and Zhang Rigui have played the double role of performer and instructor, the fashion for singing folk songs has been repeatedly revived and extended. Particularly, legendary Chen Da, who had inherited history and traditions, absorbed the essence of Hingcun folk songs, employed his talents, and applied realistic social stories, creating a unique “pure” Taiwanese style of

Hingcun *shuochang* art. In the meantime, his performances everywhere in Taiwan have enabled Hingcun folk songs to acquire an important status amongst Taiwanese folk songs. After his death, summoned by his spirit, Hingcun people have endeavoured to preserve and promote their folk songs; therefore, the folk songs in the Hingcun area have evolved into a new state and a new phase. Over his life as a whole, Chen Da played different roles at different times and against different backgrounds—a folk song hero, a beggar, an eccentric old man and a minstrel poet. Finally, Taiwanese and Hingcun societies bestowed upon him a worthy social status and esteem in accordance with his accomplishments in folk music and literature.

The development of human musical culture has to some extent followed definite rules and logic. The idea that music can be more roundly understood by looking into its concepts, behaviour and sound provided by Merriam, and the theoretical frame of historical construction, social maintenance, and individual creation and experience advocated by Timothy Rice seem to be well supported by the developmental history of folk songs in the Hingcun area. Here I would like to offer my own feedback on their theories. Each provides a simple, effective, inclusive and convincing intellectual framework. Currently, ethnomusicological researches seem to lean clearly towards the exploration of the relationships between music culture and society, history or individuals, but involve comparatively less analysis of musical sound as a research object in itself.²⁰⁷ Nevertheless, from the examination and analysis of the music of Hingcun folk songs, we found that in the process of historical construction the musical characteristics of Hingcun folk songs contain both the parts that remain from the past and the newer parts that reflect more recent transformations. This suggests that close attention to musical material remains a good way to approach ethnomusicological study, albeit in tandem with the kinds of music-society relationship tracking already mentioned. Consequently, I suggest that the analysis and interpretation of music characteristics is helpful to and should be encouraged in ethnomusicological research.

²⁰⁷ Timothy Rice, "Toward the Remodeling of Ethnomusicology", *Ethnomusicology* 31 (3), 1987, p. 476. According to Rice, in the articles concerning ethnomusicology from 1979 to 1986, of various research methods and directions, social processes constituted 34%, history/change constituted 22%, individual processes constituted 17%, music analysis constituted only 10%, and others constituted 17% (general theory and method 13%, and surveys 4%).