Taiwanese indigenous cultures and languages in the modern world

Rik De Busser (戴智偉)





A breeze, a valley and millet wine

Truku Guang-lan Orchestra & Yi-ji Da-dao 2010



Niqan kingal spi mu (I had a dream)



Truku language



Pakelang

Falangao Singing Group &

The Chairman

2021

The Visiting Song

Amis language



Today's topic

- Indigenous cultures and languages of Taiwan
 - Introduction
 - Cultural variation
- How are Taiwanese Indigenous languages used in modern culture?
 - Popular culture: music, (film)
 - Modern religious practices: Christianity
 - Modern language use, cultural survival, and appropriation



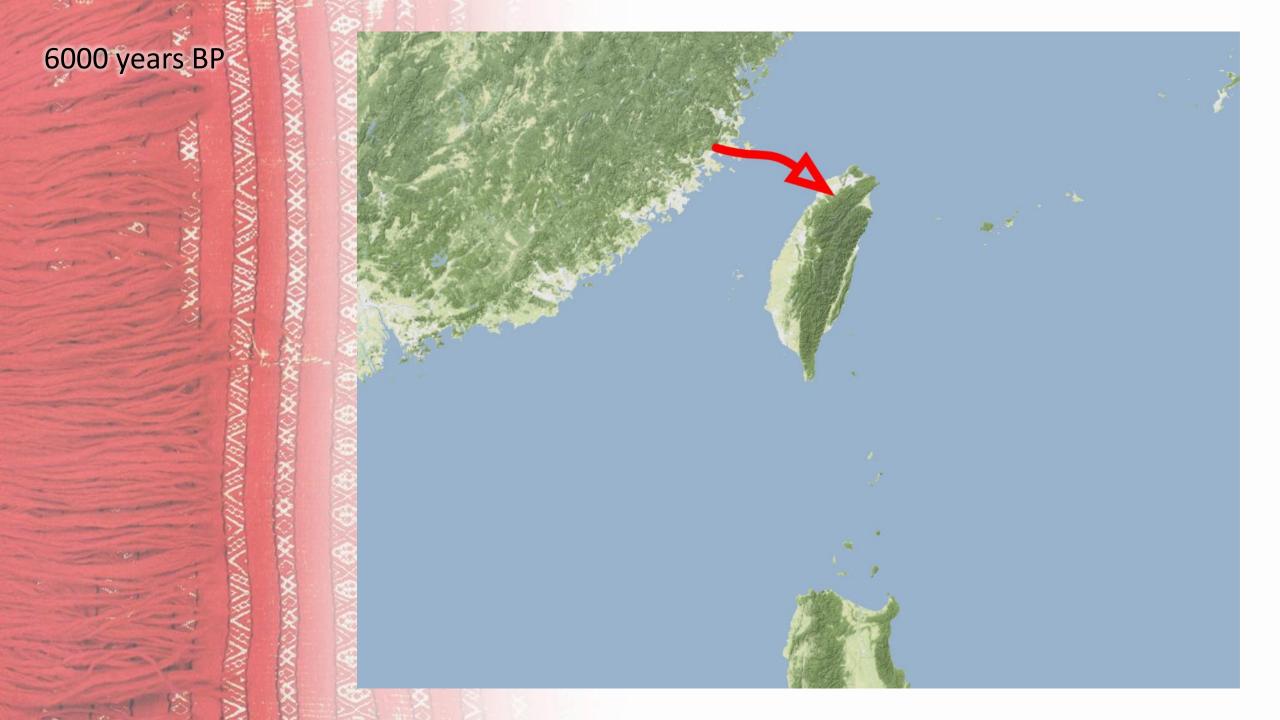
Who are you?

- Rik De Busser
- Graduate Institute of Linguistics
- Austronesian languages
- Language documentation and description
- Functional linguistics









Ethnic groups in Taiwan

- Indigenous people make up about 2.4 % of Taiwan's population
- Total population: 23.52 million (Executive Yuan 2016)

Chinese groups	23,556,169	± 95 %
Hoklo / Taiwanese		± 70 %
Mainlanders		± 5 %
Hokkien / Hakka	4,202,000	± 18 %
Indigenous groups	557,355	± 2.4 %

(CIP 2017, MOI 2017, updated to August 2017; HAC 2014, updated to 2014)

Recognized indigenous groups

Amis

Atayal

Paiwan

Bunun

Puyuma

Rukai

Tsou

Saisiyat

Yami

Japanese Era





Recognized indigenous groups

Amis Tsou

Atayal Saisiyat

Paiwan Yami (Japanese Era)

Bunun Thao (2001)

Puyuma

Rukai

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Recognized indigenous groups

Amis Tsou

Atayal Saisiyat

Paiwan Yami (Japanese Era)

Bunun Thao (2001)

Puyuma Kavalan (2002)

Rukai Truku (2004)

Sakizaya (2007)

Seediq (2008)

Hla'alua (2014)

Kanakanavu (2014)

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Unrecognized indigenous groups

- Still active speakers
 - Kaxabu

- Still (again) speakers
 - Siraya
- Recently died out (probably)

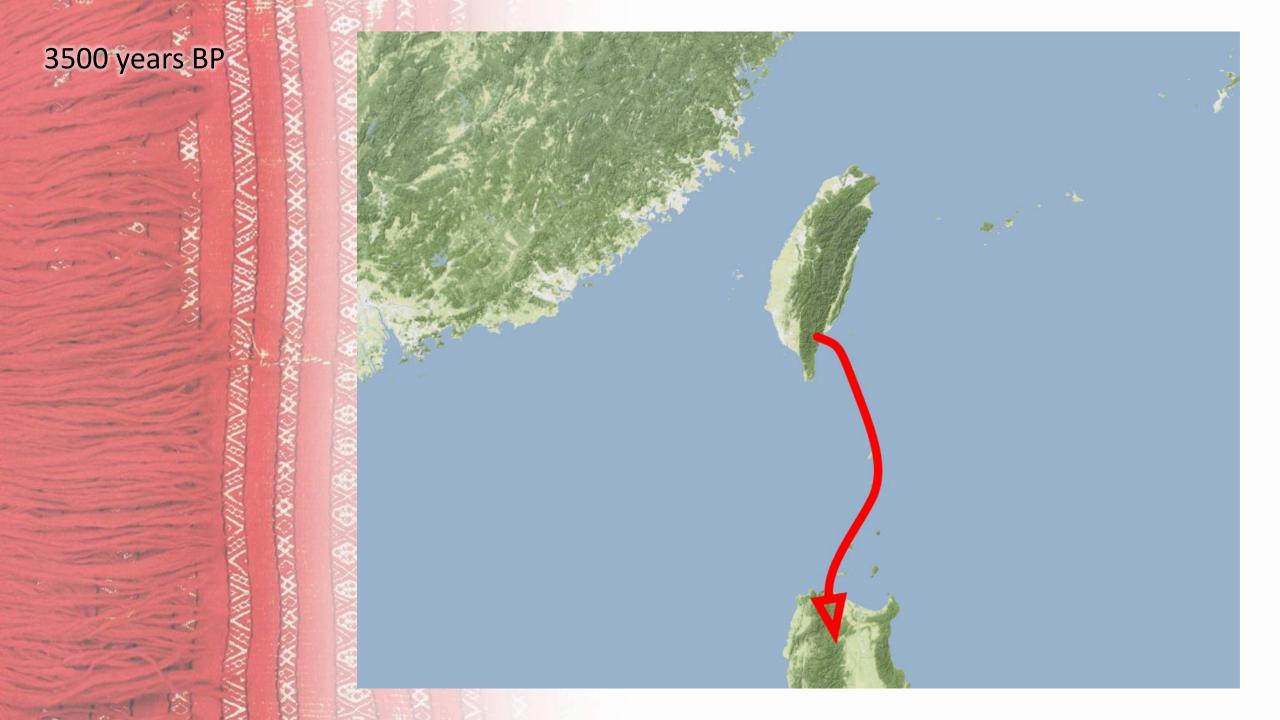
- Language probably extinct
 - Papora
 - Ketagalan
 - Basay
 - Hoanya

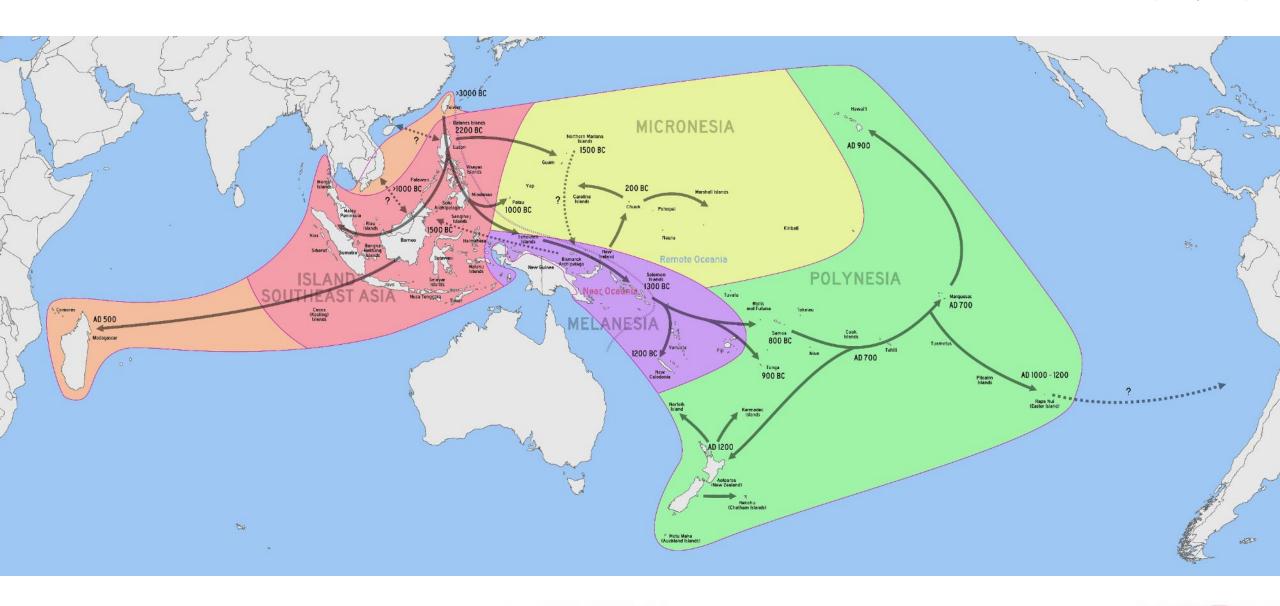


Distribution of Kulon Ketangalan Formosan Indigenous groups Kavalan trobiawan Qauqaut Taokas Saisiyat Atayal Languages Papora Pazeh Amis Atayal Babuza Babuza Bunun Hoanya Tayalong-Vata an Kavalan Hoanya Ketangalan Amis Kulon Tsou Paiwan Papora Bunun Pazeh Taivoran Puyuma Siraya Qauqaut Saisiyat Rukai Siraya Lutao Rukai Makatao **Taokas** Paiwan Thao Tsou Yami Yami 1:500000

Indigenous people of Taiwan

- Austronesian
 - ⇔ Sinitic
 - Austronesian language family
 - Related to languages and cultures of the Pacific area
 - Philippines
 - Indonesia, Malaysia
 - All islands in the Northern Pacific and Polynesia
 - New Zealand
 - ... and Madagascar!
- (But not Australia and most of mainland Papua-New Guinea)





Austronesian language tree

Atayal Sediq Atayalic Basay-Trobiawan† Kavalan Amis East Formosan Siraya Bunun Tsou Saaroa Tsouic Kanakanabu Puyuma Taokas† Favorlang/Babuza† Austronesian - Paiwan Papora† (1257 languages) Hoanya† Western Plains Thao Rukai Saisiyat Pazeh† Northwestern Formosan Kulon† Dawu (Yami) Western Malayo-Polynesian √ Malayo-Polynesian (1237 languages) Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian

(based on Blust 1999)

Indigenous people of Taiwan

- Aboriginal

 Indigenous people
- 原住民族 (yuán zhú mín zú, 'original inhabitants')
- Multiple groups or tribes, each with
 - Its own language
 - Its own culture
 - Its distinct social organization





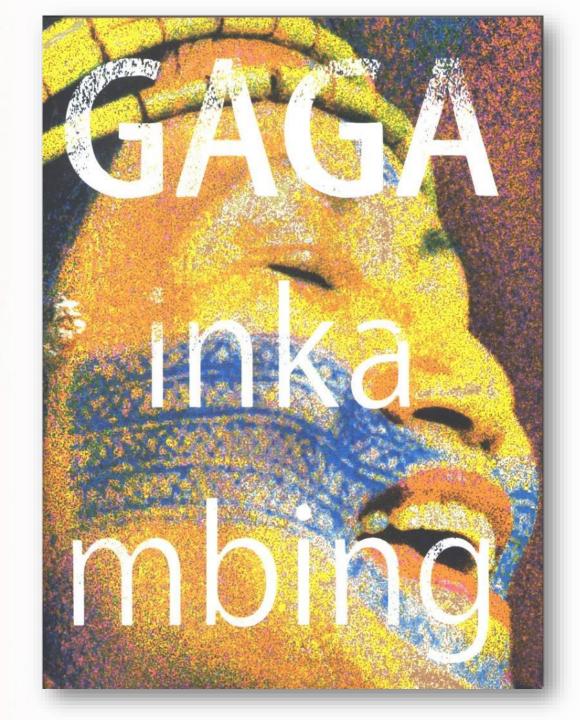
A breeze, a valley and millet wine

Inka Mbing 2010

Minkahul hnqyaa'n na Papakwaqa The sound coming from Sheipa Mountain



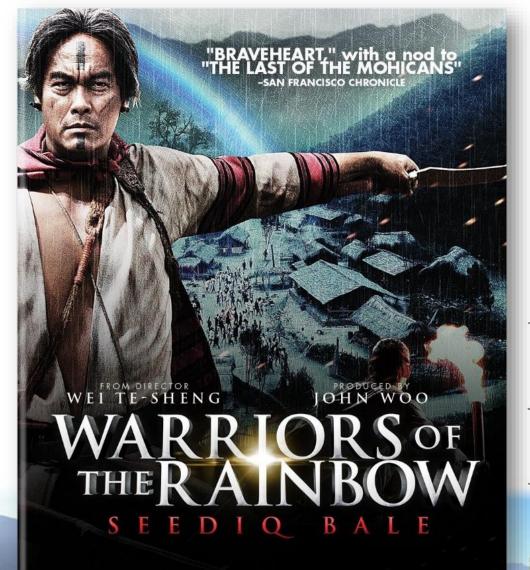
Atayal language



Seediq Bale

- Wushe Incident
- 27 October 1930

- Rudo Bai holds wedding for grandson Mona Rudo
- Fight with Japanese officer escalates
- Seediq troups led by Mona Rudau



受日本教育的賽德克 一生輸湍流離的賽德 勢力者之女(羅美玲 克公主(徐若瑄飾) 飾)

巡查(徐詣帆飾)

與妻訣別的賽德克警

丁(蘇達飾)





몸

作風輕佻的馬赫坡駐

在所巡查(吉岡尊礼

飾)

負責平定霧社事件的陸

軍少將(河原さぶ飾)

時常辱打原住民的馬

本実飾)

赫坡製材廠巡查(松

要脅馬紅·莫那勸降

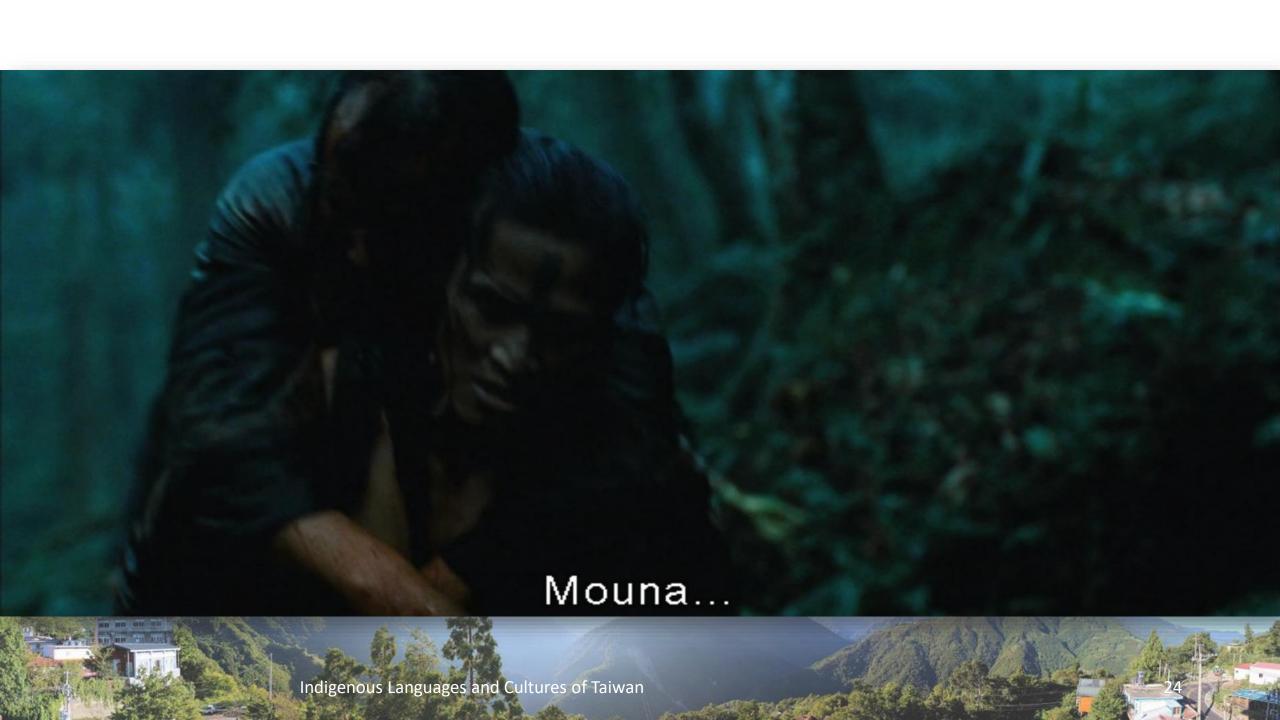
戰士的「蕃通」警察

(にいみ啟介飾)

Mona Rudo

- Born 1882 (48 years old in 1930)
- Educated
- Fluent Japanese speaker
- Visited Japan
- Father dies in Mona's youth
- The then headman takes him under his wing









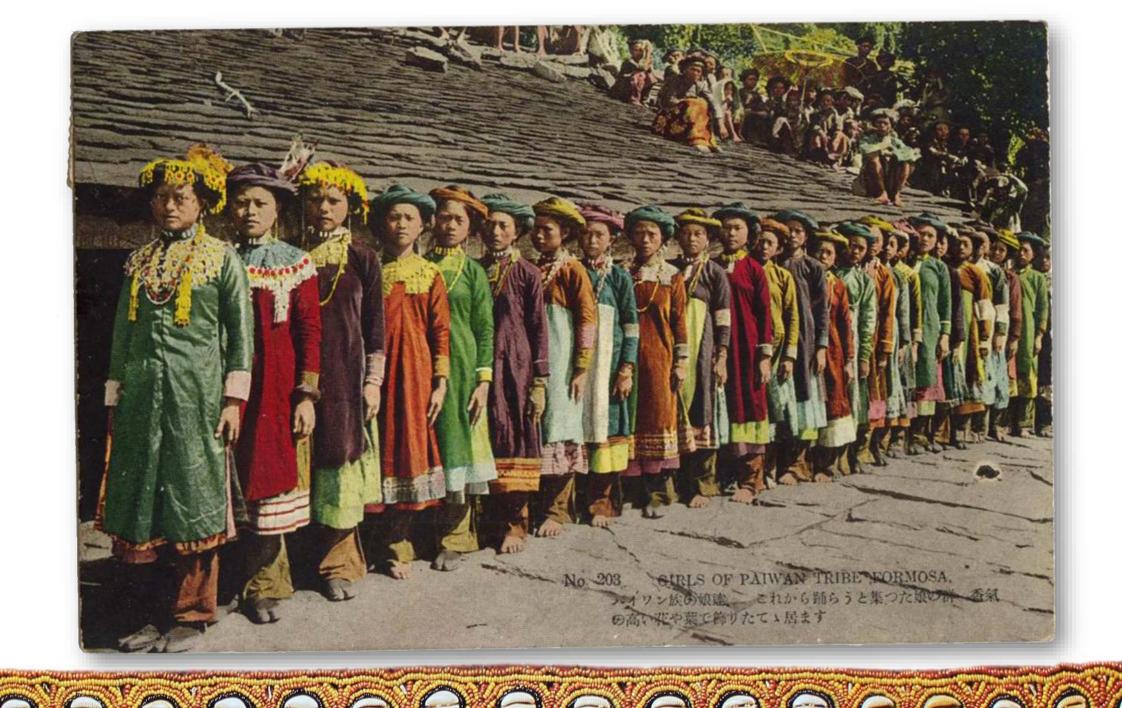
Mona Rudao as a 'chief'

- In the movie:
 - Mona Rudao's father seems to transfer his responsibilities as chief to his son
 - Mona Rudau is himself referred to as a chief
 - This suggests a hereditary class of leaders
- The term used to refer to these 'chiefs' in the movie:
 - In Toda Seedig: *qbsuran* 'elder brother'
 - In Tgdaya Seediq: tulang < Southern Min 頭人 thâu-lâng 'head man'
 - This suggests that there is no indigenous word in Tgdaya, the language that Mona would have spoken, for this concept

Seediq social organization

- Patriarchal and patrilineal society with clearly defined social responsibilities for both sexes
- Very little social stratification
 - Decisions would be collectively taken
 - Great men model: men with exceptional abilities in hunting or warfare were considered leaders (cf. Huang 1995)
 - Important decisions were made after consultation with elders and shamans





Paiwan social organization

- Patrilineal society with clearly defined gender roles, but socio-political power sharing between genders in noble classes (cf. Matsuzawa 1995)
- Hereditary chiefs
 - Political, economic and ritual power
 - Responsible for the welfare of the village
 - Status inherited by the first-born, irrespective of gender (cf. Matsuzawa 1995)



Paiwan social structure

dralaqus velenget 'king (multi-village chief)'

vusam
'chief' (lit: 'millet grain')

marevetjevetjek 'chief's family'

pualju 'chief's extended family'

taqaljaqaljan / caravacava / qaqetitan / quziquipen 'commoners'



Social organization of Indigenous peoples

Bunun	Seediq	Amis	Paiwan	Rukai
No social stratification	No social stratification	No social stratification	Chief / commoners	Nobility / commoners
Patriarchal	Patriarchal	Matriarchal	Weakly patriarchal	Patriarchal
Small family groups	Small family groups	Villages	Large villages	Large villages
				Segregation of young men

 Socio-political organization changed during the Japanese era, due to massive resettlement



Villages

- Family groups → Large communities
- Bamboo or slate houses
- In mountainous areas, often slated streets and courtyards



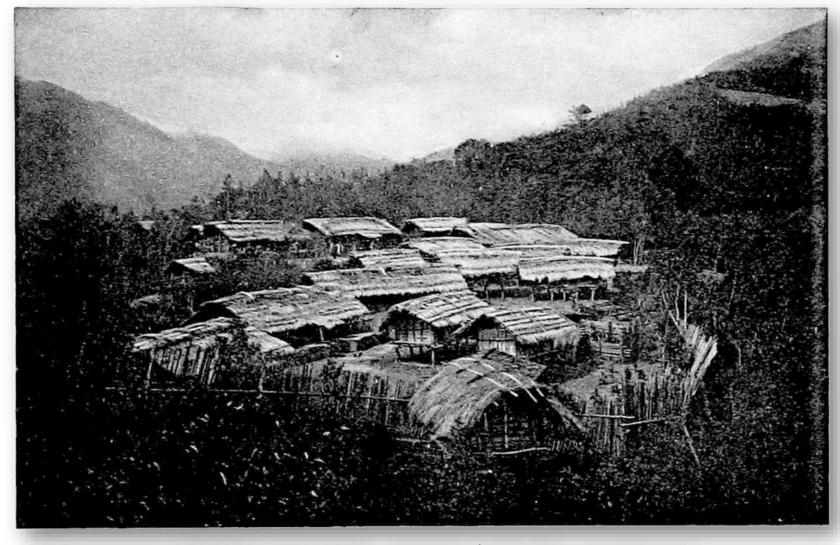
Formosan Aboriginal Culture Village 九族文化村

2011

Rukai men's house



Seediq village Wushe district



TAIYAL VILLAGE, MUSHA (NANTO DISTRICT).



PAIWAN CHIEF'S HOUSE, KAPIAN VILLAGE (AKO DISTRICT).

Cultural similarities

- Small-scale agriculture
- Ritual importance of millet
- Importance of weaving
- Animism with a class of shamans
- Taboo-based moral system
- Hunting
- Headhunting
- Absence of seafaring technologies (exception: Yami)

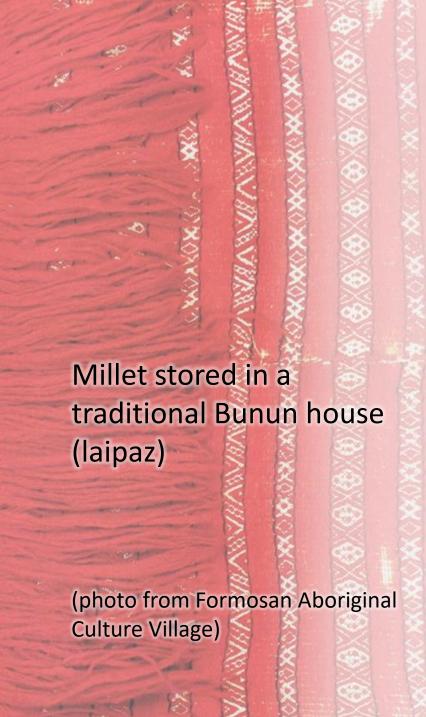




Agriculture and hunting

- Hunting and/or fishing
- Small-scale agriculture
 - Millet
 - Sweet potatoes and yams
 - Local crops such as different types of bamboo and wild vegetables
- Importance of (foxtail) millet
 - Food source
 - Economic importance
 - Ritual importance







Cultural differences

- Relative importance of agriculture and hunting
- Exact agricultural habits
- Fishing
- Clothing styles
- Bodily embellishments (tattoos, piercing, etc.)
- Music





Traditional indigenous culture

- What is traditional culture? What is indigenous culture?
- Who does it belong to and what makes it authentic?
- Culture in pre-modern society
- Present-day incarnations of this culture
- Present-day reinterpretations / reimaginations of this culture
- New cultural markers



Carved image of a warrior

Wutai village (霧台) Pingdong

Rukai



Carved image of a warrior

Wutai village (霧台) Pingdong

Rukai



Traditional house in the old village

Rinari village (瑪家) Pingdong

Paiwan



Formosan Aboriginal Culture Village 九族文化村

2011

Bunun performance



Formosan Aboriginal Culture Village 九族文化村

The Formosan
Aboriginal Culture
Village Theme Song



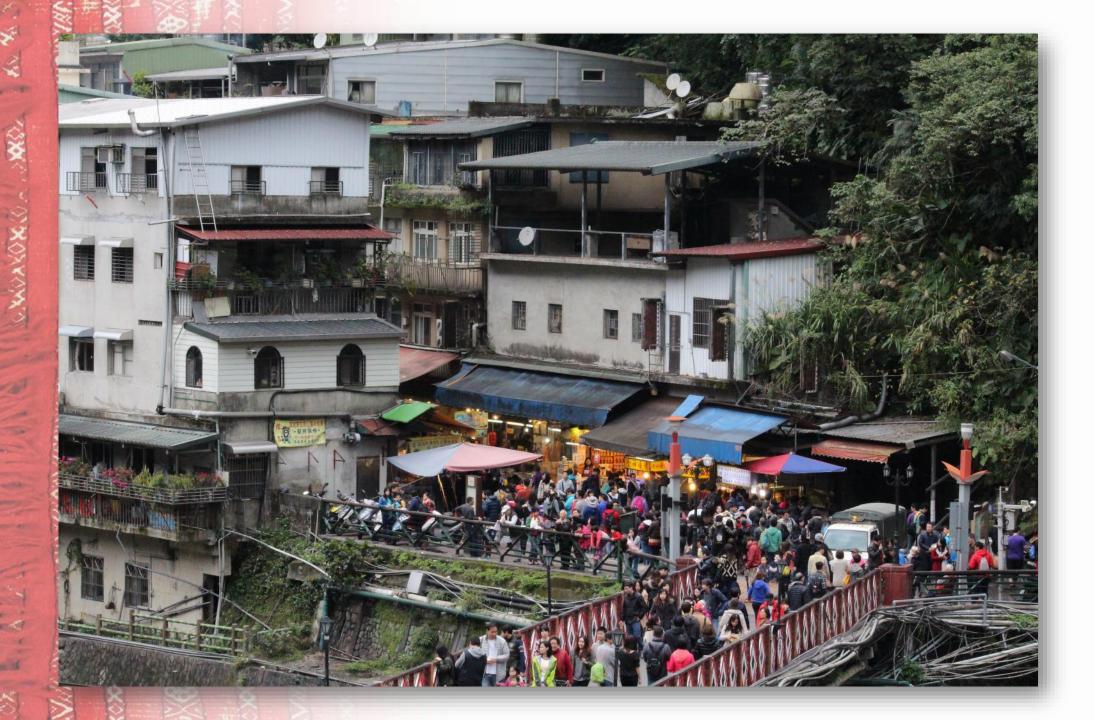
Mandarin & a number of other languages



Wulai 烏來

Atayal

2015



Wulai 烏來

Atayal

Aboriginal food

2015



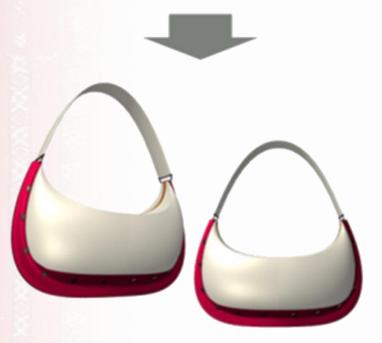
Lin (2007)

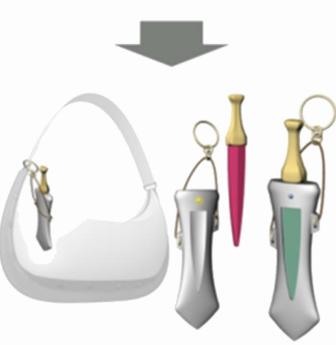
Transforming Taiwan Aboriginal cultural features into modern product design

Reinterpretation of traditional Yami culture



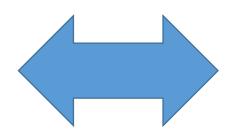






Traditional indigenous culture

- Orientalist reinterpretations
 - Tourism
 - Official imposition
- Commodification
- Simplification
- Misinterpretation



- Cultural evolution
- Modern reinterpretations



Traditional music

- Bunun traditional eight-voiced polyphony
- Related to traditional cultural / religious practices
- Five Bunun subgroups
 - Northern: Takibakha, Takituduh
 - Central: Takbanuaz, Takivatan
 - Southern: Isbukun polyphonic singing





Religious music made traditional

- Indigenous conversion to Christianity
 - After WWII
 - Two main players: Catholic Church & Presbyterian Church
- Indigenization of local Churches (especially Presbyterians)
 - Local control
 - Indigenous ministers, services in Austronesian languages
 - Translation of religious materials in Austronesian languages
 - Transposition of religious music



Takivatan Bunun hymn at the Qimei Presbyterian Church

Qimei village Hualien

2006

Modern Christian Hymn



Traditional Bunun Christian Hymn





Takbanuaz Bunun hymn at the Sinapalan Presbyterian Church

Sinapalan village Nantou

2011



Modern Indigenous music

- In Indigenous languages
- In Mandarin / Taiwanese
- Integration of:

Indigenous traditional songs, traditional musical motives, Indigenous issues in modern music



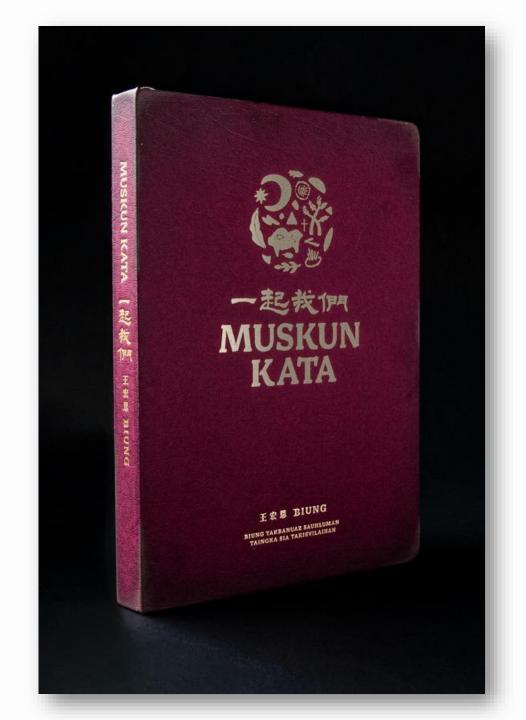
Muskun Kata We together

Biung (王宏恩) 2022

Isia habas habas From a long time ago



Bunun language



Functions in Indigenous societies

- Indigenous music as:
 - A repository of Indigenous languages and cultures
 - An expression of cultural pride
 - A gateway to learn about traditional language and culture



Vavayan Women

ABAO 2017

Izuwa There is

Paiwan language



1996 Atlanta Centennial Olympics

Theme song:

Based on 'Return to Innocence' by Enya or is it?



(Tan 2008)

Difang and Igay Duana

Amis, Taidong **Elders drinking song**



Original



Modern version





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