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Social Inclusion through Music Making: Theories in Practise in the Case of the Tao in Taiwan

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The Tao (達悟), also known as the Yami (雅美), live on *ponso no tao*, meaning the ‘island of human beings’, off the south-eastern coast of Taiwan Island in the Western Pacific Region. Due to the profusion of wild orchid flowers that grow on the island, the Taiwanese named it Lanyu (蘭嶼), which means ‘orchid island’, in 1947. Today, there are approximately 5,000 Tao living on the island, distributed in six villages. Their language belongs to the Austronesian language group. Even though the island’s area is only about 48 km², each village has its own language dialect and traditions and is an entity with its own characteristic territory-specific features.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first is a short introduction to the Tao’s traditional music, the second is about the policies that have been implemented with regard to the Tao, and the third discusses how independent music groups in Taiwan have reacted to these policies. The third section also consists of my personal reflections and actions, based on scholarly research.

1. Introduction: The Tao’s Traditional Music

The word ‘music’ does not exist in the Tao language; instead, they use the term *mi-anoanood*, which means ‘singing songs’. Researchers and outsiders often use the phrase ‘traditional music’ to describe the Tao’s traditional song repertoires. Since the Tao had no writing system before the Presbyterian and Catholic missionaries arrived in the 1950s, songs continue to play an important role in their present-day lives.

The Tao have no instruments in their tradition. Greg Hurworth (1995) traces the absence of musical instruments among the Tao to the cultural meanings attached to natural resources, which disallow instrument making. Although the Tao research partners could not directly confirm this assumption, Hurworth’s observation deserves further consideration. Generally, there are strict rules that regulate the audience, the performers, and the time and place for traditional singing practices. For example, *mikarayag* (hand-clapping songs), which constitute the only multipart singing style among the Tao, can be practised by both sexes only on summer nights, from *Apiya-Vehan* to *Kalimman* (around June to September) (Lu and Kuo 2007: 21; Lin 2011: 279, 2013b: 237). Similarly, women cannot perform *raod* (ritual songs)¹ in public because of the strict work segregation of the sexes in Tao society (Hurworth 1995: 203–208). Furthermore, it is

forbidden to sing *mapalaevek* (flirting songs) in the village or in front of one's own parents, siblings, or children to safeguard against incest (Shih 2007; Lin 2008). These regulations and rules are known generally as *makaniaw*; they constitute an essential cultural concept in Tao society, which anthropologists Liu and Wei (1962: 156) define as 'all behaviours that anger the gods and lead to punishment and disaster' (一切觸犯神譴, 招致禍祟的行為). These behaviours can be translated and understood as taboos. The Tao believe that breaking taboos can bring bad luck and even call death upon family members. Today, the concept of *makaniaw* still affects musical development in Tao society (see Section 2).

Makaniaw describes the Tao concept of the cosmic structure, in which gods, spirits, and human beings have their own visible domains. It also regulates the division of labour and food distribution, and defines the season, methods, and processes for fishing and agricultural production (Lin 2013a: 47–49). Knowledge about *makaniaw* is transmitted, repeated, and recreated through songs. Furthermore, singing songs can correct *makaniaw*-related mistakes and transform the 'non-human' (as in Brabec de Mori and Seeger 2013: 269–286), so that they can enter the human domain. Moreover, negative emotions and/or strong criticisms are more easily accepted in songs than in spoken form because the former allows for negative content to be formulated relatively indirectly and/or ambiguously. Therefore, by singing the right songs in the right place at the right time, one can avoid tensions or imbalances. For example, at the beginning of the construction of a boat or house, the Tao sing to the trees they will chop down in order to convince them to 'live' in the domain of human beings and become part of it. This is because the Tao believe that the trees that will comprise the boat or house being built can protect the people who will work on and use the structures from evil spirits or influences (Kuo 2013).

For individuals, traditional singing practices are a means of expressing their emotions, life experiences, and opinions, and are used for religious purposes as well as for communication with 'non-human' entities. It is imperative that song lyrics be based on facts; it is forbidden to create fictions in singing practices. Consequently, the song repertoires serve as a repository of the collected histories of every individual family. Their songs' main musical feature is the use of microtones (see Figure 1). Siapen Pimayan (name in Chinese: Lin Hsin-Chi 林新枝) sang this song in the *anood* melody type, and it was recorded on 21 August 2007 at Lee Chiu-Hsiang's (李秋香) *makarang* (high/working house)² in Ivalino Village, Orchid Island, Taiwan. The song has four strophes, and its lyrics tell of a certain *anito*'s (spirit) complaints about Siapen Pimayan's behaviour. The spirit's complaints were communicated to Siapen Pimayan in a dream, and Siapen wrote the song's lyrics both to answer the spirit and record the experience.

The song is translated analogously as follows:

Question from the *anito* (spirit) in the dream: *Why did you take my ten pigs*³ (here, this means masked palm civets)? *You must give them back to me!*

Siapen Pimayan's answer after waking: *Why are you scolding me? I have prepared many goat horns and pig's teeth for my launching festival, and they are for you anyway! You cannot even carry them all. Hang them up at your home (the cemetery)!*

Dream of Siapen Pimayan

Anood
21/08/2007 #3 (70.6")

Lyric: Siapen Pimayan

Singer: Siapen Pimayan

The image shows two systems of musical notation for a song. The first system is marked with a tempo of ♩=98 and a box containing '288'. It features a treble clef and a six-line staff with notes on D, C#, C, H, B, A, G. The lyrics are 'o - ya ko ji ya [i] ma - man - ci - na - vo ta,'. The second system is marked with a tempo of ♩=68 and includes microtone adjustments: -11, +3, -5, -13, +8. The lyrics are 'ko-ma-la so ni - ra - mo-nan ko a so - mon aw,'. A box in the first system provides technical details: '1. HT: d 288 Hz', '2. HT: C# +8C', and 'Δ: 217C'.

Figure 1 A transcription of the first strophe of *Dream of Siapen Pimayan*, notated in a system for songs with microtones and developed by the author.

This example demonstrates the clear boundary that restrains spirits and how the Tao believe communication between humans and spirits works. However, for Siapen Pimayan, the experience was an admonishment for overhunting, and the song can be understood as a warning to his fellows. One can conclude that *makaniaw* and the singing practices contribute to an ordered relationship and continuity in Tao society, perpetuating a sustainable balance between the Tao and their ecosystem.

2. The Relationship Between Policies and Songs Related to the Tao

In 1877, during the Qing Dynasty (清朝), Orchid Island was taken into China's territory. After Japan took over Taiwan in March 1897, the island was also governed by the Japanese. The Japanese government controlled access to Orchid Island as a research area and a military base. After Taiwan's liberation from Japan in 1945, Chang Kai-Shek (蔣介石), the leader of the KMT (Kuo Ming Tang Party, 國民黨, Chinese Nationalist Party), took over Taiwan in 1949 and used it as a military base to guard against the threat posed by the Chinese Communist Party of mainland China. Since the 1960s, the Taiwanese government has undertaken policies to 'develop' and 'modernise' ethnic minority

communities. In 1967, Orchid Island adopted Taiwan's economic and monetary system (Guan 2007: 168), and in 1971, it was opened for tourism. However, in the mid-1960s, the Taiwanese government deemed its exotic trees to be uneconomical, and a large portion was chopped down in spite of the trees' essential function of balancing the island's ecosystem (see Huang 1995: 129–130).

In addition, an assimilation process began under the discriminatory policies of the Chang Kai-Shek-led Taiwanese government. For example, in 1951, the *Measures to Improve the Living Conditions of the Taiwanese Mountain Compatriots* (台灣省山地人民生活改進運動辦法) announced that Taiwan's inhabitants and indigenous peoples should speak Mandarin and refrain from wearing their traditional clothes and practicing their traditional eating habits and religion. Furthermore, it was dictated that their indigenous names be changed to Han names (漢名) by drawing lots (for details, see Rudolph 2003: 79–81). This policy reflected Chang Kai-Shek's belief that everyone living in Taiwan should practice Han Chinese culture.

Introduced in 1966, the content of *Measures to Improve Social Welfare* (社會福利計畫) was implemented over a twelve-year period. Due to the 'poor living conditions of the Tao', the government built modern concrete houses that could withstand Orchid Island's geographic and weather conditions, including earthquakes and typhoons. Many traditional houses were demolished. It was only because of strong protests from the Ivalino and Iraralay villagers that some of the traditional houses were saved. This measure is also one of the reasons the Tao lost their traditional song repertoire, which they once practised during the construction of four-door houses.

Up to the present, the Tao continue to protest against a radioactive waste deposit that was established on the island in 1980 due to corrupt practices in close cooperation with the Taiwan Power Company (台灣電力股份有限公司) and the government (Rudolph 2003: 103–106). Deposits were made for 6 years, during which nearly 10,000 barrels of nuclear waste arrived on Orchid Island. Today, this radioactive waste is polluting the groundwater. In 2009, an investigation team from Academia Sinica in Taiwan confirmed that radioactive substances can be found everywhere on Orchid Island.⁴⁾

At present, the Tao's main source of income is tourism, which has supplanted fishing and farming. However, this shift has resulted in additional ecological burdens, such as water and traffic-related pollution, overfishing, and a lack of space for landfills. The working population is commercially preoccupied, with many struggling with identity dilemmas between being 'poorly-educated indigenous people' and people who want to 'improve themselves'. In summary, cultural and other policies from the 1950s to the 1980s aimed at assimilating the Tao and the other indigenous ethnic groups into 'Han Chinese culture', which led to the loss of their language and traditional living conditions, as well as their ability to transmit their traditional singing practices. Although the Tao's economic concerns were officially imposed by the Taiwanese government through public policies, these can be interpreted now as part of a land exploitation strategy involving destroying their trees and depleting their other natural resources to use the cleared land for storing radioactive waste.

Nowadays, indigenous people constitute an important factor in the Taiwanese music industry, but the Tao do not play a significant part in this. Nevertheless, I was able to find two male Tao singers who sometimes work for the two independent music groups Si Maraos (name in Chinese: Chung Chi-Fu 鍾啓福) and Si Alislis (Hsie Chi-Hsiang 謝志翔). Based on the fieldwork I have been conducting since 2005, this phenomenon is caused by the cultural concept of taboo (*makaniaw*) and its influences on the Tao's perception of values, which Si Maraos confirmed during an interview on 15 July 2014 (Chung 2014). If one examines the songs in which these two Tao singers are featured, the lyrics often criticise the government's policies towards minorities. For example, the song 'Gray Coastlines'⁵⁾ (灰色海岸線), which was released in 2012 by the music group Kou Chou Ching (拷秋勤), featuring Tao singer Si Alislis and sung in the Fulao and Hakka⁶⁾ dialects as well as in the Mandarin and Tao languages, is a critique of the sea pollution in various parts of Taiwan due to public policies (Table 1). This song was released during the decision period for the construction of a luxury resort hotel in 2003 in the Amis indigenous ethnic group's traditional territory on the southeast coast of Taiwan Island and was called 'Beauty Bay Resort Controversy' (美麗灣渡假村). The song begins with an aside, accompanied by an arranged version of the Tao traditional melody type known as *ayani* (love songs).

'Gray Coastlines' (2012)	by Kou Chou-Ching (拷秋勤)
(旁白+前奏) 看到周遭的一切 已經慢慢遭到破壞 那片曾經走過的美麗海岸 已將消失 我開始慢慢體會到 居民焦慮的心情	(aside+introduction) I see that everything around us is slowly being destroyed. The beautiful coastline I walked along is going to disappear. I am beginning to understand why the residents worry.
(魚仔林) 水泥做兮肉粽 充滿佇 咱兮海邊仔 到今嘛 美麗風景強未無底看 核四工程抑未煞 福隆海邊無沙 挖別位兮來補這 按呢干有較縫 溪仔兩屏 違法工廠一間一間起 黑餿餿兮水 對著出海口流去 垃圾清未釐 還有死豬仔兮臭味 生 理人無道德 討 海人掠無魚 廢土直直倒 咱兮政府當做看無 好康兮逗相報 上重要是回扣 工程繼續做 政客 嘴角全泡 欲起高速公路 給後山變西部 天然 海岸 台灣島是剩無一半 為著開發攏會駛毋管別人兮死活 咱只有海產文化 無海洋文化 環境悲劇 毋知當時會當來收煞	(by fishLIN in Fulao) Cement breakwaters are all along the coastline. The wonderful scenery cannot be seen anymore. Construction on the fourth nuclear power station is not finished yet. The coast at Fulong has no beach anymore. Dig here for there—does it really help? Illegal factories pop up one by one along the rivers, black water flowing into the sea. Trash everywhere and the smell of dead pigs. People are downcast; fishermen get no fish. Everywhere the soil is polluted; our government pretends not to know about it. Good strategies should be put in place; but the commission is the most important. Construction work continues; the politicians keep talking. They want a highway, to make the East like the West. Taiwan Island does not even have half of its nature and coastline left. Everything for development: no concern whether others live or die. We only have seafood culture—no ocean culture. Disaster in the ecosystem, I don't know when it will stop.

<p>(范姜)</p> <p>珊瑚在白化 海洋生物起了變化 你不怕你不怕 一切都是自然變化 看到了嗎 海洋生態每況愈下 我害怕我害怕 難道真的沒有辦法 我試著寫下 用歌詞提醒大家 曾經美麗的海洋他正在掙扎 海天一色 是存在課本中的顏色 黃色黑色垃圾 卻變成三種花色 呀條河霸 透明介河水看無半隻 有人共 毋斯驚 你不用害怕 Oh No 樣會河水會變作按骹髒 麼介好山好水看無也找無 有介人 毋驚死 垃圾丟下水 麼介海洋污染同佢無關係 汝母知 破壞殆盡的生態環境 他正在哭泣 海洋 他正在哭泣</p>	<p>(by Fan Chiang in Mandarin and Hakka)</p> <p>The coral reef is turning white (dying); marine creatures are changing. Don't be scared, don't be scared, these are all natural phenomena. Do you see that? The ecosystem is getting worse. I'm afraid, I'm afraid. Is there no solution? I try to write it down, use lyrics to wake everybody up. The once beautiful sea is struggling. The sea and the sky are the same colour—this colour exists only in textbooks. (In truth) yellow, black, and trash are three colours. Someone says don't be afraid, you don't need to be afraid. Oh no, the river is getting dirty. I can't find the beautiful mountains and the water. Someone who isn't afraid of death throws trash into the water. Anyway, the ocean has nothing to do with us. You don't know how (our) ecology is dying. It is crying—the ocean, it is crying.</p>
<p>(Alilis)</p> <p>a na ana ma ngamaran amyzn nyo ko pancyga. ni ma ko ngo rana o vanwa do kei lyan taya. ko toda nakam no kakwa no kalia liket koba. lok lokeswan namen na rakwa ka kawan. yabo rana yabo rana, ko naja jita ko naja jita. ko naja jita ya mogaro wa awa. ta da ny inyjkan rana. mang dey do ara ro ya to mi yanga ngey. o tao do karawan nei ya ya to mi powa. ya to mi zikaze do vanwa yakemy ka sibwan rana. ko gia tengy da nak nake men ni ra. ni ma ko ngo rana. ya syno maka tenngy syan. o kw ban jy gin nyo. do gam ma na keme nyo a pwapw nyo si makwa. rana si ja ro rana. a peztan tamna awa.</p>	<p>(by Alisli in Tao)</p> <p>Hello. Hello everybody. What's actually happened to the coastline of our village? I remember from a long time ago, the stone that we often played on is already gone, has really disappeared. I really can't see anything, even the beautiful blue coastline is hidden behind a concrete wall. Day after day, people refuse to change; they're still throwing trash into the beautiful ocean and destroying it. Now, the ocean isn't any different than a landfill. I really don't know what these people are thinking about. What is wrong? Who knows? I just want to warn the people who are destroying the ocean. Everyone should think about our children and grandchildren. Let us protect the beautiful ocean together, from today onwards.</p>

Table 1 Lyrics of the song 'Gray Coastlines; (灰色海岸線), with English translation by the author.
Source: <http://blog.roodo.com/kou> (the official weblog of Kou Chou-Ching 拷秋勤).

The Tao still possess the knowledge that guides their traditional boat construction and have promoted this since 2001, which is why the majority of Taiwan also refers to the Tao culture as 'ocean culture' (海洋文化) in Chinese, triggering the idea for a Tao singer to be one of the song's representatives. Tao songs can be generally understood to serve as instruments for social inclusion, that is, gathering people who are formally excluded from the main socio-economic systems together to make music. Apparently, the independent music groups that work with Tao singers are activists against forms of social deprivation such as 'social exclusion' and 'a lack of sustainable livelihoods and rights' (as in Mabughi and Selim 2006).

3. Putting the Knowledge Gained Through Scholarly Research Into Practise

Inspired by Tschernokoshewa's model of 'a specific strategy for coping with life' to connect traditional music with other music genres/traditions, art forms, and so on, as

practised among the Sorbs in Germany (see Tschernokoshewa 2012: 77–78), as well as with the idea of social inclusion through music making, one should consider traditional Tao singing practice as a part of modern life. Based on these two aspects, an idea for a concert project was conceived during the 42nd ICTM World Conference in Shanghai, together with a native Tao, Kuo Chien-Ping (郭健平). Given my personal background as a composer, viola player, and curator, I was able to convince a former study colleague, Lin Fang-Yi (林芳宜), to organise a concert entitled *SoundScape—Island of Human Beings* (人生風景—融合篇)⁷ on 30 September 2014 at Taipei National Theater (國家戲劇院); this came to fruition after submitting a proposal to organise a concert. Lin works at the National Center for Traditional Arts (國立傳統藝術中心), which belongs to the Ministry of Culture of Taiwan (中華民國文化部); Lin is also the curator of the Innovation Series (新點子樂展) for Western contemporary art music in Taiwan.

Important personalities in the realisation of this project were Kuo Chien-Ping (Figure 2), who communicated with the Tao singers, and Johannes Kretz, Professor of Composition and Dean of the Department of Composition, Electro-Acoustics, and Tonmeister Education at the University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna, who secured the funding for the travel expenses of the five Austrian composers and musicians who were invited to Taipei. Kretz has been doing artistic research with the Tao people since 2005 and was motivated to support this project, which aimed to raise young Tao and Taiwanese people’s awareness of traditional singing practices, while simultaneously supporting composers in innovatively presenting Western contemporary art music to



Figure 2 An image from the rehearsal for the *SoundScape—Island of Human Beings* concert in the concert series Innovation Ideas 2014 at Taipei National Theatre on 29 September 2014. On the left is an elderly Tao singer, Mr. Hsu Yong-Fa (徐永發); on the right is a native Tao, Mr. Kuo Chien-Ping (郭健平). The two were discussing details on the stage. Photo by Chen Yi-Tang (陳藝堂).

Taiwanese audiences.

According to Lin Fang-Yi (2014a), this was the very first concert in Taiwan that involved the performance of contemporary compositions based on traditional Tao songs. Four elderly Tao singers⁸⁾ were invited to sing onstage, both with and without musicians (Figure 3); there were also five Austrian and six Taiwanese musicians and composers involved (Table 2).



Figure 3 An image from the rehearsal for the *SoundScape–Island of Human Beings* concert. From left to right: Violin player Ms. Yoo Hui-Seung (柳希昇), Tao singer Mrs. Ma Yue-Hua (馬月花), *shiakuhachi* (尺八) player, Ms Liu-Ying-Jung (劉穎蓉), and *erhu* (二胡) player, Chang Chiao-Hua (張巧驊). They were rehearsing Wolfgang Liebhart’s composition premiere *Cachée* (2014) on the *erhu*, *shakuhachi*, violin, and live electronic music. Photo by Chen Yi-Tang (陳藝堂).

Table 2 Instrumentalists and composers involved in the concert project *SoundScape—Island of Human Beings* (人生風景—融合篇) on 30 September 2014 at Taipei National Theatre, as listed by the author.

Instrumentalists and Composers Involved in <i>SoundScape–Island of Human Beings</i> (人生風景—融合篇) on 30 September 2014 at Taipei National Theatre (國家戲劇院)				
(Based in)	Austria	(Based in)	Taiwan	Tao singers
Instruments	Name	Instruments	Name	Name
Violin	Hui-Seung Yoo	Piano	Lee Hsih-Yang	Hsu Yong-Fa
Viola	Wei-Ya Lin	Shakuhachi	Liu Ying-Jung	Ma Yue-Hua
Violoncello	Tomasz Skweres	Guzheng	Yang	Hsie Chia-Hui
Live electronic	Johannes Kretz	Erhu	Tsan-JuChang Chiau-Hua	Wang Ching-Ying
Composers	Johannes Kretz Tomasz Skweres Wolfgang Liebhart Samu Gryllus	Composers	Liu Wei-Chi Lu Yun	

Generally, this project received both positive and constructive feedback from the Tao, the composers, and the audience. For example, Liu Wei-Chi (劉韋志), one of the composers commissioned from Taiwan, shared his thoughts on the creative process at a press conference held on 17 July 2014:

I thought a lot about what I should do; it is very difficult. It is not only traditional society that would be shocked if they were confronted with modern society; I am from modern society, and even I have experienced some surprises in my work with the traditional music of the Tao. How can we deal with this? I think only with an egalitarian way of understanding how they approach singing. (Liu 2014)

Furthermore, Lin Chien-Hsiang (林建享), a documentary filmmaker who has been deeply involved in Tao society for almost 30 years, made the following statement to me immediately after the concert on 30 September 2014:

I'm so sorry! I don't want to judge this contemporary music; you know it is not my thing. But in comparison with the noise of modern music, the special nature of the Tao's singing stood out. It was incredibly touching! (Lin 2014)

The concert curator, Lin Fang-Yi (林芳宜), stated the following during a telephone call with me on 12 October 2014:

It was a great experience. The compositions of Johannes Kretz and Wolfgang Liebhart (both from Austria) are the best examples and a model of intercultural work. I have not seen this kind of cooperation for a long time. My bosses at the National Center for Traditional Arts and Taipei National Theatre were also present for the evening, and they were impressed! (Lin 2014b)

In order to get professional feedback, I wrote an email to ethnomusicologist Wang Ying-Fen (王櫻芬) on 23 October 2014, which she answered on 3 November 2014 (Wang 2014):

[...] The voices of the elders shocked me! I don't know why it was especially shocking this time, maybe because of the atmosphere at the concert or maybe because of the combination with the instruments. [...] I really appreciate your courage and action.

In my personal view, the most important opinion came from the elderly Tao Hsu Yong-Fa (徐永發), who shared the following response with me during our rehearsal on 29 September 2014:

This kind of music (Western contemporary art music) is not my tradition and culture, I don't want to say if I like it or not, I'm not able to. But if traditional Tao music can be spread throughout the world by this activity, I'm pleased to give my efforts. (Hsu 2014)

Table 3 The lyrics that Hsu Yong-Fa (徐永發) created during the improvisation segment of the composition *ponso no tao* (2007) for piano and electronics by Johannes Kretz on 30 September 2014. Translated from Tao to Chinese by Kuo Chien-Ping (郭健平) and from Chinese to English by the author; recorded on 10 October 2014 at Hsu's home in Ivalino Village on Orchid Island, Taiwan by the author.

Original in Tao	Analogous Meaning
<i>kanig nio rana kamo nio rana</i> <i>misivesevez a tao do ilaod</i> <i>mangalinge so bebezoo kanociring</i> <i>mini raod kapala malan no noanood</i> <i>kariyag do pinat bokan koniya iaiwawalam</i> <i>da no inpomen</i> <i>oya to da dagdaggi yakawawan</i>	I apologise to every listener who is at our concert today. We will sing from very early to very late (We will sing a very long time, which will annoy all of you a lot).

The other two singers, Hsie Chia-Hui (謝加輝) and Wang Ching-Ying (王清英), also expressed similar comments during their interview with Taiwan Indigenous Television. The interview was broadcast on the day of the concert in the daily news programme.⁹⁾ Additionally, they were positively surprised to discover that, although they had previously thought it impossible, *shakuhachi*, string instruments, and live processed piano can imitate the Tao's traditional singing techniques and realise the microtones.

At the concert, Hsu Yong-Fa even created new lyrics during the improvisation segment of the composition *ponso no tao* (2007) for piano and electronics by Johannes Kretz (Table 3).

4. Conclusion

For this concert project, two separate aspects are essential: the concert's aesthetic goal and the organisational objective. Aesthetic decisions, such as the selection of instruments and compositions, require long-term scholarly research and are limited by one's personal artistic development and network. The composers Johannes Kretz and Wolfgang Liebhart both conducted several interviews and field recordings on Orchid Island in 2005, 2008, and 2010, accompanied by the author; meanwhile, the other four composers, due to their backgrounds, are aware of and sensitive to the challenges of using and integrating 'otherness' into their own compositions. This fact must be considered a positive aspect of this project. Due to the nature of the Tao's traditional music and the use of microtones, the piano, for example, seems like a contradiction in this setting. Nevertheless, Kretz (2007: 35–36) found a solution: he prepared the piano using live electronic music so that the microtones could be produced.

In this case, the organisational process can be divided into two hierarchical levels. The first one involved 'borrowing' project partners' infrastructures and the prestige of Austrian and Taiwanese institutions such as the Taipei National Theatre, the National Center for Traditional Arts, the Ministry of Culture of Taiwan, the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, and the Austrian Office Taipei, which is an agency of the Austrian Foreign Ministry, to communicate, organise, and structure information for publication in magazines, online newspapers, and weblogs, as well as on social media

and in television broadcasts. Due to the majority's lack of knowledge about Tao music in general, most of the Tao-related informational content was designed to describe how the Tao understand their traditional songs, to explain the songs' functions, and to suggest possible ways of listening. A quote from an interview that featured Johannes Kretz's description of what Western composers can learn from the Tao's singing tradition in order to improve Austrian music education¹⁰) attracted a lot of attention from the younger Tao generations on social media platforms such as Facebook. The second level of the organisational process entailed using the convincing, powerful 'borrowed' package from the first level to involve other institutions in Taiwan and disseminate structured knowledge and information via organisations and institutions such as the Rotary Club in Taipei City, National Taipei University, and Taipei University of Education, where presentations about the Tao were held.

In conclusion, the main strategy was to bring Tao singers, who regard themselves as 'poorly-educated' in the Taiwanese context, together on the same stage as 'well-educated', 'elitist' Austrian and Taiwanese music makers who are familiar with Western contemporary art music. The motivation for this was to emphasise the equality between these two musical traditions in terms of music quality, thus neutralising the majority's prejudices with regard to the Tao and achieving the purpose of this project. This concert project was nominated for the TaiHsin Arts Award¹¹) on 6 November 2014; the award recognises innovative interdisciplinary performing arts projects with aspects of social responsibility. Furthermore, this concert project led to the initiation of a much larger dance and theatre production called *Maataw – the Floating Island* (浮島), which premiered on 22 January 2016 at the Taiwan National Theatre in Taipei City, performed by the Formosan Aboriginal Song and Dance Troupe (for more details, see Lin 2016).

Finally, one can certainly recognise through Hsu's improvised lyrics and the Tao's comments about the concert that each Austrian and Taiwanese composer, musician, and Tao singer who was involved in this project shared a single identity during the concert performance. Hsu's newly-created lyrics will hopefully be adapted to one of the traditional song repertoires and memorised and transmitted within the Tao elder singers' families. In the end, I hope that this concert, combined with the knowledge gained through ethnomusicological research and artistic expression, will open up new opportunities and be considered to contain a constructive suggestion for Taiwanese cultural policymakers, composers and outsiders, and, of course, the Tao themselves.

Notes

- 1) There is only one exception: when a female owner of a four-door house performs the song about her work process during the *apat so sesdepan* (the completion ceremony for the four-door house). Due to the complex process and strict taboos related to constructing a house with four doors, the completion ceremony no longer exists in everyday Tao life (Lin 2013a: 55).
- 2) Traditionally, the *makarang* (high/working house) plays an essential role in Tao social life; it is like a living room where the Tao receive guests and friends.

- 3) The Tao believe that owls are the spirits' birds, butterflies are the spirits' eyes, and masked palm civets are the spirits' pigs.
- 4) Source: *Our Island (The Radioactive Waste)* 我們的島 (談蘭嶼核廢) 2012. *Taiwan Public Television Service*. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GebCx1TR6Ts&feature=player_embedded (accessed: 27 May 2020)
- 5) The music video for 'Gray Coastlines' is accessible on YouTube.com: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jErTbh9EyVI> (accessed: 27 May 2020)
- 6) Fulao and Hakka are the most commonly spoken dialects in Taiwan.
- 7) The concert description is available online in English at: <http://npac-ntch.org/program/show/2c90813e46705b770146b7e121cd0f8e?lang=en> (accessed: 27 May 2020) The concert programme is available online in Chinese at: <http://npac-ntch.org/program/show/2c90813e46705b770146b7e121cd0f8e?lang=de> (accessed: 27 May 2020)
- 8) Hsu Yong-Fa (徐永發) and his wife Ma Yue-Hua (馬月花); Hsie Chia-Hhui (謝加輝) and his wife Wang Ching-Ying (王清英).
- 9) The interview was conducted during the rehearsal on 29 September 2014 and is available on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=duzieSKAg3Q> (accessed: 27 May 2020)
- 10) Lee Hsin-Tien's (李欣恬) Chinese-language interview with the author, as an example: <https://www.matataiwan.com/2014/08/08/international-cultural-platform/> (accessed: 27 May 2020)
- 11) Source: <http://talks.taishinart.org.tw/award/bulletin/7b2c135c4653f065b085dd8853734e-7b2c4e095b6363d0540d7d50679c> (accessed: 15 July 2018)

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