

MUSICAL NAVIGATION:  
CULTURAL HYBRIDITY AND INDIGENEITY AMONG ISLANDS OF THE RYUKYUS  
AND TAIWAN

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY  
OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

MUSIC

NOVEMBER 2019

BY

YUAN-YU KUAN

Dissertation Committee:  
Frederick C. Lau, Chairperson  
Ricardo D. Trimillos  
R. Anderson Sutton  
Cathryn H. Clayton  
David L. Hanlon

Keywords: Taiwan, Okinawa, Austronesia, Hybridity, Indigeneity

Table of Contents

<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</b> .....	<b>i</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>vi</b>
<b>A Note on the Romanization</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
Description of the Study .....	1
Taiwan and the Ryukyus .....	4
Framing the Study .....	9
Contemporary Collaborations.....	10
Colonial Experiences and Indigenous Connections .....	12
Researcher Positionality and Methodology .....	14
Contribution and Significance .....	29
Fieldwork and Friendships .....	31
Chapter Outline.....	33
<b>Chapter 2: Musical Navigation in Taiwan: Time, Space, and Indigeneity</b> .....	<b>35</b>
Being In Between .....	35
Golden Melody Awards and Ethnoscape in Taiwan .....	38
Navigating Across Domains .....	46
Meeting a Hunter at the Coastline .....	52
Concluding Thoughts .....	59
<b>Chapter 3: Purposeful Navigation: The Soundscape of Yonaguni Island, Okinawa</b> .....	<b>62</b>
Purposeful Navigation .....	62
Yonaguni Island.....	63
Crossing 1: Reproducing a Pre-historical Voyage .....	68
Crossing 2: An Antimilitary Protest .....	80
Crossing 3: A Fishing Tournament .....	91
Concluding Thoughts .....	103
<b>Chapter 4: Making a Musical “Champuru” on an Austronesian Pathway</b> .....	<b>106</b>
Way-finding and Musicking.....	106
Crossing Musically .....	107
Musical Champuru in Okinawa .....	114
Mapping an Indigenous Pathway .....	118
Direction: Indigenous South.....	123
Traveling on an Austronesian Pathway .....	126
Way station 1: Gathering/Deconstructing South-ness.....	128
Way station 2: Combining/Mixing Textured Sources .....	133
Way station 3: Constructing Toward Futurity .....	137
Concluding Thoughts .....	138



<b>Chapter 5: Making a Musical Lei: Indigenous Alliances and Interactive Improvisation</b>	<b>141</b>
A Recording Session .....	141
Garland-Making in Austronesia and the Pacific.....	144
Coalition Formation and Cultural Intimacy.....	146
Decolonizing Time and Space.....	154
Weaving the Musical Lei of “Song of the Islands” .....	163
Concluding Thoughts .....	171
<b>Chapter 6: Conclusions</b> .....	<b>174</b>
Indigenous Hybridity .....	174
Listening to Indigenous Hybridity.....	177
Musical Navigation as Speaking for Others .....	181
Opportunities for Future Research .....	182
<b>Appendices</b> .....	<b>185</b>
Appendix A: Song Lyrics and Translations .....	185
Swing Naluwan (2006).....	185
Coastline (2013) .....	186
British Rukai (2013).....	187
Hunters in Skirts/Kowa ni Taraalo’o Siya Labiti (2013) .....	188
I cowa ko lalan (2010).....	190
Salsa De Yunta (2004).....	191
Fali (2012) .....	191
Song of the Islands (2016).....	192
Appendix B: Transcriptions.....	194
Miti Suani .....	194
Tubarāma .....	196
Song of the Islands .....	197
<b>GLOSSARY</b> .....	<b>202</b>
<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	<b>204</b>

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is the result of more than 4 years research into Taiwan and the Ryukyus. I have been incredibly fortunate to receive academic, financial and moral support from a large number of organizations and individuals. It would be impossible to list all of the people who have contributed to this project and I would like to give my deepest gratitude.

This project was made possible through generous financial assistance from several bodies. I am deeply indebted to the vigorous and enabling intellectual climate at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM). The initial period of fieldwork in Taiwan, Okinawa Island, and Yonaguni Island in 2014 was carried out as part of a preliminary PhD project funded by the Chung-fong & Grace Ning Chinese Studies Fund, Arts & Sciences Student Research Award, and the Society for Asian Music Small Grant. Further grants for a short research trip in Okinawa in summer 2015 was given by the John Young Scholarship in the Arts and Center for Okinawan Studies' Matsuro and Tsuruko Nakasone Endowment Fund. In 2016, I have also made a small trip to Okinawa and Taiwan with financial assistance from Barbara Smith, Professor Emerita at the UHM.

Throughout this project, I have been fortunate to receive advice and guidance from many mentors, researchers, and colleagues. I must first thank Professor Frederick C. Lau, my PhD supervisor, without whom my career in ethnomusicology would not have begun, and who has provided consistent support and has taught me many life lessons since I began a master's degree in ethnomusicology in 2009. Secondly, I have benefited from many conversations with Professor Emeritus Ricardo D. Trimillos—"Ric." Ric's insistence on a high level of scholarship helped push this project forward when it was in desperate need of propulsion. I continue to be inspired

by his thinking, presence, and sociability. The committee that directed this project was extremely generous with its time and feedback: Professor David Hanlon, with whom I first developed a raw idea of this project in his classes, Professor R. Anderson Sutton, who has provided limitless support and encouragement along my academic career, and Professor Cathryn Clayton, who has been continually encouraging of my research and has generously shared many of her insights with me. I must also express my gratitude to Heather Diamond, Benjamin Fairfield, and Christopher Serrano for devoting their time to be my readers and editors.

In Taiwan, I have been overwhelmed by the academic and moral support. Special thanks must go to Tipus Chen, Yaling Yang, Xiaoman Xie, and all the members of the *Airen/Islands* Recording Studio. Homi Ma and Ji-Chong Li have provided me with introductions to a number of performers both in Taiwan and Okinawa. Anu, Siki, Suming, Leo Chen, and Gelresai Chen provided endless source of knowledge on many aspects of the indigenous cultures in Taiwan. In Okinawa, I am particularly indebted to Professor Junko Konishi and Professor Kumada Susumu at Okinawan Prefectural University of Arts in Naha for introducing several personal connections that made my ethnographic fieldwork possible. I have also received assistance from fellow students such as Ai Namisato, Maai Kawasaki, Kyo-hei Matayoshi, Tawata Shinri, and Keisuke Ogawa. I have been fortunate to work with members of Kachimba including Shuichiro Isa, Kazumi Izena, and Taro Oshiro. In Yonaguni, I must thank Yonaha Yuu who taught me much about traditional performing arts, music, and cultures in Yonaguni and Yaeyama. Miho Ganaha who generously helped with the many problems when I faced understanding of the local languages. I have also been overwhelmed by the extensive help from the Yonaguni Township Education Board and its members including Koike Yasuhito and Minoru Muramatsu. Kazuaki

Yamaguchi, Shinpei Yamaguchi, and Mari Nakai provided me with a number of introductions, constructive advice, and moral support during my fieldwork.

Finally, studying musical mixing among the islands of Taiwan and the Ryukyus has constantly reminded me of the importance of family. My family in Taiwan has aided and abetted me in crucial ways. They provided an expansive space, allowing me to develop my personal interests. I must thank my father who taught me to be humble and to be eager to learn from daily observations. His calmness and circumspection have been instrumental to this project and so much more. My brother and sister-in-law never lost faith in me and offered me suggestions and comments which shaped my analysis. The matriarchal characteristics of my mother have been inspirational. Her energy, efficiency, and persistence have influenced my personality in many ways, and at the same time, exemplify a perfect instance of cultural hybridity in Taiwan.

## ABSTRACT

Divided by Chinese and Japanese political boundaries, the islanders of Taiwan and the Ryukyus must negotiate their cultural values not only with the East Asian hegemon but also with American militaristic penetration. The consequences are twofold: the construction of an idealized ethnic identity and a hybridization of their cultural practices. Most official narratives about their musics and performing arts have primarily been constructed, classified, and defined via East Asian hegemonic political agendas and national borders, thereby disregarding indigenous narratives which include the existence of established circuits between these island groups.

This study highlights indigenous and Austronesian sensibilities, exploring musical and historical interconnectedness among these islands on the East China Sea/West Pacific Ocean. Taking into account the increased claims of indigeneity in East Asia, I focus on agency and migration as analytical frames to examine music-making processes among regional island musicians. Based on extensive ethnographic and archival research, I interrogate processes of colonialism, militarization, and globalization as they relate to contemporary soundscapes within these island groups, problematizing the notion of musical hybridization and traditional/modern polarities.

Using oceanic metaphors such as *navigation*, *pathway*, and *waves* as lenses, I identify the characteristics of musical mixing and coalition formation between Taiwanese and Okinawan musicians, offering an approach to understanding so-labeled “hybrid” contemporary island cultures. Rather than glossing hybridized music as postmodern under a single global category, ethnomusicologists might better engage the notion of the postmodern relative to a specific indigenous musical and historical context. I regard musical mixing in the region as a creative

process of making indigenous hybridity. Hybrid music here is indigenously-inspired pragmatism that embodies the flexibility and performativity of subaltern identity as it co-exists and negotiates within and against local, regional, national, and international hegemonic structures of power and control—decentering the present imposed narratives about Okinawa and Taiwan while offering a futurity that expands what it means to be indigenous in East Asia.

## List of Figures

- Figure 1.1 Taiwan and Okinawa  
Figure 1.2 Ryukyu Islands  
Figure 2.1 Taiwan, East China Sea, the Ryukyus, and West Pacific Ocean  
Figure 2.2 East Taiwan (Yilan, Hualien, and Taitung) as the rear part of the island  
Figure 2.3 The tobacco factory (left) and bookstore (right)  
Figure 2.4 Concert poster for *Meeting a Hunter at the Coastline*  
Figure 2.5 Album Covers of *Coastline* and *Hunter in Skirts*  
Figure 3.1 From Yonaguni Island, Taiwan’s mountains are clearly visible on days with fine weather  
Figure 3.2 Poster for the project “Complete Reproduction of the Voyage of 30,000-years-ago”  
Figure 3.3 Two reed-boats and the crewmembers  
Figure 3.4 “Miti Sunai” ensemble at the launching ceremony  
Figure 3.5 The Aymara Totora-Reed Boat exhibited in the National Museum of the American Indian  
Figure 3.6 Hokule’a Navigation System used by the crewmembers  
Figure 3.7 Crewmembers’ costumes designed by Yuu Yonaha  
Figure 3.8 Yamaguchi protesting in front of the JSDF’s garrison by playing “Miti Sunai”  
Figure 3.9 Poster for Yonaguni’s 27<sup>th</sup> International Billfish Tournament  
Figure 3.10 Hawaiian hula and Taiwanese indigenous performances in *Kajiki Taikai*  
Figure 3.11 South-Western Air Band in *Kajiki Taikai*  
Figure 3.12 *Bōodori* performance in *Kajiki Taikai*  
Figure 3.13 *Dunta* dance in *Kajiki Taikai*  
Figure 4.1 Poster for the *East Asian Roots Trip* Concert  
Figure 4.2 Kachimba 1551  
Figure 4.3 Suming Rupi of the Amis  
Figure 4.4 Amis Flag (designed by Suming)  
Figure 4.5 *Goya champuru* dish (containing a mixture of tofu, spam, bitter melon, and egg)  
Figure 4.6 The stage for the *East Asian Roots Trip* concert  
Figure 5.1 Recording Session of “Song of the Islands”  
Figure 5.2 Poster for the 2016 H.O.T. Islands Music Festival  
Figure 5.3 Sintung/Dulan Sugar Factory Culture Park  
Figure 5.4 Two leitmotifs are twisted together  
Figure 5.5 Final section and improvisations of “Song of the Islands”

## **A Note on the Romanization**

(Mandarin, Japanese, Austronesians, Okinawan and Yonaguni Words)

Two types of Mandarin romanization are used in this dissertation. Traditionally, Wades-Giles romanization prevailed in Taiwan, as was authorized by the government. Hanyu Pinyin is the current world standard, and has become an alternative since 2000 in Taiwan. Words such as Chang (Wades-Giles) could also be rendered as Zheng (Hanyu Pinyin). Thus, the names of people born before 2000 will use Wades-Giles in this dissertation. Chinese historical terms, such as dynastic names, are given using Hanyu Pinyin.

In terms of Austronesian languages, there are three Austronesian languages used in this dissertation, including E'tolan Amis (Coastal Amis), Puyuma, and Rukai. The Phonetic Alphabet systems are referenced from the document published by Taiwan's Ministry of Education and the Council of Indigenous People on December 15, 2005. However, I also use the romanized forms suggested by indigenous musicians and scholars mentioned in this project.

Romanization of standard Japanese words follows the Hepburn system, with long vowels represented by a macron. Yonaguni language is considerably different from the Shruai pronunciation of Okinawan as well as standard Japanese. It is often difficult to choose a single correct romanization for many terms due to the large regional variations in pronunciation. Despite the diffidences, the romanized forms of Yonaguni and Okinawan words in this dissertation follow the usage commonly practiced by musicians and publishers in the region.



## Chapter 1: Introduction

### Description of the Study

As early as the Sui Dynasty in China (581-619), the name *Liuqiu* was given to the islands in the East China Sea as first mentioned in the *Book of Sui* or *Suishu*—the official history of the Sui Dynasty—without specifying their location either as contemporary Taiwan, Okinawa, mainland or both (Kodama 2007). When the Ryūkyū kingdom was founded with Chinese Ming’s political assistance in the fifteenth century, the name designated Okinawa Island as *Ryukyu*. The island currently known as Taiwan was designated *Xiaoliuqiu* or Small Ryukyu. As Japan’s political and colonial ambitions grew southward in the seventeenth century, the invasion of Ryūkyū (*Ryūkyū Seibatsu*) took place in 1609 and the kingdom became a vassal state under the Japanese feudal domain of Satsuma. Eventually, Taiwan experienced Japanese colonialism from 1895 to 1945 and was later “returned” to Nationalist China after the Pacific War. Today, the islands on the East China Sea/West Pacific Ocean are known separately as Okinawa and Taiwan.

Divided by the political boundaries of China (both the of China and the People’s Republic of China) and Japan, the distance between the east coast of Taiwan and the westernmost island of Japan, Yonaguni, is approximately 108 km (67 miles). The “pre-historical” indigenous connections and cultural diversity among the various ethnic groups in the islands are today generally glossed into two distinct ethno-national groups: Taiwanese and Okinawans. Intellectual narratives about their musics and performing arts reflect research based on this nationalistic logic and construct fixed entities like “the music of Taiwan,” broadly defined and placed in the domain of China, and similarly “the music of Okinawa” in the domain of Japan.



Figure 1.1 Taiwan and Okinawa

This dissertation foregrounds a migratory nature existent in musical productions among these island groups, premised on a pathway that bridges essentialized domains of time and space. This process contributes to a developing sense of indigeneity that liberates the islanders from ethnic nationalism and sets them on a trajectory towards a post-national and post-settler status in East Asia. Arguing that the current soundscapes and ethnoscapescapes of Taiwan and Okinawa constitute colonial constructions in which indigenous populations are defined by East Asian hegemony, this project uses an oceanic and Austronesian understandings re-figuring for indigenous positionality in contemporary Taiwan and Okinawa. By referencing several oceanic metaphors (such as *pathway* and *waves*), I problematize the claim that cultural hybridity is solely a postmodern outcome of globalization, colonialism, and imperialism. Rather, I suggest that

hybridity is already embedded in a longstanding indigenous ethos and consider how such an assertion forces a rethinking of indigeneity in East Asia.

Although modern East Asian states' (Japan, PRC, and ROC) attitudes have changed from a homogeneous conceptualization towards a more diverse and multi-ethnic one, the grouping of these islanders' ethnicities still expresses and supports the interests of nation states' political and economic agendas. Consequently, indigenous identity, history, cultural ownership and rights are nevertheless disregarded, and these groupings remain essentially colonialist. Failing to recognize interisland routes in the East China Sea/West Pacific Ocean, nation states imagine these cultures and musics to be treated as land-based, homogenous, and local. Rather I suggest that they embody the result of processes involving encounter and exchange between people who both travel and stay at home. I argue for the need to conceptualize the cultures and musics of these island groups as historically constructed, in light of Orientalism—both in its layering regional and global, and/or, East Asian and Western forms—and inter-socially maintained through a consciousness of oceanic and diasporic migration.

For this study, I explore the music-making processes, specifically musical mixing and interconnectivities, between East Taiwan and the Ryukyus and how such a connection relates to the current increasing claims of indigeneity in East Asia. In addition to the shared history of Chinese, Japanese, and American imperialism, questions that constituted a marginalized subaltern identity between Taiwan and the Ryukyus, I foreground these islanders' oceanic connection by re-centering them as islanders on the West Pacific Ocean. Questions I address include: (1) How are these musical routes between the two island groups historically constructed and politically presented in contemporary Taiwan and Okinawa? (2) Who are the contemporary agents of such musical connections by reinforcing the shared historical memories and imagined

cultural roots? (3) How do such connections relate to the discourse of the global movement of indigeneity or what is to be gained by claiming indigenous identities? To address these questions, I focus on contacts, agencies, and coalition formation surrounding the island musicians in three locations: East Taiwan, Okinawa Island, and Yonaguni Island.

Today, their music styles, especially those of popular music, are both seen as fusion and a culturally hybrid of the traditional and the Western (equated with modern). Thus, this project not only problematizes the notion of musical fusion and its polarities of the traditional and the modern but also proposes the notion of “musical navigation”—the traveling among musical styles. Using this notion of musical navigation, I highlight an emerging form of indigeneity reflected in the musical interconnectedness of the two island groups. I regard hybridized music in the region as the sonic embodiment of indigenous hybridity. Reinforcing the concept of migratory worldview in musical production, this project shows an indigenous hybridity that functions not only as a way to destabilize the authority of nation-states but also to offer a futurity that inevitably expands what it means to be indigenous in East Asia.

### **Taiwan and the Ryukyus**

Although the terms *Taiwan*, *Ryukyus*, and *Okinawa* are recognized as fixed geo-cultural areas in modern day East Asia, they are quite complex and indicate a succession of historical processes imposed by East Asian hegemony (i.e. China and Japan). Documents on the histories of the Taiwan and Ryukyu island groups in the East China Sea can be found written from sources stemming from China and Japan as these two powers expanded their political stronghold of the region. Thus, I see intellectual narratives about the cultures and histories of both island groups, especially ethnic classifications and grouping, as sites of power negotiations, political

suppressions, as well as spaces for marginalization. Furthermore, rather than assuming a starting point that separates these islands' histories from their prehistories, I focus on the performativity of historical narratives and the ways indigenous and cultural connections are imagined and appropriated by island musicians. By not conforming to the usual forward-oriented chronological order of history, I frame the discourse of encounter and conflict by focusing on three locations and further expanding to several historical moments as well as their contemporary interpretations. In this section, I briefly discuss the relationship between East Asian hegemons (China and Japan) and the marginalized island groups (Taiwan, southern Ryukyus, and Okinawa).

Expansion was met with conflict as these two powers dueled over who controlled the island region. The struggle gradually moved southward culminating with the conflict over Taiwan. Since the 10th century, the island of Okinawa had been the political center of the Ryukyu kingdom. Gradually, it underwent a unification process that ended with the establishment of three rival ruling powers known as Three Mountains or Sanzan, consisting of Nanzan, Chuzan and Hokuzan. In 1368, the Chinese Ming Dynasty was established after the fall of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty, and Chuzan was quick to acknowledge the new Ming emperor by paying tribute to the imperial court. Taking advantage of borrowed Chinese authority, the Chuzan leaders were officially recognized by the Ming as the rightful kings over Nanzan and Hokuzan; they established the Ryuyku kingdom in 1429. Yet, the “mysterious” islands of the south still remained unrecognized both by the political powers of Ming and the Ryukyu kingdom.

Taiwan experienced China's imperialistic powers much later in the seventeenth century. The people of Taiwan, especially the non-sinicized aborigines, had long been depicted as

barbaric and savage by Chinese travel writers such as Chen Di (1603). The annexation of Taiwan became necessary when the political climate shifted to Manchu Qing's control in the Chinese mainland during the late 17th Century—the Ming's Koxinga occupied southwest Taiwan as a military base. However, the Qing dynasty's attitude toward Taiwan after defeating Koxinga's army was somehow passive. After classifying the native people into *shengfan* (raw barbarians) and *shufan* (cooked barbarians), the Qing had no intention to control the “raw barbarians,” which further encouraged Japan's attempt to invade Taiwan. In fact, Japan's ambition towards its “Southern Islands” or *Nantō* was expressed in several anthropological and ethnographic publications, such as Arai Hakuseki's *Records of Southern Islands* or *Nantōshi* (1719). The political powers of China and Japan finally collided in the Peony Incident of 1871 when a group of 66 Ryukyuan from Miyako were shipwrecked in southern Taiwan and 54 were killed by Taiwan aborigines. Japan saw this as a great opportunity to expand its territory since China claimed no control over the aborigines in Taiwan and no protection over the Ryukyuan. After Ryukyu's annexation to Japan in 1879, the Manchu Qing lost its control over the western part of Taiwan following its defeat in the Sino-Japan War of 1895.

The Ryukyu Kingdom was dissolved in 1879 and renamed Okinawa as it was annexed by Japan. Today, the islands of Amami, Okinawa, Miyako and Yaeyama make up the Ryukyu Islands or Southwest Islands (*ryūkyū-shotō* or *nansei-shotō*), terms that refer to the archipelago that stretches southwest from Japan's Kyushu to Taiwan. Administratively, the Amami Island groups belong to Japan's Kagoshima Prefecture, while the Okinawa Prefecture encompasses the Okinawa Island group (Okinawa and its closest neighboring islands), the Miyako group (Miyako and its nearest neighbors), and the Yaeyama group (Ishigaki, Hateruma and Yonaguni). The Yaeyamas' strategic positioning, only 250 kilometers east of Taiwan, linked China with Japan in

past trade networks. Archaeological evidence (i.e. pottery and adzes) shows that the islands of Miyako and Yaeyama had closer “pre-historical” relationships with islands further south such as the Philippines and Taiwan rather than with those of the north such as Okinawa (Summerhayes 2009: 3). Thus, three cultural spheres in the Ryukyuan Archipelago are evident: (1) a northern cultural sphere centered on Tanegashima and Yakushima, (2) a central sphere in the Amami and Okinawa island groups, and (3) a southern sphere encompassing Miyako and Yaeyama island groups, which also include several islands such as Ishigaki and Yonaguni. In this dissertation, I use the terms “Okinawa” and “Ryukyus” to refer to the entire archipelago, “Okinawa mainland” to refer to the island where the Ryukyu kingdom established its political power, and the term “southern Ryukyus” to refer to the southern sphere of Miyako and Yaeyama island group. A major portion of this study will be devoted to exploring connections between Taiwan and the southern Ryukyus, specifically the islands of Ishigaki and Yonaguni.

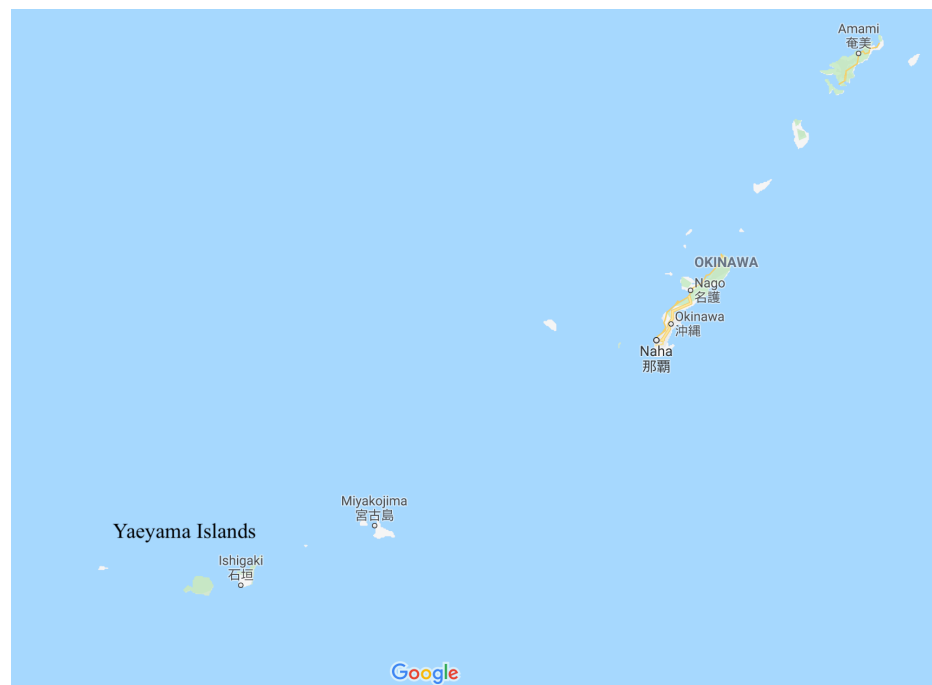


Figure 1.2 Ryukyu Islands

Due to its close proximity to Yonaguni, Taiwan's mountains are clearly visible on days with fine weather from a distance of one hundred kilometers. A 17th-century administrative record of the Yaeyama Island, *Yaeyama-jima Nenraiki*, uses the term *Southern Island* or *Minami no shima* to refer to Taiwan, noting that some of the inhabitants of Yaeyama fled to this "southern island" to escape high taxes (Huang 2011). While the Ryukyu kingdom was gradually being eroded by Japan's power, beginning with the Satsuma Invasion in 1609, Taiwan was still seen by both Chinese and Japanese as an island of merchants, pirates, and headhunters.

During Japan's colonization (1859-1945), not only was Taiwan included as part of its Southern Islands but also this was the first time the entire island of Taiwan was controlled by one entity. Taiwan became one of imperial Japan's territories which encouraged mutual migration. Taiwanese traveled to Yaeyama either for jobs such as mining or working on pineapple plantations (Matsuda 2004) while Yaeyamans, especially islanders of Yonaguni, traveled to Taiwan seeking economic and educational opportunities. In fact, all the people in Yonaguni thought that the economic benefits they obtained from Taiwan were far greater than those they obtained from Japan and Ishigaki (Huang 1995).

At the close of the Pacific War, China gained more control of Taiwan (compared to the Qing) under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership and his Nationalist government in 1945. Many Ryukyuan were ordered by the Japanese government to leave Taiwan. By contrast, some Taiwanese remained in islands such as Ishigaki and Yonaguni instead of returning to Taiwan. Illegal trading was constant between residents of eastern Taiwan and Yonaguni and continued until the late 1970s. Due to the shifting political climate, Taiwanese in Yaeyama lost their nationality as Japanese and the Republic of China made them ROC subjects. The diasporic



Taiwanese without national protection were discriminated against until they finally successfully regained Japanese nationality in 1964 (Matsuda 2004).

Today, people in Yonaguni still see Taiwan as part of their everyday life. Yonaguni and Hualien, a city in eastern Taiwan, are sister cities. Seihachirō Miyagi expressed this nostalgic attachment in his *Story of Yonaguni (Yonaguni monogatari)* (1993). Meanwhile, most of the Taiwanese in Yaeyama have adopted Japanese names and speak only Japanese in the public sphere, reserving Taiwanese for domestic settings. Yoshitaka Matsuda's *Yaeyama no Taiwanjin* or *Yaeyama's Taiwanese* (1973) provides detailed ethnographic information on these Taiwanese—how they traveled, settled, and negotiated their existence and identity on Ishigaki Island.

### **Framing the Study**

In this study, I use several moments of encounter to foreground the migratory sensibilities embodied in the musical hybridization among the islands on the East China Sea/West Pacific Ocean. I see the process of musical mixing in the region as an island-centric, pragmatic path towards creating indigenous hybridity. Utilizing the notion of “musical migration,” I examine musical activities that I personally experienced during my ethnographic fieldwork from 2012 to 2016 in three locations: Taiwan, Okinawa Island, and Yonaguni Island. Concerning the global movement of indigeneity, on the islands of Taiwan and Okinawa, I focus on the inter-local circulation of musical styles and how the sense of mobility (i.e. rural-to-urban travel) influences the music-making processes. I am also interested in the way human agency intersects with the notion of indigenous alliances between the two groups of islanders. Concerning the dynamics of indigeneity, on the island of Yonaguni, I focus on the way music is used to relate to, to connect with, and to collect meanings as a pragmatic attitude for the islanders to situate themselves and

navigate among regional politics. Instead of surveying the diverse musical genres in the region, I present moments of musical exchanges or musical journeys among island musicians. Although this study does not follow a linear chronological order, I also address three historical stages that are crucial to the islands group's worldview and contemporary soundscapes: 1) contemporary interactions between Taiwanese indigenous and Okinawan musicians, 2) colonial experiences from 1895 to 1945, and 3) "pre-historical"/indigenous connections. Not only are these moments interconnected but also each (re)presents a theme that contributes to the musical interconnectedness of the two island groups—the global movement of indigeneity, the struggle against colonialism, and the Austronesian cultural flow, respectively. Thus, instead of surveying the diverse musical genres in the region, I see the two island groups' experiences intertwine as the two groups of islanders enter each other's soundscapes. I regard the three historical moments as snapshots by which meanings and consciousness of pasts are (re)interpreted, (re)presented, and interrelated in modern times. Particularly, I am interested in the musical negotiation of the polarities of the traditional and the modern as evidenced by musical creations that are considered to be fusion, hybrid, or "crossover." Concerning the notion of musical hybridity, the project proposes to examine two contrasting aspects: the role of colonial powers in creating this hybridized discourse, and the contemporary articulation of indigeneity as a means to break down colonial fixity.

### ***Contemporary Collaborations***

In this study, I examine the contemporary musical interchange, specifically in the discourse of popular music discourse, and its relation to the increased claims of indigeneity in East Asia. The questions that I will address are (1) how do the parallel experiences of Taiwan and Okinawa (i.e. marginalized positions in East Asia, being ethnic minorities in China and

Japan, etc.) contribute to the emergence of indigenous identity? (2) What does it mean to both groups when their musics are combined with broadly defined Western/modern elements, creating contemporary genres (i.e. Uchinaa pop or Taiwanese aboriginal pop) that are sonically hybridized but essentially remain “ethnic”? (3) How does the collaboration of the two already-hybrid musical styles evoke a sense of indigenous hybridity, further expanding the meaning of indigeneity in East Asia?

To address these questions, I focus on the musical collaborations presented at a live concert between Taiwanese aboriginal and Okinawan musicians. One such instance is a 2015 concert titled *East Asian Roots Trip*, which was held in Okinawa, featuring Suming Rupi from the E'tolan tribe of the Amis people of Taiwan, and Kachimba, an Okinawa-based group. Described as “calling for the sunny wind and ocean from islands traveling the homeland through time and space,” this concert was one of the many performances in the H.O.T. Islands Music Festival—the acronym refers to three key locations of a putative cultural connection: Hualien (east coast of Taiwan), Okinawa Island, and Taitung (southeast part of Taiwan). The following section outlines some of the parallel experiences that contribute to the hybrid nature in their soundscapes.

Suming Rupi, of Amis origin, and the other Taiwanese aboriginal musicians (i.e. Yonlon Chen, Anu, etc.) are mostly from Taitung of East Taiwan and were born in the late 70s and 80s when Taiwan underwent a process of growing indigenous awareness and rights. At the same time, a thirst for Taiwan’s contribution to the global “world music” industry was intensified by Chinese and European musicians. One of such examples can be seen in Enigma’s *Return to Innocence* which was released in 1993, later selected by the International Olympic Committee in its promotional video for the 1996 Atlanta Games, and followed by an international lawsuit

based on the issue of musical cultural ownership (Guy 2002). Suming, like many aboriginal musicians, grew up in this paradoxical discourse in which a need for producing an ethnic sound was increased by fusing Western sounds with traditional music, promoted by a nostalgic feeling of losing one's identity and heritage. They performed and learned traditional songs in various national and international occasions with elders. They familiarized themselves with the music industry in Taiwan since 2000 and created hybridized music, like that created by Enigma but with a greater emphasis on cultural revival. For example, one of Suming's albums released in 2010 presents a musical style that is a combination of jazz, Latin, pop and traditional Amis songs.

Parallel to the aboriginal experience in Taiwan, *Uchinaa* (Okinawan) Pop music since the early 1990s has become popular in mainland Japan and abroad and perceived as Japan's contribution to "world music" (Roberson 2010). Today, *Uchinaa* Pop serves as a musical site through which contemporary Okinawa cultural identities are constructed, reflected and set in contrast to powerful national and international forces (ibid: 6). The group *Kachimba* was founded in 1998 with 10 members including two singers, a bass player, a pianist, two percussionists and three horn players. Drawing upon Cuban salsa and Okinawa folk song, they produced a form of hybrid music which became known as *Okinawasalsa* (or *Okinawansarusa*).

### ***Colonial Experiences and Indigenous Connections***

Concerning the differences of colonial experience in the region, I examine how these experiences intersect with the musical routes between Taiwan and the Ryukyus. These colonial experiences include three periods: 1) when Taiwan was colonized by Japan from 1895 to 1945, 2) when South Ryukyus were controlled by the Ryukyu Kingdom from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries,

and 3) when Taiwan and the Ryukyus are currently ruled by the ROC and Japanese governments respectively. These experiences have contributed to and influence the soundscapes of Taiwan and the Ryukyus. I regard the hybridized musical sounds as an encapsulation of the heritage of colonial powers, revealing the violence of imperialism, colonialism, and militarism to local social-culture spaces within the region.

In addition to these colonial experiences, I also examine indigenous connections between Taiwan and the Ryukyus, specifically focusing on the island of Yonaguni. In Yonaguni, like most of the regions in Yaeyama, there are two styles of traditional songs “yunta” and “tubarāma.” Pronounced as *dunta* (instead of *yunta*) and *tubarun* (instead of *tubarāma*) in Yonaguni, most of the traditional labor songs derive from two singing styles—one having an instrumental accompaniment (i.e. the Okinawan three-stringed lute, *sanshin*) with influences from the Ryukyu Kingdom and using traditional-Chinese influenced notation *kunkunshi*, and the other without any instrumental accompaniment or notation, a purely oral tradition that is considered the older of the two. This musical development implies a cultural penetration from the Ryukyu kingdom as the *sanshin* was introduced to Yaeyama from China through Okinawa. It came to be played by peasants as well as by the aristocracy in Yaeyama since the mid-19th century (Gillen 2012).

Besides the two singing styles, there are musical pieces, also known as “*dunta*” and “*Miti Sunai*” considered as two of the oldest among Yonaguni traditional musical pieces. While “*Miti Sunai*” is used to begin celebrations and events on Yonaguni Island, “*Dunta*” is performed as a completion of these events. While singing “*dunta*,” Yonaguni people physically connect with each other by holding hands and dancing in a spiral formation similar to that practiced in Taiwan (such as the Amis people’s dance during harvest season) and throughout the Pacific Islands. By

focusing on the two older styles of traditional musical pieces and their performative nature, I examine how the soundscape of Yonaguni was shaped by the Ryukyu kingdom since it was the last island subjugated by the political power from Shuri on the Okinawa mainland. I also hope to deconstruct layers of cultural imposition manifested by states in Yonaguni while arguing for an indigenous link with Taiwan.

My aim through these case studies is to show that there are not only constant interchanges between the two island groups in different historical moments but also to offer a way to rethink indigeneity in East Asia. Also, I highlight the presence of a migratory worldview in their musical productions. This migratory worldview is the way in which these islanders transition, cross, and negotiate the old and new, the ancient and modern, the rural and urban, and the indigenous and non-indigenous, creating “hybridized” musical genres and styles that are indigenously hybridized. The study further seeks to decolonize the present hegemonic definition of indigeneity, arguing that indigenous as marker has less to do with surface manifestations and more to do with the deep and long-held cultural lifeways (recognized or not) that confirm a quality of continuity for a people.

### **Researcher Positionality and Methodology**

A student of Taiwanese indigeneity in contemporary Taiwan, I received my master’s degree in ethnomusicology at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa (UHM) in 2012. During my years as a master’s and doctoral student, my academic career at UHM reinforced and expanded my previous knowledge on ethnomusicology, research methodology, and postmodern theory. I further gained a wealth of knowledge on Pacific studies, Chinese studies, Okinawa studies, gender studies, and members of the ethnomusicology community supported and inspired me to

conduct this project that explores a musical interconnectedness of Okinawa and Taiwan. Along with the emphasis on concepts such as traveling culture, island-centric history and migration, being in Hawai‘i contributes to my understanding of subalternity in light of indigenous and minority politics. Furthermore, Hawai‘i’s locality on the eastern side of Austronesian migration allows me to gaze back toward the origin of Austronesian population on the west side of the Pacific Ocean, creating a pathway between my current migrated space and an ancestral homeland.

My background as a Taiwanese who grew up at a time when local culture and indigenous rights became the center of political battleground informs the current process of self-identification. My father is of the first generation of Chinese immigrants who moved to Taiwan when the Chinese Nationalists lost mainland China to the Communist Party in 1949. My mother, on the other hand, is a local Taiwanese whose family experienced successive changes of political climate—from indigenous times to the Chinese Qing occupation in the 18th and 19th centuries to Japanese colonization (1895 to 1945) to the coming of the Chinese Nationalists since 1949. Thus, I position myself as a cultural hybrid of Taiwanese Austronesian, Taiwanese Han, and Chinese Han, having the ability to strategically navigate among any or all of the three identities. Furthermore, influenced by the oceanic locale of Hawai‘i, I see myself as an islander on the western edge of the Pacific Ocean critiquing contemporary politics of East Asia. Privileged by my island-traveling among Taiwan, the Ryukyus, and Hawai‘i, this project therefore serves as a way to unravel my personal background by expanding the meaning of indigeneity in East Asia, having the same intention as the Taiwanese aboriginal musicians who seek to connect with their island neighbors—Okinawans.

Finally, instead of debating whether the subaltern can speak or not (Spivak 1988), by focusing on these islanders' subaltern status, I believe that this project offers an understanding of how these subalterns do speak and how to listen to them speak. While unable to account for the experiences of all Taiwanese and Okinawans in these islands, the three case studies offer promising possibilities for understanding contemporary indigeneity in West Pacific/East Asia. This study provides an insightful understanding into the possibilities for these islanders to break down hegemonic fixity by articulating mobility for themselves in order to transcend colonial disruptions

### *Methodology*

In this section, I review recent theoretical developments around three major fields and how I will use them as lenses to examine the musical interconnectedness of Taiwan and the Ryukyus. These four fields provide the groundwork for this research: 1) identity and intersectionality, 2) globalization and hybridity, 3) indigeneity, Austronesia, and Pacific studies and 4) subaltern studies and affect studies. In each of these four fields above, I refer to significant case studies in ethnomusicology that have addressed and advanced these theories and issues. I then offer reviews of relevant literature in the fields of Okinawan and Taiwanese studies. Finally, I justify why my work on the soundscape of the Ryukyu and Taiwan is a substantial contribution to each of these areas and how it will stimulate future interest in the region.

### *Identity and Intersectionality*



In this section, I review some crucial theories that focus on identity construction with the emphasis of identity and intersectionality. Both Stuart Hall (1996) and Thomas Ericksen (1993) believe that the categories of identity and ethnicity are fluid and shifting. Hall states that identity may seem stable at any given time, but it is in fact always fragmented, incomplete and in process. In this dissertation, I see the identities and ethnicities of Taiwan and Okinawa as a result of historical process (through successive human movements) and as continually being constructed and negotiated today. I draw upon postcolonial theories (i.e. gender and queer studies) as lenses to understand power negotiation and these two island groups' marginality and intersectionality. Both Michel Foucault (1978) and Judith Butler (1990) see the construction of gender and sexuality as sites of negotiation. Butler further proposes a performative nature of gender to understand it in a specific cultural context. Also viewing identity and gender as performed, Gayatri Spivak proposes the concept of strategic essentialism (1988). Spivak's strategic essentialism also informs several important works in feminist, performance, and queer studies, including José Muñoz's *Disidentification* (1999) and *Cruising Utopia* (2009). In this project, I examine the ways in which Taiwanese aborigines and Ryukyuan strategically perform discrete essentialized identities as Taiwanese or Chinese and Okinawans or Japanese. I also argue for an islander tendency in creating an "indigenous" collective identity. Through musical performance, these islanders perform an indigenous identity that is fluid—not limited to fixed boundaries, and one that is both individually historical and collectively contemporary.

Although my study does not directly address issues surrounding gender identity in the region, I am inspired by the notion of intersectionality in identity construction discussed in gender studies. Both Suzanne Kessler (1998) and David Valentine (2007) argue for an attention to critically examine human intersectionality rather than seeing such as in a liminal status that

requires to be “scientifically” normalized—suggesting an ending moment for a transition. Johanna Schmidt (2010) examines Samoan fa’afafine within their indigenous gender system and the impact of Westernization, proposing seeing gender identity as migrated. All of them critique the scientific and binary thinking on gender and support gender variability. In my dissertation, I juxtapose the essentialized ethnic identities in East Asia (Chinese and Japanese) and the binary assumption about genders and human identities (heteronormative/homonormative, male/female, Chinese/Taiwanese and Japanese/Okinawan) to argue that hegemonies marginalize those who refuse to conform to these fixed categories. Thus I see identity construction in the two island groups as “queered,” “otherized,” and “exoticized” by East Asian hegemony. Instead of conceptualizing human identity as binary (i.e. Chinese vs. Taiwanese or Japanese vs. Okinawan), I argue for an indigenous and diverse approach to understanding identity construction and interrogate its marginalized status in East Asia/West Pacific. More importantly, I examine the ways island-centric migratory ideas like movement, navigation, or pathway contribute to variability in islander identity formation.

Many recent works in the field of ethnomusicology have addressed this discursive nature of music and how sounds are articulated as a way for negotiating one’s identity. In *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music* (1994), Martin Stokes suggests that through music, social boundaries and ethnic categories can be recognized, negotiated and transformed. Both Andrew Jones in his *Like a Knife* (1992) and Nimrod Baranovitch in his *China’s New Voices* (2003) adopt a complicated angle to look at the process of power and negotiation (i.e. imposed, resistance, and the interplay between the two) and argue that power is multivariate instead of either top-down or bottom-up. Offering a specific case for music and its relation to creating a space for empowerment, Deborah Wong’s *Sounding the Center* (2001) examines the Thai performance known as *Wai Khrun* and

shows that performing such ritual remains an important component of maintaining and producing a Thai identity in contemporary Thailand. In the article “‘Republic of China National Anthem’ on Taiwan” (2002), Nancy Guy focuses on one musical event, in which A-mei, an aboriginal singer, sings ROC’s national anthem at the presidential inauguration in 2000, and the resulting multiple interpretations of the performance. Guy highlights the various reactions to this singing through three discourses—Taiwan’s relationship to mainland China, the ROC’s relationship to Taiwan, and Taiwan’s cultural identity—and argues that the differing interpretations of A-mei’s singing illuminate the presence of not only multiple discourses but multiple realities in Taiwanese politics. James Roberson’s articles on Okinawan identity (2001, 2010) focus on Okinawan pop music and show that contemporary Okinawan identities are constructed, reflected, and set in contrast to powerful national and international forces. By examining musical narratives of Okinawan migration of departure and return, he also proposes a complex internalization of diaspora consciousness in Okinawan identity within Okinawa. In this dissertation, I hope to enhance the understanding of identity construction in marginalized communities, like Taiwan and Okinawa, in East Asia. By focusing on the interaction (including interactive improvisation) of these groups of island musicians, I argue for an emergence of a new form of identity that itself is both modern and indigenous to East Asia.

### *Globalization and Hybridity*

Arjun Apparudai’s *Modernity at Large* (1996) criticizes the concept of area studies and proposes a post-nation movement through media and technology. Using five ‘scapes—ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, financescape and ideoscape, he examines the interconnection of electronic media and transnational diaspora and their effects on collective

imagination and action. To Appadurai, there is a shift building on technological changes in which imagination has become a collective social fact and this development is the basis of the plurality of imagined worlds. The term “global post-modern” appears in Stuart Hall’s article “the Local and the Global” (1997), which he describes as an extremely contradictory space where post-modern culture as a global formation happens. To Hall, globalization is contested process during which it destroys identities of specific places and absorbs them into a post-modern flux of diversity (35). James Clifford (1997) intends to capture such trans-border movements by proposing the concept of routes and roots, believing diffusion of cultures is not in one homogenizing direction but through series of routes (i.e. migration, trade, tourism, and war) and establishing new roots (i.e. diaspora). In his work, culture should not be imagined as bounded, homogenous, and local, but as processes of encounter and exchange between people who both travel and stay home—traveling cultures.

In *The Location of Culture* (1994), Homi Bhabha focuses on the formation of an anti-colonial subjectivity and racial stereotypes, proposing the theory of hybridity to describe the pluralization of colonial discourse. To Bhabha, the claim of hybridity is useful to re-evaluate the assumptions of colonial identity—an ethnic identity that is/was constructed through colonial experience—and, it also shows the need to displace all sites of discrimination and domination. By focusing on these in-between spaces, he indicates that hybridity signifies a new construction of identity through innovative sites of collaboration and contestation. While Bhabha called this sentiment the “new” internationalism with which the move from the specific to the general, from the material to the metaphoric, in this dissertation, I intend to illustrate a sense of mobility in traversing between these domains, or the spaces of in-between-ness or liminality, that is both contemporary and indigenous to the region. Shaped by East Asian hegemony, this liminal status

of the two island groups is articulated to create musical productions that contain “ethnic” flavors. Often described as hybrid, the practice of incorporating something from the past, something from the present and something from the future in these islanders’ music is not only postmodern but also “pre-historic.” That is, in this dissertation, I treat musical mixing in the region not only as an artistic expression but also a conscious performativity of the past, showing that this sense of mobility in between domains lies in a historically physical migration and a metaphorical construction of culture.

### *Indigeneity, Austronesia, and Pacific Studies*

In East Asia, the discussion of indigeneity is often neglected and regarded as non-existent. In China, instead of indigeneity, many non-Han people are regarded as ethnic minorities (including Taiwanese aborigines). Although Japan’s recognition of its indigenous people has gradually increased (i.e. the acknowledgement of Ainu as Japan’s indigenous people), the people of Okinawa are never referred to as indigenous people. Ronald Niezen points out that the reason indigenous people in Africa and Asia face challenges to politicizing their status as indigenous is because these states are liberated from their colonizer (Niezen 2003). Likewise, James Clifford in *Returns* (2013) believes that the term indigenous is less relevant for most of Africa and much of Asia, where settler-colonial histories are not sharply defined, making it difficult to identify unambiguous “first peoples” (15). In this dissertation, I call to attention various forms of indigeneity in East Asia which are undermined by nationalistic agendas and state policies that promote a homogenous ethnic-national identity.

In *First People*, Jeffrey Sissons (2008) examines the rise and internationalization of indigenous identity and its recent expansion and confusion with the politics of ecology where

notions of eco-indigenism associate indigenous people with closeness to nature. He defines indigenous culture as “cultures that have been transformed through the struggles of colonized peoples to resist and redirect projects of settler nationhood” (15). Neizen holds a similar understanding of indigenism and believes that contemporary indigenous identity has been rearticulated and put to use as a tool for liberation that serves as a reconfiguration of enlightenment notions of identity, ownership, law and authority. Thus, I see the formation of contemporary indigenous identity as a form of politics of belonging to a range of attachments (i.e. places and/or communities)—rather than as an authentic cultural or biological identity. Proposing a similar understanding of contemporary indigenism, James Clifford (2013) suggests breaking down the contrast between colonial fixity and post-colonial mobility and between indigenous roots and diasporic routes because indigenous claims always transcend colonial disruptions. For Clifford, the assumption of diasporic mobility and traveling does not imply a loss of indigenous identity; instead this routing of cultures can expand what it means to be indigenous.

In this study, I assume both a postmodern and a historical approach to looking at the construction and the features of the musical mixing between Taiwan and Okinawa. Particularly, contemporary musics in both Taiwan and Okinawa that appear to be hybridized with native and foreign elements (i.e. western popular music) are often described as post-modern through processes such as deterritorialization and reterritorialization. While I believe such interpretation offers a great understanding of the modern popular music in the region, my research explores the presence of indigeneity in so-called postmodern musical products. That is, rather than seeing their music only as an articulation of a hybridized resistance in the face of imperialism, colonialism, and postmodernism, I argue for the presence of indigeneity in their musical

productions. While adopting theories of globalization and hybridity, I use the framework of Austronesia and Pacific Studies in order to identify a perspective that is simultaneously historical, indigenous, and postmodern. Instead of using Austronesia as an area based on linguistic criteria, I use the term as a concept to describe a migratory, fluid, and one of the earliest global movements in human history. By doing so, I avoid treating the cultural flow between Okinawa and Taiwan solely as contemporary; rather, it suggests a pre-transnational global flow that predates the terms “Taiwan” and “Okinawa” that denote fixed ethnic and national boundaries.

Ethnomusicologist Birgit Abels defines Austronesia as “the area where people who speak Austronesian languages...conventionally divided into Taiwan, the Malay Archipelago, Oceania, and Madagascar” (2011: 15). She also suggests that we situate “Austronesia” as a concept and, dynamic and versatile device of intersubjectivity that travels between individuals, communities, and geographically distant groups as well as across history. Describing Austronesian as culture-in-motion, Thomas Reuter (2006) highlights a salient metaphor of a path or journey—a trajectory of human movement through space and time—in Austronesian societies for the imagery of social space. In this dissertation, I will not only adopt global postmodern theories to address the movements between Taiwan and Okinawa but also will use “Austronesia” as a lens to carefully examine this sense of culture-in-motion and these indigenous pathways. Therefore “Austronesia” is an image of cultural flow rather than an older image of a stable and fixed system. Also, by using the metaphor of pathway, I intend to show how contemporary indigeneity in East Asia, specifically in Okinawa and Taiwan, can be articulated and, in fact, resides in this pathway.

In the volume *Sharing the Earth, Dividing the Land: Land and Territory in the Austronesian World*, Thomas Reuter indicates that “The idea of culture-in-motion, arising from

the interplay between time, place and human action, is thus the central idiom of Austronesians’ ‘models of’ their own societies, and of the cosmos as a whole” (2006:18). To Reuter, the most important metaphor in Austronesian societies is that of a ‘path’ or journey—a trajectory of human movement through space and time. In this dissertation, I adopt this notion of Austronesian *pathway* (such as *ala* in Hawaiian, *lalan* in Amis, and *jalan* in Indonesian) to consider the possibility that this hybridized genre is, in fact, informed by an indigenous migratory worldview. That is, despite the “hybridized” music style in these islanders’ musical productions, a sense of migration is the conceptual backbone that allows musicians to create and appropriate music that is sonically a hybrid of “indigenous” and “modern.”

To further foreground a Pacific sensibility, in my study, I see Taiwanese and Ryukyuan as islanders on the Western edge of the Pacific Ocean. I regard the two islands’ musicians as West Pacific islanders. In addition to the notion of Austronesian pathway, I use Pacific and oceanic metaphors (such as navigation), as the basic rationale to understand the musical interconnections and relationship between and shared between the two. The field of Pacific Island Studies, which sees island identity as migratory and fluid, encourages the direction of this study, offering multiple alternative understandings of indigenous cultures and histories in the region of West Pacific. Greg Dening in his *Islands and Beaches* (1980) focuses on types of contact and agents of change rather than a strict chronology to reconstruct a historical account of a century of interactions between Marquesans and outsiders. To Dening, history is currently performed and not in the past although modernity that seems to force people to believe the otherwise. His book *Beach Crossings: Voyaging Across Times, Cultures and Self* (2004) offers several useful metaphors to understand the performativity and interconnectivity of island history: *crossing*, *beach*, *voyage*, *way-finding*, and *deep time*. While *crossing* is used to describe



moments of encounter between the Self and Strangers resulting in the transformation of culture, the *beach* is where cultural transformation occurs. Way-finding is “the word that modern islanders use to describe their craft and the craft of their ancestors in piloting their voyaging canoes around...the Pacific...For a way-finder no knowledge, no image is stilled either in time or in space” (167). Along with the notions of voyage and navigation, I utilize these metaphors (as the trade winds) to describe the process of including different musical elements in creating a hybridized music among the two island musicians. I regard musical mixing as a form of way-finding while these musicians navigate between domains of time and space that symbolizes different musical elements. Also, through musical mixing, these island musicians voyage into their *Deep Time*—a historical consciousness of the past that is not divided by colonial interventions as the zero point that separates indigenous time into “pre-history” and history.

Concerning the issue of representation, ethnomusicologists have focused on defining the concept of music in a specific indigenous context. In *‘Are’are Classifications of Musical Types and Instruments* (1978), Hugo Zemp examines the ‘Are’are people of the Solomon Islands and their classification of four categories of musical instrument ensembles. He argues that the study of indigenous classification is a first step towards an understanding of what constitutes music for a society. Anthony Seeger’s study on the Suyá people in South America (1987) provides detailed ethnographic fieldwork and argues that music is part of the very construction and interpretations of social and conceptual relationship and processes. In *Sound and Sentiment* (1990), Steven Feld presents a musical ethnography of Kaluli people in Papua New Guinea by emphasizing a society’s ideas about music and its relationship to an indigenous worldview. David Hanlon in his article “Beyond the English Method of Tattooing” (2003) suggests a methodology that adopts new sources of historical expressions (i.e. songs, poetry, artifact, etc.) in order to propose a

history that is decentered from the place, people, academic criteria and institutional practice that remain essentially colonialist. Thus, in this study, I treat the hybridized music performed by Taiwanese and Okinawan as sonic embodiment that communicates a consciousness of the past and has become part of the metanarratives by the islanders on the West Pacific.

*Subaltern Studies, Affect Studies, and “Making Waves”*

Emerging in the 1980s, a group of East Indians who trained in the West wanted to reclaim their history. Aiming to retake history for the underclass and hoping to break away from histories of the elites and the Eurocentric bias of current imperial history, the Subaltern Studies Group was formed. They focused on the subaltern in terms of class, caste, gender, race, language and culture, suggesting that we need to find alternate sources to locate the voice of the subaltern historically. In this study, I see the southern Ryukyus and Taiwan as the subalterns in East Asia as their histories are still narrated by hegemonic powers (i.e. China and Japan) and unable to fall outside of the dominant discourse. More significantly, I define the indigeneity and subaltern status of these islanders in relation to post-settler contexts. Thus, these islanders’ marginalized status is a result of the expansion of nationalism and their inability to become post-colonial.

The primary leader of subaltern studies group was Ranajit Guha whose works mainly focus on peasant uprisings in India. In the volume *Selected Subaltern Studies* (1988), he argues that Indian history, whether colonial, national, Marxist, or neocolonial, has been written by the elite, about the elite, and for the elite and ignored “the people” or the “subalterns.” Gayatri Spivak further deconstructs how truth is constructed and criticizes the intellectual West’s desire for subjectivity in her influential article “Can the Subaltern Speak” (1988). She argues that

Western academic thinking is produced in order to support Western economic interests, wondering how can third world subject be studied without cooperation with the colonial project. Seeking to liberate the other and to enable that other to articulate outside of the dominant discourse, she proposes the concept of strategic essentialism—temporarily essentialized and bringing forward one’s identity in a simplified way to achieve a certain goal. However, Spivak answers negatively to her own question that the subaltern will never speak because Westerns’ inability to speak about and listen to the Other without reinforcing its own Western consciousness and values. In *Provincializing Europe* (2000), Dipesh Chakrabarty points out that the result of this imposition of European modernity was that third world nationalisms, most of which were modernizing ideologies, often rehearsed a European model as a necessary historical transition toward bourgeois individualism, modern law, and the nation. In this dissertation, I see the history of these islands, which is often written in Chinese or Japanese, as a form of epistemic violence. Thus, this knowledge about these islanders is not innocent as it expresses the interests of its producer for financial and other types of gain. These islanders’ lifestyles, cultural practices and musics are often shaped by the imposition of East-Asian civility and modernity.

Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1979) examines the injustices applied upon the Arab world in Western intellectual history. To Said, “knowing” and “being known,” or representing and being represented, is a colonial relationship. Thus, all knowledge produced in “the West” about “the Orient” is by nature distorted by the colonial relationship, no matter how sympathetic individual European might be to Asia. Kōichi Iwabuchi adopts this concept in analyzing Japanese politics in Asia, arguing that the asymmetrical and intensifying cultural flows between Japan and East Asia have to be configured within the historically constructed binary positioning between Japan and Asia, alongside Japan and the West. In *Becoming “Japanese”*, Leo Ching

states that identity formation in Taiwan is that of a triple identity: colonial (Japan), national (China), and local (Taiwan), pointing out that a sense of insufficient modernity was constructed and internalized during Japanese colonial policies (i.e. assimilation or *dōka* and imperialization or *kōmika*). In terms of Okinawa studies, Christopher Nelson offers a detailed ethnography in his *Dancing with the Dead* (2008), arguing for a commentary to confront violence applied to the islanders. He points out that the relocation of Okinawans from their own cemeteries has led to the dislocation of the dead from the everyday. However, the meaning of *eisā* today in newly created spaces away from where the ancestors are interred is about relocating their own past and reclaiming ancestral space through recreating their own dance.

Many ethnomusicological works have focused on enabling the voice of marginalized people. Edited by Timothy Cooley and Gregory Barz, *Shadows in the Field* (1997) concerns the issues of representation and ethnographic works to avoid colonialist modes of authority and exploitation. In *Speak it Louder* (2004), Deborah Wong interrogates interethnic contact and the role of “yellowness” in contemporary US. She argues that musical performance plays a role in constructing different Asian American identities and highlights the ways in which this audience reconstructs the meanings of these performances in order to negotiate their gender and ethnic identities in different contexts. In *Moving Away from Silence* (1993), Thomas Turino focuses on the practice of panpipe performance among the indigenous people in Conima and Lima, Peru, and its rural-to-urban movement due to social changes. Turino argues that although music is a social practice in rural Conima, the movement of music and the play of panpipe have become a symbol of a newly imagined and cultural identity amongst Peruvians—an expression of indigenization of urban culture amongst younger generations. In the volume *Making Waves: Traveling Musics in Hawaii, Asia, and the Pacific* (2018), the contributors treat musical sounds

as the most mobile human elements that cross national, cultural, and regional boundaries and see these traveling musics in Hawai‘i, Asia, and the Pacific as “making waves,”—that is, not only riding flows of globalism, but instigating ripples of change. Inspired by this notion of “waves,” this study addresses the ephemerality and forces of encounter discussed in affect studies. By emphasizing musical movements in the islanders’ concept in musical creativity and mixing, I hope to destabilize East-Asian hegemonic narratives toward culture, music, histories, and lifestyles in Taiwan and Okinawa. Finally, I see my study as part of Pacific history that engages with “the deeper past; that are bold, imaginative, and liberating...that look beyond the conventional lenses of contact, encounter, and colonization; and that embrace varied and distinctive ways of narrating, understanding, and conceptualizing the past” (Hanlon 2017:306).

### **Contribution and Significance**

Since the 1990s, ethnomusicologists have been increasingly using the notion of global interchange to study musical cultures. In *Subcultural Sounds* (1993), Mark Slobin examines the connections of local scenes as a transnational one, interacting globally, dividing it into three levels: superculture, subculture, and interculture. While superculture is described as hegemony, he believes that subculture and interculture are related to the possibility that multiple affiliations and identities can play an important part in people’s lives. In terms of superculture, Martin Stokes examines the history of the term “world music” as a fetishization of local flavor in *Music and the Global Order* (2004). He believes that we must understand this musical globalization that contextualizes those genres, styles, and practices that circulate across cultural borders as a colonial context. Both James Roberson’s article *Uchinaa Pop* (2001) and Nancy Guy’s *Trafficking Taiwan Aboriginal Voices* (2002) examine the similar issue of local sounds in a

global musical industry. Roberson suggests that the musically constructed image of Okinawan hybridity and difference must be understood within a set of Japanese national and global international political-economic dynamics. Standing from an ethical point of view, Guy argues for an attention to copyright laws in order to protect our informants and ethnomusicologists. In this dissertation, I highlight the similarities and differences between the musical-making processes in Taiwan and Okinawa in creating hybridized music and their global contributions to “world music” industry.

Drawing on a large body of theory and related literature plus using moments of musical exchanges between Taiwan and Okinawa, my dissertation contributes not only to the fields of study presented above but also to ethnomusicology. My work will advance theories of identity and cultural hybridity by showing that the increased claim of indigeneity in today’s East Asia is not only fluid and intersectional, but also it is, in fact, represented and constructed on a pathway that links multiple domains of times (past, present, and future), physical and metaphorical spaces. Also, supported by musical navigation, I propose a notion of indigenous hybridity premised on a spectrum in which its two ends are polarities of extremely traditional or indigenous, and, extremely modern or hybrid. By musically navigating between these polarities, they create waves of force that decolonize the two island groups’ pasts and presents while envisioning an indigenous relevant futurity.

I engage with both post-colonial theories of globalization, modernity, hybridity and subaltern studies, adopt Austronesian and Pacific cultural concepts, and probe sensitively into the framework that these East China Sea/West Pacific Ocean islanders use to understand the way in which different materials are appropriated in music-making processes. Moreover, I resist resorting to easy labels, such as Chinese, Japanese, Taiwan and Okinawa, for musical features

based only on the essentialized notion of sounds. Rather, I investigate deeply the meanings and indigenous notions of musical migration in music that appears to be hybridized. In the context of music in the regions of Taiwan and Okinawa, I suggest that there are passages of movements in the music-making process informed by centuries of indigenous migration, well before the advent of colonialism, imperialism and postmodernism. This migratory worldview is metaphorically articulated as a way for these island musicians to transition, cross, and negotiate multiple domains of times, spaces, and colonial fixities.

This project contributes to recent literature on ethnic minorities and indigenous identity in China and Japan as well as Austronesia. I seek to offer an alternative understanding of soundscapes among the islands of Taiwan and South Ryukyus that is both post-national and historical by highlighting the processes in which these islanders interchange, inter-(re)interpret, and inter-create musical ideas and production. Finally, my dissertation, which is multi-sited, is also the first ethnomusicological work in English to look at the musical interconnectedness of the two island groups. Seeking to decenter hegemonic narratives, through my dissertation, I expect that this project will stimulate future studies on indigeneity in East Asia and ethnomusicological works on sonically hybridized musical productions.

### **Fieldwork and Friendships**

For my dissertation research, I have spent more than six months in Okinawa and Yonaguni Islads and Taiwan from 2012 to 2016. Within the Ryukyus, I have spent a major portion of this time on Okinawa Island and Yonaguni Island, where I established a network of contacts and developed friendships. My previous fieldwork in Taiwan, including networking amongst aboriginal musicians, has enhanced my new discoveries in Okinawa and update in

Taiwan for an understanding of soundscape in these islands. On the Okinawa mainland, I worked intensively in institutional settings, particularly with professors such as Professor Junko Konishi and Susumu Kumada and graduate students from the Okinawa Prefectural University of Arts (沖縄県立芸術大学) and the University of the Ryukyus (琉球大学). Through these teachers and students, I was able to conduct interviews with musicians in Okinawa and Yonaguni Islands, ascertaining their connections with Taiwan and the way in which these musicians come to know Taiwan and its aboriginal musicians. Through Kamada, I met Yoshitaka Matsuda, a reporter and the author of several publications on Taiwanese diaspora in Yaeyama. I was introduced to one of his informants in Ishigaki and his family. While on Yonaguni, I met Yuu Yonaha, a Yonaguni-born cultural and educational liaison and musician.

The first portion of my fieldwork data comes from observations of and participations in musical events (i.e. rehearsals, festivals, rituals, lessons, live-show at bars, etc.) on Taiwan, Okinawa and Yonaguni Islands. In Taiwan and Okinawa, I examined the musical events and concerts in the H.O.T. Islands Musical Festival and focus on the musical collaborations among the musicians as well as the ways Pacific sensibility were invoked in the music-making processes. I have conducted interviews with these musicians and audience members in order to understand the politics of participation within this inter-island and coalitional formation and friendship. In Yonaguni, I have participated in events such as preparations for the annual harvest festival and musical activities within Yonaguni International Billfish Tournament and documented a contemporary soundscape of Yonaguni Island. Audio and video recordings of these events have been used for analyzing the musical interconnectivity between Taiwan and the Ryukyus.



The second portion of my data comes from historical documents and recordings, which I have collected from archives in the universities, public libraries, and personal collections. These institutions include libraries and archives in the Okinawa Prefectural University of Arts, the University of the Ryukyus, and Yonaguni Township library. These sources have provided important historical and native components to my study, showing the ways that understanding and discourses relative to the Ryukyus and Taiwan have changed at different historical moments.

### **Chapter Outline**

In this study, I examine several music-making processes in Taiwan, Okinawa Island, and Yonaguni Island as well as the musical collaborations between the two island musicians. By referencing the oceanic notion of reflective voyage, I use *musical navigation* to describe the mobility and traveling among different domains of musical styles observed during my ethnographic fieldwork. My personal journey began in my home-island, Taiwan, to examine ways in which a sense of Austronesian *pathway* is constructed and invoked. In Chapter 2, I focus on a concert titled “Meeting a Hunter at the Coastline” held in urban Taipei, highlight both the physical and metaphorical travels from rural to urban areas and from traditional to popular music styles in two Taiwanese aboriginal musicians. I use the term *accidental navigation* to narrative their musical journeys and the ways music is hybridized by imaginatively associating with the Others (as opposed to physically interacting with the Others). In Chapter 3, I travel to Yonaguni Island, a neighboring island of Taiwan, to examine an alternative form of a “Cross-Strait Relationship.” I use the term *purposeful navigation* to depict the making Yonaguni’s indigenous hybridity by focusing on one of the island’s “oldest” musical pieces, “Miti Sunai” or “Pathway of Coming Together.” Physically engaging with the Others (i.e. Taiwanese, Okinawans, and Japanese) at several crucial events held on the island, I foreground an indigenous pragmatic

attitude observed in the musical events that allow Yonaguni islanders to navigate among their political realities.

Departing from Yonaguni Island, Chapters 4 and 5 examine musical collaborations between Taiwanese aboriginal and Okinawan musicians. Focusing on a concert titled “East Asian Roots Trip” held in an archeological site on Okinawa Island, Chapter 4 uses an Okinawan stir-fried dish *chumpuru* (lit. mixed plate) as a metaphor to understand the musical mixing between the two islands. A collective navigation between the two islands’ musicians allows them to musically depart from their home islands, sonically engage with each other’s soundscapes, and travel toward a vaguely defined (improvisational) direction. This musical navigation is a mixture of accidental and purposeful voyages as this routing of cultures expands what it means to be indigenous on the western edge of the Pacific. Continuing the indigenous and coalitional relationships between the two island musicians, Chapter 5 examines the H.O.T. Islands Music Festival by focusing on the genesis of a song titled “Song of the Islands,” co-composed by both Taiwanese and Okinawan musicians with a multilingual text using Taiwanese Mandarin, Amis (one of the Austronesian languages in Taiwan), Japanese, and Okinawan. I use the Pacific metaphor of garland-making to depict the making of indigenous hybridity that affectively generates several decolonizing moments for the islanders to transcend the cultural and linguistic difference and envision a shared indigenous futurity. This study argues that musical mixing among the islands of Taiwan and the Ryukyus can be understood as indigenously-inspired pragmatism that embodies the flexibility and performativity of subaltern identity as it co-exists and negotiates within and against local, regional, national, and international hegemonic structures of power and control.

## **Chapter 2: Musical Navigation in Taiwan: Time, Space, and Indigeneity**

### **Being In Between**

The islands of Taiwan and the Ryukyus have always been in-between: geographically they are located at the crossing between land and sea, between the Asian Continent and the Pacific Ocean. The seawater that surrounds the two island groups is further divided into two respective regions: the East China Sea and the West Pacific Ocean (Figure 2.1). The rationale that designates these islands' belongings further separates Taiwan as part of Chinese cultural sphere and the Ryukyus as part of Japanese cultural sphere. However, a variety of experiences and realities of the islanders on Taiwan and the Ryukyus is historically and constantly cross-cultural. Being cross-cultural, Greg Dening has explained, "means entering that ultimate metaphor, translating others' metaphors into my own metaphor" (2004:99). These translations and transactions of metaphors are evidence of moments of encounter and cultural changes between the Self and Others. Signifying cultural transformation, encountering otherness thus can be performed, rehearsed, and re-presented as a series of metaphors that symbolize indigenous sentiments. These sentiments encompass a multiplicity of historical moments in different periods through forms including discovery, encounter, settlement, colonization, and post-colonial.



Figure 2.1 Taiwan, East China Sea, the Ryukyus, and West Pacific Ocean

As a result of settlers, imperial colonialism, and post-Pacific War construction, existing narratives about the islands group (Taiwan and the Ryukyus) on the West Pacific Ocean/East China Sea assume an essentialized notion of nation-as-regional-studies (i.e. Chinese and Japanese Studies). These narratives often neglect indigenous circuits among islanders that may have existed before historical time (i.e. the 15th century Ryukyu kingdom). This dividing moment between a Pre-contact or a Before (when an indigenous culture was in its archeological purity) and a Post-contact or an After of the encounter (when a series of hybridization occurs) freezes the island cultures of Taiwan and the Ryukyus in the ethnographic present. Privileging a Pacific sensibility, in this study I depart from these interpretations of indigenous cultures by using the notion of *Deep Time* (proposed by Denning, see Chapter 1) to understand the ways in which a consciousness of the past is performed and re-created. Rather than relying on

archeological evidence to scientifically imagine an indigenous past, I foreground the current performativity of this historical consciousness by investigating the music-making processes (both physically and metaphorically) of the island musicians in the region. Tracing the paths into their Deep Time, I use musical navigation as metaphor that signifies the mobility of traversing between musical styles and temporality of finding cultural identity in the reflection of otherness. I regard the act of musical mixing in the region as an oceanic consciousness that disrupts colonial fixation and hybridization as a sonic embodiment that represents moments of encounter between the Native and Strangers.

Being Taiwanese, my journey begins on my home-island of Taiwan to investigate this musical navigation performed by contemporary indigenous (i.e. Austronesian) musicians. Departing from the extreme localism which marginalizes the island's Austronesian cultures in its rural areas such as eastern, southwestern, and southern Taiwan, I consciously chose my encounter and documented moments of indigenous creativity in urban Taiwan—specifically the *Xinyi* district (Taiwan's equivalent of the United States' Manhattan). In this chapter, I focus on the notion of musical navigation, which stems from the incentive of departing from the indigenous home-island to newly discovered territories of musical styles. Narrating a musical journey, encountering otherness is represented by incorporating new musical elements—thus a hybridization of musical styles. I particularly focus on a concert called *Meeting a Hunter at the Coastline* featuring two Taiwanese aboriginal musicians who both relocated from East Taiwan to Taipei (from a rural to an urban area), representing musical navigation (both physically and metaphorically). As a result of Taiwan's occupation by the Chinese state and the pre-Pacific War Japanese empire, Taiwanese indigeneity has continually been defined and constructed in large part by various cultural policies, political agendas, and its Austronesian roots. The music in this

concert is a case in point for accentuating the role of these external forces in shaping a discourse of Taiwanese identity. By foregrounding an indigenous sensibility, I further explore how the idea of mobility has been central in defining identity, status, and relationship to time and space among the Austronesian musicians in contemporary Taiwan. Referencing the Austronesian concept of *pathway* I point out that this indigenous mobility is more than mere physical migration from an ancestral homeland to a new, distant, and foreign location. Rather, I argue that this notion of Austronesian *pathway* and its glosses are metaphorically appropriated by the two island musicians to navigate between domains to another in terms of time and space. This migratory worldview is the way in which aboriginal singers transition, cross, and negotiate the old and new, the ancient and modern, the rural and urban, and the aboriginal and non-aboriginal, creating “hybridized” musical genres and styles in contemporary aboriginal musics in Taiwan. By identifying features of such migrations, I offer an approach to understanding contemporary Austronesian cultures that appears “hybrid” in nature. Before discussing musical creativity and issues of indigeneity and hybridity, I first review how Taiwanese aboriginal identity has arrived at its present state illustrated by a Taiwanese national song competition.

### **Golden Melody Awards and Ethnoscape in Taiwan**

The current government of Taiwan, Republic of China (ROC), classifies its people into four major categories<sup>1</sup>: 1) the indigenous Austronesian language-speaking peoples known collectively as *yuanzhumin* (lit. “original inhabitants”), 2) Hoklo and 3) Hakka people who are the descendants of Han settlers from Southeastern China beginning in the seventeenth century

---

<sup>1</sup> A fifth category, known as *xinzhumin* (lit. “new inhabitants”), has been normalized in the recent years to label immigrants who are naturalized as ROC citizens through means such as intermarriage.

and known collectively as *benshengren* (lit. “people of this province”), and 4) the *Waishengren*<sup>2</sup> (lit. “people from outside this province”) or Mainlanders who came from multiple regions of China and followed the Nationalist Party (KMT) to Taiwan after the Communist take-over in 1949. Although currently there are 16 aboriginal groups that are officially recognized by the ROC government, collectively they are known as one ethnic category—while most of the Hoklo, Hakka, and Waishengren are self-identify as ethnically Han. According to the data of ROC’s Department of Statistics, the aboriginal people account for approximately 2% of the Taiwan’s twenty-three million people. To understand the historical process in terms of how an Austronesian Taiwan transformed into a sino-centric island, the following section briefly discusses the making of Taiwan’s ethno-scape and how it relates to the categorizations of musical genres in the Golden Melody Awards (GMA).

Awarded by the Ministry of Culture of Taiwan, the GMA is believed to be one of the most influential awards that recognize singers within the *Huaren* (ethnically-Chinese) area, especially for the Mandopop singers. Many Taiwanese believe that Taiwan’s popular music originated from *xiaoyuan mingge* or campus songs in the 1970s. Although the campus songs were created within university environments to promote the imagery of a healthy society, they were developed at the time when the U.S. switched its alliance to the PRC. Sung in Mandarin or commonly known as *Guoyu* (lit. “national language”), many of the campus songs thus raise a sense of ROC’s nationalism—thus patriotic and “pure.” These songs were commercialized not only to endorse the agendas of the pro-Chinese KMT government but also to lay a foundation for Taiwan’s popular music industry, especially the genre of Mandopop (Moskowitz 2016). Not surprisingly, at the first and second GMA in the late 80s, the songs that were awarded were are

---

<sup>2</sup> Both terms *benshengren* and *waishengren* suggest Taiwan as a province within contemporary Chinese territory.

all sung in Mandarin. After the lifting of martial law in 1987, popular music of the Han majority, most of whom are Hokkien speakers, was included in the awards. In addition to the awards for *Guoyu* singers, the GMA added categories for “local dialect” singers in 1991 whose first language are Hokkien or *Taiyu* (lit. “Taiwanese language”). While Mandopop reflects Taiwan’s international face, which aims to sonically represent the “authentic” Chineseness and Chinese modernity, Taiyupop, following the lead of Japanese *enka*, portrays rural life and focuses on working-class concerns, nostalgically recalling the Japanese colonial legacy. Based on this logic of linguistic distinction, in 2003, the GMA expanded the “Best Local Dialect Male Singer” and “Best Local Dialect Female Singer” awards into the four categories: “Best Taiwanese Language Male Singer,” “Best Taiwanese Language Female Singer,” “Best Hakka Language Singer,” and “Best Aboriginal Language Singer,” attempting to inclusively represent Taiwan’s multiculturalism. However, in this construction of multiculturalism, Austronesian cultures are classified into one glossed category, thus marginalized.

The population of Austronesian indigenous people in Taiwan is commonly thought to be located in the mountainous areas and *Houshan* (lit. “rear mountain”). The term *Houshan* refers to the eastern part of the island, including counties of Yilan, Hualien, and Taitung (Figure 2.2). Like the GMA, *Houshan* is sino-centric—depicting East Taiwan as the rear part of the island and representing the gaze coming from Taiwan’s west (i.e. mainland China). How was this gaze introduced to the imagining of Taiwan’s ethno-scape and how did it shape the grouping of Austronesian peoples?



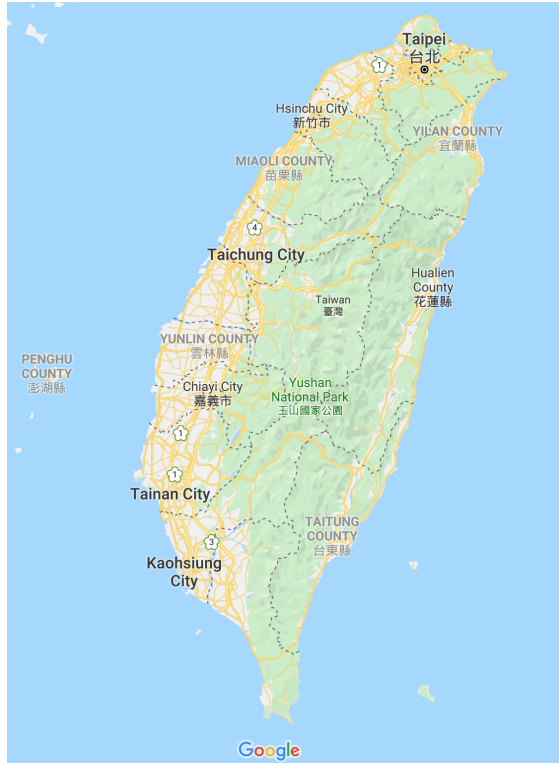


Figure 2.2 East Taiwan (Yilan, Hualien, and Taitung) as the Rear Part of the Island

Examining the ways Taiwan and its culture were imagined by early Chinese travel writers, Emma Jinghua Teng focuses on how these writings shaped Chinese Ming and Qing’s Taiwan policies. She writes:

Pre-Qing histories and geographies contained scant information about Taiwan: the name “Taiwan” did not even appear in Chinese sources until the late Ming. “Taiwan”, as such, was thus an unknown entity for the greater part of Chinese history...Taiwan had never sent tribute to China, even after Chinese traders had established a flourishing trade with the island in the 16th century. Taiwan was, therefore, outside the tributary system that played a significant role in maintaining the idea of a cosmographic world order—and hence, even further removed than the “Allied Barbarians,” who sent annual tribute to China. (2004, 42)

Here, the “Allied Barbarians” who participated in the Ming’s tributary system includes the Ryukyuan from the island of *Liuqiu*—indicated on a map (along with Japan) in the volume *Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Great Ming Realm* (1461). This map shows that Ming’s official

record had yet to use terms such as Taiwan to call islands on the East China Sea/West Pacific Ocean. The historical interconnectivity and relationship between Taiwan and the Ryukyus will be further discussed in the following chapters.

The Ming expedition to Taiwan began after a travel writer and literature, Chen Di, visited the island's western plain and released the volume *Record of the Eastern Savages (Dong-fan ji)* in 1603. Chen's view on Taiwan, as Teng argues, became the basic model for Taiwan's primitivism in Chinese writing, depicting an indigenous people lacking the very basic elements of civilization, such as wearing clothes, the ritualized etiquette of bowing, and a writing system. After defeating Koxinga (a Ming rebel whose army occupied Southwestern Taiwan and replaced the Dutch colony of the area), the Manchu Qing inherited such narratives and saw the island as a "remote wilderness" beyond the sea. Though at the periphery, Taiwan had officially entered China's map and the discourse of politics in East Asia. After the Qing gained control over West Taiwan, the indigenous people encountered a long series of waves of Han immigrants into their traditional territories. In 1722, the Qing instituted a boundary policy that treated Taiwan's Central Mountain Range as a barrier dividing the land and its people into the eastern "raw barbarian" (*shengfan*) land, and the western "cooked barbarians" (*sofan*) that deserved to be incorporated into the Qing's territory<sup>3</sup>. Social conventions were established to protect the Han immigrants and to civilize or *jiaohua* the barbarian through policies<sup>4</sup> such as adopting Confucius moral principles of social hierarchy. The raw-cooked policy had a crucial impact on the fundamental rationale for the indigenous cultures of Taiwan. For the indigenous people on the west, as Melissa Brown argues, Qing's economic and social policies had eroded boundaries

---

<sup>3</sup> I will not discuss another category *Huafan* (化番), which refers to the "raw" who later conformed to Qing's ruling.

<sup>4</sup> Becoming Han was not the primarily focus in the Manchu Qing when instituting cultural policy of civilizing the uncivilized.

between Han and the “cooked barbarians” who are known as today’s *Pingpuzu* or Plain Aborigines. (Brown 2004). Using the Central Mountain Range as a barrier, the eastern part of Taiwan was seen as beyond the boundary (*jiewai*), isolating “the raw” inside and behind the mountain. This two-dimensional perception naturally concludes Taiwan’s western plain as the frontier and its eastern part as rear, behind, the “other side,” therefore remote. The term *houshan* suggests that a sino-centric worldview of the island’s geography has gradually formed.

During the Japanese occupation beginning in 1895, not only was it the first political entity to gain total control of the island but also the colonial government introduced a social evolutionary and reforming approach, especially with their aboriginal policies. Affected by world imperial powers and inspired by the Meiji Reformation with the intention of modernizing Japan, the classification of Taiwanese people and aboriginal societies followed a racialized approach. The prototypes for Taiwanese ethnic and cultural identity were formed during this period, identifying the Han people living in Taiwan as Main-Islander (JP: *hontōjin*) and the native people as Savages (JP: *banjin*), which is an adaptation of the Chinese *fanren*. Compared to Western ethnographers in the 17th century who heavily relied on Chinese resources to categorize Taiwanese people, a more “scientific” classification of Taiwanese aborigines was established by the Japanese. Anthropologists such as INŌ Kanori, TORĪ Ryūzō, and MORI Ushinosuke initiated large-scale field investigations with the intention of creating a comprehensive classification and terminology system for Taiwanese aborigines. A naming system was developed and applied to aboriginal administration that was established for “civilizing” the aboriginal children. Eventually, nine essentialized aboriginal groups were officially defined and named, segregating the “raw” into nine groups, including Atayal, Saisiat, Amis, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, and Yami. Built on top of the raw-cooked system, Taiwan’s tribalism is

now scientifically refined and can be understood as a modern nation, being transformed from a peripheral part of China into an independent cultural entity with distinctive characteristics (Kikuchi 2007). Japanese schools with the intention of civilizing aboriginal children were founded and a group of “civilized” aborigines that represented a successful model were selected. After intensive field research about Taiwanese aborigines conducted by Japanese anthropologists, Japan decided to change the term for natives from the Chinese inspired *banjin*, which was perceived as discriminatory, to *Takasagozoku* (高砂族). In 1945, the Chinese Nationalists adopted this nine-group classification to define Taiwan’s aboriginal ethnicities, identifying them as 2% of the entire population of Taiwan, which did not include the Plains Aborigines. The classification and naming system developed by the Japanese was institutionalized at the political and administrative level when the government of ROC continued to apply the same nine-group aboriginal classification. Besides changing the name of *Takasagozoku* (高砂族)—or Mandarin pronunciation of Gaoshazu—into another generic Gaoshanzu (高山族) or “Mountain People,” the grouping system remained the same until 2001.

Indigenous movements in Taiwan emerged beginning in the 1980s, along with other political movements that aimed at getting the ROC government to loosen its political restrictions. Many aboriginal groups requested that the government correct the official classification and naming system, sought to revitalize native languages and traditions, and campaigned for the return of their ancestral lands in order to regain their cultural autonomy. Under this change of political climate, the government officially replaced the term “Mountain people” with the more respectful *Yuanzhumin* (“original inhabitants”) in the 1990s. In 2014, the number of groups in this system was further expanded to sixteen due to the growing awareness of indigenous rights and self-determination. While the “raw” was further divided into smaller ethnic groups that

represented Taiwan's indigenous cultures, most of the Plains Aborigines who were considered the "cooked" still remain unrecognized and are classified and essentialized as ethnically Han. The co-dependent Sino-Japan creation of ethnic classification system has become the foundation of cultural and social capital as well as the default imagery of Taiwan's ethno-scape. These fixed labels (as ethnic identities) can be further appropriated and re-purposed for hegemonic agendas.

Although the fact that power negotiations among the indigenous people within Taiwan may also contribute to the forming of this system, the Han/Aboriginal binary is imprinted in the GMA's categorization as musical genres, revealing the heritage of colonial powers. In the GMA's award system, only the categories such as Mandopop and Taiyupop, each representing different waves of Han settler-colonialism, are gendered, while the gender division is disregarded in the Hakka (a minority Han linguistic group) and aboriginal categories. Furthermore, based upon the Sino-linguistic distinction, Mandopop, Taiyupop, and Hakka-pop are considered three distinct award categories while the many Austronesian languages in Taiwan are merely classified within the category of "Aboriginal Pop." Jonathan Friedman writes, "Notions of globalisation, hybridisation, and creolisation, are socially positioned concepts that in their classificatory thrust say very much about the classifiers and much less about those classified" (2000: 269). I suggest that the classification system in the GMA not only reifies the subaltern position of Taiwanese aboriginal peoples but also exposes a colonial dismissive attitude that regards Austronesian cultures in Taiwan as simple and unchanging. This epistemological fixation as popular opinion is continuously supported and sustained by the dominant tendencies in the Sino-centric and ROC-defined narratives. Conceptualizing ethnicity, class, and gender as boundaries of structural relations, Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan are marginalized and confined within the contemporary politics of East Asia.

## **Navigating Across Domains**

It is apparent that the essentialized way to portray Taiwanese indigeneity is mainly constructed by non-native storytellers (i.e. Japanese and Chinese) through their border-crossings. From the early Ming travel writers to Japanese anthropologists, these narratives, though colonial, allow for potentially problematizing the various forms of social and cultural domination rooted in colonialism and imperialism, further challenging the notion of cultural purity (Sakamoto 2006). Based on the degree of Sinicization as a way to measure one's civility, the most important feature of Taiwan's ethno-scape began with constructing a distinction between the "raw" and the "cooked" for the Austronesians. This implied process of "cooking," which 1) suggests a possible cultural transformation of the raw through civilization and socialization, and 2) offers a potential for cultural consumption once cooked (Lévi-Strauss 1964). However, unlike food, the "cooking" process of the indigenous Taiwanese may be reversible, suggesting the flexibility of human agency and the capability of navigating between the identity domains of indigenous and non-indigenous. For example, Mellissa Brown has reported cases of Taiwan's Plains Aborigines shifting their identity from Plains Aborigines to Han and from Han back to Aborigine.

In terms of navigating between indigenous and non-indigenous music, songwriters like Tai-Hsiang Li (1941-2014) of the Amis has been influential in genres such as campus songs and Mandopop. The constructed boundaries that emphasize linguistic, ethnic, and cultural differences between the Austronesians and non-Austronesians (i.e. Han, Japanese, etc.) are constantly challenged and crossed, showing that this notion of "cooking" in Taiwan's context is more about one's level of civility and socialization rather than cultural identity. That is, this process of

cooking has affected the material domain instead of the spiritual one among the islanders (Chatterjee 1993). As Taiwan becomes a modern state, the indigenous people, including those who are labeled as ethnically “Han,” have been successfully imitating the superiority of Western and East Asian (i.e. Chinese and Japanese) skills in the material domain while preserving a distinct mark of cultural identity in the spiritual domain. The following sections discuss how the indigenous Taiwanese navigate (both physically and metaphorically) between the material and spiritual domains—strategically preserving their cultural identity by appropriating a sense of Austronesian mobility.

As anthropologist Thomas Reuter explains, “Austronesian-speaking peoples articulate their personal sense of belonging to particular places and lay claim to land or other territorial rights by invoking local histories of ancestral origins and migration” (2006, 11). Reuter’s statement suggests a premise in the Austronesian world that these island travelers and voyagers have nurtured a sense of cultural mobility developed through a series of migrations. How is the idea of culture-in-motion being articulated in the music-making process among the indigenous people? How is this Austronesian strategy appropriated by the indigenous people and to sustain a consciousness of selfhood and cultural identity? Finally, how is this cultural ethos as subaltern strategy enabling the Austronesian people to navigate between domains constructed by colonial Others and the indigenous Self? To address these questions, I use the Austronesian metaphor of “path” or “journey”; a trajectory of human movement through space and time”—such as in the Amis term *lalan* or the Puyuma *dalan*.

To further emphasize that this notion of boundary crossing is not limited to only the narratives of imperialism, colonialism, and globalization but also resides in this Austronesian ethos of “pathway,” I examine a concert called *Meeting the Hunter at the Coastline*

(*zaihaiianxianshang yujian lieren*). Held in 2013, *Meeting the Hunter at the Coastline* featured two aboriginal singers, Yonlon Chen, a Puyuma, and Gelresai also known as Shichuan Chen, a mix of Amis and Rukai ethnicities. This concert was one of a series of performances celebrating the grand opening of the *Songyan*<sup>5</sup> branch of the Taiwan bookstore Eslite in Taipei's *Xinyi* district—Taiwan's equivalent of New York's Manhattan. The bookstore is located in a part of a sleek twelve-story complex in the *Songshan* Cultural and Creative Park next to a former tobacco factory built by the Japanese colonial government in 1937 (Figure 2.1). Invoking a sense of indigenous mobility and migration, the concert's poster (Figure 2.2) shows that Yonlon standing in the dark gazing after Gelresai, who is walking the streets of a modern city. This mobility exemplifies what Reuter describes as the central idiom of Austronesian society—"culture-in-motion, which arises from the interplay between time, place, and human action, is thus the central idiom of Austronesians' 'models of' their own societies, and of the cosmos as a whole" (2006, 14). I consider how aboriginal music-making process could be inspired by this migratory worldview in three successive ways: 1) establishing an origin, 2) constructing a pathway, and 3) migrating to a new domain in terms of time, space, and even genders. I select five songs performed in this concert to exemplify the three movements in light of Austronesian mobility. I argue that Taiwan's aboriginal identity is an articulation of a hybridized resistance in the face of imperialism, colonialism, and postmodernism building upon a cultural ethos, which has been shaped through centuries of migration. Problematizing the claim that cultural hybridity is a postmodern outcome of globalization, colonialism and imperialism, this sense of migration—central to an Austronesian worldview—is metaphorically articulated as a way for aboriginal

---

<sup>5</sup> The term *songyan* derives from *Songshan Yanchang*, which literally means *Songshan* Tobacco Factory.



singers to transition, cross, and negotiate multiple domains of times, spaces and in some cases even genders.



Figure 2.3 The tobacco factory (left) and bookstore (right)



Figure 2.4 Concert poster for *Meeting a Hunter at the Coastline*

For the grand opening, the bookstore's theme focused on the notion of boundary crossing in the past and present times, using the mathematical sign of multiplication as icon. Thus, this

concert combines references to the albums of each musician—*Coastline* by Yonlon and *Hunter in Skirts* by Gelresai (Figure 2.3). To further contextualize the notion of time, two themes were emphasized during the performances of the bookstore’s grand opening: *kuajie* or crossing boundaries and *shiyen* or live performances, featuring 24 hours of nonstop performance. The bookstore’s initial issue of its magazine *Shiguang: Kuajie · Shiyen (Times: Cultural Fusion and Live Experience)* explains:

Within the river of life, it is a series of colorful and brilliant times that nurture the essences of arts, one after another, meandering endless eras of happiness... *Songyan* Eslite collectively combines spaces such cultural-and-creative bookstore, shopping mall, performance hall, and movie theater...gathering multiple points of views and embodying the wonderful feeling that is intertwined by experiences of cultural creativity, traveling, and life... We believe life can be reconstructed, patched, jointed, and infused. We believe in the multiplying of memories, elements, and experience is about to excite endless possibilities. We believe when time is gradually becoming full, abundant and radiant, an era is about to shine.



Figure 2.5  
Album Covers of *Coastline* (by Yonlon) and *Hunter in Skirts* (by Gelresai)

The term Cultural and Creative Industry or *wenchungchanye* was first coined by the Executive Yuan in 2002, aiming to “transform this historically-meaningful tobacco factory into a flagship base for cultural and creative industry in the huaren area.” While the concept of “cool Japan” as a form of national “soft-power,” which replaced its military domination after WWII, is circulating throughout Asia and the world (Iwabuchi 2006; Yano 2013), apparatuses like Cultural and Creative Industry have become strategic maneuvers in which the ROC government attempts not only to reclaim Taiwan’s modernity from Japan but also to battle against currently PRC-defined Chinese modernity. In this case, the area that combines the former tobacco factory, a symbol of Japanese modernity in Taiwan, with the newly built bookstore, a machine generating ROC’s cultural goods, is now named as the Songshan Cultural and Creative Park. The essentialized way of portraying Taiwanese indigeneity is widely recognized as the basic rationale in the production of aboriginal cultural goods such as T-shirts and keychains (with animated aboriginal dolls) and aboriginal teabags.

These commercial products are manufactured and then sold throughout *wenchung* hotspots in Taiwan including the *Songyan* Eslite Bookstore. Iwabuchi has coined the term hybridism to describe popular and consumer culture, referring to “Japan’s position ‘in and above’ Asia through its sophisticated ability of indigenizing foreign cultures” (2006: 22). Unlike Iwabuchi’s notion of hybridism, what I am arguing here is not Taiwan’s ability to indigenize popular cultural flows coming from the West, Japan and/or China. Rather, I suggest that although the surface level in the material domain indigenous culture can be shaped by global and popular cultural flow, hybridization (as a “spiritual” activity) sustains an indigenous identity in Taiwan.

## Meeting a Hunter at the Coastline

Emphasizing human agency, the *Meeting a Hunter at the Coastline* concert held in urban Taipei city symbolizes the mobility of indigenous encounter. By performing their musical navigations, the two indigenous musicians not only narrate the accounts of their personal musical journeys but also sonically embody the process of crossings between cultures. The performing stage of this concert is a temporary one, set in front of the film and photography book section at the fourth floor of the building—suggesting the momentary and ephemeral nature of each indigenous encounter. As I entered this space, the abundant displays—from the books on Hayao Miyazaki’s film to the little shops that sell exquisite Taiwanese tea—demonstrate the intended idea of “multiplied” sensations like any cosmopolitan city. When I glanced around the area, I notice that this version of multiculturalism was invoked by the Chinese notion of *wenyi qingnian* or cultured youth—a term used to describe people who regard themselves as being outside the cultural mainstream, similar to the notion of hipster. Unlike the commercialized aboriginal cultural villages in Taiwan, the two musicians did not present themselves in traditional costumes throughout the performance. Rather they both wore t-shirts and jeans, assuming an urbanized identity. The temporary stage was set facing the audience and behind the audience seating there was the CD section of rock, alternative, and non-mainstream music where most contemporary aboriginal musicians’ albums can be found. Suggesting a hegemonically defined musical genre, an album that combines modernity and indigeneity is considered non-pop but culturally and creatively hybridized with aboriginal elements—marketed for the cultured youth. Throughout the concert, although some songs were sung in the Austronesian languages, the musical style reflected the effects of globalization—fusion music with a timbre culturally and sonically hybridized. Based on its presentation, some may consider this performance as a way for

Taiwanese aborigines to “sell out” their identity for commercial gain in the market-driven musical industry. However, others may consider such musical adaptation as a way to express aboriginal resistance in contemporary Taiwan. In this particular moment of time and space, I depart from the hegemonic understandings of Taiwanese indigenous cultures by foregrounding a Pacific and Austronesian mobility. Privileging a sense of musical navigation, I suggest that these two indigenous musicians are traversing between domains of the old and new, the raw and the cooked, rural and urban, traditional and modern, and native and non-native.

Yonlon opens the concert by singing two aboriginal Amis tunes, both using vocables (e.g. *ho, hai, yan*, etc.) as lyrics. The use of vocables is now known as a sonic marker of indigenous singing in Taiwan though such technique traditionally was found mostly in the Amis and Puyuma songs. At the beginning of the first song, the guitar as accompaniment enters after Yonlon delivers three singing phrases *acapella*. Although sitting in the audience facing Yonlon, I still could hear the music played by the bookstore through its public speakers, blending with his singing. The sentiment of this sonic blending perhaps is best described in one of his album’s self-introduction: “Born in the Puyuma’s Nanwang Village, he travelled to northern Taiwan to complete his university education and is today a unique mixture of urban dweller and indigenous Taiwanese”—signifying a cosmopolitan soundscape with an indigenous voice (Turino 2000). Although the bookstore, along with the adjacent Japanese-built tobacco factory, symbolizes a power and cosmopolitan center, it is this indigenous traveling that enables the sharpest contrast to cosmopolitan forms. Yolon explains, “since childhood these two songs are the ones that I learned from my mother and other elders in my hometown [Taitung] and I kept singing them since then.” During the singing of the aboriginal songs, the screen in the background projected pictures of rural life in Taitung, such as a view of the Pacific Ocean, the coastline of East

Taiwan, and the *Balaguan*—a gathering space for Puyuma men. Capturing moments of hometown lifestyle as a contrast to the present and cosmopolitan time and space, these indigenous sites are collectively and successively presented to invoke a sense of origin.

The second song that also signifies a sense of origin is called “Swing Naluwan.” Rearranged from a translocal Amis song circulated among indigenous groups in Taitung, East Taiwan, this tune was also appropriated by the ROC government in the 70s and renamed as “Taiwan Hao” (Taiwan is Good) with Mandarin lyrics written by Jianlun Luo that express an anti-PRC-communist sentiment and patriotism towards the ROC. Returning to the original lyrics that use the indigenous vocables, Yonlon’s “Swing Naluwan” is accompanied by acoustic guitar, presenting an uplifting and soothing musical style. He explains the context of this song:

Anyone who grew up in an aboriginal village at that time knows how to hum this song, and every time this song was played the women of my village would form a circle and dance a few simple steps in unison. To this day, the song continues to conjure up strong memories of summertime in the courtyard before my aunt’s house in the old village. I miss that little yard in front of our house, too, with the scent of drying grains lingering in the air, the tropical almond tree almost the same age as me, and the rich laughter of the women of our village. The memories along are enough to make me want to swing to the rhythm of the music.

Inspired by his childhood memory, these indigenous senses expressed by the tune of “Swing Naluwan” are interconnected, translated into physical movements, and re-presented in the concert. Close to the end of “Swing Naluwan” Yolon sang, “I ya ho hai ya,” and then signaled the audience members to repeat the same phrase together, forming a call-and-response. He soon commented, “oh you are all indigenous people!” After he concluded the song, he humorously asked, “which ethnic group are you?” Initiating a call-and-response singing with the audience not only transforms this presentational performance into a participatory musical activity but also emphasizes music’s role in creating one’s self and cultural identity (Turino 2008). When transitioning into the call-and-response section, the distinctions between musician and audience,

indigenous and non-indigenous, and the Self and Others were blurred. Yolon as a leader and as the narrator of this participatory music calls for an attention to the indigenous voice—pushing the music from the bookstore’s public speakers to the rear. At this particular moment of “being in the groove” (Keil and Feld 2005), the indigeneity defined by Yolon is more inclusive—recalling his indigenous/urban memories and positioning indigenous lifestyle at the center of musical pleasure. Rooted in local experience, this pleasure is imbued with movements such as the “swing” (inspired by the indigenous dance) and the translocal journey stemming from his rural to urban traveling in Taiwan. The contesting inquiry into one’s cultural identity only appeared after the *groove* as he confronted the audience’s indigeneity. Although the question “which ethnic group are you” may resonate with the Sino-Japanese construction of ethnic and cultural identity, it also highlights the transformation as indigenous encounter or “meeting a hunter.” Thomas Turino writes that terms such as “traditional” and “modern” were “adopted from cosmopolitan discourse to make sense of new local conditions created by colonialism and later nationalism” (2000:32). By performing a series of indigenous sensibilities, Yolon transcends a fixed notion of indigeneity by critically engaging with the current ethnic classifications in Taiwan, offering a possibility of transmitting these senses for coalition formation. I will further discuss this notion of indigenous alliances in Chapter 5.

After establishing an origin by singing songs about his hometown, he performed a series of newer compositions selected from his 2012 album, which was nominated for the “Best Mandarin (*Guoyu*) Song of the Year,” the “Best Song Writer,” and the “Best Lyrist” in the 2013 GMA. *Coastline* contains a selection of Yolon’s favorite songs including the Mandarin classical song *Jiaowo Ruhe Buxiang Ta* (How Can I Help but Think of You), Taiyu-pop songs, and rearranged traditional songs about the ancestral homeland of the Puyuma Aborigines.

Representing Yolon's musical journey, the album *Coastline* encompasses a series of historical memories and indigenous experiences from his homeland to relocated urban Taipei. Here, I am more interested in Yolon's interpretations of these newly composed or rearranged songs, especially ones that he included in the concert. Defining his musical style as "new classical *minge* (folk)," he explains these pieces contain "nostalgic sentiment, new injury, oceans that are close and far, and recalls from mountains and seasons," resonating with the idea of culture-in-motion that navigates between the old and new, traditional and modern, and Native and non-Native. During the concert, the migrating moment is when Yolon began to sing the title song "Coastline," which is a newly composed piece by Ziheng Li and sung in Mandarin with acoustic guitar as an accompaniment. The lyrics of "Coastline" are about a traveler leaving his hometown and entering a foreign land. Phrases in this song such as "the unfinished and rugged path from yesterday is already a bright scenery before my eyes" could invoke the Austronesian sentiment of "our pasts before us." When asked the meaning of the song "Coastline," he explained:

Coastline is a place [where] everyone can arrive. This coastline perhaps is in Taitung but why not in Hawai'i or the Mediterranean Sea? In everyone's mind, there is always a coastline, there is always a *Dawu* Mountain, and there's always a Formosa. (Personal Interview 2014)

His interpretation of "coastline" is a metaphorical one, urging a transcending of its literal meaning. The concept of coastline is used as a pathway to link multiple domains of time and space, in this case, starting from the mythical place of Puyuma origin, the *Dawu* Mountain, to a foreign space, the Mediterranean Sea. Although the lyrics are in Mandarin, a sense of pathway is established through an aboriginal reading of "Coastline." Using the economic and colonial language as a way to satisfy a public need, the spiritual domain is preserved by reinforcing an island-centric worldview. I suggest that this oceanic reference to coastlines is (re)-appropriated and (re)-presented as an aboriginal pathway to link places and times.



Signifying a transition to the second half of the concert and the moment of “meeting a hunter,” Yonlon later performed in Gelresai’s first song by harmonizing while playing the African djembe to accompany Gelresai. Referring to origin, Gelresai’s first song also comes from his home village, Taromak—one of the Rukai Aboriginal villages in Taitung. Sung on occasions such as gatherings or the harvest season, this song is on the first track of his album *Hunters in Skirts* or *Kowa ni Taraalo’o Siya Labiti* (lit. “that hunter in loincloth) in the Rukai language. Although the lyrics are composed in the Rukai language, in Gelresai’s rendition the musical style, according to him, is British rock. Suggesting a hybridized musical style, this song has another title in Chinese called *yinglun lukai* or “British Rukai.” Before the traditional Rukai song, it is opened with a bagpipe solo and then followed by an introduction in Britpop style. When asked why it is titled as such, he replied, “this song is inspired by the Scottish who also wear a skirt like us and their bagpipe sounds similar to our nose flute which generates melody with an underlining drone” (Personal Communication 2013). That is, both the cultural object and sounded performance inform a version of indigenous worldview in “British Rukai.” The so-called “skirt” is a reference to the *labiti* or Rukai loincloth, and the “bagpipe” is derived from the Rukai nose flute. Unlike other forms of nose flute in the Austronesian area, the Rukai nose flute, as well as Paiwan’s, consists of two bamboo tubes—one with finger holes and one without. Thus, playing the Rukai nose flute requires both nostrils, simultaneously manifesting two melodic lines: one melody on the higher register and one “reiterated drone.” This duality or twoness, where one instrument can produce two or more than two pitches, is a unique sonic feature that can be commonly seen among Austronesians, such as with the Hawaiian ipu and the Kalinga balimbing. In the case of Gelresai, a Rukai aesthetic value is preserved through an indigenous listening and reading of the Scottish bagpipe sonic feature and clothing.

By equating the marginalized Scottish in the UK to Taiwanese aborigines in this Chinese state, Gelresai's "British Rukai" effectively separates itself from hegemonic narratives. While preserving a distinguished ethnic identity, origin is the indigenous element being invoked not only to explore new territories and physical space but also to invoke new musical genres and styles—a much more subtle reference. In this version of musical navigation, I argue that the sonic migration takes place here because a song about origin migrates to a newer and foreign musical style. Therefore, defining a Taiwanese aboriginal tune is not limited to its sonic features alone but also encompasses the processes of expanding, transitioning, and combining musical styles to establish a sense of migration. Moreover, the commercialized materiality of popular musical sounds and cultural icons serves to preserve indigenous spirituality and sensibility.

Gelresai later performed the title song of his album, "Hunter in Skirt." This song is in a tango-esque style with instrumentation including accordions, guitars, and violins along with clapping and whistling. The song describes a hunter traversing in between domains of traditional knowledge, such as building a Rukai swing, distinguishing the genders of stones, and playing the nose flute. During his performance, the Chinese translation of this song projected on the screen used the character for she (她) to refer to this hunter who possesses abundant traditional knowledge but at the last line of the song states "the hunter is the most beautiful man I've ever seen."

In an interview, Gelresai explained: "There is no gender distinction in my language while referring to third person. You can play with the Chinese translation but that doesn't change the original meaning in Rukai. Also, [Rukai] men often wear skirts as traditional clothing, which contradicts the image that only women should wear a skirt. Of course, this is not about physical differentiation of gender but more about the appearance" (Personal Communication 2014).

By emphasizing Chinese language as gendered, Gelresai played with the audience's stereotypical expectation of aboriginal hunters as physically male. His hunter is therefore culturally (as opposed to physically) both male and female. Culturally non-gendered, Gelresai's hunter is strong and knowledgeable simply as an *omasa* or a Rukai person. Here, I suggest the Austronesian mobility of crossing domains applies to crossing hegemonically defined genders as well. In migrating from an old domain to a new one, Austronesians integrated an ethnically defined social status into a gender-conscious hegemony, highlighting the possibility of contesting externally constructed gender domains.

### **Concluding Thoughts**

In this chapter, I first examined how knowledge about Taiwan including its multiculturalism, indigenous classification and naming system can be viewed as a construction of hegemonic narratives and a result of East Asian historical writing. Taiwan's indigenous people are now viewed as one of the 55 ethnic minorities in the PRC and make up approximately 2 percent of ROC's entire population. Foregrounding an Austronesian sensibility and the notion of *pathway*, I then investigated the concert *Meeting a Hunter at the Coastline* held inside a bookstore and argued that the encapsulated meanings of Taiwan's past are transformed into new meanings and re-framed by various East Asian and global hegemons. The locale currently named as Songshan Cultural and Creative Park is appropriated by the ROC government to establish a soft-power empire and cultural creative industry for two reasons: 1) re-claiming Taiwan's modernity from Japan and 2) constructing a ROC-defined Chinese modernity against the PRC's. Idealized ethnic identities for aboriginal Taiwanese are seen as elements, inspirations, and cultural creativities for commercial products. Like workers who labored for the Japanese-built

tobacco factory in the early 20th century, two indigenous musicians, Youlon and Gelresai, are the cultural workers who manufactured ROC's cultural goods and modernity in 21st century Taiwan. Although some may refer to the two aboriginal musicians' music as commercialized, I suggest that the music-making process and rationale of this concert are informed by centuries of Austronesian migration, well before the advent of colonialism, imperialism and postmodernism. This sense of migration is metaphorically articulated as a way for aboriginal singers to transition, cross, and negotiate multiple domains of times, spaces and genders. Unrelated symbols—the *Dawu* Mountain and the Mediterranean, the tango and a hunter's skirt, or Scottish bagpipes and the nose flute—masquerade as discontinuities at first glance. However, by privileging Taiwanese aborigine's Austronesian roots, I view the practice of incorporating multiple musical styles as manifestation of an Austronesian concept of pathway whose goal is: 1) to establish an origin, 2) to construct a pathway, and 3) to narrate the process of migration. These strategies of musical hybridity are germane to the aborigine's sense of self as it is linked to a deep Austronesian resonance for contact and cultural inclusivity. To understand Taiwan's indigeneity is to comb through a series of encounters and boundary crossings.

Dening writes: "This wet stretch between land and sea is the true beach, the true in-between space...it is a sacred, a *tapu* space, an unresolved space where things can happen, where things can be made to happen. It is a space of transformation. It is a space of crossings" (2004: 16-17). Like the "beach" metaphor, the Taiwanese "coastline" equivalent allows the two indigenous musicians (as well as myself) to escape the tunnel vision of an island topography and to discover the many ways in which there are liminal spaces and times in life. Invoking a sense of encounter, this coastline is where mountains meet ocean, where crossings of cultures and lives are (re)enacted, and where musical navigation occurs. If the "beach" is a space where crossings

happen, then the appearance of a “coastline” is an outline that encompasses multiple beaches as crossings that transition among transformations of time and space. Thus, such a coastline cannot be viewed as a straight line; nor it is one-dimensional. This coastline is a hybridization of interwoven encounters that occur in multiple times and spaces, signifying the notion of indigenous mobility. Through this indigenous mobility, the outline that encapsulates a multiplicity of crossings is constructed by the interconnected moments between the Self and Others. By navigating between musical styles of the Self and Others, being Austronesian and Taiwanese aborigine has less to do with what is shown on the outside and more to do with the long-held cultural ethos, sentiments, and lifeways that ultimately maintain their continuing quality of Austronesian-ness. In the next chapter, my journey enters the Ryukyus islands to capture moments of encounter and indigenous performativity among these “southern islanders.”

### **Chapter 3: Purposeful Navigation: The Soundscape of Yonaguni Island, Okinawa**

#### **Purposeful Navigation**

A distinguishing feature of the music-making process among the islands on the East China Sea/West Pacific Ocean is the emphasis placed on the notion of pathway and mobility. From my previous discussion of a “musical navigation,” the two Austronesian musicians imaginatively and metaphorically transition, cross, and negotiate between multiple domains of time and space in creating a hybridized music: a sonic mixture of the Self and Others. Transformed into new possibilities, the seemingly irrelevant materials (i.e. the Mediterranean Sea and Scottish skirts) are articulated and combined into continuities of a musical literature which is understood by the island musicians as a process of “meeting a hunter at the coastline.” In this type of musical navigation, without reference to other islanders, the only sonic materials that are accessible to these musicians are those of the cultural Self (i.e. ancestral homeland and traditional knowledge). Furthermore, without having an ultimate destination, the focus of this musical journey is not about reaching the coda; rather, it is about constantly positioning the Self in a series of encounters. To these island musicians, imagining Others is entirely subjective, decontextualized from original meanings, and sometimes overarching. In this chapter, I introduce another type of musical navigation with a destination that is purposefully included as part of the island’s daily life. In a purposeful navigation, physically being present with Others can be quotidian and thus they can be imagined as an extension of the Self. Although, in this type of musical navigation, having a series of cultural encounters through finding an indigenous pathway and utilizing mobility is still requisite in the music-making process. The intensity of a musical hybridization can be subtle and less dramatic. To understand the making of a cultural hybridity

within an island community that has a clear reference to the others, I travelled to Yonaguni Island, the westernmost island of the Ryukyu archipelago, located only a hundred kilometers off Taiwan’s east coast. From the western edge of Yonaguni Island, Taiwan’s mountains are clearly visible on days with fine weather (Figure 3.1). With an island neighbor in such close proximity, how do Yonaguni islanders include Taiwan in creating their cultural hybridity and further reifying a form of indigeneity? With this question in mind, this chapter provides a survey on Yonaguni’s soundscape.



Figure 3.1

From Yonaguni Island, Taiwan’s mountains are clearly visible on days with fine weather

### **Yonaguni Island**

Yonaguni Island, which I will also refer to by its older name, Dunan, was the last territory conquered by the Ryukyu kingdom in 1510. Following the dissolution of the Ryukyu kingdom and its annexation into the Japanese nation-state in 1879, Yonaguni is now marketed for tourism as the “westernmost island of Japan” (*saiseitan no shima*). This slogan has been used

to label almost every object throughout the island. From manhole covers to grocery shops, this slogan plays into the tourist imagery of living on a remote island that is peripheral to the Japanese mainland. *Saiseitan no shima* is also a constant reminder to the local residents that they live on the border of Japan. One of the island's most well-known tourist attractions is the Yonaguni Submarine Ruins (JP: *Yonaguni Kaitei Iseki*). Discovered in 1987, the ruins have a platform-like or partial step-pyramid-like structure, and it has been compared to various pyramidal and temple structures in the Americas (Schoch 2000). Although scholars, such as Patrick Nunn (2009), have studied the formations and concluded that the ruins are formed by natural processes, hypotheses centering around the existence of an ancient civilization dating around 8,000 BCE have drawn international attention. While conducting my ethnographic fieldwork on the island in 2015, a film crew of the History Channel's *Ancient Aliens* was shooting the underwater ruins and later produced an episode called "Japan's Atlantis." Thus the narrative on Yonaguni Island has been focusing on ancient mysteries distanced from Japanese cultural capital and homogeneity.

Politically, Dunan—the westernmost part of the Ryukyu archipelago and close to Taiwan—is a site of entangled realities resulting from its historical and global interconnections arising from a history of militarism, imperialism, and colonialism. Its history and locality embody a series of political anxieties on three levels: international (Japan, Taiwan, China, and the US), national (Japan and Okinawa) and pre-national (Dunan and the Ryukyu kingdom). Each of these anxieties not only contributes to the island's liminal status but also informs the ways in which islanders articulate, perform, and hybridize their cultural identity. In this chapter, I use the soundscape of Yonaguni Island to examine these realities and to problematize related political anxieties. By foregrounding a Pacific sensibility, I offer a perspective that departs from previous



interpretations that depict Yonaguni islanders and their cultures as mysterious, endangered, and hybridized as a result of Japanese political marginalization. I redraw the island's experience (historical and contemporary) through cultural intimacy with its neighboring islands (i.e. Taiwan) to metaphorically narrate a purposeful navigation. By identifying a pragmatic attitude on the part of islanders, I focus on the indigenous reactions and decisions based on hegemonic appropriations in the island's cultural politics. I suggest that such pragmatism embodies the flexibility and performativity of subaltern identity as it co-exists and negotiates within and against local, regional, national, and international hegemonic structures of power and control among the islands on the East China Sea/West Pacific Ocean.

Specifically my analysis centers around one of the island's "oldest" musical pieces, "Miti Sunai" or "pathway of coming together" (See Transcription 3.1) and the ways it is appropriated on three occasions: 1) a launching ceremony for a boat project designed to revitalize a pre-historical and an indigenous connection between Yonaguni and Taiwan, 2) during a protest against the deployment of Japanese Self-Defense Forces or SDF (JP: *jieitai*) onto the island, and 3) a celebratory concert in the island's annual Billfish Tournament. Treating these three occasions in which "Miti Sunai" is performed as three cultural crossings (Denig 2004), I highlight the changing claims and performativity of "Miti Sunai" in three different contexts and point out that the notion of indigeneity is neither static nor essentialized. I argue that the reoccurrence of "Miti Sunai" embodies Yonaguni's shifting nature of indigeneity through cultural mixing. This hybridity serves as an indigenous critique that decenters the hegemonic narratives imposed upon Yonaguni's culture by displaying a mixture of political realities—simultaneously speaking against its colonial past, critiquing its subaltern present, and envisioning its indigenous future.

At present, Dunan is administratively considered as a part of Okinawa's Yaeyama region; historically its peoples did not think of themselves as Yaeyaman. In fact, terms such as *Damatu* (Yaeyaman) and *Un'natu* (Okinawan) are still used to refer to people from Yaeyama and Okinawa Island—as opposed to *Dunantu*—the term used to describe the island's indigenous peoples. Interestingly, the term “Taiwan” (a sinicized name that was derived from one of the island's western Austronesian languages in the 17th century) was only introduced to Yonaguni Island through Japanese colonialism in the late 19th century. Given the cultural diversity of this region of the West Pacific and the primacy of orality in the local presentation, preservation, and transfer of historical knowledge, how Taiwan was addressed and named by Dunan natives before Japanese and the Ryukyu kingdom's control still remains unclear. The earliest ethnography of Yonaguni Island was written by three Korean castaways from Jeju Island in 1477. With the rise of Okinawan studies among Japanese scholars beginning around the late 19th and early 20th century, anthropologist Takeo Kanaseki hypothesizes a relationship comparing Yonaguni culture with Indonesia and Melanesia based on archeological discoveries. Today, Japanese studies on Ryukyu archeology has generally recognized two periods of human migrations that constituted Yonaguni's “pre-historicity”: 1) the first stage dating from 4000 to 2500 years ago with human migration primarily from Taiwan and South China, and 2) the second stage (from 2400 years ago to around the 12th century) believed to be influenced by cultures of the Philippines and the South Pacific. Although these studies have assumed an inherent cultural hybridity based on a Japanese nationalistic agenda thus disregarding Yonaguni's indigeneity, they correspond with the latest research on the Austronesian dispersal. In the article *An Austronesian Presence In Southern Japan: Early Occupation In The Yaeyama Islands*, Glenn R. Summerhayes and Atholl Anderson argue, based on the shared characteristics among their potteries and adzes, that the earliest

occupation of the Yaeyama Islands was by Austronesians from Taiwan, between 4500 and 3900 years ago. However, this research also shows that Austronesian expansion was more complex than previously proposed due to the archeological evidence found in Yaeyama had a different character from the Austronesian presence in the islands south of Taiwan.

Rather than accepting the limitations of the national boundaries, a tourist brochure about Yonaguni Island attempts to connect it to its neighboring islands through referencing an oceanic connection, saying:

Dignified standing at the westernmost edge of Japan (*rintoshite tatazumu nihon saiseitan no shima*), this isolated island is located where the Black Current (*kuroshio*) gushes through. 127 km from Ishigaki Island and 111 km to Taiwan, the wonderful nature of this island is created by the Black Current, and its diverse culture is colorfully alive.

Serving as a pathway of sea travel, the *Kuroshio* or Black Current, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, can be regarded as a local way of knowing as it flows between the island of Taiwan and the Ryukyu archipelago. According to the *Yonaguni Township History* (1997), the first group of people that arrived on the island was from a mythical land in the south that today most of the islanders believe to be either the Batanes Island of the Philippines or Taiwan. Rather than debating an indigenous connection based on archeological and physical evidence, I am more interested on how the islanders situate knowledge within possible experience as a practice in imagining an island community that also includes Taiwan.

Eugene Rochberg-Halton writes, “the root metaphor of the pragmatic temper is inquiry: science, not as fixed body of truth...but as inquisitive and imaginative human nature tempered through its observations and refined through the self-critical community (1986: 18). If science is assumed as a form of Western pragmatism that constitutes an institutionalized knowledge system, then in the following section I argue for an indigenous way of knowing based on

Yonaguni's pragmatism by examining the contexts of three events in which "Miti Sunai" is performed. I point out that the reoccurrence of this musical piece is ritualized both as an important vehicle to mark historical events and also as a barometer that reflects the changing political realities of the region, offering a clear case that indigeneity can be performed and, more importantly, can be refined (or redefined) through musical sound as social text.

### **Crossing 1: Reproducing a Pre-historical Voyage**

In the middle of the Summer of 2016, a musical ceremony was held to send blessings to two reed-boats' voyage—from Yonaguni-jima to Iriomote (the second largest island in Okinawa Prefecture). Commissioned by Japan's National Museum of Nature and Science or *Kahaku* under the project called a "Complete Reproduction of the Voyage of 30,000-years-ago" (*sanmannen mae no kōkai tettei saigen purojekuto*), nineteen crewmembers had been rehearsing for this trip and testing the durability of the reed boats once sailed in the Pacific current (Figure 3.2). Prior to the actual voyage, a multi-disciplinary research team—consisting of scholars of anthropology, archeology, paleoceanography, marine ethology, and botany—was formed in 2013. *Kahaku's* website introduces the project starting with the phrase: "New Discovery: Our ancestors were great voyagers!?" and explains:

Based on academic evidence, this project aims to restore the boats of 30,000-years-ago used by the ancestors who spread throughout the Ryukyu archipelago. By reproducing the voyage from Taiwan to Yonaguni, which was the first gateway, we verify the difficulties our ancestors challenged. In addition to verifying ancient technologies, this experiment wants to understand the knowledge and experience required to cross the ocean strait. By physically experiencing the voyage, we want to approach the true figure of our ancestors as close as possible.

Aiming to scientifically reproduce an "ancient navigation technology," the 2016 voyage was the first stage of the project—designated to evaluate the sea condition and feasibility of paddling

reed-boats on the Pacific Ocean. It is also to prepare for a future expedition, which will be scheduled from East Taiwan to Yonaguni in 2019, using bamboo rafts modeled after those of the Amis, one of Taiwan's aboriginal peoples. Historically Yonaguni Island was seen as “the first gate” entering the western side of the Ryukyu kingdom. Using the current national boundary as a reference, the 2019 expedition, which is referred to as “the first gate” entering Japan's territories, will be a transnational production sponsored by *Kahaku* and Taiwan's National Museum of Prehistory.



Figure 3.2

Poster for the project “Complete Reproduction of the Voyage of 30,000-years-ago”

The director of the project, anthropologist Yosuke Kaifu, explains: “We know that human settlers crossed over from Taiwan to Japan 38,000 years ago...[and looking] at the tools from our excavations...we’ve found no evidence of axes from that period, so...they probably couldn’t carve a log to make a canoe” (Personal Interview 2016). Kaifu’s statement is based on the

paleoanthropological evidence found in the Shiraho Saonetabaru Cave Ruins located on Ishigaki Island, where the oldest full skeleton in East Asia dating about 27,000 Before Present (BP) was found in 2016. *Kahaku* later claimed that the DNA extracted from the skeleton shares characteristic genotypes similar to those found in Taiwan, Southeast Asia, and South China—concluding that an ancestral connection existed between Japan and its southern region.



Figure 3.3  
Two reed-boats and the crewmembers

Although the museum was scheduled to launch the two reed boats around the middle of July, 2016, it was typhoon season in the West Pacific Ocean. In fact, Typhoon Nepartak had just demolished the southern part of Taiwan causing three deaths earlier that month. A tropical disturbance developed to the west-northwest of Guam on July 14th, moved northwards, and impacted the Ryukyu Islands. The tropical storm did not directly hit the island of the Yonaguni, but the unstable weather and ocean conditions were bad for conducting any water vessel

experiments. Kaifu decided to hold a symbolic launching ceremony, along with support from the Yonaguni Township Educational Board, in hopes that a safer sea environment would come in the next few days.

It was gloomy and windy when I arrived at Kubura Port around 8:30 in the morning on the day of the launching ceremony. Kaifu and the 19 crewmembers had already arrived along with several cameramen and journalists from several Japanese and Okinawan media outlets such as TV Tokyo and Yaeyama Mainichi. Led by Mr. Yōnō Sakibaru, the director of Yonaguni Township Educational Board, members of the board had begun to set up a temporary shrine. Facing southward, which is believed to be the direction from which the first Yonaguni man came, a pile of beach sand was prepared for the insertion of burning incense sticks. Two straw mats were laid on the ground: one for placing such offerings as Yonaguni *awamori* (rice wine) and rice and one as the sitting area for the spiritual mediator. Known as *tsukasa* (female shamans), these spiritual mediators are designated to lead crucial rituals and events on Yonaguni Island (and Okinawa in general). However, I was informed that the *tsukasa* had a busy schedule (summer is harvest season) and could not lead the launching ceremony. Instead, Mr. Sakibaru, who belongs to a prestigious shamanic family and is one of the few elders who can fluently speak the Yonaguni language, was asked to perform the blessing ritual. Although this arrangement set the tone of the boat project as a scientific project sponsored by the island's educational board, its launching ceremony foregrounded a conflict between science and Yonaguni indigenous ways of knowing.

Mr. Sakibaru poured two glasses of *awamori* and started praying with his eyes closed. During the prayers, Kaifu knelt next to Sakibaru while the crewmembers stood behind. Later, Sakibaru stood up and picked up a bucket of rice and walked toward the two reed boats. He

tossed handfuls of rice as he walked counterclockwise around the boats and then toward the ocean—creating a pathway made of rice. He then followed the same trail to pour *awamori*. Imitating the same procedure, Kaifu, as the representative of the crewmembers, followed the sacred pathway purified by Mr. Sakibaru blessing the two boats again with rice and *awamori*. After the preliminary ritual was completed, a group of men from the island’s Youth Association arrived and played an instrumental musical piece. The musical ensemble piece played during the launching ceremony is called “Miti Sunai” in Yonaguni language or “Pathway of Coming Together.”

Based on the context of this musical presentation, some may consider the performance for the boat project as a compliance of islander support for Japan’s nationalist agenda, which stems from *Nantō Ideology* or Southern Islands Ideology—a Japanese ideology that regards the region as a locale that preserves aspects of ancient Japan in its daily life (Gillen 2012). However, others may regard the musical performance as a way to celebrate the revival of an ancient technology. By examining the functionality of “Miti Sunai” and the way it was appropriated by the islanders in the launching ceremony, I suggest that although the boat project resonates with Japan’s “Southern Islands Ideology<sup>1</sup>,” the reoccurrence of “Miti Sunai” shows the ritualization of this music as an important vehicle to mark historical events, as a filtering tool that reflects local ways of knowing, and as a reification of cultural hybridity. Before looking into the musical piece in the context of the boat project, it is necessary to understand how “Miti Sunai” is used traditionally.

---

<sup>1</sup> Southern Island Ideology (or *Nantō Ideology*) is a Japanese ideology that regards the Ryukyus as a locale that preserves aspects of ancient Japan in their daily life.





Figure 3.4  
“Miti Sunai” ensemble at the launching ceremony

“Miti Sunai” is an instrumental piece and its ensemble features one *fi* (a transverse bamboo flute), five *n'nun* (drums), and one *kanin* (a hanging flat gong). Musically the *fi* player is the leader of the ensemble and evokes responses from the *n'nun* and *kanin* players who also serve as sectional markers by providing vocal calls. In Yonaguni language, the term *miti* literally means “pathway” and *sunai* means “to gather,” “to come together,” or “to become complete.” Signifying a rite of passage from separation to liminality, “Miti Sunai” is traditionally played while processing and serves as an opening piece during important events and rituals (e.g. annual harvest festival), which are set according to the lunar calendar. Yuu Yonaha, an indigenous musician, explained that “playing ‘Miti Sunai’ has two purposes: 1) to cleanse the pathway and 2) to inform everyone the beginning of a ceremony.” He further explained: “Miti Sunai’s music dispels evil spirits and allows our gods to follow us as we recognize special pathways of gods; these pathways sometimes are not real roads” (Personal Communication 2016).

Throughout Yonaguni Island, there are thirteen sacred places known as *ugan*<sup>2</sup> and each is thought to be a “stage” where a deity can descend through spiritual pathways. These pathways may sometimes overlap with streets and alleys, but physical objects do not confine nor decide their lengths or shapes. Therefore, buildings on the island are built intentionally to avoid these spiritual pathways so that human residency will not interrupt the summoning process. Conducted by the island’s spiritual consultant *tsukasa* (female shaman), rituals call upon specific deities to safeguard and bless a voyage and to ensure a good catch in fishing, a good harvest season, and/or general health.

Another crucial aspect of “Miti Sunai” is that it can be regarded as a leitmotif played in a cyclic form in events relative to the island’s religiosity and spirituality. On the day of *hōnensai* or harvest festival in Higawa Village, the *tsukasa* and several assistants arrive the *ndi-ugan* at the southern part of the island early in the morning to set up the offerings and to inform the soon-to-be-invited spirits. Later, a group of young men from the Youth Association play “Miti Sunai” in front of the village’s community center to publicly announce the beginning of the festival. This sonic announcement—comprising metallic, membrane, and piercing soundings of the gong, drum and flute—is to inform the villagers and to invite spirits to follow the procession. After playing the first cycle, an additional two young men release the village banner from a pole and carry it horizontally on their shoulders. Led by the banner carriers, a procession forms which include two *mikoshi* (portable shrines) carried by two groups of children followed by the musicians at the end. Both the banner and portable shrines serve to respectfully guide the spirits to follow the procession until arriving at the *ugan* while the music cleanses the pathway, dispelling evil spirits. This is the moment when human and spiritual worlds cross by walking on

---

<sup>2</sup> It is commonly known as *utaki* throughout Ryukyu Islands.

the same pathway in a sonic mixture of “Miti Sunai.” Once the group begins processing, the line of procession passes almost every street of the village. The group stops at a crossroads for the ensemble to restate the music’s first phrase, indicating a sense of renewal while calling more villagers to join in. Thus, I regard the reenactment of “Miti Sunai” as a ritualized journey of making Yonaguni’s cultural hybridity in three successive ways: 1) to publicly announce moments of cultural crossing that combines multiple domains of time and space, 2) to highlight the islanders’ subjectivity by filtering through the negative and positive aspects that are relative to their current situation, and 3) to collect the positives and eliminate the negatives for a self-defined futurity. In the context of the boat project, the inclusion of “Miti Sunai” positions this event as a combination of Japan’s scientific experiment and Yonaguni’s local religious practice as it reenacts a musical ritual to invite deities to bless the two “scientifically-built” reed-boats and to safeguard future oceanic expeditions.

The launching ceremony was held at a port in Kubura Village (located on the western edge of the island where most of the residents are fishermen or descendants of fishermen) rather than a specified *ugan*. In addition, since the island’s female shaman was unable to conduct the ceremony, the project was not seen as one of the communal events of the island. In fact, it is an exclusive activity for participants who have personal relations with members of the educational board and the museum. Given that the itinerary of the two reed-boats is from Yonaguni to its eastern island Iriomote, they were scheduled to depart from Kataburuhama Beach (located on the southern part of the island). Selecting a western port at Kubura Village as a location for the launching ceremony was nevertheless a decision made by local islanders which resulted in an additional arrangement for transportation.

As a fisherman's town, Kubura Village is a place where rituals such as *Duganuchi* or Sea God Festival are held. The ritual of *duganuchi* is associated with one of Yonaguni's folktales: *Ōwaraji* or "A Huge Grass Shoe." The story of *Ōwaraji* describes in ancient times when savages (i.e. "cannibals," of Taiwan) from the west invaded the island, Yonaguni islanders would make a large grass shoe and push it into the ocean to summon a giant for protection. Anthropologist Tomoaki Hara points out that the story actually originated in the late 19th century when Taiwan was part of Japan's colonies and serves to contrast Taiwan's primitivism with Okinawa/Japan's civility (Hara 2000). However, despite the folktale being a product of Japanese colonialism, *ōwaraji* has been appropriated by the islanders to imagine an "ancient" connection with Taiwan. It also reminisces the transgressiveness of the region, especially the strait between East Taiwan and Yonaguni. For example, some Yonaguni islanders fled to Taiwan to avoid the high taxes of the Ryukyu kingdom in the 18th century and illegal trading done by small fishing boats between the two islands from 1945 to the 1970s. Based on the two grass boats and the location of the launching ceremony, I suggest that the project can be regarded as a reiteration of Japan's restorative nostalgia (Boym 2001) as it attempts to propose an ancient relationship between Taiwan and Japan. By highlighting this ancient relationship, this project intends to identify the region as a lost home for Japanese people from the view of Japanese science, but how did the islanders react to the two grass boats?

Unlike the launching of Hawai'i's Hokule'a in 1975, when thousands of cheering spectators gave their blessings, the Yonaguni people did not pay much attention to the boat project. As mentioned earlier, both the spectators and participants received information regarding the project from sources associated with the island's township educational board and the museum. Furthermore, most of the crewmembers, which consisted of residents from both

Yonaguni and Iriomote islands, were Naichā—a term used in Okinawa to describe people from the Japanese mainland. When asked about the disinterest amongst the locals, Yonaha Yuu said: “they are not Yonaguni boats, but I help them anyway since this is an exciting, yet risky, scientific project” (Personal Communication 2015). Like Yonaha, Mr. Sakibaru supported the scientific project and decided to lead a traditional blessing including the performance of “Miti Sunai.” In fact, after consulting with boat researcher Jin Ishikawa, the two water vessels were built based on the Aymara Totorareed boats found on Titicaca Lake in the Andes Mountains on the border between Peru and Bolivia (Figure 3.5). In terms of navigation systems, the project invited two former Hokule‘a crewmembers, one Japanese and one Maori, to teach knowledge involving star and current readings (Figure 3.6), knowledge which originated in Micronesia and was circulated and reconstructed in Polynesia. Locally, Yuu Yohana, a local musician and the main consultant for cultural knowledge on Yonaguni, was responsible for designing crewmembers’ costumes and for collecting locally grown reeds as the principal material for boat construction (Figure 3.7).



Figure 3.5  
The Aymara Totorareed Boat exhibited in the National Museum of the American Indian



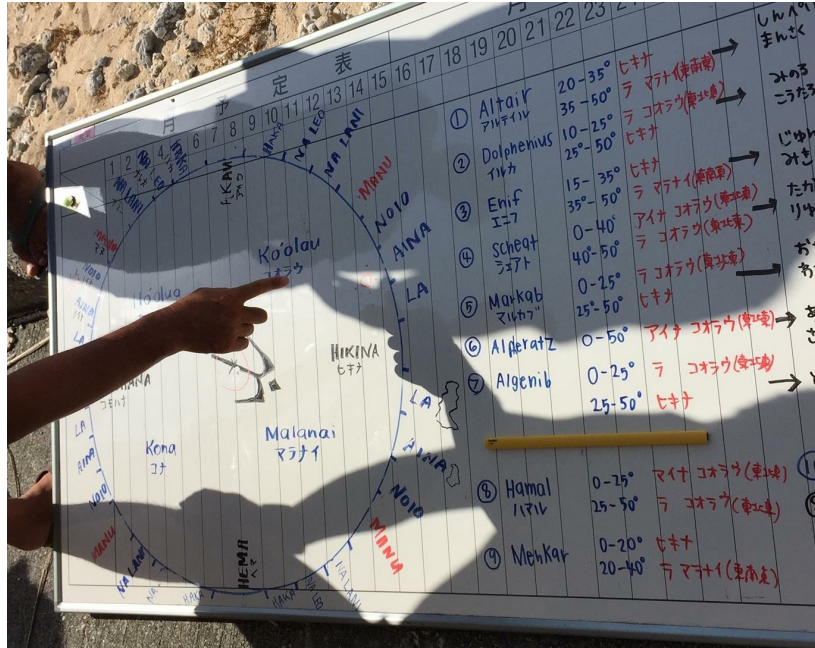


Figure 3.6  
Hokule'a Navigation System used by the crewmembers



Figure 3.7  
Crewmembers' costumes designed by Yuu Yonaha

The resulting two vessels therefore represent a cultural eclecticism and an appropriation of global indigenous peoples' knowledge, imposing a sentiment of ancientness, introducing invented tradition, and further exoticizing the island's culture. Although the project's proposal attempts to justify its use of global indigenous technologies in the name of science, the major rationale concerns an origin of the Japanese race promulgated by mainstream Japanese media. Furthermore, this circulation of globalized indigenous knowledge, enabled by science and often a nationalistic institution, in this case Japan, has produced a cultural hybrid unimaginable as an indigenous cultural item by the Dunan natives. Supported mainly by *Naichā*, the thread that links the conglomeration to local knowledge was the spirituality of Yonaguni embodied by the launching ceremony and the musical piece "Miti sunai" or "Pathway of Coming Together."

In *The Rise of Southern Island Ideology*, Murai Osamu explains that Japanese interest in Okinawa's pre-historicity serves as a tool to hide the political and historical realities of Japanese colonialism towards its southern islands which often includes Taiwan (Roberson 2001; Osamu 1995). In this case, I regard this moment of "Miti Sunai" performed at a crossing between a Japanese nationalistic agenda and a Yonaguni re-imagining of an indigenous identity. Although the piece was used as part of an "invented" ritual for an imagined historical artifact by *Kahaku*, the islanders' interpretation of this project reveals multiple layers of political tensions. First, performing "Miti Sunai" has revealed a central-versus-provincial tension between Japan and Okinawa. Instead of referencing a boat model that most Okinawans believe to be an Okinawan canoe, *Kahaku* borrowed a lake boat from Meso American culture and reconstructed it as a sea-going vessel. Second, "Miti Sunai" reflects an epistemological conflict between science and local ways of knowing. Based on archeological evidence found on Ishigaki Island, the Japanese research institution concluded that it was impossible for the ancient Yonaguni islanders to have

built a water vessel made out of wood. Ironically, the paddles used by the crewmembers were made from wood and after two years of testing by using Amis' bamboo raft in Taiwan the project has decided to use wood-carved canoes in 2019 because both reed and bamboo are not durable materials for sea-faring water vessels —contradicting the scientific statement. A project called a “Complete Reproduction of the Voyage of 30,000-years-ago,” demonstrates a Japanese dismissal of the local knowledge system when it selectively chooses what can be appropriately used for an imagined Japanese reconstruction of an Okinawan indigeneity. Finally, “Miti Sunai” has also displayed an urban versus rural conflict between two imagined historical pasts. Although most Yonaguni islanders believe that they came from a southern mythical island, their contemporary imagination of connection with Taiwan is mainly enabled by Japanese colonialism. The reenactment of “Miti Sunai” foregrounds a mixture of political realities that necessitate serious discussion among islanders about what it means to be indigenous. Reifying a form of indigeneity that involves Taiwan's indigenous people as well, the musical leitmotif has also been used to relate to Yonaguni's neighboring islanders. The second crossing reflects a similar mixture.

## **Crossing 2: An Antimilitary Protest**

As the crisis of Senkaku/Diaoyu Island intensified between Japan and China in 2010 under Shinzō Abe's administration, Japan's widespread fear and hostility towards China helped justify the militarization of Yonaguni Island. Many Yonaguni islanders have expressed their concern over the island's security since it relies on only two policemen. In 2012, a motion for a vote pertaining to the question of whether to allow the Japanese Self Defense Forces or SDF (*jieitai* in Japanese) to build a base on the island was proposed. On September 24, 2012, a special



session of Yonaguni Island's Town Assembly was held resulting in a 3:2 vote against the proposal. This was not the first time the island had a public debate over military presence. In 2009, Yonaguni mayor Shukichi Hokama approached the Ministry of Defense regarding setting up a Ground SDF base on a pro-deployment petition organized by a local "Defense Association." After the 2012 rejection, Hokama appealed to the island by highlighting a potential economic boost—disregarding a deep split within the island community. During my fieldwork in 2014, most of the islanders shied away from speaking publicly about the deployment of the SDF. One of my informants, who chose to remain anonymous, stated: "it is a tricky issue because many of the islanders have relatives working in the *jieitai*, but I am also afraid that a military presence will cause environmental damage to the island" (Personal Communication 2014). Population decline has also been a serious issue for Yonaguni in terms of sustaining a healthy environment for its economy and cultural preservation. With no high school on the island, Yonaguni children have to relocate to Ishigaki, Okinawa Islands, or the Japanese mainland to further their public education, resulting in very few returning to Yonaguni Island.

On February 22, 2015, a referendum was held regarding Japan's plan to deploy a SDF unit on the island. Believing that the island needed stronger defenses and the local economy would be revitalized by the influx of troops and their family members, 60 percent of Yonaguni residents who voted supported the deployment. On the other hand, those who expressed antimilitaristic views—like the majority of the people who live on Okinawa Island—oppose Abe's agenda of full military integration with the US on an anti-China axis. Although avoiding potential political debate or any form of confrontation in public has always been considered the most appropriate reaction to sensitive issues, such as militarization within the tightly-knit island community, banners protesting and supporting the SDF deployment could be seen side-by-side

throughout the island. Thus, the second crossing of “Miti Sunai” involves Mr. Kazuaki Yamaguchi’s performance in light of protesting for a militaristic presence on Yonaguni Island.

On the morning of March 28th, 2016, Kazuaki Yamaguchi, a pottery artist in his 70s, stood at the front gate of the newly-built Ground SDF garrison and solemnly played his rendition of “Miti Sunai.” Wearing a protest sign with the slogan “praying for a peaceful exchange with Asia,” he was monitored by one military officer and one soldier who carried a camera for documentation. Yamaguchi played the musical piece on his Yonaguni flute without any accompaniment, and the music was only carried out by the oceanic breeze. There was no loud chanting or physical conflict between the protesters and local authorities. In fact, local policemen were not even present at the protest—only around 10 antimilitary protesters, including adults and children, attended. Without rhythmic support from percussion and vocal calls, Yamaguchi’s “Miti Sunai” had no clear sectional markings. When asked about the intention of choosing to play “Miti Sunai,” Yamaguchi said: “I was about to retire from playing the flute, but I decided to do it one more time; on Yonaguni, every event starts with ‘Miti Sunai,’ and I hope by playing this piece I can start a peaceful dialogue about international relationships and militarism” (Personal Communication 2016). That is, the leitmotif was used as a prelude to speak against the deployment of SDF and to create a journey toward sustaining the tranquility of Yonaguni Island.



Figure 3.8  
Yamaguchi protesting in front of the JSDF’s garrison by playing “Miti Sunai”

Like Yamaguchi, many who oppose the deployment of SDF are residents of Higawa village, the southernmost of the three villages on Yonaguni Island, relatively distant from the other two. Although the village is thought to be the oldest settlement on the island, its current residents are mostly from the Japanese mainland and are considered *Naichā*. Relocating to Yonaguni Island, these residents are in pursuit of a tranquil rural life that is outside of the Japanese center. Often enthusiastic about humanistic ideals, they quickly adapt to the local ways of living and are eager to participate in township business meetings. Though their view is romanticized, they are often the main promoters of Yonaguni’s tourism and most of them are folk artists of Yonaguni textile, pottery, cuisine, music, etc., like Mr. Yamaguchi. He was born in Yokohama, Japan and relocated to the island in the late 1970s—both he and his family are considered outsiders. When he arrived on Yonaguni Island, there were no specialists who could play the Yonaguni flute in Higawa Village. During important events, the villagers had to sing the

flute part of “Miti Sunai,” similar to the practice of *shōga*—a mnemonic singing of instrument parts used mainly in traditional Japanese music to memorize and learn instrumental melodies. Interested in learning the island’s culture and music, Yamaguchi began studying the Yonaguni flute with Mr. Masahide Taga of Sonai Village, and for more than 30 years Yamaguchi was the only flute player in Higawa Village—gradually gaining the islanders’ acceptance and permission to perform “Miti Sunai” within Yonaguni community events. Seeing Yonaguni as their relocation homeland, Yamaguchi and other protesters believe that “the island doesn’t need a military base because Taiwan is our friend” (Personal Communication 2016).

Historical relationships between the peoples of Taiwan and Yonaguni Islands have mostly been unofficial and rarely documented, despite the close proximity of the two. The imperial Ming dismissed Taiwan Island, and no official trading was done as it was inhabited by a variety of Austronesian Aborigines who were seen as barbarians by the Chinese. With the large influx of Han immigrants relocating from South China (i.e. Fujian and Guangdong Provinces) to West Taiwan beginning in the late 17th century, the imperial Qing was forced to passively rule the island’s western plain. Although, at the time, most of the island’s eastern part still remained “wilderness” until the Japanese colonialists’ ruling in 1895, Taiwan had begun to enter a stage of East Asian politics and the circulation of hegemonic power centering around Imperial China.

In contrast, the Ryukyans had already begun to recognize the Middle Kingdom’s power (China) by the 14th century. With newly gained power through maintaining a tributary relationship with the Ming Dynasty, Okinawa Island, the center of the Ryukyu Kingdom, went through a golden age of maritime trade with Southeast and East Asia for nearly two hundred years. The Ming’s formal recognition enabled the kingdom to access ships, often provided by China, and trading ports throughout the region including China, Japan, Java, Korea, Luzon,

Siam, Sumatra, and Vietnam. Furthermore, with Ming support, the Ryukyu Kingdom expanded its political power by conquering its southern islands (Yaeyama region). Yonaguni Island was its last conquered territory in 1510. After having been ruled by the Ryukyu Kingdom, in light of the Satsuma invasion from Kyushu, Japan in the 17th century, Yaeyama region became an important naval defense outpost. In particular, the island of Ishigaki began to play a crucial militaristic role and officials were sent from Okinawa Island to control and protect the kingdom's southern territories. After the dissolution of the Ryukyu kingdom and its annexation into the Japanese nation-state in 1879, Ishigaki Island became the center of the South Ryukyus. With the diverse mixture of people, ranging from Itoman fishermen of Okinawa Island to pineapple plantation workers of Taiwan, the phrase "the Republic of Yaeyama" (*Yaeyama Gasshūkoku*) was coined to show the influx of newcomers seeking new opportunities and to express the constant cultural exchanges and fluidity of the region. Through imperialism and colonialism (from China and Japan), both Okinawa and Ishigaki Islands were introduced to industrialization and modernity and underwent a series of cultural exchanges, whereas Yonaguni Island was disregarded at the margin of the Ryukyu Kingdom and Japan.

Seeking for better education, career, and medical opportunities, many Yonaguni islanders went to Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period from 1895 to 1945. Rather than traveling northward to Okinawa Island and the Japanese mainland, the older generation of Yonaguni Islanders (now around 80-90 years old) was introduced to a form of Japanese modernity that was refracted through Taiwan, especially centering around the city of Taipei. One of the elders and a retired Assembly Member of Okinawa Prefecture, Saku Miyanaga, followed his father who served as a policeman and moved to Keelung, a northern port city of Taiwan, in 1937. He entered a local elementary school, lived in Taiwan until completing his first year of high school,

and returned to Yonaguni when Japan lost the Pacific War in 1945. During my interview, Mr. Miyanaga often nostalgically recalled the time when he was living in Taiwan, saying that “among Taiwanese people there are some who shared a similar facial feature with Yonaguni people; that kind of face has eyes that are retracted, sharp eyesight and high nose structure with a longer face” (Personal Communication 2013). Yonaguni islanders and Taiwanese further shared a similar social status during the colonial era—lower than Japanese mainlanders, but higher than Taiwanese aborigines for those with lighter complexions. Those with darker complexions, like Yuu Yonaha, are often compared with Taiwanese aborigines and considered as the indigenous people of Yonaguni. Yonaha’s grandmother also travelled to Taiwan and received her license as a beautician in the southern city of Kaohsiung (or Takao<sup>3</sup> in Japanese). Like many Yonaguni islanders, Mr. Miyanaga and Yonaha believe that the first group of people that arrived on the island was from a mythical land in the south, which could potentially be Taiwan.

Based on her ethnographic research and a limited amount of written historical accounts, anthropologist Chih-Huei Huang examines the inter-island and historical relationships between Taiwan and South Ryukyu (or Shakishima Islands). She suggests that “...Taiwan and Yaeyama had some level of mutual knowledge or friendship in the 17th century” and the two areas “were extremely similar in terms of their living techniques (food preparation, brewing of alcoholic drinks, domiciles, weaving), bodily decorations, agricultural calendar (rice varieties, millet production) and burial customs (Huang 2011: 10-11). She further points out that a 17th-century administrative record of the Yaeyama Island *Yaeyama-jima Nenraiki* uses southern island or *minami no shima* to refer to Taiwan, recording that some of the inhabitants of Yaeyama fled to

---

<sup>3</sup> The term *Takao* (Japanese kanji 高雄) originates from the Austronesian language *Takau*, which literally means “bamboo forest.” After 1945, the ROC government did not change its Chinese written form but its official romanization as *Kaohsiung* after the Mandarin pronunciation.

this “southern island” to escape high taxes. Another record shows that some Yaeyama islanders were shipwrecked in Taiwan’s eastern coast and returned six months later after receiving aid from the Taiwanese. Huang conducted extensive fieldwork in Yonaguni and became well-known among Yonaguni islanders. Her article, titled “a History of Yonaguni’s Inter-island Relations from the Perspective of East Taiwan Sea Cultural Sphere” (*tōtaiwankai bunkaken no shiten kara mita yonaguni no shima sai kankeishi*), is included in the second volume of *Yonaguni Township History*.

Yonaguni’s interest in documenting historical relationships with Taiwan is not limited to creating written accounts. In 2017, a museum named *Didi: Yonaguni Kōryū-kan* was established— displaying several exhibits ranging from Yonaguni cultural items (i.e. textile, food, etc.), natural environments (billfishes, horses, etc.), and traditional performing arts to documents on trading history with Taiwan. A majority of the collection on this trading history centers around the colonial period and contemporary friendship when the island became a sister city with the East Taiwan city of Hualien in 1982. *Di* literally means “let’s go” in the Yonaguni language, and the reduplication *didi* is a combination of movement and encounter: as the visitors gather inside the museum, they meet each other to encounter the many aspects of Yonaguni Island. By simultaneously presenting various sensibilities of the island in one place, *didi* enables the visitors to envision a concentric circle—locating Yonaguni at the center and connecting to the rest of Asia and the world. I suggest, like the musical piece “Miti Sunai,” the concept of *didi* is also derived from the notion of celebrating island cultural encounters by presenting a mixture of realities—further promoting a sense of togetherness. Rather than remaining under the hegemonic view, which often puts Yonaguni Island on the periphery of Japanese and Okinawan histories, both *didi* and “Miti Sunai” produce an island-centric narrative that encompasses a multiplicity of

cultural aspects about the island and envisions the surrounding ocean as an extension of the indigenous-self, which often includes Taiwan as part of this cultural imagination. Thus, to Yonaguni islanders, the island of Taiwan evokes two types of nostalgic feelings (Boym 2001): reflective nostalgia, which aims to recall a positive experience in the past with Taiwan during colonial era, and restorative nostalgia, which intends to rebuild a missing memory/indigenous connection with its possible homeland.

However, Yonaguni's intention to reinforce and restore the friendship with its neighboring island of Taiwan may contradict a Japanese nationalist agenda. On September 7th, 2010, a Chinese fishing trawler collided with Japanese Coastguard vessels near the islands known in Japan as the Senkaku and in the PRC and ROC as Diaoyu or Diaoyutai. Believing that there was no territorial dispute, the captain of the Chinese trawler was investigated for breaches of Japanese law.

The Senkaku/Diaoyu Island group is made up of 8 uninhabited outcrops less than 200 kilometers off the coasts of Taiwan, Yonaguni and Ishigaki Islands. Historically, the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands were important reference points on the maritime trading route between Fuzhou of South China and Okinawa Island from the 14th century. Japan had only begun to declare and name the islands beginning in 1895. The US occupied the islands after the Pacific War until 1972 and then "returned the administrative rights" to Japan. Today, the islands are claimed by both Chinas (PRC and ROC) with a vague response from the US believing that its sovereignty should be settled between the claimant parties and a refusal to endorse Japan's ownership. Historian Gavan McCormack suggests that "The determination in 2010 not to yield one inch on the Senkaku issue may have owed something to the nagging fear that China's claim, if admitted on Senkaku, might quickly extend to Okinawa" (McCormack 2011:5). Such fear is



based on the historical and tributary relationship between Imperial China and the Ryukyu Kingdom, which may result in China's claiming the Ryukyu Islands. Despite the controversy, which has attracted international media attention on the issues of peace and stability on the region of East China Sea, the nationalistic narratives of the global hegemons (i.e. the US, China, and Japan) paid little attention to the issue of indigenous rights and territorial ownership. In 2012, a small group of Taiwanese folklorists of the Ketagalan people, one group of Taiwan's Plain Aborigines<sup>4</sup>, claimed ownership over Senkaku/Diaoyu Island, providing archeological evidence relating to pre-historical civilization. These indigenous people argued the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands were part of their ancestral land and pointed to several ruins of altars and shrines that can still be seen on one of the largest islands today.<sup>5</sup> This claim shows an asymmetrical access to power and territorial ownership, further illustrating the complexity of indigenous and minority identities among islands of the East China Sea/West Pacific Ocean.

Similarly, little attention was paid to the subaltern understandings on the issue of militarization and the complexity of an entangled political reality within the Ryukyus. Throughout Okinawa Prefecture, there is an assumed anti-militaristic attitude centering around Okinawa Island and the presence of American military bases. Having an SDF garrison on Yonaguni Island implies a possible deployment of an American military base in the Yaeyama region, which may exacerbate the tension between China and Japan. However more than 50 percent of Yonaguni residents voted in support of the deployment of the SDF, which explains why Yamaguchi performed "Miti Sunai" solo without the ensemble support. Most of the Dunan people supported the deployment, believing that the military troops would boost the local economy and provide security. Additionally, some have expressed their dissatisfaction toward

---

<sup>4</sup> Most of Taiwan's Plain Aborigines are still not officially recognized by ROC (details have included in Chapter 2).

<sup>5</sup> <http://newtalk.tw/news/view/2012-12-14/31979>

Okinawa Island by recalling the asymmetrical relationship during control by the Ryukyu kingdom. One of them told me: “some Yonaguni people actually see Japan as their protector because Japan saved us from the Ryukyu kingdom’s control” (Personal Communication 2016).

Yonaguni Island was an independent island ruled by a female leader known as Saiai Isoba, who is believed to be buried in one of the island’s *ugans* that is memorialized annually. After being conquered by the Ryukyu kingdom in the 16th century, the government came up with a tax system, known as *jintōzei* (lit. “human head tax”), in which a stone with a height of about 143 centimeters was established to measure tax duty. Regardless of sickness or injury, men and women whose height surpassed the stone had to comply and were obligated to make payment. Under such regulation, Dunan people faced an enormously difficult decision when the island’s population grew, and food had become insufficient. Eventually they came up with a selection ritual known as the *kubura bari* at a rock split of Kubura Village. In this ritual, a group of pregnant women were asked to jump over a rock breach with a width of 3 meters wide and 20 meters deep, believing that both the mother and child born from a woman who overcame the challenge would be valuable individuals to the island’s economy and would help to pay the high taxation. Today, an annual ceremony is still held to comfort the spirits of the women who died and to remember cruelty of the Ryukyu kingdom’s tax laws. By annually recollecting these memories of indigenous interactions with the hegemon (Japan and the Ryukyu kingdom), it is apparent that the Dunan people and Yamaguchi assess their political realities differently. While Yamaguchi’s rendition of “Miti Sunai” was appropriated by filtering it through an antimilitaristic agenda, the islanders saw his performance as “not authentic”—a form of colonial appropriation. Mr. Masahide Taga (Yamaguchi’s flute teacher) commented on Yamaguchi’s performance

saying: “the piece is for *bōodori* (a form of Yonaguni martial art) not for protest.” “Miti sunai” thus becomes a symbol of an “imagined” protest that falsely represents indigenous voice.

At this crossing centering around Yamaguchi’s performance as a reaction toward militarizing Yonaguni Island, the island’s soundscape consisted of a mixture of three elements: the melody of “Miti sunai” presented through an antimilitaristic agenda, the sound created by the Pacific oceanic wind passing through the island when it hits Yonaguni Mountain, and the silence of indigenous voices. “Miti Sunai” yet again highlights a mixture of political anxieties: first, the dilemma surrounding international borders and Post Pacific-War construction among the US, Japan, and Chinas (both ROC and PRC) and second, the subaltern status under the domain of Ryukyu kingdom. Thirdly, and most importantly the silence of indigenous voices (i.e. absence of percussion) foregrounds issues of agency, cultural ownership, and possession. In this case, although Yamaguchi has gained permission to use the piece, he does not have control over its meaning. He has permission to use, but not control over how it is interpreted indigenously. Critiques surrounding Yamaguchi’s performance of “Miti Sunai” suggest a sense of indigenous agency and cultural belonging as well as an attempt of repossession that reflects relationships between indigenous loss, recovery, and meaning (Sissons 2005). I argue that regardless of the authenticity or effectiveness of the setting in which “Miti Sunai” is performed, by not participating in the protest, the musical piece allows the islanders to re-examine their cultural ownership, re-evaluating their indigeneity. In the second crossing, “Miti Sunai” serves as a filter for the islanders to determine what is and what is not that pertains to being a Dunan native.

### **Crossing 3: A Fishing Tournament**

The International Billfish Tournament or *Kajiki Taikai* is the third setting in which “Miti Sunai” is performed. As I have mentioned earlier, although the deployment caused protests within the Ryukyus, more than half of the population of Yonaguni supported such militarization. This stance reflects a sense of self-determination for Yonaguni whose history claims it as the last island to be subjugated by the Ryukyu Kingdom and whose present offers it up as a tourist destination for Japanese and Taiwanese. A major event within the Yonaguni soundscape is the annual International Billfish Tournament in Yonaguni (JP: *nihon saiseitan yonaguni kokusai kajiki tsuritaikai*) or *Kajiki Taikai*—an event which stresses a sense of belonging between Yonaguni and East Taiwan through shared resources along the along the Black Current. Held annually since 1989 on the first weekend of July, the fishing contest consists of activities, over a three day period, including a fishing competition, free tours to the submarine ruins, horseback riding, and a food and night market. Featuring musical performances at dinnertime, *Kajiki Taikai* has become the island’s signature celebration as well as a tourist attraction. Both the participants and performers of this event come from the Ryukyus and Taiwan, making it “international.” Taiwanese visitors and performers are mostly from Hualien—Yonaguni’s sister city. Through an examination of musical performances including “Miti Sunai” and military band music, this section suggests that although the Billfish Tournament exemplifies and sustains contested processes of “deep militarization” in the island community, it offers a performative space for the islanders to rehearse their subaltern identity. Thus, the *Kajiki Taikai*, along with its goal, time, and locale, not only raises a series of issues about the ways regional politics intersects with the process of identity formation but also highlights Yonaguni’s pragmatism, producing a continuum of social inquiry as critical valuation through musical encounter within the island community. I argue *Kajiki Taikai* as a performative utopia that signifies a form of indigenously-inspired

pragmatism as it provides a revisable template for both the individual and community in Yonaguni—critically engaging with its past, present, and future.



Figure 3.9  
Poster for Yonaguni’s 27<sup>th</sup> International Billfish Tournament

Touted as cultural exchange via attractions in the program, musical performances during *Kajiki Taikai* also include a karaoke competition, Taiwanese indigenous music and dance, Yonaguni traditional performing arts, and even Hawaiian hula (Figure 3.10). There is a conscious oceanic connection stressed among the island communities along the Black Current (*Kuroshio*), because both performers and participants of the tournament are from East Taiwan and Yonaguni Island. In the previous two crossings, the reenactment of “Miti Sunai” serves to support the creation of Yonaguni’s hybridity through maintaining a critical public on various issues such as indigeneity and authenticity. Like the conceptual museum *didi* that celebrates

cultural encounter, in the third crossing where “Miti Sunai” is performed, *Kajiki Taikai* presents a series of sonic eclecticism that encompasses a multiplicity of Yonaguni sensibilities. Specifically, I examine the performances by the military show band of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces and Yonaguni traditional performing arts during the festival to understand the performativity and flexibility of subaltern identity in Yonaguni Island.



Figure 3.10  
Hawaiian hula and Taiwanese indigenous performances in *Kajiki Taikai*

In the 2015 *Kajiki Taiaki*, the light-hearted musical performance was specifically performed by a group of 18 musicians from the South-Western Air Band of JSDF’s music corps (Figure 3.11). Formed in 1985, the South-Western Air Band is based in Naha on Okinawa Island, and consists mainly of brass instruments, a keyboard, a bass guitar and a percussion section. According to the SDF Central Band website, its *ongakutai* (music corps) has four missions: 1) to perform in national and international ceremonies, 2) to stimulate motivation within the SDF, 3) to promote public relations in civil events (i.e. annual concerts), and 4) to enhance international diplomatic relations. Thus, by blending the military band music into Yonaguni’s soundscape, Hokama cites several positive aspects for deployment of the SDF. By presenting a new

sensibility that symbolizes economic and population growth during the festival, Hokama cultivates support for a high profile of military presence in the community.



Figure 3.11  
South-Western Air Band in *Kajiki Taikai*

Most of the repertoire performed by the band is commercialized music intended for tourist attraction including jazz, Okinawan *Uchinaa* Pop, and Okinawan regional folk (*minyō*). While jazz was introduced to Okinawa in the 1950s through the American military presence, *Uchinaa* Pop gained its popularity in the 1990s for its hybridized musical forms (combining older Okinawan musical influences with those of Western pop). Each of these selected genres embodies a political tension: 1) jazz in Okinawa symbolizes an international anxiety among the US, Japan, and China, 2) *Uchinaa* Pop is used as a counterstatement to J-pop, invoking a sense of pride in Okinawan language and culture, and 3) Okinawan *minyō* recalls an indigenous and sovereign legacy of the Ryukyu kingdom. In combination with the brass band pieces, these musical sounds encapsulate the heritage of colonial powers, revealing the violence of militarized

globalization in local social-cultural spaces within the Ryukyus both before and after the Cold War. By performing in the *Kajiki Taikai*, these musics become intimate parts of the human encounter within the island community constituting a militarization of Yonaguni's soundscape.

In 2014, on the last day of *Kajiki Taikai*, when the Japanese tourists, Taiwanese guests, and local islanders shared a barbecue of the biggest catch of the year, the South-Western Air Band began their performance. One of the few Yaeyaman and Yonaguni musics that were incorporated into the band's repertoire is a piece called "Tubarāma." Characterized by its general melodic outline with the freedom to create new lyrics, "Tubarāma" is a single song traditionally practiced among the peasant class in Yaeyaman and Yonaguni regions (See Transcription 3.2). Used to express both local and personal identities, the format of this song is almost always performed by two singers: one who sings the main lyrics and another, usually of the opposite sex, providing sung interludes as a response after the first and second lines (Gillan 2012). Sung in Yaeyaman and Yonaguni languages with free rhythm, each phrase of the main lyrics is generally structured by one ascending melodic line, starting from a certain pitch and rising over one octave. As the melody ascends, the vocal register of the singers naturally moves from the chest register and transitions to a nasal and sometimes, head voice—constituting the unique timbre of the song. Although traditionally sung without any accompaniment, it is now often performed with the *sanshin*—an instrument introduced to the region by the kingdom's elite class in the 19th century. The word *tubarāma*, literally meaning "to meet," is believed to derive from *tubarun* in Yonaguni language (Miyara 2008). Like the musical piece "Miti Sunai," the song celebrates human encounter, interconnectedness, and relationships, and has been used by the islanders to musically express explicit emotions. Through creating new lyrics within a relatively flexible melodic framework, topics can range from courtship to love to critiques of contemporary



politics. Today, annual singing competitions are held on Ishigaki, Taketomi, and Yonaguni Islands, offering an open forum that generates public debate about performance styles and social meanings. Thus, I argue that singing “Tubarāma” in contemporary Yaeyama can be regarded as social inquiry and as a continuing process of public critical valuation.

The band’s rendition of “Tubarāma” is completely instrumental, replacing the *sanshin* with a keyboard that plays a melodic introduction. Substituting the lead voice with the saxophone and the vocal response with the trumpet, the band gives the piece a smooth and jazzy feel. Here, the saxophone, along with its rough and hoarse timbre and improvisational skills, as a substitute vehicle for the vocalization of emotional content encountered in the sung version of “Tubarāma.” Although the instrument is similar to the human voice in terms of the mental and physical processes required for tone production (Teal 1963), by re-purposing “Tubarāma” as an instrumental piece, the textual creativity as representation of artistry is removed—thus it is effectively sanitized from any possible insertion of sensitive political statements. Also, a sonic discipline (such as equal temperament and musical style) is codified by the military band as a globalizing force of modernization, recalling the historical experience when the *sanshin* was introduced to Yaeyama and Yonaguni as an imperial symbol of the Ryukyu kingdom.

Ethnomusicologist Sarah McClimon points out that “the Western-style military band shaped an image of Japan as modern and cosmopolitan, yet rooted in a mythical ancient past” (McClimon 2013: 56). By removing the presence of the *sanshin*, the SDF sonically establishes authority of Japanese state nationalism over a bygone Ryukyu Kingdom imperialism. I suggest that by privileging a brass band’s appropriation of *Tubarāma*, Yonaguni’s cultural place can be imagined within Japanese modernity while sustaining a colonialist *nantō* (Southern Islands) ideology. Such an ideology sees its southern islands as a locale where ancient Japanese culture is

preserved and, therefore, must be protected through militarization. Militarizing Yonaguni's soundscape thus foregrounds the contested historical tension between two hegemonic powers: the Ryukyu kingdom's past and the Japanese state's present. The band's arrangement removes a sense of indigenous agency for Yonaguni Island. The following section highlights moments of indigenous creativity through the infrastructures that mark the pragmatic solutions as part of performing Yonaguni's subaltern identity.

Among the selected genres of the island's traditional performing arts, the Yonaguni *bōodori* (stick dance) is included every year. The dance was introduced to the island as a form of martial art or *bōjutsu* around 1700 by Mr. Kōchi, a castaway martial artist from Okinawa Island. It is believed that Mr. Kōchi married a Yonaguni woman and taught their youngest daughter the martial art. His daughter passed down the tradition to her children and utilized it for the island's defense. This martial art grew in popularity and was later banned by the Ryukyu kingdom. To circumvent the prohibition, a dance rendition was created as a way to rehearse the martial techniques, and fishing and farming tools were introduced in order to disguise it further as a harvest celebration.

Today, in addition to the island's annual harvest festival, *Kajiki Taikai* is another setting in which *bōodori* is performed (in front of locals, Japanese tourists, SDF officers, and Taiwanese guests). Although, traditionally, both males and females could participate in this dance, the *bōodori* in *Kajiki Taikai* is performed only by male members from the island's Youth Association (Figure 3.12). The *bōodori* features a series of performative encounters including 1) battles between a Shuri (or local) official and a local peasant, 2) battles between local officials, and 3) children's demonstrations of basic techniques. The performers' costumes and weapons identify a hierarchy and power relationship between characters: the officials wield the more

sophisticated weapons such as halberds and machetes while local peasants use ad hoc weapons such as sickles and wooden staves. Also, Yaeyaman textiles on the belts, worn by the characters, is incorporated to identify their role as officials who travelled from the Shuri of Okinawa Island and relocated to Yaeyama region.



Figure 3.12  
*Bōodori performance in Kajiki Taikai*

The performance starts with the melody of “Miti Sunai” and the ensemble consists of five *n’nun* (drum) players, one *kanin* (flat hanging gong) player, and one *fi* (Yonaguni traverse flute) player. Encircled by the musicians, two actors who represent the opposite sides slowly walk out from the two wings toward the center stage. Once at the center before battling against their opponent, each performer first showcases his skill and strength by presenting several poses with his weapon. The actual battle includes movements such as reflex dodging (by jumping over or squatting down from opponents’ attacks) and stalemate (two weapons against each other). Each of these movements can be accentuated and dramatized by the sounds of percussion and vocal calls yelling “*ia*.” Narrating several moments of conflict by focusing on the process of combat, there is no winner or loser decided at the end—both actors simply turn around and return their

offstage positions. The entire performance of *bōodori* concludes with a group of children demonstrating movement techniques. All dressed as officials, these children are rewarded by the local islanders throwing money at them during the performance—as performative and symbolic cultural and economic capital for the island’s future.

Thus, the statement that “Miti Sunai” should be used to accompany *bōodori* (rather than for protest) not only shows a sense of self-determination, but also argues for an indigenous understanding of how an anti-colonial performance should be organized. By rehearsing the historical and political conflict during the period of imperial sovereignty by the Ryukyu kingdom at a tourist attraction held on the westernmost edge of Japan, I argue that Yonaguni *bōodori* serves to reinforce the island’s subaltern identity—thus transmitting its historical resentment to a contemporary social injustice while simultaneously generating a self-critical community. Critically engaging with the island’s past, present, and future, Yonaguni *bōodori* provides a dramatization of the interactions between the Self and Others through a series of performative battles. The children’s demonstration further envisions a utopian ideal of the island’s future where the conflict no longer exists and all are of equal status. Supported by “miti sunai,” three crucial relationships to the island are encapsulated in this crossing of *Kajiki Taikai*: 1) an anti-colonial sentiment against the Ryukyu kingdom, 2) an economic benefit as the westernmost island of Japan, and 3) a cultural-ecological connection with East Taiwan. Navigating among these relationships, the island’s past, present, and future are re-positioned on the “pathway of coming together.”

In the beginning of this chapter, I pointed out that “Miti Sunai” is a musical leitmotif that marks the beginning of making Yonaguni’s cultural hybridity. In an interesting kind of symmetry, there is also a closing piece that also functions as protocol. Yuu Yonaha told me: “we

start everything with Miti Sunai and end everything with ‘Dunta’” (Personal Communication 2014). Just as “Miti Sunai” is performed at the beginning of a mixing or cultural crossing, “Dunta” is a musical piece that is used to end every celebration on Yonaguni. It is believed that the invited deities would also join the celebration in a dunta dance. In this dance, participants hold hands and dance in circle to celebrate the completion of every event on the island including the *Kajiki Taikai*. Traditionally danced by centering around a bonfire, dancers would raise their joined hands alternately creating a circle of waves. “Dunta,” as a musical piece, is also a mixture of two traditional Yonaguni songs consisting of “*kyūgahi-dunta*”<sup>6</sup> (the dunta of today is the day) and “*suyuridi-dunta*”<sup>7</sup> (the dunta of Shuri), sung by two singers, one male and one female, who would not join the dance.



Figure 3.13

---

<sup>6</sup> The lyrics of “*kyūgahi-dunta*” are in Yonaguni the language mostly about asking for blessings of island prosperity from the invited gods.

<sup>7</sup> The lyrics of “*suyuridi-dunta*” are in a mixture of the Ishigaki and Yonaguni languages, humorously mocking a Shuri authority’s personal affairs.

### *Dunta dance in kaijiki taikai*

Performed at the end of *kaijiki taikai*, a mixture of dancers includes locals, Taiwanese guests, Japanese tourists as well as the spirits. Sonically marking the separation stage, the dance begins by a group of percussionists publicly playing the Yonaguni drums and gongs to catch the attention of everyone who attends the event, announcing the moment of entering the liminal status when the boundaries between Dunan natives and non-natives, human and spiritual worlds, and Self and Others are blurred. After the percussive announcement, two singers (one male and one female) begin to sing the lyrics of “*kyūgahi-dunta*” in the format of call and response—the male sings one phrase and the female repeats the same phrase in a higher octave. Meanwhile, the percussionists would form an inner circle walking/dancing in a clockwise direction while the dancers gradually create an outer circle of waves walking/dancing in a counterclockwise direction. The inner and outer circles always rotate in opposite directions throughout the entire *dunta*. As the *dunta* proceeds to the portion of “*suyuridi-dunta*,” the musicians turn and rotate in counter-clockwise direction while the dancers moving in clockwise direction. Signifying a stage of reincorporation, the dance is ended by the singers, marking the end of an indigenous celebration of cultural hybridity. Signifying the continued life of the local community through infusing new visions, the dance connects three crucial relationships for the island. By navigating among these relationships, I argue that the process of hybridization has produced a ritualized recognition of Otherness and acts as a motivating template for both individuals and the community to envision an island-centric futurity.

## Concluding Thoughts

Focusing on interconnectivity and agency, in this chapter I use one of the oldest musical pieces on Yonaguni Island to link, connect, and review a variety of historical events and cultural encounters that directly shape and impact the island's political discourse and soundscape. I regard the articulation of "Miti Sunai" in three successive ways: 1) to publicly announce a moment for a cultural mixing that crosses multiple domains of time and space, 2) to filter through the negative and positive aspects that are relative to that moment, and 3) to collect the positives and eliminate the negatives for a self-defined futurity. In the three cases of crossings, the use of "Miti Sunai" might appear to be a false symbol informed by Japan's "Southern Islands Ideology." In the first crossing, though played by Dunan musicians, it is used for an invented ritual, for fake boats, and for fulfilling the purpose of a governmental scientific project. In the second crossing, it is being used for an imagined protest filtering through an antimilitaristic agenda. In the third crossing, it is used to accompany a traditional dance at a tourist and commercialized event. However, using the notion of *pathway* from "Miti Sunai" as a lens, I point out that in the three cases, the reappearance of "the Pathway of Coming Together" allows the islanders to 1) reify an indigenous identity, 2) re-evaluate their indigeneity, and 3) envision an international, yet, localized future identity.

Each of these crossings provides opportunities for the islanders to re-examine their relationships with the Others. Invoking a sense of indigenous performativity, "Miti Sunai" is the theme music for the island's purposeful navigation, assessing every relationship that has (or will have) an intimate presence with Yonaguni's past, present, and future. I argue that "Miti Sunai" is thus the leitmotif or motivating template that expresses Yonaguni's cultural hybridity as well as indigeneity in a variety of contexts. This mixing serves as an indigenous critique to re-center

islanders' cultural subjectivity while simultaneously speaking against their colonial past, critiquing their subaltern present, and envisioning their indigenous future. As a musical piece that stresses the importance of "coming together," each iteration of "Miti Sunai" is a re-enactment of an eclecticism that captures the island's historical past and political present. By weaving the successively gathered elements into the fabric of their deep time, the islanders venture into a self-defined pathway. The process of hybridization has become a ritualized recognition of Otherness as well as a celebration of cultural encounters through acknowledging a mixture of political realities. Therefore, "Miti Sunai" is a vehicle, a canoe, and a filter that symbolizes the island's every encounter, as well as its creativity and history. The "Pathway of Coming together" belies an ethos of continuity and exemplifies a process that continues to impact the way Yonaguni people conceptualize and perform their indigeneity.

As used in Yonaguni's *bōodori*, "Miti Sunai" is also an organic piece that denotes Yonaguni's indigenous agency, purposefully creating a stage where indigeneity can be revised, cultural ownership can be repossessed, historical conflicts can be narrated, subaltern identity can be rehearsed, and a self-defined futurity can be envisioned. Rochberg-Halton explains that "Pragmatism involves a conception of a critical public, free inquiry and communication, the growth of the imagination, and the embodiment of purposeful habits of conduct as essential not only to the realization of inquiry, but to the ultimate goals of life as well" (1986: 18). By highlighting the island's pragmatic attitude, I point out that although the inclusion of the brass band music constitutes a sonic militarization of the island's soundscape, this inclusion was sanctioned and refined by the self-critical community within Yonaguni. This stance reflects a sense of self-determination for Yonaguni whose history claims it to be the last island subjugated by the Ryukyu Kingdom. Yonaguni's *bōodori* and *Dunta* Dance reveal ways the islanders



rehearse their subaltern identity by generating a split moment between indigenous utopian ideals and colonial realities. While generating a critical template that rejects hegemonic integration, they simultaneously engage with the island's colonial past, subaltern present, and indigenous future. Rather than being victimized by their historical marginalization (by the Ryukyu kingdom's imperialism) and their contemporary isolation (by Japan's nationalism and militarism), this indigenously-inspired pragmatism provides a foundation for a Yonaguni-based knowledge of reality through the possibility of continued inquiry and imaginative and self-correcting interpretations. Visioning the horizon of an island-centric futurity, Yonaguni islanders navigate among these entangled political realities by seeking more musical interactions as celebration and acknowledgement of their self-determined path to a relevant cultural hybridity.

## Chapter 4: Making a Musical “Champuru” on an Austronesian Pathway

### Way-finding and Musicking

Using voyage as a metaphor for the search of identity, in the previous two chapters I have discussed two types of musical voyages. The first is accidental, in which the Taiwanese islanders look beyond the coastline—a fundamental reference of the self—to create a hybridized music that connects them to other islanders outside their native land. The second is that of a purposeful voyage, in which the Yonaguni islanders have a particular goal and a specific reference to the others (East Taiwan), appropriating a musical leitmotif as a tool to constantly redefine the meaning of indigeneity. By continuing to explore the notion of musical navigation, this chapter discusses what Denning (1972) called a vaguely deliberate voyage. In a vaguely deliberate voyage, the goal or destination is vaguely identified whereas the direction or the pathway of this journey is predetermined. Using this type of musical navigation as a metaphor for the search of cultural interconnectivity, this chapter examines the music-making process and musical collaboration between Okinawan and Taiwanese musicians. Invoking an Oceanic sensibility, I draw upon and combine two strategies, the Okinawan *champuru* (mixing) and Amis *lalan* (pathway), to depict three way stations—namely deconstruction, combination, and (re)construction—in this vaguely deliberate voyage of making a hybridized musical sounding. I argue that musical mixing, as a trope, enables the two groups of islanders to imagine and construct a pathway of indigeneity, traveling collectively towards a self-defined futurity.

In a vaguely deliberate voyage, the travelers have a palpable direction without pointing to a specific destination. Before embarking on a thousand-mile voyage toward this “vague” direction, these sea travelers must use their pre-existing understanding and the worldview constructed on

their current land as a series of references to plan for this trip. That is, they must imagine deliberately (e.g. *ho‘omeā* in Hawaiian) in order to create a pathway that often slides between dominant and subaltern boundaries and between pre-established domains and alternative destinations (Ingersoll 2016).

Once the water vessel departs from the metaphorical coastline of the Self and moves into the open ocean, the references of a navigation system that are available to them would be derived from knowledge and signs learned from the past. Mapping a pathway towards this unknown destination, a navigator who determines the sailing strategy and course must constantly gather knowledge and information (e.g. wind, current, and birds) to adjust the water vessel's route. Traveling on water makes this route flexible and thus this pathway would not be imagined as a fixed and concrete highway, but a fluid route, which is subjected to moments of change. In addition to this flexibility, the navigator must communicate with other crewmembers who are also assigned specific jobs such as maintaining the vehicle, handling the sails, and preparing meals. Realizing that each member carries a critical responsibility, crucial to the team's functioning is key for traveling in the desired direction during a successful long-term trip.

### **Crossing Musically**

Separated by the political boundaries of China (both the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China) and Japan, the island groups of Taiwan and the Ryukyus along with their cultural identities, embody a process in which islanders must negotiate their cultural values not only with the two Chinese states and the Japanese empire, but also with American militaristic penetration. Today, received narratives about Okinawan and Taiwanese musics and performing arts are constructed and defined in terms of various East Asian hegemonies and political agendas,

disregarding indigenous narratives among these island groups. Following the post Pacific-war (re)construction, scholarly studies have created knowledge based on these hegemonic narratives and positioned Okinawa-Taiwan studies as transnational and border-studies. In this chapter, I depart from these understandings of Taiwan and Okinawa and problematize the polarized rhetoric by invoking a Pacific sensibility. Focusing on musical navigation and cultural crossing, I examine a concert titled *East Asian Roots Trip*<sup>1</sup> in the summer of 2015 (Figure 4.1), which included musicians from the Ryukyus (both Okinawa Island and South Ryukyus), Taiwan, and the Philippines. The concert was held in an archeological site, the Valley of Gangala, located on the Okinawan main-island as a closing concert of the 2015 H.O.T. Islands Music Festival—a name that was derived from the initials of three places: Hualien (eastern coast of Taiwan), Okinawa, and Taitung (southeast part of Taiwan). On the poster, this concert is described as:

The World Fest that you have been warming all the way up for is finally here, gathering at the Valley of Gangala. Shaking people's soul, we are traveling on a root trip to awaken the energies of the peoples (*minzoku*) of Taiwan, the Philippines, and the Ryukyus.

Thus, the venue of this concert not only foregrounds indigenous circuits among the island groups, but also accentuates minority politics in East Asia offering a clear case that minorities can, and do, interact with each other without having to go through one or more hegemonies.

---

<sup>1</sup> The concert also has a Japanese title called *ajirū*, which can be literally interpreted as “Asian roots.” In this study, I use the given translation “East Asian Roots Trip.”



Figure 4.1  
Poster for the *East Asian Roots Trip* Concert

To highlight cultural diversity among the Ryukyus, the concert features two Ryukyu groups, Sakishima Meeting from South Ryukyus and Kachimba 4 from Okinawan main-island. Sakishima Meeting consists of two musicians: Isamu Shimoji of Miyako Island, and Yukito Ara of Ishigaki Island. Both are popular for producing music that combines traditional and pop elements by using local languages and the *sanshin*. Celebrating various forms of identities and cultural expressions throughout the Ryukyus, the group can be seen performing in festivals such as the Yonaguni Billfish Tournament (mentioned in Chapter 3) and the Okinawa Pink Dot, an event that “wishes a society where sexual minorities live easily” (Pink Dot Website). In this chapter, I specifically

focus on Kachimba 4<sup>2</sup> (spoken as “Kachimba Quatro”), the main organizers of the *East Asian Roots Trip* concert. Led by Ōshiro Tarō, the group consists of four selected members from Kachimba 1551 (Figure 4.2), which was formed as an Okinawan Salsa band in 1998 and supported by the Okinawan diasporic community in Cuba. Playing music based on Cuban Salsa, the group performs fusion music that combines Okinawan and Latin elements ranging from Okinawan *minyō* (traditional Okinawan songs) such as “Asadoya Yunta” to the Cuban songs such as “Guantanamera.”



Figure 4.2  
Kachimba 1551

In addition to incorporating Okinawan music and infusing them with Latin flavor, Kachimba 4 also travels throughout Asia to seek inspiration and invite various musicians to perform in their Salsa bar Mil Besos (for example, this is how they recruited the Taiwanese and Filipino musicians featured in the *East Asian Roots Trip* concert). The bar Mil Besos (lit. “a

---

<sup>2</sup> The group’s name has several variations such as Kachimba 1551 and Kachimba DX based on the participations of musicians. The number of musician ranges from 4 to 11 and can be flexible.

thousand kisses”) is located at Futenma city where the US Marine Corps is currently stationed. Providing entertainment for locals and American soldiers, Mil Besos is where Okinawan and Latin musics meet. Kachimba musicians would play their version of fusion music nearly everyday until midnight. With the guests dancing and drinking along with the 1958 song “Tequila” by the Champs, the bar transforms into a fiesta space. At night, the live, loud, and vibrant Okinawan-Latin music contrasts with the quiet and cold emptiness of the American military base that sits across the street from the bar. Although the military base is cordoned by wire fencing, traveling through the island’s ocean breeze the hybrid sounds from Mil Besos transform into “a thousand kisses” and penetrates this hegemonic apparatus constructed after WWII. Embodying a sense of military resistance, this contested sounding has become a part of the soundscape in today’s Okinawa. In addition to protesting against the military superiority of the American base, to Kachimba musicians, the location of Mil Besos also represents a series of cultural encounters as the bar constantly features world music ranging from Latin to Indian musics. Following the oceanic logic of “coastline” as interconnectivity that I have discussed in Chapter 2, I regard Mil Besos as one of the many locations where the islanders flexibly negotiate and constitute a self-ness through a series of encounters. Coastline as encounter also means opportunity, as it is the location where musical navigation begins.

Just as the Okinawan-Latin music cannot be blocked by artificial and fixed boundaries, the island musicians of the region may carry their musical ideas through currents and waves. In 2012, Kachimba met Suming Rupi (Figure 4.3) of the E’tolan Village in Taitung, Taiwan, through their mutual agent, Takeshi Irei of Okinawa. Mr. Irei’s wife, Yuki Aoki, who is a Japanese writer and currently residing in Taipei, has provided Japanese translations for Suming’s compositions and is the lyricist for the song “Solo” (sung in Japanese) included in Suming’s 2012 album *Amis*. The

indigenous musician Suming has been active in promoting Amis music and culture, performing his version of fusion music both inside and outside of Taiwan. Taking his 2010 album *Suming* as an example, the compositions include both traditional Amis songs, such as “Joyful Drinking Song” and newly composed pieces, such as “I Cowa Ko Lalan” (Where is My Path). These songs are lyrically presented in the Amis language and, sonically, they have synthesized instrumental soundings such as electronic guitar and drums.



Figure 4.3  
Suming Rupi of the Amis

During his first visit to Mil Besos in 2013, Suming was astonished by the way Kachimba incorporated Latin elements into Okinawan music. Learning Okinawa’s history from the Okinawan musicians, Suming invited Kachimba 4 to Taiwan to perform in the 2014 Amis Music Festival—a festival initiated by Suming beginning in 2013 which has now been held in E’tolan Village annually. In fact, Suming has promoted the Amis Music Festival, along with his design of



an Amis “national flag” (Figure 4.4) to various Pacific Islands including Fiji, Aotearoa, New Caledonia, and Guam. Although this festival is not the focus of my study, the description of the 2017 Amis Music Festival sheds light on the sentiment these indigenous people attempt to invoke:

Welcome to the Amis Nation located at the Pacific Ocean. We invite representatives of aboriginal villages throughout Taiwan as well as those from the Pacific Island Nation. This festival belongs to Taiwan and Austronesia (*Nandao*), including traditional knowledge and aboriginal creativity. Through music, dance, market, and workshop, you can find the many faces, both traditional and contemporary, of our multiculturalism. We welcome you to join us in learning our life and story. We hope this trip will transform into the most unforgettable memory in your heart.

Foregrounding indigenous circuits, H.O.T. Islands Music Festival, Amis Music Festival, as well as the *East Asian Roots Trip* concert are cases inspired by this Pacific sensibility—disassociating from their East Asian hegemonies. Though speaking different languages, these islanders communicate and exchange cultural ideas through various forms of activities, which include making music together.

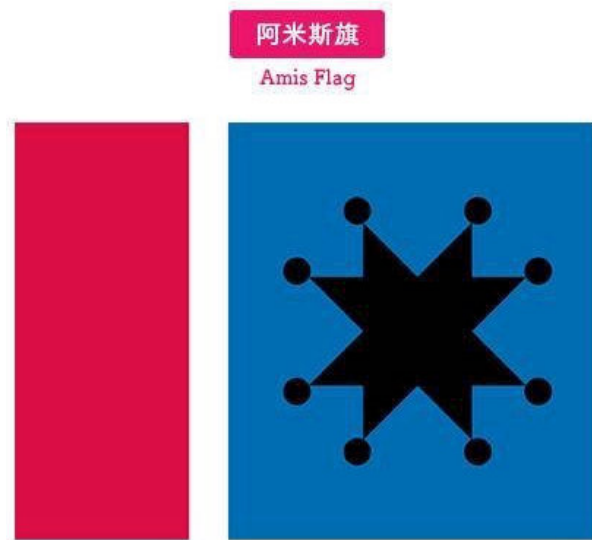


Figure 4.4 Amis Flag (designed by Suming)

To theorize the musical collaboration between Taiwanese and Okinawan musicians, I choose to treat the island groups of the region on the West Pacific Ocean/East China Sea as a singular entity based upon the notion of a traveling culture. Both Okinawan and Taiwanese musicians have been present in the same sea and have been part of each other's culture-scape, which is part of the *Kuroshio* or "Black Current" culture sphere and Austronesian dispersion. To conduct this musical trading, both island groups must depart from their established musical genres (i.e. Taiwanese Aboriginal Pop and *Uchinaa* Pop) and cross into each other's "coastline." This *coastline* can be the Salsa bar Mil Besos that celebrates Okinawan identity while generating a sonic protest against the establishment of the American military base. This coastline can also be the Amis Music Festival that highlights a Pacific indigenous identity by including other islanders' music and cultures. This metaphorical coastline is therefore a celebration of cultural encounters that I have discussed in Chapter 3. Dening writes, "Islanders made their cultural identity...by making large polarities—Native/Stranger, Land/Sea, Life/Death, Violent Power/Legitimate Authority...They discovered for themselves, by story and talk, the ways in which these polarities were crossed to make themselves who they were" (Dening 2003, 16). Crossing musically is the way the island musicians make themselves who they are, making polarities of Self and Others and discovering new opportunities.

### **Musical Champuru in Okinawa**

*Uchinaa* pop, since its boom in the early 1990s, has been appropriated to highlight a "*champuru*" identity and differentiate the Okinawans from the dominant Japanese culture and society, further situating the islanders in relation to local, national, and transnational contexts (Roberson 2010). Drawing from the Okinawan stir-fried plate containing a mixture of tofu, spam,

bitter melon, etc., anthropologists such as Christine Yano and James Roberson use this metaphor of *champururu* to describe Okinawa’s hybrid identity and migration history. Literally meaning “mixed things,” *champururu* has also been popularized and marketed as part of Okinawa’s tourist attraction. When walking down Naha’s main street, *kokusaitori* (lit. “International Road”), visitors discover that venues ranging from restaurants to karaoke bars provide variations of this stir-fried dish, opportunities for them to experience and to taste Okinawa’s cultural flavor. Drawing upon the notion of *champururu* as a result of cultural encounter as well as a cultural experience, in this chapter I employ the term metaphorically to examine the process in making a cultural mixture or what I have called indigenous hybridity in Chapter 1, such as a *champururu* dish and a musical piece of Uchinaa pop.



Figure 4.5  
*Goya champuru* dish (containing a mixture of tofu, spam, bitter melon, and egg)

The preparation of *champururu* dish suggests that Okinawan society takes the raw or unprepared objects and makes them “cooked,” “done” or “prepared”—transforming a foreign

object into a culturally understandable one (Lévi-Strauss 1964). Among the various versions of this stir-fried dish, *goya champuru* (Figure 4.5), or bitter melon *champuru*, is considered one of the most popular. Preparing any *champuru* consists of three steps: 1) gathering the desired ingredients, 2) deconstructing the ingredients into consumable sizes, and 3) combining all the prepared ingredients. In the first step, each of the gathered ingredients symbolizes a political power and its associated relationship and partnership, representing a local understanding of world powers and pre-established polarities. For example, spam was introduced to Okinawa during its American era and tofu represents an East Asian cultural circuit that symbolizes China's imperial power. Using a type of green bitter melon that can be found throughout the Ryukyus, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia, the *goya* is thus appropriated as a symbol of localism and invokes a sense of native identity.

The second step is what I consider the most delicate and time-consuming phase. Before deconstructing these ingredients into consumable sizes, the maker must go through an evaluation process in order to give each ingredient a specific shape of cutting while still maintaining an identifiable feature of the original source. In this step, the bitter melon is de-seeded and sliced into crescent shapes. The spam is also sliced into strips while the tofu is cubed and possibly further mashed during stir-frying. This step of cutting thus requires an indigenous sensitivity for the maker to transform these ingredients (or pre-established polarities) into shapes that are culturally acceptable to the native society—crossing between Native and Strange and Self and Other. The cutting is not only a transformative process, but also suggests as parallel an attempt to change the current political status into a more relevant futurity.

After deconstructing these ingredients, through stir-frying the mixture, the maker separates the water from the ingredients and replaces it with soy sauce, further distancing them from the pre-

established polarities while still maintaining relationships with the original sources. The final mixture is presented in a newly established form that can be culturally consumed within the context of Okinawa. Being able to consume this mixture of diversity and to culturally comprehend the associated power relationships thus offers a continuity and futurity to the native society.

By using the analogy of cooking *champururu*, I apply this concept to the hybridization of musical styles performed by Kachimba. During Kachimba's performances, the bandleader Tarō often explains their music as a *champururu* and uses the term as a verb to describe the “making” of the Okinawa-Latin music. I draw from a cuisine reference and apply it to a sonic one, suggesting that making fusion music in Okinawa is a similar process of indigenization, a means of transforming and combining foreign objects into an assemblage that can be culturally and sonically understood by the native audience—simultaneously acknowledging Okinawa's relationship with other world powers in a trans-regional and transnational context. While including sonic elements of indigenous music from Taiwan can be viewed as one of the many examples of making a musical *champururu*, collaborating with another islander would signify a departure. That is, in the musical collaboration between Okinawan and Taiwanese musicians, both islanders must depart from their pre-established polarities (such as Uchinaa Pop and Taiwanese Indigenous Pop). This departure does not assume a total separation from the previous music-making process. Rather, like sea travelers sailing in an open sea in discovering for a new possibility, these musicians reference their pre-existing understanding and imagine deliberately, creating a pathway that leads them to an alternative destination, where a shared futurity can be found. In this navigation, the Okinawans invoke a form of ancient powers emphasizing the interconnectedness with Austronesian Taiwanese. Mapping an Austronesian pathway, the two islanders constantly gather knowledge and information to adjust the route of their collective musical vessel. In this case, I see the notion of an

Austronesian pathway as a continuation of Okinawan *champurū*. Departing from *champurū*-ness, the two islanders are on an Austronesian pathway in searching for new musical possibilities.

### **Mapping an Indigenous Pathway**

The *East Asian Roots Trip* concert was held in the limestone quarry in Gangala Valley located on the southern part of the Okinawan main-island. Near the Gangala Valley, there is a well-known Minatogawa limestone quarry in Gushikami Village where several fossil skeletons, now known collectively as Minatogawa Man, were found in the 1970s. Since this excavation, the southern part of Okinawa Island has become one of Japan's most important archeological sites. Among these archeological sites, the Valley of Gangala, along with its ongoing excavation project, is thought to be a place where "the mystery of Japanese roots in." The valley's website depicts this excavation project as *shizukanatoki no kaigō* (an encounter of a silent time), speculating a possible pre-historical connection in which the Minatogawa people crossed over and became the ancestors of the Japanese people. This notion, which sees the Ryukyu archipelago as a site for discovering Japan's pre-historicity, is regarded as *Nantō-ron* or Southern Islands Theory

Among the Japanese scholars who have devoted their research to the Ryukyus and contributed to *Nantō-ron*, the folklorist Kunio Yanagita is thought to be the most influential. His works such as *Kainan Shōki* (a Note of the Sea's South) published in 1925 and *Kaijō no Michi* (Pathway on the Sea) published in 1961 have created a narrative that indicates a common cultural characteristic shared between Japan and Okinawa, arguing that Japanese people originally migrated northward from Okinawa through the Black Current or *Kuroshio*. The *Kuroshio* is a strong surface current originating off the eastern coast of the Philippine Islands (i.e. Luzon Island) and flows north to Taiwan and the Ryukyu Islands (Oda 2002). Yanagita's interpretations on the

commonality between Japanese and Okinawan cultures encourage the notion of “seeking one’s roots from the southern islands,” which offers a different approach from theories such as *Nichiryūdōsoron* (Japan-Ryūkyū Common Ancestor Theory) that argues Okinawan ancestors originated from the Japanese mainland.



Figure 4.6  
The stage for the *East Asian Roots Trip* concert

However, both the southward and northward approaches have been largely Japan-centric. Although the Kuroshio passes through many islands on the West Pacific Ocean, it is commonly appropriated for the construction of Japanese pre-historicity. This ideology sees Japanese ancient customs and aspects that have survived in Okinawa, neglecting indigenous circuits beyond Japan and is inevitably colonial in its approach (See Chapter 3). During Taiwan’s colonial period, the island was also considered to be part of Japan’s southern islands, contributing to the forming of an imagined “southern” cultural sphere. Today, many Japanese journals such as the *Nantō Shigaku* (History of South Islands) still include studies on Taiwan. Through Japan’s colonialism, the island

of Taiwan can not only be imagined as a modern nation state, which I have discussed in Chapter 2, but also a part of the southern island cultural sphere.

Rather than seeing Okinawa and Taiwan as two separate and liminal cultural zones between Japan and China, the organizers of the H.O.T. Islands Music Festival provide an alternative history of the “Southern Islands” by referencing the indigenous circuits along the Black Current. Invoking a sense of indigeneity, the *East Asian Roots Trip* concert references this pre-established theory and deliberately envisions a pathway that links between the domains of hegemonic and alternative narratives, traveling beyond the Japan-centric perspective.

In an interview, the leader of the Kachimba 4, Ōshiro Tarō, explained:

There are different languages (*genko*) spoken in Miyako, Ishigaki, and Okinawa main-island. I think there might be connections between Okinawa and Taiwan so we want to have cultural exchanges with Taiwanese artists. We feel especially powerful to be able to play music at a location where the indigenous people (*genjūmin*) of 15-thousand-years-ago were found. That is, I think it was a precious moment to make an ancient connection between Okinawa, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Taiwan.

Inspired by the Taiwanese term *yuanzhumin* 原住民 (lit. “original inhabitants”), Tarō used *genjūmin* to refer to Okinawan and Taiwanese indigenous peoples. In Japan, indigenous people are addressed as *senjūmin* 先住民 (lit. “first inhabitants”), similar to the North American notion of First Peoples. For example, the Ainu people were officially recognized as the *senjūmin* of Japan in 2008. In the Ryukyus, the islanders’ identities are based on individual islands within the perimeter of the Ryukyu kingdom, such as the Okinawan islander, the Ishigaki islander, etc. Some of my Okinawan informants, especially those on the Okinawan main-island, associate indigeneity with primitivism and tribalism. To them, having a kingdom in their history separates them from this tribal imagery of indigenous people. Despite the fact that it is considered derogatory to use the term *genjūmin*, Tarō and other Kachimba members further claimed, “we



are the *genjūmin* of Okinawa.” Using Taiwanese inspired terms such as *genjūmin* is therefore transgressive, simultaneously violating the Japanese rhetoric on indigeneity and the imperial legacy of the Ryukyu kingdom. Tarō’s hybrid understanding of indigeneity transcends the tribal imagery of indigenous people and reifies a narrative in which the Okinawans are not Japan’s *senjūmin*, but the *genjūmin* and/or *yuanzhumin* of South Island.

Although claiming a relationship and looking for indigenous roots from the south could be seen as an extension of *Nantō-ron*, I regard them as a way for the islanders to navigate in the ocean of Deep Time by referencing several pre-existing concepts. The direction of this voyage is traveling toward the South, but not necessarily the geographical south of Japan. This notion of southern-ness is the main course of this musical navigation that bind the two island groups together. Denning discusses a historicization in which the current Oceania could be viewed as bounded together by the exchanges of experience and cultural memory, saying:

For nearly five hundred years, native and strangers have been present in the same sea, have been part of each other’s culture-scape. The events of early contact might have been sporadic and disparate, but the exchanged experience and cultural memory of their coming together was more pervasive and permanent. The historicization—the encompassment—of a bound-together Oceania is marked by a process in which the two sides of the cultural divide are changed by one another and discover their separate cultural identity at the same time. *Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose* (2012, 16).

Denning’s statement captures the sentiment of an Oceanic encounter. Here, I argue that the musical interactions amongst these island musicians of Okinawa and Taiwan should be regarded as one of the many cases in this process of Oceanic historicization. By interacting with each other through cultural exchange, the two islanders not only develop distinct cultural identities (island-centric), but also are bound together by the ocean through shared or imagined historical memories. This indigenous epistemology sees the ocean and surrounding islands as imagined extensions of self, avoiding the creation of a colonial ideology founded in binary oppositions (Ingersoll 2016).

Inspired by a seascape epistemology, this musical collaboration thus serves as a way for the two islanders to historicize their distinct cultural identities and voyage toward a common indigenous origin. Through this process, the Okinawan understanding of cultural identity has shifted from Japan's southern islanders to Indigenous southern islanders.

To prepare for and perform in the *East Asian Roots Trip* concert, Taiwanese musicians physically and culturally travel to Okinawa Island, rehearse and collaborate with Okinawan musicians thereby discovering an indigenous pathway while simultaneously reinforcing each other's root. While maintaining their distinct cultural identities, the experience of cultural exchange in its entirety (i.e. sonic, visual, and textual) has generated a group memory and contributed to the forming of an indigenous identity that encompasses various cultural relationships on the West Pacific Ocean. This concert has metaphorically provided a traveling vessel for the islanders to celebrate their separate cultural identities while they also look beyond this Self of cultural identity and venture on an indigenous pathway of Deep Time toward new possibilities—a musical futurity.

To know Deep Time, Denning believes that we must travel beyond what archaeologists can tell us and enter into the ways the first peoples experienced themselves and their timeless land in order to listen to what we have assumed as “silences” (Denning 2004, 46). Performing in an archeological site has shifted the rhetoric of “a silent encounter” to a searching for an indigenous root. Acknowledging the islanders' multiple roots, the direction of this musical voyage is that of a “homecoming”—a return to a collective ancestral homeland. This concert as a traveling vessel is looking for a return to the Indigenous Self and moving toward a self-defined futurity. This Indigenous Self is different from the hegemonic narratives that posit a Before when an indigenous culture is “pure,” “innocent,” and “authentic,” assuming an unchanged and frozen-in-time cultural

status. A return to this Indigenous Self shows that these musicians are living in and voyaging into the ocean of Deep Time. Performing a hybridized sounding gathered from various “southern islands” has transformed the archeological site from a location where people silently meet a pre-historical past to a timeless space where the audience and musicians can actively listen and participate in discovering an indigenous past and futurity.

### **Direction: Indigenous South**

Some may suggest that the notion of southern-ness is a result of the “Global South” discussion stemming from the Bandung Conference in Indonesia in 1955. Referring to a third alternative to the ideologies and lifestyles of the “first world” or the “second world,” Global South grew out of a common colonial experience and the exploitation that many had experienced in their relations with the northern nations. Rather than being seen as a “third class,” Global South is a term more meaningful than the “Third World,” providing a postmodern critique urging for alternatives that should be defined by local histories, contexts, and knowledge based upon self-defined goals (Thomas-Slayter 2003). How is this notion of south-ness appropriated by Taiwanese and Okinawan musicians in their musical navigation?

In Chapter 3, I have used the case of Yonaguni Island to point out the multiple realities inspired by local histories among the Ryukyus, which constitute various reactions to Japan’s hegemonic power. Despite the southern Ryukyuans (i.e. Yaeyamans and Yonaguni islanders) holding different understandings on Japan’s colonialism, today, most Okinawans (i.e. the *uchinaachu*) see Japan as their colonizers and Taiwan as decolonized from this control. Meanwhile, from a Taiwanese perspective, some Taiwanese, especially those who have received a Japanese education, see the island is holding a “not-yet-ness” position of Japanization (Ching 2001).

The two island groups also hold different sentiments toward imperial China. While festivals (i.e. Shuri Castle Festival) and rituals on Okinawan main-island have been held annually to nostalgically celebrate an imperial relationship between China and the Ryukyu kingdom, many Taiwanese, especially amongst the younger generation of indigenous people, have referred the modern Chinas (both the ROC and PRC) as their colonizer. In fact, unlike the Ryukyu kingdom, Taiwan was never part of China's tributary system, which I have discussed in Chapter 2. In terms of the U.S., although the deployment of the American military caused protests within the Ryukyus, the troops also provided economic opportunities and have become one of the main sources of income. In addition to tourism, the US is currently renting the space for its military base from the Okinawan government. In Taiwan, some may see the Americans as having left, abandoned, or to some extent "betrayed" the ROC. In addition, some Taiwanese still hope for military protection from the US against the PRC. These multiple realities can be viewed as an outcome of entangled power relationships amongst Japan, China, and the U.S. that regard Taiwan and the Ryukyus as part of their imperial and colonial legacies. However, I argue that these political realities and historical memories not only highlight the distinct cultural identities among the islanders, but are also the main source for imagining a bounded cultural sphere of South Island.

Although Japanese colonialism in Taiwan unified the two island groups from 1895 to 1945, the close proximity and the rise of a global indigenism are, nevertheless, germane to the inclusion of Austronesia as part of this construction of south-ness in the H.O.T. Islands Music Festival. Proposed by archeologist Peter Bellwood and linguist Robert Blust in 2000, the hypothesis described the movement of Austronesian expansion that originated in Taiwan and further migrated southward to the Philippines and Papua New Guinea, later spreading throughout the Pacific, Southeast Asia, and Madagascar. This theory was later supported by biologist Jared Diamond's

article “Taiwan’s gift to the world,” highlighting Taiwan’s connection to a larger cultural sphere (Diamond 2000).

Here, it is worth noting that not only the origin of the word “Austronesians” denote the meaning of “Southern Islanders,” but its Mandarin translation *nandao minzu* (南島民族) also shares the same Chinese characters with the Japanese *nantō minzoku*—which often refers to the Ryukyans. Although the Ryukyans have yet to be included in the Austronesian cultural sphere in scholarly publications, the people of Taiwan and the Ryukyans have begun to imagine a collective southern island identity, referring to themselves as the “Southern Islanders.” The mixture of theories of Austronesian expansion and the *Kuroshio* cultural sphere has generated a sentiment of “south-ness,” encouraging the two islanders to look beyond their coastlines and voyage toward their indigenous past. Without specifying the exact location where this indigenous past lies, the islanders imagine and map this pathway towards the South. This South is not only an Okinawan *champurū* of south-ness, but also is an Austronesian experience. I suggest that the introduction to the Austronesian hypothesis has not only changed the minority politics in the ROC, but has also changed in Japan, connecting both Taiwan and the Ryukyans to a larger cultural and indigenous sphere through their maritime history. Following a migratory route that has been discovered by the Austronesians, the *East Asian Roots Trip* concert thus serves as a sonic vehicle to re-inscribe an indigenous path. This concert, as a sailing vessel, begins to travel towards “the Indigenous South” with the goal of discovery—an instance of vaguely deliberate voyage. They use what is still perceived as a chaotic hybridization of musical sounding to look beyond their imperial and colonial coasts and explore an indigenous future in the South. The *East Asian Roots Trip* concert is a case-in-point that shows music as a sonic vehicle that enables the two islanders to travel beyond their imperial and colonial coasts and explore an indigenous future in the South.

## Traveling on an Austronesian Pathway

I have discussed the Austronesian pathway metaphor in previous chapters and point out that this pathway is a trajectory of human movement through space and time. In this section, I present three way-stations that are salient in order for the islanders to map out an Austronesian pathway towards an Indigenous South. Before examining the three way-stations as reflected in the *East Asian Roots Trip* concert, a consideration of Suming's notion of pathway would be useful. Released in 2010, his first all-mother-tongue album *Suming* includes a song named "I Cowa Ko Lalan" (Where is My Path) with both the lyrics and music written by Suming, expressing a younger generation's concern over losing their path (*lalan*) and further encourage the younger generation to be proud of their heritage.

### Where is My Path? (2010)

We, the younger generation, have left the village, but our hearts are still there. Although we've worked long and hard, we have nothing to show for our effort. Yet, there is still someone who will show us the way. I wonder where my path is...I hope someone can show me. Young people, keep on going strong! Work hard and take care of yourselves! Stay on the straight and narrow. The people of your village will always be proud of you. (Translated by Andrew Ryan)

This *lalan* Suming describes is the path linking between his home village and the outside world, or the urbanized areas in Taiwan. Suming, as a member of the younger generation traveling outside of their home seeking new opportunities, is afraid that he might lose his *lalan*. This *lalan* is a pathway with ancestral roots expanding to new territories. Despite the difficulties he encountered on this journey, he reminds all the travelers to be strong and to look forward because the people in their village, E'tolan (Dulan in Chinese), will always support them from behind.

In fact, before Suming's pop rendition of the Amis sentence, one of the elders and an artist in E'tolan, Siki Sufin, employed this notion of pathway in his theatrical productions in the early 2000s. His performing group, Dulan Mountain Theater, for example, produced *I Cowa Ko Lalan* (Where is My Path) in 2002, aiming to "rethink and create new possibilities of performing ways for Taiwanese aboriginal music and dance, ritual, and stage—from being viewed as the others to gradually walking to a self-defined cultural ownership and creativity" (Dulan Mountain Theatre Online). Moreover, narrating the violence and displacement forcefully applied to the indigenous people of Taiwan, his 2009 theatrical work *Lu You Duo Chang* (How Long is the Road) depicts a group of Amis people who served as Japanese soldiers during WWII to fight against the Chinese and then served as Chinese nationalist soldiers to fight against the Communist after the Pacific War. Not being able to return to Taiwan, these Amis people remained in mainland China and were not recognized neither as citizens of Japan nor the ROC.

Although *i cowa ko lalan* is not a pan-Amis phrase used in every Amis village in Taiwan, contextualizing this phrase would shed light on the Austronesian notion of pathway. When asked about the notion of *lalan*, Siki again contextualizes it by referencing the sentence *i cowa ko lalan*. This sentence, as he describes, is delivered in two instances: 1) when a ritual/dance is concluded during harvest season, elders grant youngsters permission and guidance to leave an Amis gathering space as a transitional symbol from the spiritual world to everyday life; and 2) when youngsters acquire new information and knowledge from the elders (personal communication, June 22, 2015). This notion of pathway in an Austronesian world is treated both physically and metaphorically in two continual ways: 1) constructing a pathway between domains of time and space (which I have addressed in Chapter 2), and 2), (also the main focus of this chapter), gathering knowledge and information to map out a pathway in search of a relevant futurity. Taking the Okinawan notion of

*champururu* as a departing point and mixing it with the Austronesian pathway, the following describes three way-stations in a vaguely deliberate voyage. In this musical navigation of searching for an indigenous futurity, the island musicians: 1) acquire/deconstruct the gathered knowledge, 2) combine the information, and 3) travel on a constructed pathway toward an indigenous south.

### ***Way station 1: Gathering/Deconstructing South-ness***

Introduced to Cuban music at the age of 19 while serving in the Japanese Self-Defense Forces, Tarō travelled to Cuba in 1994 and made connections with the Okinawan diasporic community that had moved to Cuba during the Pacific War. Traveling back and forth between Okinawa and Cuba, he began learning Cuban music and later established the band in 1998. In the article *Loochoo Beat(s)*, James Roberson believes that the popularity of Latin music in Okinawa derives from the sentiment of “constructing, but also personally embodying a colorful, energetic ‘shared southern-ness’ between Okinawa and Latin America” (Roberson 2002, page). Roberson further explains these musicians and bands are part of the composition of Okinawa as a hybrid (*champururu*) ‘diaspora space’ (Roberson 2002, page). Here, I regard this southern-ness to the geographical location as south of the U.S. Although Cuba lies isolated in the Caribbean Sea, Kachimba’s understanding of Latin music provides a southern island sentiment, paralleling Cuba with Okinawa and highlighting the hegemony in the north (i.e. the US.). Via Tarō, Kachimba members continue to interact with the islanders of Cuba, gathering a form of southern-ness that symbolizes a sentiment of anti-American militarization. Although many of the members are not fluent in Spanish, they deconstructed what they have acquired during their musical navigation in Cuba. Performing in the classical *son conjunto* ensemble style, Kachimba 4 consists of one double bass musician, one percussionist who plays the bongo and conga, one trumpeter, and one guitarist.



Spelling out the lyrics by using Japanese *kana*, they sing in Spanish and dance salsa to protest against the violence applied both on the Okinawans and Cubans.

Walking down the stairs as I entered the limestone cave of Gangala Valley, visually, I noticed the presented “pre-historical” setting: fenced in-process excavation work and the articles of a 2014 newspaper that reported the latest archeological evidence that indicated the oldest human settlement in Japan. Sonically, a song that echoes inside the cave was one of the most famous “World Music” songs—the German ensemble Enigma’s “Return to Innocence,” which was involved in an international lawsuit due to a copyright issue in 1996 as it appropriated a traditional Amis song of the Malan village known as “Joyful Drinking Song” or “huanle yinjiuge” (Guy 2002).

The polyphonic singing in Malan’s “Joyful Drinking Song” is a musical characteristic of southern Amis musical practice. Sung by using the indexical vocables (such as *ho, hai, yan*), it often consists of two or more singers: a lead singer, another singer with a higher vocal range, and a chorus. Traditionally, the parts of the leading and higher voices are performed by specialists who can be male or female and are considered as extraordinary singers within the village regardless of gender. By parsing out a certain melody, the lead singer establishes the basic melodic structure for the choir and the higher voice to sing along with thus creating a “counterpoint-like” texture. This technique is called *ikung*, which literally means, “to curve.” Based on the technique of *ikung*, melodies from individual elaborations of pitches and tempo interlock, creating the musical performance. This leads to considering three elements as crucial to an Amis song: format of lead singer and chorus, texture of lower and higher register voices, and the special technique *ikung*.

Research done between the periods from the 50s to the 70s by Han Chinese scholars defined the Amis as a matrilineal society based upon their uxorilocality and right of inheritance, constructing the image of Amis’ social structure as female-oriented. However, some of my Amis

informants have denied this scholarly claim, indicating that this notion is Sino-centric and uses the Han system as a contrast to the Amis gender relationship. Contemporary anthropologists, such as Wen-te Chen and Michio Suenari define Amis social structure as *loma'*-oriented. *Loma'* has two meanings: 1) the family household as a unit and 2), the physical space of resistance. In the concept of *loma'*, females and males are considered equal, each with their own responsibilities to maintain and balance a social structure. This notion of a family household or social space as a unit can also be observed in other Austronesian societies, such as the Hawaiian '*ohana* and the Samoan '*aiga*.

When I asked an elder of Malan village how he learned to sing, he said: "I overheard the elders singing so I secretly hid and tried to mimic them; they were singing during their *mipaliw*." (Personal Communication, 2012) Literally meaning to exchange labors, *mipaliw* was a traditional working method in which a group of two to four villagers work in the fields. Occasionally consisting of pairs of married couples, traditionally, the Amis sing based on a cognitive understanding developed among the members in a workscape during *mipaliw*. Through such moments they learn each other's '*ikung* as a group experience. The working group as a performing group reflects the ideology of *loma'* and balance. Thus, the polyphonic singing style could be regarded as an extension of this indigenous epistemology as well as an indigenous instance of hybridization between two families, which shows that hybridization occurs at both micro and macro levels.

Although "Joyful Drinking Song" was not given a specific title by the indigenous people nor was it sung in a fixed format as performed today—a male lead and a female counterpoint, Enigma took a recorded version of the Amis song released and preserved by the Maison des Cultures in an album named *Polyphonies Vocales des Aborigenes Taiwan* (1989). Sung by an Amis couple Difang (Ying-nan Kuo) and Ignay (Hsiu-chu Kuo), the German ensemble sampled

the male voice of Difang and removed (faded) the female voice of Ignay, negating the indigenous way that sees a singing group as a unit. By erasing the female part, the German ensemble foregrounds a lingering patrimonial mentality and gender coding in Western classical music, including the German formulations of “fatherland,” “male cadence,” and “master musicians.” Eliminating an Austronesian given of social balance, the German rendition also assumes indigenous voice as “innocence” and nature.

Due to this high-profile event, Taiwanese aborigines became the center of attention in Taiwan as a way for some politicians to “call upon aborigines and their culture to stand as a symbol of Taiwan...and advocate Taiwan’s independence from China” (Guy 2002, 204). Enigma’s pop arrangement was eventually re-adopted by the Amis people and popularized as the Amis’ or pan-Taiwanese aboriginal “national anthem” (Hung 2014). In 2011, Suming re-claimed the ownership by releasing his pop version of “Joyful Drinking Song.”<sup>3</sup> It was arranged with Western instruments, including the bass and piano, generating a relaxing-lounge-like atmosphere. Using a steady, but slower tempo, it follows the “authentic” version recorded in the French album and brings back the female voice. Although the flexibility of tempo is restricted in this pop adoption, Suming’s version restores the Amis notion of *‘loma*. This version was later performed by Suming and the Okinawan musicians in the *East Asian Roots Trip* concert.

In performing this now standardized Amis song, one of the female singers from Kachimba 1551 joined Suming (one male and one female), while the Kachimba 4 played the accompanying background music, forming an Austronesian unit. Without using any Latin elements, the “Joyful Drinking Song” performed in the concert was the exact reproduction of Suming’s pop version. When I asked Kachimba members’ about their learning process of singing and playing this song,

---

<sup>3</sup> Suming includes an Amis title of this song as “Sapi liepah a radiw” in his 2011 album.

they said: “we listened to the soundtrack Suming sent us and tried to imitate the singing.” A few days after the concert, Kachimba performed the Amis song at Mil Besos without Suming’s presence—both the two vocalists were Okinawans. Tarō explained: “indigenous Okinawan music should be like Taiwanese music without the *sanshin*”—the Okinawan three-stringed lute of Chinese origin and a political symbol of the Ryukyu kingdom (personal communication, June 17, 2015).

Stefan Fiol, in his study of the people of northern India, states “the experience of mass-mediated sounds and images can engender feelings of alienation from the real thing within the listening subject, resulting in the reification of the loss of authenticity (nostalgia) as a market value that can be exchanged” (Fiol 2010, 31). Although the standardized version of “Joyful Drinking Song” was decontextualized from the original context (i.e. *mipaliw*) where the traditional Amis singing could be developed, its nostalgic feeling as a market value and as an equivalence of an indigenous loss can thus be shared between Suming and Kachimba members. Tarō’s statement is nostalgically recalling a revival of indigenous practice and culture in Okinawa. Although the Okinawans were not enculturated to Amis singing, via a musical interaction with Taiwanese indigenous people, they historicize the cultural interconnectivity between the two island groups. This ability of Okinawans to reify their own sense of loss is borrowed from an Amis icon of loss, similar to the urban black appropriation of the Jamaican reggae.

Personally embodying this version of indigeneity, the Okinawan musicians of Kachimba Quattro have deliberately situated themselves as the diaspora of “South Island,” acknowledging their southern origin and creating a pathway between Okinawa Island, as the migrated homeland, and Taiwan, as the speculated homeland of yore. By performing “Joyful Drinking Song,” Kachimba accesses, deconstructs and appropriates a form of south-ness from Taiwan—thus re-

accessing an indigeneity of southness. This claim shows that the Okinawan identification has departed from the pre-established polarities (i.e. East Asians and Japanese), and is on a voyage toward an alternative of indigenous people of the South Island. Traveling on an Austronesian pathway, they begin the transformative and indigenizing process—deconstructing the gathered south-ness.

### ***Way station 2: Combining/Mixing Textured Sources***

Within the Ryukyu archipelago, the southern Ryukyuans (islanders on Miyako and Yaeyama Islands) were often discriminated against by those from the Okinawan main-island, especially those from the political center of the Ryukyu Kingdom in the Shuri area. A number of traditional Yaeyaman songs circulated amongst labor and lower classes, such as the *yunta* genre, depict the conflicts between Shuri officials and southern Ryukyuans—the song “Asadoya Yunta” is one case-in-point. Originating from Taketomi Island in the Yaeyama region, this song tells the story of a woman called Kuyama who is forced to marry an official from Shuri and chides the officers from Okinawa Island who treat the local people badly (Potter 2010).

Although traditionally *yunta* songs were sung without accompaniment, today, most of them are usually accompanied by the *sanshin* and notated in the *kunkunshi*, a Chinese-inspired notation system used for the *sanshin* (more importantly used for Shuri-based *uta-sanshin* or *koten*). The *sanshin* was introduced to the Yaeyama region in the late 18th century, but was primarily used among the wealthy elite and Shuri officials. Gillen explains, “While the *sanshin* in the early 21st century enjoys high social status throughout Okinawa prefecture as a symbol of an Okinawan cultural identity, the instrument had a more ambivalent image until the mid-20th century, and the *sanshin* players were often seen as socially undesirable” (Gillen 2012, 34). My informants from

Yonagui Island points out that Yaeyamans were too poor to play the sanshin during and before WWII and they only began to use the kunkunshi to preserve and collect their traditional songs after the Pacific War. Being able to read the notation and play the instrument symbolizes a higher level of civility (i.e. musical literacy) in the Ryukyu kingdom as well as in today's Okinawa prefecture as they represent a part of the circulated power among East Asian hegemonies. Adopted as an elite technology, these musical devices are a means of standardizing and canonizing the Yaeyaman yunta songs. Thus, to play "Asadoya Yunta" without using the sanshin not only signifies a departure from the Shuri-defined civility, but also re-engages the political tension between the Ryukyu kingdom and Southern Ryukyuan.

In the volume *Yaeyama Koyō* or Yaeyama Old Songs (1970), the folklorist Eijun Kishaba provides a Taketomi Island version of "Asadoya Yunta" that includes lyrics that touch on the notions of procreation and sensuality. During the control of the Ryukyu kingdom, Yaeyaman women were encouraged to become *makanai onna* (bribery women) by marrying officials deployed from Shuri. In return, they gained economic benefits and tax relief. Unlike the Ishigaki Island version, in which Kuyama rejected this proposal and eventually decided to marry a local man, the Taketomi version depicts how Kuyama despised a lower ranking official and instead married a higher-ranking one. Preferring the higher-ranking official, they celebrate by drinking while Kuyama "holds the saucer elegantly and drinks beautifully." Later, "behind the eight-folding screen, they crossed each other's arm, crossed each other's crotch, and went to bed. The man was allowed to stay to make the woman pregnant. Their male children will be born to rule the island and female ones will be born to keep the household." Here, Kuyama's desire to engage in a reproductive activity with a higher-ranking man can be viewed as a decision for the island's prosperity. It reflects an Austronesian value that sees sexually explicit songs (such as the Hawaiian

*mele ma'i*) as a celebration of life and prosperity. By invoking a sexual potency necessary for the conception of offspring, the version of “Asadoya Yunta” encourages the perpetuation of a higher-raking genealogy.

Like “Joyful Drinking Song,” the most well-known version of “Asadoya Yunta” was popularized through the “Would Music” industry, also called Shin-Asadoya Yunta (New Asadoya Yunta). In 1934, Nippon Columbia, a record company decided to produce recordings of songs from all parts of the Okinawa prefecture that included both traditional songs in Yaeyaman languages and their rearranged versions sung in standard Japanese, attempting to position Yaeyama within a Japanese cultural framework (Gillan 2012). Organized by Eijun Kishaba, who commissioned standard Japanese lyrics from a poet Katsu Hoshi, Shin-Asadoya Yunta was accompanied by the piano and violin—sounds familiar to Japanese elites and Western ears, producing a sense of modernity. In this new version, the original lyrics were trimmed down to just four verses (from 32 or so) and replaced by the Japanese-influenced 7-7-7-5 form known as *dodoitsu*. Removing the sexually explicit lyrics, the new “Asadoya Yunta<sup>4</sup>” is a sanitized hegemonic version that intends to produce an embraceable imagery for Yaeyama as part of a culturally homogenous and modern Japan. Depicting Kuyama as victimized and passive without choice, the new “Asadoya Yunta” was manipulated as a cultural object for the hegemonic Other. This version of “Asadoya Yunta” was rearranged by Kachimba and released in its 2003 album entitled “Salsa de Yunta.”

Like “Joyful Drinking Song,” the mass-mediated sounds of “Asadoya Yunta” have become a market value that could be exchanged and circulated between the Taiwanese and

---

<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, the melody of new “Asadoya Yunta” was appropriated and re-composed for a Hong Kong televised drama’s theme song called “Confucius Says” in 2007.

Okinawans. Led by Suming, “Salsa de Yunta” was performed in the *East Asian Roots Trip* concert.

### **Salsa De Yunta (2004)**

Japanese: You are like the flower on a bramble bush. When I try to return home in the evening, you snare me. How sad, my darling. (Translated by Matt Gillen)

Spanish: We came from Okinawa. Give me a fire to enjoy fun.

During the performance after the introduction of “Asadoya Yunta” played by the trumpet, Suming starts the song with a shouted call-and-response pattern. Inspired by the Okinawan drumming tradition that is performed to awaken deceased ancestors known as *eisa* (Nelson 2008), the pattern is appropriated and performed in most of *Uchinaa* pop songs and live music concerts for the musicians to generate a sense of inclusivity. Suming shouts: *i-ya-sa-sa* and Kachimba members respond *ha-i-ya*. He calls again: *natiche* (“one more time” in Okinawan) and Kachimba members respond *ha-i-ya*. He then proceeds to sing the Japanese lyrics: “you are like the flower on a bramble bush; when I try to return home in the evening you snare me.” All the musicians onstage then follow by singing: “*mata harinu chindara kanushama yo.*” Although most of my Okinawan informants regard this phrase as musical accompanying vocables (*hayashi kotoba*), some told me that it originates from ancient Yaeyaman language, meaning: “see you again, beautiful people.” However, Japanese scholars such as Yoshikazu Toritsuka propose the possibility of an Indonesian origin which reads *matahari mencintai kamu sama yo* or “the sun loves us equally.” I will discuss the notion of hybrid meanings and origins in the following chapter. Later, Kachimba and Suming sing alternately as the song continues to the bridge. Kachimba members sing in Spanish “we came from Okinawa; give me a fire to enjoy fun<sup>5</sup>,”

---

<sup>5</sup> The original Spanish lyrics are “de Okinawa llegamos ya dame fuego para gozar.”



followed by Suming singing in Hohaiyan vocal style, an Amis traditional singing of indexical vocables now popularized and stereotyped as pan-Aboriginal in Taiwan.

Ethnomusicologist Ricardo Trimillos points out that instead of losing its textures, Austronesian hybridity often retain identifiable features of the original sources (personal communication, October 28, 2015). I regard this performance of “Salsa de Yunta” as a presentation of an Austronesian mixture with three forms of textured southern-ness—each represented by their signature ethnic soundings. The Spanish lyrics and salsa-like beats form a conglomerate of the American south. The Taiwanese indigenous singing and voice construct a notion of the China south. Built upon a traditional Yaeyama song, the foundation of “Salsa de Yunta” represents the Japan south and signifies an anti-Shuri sentiment, invoking the historical memory of China-Japan rivalry over the Ryukyu archipelago. I argue this mixture of southern-ness serves to destabilize global apparatuses imposed by the three hegemonies in the north and further strengthens the indigenous connection between the southern Ryukyus and aboriginal Taiwan.

### ***Way station 3: Constructing Toward Futurity***

The third way station concludes the process of this musical voyage—the final product of the mixture of collected new elements that offers a possible solution to the current political dilemma and provides a futurity to indigenous people in East Asia. This mixture further shows that diasporic mobility and traveling on a pathway does not imply a loss of indigenous identity; rather, this routing of cultures can expand what it means to be indigenous (Clifford 2013).

There are a number of songs performed in this concert that exemplify this process, including the song “Fali” or “Wind.” Composed originally by Suming in 2012, the version performed in the concert is Kachimba’s new rendition, rearranging it with the salsa elements such as the son clave rhythm and the *son conjunto* instrumentation. Presented in a Latin music style, Suming describes the power of *fali* as a series of motions, i.e. stirring up the breakers in the ocean or lifting the sand in gusts. He sings: “a cool breeze takes the edge off a hot day; it’s all because of the wind” followed by a call-and-response between him and Kachimba in an Amis style.

Within a native mindset, I see *fali* as the trade winds that enable the musical navigation, carrying indigenous knowledge along an ancient *lalan*. The call-and-response constitutes a dialogue between the two indigenous peoples—a collective wind blowing northward that disrupts colonial fixity and hegemonic narratives. Led by Suming, the members of Kachimba resonate with the Amis tune re-tracing a pathway toward an indigenous future that includes both Taiwan and Okinawa. With the help of an Austronesian wind, this musical voyage has departed from the coastline of Okinawa. Following this argument, I claim *champururu* to be descriptive of more than an Okinawan entity—it belies an Austronesian purview.

### **Concluding Thoughts**

I began this chapter by introducing the coastline of Okinawa, specifically the location of Mil Besos, to contextualize the creation of Okinawan-Latin music played by the Salsa group Kachimba. This location is a series of encounters in which the Okinawan musicians could personally embody the vibrant energy of Latin music in contrasting with the silence of American military base. This location is also where the Okinawan musicians negotiate their identity with political hegemonies (i.e. Japan and the U.S.), exchange their musical ideas with other islanders

(i.e. Taiwanese), and plan for a musical voyage. The sentiment of location as encounter has been appropriated by the Okinawan musicians in discovering their indigenous past through crossing musically with Taiwanese indigenous musicians in the archeological site, the Gangala Valley.

Taking the notion of *champururu* as a paradigm, I suggest that the production of fusion music can be regarded as an indigenizing process in constructing an Okinawan soundscape: 1) gathering the ingredients, 2) deconstructing the ingredients, and 3) combining the prepared ingredients. I also described the forming of a hybridized concept of southern-ness, which combines Japanese Southern Island Theory such as the Kuroshio cultural sphere with the hypothesis on Austronesian migration. Rather than being confined in the geographical location of the south, the two islanders deliberately imagine a pathway toward a metaphorical south and eventually will reach a new destination where an encompassing indigenous history can be found—traveling into Deep Time. Vaguely mapping out an Austronesian pathway toward the South, these musical travelers reference their pre-existing knowledge on making hybridized music (i.e. *champururu*) and plan for a navigation in discovering an indigenous past and futurity. That is, to navigate musically, both Okinawan and Taiwanese musicians would depart from the current coastline where they have developed styles of fusion music through previous cultural encounters. Signified by historical memories, they reference musical ideas from the past and deliberately imagine a musical pathway that bridges between the current coastline and a new destination. Instead of having a clear location of this new destination, these musicians map out a musical pathway toward a vaguely defined direction.

In the case of *East Asian Roots Trip*, my analysis of three way-stations on an Austronesian pathway maps the departure of this musical navigation from the coastline of *champururu*: 1) Gathering/deconstructing new knowledge after an origin is established, 2) combining collected

elements that retain textures that signify origins, and 3) creating a mixture that offers a sense of futurity. These way stations reveal that an Austronesian pathway is not only a journey that links multiple domains of time and space, but also constitutes a route for indigenous hybridity. It is a hybridity that allows modern islanders on the West Pacific Ocean to expand what it means to be indigenous and therefore to travel toward a self-defined futurity. In the next chapter, I will focus on the H.O.T. Island Music Festival and provide a detailed analysis on the creation of Southern Island Music.

## Chapter 5: Making a Musical Lei: Indigenous Alliances and Interactive Improvisation

### A Recording Session

On June 16, 2016, fourteen Okinawan and Taiwanese musicians gathered in a studio located in an old Japanese-built sugar factory in Taitung, East Taiwan, to record a musical piece titled “Song of the Islands” (CH: *daoyu zi ge*; JP: *shima no uta*). Co-composed by indigenous Taiwanese and Okinawan musicians with a text including Amis (an Austronesian language), Mandarin, Okinawan, and Japanese languages, this fusion music was featured at the closing performance of the 2016 H.O.T. Islands Music Festival (hereafter: HOTIMF)—the acronym refers to three key locations of a putative cultural connection: Hualien (east coast of Taiwan), Okinawa Island, and Taitung (southeast part of Taiwan). The musical piece would later be used as the theme song by the festival in the following years. What is so interesting about “Song of the Islands” is that, like the previous year when Suming travelled to Okinawa Island and collaborated with the Okinawan salsa group Kachimba, the musical piece was composed within a period of ten days when another group of Okinawan musicians was toured and visited several Taiwanese indigenous villages in 2016—literally a musical navigation. I have discussed that the notion of a musical navigation is driven by a series of encounters (a mobile interaction between Self and Others) and the flexibility of indigenous, island-oriented pragmatism. Traveling together in producing new music, this musical navigation of the two islanders is both accidental and purposeful. The accidental aspect is that none of the musicians could predict the end result (destination) coming out of each improvisational “jam session,” which may or may not generate *flow* activities (Csikszentmihalyi 1990). The purposeful aspect is that these jam sessions are

prearranged and pre-organized with the goal of facilitating musical exchanges. Makoto Maruyama, one of the musicians from Okinawa Island who has participated in the festival since 2014, says, “these Taiwanese musicians all value their indigenous identities and the melodies of their ancestors, passing down music very consciously; therefore, we have found our common ground within that aspect...through this travel, we generate a resonating point that connects us; I really want to discover and compose a song with them together” (Maruyama 2017).



Figure 5.1  
Recording Session of “Song of the Islands”

Defining improvisation as a social activity that cannot readily be scripted, predicted, or compelled into orthodoxy, Rebecca Caines and Ajay Heble write, “improvisation is a vital life-force and performance practice that has animated and activated diverse energies of inspiration, critique, and invention” (2015: 2). Like many songs classified within the genre of “World

Music,” “Song of the Islands” is hybrid music and draws upon musical experiences in Okinawan *Uchinaa* Pop and Taiwanese Aboriginal Pop, featuring sonic elements such as Western music instrumentation, Okinawan vocal timbre, and an aboriginal Taiwanese tune. Before the recording session, these musicians spent six days jamming at prearranged workshops while drinking, eating, socializing, and learning each other’s musical styles. During this musical hybridizing process, each individual is engaging with both pre-established rules and their own responses to those improvised sounds alongside the actions of others (Foster 2015). “Song of the Islands” is produced through the interactivity between the stipulated directions and the spontaneous solutions—thus musical navigation as interactive improvisation. This chapter aims to understand this interaction and transmission of subjectivities by focusing on the indigenously claimed interconnectedness of Taiwan and Okinawa during the genesis of “Song of the Islands.”

The rhetoric of hybridity often centers around issues of post-colonialism and globalization, framing such mixing as a cultural eclecticism positioned in “the third space” (Bhabha 1994). In Bhabha’s notion, hybridity embodies a form of liminality, in-between-ness, or what he terms the third space where translation and negotiation occur. According to Bhabha, the third space is an ambivalent site where cultural meaning and representation have no primordial unity or fixity. In this study, I depart from (or resist) such usual theorizations of cultural hybridity by foregrounding a Pacific and Oceanic sensibility shared among the island groups of the region on the West Pacific Ocean/East China Sea. I focus on the subjectivities and sensibilities intersected, shared, and/or circulated among the two island musicians by examining the issue of human agency (including indigenous allies) exercised in the region. I point out that by sharing their life experience, feelings, and historical memories through musical exchange, their marginalized subjectivity can be further overlapped, constituting an indigenous coalition

and producing a more encompassing and high-level category of musical language as an expressive embodiment of indigeneity. I thus treat “Song of the Islands” and fusion music in the region as an indigenous literary vehicle and a way of historical storytelling.

### **Garland-Making in Austronesia and the Pacific**

To further emphasize this indigenous subjectivity and human agency, I borrow the process of garland-making throughout Austronesia and the Pacific as a useful metaphor and rationale for theorizing hybridized, interconnected, and indigenous cultural expressions. Although today’s garlands (e.g. lei in Hawaiian, *nisa engedan* in Amis) are sold throughout the Pacific islands at tourist sites as a marker of tropical paradise, they were traditionally ceremonial offerings to gods, gifts for important persons, and adornments for dancers and chanters. My most memorable personal experience with garland-making concerned hiking a trail with native Hawaiian lei makers. They picked and selected parts from different plants encountered as we walked, twisting and braiding these collected materials. The final creation was a lei that consisted of different leaves and flowers that literally embodied moments of encounter along the hiking pathway we followed. Hawaiian scholar Ku‘ualoha Ho‘omanawanui points out the construction of Hawaiian literature is similar to that of a lei. In each process, the crafter selects the materials and then carefully places them in a desired order for a particular effect (2014). This notion, which stems from the Pacific ethos of Multiple Bodies (or *kinolau* in Hawaiian), regards natural phenomena as bodily forms assumed by deities and ancestral spirits (McDonald 2003) who are part of a tightly woven fabric of reality that is the foundation of an indigenous epistemology. Thus, each piece of flower or leaf is considered a physical manifestation of a specific deity—a powerful integration of indigenous-self that combines multiple domains from



different times and spaces. I suggest this notion of oneness assumed by multiple bodies can be understood as indigenous hybridity—that is, a putatively single cultural object which contains a multiplicity of materials, such as the lei, a *chumpuru* dish, and the fusion song. That is, like lei and *chumpuru* makers, the musicians who composed “Song of the Islands” carefully selected and placed materials, sonically gathering them from among the Southern Islands, along a pathway of the Black Current.

This maker is not only a player (or improviser) but also a listener (or consumer) who understands the shared cultural codes and indigenous notion of senses. These physical and sonic embodiments of indigenous hybridity are perishable goods (flowers, foods, and sounds) that deteriorate over time and are ephemeral. Amanda Boetzkes writes, “Ephemerality is a quality caused by the ebb and flow of the crowd’s concentration on the performance and a reflection of the nostalgic character of specific performances” (2010: 148). By focusing on these interwoven ephemera reified in the improvisational event, I point out that this recording session of “Song of the Islands,” along with its timing, goal, and locale, not only generates a sense of restorative nostalgia (Boym 2001) among the islanders, but also raises a series of issues about the interconnectivity of Taiwanese and Okinawan identities, offering a clear case for cultural hybridity as indigenous critique that can be performed through musical sound and that can destabilize an essentialized and hegemonic understanding of these islands. Thus, this chapter is also an attempt to theorize *affect*, which can be found in the regularly hidden-in-plain-sight politically engaged work that attends to the hard and fast materialities, as well as the fleeting and flowing ephemera, where persistent, repetitious practices of power can simultaneously provide a body or collectivized bodies with predicament and potentials for realizing a world that subsists within and exceeds the horizons and boundaries of the normalizing power and control

(Seigworth and Gregg 2010). I argue that by sharing the physical and social spaces, as well as improvisative moments, the two island musicians (both as players and listeners) transform musical performances into events and historic memories that last long after the end of ephemeral sensibilities, contributing to the metanarratives produced by the islanders on the West Pacific Ocean.

### **Coalition Formation and Cultural Intimacy**

Alternating between East Taiwan and Okinawa Island, the H.O. T. Island Music Festival started in 2014 and is now held annually, emphasizing the quality of cultural intimacy through activities and experiencing local ways of living including workshops, public seminars, and concerts. Favored by both Taiwanese and Okinawan musicians, the informal, sociable, and metaphorical modes of speaking about music have improved the understanding of the structural and textual aspects of music between the two groups. The organizers of HOTIMF provide an alternative narrative that focuses on the cultural-ecological connection via the Black Current traversing between Taiwan and Okinawa, appropriating several notions of “south-ness” (i.e. Austronesia, *Nantō*, and *Nandao*). Started in Taiwan, the first HOTIMF was sponsored by Taiwan’s National Taitung Living Art Center (NTLAC) under the instructions of ROC’s Ministry of Culture. According to NTLAC’s website, the organization was founded in 1936 during Japan’s rule and its agendas include promoting the development of aboriginal cultures, creating an aesthetic living environment, and leveling the manner and quality of humanism (or *suyang* in Chinese) in the Hua-Dong area (Hualian and Taitung). Despite this colonial and dismissive attitude toward indigenous cultures, the current director of NTLAC, Chongji Li, proposes a different approach saying, “although Hua-Dong is located in a remote area, has

slower development, and is being called *houshan* ('behind the mountain'), it is full of natural resources and is culturally diverse. Facing the world and facing the Pacific Ocean, we are the *qianshan* ('front mountain')." He believes that culture comes from living and Hua-Dong's special environment and cultural history have shaped a unique aesthetic *houshan* value. By exhibiting this value, NTLAC aims to build Hua-Dong into the hometown of Taiwan's culture and spirit. Growing up in the area, Li has transformed a colonial institution like the NTLAC into one that serves an indigenous agenda. Although the notion of "cultural development" is rooted in Japan's Meiji Restoration and China's May 4th Movement, it is Li's reinvented and a localized island/oceanic approach supported and benefited by the planning of the HOTIMF. Based on the interviews of musicians presented in the festival's documentaries from 2014 to 2017, the following provides a chronological history on its development.

In addition to Director Li of NTLAC, the festival has two main organizers who are responsible for liaising between Taiwan and Okinawa: Shuyi Ma (a.k.a. Sister Homi) and Mr. Irei, who I have mentioned in the previous chapter. Sister Homi's husband, Dakanow, is a Paiwan musician. Both of them joined the traditional Amis age-system in E'tolan Village in Taitung, becoming allies of the Amis village. Sister Homi has been the principal advocate for the festival. From planning, scheduling, to organizing events, Sister Homi has also been a leader, negotiator, and publicist for the festival. In late 2013, director Li first came to Homi to discuss the concept of foregrounding Hua-Dong's cultural aesthetics and values. Through Homi, Mr. Irei was on board in planning the musical festival. Homi explains:

This is my first time organizing an international music festival. Initially, we invited these musicians with a low budget, but we hope that during this time these (Okinawan) musicians can physically experience the cultures and people of Hua-Dong.

While Irei (Okinawan) and his wife Yuka Aaki (Japanese) own a company called *Nihao Wohao* (“You are good, I am good” or “hello, I am good”) in Taipei city, promoting Taiwan-Japan relations by selling Taiwanese and Japanese cultural goods. Irei says:

Many people have never stepped outside of their countries and each of them have their own cultures and habits; [I think] cultural exchange is the best way to understand each other.

With the same understanding of having a cultural exchange, Director Li adds:

East Taiwan is closer to the Pacific Ocean and we should find a place that shares the same cultural experience with Hua-Dong. I think Okinawa is the most important place in this regard. But which aspect should we start from? Let’s start with music.

In 2014, the first music festival only invited a group of six Okinawan musicians to East Taiwan to share their music-making processes. Through events like public concerts and forums, the festival presents a series of musical interactions between Taiwanese and Okinawan musicians, further promoting a cultural collaboration between the two. For example, one of the public forums shows a live and improvisational musical interaction between the Okinawan *sanshin* and the Taiwanese jaw harp *Lubuw*. Dakanow (Homi’s husband) comments:

My previous experiences working with Japanese musicians were through onstage performances and never had off-stage interactions. Specifically through the format of workshops, we discuss this thing called music at the same space and time, understanding each other’s creative process in close proximity.

Dakanow later became the main music producer for “Song of the Islands” focusing on this intimate interaction between the two island musicians.

In 2014, some of the Okinawan musicians only had direct or indirect interactions with Taiwan. One of the Okinawan percussionists, Ms. Onaga Midori (also an old member of Kachimba), had been bringing Taiwanese indigenous children to Okinawa to teach them Okinawan drumming patterns. For the Okinawans who had never visited Taiwan before, the

2014 festival transformed their musical journey from an accidental navigation to a purposeful one. Their cultural imagination of Taiwan, along with their newly-composed music, has been centered around the shared similarities between the two islands. Through an inter-island travel, the cultural comparison between East Taiwan and Okinawa is inspired by personally experiencing Taiwan's indigeneity. One Okinawan band, Jujumo (named after a forest on Okinawa Island) explains:

In Okinawa, many people believe in nature, believing in the existence of mountain and sea gods. We also use forms like clapping and drumming to invite and send away our ancestral spirits. This is similar to Taiwanese aboriginal cultures...

The life and land of Taitung is infused with music. I feel the music of everyone who lives here. Like when I sing, I want to portray an Okinawan sentiment, life, and imagination—naturally creating music that could permeate people's heart.

With musicking as traveling and as experiencing life, the musical festival has proposed regularized visitations between Taiwanese and Okinawan musicians. The shared feelings and sentiments between the two islanders have intensified in the following festivals, grounding the knowledge of being marginalized people in East Asian politics.

In 2015, more Taiwanese musicians joined in and traveled to Okinawa Island for the 2nd HOTIMF. To continue the notion of cultural intimacy, the organizers planned visitations to two villages, Yomitan and Kunigami, located on the central and northern parts of Okinawa Island. The Taiwanese musicians' understanding of Okinawan history and culture was further deepened. Many Taiwanese musicians learned the island's history including the Ryukyu kingdom and Okinawan War and were educated about the political conflict between Japan and Okinawa. In addition, through these visits the Taiwanese musicians were taught Okinawan traditional songs and local ways of living in the two villages. The guitarist of Jujumo, Mr. Makoto Maruyama, says:

I was tremendously inspired by the local cultures and the way the festival was promoted last year when I was in Taiwan. We were thinking of what could the visitation of Taiwanese musicians bring us this time...and at the time, two villages also wanted an international cultural exchange and therefore helped us plan the activities.

I have elaborated this sentiment of an Oceanic encounter explained by Denning in Chapter 4. The interactions between the two islanders enable them not only to refine their separate cultural identities, but also to realize how they both belong to a similar oceanic and island-centric culture-landscape. That is, through the Pacific Ocean, they both imagine each other as an extension of Self. For example, in 2015 Dakanow's comment on Okinawa Island demonstrates this process of Oceanic historicization, saying:

The entire Ryukyu archipelago is longitudinal. On Okinawa Island, we travel from Naha Airport located at the south to the northern Yuna area; it is a north-south dimension. The entire atmosphere of the island's geographical environment is very similar to Taiwan's east coast. I think musical exchange is a secondary purpose. We feel that by exchanging musically it is a medium to visit and know what they have done. You will further feel that thousands of kilometers beyond the ocean there is a group of people still doing their own thing.

Another Taiwan musician, Anu from an Amis village in Hualien, who first joined the festival in 2015 and is one of the lead singers in "Song of the Islands," explains:

The Okinawan people are very friendly. They all think we belong to one family because Taiwan and Okinawa are very close to each other. Some cultures, especially the local systems in their villages, are very similar to our system. I think that combining two cultures together is a wonderful thing.

More and more Okinawan and Taiwanese musicians joined the festival in 2016 while the veteran musicians arranged village visitations based on knowledge gained in the previous year. In 2016, Anu took a group of Okinawan musicians to his village, Makotaay. He introduced the history of his village, including the beach where his oceanic ancestors landed, East Taiwan, and the location of an older Amis village, called Dafdaf before the Dagangkou Incident of the late 19th century. In 1877, a group of Amis people had a war with the imperial Qing over territorial rights

and taxation. Demanding a truce with the Amis people, the Qing invited a group of indigenous men to their military base for a peaceful banquet. During the celebration, the Qing massacred 165 Amis men and only 5 escaped. Sharing these historic memories further encouraged and convinced the two islanders that they are grounded with the same marginalized position.

In 2017, the festival arranged several cultural exchanges centering around the sharing of local memories of Taiwan and Okinawa during WWII. Woodcarving artist and theatre director, Siki Sufi, further held an exhibit named *E'tolan no tamashi* (the soul of E'tolan) in the Okinawa Prefectural Museum and Art Museum. Siki's wood carving presents a series of Amis soldiers with a pair of giant wings. He explains that "by giving wings to the Amis soldiers who fought and died for the Japanese army during WWII, I wish for their souls to have a place to return to because, in the Amis tradition people who died outside of their villages cannot return to their home" (Personal Communication 2016). Another Amis singer and a TV station host, Ado 'Kaliting Pacidal, says:

I heard many Okinawan friends say that there are many lands in Okinawa that share a similar situation with what the Taiwanese aboriginal people are encountering right now. I hope to sing and to pacify the lands that are exploited and hurt.

It is apparent that the festival has transformed from sharing a cultural experience and marginalized positionality in East Asian to healing (or empowering) each other. In light of coalition politics, Sandra Harding believes that "For a marginalized person, articulating her or his experiences is an act of rebirthing...Marginalized people speaking their experiences is a crucial, ontological, and political act, the act that creates them as the kind of people who can make knowledge and history" (1995:130). I argue that HOTIMF creates a space where historical knowledge and indigenous experience can be shared between Austronesian Taiwan and Okinawa and a new subjectivity is made through these interactions as social process. Here, I do not claim

that the relations between Taiwan and Okinawa are equal. Rather, they are deeply embedded in the structure of the Japan-Taiwan relationships as the festival is sponsored and supported both by Taiwanese and Japanese tourism. In fact, much of the cultural information had to be translated through Japanese and Mandarin interpreters. Furthermore, the festival has yet to be held in South Ryukyu or South Taiwan where indigenous voices and experiences can be varied. However, what I want to point out here is the transformative subjectivity, which could create and develop new knowledge from the perspective of experiences and lives that are not theirs. The new understandings of subjectivity, experience, and knowledge offer significant possibilities for coalition politics between the two islanders who share an opposition to hegemonic narratives. Built upon this newly-gained and overlapping historic memories, the 2016 Festival poster (Figure 5.1) shows several flying fish en route from Okinawa to Taiwan which are further connected by an ocean upon which is superimposed, a giant Okinawan plucked string *sanshin* with a Taiwanese indigenous design (as opposed to snakeskin that signifies a Chinese origin). The poster communicates a sense of traveling and movement, reflecting the visit of Okinawan musicians to several indigenous villages in Hualien and Taitung, to learn local ways of living and cultural knowing. Through these encounters, the musicians were encouraged to create a theme song that recalls the journeys shared between the two islanders, literally a musical navigation. “Song of the Islands” was composed during a series of musician workshops in 2106, starting from looking for a common theme and moving on to the musical style. Sitting around a table, the two island musicians learned each other’s improvisational reactions during these jam sessions. Dakanow explains:

When the Okinawan friends shared with us their creative process including lyrics and the context behind the words, we were able to compare them with the lyrics written by the Taiwanese musicians. We both are expressing something through



languages and music. We are both expressing our imagination or even expectation of this world.



Figure 5.2  
Poster for the 2016 H.O.T. Islands Music Festival

Theorizing improvisative encounters, Deborah Wong points out that a new possibility can be formed if the encounter is driven by an ethics of respect and is based on a real knowledge of history and a committed ability to listen. (2018). She further explains,

The improviser and indeed the listener can shape the political terms for the present moment and for the future even as they potentially rechannel and reclaim the damages of colonialism. This utopianism is critically aware, not celebratory...Such spaces create the possibility for new kinds of coalitional relationships and new forms of belonging...The spaces created by music and performance may be ephemeral but powerful. (2018: 150).

Focusing on the ephemerality that resides in a mixing (or an in-between space) in creating a metaphorical and sonic travel, I suggest that the song, as lei, can be read as a political strategy embodying resistance, drawing upon varieties of cultural and linguistic coding, and playing to a colonial attitude that dismisses fusion music as an “impure” and insincere—therefore, inauthentic—cultural expression and that it assumes a “frozen-in-time” status for indigenous cultures. Following this musical navigation along with the coalition formation between Taiwan and Okinawa, the next section examines the space where “Song of the Islands” was recorded.

### **Decolonizing Time and Space**

The actual recording session of “Song of the Islands” took place on June 17, 2016. The recording studio is located inside an old sugar factory built during the Japanese colonial period in 1933 at E’tolan Village, East Taiwan. At the time, sugar was mainly produced in West Taiwan and monopolized by the colonial government beginning in 1903. Named *tōdaiseitōgōshigaisha* or East Taiwan Sugar Limited Partnership Company in 1937, the privately-owned factory became the main sugar export (to the Japanese mainland) in East Taiwan and its chimney was the highest building in the area. While symbolizing a refracted modernity of Western industrialization through Japanese colonialism, the sugar factory was demolished during WWII when it was bombed by the US in 1943 and closed in 1944. After the ROC relocated its government to Taiwan, the factory was rebuilt and renamed Sintung Sugar Factory in 1962. Following the rapid industrialization and economic growth (known as the Taiwan Economic Miracle), the factory regained momentum and became one of the top sugar providers in Taiwan, further exporting red sugar to Japan in the 70s. With the change in Taiwan’s socio-political climate, however, Taiwanese economy abandoned labor-intensive industries such as sugar

production and changed its focus to information technology. In 1991, the Sintung Sugar Factory was closed at the time when many Taiwanese companies had been permitted to invest in mainland China and Vietnam due to their cheaper labor. In the 2000s, the factory was rebranded and renamed as Sintung (or Dulan) Sugar Factory Culture Park (Figure 5.2) by the ROC government. Transformed into various cafes, restaurants, handcrafts shops, and hotels, the cultural park is a co-operated art space fashioned with vintage and retro Japanese-style wooden houses and offices, industrial and concrete buildings, unused factory machinery, and the preserved chimney. One of Taiwan’s tourist websites writes: “The gigantic chimney of the sugar factory, drift wood sculpture, art creations, and rusted sugar factory; these products of both the old and new ages are mixed together, creating an extraordinary atmosphere for visitors to appreciate” (Website Extreme Taiwan).



Figure 5.2  
Sintung/Dulan Sugar Factory Culture Park

I have mentioned in Chapter 2 that the Cultural and Creative Industry in Taiwan can be seen as a strategic maneuver in which the ROC government attempts to re-claim Taiwan’s

modernity from Japan and to battle against currently PRC-defined Chinese modernity. The nostalgic spaces created by the old sugar and tobacco factories not only invoke a Japanese colonial past, but also recall Taiwan's economic miracle under the ROC's rule. Building upon a sense of nostalgia, the rise of these cultural and creative parks in Taiwan may be seen as a reaction to economic progress and modernization, signifying a crisis of temporality (Boym 2001). Niemeyer suggests that "...the creation of nostalgic worlds could indicate a twofold phenomenon: a reaction to fast technologies...in desiring to slow down, and/or an escape from this crisis into a state of wanderlust...and nostalgia that could be 'cured,' or encouraged, by media use and consumption" (2014: 2). In the Sintung (or Dulan) Sugar Factory Culture Park, portions of the buildings are used to exhibit the Amis and local cultures, including Siki's woodcarving, Dakanow's music, and Amis cuisine. For tourists, visiting this cultural park located at an indigenous village is a way to escape from fast-paced urban living. In this case, indigenous cultures are exploited and appropriated as traditional companions to modernization and progress—frozen in two temporal colonial experiences: the Japanese past and the ROC present. Rather than victimizing indigenous experience in Taiwan, in this study I am more interested in how the two groups of islanders empower themselves in this crisis of temporality.

The recording session of "Song of the Islands" was contracted to a studio called *Airen* ("lovers" in Mandarin) Studio. The space of *Airen* Studio and its owner, Jisan Wang, also known as Lao-Wang ("Old Wang"), have produced many albums for indigenous musicians in Taiwan and attracted international producers who are interested in collaborating with Taiwanese indigenous musicians. During my ethnographic fieldwork in E'tolan Village of Taitung, East Taiwan, in 2016, Tim Cole, an Australian music producer, and Wun-Jhen Chen (also known as BaoBao Chen and Cole's Taiwanese girlfriend) were also at the indigenous village collecting

musical sounds for a project named *Small Island, Big Song* or SIBS. According to Cole, SIBS is “an art project with the goal of strengthening Indigenous cultures of the Austronesian Heritage through the recording and filming of traditional cultural practice (with a focus on Music)” (Small Island, Big Song Contract/Arrangement Draft 2.1). Cole and Chen contacted Lao-Wang in hope that he would introduce some potential Taiwanese aboriginal artists whose music could be recorded as a part of his project. Concerned over issues of cultural ownership, representation, and legality, Lao-Wang asked for my assistance in reviewing the content of SIBS’s contract (which was written in English and later translated to Mandarin by Chen). Providing a genesis of the SIBS project, a section on its website titled “The Narrative: Sharing a seafaring ancestry; From Taiwan to Aotearoa/New Zealand; From Rapa Nui to Madagascar” describes:

When I was in Vanuatu directing ‘Vanuatu Women’s Water Music’, I discovered an incredible heritage they shared with communities spread across Asia, Pacific & Indian oceans. Most of these communities were established by the ancient seafarers. When I first learnt this back in late 2013, I thought, “What an incredible wealth of cultures, music and instruments to base an album on”.

Five millennia ago, before the pyramids of Giza were imagined, those we now call the Indigenous people of Taiwan must have been the world’s most advanced society with developed technology and science, ocean going vessels, advanced navigation and transportable agricultural practices, along with a rich culture and language to unite them. In one of the most courageous and unrecognised landmark moments in Earth’s history, they pushed their boats out into an open horizon not knowing what or if anything lay before them. Over the following 4,000 years, following the ocean currents and stars they spread their civilisation, language, customs and musical instruments, from Taiwan to the Philippines, then voyaging throughout Southeast Asia to the furthest extremes of the Pacific Ocean and Indian Oceans. Their descendants are now the Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian and Torres Strait Islanders of the Pacific, the Indonesians, Malay, Filipino and Cham people of Asia, the people of Madagascar and the Indigenous Taiwanese.

Collectively known as the Austronesian, they are the world’s sixth biggest language group, with the largest diaspora footprint.

Inspired by this notion of sea-faring cultural connections of the Austronesian peoples, Cole regards Austronesia as a region now divided by national politics, imposed borders, colonizing languages and regional prejudices. During an interview with him, Cole explains, he is “trying to make connections of cultural knowledge by recording songs,” believing that “the essence of cultural knowledge will come through in the song but also enables a dialogue and initiates a conversation that goes around the Austronesian peoples” (Personal Communication 2016). Stating, “We wanted to start our project from the grassroots up,” SIBS has been supported by organizations such as the Australian government, the Churchill Fellowship in Australia, the Ian Potter Foundation, and Peace Boat. Impressed with the Austronesian dispersal theory, Cole and Chen have been traveling around the region and informing the Austronesian musicians: “did you know that you actually have a cultural connection and heritage with musicians in Taiwan [or Africa]?” Thus far, Cole and Chen have visited more than ten Austronesian islands and recorded both traditional and contemporary songs and instrumental performances from more than forty indigenous musicians. These Austronesian musicians and groups include, but not limited to, Sammy Andriamalalaharijaona and Monja Manitsindava of Madagascar, Gus Teja of Indonesia, Kompong Hut of Singapore, Alena Murang and Pahin Lusang of Malaysia, Piteyo Ukah and Ado Kaliting Pacidal of Taiwan, Airileke and Richard Mogu of Papua New Guinea, Charles Maimarosia of Solomon Islands, O Tahiti E and Poemoana of Tahiti, Leweton Village of Vanuatu, Kuana Torres Kahele and Kekuhi Kealiikanakaoleohaililani of Hawai‘i, Yoyo Tuki of Rapa Nui, Will Kepa and Tommy Billy of Torres Strait Australia, and Horomona Horo and Waimihi Hotere of Aotearoa.

Implying the final product will be “one big song” as a single voice that represents a conversation of a “small island” (the earth), the music-making process of this project is: 1)

recording one musician's performance, 2) replaying the recorded sound through headphone as a foundation for the next musician to improvise, 3) recording the improvisation, and 4) a post-production process by dubbing and mixing all the collected recordings. Cole claims to be the middleman among the musicians to initiate a musical conversation as the manifestation of Austronesian cultural knowledge. He is also the music producer of this project and has produced at least sixteen songs—a literal musical navigation or what he calls “Songs Journey.” In one case, Cole told me one musician in Madagascar was playing an improvisation on the violin based on a previous recording performed by a Papua New Guinea musician. He commented: “Actually I am not sure I’ll end up using it...I’m not convinced with the violin...I will use instruments with direct Austronesian connections.” As the music producer of SIBS, Cole has to decide which recordings will be included and gets to pre-select what is considered Austronesian sound and what is not. Cole also makes editorial decisions, such as deciding that the jaw harp and its rhythmic patterns would be most appropriate for creating percussive sounds in the final production. Stripping these musics out of their traditional contexts with the indirect source of improvisation, the hybridized sound of SIBS has to fulfill Cole’s imagining of an Austronesian soundscape. The itinerary of this musical navigation among the Austronesian musicians is planned and constructed by Cole. Without physically engaging with each other during the improvisational sessions<sup>1</sup>, the recorded Austronesian sounds are re-purposed for Cole and Chen’s musical journey, speaking on behalf of the oppressed indigenous people who cannot afford traveling throughout Austronesian region to connect with their “relatives.”

When Cole contacted Lao-Wang with the intention to use the recording space, he provided an English contract that refers to the *Airen* studio as “Lovers Studio,” assuming a direct

---

<sup>1</sup> Some of these musicians have finally met and performed Cole’s compositions in a series of concerts in Europe in 2018 and 2019.

translation from Mandarin to English. However, Lao-Wang explains, “the English translation for our studio name is *island*, not lovers, because we are on the Pacific Ocean” (Personal Communication 2016). Here, the term *airen* is a direct transliteration of the English word “island,”—using the Chinese sound for the English meaning. That is, the actual translation occurs between the phonic sounds of *airen* and island; rather than their literal meanings. By doing so, *airen*/island not only creates a distinction between sounded word as semantic element and sounded word as homology, but also it offers a sense of freedom that enables the indigenous peoples to detour around the fixated boundaries implemented by colonial others. Wang’s statement also highlights Cole’s dismissal of a phonetic subtlety, implying that moments of empowerment can be found in this mixture of meanings (i.e. between Chinese *airen* and English island).



Figure 5.3 *Airen*/island Recording Studio Facing the Pacific Ocean



I regard this mixture of interpretations/meanings as part of indigenous hybridity, similar to the aforementioned cases in Chapter 4. For example, the notion of “South Island” is a mixture of Austronesia, Japanese *Nanto*, and Chinese *Nandao*, projecting an inclusive global south as an imagery of cultural commonality by excluding the northern hegemons. Or, a lyrical line in the traditional Yaeyaman song can have two or more interpretations that link to both Indonesian and Yaeyaman means. Facing the Pacific Ocean (Figure 5.3), *Airen/Island Studio* acts as a sonic collector that enables a musical mixing and draws attention to an ocean-based and regional fluidity that emphasizes mobility and interconnectedness (Hau‘ofa 1993). In these cases, I believe that it is less of a matter of what they originally mean than what they can metaphorically and imaginatively mean that is considered translatable. It is this split between what they are and what they can potentially do that produces the very possibility for improvised, alternative interpretations to speak against fixed hegemonic narratives, offering indigenous forces to decolonize time and space. In this intercultural setting, translation occurs during the articulation of historic experience and cultural intimacy, which often involves an understanding of indigenous epistemologies—rather than a literal and surface translation. Moreover, this mixture accounts for the possibility of a “decolonizable moment”: a passage between doing and undoing that refuses colonial integration. This ambiguity is what enables the indigenous people to “pass” as the assimilated ones and at the same time offers a sense of freedom that allows the subaltern subject to detour around the fixated boundaries implemented by colonial others.

Like Sister Homi, Lao-Wang is an indigenous ally. Originally from Taipei, Lao-Wang is a musician, songwriter, producer, and recording engineer who has produced albums for several Mando-pop singers including David Wong (or Dawei Huang in Mandarin). Since relocating to Taitung, Lao-Wang’s reputation has attracted many Taiwanese aboriginal artists to seek out his

specialized knowledge. Being aware of his positionality as an ethnic Han, Lao-Wang believes that his job is not to record indigenous music, but to show the indigenous people how to produce their own voices. When explaining his musical workshop, *chang ziji xie de ge* (“Sing Your Own Songs”), Lao-Wang wrote: “...I realize the importance of a musical autonomy, so I decided to work hard on finding creative motivations in attempting to go back to the life of an authentic self (*benwo*)—engraving a mark of resonance at the in-between of sound and music.” If we (ethnomusicologists) define music as humanly organized sound (Blacking 1973), it is clear that the in-between space of sound and music is where human intervention occurs and where humanity can be found. I believe that what Lao-Wang has suggested, a “musical autonomy,” is located in the in-between space of ambiguity—a resonance between sound and music that exemplifies the interactions between doings and undoings or becomings and un-becomings. Suggesting a sustained relation and the passage of intensities, this musical autonomy can be found within the in-between-ness where forces of encounter or *affect* are born. That is, though the decolonizable moments are ephemeral, “in this ever-gathering accretion of force-relations...lie the real powers of affect, affect as potential: a body’s *capacity* to affect and to be affected” (Seigworth and Gregg 2010: 2). Like a garland, each individual element contains a body’s capacity and by stringing all the gathered flowers and leaves on this indigenously-defined journey, the final product of a lei represents a series of encounters—offering utopian forces to decolonize time and space. The following details these moments, or forces of encounters, on the journey of making a musical lei named “Song of the Islands.”

## Weaving the Musical Lei of “Song of the Islands”

In this section, I identify cultural codes in the making of “Song of the Islands” that destabilize the hegemonic narratives cited earlier. On one level, “Song of the Islands” represents an image of a conversation that stems from structural affinities between the two islands within the improvisational process; on another, the style of affective aspects of conversation in the song raise the issue of music and cultural style (Monson 2015). The song begins with 8 measures of introduction, played by a mixture of instruments including the piano, Western flute, Okinawan *sanshin*, bass guitar, acoustic guitar, and the African djembe. After the melodic introduction, there is a sung prelude that features two leitmotifs. The first leitmotif is the opening phrase from an aboriginal Amis song commonly known as “Joyful Drinking Song.” I have explained the song’s global circulation in the previous chapter (page 130). The song itself embodies issues of agency and cultural ownership as it was appropriated by the German production group Enigma for the infamous pop song “Return to Innocence,” which resulted in an international copyright lawsuit in 1996. “Joyful Drinking Song” was eventually re-claimed by the Amis people and subsequently re-invented as the pan-Taiwanese aboriginal “national anthem” (Hung 2014). The second leitmotif is a shouted call-and-response pattern inspired by *eisa*, the Okinawan drumming dance—traditionally performed to awaken ancestors and now often used in anti-military base protests (Nelson 2008). Both the leitmotifs stem from islanders’ oral traditions using indexical vocables to express indigenous sensibilities. The Taiwanese vocables are mainly practiced by the Amis and Puyuma Aborigines using sounds such as *ho*, *he*, *ha*, *i*, and *ya*, whereas the Okinawan vocables (i.e. *hi-ya* and *ha-i-ya*) used in *eisa* were derived from the Jōdo Buddhist chant. Despite both vocables having different cultural backgrounds and different traditional contextual uses, their phonetic similarities help formulate an ambiguous space as a decolonizable moment. By

promoting the same-ness in their musical cultures, the two indigenous peoples rely on an intercultural improvisation that proposes several utopian visions of ideal relationships to contrast with their disfranchised positions of Taiwanese and Okinawans, offering a sense of indigenous sovereignty and cultural ownership.

In associating the trading of musical ideas with conversation in this coalition formation between Taiwan and Okinawa, I suggest that the exchange of musical ideas not only establishes an abstract succession of sounds and rhythms but also links the two islands into a oneness that encompasses a multiplicity of musical sensibilities. Invoking a sense of interconnectivity between Taiwan and Okinawa, the two leitmotifs are now twisted together and comprise one sonic entity—therefore a musical lei. (Figure 5.4)

**♩ = 80**

Taiwan  
he - i ya i ha - u a ha - i ya - - -

Okinawa  
hi - ya ha i ya si si si si

5  
TW  
he - i ya i ha - u a ha - i ya

OKI  
hi - ya ha i ya na ti che i ya sa sa

Figure 5.4  
Two leitmotifs are twisted together

I suggest that this metaphorical lei functions as the foundation and structure of “Song of the Islands” enabling the island musicians to combine more “flowers and leaves” (different musical ideas) in constructing a hybridized indigeneity that includes both Taiwanese and Okinawan elements. Here, I do not claim that the two island musicians are speaking for each other. Rather, it is this alternating that facilitates a democratic process that creates interactive forces of two indigenous voices—re-birthing a series of new sensations and sensibilities. As these musicians moved forward on their pathway to a self-defined futurity, the first “flower” they encountered and selected was an Okinawan children’s song “Tinsagu nu Hana” or “The Flower that Blooms in Heaven”—sung by Ms. Ayumi Higa.

Higa sings in Okinawan: “As I dye my fingernails with a tint of the flower that blooms in heaven, so I shall dye my liver (heart) with the words of my parents” (See Transcription 5.2). “Tinsagu nu Hana” is constructed in an 8-8-8-6 syllable structure or *Ryūka* form—a written genre of Okinawan song/poetry that emerged in the late 17th century. The song describes a youngster who uses the Okinawan balsam flower to paint his/her fingernails while learning the importance of the words from parents and ancestors. Using the liver (Austronesian center of intense feeling, e.g. *na‘au* in Hawaiian) to describe a sentiment in an Okinawan mind, this song suggests a possibility in which cultural knowledge and subjectivity can be transmitted across different times and spaces. By weaving Okinawan moral values and self-reflective moments into this musical lei, “Song of the Islands” transforms from an exclusively orally transmitted form to one that additionally references a genre of written literature. This transformation transcends a single person and a single generation, evidence that indigenous culture is constantly reinvigorated and never stagnant (Ho‘omanawanui 2014). Following “Tinsagu nu Hana,” the musicians introduce three sections of newly-composed lyrics: two by the Okinawan musicians in

a mixture of Japanese and Okinawan languages and one by the Taiwanese in Mandarin.

Remembering the value of being an indigenous self, the musical lei appropriates and uses external languages from its colonial and economic experience.

Utilizing the pentatonic Ryukyu scale (Do, Mi, Fa, So, and Ti) to invoke an Okinawan soundscape, the Okinawan singers, Takafumi Toyama and Erina, sing in Japanese alternately while sharing the same melody with the *sanshin* played by another Okinawan musician Yoshioo. Mr. Toyama sings: “beyond the ocean and mountain, we joined hands with you” and is followed by Ms. Erina singing: “it’s nostalgic even though it’s the first time: a distant, but close island.” Switching the Japanese possessive *no* to the Okinawan *nu*, Yoshioo sings: “*umi nu kami yo; yama nu kami yo*” (oh sea god; oh mountain god)—while Banai, the Taiwanese aboriginal musician, harmonizes. The final lyric of this part, “the song of the islands that resonates with the praying people,” is sung first by Yoshioo and then returned to Higa. Symbolizing a complete cycle, the Okinawan musicians alternate between both genders weaving the first portion of lyrics (as the newly-transformed subjectivity) into the entire musical lei (See Transcription 5.3). I argue that Okinawan imagining of the interconnectedness among the islands group—specifically an indigenous connection with Taiwan—is constructed within the sentiment of restorative nostalgia. The Okinawans who pray to their mountain and ocean deities draw attention to historical incongruities between past and present, yearning to restore this connection with Taiwan—a sense of inclusiveness. However, the act of alternating between Japanese and Okinawan languages indicates a ritualized recognition of Otherness with their northern hegemon—a sense of exclusiveness. By emphasizing the linkage of the supernatural, human, and natural worlds, these musicians foreground an indigenous temporality that is restoratively speaking against a linear,

disruptive, and colonial form of narratives on time and space. The Taiwanese counterpart joins right after the Okinawan musicians complete the first part of their newly-composed lyrics.

Instead of feeling nostalgic, the lyrics composed by the Taiwanese musicians emphasize the sentiment of encounter and interconnectivity. Still maintaining a gender division, most of the Taiwanese lyrics are sung together in unison or harmonies, rather than alternating one after another. In fact, there is only one female singer, Tonya, who is ethnically Han. The male musicians are from several Austronesian peoples (or Taiwan *Yuanzhumin*) including Anu of the Amis, Nawan of the Puyuma, and Balai of the Paiwan. While Tonya's voice is foregrounded, the male singers provide harmonization that is higher than the female counterpart. Here, the male vocal timbre of a relatively higher register is generally appropriated in Amis singing, generating a sense of openness and a soundscape of Aboriginal Taiwan. They sing together in Mandarin: "Despite the distance between Taiwan and Okinawa, without fears, the migratory birds come to meet; despite the cultural and linguistic difference, music allows us to become close friends." Stressing interconnectivity, the following lyrics combine several motions to senses. Tonya continues, but sings solo: "The ginger flower's fragrance sways, along with the melody of waves" while Balai harmonizes and sings vocables "*i yo*" right at the moment when the lyrics transition from the words *huanxiang* (lit. flower fragrance) to *langhua* (lit. wave flower). Taiwanese singers then sing together: "music tightly connects us." With a similar melodic pattern but switching to one of the male singers, Jieying Song sings: "the sounds from crushing waves, along with the tightly connected islands." Right before all the Taiwanese singers sing the last line, another male singer again sings the high-registered-vocables transitioning to the lyrics: "music enables us to meet" (See Transcription 5.4).

Firstly, I suggest that the difference between Taiwanese and Okinawan ways of combining a multiplicity of indigenous sensibilities shows the distinct identity formations between the two islanders and this difference may stem from the island's unique geographical conditions as part of identity politics. Within the Ryukyus, islanders follow the geographical location and order of each island within the archipelago to relate ethnic identities (i.e. Okinawan, Yaeyaman, or Yonaguni Islanders). Whereas in Taiwan, indigenous territories and hunting grounds are traditionally overlapped with one another and the current ethno-scape is shaped by a series of settler-colonialists. Similar to what Kachimba has done with Suming, the way Okinawans arrange their musical mixing prefers alternating between parts. Both retaining identifiable textures, the Taiwanese counterpart tends to utilize an overlapping formation.

Ingrid Monson (2015) has augmented Terence Turner's discussion of the importance of figurative tropes in cultural interpretation and metaphor. Monson argues that a metaphor (such as "improvisation is conversation") links cultural domains by selecting an attribute in one domain (improvisation as part of music) similar to an attribute from another (conversation as a part of language). The metaphorical association of contrasting domains may construct a more encompassing and high-level category of musical language. Here, by weaving indigenous senses (i.e. smell, sound, and sight) into "Song of the Islands," they invoke cultural references that are both physical and metaphorical. Signifying a musical navigation, the migratory birds recall the flying fish on the poster along the Black Current—conquering all cultural and linguistic difference (which is metaphorically compared with the physical distance between the two islands) to meet their friends. Through the motion of swaying, the ginger flowers, whose leaves are used for weaving baskets in Taiwan, can thus be smelled and transformed into the flower of the ocean (*langhua*), and its sound is now melodic. Created by the world's circulations and



rhythms of contacts between ocean and land, the sound of crushing waves serves as a reminder that the coastline, as a line of inquiry, indicates the world's ever-negotiating process through the forces from both sides of the beach. This coastline is never a thin and fixed boundary, but is evidence of affective encounters between fluidity and solidity, exemplifying that the Pacific Ocean connects rather than separates people. Using music (*yinyue*) as a sonic embodiment of this ever-modulating force and as a oneness that contains a multiplicity of indigenous cultural codes as agency, these indigenous subjects employ a musical navigation as a translation tool to claim an interconnectedness between Taiwan and Okinawa. Although these indigenous smells, sounds, sights, and even garlands are ephemeral, their temporalities can be further extended and woven into one another—just as the islands of Taiwan and Okinawan are tightly connected. This musical lei as indigenous hybridity and its affect accumulate across both relatedness and interruptions in relatedness, becoming a palimpsest of force-encounters traversing the ebbs and swells of intensities that pass between “bodies” (Seigworth & Gregg 2010:8).

The Okinawan musicians then go on to sing in Japanese: “Beyond time, we follow the pathway you’ve walked. The faraway feeling in my heart melts into your song.” Again, they switch from Japanese to Okinawan to sing: “Friends of islands; friends of song; exchanging wine along with the song of the islands that reverberates.” Recalling the sentiments and motions demonstrated in the Taiwanese lyrics, I suggest that the two island musicians propose a possibility that indigenous subjectivities can be transmitted. In the final section of “Song of Islands,” the intertwined leitmotifs reoccur, but are performed improvisationally. Retaining the same texture, the Taiwanese and Okinawan parts are still performed alternately with more improvisational phrases added to the Amis tune (See Figure 5.5). Signifying a shared subjectivity, some of the Okinawan musicians like Yoshitoo, change position and sing the

Taiwanese part. The alternating part gradually transitions to an overlapping style when the Amis men sing the improvisational part. Although it is apparent that the improvisational style is influenced by the 1989 rendition mass-produced by the French company, the Amis polyphonic singing is now layered with the Okinawan *eisa* vocables, presenting a rendition performed by a mixture of Okinawan and Taiwanese men and women.

**J = 90**

**Taiwan**  
 he - i ya i ha - u a ha - i ya - - -

**Okinawa**  
 hi - ya ha i ya si si si si  
 hu ha i ya u a u

**5**  
**TW**  
 he - i ya i ha - u a ha - i ya ho - ha -  
 ho ha u - ha i he

**OKI**  
 Higa: hi - ya ha i ya ha ha ha ha  
 ha - ho ho ha ho ha i ye ya ha u ho ha ya

**8**  
**TW**  
 ya - i ya ho - ha ho ha u - ha u u a i ha u u a i - yo

**OKI**  
 hi - ya ha i ya ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha

**11**  
**TW**  
 (Empty staff)

**OKI**  
 hi - ya ha i ya na ti che i ya sa sa

Figure 5.5  
 Final section and improvisations of “Song of the Islands”

When asked about improvisation in Amis singing, Anu explains:

Traditionally, improvisational singing happens in social gatherings. Whenever one singer as leader starts singing, others would follow. Once two or more people depart from the original melody, the improvisation would begin. We all know how to improvise, but still stay together as a group. The session would stop when the leader signifies an ending phrase. It is very difficult to repeat what we have sung, but children have to learn how to sing or improvise by singing with elders in social gatherings (Personal Communication 2018).

Just as Amis musicality is developed in social gatherings, the recording and workshop sessions in making “Song of the Islands” can be regarded as an imitative exchange during improvisation. The physical and social spaces shared by the two island musicians (as players and listeners) turn performances into events and historic memories that last long after the end of ephemeral sensibilities. Sharing these affective sounds further serves as a marker of a new social-political identity and relation. Thus, I argue the two indigenous peoples, much like lei makers, travel together on a self-defined pathway gathering moments that celebrate cultural encounter, creativity, and native expression, enabling islanders to project a Pacific identity within their contemporary East Asian reality. By transmitting their indigenous sensibilities to each other, the two islanders have also transformed their subjectivities. Decolonizing the colonial past and present, “Song of the Islands” as indigenous hybridity is now part of the metanarratives, generated by the islanders on the West Pacific Ocean to envision a self-defined and relevant futurity.

### **Concluding Thoughts**

In this chapter, I first reviewed the forming of an Okinawa-Taiwan coalition through experiencing and crossing into each other’s lifestyle, local ways of living, and cultural knowledge in the context of the H.O.T. Islands Music Festival. Using musicking to travel in each

other's soundscape, the two island musicians are able to establish common ground. They share each other's sensibilities, acknowledge their cultural and linguistic differences, and eventually transmit their pre-established subjectivities to one another. Although the old sugar factory symbolizes several competing versions of colonial modernity that could drown out the indigenous voices, alliances like Director Li, Lao-Wang, Sister Homi, and Mr. Irei articulate the power of ambiguity, a mixture of interpretations/meanings, that lies in the split moment between the superimposed norm and alternative means (i.e. lovers as *airen* as islands or Hua-Dong's location as the rear as well as the front of Taiwan's central mountain range). By extending this moment of ambiguity, a form of "musical autonomy" is created, generating an in-between space where forces of encounter or *affect* are born. This intercultural improvisation as coalition formation thus enables the transformative power that decolonizes the hegemonically-defined time and space.

With the newly gained understanding and historical memories, these musicians laid the foundation for making the musical piece "Song of the Islands." By examining this piece, I deconstructed the ways in which historical interconnectivity between Okinawa and Taiwan is sung across a Pacific notion of "Multiple Bodies." By referencing garland-making traditions throughout Austronesia, I point out that this interweaving of cultural elements shows that this single, newly-composed fusion song contains multiple elements gathered on a pathway toward a shared indigenous futurity for Taiwanese and Okinawans. The song as lei can be read as a political strategy embodying resistance, drawing upon varieties of cultural and linguistic coding, and playing to a hegemonic attitude that dismisses fusion music as an "impure" and insincere—therefore, inauthentic—cultural expression and that assumes a "frozen-in-time" status for indigenous cultures. The different materials woven into the lei of "Song of the Islands" can be

seen not only as interactions between the peoples of Taiwan and Okinawa, but also as a dialogue between old and new, oral and written, and native and non-native. It acknowledges a dynamic indigenous literary that carries islanders' cultural thoughts, beliefs, and practices forward on a pathway that continually evolves and is never static. In light of future development for the H.O.T. Islands Music Festival, Director Li says:

There are two directions [for the future of HOTIMF]. One is that of a musical exchange between musicians and artists. However, we think music is merely a medium, but the things that can be exchanged are life and culture. How can we deeply exchange life and culture? We think that the best way is to have direct exchanges on the level of local communities and villages between both sides. In the future, it is not only Okinawa and Taiwan. We hope that we can include all the relative islands along the Black Current. If more and more islands can join this musical festival, then it will eventually live up to the name, "Islands Music Festival." This is how we envision the future.

"Intercultural interaction is always about hybridity and newness, but may also create the conditions for new ally relationships" (Wong 2018:164). With more and more indigenous peoples and their allies expressing an interest in connecting through the Black Current, I believe that musicking as traveling, both physically and metaphorically, is about interweaving an open-ended history for the islanders on the West Pacific Ocean. Meeting at this moveable coastline, these islanders intentionally stand beside each other as an ally through musical praxis. Navigating with this musical canoe, we, as the islanders on the West Pacific Ocean, learn from our allies in appreciating the different ways in which a consciousness of the past can be expressed. Finally, through being in each other's Deep Time, these affective doings invite more oceanic interactions, resonate across the strait of cultural-linguistic difference, and drive forward toward the next encounter of forces—generating waves that transfer these decolonizing moments from one island to another.

## Chapter 6: Conclusions

### Indigenous Hybridity

In this study, I have identified several physical and sonic embodiments that represent indigenous hybridity among islands on the West Pacific Ocean, including an Okinawan stir-fried dish *champuru*, Austronesian and Pacific garlands, and fusion music. These manifestations of indigenous hybridity consist of collectives gathered on a self-defined pathway, which is metaphorically constructed between and linking domains of time and space, old and new, male and female, traditional and modern, native and colonial, spiritual and human worlds, and the Self and Others. By navigating among these domains in search of a self-determined futurity, the final product of indigenous hybridity yields a tightly woven fabric that is part of the metanarratives in the region. This indigenous hybridity denotes an island-centric and institutionalized knowledge system that is the foundation of an indigenous epistemology, encompassing a multiplicity of indigenous senses. Although these senses are ephemeral, they are also evidence of *affective* becomings in *in-between-ness* (as intersectionality or ambiguity). Creating forces of encounter that capture waves of decolonizing moments, these West Pacific islanders navigate between the indigenous Self and colonial Others and accumulate several moments of promise extending further toward the end of a colonial body while simultaneously working within the hegemonic structure of power and control in the context of East Asian politics.

I also examined several music-making processes of indigenous hybridity by metaphorically referencing an oceanic sensibility of *musical navigation*. My journey began in my home island, Taiwan, to explore ways in which music intersects with the Austronesian ethos of *pathway* by focusing on a concert titled “Meeting a Hunter at the Coastline” (Chapter 2) held

in urban Taipei. Highlighting the ways in which indigenous origins and traditional knowledge are used as departure points to associate with the Others, I used the term *accidental navigation* to describe their musical journey and style that is hybridized in nature. In this type of musical navigation, the Others are not physically present at the moment of hybridization. The two musicians imaginatively reference the globalized images of the Others (i.e. Scottish, British, and Mediterranean) and subjectively parallel these images with the indigenous experiences. Therefore, the metaphor *coastline* is a place where moments of encounter and cultural transformations occur. Inspired by the Austronesian pathway, this *coastline* is like a movable canoe that disrupts the dominant and fixed understanding of aboriginal cultures in Taiwan. By introducing this *hunter* (as the Indigenous Self) to the audience, the two island musicians transcend the stereotypical images of Taiwanese Aborigines at a space where the ROC's cultural goods are manufactured and sold. My journey later crossed the strait next to East Taiwan and to the Yonaguni Island (Chapter 3). Exploring an alternative form of "Cross-Strait Relationship" between the two islands, I used the term *purposeful navigation* to depict Yonaguni's version of cultural hybridity. In this type of musical navigation, the Others are physically present at the moment of hybridization. A traditional musical piece "Miti Sunai" or "Pathway of Coming Together" is played in the form of a procession and appropriated by the islanders to document moments of encounter. By foregrounding the island's pragmatic attitude, the reenactment of "Miti Sunai" is thus a ritualized recognition of Otherness, while simultaneously allowing the islanders to navigate among their political realities and relationships (i.e. Taiwan, the Ryukyu Kingdom, and Japan). By using the *Dunta* dance to physically connect with these relations and to conclude the making of indigenous hybridity, Yonaguni islanders produce a template for both

individuals and the community to envision an island-centric futurity, generating a split moment between indigenous utopian ideals and colonial realities.

Departing from Yonaguni Island, I travelled northward to Okinawa Island to explore a concert titled *East Asian Roots Trip* (Chapter 4) and examined the musical collaboration between Taiwanese and Okinawans—specifically by Suming of the Amis and the Okinawan-Salsa band Kachimba. Held inside a cave of an archeological site, this concert is a movable *coastline* constructed by the two island musicians sonically voyaging toward an imagined south. Resonating with the silent, cold, and scientific “evidence” of their origin buried underneath, they engage with their Deep Time by performing a hybridized indigeneity. This notation of south-ness is a mixture or a *chumpuru* dish consisting of Austronesia, Chinese *nandao*, and Japanese *nantō*, positioning the two indigenous islands (Taiwan and Okinawa) against their northern hegemony (i.e. China, Japan, and the US). With the help of Austronesian experiences, this musical navigation is both accidental and purposeful. To the Okinawan musicians, departing from the coastline of Okinawa on an Austronesian musical canoe toward a collective South, this routing of cultures expands what it means to be indigenous people on the West Pacific Ocean. To both Taiwanese and Okinawan musicians, this musical navigation is about the possibility of creating new kinds of coalitional relationships and new forms of belonging (Chapter 5). By musically navigating into each other’s soundscape, the H.O.T. Islands Music Festival provides several moments of sonic encounter as interactive improvisation between the two island musicians. Being in each other’s Deep Time, the two islanders articulate the power, the ambiguity, and intersectionality to *affectively* generate several decolonizable moments and indigenous dialogues that transcend the cultural and linguistic difference. Using Pacific garland making as a way of making indigenous literature, I argue that musical mixing among islands of Taiwan and the



Ryukyus can be understood as indigenously-inspired pragmatism that embodies the flexibility and performativity of subaltern identity as it co-exists and negotiates within and against local, regional, national, and international hegemonic structures of power and control.

### **Listening to Indigenous Hybridity**

When presenting my research on this musical mixing and its relationship with indigenous hybridity among islands on the West Pacific Ocean, I often encounter questions pertaining to audience reactions and reception toward these particular ways of musicking. Notice that musical mixing in this context (i.e. musical collaboration between Taiwan and Okinawa) is not limited nor is it regarded as one singular musical style or genre. Rather, the final composition (e.g. “Song of the Islands”) symbolizes a mixture of several musical journeys of encounter. That is, this notion of oneness assumed by multiple bodies of sounds or a putatively single cultural object that contains a multiplicity of materials is what I refer to as indigenous hybridity. Thus, even among the more established musical traditions in Austronesian cultures such as gamelan, kulintang, or hula, the notion of performing a variety of sounds as oneness can also be found (see later discussion by Trimillos). Sonically representing moments of encounter, musical mixing along the indigenous pathways as a cultural ethos may not always be performed in one musical style or genre. In my study, I have discussed the political and cultural incentives for the two island musicians to depart from their pre-established polarities and travel forward toward a shared futurity. Based on a coalition formation that refuses the dominant integration, this musical mixing that signifies several forms of relation with the Others may eventually (or may not) become a single musical tradition. This musical mixing thus represents a body’s perpetual becoming and is *affective*, casting forward by its open-ended in-between-ness. There are several

questions that address the issue of listening that I would like to propose for future research.

These questions include but are not limited to: 1) How do or should we listen to the music that embodies indigenous hybridity at the West Pacific or within the Austronesian soundscape? 2)

How do sonic *affects* in musical mixing contribute to the sense of belonging and engage with the discourse of emotions? And, 3) How do these sonic *affects* accumulate and eventually get heard?

The following briefly discusses these questions.

I have interviewed both audience members and musicians/audience while collecting my ethnographic data. Like the musical mixture, listeners' perceptions are also hybridized. One audience member in *Meeting a Concert at the Coastline* told me: "their music is very innovative and fun." Ai Namizato, a graduate student at Okinawa Prefectural University of Arts, said that she really enjoyed the *chumpuru* music of Suming and Kachimba. Meanwhile, Siki, the Amis woodcarving artist, regarded Suming's music in Latin flavor as "sounding strange." In another occasion, Anu, one of the singers in "Song of the Islands" commented: "this version of 'Joyful Drinking Song' sounds like an army song" while Lao-Wang, the owner of *Airen/Islands* Recording Studio, said "the musical style is nothing new but the most important aspect is that they enjoy the process of making music cross-culturally." To emphasize the listener's agency, I use my personal experience of interacting with indigenous hybridity to venture into the discussion on the discourse of consuming this mixture. Specifically, I begin with my personal experiences with a *chumpuru* dish.

I find that the most enjoyable part about a *chumpuru* dish is that there are several ways to consume it. One of the ways includes the use of a pair of chopsticks to scoop up a mouthful of *chumpuru* mixture (egg, spam, bitter melon or *goya*, and tofu) and intake the elements collectively, simultaneously triggering at least four out of the five basic tastes (sweet, salty,

savory, and bitter). To be more playful, I might pick up a specific item (or a specific combination of items) and eat them individually. Particularly appreciating the thin-sliced and crisp texture of the bitter melons, I tend to start with the tofu and intentionally save the pieces of bitter melon for the end. However, while eating the tofu individually, the savory and residual bitterness originating from the spam and *goya* is also sensed. Despite the fact that I select just the tofu, I also taste the remainders of other ingredients. Through the savory tofu, I sense the presence of bitterness and saltiness without physically engaging with the other ingredients—forming a relation of tastes as well as a passage of intensities. Through the liquidity of the *chumpuru* sauce, the existence of the rest of the ingredients (along with their qualities) that are adjacent to the tofu can thus be detected. I believe this quality of stickiness is evidence of affect's doing as a processual engagement of becoming a sensible taste. Moreover, by consuming the tofu individually, I am aware of the upcoming tastes of the spam and bitter melon—an expectation, a promise (or a cluster of promises), and a futurity. Triggering waves of sensations, my relationship with the dish can further extend to cooking or recreating the flavor to nostalgically recalling the historical memories while I was in Naha City, Okinawa Island—thus navigating among domains of time and space.

Discussing aspects of listening to hybridized sounds in the Filipino kulintang ensemble, Ricardo Trimillos explains:

In listening to the kulintangan ensemble, you can listen at different levels. Although the main melody played by the gong chime kulintang is foregrounded, there are other levels of listening. For example there is a two-tone melody created by the two large agongs (*bua-pulakan*) and another two-tone melody between the ostinato played by the main melodic player and the ostinato kept by the *teng-teng* player. Thus people can hear the main melody, the high-pitched two-tone ostinato, or the lower sounding two-tone ostinato. What a listener hears depends on how far away he is from the players. For example if you hear kulintang played in a neighboring village, some 2 km away, what you will hear is the lower two agongs. So, in a sense, the listener can choose what to listen to. Although

everyone hears the same ensemble, *how* each person listens and *what* each person hears can be different (Personal communication 2018).

Here, I do not claim that taste and hearing share a similar process of affect's becoming and even within one sense, there are a variety of ways to approach this mixture (i.e. one can start eating the spam rather than tofu). However, I want to highlight what Trimillos has proposed: the notion that one can choose what and how to engage with the *body* of indigenous hybridity. David Hanlon writes, "The decentering or decolonization of history requires...an appreciation of all of the different ways in which a consciousness of the past can be expressed...History...can be sung, danced, chanted, spoken, carved, woven, painted, sculpted, and rapped as well as written" (2003:30). I suggest that not only there are multiple ways to *express* a consciousness of the past but also there are multiple pathways that direct one to *engage* with this consciousness. Thus, listening to hybridized music can be personal as both the subjective listener and the maker are on their reflective voyages, reaching toward a sonic *body* that encompasses a multiplicity of historical times. For the listener, he/she is at a sonic crossing and voyages into Deep Time in the way of hearing. Engaging with a body (or bodies) of interwoven sounds as oceanic and island literature, each voice resonates with a pathway of encounter that links to another relatedness of voice. By listening to indigenous hybridity, one navigates between domains of the Self and Others, becoming part of the webbed relations of an indigenous *body*. By engaging with indigenous hybridity among islands on the West Pacific Ocean, one rides with the affective waves and listens to and resonates with the music of decolonization.

## **Musical Navigation as Speaking for Others**

In this study, I discussed several moments when non-native travelers and storytellers cross over to the Native lands and changed the narratives and imageries of indigenous peoples. I examined several historical and contemporary cases to foreground the political anxieties created by hegemonic narratives and local ways of knowing in the region (such as the Japanese National Museum of Nature and Science's boat project in Chapter 3). I also point out that these contested anxieties can be transformed into moments of empowerment that reside in an ambiguous space (a mixture of interpretations and meanings) as intersectionality. Rather than relying on a literal and surface translation through cultural crossing, I suggest that this mixture of meanings could generate a series of split moments between colonial realities and indigenous utopian ideals and between "what they are" and "what they can potentially and metaphorically do" that creates the power of decolonization that speaks to and against the hegemonic narratives (i.e. "Miti Sunai" and how it is used in a protest and *Airen*/Island Recording Studio). That is, to regain a sense of indigenous agency in the discourse of cultural translation as crossing, we must critically examine the dilemma of speaking for Others (such as the case of *Small Island, Big Song*).

Linda Martín Alcoff writes, "...the practice of speaking for others is often born of a desire for mastery, to privilege oneself as the one who more correctly understands the truth about another's situation or as the one who can champion a just cause and thus achieve glory and praise. The effect of the practice of speaking for others is often...erasure and a reinscription of sexual, national, and other kinds of hierarchies" (1995: 116). Throughout my study, I have been carefully using the term "Austronesia" out of concern that this theoretical concept might incite a similar, institutionalized effect in terms such as Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. Being conscientious about the possibility that "Austronesia" might become another colonial

terminology and hegemonic narratives imposed onto the islanders, I transcend the currently defined Austronesian area and venture into the Ryukyus for this particular purpose. However, I do not assume that I have the ability to transcend my social location of being in Hawai‘i and my privileged power of communicating with dominant languages such as English and Mandarin Chinese. Moreover, I do not assume that every islander and indigenous person who speaks an Austronesian language would identify as belonging to the same Austronesian community. Although I am an islander from the West Pacific Ocean, I cannot avoid the criticism that I am speaking for the others. Without inscribing a sense of hierarchy of civilizations and authoritative positionality, I thus ask myself: will my study enable the empowerment of the islanders on the West Pacific Ocean? Are the people I speak for satisfied with my theorization of musical mixing? Do the hegemonic powers have the ability to listen? Maybe I should change the question from *can the subaltern speak* to *can the hegemon listen*. I hope that this study can eventually contribute to the ongoing discussion about how to develop strategies for a more equitable and just distribution of the ability to speak and to be heard.

### **Opportunities for Future Research**

To summarize, there are three types of musical navigation: accidental (Chapter 2), purposeful (Chapter 3) and a combination of accidental and purposeful (Chapter 4 and 5). Accidental navigation symbolizes a departure from the musical Self without the physical presence of the Others. A purposeful navigation serves to pragmatically negotiate among several crucial relationships by physically interacting with the Others. Seeing the ocean as an extension of the Self, musical collaboration between Taiwanese and Okinawans is considered a purposeful one as they pre-organized a series of musical journeys to physically travel into each other’s

soundscape. It also can be regarded as accidental as the jam sessions between the two island musicians are improvisational, which provides moments that depart from the collective Self (Taiwanese and Okinawans). Through musical navigation, the final product of indigenous hybridity among islands on the West Pacific Ocean can be presented in several forms/textures: 1) layered, 2) alternated, and 3) a combination of the previous two. These forms of musical mixing can be found in the collaborative musical composition “Song of the Islands.” However, are there any other ways of musical mixing inspired by indigenous principles in the region? As the H.O.T. Islands Music Festival is now regularly held in Taiwan or Okinawa annually, musical collaborations between the two will become more frequent and intensified. This study will follow up the future development of this festival as it could potentially extend to other islands along the Black Current.

Musical navigation is about transitioning between domains of time and space, colonial and indigenous, and the Self and Others. Each of these musical ingredients gathered on the indigenous pathways are interwoven into an indigenous hybridity that symbolizes moments of encounter as historical and cultural memories. Research on musical mixing in Taiwan and Okinawa has opened up a new field in the region’s identity politics and senses of belongings, where an East Asian-centricity is no longer the only possible approach to understanding Taiwan and the Ryukyus. By placing indigenous intellectual and cultural values at the center of analysis, rather than at its margins, I call my colleagues studying Taiwan and the Ryukyus to seriously consider the cultural specificity and the aesthetics provided by Pacific literary production. In conclusion, musical mixing represents more than post-colonial victimization by globalization, imperialism and colonialism. Musical mixing as indigenous hybridity is not merely a post-

colonial rite of passage but an ethos of longstanding that continues to impact the way islanders on the West Pacific Ocean conceptualize and perform their indigeneity.



## Appendices

### Appendix A: Song Lyrics and Translations

#### Swing Naluwan (2006)

搖擺娜魯灣(2006)

Traditional Amis Tune

na lu wan...na lu wan na i ya na...  
yoi yan ong  
ho i na lu wan...na i ya na...  
yoi ya o...hi ya o ho hai yan  
hai ya o hai yan  
hi ya o hai yan  
na lu wan...i ya nai yo ya ong  
na lu wan...i ya na yo ya ong  
na...lu wan...ni i ya na...  
yoi ya...o...hi ya o ho hai yan  
hai ya ho hai yan...i ya o hai yan

### **Coastline (2013)**

Lyricist: Ziheng Li

Music: Ziheng Li

The unfinished and rugged path from yesterday is already a bright scenery before my eyes. Dream is too realistic and tomorrow is endless, looking back to an uninhabited beach. Footsteps, the unfinished journey, are the everyday map of a traveller. Passing over the cliff, I am still safe and sound; turning around, the faraway horizon is at a near place.

For whom, you say goodbye to the sadness of the city, going back to the hometown where floating clouds cannot return. For whom, I conquered the loneliness of age, entering a foreign land to find the rainbow that has disappeared.

The height that is unable to be finished by the seagull is already the freest wings in the air. The wind said that love is an island; the starting point is also the final stop. Love once said that the heart is also an island; you and I will eventually meet.

### **海岸線 (2013)**

作詞：李子恆

作曲：李子恆

昨日 未完成的崎嶇  
已是眼前 明媚的風光  
夢太寫實 明天一望無際  
回個頭 一片無人沙灘  
腳步 未完成的旅途  
已是天天 遊子的地圖  
行過斷崖 夜夜安然無恙  
轉過身 天涯就在近處  
告別了城市的憂傷 你為誰  
回到浮雲回不去的故鄉  
征服了年華的孤獨 我為誰  
投入異鄉尋消失的彩虹  
海鷗 未完成的高度  
已是空中 最自由的翅膀  
風說過了 愛是一座島  
曲曲折折 起點也是終站  
愛說過了 心也是一座島  
曲曲折折 你我總會相見

### **British Rukai (2013)**

Traditional Taromak Rukai Tune

Arrangement: Jieren Zheng & Shichuan Chen

Rukai lyrics:

I ta pu silhivulu ko na si mamilhingane, na lhume  
Aye! Mada na yia si: Na si mamilhingane, na lhume  
Aye! Mada nane ninui  
Aye! Mada nanela ma lhika si lhivulu, lhume,

Ila ko vaga nomi ko ta yia ko yia numi, na lhume  
Aye! Mada na yia si: ko ta yia ko yia numi, na lhume  
Aye! Mada nanela ma lhika silhivulu, lhume,  
Aye! Mada nane ninui

Ta kai ulhaulhau ko abulhu ki la umu, na lhume  
Aye! Mada na yia si: ko abulhu ki la umu,, na lhume  
Aye! Mada nanela ma lhika si lhivulu, lhume,  
Aye! Mada nane ninui

English translation:

At least let us sing together “The song that has a long history.” When thinking of...how can we sing again “the song that has a long history”? Sigh! How are able to sing “the song that has a long history”? How can you talk about it easily? Despite this, at least let us talk about “what you want to say in your heart.” Remember! How can you say “what you want to say in your heart.” How can we? Sigh! How are able to sing “the song that has a long history”? We can never forget “the repentance said by our ancestors.” When thinking of...how can we face “the repentance said by our ancestors”? Sigh! How are able to sing “the song that has a long history”? How can you talk about it easily? (Translated from the mandarin “translation” provided in the album’s booklet)

### **英倫魯凱(2013)**

作詞：魯凱族達魯瑪克古謠

作曲：魯凱族達魯瑪克古謠

編曲：鄭捷任 陳世川

我們大家一起唱「那往事悠久的歌」，總可以吧！當想起！又怎麼能再唱：那往事悠久的歌，又何能？感慨！又何以能夠再唱那悠久的歌 何談容易再提起呢？大家一起來儘管訴說：「你們內心想要說的話」終該可以吧！想起！又怎麼能夠說盡：你們內心想要說的話？又何能？感慨！又何以能夠再唱那悠久的歌 何談容易再提起呢？我們永不可以忘記「祖先說過的訓悔」，當想起！又怎麼能面對：「祖先說過的訓悔」，又何能？感慨！又何以能夠在唱那悠久的歌 何談容易再提起呢？

## Hunters in Skirts/Kowa ni Taraalo'o Siya Labiti (2013)

Lyricist: Shichuan Chen

Music: Shichuan Chen

ko wa ni taraalo'o siya labiti  
ma ka lri ba ta  
ki yli.

ma ba bi ci nga ko wa ni  
alri mai ni  
malrigili tw'a'ao  
dra ki ta la i si.

maca i ni mi ya sa  
adrissi ma ka  
dwa ceelre i na  
saowalai si ababay  
la lre ne ge.

ma ti ya sa ma li  
ngo ngo a nei ni  
bo la lri a ki la lra  
ki ka da la mei ni.

malrigilhi senai  
ki senai na droma  
senai ki tarumak

la la la  
la la la  
kowa ni siya labiti  
ka taraalo'o  
matha i tha ri ri nga  
mara a ra ka ce na  
ta ka o ma sa nei ni

The hunter who wears a skirt is walking through *lriba* grass. She has a pair of strong hands, enabling her to build a giant swing. She has a pair of eyes as sharp as a male eagles', enabling her to distinguish the gender of *lrenge* stone. She can use nose to play the nose flute. The hunter who wears skirts is the most beautiful man I have ever seen. (Lyrics Translated from the mandarin "translation" provided in the album)

### 那個獵人穿裙子(2013)

作詞：陳世川

作曲：陳世川

那個獵人穿裙子,穿過咬人貓

她有一雙強壯的手，可以用巨竹搭起一座很高的鞦韆

她有一雙像雄鷹銳利的眼睛，可以分出公的石板和母的石板

她可以用鼻子吹鼻笛，吹給他喜歡的人

她有天籟般的歌聲，可以唱出達魯瑪克的古謠

那個獵人穿裙子，是我見過最美的男子

**I cowa ko lalan (2010)**

Lyricist: Suming Rupi

Music: Suming Rupi

Translated by Andrew Ryan

O kami kaemangay miliyas to niyaro'  
Caay ka siwala kami to dmak no niyaro'maemin.  
Halafinto matayal awa ko nika lahci.  
Ira ko papasifana to ka cipinangan ako.

I cowa ko lalan sakohalaten ako.  
I cowa ko lalan nanay ira ko papasifana.

Ho i yan ho i ya o wai yan na kitakapah saicelen.  
Ho i yan ho i ya ha wo wai yan naonen ko dmak ato tiren.  
Ho i yan ho i ya o wai yan na aka lalaw ko pinangan.  
Ho i yan ho i ya ha wo wai yan mahmek ko finawlan tisowanan sowanan.  
Ho i yan ho i ya o wai yan na ha wo wai ya yan ha wo wai yan  
Ho i yan ho i ya ha wo wai yan hay ya yo yan hay wo wai yan  
Ho i yan ho i ya o wai yan na ha wo wai ya yan ha wo wai yan

**Where is my Path? (2010)**

We, the younger generation, have left the village, but our hearts are still there. Although we've worked long and hard, we have nothing to show for our effort. Yet, there is still someone who will show us the way. I wonder where my path is...I hope someone can show me. Young people, keep on going strong! Work hard and take care of yourselves! Stay on the straight and narrow. The people of your village will always be proud of you.

### **Salsa De Yunta (2004)**

Original Song: Asadoya Yunta

Translated by Matt Gillen and Yuan-Yu Kuan

You are like the flower on a bramble bush. When I try to return home in the evening, you snare me. How sad, my darling.

Chorus 1: we came from Okinawa, give me a fire to enjoy fun.

Chorus 2: Ha-i-ya, dacne salsa to enjoy fun.

### **Salsa De Yunta (2004)**

原曲：「安里屋ユンタ」沖縄民謡

さあ君は野中の茨の花か さあユイユイ  
暮れて帰ればやれほに引き止める  
マタハーリヌ チンダラ カヌシャマヨ  
さあ嬉し恥ずかし浮名を立てて さあユイユイ  
主は白百合やれほに侘ならぬ  
マタハーリヌ チンダラ カヌシャマヨ

coro1: de Okinawa llegamos ya  
dame fuego para gozar

coro2: ハイーヤ salsa Buena para gozar

## **Fali (2012)**

Lyricist: Suming Rupi

Music: Suming Rupi

Translated by Andrew Ryan

O fali paluwaday to tapelik  
O fali mifiyokay to tahefod  
O fali miiyofay to kalokilang  
O fali, O fali

O fali ngaay spafali to panay  
O fali ngaay sapi icang to riko  
O fali sakasaemel no lomias'd  
O fali, O fali

He ya hay ya i ya ho i yo yan He yan ha he yan  
Ho o han hay ya i ya ho i yo yan He yan ha he yan  
He ya i yo yan he ya i yo yan He yan ha he yan  
Ho o han hay ya i ya ho i yo yan He yan ha he yan

O fali paluwaday to tapelik  
O fali mifiyokay to tahefod  
O fali miiyofay to kalokilang  
O fali, O fali

O fali ngaay spafali to panay  
O fali ngaay sapi icang to riko  
O fali sakasaemel no lomias'd  
O fali, O fali

He ya hay ya i ya ho i yo yan He yan ha he yan  
Ho o han hay ya i ya ho i yo yan He yan ha he yan  
He ya i yo yan he ya i yo yan He yan ha he yan  
Ho o han hay ya i ya ho i yo yan He yan ha he yan

He ya hay ya i ya ho i yo yan He yan ha he yan  
Ho o han hay ya i ya ho i yo yan He yan ha he yan  
He ya i yo yan he ya i yo yan He yan ha he yan  
Ho o han hay ya i ya ho i yo yan

The wind stirs up the breakers. It lifts the sand in gusts. The trees sway in the breeze. It's all because of the wind, the wind. The farmers use the wind to hull the rice. Clothes dry in the wind, too. A cool breeze takes the edge off a hot day. It's all because of the wind, the wind.



### **Song of the Islands (2016)**

Lyrics: Okinawan and Taiwanese musicians

Music: Okinawan and Taiwanese musicians

Translated by Yuan-Yu Kuan

As I dye my fingernails with a tint of the flower that blooms in heaven, so I shall dye my liver (heart) with the words of my parents.

Beyond the ocean and mountain, we joined hands with you. It's nostalgic even though it's the first time: a distant, but close island. Oh sea god; oh mountain god; the song of the islands that resonates with the praying people.

Despite the distance between Taiwan and Okinawa, without fears, the migratory birds come to meet; despite the cultural and linguistic difference, music allows us to become close friends. The ginger flower's fragrance sways, along with the melody of waves; music tightly connects us. The sounds from crushing waves, along with the tightly connected islands; music enables us to meet.

Beyond time, we follow the pathway you've walked. The faraway feeling in my heart melts into your song. Friends of islands; friends of song; exchanging wine along with the song of the islands that reverberates

## 島の歌/島嶼之歌 (2016)

ていんさぐぬ花や  
ちみさちにすみてい  
うやぬゆしぐとうや  
ちむにすみり

海を越えて山を越えて  
あなたと手をつないだ  
初めてなのに懐かしい  
遠いけど近い島  
海ぬ神よ山ぬ神よ  
祈る民と響き渡る島の歌

台灣跟沖繩的距離  
候鳥不畏艱難來相遇  
文化和語言的差距  
音樂讓我們好麻吉  
搖曳的月桃花香  
浪花的旋律  
音樂讓我們緊緊在一起  
海浪拍打的聲音  
緊緊聯繫的島嶼  
音樂讓我們相遇在一起

時を越えて僕らたどる  
あなたの歩いた道  
遠い感じていた心  
溶かしたあなたの歌  
島ぬどうしぐわ歌ぬどうしぐわ  
酒を交わし響き渡る島の歌

**Appendix B: Transcriptions**

**Miti Sunai**

Transcription 3.1: Miti Sunai  
Transcribed by Yuan-Yu Kuan  
Original Keys: A or F majors

There are three parts in “Miti Sunai.” The followings are transcriptions for the sections

Part A (Fundamental motive)

Free Time

Fi (Flute)

Percussion & Vocal Calls

hui yoi

Part B (inserted for dramatic effects)

Free Time

Fi (Flute)

Percussion & Vocal calls

yoi yoi yoi

Part C: *Sosoi*

$\text{♩} = 72$

fi (flute)

Percussion & Vocal calls

so - soi    so - soi    so - soi    so - soi    so -

5

soi    so - soi    so - soi    so - soi    so - soi    so - soi    so

\**Sosoi*: similar to the Japanese *banzai*, which is a traditional exclamation meaning “ten thousand years” of long life.

\*The version played during the launching ceremony is: B+A+B+A+B+CX4+B+A+B+A+B

## Tubarāma

Transcription 3.2: Tubarāma

Transcribed by Yuan-Yu Kuan

Original Key: F major

Singers: Yuu Yonaha and Reiko Yonaha

$\text{♩} = 72$

Yuu Yonaha (Male)

Reiko Yonaha (Female)

tuba ru - ma ya i ra tu - ba - ru - ma - mi - ti - nu -

5

suba ni katarai nu - ya - ta - n - bai - i ra nu yo - sa -

da - sa rya hai ya - so

11

nu - ka nu - sha - ma - yo

Lyrical translation:

Tubaruma, my dear Tubaruma; on the side of the road. Even though we've talked to each other, I want to meet you all the time.

**Song of the Islands**

Transcription 5.1: Song of the Islands (Two leitmotifs)  
 Transcribed by Yuan-Yu Kuan

Song of the Islands

♩ = 80

Taiwan	
	he - i ya i ha - u a ha - i ya - - -
Okinawa	
	hi - ya ha i ya si si si si

TW	<sup>5</sup>
	he - i ya i ha - u a ha - i ya
OKI	
	hi - ya ha i ya na ti che i ya sa sa

Transcription 5.2: Song of the Islands (tinsagunu hana)  
 Transcribed by Yuan-Yu Kuan

♩ = 80



Okinawan: tin - sa gu - nu ha - a na - ya  
 Translation: As I dye my fingernails with a tint



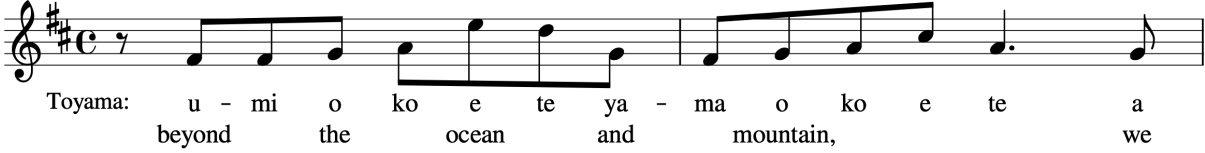
chi mi sa chi ni su - u mi ti u ya nu yu - shi  
 of the flower that blooms in heaven, so I shall dye my heart



gu - tu ya - chi mu ni su - mi ri  
 (liver) with the words of my parents

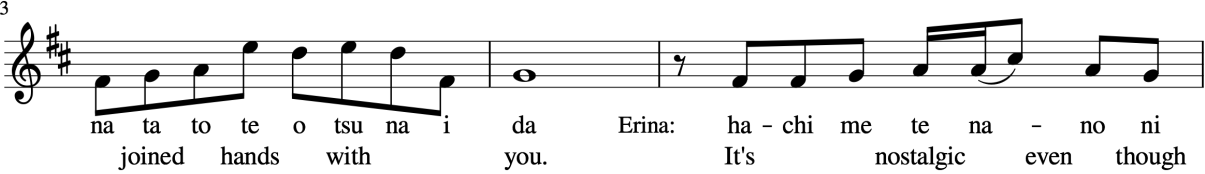
Transcription 5.3: Song of the Islands (Okinawan lyrics 1)  
 Transcribed by Yuan-Yu Kuan

♩ = 80



Toyama: u - mi o ko e te ya - ma o ko e te a  
 beyond the ocean and mountain, we

3



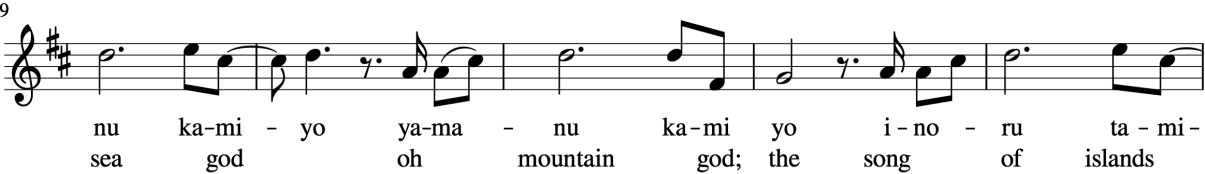
na ta to te o tsu na i da Erina: ha - chi me te na - no ni  
 joined hands with you. It's nostalgic even though

6



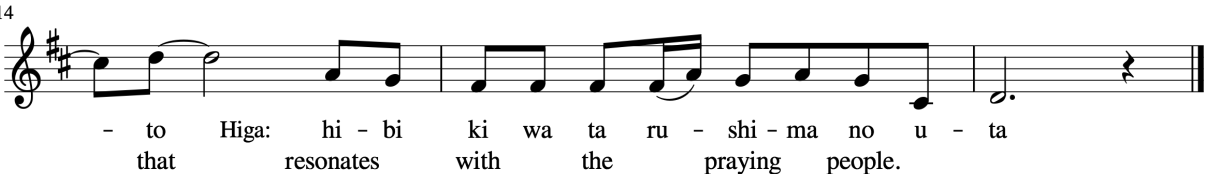
na tsu - ka shi - i to - o i ke do chi - ka i shi - ma u - mi -  
 it's the first time: a distant but close island. Yoshitoo: oh -

9



nu ka-mi - yo ya-ma - nu ka-mi yo i - no - ru ta - mi -  
 sea god oh mountain god; the song of islands

14



- to Higa: hi - bi ki wa ta ru - shi - ma no u - ta  
 that resonates with the praying people.



Transcription 5.4: Song of the Islands (Taiwanese lyrics)  
 Transcribed by Yuan-Yu Kuan

**♩ = 80**

Female

Mandarin: tai - wan gen chong - sheng de ju li

Male

Translation: Despite the distance between Taiwan and Okinawa,

3

F

hou niao bu wei jian nan lai xiang yu wen hua he yu yan de

M

the migratory birds come to meet; despite the cultural and

6

F

cha ju yin yue rang wo men hao ma ji

M

linguistic difference, music allows us to become close friends.

9

F

yao ye de yue tao hua xiang

M

The ginger flower's fragrance sways,

10

F lang hua de - xuan lu yin yue rang wo men jin jin -

M along with the melody of waves; music connects

12

F - zai yi qi hai lang pai da de sheng yin

M us tightly the sounds from crushing waves,

14

F jin jin lian xi de dao hai yu yin yue rang wo men xiang yu

M along with the connected islands, music enables us

16

F zai yi qi

M to meet

## GLOSSARY

- Amis** one of the aboriginal groups in Taiwan.
- Austronesia** a sea-going civilization that enabled these populations to expand towards the Pacific Ocean, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Oceania, and into the Indian Ocean as far as Madagascar.
- Awamori** an alcoholic beverage indigenous and unique to Okinawa.
- Bōodori** stick dance of Okinawa.
- Benshengren** the descendants of Han settlers from southeastern China beginning in the seventeenth century in Taiwan.
- Chumpuru** an Okinawan stir-fried plate.
- Dalan** literally means pathway in Puyuma language in Taiwan.
- Dunan** an older name of Yonaguni Island.
- Dunta** may refer to a traditional sung genre circulated among labor and lower classes or a circle dance in Yonaguni.
- Eisā** a drumming tradition of Okinawa.
- Enka** a Japanese popular music genre
- Ethnoscape** refers to the migration of people across cultures and borders, presenting the world and its many communities as fluid and mobile instead of static.
- Fi** Yonaguni transverse bamboo flute
- Goya** bitter melons
- Guoyu** literally means “national language;” Chinese Mandarin in Taiwan.
- Hōnensai** harvest festival in Yonaguni.
- Houshan** literally meaning “rear mountain,” it is used to refer to East Taiwan.
- Huaren** ethnically Chinese.
- ‘Ikung** literally meaning, “to curve,” it is a stylistic singing technique among the southern Amis.
- Intersectionality** an analytic framework which attempts to identify how interlocking systems of power impact those who are most marginalized in society.
- Jintōzei** literally meaning, “human head tax;” a taxation system implemented by the Ryukyu Kingdom.
- Jieitai** Japanese Self-Defense Forces.
- Kaijiki taikai** Billfish tournament in Yonaguni.
- Kanin** Yonaguni flat hanging gong.
- Kunkunshi** a traditional notation system by which music is recorded in Okinawa.
- Kuroshio** a north-flowing ocean current on the west side of the North Pacific Ocean.
- Lalan** pathway in Amis language.
- Liuqiu** Mandarin Chinese pronunciation of the term “Ryukyu.”
- Loma’** the family household as a unit or the physical space of resistance in Amis society.
- Mandopop** refers to Mandarin popular music.
- Minyō** a genre of traditional Japanese music.
- Miti Sunai** one of the oldest musical pieces in Yonaguni.
- Mipaliw** refers to “exchange labors” in Amis culture.
- Naichā** a term used in Okinawa to describe people from the Japanese mainland.
- Nantō** refers to islands (i.e. Okinawa) south of the Japanese mainland.

***N'nun*** a Yonaguni drum.

***Pasibutbut*** a prayer for a rich millet harvest in the Bunun culture in Taiwan.

***Pingpuzu*** refers to the Taiwanese aborigines who mostly reside on the island's western plain.

***Puyuma*** one of the aboriginal groups in Taiwan.

***Rukai*** one of the aboriginal groups in Taiwan.

***Sanshin*** a plucked three-stringed lute in Okinawa.

***Senjūmin*** literally meaning, "first inhabitants," used to refer to indigenous people in Japan.

***Shengfan*** literally meaning, "raw barbarians," a term created by the Chinese Qing to refer to the non-sinicized indigenous people of Taiwan

***Shōga*** a mnemonic singing of instrument parts used mainly in traditional Japanese music to memorize and learn instrumental melodies.

***Shufan*** literally meaning, "cooked barbarians," a term created by the Chinese Qing to refer to the sinicized indigenous people of Taiwan.

***Shuri*** political center of the Ryukyu Kingdom.

***Son Conjunto*** a type of small musical ensemble in Cuba.

***Taiyu*** Taiwanese Hokkien language

***Tsukasa*** a female shaman in Okinawa.

***Tubarāma*** a single song traditionally practiced among the peasant class in Yaeyama.

***Tubarun*** a single song traditionally practiced among the peasant class in Yonaguni.

***Ugan*** a sacred place or shrine in Yonaguni.

***Uchinaa pop*** popular music in Okinawa.

***Uchinaachu*** the Okinawan people.

***Waishengren*** refers to Mainlanders who came from multiple regions of China and followed the Nationalist Party (KMT) to Taiwan after the Communist take-over in 1949.

***Xiaoyuan minge*** Campus Songs in Taiwan.

***Yuanzhumin*** literally meaning, "original inhabitants," used to refer to aboriginal peoples in Taiwan.

## REFERENCES

- Abels, Birgit. 2011. *Austronesian Soundscapes: Performing Arts in Oceania and Southeast Asia*. Amsterdam: IIAS / Amsterdam University Press.
- Alcoff, Linda Martín. 1995. "The Problem of Speaking for Others." In *Who can speak?: Authority and Critical Identity*, ed. Judith Roof and Robyn Wiegman, 97-119. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press.
- Allen, Matthew, and Rumi Sakamoto. 2006. *Popular Culture, Globalization and Japan*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press.
- Atkins, E. Taylor. 2001. *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso.
- Andrade, Tonio. 2008. *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Aoyagi, Hiroshi. 2005. *Islands of Eight Million Smiles: Idol Performance and Symbolic Production in Contemporary Japan*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Ballard C. 2014. "Oceanic Historicities". *Contemporary Pacific*. 26 (1): 96-124.
- Bellwood, P., Fox, J. J., & Tyron, D. 2006. *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. Australian National University.
- Blacking, John. 1973. *How Musical is Man?* Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Blundell, David, ed. 2000. *Austronesian Taiwan: Linguistics, History, Ethnology, and Prehistory*. Berkeley: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum with Shung Ye Museum.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bigenho, Michelle. 2002. *Sounding Indigenous: Authenticity in Bolivian Music Performance*. New York: Palgrave.
- Boellstorff, Tom. 2007. "Queer Studies in the House of Anthropology." *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 36: 17-35.
- Boetzkes, Amanda. 2010. "The Ephemeral Stage at Lionel Groulx Station." In *Circulation and the City Essays on Urban Culture*, ed. Alexandra Boutros and Will Straw, 138-154. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Bourdaghs, Michael K. 2012. *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon: a Geopolitical Prehistory of J-pop*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Brown, Melissa J. 2004. *Is Taiwan Chinese? the Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brown, Michael. 2003. *Who Owns Native Culture?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Butler, Judith. 1999. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Boym, Svetlana. 2001. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.
- Caines, Rebecca, and Ajay Heble. 2015. *The Improvisation Studies Reader: Spontaneous Acts*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2002. *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. *Provincializing Europe Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Cheung, J. H. Y., & Wong, K. C. 2010. *Reading Chinese music and beyond*. Hong Kong: Chinese Civilisation Centre, City University of Hong Kong.
- Ching, Leo T. S. 2001. *Becoming "Japanese": colonial Taiwan and the politics of identity formation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chu, Huei-Chu. 2007. "Modernity as Borderland Sphere: Movements of People and Goods between Yaeyama Islands of Okinawa and Colonial Taiwan." In *A Journal of Cultural Studies* Autumn 2007 No. 5: 49-86.
- Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2013. *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-first Century*.
- Condry, Ian. 2006. *Hip-hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Connell, Raewyn. 2009. *Gender: in World Perspective*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly. 1990. *Flow: the Psychology of Optimal Experience*. [United States]: Joosr Ltd.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015. "A Theoretical Model for Enjoyment." In *The Improvisation Studies Reader: Spontaneous Acts*, ed. Rebecca Caines and Ajay Heble, 150-162. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge
- Curtis, Tim. 2011. *Islands as Crossroads: Sustaining Cultural Diversity in Small Island Developing States*. Paris, France: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- D'Arcy, Paul. 2006. *The People of the Sea: Environment, Identity, and History in Oceania*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Dean, Batholomew., & Levi, Jerome M. (2003). *At the Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial States*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Dening, Greg. 1972. "The Geographical Knowledge of the Polynesians and the Nature of Inter-island Contact." In *Polynesian Navigation: a Symposium on Andrew Sharp's Theory of Accidental Voyages*, ed. Jack Golson, 102-139 Wellington: Published for the Polynesian Society by A.H. & A.W. Reed.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1980. *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas, 1774-1880*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of Hawaii.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "History 'in' the Pacific," *The Contemporary Pacific*, 1&2(1989), pp. 134-139.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998. *Readings/writings*. Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. *Beach crossings: Voyaging Across Times, Cultures and Self*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- de Ferranti H. 2009. "Music and diaspora in the second metropolis: The Okinawan and Korean musicians of interwar Osaka". *Japanese Studies*. 29 (2): 235-253.
- Diamond, Jared M. 2000. "Linguistics: Taiwan's gift to the world". *Nature*. 403 (6771): 709.
- Diaz, Vicente M. 2010. *Repositioning the Missionary Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Driskill, Qwo-Li. 2011. *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1978. *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon Books.

- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 2000. *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Floyd, Kevin. 2009. *The Reification of Desire Toward a Queer Marxism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fiol, Stefan. 2010. "Dual framing: locating authenticities in the music videos of Himalayan possession rituals". *Ethnomusicology: Journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology*.
- Foss, Sonja K., Karen A. Foss, and Mary E. Domenico. 2013. *Gender Stories: Negotiating Identity in a Binary World*. Long Grove, Ill: Waveland Press.
- Foster, Susan Leigh. 2015. "Improvised Flow: Opening Statements." In *The Improvisation Studies Reader: Spontaneous Acts*, ed. Rebecca Caines and Ajay Heble, 147-149. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge
- Gennep, Arnold van. 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gillan, Matt. 2008. "Treasures of the island people: tradition and modernity in Yaeyaman pop music". *Asian Music*. 39 (1): 42-68.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012. *Songs from the Edge of Japan: Music-making in Yaeyama and Okinawa*. Aldershot, England, UK: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Gregg, Melissa, and Gregory J. Seigworth. 2011. *The Affect Theory Reader*. North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Guy, Nancy. 2002. "'Republic of China National Anthem' on Taiwan: one anthem, one performance, multiple realities". *Ethnomusicology: Journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. "Trafficking in Taiwan Aboriginal Voices." In *Handle With Care: Ownership and Control of Ethnographic Materials*, ed. S. R., Jaarsma, 195-209, Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Guha, Ranajit, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. 1988. *Selected Subaltern Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hateruma, Eikichi. 1999. *Nantō saishi kayō no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Sunagoyashobō.
- Hanlon, David. 2003. "Beyond 'the English method of tattooing': decentering the practice of history in Oceania". *The Contemporary Pacific* 14 (2): 19-40.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2017. "Losing Oceania to the Pacific and the World". *Contemporary Pacific*. 29 (2): 286-318.
- Harding, Sandra. 1995. "Subjectivity, Experience, and Knowledge: An Epistemology from/for Rainbow Coalition Politics." In *Who can speak?: Authority and Critical Identity*, , Judith Roof and Robyn Wiegman, 120-136. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press.
- Hau'ofa, Epeli, Eric Waddell, and Vijay Naidu. 1993. *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*. Suva, Fiji: School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific in association with Beake House.
- Hein, Laura Elizabeth, and Mark Selden. 2003. *Islands of Discontent: Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Hernandez, Lili, and Sabine Krajewski. 2009. *Crossing Cultural Boundaries: Taboo, Bodies and Identities*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.
- Hokari, Minoru. 2011. *Gurindji Journey a Japanese Historian in the Outback*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Hooks, Bell. 1981. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

- Hughes, David W. 1992. Esashi Oiwake and the beginnings of modern Japanese folk song. *The world of music*, 34 (1), 35-56.
- Huang, Chih Huei. 2011. "Ethno-cultural connections among the islands around Yonaguni-jima: The network of the "East Taiwan Sea". *Ogasawara Research* (37): 7-24.
- Hung, Wei-Yu. 2014. *Migrating Amis and Their Music: A Case Study of Suming and Shijhou Village*. MA thesis, Taipei National University of the Arts.
- Ikema, Eizō. 2003. *Yonaguni no rekishi*.
- Ingersoll, Karin Amimoto. 2016. *Waves of Knowing A Seascape Epistemology*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Iwabuchi, Kōichi. 2002. *Recentring Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Japanese Popular Culture and Postcolonial Desire for 'Asia'." In *Popular Culture, Globalization and Japan*, ed. Matthew Allen and Rumi Sakamoto, 15-35. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Lau, Frederick, and Christine Reiko Yano. 2018. *Making Waves: Traveling Musics in Hawai'i, Asia, and the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Lewis, David. 1994. *We, the Navigators: the Ancient Art of Landfinding in the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Jolly, Margaret. 2007. "Imagining Oceania: indigenous and foreign representations of a sea of islands". *The Contemporary Pacific*. 19 (2): 508-545.
- Keil, Charles, and Steven Feld. 1994. *Music Grooves: Essays and Dialogues*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Kessler, Suzanne J. 1998. *Lessons from the Intersexed*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Kikuchi, Yūko. 2007. *Refracted Modernity Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Klein, Bernhard, and Gesa Mackenthun. 2012. *Sea Changes Historicizing the Ocean*.
- Kodama, Masatō. 2007. *Ryūkyū to Okinawa no meishō no henshen*. Naha-shi: Ryūkyū Shinpōsha.
- Koike, Yasuhito. 2015. *Ryūkyū retto no mitsuboeki to kyokaisen: Senkyuhyakuyonjūkyū gojūichi*. Shinwasha.
- Ku'ualoha Ho'omanawanui. 2014. *Voices of Fire: Reweaving the Literary Lei of Pele and Hi'iaka*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Lebra, Takie S. 1976. *Japanese Patterns of Behavior*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1996. *The Raw and the Cooked*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MacLean, Mervyn. 1999. *Weavers of Song: Polynesian Music and Dance*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Matsuda, Hiroko. 2008. "Yaeyama: From Periphery of the Ryūkyūs to Frontier of Japan". *Japanese Studies*. 28 (2): 149-164.
- Matsuda, Yoshitaka, and Chuwen Qiu. 2012. *Bachongshan de Taiwan ren*. Taipei Shi: Xing ren wen hua shi yan shi.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2013. *Yonaguni taiwan ōraiki: kokkyō ni kurasu hitobito*. Ishigaki: Nanzansha.
- Matsue, Jennifer Milioto. 2009. *Making Music in Japan's Underground: the Tokyo Hardcore Scene*. New York: Routledge.
- Matsumura, Wendy. 2015. *The Limits of Okinawa Japanese Capitalism, Living Labor, and Theorizations of Community*. Duke University Press.



- McClary, Susan. 1991. *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- McClimon, Sarah. 2013. "Western Challenge, Japanese Musical Response: Military Bands in Modern Japan." In *Brass Bands of the World: Militarism, Colonial Legacies, and Local Music Making*, ed. Suzel Ana Reily and Katherine Brucher, 55-78. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- McCormack, Gavan. 2012. "Yonaguni: Dilemmas of a Frontier Island in the East China Sea." *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 10 (40): No. 1.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011. "Small Islands – Big Problem: Senkaku/Diaoyu and the Weight of History and Geography in China-Japan Relations." *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 9 (1): No 1.
- McDonald, Marie A., and Paul R. Weissich. 2003. *Na Lei Makamae: the Treasured Lei*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Miki, Takeshi. 2003. *Yaeyama kenkyū no rekishi*. Ishigaki: Nanzansha.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2010. *Yaeyama gasshūkoku no keifu*. Ishigaki, JP: Nanzansha.
- Miller, D. 1995. "The moan within the tone: African retentions in rhythm and blues saxophone style in Afro-American popular music". *POPULAR MUSIC -CAMBRIDGE-*. 14 (2): 155-174.
- Miyara, Saku. 2008. *Kokkyo no shima yonagunijimashi: Sono kindai o horu*. Naha: Akebono shuppan.
- Monson, Ingrid. 2015. "Music, Language, and Cultural Styles: Improvisation as Conversation." In *The Improvisation Studies Reader: Spontaneous Acts*, ed. Rebecca Caines and Ajay Heble, 35-51. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Moskowitz, Marc L. 2016. *Cries of Joy, Songs of Sorrow: Chinese Pop Music and its Cultural Connotations*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Mullaney, Thomas S. 2011. *Coming to Terms with the Nation Ethnic classification in Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Muñoz, José Esteban. 1999. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*. London: University of Minnesota Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. New York: New York University Press.
- Murai, Osamu. 1995. *Nantō ideorogī no hassei: Yanagita Kunio to shokuminchi shugi*. Tōkyō: Ōta Shuppan.
- Muyumba, Walton M. 2009. *The Shadow and the Act: Black Intellectual Practice, Jazz Improvisation, and Philosophical Pragmatism*. Chicago University of Chicago Press Birmingham.
- Nelson, Christopher T. 2008. *Dancing with the Dead: Memory, Performance, and Everyday Life in Postwar Okinawa*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Nettl, Bruno, and Melinda Russell. 1998. *In the Course of Performance: Studies in the World of Musical Improvisation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Niezen, Ronald. 2003. *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Nunn, Patrick D. 2009. *Vanished Islands and Hidden Continents of the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Oda, Shizuo. 2002. *Harukanaru kajijō no michi: Nihonjin no genryū o saguru kuroshio bunka no kōkogaku*.

- Otani, Kimiko, & Tokumari, Yoshihiko. (1983). Ethnomusicology in Japan since 1970. *Yearbook for traditional music*, 15 (Special issue: East Asian musics), 155-162.
- Potter, John. 2010. *The Power of Okinawa: Roots Music from the Ryukyus*.
- Poyer, Lin. 1990. *Defining History Across Cultures: islander and outsider contrasts*.
- Rabson, Steve. 2012. *The Okinawan Diaspora in Japan Crossing the Borders Within*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Reily, Suzel Ana, and Katherine Brucher. 2016. *Brass Bands of the World: Militarism, Colonial Legacies, and Local Music Making*. London: Routledge.
- Reuter, Thomas Anton. 2006. *Sharing the Earth, Dividing the Land: Land and Territory in the Austronesian World*. Canberra: ANU E Press.
- Roberson, James E. 2001. Uchinaapop: Place and identity in contemporary Okinawan popular music. *Critical Asian studies*, 33(2), 211-242.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Loochoo Beat(s): Music in and Out of 'Okinawa'." In *Popular Culture, Globalization and Japan*, ed. Matthew Allen and Rumi Sakamoto, 202-220. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2010. "Singing diaspora: Okinawan songs of home, departure, and return". *Identities : Global Studies in Culture and Power*. 17 (4): 430-453.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011. "'Doin' Our Thing": Identity and Colonial Modernity in Okinawan Rock Music". *Popular Music and Society*. 34 (5): 593-620.
- Roof, Judith, and Robyn Wiegman. 1995. *Who can speak?: Authority and Critical Identity*. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press.
- Rochberg-Halton, Eugene. 1986. *Meaning and Modernity: Social Theory in Pragmatic Attitude*. Chicago, Il: University of Chicago Press.
- Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Schmidt, Johanna. 2010. *Migrating Genders: Westernisation, Migration, and Samoan Fa'afafine*. Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate.
- Schoch, Robert M., and Robert Aquinas McNally. 2000. *Voices of the Rocks: Lost Civilizations and the Catastrophes that Destroyed Them*. London: Thorsons.
- Seeger, Anthony. 1987. *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sissons, Jeffrey. 2005. *First peoples: Indigenous Cultures and Their Futures*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd.
- Smith, Linda T. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Originally published in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg's *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*.
- Sterling, Marvin D. 2010. *Babylon East: Performing, Dancehall, Roots Reggae, and Rastafari in Japan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Summerhayes, Glenn R., and Atholl Anderson. 2009. "An Austronesian Presence in Southern Japan: Early Occupation in the Yaeyama Islands." *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association*: 29 (0).
- Sutton, R. Anderson. 1980. "Drumming in Okinawan Classical Music: A Catalogue of Gestures." *Dance Research Journal* 13, no. 1: 17-28.
- Tan, ShzrEe. 2017. *Beyond 'Innocence': Amis Aboriginal Song in Taiwan as an Ecosystem*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Teal, Larry. 1963. *The Art of Saxophone Playing*. [S.l.]: Summy-Birchard Music.

- Teng, Emma. 2004. *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Tsuge, Gen'ichi. 2000. Toyo ongaku gakkai and music research in Japan. *Yearbook for traditional music*, 32, 157-165.
- Thomas-Slayter, Barbara P. 2011. *Southern Exposure: International Development and the Global South in the Twenty-First Century*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press.
- Thomassen, Bjørn. 2014. *Liminality and the Modern: Living Through the in-between*. Farnham, Surrey ; Burlington, VT : Ashgate
- Tokita, Alison M., & Hughes, David W. (Eds.). 2008. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*. Hampshire, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Torizuka, Yoshikazu. 2002. *Asadoyayunta: ko utai wa dono yō ni denshō sa rete iru ka*.
- Turino, Thomas. 2010. *Moving Away from Silence Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. *Music as social life: the politics of participation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Turner, Victor W. 1967. "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage." In *The forest of symbols: aspects of Ndembu ritual*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1974. *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors; Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press.
- Valentine, David. 2007. *Imagining Transgender: an Ethnography of a Category*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Wade, Bonnie. 2005. *Music in Japan*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wong, Deborah Anne. 2004. *Speak it Louder: Asian Americans Making Music*. New York, NY [u.a.]: Routledge.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2018. "Kenny Endo and a Dream: From Interzones to Solidarities." In *Making Waves: Traveling Musics in Hawai'i, Asia, and the Pacific*, ed. Frederick Lau and Christine Reiko Yano, 149-169. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Yanagita, Kunio. 1961. *Kaijō no michi*. Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō.
- Yonaguni Chōshi Hensan Iinkai. 1997. *Yonaguni: chinmoku no dotō du nanno hyakunen kiroku shashinshū chōshi bekkani'ichi*. Yonagunichō (Okinawaken): Yonagunichōyakuba.
- Yonagunimachi(okinawaken). 2002. *Kōkyōsuru shimauchū nihon saiseitan dounanchima no chimei to fūdo*. [S.l.]: Yonagunimachi.
- Yano, Christine Reiko. 2002. *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Yoshihara, Toshi. 2012. "China's Vision of Its Seascape: The First Island Chain and Chinese Seapower". *Asian Politics & Policy*. 4 (3): 293-314.