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ABSTRACT

This study aims to be a comprehensive investigation into the native terminology and classification of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments based on ethnographic fieldwork. Its main result is new information concerning indigenous instruments and taxonomic schemes and above all the discovery of many unknown musical instruments from different aboriginal groups (Bunun, Kavalan, Pazih-Kahabu, Puyuma, Rukai, Sakizaya, Siraya and Tsou). Concluding, many factors influence Taiwanese native classifications of musical instruments and they include linguistic factors, playing techniques, materials used in their construction, performance contexts, as well as gender, social status and religion.

KEY WORDS

Taiwan, Classification, Native terminology, musical instruments

TÍTULO

Terminología local y clasificación de los instrumentos musicales de Taiwan

RESUMEN

Este estudio intenta ser una investigación exhaustiva de la terminología y sistemas de clasificación de los instrumentos musicales de los aborígenes de Taiwan con base en trabajo etnográfico de campo. Su principal resultado es nueva información sobre los instrumentos y su taxonomía así como el descubrimiento de instrumentos hasta ahora desconocidos entre los diferentes grupos aborígenes (Bunun, Kavalan, Pazih-Kahabu, Puyuma, Rukai, Sakizaya, Siraya y Tsou). En conclusión varios factores determinan la clasificación local de los instrumentos musicales de Taiwan entre los que encontramos factores lingüísticos, técnicas de interpretación, materiales y construcción, contexto de interpretación así como cuestiones de genero, estatus social y religión.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Taiwan, clasificación, terminología local, instrumentos musicales.

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Lancini Jen-hao Cheng, nacido en Taiwan finalizó sus estudios de PhD en el Department of Music, University of Otago de Nueva Zelanda en Agosto de 2015. Obtuvo también el grado M.Litt. en Ethnología y Folklore en el Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, Escocia, Reino Unido. Además, se ha desempeñado por espacio de catorce años como profesor de música y artes y humanidades en su país. Sus principales intereses investigativos son la etnomusicología y la organología así como la exploración de contextos interpretativos en la música tradicional.

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Native Terminology and Classification of Taiwanese Musical Instruments

Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

Introduction

About 500,000 Taiwanese aborigines live on the island of Taiwan (i.e., Formosa) in the western Pacific Ocean (Figure 1)¹ and their languages belong to the Austronesian family.² This study aims to be a comprehensive investigation into the native musical instrument classifications of these Taiwanese aborigines³ and defines sound-producing objects as musical instruments in a very broad sense.⁴ As Jeremy Montagu suggests, “casual and accidental sounds are not musical while music is sound intentionally produced to create emotion (e.g., pleasure, awe or fear) by objects that people call ‘musical instruments’.”⁵

The main reason for undertaking this study is that Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments have been named in Mandarin in historical Chinese travel accounts and there has been little discussion about the indigenous names and their native classifications. In this article I have undertaken an original exploration of the indigenous classification systems through analyzing cultural informants’ point of view, cultural practice and semantic

¹ Formosa is the alternative name of Taiwan; “People,” Taiwan.

² Jean Trejaut, “Mitochondrial DNA Provides a Link between Polynesians and Indigenous Taiwanese,” *PLoS Biol* 3, no. 8 (2005): e281.

³ In this study the term ‘aborigine’ as the indigenous inhabitants of Taiwan.

⁴ Hans Fischer, *Sound-producing Instruments in Oceania: Construction and Playing Technique--distribution and Function*. Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1986, p. 2; E. M. von Hornbostel, “The Ethnology of African Sound-Instruments,” *Journal of the International African Institute* 6, no. 2 (April 1933), pp. 129–57 (p. 129); Geneviève Dournon, “Organology,” In *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, edited by Helen Myers, London: Macmillan, 1992, pp. 245–300 (pp. 247–48).

⁵ Jeremy Montagu, *Origins and Development of Musical Instruments*, Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2007, pp. 1–2.

domains. In Taiwan's Japanese period (1895–1945), many scholars tackled the classification of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. However, little attention was given to indigenous names and native ways of classification. For example, Ino Kanori, the first scholar to classify Taiwanese aboriginal instruments, grouped them in four categories (i.e., Jew's harp,⁶ nose flute, musical bow, and mouth flute) in 1907.⁷ On the other hand Kurosawa led a team in undertaking large-scale fieldwork throughout Taiwan in 1943 and he classified musical instruments by instrumental types (e.g., mouth harp, musical bow, psaltery, vertical flute, nose flute, traverse flute, bells, idiophones, and sound-producing instrument).⁸ Ping-chuan Lu was the first Taiwanese ethnomusicologist to do research on aboriginal instruments and although Kurosawa and Lu both recorded the indigenous names for instruments when the data was available, they did not study their etymology.⁹

Most Western studies from the late 19th century and the early 20th century classified non-Western instruments according to Western classification systems. In the 20th century, David Ames and Anthony King began to pay attention to indigenous instrument classification. They classified Hausa instruments according to the Hornbostel-Sachs classification, even though they collected the indigenous terms and categories regarding musical instruments and music-making from the Hausa people in their fieldwork.¹⁰ Since the 1960s, an essential trend in organology has been to regard musical instruments as sound-producing objects as a way of understanding the relationships between musical instruments and their social structures.¹¹ From the viewpoint of the social sciences Hans-Peter Reinecke explores musical instruments and his fourfold classification (i.e., trumpet, flute, bells and gongs, and strings) correlates with four emotional stereotypes (i.e., awe, life,

⁶ In this research, the Jew's harp does not mean a Jewish instrument. The Jew's harp is a commonly used term in ethnomusicology to indicate various kinds of plucked idiophones, whose lamellae fixed at one end for flexing and releasing to return to their position of rest. For this reason, here the term 'Jew's harp' is used as a common noun to refer to all types of plucked idiophones.

⁷ Ino Kanori, "Taiwan doban no kayoo yo koyuu gaki" [Taiwan indigenous barbarian ballads and original musical instruments], *Magazine of the Tokyo Anthropology Association* 252 (1907), pp. 233–41.

⁸ Kurosawa Takatomo, *The Music of the Takasago Tribe in Formosa*, Tokyo: Isamashi Yama Kaku, 1973.

⁹ Ping-chuan Lu, "Tai wan tu zhu zu zhi yue qi" [The musical instruments of the Formosan aborigines], *Tunghai Ethnomusicological Journal* 1 (July 1974), pp. 85–203.

¹⁰ David W. Ames and Anthony V. King, *Glossary of Hausa Music and Its Social Contexts*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971, p. x.

¹¹ Margaret Kartomi, "Upward and Downward Classifications of Musical Instruments, Including a Proposed New Component: Body Percussion." Prague: Institute of Musicology, Charles University, 2011, http://musicology.ff.cuni.cz/pdf/Kartomi_Body-Percuss.pdf



FIGURE 1. Distribution of early Taiwanese Aborigines. (Bstlee, licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license.)

authority, and order) preferring to study the function rather than instrumental structure.¹² After the 1970s, culture-emerging taxonomy schemes became popular among scholars as they reflect the broad ideas or identity of their cultural matrices.¹³ Thus Hugo Zemp studies the semantic field of 'Are'are musical instruments to reveal the classification of musical types and instruments.¹⁴ As Margaret Kartomi states, a culture-emerging classification can sometimes scarcely "be called a scheme"; it is "actually a reconstructed model of an ordering of data in the minds of [cultural insiders]."¹⁵ Also, Bruno Nettl suggests that "people should consider how the indigenous lay out their world of music, by what principles their taxonomy is formed, and how is the rest of their culture."¹⁶ Moreover, he states that, "among the classifications of music used by any society, an essential element is the taxonomy of humans by their place in the musical culture. This might relate to active and passive roles and contain inventive musicians as well as audience, composers, performers, patrons and scholars."¹⁷ Instrumental taxonomies reflect the taxonomist's point of view, culture, and social structure. Furthermore, the classifications could be seen as an abstraction of thoughts and beliefs that carry the social and other functions of the instrument.

This study employs methodologies belonging to ethnomusicology, linguistics, and ethnography and its original contribution is the new ethnographic fieldwork, which uncovered new information concerning indigenous instruments and classified schemes from the point of view of the informants' opinions from different aboriginal groups throughout Taiwan. In the case of culture-emerging taxonomies, avoiding predetermined knowledge, my aim was to identify and emphasize the informants' point of view, cultural practice, semantic domains and ways of organization.¹⁸

There are sixteen aboriginal groups recognized by the Taiwan government, namely Amis, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Puyuma, Saisiyat, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, Seediq, Saaroa and Kanakanavu (see Figure 1). However, there are many unrecognized aborigine groups in Taiwan, namely the Babuza, Basay, Hoanya, Ketagalan, Kulon, Makatao, Pazeh/Kahabu, Papora, Siraya, and Taokas (see Figure 1). Most of the

¹² H.-P. Reinecke, "Einige Bemerkungen zur methodologischen Basis instrumentaler Forschung." In *Festschrift to Ernst Emsheimer*, edited by Gustaf Hilleström, Stockholm: [s.n.], 1974, pp. 176–79.

¹³ Margaret J. Kartomi, *On Concepts and Classifications of Musical Instruments*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990, p. 13.

¹⁴ Hugo Zemp, "Are'are Classification of Musical Types and Instruments." *Ethnomusicology* 22, no. 1 (1978), pp. 37–67.

¹⁵ Kartomi, *On Concepts and Classification*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Bruno Nettl, *Blackfoot Musical Thought: Comparative Perspectives*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989, p. 77.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 82.

¹⁸ Kartomi, *On Concepts and Classification*, p. 17.

unrecognized aboriginal groups were assimilated into Han Taiwanese. However, some unrecognized aboriginal vocabulary (e.g., Pazeh-Kahabu and Siraya) were well-recorded in books. Ethnic recognition by the Taiwan government is controversial and sometimes the government recognized a sub-tribe as an independent aboriginal group. Besides having distinct language and culture, the factors of political movement and governmental budget also have great influence on the ethnic recognition of the Taiwan government. In my field-work, I came into contact with forty-eight aboriginal informants. I interviewed thirty-one with knowledge of aboriginal instruments, consulting them about their cultural practices, the indigenous names of musical instruments and native classifications. They come from seventeen different ethnic groups of Taiwanese aborigines: Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kahabu, Kavalan, Paiwan, Pazih, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakizaya, Seediq, Siraya, Tao, Thao, Truku, and Tsou.

Owing to lack of sufficient linguistic data or cultural grey-out, some aboriginal groups (e.g., Sakizaya and Tao) did not put forward their native classifications. Also, some sub-tribes share the same musical tradition; therefore, I group them into the same section. For example, Truku are actually a sub-tribe of the Seediq and Truku is a dialect of the Seediq language. Owing to the fact that speakers of the Seediq and Truku languages can communicate with each other and they share almost the same musical tradition, I classify their musical instruments in the same section. By the same token, Pazih people and Kahabu people are able to communicate with each other.¹⁹ Here I classify both of them as Pazeh-Kahabu musical instruments. Moreover, Saaroa (or Hla'alua) and Kanakanabu both belong to the Southern Tsouic languages of Formosan languages in the Austronesian family.²⁰ Saaroa and Kanakanabu are both included in the Tsou musical instruments. Consequently, this study uncovers twelve native classifications of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments (i.e., Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kavalan, Paiwan, Pazih-Kahabu, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Seediq-Truku, Thao and Tsou) through semantic and ethnographic analysis. Diagrams and photographs are the author's.

Languages, ethnic groups and musical instruments

The following semantic fields of indigenous names include all musical instruments (containing previously undocumented ones) from each aboriginal group in Taiwan.

¹⁹ Raleigh Ferrell, "The Pazeh-Kahabu Language," *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 31/32 (1970), pp. 73–79.

²⁰ Robert A. Blust, *The Austronesian Languages*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2009.

1. Amis

The Amis language belongs to the East Formosan subgroup of Austronesian languages and the majority of the Amis people traditionally live in Hualien County, Taitung County, and Pingtung County (Figure 1). They are the largest aboriginal group in Taiwan, and their total population numbers about 177,000.²¹

1.1 Kokang (xylophone)

Kokang is the indigenous name for the xylophone in Amis society. The derivative *mi-kokang* comprises the verbalising prefix *mi-* and the lexeme *kokang*; it means “to play the xylophone.”²² Moreover, *dodang* and *takingkingan* are both alternative names for the kokang.²³ There is no literature concerning semantic studies of Amis musical instruments. I propose that, *kokang*, *dodang*, and *takingkingan* are all onomatopoeic. The word *ta-kingking-an* comprises the prefix *ta-*, the lexeme *kingking*, and the suffix *-an*. The traditional function of kokang was to scare birds, polatouches, monkeys, or wild boars from eating planted arable crops (Figure 2).

1.2 Satongtong/pikongkong/dondong (individual percussion tubes)

Individual percussion tubes have different indigenous names in Amis culture. *Kokang* not only means the xylophone; it also means the bamboo slit drum. The derivative *mikokang* means “to play the bamboo tube gong.”²⁴ *Mi-* is the verbalising prefix. The lexeme *kongkong* means “to knock on the drum.” The derivative *pi-kongkong-an* comprises the lexeme *kongkong* and the circumfix *pi- -an*, which means “the drum made from a tree trunk”; the drum used to rouse the village to action.²⁵ The Amis also call the bamboo slit drum “*satongtong* (in the Torik sub-tribe).”²⁶ *Mitoktok to’ awol*, *kokang*, *kakeng*, and *pa’pa* are all alternative names for

21 Council of Indigenous Peoples. “Amis.” Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=C1F3A60A42545179> (accessed 31 July 2013).

22 Towid Namoh, *Amis sapalengaw* [The ingenuity of the Amis language]. Taipei: Shita Book, 2010, p. 97.

23 Sawtoy Saytay, “A Successor of the Kakeng Music World.” *A.P.C. Monthly* 105 (February 2007), pp. 28–31 (p. 30).

24 Towid, p. 157.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 99.

26 Sawtoy, p. 30.



FIGURE 2. Traditional *kokang* (xylophone). (This and all photographs by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng.)



FIGURE 3. Satongtong (bamboo slit drum).

the bamboo slit drum.²⁷ The Amis call the rectangular mortar *dodang* or *lolen*.²⁸ Additionally, they call the contemporary wood slit drum *tatotokan*.²⁹ The *satongtong* bamboo slit drum was usually hung on a tree or was put on the player's legs to play it; it originally functioned to scare boars at a camping site (Figure 3).

1.3 Kakeng (stamping tubes/percussion tubes)

This is a previously undocumented instrument and *kakeng* is the indigenous name for stamping tubes/percussion tubes in Amis society.³⁰ At the wedding, each member of the bride-to-be's family held a long bamboo tube to stamp the ground to inform villagers of the wedding feast (Figure 4).

1.4 Takeling/tavelevele (forged bell)

The Amis call the forged bell "*takeling*", *keling* meaning "the sound of a bell."³¹ *Takeling* are tied behind the waist, dangling from the wearer's side or back.³² *Ta-keling* comprises the verbalising prefix *ta-* and the onomatopoeic lexeme *keling*, which means "to produce the tinkle of a bell." The alternative name for *takeling* in the Vataan sub-tribe of the Amis is *tavelevele*.³³ The meaning of *tavelevele* is unknown but the social function of *takeling* was traditionally to deliver messages.

1.5 Kiangkiang (the gong rattle)

Kiangkiang is the name for the bronze gong rattle in the Kiwit sub-tribe of the Amis and this is a previously undocumented instrument. The name means "to beat the bronze gong in mourning"³⁴ and in addition, the lexeme *takongkong-ay* means "the player who beats the

²⁷ Su-zhen Lin, "Saparadiw a lalosidan." *Tai wan yuan zhu min li shi yu yanwen hua* [The Great Dictionary of Taiwanese Aboriginal History and Culture]. <http://citing.hohayan.net.tw/> (accessed 27 August 2013).

²⁸ Su-zhen Lin, "Myth about Fata'an 'Amis Ancestors," *Tai wan yuan zhu min li shi yu yanwen hua* [The Great Dictionary of Taiwanese Aboriginal History and Culture]. <http://citing.hohayan.net.tw/> (accessed 27 August 2013); Ling, p. 198.

²⁹ Hayu, p. 167.

³⁰ Sawtoy Saytay, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 28 July 2009, digital recording (RHP001), Taitung City.

³¹ Towid, p. 86.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 239.

³³ Ling, p. 208.

³⁴ Towid, p. 239.



FIGURE 4. Traditional *kakang*.

gong in mourning.”³⁵ The *kiangkhang* does not function as a bronze gong but functioned as a rattle in the *Miadop* (hunting) ceremony and the *Misalifon* (epidemic dispelling) ceremony.

1.6 Sowasan/tangfor/cohcoh (bronze rattle)

Different rattles have different indigenous names and *sowasan* is the indigenous name of the two-pronged jingle in Amis culture.³⁶ The Amis called bronze pellet rattles *tangfor* or *cohcoh*³⁷ where *cohcoh* is pronounced *tsohtsoh* (Figure 5). In the Vataan sub-tribe, people called the leg rattle and the waist rattle *coh-coh*³⁸ while in the Malan tribe, the leg rattle and the waist rattle are both called *tangfor*.³⁹ In addition, *pakarongay* (the early youth) is the *tangfor* bearer. The word *pakarongay* comprises the prefix *pa-*, the lexeme *karong*, and the normalising suffix *-ay* where the lexeme *karong* indicates the errand of delivering messages.⁴⁰ And *pa-karong* indicates “to run an errand to deliver a message” and moreover, *pa-karong-ay* means “the person who runs an errand to deliver a message.”⁴¹ The *tangfor* is the rank marker of early youth *pakarongay* in Amis age groups.

1.7 Datok (Jew’s harp)

Jew’s harps have various names in Amis culture. *Datok* is the indigenous name for it and it means “to produce sound by mouth.” *Datuk* is another name for the *tiftif* musical bow in the Amis language.⁴² However, Yang remarks that “*toftof* is the indigenous name for the Amis Jew’s harp in Hualien County; in contrast, *tiftif* is the indigenous name for the Amis Jew’s harp in Taitung County.”⁴³ In the Austronesian family, only the Amis pronounce the *d*. For example, a song is called *dadiu* (or *ladiw*). The lexemes *da* and *du* are frequently used in relation to musical

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

³⁶ Ling, p. 204.

³⁷ Zheng-xian Yang, “Tangfor/cohcoh” and “Toftof/tiftif.” The Great Dictionary of Taiwanese Aboriginal History and Culture. <http://citing.hohayan.net.tw/> (accessed 10 June 2012).”

³⁸ Ling, p. 209.

³⁹ Jun-yan Sun, “The Polyphony Songs Study of the Amis Malan Area.” MA thesis, Soochow University, 2001, p. 41.

⁴⁰ Zhe-min Chang, “Selal.” The Dictionary of Taiwanese Aboriginal History, Language and Culture. http://210.240.134.48/citing_content.asp?id=2323&keyword=年齡階級 (accessed 10 October 2013).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Sawtoy, interview.

⁴³ Yang, “Toftof/tiftif.”



FIGURE 5. *Tangfor* (leg pellet rattle).

activities. Both *dadiu* and *datok* use the mouth to produce resonance.⁴⁴ The traditional function and the performance context of *datok* (Jew's harp) relates historically to courtship.

1.8 *Nomodac a tipolo* (membrane flute)

This is a previously undocumented instrument and *nomodac a tipolo* is the indigenous name given to the membrane flute. *Nomodac* means “membrane”; and *tipolo* “the flute.”⁴⁵ In Ling's

⁴⁴ Saytay, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

record, *tipolo to ngaful* is the alternative indigenous name for it; in this term, *to* is a predicate in front of the noun.⁴⁶ Traditionally, *nomodac a tipolo* (the membrane flute) functioned as a plaything and a hunter's flute (Figure 6).

1.9 Tiftif (musical bow)

There are some indigenous terms for the musical bow in Amis culture. They call the musical bow *tiftif* a term that indicates the action of pulling. The other name for *tiftif* is *datok*, which means “to produce sound by mouth.”⁴⁷ On the other hand, *Fetik* indicates plucking the string of the musical bow and *Fetir* is an alternative name of *fetik* for the Coastal tribe, the Falangaw tribe and the MisaPalidaw tribe of the Amis people.⁴⁸ Mary Ling records that *fusilli* is the indigenous name for the musical bow of the Amis.⁴⁹ Su-zhen Lin claims that the Nanshih tribe of the Amis called the musical bow *mifetolic*, and the Falangaw tribe of the Amis people called the musical bow *cifocolay datok*.⁵⁰ The meanings for *mifetolic* and *cifocolay* are unknown. Before World War II, a man played the *tiftif* musical bow to a woman to express his adoration of her.

1.10 No ngoso' a tipolo (nose flute)

There are several Amis words for nose flutes. *No ngoso' a tipolo* means “the flute of the nose”⁵¹ where *a* is the genitive meaning “of” and *Ngoso* means “nose.” *Tipolo* is the indigenous name of the flute and *no* is an auxiliary word used in front of a noun in the Amis language. The *no ngoso' a tipolo* was played to mimic an animal's sound, if the animal responded to the sound, the hunter would pursue and kill the animal. Also, a hunter used the nose flute for self-entertainment or to console his nostalgia while he was awaiting the prey's appearance (Figure 7).⁵²

⁴⁶ Ling, p. 188.

⁴⁷ Sawtoy, interview.

⁴⁸ Towid, p. 47.

⁴⁹ Ling, p. 189.

⁵⁰ Lin, “Saparadiw a lalosidan.”

⁵¹ Saytay, *loc. cit.*

⁵² *Ibid.*



FIGURE 6. *Nomodac a tipolo* (membrane flute).



FIGURE 7. *No ngoso' a tipolo* nose flute with internal duct.



FIGURE 8. *Tipolo* (pan pipe).

1.11 Tipolo (pan pipe)

The Amis pan pipe is a previously undocumented instrument. In Amis culture, various flutes are called *tipolo*, so *tipolo* can be considered a general name for all kinds of flutes.⁵³ The traditional *tipolo* functioned as a signalling instrument (Figure 8).

1.12 The tipolo traverse flute

The traverse flute is a previously undocumented instrument among the Amis and they called it *tipolo*⁵⁴ but before World War II, people in the Nataoran sub-tribe called the traverse flute *babaraton a libau*.⁵⁵ The word *libau* means flute, which is related to the *libau* bamboo flute of the Sakizaya.

1.13 Bnbn (bullroarer)

The bullroarer is also a previously undocumented instrument and *bnbn*, is the indigenous name given to it in Amis society, a term that seems to be onomatopoeic. The *bnbn* functioned as a toy or to scare birds in order to help protect arable crops.

1.14 Grgr (whirring disc)

The whirring disc is a previously undocumented instrument and *grgr* is the indigenous name for it in Amis society, a term that also seems to be onomatopoeic. The *grgr* functioned as a toy for children.

1.15 Fasiyaw (singing kite)

This is also previously undocumented instrument and in Amis culture, there are several indigenous names for the singing kite and its parts (the Aeolian musical bow). *Fasiyaw* is the name of the singing kite, whose physical structure comprises a kite and an Aeolian musical bow. As for the indigenous names for the Aeolian musical bow, *wao* is the name in the Tapowaray sub-tribe of the Amis and *focili* is the name in the Makerahay sub-tribe⁵⁶ while *wao*

⁵³ Sawtoy, interview.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Kurosawa, p. 430.

⁵⁶ Laway. "Wao = Focili." Comment on Traditional Relics, posted 15 September 2006. Tapowaray Tribe. <http://tapowaray.amis.net.tw/modules/blank5/main.asp?act=s...> (15 September 2006).

indicates the Aeolian musical bow in the Tapowaray sub-tribe and indicates “the kite” in Kelantanese Malay.⁵⁷ Both the Aeolian musical bow of the Tapowaray sub-tribe of the Amis and the kite of the Kelantanese Malay are called *wao*. A possible reason for this coincidence is that Austronesians are used to using onomatopoeia (e.g., the lexeme *wao*) to name their musical instruments. The main function was to make signals through the shape and different coloured tassels of the singing kite.

2. Atayal

Atayal belongs to the Atayalic subgroup of Austronesian languages and the Atayal live in the northern area of the Central Mountain Range in Taiwan. They have nowadays a population of around 81,000.⁵⁸

2.1 Lubuw qhuniq (xylophone)

There are several indigenous names for the xylophone of the Atayal. *Lubuw qhuniq* is the indigenous name for the wooden xylophone; *lubuw* meaning “musical instrument” and *qhuniq* “wood.”⁵⁹ *Tcingun* is another indigenous name for the Atayal xylophone and in addition, the Atayal called the bamboo xylophone *tatuk ruma*.⁶⁰ The word *tatuk* was probably borrowed from Seediq-Truku and it means “to knock” or “the xylophone” in the Seediq-Truku language.⁶¹

2.2 Ruma' (percussion tube)

This is a previously undocumented instrument, *ruma'* being the Atayal name of the percussion tube and also meaning “bamboo.”⁶² The *ruma'* percussion tube functioned as a fire alarm.

⁵⁷ Whye Keet Chong, “Singing Kites of Kelantan,” *Kitelife Magazine* 1, April 1998, pp. 1–4.

⁵⁸ Council of Indigenous Peoples, “Atayal.” Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=C1F3A60A42545179> (accessed 31 July 2013).

⁵⁹ Pawang Iban, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 3 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001-2. WAV), Chiagaluo, Shinzhu County.

⁶⁰ Masa Tohui, Watan Tanga, Atay Hkaut and Piling Suyan, *Tai ya zu yu wen hua jiao cai* [Cultural teaching materials of the Atayal]. Taipei: Adult Education Centre, NTNU, 1998, p. 117.

⁶¹ Iki Tadaw, interview by Jen-Hao Cheng, 14 July 2009, digital recording (MIC00001), Taroko, Hualien County.

⁶² Pawang, *loc. cit.*

2.3 Gawngu' (wooden slit drum)

Gawngu' is the primary indigenous name of the wood slit drum, which means “the weaving trough of the loom”; another name being *hon-ngu*.⁶³ In the Japanese period, the *gawngu'* also functioned as a signaling device for military action and a wooden slit drum to accompany people's singing and dancing (Figure 9).

2.4 Lubuw takan ruma' (bamboo-tube gong)

Another of the previously undocumented instruments, it has several indigenous names. *Lubuw takan ruma'* means the bamboo-tube musical instrument, where *lubuw* means musical instrument, *ruma'* means Makino bamboo. *Lubuw ruma'* means bamboo musical instrument. *Takan* means tube.⁶⁴ *Lubuw takan ruma'* seems to be a newly invented musical instrument.

2.5 Turin (percussion pipes)

Turin is the indigenous name for percussion pipes and originally, the term *turin* meant “water container” (made of bamboo pipes).⁶⁵ The Atayal people now carry the *turin* on their backs and strike it with a bamboo beater to provide rhythm in dance.

2.6 Lukus/latan (jacket rattle)

Lukus and *latan* are both indigenous names for the jacket rattle in Atayal society.⁶⁶ They both are exclusive nouns for the jacket rattle and traditionally, only successful headhunters were eligible to wear jacket rattles (Figure 10).

2.7 Lubuw/lubug (Jew's harp)

There are some indigenous terms for the Jew's harp of the Atayal. *Lubuw/lubug* does not only mean “musical instrument,” but it also “the Jew's harp.” The Atayal call the Jew's harp *lubuw zзима'* where *zзима'* means “tongue.” Iban states that “the Atayal did not have too many mu-

⁶³ Pawang, interview.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Shiow-mei Chang, *Miao li xian tai ya zu sai xia zu yuan zhu min bu luo ge yao* [The folksongs of aboriginal tribes in Miaoli County: The Atayal and the Saisiyat]. Miaoli: Culture Bureau, 2005, p. 74.

⁶⁶ Duoyou Youlan, “Lukus/latan,” *The Great Dictionary of Taiwanese Aboriginal History and Culture*. http://210.240.134.48/citing_content.asp?id=3252&keyword=銅鈴長衣 (accessed 19 July 2013).



FIGURE 9. *Gawngu'* (wooden slit drum).



FIGURE 10. *Lukus/latan* (jacket rattle).



FIGURE 11. *Lubuw/lubug* (Jew's harp).

sical instruments and that all musical instruments were called *lubuw*.⁶⁷ The derivative *tlubw* means “to play an instrument with the mouth”; for instance, “*Tlubw saku lubuu*” meaning “I play the Jew’s harp.”⁶⁸ People played *lubuw* for self-entertainment even though it was mainly played during courtship (Figure 11).

2.8 Pengao (headhunter’s flute)

The hunter’s flute has different names in different Atayal communities. In Wulai (New Taipei City), the Atayal call the hunter’s flute *gao*. *Gao* is a loanword from Japanese. *Gao* means “sound” in Japanese (こゑ *koe*). In Chiagaluo (Hsinchu County), another name for *gao* is *pingo* where *pin* is a nominalising prefix⁶⁹ and *pingo* is an alternate spelling of the word *pengao*. The lexeme *gao* means “the flute” and the derivative *pengao* means “to play the flute.”⁷⁰ *Tehai* and *thai* are synonyms of *gao* and they mean “flute” as well as “whistle.”⁷¹ In Miaoli County, the Atayal had two types of vertical flutes: the *penurahoi* and the *ngangao*. The *penurahoi* was the headhunter’s

⁶⁷ Pawang, interview.

⁶⁸ Cf. Søren Egerod, *Atayal-English Dictionary*. Vols. 1–2. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series 35. London: Curzon Press, 1980, p. 200.

⁶⁹ Pawang, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁰ Raleigh Ferrell, *Atayal Vocabulary*. Taipei: [s.n.], 1967, p. 19.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.



FIGURE 12. *Ma pak wis/ki pah pah* (percussion stick).

flute and the *ngangao* was the ordinary flute. In addition, *go' mgaga* is an alternative name for *pengao*. *Mgaga* means the activity of headhunting, and *go' mgaga* indicates the sound of headhunting.⁷² The *pengao* was played in front of the head after successful headhunting.

3. Bunun

Bunun is part of the Bunun subgroup of Austronesian languages. The Bunun people live, in particular, in Nantou County, Kaohsiung County (e.g., Namasia Township), Hualien County (e.g., Wanrong and Zhuoxi Township), and Taitung County (e.g., Haiduang Township), at heights of about 1,000 to 2,300 metres and all number around 50,000.⁷³

3.1 *Ma pak wis/ki pah pah* (percussion stick)

Both *ma pak wis* and *ki pah pah* are indigenous names for the percussion stick in the Bunun language. Bao-shi Jiang and Shiang-lan Ma indicate that people in the Kumuan sub-clan of the Takivatan clan called the percussion stick *ma pak wis*, which means “to pray to our ancestors.”⁷⁴ The *ma pak wis/ki pah pah* percussion stick is played primarily to signal for different purposes.

⁷² Masa, Watan, Atay and Piling, p. 117.

⁷³ Council of Indigenous Peoples, “Bunun.” Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=C1F3A60A42545179> (accessed 31 July 2013).

⁷⁴ Ying-hua Li, Bao-shi Jiang, and Shiang-lan Ma, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 30 July 2009, digital recording (RHP001WAV), Ma Yuan Village (vahunan), Hualien County.



FIGURE 13. *Durdur* (stamping pestles)

3.2 *Durdur*/*tultul* (stamping pestles)

There are several indigenous terms for stamping pestles in the Bunun language. *Durdur* means “wooden pestle” and is onomatopoeic.⁷⁵ *Durdur* only indicates the stamping pestle and *tultul* and *toto* are heterographs of *durdur*.⁷⁶ The performance of *durdur* is called *ma-durdur*; in it, many pestles of different lengths are pounded on the floor in turn. *Ma-durdur* means “playing the *durdur*”; *ma-* is a verbalising prefix.⁷⁷ In Nirira’s *Bunun Vocabulary*, *tultul* is translated as “pestle for pounding”, *ma-tultul* or *ma-bado* as “to pound millet on a stone-plate” and *tultul-an* indicates the stone-plate on which millet is pounded.⁷⁸ In addition,

⁷⁵ Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.

⁷⁶ Heterographs are words that sound the same as other words, but they have different spellings;

⁷⁶ Nirira Yoshiro, *A Bunun Vocabulary: A Language of Formosa*. 3rd ed. Tokyo: Nihira, 1988, s.v. “tultul.”

⁷⁷ Li, Jiang, and Ma, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁸ Nirira, s.v. “tultul.”

latoto is a synonym of *ma-bado*; and it means “to pound” in Southern Bunun.⁷⁹ When the Bunun found that different sizes and lengths of *durdur* determined different pitches, they began to use the *durdur* as a musical instrument.

3.3 Toklo (wooden gong)

Toklo originally described the wood trough of a loom in Bunun society⁸⁰ and it is now the indigenous name of the Bunun wood gong.



FIGURE 14. *Toklo* (wooden gong).

3.4 Laqlaq/somsom (bone rattle)

There are several terms for the bone rattle in the Bunun language. *Laqlaq* and *somsom* are both indigenous names for the bone rattle in Bunun society. Another name for the bone rattle is *qalimuqaimad* or *qalimuqaimat*.⁸¹ The derivative *ma-somsom* or *sosom-un* means “to worship”; “to pray” or “to make incantations for a good harvest.”⁸²

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, s.v. “*latoto*.”

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, s.v. “*toklo*.”

⁸¹ Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.

⁸² Nirira, s.v. “*somsom*.”



FIGURE 15. *Laqlaq/somsom* (bone rattle).

3.5 Kungkung (Jew's harp)

There are several terms for the Jew's harp in the Bunun language. In the Takivatan clan (Central Bunun), people call their Jew's harp *kungkung* and in other clans it is called *honghong*. Li points out that *kungkung* or *honghong* indicates “to pull”⁸³ and in Nirira's record, *bulingkau* also means the bamboo Jew's harp in Northern Bunun (Figure 16).⁸⁴

3.6 Latuk (musical bow)

Latuk is the indigenous name for the musical bow in the Bunun language where the lexeme *la* indicates “to pluck” and *tuk* its sound.⁸⁵ On the other hand in Nirira's record, *pis-latuk* means “to play the *latuk*,” where *pis-* is the verbalising prefix.⁸⁶ The Bunun played the *kungkung* or the *latuk* to dispel unhappiness in ancient times (Figure 17).

⁸³ Li, Jiang, and Ma, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁴ Nirira, *s.v.* “buliGkau.”

⁸⁵ Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.

⁸⁶ Nirira, *s.v.* “latuk.”



FIGURE 16. *Kungkung* (Jew's harp).



FIGURE 17. *Latuk* (musical bow).

3.7 Banhir latuk/bulingkau (four/five-stringed zither)

There are several indigenous terms for the five-stringed zither used by the Bunun. In the Takivatan clan it is called *banhir latuk* and *banhir/ban'hil* means Japanese cypress⁸⁷ hence indicating the type of wood used in its construction. In the Takibakha clan, people call it *tultul*, but in the Takibanuad clan they call their four-stringed zither *bulingkau*.⁸⁸ The meaning of *bulingkau* is unknown and as reported by Nirira, *latuk tultul* means musical instrument with steel strings.⁸⁹ However, the five-stringed zither is called *toro-toro* in Kurosawa's record where *toro-toro* is the heterograph of *tultul*.⁹⁰ This instrument was traditionally played for self-entertainment.

3.8 Bishiya (whistle for hunting muntjac)

In Bunun society, a *bishiya* is a kind of whistle that hunters use to lure *muntjac* when hunting.

3.9 Tarongat (nose flute)

There are several indigenous terms for the nose flute used by the Bunun. In the Takivatan and Takibanuad clans, the single-pipe nose flute is called *tarongat* and in the Isbubukun clan, people called it *rarongaton*.⁹¹ The meanings of those terms are unknown and in his fieldwork, Nirira found that the lexeme *tu-i'a* means "birds," "cat," "oxen," "crow," or "cry of war." The derivative *pa-tu-i'a* means "to play a flute" or "the flute player"; it is composed of the verbalising prefix *pa-* and the lexeme *tu-i'a*. On the other hand, *Pa-tu-i-un* means "the flute" in Central and Southern Bunun and also, *ma-pa-tu-i'a* is translated as "to play a flute" in Southern Bunun.⁹² *Tarongat* were traditionally played for amusement.

3.10 Rarongaton (transverse flute)

The transverse flute has different names among the Bunun clans. In the Isbubukun clan, the Bunun called the transverse flute *rarongaton*, whereas in the Takivatan clan they called the

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, s.v. "ban'hil."

⁸⁸ Rung-shun Wu, *Bu nong zu yin yue zai chuan tong she hui zhong di gong neng yu jie gou* [The function and structure of Bunun music in traditional society]. Nantou: Yushan National Park, 1993, p. 46.

⁸⁹ Nirira, s.v. "latuk."

⁹⁰ Kurosawa, pp. 831–32.

⁹¹ Cf. Kurosawa, pp. 412–13; Dao-sheng Lin, *Hua lian yuan zu min yin yue* [The aboriginal music of Hualian: The Atayal], Hualian: Hualian County Cultural Bureau, 2003, p. 262.

⁹² Nirira, s.v. "tu-i'a."

transverse flute *tarongat*.⁹³ The meanings for *rarongaton* and *taron gat* are unknown. It was traditionally played for self-amusement.

4. Kavalan

The Kavalan language belongs to the East Formosan subgroup of Austronesian languages and the Kavalan now have a population of about 3,000. Their homeland was initially located in the Lanyang Plains (Yilan) of North-eastern Taiwan but their land was invaded by the Han in 1796, and after 1853 many Kavalan moved southward to Hualien (Eastern Taiwan) and Taitung (South-eastern Taiwan).⁹⁴

4.1 Bahadodan alam (bamboo clapper)

This is a previously undocumented instrument and there are several indigenous terms for the clapper and its sound. *Bahadodan alam* is the indigenous name for the bamboo clapper where *bahadodan* means “to frighten,” and *alam* “bird.” In the Kavalan language, the sound of the *bahadodan alam* is pronounced *qRuqqung* or *rikriket* with the lexeme *qRuqqung* meaning “noise.”⁹⁵ The derivative *saqRuqqungqung* means “hitting sounds of bamboo”; it is composed of the verbalising prefix *sa-* and the overlapped *qRuqqung* to form continuous tense.⁹⁶ As regards the lexeme *riket-*, it is a bound root related to noise. *Rikriket* means “noise,” “sound,” “rustle.” It is composed in radical overlap; for example, “*Mai tu rikriket!*” (No noise!). The derivative *mrikriket* means “noise,” “sound,” “rustle” made by people; it is composed of the verbalising prefix *m-* and the lexeme *rikriket*.⁹⁷

4.2 Tunun (dancing stick)

This is a previously undocumented instrument and *tunun* means “stick” or “pole.”⁹⁸ Among the Shinshe tribe, the *tunun* is the chieftain’s scepter and only the chieftain is eligible to use it as a dancing stick.

⁹³ Kurosawa, p. 427.

⁹⁴ Council of Indigenous Peoples, “Kavalan.” Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=C1F3A60A42545179> (accessed 31 July 2013).

⁹⁵ Nirira, s.v. “qRuqqungqung.”

⁹⁶ Nirira, s.v. “saqRuqqungqung.”

⁹⁷ *Tu* is an article. Paul Jen-kuei Li and Shigeru Tsuchida, *Kavalan Dictionary*, Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2006, s.v. “riket-.”

⁹⁸ Wen-sheng Li, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 21 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001.WAV), Shinshe, Hualien County.

4.3 Da dodogan bangen (wooden slit drum)

This is a previously undocumented instrument and there are several Kavalan terms for the slit drum and drumming. The Kavalan call the wooden slit drum *da dodogan bangen*, in which *da dodogan* means “drum” and *bangen* means “wood.”⁹⁹ In Kavalan, the sound of a drum is *kung na kukkungan*, in which the lexeme *kung* means “sound of knocking.”¹⁰⁰ The lexeme *kukkungan* means “drum” or “gong” (i.e., the bamboo slit drum); it is composed of the lexeme *kukkung-* and the nominalising suffix *-an*. The derivative *kmukkung* indicates “to knock” or “to beat a drum” and it is composed of the lexeme *kukkung-* and the verbalising infix *-m-*.¹⁰¹ Figure 18 below shows the semantic field of the lexemes *kung* and *kukkung-*. The Kavalan played it as signaling instruments.

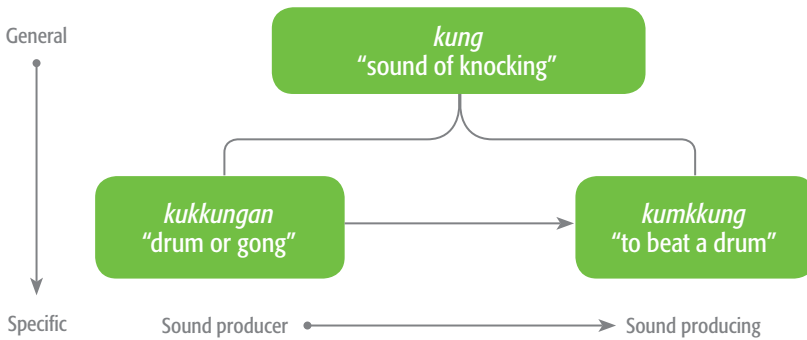


FIGURE 18. Semantic field of the lexemes *kung* and *kukkung-*. This and all diagrams by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng.

4.4 Kringkringan (forged bell)

This is a previously undocumented instrument as in previous occasions, there are several Kavalan terms for the forged bell and its sound. *Kringkringan* is the indigenous name for the forged bell, composed of the lexeme *kringking* and the nominalising suffix *-an*. The lexeme *kring-* is a bound root relative to tinkling (see Figure 19). The lexeme *krikring/kringking* means “sound of a bell”, this time composed in radical overlap.¹⁰² The derivative *pakrikring* means “to produce the sound of a bell” and comes out of the verbalising prefix *pa-* and the lexeme *krikring*.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Li and Shigeru, s.v. “kung.”

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Li and Shigeru, s.v. “kringking.”

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, s.v. “kring-.”

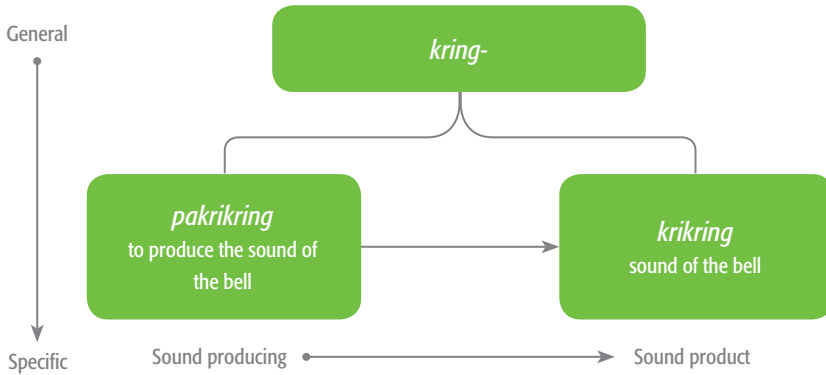


FIGURE 19. Semantic field of the lexeme *kring-*.

4.5 Amil (wrist rattle) and bkia (ankle rattle)

There are two indigenous names for Kavalan rattles. First, the *amil* is the rattle worn around women’s wrists while they dance *kisaiz* (a curing ritual for invoking the help of the supreme deities) (Figure 20).¹⁰⁴ The following is an example from the lyrics of the *kisaiz*, namely, “*Amil sasbadi na kisaiz*” (*Amil* is a rattle that one wears while dancing *kisaiz*).¹⁰⁵ Secondly, the *bkiat* is a rattle worn around women’s ankles while they dance *kisaiz*. Another section of the lyrics serves as an example of the *bkiat*, “*Bkiat sasbadi na kisaiz*” (*Bkiat* is a rattle that one wears while dancing *kisaiz*).¹⁰⁶ In addition, the *amidu* (another spelling of *amil*) was recorded in the first song and the third song of the *kisaiz* suite (which comprises a total of eight sections or songs).

4.6 Tubtub (Jew’s harp)

Tubtub is the indigenous name of the Jew’s harp in Kavalan society. The derivative *tmubtub* means “to play the Jew’s harp”; and for example, “*Tubtubi ka!*” can be translated as “Play the Jew’s harp!”¹⁰⁷ Figure 21 shows the semantic field of the lexemes *tubtub*. Another name is *tobu?tobu?*, which is possibly the heterograph of *tubtub*.¹⁰⁸ Both males and females were eligible to play the *tubtub* for entertainment.

¹⁰⁴ Li and Shigeru, s.v. “*kisaiz*.”

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, s.v. “*amil*.”

¹⁰⁶ Li, interview; cf. Li and Shigeru, s.v. “*bkiat*,” “*amil*.”

¹⁰⁷ Li and Shigeru, s.v. “*tubtub*.”

¹⁰⁸ “The Skilful Singing and Dancing of Zhu A-bi.” The Folksongs and Culture of the Kavalan. <http://ianthro.tw/~pingpu/01/kavalan/05/index.htm> (accessed 15 March 2011).



FIGURE 20. *Amil* (wrist rattle).

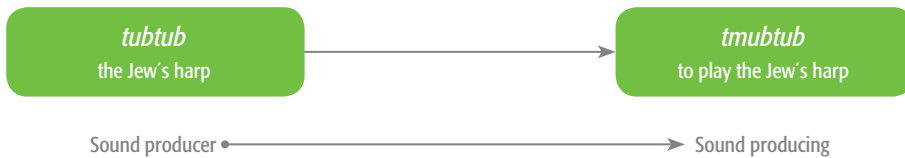


FIGURE 21. Semantic field of the lexeme *tubtub*.

4.7 Turanian (nose flute)

The lexeme *turani-* is related to the nose flute as in the following example, “Turani ka!” meaning “Play the nose flute.” *Turanian* means “the nose flute” and it is composed of the lexeme *turani-* and the nominalising suffix *-an*. The derivative *tmurani* means “to play the nose flute” and this time is composed of the lexeme *turani-* and the verbalising infix *-m-*.¹⁰⁹ Figure 22 below shows the semantic field of the lexemes *turani*. In addition, *tulaniyan* is the heterograph of *turanian*.¹¹⁰ The Kavalan played the *turanian* for entertainment.

¹⁰⁹ Li and Tsuchida, s.v. “*turani-*.”

¹¹⁰ “The Skilful Singing and Dancing of Zhu A-bi,” *op. cit.*

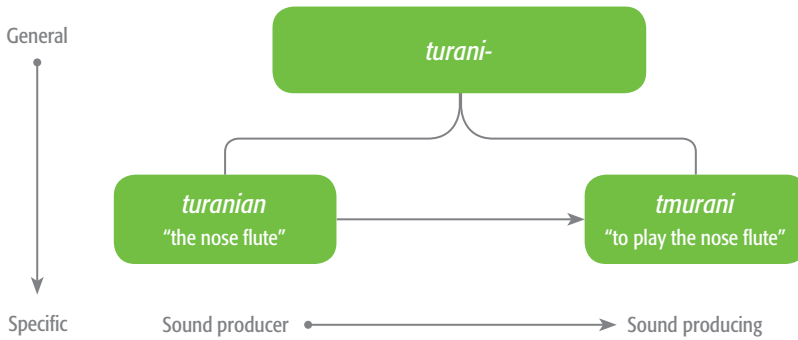


FIGURE 22. Semantic field of the lexeme *turani-*.

4.8 The Rolled Nanel Leaf

This is a previously undocumented instrument. In the Kavalan language, *nanel* means shell ginger (*Alpinia zerumbet*). It functioned as a toy and people played them just for fun.

4.9 Piuk (flute or whistle)

This is another previously undocumented instrument. The lexeme *piuk* means “flute” or “whistle” and the derivative *pmiuk/pumiuk* means “to play a flute” or “to play a whistle”; composed of the lexeme *piuk* and the verbalising infix *-m/-um-*; for example, “*pmiuk a ti iyung*” means “Iyung plays a flute or a whistle.”¹¹¹ Figure 23 shows the semantic field of the lexemes *piuk*.

4.10 Tukkik (conch trumpet)

In the name of this previously undocumented instrument, the lexeme *tukkik* means “conch” as trumpet.¹¹² The derivative *tmukkik* is “to play a conch” and it is composed of the lexeme *tukkik* and the verbalising infix *-m-* (Figure 24).¹¹³

Figure 25 shows the semantic field of the lexemes *tukkik*. In ancient times, the *tukkik* conch functioned as a trumpet for gathering tribesmen together to have an important meeting.

¹¹¹ Li and Shigeru, *s.v.* “piuk.”

¹¹² Li, interview.

¹¹³ Li and Shigeru, *s.v.* “tukkik.”

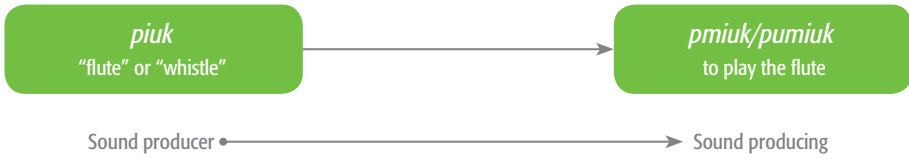


FIGURE 23. Semantic field of the lexeme *piuk*.



FIGURE 24. Way of playing the *tukik* (conch trumpet).

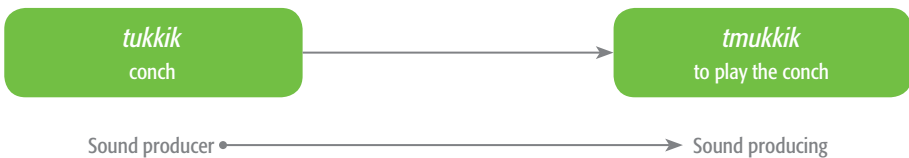


FIGURE 25. Semantic field of the lexeme *tukik*.

5. Paiwan

Paiwan belongs to the Paiwan subgroup of Austronesian languages. Their traditional territory is located in the far south and southeast of Taiwan, namely, Pingtung County and Taitung County and their population is estimated to be 86,000.¹¹⁴

5.1 Tjaudring (forged bell)

This is a previously undocumented instrument and there are several indigenous terms for the Paiwan forged bell and its sound. The Paiwan forged bell is a so-called hip bell among the East Paiwan community and *tjaudring* is its indigenous name. In the Japanese period, Kurosawa recorded different names for the forged bell amongst the Paiwan society. For example, people called the forged bell *Ho-ogan* in Djumulje (Jomoru), while it was called *Cha-ure* in Ka-alooan (Ka-arowa), both Taitung villages.¹¹⁵ Concerning the terms for its sound producing, the lexeme *keling* is onomatopoeic, where the derivative *k-alj-eling* means “to have a ringing sound.” Another derivative *pa-k-alj-eling* means “to ring a bell”¹¹⁶ where the lexeme *kingking* is also onomatopoeic and its derivative *k-al-ingking* means “to have a ringing sound.” Another derivative *pa-k-al-ingkingking-en* means “a bell” as well as “to strike with a ringing sound.”¹¹⁷



FIGURE 26. *Tjaudring* (forged bell).

¹¹⁴ Council of Indigenous Peoples, “Paiwan.” Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=C1F3A60A42545179> (accessed 31 July 2013).

¹¹⁵ Kurosawa, pp. 441–44.

¹¹⁶ Raleigh Ferrell, *Paiwan Dictionary*, Canberra: Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1982, s.v. “keeling.”

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, s.v. “kingking.”

5.2 Ljaljuveran (Jew's harp)

There are several indigenous terms for the Paiwan Jew's harp and its sound. Guulhelhe Djakulavu suggests that *ljaljuveran* is the indigenous name for the Jew's harp also indicating both its sound and the way of playing it¹¹⁸ According to Ferrell's *Paiwan Dictionary*, the lexeme *lja-ljuver-an* means "the Jew's harp" and its derivative *lj-m-aljuveran*, "to play the Jew's harp."¹¹⁹ The prefix *lja-* means "belonging to a given category"¹²⁰ and the suffix *-an* is a referent focus, which implies a specific type.¹²¹ Moreover, the lexeme *qungqung* is onomatopoeic and indicates the sound of the Jew's harp in Western Paiwan. The derivative *qa-qungqung-an* means "the Jew's harp" and is composed of the nominalising prefix *qa-*, the lexeme *qungqung*, and the nominalising suffix *-an*.¹²² Moreover, the prefix *qa-* is usually used to form part of a noun¹²³ and the suffix *-an* is a referent focus and indicates a specific type.¹²⁴ In addition, Li indicates that the name for the copper heteroglottic Jew's harp is *dziadzziubulang*, and that of the bamboo idioglottic Jew's harp is "barubaru in the Seveng sub-tribe of the Paiwan."¹²⁵ Also, *ljaljuveran* and *dziadzziubulang* have a similar pronunciation in spite of their different spellings. *Ljaljuveran* (the Jew's harp) were played for self-amusement.

5.3 Ljaljetjukan (musical bow)

There are also several Paiwan terms for the musical bow. Djakulavu Snr calls it *penana*¹²⁶ and, as reported by Ferrell, the lexeme *ljaljetjukan* means in fact "the musical bow." Additionally, its derivative *lj-m-aljetjukan* is composed of the verbalising infix *-m-* and the lexeme *ljaljetjukan*, which means

¹¹⁸ Guulhelhe Djakulavu, Djakulavu Snr and Madam Djakulavu, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 24 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001–3.WAV), Sabuyu, Taitung County.

¹¹⁹ Ferrell, *Paiwan Dictionary*, s.v. "ꨄaꨄuweran." P.S. ꨄaꨄuweran and ljaljuveran are the same word in different spelling systems.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, s.v. "ꨄa."

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, s.v. "-an."

¹²² *Ibid.*, s.v. "qungqung."

¹²³ *Ibid.*, s.v. "qa-."

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, s.v. "-an."

¹²⁵ Hwei Li, "A Comparative Study of the Jew's Harp among the Aborigines of Formosa and East Asia." *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 1 (1956), pp 85–140 (p. 96).

¹²⁶ Djakulavu, Snr and Madam, interview.



FIGURE 27. *Ljaljetjukan* (musical bow).

“to play the musical bow.”¹²⁷ Paiwan men played the *ljaljetjukan* for self-entertainment, especially on their way to visit girls.¹²⁸

5.4 Lalingedan (nose flute)

Both *pakulalu* and *lalingedan* are names given to the nose flute. In Northern Paiwan, the nose flute is called *lalingedan* while in Eastern Paiwan, is called *pakulalu*.¹²⁹ In the light of linguistic analysis, the lexeme *lalingedan* means “the nose flute” and the derivative *l-m-alingedan* is composed of the verbalising infix *-m-* and the lexeme *lalingedan*, which means “to play the nose flute.” Moreover, the derivative *l-m-alingelingedan* is composed of the verbalising infix *-m-* and the reduplication of the lexeme *lalingedan*, which means “to be playing the nose flute.”¹³⁰ Additionally, the lexeme *linged* is a synonym of *lalingedan* (the nose flute).¹³¹ In the Paiwan tradition, the *lalingedan* was mainly played during courtship. Only males of aristocratic blood were eligible to play the *lalingedan*.¹³²

¹²⁷ Ferrell, *Paiwan Dictionary*, s.v. “ $\text{t}a\text{t}etjukan$ ”; $\text{t}a\text{t}etjukan$ and *ljaljetjukan* are the same word in different spelling systems.

¹²⁸ Kurosawa, pp. 369–70.

¹²⁹ Djakulavu, Snr and Madam, interview.

¹³⁰ Ferrell, *Paiwan Dictionary*, s.v. “lalingedan.”

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, s.v. “linged.”

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 22.



FIGURE 28. *Lalingedan* (nose flute).

5.5 Kulalu (single-pipe flute)

There are several Paiwan terms for the flute and its sound. The flute is called *pakulalu* and this term is connected with idea of playing it with the mouth. In linguistic analysis, the lexeme *kulalu* means “the flute” and there are many derivatives of *kulalu*, such as: *pa-kulalu*, meaning “to play the flute”; *k-m-ulalu*, also meaning “to play the flute”; *k-m-ulalulalu*, translated as “to be playing the flute”; and *s-m-ane-kulalu*, which means “to make the flute.”¹³³ In addition, the lexeme *lalu* is a synonym of *kulalu*.¹³⁴ In ancient times, only successful headhunters were eligible to play the *kulalu* flute.

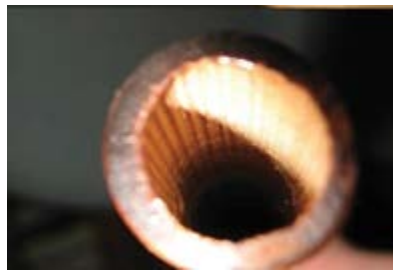


FIGURE 29. *Kulalu* (single-pipe flute).

¹³³ Ferrell, *Paiwan Dictionary*, s.v. “kulalu.”

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, s.v. “lalu.”

5.6 Kulalu (double-pipe flute)

The double-pipe flute is also called *kulalu* or *pakulalu*. Most of what was said of the single-pipe *kulalu* (see Subsection 5.5) can be said of the double-pipe *kulalu* and it has the same traditional function and contexts of use.

6. Pazih-Kahabu

Pazih-Kahabu belongs to the Northwest Formosan subgroup of Austronesian languages and comprises two main dialects Auran and Kahabu.¹³⁵ Pazih people mainly live in Central Taiwan (e.g., Miaoli and Taichung) and the Kahabu live in the Nantou County.

6.1 Dong dong (bamboo slit drum)

This is a previously undocumented instrument. *Dong dong* is the indigenous name for the bamboo slit drum, is an onomatopoeiaic term¹³⁶ and it refers to body percussion. This instrument has been played traditionally for dancing and to accompany singing and the harvest ceremony.

6.2 Dung dung (trunk gong)

Dung dung is the indigenous name for the trunk gong and is a previously undocumented instrument. *Dung dung* means “drum.”¹³⁷ Traditionally, the Kahabu used a *dung dung* (trunk gong) to deliver messages (Figure 30).

6.3 Duang duang (bronze gong)

There are several Pazih-Kahabu terms for the bronze gong, a previously undocumented instrument. Pan points out that the Kahabu language depends on onomatopoeia to name musical instruments, such as the case of the *duang duang*.¹³⁸ *Duen* and *duin* also mean gong in spit of

¹³⁵ Paul Jen-kuei Li and Shigeru, *Pazih Dictionary*. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics [Preparatory Office], Academia Sinica, 2001.

¹³⁶ Ying-yu Pan, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 16 August 2009, digital recording (RHP006–RHP008), Shoucheng, Puli, Nantou County.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Pan, interview.



FIGURE 30. *Dung dung* (trunk gong).



FIGURE 31. *Duang duang* (bronze gong).

their different spellings.¹³⁹ *Paduen* means “to strike gong”¹⁴⁰ it is composed of the lexeme *duen* and uses the verbalising prefix *pa*. Additionally, the derivative *paduenduen* means “to warn people by striking gong.”¹⁴¹ In ancient times, the gong was used in keeping guard, signaling, singing and dancing.

7. Puyuma

Puyuma belongs to the Puyuma subgroup of Austronesian languages and its speakers mainly live the area in the south of Taitung Longitudinal Valley. Their population is about 11,000.¹⁴²

7.1 Badongdong (metal gong)

Badongdong is the indigenous name for a metal gong and is a previously undocumented instrument. *Ba-dongdong/pa-dongdon* means “to knock” and comprises the prefix *pa/ba-* and the

¹³⁹ Guan-yi Lai and Shi-yi Cheng, *Kakawas iu minuzakay ki abuan a saw* [The Abuan language and culture]. Nantou: Taiwan Da Li Zhe Cultural Association, 2006, p. 232.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁴² Council of Indigenous Peoples, “Puyuma.” Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=C1F3A60A42545179> (accessed 31 July 2013).



FIGURE 32. *Badongdong* (metal gong).



FIGURE 33. *Tawliur* (forged bell).

onomatopoeic *dongdong*.¹⁴³ The prefix *pa-* is a causative verb, which indicates having the sound of *dongdong*.¹⁴⁴ Fig. 32 shows a group of young people from the *palakuwan* men's house dance the *muwarak* warrior-spirited dance on the streets. Then two men simultaneously carry and strike the *badongdong* metal gong to guide the *muwarak* warrior-spirited dance.

7.2 *Tawliur* (forged bell)

Tawliur is the indigenous name for the forged bell in Puyuma culture an instrument consider as a warning bell (i.e. to deliver urgent messages) (Figure 33).¹⁴⁵

7.3 *Langi* (silver-chain jingle)

Langi is the indigenous name for the silver-chain jingle and it works as a marker of social status and decoration.

¹⁴³ Sanpuy Katatepan, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 10 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001.WAV), Shulin.

¹⁴⁴ Stacy Fang-Ching Teng, *A Reference Grammar of Puyuma, an Austronesian Language of Taiwan*, *Pacific Linguistics*, Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2008, pp. 282–85; cf. Josiane Cauquelin, “The Puyuma Language,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, 147, no. 1 (1991), pp. 17–60 (pp. 28, 36–37).

¹⁴⁵ Sanpuy, interview.

7.4 Sizung (shield bell)

Sizung is the indigenous name for the shield bell, which means an object in the shape of a shield.¹⁴⁶ Only a successful headhunter could have the privilege of bearing the *sizung*.¹⁴⁷

Type A
Front



Type A
Back



Type B
Front



Type B
Back



FIGURE 34. *Sizung* (shield bell): Type A and Type B.

¹⁴⁶ Jiang-ci Zeng, *Bei nan zu ka di bu (zhi ben) bu luo wen shi* [The cultural history of the Puyuma Katratripulr tribe], Taitung: Katratipulr Culture Development Association, 2005, pp. 80–81.

¹⁴⁷ Sanpuy, interview.

7.5 KameLin (waist rattle)

The Puyuma call the waist rattle *kameLin*.¹⁴⁸ A related bell used by the Nanwang tribe, the *sinsingan*, is smaller.¹⁴⁹ *KameLin* (the waist rattle) were traditionally markers of social status amongst the Puyuma.



FIGURE 35. *KameLin* (waist rattle).

7.6 Ruver (Jew's harp)

Ruver is the indigenous name for the Jew's harp in Puyuma society.¹⁵⁰ In Ino's ethnography, the Puyuma called their Jew's harp *roval*¹⁵¹ while in Kurosawa's account, it is called *ruburu*.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Lancini Jen-hao Cheng, "Puyuma Bells: The Markers of Honour, Passage, and Social Status." *Asian Musicology* 19 (2012), pp. 57–78 (p. 68).

¹⁵⁰ This datum originates from Sanpuy Katatepan (a Puyuma insider).

¹⁵¹ Ino, pp. 239–40.

¹⁵² Kurosawa, pp. 230–31.

Ruver, *roval* and *ruburu* all are the same word using different spellings. In ancient times, the *ruver* was played during courtship.

7.7 Ratok (musical bow)

The Puyuma call their musical bow *ratok* and in Ino's account, the indigenous name given is *ratokk*.¹⁵³ In Kurosawa's account, the name used is *ratoku*¹⁵⁴ and in fact, *ratok*, *ratokk* and *ratoku* are the same words but with different spellings. *Ratok* (the musical bow) was traditionally used to play during courtship and times of yearning.

7.8 Alindan (single-pipe nose flute)

In the Katratripulr tribe, people call the nose flute, a previously undocumented instrument, *arindan* while in the Likavong sub-tribe they call it *parigarogan*.¹⁵⁵ *Alindan* was traditionally used to play at times of mourning.



FIGURE 36. *Alindan* (single-pipe nose flute).

7.9 Alindan (flute)

The flute, a previously undocumented instrument, and the nose flute share the same name. In the Katratripulr tribe, people called the flute *alindan* while amongst the Likavong sub-tribe, people called it *rauteupan*¹⁵⁶ and in the *Nanwang* tribe, it is called *parigarogan*.¹⁵⁷ The *alindan* flute was traditionally used to play at times of mourning.

¹⁵³ Ino, p. 240.

¹⁵⁴ Kurosawa, pp. 374–75.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 421–22.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; Ino, p. 240.

8. Rukai

Rukai belongs to the Rukai subgroup of Austronesian languages and its speakers belong to an aboriginal group numbering approximately 12,000 living in Southern and South-eastern Taiwan.¹⁵⁸

8.1 Taodring (forged bell)

Taodring is the indigenous name for the forged bell and this a previously undocumented instrument. The *taodring* is the so-called “hip bell” and *Lra’akaroko* states that it is used for delivering messages, namely, the message of the forged bell. The term *taodring* imitates the sound of the forged bell¹⁵⁹, and therefore, the term *taodring* is probably onomatopoeic and the main function of this instruments was to deliver messages.

8.2 Lebere (Jew’s harp)

There are several Rukai terms for the Jew’s harp. *Lebere* is the main name but has other names in the Rukai different tribes. Kurosawa recorded that people called their Jew’s harp *riburu* in the Takatomo tribe¹⁶⁰ while in the Mantauran tribe, people called it *ləvəɾə*.¹⁶¹ *Lebere*, *ləvəɾə* and *riburu* are all homonyms and in fact, different informants might report different names due to their different listening comprehension and way of spelling. In addition, *tongatongo* means “to play the Jew’s harp.”¹⁶²

8.3 Tongaton (musical bow)

In the Japanese period, there were many indigenous names for the musical bow in Rukai society (e.g., the *tongaton/tonton* in Taromak, the *tarabishibishi* in Budai and Radi, the *aonaon* in Kau, the *aonogan* in Samohai and Santeiten, and the *aougan* in Ikubun).¹⁶³ Many of these

¹⁵⁸ Council of Indigenous Peoples, “Rukai.” Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=C1F3A60A42545179> (accessed 31 July 2013).

¹⁵⁹ Gilragilrao *Lra’akaroko*, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 16 July 2009, digital recording (MIC00002), Taitung City.

¹⁶⁰ Kurosawa, pp. 327–28.

¹⁶¹ Elizabeth Zeitoun, and *Ləvəɾə Kaðalaə*. *We should not Forget the Stories of the Mantauran: Memories of our Past*, Taipei: Institute of Linguistics (Preparatory Office), Academia Sinica, 1993, pp. 508–10.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 512.

¹⁶³ Kurosawa, pp. 371–74.

names (e.g., *tonton*, *tarabishibishi* and *aonaon*) are onomatopoeic where the morpheme *-an* is a nominalising suffix.¹⁶⁴

8.4 Pulralri (double-pipe nose flute)

The indigenous names for Rukai flutes provide an insight into Rukai musical thought. The indigenous name for the nose flute is *pulralri*, and its other name is *pakulrabru*. *Lra'akaroko*, the informant, stated that *pulralri* means “the nose flute” in Taromak; and *pakulrabru* is the common name for the nose flute among different sub-tribes of the Rukai. *Pakulrabru* signifies “the bamboo blown by the nose.” *Pulralri* means “the sound is emitted by the nose.” An old myth portrayed the hundred-pace snake as liking to play the nose flute at midnight and making the sound “shu-shu.” The nose flute is a reflection of the hundred-pace snake’s nose. The Rukai and the Paiwan share this myth.¹⁶⁵ In addition, *pakulrabru* means “the mouth flute” in Paiwan,¹⁶⁶ even though some flute players say this is the name for the nose flute.¹⁶⁷ Before World War II, the *pulralri* was used in traditional rituals of the Rukai. The diagram in Figure 68 shows the performance contexts of Rukai instruments used in various rituals.



FIGURE 37. *Pulralri* (double-pipe nose flute).

¹⁶⁴ Cheng-fu Chen, *Aspect and Tense in Rukai: Interpretation and Interaction*, PhD diss., University of Texas, 2008, p. 70.

¹⁶⁵ Gilragilrao, interview.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Tai-li Hu, Shan-hua Qian, and Chao-cai Lai, *Pai wan zu di bi di yu kou di* [The nose flute and the end-blown flute of the Paiwan]. Taipei: Preparatory Department of the National Centre for Traditional Arts, 2001, p. 289.

¹⁶⁷ Chun-rong Zhuang, “Tai wan yuan zhu min yue qi jie shao” [The introduction of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments], *Journal of Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary* 7 (July 2000), pp. 159–69 (p. 159).

8.5 Kulralru (double-pipe flute)

Kulralru is the indigenous name for the double-pipe mouth flute. *Kulralru* signifies that the bamboo is blown by the mouth¹⁶⁸ and it was played mainly during courtship (Figure 38).

8.6 Kulralru (the single-pipe flute)

Kulralru is also the indigenous name for the single-pipe flute of the Rukai. The single-pipe flute and the double-pipe flute share the same name *kulralru*. *Kulralru* signifies that the bamboo is blown by the mouth.¹⁶⁹ In ancient times, people who had no experience in headhunting could not touch the *kulralru* (Figure 39).

9. Saisiyat

The Saisiyat language belongs to the Northwest Formosan subgroup of Austronesian languages. Saisiyat people have a population of 5,300 or so. They traditionally live in Wufong Township in Hsinchu County and Nanjuang and Shrtan Townships in Miaoli County (Northwest Taiwan).¹⁷⁰

9.1 Kapae'pae'/kapakpak (bamboo clapper)

. Both *kapae'pae'* and *kapakpak* are names for the bamboo clapper, a previously undocumented instrument and used for scaring birds. *Ka-* is a kind of verb and both *kapae'pae'* and *kapakpak* mean “using bamboo to make the sound of clapping.” *Pae'pae'* means “the sound of clapping” and *pakpak* also means “the sound of the bamboo clapper.”¹⁷¹ In addition, the Saisiyat called another type of bamboo clapper *kakarkar* (for scaring chickens).

9.2 Kango'ngo'an (bamboo tube zither)

This bamboo tube zither is a previously undocumented instrument and is called *Kango'ngo'an* in Saisiyat where *kango'ngo'* means “bamboo stick” or “stick.” The Saisiyat add the suffix *-an*

¹⁶⁸ Gilragilrao, interview.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Council of Indigenous Peoples, “Saisiyat.” Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=C1F3A60A42545179> (accessed 31 July 2013).

¹⁷¹ 'Oemaw a 'oebay, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 16 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001–2. WAV), Neihu, Taipei.



FIGURE 38. *Kulralru* double-pipe flute.



FIGURE 39. *Kulralru* single-pipe flute.



FIGURE 40. *Kango'ngo'an* (bamboo tube zither).

after *kango'ngo* to mean the instrument sounds by beating. The prefix *ka-* indicates the action of playing in the *kango'ngo'* and *kango'ngo'* also means “holding a bamboo stick by hand.” 'Oemaw points out that all percussion instruments are called *kango'ngo'an*.¹⁷² Also, the nominalising circumfix *ka-. .-an* is an instrument from the verb, which means “the place where the action takes place.”¹⁷³ Organologically, the *kango'ngo'an* can be considered a beaten mono-idiochord tube zither. In this instrument an idiochord bamboo wide strip is raised from the cortex of the tube by inserting sticks to serve as bridges. However, Saisiyat people did not pluck the *kango'ngo'an*, they just stroke as the bamboo slit drum. It traditionally was used for calling attention to urgent situations (Figure 40).

9.3 Tapa-ngasan (hip rattle)

Tapa-ngasan is the indigenous name for the hip rattle. *Tapa-ngasan* means to make an action which produces the sound *ngasan*, where *tapa-* is a verb, and *ngasan* means the sound of a bamboo rattle.¹⁷⁴ The prefix *ta-* indicates to do something together¹⁷⁵ and the lexeme *pa-* is the causative of a dynamic verb.¹⁷⁶ Also, the prefix *pa-* (or *so-*) indicates “to whip” or “to beat.”¹⁷⁷ Traditionally, the Saisiyat wear the *tapa-ngasan* hip rattle to celebrate the Pas-taai ceremony (Worship of Dwarfs' Spirits)(Figure 41).

9.4 Kapa ae:ae (anklet rattle)

Kapa ae:ae is the Saisiyat name for ‘anklet rattle’ that is a previously undocumented instrument. The verbalising prefix *kap-* means “to sound continually”¹⁷⁸ and *kapa ae:ae* indicates “the rattle sounding continually.”¹⁷⁹ The Saisiyat dancers wore *kapa ae:ae* on their ankles when dancing in various traditional festivals to provide a boisterous sound (Figure 42).

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Li-mei Song, *Language and Cognition in Saisiyat*, Taipei: National Science Commission of Executive Yuan of Taiwan, 2003, p. 9.

¹⁷⁴ 'Oemaw, interview.

¹⁷⁵ Ya'aw Kalahae' Kaybaybaw, “A Morphological and Semantic Study on Word Formation in SaySiyat.” Masters thesis, National Hsin-chu University of Education, 2009, p. 32.

¹⁷⁶ Song, p. 5.

¹⁷⁷ Ya'aw, p. 134.

¹⁷⁸ Ya'aw, p. 30.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*



FIGURE 41. *Tapa-ngasan* (hip rattle).



FIGURE 42. *Kapa ae:ae* (anklet rattle).

9.5 Kaborbor (Jew's harp)

The indigenous name of the Jew's harp in Saisiyat society is *kaborbor* meaning to play the instrument that produces the sound "borbor." *Ka-* is a form of verb, which alludes to the action of pulling and *borbor* is the sound of pulling. Therefore, *kaborbor* means "to produce the sound *borbor* by pulling."¹⁸⁰ In linguistic terms, the prefix *ka-* indicates an incomplete action and derives a noun¹⁸¹ and the lexeme *borbor* is a full reduplication, which indicates to repeat action.¹⁸² Lovers played the *kaborbor* during courtship.

9.6 Papotol (Holy sounding whip)

Papotol is the Saisiyat name for the holy sounding whip. 'Oemaw points out that the *papotol* is a holy whip and some people call it "Snake Whip." *Pa-* is a form of verb and *potol* means "whip" thus *papotol* indicates "to swing the holy whip."¹⁸³ The lexeme *pa-* is the causative of a dynamic verb¹⁸⁴ and the verbalising prefix *pa-* (or *so-*) indicates "to whip" or "to beat."¹⁸⁵ The prefix *pa-* also indicates "to suffer" or "to sustain."¹⁸⁶ *Babte*: is another name for the holy whip¹⁸⁷ and is a different spelling of *papotol*. The *papotol* holy whip can be regarded as a sound producing instrument in the Pas-taai ceremony (Worship of Dwarfs' Spirits). The priest of Titiyon family whips the *papotol* towards the air to drive out evil spirits or to stop rain.



FIGURE 43. *Papotol* (holy sounding whip).

¹⁸⁰ 'Oemaw, interview.

¹⁸¹ Song, p. 2.

¹⁸² Ya'aw, p. 64.

¹⁸³ 'Oemaw, interview.

¹⁸⁴ Song, p. 5.

¹⁸⁵ Ya'aw, p. 134.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁸⁷ A-sheng Gen, "babte;" The Great Dictionary of Taiwanese Aboriginal History and Culture. http://210.240.134.48/citing_content.asp?id=2865&keyword=神鞭 (accessed 8 February 2013).

9.7 Kahiyopan (bone flute)

The Saisiyat called the bone flute *kahiyopan*, another of their previously undocumented instrument. *Kahiyō-* is a form of verb, which means “to blow” and *pan* is the sharp sound of the bone flute. 'Oemaw states that the Atayal had a similar musical instrument and that they learnt to play the *kahiyopan* from the Saisiyat.¹⁸⁸ The stem *hiyop* means “to blow by mouth” and the derivative *hi-hiyop* indicates “continually blowing something.” It is clear that the lexeme *hi-hiyop* is a partial reduplication of the stem *hiyop*.¹⁸⁹ The Saisiyat hunter brought the bone flute with him to hunt in the forest and if he encountered a bear, he could play the bone flute to scare the bear away with the high pitch of the flute.

10. Seediq-Truku

Seediq comprises three main dialects: Truku, Toda, and Tgdaya.¹⁹⁰ Seediq-Truku belongs to the Atayalic subgroup of Austronesian languages and the Seediq mainly live in the Nantou County of Taiwan, their population is about 10,000.¹⁹¹ By contrast, Truku people live in the Taroko area in Eastern Taiwan, their population numbers around 24,000.¹⁹²

10.1 Tatuk (xylophone)

Tatuk is the indigenous name for the wood xylophone a name that also means “to knock.”¹⁹³ The Seediq-Truku people traditionally played the *tatuk* (xylophone) to deliver messages.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Ya'aw, p. 57.

¹⁹⁰ Naomi Tsukida, “Seediq,” In *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*, edited by Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus Himmelmann, London: Routledge, 2005, pp. 291–325.

¹⁹¹ “Sediq,” Council of Indigenous Peoples.

¹⁹² <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=5777410C8AC056FC> (accessed 2 November 2014).

¹⁹² “Truku,” Council of Indigenous Peoples.

¹⁹² <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=7FB6B2AF9D6C8C1E> (accessed 2 November 2014).

¹⁹³ Iki Tadaw, interview by Jen-Hao Cheng, 14 July 2009, digital recording (MIC00001), Taroko, Hualien County.



FIGURE 44. *Tatuk* (xylophone).

10.2 Wubon (wooden slit drum)

The Seediq-Truku have a wooden slit drum whose name is *wubon* and originates from the weaving trough of the Seediq-Truku. *Wubon* originally meant “loom”¹⁹⁴ and since the Japanese period (1895–1945), aboriginal people have played it as wooden slit drums.

10.3 Gaugau (the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp)

Gaugau is the indigenous name for the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp¹⁹⁵ and is onomatopoeic and imitates the sound of playing the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp (Figure 45).

10.4 Lubu (single copper-tongue Jew’s harp)

The name for the single copper-tongue Jew’s harp is *lubu*, which means “the Jew’s harp” as well as “musical instrument.” Iki claims that *lubu* means “the Jew’s harp,” “musical instrument,” and “affection” in the Truku language. The extended meaning of *lubu* indicates that lovers can express their affection by playing it¹⁹⁶. In Seediq-Truku society, different age groups or tribes have different

¹⁹⁴ Iki, interview.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

spellings for the Jew's harp (e.g., *lubu* and *lubug*). The *lubu* was used in courtship before World War II when unmarried men and women used the *lubu* to respond to each other during courtship.

10.5 *Lubu tgdha* (double copper-tongue Jew's harp)

The indigenous name for the double copper-tongue Jew's harp is *lubu tgdha*; *tgdha* means "two."¹⁹⁷

10.6 *Lubu tgtru* (three-copper-tongue Jew's harp)

The name for the three-copper-tongue Jew's harp is *lubu tgtru*; *tgtru* means "three" (Figure 46).

10.7 *Lubu tgsba* (four-copper-tongue Jew's harp)

The name for the four-copper-tongue Jew's harp is *lubu tgsba*; *tgsba* means "four."

10.8 *Lubu tgryma* (five-copper-tongue Jew's harp)

The name for the five-copper-tongue Jew's harp is *lubu tgryma*; *tgryma* means "five" (Figure 47).

10.9 *Lubug spat qnawal* (four-stringed zither)

Lubug spat qnawal is the indigenous name for the four-stringed zither of the Seediq-Truku (Figure 48). Here *lubug* is the homonym of *lubu*, which means musical instrument (a borrowing from the Jew's harp, see 10.4) and *spat* means "four" so *qnawal* denotes the strings of the four-stringed zither.¹⁹⁸ Old people played the four-stringed zither for self-entertainment.

10.10 *Mgagu* (headhunter's flute)

Mgagu is the indigenous name of the headhunter's flute in Seediq-Truku society (Figure 49). Another name for the headhunter's flute is *pgagu*, which is also the name of a bird and sometimes people confuse the singing of the *pgagu* bird with the sound of the *pgagu* flute.¹⁹⁹ The Seediq-Truku played *mgagu* in head-hunting activities and the instrument was mainly played by successful headhunters, chieftains, priests, and tribal elders.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Hayu Yudaw, interview by Jen-Hao Cheng, 20 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001), Taroko, Hualien County.

¹⁹⁹ Iki, interview.



FIGURE 45. *Gaugau* (the bamboo idioglottic Jew's harp).

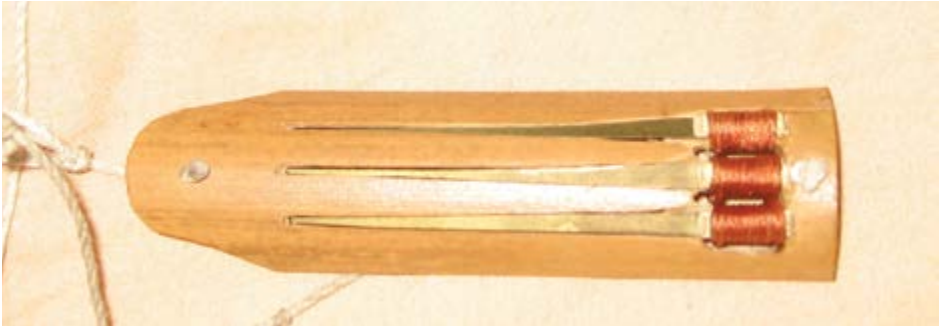


FIGURE 46. *Lubu tgtru* (three-copper-tongue Jew's harp).



FIGURE 47. *Lubu tgryma* (five-copper-tongue Jew's harp).



FIGURE 48. *Lubug spat qnawal* (four-stringed zither).

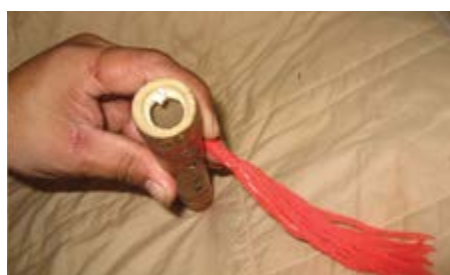


FIGURE 49. *Mgagu* (headhunter's flute).

11. Thao

Thao belongs to the Western Plains subgroup of Austronesian languages and its speakers traditionally live in the Sun Moon Lake area of Nantou County, and their population numbers about 648.²⁰⁰

11.1 Shasiusiu (long bamboo clapper)

Shasiusiu is the indigenous name for the long bamboo clapper in Thao society and *shasiusiu/saciuciu* means “to give off sound.”²⁰¹ *Shasiusiu* is onomatopoeiac and a noun and indicates the sound of a long bamboo clapper, which is a tool to drive out evil spirits.²⁰²

11.2 Taturtur (wooden stamping pestle)

There are indigenous terms concerning the wooden stamping pestles and their performance in Thao society. The wooden pestle is called *taturtur*, and the action of playing it is called *masbabiar*.²⁰³ *Malhakan* also indicates an ensemble of *taturtur* (stamping pestles) and its meaning is similar to *ma-lhacaq*, which means “fall from a height.”²⁰⁴ *Malhakan a fatu* is a stone drum used in the traditional *malhakan* ceremony²⁰⁵ where *fatu* means “stone”²⁰⁶ and *a* is a linking particle.²⁰⁷ The Thao play *the malhakan* in the Chieftain Yuan’s house on New Year’s Eve (Figure 50).

11.3 Takan/dagang (bamboo stamping tube)

There are several Thao terms referring to the bamboo stamping tube and its derivatives. *Takan/dagang* are the bamboo tubes that follow the large wooden pestles for ensemble stamping.

²⁰⁰ “Thao,” Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, accessed July 31, 2013, <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=6B079A320B8285FC>

²⁰¹ Robert Blust, *Thao Dictionary*, Taipei: Inst. of Ling. (Prep. Off.), Academia Sinica, 2003, p. 389.

²⁰² Kilash Ihktafatu and his wife Ishul, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 18 September 2009, tape/digital recording, De Hua Community, Sun Moon Lake, Nantou.

²⁰³ Kilash and Ishul, interview.

²⁰⁴ Blust, *Thao Dictionary*, p. 521.

²⁰⁵ Guo-sheng Hong, *Shao zu huan nian ji ji qi yin yue* [The Tao New Year and Its music]. Kaohsiung: Gao shi shan yan she, 2005, p. 66.

²⁰⁶ Blust, *Thao Dictionary*, p. 377.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 280.



FIGURE 50. The performance of *masbiliar*.



FIGURE 51. *Takan* (bamboo stamping tube).

Takan means “bamboo tube” and the derivative word *kumuba-takan* means “to play the *takan*.” Additionally, the lexeme *ku-muba-* comprises the verbalising prefix *ku-* and the verbalising infix *-muba-*, which indicates the action of stamping on the ground.²⁰⁸

11. 4 Bulingau (Jew’s harp)

The indigenous name for the Jew’s harp is *bulingau* and additionally *pish-bulingau* means “to play the Jew’s harp.”²⁰⁹ The verbalising prefix *pish-* indicate the actions “to blow” or “to play”²¹⁰.

11. 5 Latuk (musical bow)

Latuk is the indigenous name for the musical bow in Thao society. Kilashi, a native informant points out that this musical instrument is called *latuk*. *Pish-latuk* meaning also “to play the musical bow.”²¹¹

11. 6 Pupu (flute)

A previously undocumented instrument, the Thao bamboo flute is called *pupu* and a name that refers to a bamboo object. Additionally, *pish-pupu* means “to play the bamboo flute.” Both the bamboo vertical flute and the bamboo transverse flute are called *pupu*.²¹²

12. Tsou

The Tsou language is part of the Tsouic subgroup of Austronesian language and the Tsou mainly live in Alishan Township of Chiayi County and Sinyi Township in Nantou County. The Kanakanabu sub-tribe of the Namasia Township and the Saaroa sub-tribe of the Tauyuan Township are both located in Kaohsiung County. They have a population of about 6,500.²¹³

²⁰⁸ Kilash and Ishul, interview.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ Blust, *Thao Dictionary*, p. 162.

²¹¹ Kilash and Ishul, interview.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ “Tsou.” Council of Indigenous Peoples. Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. <http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=A39A081158B522FA> (accessed 11 March 2016).

12. 1 Sipayatū (stamping pestle)

Sipayatū is the indigenous name for the stamping pestle. Tibusungu suggests that *payatū* means a long pestle functioning as a musical instrument.²¹⁴ *Si-* is a verb that possibly indicates the action of stamping²¹⁵ and in fact, *si-* is the verbalising prefix, thus the meaning of *si-payatū* is “to pound the long stamping pestle.” In Tsou, *sipayatū* also means “scale,” as stamping pestles of different lengths can produce different pitches.²¹⁶

12. 2 Moengū (forged bell)

Moengū is a type of forged bell and the term stands for ‘loud and clear sound’²¹⁷. It is a metal vessel that is struck by an internal clapper attached to the bell and in ancient times functioned as a signal for guiding the direction of warriors in battle (Figure 52).

12. 3 Peo’ū (arm rattle)

Peo’ū is the Tsou name for the armband that is made of boar’s tusks where *peo’ū* means “arm ornament”²¹⁸ and *p’ovzonū* is an alternative name²¹⁹. The arm rattle traditionally was the marker of a brave hunter.

12. 4 Yuubuku (Jew’s harp)

Amongst the Northern Tsou the Jew’s harp is called *yuubuku* while in the Kanakanavu sub-tribe of the Southern Tsou, it is called *tungatunga*.²²⁰ The Tsou traditionally played *yuubuku* (the Jew’s harp) for courtship and self-entertainment (Figure 53).

²¹⁴ Tibusungu ‘e Vayayana, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 21 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001–2.WAV), Taiwan Normal University, Taipei.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ Yuasa Hiroshi, *Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi: Zou zu pian* [Segawa’s Illustrated Ethnography of Indigenous Formosan People: The Tsou], Taipei: Nan Tian, 2000, p. 162.

²¹⁷ Tibusungu, interview.

²¹⁸ N. A. Nevskij, *Tai wan zou zu zi dian* [The dictionary of Taiwanese Tsou], Translated by Si-hong Bai, Fu-qing Li and Zhong-cheng Pu, Taipei: Tai Yuan, 1993, s.v. “peo’ū.”

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, s.v. “p’ovzonū.”

²²⁰ Yuasa, p. 42.



FIGURE 52. *Moengü* (forged bell).

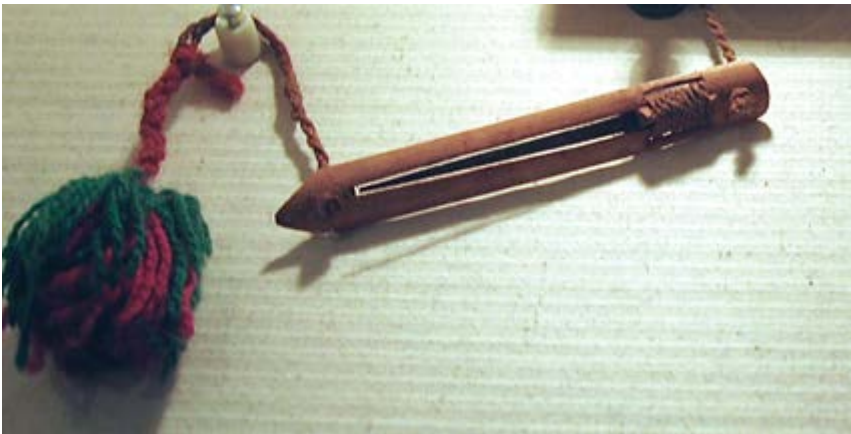


FIGURE 53. *Yuubuku* (Jew's harp).

12. 5 Yutngotngo (musical bow)

Yutngotngo is the indigenous name for the musical bow and Tibusungu states that the prefix *yu-* possibly means “to produce sound,” and *ngotngo*, “the sound of the musical bow.”²²¹ *Yutngotngo* also indicates “to play the musical bow.”²²² It was used to play in courtship and self-amusement.

12. 6 Euvuvu (bull-roarer)

Euvuvu is the Tsou name for the bullroarer, a previously undocumented instrument. The term is composed of the prefix *eu-* and the onomatopoeic *vuvu*, in which *vuvu* indicates the sound of the bullroarer.²²³ It functioned as a signal to inform villagers by means of the echo of valleys that an enemy was coming (Figure 54).

12. 7 Peingū no ngūcū (double-pipe nose flute)

Peingū no ngūcū and *yupeingū no ngūcū* are both indigenous names for the nose flute. *No* means “of” and *ngūcū* “nose” and both *peingū* and *yupeingū* are nouns, where *peingū* possibly indicates “flute” or “pipe.”²²⁴ In N. A. Nevskij’s dictionary, *ngūtsū* means “nose,”²²⁵ and *piengū* translates “the flute”²²⁶, so, *piengū no ngūtsū* denotes “the flute of the nose.”²²⁷ *Yu-piengū* means “to play the flute”²²⁸ a term composed of the verbalising prefix *yu-* and the word *piengū* (the flute). Amongst the Kakanavu sub-tribe of the Southern Tsou this instrument is called *tangenga*. The Tsou played the *peingū no ngūcū* nose flute in *homeyaya* (the Tsou millet ceremony) when praying for a plentiful harvest (Figure 55).

²²¹ Nevskij, s.v. “jutngotngo.”

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ Tibusungu, interview.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ Nevskij, s.v. “ngūtsū.”

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, s.v. “piengū.”

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, s.v. “piengū-no-ngūtsū.”

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, s.v. “jupiengū.”

12. 8 Piengū no ngaru (flute)

As recorded by Ino, *piengū no ngaru* is the Tsou name for the flute, where *iengū* means “the flute”²²⁹ and *piengū no ngaru*, “the flute of the mouth” where *no* means “of” and *ngarū*, “mouth.”²³⁰ It was mainly played for delivering messages (Figure 56).



FIGURE 54. *Euvuvu* (bull-roarer).



FIGURE 55. *Peingū no ngūcū* (nose flute).



FIGURE 56. *Piengū no ngaru* (flute).

²²⁹ Nevskij, s. v. “piengū.”

²³⁰ Ino, p. 240.

Conclusions

This is a first-hand exploration of the native classification schemes of Taiwanese aboriginal instruments from the native informants' point of view, cultural practice, and semantic analysis. The following conclusions are discussed specifically in the case of each language.

Amis

This study has shown that there are two types of taxonomic systems in Amis society. In the first type, Amis musical instruments are classified by contexts of use in tradition (Figure 57). For example, the *kakeng* (1.3) and the *kiangkang* (1.5) were both played in traditional rituals and on the other hand, the *nomodac a tippolo* (1.8), the *bnbn* (1.13), and the *ggr* (1.14) all functioned as children's playthings. The *kokang* (1.1) traditionally functioned as a bird scarer. Amis lovers played the *datok* (1.7) and the *tiftif* (1.9) to communicate with each other during courtship and young Amis men played the *takeling* (1.4) when delivering messages to tribesmen.

In the second type of taxonomic system, Amis musical instruments are classified according to the parts of the body; that is, according to what part of the body I used in playing an instrument (Figure 58). In Amis, the letter *d-* or the letter *l-* indicate that the sound is produced by mouth, such as *datok* (the Jew's harp) and *ladiw* (song).²³¹ The lexeme *fetik* indicates plucking the string of the *tiftif* musical bow with fingers²³² and the lexeme *ngoso'* means "nose."²³³ *Nomodac a tippolo* then denotes the sound produced by a nose flute.

Atayal

This study has found that there are three types of instrumental taxonomies in Atayal society. In the first type of taxonomy, Atayal musical instruments are classified by their material (Figure 59).

The Atayal name their musical instruments by the material used in the instrument. This system reflects the indigenous taxonomy in Atayal society. For example, *lubuw qhuniq* (2.1) means wooden musical instrument (xylophone)²³⁴ and *lubuw takan ruma'* (2.4) means bamboo-tube musical instrument.²³⁵ Finally, *lubuw zzima'* (2.5) means the "tongue" musical instrument (Jew's harp).²³⁶

²³¹ Sawtoy, interview.

²³² Towid, p. 47.

²³³ Sawtoy, interview.

²³⁴ Pawang, interview.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

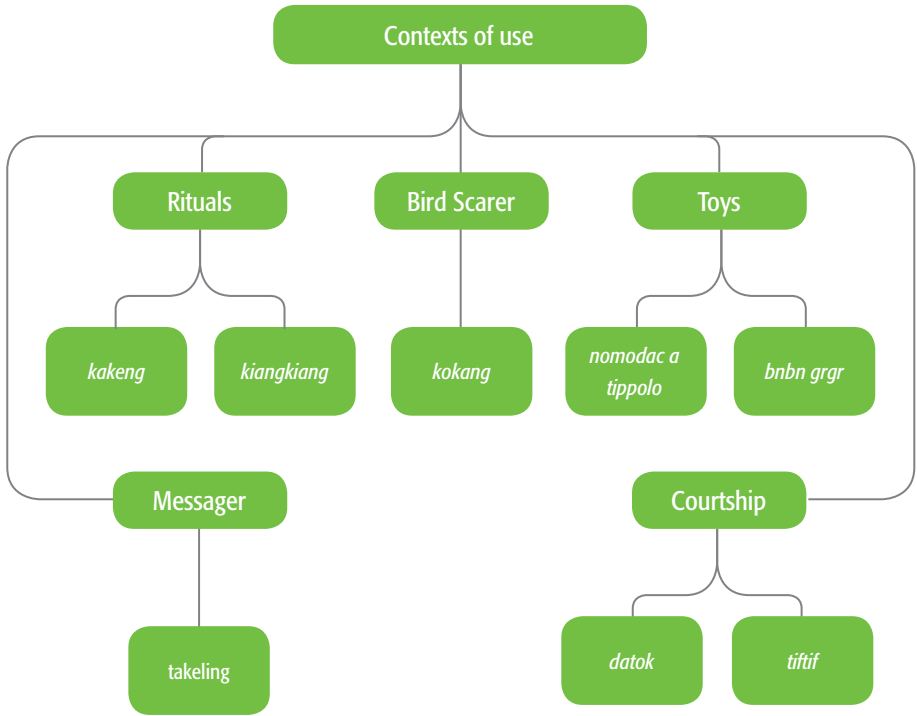


FIGURE 57. Contexts of use of Amis musical instruments.

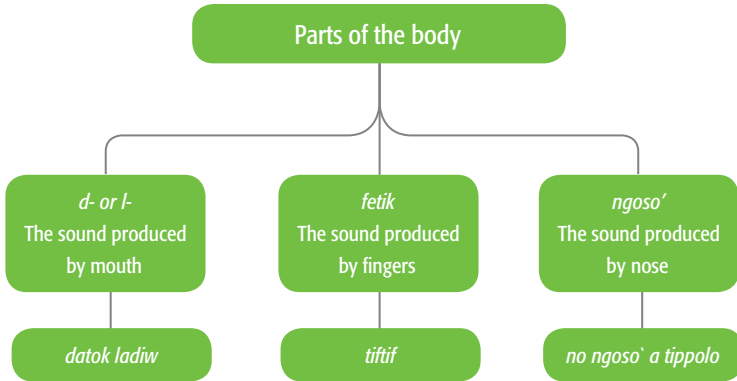


FIGURE 58. Amis classification by parts of the body/way of playing the instruments.

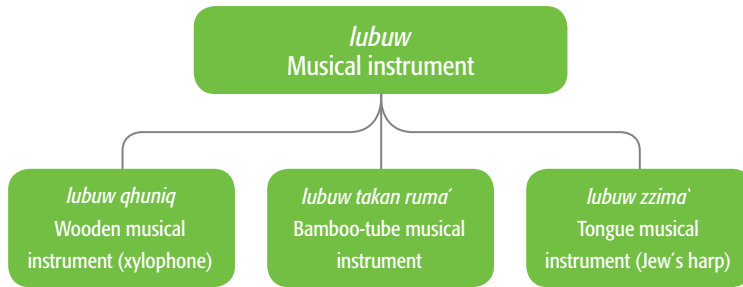


FIGURE 59. Classification by instrument materials.

In the second system of taxonomy Atayal musical instruments are classified according to age group (Figure 60). For instance, different age groups from the same language have different pronunciations of the name for the Jew's harp. Younger speakers create a new phonological rule by changing the word-final /-g/ to /-w/.²³⁷ This seems to maintain the identity of the same age group by means of using the same pronunciation for showing their difference with other age groups (see 2.5).

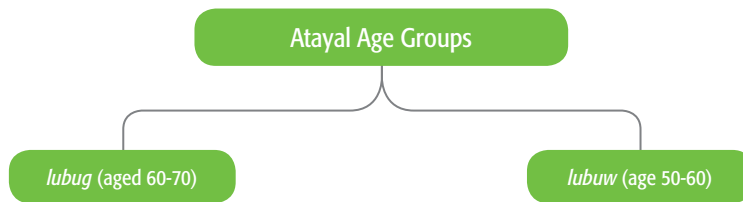


FIGURE 60. Instrument classification by age group.

In their third type of taxonomy, Atayal musical instruments are classified according to performance contexts (Figure 61). In the traditional context, the *penurahoi* is played during headhunting activities. In the contemporary context, the *ngangao* is played for amusement and courtship. The Atayal of the Miaoli County had adapted the performance context, cultural practice and instrumental structure of the traditional headhunter's flute to meet tribesmen's needs for amusement and courtship since, by the 1930s, headhunting activities were completely abolished by Japanese officers. They changed the indigenous name of their headhunter's flute from *penurahoi* to *ngangao*, and they made the flute smaller in size (i.e., *ngangao*) to produce a sonorous sound for men playing for amusement and courtship.

²³⁷ Paul Jen-kuei Li, "Linguistic variations of different age groups in the Atayalic dialects," *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 14 (1982), pp. 167-91.

Flute name	<i>Penurahoi</i>	<i>Ngangao</i>
Function	Soothing souls	Amusement/ Courtship
Context	Headhunting activities	Performance
Size	30 cm	15-20 cm
Tone	Gloomy	Sonorous

FIGURE 61. *Penurahoi* (Traditional) and *Ngangao* (Contemporary)

Bunun

As we have seen Bunun musical instruments are classified by the verbalising prefixes of their language and also by the action of playing the instruments. The verbalising prefixes can be further interpreted as the action of playing the instruments, which reflects the indigenous taxonomy (Figure 62). The verbalising prefix *pis-* indicates “to play” as in *pis-tava-tava*, means “to play,” and *pis-latuk*, “to play the musical bow.”²³⁸ In second place the verbalising prefix *ma-* indicates “to hit” as in *ma-ludax* that means “to hit”, and *ma-tultul* means “to pound the pestle.”²³⁹ Additionally, the verbalising prefix *ki-/kis-* indicates “to knock” as in *ki-tungtung* meaning “knocking,” and *ki-pahpah* meaning “to clap percussion sticks.”²⁴⁰ Finally, the verbalising prefix *pa-* indicates “to blow” For as in *pa-tui’a* that means “to blow the flute.”²⁴¹

Kavalan

Kavalan society has developed a detailed taxonomic system of sound (including musical instruments sound) in its language (Figure 63) where onomatopoeia and overlapped radicals have a great influence.

²³⁸ Nevskij, s.v. “pis-tava-tava.”

²³⁹ Nevskij, s.v. “ma-ludax.”

²⁴⁰ Tai Lin, Si-qi Ceng, Wen-su Li and Bukun, “ki-/kis-,” *Isbukun: Bu nong yu gou ci fa yan jiu* [The word-building study of the Bunun], Taipei: Du Ce Wen Hua, 2001, p. 56.

²⁴¹ Nirira, s.v. “tu-i’a.”

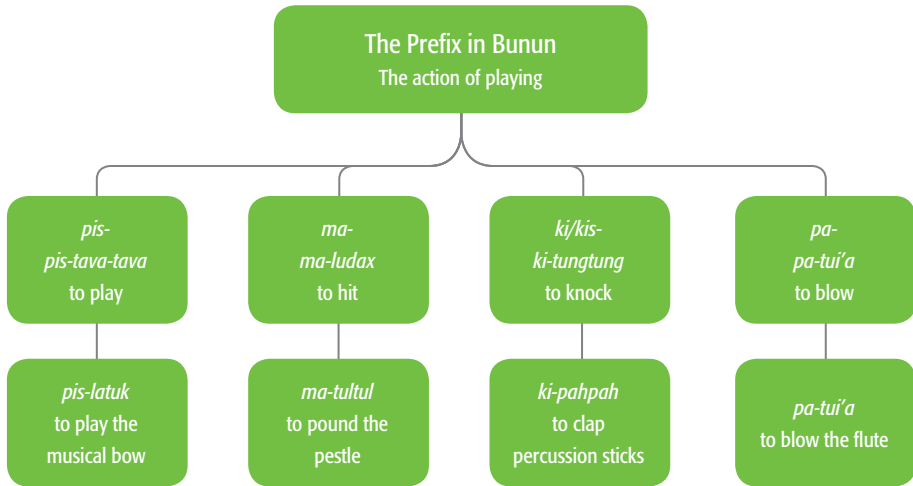


FIGURE 62. Classification by verbalising prefixes/action of playing the instruments.



FIGURE 63. Taxonomy of sound in Kavalan.

Paiwan

As has been shown, the taxonomy of Paiwan flutes reflects social status in Paiwan society (Figure 64). Noblemen's mouth flutes and nose flutes are ornamented with carvings, whereas commoners' flutes are not.

It was shown that Paiwan musical instruments are classified by the verbalising affixes of their language and the action of playing the instruments. The verbalising affixes and verbs reflect of the indigenous Paiwan taxonomy (Figure 65). The verbalising infix *-lja-* indicates "to beat"²⁴² and the verbalising infix *-m-* indicates "to play" as in *k-m-ulalu* that means "to play the flute."²⁴³ Additionally, the verbalising prefix *pa-* indicates "to sound" as in *pa-tjubtjub* meaning "to sound the horn" or "to sound the conch."²⁴⁴ Fourthly, the verbalising circumfix *pa- -al-* indicates "to strike." For example, *pa-k-al-ingkingkingen* means "to strike the bell."²⁴⁵ Lastly, the verbalising circumfix *pa- -alj-* indicates "to ring." For example, *pa-k-alj-eling* means "to ring the bell."²⁴⁶ Sixthly, the verb *dj-m-apes* indicates "to blow," which also means "to blow the musical instrument with breath."²⁴⁷

Pazih-Kahabu

Written sources indicate that the indigenous name for the Pazih-Kahabu Jew's harp was twofold: *bengebeng* in female use and *lalibex* in male use (Figure 66).

According to Paul Jen-kuei Li, "there are several hypotheses about the sex differentiation of the words used for the instrument. In the first place, they are the result of intermarriage or invasion between different ethnic groups or languages and secondly, they are the result of taboo. Additionally they are the result of a secret language and of different social attitudes."²⁴⁸ It is suggested here, however, that different social attitudes have had a great influence on gender differentiation in the indigenous names for the Pazih-Kahabu Jew's harp. In the Pazih-Kahabu language, the word *bengebeng* is a homonym of the loom and the Jew's harp (female). In traditional culture, mature women possessed the skills to weave and the word *bengebeng* is possibly

²⁴² Ferrell, *Paiwan Dictionary*, s.v. "bangbang."

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, s.v. "kulalu."

²⁴⁴ Ferrell, *Paiwan Dictionary*, s.v. "tjubtjub."

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, s.v. "kingking."

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, s.v. "keling."

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, s.v. "djapes."

²⁴⁸ Paul Jen-kuei Li, "Types of Lexical Derivation of Men's Speech in Mayrinax." In *Selected Papers on Formosan Languages*, vol. 2, Language and Linguistics Monograph Series Number C3, Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2004, pp. 1093–109 (p. 1107).

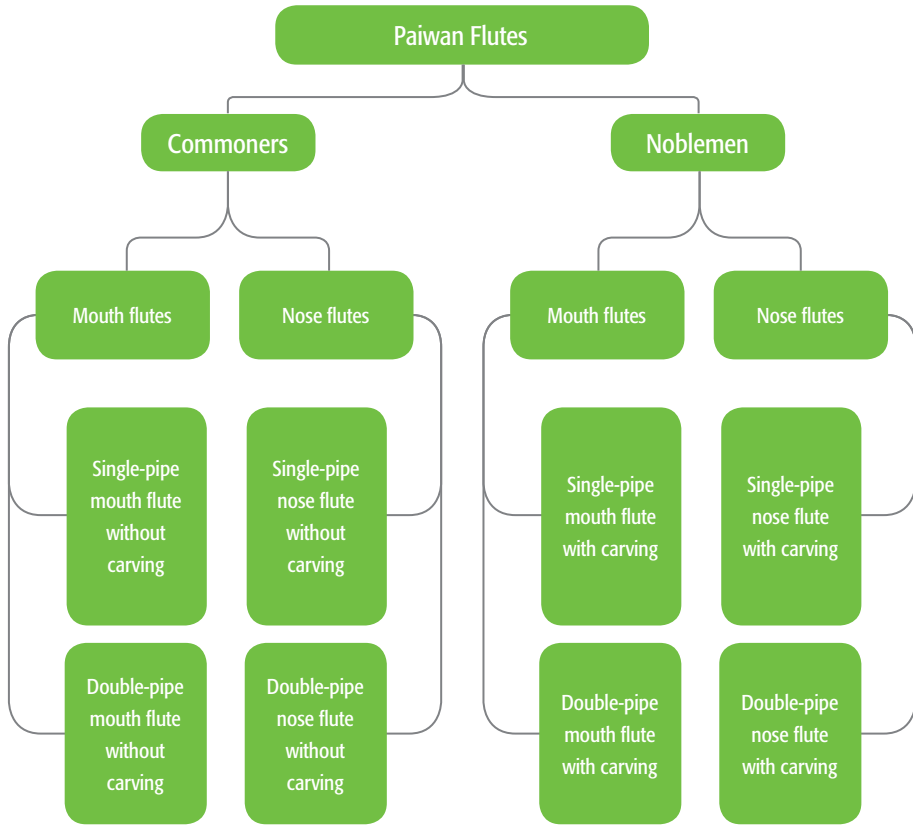


FIGURE 64. Paiwan classification by instrumental decoration and social status.

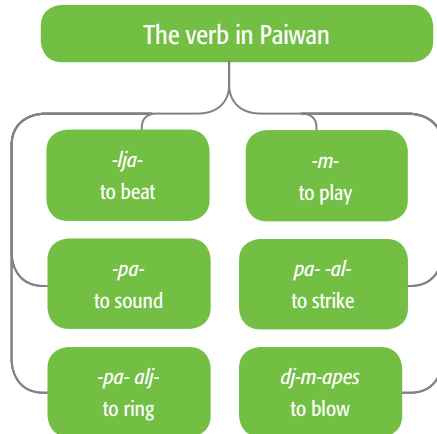


FIGURE 65. Paiwan classification by verbalising affixes/action of playing the instruments.

onomatopoeic of the Jew's harp playing and weaving. For example, it traditionally was a taboo term for an aboriginal woman to touch a man's bow, or an aboriginal man to touch a woman's loom. To violate the taboo would invite misfortune (e.g., failure in weaving or hunting). In ancient times, the Jew's harp was mainly played during courtship and when a boy was attracted to a girl, he would play the *lalibex* Jew's harp outside the girl's house to get her attention. If the girl accepted the boy, she would play the *bengebeng* Jew's harp in response to the tune of the *lalibex*. Later, the girl would invite the boy into her house. If the girl refused the boy, she did not respond to the tune of the *lalibex* and simply ignored the boy's attraction.²⁴⁹ As can be seen, the role of the *lalibex* player was more active than the *bengebeng* player. However, the Pazih-Kahabu belong to a matriarchal society. The *bengebeng* player had the decision-making power to choose whether she would respond to the seduction of the *lalibex* player or not.

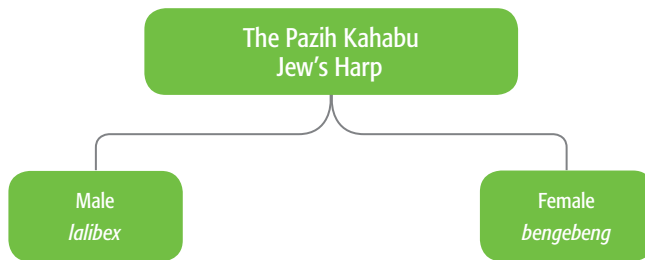


FIGURE 66. Pazih-Kahabu classification by gender.

Puyuma

Our research shows that Puyuma rattles are classified by social status and age hierarchy (Figure 67). Amongst the Puyuma bells are used by different age groups and we know that the *sizung* shield bell (7.4) was once only used by headhunters. The term *sizung* denotes a *tawbriulr* forged bell suspended from a wooden shield where the face of the shield is carved, typically with a human face and possibly denoting an ancestor or a successful headhunter. Additionally a cluster of jingles hanging from silver chains are known as *langi*; these are expensive and are therefore worn by leaders and co-leaders (7.3). Moreover, the Puyuma youth (*vangesaran*), use the *kamelin* waist rattle to create a boisterous atmosphere in ceremonies and the *kamelin* (7.5) consists of seven to nine pellet bells attached to a cloth waist belt. Finally, the *tawbriulr* (7.2) is a forged concussion bell made of wrought iron that functions as a warning bell that also works as a rank marker of the quasi-youth (*valise*).

²⁴⁹ Laurence G. Thompson, trans. "Formosan Aborigines in the Early Eighteenth Century: Huang Shu-Ching's Fan-Su Liu-K' ao," *Monumenta Serica* 28 (1969), pp. 41–147 (p. 68).

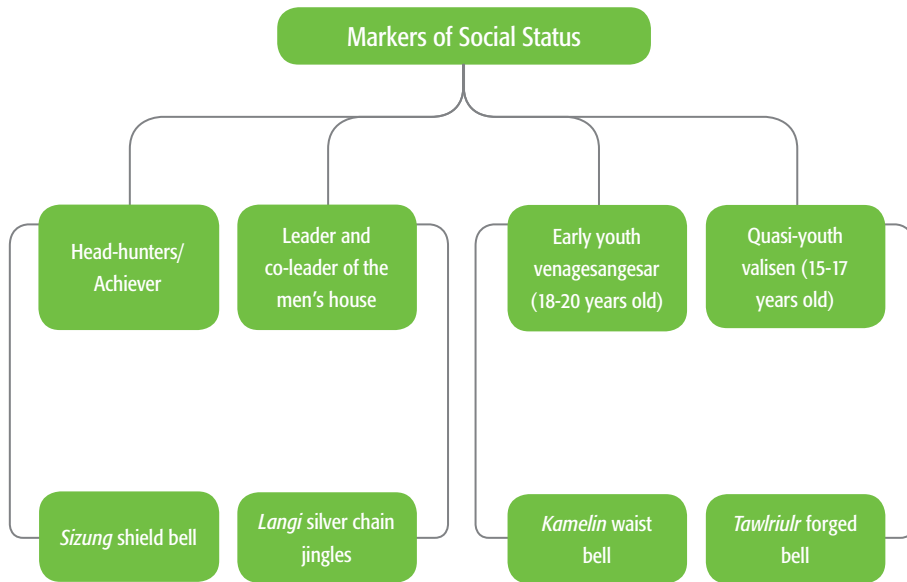


FIGURE 67. Classification of Puyuma rattles by social status and age hierarchy.

Rukai

In our research we also found that there are two types of taxonomic systems in Rukai society. The first taxonomic system groups Rukai instruments into various ritual activities (see Figure 68) and music can be best seen in interplay with other spheres of culture. The most significant thing about musical instruments to the Rukai is their relationship to delivering messages, to social status, to specific rituals, and to the supernatural. Historically, musical instruments were primarily used in traditional rituals of the Rukai, and Figure 68 shows the classification of Rukai instruments by their performance contexts in various rituals.

In the second taxonomic system Rukai flutes are classified by social status (Figure 69). The nose flute of the Rukai was initially related to headhunting, and only successful headhunters were allowed to play both the nose flute and the mouth flute.²⁵⁰ Commoners, however, could buy a licence to play the nose flute from the tribal chief, but were still not allowed to have any decoration on their instruments. Instead, they could have their flutes painted with a smoky colour or would keep the plain colour of the material. In Figure 69 shows the classification of Rukai flutes by social status and instrument structure.

²⁵⁰ Kurosawa, pp. 401–4.

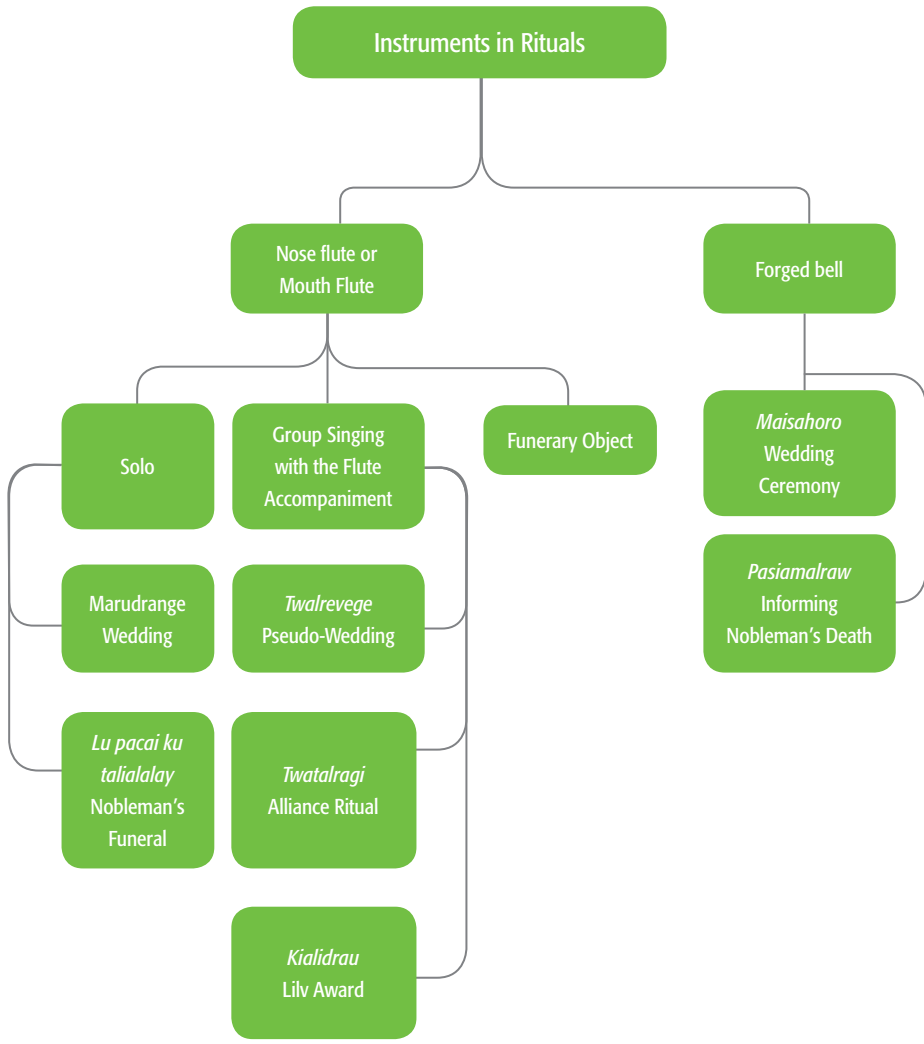


FIGURE 68. Classification by performance contexts of Rukai instruments in rituals.

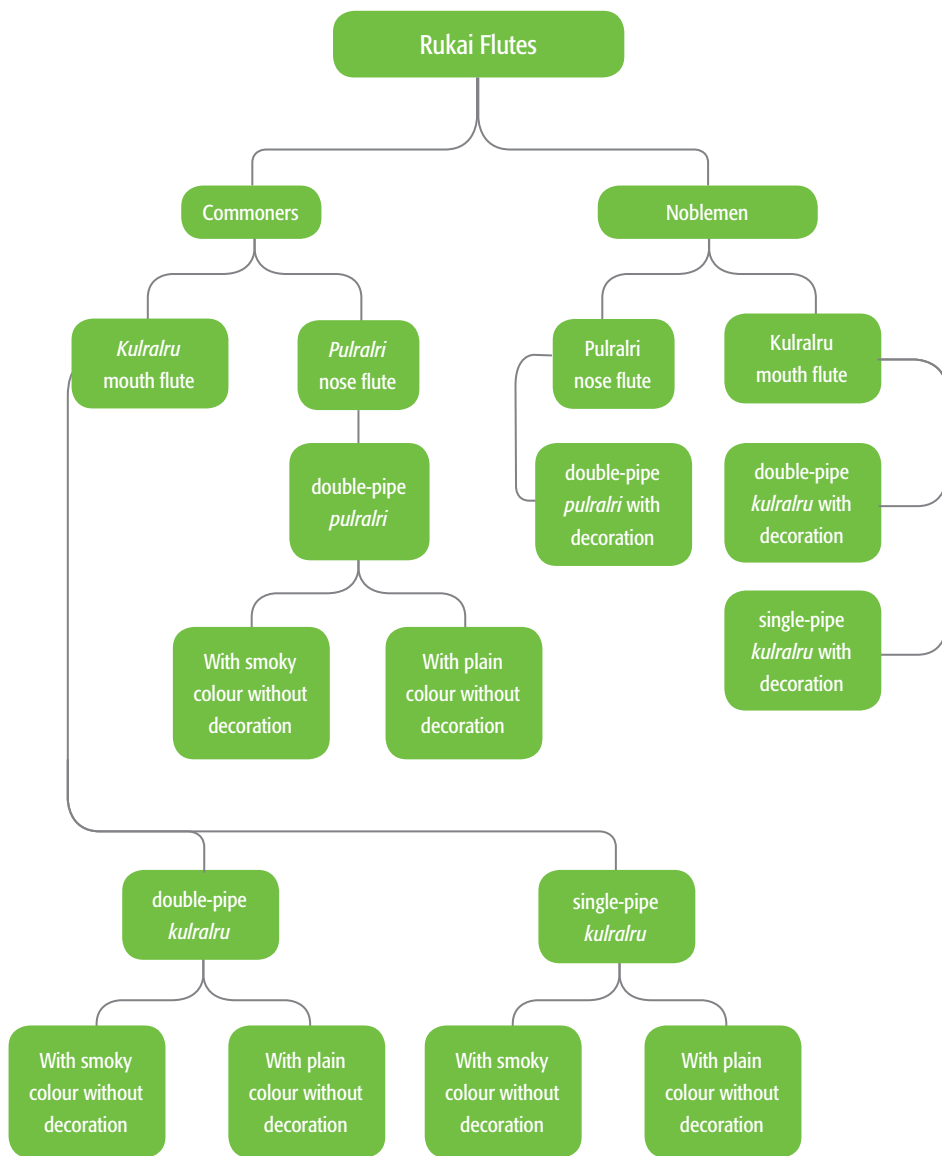


FIGURE 69. Classification by instrument structure and social status.

Saisiyat

It was shown that the factors of onomatopoeia, verbalising prefixes, and the action of playing the instruments each have great influence on the indigenous taxonomy of Saisiyat musical instruments (Figure 70). In first place, the verbalising prefix *ka-* indicates to repeat an incomplete action and derives a noun²⁵¹ as for instance, in *kaborbor* that means “the Jew’s harp” and indicates “to repeat the sound *borbor* by pulling.”²⁵² Secondly, the prefix *ta-* indicates to do something together²⁵³ and the prefix *pa-* indicates “to beat.”²⁵⁴ The verbalising prefix *tapa-* indicates “to beat together” as for example in *tapa-ngasan*, that means “to beat together to produce the sound *ngasan*.”²⁵⁵ In third place, the verbalising prefix *kap-* indicates “to sound continually”; for example, *kapa ae:ae* that is the name for the anklet rattle and indicates “the rattle sounding continually.”²⁵⁶ Additionally, the prefix *pa-* is the causative of a dynamic verb and indicates “to beat” or “to whip”²⁵⁷ as in *papotol* that indicates “to swing the holy whip.”²⁵⁸ Finally, the stem *hiyop* means “to blow by mouth” as in *kahiyopan*.²⁵⁹ As the Saisiyat called the bone flute.

Seediq-Truku

This study has found that there are two types of instrument taxonomies in Seediq-Truku society. In the first (Figure 71), Seediq-Truku musical instruments are classified by material and structure. We have two types of *lubu* Jew’s harp: *lubu gaugau* (the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp boy); and *lubu hma* (the heteroglottic copper-tongue one) on the first level. *Gaugau* refers to the sound of the bamboo Jew’s harp, and it identifies the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp.²⁶⁰ On the other hand *hma* means “tongue,”²⁶¹ and *lubu hma* identifies he

²⁵¹ Song, p. 2.

²⁵² 'Oemaw, interview.

²⁵³ Ya'aw, p. 32.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 134.

²⁵⁵ Oemaw, interview.

²⁵⁶ Ya'aw, p. 30.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

²⁵⁸ Oemaw, interview.

²⁵⁹ Ya'aw, p. 57.

²⁶⁰ Hayu, interview.

²⁶¹ Aboriginal E-dictionary. <http://e-dictionary.apc.gov.tw/trv/Search.htm> (accessed 12 April 2014).s.v. “hma.”

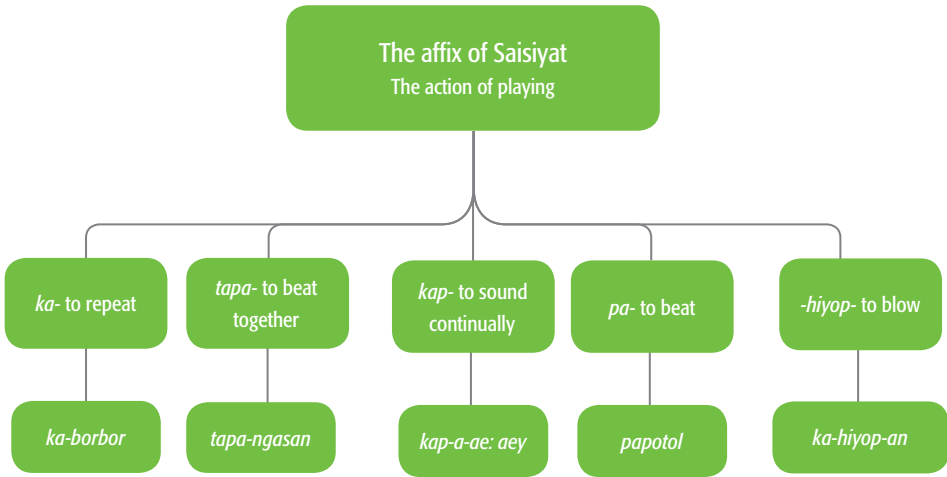


FIGURE 70. Saisiyat classification by verbalising affixes/action of playing the instruments.

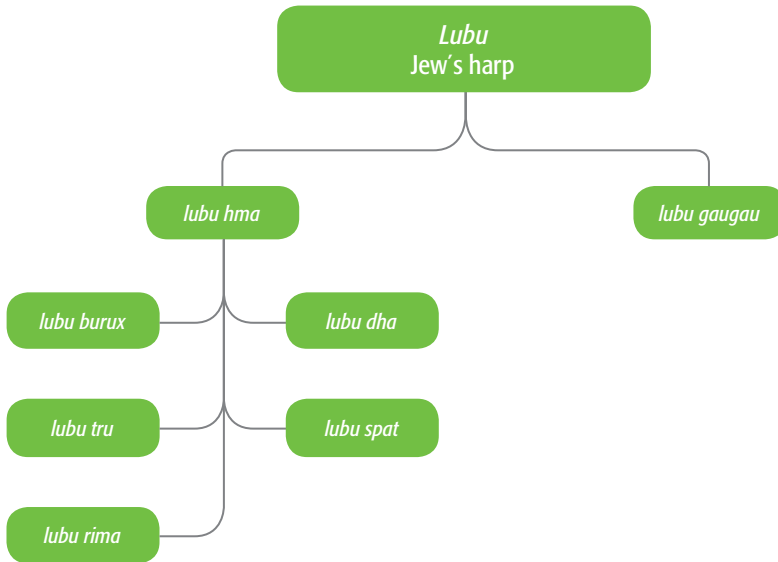


FIGURE 71. Seediq-Truku classification of lubu by instrument structure and material.

tongue heteroglottic Jew’s harp (Figure 69). Furthermore, *lubu* Jew’s harps are classified on the second level by the number of heteroglottic tongues (materials). In the Seediq-Truku language, *lubu burux* means the Jew’s harp with the single copper tongue.²⁶² *Lubu dha* refers to Jew’s harps with two copper tongues and *lubu tru* to those with with three copper tongues. *Lubu spat* means the Jew’s harp with four copper tongues and *lubu rima* that with five.²⁶³

In the second type of taxonomy, Seediq-Truku musical instruments are classified by age group (Figure 72). Different age groups from the same language have different pronunciations of the name for the Jew’s harp. Younger speakers create a new phonological rule by omitting the word-final /-g/.²⁶⁴ This pronunciation difference helps to maintain the identity of the particular age group and to show their difference from other age groups.

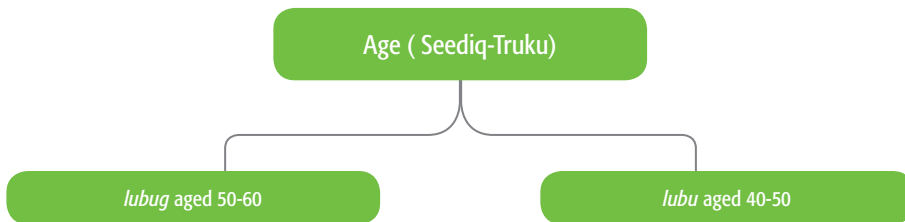


FIGURE 72. Seediq-Truku classification of the Jew’s harp by age groups.

Thao

It was shown that the verbalising prefixes and the action of playing the instruments have a great influence on the indigenous taxonomy of Thao musical instruments (Figure 73). In the first place, the verbalising prefix *ta-* indicates “to make” or “to be”²⁶⁵ exemplified by *ta-turtur*, that means to make wooden stamping pestles pound in rhythm.²⁶⁶ Secondly, the verbalising prefix *ku-* is used with the name of a tool and means “to perform an action with something”²⁶⁷, for example, *ku-muba-takan*, that

²⁶² Hayu, interview.

²⁶³ Iki, interview.

²⁶⁴ Li, “Linguistic variations of different age groups in the Atayalic dialects,” pp. 167-91.

²⁶⁵ Blust, *Thao Dictionary*, p. 177.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 521.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

means to perform the action of knocking a bamboo tube against the floor.²⁶⁸ Finally, the verbalising prefix *pish-* means “to play something”²⁶⁹ as in *pish-latuk* that means “to play the musical bow.”²⁷⁰

Furthermore, the *taturtur* wooden stamping pestle and the *takan* bamboo stamping tube are traditionally played together by the Thao people. I found that the Thao people had adapted the performance context and musical practice of the traditional *taturtur* and *takan* to satisfy outsiders’ curiosity and the needs of tourism since the time of Japanese occupation (1895–1945). Therefore, the taxonomy of the *taturtur* ensemble places in the dichotomy between the tourist context and the traditional context (Figure 74). In the traditional context, the Thao pestles ensemble is called *malhakan*, and it is performed on Thao New Year’s Eve. The instruments include the *taturtur* stamping pestles, the *takan* stamping tubes, and the *malhakan a fatu* stone drum. In the tourist context, the Thao pestles ensemble is called *masbabiar*; this is the contemporary performance version of the traditional *malhakan* ceremony for tourists.²⁷¹ The components include the *taturtur* stamping pestles, the *takan* stamping tubes, the *masbabiar a fatu* stone drum, and the *masbabiar quyash* song.

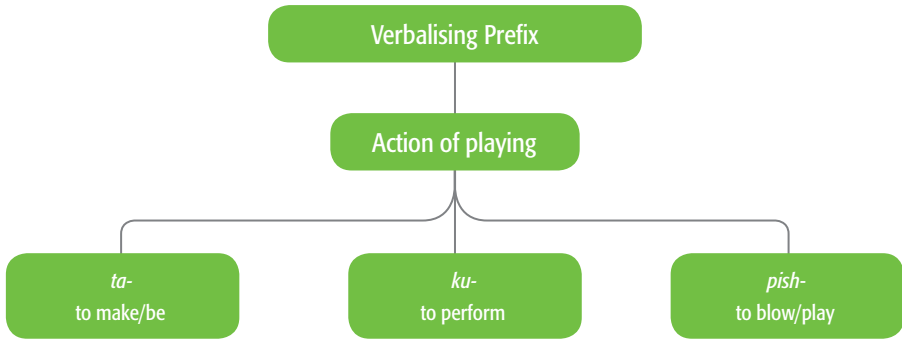


FIGURE 73. Thao classification by verbalising prefix/action of playing the instruments.

Tsou

It was shown that onomatopoeia, verbalising prefixes, and the action of playing the instruments have a great influence on the indigenous taxonomy of Tsou musical instruments (Figure 75).

²⁶⁸ Kilash Ihktafatu, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 15 August 2009, tape/digital recording, De Hua Community, Sun Moon Lake, Nantou.

²⁶⁹ Blust, *Thao Dictionary*, p. 162.

²⁷⁰ Kilash, interview; Blust, *Thao Dictionary*, p. 723.

²⁷¹ Kilash, interview.

Firs, the verbalising prefix *eu-* indicates to induce wind²⁷², for example, *eu-vuvu* means “the bull-roarer.”²⁷³ In second place, the verbalising prefix *yu-* indicates “to play” or “to exhale”²⁷⁴, for example, *yutngongo* indicates “to play the musical bow,”²⁷⁵ and *yu-piengū* means “to play the end-blown flute.”²⁷⁶ And finally, the verbalising prefix *si-* indicates “to pound”²⁷⁷, for example, *si-payatū* means “to pound the long stamping pestle.”²⁷⁸

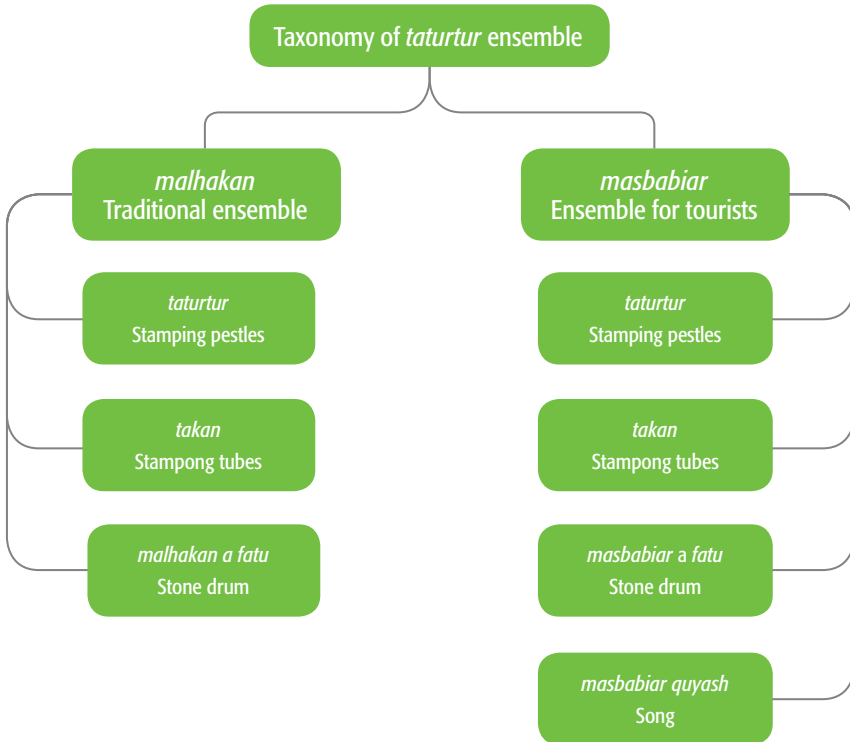


FIGURE 74. Taxonomy of the *taturtur* ensemble: traditional ensemble and ensemble for tourists.

²⁷² Pasuya 'e Noachiana, “Typhoon’ and ‘Earthquake’ in the Cou ‘Alisan Language.” *Yuan jiao jie* [Aboriginal education circle] 30 (December 2009), p. 34.

²⁷³ Tibusungu, interview.

²⁷⁴ Shuanfan Huang, “Tsou is Different: A Cognitive Perspective on Language, Emotion, and Body.” *Cognitive Linguistics* 13, no. 2 (2002), pp. 167–86 (pp. 174–75).

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ Nevskij, s.v. “jupiengū.”

²⁷⁷ Tibusungu, interview.

²⁷⁸ Yuasa, p. 162.

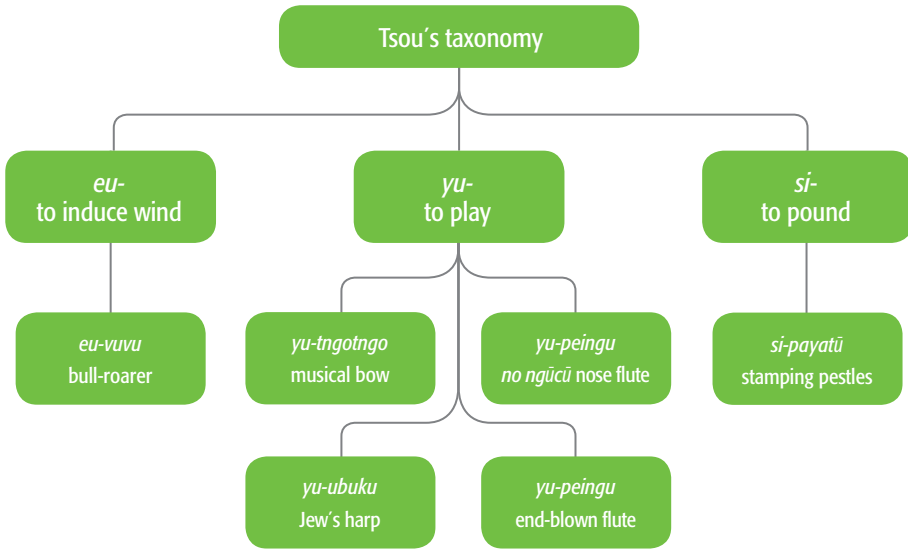


FIGURE 75. Tsou Classification by verbalising prefix/action of playing the instruments.

Concluding, in this article we describe some undocumented and precious aboriginal instruments and intend to decode their indigenous classifications through the analysis of the etymology of their indigenous names. I hope this study enhances the understanding of native classifications of Taiwanese aboriginal instruments. Based on it we can also conclude that among the many factors that influence indigenous classifications we find: onomatopoeia, overlapped radicals, verbalising affixes, the action of playing the instruments, materials, gender, social status, body parts, religion, and performance contexts. In the Taiwanese aboriginal world, orally transmitted classifications have survived in each of their languages through the names of instruments. The majority of the native classifications across different aboriginal groups are deeply affected by onomatopoeia and the use of overlapped radicals and verbalising affixes. We hope this study of native classifications of musical instruments can be a step forward towards understanding knowledge systems in Taiwanese aboriginal cultures.