THE AMIS HARVEST FESTIVAL
IN CONTEMPORARY TAIWAN

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

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

MUSIC

MAY 2003

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would never have been able to finish this thesis without help from many people and organizations. I would like to first thank my husband Dennis, and my children, Darrell, Lory, Lorinda, Mei-ling, Tzu-yu, and Darren, for their patience, understanding, and encouragement which allowed me to spend two entire summers away from home studying the culture and music of the Amis people of Taiwan. I especially want to thank Dennis, for his full support of my project. He was my driver and technical assistant during the summer of 1996 as I visited many Amis villages. He helped me tape and record interviews, songs, and dances, and he spent many hours at the computer, typing my thesis, transcribing my notes, and editing for me.

I had help from friends, teachers, classmates, village chiefs and village elders, and relatives in my endeavors. In Taiwan, my uncles and aunts, T'ong T'ien Kui, Pan Shou Feng, Chung Fan Ling, Hsu Sheng Ming, Chien Su Hsiang, Lo Ch'iu Ling, Li Chung Nan, and Huang Mei Hsia, all helped with their encouragement and advice. They also provided me with rides, contacts, and information. Special thanks goes to T'ong T'ien Kui and Chung Fan Ling who drove me up and down mountains, across rivers and streams, and accompanied me to many of the villages I wanted to visit. My brother Chiang Ch'i-feng, my sister Chan Yang Ling-shu, and my uncle Yang Te-hung, as well as their families also supported me in so many ways.
Annie Campbell helped me to organize my notes, and assisted me in editing, typing my drafts and final product. Thanks to her for the countless hours and hard work she selflessly volunteered. And my thanks to Huang Tzu Pin, who converted my transcriptions to sheet music form. Finally, thanks to my niece, Pualani Kim, and my son, Darrell Chung-ni Kim, for scanning the pictures in this thesis. Darrell also helped me record my transcription music onto a CD. Also thanks to Professor and Mrs. Robert Cheng for helping me with the Taiwanese portion of the Glossary.

I wish to express my thanks to my professors in the Ethnomusicology Department at the University of Hawaii, Professors Byongwon Lee, Jane Moulin, Hardja Susilo, Ricardo Trimillos, and Professor Emeritus Barbara Smith. Their knowledge and passion for ethnomusicology encouraged me in my studies. The counsel and advice I received from my thesis committee chair Professor Frederick Lau was invaluable to me in the compilation of my notes and thoughts. His direction helped me produce this work. Thanks also to my thesis committee members, Professors Trimillos and Robert Cheng, for their guidance and many helpful suggestions.

Of course, I cannot forget those scholars in the ethnomusicology and related fields in Taiwan who gave me guidance, support, and much valuable information. I would particularly like to thank Professors Lin Hsin Lai, Lin Tao Sheng, Hu T’ai Li, Wu Jung Shun, Ming Li Kuo, Ling Kui Chih, and Huang Kui Ch’ao. Each of these scholars is a well-renowned authority in the study of Taiwan’s aborigines. They have authored many books, and they all willingly
tutored me in the lifestyle, culture and music of the aborigines. Lin Hsin Lai, Ling Kui Chih, and Huang Kui Ch'ao are members of the Amis tribe. Their first-hand knowledge of the Amis was of inestimable value to me.

And finally, but certainly not the least of those whose support made this work possible, are the Amis villagers themselves. Many village chiefs and elders allowed me to mingle with their people. Ultimately, it was the willingness of those villagers to share their songs and dances, and to open hearts to me that provided the greatest input to this thesis. To them I am deeply indebted.
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NOTES

1. Throughout this thesis, I have chosen to use the Wade-Giles System of romanization because it is still the common form of romanization used in Taiwan. A transition to the Pinyin system is slowly being implemented. However, most place names, surnames, and given names are still in the Wade-Giles Format. Exceptions are where direct quotes are used or in commonly recognized names that are in a different system of romanization. Another exception is where the name of the individual or item is in a different romanized language or system (i.e. Amis, Taiwanese or Japanese romanization).

2. As is common with most Asian cultures, the format of names of Chinese or Aboriginal individuals is with the surname first, followed by the given name. Sometimes a hyphen is used between the two characters of the given name, and at other times a hyphen is not used. The choice is up to the individual's preference.

3. A glossary is located in Appendix II (p 144), which gives the Chinese characters for the romanized words found in this thesis. It also includes the Taiwanese Romanization (LMJ) for those characters.

4. The word Ami was used by earlier scholars referring to the tribe or people we now refer to as Amis. It is singular and is pronounced without the "s". Excepting for direct quotes or citations, throughout this thesis I have used the Amis spelling.

5. For pitch notation, I used C to represent Middle C, C¹ to represent the next higher octave, C⁻¹ to represent the next lower octave, etc. The same notation applies to other notes.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

I. PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The Amis tribe is the largest of Taiwan's nine indigenous tribes. The Harvest Festival is their biggest event each year. Many scholars have written about the folk songs of the aborigines and about the aborigines in general, but very little about the Amis Harvest Festival and its music in particular. The purpose of this paper is to examine the Harvest Festival of the Amis people, including the core of the Festival: their singing and dancing. Given that the Amis Harvest Festival has essentially changed from what was once a ceremonial event that focused on warrior training, to an event that now focuses on entertainment and competition, the purpose of my thesis is to examine the Harvest Festival and its music during the late 1990's, and to document significant influences that have effected changes to the Harvest Festival, as well as the effect those changes have had on the Amis people.

In the past, the Harvest Festival was a ceremonial tradition tied to Amis religious beliefs, but recently it has been changed into more of a social and entertainment event. In this thesis, I will document the events of the Harvest Festival in today's setting. I will explore the changes to the Harvest Festival that have occurred over the years because of political and economic influences, and because of urbanization and modernization. My thesis is primarily based on my field study among the Amis on the East Coast of Taiwan, my attendance at their
Harvest Festivals, and observations and interviews with scholars, tribal elders, and villagers; all of which were conducted from 1996 to 2002.

The Harvest Festival is an annual ceremony and musical event filled with songs and dances of the Amis. Originally, its main purpose was to give thanks to the gods for their good will during the year, and to pray for their continued blessing in the coming year. In the present context, the Harvest Festival is still a ceremony that retains its traditional function, but it has changed to accommodate the needs of the present-day Amis. Now the Harvest Festival is a time for village reunions, leadership and physical training, advancement of the various age grades, choosing new leaders, passing on traditions, and for courting and choosing a mate. In essence, it is the one annual social event that encapsulates the culture of the Amis.

My first exposure to the Amis people was during my elementary school years in Taiwan, where I had a number of Amis classmates. Physically, they looked somewhat different than the other [Han] students, with their large eyes, darker complexion, and more contoured facial features. They appeared to be more reserved and withdrawn compared to the Han Chinese. In retrospect, I now think that this reservation was due to the fact that they were not as fluent in Mandarin Chinese as their Han classmates.

Throughout my early years I also interacted with other Amis. My parents died when I was ten years old, and so my grandparents raised me. At times my grandfather would hire some Amis men to do heavy labor, such as chopping wood, or doing some type of construction project. Our live-in housemaid was
also an Amis girl, and I remember times when I would see my grandmother after a hard day's work sitting in a circle with her Amis friends singing, clapping, and drinking wine together. They always seemed to be having so much fun.

Later, I really began to learn about the Amis when I taught at T'ai Ch'ang Elementary School. A few of my students were from the Amis villages. These children usually came to school bare-footed and with incomplete homework. As part of my teaching duties, I had to visit the homes of the students and teach their families as well. I discovered that many families did not fully understand the need for a good education. However, I'll always remember that they loved to dance and sing beautiful songs, and could learn them very quickly.

These memories stimulated my interest and created a desire in me to study the Amis aboriginal music and their annual Harvest Festival as my thesis for my Master's degree in Ethnomusicology. Another thing that stimulated my interest was that my husband, who is part Hawaiian, mentioned that the Amis language, their physical features and traditions seemed to more closely resemble Polynesians than Chinese. He asked several Amis to count from one to ten in their language. Several numbers were the same or similar to Hawaiian numbers: Lima (5) is exactly the same, siva (9) is like iwa (Hawaiian) and siva (Samoan), tulu (3) is similar to the Hawaiian kolu, and tusa (2) is similar to the Hawaiian lua. I wondered if the Amis music would also have similarities to Polynesian music.

During my field study in Taiwan, several Amis elders expressed to me their desire to have a written documentation of the Harvest Festival, and musical transcriptions of their vocal performances. Music is life to the Amis, and these
elders feared that more of their music and culture would be lost if it went undocumented. I hope that by documenting and describing the events and music of the Harvest Festival, I might help those elders fulfill their desires and assist them in keeping their music and culture alive. I hope to accomplish this by. Furthermore, I hope to aid in preserving its music by transcribing a few of their songs. I am pleased to contribute to the scholarly knowledge already obtained about the Harvest Festival, and hope that my work does credit to the people about whom I write.

II. PREVIOUS STUDIES AND RESOURCES

Many scholars have written about the aborigines of Taiwan. Most of those works describe the culture, ceremonies, history, economy, and social organization of the aborigines. There are, however, only a few publications available to the western reader that describes the Amis Harvest Festival.

The first major field study of aboriginal music was conducted by Kurosawa Takatomo and Masu Genjiro in 1943. They published twenty-six volumes of ten-inch discs and ten reels of documentary film (which were later destroyed during World War II). Kurosawa published his book in 1973. While intended to be comprehensive in scope, it was the first authoritative work on Taiwanese aboriginal music. In 1966, Shih Wei-liang and Hsu Tsang-houei, ethnomusicology scholars at Tunghai University in Taiwan, along with their students began doing joint field work collecting aborigine folk songs. All their
recordings are in Hsu's possession and one copy was deposited with the Music Department of Tunghai University. Besides that comprehensive work, in 1966 Shih wrote a piece analyzing Amis folk songs, and in 1967 he wrote another article describing the characteristics of Taiwan mountain aboriginal folk songs (Shih 1967, as cited in Loh 1982). In 1978, Hsu transcribed about one hundred aboriginal folk songs (Hsu 1978). These publications were later compiled into two volumes (Loh 1982).

Yen Wen-hsiung did other works representing more general studies of music of all ethnic groups in Taiwan, including the aborigines. These were published in two volumes in 1967 and 1969.

Lu Ping-ch'uan, whose dissertation was submitted to the University of Tokyo in 1973, completed another major work on the aborigines. This dissertation was mainly an historical survey with an analysis of the tone systems, musical forms, rhythms, and melody types. Now, however, only the chapter on the musical instruments, published in 1974, is available to the public.

Madeline Kwok's thesis entitled "Dance of the Paiwan Aboriginal People of Ping Tung County, Taiwan With Implications of Dance for Tribal Classification" gives some general information about the Paiwan tribe and its dances.

Due to the government's support and encouragement in recent years, and the aborigines' self-awareness, more and more scholars such as Huang Kui-chao, Lin Kuei-chih (Fig. 61, p178), Lin Hsin-lai (Fig.56, p199), Woo Jong-shun, Ming Li-kuo, and Lin Tao-sheng have written and published works about the Amis music. I met and discussed the Harvest Festival music with all of them.
during my fieldwork. Professor Lin Hsin-lai even accompanied me to several Amis village Harvest Festival celebrations. He has published two books; *Tai Wan A Mei Tzu Min Yao Yen Chiu* (*The Study of the Folk Songs of the Ami Tribe in Taiwan*) (1979), and *Tai Wan A Mei Tzu Min Yao Yao Tse Yen Chiu* (*The Study of the Folk Text of the Ami Tribe in Taiwan*) (1981).

Another relevant work is *Tribal Music of Taiwan*, by Loh, I-to, written in 1982. In his book he primarily covers the music of the Amis tribe as well as the Puyuma tribe, and he also dedicates a few chapters to the music of the Harvest Festival.

Ming Li-kuo has written regularly and lectured in colleges and universities internationally. His book, *Tai Wan Yuan Chu Min Tzu te Chi Li* (*The Ceremonies of Taiwan Aborigines*) (1989), covers some villages' Harvest Festival and other ceremonies, but contains very little on the music. Rather, it documents the culture, traditions, and ceremonies of the Amis, Bunun, and Tsao tribes. Huang Kui-chao has written *Yi Wan Amei Tzu San Ke Yi Shih Huo Tung te Chi Lu* (*The Record of Three Ceremonies of the Ami in Yi Wan Village*) (1989). Another article, "A mei Ke Wu Chien Chieh" (*A Brief Introduction to the Songs and Dances of the Amis*) (1989) has only very general information, with no transcriptions or analyses, and covering very little of the Harvest Festival. He is from the Yi Wan Village, and is a great resource and treasure to the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. I learned much from him. He has also written a few articles about the Jew's harp. I even purchased a Jew's harp from him and
learned how to use it (Fig. 56, p196). Today, it is very difficult to find people who
know how to make them, not to mention how to play them, as it is a dying art.

*Ch'ien Yüan (Connection to the Origin)* is a book funded, produced, and
printed by the Tourist Bureau for the Park and Scenery of the East Coast (1992).
It contains a great amount of information about the Amis Harvest Festival. It
focuses on the Amis tribes situated along the eastern coastline, and discusses
the Harvest Festival in great detail, including some of the legends of the Amis.
In addition, it also describes many of their social customs and rituals. A
noteworthy facet of the book is that it is written in Chinese and English, as well as
in romanized Amis. Also published and printed by the Tourist Bureau for the
Park and Scenery of the East Coast is another book entitled *Feng Nien Chi Chih
Lü (Journey into the Harvest Festival)*. Written by Huang Kui Chao (1994), it is
an introduction to the Amis. The book discusses the Harvest Festival, and
provides us with Harvest Festival agendas from various villages, as well as
transcriptions from some Amis songs.

Since 1998, there has been quite a lot of interest by Taiwanese
ethnomusicologists in the Amis culture and music. In 2000, Lin Tao Sheng
authored *A-mei Tzu P'ien (The Music of Hualien Amis Aborigines)*. Lin is a
professor of music at Yü Shan College of Theology in Hualien. In *A-mei Tzu
P'ien* he discusses the music and instruments of the Amis Harvest Festival, and
includes transcriptions of some Amis Harvest Festival songs.

From the above we can see that previous scholars have collected and
recorded a wide range of songs of the Amis, but not particularly about the music
of the Harvest Festival. In recent years both the government and the aborigines themselves have realized that the Amis need to promote the Harvest Festival in order to preserve their own culture and music. As a result, there are many new scholars working in this area. My thesis focuses on the Harvest Festival of today and the changes it has undergone in the different villages, specifically in the Yi Wan, Tung Ho, Tu Lan, and Kuan Shan Villages. As of this writing, with the exception of Yi Wan Village, very little has been written about these villages.

III. TAIWAN AND ITS PEOPLE

The geography of Taiwan provides a unique setting for the aboriginal tribes, allowing the majority of the surviving tribes to maintain and preserve their traditions and culture by being geographically isolated from the encroachment of other cultures from the main part of the island. The nine surviving tribes live in the Central and Eastern Coastal Mountain ranges and on the isolated East Coast. Nine other tribes, which lived on the plains, were readily assimilated into the culture and life-style of arriving immigrant groups. Today those tribes have no distinct geographical territory.

Taiwan is a mountainous island. It has five longitudinal mountain ranges that take up almost half of the island's total land area, with the central mountain range forming the backbone of Taiwan. At one time it was also known as "Formosa," meaning "the beautiful island." Portuguese explorers, who marveled at Taiwan's pristine green-forested beauty, gave it this name.
Taiwan lies in the South China Sea between Japan to the north, and the Philippines to its south. It is situated about 90 miles (140 km) off the southeastern coast of China, and is separated from the Fuchien Province by the Strait of Taiwan. The island is approximately 246 miles long, and 90 miles wide at its broadest point. It includes 13,885 square miles of land; two-thirds of which is mountainous.

Taiwan island can be divided into six geographically distinct regions (Map 1, p 161): Northern mountains, Northern foothills and basins, Western foothills and plains, Southern foothills and plains, Central mountain range, and the Eastern mountains and basin.

The Central Mountain Range and Eastern Mountain Range both stretch from north to south and are important ethnologically because they were the ancestral home to many of Taiwan's aborigines. Taiwan has a subtropical climate with abundant rain keeping everything green all year round. Summers are long, hot, and humid. Typhoons occur regularly three or four times every year, causing flooding and landslide damage to crops, roads, and homes, but also providing much of the island's water supply. Earthquakes are also common and devastating, especially on the East coast where the Amis tribes live.

The history of Taiwan also played an important part in the lives of the Aborigines. They experienced the rule of many: the Dutch, Portuguese, Spaniards, Japanese, and the mainland Chinese. These rulers impacted the lifestyle, economy, agriculture, religious practices, and music of the Aborigines.
Long before the Chinese came to Taiwan from mainland China, aborigines were already living there. Over the years Taiwan has been under the influence of many cultures. The first recorded mention of the word "Taiwan" was during the Ming Dynasty. It was used as an official name, meaning "Terraced Bay." A large Chinese migration to Taiwan occurred during the South Sung Dynasty (1127 – 1277 AD), Yuan Dynasty (1277 – 1368 AD), Ming and Ch'ing Dynasty (1663 – 1912 AD). Most of the settlers were fishermen from the southeast coasts of Fuchien and Kwangtung provinces of China.

During the Fourteenth through Sixteenth centuries, Taiwan was the base for Japanese and Chinese pirates and traders. The Spaniards controlled the north for sixteen years beginning in 1626, while the Dutch controlled the south and west. In 1642, the Dutch gained control from the Spaniards by driving them off the island. They ruled the island through The Dutch West Indies Company from 1624. The late Ming Dynasty loyalist general, Cheng Ch'eng Kung, also known in the West as "Koxinga," evicted them in 1663. In 1683, the Ch'ing Dynasty conquered Taiwan by defeating Chen Ch'eng Kung and establishing administrative districts at sites which today are some of Taiwan's biggest cities: Tainan, Kaohsiung, and Chiayi.

During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries (Ch'ing Dynasty), a great number of mainland Chinese migrated to Taiwan. This had a profound impact on Taiwan's aborigines. They were either pushed further into the mountains or assimilated into the Chinese culture and society. In 1895, China lost the Sino-Japanese War, and Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese.
The Japanese ruled Taiwan from 1895 to 1945. During the fifty years of Japanese occupation the aborigines were totally controlled by the Japanese. Japanese anthropologists and ethnologists conducted extensive research on the aborigines, producing reports which have been the major resource for ethno studies in Taiwan.

In 1945, at the end of World War II, Taiwan was returned to Chinese control. The Chinese Nationalist Party, Kuomintang, fled to Taiwan in 1949 when the Communist Chinese of the People's Republic of China under Mao Tsetung conquered Mainland China. Chiang Kai-Shek, President of the Republic of China, made Taipei its capital. The Nationalist Chinese government recognized the Aborigines as citizens of the Republic of China, Taiwan Province, and gave them the right to vote. Today, Taiwan is still considered one of the thirty-five provinces of China by both Chinas and is the main source of contention between them. The Kuomintang maintained political control over the island for five decades. In 2000, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) gained control of the government through a direct presidential election. Today, the Taiwan government is still officially called the Republic of China.

The population of Taiwan today is over 22.5 million. Ethnically, they can be divided into two basic races: the Han and the Aborigines. The Han people can be further divided into three groups of people: Fuchien, Hakka, and "mainlander" Chinese. Fuchienese immigrants comprised seventy percent of the total population and are the earliest Han immigrants to Taiwan. They migrated from Fuchien Province several centuries ago, and are commonly
referred to as the "Taiwanese" people. The Hakka people make up about
fourteen percent of the total population and came from Guangdong Province a
little later than the Fuchienese. The "mainlander" Chinese also comprise about
fourteen percent of the population, and came to Taiwan following Chiang Kai­
shek. They came from all provinces of China between 1945 and 1949. This
group was comprised of mostly government workers, soldiers and their
dependents, and wealthy business people.

The remaining two percent of the population are the aborigines; the first
inhabitants of Taiwan. They can be classified into two major categories: the
mountain tribes and the plains tribes (see p 15 & 16 of this chapter for more
details). Originally the aborigines were referred to as Fan (savages), but as the
name had negative connotations, the term was changed to Shan Ti Tung Pao
(Mountain People or Mountain Compatriots). Today, with a resurgence of self­
awareness among the aborigines, they have influenced the government to refer
to them as Yuan Chu Min (literally meaning "original inhabitants" or "aborigines"). This is the common name now given to all the aboriginal tribes on Taiwan.

Mandarin Chinese is the official language, although many people also speak
Hakka, Fuchienese, Japanese, and other dialects. The population is ninety
percent literate.

IV. ABORIGINAL TRIBES

Physically, Taiwan's aborigines are of Proto-Malaysian extraction, while
linguistically they are Austronesian (Wu 1993, 79). Their physical characteristics
distinguish them from the rest of Taiwan's population, for their skin coloring tends to be darker than their Han neighbors, and they are somewhat taller.

Thought to be its earliest inhabitants, Taiwan's aboriginal tribes are estimated to have migrated there at least 1,000 years ago, but probably earlier (Loh 1982). They have had no written language, and since there are such vast differences in their cultures and social organization, it is difficult to pinpoint their origins. It is possible that they originated from different places and arrived at different times. In fact, there are two main theories as to their origin: that they were the original people in Taiwan (Lin 1966), and that they migrated to Taiwan (the migration theories) (Chen 1973) (Chang 1966) (Ferrell 1969). There are many different migration theories but all seem to agree that the tribal culture belongs to the cultural area of Southeast Asia. Their migration to Taiwan probably took three different routes: 1) a direct migration from China, 2) an indirect migration from Indo-China (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia), and 3) a direct migration from the Philippines and the South Pacific.

Although these theories are highly speculative, the absence of any Arabic, Hindu, or Han cultural elements (which are so apparent among the people of Southeast Asia) in the cultural artifacts of Taiwan's aborigines is the strongest indication of their isolation from those other cultures. It also suggests that they migrated into Taiwan long before these three major Asian civilizations influenced those in Southeast Asia (Chen 1973).

One of the distinguishing characteristics of this people is their love of music; the aborigines of Taiwan love to sing and dance. In fact, the two artistic
forms are so intertwined that you hardly experience one without the other. To the rest of the population however, the aborigines are stereotyped as 'lower class, happy-go-lucky drinkers.'

In earlier times, most of Taiwan's aborigines depended on agriculture, stockbreeding, hunting and fishing for sustenance. Today most aborigines have some type of work that pays them salaries or wages. Now some tribes are known for their basket weaving, cloth weaving, pottery, and carving skills. Many aborigines still love to hunt, fish, raise livestock, and farm as their ancestors did.

The Taiwanese aborigines have long been isolated from other cultural influences because of the mountain ranges, but now their life-styles are changing and government policies are changing, so they are being assimilated into modern Chinese society. Only up on the high, rural mountains you can still find most of the older practices of their traditional culture being preserved.

More than 300 years ago, large numbers of Chinese immigrants began arriving in Taiwan. At that time, the aboriginal people of Taiwan actually inhabited the entire island, including the island of Lanyu.

During the time of the Ch'ing dynasty (1683-1895), the Chinese separated the tribes into two categories which they called Shan-fan (literally meaning mountain savage), or Ping-p'u-fan (literally meaning plains savage) (Loh,14). The only basis for these classifications seems to be whether they lived in the mountains or on the plains, the degree to which particular tribes accepted and adopted Chinese customs, or whether they cooked their food or ate it raw. The plains tribes of those earlier times have disappeared as they intermarried with the
Han people over time and assimilated into their culture. Despite their disappearance from the aboriginal populace, the original distribution of those plains people by tribe was as follows:

- **Ketangalan**: located in the coastal region of Keelung and Tamsui, with some also living in the Ilan County district.
- **Lulang**: located in the Taipei basin and the surrounding area.
- **Kavalan**: mainly located in the Ilan County district, north and south of the Choshui River.
- **Taokas**: found in the coastal plain in Hsinchu and Miaoli counties.
- **Pazeh**: located in Taichung County, centering on the districts of Yuanfeng and Tungshih and extending to the Ta-an River in the north and the Tatu River in the south.
- **Papora**: located in Taichung County, south of the Tachia River and north of the Tatu River, in the coastal region west of the Tatu hills.
- **Babuza**: located in Changhua County, south of the Tatu River, and north of the Choshui River.
- **Hoanya**: located in Chiayi and Nantou counties
- **Siraya**: located in the plain close to Tainan city, along the lower reaches of the Tanshui River in Kaohsiung and Pingtung counties, and in the Yuching District of Tainan County.
- **Thao**: they currently live in the neighborhood of Sun Moon Lake, although during the Ch'ing dynasty they were a much larger tribe.

Although these 'plains' aborigines have disappeared, the terms 'plains' and "mountain aborigines" still apply to the tribes today. Actually, many of the so-called 'mountain' tribes, such as the Amis and the Puyuma, now live on the plains. The Yami live on the island of Lanyu; the Tsou live by Sun Moon Lake in
Central Taiwan, and the remaining tribes live in the mountains. A brief narrative about the distribution and music of each mountain tribe follows (Maps 2 and 3):

**Amis:** The largest of the tribes. They inhabit the east coast plains areas in Hualien and Taitung Counties. They are a matrilineal society and their age grade system is their unique social and political characteristic. Their music is most well known among all the tribes. They preserve the greatest variety and number of songs. They have beautiful and passionate vocalization combined with highly skilled techniques (responsorial, contrapuntal, cannon, etc.). The basic scale is pentatonic and the mode ending on la is most common. Metrical songs are most numerous with choruses including vocables (meaningless sounds) predominating over solo pieces.

**Yami:** The smallest of the tribes. They live on Lanyu Island. Fishing is their main source of sustenance. This is the least culturally developed tribe with a very peculiar tonal structure. The most fundamental scale consists of do, re, mi. Most of their fishing and farming songs are sung in this scale.

**Atayal:** This tribe is the most widely disbursed because they live in the remote areas of the central mountains. They were considered the fiercest warrior tribe. Their scale has the fundamental structure of tetrachord of mi, so, la with the major second and the minor third. Few songs are sung in pentatonic scale without semitones. The Atayal prefer improvisation, a free rhythm, and in older times the Jew's harps were most popular in their dances. Nowadays they only mimic the playing of the Jew's harp.
Sasiat: They live on the lower mountain slopes near Hsinchu. They are known for their dwarf ceremony held every other year. The scale of their songs is similar to that of the Atayal, but the scale used for their most important ceremony, Pasu-taai, is rather peculiar. They like to sing the portamento style, which frequently appears in descending melodies.

Tsou or Thao: They live near Sun Moon Lake and their livelihood depends on agriculture and fishing. They are known for their singing to the rhythm of the pounding of the pestle. They have barely survived having been surrounded by strong enemies, but they have maintained some headhunting songs.

Bunun: They live in the Central Mountains. They are known for singing eight-part harmony. Their scale consists of natural overtones with the Fanfare melody of do, mi so, do. Most of their songs are choruses with few solos. Most choruses are sung in two parts with harmony of the minor third, the major third, the perfect fourth, the perfect fifth, and the perfect eight. A most peculiar song is Pasibutbut, a song of the millet harvest in the chromatic style. The Bunun prefer to use musical bows, Jew's harps, and the overtone style.

Puyuma: They live in the Taitung County area. Their lifestyles are similar to the Amis, except that they live by the bilateral kinship system. The Puyuma were the first to be influenced by China and have the highest degree of culture of all the tribes. Their melodies are more fluid, their scale is pentatonic and the range is wide, with some pieces over an octave. They have a large number of incantation songs.
Rukai: Taitung County is also their main location. They have three distinct classes in their social system: the landowner, the gentry, and the commoner. Their music is sung in choruses in the drone-bass style are most common. They are normally sung in two parts with the upper being a melodic solo, and the lower a drone-bass chorus. Sometimes it is divided into three parts, one being in the ostinato style. The upper part of the drone-bass chorus is frequently diatonic and songs are often pentatonic.

Paiwan: This is the third largest tribe. Their social system is similar to the Rukai. They have two distinct singing styles: villages near the Rukai preserve the drone style, while the Southern Paiwan use a scale similar to the Japanese Ryukyuan scale (Lu 1982).

A breakdown of the tribal populations as reported in 1996 is reflected in Table 1 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribal Name</th>
<th>Chinese Characters</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amis</td>
<td>阿美</td>
<td>146,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yami</td>
<td>雅美</td>
<td>3,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atayal</td>
<td>泰雅</td>
<td>86,042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saisiat</td>
<td>賽夏</td>
<td>6,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsou (or Thao)</td>
<td>曹</td>
<td>6,838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunun</td>
<td>布農</td>
<td>41,691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puyuma</td>
<td>阜南</td>
<td>10,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rukai</td>
<td>鵝凱</td>
<td>11,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paiwan</td>
<td>排灣</td>
<td>67,760</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Tribal populations as of 1996 (Lin 2000,1-3)
V. ABORIGINAL MUSIC

Music in Taiwan has developed over six different periods. First is the period of time prior to the Dutch and Spanish control; Second is from Spanish occupation until the period of the Ch'ing Dynasty; third is during the occupation of the Ch'ing Dynasty when Koxinga, a loyalist to the Ming Dynasty, governed the island; fourth is the period following Koxinga until the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty; fifth is during the time of the Japanese occupation; and sixth is after the liberation from the Japanese to the present (Yen 1979).

The Dutch and Spanish set up missionary schools and taught the aboriginals western hymns, ‘The Lord’s Prayer’ and ‘The 100th Psalm of David’ into the indigenous language. (Campbell 1903), and the aborigines were not taught harmony at that time. The Dutch romanized the aborigines’ own language, creating the Sinkang language. Their influence was primarily directed at the P'ing-p'u (plains) aborigines. They had little contact with the mountain tribes and therefore had no influence on their music.

The Ch'ing Dynasty government attempted to set up schools on the east coast of Taiwan, but after five years these schools failed and were closed. They had little influence on aboriginal music during that period and did not teach music in the schools. Like the Dutch, attempts by the Chinese to teach the aborigines were directed at the plains tribes. The mountain aborigines were not accessible
and had already established their own multi-part singing (it should be noted that their multi-part singing did not originate from the west).

It was the Japanese who brought western music to all of Taiwan's aborigines. The Japanese were more detail oriented than either the Europeans or the Chinese, and made their policies applicable to all the people of Taiwan. Although the styles of the songs taught in the schools were either Japanese or a mixture of Japanese/Western, western songs were always translated into and taught in Japanese. Under the Japanese influence, the aborigines' music styles began to change. Characteristics of their indigenous music included the use of microtonal intervals or unspecified pitches, free rhythm, multiple ornamentation, stationary or movable drone sounds, ambiguous tonal centers, and multi-part texture. As the aborigines began to incorporate more western characteristics, their own styles began to disappear. This influence altered tribal musical practices such that a "new phase of compositions emerged among the tribes" (Loh 1986,420). Modern aboriginal music is no longer in multi-part, but is monophonic, reflecting western styles. To this day, even after more than eighty years, those aborigines who lived during the Japanese occupation, still have a great love for Japanese songs. In fact, this group seems to prefer the Japanese songs they were raised with to their own indigenous songs, which they only sing as part of their cultural festivals.

After World War II, when the Chinese again took over control of Taiwan, they would not allow the aborigines to sing their own songs. The aborigines became a suppressed people under the Chinese, as the Chinese demonstrated
their lack of respect for the indigenous people and their culture. They attempted to re-educate the aborigines to adopt the Chinese way of life. Urbanization under the Chinese also had an affect on the aboriginal life-style and culture. As more and more of them moved to the cities, the old way of life began to lose its place with its people. With these changes taking place, even village songs took on a new tone as young men lamented (in song) that so many of their young women were moving to the cities and marrying outside of the village. Like many cultures, as the mountain tribal villagers were exposed to the outside world and western musical styles through movies and television, this also effected changes to their music.

Some of the earlier Christians suppressed tribal music. Considering the people to be superstitious and their music pagan, the church prohibited their aboriginal members from singing their tribal music and dancing in church. Instead they introduced and taught them western gospel songs. Some even prohibited their members from attending aboriginal festivals. Over time, however, they discovered that the people were becoming detached from their own people and were, in fact, strangers in their own land. The church learned an important lesson: that the best way to let the Gospel be planted deep in the hearts of the aboriginal people and take root was to let them express their faith in their own way. With this new understanding, they began to encourage the aborigines to compose and perform their own songs in their own way. Thus a revival of aboriginal music and identity began, and while the government was “denying the identity of and suppressing the aboriginal culture, the church was
cultivating their self-esteem, encouraging their cultural expression and reviving their language" (Loh 1968,426).

Aside from these outside influences, it should also be noted that the Amis tribe, which is known for its musical abilities, have had a great influence on other aboriginal tribes. This can be seen through the three main cultural centers 'Wulai Village' located in Taipei county, 'Formosan Aboriginal Cultural Village' near Sun Moon Lake, Nan Tou county, and the 'San Ti Men Village' in Ping Tung county. Most of their dances are an adaptation of Amis style dancing.

According to Hsu Tsang Houi, Taiwan's aborigines have very advanced musical practices and a large variety of music (Hsu 1989,16-21) (Lu 1982,13-14). These include:

**Contrapuntal style:** Songs are freely constructed in anywhere from two to five contrapuntal parts. Originally to be found among the southern Amis, this polyphonic style is now only found in the songs of the Tu Lan and Ma Lan Amis.

**Consonant style:** Songs that harmonize in a way that is pleasing to the ear, for example, perfect eighth, perfect fourth, perfect fifth, and major and minor third or sixth. The Bunun eight part overtone singing is a good example of this style, as is the Tsou harmonic singing.

**Heterophonic style:** This is mainly sung in two parts in heterophony, found in the Paiwan, Rukai, and Puyuma tribes.

**Parallel style:** This is a parallel in organum style, which is intentionally sung in parallel fourth and parallel fifth. Mainly found in the Saisiyat tribe.
**Cannon style:** Mainly in the Sedeq and some in the Amis.

**Responsorial style:** The leader sings first in solo, then the chorus (group) responds. This is mostly found in the Amis tribe. There are two types: the kind where the chorus responds in a similar melody to the leaders and in the other, they respond in a different melody.

It is most unique that although Taiwan's aborigines collectively occupy only a small area of land, they have nevertheless maintained many tribal and musical styles and diversities. Each tribe has its own characteristic music, but characteristic of all the tribes is that music and dance are closely connected and reflect their daily life. Their music has survived regardless of outside influences like the Dutch, Spaniards, Chinese, and now modern Western Music (Lu 1982).

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**VI. GOVERNMENT POLICIES TOWARD THE ABORIGINES**

In general, the aborigines' standard of living and educational level is somewhat lower than that of their Chinese neighbors. Their history of occupation by different nations, the move by many villagers to the cities in order to find work, and inter-racial marriages magnified their predicament. Thus, Taiwan's aborigines began losing their ancient traditions and customs. The good news is that the Chinese government has long been aware of this problem, and has changed its policies toward the aborigines. Whereas the aborigines were discouraged under the Japanese and former Chinese governments from
speaking their native language and from practicing their customs and traditions, the present Taiwanese government has instituted educational programs to accommodate the needs of its aboriginal population. Aboriginal songs and music are now included as a genre in school music text books, and aboriginal songs are also included in school song competitions. The Taiwanese government has expressed its desire to better integrate its people and to involve its aboriginal people in producing a composite cultural experience that educates and edifies the entire population of Taiwan, thus also promoting the tourism industry in Taiwan.

Written into Amendments to Taiwan's Constitution is language specifically designed to protect the rights and safeguard the traditional culture of its aboriginal people. For the aborigines this means that governmental funds are made available to villages to assist them in the financing of their annual Harvest Festivals; that allowances are made for aboriginal students wishing to further their education; and educational programs operate to teach their native language. In 1992 an Amendment to Taiwan's Constitution opened a total of twelve governmental seats to its aborigines. These include six seats on the national assembly and six legislative seats, giving Taiwan's aborigines a voice in government.

Thus the government seeks to help its aborigines cultivate their own self-awareness and independence, to raise their own standard of living, to utilize their natural and mountain resources to assist in boosting the country's economy, and to become involved in political affairs (Sun, Editor 1995).
VII. FIELD RESEARCH AND FIELD EXPERIENCE

I went to Taiwan in July 1996, with full field gear: tape recorder, camera, camcorder, and accessories. I had called many scholars, friends, and government officials about my intentions and requested their help months before my arrival in Taiwan. From their advice, suggestions, and introductions, I visited some aboriginal museums, cultural centers, bookstores and libraries, as well as the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. I also visited with village chiefs (Fig. 3 and 4, p170) and scholars of various tribes. Finally, I decided to focus on the Amis tribe and specifically on their Harvest Festival and its music in my thesis. My husband drove me around the whole island of Taiwan (including Taipei, Tao Yuan, Taichung, Pingtung, Taitung, and Hualien) (Map 6, p166). In the course of two months, I visited ten villages day and night during their Harvest Festivals. The events of some villages lasted three to five days. Due to this length of time, transportation, limited lodging availability, and overlapping festival schedules, I was not able to attend all of the villages for their whole festival.

In total I visited thirty different Harvest Festivals. Generally, each village held their own festival, but three of the festivals I attended were "joint festivals" where more than one village joined together to celebrate the Harvest Festival. One had three villages, another had eleven villages, and the third had twelve villages participating. I missed some of the Northern Amis Harvest Festival celebrations during 1996 because I couldn’t stay through the end of August. However, I returned to Taiwan the next year and this time I was able to stay long enough to attend many of the northern Amis Harvest Festivals.
For each Harvest Festival that I attended, I would obtain a schedule of events from the county office and East Coast Tourism Bureau, and then confirm my attendance with the village chief or elders of each individual village. In spite of my preparations, however, I was often disappointed when, after spending much time and effort to reach a village, I was told that they had changed their schedule, activities, or rules governing my participation. This limited what I could do. Some of the villages that I visited were located in very remote locations. I had to ride a bus for hours, walk in the hot sun and 90% humidity, and then wait for the event to start. I discovered that the Amis do not have the same concept of time as I expected, but I needed to respect their way of life. Unfortunately for me, I didn't have the luxury of time or the freedom of movement I would have liked because of the scarcity of lodging, limited availability and reliability of transportation, and other constraints. At times I was especially frustrated because I had to travel alone to some of the villages; often taking over half a day to get to a village only to find out that they would not let me (a female) record their celebration. At this point I would have to turn around and catch the next bus (sometimes it was the last bus) back to my place of lodging. Many times I cried like a defeated hen (rooster) because of my frustration.

In spite of these trials, however, I enjoyed many wonderful experiences in the majority of the villages I visited. I stayed with many natives, mingling, eating, singing, and living with them. I made many new friends through this experience. I learned that the drinking of rice wine is an important and significant part of Amis ceremonies because they believe that the wine is the bridge to their
ancestors. Thus, even their young ones drink the wine. Though I do not drink alcohol myself, out of respect for their culture and traditions, I sometimes touched the cup to my lips and pretended to drink out of the ceremonial cup. The ceremonial cup is made from bamboo, from which everyone drinks during the festivities. Surprisingly, I didn’t suffer any sickness during the entire two summers during my field study. I can only suppose the alcohol sterilized the cup.

I had help from many native scholars. Professor Lin Hsin-lai (Fig. 60, p198) took me to some of the more outstanding festivals, where I was treated as an honored guest, and even introduced to the whole gathering. But in most villages I needed to give a donation of at least 500NT (equivalent to US$20.00) to have the privilege of taking pictures and video taping the event. Because of the number of villages I would visit (approximately ten in 1996, and twenty in 1997), I generally only gave the minimum amount. Besides these expenses, I also had other expenses like buying wine or other gifts as an inducement to the elders to allow me to interview them and tape their songs. I learned that after drinking wine, they talked and sang much better, and were more open to me. Every Taiwan aborigine that I personally know loves to drink rice wine. In fact, the culture is such that the more wine they can drink without getting drunk, the more macho they are considered. This is another reason they start drinking as youngsters.

I met and developed friendships with other researchers at some of the festivals, and we exchanged ideas and materials. I had hoped to meet Hsu Ts'ang-huei, the most internationally renowned ethnomusicologist in Taiwan, but
that was not to be. Even though my good friend Li Chung-nan (who was also a
good friend of Mr. Hsu) once arranged for me to meet Hsu Ts'ang-huei, a large
typhoon hit Taiwan prior to the meeting, and I had to leave or be stranded there
for several days. Unfortunately, Mr. Hsu passed away in the spring of 2001, and
our meeting never transpired.

Spending two summers in the hot humid villages of Taiwan videotaping,
recording, interviewing, collecting materials, and looking for villages (some of
which are in the middle of the mountains) was a wonderfully rewarding
experience for me, and I spent a lot of time, energy, and money in this venture.
A couple of times I experienced motion sickness while driving up the windy
mountain roads. I worried, underwent numerous hardships, put up with snakes,
bugs, food poisoning, typhoons, earthquakes, illness, lodging and transportation
problems, poor meals, bad men, and bureaucratic red tape to gather the data
that I needed to complete my thesis. All I can say is: 'it was worth it.'

I was able to collect an enormous amount of information. I videotaped
twenty-seven different sites representing forty-three villages. In total, I personally
collected twenty-four videotapes (eleven in 1996, and thirteen in 1997), and
thirty-three audiotapes (thirteen in 1996 and twenty in 1997). I was given or
purchased eight additional VHS videotapes of aboriginal singing and dancing,
thirteen CD's, and ten audio cassettes of aboriginal music of all types; including
recreational songs, festival songs, folk songs, children's songs, ceremonial
songs, and religious songs. I also collected some artifacts, woodcarvings, a
Jew's harp, a flute, a festival outfit for myself, and many books and articles. I
also have some books and music tapes to donate to the University of Hawaii Ethnomusicology archives.

I am a better person for my experiences in Taiwan. I grew a lot (though not in height), and gained a much better appreciation for life, and I developed numerous friendships. I hope that my thesis is a reflection of all the knowledge that I gained, and that it will be of help to others in appreciating and understanding the beautiful music of this eastern culture.
I. HISTORY AND ORIGIN

The Amis tribe has no written language and so it relies on its many legends to describe its history and origin. Since legends are primarily an oral history, each region tends to give this legend a different twist, but is, nonetheless, centered on the brother and sister legend. The legend goes as follows:

A long time ago there was a brother and sister. His name was Doci and her name was Lalatan (or Lalakan). They lived with their parents on an island called Lagasan (or Kalapana-panai) in the Pacific Ocean. Doci was about fourteen and Lalatan was about two. One day their father instructed Doci to take Lalatan and tend their other farm which was over the mountains. Some time after Doci and Lalatan arrived at the other farm, it began to rain a very heavy rain. Doci only had time to grab Lalatan and jump in the canoe. They were on the ocean for many days and lived off breadfruit, betel nuts and a kind of persimmon that they found floating in the ocean near their canoe. When their food ran out, the only nourishment they could find was the lice in each other’s hair. Finally they reached land, but there were no other persons living there. Doci found bananas, pomegranates and other fruits growing nearby, and so they stayed there for a time. But after a few years or so Doci thought that there must be others living on the island somewhere and that they should go in search of
their family. He decided that he and Lalatan must separate and go in different directions to search their island home for their family. He sent Lalatan to the south while he took the northern way. Many years went by, and then one day Doci noticed a beautiful girl down on the beach. Of course he was surprised and happy to meet another person. They fell in love and married each other. Then Lalatan conceived and she told her husband about how she came to the island. It was then that they realized that they were the brother and sister who came to the island together all those years ago. Of course this was a shock to them, but by that time Lalatan was about to have their baby. After the baby's birth Doci took his family back to their original landing place, where they were surprised to find tall trees of betel nut, persimmon, longan (dragon eye), and breadfruit growing near where Doci had overturned their canoe. They had plenty of food with which to feed themselves. They called the place Lagasan after their first home. They were happy there and had four sons and four daughters, Lo’oh, Kacaw, Tapola, Pispis, Sera, Nakaw, Keliw, and Lisin whom they raised in this place. Time passed and then one day Doci called all his children together and told them that when he died, they should bury him with his head facing southward so that his spirit could find its way back to their homeland.

The Amis continue to bury their dead in this way, because they believe that perhaps the dead may return to their ancestral home and be reunited with all their family members. At the Harvest Festival the villagers still dramatize this aspect of their history in a special ceremony. In this way the young ones are taught about their history and origin. Every eight years a ceremony
commemorating their ancestors' landing is held in Pokpok, a coastal village located close to where the Amis believes Doci and Lalatan (Lalakan) landed. The name of that place is Cilagasan, in Hualien County, Feng Pin Township, Pali Wan (Chian Yuan 1992, 27-33).

II. DEMOGRAPHICS:

The Amis tribe has a population of approximately 146,165 people (Lin 2000). It is the largest of all of Taiwan's aboriginal tribes. They refer to themselves not only as Amis but also Pangtsah. The term 'Amis' means 'northern' and was originally used by the Puyuma tribe in referring to those aboriginal tribes that lived north of them. However, after the Ch'ing Dynasty official documents used the name Amis to refer to the entire tribe. The name Pangtsah is more widely used by the Amis sub-tribes, of which the five major ones are: Nan Shih Amis, Hsiu Ku Juan Amis, Coastal (Hai An) Amis, Puyuma Amis, and Heng Ch'un Amis.

The northern Amis consists only of the Nan Shih Amis. The central Amis includes the Hsiu Ku Juan Amis and Coastal Amis groups, and the Southern Amis are the Puyuma Amis and the Heng Ch'un Amis (Map 2, p162).

The northern Amis live in Hualien County. The Atayal live on their northern boundary. Their main villages are Nataulan, Pokpok, Rilao, Tsikasowan, Varvaran, Tsipaukan, and Sakor.
The Hsiu Ku Juan Amis (Central Amis) also live in Hualien County, from Fenglin south to Hsinkang in Taitung county, between the Central Mountain Range and the Coastal Range. Their main villages are Tavaron, Vataan, Kivit, and Pairasun. The Atayal live on their northern and western boundaries.

The Hai An Amis lives east of the Coastal Range on the Pacific Coast, Hualien and Taitung counties. They have very little contact with outsiders. Their main villages are Tiga/ao, Vakon, Makutaai, Tsavue, Tsiukagan, Pesie/en, and Malauiaon.

The Southern Amis are scattered throughout Taitung County. They have two sub-groups: the Pei Nan, consisting mainly of Ma lan, Tu Lan (Toran), Tu Li, Ta Ma Wu Ku, Hsiao Ma Wu Ku, Chia Chih Lai, and Ma Lan villages; and the Heng Ch’un Group, who inhabit the southernmost tip of Taiwan.

III. FAMILY STRUCTURE

The Amis have both matrilineal and matri-clan systems. Under their matrilineal system, primogenitural privileges are observed for succession and inheritance, wherein the eldest daughter inherits all of the family wealth and is the head of the family. When the eldest son marries, he lives in his wife’s home, but is still viewed as a guardian to his sister’s family. The woman carries all the family power, and may divorce her husband at any time if she is not happy with him. Grandmother is the head of the extended family household, and has the
Their society is also based on a matri-clan system, wherein marriage is permitted with other lineal groups.

Today this system is still practiced, but the Chinese and Japanese system of male dominance is playing a bigger influence on the Amis society. I personally have seen many Amis young women marry older soldiers who came to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-Shek. Because the soldiers had more money and lived in the city, the young women would marry them and forgo their own cultural practices. I remember my grandmother matching two young women of her Amis workers with retired soldiers. Unfortunately those marriages didn't work out.

IV: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Amis have a dual social system. Primarily a matrilineal system, wherein women carry all the family power and inheritance, the Amis have also developed a system whereby some power is shared. Under this system men are able to gain social recognition through an age group political system, which determines a man's status in the community, and where his participation in tribal activities is based on the rank he holds within the age group system.

Age Group System: The age group system is one of the unique social systems of Taiwan's aborigines, and even now is practiced by all the tribes excepting the Atayal and Yami. Although the Amis are a matrilineal society, the male age group system plays a major role in organizing the Harvest Festival, and is based on strict obedience to those senior in age. Within each age group the younger
males are expected to obey those who are older, and they take their orders from them. Under this system, the younger ones perform most of the manual labor, including hunting for food or fishing. When men become Elders, they can retire from having to do any manual work. Instead, they give counsel to the entire village. All other age groups show their respect to these village sages through obedience to their counsel and directives. During Harvest Festival the younger age groups prepare the food (Fig. 11, p153); the Elders receive the best portion of food. Even the Harvest Festival dances are a reflection of the age group system. The dance formation goes from the oldest at the beginning of the line to the youngest at the end. This formation is symbolic of the order of authority within the Amis male society, and every aspect of the dance reflects the line of age authority.

The age group system serves many purposes within the Amis society. Through this system, the Amis are able to protect their village or tribe by training the men to be strong warriors. It used to be that through the age group system, males would learn leadership skills that enabled them to take responsibility for conducting ceremonies, to take care of village affairs, to help the needy, and to take care of other public affairs. This system continues to train the age groups to do physical tasks such as building bridges and fixing roads, as well as other physical tasks designed to help the village to have a better infrastructure. The method of performing duties depends on the task involved. Usually the younger group, sometimes with the help of the age group just above them, performs most of the labor (Wu 1993,82).
In olden days the men's house (svuvi) was central to this system. This was the meeting place for all men from ages twelve to fourteen upwards, and was usually built in the center of the village. It was the heart of tribal life, for it was the educational, political, religious and social center of the village. Young men received training in all aspects of tribal life, which included physical fitness, their responsibilities toward the village, tribal history, as well as the social aspects of song and dance. The men's house was also where leaders and members of the village council were elected, where disputes and conflicts were resolved, where war and hunting strategies were planned, and where peace treaties were completed. For the elderly men, the men's house was also the place where they went to socialize and participate in various crafts. It was the place where unmarried young adult men lived. As well as being the central place of learning and instruction, the men's house and surrounding area was the central gathering place for all ceremonies, and harvest festivals.

In connection with the men's house was the youths' house, which was the center for training the first two sets of age groups (kapax). They were taught about service to the village and received military training. Absolute obedience and respect to the elders was required.

Both houses were off-limits to women and children, and if relatives or girlfriends wanted to bring gifts or food, they would have to be brought to the gate where the elder in charge accepted it and would later distribute all those gifts that he had collected, to the intended recipient (Loh 1987,80-89).
These days, most villages have an activity center, or they use a school field for much of the Harvest Festival training exercises. And the unmarried men no longer sleep in the men's house as they once did.

Advancement to the next higher age group is held during Harvest Festival (Fig. 10, p173) and, depending on the village, usually occurs every three to five years. It is also interesting to note that the age group system is not just restricted to Taiwan's aborigines, but can also be found throughout other Polynesian societies (Furuno 1945, as quoted by Loh 1986,85) (Ming 1989,166).

Age group training takes on two basic forms. One takes place in the men's house and is more intellectual in nature; the other is more physical and takes place outside. With the Elders conducting the academic portion of their training, males learn tribal history and village traditions by oral recitation. They also learn their responsibilities as members of the age group system, and specifically of their particular age group. The outdoor training includes fishing, hunting, identifying wild vegetables, selecting and picking rattan vines for making furniture and housing, and courage training. During the active portion of training the younger age groups continue to take their orders from the older ones.

Strict obedience to one's elders is always enforced, and punishment for disobedience can be either physical, or may be less conspicuous. Physical forms of punishment might be in the form of being hit with a stick, public chastisement at the Harvest Festival, or chastisement by members of his own age group. Sometimes the punishment is less obvious, but nonetheless pointed.
For example, a young man wanting to marry may find obstacles in his way, such as his elders telling his prospective in-laws that he is no good.

With urbanization affecting the village socially, educationally, and politically, the age group organization is breaking apart. In fact, in some villages, there is only a token organization, while in others the age group organization has disappeared completely (Wu 1993,82).

The Structure of an Age Group: Beginning at about age thirteen to fifteen, a boy goes through an initiation rite to enter an age group. Every three to five years, new age groups are formed. Each age group carries its own unique name. The northern Nan-shih Amis choose names from a set of between seven to twelve names which are used in rotation, whereas the southern Puyuma Amis tend to base their names on some major event occurring around the time the new age group is formed. For example, one group might be called 'telephone' (la tien hua) because that was the time telephones first came to them; another name could be 'spaceship' (la kong suo); another 'battleship' (la chun chian). Whether the age group name is taken from a rotating list or is based around an event, the name remains with that age group throughout their life. In the case of the event name, the name dies with the age group, but in the case of the assigned name, upon the deaths of the age group members, the name may be rotated for future use.

In Kang Kou village there are four categories for males:

- Youth (wawa): these are young boys who have not yet entered the age group system
• Young Adult (*kapah*): - this is the beginning of the age group system, and includes males from about ages thirteen through forty-eight

• Strong Adult (*malitengay*): - includes men from about ages forty-nine through seventy-three

• Elder (*mato'asay*): - includes the older men from about age seventy-four upwards. Of course, it should be remembered that each village sets their own age groups, and so the age requirements may vary.

Within the Young Adult category there are approximately eight levels. Their function in the village is that of service. The Strong Adult category also has approximately eight levels. Their function in the village is that of leadership. Finally, the Elders category has six different levels. Their function is primarily as consultants, for this is the age of retirement.

Table 2 shows the age group and naming system used in the village of *Ma-lan*. Another example, different from *Ma-lan*, is that of the village of *Kang Kou*. Within its age group system there is first a category name; for example 'Kapah' (Young Adult); next is the age group name; such as 'la Tien Nao' (computer); and lastly is a duty name; such as 'mi'afatay' (up mountain to gather bamboo for burning). Age group names in *Kang Kou* are taken from major events of the year or around the time of transition to the age group system, which explains the age group name 'la Tien Nao'. *Kang Kou* Village is also atypical of
most Amis villages, in that their age group system actually begins at age one, with the lowest age group being from ages one through seventeen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Name</th>
<th>Set Name</th>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Position/Responsibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Padiarong</td>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>Separated from women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakarongai</td>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>Preparatory group, service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapax</td>
<td>20-22</td>
<td>Training, service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramingkoku</td>
<td>23-25</td>
<td>Free to marry, Service, training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratapana</td>
<td>26-28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rathingkoku</td>
<td>29-31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raxtong</td>
<td>32-34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rataipaku</td>
<td>35-37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasontoku</td>
<td>38-40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakongkang</td>
<td>41-43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rataiing</td>
<td>44-46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritangai</td>
<td>47-49</td>
<td>Reception in Men's House</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapaljao (pajao)</td>
<td>50-52</td>
<td>Allotment of accommodations in Mens House</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasing</td>
<td>53-55</td>
<td>General affairs of Men's House</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratsukung</td>
<td>56-58</td>
<td>Deputy directors of Men's House</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raimat</td>
<td>59-61</td>
<td>Directors of Men's House</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakarongai no Suvi</td>
<td>62-64</td>
<td>Newly retired</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritang8i</td>
<td>65-67</td>
<td>Councilors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasamai</td>
<td>68-70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakuri</td>
<td>71-73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasimping</td>
<td>74-76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratsekul</td>
<td>77-79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakakai no suvi</td>
<td>80-82</td>
<td>Elder councilors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Ma-lan Age-set Organization - a composite of the age-set organization as investigated by Furuno (1945: 303-307) and Wei (1958: 12-13) as shown in Loh (1986: 85-86).

In some Amis villages the age group system no longer functions as a part of daily life. This is due to several factors including Taiwan's changing economic climate and its system of self-governance, the expanse of education to incorporate all of Taiwan's people, the emergence of different churches, and increased urbanization that has brought many village people to the cities. These villages have thus been assimilated into the Chinese system of governance.
Despite the lack of the daily reminder of the age group system, however, it does still function during the Harvest Festival as a reminder of their past.

V. GOVERNING ORGANIZATION

The Taiwan government recognizes three areas of leadership within Amis villages, each according to its function, and each co-existing in the administration of the village. The leadership roles are 1) the village Chief, 2) the age group leaders, and 3) the spiritual leaders or healers (Shaman).

Village Chief: (Fig. 3 and 4, p170) Each village has its own unique way of choosing a chief. Some villages choose from among the eldest counsel. In others the age group leaders advance to the position of chief. Whatever method is used to choose a chief, he must obey all the village and tribal taboos and his main duties are to:

- decide the dates of ceremonies, the agenda, and to conduct ceremonies
- conduct all the meetings for the villagers
- conduct all meetings and business with other villages
- make all final decisions affecting the affairs of the villagers

Age Group Leader: Each age group has its own leader. His responsibility is to ensure that the duties assigned to his age group are being performed. If his age group is not performing its duties, he is the one who takes the scolding or chastisement from above.
Shaman: (Fig. 12, p174) The Shaman (tsikawasai - one who possesses supernatural power) holds an important place in Amis society, for they take care of all the spiritual aspects of Amis life, and can be either male or female. The Amis believe that every creature has a spirit, and that the Shaman are the mediators between humans and the spirits and gods. They perform healing rites and cursings, exorcise evil spirits, prophesy, and perform other ritualistic rites (such as weddings, rites of passage, confirmation of a chief, etc.), and they pray for the good will of the gods upon the villagers and their crops (Wu 1993,83-85) (Loh 1987,98-99).

VI. FAMILY LIFE

For the Amis, their lifestyle is a reflection of their beliefs. They have three distinguishing characteristics of family life: 1) they are a monogamous people; 2) when a man marries, he becomes married to his wife's family, and 3) they exhibit unconditional love toward all, and share whatever they have with everyone. Under this type of family system, the eldest maternal uncle is the authority in the home, even above a woman's father or husband. It is the maternal uncle (not the girl's father) who must approve her marriage.

There are no destitute persons within the Amis society. When an Amis family adopts, the adopted person is, in all ways, considered to be part of the family. Thus, when a family's genealogy is recited, the adopted person is
included as though he or she were a natural born member of the family (Wu 1993, 186-187).

The records of Dutch missionaries in 1627 noted that the aboriginals were hunters. During the period of Dutch colonization, they also noted that deerskin was the main source of export and that the aborigines let no part of the deer go unused. The head and horns were sold to the Paiwan, who used them to make their chief's headdress. And the animal's horns and organs were also sold to the Chinese, who used them for medicinal purposes. Of course, the deer meat was a source of protein for the Amis, and the organs and intestines were also used for ceremonial purposes.

Amis villages are generally comprised of several clans. They prefer to live on the plains, close to water but protected from typhoons. To this day, a distinguishing characteristic of Amis villages is the planting of bamboo, coconut, breadfruit, and betel nut trees as a protective boundary or border to their land. This practice is a reflection of their belief in the legend of Doci and Lalatan.

The Amis build their houses from bamboo, soft woods, and rattan. They are generally one-room affairs, with the kitchen off to one side. The roof is thatched, using rice sheaves. Although they now build with more durable materials (using steel and concrete), the shape and function of the dwelling house is the same as it always has been. The animal house is built off to one side of the dwelling.

**Weddings:** In Amis society, it is the woman who chooses her companion. Once married the husband goes to live with his wife. On the first day of the
Harvest Festival, if an unmarried woman wishes to let a man know that she is serious about him, she will go to his family home and help to keep house and cook for his family. On the fourth night of the Harvest Festival the older age group matches up couples for dancing. This adds to the formality of committing the couple. At this time the girl might give a pouch containing betel nuts and cigarettes to the young man to let him know of her interest in him.

Although the girl is the one who actually does the proposing, she must also present his family with pork, wine, sticky rice (toron), and betel nuts as a gift to them, or as a dowry notice of her intention, who determine whether the match is acceptable. On the groom's side, when he leaves his mother's home to go and live with his new bride, he must toast his mother's eldest brother. Then when he arrives at the home of his new bride, he must also toast his new mother-in-law's eldest brother. On the first night of the wedding, it is forbidden for the new couple to engage in sexual relations. This is yet another of the Amis taboos.

Wine: (Fig. 14, p175; Fig. 22, p179) Rice wine is a sacred substance to the Amis. They consider it to be sacred water, for they believe that it is the connection between humans and the spirits or gods. As such, it is a crucial part of the Harvest Festival. The Shaman also use it when they perform blessings. Therefore, rice wine flows freely at Harvest Festival and specific persons are, in fact, assigned to make sure that cups are always filled with wine. Of course this is not as difficult as it sounds because everyone drinks from communal cups (traditionally made from bamboo). The constant flowing of the wine is symbolic of having their guardian angels constantly with them in their presence. But even
aside from festival time, the Amis love to drink rice wine. It is, in fact, a favorite pastime. At one time they used to make their own wine for the Harvest Festival, but under new governmental regulations, this is now prohibited.

Betel Nuts (*icep*): (Fig. 58, p181) The betel nut is the fruit of the betel nut palm tree. It is a small nut that grows only to about 1 1/2 - 2 inches in diameter. It is picked while the nut is still green, then cut in half. A lime paste is spread on both halves, a *fila'* leaf is then placed between the halves, and the whole thing is pressed together and chewed. Betel nut chewing has long been a favorite pastime of all of Taiwan's aborigines, including women. Like chewing tobacco, it is very addictive, and can cause oral cancer. It turns the teeth black, and the combination of the betel nut, lime paste, *fila'* leaf, and saliva, creates a blood-red spittle (Lin 2000). Like the rice wine and tobacco that are such an integral part of Amis society, the betel nut is a stimulant.

Meat: Traditionally, the Amis used animal organs as sacrificial meats, for the organs were symbolic of the men's bravery and heroism. Although they eat pork, water buffalo, chicken, goose, duck, rabbit, and dog meat, deer meat is their main staple meat. Chicken is primarily used as ceremonial meat.

Sticky Rice (*toron*): (Fig. 26, p181) Symbolic of a woman's patience, endurance, gentleness, willingness to compromise, and female virtue, sticky rice is, understandably, the women's domain. Although it is eaten on other occasions, this is a staple of the Harvest Festival, and can only be prepared by the women (Huang 1994,22).
Clothing: Although everyday dress is much like western dress, at the Harvest Festival everyone dresses in traditional costumes called Losid Fafodoyan. The costume is symbolic of the region they come from. But wherever that is, everyone wears a pouch. This is where they store their betel nuts and cigarettes, and it is also considered a protective talisman.

Headdress (Salilit Sapngec): Every age group has their own headwear at Harvest Festival. A feathered headwear is a symbol of leadership and power, and outstanding wisdom, and is thus only worn by village chiefs.

Legends: To understand the Amis and their ways, one must be aware of and appreciate that much of their way of life is a result of their belief in their legends and myths. They even have a legend that tells why the ocean is salty and blue. The legend of the Alikakaay (as told in Chapter 4, p70) is the basis for the physical endurance training portion of the Harvest Festival.

Indigenous Belief System: The Amis have many beliefs and taboos. They take very seriously what they believe the gods tell them through birds, dreams, snakes, and the barking of dogs. They believe that the gods speak to them in dreams, and that good dreams mean that good things will happen, and bad dreams mean that bad things will happen.

VII. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

The Amis are a polytheistic people. They believe in all the nature gods: including the sun god (Cidol) who is female, the moon god (Folad) who is male,
and a god of five grains. They believe that a female god (Dongi) controls humans, and that gods control all births, deaths, tragedies, etc. They feel, therefore, that they must worship the gods.

After Taiwan's liberation from Japan, economic and social life changed tremendously for the Taiwan people. Western religion became more popular, a lot of Amis people became Christians, and Christian churches were built. Traditionally, the Amis believe that the universe has two distinct places where their spirit ancestors and gods live; the earth (Pa’araw) and heaven (malataw). Because they credit both god and the devil to have power over human life, the Amis name for both is the same (Kawas).

Other than their gods, the Amis believe that humans come with two spirits; one on the right shoulder and one on the left shoulder. The spirit that resides on the right shoulder is believed to be the good spirit -- guiding the person to do good, while the spirit residing on the left shoulder is the evil spirit -- encouraging the person to do evil. At night both spirits leave and go to induce someone else to dream. The good spirit is actually believed to be the spirit of someone who died a natural death, while the left shoulder spirit is the spirit of someone who died a tragic death. Because the Amis are so superstitious, they believe that the spirits who died tragically do not make it to heaven, and thus they become evil.

Ceremonies: The Amis have three main ceremonies that are held on a regular basis. Each has a particular purpose and each is described below.
The Harvest Ceremony (milisin): (p72) - Milisin (meaning ceremonial), was originally held after the harvest. In earlier times the Amis would use that time to thank their ancestors for the abundant harvest, to honor and respect the elders of the village, and to unite and teach the younger ones about morality and family values, and how to be good citizens. It was then, and continues now, to be a time to sing and dance and unite and bring happiness to the village. Nowadays it is usually held between July and August, and runs from approximately three to seven days. It is the biggest event of the year, and is the forum for physical training exercises, while also focusing on ancient traditions that envelope the villagers and gives them a sense of belonging (see Chapter Four, p68).

The Ocean Ceremony (misacepo): - next to the Harvest Ceremony in importance, it is usually held in June, and on the coast. It is a ceremony that is directed to the god of the sea. Offerings are made to the sea god, and his blessing on their fishing endeavors is sought so that they may receive an abundance of fish. By noon they must have their offering facing the ocean. At that time a prayer is offered something like thus: "God of ocean, please make the ocean flat like a board. Let all the fishermen fish peacefully, and please control the waves so that they are not too large to scare the fishermen. Bless them that they may come home with a boatload of fish. Please accept our offerings." After reciting the prayer, offerings of food are thrown to the sea god. The elders offer the prayer, while the younger ones fix the food for them to eat.
The Fishing Ceremony (Pakelang): - this ceremony is unique to the Amis. It is performed by the men, and is the ceremony that signifies the beginning and ending of all other ceremonies. Even when a family moves into a new home, the fishing ceremony is performed. Likewise, it concludes all activities, including any taboos associated with a particular ceremony.

Aside from these three main ceremonies, some Amis villages still have many others: 'sowing' (misaumah); 'worship ancestors' (misapoo); 'weeding' (pakayap); 'harvest of the millett' (pihafayan); 'praying for the sun' (pakacidal); 'praying for rain' (paka'orad); and 'hunting,' to name just a few (Lin 2000,42-43).
I. INTRODUCTION

To the Amis there was no such thing as a professional musician. From birth Amis children grew up surrounded by music, so that by their early teens, they knew how to sing well. Song and dance were inseparable, and thus it is throughout this paper; whenever 'song' is mentioned, it should be understood to include dance. Both were an integral part of Amis daily life, for singing accompanies virtually all daily activities. Within each community there were songs for work, songs to sing while drinking, ceremonial songs, children's songs, religious songs, and songs that were purely recreational. A song was created and sung for all of life's activities, and unlike the Han Chinese, who offered food to their deities, the Amis also offered song and dance, for it was very much a part of them.

Today the Amis still offer song and dance to their deities and ancestors, and they still sing and dance when certain events occur such as welcoming guests, house-warming parties, weddings, birthday parties, and other family and community events. However, because their livelihood is changing, their opportunities to sing certain types of songs have disappeared. For example, they no longer headhunt, so the need for the headhunting victory song or the playing of the nose flute no longer exists. Also, most Amis do not work in the fields anymore, so the songs for weeding, plowing, cow herding, and planting are
rarely sung anymore. If they are sung at all, it is only at Harvest Festival, as a representation of a past tradition.

Amis music not only changed because of their lifestyle changes, but it was also changed because of the cultural influence from the various governments which politically controlled Taiwan. For instance, during the Japanese occupation, their songs sounded more like Japanese music and even Japanese words started appearing in their songs. The Japanese word for train is ka-so-ling, transliterated from the English gasoline. Because Amis workers helped build the first narrow-gauge train tracks on the East Coast, ka-so-ling appeared in their songs (Lin 2000, 291). Toward the end of the Japanese occupation, the music took on a more melancholy flavor as the young men were drafted to fight in World War II for the Japanese. Many Amis young men fought in the South Pacific, Philippines, and Mainland China, and some were wounded or died. Their songs reflected the anxiety and sadness of family members remaining at home (Lin 2000, 295). After the liberation of Taiwan by the Nationalist Chinese, the Amis returned to their more traditional songs of drinking, working, and such.

With urbanization, the songs have changed again to reflect a more modern lifestyle. Instead of coastal fishing, the Amis started to work with deep-sea commercial fishing companies where they are out to sea for months at a time. Construction workers go to far away cities to help build infrastructure and commercial projects and high rises. The women find jobs in manufacturing and textile companies. Often these laborers will get together at the end of the work
day to drink and to sing. Their songs and music now reflect a longing for home, or as an expression of the difficulties of their new lives (Lin 2000,303-305).

Today with modern technology like the radio, television, internet, and recording studios, western music is prevalent throughout many Amis villages. On the other side of the coin, the Amis music can also now be heard in many pop songs. With their heritage of good voices and a love for song, many Amis singers have now become popular star singers.

Until 1996, Amis music existed in relative obscurity. Scholars taped recordings of some Amis music with the intent of preserving them. The music gained some local popularity and the Chinese Folk Art Foundation started sending small groups of Amis singers abroad for cultural exchanges or tours. One such group was recorded a capella in a Paris Folk Festival around 1978 or 1979. The "Jubilant Drinking Song" sung by Kuo Ying-Nan and his wife, Kuo Hsiu-Chu was included in a French album entitled, "Chinese Folk Music Collection." In 1994, excerpts of this rendition were used in a song, "Return to Innocence," a track in Enigma's "Cross of Changes" album, as well as in other musical collections and movies. "Return to Innocence" was on Billboard Magazine's international chart for thirty-two consecutive weeks and was adopted by the International Olympic Committee as the theme song of the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta. Only when a friend recognized the Kuo's voices were they made aware of the use of their song. An intellectual property rights issue was raised and lawsuits followed. Initially, the recording companies held that the Kuos had no rights or claim on the music and that the Chinese Folk Art
Foundation had already settled with a payment of US$1500. However, the Kuos contended that they were not informed of the recording and that the original song was only for cultural preservation purposes, not commercial usage. In 1999 the issue was settled out of court with the Kuos winning their battle and well-deserved recognition (China Times 1999, Dec. 9). This legal victory was an important one for the cultural rights of indigenous people that was rarely seen in the international arena. More than the money involved, this incident brought the Amis music out of obscurity and on to the international and global stage. Today, Amis music is world renowned for its harmony and polyphonies, and is used in many modern songs and music.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF AMIS SONGS

Amis people love to sing and dance. From my observation, based on my attendance at many Harvest Festivals, the following unique characteristics of their music are evident.

*Fast/Rhythmic:* Some Amis songs are easy to dance to. This is particularly noticeable at the Harvest Festival, where singing and dancing are inseparable.

*Vocables:* These are non-lexical syllables. They can be sung as a whole song or a partial song, as a solo (call) or response (by group); they can be long or short (as an agreement similar to the Christian 'amen').
Call and Respond: — The call of the lead singer and the response by the group is very tightly connected, with no noticeable break between the two. This tight connection is also symbolic of the unity of the Amis people, and is most often found in their ceremonial songs. They are most commonly sung in vocables, which can be sung in multi-part or unison.

Harmony: — This is rare. The Amis tends to sing in unison, heterophony, or multi-part texture.

Polyphony: — Tulan and Malan (in the south) are the two villages that use this form of singing the most.

Pentatonic Scale: — The anhemitonic penta scale is most commonly used (the Puyuma also use this scale). Songs are sung largely in La, Do, Re, Mi, and So, with the La sound being the most frequently used final sound. The next frequently used sound is Do. It is rare to find accidentals in Amis music.

Foot Movement: — the stomping of the feet that is evident in Amis dance provides a good rhythm and musical texture.

From my study of Harvest Festival music, most of these characteristics can still be found in contemporary Amis songs and dances (harmony is still rarely found in Amis music).

III. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The Amis have very few instruments, and while the wood drum and bells are recent additions other, more ancient instruments (such as the Jew’s Harp),
are rarely used. Today, the wood drums, bells, and pestle are the most commonly used instruments in cultural activities or festivals. In fact, in those settings, it is rare that other musical instruments are used. Nevertheless, a description of other instruments historically used by the Amis is a reflection of change to this part of their culture.

**Bells and Wood Drum:** -- These instruments provide a good rhythmic accompaniment to the singing of the Amis. Generally speaking, the only instrumental accompaniment to Amis ceremonial songs are the wood drum and the bells which they attach to their costumes, and sometimes to their wrists and ankles.

**Jew’s Harp:** -- This is a small reed instrument made of bamboo with one, two, or three reeds (or lamella). The reed is made from either bamboo or copper. The Amis name them *tivutivu, kotkot,* or *ratok,* depending on either the number of reeds or whether the reed was made from copper or bamboo (Fig 56, p196). A string is attached, which is pulled to make the reed resonate during singing. Single young men used to serenade young women with the Jew’s Harp. They also used it to invite her on a date. For each date with the same young woman, the young man would tie a knot in the string. When he got to about twenty or thirty knots, he was ready to ask her parents for her hand in marriage (Kurosawa 1973,295). It is rare that one is able to find a Jew’s Harp any more, or anyone who knows how to play it.

**Vertical Flute (dibolo):** -- This instrument is approximately 30-40cm in length, with four, five, or six holes. Warriors used it to signal the success or failure of
a hunt for a human head. Women and children were strictly prohibited from using this instrument. The only village in Hualien County to use the vertical flute is Tien Pu (Lin 2000,262).

Nose Flute or Double Flute (díbolo): -- It is approximately 16cm in length, with four holes. Made from bamboo, it is played by placing the openings of the two bamboo pipes up to the nostrils, and then blowing through the nose. Different pitches are obtained by placing the fingers over the holes (much like a recorder). Playing through the nose was sometimes regarded as symbolic of the giving of breath and spirit, and for this reason, the nose-flute was often limited to use when head-hunting (Atayal and Bunun). Creating sound by breathing through the nose was associated with some kind of mystical feelings (Kurosawa 1973,414).

Nose Whistle: -- This is very small instrument, only 9cm in length. The nose whistle was used in war to signal for help when surrounded by the enemy.

Membrane Flute: -- Primarily a children's instrument, it has a high pitched sound, which to me sounded like the yodeling call of a deer. For this reason it was sometimes used for hunting deer.

Musical Bow (hu sili or ratok): -- All of the nine main Amis tribes use this instrument, which is made from rattan and looks just like a hunting bow. The rattan is used to form a bow shape, and its fibers are stripped and attached to each end of the arched rattan rod.
Wood Drum (*fikkuyku yan*): -- It is a hollow wooden drum approximately 75cm x 23cm. In the Amis language it carries the same name as the bamboo drum.

Bamboo Drum: -- This is smaller than the wood drum at approximately 40cm x 6cm, but it is made from one segment of bamboo with the knot on the side, and a slit on one side.

Stamping Pestle: -- Originally used to pound rice and millet, it is now used to produce a rhythmic sound to accompany singing and dancing. Made of wood, the stamping pestle comes in varying lengths (from about 4 ½ to 6 feet in length), with the diameter at each end being larger than in the middle. The central part of the pestle is only about 1-2 inches in diameter for easier gripping.

Xylophone (*Kokan*): (Fig. 59, p198) -- Most likely to be found in the village of Kivit, this instrument is made of three pieces of wood or bamboo, which are hung in a frame. Two wooden mallets are used to play the *kokan*. When the mallet strikes the bamboo, it produces a chiming sound; with the three bamboo pieces producing three different pitches. Its design and function is similar to the *kalutang* of the Philippines and the *chalung* of Indonesia. Besides being a musical instrument, the other interesting use of the *kokan* was for scaring crows or chasing nuisance monkeys.

Copper Bells: -- These are small instruments (like the small round metal bells found on Christmas hats). They are tied to the ankle, wrists, and on clothing, so that they produce a tinkling sound when the wearer moves. Most villages
use these bells for Harvest Festival, but the village of Feng Tsun prohibits their use at its Harvest Festival.

IV. CLASSIFICATION OF SONGS

Although the content of their songs is broad, Loh l-To (pp 110-140) categorized them into nine main groups: epic and myth; religious ritual; ceremonial; rite of passage; nature, scenery and the village; military and hunting; occupational (farming, fishing, weaving, lullaby); children and games; and social and recreational (drinking, recreational, and love). Loh (p139) also tells us that there is another category which he calls “Of Uncertain Placing.” From my study, these songs are sung at weddings or work or some other specific event, but they are also sung at the more modern Harvest Festivals to entertain or just to have fun.

Epic and Myth: -- These are stories and songs relating to tribal heroes, wars, legends, and creation myths (found in the festivals). For example, there is a song that honors Wu Feng, who was a government official during the Ch'ing dynasty. As the legend goes, Wu Feng tried to persuade the Amis to abandon their headhunting practices. He told the natives that he would allow them one more headhunt. He even described what such a man would look like, and that the man would be wearing a red cape with a hood. Following his counsel, the hunters went out on the hunt and found the person he described. After they took the head of the victim, they were shocked to find
that it was Wu Feng himself who was killed. In their sorrow at having taken
the head of such a man whom they loved, they abandoned their old
headhunting practices. Perhaps Wu Feng realized that this was the only way
to get them to abandon this practice, and thus he willingly sacrificed himself
for the good of the Amis people. Many songs are sung about this story to
honor him.

Religious Ritual: -- An example of this category of song is the Amis Rain
Dance, which is conducted in two parts: In Part 1 young men are sent out
eyearly in the morning to beat walls with wooden sticks, and chant "let it rain, let
it rain." They then run to a nearby spring to collect water in a bamboo tube.
Part 2 is the gathering of all villagers at the seashore, where the kakitaan
conducts a ritual thus:

- Offering of betel nuts, banana leaves and liquor.
- Prayer and cursing (reflecting and singing).
- Singing and dancing by all.

Eighty percent of all Amis are Christians, so they sing (in their own language)
hymns taught them by the missionaries, priests and/or ministers. These
Christian hymns also played an important role in the Amis daily life.

Ceremonial: -- The most important ceremonial songs are those of the
Harvest Festival. The singing style is responsorial, and most songs are in
c vocables (for details see Chapter Four).

Rite of Passage: -- Attaining Adulthood is one such rite of passage. Most
tribes have initiation ceremonies for youth to be admitted to adult society.
The *Malan* Amis have a complex ceremony for such occasions. *Noboru Kao*, who went through the ritual over two decades ago, tells of this:

- The placing of a symbolic object (wood, bamboo or rock) in front of the *pakaronai* candidate's house by the *kapax* to inform him of his eligibility.

- Preparation (*Misafai*): Preparation of foods and ceremonial costumes for the harvest festival, lasting one or two days. Initiation takes place only every three or four years during the harvest festival.

- Ritual Fishing (*Miksh*): Fishing along the sea shore for three or four days; meanwhile, the candidates try to hide to prevent themselves from being captured, with the object of serving those in the upper age groups.

- Parade (*Pallaillai*): All candidates are to join the others on the seashore and line up for parading back to the village, singing, dancing and running. Those who make mistakes in singing or dancing are punished with the stroke of a stick.

- Feasting in the *suvi*, where all are seated according to age groups.

- The *Kakitaan*’s speech and exhortations.

- Response by a representative from a higher age group, who also gives advice to the candidates.

- Ritual Slapping: a symbolic act demonstrating obedience, endurance and solidarity. The lower the age group to which they belong, the more slaps they receive. (*Noboru received 12 slaps!*
• Opening dance for the new *pakaronai*. The elders punish poor performers or poor performances.

• The Second Day: Show of talent. Entertainment for the women and other villagers; open dance for men and women.

• Dancing ends on the third night, at which time girls present betel-nuts to their lovers and dance together.

Any songs related to festivals and recreational songs, can be sung on this occasion. Such songs provide physical responses for dancing and create a mood, help preserve stability, and reinforce the cultural norms. Most of all, they symbolize unity and solidarity among the people. From my observation, many villages still practice this initiation and the age group advancement during the Harvest Festival, especially in the more remote villages.

**Birth:** -- About the first month after the birth of a child, the Amis gather to celebrate and sing. My understanding is that if the child lived for the first month they would usually continue to live, and this would be cause for celebration.

**Marriage:** All kinds of songs can be sung for weddings. Loh (1982,125) tells us that "Since most of the songs are in non-lexical syllables, leaders of song or dance may improvise texts for the occasion. All the dance-songs are in *lakatsaw* (leader chorus) style."

**Death:** The Amis have specific songs that are considered 'funeral songs,' which are only to be sung at that time. Family members remain for a few days at the home of the deceased person's family, and they sing songs of...
consolation. They also have recreational songs that are sung to entertain guests, so that they are not too sorrowful.

*Nature, Scenery and Village:* — These songs can be sung for self-amusement or on any happy occasion; at the New Year, at the harvest festival, weddings, and village gatherings. When the Amis are working or tending the cattle in the fields, they see the natural beauty of the environment. They sing to reflect their relationship with nature. They also sing to praise the beauties of creation; the flowers, trees, animals, the ocean, the scenes around them, and the villages to which they owe their corporate life. These songs are recreational, and the texts are mostly improvised.

*Hunting:* — This is a community event, including the hunting of animals. The Amis long ago abandoned headhunting, although some tribes were still practicing it at the turn of the 20th Century. Because of a belief that they could become empowered by taking the spirits of the deceased, men practiced headhunting. Taking the head of another person raised their status in the tribe, and many songs were sung in connection with this practice. The Amis no longer sing those traditional headhunting songs, but the *Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, Rukai,* and *Puyuma* tribes still sing some of their headhunting songs. Even though they too have long since given up the practice, it is my understanding that some tribes still use a nose flute to signal a kill of an animal. For some of those tribes, the nose flute was not used for any other celebration. The Amis have a set of three songs, which are known as the Amis national anthem, and are sung after a victory. They are multi-part -
which is a feature of Amis singing. Usually, the higher parts sound metallic. 

These multi-part victory songs contain the most complex technique of all their songs.

**Work Songs:** -- The Amis have created songs to accompany all their occupations: farming, sowing, harvest, plowing, weeding, pounding (of rice and millet). As an example, while plowing they will sing a song that imitates a farmer and buffalo. The farmer makes a whipping sound to encourage the buffalo to work harder. The weeding song would be multi-part since it is a community event. The pounding of the rice and millet can be heard in the rhythm. The Amis sometimes use bell as an accompaniment in responsorial songs. Sometimes the bell will be tied to the wrist or to the ankle.

**Fishing:** -- The Amis, Puyuma, Thao and Yami tribes live close to the coast or other body of water and within close proximity to each other. Therefore, fishing is an integral part of their daily life. As is typical among the Amis, fishing is a community event, not just for obtaining food or recreational enjoyment, but as part of their festivals. The community goes fishing after the New Year festival, and after the Harvest festival. It symbolizes purification in preparation for and/or the closing of an event. Some fishing songs are very humorous and fun, but the Amis have certain taboos regarding what they can speak, sing, or even whether they can sneeze on the way to fishing. On the way home from fishing, however, they are allowed more freedom in these things.
**Lullaby:** -- Either men or women can sing these songs. In olden times, men would stay home and care for the babies, while the woman would go out and work and take care of the family's business. Lullabies are generally sung in vocable, using the "o o o" or "yo yo yo" or "oa oe oa", which are actual lulling sounds similar to the *Fu Chien* way of lulling. It is possible they may have adopted it from the Fuchienese (Loh 1982, 132-133).

**Children and Games:** -- Since their own games and children's songs have been lost through the various occupations, most of the children's songs now sung are either Japanese or Chinese. Most of the children's songs relate to their games.

**Social and Recreational:** -- It is common to see aboriginals at the end of a day sitting on a stool under a banyan tree, singing, dancing, drinking and smoking. They love to have an opportunity to sing, and the young ones learn a lot of songs through these community gatherings, which build a spirit of unity in the community. Sometimes the men gather at the men's house, where women and children are not permitted.

**Drinking Songs:** -- These can be sung for any occasion, such as for family gatherings or for harvest time. Usually the oldest person in the group will take the lead and the rest of the group will join in, either repeating or answering the leader. Alcohol encourages them to sing better - and louder. Consequently, when I was doing my field study and needed to tape their singing, one of the villagers told me I should bring wine (which I did) in order for them to produce a better sound.
Dancing Songs: -- Generally, drinking leads to singing and dancing (which are inseparable). The more they drink, the more excitable they become, and the longer they dance. Dancing is traditionally a community affair, and it is rare that you would see an Amis dancing alone. The Amis group dancing has two holds; the front basket hold and the side-by-side hold. The most important types of dance are chain-circle, or processional - always with a leader at the head of the line. The Amis, Puyuma and Yami style of dancing is usually more vigorous and rhythmic, whereas the Bunyun, Tsou, and Thou style have slower movements and is more refined. Today, the Harvest Festival is a huge tourist attraction, so the Amis do the Thousand People Dance to welcome the visitors. Although this dance is commonly known as the Thousand People Dance, its title is merely the interpretation of the Chinese name for it (ch’ien jen wu). The Amis simply call it the Welcome dance. Since they use no instrumental accompaniment, the dancers sing while they dance, often wearing bells around their wrists, waists, or ankles. These provide a rhythmic variation to the dance.

Love Songs: -- The old-timers used the Jew's harp to serenade their lover. The instrument produces a soft sound as the mouth is used as resonant box. Thinking that his special way of playing along with the melodic sound of the jew's harp transmitted a message that only his lover would understand, the serenador would play it during the quiet of the night. In this way, men would use the Jew's harp to woo their lover. As I understand it, the man would take with him some small gift that he would leave on the doorstep of his loved one.
He would play the harp and then go away, only to come back later to see if the gift had been taken inside. If the gift had been taken inside, he would know that his love was accepted. If the gift remained outside, he would know that he was wasting his time with this prospect. Nowadays, with many of the young women moving to the cities and marrying outside their village, the young men sing melancholy or sad songs because they cannot find a young woman of their own kind to marry. Having tasted the more modern lifestyle of the city, many of the young women do not want to return to their villages and marry a local boy, for this would pull them back to that village life where they would have to remain.

Modern Pop Songs: Nowadays the Amis mostly sing Japanese songs, but also Chinese and Western songs. They take Japanese songs and put their own words to them, sometimes even in broken English, and they borrow songs from other tribes. From my observations at Harvest festivals, all variations of songs are sung. The Elders usually sing songs with Japanese words or Japanese style melody, the middle age group enjoy the Chinese pop songs, and the younger generation prefer the Western pop songs, including rap or rock music.

Responsorial singing is a distinguishing characteristic of traditional Amis songs. It is not, however, a characteristic that is incorporated into modern Amis songs, which reflect a different lifestyle than the tight knit village communities of the past. It is quite easy, therefore, to distinguish traditional Amis songs from the modern and one might conclude that societal changes is
bringing about the demise of this form of singing. I ask myself if the loss of responsorial singing is not only a reflection of the lifestyle changes of today's Amis, but also whether the close knit communities of the past will soon become a memory; a part of history.

Amis music, old and new, is a reflection of societal changes that the Amis people have undergone. These changes have come from various sources, including belief systems and ways of life imposed on them by other domineering cultures, integration between the cultures within Taiwan's own borders, and technological and industrial progression. My observations and study of the Amis tells me that even as their culture changes to accommodate modernity, so too will their music change to reflect their acceptance of and to make way for a changing lifestyle.
CHAPTER FOUR
AMIS HARVEST FESTIVAL

I. INTRODUCTION

The Harvest Festival is an annual ceremonial and musical event filled with the songs and dances of the Amis. Originally, its main purpose was to give thanks to the gods for their goodwill during the year, and to pray for their continued blessing in the coming year.

According to Merriam (1964, 219-226), the role and context of music among tribal communities is at least ten-fold. He lists those ten roles as being 1) a means of emotional expression, 2) for aesthetic enjoyment, 3) to provide entertainment, 4) as a way of communicating, 5) as a symbolic representation of things, ideas and behaviors, 6) to elicit physical responses, excitement, and to channel crowd behavior, 7) to enforce conformity to social norms, 8) as a means of validating social instruction and religious rituals, 9) to contribute to the continuity and stability of the culture, and 10) to contribute to the integration of the society. For the Amis, Harvest Festival provides a setting wherein all ten of these purposes are accomplished, particularly (and perhaps singularly most important), role number 9 as listed by Merriam. In essence, it is the one event whose main purpose is to unify the Amis people in their individual villages.

The Amis Harvest Festival used to be a month long celebration, but recently it has been cut back to between three and seven days. Because the harvest begins in the south where the climate is warmer, Harvest Festival is first
held in the villages of Taitung County in early July. The festival progresses northward, until September, when villages in Hualien County hold their Harvest Festival.

The Amis people believe that their ancestors live in another world. They believe in the after-life, and that mortals can see their dead ancestors singing and dancing and being happy on the other side. The Amis believe that the type of existence they have in the after-life depends on how they live this life. Thus, they believe that if they love to sing and dance while in this life, they will experience the same joy in the next. This explains why the Harvest Festival is a dancing and singing event.

In contemporary Taiwan the Harvest Festival means many things to different people. In every situation, music, songs, and dances play a major part. For the Amis family, the festival serves as a time for family reunions, preserving their traditional singing, dancing, and culture, wine drinking to connect to the gods and ancestors, improving the society's self awareness, and uniting the entire village socially and spiritually. For the Amis men, it is a time to fully exercise their age group authority. For the Amis women, it is a time to use their cooking and sewing skills to prepare their costumes. For the Amis youth, besides physical training, it is a time to reemphasize lessons of obedience, respect and service to their elders, and to find a wife. For the merchants it is a time for good business. For the outsiders it is a great time to observe, study and enjoy the festivities and culture, and for the tourists it is a time to be entertained.
II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Because Taiwan's aboriginals have no written historical records, it is unknown how far back in time they have celebrated Harvest Festival. However, according to custom and oral tradition, the Amis trace their origin to two sources (Su 1992, 117):

1) There was a time that the Amis fought with the Alikakay (spirits). But no matter how fiercely they fought against the Alikakay, the Amis could never win. Leaders organized their young men into the Malalikid and Kilumaan groups, and trained them in the nine fighting skills to use against the Alikakay. Due to this training and the secret help of Marag Fawfaw (the Sea God), the Amis were finally able to overpower the Alikakay. Believing their descendants would need to continue the strength training in order to protect their villages, they continued to teach those fighting skills that had helped them in their battle against the Alikakay to the younger generations of Amis. This became a tradition and combined with their offerings of thanks to Marag Fawfaw, became the origin of the Harvest Festival.

2) A long time ago the Amis wanted to be stronger than the Pisanaan, a very strong and warlike tribe. Harvest Festival gave them the opportunity to train, and to develop their organization.

Based on interviews I had with native Amis, I learned that prior to the Japanese occupation Harvest Festival was usually a fifteen-day event because it
took at least that long to adequately train the youth. During the time of the Japanese occupation the Japanese made use of Harvest Festival to entertain the Japanese officials with dancing and singing. During that time Harvest Festival was extended to about a month. This was due to the fact that the Japanese worked them so hard during the year that they felt they needed time to relax. The Harvest Festival served as a good pretext to buy time off from working. Now under the current government (the Republic of China), the function of the Harvest Festival has changed from ceremonial and warrior training to entertainment and competition. No longer is there a need to train their youth in warfare and strength. Instead, physical skills are tested in competitive athletic contests. So today, the Harvest Festival has become an affair of just a few days; generally less than a week.

III. NAMES OF THE HARVEST FESTIVAL

When the Amis trained their young men to fight the Alikakay, they divided them into two groups: the Malalikid (meaning heart and hand bound together) who took to the north to fight the Alikakay, and the Malikoda (meaning brave and strong) who were to attack the Alikakay from the south. After defeating the Alikakay, these names became the name for Harvest Festival. To this day, these names are still used. The northern Amis call their Harvest Festival Malalikid, while the eastern coastal Amis call their Harvest Festival Malikoda. From my personal observation and my previous research, I have listed all the various
names that have been used to identify the Harvest Festival. In this manner, one can be aware that mention of any of these names refers to the same event. These names are listed in the chronological sequence of their usage. Many times, different villages refer to the Harvest Festival by using a number of the names below, and these names change to reflect the history and background of those Amis villages (Summary, p116).

*Malalikid:* -- meaning heart and hand bound together. This is the name used by the northern *Amis.*

*Malikoda:* -- meaning brave and strong, it also means singing and dancing. This term is used a lot by the coastal Amis

*Milisin:* -- An earlier version of the Amis word *ilisin.*

*Kilumaan:* -- Meaning 'reunion' or 'come home' and 'bound together.' The southern Amis use this term.

*Zukimisai:* -- A term assigned by the Japanese. It's meaning is 'moon viewing celebration.' After the harvest is in, and the moon is full and bright, it is a time of singing and celebration. This term is used mostly by the older Amis (those who lived under the Japanese occupation), and is used in conjunction with their native term for the Harvest Festival.

*Sukakusai:* -- This is another Japanese term, which means 'Harvest Festival.' It is mainly used in the south in Taitung County, and has reference to the harvest of rice.

*Ilisin:* -- This is an ancient Amis term whose meaning is not completely understood, but according to the old folk, it has to do with some kind of
ceremony. It is a term that is all-encompassing as to the events of the entire Harvest Festival, and is more widely used throughout the Amis tribes - eastern coastal and central Amis.

*Feng Nien Chi:* -- A name given by the Chinese, it is as recent as 1945 or later. Its literal meaning is 'Harvest Festival Ceremony,' and refers to the time between harvest and having to replant for the next year. It is comparable to Chinese New Year, or American Thanksgiving.

*Feng Nien Wu Chi:* -- A Chinese name meaning 'Harvest Dancing Ceremony.' It has reference to the modern version of Harvest Festival.

*Feng Nien Chieh:* -- A Chinese name meaning 'Harvest Holiday.' This has reference to the modern changing of the Harvest Festival away from the ceremonial to more celebratory.

*The Harvest Festival:* -- This is the generic English translation for this event. Obviously it refers to the celebration following the harvest of summer crops.

**IV. PURPOSE OF THE HARVEST FESTIVAL**

Harvest Festival is the most important annual celebration for the Amis. Its two main purposes were firstly, to train the Amis youth both physically and spiritually, and secondly, to give thanks to the sea god. Both purposes refer back to the time when the Amis had to fight the Alikakay. In addition to these two main purposes, the Amis have many other reasons for holding the Harvest Festival.
From my observations and studies, I have concluded that several other objectives are also achieved through Harvest Festival. These are to:

- Unite the villagers through friendly competition and age group organization.
- Teach the youth the history, language, and traditions of the Amis tribe as part of their rites of passage.
- Teach each age group how to fully exercise their duties in the system, including choosing new leaders and advancing the various age groups.
- Conduct religious ceremonies to give offerings to other gods, spirits, and ancestors.
- Beseech the gods and ancestors for protection and blessings.
- Learn traditional songs and dances.
- Pay respect to the elders and serve them.
- Provide an annual opportunity for a village reunion, especially for those villagers who left the village for educational and career opportunities in other parts of Taiwan.
- Give younger villagers time to court and choose a partner.
- Entertain visitors, newcomers, and each other.

Many of these purposes have been discussed in other parts of this thesis, but based on my personal observations and my discussion with elders and scholars, it is my observation that the key concept behind, or purpose for, today's Harvest Festival is to capture and retain the essence of the Amis culture - which
is to sing and dance as a means of praising the gods and giving thanks for life - and to pass that down to future generations.

V. TYPES OF HARVEST FESTIVALS:

Because the Amis have experienced many lifestyle changes, and various other factors have effected changes to the way they live, there are also many different types of Harvest Festivals which I will describe. Many of the younger generation would like to see the Traditional Harvest Festival done away with, for they find it too restricting in its content and nature. They prefer a Festival that is more entertaining, such as in the Joint Communities type.

The basic categories of Harvest Festival styles and their Characteristics are:

Traditional: There are not many more villages practicing this style. In the townships of Ch'ang Ping, Yi Wan, and the village of Feng Ping, the following traditional characteristics are incorporated into their Harvest Festival (Huang 1994,33):

- Harvest Festival is a ceremony held after the rice is harvested. Its purpose is to thank their ancestors and the spirit gods for a bountiful harvest, and to ask them for good luck in the upcoming year; to free them from disease, and to bless them to have good weather. Because many of the villagers are Catholic, the Catholic mass is included as part of the ceremony. It is the first thing they do on the first day of
Harvest Festival. Male age groups fully utilize their power in Harvest Festival. No matter how much acclaim a man might have professionally, during Harvest Festival the age group system rules. All the taboos and rules of Harvest Festival must be strictly obeyed. Historically, the dreams of either the village chief or age group leaders were believed to impact the fate of the village for the coming year.

Dancing during the Harvest Festival also held significance for anyone who was sick, because the Amis believe that dancing cures sickness. Also, the traditional mourning period for the Amis was one to two years. If the Harvest Festival is held within the final three months of the mourning period, and the mourner attends and dances at Harvest Festival, he is released from that obligation for the balance of the mourning period.

- Wine is a sacred part of the Harvest Festival. It is considered to be a way of connecting the human to the spirit. Whenever they sing and dance (leader - responsorial singing), wine is served. Wine (Lingalawan, meaning pure water or sacred water) is the main offering at Harvest Festival. The Amis believe that it has the power to chase away evil spirits. This is why wine is such a crucial part of Harvest Festival, and throughout Harvest Festival two or three people are assigned to keep the wine cups filled (fig.14, p154; fig 22, p158). Since I do not drink any alcoholic beverages, some of my experiences at the Harvest Festivals I attended were interesting and worth noting
because they demonstrate the importance of wine to this people.
When I refused to accept the wine cup, the person offering it would
back up three steps, lower the wine cup to the ground, bring it up again
and stomp his foot. This happened a couple of times and then I was
informed that if I was there, I was required to take the offering. I put
the cup to my lips in semblance of drinking but did not actually partake
of the wine. This seemed to satisfy them.

- Guests are permitted to watch the Harvest Festival on one day only. It
  is up to the particular village which day is set aside for guests.
- There is a fine for villagers who do not attend.
- Most songs (particularly at the Harvest Festival) are concluded with
  shouting. The shouting with joy at the conclusion of a song symbolizes
  the unity and solidarity of the whole society.
- Offerings: Different types of offerings are full of symbolism in the
  traditional style:
  - Certain animal organs are considered the optimal offerings and
    symbolize the bravery and adventurous spirit of the men of the village.
  - Sticky Rice (turun) is a women's offering. It symbolizes the patience,
    endurance, virtue, and kindness of women.
  - Singing and Dancing is a vital offering, it determines the village's fate.
    If the singing and dancing is good then the village will experience good
    luck during the coming year. Consequently, they strive to do their best
    and the village elders let the dancers know if they are doing well (of
course they also let the dancers know when they're not doing so well). Their songs and dances are the bridge between themselves and the spirit world, much like prayer is to Christians. The dancing movements are their way of expressing their praise and thanksgiving. 

*Responsorial singing is symbolic of the unity of the village.* There is a leader who sings out the instruction, and the response is one of agreement to follow. This is symbolic of the village uniting behind their chief for the common good of all. Anciently, even the vocables had symbolic meaning, although that meaning has now been lost.

- Taboos of the traditional Harvest Festivals are strictly enforced. Disobedience to any one of the taboos carries a particular punishment.
- During the Harvest Festival holidays no one can work on the farms. It is believed that anyone disobeying this taboo will experience failing crops.
- During the night dances that females must attend, they cannot eat meat for that day. If any females disobey this rule they will be cursed with female ailments.
- Only Harvest Festival songs are performed at this time. Because the Harvest Festival songs and dances are considered to invite the spirits, and have a special power to the Amis, they do not allow the singing and dancing of Harvest Festival songs and dances at any other time of the year. They cannot be practiced or sung at any other time except during the four to six days of the Harvest Festival. To do so, will bring
bad luck to crops. Unfortunately, because of this taboo and the migration of the young village people to the cities, these songs and dances are disappearing from Amis culture.

- Villages cannot combine their Harvest Festivals. This is because each village has its own spirits and ancestors. To combine with other villages might cause the spirits to fight amongst each other. This would bring bad luck to the participating villages.

- Sexual relations for the age groups are prohibited during Harvest Festival.

- Meat cannot be eaten on the first day.

Contemporary: The main purpose of this style is for entertainment. Tung Ho Township (including Tu Lan Village and Ch'eng Kung Township) follow this style. This style of Harvest Festival has recently become more popular. Traditional and modern dances are incorporated into the activities. One would not be surprised to see western bands (Fig. 18,p176), rap music, beauty contests (Fig. 52,p194), and Chinese and Japanese style music being used in their program. Government sponsored advertising such as announcements regarding tax reform or birth control measures is also quite common. Characteristics of the Contemporary Harvest Festival include:

- Some villages use an organizing committee instead of the age group system. A chief or Festival Chairman is chosen to be in charge.
- The festival begins with a flag raising ceremony (Fig. 39,p188) singing of the national anthem, and bureaucratic and political speeches. There is much less traditional ceremony than villages with the traditional style.
- Wine is not necessarily a prominent feature of the festival, depending on the governing religion. In some villages, wine is actually prohibited.
- Villagers and guests of any age can attend.
- They are usually shorter in duration than the Traditional style.
- Includes songs and dances that are more entertaining than those performed at the Traditional style of Harvest Festival, although traditional dances as well as modern dances are included. Music includes pop, rap (Fig. 49-50, p193), and other types of modern music. They have more competitions. Women are welcome to participate in previously forbidden dances and events. The purpose for these changes is to attract more attendance from tourists.
- Every two years or so, villages combine and celebrate together. They learn each other's dances, expand the culture of the Harvest Festival, and get to know their neighbors better.
- Villagers are not required to attend, and there is no fine for villagers not attending.

Joint Communities/Combined: Depending on the location, villages combine to celebrate together. Usually there are three to twelve villages that combine their
activity and resources. Originally, the physical aspect of Harvest Festival was to

set a young man's fitness in order to protect the village. In the combined

setting, there are many more physical fitness competitions, and the

characteristics of this type of Harvest Festival differ from both the Traditional and

Contemporary:

• Many types of contests: embroidery, making sticky rice (Fig.26,p181),

weaving (Fig. 21,p178), catching pigs, fishing net throwing

(Fig.28,p182), athletic races, wood carving (Fig 20,p178), relay races,

pole vaulting, and others.

• Established partly because of the high percentage of religious
denominations which discourage Harvest Festivals.

• Wine is not incorporated as part of the requirement for Harvest
Festival. However, wine is optional at most villages.

• Much shorter in duration than the traditional style (usually two to four
days).

I attended a combined Harvest Festival at Kuan Shan. It was fun and
certainly could not be considered a religious ceremony. I was particularly taken
with some of the dramas performed by certain villages. One of the villages
performed a drama depicting a wedding ceremony (Fig. 32 & 33,p184-5); and yet
another village performed a drama depicting the farming process: from sowing, to
weeding, and finally to harvesting (Fig.31,p184).

Many older folks complain about this method of celebration because they
insist it becomes more competitive and entertaining; that it loses the essence of
the Harvest Festival as villages try to incorporate each other's traditions. With
the different villages having their own ways of worshiping their gods and
ancestors, it is difficult in this combined setting for them to agree on a single way of incorporating this worship into their ceremony. Therefore, this part of the festival is excluded. In fact, in these combined festivals, there is virtually no religious or ceremonial flavor. However, it does give the smaller villages a way to save money while still maintaining the tradition of Harvest Festival. Found throughout Hualien County and Kuan Shan Village, some of the villages that participate in Joint Communities Harvest Festivals also hold their own Harvest Festival in the years when there is no joint Festival.

Personally, I enjoyed the combined type of Harvest Festival because it seemed more entertaining. And I noted that the older generation took part and danced longer than in the Traditional Harvest Festival, where the younger ones have to dance longer as part of their age group training in obedience.

City Harvest Festival: — The government has a law aborigines must be given one or two days off work to attend the Harvest Festival. But that is not enough time for the city dwellers to return to their villages and participate in the village Harvest Festival. So in order to maintain their traditions and beliefs, the city dwelling Amis began getting together and organizing their own Harvest Festivals, which are held in the larger cities, such as Taipei in the north, Changhua in central Taiwan, and Kaohsiung in the south. Their characteristics include:

- Both traditional and modern dances are used.
- There are many more sporting activities for entertainment and competition.
• Enables participants to feel their own tribal essence and identity, and prevents them from being totally absorbed into the Chinese culture.
• Allows them an opportunity to teach their young ones about their cultural heritage and traditions.
• Their Harvest Festival culture is introduced to and shared with tourists.
• Usually held at a school, park, or stadium.
• Short in duration (generally one to two days)
• A chairperson is chosen to organize Harvest Festival. He calls people to staff the organizing committees.
• Open to anyone who is Amis no matter what home village they come from.

At the present, various villages are still using these four types of Harvest Festival. Unfortunately for the traditionalists, the trend seems to be that the Traditional style is about to become a part of history, while financial concerns, tourism, and urbanization seem to be influencing villages to move to the Joint Communities or the Contemporary styles of Harvest Festival.

As the Amis people have changed to accommodate modernity, so too has their music changed to reflect their acceptance of and to make way for a changing lifestyle. Harvest Festival serves to perpetuate and teach the ancient cultures, traditions and music of the Amis while accepting the more contemporary music and lifestyle. In this way, the need to belong, that need which is inherent in all of us, is served through their Harvest Festival.

The Amis also seem to have an inherent need to express themselves through song and dance. In fact, their songs and dances are so vital a part of
being Amis because it is through those mediums that they are able to express what it is to be Amis. Although the younger generation do not particularly care for the ancient songs, many Harvest Festivals have adapted to suit the more youthful tastes. This ability to adjust to changing circumstances seems also to be a part of the Amis makeup, and so, as they allow their Harvest Festivals to accommodate contemporary tastes and styles, this annual event that serves to maintain their sense of community is kept alive.
CHAPTER FIVE
SELECTED CASE STUDIES OF FOUR
HARVEST FESTIVAL CELEBRATIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

My field studies, which I performed during the summers of 1996, 1997, and 2001, included visits to more than forty-three Harvest Festivals. From the villages I visited, I have chosen to discuss only four; each village being chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, no one has written about these particular villages. Secondly, each of the villages I selected uses a different ceremonial style than the others in conducting their Harvest Festival. Thirdly, the variety of music used in their combined celebrations highlights the changes made by the Amis to accommodate modern day Taiwan in this vital part of their culture.

II. TUNG HO VILLAGE (meaning Eastern River):
(Maps 4&5, p164&165):

With the Tai Tung Coastal Mountain Range to its west and the Pacific Ocean to its east, Tung Ho is a farming village located along the East Coast of Taiwan. Originally it was called Ma Lu A Lung, but during the Japanese occupation it became known as Ma Wu Chu Hsi. While still under Japanese occupation its name was changed again, to Ta Ma Village, and finally after Taiwan's liberation from Japan the village became known as Tung Ho. During
the Japanese occupation, Japanese officials created many hardships for the aborigines of Tung Ho. The aborigines rebelled, but many were killed for their rebellion. The chief at the time had a vision of freedom, but knowing that his people would not be able to overcome the Japanese by force, he negotiated with them. He managed to buy the lives of his people, but the price was many years of hard labor for them.

Tung Ho has celebrated Harvest Festival for 124 years. Over time it has evolved into the contemporary style of Harvest Festival, carrying some traditional songs and dances as well as some modern to entertain each other and the tourists. This is the way it was when I visited in 1996.

Each year a new chief and assistant chief of the village is chosen. La Yu Zhou (meaning "the universe"), which is the thirty-eight to forty-three year-old, or young adult age group, were the planners of this festival, including delegating tasks and collecting the food and wine. It used to be that everyone made their own rice wine, but since government intervention made that illegal, the collecting of wine has changed so that each family now buys and contributes a certain amount of wine.

It also used to be that women had no part in the Harvest Festival, but like many other things this has changed also. In fact, of all the dances performed during the opening ceremonies, the one I enjoyed the most was the ladies dance. This was a dance that portrayed every aspect of their daily life. Another dance that I found very entertaining, was one where the La Tien Nao (meaning 'electric brain' - referring to the computer) age group, portrayed a cowboy riding a water
buffalo. Although they tried to keep it somewhat authentic by painting their legs with mud, it was pretty funny to see them drinking soda (Coca Cola) from a bottle while they danced.

Before the Japanese occupation, the social organization center was the meetinghouse, and the village was led by a chief and his second in command. All the single men would go to the meeting house to learn about Amis culture and traditions (see Ch.2,p34-35). Now they don't live at the meeting house for training, but the age groups still function. Most of the training now takes place at Harvest Festival, at the activity center.

Age groups (Kabude) are assigned by five-year increments. The lower age groups must be obedient and subservient to the higher age groups. It is their responsibility to protect the village: the wealth (all material possessions, including house), life, and safety. Each age group has a leader and second in charge. These group leaders are called Ka ke li lang. The lowest age group is called Pakalungai (approximately ages twelve through sixteen). These young men do all the fetching for the town. The next grade is Ka ba ha (ages seventeen through twenty-one). This age group is given a name by the chief, who chooses the name according to whatever great event is happening at the time (or thereabouts). For example, one group was given the name of 'La Hsin Chiao' (meaning New Bridge) to commemorate the newly built bridge at Tung Ho Village. Advancement to the privileged age group known as Yi La Long Nai takes thirty years and six age group advances. At this age, the village people
look to them for advice and leadership. Another five years and they advance to become an elder, which would be the equivalent of the Western retirement.

Harvest Festival gives the people of Tung Ho Village the opportunity to present their offerings to their ancestors and their gods, and to teach the villagers not to forget their roots and their heritage; thus their traditions are continued. After the harvest is finished the people get together to thank the gods and their ancestors for blessing them with an abundant harvest. During the day they go to work, and at night they dance. Where once Harvest Festival was held for fifteen days, nowadays, with the village being more of a merchant society, and with the younger ones working outside the village, it is only held for five to seven days. Still, when July 13 comes around, everyone returns to the village to celebrate the Harvest Festival. They pray for peace, prosperity, and good weather so that the next year’s harvest is also abundant. If there is a particular project that needs working on, whether it be a road that needs fixing, a bridge to be built, a house to be fixed, or an entrance gateway to the Harvest Festival to be built (Fig. 1, p. 169), this is the time that it is done (while all the villagers are back). This is yet another way that they build on that sense of village unity.

My observations of Tung Ho’s Harvest Festival were on July 13, 14, and 15, 1996 and 1997.

When I visited Tung Ho in 1996, I got to sit on the stand with the honored guests, so I got a good view of all the events, and I was given a badge to wear which enabled me to videotape the proceedings. Of course, I had to contribute approximately 500NT - 1,000NT (approximately $20.00 - $40.00). Funding for
Harvest Festival comes from the villagers themselves. At that time, each family paid 300NT, and all males paid an additional 500NT toward the cost of Harvest Festival. The Tung Ho Township donated some money, and Taitung County donated some additional funds. The total amount required to sponsor Harvest Festival was approximately 90,000NT (equivalent to approximately US$3,000.00). In 1996, forty-three Amis villages held a Harvest Festival, Tung Ho being just one of them (see Table 3 below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Morning (9:00-12:00)</th>
<th>Afternoon (1:30-5:30)</th>
<th>Evening (7:30-10:00)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 13</td>
<td>-Opening ceremony</td>
<td>-Presentation to winner of competition</td>
<td>-Singing and dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Group opening dance</td>
<td>-Singing &amp; Dancing (all age group)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Song and dance competition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(all age group)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 14</td>
<td>-Amis mother tongue speech competition</td>
<td>-Awards for speech and singing competition</td>
<td>-Singing and dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Singing contest</td>
<td>-Song &amp; dance performance by women from various districts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Modern Amis singing and dancing festivities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 15</td>
<td>-Hunting competition (mountain)</td>
<td>-Marathon and other athletic competitions (age group)</td>
<td>-Singing and Dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Fishing competition (ocean - and shell fish)</td>
<td>-Award giving</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Song and dance (women's performance)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Tung Ho Harvest Festival Agenda (1996)

For me, an interesting aspect of Harvest Festival in Tung Ho was observing as the Paka Longai (fourteen to seventeen year-old age group) carried out their assignment as town 'announcers.' The night before the Harvest Festival began, they went from house to house, beginning at the home of the village chief, singing their announcement that the Harvest Festival was about to begin. I found this to be quite enchanting, especially given the many other 'modern' ways
they could have made the announcement. It reminded me of the Christmas caroling that I have participated in - the announcing of glad tidings by song.

**Day One:** The Harvest Festival was opened with fireworks and the villagers all marched in. The festival was officially opened with the flag raising ceremony. There were actually two flags that were raised; one was the town's festival flag (Fig.39, p190) and the other the flag was the Republic of China's flag. All in attendance then bowed to the picture of Sun Yi Hsien (Sun Yat-Sen, father of the Republic of China), and to the flag three times (Fig.40,p188). The dignitaries were introduced, speeches were given, and then Harvest Festival began in earnest with the thousand-man dance (see p97 for more discussion on this dance). Of all the age groups, the senior males who supervise the festivities (1a Chun Chien), got to sit up on the stage, and all the other age groups were arrayed around it. All during the proceedings rice wine was being passed around to everyone.

The age group nineteen through twenty-three (called La Hsin Chiao - meaning 'new bridge'), were given their name because the Tung-Ho bridge was built when they were initiated into their age group. They danced to the Christmas song "What Child is This." The translation of some of their homegrown lyrics went something like "they went to the bathroom, but not very carefully, and fell down." They seem to enjoy 'improving' on the songs in order to have fun and to entertain each other.
The Paka Longai (the youngest age group) danced contemporary style, doing a break dance and an American Indian dance. They were the designated clean-up crew and general handy-workers.

**Day Two:** The day began and ended with the thousand-people dance. This day was comprised of speech giving (in the Amis language), singing, and dance competitions with all types of music including modern music. In the traditional group dance, one person from the older age group takes the lead. He generally is the one most accepted as the best singer, and the rest of the group answers or responds to his singing. An awards ceremony for the speech and dance contests was held later in the day. The night was again filled with dancing and singing.

**Day Three:** Early in the morning, the younger age group was sent out to catch seafood in the ocean and frogs in the mountains, and to gather wild vegetables for breakfast. As is common with the Amis, the Harvest Festival ended with the fishing ceremony.

I was told of a legend of La Chun Chien (meaning 'battleship'). There was a pending attack on Tung Ho and other coastal villages by a Chinese battleship during the Ch'ing Dynasty. The village leaders had their shaman call on the gods to protect the village. As the legend goes, she caused smoke to cover the village from the sight of the battleship, and so it passed the village by and Tung Ho was saved from the cannon fire of the battleship. This story was told to me by Chung Ch'ung who is the leader of the thirty-seven to forty-one age group (Mihiningkay), and was in charge of organizing the Harvest Festival.
III. **TU LAN VILLAGE** (meaning 'a lot of stone'):

(Map 4, p164):

I attended the Harvest Festival celebrations for *Tu Lan* on July 15-17, 1996 and 1997. *Tu Lan* is located towards the southern end of Taiwan's East coast, in Taitung County, and is about 20 kilometers (about 12 miles) north of Taitung City. *Tu Lan* faces the Pacific Ocean to the east; its back is to the Taiwan Central Mountain Range. It is one of the larger Amis villages with a population of more than 3,000. *Tu Lan* is faced with having many of its people move to the cities where they are able to find employment. They have an elementary and a middle school, a library, old folks activity center, and a village activity center (originally known as the age group meeting house). Every year the Harvest Festival is held in the Village Activity Center.

The costumes of the *Tu Lan* villagers are very colorful. They dye their own cloth with natural dyes. Each age group has a different costume, including headwear. From what I observed, the older men wear a small towel twisted and wrapped around the head. The entire age groups wear a cumberbund or sash with different designs for each age group (Fig.14, p175). The women make the cumberbunds (some still do their own weaving), and some are very intricately embroidered. The skirts worn by the women are made from two pieces of cloth
that overlap and are tied at the sides. The bottom of the skirt is intricately embroidered, and a large sash is tied around the waist over the skirt.

The Harvest Festival that I attended started on July 14 and ended on July 17. The first day was actually a day of preparation, with the first item on the agenda being the 'Worship the Ancestor Ceremony' (misa’inengay). Performed at the Men's House by the young adult age group, no one else, not even the elders, attended this ceremony. Another characteristic that is unique to Tu Lan Village is the Warrior [Umbrella] Dance (Mangayaway).

Called Kilumaan (meaning 'put down the work, and come back to your village's embrace; everyone embrace together'), the Harvest Festival is celebrated in Tu Lan with as much fanfare as the New Year. Their way of "embracing each other" is through their dancing. However, since many of the villagers now live and work in Taitung [city], they face the problem of employers who are not willing to lose so many employees at one time. As a result, Tu Lan village leaders are now looking to the media and especially the government to encourage the aborigines to return to their home villages for the Harvest Festival.

Day One: The day began at 7:30 and ended 6:00 p.m. Early in the morning the chief announced the starting of Harvest Festival, and the whole village got together to clean up the field at the Activity Center. The leaders of the age groups got together with their committees to organize the activities that they were responsible for. A tower was built (symbolic of a guard tower from ancient times), along with a gateway, (Fig.1&2,p169) a staging for the honoraries, and a tent structure for the villagers (made of bamboo poles and a tarp covering) to
protect them from the hot sun. In the afternoon a pig was killed and cooked for the elders. Day One was also the day for the opening ‘fishing ceremony,’ to designate the opening of Harvest Festival.

Day Two: The second day began at 8:30 a.m. and ended at 6:00 p.m. The first thing was for each age group to report in front of the staging area, and the opening ceremony was then held. This consisted of fireworks, raising the flag ceremony, and a special opening song (called 'the plowing song') that was sung by everyone. The plowing song is a song telling about Amis life; about plowing and working the earth, and about the Amis belief that the land is a gift handed down from the hard work of their ancestors; that they cannot forget all the people who went before - how their blood and toil provided for the future generations of Amis. Each generation of Amis is thus responsible to carry on and care for the land.

After the plowing song, the chief, representing all the villagers, gave honor and thanks to all the ancestors. Next, all the bureaucrats, county magistrate, and town officials spoke (this portion of the ceremony was not from the original Amis festival but rather, it is something they adopted from the Chinese). Then some of the more prominent visitors spoke to the people. A gift giving presentation followed, and then awards were given to outstanding young adults. The official part of the ceremony ended, and the dancing began by each age group. The formality of Tu Lan’s opening ceremony set it apart from other Amis Harvest Festival ceremonies.
Welcoming the Guests Dance: the wives of the La Chinkuo age group performed this dance. It should be noted that for each of the men’s age group there is an equivalent women’s age group. Both men’s and women’s groups go by the same name since the women have no formal age groups.

Warriors (Yung Shih Wu) Dance: (Fig.19, p178). This is a dance unique to Tulan. Beginning at the ocean, the dancers make their way to the Village Activity Center. The warriors dress in a traditional costume, consisting of elaborate headgear and a beaded yoke over the chest area. A colorful sash is tied around the waist. To this, bells and a long knife are attached. With each ‘warrior’ carrying an umbrella in his left hand, they dance in single line formation from the beach to the central dancing place, where they continue dancing in a square formation. A good dancer is one who jumps high, makes the bells ring, and makes the knife swing back and forth. It takes a particular hip movement to make this happen. The sound of the bells and sword movement were originally designed to notify the enemy of their presence and hopefully scare them away. The Warrior Dance is a particular favorite of the elders and therefore is quite popular in Tu Lan (after all, the object of Harvest Festival is to entertain and honor the elders). Each warrior is hand selected by the elders of the village. This is considered an honor to be designated the chosen one strong enough to protect the village. And of course, being chosen to dance the warrior dance goes over very well with the young ladies. Because the Amis had no written history, this dance, like many of the Amis dances, tells a story. The story of the warrior dance tells how the young, strong men of the village went up to the mountains to
hunt game. They came across a neighboring tribe. Conflict ensued, and the brave warriors were sent to protect the village and to help the old folks get out of danger and to thus show their bravery. The umbrella represents the holding of a spear. The warrior dance takes place after the fishing ceremony, and is designed to demonstrate that the Amis are a peace loving people, hence it is also known as the 'Defense Dance.'

**The Single Women Performance:** The young ladies of the village perform this dance. They dance to more contemporary music, often with the aid of tapes or CD's.

**Pakalonai Performance:** This is a dance performed by the youngest age group. Their dance is generally quite modern and is sometimes set to rap music. Often break dancing or even kung fu style dancing is the preferred choice of dance.

**Ladinf Performance:** only the elder men aged seventy-eight and older perform this dance.

**Lasfi Performance:** The men performing this dance are ages sixty-seven through seventy-seven. In 1997, while I was there, this group performed a dance to the song "Trip to Tokyo." This is a song that was sung to take away the pain of all the hardships that the Amis endured under the Japanese occupation. It could be compared to the 'blues' style of singing by the slaves in the United States during the period prior to the Civil War.

**Hero of the War Performance:** This was a special performance in 1997 only. Men who had been drafted to fight for the Japanese during WWII, but who
afterwards had been left behind in the Philippines, danced it. They had finally been returned to their home as heroes, though many of them were not even aware that the war had ended. Upon their return, some of them noted that their Amis language was similar to some of the Filipino dialects.

*Dance by the oldest age group:* As with the ladies, this is a traditional dance.

*Thousand Man Dance:* Somewhat of a misnomer, for this is a dance in which everyone is welcome to participate, and does not necessarily have a thousand persons dancing, the name actually derives from a loose translation of the Chinese name given to it. The dance is a traditional one, and the steps are fairly simple and repetitive.

After a break for lunch, beginning mid-afternoon, dancing and singing competitions were held. There were five competitions:

*Traditional Dance Competition:* All the age groups from age sixty-six and younger participated in this competition. The combined group performing this dance was called *Mi'engkahy* (or middle-age group) and was comprised of six different age groups.

*Modern Dance Competition:* This was danced by the younger generation. As I observed this dance, it appeared that anyone fifty or younger could participate.
Outside City Competition: A dance performed by those villagers who had moved away and now lived in other counties.

Older Ladies Traditional Dance Competition: A dance performed by the wives of the sixty-five year-old (and older) age group. They dance in the traditional style.

Elders Traditional Dance Competition: A dance in the traditional style, this dance was performed by the Elders age group (seventy-five and older) and their wives.

As in the opening ceremonial dances, this segment was closed with the thousand-man dance and anyone who wanted to participate could join in.

Day Three: -- Early in the morning (5:00 a.m.), the younger and the middle-aged age grades went fishing for fish, prawns, and shrimp to make a breakfast for the elders.

Beginning at about 9:00 a.m., the older ladies gathered at the chief's house and danced. The age group from thirty-seven to sixty-six gathered at the activity center to dance. During this time awards were presented and announcements made of good deeds performed as well as outstanding citizens. Also during this time, the age groups from Pakalonai to thirty-six year-olds danced on the outskirts of the activity center. This group included the Kaying (young unmarried girls to the young adult age group), who must dance only at the tail end of the dance line.
From 2:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. everyone gathered around the elders. The chief took the lead in singing, and he invited the elders to join him in singing and dancing while they all held hands. This symbolized everyone being of one heart. Each age group then began to join in until all were included. When this dance was completed, the middle-aged female age group performed a traditional dance.

In the evening, the dancing was geared toward courting for a spouse. It was nicknamed "lovers' night." Since it is the Amis way for women to choose their husbands, if a young unmarried woman took a liking to a young man, she would present him with a "lover's pouch" of betel nuts, cigarettes, and other items. The older age group men would then place the young woman next to the young man and let them dance next to each other in the lines throughout the night. To accept her pouch was his way of agreeing to court her. If things went well, they would marry within the next year.

**Day Four:** From 5:00 a.m. to 7:00 a.m. the youth and middle-aged age groups went fishing again, and again provided breakfast for the elders. This fishing ceremony also signified the end of the Harvest Festival.

From 8:00 to 12:00 noon, an ocean skill competition was held to see who had the most skill in fishing. The winner was the age group that caught the most fish. The catch went first to feed the elders, and then the rest was distributed.

There was a break for the feast, of which pork and fish were the main dishes. The pork was just cut into pieces and boiled with no seasonings. The fish was prepared the same way, and eaten as a soup. Included was yam,
Duron (made primarily of millet), rice, wild vegetables, young rattan shoots, shell fish, taro and, of course, lots of rice wine. Although it was considered a feast, the food was actually very simple, and was, for the most part, eaten without the use of utensils. It was served on the ground in large stems of coconut palm fronds (Fig. 24, p 180), and was shared with the ever-present flies. Since the Amis regard food as merely a means of filling the body, there was no dressing up of the meal. However, for outside guests (especially visiting dignitaries) food was brought in and served on plates, and on tables, and was not the same as what the villagers ate. The wine was constantly being served throughout the day (Fig.14, p175). People were chewing betel nuts (icep) (Fig.58,p197) and smoking cigarettes (Fig.43,p190).

After the feast, at 2:30 pm, the final activities began:

- A messenger was chosen to report back the victory to the village.
- The warrior dancers lead each strong age group into the activity center.
- The warriors' dance (or umbrella dance) began.
- The women danced; both older women and the 'miss' age group.
- Thousand-man 'bye-bye' dance.

Finally in the late afternoon (about 4:30 pm to 6:00 pm) the closing ceremonies were held. These ceremonies included more speeches by bureaucrats, presentation of awards, a financial report, an evaluation of that year's Harvest Festival, then clean up was assigned, and everyone adjourned for another year.
A special event occurred in the 1996 *Tu Lan* Harvest Festival. Kuo Ying-nan with his wife and another couple visited their relatives in the village. They are known for their traditional Amis polyphony singing (a dying art form).

Nowadays this type of singing can only be heard in the villages of *Malan* and *Tu Lan* (see Ch.3,p52-53 for details on their song used in "Return to Innocence" by Enigma, a popular European Pop Group). They performed their 'Jubilant Drinking Song' for everyone and were well received (Fig.17, p 177).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Morning (7:30-12:00)</th>
<th>Afternoon (1:30-6:00)</th>
<th>Evening (7:30-10:00)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| July 14 | PREPARATION DAY:  
- Village Chief announces assignments  
- Everyone clears the field which is to be the Activity Center  
- Age group assignments to build all the structures that are to be part of Harvest Festival (Tower, bathroom facilities, Staging for announcements, Gateway), and building begins  
- Break for lunch | Continue building structures for Harvest Festival  
- The field is decorated  
- The pig is killed and cooked by the age group assigned to that task. The choicest portions are presented to the Elders | |
| July 15 | Morning (8:00-12:00)  
- All age group report to the activity center  
- Opening ceremony  
- Performances / Entertainment  
  Welcome Guest Dance by Racigko wives  
  Warrior Dance  
  Miss Dance  
  Pakalongay Dance  
  Ladihf Dance  
  Lasfi Dance  
  Heroes of the War Dance  
  Ladies Traditional Dance  
  Men's Traditional Dance  
  Thousand Men Dance  
- Break for Lunch | Singing and Dancing Competitions | Dancing |
| July 16 | Morning (5:00-11:00)  
- Age grades assigned to fishing (17-50 year olds), cook for the Elders  
- Dancing - 3 different locations  
  Ladies at Chief's house  
  37-66 Age grades at Activity Center  
  12-36 Age grades on outskirts of Activity Center  
- Break for Lunch | Men join together in formation - for dancing - with women (ages to 66) at the tail end | |

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IV. **YI WAN VILLAGE (Sa'aniwan):**

(Map 4, p 164)

I visited Yi Wan during their Harvest Festivals in 1996 and 1997. These were held on July 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. Tourists are not welcomed to the event, so no schedule of activities and program is printed, and only a few guests (primarily scholars and researchers) were allowed to attend. This is because they hold a more traditional type of Harvest Festival with the males welcoming the spirits and starting the ceremonies, and the women sending off the spirits while ending the ceremonies. A sad comment about Yi Wan is the loss of many of its traditional songs over the years. Since it is taboo to practice any of the Harvest Festival songs, or to sing them at any other time, many songs have been lost with the deaths of the elders. Where originally there were about thirty songs, now there are only about ten (interview with Huang).

According to Huang Kui Cha'o (1994), Yi Wan still keeps to the traditional form of Harvest Festival, including the age group organizers. Originally seven to eight days in length, nowadays Yi Wan's Harvest Festival has been reduced to only six days. Almost 80% of Yi Wan's villagers have left the village for work, but they return for Harvest Festival. In spite of this, however, they still adhere to the
traditional ceremonial Harvest Festival, but the village has had to compensate for
the numbers of absent males prior to Harvest Festival by having each family
provide one of its women to assist in the organization. Lee San-Kuei told me that
he attended the 2001 Harvest Festival at Yi Wan. The Young Adult age group
men each pay 350NT; the Strong Adult age group men each pay an additional
200NT; and the elders and youth are not required to donate anything toward the
cost of Harvest Festival. The only people exempt from returning to attend
Harvest Festival are soldiers in active service, college students, and sailors who
are at sea or abroad. Other than these groups, anyone not returning is fined
1,000NT. This is understandable when one recalls that during the remaining
days of the year only the elders live in the village. Funding for Yi Wan’s Harvest
Festival totals about 142,000NT (approximately US$4,700.00).

It is bad luck for anyone to work in the fields from the second through the
fifth day of Harvest Festival. Anyone not adhering to this taboo incurs severe
and stringent penalties.

Each age group has its own uniform, which must be worn throughout
Harvest Festival (Fig. 5 & 6, p 171). The only exception to this ruling is that all of
the elders wear the same uniform, even though there are eleven different
categories within the elders age group.

Dancing is performed in a circle consisting of three layers. The inner
circle is where the wine and other drinks are placed; the second circle is where
the elders sit; and the outer circle is where all age group dancers perform.
**Day One:** -- This is a Preparation Day. The villagers kill the pig, collect the money, prepare the dancing area (which is held on the Catholic Church's basketball court), and do other chores. When it turns dark, *Malikuda* (the 'Welcome Spirit Ceremony') takes place. All age group males must attend this ceremony, excepting the elders or the sick. Females and children may watch from the sidelines but cannot participate. The elders sit in an inner circle, with the age group dancers performing in an outer circle. Within both circles, age takes precedence. The ceremony is used to call and welcome the spirits and ancestors to share everything they have. Also they teach all males about their history and promote the younger men to the next higher rank. About ten years ago, after an approximately one hundred-year tradition, the Fishing Ceremony performed by the Young Adult Age group was discontinued. This is yet another result of the young people having to move to the cities for work.

**Day Two:** -- The morning is spent attending Mass in their traditional clothes, since almost all villagers are Catholics. Immediately after Mass, the dancing and festivities begin. This is how they worship their ancestors and invite them to come to the Harvest Festival.

*Pakumodan* ('Entertain the Spirit Ceremony') is held on this day. All of the age group men are required to participate in this ceremony. Anyone else, including women and children, may participate in the dance if they choose. The women and children can only dance at the end of the line and must wear traditional clothes. This is less of a sacred ceremony, and more of a celebratory
event. The entire day from 1:30 p.m. until dark is spent singing and dancing to entertain the spirits and elders.

**Days Three and Four:** These days follow the example of Day Two in that the entire day is spent singing and dancing. All of the age group men must participate. If they do not, they are fined. Even if they arrive late there is a fine: each half hour late requires a pack of *chang shou yen* (Long Life Cigarettes). Ironically, this is one of the favored brands of the Amis. On the third day, the elders give awards to those who are regarded as good citizens. On the fourth day, a big feast is prepared for the elders. Then the age groups younger than the elders (ages seventy-two and younger) entertain the elders.

**Day Five:** *Pakumodan* continues. In addition, special guests and dignitaries are entertained and acknowledged on this day. A feast is prepared for these guests. This feast is placed in the inner circle. Thus, those invited guests may participate in the dancing and partake of the food. This part of the program begins at 12:30 p.m. and ends at about 3:00 p.m.

**Day Six:** 'Sending off the Spirit Ceremony.' Only the women dance on this day. Many of the ancient songs belonging to this ceremony have been lost, so the women of Yi Wan have incorporated other of the men's songs into their program. The songs and dances of this ceremony are of a more reverent nature, and it was my observation that the women danced counter-clockwise, in contrast to the men who dance clockwise. This is called *Pipihayan* and marks the end of the festival.
Where traditionally all the age group men would be present throughout all the days of Harvest Festival, most of them have returned to their city homes at the end of Day Five and are not present for this day. This has resulted, recently, in the deleting of the final fishing ceremony from Yi Wan's Harvest Festival.

V. KUAN SHAN VILLAGE (One Day only):
(Maps 4&5, pp163-164)

My observation of this Joint Communities Harvest Festival was on August 15, 1997.

Kuan Shan is a town located in northern Taitung County. The Joint Communities Harvest Festival activities are held in the sports field at Kuan Shan Middle School, usually around the middle of August. It is a one-day affair that began at 9:00 am and ends at 4:30 pm. Luyeh and Ch'ih Shang townships, along with several (sometimes up to twenty) smaller villages join in with Kuan Shan to hold a Joint Communities Harvest Festival (Map 4,p164).

Opening ceremonies were similar to those at Tu Lan (p94) in that there is much entertaining of bureaucratic dignitaries. The welcoming song was sung to begin the festivities. Each village then marched in, dressed in their traditional costume, and displayed their village or town flag. Once each team was in place, everyone sang the national anthem and then bowed three times to the huge
picture of Dr. Sun Yi Hsien (Sun Yat-sen). Once the dignitaries had been formally introduced and had given their speeches, the competitions began. Each village had prepared their dances and songs, and some simple sports events were incorporated into the day's events. One of the unique characteristics of these combined festivities is that everyone from the village participates in the dancing and singing. Most of the dances were either a celebration of the harvest, the rain, or the warrior dance. A particularly intriguing dance was the Marriage Dance. This was a drama that depicted the entire wedding day, including the preparation of the wedding feast as well as the day's activities for the entire village (Figs. 32, 33, 35, pp184-186). This was a particularly spectacular performance. Another village performed a dance entitled 'The Joy of the Farmer's Life.' This was another dramatic dance that depicted a year (from sowing to harvest) in the life of an Amis farmer, including every chore performed. An interesting aspect of the dance was the depiction of the water buffalo (Fig. 31, p184) plowing the land for planting. Since the Amis are such a fun-loving people, this portion of the dance even showed the water buffalo's reaction to a whipping received from the farmer. Like the wedding day dance, the farmer's dance is a wonderful combination of song and dance. This harmonious joining is also symbolic of the social balance between men and women as they work together on the farm, and the zest and joy of singing and dancing that the Amis have for life.

Once the dance competitions were completed, a few skill competitions were held. Even these competitions were a depiction of daily life for these Amis.
One such competition was a running race by women carrying a bag of rice on their shoulder (Fig.27,p182); another one was a log sawing competition. A fun competition was one in which five piglets were released into the field, and the participants (representing specific villages) were required to catch the piglet assigned to their village. Laughter erupted from the audience as they watched these players attempt to catch the piglets. The fishing competition (Fig.28,p182) was a team competition that tested the skill of the fishermen to throw their net to the areas of the pond that had the most fish. Of course the 'fish' for this competition were not real.

At the end of the day, the scores for each village were tallied and prizes were awarded. Donations from each family, from local merchants, and from the government, went toward defraying the cost of the Harvest Holiday, and many prizes were given out. It was a wonderful time for renewing of acquaintances and for the strengthening of family and community bonds.

At the beginning and the ending of the day's activities, men, women, children, and guests from all of the villages in attendance performed the Thousand-person Dance (Fig.29,p183). Finally, after the dance, closing ceremonies were held and everyone retired to their homes and villages fulfilled and happy after the day's events.

Although these four villages are located in fairly close proximity to each other (all are in the north-eastern part of Taitong County), each village has its own unique way of celebrating Harvest Festival. Regardless of their differences however, they all exhibit the same love for the songs and dances of their culture,
and for uniting in this common celebration. The pure enjoyment that radiates from each village as they come together to embrace their culture, to partake of the rice wine, and to dance and sing is the same regardless of how each village celebrates.

Tung Ho and Tu Lan belong to Tung Ho Township, and are only five to ten minutes apart. Despite their close proximity to each other however, their Harvest Festival celebrations are very different. Both employ the contemporary style of Harvest Festival but Tu Lan incorporates polyphonic singing (Ma Lan also has polyphonic singing), the Umbrella Warrior Dance, and the War Hero Dance, which no other village has.

Although the four villages that I have studied differ in their method of celebrating Harvest Festival celebration, they all include some traditional songs and dances. Of these villages Yi Wan is the only one that performs only traditional songs and dances. Still, though Yi Wan is considered a traditional type of harvest festival, it has undergone many changes. For one thing, in Yi Wan Catholic mass is held on the first day of the festival. Secondly, they have eliminated the fishing ceremony, which traditionally begins and ends any celebration. Therefore, although Yi Wan is considered traditional, it is only an adaptation of the original traditional festival (which no longer can be found). All the other three villages (Tung Ho, Tu Lan, and Kuan Shan) start the harvest festival in the Chinese style with a flag raising, national anthem, and bowing to a picture of Sun Yi Hsien.
Kuan Shan's celebration is made up of three villages joining together for Harvest Festival, incorporates the contemporary style and includes many dramas. Because they have so many people to participate in the thousand man dance, the performance is a grand one, and the love that the people have for their culture is evident when they perform the dance. When I was there it poured during the dance, but that didn't prevent them from continuing. They continued to dance and stomp as the mud splashed up on their beautiful costumes, laughing and singing in the sheer enjoyment of the dance. That time together was important to them, and thoughts of the cost of cleaning their costumes did not occur to them or spoil their moment. I was privileged to observe from the stage, and it was a pleasure to witness the pleasure they exhibited in being Amis and in celebrating their culture together.

Despite the adaptations that each village has made to their Harvest Festivals to accommodate their individual needs and circumstances, they each preserve a celebration that unifies them and reminds them of their heritage. In this way, they maintain their ties to each other as a people.
CHAPTER SIX
ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

INTRODUCTION

During the summers of 1996, 1997, as well as 2001, I toured Taiwan's East Coast to do my field study. My time there gave me the opportunity to visit forty-three villages during their Harvest Festivals, to interview various villagers, and to videotape and record the events, music, and dances of Harvest Festival.

I have chosen to analyze songs that are representative of the vast array of Amis Harvest Festival music; songs that depict the various styles found in Amis music. These songs range from the most traditional polyphonic songs (transcriptions six and seven), to responsorial style songs (transcriptions one, two and three), as well as Amis pop songs reflecting both Japanese and Chinese style (transcriptions four and five).

Within the responsorial style there are variations. While some responses copy the lead singer exactly (such as in transcriptions one and three), others are short and are very different from the lead singer (such as transcription seven). Still other responses are identical throughout the whole song, regardless of what the lead singer sings. The short responses are similar to the western "Amen" and signify agreement with the message of the lead singer.

I have attempted to take into account differences in form, melody, rhythm, harmony, texture, and dynamics of each song, and where applicable I have also included lyrics.
At Tu Lan Village, I noted that while many of the traditional responsorial and polyphonic types of songs contained Chinese lyrics, with some prose and vocables, their pop songs reflected the Japanese influence, and the hardships they endured during the Japanese occupation.

Where the western ear is tuned to accept a certain sound as aesthetic, to the Amis beauty in sound takes on a different form. Likewise, westerners are accustomed to songs having titles, and most Amis Harvest Festival songs have no titles. Many songs do not even have lyrics or text, but are made up of, or contain, vocables. Vocables (or non-lexical syllables) are short word sounds that have long been part of traditional Amis songs. Loh (p196) tells us that it is possible these vocables were part of an ancient [Amis] language, but lacking a written language, the meanings have been forgotten. What has remained are just a few vocable syllables: *wa he ya hai, yin hai yo,* and *naluwan.*

Without the use of musical instruments to help keep the singers on pitch, they might not end the song in the same key in which they started. Therefore, I have used my discretion in my transcriptions, and have transcribed in the key I felt most closely matched the songs as they were sung at the Harvest Festival.

All of the songs that I personally transcribed, are songs I taped from actual Harvest Festivals. Each is appropriately marked to correspond with the written analysis of the transcription. Since the tapes are of actual Harvest Festivals, background noise is evident on them. It is common to hear an announcement or the emcee’s comments in the middle of a performance. He might scold dancers
if they aren't dancing right, or sometimes he might make humorous comments, or even introduce the dancers as they dance.

Since Harvest Festivals last several days, and the number of songs sung is limited, it is common to hear the same songs sung over and over again. One might expect to tire of the same songs sung so frequently, but though the songs do not change, the lead singer often does. The new lead singer might sing the song in a different key, with a different pitch, or maybe with different improvisation. In this way, the songs become more varied and interesting.

The following transcriptions were all recorded at Tu Lan village Harvest Festival. I attempted to transcribe as close to the pitch and rhythm as originally performed, but because of the constant arbitrary pitch changes, and because the singers didn't always stay in the same key, my transcriptions are a descriptive assessment of the music performed. Nevertheless, I analyzed the songs as to form, melody, rhythm, text, texture, and style of performance. (see NOTES, p xiv regarding pitch notation.)

II. TRANSCRIPTION ONE:

Traditional Ladies Dance
[Wives of the Laico male age group (approximately 29-33 year-old men)]

Consisting of five measures (which is considered long phrasing for Amis traditional songs), the song is sung by soloist, or lead singer, with the rest of the dancers singing the response. Response imitates the lead singer precisely. The song has no harmony, and is sung in vocable unison accompanied by dancing.
The stomping of the feet while dancing, combined with the ringing of bells on the costumes of the dancers add texture. The range of the melody is only one octave, and is sung in the pentatonic mode. As is typical of Amis songs, the lead singer starts the song on the last half-beat of the measure, and sings in a four beat pattern. There is no pause or hesitation between the lead singer’s ending of a phrase and the beginning of the response by the chorus.

**Form** consists primarily of two parts, A and B (which are both sung by the leader). A' represents the response, which is repeated four times. In the latter part of the B section the tempo quickens to indicate that the song is coming to an end.

\[
A \ A' \ / \ A \ A' \ / \ A \ A' \ / \ A \ A' \ / \ B
\]

**Melody:** This song follows the pentatonic scale. The 'Do' pitch is B, and the highest note is the F. The song has a total of twelve intervals, and uses major 2\(^{nd}\) and minor 3\(^{rd}\) quite frequently in the melody. Its contour is either descending or wave form. It contains a lot of ornamentation as well as a lot of inflected sounds which the leader arbitrarily inserts. The final tone is the B. The 'B' section builds as the climate moves toward the climax, accelerating as the notes move higher. At this point the leader's voice becomes more metallic sounding, an indication that the song is coming to the end.

**Rhythm:** The meter is 4/4, with the quarter note equaling 104. Bells and foot stomping add to the rhythm. The leader is little freer as to pitch and rhythm than is typical of western songs.
Text is comprised of non-lexical syllables throughout the whole song. The response copies the same text as the leader.

Texture is monophonic. Bells and foot stomping also add to the texture of the song.

Style of Performance is call and response (Lakatsaw). The leader (Miliachiwai) sings with a microphone, and has an open throat, producing a slightly nasal sound. The pitch fluctuates, and contains some ornamentation. Beginning notes are accented. The entire song is sung in unison response (mitsada'ai). The leader gives the order to change the song to a faster tempo indicating the end of the song.

III. TRANSCRIPTION TWO:

La Ching Kuo Men's Traditional Dance
(approx. 52-56 year-old men)

Many villages use this song for their Harvest Festival, although their dances are different. The leader used a microphone. By the time I heard this song performed in La Ching kuo, the men had already been singing and dancing for several days, and the leader's voice was beginning to lose its quality. Aesthetically, therefore, his voice sounded as though it were straining. The leader improvises many times, so there are many variations to the song as he changes the melody and vocables. But no matter what the leader sings, the response is the same all the way through the song. This is a very short song,
comprised of only two measures. It is sung without any accompanying musical
instrument. The dancers begin in a single file and form into a circle, with all the
dancers holding hands. The lead singer is not necessarily placed at the head of
the line.

**Form:** Consist of three parts (A B phrasing for the leader, and C for the
response; A', A", and A''' represent variations by the lead singer). With only slight
variation, verses 6 and 7 repeat verses 4 and 5.

A C / A' C / A" C / B C / A''' C / B C / A'' C

**Melody:** Sung in the pentatonic scale, with the Do pitch in Eb. The song
has twelve intervals. The highest note is C¹, and the lowest note is Eb⁻¹.
Throughout the song, the verses all start with the same motive. Each verse has
two phrases, with two measures per phrase. The melody is sung by the leader in
a range of nine intervals, while the response (sung by the entire group) is sung in
a range of one octave. The response is only one phrase, but that phrase
consists of two measures. Typically, it is the repetition that gives this song its
length.

The lead singer begins each 'A' sectional phrase with a 'G F' sequence,
and then descends. He begins each 'B' section with a 'G F' sequence, and then
leaps up to B♭. No matter what the lead singer sings, however, the responses
are identical throughout the entire song (completely different from the lead
singer). **Responsorial pitch is lower than the leader.** It starts with the B♭⁻¹,
waves up and down, and ends on E♭. The melody uses major 2nd, minor 3rd, and the perfect 4th, with the final note being E♭.

**Rhythm:** The meter is 4/4, with the quarter note equaling 92. It starts on the up beat. The response comes in tightly on the last 1/2 beat of the leader's last pitch.

**Lyrics:** Non-lexical syllables that match the melodic motive. Each verse starts with the vocable wa and ends with hai ya i ya hai. The melody and the words both have variations, but the response never varies.

**Texture:** Monophonic.

**Style of Performance:** Somewhat rhythmic and free, with strophic singing while dancing. The leader produces an open-throated, chest voice that is somewhat hoarse sounding. He attacks the beginning of each verse strongly and with precision, often producing a glottal stop that is guttural in sound. The leader sings with the assistance of a microphone. With each repeat of the song he improvises by adding some variations to the melody.

While transcriptions one and two are both in the traditional responsorial style, their formats differ from each other. The response in transcription one merely repeats what the lead singer just sang, but in transcription two, the response is independent of whatever the lead singer sings. While the response is the same throughout the entire song, it does not repeat the lead singer.
IV. TRANSCRIPTION THREE:

Women’s Dance

This song is comprised of long phrasings. It is in two-part form. The leader sings the entire song and then the group joins her to repeat it. The song is sung using the na lu wan phrasing, which is a popular phrasing, not only among the Amis, but with all the aboriginal tribes. In fact, this vocable has become so popular that it is also used as a greeting, in much the same way Hawaiian’s use the word ‘Aloha’ as a greeting. This song is less traditional in sound, being closer to a pop song for the Amis.

Form: Leader sings the entire song in A / A / B / C form. The response comes in at the last 4 measures of ‘C’ section, and then repeats the entire song. The 'A' section has 4 measures and is repeated; the 'B' section has 8 measures and the 'C' section has 12 measures.

Melody: This song is in pentatonic scale, with the 'Do' pitch on A. The lowest note is A⁻¹, and the highest note is C♯¹. It contains 10 intervals. The A section starts with E, goes up a fourth to A, then turns back down to E. The A section repeats itself, and leads into the B section following the second ending. Thus, the B section starts with A, follows with neighboring turns similar to those in A section, and descends to A⁻¹. The C section (consisting of two parts) starts on A⁻¹, repeats its first two measures in a wave contour fashion, then finishes with the B section melody. It has intervals of major 2nd, minor 3rd, perfect 4th , and perfect 5th.
Rhythm: The time signature is in the 4/4 pattern, with the quarter note equaling 128. The song begins with the last beat, and is primarily in eighth note pattern. The last note of each phrase is held for a longer duration.

Lyrics: Non-lexical syllables.

Texture: Monophonic unison.

Style of Performance: Ladies high resonance, producing a raw voice sound. The non-lexical syllables are accented. The lead singer had a breathless sound, which I attributed to the long phrasing and dancing while singing.

This song calls for a soloist to sing the entire song. The group then joins her in repeating the song. While it is not a traditional Harvest Festival song, but rather an Amis pop love song, it is one of the popular na lu wan songs.

V. TRANSCRIPTION FOUR:

Performed by La Chin Ma (Golden Horse)
(Approximately 60-65 year-old men)

This is a non-responsorial male solo pop song. The melody has a distinct Japanese sound to it, which is actually quite common with many Amis songs. This leads one to assume that it originated during the time of the Japanese occupation. The song is sung in the minor mode, and contains a number of half-step repetitions at the beginning of the song. The melody consists of ten intervals, and the song starts with the last one or two beats. The dancers danced to a CD. I did not see them actually singing while they danced.

Form: In Through compose style, with instrumental accompaniment.
Instrumental Intro. / A / Interlude / II:A:II / Interlude / A / Interlude / A' / Instrumental codeta

**Melody:** In hemitonic pentatonic scale, with the Do pitch on C. The pentatonic scale in this song differs from the preceding transcriptions in that the scale is Do Mi Fa La Ti (indicative of the Japanese influence). It doesn't contain So or Re, which is so prevalent in Amis music. The singing portion of the song is comprised of twelve intervals. The song starts with an instrumental introduction of five full measures, and then the singing portion begins at middle C and ends at A^1 with ornamentation from E^1 to A^1. The contour of the song is a wave. The middle section is high, and the ending section is low. It uses a lot of perfect 4th, minor 3rd, and minor 2nd.

**Rhythm:** The time signature is in 4/4 meter, with the quarter note equaling 120. It has fourteen measures.

**Lyrics:** Non-lexical syllables.

**Texture:** A male solo with instrumental accompaniment, and percussion.

**Style of Performance:** Dancing was performed to this song, which was professionally recorded. It contained a lot of inflected tones and ornamentations of 1/2 step or minor 3rd, major 2nd, and syncopation. The lead singer attacked the beginning of each phrase. The song itself is relatively short but it was repeated three times. Add to that an instrumental introduction, interludes, and the instrumental codeta, and the song becomes much longer. Improvisation by the lead singer is common in the repetitions. The song is very Japanese in style.
IV. TRANSCRIPTION FIVE:

The Harvest Festival  
[Performs by La Kan Chun]

This is considered a Pop Song and is a commercial recording, so there is no responsorial singing. The texture includes yelling and stomping of the feet. It is a very energetic dance, and is performed by the La Kan Chun age group. Originally a love song of the Atayal, it is also a popular song among the Amis. I once saw a group of Atayal dancing to this song, accompanied by a Jew’s Harp, at Puli Cultural Village. The song has a beautiful portion where the melody is sung in Mandarin. The music is on a CD which includes an instrumental introduction and interlude. The age-group dances to the CD. This is an example of the use of modern technology in the Harvest Festival. The dancing is sexually suggestive in parts.

Form: In three parts (A, B, C). Each part is eight measures. The song repeats ABCC in the first section, and the C section has an echo and harmony.

Instrumental Introduction / II:A, B, C / II / A / Instrumental Interlude / C

Melody: In the Hexa scale, it contains only Do Re Me So La Ti, with no Fa. La is Eb. The lowest note is So (Db), and the highest note is Do (Gb). The song has eleven intervals, and includes syncopation. The A section always begins with the same motive (Bb Bb) syncopated. The C section contains the
higher melody, and the second group sings the echo and harmony a third above the first group. All three sections end with La (E♭).

**Rhythm:** The song is in 4/4 meter with an energetic tempo (quarter note equals 120).

**Lyrics:** Primarily in Chinese Mandarin with vocables

**Texture:** A and B sections are monophonic. The C section is in two part harmony, and the male voices sing a parallel third above the melody. The ending is always the same; the voices are in unison, with the female voices an octave higher than the male. A lot of bells and yelling can be heard throughout the song.

**Style of Performance:** Male and female group singing in unison, except for a very small portion of C section, which is harmonized. The introduction and interlude have instrumental accompaniment. This is a very energetic and rhythmic pop song, and the pulse is accented. The C section contains an echo two measures long which sounds as though the two voices are calling each other. Their voices come together in the third measure, with the male voice harmonizing a third above the female voice. The song ends with both voices in unison.

**Transcriptions four and five were taken from recorded music. Both have instrumental introductions and interludes. Transcription four reflects a Japanese influence with a Japanese style of melody. Transcription five reflects a Chinese influence and contains Chinese text inserted into the Amis text.**
words speak of Tailuge, which is a beautiful marble gorge in Hua Lien. The song originated with the Atayal, because Taroko mountain region is where the Atayal live, but it was adopted by the Amis. This is a good example of inter-tribal sharing of songs.

VII. TRANSCRIPTION SIX:

The Drinking Song or National Anthem
[Performed by Kuo Ying Nan’s Group]

This song has been called the Amis drinking song, or national anthem, or recreational song, or simply, 'old song.' I recorded this song at the 1996 Harvest Festival of Tu Lan Village. The group that performed in Tu Lan Village also performed it at the Paris Folk Festival several years prior to 1996. They just happened to be visiting relatives in Tu Lan, and were asked by the festival officials to sing their song. Kuo Ying Nan, his wife and others were the vocalists. This song is a good example of multi-part singing.

Form: A B C / A B' C / A B'

Melody: Pentatonic Scale – Do Re Me So La, with no Fa or Ti. Do is E♭, and the lowest note is the B♭. The melody range is nine intervals. Sung primarily by male voices, the female voice joins in at the end of the second measure. The female part is tightly joined with a high metallic sounding voice and a different melody. At the end of each section, the female voice joins with the male voice in unison, but singing an octave higher. A and B sections end
with the final tone So (B♭). The C section ends with the female voice one octave higher than the male voice at Re (F). The C section is comprised of the first two measures of the A section. B' is much the same as B section, with some slight variation (the ending is the same as B section). The second part is sung by the female voice (her melody and rhythm are different than the male solo part). The song contains a distinctive opening theme, then leaps from B♭ to C¹. There is a lot of ornamentation with sliding notes, and the melody zig zags, then ends on the descent.

**Rhythm:** The song is in 4/4 meter, with the quarter note equaling 76. There are a lot of eighth notes and some sixteenth notes.

**Text:** Non-lexical syllables. Female and male voices sing different text, until they join at the end of each section.

**Texture:** Polyphonic. Starts with the male solo; the female voice joins in at the end of the second measure; ending together with the same melody and same text. At the B section the male voice sings one measure, and then the female voice (high) joins in. At the C section, the male voice sings two measures, and the female voice joins in on the last note of the second measure, at the F¹ (an octave higher than the male voice).

**Style of Performance:** The song is sung with the male voice carrying the main melody, and the female voice as the counter melody. Despite this arrangement, however, the female voice is so high and piercing that she frequently overpowers him. Where she produces a nasally metallic sound, his
voice comes from the chest and is more rounded than hers. Each section ends with both voices in unison, which is typical of the Amis polyphonic singing style. It is symbolic of their tribal unity.

VIII. TRANSCRIPTION SEVEN:

Excerpt from Amis Drinking Song as Inserted into "Return to Innocence" [Performed by Kuo Ying Nan's Group]

I included this transcription for informational purposes only, and to compare it with the original song (see transcription six). This is the portion of the Amis Drinking Song that was inserted into Gloria Estefan's popular song *Return to Innocence*. It was also made part of the theme music for the 1996 Olympic Games held in Atlanta, Georgia. I have only transcribed two segments of the Amis Drinking Song. In comparing this excerpt to the traditional Amis Drinking Song (transcription six), I note that the first segment of the opening theme of transcription seven is the same as the first two measures of the beginning of Section C, transcription six.

This transcription is in 4/4 meter, with the quarter note equaling 92. The solo portion of the song is different from transcription six, but it ends with the same pitch. This excerpt is sung lower and faster than transcription six, and *Do* is B♭.
Transcriptions six and seven are traditional Amis polyphonic drinking songs. These songs are now only found in Tu Lan and Ma Lan. Transcription six is more heterophonic in style, where the male is the lead singer, and the female sings counterpoint. At the end they both sing in unison, with the female singing an octave higher than the male. Although it is essentially the same song as transcription six, transcription seven demonstrates a slight variation in its melody (the response is shorter, and each repeat is the same). It is also a faster song than transcription six, is sung in a lower key, and is accompanied by a modern synthesizer. Echoes of hai ya follow.

Collectively, the form of these transcriptions are primarily in two or three parts (A, B, or ABC), and they all contain repetition as directed by the leader. In the traditional Harvest Festival songs, the end of a song is dictated by the lead singer for there is no rule that states how many times the song is to be repeated. Melody is in the pentatonic scale range, from octave to thirteen intervals.

Overall, the rhythm of the transcriptions is medium to fast tempo (quarter note equals 100-128), with transcriptions two, three, and four starting on the up beat. Transcriptions five, six and seven, on the other hand, start on the first beat. All the transcriptions are in 4/4 meter. Response is always picked up on the last half beat of the song, and is tightly connected to the main part of the song as sung by the lead singer. There is no break between the two. Text is primarily vocable, and transcription five also includes some Chinese text.
In transcriptions four and five, the texture includes some instrumentals. Transcription five also contains some harmony, and has some warrior yelling at the beginning of the song.

For most of the songs the response by the group is sung in unison. The voices are raw and hoarse sounding, unlike the trained voice that westerners are used to hearing. The female soloist voices tend to be somewhat nasal sounding.

It is important to note the differences in the styles of music that the Amis have now incorporated as their own. Music, with all its differences, is a direct reflection of the society from which it evolves. In the case of Amis songs, responsorial singing such as in transcriptions one, two, and three, is quite typical. (While transcriptions six and seven are not in the strict responsorial style, they do include an echo response.) Responsorial singing for the Amis is a reflection of the obedience that is a part of their lifestyle; obedience to tribal and age-group leaders. That obedience as well as the community closeness also becomes evident in the tight timing between the lead singer and immediate response of the group. There is such a communal understanding among the Amis that the lead singer does not need to give lengthy directions in order for the group to follow. It's almost as if his body language or tone, or even increase in speed as he sings, sends a command to the group, who instantly obey.

Transcription four, on the other hand, reflects a Japanese influence. It is much more precise than the Amis songs. In this song the differences between the two cultures is quite clearly defined, for the Amis, while adhering to social norms and their own set of community rules, nevertheless live a much looser
lifestyle than do the Japanese. Their songs are not accompanied by instruments and their expressions are much more spontaneous than those containing a Japanese flavor.

All seven transcriptions contain vocables, the use of which is common to all of Taiwan's aboriginal music. The use of vocables allows the singers a degree of expression that is not necessarily tied to the rest of the text. In this way, the Amis maintain a certain Amis uniqueness while incorporating other cultural influences into their music.
CHAPTER SEVEN
SUMMARY

The Amis Harvest Festival is the biggest annual event for the Amis people, who consider singing and dancing to be a vital offering to their ancestors. Harvest Festival has a continuous history of over a hundred years. Over the years, it has preserved their cultural traditions, despite the fact that it has undergone numerous changes in the last century.

These changes are apparent in many areas; including its name, language, function, and events, but also in its music, songs, and dances. Originally Harvest Festival was a sacred ritual to thank the Gods for delivering them from the Alikakay, and to train and strengthen their warriors. Then it became a celebration ritual which added the concept of family, indoctrination, and organization to perpetuate traditions. And as governments became involved, political considerations changed both the name and content of the festival. Modernization, urbanization, new technology, popular music, world events, and religion also became variables that affected the content and context of the festival. As all of these new changes were adopted and integrated with the traditional festivals, it became easier for outsiders and even some insiders to subtly promote other ulterior purposes during the Harvest Festival.

The festival has also been known as the Malalikid, the Malikoda, the Milisin, the Kilumaan, and the Ilisin. These names are associated with the rituals and ceremonies that train the two groups of warriors who fought the Alikakay.

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Later Japanese names such as *Zukimisai* and *Suikakusai* were used during the Japanese occupation because of their desire to eliminate the training of potential dissidents. They tried to change the event into a non-threatening moon-viewing event. Recently, the Chinese names *Feng Nien Chi*, *Feng Nien Wu Chi* and *Feng Nien Chieh* have been used. These reflect the holiday and festive nature of the contemporary Harvest Festival. Each of the above names refers to the same event, but they each represent a distinct change in content, context, and even purpose.

Along with the name changes, the music of the Harvest Festival has also been affected by various influences. The Amis are known for their beautiful songs. Their use of polyphony and responsorial style of singing are two unique characteristics of their music. The Amis generally use the pentatonic scale. There were about thirty traditional songs that were sung in the Harvest Festival depending on the particular village. However, based on my survey, barely over ten of those traditional songs are now being used. (See p. 102) The other songs have died with the elders. In the traditional Harvest Festival, songs are sung only at given times, and in a designated way by a particular person. Song and dance, which plays a major role in Amis life and activities, are inseparable. This is why the lead singer is highly respected in the village. The best singers are those who can sing a lead solo, keep the steady rhythm, improvise when necessary, and are able to excite the dancers to give a response.

Until recently the Amis only had oral histories, so the songs and dances of the Harvest Festival were most important to preserving their history, traditions,
and culture. This is why only certain songs are sung during the Harvest Festival, and only among members of various villages. The indoctrination occurs during the Harvest Festival according to the agenda of each village.

Although theirs is a matrilineal society, the male age group system is fully recognized as the driving force behind Harvest Festival.

Due to changing needs in the Amis life, the Harvest Festival has evolved into four major types of celebrations at this time. They are:

**Traditional:** -- Very few villages conduct this type of festival. Their songs and dances are distinctly traditional using only responsorial style singing and chanting. As the elders pass away, so will this type of Harvest Festival.

**Contemporary:** -- This type of celebration is more typical and is conducted more like a civic recreational event. Besides traditional singing and dancing, they also include Chinese Pop music and Japanese influenced Chinese and Aboriginal songs, and Western songs. The atmosphere at these events more closely resembles a carnival than a sacred tradition.

**Joint:** -- This is a celebration held by several villages combining together that are geographically and culturally close. The celebration is conducted more like a competition of athletics, dancing, and singing between the different villages. It also provides good entertainment to both villagers and tourists alike and is similar to the contemporary style above.

**City:** -- This is a celebration for those Amis who cannot return to their original villages. It is held in major cities throughout Taiwan and is open to all Amis, no matter which village they came from. The songs and dances are limited
to those that are common to all Amis. This celebration is held for only one or two
days.

In contemporary Taiwan the Harvest Festival means many things to
different people. In every situation, music, songs, and dances play a major part.
For the Amis family, the festival serves as a time for family reunions, preserving
their traditional singing, dancing, and culture, improving the society’s self
awareness, and uniting the entire village socially and spiritually. For the Amis
men, it is a time to fully exercise their age group authority. For the Amis women,
it is a time to use their cooking skills and sewing skills to prepare their costumes.
For the Amis youth, besides physical training, it is a time to reemphasize lessons
of obedience, respect and service to their elders, and to find a wife. For the
merchants it is a time for good business. For the outsiders it is a great time to
observe, study and enjoy the festivities and culture. For the tourists it is a time to
be entertained.

Despite many outside influences, the Amis people have managed to retain
the essence of their culture through their Harvest Festival celebrations. Within
that celebratory environment of singing and dancing, and partaking of rice wine
to reinforce their connection to their gods and ancestors, the Amis people are
reminded of their roots. They embrace each other in dongs and dances.
Everyone who attends Harvest Festival leaves fulfilled, happy, and looking
forward to the next gathering. It is the hope of many of the elders that despite
more changes that will influence their people, the essence of the Harvest Festival
tradition will continue to unite the Amis people for centuries to come.
As a Han descendant who lived among the Amis people, and later living overseas in Hawaii, I believe that unfortunately the Harvest Festival will become very commercialized and secular. I have seen this trend in the culture of the native Hawaiians. Still, with the Taiwanese government promoting tourism to the rest of the world, the culture of the Amis (particularly the Harvest Festival) lends itself to becoming one of the major attractions for Taiwan. This, added to the natural beauty of the East Coast, Taroko Gorge, the East-West Highway, and the Su-Hua Highway, presents Taiwan as a viable tourist attraction. The government has also spent millions of dollars improving roads and infrastructure on the East Coast of Taiwan to accommodate an increase in the number of tourists visiting Taiwan.

As part of my field study I presented a survey to nineteen local scholars. Of the ten responding, most agreed that the majority of the traditional songs of the Harvest Festival will be lost in the near future. Only a desire on the part of the younger generation to learn, study, and experience the ancient traditions of their forebears will preserve and bring back some of the culture. However, as the young people become more westernized in their education, occupation, and lifestyles, the chances of this happening are very remote.

The Amis did not have names for their songs, so it was hard to keep track of the many songs and dances used in the Harvest Festival. To them, the songs were simply called "The Harvest Festival song" or the "Drinking Song." It is only when someone is asked if they remember a particular tune, that one of the elders will say something like, "Oh yes, I vaguely remember a similar tune when I was a
youngster.” Luckily there are several organizations working to preserve the songs and dances for future generations. Along with the Department of Transportation's support of the Tourism Bureau for the Park and Scenery of the East Coast, scholars, researchers, music educators, and other interested parties can record, catalog, and preserve the historicity of the Amis. The Ethnology Department of Academia Sinica is also helping in this effort, as are various museums such as the Shun Yi Museum in Taipei and the Taiwan Aboriginal Cultural Park in P'ingtung County. Some of the commercial cultural centers such as The Formosan Aboriginal Cultural Village in Nantou County, Wulai Aboriginal Village in Taipei County, and the Shantimen Village in P'ingtung County have been criticized for being too commercial, but the bottom line is that they are still helping to preserve the songs and dances of many aborigines. They also have researchers who help record and preserve the culture and traditions of the various tribes.

My review and analysis of Amis Harvest Festival music illustrates that the Amis still maintain a vast array of songs that depict the various styles found in their music, including the most traditional polyphonic songs, different types of responsorial singing, as well as songs in the Japanese and the Chinese style. With that in mind, I recorded songs that were performed at the Harvest Festival at Tu Lan Village. From those recordings I analyzed the form, melody, rhythm, text, texture, and styles of performance of seven of them. Generally speaking, the voices are untrained and raw sounding, with the female voices sounding somewhat nasal. The music itself is pentatonic and the rhythm is 4/4 meter.
Most commonly they start on the upbeat, especially in the responses of the responsoirial songs. The final tone is on Do in Transcriptions #1, #2, and #3, La in Transcriptions #4 and #5, and So in Transcriptions #6 and #7. Vocables are common to all of Taiwan's aboriginal music, and their use is found in all seven transcriptions. Vocables allow the singers to freely express themselves, and their inclusion in contemporary songs permits the Amis to maintain a certain amount of individuality that aids in the preservation of a small portion of their culture. These transcriptions further demonstrate the inter-tribal sharing of songs and even the globalization of the Amis Drinking Song.

The changes that I observed occurring in Amis Harvest Festival music is a reflection of the changes that have occurred in the lives of the Amis people, including the function of music in their society. For instance, it is only in their traditional songs that the responsoirial style is found. Whereas the responsoirial style was a reflection of a tightly-knit community, the modern autonomous lifestyle is apparently effecting the demise of this musical style among the Amis.

As I conclude this thesis, I feel that even though the above researchers record and keep the Amis music and dances for future generations in their archives, the original spirit and religious importance of the traditional Harvest Festival will be lost if the younger generation and others do not continue to work at preserving it and bringing back some of the culture. One of the reasons that Harvest Festival continues to be celebrated is its characteristic of adaptation. The Harvest Festival changed to accommodate the cessation of headhunting and warrior training; it changed to adapt to the oppressive Japanese occupation; and
it changed to adapt to the Chinese government which originally tried to suppress this event, but in recent years has fully supported its preservation and development; and it is changing to adapt to the current influx of modern technology and its accompanying music, songs, and lifestyle. This type of change is good and can be healthy for the survival of the Amis culture. As Bruno Nettl put it, "If there is anything really stable in the musics of the world, it is the constant existence of change" (Nettl 1983, p 174). I fully believe that the desires of the elders to save the Harvest Festival for centuries to come, even though it might not be in its traditional form, is destined to be fulfilled.
APPENDIX I
TRANSCRIPTIONS

The transcriptions of the following songs are made from cassette recordings I taped while visiting the various villages during their Harvest Festival celebrations. These are analyzed in Chapter Six of my thesis. It should be remembered that the key of these songs can change with each different singer based upon his own natural voice range. Sometimes, the same singer would change the pitch of the next verse of the same song. At other times, he would repeat the same song in a different key. The important thing to remember is that these songs allow the lead singer a lot of freedom in his singing.

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The Harvest Festival
Traditional Ladies Dance

Linda C. Kim, Transcriber
Transcription #1

(Solo:) Ho en be an ai e ya hi e ya ai ye yo haiyo

(Foot Stomping)

(ai ye yo ai yo ho hai ya)

(Group:) Ho en he

an ai e ya hi e si ye yo haiyo o hai ya
ai yi ye ya o hen hai ya ho ya ai ye yo ai

Repeat 3 times

ho hai ya u - a i ya u - a

i ya u - a ya yin hai yo hai ya

hai ya na ya hai yo hai yo hai ya
hai ya i ya en ho hai

ya
The Harvest Festival
La Ching Kuo Men's Traditional Dance

Leader
Linda C. Kim, Transcriber
Transcription #2

Respoud
The Harvest Festival
Naluwan Ladies Traditional Dance

Linda C. Kim, Transcriber
Transcription #3

1. na lu wan na lu wan do yin yo yi yiyo yin hoi ya

2. na lu ya hai ya na i yo i ye ho hai ya hai

ha na i a hen hai ya i ye hen ha ha na i ya hen hai ya

ho ho han hai ya ho ho han hai ya
The first time: Solo
The second time: Group
The Harvest Festival
La Chin Ma Men's Dance (Japanese Style)

[instrumental Introduction]

yi ya ho hai ya

[Interlude]

ya a yo i ya i he e o hi ye yan hai
Hello, how are you doing?
The Harvest Festival
La Kan Chun Men's Dance (Mandarin Chinese)

Linda C. Kim, Transcriber
Transcription #5

(Yelling) yi e wua wua wua

Instrumental Introduction

(R1st Group Singing)

Ri muy so ra yo ri muy so ra yo Ri muy so ra yo ri muy so ra yo

shi la shi ma ta la shi ta qin qin lan di tai lu ge

1 qing qing di shan ling ban zhe na xiao xi chun feng wei chui hua cao xian bo lang

2 bi lu di shan gu qing cui di shan lin ming mei di jing se xianghuayang mei li
我爱你

我爱你

我爱你

我爱你

我爱你

我爱你

我爱你
Isha shi ma ta la shi ta qin qin lan di tai ju

Instrumental Interlude
Hey-yo  xiang chun yu zi ren wo xin

(2nd Group)  Hey-yo

feng  mei li jing se gao shan fang cao nian nian lu

Oo

ling ren xiang wang di tai lu ge
The Amis Drinking Song
Sung by Kuo Ying Nan's Group

Linda C. Kim, Transcriber
Transcription #6

ho o hi yan hie hona ao o hi an na
ho an ho an ho yan ho he ha o he ha a ho hi a i a he a ho
ho hi an o hi an hona ho ha yai
ho ya ha ho ha yai he i ya ya
ho hai yan i e yan ho a ho hai yan ho hi hai ya hen an ho hai yai
ho o hai yo hai i ye yan ho a ho hai yan ho hi hai ya hen an ho hai yai
he i an ho an hoi yai
The Amis Drinking Song (Polyphony)

Excerpts from "Return to Innocence"

Linda C. Kim, Transcriber
Transcription #7

J = 92

Male: hei yai hai yo ai hai ya

Female: o a hu a yi e an

ho o an ya

ho o u an ya ho o i a yi
# APPENDIX II
## GLOSSARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words used in text</th>
<th>Chinese Character</th>
<th>Taiwanese LMJ</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academia Sinica</td>
<td>中央研究院</td>
<td>Tiong-iong gian2-kiu3-iN7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amis</td>
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Figure 1: Physical geography of Taiwan (Kwok 1977:8)
Figure 1. Distribution of the Formosan Aborigines. Tribal names in regular letters. Extinct tribes in parentheses ( ). Other name of the tribe in brackets [ ]. Languages in italic letters.
Locations of Ami Villages on Taiwan's East Coast
APPENDIX IV
DISCOGRAPHY

Listed below are CD's containing material that I used or cited in this thesis. Both the songs and pictures were recorded and taken during my three field trips to the East Coast of Taiwan in 1996, 1997, and 2001.

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PICTURES

The pictures on the following pages were taken during my field trips to the East Coast of Taiwan in 1996, 1997, and 2001. They are identified and listed in the beginning on page ix in the Preface to this thesis. Also, there are references in the text to various pictures that are representative of the subject at hand.

I tried to include pictures of different events and activities, different age groups, and different types of the Harvest Festival. I also selected pictures of men, women, and children as well as those representing the cultural food, customs, buildings, scenery, and lifestyle. Finally there are pictures of different ethnomusicologists that were also in attendance at various festivals.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY


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