Hatfield, DJ. "Registering sonic histories in a multiply occupied place: Sound and survivance in Mangota'ay, Taiwan ." *Sonic Histories of Occupation: Experiencing Sound and Empire in a Global Context*. Ed. Russell P. Skelchy and Jeremy E. Taylor. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022. 148–169. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350232310.0014>>.

Downloaded from Bloomsbury Collections, www.bloomsburycollections.com, 26 April 2023, 14:54 UTC.

Copyright © Russell P. Skelchy and Jeremy E. Taylor 2022. Released under a CC BY-NC-ND licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>). You may share this work for non-commercial purposes only, provided you give attribution to the copyright holder and the publisher, and provide a link to the Creative Commons licence.

Registering sonic histories in a multiply occupied place

Sound and survivance in Mangota'ay, Taiwan

DJ Hatfield

Not those voices but these: Learning to hear

'No, not that frog sound. Something more like this,' said Mangota'ay Pangcah visual and performance artist Rahic Talif as he began to discuss my recording of frogs in a culvert beside the Siuguluan River, which enters the Pacific Ocean near his home village of Mangota'ay, one of the Cepo' Pangcah communities.¹ He had told me his version of the history of the 1877 Cepo' Incident, a massacre after which Qing armies annexed Cepo' Pangcah Country into the empire. To those who know the story, this particular frog sound resembles the keening of elderly women upon hearing the demise of the community's youth, whom the Qing army ambushed at a banquet. I hadn't recorded the right sound. Rahic reminded me that more than recording, my work around Cepo' and along Taradaw ('The River', as Cepo' Pangcah call the Siuguluan River) entailed an aural pedagogy, learning ways of listening and responding to the multiply occupied places of Pangcah Country. I still had to learn to connect frog sounds – these frog voices, not another – to history.

In this chapter, I attend to the ways that Cepo' Pangcah create sonic histories. Indigenous sonic practices, such as registering traces of the Cepo' Incident in frog voices, create resonant figures. Just as the frogs have found spaces to survive in new circumstances, Indigenous practices of registering histories in sound assert that Pangcah relationships to the land endure even under continuing settler-colonial occupation and its attendant social transformations of Pangcah life.

Like frog voices, which resound within settler infrastructures, Indigenous assertion remains entangled with settler occupation; after all, the frog voices resemble the laments of elderly women in the wake of a massacre. If we know how to listen, the frog voices register this incident. Yet this sound is never just any frog voices but a specific species of frog singing in a particular frequency and rhythm at a particular time of year. Moreover, drainage ditches, such as those nearby the old bridge spanning the Siuguluan and near the site of the massacre (now on the campus of Jingpu Elementary School in Cawi'), provide additional habitat and concrete vaults that amplify frog voices. In this fashion, the frog-registered narrative maintains a presence, sounding within settler landscapes. Repeating annually, does it remind us that settler colonialism is, as Patrick Wolfe (2006) argues, structure and not event? Does it matter that hearing these frogs as a memory of the 1877 Cepo' Incident requires a pedagogy in listening?

In asking these questions, I attend to problems of registration. As I argue, the ways that Cepo' Pangcah people register voices create resonant figures through which people grapple with, and develop stances on, their relationship to settler-colonial occupation. In turn, these resonant figures inform local notions of history and community. Moreover, as they animate these figures in intercultural settings, Cepo' Pangcah people assert enduring relationships to their country, bidding settler people to view themselves as guests. Registration – the ways that sounds become particular types of voices – is crucial to this process in which sounds, like frog voices, become media for Indigenous histories and, in turn, survivance.

To develop my argument I will first briefly introduce Taiwanese Indigenous history. Bringing this background into conversation with critical Indigenous studies, I will then move to questions of voice and registration, with particular reference to communicative practices in Cepo'. With this background in place, I will compare and contrast how the sounds of settler infrastructures, the natural world and musical practices register voices. In my conclusion, I will draw from this comparison to ask how we might learn to listen differently, changing our stance on multiply occupied places such as Cepo'.

Much of this chapter necessarily requires a self-reflexive method in which I work through my own experiences of learning to register frog voices, school chimes and riparian sounds as particular figures of Cepo' Pangcah histories. As a settler ethnographer from North America engaged in long-term collaboration with Pangcah visual and performance artists, I must question how I listen; engaging with oral history and interpreting narrative and musical works alongside my collaborators are steps towards deepening my relationships with

the resonant figures which my collaborators and consultants in the field animate as they listen, sing and tell stories. In this chapter, I narrate this process of learning to listen as a means to rethink how we might understand the role of registration in the formation of sonic histories that often remain tacit, part of a broader sense of place. And yet, I also examine how figures from these histories might also be employed to confront settler assumptions that present relationships of occupation can – and should – continue indefinitely into the future.

Historical background

Today the 'Amis/Pangcah are one of sixteen officially recognized Taiwanese Indigenous peoples. Like other Taiwanese Indigenous peoples, Pangcah speak an Austronesian language and are descended from Austronesian peoples who resided on Taiwan millennia before the arrival of Sinophone settler colonists around 400 years ago.² Today, recognized Taiwanese Indigenous people comprise around 2.3 per cent of the population; with a population of over 200,000 the 'Amis/Pangcah are the largest Taiwanese Indigenous group.

Both vernacular and official Sinocentric histories of Taiwan portray Pangcah Country on Taiwan's Pacific coast and the East Rift Valley as a frontier settled long after the western plains, a distant backwater awaiting development. Only in the 2000s, following Taiwan's transition to a multicultural democracy, have alternate histories portraying the Pacific coast as a vibrant, outward-facing place appeared. These histories point to Taiwan's kinship with the Pacific and Southeast Asia as a means to re-imagine (and rebrand) Taiwan as other than, and beyond, China. Indigenous people tend to approach this national re-imagining ambivalently. In spite of these symbolic gestures, most of Pangcah Country faces pressure from corporations eager to develop the Pacific coast for tourism.

Pangcah understandings of place and history sometimes employ tropes of underdevelopment, but also point to the ocean as a place of ancestral journeys and continued sustenance. Most Pangcah oral histories begin with the arrival of the sister and brother pair Dongi and Rarakan (in some versions, Nakaw and Sra), who landed on Taiwan after surviving a flood, and continue with descriptions of ancestral journeys throughout Taiwan and the Pacific. For coastal 'Amis/Pangcah, whose communities sit on a narrow shelf between the Coastal Range and the Pacific Ocean, fishing and gathering along the *riyar* (ocean) remain important cultural and subsistence practices. The Cepo' Pangach communities, situated around the mouth of the Siuguluan River, also relied on Taradaw as a

major means of communication, travelling along it to trade, procure resources and create alliances. Both lagoon and river also drew the attention of other groups, including European merchants who found the lagoon at Cepo' a useful landing site. For the past 500 years, the Cepo' Pangcah communities (Tidaan, Mangota'ay, Laeno and Cawi') have weathered the arrival of Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch colonial merchants, navies and priests; Sinophone settler colonists and Qing imperial armies; Japanese colonial police, schools and industries; and the current Republic of China (Taiwan) government which arrived in the 1940s.

Qing campaigns to assert control over Cepo' in the late 1870s responded to ongoing Western and Japanese colonial pressures. British gunboats had already forced the Qing to sign unequal treaties beginning in 1842, with the treaty that ended the First Opium War (1839–42). In 1871, the Japanese Imperial Navy, wanting to demonstrate sovereignty over Okinawa, occupied part of present-day Taitung County, on Taiwan's south-east coast, after locals kidnapped the crew of an Okinawan ship. Once British diplomats had negotiated a settlement between the Japanese and the Qing court, British engineers and surveyors assisted in the construction of lighthouses and garrisons. The strategic location of Cepo' and its complex relationships with Sinophone merchants made it an important site for a garrison in the Qing campaign to extend effective sovereignty over Taiwan's east coast.

With the Cepo' Incident in 1877 and the defeat of their community, Cepo' Pangcah would begin to be absorbed within a state system. The Qing occupation was brief, however. Only during the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945) would Pangcah encounter apparatuses of modern states such as public works, wage labour, compulsory education, liquor and tobacco monopolies and taxation. Nonetheless, earlier occupations have left traces around Cepo'. Through registering these traces in frog voices, school chimes or song, Cepo' Pangcah assert that they remain, even when residing in urban centres such as Taypak (Taipei) or Takaw (Kaohsiung).

Acoustemology?

In turning to registration I move away from the question of 'what occupation sounds like' towards questions of how Cepo' Pangcah record and inflect occupation in sounds, quotations of sound in discourse and practices of listening. In this regard, my work shares with the work of anthropologist Steven Feld (1996) and other scholars' (e.g. Faudree 2012; Helmreich 2007; Idhe 2007;

Samuels et al. 2010) concerns about how we sense and know the world through sound. This shift to ‘how’ questions (and away from ‘what’ questions) might best be indicated in Feld’s (1996) move from R. Murray Schafer’s (1977) concept of soundscape towards ‘acoustemology’.

I am inspired by Feld’s discussion of knowing and sensuous participation in the world through sound; however, I must admit that I have been sceptical of acoustemology as Feld defines it (1994, 1996, 2015) because of its avoidance of power relations, particularly colonial occupation, as constitutive. Acoustemology projects a kind of ecological holism upon Indigenous people and their ways of knowing through sonic practices. In this regard, Feld’s work is driven by impulses similar to that of Schafer (1977): it desires a world undisturbed by the forces that it assumes have rent a previous acoustic ecology, rather than examining the complicated processes through which Indigenous people have wrestled with dispossession and create decolonizing practices. What if, in contrast, we began with a consideration of how colonial occupation resonates across Indigenous places? After all, the category of ‘Indigenous’ is always defined in relationship to occupation, to dispossession from, as well as a relationship to, Country.

Settler colonialism and occupation

Occupation for Indigenous peoples connotes more than political arrogation or military violence – although these are components of settler-colonial occupation. Rather, occupation in settler-colonial contexts involves ongoing forms of cultural disintegration and ethical dislocation. As Patrick Wolfe (2006) and others (Coulthard 2014; Kauanui and Wolfe 2012; Kauanui 2016; Simpson 2014) have argued, settler colonialism is structure, not event. In other words, settler colonialism is a congeries of processes, an ongoing project aimed at the elimination of Indigenous peoples. Regardless of the forms such processes take, they aim to sever relationships that Indigenous people articulate through place. Settler occupation accompanies processes of elimination. Culturally, it abets transformation of land from the status of a subject with whom Indigenous people maintain ethical relationships to a resource that may be exploited through settler industry (Coulthard 2010; Simpson 2017).

In contrast to settler objectification of land as resource, Yellowknives Dene political theorist Glen Coulthard (2010) has called attention to what he calls ‘grounded normativities’, perduring relationships to (and through) Country as ethical ground and guarantor. Coulthard argues that however curtailed the land

base may become under colonial occupation, place still remains resonant as Indigenous people continue to maintain lives in relationship to land. Scholars working on the Pacific have amended this notion of place to include ocean as an ethical subject (see, for example, Diaz 2011) – a useful move for Pangcah and other maritime peoples. We may observe such relationships to land/ocean in Cepo' as members of the Mangota'ay, Laeno and Cawi' communities continue to converse with and draw sustenance from the ocean and river mouth in spite of military police harassment under martial law (1949–87) and increasing tourist development pressures today. Cepo' people still hear and speak to *riyar* (ocean), *sra* (land) and Taradaw (the River) as they maintain Pangcah lives.

In keeping with this stress on land as an ethical subject, much recent work in critical Indigenous studies has attended to the ways that place-based strategies of resistance offer alternative models to settler economies and nation-state forms (Alfred 1999, 2005; Corn tassel 2012; Coulthard 2010; Simpson 2017). Ethnomusicologists and other scholars working on Indigenous musics and media have shown how a wide variety of sounds and sonic practices inform protest (Barker 2015; Gibson and Dunbar Hill 2000; Martineau 2015), maintain kinship (Fisher 2009), assert modernity or a place in global popular culture circulation (Jacobsen 2017; Tsai 2010), encourage language revival (Barrett 2016; Faudree 2013) and create alliances (Christen 2006). In these works, sound figures as both an element of political mobilization and, more importantly perhaps, an element of everyday strategies of survivance (Steinman 2015; Vizenor 1999).

In other words, listening and sounding in their witness to occupation might also inform decolonizing strategies. Such a strategy emerges from listening to frog voices as a memory of the 1877 Cepo' Incident and resonates with the name some survivors of the incident gave their community when they returned from the mountain refuge of Cilangasan: *Mangota'ay* ('murky' may refer to the turbid waters surrounding the mouth of Taradaw; however, it also encodes a desire to leave memories of the incident murky, letting one's heart remain murky until the day when the waters settle and one can again remember and see clearly). This murkiness inheres in a soundscape where frogs maintain memory for those who learn to listen.

Memories inhering in the soundscape bring to mind the Peircean distinction between index and symbol as developed in research on ritual (Rappaport 1999; Seligman et al. 2008), music (Turino 2007) and interpretation (Tamen 2001). Indices are sign relationships in which the sign makes immediate and co-present its object, often participating in its activity or agency. As these meanings are often embodied, depend on habit and are rarely cognized, they often have the

effect of grounding a community in shared practices, a 'shared subjunctive' that affords mediation across social boundaries (Seligman et al. 2008; Turino 2007). In his work on interpretation, literary theorist Miguel Tamen (2001) contrasts indexical meaning as 'participation' with another type of meaning he calls 'symbolic reduction'. Following Tamen, we could argue that sounds that participate in occupation do not mean or symbolize occupation; rather, they establish its presence. What value I might assign to such sounds remains orthogonal to their action, which is broadly indexical, part of the structure of occupation. This kind of registration contrasts with what Tamen (2001) calls symbolic reduction, in that reduction isolates the sign as one of a series of tokens, for example, a sound that is 'another instance of occupation'. Drawing from this work, we can understand registration as one way that listening and sounding practices engage with other voices, developing in this process a variety of stances. Some of these registrations relate to sounds as diffuse indices of occupation. Others may reduce sounds to particular instances of occupation in rhetorics of comparison, accommodation or refusal. The point of this distinction is not so much to categorize as to be aware of shifts in registration, the places where murky, diffuse indices of occupation become clear (and vice versa). How we interact with sounds as voice thus shifts the significance of sounds and sounding through their specific registers.

Like other 'Amis/Pangcah peoples, Cepo' Pangcah have a bountiful tradition of dance and vocal musics. These musics have been the focus of tourism and colonial representations of indigeneity from the Japanese colonial period onward (Wang 2008). Notably, ritual dance musics mediate between external power (including settler power) and Pangcah communities and have been at the centre of anxieties concerning official multiculturalism and tourist-oriented development. In these and other cases, Pangcah employ musical practices in their relationship to colonial occupiers as well as other outside agencies, in attempts to absorb them, rendering them guests (*lafang*) with ethical obligations to their communities (Hatfield 2020). In other words, dance enrolls outsiders and mediates difference through ritual action (see Seligman et al. 2008).

How might sonic practices create 'shared subjunctives' (Seligman et al. 2008) but also complicate this account of ritual action, giving us a better purchase on how sound studies might contribute to our understanding of occupation? To answer this question, we can first examine the role of sonic practices in the creation of a broad indexical framework that conveys the diffuseness of occupation and, second, look at the way that sound figures in forms of symbolic reduction. Pangcah people employ sonic practices to situate some actors and

institutions as tokens ('another example of colonial occupation') while asserting their participation (embodied, indexically) in the continued life of the *niyaro*'. In this fashion, these sonic practices situate the *niyaro*' as an encompassing indexical framework while reducing the claims of settler institutions.

Quotations of voices

In Sowel no 'Amis the sounds of frogs, waves or school chimes generally remain within the category of *soni*, sounds that may be made both unintentionally and without meaning, as opposed to *ngiha*, sounds made by intentional beings and which are inherently meaningful, even if they have no semantic content. *Ngiha* encompasses both non-linguistic sounds and linguistic utterances in song, storytelling and speech.

To pull *soni* into discourse requires enregisterment such as quotation. Quotations of *soni* and *ngiha* follow the same pattern, the addition of the aspectual particle *sa* or its derivatives *saan/sanay* or *haan/hanay*, which function as quotatives. Both particles register voices, sounds and states in a form of direct discourse: they double or parody the sound or voice ('she said/she was like') rather than incorporate it indirectly ('she said that'). *Saan/haan* interrupts the speaker's voice with mimetic figuring of the quoted voice. Thus, in narrative and in song, the quotatives *sa cingra/ha ira* create dialogic texts combining sounds (particularly ideophonic usages) and speech, a multiplicity of *nghia* or *soni*.

Moreover, Sowel no 'Amis also employs a panoply of ideophones to register the sound of actions and states. For example:

Rok-rok sa ko keter no faloco' no hongti

'Burple burble', went the king's heart as it boiled with anger

Awa-ay ko ka-olah-an, cedi cedi sa ko losa' no mako

No one loves me. 'Shimmer shimmer', go my tears

Ma-piw-piw sa i lalan, awa-ay ko kihar i Taitong

'Shimmy shimmy' along the road, I am carefree in Taitung.

The use of quotatives as adverbial and aspectual phrases in Sowel no 'Amis suggests a sonorous registration of action and states. While some of these examples register visual or tactile experiences to establish aspect, it is notable that the paradigmatic usage of *sa/saan* is quotation, as if qualification of actions and states requires direct discourse. While these ideophones may take verb

affixes, such as *ma-* or *ka-* *-an*, to become undergoer or locative voice verbs, for example *ma-piwpiw sa i lalan* (shimmying one's hips along the road) or *ka-tatala'-an no 'orad* (a furious downpour), people more frequently use these ideophones to quote actions and states, treating them as voices.

Registration as direct discourse amplifies the resonance of experiences even as it clears space to establish stance. One way of thinking of registration, then, is as a kind of animation (in the Goffmanian sense). By voicing sonic features in both spoken and sung discourse, 'Amis people animate sonic others and thus stand in a variety of agentive or evaluative relationships with them (Fox 2004: 37–41). This process of animation is one means for Pangcah people to register colonial occupation in a critical fashion.

What did you expect to hear?

I often wonder what tourists expect when they visit coastal Pangcah communities. What a surprise that everything looks, to the untrained eye, just like any other rural Taiwanese (here meaning settler) village: the same concrete houses, the same corrugated metal rooves and motorized doors. Perhaps village streetscapes are too bland in their everydayness to register. Sound, however, does key those who visit or reside in Cepo' to features of the environment and habitation specific to coastal Pangcah communities. At all hours and seasons, one can hear the ocean and river, sometimes backgrounded by other sounds but often present as a source of information about whether it will be a good day to go diving, fishing or gathering and what tools to use. As a sonic and ancestral presence, the ocean provides a set of metaphors that inform musical practice, including dance steps and melodic contours. Before dawn, one can hear the stroke of boat engines, dogs answering barks from across the village and the earliest rooster calls. An occasional truck rumbles along Route 11. If the weather and moon are right for catching fish in the lagoon, one can also hear the sound of small tractors and scooters as men and women head down with their nets. After dawn, as they return, the clack of aluminium doors opening and shouts of '*Talacowa Kiso?*'²³ tell one that another day has begun. Children head to school, and the school chimes begin to peal. Most evenings, the sound of television broadcasts, singing with friends in courtyards or in coin-operated karaokes, and conversation weaves together. After everyone has closed their houses and gone to sleep, Cawi' remains sonically dense with the sounds of frogs, insects, birds and – holding all of it in its constant movement – the ocean and river.

Rain pattering on corrugated metal rooves and the clatter of aluminium doors may have once sounded hopeful when these materials symbolized modernity, but these sounds are now taken-for-granted features of villages rebuilt on far-ocean fishing money during the 1970s and 1980s, much of the construction promoted by a settler government committed to 'life improvement' in Indigenous communities. Programmes of life improvement included prohibitions on speaking Sowel no Pangcah in schools as well as projects for urbanizing Indigenous villages. Most people older than forty years of age can remember living in thatched-roofed structures and punishments for speaking their mother tongue in public.

As it is for other Taiwanese people, for Pangcah the sound of occupation resounds through language and popular musics. The engagements of Pangcah with colonial states and industries appear in lexical items and motifs that by now often escape explicit recognition of their alien provenance; the musical motifs may now sound traditional. It is not so much that these borrowed musical motifs and words no longer resonate more than they contrast with the sounds of later occupations, the Japanese melodies of *enka*-inspired songs contrasting with songs brought by the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) after the Japanese surrender in 1945, these songs contrasting with more recent musical conversations with hip hop and K-Pop.

Linguistically, the borrowed terms form a veritable catalogue of modernity. Nearly all, of course, are borrowed from Japanese and, in many cases, Japanese loanwords from Western languages. These terms sound out the diffuse character of occupation, a diffuseness that might leave us deaf to occupation, regarding it as unexceptional. This diffuse character is also a feature of the lived environment as, for example, one hears in local elementary schools or corrugated metal rooves.

To register occupation in sonic practices, then, means to remember and to cultivate modes of audition that preserve relationships to the ocean, river and land that together comprise Cepo'. It is also to make sound in ways that register a gap between the appearance of a normal village and the histories of occupation (including ongoing forms and threats of colonial violence) that condition that normality. It is to register a kind of refusal.

Diffuse sounds of multilayered occupation: School chimes

From the morning and into the late afternoon, elementary schools on either side of Cepo' Lagoon mark school periods with Westminster Chimes and a song adapted from the Second Movement of Dvořák's 'From the New World'.

The song is called 'Homesickness' (*nian guxiang*) in Mandarin Chinese, likely a reference to the afterlife of this movement as the song 'Going Home' as adapted by Dvořák's student William Arms Fisher. The use of both songs derives from Japan. 'Going Home' often plays in Japan on the 5.00 pm chimes, which serve as a test of emergency announcement broadcasts and a gentle reminder to children to return home. In Taiwan, the electronic chime version of 'Going Home' echoes through school compounds and out into surrounding neighbourhoods as schoolchildren head home for supper.

Perhaps nostalgia and a connection with high culture explain its use in school chimes in Taiwan, a country where even garbage trucks play Beethoven and Bądarzewska (and where warblers have come to imitate the melody of Bądarzewska's 'The Young Maiden's Prayer') (van Tongeren 2016). As an index of the school day, moreover, 'Going Home' iterates other features of the school as a component of occupation in Cepo': like the name for elementary school, *kongkoan*,⁴ the song borrows from Japanese practice. School chimes resound across different historical occupations, as Japanese sonic practices continue in the contemporary school system. Today, elementary schools in Indigenous districts broadcast popular songs by Taiwanese Indigenous singers; passing beside Gangkou Elementary, one can sometimes hear students practising traditional Pangcah songs. We are no longer in the days when the KMT strove to recover the lost metropole and enforced a monocultural Chinese nationalism, but a multicultural Taiwan where students can study their mother tongue at elementary school, at least for one hour a week. However, the framing of Pangcah language or music within the tones of 'Going Home' or the Westminster Chimes marks the school as a representative of Taypak (i.e. the settler government) within the community's midst, resonating across the space of the community.

Nonetheless, the use of 'Going Home' as the late afternoon bell dates no earlier than the 1970s. Before then, the elementary school in Laeno used only hand rung bells. When asked whether schools had musical chimes during the late Japanese colonial period and the early post-war period, a variety of respondents whom I asked from Indigenous and settler communities around Taiwan underscored that Taiwan was a poor country in the early post-war period. Cepo' lacked electricity until well into the 1970s.

'Going Home' thus registers in ways distinct from the actual conditions of its adoption in Taiwan, even among those who remember that the bells are not a simple continuation of elementary school practice from the Japanese colonial period through the martial law period to the present. Most people hear 'Going Home' as a memory of the Japanese colonial period. Yet, the actual borrowing

of this song for school bells happened under the KMT, during the martial law period in which the KMT government sought recognition as 'Free China' and often sought to displace or erase signs of Japanese colonialism. Like the case of 'The Young Maiden's Prayer' on Taiwan's musical garbage trucks, the song was likely transferred from Japan along with the broadcast technology, a kind of resonant accident. Heard as an index of the elementary school's Japanese colonial origins, the song registers several gaps: the first, between decolonizing claims made by the KMT and the reality of continued colonial dispossession; the second, between time as known in land- and ocean-based practices in Cepo' and the time of schools and other colonial institutions.

The school chimes resonate across the space of the entire village. As I sit in my friend's house in Cawi', I can hear them broadcast from across the lagoon, echoing from Gangkou Elementary as well as from Jingpu Elementary School just 100 metres or so down the road. This extension of the sound beyond the school across the *niyaro'* participates in a generalized settler dominance of time and activity, layering clock time, *toki*, over the sounds of river and ocean which index a time organized by daylight, moon and tide. The time of the school is that of governing and disciplining bodies. Nevertheless, the school chimes layer over the ocean and river rather than displacing them entirely. The voice of *riyar* may thus always call us to be other than docile subjects of national institutions.

Tela' to ko 'aresing: Sound registering a change of heart

Sound may also effect a shift in registration, as its voice continues in the narrative. As such, quotation often registers sound as an agent, a voice that compels one to act differently. For example, I had been out recording sounds of Taradaw early one June morning in 2017. Rahic, with whom I was collaborating on a project to document riparian soundscapes, had earlier told me that my recordings had captured the force and murky quality of the river but lacked a feeling for clear, still water. Conditions upriver from Mangota'ay that morning were right, with the sun glinting off the south wall of the canyon as it burned away the morning fog. I recorded the sound of dew as it dropped from leaf to leaf.

When I shared my recording later that day, Rahic became animated as he told me a story that quoted dew falling in the mountains. Rahic's Grandfather had served as a police officer in the Japanese colonial administration. In the early 1930s, Japanese officials, anxious to suppress the remnants of the Wushe Uprising (1930), sent many police officers upland. On the mission, Rahic's Grandfather

trekked upriver along Taradaw towards the 'Cold Mountains' (*kasi'enawan a lotok*; the Central Mountain Range). As Grandfather entered a narrow gorge, he felt homesickness. He lit his pipe, smoking as he walked through the gloom of the canyon, wading through the river or scrambling over rocks. It was in the afternoon. Soon the sun reflecting from the walls of the canyon filled it with light. He was not far from his destination. Far above him, near the rim of the gorge, the enemy, Iwatan or Tayen hostile to the Japanese, smelled the tobacco smoke as it drifted upwards:

'Who is this enemy we smell, coming near us?' asked the Iwatan. They mobilized their youth to intercept the intruder. Just then, as Grandfather walked through the shimmering canyon, '*tela' saan ko matela' no aresing*', a drop of the coldest dew fell from the leaf of a tree far above him. '*Tela'tela'tela' saan*', it fell from leaf to leaf and into a pool of water where the creek rested, radiating outward, '*to:ng, saanay. Tela' tela' sa*', the dew fell on Grandfather's face and on his chest. At that moment, Grandfather's heart cooled (*mafasaw ko faloco' ira*).

'Aya! What am I to do, *tela'* went the dew as it fell, cooling my heart. Why am I going to attack the Iwatan? They are people, not my enemy,' said Grandfather.

However, the Iwatan had already discovered him. Soon they were blocking his way. Grandfather had no way to communicate with them except through song. He began to sing of his journey and of the dew:

Aya, Widang-aw! Ma-tela'tela' saan to ko aresing
Ma-fasaw no tela' no aresing ko faloco' ako, widang!
saan ko A-Kong
 'Aya, My friend! *Tela' tela'* went the dew,
 The *tela'* of the dew cooled my heart, friend,' said Grandfather.

The Iwatan conveyed him to their village. Grandfather was certain that he would be decapitated, but he thought: 'These are people. They are not my enemy.' He slept in their village that night following a banquet. Although he thought, 'Tomorrow morning my head will be gone', he awoke the next morning to the sound of early morning rain dripping from the straw rooves of the village houses. He knew this sound from rainy days in his youth. His hosts brought him a basin of water to wash his face. The cold water reminded him of the dew: 'Aya! What am I to do? These are not my enemies. Why must I do the bidding of the Japanese to attack them?' Warning the village of the Japanese advance, Grandfather left his mission to wander with them, befriending Iwatan, Manuwan and Tayen in the mountains.

Rahic quotes the sound of dew as a way to depict Grandfather's transformation. Underscoring the importance of this quotation in direct discourse, he animates

the speech and song of his Grandfather. In Rahic's telling, dewfall's sound indexes the moment of transformation and iconizes Indigenous life (the architecture of thatched-roof houses). Just as the sound of dew falling from the thatched rooves in the Iwatan village resembles the sound of rain on thatched rooves in Mangota'ay, the Iwatan are 'people' and not 'enemy'.

In telling the story, Rahic provided a means to situate the sound of dew within a Pangcah sonic memory. Narrative registration of dewfall encodes a memory of Pangcah responses to occupation, a call to conscience when one might saddle too close to colonial power. An environmental sound becomes available as an alternative history, complete with its own ethical imagination. Punctuating the diffuseness of occupation, sound abets ethical transformation.

Singing of the rapids

Other practices register differently configured landscapes and engage in types of assertion. For example, the *milalik*, a Cepo' Pangcah song associated with travel along Taradaw, produces a sense of place distinct from ordinary contexts of road travel and settler administrative hierarchies. Because the song, like most traditional Pangcah songs, has only vocables as lyrics, improvised additions to the lyrics as well as different versions of the song layer this sense of place with assertions concerning the meanings of Taradaw and its history for social relationships today.

'*Milalik*' is the active voice, subject focal verb form of *lalik*, a cognate of *likir* and *likid*, which means to tumble or speed down a rapidly flowing river. Thus, *milalik* has the connotation of someone shooting the rapids. When asked about this song, most people who can sing it will point out the context of river travel. Rafts once served as the main means of transportation across the Coastal Range, plying Taradaw from Cepo' to Ruisui and down again. Where now white-water rafts convey tourists from Ruisui downward to a restaurant and gift shop beneath the New Canghong Bridge, rafts manned by Cepo's youth once carried goods downriver to the *niyaro*'.

One afternoon, a white-water rafting boat guide and his mother, Meilice, took me on a zodiac raft from the lagoon upriver. We surmounted the first rapids and stopped to hear the birds calling above the rush of the river and falling creeks. Meilice sang the *milalik*.

The melodic contour of *milalik* moves the voice from the dominant upward to the tonic and again upward a major fourth before cascading downward to the

tonic an octave below. Most of the movement contrasts upward and downward stepwise movement, with occasional skips over a fourth or a fifth. Although the song is in vocables with improvised lyrics, these added lyrics generally encourage the crew on its journey, naming features of the landscape along the way. In keeping with this convention, Meilice's improvised lyrics, chanted in monotone, animated the part of a leader of a raft crew telling his fellow youths: 'Be strong! We are bringing home wood, logs and bamboo to build houses in our village. Be strong!'

Aware that I was recording, Meilice added her interpretation of the song in relation to local social organization. 'Our people', she said, 'depend on shared labour (*mipaliw*). In the past, before the road was built, the most important organization for collective endeavours, such as transporting building materials, was the age set organization, which is still active today. The age set organization mobilized youth for the work. Part of this mobilization, the song encouraged the young men to overcome their fear of the rapids. As an environmental activist who fished the lagoon a few times a week, Meilice placed Taradaw within the networks of shared labour (*paliw*) that she highlighted in her remarks. That summer, she also mobilized a group of people who fished the lagoon as 'netizens' who would share labour for environmental assessment, shellfish population management and clean-up work. Her *milalik*, performed on a zodiac in the midst of Taradaw, was meant to enrol me in this ethical relationship to the river.

If Meilice focuses on the age set organization and practices of shared labour, Rahic holds a special affection for *milalik* as a song through which he communicated to Taradaw during a fierce typhoon in which a landslide nearly swept him away. He also articulates in his *milalik* a critique of geographies of occupation.

Rahic's version of *milalik* creates textural contrasts of soaring glissando movements on phrases with skipping motion and nearly staccato articulation on the stepwise falling motion of each verse's cadence. At times, his articulation in these cadences resembles sighing or relaxing after a period of exertion. On several occasions of listening, recording or performing *milalik* with Rahic, I have noticed how his lyrics range from humorous, teasing lines about being cast overboard and mistaking a raftmate's penis for an eel (humour is always a good way to stare down fear, explains Rahic), to those describing the hardships of travel through the rapids. He also sings lyrics that describe Taradaw in historical terms as *narakatan no mato'asay*, the road the old people (ancestors) walked. In these lyrics, Rahic grieves that today Taradaw has largely been forgotten, left to tourists. Following the pattern of the song, Rahic's *milalik* usually ends with

an exhortation to the listener: “Take what we give you as materials to build a beautiful *niyaro*”. However, he extends his vision metaphorically, voicing, along with the river, a sense that no one walks Taradaw any longer.

I suspect that this acquaintance with Taradaw is distinct from the experience of driving to Ruisui along the road above the river. Today the river belongs mostly to tourists. The sounds of outboard motors dominate the Siuguluan River today, participating in a settler transfer of Taradaw to adventure tourism. But Taradaw can still call to us in song. When we *milalik*, do we hear an echo of a life now diminished, of habits transformed by settler governments and their hierarchy of central places? *Milalik* maintains the resonance of a riparian economy that once linked Pangcah communities in the Rift Valley and the Pacific coast. We hear echoes of this system in the family resemblances of ritual musics along the river; yet, the reality of settler occupation has meant that Pangcah today are less oriented to the river than to the routes and networks that link them to Hualien, the major administrative centre, and to schools, stores and township offices in Fongbin or Changbin. *Milalik* reminds us, if we allow it, that this hierarchy of places is a relatively recent feature, an adjunct of the settler state. *Milalik* conjures a world in which Taradaw was central.

Complicating this awareness is our knowledge that the Siuguluan River was always a mediating space. Ruisui had long been an outpost of settler merchants, and the Coastal Range and Rift Valley were home to groups whose relationships with Pangcah were sometimes friendly but often hostile. Nonetheless, *milalik* creates a kind of ‘shared subjunctive’ (Seligman et al. 2008) in which singers and listeners reclaim Taradaw as a mediating (and life-giving) space, the centre of a Pangcah world.

This use of *milalik* as an assertion is even more notable when we listen to an example of its appearance in inter-ethnic contexts, such as the production of contemporary Indigenous popular music, the audience for which includes people from other Indigenous groups and the settler population, as well as Pangcah people. In his 2013 album, *Cepo*, Mangota’ay Pangcah singer-songwriter Anu Kaliting Sadipongan performed a version of *milalik* with lyrics co-written with Arik, also of Mangota’ay. The most distinctive quality of Anu’s version is that there are fixed lyrics throughout. Anu sings only the first phrase of each verse in vocables. In this version with lyrics, Mangota’ay Pangcah relationships to *riyar* and Taradaw are spelled out for a possibly unfamiliar audience. However, rather than the resonance of riparian trade and travel, ancestral journeys and occupation echo throughout Anu’s version. The first of the song’s five stanzas establishes the narrative through reference to the legend of Dongi and Rarakan,

the sister and brother who became ancestors of Pangcah following a devastating flood (Anu 2013). Moreover, the Anu version begins, tellingly, with the sound of the ocean, which alone occupies the first thirteen seconds of the recording. Above this sound, we hear the first verse sung by an elderly woman. A bass drone, tuned to the tonic, enters at the end of the phrase '*siya siya sa ko tamokis to lafi*' (the whitecaps (across which Dongi and Rarakan travelled on a tiny raft) soughed all evening). The drone continues, shifting after four beats to a minor third and then, four beats later, back to the tonic.

From the first verse's description of floating in the troubled ocean, longing to set one's eyes on a place to land, the lyrics turn to the couple's first sight of Cepo' and their settlement there. As the second verse begins, synth notes begin to fill the background. Anu's voice enters on the second line of the second verse, in which the couple land at Cepo', becoming the ancestors of Pangcah people. As his voice doubles the elderly woman's, a guitar vamp and drums enter. The elderly woman's voice drops out of the mix, and Anu's voice comes to the centre.

The lyrics then describe Taradaw and *riyar* as the source of life for Cepo' Pangcah and assert that the village's laws and ritual continue from the ancestors to the present day. This last phrase, '*rayray tahaanini*', transmitted or passed down to this moment, forms a caesura for the first three stanzas, after which the last two stanzas take up the history of the 1877 Cepo' Incident and the movement of Pangcah people across the Coastal Range to the Rift Valley and to the north and south of Cepo'. The song concludes with a description of Pangcah people cultivating the land and remembering their ancestors 'to this very day' *tahaanini*. In order to underscore this transmission of ancestral presence, Anu repeats this last phrase, '*tahaanini, tahaanini*'.

In this fashion, the two sections of the song establish the song's resonance for an inter-ethnic audience. For listeners who read a paraphrase of the lyrics into Mandarin in the album's liner notes or – more likely – on the subtitles of the video to 'Cepo' (as Anu's version of *milalik* is titled), the song sounds out a Pangcah history of relationships to the land and struggle against Qing armies, a metaphor for forces now bent on wresting the land from Pangcah people, such as corporate developers and their allies in the settler state. In Anu's version, the song locates ancestral presence as a source radiating forward and outward '*tahaanini*' in which Anu and other Cepo' Pangcah struggle to maintain their stewardship of the ocean and river which has from the time of the ancestors sustained them. Hence, the resonance of Anu's version differs from Rahic's or Meilice's versions, in which a discursively unelaborated but sensed memory of Taradaw opposes settler place hierarchies in the present. Registering in the lyrics present threats on Cepo' as

analogous to the Qing invasion in 1877, it is a call to struggle as well as an assertion of Pangcah sovereignty ‘to this very day.’ In this sense, Anu’s version engages in a kind of symbolic reduction, showing developers to be yet another occupying force.

Apart from the lyrics, the mix, in which Anu’s voice enters as a doubling of an elderly woman’s voice and eventually fades into the ocean, suggests the traditional provenance of the song, as if Anu learned the song from the elderly woman. The video (Lekal 2013) underlines this narrative, showing an elderly woman sitting on a bench overlooking the ocean and a little boy who learns the song by singing along. At the conclusion of the video, Anu – in the video the boy now grown into a youth – returns to this place where he learned the song. This narrative, of course, is anachronistic: Anu co-wrote the lyrics. The video and mix both situate Anu’s singer-songwriter practice within a deeper, more traditional pedigree than competitions and record labels in Taiwan’s capital city of Taipei. However, Anu’s version of *milalik* does more than assert tradition. The lyrics animate a song of travel along Taradaw, understood among Cepo’ Pangcah as constituting their relationship to place, making this song speak as an assertion of continued Pangcah presence in Cepo’ and in other communities where the descendants of Dongi and Rarakan dispersed. That one can find these communities even in Taypak might be a hidden subtext of Anu’s *milalik*.

Conclusion

In a different colonial context – that of Korean survivors of the Japanese comfort women system – ethnomusicologist Joshua Pilzer (2012) discusses both the difficulties and ethical imperative of listening. Contrasting discursive frameworks that promote ready grasp of information to listening’s more difficult task, he cautions:

Voices do not stay still, nor do they stay quiet. They talk back, and most of us have been unwilling to listen, preferring instead the silence of still images, which we can more easily invest with our own thoughts and agendas. (Pilzer 2012: 26)

We can expand Pilzer’s caution to cover registration more broadly than conversions to still images, infographics or memes. The moving – I would say animated – quality of voices produces a particular resonance, often dissonant, as we attempt to situate these voices within a historical account. As I have tried to demonstrate here, however, this resonance is productive. Through registration, sounds of occupation become voices with which one can grapple, developing stances and strategies.

In my work around Cepo' I have often been reminded that I need to learn how to hear the ocean and river, knowing through their sounds whether it is a good day for spearfishing or setting nets, remembering through them the layers of occupation that have made the *niyaro'* that Cepo' Pangcah live in today, *niyaro'* that are not merely colonially occupied spaces but an Indigenous place which sounds its history in complicated relationships with, and refusals of, colonial structures. Trusting neither my ears nor my microphones, I still know that I must employ microphones and editing to sound out narratives people relate to me, sometimes in gestures to sounds that I haven't learned to locate or interpret, sometimes as responses to listening to my recordings. These sounds include many that are colonial imports or impositions, but that is the point – we cannot understand Indigenous place apart from the multiply occupied spaces in which it registers Indigenous presence and refusal. In this regard, practices of listening to occupation may alert us to ways that, as anthropologist Daniel Fisher (2016: 50) has argued in his work on Aboriginal radio request programmes in northern Australia, Indigenous people 'register "aboriginality" in ways that sidestep indexical relationships between a single, stable expressive form and any given social identity'. Occupying the voice of the occupier through registration, those who teach me to listen in Cepo' give voice to a history that includes a future.

Apart from the question of what occupation sounds like, then, sound studies scholarship working on occupation can approach practices of registration and animation through which people shift voices, stances and understandings of occupied places. An approach to animation, which sets out by examining how voices are registered and mediated, also suggests that we more closely attend to the perlocutionary effects that result from registration: does it, as in a narrative of dew falling in the mountains, produce caution about boundary maintenance? Does the voice, as in the *milalik*, interpellate us into a world where Taradaw still defines relationships among Pangcah and other groups? Does it, as in Anu's versioning of *milalik*, bid settlers to come to terms with an assertion that they are but guests in Pangcah Country? Through such questions, sound studies may contribute to understandings of occupation and, more importantly, decolonizing strategies.

Notes

- 1 This chapter grows from a set of collaborations with Cepo' Pangcah artists, environmentalists and language activists Rahic Talif, Melice (Chen Hsiu-hua), Canglah Pelo, Uding, Anu Kaliting, Sumi, Sapad Kacaw and Iyo Kacaw, as well as

people in communities across 'Amis/Pangcah Country along Taiwan's east coast. I would like to thank these collaborators, the Asian Cultural Council and the Fulbright Foundation who have supported my work, as well as Cepo' Arts Center, Tsai Meng-wu, Suming Rupi, Aki Rupi, Stanley Chang, my age mates and, most importantly, the *to'as no niyaro*, the elders and ancestors who teach and give life. This chapter is dedicated to the memory of 'Atolan 'Amis leader and vocalist Haru (Pan Ching-Tian).

- 2 These settlers from southern Fujian, in what is now China, came as labour under the stimulus of Dutch franchise colonialism on the south-west coast of Taiwan.
- 3 'Talacowa Kiso?', Where are you going?, is a typical Pangcah greeting.
- 4 'kongkoan' is a loanword from Japanese (*kōgakō* – a colonial-era Japanese term for 'elementary school') to which a Pangcah ending has been added. Common Pangcah words for government and government functionaries, such as *seifu* (government), *sonciyo* (village mayor), *kenciyo* (county magistrate) and *tayhin* (policeman), are also derived from Japanese.

References

- Alfred, G. T. (1999), *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Alfred, G. T. (2005), *Wasase: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Anu Kaliting Sadipongan (2013), 'Cepo', [Song] on Cepo', Wind Records, TWW-1301 [CD], Taiwan.
- Barker, A. J. (2015), "A Direct Act of Resurgence, A Direct Act of Sovereignty": Reflections on Idle No More, Indigenous Activism, and Canadian Settler Colonialism', *Globalizations*, 12 (1): 43–65.
- Barrett, R. (2016), 'Mayan Language Revitalization, Hip Hop, and Ethnic Identity in Guatemala', *Language and Communication*, 47: 144–53.
- Christen, K. (2006), 'Tracking Properness: Repackaging Culture in a Remote Australian Town', *Cultural Anthropology*, 21 (3): 416–46.
- Corntassel, J. (2012), 'Re-envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-Determination', *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society*, 1 (1): 86–201.
- Coulthard, G. (2010), 'Place Against Empire: Understanding Indigenous Anti-Colonialism', *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action*, 4 (2): 79–83.
- Coulthard, G. (2014), *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Politics of Recognition*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Diaz, V. M. (2011), 'Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery: Austronesian Seafaring, Archipalegic Re-thinking, and the Remapping of Indigeneity', *Pacific Asia Inquiry*, 2 (1): 21–32.

- Faudree, P. (2012), 'Music, Language, and Texts: Sound and Semiotic Ethnography', *Annual Reviews in Anthropology*, 41: 519–36.
- Faudree, P. (2013), *Singing for the Dead: The Politics of Indigenous Revival in Mexico*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Feld, S. (1994), 'From Ethnomusicology to Echo-Muse-Ecology', *The Soundscape Newsletter*, 8: 9–13.
- Feld, S. (1996), 'Waterfalls of Song: An Acoustemology of Place Resounding in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea', in S. Feld and K. R. Basso (eds), *Senses of Place*, 91–135, Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Feld, S. (2015), 'Acoustemology', in D. Novak and M. Sakakeeny (eds), *Keywords in Sound*, 12–21, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Fisher, D. (2009), 'Mediating Kinship: Country, Family, and Radio in Northern Australia', *Cultural Anthropology*, 24 (2): 280–312.
- Fisher, D. (2016), *The Voice and its Doubles: Media and Music in Northern Australia*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Fox, A. (2004), *Real Country: Music and Language in Working-Class Culture*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gibson, C. and P. Dunbar-Hill (2000), 'Nitmiluk: Place and Empowerment in Australian Aboriginal Popular Music', *Ethnomusicology*, 44 (1): 39–64.
- Hatfield, DJ (2020), 'Good Dances Make Good Guests: Dance, Animation, and Sovereign Assertion in 'Amis Country, Taiwan', *Anthropologica*, 62 (2): 337–52.
- Helmreich, S. (2007), 'An Anthropologist Underwater: Immersive Soundscapes, Submarine Cyborgs, and Transductive Ethnography', *American Ethnologist*, 34 (4): 621–41.
- Idhe, D. (2007), *Listening and Voice: Phenomenologies of Sound*, Albany: SUNY Press.
- Jacobsen, K. (2017), *The Sound of Navajo Country: Music, Language, and Diné Belonging*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Kauanui, J. K. (2016), "'A Structure Not an Event": Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity', *Lateral*, 5 (1): Available online: <http://csalateral.org/issue/5-1/for-um-alt-humanities-settler-colonialism-enduring-indigeneity-kauanui/> (accessed 10 September 2020).
- Kauanui, J. K. and P. Wolfe (2012), 'Settler Colonialism Then and Now', *Politica and Societa*, 1 (2): 235–58.
- Lekal Sumi (2013), 'Cepo', [Music Video], 5 minutes 51 seconds: Available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rJrB5D4y2Ek> (accessed 10 September 2020).
- Martineau, J. (2015), 'Rhythms of Change: Mobilizing Decolonial Consciousness, Indigenous Resurgence, and the Idle No More Movement', in E. Coburn (ed), *More Will Sing their Way to Freedom: Indigenous Resistance and Resurgence*, 229–53, Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.
- Pilzer, J. D. (2012), *Hearts of Pine: Songs in the Lives of Three Korean Survivors of the Japanese 'Comfort Women'*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rappaport, R. A. (1999), *Religion and Ritual in the Making of Humanity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Samuels, D. W., L. Meintjes, A. M. Ochoa and T. Porcello (2010), 'Soundscapes: Toward a Sounded Anthropology', *Annual Reviews in Anthropology*, 39: 29–45.
- Schafer, R. M. (1977), *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*, Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.
- Seligman, A. B., R. P. Weller, M. J. Puett and B. Simon (2008), *Ritual and Its Consequences: An Essay on the Limits of Sincerity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Simpson, A. (2014), *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Simpson, L. B. (2017), *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Steinman, E. W. (2015), 'Decolonization, Not Inclusion: Indigenous Resistance to American Settler Colonialism', *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 2 (2): 219–36.
- Tamen, M. (2004), *Friends of Interpretable Objects*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Tsai, F. L. (2010), 'Playing Modernity: Play as a Path Shuttling across Space and Time of A'tolan Amis in Taiwan', PhD diss., National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan.
- Turino, T. (2008), *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- van Tongeren, M. (2016), 'Taiwanese Bush Warblers Imitating Garbage Trucks: A Mutual Affair?' *Journal of Sonic Studies*, 12: Available online: <https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/286848/286849/0/0> (accessed 10 September 2020).
- Vizenor, G. (1999), *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Post-Indian Survivance*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Wang Y. (2008), *Tingjian zhimindi: Heize Longchao yu zhanshi Taiwan yinyue diaocha, 1943* (Listening to the Colony: Kurosawa Takamoto and the Wartime Survey of Formosan Music, 1943), Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue chuban.
- Wolfe, P. (2006), 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8 (4): 387–409.