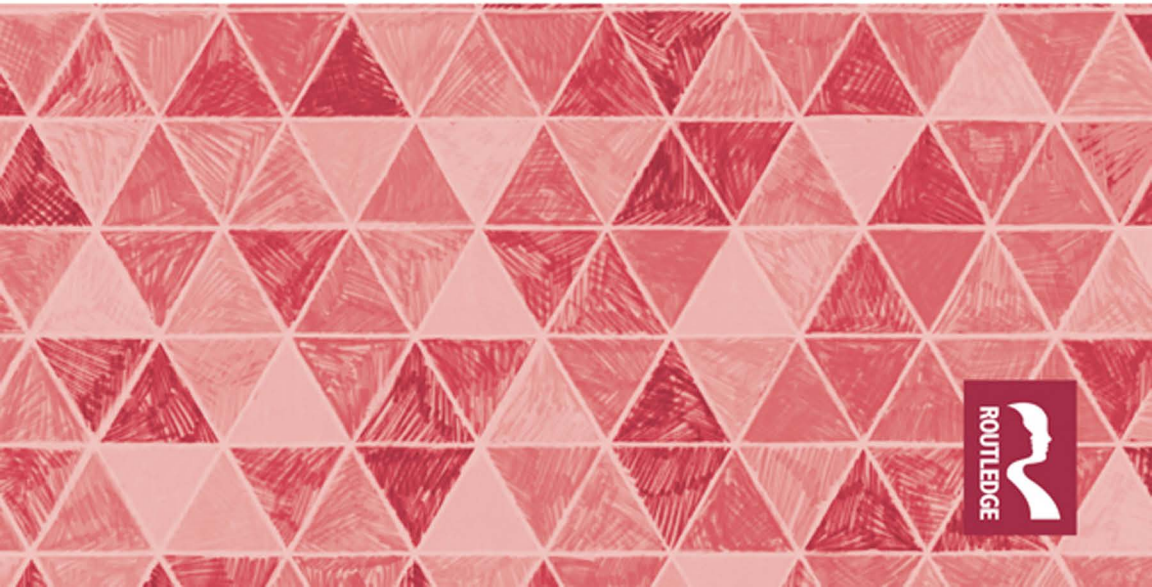
Routledge Advances in Translation and Interpreting Studies

INDIGENOUS CULTURAL TRANSLATION

A THICK DESCRIPTION OF *SEEDIQ BALE*

Darryl Sterk



Indigenous Cultural Translation

Indigenous Cultural Translation is about the process that made it possible to film the 2011 Taiwanese blockbuster *Seediq Bale* in Seediq, an endangered indigenous language. *Seediq Bale* celebrates the headhunters who rebelled against or collaborated with the Japanese colonizers at or around a hill station called Musha starting on October 27, 1930, while this book celebrates the grandchildren of headhunters, rebels, and collaborators who translated the Mandarin-language screenplay into Seediq in central Taiwan nearly eighty years later.

As a "thick description" of *Seediq Bale*, this book describes the translation process in detail, showing how the screenwriter included Mandarin translations of Seediq texts recorded during the Japanese era in his screenplay, and then how the Seediq translators backtranslated these texts into Seediq, changing them significantly. It argues that the translators made significant changes to these texts according to the consensus about traditional Seediq culture they have been building in modern Taiwan, and that this same consensus informs the interpretation of the Musha Incident and of Seediq culture that they articulated in their Mandarin-Seediq translation of the screenplay as a whole. The argument more generally is that in building cultural consensus, indigenous peoples like the Seediq are "translating" their traditions into alternative modernities in settler states around the world.

Darryl Sterk is an Assistant Professor of Translation at Lingnan University in Hong Kong. He also translates literature, especially fiction from Taiwan.

Routledge Advances in Translation and Interpreting Studies

Humour in Audiovisual Translation
Theories and Applications
Margherita Dore

Evaluating the Evaluator
A Novel Perspective on Translation Quality Assessment
Hansjörg Bittner

New Empirical Perspectives on Translation and Interpreting
Edited by Lore Vandevoorde, Joke Daems and Bart Defrancq

Sense in Translation
Essays on the Bilingual Body
Caroline Rabourdin

Translation as Actor-Networking
Actors, Agencies, and Networks in the Making of Arthur Waley's English Translation of the Chinese 'Journey to the West'
Wenyan Luo

Chinese–English Interpreting and Intercultural Communication
Jim Hlavac and Zhichang Xu

Translation and Hegel's Philosophy
A Transformative, Socio-narrative Approach to A.V. Miller's Cold-War Retranslations
David Charlston

Indigenous Cultural Translation
A Thick Description of *Seediq Bale*
Darryl Sterk

For more information about this series, please visit www.routledge.com/Routledge-Advances-in-Translation-and-Interpreting-Studies/book-series/RTS

Indigenous Cultural Translation

A Thick Description of *Seediq Bale*

Darryl Sterk

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2020
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Sterk, Darryl, author.
Title: Indigenous cultural translation : a thick description of Seediq Bale / Darryl Sterk.
Description: First. | New York : Routledge, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2019058261 (print) | LCCN 2019058262 (ebook) | ISBN 9780367198558 (hardback) | ISBN 9780429243738 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Motion pictures—Translating—Taiwan. | Translating and interpreting—Taiwan. | Linguistic minorities—Taiwan. | Language and culture—Taiwan. | Truku (Taiwan people)—Language. | Motion pictures—Translations into Chinese. | Seediq language. | *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale*.
Classification: LCC PN1995.9.T685 S74 2020 (print) | LCC PN1995.9.T685 (ebook) | DDC 777/.55—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019058261
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019058262

ISBN: 978-0-367-19855-8 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-429-24373-8 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Visit the eResources: www.routledge.com/9780367198558

This book is dedicated to the Seediq translators of *Seediq Bale*:

Watan Diro, Iwan Nawi, Pawan Nawi, Dakis Pawan, Iwan Pering, and Pawan Tanah.

Mhuwe namu bale! Mhuway namu balay!

Contents

List of tables

Preface

This book is a thick description of a case of indigenous cultural translation.

The case is the screenplay of the Taiwanese blockbuster film *Seediq Bale* (directed by Wei Te-sheng, 2011), which was translated from Mandarin into Seediq, the endangered indigenous language in which most of the dialogue in the film is delivered. Compared with other films that contain dialogue in endangered indigenous languages, there is a lot in *Seediq Bale*. There is more dialogue in Seediq in *Seediq Bale* than there is in Inuktitut in *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* (directed by Zacharias Kunuk, 2001), and far more than there is in Lakota Sioux in *Dances With Wolves* (directed by Kevin Costner, 1990). The quantity of dialogue is not in itself a reason to study it. The reason I am studying it is for what it tells us about the team of Seediq translators who translated it, particularly how they see themselves as citizens of a modern state and inheritors of an indigenous tradition. I will discuss how the translation of the screenplay sheds light on how the translators see themselves in the introduction. In this preface I would like to clarify what I mean by thick description in my subtitle and by indigenous cultural translation, the title of this book.

"Thick description" is a phrase that the anthropologist Clifford Geertz borrowed from the philosopher of language Gilbert Ryle and applied to ethnography. Ryle's point was that description is interpretation. A description of a wink, for instance, is an interpretation of an observation of a flap of an eyelid. To call an eyelid flap a "wink" as opposed to a "blink," you have to assume the wink was intentional, that it was communicative (Geertz 1973: 6–7). In other words, you have to try to get inside the winker's head. A description in ethnography is thick in its reference to intersubjective "depths," and indeed thick description is sometimes translated "deep description" (深描 *shēnmiáo*) in Mandarin. This psychological understanding of thick description applies in this monograph in that I will be trying to get inside the translators' heads, to infer what they were thinking from their translation.

Geertz went beyond what his native informants were thinking. Thick description is also a process of layering the ethnographer's second-order interpretation upon the native informant's first-order interpretation (15), where in any case an interpretation can be conceived of as a description of the way in which something can be meaningful. The Seediq translators I have studied are quite capable of being self-reflexive or "meta," of explaining *why* they translated something in a

certain way; but if my own explanation is piggy-backed upon theirs, then it will be one order higher, and that much thicker.

But the thickness I am concerned with in this monograph is primarily of the "webs[1] of significance" in which, Geertz claims, people search for meaning (5). The webs of significance are semiotic systems. In layperson's terms, they are cultures. How would such cultural webs be thick? It seems to me that they are thick in the way that hair is thick. The connections between key cultural concepts might be thick, and the web around any key concept is going be particularly thick, in that key concepts are densely or tightly interconnected nodes. I will be limning the lineaments of the web of Seediq culture in which the indigenous translators who made it possible to shoot *Seediq Bale* in Seediq make meaning of the texts they translate and of their lives. If you consider that they have spent their lives trying to understand the traditional lives that their mostly monolingual ancestors led until just over a century ago, but that they are themselves modern and bilingual, you can imagine that their cultural webs might get extremely thick. I can only hope they stay that way.

Thick description has been applied to translation by another philosopher of language, Anthony Kwame Appiah (2012 [1993]). For Appiah, a thick translation is one "that seeks with its annotations and its accompanying glosses to locate the text in a rich cultural and linguistic context" (341) so that a reader of the text in translation can get a sense of its use in "communicative actions" (332, 341) in the original culture. I share Appiah's ideal of thickness and have tried to live up to it in my own literary translation and in my description of Seediq translation. But I find Appiah's own thick translations of proverbs from the Ghanaian language Twi to be disappointingly thin, particularly regarding the "linguistic context." Though Appiah spells the proverbs out and provides what he calls "a literal translation" (331), he does not explain how the Twi words in each proverb combine into the meaningful utterance.

One way Appiah could have thickened his description is to sandwich a line of analysis between his romanization and his literal translation by adopting what Kate Sturge calls the "threefold or inter-linear translation method" (2007: 26) and which I will call a three-line presentation. Picture three lines. In the top line, an excerpt from an original is written out, usually in the roman alphabet. In the middle line, the "interlinear" line, the words in the top line are glossed, in order, word by word. As meaning is contextual, the glosses are approximations of the meanings of the words in the context of the top line. If the interlinear line contains morphological or syntactical "analysis," it can be challenging for a non-linguist to read. The bottom line is a translation, usually literal, of the entire line.

A three-line presentation is inadequate in itself. It has to be followed with the "pragmatic" commentary of the sort that Appiah provides (though he could have provided a lot more), so that the reader can understand how people in that culture do things with the words in the utterance, or with the non-verbal gesture to which the utterance might refer. A linguist friend of mine has observed indigenous people in Taiwan and the Philippines using their lips to do the communicative work we do with our eyes when we wink. But the commentary should also address the

degree to which the glosses approximate the original words, which constrains how literal the translation in the bottom line can be. A language may not, for instance, have an exact analogue to "wink." In Seediq, *tmuwak doriq* means to "blink/wink the eyes."

Although a three-line presentation is a not a sufficient condition for thick translation, it is a necessary one. Without the middle line of analysis, the romanization in the top line is just clusters of letters. Without the line of analysis, the reader has no way of knowing how the words in the original have been "domesticated," meaning translated into words the reader is familiar with. In a truly thick translation, the words should be "foreignized," meaning translated in such a way that the reader can get a bit closer to them and to the web of culture in which they are meaningful nodes.

You will find an example of a three-line presentation at the beginning of the acknowledgments below in which, as you will see, a word meaning roughly "deed" stems from a root that can mean "cross," because the ultimate achievement in traditional Seediq culture was crossing a "rainbow bridge" into the afterlife. For the Seediq romanization, check the following section on phonology. For the abbreviations in the interlinear line of analysis, see the sections on morphology and syntax. I hope you will consult these sections as you read. If I get even one reader interested in Seediq or passionate about learning some other indigenous language, perhaps another Austronesian one, I will have achieved one of the goals of this book.

Needless to say, this book is not a linguistic study, nor did the interests that motivated it come out of linguistic theory. I imagine I share interests with scholars in linguistics, history, anthropology, Sinology, Taiwan studies, media studies, and indigenous studies, but I am a translator, and translation studies is the discipline in which this monograph has taken shape. I share more interests with scholars in different subfields in translation studies. I share an interest with scholars in audiovisual translation studies in how translation operates in an audiovisual context.[2] I also share an interest with scholars in cultural translation studies in how translation might be transformative.

My debt to cultural translation studies, and to Clifford Geertz, should be evident in my approach, "indigenous cultural translation." I mean "translation" in three ways: interlingual translation, interpretation, and transformation. In translating a text interlingually, an indigenous translator interprets it in the web of his or her culture, and by the very act of interpretation, an indigenous translator is transforming the web and him- or herself.

My argument about indigenous cultural translation is a *qualified* endorsement of an assumption in minority translation studies that minority translators would, by virtue of their strong identities, tend to foreignize into the majority language to represent their cultural identity and domesticate into the minority language to preserve it. The Seediq translators I study in this book certainly have strong identities, which we can understand in the context of the local indigenous movement. Though none of them are radicals, the translators have all played parts in the indigenous struggle for rights and recognition in Taiwan. Evidently their indigenous

identities have gotten stronger, because they are now much more likely to foreignize Seediq cultural terms into Mandarin than they were a few decades ago.

But the assumption that minority translators, including indigenous translators, would or should domesticate into their languages to preserve their cultural identities needs qualification. Had they simply domesticated, the Seediq translators would have replicated linguistic and cultural patterns, not innovated new ones. Indigenous translators should embrace, and scholars should endorse, foreignization because it is a driver of innovation and because it is not a threat: language vulnerability is not a linguistic problem, it is a sociolinguistic problem. Rather than worry about the effect foreignization might have on a vulnerable language, we as scholars should be describing translations and the transformations they engender as thickly as we can. That is what I have tried to do in this book.

What I found is that the Seediq translators foreignized and domesticated their ways to "fluencies" that constituted compromises with the original text, where their translation was both a transmission of the meaning of the original and an articulation of their own perspectives. Such translational compromises are part of an evolving Seediq compromise with Taiwan-style modernity. The translators have demonstrated their strength of identity not by preserving their culture but by translating it, meaning transforming or, better yet, "adapting" it.

Although I imagine my approach applies beyond *Seediq Bale*, I have written the book as a case study. The introduction has implications for the conditions of indigenous cultural translation from the early 20th century on, but it is an introduction to the case. In chapters 2 and 7, I relate my case study to minority translation studies scholarship. For the most part, however, I will wait until the conclusion before making a home for indigenous cultural translation in translation studies and suggesting how the thick description of cases of indigenous translation might shed light on the fates of indigenous ways of knowing and living around the world.

Acknowledgments

In his reunion with his sister Mahung Mona at the end of *The Rainbow Bridge*, the second half of *Seediq Bale*, Tado Mona tells her to tell her children and grandchildren about what their father, Mona Rudo, did.

P-kla-i *<n>da-an* *na* *tama* *=ta* *Mona Rudo*. (*RB* 1:53:03)[3]
let-know-PF.IMP <PRF>cross-LF GEN dad =1P.GEN Mona Rudo
Let the deed of our father Mona Rudo be known.

Mona Rudo's deed was to lead the indigenous rebellion against Japanese colonial rule that *Seediq Bale* is about. The deed I want to tell you about is what Dakis Pawan and his colleagues have done in translating *Seediq Bale*, in trying to hand down Seediq to their children and grandchildren, and in adapting their tradition to modernity.

I am telling you about this deed to try to give back to the translators a fraction of what they have given me, starting in December 2011, when I emailed Iwan Pering after seeing her on a television talk show. When Iwan heard I was interested in the use of the Seediq language in the film, she sent me the Seediq translation of the shooting script. When she heard I was interested in gift culture, she taught me my first Seediq sentence, which I memorized as a string of syllables and only came to understand structurally a few years later:

Nii, b<n>ege *na* *Pering*.
this <PF.PRF>give GEN Pering
This is what was given by Pering. / This is Pering's gift.

I had asked Iwan how to translate "the hunter's gift" into Seediq. There is no way to say "hunter" in a single word in Seediq, so she thought of a hunter she knew. Her father, Pering, was a hunter. I hope Iwan won't mind if I model my own sentence on hers: *Patis nii, bnege na Temu*. This book is what was given by Temu. This book is Temu's gift, to the Seediq translators of *Seediq Bale*, to whom I dedicate this book.

Iwan Pering introduced me to the other translators: Watan Diro, Iwan Nawi, Pawan Nawi, Dakis Pawan, and Pawan Tanah. I will introduce you to Iwan Pering,

Watan Diro, Pawan Nawi, and Dakis Pawan in the introduction. You'll get to know Pawan Tanah a bit later, at the end of chapter 1, and Iwan Nawi much later, in chapter 7. For the different roles they played in the translation of *Seediq Bale*, see table I.1.

All of the translators are towering heroes, but from my vantage point Dakis Pawan looms larger than the rest. Dakis Pawan spent months correcting actors' mispronunciations on the set of *Seediq Bale*, and about as long correcting my misunderstandings at his home in Puli. Dakis went over the Seediq screenplay with me line by line, and not just for the fee I paid him for his time. He gave me his time as a gift, a gift I can only begin to repay with this book.

I have gotten a lot out of Dakis's gift, including the present book. But somewhere along the way, the translation of *Seediq Bale* got under my skin, into my guts. I wasn't asking the questions, I was being interrogated. I had in my doctoral dissertation on the representation of Taiwan's indigenous peoples in film and fiction defended a liberal ideal of indigenous modernity. I was trying to persuade myself that modern indigenous people wanted to be like me. Meeting the translators of *Seediq Bale* has persuaded me I was wrong. I live ten time zones away from my hometown in Canada and would not want where I am from to define who I am. The translators want to stay right where they are, living in central Taiwan close to their *alang*, their village communities, which, to them, are an essential part of who they are. I want to create myself through my choices, while the translators' choices are informed by tradition, as the translators understand it. And today their tradition is disappearing.

Maybe because I am no longer quite so sure about who I am or want to be, I have found the Seediq translators' anxieties about the potential disappearance of their tradition profoundly unsettling, as if this would be the loss of something precious from the earth. And maybe because I myself have not had to take a stand, I have come to admire the Seediq translators for having dedicated their lives to the revitalization and, I would add, reinterpretation of their tradition. While I would not presume to stand beside them, the thought that I might contribute in some small way to their cause has sustained me.

Whatever contribution I might make is the crystallization of all the help I have received over the past eight years. I could not have done it without the help of the translators, to be sure, but I have some other gift-debts to gratefully acknowledge. I had four Seediq teachers. Another Pawan Nawi, Liu Te-hsing, who teaches at Fu Jen Catholic University, entertained me at Pawan's Garden just south of campus. Aking Nawi, who has been an educator her whole life, met with me at branches of the Milk King restaurant in Taipei. Professor Arthur Holmer guided me through Seediq grammar and offered me moral support. Temi Nawi welcomed my family into her home in Alang Gluban and told me a pair of haunting stories about the wider consequences of a failure to atone. I had the best teachers, though I haven't been the best student.

The same goes for me and my three Japanese teachers: Alex Huang, Ushi Kao, and Thomas Van Hoey.

Many other colleagues have been model translators, scholars, and friends. I acknowledge some of you in the notes at the end of the chapters. My intellectual debts to many of you are also acknowledged in the main text and the index. For fear that I might leave someone out, I have decided not to list everyone; I hope to thank you in person! However, I would like to make a special mention of two role models: my doctoral adviser Johanna Liu and her husband, the late Vincent Shen, both of whom are shining examples of the "Taiwan spirit."

I am also obliged to the generous people at Ars Films for giving me a folder of files in the millions of megabytes and for putting me in touch with Yen Yun-nung, who told me about how he turned *Seediq Bale* into a novel, and with Su Jui-chin and Fumiko Osaka, who explained their approach to the subtitles.

And I am obliged to the generous taxpayers of Taiwan and Hong Kong who provided me with funding in the hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Thanks to Jayne Varney at Routledge for a cover design that suits the book. The color is right for a book about a film with lots of blood and cherry blossoms. The diamond pattern suggests either the alpine topography of Seediq territory or a weave called *miri*, where the diamonds represent the eyes of the ancestors watching their descendants to see if they are observing *gaya*, the moral law.

Thanks to Katie Peace for believing in the book and to my project manager Aruna Rajendran and production editors Samantha Phua, Naomi Hill, and Jacy Hui for staying patient and trying to keep me on schedule.

Editor and proofreader Jon Wilcox kept me consistent coming down the stretch.

I had two readers who read it so many times that it is their book, too. My former student Jessica Fan, now a doctoral student at the University of Texas at Austin, inspired me with ideas that my dear friend Jeff Lindstrom helped me refine.

Jeff was always there to suggest structural edits, and to do substantive editing, copy editing, and proofreading. If I have managed here and there to express myself clearly and concisely, it's because of Jeff.

All remaining errors of style, fact, or interpretation are entirely my own.

A final thanks to my family. My parents, John and Jane, read the manuscript appreciatively. My wife, Joey, has put up with me humming headhunting songs over and over again and taken good care of me. My daughter, who now has a Seediq name, Iwan Temu (my first name is her last name), has obliged me by answering *klaun mu* in reply to *klaun su?* What is known by her? What does she know? I hope it is that Seediq has a future in some form. Whatever form it takes is contingent upon indigenous cultural translation.

Phonology

[] Phonetic form, for instance: [ʃino] is the pronunciation of *sino*.
// Phonological form, for instance: /sino/ is the mental representation of *sino*.

Since any romanization, besides the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), is based on an interpretation of the phonology of a language, I discuss romanization here. I use the standard romanizations for Japanese, Seediq, and Mandarin. The standard romanization for Japanese is modified Hepburn. Katakana, which I convert to modified Hepburn, was once used to represent Seediq (see ch. 3 sec. 2, ch. 4 sec. 1), but now there is a standard romanization.

The standard romanization for Seediq was developed by the linguist Paul Jenkuei Li based on the phonology (see Holmer 1996: 23–28) of Tgdaya, one of the three[4] dialects of a language that is named Seediq after the pronunciation of the word for "person" in Tgdaya. *Sediq* and *seejiq* are the cognate pronunciations in the other two dialects, Toda and Truku. Beginning with the consonants, the /s/ in the Tgdaya word *seediq* is [s], but it is pronounced "sh" before /i/: *sino*, "wine," is [ʃino]. In other words, /s/ is a phoneme with two allophones, [ʃ] before /i/ and otherwise [s], as in Japanese, for instance "sushi." The /d/ is a [d], as it would be in English. The /q/ is an unvoiced, uvular stop, like an English "k" except articulated farther back and unaspirated. (Try not to aspirate the *p*, *t*, and *k*-s in the line below.) As for the vowels, in careful speech, the two *e*-s would be separated by a glottal stop, so that *seediq* would be pronounced [seʔedɪq]. In rapid speech, the vowels might be combined, [sedɪq]. At any speed, the /i/ would weaken into an [ɪ], because it is in an unstressed syllable with a final consonant. Words in Tgdaya take penultimate stress:

2 syllables: *seediq* [ˈsedɪq], *sino* [ˈʃino]
3 syllables: *seediq* [seˈʔedɪq], Mhebu [meˈhebu]
4 syllables: Tgdaya [tuguˈdaya]

Vowels preceding the penultimate vowel are omitted from the romanization if predictable: if the initial in the penultimate syllable is a glottal stop or an /h/, the antepenultimate vowel assimilates; otherwise it is a [u]. Hence:

Pklai	*ndaan*	*na*	*tama*	*ta*	*Mona*	*Rudo*.
pu-ku-LA-yi	*nu-DA-an*	*na*	*TA-ma*	*ta*	*MO-na*	*RU-do*.

As for the romanization of Mandarin, I prefer Wade-Giles for my own literary translation (Sterk 2017), but I have deferred to Hanyu Pinyin, the most widely recognized romanization, in this monograph. Pinyin is *pīnyīn*, where the line over both vowels indicates the high, level tone. The other tone diacritics suggest the contours of the other three tones, like the descending tone in the second character in the word for "proud," 驕傲 *jiāoào* (see ch. 5 sec. 1). The IPA of *jiāoào* is [tɕʲaʷ˥la^{w}˥˩], where the [^{j}] is a "y" sound and the [^{w}] a hint of lip rounding at the end of the diphthong.

Note that I sometimes refer to a word in Pinyin as a transliteration, for instance: *túténg* is a transliteration of "totem." I mean *túténg* is a romanization of a transliteration, 圖騰, the characters used to approximate the sound of "totem" in Mandarin.

In using Pinyin for names, I hope I will not upset people like Chiu Juo-lung. Chiu Juo-lung is the Wade-Giles spelling, Qiu Ruolong the Pinyin spelling, of the noted comic book artist's name. I decided to call him Qiu Ruolong because that is how his name is spelled in English-language scholarship. My apologies to the subtitler Su Jui-chin, who is Jui-chin (Wade-Giles) in the acknowledgments and Ruiqin (Pinyin) in the main text, because I wanted to keep the main text consistent. I made exceptions for people who are already well known in English, such as Wei Te-sheng. However, I cited all Mandarin publications in Pinyin, for instance: Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2000).

If two spellings of the same name weren't confusing enough, consider that Yiwan Nawi (I-wan Na-wei) is the Pinyin (and Wade-Giles) of a transliteration of Iwan Nawi, who used to be known in Mandarin as Huang Linghua (Huang Ling-hwa) (see Wei 2014 in the references below). If you ever get confused, visit the eResources at www.routledge.com/9780367198558 for an Excel file containing a list of all the people mentioned in the book.

Morphology

– Affix boundary, as in *kla-un* and *p-kla-i*, the PF and causative PF.IMP respectively of *kela*.
<> An infix, for instance *b<n>ege*, the PF.PRF of *bege* (give), and *<n>da-an*, the LF.PRT of *oda* (cross).
* A reconstruction like *ŋayaw, the Proto-Austronesian root of which *gaya* is a reflex.

Pronoun abbreviations

1S	first-person singular	1P	first-person plural
2S	second-person singular	2P	second-person plural
3S	third-person singular	3P	third-person plural

Table 0.1 Seediq Pronouns

Deixis/Number	*Nominative*	*Genitive*	*Clitic nominative*	*Clitic genitive*
1S	yaku	n-aku	ku	mu
2S	isu	n-isu	su	su
3S	heya	n-heya		na
1P.IN	ita	n-ita	ta	ta
1P.EX	yami	n-nami	nami/miyan	nami/miyan
2P	yamu	n-namu	namu	namu
3P	dheya	n-dheya		daha

IN and EX in table 0.1 are short for inclusive and exclusive respectively. If the interlocutor is included in "we," "us," or "our," one uses the inclusive pronoun. If not, then one uses the exclusive pronoun. In the interlinear analyses, I only label exclusive first-person plural pronouns as exclusive, not inclusive as such. Note that there are no clitic nominative pronouns for third-person singular and third-person plural.

Seediq focus abbreviations

AF A verb in agent focus typically "focuses" an agent, meaning selects it as the subject, but might also focus an experiencer or a cause.
PF A verb in patient focus focuses a patient, that which is totally affected during an event; patient focus also implies future time.
LF A verb in location focus typically focuses a location, but often suggests a partitive interpretation of the subject.
IF A verb in instrument focus focuses an instrument (or a beneficiary or sometimes even a theme, that which moves in the course of an event).

Table 0.2 Tense-Aspect-Modality and Focus Affixes on Seediq Verbs

TAM/Focus	*Agent*	*Patient*	*Location*	*Instrument*
Present/Infinitive	*m-*/<*m*>	*-un*	*-an*	*s-*
Preterite (PRT)	*mn-*/<*mn*>	<*n*>	<*n*> *-an*	*sn-* (?)
Future (FUT)	*mp-*	RED- *-un*	RED- *-an*	Ø/*p-* (?)
Imperative (IMP)	Ø	*-i*	*-i*	*-ani*
Subjunctive (SBJ)	*m- -a*	*-o*	*-e*	*-ane/-ano*

Table 0.2 (cf. Holmer 2002: 335) is a formal analysis, an orderly presentation that mostly applies, but which a functionalist would want to revise. PF present implies future time, while PF future implies strong intent. I will indicate the function of a particular verb form when relevant. The affixes (prefixes, infixes, or suffixes) attach to roots or stems. The agent focus imperative, to which the agent focus affixes are added, is a stem derived from the patient focus form. For instance, *aduk* and *ddupun* are the agent focus imperative and the patient focus future forms of the same verb. The *k* in *aduk* can be derived from the *p* in *ddupun*, but not vice versa, ergo *aduk* is the stem and *dup is the root (see Holmer 1996: 26–27). Note that there is a distinction between proximal and distant future for agent focus, but as it did not come up in any of the analyses I have left it out of the table for the sake of simplicity.

Syntax

= A clitic boundary, for instance *tama=ta*, “our father,” or *kla-un=na*, “known by her.”

. A word boundary in the gloss that does not reflect a boundary in the original term, like “hunting.ground” for *d-dup-un*, which is formally a PF future form.

Word order abbreviations

A basic Seediq clause might contain these elements: V=P(NOM/GEN) O NOM S:

V	Verb, which in Seediq can be AF, like the active voice in English, or non-AF, which is roughly like the passive voice.
=P	Pronoun that cliticizes (attaches) to the first verb in a clause to indicate the subject in an AF clause as a nominative (NOM) or the agent in a non-AF clause as a genitive (GEN).
O	Object, that which gets “verbed.”
NOM	Nominative, a *ka* that usually marks the following phrase as the subject.
S	Subject, typically the agent in an AF sentence and the patient, location, or instrument in a non-AF sentence.

Consider the following active/passive pair of sentences, presented in four lines. Top to bottom, the four lines present phonology, morphology, syntax, and translation:

M<n>imah =ku sino ka yaku.
AF<PRF>drink =1S.NOM wine NOM 1S.NOM
V(ACTIVE) =P.NOM O NOM S
I drank some wine.

<N>mah-an =mu ka sino.
<PRF>drink-LF =3S.GEN NOM wine
V(PASSIVE) =P.GEN NOM S
Some of the wine was drunk by me.

From this pair, you can see that definiteness (wine vs. the wine) is one criterion in focus selection and that the basic order for Seediq is VOS, a rare order globally (Hammarström 2016). For trends in translation from SVO Mandarin to VOS Seediq, see chapter 2.[5]

Other grammatical abbreviations

ACC	Accusative, herein the *o* object marker in Japanese and the accusative use of Seediq nominative pronouns.
ADJ	Adjective, a word or phrase that modifies a noun phrase.
ADV	Adverb, a time or space word or phrase; what would be manner adverbs in English are often verbs in Seediq.
AUX	Auxiliary verb, for instance, *asi* in Seediq is a modal auxiliary, while *wada* is perfective (PRF).
CL	Classifier, a kind of determiner that "classifies" nouns, for instance, 條 *tiáo* in Mandarin, for long, thin things like rivers or lives.
CMP	Complementizer, the head of a clause inside a clause, such as "that," 說 *shuō*, or *mesa*.
COP	Copula, a linking verb like the be-verb in English.
GER	Gerund, a kind of nominalized verb, for example "headhunting" derives from "to headhunt."
INT	Interjection, a word like "eh" in Canadian English that can stand alone or appear at the end of a clause, used herein mostly for sentence-final particles in Mandarin and Seediq, but also for prosodic "vocables."
NEG	Negative, where Mandarin and Seediq use different negative words depending on the relative time of the event and whether a noun or verb phrase is being negated.
PL	Plural, used herein mostly for the Mandarin "collective" suffix 們 *mén*.
PRF	Perfect or perfective aspect, an "external" view of an event as completed, where the perfect (I have eaten) is currently relevant and the perfective (I ate) is simply over, and where the perfective may be termed the preterite if it implies past time.
PRG	Progressive aspect, an "internal" view of an event as ongoing.
REC	Reciprocal, a prefix for reciprocity, such as *md-dahun*, to reconcile with one another.
RED	Reduplication, where part of a word is duplicated, herein to imply numerousness.
TOP	Topic, what a clause is about.[6]

Notes

1 With regard to the web metaphor, Geertz described "man" as "suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun" (1973: 5). Note that Geertz was writing decades before the internet was invented. He was thinking of a metaphorical spider's web. Just as spiders spin webs of silk to catch dinner, so we spin webs of significance to capture meaning. Geertz cited the aptly named sociologist Max Weber for the web metaphor, but Wilhelm von Humboldt had, several generations earlier, used the metaphor of spinning a web in his discussion of language: "By the same act whereby [man] spins language out of himself, he spins himself into it, and every language draws about the people that possess it a circle whence it is possible to exit only by stepping over at once into the circle of another one" (Humboldt 1989 [1836]: 60, cited in Leavitt 2011: 93). Alas, as Humboldt went on to note, it is hard for adults to learn a second language; most of us are confined to the circle of the web of our mother tongue. I take the point that we have to understand in some language or other, but in invoking the metaphor of the web-spinning spider we can at least stress human artfulness in meaning-making by noting that spiders do not get caught in their own webs.

2 The translation of *Seediq Bale* has been treated as a case of subtitling by Elaine Lee (Lee 2016). According to Lee, the English translation was "a relay translation through the Mandarin" from "the original dialogue in Seediq and Japanese" (2016: 59). Parts of the screenplay had been translated from Seediq, but to describe the screenplay as a whole as a Seediq-Mandarin translation is misleading.

3 I cite from the four-and-a-half hour long version of *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* on the Blu-ray disc distributed by Well Go USA. The film is in two parts, *The Sun Flag* and *The Rainbow Bridge*. Depending on the format, device, and program you use, you may get slightly different times. The time codes I provide should be understood as prefaced with a tilde, especially because I cite from the beginning of the subtitle. For instance, *RB* 1:53:03 means *RB* ~1:53:03, starting within a few seconds of 1:53:03 of *The Rainbow Bridge*.

4 There are three dialects according to Seediq people today, and three written standards, but the differences between Toda and Truku are so slight that a two-dialect analysis is persuasive. On the other hand, there were, and to some extent still are, linguistic differences between villages that might justify analytical balkanization.

5 My approach to Tgdaya is based on Arthur Holmer's work. Tsukida Naomi's take on Truku is an alternative perspective (Tsukida 2005). For instance, instead of "focus," Tsukida uses "voice," as in active and passive voice. For my own approach to analyzing Mandarin, see Sterk 2018.

6 To explore the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the Seediq language on your own, please visit the eResources at www.routledge.com/9780367198558.

References

Appiah, Kwame Anthony (2012 [1993]) "Thick Translation," in Lawrence Venuti (ed), *The Translation Studies Reader*, 3rd edition, New York: Routledge, 331–343.

Geertz, Clifford (1973) "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 3–30.

Hammarström, H. (2016) "Linguistic Diversity and Language Evolution," *Journal of Language Evolution*, 1.1: 19–29.

Holmer, Arthur J. (1996) *A Parametric Grammar of Seediq*, Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press.

Holmer, Arthur J. (2002) "The Morphology and Syntax of Seediq Focus," in Fay Wouk and Malcom Ross (eds), *The History and Typology of Western Austronesian Voice Systems*, Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics, 333–354.

Humboldt, Wilhelm von; Michael Losonsky (ed); Peter Heath (trans) (1989 [1836]) *On Language: On the Diversity of Human Language Construction and Its Influence on the Mental Development of the Human Species*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leavitt, John (2011) *Linguistic Relativities: Language Diversity and Modern Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, Tzu-yi Elaine (2016) "The Subtitling of Indigenous Values in the Film *Seediq Bale*," *Other Modernities*, Special Issue (February): 58–67.

Sterk, Darryl (2017) "Translator's Note," in Wu Ming-Yi (ed), *The Stolen Bicycle*, Melbourne, Australia: The Text Publishing Company, 373–376.

Sterk, Darryl (2018) "The Grammatical Artistry of Chinese-English Translation," in Chris Shei and Zhao-Ming Gao (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*, London and New York: Routledge, 129–146.

Sturge, Kate (2007) *Representing Others: Translation, Ethnography and the Museum*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Tsukida, Naomi (2005) "Seediq," in Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds), *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*, London and New York: Routledge, 291–325.

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2000) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Xinwenju (Government Information Office).

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng); Yiwan Nawei (Iwan Nawi) (trans) (2014) *Kari Toda Patas eyga Sediq balay* (*The Toda Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*)/*Saideke Balai Saidekeyu Jubenshu* (*Seediq-Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Yushan.

Introduction

Indigenous modernity and the translation of *Seediq Bale*

This book is a study of the role translation played in the textual history of the screenplay of the Taiwanese blockbuster *Seediq Bale* (directed by Wei Te-sheng, 2011). This film is about the Musha Incident, an indigenous[1] rebellion in 1930 against Japanese colonial rule. *Seediq Bale* is an interesting case for translation studies because it was filmed in translation. Most of the dialogue was translated from Mandarin, the language of the screenwriter, into Seediq, the language of the rebels. *Seediq Bale* is particularly interesting because some of the dialogue had been translated from Seediq into Mandarin. In fact, the screenplay has a century-long textual history in which translation – both interlingual translation between Japanese, Mandarin, and Seediq and also intralingual "translation" between the three Seediq dialects, Tgdaya, Toda, and Truku – played an important part.

As you can tell from table I.1, the headhunting song Sayama Yūkichi published in Truku Seejiq in 1917 was "backtranslated" into Tgdaya Seediq by Dakis Pawan and his colleagues in 2009. Between 1917 and 2009, the Seediq people had

Table I.1 Timeline of Translation in the Textual History of the Screenplay of *Seediq Bale*

1917	Sayama Yūkichi recorded an east coast Truku headhunting song in katakana and translated it into Japanese (see ch. 4).
1935	Asai Erin recorded an east coast Truku story about the soul's passage to the afterlife in IPA and translated it into Japanese (see ch. 3).
1990	Qiu Ruolong published a comic book (Qiu 2011 [1990]) in Mandarin about the Musha Incident based on interviews with witnesses (see ch. 1).
1998	Qiu Ruolong released a documentary, *Ga Ya*, consisting of witness interviews that were translated from Seediq into Mandarin by Pawan Tanah (see ch. 1).
1998	Pawan Tanah translated the 1917 song and the 1935 story into Mandarin (chs. 3–4) in a book (Bawan 1998) about Seediq culture (see chs. 5–6).
2000	Wei Te-sheng based *Saideke Balai*, the only published version of his Mandarin-language screenplay (Wei 2000), on Qiu's comic and Pawan Tanah's book.
2003	Dakis Pawan translated a few lines from the published screenplay into Tgdaya for a short film, a medley of the main scenes from the screenplay (see ch. 1).
2009	In August, Dakis Pawan and Watan Diro translated the "shooting script" – a revision of Wei's screenplay – into Tgdaya and Toda (see ch. 2).
2009	In September, Dakis Pawan revised his Tgdaya translation with Iwan Pering and Pawan Nawi to produce the "Seediq shooting script" (see ch. 2).
2014	Iwan Nawi, Qiu Ruolong's wife, published a Toda Sediq translation (Wei 2014) of the Seediq lines from the published screenplay (Wei 2000) (see ch. 7).

crossed a fuzzy boundary into modernity. When you compare the original song to the backtranslation, the modernity of the latter shows, as I will discuss in detail in chapter 4. Here in the introduction, I will argue that in general the textual history of the screenplay can be discussed in terms of "indigenous modernity," a term that Paul Barclay has proposed in a recent study of the Musha Incident.

1 The Musha Incident, *Seediq Bale*, indigenous modernity, translation

On the morning of October 27, 1930, "headhunters" from six of the twelve Tgdaya Seediq villages in central Taiwan hastened to the hill station of Musha and poured into the venue for a joint athletics meet. The meet was a major event in Japanese colonial society; various officials were attending. Many of these officials were killed. In total, 134 Japanese men, women, and children were decapitated, speared, or shot. Two Han Taiwanese were also killed by accident. During the Japanese reprisal, headhunters from two closely related groups called the Toda Sediq and the Truku Seejiq were hired as mercenaries. The Toda and Truku mercenaries were to bring back as many Tgdaya heads as they could, and they would be paid by the head. Eighty-seven heads were brought back during the reprisal (Deng 2000: 107). Another 101 Tgdaya heads got hunted in the Second Musha Incident, in which Toda warriors were allowed to have a go at the Tgdaya survivors of the reprisal, who were being housed unarmed in two refuges, in the middle of the night on April 25, 1931.

In an article about what was retroactively the First Musha Incident that was published right around the time of the second, a Japanese military official described the incident as "more *dorama* than *dorama*" (Hattori 1981 [1931]: v. 2 561), where *dorama* is the Japanese pronunciation of "drama." The official was not just remarking that truth is stranger than fiction. He was also trying to inspire his Japanese readers with the intensity of patriotism the Tgdaya Seediq rebels had displayed. He was holding the rebels up as role models. He was also hoping to keep taking advantage of them. The Japanese had been taking advantage of the Seediq before the rebellion by forcing young men to cut down "the trees that had seen [their] ancestors," as a corvée laborer named Watan puts it in *Seediq Bale* (*SF* 41:45). Excessive corvée labor was one of the reasons why the rebellion occurred. The Japanese would continue to take advantage of the Seediq until 1945: sons of Tgdaya rebels and of Toda and Truku collaborators were strongly encouraged to volunteer to fight for Emperor Hirohito, and many of them did.

After Hirohito surrendered in 1945, another colonizer took over, the KMT (Kuomintang)-controlled ROC (Republic of China). Now the Musha Incident was the Wushe Incident: Musha is pronounced Wushe in Mandarin (but for consistency I will continue to use the Japanese romanization to refer to the incident). The Kuomintang appropriated the incident for propaganda, re-narrating it as an episode in the Chinese national resistance against the Japanese. The ghost of Mona Rudo, the chief who led the rebellion, was drafted into the Chinese nationalist army. Wei Te-sheng, the screenwriter-director of *Seediq Bale*, is no Chinese nationalist,

however. He is a Taiwanese nationalist, and Taiwanese nationalists, like Chinese nationalists before them, have appropriated the Musha Incident, interpreting it as a national allegory (see ch. 1).

Whether or not you view *Seediq Bale* as a Taiwanese national allegory, the importance of the film seems self-evident in Taiwan. It was not just a blockbuster when it was released in two halves – *The Sun Flag* and *The Rainbow Bridge* – in September 2011; it was the biggest film in Taiwan film history in both budget and box office. Based on the box office, a tenth of Taiwan's population of twenty-three million must have seen it in the fall of 2011, and almost as many saw *The Rainbow Bridge* as had seen *The Sun Flag*. Seeing it felt like participating in a national movement to help the film make back its budget. It was not just popular but also acclaimed, winning the 48th Golden Horse Award for Best Picture. It even made it onto the global stage when it debuted at the 68th Venice Film Festival. Briefly, under the title *Warriors of the Rainbow* (because the Seediq believed that a man who had headhunted had the right to cross a "rainbow bridge" into the afterlife), *Seediq Bale*, which means "true people" or "true Seediq," represented Taiwan internationally.

An international film audience might wonder what all the fuss was about: the international cut had to be shortened so much to make the two-and-a-half-hour time limit at Venice that it was hard to follow, and at that length it was monotonously violent, lacking the alternation of fast and slow of the four-and-a-half-hour domestic cut. The domestic cut is much better. It is worth seeing. But I am less interested in it as a work of film art than in what it is about.

According to Paul Barclay, the Musha Incident was not just a case of ruthless suppression of violent anticolonial rebellion, but also a "turning [point]" (2017: 49) in colonial rule that is significant in terms of "indigenous modernity" (13, 33–38). The incident marks a transition to modern state rule in Taiwan's indigenous territory. Thirty-five years before, at the beginning of the Japanese colonial era in 1895, Mona Rudo's father's generation still lived a stateless lifestyle of marginal semi-autarkic independence à la Zomia (Scott 2009). A few years later, Seediq headmen conducted diplomacy with Japanese "representatives" of one kind or another by drinking cheek to cheek with them on the frontier. In Barclay's terms, this was "wet" diplomacy, where international relations were personalized and lubricated.

Consider, then, an altercation (Barclay 2017: 43–44) that was another of the immediate causes of the rebellion in 1930. At the corvée laborer Watan's wedding three weeks before the attack, Mona Rudo's son Tado Mona tried to treat Japanese patrolman Yoshimura Katsumi to a drink, assuming the rules of wet diplomacy still applied. Yoshimura refused, and a brawl ensued. Chief Mona tried to apologize the next day by offering the patrolman's boss Sugiura Kōichi alcohol, but he was rebuffed. Mona did not realize that the rules had changed, the game had changed. By 1930, there was a *durai* (dry) (44) SOP (Standard Operating Procedure) for fungible Japanese functionaries like Yoshimura and Sugiura to follow – and follow it they did: the case had already been reported up the chain of command as an

assault of an officer. Mona Rudo was in big trouble. Barclay's point is not that we can understand Mona's reason for rebellion but that state-Seediq relations were no longer international, personalized, or lubricated. By 1930, the Government-General was phasing the chiefs out.

Partly in response to the Musha Incident, the authorities "solidified the standing of the indigenous territory as a separate entity" (Barclay 2017: 31). Before the Japanese arrived, the indigenous territory in the island's mountainous interior was a blank on a map. The Japanese were the first to conquer it, but they kept it separate as a sub-territory for resource extraction, not for civilization. Building on the work of the historian Thongchai Winichakul, Barclay terms such internal territories *second-order geobodies* (190–249) and describes them as "mottl[ing] the ideally solid surfaces of the international system's geobodies" (13). As Barclay explains, the Japanese also sub-divided Taiwan's indigenous territory into what might be termed *third-order geobodies*, each one "belonging" to linguistically and culturally defined indigenous groups like the Seediq.

After 1945, the Kuomintang "maintained the ethnically bifurcated form of rule" (248) whereby the Chinese plains were kept administratively separate from the indigenous mountains. The indigenous territory (the second-order geobody) persisted for four decades under martial law. But after the lifting of martial law in 1987, and with growing momentum in the 1990s and 2000s (see endnote 1 below), the sub-territories (the third-order geobodies) became the bases for indigenous territorial claims (249). Indigenous groups like the Seediq could cite colonial maps (7–8) to claim that their traditional territories had been outlined by Japanese cartographers, and they could cite colonial ethnographies to claim they were culturally distinct. Such claims were hardly necessary when these groups were stateless. Given that they were made a century after the Japanese brought colonial modernity to the indigenous territory, such claims were modern. But indigenous modernity in Taiwan should not therefore be dated to the late 20th century. If local indigenous claims are the flowering of an "unfolding political dynamic" (Simon 2015: 75, cited in Barclay 2017: 251 note 6) that predates the Kuomintang's arrival in 1945 by decades, then indigenous modernity in Taiwan is a century old.

I find this account of the origins of indigenous modernity persuasive. It provides a background to a well-known account of the origins of global indigeneity in the 1960s, when, according to Ronald Niezen (2003), indigenous activists around the world made a common cause by raising the banner of human rights. But my own interest is the everyday subjectivity of modern indigenous people today. I am interested in how the modern indigenous people I study in this book understand themselves as bilingual biculturals, as citizens of a modern state and inheritors of an indigenous tradition. I wonder how they know their tradition and how they might "translate" it into an alternative indigenous modernity that might be distinctive both as a way of knowing and as a way of life, particularly in relation to their interlingual translational practice. Indeed, I assume that interlingual translation is one of the ways in which they have translated tradition. It is partly in translating cultural documents between Japanese, Mandarin, and different dialects of Seediq

that Seediq people have developed an idea of what their tradition is and a sense of its relevance to their lives today.

Seediq Bale is important in this context because it was filmed in translation. Wei Te-sheng was just trying to make his film appear historically authentic when he had his Mandarin-language screenplay team-translated into Seediq. He did not know what he was getting himself into. Two members of the translation team were grandchildren of Tgdaya Seediq rebels, one was from a noncombatant village, and one was from a Toda village. There was a lot of *dorama*, a lot of "drama," in the translation process.

Indeed, the Mandarin-Seediq translators often rebelled against Wei Te-sheng in their translation. In his screenplay, Wei had explained the rebellion in Seediq cultural terms – for instance, that Mona Rudo wanted to give young Tgdaya "braves" the chance to headhunt, which would give them the right to cross the Rainbow Bridge into the afterlife – but the translators sometimes substituted their own explanation (see ch. 5). Being peaceable, the translators expressed themselves not through violent rebellion but in terms of correction: they told me they were rectifying Wei Te-sheng's misrepresentations. But when I compared their translations to their accounts of the linguistic and cultural backgrounds, I discovered inconsistencies and disagreements. What one translator said sometimes did not match what another translator said or what was written in the translation.

As I will discuss in detail in the next section, it is no surprise that the translators might disagree with one another about their traditional culture, which was and is still relatively *abstand*, unstandardized. To the extent they can agree on what their culture was and is, Seediq people today might disagree about the relevance of tradition. They might have different ideas about how to "translate" tradition into an alternative modernity.

Seediq modernity is partly a standardization of Seediq language and culture that will be easier to "revitalize." Seediq needs revitalization as a language because it is endangered. It is spoken by well under ten thousand people. More importantly, it is spoken at varying levels of fluency as a function of age: it really is a mother tongue, often a grandmother tongue. A study (Chen 2010) of Atayal, a closely related language, found communities at six or seven on Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, which only has eight levels.

Seediq culture is also endangered, but it has by necessity been reinterpreted. As Christians living in a modern state, the Seediq have had to reconsider certain cultural practices. There can be no revival of headhunting, except as a political metaphor (see ch. 4). Headhunting aside, what Seediq culture means today is up to Seediq people to decide as citizens of the Republic of China. The Republic of China has had an "indigenous" policy since the 1990s, as part of a shift to official multiculturalism. Though the Seediq and other indigenous peoples were not the intended primary beneficiaries of the policy of multiculturalism, which was in part an attempt by Taiwan's political elites, particularly the Kuomintang, to pivot to democracy after four decades of martial law, they have benefited from it (Friedman 2018: 79), and they are now

revitalizing their reinterpretations of their cultures within the multicultural framework.

The reinterpretation of Seediq culture is part of the textual history of the screenplay of *Seediq Bale*, most obviously when the translation was a backtranslation. When Mandarin translations of Seediq texts recorded by Japanese ethnographers and linguists (see table I.1) that Wei Te-sheng had incorporated into his screenplay were backtranslated into Seediq, they ended up very different, because the translators are not the people their grandparents were. Their grandparents were "traditional," while the translators are "modern."[2] In this monograph I excavate the screenplay of *Seediq Bale* to trace the translational process, which is more a story of adaptation than rebellion, that has been producing Seediq modernity.

In the next section, I describe my approach to the excavation by considering the conditions of indigenous translation in more detail. The section after that suggests how the evidence I excavated supports the claims I make, both local and general. At the end, there is an overview of the book that is followed, in the endnotes, by definitions of my keywords.

2 The study of Seediq cultural translation and the translators who do it

While an historian might begin a study of Seediq culture with colonial records, and an anthropologist with fieldwork, my own starting point was how the translators of *Seediq Bale* translated and what they have said or written about the cultural background to their translation. Anyone who approaches culture linguistically like I have done has to keep the following caveat in mind: philology, by which I mean language use, is not necessarily cultural ontology, by which I mean a cultural model of the world as it is and should be. Philology is not ontology is an encapsulation of the cultural anthropologist Roger Keesing's caution about "the dangers of overinterpretation – the attribution of nonexistent theologies and metaphysics – by ethnographers" (1985: 201). Keesing was cautioning ethnographers who might read theologies and metaphysics, which I call "ontology," into "conventional metaphors." For instance, in Seediq the "future" is *bobo na*, literally "its above." Does that imply that the Seediq see themselves as rising up through time? I like to think so, but if FUTURE IS UP is a dead metaphor, then it might not offer us much insight into Seediq culture. Allow me to build on Keesing's caution: we should not assume that anything anyone says is a transparent externalization of his or her beliefs about the world. We all use language in order to state our beliefs about the world, to be sure, but we also use language to dissuade, persuade, lie, and justify, attempting rhetorical maneuvers around our desires and fears, our pride and our principles.

There is an example of such rhetorical maneuvering in the production of *Seediq Bale*, concerning the scene in which Mona Rudo shoots his wife Bakan Walis to spare her suffering at the hands of the Japanese (*RB* 1:42:44). The scene was translated by Dakis Pawan, the chief translator, in August 2009, and revised by Dakis with co-translators Pawan Nawi and Iwan Pering in September 2009, without

incident. Then, on April 29, 2010, six months into the shoot, Dakis Pawan told the director Wei Te-sheng that it might be "dangerous" to film the scene as scripted (Wei 2011: 201) because it went against *gaya*, a Seediq keyword that we can for the time being gloss as Seediq cultural ontology (cf. ch. 5 sec. 3). Wei Te-sheng replied that as scripted the scene had "dramatic tension" and the capacity to "shock" the audience (Wei 2011: 202). He could have added that the shooting was attested in the colonial record (Fubu 2002 [1931]: 765). And Wei's explanation of why Mona did it is plausible. In the end Wei revised the scene to Dakis's satisfaction: Wei would shoot Mona firing his gun, then cut to black without showing the impact of the bullet. However, satisfying Dakis did not mean satisfying Dakis's co-translator Iwan Pering. In an interview with Taiwan Indigenous Television (TITV) in June 2010, and in another interview with the Atayal documentary filmmaker Pilin Yapu (in *Musha Kawanakajima*, 2013), Iwan claimed that Mona would never have gone against *gaya*, and that Wei should never have included such a scene.

With all due respect to Iwan, even if there was a unanimous Seediq consensus on the morality of a husband shooting his wife, even *in extremis*, making what people say and what people believe identical in this case, what people believe is not always the same as what people do. Philology may sometimes reflect ontology, but ontology is not always human ethology.

If we keep the caveat that philology is not ontology is not ethology in mind, along with the related caveat that sometimes philology might affect ontology, which conditions ethology, then a linguistic approach to culture seems capacious enough, as we can all talk about anything in life, or in the universe, in any language (cf. ch. 7 and the conclusion sec. 3). Certainly, we can discuss Seediq culture in English, as I am doing in this book. But, in translation studies terms, our discussions are doomed to be "domesticating" – understanding people from a different culture on our terms, not theirs – unless we can make reference to the language in which the culture was and to a certain extent still is lived. Hence, when I use the term *culture*, the reader can silently preface it with *linguistic*. As I see it, language and culture are of the same cloth, which is not to say that if you pull a particular thread you can be sure how the cloth will twist.

As native speakers of Seediq, the translators of *Seediq Bale* can try to claim to be experts, as if they have objective knowledge of their culture. To the extent that matters of culture are social facts, the translators do have some basis for a claim of objectivity. But their objectivity is also supposed to extend to the past. Dakis Pawan, the chief translator of *Seediq Bale*, has published two books about *Seediq Bale*, not about its translation but about the history of the Musha Incident and the Seediq people. The first book is called *Truth Bale* (Guo 2011), which literally means "true truth" (as opposed to the other kind?), and the second is called *Seeing the Truth Again* (Guo 2012), about his face-to-face interviews with survivors of the incident. In his books, and in person, Dakis Pawan sometimes makes apparently iron-clad truth claims based on his putatively objective knowledge of history. The indigenous scholar Nakao Eki Pacidal, who is Amis not Seediq, argues that Dakis's claims go beyond fact to broach historical interpretation (Pacidal

2012: 177). I would point out in this regard Dakis's own admission that we simply do not know if Mona Rudo's first headhunt was against an Atayal or a Bunun village community. Both possibilities are attested in his oral history research (Guo 2011: 150).

In admitting his ignorance here, Dakis Pawan reveals that he has a recognizable idea of empiricism.[3] Dakis is not epistemologically hegemonic. He acknowledges that there are truths of Seediq history that are rashomonic. To some extent Dakis's "truth" was the person he was interviewing. His interviewee was right there in front of him, a human presence, bearing witness. After over half a century, the facts of the Musha Incident are harder to know, let alone the truths of precolonial Seediq culture.

How indeed was Dakis Pawan to know what precolonial Seediq culture was like when his sources included Japanese linguists and ethnographers, outsiders who brought their own assumptions and aims to the research enterprise? Linguists such as Asai Erin (see ch. 3) came to central and eastern Taiwan and found people who seemed to speak the same language, to which a name was given, the word for person. Today the language is spelled "Seediq," after the pronunciation of the word for person in the Tgdaya dialect. Ethnographers such as Sayama Yūkichi (see ch. 4) agreed that the speakers of this language shared a culture, but other ethnographers lumped the Seediq with the Atayal, and it was lumpers who persuaded the colonial bureaucrats who carved the second-order geobody into third-order geobodies. Not that it mattered how the lines were drawn, because the indigenous territory and the sub-territories it contained no longer belonged to the indigenous people. To the authorities, it was all Japanese territory, and the governor-general's aim was to rule it peacefully and profitably. Anything linguists and ethnographers could discover might help advance that aim.

The evidence Japanese linguists and ethnographers gathered *is* evidence, but there is often no way of triangulating it (verifying it independently), except against the village community experience of people such as Tiwas Pawan, a witness to the Musha Incident with whom Dakis Pawan consulted until her death in 1997. Dakis Pawan could also triangulate colonial evidence against his own village community experience. The problem is that the village community had been under Japanese colonial rule for thirty-eight years and Chinese colonial rule for nine years by the time Dakis was born into it in 1954, and people like Dakis describe having to reacquaint themselves with Seediq culture, to learn for the first time as adults about Seediq historical events like the Musha Incident, and to brush up their language skills after significant time away from home.

It is no surprise, then, that people like Dakis Pawan and Iwan Pering often disagree about the past: they are of the present, not of the past – a past that was, moreover, culturally more varied than they may realize. There was never a singular Seediq culture, a stable, bounded grid of static objects of knowledge; in fact, "Seediq" culture has always been a shifting constellation of moving targets interacting with other such constellations – constellations that can be understood as suites of evolving adaptations to changing eco-social milieux. Whether a husband can shoot his wife *in extremis* was cited earlier as an example of the challenge of

studying culture and practice through language when the relationships between language, culture, and practice tend not to spell out predictably at the best of times, much less for a relatively *abstand* case when a hundred years have passed. There is another example of the same challenge in the translation of the screenplay, and it is this example, as it happens, that got me started on this project.

Seediq warriors in *Seediq Bale* apparently use a Seediq word that means "flee!" The Mandarin word that appears in the subtitles is 逃 *táo*, meaning, roughly, "flee." The translation of *táo* in both Tgdaya and Toda is usually *qduriq*. But *qduriq* has to be used carefully. In the first conversation I ever had with Iwan Pering, she told me that according to her fieldwork with a circle of hunters in her home village of Meixi, you can tell the enemy to *qduriq* or say that you saw the enemy *qduriq*, but when the enemy presses near, whatever you do, you had better not tell your brothers in arms to *qduriq* or to admit later on that *qduriq* is what you did. The hunters Iwan Pering consulted think it is shameful for a warrior to *qduriq*. A real warrior would stand and fight, not flee. Therefore it would appear that the use of *táo* in the subtitles contravenes the ethos of a Seediq warrior.

The first time *táo* is used in the subtitles is during the scene where a Tgdaya trading party meets a group of Bunun braves in 1903 to try to break the embargo that has been imposed on the Seediq since 1897, when the members of an expedition to find a cross-island railway route (Barclay 2017: 95) were massacred in Seediqland (see table 1.1 for a historical timeline of the film). That night, the Bunun, who have been bought off by the Japanese, start killing the Tgdaya as they sleep. Right before the Bunun chief tries to impale Mona Rudo, Mona opens his eyes and makes his escape. Mona yells "quick, flee!" (快逃 *kuài táo!*). In his initial translation in August 2009, Dakis Pawan translated *kuài táo!* into *qduriq, nahari!* meaning "flee, hurry!" When I saw this translation, I wondered whether Dakis Pawan thought it was acceptable for Mona to say *qduriq* in this circumstance. Then I noticed that in the final cut Mona hollers *Tutuy, neelu hari!*, meaning "Wake up (or get up), hit the road, hurry!" (*SF* 29:31). Why the change? Dakis Pawan changed it in the middle of September 2009, after hearing about Iwan Pering's fieldwork.

But elsewhere *táo* ended up getting translated into *qduriq*. As the Tgdaya warriors flee home to the village of Mhebu, for instance, Mona Rudo's father Rudo Luhe shouts *qduriq!* (*SF* 34:57). Mona's father was played by Pawan Nawi, who helped revise the Tgdaya translation in September 2009. When I asked Pawan Nawi about his use of *qduriq* in the film, he told me that Iwan Pering, being a woman, might not know how a warrior would have spoken or conducted himself, nor would Dakis Pawan, who is not a hunter. According to Pawan Nawi, who is himself neither a hunter nor a warrior but who apparently believes he knows how a warrior would have acted and spoken over a century ago, there is nothing wrong with shouting *qduriq*. In many situations, whether in hunting or in battle, it would be imbecilic not to shout *qduriq*. This is not to say that shouting *qduriq* is fine for everyone. It is not fine for the hunters Iwan Pering consulted. It is to say that it seems fine for some, and therefore hard to know whether Wei Te-sheng misunderstood or

misrepresented "Seediq culture" in the first decade of the 20th century in this specific place.

In this case, the Seediq can only agree to disagree, though it seems to me they should be able to agree that there is no way to know and that it depends on who, when, and where. Even for current conditions, agreement on Seediq culture might still be difficult because it is still quite variable. It is still mostly based on convention. It is relatively unstandardized. It is, as sociolinguists say, *abstand*, varying from person to person and place to place to a much greater degree than any *ausbau* or standardized culture.[4] While in premodern times there was a strong pressure toward "conventionalization" within villages and to some extent within village alliances, there might, nonetheless, be significant cultural differences a few miles upriver in the next village.

A Seediq person's background a century ago was the village he or she was from, and indeed the four translators who worked on the translation of the Tgdaya and Toda dialogue for *Seediq Bale* come from different villages (visit the eResources for an online map). Three of the translators translated from Mandarin to Tgdaya Seediq: Dakis Pawan, Pawan Nawi, and Iwan Pering. Dakis Pawan grew up in Gluban, the Seediq name for Kawanakajima, the place where the survivors from the six rebellious Tgdaya villages were moved in 1931, which was renamed Qingliu after the war. Dakis's folks were originally from Mhebu, Mona Rudo's village. Pawan Nawi also grew up in Gluban, but his folks were originally from another rebellious village, Drodux. Iwan Pering grew up in Meixi, a village on the way from Wushe to Puli, the largest town in the area. Meixi contains two Tgdaya village communities, the only ones that were not eventually relocated by the Japanese. (The residents of Paran and other noncombatant Tgdaya villages were moved to a village called Nakahara in the mid-1930s to make way for a reservoir.) Watan Diro, who translated the screenplay from Mandarin to Toda Sediq, grew up in Gungu, which was a Tgdaya village up to 1930, but has been a Toda one ever since. However, place of origin, along with "sub-ethnicity" (Tgdaya versus Toda), is now only part of a Seediq person's identity.

Agreement on Seediq culture is also difficult because Seediq people's biographies differ in more dimensions than they did before. Dakis Pawan (Guo 2011: 32–34) went to the National Taiwan Normal University in Taipei and came back to teach mechanics in Puli at the local trade college. A liver ailment in the late 1980s introduced him to Deng Xiangyang, who ran a medical testing lab in Puli and researched the Musha Incident in his spare time. Deng encouraged Dakis to start interviewing elders in Gluban, a task that Dakis threw himself into because he realized he did not know who he was and wanted to find out by learning from the elders, who knew his ancestors. Since then, Dakis has become the main Seediq-language expert. He helped the linguist Song Limei compile the Seediq dictionary that has been online since February 2016.

Pawan Nawi is a farmer and handyman who, in his own words, has done "rough," meaning "heavy labor," his whole life. Videogenic, with great presence and voice projection, he was cast as Mona Rudo's father Rudo Luhe for the

promotional short film Wei Te-sheng made in 2003 and for the epic feature film he released in 2011. Pawan has no cultural or linguistic aspirations that I know of; he just wants to grow coffee on his hillside farm and run a café called Chez Rudo Luhe in Gluban.

Iwan Pering is the only translator with an academic background. She wrote a master's thesis about "village construction," which she treated in terms of "the revitalization (重振 *chóngzhèn*) of local knowledge and village culture" (Yiwan Beilin 2006: 154). The thesis is about her village, but she clearly has a wider purview, as I demonstrated above in my discussion of *gaya* and *qduriq*. Today she is trying to revitalize Seediq culture throughout central Taiwan by helping to run a Seediq-taught master's program at Providence University.

Finally, Watan Diro, the Toda translator, is a Presbyterian pastor who, though he is Toda, preaches in Tgdaya every Sunday in the church in Zhongyuan (Japanese: Nakahara), which is located up the road from Gluban.

Religion is another way of differentiating the translators: Watan and Dakis are Presbyterian, while Pawan and Iwan are Catholic. Though the churches take positions on social issues, age is a stronger predictor of attitudes. Iwan and Watan, now in their fifties, are more than a decade younger and socially more liberal than Dakis and Pawan. Iwan, who is contravening the traditional division of labor in allowing women to study hunting and men weaving in the program at Providence University, can be described as a feminist, and a Presbyterian service in Zhongyuan was the last place I expected to hear an appeal for open-mindedness about gay marriage. Such open-minded progressiveness is partly a function of geography, because Watan and Iwan, unlike Dakis and Pawan, have both lived abroad, in Ottawa and Honolulu respectively.

For all their differences, the translators are the same in some respects. They all speak Mandarin at least as well as they speak Seediq. Even so, they see themselves as capable of representing the contemporary relevance of the traditional culture to the Seediq community and to a wider audience. They must accept that they cannot know exactly what the traditional lifestyle was like, let alone live it. What they *can* do is reinterpret, to fit the fragments of what they know into some meaningful whole. Their reinterpretations of Seediq, in an ongoing adaptation to modernity, will naturally involve *qduriq*, better understood as a strategic "retreat" so as to regroup rather than as an ignominious "flight." The Seediq people will have to choose their battles wisely. But unlike Mona Rudo, who was, as Pihu Sapu puts it, "driven to bay by that policeman [Yoshimura] from the lumberyard" (*SB* 1:28:02), and unlike Hanaoka Ichirō, the "model savage" who advocates accommodation to modernity in the film, the translators have a choice: nobody has forced their hand; they can decide when, where, and how to take a stand.

They took a stand by choosing to participate in the translation of *Seediq Bale* despite the potential flak they might take from other elites in the Seediq community. While Iwan Pering is now very critical of the film, she did participate in the translation of the screenplay in September 2009. Eighty years before, the translators' Tgdaya and Toda grandparents had been at one another's throats,

literally. Now, instead of fighting it out, the translators were talking out their differences as they worked on a Seediq representation – their translation of Wei's screenplay into Seediq – of what happened on October 27, 1930, and why.

Now they were also participating in other collective projects. The year before taking up the translation of *Seediq Bale*, Dakis, Iwan, and Watan spearheaded a successful application for state recognition of the Seediq of Nantou County under the ethnonym Sediq (Guo 2008). They also worked on the compilation of a three-dialect dictionary. Dakis and Watan are working on a Seediq translation of *both* testaments of the Bible. They are all engaged in a collective project of linguistic and cultural revitalization, which Watan tirelessly promotes under the slogan 3S3T: 3S for Seediq, Sediq, and Seejiq and 3T for Tgdaya, Toda, and Truku. They are all active, and they act together.

Therefore, rather than as authorities, let us regard Dakis, Pawan, Iwan, and Watan as activists who build consensus through interlingual translation in order to plant selected seeds of cultural "revitalization" for the sake of Seediq's survival. Survival in some form is what the Seediq are fighting for now and what *Seediq Bale* is all about.

3 The relation between the data and my claims

When I started studying the translation of *Seediq Bale*, a couple of contradictory claims had been made by a few scholars who had drawn on some of the evidence. The subtitles had been available for download since 2011, the DVDs for online order since 2012. Wei Te-sheng's screenplay (Wei 2000), on which the subtitles were based, was in the library. The comic on which the screenplay was based (Qiu 2011 [1990]) and Dakis Pawan's two books (Guo 2011, 2012) were in the convenience stores on practically every street corner in Taipei. Iwan Nawi's translation of the screenplay into the Toda dialect (Wei 2014) was in the bookstore. The contradictory claims scholars had made about this evidence were that on the one hand Wei misrepresented Seediq history and culture (Li 2016; see ch. 6) and that on the other hand he "subtitled Seediq values" (Lee 2016). Li Yiqian's scholarship is admirable, but I think Elaine Lee was closer to the truth.

While I can hardly say I have *all* the relevant evidence, I have assembled more evidence than anyone else. I have looked at the Japanese sources of the screenplay, which were translated from Seediq and Japanese by colonial linguists and ethnographers and then from Seediq and Japanese to Mandarin by Shen Mingren, also known as Pawan Tanah. I have various versions of the "Seediq shooting script," which includes backtranslations of those same colonial sources.

To deal with the evidence, I have acquired reading knowledge of Seediq. On this basis, I can assert that critics like Li Yiqian (Li 2016) who claim that Wei Te-sheng misrepresented Seediq culture are dependent on Seediq activists, especially Dakis Pawan. With all due respect to Dakis Pawan, the translational data does not always bear out claims that Seediq activists like him make, as I have already shown with regard to *qduriq*.

When I pointed out to Dakis that *táo* was sometimes translated *qduriq* in the film, he was surprised. I will discuss many other examples that he might find surprising, on the principle that our understanding of Seediq culture depends on evidence to which everyone, including Dakis Pawan, is beholden. Claims people like Dakis Pawan make tell us about *ausbau* attempts to standardize tradition, but they have to be understood in the context of what is still a relatively *abstand* culture.

I may seem to be claiming I can represent Seediq culture better than Dakis Pawan, as if I am the cultural authority who makes claims on the basis of evidence and Dakis Pawan is merely the activist who says things he would like to be true. I should therefore stress that Dakis is like a soaring peak, while I am like a hill – as in the mound that ants make. The most I can hope, in all humility, is that, in digging around in the data, I have been empirical: that I have made some claims in an explicit framework that are plausible explanations of the evidence, explanations that Dakis might find interesting, but which are subject to revision, amenable to improvement.

I make specific claims about Wei Te-sheng's Mandarin-language screenplay and about the Seediq translation. With regard to the screenplay, I claim it is a decent approximation of Seediq culture, an achievement that we can understand historically. First, it drew on a Seediq song and story recorded during the Japanese colonial era. Second, it was produced in the two decades following the launch of the local indigenous movement by someone who supported and sympathized with the movement. Third, it was edited based on feedback from the Seediq translators.

With regard to the Seediq translation, I claim it is a work of art in its own right that contributes to the artistic achievement of the film and articulates an interpretation of the Musha Incident and of Seediq culture in Seediq terms, an interpretation that is modern. That the interpretation is modern is most obvious when the translation is a backtranslation. The way the song changed in translation and backtranslation from 1917 to 2009 can be explained with reference to the translators' indigenous modernity, which should also be understood historically: the translators grew up in modern Taiwan, but by participating in the same indigenous movement Wei Te-sheng supported and sympathized with, they have adapted their culture into an alternative modernity.

I have a general claim to make, too, about their approach to translation. If Iwan Pering is right, translating *táo* into *qduriq* in the context of the film is a foreignization (because the warriors in *Seediq Bale* only say *qduriq* as a result of culturally insensitive translation), *tutuy* a domestication (because *tutuy* is what a warrior would say, at least according to Iwan Pering).[5] As I have shown, the translators ended up using both *tutuy* and *qduriq*. I will show that they domesticated *and* foreignized throughout the translation. I imagine that indigenous and minority translators in general demonstrate their adaptability by domesticating and foreignizing their ways to "fluencies" that are evolving compromises with texts from dominant cultures, and with the dominant cultures in which the texts were produced.

4 Overview of the book

In the preface, in order to prepare the reader for the interlinear line of analysis in my three-line presentation of linguistic data in the acknowledgments and

the pages on Seediq phonology, morphology, and syntax that follow, I explained interlinear analysis and why I was using it: as a foundation for the thick description of a case of indigenous cultural translation I am attempting in this book.

This introduction has been a *mise-en-scène* for the case. I introduced the Musha Incident, the dramatic anticolonial rebellion *Seediq Bale* is about, in relation to "indigenous modernity," which is a context for my study of the Seediq translation of the Mandarin screenplay.

Then I discussed the conditions in which this translation took place, by introducing the Seediq translators, particularly their disagreements about their still relatively *abstand* culture. A discussion of both the translators' disagreements and their collective activities was the basis of the claim that the Seediq translators are better regarded as consensus-minded activists trying to standardize and thereby revitalize their culture than as authorities trying to describe it. Then I suggested how the evidence I have excavated supports the claims I make, and I am ending with an overview. To keep the discussion as down to earth and close to the case as possible, I put my definitions of keywords in the endnotes below.

In chapter 1, I dig into the textual history of Wei Te-sheng's screenplay from 1996 to 2011 in the language in which it was written, Mandarin. I argue that, despite all the liberties Wei took to turn history into an epic film, his screenplay's presentation of Seediq historical agents' perspectives is culturally plausible, as are the disagreements between these agents. The Seediq characters in the film may share the same culture, but they do not see eye to eye. The disagreements in the film about the legitimacy of rebellion imply a dialectic[6] between traditionalists and modernists that has been driving Seediq adaptation[7] to/of modernity since before colonization.

Then I wonder, how Seediq can the screenplay possibly be when Wei Te-sheng wrote it in Mandarin? I answer this question in the core chapters of the book, arguing that overall the Mandarin screenplay is quite foreignized. However, my main focus in the core chapters is on the Seediq translation (see table I.2).

In chapter 2, I treat the process and product of the Seediq translation of the screenplay in 2009 and 2010, mainly in terms of word order but with some

Table I.2 Plan of the Core Chapters

Ch.	*Title*	*Mode*	*Level*
2	Refining the ore: From foreignization and domestication to fluency	Translation	Text
3	The game of telephone: Cultural translation as adaptation	Backtranslation	Text
4	Pacifying the pine: How to demilitarize headhunting songs	Backtranslation	Text
5	The dialectic of *dmahun*: The thicker backtranslation of cultural keywords	Backtranslation	Term
6	From Hako Utux to Rainbow Bridge: Into the translational middle ground	Backtranslation	Term
7	Translating colonial modernity: Adapting terminologically	Translation	Term

attention to word choice. In response to an assumption in minority translation studies that translators would, on the basis of their strong identities, tend to domesticate into the minority language in order to protect it, I show how the Seediq translators did it all, foreignizing and domesticating their way from a stiff literalism to a "fluent" idiom that takes full advantage of Seediq's sonic features.

Chapters 3 and 4 form a pair in which I discuss the translation and backtranslation of texts. In chapter 3, I discuss two cases where texts, one a 200-word story and the other a single line, were translated from Seediq into Japanese during the 1930s, into Mandarin in the 1990s, and back into Seediq in the 2000s. I discuss these cases as spaces for flights of imagination by indigenous translators that matter to Seediq identity today and which exemplify the creativity that has driven the Seediq adaptation to modernity. In chapter 4, I take the same approach to a Seediq headhunting song that can be sourced to the 1910s, arguing that prosody both constrains translators and liberates them by giving them another reason for rewriting.

Chapters 5 and 6 form another pair in which I discuss the translation and backtranslation of terms. (Note that I use "term" in the far-right column of table I.2 to include both words and phrases; I will discuss terms in the sense of terminology in chapter 7.) In chapter 5, I argue that the Seediq translators articulated their own Seediq interpretation of the Musha Incident in their translation, which is also an interpretation of Seediq culture as it has evolved since 1930. Their translation is a "thicker backtranslation" of Mandarin translations of key Seediq concepts. It is thicker not only because the translators restored the terms to their original linguistic context, but also because that context had changed drastically since 1930. Having found Wei's Mandarin translations of Seediq keywords to be relatively foreignized in chapter 5, I go on in chapter 6 to discuss the translation of the wider web of traditional terms in terms of a translational "middle ground."

A leitmotif in chapters 3 to 6 is the modern reinterpretation of "myths" – traditional stories that provide guidance – and meanings as the Seediq people brew new wines to put in old bottles, new cultural meanings to express with preexisting Seediq texts and terms. In chapter 7, I serve a selection of wines that are distinctly modern: I complement the study of traditional vocabulary in chapter 6 with an anatomy of modern terminology. In anatomizing the modern Seediq lexicon in chapter 7, I show how loanwords, which are foreignizations, complement native adaptations, which might be termed domestications. I suggest that the complementarity of the modern Seediq lexicon should characterize any culture's adaptation to modernity.

In the conclusion, I recapitulate the argument that the interlingual translation of *Seediq Bale* was informed by a "translation" of Seediq culture into an alternative modernity. I go on to speculate upon what kind of alternative it is. I then make a home for my approach, indigenous cultural translation, in translation studies and recommend my method, the thick description of translation, for the study of cases of indigenous translation around the world.

Notes: seven keywords

1 **Indigeneity in Taiwan:** About 6,000 years ago, headhunter-planters arrived in Taiwan, probably from coastal China. About 1,000 years later, some of the new arrivals sailed south. If the "out of Taiwan" hypothesis (Diamond 2000: 709) of Austronesian ("south island") cultural dispersal is correct, ancestors of the Maori and the Malagasy once lived in Taiwan. The headhunter-planters who stayed in Taiwan, and who are retroactively Austronesian, diversified for three reasons besides cultural drift: interaction with even more aboriginal hunter-gatherers, adaptation to new environments, and a drive to be different. The first culturally Chinese settlers arrived in the 17th century. From 1683 on, the coastal plains were ruled by the Qing. The Seediq first appeared in 18th-century historical records. But by 1895 the Seediq were still stateless, living beyond the "pale" in the mountains. The Taiwanese "pale" was the 蕃界 *fānjiè*, literally the "hedge boundary" (Teng 1996: 43), a line that settlers were not allowed to cross. The *fān* in *fānjiè* became the word for the "savages" who lived beyond that line. The Japanese were the first colonizers to conquer the mountains, but they kept the "indigenous territory" separate from the plains. They governed through chiefs until 1930, thereafter through more trustworthy intermediaries. During the war the population was "imperialized," and after the war it was Sinified by the Kuomintang. By the 1980s, there was overt resistance to Kuomintang rule, including indigenous resistance.

The indigenous resistance radicalized after the lifting of martial law in 1987, as a "belated" local current within "international indigenism," which is usually dated to the 1960s (Simon 2016). There were calls in Taiwan for the return of indigenous sovereignty (see chs. 1 and 4). The state responded with multiculturalism and recognition. In 1994, the state recognized indigenous *people*, in 1996 indigenous *peoples* (Shih 1999). At the time the Seediq were lumped with the Atayal, but there was now a legal mechanism for further recognition. According to Dakis Pawan (Guo 2008), the Truku who migrated to the east coast in precolonial times are Seediq, but many east coast Truku disagree, and the Chen Shuibian administration sided with the east coast Truku. The east coast Truku nation was recognized in 2004, the "Sediq" nation of central Taiwan in 2008. In addition to geographical divisions, there are also social cleavages between ordinary people and competing elites who try to promote their understandings of indigeneity to advance their interests (Rudolph 2008; cf. Simon 2016). My own observation is that elites also cooperate, partly to try to advance ordinary people's interests.

Terminologically, the government uses the term "tribe" to refer both to village communities like Gluban and to imagined communities like Sediq. I avoid "tribe," which is pseudo-technical and exoticizing, in favor of "community." The Mandarin term 原住民 *yuánzhùmín* could be translated "aboriginal," but I use "indigenous" in support of "activists eager to shift the focus from primordialism to human rights" (Friedman 2018: 80 note 1). "Indigenous" stresses the Seediq right to self-definition. However, the Seediq had to get approval as a condition of recognition, so that Seediq self-definition is the product of state-society interaction, at any scale. Referring to community-building programs designed to counteract social alienation, Kerim Friedman claims that "the contemporary identification of Taiwanese indigenous people with their [village communities] . . . must itself be understood as a product of the nation-state and its promotion of a particular kind of local authenticity" (2018: 95).

I use some related terminology: Han means ancestrally from China. Chinese covers cultural and linguistic elements that are common to Mandarin, Taiwanese, and other Chinese languages. Taiwanese means either from Taiwan or Southern Hokkien as a culture or a language. I mostly avoid the term native because indigenous people share Taiwan with other people who were born there ("native" is from *naître*, "to be born" in French): descendants of Southern Hokkien and Hakka settlers and of refugees of the Chinese Civil War. While an individual can identify in a certain way, ancestrally everyone is mixed; Taiwan's history is a tale of "Interethnic Weddings" (Ye 1994).

To the People's Republic of China (PRC), Taiwan's indigenous peoples have been a single "national minority," the Gaoshanzu, the "High Mountain Tribe" – a designation that apparently leaves out populous coastal peoples like the Amis – since 1954. But the PRC can hardly define the meaning of indigenous or decide its application by fiat. If it could, one could hardly discuss "indigeneity" in China (Hathaway 2010).

2 **Tradition/modernity:** Tradition refers to the gradually evolving precolonial Seediq lifestyle, modernity to the rapidly evolving colonial Seediq lifestyle. I use the tradition/modernity binary for three reasons: first, while tradition is an attempt to rein in change at any time, modernity implies *recent* history and therefore certain kinds of inculcated self-control and types of technology, which has enabled us to construct concrete jungles to live in and screen-based media to get lost in. Second, tradition and modernity are terms the Seediq translators themselves use: tradition is 傳統 *chuántǒng~gaya rudan*, modernity 現代性 *xiàndàixìng~gaya hndure*. Third, although tradition/modernity has been used to do violence to indigenous people, it is not blood-drenched like savagery/civilization, the binary the film deconstructs: Mona Rudo sees himself as civilized (see ch. 5 pp. 105–106), and the Japanese are savage (see ch. 1 p. 36).

The tradition/modernity binary should also be deconstructed. Mona Rudo's village submitted in 1907, but villagers had been trading produce for money, weapons, or salt for decades (see ch. 7). To some extent, the Seediq have self-modernized. One way they have modernized is by standardizing and revitalizing their tradition. Any binary is vulnerable to deconstruction, but to deconstruct is not to demolish. Used dialectically (see note 6), this binary is a way of approaching Seediq cultural adaptation (see note 7).

Though screen-based mediation is arguably part of postmodernity, I use the term modernity inclusively. I see modernity as an unfinished project (Habermas 1996 [1980]), where the interplay between modernities and traditions produces alternatives (Gaonkar 2001).

3 **Empiricism:** One way that Dakis Pawan is modern is that he is empirical (see Larsen 1987), though of course not every modern person embraces empiricism (for those in translation studies, see Pym 2016). Empiricism is an evidence-based dialectical approach to the description of reality. Classical mechanics mostly fits the evidence, but relativistic mechanics complements it without cancelling it out. The findings of minority translation studies are true as far as it goes, but the evidence does not justify the anxiety over foreignization or the recommendation for its avoidance (see ch. 2). Li Yiqian's scholarship is excellent and her conclusions solid, but I can draw on additional evidence to better describe the significance of the translation (see ch. 6). Otherwise, I am out on my own, in uncharted territory, and a contextualized understanding of the evidence can be my only guide.

4 ***Abstand/Ausbau:*** An *abstand* language, literally a language by distance, is a dialect chain, while an *ausbau* language, a language by development or design, is standardized (Kloss 1967). Without top-down pressure to conform, an unstandardized language can contain astonishing variation, which is a function not just of geography but also of local identity. A standardized language is never uniform, because people always try to stand out in their language use. *Abstand* languages are typically spoken by small communities, *ausbau* by large. Heinz Kloss claimed that in modern times 50,000 speakers is a minimum number for a viable language community (1977, cited in Mühlhäusler 1996: 264), but actually fifty is enough, if young people insist on speaking their ancestral tongue. The standardization imposed through the monolingual national language policy in Taiwan, which was only replaced with official multilingualism in the 1990s, is part of why Seediq is endangered; it is unclear if the standardization of Seediq will facilitate its revitalization, but that is the rationale. *Abstand*/*ausbau* applies to culture, too, but when culture is standardized, people may not conform, and even if a country is officially multicultural, people may not want to be pigeonholed.

5 **Domestication/Foreignization:** Domestication and foreignization are Lawrence Venuti's translations (1995: 19–20) of Friedrich Schleiermacher's terms (*verdeutschend* and *verfremdend*) for two approaches to translation (2012 [1813]). I do not use Venuti's translations exactly according to Schleiermacher's understanding of the approaches or ascribe the same values to them as Schleiermacher or Venuti.

For Schleiermacher, a translator either "moves the reader toward" (Schleiermacher 2012 [1813]: 49) the writer (foreignization) or the writer toward the reader (domestication). While I accept the salience of authorial (or "writerly") intention, I also use domestication and foreignization in terms of approaches to the foreign text and its context. While Schleiermacher is either/or (49), as if a translator can either foreignize or domesticate, never both, I assume most translations, at the term level and text level, are in a "middle ground" (see ch. 6 sec. 1) between the writer and the reader, the original culture and the target culture. After all, Schleiermacher uses the preposition *toward* (in Susan Bernofsky's translation), not *to*. Schleiermacher preferred foreignization as a way of expanding the expressive capacity of the language he spoke, German, Venuti valorizes foreignization into English as a way of disrupting its dominance, while I assume that foreignization and domestication are both legitimate ways of developing a vulnerable language.

6 **Dialectic:** A dialectical perspective on cultural change models it as a "gradual" (in the etymological sense of "stepwise") evolution of ways of understanding, speaking, and acting as temporary resolutions to conflicts between traditionalists and modernists (see note 2). Traditionalist and modernist are roles the same person might play in different contexts. Traditionalists resist modernists, slowing but not stopping linguistic and cultural change by appealing to "tradition," a codification of adaptation (see note 7). As a translator, I focus on innovations introduced through translation, but many innovations are internal. As Tord Larsen puts it: "The freedom which goes into the construction of cultural meanings also provides a way out of them; any culture contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction, the very same seeds it uses to produce and reproduce itself" (1987: 21). A similar point applies to language use. Friedrich Schleiermacher put it this way in his seminal talk on translation: though "bound" by language, every "free-thinking, intellectually independent individual shapes the language in his turn" (2012 [1813]: 46).

7 **Adaptation:** Evolutionary, cultural, and intermedial "adaptation" seem related. All three senses of the word refer to processes and products. Evolutionary adaptation as a process has bequeathed each of us a set of adaptations, a skill set by virtue of which colonized indigenous peoples can adapt themselves to colonial modernity and directors can adapt written texts into films. The common thread is systemic experimentation, of trying new things and seeing what works in the context of the system, which might contain subsystems and be embedded in a larger system. Not everything works: many experiments fail; all adaptations might be maladaptations in a slightly different system. But we can nonetheless make do and even thrive, as a species, as peoples, or as individuals, because of or in spite of history. This is obviously not to say that cultural and intermedial adaptation can be reduced to evolutionary adaptation. Evolutionary adaptation is slow, blind, and passive, while cultural adaptation and intermedial adaptation are fast, self-reflexive, and choice-based. Nor is intermedial adaptation reducible to cultural adaptation: cultural adaptation is the popularization of individual adaptations; intermedial adaptation is the remediation of texts in specific cultural contexts.

For my purposes, culture as adaptation is a complement to, or a context for, culture as identity: culture is part of what makes groups distinctive, to be sure, but we can also regard a culture as a suite of ways of doing things and an experimental process of finding ways of doing things better. If we consider a culture in this way, we might even feel that we have something to learn from, for instance, the Seediq.

References

Barclay, Paul D. (2017) *Outcasts of Empire*: *Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border," 1874–1945*, Oakland: University of California Press.

Bawan Danaha (Pawan Tanah; Shen Mingren) (1998) *Chongxin Zuling de Minzu: Saideke Ren* (*The People Who Worship Ancestral Spirits: The Seediq*), Taibei: Haiweng.

Chen Shujuan (Chen Shu-Chuan) (2010) "Taiyayu de Yuyan Huoli yu Yuyan Fuzhen – Yi Simakusi ji Zhudong Wei Li" (Language Vitality and Language Revitalization of the Atayal in Taiwan: The Cases of Smangus and Chutung), *Taiwan Yuwen Yanjiu* (*Journal of Taiwanese Languages and Literature*), 5.1 (March): 15–36.

Deng Xiangyang (2000) *Fengzhong Feiying: Wushe Shijian Zhenxiang ji Huagang Chuzi de Gushi* (*Dana Sakura/Cherry Blossoms in the Wind: The Truth of the Musha Incident and the Story of Hanaoka Hatsuko [Obing Tado]*), Taibei: Yushan.

Diamond, Jared M. (2000) "Linguistics: Taiwan's Gift to the World," *Nature*, 403: 709–710.

Friedman, P. Kerim (2018) "The Hegemony of the Local: Taiwanese Multiculturalism and Indigenous Identity Politics," *Boundary 2*, 45.3: 79–105.

Fubu Bingcilang (Hattori Heijirō) (2002 [1931]) "Guanyu Wushe Shijian" (About the Musha Incident), in Dai Guohui (ed); Wei Tingchao (trans), *Taiwan Wushe Fengqi Shijian: Yanjiu yu Ziliao* (*The Uprising at Musha, Taiwan: Research and Materials*), Taibei xian, Xindian shi: Guoshiguan (Academia Historica), 733–767.

Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar (ed) (2001) *Alternative Modernities*, Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (ed) (2008) *Saideke Zhengming Yundong* (*Seediq Name Rectification Movement*), Hualian: Guoli Donghua Daxue Yuanzhumin Minzu Xueyuan (College of Indigenous Studies, National Dong Hwa University).

Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (2011) *Zhenxiang Balai: Saideke Balai de Lishi Zhenxiang yu Suipai Zhaji* (*Truth Bale: The Historical Truth of Seediq Bale and a Production Diary*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (2012) *You Jian Zhenxiang: Saidekezu yu Wushe Shijian* (*Seeing the Truth Again: The Seediq People and the Musha Incident*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Habermas, Jurgen (1996 [1980]) "Modernity: An Unfinished Project," in Craig Calhoun et al. (eds), *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 444–450.

Hathaway, Michael (2010) "The Emergence of Indigeneity: Public Intellectuals and an Indigenous Space in Southwest China," *Cultural Anthropology*, 25.2: 301–333.

Hattori Heijirō (1981 [1931]) "Musha Jiken Nitsuite" (Concerning the Musha Incident), in Tai Kokuki (Dai Guohui) (ed), *Taiwan Musha Hōkijiken: Kenkyū to shiryō* (*The Uprising at Musha, Taiwan: Research and Materials*), Tōkyō: Shakai Shisōsha, 535–561.

Keesing, Roger M. (1985) "Conventional Metaphors and Anthropological Metaphysics: The Problematic of Cultural Translation," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 41.2 (July): 201–217.

Kloss, Heinz (1967) "Abstand Languages and Ausbau Languages," *Anthropological Linguistics*, 9.7 (October): 29–41.

Kloss, Heinz (1977) "Ten Types of Language Planning," in B. P. Sibayan and A. Gonzales (eds), *Language Planning and the Building of a National Language*, Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

Larsen, Tord (1987) "Action, Morality, and Cultural Translation," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 43.1 (June): 1–28.

Lee, Tzu-yi Elaine (2016) "The Subtitling of Indigenous Values in the Film *Seediq Bale*," *Other Modernities*, Special Issue (February): 58–67.

Li Yiqian (Lee Yi-chien) (2016) "Duochong Xunhua yu Yuhui Zhengming: *Saideke Balai* Zimu Fanyi zhong de Yiyi Liuzhuan" (Multiple Domestications and Indirect Rectification: Semiotic Shifts in the Subtitle Translation of *Seediq Bale*), *Taiwan Wenxue Yanjiu Xuebao* (*Journal of Taiwan Literary Research*), 23: 39–68.

Mühlhäusler, Peter (1996) *Linguistic Ecology: Language Change and Linguistic Imperialism in the Pacific Region*, London: Routledge.

Niezen, Roland (2003) *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pacidal, Nakao Eki (2012) "Zhongjianzhe zhi Lian: *Saideke Balai* de Yuanzhumin Lishi Yanjiuzhe Yingxiang" (The Face of the Inbetweener: The Image of [the] Indigenous History Researcher as Reflected in *Seediq Bale*), *Taida Wenshizhe Xuebao* (*Humanitas Taiwanica*), 77 (November): 167–197.

Pym, Anthony (2016) "A Spirited Defense of a Certain Empiricism in Translation Studies (and in Anything Else Concerning the Study of Cultures)," *Translation Spaces*, 5.2: 289–313.

Qiu Ruolong (2011 [1990]) *Manhua Balai: Taiwan di yi bu Wushe Shijian Lishi Manhua* (*Comic Bale: The First Historical Comic of the Musha Incident*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Rudolph, Michael (2008) *Ritual Performances as Authenticating Practices: Cultural Representations of Taiwan's Aborigines in Times of Political Change*, Berlin: LIT Verlag.

Schleiermacher, Friedrich; Susan Bernofsky (trans) (2012 [1813]) "On the Different Methods of Translating," in Lawrence Venuti (ed), *The Translation Studies Reader*, 3rd edition, London and New York: Routledge, 43–63.

Scott, James C. (2009) *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Shih Cheng-feng (1999) "Legal Status of the Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan," www.taiwanfirstnations.org/legal.html.

Simon, Scott E. (2015) "Making Natives: Japan and the Creation of Indigenous Formosa," in Andrew D. Morris (ed), *Japanese Taiwan: Colonial Rule and Its Contested Legacy*, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Simon, Scott E. (2016) "From the Village to the United Nations and Back Again: Aboriginal Taiwan and International Indigenism," *Taiwan Journal of Indigenous Studies*, 9.3 (Fall): 49–89.

Teng, Emma J. (1996) *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683–1895*, Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.

Venuti, Lawrence (1995) *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, New York and London: Routledge.

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2000) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Xinwenju (Government Information Office).

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2011) *Daoyan Balai: Teyouzhong Wei Desheng de Saideke Balai shouji* (*Director Bale: Endemic Species/Particularly Spunky Wei Te-sheng's Seediq Bale Diary*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng); Yiwan Nawei (Iwan Nawi) (trans) (2014) *Kari Toda Patas eyga Sediq balay* (*The Toda Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*)/*Saideke Balai Saidekeyu Jubenshu* (*Seediq-Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Yushan.

Ye Shitao (1994) *Yizu de Hunli* (*Interethnic Weddings*), Taibei: Huangguan.

Yiwan Beilin (Iwan Pering) (2006) "Utux, Kongjian, Jiyi yu Buluo Jiangou: Yi Alang Tongan yu Alang Sipo wei zhu de Taolun" (Spirits, Space, Memory, and Village Community Construction: Discussion Mainly of Tongan and Sipo), Master's thesis, Guoli Donghua Daxue (National Dong Hwa University).

1 From resistance to compromise

Critical women in the Mandarin version

In this chapter I discuss the interpretation of *Seediq Bale* in light of its formation. Its formation began in 1996, when Wei Te-sheng first encountered sources on the Musha Incident. What were Wei's sources? Liu Zhijun (2016: 11) mentions the importance to Wei of Qiu Ruolong's 1990 comic book version of the Musha Incident. But Wei had other sources, sources that shed light not just on what happened but also on why it happened, on both material conditions the Seediq people endured and their motivations for rebellion. Wei's most important source for Seediq motivations was a book (Bawan 1998) by a Truku Seejiq intellectual called Pawan Tanah in Seediq and Shen Mingren in Mandarin, whom Wei met on the set of Qiu Ruolong's documentary film *Ga Ya* (1998). Wei was drawing on Shen when he explained the motivation for the rebellion in Seediq cultural terms: the rebels were upholding *gaya*, the ancestral law of an autarkic people according to which the community had to be defended in a "blood sacrifice" (Chiu 2017: 151).

How did Wei shape the materials he found in his sources? He took extensive historical liberties, which the lead translator Dakis Pawan has discussed in a pair of books (Guo 2011, 2012). I build on Dakis's books by explaining how Wei turned history into epic. While Qiu had elevated only Mona Rudo's stature, Wei also elevated the stature of Teymu Walis, the Toda leader who collaborated with the Japanese during the reprisal, turning Teymu into Mona's epic antagonist. Moreover, he raised the profiles of a number of other characters, all of whom are foils for Mona in the film, including Mona's wife Bakan Walis.

What was Wei's motivation for turning the history of the Musha Incident into an epic film, beyond wanting to make it big at the box office? According to Lorenzo Veracini, Wei wanted to issue a "declaration of Taiwan's (settler) independence" (2012: 244). *Seediq Bale* would be a declaration of Taiwan's independence if the rebels in the film represent the Taiwanese people engaged in an epic struggle with foreign colonial powers like China. Obviously, the Taiwanese people have never been oppressed by China in the sense of being directly ruled by the government of the People's Republic of China, but in 1996, the year Wei Te-sheng became interested in the Musha Incident, the PRC conducted missile tests in the Taiwan Strait two weeks before Taiwan held its first presidential election on March 23. The idea that the film might be a belated response of defiance to China's show of force is not entirely implausible.

The film would be a declaration of settler independence – independence from indigenous people – as "a story of indigenous disappearance" (Veracini 2012: 244). Such elegies for the vanishing noble savage are common in settler nationalist cultural production. Such elegies are pleasant fantasies for settlers, who can thereby pretend that the indigenous people really vanished, and that there are no historical injustices to remedy, no indigenous sovereignty claims to address.

But Wei's film is *not* a story of indigenous disappearance. In his reunion with his sister Mahung at the end of the film (see the acknowledgments and ch. 5 sec. 1), Tado Mona urges her to have children and tell her children and her children's children about their father's deed. One of the last scenes in the film is of Mahung trudging toward Kawanakajima with the other survivors, including a very pregnant Obing Tado. Among the survivors was Pawan Nawi's father, who was going on sixteen (Jian et al. 2002: 136, 140), and Dakis Pawan's father, who was two (402–403), both of whom Wei worked closely with in the making of his film. An important part of the marketing was that all the Seediq parts were played by Seediq or Atayal actors.

Beyond *Seediq Bale*, Wei funded the production of a documentary called *Pusu Qhuni* (directed by Tang Xiangzhu, 2014), which makes space for the Seediq in Taiwan's story from 1930 to about 2010. At the end of the documentary, Pawan Nawi, the actor who played Rudo Luhe in the film, makes his own declaration of Seediq independence (2:30:46), an assertion of Seediq sovereignty over the Root Tree from which the Seediq believe they are descended (see ch. 6 sec. 2.1). Pawan Nawi would have Wei's support for his declaration of Seediq sovereignty, as long as he did not expect Wei to leave the island on which Wei's ancestors have lived for hundreds of years.

Professor Veracini is right to raise the issue of the nature of Wei's nationalism, but Taiwanese and settler nationalism are not the only possibilities. I will argue that Wei is a nationalist for whom national belonging is related to his Christian religion and his primitivism, in that all three are ways of overcoming alienation, which Marx defined as separation from nature, work, one another, and ourselves (2007 [1844]). As an attempt to overcome alienation, Wei's film is an appeal to the twenty-three million individuals who live on the industrialized, urbanized, capitalist island of Taiwan to imagine themselves as members of a national community.

In this regard, there has been a lot of criticism of the film in terms of an individual/collective binary: the Seediq were collective, while Wei Te-sheng misrepresents their resistance against the Japanese in terms of an "individualistic heroism" (Lin 2019). It is as if Wei has Hollywoodized Seediq history, modeling Mona Rudo after Mel Gibson. In doing so, he seems to undermine his own attempt to overcome alienation, which is a function of individualism. Like Veracini, Lin raises an important issue. But did Wei see the Seediq through the lens of heroic individualism? And were the Seediq in fact collective? Let me answer the second question first. Individual and collective are in a changing balance in Seediq culture, as in any culture. While Wei may not have struck quite the right balance for Seediq culture in 1930, "collective" is inadequate in itself as a description of Seediq culture at any time (see, for instance, ch. 4 p. 93, ch. 5 p. 123, and ch. 6 pp. 138–139). As for the first question, "individualistic heroism" does not

do justice to Wei's representation of the Seediq in the film. Mona Rudo does not decide to rebel or lead the rebellion alone in *Seediq Bale*. The rebellion is an act of heroism that is individual, in that it has leaders, *and* collective, in that it was the act of three hundred warriors.

"Individualistic heroism" does not fully describe the production of the film, either. Liu Zhijun (2016: 9, 12) argues that Wei identified with, or wanted to be perceived as identifying with, Mona Rudo as a heroic individual who is willing to risk everything to fulfill his belief. Wei did just that: he started filming before he had enough money to finish. The Central Motion Pictures Corporation had to come in and save the day with a fifty million New Taiwan Dollar financing deal (Wei 2011: 234–236). Wei couldn't have done it without the CMPC. He couldn't have done it without his crew, either. Wei has repeatedly affirmed that any film production is an exercise in teamwork. The screenplay was also a heroic effort that was both individual and collective. Wei wrote the screenplay but opened up its authorship to include the translators by revising it based on their feedback (see ch. 3 p. 68, ch. 4 sec. 3, and ch. 5 p. 121). By having the screenplay translated, he gave Dakis Pawan and his colleagues the opportunity to articulate their own interpretation in the translation (ch. 5).

For Professor Lin Chin-ju, the "individualistic heroism" is *male* heroism, and part of the sexist "gendered cultural politics" (Lin 2019) of the film. Lin claims that Wei ignores or subordinates Seediq women. But I will show that, as an epic, *Seediq Bale* is not just about the heroic deeds of manly men. The film is about heroic women, too. It is about the women who hanged themselves from tree boughs in *The Rainbow Bridge*, both so that they could return to the Pusu Qhuni and so that their husbands and brothers could fight to the death knowing they had nothing left to live for (*RB* 31:30–37:35). As I noted in the introduction, 188 Tgdaya heads were hunted from November 1930 to April 1931; by contrast, 296, many of them women and children, hanged themselves in the last two months of 1930 (Deng 2000: 107).[1]

The film is also about women like Bakan Walis, Mona Rudo's wife, who criticizes her husband in Seediq cultural terms. As an epic, *Seediq Bale* is not just about military struggle; it is also about an intellectual struggle within the Seediq community that can be understood as a gendered debate. In this debate, Mona Rudo urges resistance, and Bakan Walis counsels restraint. The debate in the film takes place in 1930, but it did not end in 1930. It continues today. It concerns the Seediq adaptation to modernity and might well address the alienation that troubled Wei Te-sheng when he started paying attention to Mona Rudo in adulthood for the first time.

1 Wei Te-sheng meets Mona Rudo

According to Wei Te-sheng's author's introduction to his published screenplay (2000: 1), it all started one evening in 1996, when Wei saw a report about an indigenous protest on television. Wei describes the indigenous protestors oxymoronically as "fierce and helpless" (剽悍無助 *piàohàn wúzhù*). Fierce and helpless? Fierce,

all right. The protestors were fighting fiercely for something, probably for sovereignty. If so, they were part of the indigenous movement in Taiwan, which in the late 1980s, after martial law was lifted in 1987, had demanded that the state "return our land," in the usual translation of the movement's main slogan (還我土地 *huán wǒ-tǔdì*), though it is more likely "return the land to us" (*huán-wǒ tǔdì*). The state had recognized the indigenous people of Taiwan as such in 1994 (see introduction note 1), but to some people, recognition without restitution or return of sovereignty was and still is unacceptable, hence the protest. Can protestors be described as helpless? Well, they had not gotten what they wanted, or they would not be protesting. But in protesting they were taking action to try to change their circumstances. They were hardly unable to help themselves. In describing them as "helpless," I think Wei felt sorry for them, which, as he soon realized, was not the right response.

The protestors reminded him of Mona Rudo, whom he had read about in the 1980s in middle school textbooks that appropriated Mona for Chinese nationalism: like Chinese nationalists in the 1930s and 1940s, Mona had resisted the Japanese. But obviously these protestors were not protesting against Japanese rule; they were demanding that the government of the Republic of China respect their sovereignty. There must be more to Mona than Chinese nationalism.

So Wei made a trip to the bookstore, where he found some sources on the Musha Incident. Reading them, he realized that Mona Rudo was fierce, but far from helpless. The best way to describe him was "proud" (ch. 5 sec. 1). Then and there, Wei got the idea for a film that would make indigenous people feel proud of themselves, and his fellow Taiwanese of non-indigenous ancestry aware that the indigenous people had good reason to be proud.

In initially feeling sorry for the protestors, was Wei commiserating with them as fellow colonized people – tough but unable to effect change? By 1996 some Taiwanese people – descendants of settlers who arrived in Taiwan as early as the 17th century – felt like they had been colonized by the KMT-ROC party-state. The description of the Kuomintang as a colonizer is part of "Taiwanese" nationalism. And Wei is in some sense a Taiwanese nationalist. Judging by his plan for an epic trilogy about his hometown of Tainan, a plan that evolved in tandem with *Seediq Bale*, Wei wants to instill pride in Taiwanese, not Chinese, nationhood through films about historically significant founding events or acts of resistance.[2] Mona Rudo's resistance was indigenous, but it occurred on Taiwanese soil, and it might therefore allow a broader Taiwanese audience to tap into a vicarious pride. If so, the Musha Incident could be generalized into a story of Taiwanese resistance to colonial authority. Indeed, it *had* been generalized into a story of Chinese or Taiwanese resistance to colonial authority all through the postwar period, as Michael Berry has shown (2008: 53–107).

Wei's nationalism was involved in his reaction to the news story. So was his religion. To him, the Musha Incident illustrated the power of conviction. Wei has described the warriors as "fighting for belief." Wei is a Presbyterian, seemingly a heroic Christian who believes that as long as we believe in ourselves, as long as we act on our beliefs, there isn't anything we cannot, as a people, do. Onward, Christian soldiers!

Wei's nationalism and religion were part of his reaction. So was his primitivism. Wei's primitivism is all over the book he wrote about being an unemployed director six years after watching the fateful television news report in 1996 (Wei 2002). In this book, he seems to despise life in the modern city, which is so noisy, busy, colorless, tedious, isolated, and cramped; he wrote parts of the book from his concrete box of an apartment in Taipei. Wei longs for a time when people's lives were pure, passionate, unconstrained, in the open air, and larger than life. He even imagines himself naked on the native soil, hacking enemy heads off in the primeval forest of southwestern Taiwan in the early 17th century. In the Musha Incident, he had found the same fantasy of participation mystique within living memory.

Toward the end of the book, Wei relates a visit to an old man, a veteran not of the attack on the Japanese on October 27, 1930, but rather of the Takasago Volunteers, who fought for the Japanese in the Second World War. Wei visited the old man with Qiu Ruolong, a comic book artist who was shooting a documentary about the Musha Incident. The old man's grandson asked Qiu why he had come, and Qiu replied: because your grandfather is a hero! Wei then describes the grandfather as "[a] true hero!" and exclaims, "Ah, how I wish I could be him!" (Wei 2002: 270–271). This was Wei's somewhere-over-the-rainbow moment.

Wei would go on to cross the rainbow in his imagination and make a film about Mona Rudo, the heroic leader of a "primitive" people called the Tgdaya Seediq, a band of noble savages who believed that a hero who upheld the tradition of headhunting would cross a rainbow bridge into the afterlife, a happy hunting ground where he would hunt forever with his erstwhile enemies. In the film, the erstwhile enemies would be Toda and Japanese. Somewhere over the rainbow was interethnic reconciliation.

In the short term, for the Tgdaya survivors, abuse awaited on the other side of the bridge to modernity that, for a long time, they were compelled to cross. At the end of the film, Kamada Yahiko, the commander of the reprisal, refers to the "samurai spirit" of the Seediq rebels (*RB* 1:57:30), the heroic ethos that had disappeared in Japan lo these many years. This samurai spirit would, a decade later, be used to appeal to young Seediq men like the veteran of the Takasago Volunteers whom Qiu Ruolong and Wei Te-sheng visited. At the end of his article on the incident, the military officer I mentioned in the introduction in connection with the *dorama* of the incident compares the Mona Rudo's rebels to the samurai *bushi* of old and hopes that next time they fight, they will be fighting for Japan (Hattori 1981 [1931]: 561). The Seediq men who did fight for Emperor Hirohito may have wanted to "become Japanese" (Tsing 2001), but they were used as cannon fodder, and when the Japanese lost, the Kuomintang took over. Mona Rudo had resisted in 1930, but he had probably also collaborated in 1920 (see p. 37 below). The Kuomintang naturally viewed the Seediq with suspicion. The Seediq may have been bearers of a distinct culture, but the Kuomintang had no intention of protecting ethnic minority cultures except to legitimate claims to territory that was now out of reach, on the other side of the Taiwan Strait. In Taiwan, the Kuomintang imposed a monocultural and monolingual policy through education and regulation of the mass media.

The Kuomintang relaxed this policy and pivoted to multiculturalism following the lifting of martial law in 1987, by which time the Seediq were documenting their language and culture for fear of losing it: by the 1980s, even to some extent by the 1970s, elders whose earliest memories were of precolonial times were dying, and children were no longer learning the language. Such documentation was part of a general "nativist," meaning "romantic," cultural trend in Taiwan society (Hsiau 2000), whereby people who felt lost tried to find themselves in a cultural heritage that the modern state had tried to erase. Along came Wei Te-sheng, who found a champion of a cultural heritage in Mona Rudo, a great man whose cultural tradition had told him who he was and where he was going. By retelling Mona's story, Wei could take everyone over the rainbow.

Wei Te-sheng may not – as a nationalist, religious, primitivist hero-worshipper who indulges in kitsch (if the rainbow is a kitsch image) – seem the most likely person to turn the Musha Incident into art. Wu He, one might think, he is not. In 1999, a writer named Wu He published an experimental ethnographic novel that has become one of the most important works of modern Taiwanese literature, even of modern Sinophone literature. Unlike generations of popularizers who had appropriated Mona Rudo for Chinese or Taiwanese nationalism, Wu He questions the legitimacy (Wu 2017 [1999]: 325)[3] of the attack and of the idolization of Mona Rudo; *as if* Mona Rudo was the kind of leader Taiwan needed to commemorate three years after holding its first democratic presidential election. Instead of retelling the story of the Musha Incident another time, Wu He observes the "remains of life" in Qingliu Village, also known as Kawanakajima and Alang Gluban, where the Tgdaya survivors were relocated in 1931.

While Wei Te-sheng does not, like Wu He, represent the daily lives of Seediq people today, I will show that he, too, questions the legitimacy of the attack and the idolization of Mona Rudo. Unlike Wu He, he does so, or at least Mona Rudo's wife Bakan Walis does so, in Seediq cultural terms. Bakan's questioning intimates that the kind of cultural debate that now animates the Seediq public sphere is implicit in Seediq culture circa 1930, perhaps at any time. That is where I will end up by the end of this chapter. To get there I will take a look at how Wei transmuted his sources into *Seediq Bale*.

2 Shaping the sources and rewriting the screenplay

From 1996 to 2000, Wei Te-sheng would write and rewrite a screenplay about the Musha Incident. He submitted this screenplay for a Government Information Office competition. His was one of a half dozen prize-winning entries, and nothing initially came of the win besides publication (Wei 2000). In 2001, he was working as Assistant Director on *Double Vision* (directed by Chen Kuo-fu, 2002). In 2002, he published his book about being an unemployed director (Wei 2002), in which he only mentions the Musha Incident project in passing. In 2003, still unemployed, he made a short medley of highlights from the screenplay with his own money to try to raise funds for a feature film. The two most famous shots in the feature film he went on to make are in the short film: the shot in which

Mona Rudo decapitates some poor Japanese soldier with a swooping machete (2:12; *SF* 25:27) and the shot in which Mona and his fellow warriors leap out of the fire when the powder from the matchheads he has been storing up for years in his house in Mhebu explodes (2:53; *RB* 1:04:41). The short film failed to attract investor interest, so Wei commissioned a writer called Yan Yunnong to novelize the screenplay. Though the novelization (Yan 2011 [2004]) expands on the screenplay, Yan discounts his own creative contribution; he claims the best lines and all the added background in his novelization were in the version of the screenplay and a pile of books he received from Wei. The novelization also failed to attract investor interest, so Wei tried another approach: he made a comedy. A surprise late-summer hit, *Cape No. 7* (2008) proved the profitability of a combination of nostalgia for the Japanese era and curiosity about indigenous culture. It made enough money for Wei to pay off his debts and proceed with the production of *Seediq Bale*. He may have revised the screenplay again at this time. Whenever he did, and whatever Yan Yunnong's creative contribution, the 2009 shooting script was significantly different from the screenplay that had won a prize in 2000. And it continued to evolve in late 2009 and 2010, partly in response to feedback from the translators, as I will show in chapters 3, 4, and 5. My goal here is to trace the formation of the screenplay in Mandarin, starting with a pair of Japanese sources in Mandarin translation.

2.1 Learning from Japanese historians

In the summary of the story (Wei 2000: 2–6) that follows his introduction to the screenplay, Wei quotes from a popular history by a team of Japanese journalists. It was originally published in Japan in 1980. It was published in an anonymous Mandarin translation in 1992 in response to the rising interest in local history. A copy happened to be in the bookstore Wei visited in 1996, and it inspired the following description:

> On the morning of October 27, 1930, in the famous scenic area in "savage country" that apparently had developed the fastest, and which was the reddest and the prettiest when the cherry trees were in full bloom – Musha, preparations were being made for the annual joint athletics meet . . . After the local chief of police [Sazuka Aisuke] had brought the procession of visiting dignitaries including the Prefect of Nōkō Prefecture [Nōkōgun] into the meeting ground, a group of "savage braves" with white bands around their heads and machetes in their hands flooded in from all sides. The Japanese fell one after another to the call of "Don't spare a single Japanese!"
>
> (Wei 2000: 2; Zhongchuan and Hegesen 1992 [1980]: 9–10)

Wei included the line "Don't spare a single Japanese!" in the screenplay (2000: 67) but cut it from the film (cf. *SF* 2:07:34, see ch. 2 pp. 45–46). The image of Seediq warriors in white headbands flooding the grounds of the athletics meet informed the way Wei filmed the climax of *The Sun Flag* (*SF* 2:01:29). And Wei soaked

his film in the imagery of cherry trees blooming blood-red and out of season (*SF* 21:20, 2:12:05; *RB* 1:57:43; see also the conclusion to ch. 4), a trope exploited by many writers and filmmakers before Wei. The chief of police of Nōkōgun, for instance, wrote a book called *Blood Cherries of Musha* (Egawa 1970).

Wei reproduces the quotation without citation, but it is almost verbatim, and we know that Wei read the book because he left his highlighting, underlining, and marginal notes in his copy, which is available to any researcher in "the archive," a bookshelf in the Real Guts restaurant that Wei's film production company Ars Films runs in central Taipei, over twenty years after he bought the book.

Nakagawa and Wakamori, the authors of this popular history, note that at the time, the Japanese authorities acknowledged individual faults, such as abuses by individuals like Yoshimura, the patrolman who crashed Watan and Lubi's wedding. By the time Nakagawa and Wakamori published their book, fifty years had passed. The time had come to admit faults that were structural in nature and might be summed up as colonial capitalism: deprive the natives of their independence without granting them representation and make them dependent on modern conveniences and thus on the market, on which they would have to sell their labor to make money. These structural factors had to be part of any explanation of the attack, including Wei's.

Wei's screenplay begins not with the attack or the structural factors that led to it but some thirty-five years earlier, at the time of the signing of the transfer of Taiwan's sovereignty from the Qing to Japan. The signing sets the stage for Admiral Kabayama Sukenori, the first governor-general of Taiwan, to give his colleagues a pep talk about the challenges that lie ahead. In fact, in the initial screenplay Wei quotes verbatim from Kabayama's "imperial rescript."

> The island of Taiwan is a new territory in our great Japanese empire, a land that does not yet bask in imperial grace. Today, when we enter this land, we will cause the people to gladly return [sic] to the benevolence of our emperor, who adheres to the principle of educating and pacifying, but we must at one and the same time combine grace with force, preventing the people from responding with a contemptuous heart.
>
> (Wei 2000: 11–12)

There are different Mandarin translations of Kabayama's Japanese. Where did the translation Wei used come from? Wei Te-sheng quoted Taiwan-based Japanese historian Fujii Shizue's translation (Tengjing 1997: 3), which was published the year after Wei was inspired by Mona Rudo's pride. Obviously, Wei made more than one trip to the bookstore.

In the 2000 screenplay, there is a division of labor between Kabayama Sukenori and a Japanese military officer, the former preaching the civilizing mission of "grace," and the latter using "force" to crush any resistance. Initially, the officer crushes Taiwanese resistance, but a half dozen years later he sets his sights on the Seediq. By 2009, the officer had a name, Tōyama. Tōyama is the one who in 1903 buys off the Bunun, who massacre the Seediq as they sleep,

including, almost, Mona Rudo. Tōyama is the one who is waiting for Mona Rudo in Mhebu when he makes it back to the village carrying his dying father on his back. In addition to naming the officer, Wei also abandoned the division of labor in the first version of the screenplay: in the film Kabayama shows much more of the big stick he was holding, his true feelings about the people he was holding it against, and what he was holding it for. Divided into subtitles, the revision (*SF* 6:23) went like this:

> *Taiwan is a new territory in the empire*
> *A land that has not basked in imperial grace*
> The people on the island are bellicose and vicious
> It's said that they have taken arms to resist our military's occupation
> Though the scattered forces are brave, there's no need to fear
> After we go ashore in Jīron [Keelung]
> We will do a comprehensive sweep north to south
> *We must ensure that the islanders never again have a contemptuous heart*
> But that they submit to our Sun empire with a sincere heart
> Especially the heartland area, now divided up by the savage tribes
> There in the high mountains lie forest and mineral resources
> Limitless treasures

This is no longer a quotation from Kabayama's imperial rescript, except for the three italicized lines. This is rather an amalgam of colonial voices, including, in the last three lines, Mizuno Jun, the top civilian official in the new colonial regime. Wei Te-sheng also learned about Mizuno Jun from Fujii Shizue. Immediately following the quotation from Kabayama's imperial rescript, Fujii turns to a report by Mizuno that she uses to document the formation of the "savage management" policy. Mizuno, Fujii notes, discussed "the mountain people" in a section entitled 殖産 *shokusan* with a subsection entitled 農林 *Nōrin* (Tengjing 1997: 5). The section title *shokusan* is half of a Meiji-era slogan for a policy to develop industrial capitalism in order to catch up with the West in the Social Darwinian struggle for national existence, and the subsection title *nōrin* is agriculture and forestry (Mandarin: *nónglín*). Forestry was the point. According to Paul Barclay's calculation, the monopoly on camphor, one of the limitless treasures in the heartland area, generated around a fifth of the colony's revenue (2017: 101). The only problem was that the mountain people lived in the alpine forests where the camphor laurels grew. These savage montagnards would have to be managed. The challenge was how to keep the cash pouring in and the cost of savage management down.

Mizuno was a modern government official who had to balance the budget, while Kabayama spoke in the language of premodern rule: educate by imperial grace, punish with force. Wei places the stress on punishment in his revision of Kabayama's speech in his film. However, in the film education is implicit in "model savages" like Hanaoka Ichirō, whom the Japanese educated to help govern the heartland. Modern civilization is also visible in infrastructure. In the

first scene of the film set in 1930, Sazuka Aisuke, the chief of police in Musha, boasts to prefectural chief of police Egawa Hiromichi, who is on a visit from the town of Hori (the Japanese pronunciation of Puli), about all the infrastructure that has been built: look, he says, at that school, that clinic, that store, that post office, and that inn (*SF* 40:04). In reply, Egawa wonders if Sazuka has been working the Seediq porters who have to lug the lumber for all the infrastructure too hard. Obviously, the Japanese civilizing mission was mostly ideological cover for domination.

Of all the books in the archive, the works by Fujii and by Nakagawa and Wakamori bear the heaviest highlighting, underlining, and marginal notation. The fact that Wei came at Musha first through self-critical Japanese commentators is why he was able to achieve a slightly more nuanced view of Japanese colonialism than Qiu Ruolong.

2.2 Adapting Qiu Ruolong's comic book

By 1996, the year Wei Te-sheng became interested in the incident, Qiu Ruolong was famous for the comic book version of the Musha Incident he had published in 1990. Having picked up the comic at the bookstore, Wei heard through the grapevine that Qiu was shooting a documentary about the survivors of the incident, who were now in their seventies and eighties. Wei called Qiu up and asked if he could tag along on the shoots. Qiu said yes. So Wei went with Qiu to visit people like Tiwas Pawan, a living witness to the Musha Incident, in the hills around Puli. Wei held the boom as Tiwas bore witness to history.

Qiu's comic was Wei's main source of plot elements but *not* of the narrative design. The comic has serious problems from the perspective of an aspiring epic film director. It jumps around in time too much, and it contains too many historical complications. It is mostly description. The dialogue is appropriate for a comic book, not a feature film. Overall it is undramatic. These were problems for Wei to overcome.

Qiu does not just start *in medias res*, with a scene about corvée laborers shouldering logs to the mill in 1930; he keeps jumping back and forth through time, back to the Japanese invasion in 1895, forth to the trip Mona took to Japan in 1911, forth to Mona's failed attempts to canvass support for revolt in 1920 and 1925, back to Hanaoka Ichirō's and Hanaoka Jirō's education in the late 1910s, back to the doomed Fukahori expedition to find a railway route to the east coast in 1897. . . . There is no reason why an epic film should not begin *in medias res*. But for Wei to jump around in time too much would likely only confuse a mass audience who didn't know the story of Mona Rudo's resistance as well as Homer's audience knew the story of the war against Troy. For such an audience, it would make more sense to tell the story in temporal order. Except for a few brief flashbacks to the story Mona Rudo heard as a boy at his father's knee (see ch. 3) and to the first confrontation between Mona Rudo and Teymu Walis (see p. 34 below), that is just what Wei Te-sheng did, as you can see in table 1.1 by comparing dates in history with times in the film.

Table 1.1 Timeline of the Musha Incident in *The Sun Flag* and *The Rainbow Bridge*

1895	*SF* 5:31	Taiwan's sovereignty is transferred from the Qing to Japan.
1897	*SF* 18:38	Fukahori sets out from Hori (Puli) to find a route to the east coast.
1902	*SF* 23:37	The Japanese are repulsed by the Seediq at Hitotomenoseki (Renzhiguan).
1903	*SF* 26:55	The Seediq are double-crossed by the Bunun at Shimaigahara (Jiemeiyuan).
1907	*SF* 37:21	Mona Rudo's village Mhebu submits to the Japanese.
1930	*SF* 40:01	Egawa Hiromichi visits Sazuka Aisuke in Musha.
Oct 7	*SF* 1:01:59	Watan and Lubi get married in Mhebu.
Oct 24	*SF* 1:28:44	Pihu Sapu and fellow rebels hold a conspiratorial colloquy in Gungu.
Oct 25	*SF* 1:32:15	Pihu Sapu canvasses support from the other Tgdaya chiefs.
Oct 26	*SF* 1:48:17	The village police stations are torched the night before the attack.
Oct 27	*SF* 2:00:11	The first Japanese head is taken in the morning.
Oct 27	*RB* 5:02	Egawa Hiromichi hears about the rebellion in the afternoon.
Oct 29	*RB* 36:14	The Hanaoka "brothers" commit suicide by *seppuku* and hanging.
Oct 31	*RB* 48:37	Gungu chief Tado Nokan is killed by a Japanese bullet.
Nov 2	*RB* 1:04:41	Mona Rudo's house explodes in Mhebu.
Nov 10	*RB* 1:33:56	Teymu Walis, chief of Tnbarah, is impaled upon Pihu Sapu's spear.
Dec 8	*RB* 1:52:01	Mona Rudo's son Tado and daughter Mahung reunite in Mhebu.
May 6	*RB* 1:58:46	Mahung and Gungu princess Obing Tado march to Kawanakajima (Qingliu).
1934	*RB* 1:59:20	Mona Rudo's bones are discovered.

To simplify the historical complexity that he found in Qiu's comic, Wei cut two aspects of the background to the incident he had gotten from Qiu and put in his 2000 screenplay. First, he cut "Tewasi" (Qiu 2011 [1990]: 118; Wei 2000: 30, 32, 37), Mona Rudo's sister Tiwas Rudo, who was married off to a Japanese adventurer named Kondō Gisaburo in 1909 and abandoned by her husband in 1916. Tiwas's abandonment was representative of the complications of state-sponsored marriages between Japanese subalterns and the daughters of indigenous chiefs (Barclay 2005). Wei's omission of this background is regrettable, and it would add to a feminist critique of the film (see p. 24 above; cf. sec. 4 below). Second, Wei cut mention of the support of Taiwanese liberals and leftists for the rebels. In the screenplay (2000: 91), Wei copied the text of a left-wing poster, partially cited in Qiu (2011 [1990]: 223), that called for the Taiwanese people to rise up against the Japanese like Mona Rudo had done. The omission of this wider angle, which would have only brought another historical dead end into view and left Wei open to the charge of appropriation of the incident for Taiwanese liberal nationalism (or for leftist politics), allowed Wei to focus on what was going on in central Taiwan.

The next problem with Qiu's comic is that it is mostly description. The scenes Qiu rendered in dialogue are mostly preserved in Wei Te-sheng's screenplay, but Qiu's dialogue was appropriate for a comic book, not for an epic film. At the beginning of the attack, for instance, a Japanese dignitary shouts, "Don't walk around when we're singing the national anthem!" (Qiu 2011 [1990]: 180) as he looks back to see a freshly severed human head rolling on the ground. In moments

like this, Qiu had treated the Musha Incident with levity. But there was no room for black comedy in Wei's heroic vision of Mona Rudo's rebellion.

Qiu's descriptions are textboxes about aspects of the Seediq lifestyle with juxtaposed illustrations. Before colonization, Qiu showed Seediq men and women engaged in "typical" activities (hunting for the men and weaving for the women), which he described in textboxes (57). After colonization, he described Seediq disempowerment and dependency: after surrendering their guns (93), Seediq men had to support themselves by selling their labor, doing the 3D (dirty, dangerous, degrading) job of their day (98–104).

Wei could hardly include so much description in his film. There is a lot of description in Wei's screenplay, of course, but almost none in the film except for the occasional diegetic document or non-diegetic title.[4] Almost everything Wei wanted to borrow from Qiu's descriptions would have to be dramatized. To make the link between disempowerment and dependency clear, for instance, Wei invented two pairs of scenes: one about hunting, the other about trading. In each pair, one scene is set around 1895, the other in 1930.

In the first hunting scene, Mona Rudo tells his father Rudo Luhe about a dream he had about a deer. Right then, a "spirit bird" (see ch. 6 secs. 1 and 2.1) begins to sing. The father explains to his son that he should go hunt the deer he dreamed about to serve at his wedding. In about forty seconds (*SF* 07:48), Wei implies quite a lot about traditional Seediq hunting culture (ch. 6 sec. 2.3), for instance that a prey animal in a dream might be associated with a woman (cf. Simon 2018: 158, where a woman in a dream represents a prey animal). The second hunt (*SF* 55:01) is to provide food for Watan and Lubi's wedding on October 7. Soon after borrowing guns at the police station, Mona and the other members of the hunting party stumble upon Toda chief Teymu Walis, who is guiding Kojima Genji (the police officer assigned to Teymu's village) and Kojima's son. In the resulting argument about who has the right to be there, we learn that the hunting ground used to belong to the Toda, then it was taken by the Tgdaya, but now it is under Japanese control. "What's this about your hunting ground and mine?" Kojima's young son exclaims. "All of this belongs to us Japanese!" (*SF* 58:36). This scene segues into the next one, in which the hunting party stumbles across another Japanese officer, who is sexually harassing a girl from Mhebu called Iwan (*SF* 1:00:14). The hunters let their dogs loose on the officer. This second hunting scene, too, achieves a lot: it ratchets up the tension between Mona Rudo and Teymu Walis, underscores the loss of Seediq sovereignty in one of many great lines in the film, and exemplifies abuses by Japanese policemen. Finally, it foreshadows a pair of role reversals: Mona will be "driven to bay" (*SB* 1:28:02) by Yoshimura, but Yoshimura and all the Japanese colonizers will become Mona's prey on October 27.

In the first scene about trade (*SF* 13:16), Mona Rudo leads the braves of Mhebu to a trading post run by a Taiwanese merchant to exchange skins for salt. In addition to illustrating precolonial barter, the scene has a dramatic function: to plant the seed of the antagonism between future Tgdaya leader Mona Rudo and future Toda leader Teymu Walis, which structures Wei's film. A Toda Sediq troop containing a young Teymu Walis arrives immediately after Mona. A member of

Mona's party jeers that since the Toda have brought so little to trade, they should give the Tgdaya their hunting ground (the same one featured in the second hunting scene). Greatly offended, Teymu Walis threatens to hunt Mona's head when he grows up, and Mona tells him he will never get the chance – an insult and a threat that neither would forget. The second scene about trade (*SF* 41:04) is set at a shop in Musha run by another Taiwanese merchant, Ngôo Kim-tun (Mandarin: Wu Jindun). After a hard day lugging lumber down to Musha, three Tgdaya braves, including Lubi's fiancé Watan, drink cups of rice wine on credit at the store. When the "model savage" Hanaoka Jirō comes by in his police uniform and upbraids them for wasting money they don't have on booze, they reply that unlike him, the merchant understands them. Obviously, Ngôo does. But just as obviously, he is not their friend. Although after the attack Ngôo shares a drink with Mona Rudo, whom he thanks for sparing his life (*RB* 11:41), we should not forget that Watan describes Ngôo as a "venomous snake" (*SF* 41:24), a creature who profits by poisoning them with liquor.

In dramatizing the description, Wei was also addressing the final problem with Qiu's comic: that it managed to make undramatic an incident that was supposedly more *dorama* than *dorama*. To make his version dramatic, Wei supplemented the plot and personalized the characters. The main kind of scene to add in an epic film is a last battle. Wei invented one. In the comic, in the screenplay, and in the novelization, the rebellion just peters out. In the shooting script and the film, there is a final counterattack (*RB* 1:23:17) in which Rudo Luhe's brother in arms Ubus, Chief Tanah Robe, Temu of Truwan Village, and the child warrior Pawan Nawi – four of the main heroes outside the members of Mona's own family – die trying to retake the home fort, the village of Mhebu.

The shooting script is also much more "personalized" compared with Qiu's comic or Wei's screenplay, in which there are numerous references to a "brave" or "some chief." By 2009, each warrior and chief is individualized: by the last battle, the audience should know exactly who Ubus, Tanah Robe, Temu, and Pawan Nawi are. In the screenplay, the first head Mona takes is Atayal, even though the Atayal will never figure again in the story. In the shooting script, the first head Mona takes is Bunun, because the Bunun will appear again. The Bunun chief who looks on when Mona takes the head of one of his men in 1895 takes revenge on Mona Rudo eight years later in 1903. The women are also more individualized. In the screenplay it is just some girl who works as a maid for a housewife in Musha; in the film the maid has a name and an identity: she is Watan's bride-to-be Lubi. And the housewife, who makes nasty comments about Lubi's marriageability, ends up hiding with Chief Tado Nokan's daughter Obing Tado in a storeroom during the attack. "You're not Japanese," she says to Obing (*SF* 2:04:00). "What are you doing in here?" In *Seediq Bale*, the minor characters come to life, as do the major players, in a process that I discuss in the next section, about the way in which Wei turned historical figures into epic heroes.

3 Great men of history

In history, Mona Rudo's father Rudo Luhe may not have been chief of Mhebu (Guo 2011: 93), but he is in Wei's film. In history, he cooperated with the

authorities. Paul Barclay writes of Rudo Luhe's "adoption" of Kondō Gisaburo, to whom he married his daughter Tiwas (Barclay 2017: 112). In the film, Rudo Luhe dies without acquiescing to the enemy. His last words to Mona, "Thou shalt not let the foreign race into the village!" (*SF* 35:52), represent a commandment that would hardly have had any force had the father failed to live up to it. Rudo Luhe in the film never let the foreign race in. When Rudo Luhe's ghost visits Mona twenty-three years later in 1930 to tell him his tattoos are as black and bright as ever, in an effort to shore up his resolution to rebel, the first thing Mona says is: "Father, I failed to keep the foreign race out" (*SF* 1:23:40).[5]

Mona makes up for this failure by masterminding the attack on the Japanese. In Qiu's comic, which is based on history, Pihu Sapu, a brave of Gungu, is the instigator (Qiu 2011 [1990]: 143–144). In Wei's screenplay (Wei 2000: 54–55) and in the film, Pihu is a short-term thinker, while Mona is a long-term strategist. Mona is the one who has been saving up powder from matchheads[6] for years, and it is he who makes the decision to attack *before* Pihu Sapu canvasses support from the other Tgdaya chiefs. When he does go to visit the chiefs in the film, Pihu is rhetorically inept; by contrast, Mona is a consummate orator who leads by persuasion, which also distinguishes him from Kamada Yohiko, the commander of the reprisal, who only gives orders. In history, in Qiu (2011 [1990]: 219), and in Wei's 2000 screenplay (Wei 2000: 82), Mona decides to give Musha up only after he learns that the authorities have gotten wind of the attack. But in the shooting script, and in the final cut, he had planned all along to leave Musha to fight a guerrilla war in the Seediq style, like the invisible wind (*RB* 12:46). Before, during, and after the rebellion, Wei's Mona is totally in control, and never makes a false move.

But although Wei raised Mona's stature to the point of stretching credibility, he did not turn him into an individualistic hero who is so heroic that he somehow does it all himself (Lin 2019). After the failure of the rebellion, Mona acknowledges the contributions all the warriors made when he apologizes to his son Tado (*RB* 1:41:31). In the next scene, he thanks his wife and the women of the community for "fulfilling" him and all the other men (*RB* 1:44:15). He could not have done it without them either.

In Qiu's comic and to some extent Wei's screenplay in 2000, Mona towers above all the other characters, mostly because all the other characters are so insignificant. But in the shooting script and the film, Mona has a number of formidable foils, all of whom stand up to him in one way or another.

While Yoshimura remains a comic book villain, a character out of the black-and-white ethical universe of Qiu Ruolong's comic, two of the Japanese characters in Wei's film are sympathetic and compelling. One is Commander Kamada Yohiko. Kamada starts off assuming that his adversary is animalistic (*RB* 39:39). His assumption comes straight out of a legal discourse of dispossession: although "sociologically speaking, [indigenous people] are indeed human beings . . . looked at from the viewpoint of international law, they resemble animals" (quoted in Barclay 2017: 28). The argument was slightly more subtle than Kamada lets on: the claim was not that the indigenous people were actually animals, just that they could not claim sovereignty. In Kamada's second and third scenes, he realizes what he is up against – not animals, but a disciplined guerrilla force – and

delivers his most memorable line, the most potent irony of the entire film: Mona has forced him to be savage (*RB* 55:09). Kamada will use the latest advance of industrial civilization, a bomb containing a blistering agent, to carry out the most barbaric act, a war crime according to the Geneva Protocol, which Japan had just signed. In his final scene, Kamada comes to admire Mona for upholding something like Kamada's own vanishing samurai tradition (*RB* 1:57:30).

The other sympathetic Japanese character, who is much more sympathetic in the film than in Wei's 2000 screenplay, is the police officer Kojima. Kojima's character arc in the film is the inverse of Kamada's with respect to his attitude toward the Seediq. In a word, he respects the Seediq. As a result, he wins the respect and friendship of Teymu Walis, chief of the Toda village of Tnbarah, where Kojima is stationed. Kojima has a change of heart in the incident and instrumentalizes Teymu to take revenge on Mona. Wei makes this change of heart more comprehensible. In real life, Kojima only lost a son in the attack, but in the film his whole family is slaughtered. Kojima sacrifices his friendship with Teymu on October 27, but he seems to have regarded Teymu as a friend before then.

Mentioned only once in Qiu Ruolong (2011 [1990]: 269), Teymu Walis becomes Mona's archenemy in *Seediq Bale*. As a foil, Teymu is a contrast to Mona, particularly in his friendship with Kojima. Though in a colonial context, Teymu's openness to a foreigner makes him seem like a collaborator, that is not how the relationship is presented in the film. In the film, Teymu really feels Kojima is his friend. That is why he protects him after news of Mona's attack reaches Tnbarah. When he realizes Kojima is using him to get back at Mona, he refuses to fight, then realizes it is too late to go back. All Teymu can do is to try to fight like a hero, to live up to the traditional ideal of a *sediq balay* (Tgdaya: *seediq bale*) when colonialism has put it out of reach. The actor Umin Boya manages to convey a sense of Teymu's tragic grandeur.

Wei's elevation of Teymu Walis was not just a way of turning the film into an epic; it was also in consideration of the lingering tension between Toda and Tgdaya (Chiu 2017: 153–154). To the Toda today, Mona Rudo is no hero. If he were, the Toda would have the difficult task of explaining why they collaborated with the Japanese against him. While Wei certainly portrays Mona as a hero; he makes Teymu a hero, too. Lest he rub salt in old wounds, Wei also omitted the Second Musha Incident on April 25, 1931, which he had put in his screenplay (Wei 2000: 111–112), but which remains hard to defend to this day: someone – according to the film, it was Kojima – gave the Toda guns and let them have a go at defenseless Tgdaya survivors who were being housed in two refuges. What Wei could have done is to note that Mona Rudo was probably himself a collaborator. According to "oral sources and documentary evidence" (Barclay 2017: 112), Mona Rudo helped the Japanese crush Atayal resistance in 1920. In this respect, Mona Rudo and Teymu Walis were the same. In respect to the colonial strategy of pitting savage against savage, Toda collaboration in 1930 was Tgdaya collaboration in 1920 (see ch. 5 note 2) and Bunun collaboration in 1903 (see table 1.1) all over again.

Like Teymu Walis in the first trading scene and the second hunting scene (see sec. 2.2 above), members of Mona's own alliance try to stand up to him, too,

especially Tado Nokan, the chief of Gungu. Tado Nokan is named but not characterized in Qiu Ruolong's comic. When Mona Rudo asks Tado Nokan to take part in the rebellion, "Are you content to suffer under the Japanese for the rest of your life?" (Qiu 2011 [1990]: 149) is all that it takes to get him to come onside. In Wei's film, first Pihu Sapu and then Mona Rudo spend two and a half minutes trying to persuade him. Mona's attempted persuasion of Tado is one of the most dramatic scenes in *The Sun Flag*. And Tado Nokan is never persuaded. It is only after he realizes all the warriors in his village have decided to go to war that he gives up trying to persuade them not to damn the community to certain death.

Finally, there is the "model savage" Hanaoka Ichirō, who appears in a few scenes in Qiu's comic. Like Qiu (2011 [1990]: 264–266), Wei evokes the identity conflict of the Hanaoka "brothers," who were not actually blood relations, in a culturally split suicide scene (*RB* 36:11) in which Ichirō performs *seppuku* and Jirō hangs himself from a tree bough. But unlike in Qiu's comic, Hanaoka Ichirō in Wei's film tries to stand up to Mona, first in the creekside colloquy (*SF* 1:15:32) and second in the confrontation in Mona's house (*SF* 1:39:50). Both times, he reminds Mona of the overwhelming military superiority of the enemy, and both times Mona jabs at his sore spot: "Dakis, or is it Hanaoka Ichirō?" (*SF* 1:40:06). For Mona identity is one or the other. Mona is certain modernization means ceasing to be Seediq, while Dakis/Ichirō believes some kind of hybrid or alternative modernity is possible. The model savage loses the argument in the film, but not in history – like the critical women I discuss in the next section.

4 Gendered cultural critique

Another way in which Wei turned the Musha Incident into an epic is by putting Seediq men in conflict with their women. In the 2000 screenplay, Tado Nokan has to endure his daughter Obing Tado's remonstration when he finally finds her hiding in the storeroom. "Father!" she exclaims, "Why did you have to go headhunting?" (Wei 2000: 73; *SF* 2:13:48). By 2009, Wei had added a scene in which Mona's wife Bakan Walis declares to her younger son Baso that the men of her household have gone "crazy" (*mkuni*) when she discovers Mona's stash of matchhead powder (*RB* 26:28). In a line Wei added in consultation with Dakis Pawan in the spring of 2010, six months into the shoot (see introduction p. 7), Bakan asks Mona where his *gaya* – his sense of morality (cf. ch. 5 sec. 3) – has gone. Obviously Bakan does *not* think Mona's rebellion or his treatment of the women in the community is morally acceptable. Before the attack, she tells her husband as much in a song she sings with her daughter Mahung Mona (*SF* 1:43:24):

> You bullying men must not forget,
> that you are in our debt,
> that all your manly pride,
> came from womankind.
> We wove it all for you!
> We fulfilled each proud tattoo.

When Mona thanks Bakan for "fulfilling" him and the other men after the attack (*RB* 1:44:15), he is replying to what she sings to him in the last line of this song. The reference to weaving in line 5 of the song should remind the audience of the Weaving Spirit from Mona Rudo's monologue (*SF* 29:58, see ch. 3 sec. 1.2 and ch. 6 sec. 2.1), which is intercut with the Tgdaya flight from the Bunun attack in 1903. The Weaving Spirit spun lives into lineages, which She then wove into a loose social fabric. In the song, Bakan is identifying herself with the Weaving Spirit. In doing so, she is criticizing her husband, who is about to fray the social fabric, or tear it apart, in a Seediq cultural idiom.

Though Chiu Kuei-fen describes Her as "ambivalent" (2017: 152), I think the Maternal Ancestor who sings during the attack on October 27, 1930 is also critical, and that Her critique is expressed in a Seediq idiom. A Seediq cultural context helps make sense of certain apocalyptic images in the song. For instance, right as Pawan Nawi and the other child warriors prepare to kill the Japanese women they find hiding in the storeroom, the Maternal Ancestor sings that the bark is peeling off the Pusu Qhuni (*SF* 2:10:30). The Maternal Ancestor goes on to sing that the pinecones are disintegrating in the wind (*SF* 2:13:02). Why would the bark of the tree whence the Seediq people were descended (see ch. 6) peel off? Why would the pinecones that symbolize generational renewal (see ch. 4) disintegrate? Because the rebellion was a perversion of headhunting tradition, which had "traditionally" never taken the form of an attack that might annihilate the community, and never would again.

Mona Rudo never doubts that resorting to force to express his critique of colonial modernity is his prerogative, but his formidable foils, including critical women[7] like his wife Bakan Walis, interrogate his right to fight even though they supposedly share the same belief. Mona Rudo leads the attack to fulfill his Seediq belief, but other Seediq characters criticize him based on theirs. Seediq belief in the film is a cultural web or fabric in which many different meanings can be made. *Seediq Bale* contains a many-sided Seediq cultural debate that hints at Seediq modernity. This debate implies modern Seediq people who assume the importance of tradition but refuse to accept unquestioningly claims about what "tradition" mandates, no matter who makes them. It also implies modern Seediq people who can accept the state's monopoly on the legitimate use of violence as the price of peace.[8]

The film's message is ultimately mixed as to the legitimacy of violence as a means of defending or recovering sovereignty, but it is unambiguous with respect to resistance. Iwan from Mhebu resists the Japanese police officer who tries to bully her physically in the second hunting scene (*SF* 1:00:16), and Bakan resists her husband Mona discursively. Bakan's resistance to her husband has ultimately been expressed in a civil reinterpretation of Seediq culture, a modern *gaya* of, among other things, gender equality (see ch. 3). This modern *gaya* may accept the state's monopoly on the legitimate use of violence, but it remains resistant, in the sense that compromise is not capitulation. Though they are not radicals, the modern Seediq translators who made *Seediq Bale* possible do *not*

believe that the multicultural liberal capitalist democracy they have been living in is the best of all possible worlds or the end of history. They think they can do better. At a time of resurgent nativism around the world, the modern *gaya* that the grandchildren of the uber-natives of Wei's film have been developing might speak to Wei's dissatisfaction with life in a concrete box in the big city and offer us all an alternative that is not just knee-jerk nativism. I speculate on what form that alternative modernity might take, and how it might address Wei's concerns about the creation of a community from an island of alienated individuals, obliquely in the main-body chapters on interlingual translation and directly in the conclusion.

5 Sources of Seediq belief

The last task for the present chapter about the formation of Wei's screenplay is to begin to delve into Wei's sources on Seediq belief. The translation of Nakagawa and Wakamori's book was his first source. Nakagawa and Wakamori note that early commentaries in 1930 blame "savage superstition" (Zhongchuan and Hegesen 1992 [1980]: 10), but writing fifty years later in 1980 they make an effort to understand the Seediq "religion" (50), particularly the belief in an eternal soul.

Qiu Ruolong was Wei's second source. In his comic, Qiu describes the Seediq beliefs in their original descent from the Root Tree (2011 [1990]: 84) and in their final ascent of the Rainbow Bridge (87), each with a juxtaposed illustration, but Seediq belief seems detached from the action in the comic. In *Seediq Bale*, Seediq belief is organically integrated. Pawan Nawi, the leader of the child warriors, tells the story about the Root Tree twice, the first time to his fellow child warriors and chief Mona, and the second time at the end of the film, in the afterlife, at the source of the creek beside which Mona Rudo and Hanaoka Ichirō have their colloquy. Mona Rudo motivates the troops in two speeches, one before and one after the incident, with the promise of passage over the Rainbow Bridge, which they all cross at the end of the film. In the film, the two twice-told tales are clearly intended to orient Seediq people in time and space, telling them where their eternal souls came from and where they are going.

But the tree and the bridge do not exhaust Wei's references to Seediq culture. Even in the screenplay he published in 2000, Wei had gone well beyond Qiu Ruolong's comic in his presentation of Seediq belief, partly because Qiu Ruolong himself had gone well beyond the comic in his understanding of Seediq belief by the time he was shooting the documentary *Ga Ya*. Qiu made the documentary to remedy a deficiency in the comic, which does not even mention the Seediq word *gaya* – cultural ontology or traditional morality – let alone understand what Seediq people did in terms of it. The thesis of Qiu's documentary was that all the other rebels and collaborators were upholding *gaya*. By tagging along on the shoot, Wei got an education in various aspects of *gaya*, not just from Qiu but also from Qiu's interviewer/subtitler Shen Mingren (Pawan Tanah).

In 1998, the same year Qiu Ruolong's documentary was released, Shen published a book called *The People Who Worship Ancestral Spirits – the Seediq* (Bawan 1998). It is a book about *gaya*, which Shen spells in different ways, not just *gaya* but also *waya*, *gaga*, and even *gaza* (Bawan 1998: 19–20). *Gaza* was the Japanese ethnographer Koizumi Magane's spelling (Xiaoquan 2014 [1933]: 143–165). Wei Te-sheng spells it GAZA in his screenplay (2000: 11). Wei Te-sheng might have derived the romanization from Koizumi's katakana, but given how much material he took from Shen, he probably heard about it from Shen first.

Shen Mingren would furnish Wei with translations into Mandarin of a story and a song that articulate aspects of Seediq culture and add dimensions of meaning to *Seediq Bale*. Wei would borrow these translations verbatim for his 2000 screenplay and spend the next nine years editing them before having them "backtranslated" into Seediq, a process that I investigate in chapters 3 and 4. Shen Mingren was an important source for Mandarin translations of Seediq concepts like *gaya* (which was translated into a Mandarin phrase meaning "norms/strictures of the ancestral law") and *dmahun* ("blood sacrifice to the ancestral spirits"), whose translation into Mandarin and backtranslation into Seediq I discuss in chapter 5.

Finally, Shen Mingren offered Wei a Truku corrective to Tgdaya hero-worship of Mona Rudo. Shen Mingren is Truku, not Tgdaya. From a Toda perspective, Mona is *not* a hero, and from a Truku perspective, he is not *necessarily* a hero. Shen Mingren does not argue for what the historian Zhou Wanyao has called a "de-heroization" of Mona Rudo (Zhou 2011: 5), but he does emphasize that there were Toda and Truku heroes, too. It was Shen who helped Wei Te-sheng see Teymu Walis as a hero rather than a running dog, as a man not a rat (Bawan 1998: 225). But I think it took a Wei Te-sheng to see heroism in the model savage Hanaoka Ichirō and in Mona's wife Bakan Walis. Though Wei came under Shen's influence and used materials from Shen's book (Bawan 1998), he transcended them and him.

But there is something Wei never tried to transcend: his almost total lack of the Seediq language. He was entirely dependent on Seediq translators like Shen Mingren for an understanding of Seediq culture in Seediq terms, which he could only ever understand in Mandarin translation. This is a big problem. The problem is: to what extent are *norms of the ancestral law* and *blood sacrifice to the ancestral spirits* representative of Seediq culture? I discuss these two terms in chapter 5. But to prepare the ground for that discussion, we need to review the Mandarin-Seediq translation in chapter 2 and start digging into the Seediq documentary sources of the screenplay in chapters 3 and 4.

Notes

1 The population of the six rebellious Tgdaya villages before the attack was 1,236. Only 298 of these people survived the Japanese reprisal and the Second Musha Incident.

2 Wei Te-sheng plans to start shooting his Tainan trilogy in 2020: see http://zeelandia.com.tw/. The fact that Wei Te-sheng grew up in Tainan helps explain his heroic nationalism, his religion, and his primitivism, which, I claim, are approaches to the problem of alienation. Wei grew up within walking distance of the places where the Dutch first came ashore in 1624, where the Dutch were ousted by Koxinga in 1661, and where

Koxinga's grandson was ousted by Shi Lang, a Qing dynasty admiral, in 1683. Tainan has had a pocket of Presbyterianism since the Dutch era that has for the past five decades supported Taiwanese nationalism and demanded democracy (Stainton 2000: xi). Tainan Presbyterianism is part of Wei's concern for indigenous peoples, whom the church has championed. Finally, residents of southern cities like Tainan tend to feel that industrial modernity has been imposed on them by the Chinese regime that ruled from the north.

3 In its recent English translation by Michael Berry under the title *The Remains of Life* (Wu 2017 [1999]), the novel was a finalist for the Best Translated Book Award.

4 There are a number of "diegetic" historical documents in the film:

SF 5:31	The 1895 transfer of Taiwan (as per Shimonoseki Art. 2 (b) & Art. 5.2)
SF 6:48	Anachronistic use of an 1896 map (Campbell 1896: 398)
SF 37:21	The sign for the 1907 submission ceremony for Mhebu Village
SF 1:58:44	The schedule for the sports day on October 27, 1930
RB 3:09	A piece of calligraphy that blames the attack on excessive corvée
RB 1:39:49	The leaflet calling on the Seediq to surrender

"Non-diegetic" titles include:

SF 5:31	The text of the transfer of Taiwan's sovereignty
RB 3:42	The text of the calligraphy, which was supposedly by the Hanaokas
RB 1:39:50	The text of the surrender leaflet
RB 1:58:24	Kojima Genji's role in the Second Musha Incident in April 1931
RB 1:58:46	The march by the survivors to Kawanakajima in May 1931
RB 1:59:20	The history of Mona's remains from recovery in 1934 to reburial in 1974

5 Wei bent historical fact in other ways to turn Mona into an epic hero. Born in 1880 or 1882, Mona would have been fifteen at the oldest in the prelude that opens the film, too young for a headhunt. In the film Mona as a young man was played by an actor who was thirty-two during production! In real life, Mona was nowhere near Renzhiguan or Jiemeiyuan in 1902 or 1903 (see table 1.1), but he is at both incidents in the film as a way of keeping him in the spotlight.

6 The only problem with the brilliant trope of Mona saving up powder from matchheads for years in preparation for rebellion is that matchhead powder is formulated not to explode.

7 Pastor Kumu Tapas is a modern-day critical Seediq woman. She is particularly critical of Mona Rudo in the extensive collection (2004) of Seediq texts with Mandarin translations she published about the Musha Incident. To my Tgdaya Seediq friends, Kumu is biased against Mona, probably because she is a Toda woman. But this is a story for another day.

8 Most Seediq people today can accept the state's monopoly on the legitimate use of violence against human beings, if its use is actually legitimate; but many cannot accept certain restrictions upon what they see as their own legitimate use of violence against animals. See Simon and Tsai 2015 for a nuanced discussion of the contemporary fight for hunting rights in relation to conservation.

References

Barclay, Paul D. (2005) "Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan: Japanese Subalterns and Their Aborigine Wives, 1895–1930," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 64.2 (May): 323–360.

Barclay, Paul D. (2017) *Outcasts of Empire*: *Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border," 1874–1945*, Oakland: University of California Press.

Bawan Danaha (Pawan Tanah; Shen Mingren) (1998) *Chongxin Zuling de Minzu: Saideke Ren* (*The People Who Worship Ancestral Spirits: The Seediq*), Taibei: Haiweng.

Berry, Michael (2008) *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Campbell, William (1896) "The Island of Formosa: Its Past and Future," *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 12: facing 398, www.reed.edu/formosa/gallery/Map_pages/Island_Maps/Campbell2_S.html.

Chiu, Kuei-fen (2017) "Violence and Indigenous Visual History: Interventional Historiography in *Seediq Bale* and *Wushe, Chuanzhong Island*," in Kuei-fen Chiu, Ming-yeh T. Rawnsley, and Gary D. Rawnsley (eds), *Taiwan Cinema: International Reception and Social Change*, New York: Routledge, 146–158.

Deng Xiangyang (2000) *Fengzhong Feiying: Wushe Shijian Zhenxiang ji Huagang Chuzi de Gushi* (*Dana Sakura/Cherry Blossoms in the Wind: The Truth of the Musha Incident and the Story of Hanaoka Hatsuko [Obing Tado]*), Taibei: Yushan.

Egawa Hiromichi (1970) *Musha no Chizakura* (*Blood Cherries of Musha*), Tōkyō: Morinaga Insatsu.

Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (2011) *Zhenxiang Balai: Saideke Balai de Lishi Zhenxiang yu Suipai Zhaji* (*Truth Bale: The Historical Truth of Seediq Bale and a Production Diary*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (2012) *You Jian Zhenxiang: Saidekezu yu Wushe Shijian* (*Seeing the Truth Again: The Seediq People and the Musha Incident*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Hattori Heijirō (1981 [1931]) "Musha Jiken Nitsuite" (Concerning the Musha Incident), in Tai Kokuki (Dai Guohui) (ed), *Taiwan Musha Hōkijiken: Kenkyū to Shiryō* (*The Uprising at Musha, Taiwan: Research and Materials*), Tōkyō: Shakai Shisōsha, 535–561.

Hsiau, A-chin (2000) *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism*, London and New York: Routledge.

Jian Hongmo, Yiwan Beilin (Iwan Pering), and Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (2002) *Qingliu Buluo Shengming Shi* (*Qingliu Village Community Life Histories*), Taibei: Yongwang Wenhua.

Kumu Tapas (2004) *Ndaan pccbu sediq ka dTanax Tunux cbiyaw* (*The Story of the Battle by the Seediq with the Red Heads in the Past*)/*Wushe Shijian Koushu Lishi Gushiji* (*Collection of Oral History Stories of the Musha Incident*).

Lin, Chin-ju (2019) "Exploring the Gendered Cultural Politics of *Seediq Bale*," *Taiwan Insight* (February 21), https://taiwaninsight.org/2019/02/21/exploring-the-gendered-cultural-politics-of-seediq-bale/.

Liu Zhijun (2016) "Wei Desheng *Saideke Balai* de Xinggou Mailuo" (The Context of Formation of Wei Te-sheng's *Seediq Bale*), *Taiwan Wenxue Yanjiu Xuebao* (*Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies*), 23 (October): 9–37.

Marx, Karl; Martin Milligan (trans) (2007 [1844]) *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Mineola, NY: Dover.

Qiu Ruolong (2011 [1990]) *Manhua Balai: Taiwan di yi bu Wushe Shijian Lishi Manhua* (*Comic Bale: The First Historical Comic of the Musha Incident*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Simon, Scott (2018) "Penser avec des oiseaux: L'ornithomancie et l'autochtonie à Taïwan," *Anthropologie et sociétés*, 42.2–3: 151–169.

Simon, Scott and Awi Mona (Chih-Wei Tsai) (2015) "Indigenous Rights and Wildlife Conservation: The Vernacularization of International Law on Taiwan," *Taiwan Journal of Human Rights*, 3.1 (June): 3–31.

Stainton, Michael (2000) " 'Through Love and Suffering': The Role of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan's Democratization," paper for the Joint Center for Asia-Pacific Studies

Annual Conference on Democracy and Identity Politics, Toronto, December 4, https://faculty.washington.edu/stevehar/Love%20&%20Suffering.pdf.

Tengjing Zhijinzhi (Fujii Shizue) (1997) *Rizhi Shiqi Taiwan Zongdufu Lifan Zhengce* (*The Savage Management Policy of the Taiwan Government-General of Taiwan During the Period of Japanese Governance*), Taibei: Wenyingtang.

Tsing, Leo T. S. (2001) *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Veracini, Lorenzo (2012) "Review of 'Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale', Directed by Wei Te-sheng," in Chris Berry et al. "Reviews," *Transnational Cinemas*, 3.2: 243–244.

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2000) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Xinwenju (Government Information Office).

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2002) *Xiao Daoyan Shiye Riji: Huangjinyu Jiang Samuer* (*Little Director's Diary of Unemployment: The Goldfish General Samuel*), Taibei: Shibao wenhua.

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2011) *Daoyan Balai: Teyouzhong Wei Desheng de Saideke Balai shouji (Director Bale: Endemic Species/Particularly Spunky Wei Te-sheng's Seediq Bale Diary)*, Taibei: Yuanliu.

Wu He; Michael Berry (trans) (2017 [1999]) *Remains of Life*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Xiaoquan Tie (Koizumi Magane); Huang Tingzhuan and He Peiyi (trans) (2014 [1933]) *Taiwan Tusu Zhi* (*Record of Local Taiwan Customs*), Taibei: Yuanminhui (Council of Indigenous Peoples).

Yan Yunnong (2011 [2004]) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Zhongchuan Haoyi and Hegesen Minnan (Nakagawa Kōichi and Wakamori Tamio) (eds) (1992 [1980]) *Wushe Shijian Tufa De Dabeiju* (*Musha Incident: An Unexpected Great Tragedy*), Taibei: Wuling.

Zhou Wanyao (2011) "Yingxiong, Yingxiong Chongbai ji qi Fanmingti" (Hero, Hero-Worship, and Its Antithesis), in Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (ed) *Zhenxiang Balai: Saideke Balai de Lishi Zhenxiang yu Suipai Zhaji* (*Truth Bale: The Historical Truth of Seediq Bale and a Production Diary*), Taibei: Yuanliu, 2–8.

2 Refining the ore

From foreignization and domestication to fluency

In the previous chapter, I treated the formation of Wei's screenplay in Mandarin. In this chapter, I review its translation from Mandarin into Seediq in 2009, both as process and as product, particularly in terms of "word"[1] order norms, but with some attention to word choice. With such a focus, this chapter lays the linguistic foundation for thick description of translation. I focus on word order to answer the question: is the translation of the screenplay translationese? I begin with a concern in minority translation studies that led me to ask this question in the first place.

1 Norm-anxiety in minority translation studies

The concern in minority language translation studies about the influence that translation might have on a vulnerable language dates back at least to Gideon Toury's seminal article "Aspects of translating into minority languages from the point of view of translation studies" (1985). Toury discusses translation into minority languages, which he terms "weak target systems" (Toury 1985: 7–8), in terms of a model from descriptive translation studies, which Toury and Itamar Even-Zohar helped to develop in Israel in the 1970s: translation into a weak language tends to be a central, and linguistically influential, form of text production, and the translational norm into a weak language tends to be "foreignization" in Venuti's terms (see introduction note 5). Even if there is no explicit translational norm, Toury claims translation is still "*norm-governed*" (italics original) if the source text is a factor in the translation (1985: 6). The norms in question would be the linguistic norms of the source language. Though in previous research Toury had discussed the translation of a number of European languages into Hebrew from 1930 to 1945 (Toury 1980: 122–139), he focuses in this 1985 article on Russian. Back in the day, claims Toury, Hebrew came under the influence of Russian, at least in translation (1985: 9–10), whether because of attention to the norms of the source text or because of an explicitly translational norm.

But by 1985, things had changed. Hebrew was spoken by millions. It was the official language of the state of Israel. Hebrew had become a strong target system. Now translators tended to domesticate – again, Venuti's term – into Hebrew; the translational norm was now domestication. Now translation was a marginal, and uninfluential, form of text production. Maybe it was never very influential; had its

early influence ever extended beyond literary texts, Russianized Hebrew would have ended up sounding normal. Maybe it does not make that much difference how translators translate, even early on? Regardless of whether the theory is persuasive, Toury tells a reassuring story. Hebrew ended up strong, having started off weak. So has Gaelic, so might Seediq.

Writing nearly two decades later, Michael Cronin, a scholar of Gaelic translation and a seminal figure in minority translation studies, has set the minority translator free of the bounds of norms, which is not to say that translators were ever constrained. Toury never said translators into a weak target system *had* to foreignize, just that foreignization is what they tended to do. But for Cronin, minority translators would do just the opposite, not because of norms, but because of their "strong identities" (2003: 141), on which basis they can choose how to translate. What choice would they make? The answer seemed obvious: they would domesticate to preserve their cultural identities.

However, a reread reminded me that Cronin had put the minority translator in an angst-inducing "double bind" (2003: 90): foreignization into the weak, minority language would recast it in the mold of the strong, majority source language, but domestication might contribute to its fossilization. This seems like a classic binarization of the possibilities, an opportunity for some doughty dialectical thinker to come along and stake out a "middle ground" (see ch. 6 sec. 1). Professor Cronin's concept of "*translation as reflexion*" (141, italics original) appears to be dialectical. I will return to "the critical consideration of what a language absorbs and what allows it to expand and what causes it to retract" (141) in chapter 7 (in the conclusion) and the conclusion (in the interlude). Here I focus on Professor Cronin's "fluent strategies [which] may represent the progressive key to [a minority language's] very survival" (141). What are these fluent strategies? How are they different from domestication? At least in this publication, Cronin does not provide answers. This is my own dialectical understanding of fluency in translation: it opens a language to influence without leaving the language wide open. It is a way into the kind of translational middle ground that I will be prospecting throughout this chapter and this book.

It is at this point that I started to feel light-headed at the Olympian heights at which the discussion about foreignization and domestication in minority translation took place. Perhaps I was simply unfit to be a mountaineer? To reassure myself, I told myself that I was the kind of scholar who could see the World in a Grain of Sand, as William Blake put it, if only at a lower altitude. Here is one Grain of Sand, from a scene in *Seediq Bale* in which Mona Rudo tells one of the warriors to "wake up" during the attack on the Japanese on October 27, 1930.

你	今天	[給	我]	清醒	一點！(*SF* 2:07:40)
Nǐ	*jīntiān*	[*gěi*	*wǒ*]	*qīngxǐng*	*yìdiǎn!*
2s	today	[for	1s]	awake	more
S	ADV.TIME	[PREP	O]$_{ADV}$	V.STATE	ADV.DEG

Be a bit more mindful for me today!

Note that I use two abbreviations in the line of syntactic analysis that I have not used elsewhere in the monograph: PREP for preposition and DEG for degree, as in adverb of degree. Here is the translation:

Tkela	*hari*	*isu*	*saya!*
awake	more	2S.NOM	now
V.IMP	ADV.DEG	S	ADV.TIME

You be a bit more mindful now!

The warrior was about to kill a Taiwanese woman; Mona reminds him that they agreed to kill the Japanese not the Taiwanese (see ch. 1 p. 28). So, is the Seediq domesticated or foreignized? To find out, let us try to assess it against Seediq linguistic norms. Such norms would be sonic and structural. The sonic norms of Seediq and the other languages that figure in the translation of *Seediq Bale* can be described in terms of features, as presented in table 2.1:

Table 2.1 Phonological Comparison of English, Japanese, Mandarin, and Seediq

Language	*Word stress*	*Lexical tone*	*Phonemic length*
English	Primary/secondary	No	No
Japanese	No	No	Vowels/consonants
Mandarin	No	4 tones plus neutral	No
Seediq	Penultimate	No	No

These features inform the poetic forms in the literary traditions of the languages relevant to the study of the translation of *Seediq Bale*: English and Seediq poets (or singers) count stresses per line of verse (or song), Chinese poets count characters per line (and attend to tone), and Japanese poets count morae per line. These features also define the possibilities for prose rhythms, like the duple rhythm of *t-KE-la HA-ri I-su SA-ya!* One could read "You be a bit more mindful now!" in the same rhythm, because in respect to this feature, +/– lexical stress (where only certain syllables in certain locations in a word are +stress, the rest –stress), Seediq is similar to English.

These sonic features cannot be changed through written translation, though language contact over the long term might eventually have some effect (like the polysyllabic influence French has had on the English lexicon). All a translator can do is work with the sonic feature-defined possibilities for the language at the time of translation.

Structurally, an extremely literal, foreignized translation norm might eventually contribute to linguistic change (see the interlude on linguistic endangerment in the conclusion), but initially it only results in more or less widespread translationese. The assessment of translationese can get quite technical and theoretical. The simplest way to assess a translation to see if it is translationese is by looking at the word order. If the word order is atypical, then the translation is likely translationese.

The typical word orders of the languages I discuss in this book are presented in table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Syntactic Comparison of English, Japanese, Mandarin, and Seediq

Language	*Basic order*	*Adverb*	*Adjective*
English	SVO	aVA	aNA
Japanese	SOV	AV	AN
Mandarin	SVO	AV	AN
Seediq	VOS	VA	NA

The acronym SVO stands for Subject-Verb-Object. The acronym aVA means that little adverbs tend, with many exceptions, to precede, and big adverbs to follow, the verbs they modify. One can combine the basic order and the adverb order into, for instance, SaVOA: "The warriors really crossed the rainbow with pride in their eyes." Similarly, aNA means that little adjectives precede, while big adjectives follow, the nouns they modify. In "Behold the beautiful rainbow that the warriors crossed," the object is aNA. A translator, or any language user, can flout the typical word order. For instance, there is a song by Salt-N-Peppa entitled "I am the body beautiful," though the noun-adj order of "body beautiful" is not sustained in the lyrics. Whether or not the noun-adj order of "governor-general" is due to translation or general language contact, it is certainly due to the influence of French, which is noun-adj for this example.

So how does the Seediq translation *Tkela hari isu saya!* compare to the original Mandarin line *Nǐ jīntiān gěi wǒ qīngxǐng yìdiǎn!* (pp. 45–46 above) in terms of word order norms? Here, again, are the syntactic analyses:

Mandarin original:	S ADV.TIME ADV V.STATE ADV.DEG
Mandarin norm:	SVO+AV=SAVO
Seediq translation:	V.IMP ADV.DEG S ADV.TIME
Seediq norm:	VOS+VA=VOSA

The order of the original, which illustrates the normal Mandarin order, had no effect on the order of the translation, which illustrates the normal Seediq order.

But the translation only fits the norms at the resolution at which I have described them. It turns out that this level of resolution is too grainy. According to Arthur Holmer, the use of *hari* in the translation may be an example of linguistic influence as a "functional loan" from the Mandarin adverb of degree *yìdiǎn* (Holmer 1996: 51–52).[2] If so, the translation is foreignized, at least in this respect.

What I hope to show in this chapter, and throughout the book, is that the translators foreignized and domesticated throughout as they found their way to fluency, which we can now define more narrowly for the purposes of this chapter (cf. p. 45 above): to translate fluently is to open the language to source language influence in terms of word order and word choice while taking full advantage of the target language's prosodic identity. Fluency is a matter of prosody in a

commonsense way: foreign language learners sound fluent if they get the rhythm right. It is also a matter of prosody etymologically, in that "fluent" means flowing.[3] The rhythms of language are akin to, but not quite as regular as, the waves that flow through water. The fluency of the Seediq translation resulted from the translators' sense of the rhythms of their language. Perhaps they took pride in their Seediq. If so, the fluency they achieved was a function of the translators' "strong identities." As I see it, the translators' identities were strong enough for them to foreignize some of the time. Insecurity did not drive them to extreme domestication. They kept their options open.

But I have gotten ahead of myself. In discussing the norms of Seediq here, I represented VOS+VA=VOSA as a matter of fact. The only evidence I gave was a single example, which I might have cherry-picked. I further suggested that my description was not fine-grained enough, and then discovered a Seediq linguistic norm under Mandarin influence at a higher resolution. By positioning *hari* right after the verb, the translators were foreignizing. One wonders if, under Mandarin influence, this use of *hari* has become normal in Seediq and, if so, whether it could be described as a domestication. Before going any further, we need to adopt a historical perspective on the linguistic norms of Seediq.

2 Language norms in the history of the study of Seediq

Aside from a few songs, one of which I will discuss in chapter 4, the earliest elicited Seediq texts we have are the tales transcribed by the Japanese linguist Asai Erin from 1927 to 1933 (Ogawa and Asai 1935: 557–581; Asai 1953). Based on the tales, Asai described the grammar in comparative Austronesian context (Asai 1953: 2). His description can be taken as a norm for Seediq that predates Japanese influence, with three caveats. First, an *abstand* language involves multiple topolectal norms, not a single norm. Second, the representativeness of Asai's data is doubtful. For each topolect, Asai consulted a couple of representatives. Who knows how representative they were? Third, Asai did not have the kind of sound recording equipment that Alfred Kroeber used to commit Ishi's Yahi songs to wax cylinders. Asai had to use pen and paper. His reliance on pen and paper had consequences, because the medium shapes the message. As Franz Boas put it:

> The slowness of dictation that is necessary for recording texts makes it difficult for the narrator to employ that freedom of diction that belongs to the well-told tale, and consequently an unnatural simplicity of syntax prevails in most of the dictated texts.
>
> (Boas 1911: 1, cited in Evans 2010: 39)

The first study of any topolect of Seediq in terms of norms at a time when Seediq might have come under Japanese, Chinese, and even English influence was by a Bible translator named Ralph R. Covell. Covell cited no less an authority than Eugene Nida for the advice that a Bible translator should use verb forms according to target language frequencies (Covell 1956: 176), so as to sound normal.

Covell described his attempt to sound normal in east coast Truku in terms of actor-action sentences and action-goal sentences (175). Alas, there are a couple of serious problems with his analysis. First, he should have written action-actor, not the other way around, because Seediq is normally predicate-initial, subject-final. Translating English subject-verb, actor-action sentences into Seediq sentences in agent focus in that order is going to yield topic-comment sentences, which may be actor-action sentences but which would not be in the typical order, which is action-actor. Topic-comment is not a new pattern in Seediq, because the clause-initial topic is a linguistic universal: one tends to gesture at what one has just said before going on to say something new. All literal translation might do is increase the rate of topic-comment sentence use.

Second, Covell failed to distinguish between the three passive focuses of Seediq syntax. Instead, he lumped them together under "action-goal." Covell appears to lack linguistic sophistication. He certainly lacked confidence in his native informants. "One of the continuing difficulties here is that of getting any reliable opinion from the mountain people," he complained (1956: 181). He goes on to discuss the quotative *mesa* (cf. p. 50), but the issue is whether his informants were allowing abnormal sentences into the translation out of respect for the word order of the Word of God.

According to Arthur Holmer in a 1995 conference paper that is now trapped on an inoperable Mac Classic, Covell and his fellow Bible translators failed to achieve word order normality. By his own recollection, Professor Holmer argued that translations of biblical texts into Truku by Covell and others were translationese with reference to the first issue I raised, in the overuse of topic-comment sentences. But as far as I can tell, biblical translation has had no wider impact. If it had increased the frequency of topic-comment sentences in the Seediq-language community in the four decades from the mid-1950s to the mid-1990s, Holmer would have had no basis for comparison besides Asai's transcriptions, because he was comparing frequencies in biblical translation with frequencies in oral narratives recorded and published from the mid-1990s on by his main language consultant, Temi Nawi.

In the monograph on Tgdaya Seediq grammar he published the next year, Holmer noted some ways in which Mandarin appears to have influenced Seediq. I noted the use of *hari* in the previous section. Another example is the abandonment of syllable-final laterals and rhotics, "l" and "r" sounds, by Seediq speakers who learned Mandarin, which only allows vowels or nasal consonants in syllable-final position (Holmer 1996: 25). This is why Tgdaya Seediq speakers in the film refer to the *sisin* bird when Mona Rudo would have probably referred to the *sisil*, as do speakers of Toda Sediq and Truku Seejiq today. This first example of influence could not have resulted from written translation. Another possible influence, which could conceivably have resulted from written translation, is noun phrase inversion (77), where adjectives precede nouns in a few loanwords like Tanah Tunux, literally "Red Head," a kenning for Japanese people that follows the Japanese or Mandarin adj-noun order instead of the Seediq noun-adj order. Inversion may represent linguistic influence, but the phenomenon may also be native, if Pusu Qhuni can mean Root Tree. Wherever it comes from, it remains rare. Finally, similarities between Mandarin and Seediq might preexist language contact. The

similarity in usage of the sentence-final particle *di* in Seediq and *le* in Mandarin does *not* indicate influence, because older speakers who never learned Mandarin use *di* in the same way (46–47).

I have a couple of unoriginal relay observations to make in this context. First that the monophthongization to [o] of the [au] in Tgdaya, for instance from Rudaw in 1930 to Rudo today, can hardly be the influence of Mandarin, which has the diphthong [au] in its inventory. Second, that *mesa* is probably used as a complementizer under the influence of the informal Mandarin complementizer 說 *shuō*, literally "say," as in Hanaoka Ichirō's comment to Mona Rudo during their colloquy by the creek:

> *M-kela* *=ku* *mesa* *m<n>osa* *=su* *Tanah Tunux*. (*SF* 1:15:56)
> AF-know =1S.NOM CMP AF<PRF>go =2S.NOM red head
> I know that you visited Japan.[4]

Mesa usually means "say," but if it meant "say" here, I would expect it to be followed by a clitic pronoun indicating who spoke. But in this case, *shuō* was not used in the original Mandarin line, so if the use of *mesa* as a complementizer is an example of Mandarin influence, it is due to the postwar Mandarin context in general, not to translation in particular.

Two years after Holmer published his formalist (generative) study of the language, a team of linguists led by Huang Shuan-fan completed their own functionalist account, in which they included quantitative data on usage. The data was from six people, one of whom was Dakis Pawan, the chief translator of *Seediq Bale*. These six people narrated Wallace Chafe's pear film and had three conversations. A corpus of about 3,000 words supposedly represents the norms of dialogue and narrative Seediq in the mid-1990s. Huang and his colleagues provide a quantitative summary (Huang et al. 1998: 28–29, 31) of the analysis. If I really wanted to assert that the Seediq translation for *Seediq Bale* is normal, I could take Huang's as the best analysis of contemporary Seediq norms that we have, analyze the translations Dakis did for the film using Huang's analytical approach, and then compare the results.

I will not do so, partly because Huang's analysis, like Covell's, is problematic. Like Covell, Huang should have distinguished between Seediq's four focuses, each of which can have intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive realizations. Huang only distinguishes between intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive. Then he analyzes sentences as transitive even when the verb is passive and the object follows the nominal marker *ka* and should therefore be labeled the subject. For instance:

1	*Qta-an*	*=na*	*ka*	*nasi*.	(Huang et al. 1998: 21)
2	V(ACTIVE)	=ARGUMENT	KA	O	(Huang's syntactic analysis)
3	He sees the pears.				(Huang's translation)
4	see-LF	=3S.GEN	NOM	pear	(my lexical analysis)
5	V(PASSIVE)	=AGENT	NOM	S	(my syntactic analysis)
6	The pears are seen by him.				(my translation)

Huang calls the clitic pronoun *na* an argument (line 2), meaning a role player in a linguistic event; all I have done is identified the role *na* is playing: it identifies the agent (line 5). This is not a point of disagreement. But active versus passive and object versus subject in lines 2 and 5 are definitely points of disagreement. Given that the verb is in location focus, which is one of the three Seediq passives, the pears are actually the subject, not the object.

Perhaps I should then simply reanalyze the data in Huang according to my understanding of the language, which is based on Arthur Holmer's analysis (for a revised summary, see Holmer 2002). To a certain extent this is possible. I will not do so because it would be an epic undertaking that would probably not yield any surprising results. Huang's analysis, after all, did not yield any surprising results. Huang concluded (30) that arguments tend to be explicitated in narratives and implicitated in conversations, because they are clear in conversational context but not in the context of a written text; as a result, narratives are more formal, conversations more casual. These are conclusions one would expect *a priori*. I could count topic-comment sentences, which Huang notes (27) are pervasive in the data but which he did not count as a basic sentence type, but I doubt that such analysis would yield anything of interest.

This is not to say that the preceding discussion has been in vain. It has not been a waste of time. It is a reminder that linguistic description depends on the interpretative framework one adopts. I will stay on the sidelines while the functionalists and formalists fight it out. In the work of translation studies I have written, I will simply apply grammatical concepts common to both sides to an analysis of word order and word choice in examples from the translation process of *Seediq Bale*.

3 Translation in pre-production

The translation process began when Dakis Pawan got the request to translate the entire revised script in August 2009. He told Wei Te-sheng's production company, Ars Films, that it would take him five to seven days, but it ended up taking three weeks (Guo 2011: 83). I have the files he worked on, courtesy of Ars Films. The earliest file is dated August 23, 2009, by which time Dakis had done 173 of 244 scenes, though not every scene has Tgdaya dialogue. He had done about two-thirds of the task. The next day he did four more scenes. But in the following two days he completed the rest, for a total of 1,150 Seediq words, or about 575 words a day. He had a full draft by August 26.

Why did he take so long, and so much longer than anticipated? He might have been delayed by Typhoon Morokot. He might have proceeded slowly due to a lack of translation experience. Like a typical neophyte, he assumed he was to demonstrate "loyalty to the original work" (忠於原著 *zhōngyúyuánzhù*) in his translation, which he understood to mean translating "character by character" (逐字 *zhúzì*) and "sentence by sentence" (逐句 *zhújù*) (84), as if the former is possible and the latter is difficult. Character-by-character loyalty is an explicitly translational norm, and an extremely foreignizing one at that. Technically, this would be morpheme-for-morpheme translation, where there is a morpheme in the

translation for every morpheme in the original. Chinese characters are morphemes that might be words on their own or might form words. Only a neophyte would ever assume that it is even possible to translate morpheme for morpheme, which is to say character by character, as a review of the "wake up" example I cited in the first section (pp. 45–46) reminds us:

Mandarin:	*Nǐ*	*jīntiān*	*gěi*	*wǒ*	*qīngxǐng*	*yìdiǎn!*
	2s	today	for	1s	awake	more
Seediq:	*Tkela*	*hari*	*isu*	*saya!*		
	awake	more	2s	now		

Three of the words in the Mandarin contain two characters each. Nobody would think or be able to translate them character by character, though *jīntiān* could have been *ali* (*tiān*, "day") *saya* (*jīn*, "now"). Perhaps what Dakis really meant by loyalty was translation on a word-for-word basis? No, Dakis translated the two-character words in Mandarin and the second-person pronoun *nǐ*, but he did not translate either the preposition *gěi* ("for") or the first-person pronoun *wǒ*, both of which are words. Dakis did not translate word for word, either, in this example. In other examples, particularly the translation of "blood sacrifice to the ancestors," he sometimes did translate word for word, even character by character (see ch. 5 pp. 109–110), but in general he did not follow his own advice. (I suspect he cited the usually impossible character-by-character ideal to impress the reader with how seriously he took his task.) This is of course not a criticism of Dakis. I am not saying he was disloyal, just that no explicitly translational norm guided his practice. He stayed flexible.

After reviewing the draft, Ars Films asked Dakis to revise it because it was "not oralized enough" (Guo 2011: 84). Dakis was amazed: without a reading knowledge, or any knowledge, of Seediq, how did the people at Ars Films know whether his translation was "oralized" – by which they meant informal, in an everyday idiom – or not? Moreover, some of the lines in the Mandarin screenplay were poetic. I will discuss one example below. What, was Dakis supposed to oralize everything, including the poetry? And given that Seediq is primarily an oral language, in what way was the translation *not* oral? What, I assume, the people from Ars Films meant was: make the Seediq lines as easy as possible to deliver for non-native speakers who are not professional actors. Indeed, the casting call had gone out not to professional actors but to people of Seediq or Atayal heritage, because Seediq is an Atayalic language. Speakers of Atayal, however, would have approached Seediq as a foreign language, because Seediq and Atayal are not mutually intelligible. Most of the younger Seediq actors did not know how to speak Seediq. For actors who did not speak the language, the lines would have to be as short as possible.

Dakis was initially peeved. "Revise it yourself!" he said and hung up the phone. But later, after a conversation with his wife, he decided to retranslate. Maybe the people at Ars Films did not know what they were talking about, but perhaps he could do better. He tinkered with the text for another three weeks, then worked on it with two other Seediq speakers, Pawan Nawi, who played Mona Rudo's father

Rudo Luhe in the film (as he had done in the fundraising short Wei Te-sheng made in 2003), and Iwan Pering, who consulted during the revision with her mother Bakan Nomin, who was born right around the time of the Musha Incident. The group revision process proceeded very quickly. Dakis Pawan's revision is dated September 14, three weeks after his first draft. The second revision by the team of three translators is dated September 16, and the third revision September 17. This translation of just under 5,300 words, and the Toda translation of just over 600 words (which had been completed separately by the Toda translator Watan Diro by September 1), were incorporated into a Seediq shooting script, a file saved on September 20.

Let us see how a "poetic" example Dakis Pawan cites (Guo 2011: 83) as being particularly difficult to translate from Mandarin to Seediq evolved during the translation process.

雷光	削	巨石。
Léi-guāng	*xiāo*	*jù-shí*.
thunder-light	cut	huge-rock

Thunder and light(ning) cut the boulder.

This line is spoken (*SF* 1:23:27) by the ghost of Rudo Luhe to his son, Mona Rudo, before the Musha Incident. It is a metaphor for taking action to effect some drastic change. Mona's machete will strike at representatives of colonial rule in the same sudden way as the lightning cut the rock. In other words, Rudo Luhe is telling his son: don't hesitate, go through with your plan to attack the Japanese. This is Mona's Hamlet moment.

I gloss the verb *xiāo* as "cut," but it is more specific than that. It is used in "peel" an apple, "flay" an animal, or "sharpen" a piece of bamboo or a pencil. But it is also used in a portmanteau compound meaning "precipitous cliff" (削壁 *xiāobì*), which was probably why Wei Te-sheng chose it: the rock in the film looks like a miniature cliff. At any rate, grammatically the sentence is hardly challenging to translate into English: the SVO Mandarin sentence translated into an SVO sentence in English, with the addition of the function words "and," "of," and "the," to indicate coordination, subordination, and definiteness, respectively. At the word level, *léi-guāng* and *jù-shí* are both portmanteau compounds, which to some speakers might seem like two words (*léi* and *guāng*, *jù* and *shí*). The first compound, *léi-guāng*, had to be translated into a phrase, while the second, *jù-shí*, could have been translated into "huge rock," as in the line of analysis above. But overall the translation into English was straightforward.

The translation into Seediq was not. Here is Dakis Pawan's draft translation of August 26:

S-dyap-an	*wilaq*	*bruwa*	*ka*	*btunux*.
IF-cut.meat-LF	lightning	thunder	NOM	rock

The rock was cut by thunder and lightning as if it were a hunk of meat.

According to Dakis Pawan, the lemma form (the dictionary citation form) of the verb *sdyapan* is *kayak*, meaning to cut meat with a machete, as opposed to *keruc*, to cut vegetables with a knife. Given *kayak* I would have expected *skyapan*, but according to Dakis it should be *sdyapan*. Though the verb carries both the instrument focus prefix and the location focus suffix, the sentence is apparently a straightforward passive. It has two arguments, an agent/cause and a patient, which is syntactically the subject. The subject is the rock that was cut. The Seediq-English translation, as much as possible, is phrase for phrase. That is why the order changes, because VAS (Verb-Agent-Subject) in Seediq, with the verb in patient focus, translates into SVA in English, with the verb in passive voice. I suppose I could have written, "Cut by thunder and lightning was the rock," but that is hardly the normal English order.

Though one could hardly improve on a word meaning "cut like a hunk of meat," in his revision dated September 14, Dakis changed the verb, and the word order, too:

Bruwa wada cka-un ka btunux.
thunder AUX.PRF split-PF NOM rock
(As for) the thunder, the rock got split.

Now the word order is the same as the Mandarin, but for that very reason, the structure has changed: the Seediq is a topic-comment sentence. An SVO sentence, where VO is the predicate, has translated into a TVS (Topic-Verb-Subject) sentence, where VS is the comment. The subject in Mandarin translated into the topic in Seediq. The topic is the agent/cause of change, now simply *bruwa*, making me wonder what split the rock, lightning or thunder. Whichever, it must have been a dramatic scene. The verb in Mandarin translated into a perfective (or preterite) auxiliary verb, *wada*, and a verb in patient focus, *ckaun*, which is derived from *ceka*, meaning to split. *Ceka* is less semantically dependent on *xiāo* than *kayak*, which is a verb of cutting just like *xiāo* (note the knife radical 刀 *dāo* on the righthandside of 削 *xiāo*). The Mandarin object translated into the Seediq subject.

Seediq topic-comment sentences are not exactly abnormal, but they are relatively infrequent. Perhaps that is why Dakis Pawan, Pawan Nawi, and Iwan Pering reverted to the structure Dakis had used in his August 26 draft in their September 16 retranslation, which for this particular sentence was the final version:

B<n>uw-an wilaq bruwa btunux.
<PRF>shoot-LF lightning thunder rock
The rock was shot by thunder and lightning.

The verb is now *bnuwan*, the location focus perfective form of *cebu*, which means "shoot." Semantically, *cebu*, like *ceka*, is not a verb of cutting and is therefore semantically independent of *xiāo*. After the verb comes the agent/cause: the thunder and lightning. Then, at the end, unmarked by *ka*, comes the subject,

semantically the patient or the location: the rock, which is either what was shot or the site of shooting.

What conclusions can we reach based on this example? Compared with the relatively infrequent topic-comment structure of the first revision of this line, the normal predicate-subject structure has been adopted in the final version, but then this is a "reversion" to the structure of the first draft. As the perfective auxiliary verb *wada* turned into the perfective infix <*n*>, the only omission from the August 26 draft to the Seediq shooting script was of *ka*, which does not make a structural difference. The omission of *ka* is the only overall trend I have noticed in the revision of the translation. The "*ka*-index" went down in the revision. As Huang Shuan-fan would put it (see p. 51 above), the translation became less formal as it was revised. But the point of the discussion was not to demonstrate a trend toward informality; it was to show the translators at work as they foreignized and domesticated their way to fluency. As you can tell if you try reading it, the version of the translation used in the film settles into a flowing amphibrach (ba BA ba) rhythm with an alliteration of "b" sounds. I discuss the rhythms and sounds of the Seediq translation in the final section, but in the penultimate section I review retranslation during production.

4 Retranslation on set

After the Seediq shooting script was ready, the lines in it were recorded by the four translators in mp3 files. The mp3s for the Tgdaya lines are dated September 23, and those for the Toda lines September 25 and 28. Meanwhile the actors who would be delivering these lines were taking acting classes in the elementary school in Zhongyuan (Nakahara). They were not listening to the mp3s yet, however, because their role assignments were only announced on September 27 (Wei 2011: 83–85). From that day, they had a month to learn their lines: a ceremony was held on October 27, 2009 (90–93), the 79th anniversary of the attack. Filming started the next day.

Not surprisingly, given that most of the actors would be delivering lines in a language they did not speak, Dakis Pawan was asked by Ars Films to serve as on-set language consultant. The actors would practice their lines and read them to him the night before a scene was to be shot. During the shoot, if they still could not get it right, Dakis would, by his own account, give them new, even simpler lines. My finding is that this was not a pervasive tendency. Most lines stayed the same. A few got shorter, especially if the actor was not a native speaker, a few longer, but only if a native speaker delivered the line.

For instance, in the Seediq shooting script, Hanaoka Ichirō makes the following comment to Hanaoka Jirō during their conversation about the case of "officer assault" that Yoshimura had reported up and which precipitated the Musha Incident:

M-kela oda Seediq ka Kozima.
AF-know matter Seediq NOM Kojima
Kojima knows all about the Seediq.

That is, in contrast to Yoshimura, the officer who got assaulted, Kojima, the officer who was assigned to Toda chief Teymu Walis's village, understands the Seediq people. This may be foreshadowing. Hanaoka Ichirō does not say Kojima sympathizes with the Seediq, just that he understands them. Indeed, Kojima would soon go on to weaponize his knowledge of the Seediq against the Seediq (ch. 1 p. 36). At any rate, in the final cut (*SF* 1:11:19) the line turned into:

M-kela Seediq Kojima.
AF-know Seediq Kojima
Kojima understands the Seediq.

This is obviously shorter and simpler. It was shortened and simplified to make it easier for the actor, who cannot speak the language. But other lines got longer. For instance, in the shooting script, the old woman who gives Mona his tattoos tells him what he has to do from now on:

Q<m>lahang ddupun =ta.
<AF>protect hunting.ground =1P.GEN
(You have) to protect our hunting ground.

In the final cut this line (*SF* 5:08) was expanded into:

Q<*m*>*lahang dheran sa-an =ta p-huling.*
protect<AF> land go-LF =1P.GEN take-dogs
(You have) to protect the land where we go hunting.

Grammatically, the line became more complicated, with a noun (*dheran*) and a relative clause (*saan ta phuling*). Perhaps the native speaker who delivered this line improvised on set. But improvisation led other native speakers to simpler lines. I discuss a case of simplification in the next chapter (ch. 3 p. 69).

With native speakers like Pawan Nawi, who played Rudo Luhe in the film, Dakis Pawan did not have to worry about accent; but accent was a concern with actors like Nolay Pihu, who played Mona Rudo in the film and who is Atayal not Seediq. Nolay Pihu remembered his lines by translating the sound of the Seediq words into Mandarin characters, to which he added English letters. For instance, he recorded *sapah*, meaning "house," as "沙巴h" (Huang and You 2011: 199) or *shābā-h* in Pinyin. In other words, what should have been [ˈsapah] in Seediq ended up as [ʃaˀpaˀh] in Nolay Pihu's combination transliteration/romanization. But in the film he pronounces it more or less right. Dakis Pawan was there to make sure he did.

There are a few cases where a grammatical error made it into the final cut, the most egregious being a line in the conspiratorial colloquy scene in which Mona asks Temu of Truwan if he has his father's permission to be there. Here is the line from the shooting script:

M-kela tama =su m-eyah =su?
AF-know father =2S.GEN AF-come=2S.NOM
Your father knows that you've come?

But the line as delivered in the final cut turned out like this (*SF* 1:29:33):

M-kela m-eyah tama =su?
AF-know AF-come father =2S.GEN
Does your father know to come?

If Nolay Pihu's Mona had added the faintest hint of an *s* after *meyah*, it would have been fine.

The only other error, or borderline error, is in the scene where young man Mona meets a Toda trading party at a trading post. One Tgdaya brave should have said:

Asi bq-ani yami ddupun =namu da.
AUX give-IF.IMP 1P.EX.ACC hunting.ground =2P.GEN INT
Your hunting ground should be given (by you) to us – excluding you.

But in the film (*SF* 15:20) the actor says:

Asi bq-ani =namu da.
AUX give-IF.IMP =2P.GEN INT
(It) should be given by you (to us).

In context, the Toda interlocutors would assume that the implicit "it," the subject of *bqani*, referred to the forest produce they had brought to trade, not to the hunting ground.

Dakis Pawan was on set, watching the actors deliver their lines. He should have caught such errors or borderline errors then, or on the dailies, or in Taipei during post-production. The surprising thing is not that he did not catch these errors, but that there are not more such errors. Even with amateur actors who were not native speakers delivering the lines, the result is surprisingly clear. The actors deserve some credit, but even more credit is due to Dakis Pawan.[5]

5 The art of indigenous translation

I have shown that establishing linguistic norms for a poorly documented language like Seediq in order to assess translations to see if they are translationese is no easy task, but that, *prima facie*, translation specifically and language contact in general have not had a significant syntactic impact on Seediq in the 20th century, a finding of the linguist Arthur Holmer. My own finding was that although the head translator Dakis Pawan assumed that a translation should demonstrate character-by-character loyalty to the original, he did not act on his assumption. As far as I can tell, no explicitly translational norm guided his translational practice, nor was he "pulled along by the nose," as the Mandarin idiom has it, by the word order of the original. He allowed himself to be influenced, but in the end found his way to fluency. This matches my own experience as a Mandarin-English literary translator, and I would expect it to apply to minority translators as well, that they would foreignize and domesticate their way to fluencies that open the target language to

word order and word choice influence while making the most of its sonic identity. I am not saying that minority translators should translate fluently; as a translator I feel pretty strongly that translators should stay flexible, finding their own ways to fulfill obligations to the author, the reader, the client, and themselves. As for translation scholars, we should quit worrying about the harm foreignization might do to vulnerable languages and, if we want to generalize, we should do so from detailed analyses of how translators perform their task.

To show how Dakis Pawan and his colleagues performed their task, I analyzed a few examples from the translation process. At the end I discussed a few errors, and probably seemed to let the translators off the hook too easily. I did not exactly praise them. Perhaps by this point any praise would sound rather faint. Overall, I have probably made Dakis et al. out to be amateurs. Dakis started off assuming that translation should demonstrate "character-by-character" loyalty to the original, which is inadvisable even when it is not impossible. However impressive their Seediq "word power" (as a formidable vocabulary is termed in Taiwan) and their mastery of the grammatical machinery of Seediq, they must seem like neophytes as translators. They aren't. As the rest of this book will demonstrate, they are hardly beleaguered hacks who cannot handle the task of the indigenous translator; they are in fact the translators *bale*, the behind-the-scenes heroes of *Seediq Bale* who not only achieved fluency in the Seediq translation of the screenplay, but also turned it into a work of art.

For instance, at the beginning of Mona's creekside colloquy with Hanaoka Ichirō, the chief sees through the model savage's curiosity about Mona's trip to Japan (*SF* 1:16:17):

1 我 也 知道 你 問 這些，
Wǒ yě zhīdào nǐ wèn zhèxiē,
1s also know 2s ask these
I know that in asking these (questions about Japan),

2 並 不 是 真的 想 知道 那裏 的 事。
bìng bú shì zhēnde xiǎng zhīdào nàlǐ de shì.
actually NEG COP really want know there GEN matter
you're not really interested in what it's like there.

3 你 只 是 要 提醒 我 日本 有多厲害 而已。
Nǐ zhǐ shì yào tíxǐng wǒ Rìběn yǒuduōlìhài éryǐ.
2s just COP want remind 1s Japan how.formidable only
You just want to remind me how formidable the Japanese are.

Here is Dakis's translation, with a line of prosodic analysis at the top:

1 ba BA ba ba ba BA ba ba BA
M-kela=ku s<m>iling=su nii,
AF-know=1S.NOM <AF>ask=2S.NOM this
I know that (though) you're asking this,

2 BA ba ba BA ba ba BA ba ba
uxe ba nii *sun sling-un=su*.
NEG.COP true this in.this.way ask-PF=2S.GEN
this isn't actually what you're asking.

3 BA ba ba ba ba BA ba Ba ba BA ba ba BA ba ba
Uxe=ta *kmkel-an* *Tanah Tunux* *p-kesa=su*.
NEG.FUT=1P.GEN overcome-LF red head cause-say=2S.NOM
What you're telling (me) is that that Japanese won't be overcome by us.

This is not an attempt at character-by-character loyalty, or at any form of literalism. The second and third clauses are both translated "metonymically."[6] It is because Hanaoka is not interested (Mandarin) that Mona knows he's not really asking about Japan (Seediq) in line 2; and it is because the Japanese are so formidable (Mandarin) that the Seediq will not overcome them (Seediq) in line 3.

Why a translator translates something in a particular way is usually overdetermined, but in this case one consideration was surely eloquence. A powerful chief had to be a consummate orator. Dakis made sure that Mona sounded like one. My English translation cannot do justice to the forceful elegance of the original. Phonetically, the [u] sounds in the unstressed pronouns, and the [i] sounds in the stressed syllables, make for internal rhyme. The *uxe ba* at the beginning of line 2 rhymes with *uxe ta* at the beginning of line 3. Note the chiasmus formed by *smiling su nii* in line 1 and *nii sun slingun* in line 2 (*smiling* is the agent focus, *slingun* the patient focus, of *siling*, to ask). Prosodically, the choriamb (BA ba ba BA) at the beginning of line 2 is a rhythmic repeat of the end of line 1. The secundus paeon (ba BA ba ba) at the end of line 3 both repeats the one at the end of line 2 and, in another chiasmus, mirrors the two tertius paeons (ba ba BA ba) earlier in the same line.[7] Dakis does not know these analytical terms, but he knows what he is doing; he knows what sounds good. As do you: just try reading it. And we shall see many similar examples of his prosodic mastery over the next two chapters.

With this example, I have exemplified how the Seediq translators refined Seediq gold from Mandarin ore. In chapter 3, I will discuss a century-long metallurgical process in which sundry curious alloys were cast.

Notes

1 SVO is often described as a basic "word" order, but strictly speaking it combines two levels, lexical and syntactic. While a V(erb) is a word, a S(ubject) is a phrase, as is an (O)bject.
2 The adverb of degree *yìdiǎn* normally follows the verb. This is one of many exceptions to the AV (Adverb-Verb) norm in Mandarin.
3 It turns out that "fluent" and "flow" are not cognate, but derive from different Proto-Indo-European roots.
4 Hanaoka Ichirō in real life had also visited Japan (Asai 1953: 80–84).
5 In subsequent chapters I will refer to Dakis when I discuss the Tgdaya translation, partly to avoid having to repeat "and his colleagues" each time, partly because Dakis spent a month on the draft of the Seediq shooting script and over six months on set. His colleagues Pawan Nawi and Iwan Pering contributed to the final result, but if one had to

pick a single person who was responsible for that result, it would be Dakis. The Tgdaya translation is Dakis's in the way that the film is Wei Te-sheng's.

6 In discussing translator strategies, I draw on Roman Jakobson's distinction between metaphor and metonym in his article on aphasia (Jakobson and Halle 1971 [1956]). Jakobson's metaphor and metonym form a pair of translation strategies. They are the twin hemispheres in a translator's competence. For instance, the translation of *zhīdào*, more or less "know," into *m-kela*, the agent focus form of *kela*, which is also roughly "know," is metaphorical, because it is based on semantic similarity. Also for instance, the translation of a Mandarin phrase that means roughly "how formidable the Japanese are" into a Seediq phrase that means roughly "the Japanese will not be overcome by us" is metonymic, because it is based on contiguity: being formidable is a quality that inheres "in" the Japanese (so it is technically a synecdoche, which is also defined in terms of contiguity), and all the potential effects of this quality, like that the Japanese are unbeatable, are temporally contiguous with the quality. Metaphor and metonymy do not just apply to translation at the clause level, they also apply at the word level, as I will show in the conclusion to chapter 7.

I should note Maria Tymoczko's use of the concept of metonymy in her study (1999) of translation in postcolonial Ireland. According to Tymoczko, the selection of Irish texts to translate into English was metonymic, because the translated texts were only parts of the tradition but represented the whole tradition for English readers and Irish nationalists alike. Following Tymoczko's lead, I could describe the standardization of Seediq culture (see the introduction sec. 2 and ch. 6 sec. 1) as a metonymic or "synecdochal" process.

7 The terms I use in my prosodic analyses describe Seediq prosody as well as they describe English, even though they were developed to describe the quantitative meters of Greek and Latin. Prosodic patterns like choriamb – BA ba ba BA – obviously translate: a choriamb is LONG-short-short-LONG in Greek or Latin, STRESSED-unstressed-unstressed-STRESSED in English or Seediq.

References

Asai, Erin (1953) *The Sedik Language of Formosa*, Kanazawa, Japan: Cercle Linguistique de Kanazawa, Kanazawa University, 1–84.

Boas, Franz (1911) "Introduction," in *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, Part 1, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40.

Covell, Ralph R. (1956) "Sediq Syntax as Related to Problems of Bible Translation," *The Bible Translator*, 7.4: 171–185.

Cronin, Michael (2003) *Translation and Globalization*, New York and London: Routledge.

Evans, Nicholas (2010) *Dying Words: Endangered Languages and What They Have to Tell Us*, Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (2011) *Zhenxiang Balai: Saideke Balai de Lishi Zhenxiang yu Suipai Zhaji* (*Truth Bale: The Historical Truth of Seediq Bale and a Production Diary*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Holmer, Arthur J. (1995) "Translationese in Seediq," unpublished manuscript.

Holmer, Arthur J. (1996) *A Parametric Grammar of Seediq*, Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press.

Holmer, Arthur J. (2002) "The Morphology and Syntax of Seediq Focus," in Fay Wouk and Malcom Ross (eds), *The History and Typology of Western Austronesian Voice Systems*, Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics, 333–354.

Huang, Shuan-fan, Lily I-wen Su, and Hsiu-hsu Lin (1998) *A Functional Reference Grammar of Seediq*, Taipei: Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University.

Huang Yijuan and You Wenxing (2011) *Dianying Balai: Saideke Balai muqian muhou quan jilu* (*Movie Bale: Complete Record of Seediq Bale Behind the Scenes and in Front*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Jakobson, Roman and Morris Halle (1971 [1956]) "Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances," in *Fundamentals of Language*, 2nd revised edition, Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 69–96.

Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin (1935) *Gengo ni Yoru Taiwan Takasago-zoku Densetsu-shū* (*The Myths and Traditions of the Taiwan Takasago Tribes*), Taihoku: Teikoku Daigaku Gengo-gaku Kenkyu-shitsu.

Toury, Gideon (1980) *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics.

Toury, Gideon (1985) "Aspects of Translating into Minority Languages from the Point of View of Translation Studies," *Multilingua*, 4.1: 3–10.

Tymoczko, Maria (1999) *Translation in a Postcolonial Context: Early Irish Literature in English Translation*, London and New York: Routledge.

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2011) *Daoyan Balai: Teyouzhong Wei Desheng de Saideke Balai shouji* (*Director Bale: Endemic Species/Particularly Spunky Wei Te-sheng's Seediq Bale Diary*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

3 The game of telephone

Cultural translation as adaptation

Think of indigenous translation as a long, drawn-out, spread-out, open-ended game of telephone. In the game of telephone, which is also known as Chinese whispers, a whispered message is distorted as it passes from person to person in a circle. The more people hear the message whispered, the more distorted it gets. The first time I played the game of telephone I thought the whole point was for the message to make it back to the first person in the informational circle intact. As probably everyone besides me realized, the whole point of the telephone game is the surprising metamorphosis. Now that I think about it, some of the players were probably getting it wrong on purpose. Nobody would play the game if the message made it through undistorted. It would not be a game.

Granted, translation is not usually supposed to be a game. Our clients do not want us to play games. And certainly there is a place for a "no playing around" approach to indigenous translation. But I say there is also a place for play in indigenous translation, play that is inherent in any culture and that constitutes the ludic logic of cultural adaptability. In this chapter, I will look at the adaptation of indigenous texts by indigenous translators who improvised and elaborated at every step of the way. The translators certainly did not approach their tasks like linguists, anthropologists, or "serious" translators. They took a lot of latitude. They had fun.

In this chapter, I discuss two cases of backtranslation, where the game of telephone came full circle without returning to the beginning. Both texts were translated from Seediq to Mandarin by Pawan Tanah (Shen Mingren) in 1998, and from Mandarin to Seediq by Dakis Pawan (Guo Mingzheng) in 2009. The first, which I call Rudo Luhe's monologue, because Mona Rudo's father Rudo Luhe delivers it in the film, is a text that Wei Te-sheng took from Shen's book and that Shen had taken from a story recorded by the Japanese linguist Asai Erin. The second is a single line Wei saw in Shen's translation of the subtitles of Qiu Ruolong's 1998 documentary film *Ga Ya* that is cognate with a sentence in a Japanese textbook for policemen and that serves as the first line of the most famous speech in *Seediq Bale*.

1 Rudo Luhe's monologue[1]

Rudo Luhe's monologue is an explanation by Rudo Luhe to his son, Mona, of the traditional expectations for Seediq men and women and the reward for fulfilling

them, which served to motivate boys and girls. The expectations were that a man would headhunt, and a woman would weave, to demonstrate his or her ability to protect and provide for the village community, and the reward for fulfilling these expectations was passage across a spirit bridge into the afterlife. But to get across the bridge, men and women had to pass a gatekeeper, traditionally a spirit crab, who "rubbed" their hands (with its pincers?) to check if they were worthy. If they were, they were allowed to cross. If not, they had to go the long way around, across the river beneath the bridge.

In the 2000 screenplay, Wei showed how such a traditional text might be motivational by "crosscutting" an elder's instruction of a boy with a scene of battle in which the boy's grown-up self fights (Wei 2000: 19–21). By the 2009 shooting script, Wei had "personalized" the scene by having Rudo Luhe deliver the teaching to Mona in the past, while in the present Mona flees, first from a Bunun attack and later from a Japanese attack. At the end of the scene Mona carries his dying father on his back in flight from an overwhelming Japanese force, to which Mona will have to submit: he has failed to protect the village community. For the first time in history, the traditional ideal of manhood that Rudo Luhe taught his son Mona has become impossible to live up to.

But Rudo Luhe's monologue is hardly traditional. It was the product of an eighty-year-long process of adaptation that did not end until 2010.

1.1 From Asai Erin to Shen Mingren, 1931–1998

The myth on which the monologue is based was first recorded (Ogawa and Asai 1935: 569–570) in 1931 in the east coast Truku-speaking village of Iboh (565). This must be Ibuh, as it is spelled today, located by the Mugua River, which has formed a river valley that runs parallel to the Taroko Gorge, but about thirty kilometers south.

Asai's phonetic transcription is very close. He used the "hook" diacritic indicating palatalization that was added to the International Phonetic Alphabet in 1928, for instance, [baːgʲa], "hand." In addition to [baːgʲa], Asai also uses [baːga] and [baga] to reflect slight variations in pronunciation.

Structurally, Asai just indicates word and clause boundaries, not narrative structure, but it is obviously in three parts: a part about a good man, a heavily parallel part about a good woman, and then a final part about a bad man and a bad woman.

Asai added interlinear glosses in Japanese to the Seediq text and then translated the Seediq into Japanese. I will discuss some of the glosses below. His Japanese translation is mostly very close. The only egregious change is to the title. The title in Seediq is "Spirit House" ([sappaɦ uttʊx]), but Asai turned it into "Country of Yellow Springs" (黃泉の國 Yomi no Kuni). This is a domestication to an ancient Chinese belief in the netherworld that I am sure Asai Erin did not profess. The "yellow" in Yellow Springs might be because of the Yellow River, but the average Chinese or Japanese speaker would not know or care whence the expression sprang, and its geographical origin is beside the point in Japan or Taiwan.

Asai published the text in 1935. There the text sat for sixty years until 1995, around which time the central Taiwan Truku intellectual Shen Mingren began working on it. He published the whole story in his 1998 book (Bawan 1998: 212–215), in which he claimed it was recounted to him on October 23, 1991, by an informant named Abai Kumu, who was apparently 105 years old at the time. But actually, Shen was editing Asai Erin's transcription. He clearly based his romanization on Asai's. For instance, the title:

Asai: [sappaɦ uttʊx]
Shen: Sappax Uttuf

Shen had no reason to use geminates (doubled consonants) except that Asai had done so.

In transcribing the title, Shen made no change to the Seediq wording, but he did make a few minor changes to the Seediq of the story. He added sentence-final interjections, without which sentences might sound expressionless or unfinished, for instance *wax* in the example below. He changed certain east coast Truku usages in Asai's transcription to analogues in his own central Taiwan Truku, for instance changing [nexal] to *mohichi* in the same example. He also handled the word [ida] in different ways. According to Asai's Japanese glosses [ida] means "when" (時に *tokini*) or "will become" (なれば *nareba*). For instance:

Asai: [ida =ta ka mə-ɦoqqaɪl nexal]
when =1P.NOM NOM AF-die future
When it comes time for us to die. . .

[ida ka ʂiŋ̩naʊ ba:laɪ o]
will.become NOM man true INT
we will turn into true men, yo.

Shen: *M-osa =ta kana m-ohoqqin mohichi wax*
AF-go =1P.NOM all AF-die future INT
We're all going to die in the future, eh

Ita ka sonnau balai O [sic]
1P.NOM NOM man true INT
It's us who are the true men, yo

Shen must have thought that Asai had misrecorded [ida] in both lines, because he "corrected" it both times in his re-romanization. Whether or not Shen was really correcting Asai, one thing is clear: an east coast Truku text recorded in 1931 contained terms that were not transparent to a central Taiwan Truku speaker in 1998.

The changes Shen made to the Seediq were mostly minor, but he translated more aggressively into Mandarin. For the translation of the title, Shen avoided Asai's Sinicism, Yellow Springs, which contemporary Taiwanese writers like Deng Xiangyang were still using to refer to the Seediq afterlife (Deng 2000: 86, 106). Shen translated

the title into World After Death (死後的世界 *sǐhòu de shìjiè*), which is a collocation in Mandarin, though not an extremely common one or a particularly Chinese one. In his translation of the main text, Shen domesticated in a couple of cases. For instance, he added the place where the true men fight, in the "sand ground" (沙場 *shāchǎng*), a Chinese term for "battleground." He also added the Sinicism ghost gate (鬼門關 *gǔiménguān*), usually the gate that opens during ghost month, here the gate that the bad souls have to get through to get to the afterlife. There is no such gate in the Seediq language or in Seediq ontology. Even when he was not domesticating, Shen was reimagining the Seediq material. In narrative order, he reimagined the bridge, the hands of the good men and women, the psychology of the bad souls after they are told to take the long way around, and the destiny of the bad souls.

Concerning Shen's reimagination of the bridge, a lot depends on the interpretation of the word [pʊso] (which Asai also romanizes [pʊʂo]). In Asai's prosaic translation, [pʊso] simply means this "side" of the spirit bridge, the place where the crab stands guard. But in his interlinear gloss, it means "source," which is another possible gloss for the word, just not the obvious one in this context. This odd interlinear gloss informs Shen's translation of *pussu hakau uttuf* (his re-romanization of Asai's [pʊso hakkaʊ ʊttʊx]) into "source of the bridge of souls" (鬼魂之橋的源頭 *gǔihún zhī qiáo de yuántóu*) in the second part of the narrative, which relates the fate of the good woman. The illustration (Bawan 1998: 213; see p. 5 of the Rudo Luhe's monologue file in the eResources) Shen juxtaposes with the text offers insight into what the "source of the bridge of souls" might be: what appears to be a rainbow shoots like a geyser in an arc across a river valley. The bridge is apparently a streaming rainbow, and its source is the slope of the mountain on the other side of the valley. To the bad souls who have to wade across the river in the third part, this "rainbow bridge" might look like an arched gate (門關 *ménguān*), hence Shen's domestication ghost gate might be unexpectedly appropriate.

Alas, Shen is inconsistent, so it hard to know how exactly he imagined the bridge: in the third part he translates *pusu* [sic] *hakau uttuf* into "bridge of spirits" (靈魂之橋 *línghún zhī qiáo*), eliding *pusu*; and in the first part he translates it into "source of the home of souls" (鬼魂之家的源頭 *gǔihún zhī jiā de yuántóu*). What is the "source of the home of souls," and why would Shen translate "bridge" (*hakau* in Seediq) into "home" (家 *jiā* in Mandarin) when in the Seediq original the bridge is the route to the home? I have no idea.

Once the souls reach the bridge, a crab rubs their hands. In Asai's transcription and translation, it is not clear what the crab is trying to rub off. Shen explicitated in the Seediq by adding *dala*, meaning blood. I suspect he supplied blood from his own imagination. Blood is more appropriate to a man who headhunts than to a woman who weaves, but perhaps she would weave her hands so raw they bled, or perhaps the red dye, derived from "dyeing yam" (*Dioscorea cirrhosa*), which she used in her weaving, would stain her palms. At any rate, blood or a stain that looked like it, whether on a man's or a woman's hands, would, it stands to reason, rub or wash off: in Shen's Seediq, the crab rubs both the man's and woman's hands, but in his Mandarin, the crab rubs the man's hands and lets the woman wash her hands, presumably in the river that flows below the bridge. Shen

invented a reason why the blood did not rub or wash off: because it was indelibly tattooed (*podasan*, Tgdaya: *ptasan*) on the hands. When he translates the part about the good woman into Mandarin, however, he refers not to tattooed blood marks but rather to "brands" (烙印 *làoyìn*), as in the identifying marks that are seared onto cattle. Why would a true woman have brands on her hands? And why would anyone try to wash brands off? Your guess is as good as mine.

When the crab checks the hands of the bad souls and tells them to take the long way around, there is a physical but no psychological description in Asai. According to Asai, the bad souls go bald ([koːɭoh]) and get wounded ([ɭomoʂi]). [Koːɭoh] is obviously cognate with *quluh*, to cut (hair), in Tgdaya; I cannot think of a word like [ɭomoʂi] in Tgdaya. According to Shen, *koloh*, his re-romanization of [koːɭoh], means "wispy," and *dohon*, his random re-romanization of [ɭomoʂi], means "bruise." In his Mandarin, however, the bad souls do not go bald or wispy-haired, nor do they get wounded or bruised. They just get "disheveled heads and dirty faces," which Shen expresses in a formal Chinese four-character idiom. Shen then adds a psychological dimension, in another four-character idiom parallel to the first: the poor souls are "in a daze and spiritless." As if physical and psychological suffering were not enough, Shen heaps moral opprobrium upon the poor souls. Shen reads Asai's [qəlloŋ], which Asai glossed as "gradually" – meaning that the poor souls "eventually" reach the afterlife, just not by the most direct route – as *kolongau*. Judging from Shen's Mandarin, *kolongau* means "ignominiously," though according to Shen in an interview I conducted in June 2019, it just means trembling with fear or cold!

Finally, Shen reimagines the destiny of souls. In the first two parts, Asai had put [sappaħ ʊttʊx], "spirit house," in apposition to [pappak tʊwaqqa(ʔ)]. In a footnote, Asai identified [pappak tʊwaqqa(ʔ)] as the sublime Mt. Sylvania, located some sixty kilometers northwest of Ibuh as the crow flies. Shen's Seediq re-romanization is almost verbatim: *sappah uttuf pappak tuwiyaq*. Shen's *sappah uttuf* is "spirit house," and *tuwiyaq* is "peak." *Pappak* is a puzzle. It seems to be cognate with the Tgdaya *papak*, meaning foot. But according to Shen, *pappak* has nothing to do with feet, at least not directly. Rather, it is onomatopoeia, either *pa pa pa* or *pak pak pak*, which is the sound of a headhunter breathing, perhaps to the rhythm of his footfalls. This rhythmic sound is a manifestation of the numinous energy that suffuses the air around the mountaintop. When I heard this, I thought Shen had made it up off the top of his head, out of thin air. Wherever it came from, it did not make it into the Mandarin. In his Mandarin, he puts "home of souls" (鬼魂之家 *gǔihún zhī jiā*) in apposition to "mountain peak" (山之巔峰 *shān zhī diānfēng*) in part 1 and "highest mountain peak" (山之極峰 *shān zhī jífēng*) in part 2. The illustration is of a generic mountain, not Mt. Sylvania. It does not look foot-like to me.

In Asai's transcription of the third part, about the bad men and women, the destination of unworthy souls is simply the [sappaħ tʊxxan], with no mention of the mountain. The [sappaħ tʊxxan] is literally "the house where the spirits are," which seems to be another name for [sappaħ ʊttʊx], the "spirit house." In other words, whether worthy or unworthy, the souls all end up at the same place. But

in the third part of Shen's Seediq, the souls of the unworthy hasten *tuma sappah*, which I assumed meant "below the house." If this house is the "house of souls," which was in apposition to a mountain in the first two parts, as if the house *is* the mountain, then we could still imagine the souls standing on a slope below a summit, perhaps the summit of Mt. Sylvania. When I interviewed Shen about his translation, he claimed that by *tuma sappah* he meant not below the house but underneath it, in the underworld. In Shen's translation of the third part into Mandarin, however, the unworthy souls arrive "beneath the eaves" (屋簷下 *wūyán xià*). Beneath the eaves of what? What would the eaves of a mountain be? Perhaps there is supposed to be a chalet on the mountainside, and the eaves are of the chalet? There is no chalet in the illustration.

Shen's approach to translation contrasts with Asai's. Asai was a linguist with a professional obligation to translate literally. Shen felt no such obligation. He translated imaginatively, especially into Mandarin but also to some extent intralingually from east coast Truku into central Taiwan Truku. The results are sometimes obscure – if what Shen told me in the interview was his true intention, no reader could have possibly guessed it from either his Seediq or his Mandarin – but they are also intriguing. We might be surprised that an indigenous translator would allow himself such latitude given common sense about how conservative "tradition" can be. But we might also assume that taking such liberties is Shen's prerogative, because as a Seediq person he could claim the text as part of his heritage, even though he is from central Taiwan, not the east coast. Are we prepared to grant Wei Te-sheng the same right to reimagine, or will we simply condemn him for appropriating and editing the myth he found translated into Mandarin in Shen's book? I am not going to adjudicate, except to say that Shen and Wei were friends, and I am sure Shen knew about the appropriation and probably even consulted on it. Moreover, in editing the myth, Wei was just doing what Shen had done: adapting.

1.2 From Wei Te-sheng to Dakis Pawan, 2000–2011

Shen's Mandarin translation of the myth was reproduced by Wei Te-sheng in his 2000 screenplay (Wei 2000: 19–21). The reproduction is nearly verbatim, but Wei made a few minor modifications, some of which suggest he consulted with Shen. For Wei, a "beautiful rainbow bridge," not Shen's "bridge of souls/spirits" (in parts 2/3, see p. 65 above), was the way to the afterlife. How did Wei know the "bridge of souls/spirits" in Shen's Mandarin translation was a rainbow? He may have seen the illustration in Shen's book, which I discussed in the previous subsection. Wei also clarifies what is rubbed/washed off the hands of true men and true women. There are *blood* marks on the hands of a true man. Wei must have consulted with Shen about the blood, which Shen had added to his 1998 romanization without translating it into Mandarin. As for the hands of a true woman, they are covered in *calluses* from weaving in Wei's version. This makes sense, more sense than blood, and a lot more sense than brands. Finally, Wei also added a fourth paragraph, a conclusion that includes the following line: "Our ancestral

spirits will inform us when to sow, when to reap, when to hunt, when to headhunt, through the *sisin* bird." Inspired by the preacher of *Ecclesiastes* or "Turn! Turn! Turn!" by The Byrds, the line refers to the horticultural side of Seediq life, the round of sowing and reaping that gave rhythm to the year.

By August 2009, when Wei sent the shooting script for translation, he had cut most of this conclusion and made some more changes to the three parts of the main body. Wei's changes can be understood in terms of de-Sinification, visualization, and reimagination. First, Wei excised Shen's Sinicism ghost gate and substituted a biome-neutral term meaning "battleground" (戰場 *zhànchǎng*) for "sand ground." Second, he had also "visualized" the material, as any filmmaker has to do to "re-mediate" a written text. The translation of "bridge of souls/spirits" into "rainbow bridge" is one example. Another example is the translation of a phrase in the third part of Shen Mingren's Mandarin that means "bad character," which is abstract, into "pale, clean faces," which is visual. Third, just as Shen had done, Wei reimagined parts of the story. Instead of a crab, the guardian of the bridge is now an ancestral spirit. This ancestral spirit allows worthy souls to cross to the "home of the ancestral spirits," not the "home of souls," a locution Wei had taken from Shen Mingren. Why these changes? It is understandable that Seediq people would want their souls to be judged by an ancestor, not by a crab. "Souls" (鬼魂 *gǔihún*) can be good or bad, and they are not necessarily Seediq. It makes more sense to describe the Seediq afterlife as a home of "ancestral spirits" (祖靈 *zǔlíng*), a place good Seediq souls go to join their ancestors. But then where to put the crab? The crab is in the river beneath the bridge.

Moving the crab to the river made sense for the scene as Wei was planning to shoot it: Rudo Luhe's monologue to the boy Mona is intercut with the flight of the Tgdaya warriors across the Zhuoshui River from the Bunun warriors who are chasing them in 1903 (*SF* 30:17). As the Tgdaya flee across the river, the Bunun pick them off with gunfire from behind. The Bunun bullets have the same deadly effect as the crab's pincers. The scene made a big impression on Dakis Pawan when he translated it. In the revision to the translation he completed on September 14, 2009, he included a bracketed note about his own great-grandfather, who, unlike most of the fleeing Tgdaya warriors, managed to swim across the river without getting shot.

In this revision, Dakis also suggested a line about a weaving spirit that weaves each life to a specific end. This suggestion ended up getting incorporated into the Mandarin subtitles. In other words, Dakis was not just the translator, but also the co-author of this subtitle. Dakis probably added the Weaving Spirit at the suggestion of Iwan Pering, who heard from her father, Pering, about the Utux Tmninun (Yiwan Beilin 2006: 13–15; see ch. 6 sec. 2.1).

There are a few other changes to the Mandarin subtitles that postdate the shooting script and were duly translated: the home of the ancestral spirits is described as a fat and fine hunting ground that only a true man is qualified to defend, and just as the true man is exhorted to go defend the hunting ground, the true woman is called upon to go weave a garment like a rainbow for herself to wear. I take these revisions on board in the following analysis of the Seediq translation in the final cut.

Reenvisioning the good man's passage to the afterlife (SF 29:54)

The first sentence of the part about the good man, which I alluded to in chapter 2 as a simplification from Seediq shooting script to final cut, was hard to interpret, because it contains a typo:

Kiya snegun [sic] *Utux T<m-n>inun.*
like.this follow spirit <AF-PRF>weave
Thus (we) follow the Weaving Spirit.

Snegun, meaning to follow, should have been *sne(y)ung*, the patient focus perfective (or preterite) form of *seung*, which means "measure." The line in the Seediq shooting script was as follows:

Kiya nanaq s<n>eyun[g] (t<n>inun) na Utux T<m-n>inun.
this just <PF.PRF>measure (<PF.PRF>weave) GEN spirit <AF-PRF>weave
This is just what was measured (woven) by the Weaving Spirit.

The Weaving Spirit would measure out a length of yarn and weave it into a fabric, a metaphor for a human life. The second line of the Seediq adds that any human life has to come to an end:

Uka h-n-ras-an kes-un kndesan seediq.
NEG <PRF>exceed-LF call-PF life person
There is no exceeding that which we call a human life.

There is in one sense no way to exceed the limit, for every mortal must die; but in another sense it is possible, according to the belief in eternal spiritual life after fleshly death. Hence, the addition of *anisi*, "but," in the following line:

Anisi rseno =ta bale ka ita.
but man =1P.NOM true NOM 1P.NOM
But we are real men.

Real men die on the battleground, according to Wei's Mandarin. But there is no word for "battleground" in Seediq. Here is how Dakis Pawan translated the line:

Kes-un rseno bale, mda-adis pais huqin.
call-PF man true AF.REC-bring enemy die
A true man and the enemy accompany each other to death.

In this way, Dakis highlighted one of the most important themes of the film and in Seediq culture: that in death the enemy becomes a friend.

After death, the spirit of the true man walks toward the *pusu hako utux hii*. *Pusu hako utux* is the Tgdaya pronunciation of Shen's *pusu hakau uttuf*. Recall

that Shen had translated *pusu hakau uttuf* inconsistently into "(source of) the bridge/home of souls/spirits." Wei Te-sheng made it clear that the bridge was a rainbow, but otherwise the shooting script he sent to Dakis Pawan for translation in August 2009 was just as inconsistent. To avoid getting bogged down in the inconsistency, let us focus on the translation of *pusu*. Shen translated *pusu* into "source" (源頭 *yuántóu*), which ended up in the shooting script. Dakis translated "source" back into *pusu*, but he added the adverb *hii*, short for *hini*, meaning "here." Dakis's addition of this adverb suggests that *pusu* means "end" not "source." *Pusu hako utux hii* means "this end of the spirit bridge." In other words, Dakis agreed with Asai's prosaic translation, which means "end" and which was right all along but rather less interesting than Shen's "source" of a streaming rainbow, which was based on Asai's interlinear gloss. Subsequently, the inconsistency in the Mandarin would get edited out, which is both a relief and a disappointment. The word *yuántóu* (source) would get edited out of the Mandarin, too, but *pusu hako hii* stayed in the Seediq (*SF* 30:43).

When Dakis first saw that the guardian waiting at this end of the bridge was an ancestral spirit, he went along with it, translating it *utux rudan*, "spirit (of an) elder." But in the September 14 revision, he changed the Mandarin to "crab spirit" (螃蟹靈 *pángxiè líng*) with "Utux Karan[g]" as the Seediq translation. This made it through the collective revision process that produced the Seediq shooting script dated September 20, 2009, and this was how Pawan Nawi recorded it in an mp3 file on September 23 (ch. 2 p. 55). But in the further revision of the monologue he recorded in 2010 for the final cut, he went back to Wei Te-sheng's vision of an ancestral spirit guarding this end of the bridge:

M-esa utux rudan psbaang pusu hako hii:
AF-say spirit elder guard end bridge here
The ancestral spirit guarding this end of the bridge says:

"Qtae =ta qapan baga=su."
see.SBJ =1P.NOM palm hand=2S.GEN
"Let's see your palms."

No wonder the spirit is more polite than in any previous version of the Seediq. In Asai's 1931 version, the crab spirit addressed the spirits of the men and women in agent focus imperative, *qita*. *Qodai*, the patient focus imperative in Shen Ming-ren's version, did not change the tone. To adopt a polite tone more appropriate to an ancestral spirit, Dakis Pawan used the subjunctive.

When the hands are opened, instead of blood, there is simply a *snkraya*, a "mark," the same word as is used in the ceremony in which Mona receives his facial tattoos (*SF* 4:56). Unable to rub this mark off, the ancestral spirit confirms he is a true man, then tells him to go. Where does the true man go? In Asai's Seediq, he goes to a spirit house that is a mountain, apparently Mt. Sylvania. In Shen's Mandarin, he goes to a home of souls that is a mountain or that is on a mountain. In the Mandarin subtitles of the final cut, he goes to a "hunting ground" that is "fat and fine." Fat

and fine describes the prey not the hunting ground, but it would have been prolix to describe prey animals as fat and fine in Seediq, so the translators characterized the hunting ground instead as "full of prey animals."

Niq-an kingan ddupun ga,
exist-LF one hunting.ground there
There is a hunting ground there;

stngay-an camac ka tnlangan rudan =ta.
full-LF prey.animal NOM realm elders =1P.GEN
the realm of our elders is full of prey.

Here again, the translators have refined Mandarin ore into Seediq gold. With the repeated *-an* and *-a* sounds, the translation is an extravaganza of rhyme:

niq-an king-an ddupun ga
stngay-an camac ka
tnlang-an rud-an ta

It is not quite as regular as the song lyrics we will investigate in the next chapter, but it is poetry nonetheless. *Tnlangan* we can for now gloss as "realm." It appears to be the country in which the happy hunting ground is located. Shen had re-romanized Asai's [sappaɦ ʊttʊx] as *sappax uttuɟ*, then translated it into "home of souls," which Wei then edited into "home of the ancestral spirits." Instead of translating "home of the ancestral spirits" into *sapah utux rudan*, however, Dakis Pawan went with *tnlangan*. I will discuss the etymology of *tnlangan* in chapter 6 (sec. 2.4), but here I should note that Dakis was domesticating a Truku expression – Asai's myth was recorded in east coast Truku territory, and Shen translated it intralingually nearly seventy years later into his central Taiwan Truku – in Mandarin translation to Tgdaya usage.

Rectifying sexism in the Seediq tradition (SF 31:42)

Now we can accompany the soul of a true woman to the afterlife in the second part of the story. The main issue in this second part is the sexism of the tradition. In Asai's Seediq, the true woman was skilled at weaving [sila] and [tʊbilan]. According to Asai's glosses, [sila] and [tʊbilan] are both tunics for men. [Sila] is described as hempen in the gloss, while the description in the gloss of [tʊbilan] is smudged in a clear photocopy of the original 1935 edition. But judging from Asai's Japanese translation, [tʊbilan] is in a twill weave and is, according to a footnote, a garment only a man who has headhunted can wear. Shen Mingren re-romanized [sila] and [tʊbilan] into *sila* and *tobilan*, words that I imagine he had seen for the first time, because these terms are unattested outside of Asai and Shen. In his translation into Mandarin, Shen ignores the kind of weave, just mentions that a true woman weaves warriors' tunics and accessories.

In addition to [sila] and [tɔbilan], a good woman in Asai's transcription knows [kana mbanaɬ], which is "all that becomes red" if [mbanaɬ] is a relative clause. In his Japanese translation, Asai explains what this means:

赤　毛糸　　入　織物
aka　*ke-ito*　　*iri*　*ori-mono*
red　wool-yarn　enter　weave-thing
textiles woven with red yarn

There appears to be a mistake in the explanation: *ke* is a term for wool when the Seediq made their yarn out of ramie. But even if he is wrong here, Asai is still impressive for the interest he takes in the technique of weaving. Shen tries to follow Asai's Japanese translation in his translation into Mandarin, but he somehow misunderstood the meaning of 糸 (Japanese: *ito*, Mandarin: *xì*). In context, it means "yarn," but Shen understood it as meaning "series" (系列 *xìliè*). Hence, he claims a true woman knows how to weave fabrics in the "the red color series." Wei corrected both mistakes by omitting them from his screenplay, in which a true woman weaves "men's tunics" and "red garments and accoutrements," which could be for men or women.

Wei's shooting script is more sexist than his screenplay: all the true woman does in the shooting script is weave "red battle garments." The translators excised the sexism by replacing "red battle garments" with the most difficult style of weaving of all, *miri*, which we can gloss for now as "twill" (cf. ch. 6 p. 138), to which they added *lukus kerang*, clothes decorated with shells. Unlike Shen and Wei, they took interest in women's work, in the technique of weaving. More importantly, *miri* and *lukus kerang* are gender-neutral. There were sumptuary rules, but a man or woman of a certain standing was entitled to wear *miri* or *lukus kerang*.[2] Finally, the final cut mitigates the sexism of the shooting script with the following suggestion for the soul of a good woman:

Tun-i　*naq*　*kingan*　*lukus,*　*mntena*　*hako-utux*　*kntwilaq*　*=na!*
weave-PF.IMP　self　one　garment　same　rainbow　beauty　=3S.GEN
Weave for yourself a garment that is as beautiful as a rainbow!

At least in the afterlife a good woman gets to weave something for herself.

Sexism is also an issue in the third part, about the good and bad souls. Asai's 1931, Shen's 1998, and Wei's 2000 versions begin with the bad man, who is bad because he has not headhunted, while the rest is apparently about the bad woman; and whereas the bad man is simply someone who has not taken an enemy's head, the bad woman is thoughtless and stupid. In Wei's shooting script, by contrast, there is no longer any specific mention of the bad woman's thoughtlessness and stupidity, and the rest of the paragraph clearly refers to both bad men *and* bad women. In other words, the sexism of the third part had already been rectified by Wei Te-sheng, and the translators had only to follow along. But they did some interesting things toward the end.

This is the end (SF 33:30)

In their translation of "disheveled heads and dirty faces," which Wei had taken from Shen, the translators ignored the heads of the bad souls and focused on their faces:

Wada so sipa ka dqeras =daha,
AUX.PRF like frost NOM face =3P.GEN
Their faces are like frost,

so tmlex-an ka lnglung-an =daha.
as.if spellbound-LF NOM think-LF =3P.GEN
their minds as if cursed.

Sipa, frost, is particularly effective in sonic anticipation of *msiqa*, "ashamed," in the next line:

Wada m-siqa bale r<m>aro m-oda Rbeyuk Qqahun.
AUX.PRF AF-ashamed truly <AF>limp AF-cross valley rocky
They limp across the Rocky Valley, truly ashamed.

Sipa is also effective in the overall context of *Seediq Bale*, in which an unseasonable frost in Toda chief Teymu Walis's village of Tnbarah is an omen that only initially seems auspicious on the morning of October 27. As for the latter half of the line, it is a translation of the psychological dimension that Shen Mingren introduced in 1998 (p. 66 above).

When the souls of the damned try to cross the river that flows through the Rocky Valley, they get bitten not by a single crab but by an army of them, all vying with one another for a bite:

Wada p-glek-an m-atak utux karang ka hei =daha.
AUX.PRF cause-steal-LF AF-cut spirit crab NOM flesh =3P.GEN
Their flesh is what the crab spirits are keen to cut with their pincers.

The adjective "keen" is the closest I could get to the adverbial verb *pglekan*, from *geeluk*, meaning to steal. In location focus, it takes the flesh of the unworthy as its subject. The crabs are all keen to "steal" a bite of flesh.

That is how Rudo Luhe's monologue ends in the final cut, with a very painful final cut: there is no purgatory for the souls of bad men and women, no chance for them to take the long way around to the happy hunting ground. If this is really how Mona Rudo imagined the afterlife, no wonder he rebelled against the Japanese! Could he deliver all the young men in his community into the pincers of an army of spirit crabs? No, he had to give them a chance to prove themselves so that they could accompany him to the realm of the ancestral spirits!

The monologue ends not with any mention of the horticulture of the Seediq people, as in the conclusion of the original screenplay (Wei 2000: 21), but rather

with an exhortation for Mona Rudo to become a true person. Rudo Luhe was teaching his son an ideal of true personhood that would no longer be possible under Japanese colonial rule, but which, according to Wei Te-sheng, inspired Mona Rudo's final declaration of defiance four decades after he heard the myth at his father's knee, a declaration to which I turn in the next section.

2 How many Japanese? 1932–2011

The second example of a prose text that was translated from Seediq to Mandarin and back to Seediq for *Seediq Bale* is the first line of Mona Rudo's most famous speech. The first time the line appears is in the creekside colloquy (*SF* 1:16:10), in which Mona Rudo reassures Hanaoka Ichirō that he is not planning rebellion. Mona says, "The Japanese outnumber the leaves of the trees of the forest and the rocks in the Zhuoshui River." In other words, it would be foolish for him to contemplate rebellion. Of course, he *is* contemplating rebellion, as he reveals in the second scene in which the lines about the leaves and the rocks are used, the scene in which Mona is confronted at his home by Hanaoka Ichirō after he hears about Mona's plan of attack (*SF* 1:40:34):

Ichirō: Didn't you say [in our creekside colloquy] that the Japanese outnumber. . .
Mona: The Japanese may outnumber the leaves of the trees of the forest,
and the rocks in the Zhuoshui River,
but my will to resist is more adamant than Mt. Qilai!

Mona's three-line speech is an amplificatory tricolon based on the first line. The first line first appears in a slightly different form in a Japanese textbook for police officers published in 1932. The textbook contained Japanese and Seediq sentences, the latter with Japanese interlinear glosses. But what is a translation of what? Did the Seediq come first or the Japanese? As the Seediq textbook was part of a series of textbooks for different indigenous languages, all of which contained the same sentences in Japanese, the Japanese had to have come first.

The sentences in the textbooks were selected for effectiveness in social control. The metaphor of the leaves on the trees is apparently effective because it was understood by all concerned. It would be understood anywhere there are trees. It is also used in other colonial texts around the time of the Musha Incident, for instance, in the bury-the-stone ceremony (see ch. 5 sec. 2) that the Japanese had the Toda and Tgdaya representatives conduct as a show of reconciliation in 1931. According to the colonial record, a Toda representative told a Tgdaya representative, "You were as numerous as the leaves on the trees, so you were very proud" (Anon. 2002 [n.d.]: 708). Here the metaphor is a reminder that the Tgdaya had been laid low, while in the textbook for Japanese police officers it is for deterrence.

Here is the Japanese original and its Seediq translation (Ninomiya 1932: 93):

日本人	ハ	木	ノ	葉	ノ	如ク	多數	ダ。
Nihon-jin	*wa,*	*ki*	*no*	*ha*	*no*	*gotoku*	*ta-sū*	*da.*
Japan-people	TOP	tree	GEN	leaf	GEN	similarity	large-quantity	COP

The Japanese people are as numerous as the leaves of the tree.

タナトノフ　マー　サウ　ワシサウ　カフニ　ハシバーラ　ダ。
Tanatonofu　*mā*,　*sau*　*wassau*　*kafuni*　*habbāra*　*da*.
Tanah Tunux　*wa,*　*so*　*waso*　*qhuni*　*hbaro*　*da*.
red head　TOP　like　leaf　tree　numerous　INT
As for the Japanese, they are as numerous as the tree leaves.

Ninomiya Chikara, the fellow who translated this line into Seediq, either did not know Seediq very well or did not care to teach his readers about Seediq, because he glossed the Seediq word *da*, a perfective sentence-final interjection (or particle), as *da*, the Japanese copula.

Wei Te-sheng got the idea for the line not from the textbook, however, but from Shen Mingren's Mandarin translation of a line from an interview with the elder Tiwas Pawan for *Ga Ya*, Qiu Ruolong's documentary film (29:18):

日本人　多得　像　森林裡　的　樹葉。
Rìběn-rén　*duō-de*　*xiàng*　*sēnlín-lǐ*　*de*　*shù-yè*.
Japan-people　numerous-CMP　like　forest-in　GEN　tree-leaves
The Japanese people are as numerous as the leaves of the forest.

According to Tiwas Pawan, Mona Rudo came back from his trip to Japan in 1911 saying this (Guo 2011: 218), and it is not impossible that Mona came up with the line himself, that some colonial ideologue borrowed it from him, and that it ended up in a series of textbooks two decades later. But I suspect that Mona and all of the other chiefs who visited Japan were told something like this in the hope that they would disseminate a message of deterrence through their language communities, the same message of deterrence that appeared in the Seediq textbook in 1932.

Alas, the metaphor is not the message. In Tiwas's understanding, perhaps in Mona's as well, the take-home point for Mona and his sons was: let us bide our time, patiently waiting for the right moment to attack.

The sentence from the documentary appears verbatim in Wei's original screenplay twice, first in the creekside colloquy and second in the confrontation in Mona's house (Wei 2000: 49, 59). In the shooting script in 2009, the second time the line appears it is amplified from "as numerous as" to "even more numerous than."

日本人　比　森林　的　樹葉　還要　繁密。
Rìběn-rén　*bǐ*　*sēnlín*　*de*　*shù-yè*　*háiyào*　*fán-mì*.
Japan-person　than　forest　GEN　tree-leaf　even.more　luxuriant-dense
Japan is more densely populated than the foliage of the forest is thick.

But in the final cut Wei Te-sheng goes with this amplification in both scenes; in other words, in the Mandarin subtitles there is no contrast, no amplification from the creekside colloquy to the confrontation in Mona's house. The first line of the declaration of resistance is backtranslated both times into Japanese as:

日本人　は　森　の　木々　の　葉　より　多い。
Nihon-jin　*wa*　*mori*　*no*　*ki-gi*　*no*　*ha*　*yori*　*ōi*.

Japan-person TOP forest GEN tree-RED GEN leaf more numerous
The Japanese are more numerous than the leaves of the trees of the forest.

That the Japanese is the same both times means that the line was translated into Japanese after it had been changed in Mandarin. Here, by contrast, is how the line translated back into Seediq, first during the creekside colloquy:

Mntena waso qhuni lmiqu kngrahun hei seediq hiya.
same leaf tree forest quantity body person there
The quantity of the bodies (population) there is the same as the forest leaves.

In the confrontation scene, the line amplifies to:

R<m>abang hei =daha ka dheya daka waso qhuni bbuyu hini.
<AF>more body =3P.GEN NOM 3P.NOM than leaf tree forest here
In population, they're more (numerous) than the leaves of the forest trees here.

It is an amplification in that a statement of equality has turned into a comparison. Obviously, Dakis Pawan was translating from Wei's shooting script, not the revision that appeared in the final cut, because in his Seediq translation the amplification is preserved.

At whatever point in time, this line in which the population of Japan is compared to the foliage of the forest might have been a model for the next line, in which the Japanese are as numerous as or more numerous than the stones in the Zhuoshui River. Wei Te-sheng could have gotten the stones-in-the-stream metaphor from Qiu Ruolong (2011 [1990]: 125), from Deng Xiangyang, who puts the stones in the Zhuoshui River (2000: 43, 104), or from Dakis Pawan, who could draw on his fieldwork, in which the stones were in the river Mtudu (the Tgdaya term for the same river) (Guo 2011: 218). In the Mandarin and Japanese subtitles the line is the same both times, but in Seediq the original amplification from the Mandarin shooting script is, again, retained. In the creekside colloquoy, the line is:

. . . *mntena btunux yayung M-tudu.*
. . . same rock river like-spine
. . . the same as the rocks in the river Mtudu.

That is, the Japanese are just as numerous as the rocks in the river Mtudu, which is so called because it drains precipitation from the mountainous "spine" of Taiwan. Mtudu is the Seediq name for the upper and middle reaches of the Zhuoshui River. Here is the amplification of this line in the confrontation scene set in Mona Rudo's house:

R<m>abang hei =daha dheya daka bnaquy yayung M-tudu.
<AF>more body =3P.GEN 3P.NOM than sand river like-spine
In population, they're more (numerous) than the sand of the river Mtudu.

This is, as in the first line, an amplification from equation to comparison, but it is also an amplification of numerousness from rocks to grains of sand! It is "pebbles" in the English translation and *ishikoro* in Japanese, literally "pieces of stone."

The third line in the speech appears only once, in the confrontation in Mona Rudo's house. It is Mona Rudo's response to the message of deterrence implicit in the first two lines:

但	我	反抗	的	决心	比	奇萊山	還要	堅定！
Dàn	*wǒ*	*fǎnkàng*	*de*	*jué-xīn*	*bǐ*	*Qílái-shān*	*háiyào*	*jiāndìng!*
but	1s	resist	GEN	decide-heart	than	Qilai-mountain	more	determined

But my resolution to resist is more adamant than Mt. Qilai!

This translated as follows:

Anisi	*lnglungan*	*=mu*	*mp-ciyuk,*
but	think-LF	=1S.GEN	AF.FUT-resist

But as for my will to resist,

phrinas	*dgiyaq*	*Ucuucik*	*knkere*	*lnglungan*	*=mu!*
exceed	peak	RED-ucik	hardness	think-LF	=1S.GEN

my will exceeds the hardness of Mt. Ucuucik!

This is another masterpiece, of prosody:

BA ba ba			ba BA ba ba		
Anisi			*lnglungan=mu*		
ba ba BA ba	ba ba BA ba	ba BA ba	ba ba BA ba	ba BA ba	ba BA ba ba
mp-ciyuk	*p-hrinas*	*dgiyaq*	*Ucuucik*	*knkere*	*lnglungan=mu*

But the most interesting thing in the line is the translation of Mt. Qilai. For Qiu Ruolong, the fact that Mt. Qilai is sometimes shrouded in mist made it a symbol of Seediq unpredictability, from a Japanese perspective (Qiu 2011 [1990]: 83). But I think Wei Te-sheng turned it into a symbol of staunch resistance because it was, as Shen Mingren put it, "precipitous" (峥嶸 *zhēngróng*) (Bawan 1998: 9). It is one of the tallest mountains in central Taiwan.

The problem from a Tgdaya perspective is that Mt. Qilai was in Truku territory not in Tgdaya territory. It was part of a Truku hunting ground. So Dakis Pawan chose another mountain, which the Japanese call Mahebo Fujisan, because it is located close to Mhebu, Mona Rudo's village, and because it looks like Mt. Fuji. In Tgdaya this mountain is called Ucuucik.

There are a couple of reasons beyond rhythm why Dakis chose Mt. Ucuucik. Ucuucik is within walking distance of Mhebu. The caves in which the Tgdaya took shelter during the reprisal were in that direction (they have since disappeared). Mona Rudo may have killed himself there. But also, the name of the mountain is derived from the root *ucik*, used for spicy plants, whether hot pepper

or ginger. The reduplication of the first consonant implies numerousness. Ucuucik is a mountain on which an abundance of plants with picante fruits grow. Mona turns out to be much harder to swallow than the Japanese had ever imagined!

3 Adaptive translation in an *abstand* culture

Mona Rudo would not yield any ground in his stubborn adherence to his inflexible understanding of tradition, but in this chapter I have shown that the attitude of the Seediq translators toward traditional texts has been anything but unyielding. They have been quite playful. They have embellished imaginatively, much more than a linguist or scholar of translation studies would ever dream of doing, and at every stage of the way. And why shouldn't they? Why shouldn't Dakis Pawan substitute the mountain he thought was geographically and metaphorically the most fitting when stones in the stream as a metaphor for abundance was probably adapted from the trope of leaves on the tree? There are different versions, or adaptations, of the myth of the Seediq soul's passage to the afterlife, too. Pawan Nawi's elder sister Temi Nawi recorded the same legend in two different versions (Zeng 1994: 39–47). In one version, the souls of the unworthy get eaten by a crab spirit. In the other version, which Temi recorded just up the road from Gluban in the Atayal village of Mbgala (Meiyuan), the souls of the unworthy are given a cane and sent back. They are not to return until the cane has been worn short. In other words, they get a second chance to prove their worth.

These stories were handed down and passed on, transmitted to the younger generation the way oral tradition always is, with changes that are to some extent random, but also to some extent creative, based on what people can imagine and not just what they have been told. Such are the creative conditions of *abstand* culture. Knowing this, why would an indigenous translator not adopt a relaxed approach in his or her intralingual or interlingual translations of transcriptions of oral accounts? Why should an indigenous translator not adapt, playing an ongoing, open-ended game of telephone?

In this chapter, the game came full circle without returning to the beginning. Some things ended up the same. The rhetorical structure of Rudo Luhe's monologue is the same as the text recorded by Erin Asai. Sometimes the words are the same, for instance *pusu hako utux* and *waso qhuni*. But the differences are also impressive, especially the excision of sexism in the tradition, the explanation for which is clear: the original informant was of his time, and the translators are of theirs. It is harder to explain the difference between Shen's Mandarin version of the myth in 1998 and Wei's in 2000. Even though Wei spoke no Seediq, Wei's version was less domesticated, more foreignized. What happened from 1998 to 2000? Or does the explanation lie in a contrast between Shen and Wei? Was it that Shen wanted to make sure his audience understood, while Wei wanted the Seediq to sound exotic? I am not sure, but the general trend in Taiwan since the indigenous movement got going in the late 1980s is toward avoiding Sinicisms when translating from indigenous languages into Mandarin.

A review of the translation and backtranslation of the songs of *Seediq Bale* in the next chapter will demonstrate the same trends: the avoidance of Sinicisms in Seediq-Mandarin translation, the importance of "modern" values in Mandarin-Seediq backtranslation, and a generally adaptive approach, with the added

complication of musical prosody, which both constrained the translators and liberated them by giving them yet another reason for rewriting.

Notes

1 Visit the eResources at www.routledge.com/9780367198558 for the audio and text to Rudo Luhe's monologue.

2 Shell garments are part of Atayalic material culture. The term *lukus kerang* in Seediq corresponds to *lukus qaxa'* in Atayal: see http://catalog.digitalarchives.tw/item/00/25/a8/10.html. Both men and women wore shell garments. In an Atayal village surveyed in 1915, a man was expected to give a woman fifty to one hundred "shell skirts" as an engagement gift (Guan 2016: 66).

Note the similarity of *karang*, *kerang*, and *kurang*. The connection between *karang*, crab, and *kerang*, meaning "shell," is obvious. The resemblance between *kerang* and *kurang*, callus, is probably accidental, but it is memnonically useful: a *kurang* (callus) is like a *kerang* (shell) on the skin.

References

Anon., Taiwan Zongdufu Jingwuju (Department of Police Affairs, Government-General of Taiwan) (2002 [n.d.]) "Wushe Shijian Zhi" (Record of the Musha Incident), in Dai Guohui (ed); Wei Tingchao (trans), *Taiwan Wushe Fengqi Shijian: Yanjiu yu Ziliao* (*The Uprising at Musha, Taiwan: Research and Materials*), Taibei xian, Xindian shi: Guoshiguan (Academia Historica), 475–708.

Bawan Danaha (Pawan Tanah; Shen Mingren) (1998) *Chongxin Zuling de Minzu: Saideke Ren* (*The People Who Worship Ancestral Spirits: The Seediq*), Taibei: Haiweng.

Deng Xiangyang (2000) *Fengzhong Feiying: Wushe Shijian Zhenxiang ji Huagang Chuzi de Gushi* (*Dana Sakura/Cherry Blossoms in the Wind: The Truth of the Musha Incident and the Story of Hanaoka Hatsuko [Obing Tado]*), Taibei: Yushan.

Guan Wenhui (Kuan Wen-hui) (2016) "Fenghua Zaixian de Beizhuyi – tan Taiyazu Beizhuyi de Lishi he Gongyi zhi Mei" (Return to Glory – A Discussion of the History and the Beauty of the Craftsmanship of Atayal Beaded Shell Clothes), *Taiwan Gongyi* (*Taiwan Crafts*), 61 (June): 64–67.

Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (2011) *Zhenxiang Balai: Saideke Balai de Lishi Zhenxiang yu Suipai Zhaji* (*Truth Bale: The Historical Truth of Seediq Bale and a Production Diary*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Ninomiya Chikara (ed) (1932) *Sēdakka Bangoshu* (*Seediq Savage Language Compendium*), Taichū-shū Keimubu; Taiwan Shinbun-sha.

Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin (1935) *Gengo ni Yoru Taiwan Takasago-zoku Densetsu-shū* (*The Myths and Traditions of the Taiwan Takasago Tribes*), Taihoku: Teikoku Daigaku Gengo-gaku Kenkyu-shitsu.

Qiu Ruolong (2011 [1990]) *Manhua Balai: Taiwan di yi bu Wushe Shijian Lishi Manhua* (*Comic Bale: The First Historical Comic of the Musha Incident*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2000) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Xinwenju (Government Information Office).

Yiwan Beilin (Iwan Pering) (2006) "Utux, Kongjian, Jiyi yu Buluo Jiangou: Yi Alang Tongan yu Alang Sipo wei zhu de Taolun" (Spirits, Space, Memory, and Village Community Construction: Discussion Mainly of Tongan and Sipo), Master's thesis, Guoli Donghua Daxue (National Dong Hwa University).

Zeng Ruilin (Temi Nawi) (1994) *Saidekezu Shenhua Gushi* (*Mythic Stories of the Seediq People*), Puli, Taiwan: Nantou xian Tianzhujiao Shandi Fuwu Yanjiushe.

4 Pacifying the pine

How to demilitarize headhunting songs

Of all the Seediq songs in *Seediq Bale*, which filled a double-CD film soundtrack, the headhunting songs are worth focusing on because of the importance of headhunting to the film's interpretation of the Musha Incident. At its simplest, the interpretation is based on an analogy: *head* is to *body* as *state* is to *society*. What better way to symbolically liberate society than by literally decapitating a representative of the state, like the chief of police of Musha and the prefect of Nōkōgun, both of whom lost their heads on October 27, 1930? Without actual decapitation, such symbolic liberation was part of the formation of the screenplay in the 1990s. A few years before Wei Te-sheng became interested in the Musha Incident in 1996, indigenous intellectuals like Wei's consultant Shen Mingren had declared that "the Mona Rudo spirit is undying" (莫那魯道精神不死 *Mònà Lǔdào jīngshén bùsǐ*) (Deng 2000: 157). These intellectuals turned Mona's rebellion against colonial rule into a call for the return of indigenous sovereignty. Published on the 27th of the month to commemorate Mona's attack, the radical journal *Hunter Culture* (獵人文化 *lièrén wénhuà*), to which Shen Mingren contributed, called regularly in the early 1990s for a return to acephalous (headless) indigenous self-rule.

The anthropologist Scott Simon has nuanced the political symbolism of headhunting in an article that explores the "[c]ontradictions between headhunting as the implementation of Gaya and headhunting as a consolidation of political power" (2012: 164). Simon discusses "[w]ould-be [Seediq] elites" who carry out "modern headhunting rituals, albeit without heads" to try to consolidate power while "[o]rdinary people" look on, "laugh[ing] hysterically" (181). According to Simon, the ordinary Seediq people – actually Seejiq people, because Simon was doing fieldwork in an east coast Truku community – are expressing their egalitarian ethos. It was the same egalitarian ethos, claims Simon, that motivated ritual headhunting in the past, the goal of which was to prevent the "usurpation of power by would-be elites" (180). In this regard, Mona's headhunt in *Seediq Bale* seems to be an attempt both to bring the usurpation of power by the Japanese to an end and to consolidate his own power, though he knew he would die trying. Wei's attempt to deal with the "tensions" (Simon 2012: 172) between democracy and hierarchy, between distributed and consolidated power, in communities that were traditionally "acephalous, without permanent positions of political power" (172) enriched his film.

In this chapter, I discuss another way in which Wei enriched his film and nuanced the symbolism of headhunting, by including headhunting songs. The headhunting songs in the film were, like the two texts I excavated in chapter 3, translated and backtranslated in the textual history of Wei's screenplay. In 1917, Sayama Yūkichi published lyrics from a headhunting song in east coast Truku. He recorded the song in katakana and supplied interlinear glosses and a translation in Japanese. In 1998, Shen Mingren romanized this headhunting song in his central Taiwan Truku and translated it into Mandarin. He also translated Sayama's Japanese translation of the song into Mandarin. Wei Te-sheng included Shen's Seediq-Mandarin translation in his screenplay in 2000, but not the Japanese-Mandarin translation. By 2009 Wei had adapted both of Shen's Mandarin translations, one from Seediq and the other from Japanese, into three headhunting songs, which were then "backtranslated" into Tgdaya Seediq by Dakis Pawan. But in the process of backtranslation, Dakis reinvented the Mandarin songs. As in the myth I discussed in chapter 3, Dakis was to some extent a co-author, not just a translator.

One way in which Dakis co-authored the songs is by introducing the image of the *rabu harung*, meaning pine saplings. These pine saplings are part of a civil reinterpretation of *harung* pine imagery. In the headhunting song recorded by Sayama Yūkichi, a needle-laden *harung* branch was a euphemism for a hairy human head. In his backtranslation of this song, Dakis substituted the image of a *harung* sapling, which is symbolic of the continuity of the village community, perhaps of cultural renewal. As I will show in the conclusion to this chapter, Dakis's translation of yet another song suggests that *harung* needles could be decoupled from headhunting and associated instead with dancing. Like the falling cherry blossom in Japan after the Second World War, the flying *harung* needle could be demilitarized.

As in chapter 3, I will begin with a Japanese-era source and proceed to examine Shen Mingren's translations of a text he found in that source. Then I will discuss what Wei and Dakis did with Shen's Mandarin translations, in this case as they drew on two other sources, a CD released in 1994 and a DVD released in 2007.

1 One headhunting song in Seediq and Japanese in 1917

The Japanese-era source for the three headhunting songs in the film is the Seediq volume of the *Savage Tribes Survey Report*, which was produced under the auspices of the Provisional Committee for the Investigation of Traditional Taiwanese Manners and Customs. From 1909 on, this committee produced knowledge about Taiwan's indigenous peoples to facilitate governance (Liu 2011: iii). The ethnographer responsible for Seediq, Sayama Yūkichi, spent only two months in the field in central and eastern Taiwan in September and October 1916 (iv). During his whirlwind tour, Sayama had to depend on what local "experts" at the police and post stations could tell him. In the write-up, though he was a historian by training, Sayama failed to historicize his ethnographic fieldwork (iv): he made no mention of the fact that his research subjects had submitted to the colonial authorities a few years before. The east coast Truku had just lost a war to the Japanese in 1914!

On his tour, Sayama recorded traces of the living Seediq song tradition before the musicologist Kurosawa Takatomo got the chance to study it and even make recordings just over twenty-five years later in 1943. Sayama includes only three lines of lyrics from central Taiwan Seediq songs, along with the full lyrics for half a dozen songs in east coast dialects. The most important for our purposes are the lyrics to a headhunting song (Sayama 1917: 2.97–98). This song was prefaced with the following Japanese title:

馘首シテ	歸社スル	時	ノ	歌
Kaku-shu-shi-te	*ki-sha-su-ru*	*toki*	*no*	*uta*
decapitate-head-do-GER	return-village-do-PRES	time	GEN	song

A song of returning to the village from headhunting

The Seediq lyrics of the song are recorded in katakana transliteration with interlinear glosses and translation in Japanese. Here is my three-line analysis of the Seediq lyrics based on the katakana in the top line:

1 ワダコ、ベヒヤ、リモイ、マコバダイ、タエ、タエ、タエ、タエ！
Wadako, behiya, rimoi, makobadai, tai, tai, tai, tai!
Wada =ku bi hiya, rimuy, ma =ku bale, qta-i × 4!
AUX.PRF =1S.NOM truly there yay AUX.FUT =1S.NOM truly look-PF.IMP × 4
I really made it there, hooray, I'm really going, look, look, look, look!

In the katakana line, Sayama put commas between words, but he obviously did not understand the language well enough. For instance, he thought *wadako* was a word, but it is actually two words, a perfective (or preterite) auxiliary *wada* and a clitic pronoun *ku*. In his analysis there are eight words, in mine twelve. Once the words have been identified, the line has to be interpreted.[1] "There" in the English is wherever he, whoever the headhunter is, went. Where would he be going? Probably back to the village after a successful headhunt. By saying "look!" the headhunter seems to be trying to attract attention to himself or the head he has just taken, though he could also be telling his brothers in arms to "look out!"

Sayama's interlinear glosses are domesticating in the extreme. Here is his gloss of *rimoi, makobadai*, which seems to mean something like: "Yay! I'm really going (back to the village)!"

義理 の 兄弟
gi-ri no kyō-dai
honor-bound brothers
elder (*kyō*) and younger brother (*dai*) of the principles (*ri*) of honor (*gi*)

My two English translations of Sayama's Japanese gloss are domesticating and foreignizing respectively. That they are elder and younger brothers in the foreignizing translation implies a hierarchy in brotherhood. I will pursue the issue

of hierarchy below (in sec. 3.2), but the song does not. The next line is apparently retrospective:

2 ムサ、テグマフ、トーマカラヲハロン。
Musa, tegumafu, tōmakarawoharon.
M-osa tgimax toma *qaru *harung*.
AF-go mix underside branch pine
(I) went to mix it up under pine branches.

Tgimax in line 2 means "mix," hence the translation. But "mix" is a euphemism for battle, hence the English idiom "mix it up" in my translation. As for *qaru, it is so written because it is a guess as to what the pronunciation would be in contemporary Tgdaya Seediq, which does not to my knowledge have such a word. Based on the Japanese gloss, it meant "dry," but if that is what it meant, it should have come after *harung*: modifiers typically follow the nouns they modify in Seediq, which is why *toma*, a noun, precedes *qaru *harung*. *Toma* *qaru *harung* is literally "the underside of the *qaru of the pine." *Toma* is a noun, but it readily translates into the English preposition "under." What might the headhunters have been under? The branches of the pine makes the most sense to me, but according to Sayama they were under a dry pine, in other words a pine "snag." Whatever they were under, they are on the way home in the third and final line of the song:

3 タラ デン、ゲッシュマー ダ、シ、ナバヲハロン。
Taraden, gesshumāda, shi, nabawoharon.
Trajing gisu m-adis *nabu *harung*.
in.advance come AF-bring leaf pine
I'm the first to carry pine needles.

The word *nabawo*/*nabu rhymes with *karawo*/*qaru from line 2 above. Both words apparently refer to different parts or states of a pine tree. Sayama glosses *nabawo* as "leaf," hence "pine needles" in my translation.

Sayama takes incredible liberties in his Japanese translation of the lyrics:

1 我等 死 ヲ 決シタル 者共
Warera shi o ketsu-shi-taru mono-domo
1P die ACC determine-do-GER people-all
As for all of us who are determined to die

2 枯松 ノ 木 ノ 下 ニテ,
kare-matsu no ki no shita nite,
dry-pine GEN tree GEN underside at
under the dry pine tree,

松葉	ノ	亂[乱]レタル	如ク	敵味方	混戰セリ。
matsu-ba	*no*	*midare-taru*	*gotoku*	*teki-mi-kata*	*kon-sen-seri*.
pine-leaf	GEN	wild-GER	similarity	enemy-friend-side	mix-battle-PRF

the melee of our and the enemy sides was like a frenzy of pine needles.

In other words, the melee of those who were determined to die under the pine snag was like a frenzy of pine needles. And here is the third and final line:

3 我等	今	松葉	(首級	ヲ	云)	ヲ	持チ	來レリ。
Warera	*ima*	*matsu-ba*	*(shukyū*	*o*	*iu)*	*o*	*mo-chi*	*kita-reri*.
1P	now	pine-leaf	(severed head	ACC	call)	ACC	hold-GER	come-PRF

Today we've come carrying pine needles (what severed heads are called).

It is very different from the Seediq. To start with, whereas the Seediq was singular (the *ku* in line 1 is the first-person singular nominative clitic pronoun), the Japanese is plural. *Rimuy*, *makobadai* – "Yay, I'm really going" – has turned into a collective determination to die, while the beginning and end of line 1 – "I went there" and "look, look, look, look!" – have simply disappeared. In line 2 of the Japanese, Sayama imagines the pine needles from line 3 of the Seediq swaying in the breeze, a metaphor for the back and forth of battle. A battle implies the two opposing sides that are explicitated in the same line. In line 3 of the Japanese, the pine needles are explicitly identified with severed human heads in a bracketed in-text note.

Why were pine needles supposed to be like human heads? Perhaps the similarity was that, like pine needles, which can come free from the branch whence they grew, a head could come free from a person's body if a headhunter could manage to hack it off with his machete. Another possibility is that the needles look like hair. The needle-covered branch would be a symbolic head, as would the scabbard of a headhunter's machete, the tip of which was decorated with the hair of his victims (see Qiu 2011 [1990]: 291 and p. 5 of the Rudo Luhe's monologue file in the eResources).

But there is another possibility, which is suggested by the "frenzy" of pine needles in my Japanese-English translation of the song and by the pine needles that "fly wildly" in the Japanese-Mandarin translation of the same song that was published by Academia Sinica in July, 2011 (Zuoshan 2011 [1917]: v. 2 88). What do frenzied or wildly flying pine needles mean? To answer this question we need to clarify what kind of pine we are talking about. A *harung* is actually a specific kind of pine, the Taiwan red pine (*Pinus taiwanensis*), which I will term the "two-needle pine" after the Mandarin species name (二葉松 *èryèsōng*). It is called a two-needle pine because the needles come in pairs: there are two needles per fascicle. Moreover, the needles are quite long, on the order of ten centimeters. As a result, the fascicles appear to "fly" through the air when they fall from a tree. Jumping out of a tree was a technique of ambush, as the audience observes in *Seediq Bale* (*SF* 32:32). A party of headhunters jumping out of trees upon unsuspecting victims might be compared to *harung* needles flying wildly

through the air. The two needles in a *harung* fascicle might represent a warrior's two legs. Alternatively, each needle might also represent a warrior. Part of the symbolism, surely, is that sworn brothers stick together, through thick or thin, come what may.

The last song that Sayama Yūkichi included in his survey of the songs of the east coast Seediq is also a headhunting song. Although according to the Japanese title, the poem supposedly served a different purpose, forming part of a ritual to be performed *after* the conquering hero returned to the village, this song is exactly the same as the previous one except for the third and final line:

マータシコ、ケンガルトノフ（ケンガルナバハロン）。
Mātashiko, kengarutonohu (kengarunabaharon).
M-adis =ku kingan tunux (kingan n-apa-harung).
AF-bring =1S.NOM one head (one PF.PRF-carry-pine)
I've brought a head (a carried-pine).

Whereas in the previous song, the headhunter was bringing home pine needles that somehow symbolized a human head, or pine needles on a branch that symbolized a hairy human head, here he brought home a human head that is in apposition to "a carried-pine," *kingan napa-harung*. *Kingan* means "one." *Napa* is *apa*, meaning "to carry," with a patient focus perfective prefix *n-*. *Napa* would take a patient subject, like a verb in passive voice in English. If *napa harung* were a clause, its subject would be *harung*, the two-needle pine tree. Literally, *napa harung* would be "a two-needle pine (or some part thereof) was carried." But apparently it is not a clause because there is a number in front of it; apparently it has formed a passive verb-subject compound noun, which could be glossed "carried-pine."

Given the apposition, "carried-pine" means "human head." However, according to a note in the Mandarin translation published by Academia Sinica, *napa-harung* means "a bag of human head," meaning a bag for carrying a severed human head. Headbag, a bag in which to carry a severed human head, for which a needle-laden pine branch was a euphemism, may well be what *nabawoharon* in line 3 of the first headhunting song means! It is always possible that Sayama, who was after all on a whirlwind tour of eastern Taiwan, misunderstood it.

Sayama had to leave a lot of the background blank. Writing eighty years later, Shen Mingren used his linguistically and culturally informed imagination to try to fill in some of the blanks.

2 Two Mandarin translations of the song in 1998

In chapter 3 I discussed what could be described as Shen Mingren's "internal appropriation" of an east coast Truku myth recorded by Asai Erin. He did the same thing with the first headhunting song Sayama Yūkichi recorded. He attributed it to his great-aunt Awai Bizeh, but unless the oral tradition was monotonously conservative across a wide range of space and time, he had to have consulted Sayama. A conservative tradition would not explain the correspondences with Sayama's katakana transcriptions, glosses, and translations.

Shen actually translated the song into Mandarin in two different ways, from Sayama's Japanese translation and from his katakana transcription of the original Seediq lines.

Shen's Mandarin translation of Sayama's Japanese translation (Bawan 1998: 136, from Sayama 1917: 2. 97–98) is straightforward, and should seem quite familiar to you from the previous section:

1 聽著 吧，人們！ 看著 吧，人們！
Tìng-zhe ba, ren-men! Kàn-zhe ba, ren-men!
hear-PRG INT person-PL see-PRG INT person-PL
Listen, people! Watch, people!
吾等 決死 的 勇士 出草。
Wúděng jué-sǐ de yǒng-shì chū-cǎo.
1P resolve-die GEN brave-man out-grass
Resolved to die, we braves go headhunting.

2 在 那 枯 松 之 下， 混戰 如 松葉 亂 飛，
Zài nà kū sōng zhī xià, hùn-zhàn rú song-yè luàn fēi,
at that dry pine GEN under mix-battle like pine-leaf wild fly
The melee under that pine snag is like pine needles flying in a frenzy,

3 而 今 正 帶著 松葉 （比喻 首級） 歸來。
ér jīn zhèng dài-zhe song-yè (bǐyù shǒujī) gūi-lái.
and today PRG bring-PRG pine-leaf (symbolize head) return-come
and today (I'm) bringing back pine needles (that symbolize human heads).

As you will see in section 3, Wei Te-sheng would draw on this translation in his draft of the first of the three headhunting songs he included in his film.

But he also drew on Shen Mingren's other translation of the same song, from Seediq to Mandarin. This Seediq-Mandarin translation was anything but straightforward. Here again is the romaji of Sayama's katakana transcription of the song in three lines:

1 *wadako, behiya, rimoi, makobadai, tai, tai, tai, tai*
2 *musa, tegumafu, tōmakarawoharon*
3 *taraden, gesshumāda, shi, nabawoharon*

Shen (Bawan 1998: 140) decided to present the song in seven lines (left), which he translated into Mandarin (right):

1>1	*wada ku bi hiya da!*	我走去彼岸的那邊了！
1>2	*rimoi mako balai wax!*	我們都是真正的拜把兄弟哇！
1/2>3	*tai, tai, tai, musa*	傾聽著吧、看著吧、想著吧、
2>4	*tegemahu tuma qarau harun*	我們的魂魄在枯死了的松樹下，
3>5	*tarayan [djilan]*	引領著；
3>6	*gessyu madas*	提領著無邪的魂魄，。[sic]
3>7	*si nabau harun*	猶如松葉的汁在燃燒 [sic]

Shen spelled the words according to his central Taiwan Truku pronunciation, not according to the standard romanization, which at the time only linguists would have used. To make the text easier to work with, I "translated" his spellings into standard Tgdaya. I then analyzed and translated the seven Tgdaya lines based on Shen's assumption that the song is supposed to be sung *before* the headhunting party sets out (140), on his translation into Mandarin, and on an interview I conducted with him in June 2019. You will find my analysis and translation of the song in Tgdaya on the left. On the right is my analysis and translation of Shen's Mandarin translation of the song.

1 *Wada =ku bi hiya da!*	*Wǒ zǒu-qù bǐ àn de nàbiān le!*
AUX.PRF =1S.NOM truly there INT	1S walk-go that shore GEN there INT
I'm really on my way there!	I have left for the other shore!
2 *Rimuy, ma =ku bale wa!*	*Wǒmén dōu-shì zhēnzhèng-de bàibǎ xiōngdì!*
hooray AUX =1S.NOM truly INT	1P all-COP true-GEN sworn brother
I truly adore you lot, yo!	We are all true sworn brothers!
3 *Ta-i, ta-i, ta-i, m-osa*	*Qīngtīng-zhe ba, kàn-zhe ba, xiǎng-zhe ba.*
look-PF.IMP look look AF-go	listen-PRG INT see-PRG INT think-PRG INT
Look, look, look at me go	Listen, watch, think.
4 *tgimax toma* *qaru *harung,*	*Wǒmén-de húnpò zài kū-sǐ-le de sōng-shù-xià,*
mix under branch pine	1P-GEN soul at dry-die-PRF GEN pine-tree-under
to mix under pine branches,	Our souls are under dried-to-death pine trees,
5 *dooyan*.	*yǐn-lǐng-zhe*,
grab-LF	guide-PRG
the grabbing/killing place.	guiding,
6 *Gisu m-adis,*	*tí-lǐng-zhe wú-xié de húnpò*,
prg AF-carry	carry-PRG NEG-guile GEN soul
(I'll) come carrying	carrying guileless souls,
7 *si* *nabu *harung*.	*yóurú song-yè de zhī zài ránshāo*.
like.this leaves pine	like pine-leaf GEN juice PRG burn
pine needles like this.	like the sap of pine needles burning.

Shen revamps a few things in the Seediq. Other than for enjambment, it is not clear why he left *mosa* at the end of line 3, when it clearly goes with the next line: *mosa tgimax toma* *qaru *harung*. In line 5, Shen has a different interpretation of *taraden* from line 3 of Sayama's transcription of the song. According to Sayama it meant "in advance." I assumed Shen had read it as *trayan*, the location focus form of *tara*, to wait, where *trayan* is literally "waiting place." But "waiting place" in

Truku is *tgaan*, from *taga*. Shen claims he intended to write *djiyan*, the location focus form of *duuy*, meaning both "grab" and "kill," where *kill* is obviously a metonym of *grab*.[2] The Tgdaya cognate *dooi* can mean "grab" (or grip/grasp) but not "kill." Hence, "the grabbing place" in my translation of *dooyan* (the location focus form of *dooi*) in line 5 would mean "the killing place" if interpreted according to the second, extended meaning of the cognate Truku term *djiyan*. Finally, we come to lines 6 and 7. You may have noticed that Sayama Yūkichi separated *mada* and *shi* into separate words. The consultant for the translation into Mandarin published by Academia Sinica assumed it was one word, *madis*, but Shen Mingren read it as two: *madis* and *si*. Taken together, lines 6 and 7 mean to carry (*madis*) pine needles like this (*si*).

Shen elaborated wildly when he translated into the Mandarin, as you can tell by comparing the English translation on the left (of the Seediq original) to the one on the left (of Shen's Mandarin translation). In line 1, Shen elaborated according to his understanding of Seediq culture: the other shore may sound Buddhist, but it is the other shore of the river that flows under the Spirit Bridge (see ch. 6 sec. 2.4). What does headhunting have to do with leaving for the other shore? "Crossing" the bridge was a master metaphor for doing a great deed, which is why the word for "deed," *ndaan*, is the location focus perfective form of *moda*, to cross. In line 2, Shen elaborates under Japanese influence. It is inconceivable that he would have translated *rimuy, makobadai* into "sworn brothers" without reading Sayama's Japanese gloss. Similarly, in line 3, he added "think" to "listen" and "look" in the Japanese interlinear gloss. Had he just been working from the Seediq, he would simply have written "look, look, look, look!" In translating line 4, Shen ignored the branches, which is what he told me *qarau* (*qaru) means, and followed Sayama in referring to a dry pine, a pine snag. In line 5, *yǐn-lǐng* in the Mandarin means "guide," but it is literally drawing something out (*yǐn*) and collecting (*lǐng*) it. Shen claims that he was thinking of another literal meaning of *lǐng*, "neck." In other words, *yǐn-lǐng* implies "drawing out the enemy's neck," and *tí-lǐng* in line 6 "lifting (the enemy's head) by the neck," not just "carry," as I would have guessed from the Mandarin. In lines 6 and 7 of the Seediq, the warrior is carrying something that is like pine needles, while in line 6 of the Mandarin, the warriors are carrying the "guileless souls" of the victims of headhunting, which are presumably contained within their severed heads. However, according to line 7 of the Mandarin translation, the guileless souls are "like the sap of pine needles burning." Why would the sap be burning? What would guileless souls have to do with burning sap?

The first question can be answered with reference to the *harung* tree's distinctive life cycle, which is its evolutionary strategy (Jiang 2007: 71–73). The *harung* – the two-needle pine – is a pioneer tree species, and such species tend to be short-lived. But though the individual dies young, it survives genetically in the population, which outcompetes populations of other species for territory. It depends on forest fires to do so. The *harung* snag in line 4 of Shen's Seediq version of the song is a common sight in Seediqland. At altitude, the snags themselves and all the

branches and pine needles the snags have deposited upon the ground tend not to rot. Instead, they add to a repository of fuel for forest fires. The *harung* depends on fire to reproduce. The seeds in the tree's female cones – which are wind-pollinated by the male cones – can only germinate after undergoing a trial by fire. At a heat the seeds of other trees are unable to survive, the *harung* cones burst open and the seeds shoot out and fall on the ground. After the fire stops, they germinate, and the grove soon regrows. This is why pure stands of *harung* pines are so common in the mountains of central Taiwan.

Now obviously, premodern Seediq people were not reading popular science articles, but they did observe their natural surroundings, and some of the things they saw reminded them of themselves. Pure *harung* stands might have reminded them of their exclusive relationship to the land of the village and the hunting ground. In this regard, it is interesting that they believed they were descended from the Pusu Qhuni, a "tree" (see ch. 6 sec. 2.1) to the southeast of Mhebu, perhaps a *harung* tree that could best survive at those alpine heights. Who knows, pine pollen, a seed shooting out of a cone and falling to the ground, a sapling growing, and a grove regenerating might have reminded premodern Seediq people of ejaculation, pregnancy, childbearing, and the continuity of the lineage? It seems plausible that the Seediq might have identified with the *harung* in various ways.

The identification of souls and sap in lines 6 and 7 of Shen's Mandarin version of the poem suggests another aspect to the identification, namely the following analogy: the sap in a *harung* pine is like the fluid in the human body, including visible fluids like blood and semen or rarefied fluids like the "springwater (泉水 *quánshǔi*) of life" (Bawan 1998: 136). The sap of a *harung* pine is a symbolic fluid of renewal. The body of a *harung*, like the body of a person, will pass away, but the fluid of renewal will flow into other bodies, the bodies of the next generation. How does this happen? Perhaps through a state change from fluid to gas: just as the flames evaporated the sap, sizzling it out of the pine needles, so a headhunter released the "guileless soul" Shen refers to in line 6 from the body it had animated. I like to interpret the burning forest scene (*RB* 1:21:26–1:23:53) that immediately precedes Mona Rudo's suicidal attempt to retake Mhebu in terms of lines 6 and 7 in Shen Mingren's Mandarin translation of the Seediq song: Mona hopes to release the souls from the bodies of his Japanese enemies, and the seeds from all the *harung* pinecones in the forest, so that after the fire goes out a pure stand of *harung* will grow and Mhebu will remain under Seediq control. But, as I will show in the next section, not every line in Shen's Mandarin translation of this song had an influence on the lyrics of the three headhunting songs in Wei's film.

3 Three headhunting songs in Mandarin and Seediq in 2009

The only headhunting song in the screenplay Wei Te-sheng published in 2000 appears in the scene after Mona Rudo persuades Hanaoka Ichirō to join his

rebellion (Wei 2000: 60). It is verbatim from Shen's Seediq-Mandarin translation of the song. By 2009 Wei had adapted both of Shen's Mandarin translations (one from Seediq, the other from Japanese) into the three headhunting songs in the shooting script. The first song is sung in the scene in the logging ground that follows the birth of Hanaoka Ichirō's son a month or two before the Musha Incident.[3] The second song is sung in the scene in which Mona sings on a mountaintop on the morning of October 26, 1930. The third song is sung in the scene after the attack in which Mona declares to the survivors that the rebellion is over. A detailed analysis of the process of composition and translation of the first of these songs will be representative of the process as a whole, because the three songs, actually three performances that draw on the same song tradition, share many tropes.

3.1 In the logging ground (SF 45:58)

Several dozen would-be warriors led by Mona Rudo's eldest son Tado Mona hew at trees[4] with their axes until, after a bolt of lighting and a crack of thunder, one of the trees falls, its top tracing the arc of a rainbow in the air. As if reminded of something, Tado leads the warriors in a headhunting song. He *is* reminded of something. He is reminded of headhunting, by the fact that cutting down a tree is akin to cutting off the head of an enemy in Seediq parlance. The same verb, *paqi*, the patient focus imperative form of *sipaq*, "kill," can be used in both contexts. The reminder here is painfully ironic for Temu, because under Japanese rule he is no longer allowed to go headhunting or even to hunt animals without special permission. Under Japanese rule, the hunting ground in the hills above Mhebu, Mona Rudo's village, has been turned into a logging ground, a source of wood for infrastructure in Musha. Under the Japanese, a rooted people is being symbolically uprooted in a process of forced modernization. Under the Japanese, none of the young men has the opportunity to headhunt and thereby become a *rseno bale*, a real man. That is why they are all would-be warriors.

The draft of the headhunting song Wei Te-sheng sent to Dakis Pawan for translation in August 2009 is a slightly edited version of Shen Mingren's Japanese-Mandarin translation (see p. 86 above). The only changes are that an archaic first-person plural pronoun has been replaced by the regular first-person plural pronoun in line 1, and that the "pine needles" are not explicitly identified with severed human heads in line 3. In the final cut, however, the word translated "headhunting" in line 1 was cut, and the three lines had been translated into nine:

1 > (1)	聽著吧！人們！	Listen, people!
1 > (2)	看著吧！人們！	Watch, people!
1 > (3)	我們勇士們！	We braves!
1 > (4)	像松芽的青年	Youth like pine shoots
1 > (5)	是真正的勇士！	We are true braves!
1/2 > (6)	決死如紛飛的落葉	Resolved to die like falling needles in wild flight
1/2 > (7)	決死如乾枯的松枝	Resolved to die like dry pine branches
3 > (8)	而今帶著首級歸來	And now we're bringing severed heads home
1/2 > (9)	像松葉決死般的勇士呀	Braves resolved to die like pine needles

What happened? In a word, translation.

In the September 25, 2009 version of the translation, Dakis Pawan translated each line in the Mandarin "original" into several lines of Seediq, each of which was followed by a bracketed line of Mandarin, obviously a translation *from* the Seediq. The main change from the September 25, 2009 file to the final version of the songs in a file dated October 26, 2010, the day before the eightieth anniversary of the Musha Incident, was that the bracketed Mandarin lines were incorporated in order into the Mandarin version of the song. Reading the final version of the songs in the October 26, 2010 file, in which Mandarin appears above and Seediq appears below, one would assume that the Seediq was a translation from the Mandarin. But in fact, half of the Mandarin lines were translated from the Seediq lines Dakis Pawan came up with during the translation process. Dakis was not just the translator but also the co-author of the Mandarin lyrics of the song. To emphasize his authorship, I will analyze the September 25, 2009 translation.

In my analysis, I comment line by line on minor changes that were made to the Seediq as the prosodic kinks were ironed out by Dakis and the folk music consultant Jimun Nokan. A young Truku fellow who has dedicated himself to the study of traditional Seediq arts, Jimun Nokan is an interesting figure in his own right, but all I will say about him here is that he helped Dakis make the songs singable.

What makes any lyric singable is a tune, and in this case the tune came from a CD called *Tayal Songs* released by Wind Records, now known as Wind Music, as part of a series founded to record the heritage of Taiwan's indigenous music before it disappeared. At the time it was released, the Seediq were considered Atayal (Tayal). But in fact, most of the CD contains Seediq songs recorded from 1988 to 1994, the year it was published. Two songs on the CD are specifically cited as models for the film's headhunting songs in a Microsoft Excel file I received from Ars Films that lists all the songs in the film and their sources. The two sources for the song sung in the logging ground are "Working shift responsorial song," named for an antiphonal work song, and "Ancient love song," an odd translation of "Uyas Ludan Zibiyo," which would be Uyas Rudan Cbeyo in Tgdaya Seediq, literally "song (*uyas*) of the elders (*rudan*) of the past (*cbeyo*)."

In the folder of files I received from Ars Films, there is also an mp3 file saved on September 14, 2009, called, in Mandarin, "Headhunting Song," which turns out to be the first twelve seconds of "Working shift responsorial song" spliced onto the beginning of "Ancient love song." This amalgam provides a structure for the first two of the three headhunting songs in the film, both of which, like French overtures, have slow preludes with dotted rhythms. The two songs from *Tayal Songs* also provided mostly iambic prosodic patterns, six-syllable lines for the prelude, seven-syllable lines for the song proper. Finally, the songs contained prosodic vocables like *biwa* and *solai* in the first song and *um li li li li li*, sung *mlii lii mlili*, in the second song, which, as we shall see, Dakis Pawan added to get the right number of syllables in each line.

The prelude, which was derived from line 1 of the draft, did not change in the translation process. Here it is, with the "original" Mandarin lines to the left and the Seediq translations to the right:

1 > (1)	*Tīng-zhe ba! Rén-mén!*	*Bale wa, bahang kana namu!*
	listen-PRG INT person-PL	truly INT listen all 2P.NOM
	Listen, people!	Yo! Listen up, everyone!
1 > (2)	*Kàn-zhe ba! Rén-mén!*	*Qta-i bale kana, sore wa, sore!*
	see-PRG INT person-PL	see-PF.IMP true all INT INT INT
	Look, people!	Watch carefully, everyone, yo!

The translation of the rest of line 1, by contrast, did lead to significant changes in the Mandarin. Here is the rest of line 1:

1	*Wǒmén jué-sǐ de yǒng-shì chū-cǎo!*	
	1P resolve-die GEN brave-man out-grass	
	Our braves, resolved to die, headhunt!	

The rest of line 1 was translated from Mandarin into three lines of Seediq (to the left), each of which was backtranslated into Mandarin (to the right). Here is the first of these three lines:

1 > (3)	*Ita rseno wa!*	*Wǒmén yǒng-shì-mén!*
	1P.NOM man INT	1P brave-man-PL
	We men!	We braves!

This Seediq line is six syllables, but to fulfill prosody it would have to be seven. In the final cut, it is *ita rsriso wa*, where the reduplicated consonants at the beginning of *riso* signal plurality, and the *wa* is a prosodic interjection. The backtranslation into Mandarin is the subtitle that appeared in the film. "Resolved to die," *juésǐ*, in the original line has disappeared, but would end up in a later line; "go headhunting," *chūcǎo*, literally "to come/go out of the grass," was simply cut.

The next line of the Seediq translation, line 4 of the final version, included one of the most important images in the film, the *rabu harung*:

1 > (4)	*Riso rabu harung.*	*Xiàng sōng-yá de qīngnián.*
	young.man sprout pine	like pine-shoot GEN youth
	Pine sapling youth.	Youth like pine shoots.

Riso rabu harung is six syllables, but it would become seven with the addition of a prosodic *wa*. The term *rabu harung* is from the Uyas Rudan Cbeyo in *Tayal Songs*. The final line of this song is romanized *la bu ha lu* by the musicologists who recorded it, but it is clearly sung *rabu harung*. *Harung* we know. It is a two-needle pine tree. What is *rabu*? It recalls *qaru and *nabu, my Tgdaya romanization of Sayama's *qarawo* and *nabawo*, (pine) branch/snag and (pine) needles respectively.

But according to Dakis Pawan, *rabu* means "sprout" or "sapling." A *rabu* grows out of the ground, not on a branch. A *rabu harung* is a two-needle pine sapling.

As for the Mandarin to the right, the term *yá* in *sōng-yá* could also be translated "sapling" in isolation, but as any translator knows, meaning depends on context: 松芽 *sōng-yá* contrasts with 松苗 *sōng-miáo*. The former is pine shoots that grow on a branch, the latter pine saplings that grow out of the ground. The imagery is different in the Seediq and the Mandarin, and so is the symbolism: "shoots" in Mandarin emphasize collectivity because they grow on the branches of the tree and therefore belong to the tree; each sapling, by contrast, is a new individual. The Seediq lyric is more individualistic than the Mandarin.

Finally, the rest of line 1 in the Mandarin yielded a third line of Seediq, the fifth line in the final version of the song:

1 > (5)	*Paru*	*ba*	*bi*	*pahung.*	*Shì*	*zhēnzhèng*	*de*	*yǒng-shì!*
	big	true	INT	gall	COP	true	GEN	brave-men
	(We) have a lot of gall.				We're true braves!			

The prosody for this line of Seediq was filled out in the same way, with the addition of a vocable. Finally, line 1 from Wei's draft song was translated!

Here is line 2 from the draft:

2	*Zài*	*nà*	*kū-sōng-xià,*	*hùn-zhàn*	*rú*	*sōng-yè*	*luàn*	*fēi.*
	at	that	dry-pine-under	mix-battle	like	pine-leaf	wild	fly
	Under that dry pine, the melee was like pine needles flying wildly.							

Line 2, too, was translated into three lines of Seediq, each of which was back-translated into Mandarin. However, the three Mandarin backtranslations did not cohere semantically and did not make it into the final cut, so I will just analyze the Seediq:

2 > (6)	*Sohari*	*s<n>kya-an*	*waso . . .*	
	resemble	<PRF>fly-LF	leaf	
	Like the flight of needles. . .			

2 > (7)	*. . . harung*	*<m>dengu*	*ka*	*wa . . .*
	. . . two.needle.pine	<AF>dry	NOM	INT
	. . . of dry pines,			

	p<n>cbaw-an	*=daha*	*hiya.*
	cause<PRF>shoot-LF	=3P.GEN	there
	their battle there.		

The whole clause would translate as follows: "Their battle there was like the flight of the needles of dry two-needle pine trees." *Snkyaan* and *pncbuwan* are both formally location focus perfectives (or preterites), but they are nouns, literally place of flight and place of battle respectively. The third line, the line with *pncbuwan* in it, was replaced with *mlili* vocables from *Tayal Songs* (see p. 92 above) and was sung unsubtitled in the film.

The lines in the Mandarin backtranslation corresponding to lines (6) and (7) in the Seediq were revised into a parallel couplet, drawing on lines 1 and 2 of the three-line draft song in the shooting script:

1/2 > (6)	*Jué-sǐ*	*rú*	*fēn-fēi*	*de*	*luò-yè*.	
	resolve-die	like	wild-fly	GEN	fall-leaf	
	Resolved to die like falling pine needles.					
1/2 > (7)	*Jué-sǐ*	*rú*	*gānkū*	*de*	*song-zhī*.	
	resolve-die	like	withered	GEN	pine-branch	
	Resolved to die like withered pine branches.					

The final line, line 3, of the original Mandarin lyrics is as follows:

3 > (8)	*Ér*	*jīn*	*dài-zhe*	*shǒují*	*guīlái*	*le*.	*M-adis*	*tunux*	*pais*.
	and	now	bring-PRG	head	back	PRF	AF-bring	head	enemy
	Now we're bringing heads back.						(We) bring enemy heads.		

The Mandarin (left) ended up in the subtitles verbatim, as line (8) of the song. The Seediq (right) is five syllables, but *pais*, "enemy," can be pronounced as two, *pa-yis*, as in the film, and a prosodic *wa* made seven syllables.

A final line, the ninth, was added to the Mandarin subtitles. It is a summary:

1/2 > (9)	*Xiàng*	*sōng-yè*	*jué-sǐ-bān*	*de*	*yǒng-shì*	*ya*.	
	like	pine-leaf	resolve-die-like	GEN	brave-man	INT	
	Braves resolved to die like pine needles.						

What was sung in Seediq when this Mandarin subtitle appeared on the screen? *Riso rabu harung wa!* The would-be warriors are saplings of the two-needle pine tree, which are symbolic of the regeneration that follows violent death. The would-be warriors in this scene were born after Seediq submission to colonial authority and are symbolic of the regeneration that followed violence between the Japanese and the Seediq before submission. They would die in the aftermath of October 27, 1930, but the round of life would continue.

Here is the Seediq song as a whole, starting with the prelude (1–2):

(1) *BI-wa, ba-HANG ka-NA na-MU*
(2) *q-TAI ba-LE ka-NA, so-RE wa, so-RE*
(3) *i-TA ru-SU-ri-SO wa x2*
(4) *ri-SO . . . RA-bu HA-rung WA x2*
(5) *pa-RU ba BI pa-HUNG wa x2*
(6) *so-HA-ri SUN-kyaan WA-so*
(7) *ha-RUNG mu-DEN-gu KA wa*
MI-i LI-i mi-LI-li x2
(8) *ma-DIS tu-NUX pa-YIS wa x2*
(9) *ri-SO ra-BU ha-RUNG wa x2*

What the Seediq translation of the song lacks in final rhyme it makes up for in internal rhyme. Note the near chiasmus of *rabu* and *paru*, and that *pahung* is a rhyme for *harung*, in lines (4) and (5). *Payis* (*pais*) recalls *madis* in line (8).

This is all very impressive, but the song still lacks the two most important tropes in the tradition, perhaps because the singers were would-be rather than battle-tested warriors. In the film, those tropes were reserved for the most battle-tested warrior of all, Mona Rudo.

3.2 In the hills before the attack (SF 1:44:34)

In addition to *Tayal Songs*, Wei Te-sheng also consulted a DVD released in 2007 called *The Legend of Whitestone Mountain*, consisting of recordings made by the musicologist Zeng Yufen, who had written her doctorate on Seediq music. This DVD gave Wei Te-sheng access to the two most important tropes in the Seediq song tradition, an announcement of identity and a declaration of insuperability. For instance, in the Uyas Maduk, a song of hunting, the following two lines of Mandarin translation appear in the subtitles: 我是Tanah Dakis，無人能比得過我。Here is the analysis of the first line, with the original Seediq on the left and the Mandarin translation on the right:

M-Tanah =ku Dakis.	*Wǒ shì Tanah Dakis.*
AF-Tanah =1S.NOM Dakis	1P COP Tanah Dakis
I am Tanah Dakis.	I am Tanah Dakis.

This announcement of identity goes with the following declaration of invincibility:

Uxay =ku makel-un.	*Wú-rén néng bǐ-de guò wǒ.*
NEG.FUT =1S.NOM overcome-PF	NEG-man AUX compare-CMP pass 1S
I won't be overcome.	Nobody can surpass me.

A declaration of invincibility is made by the headhunter to try to intimidate the intended victim into submission, and to a large extent the success of a

headhunter's attempt depended on his reputation, hence the announcement of identity.

Mona Rudo sings his first headhunting song on a mountaintop at dawn the day before the Musha Incident, October 26. Pointing his machete at the sun, he is positioning himself as the latest avatar of the sun-shooting hero of Seediq myth (see ch. 6 sec. 2.1). Then he starts to sing: 我是莫那魯道，沒人能抵抗我們！

Wǒ shì Mònà Lǔdào.	*Mona=ku bi Rudo.*
1s COP Mona Rudo	Mona=1S.NOM truly Rudo
I am Mona Rudo.	I am truly Mona Rudo.
Méi rén néng dǐkàng wǒmén!	*Uka =su kmkel-un wa!*
NEG person AUX resist 1P	NEG =2S.GEN overcome-PF INT
Nobody can resist us!	There is no overcoming by you!

Presuming the sun is impressed by Mona's declaration of invincibility, it might admit defeat without a fight. To see if this is the case, Mona makes the following suggestion:

讓	我	帶	你	回來	成爲	兄弟	吧！
Ràng	*wǒ*	*dài*	*nǐ*	*huí-lái*	*chéngwéi*	*xiōng-dì*	*ba!*
let	1s	bring	2s	return-come	become	elder-younger.brother	INT

Let me bring you back and we'll become brothers!

Here Mona is addressing the sun as a brother. Recall that the Japanese ethnographer Sayama Yūkichi glossed *rimoi, makobadai* in terms of "sworn brotherhood," and that the word for "brother" in Japanese consists of the kanji for elder brother and younger brother. The same is true in Chinese languages, as in Shen Mingren's Seediq-Mandarin translation of the song (see p. 87). In Mandarin, *xiōng* in *xiōngdì* is "elder brother," and *dì* is "younger brother." *Xiōngdì* means "brothers," but implies hierarchy, because the elder comes first. Surely Mona Rudo would see himself as the elder brother, and the sun, symbolizing the Japanese, as the younger brother. But to say you are brothers with someone in Seediq, you say you are each other's *swai*, younger sibling:

Ita mt-swai!
1P.NOM AF.REC-younger.sibling
We who are each other's younger siblings!

If both are younger, neither is inferior, and there is no hierarchy. Mona Rudo is inviting the sun into an equal relationship. Yet in another song – the song Tado Mona and his fellow warriors sing as they torch the police stations and behead the police officers the night before the attack – the singers even declare they will gladly submit to the dead spirit of the enemy, in this case

Patrolman Yoshimura, who has in death become a friend. Instead of addressing Yoshimura as a friend, however, Tado and the other warriors honor him as a chief:

M-eyah	*=su*	*m-eniq*	*hini,*	*thulang*	*=su*	*bale.*
AF-come	=2S.NOM	AF-live	here	chief	=2S.NOM	truly

When you come to live here, you will be a chief, truly.

As I will show in the next chapter (ch. 5 sec. 2), they were actually asking Yoshimura to become an honorary ancestor.

The final line of Mona Rudo's song on the mountaintop is a slightly edited version of line 6 of Shen Mingren's Seediq-Mandarin translation of the song (see p. 87 above):

而	如今	提領著	無邪	的	魂魄	回來	了。
Ér	*rújīn*	*tí-lǐng-zhe*	*wú-xié*	*de*	*húnpò*	*huí-lái*	*le.*
and	today	lift-collect/neck-PRG	NEG-guile	GEN	soul	back-come	INT.PRF

And today (I'm) returning carrying a guileless soul.

This is Dakis Pawan's translation:

Des-un	*=mu*	*hini*	*di*	*wa,*	*p-tuuman*	*hei*	*=ta*	*da.*
bring-PF	=1S.GEN	here	INT	INT	able-join	body	=1P.GEN	INT

(You) will be brought here by me, (and will) be able to join our population.

What is new in Dakis's translation is that instead of the agent focus of the verb for "bring," *madis* in Tgdaya (cf. line 6 of Shen's Seediq), Dakis Pawan went for *desun*, the patient focus of the same verb, because patient focus is typically for future events, and in this scene in the film, Mona Rudo has not brought anything home yet.

3.3 In the woods after the attack (RB 1:40:05)

Mona sings his second headhunting song right after catching a Japanese flyer calling on the survivors to surrender. He sings it out of defiance, even in defeat. Many of the lines in Mona's second song were identical to the first. But there are two new elements appropriate for a hero's swan song.

First, the first line of Shen Mingren's Seediq-Mandarin translation of Sayama's headhunting song (see p. 87 above):

我	要	走去	比	岸	的	那邊	了！
Wǒ	*yào*	*zǒu-qù*	*bǐ*	*àn*	*de*	*nàbiān*	*le!*
1S	AUX	walk-go	that	shore	GEN	there	INT.PRF

I'm off to the other shore!

In the first draft, Dakis translated it literally (below left), but later he abandoned the shore for what lay beyond, the realm of the ancestors (below right):

M<n>osa quri sipo ga di.	*M-osa =ku tnlangan rudan.*
AF<PRF>go toward shore that INT.PRF	AF-go =1S.NOM realm elders
I've left for the other shore.	I'm off to the ancestral realm.

With *tnlangan* pronounced *tangan*, it fits the meter.

Second, there is a new boast in Wei Te-sheng's Mandarin:

看	我	腳步	所	邁開	的	道路！
Kàn	*wǒ*	*jiǎo-bù*	*suǒ*	*mài-kāi*	*de*	*dàolù!*
see	1P	foot-steps	ADV	stride-open	GEN	road

See the road my footsteps have made!

The metaphor of "opening a road" is apt for the Seediq people, who once blazed a trail through the wilderness, like the Atayal migrants in the documentary film *Msgamil* (directed by Chen Wenbin, 2007), whenever they needed to find a new home.[5] Dakis Pawan turned this into the ultimate boast:

Uxe	*=namu*	*p-dehuk*	*<n>da-an*	*=mu*	*naku*	*wa!*
NEG.FUT	=2P.NOM	able-reach	<PRF>cross-LF	=1S.GEN	1S.GEN	INT

Never will you match my deed which is mine!

It is Mona Rudo's boast in the film, but it could be Dakis's. Dakis is as fond of boasting about his translational proficiency as Mona Rudo is of his battle prowess. And Dakis has reason to boast, for he has done *ndaan kari*, feats of rhetoric that none can match.

Dakis's feats of rhetoric are part of my point. As I argued in the conclusion of chapter 3, the improvisatory character of the oral tradition has implications for translation. A storyteller did not memorize a story; he or she followed a basic plan, but embellished as he or she went along. Similarly, a traditional Seediq singer did not memorize a song, but improvised as he or she went along. Translating a text from such a tradition, you should feel free to improvise more aggressively than you already have to do every time you translate. Such a tradition implies a right to adapt in translation and backtranslation, to blaze a trail through the semantic wilderness, sometimes leaving the original text far behind. This right to adapt is as much about cultural and linguistic vitality and renewal as it is about justifying whatever Sayama Yūkichi, Shen Mingren, Wei Te-sheng, and Dakis Pawan did in translation, adaptation, and backtranslation. The context for Seediq cultural and linguistic vitality and renewal today is the multicultural state of Taiwan. In that regard, I wonder what has happened to the militant aesthetics in the Seediq head-hunting songs I have discussed in this chapter, aesthetics which would have to be adapted out of the culture in its passage to liberal modernity.

4 The demilitarization of the aesthetics of the *harung*

At the press conference I attended for the film in August 2011, Director Wei Te-sheng invited the audience to travel back to 1930 with him, to forget what had happened since, and to keep an "open mind." It was as if we were supposed to turn ourselves into blank slates, screens for him to project his film on. This was a good way for him to promote this film, but he cannot really have expected that the members of his audience would want or be able to forget their early 21st-century values and situations. Perhaps we could willingly suspend disbelief for four and a half hours. But as someone who has spent on the order of 450 hours watching the film, I would not want to allow the militant aesthetics of the headhunting songs in *Seediq Bale* to be projected upon the blank slate of my psyche. The most that can be expected of anyone today is distantiated sympathy.

I have tried to be sympathetic. Out of an anthropological interest in human potential, I have hummed headhunting songs, songs in which needle-laden pine branches were euphemisms for hairy human heads. Had I been born into Seediq society in 1882, I would have been formed emotionally and intellectually by the militant aesthetics of songs like these. Born in a liberal democracy in 1973, I am glad that such a militant aesthetics played no part in my upbringing, but I can understand that it served a purpose in premodern Seediq society. This was the aesthetics premodern Seediq people needed, because the village community needed to be defended and its identity needed to be defined. To that end, young men had to be transformed into warriors through the aestheticization of a style of killing that is, it seems to me, with all due respect, repellent. But I also wonder, given that Seediq communities no longer need their young men to be vicious killers, if the aesthetics of the *harung* could be demilitarized and reimagined, like the aesthetics of the cherry blossom in Japan was after the war.

In her *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History* (2002), Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney tried to understand the mistake millions of impressionable and idealistic young men made when they allowed the state to manipulate them emotionally and intellectually through the militarization of the traditional aesthetics of the falling cherry blossom. The falling cherry blossom was traditionally a figure for the aesthetics of *mono no aware*, literally the "sorrow of things," meaning the beauty in the ephemeral. The soldier who identified with the militant cherry blossom was able to see the beauty in his ephemerality, but he felt no sorrow, because he knew that in some sense he would survive in the Japanese nation just as the cherry blossom survived symbolically in the tree. *Seediq Bale* reinterpreted these militant aesthetics: the Seediq warriors may be akin to blossoms that sacrifice themselves for the tree, but before the blossoms represent the Seediq warriors, they represent the Japanese victims who are sacrificed to the Seediq ancestral spirits (see ch. 5 sec. 2). Obviously, Wei's reinterpretation of the aesthetics of the cherry blossom is still bloodily militant. Just as obviously, given the civil tradition of *mono no aware*, the cherry blossom does not have to be militant. It certainly does not have to be bloody: the color of your typical cherry blossom is more pink than red. There is actually a celebrated

endemic species of cherry that grows around Wushe called the Wusheh Cherry (*Prunus taiwaniana*) whose flowers are a faint pink, often white.

The cherry blossom that was demilitarized in Japan after the war is actually demilitarized by the end of *Seediq Bale*. After bombing the Seediq rebels, the Japanese extend the cherry branch, dropping scarlet flyers calling upon the survivors to surrender. The survivors look up in wonder at what appear to be cherry blossoms falling through the air. One of the survivors, a little girl, points up and says:

Qta-i!	*Kedu*	*ba*	*phepah*	*na*	*snegin!* (*RB* 1:38:54)
see-PF.IMP	many	truly	flower	GEN	cherry

Look at all the cherry blossoms!

What about the two-needle pine, which was traditionally used to glorify an ethos of *pro patria mori* in precolonial Taiwan, perhaps as late as 1930? Is there some other context besides headhunting in which we can interpret the symbolism of the flight of *harung* fascicles? There is an alternative context in *Seediq Bale* in a song about a "fresh-faced young man" (*riso mbhege*) from a village located "below the snow" (*toma huda*) of Mt. Qilai. Toma Huda is actually a kenning for Shen Mingren's home village of Brayaw, which used to be located on the western slope of Mt. Qilai. Shen is indeed the source of the song (Bawan 1998: 132–133). The song is apparently about the young man's attempts to win the heart of a lovely maiden, but according to Shen it is actually about headhunting; the maiden the young man is wooing in the song is symbolically the enemy he hopes to headhunt. In songs like this, headhunting was not just aestheticized, it was romanticized or eroticized.

Be that as it may, Wei puts the song in a different context in *Seediq Bale*. In the film, it is sung during the final reunion between Mahung Mona and her brother Tado. While Mahung and Tado say their goodbyes, the young women who came along with Mahung drink, dance, and sing with the young men who are about to go kill themselves with Tado. In this context, it is simply a drinking and dancing song. To the extent that it is romantic, the romance is between the young rebels who are meeting for the last time.

How is this a context for a demilitarized reading of *harung* imagery? The last audible lyric compares a dancing girl's motion to that of a leaf.

Weewa	*sare,*	*r<m>eno*	*waso*	*wa!*
young.lady	nubile	<AF>fool.around	leaf	INT

As for the lovely maidens, they're fooling around like the leaves!

According to Dakis Pawan, *rmeno* here actually means dancing. In the context of the film, a Seediq speaker might imagine lovely maidens dancing like *harung* needles swaying in the breeze. If so, then the association might go the other way. If Seediq speakers associate *harung* needles swaying in the breeze not with hair on severed human heads but with lovely maidens dancing, then the aesthetics of the *harung* has been demilitarized.[6]

Notes

1 Arthur Holmer points out that *rimuy* co-occurs with *maku* in songs, strongly suggesting *rimuy-maku* is a word. His suggestion for the translation is "I really did get there, wow, halleluyah, really, look, look, look!"

2 It was Principal Lituk Teymu who informed me that the location focus form of the verb for "grab" in Truku is spelled *djiyan*.

3 Hanaoka Ichirō got married on October 27, 1929, a year to the day before the attack. In a Facebook post, Professor Scott Simon explains why October 27 was such a special day. It was a day to commemorate Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa's death during the conquest of Taiwan in 1895.

4 According to ethnobotanist Kevan Berg (by email), the trees Tado et al. are cutting down in the film are bald cypresses (*Taiwania cryptomerioides*) or perhaps Cunninghamias (*Cunninghamia lanceolate*). According to Paul Barclay, Yoshimura Katsumi was in Mhebu to supervise the felling of "gigantic cedars" (Barclay 2017: 49), while according to Deng Xiangyang, 檜木 *kuàimù*, a kind of cypress (probably *Chamaecyparis formosensis*), were logged in the hills above Mhebu (Deng 1998: 62).

5 One reason for periodic resettlement was land exhaustion due to swidden agriculture. Another was resistance to "the political coercion of would-be leaders" (Simon 2012: 164). The resettlement option was no longer available under the Japanese, which put hierarchical pressure on egalitarian communities.

6 In the introduction to this chapter, I suggested that the *harung* is now a symbol of cultural renewal, but added a "perhaps." I added the "perhaps" because the life cycle of the *harung* has not changed. The *harung* still relies on fires that annihilate the seeds of other trees to reproduce. In this light, the *harung* would be a symbol of the survival of one culture at the expense of another. Yet the ecology is not that simple. Pioneer species like the *harung* have to "yield the stage to more accommodating (陰 *yīn*) secondary tree species" (Jiang 2007: 71). In yielding the stage, the *harung* is part of a process of "forest succession" that eventually produces mixed forests. Surely mixed forests could symbolize territorial sharing.

   As to whether Seediq people today would still want to identify with a species of tree, I don't see why not. As I noted in endnote 7 to the introduction, the identity of a species is not fixed, but it is rather the product of evolutionary adaptation. Keeping in mind that compared with evolutionary adaptation, cultural adaptation is fast, self-reflexive, and choice-based; the *harung* could still be a symbol of Seediq adaptability and therefore of cultural renewal.

References

Barclay, Paul D. (2017) *Outcasts of Empire*: *Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border," 1874–1945*, Oakland: University of California Press.

Bawan Danaha (Pawan Tanah; Shen Mingren) (1998) *Chongxin Zuling de Minzu: Saideke Ren* (*The People Who Worship Ancestral Spirits: The Seediq*), Taibei: Haiweng.

Deng Xiangyang (1998) *Wushe Shijian* (*Musha Incident*), Taibei: Yushan.

Deng Xiangyang (2000) *Fengzhong Feiying: Wushe Shijian Zhenxiang ji Huagang Chuzi de Gushi* (*Dana Sakura/Cherry Blossoms in the Wind: The Truth of the Musha Incident and the Story of Hanaoka Hatsuko [Obing Tado]*), Taibei: Yushan.

Jiang Baozhen (2007) "Shengtai zhong bukehuoque zhi huo" (Ecologically Indispensable Fire), *Kexueren* (*The Scientist/Scientific American*), 67 (September): 71–73.

Liu Bizhen (Liu Pi-chen) (2011) "Bianxu" (Editorial Introduction), in Zuoshan Rongji (Sayama Yūkichi), *Fanzu Diaocha Baogaoshu disice* (*Savage Races Survey Report vol. 4* [in two parts, one for central Taiwan, one for the east coast]), Nangang, Taibei: Zhongyanyuan (Academia Sinica), iii–viii.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko (2002) *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Qiu Ruolong (2011 [1990]) *Manhua Balai: Taiwan di yi bu Wushe Shijian Lishi Manhua* (*Comic Bale: The First Historical Comic of the Musha Incident*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Sayama Yūkichi (1917) *Banzoku Chōsa Hōkokusho daiichibu* (*Savage Races Survey Report vol. 4* [in two parts, one for central Taiwan, one for the east coast]), Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai.

Simon, Scott (2012) "Politics and Headhunting Among the Formosan Sejiq: Ethnohistorical Perspectives," *Oceania*, 82: 164–185.

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2000) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Xinwenju (Government Information Office).

Zuoshan Rongji (Sayama Yūkichi) (2011 [1917]) *Fanzu Diaocha Baogaoshu disice* (*Savage Races Survey Report vol. 4* [in two parts, one for central Taiwan, one for the east coast]), Nangang, Taibei: Zhongyanyuan (Academia Sinica).

5 The dialectic of *dmahun*

The thicker backtranslation of cultural keywords

Having discussed translation at the text level for the last three chapters, I now turn to translation at the term level in the next three chapters. In the previous two chapters I excavated certain sections of the screenplay, discovering them to be translations of texts first recorded during the Japanese era. I then investigated how these texts were translated into Mandarin and backtranslated into Seediq. I conduct the same kind of investigation for terms in this chapter and the next chapter. In this chapter, I look at keywords in Wei Te-sheng's supposedly Seediq interpretation of the Musha Incident. I assess them as translations of Seediq terms, and overall find them to be quite foreignized, but nevertheless rather thin substitutes for the original Seediq terms. I then look at the backtranslations of these keywords into Seediq, in terms of which, I claim, the translators articulated their own interpretation[1] of the Musha Incident, and of Seediq culture.

There are four keywords in Wei's Mandarin-language explanation of the Seediq motivation for the attack on the Japanese assembly at Musha on October 27, 1930. First, the attack was a matter of *jiāoào*, "pride." Second, it was a *xiějì zǔlíng*, a "blood sacrifice to the ancestral spirits," in which Seediq warriors offered the blood of their Japanese enemies to the spirits of their ancestors. Third, in conducting this blood sacrifice, they were upholding the *zǔlǜ de gūifàn/yūeshù*, the "moral norms/strictures of the ancestral law." Fourth, by upholding these moral norms or strictures, they became *yīngxióng*, "heroes."

These four terms were used at different rates in the subtitles for different reasons. *Yīngxióng, jiāoào*, and *xiějì zǔlíng* were used a dozen times each, *zǔlǜ de gūifàn/yūeshù* once each. The first two terms were used so often because they are as familiar to Mandarin speakers as "hero" and "pride" are to English speakers. The last two terms, by contrast, are unfamiliar collocations in Mandarin, but they were used at different rates. Though *xiějì zǔlíng* is unfamiliar, a "blood-sacrifice to the ancestral spirits" is easy to visualize, especially in the scene in which Rudo Luhe and the other ancestral spirits stride through the bloodbath (*SF* 2:06:52). By contrast, *zǔlǜ de gūifàn/yūeshù* is abstract. While a sociologist or philosopher could define and exemplify a "moral norm," he or she would have no idea of the Seediq "ancestral law," or any way to visualize it. No wonder it was only used twice.

The familiarity of *yīngxióng* and *jiāoào* suggests they might be cultural domestications, and therefore misrepresentations of Seediq culture. They are indeed

domestications, but as I shall show, they are not that misrepresentative. By contrast, the unfamiliarity of *xiějì zǔlíng* and *zǔlǜ de gūifàn/yūeshù* suggests they are foreignizations, attempts to represent Seediq in Mandarin. They are indeed, but they are not literal translations of any Seediq term; they are rather attempts to define Seediq terms. But how far do they get us toward an appreciation of the original terms?

One way of assessing Wei's translations from Seediq is by taking a look at how they backtranslated into Seediq. Two of Wei's four Mandarin keywords backtranslated unpredictably. *Jiāoào* backtranslated unpredictably because the Seediq translators thought the Seediq "equivalent" to *jiāoào* was an entirely negative kind of "pride." But actually, as I shall show, the Seediq term *pkuuro* can be positive, too. *Xiějì zǔlíng* also translated unpredictably. It was intended as a translation of a blood ritual called *dmahun* in Tgdaya, but only once did it translate back into *dmahur*, the Toda cognate. Yet *dmahun*, which we can gloss as "reconcile" for the time being, was used a dozen other times because it was a keyword in the Seediq interpretation of the Musha Incident and of Seediq culture that was articulated in the Seediq translation. The other two keywords translated predictably. Intended as a translation of *gaya*, *zǔlǜ de gūifàn/yūeshù* backtranslated as *gaya*. But *gaya* (or the Toda cognate *waya*) was used fully two dozen times (excluding repeated dialogue) in the Seediq translation of the screenplay because it is one of the most important keywords in the contemporary Seediq discourse of self-understanding and self-fashioning. Perhaps surprisingly, Wei's final keyword, *yīngxióng*, also backtranslated predictably, into *seediq bale* or *rseno bale*, true person or real man. This is not to say that *yīngxióng* is an adequate translation of *seediq bale*. I will discuss its translation in the penultimate section before reflecting in the conclusion on the "thickness" of the Seediq translators' backtranslations. But I will begin with *jiāoào*, the first of the four keywords in Wei Te-sheng's interpretation of the Musha Incident.

1 From *jiāoào* to *pkuuro* and pride

Jiāoào (驕傲), meaning "pride" or "proud," is one of the most important terms in Wei Te-sheng's understanding of the Musha Incident. Wei thought that the Seediq warriors fought for the sake of pride, which should give their descendants (and every citizen of Taiwan) something to feel proud about. Surely this sentiment should be straightforward to express in Seediq! Wei must have thought he was merely expressing in Mandarin what Seediq warriors like Mona Rudo had felt. It turns out it was not straightforward to "backtranslate" into Seediq.

The Toda Sediq translator Iwan Nawi, who published a partial translation of the original screenplay (Wei 2000) into Toda in 2014, has this to say about the translation of *jiāoào*: "Although there is a term, *pskuraw*, for *jiāoào* in Sediq, it is not used to praise because it has negative connotations" (Yiwan Nawei 2014: 14). In other words, Iwan claims that *pskuraw* can only be negative while *jiāoào* can be negative or positive, like "pride" in English: John Donne's "Death, Be Not Proud" is negative, while John Fogerty's "Proud Mary" is positive. Iwan Nawi can appreciate the positive side of *jiāoào* in Mandarin because she had written that she felt *jiāoào*, "proud," to be indigenous in the introduction to her Toda translation of her husband Qiu Ruolong's comic (Huang 2003: front matter). In this section I will use translational data

from the film to argue that Iwan Nawi may be right about Toda, but she is not right about Tgdaya, in which the cognate term *pkuuro* can, like *jiāoào*, be positive.

The Toda term *pskuraw* actually appears in the translation of *Seediq Bale*, in the scene near the beginning of the film when Mona Rudo as a young man meets his future archenemy Teymu Walis at a trading post. When Mona and his men become insolent, the Toda chief Cire Walis tells Mona, *iya pskuraw*: "Don't be so proud!" (*SF* 15:25), though the original Mandarin was not *jiāoào* but another term, *xiāozhāng*:

你	別	囂張!
Nǐ	*bié*	*xiāozhāng!*
2S	NEG.IMP	be.obstreperous

Who do you think you are?

Xiāozhāng is an arrogance that draws a lot of attention to itself.

In most cases, when *jiāoào* appears in the Mandarin original it is simply not translated in the Seediq. For instance, in the scene in which Mona tries to convince Hanaoka Ichirō (born Dakis Nomin) to join his cause, Mona says:

如果	你的	文明	是	叫	我們	卑躬屈膝，(*SF* 1:40:48)
Rúguǒ	*nǐde*	*wénmíng*	*shì*	*jiào*	*wǒmén*	*bēi-gōng-qū-xī*,
if	2S.GEN	civilization	COP	tell	1P	lower-body-bend-knee

If your civilization is telling us to abase ourselves,

那	我	就	帶	你們	看見	野蠻	的	驕傲！
nà	*wǒ*	*jiù*	*dài*	*nǐmén*	*kànjiàn*	*yěmán*	*de*	*jiāoào!*
then	1S	just	take	2P	see	savage	GEN	pride

then I'll show you the pride of the savage!

In other words, Wei's Mona thinks there is something to be proud of in being savage. The line was translated into Seediq as follows:

Netun	*=miyan*	*so*	*huling*	*s<m>igo*	*yamu,*
if	=1P.EX.NOM	like	dog	<AF>wag	2P.ACC

If us – excluding you – wagging our tails at you doglike

kiya	*kes-un*	*m-uyu*	*gaya*	*=namu*,
this	call-PF	AF-imitate	tradition	=2P.GEN

is what you call emulating your civilization,

maha	*=nami*	*naq*	*s<m>negun*	*gaya*	*rudan*	*=nami*
AUX	=1P.EX.NOM	just	<AF>follow	tradition	elder	=1P.EX.GEN

then we – excluding you – will follow our elders' tradition,

kes-un	*=namu*	*gaya*	*camac*.
call-PF	=2P.GEN	tradition	wild

which you call a wild tradition.

The term *camac* at the end of the second line means "wild prey animal" and by synecdoche the quality of a wild animal, its wildness. *Camac* is not used by Mona regarding his own way of life, but is ascribed to the Japanese: this is what the Japanese say about Seediq tradition. Dakis's Mona obviously did not agree with the view that peoples could be ranked according to how much culture they had. Mona believed every people has its own culture, and that each culture is, though different, equally valuable. There is no mention of anything like pride.

There is also no mention of anything like pride in the Seediq translations (below right) of these three lines (below left) from the duet that the ghost of Rudo Luhe and his son, Mona Rudo, sing (*SF* 1:26:04), the Song of the Seediq Bale: 一個驕傲的人走來了，是誰如此驕傲啊？是你的子孫啊，賽德克巴萊。

1	*Yí ge jiāoào de rén zǒu-lái le.*	*Niq-an seno pahung wa.*
	one CL proud GEN person walk-over INT.PRF	exist-LF man gall INT
	A proud man is walking over.	There is a brave man.
2	*Shì shéi rú-cǐ jiāoào ā?*	*N-ima riso ka kiya?*
	COP who like-this proud INT	GEN-who young.man NOM this
	Who is so proud?	Whose son is this?
3	*Shì nǐ de zǐ-sūn a.*	*Lutuc n-nisu wa,*
	COP you GEN child-grandchild INT	lineage GEN-2S.GEN INT
	It's your progeny,	(He) belongs to your lineage,
4	*Sāidéke Bālái.*	*seediq m-b-bale wa.*
	Seediq true	person AF-RED-true INT
	True Seediq.	a true person.

In neither of the first two lines is *jiāoào* translated directly. In line 1, *jiāoào de rén*, "proud man," in Mandarin ends up as *seno pahung*, literally "man of gall," meaning "brave man." In the Seediq translations of line 2, the proud man is referred to as a *riso*, a young man or someone's son. A brave son, especially one who is a true person (line 4), would inspire what we could describe as "pride" in his Seediq parents, or in everyone in the lineage to which he belongs (see line 3).

Another example in which *jiāoào* is translated obliquely is the night before the Musha Incident, when Mona Rudo persuades Tado Nokan to join the rebellion. Tado Nokan asks, "What are we going to exchange for these young lives [of the youths who will surely die in the reprisal]?" I take it that Tado is wondering what will compensate for the loss of these young lives. Mona responds, *Jiāoào!* (*SF* 1:53:05), which Dakis translated as follows:

S<n>rman-an utux.
IF<PRF>prior-LF spirits
(We) have been prepared for by the spirits.

Presumably, the spirits are prepared to welcome the warriors into the afterlife because they are "proud" of them.

The last two examples in which *jiāoào* goes untranslated or is translated obliquely are from the scene in which Mona Rudo's children reunite. Tado Mona, who is planning to die, exhorts his sister Mahung to teach her children and their children about Mona Rudo's pride:

要 教 他們 認識 我們 父親 的 驕傲。(*RB* 1:53:03)
Yào jiāo tāmén rènshì wǒmén fùqīn de jiāoào.
AUX teach 3P know 1P father GEN pride
You must teach them to know our father's pride.

Dakis Pawan translated this line as follows:

P-kla-i <n>da-an na tama =ta Mona Rudo.
let-know-PF.IMP <PRF>cross-LF GEN father =1P.GEN Mona Rudo
Let the deed of our father Mona Rudo be known.

Mona Rudo's great deed is apparently supposed to make his descendants proud. According to Tado Mona, however, Mona's crossing of the Rainbow Bridge into the afterlife is supposed to make every Seediq proud:

要 每 個 孩子 都 成爲 驕傲 的 賽德克。(*RB* 1:53:26)
Yào měi ge háizi dōu chéngwéi jiāoào de Sàidékè.
AUX each CL child all become proud GEN Seediq
Every child must become a proud Seediq.

And here is Dakis Pawan's translation:

Asi ka mg-seediq kn-kingan laqi =ta.
AUX NOM become-person every-one child =1P.GEN
It is a must that every single child of ours becomes a (true) person.

These examples show how resourceful Dakis Pawan was in his translation of *jiāoào* into Seediq. What they do not show is that *jiāoào* is somehow an alien concept to Seediq culture. *A priori*, nothing is completely translatable, but anything is partly translatable. *A posteriori*, there are two translations that undermine the claims that *jiāoào* is impossible to translate or that it can only be translated into *pskuraw* or *pkuuro* if it is negative. First, in Mona Rudo's speech to steel the hearts of the warriors after they have attacked the Japanese at Musha, he tells them: *Yào jiāoào!* (*RB* 16:06): "Be proud!" This Dakis translated:

Pkuuro lnglung-an =namu!
proud think-LF =2P.GEN
Be proud in your thoughts!

In other words, "Don't act it out! Think it in your minds, and feel it in your hearts." The word *lnglungan*, literally "where you think," includes emotion, like the Chinese

word 心, which is pronounced *xīn* in Mandarin and often translated "heart-and-mind." Dakis's translation of the line shows that *pkuuro*, a Tgdaya cognate of *pskuraw*, which Iwan Nawi claimed was exclusively negative, can, like the analogous terms in Mandarin and English, be positive.

Second, the following line appears in the song that plays during the credit roll:

要	驕傲得	像	個	真正	的	賽德克。(*RB* 2:06:02)
Yào	*jiāoào-de*	*xiàng*	*ge*	*zhēnzhèng*	*de*	*Sàidékè.*
AUX	proud-CMP	like	CL	true	GEN	Seediq

Be proud like a true Seediq.

The song is by Laka Umaw, who played Gungu chief Tado Nokan in the film. Laka Umaw wrote the lyrics in Mandarin, and Dakis Pawan translated them into Seediq. Dakis translated this line like this:

Doo-i	*snkuuro*	*Seediq*	*kndesan*	*=namu.*
grasp-PF.IMP	pride	Seediq	life	=2P.GEN

Grasp the pride of the Seediq in your lives.

It is a seize-the-day sentiment, in which *snkuuro*, a cognate of *pkuuro*, formally an instrument focus perfective (or preterite) form but definitely nominal here, is positive.

Dakis Pawan has been quoted as claiming that Seediq lacks a word like *jiāoào* (Huang and You 2011: 198), but he was either misquoted or misled by his linguistic intuition: there is a word like *jiāoào* in Seediq, and it is *pkuuro*. He should have checked linguistic data, as translators are constantly doing on Google. The problem for indigenous translators like Dakis Pawan is that there just isn't that much available in the language online. Dakis couldn't just check the dictionary, either, because he wrote the dictionary.

But regardless of whether *pkuuro* is a good translation of *jiāoào* or *jiāoào* of *pkuuro*, *pkuuro* is at best peripheral in the translators' Seediq-language interpretation of the Musha Incident and of Seediq culture. We now broach more central terms.

2 From *xiějì zǔlíng* to *dmahun* and reconciliation

The verb phrase *xiějì zǔlíng* (血祭祖靈), literally "blood-sacrifice to the ancestral spirits," first occured in Yan Yunnong's novelization of Wei Te-sheng's screenplay in 2004 (Yan 2011 [2004]: 21), but Wei Te-sheng's Seediq cultural consultant Shen Mingren (Pawan Tanah) had come very close. Shen claimed that to rebels and collaborators alike, the Musha Incident was a "blood sacrifice ritual" that would "calm" the "ancestral spirits" (Bawan 1998: 228). Writing sixty-eight years after the fact, how could Shen Mingren know what people were thinking in 1930? Because the two Tgdaya Seediq witnesses to the Musha Incident who published belated eyewitness accounts in the 1980s, Pihu Walis (who was fourteen in 1930) and Awi Hepah (who was also fourteen), both use "blood sacrifice," a 血祭り *chi matsuri* in

Japanese, in connection with the Musha Incident (Pihuwarisu 1988: 51–52; Aweihebaha 2000 [1985]: 33–37). Pihu Walis even claims that on October 29, 1930, two days after the attack on the Japanese at Musha, he was threatened with *chi matsuri* by a group of five Truku warriors, who were out looking for Tgdaya heads to hunt and who suspected, rightly, that he was Tgdaya (he was from Gungu). Pihu Walis wrote his manuscript around five decades after the fact (he died in 1982), so we might wonder how clear his memory was. But we can be sure that in around 1980, he thought blood sacrifice applied to the incident, at least to the reprisal.

Although the two Tgdaya eyewitnesses had discussed the incident in terms of a "blood sacrifice" in Japanese, "blood-sacrifice to the ancestral spirits" does not exist in Seediq, according to Nakao Eki Pacidal (2012: 182). Pacidal is Amis not Seediq, so she is not writing from her own linguistic knowledge. In fact, she cites Dakis Pawan (Guo 2011: 83) in support of her claim. Pacidal is right that there is no exactly analogous collocation in Seediq, but then in translation there rarely is. What I imagine Pacidal meant is that a phrase that is supposedly representative of Seediq culture is not actually. But what Dakis actually wrote in the passage that Pacidal cited is that there might be lots of ways of translating *xiějì zǔlíng*. A review of the ways in which Dakis translated *xiějì zǔlíng* shows that this is certainly the case.

In one case, "blood-sacrifice to the ancestral spirits" was translated pragmatically, which is to say by considering the rhetorical effect the speaker is trying to achieve in the scene:

Paq-i *kana* *Tanah* *Tunux!* (*SF* 2:01:28)
kill-PF.IMP all red head
Kill all the Japanese!

In this scene a warrior runs up to the top of a hill to tell everyone to start killing the Japanese. Thus begins the film's version of the attack. There seems to be no lexical connection between this translation and the original, except in that "killing" must be part of the semantics of "sacrifice." But other translations of *xiějì zǔlíng* were almost character by character (see ch. 2 p. 52). For instance:

血祭 祖靈 了！(*SF* 2:04:41)
Xiě-jì *zǔ-líng* *le!*
blood-sacrifice ancestor-spirit INT
This is a blood-sacrifice to the ancestral spirits!

P-s-dara, *s<m>esung* *=ta* *utux* *rudan*.
cause-IF-blood <AF>feast =1P.NOM spirit elder
In causing (the enemy) to bleed, we feast the ancestral spirits.

In this scene, Gungu brave Pihu Sapu explains to Pawan Nawi, the future leader of the child warriors, what it is they are doing: causing the Japanese enemy to bleed as a ritual response to colonial oppression. *Psdara* translates the first character, *xiě*, "blood." Based on *dara*, "blood," *sdara* is "to bleed." The addition of

the causal prefix *p-* makes it transitive, literally "causing (the enemy) to bleed." *Smesung* translates *jì*, and *utux rudan* translates *zǔlíng*. Except for the omission of the sentence-final particle *le*, which indicates that the attack on the Japanese is a new situation, and the addition of the first-person plural inclusive clitic pronoun *ta*, the translation is character by character, though the syntactic structure is different: *xiě* is a verbal modifier in the Chinese, while *psdara* is a subordinate clause in the Seediq (because if it were part of the main clause it would be the first verb in the clause, to which the clitic pronoun should attach).

The object of *psdara* here would be the enemy, *pais*. Indeed, Mona Rudo uses *psdara pais*, "make the enemy bleed," in his speech before the attack (*SF* 1:56:27). But in other translations, *utux rudan*, ancestral spirits, appears in the same position (SF 2:09:41):

我 不 是 在 殺 人， 我 是 在 血祭 祖靈。
Wǒ bú shì zài shā rén, wǒ shì zài xiě-jì zǔ-líng.
1s not COP PRG kill person 1s COP PRG blood-sacrifice ancestor-spirit
I'm not killing people, I am blood-sacrificing to the ancestral spirits.

Ini =ku s<m>ipaq seediq, p-s-dara utux-rudan =mu.
NEG =1s.NOM <AF>kill person cause-IF-blood spirit-elder =1s.GEN
I am not killing people, I am bloodletting for my ancestral spirits.

In uttering this line, Pihu Walis explains to his Japanese friend Nasuno[2] why he is going to kill him. Obviously, although *utux-rudan* appears in the same position as *pais*, it cannot possibly be the syntactic object or the semantic patient of the verb *psdara*, or Pihu would mean he is causing his own ancestral spirits to bleed. *Utux-rudan* must be syntactically oblique, semantically the beneficiary, like 祖靈 *zǔ-líng* in the Mandarin original. Hence, in the English translations I use the prepositions "to" and "for," as in "for the benefit of."

These examples show that, even though *xiějì zǔlíng* did not correspond to any existing collocation in Seediq, it was nevertheless translated quite literally in several different ways, creating a new collocation each time. In other words, Dakis Pawan foreignized from Mandarin into Seediq. Why would he foreignize if the concept were somehow alien to his culture? It is not. Wei's Mandarin is in fact a definition of a Seediq ritual called *dmahun*, or *dmahur* in Toda, which is one of the ways the Toda translator Watan Diro translated *xiějì zǔlíng* (*RB* 8:38):

馬赫坡 的 莫那魯道
Mǎhèpō-de Mònà Lǔdào
Mhebu-GEN Mona Rudo
Mona Rudo of Mhebu Village

帶領 德克達亞群 在 霧社 血祭 祖靈 了。
dàilǐng Dékèdáyǎ-qún zài Wùshè xiě-jì zǔlíng le.
lead Tgdaya-PL at Musha blood-sacrifice ancestor PRF
led the Tgdaya to blood-sacrifice to the ancestors at Musha.

Mona Rudaw Mhbu
Mona Rudo Mhebu
Mona Rudo of Mhebu

wada d<m>udun d-Tgdaya d<m>ahur utux rudan cbiyaw.
AUX <AF>lead PL-Tgdaya <AF>reconcile spirit elder past
has led all the Tgdaya to reconcile with the ancestral spirits at Musha.

In this scene, Takun, a young Toda warrior, reports to Teymu Walis that Mona Rudo has attacked the Japanese at Musha. Takun uses the term *dmahur*, "reconcile," to make the attack sound righteous, because he hopes to convince Teymu to kill his friend the Japanese policeman Kojima (see ch. 1 sec. 3) and join Mona's rebellion.

Teymu refuses to do either, and will soon be forced by his erstwhile friend to become a bounty hunter. Teymu's participation in the reprisal will be his ruin. Here are Teymu famous last words, uttered (*RB* 1:27:52) right before his death at Tgdaya hands:

殺 到 血 乾 吧，
Shā dào xiě gān ba,
kill to blood dry INT
Kill until the blood dries,

像 戰士 一樣 拿下 人頭， 回 祖靈 之 家 唷！
xiàng zhànshì yíyàng náxià réntóu, húi zǔlíng zhī jiā yo!
like warrior same take head return ancestor GEN home INT
take heads like a warrior, return to our ancestral spirits' home!

His words were "translated" into Mandarin by Shen Mingren, who did not provide the original Seediq, only the Mandarin (Bawan 1998: 226). This Mandarin version of Teymu Walis's speech was incorporated verbatim into Wei's original screenplay (Wei 2000: 106), slightly modified for the shooting script, and then "backtranslated" into Toda by Watan Diro in August 2009:

Sipaq dhuq m-dngu dara, m-osa tuhuy utuxrudan cbiyaw.
kill until AF-dry blood AF-go play spiritelder past
Kill until the blood dries, go frolic with the ancestral spirits.

Ds-i sapah ka tunux dhur-i utuxrudan.
take-PF.IMP house NOM head offer-PF.IMP spiritelders
Take home the heads that shall be offered to the ancestral spirits.

Note the use of *dhuri* in the second line. I gloss it as "offer," but it is actually the patient focus imperative of *dmahur*, meaning, "let the heads be *dmahur*-ed." *Dmahur* is not a translation of *xiějì*, which does not appear in the Mandarin line. It was added by the translator Watan Diro. It was Watan Diro's understanding of what was happening in the scene. According to Watan Diro, Teymu Walis understood what he was doing as ritual headhunting, *not* as bounty hunting.

Without naming it, the popular historian Deng Xiangyang described the *dmahun/dmahur* ritual in terms of peace-seeking following martial conflict:

> The chief who had lost the battle would take a ladle of water . . . and recite a ritual pledge, while the chief of the winning side, if he accepted the pledge, would respond audibly, and drip a bit of the water on a stone. Both chiefs would drink together and dig a pit in which to put the stone. After completing the ritual of stone-burial[3] . . . the chief on the losing side had to sacrifice an animal (犧牲 *xīshēng*) and provide wine.
>
> (Deng 2000: 122–123)

The ladle in the first line is actually part of the meaning of *dmahur*; *dmahur* is literally "to ladle," and is derived from a nominal root, *huur*, meaning "ladle." However, etymology is not destiny: one cannot predict from "ladle" what *dmahur* means (though what *dmahur* means can be understood in terms of "ladle").

Deng only mentions the sacrifice in passing, but according to my consultants, *dmahun*, the Tgdaya cognate of *dmahur*, was indeed a sacrifice. In fact it was a blood sacrifice. According to Iwan Pering (Wang and Yiwan 2012: 32), if a husband offends his wife, he has to show his sincerity by conducting *dmahun* in her presence. He is to slit the neck of a chicken and let its blood splatter on the ground. Blood must be shed, its letting witnessed by the living and the dead, to complete *dmahun*.

Might *dmahun*, as a blood ritual of reconciliation, apply to headhunting as well? According to Shen Mingren, headhunting was one form of *dmahun*:

> If one commit sacrilege against the norms (規範 *gūifàn*) of gods or ghosts (神鬼 *shéngǔi*) or of the ancestral spirits (祖靈 *zǔlíng*) (Uttux), one must must [sic] kill a pig or hunt a head; it is imperative to get the forgiveness of the Uttux. This act is called *tsomahol*.
>
> (Bawan 1998: 181)

Tsomahol is Shen's attempt to spell the cognate of *dmahun* in Truku. Elsewhere he spells it *domahol* (121) and *tsmahol* (150). In addition to forgiveness, *tsomahol* is about atonement and sharing (181). What Shen says elsewhere about headhunting, that it is about restoring balance (140) and communication with the ancestral spirits (140, 227–228), should apply to *tsomahol*, too, given that Deng Xiangyang's account suggests that one reconciles partly by offering liquid in a ladle, partly by offering speech: the loser's ritual pledge is an offering to the winner.

Above I cited two examples that demonstrate that *dmahur* was part of Toda translator Watan Diro's understanding of headhunting during the reprisal. The Tgdaya cognate *dmahun* is also part of the Tgdaya translators' understanding of headhunting during the rebellion. *Dmahun* appears twice in the Tgdaya translation. First:

> 當 你 流出 血， 你我 的 仇恨 從此 消失。(*SF* 1:48:36)
> *Dāng nǐ liú-chū xiě, nǐ-wǒ de chóuhèn cóng-cǐ xiāoshī.*
> when 2s flow-out blood 2s-1s GEN hatred from-this disappear
> When you bleed, our hatred will thenceforth disappear.

G<m>dara =ku, m-hedu =ta d<m>ahun.
<AF>let.blood =1S.NOM AF-finish =1P.NOM <AF>reconcile
(Because) I let blood, we thereby complete reconciliation.

This is a line from the song the warriors sing the night before the Musha Incident, when they preemptively behead the Japanese police and burn the stations they man. Note the shift from the singular to the plural first-person subject, from *ku* in the subordinate clause to *ta* in the main clause, in the Seediq. This *ta* is not the Tgdaya warriors; it is a translation of the Mandarin term *nǐ-wǒ*, literally "you-me." "You" is the Japanese victim Patrolman Yoshimura, and "me" is the headhunter Tado Mona. In other words, Yoshimura helps Tado complete *dmahun*. But traditionally *dmahun* could not have been completed there and then. Traditionally, the victim's head would be brought back and asked to enter into a gift exchange relationship. After being feasted with rice and wine, the head would have been beseeched as follows: "When we go hunting, please give us lots of prey" (Masaw 1998: 230, cited in Simon 2012a: 177). Only then would *dmahun* have been complete, only then would the spirit of the dead have been sent away.

Mona Rudo entered into the same kind of relationship when he became a *rseno bale*. Here is his recollection of that proud day, first in Mandarin, then in Seediq translation:

我 將 英雄地 回到 部落 接受 酒宴 歡慶。(*RB* 13:59)
Wǒ jiāng yīngxióng-di huídào bùluò jiēshòu jiǔ-yàn huānqìng.
1S AUX hero-ADV return village receive wine-feast celebration
I would heroically return to the village to be feasted.

Maha =ku =daha ngal-un rseno bale, d<m>ahun seediq alang.
AUX.FUT =1S.NOM =3P.GEN take-PF man real <AF>feast people village
I would be taken by them as a real man, and feast the people of the village.

In his speech to rally the troops after the attack, Mona recalls walking home in about 1895 with an enemy head in his headbag (in the prelude that opens *The Sun Flag*), anticipating both the respect he would get and his newfound responsibility. Note in this regard that the Mandarin and the Seediq disagree as to who would be feasting whom. According to Wei's Mandarin above, Mona would be feasted by the villagers. According to Dakis's Seediq below, Mona Rudo would feast the villagers. Note also that "reconcile" does not make sense as a translation of *dmahun* in this case. Mona had done nothing wrong. There was nothing he needed to atone for or to be forgiven for. But as part of his coming-of-age ceremony he needed to show he was willing and able to make contributions to the community and offerings to the ancestors by sacrificing pigs and chickens (Simon 2012a: 177).[4] As a boy, Mona received; now he would give. Now that he was a *rseno bale*, a real man, he was expected to enter into a gift exchange relation, not just with the living members of his community but also with the ancestral spirits. This relation was based on the principle of "generalized reciprocity" (Simon 2015: 699–700) and

took the following form: "the ancestors [would] guarantee success in the hunt, providing boars in exchange for regular sacrifices of pigs" (700).

Based on Watan Diro's translation of Teymu Walis's famous last words (see p. 111 above), the heads of the enemy would be offered (*dhuri*, the patient focus imperative of *dmahun*) to the ancestors. Perhaps the heads of the enemy were symbolic pigs' heads. Consider, in this regard, Tado's threat to Yoshimura during the brawl at Watan and Lubi's wedding:

Qta-i	*s<m>eqic*	*=ku*	*tunux*	*=su*	*babuy*	*nii!* (*SF* 1:05:23)
see-PF.IMP	<AF>chop	=1S.NOM	head	=2S.GEN	pig	this

Watch me chop off your pig head.

In this line from the wedding scene, Tado apparently regards Yoshimura as a symbolic pig to be offered to the ancestors in exchange for boar, but in the song Tado would go on to sing to Yoshimura's severed head the night before the attack, he addresses him as an honorary ancestor. In *Seediq Bale*, then, the Japanese victims are symbolically double-cast as honorary ancestors and as sacrificial animals.

To Wei Te-sheng, blood was the main sacrificial offering to the ancestors. Wei viewed blood not as a sign of sincerity the ancestors have to witness for reconciliation to be complete, but rather as a spiritual currency. During the conspiratorial colloquy, Pihu Sapu says: "Our ancestors shed their blood in exchange for our lives" (*SF* 1:29:19). The rebels would soon shed enemy blood in exchange for the "tattoos" of manhood (*SF* 1:53:09), and soon thereafter they would shed their own blood. In exchange for what (*SF* 1:53:12)? According to Wei Te-sheng, they would exchange their blood for "pride" (*SF* 1:53:19), the translation of which I discussed in the previous section (p. 106): *snrmanan utux*, meaning that the ancestors are ready to receive the new *seediq bale* into the afterlife. Soon after becoming real men, they will cross the bridge and join the ancestors, ready to receive gifts from the living and give gifts in return.

In every case, Dakis Pawan translated the concept of exchange using cognates of *riyux*, a word that is typically used for trade or barter, as in what Mona Rudo did at the trading post in about 1895 (*rmiyux*, agent focus, *SF* 15:13) and with the Bunun in 1903 (*mrriyux*, the reciprocal form of the same verb, meaning "barter with one another," *SF* 26:58). *Riyux*, the verb for trade or barter, was used to talk about an exchange that was supposedly based on "generalized reciprocity" (Simon 2015: 699–700). What is to prevent this exchange from turning into a simple money-mediated transaction? Indeed, that was exactly what happened during the reprisal, when the Japanese paid cash for heads, turning Teymu Walis and his men into bounty hunters. *Seediq Bale*, then, is about the commodification of *dmahun*, ritual gift exchange.

According to Scott Simon, Truku Seejiq villagers today describe "headhunting expeditions . . . by local collaborators who sought to gain material advantages from the Japanese and consolidate local power. . . [as] morally reprehensible" (2012a: 180), but according to Watan Diro, Teymu Walis thought of what he was doing, bounty hunting, in terms of *dmahur*. Teymu Walis's torment, the dominant

note of actor Umin Boya's performance in *The Rainbow Bridge*, is understandable, given the mismatch between his vocabulary and the conditions of colonial modernity in central Taiwan in late 1930.

Whether or not Wei's interpretation of Mona Rudo's motivation or his assumption of Teymu Walis's torment is plausible, he was not wrong to use *xiějì zǔlíng*, "blood sacrifice to the ancestral spirits," as a translation of *dmahun*. *Xiějì zǔlíng* is a definition of *dmahun*, as is its nearly character-by-character translation into Seediq, *psdara, smesung utux-rudan ta*. In my analysis of Pihu Sapu's explanation of the attack to Pawan Nawi (p. 109 above), I glossed *smesung* as the verb "feast," but it can also mean "to carry out a ritual." *Psdara, smesung utux-rudan ta* means "to carry out a ritual of bloodshed to the ancestral spirits." There is obviously more to say about *dmahun* in Seediq, but this is a start. *Psdara, smesung utux-rudan ta* could be part of a Seediq-language definition of *dmahun*. As part of a definition, it would serve the same purpose as *xiějì zǔlíng* does in the film. The Mandarin is a definition. As such, it gestures at a Seediq concept. As a foreignized backtranslation from Mandarin, the Seediq gestures at the same concept. I imagine *psdara, smesung utux-rudan ta* sounds slightly odd to a Seediq ear, the way dictionary definitions often do, unlike *dmahun*, which would have immediately crystallized understanding.

It would be a multifaceted understanding: as *dmahun*, the attack on the Japanese was a ritual of reconciliation in which the younger generation entered the community of *rseno bale*; in which all the rebels communicated to their ancestors that they could still defend the *ddupun* and the *alang*, the hunting ground and the village community; in which they shed enemy blood to show their intent to reconcile was sincere; in which they sacrificed the enemy, a symbolic pig, to the ancestral spirits both in order to atone for their previous failures and in order to revive the old gift economy of pigs for boar; in which the spirits of the Japanese victims were welcomed into the community as honorary ancestors; and finally in which Teymu Walis was so tormented because he would get paid for what should have been a sacred practice.[5]

However *dmahun* is to be interpreted in the context of the Musha Incident or *Seediq Bale*, it remains richly meaningful today because the Seediq still practice *dmahun* on an everyday or regular basis or whenever the need arises. *Dmahun* is part of everyday sociality, with no need for bloodshed. It is what you say and what you do when you drink together, when you break bread together (or, in Taiwan, share a bowl of noodles together). *Dmahun* is also the word for the Catholic or Presbyterian ceremony of communion, which does involve symbolic bloodshed and may have developed from a ritual very much like the one that evolved into *dmahun* (if the animal sacrificed in *dmahun* is symbolically similar to the *agnus Dei*).

Dmahun was the term used for a series of four public reconciliation ceremonies in the 2000s and 2010s between the Toda and the Tgdaya, at which numerous pigs and chickens were slaughtered. Why the need for ritual reconciliation? Because neither the Tgdaya nor the Toda have forgotten that the Toda worked as

mercenaries for the Japanese in late 1930 and early 1931, nor have they forgotten that Tgdaya lands were turned over to Toda villagers in 1931. They have not forgotten that, for instance, Gungu was Tgdaya in 1930 but is now Toda. Why the need for *four* ceremonies? Because *dmahun* has to be held until the two sides are reconciled. According to my understanding, the Tgdaya and Toda communities came together for the first reconciliation ceremony, but every reconciliation since then has been a Toda initiative. I heard that people from the Tgdaya village of Gluban did not want to keep having to get reconciled, and that it sounded kind of funny to use *mddahun*, the reciprocal form of *dmahun*, to describe the ceremony, as if the Tgdaya have anything to say they are sorry for. Perhaps the Toda are right to feel that the Tgdaya have not quite forgiven them. Hence the need for more *mddahun*.

Mddahun could be theorized into a timeless moral vision of reconciliation, as a means of atoning for transgressions against reciprocity of any kind: if you take, even if you receive, you should give in return. If there is an imbalance (Bawan 1998: 140), something, or someone, has to give. Today, imbalance calls to mind political and economic inequalities within the indigenous community or relative to the general population. Such imbalances have surely worsened since the 19th century; the traditional Seediq Gini coefficient would have been very low. A progressive view of Seediq history would seem to be hopelessly naïve. But *mddahun* might yet be progressive. As a temporary reconciliation of conflicting sides, it could be a translation for "sublation," the dialectical synthesis that resolves a conflict without cancelling the two sides that came into conflict. If so, perhaps it can be described as the progressive (not simply restorative) cultural logic of Seediq adaptation to modernity. Perhaps Seediq communities can address worsening political and economic inequality, which is a consequence of modernity, through *mddahun*.

Mddahun also seems promising as a way of thinking about translation. Seediq speakers discuss translation in terms of *riyux*, meaning exchange, or *hridun*, meaning haggle (it is the patient focus form of a verb meaning "brake" or "lower"). Discussing translation in terms of haggling implies that is it based on economic rationality, but why not base translation on generalized reciprocity, the principle of *mddahun*? In fact, one could understand translation through *mddahun. Mddahun* is not just about the offering of pigs in exchange for boars, it is also about the offering of speech, which the recipient should "repay" in signs. *Mddahun* is about the gift of communication. What better counter-gift than translation? This is not to say that a commodity exchange is the wrong way of thinking about translation from a Seediq perspective. Dakis Pawan got paid for the time and trouble he took to translate the screenplay for the film, and he could not have been paid handsomely enough.

But no matter whether it is conducive to the mitigation of inequality or whether it has anything to offer to the understanding of translation, *mddahun* is now modern, in that it can no longer involve headhunting, except symbolically (see ch. 4).

I may seem to have blown *mddahun*, the reciprocal of *dmahun*, out of all proportion, as if it is a Seediq interpretation not only of the Musha Incident but also of Seediq culture, but the following section contains a piece of evidence that clinches the argument.

3 From *zǔlǜ de gūifàn* to *gaya* and tradition

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, *zǔlǜ de gūifàn* and *zǔlǜ de yūeshù* are used only once each in the Mandarin screenplay, first in the scene in which young man Mona Rudo gets tattooed by an old lady in his village and second at the end of Rudo Luhe's monologue to his son:

遵守	祖律	的	規範/約束。(*SF* 5:01/36:46)
Zūn-shǒu	*zǔ-lǜ*	*de*	*guīfàn/yuēshù*.
respect-guard	ancestor-law	GEN	moral.norms/strictures

Abide by the moral norms/restrictions of the ancestral law.

The *lǜ* in *zǔlǜ* is the *lǜ* in *fǎlǜ*, "law." As Scott Simon has argued, *gaya* can be regarded as a *système de loi*, a "legal system" (Simon 2012b: 58). As for *guīfàn*, which Wei got from Shen Mingren (see p. 112 above), it is often a translation of moral norm, a term from philosophical or sociological discourse. Philosophers and sociologists study such norms, but ordinary people might not notice them until, for one reason or another, they become an issue. Tacit norms tend to become an issue when people visit a foreign land or meet a foreign visitor. For the Seediq, the presence of foreign visitors, or invaders, must have made them a lot more aware of such norms. *Gaya* includes such norms, whether they are implicit or explicit. Finally, *yuēshù* suggests constraints on behavior, which is what laws and norms are. These two phrases, *zǔlǜ de gūifàn* and *zǔlǜ de yuēshù*, are attempts to get a grip on *gaya*, and they backtranslated predictably into *gaya*. First, in the scene where Mona receives his tattoos, his tattooist says:

Asi	*=su*	*ka*	*d<m>oi*	*gaya*	*=ta*	*ita*	*Seediq*.
AUX	=2S.NOM	NOM	<AF>grasp	tradition	=1P.GEN	1P.NOM	Seediq

It's a must for you to grasp our Seediq cultural tradition.

Second, at the end of his monologue to his son, Rudo Luhe says:

Asi	*=ta*	*ka*	*m-gaya*.
AUX	=1P.NOM	NOM	AF-tradition

Practicing (our) cultural tradition is a must for us.

But we have only begun to grasp *gaya*. We can get a better feel for it by reviewing the other uses of *gaya* in the film. We already reviewed one use in the section on

jiāoào, where a Mandarin term meaning "civilization" was translated into *gaya*. Indeed, many of the uses of *gaya* in the film are translations of terms meaning "civilization" or "culture." The most important statement the translators made in terms of *gaya* in this sense was in the translation of the following line from the duet that Mona and his father sing by the creek, the Song of the Seediq Bale:

我們 在 部落裡 分享。(*SF* 1:25:01)
Wǒ-mén zài bùluò-lǐ fēn-xiǎng.
1P at village-in divide-enjoy
We share in the village community.

Gaya n-Seediq md-dahun =ta hiya.
tradition GEN-Seediq AF.REC-share =1P.NOM there
The cultural tradition of (we) Seediq is sharing there among ourselves.

The translators have generalized a habitual "sharing in the village community" into a way of life. Sharing, *fēn-xiǎng*, literally dividing-into-shares (*fēn*) and enjoying (*xiǎng*), is translated into *mddahun*, the reciprocal form of *dmahun*. According to this line, *mddahun* is what Seediq cultural tradition is. That is why *mddahun* constitutes an interpretation not just of the Musha Incident but also of Seediq culture.

But there are many other uses of *gaya* in the translation to account for. In half a dozen examples, *gaya* is a translation of *xiějì zǔlíng*. For instance, Teymu Walis utters the following line to explain to Kojima, the policeman who organizes the bounty hunt, why he is fighting:

我們 戰鬥 是 爲了 血祭 祖靈。(*RB* 1:10:47)
Wǒmén zhàndòu shì wèile xiě-jì zǔ-líng.
1P fight COP for blood-sacrifice ancestor-spirits
We fight in order to blood-sacrifice to the ancestral spirits.

Dhuq=nami ms-salak pa, iyux=nami uda waya rudan cbiyaw.
arrive=1P.NOM AF.REC-shoot TOP wish=1P.NOM follow culture elder past
In going to battle, we – excluding you – wish to follow our cultural tradition.

That is, Teymu and his fellow warriors are fighting in order to follow their cultural tradition of headhunting, not to help Kojima get revenge on Mona Rudo. In his translation of this sentence, Watan Diro used the verb *uda*, "to cross (a bridge)." The Tgdaya cognate is *oda*. The Tgdaya translators used a verb based on *oda*, *spooda*, to express a similar sentiment.

Wada =su spooda gaya =ta di. (*SF* 4:50)
AUX.PRF =2S.NOM do.according.to tradition =1P.GEN INT.PRF
You have done according to our cultural tradition.

This is what the old lady says to Mona as she gives him his tattoos following his first successful headhunt. Another verb that takes *gaya* as its object in a translation of *xiějì zǔlíng* is *snetun*:

> *Theyaq yami m-osa snetun gaya kusun*. (*SF* 1:40:14)
> accompany 1P.EX.ACC AF-go uphold tradition tomorrow
> Accompany us – excluding you – tomorrow to uphold cultural tradition.

In this scene, Mona Rudo asks Hanaoka Ichirō to join the attack against the Japanese. In the dictionary, *snetun* is "uphold" or "abide by," but my language teacher Pawan Nawi (Liu Dexing) thought it meant to "tidy up" or by extension "restore." This is the dictionary definition of *snetur*, which in Tgdaya would be pronounced *snetun*.

In this case the restoration of *gaya* means headhunting. According to Robert Blust's online Austronesian Comparative Dictionary, the Proto-Austronesian root *ŋayaw, of which *gaya* is a reflex, means headhunting. Indeed, *mgaya* can mean "to headhunt." If that is the original meaning, then "to practice the tradition of which headhunting is a part" would be the extended meaning. Many of the examples above could be interpreted broadly as practicing cultural tradition or narrowly as headhunting.

In addition to headhunting specifically and cultural tradition in general, an Atayal reflex of the same root, *gaga*, means "band" or "clan." Neither is a possible interpretation of *gaya* and cognates in Seediq. As Scott Simon notes, Seediq people reject the idea that *gaya* might mean *un group social* (2012b: 57). The data from the film agree with Simon's observation: *gaya* never means "a social group" in *Seediq Bale*. But the data suggest that the meaning of *gaya* has been extended in other ways.

For instance, in the confrontation at the trading post, when Mona Rudo and Teymu Walis meet for the first time, at a time when Mona Rudo has proven himself but Teymu Walis is not yet a man, Teymu nonetheless promises Mona that he will take his head when he grows up. In response, Mona says:

> *Paru =su, so nii uka gaya?*
> big =2S.NOM like this NEG manners
> You expect to grow up, not knowing your manners like this?

According to Mona in about 1895, Teymu is ill-mannered. Literally, Teymu lacks the *gaya* appropriate to a *riso*, a young man who has not headhunted. But did the *gaya* for *riso* apply to the nearly middle-aged men of the village of Gungu who, living under colonialism since around 1910, had not had the chance to go headhunting yet in 1930? They obviously do not think the *gaya* for *riso* applies to them when they try to shame their chief Tado Nokan into joining the rebellion. "Where's your self-respect, hunting here without a gun or a hunting ground of

your own?" Pihu Walis asks, insolently. Chief Tado, who just as obviously thinks the *gaya* for *riso* still applies, replies (*SF* 1:34:37):

你這	個	沒有	圖騰	的	孩子	不要	忘了	你的	身份。
Nǐ zhè	*ge*	*méi-yǒu*	*túténg*	*de*	*háizi*	*bú-yào*	*wàng-le*	*nǐ-de*	*shēnfèn.*
1s this	CL	NEG-have	totem	GEN	child	NEG-AUX	forget-PRF	2s-GEN	status

Child without a tattoo, don't you forget your status.

Riso	*uka*	*gaya,*	*bleyaq*	*hari*	*kari*	*=su!*
young.man	NEG	manners/tattoo	be.careful	a.bit.more	speech	=2s.GEN

Youth without manners/tattoos, watch your tongue!

Uka gaya here could mean "without manners," lacking the *gaya* appropriate to one's station in life. But *gaya* here is a translation of *túténg*, a loanword from the English word "totem" that can mean "tattoo" in Mandarin (see ch. 6 sec. 2.3). *Gaya* here appears to mean the tattoos a successful headhunter was entitled to receive. *Gaya* also seems to mean "headhunter's tattoos" in Mona's persuasion of Tado Nokan, in which Mona gives Tado a taste of his own rhetorical medicine. Mona refers to the "pale faces" of young men like Pihu Walis and asks: "[D]on't you think they deserve the chance to prove themselves?" In other words, Pihu Walis may be insolent, but Chief Tado is also wrong in not giving a nearly middle-aged *riso* like Pihu Walis a chance to prove themselves. In reply to Mona, Tado asks: "(Are you doing it for the) *túténg*?" And in reply to Tado, Mona declares: "(Yes, for the) *túténg*!" (*SF* 1:53:05). According to the Mandarin, Mona is going to lead an attack on the Japanese to qualify the young men for the tattoos of manhood.

In the English subtitle for this line, *túténg* was translated into "ancestral spirit." *Túténg* cannot possibly mean ancestral spirit; the English subtitler Su Ruiqin must have translated what Tado and Mona actually say, not the Mandarin subtitle. What they actually say is *gaya*. Su Ruiqin must have thought that *gaya* means ancestral spirit in this context. But can *gaya* mean ancestral spirit in any context? In the novelization of the screenplay by Yan Yunnong, *gaya* means ancestral spirit(s) throughout. For instance: "The Seediq people's wrath, can GAYA hear it?" (Yan 2011 [2004]: 97); "Will we get the approval of GAYA?" (148); and "Don't let GAYA wait too long!" (181). None of these examples makes sense unless *gaya* means "ancestral spirit(s)." Yan Yunnong must have gotten the idea that *gaya* means this from Wei's 2000 screenplay. In the screenplay, Wei had used the phrase 執行祖靈 *zhíxíng zǔlíng* (Wei 2000: 59). *Zhíxíng* is "carry out," *zǔlíng* "ancestral spirits." I assume that *zhíxíng zǔlíng* was Wei Te-sheng's attempt to translate *mgaya*, a verbalization of *gaya* that means "to practice *gaya*." Indeed, Iwan Nawi (Wei 2014: 178) backtranslated *zhíxíng zǔlíng* into *mwaya*, the Toda cognate of *mgaya*. If *gaya* can mean "ancestral spirits," then perhaps we had try to take *zhíxíng zǔlíng* seriously as a legitimate translation of *mgaya* (or the Toda *mwaya*). But what could "carry out the ancestral spirits" possibly mean? Though it is bizarre, I think it is interpretable, as "do what the ancestral spirits mandate."

One would assume that the ancestral spirits are out there somewhere, but in a final example, *gaya* is in here. The final example is a line that Wei Te-sheng added to the scene in which Mona shoots his wife, Bakan. Wei added the line in consultation with Dakis Pawan in late April 2010 after Dakis told him Mona's shooting of his wife went against *gaya* (*RB* 1:43:03; see introduction pp. 6–7):

Nǐ-de	*zǔ-líng*	*zài*	*nǎlǐ?*	*Wada*	*inu*	*gaya* =*su*	*di?*
2S-GEN	ancestor-spirit	at	where	AUX		where *gaya* =2P.GEN	INT
Where has your ancestral spirit gone?				Where has your *gaya* gone?			

In the Mandarin to the left, Bakan asks Mona where his "ancestral spirit" has gone, which seems obscure. The Seediq on the right, by contrast, seems straightforward: Bakan is apparently asking Mona where his sense of right and wrong has gone. But her criticism might be even stronger, if *gaya* here means the "power" of the ancestral spirits that is present in Mona's person if he conducts himself morally, and which he is forfeiting by immorally endangering the women and children in his community. According to the anthropologist Wang Meixia, the Atayal cognate *gaga* can be understood as the *línglì*, the "spiritual power" invested by the ancestral spirits in a person who fulfills their mandate (Wang 2003: 84 note 3, 86–89). Though we should not assume that what is true of *gaga* should also be true of *gaya*, "spiritual power" might gloss *gaya*, too. I would have assumed that such power would have been discussed in terms of *utux*, but it seems that *gaya* was used as well. In a footnote to a Mandarin translation of Sayama Yūkichi's ethnography (see ch. 4), the Pusu Qhuni, the Root Tree from which the Seediq believed they were descended (see ch. 6 sec. 2.1), is located in "an area that is heavy in *gaya*" (Zuoshan 2011: 1.16 note 30), as if *gaya* is a potent spiritual stuff that suffuses space, thickening the very air. As the main Seediq-language consultant on this Mandarin translation, Dakis Pawan must have been the source of this comment about the heavy *gaya* around the Pusu Qhuni. If Dakis thinks that spiritual power is a possible gloss on *gaya*, then *Wada inu gaya su?* could mean "Where has your spiritual power gone?" Whatever Wei Te-sheng intended, another possible interpretation of *zǔlíng* in the Mandarin subtitle (above left) is that it is a portmanteau of *zǔxiān* and *línglì*:

祖先	的	靈力
zǔxiān	*de*	*líng-lì*
ancestor	GEN	spirit-power
the spiritual power of the ancestors		

Perhaps both readings, "ancestral spirits" and "spiritual power of the ancestors," are intended for the Mandarin *zǔlíng*, and both meanings are possible for the Seediq *gaya*, if the power of the ancestral spirits is present in Mona Rudo's person, as the source of his charisma.

The ancestors would only confer *gaya*, meaning "spiritual power," upon someone who was worthy of it, not just because he behaved morally but also because he moved others to behave morally. He could move people as a role model, but not only as a role model. A Seediq leader was powerful not just as someone who practiced what he preached, but also as someone who preached what he practiced. *Gaya* was not just moral praxis, but also moral praxis as it could be talked about so that it could be handed down. As Wang Meixia put it, *gaga* (the Atayal cognate of Seediq *gaya*), can mean "the words handed down by the ancestors" (2003: 77), which are powerful and have to be obeyed. As the English subtitler Su Ruiqin put it, in her translation of Rudo Luhe's admonition to his son: "Abide by our ancestral dictations" (*SF* 36:46, see p. 117 above). As a cognate of "dictate," "dictation" gets at this other aspect of *gaya*, if *gaya* can mean "ineluctably prescriptive speech."

In the previous section I discussed how the meaning of *dmahun* and cognates has changed since 1930. Now I can conduct the same analysis of *gaya*. With literacy and state rule, *gaya* now includes written law, which is written in Mandarin but can be translated into Seediq in terms of *gaya*. Some aspects of the law are basically not open to discussion, and could be described as ineluctably prescriptive. But other aspects are open to discussion. Seediq *gaya* might inform legal reforms that grant more autonomy to indigenous communities, whether face-to-face village communities like Gluban or imagined communities like the Sediq Nation, as might evolving international norms (see Simon and Tsai 2015). The translators I have studied in this monograph are working within the legal system. They are reformist, not revolutionary. They acknowledge the need for a written law of the land, parts of which might as well be etched in stone, but most of which is improvable. This acknowledgment has changed how people discuss matters of practice in terms of *gaya*.

Citing *gaya* in such discussions can be viewed as a rhetorical move (see introduction sec. 2), but nobody today would make this move like Mona Rudo did. As a member of the last generation that grew up before colonization, at a time when new technologies allowed for unprecedented consolidation of power, Mona Rudo was, if *Seediq Bale* is to be believed, a lot more aggressive than almost anyone would be today. In his day, Mona Rudo was the law, and the spirit of the law was in some sense in him. He assumed he had the right to lay it down, by force if necessary. Today the state has a legal monopoly on the legitimate use of violence, which the translators accept (cf. ch. 1 note 8). As a result of their acceptance, the general tone of discussions of *gaya* (or any discussion in which *gaya* is invoked) is more civil.

Moreover, because people are interacting across greater distances, not to mention all the differences in personal experiences (see introduction pp. 10–11), it not surprisingly comes out that there are "different individual interpretations of Gaya" (Simon and Tsai 2015: 3). This might seem to be a source of embarrassment, as if the Seediq cannot make up their minds about what their culture is. They might want to put up a pretense of consensus on certain issues, to practice strategic essentialism when they represent their culture to outsiders who cannot

understand that culture is adaptation not essence (see introduction note 7). But in fact nobody should be embarrassed, if *gaya* is understood as a discourse on practice that constrains practice in an ongoing process of cultural "reinterpretation" and "invention" (Wang 2008: 1–2). Part and parcel of a reinterpretation of culture is the redefinition of keywords like *dmahun*, *gaya*, and *seediq bale*, a Seediq backtranslation of *yīngxióng*, the fourth and final keyword in Wei's Mandarin-language explanation of the Seediq motivation of the Musha Incident.

4 From *yīngxióng* to *seediq bale* and hero

According to Wei Te-sheng's screenplay, by carrying out the blood ritual to the ancestral spirits and thereby upholding the moral norms of the ancestral law of which the Seediq were so proud, the Seediq became *yīngxióng* (英雄), "heroes." In the introduction to chapter 1, I contested the criticism that Wei imposed an alien, individualistic notion of heroism on the Seediq because it seems to me that "heroic" is not inapt for certain aspects of Seediq culture. Judging from the legend of the sun-shooting hero (ch. 6 pp. 138–139), Seediq-style heroism was an individual deed on behalf of and supported by the community. That may not be Ayn Rand's idea of heroism, but is it so different from our idea, or Hollywood's idea, of heroism, or a Mandarin speaker's idea of what an *yīngxióng* should be? It seems to me that for Wei to translate *seediq bale* into *yīngxióng* made sense. If it was not a good translation, it would have been less straightforward to backtranslate. In Dakis Pawan's draft translation, *yīngxióng*, backtranslated once as *mbeyax riyung*, meaning "very strong," but in the Seediq shooting script it backtranslated every single time as *seediq bale* or *rseno bale*, true person or real man. It also seems to me that Wei Te-sheng went out of his way to suggest to the audience that the heroes in the film were not the "heroes" they were familiar with from traditional Chinese historical novels, nationalist propaganda, or Hollywood films, because he complemented the domesticating translation *yīngxióng* with a pair of foreignized terms, a transliteration and a literal translation. The transliteration is *sāidékè bālái*, and the literal translation is:

真正	的	人
zhēn-zhèng	*de*	*rén*
true-upright	GEN	person

true person/real people

Two analogous foreignized translations complemented *eiyū* with *sedekku bare*/*shin no hito* in the Japanese subtitles and "hero" with *seediq bale*/"true Seediq" in the English.

Though the Mandarin, Japanese, and English subtitles can be commended for drawing the audience slightly closer to Seediq culture, one aspect of Seediq culture was too technical for any mass audience to understand: *seediq bale* is a phrase. As in any phrase, the words composing *seediq bale* are separable. Using the English plural inflection, it would be *seediq*-s *bale*, not *seediq bale*-s. And

though *seediq* is a noun, it could be verbalized, as in the conclusion of Rudo Luhe's monologue to his son:

Mp-seediq	*=ta*	*bale*. (*SF* 36:49)
AF.FUT-person	=1P.NOM	true

We will all become true people some day.

There is only so much Wei Te-sheng or his relay translators could do in the subtitles to a feature film. They could only suggest aspects of Seediq culture. By foreignizing to whatever extent, they were pointing the Mandarin-speaking audience in the right direction. For the Seediq-speaking audience, by contrast, *seediq bale* instantly crystallized understanding. There were so many things that a Seediq speaker did not need to be told, which he or she could supply from background knowledge, including the fact that in the eighty years since the Musha Incident, the meanings of *seediq*, *bale,* and *seediq bale* had changed.

Seediq originally meant "person," but could also mean certain groups of "people." Contact with other peoples who spoke different languages turned *seediq* into an ethnonym and a glossonym. But the word *seediq* is not restricted to a certain kind of person. Reader, you, too, are a *seediq*. As for *bale*, it means "real" or "true," but seems originally to have meant "local," too. For instance, *sama bale* is "Indian lettuce" (*Lactuca indica*), a local wild leafy vegetable, and *huling bale* is a Taiwan mountain dog, a local canine breed (Guo 2011: 190–191). In this sense, the usage of the word *bale* seems to have reflected a suspicion of foreign things, a preference for the familiar. It doesn't anymore. In the village of Meixi, Iwan Pering's home village, on the road from Puli to Wushe (the Mandarin pronunciation of Musha), farmers have adopted permaculture. They have also embraced ethical animal rearing, and were recently promoting what they term, in Mandarin, 巴萊豬 *bālái zhū* (Liao 2017). *Bālái* is *bale*, and *zhū* is the Mandarin for "pig." *Bālái zhū* means "true pig." The adj-noun order conforms to Mandarin and English norms; *zhū bālái* or "pig true" would conform to the normal noun-adj Seediq order, *babuy bale*. But the point is not the order. The point is that the meaning of *bale* has shifted. It may still mean local, but now that it applies to "ethically raised pig," it is obviously also informed by ideals that Seediq people a century ago would never have considered. These ideals were foreign. Now Seediq people have made them their own, as they reinterpret what it means to be a *seediq bale*.

In this regard, modern Seediq people form quite a contrast to Mona Rudo, as represented in the film. In *Seediq Bale*, Mona Rudo is certain that if the young men of his village community do not get the chance to headhunt, they will never become real men; they will forfeit their eternal souls. Wei's Mona evinces none of the ethical or epistemological doubt or the ecumenical spirit that characterizes a modern believer, at least one who embraces life in a community of people who practice different faiths. In *Seediq Bale*, Mona is a true believer, and his is the only way. If he defended his way with violence today, we would call him a terrorist, though we should not forget that the term terrorism once referred to state-inflicted violence. In 1930, Mona Rudo might have been a terrorist in his rebellion, but

Kamada Yohiko inflicted terrorism in his reprisal. Whether the terrorist label applies to Mona Rudo or Kamada Yohiko in 1930, nobody today would discuss the Seediq, or the government of Taiwan, in terms of terrorism. As Christians, the Seediq translators I have studied in this monograph may be true believers, but I would be shocked to hear any of them claim that theirs in the only way to become a *seediq bale*. I am sure they would agree that there are many ways to be a true person. Theirs is to be Seediq in a multicultural democracy. The descendants of the survivors of the Musha Incident have shown us how a martial culture can be civilly reinterpreted in just a few generations (just as the Taiwanese people have shown the world that a culturally Chinese country can turn itself into a democracy with a thriving civil society in a single generation after four decades under martial law). The fact that the Seediq people have made a transition from a martial to a civil outlook is part of why the backtranslation of the keywords I have discussed in this chapter was so "thick."

5 The thicker backtranslation of cultural keywords

As I explained in the preface to this monograph, I have applied the metaphor of thickness to the web of culture in which, according to Clifford Geertz (and to Weber and Humboldt before him), we search for meaning (Geertz 1973: 5). The strands of the web, and the web as a whole, might be thick in the way that hair is thick. Kwame Anthony Appiah (2012 [1993]) seems to understand the metaphor in a different way when he argues for "thick" translations that "locate the text in a rich cultural and linguistic context" (341). Appiah's understanding seems different in that "rich" implies a viscous fluid, as if a linguistic and cultural context is like a thick, rich stew. However he understands the metaphor, I assume he would agree that the thicker translations are the better; but no matter how thick, a translation is thinner, less rich, than the original it is a translation of. Though foreignized, Wei Te-sheng's translations of *pkuuro*, *dmahun*, *gaya*, and *seediq bale* into Mandarin are much thinner, much less rich, than the original Seediq terms.

What I have shown in this chapter is that the backtranslations from Mandarin into Seediq were thicker than the translations ever could have been. The backtranslations were not thicker in the sense that the translators included a lot of contextual description of the sort Appiah had in mind. The translators could not have included such contextual description, because they were translating for a film. But they did not have to, because the Seediq audience knew the context. The backtranslations were thicker simply because they had been restored to the cultural context the Seediq audience was familiar with. This context is a thick web of concepts, in which each keyword is a highly interconnected node. The Seediq backtranslations were thicker and more interconnected, than Wei's Mandarin translations, which were rather like orphaned articles on Wikipedia.

In fact, the Seediq backtranslations were not just thicker than the Mandarin translations, they were thicker in 2010, at the time the film was made, than they would have been in 1930, at the time it was set. *Dmahun* may be so much more meaningful in Seediq than *xiějì zǔlíng* is in Chinese or "blood-sacrifice to the

ancestral spirits" is in English, where the Mandarin and English are mere glosses, attempts to capture aspects of what is multifaceted. But *dmahun* in 2010 is more multifaceted than *dmahun* in 1930, because now it also means the Christian communion, not to mention dialectic and translation.

The translators thickened strands – connections between nodes in the Seediq web of culture – and the web as a whole simply by translating. For instance:

Gaya	*n-Seediq,*	*md-dahun*	*=ta*	*hiya*. (*SF* 1:25:01)
tradition	GEN-seediq	AF.REC-share	=1P.NOM	there

The cultural tradition of the Seediq is sharing there among ourselves.

In this line from the Song of the Seediq Bale, guided by Wei Te-sheng's attempt to evoke the traditional Seediq lifestyle (see p. 118 above), the translators have collocated the keywords *gaya* and *mddahun*. If *gaya . . . mddahun* is an extant collocation, the translators have strengthened the connection. If it is a new collocation, the translators have established a new connection, spun a new strand in the web of culture, making the web slightly thicker, the way we are all doing every time we translate, at least for ourselves.

If translations have engaged readers, the webs they are spinning in their minds as they read will thicken, slightly, with the effort of understanding. You, Reader, might thicken your web of Seediq culture simply by trying to understand this line about *gaya n-Seediq* as *mddahun* in Seediq terms in the context of "the traditional Seediq lifestyle." You could thicken your web of Seediq culture further by trying to understand this line in other contexts, for instance the Musha Incident, contemporary Seediq society, and interpersonal interaction in general – contexts to which I will return in the conclusion.

Another way to thicken your web of Seediq culture would be to look beyond keywords to the wider web of "traditional" Seediq terms, terms that, just like the keywords I have discussed in this chapter, are subject to reinterpretation in the Seediq passage to modernity. I turn to these other terms in chapter 6.

Notes

1 I use the word interpretation in the singular because I am offering a single multifaceted interpretation of the translation. Ideally, my interpretation of the translation would also find agreement among the translators. As I demonstrated in the introduction (p. 12), they are consensus-minded, despite their disagreements. It is in the spirit of consensus that I offer my interpretation, knowing that it is in the nature of things for any consensus to get revised.

2 The line about Nasuno being Pihu Walis's friend is the only allusion in the film to the Salamao Incident, as it is called today, in which Mona Rudo probably collaborated with the Japanese, helping them put down resistance among the Slamaw Atayal. According to Yan Yunnong's novelization (2011 [2004]: 205) of Wei's screenplay (Wei 2000), Pihu Walis and Nasuno were brothers in arms in the pacification of the Slamaw in 1920.

3 The stone that the Seediq once buried is reminiscent of the hatchet that American Indians buried, in that the stone might simply represent the antagonism that both sides wanted to put behind them. There is another possibility. Given that according to Deng Xiangyang

(2000: 123), the two parties to a Seediq peace-seeking ceremony would use a ladle to drip water on the stone before burying it, the stone might also be a symbolic seed out of which something new might grow.

4 According to Koizumi Magane, a Japanese ethnographer who visited the Wushe area in the late 1920s, when someone joined a community, he had to slaughter a pig to *dmahun* – to "feast" – the members of the community, as a contribution to the community (Xiaoquan 2014 [1933]: 158–159). It appears that the same kind of contribution was part of the coming-of-age ceremony, at least for men.

5 There is at least one more way to understand the film's interpretation of the Wushe Incident in terms of *dmahun*. According to Iwan Pering (Wang and Yiwan 2012: 32), *dmahun* is a ritual of ablution, the goal of which is *smino gaya*. *Smino* is a verb in agent focus derived from the noun *sino*, wine. Though *sino* means wine, *smino* usually means "wash with water." In *dmahun*, however, blood is used instead of water. *Smino gaya* means "wash *gaya* in blood." What does this mean? According to Iwan, *gaya* here means "a state of pollution" that people wash away with blood. But according to her Toda informant, "blood is used to wash away those bad things, to wash the *waya* [Tgdaya: *gaya*] that we have damaged, and let it return to its original state." As a result, there are two ways to understand the Wushe Incident as a ritual ablution. The rebels were using blood either to wash *gaya* clean or to wash away a state of pollution. Mona Rudo seems to refer to a state of pollution that has to be washed away when he exhorts the warriors to:

用	鮮血	洗淨	靈魂！(*SF* 1:56:04)
Yòng	*xīan-xiě*	*xǐ-jìng*	*línghún!*
use	fresh-blood	wash-clean	soul

Use fresh blood to wash your souls clean!

But Dakis Pawan did not use *smino* in his translation of this line or any other line in the screenplay. So while Wei Te-sheng interpreted the incident partly as a ritual of ablution, the translators did not, at least not in their translation.

References

Appiah, Kwame Anthony (2012 [1993]) "Thick Translation," in Lawrence Venuti (ed), *The Translation Studies Reader*, 3rd edition, New York: Routledge, 331–343.

Aweihebaha (Awi Hepah; Gao Aide); Xu Jielin (ed); Lin Daosheng (trans) (2000 [1985]) *Aweihebaha de Wushe Shijian Zhengyan* (*Awi Hepah Bears Witness to the Musha Incident*), Taibei: Taiyuan.

Bawan Danaha (Pawan Tanah; Shen Mingren) (1998) *Chongxin Zuling de Minzu: Saideke Ren* (*The People Who Worship Ancestral Spirits: The Seediq*), Taibei: Haiweng.

Deng Xiangyang (2000) *Fengzhong Feiying: Wushe Shijian Zhenxiang ji Huagang Chuzi de Gushi* (*Dana Sakura/Cherry Blossoms in the Wind: The Truth of the Musha Incident and the Story of Hanaoka Hatsuko [Obing Tado]*), Taibei: Yushan.

Geertz, Clifford (1973) "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 3–30.

Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (2011) *Zhenxiang Balai: Saideke Balai de Lishi Zhenxiang yu Suipai Zhaji* (*Truth Bale: The Historical Truth of Seediq Bale and a Production Diary*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Huang Linghua (Iwan Nawi) (2003) "Xu" (Introduction), in Qiu Ruolong; Huang Linghua (Iwan Nawi) (trans), *Taiwan Yuanzhumin Lishi Manhuashu Wushe Shijian Saidekezu Todayu Banben* (*Toda Sediq Language Version of the Taiwan Indigenous Historical Comic Book Musha Incident*), Taibei: Jiaoyuju (Ministry of Education).

Huang Yijuan and You Wenxing (2011) *Dianying Balai: Saideke Balai muqian muhou quan jilu* (*Movie Bale: Complete Record of Seediq Bale Behind the Scenes and in Front*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Liao Zhaoxiang (2017) "Meixi Buluo Tui Ziran Nongye: Balai Zhu Dengchang" (Meixi Village Promotion of Natural Agriculture: The Debut of the True Pig), *Zhongguo Shibao* (*China Times*) (June 17).

Masaw, Mona (Liao Shouchen) (1998) *Taiyazu de Shehui Zuzhi* (*Atayal Social Organization*), Hualian: Sili Ciji Yixue Ji Renwen Shehui Xueyuan (Tzu Chi University Research Center on Aboriginal Health).

Pacidal, Nakao Eki (2012) "Zhongjianzhe zhi Lian: *Saideke Balai* de Yuanzhumin Lishi Yanjiuzhe Yingxiang" (The Face of the Inbetweener: The Image of [the] Indigenous History Researcher as Reflected in *Seediq Bale*), *Taida wenshizhe xuebao* (*Humanitas Taiwanica*), 77 (November): 167–197.

Pihuwarisu (Pihu Walis; Gao Yongqing) (1988) *Musha Hizakuara no Kuruizaki: Gyakusatsu Jiken Ikinokori no Shōgen* (*The Madness of the Cherry Blossoms of Musha: Testimony of Survival of an Incident of Massacre*), Tōkyō: Kyōbunkan.

Simon, Scott (2012a) "Politics and Headhunting Among the Formosan Sejiq: Ethnohistorical Perspectives," *Oceania*, 82: 164–185.

Simon, Scott (2012b) *Sadyaq Balae! L'Autochtonie Formosane Dans Tous Ses États* (*Seediq Bale! Formosan Indigeneity in All Its States*), Québec, Canada: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Simon, Scott (2015) "Real People, Real Dogs, and Pigs for the Ancestors: The Moral Universe of 'Domestication' in Indigenous Taiwan," *American Anthropologist*, 117.4: 693–709.

Simon, Scott and Awi Mona (Chih-Wei Tsai) (2015) "Indigenous Rights and Wildlife Conservation: The Vernacularization of International Law on Taiwan," *Taiwan Journal of Human Rights*, 3.1: (June) 3–31.

Wang Meixia (Wang Mei-hsia) (2003) "Cong Gaga de Duoyixing Kan Taiyazu de Shehui Xingzhi" (Exploring the Social Characteristics of the Dayan: Multiple Meanings of Gaga), *Taiwan Renlei Xuekan* (*Taiwan Journal of Anthropology*), 1.1: 77–104.

Wang, Mei-hsia (2008) "The Reinvention of Ethnicity and Culture: A Comparative Study on the Atayal and the Truku in Taiwan," *Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 68: 1–44.

Wang Meixia (Wang Mei-hsia) and Yiwan Beilin (Iwan Pering) (2012) "'Wenhua Dongqilai': Saidekezu Wenhua Chanye de Yanjiu" (Activating the Sediq Culture: A Study of Cultural Industry in a Sediq Community), *Minsu Quyi* (*Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theater and Folklore*), 176 (June): 1–53.

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2000) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Xinwenju (Government Information Office).

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng); Yiwan Nawei (Iwan Nawi) (trans) (2014) *Kari Toda Patas eyga Sediq balay* (*The Toda Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*)/*Saideke Balai Saidekeyu Jubenshu* (*Seediq-Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Yushan.

Xiaoquan Tie (Koizumi Magane); Huang Tingzhuan and He Peiyi (trans) (2014 [1933]) *Taiwan Tusu Zhi* (*Record of Local Taiwan Customs*), Taibei: Yuanminhui (Council of Indigenous Peoples).

Yan Yunnong (2011 [2004]) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Yiwan Nawei (Iwan Nawi) (2014) "Fanyi Balai" (True Translation)/"Kari Sediq Balay" (True Seediq Language), in Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng); Yiwan Nawei (Iwan Nawi)

(trans), *Kari Toda Patas eyga Sediq balay* (*The Toda Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*)/*Saideke Balai Saidekeyu Jubenshu* (*Seediq-Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Yushan, 13–17.

Zuoshan Rongji (Sayama Yūkichi) (2011 [1917]) *Fanzu Diaocha Baogaoshu* disice (*Savage Races Survey Report vol. 4* [in two parts, one for central Taiwan, one for the east coast]), Nangang, Taibei: Zhongyanyuan (Academia Sinica).

6 From Hako Utux to Rainbow Bridge
Into the translational middle ground

In chapter 5, I discussed the translation of four traditional Seediq keywords into Mandarin and back into Seediq. In this chapter I discuss the translation and relay translation of nodes in the wider web of traditional Seediq terms. Although in the previous chapter I doubted native speakers' claims about usage (ch. 5 sec. 1), I assume their linguistic output is representative, and the best standard we have to assess the representation of Seediq culture in Wei Te-sheng's Mandarin screenplay or in Osaka Fumiko's Japanese and Su Ruiqin's English translations of the Mandarin subtitles. In taking the Seediq translation as the standard to measure the Mandarin by, I am treating it as the original. As in chapter 5, for some of the terms discussed in this chapter, the Seediq *was* the original. Wei's Mandarin terms were to some extent based on explanations of Seediq terms he heard from translators like Shen Mingren.

My question is: How well were Wei, Osaka, and Su able to understand and represent Seediq culture in Mandarin, Japanese, and English in comparison to earlier attempts, so that members of the audiences could understand how Seediq characters in the film would have made sense of their situations in Seediq terms? I answer this question in terms of Lawrence Venuti's distinction between foreignization and domestication (see introduction note 5), which I position in a "middle ground" of evolving intercultural (mis)understanding. It is in this middle ground that I limn the lineaments of the web of culture that Seediq people spin in search of meaning.

1 Local domestication, overall foreignization in a middle ground of translation

In asking and trying to answer this question about how well the Mandarin, Japanese, and English versions of *Seediq Bale* represent Seediq culture, I am responding to an article by a Taiwanese scholar named Li Yiqian (Lee Yi-chien). Professor Li makes two main arguments about the Mandarin subtitles and their English translation in her article (Li 2016). First, she argues that the Mandarin subtitles in 2011 are relatively domesticated compared with the screenplay in 2000, which was relatively foreignized. For instance, in the screenplay, Wei Te-sheng used a transliteration *dámǎ* [taˀmaɻ] for the Seediq *tama* ['tamă], an almost exact

phonetic match, and supplied the Mandarin word for "dad" (爸爸 *bàba*) in brackets (Wei 2000: 26); but by 2011 Wei had changed "*dámǎ* (dad)" to "father" (父親 *fùqīn*) (Li 2016: 57). As a move away from the Seediq and toward the Mandarin audience, this is a domestication. This domestication is not "rectified," as Li puts it (40), in an allusion[1] to the *Analects*, in the English subtitles: Su Ruiqin just wrote "father."

Li Yiqian's second argument is that in some cases the English subtitler Su Ruiqin did "rectify" Wei's domestication, getting closer to the Seediq original than the Mandarin subtitles had done. For instance, in the 2000 screenplay, Wei used the romanization *sisin* for a bird that brings hunters messages from the ancestors (Wei 2000: 57). By 2011, Wei had "domesticated" *sisin* into 靈鳥 *língniǎo*, which would calque into "spirit bird." Instead of calquing it, Su Ruiqin translated *língniǎo* back into *sisin*, to which she added "babbler." The *sisin* part is clearly a foreignization toward the Seediq, because it draws the audience closer to the original sound. And the addition of "babbler" provides cultural background an English audience lacks.

Here is my response to Li Yiqian in terms of domestication and foreignization.

The concept of cultural difference implicit in the terms foreignization and domestication, where one approaches the foreign culture by foreignization or recedes from it by domestication, lacks nuance, in so far as any culture, especially an *abstand* culture, is better characterized as a constellation of moving targets than a grid of static objects. Seediq culture is a meaningful constellation of moving targets that activists like Dakis Pawan and Iwan Pering have been trying to pin down in order to standardize Seediq and thereby revitalize it a century after their great-grandparents' submission to colonial rule.

One can understand the standardization of this cultural constellation sonically and semantically. Sonically, as the linguist Asai Erin's transcriptions of oral Seediq texts (see ch. 3 p. 63) show, there is a lot of variation even in an individual's pronunciation, which, unless we have specialist training, we usually do not notice. The written form, which might ultimately contribute to the normalization of pronunciation, is easier to pin down. There is now an official romanization system, and dictionaries to look spellings up in, with three sets of spellings for Tgdaya, Toda, and Truku, the three dialects of central Taiwan Seediq, and another set of spellings for east coast Truku. There is no need to reinvent the wheel every time one spells a word like Shen Mingren had to do twenty years ago (see ch. 3 p. 65 and ch. 5 p. 112). It is now much easier to spell consistently. In the screenplay *tama* and *sisin* are spelled the same every time.

The dictionaries are also part of the semantic standardization of the language. According to the online Tgdaya dictionary, which is supposed to represent the culture of the central Taiwan Sediq people, the *sisin* is the gray-eyed nun's babbler, also known as the gray-cheeked fulvetta (*Alcippe morrisonia*). The *sisin* appears as a CGI gray-cheeked fulvetta throughout the film. This became the official Seediq bird according to a decision made by Dakis Pawan and others in 2007 in preparation for the application for official recognition in 2008 (Simon 2018: 158–159). However, according to Shen Mingren, the *sisil* (the Truku pronunciation of *sisin*) is a Eurasian wren (*Troglodytes troglodytes*) in the central Taiwan

Truku village of Brayaw (Bawan 1998: 181), which is the bird Wei Te-sheng put in his original screenplay (2000: 12). In the east coast Truku dictionary, the *sisil* is a Japanese white-eye (*Zosterops japonica*). I cannot believe that the gray-cheeked fulvetta was the *sisin*, and the others "friends" of the *sisin* (Simon 2018: 161), in all these places. Surely the *sisin* was different in different places. But whatever the *sisin* has been historically in different places, today Seediq culture is being standardized throughout Seediqland.

For an *abstand* culture in the process of standardization, does it still make sense to use the terms foreignization and domestication? As long as we keep in mind that judgments about foreignization and domestication depend on when and where one makes them, of course it does. So are Li Yiqian's claims true? Is it true that the subtitles in the final cut are relatively domesticated compared with the 2000 screenplay? And is it true that the English subtitles are relatively foreignized compared with the Mandarin subtitles?

Certainly, the transliteration *dámǎ*, Li's example from the 2000 screenplay, got the audience pretty close to the sound of the Seediq word for father, *tama*. But in general, transliteration is a bad idea if one's goal is to represent the sound of the original term accurately, because Mandarin phonology is not Seediq phonology. It might be better to let the audience listen to Mona call his father *tama*, and focus on the semantics in the translation of the subtitle. Semantically, by putting the Mandarin word for "dad" in brackets after *dámǎ* in the original screenplay, Wei Te-sheng implied equivalence. Anyone who has studied the terminology of kinship would wonder if Mandarin and Seediq have the same kinship system. (They don't, see p. 139 below.) In this respect, the change from "dad" in the screenplay to "father" in the subtitles, from the –formal to +formal terms for male parent, gets the audience no farther away or closer to the Seediq concept.

Romanizations like *sisin* in Wei's 2000 screenplay and the English subtitles would generally get the audience closer to the sound than any transliteration, *if* they know the system. But most people are not very good at pronouncing words written in the International Phonetic Alphabet, let alone in an unfamiliar romanization. *Sisin* is actually pronounced ['ʃiʃin], with an "sh" sound not an "s" sound (see Phonology in the front matter). In audio context, however, the audience has only to open their ears, and a model representation of the sound of *sisin* will be there for them to listen to. Here, again, English subber Su Ruiqin would have been better off focusing on the semantics. She needn't have worried about the particular kind of bird the *sisin* was supposed to be, because the bird that Dakis Pawan thinks is the *sisin* is flying around on the screen. Birdwatchers in the audience will recognize it, non-birders would not know what a "babbler" was if it landed on their shoulders and babbled in their ears. Actually, without the image of the bird to watch, birders would not know which "babbler" was intended: there are two whole families of babblers, the babblers and the jungle babblers. Given that traditional Seediq people were not ornithologists, however many kinds of bird they could recognize, it would have been better to indicate the role of the bird in Seediq belief. This *língniǎo* did, and "spirit bird," a calque of *língniǎo*, would have done. "Spirit bird" does not

correspond to anything in Seediq; *sisin* is apparently an arbitrary association of sound and sense. "Spirit bird" does not correspond to anything in English, either; it is not a familiar collocation to me, but it makes immediate sense. In the context of the film (*SF* 8:04), it is a bird that brings hunters messages from the spirit world.

This is not to say that the English subtitles were no good, that the Mandarin subtitles could not be improved upon, or that the 2000 screenplay was not in certain respects better than the 2011 subtitles. It is to say:

First, although there was a slight "local domestication" toward the Mandarin-speaking audience from the screenplay in 2000 to the subtitles in the final cut in 2011, even the subtitles represent an "overall foreignization," meaning an overall trend toward foreignization into Mandarin. In other words, the subtitles are foreignized compared with previous representations of Seediq culture by popularizers like Deng Xiangyang, who was still using the Sinicism Yellow Springs, a domestication, to refer to the Seediq afterlife in 2000 (Deng 2000: 83, 106), or even by Seediq intellectuals like Shen Mingren. Although Shen avoided Yellow Springs, he described the bridge to the afterlife using the Sinicism ghost gate (ch. 3 sec. 1.1).

Second, both Osaka Fumiko's Japanese and Su Ruiqin's English subtitles are almost entirely dependent on Wei Te-sheng's Mandarin, but even so they are impressively foreignized. Moreover, although they are not "thick" (see the conclusion to ch. 5) in themselves, they are thick enough in audiovisual context for the audience to understand to some extent how Seediq characters in the film might have made sense of their situations in Seediq terms.

Third, "spirit bird," along with cultural keywords such as "blood sacrifice to the ancestral spirits" (ch. 5 sec. 2) and "the moral norms/strictures of the ancestral law" (ch. 5 sec. 3), are arguably foreignizations to some extent. As definitions of Seediq terms rather than literal translations from Seediq, they draw the audience part of the way toward the original concept. Like many products of the translation process, they drift around in a middle ground.

My use of this term is inspired by the historian Richard White's great monograph *The Middle Ground* (1991). For White, the middle ground was a place of commercial and political collaboration and conflict between Native American Indians and Europeans during the conquest and colonization of America. The concept has recently been adopted as a lens on Taiwan's history (Hirano et al. 2018). Wherever and whenever the middle ground is used as an historical lens, it is a corrective to a simplistic understanding of colonization as oppression by the colonizers and resistance by the natives. White's work is particularly noteworthy because of his interest in the cultural dimension. People on both sides of a cultural divide can form quite distorted ideas of one another's cultures, on which basis they try to advance their different aims, in "a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings." These misunderstandings are not just creative but also productive, in that "from [them] arise new meanings and through them new practices" (White 1991: x, quoted in Deloria 2006: 16).

How does the middle ground apply to *Seediq Bale*, to the translation of Wei's screenplay, or perhaps to translation in general? It is to Wei Te-sheng's credit that a couple of the Japanese characters and the Toda Sediq chief Teymu Walis take a few steps into the middle ground (ch. 1 sec. 3), saving the film from moral melodrama. But undeniably, intercultural understanding was not Wei's only aim or even his main aim. His main aim had to be to make back the budget by turning the Musha Incident into entertainment. Entertainment, not intercultural understanding, was presumably the aim for most of the audience. Given this aim, what impression did "spirit bird," "blood sacrifice to the ancestral spirits," and "the moral norms/strictures of the ancestral law" – Wei's Mandarin translations of key Seediq words – make on most audience members? Probably no impression at all. And if the occasional audience member tried to understand Seediq culture simply in terms of a blood sacrifice to the ancestral spirits, he or she would have gotten a very partial, even distorted understanding. Nevertheless, it would be hard to improve on, for instance, "blood sacrifice to the ancestral spirits" in a single phrase; it is not inherently misleading, however easy it might be to misunderstand. It would point the occasional audience member who is willing to meet the Seediq halfway in the right direction – in the direction of *dmahun*, of which it is a definition. As a definition, it is only to some extent a foreignization. It is located in a middle ground of mutual cultural (mis) understanding, where the "misunderstandings" to which White refers are usually somewhere in between perfect understanding and total misunderstanding.

I have entered the middle ground with my own aims, one of which was to put food on the table, though I could have thought of easier ways to do that than write a scholarly monograph. My main aim, I hope, was to understand. As you are still reading, you have presumably achieved some aim like insight into indigenous translation. I hope, then, it will not sound too naïve of me to assert that we can get pretty close to an understanding of an other for reasons that the other could endorse. I am trying to understand how an indigenous other is helping him or herself by reinterpreting Seediq culture today, in an evolving compromise with Taiwanese-style modernity. White insisted that the historical middle ground was not about cultural "compromise" (Deloria 2006: 16), but maybe, after a century of cultural adaptation, the contemporary one can be.[2]

2 Making meaning in the web of culture

In the previous section I claimed that the Mandarin subtitles for *Seediq Bale* are remarkably foreignized compared with previous representations of the Musha Incident or Seediq tradition and went on to position them in a translational middle ground. But obviously, the subtitles do not get us very far into this middle ground. They are no substitute for an understanding of the Musha Incident or Seediq tradition in Seediq. In the remainder of this chapter I convey the kind of contextualized linguistic understanding upon which an informed appreciation of the cultural dimensions of the film and their representation in translation or relay translation depends.

In what follows, I explain not just the Seediq concepts in relation to their Mandarin, Japanese, and English translations but also why they are important, namely how Seediq speakers could make meaning of the Musha Incident, *Seediq Bale*, or their lives on their own terms. My explanation is a simplification, but then any cultural explanation is. Like the web-spinning spider to which Clifford Geertz, Max Weber, and Wilhelm von Humboldt compared meaning-makers (see preface note 1), we all have to start somewhere; the web does not appear fully formed. A simplified web is a framework to build upon. Without wishing to imply anything about the structure of Seediq cultural ontology, I start at the beginning, with origins myths, before moving on to the discourse of social formation, the relatively autarkic traditional Seediq style of life, and the afterlife, concluding with a Seediq reading of Homi Bhabha's notion of an "after-life" of translation.

2.1 Agency and morality metaphors in origin myths

According to the film, the Seediq believed they were descended from the Pusu Qhuni, the ['pusu qu'huni]. *Pusu* means root, stem, origin, or end (as in one end of a bridge). *Qhuni* means tree. Depending on what is modifying what, the Pusu Qhuni is either the Tree Root or the Root Tree. The Pusu Qhuni is located in the Bnuhun wilderness to the southeast of Mhebu, Mona Rudo's home village. The Toda call the area Bnuhur, so the *un* at the end of Bnuhun is not the patient focus suffix *-un*, which is the same in Toda. Bnuhun appears to be an arbitrary association of sound and sense.

The subtitles, whether Mandarin, Japanese, or English handle the two toponyms differently. The Mandarin refers to the Pusu Qhuni in transliteration: *Bōsuǒkāngfūní*, a pretty crude representation of the sound, which does not indicate it is two words in Seediq, much less what the words mean. Nor does the Japanese, which would be *Pusukuni* in romaji, shedding one of the five syllables. The English is Pusu Qhuni, which is the standard Seediq romanization, and indicates that it is two different words, but not what the words mean. As for Bnuhun, it is Baishishan in the Mandarin subtitles. The Japanese translator simply copied the characters, yielding the pronunciation Shiroishiyama. English subber Su Ruiqin translated Baishishan into Whitestone Mountain. There are a couple of peaks called Whitestone, actually, and "whitestone" describes the Pusu Qhuni, which is not actually a tree but rather a shining stone pillar.[3]

The Pusu Qhuni is mentioned first (*SF* 2:10:30) in the song sung by the ancestral mother during the attack.

Qta-i,	*ga*	*kndudul*	*m-qrehaq*	*ka*	*Pusu*	*Qhuni*.
look-PF.IMP	AUX.PRG	increasingly	AF-peel	NOM	root	tree

Look, the Root Tree is peeling more and more.

Compare this with the Mandarin subtitle:

你們	看，	波索康夫尼	的	樹皮	一片片	剝落。
Nǐmén	*kàn,*	*Bōsuǒkāngfūní*	*de*	*shù-pí*	*yī-piàn-piàn*	*bō-luò*.
2P	look	Bōsuǒkāngfūní	GEN	tree-skin	one-strip-strip	peel-fall

Look, the bark of the Pusu Qhuni is peeling off strip by strip.

Obviously, by this point, the audience would have gathered that the Pusu Qhuni was a tree.

In *The Rainbow Bridge*, the Pusu Qhuni is explained as the Seediq ethnic origin in the tale told twice (*RB* 1:08:10, 2:03:37) by the leader of the child warriors, Pawan Nawi:

1 *Cbeyo cbeyo riyung,*
early early very
Once upon a time,

niq-an kingan kes-un =ta Pusu Qhuni gaga Dgiyaq Bnuhun.
exist-LF one call-PF =1P.GEN root tree at peak Bnuhun
there was what we call the Root Tree on Mt. Bnuhun.

2 *Pusu Qhuni kii, btunux icin =na.*
root tree this rock half =3S.GEN
Half of it was rock,

mg-qhuni icin =na.
become-tree half =3S.GEN
half of it had become a tree.

3 *Niq-an kingan ali,*
exist-LF one day
One day,

pusu =na tuting kingan laqi mqedin kingan laqi rseno.
root =3S.GEN fall one child girl one child boy
a girl child and a boy child fell off of its root.

4 *Kndudun m-rana laqi =daha,*
gradually AF-flame child =3P.GEN
Gradually their kids grew;

kiya pusu =ta bale rudan ita Seediq.
that root =1P.GEN true elder 1P.NOM Seediq
that's the origin of the elders of we, the Seediq people.

Three details in the Seediq are particularly meaningful. First, the Seediq shifts from the concrete meaning of *pusu*, root, in line 3 to the abstract meaning, origin, in line 4. This shift implies that Seediq people do not have to make a pilgrimage to the Pusu Qhuni to return to their ethnic roots; they can seek their cultural roots. Second, "give birth" in line 3 is literally to "fall" in Seediq, as if progeny are like seed-bearing fruits falling from the root (or stem?) of the inexhaustible tree of life. It is interesting in this regard that the same word *hei* is used in Seediq for "fruit" and "flesh." Third, in line 2 the rock *becomes* a tree, implying the mystery of life's origin from inorganic substrate.

Specific lexical relations and implications are in general untranslatable, but let us see how close the three translators got. First, none of the translators even

mentioned the roots of the Pusu Qhuni, but they make it clear that it was a tree, and anyone with an imagination and some familiarity with biology and mythology would wonder what the different parts of the Seediq tree of life might represent. Second, the Mandarin translation of *tuting*, literally "fall," but meaning "give birth to" in this example, is a compound verb, 生下 *shēng-xià*, where the second verb, romanized *xià*, is a "directional complement" that indicates the vector of the first verb. It even carries the descending tone. This descending directional complement nicely captures the literal meaning of *tuting*. As would the English terms "descended from" and "descendant," which the English subtitler Su Ruiqin uses several times in her translation of the screenplay, just not here. Third, the *mg-* prefix could have been translated into something like "turn into," but the Mandarin simply says that the tree is half-tree, half-stone, in that order, the opposite order to the Seediq. The Seediq order of *btunux icin na, mgqhuni icin na* (in line 2) is "iconic," meaning that word order follows temporal order: first there was a rock, then a tree. The iconicity is lost in the translations, in which the temporal dimension is omitted. In Seediq, the rock becomes half-tree, or half the rock becomes a tree; in all the translations it is simply half-tree. A mystery, surely, but less of one than the mystery of inorganic matter coming to life. There is a compensation – a personification in the first two lines of the Mandarin, which refer to the "tree body" (樹身 *shùshēn*). Neither the Japanese nor the English catches the personification. Su Ruiqin, for instance, translated "tree body" into "tree trunk."

Besides the Pusu Qhuni, another ethnic origin is mentioned in the movie, the Utux Tmninun (ch. 3 p. 68). The Utux Tmninun was a weaving spirit who measured out a certain length of yarn for each individual life. The oral historical research of Temi Nawi, actor and translator Pawan Nawi (Zeng Qiusheng)'s elder sister, suggests that the two metaphorical origins are contiguous: skeins of ramie yarn left in a cave at the base of the Pusu Qhuni disappeared and reappeared as if by the tree's agency (Tiemi'naweiyi 2009: v. 2 25–33). I picture the Weaving Spirit in a hollow at the base of the Root Tree. At the moment the Weaving Spirit figured out the art of spinning and weaving, She gave birth to human culture.

There is no Weaving Spirit in Wei's Mandarin, but She is implicit in this line:

神靈	爲	我們	編織了	有限	的	生命。(*SF* 29:58)
Shénlíng	*wèi*	*wǒmén*	*biānzhī-le*	*yǒu-xiàn*	*de*	*shēngmìng*.
spirit	for	1P	weave-PRF	have-limit	GEN	life

The spirit has woven limited lives for us.

In Mandarin, however, *shénlíng* could be a host of weaving spirits. Indeed, the subtitler Su Ruiqin made it plural in English. Su also ignored the metaphor of weaving in her translation: "The gods bestow upon us a mortal life." While I do like the etymological oxymoron of "mortal life," the omission of weaving is a shame, because it is a traditional symbol.

The Weaving Spirit is a metaphor for human agency in deriving materials from the environment to transform into products for human use. Women gathered ramie, processed it, and spun it into yarn, which they wove on hand looms into clothes for their families. As mentioned in the brief discussion of the Mandarin

version of Bakan Walis's song in chapter 1 (p. 38), weaving is also a metaphor for the formation of human society: human lives are figuratively lengths of yarn linked into lineages (see sec. 2.2 below), which the Utux Tmninun weaves on a spirit-loom into communities, which would in turn be sewn into larger social formations. Weaving is also a metaphor for human agency in making meaning. When Bakan sings "we [women] wove it all for you, we fulfilled each proud tattoo," she is telling her husband Mona Rudo and all the men in the community that she helped weave strings of words into the texts of the stories in which the warriors clothed their lives. Finally, human agency has to be restrained by morality, of which weaving is also a symbol. Weaving is a symbol of morality in the Seediq version of the last couplet from Bakan's song:

Yami	*t<m-n>inun*	*kana*	*miri*	*dnii*. (*SF* 1:43:48)
1P.EX.NOM	<AF-PRF>weave	all	*miri*	this

We – excluding you – wove all this *miri* (that you wear).

Note the use of *miri*. In my discussion of Rudo Luhe's monologue, I glossed *miri* as "twill" (ch. 3 p. 72). But twill translates only one aspect of *miri*, that it has a diagonal pattern. The diagonals of *miri* define diamond-shaped "eyes," traditionally the eyes of the ancestors, always watching the living. The other aspect of *miri* is that it has a "bumpy" texture, hence the Mandarin translation "relief weave" (浮織 *fúzhī*). *Fú* in *fúzhī* is literally "floating" (Tiemi'naweiyi 2000: 110), as if the eyes of the ancestors are somehow floating above the cloth, in a surreal premodern panopticon. In using *miri* in the final line of the song, Bakan is telling her husband that the ancestors are watching him, and that he had better exercise restraint.

There are two other origin stories in the film that also seem symbolic of morality and agency, both material and ideational.

In his speech to rally the troops after the attack, Mona Rudo declares that the *sisin* bird in the forest is driving off the crow (*RB* 15:16). Mona is alluding to a story Wei Te-sheng read about in Shen Mingren's book (Bawan 1998: 178–181). In Shen's telling of the story, a boulder needed moving to make living space for the people. A crow made the attempt and hurt itself; only a *sisin* was able to do it. After moving the rock, the *sisin* flew into the forest and became the source of moral instructions from the spirit world, for instance that it would be a good idea for Mona to get married (*SF* 07:48; ch. 1 p. 33). In this speech, Mona Rudo uses the *sisin* to motivate the young men who have just attacked the Japanese. He asks them to identify themselves with the *sisin* and the Japanese with the crow (or the boulder). They can identify with the *sisin* either because it did a great deed or because it sends powerful messages. They have done a great deed in attacking the Japanese, and by attacking the Japanese they have sent a message to the ancestors. As a master orator who acts by persuading others to act more than acting himself, Mona is himself akin to the *sisin* as a message-sender, though not every Seediq person would agree that Mona's message was moral. Regardless, according to Scott Simon, the *sisin* is a fitting symbol of Seediq identity as a tiny creature that can *faire bouger des choses* – "make things move" – even things that are so much

bigger than it (Simon 2018: 166). It did so by acting, and it does so by inspiring action.

The other story is sung as a song (*RB* 1:48:46), the song of the sun-shooting hero, by the leader of the party that goes off in search of Tado Mona to try to persuade him to surrender to the Japanese on December 8, 1930. Once, there were two suns in the sky, and it was too hot to work. So the people decided to shoot down one of the suns. There are different versions of the story. The one used in the film was recorded by Temi Nawi (Zeng 1994: 8–14): a father, with his baby son on his back, sets out to shoot one of the sons out of the sky.[4] The father makes it halfway and dies, and the son, who is now a man, goes on to complete the hero's task, wounding one of the suns, which becomes the moon, its blood splattering the sky to form the stars. By the time "the sun-shooting hero" (*RB* 1:51:12) makes it back to the village, he is grizzled and gray. The song ends as the search party finds Tado. Tado overhears the end of the song. Did it persuade him to surrender? Of course not. If the leader of the search party really wanted him to surrender, that was the last song she should have sung. In case it was not already obvious enough, Wei Te-sheng has Tado Mona shoot at the sun, which represents the Japanese, with his gun (*RB* 1:54:15) right after he declares his refusal to surrender.

Tado's gesture is obviously symbolic. Indeed, the entire story is about human agency in meaning-making in that the word for "target" has come to mean the "meaning" of an utterance (see ch. 7 p. 163). If the target is the meaning, then the projectile that is shot at the target would represent the meaningful utterance. The arrow the sun-shooting hero shoots would represent words that only a *seediq bale* could utter. Does Tado's bullet represent an utterance that fails to deliver the intended message? I will return to this question in the conclusion. I now turn to linguistic aspects of the formation of Seediq society that are broached in *Seediq Bale*.

2.2 Social formation

Homo sapiens is a sociolinguistic animal. Our first words are for interpersonal roles. I have discussed the translation of *tama* – "father" or "dad" – in my response to Li Yiqian's article in the first section of this chapter. Anyone who listened carefully while watching the film could learn the Seediq word for mother, too: *bubu*. Anyone who listened extremely carefully would notice that Obing Tado calls her paternal aunt *bubu* (*RB* 26:47). Anyone who has studied anthropology could hypothesize that Seediq kinship terminology is more "classificatory" than English, much more so than Chinese languages or Japanese, which are relatively "descriptive," to use the terminology of Lewis Henry Morgan (1871). *Bubu* and *tama* are used for mother/aunt and father/uncle respectively, while a Mandarin speaker has words for father and mother and two words each for aunt/uncle.[5]

Male and female human beings are *rseno* and *mqedin*. These terms are used in phrases meaning son or daughter, concepts that in Seediq cannot be expressed in single words. In Rudo Luhe's monologue to his son, the ancestral spirit that guards the spirit bridge says, *laqi mu rseno*, "child of mine who is

male" (*SF* 31:20). Alternatively, if the child is old enough, it could be called, for instance, *weewa su*, "maiden of yours," which is how Mona's father refers to his daughter-in-law in conversation with her father at the wedding (*SF* 12:05), and which all the translators sensibly translated with analogues of "your daughter." Getting married was *oda msterung*, "the matter of meeting" (*SF* 8:11) or *mangan mqedin*, "taking a woman" (*SF* 55:10), but was translated to "tie the knot" (結 *jié*) of marriage (婚 *hūn*). The words for husband and wife are formed by omitting the first consonant in *rseno* and *mqedin*. (Logically, the words for male and female could have been formed by adding a consonant to the words for husband and wife, but this seems less likely.) For instance, in the following line, Mona's daughter Mahung, having tossed her baby son off a cliff and having tried to hang herself from the bough of a liquidambar tree, castigates her Japanese savior for saving her, because:

M-tara yaku seno =mu ma laqi =mu. (*RB* 1:47:20)
AF-wait 1S.ACC man =1S.GEN and child =1S.GEN
My husband and children are waiting for me (at the Rainbow Bridge).

The English is Su Ruiqin's translation from the Mandarin, in which the number of a noun does not have to be specified. Su Ruiqin had to find out if the noun in question was singular or plural. She knew Mahung could only have one husband – the Seediq are monogamous, and polyandry is rare worldwide – and that she had more than one child.[6]

There is a word for "blood relatives," *dadan*, the source of child warrior Pawan Nawi's information that all the members of Chief Tado Nokan's *tnsapah* – his "family," literally the people who "belong" (*tn-*) to his "house" (*sapah*) – have hanged themselves (*RB* 47:30). There is a word for relatives by marriage, *rai*, though it is only used in the film as the base for the verb *smrai*, "to persuade" (*SF* 1:42:51): Pihu Sapu's clumsy attempts to persuade the Tgdaya chiefs to join Mona's rebellion are akin to a man's attempts to persuade a woman's parents to let him marry her.

One married to carry on the family line. In fact, carrying on the family line was the overriding objective of life. As Tado Nokan put it:

Dungus =nami m-lutuc lutuc. (*SF* 1:34:07)
target =1P.EX.GEN AF-lineage lineage
Our objective has been to continue the lineage.

A *lutuc* is usually patrilineal because the child usually takes the father's name, a patronym. The lineage itself went unnamed: Rudo Luhe passed on his given name to his son Mona Rudo, who passed on his given name to his sons Tado Mona and Baso Mona, in whose names no reference to the grandfather remained. The relation between the father and the child is explicit in names like Nawi, as in Dakis Nawi in table 6.1, in which the first letter is a prefix, *n-*, which is short for *na*, the Seediq genitive. Nawi is literally "of Awi," so that Dakis Nawi means "Awi's Dakis." There are a few other examples of *n-* prefixation in names in table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Seediq Dramatis Personae in *Seediq Bale*

Romanization	*Pinyin*	*Romaji*	*Identity*
Bakan Walis	Bāgāng	Bakan	Mona Rudo's wife
Baso[7] Mona	Bāsuǒ	Bassao	Mona Rudo's second son
Dakis Nawi (Hanaoka Jirō)	Dáqísī	Dakkisu	Model savage, Obing Tado's husband
Dakis Nomin (Hanaoka Ichirō)	Dáqísī	Dakkisu	Model savage, Obing Nawi's husband
Lubi	Lùbǐ	Rubi	Watan's fiancée
Mahung Mona	Mǎhóng	Mahon	Mona Rudo's daughter, Sapu's husband
Mona Rudo	Mònà	Mōna	Chief of Mhebu
Obing Nawi	Ōubīn	Obin	Dakis Nomin's wife
Obing Tado	Ōubīn	Obin	Tado Nokan's daughter, Dakis Nawi's wife
Pawan Nawi	Bāwàn	Bawan	Leader of the child warriors
Pihu Sapu	Bǐhè	Piho	Malcontent from Gungu
Pihu Walis	Bǐhè	Piho	Malcontent from Gungu
Rudo Luhe[8]	Lǔdào	Rudao	Mona Rudo's father
Sapu	Sàbù	Sapu	Mahung Mona's husband
Tado Mona	Tǎdào	Tadao	Mona Rudo's eldest son
Tado Nokan	Dáduō	Tadao	Chief of Gungu
Tanah Robe	Dánàhā	Danaha	Chief of Boarung
Temu	Tàimù	Temu	Warrior from Truwan
Teymu Walis	Tiěmù	Taimo	Toda Chief of Tnbarah
Ubus	Wūbùsī	Ubusu	Rudo Luhe's brother in arms
Watan	Wǎdàn	Watan	Porter, Lubi's fiancé

The names are romanized in English, mostly according to the official Seediq romanization. In Mandarin all the names are transliterated, with occasional semantic "interference." For instance, Mona Rudo is Mònà Lǔdào, where *lǔdào* (魯道) suggests "rude road" or "rash way." The names are transliterated in katakana in Japanese. The romanizations and transliterations sometimes differentiate characters with the same name, for instance Temu/Tàimǔ/Temu the warrior from Truwan versus Teymu/Tiěmǔ/Taimo the Toda chief. Another way to assess the transliterations and romanizations is in terms of number of syllables. The Mandarin romanizations in the final cut are an improvement on the 2000 screenplay, in which Mona's sons' names were in three syllables. As for the Japanese, Danaha, Dakkisu, Ubusu, and Warisu are three syllables when the originals are two. Perhaps a Japanese reader would read them in two syllables: *desu*, the polite form of the Japanese copula, is actually pronounced *des*, so maybe Warisu would be read Waris.

Having received personal names and entered into familial/lineage relationships, the Seediq formed village communities like Mhebu. In Seediq, Mhebu is an *alang*.[9] Several *alang* could form a larger *alang*. Mhebu was composed of a lower and an upper *alang*. In Mandarin, there are two translations for *alang*, 部落 *bùluò* and -社 *-shè*, both basically meaning "village," though *bùluò* strongly implies a community of people, not just a collection of buildings. In the Mandarin subtitles, the principle is to attach *-shè* to the name of the village, otherwise *bùluò*. For instance, Mǎhèbō-*shè* versus a big *bùluò* or my *bùluò*. The same principle is applied in Japanese, where the pronunciations are *-sha* and *buraku*. Both of these

terms are colonial, part of the attempt to name and tame, to designate and administrate, but *bùluò* has been accepted by indigenous people, while some might still find *-shè* objectionable, especially given that it often used to appear in a term meaning "savage village" (蕃社 *fānshè*).[10]

In translating *alang* through *bùluò*, Su Ruiqin the English subtitler writes of "a Seediq from Gungu Clan," meaning a person from the village community of Gungu. Though "band" would be better than "clan," because an *alang* was not simply based on descent from an ancestor (see ch. 5 note 4), "clan" is in the ballpark; but "from Gungu Clan" sounds odd to me, given that a clan is not a place. I have throughout this book been using the term village community, because a village is small and because village and community can both refer to a place and a group of people. The way the names of Gungu and the other villages are romanized and transliterated is presented in table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Tgdaya and Toda Village Names

Romanization	*Pinyin*	*Romaji*	*Affiliation*
Boarung	Bōālún	Boarun	Tgdaya (rebel)
Gungu	Hègē	Hōgō	Tgdaya (rebel)
Mhebu (Mehebu)	Mǎhèpō	Mahebo	Tgdaya (rebel)
Paran	Bālán	Pāran	Tgdaya (noncombatant)
Suku	Sīkù	Sūku	Tgdaya (rebel)
Tnbarah (Tnbalah)	Túnbālā	Tonbara	Toda (collaborator)
Truwan	Tǎluówān	Tarowan	Tgdaya (rebel)
Drodux	Luóduōfū	Rōdofu	Tgdaya (rebel)

The only rebellious village I have not mentioned elsewhere in this monograph, Suku was the location of the bridge Seediq warriors cut down in *The Rainbow Bridge* (*RB* 50:49).

Beyond *alang* there are larger social formations, loose alliances with the names Tgdaya, Truku, and Toda. Tgdaya is toward (*tg-*) the upward slope (*daya*), meaning upcountry, so it was probably originally an exonym. According to Sayama Yūkichi, Truku is from *ruku*, meaning highland, and it was originally a Todaism. Toda is from *moda*, meaning to cross, and it was originally a Trukuism.[11] Originally exonyms, these toponyms are now endonyms.

The three alliance names are transliterated Dékèdáyǎ, Tuōluòkù, and Dàozé in the film. Seediq people today prefer the transliterations Dégùdáyǎ and Délùgù for Tgdaya and Truku, but Dékèdáyǎ and Tuōluòkù were acceptable in 2011 when the film was released. Dàozé by contrast has never been accepted as a transliteration for Toda. Mandarin speakers inherited it from Japanese ethnographers. The Japanese pronunciation of Dàozé is Dōsawa (道澤). According to anthropologist Mori Ushinosuke (Mori 1917: 35, 99), Dōsawa was an east coast Truku village.[12] Perhaps because it sounds like Tawsay, an east coast offshoot of the Toda of central

Taiwan, Dōsawa got used for a police station in Toda territory (Qiu 2011 [1990]: 28). Today there is an Alang Toda in Toda territory, but there was no such *alang* in 1916, at least not that Sayama Yūkichi (see ch. 4 p. 81) heard about when he was passing through (Zuoshan 2011: 1.15–16).

Watan Diro, the Mandarin-Toda translator, claims he told Wei Te-sheng not to use Dàozé, and was not happy to see the term uncorrected in the final subtitles. Nor would he be pleased to learn that the Japanese translator transliterated Dàozé into Tautsa based on the Mandarin pronunciation. Watan Diro prefers a neutral transliteration: Dōudá. Toda translator Iwan Nawi prefers yet another transliteration that implies that the Toda people "wander around and go places" (兜達, also Dōudá) (Yiwan Nawei 2014: 14).

In the English, Dàozé is rectified to Toda, so when "Dàozé people" appears in the Mandarin, and *Tautsa no mono* (one of the Tautsa) in the Japanese, the English subtitler offers "Seediqs from Toda." "From" implies that Toda is a village when it was actually the name of a village alliance, a group of villages sharing a dialect and a vaguely defined territory of which Teymu Walis was the paramount chief. "Toda" might refer to this territory, but "from Toda" suggests, at least to me, that it is a village not a territory. Given how confusing the English is, it would be unsurprising if the audience failed to figure out the difference between Toda as village and Toda as territory or alliance, especially when most members of the Mandarin-speaking audience could not figure out the difference between Toda and Tgdaya (Li 2016: 54). This can be described as a "crisis of representation" (Li 2016: 40), but it is also a crisis of attention: how much time did any of the audience members whose comments Professor Li surveyed spend tracing mental maps of the shifting sub-ethnic relations in the Musha Incident? An audience has to meet a writer or translator halfway.

When Seediq people wanted to refer to themselves as members of a linguistic or ethnic community, they used the word for "person," romanized *seediq*, *sediq*, and *seejiq*, and pronounced [seˈʔedɪq], [səˈdɪq], and [seˈʔedʒɪq] in Tgdaya, Toda, and Truku respectively. The Mandarin Sāidékè [saiˈltəʌkəꓦ] and the Japanese Sedekku [sɛdɛkɯ] could have come from either the Tgdaya or the Toda. An English speaker would probably pronounce Seediq [ˈsidɪk].

Only one traditional Seediq exonym is used in the film: Mktina (*SF* 3:04, 29:33), an ethnic slur for Bunun, not a word for a village community. By folk etymology, Mktina is *mk-t-ina*, where *ina* means daughter-in-law, *t-* is a verbalizer, and *mk-* is desiderative, meaning something like "desirous of getting married." It supposedly refers to bride-stealing. The Mandarin refers to Gānzhúowān people, a Qing-era transliteration of a Bunun village community, which is Taqtaban according to a contemporary Bunun elder. In Japanese, it is Kantaban, where a Japanese speaker would probably understand the katakana for *ban* as indicating "savage" (蕃, Mandarin: *fān*). The English refers to "Bununs from Kntabang [sic] Clan." Like *seediq* in Seediq, *bunun* is the word for person in Bunun. As Professor Li Yiqian would put it, the subtitler Su Ruiqin was trying to rectify by foreignizing.

2.3 A semi-autarkic style of life

Having discussed the lexicon for Seediq social organization, we can move on to consider, briefly, the mostly autarkic Seediq lifestyle, as represented in the film. Leading this style of life, Seediq people produced and consumed most of what they needed themselves. When they needed a backpack, a *tokan* – a term transliterated in the screenplay as *tiāogān* (Wei 2000: 9) – they gathered rattan and made one themselves. Teymu Walis makes one on the morning of the attack, to celebrate the unseasonable snow. No translation was necessary.

When they wanted to hold a celebration, they slaughtered a *boyak*, a "boar," they had hunted themselves or a *babuy*, "pig," or *dapa*, "water buffalo," that they had *tnabu*, "fed" or "raised," themselves. They *mimah sino*, "drank wine," they had *msino*, "brewed," themselves. They *muuyas*, "sang," and *kmeeki*, "danced," when they were *bsukan*, "drunk."

Boyak and *babuy* are distinguished in all the languages, as "hill swine" (山豬 *shānzhū*) and "swine" in Mandarin; *inoshishi* (a smallish subspecies of boar endemic to Japan) and *buta* in Japanese; and "boar" and "pig" in English. Boar and pig figure in epideictic rhetoric. The former is used positively when the braves of Gungu try to persuade Chief Tado Nokan to join Mona Rudo's rebellion: "Even a boar fights back when driven to bay" (*SF* 1:52:20). The boar is supposed to be a role model for Tado to follow. The latter is used as an insult by Tado Mona when Yoshimura refuses to drink with him: "Let me cut off this pig head of yours!" (*SF* 1:05:23), a foreshadowing of the blood sacrifice on October 27 (see ch. 5 p. 114). In both cases, the name for the animal had been translated literally from Mandarin *into* Seediq: the Mandarin for "boar" is translated *boyak*, and "pig head" *tunux babuy*. Seediq speakers would understand "pig head" as an insult because they know it in Mandarin. But this is not to say the insulting use of "pig" in the Seediq translation is a Mandarin cultural influence that is alien to Seediq culture. In fact, a native Seediq insult is slightly more general: *tnbugan*, the location focus perfective (or preterite) form of *tabu*, feed, characterizes domesticated animals in general. Tado Mona calls Hanaoka Ichirō a *huling tnbugan* (*SF* 1:39:27), literally "dog that was the location of feeding," meaning a domesticated dog. Wei's Mandarin 警犬 *jǐngquǎn* means "police dog." Osaka Fumiko and Su Ruiqin translated it literally.

Professor Paul Barclay places special emphasis on the ceremonial, social character of Seediq brewing, drinking, and getting drunk (2017: 85–87), which is particularly striking in "conjoined drinking," Barclay's translation of the Japanese term 和飲 *gōin* (44). By conjoined drinking, Barclay means drinking cheek to cheek, almost mouth to mouth, so that one might share saliva along with wine. In the film, it is Tado Mona's attempt to drink in this fashion with the Japanese patrolman Yoshimura that precipitates the Musha Incident. But *gōin* is a Japanese term. Right after Yoshimura refuses Tado's offer to share, Tado says (*SF* 1:04:20):

P-mah-un	*=su*	*=mu*	*sino, ma*	*=su*	*beebu*	*dungan?*
cause-drink-PF	=2S.NOM	=1S.GEN	wine, why	=2S.NOM	hit	still

You were going to be made to drink wine by me, why do you still hit (me)?

If "made to drink" does not sound friendly enough, perhaps "treat" would convey something of the emotional tenor of the interaction Tado suggests in terms of *pmahun*. It is translated adequately, as "drink together" (一起喝 *yìqǐ hē*) in Mandarin, "*sake*, please" (*o-sake o dōzo*) in Japanese, and "have a drink" in English.

Traditionally, one got drunk on special occasions, not all the time. But as the film shows, colonial modernity had brought alcoholism to Seediqland. When Tanah Robe, the chief of Boarung, who would go on to become Mona Rudo's closest ally, initially hears about the plan of attack, he is contemptuous of Mona, referring to him as a *baki sino* (*SF* 1:32:15), where *baki* is a word for an elderly man. In Japanese, Mona is described as merely drunken (酔い *yoidore*), emphasizing that the state he is in is only temporary. In Mandarin, Mona is an inveterate "old wine-ghost" (老酒鬼 *lǎo jiǔ-gǔi*), where a "ghost" is someone who is only half alive as a result of a desperate addiction. In English, Mona is an "old drunkard." In the creekside colloquy, Mona describes himself as *tn-sino* (*SF* 1:19:17), "belonging to wine." So says Mona Rudo to express the apparent helplessness of his situation.

But just a couple of minutes later, he puts a positive spin on his drunkenness when he tells Dakis to go home and drink the millet wine that can set Seediq people free:

Asi	*naq*	*s<m>negun*	*lnglung-an*	*k<m>eeki*	*hiya*. (*SF* 1:21:25)
AUX	yourself	follow	think-LF	<AF>dance	there

You must follow your thoughts dancing there.

I think the original Seediq contains the same ambiguity as to who or what is dancing as does my English translation. Mona would follow his dancing thoughts across the Rainbow Bridge. Alas, while the Mandarin, English, and Japanese refer to dancing and drinking, there is nothing about thinking.

Traditionally, Seediq people made wine out of millet, and the millet harvest was one of the most important events of the year, with a comprehensive round of rituals to ensure its success (Zuoshan 2011: 1.23–26). But no mention is made in the film of millet or of Seediq horticulture, which involved a four-year crop rotation (Zuoshan 2011: 1.51) with only a single exception: the bag of sweet potatoes, the *lubuy bunga*, that Pawan Nawi brings to feed the warriors of Gungu (*RB* 46:53). There were sweet potatoes to eat because Seediq people had planted them.

For the most part the film portrays the Seediq as a hunter-weaver culture, meaning not that hunting and weaving were all the men and women did, but that hunting and weaving were activities that the Seediq identified with, the way I identify with translation in calling myself a translator instead of just someone who translates. I discussed the symbolism and lexicon of weaving in the subsection on origin myths above. I have addressed the symbolism of hunting in the culture and in the film throughout this monograph (see especially ch. 1 p. 33), so here I will focus on the lexicon of hunting and headhunting (not surprisingly, there is more material on hunting and headhunting than on weaving in an epic film like *Seediq Bale*).

Traditionally men hunted with bow and arrow, the terms for which are never mentioned in the film, and with *slmadac*, "hunting knife" (獵刀 *liè-dāo*) in

Mandarin, "sword" (*katana*) in Japanese, and "machete" in English, where "machete" appropriately suggests both weapon and tool: Mona Rudo uses his *slmadac* to decapitate a Bunun warrior, disembowel a deer, and gather rattan. Men hunted animals like boar, deer, and muntjac, which are the three animals hunted in the film. Hunting of animals is *p-huling* in Tgdaya, meaning to "take the dogs," which I suspect is part of Seediq "speech decorum." Specifically it is part of a "special purpose [register] for hunting" (Fox 2005: 98). Hunting was an inherently risky activity; one could fall, get mauled, or offend some spirit. To mitigate the risk, hunting had to be talked about in a particular way to a specific audience. Alternatively, hunting is *mgcebu camac*, "to fight with wild game," where *mgcebu* is also the word for fighting with other human beings, a semantic generalization of *cebu*, "to shoot." In Toda, to hunt is *maduk*, "to drive (animals)." There are words in Seediq for different kinds of hunting, trapping versus hunting with a bow or gun, but none are used in the film. There are variations in Mandarin like 追獵 *zhūi-liè*, indicating that one chases the animals one hunts, but none corresponds to a usage in Seediq, and none is found in the Japanese or the English, where it is *kari* and "hunt" from beginning to end.

In Seediq, there is no lexical way of saying "hunter" (or "headhunter"), though of course it is periphrastically possible:

seediq m-angan camac	*seediq m-kela mg-cebu* (*RB* 1:07:55)
person AF-take wild.game	person AF-know AF.REC-shoot
a person who takes wild game	a person who knows how to hunt

The left-hand side is from a draft, the right-hand side from the final cut. In translation, the phrase in Seediq rank-shifted down into a word, 獵人 *liè-rén* in Mandarin, *kari-udo* in the Japanese, and "hunt-er" in English.

A hunter hunts in his hunting ground. A hunting ground in Tgdaya is *ddupun*, literally "*will* be driven," where *ddupun* is the patient focus future form of *maduk*. A hunting ground in Toda is, more straightforwardly, *ddupan*, "where (prey animals) can be driven," the location focus future form of the same verb. In both Tgdaya (above) and Toda (below), the concept of hunting ground could also be expressed periphrastically:

dheran sa-an =ta p-huling (*SF* 5:08)
land go-LF =1P.GEN take-dog
the land where we go hunting

dxral s-sa-an um-aduk (*SF* 57:54)
land FUT-go-LF AF-drive
the land where we can drive (prey)

None of these distinctions is rendered in Mandarin, Japanese, or English. It is 獵場 *liè-chǎng*, *kari-ba*, and "hunting ground" from beginning to end.

The hunting ground had to be defended from other *alang*. One form of defense was headhunting. In English, "headhunting" is lexically related to "hunting." In

Seediq, by contrast, *lmaqi* (or *rmaqi*), the verb for headhunting, has nothing lexically to do with the verbs for hunting. Periphrastically, however, *mangan tunux* (*SF* 33:30), "take a head," recalls *mangan camac*, "take wild game" above. In Mandarin and Japanese, headhunting is discussed in terms of "coming/going out of the grass," 出草 *chū-cǎo* in Mandarin and *shu-ssō* in Japanese. The people who coined the term were victims of headhunting, hence "coming," but there is no reason why we could not assume the perspective of the victimizer, hence "going."

Mastery of (head) hunting or weaving was the traditional qualification for the coming-of-age ceremony, in which a *riso* or *weewa*, a young man or woman, received tattoos – on the forehead and the chin (for men) and the cheeks (for women) – attesting to "true personhood." Here is what the old lady says to Mona Rudo as she tattoos him at the beginning of the film, in Seediq (above) and in Mandarin translation (below):

Ptas-o *=mu* *snkraya* *rseno* *bale* *ka* *dqeras* *=su*. (*SF* 4:56)
Tattoo-PF.SBJ =1S.GEN mark man true NOM face =2S.GEN
Let your face be tattooed by me with the mark of a true man.

我 在 你 臉上 刺上 男人 的 記號。
Wǒ *zài* *nǐ* *liǎn-shàng* *cì-shàng* *nánrén* *de* *jìhào*.
1s at 2s face-on pierce-on man GEN mark
I hereby tattoo the marks of manhood on your face.

"Tattoo" corresponds to *ptaso* in the Seediq, the patient focus subjunctive of *patis*, the verb for tattooing, and "mark" to *snkraya*. Though the Mandarin uses 刺 cì, the typical verb for tattooing (which also means poke or pierce), the object is not 刺青 *cìqīng*, "tattoo," but *jìhào*, literally "mnemonic mark." In other scenes, however, Wei uses 圖騰 *túténg* for tattoo. As Li Yiqian notes (2016: 59), *túténg* is a transliteration of the English word "totem." Totem is a loanword from Ojibwa, meaning, according to the Online Etymology Dictionary, "animal or natural object considered as the emblem of a family or clan." I have no idea if the Ojibwa tattooed their totems to identify themselves as members of a certain family or clan. Though we do not usually associate totems with tattooing in English, I have heard people use *túténg* for tattoos that externalize identity, which seems appropriate to *Seediq Bale*, a film that is in part about two different kinds of identity, a traditional identity that was externalized and a modern, internal one (Sterk 2017).

2.4 The afterlife

At the end of his or her life, a man or woman comes to this side of a 彩虹橋 *cǎihóng qiáo* in Mandarin, a *niji no hashi* in Japanese and a "rainbow bridge" in English. The Seediq term was literally "spirit bridge," but it could also mean "rainbow." We might use capitalization to indicate the difference: the Hako Utux is the Spirit Bridge to the afterlife, a *hako utux* a rainbow. Is the bridge to the afterlife a rainbow, as in the film? Not according to Dakis Pawan, who claims that

the bridge to the afterlife "refers to a supernatural power that is semantically unrelated to rainbows" (Guo 2011: 153–154). Yet in representing the bridge as a rainbow, Wei Te-sheng had Shen Mingren on his side: Shen had represented the Spirit Bridge as a rainbow in his book (Bawan 1998: 213; see ch. 3 p. 65 and p. 5 of the Rudo Luhe's monologue file in the eResources). Obviously, not every Seediq person agrees with Dakis that the Hako Utux is not a rainbow. Today many Seediq people think it is. In fact, this identification of Hako Utux with rainbow may have been just as common in the 1920s. According to the Japanese ethnographer Koizumi Magane, who visited the area around Wushe (to him, Musha) from 1925 to 1928, the Hako Utux *was* a rainbow (Xiaoquan 2014 [1932]: 91, 2014 [1933]: 49).

As explained in chapter 3, each man or woman who arrives at the Hako Utux is checked by an executor of the law to see if he or she is qualified to cross. A man who has not headhunted or a woman who cannot weave is unqualified and will be tossed into the river[13] below. Traditionally the executor of the law was the Utux Karang, a crab spirit, but in the film it is an ancestral spirit, and the crab is in the river below, ready to snap at the poor souls of the unworthy. Wherever the crab is, it is not a crab spirit in the Mandarin and the Japanese, but a "poisonous crab" (毒蠍, *dúxiè* and *dokugani*). The English is plural: "poisonous crabs" (*SF* 35:44). Dakis Pawan agrees with Su Ruiqin that it should be plural, because how could one crab eat up all those people? But in using the verb *matak* (*SF* 35:43, ch. 3 p. 73), Dakis suggests that the spirit crab attacks not by poison (or venom) but with pincers.

If the candidate passes muster, his/her soul can cross the bridge into the afterlife. In Tgdaya, the afterlife is *tnlangan*, which stems from *alang*, village community. The *tn-* at the beginning implies belonging; *tn-alang* means belonging to an *alang*. Add a location focus suffix *-an* to *tnalang* and you get *tnlangan*, which apparently makes it permanent: the Seediq afterlife is an *alang* to which true men and women will always belong. In Mandarin, the Seediq afterlife is referred to as the "home of the ancestral spirits," (祖靈之家 *zǔlíng zhī jiā*), an adaptation of "home of souls" (鬼魂之家 *gǔihún zhī jiā*), Shen Mingren's Mandarin translation of the east coast Truku phrase *sapah utux*, literally "spirit house" (see ch. 3). "Home of the ancestral spirits" seems to go with the Tgdaya term *tnlangan*, in that an *alang* is a kind of home. In her translation of *zǔlíng zhī jiā*, Su Ruiqin added the word "heavenly" to produce "heavenly home of our ancestors." Given that Shen Mingren had located the "home of souls" on "the highest mountain peak," which must be as close to heaven as it is possible to get, Su's addition is justifiable.

3 The "after-life" of Seediq translation

I have demonstrated that even though Wei, Osaka, and Su were not ideal translators, they nonetheless draw audiences a bit of the way into the middle ground of intercultural understanding, at least audience members who are willing to meet them partway toward halfway. Sometimes their translations seem to pull both ways, as in the case of Su Ruiqin's "heavenly home of our ancestors," where

"home of our ancestors" gets us pretty close to the Tgdaya concept of *tnlangan*, while "heavenly" seems to pull us toward a Christian concept of the afterlife. Was Su pointing the audience in the wrong direction in adding the word "heavenly"? I doubt it. After watching the film for four and a half hours, the audience should have enough of a context to realize that "heavenly" here refers to a circa 1930 Seediq analogue to the Christian heaven. After reading six and a half chapters of this book, you, Reader, should have enough of a context to have some sense of how Seediq characters in the film would have made sense of their situations in Seediq terms like *tnlangan*, a village community that true people will call home for all eternity, and Hako Utux, the Spirit Bridge that according to some Seediq speakers is a rainbow: the rainbow Mahung and her brother Tado look up at during their final reunion is the bridge their father looks down from, to see if his children are doing okay.

We can also speculate upon where the Rainbow Bridge might lead Seediq people today. It might well lead them to the Christian heaven; the translators are all Christians. It might also lead to a multicultural modernity in which LGBT+ rights are protected and accepted, an association that is in the air, so to speak. But what would be particularly Seediq about this kind of rainbow modernity?

Homi Bhabha's "after-life of translation" that is "sur-vival" (1994: 226–227) is suggestive in this regard. As Anthony Pym explains (2014: 140–141), Bhabha subjected a term from Walter Benjamin's famous German-language essay "The Task of the Translator" to a series of rereadings. The term was *Fortleben*, meaning "prolonged life." Bhabha reread *Fortleben* as "after-life," meaning not where one goes after one's life is over, but the life that is waiting for one on the other side of a borderline. To get to the other side of the border, Bhabha reread "after-life" through Derrida as "survival," which he reread again as "sur-vival," living (*vival*) on (*sur*) borderlines. Bhabha was no longer talking about the translation of texts, he was talking about the "translation," meaning "migration," of people. He was talking about "migrant[s]" (Bhabha 1994: 227) who cross physical borderlines only to find themselves living on spiritual ones.

Assuming that Bhabha's Derrida-inspired rereading of Benjamin applies to indigenous minorities as well as it does to migrants (see conclusion sec. 2.2), and in the spirit of their wordplay, here is a Seediq rereading of the "after-life" of translation that is "sur-vival." Like the mythic archer, who was only in a position to shoot the sun because his father had carried him part of the way to the highest peak (p. 139 above), the Seediq people have shot an arrow in a ballistic trajectory over the Rainbow Bridge at a moving *dungus*. As you may recall, *dungus*, the Seediq word for "target," has been extended semantically to mean the "meaning" of a message. As we all know, if we have played the game of telephone (see ch. 3), the message seldom makes it across the intersubjective gap unchanged. The recipient's interpretation is rarely exactly the intended meaning, but it can hardly be unrelated to the sender's intention. So it is with the modern reinterpretation of Seediq culture. One generation's bow and arrow have been "translated" into the next generation's pen and paper, and the *dungus* that the next generation is aiming at in a different kind of "after-life" is still moving. One generation tried

to pass the cultural tradition down to the next, but the next generation has reinterpreted it without misinterpreting it, as they continue to perform the heroic intergenerational task of indigenous cultural translation. They are performing this task by translating modernity into Seediq, in a process I explore in the next chapter.

Notes

1 正名 *zhèngmíng*, to "rectify names," is from the *Analects*. Confucius's "names" (*míng*) are social roles to which people should conform: fathers should behave like fathers should, for instance. This would be to rectify people, but as a result of how Confucius actually put it, and due to the fact that today *míng* includes both proper and common nouns, *zhèngmíng* is also taken to mean accurate description: words should match reality. What does this mean for translation? According to Li Yiqian, it means that domesticated translations should be rectified to foreignized translations that best match the reality of the original.

2 Citing classic studies by Vicente Rafael (1988) and Tejaswini Niranjana (1992), Douglas Robinson (1997) discusses how cultural compromises might be reached in a postcolonial "middle ground," a space in which creative writers, including translators, in former colonies like the Philippines and India might create a new language that is "in between" the language of the colonizer and the local language (102). In the future I hope to look into whether Seediq creative writers, including translators, have created an in-between language – perhaps a Mandarinized Seediq or a Seediqized Mandarin.

3 In Toda, the Pusu Qhuni is called the Rmdax Tasil, literally "shining stone." Rmdax Tasil is spelled Rmdaxtasing in Track 1 of the 2005 album *Seediq Bale* by the Taiwanese black metal band ChthoniC (Berry 2008: 95–99).

4 Historian Zhou Wanyao notes (2011: 5) that, unlike in the Chinese myth of Hou Yi, the archer who shot the sun on his own, the Seediq story of heroism is intergenerational.

5 On the translation of kinship terms, see Abraham Rosman and Paula G. Rubel (2003). The Austronesian language Kiriwina uses the word *tama* for "father," just like Seediq, but unlike Seediq, Kiriwina sorts kinship relations according to alienability. There is one genitive pronoun for inalienable relations like father and another for alienable relations like husband (Rosman and Rubel 2003: 273).

6 Mahung had a son and a daughter; both died during the reprisal (Jian et al. 2002: 354).

7 Seediq names may be features of the natural environment. For instance, Baso is named after *baso*, proso millet (Zuoshan 2011: 1. 24). But the origins of most names are obscure.

8 In the 2000 screenplay, Wei transliterated Rudo Luhe's nickname Bàiyī. According to Dakis Pawan, Rudo Luhe was nicknamed Bae in an intentional mispronunciation of *bare* in *awi bare*, meaning "wasp" (Guo 2011: 92).

9 *Alang*, "village," comes from *qalang*, "fence." Thanks to Teymu (Kevin Bätscher) for pointing out the same metonymic connection between "town" and the German word *Zaun*, "fence."

10 Thanks to Li Yiqian for the reminder that both *bùluò* and *-shè* are colonial terms.

11 It is interesting to compare what Sayama Yūkichi understood with what Dakis Pawan, the consultant on the Mandarin translation of his book, thinks. For instance, *daya* according to Sayama meant "upstream" (Zuoshan 2011:1. 16), while to Dakis Pawan it means "upward slope" (13 note 5, 16 note 28). One can imagine Sayama standing there, looking upland, hearing *daya* and slightly misunderstanding what it referred to, in a scene reminiscent of Quine's thought experiment with *gavagai* (Quine 2000 [1959]) with an added complication: the passage of nearly a hundred years of time.

12 Thanks to Tsukida Naomi for pointing out the origin of Dàozé.

13 Based on Shen Mingren's account, which I discussed in chapters 3 and 4, the Rainbow Bridge is the alpha and omega of Seediq belief. The spirit river, a Seediq Styx, that flows under the bridge originates in the wellspring of life, which shoots out of the spirit world in the form of a rainbow. The creek beside which Mona Rudo has his colloquy with Hanaoka Ichirō and sings the Song of the Seediq Bale with his father in the film is both downriver from the source and upriver from the destination. The water in the creek represents the flow of life, language, and time, halfway between origin and end.

References

Barclay, Paul D. (2017) *Outcasts of Empire*: *Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border," 1874–1945*, Oakland: University of California Press.

Bawan Danaha (Pawan Tanah; Shen Mingren) (1998) *Chongxin Zuling de Minzu: Saideke Ren* (*The People Who Worship Ancestral Spirits: The Seediq*), Taibei: Haiweng.

Berry, Michael (2008) *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Bhabha, Homi K. (1994) *The Location of Culture*, New York and London: Routledge.

Deloria, Phillip J. (2006) "What Is the Middle Ground, Anyway?" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 63.1 (January): 15–22.

Deng Xiangyang (2000) *Fengzhong Feiying: Wushe Shijian Zhenxiang ji Huagang Chuzi de Gushi* (*Dana Sakura/Cherry Blossoms in the Wind: The Truth of the Musha Incident and the Story of Hanaoka Hatsuko [Obing Tado]*), Taibei: Yushan.

Fox, James J. (2005). "Ritual Languages, Special Registers and Speech Decorum in Austronesian Languages," in Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds), *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*, London and New York: Routledge, 87–109.

Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (2011) *Zhenxiang Balai: Saideke Balai de Lishi Zhenxiang yu Suipai Zhaji* (*Truth Bale: The Historical Truth of Seediq Bale and a Production Diary*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Hirano, Katsuya, Lorenzo Veracini, and Toulouse-Antonin Roy (2018) "Vanishing Natives and Taiwan's Settler-Colonial Unconsciousness," *Critical Asian Studies*, 50.2: 1–23.

Jian Hongmo, Yiwan Beilin (Iwan Pering), and Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (2002) *Qingliu Buluo Shengming Shi* (*Qingliu Village Community Life Histories*), Taipei: Yongwang Wenhua.

Li Yiqian (Lee Yi-chien) (2016) "Duochong Xunhua yu Yuhui Zhengming: *Saideke Balai* Zimu Fanyi zhong de Yiyi Liuzhuan" (Multiple Domestications and Indirect Rectification: Semiotic Shifts in the Subtitle Translation of *Seediq Bale*), *Taiwan Wenxue Yanjiu Xuebao* (*Journal of Taiwan Literary Research*), 23: 39–68.

Morgan, Lewis Henry (1871) *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Mori Ushinosuke (1917) *Taiwan Banzokushi* (*Record of the Savage Tribes of Taiwan*), Taihoku, Taipei: Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai.

Niranjana, Tejaswini (1992) *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism, and the Colonial Context*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Pym, Anthony (2014 [2010]) *Exploring Translation Theories*, 2nd edition, New York and London: Routledge.

Qiu Ruolong (2011 [1990]) *Manhua Balai: Taiwan di yi bu Wushe Shijian Lishi Manhua* (*Comic Bale: The First Historical Comic of the Musha Incident*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Quine, Willard V. O. (2000 [1959]) "Meaning and Translation," in Lawrence Venuti (ed), *The Translation Studies Reader*, 1st edition, London and New York: Routledge, 94–112.

Rafael, Vicente L. (1988) *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Robinson, Douglas (1997) *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained*, London and New York: Routledge.

Rosman, Abraham and Paula G. Rubel (2003) "Are Kinship Terminologies Translatable?" in Paula G. Rubel and Abraham Rosman (eds), *Translating Cultures: Perspectives on Translation and Anthropology*, Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 269–283.

Simon, Scott (2018) "Penser avec des oiseaux: L'ornithomancie et l'autochtonie à Taïwan," *Anthropologie et sociétés*, 42.2–3: 151–169.

Sterk, Darryl (2017) "Mona Rudo's Scar: Two Kinds of Epic Identity in *Seediq Bale*," in Chiu Kuei-fen, Ming-yeh T. Rawnsley, and Gary D. Rawnsley (eds), *Taiwan Cinema: International Reception and Social Change*, London and New York: Routledge, 173–189.

Tiemi'naweiyi (Temi Nawi) (2000) *Atayal Weaving Culture*, bilingual edition, Self-Published.

Tiemi'naweiyi (Temi Nawi) (2009) *Kari Pnsltudan Rudan* (*Stories Passed Down by the Elders*)/*Saidekezu Koushu Chuantong Wenhua Gushi* (*Traditional Oral Cultural Stories of the Seediq People*), 2 volumes, Nantou: Guojia tushuguan.

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2000) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Xinwenju (Government Information Office).

White, Richard (1991) *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Xiaoquan Tie (Koizumi Magane); Huang Renhui (trans) (2014 [1932]) *Fanxiang Fengwu Ji* (*Notes of Scenes in Savage Territory*), Taibei: Yuanminhui (Council of Indigenous Peoples).

Xiaoquan Tie (Koizumi Magane); Huang Tingzhuan and He Peiyi (trans) (2014 [1933]) *Taiwan Tusu Zhi* (*Record of Local Taiwan Customs*), Taibei: Yuanminhui (Council of Indigenous Peoples).

Yiwan Nawei (Iwan Nawi) (2014) "Fanyi Balai" (True Translation)/"Kari Sediq Balay" (True Seediq Language), in Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng); Yiwan Nawei (Iwan Nawi) (trans) *Kari Toda Patas eyga Sediq balay* (*The Toda Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*)/*Saideke Balai Saidekeyu Jubenshu* (*Seediq-Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Yushan, 13–17.

Zeng Ruilin (Temi Nawi) (1994) *Saidekezu Shenhua Gushi* (*Mythic Stories of the Seediq People*), Puli, Taiwan: Nantou xian Tianzhujiao Shandi Fuwu Yanjiushe.

Zhou Wanyao (2011) "Yingxiong, Yingxiong Chongbai ji qi Fanmingti" (Hero, Hero-Worship, and Its Antithesis), in Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (ed) *Zhenxiang Balai: Saideke Balai de Lishi Zhenxiang yu Suipai Zhaji* (*Truth Bale: The Historical Truth of Seediq Bale and a Production Diary*), Taibei: Yuanliu, 2–8.

Zuoshan Rongji (Sayama Yūkichi) (2011 [1917]) *Fanzu Diaocha Baogaoshu disice* (*Savage Races Survey Report vol. 4* [in two parts, one for central Taiwan, one for the east coast]), Nangang, Taibei: Zhongyanyuan (Academia Sinica).

7 Translating colonial modernity

Adapting terminologically

In chapter 6 I discussed the representation of "traditional" Seediq culture in *Seediq Bale* through lexicon. In this chapter I look at how Seediq speakers have been adapting lexically to modernity. This chapter is a study of modern Seediq vocabulary, of translations of "terminology" into Seediq, partly for *Seediq Bale*. But many of the terms that Seediq people have adopted or adapted for "modern" things predate *Seediq Bale*. Some of them predate colonization in 1895, which I hope is a reminder for us to understand Seediq communities in terms of "connections" with the outside world (Wolf 1982: 1–125), connections that destabilize (without demolishing) the distinctions between what is and is not Seediq as well as between tradition and modernity (see introduction note 2). It may be hard to know when exactly terms were incorporated into Seediq, due to a lack of documentation.

But we can be sure that, unlike a typical translator, even of a minority language, who has relatively few opportunities to influence the lexicon, an indigenous translator has to resort to neologisms in almost every paragraph if not in every sentence. The neologisms he or she comes up with are akin to seeds that may or may not take root, but even if they do they may have to compete with other such seeds, other neologisms that the translator did not appreciate or even know about. Indeed, in a relatively *abstand* language there can be an impressive number of competing terms. There are competing terms between dialects, as I will show by including data from Iwan Nawi's partial translation of Wei's screenplay (Wei 2000) into Toda (Wei 2014).

Neologisms come in three types: loanword, calque, and adaptation:

Table 7.1 Types of Neologism

Source-dependent	*Sonic*	*Semantic*
Yes	Loan	Calque
No	Adaptation	Adaptation

Source-dependent neologisms like "gung-ho" (a loanword) and "brainwash" (a calque) are foreignizations, but the longer they are in the language the less predictive the meaning of the original is of the meaning of the word in the target

language: foreignizations eventually get domesticated. Native adaptations are domestications to begin with, on the understanding that they are attempts to absorb the foreign.

Rather than present the neologisms from the film by type, I divide them into before and after Japanese colonization, the first colonial rule Seediq people were subjected to. Colonization can be dated to 1907 for Mhebu, Mona Rudo's village. I consider the terminological ramifications of connections with non-indigenous outsiders before 1907 and the lexical corollaries of technologies and institutions of social control, including changing concepts of belonging, after 1907.

1 Pre-colonization

Early in *The Sun Flag*, Mona Rudo visits a trading post to barter animal skins for salt, one of the few commodities the Seediq needed to import. The Seediq word for salt, *timu*, is Austronesian, from the Proto-Austronesian root *timus. But the word for the trading post owner is not. It represents an adaptation of the Seediq lexicon (and lifestyle) to the colonization of the west coast during the Qing era. Mona addresses the owner using the Taiwanese (Southern Hokkien) term *thâu-ke* (*SF* 13:43) (Mandarin: 頭家 *tóujiā*), meaning "boss."

In the film, Mona only buys salt from the boss, but indigenous people at the time also bought guns and bullets at such trading posts. They were certainly using them historically and in the scenes in the film set in 1895. Instead of using loanwords, Seediq people referred to guns and bullets by adapting Seediq terms. Throughout the film, the Tgdaya call guns *halung*, perhaps because they made gunstocks from *harung* (pine, cf. ch. 4) wood, probably because the wood of this tree was turned into tinder.[1] The Toda called guns *puniq*, meaning fire – the fire that lights the gunpowder. For both Tgdaya and Toda, bullets were *bbali*, though the word is used in Toda only in Iwan Nawi's translation, not in the film. *Bbali* is a word for a shrub called the horny-toothed ardisia (*Ardisia cornudentata*). The fruit of the horny-toothed ardisia is small and spherical. The balls Seediq hunters loaded in their guns were sized and shaped like the fruit of the *bbali*. The powder that caused the bullets to burst out of the barrel was called *qbulic*, which originally meant the Taiwan hackberry (*Celtis formosana*), or its ash. The Seediq may have used its ash or charcoal in the preparation of gunpowder.[2]

As a stateless people living in small communities of fifty-odd souls, the smallest communities among Taiwan's indigenous peoples, the Seediq were once egalitarian. They used a word for "elder sibling," *qbsuran*, to refer to men of influence who ran village affairs on an informal basis rather than on an institutional basis. But by the late 19th century, Seediq people were using guns, which, it stands to reason, would have made it easier for leaders to consolidate power. To refer to such leaders, the Tgdaya adopted *thulang*, a loanword from the Taiwanese *thâu-lâng* (Mandarin: 頭郎 *tóuláng*), literally "headman." Mona Rudo is Thulang Mona throughout the film. Dakis Pawan had used *baki*, a word for a male elder or older in-law, in the draft, but went with Pawan Nawi's suggestion of *thulang* in

the revision. Ironically, Pawan Nawi insisted that *thulang* was the original Seediq way of saying it.

In the last years of the 19th century, the Japanese started making their presence felt in the mountains of Seediqland east of the town of Hori (the Japanese pronunciation of Puli). What did the Seediq call the newcomers? The newcomers were definitely not Mukan, like the woman who identifies herself as such during the attack in the film (*SF* 2:12:26). The folk etymology is that Mukan is the agent focus prefix *m-* and a certain Taiwanese imprecation (幹 *kàn*). The Japanese did not use this imprecation, so a new term was coined, Tanah Tunux, literally Red Head. The Japanese were named for the color of the hats worn by soldiers, the first Japanese people the Seediq saw. In the screenplay in 2000, Wei Te-sheng used a calque of Tanah Tunux in Mandarin, 紅頭 *hóngtóu*. This was liable to result in confusion or seem silly, as would a transliteration like Tuonatulu in Yan Yunnong's novelization (2011 [2004]: 51). By 2009, Wei used foreign "race" (異族 *yìzú*) in the early scenes, and "Japanese people" (日本人 *Rìběnrén*) in the scenes set in 1930. But in the audio channel, throughout the film, the Seediq characters call the Japanese Tanah Tunux.

The place where Mona Rudo first does battle with the Tanah Tunux in the film is close to Musha on the way from Hori at a canyon called "the pass where people stop." Han Taiwanese people stopped at the canyon, as beyond lay the indigenous territory. Before this battle Captain Tōyama refers to this canyon as Hitotomenoseki (人止の關) in the Japanese subtitle (*SF* 19:04), a calque from the Chinese placename Renzhiguan (人止關). Captain Tōyama could plausibly use this term in 1902, but the English subtitle, Hakaw Supeitei, is anachronistic. It is the Toda pronunciation of the Tgdaya toponym Hako Spite. *Hako* is "bridge." *Spite* is a loanword, from the Japanese for the *subitei*, the garrison, that guarded Hori and environs (Mandarin: 守備隊 *shǒubèidùi*). Hako Spite is "the bridge of the garrison." In 1902 the garrison could not have built a bridge there, because the canyon was still under Seediq control. Hako Spite is the term by which Dakis Pawan knows the place now. Dakis, however, is not from the area. People like Iwan Pering who are from the area know it today as Ruru Awi Nokan. Some poor fellow called Awi Nokan was crushed by a falling rock while he was working on the road along the river – the *ruru* – that formed the canyon. In this case, the local geography is a palimpsest upon which people continue to write.

A few miles up the road from the Ruru Awi Nokan is a place that is now called Wushe. It was called Zhiwushe in the 19th century. The Japanese omitted the first character to yield Musha, literally "misty village" (Mandarin: 霧社 *wùshè*). One imagines a picturesque landscape. There may once have been a Seediq village called something like Zhiwushe, but by the time of the Japanese colonization the Seediq called the place Paran, the name of the large village located right by Musha. Paran is named not for a landscape a traveler might appreciate but for a feature of the local ecology, the *baran* or chinaberry (*Melia azedarach*).

Some distance to the southwest is the place where the Japanese succeeded in defeating the Seediq by pitting "savage" against "savage" in 1903, the year after the battle of Hitotomenoseki. The place goes unnamed in the film. It is known as

Shimaigahara (姉妹ヶ原) in Japanese and Jiemeiyuan (姊妹原) in Mandarin, literally the "meadows of the elder and younger sister." There are two meadows, one located at a higher elevation than the other. Dakis Pawan calls the place Breenux Mktina (Guo 2011: 161), meaning "the Meadows of the Mktina" (see ch. 6 p. 143 for the analysis of Mktina). In the film, Mona's village, Mhebu, apparently submits to the Japanese immediately after the defeat at Breenux Mktina. In reality, Mhebu's submission dates four years later to 1907. But this defeat in 1903 was the beginning of the end of Seediq independence.

2 Post-colonization

When they had crushed the resistance, the Japanese governed through local chiefs, whom they called *tōmoku* after Qing usage (Mandarin: 頭目 *tóumù*). *Tōmoku* is literally "head-eye." The analogy appears to be that head is to body as leader is to community – the community on which a leader kept a close eye. The role of *tōmoku* was semi-institutionalized in Seediqland until 1930, after which time chiefs were phased out. Su Ruiqin, the English subtitler, translated *tóumù* into "chief." The Japanese took the chiefs on trips to Japan. Mona Rudo went in 1911 (Barclay 2017: 112). It must have been a shock. Mona's village was small, its political and spatial organization relatively simple. When he was a boy, there was a trading post at some remove from the village. Close to the village there was a hunting ground and a planting ground for the crops. In a few decades a complex division of labor and arrangement of space would be imposed on the Seediq by a state that had its own objectives besides society's welfare. The Government-General would try to influence people's behavior in a negative and a positive way, by preventing them from behaving in certain ways (via the police) and by encouraging them to behave in others (via the store, the post office, and the bank). More insidiously, the state tried to get inside people's heads (via the Shinto shrine and the school).[3] The state could not move as quickly in the mountainous indigenous territory as it could on the plains, which is part of the reason why there still is an indigenous territory. But many things would change for the Seediq, who would have to adapt to this brave new world of technologies and institutions of social control. One way they adapted was terminologically.

2.1 Terms for technologies and institutions of social control

What most impressed Mona Rudo in Japan was its military superiority. This superiority Mona Rudo stresses in his creekside colloquy with Hanaoka Ichirō (*SF* 1:15:32–1:21:34), a treasure trove of Seediq lexical adaptations to modernity. The Red Heads, he says, have *supi*, *halung paru*, *halung tpetak*, *sapah skiya*, and *asu paru*. First, *supi* is from *subitei*, the Japanese term for "garrison." It became a Seediq word for troops. A competing term was *kuntai/kuntei* in Toda (Wei 2014: 117, 154), from the Japanese *guntai* (Mandarin: 軍隊 *jūndùi*), meaning "military." Second, *halung* is "gun," *paru* is "big," and *halung paru* means "cannon." Big guns raining destruction from high positions, in fact, was one of the main ways

the Japanese forced Seediq communities to submit. Third, *tpetak* means "struggle." It is also used to mean a farm implement – a clod crusher – and may be an onomatopoeia. *Halung tpetak* is the word for a machine gun. In Iwan Nawi's Toda translation, machine gun is defined (Wei 2014: 117):

ini	*biyaw*	*c<n>bu*	*bbali*	*puniq*
NEG	long	<PF.PRF>shoot	bullet	fire

a shooting-bullets-quickly gun

This is incidentally a rare pre-posed relative clause in Seediq, hence the pre-posed relative clause in the Engish translation. Fourth, *sapah skiya* means "a house that flies," an airplane. In the screenplay, Wei used "iron bird" (鐵鳥 *tiěniǎo*) (2000: 79), supposedly a calque from the Seediq. To my knowledge, there is no such term in Seediq. Wei Te-sheng got the idea from Qiu Ruolong (2011 [1990]: 212), but I do not know where Qiu Ruolong got it from. His wife, Iwan Nawi, translated it both *hikoki*, a loanword from Japanese, and *xirui qhbi*, "iron bird," in her Toda translation of her husband's comic (Qiu 2003: 43). It is possible that *xirui qhbi* has been the Toda word for plane for a long time, but I suspect Iwan was foreignizing a pseudo-foreignization into Seediq, because she changed it to *sapah skaya*, the Toda spelling of "flying house," a decade later (Wei 2014: 237). Fifth and finally, the *asu* in *asu paru* is "trough," as in what a domesticated pig eats out of. It likely came to mean "ship" when Seediq people migrated through the mountains to the east coast in precolonial times, though it is of course possible that it originally meant "ship" (Zuoshan 2011: 1. 53 note 2). *Asu paru* is literally "big trough" or "big ship." In context, it means "steamship."

To refer to Japan, or the places in Japan that he visited, Mona Rudo extends the meaning of the Seediq word *alang*, "village community" (see ch. 6 p. 141). Japan is *alang Tanah Tunux*, the community of the Red Heads. An *alang* traditionally was a small face-to-face community; now it could be a large imagined community.[4] Alternatively, Tanah Tunux could mean Japan on its own (see ch. 2 p. 50 for an example). Mona does not use terms for emperor and government in the film, but had surely heard about them. Hanaoka Ichirō later refers to *qbsuran hido Tanah Tunux* (*RB* 36:14), the elder sibling sun of the Red Heads, meaning the emperor, and Kojima, the Japanese police officer, to *sey-hu* (*RB* 10:07), from the Japanese word for government, *seifu*, in his speech to Teymu Walis after they hear of the attack at Musha.

A government governs a population, which Mona refers to as *hei seediq*, bodies (or fruits, *hei*) of people (*seediq*) in his creekside colloquy with Hanaoka Ichirō. Mona goes on to complain about institutions of social control used to govern the local population. To discuss "governance," the translators adapted the verb *qlahang*. In agent focus, *qmlahang* was one of Mona's duties according to the lady who gave him his tattoos (*SF* 5:08, see p. 56): Mona had to protect and defend the *alang*. Now, the intermediaries through which the Japanese governed were called *Tanah Tunux pqlahang*, Red Heads who "cause (the population) to be *qlahang*."

By 1930, the Japanese were bypassing chiefs like Mona Rudo and relying on intermediaries who were supposedly easier to manage, such as the "model natives" Hanaoka Ichirō and Hanaoka Jirō. There were other words for such intermediaries. One word was *mg-iyung*, which means "to turn into an *iyung*," where an *iyung* was a "guard" who worked on the "guardline." There was a Qing-era guardline to Puli (Japanese: Hori) (Barclay 2017: 98) and a Japanese guardline through the mountains. The Japanese guardline was an electrified wire fence in a scorched earth corridor that was supposed to protect camphor workers from attacks by people who at the time were called "raw savages." In an irony as big as Mt. Qilai, the Japanese guardline was built partly with raw savage labor: Kondō Katsusaburō – the elder brother of Kondō Gisaburo, who married Mona Rudo's sister (see ch. 1 p. 32) – complained that his in-laws from Paran had "donated" 20,000 man-hours working on the guardline (Barclay 2017: 113). *Iyung* is obviously a loanword, but is it from Taiwanese or Japanese? Judging by the pronunciations of 隘勇 ("guard") in Taiwanese and Japanese, *ài-ióng* and *aiyū*, *iyung* is from the Taiwanese. Still another term is *bukung*, used for anyone who plays a governmental role. *Bukung* is what Hanaoka Jirō gets called by a group of Seediq porters when he walks by in his police uniform (*SF* 42:27). *Bukung* derives from the Bukonsho (Mandarin: 撫墾署 Fukenshu), the Japanese agency tasked with pacifying (撫 *bu/fǔ*) savages and colonizing (墾 *kon/kěn*) territory. It opened the doors of its Hori office on July 23, 1896 (Barclay 2017: 130). Though the Bukonsho was shut down the next year (133–134), that was long enough for it to make a mark on the Seediq language. Finally, Hanaoka Jirō's wife Obing Tado says that she is the wife of a *kensazu* (*RB* 26:47), from the Japanese *keisatsu*, policeman. In her translation of the screenplay, Iwan Nawi brings the Japanese loanword into the system of Seediq morphology by adding an agent focus prefix *m-*, *mkesacu* (Wei 2014: 118), meaning "to be a police officer." She added the pluralizing prefix *d-*, too, *dkesacu* (133).

A police officer worked at a police station, a *sapah ptasan* – a building, originally a house, where one writes, where *ptasan* is the location focus of *patis*. I described its traditional meaning in terms of tattooing, or skin-writing in chapter 6 (sec. 2.3). By 1930, *patis* was medium-neutral and could apply to paper as well as skin. As a noun, *patis* came to mean "book" or "case," as in the case of officer assault (see introduction p. 4) that was the immediate cause of the Musha rebellion.

Mona Rudo complains to Hanaoka Ichirō about how bad Japanese police officers in Seediqland are compared with the ones he saw in Japan. One reason Japanese police officers were so nasty is because in 1930 the authorities were in a rush to turn Musha into a hill station. Wood for the buildings was logged and lugged by corvée loggers and porters. The work must have been unpleasant for them to begin with. Traditionally, braves who believed they were descended from the Pusu Qhuni would have dragged fallen logs, *qhuni*. Now they had to fell trees, also *qhuni*, and saw them into logs, which they carried over their shoulders to the mill for processing into lumber, which they then shouldered to Musha. To say "lumber," they simply extended the meaning of *qhuni*. The terms for logging ground and mill are only mentioned in the scene descriptions, which only Iwan

Nawi translated. A "logging ground" is a *krtan qhuni lmiqu* (Wei 2014: 86), literally the place for cutting down trees of the forest. A mill was either a *seidaiso* (133), a loanword from Japanese (製材所 *seizaisho*, Mandarin: *zhìcáisuǒ*), literally "the place for making lumber" or a *sluwan qhuni* (94), the place for making trees, which is a calque of the Japanese loanword.

While the Seediq once lived a mostly autarkic existence with gift-giving as the main form of exchange, they have had a word for money for a long time. In the film, Mona Rudo barters at the trading post, but in history he may have occasionally used money, *pila*, a Mon-Khmer loanword that originally meant silver and is common in Austronesian languages, for instance *pilak* in Tagalog.

For as long as they used money the Seediq must have had words for save and make, buy and sell. In the film, *ngalan*, the location focus form of *angal*, meaning "take," is used for "make," as in money. For instance, in the creekside colloquy Mona asks Hanaoka Ichirō:

Malux	*uka*	*bbale*	*ka*	*pila*	*ngal-an*	*=su*	*isu?*
why	NEG	more	NOM	money	take-LF	=2S.GEN	2S.NOM

Why don't you make more money?

Seediq policemen made less money than their Japanese counterparts. Paid on a regular basis, the money a policeman made was his *sntkeyan*, the location focus perfective (or preterite) form of *stuku*, meaning "what has been stored up." In this regard, there is an interesting exchange between Hanaoka Jirō and Lubi's fiancé Watan at Ngôo Kim-tun (Wu Jindun)'s store. When Jirō remonstrates with Watan for wasting money on booze, Watan says (*SF* 42:21):

Ye	*=nami*	*ado*	*Seediq*	*ka*	*yami,*
QUERY	=1P.EX.NOM	since	Seediq	NOM	1P.EX.NOM

Is it because we – excluding you – are Seediq

m-kela	*=nami*	*ma-anu*	*s<m>eku*	*pila*	*di?*
AF-know	=1P.EX.NOM	AF-what	<AF>save	money	INT

that we don't know how to save?

The comment sounds like an ironic quotation of something Watan has heard from the Japanese, out of a racist prejudice according to which the Seediq do *not* know how to save. However, the translatability of Wei's Mandarin into Seediq belies the idea that they do not. Here, the word for save is *smeku*, which originally meant "to bury for safekeeping." It is not specific to money, but then neither is "save." Obviously the Seediq understood saving up for a rainy day, the slow season, or the fallow year by storing things in, for instance, a *repun* (*SF* 1:41:46), a grain bin. In the film, Hanaoka Ichirō extends *repun* to mean "storage space" in general, for example the room in which the Japanese are keeping the guns and the bullets, the armory. Iwan Nawi calls the same armory a *ssliyan bbali* (Wei 2014: 181), a place where bullets could be "gathered" (*seli*). What Seediq people were not yet accustomed to was saving money at the bank, the *pskuwan pila*, another

of the modern improvements Hanaoka Ichirō mentions to Mona in the creekside colloquy. *Pskuwan* is derived from the same root as *smeku*. The *pskuwan pila* is literally "the place where one causes money to be saved." The *pskuwan pila* doubled as the post office, hence the *yubinkyoku*, a Japanese loanword, in Iwan Nawi's translation (121). Finally, a single word, *baruy*, is used for buy or sell in Seediq, but not in the film, except as the base of the word for store: *sapah bbrigan*, where *bbrigan* is the location focus future of *baruy*, indicating potential. A *sapah bbrigan* is a building where things could be bought or sold.

The store was an instrument of social control, in that the Japanese wanted to get the Seediq dependent on the market instead of making most of what they needed on their own, as they had done leading their semi-autarkic traditional lifestyle (ch. 6 sec. 2.3). But in the film the only thing that Mona buys from Ngôo Kim-tun's store is matches. Matches, the heads of which Mona collected for decades in preparation for a revolt against the Japanese, were called *p-utung* (*SF* 1:01:59), literally "able (*p-*) to be lit (*utung*)," where *putung* was previously the word for kindling. The clothes Mona wears are apparently woven for him by his wife out of yarn she had spun from local ramie, but indigenous people in Taiwan had been unweaving industrially produced fabric – which was more brightly colored than local product, especially in shades of red – filling it out with the tougher local material, and reweaving it into garments that they later sold to anthropologists or at the trading posts (Barclay 2017: 161–189)! The Japanized generation of young people, the Hanaokas and their wives, wear manufactured and store-bought uniforms and kimonos. Uniform was translated *lukus snadu* (*SF* 42:58), "prize clothes" or perhaps "made clothes" (see below). Kimono was translated *lukus paru Tanah Tunux* (*SF* 2:03:25), "big garment of the Red Heads."

Another institution for social control was the Shinto shrine, which figures in the film as a shibboleth for identity. During the creekside colloquy, Mona asks Hanaoka Ichirō/Dakis Nomin if he will enter the house of the spirits of the ancestors or the house of the spirits of the Japanese, *sapah utux Tanah Tunux* (*SF* 1:17:14, 1:39:57). Given that October 27 was only a few days away, one wonders if there is dramatic irony in this scene: Hanaoka/Dakis must think that Mona means eventually, but Mona actually means in a few days. If Mona means in a few days, one wonders which Japanese shrine he was thinking of – because, according to Deng Xiangyang (by email), no Shinto shrine was built in Musha until 1932.

Yet another institution for social control was the school. In the Tgdaya, the village schools are called *sapah pyasan*, buildings (*sapah*) that are places where children are made to sing (*pyasan*, a causative location focus form). When children recited their lessons it probably sounded like singing. In Iwan Nawi's Toda translation, school is translated *slhayan matas* (Wei 2014: 121), "a place where one learns (*slhayan*) to write (*matas*)." The schools for Taiwanese and Japanese children, *kō gakkō* and *shō gakkō*, must have been referred to using loanwords. The kind of normal school Hanaoka Ichirō went to is referred to by a loanword, *Sihang gako* (119), from the Japanese *shihan gakkō* (Mandarin: 師範學校 *shīfàn xuéxiào*). The school Hanaoka Ichirō graduated from is not mentioned in the creekside colloquy, just that he graduated, *mnuuyas*, literally "sang." As a normal

school graduate, Hanaoka Ichirō was more highly educated than any of his Japanese colleagues. As Mona puts it, he has more *pnyasan*, more education, literally "what one was made to sing." A normal school graduate becomes a teacher, a *mptgesa* in Tgdaya (*SF* 47:55), where *mptgesa* is the agent focus future form of *tgesa*, "tell." In Toda, a teacher is a *sensei* (Wei 2014: 87), a Japanese loanword. A teacher could sleep in a dormitory, *tqiyan* (98), literally "place of sleeping."

In the climax of *The Sun Flag*, students from the three different kinds of school in the area come together to Musha for a sports day. The school sports day originated in the Meiji era. It was another institution of social control, or even part of a proto-militarization of society (Mühleder 2013: 75–76). It involved not only sports events but also the national anthem, standing to attention, and a lot of marching. In his draft of the Seediq shooting script (see ch. 2), Dakis Pawan used *un-do-kay*, a loanword from the Japanese *undōkai* (Mandarin: 運動會 *yùndòng hùi*), literally "exercise gathering," as did Iwan Nawi in her published translation: *wundokai* (Wei 2014: 90). But later Dakis switched to *pseung tarin* (*SF* 48:25), meaning "compare" (*pseung*) "jumping" (*tarin*), as if the most salient events at the sports day involved jumping. (Dakis told me that he imagined young Seediq athletes at the sports day leaping or bounding in the way warriors chased enemies or game through the alpine forest.) In her translation, Iwan Nawi refers to the site of the sports day as the *ttalang kogako* (Wei 2014: 180), where *ttalang* means "to run" and *kogako* is a loanword. Schoolchildren like Pawan Nawi, future leader of the child warriors of Mhebu, hoped to win a "prize," a *snadu* (*SF* 48:28), apparently a patient focus perfective form. If *snadu* is a variant of *snalu* (*RB* 56:56), used in the Toda translation of the "reward" for the man who can bring back Mona Rudo's head, then the base is *salu*, meaning "make," and *snadu* means "made." The association of making with value – the value of a prize or reward – implies that the Seediq had a concept of value added.

As a prelude to the attack, and during the immediate aftermath, the Seediq cut the phone lines that allowed the colonizer to communicate long-distance. In Tgdaya, "phone line" is *ggaluk* (*SF* 1:51:30), from a base meaning "to link up." And the phone at either end of the line was called a *qnawan* (*RB* 9:41), meaning "wire" or "metal line," of unknown etymology. But the Seediq could not very well knock out the handcars or narrow-gage rail lines, the *daisha* and *elu daisha* (Wei 2014: 211), that the Japanese had built for access and resource extraction. Once a hunter's path, *elu* was now a word for modern transport infrastructure.

Few neologisms are used in *The Rainbow Bridge*, except when the Japanese crush the rebellion by dropping bombs that unleashed a blistering agent upon the rebels. When the Tgdaya rebels saw bombs falling from an airplane, they apparently called them *laqi na*, "its children," though this phrasing is not used in the film. In the film, the child warrior Pawan Nawi refers to the bombs as *qbulic gncahu* (*RB* 1:06:49). *Qbulic* we encountered earlier. Originally the word for hackberry or its ash, it was extended to mean gunpowder, and here it is extended again to mean bomb. *Gncahu* means "venom/poison," here extended to mean manmade chemical toxin. In her translation of "bomb," Iwan Nawi, added the Japanese loanword *doku*, meaning "venom" or "poison," to the Seediq word for

bullet to produce *bbali doku* (Wei 2014: 241). Originally the word for a plant with a small, spherical fruit, later on the word for a bullet of similar size and shape, *bbali* was obviously now no longer necessarily a certain shape or size.

2.2 Concepts of belonging

Finally, colonization surely had some impact on the Seediq discourse of belonging. In the previous subsection I noted the modern use of *alang* in reference not to a small face-to-face village community, but to an imagined community as large as Japan. To determine community belonging, they extended the meaning of the word for blood. Given that the blood of other peoples is just as red, as is the blood of beasts, it seems counterintuitive that blood should have become a symbol of belonging (and exclusion), but the association is ancient. That does not mean the Seediq made it. Did Seediq people traditionally think about their belonging in terms of blood? In his book, Shen Mingren proposes the following term for Seediq belonging (Bawan 1998: 70):

kingan dala luduts sodeq
one blood lineage people
a blood lineage of people

He then translates this term into "blood ethnos" (血族 *xiězú*). The Mandarin seems foreignized, but as far as I know the Seediq is a novel collocation. Given the likely association of *lutuc* with weaving (see ch. 6), I suspect this Seediq phrase of Shen's was inspired by the Mandarin word for ancestry (血統 *xiětǒng*), which contains the character for blood (血 *xiě*).

While Shen's usage does not prove that blood was traditionally a metaphor for belonging for the Seediq, Shen is probably where Wei got an idea for a line in his film. When Mona Rudo asks Hanaoka Ichirō/Dakis Nomin if he is going to enter the Shinto shrine or the house of the Seediq spirits, Hanaoka Ichirō protests:

我 沒 忘記 我 和 你們 流著 一樣 的 血。(Wei 2000: 49–50)
Wǒ méi wàngjì wǒ hé nǐmén liú-zhe yíyàng de xiě.
1s NEG forget 1s and 2P flow-PRG same GEN blood
I haven't forgotten that the same blood flows in me and you.

Ini =mu chungi-i kingan =ta dara ita. (*SF* 1:17:06)
NEG =1S.GEN forget-PF.IMP one =1P.GEN blood 1P.NOM
That our blood is one hasn't been forgotten by me.

If Shen inspired the line in the Chinese screenplay, then Shen's Truku phrase *kingan dala* backtranslated into Dakis Pawan's Tgdaya phrase *kingan dara*.

In her translation of this line (Wei 2014: 118), Iwan Nawi used a traditional term, *mntna lutuc*, the same (*mntna*) lineage (*lutuc*). Mona Rudo and Hanaoka Ichirō are not in the same *lutuc* strictly speaking. They are not even from the same

alang. Mona Rudo was from Mhebu, Hanaoka Ichirō from Gungu. By using *lutuc* in her translation, Iwan Nawi was adapting it to discriminate between Seediq and the Japanese.

Whether belonging is based on blood or lineage, it is a birthright, not a right that one has to earn. But the Seediq also had a concept of a right to belong that was earned. You were not born a *seediq bale*, you became one. In the Mandarin shooting script, the right to become a *seediq bale* is discussed in terms of "qualifications" or "credentials" (資格 *zīgé*). *Zīgé* are typically documentable in writing. For a people who "wrote" on the skin of their faces, written documentation would seem to be an alien concept. It is certainly not an alien concept to the translators, all of whom speak Mandarin and live in modern Taiwan, but the translation into Seediq was not straightforward. The first time they translated *zīgé* was in Rudo Luhe's monologue to the boy Mona (see ch. 3): only a headhunter has the "qualification" to cross the bridge and defend the happy hunting ground. The Seediq translation refers to *mnpahung*, which just means "had guts" (*SF* 30:28).

In the third part of the same monologue, the opposite case is considered, where souls lack the qualification to cross the bridge. Here the translators translated qualification with *dungus*, which originally meant a target to shoot at, but by semantic extension came to mean a goal or even a meaning (ch. 6 p. 140, 149):

Uka dungus =na ptas-an dqeras ka dheya. (*SF* 33:38)
NEG meaning =3S.GEN write-LF face NOM 3P.NOM
For them to have their faces written on, the meaning of it does not exist.

The genitive *na* is translated "of it." "It" here is the following clause in Seediq and the preceding clause in English. A more idiomatic translation would be: "It would not make sense to tattoo their faces!" Or: "There's no point tattooing their faces." This seemed a satisfactory analysis until I heard the following line (*SF* 34:16):

Uka dungus =namu remux tnlangan sapah rudan ka utux =namu.
NEG means =2P.GEN enter realm house elder NOM spirit =2P.GEN
Your spirits don't have the means to enter the realm of the elders' house.

The second-person plural genitive *namu* cannot refer to the following clause, so "meaning" does not make sense as a gloss on *dungus* in this example. "Means" on the other hand does make sense.[5] *Dungus* is now the target of one's words – one's meaning – and also one's ability to hit an abstract target. It therefore makes sense as a translation of *zīgé*, a qualification, which is intended to attest to a person's ability to hit a certain kind of target in a certain field of endeavor.

Outside of *Seediq Bale*, I have seen *dungus* used for legal conditions for the achievement of a given end, including "right." *Uka dungus namu* might mean "you don't have the right" to belong, whether to the community of *seediq bale* or to the Seediq community. Indeed, the Seediq concept of belonging is now conceived of in terms of a legal right, in that indigenous status in Taiwan is legally

defined.[6] What is surprising is that the use of a Seediq word has come under the influence of the Chinese legal term adopted as a translation of "right" in the early 19th century. Until very recently Seediq speakers would almost certainly have invoked a "right" by codeswitching into Mandarin – 權利 *quánlì* – or by using the cognate Japanese loanword – *kenri*. In this regard, there is now a tendency to avoid loanwords and to adapt native terms for such concepts, an issue I take up in the conclusion.

3 The problem with loanwords and the linguistic adaptability of Seediq

Comparison of the Mandarin-Tgdaya translation by Dakis Pawan and the Mandarin-Toda translation by Iwan Nawi reveals a contrast in type of neologism: almost all of the modern terms in the Tgdaya translation were translated with Seediq adaptations, only a few with loanwords; by contrast, about half of the modern terms in Iwan Nawi's translation were loanwords from Japanese.

The contrast should not obscure the fact that the lexicons of Toda and Tgdaya modernity contain a lot of overlap. About half of the neologisms I counted in the Tgdaya translation are identical or cognate with the terms used in the Toda translation. The Toda word for police station is *sapah btasin*, which is recognizably cognate with *sapah ptasan*. The words for airplane, boat, boss, bullets, education, graduation, Japan, Japanese, kimono, legal case, lumber, matchstick, military officer, money, policeman, phone line, and store are the same or nearly so.

However, it is also true that there are a lot more Japanese loanwords in Iwan Nawi's translation, such as *doku* for poison (gas), *kuyakusiyo* for corvee labor office, *kopu* for cup (where the Japanese word *kappu* is a loanword from English), *butokukan* for hall of martial virtue (where the Hanaokas practice judo), *eiga* for film, *kapa* for flag, *daisha* for handcar, *seidaiso* for lumber yard, *kuntai/kuntei* for military, *sihang gako* for normal school, *wundokai* for sports meet, *bunsic* for police station, and *sensei* for teacher.

Data from the editing process suggest linguistic purism. I mentioned (p. 161) Dakis's change from *wun-do-kai* to *pseung tarin*. He also changed his translations of the Mandarin term for police officer from Japanese loanwords in the draft to Seediq adaptations in the final cut in every case but one. The same is true of Iwan Nawi. I mentioned (p. 157) her switch from *xirai qhbi* to *sapah skaya*. Another example is her switch from *tomoku/tamoku*, a loanword for "chief," in her 2003 translation of her husband's comic to *qbsuran*, the word for elder sibling, in her 2014 translation of Wei's screenplay. If linguistic purism was a factor in either Dakis's or Iwan's translations, it is ironic, as anxiety about linguistic influence should be directed at Mandarin, not Japanese.

In the Japanese period, there was nothing to be anxious about, yet. In the 1920s, Seediq people of all ages spoke Seediq. By the 2000s, a linguistic generation gap had appeared. Young people were not learning the language anymore, and even people in their fifties spoke Mandarin better than Seediq. The translators' anxiety about the future of their language explains the preference for adaptations

over loanwords today. Loanwords are avoided today because there is a fine line between using a loanword and codeswitching. In the Japanese era, when Seediq people did not generally know much Japanese, Japanese words were borrowed into the language as loanwords. Only fluent Japanese speakers like the Hanaokas and their wives could have codeswitched into Japanese. Forty years ago, Seediq speakers might still have been adapting loanwords from Mandarin to Seediq phonology, but today almost all Seediq speakers are fluent Mandarin speakers, so that whenever a Seediq speaker wants to say something for which there is already a word in Mandarin, he or she just codeswitches into Mandarin. As a result, Seediq has stopped developing the lexical resources to express new aspects of modernity. An anxiety over Seediq's failure to develop over the past forty years would recommend a policy against trying to adopt Mandarin loanwords. The overgeneralization of such a policy to include Japanese loanwords would explain Dakis Pawan's preference for adaptations over loanwords in his translation of *Seediq Bale*, though of course it would not explain the contrast between Dakis Pawan's avoidance of loanwords and Iwan Nawi's relative openness to them.

Regardless, the data I have presented attest to Seediq's lexical adaptability. Iwan Nawi's use of Seediq verbal and nominal prefixes on Japanese loanwords is a particularly striking example of their systematic incorporation into Seediq morphology. Lexical adaptations can be understood in terms of Roman Jakobson's metaphor and metonymy (or synecdoche) (see ch. 2 note 6). The Seediq word for horny-toothed ardisia was adapted as a word for bullet because of a similarity in size and shape between the fruits of this species of ardisia and the balls Seediq marksmen loaded into their guns. The meaning of *bbali* has been extended further to mean bomb, based on a similarity not so much of shape or size, but on a shared function: bullets and bombs are both deadly projectiles. Based on similarity, these extensions of the meaning of *bbali* are metaphorical in Jakobson's terms. Another term illustrates semantic extension based on "contiguity," the principle of metonymy or synecdoche. Tanah Tunux, literally Red Head, was invented to refer to the Japanese, because Japanese soldiers wore red hats *on* their heads. Tanah Tunux was even used to refer to Japan, because Japanese people were *part of* the country.

In translation studies, however, there is an anxiety surrounding translation-mediated linguistic influence on minority languages, as if it might recast a minority language in the mold of a dominant language (see ch. 2 sec. 1). I dealt with the syntactic side of the issue in chapters 2 to 4, and the lexical side of the issue in chapters 5 to 7. My main finding is that, judging by the translational data from *Seediq Bale*, there is nothing to be anxious about. There may be an overall tendency, but the best way I have found to describe it is fluency (see ch. 2). If what is true for the translation of *Seediq Bale* is true for minority translation in general, minority translators with a sense of what sounds good in the target language should foreignize and domesticate their way to fluent translations that are compromises with the original text and the cultural context in which it was produced. On a lexical level, foreignization means choosing loanwords and calques (see table 7.1), but I do *not* agree that loanwords cause a language "to retract" (Cronin 2003:

141), if that is what Professor Cronin is implying with his reference to a study of Anglicisms in French (Pergnier 1989). That cannot be what Cronin is implying, because judging from the title of the study, *Anglicisms: Danger or Enrichment for French*, loanwords might be enriching. In this chapter, I have shown how loanwords enrich a language by complementing adaptations for the same idea, and I should expect the same would be true in any minority language, for it is the dialectical process by which a language adapts to modernity. As I see it, translation, any kind of translation, tends to allow a language to expand.

Thanks to translation, Seediq has never been more "expansive," linguistically speaking. Alas, sociolinguistically it is in crisis. But the crisis the language is in should not be blamed on a certain kind of translation. The problem is not that there has been too much foreignization, but that there has not been enough translation. I will elaborate upon this and related claims in the conclusion to this book.

Notes

1 In the scenes in the film set in 1895, 1902, and 1903, warriors light the fuses of their matchlocks by sparking flint, but earlier in the 19th century they had used tinderlock guns, where instead of a match cord, the fire that lights the powder is transmitted through tinder.

2 Thanks to Professor Susan Lin for directing me to evidence that indigenous peoples were making their own black powder in the early 20th century (Lin 2016: 256).

3 Paul Barclay has argued that the Government-General used different methods in the Han Chinese plains and the indigenous mountains, describing the difference in Foucauldian terms: "Colonial rule in Han-dominated Taiwan took on a coloration of nation building in Japan, under a regime of governmentality/discipline, whereas the indigenous territory of Taiwan was ruled under a hybrid regime of punishment and biopol-itics, at least until the 1930s" (Barclay 2017: 32). In the 1930s, the state *did* try to discipline, to get inside the heads of, the "raw savages," whom they now referred to respectfully as Takasago, in order to turn them into ardent volunteers. To the extent that Foucauldian discipline is a plausible interpretation of postwar society, the Kuomintang tried to discipline the Seediq, too, after 1945.

   I myself understand the Seediq encounter with modernity as a process of "domestication," a word from a root meaning "house" that counts domination and domicile among its many cognates. In trying to domesticate the Seediq people, the state has governed and educated them and capital has exploited them, but the Seediq have been trying to self-domesticate, meaning to regain control of their own governance, education, and livelihood in order to create communities where they can feel at home.

   To make themselves feel at home, they have to maintain a community/market distinction, where gift exchange is practiced in the community and commodity exchange is reserved for the market. There had long been a place in Seediq culture for commodity exchange by barter or *pila* payment, and there is still a place for gift exchange.

4 With more recent technological developments, there are now e-*alang* on the instant messaging app LINE dedicated to language learning, cultural study, or, *ad infinitum*, some political candidate or representative's important activities.

5 Despite appearances, "means" and "meaning" are not cognates, but derive from two different Proto-Indo-European roots, according to the Online Etymology Dictionary.

6 In the current legal regime, indigenous peoples are either "plains" or "mountain." The Seediq are "mountain." Individuals are "mountain," according to Article 2 of the Status Act For Indigenous Peoples, if they can prove descent from "permanent residents of the mountain administrative zone before the recovery of Taiwan" in 1945 based

on census records compiled by the Japanese. Non-indigenous spouses do not get status, but children born to "mixed" couples do. Maybe eventually, indigenous communities at whatever level will be able to decide who belongs to them, but at present, indigeneity in Taiwan is based on ancestry.

References

Barclay, Paul D. (2017) *Outcasts of Empire*: *Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border," 1874–1945*, Oakland: University of California Press.

Bawan Danaha (Pawan Tanah; Shen Mingren) (1998) *Chongxin Zuling de Minzu: Saideke Ren* (*The People Who Worship Ancestral Spirits: The Seediq*), Taibei: Haiweng.

Cronin, Michael (2003) *Translation and Globalization*, New York and London: Routledge.

Guo Mingzheng (Dakis Pawan) (2011) *Zhenxiang Balai: Saideke Balai de Lishi Zhenxiang yu Suipai Zhaji* (*Truth Bale: The Historical Truth of Seediq Bale and a Production Diary*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Lin, Pei-hsi (Susan) (2016) "Firearms, Technology and Culture: Resistance of Taiwanese Indigenes to Chinese, European and Japanese Encroachment in a Global Context Circa 1860–1914," dissertation, Nottingham Trent University.

Mühleder, Peter (2013) "The Japanese School Sports Day: The Socio-Cultural Role of a Ritualistic School Event in Contemporary Japan," *Vienna Journal of East Asian Studies*, 4: 67–96.

Pergnier, Maurice (1989) *Les anglicismes: danger ou enrichissement pour la langue française* (*Anglicisms: Danger or Enrichment for French*), Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Qiu Ruolong (2011 [1990]) *Manhua Balai: Taiwan di yi bu Wushe Shijian Lishi Manhua* (*Comic Bale: The First Historical Comic of the Musha Incident*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Qiu Ruolong; Huang Linghua (Iwan Nawi) (trans) (2003) *Taiwan Yuanzhumin Lishi Manhuashu Wushe Shijian Saidekezu Todayu Banben* (*Toda Sediq Language Version of the Taiwan Indigenous Historical Comic Book Musha Incident*), Taibei: Jiaoyuju (Ministry of Education).

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2000) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Xinwenju (Government Information Office).

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng); Yiwan Nawei (Iwan Nawi) (trans) (2014) *Kari Toda Patas eyga Sediq balay* (*The Toda Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*)/*Saideke Balai Saidekeyu Jubenshu* (*Seediq-Language Screenplay for Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Yushan.

Wolf, Eric R. (1982) *Europe and the People Without History*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Yan Yunnong (2011 [2004]) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Yuanliu.

Zuoshan Rongji (Sayama Yūkichi) (2011 [1917]) *Fanzu Diaocha Baogaoshu disice* (*Savage Races Survey Report vol. 4* [in two parts, one for central Taiwan, one for the east coast]), Nangang, Taibei: Zhongyanyuan (Academia Sinica).

Conclusion

The thick description of indigenous cultural translation

This book has two titles, a subtitle for the method and the case and a title that generalized from the case by identifying what it w conclusion, I begin by wrapping up the case. In the wrap-up I argue that the interlingual translation of *Seediq Bale* was informed by a "tra culture into an alternative modernity. I speculate, based on *Seediq Bale*, as to what kind of alternative it is. Then I make a home for my approach, indigenous cultural translation, in translation studies in relation to cultural translation studies and minority translation studies. Finally, I recommend my method, the thick description of translation, as a way of investigating the fate of indigenous ways of knowing and living worldwide.

1 From the translation of *Seediq Bale* to alternative Seediq modernity

At its simplest, the translation of *Seediq Bale* was from Mandarin to Seediq, or: Mandarin – Seediq. But at both the text and term levels, the Mandarin screenplay was to some extent a translation from Seediq, hence: Seediq – Mandarin – Seediq. But even this is a simplification. Japanese intervened between Seediq and Mandarin. There were dialect differences within Seediq to deal with. The Seediq translators sometimes gave Wei Te-sheng feedback that he acted on by changing the Mandarin screenplay. At a higher resolution, some bits of the screenplay went through the following transformations: east coast Truku 1931 – Japanese 1935 – central Taiwan Truku and Mandarin 1998 – Mandarin 2000 – Mandarin 2009 (draft) – Tgdaya 2009 – Mandarin 2009 (revision) – Japanese 2009/English 2009.

I take pride in my thick description of the transformations, but what is the point? Part of the point is terminological. Throughout the monograph I have described the Mandarin-Seediq translation as a backtranslation, in that parts of the Mandarin were translated from the Seediq. But "backtranslation" is typically a way of checking the accuracy of a translation soon after the translation has been made. When a century has passed, and the cultural contexts have gotten a lot "thicker" in some respects, thinner in others, there is no going back.

I have pointed out in this regard that the translators are our coevals. They cannot help but understand anything in the present we share with them. As a result, they must share a lot with us. They must understand themselves and their

situations in familiar ways. At the same time, unlike us, they can understand themselves and their situations through a Seediq cultural web (or fabric) of meaning, one that they have been spinning (and weaving) anew over the past several decades. Indeed, every time they understand anything through that web (or fabric), they spin (or weave) new strands into it. Otherwise, they could not adapt. And their ability to adapt by spinning or weaving cultural webs anew has to be part of the reason why they are not just of the present; they are not intellectually confined to today. The Seediq translators can model other worlds in their minds, potential worlds and past worlds, like the world their ancestors lived in. Sharing the same ability to adapt, we can try to model that world, too, and compare it to our own. To this end, from chapter 3 to chapter 6, I suggested double readings for Seediq translations of the Mandarin screenplay of *Seediq Bale*. One reading belongs to the past, the other to the present. For instance (*SF* 1:25:01, see ch. 5 p. 118 and p. 126):

> *Gaya n-Seediq, md-dahun =ta hiya*.
> tradition GEN-Seediq AF.REC-share =1P.NOM there
> The tradition of the Seediq people is sharing among ourselves there.

To the ghost of Rudo Luhe and his son Mona Rudo a century ago, "there" would have been the village community. For translators like Dakis Pawan and Iwan Pering today, it would be the language promotion office in Puli. Rudo and his son Mona might have shared boar meat from the hunt, or meat from a domesticated pig, perhaps as part of a headhunting ritual, while the translators might share a meal of take-out soup noodles. The conversation they have at the language promotion office will be different from the sentiments Rudo Luhe shared with Mona Rudo by the creek.

If the conversation in the language promotion office turned to the Musha Incident, and someone in the course of this conversation said *Gaya n-Seediq, mddahun ta hiya*, it could be an interpretation of the Musha Incident: it was the Seediq cultural tradition of reconciliation that the Tgdaya rebels and Toda collaborators alike followed in late 1930 and early 1931. If the conversation turned again to contemporary Seediq society, the same utterance would imply reconciliation between Tgdaya and Toda today. If some foreigner named Temu Kanada happened to be there, and he said *Gaya n-seediq, mddahun ta hiya*, he would mean: it is the way "of" (*n-*) "people" (*seediq*) like us to reconcile with one another, and with one another's often very different ways of thinking, communicating, and acting, there, wherever we happen to be.

In this monograph I have shown how Seediq people have been reconciling with people like me, and in some sense with globalized modernity, in their translations, particularly of *Seediq Bale*. How have they reconciled themselves to modernity? By reconstructing a meaningful Seediq tradition around commitments to certain universal[1] values. They have, for instance, excised the sexism from their tradition (see ch. 3), which they have demilitarized (see the conclusion to ch. 4); they have redefined a word that once meant headhunting in terms of a body of written law that prohibits headhunting (see ch. 5); they have shot themselves over the

Rainbow Bridge, only to find themselves in a different kind of "after-life" (see the conclusion to ch. 6), and they have adapted to modernity terminologically (see ch. 7).

The modern reinterpretation of Seediq culture, as I have described it, must sound quite familiar. Whether or not you agree with the discourse of universality, you, too, believe that men and women should have equal rights, and that conflicts should be resolved peacefully, according to the written law (if attempts at reconciliation fail) of a society that values diversity. You, too, have words for plane, police, post office, population. So what is Seediq about alternative Seediq modernity, and how is it an alternative? Though it is hardly the best way to approach Seediq modernity, *Seediq Bale* does shed some light. Three points.

First, though the logging crew in *Seediq Bale* was doing corvée labor (*SF* 45:58, ch. 4 sec. 3.1), they were working as they had traditionally worked, by sharing the work. This style of collective work persisted after the war. As a girl, Iwan Pering was expected to help her parents and their workmates plant corn to sell on the market. The team was self-organized, and the teammates had developed their capital themselves from the alpine forest, but as capitalists they did not accumulate to an unsustainable excess. All aspects of their work had precedents in precolonial life: the Seediq were traditionally horticulturalists, and the fact that the Seediq word for money is a precolonial loanword (ch. 7 p. 159) implies they had been selling produce, whether from the garden or the forest, or even products of their labor for *pila* before the Japanese arrived. Whatever was new about their lifestyle since colonization, they were practicing a saner form of capitalism by upholding Seediq cultural practices (see Wang 2014, who discusses the Seediq adaptation of/to capitalism in terms of *mssbarux*, to "exchange work with one another").

Second, the semi-autarkic lifestyle represented in *Seediq Bale* (see ch. 6 sec. 2.3) also persisted after the war. Iwan Pering remembers how she used to gather *sama bale* with her mother Bakan and eat the meat from the *boyak* that her father, Pering, had hunted. While my own four-year-old daughter watches Peppa Pig videos, Iwan as a girl felt the bristles of Peppa's wild cousin. After the feast her father Pering would remove the boar's *cubu*, its "bladder," tie off one end, and blow it up. That was the first "ball" or "balloon" Iwan played with. As a girl she lived a style of life that I would describe as relatively unalienated, or, to use a more contemporary term, unmediated. This is not to say that she should drop her smartphone and return to an approximation of a semi-autarkic lifestyle in the alpine forest, but that her childhood memories remind her of what the anthropologist Scott Simon has called *l'aliénation des forêts* (2018: 166), "the alienation [of indigenous people] from the woods." Her memories remind her of a lifestyle she might want to live again; they might inspire her to come up with a new kind of lifestyle that might somehow combine the best of both worlds.

Third, the survival of the Seediq-style petty-capitalist, semi-autarkic lifestyle relates to cultural and environmental sustainability, which is a central concern in *Seediq Bale*. What most concerns the celluloid Mona Rudo is Seediq cultural

sustainability. When Hanaoka Ichirō urges Mona to wait twenty years, because things will get better, Mona says (*SF* 1:19:47):

M-eyah	*mpusan*	*knkawas*	*de,*	*maha*	*uka*	*gaya*	*=ta*	*di*.
AF-come	twenty	years	if	AUX	NEG	culture	=1P.GEN	PRF

If we wait twenty years, our culture will cease to exist.

Uxe	*mm-eniq*	*d-dup-un*	*=ta*. (dactyl x 3)
NEG.FUT	AF.FUT-exist	FUT-drive-PF	=1P.GEN

Our hunting ground won't be there.

Maha	*mg-Tanah*	*Tunux*	*kana*	*lq-laqi*. (trochee x 7)
AUX.FUT	become-red	head	all	PL-child

All the children will become Japanese.

With those rolling rhythms, Dakis Pawan makes Mona Rudo sound so persuasive that for a moment I forget that what Mona predicted has not come to pass. Ninety years later "[a]ll the children," their children, and their children's children are still Seediq. Culturally, the Seediq have proven extraordinarily sustainable.

A bridge from Mona Rudo's concern about the continuity of culture to our contemporary concern about environmental sustainability is Tado Mona's complaint to Police Chief Sazuka. In Su Ruiqin's translation, he says: "You've about hacked down all the trees [in] our hunting grounds" (*SF* 55:30). As I noted in chapter 4, tree saplings are symbolic children. Saplings would grow even if most of the forest was hacked down, just as children would be born after the near annihilation of the rebellious Tgdaya villages in 1930 and 1931. The forests around Mhebu have mostly come back, though the hunters who know them now are Toda and Truku. The Tgdaya have come back, too, from the brink.

Historically, it was the Japanese who cut down the forest in Seediqland, though they forced *corvée* laborers to do it. The Seediq have, by virtue of their linguistically inscribed local ecological knowledge, made use of the forest to supplement their diets or incomes. Knowledge, of course, is neutral, and can be used to exploit and destroy or to tend and defend. But at least traditionally, the Seediq tended and defended the alpine forests of their *ddupun*, their hunting grounds. Iwan Pering believes tending and defending are traditional values, and she is trying to uphold them today. I want to believe that her linguistically inscribed local ecological knowledge will promote environmental sustainability.

I am certain that her linguistically inscribed local ecological knowledge is valuable in itself, as part of what Nicholas Evans has called the "vast ethnobiological wings of our Library of Babel" (2010: 22). There are secrets biologists would love to know in the languages of peoples who have paid extremely close attention to certain aspects of their local surroundings, peoples like the Seediq, who (used to) listen to the Voice of Nature that sang to them in the form of the *sisin* bird (ch. 6 sec. 2.1). I have heard a few of these secrets whispered across a century – intriguing linguistic clues to Seediq practical knowledge of the environment. All of the clues (ch. 7 p. 154) are words for technologies of violence: *harung/halung* means "pine/

gun," *qbulic* means "hackberry" and "gunpowder," *bbali* means the fruit of the horny-toothed ardisia and "bullet" or even "bomb." But violence comes with the territory of an epic film like *Seediq Bale*, and it cannot not characterize the Seediq book of nature in general. If there is a chapter on violence, there must be a chapter on peace. If there is, it is not just a chapter about the visible eukaryotes, but about the culture of nature, about alternative ways for people to make sense of and relate to their surroundings. The Seediq book of nature that is yet to be written is part of a potential Seediq contribution to the library of human knowledge, and the way of life it would inscribe is a potential contribution to global modernity, the unfinished project that everyone should contribute to.

The screenplay of *Seediq Bale* was a start. It was a relatively foreignized but obviously simplified Mandarin translation of the transformation of Seediq culture from 1895 to 1930 by a man, Wei Te-sheng, who felt that the kind of modernity he was living in Taiwan in the 1990s was very much unfinished (see ch. 1 sec. 1). There was something missing in his life in a concrete box in the big city. He tried to fill the hole with nationalism, religion, and primitivism. In his screenplay for *Seediq Bale* (Wei 2000), he tried to fill himself up with his ideas about traditional Seediq heroism. To the extent there is any truth in his representation of Seediq tradition, it is because he involved Seediq translators in the production of his film. In 2009 and 2010, he opened up the authorship of the screenplay by acting on feedback from the Mandarin-Seediq translators. His revisions were co-authored by the translators. Of course, he could have opened the authorship of the screenplay more than he did; only a few lines were co-authored. Certainly, the Seediq should be writing screenplays about themselves, about the potential contribution their reinterpretation of tradition might make. (I would happily translate them.) And if there is a screenplay for Taiwanese modernity, or global modernity, that all of us keep writing, then the whole thing has to be collectively authored, as we all experiment with alternative ways to think, talk, and live.

2 Positioning indigenous cultural translation in translation studies

While I observe a tiny corner of indigenous Taiwan, you, no doubt, would like to hear about translation in the rest of the Fourth World. We can make a start on the study of indigenous translation globally by differentiating my approach, indigenous cultural translation, from approaches in two sub-disciplines of translation studies: cultural translation studies and minority translation studies.

2.1 In relation to cultural translation studies

The term *cultural translation* comes out of cultural anthropology. The first anthropological publications to use the term in the title date to the mid-1980s (see Asad 1986, though Larsen 1987 is more stimulating). Within translation studies, Kate Sturge (2007) discusses cultural translation in anthropology in terms of the ethics of representation (166–177), including the very act of representation (1): what gives an ethnographer the right to represent a culture he or she does not belong to? Professor Sturge

also discusses the ethics of representation in interlingual translations. As she shows throughout her book, an ethnographer has to walk a fine line between his/her "etic" terms and the "emic" terms the people he/she is studying would use (22) – between domestication and foreignization (28) – in order to avoid either normalizing (114) or exoticizing (1 and throughout) the source language and the people who speak it.

In my own English translations of Seediq texts and terms in this monograph, I have tended to foreignize, to try to give the reader a sense of how the language articulates the culture. Instead of dwelling on the ethics of representation, I have just made friends with the translators, who shared their stuff with me and let me make up my mind about it. If I have the right to represent the Seediq, it is because I have gotten the empirical part of my description right. What needs to be stressed is that indigenous cultural translation studies today is no longer the study of anthropologists like Bronisław Malinowski translating the cultures of oral peoples into an anthropological metalanguage; it is now the study of literate indigenous translators like Dakis Pawan translating their own cultures. If there is a transition from orality and literacy that restructures consciousness (Ong 2002 [1982]), we are now on the same side of it as an indigenous translator.

For Sturge, cultural translation is what ethnographers do in their studies of foreign peoples, while for scholars in translation studies who have invoked "cultural translation" over the past decade, it is what locals do in response to immigration. In a widely read article, Boris Buden and Stefan Nowotny begin with a critique of a citizenship exam that forces a simplistic "translation" of German culture down the throats of new immigrants in Germany (2009: 196–198). Though new immigrants should surely accept a woman's right to travel alone and the reality of the Holocaust (197), they should not have to swallow a simplistic cultural translation when German culture is for everyone to contribute to. Sarah Maitland is interested in how cultural translation might resolve the same kind of tension between immigrants' possible contribution and the need for them to respect the local way of life in her book on the "urgency" of cultural translation at a time of mass "immigration" (2017: 1) in the wake of the Syrian refugee crisis.

For Buden, Nowotny, and Maitland, cultural translators are locals and, perhaps, immigrants. Anthony Pym (2014: 138–158) has immigrants in mind in his discussion of cultural translation. His discussion of cultural translation is too wide-ranging to do justice to here. I will focus on his treatment of cultural translation in the writings of Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, both Indian academics who have immigrated to the United States. I summarize his treatment (cf. 2014: 138) of their take on cultural translation as follows:

1 It is a process of culturally conditioned semiosis[2] without a source text or a target text.
2 Rather than the movement of texts between languages, it is about the movement of people, particularly postcolonial immigrants to what was once the metropole.
3 The cultural translators are the immigrants who transform into new kinds of hybrids [because surely they were hybrids to begin with] as a mode of survival [because if they insisted on cultural purity they would lack the adaptability they need to survive].

Pym does not dwell on interlingual translation in this particular chapter because he is distinguishing "cultural translation" from his other paradigms, and because for Homi Bhabha in particular cultural translation is not interlingual (Pym 2014: 141). But it seems to me that cultural translation should involve interlingual translation, both for anthropologists who learn the languages of the peoples they are studying and for immigrants, whether Syrian refugees in Europe or Indian professors in America – at least for Gayatri Spivak, whose idea of cultural translation has got to relate to her own interlingual translational practice.[3]

Immigrants deserve all the scholarly attention they have gotten in cultural translation studies, but should not be getting *all* the scholarly attention. Indigenous peoples deserve our attention, too, and indigenous peoples face a different challenge from immigrants. The challenge for immigrants is to make a place for themselves in a society that was there already. Indigenous communities were there already. They tend to get moved by the colonizer, but in Taiwan only for short distances. Even if indigenous people have stayed put in space, they cannot help but move through time. After they submit to settler state rule, their challenge is to adapt to the institutions of the settlers, which in Taiwan today means liberalism, both capitalism and democracy, to which multiculturalism has been added, ideally to moderate ethnic inequality and contribute to cultural sustainability. What, in conditions like these, would "indigenous cultural translation" be like?

1 It is a reinterpretation of an indigenous culture, partly through interlingual translation.
2 It is about the movement through time of autochthonous minorities who have not yet found a path to political postcoloniality but may still pursue psychic postcoloniality.[4]
3 The cultural translators are the indigenous people in settler states who transform into bilingual and bicultural hybrids by translating their cultures, as a mode of survival and as a possible contribution to modernity.

The distinction between immigrant and indigenous is easy to make. But there is another distinction, between indigenous and minority, that is hard to make: the main cases in the minority translation studies literature – Hebrew, Catalan, Basque, and Gaelic – are not immigrant languages, and speakers of these languages might claim that they, too, are "indigenous." If so, more power to them, as long as they are willing to share the land and all the good things they get from it. But Gaelic cannot be a model for Seediq.

2.2 In relation to minority translation studies

The concept of minority, as it has been employed in and outside translation studies, includes both immigrant and indigenous minorities, and might even include slightly more than half the population, if women are considered a minority (Hacker

1951); but the capaciousness of the concept makes it a blunt instrument. We do need blunt instruments, in any field. A carpenter, for instance, needs a mallet. But he (or she) also needs a set of precision chisels.

The capaciousness of minority language translation studies is built in conceptually. As Michael Cronin has been pointing out for over two decades, minority is a relation not an essence (1995: 86, 2017: 150). A might dominate B in one context and be dominated by B in another. X might dominate Y in any context, but that does not mean Y is essentially weak. English might dominate Gaelic even in Ireland, but Gaelic is relatively strong compared with Seediq, which is healthier than Eyak, the language the late Michael E. Krauss cited as his case study in his famous address on linguistic endangerment to the Linguistic Society of America in 1991 (Krauss 1992). Eyak had a few speakers in 1991 but went extinct (or into hibernation) in 2008. Yet Eyak is better off than Etruscan: there is a grammar of Eyak in preparation, and there are Eyak workshops for the descendants of native speakers, making a revival, or a waking out of sleep, a possibility, but we only have a few words of Etruscan (Evans 2010: 29). I guess a few words is better than none. But if relativity is the only conceptual tool in our kit, there are only shades of gray, with no sharp breaks, between English and Etruscan.

I take the point that minority is relative. But then everything is relative, and yet we continue to make distinctions. We have to, or we could not say anything. We can propose new distinctions to say things with more precision. I therefore propose a distinction between *minority* and *indigenous* for translation studies. Consider that Hebrew, Catalan, Basque, and Gaelic are all much, much stronger than Seediq. They are all spoken by people of all ages, by hundreds of thousands if not by millions. They have written traditions in the hundreds of years, if not millennia, and in publishing industries, not to mention audiovisual media with large audiences. They have developed the discursive means to communicate modernity: there is legal Gaelic and technical Gaelic. They have regional or national programs to support the pedagogy of the language throughout the region or the nation. With such regional or national support, the languages in question are relatively *ausbau*. Why would we expect languages that are spoken by elders in the dozens, hundreds, or thousands, that are still used primarily orally, that do not have publishing industries or audiovisual media because there is no market, that lack the discursive means to communicate modernity (there is scant legal Seediq, no technical Seediq), that have minimal state support in education, and that as a result are still relatively *abstand*, to be the same?

Granted, indigenous language translation can hardly be starkly different from minority language translation. One area of overlap would be that translation into the minority or indigenous language is unnecessary for information transfer, because, whether indigenous or not, minorities tend to speak the majority language. Dakis Pawan should have felt free to be disloyal to Wei's Mandarin subtitles (see ch. 2 sec. 3), which any Seediq speaker watching *Seediq Bale* in the theater could read, in favor of other loyalties, to himself, his culture, and his community. Nor am I claiming that all contexts for indigenous translation are the same. Greenland, which has only one indigenous language, is not Canada, which has hundreds of

First Nations languages, including Inuktitut, which is genetically related to Greenlandic but sociolinguistically in far worse shape (Joseph 1987: 83–87). And Canada is not Taiwan, which now has sixteen officially recognized indigenous languages (including Sediq and Truku, which are actually two dialects of the same language), each of which has its own weekly newscast and, since February 2016, its own online dictionary. Each case is unique, and everything is relative. Still, we gain precision for being able to treat a case like the translation of *Seediq Bale* as a case of indigenous language translation, not just a case of minority language translation.

Here is a set of interlinked working theses about the ways in which cases of indigenous language translation may be distinct. When intuition fails them, indigenous translators consult their older relatives and friends, their "walking dictionaries," or colonial records containing snippets of the speech of their ancestors. More often than not, older relatives and long-dead colonial ethnographers will throw the indigenous translator back upon him- or herself, forcing him or her to be creative. Forced to be creative, an indigenous translator in a small speech community is likely to have founder effects even more significant than those of a minority language translator as he or she contributes to the standardization of the linguistic culture and the creation of modern terminology. As his or her experience of the language has been almost entirely oral, his or her translations will tend to be more paratactic, particularly if the intended audience is younger indigenous readers who may not be able to read very well. But the technology of writing will tend to push the language toward hypotaxis. In his or her engagement with the original text, an indigenous translator will tend to domesticate and foreignize his or her way to fluency, and in representing his or her culture to a majority language audience, an indigenous translator will tend to foreignize as a conscious strategy upon engagement with the indigenous movement, whether local or global.

Indigenous languages are also more vulnerable than minority languages, but the issue deserves special consideration because the cause of linguistic vulnerability has been misidentified in minority translation studies, at least in the influential work of Michael Cronin.

Interlude: foreignizing translation and linguistic vulnerability

Professor Cronin mischaracterizes the threat to a vulnerable language (or at least Maolmhaodhóg Ó Ruairc does, if the following is Cronin's paraphrase) when he writes:

> Minority languages that are under pressure from powerful major languages can succumb at lexical and syntactic levels so that over time they become mirror-images of the dominant language. Through imitation, they lack the specificity that invites imitation. As a result of continuous translation, they can no longer be translated. There is nothing left to translate.
>
> (2003: 141)

I assume that with his reference to a mirror image, Cronin means that the weak minority language would assimilate to the norms of the strong majority language,

not end up as orientational flips of the strong majority language (see ch. 2), as in a mirror image. But overall it is clear what he means. He means that the threat to a vulnerable language is linguistic. In fact, the problem is sociolinguistic.

Sociolinguists who study language endangerment describe a "classic three-generational pattern of language switch" (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 136). The first generation is too old to learn the colonial language, the second learns the colonial language but has to learn the ancestral tongue, too, to be able to communicate with the first, while by the third generation, grandchildren cannot easily communicate with their grandparents. Of course, the process can go quicker, or it can be more drawn out. But when the colonizers guard checkpoints along channels of social mobility, it makes sense to learn the colonial language to get ahead, not to mention that the guards may prohibit the use of the ancestral tongue. The problem is *not* that "through imitation" the language comes to "lack the specificity that invites imitation." The notion of a weak language "succumb[ing] at the lexical or syntactic levels" due to linguistic influence is wrong.

As I explained in the conclusion to chapter 7, the lexical threat to a language like Seediq is not loanwords but codeswitching. English speakers may codeswitch into French to sound sophisticated, but a Seediq person codeswitches because there simply is no conventional translation for a term like "sustainability" in Seediq, and because Seediq people speak Mandarin fluently. If members of a weak minority language community speak the strong majority language well enough to switch, they stop introducing loanwords. This is a serious problem. The solution is to favor calques or adaptations (Sterk 2020), only resorting to loanwords when the word is from a language nobody in the language community can speak well enough to switch to.

Nor has the syntax of any minority language ever reoriented into a replica of a dominant language. In any case of unequal diglossia, we can assume that the influence would tend to cause the weak language to assimilate to the strong language, though dissimilation also occurs (Thomason 2006: 343–344; 2007). Rather than "succumbing," the language crumbles, beginning with "[t]he most complex parts of the language" (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 68–69), simply because young people are not speaking it enough. This is a serious problem. The solution is to insist upon speaking and writing in the weak, minority language.

For Mandarin-Seediq bilinguals like Dakis Pawan, Mandarin might have some effect on Seediq via translation, but if so it will be subtle. As I demonstrated in chapter 2, no matter how hard Dakis Pawan tried to translate "literally," whether he takes "literal" translation to mean translating morpheme for morpheme, word for word, or phrase for phrase; or whether he tries to translate in the same order or a different order, he *cannot* thereby overwrite Seediq patterns with Mandarin patterns. The same structure, for instance translating subject into subject, relative clause into relative clause, usually requires a different order, the same order a different structure. If Dakis pre-posed every adjective and used a topic in every sentence he translated, and if everyone who speaks Seediq modeled his or her speech on Dakis's translation, then topics might get reinterpreted as subjects and the noun-adj order might flip to adj-noun. But that is not how Dakis translates, and anyway he does not have *that* kind of influence.

Whatever effect translation specifically or language contact in general has had, it has been to the benefit of Seediq. Seediq is a more "expansive" language for the character-by-character literal translation of the "blood sacrifice" of *xiějì* into *psdara smesung*, which reads like a dictionary definition in Seediq but nonetheless conforms to Seediq grammatical norms (ch. 5 pp. 109–110). There are a few signs of Chinese grammatical influence on the language (ch. 2 pp. 49–50), but grammatical influence should add color to the Seediq stylistic palette. Who knows, a formal/informal distinction might develop along the lines of the distinction between "person with whom I am conversing," which is French, and "man I'm talking to," which is English. Would anyone claim that French influence on English has been for the worse? Why should Seediq or any indigenous or minority language be any different?

While language contact under colonialism is going to punctuate the equilibrium of an indigenous language, even radical change may not be a bad thing. Seediq no doubt changed radically at times in the past; aspects of Seediq today, to which speakers may be deeply attached on the assumption that they are "traditional," are the results of those changes. The language will change through attempts to teach it and translate it. It will change through attempts to standardize, revitalize, and write it. No one can fight it, so let the language change. The only way to revitalize a language is by speaking and writing it continually, which will change it without effacing its identity.

In short, instead of worrying about potential linguistic influence, whether through foreignizing translation or due to language contact in general, we should regard vulnerability as a sociolinguistic problem, and get on with the study of indigenous translation. Scholars in minority language translation studies have started trying to do that.

In her introduction to the "Translation and Minority, Less-used and Lesser-translated Languages and Cultures" issue of the *Journal of Specialised Translation* (*JOSTRANS*), Debbie Folaron (2015a) touches on ways of measuring endangerment, and, in a separate interview with two translators of First Nations languages in Canada, on "language and translation in endangered Aboriginal communities" (2015b). In his article in the same issue, Timothy Pasch discusses the "digital translation" of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, meaning traditional Inuit knowledge. Pasch asserts that such digital translation requires *qanuqtuurniq*, which is a matter "of being innovative and resourceful in seeking solutions" (2015: 202), a definition that is easy to understand in the context of Nunavut, or in any context. It sounds like a Great White North analogue to the Ancient Greek *phrónēsis* is being applied to a new problem.

With the exception of an article on translator training in Basque, the "Translation in Language Revitalisation" issue of the *Journal of Translation and Technical Communication Research (trans-kom)* is exclusively about Sami and Karelian, languages that would count as endangered by any measure and which fit the definition of indigenous: the ancestors of the people who speak them were there first, and their descendants remain culturally distinct. In their introduction to the special issue, Päivi Kuusi, Leena Kolehmainen, and Helka Riionheimo review the

minority language translation studies literature (see Branchadell 2011) and draw lessons from language endangerment and revitalization studies (for instance, Crystal 2000; Grenoble and Whaley 2006), in which "translation has remained largely invisible" (Kuusi et al. 2017: 138). To make the translator more visible, another article (Koskinen and Kuusi 2017) focuses on activism. The activist translator can try to change attitudes about a language, getting people to see that language is part of identity.

Recent studies in minority translation studies have made some contribution to our understanding of the sociolinguistic predicament of the indigenous translator and some of the steps he or she might take to get out of it. But the lack of interlingual translational data in these publications is conspicuous. The only interlingual translation data cited by Koskinen and Kuusi (2017) is Finnish to English. I noted earlier Professor Pasch's citation of the word *qanuqtuurniq*. A philological discussion of its morphology in relation to its meaning would have been fascinating. I can at least make a start:

qanuq	*-tuur*	*-niq*[5]
how	-have.much	-GER
having a lot of how		

Throughout this book I have shown how much translational *qanuqtuurniq* Dakis Pawan has, and I would like scholars to show me how much *qanuqtuurniq* other indigenous translators have. The only way anyone can do that, as I argued in the preface, and as I have demonstrated throughout, is to deal with the interlingual translational data.

3 Early anthropology, cognitive linguistics, and the thick description of translation

In arguing for a linguistic approach to indigenous cultural translation I am returning to the roots of cultural anthropology. It was in his study of the morphology of the literary Austronesian language Kawi that Wilhelm von Humboldt proposed the idea of "a characteristic *world-view*" that "resides in any language" (1989 [1836]: 60, cited in Leavitt 2011: 93, italics original). With an interest in the language-culture relation that he pursued by reading Humboldt and others, Franz Boas would investigate North American indigenous languages. According to John Leavitt, Boas and his followers assumed that language might be "highly influential in the way one conceives of the world." However, the Boasians also realized "that speakers of very different languages can be very similar . . . and that speakers of the same language can differ drastically" (2011: 114). In other words, most of the Boasians were subtle thinkers. Boas himself was a careful thinker who insisted that comparison should only be undertaken when detailed, historically contextualized case studies have been completed (Boas 1940 [1896]: 280).

Benjamin Lee Whorf was rather less subtle and careful. Geoffrey Pullum (1989) has shown how Whorf took an observation of Boas's – that the "Eskimo"

[sic] talk about snow in terms of four lexical roots, while we supposedly make do with "snow" in English – and turned it into a claim that the different Eskimo words "are sensuously and operationally different" (Whorf 1940, quoted in Pullum 1989: 276), as if the words one uses change how one perceives the world and functions in it. This is the so-called hard linguistic determinism, which overstates the case, and which has to misrepresent the evidence to seem plausible. According to Professor Pullum, it was all a hoax. It turns out that Inuit languages mostly have two roots for snow (280), and what about words like sleet, slush, and hail in English, none of which derives from snow?

But while Whorf was wrong, he was not totally wrong, and the less extreme thesis that language does to some extent influence cognition (which has to be part of culture) is being tested by linguists and psychologists who are coaxing the cognitive correlates out of grammatical evidentiality (Evans 2010: 170), satellite-framing vs. verb-framing coding of motion events (172), kinship terminology (159; see also ch. 6 note 5), and countability (160, 174–176), where the language you speak might nudge you toward a countable or uncountable interpretation of Quine's *gavagai* (see ch. 6 note 11).

In his account of cognitive linguistics, Nicholas Evans dedicates the most space on the linguistic coding of location and orientation in space and time (2010: 163–169, 170–171). Temporal location and orientation is often discussed in terms of the spatialization of time. Usually, the past and future are conceived of in terms of relative directions, usually front and back, but in Mandarin "next time" is 下次 *xiàcì*, "below time," while in Seediq "the future" is *bobo na*, "its above," the upside of now. Apparently, FUTURE IS DOWN in Mandarin, UP in Seediq. It is easy to cite examples that make languages like Mandarin and Seediq seem like mirror images of one another, harder to investigate all the ways in which time is spatialized in a given language, even harder to draw out the cognitive or cultural implications.

An attempt to draw out the cultural implications of one aspect of the Hawaiian spatialization of time appears in James Clifford's most recent collection of essays, *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century*. Clifford cites the Hawaiian historian Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa's account of the Hawaiian spatialization of the past: "*ka wa* [sic] *mamua*, or 'the time in front or before'" (1992: 22, cited in Clifford 2013: 24). The analysis is:

ka	*wā*	*mamua*
the	time	in.front
the past		

In other words, the past is out in front in Hawaiian, as the relative past is out front in both English ("before") and Mandarin (以前 *yǐqián*). What exactly is the significance of the Hawaiian spatialization of the past? To find out, Clifford compares Kame'eleihiwa's view of the past and Walter Benjamin's angel's view of the past. Although they both face the past, Benjamin's angel of history confronts a ruin while Kame'eleihiwa sees a resplendent scene (Clifford 2013: 24–25).[6] Maybe a Hawaiian

who has read Benjamin, if only in English translation, could see the past both ways. Maybe the sovereignty activist and singer Israel Kamakawiwo'ole, who released the album *Facing Future* in 1993, was able to see the future and the past in both embodied directions, ahead of him and behind him. Obviously, the spatialization of time in a language is not destiny, just another means of meaning-making. Clifford only spent a few pages on Hawaiian. A linguistically sophisticated scholar who focuses on a single case should be able to tell an epic story of the search for meaning in contemporary Hawaiian culture through a thick description of a translation, as I have tried to do for Seediq culture in my thick description of *Seediq Bale* in this book.

4 Facing future

Here ends my brief attempt to make a home for my method, the thick description of translation, and my approach, indigenous cultural translation, in translation studies. In coming to the end, I feel I have hardly scratched the surface of the theoretical possibilities for indigenous translation studies, having focused so closely on my case study. I hope this focus is a virtue, and that the case study I have completed has made a contribution to the study of indigenous translation. But I am sure you would agree that a single case study does not a subfield – the subfield of indigenous translation studies – make. If fellow scholars are interested, we could consider a conference, perhaps a collection on indigenous translation, a collection like the one edited by Albert Branchadell and Lowell Margaret West on minority translation (2005). Their main case was Catalan. I have argued that we should not assume that what is true for a minority language like Catalan is necessarily the case for an indigenous language like Seediq. How representative of indigenous minority languages is Seediq? I am not sure, but imagine that once we have completed a few more case studies we could get together to undertake the tentative work of comparison. If the indigenous translators I have discussed seem too well-adjusted in the Taiwanese context – if it seems like I have turned Iwan Pering and Watan Diro into the poster children of progressive indigeneity in a multicultural liberal democracy that is doing something to protect indigenous rights – scholars can argue with me about the Seediq in Taiwan and do case studies of coeval misfits and militants in other countries.

There are a couple of obvious contexts for us to do case studies in. Google Translate is available in Hawaiian and Maori, which is evidence of an organized effort to arrange, clause by clause, hundreds of thousands of lines of interlingual translation. It is unsurprising that such an effort would also involve scholarship and publication. Nikki Hessell has studied Romantic poetry in Maori and Hawaiian translation by translators who have their own ideas about "[r]egenerating Romanticism" (Hessell 2018: 229–231). R. Keao NeSmith has written a conference paper about his translation of "Jabberwocky" into Hawaiian (NeSmith 2017). NeSmith has also translated the Harry Potter series and other novels, as an Amazon search shows. By seeding their languages in these ways, Maori and Hawaiian translators must hope that someday soon, there will be original sonnets and novels in Maori and Hawaiian. Most of these sonnets and novels will be average, but a

few will be sublime, and cognoscenti will hopefully soon be citing the Shelley of the Maori or the Twain of the Hawaiians, not to sound sophisticated, but to open windows on other ways of perceiving, thinking, and living.

I do not regret learning Seediq, but while I know I should not privilege written over "oral" literature, I do wish there was more to read in the language besides heroic legends – like the one about the archer who shot his arrow at the sun. I wish there were sonnets and novels to read. I am not sure if Dakis Pawan or Iwan Pering has a great sonnet or novel in him or her, but a student in the new Seediq master's program at Providence University, Walis Huwac, who at twenty-three years old has taken aim with his computer at a sun that has not yet dawned, if not at the stars, might.

Notes

1 Modern values are supposedly "universal," as in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However widely the rights apply – "human" would appear to limit their application to a single Earth-bound species – the declaration is a historical document. As products of history, which did not stop in 1948, the rights are amenable to improvement, although they remain foundational: see Article 1 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007.

2 Anthony Pym cites Charles Sanders Peirce for the term *semiosis* (Pym 2010: 107), but relates Peirce to Roman Jakobson (108). As I explain in endnote 6 to chapter 2 and the conclusion to chapter 7, I understand semiotic processes, including translation, in Jakobsonian terms.

3 In her own translational practice, Gayatri Spivak tries to let the subaltern speak by foreignizing: instead of a domesticating translation like "wet-nurse," Spivak translates the title of Mahasweta Devi's story literally – or almost – into "breast-giver" (Spivak 1987). The title, "স্তন্যদায়িনী" (*stan'ya-dāyinī*), is "breast" (*stan'ya*) "giver" (*dāyinī*). But there is a bit more to *dāyinī* than "giver." *Dāyinī* is a female giver who "shows up in the liturgy for various goddesses," according to Shashwati Talukdar. In Bengali, the title turns the character into a universal mother.

4 Though I have cited works of colonial and postcolonial translation studies by Maria Tymoczko (see ch. 2 note 6) and Douglas Robinson (see ch. 6 note 2), I could have done a lot more to compare colonial and postcolonial translators with indigenous translators, the colonial translators who do not have an easy path to political postcoloniality. I hope to do more in an article on the translation of "sovereignty" into Seediq in the context of recent developments in Taiwan with implications for the linguistic, cultural, and political sovereignty of indigenous peoples.

5 Thanks to Louis Jacques-Dorais, a man with a lot of how, and, I am sure, a lot of why, for the analysis of *qanuqtuurniq*.

6 In response to James Clifford's discussion of the Hawaiian perspective on the past, I would argue that modernity has to have given the Hawaiians a different sense of the past. It has certainly given the Seediq a different sense of the past. The "myth" of the Pusu Qhuni once told Seediq people where they came from, but no Seediq person would take it seriously as history today. Today, Seediq people can make a distinction between mythic and historical narratives, at least between 神話 *shénhuà*, "myth," and 歷史 *lìshǐ*, "history." A task for the Seediq now is to translate such distinctions into Seediq. A task I have set myself is the investigation of whether translations into Seediq affect how Seediq speakers understand the original concepts.

References

Asad, Talal (1986) "The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology," in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 141–164.

Boas, Franz (1940 [1896]) "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology," in Franz Boas (ed), *Race, Language and Culture*, New York: The Free Press, 270–280.

Branchadell, Albert (2011) "Minority Languages and Translation," in Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer (eds), *Handbook of Translation Studies*, v. 2, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins, 97–101.

Branchadell, Albert and Lovell Margaret West (eds) (2005) *Less Translated Languages*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Buden, Boris, Stefan Nowotny, Sherry Simon, Ashok Bery, and Michael Cronin (2009) "Cultural Translation: An Introduction to the Problem, and Responses," *Translation Studies*, 2.2: 196–219.

Clifford, James (2013) *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cronin, Michael (1995) "Altered States: Translation and Minority Languages," *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Redaction*, 8.1: 85–103.

Cronin, Michael (2003) *Translation and Globalization*, New York and London: Routledge.

Cronin, Michael (2017) *Eco-Translation*, New York and London: Routledge.

Crystal, David (2000) *Language Death*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Evans, Nicholas (2010) *Dying Words: Endangered Languages and What They Have to Tell Us*, Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Folaron, Debbie (2015a) "Introduction: Translation and Minority, Lesser-Used and Lesser-Translated Languages and Cultures," *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 24 (July): 16–27.

Folaron, Debbie (2015b) "Debbie Folaron Discusses the Role of Language and Translation in Endangered Aboriginal Communities (Cree, Naskapi, Innu) with Julie Brittain and Marguerite MacKenzie," *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 24 (July): 2–15.

Grenoble, Lindsay A. and Lenore J. Whaley (2006) *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hacker, Helen Mayer (1951) "Women as a Minority Group," *Social Forces*, 30.1 (October): 60–69.

Hessell, Nikki (2018) *Romantic Literature and the Colonised World: Lessons from Indigenous Translations*, Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Humboldt, Wilhelm von; Michael Losonsky (ed); Peter Heath (trans) (1989 [1836]) *On Language: On the Diversity of Human Language Construction and Its Influence on the Mental Development of the Human Species*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Joseph, John Earl (1987) *Eloquence and Power: The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages*, London: Frances Pinter.

Kame'eleihiwa, Lilikalā (1992) *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai* (*How Shall We Live in Harmony*), Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Koskinen, Kaisa and Päivi Kuusi (2017) "Translator Training for Language Activists: Agency and Empowerment of Minority Language Translators," *trans-kom: Journal of Translation and Technical Communication Research*, 10.2: 188–213.

Krauss, Michael (1992) "The World's Languages in Crisis," *Language*, 68.1: 4–10.

Kuusi, Päivi, Leena Kolehmainen, and Helka Riionheimo (2017) "Introduction: Multiple Roles of Translation in the Context of Minority Languages and Revitalisation," *transkom: Journal of Translation and Technical Communication Research*, 10.2: 138–163.

Larsen, Tord (1987) "Action, Morality, and Cultural Translation," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 43.1 (June): 1–28.

Leavitt, John (2011) *Linguistic Relativities: Language Diversity and Modern Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maitland, Sara (2017) *What Is Cultural Translation?* London and New York: Bloomsbury.

NeSmith, Keao (2017) "Nonsense Prose Neologisms: A Look at Universal Approaches from Polynesian and British Points of View," conference paper for Australex.

Nettle, Daniel and Suzanne Romaine (2000) *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ong, Walter J. (2002 [1982]) *Orality and Literacy: The Technologization of the Word*, New York and London: Routledge.

Pasch, Timothy (2015) "Towards the Enhancement of Arctic Digital Industries: 'Translating' Cultural Content to New Media Platforms," *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 24 (July): 187–213.

Pullum, Geoffrey K. (1989) "The Great Eskimo Vocabulary Hoax," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 7: 275–281.

Pym, Anthony (2014 [2010]) *Exploring Translation Theories*, 2nd edition, New York and London: Routledge.

Simon, Scott (2018) "Penser avec des oiseaux: L'ornithomancie et l'autochtonie à Taïwan," *Anthropologie et sociétés*, 42.2–3: 151–169.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1987) "Breast-Giver," in *In Other Words: Essays in Cultural Politics*, New York and London: Methuen, 222–240.

Sterk, Darryl (2020) "Ecologizing Seediq: Towards an Ecology of an Endangered Indigenous Language from Taiwan," *International Journal of Taiwan Studies*, forthcoming.

Sturge, Kate (2007) *Representing Others: Translation, Ethnography and the Museum*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Thomason, Sarah A. (2006) "Language Change and Language Contact," in Keith Brown (ed), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, v. 6, Oxford: Elsevier, 339–346.

Thomason, Sarah A. (2007) "Language Contact and Deliberate Change," *Journal of Language Contact*, 1: 41–62.

Wang Meixia (Wang Mei-hsia) (2014) "Cong *Waya* kan ziben zhuyi de zhuanhua guocheng: yige Saideke buluo de jingji bianqian" (Exploring the Transformation of Capitalism from Perspectives of Waya: Economic Changes in a Sediq Community), *Kaogu renlei xuekan* (*Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology*), 80: 53–102.

Wei Desheng (Wei Te-sheng) (2000) *Saideke Balai* (*Seediq Bale*), Taibei: Xinwenju (Government Information Office).

Whorf, Benjamin Lee (1940) "Science and Linguistics," *Technology Review (MIT)*, 42.6 (April): 229–231, 247–248.

Index