

## Chapter IV Findings and Discussions

### 1. Ethnic Groups Involved in the Development of Central Taiwan

“Development” originally means “cultivating a piece of wild land until it becomes productive”, and people also use the word to refer to the civilization process not only limited to agriculture but including cultural, social, economical and behavioral changes as well (Yin, 1989). Since development is a kind of purpose-driven activity, people involved in the process must play an important role. There had been Austronesian groups, Dutch, Han people and Japanese living in Central Taiwan along the time axis before Taiwan was returned to China in 1945, and in the following account we will start from Austronesian groups.

#### 1.1 Austronesia People

An account of Taiwan can be traced back to Sui Dynasty (隋朝), called “Liuqiu” (流求) at that time. In “History Book of Sui” (隋書) it was written that the “Liuqiu kingdom is located in the ocean.” At that time, the emperor of Sui intended to conquer it, but their language was not intelligible, so the emperor recruited people from the south to form an army, for one of the southern ethnic groups, Kun-lun (崑崙), also known as Malaysian (馬來人), can understand Liuqiu’s language quite well (Abe, 1994). According to this passage and recent linguistic research, these people should belong to Austronesian groups and were the earliest inhabitants of Taiwan.

Austronesian people in Taiwan can be divided into two groups: mountain groups and plains groups, also known as Pingpu groups. The mountain groups are better known by people in Taiwan, for their language and culture are still distinguishable. There were once Pingpu people all over the plains of Taiwan, but ever since they started to come in contact with the Han people in the fifteen century, their assimilation has been so rapid that the Pingpu groups have almost totally become extinct. Actually “Pingpu” is a cover term, for Pingpu groups contain different sub groups who have distinct languages and cultures. Scholars vary as to how many sub groups there are under the Pingpu groups, ranging from seven to twelve. According to the majority of scholars, there were five Pingpu groups inhabiting in central Taiwan; the Pazah, Babuza, Taokas, Papura and Hoanya. Scholars generally agree that the interaction among these Pingpu groups was far more complicated than what happened in other parts of Taiwan.

### **1.1.1 Pazah (拍宰海)**

The Pazah centered in Feng-yuan (豐原), the present seat of Taichung County, stretching north to the Da-jia Xi (大甲溪), south to Tan-tzu (潭子), east to Tung-shih (東勢) and west to Da-du Mountain (大肚山). Chang Da-jing (張達京), a famous interpreter of central Taiwan during the Ching Dynasty, married six princesses of Pazah. There were four sub-groups of Pazah and each one of them contained a

number of tribes of different sizes. Some of the villages' names became modern place names (see Map 3). The four sub-groups are:

**(1) Bali groups (岸裡社群), including:**



Map 3 The Old Map of Central Taiwan during the Ching Dynasty (Pazah)

(Cited from 平埔文化資訊網: <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~pingpu/>)

An-Dong Village (岸東社) (Daiyadaran): in Da She (大社), Shengang Township (神岡鄉), Taichung County. “Daiya” means “east”; “daran” means “stronghold” in Pazah, so the village name means “eastern stronghold”.

An-Xi Village (岸西社) (Rahotodaran): west of Da She, Shengang Township, Taichung County. “Rahoto” means “west” in Pazah, so the village name means “western stronghold”.

An-Nan Village (岸南社) (Maripu): south of Da She, Shengang Township, Taichung

County. “mari” means “under the hill”; “pu” means “grandmother”, but the Chinese call it An-Nan Village. The translation of the place name maybe on analogy with An-Dong for it was located on the south bank of Da-jia Xi (大甲溪).

Hulu-Dun Village (葫蘆墩社) (Furuton): in Feng-yuan, Taichung County. Feng-yuan was called Hulu-Dun (葫蘆墩), which was a Chinese transliteration of Furuton, which in Pazah means “foot hill of a mountain”.

Xi-Shi Wei Village (西勢尾社) (Babawata): in She-pi Village (社皮里), Feng-yuan. “babaw” means “top”; “ta” means “aunt “ in Pazah, but the village name was translated by the Han people for it was located in the end of the west side of somewhere.

Wengzai Village (翁子社) (Barlaton): in She-pi Village, Feng-yuan, meaning “a place where sorgos grow” in Pazah, and its Chinese translation was according to the last syllable of the village name “on”.

Malilan Village (麻裡蘭社) (Balisan): in She-pi Village, Feng-yuan. “Bali” means

“wind”; “san” means “brother” in Pazah, but the Chinese transliteration did not put the meaning into consideration.

Qizai Village (岐仔社) (Paiten): in Xizhou (溪洲), Shengang Township, Taichung County. The meaning of “Paiten” is uncertain, but might come from the Atayal language.

Mazhu- Jiu Village (麻薯舊社) (B(V)ali): in Jiu She (舊社), Howli Township (后里鄉), Taichung County. “Bali” means “wind” in Pazah, but the village name was simply translated by Han people according to its sound.

**(2) Poaly groups (樸仔籬社), including:**

She-liao Jiao Village (社寮角社) (Varrut): in She-liao Jiao (社寮角), Taichung County, meaning “a place where green bamboo grows”.

Da-Nan Village (大湳社) (Karehut): in Da-nan (大湳), Feng-yuan. The meaning of “Karehut” is uncertain, but might come from the Atayal language.

Shui-di Liao Village (水底寮社) (Tarawei): in Shui-di Liao (水底寮), Shin-she Township (新社鄉), Taichung County. The meaning of “Tarawei” is uncertain, but might come from the

Atayal language.

Shan-ding Village (山頂社) (Samtonton): on hill top of Mali-pu (馬力埔), Shin-she Township (新社鄉), Taichung County. The meaning of “Samtonton” is uncertain, but might come from the Atayal language.

Da-ma-lin Village (大馬遴社) (Patakan): in Shin-bo-gong Aboriginal Village (新伯公番社), meaning “a place where all kinds of bamboo grow”.

**(3) Alisai Village (阿里史社):**

In Pazah “ali” means “soldier”, “sai” means “foreigners who come to seek shelter” The village was originally located in Tan-tzu Township (潭子鄉) of Taichung County. In 1804 many people from Alisan Village, together with other Pingpu people and totaling about a thousand, moved to Yi-lan because of Han persecution. This is the reason why there are place names called “Alisan” as well in Luo-dong (羅東) and San-shing (三星) in Yi-lan County (宜蘭縣). The residual villagers finally gave up their hometown in 1823 as well and moved to Pu-li Basin (埔里盆地).

**(4) Auran Village (烏牛欄社):**

Auran means “a place where tomatos grow”, and is located in Wu-niu-lan (烏牛欄), Feng-yuan, Taichung County. In 1823 people from Auran Village also moved to

Pu-li. So there is a place called Wu-niu-lan in Pu-li Township as well. However, today it has been changed to “Ai-lan” (愛蘭).

However, just like other Pingpu groups, the Pazah did not have a writing system to record their language. So these village names were transliterated by the Ching government after the Pazah were naturalized in 1715. According to a descendant of the Pazah Pan, Da-ho (潘大和), some of these transliterated names after their naturalization were translated by meaning, e.g. An-Dong Village and An-Xi Village. Others were by sound, e.g. Wu-niu-lan (Pan, 2002). Because most government officials did not understand the Austronesian language, village names were mainly transliterated by sound, with these meaningful village names as rare exceptions. Pingpu groups have almost been totally assimilated into the Han and because they lack writing systems to record their languages, Pingpu languages are considered dead languages so that we have only limited knowledge on how these languages functioned. But relatively speaking, the Pazah language did not decline as abruptly as other Pingpu groups, for they inhabited closer to mountains. There were still a few Pazah speakers in the central of 20<sup>th</sup> century, so scholars have had a chance to retain some records of this dying language and Prof. Li, Paul Jen-Kui (李壬癸), for example, has edited a Pazah dictionary (Li, 2000).

### 1.1.2 Babuza (巴布薩)

Babuza's main territory was between the Da-du Xi (大肚溪) and Zhuo-sui Xi (濁水溪), encompassing the majority of the Chang-hwa Plain and stretching to the west of Taichung City. Their major tribes were:

Dong-luo Village (東螺社) (Doubale Boata): in Fan-zi Pu (番仔埔), Pi-tou Township (埤頭鄉), Chang-hwa County

Er-lin Village (二林社) (Gilim): in Er-lin Township (二林鎮), Chang-hwa County

Mei-li Village (眉里社) : in Jiu-mei Village (舊眉里), Xi-zhou Township (溪洲鄉), Chang-hwa County

Ban-xian Village (半線社) (Passoua): Chang-hwa City

Chai-zi-keng Village (柴子坑): in Da-zhu Village (大竹里) and A-yi Village (阿夷里)

A-shu Village (阿束社) (Asock): in Fan-she Ko (番社口), Chang-hwa City

Ma-zhi-lin Village (馬芝遴社) (Betgirem): in Lu-kang Township (鹿港鎮), Chang-hwa County

Mao-wu-jian Village (貓霧揀社) (Babosack): near Nan-tun District (南屯區) of Taichung City (see Map 4)

Like the Pazah, many Babuza villages moved to the Pu-li Basin with the exception of Dong-luo Village, which moved to Yi-lan.



Miao-li (苗栗) and Hsin-chu (新竹) Counties. They were mainly located along the seaboard plains. Some people from the Taokas also moved to the Yi-lan Plain and Pu-li Basin. But those who went to Yi-lan chose to come back in the end. There are three major communities of Taokas from south to north (see Map 5):



Map 5 The Old Map of Central Taiwan during the Ching Dynasty (Taokas)

(Cited from 平埔文化資訊網: <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~pingpu/>)

**(1) Beng-shan groups (崩山社群), including:**

Da-jia Xi Village (大甲西社) (Tommel): also known as “Dehua Village” (德化社),

near Fan-zi Liao (番仔寮),

Da-jia Township, Taichung County

Da-jia Dong (大甲東社) Village (Tomel): near Da-dong Village (大東村), Wai-pu Township (外埔鄉), Taichung county

Ri-nan Village (日南社) (Warrewarre): in Ri-nan Village (日南里), Da-jia Township, Taichung County

Shuang-liao Village (雙寮社) (Tannatanangh): in Shuang-liao Village (雙寮里), Da-jia Township, Taichung County

Fang-li Village (房裡社) (Warrowan): in Nan-bei Village (南北里), Fang-li Village (房裡里), Yuan-li Township (苑裡鎮), Miao-li County

Mao-yu Village (貓孟社): in Mao-meng Village (貓孟里), Yuan-li Township, Miao-li County

Yuan-li Village (苑裡社): in Yuan-Dong (苑東), Yuan Xi (苑西), Yuan Nan (苑南), Yuan Bei (苑北) four Villages and Xi-ping Village (西平里)

Tung-xiao Village (通宵社) (Parrewan): in Tung Dong (通東), Tung Xi (通西) these two villages of Tung-xiao Township (通宵鎮), Miao-li County

**(2) Ho-long groups (後壟社群):**

Miao-li Village (貓裡社): in Miao-li City

Jia-zhi-ge Village (加志閣社): in Jia-sheng Village (嘉盛里), Miao-li County

Hou-lung Village (後壟社): in Hou-lung Township (後龍鎮), Miao-li County

Xin-gang Village (新港社): in Xin-gang Village (新港村), Hou-lung Township (後龍鎮), Miao-li County

Zhong-gang Village (中港社): Zhong-gang Village (中港里), Nan-Zhuang Township (南庄鄉), Miao-li County

(3) Zhu-qian groups (竹塹社群), including:

Zhu-qian Village (竹塹社) (Pocaa): in Hsin-chu City

Xuan-xuan Village (眩眩社) (Gingingh): in Shu-lin Village (樹林里), Fu-lin Village (福林里) and De-lin Village (德林里), Hsin-chu City.

This was a clear case of transliteration as 眩眩 in Hoklo pronunciation is “Hin-hin”, which was quite close to Taokas’ word “Gingingh”.

#### 1.1.4 Papora (拍瀑拉)

The Papora spread south to the Da-du Xi, north to Ching-shui (清水) and east to Da-du Mountain, also along the seaboard plains (see Map 6), including:

(1) Da-du Village (大肚社) (Tatuturo): in Da-du Township (大肚鄉), Taichung County

(2) Sui-li Village (水裡社) (Bodor): in Lung-jing Township (龍井鄉), Taichung County

(3) Sha-lu Village (沙轆社) (Salach): in Sha-lu Township (沙鹿鎮), Taichung County

(4) Niu-ma Village (牛罵社) (Gomach): in Ching-shui Township (清水鎮), Taichung

County



Map 6 The Old Map of Central Taiwan during the Ching Dynasty (Papora)

(Cited from 平埔文化資訊網: <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~pingpu/>)

Except for 水裡社(Bodor), all the remaining three village names were complete or partial transliteration of the original Papora village names.

### 1.1.5 Hoanya (洪雅)

Hoanya, located between Wu-feng Township (霧峰鄉) of Taichung County and Sin-ying Township (新營市) of Tainan County, but further inland bear the hills, comprised two sub groups: Lloa from the south and Arikun from the north (see Map 7).

**(1) Lloa groups (羅亞社群), including:**

Duo-luo-guo Village (哆囉國社) (Dorcko): in Dong-shan Village (東山村), Dong-jia Village (東甲村) and Dong-Zheng Village (東正村), Tainan County

Chai-li Village (佳里社) (Talackbayan): also known as “Dou-liu Village” (斗六社), in Dou-liu City (斗六市), Yun-lin County

Xi-luo Village (西螺社): in Xi-luo Township (西螺鎮), Yun-lin County

Ta-li-wu Village (他里霧社) (Dalivo): in Dou-nan City (斗南市), Yun-lin County

Hou-men Village (猴悶社) (Gaumul/Docovangh): in Jiang-jun Village (將軍里), Dou-nan City (斗南市), Yun-lin County

Mao-er-gan Village (貓兒干社) (Badsikan): in Lun-pe Township (崙背鄉), Yun-lin County. 貓 (cat) is pronounced “ba” in Hoklo.

Zhu-luo-shan Village (諸羅山社) (Tilaossen): near Jia-yi City (嘉義市)

Among these place names, 哆囉國，斗六，他里霧，猴悶，貓兒干 and 諸羅山 originated from transliterations of the Hoanya village names.

**(2) Arikun groups (阿里昆社群), including:**

Mao-luo Village (貓羅社) (Kakar baroch): in Fen-yuan Township (芬園鄉), Chang-hwa County

Da-wu-jun Village (大武郡社) (Tavocal): in She-tou Township (社頭鄉),

Chang-hwa County

Da-tu Village (大突社): in Xi-hu Township (溪湖鎮), Chang-hwa County

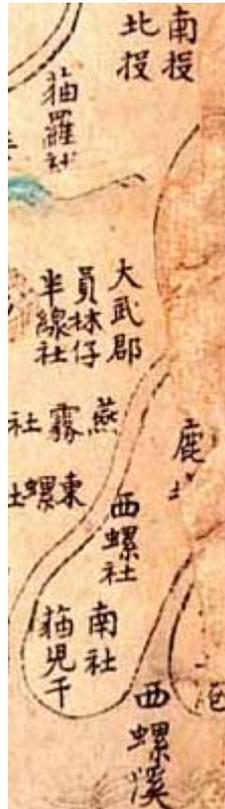
Nan-tou Village (南投社): in Nan-tou City

Bei-tou Village (北投社) (Tausa bata): in Bei-tou Village (北投里), Tsao-tun

Township (草屯鎮), Nantou County

Wan-dou-liu Village (萬斗六社): in Wu-feng Township (霧峰鄉), Taichung

County



Map 7 The Old Map of Central Taiwan during the Ching Dynasty (Hoanya)

(Cited from 平埔文化資訊網: <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~pingpu/>)

One of the above village names 大武郡 had its origin in the original Hoanya

village name. Two others 貓羅 and 北投 got their names through partial transliteration in Hoklo of the original Hoanya village names. Da-li (大里), where “Lin, Shuang-wen Revolt” (林爽文事件) happened, was a village name of the Hoanya as well. The Arikun group gave up their original inhabitation and moved to the Pu-li Basin in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, so did Chai-li (柴裡) and Mao-er-gan (貓兒干) two villages from Lloa, while the remaining groups chose to stay.

#### **1.1.6 Atayal (泰雅)**

Besides the Pingpu, that is, the Austronesian plains group, there was also the Atayal, belonging to the mountain group, who stayed in this area during the time of development. Traditionally the Austronesian people of Taiwan were classified into “sheng fan” (生番, uncivilized aborigines) and “shu fan” (熟番, civilized aborigines), for Han people called those aboriginal people who were cooperative and obedient “shu fan” and those absolutely wild “sheng fan”, and the Atayal were categorized as the latter. The mountains of central Taiwan were the Atayal’s main territory. So after the seaside plains had been totally cultivated, the Han people cannot avoid facing the threats from the Atayal as Han people gradually moved close to these mountains, especially in the Dong-shi and Pu-li area. Although the aboriginal policy of the Ching Government was to separate Han people and “sheng fan” by setting up barriers between them, there were still illegal contacts going on under the table and armed

conflicts and fighting between the two groups were much more vigorous and intense compared to what was seen in northern Taiwan.

## **1.2 Foreigners**

Although the Spanish discovered Taiwan earlier than the Dutch, their influence was only in the north of Taiwan. Thus the Dutch were the earliest colonial government in this area. In 1642 the Dutch drove out the Spanish and occupied the whole island. Taking Tainan as the center, they separated Taiwan into North (north of Tainan), South (south of Tainan), Pyuma (Tai-dong) and Tamsui (淡水) areas (Dakamura, 2001). So what we take as central Taiwan actually belonged to the “Northern” part of Taiwan. At the beginning of Dutch rule, the people they governed were mainly Pingpu. They requested the chiefs of Pingpu groups who had been submissive to the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC, also known as the East India Company) to continue to rule their own tribes, requiring these chiefs to pay taxes and to attend the annual meeting of the chiefs of Taiwan arranged by the company, to proclaim their loyalty.

In 1661 Zheng Cheng-gong (鄭成功) drove out the Dutch and Taiwan was governed by the Ming-Zheng government and later by the Ching government. In 1895 Taiwan was ceded to Japan after the Ching regime lost the first Sino-Japanese War (Jia-wu War). Unlike the Dutch, the Japanese government intended to make Taiwan a

part of their territory, so in the fifty years of colonization, the Japanese government carried out strict assimilatory policies in almost every aspect of society, such as politics, economics, education, culture and language. No wonder that there are still Japanese traces everywhere today sixty years after they withdrew from Taiwan. There are, for example, quite a few Japanese-style place names in central Taiwan. Almost every elder who was born before World War II can speak some Japanese, and many words in use in Taiwan Southern Min were borrowed from Japanese.

### **1.3 Han People**

Among all the ethnic groups that inhabited this part of the island at one time or another, the Han people undoubtedly contributed the most to the development of Taiwan. They were mainly the immigrants from the provinces of Fukien and Canton. Although there were already a few Han people staying along the seaside plains even before the Spanish and Dutch invasions of the island, they came to Taiwan individually and the number was very limited; Zheng Cheng-gong brought his army to Taiwan and recruited immigrants from Fukien and Canton after he drove out the Dutch. However his focus was in the south just like the Dutch, and since Ming-Zheng only ruled Taiwan for 23 years, their contribution in the development of central Taiwan was not significant. In the 22<sup>nd</sup> year of Emperor Kang-xi (1683) the Ching government took over Taiwan from Zheng Ke-shuang (鄭克塽), a grandson of Zheng

Cheng-Kong, and from then on Taiwan became a part of China. In the beginning there were strict constraints on emigrating to Taiwan until Emperor Qian-long started to relax the order. However, people kept stowing away to Taiwan because of the problem of overpopulation in their hometowns. South to north, then west to east, Taiwan was gradually developed along this general trend.

According to Abe's investigation, Han immigrants mainly came from Fukien and Canton, and their hometowns can be listed as follows:

Province	Prefecture	County
Min group (閩族)	Quanzhou (泉州)	Jin-jiang (晉江), Nan-an (南安), Hui-an (惠安), Tong-an (同安), An-xi (安溪)
	Zhangzhou (漳州)	Long-xi (龍溪), Zhao-an (詔安), Ping-ho(平和), Chang-pu (漳浦), Nan-jing (南靖), Chang-tai (長泰), Hai-cheng (海澄)
	Dingzhou (汀州)	Yong-ding (永定)
	Xinghua (興化)	Pu-tian (莆田), Xian-you (仙遊)
Yue group (粵族)	Huizhou (惠州)	Hai-feng (海豐), Gui-shan (歸善), Bo-luo (博羅), Chang-ning (長寧), Yong-an (永安), Lu-feng (陸豐), Long-chuan (龍川), He-yuan (河源), He-ping (和平)
	Chaozhou (潮州)	Chao-yang (潮陽), Hai-yang (海陽), Feng-shun (豐順), Jie-yang (揭陽), Da-pu (大埔), Rao-ping (饒平), Hui-lai (惠來), Cheng-hai (澄海), Pu-ning (普寧)
	Jiaying (嘉應)	Zhen-ping (鎮平), Ping-yuan (平遠), Xing-ning (興寧), Chang-le (常樂)

Table I Hometown of Taiwan immigrants

Abe called people from Fukien the “Min group” (閩族) and people from Canton the “Yue group” (粵族), but this grouping criterion by the province they emigrated

from has some problems. Language can best represent a certain group. For example, we can easily tell Hoklo people from Hakka people because these two languages are distinctive. Even though it is true that most people from Fukien speak Hoklo and people from Canton speak Hakka, but there were people from Canton who spoke Hoklo and there were people from Fukien who spoke Hakka. There were more Hakka speakers than Hoklo speakers in Yong-ding (永定), Dingzhou prefecture (汀州府) of Fukien province. Besides Yong-ding, Zhao-an (詔安) of Zhangzhou prefecture is another area where Hakka people inhabit Fukien province. There are several dying Hakka dialect islands in Yun-lin and Jia-yi. The inhabitants are descendants of speakers of Zhao-an Hakka who immigrated from Zhao-an prefecture of Fukien province. Chaozhou prefecture of Canton province had the contrary phenomenon. Chaozhou prefecture contains nine counties, with Da-pu (大埔) and Feng-shun (豐順) being pure Hakka, while Cheng-hai (澄海) being pure Hoklo. Except for these three counties, the other six are similar in having a Hoklo major Hakka minor condition (Wu, 2001) with a majority of inhabitants being Hoklo speakers and the minority of inhabitants being Hakka speakers. So we can conclude from the above discussion that there are Hakka speakers in Fukien province and Hoklo speakers in Canton province as well.

Concerning Hakka groups in Taiwan, people from Zhen-ping (鎮平), Ping-yuan (平

遠), Xing-ning (興寧), Chang-le (長樂) Counties of Jia-ying prefecture (嘉應州) comprise the biggest group, and they are so-called “Si Xian Ke” (四縣客), i.e. Hakka speakers from the four counties. There are two places in Taichung City named Zhen-ping, and they are believed to be the communities of Zhen-ping immigrants during an earlier date of development. The second largest group comes from Hai-feng and Lu-feng. Immigrants coming from these two counties of Huizhou prefecture, Canton are so-called “Hai Lu Ke”(海陸客). The third largest group of Hakka speakers are Da-pu Hakkas which centered around Dong-shi (東勢), Shi-gang (石岡), Xin-she (新社) Townships of Taichung County. Hakka people from Zhao-an, Rao-ping of Changzhou prefecture are relatively diffused in the central and northern part of Taiwan.

It maybe true that it was Hakka people who started the work of development in central Taiwan, but Hoklo people should be accredited with the lion’s share of pioneering work of development. Shi Shi-bang (施世榜), who constructed the Ba Bao Irrigation Ditch (八堡圳) and Shi-wu Zhuang Irrigation Ditch (十五庄圳), came from Jin-jiang county (晉江縣) of Quanzhou prefecture (Lin, 1998). The Ba Bao Ditch uses the water from the Zhuo-sui Xi to irrigate the southeastern fields of Passoua (Chang-hwa). It was the greatest irrigation work of Taiwan of the Ching Dynasty, which laid the cornerstone for the development of central Taiwan.

## **2. The Development of Central Taiwan**

Taiwan's development is a long progression. We will discuss the issue of development from both diachronic and synchronic aspects, first noting the progress of development to be followed by the ways of development.

### **2.1 Progress of Development**

Because Spanish territory was limited to the northern part of Taiwan during 17<sup>th</sup> century, central Taiwan's development had to wait until the Dutch occupation which only lasted for twenty years (1642-1661). Continuous cultivation on the whole island started from the Ching dynasty. We will discuss it along the time axis in the following sections.

#### **2.1.1 Dutch Occupation**

Generally speaking, the Dutch started to develop Taiwan from the south and gradually moved north. Thus they spent relatively more time and energy in central Taiwan than the greater Taipei area. However, missionary work and the extraction of natural resources had always been their main focus, and they ruled the island without any long-term management plans. Thus most development affairs were authorized to the chiefs of the Pingpu groups. Only few wells and farms were directly owned by the Dutch, and their purposes were mainly for self-supply. In Shalu Township of Taichung County there was a place called Hong-mao Well (紅毛井), which was dug by the

Dutch, for people in Taiwan usually used the term “Hong-mao”, meaning “red-hair”, to refer to Europeans. Another example was “Wang-tien”(王田), which means “king’s field” and referred to the field owned by the King of Netherland. It was located in Da-du Township of Taichung County (Chen, 1998).

Although the Dutch did not have much direct contribution to the development of central Taiwan, the village list they kept for tax collecting purpose, which was written in Dutch, has become a valuable witness of the Pingpu groups’ distribution. In addition, they translated the Bible into certain Pingpu languages for missionary work, which has also become an important document in studying Pingpu languages in the area.

### **2.1.2 Ming Zheng**

In 1661 AD Zheng Cheng-gong (鄭成功) chased the Dutch out of the island and declared Taiwan “East Capital “of the Ming regime, serving as the base for the recovery of the Chinese mainland. Zheng, realizing that it would take a long time to achieve a complete recovery, applied “army of farmers” (寓兵於農) policy in his administration training his soldiers to be farmers when not at war. He used troops to open up uncultivated lands, starting from Tainan and moving both south and north. Han immigrants from the nearby Fukien and Canton provinces were recruited to join the cultivation. It was the first time in the history of Taiwan when organized

development was formed. Because the soldiers were the main force in agricultural affairs, all the places in central Taiwan which were named after the words “Ying-pan” (營盤, meaning “military camp”) were once operated by Zheng’s army, such as “Ying-pan-ko” (營盤口) in Da-jia Township of Taichung County and Nan-tou City, “Ying-pan-nei” (營盤內, Da-du Township of Taichung County) and “Ying-pan-pu” (營盤埔) in He-mei Township (和美鎮) of Chang-hwa County. We can tell from these place names that originally they must be places which were easily defended but difficult to access. As the Ming Zheng regime merely lasted for about twenty years, their contribution to the development of central Taiwan was only marginally felt.

### **2.1.3 Ching Dynasty**

Ming Zheng’s government gave in to the Ching regime in 1683 and Taiwan became a part of China the in 23<sup>rd</sup> year of Emperor Kang-xi (康熙). A period of steady development, which lasted for more than 300 years, began. During that long period the administrative system of Taiwan went through several changes (Abe, 1994):

Time	Prefecture	County(縣)/Ting(廳)	Total
1684 (part of Fukien province)	Taiwan (台灣府)	Taiwan (台灣縣), Feng-shan (鳳山縣), Zhu-uo (諸羅縣)	1 prefecture 3 counties
1723	Taiwan (台灣府)	Taiwan (台灣縣), Feng-shan (鳳山縣), Peng-hu (澎湖廳), Zhu-uo (諸羅縣), Chang-hwa (彰化縣), Dan-shui (淡水廳)	1 prefecture 4 counties 2 tings
1812	Taiwan (台灣府)	Taiwan (台灣縣), Feng-shan (鳳山縣), Peng-hu (澎湖廳), Jia-yi (嘉義縣), Chang-hwa (彰化縣), Dan-shui (淡水廳)	1 prefecture 4 counties 2 tings
1874	Taiwan (台灣府)	Taiwan (台灣縣), Feng-shan (鳳山縣), Heng-cun (恆春縣), Peng-hu (澎湖廳), Jia-yi (嘉義縣), Chang-hwa (彰化縣), Dan-shui (淡水廳), Ge-ma-lan (葛瑪蘭廳), Bei-nan (卑南廳)	1 prefecture 5 counties 4 tings
1875	Taiwan (台灣府)	Taiwan (台灣縣), Feng-shan (鳳山縣), Heng-cun (恆春縣), Peng-hu (澎湖廳), Jia-yi (嘉義縣), Chang-hwa (彰化縣), Pu-li-she (埔里社廳), Bei-nan (卑南廳)	2 prefecture 4 counties 8 tings
	Taipei (台北府)	Hsin-chu (新竹縣), Dan-shui (淡水縣), Kee-long (基隆廳), Yi-lan (宜蘭縣)	
1888 (became an independent province)	Tainan (台南府)	An-peng (安平縣), Feng-shan (鳳山縣), Heng-cun (恆春縣), Peng-hu (澎湖廳), Jia-yi (嘉義縣)	3 prefecture 11 counties 4 tings 1 state
	Taiwan (台灣府)	Chang-hwa (彰化縣), Pu-li-she (埔里社廳), Yun-lin (雲林縣), Taiwan (台灣縣), Miao-li (苗栗縣)	
	Taipei (台北府)	Hsin-chu (新竹縣), Dan-shui (淡水縣), Kee-long (基隆廳), Yi-lan (宜蘭縣)	
	Taidong State (台東直隸州)		

Table II Administrative System of Taiwan during the Ching Dynasty

From Table II we can see that the development of Taiwan follows a general trend; spreading from the south to the north along the seaboard plains, and then step by step extending to the basins and finally to the foothills of the Central Mountain Range.

In the beginning, central and northern Taiwan were still kept very natural. Contrary to the south, which had long been cultivated by the Dutch and Ming Zheng, most part of central Taiwan were the Pingpu groups' territory. This can be seen from some old maps. A lot of place names were called "X She" (X 社, name of a certain village), implying that the inhabitants were Pingpu people. Place names containing the word "lu" (鹿, deer) possibly once belonged to the Pingpu groups' deer-hunting fields, such as "Lu liao" (鹿寮, deer cottage) (e.g. Lu-feng and Lu-liao Villages of Sha-lu Township in Taichung County), which means "a cottage for deer-hunting or for raising deer". Siraya, a Pingpu group which inhabited the Jia-nan Plain (嘉南平原), had been well known as "Deer chasers" (追鹿人).

Nevertheless, not every place name which has the word "lu" (鹿) is related to deer-hunting or deer-raising. "Sha-lu" (沙鹿, sand deer), a township name of Taichung City, actually has nothing to do with deer, for its Hoklo pronunciation is "Sua-la" but not "Sua-lo". It was transliterated from the Pingpu Papora group's village name "Salach". If we try to understand the meaning of this place name only by its Han Chinese characters and Mandarin Chinese pronunciation, we would easily be

misled. Besides “Sha-lu”, there is a place in Ching-shui Township (清水鎮) of Taichung County called “Wu-lu” (武鹿, fighting deer), which is not related to real deer business either. According to Dutch document, this place name might be transliterated from Pingpu Papora group’s village name “Bodor”, to which their Hoklo pronunciations were quite similar.

In the beginning of this development period all of central and northern Taiwan was under the administration of Zhu-luo County (諸羅縣), and very few places in the region were cultivated. It is believed that the development of central Taiwan started in the 44<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Kang-xi (1705), when Chang Kuo (張國), who came from Quanzhou of Fukien province, applied for permission to cultivate the land of Babuza (貓霧揀), and built Chang-Xing Village (張興莊), including Nan-tun District of now Taichung City, which was called “Li-tou Dien” (犁頭店, plow shop) at that time. In the year 1731 AD, the Ching government set up the Babuza police office at this place, and Li-tou Dien thus became a crucial location in the development of Taichung area (Lin, 1998). Chang Kuo can be taken as a pioneer, but development on a big scale had already begun in 1723 AD, when Chang-hwa County was split from Zhu-luo County (諸羅縣), becoming an independent administration unit governing central Taiwan. It was approximately at the same period that the greater Taipei area began its big-scale development. Chang Da-jing (張達京), mentioned earlier, entered the northern part of

Taichung basin at this stage. Together with Chang-xing Village (張興莊) from the south, Chang Da-jing's group developed the greater Taichung area step by step.

The climax of the development in the Taichung area during the Ching dynasty was in 1888 when Taiwan was set apart from Fukien Province to become an independent Province, with Taichung County selected to be the capital. Taichung had long been under the administration of Chang-hwa County, for the latter controlled Lu-kang (鹿港), which was the second largest seaport city of Taiwan at that time. In the 13<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Guang-xu (光緒) (1888) the first governor of Taiwan Province, Liu Ming-chuan(劉銘傳), chose Taichung to be the capital because it was strategically situated in the center of Taiwan. Taichung then became the seat of the provincial government which used to be located in Tainan. However, partly because they had problems with the budget of the city and railway construction, and partly because there was a sharp rise in the importance of Taipei, the succeeding governor Shao You-lian(邵友濂) moved the capital to Taipei in 1891, taking away the glory of Taichung which lasted for only four years (Zhao, 1998).

#### **2.1.4 Japanese Colonization**

Japan took over Taiwan in 1895 immediately after the Jia-wu Sino-Japanese War, and the administrative organization of Taiwan went through seven modifications during their fifty-year rule of the island. Differing from the Ching Dynasty, the

modification in Japanese colonization was not due to the administrative needs arising from development progress. As an intruding government, Japanese came to know Taiwan better and better throughout the years. And as they made progress, they adjusted their idea of how to rule the place more efficiently. Meanwhile, each Japanese governor of Taiwan had their own personal convictions, which can be seen from the fact that most modifications took place in the first half of the occupation and the intervals among them were quite short (see Appendix 1). Take the fourth and the fifth for example, the interval between them was only six months.

In general, the Japanese inherited Taiwan's original place names in the higher administrative levels, such as Taichung and Tainan. But as for local place names, there were significant changes, which we will discuss in a later section.

Japanese Taiwan policies were aggressive, active and top-down in every aspect. Since governance was highhanded, resistance was continuous in the beginning. But as a whole, society was stable and people in Taiwan also experienced living improvement through submission to the Japanese government. Railroads were extended, production of rice and sugar increased, post and telecommunication became popularized, etc.—all these economic achievements led to a steady population increase. The population of Taiwan was more than doubled in this 50-year period, from 2.6 million in 1895 to 6.5 million in 1945.

China had had a long tradition in agricultural development, and the abundant natural resources were one of the main reasons for Japan to occupy Taiwan. “Industrial Japan, agricultural Taiwan” was Japan government’s guiding principle in the beginning. Taiwan was in sub-tropics, and the demands of rice and sugar in Japan were mainly met by imports from Taiwan. Old sugar workshops became modern sugar factories. Yu-mei Sugar Factory (月眉糖廠), in Hou-li Township (后里鄉) of Taichung County, used to be called “Da-jia Zhi Tang Suo”(大甲製糖所) and was in the northern line of sugar production.

This economic type started to change in 1930, however, because Japan began to be involved in World War II. Since they needed help from Taiwan, the Japanese government changed their governing policies in Taiwan into one of industrialization, which for better or for worse set off the industrialization process in Taiwan.

### **2.1.5 Republic of China**

After Taiwan was returned to China, numerous soldiers and citizens moved to Taiwan along with the government of the Republic of China in 1949. Different from the majority immigrants from Fukien and Canton Provinces, who had stayed in Taiwan for several generations, Han immigrants in this period of time mainly came from the other provinces, and they came to be called “mainlanders”. These people were mainly soldiers and government officials. Since they dwelled in military

communities and government dormitories, they were seldom involved in agricultural cultivation. Furthermore, since they have stayed in Taiwan for only about 60 years, their influence can not be investigated in local place names. On the other hand, since this group of people constituted the ruling class in Taiwan for a decade or two after their arrival, many official place names were renamed in a fashion similar to what they have in mainland China. Take Taichung City for example. Almost all city streets were renamed after the names of certain cities in China such as “Shen-yang Road”(瀋陽路), “Shan-xi Road”(山西路), “Tien-jin Street”(天津街), etc.

## **2.2 The Ways of Development**

The ways of development can be categorized into cultivation and trade dimensions. They are not independent from each other but the relationship is rather that of mutual influence, for products from cultivation are the sources of trading. And prosperous trade would in turn attract more people to participate in development activities.

### **2.2.1 Cultivation**

Three hundred years ago central Taiwan was quite wild, full of wetlands, bushes and forests. At that time Austronesian people were the main inhabitants. Thus to Han people, cultivation was a tough and risky task. They had to face natural disasters and fight for the ownership of fields and water. Although the manufacturing and service industry have become the main economic activities in modern central Taiwan, all

these were later developed on the basis of earlier agricultural developments. Even though the scenery has been totally changed, the ancestors' hard work in building their homes has still left some traces in our place names. Through these clues, we can somehow reconstruct the history of central Taiwan in its early development period. We will discuss the issue of cultivation from the aspects of organization, defense and barriers, measurement of area and tax collecting bureau, irrigation, implements and storehouse, and workshop.

### **2.2.1.1 Organization**

There was a great difference in the organization of cultivation between the south and the north of Taiwan. No matter whether they were cultivating king's field during the Dutch occupation or "Ying-pan Farm" for Ming Zheng, these farmers needed to get people from the same hometown in the mainland, or their relatives from the same family, to cultivate together because they were powerless as individuals. Many place names reflect these phenomena, such as Quanzhou Village (泉州厝) and Huang Village (黃厝庄). On the other hand, the "Chief Cultivator System" (墾首制) was popular in the north. This was because during the Ching period, the scale of cultivation had become greater. And if a chief cultivator wanted to acquire land cultivation right, he had to apply to the government first. Then the government would send officials to investigate whether the land under application fell in the area

administered by the local government, i.e. it did not cross the barrier which separated the Han people from the Austronesians. If it was not, the chief cultivator would receive a license, giving him the right to cultivate that land (Wen, 1988). Central Taiwan started its cultivation activities at approximately the same time as the north, thus in cultivating organization it was also close to Chief Cultivator System in the north.

When a chief cultivator got the right, he would start to recruit tenant-farmers to join the cultivation project. However, since cultivation demanded great amounts of capital, such as for the construction of irrigation ditches, thus they often raised funds through selling shares, like a modern corporation. Interpreter Chang Da-jing (張達京), mentioned earlier, used “Chang Zhen-wan” (張振萬) as the name for his cultivation corporation, and invited five other investors to form the famous “Six-house Cultivation Company” (六館業戶) and dug the “Hu-lu-dun Ditch” (葫蘆墩圳). When the cultivation work was completed, the land was then divided into shares for these share holders, and normally these places were named after the portion or order of the share (Hong, 1980). Take Bei-tun District of Taichung City as an example. There are place names such as “Er-fen pu” (二分埔, the second share plain) and “San-fen Pu” (三分埔, the third share plain), which belonged to Chin Ting-jian (秦廷鑑), one of the share holders.

### 2.2.1.2 Defense and Steles

Various protective measures were adopted by the Ching government to protect Han people from Austronesian people. To begin with, they required Han people to cultivate within their territory by setting up steles on the boundary, normally called “Shi pai” as a warning signpost. There is “Shi pai”(石牌) station on Taipei’s MRT route. In central Taiwan there are several similar place names. For example “Jiu-bai-a”(Hoklo pronunciation of 石碑仔), which is in Xi-tun District, Taichung City. Besides Shi pai, “Tu-niu” (土牛, mud cow) is another kind of boundary marker separating Han people from Austronesian people. In the 25<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Qian-long severe fighting broke out in Shi-gang Township (石岡鄉). The fighting lasted for a long time, and the government had to step in by agreeing to dig a deep trench separating the two groups. The mud was piled like mud cows to mark the boundary line. Therefore “Tu-niu” has become the place name of a certain place, for example “Tu-niu Village” (土牛村) in Shi-gang Township (石岡鄉).

Even though there were concrete steles to mark the boundary, conflicts between Han and Austronesian people still can not be totally avoided. In order to defend themselves from the Austronesian people, especially those of mountain groups, Han people often built defenses along the border to protect themselves. “Mu-zha” (木柵, wood barrier) was the most common one. Upstream of “Wu Xi” (烏溪) there was a

stream which was called “Nei Mu-zha Xi” (內木柵溪) in the past. Now it belongs to Tu-cheng Village (土城里), Tsao-tun Township (草屯鎮) in Nan-tou County (南投縣). From the names of Mu-zha and Tu-cheng we can tell that this place must have suffered a lot of attacks from Austronesian people, probably the Atayal. “Tu-cheng” is a kind of wall built with clods of soil, and there are other places called Tu-cheng as well, such as Tu-cheng Village (土城村) of Wai-pu Township (外埔鄉) and Tu-cheng (塗城) of Da-li City (大里市) in Taichung County. Another defense related word is “Ai” (隘) meaning a narrow pass. In Ji-ji Township (集集鎮) there is an old place name “Ai Liao”(隘寮), meaning “cottage for guards”, for there were guards protecting people from an Atayal attack.

In addition to Nan-tou, Miao-li (苗栗) and Dong-shi (東勢) were also close to Atayal’s territory. People had to work in the fields and defend the Atayal’s attack at the same time. Thus they used stones to build up walls for protection. So both these places have old an place name “Shi Wei-qiang” (石圍牆, stone walls).

Not only places near the mountain areas needed defense, plain area also had security problems. There is a township in Chang-hwa County (彰化縣) called “Da Cheng” (大城), because there were many armed fights in the Ching Dynasty. Thus inhabitants piled up soil clods as walls for self-defense.

### 2.2.1.3 Measurement of Area and Tax Collecting Bureau

“Jia” (甲) has been used as a basic unit for the measurement of area in Taiwan since Dutch occupation. It should be the transliteration of the Dutch word “acre” (Tsao, 2004). There are many place names containing the word “jia”. For example, “Shi Jia” (十甲) in Dong District of Taichung City. This place name came from a new cultivated land which was about ten acres. However, not every place name which contains “jia” refers to measured units. Da-jia Township is famous for its Ma-zhu Temple. But “Da-jia” is transliterated from a Pingpu group, “Taokas,” for Da-jia’s Hoklo pronunciation “Dai-ga” is close to “Taokas”.

“Chang-li” (張犁) is another measure unit. Five acres equals one chang-li. This is because one chang-li can be used to cultivate a land of five acres (Hong, 1980). Central Taiwan has many place names containing the word “chang-li”, like “Si Chang-li” (四張犁, in today’s Taichung City), “Liu Chang-li” (六張犁, in Today’s Da-ya Township of Taichung County), “Upper Qi Chang-li” (上七張犁)、”Lower Qi Chang-li” (下七張犁)、”Ba Chang-li” (八張犁)、”Jiu Chang-li” (九張犁, in today’s Taichung County), “San-shi Chang-li” (三十張犁, today’s Bei-tun District of Taichung City), etc.

Tenant-farmers had to pay a certain amount of their product to the chief cultivator of the tax collecting bureau, which was often called “Gong-guan” (公館). Gong-guan

had two functions: one was to serve as a protected area to collect grains and the other was to serve as dormitories for officials or tax collectors. In Taiwan Gong-guan mainly functioned as the former one, and place names which contain “Gong-guan” can be found in many places, such as Gong-guan Township (公館鄉) of Miao-li County, Gong-guan Village (公館村) of Hou-li Township (后里鄉) in Taichung County, Taichung City, Da-cheng Township (大城鄉) of Chang-hwa County and Xi-luo Township (西螺鎮) of Yun-lin County (雲林縣).

#### **2.2.1.4 Irrigation**

Rice was the main grain product Han people’s cultivated. It required a large amount of water, and ditches and ponds were basic facilities for irrigation. Ditches of various sizes spread out over central Taiwan, and “Ba-bao Ditch” (八堡圳, eight-district Ditch) was the most important one. Ba-bao Ditch, dug in the time of Emperor Kang-xi (康熙), was the greatest irrigation facility of Taiwan created during the Ching Dynasty. It was constructed by Shih Shi-bang (施世榜) who came from Quanzhou. Thus it was also known as “Shih-cuo Ditch” (施厝圳). The reason why it was called “Ba-bao” was because its irrigation scope covered eight districts, including Dong-luo Dong Bao (東螺東堡), Dong-luo Xi Bao (東螺西堡), Wu-dong Bao (武東堡), Wu-xi Bao (武西堡), Yan-wu Upper Bao (燕霧上堡), Yan-wu lower Bao (燕霧下堡), Ma-zhi Bao (馬芝堡) and Xian-dong Bao (線東堡), corresponding

approximately to present-day Er-shui (二水), Tien-zhong (田中), Tien-wei (田尾), Yung-jing (永靖), She-tou (社頭), Yuan-lin (員林), Xi-hu (溪湖), Da-tsun (大村), Hua-tan (花壇), Shou-shui (秀水), Fu-xing (福興), Lu-gong (鹿港), Pu-yan (埔鹽), He-mei (和美), Pi-tou (埤頭), Xi-zhong (溪洲) and Chang-hwa (彰化市), eighteen townships in Chang-hwa County. In terms of area, this amounts to about half of Chang-hwa County. It thus played a crucial role in the development of Chang-hwa.

Although these ditches made great contributions towards cultivating central Taiwan, they sometimes created problems for the area as well. “Shui-nan” (水澗), which is in Bei-tun District (北屯區) of Taichung City, received its name because this area was surrounded by a number of branches of Ba-bao Ditch (八寶圳). The ditches caused low-lying wetland areas to have great difficulties draining. The waterlogged land thus became constantly muddy and was called “Shui-nan”, the record character of which in Hoklo pronunciation was “L’am”. “L’am” refers to low-lying muddy land. The word “Nan” (澗) is quite common in place names in this area, “Da-nan” (大澗) of Feng-yun County, “Liu-shu-nan” (柳樹澗) of Wu-feng Township (霧峰鄉), “Lu-chu-nan” (蘆竹澗) of Wu-ri Township (烏日鄉), “Tsao-nan” (草澗) of Ching-shui Township (清水鎮) in Taichung County were good examples in central Taiwan.

Ditches normally exist in plain areas, where geographical features are relatively

simple. Thus these irrigation ditches were often used to mark a certain place. There are also many place names containing the word “cun” (圳, ditch), like “Cun liao” (圳寮, in today’s Feng-yun City of Taichung County), “Cun-liao Keng” (圳寮坑, in today’s Hou-li Township of Taichung County), “Cun du” (圳堵, in today’s Ching-shui Township of Taichung County), “Heng cun” (橫圳, in today’s Da-jia Township of Taichung County).

Building a ditch was not an easy job. Sometimes due to the uneven geographical features of the area, special arrangements had to be made. Sometimes because the ditch has to cross over another natural stream, large conduits called “king” (梘) have to be made. Since Hoklo 梘 (king) is pronounced the same as 景 (scenery), many place names related to 梘 (king) were written as 景. For example the place name 景美 in Taipei was actually written as 筭尾 in earlier records, meaning the end of the conduit (筭). It was only much later that it was replaced by 景美, meaning a scenic spot, as part of the effort to make place names sound more elegant. In Taichung City there is also a place called “Shui-jing tou” (水景頭). The place was so named for a similar reason, i.e., as a large conduit carrying ditch water was built. People started to dwell around the head of the water pipe and this new community became associated with it. Another similar place name is “Shui-ban tou” (水汴頭). It was a name given to communities located near a ditch division gate.

Besides ditches, ponds used for water storage are another kind of irrigation facility. Chang-hwa County has a township called “Pi-tou” (埤頭). It acquired its name because the original community was located around the head of an irrigation pond. Another township “Zhu-tang” (竹塘) was named because, in the beginning, the cultivators dug the ponds for water storage, and because at that time there was much bamboo growing around these ponds, the place was called bamboo pond (竹塘). Note that 埤 can also be written as 陂, but 陂 is often changed to 坡, which in its written form looks similar to 陂, but it actually means “a slope” rather than “a pond”.

#### **2.2.1.5 Implements and Storehouse**

Beside serving as a unit of measurement, “Li” (犁, plow) itself is an agricultural implement. Nan-tun District was one of the earliest developing areas in Taichung, and it was called “Li-tou Dien Street” (犁頭店街), for there was a street where all shops sold plows. Another implement related word is “Shui-zhui” (水碓). It referred to an instrument using water to pound rice, and there used to be a Shui-zhui in the stream in Nan-tun District, so the place was named after that.

Cows also played a very important role in the cultivating period. Thus place names like “Niu-chou” (牛稠, “Gu-diao” in Hoklo pronunciation, barn), “Niu-pu” (牛埔, “Gu-bo” in Hoklo, a farm to keep cows), and “Niu-xu” (牛墟, a place for cow exchange) can be found all over Taiwan. In central Taiwan, there are “Niu-xu” (牛墟,

in today's Miao-li County), "Ha-gu-bo" (Hoklo pronunciation of 下牛埔, in today's Ching-shui Township 清水鎮) and many others containing the word "Gu-bo" (牛埔). As for "Gu-diao" (牛稠), there are "Ha-gu-diao" (下牛稠, in today's Da-cheng Township 大城鄉), "Gu-diao-a" (牛稠子, in today's Chang-hwa County), etc. Also note that 「芙朝」 or 「扶朝」 (pronounced as "fu-diao" in Hoklo) is a variation of the Hoklo pronunciation of 牛稠.

"Gu-ting" (古亭) was a kind of storage facility. It should be the shortened form of "Gu-ting Ben" (古亭笨) (Hong, 1980). Gu-ting Ben's shape was like a drum, made by weaving bamboo sticks and then spreading mud outside as a cover, which was very common in old villages. For example, in Ji-ji Township (集集鎮) there was a place called "Gu-ting Ben" (Chen, 1998). Besides Gu-ting, "Tu-ku" (土庫) was another kind of storage and defense facility. Both Taichung City and Chang-hwa County have places named "Tu-ku". There is even a township in Yun-lin County (雲林縣) named "Tu-ku".

#### **2.2.1.6 Workshop**

Taiwan is in the sub-tropics, and consequently sugar production is an important industry. Taiwan has long been the sugar supplier for Japan. Before sugar production was mechanized, brown sugar was the main product of Taiwan's sugar industry. They were produced in old-fashion workshops, which were near sugar cane fields, called

“Bu-zi” (廍子, “pho-a” in Hoklo). 廍 is pronounced “pho” in Hoklo, but since most Chinese dictionaries do not contain this word, 部 is often used instead of 廍, which lost its original meaning. In central Taiwan there are quite a few place names containing this word, such as “Pho-a” ( Hoklo pronunciation of 廍子, in today’s Wai-pu Township 外埔鄉 of Taichung County, Taichung City and Pu-yan Township 埔鹽鄉 of Chang-hwa County), “Jia-pho” (Hoklo pronunciation of 蔗廍, in today’s Da-du Township 大肚鄉 of Taichung County), etc (Chen, 1995).

### **2.2.2 Trade**

Trade and transportation are highly related. Railways and roads were not popular in the past, thus goods exchange mainly relied on water transportation, so big rivers were often used for business. There are four main rivers in central Taiwan: Da-an Xi (大安溪), Da-jia Xi (大甲溪), Da-du Xi (大肚溪) and Zhou-sui Xi (濁水溪).

However, the first trading harbor of Taichung was “Wu-chi” Harbor (梧棲港), which was in the mouth of Niu-ma Xi (牛罵溪). Wu-chi originally was named “Gou-tsei” (五汊), for the river split into five smaller streams as it got close to the mouth (Zhao, 1998). Local elites in 1891 transformed the name 五汊 into 梧棲 according to a poem which reads as follows: “鳳非梧不棲、非靈泉不願、非竹實不食”. From 1770 (the 35<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Qian-long) there had been merchant ships from Fukien as early as doing business here, exporting rice and camphor to Amoy (廈

門) and Hong Kong and importing cow skin, tung oil, textile and tobacco from Amoy and Quanzhou. Within fifteen years, Wu-chi Harbor quickly developed into a harbor city. However, due to agricultural cultivation and continuous ditch construction, the water of Niu-ma Xi gradually dried up. The harbor became stagnant and had to be given up in the end. Not until 1970 was there a new harbor built. This harbor, now known as Taichung Harbor, started to be built on the same site, while the river mouth has moved several hundreds meters out into the sea.

Tu-ge ku Harbor (塗葛堀港) sat in the mouth of Da-du Xi, “Tu-ge” means “clods of soil” in Hoklo, for there were many “tu-ge cu” (土角厝), which were houses built of soil clods. At that time Da-du Xi was quite deep, and many merchant ships having their home base there sailed to Fukien and Amoy from there. So its prosperity was once close to Lu-gang (鹿港). During the reign of Emperor Guang-xu the harbor was destroyed by a flood, so it was buried in the riverbed of Da-du Xi.

Another harbor which experienced the same fate was Da-an Harbor. Da-an Harbor was in Da-jia, springing up at the same period as the former two harbors. It also was an important merchant harbor in central Taiwan, exporting rice and tea and importing textile and food. Beside business, Da-an harbor also served as a military harbor. Unfortunately, because Da-jia Xi and Da-an Xi had severe floods around the same time, Da-an Harbor soon ceased to function (Zhao, 1998).

Most harbors in central Taiwan only existed at or near the mouth of a river and almost none of them could support shipping along the river. Lu-gang was the only exception. Lu-gang was in the mouth of Zhuo-sui Xi, which flows through most of Chang-hwa County. In 1784 (the 49<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Qian-long) Lu-gang got the permission to do business with the harbors in Fukien Province, and became prosperous immediately. At the peak of its operation almost all kinds of trading companies can be found there. When big cargo ships berthed at Lu-gang, goods such as silk, opium and seafood would be shipped by small boats along Da-du Xi and then changed to bamboo rafts to enter Da-li Dai (大里杙). Da-li was transliterated from a village name of Pingpu Babuza group, and “Dai” (杙) means wood pillar, for at that time the water was quite strong, forcing boats and rafts had to be tied to this wood pillar as it anchored. At that time Da-li was an important river harbor, located in the entrance of Nan-tou from Taichung, so it was once a prosperous city. However, because of the famous revolt by “Lin Shuang-wen Incident” (林爽文事件), Da-li was almost totally destroyed by the Ching government’s army. Da-li then fell into oblivion for almost 200 years, only being brought back to life because of the re-organization of the Taichung area.

### **3. Ethnic Groups Interactions**

In section one we have introduced ethnic groups who were involved in the development of central Taiwan. They had very close interactions during this period of time, and we will discuss what the interethnic relationship was between the two members of different pairs along the time axis.

#### **3.1 Dutch vs. Austronesian Plain Groups**

When the Dutch arrived in Taiwan, most inhabitants were Pingpu. The Dutch treated the Pingpu according to their reaction; if they resisted, the Dutch would suppress them with armed force; if they were submissive, the Dutch would leave the authority for the chief of every village to handle general affairs. But these chiefs had to attend the VOC's annual assembly to show their loyalty. As of 1636 there had been 57 villages under the Dutch government. In central Taiwan, the most famous event between the Dutch and Pingpu people would be "Da-du Fan Wang" (大肚番王, Da-du Aboriginal King). In 1642 the Dutch drove the Spanish out of northern Taiwan and had the whole island under their control. They heard from Chinese pirates that between Lu-gang (鹿港) and Dan-sui (淡水) there existed twenty-two villages, and eighteen of them were ruled by a king called "Quataong". In 1644 the Dutch sent an army to conquer these villages from the north to the south in a conflict that lasted for only six months. According to Dakamura's book "Study on Taiwan's History during

the Dutch Occupation” (荷蘭時代台灣史研究), this “Da-du Kingdom” was a cross-group kingdom. In 1645, when Quataong attended VOC’s annual assembly, he said there were fifteen villages under his control, including Bodor (拍瀑拉族水裡社), Dorida amicien (拍瀑拉族北大肚社), Dorida babat (拍瀑拉族中大肚社), Dorida mato (拍瀑拉族南大肚社), Assocq (巴布薩族阿東社), Abouan tarranogan (拍辜海族岸裡大社), Abouan auran (拍辜海烏牛欄社), Babosaq (巴布薩族貓霧揀社), Barariengh (uncertain), tausabato (洪雅族北投社), Kakar barroch (洪雅族貓羅社), Kakar sackaley, kakar tachabouw, tausa talakey, and Tausa mato (the exact affiliation of the last four villages can not be ascertained, but our guess is that they probably all belonged to the Pingpu Hongya group).

In addition to their top-down governing style, the Dutch also actively spread their religion through teaching. According to Abe, the Dutch called people who received their religion “Favorlan”. These people were centered around the Lu-gang to Chang-hwa plain, along Da-du Xi, and might have belonged to the Pingpu Babuza group. The Dutch even translated the Bible into the Favorlang language, thus we can infer that there were quite a few Pingpu people who were converted into Christianity at that time.

### **3.2 Han People vs. Austronesian Plain Groups**

Official contact between the Han and Pingpu people started during the reign of

Ming Zheng. Although Zheng Cheng-gong was considered as “Kai-tai Sheng Wang” (開台聖王), it was a totally different story in the Pingpu people’s eyes. Zheng applied “army of farmers” policy in Taiwan, using troops to open up uncultivated land, and categorized land into “Guan Tien” (官田, official field), “Si-tien” (私田, private field) and “Ying-pan Tien” (營盤田, army field). Official and army fields both originally belonged to the Pingpu, but Zheng compelled them to give up their land. Zheng’s Taiwan policy was to construct Taiwan as the base for the restoration of the Ming Dynasty. In order to raise funds for a revolt, Zheng asked each Pingpu individual to pay tax. We can imagine that Pingpu people would stand up to fight against this kind of oppression. Unlike the Dutch, who ruled Taiwan with peaceful dominance, Zheng was a soldier and tended to adopt harsh suppressive measures. There were at least two revolts: the “Da-du Fan Uprising” (大肚番之役) and the “Salach Fan Uprising” (沙轆番之役) during this period. Tsao-tun Township (草屯鎮) in Nan-tou County was called “Tsao-xie Dun” (草鞋墩, pile of sandals), because Zheng’s army threw their broken sandals here on their way to attack the Austronesian people in Pu-li (Lin, 1998). Zheng’s attitude toward the Pingpu was typical “Han chauvinism”, and the Pingpu people’s impression of his regime was even worse than what they had for the Dutch.

The Ching government only separated Han people from “sheng fan” (生番,

uncivilized Austronesian people), thus Han immigrants in the beginning stayed together with Pingpu people, so called “shu fan” (熟番, civilized Austronesian people). Unlike Ming Zheng’s oppression, the Ching took a different approach towards Austronesian people. They guaranteed their rights of owning land, and as a consequence Han people can only rent the land from Pingpu people. The Ching government also set up interpreters to propagate official orders. In the beginning the interpreters were Han people who can speak the Pingpu language. Since they owned the advantage of language intelligibility, scandals about cheating Pingpu people were often heard. Pazah interpreter Chang Da-jing (張達京) of the irrigation right to exchange Pingpu people’s land ownership was a notorious example. Han people gradually got the superior position in economics, and mixed marriages blurred the distinction between Han and Pingpu people. Meanwhile, many armed conflicts arose in the central era of the Ching Dynasty, and the Ching government became weaker and weaker at protecting Pingpu people. In the end they were forced to move to the inner mountains, to the Pu-li Basin or even to crossing high mountains to the Yi-lan Plain. Even these migratory moves did not save them from the fate of being assimilated by the Han, and central Taiwan, once inhabited by five Pingpu groups, finally became a part of Han society.

### 3.3. Han People vs. Atayal

Although the Atayal and Pingpu people were both Austronesian, the Atayal had long inhabited the mountains of central Taiwan and were relatively warlike compared with the Pingpu groups. In order to avoid conflicts, the Ching government applied a separation policy, setting steles to forbid Han people from crossing over to Atayal territory. However these dead steles can not totally stop the Han from breaking the law. Plus the Atayal had the tradition of “chu-tsao” (出草)—head-hunting practice, thus Han people and the Atayal had many armed conflicts in central Taiwan, especially along the border area such as Dong-shi (東勢) of Taichung County and Pu-li (埔里) of Nan-tou County. We have mentioned “Mu-zha” (木柵), “Ai-liao” (隘寮) and “Tu-cheng” (土城) in a previous section, and “Ding Cheng” (頂城, upper fortress) and “Xia Cheng” (下城, lower fortress) (草屯鎮坪頂里), “Ding Cheng” (頂城) and “Er Cheng” (二城, second fortress) (南投縣中寮鄉) were also defending fortress made up of clods and stones. In Dong-shi Township there are still two villages named “Shang Cheng” (上城, upper fortress) and “Xia Cheng” (下城, lower fortress), as well as “Shi-wei Qiang” (石圍牆, stone wall). We can imagine how much danger these people were in when they had to be engaged in cultivating the land and fighting for their homes at the same time.

Besides place names, in Dong-shi Hakka there is a vocabulary which is not found

in other Hakka speaking areas. In Dong-shi Hakka there is a term “痲瘡治（殺）頭” which means “out of luck” (Wu, 2001, p.53). According to the document, Chang Ning-shou (張寧壽), the chief cultivator of Da-mao Pu (大茅埔) area in Dong-shi, left a contract containing the following passage:

至佃人出入田頭、埔尾，牧牛耕種收割，適遇生番不測，各安天命，不得藉端圖  
賴社番、業主 (Lin, 1998, p.59)

“As for being killed by aboriginals while working in the field or feeding cows, it should be considered as their own destiny and have nothing to do with the land owners.”

Thus we can infer that the Dong-xi Hakka people were aware that being beheaded by aboriginal head hunters while working in the field should be regarded as an incident of sheer bad luck and not hold the government responsible for it.

### **3.4 Among Han Ethnic Groups**

As the biggest ethnic group on the island, the Han people had complicated relationships among these sub groups. In section one we have pointed out that categorization of Han people should use the criterion of language rather than their original hometown, for language is the most obvious and stable identity marker.

The relationship between the Han subgroups, though always complex, actually changed over time. According to Yin Chang-yi (尹章義), in the beginning of

development, due to the great need for labor and skills, the relationship between various subgroups was that of cooperation. And Han immigrants from either the Hoklo or Hakka mixed with Pingpu people. Pingpu people owned the land, but since their labor force was insufficient and they knew very little about agriculture, they often recruited Han people to cultivate the land for them. On the other hand, due to the government's immigration restrictions, Han immigrants usually came to Taiwan alone in the beginning and had to deal with the Pingpu people whom they were not familiar with. Under such circumstances Han people had strong motivation to cooperate rather than compete with each other.

After an area had been thoroughly cultivated, limited land and water resources would then lead to benefit conflicts among various ethnic groups, often known as “armed conflicts” (分類械鬥). Through conflicts, the power hierarchy would be rearranged. With assimilation through contact among groups, fighting would then cool down. There might be overlapping of these three stages, but generally speaking ethnic conflicts among the Han subgroups followed this pattern. Armed fights among various groups as recorded in Table III clearly demonstrate these changing patterns (Huang, 1992).

County(縣)/ Ting(廳)	Taiwan	Feng-shan	Jia-yi	Chang-hwa	Heng-cun	Peng-hu	Bei-nan	Pu-li-she	Hsin-chu	Dan-shui	Kee-long	Yi-lan	Total
The First Period (1694-1781)		2		1									3
The Second Period (1782-1867)		1		5						23		4	33
The Third Period (1868-1895)	1								1				2
Total	1	3		6					1	23		4	38

Table III The Trend of Armed Fighting in Taiwan during the Ching Dynasty (space)

In the first period (1694-1781), which covered 87 years, Taiwan only had three fights, and all of them happened in Feng-shan County (鳳山縣) and Chang-hwa County (彰化縣), which were the earliest developing areas. The second period (1782-1867) was the high season of armed conflicts. There were a total of 33 fights in this 85-year period. Twenty-three of them were in Dan-shui County and five were in Chang-hwa County. This period was also the peak of development in the north and central Taiwan. The years from 1868 to 1895 were the third period, and there were only two fights which happened in new Taiwan County and Hsin-chu County. Note that here Taiwan County referred to the new one which was in central Taiwan after Taiwan became an independent Province from Fukien in 1888, not the old one in the

south.

Armed fights rearranged the power structure among different ethnic groups, and indirectly promoted migration. Hakka people who dwelled in the Hsin-zhuang Plain (新莊平原) moved to the hill area of Tao-yuan, Hsin-chu and Miao-li, for they were inferior to Hoklo people in power. Only “San-shan Kuo Wang Temples” (三山國王廟) were left to witness this history. Similar phenomena happened in central Taiwan as well. If we put table III and Table IV (Huang, 1992) together, we can see that there were severe fights in the Chang-hwa area, and place names like “Ho-mei” (和美, peace and beauty), “Yong-jing” (永靖, lasting peace) and “Tai-ping” (太平, peace) are reflections of inhabitants’ wish that these tragedies would not happen again in the coming generations. Note that “Chang vs. Quan Armed Conflicts” (漳泉械鬥) can be seen as another kind of “Hoklo vs. Hakka Conflict” (閩客衝突). We have mentioned in section one that there were quite a few Hakka speakers who came from Changzhou Prefecture (漳州府) of Fukien Province, especially from Zhao-an (詔安) and Ping-ho (平和) mountain areas. They made a significant contribution in the development of central Taiwan. But since they were surrounded by Hoklo people, their mother tongue, Hakka, suffered severe loses. The Hakka language has totally disappeared in Chang-hwa, while a few Hakka “islands” that remain in Yun-lin area are quickly disappearing as well.

Type	Hoklo and Hakka speakers	Chang and Quan Hoklo speakers	Different counties of origins	Families of different names	Different jobs	total
The First Period (1694-1781)	2	1				3
The Second Period (1782-1867)	7	20	1	3	2	33
The Third Period (1868-1895)				2		2
Total	9	21	1	5	2	38

Table IV The Trend of Armed Fighting in Taiwan during the Ching Dynasty (type)

From Table IV we can detect a tendency, that is the grouping criteria became finer and finer. In the beginning the fights occurred between “Hoklo and Hakka groups” (閩客械鬥), for they spoke different languages. Then they happened between “Chang and Quan groups of Hoklo speakers” (漳泉械鬥), for their Hoklo accents were different. After that, they happened between people from different counties of origin (異縣械鬥) to be followed by conflicts happening between families of different names (異性械鬥). And finally, they happened between groups of different jobs (職業團體械鬥). There were of course overlapping among these types of fighting, but this tendency implies two things: first, the core of fighting was all for benefit, either land, water, or some business advantages. Differences in language, place of origin, family names, and vocation were simply identity markers. They were merely convenient labels whose function was to make people from the same side cohere. Normally this identity marker would choose the greatest common denominator within a certain

group. When the population increased with development, their composition would be more complex and this greatest common denominator would then be smaller, thus grouping criteria would become finer. Secondly, it indicates that beside communication, language also has the function of identification. It was frequently used as the marker of identity during the period of development, for a person's mother tongue cannot be changed easily. However, this is a result of over-use of the identification function of language (Tsao, 2004). Linguistic variation in word usage or accent is a common thing that happens to all languages and dialects, and it has nothing to do with superiority. It might cause some inconvenience in inter-group communication or it may lead to misunderstanding, which might grow into conflicts, but it would be a big mistake if we attribute the core reason of armed fighting to language differences.

### **3.5 Han People vs. Japanese**

After Taiwan became a Japanese colony, the Japanese people carried out their plan to make Taiwan an extension of Japan step by step. They held absolute authority over Han people in almost every aspect, including politics, economics, education and culture, promoting a "National Language Policy", thus senior citizens who were born before World War II can all speak some Japanese.

In 1920 a reformation of the local administration system was held, "shi" (市) and

“jie” (街) replacing “jie” (街), “zhuang” (庄), “xiang” (鄉) and “she” (社), and many place names were altered with Japanese ones, especially in populous cities. Take Taichung City for example, “li” (里, village), under “shi”(市, city), was called “ting” (町, city block). And each name of these “tings” was just like those from Tokyo and Osaka, such as “Ying Ting” 櫻町, Cherry Block), “Rong Ting” 榮町, Glory Block), which had nothing to do with the original place names.

Although there were still few examples in which the Japanese and Han people shared good relationships, like elementary teachers and their pupils, most of the time the relationship was very tense, and revolts against the Japanese arose in different places under such high-pressure ruling. Lin Xian-tang (林獻堂) from Wu-feng (霧峰) probably is the most well known in resisting Japanese in central Taiwan. In the beginning the revolts were mainly armed conflicts, but the Taiwanese group cannot win for their strength was no match for the Japanese armed forces. Fortunately there were people like Lin, coming from a big and influential family, who noticed that the Japanese government kept good education resources for their children only. Thus he presented a petition to the Japanese government to set up a private high school for Taiwanese people. Lin raised funds from 204 Taiwanese rich people and established Taichung High School in 1915, which is today’s Taichung First High School. The school turned out many Taiwan elites, and formed a long-term foundation for the

resistance.

### **3.6 Japanese vs. Austronesian People**

During the Japanese colonization period most Pingpu people were assimilated into the Han group, thus the Austronesian people that the Japanese government dealt with were those from mountain groups. Japanese policy towards aboriginal people was one of pacification, but they were harsh towards people who disobeyed. Take the Atayal from Nan-tou for example. The Japanese forced each family to send a man to help them deliver timber for free, which seriously interfered with the Atayal people's daily work. Traditional practices, such as getting tattoo on the face and head-hunting were forbidden, and they had to undergo Japanese education by compulsion. These caused much anger and finally led to the "Wu-she Incident" (霧社事件) in 1930.

#### **4. Language Ecology from the Perspective of Place Names**

Place names are a common reference of most people for a certain place. In this way, the naming of a place reflects local ethnic groups and their naming practices. Compared with personal names, place names are relatively more stable. Even though inhabitants and geographical features of a place may have gone through significant changes, normally place names would be kept. Thus when we study the interactions among ethnic groups during the development period, place names are important historical witnesses.

##### **4.1 Linguistic Structures and Naming Patterns**

In the following section we will discuss each ethnic group's language structure and their naming patterns in turn.

###### **4.1.1 The Dutch**

We have mentioned that “Hong-mao Jing” (紅毛井) and “Wang Tien” (王田) were related to the Dutch, but were actually given by Han people. Although the Dutch did not leave any Dutch place names themselves in central Taiwan, they contributed a lot in keeping Pingpu groups's village names on record. Because Pingpu languages did not have any writing systems of their own, we have to rely on other groups' recordings and try to reconstruct them. According to the study on cognates, Austronesian languages have the following linguistic characteristics:

- (1) Phonologically speaking, they are polysyllabic languages without tonal differences.
- (2) Morphologically speaking, they have a rich affix system and multiple morphological changes are allowed.
- (3) Syntactically speaking, they have a topic system. One sentence can be expressed in different ways according to its topicality.

Dutch belongs to the Germanic language family, using Roman characters for phonetic transcription, and is also polysyllabic and rich in affix system. These structural advantages made it a better transcribing tool for Austronesian languages than Han Chinese and Japanese, which will be illustrated later.

#### **4.1. 2 Austronesian**

Most Pingpu languages of central Taiwan have been dead for many years. Only Pazah and Favorlang (a dialect of Babuza) have a certain amount of data left. We have mentioned earlier that Austronesian is a polysyllabic language which has a rich affix system. Take Pazah morphology as an example, there are five common suffixes, “-i”, “-aw”, “-ay”, “-en” and “-an”, and “-an” is a locative suffix (Lin, 2000, p.78). In the village list of Pazah in section one there are Daiyadaran (岸東社, An-Dong Village) and Rahotodaran (岸西社, An-Xi Village) which ended in “-an”, for the morpheme “daran” means “stronghold”. “Patakan” (大馬遴社) and “Auran” (烏牛欄社) also

have the “-an” locative suffix, referring to “places where bamboo grows” and “places where tomatoes grow” correspondingly.

Favorlang also uses “-an” as a locative-focus suffix. In English-Favorlang Vocabulary (Ogawa, 2003) we have examples such as “aroroan” (a place of assembly, p.23), “raro asan” (a bank, p.26), “ba-bodd-an” (birth-place, p.33), “tirrach-an” (the place where it leaks, p. 40), etc. In the village list of Babuza we do not find any one of them ending in “-an”. But if we check historical documents from the Ching Dynasty, we see quite a few place names ending with “lan” (蘭), “an” (岸), “man” (蠻), “dan” (丹) and “quan” (泉). We should therefore consider the possibility that they might be the transliteration of Pingpu village names, because the final syllable of these words are also “-an”. There are place names containing “lan” (蘭) in central Taiwan, e.g. “Zhuo-lan” (卓蘭) in Miao-li County. During the Ching Dynasty there were aboriginal tribes called “Dou-wei-long-an” (斗偉龍岸), “Xia-li-chan-man-man Village” (狎裏蟬蠻蠻社) and “Shui-sha-lien-si-ma-dan Village” (水沙蓮思麻丹社). As for the word “quan” (泉) there was a place called “A-ba-quan” (阿拔泉) in today’s Chu-shan Township (竹山鎮), Nan-tou County.

Because we only have limited knowledge of Pingpu languages, it is really difficult to understand the original meanings of these place names. Because of the living environment now, we can infer that most Austronesian places were named after

natural geographical features, such as mountains, rivers, and special animals and plants of the area: “Babuza” (貓霧揀) means “human beings”, “Auran” (烏牛欄) means “place where tomatoes grow”, “Poaly” (樸仔籬) means, a kind of edible seed,) etc. According to Pan Da-ho (潘大和), a descendant of the Pazah, there were three periods of Pazah naming patterns:

First period: they were named after the origin of Pazah people and their roles. In the village list, which was kept by the Dutch, there were only four villages in 1647-1656: “Abouan Tarranogan”, “Abouan Auran”, “Abouan Balis” and “Abouan Poaly”. “Abouan” means “the founder, the originator”.

Second period: they were named after the local products of those villages, e.g. “Barlaton” (place where sorgos grow), “Poaly” (place where “poa-po-a-ji” 破布子 grows), “Auran” (place where tomatoes grow) and “Patakan”, “Varrut” (place where bamboo grows).

Third period: the location of a village or the elderly who lived there. (Pan, 2002)

This information can give us some ideas when judging the meaning of Austronesian place names.

#### **4.1.3 Han Chinese**

Unlike Austronesian languages, Semitic Languages are monosyllabic and poor in morphological variation. In the naming pattern, place names of Han Chinese also

differ between Hoklo and Hakka groups. In the previous sections we have discussed relative place names in organization, defense and steles, the measure of area and tax collecting bureau, irrigation, implements and storehouse, and workshop. In the following we will compare different place naming patterns between the Hoklo and Hakka in central Taiwan, and try to reconstruct the distribution of ethnic groups at the time of development.

Han Chinese place names consist of two parts: general and specific. General parts are normally nouns referring to the basic referent, such as mountain (山), lake (湖), village (村), community (社) etc. Specific parts are often adjectives or adjectival nouns to modify the character of the referent, e.g. “Da” (大, big) in “Da-pu” (大埔, a big piece of land), “wei” (尾, end) in “Tien-wei” (田尾, the end of a field). In terms of type, Han Chinese place names can also be divided into nature and human ones. There are several pairs which show significant differences between Hoklo and Hakka:

(1) “pu” (埔)/ “ba” (壩、埧):

In Hoklo “pu” refers to “a large piece of wild land”. Hakka people also use “pu”, but they have another Hakka-only usage, which uses “ba” to refer to an area of the same feature. Da-ya Township (大雅鄉) of Taichung County originally was a wild wetland. At that time it was called “Ba-a” (壩仔) which had the same meaning with “Bo-a” (埔仔) in Hoklo because the first immigrants were mainly Hakka people who

came from Da-pu (大埔) in Canton Province. Another place containing the word “ba” is “Xi-ba Village” (溪壩村) in Wu-ri Township (烏日鄉), Taichung County. It was called “Xi-xin Ba” (溪心壩), because “Wu-Xi” (烏溪) flowed through this place, and the earliest dwellers built their houses in the wild land, which was located among the streams.

(2) “xi” (溪)/ “ho” (河):

In Hoklo most rivers are called “xi” (溪) whatever the sizes. Only very few ones, which are navigable, are called “ho” (河), like Dan-shui Ho (淡水河) and Kee-long Ho (基隆河). The major rivers in central Taiwan such as Da-an Xi, Da-jia Xi, Da-du Xi and Zhuo-shui Xi are called “xi” instead of “ho”, because ships can not go up these rivers. On the other hand, Hakka people call rivers “ho” no matter whether big or small, long or short. For example San-yi Township (三義鄉) of Miao-li County (苗栗縣) as called “San-cha Ho” 三叉河), because there was a three-forked river; Hou-long Xi has three sources in Kong-guan Township (公館鄉) called “Nan Ho” 南河, south river), “Dong Ho” (東河, east river ) and “Bei-Ho” 北河, north river) which meet in San-yi. As a matter of fact, the majority of Miao-li County is hill area, and its rivers are by no means navigable. The fact that rivers here are named “ho” can be safely attributed to the language practice of Hakka inhabitants.

(3) “hu” (湖)/ “wo” (窩):

in Hoklo a place which is shaped like a tub is often called “hu” (湖, lake) even though there is no water inside. For example “Nei Hu” (內湖) in Taipei City. In central Taiwan there is a place called “Tsao Hu” (草湖), which is famous for “O-a Bing” (芋仔冰, taro ice-cream). Again it received this name because there is a tub-shaped basin with a lot of grass inside. Hakka uses another term for this landform “wo” (窩, nest). There are many place names in Miao-li County containing this word “wo”, e.g. “Jiu-tseng Wo” (九層窩, nine-layer wo), “Shan-yang Wo” (山羊窩, goat wo), “Niu-tsao Wo” (牛槽窩, barn wo), “fan zai Wo” (番仔窩, aborigine wo), “Tao-zi Wo” (桃子窩, peach wo), etc.

(4) “qian” (塹) / “chun” (唇):

the brink of a landform, especially one relating to water, is called “qian” (塹) in Hoklo. For example Tan-zi Township (潭子鄉) in Taichung County was called “Tan-zi qian” (潭子塹, the brink of a pond) in the past. “Go-zi qian” (溝子塹, the brink of a ditch) is also a very common place name in central Taiwan, Feng-yuan City of Taichung County (台中縣豐原市), Nan-tun District of Taichung City (台中市南屯區) and Fang-yuan Township of Chang-hwa County (彰化縣芳苑鄉) all have such old place names. For this landform the usage of Hakka is “chun” (唇, lips), e.g. near Zhong-gang Xi (中港溪) in Tou-fen Township (頭份鎮) there is place called “Ho

Chun” (河唇, river lip).

(5) “keng” (坑) / “li” (壩):

Yang-mei Township (楊梅鎮) in Tao-yuan County was called “Yang-mei li” (楊梅壩), meaning a valley which is full of plum trees. There are places with similar natural features in Dan-shui Township (淡水鎮) and Shunag-xi Township (雙溪鄉) in Taipei County, but they were called “Shu-mei Keng” (樹梅坑). This is because Hakka people call this landform “li” but Hoklo people call it “keng”. There are similar examples in central Taiwan, e.g. “Da keng” (大坑) which is a famous scenic spot in the suburb of Taichung City and “Feng Keng” (楓坑), which is known for the production of rice noodles, while Tou-wu Township (頭屋鄉) and Tou-fen Township (頭份鎮) in Miao-li County have places called “Zhong-ai li” (中隘壩) and “Shui-liu-dong-li” (水流東壩).

Beside the above Hoklo / Hakka pairs, the Hakka have more special and finer terms for the category of “mountain” because they came from an area which was full of hills and mountains. In the border of Taichung City and Hsin-she Township (新社鄉) there are mountains called “Tou-ke Shan” (頭料山), “Er-ke Shan” (二料山) and “Shi-shui ke” (食水料), In Dong-xi (東勢) there is “Zhong Ke” (中料). According to the Hakka usage, “ke” refers to the mountain shape which is like a helmet. In addition, in Miao-li there are many place names containing the word “Dong” (嶼), e.g. “Ba-jiao

dong” (八角嶼, octagonal dong), “Shi-fen dong” (十份嶼, ten portion dong), “Zong-shu Dong” (榕樹嶼, banyan dong) and “Kuo-zi dong”(鍋仔嶼, pot dong), because in Hakka “dong” (嶼) refers to the top of a mountain. However, since these words are not frequently used and they look strange to people who do not understand Hakka, they are often replaced by other characters which are close in pronunciation. “頭料山” becomes “頭棵山”, “嶼頂” wu-long tea (嶼頂烏龍茶) becomes “凍頂” wu-long tea(凍頂烏龍茶), “八角嶼” becomes “八角棟”. The original meanings were lost during this process, which is really a pity.

In some place names there are Hoklo / Hakka pairs as well:

(1) “tsu” (厝) / “wu” (屋):

In Hoklo, relatives or kin from the same family often formed a village called “tsuo” (厝). For example, an old place was named “Liu-tsoo” (劉厝) in Nan-tun District (南屯區) of Taichung City, because there were many people whose family name was Liu. On the other hand, Hakka people use the word “wu” (屋) to refer to the same community. In She-tou Township (社頭鄉) of Chang-hwa County there is a place called “Liu Wu” (劉屋), which used to be a typical Hakka village.

(2) “Niu-chou” (牛稠) / “Niu-lan” (牛欄):

Barns where cows are kept are called “niu-chou” in Hoklo. In the border of Taichung City and Tan-zi Township (潭子鄉), Taichung County there is a river called

“Niu-chou Xi” (牛稠溪). In Hou-li Township (后里鄉) there is a place called “Niu-chou Keng” (牛稠坑). Hakka people call barns “Niu-lan”(牛欄). In Miao-li County, a typical Hakka area, there are place names such as “Niu-lan du” (牛欄肚) in Tou-fen Township (頭份鎮), “Niu-lan hu” (牛欄湖) in Zao-qiao Township (造橋鄉) and “Niu-lan ti” (牛欄堤) in Kong-guan Township (公館鄉). Besides these place names, which were named after barns, “Wu-niu lan” (烏牛欄) in Feng-yuan (豐原) is an exception. Basically there are only two types of cows in Taiwan: buffalos which have gray skin and yellow cows which are yellow. There are no cows which are black, thus this “wu-niu” (烏牛, black cows) should be the transliteration of the Pazah village name “Auran”. Austronesian village names which ended in “-an” are often transliterated as 蘭 by Hoklo people. But here it used 欄 instead of 蘭, which might indicate that it was first transliterated by Hakka people who were the first Han settlers in the Feng-yuan area.

(3) “Tu-di Kong” (土地公) / “Bo Kong” (伯公):

“Fu-de-zheng-shen” (福德正神) is widely worshiped by the Han people. Hoklo people call it “Tu-di Kong” (土地公, lord of the land) and Hakka people call it “Bo Kong” (伯公, uncle lord). Place names containing the term “Tu-di Kong” are all over Taiwan. For example “Tu-di Kong chi” (土地公崎) in Ming-jian Township (名間鄉) of Nan-tou County, means “a steep slope where a Tu-di Kong temple is located”. In

Tong-luo Township (銅鑼鄉) of Miao-li County there is also a slope with such a temple on it, but it is called “Bo Kong chi” (伯公崎) by Hakka people. In Dong-xi Township (東勢鎮) there is another place called “Hsin Bo Kong” (新伯公), which was the location of Da-ma-lin Village (大馬遴社) of Pazah.

When describing relative position of upper and lower an object the words are often used. Here, the Hoklo and Hakka people also use different terms. The former use “ding” (頂) and “ka” (腳) while the latter use “shang” (上) and “xia” (下). A typical example is “Ding-suan-ka” (頂山腳) in Da-cheng Township (大城鄉) of Chang-hwa County, which means “upper part of hill foot “. In Tou-fen Township (頭份鎮) there is a similar landform which Hakka people call “Shang-shan-xia” (上山下).

When the back part of an object is concerned, Hakka people use “bei” (背) to describe the concept while “hou” (後) and “kuo” (過) are used in Hoklo. There is a township in Yun-lin named “Lun-bei” (崙背), because there were Hakka descendants from Zhao-an (詔安), Changzhou prefecture of Fukien province. As for Hoklo usages, there is a place called “Hou-zhuang” (後庄) in Bei-tun District of Taichung City and “Kuo-keng-zi” (過坑仔) in Tsao-tun Township of Nan-tou County.

Hoklo people use the word “zhuo” (濁) to describe something murky, while Hakka people use “wen” (汶) to describe the same phenomenon. There is a noticeable example in Dong-shan Village (東山里), which is in Bei-tun District near Da-keng

scenic spot (大坑風景區). In the past, there was a valley with a muddy river running through it, and the early Hakka settlers named it “Wen-shui Keng” (汶水坑). Later on there were many Hoklo people from Changzhou who moved into this area, thus gradually people started to call it “Zhuo-shui Keng” as well. Now the latter has almost completely replaced the former.

Some place names in the area exhibit a strange combination of Hakka and Hoklo features. Besides “Zhuo-shui Keng” and “Wen-shui Keng” mentioned above, “Ben-ji wo” (畚箕窩) in Tou-wu Township (頭屋鄉) of Miao-li County is an example of Hoklo-Hakka compound place names. We have mentioned that “wo” is a unique term employed by the Hakka to refer to the landform of a tub-shape, but “Ben-ji” (畚箕, dustpan) is a Hoklo usage. The appearance of this place name in Miao-li probably shows that there have been significant numbers of Hoklo people moving in, so the language has started to become mixed up. Another example is “Jiu-fang-tsu” (九房厝) in Shi-gang Township (石岡鄉) of Taichung County. Generally Hoklo people would call a nine-house village “Gao-dei-tsu” (九塊厝) while Hakka people call it “Jiu-fang-wu” (九房屋), thus the name “Jiu-fang-tsu” shows a transitional structure where there is a curious combination of the features from both ethnic groups. While there are these place names with a curious combination, there are many more which have been totally replaced. In Ching-shui Township (清水鎮) there is a place

currently called “San-kuai tsu” (三塊厝), but it should be called “san-zuo-wu” (三座屋), indicating a change of ownership from Hakka to Hoklo. That this inference is correct is further confirmed by the existence of a place name called “ke-zhuang” (客庄, Hakka village) nearby.

Hakka speaking areas in central Taiwan are now restricted to Miao-li County, Dong-xi Township (東勢鎮), Shi-gang Township (石岡鄉), Hsin-she Township (新社鄉) and Ho-ping Township (和平鄉) which are closer to mountain areas. Although Hakka people immigrated from mountain areas of mainland China, this is not to say that they prefer living among mountains to staying in the plains. If possible, they would not refuse to live in the area where soil is fertile, irrigation is easy and transportation is convenient. Take Feng-yuan Plain which is famous for its “Huludun Rice” (葫蘆墩米) as an example. In the beginning there were many Hakka immigrants engaged in its development. The present-day Da-ya, Tan-zi Townships became productive fields after Chang Da-jing (張達京), who came from Da-pu county of Canton province, and the shareholders constructed “Huludun Ditch” (葫蘆墩圳). But later on, either because there were far greater number of Hoklo people moving in this area, or because Hakka people lost the competition, and were forced to move out to the peripheral mountain area, now the Hakka language can scarcely be heard in Feng-yuan Plain, with only a few Hakka place names left behind to witness

the history of development of the area.

#### 4.1. 4 Japanese

Even though Japanese was a foreign language too, it exerted much greater influence on the place names of Taiwan compared with the Dutch. This is because Japan ruled Taiwan for a much longer period of time, and it also uses an adopted Han characters system. The most well known Japanese style place names in central Taiwan are “Zhui-fen” (追分), “Feng-yuan” (豐原), “Ching-shui” (清水) and “Shen-gang” (神岡). “Zhui-fen” (Oiwake) is a pure Japanese place name, meaning the fork of a railroad, for it is located in the meeting place of the mountain-route line and seaboard-route railroad in Da-du Township (大肚鄉) of Taichung County. Feng-yuan (豐原) used to be called “Huludun” (葫蘆墩), which was famous for its rich production of rice. The Japanese changed the place name to Feng-yuan according to a couplet “Feng-wei-yuan-zhi-rui-suei-kuo” (豐葦原之瑞穗國), and “Rui-sui” Township (瑞穗鄉) in Hua-lien County (花蓮縣) received its name for the same reason. “Ching-shui” (清水) was called “Go-ma-tou” (牛罵頭) in the past, for it was the transliteration of “Gomach” Village of the Pingpu Papora group. The Japanese thought it was not elegant, plus there was a clear water spring nearby, and so they changed it to “Ching-shui”. As for “Shen-gang” (神岡), although the name is very Japanese like, it actually received its name because the majority of the first group of

immigrants were from Shen-gang Village (神岡社) of Zheng-ping county (鎮平縣) in Canton province.

#### **4.2 Transliteration Problems of Place Names**

The earliest inhabitants of central Taiwan were Austronesian plain groups (Pingpu), and many place names were naturally given by them in the beginning. However, none of the Pingpu languages had a writing system, so it can only be recorded by other ethnic groups who had contact with them in their languages. Due to the differences of language structures and limited knowledge of the Pingpu languages, information loss cannot be avoided in the translation process. In addition, place names transliterations normally would happen more than once. Whenever a new ethnic group came they would then change these place names again according to their own naming practice. Just like peeling off the skin of an onion, the meaning of an original place name was peeled off during the process so in the end we can hardly recognize its original meaning through their modern presentations.

The transformation process of Pingpu place names has several stages:

**Pingpu place names → Han Chinese place names (Hoklo or Hakka) → Ching Government renaming → Japanese renaming → Mandarin Chinese renaming**

Take Da-ya County (大雅鄉) of Taichung County as an example. Pazah, the first settlers, called the place “A-ho-ba” (阿河巴), meaning “a piece of uncultivated wild land”; the following Hakka people then called it “Ba-a” (壩仔), for it was close to the original Pingpu sounds, and “Ba-a” also meant “uncultivated land”, corresponding to “Bo-a” (埔仔) of Hoklo. The Ching Government changed the final particle “a” (仔) into “ya” (雅) for the sake of elegance. In 1920 the Japanese government renamed it as “Da-ya” (大雅) which has been used until now. The transformation process of modern “Da-ya” can be illustrated as follows:

阿河巴 (A-ho-ba) → 壩仔 (Ba-a) → 壩雅 (Ba-ya, see Map 8) → 大雅 (Da-ya)



Map 8 The Bao Map of Central Taiwan in Ching Dynasty (清代台灣堡圖, Da-ya)

(Cited from 地名檢索系統 <http://tgnis.ascc.net/placename/>)

“Miao-li” (苗栗) was a village name “Miyori” of the Pingpu Taokas group, which

meant “plain”. Han immigrants transliterated it to “Mao-li” (貓裡), and the Ching government changed it into “Miao-li” (苗栗) in 1889.

Miyori → 貓裡 (Mao-li) → 苗栗 (Miao-li)

Pu-li Wine Factory is famous for its “Ai-lan White Wine” (愛蘭白酒), but very few people know that this name “Ai-lan” is related to the Pingpu people. There was a village of Pazah called “Auran”, which meant “a place where tomatoes grow”. This village originally was located in Feng-yuan (豐原), and it might have been transliterated by Hakka people into “Wu-niu-lan” (烏牛欄). During the time of Ching Emperor Dao-guang (道光) this village moved to the Pu-li Basin, but they still named their new inhabitation “Wu-niu-lan”. After Taiwan was returned to China this place was renamed by the government as “Ai-lan” (愛蘭).

Auran → 烏牛欄 (Wu-niu-lan) → 愛蘭 (Ai-lan)

Another example is “Zhuo-lan” Township (卓蘭鎮) of Miao-li County. The first settlers of this place were the Paiten Tribe of the Pingpu Pazah groups. They called it “Tarian”, which meant “beautiful wild field”. After the Hakka people then immigrated

to this place, they transliterated “Tarian” into “Da-lan” (打蘭). Later, Hoklo people changed “Da-lan” into the similar sounding “Ta-lan”(罩蘭). Because people thought that the Han character “罩” carried a bad connotation for the local development, they took away the upper part of “网” which means “net” or “enmeshed” from “罩” and renamed it as “Zhuo-lan” (卓蘭) in 1920 during the reign of the Japanese government.

Tarian → 打蘭(Da-lan) → 罩蘭(Ta-lan) → 卓蘭(Zhuo-lan)

Fortunately, not all place names had to go through changes in every stage. Like Miao-li, even though it went through three transformations before its present form, it has not been changed since the Ching government in 1889. Note also that besides Han Chinese, many Pingpu village names and tribe names were also recorded in Dutch and Japanese, such as the population census table from the Dutch people in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the field work notes of the Japanese scholars Abe and Ino. However, except for those who can read Dutch or Japanese, ordinary people hardly have access to this data and therefore these studies have had very little impact on the lives of ordinary people. But this data has been able to preserve the original place names as they only went through one transformation, especially so for the Dutch ones for Dutch was relatively similar to Austronesian in terms of phonology and morphology. They

can thus serve as a precious tool when studying Pingpu place names.

Except for these transcribed by the Dutch and Japanese, most place names were transliterated by Hoklo, a Han Chinese dialect in the first layer, with only a few cases where Hakka was used. This reflects the fact that within Han Chinese immigrants, the Hoklo was much larger than the Hakka even though Hakka people indeed arrived at quite a few places in central Taiwan earlier than Hoklo people.

We have mentioned earlier that “-an” is a locative suffix of quite a few Austronesian languages. But since Han people did not understand Austronesian morphology, transliteration was much more common than paraphrasing. Thus those frequently seen place name particles “lan” (蘭), “an” (岸), “man” (蠻), “dan” (丹), and “quan” (泉) were actually transliterated from Austronesian words. If we judge place names only from their literal meaning without this consciousness, these words ending with “-an” in Hoklo would easily be misunderstood as the general part of place names, inferring that they refer to the local product or landforms. The famous scenic spot “Alisan” (阿里山) in Jia-yi County is a typical example. “Alisan” was a place name of the Tsou (鄒族). Although it was surrounded by mountains, the area encompassing “Alisan” was not limited to mountain areas only. Thus the mountain which is famous for its sunrise should be written as Mt. Alisan, not Mt. Ali.

Another place name in question is “Tong-siao-wan” (通霄灣) in Tong-siao

Township (通霄鎮) of Miao-li County (苗栗縣). According to Hong Min-lin (洪敏麟, 1983), “Tong-siao-wan” is a long strip of a village which can be sectioned into upper, central and lower parts. It is located between two mountains while the crest line down curved towards the east like an arc. Thus it was called “Tong-siao-wan” for “wan” (灣) is often used to refer to plains which are open in one side and surrounded by mountains on the other three sides with an arc crest line (Hong, 1983). However, the “Tun-shou” Tribe (吞霄社) of Taokas called themselves “Pariwan” or “Parrewan”. Could “wan” (灣) in “Tong-siao-wan” (通霄灣) be the transliteration of the final particle “-wan” instead of the description of a geographical feature? We think it is possible, just like “Taiwan” (台灣) and “Na-lu-wan”(娜魯灣) are names given to places that have nothing to do with a real bay.

We have known that “-an” is a locative suffix in Austronesian language, but could there be other affixes related to place names? We found there are some forms occurring time and again in the village names of Austronesian groups in the old maps of the Ching Dynasty, such as:

“A-” (阿): A-me-li (阿密哩), A-li-sai (阿里史), A-ta-bu (阿罩霧), A-sock (阿束),

A-ba-quan (阿拔泉).

“Ba-” (貓): Bad-si-kan (貓兒干), Ba-bu-za (貓霧揀)

“-li” (裡): Mao-li (貓裡), Ba-li (岸裡), Wan-li (灣裡), A-me-li (阿密哩)

“-bu” (霧): Ta-li-bu (他里霧), A-ta-bu (阿罩霧), Ba-bu-za (貓霧揀)

Like the prefix “-ki” in Pingpu Katagalan place names, the relation of these affixes with place names are left for further studies.

### **4.3 Official Changes on Place Names**

Place names are used by people in their daily lives, and they are relatively stable compared with personal names; changes of place names tend to be gradual, and some regular trends can be found in the process. However, other than transliteration changes, some place names are very distinct from the original ones and the connections between them are weak. This is often resulted from the arbitrary renaming by the rulers for various reasons. We will discuss the official renaming principles of place names during the Ching Dynasty, Japanese colonization and Republic of China.

#### **4.3.1 Ching Dynasty**

There were two general principles of place renaming. One was for the purpose of elegance and the other was for political reasons.

Replacing “a” (仔) with “ya” (雅) was very common for elegance, e.g. 壩仔 became 壩雅 in Da-ya Township (大雅鄉), 番仔溝 became 番雅溝 in Ho-mei Township (和美鎮), 崙仔 became 崙雅 and 湳仔 became 湳雅 in She-tou Township (社頭鄉). Besides “ya” for “a”, Hsiu-shui Township (秀水鄉) was called

“Chou-shui” (臭水) in the past because of bad water drainage problems, and the Ching government replaced “Chou” with “Hsiu” to make it more elegant. However, these elegant place names consequently lost the original meaning, and people are easily misled by them when studying local history and geography.

The other reason was for political purposes, Chang-hwa (彰化) is the most famous example in central Taiwan. In the past it was called “Ban-xian” (半線) which was a transliteration of the Hoklo pronunciation of the village name “Passoua” of the Pingpu Babuza group. In the first year of Emperor Yong-zheng (雍正) a new county was set up in this place, and it was renamed “Chang-hwa” (彰化), proclaiming the civilization brought by the Emperor (彰聖天子丕昌海隅之化歟) (Hong, 1984), which had nothing to do with either the original Babuza village name nor with the later Hoklo transliterated name at all. Another case was “De-hwa Village” (德化社區) in Da-jia Township (大甲鎮) of Taichung County. The old place name was “She-wei” (社尾), for it was located at the end of a Pingpu Taokas village. A revolt “Da-jia-xi Village Incident” by the Pingpu Taokas arose here at the time of Emperor Yong-zheng (雍正), and the Ching government changed the place name to “De-hwa Village”(德化社), which means “civilized with the Emperor’s grace”, expecting these aborigines can be civilized. The name has been kept since then, and we guess “De-hwa Village” of Shao (邵族) in Sun-moon Lake of Nan-tou County might have received its name for similar

reason.

### 4.3.2 Japanese Colonization

In 1920 there was a reformation of the local administration system, and more than 100 place names went through significant changes. All the place names which were more than three words were shortened to two, and many of them were replaced by more elegant words or by corresponding Japanese Han Characters, or simply given a Japanese name. Examples of shortened place names in Taichung, Chang-hwa and Nantou were Dong-shi-jiao (東勢角) → Dong-shi (東勢), Er-ba-shui (二八水) → Er-shui (二水), Pu-li-she (埔里社) → Pu-li (埔里), Da-li-dai (大里代) → Da-li (大里), etc.

We have explained how “Zhou-lan” (罩蘭) was changed into “Zhuo-lan”(卓蘭) for 罩 was believed to bring bad luck to local development. “Fan-po” (番婆), a place name related to aboriginal women, was changed into “Pan-tao” (蟠桃, peach) for the latter was close in pronunciation but contained a better meaning. In Ching-shui Township (清水鎮) of Taichung County there is a place called “Gao-meí” (高美). According to senior citizens, it was a wetland in the past, and the mud was so thick that even bamboo poles would get stuck within it. So it was called “Gou-me” (篙密) in Hoklo. In 1920 it was changed to “Gao-meí” (高美) which was close in pronunciation but carried a more elegant meaning.

The case of place names changed according to corresponding Han characters in central Taiwan was “Hua-tan” (花壇) in Chang-hwa County. “Hua-tan” was called “Jia-dong-jiao” (茄苳腳), for the original village was located under a Jia-dong forest. “Jia-dong-jiao” was pronounced “Ka-tan-kha” in Hoklo, which was close to “Kadan” in Japanese. “Kadan” was written as 花壇 in the Japanese Han character system (Kanji). In this way, the place has come to be known as “Hua-tan” meaning “flower-bed”. From a place under a Jia-dong forest to a flower-bed: what a great transformation! Another example was “Ming-jian” (名間) in Nan-tou County. It was a lower land where water was not easily drained, so the mud was wet and marshy, and local people called it “Lama”(瀾仔) in Hoklo. Because “Lama” was close to “Nama” in Japanese, which was written as “名間” in Japanese Han characters, it was then renamed as “Ming-jian” (名間) in 1920. As for Japanese style place names such as “Feng-yuan” (豐原), “Ching-shui” (清水) and “Zhui-fen” (追分) please refer to the earlier section.

Quite a few place names which had more than three words were transliterated from Austronesian village names. This was because Austronesian languages were polysyllabic, but Han Chinese and Japanese use a writing system in which a monosyllabic character represents a morpheme. Thus Chinese or Japanese would have to use many characters to transliterate Austronesian place names. However place

names with more than two characters were not preferred in Chinese and Japanese, and many place names with more than two characters were often cut down to two. Although they look consistent and easier to remember this way, the meanings represented by a multi-syllabic name were also mutilated beyond recognition.

Aboriginal place names had a specific general term “she” (社) to refer to their villages, similar to “zhuang” (庄) of the Han people. Because of the rapid change of society, now we can hardly tell where aboriginal people have inhabited. But this clue of “she”, which is kept in place names such as “Hsin-she” (新社), “She-ko” (社口) and “She-tou” (社頭) bear witness to their involvement in the development of central Taiwan. So they should not be deleted or changed arbitrarily.

### **4.3.3 Republic of China**

Like the Ching, the government of the Republic of China also changed many place names to make them become more elegant. “A” (仔) to “ya” (雅) was still the dominant reformation, e.g. “Song-ya Village” (松雅村) in Da-an Township (大安鄉) of Taichung County. It was called “chêng-a-ka” (松子腳) in Hoklo, because the village was originally built under banyan trees. Another frequent replacement was “Hou” (後, back) by “Hou” (后, queen), e.g. 後里 (Hou-li) → 后里 in Taichung County and 後庄 (Hou-zhuang) → 后庄 in Taichung City. Another interesting case was “Zhi-gao” (知高) in Nan-tun District (南屯區) of Taichung City. It was said that

in the village there were quite a few people who bred pigs for mating, which were known as “Di-go” (豬哥) in Hoklo and the former and latter names were pronounced very similar in Hoklo so the place also came to be known as “Di-go”(豬哥), which was later changed into “Zhi-gao” (知高).

Political place names were also the main targets for reformation by the government of the R.O.C., but most of them were represented in road names. Take Taichung City for example, there are “Zhong-zheng Road” 中正路 and “Zhong-shan Road” 中山路 to honor celebrities. “San-min Road” 三民路 and “Wu-quan Road” 五權路 to proclaim political systems, plus names after provinces or cities in Mainland like “Tien-tsin Street”天津街, “Da-lien Road” 大連路, “Ching-dao Road” 青島路, etc. But from the signposts of bus stops we find that still old place names were preferred to these official names, because it is not that easy to change place names which have been used by people in their daily lives for decades.