JUST SING WHAT YOU WANT TO SAY:

THE IMPORTANCE OF LINGUISTIC TONE IN BAI SONGS

A MASTER'S THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

LIBERTY UNIVERSITY

BY

LISA EILEEN ANDREWS

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

2012 DECEMBER 2

Copyright © Dec 2012 by Lisa Eileen Andrews
## CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ........................................................................................................ iii

ABSTRACT ......................................................................................................................... v

TABLES ............................................................................................................................. vi

FIGURES ........................................................................................................................... vii

Chapter 1: Introduction ....................................................................................................... 1

Chapter 2: Literature Review ........................................................................................... 10

Chapter 3: Methodology ................................................................................................. 41

Chapter 4: Findings .......................................................................................................... 54

Chapter 5: Conclusion ..................................................................................................... 77

REFERENCES .................................................................................................................... 83

APPENDICES ................................................................................................................... 88
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was not possible without the support, help, and trust of so many individuals. First and foremost, I must thank the Bai musicians who shared their lives and music with me. They extended great love and patience toward me during my studies, especially when I could not communicate adequately with words. Special thanks to Mr. Li Fu Yuan who instructed me in how to sing Bai songs and believed in my ability to perform them. It was so much fun learning with all of you!

Thanks to the Jianchuan Culture Bureau and the Jianchuan Education Bureau for their time, assistance, and care. Thanks also to Dr. Liz Billard who first introduced me to Bai music and first discovered the relationship between linguistic tone and melodic pitches in children’s songs. She was my first connection to the Bai people, and her work was foundational to this present study.

Without the help of the employees in the Jianchuan SIL office, I would not have learned the Romanized Bai script. Without their assistance, I would not have transcriptions or any linguistic understanding of the Bai language. Special thanks to Yang Ji Min (Yanp Jibmiep), Zhang Jian Zhu (Zanx Jiainbzux), Zhang He Mei (Zanx Hefmeip) and Tang Hai Chun (Tanp Haitcuainx). These friends did the transcription work for me and went out of their way to educate me in the Bai language. They sacrificed a lot of precious time to work with me during the analysis phase of my study.

Thanks to the many ethnomusicology mentors and professors who have shared their knowledge and expertise. I love learning from you and have much, much more to learn!

---

1 Italicized in parenthesis are the Bai spellings and pronunciations of their names.
I wish to thank my advisor, Dr. Jeffrey Meyer, and second reader, Dr. George McDow, for their assistance in putting my analytical analysis into written form and for their helpful feedback. Thanks to Dr. Benham for the wonderful program that he has put together at Liberty University.

And finally, thanks to my family for supporting me in a work that requires me to live so far from home. Your understanding and love means so much. Special thanks to my parents, because they saw my musical abilities and interests at a young age and encouraged me on this path, not knowing where it would lead. Thanks to my wonderful husband, Charles, for serving and loving me, for helping me rest, for re-igniting my musical passions, and for joining me on this adventurous journey.
ABSTRACT

The Bai people, a minority group in the People’s Republic of China numbering at least 1.6 million, live mostly in the Dali Autonomous Prefecture in northwest Yunnan. Historically, Bai from the central region would gather annually at the base of Shibaoshan Mountain to sing partner style love songs in search for a suitable marriage partner; today, this time is marked by a three-day festival officially titled “Shibaoshan.” The annual song competition invites skilled singers to spontaneously compose melodies in response to their counterpart, crafting lyrics to flatter or tease their singing partner.

The study quantifies the close relationship between Bai linguistic tone heights and melodic pitches. Qualitative research uncovers whether this aspect of Bai songs guides singers’ choices or methods in spontaneously composed songs. The closely matched relationship between linguistic tone and melodic pitches implies that new songs must retain this feature in order to be acceptable and perhaps intelligible to Bai hearers.
TABLES

1. Matching Percentage of Text to Melody, Example 1 .....................................................57
2. Matching Percentages of Four Spontaneously-Composed Songs ................................57
3. Vocables and Degree of Syllabic Text Setting, Example 1 ...........................................63
4. Matching Percentage of Text to Melody, Example 2 ....................................................64-5
5. Vocables and Degree of Syllabic Text Setting, Example 2 ...........................................67
6. Data from Li Fu Yuan’s Two Shibaoshan Solos .................................................................68
7. Matching Percentage for “Old Man Shake” .................................................................71
8. Matching Percentage for Shibaoshan Performance .........................................................73
9. Matching Percentages for My Two Solo Performances at Shibaoshan .........................73
10. Matching Percentage for “Loach Song” .................................................................75
FIGURES (Scores)

1. At Quib’s response to shoe shiner (with Bai Romanized script) ........................................... 56
2. Xinlganlpia. Four Singers, verse 1. ............................................................................................. 66
3. Li Fu Yuan Solo, Song 1, Verse 1 .................................................................................................. 67
4. Li Fu Yuan Song, Song 1, First Half Verse 2 .............................................................................. 69
5. “Old Man Shake.” .......................................................................................................................... 71
Jianchuan Bai musicians in northwestern Yunnan province, The People’s Republic of China (PRC), compete annually at the base of Shibaoshan Mountain with the hopes of being named the best male and female songwriters of the year. Men and women singers perform individually, composing spontaneous responses to one another and often causing laughter among the crowd.

From the 27th to the 29th day of the lunar calendar’s seventh month, approximately ten thousand Bai travel to Shibaoshan (“Precious Stone Mountain”) for the annual festival to enjoy the singing and shop in the market (Qin Meng Lin 2009, 1). Shibaoshan is a chain of mountains located north of Dali, but the people gather at the base of a specific temple known locally as the main gathering place. Some travel by foot, walking over mountains for many hours. Others catch a ride from ‘miao bao che’ mini-van taxis which travel to Shibaoshan from Jinhua Zhen, the county seat in Jianchuan County, about forty-five minutes away. Wealthier Bai and Han Chinese drive themselves, parking a mile or two from the performance site because of the crowded one-lane street. Musicians maintain the attention of the audience through extemporaneous partner-style ‘dui ge’ songs.

My path to Shibaoshan was also an interesting one, and in September 2009, I found myself standing in the middle of the region’s best Bai singers as we sang a song together to start the festival. This moment was not only the beginning of my widespread fame throughout the region, but it was also the start of more serious inquiry into the composition and performance of

---

2 A ‘miao bao che,’ literally translated as “bread car,” is a small seven to eight-passenger van which is supposedly shaped like a loaf of bread. This type of transportation is the primary source of travel to certain towns or events and functions like a taxi, where each person pays a certain amount to be transported from one place to another.
Bai songs. How does one “win” the competition, distinguishing herself from the rest of her competitors? How do singers write songs which are “good,” and what factors contribute to their compositional choices? Specifically, what relationship exists between the Bai language and the singers’ spontaneously-composed melodies? And how does the complexity of the Bai language, with its eight different linguistic tones, influence a singer’s poetic and melodic choices?

In February 2009, after about a year of Chinese language studies in Yunnan’s capital city, Kunming, I moved to Jinhua Zhen. I started work with SIL International on a bilingual education project which began in 2004 under Brian and Liz Billard. The program is ongoing to date, and its goals are to help Bai children learn more effectively, to help the children learn Chinese, and to help preserve the Bai language and culture. The program is in Shilong elementary school, a village school within walking distance of Shibaoshan. Songs are used in the curriculum for play and for learning. Some are traditional, but melodies are newly-composed in the traditional singing style, a process which took place under my supervisor, Liz Billard. Musicians from Shilong village came together for song-writing workshops and composed all of the songs for the curriculum (around two hundred).

As Billard discovered, in children’s songs the relationship between speech tone and melody is almost exact, where the high, mid, low, and rising tones exhibit a direct correlation with the movement in the melody (Billard 2003, 8). Because of her full-time work on curriculum development since 2004, Billard had not found time to study adult songs. Therefore, when I first arrived in Jinhua Zhen, my initial internship assignment was to find melodic or rhythmic patterns in adult songs. I used Billard’s previously-collected recordings and transcribed melodies from different singers and different songs, writing one above the other, looking for rhythmic or melodic patterns. While I did notice some general patterns, I still had many unanswered
questions about the relationship between speech tone and Bai adult song melodies. Completing initial research in the early summer, I turned my attention to the children’s song DVD project. From July-December 2009, I worked on a children’s song VCD project in which modern instrumental accompaniments were added to songs from the Shilong preschool curriculum.

In August, I was invited by the Culture Bureau to perform at the September Shibaoshan song festival. As I learned two partner-style songs, I began to notice a correlation between the eight tones of the Bai language and the movement of melodies in song. Participant observation taught me more about Bai music and culture than my months of musical analysis, and it brought focus to my study. I will write more about the experience in chapter three, “Project Design and Implementation.”

Statement of the Problem

As I lived in Jianchuan and interacted with many local Bai, I asked young people about traditional Bai music and often received the response, “I do not understand it.” Some members of the community explained that certain singers are more intelligible than others. As I questioned further, I learned that certain singers in the community were believed to be better than others. All of these conversations led me to conclude that the best singers not only have great command of the Bai language but also compose melodies according to the Bai linguistic tone in order to maximize intelligibility among listeners. Today, very few members of the Bai community can spontaneously compose songs, and many young people from within the Bai community have little understanding or appreciation for traditional Bai singing. Even those who are still
composing are sometimes critiqued to be singing “watered down” music which isn’t as meaningful as texts in times past.³

Historically, the gathering at Shibaoshan was a time of courtship, where young men and women came to sing to one another in search of a suitable partner. In recent years, however, the Shibaoshan Festival has become an organized song competition, managed by the Jianchuan Culture Bureau. It is possible that some people still travel to the Shibaoshan to find love, but more and more this practice is being abandoned. Clearly one function and purpose for passing down Bai singing—for finding a suitable partner—has dissolved.

Many people under age thirty cannot understand Bai music sung in this traditional form. I would like to discover the reason behind their inability to understand Bai songs. Is it because the text is poetic? Or is the language somehow “distorted” in songs? Or do young people simply not have an interest in traditional songs? If the melodies are most clearly understood when they follow the tone of the text, then this has many implications for song-writing—namely that following this pattern would allow for listeners to clearly understand the meaning of a song the first time that they hear it. Many foreign workers are unaware of the relationship between linguistic tone and melody in languages like the Bai language, and they continue to promote the use of translated pre-existing melodies without understanding some of the repercussions of that practice.

³ In March 2012, I had a conversation with an elderly man about Bai music. He sang a song from the past, translating the lyrics for me into Chinese. The song is sung to a lover, “The moon is bright tonight, come to my house, and lock the door behind you” (translation mine). He said the text is difficult to translate into Mandarin and loses much of its meaning. He complained, “Songs just aren’t what they used to be. Nobody writes songs with any depth anymore.”
Need for the Study

Various studies have been conducted on tonal languages throughout the world comparing the tone of the spoken language to the melodic tone of sung music. In parts of Southeast Asia, studies show a rather direct correlation between the spoken language and the melodic structure, particularly when there are contrasting high, mid, or low tones in the language. Several authors have written specifically about the relationship between tone and melody among related languages. With the exception of a study on Bai children’s songs by Billard, nothing has been written to date in English on the tone-text relationship of Bai music (Billard 2003). Various Chinese scholars have written on Bai music or put together collections of Bai songs, but none of these publications—so far as I can tell—address the issue of the relationship between linguistic tone height and musical pitch.

Research Questions

The focus of the research is primarily quantitative with one central question: What is the relationship between the Bai linguistic tone and the melodies in adult Bai singing? Accompanying questions include: (1) What melodic principles might override the linguistic tone of the text? (2) What is the relationship between singing and Bai phonation types? (3) When speech tones and melodic patterns are not congruent, is there a linguistic or musical reason for the variation?

Studying the texts and melodies in and of themselves will not necessarily answer questions about a singer’s composition of spontaneous songs. Qualitative research will seek to answer two related questions. (1) What factors contribute to a singer’s composition of new melodies? (2) How do these factors relate to the preservation of relative linguistic tone heights in
Bai melodies? And (3) What makes a “good” song? Due to the limitations of this study, research into music attitudes will not be surveyed or investigated at this time.

**Purpose Statement**

The purpose of this study is to better understand various aspects of Bai songs and musicianship. The first aspect for investigation is the relationship between the Bai linguistic tone and melodic song structures. The study also seeks to uncover rules guiding composition and traits which distinguish professional singers’ melodies from those of non-musicians or amateurs.

These purposes demand a sequential mixed methods approach including participant observation, ethnographic interview, and musical analysis. In the study, musical analysis will be used to determine the relationship between song texts and melodic structure. At the same time, composition techniques and musicianship will be explored through interviews with several Bai singers in Jianchuan County. The rationale for using ethnographic interview alongside musical analysis is to gain insight into the individual choices, levels of training and experience, or particular methods which popular singers use in song composition. A better understanding of Bai song is necessary for composition and for preservation of the genre.

**Intended Audience**

Three audiences will benefit from the results of this study, including members of the Bai, Chinese, and foreign communities. Within the Bai community, musicians and government officials in the Culture Bureau are trying to pass on the tradition to the younger generations. A better understanding of the matching between linguistic tone and melodic pitch and its connection with song intelligibility will aid them in training interested young people in learning
to sing and compose Bai music. Members in the Bai community who cannot sing Bai songs can better understand their traditional music and can use this knowledge to create new melodies or learn to sing. The present study focuses on only a small sample of music from the Jianchuan Bai, one of three Bai dialect regions in the Dali Prefecture. More on dialect will come in chapter two.

An understanding of the relationship between tone and melody is necessary for foreign and Chinese workers who live and work with minority languages and music systems like that of the Bai people. If the melody must match the linguistic tone height for intelligibility, then translating songs without taking this into account could seriously distort the meaning of the texts. Should these workers want to use music to enhance their various projects, they must understand that simply borrowing a traditional melody or bringing a melody from another culture and adding the local language to the tune could significantly distort the intended meaning of the song (aside from ignoring a melody’s cultural connotations). A lack of understanding in the issue could result in sending confusing or wrong messages to a target audience. These workers also need to know what features of melodies and texts make a song good or bad in Bai culture.

A final audience is foreign and Chinese scholars in the wider academic community. As Chapter Two will highlight, analysis of melodies among linguistically tonal languages has been a minor topic of interest in musicology and ethnomusicology since the 1960s. The analysis of this aspect of music is rather complex, as case studies from Southeast Asia and parts of Africa will testify; however, most studies contain supporting evidence that the connection between language and melody is clear even if researchers or local people cannot fully articulate this relationship. A case study on the Bai language can only benefit the academic quest for better understanding of the relationship between spoken text and melodic tone.
Glossary of Terms

_Baizu diao_ is the Chinese term most commonly used by the Bai in Jianchuan to refer to songs which are sung, usually by a soloist, and are accompanied by the _sanxian_. The _sanxian_ is a three-stringed plucked lute which is used in accompaniment of singers or as instrumental solo. _Shibaoshan Ge Hui_ is the annual song festival held among the Central Bai. _Shibaoshan_ ("Precious Stone Mountain") is the name of a famous mountain in Jianchuan county which contains many Taoist temples. The term for song festival, _ge hui_, is used to describe any song performance, though in this context it includes an element of competition.

Limitations/Delimitations of the Study

The greatest limitation in this study is that I do not speak the Bai language. All of my translations of song texts are with the help of bilingual Bai speakers. Most of my interviewees were also bilingual, which meant that their descriptions of music were given in Chinese, so I did not learn many Bai terms for talking about music. Additionally, although my Chinese level has been rated “advanced” by internal SIL tests, I am still not able to fully express higher-level thoughts (or likewise understand them). While most participants can speak Chinese they could not always reply in the Chinese language. This further complicated data analysis because I had to seek out translators who could interpret the interviewee’s answers, and I was also unable, at times, to understand responses in-the-moment and therefore couldn’t direct my interviews appropriately or follow up on insightful information. Language and cultural barriers also limit my understanding of metaphor in Bai songs.

My time was also limited because during the few months of my initial IRB approval, which came about a year after my move to Jianchuan, I was extremely busy and couldn’t spend
my days looking for participants to interview. In 2011, I was in the US and then transitioning back to life in PRC, this time living in the prefecture capital city, Dali. Not living in the target area (Jinhua Zhen, Jianchuan County) has certainly limited opportunities for interactions with Bai musicians and other community members.

Because of the focus on musical analysis for the present study, no official surveys were conducted among members of the Bai community in Shilong or Jinhua Zhen to assess music or language attitudes. My understanding of attitudes is therefore limited to those members of the Bai community with which I interacted briefly or had ongoing relationships. A more thorough study would shed light on widespread attitudes among different ages or backgrounds of Bai people.

**Assumptions**

There is a distinct ‘tone-tune relationship’ in Bai music, meaning, the linguistic tone of the Bai language largely determines the melodies of songs. Singers must follow the tone of the language in order to compose songs which are meaningful and intelligible the first time they are heard. My preliminary hypothesis is that there is a rigid relationship between Bai text and melody, where the melody is determined by the tone of the language, but that there is allowed musical variation for the individual singer.

When unintelligibility exists, it is possible that (a) many singers are no longer preserving the tone-tune relationship because the influence of popular Chinese music in the area, (b) many people, particularly among the younger generations, have lost the ability to understand poetic Bai language as it is used in song, and/or (c) lack of exposure to and experience in Bai singing leads to an untrained ear or disinterest in the musical style.
Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Who exactly are the Bai people, and where did they come from? How has their language and culture been influenced in recent years by changing political or economic environments? Understanding the Bai people requires a better knowledge of their history in PRC, particularly in the twentieth century, as PRC continues to change and develop rapidly. Development has taken place not just through new technology or extensive road and housing developments. Since the 1950s, PRC has developed policies for unifying its ethnic groups and surveying the arts, and these policies and their implementations have also affected language and music development in minority areas. Limited studies and surveys on the Bai language provide foundational linguistic understanding for analyzing song texts. An investigation into the existing literature about linguistic tone and melodic analysis will guide data analysis methods for this present study. Finally, an overview of books on Bai music and electronic media proves current trends in Bai singing and the lack of information regarding the relationship between linguistic tone height and melodic construction in Bai songs, supporting the need for this study.

Bai History and Culture

One of PRC’s officially recognized fifty-six ethnic minorities, the Bai people number somewhere between 1.4 to 1.6 million, and eighty percent of the Bai live in the Dali Autonomous Prefecture (DAP), located in Yunnan Province, the southwestern most province in PRC. (A few Bai have settled farther north and east in Sichuan and Guizhou provinces,

---

4 The term “minority” is used in China to designate ethnic people groups other than the Han Chinese. While China recognizes fifty-six ethnic groups, other NGOs or groups believe there are over two hundred different languages spoken in China. The topic has been a source of debate particularly among linguists in recent years.
respectively.) In Yunnan province, there are three main dialects of the Bai language—Central, Southern, and Northern—and Jianchuan county is located in the Central dialect region. While Dali is by far the largest city in the Dali prefecture, Jinhua Zhen is the central town in Jianchuan county. The Bai language borrows 60-70% of its vocabulary from Mandarin, the official language in PRC.

Historically, the Bai are descendants from the Nanzhao Kingdom, which ruled over present-day Yunnan from 542 to 902 A.D. Over the next three hundred years, the Bai assimilated into Chinese culture—so much so that the only arguably distinguishing factors between the Bai and Chinese were differences in burial customs and parts of language (Wu 1990, 5). So their inclusion as one of PRC’s 56 ethnic minority groups is one of debate. In 1956 the Chinese government conducted a survey to identify minority nationalities, and the Dali Bai Autonomous Region was thus established. Although it is considered an oral culture, the Bai developed an “ancient script” during the eighth century using Chinese characters to represent sounds or meaning.\(^5\) The system was never standardized; consequently, few people today still use this scheme. In most cases, Chinese characters are employed for writing down Bai song texts.

While many books on Bai songs refer to the “thousand years of Bai culture and history,” the history of the Bai people is wrapped up in recent minority policy, resulting in a rather muddy understanding of the culture’s “true” identity. Survey reports from the 1950s are summarized in the book Baizu shehui lishi diaocha (An Investigation of the History of Bai Society) and were published in 1983 by the Yunnan Provincial Editing Commission. Baizu shehui lishi diaocha is a result of the surveys which took place from 1956 to 1958 when about seven hundred researchers,\(^5\) One elderly man told me that the Bai language used to have its own script, but during the Tang dynasty they were forced to abandon their script and only write Chinese, thus the development of ‘gu bai wen,’ the “ancient Bai script” which uses Chinese characters to represent Bai sounds.
scholars, officials, and college students conducted a nation-wide survey in an attempt to identify and verify minority groups. Written in Chinese, the book provides brief summaries about the Bai culture in Xizhou and Jianchuan (two towns in Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture) along with several reports on economic output, family structure, and marriage customs. Given that the survey occurred immediately after the Bai nationality was officially recognized in PRC, it highlights the distinctions between Bai and Chinese cultures and makes comparisons between the two. Information was most likely collected through reading current writings and reports in the villages and through interviews. Quantitative data is abundant and specific.

David Wu references the survey in his 1990 article, “Chinese Minority Policy and the Meaning of Minority Culture: The Example of Bai in Yunnan, China.” Wu presents a rather critical view of the present Bai ethnic identity. Based on field research conducted in one Bai village and surveys of policy implementation in minority regions in The Peoples Republic of China, Wu concludes that the Bai’s identity shift over the past fifty years, from denying minority status and assimilating with Han culture to reclaiming minority status, correlates directly with the Chinese minority policy (Wu 1990, 1). Maintaining minority status allows the Bai area to receive government funding and also allows for two children per family instead of just one. Still, the Bai are descendants from the ancient Nanzhao Kingdom, and ancestry has always been a major factor in establishing nationalities in Chinese history. Wu’s criticism, then, is not that the Bai do not have an ethnic identity but that this distinction is rooted more in political and official promotions rather than a completely different cultural way of life. He writes, “In China, the sense of ethnic pride, which motivates minority identities, has been promoted by the policymakers of the dominating Han Chinese, not initiated by the minorities themselves” (Wu 1990, 3).
In his article, “Aspects of Bai Culture: Change and Continuity in a Bai Nationality,” Mackerras briefly sketches the historical roots of the Bai dating back to the Nanzhao kingdom. He cites the work of C.P. Fitzgerald, who studied the Bai people in the late 1930s. At that time, the Bai were termed *minjia*, or “common people,” by the Han Chinese. It wasn’t until 1956 when the Bai received their official name, and although they have distinguishing elements in certain aspects of culture, like performing arts, the Bai have adopted many practices from the Han Chinese. The purpose of the article is to examine the current state of certain aspects of Bai culture (marriage, religion, and performing arts) and to determine what kinds of changes have occurred in recent years. His conclusion is that “almost all Bai males, other than small children, can now speak standard Chinese; and females are learning it in increasing numbers, especially in the towns” (Mackerras 1988, 76). He finds that although Bai is still widely used in villages, markets, and even in the home, an increasing number of people, even children, can speak standard Chinese. In fact, most Bai children who live in urban settings cannot speak Bai at all. Education in Mandarin Chinese is a major factor for the increased number of Chinese speakers. However, Mackerras suggests that despite bilingualism and the Bai culture’s similarities with Han culture, recent trends show that the Bai are moving toward distinguishing their culture rather than amalgamation (Mackerras 1988, 70).

Wu’s central argument is that economic reasons are the driving forces behind the increased interest in defining minority culture. Government funding and tourism have played a role in the formation of a more distinct Bai identity. His argument opposes that of Mackerras by suggesting that Han Chinese are behind the movement toward distinguishing culture, not the Bai people themselves. Wu explains that PRC has yet to produce a clear definition of “minority,” which leaves a large gray area regarding the ways in which cultures are defined. The promoted
Bai identity has brought the development of a minority style of dress and other activities to attract tourism, especially in Dali (Wu 1990, 3 and 9).

Surprisingly, two of the largest Bai festivals today, the March Festival and Shibaoshan, are not mentioned in the 1950s survey of all Bai festivals (Baizu shehui lishi diaocha [An Investigation of the History of Bai Society] 1983, 79-98). This might imply that they have been implemented at some point in the last fifty years, most likely in the 1980s. Or, perhaps there are political or social reasons for not mentioning them in the survey, which will be addressed in the later section, “Folksong in China and Minority Policy.” The Bai people’s first annual major song festival is in Dali, the March Festival (13-15th day of the Third Month), and the second is on Shibaoshan Mountain, in Jianchuan county (27-29th day of the Seventh Month). Thousands of Bai and Han Chinese travel from different regions to participate in these festivals. Today, the March Festival is more of a large market for buying and selling goods, and the Shibaoshan Festival has become an organized song competition, managed by the Jianchuan Culture Bureau. Reasons for the abandonment of supposed courtship practices aren’t clear, though there are a few possible historical events which could have induced change and will be explored in a later section, “Folksong in China and Minority Policy.”

Bai language

One of the challenges in my research is the lack of data in the English language about the Bai people. Most books on Bai history or language are written in Chinese, and given my intermediate Chinese reading ability, even browsing a source for major topics or headings requires a few more hours than normal. The sources addressed below deal with language policy, dialect, and phonetic distinctions of the Bai language.
In “Language Policies Toward National Minorities in China,” the author Fu Maoji argues that PRC’s policies toward the development of minority language scripts have offered great support and true freedom. He references the 1950s survey, of which he was also a part. In 1957, a document set forth five guiding principles for script development. The five principles are as follows: new scripts should (1) utilize the Latin alphabet, (2) attempt to match Pinyin, (3) add a letter at the end of a syllable as a tone marker, (4) seek consistency with related minority scripts, and (5) use two letters or add diacritics (small symbols or markings above a letter) for sounds which cannot be represented by the Latin alphabet. The Bai language is cited in his article as a newly-developed script. During the Cultural Revolution, all trials and practices of newly-formulated written languages were discontinued, but since 1980 the process has been restored and reorganized. The article provides relevant history about the Bai language but was published well before the standardization of the Bai script in 1993. While his presentation of the government’s concern for minority languages may be biased, since he himself was on one of the survey teams, this article is incredibly insightful about the creation of the Bai orthography and the use of a Romanized script instead of a character system (Fu 1985, 214-221). The five principles were obviously followed in the formation of the current Bai orthography.

In the Bai Dialect Survey, Bryan Allen explains the Bai Dialect Intelligibility Survey which was completed in cooperation with the Yunnan Minority Language Commission (YMLC) from 1999-2001. The survey method and results are described in both English and Chinese, with translations completed by Zhang Xia, a Bai scholar employed by the YMLC. The goal of the survey was to determine centers of communication for selected speech varieties of the Bai language, specifically to determine which of the three dialects is the most standard in terms of intelligibility across a wider audience. The concept of three main dialects of Bai—Northern,
Central, and Southern—is customary in the academic world, yet most data collected had been based on interviews and not statistical research of any kind. The Allen’s (Bryan and wife, Sylvia) were the first to use a method of recorded text tests (RTTs) to determine intelligibility between different dialects or regions. They surveyed ten people per dialect and also gathered word lists for analysis (Allen and Zhang 2004, 10). The conclusion of this survey shows that Eryuan (the region just south of Jianchuan geographically) is the most central linguistically, meaning that it was the most intelligible in other regions as compared to other dialects; however, many people surveyed consider the Jianchaun dialect to be more “genuine.” In determining a central dialect then, language attitudes might play more of an important role than the centrality of a dialect from a linguistic standpoint.

The Bai make up 92% of the population in Jianchuan County, which is the highest percentage of population in any of the counties in the Dali Bai Autonomous Region. The origins and genetic affiliation of the Bai language is uncertain. It is usually classified as a Tibeto-Burman language along with other languages in northwest Yunnan (Lisu, Achang, Nu, Yi, Dulong, and Naxi). Other scholars consider it a branch of the Yi language, and still others believe it is a branch from Old Chinese. But since the Bai language has eight tones (a fairly high number) and a grammar pattern which does not fit traditional Tibeto-Burmese language patterns, classifying the Bai language is still a topic of debate in PRC. Tone can be a combination of pitch, phonation type (breathy, tense, or lax) or degree of tenseness (Allen and Zhang 2004, 121).

The survey also gives background information on the Bai Romanized script. It was first developed in 1958 using the Xiaguan Bai dialect (Southern). In 1982, the script was revised to the Jianchuan Bai dialect (Central), and then in 1993 it was revised another time. Presently, there are two versions of the Bai script (Allen and Zhang 2004, 50). *Bai Dialect Survey* is well-
designed and provides quantitative data on population distribution and linguistic similarities and
differences found throughout the Bai region. Since the focus is on the dialect survey and results,
the study excludes any other cultural information.

Grace Wiersma’s article, “Yunnan Bai,” is an overview of the linguistic features of the
two main Bai dialects in Dali and Jianchuan, respectively. The article sheds light on some of the
controversy and debate over the origins of the Bai language (whether of ancient Chinese or
Tibeto-Burman) and also the script (whether the Bai people need a script and how to represent
certain sounds). The use of borrowed or Chinese words for political and legal terms is evidence
for many that the Bai are originally Chinese in origin. And, given that Chinese literacy among
Bai people has always been high, some argue that a vernacular orthography is not necessary to
use or develop (Wiersma 2007, 663).

Jerold A. Edmondson has specifically studied phonaion types in the Bai language. In his
first article, the authors analyze the tones of the Bai language, comparing the relationship
between phonaion type and pitch height. The Bai language has four basic pitch levels (high,
approaching high, mid flat, and mid falling) and three phonaion types (creaky, modal, and tense).
Testing three speakers, the analysis shows that syllables pronounced with tense phonaion also
raised a significant level in pitch height. Additionally, it is noted that tense syllables are also
slightly shorter in length than their modal counterpart. Nasality, on the other hand, did not have a
significant effect on pitch height. The relationship between a tense phonaion and raised pitch
level is important. But since the study isolates syllables from longer utterances, it is difficult to
really understand Bai phonology and whether pronunciation would change in a given
environment (Edmondson [1990] 2008, 276-280). Wiersma’s article supports Edmondson’s
research that there are four phonation types (modal, tense, harsh, and breathy) and eight tones in Jianchuan Bai, and every Bai syllable is considered tone-bearing (Wiersma 2007).

A second study which Edmondson conducted investigates physiological changes and their relationship to various phonation types in the Bai and Yi languages (Edmondson et al, 2005). The Bai language, they argue, has finer distinctions in vocal quality than the neighboring Yi language, with four different voice quality contrasts (modal, tense, breathy, and harsh). This information appears updated from the 1990 article, which only notes four phonation types. There are five pitch contrasts in Bai: 55, 33, 35, 31, and 21. The authors argue that voice quality is an important trait of Tibeto-Burmese languages and that the physiological distinctions found among the Bai and Yi can probably be applied and assumed to other closely related languages.

SIL International keeps an Ethnologue of the languages of the world, with the goal of documenting every language and including quantitative data about its speakers. The information provided on the Bai language is most likely information which has been submitted by Bryan and Silvia Allen. The online version suggests that the Central Bai dialect has anywhere from five to eight tones, which aligns with a description of tone found in the Bai Dialect Survey and also Edmondson’s research. The website also suggests that the Central Bai speakers have positive language attitudes and that some can speak Chinese (Lewis, 2009).

A paper presented at the first international Bai linguistics conference in 2009 is titled, “Baidu Minge Yanchang de Yinse Fenxi (Analysis of Musical Quality in Performance of Bai Folk Tunes).” While the purpose of the paper is to demonstrate new spectrograph technology, the data suggests Bai vocalists have a certain tone quality which gives them each a unique, distinct flavor. Tone quality distinctions are due to the tense, harsh, and lax vowel variations in the Bai spoken
language. The authors Yan Deng Kai, Li Song, and Li Zhao Ni conclude that the Bai singers’ tone color, volume, frequency, musical scores, and rhythms are sources of their distinct sounds.

Folksong in The Peoples Republic of China and Minority Policy

Minority policy in PRC, over the past sixty years, has changed drastically from decade to decade. While a survey of minority culture and music were conducted in the 1950s, a dramatic shift took place at the start of the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s. PRC’s own *Anthology of Folk Music of the Chinese Peoples* contains evidence of the Revolution’s effect on minority music (Jones 2003). The 1960s-1970s put an end to minority music-making, affecting regions differently depending on local officials in charge. In some cases, instruments and scores were buried or burned. Research shows that this took place in Lijiang, a town located just two hours bus ride from Jianchuan (Rees 1995-6).

Alan Thrasher’s 1981 article, “The Sociology of Chinese Music: An Introduction,” gives details about the shifts which have taken place over the past 100 years in PRC, providing a short history to Chinese music’s roots in Confucianism. Western-educated Chinese composers and urban popular music first emerged around 1919. Mao Zedong’s socialist attitude toward creativity was that it should serve the masses, and he attempted to standardize music and use it for education and socialist propaganda during the 1950s-60s. During the Cultural Revolution, scholars were prohibited from doing research in traditional literature and arts, traditional instruments were confiscated and destroyed, and local music ensembles were discouraged and replaced with state orchestras. It wasn’t until 1978 that traditional instrumental music was promoted again, but most young people found movies to be a more attractive form of entertainment (Thrasher 1981, 42-44).
Helen Rees, who has conducted extensive research into the Naxi *dongjing* music, explains that changing government policies have clearly determined the ways that minority music has developed in the last century. The opening chapters of her 2000 ethnography, *Echoes of History: Naxi Music in Modern China*, address minority-state interactions in Yunnan province. PRC has historically paid special attention to its border regions for hundreds of years. At one time, the Nanzhao Kingdom was a threat to the Chinese territory, but the threat disappeared with the end of the Nanzhao Kingdom in the tenth century. As early as the 1200s, Han Chinese began moving to the southwestern regions of PRC, settling among minority people. In the 1700s, campaigns to tie ethnic minorities to the state took place through political, militaristic, and educational means. This was during the time of the Ming and Qing Dynasties when minorities were encouraged to become part of The Peoples Republic of China rather than to cultivate a sense of ethnic loyalty (Rees 2000, 10-12).

Rees references the three major initiatives to tone down minority identity, including the Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957), the Great Leap Forward (1958), and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Beginning in 1978, attitudes toward minority music changed as the collection of folksong was encouraged. Still, writings from the 1980s-1990s are rather paternalistic coming from the dominant Han Chinese culture. At present, a situational ethnicity benefits both the political and economic state for both the minority people and the government; however, development of minority customs, festivals, etc., always happen according to what the government deems acceptable, ways which “foster ethnic pride but do not impede progress” (Rees 2000, 20).

The People’s Republic of China has been giving practical assistance toward the development and preservation of minority culture through developing writing systems for
cultures which didn’t have one previously and publishing books about minority cultures. But while preservation and development of distinct minority music is encouraged, it must take place within the boundaries of the government’s desires for a “unified multiethnic socialist country.” Many publications still write of “improvement” of folk music, meaning the addition of Western harmonies or other more “developed” musical aspects from outside the minority community itself (Rees 2000, 194-195).

Helen Rees’s article, “The Many Musics of a Chinese County Town: A Case-Study of Co-Existence in Lijiang, Yunnan Province,” was published in 1996 and focuses on the minority groups which are living side-by-side in Lijiang. Rees’s research uncovers negative attitudes toward traditional and religious music which were present during 1960s-1976 when traditional music was considered “suspect” by the government authorities in power. And during the Cultural Revolution, from 1966-1976, most if not all of traditional music was banned and instruments and scores were burned. In Lijiang, many musicians buried their instruments and uncovered them again after the Cultural Revolution ended. Because of the Cultural Revolution, most people who were born after the 1940s (ages 60 and below) have missed out on traditional ways of learning music (Rees 1995-6, 24). “Music in Northern Yunnan: Report on a Field Trip, April-May 1989,” another article by Rees, gives a narrative account of her first trip to Yunnan in an effort to discover whether Yunnan is as rich a repository of traditional music as it claims. Her findings suggest that in many areas, especially with the aid of tourism, many people (young and old) are still involved in traditional music-making (Rees 1990, 35).

Clearly at one point in history, minority music was considered suspect in many parts of PRC. However, it is unclear if in the Bai region the music or music-making were affected to this extreme, but if so, then an entire generation or two would not have learned to sing Bai music for
the function of finding a marriage partner. Additionally, if minority music was banned from performance in public places, then a generation or two would have missed out on hearing Bai music altogether. It was not until the 1980s that music and festivals in minority areas revived.

Stephen Jones wrote an article, “Chinese ritual music under Mao and Deng,” which confirms the lack of documentation regarding the disruption of village life and folk musicianship during the time of the Cultural Revolution (Jones 1999, 50-53). The “Four Cleanups” 1964-1969 seems the most disruptive time period, where instruments or scores in certain locations were burned. Interestingly, the case is made that vocal literature was more affected than instrumental since text is more suspect. The article focuses on northern Chinese villages which are very far geographically from Jianchuan, Yunnan, but it makes clear the variety of responses and control dependent on local officials.

Policies about marriage and pre-marriage also affect the functions and uses of traditional music in courtship. Yang Mu’s article published in 1998 in *Ethnomusicology*, “Erotic Musical Activity in Multi-Ethnic China,” defines erotic musical activity (EMA) as vocal or instrumental music whose purposes and goals are lovemaking and possibly marriage (Yang Mu 1998, 199). In the mid-1980s information about EMA were first released. The article is a case-study on three regional examples, and while the environment and manner are different, all of the minority groups mentioned practiced EMA in some way. In some cases, when the government declared EMA behaviors as immoral, festivals were established by the government in-place of EMA to regulate immoral behavior but yet retain traditional music. The Bai March Festival held in Dali is cited here as an example (Yang Mu 1998, 234). As previously stated, the Jianchuan Culture Bureau now organizes the Shibaoshan song festival, and perhaps the purpose is not only for generating tourism but also for regulating other unwanted behavior.
EMA traditions are declining, but they are still living traditions in many parts of The Peoples Republic of China. As lifestyles change, however, the functions of traditional music change congruently, resulting in what Yang Mu describes as “music loss.” In a previously-published 1996 case-study, “Music Loss among Ethnic Minorities in China: A Comparison of the Li and Hui Peoples,” Yang Mu gives examples of work-related, religion-related, and migration-related music loss among the Li and Hui minority groups. Because of political pressure, however, little has been done to investigate the issue of music loss. Yang Mu also explains that culture loss and language are inter-related, which means that when a language is no longer spoken, the music will no longer survive (Yang Mu 1995-6, 16-17).

Through interactions with an elderly man in Jianchuan I received a paper written in 1963 titled, “Baiyun shenchu (Depths of White Clouds),” written by Yang Yuan Shou. This elderly man used to work for the Jianchuan Culture Bureau, and in 1962 he first attended Shibaoshan. Yang Yuan Shou was the leader of the Culture Bureau. The document is written in first-person narrative style, recounting his visit to Shibaoshan in 1962. Written entirely in Chinese, a detailed account of the few days’ activities (including some example songs) give a clearer picture to what singing on Shibaoshan may have been like prior to the Cultural Revolution. It is written in a very poetic way, making it difficult for non-native Chinese speakers to grasp the complete meaning. It suggests an experience more along the lines of what Yang Mu describes in her 1998 article.

Aside from the political aspects of culture change, another idea which has been introduced into minority cultures is professionalization. Colin Mackerras’ 1984 article, “Folksongs and Dances of China’s Minority Nationalities,” explains how policy and professionalization have had an effect on minority music. In conclusion, he finds that professionalization, introduced by Han culture, raises the standards of musicianship but weakens
original folksong and dance which were not professionalized before. Musicians and dancers who may have participated in musical events are no longer comfortable or willing to participate because of the dynamics created by having musical professionals; at the same time, minorities throughout PRC are moving toward a professionalized diversity where minority music and dance retain their distinct characteristics. Mackerras writes, “The contradiction does not imply bad intentions on the part of the authorities, but it does suggest a priority: that drawing the minority nationalities into the socialist, stable, and eventually prosperous and modernized society ranks ahead of the preservation of the authentic folk song and dance of the minorities (Mackerras 1984, 220-1). Motivations for the distinct ethnic and musical diversities are in response to tourism and many changes are driven by the government rather than coming from within minority communities themselves.

Modern music from outside of PRC became very attractive to Chinese young people in the 1980s. Popularization of folksong did not appear until the 1980s, as Zhang Wei-hua also explains in his 1985 article, “Recent Developments of Ethnomusicology in PRC. But because of the Chinese Revolution, there was little folksong around to fill the void; instead, music from India and Pakistani films became popular along with music from Hong Kong and American 1960s popular styles. In general, young people tend to be most interested in modern and new elements of culture rather than ancient traditions (Zhang Wei-hua 1985, 269).

Economic gain through tourism might be the motivation for positive promotion and encouragement of minority music today. Ralph Litzinger examines PRC’s current campaign to “Open up the West” in his article, “The Mobilization of ‘Nature’: Perspectives from North-West Yunnan.” Litzinger’s case study focuses on The Yunnan Great Rivers Project, a collaborative conservation and development project between the Yunnan provincial government and The
Nature Conservancy in Washington, DC. A brief history explains PRC’s interest in increased tourism to Northwest Yunnan. Due to the significant rise in tourism in recent years, in the mid-90s the Chinese government recognized that Yunnan was in a good position to market handicrafts, arts, traditions, and cultural performances of its ethnic minority populations. In 1998 the tobacco industry collapsed, opening the door for the commercialization of the minority populations (Litzinger 2004, 504). There is significant economic motivation to develop minority areas for tourism.

Whatever the motivations, it is clear that PRC’s current policies are to preserve and document minority music. The Jianchuan Culture Bureau has a goal for completing various preservation projects by 2015, as outlined in *Baixiang tianlai—Jianchuan minjian chuantong yinyue* [Sounds of the Bai—Jianchuan traditional folk music] (Zhang Wen ed. 2008, 7). Zhang Wen, a leading scholar in Bai music and long-time employee at the Jianchuan Culture Bureau put together this book as part of the wider project and goals for preserving Bai music in Jianchuan county. The book contains scores and song texts transcribed using the ancient system of writing Chinese characters (explained earlier in the “Bai History and Culture” section). Zhang Wen also provides a short explanation of each song genre, including the song genre’s history and social contexts. At the back of the book are short bios about famous Bai singers. One disadvantage to using the book for analyzing melody and text relationships stems from the fact that the Chinese characters are used to represent Bai sounds instead of the Bai Romanized script. Without a translator who can read the old style of writing characters, it is not possible to clearly understand the text for these folksongs.

A well-informed summary and critique of PRC’s massive multivolume work, Jones highlights the challenges of fieldwork and data collection, the shortcomings of the volumes, and
the future of research in PRC in his article, “Reading Between the Lines: Reflections on the Massive ‘Anthology of Folk Music of the Chinese Peoples’.” Most interesting is the information on how such a survey was accomplished, how scholars or locals talk about their musical traditions, and what political motives or intentions surround the decisions for inclusion or exclusion. Jones raises a lot of valid political and social issues while wisely treading lightly in his language choice. Despite obvious political biases or ethnic misrepresentation, Anthology gives scholars access to some musical works which they otherwise may not find. This summary gives readers a general historical background on fieldwork in PRC and its relationship to the political and social climates of the time (Jones 2003).

**Linguistic Tone and Melodic Pitch**

While a study on the relationship between melody and tone in adult Bai songs has never been conducted, other scholars have attempted to analyze melody and speech tone relationships in other tonal languages. Here we will examine studies from around the world and in southeast Asia, paying particular attention to analytical approaches and techniques used by researchers.

I appreciate Esther Mang’s “warning” in her article, “Speech-song interface of Chinese speakers.” Mang argues that the relationship between speech and song is often oversimplified, using Mandarin Chinese as an example. Tonal language speakers cannot necessarily match absolute pitches, and Chinese speech patterns contain intonation as well as tone. Likewise, texts in melodies must be analyzed not as individual isolated notes but in relationship to the longer melodic line. Chinese vocal music written before the 1920s follows the linguistic tone and shows predominance of speech over melody, whereas contemporary music, popular music, and some children’s rhymes could be considered “atonal.” Even in song genres with dominating linguistic
tone, the music follows a set scale and structure. The text will submit to the melody when there is no semantic consequence in the meaning (Mang 2007, 49-64).

Unlike Mang’s research, which claims that the texts should be analyzed in their wider linguistic and phonological framework, Wee’s examination of certain Mandarin songs isolates individual syllables from the overall phonology of a longer speech pattern, like in a line of music (Wee 2007, 128-144). He concludes that the phonology of the language constrains song melodies, but some of the reasoning and analysis to arrive at the conclusion is based on a lot of assumptions. One major assumption is that music is only “accented” by meter, and the author’s theory of headship is based on this idea. In reality, he completely overlooks certain kinds of melodic stress which also happen in music, not to mention the linguistic importance assigned to one syllable or word over another in the phonology of an entire utterance.

Two examples of studying speech and song melody in Thailand pertain to my research topic. In 1961, George List conducted a study on speech melodic contours in Central Thailand and wrote up his results in his article, “Speech Melody and Song Melody in Central Thailand.” He briefly describes the five tones in the Thai language and then writes the melodies to songs using Western staff notation. List uses letters to denote whether a tone is high, mid, or low, but his transcriptions do not account for the language since he believed the actual sounds of the language are immaterial to the study. List had informants write the text of a song, speak it, and then sing it. In the analysis, syllables are compared with those before and after to determine degree of congruency or coordination. Some syllables only have meaning when associated with a certain speech tone, and these specific syllable texts were transcribed in the analysis. Percentage of congruency is determined when the number of syllables which do not coordinate (meaning the melodic pitch and linguistic tones were different) is divided into the total number of syllables.
Nonsense syllables (those without meaning) are also discussed briefly. Spectrograph was used to ensure accuracy. His conclusion is that there is a high level of congruency among folk lullabies and recitations used in schools but a low percentage of congruency in popular and classical Thai music styles (List 1961, 30).

Mary Saurman’s article, “Thai Speech Tones and Melodic Pitches: How They Work Together or Collide,” was written in 1997 as an unpublished paper written for Thammasat University. Saurman was particularly interested in the relationship between percentage of congruency and song text intelligibility. Thai has five tones but they are not at fixed pitches. Congruency was measured by whether or not the pitches moved in the same direction as the corresponding tone (for falling and rising tones), or if the pitch was at a similar level as spoken tone in the same environment (for high, mid, and low tones). Congruency was marked in the transcriptions using a (+) or (-) symbol. Interviews and some live recordings of eight Thai individuals form the basis of the study. Informants explained that when the melody does not follow the tone, it may take up to four or five hearings of a song before the texts are understood. However, lack of agreement does not seem to affect meaning if there is a lengthy exposure to the songs. The findings from the analysis show that there is a range of clarity and that melodies which more closely follow the movement of the speech tones are more intelligible the first time that they are heard (Saurman 1997, 6-7).

An African case study examining tone and speech relationships is Brian Schrag’s manuscript, “Situated Musical Competence: Analysis of a Mono Song from Northwestern Congo,” written in 1999. Schrag does brief analysis of a single song learned from a renowned kundi (lute) player. After providing some cultural and geographical background, Schrag analyzes the melody using a method which indicates the general contour of the pitches and also the
linguistic tone of each syllable. Like Thai, the Mono language also has high, mid, and low tones. Below the transcription, Schrag used a letter to denote the tone, the movement of the tone, the movement of the melody, and whether the motion was parallel or contrasting. The conclusion is that 72% of the syllables in the song are characterized by parallel movement between speech tone and melody. Schrag also explains other background information about the song, including its social function and text meaning. He guesses that the 28% variation between the song and text correlation probably has to do with either artistic manipulation, location in phrases, or elided syllables (Schrag 1999, 6).

A study from Papua New Guinea analyzes a language with word tone, as opposed to syllable tone like the Bai or Chinese languages. However, the phonological findings of Michael Sollis are relevant. The general contour of both spoken and sung text was descending, but not all words with falling tone would descend in the melody. Like Mang suggests, melodic rules tend to override, as melodies only descend an interval of a fifth. Sollis hypothesizes that if every falling tone word was also a falling melody, the text would not fit into the melodic form. Another possible reason for deviation is a higher note often marks the beginning of a new word (Sollis 2010, 67-80). Tone is only one aspect of language, and Sollis argues that the musical-linguistic interplay must be observed in more general terms.

Perhaps more relevant to this present study are several case studies from neighboring language groups (Hmong, Burmese, and Cantonese, respectively). The first article is the only one which disagrees outright that text setting of a language affects intelligibility. Amy Catlin’s article, “Harmonizing the Generations in Hmong Musical Performance,” focuses primarily on Hmong communities in the United States. Catlin compares the speech tone and melodic tone in one traditional and one modern Hmong song. The traditional melodies show more congruence
between spoken and sung tones, while modern music usually begins with the composition of a melody and then words are randomly assigned (without attention to the tone of the language) to that melody. Catlin concludes that both young and old enjoy the modern songs and do not seem to have any comprehension issues (though there is no quantitative data collected to support her claim), while traditional songs are becoming harder and harder for people to understand. Many of the issues Catlin raises are probably relevant, especially among younger generations, in Bai communities in Jianchuan. Most relevant is that the Hmong songs use specialized vocabulary which many people no longer know or use. Regional dialect variations and a lack of absolute congruency in tone-text pairing may also affect comprehension (Catlin 1985, 83-97).

Catlin’s argument about intelligibility, namely using modern melodies as the example, is unconvincing. One obvious factor to consider is that listeners have most likely heard popular tunes a number of times, and no research is available to support the idea that the listeners understood the text the first time they heard them. While I can support the argument that the unity and identity in the music is probably more important than the intelligibility of the text to the dispersed Hmong community, the argument that intelligibility isn’t affected by random text setting needs more convincing evidence.

In Myanmar, Williamson conducted a study, “The Correlation Between Speech-tones of Text-syllables and Their Musical Setting in a Burmese Classical Song.” Her analysis shows that there is a correlation between the tonal character of spoken Burmese and the setting of the language to music. Williamson also gathered evidence which suggests each singer can take personal liberties when setting text to music so long as the language is preserved. Williamson’s opening argument is that the tone of the language changes based on the phonological environment—that is, the preceding or following tone—but the words are isolated in the analysis.

30
and corresponding tables. The analysis takes into account the syllable’s placement and position in the melody but does not show what tones precede or follow each syllable, which may be playing an important role in the singer’s melodic choices.

A third article, which delves particularly into the relationship of tone and melody as it relates to oral cultures, is Bell Yung’s “Creative Process in Cantonese Opera I: The Role of Linguistic Tones.” Comparing nine versions of the aria by transcribing their melodic movement and Cantonese text, Yung discovers that the linguistic tones in the Cantonese language strongly affect the melodies created by singers—so much so that he considers the correlation to be an example of “absolute matching,” meaning that each linguistic tone is assigned a specific pitch or group of pitches in the melody. Variations or exceptions may have to do with neighboring tones or the position of the word in the musical line (i.e. at the end, forming a cadence). Two main reasons for maintaining the linguistic tone, Yung considers, are that opera singers have to memorize scripts quickly and preserving the tone is necessary for the listeners’ intelligibility, as it is an oral tradition (Yung 1983 (January), 29-47).

A final article by Yung, “The relationship of text and tune in Cantonese Opera,” supports the assumption that the language influences the melody in arias. Yung’s research proves that the relationship is obvious. One reason, he suggests, is for intelligibility among listeners. Another factor is that performers are given a text with little time to perform and memorize, and since opera tunes were not transcribed, performers may have used linguistic tone and assigning it to a given pitch in order to remember the text. More detailed research in his book, Cantonese Opera: Performance as a Creative Process, shows that while tunes are re-used and passed down traditionally, when sung to the different sets of text the melodies are always distinctly different because of the tonal language of Cantonese (Yung 1989).
Bai songs contain what other researchers call “filler words” or “padding syllables.” Two articles analyze this phenomenon in particular, Bell Yung’s “Creative Process in Cantonese Opera III: The Role of Padding Syllables” and L.E.R. Picken, “The Musical Implications of Chinese Song-Texts with Unequal Lines, and the Significance of Nonsense Syllables, with Special Reference to the Art Songs of the Song Dynasty.” Yung concludes that in Cantonese opera, meaningless vocalization or tail syllables are included extemporaneously based on personal style, taking meaning and aesthetics into consideration (Yung 1983. 439-456). Likewise, Picken discovered that “nonsense” syllables served two functions in art songs. First, these syllables make the text fit more smoothly onto the melody, so long as the word carrying meaning is first followed by a non-meaning-bearing syllable, because meaning is clearer to the hearers when filler words are used in this order. Secondly, these nonsense words served to fill out the tune structure (Picken 1981, 53-77).

A final issue to be raised is the relationship between music and identity. Francesca Rebollo-Sborgi’s article, “Musicality of Oral Performance: The Case of "Tiānjīn Shídiao" and the Musical Expression of Urban Identity,” explains that separating the musical elements of a performance from a song’s text leads to incomplete analysis and a lack of understanding of a deeper cultural element: identity. Similar to the Bai songs performed at Shibaoshan, these Tianjin tunes are composed by using pre-existing melodies and adding new words. Syllabic settings of text are more intelligible, and grace notes are added before or after a beat where necessary for better intelligibility of the text (Rebollo-Sborgi, Francesca 1994-5, 9-51.)

The author discusses the important relationship between “speaking” and “singing” in the narrative genre, concluding that the use of the Tianjin dialect and melodies is political and instills in Tianjin listeners a sense of local identity. Political history also explains the opening line of
music in which the melodic contour overrides semantic intelligibility of Beijing Mandarin. The use of borrowed language is closely tied to politics. Music and its expression can sometimes be political, too, and it is clear that using local dialect or local language evokes deep feelings of identity in the listeners.

Bai Music

Although there are no written studies about Bai adult songs in English, I know of a few Chinese sources and one case-study from a previous co-worker’s project in a nearby Jianchuan village. A renowned scholar who has written extensively about Bai music, Duan Ling’s *Baizu quei gelu tongyun* (General Survey of Bai Song Texts Rules) published in 1998 is probably the single most comprehensive source on the relationships between text and melody in Bai songs. Written entirely in Chinese (with the Bai Romanized script, where applicable), the book explains the text content and rhyme patterns for Bai songs from both Dali and Jianchuan. Specifics include details about rhyme, vowels, long/short sentence structure, and high or low melodic tone. An explanation of the Bai Romanized script is also included. A few example songs are included to illustrate the principles of rhyme and syllable structure. Changes to the form are addressed, attributing these changes to stylistic individual choices, which can include adding a line or inserting nonsense syllables into music (Duan Ling 1998). An analysis or explanation for the relationship between Bai text and melody, however, is not included.

Liz Billard, an SIL co-worker who previously lived and researched Bai music and language, wrote a paper in 2003 entitled, “Creating a New Song Genre: Educational Songs in Bai for Young Children.” Billard includes her own musical analysis of several children’s songs that she personally recorded in 2003. Song-writing workshops were held in Shilong, Shaxi district,
Jianchaun County, Dali Prefecture, Yunnan Province in 2003 in order to write children’s songs for the bilingual education program. Billard documents her experiences at the workshop, her methods for demonstrating song-writing in the new children’s song genre, and her discoveries about the relationship between the spoken language and melody in children’s songs. She concluded that there is a direct correlation between the tone of the language and the movement of the melody in traditional children’s lullabies (Billard 2003, 8).

Local and national policies encouraging the preservation and documentation of music and culture has resulted in a large library of books with collected Bai song texts and scores. Most of the books in print, however, either only contain the text (some with Bai Romanized script) or contain a score but use Chinese characters to represent the Bai words.

Of the many resources on Bai songs, the *Yunnan baizu mingxuan* (Select Yunnan Bai Folksongs) published in 1984 is most useful for my research. A thorough introduction to Bai songs includes song samples, explanation of text form, and rules concerning Bai songs. The introduction also points out the distinct characteristics of Bai songs from various regions of Yunnan. More than one hundred songs are divided into seven major categories. Scores written in the Chinese notation style are included, along with Chinese characters representing the Bai text. Several songs collected in the Jianchuan region are documented here. The scores are worth comparing to more recent transcriptions of Bai songs, and the categorization of folksongs is also worthy of note. In order to analyze the text and melodic relationships, however, a translator is necessary.

Another valid source about one genre of Bai song, *benzi qu* (narrative song), is a book by Duan Ling, translated by Yang Ying Xing titled *Baiqu jingxuan* (Select Bai Songs) and published in 1994. The book includes about twenty songs written in the Dali Bai dialect (which
uses a different Romanized script). An introduction to nine selected *benzi qu* is included, along with general background information on the length and use of *benzi qu*. These nine songs are transcribed in the Jianchuan Bai script, Dali Bai script, and with Chinese translations. Two songs are from Jianchuan, the other seven are from Dali. Most useful is the background information about the form and function of Bai songs in culture, provided in the introduction. The text on its own is not much help without the melody (Duan Ling 1994).

Another book containing the Bai Romanized script is the *Shibaoshan baizu qingge baishou* [One hundred Bai love songs from Shibaoshan] published in 1991. The one hundred Bai love songs are written in the Bai Romanized script with Chinese translations. There are no scores, only song titles and texts, with a short introduction to Bai music. Each song is two stanzas, four lines each, following the traditional 7-7-7-5 syllable patterns. The book is organized with Chinese on the left, Bai Romanized script on the right, and each song is numbered, 1-100. Song texts could be compared with live recordings collected from singers (*Shibaoshan baizu qingge baishou* [One hundred Bai love songs from Shibaoshan]).

A professor from Yunnan’s Kunming Art Institute, Zhang Xing Rong and his wife spent fifteen years collecting minority songs and dance in Yunnan beginning in the 1980s. *Yunnan teyou minzu yuansheng yinyue* (Primary minority music distinct to Yunnan) was published in 2003 and contains scores of music from various minority groups in Yunnan transcribed using Western staff notation. Songs from Bai regions, including Eryuan, Jianchuan, and Dali, are included in the book. The twenty Bai songs include songs sung by women and men, solos and duets. The book comes with an accompanying CD. Text is written down using Chinese characters, not the Bai script. Also included is a short introduction to the Bai people and a simple translation of the songs’ overall meanings into Chinese (Zhang Xing Rong 2003, 259-285).
Bai Audio Examples

Hundreds of video CDs (VCD), DVDs, and CDs of minority music are available for purchase in local shops and in bigger cities. Some CDs are published by local and provincial Culture Bureaus, some by amateur musicians, and others are produced by professional musicians. Finding “authentic” media is a daunting task for the foreigner, especially in tourist cities. Most DVDs and VCDs available contain people wearing Bai costumes and singing in Chinese, Bai, or both. Captions are always in Chinese, either displaying the meaning of the song texts or using the Chinese characters to represent Bai sounds. These audio examples prove the current direction of Bai songs in Jianchuan County.

During the past five years, SIL International has worked with locals to publish two DVDs of Bai music whose captions contain the Bai Romanized script with Chinese translations. The first, Shanhua lanman (Mountain Flowers Are in Full Bloom) was published in 2007. The VCD includes songs from several genres, including children’s songs, a drinking song, a dance tune, love songs, and duets between two people of the same gender. Many popular Bai singers (professional and amateur) are featured on the VCD. Since the Bai Romanized script is provided, it will be easy to use these songs for analysis. The VCD is an accurate representation of the current Bai singers and styles in Jianchuan.\(^6\)

A second DVD, Baizu tongyao (Popular Bai Children’s Songs) was published in February 2010. The DVD is a compilation of children’s songs used in SIL’s Shilong village school bilingual education program. The Bai Romanized script appears along with Chinese translation at the bottom of the screen. Some songs are traditional while others are newly-composed in the traditional style, the product of previously-mentioned song-writing workshops.

held in 2003 (Billard 2003, 8). This is the first DVD of children’s songs set to modern instrumental accompaniments. I personally worked on the creation of the DVD and observed the relationship between speech tone and melody in the process. The song melodies were given by an amateur musician, and we worked with someone at the Jianchuan Culture Bureau to write some modern accompaniments. I sing two of the songs on the DVD. Some of the melodies for the songs do not line up with transcriptions which I have seen in other books, which raises questions in my mind as to how the local musician came up with the melodies for the DVD. However, the use of the Bai Romanized script is essential for an easy comparison of speech and melodic tone (Baizu tongyao [Popular Bai Children’s Songs]).

One of the best DVDs recently produced in Jianchuan is Jianchuan Duocai [Colorful Jianchuan] published in 2008. Produced by Yang Wu Tang, who runs the Jianchuan Culture Bureau recording studio, the three-CD set depicts a wide variety of song types and singers, ranging from traditional songs with sanxian accompaniment to modern performances by a new popular Bai singer named A Peng. Words are written in Chinese characters, with some songs being sung in Chinese and others in Bai. There is no visual distinction between the two, so the listener must be able to distinguish between the different languages when they shift. The DVD exemplifies the current direction of the Jianchuan Culture Bureau in giving Bai songs a more modern sound. Without the Romanized Bai script, however, comparing the relationship between speech tone and melody is difficult without a translator (Jianchuan Duocai [Colorful Jianchuan]).

In 2012, a DVD unique in its own kind was produced by a small group of Bai musicians, Shibaoshan Lianqing [Romantic Love at Shibaoshan]. The DVD is a musical of sorts, where actors speak but mostly sing to one another in ‘dui ge’ partner song style. While some song texts speak of love, others express emotions or tell the story, like the texts of the mother character as
she laments her son’s distance from the village for many years. Most songs on the DVD follow the spontaneously-composed melodic structure and will be useful for etic analysis of the relationship between linguistic tone height and melodic pitch.

**Conclusion**

The Bai people’s historical origins, cultural identity, and language development are still debated today. Policies in The Peoples Republic of China toward minority music in the last century have caused dramatic shifts in music attitudes and abilities, ranging from a time during the Cultural Revolution when music couldn’t be played or heard to today’s promotion and encouragement of Bai music and cultural distinction. David Wu’s article argues that the Bai ethnic identity is tied to political and economic reasons, and other sources suggest that the Bai ethnic identity is getting stronger in recent years rather than declining for the sake of tourism or other economic advantages (Wu 1990). There has been a shift over the past one hundred years, with the Bai declaring their assimilation into Han culture (and the Han government strongly urging people to throw away their ethnic identities) to a growing distinction between the two (which is encouraged both on the government level and among the local people). Given the desires and pressures to maintain and preserve the Bai culture, one might expect more activities geared toward young people in an effort to excite them about minority music.

Government policies encourage the Bai to preserve their ethnic identity but also control aspects of music and festivals. The fact that the March Festival and Shibaoshan were not included in surveys from the 1950s but are the largest festivals today suggests the government’s role in developing the festivals. It also suggests that Bai songs used during these festivals were once used for courtship and EMA but that those practices were considered indecent and are
presently discouraged. Professionalism also plays a role in the development and direction of Bai music. At the same time, efforts to preserve and document Bai music are still currently underway. The preservation and use of the word “folksong” may be a marketing strategy used to generate tourism more than simply for the act of preservation; however, it is likely that local Bai people are also interested and supportive of preservation efforts and are happy with their distinct identity as Bai people. The evidence suggests that young people are not interested in traditional music, but the reasons for their disinterest are still unclear.

Part of the reason for young people’s disinterest may be linked to the disruption of cultural traditions which took place during the Cultural Revolution. Since an entire generation missed out on traditional ways of learning music, they were unable to pass those traditions down to their children. When the Revolution ended and PRC opened up to the west in the 1980s, collection of folksong was again encouraged; however, much of it had already disappeared. Today, young people are more interested in popular music and other modern signs of development—movies and the internet.

Although they have lived peacefully among the Han Chinese for many years, the Bai have still maintained the Bai language. Their way of life is very similar to the Han Chinese, but as Alan Thrasher mentioned in his article on Chinese music, people tend to borrow things from other cultures and then those things assimilate and become “theirs;” for example, most of the instruments considered to be Chinese actually came to PRC via the silk road, but the Chinese today would consider them indigenous Chinese instruments (Thrasher 1981, 33). In the same way, the Bai may have borrowed elements of Chinese culture hundreds of years ago and now consider them “Bai,” even though they are the same as elements of Han culture.
Language attitudes toward the Bai language are positive, yet there is growing bilingualism among many Bai because school is taught in Mandarin Chinese. Bai is still spoken in many language domains—at home, at the market, around the village, and with neighbors. Given the increased bilingualism found among young people in Bai society it is likely that interest in Chinese music is much greater than with previous generations, which may explain why many young people are disinterested or unable to understand traditional Bai song forms.

Very little research has been conducted on the relationship between linguistic tone and melodic tone in Bai adult music, even in Chinese sources. Text is important in Bai song with rules about the number of syllables per line and rhyme. There is a clear relationship in children’s lullabies, which would suggest that a relationship in adult songs is highly likely. Other case studies conducted with other tone languages suggest that traditional music often has a high percentage of congruency between speech tone and melodic tone. On a first hearing of a song, intelligibility is higher when this is the case. Newer popular music styles or foreign melodies do not have this same degree of correlation but are intelligible after a lengthy exposure to the songs.

Considering Edmondson’s research, physiological ways of producing sound should strongly influence the way that people sing the Bai text. Specifically, the realization of sung lax and harsh vowels will audibly sound very different to the informed listener. The use of the throat, which is far more prominent in Bai than in a language like English, might also affect the overall legato sound, either in dynamics or in the melody. Aside from linguistic tone height, the voice quality characteristics may also influence a singer’s choice of melody for a given text.
Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

Overview

The research methodology followed a sequential mixed methods design. Data collection was mostly concurrent, with the gathering of song samples and interviews happening at the same time. Data analysis was sequential by first analyzing the quantitative data and then analyzing the qualitative interviews, interpreting the interview responses in light of qualitative findings.

Fieldwork Procedures

There were essentially three phases of fieldwork. The first phase was participant observation through my preparations and performance at Shibaoshan in September 2009. During this time, I was introduced to many Bai musicians and also learned the basics about Bai songs through the instructions and teachings of Mr. Li Fu Yuan, my singing partner. The second phase, which took place April-May 2010, consisted of ethnographic interviews with singers and non-professionals in the Bai community. Biographical information about singers and songs were recorded at the same time, using my Edirol R-09 field recorder. And the third phase of research, Feb-May 2012, included a follow-up interview, transcription of song texts using the Bai Romanized script, and the selection of songs for my music analysis.

Rationale

A deep understanding of the relationship between linguistic tone and melody demands a mixed methods approach. Quantitative analysis of song melodies with regard to linguistic tone would explain the relationship, but it might not explain what kinds of choices individual singers
make when crafting “good” melodies. It was hoped that the interviews and ideas expressed by the singers themselves might somehow shed light on what qualifies as a beautiful melody in Bai culture or when the rules for setting the Bai text to melody are allowed to be broken. The rationale for using interview alongside musical analysis was to gain insight into the individual choices, levels of training and experience, or particular methods which popular singers use in song composition.

**Relationship of Literature to Project Design**

The literature review shows that little has been written about the relationship between the tone of the Bai language and melodic construction of adult songs. If there is a relationship, and it is a known phenomenon, it has not yet been quantitatively analyzed. Therefore, the purpose of this project is to analyze whether such a relationship exists and also to determine what choices and freedoms individual Bai singers have when they sing.

**Project Plan**

1. **Participant Selection**

   Bai adults supposedly have their own singing style. I wanted to compare those who have already developed an individual style (i.e. professional singers) with those who have not, to see how text might affect the style or pattern of the singer’s melody. Comparison between professional, semi-professional and non-professional singers would give me a wider range of data and singing styles. I anticipated recording mostly love songs, as they are the most popular style of song which still exists today, though songs from other genres were also elicited. The total number of interviewed individuals was ten people.
I interviewed and recorded seven adult Bai singers, professional and non-professional, whom I met through local partnerships and relationships which I had already formed by living and working with SIL in Jianchuan County. Han Chinese and singing in Chinese was excluded. Bai people are the targeted participants because they can sing Bai music. One of the singers I recorded is actually a member of the Yi minority, and a branch of the Yi language is his mother-tongue; however, he is also fluent in Bai and often performs Bai songs professionally with the other musicians.

I also had opportunity to interview three other Bai retirees who specialized in various aspects of Bai musicianship and language development. I interviewed two retired men, both in their eighties. The first is a retired teacher with much knowledge about the Bai culture and the development of the orthography. The second is a Bai music scholar and a retired employee of the Jianchuan Culture Bureau and the Jianchuan Education Bureau. He has compiled many Bai songbooks.

II. Data Collection

A. Phase 1: Participant Observation

The data collection was different for the three phases. Phase one data collection occurred daily as I learned to sing Bai songs through participant observation. I took some notes while studying with Mr. Li. The learning process was difficult for many reasons. I couldn’t speak the Bai language, and my Chinese level wasn’t always adequate. Mr. Li had never taught a foreigner before, so he didn’t have many ideas for adapting his teaching methods. I wanted to learn using the traditional teaching method, which is rote repetition, however that was borderline impossible because of the language barrier and the inherent flexibility of the melody in the style of Bai
songs which I was trying to learn. Mr. Li wasn’t able to sing melodies without text, and sometimes when he sang a line, the melody changed slightly from the first time that he sang it for me.

I used the Romanized Bai script for writing down melodies, and above each word I wrote the cipher notation to remember the melody. I began to realize that there was a relationship between the language and the melody especially for the high and low tones. When Mr. Li sang the same text a few different ways, I began to wonder what kinds of individual freedoms a singer has when singing composed music. And when singing self-composed extemporaneous responses in partner-style singing, what kinds of rules govern their choice of melody? These are the questions which guided my initial exploration into Bai music.

Preparing for the song festival answered many questions in my mind about Bai music. Mr. Li and I had a singing lesson every day for about two hours, with breaks. I learned that after the instrumental introduction, the solo singer waits for an initial cadence on the three-stringed lute sanxian and can enter at any time. This is the same for entrances within lines of text. Every individual singer has his or her own particular way of starting a line of song, and Mr. Li actually sang some of the different introductions and named the singer to whom they belonged. He taught me that the most basic introduction to a line is just the syllable “Ah” sung on the highest note of a line. That is how I chose to introduce my lines of text. Between lines of music, the singer has flexibility to enter whenever he or she chooses. “Good” melodies start high in the voice, and the last two lines of the four-line stanza will be lower in the voice. When a singer is finished singing, he or she must sing a set cadence, “ma ya-a ha-a he.”

For Shibaoshan, I also learned a song which we sang in a whole group. When we sang as the group, we still inserted the “Ah” syllable at the beginning. During rehearsals, we had many
great struggles to synchronize our entrances to each line. I hypothesized that the struggle came from the fact that we were singing a form which is usually sung individually. Some of the musicians would probably sing the text differently than others, and I was still very intrigued about what individual differences might exist from singer to singer or how many different ways a single line of text could be realized in singing.

B. Phase 2: Ethnographic Interview and Recordings

Phase two of data collection was ethnographic interview. Data collection was concurrent because both the collection of biographical material and song melodies took place within a single interview. After interviewing with biographical questions or asking the participants about music or the Bai language, I asked them to sing a few songs for me. I tried to get all singers to sing the same love song for me, “Xinlgainlpia,” with the hopes of comparing their various melodies and analyzing variations. Throughout phases one and two, I continued to read and translate books written about the use of the Bai language in song.

The framework for my interviews was built around what I wanted to learn: what is the relationship between the tone of the language and the melodic structure? What makes one singer different or “better” than the rest? What kinds of individual liberties does a singer have when crafting new songs? I interviewed male and female singers of varying ability so that I might pick up on stylistic differences which set professional musicians apart from the others. Initially, I planned to interview children as well but in the end I decided it would not make a difference in my findings.

A theoretical position guiding my interviews was that I did not want to put answers into the mouths of my interviewees. My question was always, “Is there a relationship between the
text and the melody?” or “What is the relationship between the text and the melody?” instead of something like, “Isn’t there a distinct relationship between a high note in the melody and a high tone word?” Another focus of my interviews was to gather background information about the singers. I had a set of questions which I was hoping to ask regarding their musical upbringing or training, but I also wanted to be open to wherever the conversation might lead and whatever new cultural information I might learn as a result of their sharing. I received IRB approval in early March 2009 and prepared a set of interview questions.

On April 28, 2010, I conducted three interviews at a tea house. The tea house is owned and operated by Ms. Li and a few other musicians. There, I interviewed Ms. Li, as well as one of her apprentices, Miss Si. A third interview was with Mr. A, a Yi singer who also speaks Bai and performs at many Bai festivals or on DVDs.

Ms. Li told me about her rise to stardom as a Bai singer. She performed a few songs for me, per request, but I think most memorable was her answer to my question, “Why do you sing Bai music?” She said that when she was younger, life was difficult, but she noticed that whenever people sing, they seem happy. “I want to make people smile and be happy, so that is why I sing.” My interview with the Yi musician raised a number of further interview questions, which I worked toward answering during this current term of research.

An interview with a woman named Mrs. Duan gave me further insights into some of the effects of the Cultural Revolution. She shared with me that she sang some Bai songs when she was a very young child, before she was old enough to attend school, and remembers enjoying the music. When she was in middle school and high school, she learned to sing a certain style of music in Chinese, which was the only music that they could sing at the time. (This would have
been during the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1976, when all minority music was supposedly banned.)

I interviewed professional male Bai singer Mr. Jiang in his office, located in the top corner at the Culture Bureau (recording studio) building. He is from Diannan, unlike Ms. Li and my teacher Mr. Li, both of which live in Shilong. Mr. Jiang sang songs of various genres for the interview and was quite talkative. He accompanied himself with the sanxian, and one of the songs he performed for me included a funny part where he also bleats like a sheep!

Mr. Wang was another musician I interviewed from Diannan. I encountered him in the courtyard of Ms. Li’s teashop, and I remembered him from Shibaoshan, so it was an impromptu interview for both of us. He is in his sixties but mostly likes to dance and play instruments and didn’t really consider himself a singer. As a child, he didn’t have money to buy his own instruments, so the young Mr. Wang made his own instruments out of wood—*sanxian*, *dizi* (bamboo flute), and *erhu* (two-stringed bowed instrument). Mr. Wang learned to sing Bai songs from his teenage years when the last famous sanxian player, Zhang Ming De, passed through his village one day. He saw Mr. Wang’s handmade instruments and taught them a song.

I asked Mr. Wang about Shibaoshan, and he explained that in the past, many people would stay out on the mountain for three days. They would put mats in the temple for whoever wanted to sleep out there. People would bring food to the temple to cook and they would sing and dance around bonfires into the early morning hours. While Shibaoshan is still a three-day event, nowadays many people only attend the first day or make the trip each day for the daytime festivities.

A final interview was with a man who performs with ‘*kuai ban,*’ two wooden handheld pieces which clap together on the downbeat of a form which isn’t quite singing and isn’t quite
speaking. He also gave me a text and Chinese translation of a performance that he did for me while in the Jianchuan SIL office.

During this time, I also received permission from two elderly men, Mr. Chen Rui Hong and Zhang, to use previously-conducted interviews in my thesis. I asked their permission and informed them that it was for research at the time of interviewing but didn’t have IRB approval at the time of the first interviews. In June 2010, I left PRC for the US and did not return until July 2011.

C. Phase 3: Follow-up, Review, and Translations

Phase three was a follow-up phase where I took advantage of my visits to Jianchuan to gather remaining information and to answer any remaining questions. This phase included re-listening to interviews with participants and discovering their views toward music, musicianship, or song-writing. I enlisted the help of Bai co-workers to transcribe texts for analysis or to help with translating Bai responses from the interviewees. In 2012, I had the opportunity to ask Ms. Li some clarifying questions from my first round of 2010 interviews. As I started the data analysis phase, I had to return to Jianchuan a few times for Bai transcriptions and Chinese translations of new melodies that I wanted to analyze. The data collection and analysis process was more similar to a cycle of research activities rather than two sequential processes.

During the beginning of the data analysis phase, a new DVD was published which included several brand new Bai melodies in the traditional, spontaneously-composed style. I chose several melodies from this DVD instead of other songs which I had access to at the time.
III. Data Analysis

Analysis of melodies took place sequentially through four stages: (1) Transcription, (2) Calculating Congruency, (3) Translation, (4) Accounting for Exceptions, and (5) Interpreting Interviews.

A. Transcription Technique

For comparison purposes, I assigned the pitch ‘C’ as musical ‘DO.’ This allowed for easier comparison of intervals and notes from singer to singer. For songs which I compared several singers’ individual renditions, I wrote each singer’s melody above and below the others, which allowed for easy visible comparison.

B. Calculating Congruency: Comparing Linguistic Tone Height and Melody

To prove the impact of linguistic tone on melodic structure, I had to create rules for how each tone should appear in a melody based on its environment. Similar to Brian Schrag’s technique, I first analyzed each word by comparing it with the tone preceding it as a frame of reference. I looked for relative tonal patterns, not fixed tones. To create the rules, I adapted a chart from Grace Wiersma’s 2003 article, “Yunnan Bai,” using her descriptions of each tone. I used the appendix from the Bai Adult Literacy Primer to put the Romanized Bai script’s tone markers into the chart. Tone markers are final consonants appearing at the end of the syllable. In the chart, the numbers (i.e. 55) indicate the pitch level and movement. A high number indicates a high spoken pitch.
The chart shows the eight different linguistic tones found in the Bai language. “Tense,” “modal,” “breathy,” and “harsh” are all different types of phonation, similar to different vocal qualities in singing. “Modal” is the standard type of phonation to which the others are compared.

For example, when a syllable ends in –b, it is a high tone word with tense phonation. The syllable is a level tone, unlike others which rise or fall in speech. A syllable ending in –l is at relatively the same height as –b but has modal (normal) phonation. Likewise, syllables ending -x and – ø are also level, but they are lower in pitch. –p is a tense, falling syllable in the mid-voice range, while –f rises and is not tense or breathy. The lowest two tones in Bai speech, -t and –d, are most distinct from one another in that –t is breathy and –d is harsh. Both of these tones exhibit a falling pitch when spoken.

With this linguistic knowledge, I created the following rules for musical pitch:

MUSICAL PITCH AND LINGUISTIC TONE RULES

Rule 1:
- b and l will always be higher than the previous pitch, level with one another or when repeated, or occur on the highest note of the phrase.

Rule 2:
- x and ø will be level with one another, level when repeated, higher than preceding d and t, and lower than l and b

Rule 3:
- f will occur on rising figures or start higher than the preceding x, ø, t, and d, lower than b and l
Rule 4: 
\( p \) will occur on falling melodic figures and will start lower than preceding \( b \) or \( l \), higher than \( t \) and \( d \), and lower than \( x \) and \( ø \) unless occurring on a falling melodic pattern

Rule 5: 
\( t \) and \( d \) will be lower than preceding \( x \), \( ø \), \( b \), \( l \), \( f \), and \( p \) and/or will occur on the lowest pitches in a melodic phrase

I must add a note here about phonation types. Edmundson’s research showed that tense phonation caused a slightly higher pitch (Edmundson 2005). My present analysis does not really take into account the types of phonation, though I planned to note any patterns which might suggest the influence of tense or breathy phonation on the melodic structure. I hypothesized that tense phonation types, like –b, would potentially be sung higher than their modal counterparts (in this example, -l). However, whether this does or does not occur is not a significant focus or factor in my analysis.

Using the above rules as a guide, each syllable was analyzed based on its linguistic and musical environment. For multi-syllable words, each syllable was analyzed separately. When the syllable is sung in its “proper” place based on its linguistic tone, the sung pitch “matches” the tone. However, when a syllable does not follow the above rules, then it is considered a “mismatch.” For each analyzed melody, I kept a separate tally for each singer’s rendition of the text. The tally system enabled me to quantitatively find a matching percentage between the linguistic tone and its sung melodic pitch. I completed this portion of analysis separate from any linguistic analysis or understanding of the word for its lexical meaning. The findings, to be presented in the next section of this paper, give clear evidence that the linguistic tone of the word greatly determines the structure of melodies for most Bai song genres.

Analyzing was a rather messy task, for a few reasons. First of all, the setting of text is almost half of the time syllabic, but the other half of the time a syllable is set to a two- or three-
note melisma. How should I count the melisma? For example, sometimes a high, level tone word was sung on a falling eighth-note figure. Should I count the first or second note when determining if the syllable is sung to the proper pitch? What about when a syllable follows a nonsense “filler” word? How should it be analyzed then? Musical rules or preferences add another layer of complexity. For example, certain cadences must appear at the end of a line, or a line of text must always end on a certain final pitch. Should these syllables even be counted? Sometimes a musician repeated part of the text. Should this be analyzed, too?

I made certain executive decisions to simplify the process. For melismas, the note would be counted based on the first note of the melisma. Rising figures would take into account the entire melisma; however, they could also be analyzed based on their initial note, according to the rules presented earlier in this section. This includes linguistic tones -d, -t, -p, and –f. Each note would be compared to the last note of the melisma of the previous syllable regardless of whether the preceding syllable carried meaning. Nonsense syllables would not be analyzed. Repeated text would also not be analyzed, since it can be assumed that the listener already knows the meaning. Also, the individual two- or three-note introductions sung by individual singers will not be analyzed for congruency because they do not carry meaning. Text appearing in musical cadences will be counted, since a lack of matching can be explained as musical rules overriding linguistic ones.

C. Translations: Uncovering Lexical Meaning

To determine whether meaning could be confused, it was necessary to elicit word-for-word translations of song texts. A better understanding of the lexical meaning of the text helped to verify whether mismatching could lead to an actual misunderstanding among listeners. These
word-for-word translations were given to me from various Bai speakers and language experts from the Jianchuan SIL office. I also consulted them for information on whether or not there was another word which could have been confused with the word in the text.

D. Accounting for Exceptions

Where mismatching occurred, the first step was to take note of musical preferences or rules which override the rules for setting text. If no musical explanation was observed, then the second step was to rule out other words which could be confused with the song text. This checking was done with Bai language informants, as described above in “Translation.”

E. Interpreting Interviews

After quantitative analysis was complete, I re-listened to the interviews to see if I could glean any more insight into the structure of Bai melodies, particularly those of the spontaneously-composed songs. Additional insights are added into the final chapter of this paper.

F. Reporting Findings

Findings are reported in the next section of this thesis. The results of this study will also be shared with interested government or academic departments in PRC, as well as with other foreign workers who live and work in PRC and neighboring countries. I may write a short article for publication at a date yet to be determined.
Chapter 4

FINDINGS

In total, I analyzed twenty-two melodies as described in the “Methodology” section. For the focus of this study, most songs analyzed were from the spontaneously-composed genre of partner-style songs. As predicted, the percentage of matching between musical melodic pitches and linguistic tone is very high. The matching suggests an obvious relationship between the highness or lowness of a Bai word and its sung pitch. Before examining a few examples in greater detail, I would like to explain some general findings.

Text setting seems syllabic because each syllable tends to receive its own beat, but actual analysis shows neumatic setting with words being sung about fifty percent of the time two-or three-note neumatic figures. Three-note figures were always level, meaning the first and last note are the same. The two-note pattern was usually a rising or falling interval of a second, third, or fourth. All singers inserted vocables (non-meaning-bearing syllables), though the number per song varied from singer to singer and from song to song. In some cases, vocables were inserted in the middle of words.7

The rhythmic meter of Bai songs is irregular, allowing great flexibility for the singer’s choice of vocables and note length values. Comparison from one singer to another, singing the same text, also shows that the number of beats per line is flexible. The only melody analyzed which had regular meter from verse to verse was the “Loach Song,” but even that melody has mixed meter. But meter is not really a factor in Bai songs, and singers and listeners alike neither

---

7 When studying with Mr. Li, I asked him why people add meaningless syllables into their text. He said that it makes the line more “connected,” so it is “more beautiful.” The sound is more fluid, but the interval from one note to the next isn’t necessarily smaller; in fact, the vocable sometimes widens the gap from one note to the next.
count beats nor think in terms of “beats per measure.”8 The following examples serve to highlight the analysis process and subsequent findings.

**Example 1.** Song from “Love at Shibaoshan” DVD

Unlike other DVDs, “Shibaoshan Lianqing [Love at Shibaoshan]” is not a collection of music videos; rather, it is something like a musical because it has a continuous storyline, with songs and other verbal art forms inserted throughout. Almost all songs are newly-composed, and almost all are *qing ge*, where musician actors are expressing their feelings and reactions to the story as it unfolds. All songs use brand new texts. I chose to analyze five songs from this DVD for the purpose of this study. The five songs are sung by four different singers. Here, I have chosen one song to demonstrate the analysis procedure and to highlight the features of Bai songs as discussed above.

In the film’s opening scene, the elder brother, At Quib (played by Li Fan Chang) returns home after being away for twelve years. In his opening song, he explains that he left in order to make money for his impoverished family. As a consequence, he had to leave his lover (played by Li Bao Mei) those many years ago. After pulling his shiny car up to the curb, he has his shoes shined by a young man who, unbeknownst to him, is his younger brother (played by Li Fu Yuan). At this time, Li Bao Mei’s character enters, beckoning the shoe-shining younger brother to go and eat with her. It appears that they are now dating! At Quib recognizes this love of his youth and quickly sings a *qing ge* love song to her. Her response is less than favorable because she does not recognize him, and in response sings an *wu qing ge*, “anti-love song.” The younger

---

8 The computer software program that I used, Muse Score, required a time signature for each score. I chose 8/4 in order to minimize the presence of bar lines.
brother is upset that the two just sang together and demands an explanation. At Quib then sings this melody in response to the shoe-shiner:

**Bai Text**

Mal zix not zex alna hox,
Hevl xiant ceil qiaint zv nox.
Not maip mel nox gaipmip mip,
Ga nel yan'fan zomp.

Cel zex yafcel zond yafzond,
Suanlxuint gonxtail ngvpgud kox.
Not xiant gol ngot duip gonxcainl,
Heinl nox cal jit nox.

**English Translation**

Their son, where are you from?
The crow wants to perch on the green bamboo.
Buy a mirror,
And take a look at yourself!

Short isn’t short, and long isn’t long,
[You] look like two bottle gourds.
If you want to sing back to me,
It is like heaven versus earth!

![Musical notation](image)

Figure 1. At Quib’s response to shoe shiner
(with Bai Romanized script)

**Bold underline** indicates mismatch

Matching Percentage

The highness or lowness of a word is calculated by its starting pitch. Each syllable was counted individually regardless of whether it was a multi-syllable word. Table 1 shows the total number of occurrences of each linguistic tone, followed by the number of matched syllables and an overall percentage. In total, 85% of the syllables are sung in their “correct” position. Only eight of the fifty-two syllables show no correlation between the linguistic tone and its position in the melody.

56
I analyzed melodies of three other singers in the film. Here is a chart showing the high degree of matching in their melodies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic Tone Marker</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences</th>
<th>Number of Matches</th>
<th>% Matching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>44</strong></td>
<td><strong>85%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Matching Percentage of Text to Melody, Example 1.

*Bai melodies typically follow a pattern of 7-7-7-5 syllables per line (total 26 syllables). All of these examples are 8-line songs, a total of 52 syllables. This singer had an extra syllable in line seven. My informants do not recognize this singer as someone from Shibaoshan, nor do they know who she is or where she is from.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female 1 No. of Occurrences</th>
<th>No. of Matches</th>
<th>% Matching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female 2 No. of Occurrences</th>
<th>Number of Matches</th>
<th>% Matching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male 4 Number of Occurrences</th>
<th>Number of Matches</th>
<th>% Matching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>43</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Matching Percentages of Four Spontaneously-Composed Songs
Explaining Mismatches

Looking back at the score in Figure 1, syllables were considered mismatched when they appeared higher or lower than they “should be” based on the set of rules I created to guide my analysis. Note that this is entirely from my outsider perspective and through my own analysis methods created apart from any input from native speakers or singers.

As explained in Chapter 3, I worked with native speakers to think of words in the Bai language that could potentially be confused with the eight syllables that do not follow the linguistic tone in this example. The following is a list of the unmatched syllables in their order of appearance in the song. I will explain why I have considered the syllables mismatching (too high or low) and provide musical and linguistic reasons for why they do not fit the typical matching patterns:

1. Measure 2, ‘not’ (you) is too high. It starts higher than the vocable before it and is on the highest pitch of the entire melodic range. It is also higher than the preceding mid-level tone word, ‘zix’ (son). It does appear as a falling melodic figure, which lines up with its falling, breathy linguistic tone. A more correct starting pitch for this word would have been C or D, lower than the –x-tone syllable or lower than the vocable.
   a. A possible musical explanation is the fact that “good” melodies in Bai music begin high in the melody. Mr. Li, my singing teacher, has told me that this is the case. Looking beyond ‘not,’ the following word is ‘zex’ (is), another –x syllable, so perhaps the singer did not want the melody to drop too low.

---

9 While my informants were transcribing texts, they occasionally had to re-listen to a line of text. In the “Love at Shibaoshan” examples, one line sung by Female 1 (Li Bao Mei) and two lines sung by Male 3 (Li Gen Fan) had to be re-listened to for comprehension. Female 3’s (Yao Fu Hua) melody was completely intelligible the first listen, but the transcribers were confused when one of her lines of text contained eight instead of seven syllables. I also learned that singers can sometimes switch delete parts of words when crafting lyrics, like in the second example sung by Male 1 (Li Fan Chang).
b. Linguistically, ‘not’ means “you.” As Zanx Jiainbzux (one of my Bai language informants) explained, it would be impossible to confuse this word with any other based on its context. ‘Not’ appears frequently in normal speech and in song. Also, the only possible word which might be confused based on the sung pitch is ‘nox’ (meaning “above” or marking possession). In context, the meaning of the syllable ‘not’ is obvious.

2. ‘Xiant’ (want) is sung to the same pitch as the preceding syllable, ‘vl.’ It is too high in the melodic range. Following a high-tone word, ‘xiant’ should be sung lower.
   a. Musically, it might be sung higher because it is sandwiched between two –l-tone words or because it is at the beginning of the phrase. It is a falling two-note figure, which matches its falling linguistic tone pattern, however two- and three-note patterns appear all throughout the melodies even on level-tone syllables. The musical presence on a falling or rising figure does not seem to be too important given this fact.
   b. Linguistically, there is a word in the Bai language pronounced ‘xianl’ (star) and a word ‘xianp’ (means “personality” or “surname”). Either of these possibly-confusible words is a noun, where ‘xiant’ (want) is a verb. In context, the intended meaning is clear.

3. ‘Not’ (you) again appears higher than expected. It is the first word of this stanza, and as mentioned previously, good melodies start high. It is also impossible, lexically-speaking, to confuse this word with any other meaning.
4. Measure 5, ‘Maip’ (buy) is too high because it is set to the highest note of the melody, even though it is a high, tense falling tone. But it could be debated that since it is a tense tone, it could appear a little higher than expected.
   a. Linguistically, the only contrasting word in question, ‘mail,’ means “to swear an oath.” It could possibly be confusing, given that this word is also a verb, but once the listener hears the rest of the line the meaning is clear. The singer is saying, “You buy a mirror” and not “you swear an oath a mirror.”

5. ‘Nel’ (your) in measure 6 appears level to the word ‘ga,’ so it is too low. The –l-tone syllable should be higher than the -ø-tone syllable.
   a. Musically, the text may be sung lower than expected because it is leading to the final cadence of the first stanza. After reviewing several songs, it seems the range of notes used in the first phrase is often a much wider range of pitches while the latter phrase uses lower pitches.
   b. The minimal pair ‘ne’ means “rash” (adj.), so in context it is not confusing because it is a completely different part of speech.

6. The second syllable of the word, ‘yafcel’ (not short) appears too low, however the word has already been sung at the start of this same line. Here, I must mention what happened in the transcription process. Two of my Bai language informants worked together to listen to the texts and write it down for me. It usually took one listen for the transcribers to write down the text, but in this case, the transcribers had to re-listen to the line to complete the task. (A re-listen was needed for a couple of other instances as well.) This signals to me that the line was incomprehensible on the first listen. A few possible guesses for its unintelligibility are:
i. The text is a strange word order.

ii. The phrase is unnatural speech. The first two phrases begin with a subject ("you" and "crow," respectively). Here, there is no subject, and the text, literally, is “Short is not short long not long.”

iii. The phrase may be borrowed from Chinese, so it is unexpected or unknown to the listeners.

iv. The vocables, two in a row falling on a downbeat, may have confused the listeners. They perhaps anticipated the first vocable to be meaning-bearing and were thus confused when the line didn’t make sense.

v. The melody for the entire word is confusing. Although the first syllable of this word, ‘yaf’ (indicating negation) starts at the correct pitch regarding its tone height, it manifests itself as a falling figure instead of a rising one. Preceding this word are the two vocables, perhaps adding to the initial confusion as they may have sounded like meaning-bearing syllables. A second listen was all it took for my informants to write the text.

7. In measure 10, the second syllable of the word ‘suanlxuint’ (comparing two objects, “is like”) appears too high. Musically, it is the start of the sixth line of text and is between -l-tone and -x-tone syllables. Since both of these linguistic tones are higher than the low, breathy, falling -t-tone syllable, the higher melodic pitches may have affected this -t-tone syllable, much in the same way that syllables can change in natural speech based on their phonological environment. Linguistically, there are no other Bai words in contrast to this word.
8. ‘Jit’ (earth) is too high and could possibly sound like the higher tense falling -p-tone word ‘jip’ (meaning “to chase” or “to follow”). Based on context, it is clear that this confusion is highly unlikely. Musically, it is possibly sung so high because it follows an -l-tone syllable, but it might also be sung high because it is the final cadence of the song.

   a. When Bai people are speaking with heightened emotions, like in an argument, they tend to emphasize words with volume or in exaggerated tone. I am suggesting that this may be influencing the word ‘jit’ in this example, and here is why:

      This genre of song is called a “anti-love song.” Based on my experiences at Shibaoshan song festival and in viewing other Bai music videos, it seems clear that the text works in a very particular way. Lines of text are paired, and the second line tends to serve as something like the punch line in a joke. When performed, it is not until this line is sung that the onlookers will laugh, clap, or react with an “ooh” or “ah” and look at his/her neighbor.

      I am suggesting that the falling-tone word ‘jit’ (earth) may be emphasized in song by both increasing the interval of the two-note melisma and by using a heightened starting pitch. It makes sense that ‘jit’ would be the emphasized word in the phrase, since At Quib (comparing himself to heaven) is insulting the shoe shiner with this metaphor (comparing him to earth).
Other Features in “Love at Shibaoshan” Example Songs

Singers begin with their own introductory beats, sung using nonsense syllables. All of the singers on the DVD sing introductory beats, and while Male 3 and 4 sing different introductions, the intros for Female 1 and 2 are the same. The simplest form of introduction is a one-beat “Ah” on the highest note of the melodic range.

Whether the song is a love song or anti-love song, the melodic structure sounds exactly the same. Only a Bai speaker would be able to know the difference between genres. Of course, observing the crowd, they usually react much more expressively when listening to anti-love songs because of the humorous insults which singers fire back and forth to one another!

Comparing all five songs analyzed from this DVD, it is evident that the number of vocables and the rhythmic setting of text are up to the creativity of the singer. The left side in Table 3 shows the number of nonsense syllables (vocables) used in the songs that I analyzed. The right side of the chart shows the use of neumatic text settings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Number of Vocables</th>
<th>Syllabic/Total Syllables</th>
<th>% Syllabic</th>
<th>% Neumatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male 3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22/52</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female 1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25/52</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male 3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24/52</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16/53</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male 4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25/52</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Vocables and Degree of Syllabic Text Setting, Example 1.

Example 2. ‘Xinlanlpia.’

Well-crafted lyrics are a known key component in Bai singing, but are there other artistic ways in which professional singers distinguish themselves? ‘Xinlanlpia’ seemed like a good avenue for investigating this question further. While each of the four analyzed melodies are technically different, they are considered one in the same song by the Bai people. Many love
songs begin with this opening line, but the exact text I recorded in interviews has seemingly become the standard ‘Xinlanlpia’ variation.¹⁰

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bai Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xinlanlpia</td>
<td>Sweetheart,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not lil pia cvt ngot lil pia,</td>
<td>Everywhere you are, I will be.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not lil ngaid cvt ngot lil ngaid,</td>
<td>Wherever you stay, I will stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaipxuit sanluaxia.</td>
<td>Like the appointment is already made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Remember me wherever you go,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wherever I go, I will miss you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Today we met one another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We will go together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hand in hand we will go.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matching Percentage

It seemed safe to assume that well-known texts like this one would allow singers great flexibility in setting the text; however, the matching percentage was still very high. Notice here (and in other examples) that it tends to be -t and -p-tone syllables which have lower matching percentages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xinlanlpia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male 2</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences</th>
<th>Number of Matches</th>
<th>% Matching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male 5</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences</th>
<th>Number of Matches</th>
<th>% Matching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁰ One singer, Female 3, sang an alternate last line of text (2). But the meaning is the same.
Female 1, Li Bao Mei, also sang on the DVD in Example 1. Here her total matching percentage is 85% compared to 92%. Perhaps the difference reveals flexibility to deviate from the standard rules of setting text. Male 2 (Jiang Zhong De) is also a professional singer, and here his percentage is 92%. The highest percentage is found in Male 5’s melody (A Guo). During the interview, he offered to sing this song for me, saying that his style is “different” than Bai singers (being a member of the Yi nationality). I think the difference must be his vocal quality, as his melodic structure was quite similar. It is also interesting that he used far fewer vocables than the other singers.

Female 3 (Si You Mei) is a young woman training with Li Bao Mei to sing Bai songs. She comes from a different dialect region, and while much of her melody almost mirrors Li Bao Mei’s, especially in her placement of vocables, her matching percentage is the lowest at 78%. Below, melodies are transcribed one above the other for simpler comparison among singers.\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{11}\) Included here are the first four lines of text from “Xinlgainlpia,” The trill notation indicates a vocal wavering on the pitch which was like a three-note melisma, but I notated it in this way because it sounded more like an ornamentation or vocal effect.
Differences among singers include setting of text, introductory beats, note embellishments, and use or placement of vocables. Notice that singers have freedom as far as setting the text syllabically or as a two- or three-note figure, but overall a syllable usually only receives one beat. It is standard to sing introductory beats to open lines one and three of text. Singers embellish a note by stretching it to a two- or three-note pattern or by shaking their voice. A Guo used far fewer vocables than the Bai singers. It is evident in these examples that the

---

12 See Appendix C for Verse 2 Transcription.
13 Male 5 (A Guo) is the only exception here, but his version may still be acceptable to listeners. This has not been tested.
number of beats per line is flexible, as each singer ends his/her line after a different number of beats. See Appendix C for the transcription of lines 5-8, the second half of the verse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xinlanlpia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Whole Song)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Vocables and Degree of Syllabic Text Setting, Example 2.

It is likely that if asked to sing again in a recorded interview, these four singers would sing melodies that vary from this recorded interview. From my experiences in singing lessons and in observing various performances of Bai songs in Jianchuan, singers often change the melody, vary note length, or add/delete vocables according to their creative impulses at the time.

Example 3. Li Fu Yuan’s Two Shibaoshan Solos

Li Fu Yuan’s first solo was the opening tune to which I responded with my own song (pre-written by Mr. Li). The second was a response to my melody. Included below is the text for his two solos and a melodic excerpt, followed by a chart showing matching percentage, degree of syllabic text setting, and use of vocables for his two solos combined.

Bai Text
Xienlzix dadkex kv lil ji,
Jiantsit nal nox sait’vx qi.
Ngel yvnxtx saf Meitguf hhef,
Gol ngot canl gafzei.

English Translation
Strumming this Bai song I am very anxious,
I have something to tell you.
My little sister has come from America,
She’s going to sing a few words with me.

Mel Baipngvp lil dient jiant qionl,
Mel Baipkv lil dient canl qionl.

She also speaks Bai very well,
Her Bai singing is also good.

14 See Appendix D for complete transcriptions.
Matching Percentages and Syllabic Setting

In these two song examples, Li Fu Yuan’s matching percentage is high, and he sings more syllabically than other singers. Though Li Fu Yuan is now employed by the Culture Bureau as a professional musician, at the time of this performance he was still considered by many as an amateur musician. Is it possible that the use of melisma is a more developed skill used by experienced singers? Or is this just a stylistic preference?
Vocables

In measure 5 (see Figure 3), Li Fu Yuan employs a filler word in a very unique way. First of all, the syllable ‘zi’ falls on a strong beat, which is not usually where nonsense syllables appear. Other singers also use them in this way, but it is not the most common placement. Secondly, this syllable is in the middle of a two-syllable word, ‘yvnxtix’ (“little sister”). Rather than following a word, the vocable divides it. ‘Yvnxtix’ is a common word in spoken and sung Bai, as it is also employed as a general way of referencing a younger woman, either in first-person or third-person reference.

Repetition of Text

Li Fu Yuan and other singers often employ a certain kind of repetition, illustrated below. After the fifth line of text, the singer first repeats the last three syllables of line five before singing the text for line six. Here is an example from Li Fu Yuan’s first solo:

When counting for matching percentages, these repetitious figures were ignored. Generally, the three syllables appear on a rising step-wise figure, sometimes with vocables interspersed. This repetition is musical and the tone of the syllable does not matter since it is repeated text.
Example 4. Lao Ren Yao (Old Man Shake)

This song, “Old Man Shake,” is classified as a *shenghuo ge* (life song) in *Shibaoshan Chuantong Baiqu Jijing* (Collection of Traditional Shibaoshan Bai Songs). Mr. Jiang Zhong De selected to sing this for me in his interview after I asked to hear a *benzi qu* (storytelling song). The text that he sings is different than the text recorded in the book, though the meaning is very similar. Mr. Jiang seemed somewhat hesitant to choose this one for me, saying, “*Diao shi yige diao.*” That translates to something like, “The tune is one tune.” He didn’t have the words to explain it any clearer: each verse is the same tune. But the transcriptions of what he actually sang show that each verse has a different melody!

Based on this explanation, my confusion about Bai melodies increased. It was clear that the Bai have an emic understanding and concept of “tune” that is quite different than the transcribed melodies on paper. As the transcription of the first three verses shows, the melody is not any more similar from verse to verse than one Bai melody from another! Below is the song text and translation for the first three verses, followed by the transcription of the first few lines for each verse, written one above the other for simple comparison. (Mismatched words are in bold underline.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bai Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaid ba ngvl ba solfent ba,</td>
<td>One bowl of meat, one of fish, one of rice,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zul yind dap mel nox saintgua.</td>
<td>People, why are we so serious?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gailzil ngot zaind fvzaip lap,</td>
<td>I am already sixty years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qi xiop xinlganlpia.</td>
<td>I am worn out and upset.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zopsex zulkex jilduap lap,</td>
<td>I really cannot do much work,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zixyvnx hox zix ngel nox mia.</td>
<td>My kids do not want me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yonp ngot bialzde atfvx nox,</td>
<td>They’ve thrown me to the side,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit ngot pa ngel ma.</td>
<td>They treat me like chaff.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 5. “Old Man Shake”

Unanswered questions

It is unknown to me whether these words were spontaneously-composed or whether they are a pre-written text. When my Bai informants transcribed the text from the recording, they had...
no trouble understanding each line of text, but they also said that it differed from what is in the
printed book on traditional Bai songs. I also do not know when or where this song would be
performed or sung. Is it a song which is still sung today?

_Diao shi yige diao._ (Tune is a Tune.)\(^{15}\)

When I was working in Jianchuan, a Yunnan University student came to interview me
about my research. She asked me, “Is it true that _Baizudiao_ only have one melody?” The
question caught me off-guard. As a foreigner, it did sound to me as if each song was a repetition
of the other, but as I’ve analyzed and listen to more Bai music, it is clear that the melodies are
not technically exact; however, the melodies are incredibly similar. To hear a professional Bai
singer, Jiang Zhong De, describe a song as “the same tune over and over,” I started to wonder
whether Bai melodies are based off of one single “tune” but are then varied based on the
linguistic tone of the text and the singer’s own insertion of vocables. But if the “Old Man Shake”
is considered one tune, then should _all_ spontaneously-composed songs be considered variations
on one tune?

In my interview with Li Bao Mei, I asked her directly, “Is there a relationship between
the text and the melodies?” She replied, “No, there is no relationship. The tune is _guding_ (set),
but you just add whatever words you want and then sing it!” It is becoming increasingly apparent
that the Bai people themselves perhaps think of all of their music as being one single tune.

\(^{15}\) The word _diao_ is a Chinese word that the interviewees used with me. From my interactions with the Bai community,
the word _diao_ is used to mean (1) pitch, (2) melody, and (3) sung tunes. My translation may be inadequate or incorrect. But I
think I understand the meaning of this phrase.
Example 5. Other Shibaoshan Songs

I sang at Shibaoshan in a group performance with about twenty Bai singers from Shilong village. We were given a score, but the actual melody that we sang varied slightly. The text was brand new to listeners. Included here is a chart of the matching percentage of linguistic tone to melodic pitch for both the prewritten score and the actual performance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences</th>
<th>Number of Matches</th>
<th>% Matching</th>
<th>Performance</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences</th>
<th>Number of Matches</th>
<th>% Matching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL:** 52 51 98%  **TOTAL:** 52 51 98%

Table 8. Matching Percentages Compared between Written Score and Actual Group Shibaoshan Performance

I also sang my own two solos, one in the morning and one at night (see Appendix E for melodic transcriptions). Though I pre-learned these songs and memorized them, the final melody was approved by my teacher, Mr. Li Fu Yuan. They also show a very high matching percentage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solo #1</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences</th>
<th>Number of Matches</th>
<th>% Matching</th>
<th>Solo #2</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences</th>
<th>Number of Matches</th>
<th>% Matching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL:** 52 51 98%  **TOTAL:** 48 47 98%

Table 9. Matching Percentages for My Two Solo Performances at Shibaoshan
Shendu yidian (A Little Deeper)

When I had first sang for my co-workers at the SIL office, they all said that I needed to “open up more” with my voice. After several attempts I finally sang something which earned their approval. It was a louder sound, more pressed instead of open, using a lot more chest voice than head voice. Ironically, by Western choral definition the sound was much less open, but it was what they wanted to hear!

During my interview with Li Bao Mei, she critiqued my Shibaoshan performance. “Although your text is very clear, it just sounds like you’re talking. You need to have more of a singing sound and less of a speaking sound.” She modeled this for me, and I tried to follow. Her melody was more neumatic and connected, and she used more vocal inflection. She also drew out the last note of each phrase to make it a little longer.

Example 6. Other Song Styles

While all Baizudiao may be “one tune,” there are still a few songs remaining which seem to be in a category of their own, for example, “The Loach Song.” The transcription is included in Appendix B. Unlike Baizudiao, this song text is well-known by many, and it sounds as if the melody is completely set from verse to verse. Closer examination, however, shows that each verse is slightly different, and that difference is caused by the linguistic tone of the text. Even though this tune and text are known by many, the matching percentage, surprisingly, is still very high:
Learning Bai Culture Through Song

Studying the song texts for lexical meaning taught me more about Bai culture. For example, in the DVD songs, the ways that singers addressed their listener were interesting. The older brother At Quib addressed the shoe shiner as, “Their son.” At Quib’s father addressed his wife as “At Quib’s mom,” and she addressed him in the same way. My Bai informants explained that this is a very common way of addressing a husband or wife, not only in third-person references but also face-to-face.

In Example 1, At Quib sings a metaphor, “The crow wants to perch on the bamboo stick.” The crow is actually a bad omen in Bai culture. The singer uses this metaphor to criticize the shoe shiner, comparing him to a crow and his girlfriend to bamboo. Obviously, the two are not fit for one another.

As I was learning about the crow, I also learned about spiders. Spiders are considered to be someone’s hun (soul). “When you see a spider in your house, you should not kill it, because it is the soul of someone” “Dead or living,” I asked my informants. “That’s not known.” Zhang Jian Zhu (Zanx Jiainbzux) said that when an elderly woman sees a spider in the house, she will
often immediately go and light incense. “Actually, sometimes when women are lighting incense, they will see a spider right there beside them!”

In the “Old Man Shake,” many of the lines of text convey deep sadness on the part of the singer (the old man). He says, “They have thrown me out of the wheat,” but his meaning is, “They treat me like chaff.” The old man feels his children have literally thrown him away, like they would throw out the chaff in a pile of wheat, replacing him instead with their own children. The Bai are wheat and rice growers and a trip through the region, at the right time, will give any visitor a glimpse of the harvest!
A clear relationship between linguistic tone and melodic pitch exists in spontaneously-composed Bai melodies. Matching percentages between linguistic tone height and musical pitch were high in every example. When mismatching occurred, possible musical or linguistic explanations also surfaced. For example, mismatching often occurred at the start or end of a line of text, within a pre-set melodic structure, like a cadence. (See Appendix F for a repeated melodic figure which often started line 7 of text.) Or, as my teacher Mr. Li Fu Yuan explained, good melodies start high and gradually get lower as the verse continues. This musical “rule” sometimes overrides linguistic tone. A mid- or low-tone word was sometimes sung higher because of surrounding high-tone syllables. Comparison of a syllable with possible confusable Bai words proved that context made these mismatched syllables’ meanings intelligible.

In my interview with the Yi musician, A Guo (Male 5), he sang several Yi songs for me of his own choosing. In one example, he said, “This song is just like Baizudiao, it is shuo chang.” In a follow-up conversation with Li Bao Mei, I asked her to clarify exactly what this means. She agreed that this is the way to sing Bai songs-- like speaking, only sing the text. Thinking of Baizudiao in this way, it is no wonder the tone of the text and the melodic pitches have such a well-matched relationship.

Despite the limitations which the linguistic tone seems to put on melodic creativity, singers can create several different melodic variations. Highness or lowness is relative, not assigned to specific pitches. Variations are created by using different introductory beats and nonsense syllables. The introductory beat is a one to three-beat pattern sung to nonsense syllables, and each singer has his or her “own” introductory beat. When preparing for the song
festival, Mr. Li actually sang some of the different introductions and named to whom they belonged. He taught me that the most basic introduction to a line is just the syllable “Ah” sung on the highest note of a line.

When a group of musicians performed together at Shibaoshan in 2009 (myself included), we all sang this simplest introductory beat “Ah” together for uniformity. During rehearsals, we had many great struggles to synchronize our entrances to each line. I hypothesized that the struggle came from the fact that we were singing a form of Bai song which is usually sung individually. Skilled song-writers struggled to control their use of vocables and their own melodic creativity. The director of the group passed out a score to all of the singers, but very few could actually read cipher notation. Still, it was essential that we had a written score which we were to follow, otherwise every representation of the text would have been different, and there would have been great variation among musicians in the group. Even on the date of performance, after many hours of rehearsing this one twenty-second tune, I could hear that our voices weren’t completely synced.

Each meaningful syllable is usually given its own beat, and the setting of text is what drives the music rhythmically. There is no meter, and rhythmic diversity is due to the use of vocables or by shortening the length of a syllable to just a half beat. All singers inserted vocables (non-meaning-bearing “filler words”), though the number per song varied from singer to singer and song to song. In some cases, these vocables were inserted in the middle of words. Mr. Li explained to me in my voice lessons that these syllables make the song more “connected” and also “more beautiful.” When gathering text transcriptions, it intrigued me that my Bai informants never wrote the vocables down on paper. In fact, books containing Bai texts never

---

16 When I asked two informants why they didn’t write the filler word, they said, “It doesn’t have meaning.”
include the vocable in the text. That makes sense given the fact that they are not counted in the total number of syllables per line, and they do not carry meaning. Vocables are also used in any given number or combination in a song, and perhaps writing them down into a book would somehow standardize the creative process.

Singers distinguish their sound by using a two- or three-note melisma on one beat. After spending several months in analysis, I began to realize that this ornamentation to the melody closely resembles a vibrato figure which is often played on the sanxian lute. The paper which was given to me by Mr. Chen described the singing at Shibaoshan as smoothly entering into the sanxian melody (see Yang Yuan Shou). Perhaps there is an important relationship between the voice and accompanying sanxian. My impression is that the voice mimics the instrument in this way.

Further proving the point of individual “flavor” in Bai singing was Li Bao Mei’s comment to me during her interview. She said, “Other people are singing my fengge (genre). There are two women in Shilong who are copying my sound. Baizudiao is something everyone sings differently, but now there are people copying my fengge.” When asked to explain more about her flavor, she labeled it as being more yanchang (extended). She modeled it for me, though I wasn’t quite sure exactly what to listen for. The last note of a phrase is always lengthened. Her version sounded slower, the text sung slower, and the melody was more connected than the other example she sang.

In my interviews, I asked musicians to sing “Xinlganlpia” for me. Three of the four singers that I recorded sang the exact same text. The other only changed the last line of text. This is intriguing because “Xinlganlpia” is a rather common opening line of a love song, and other times when I have asked people about this tune they have said, “Which one? There are hundreds
of ‘Xinlganlpia’ out there.” This exact text, however, seems to have become a standard, at least among this group of musicians. It raises another question, which is, are Bai songs identifiable by their first line, and are songs with the same first line of text considered the “same tune”?

**Why People Sing**

In Li Bao Mei’s interview, she talked about going on the mountain with her parents to “gan huo.” When they would go, they would also sing. She noticed that when they sang, they were happy, no matter how bitter or difficult their daily life was at the time. She saw this happiness and also wanted to learn to sing. She says that the uniqueness of *Baizudiao*, compared to the music of other people, is that a person can sing about anything. The melody is set, but the words are one’s own, and any kind of feeling in one’s heart can be sung to *Baizudiao*.

**What Makes Good Singers**

My secondary research question was to discover what set amateur and professional musicians apart. Based on my musical analysis alone, there were no obvious distinctions between the professional musicians and amateurs. I determined that the difference, then, must be in the sound of the voice or the quality of text. I asked Li Bao Mei, “How would you describe how to sing *Baizudiao*? Like, is it in the front?” She replied, “No, I sing from your heart.” Others described her singing in a similar way, saying something like, “Ah, Li Bao Mei, she sings very well,” and when asked what makes her singing special, they would reply, “It is just in her heart.” Vocal inflections, two-note neumatic figures and lengthened ends of phrases stand out to me as some of the technical differences between her songs and others.
Need for Further Research

My checking method-- to see whether linguistic tone affected intelligibility-- was only tested on words which didn’t match according to my parameters. It is possible that this same method could be used with the words that did match, and therefore, it might be argued that people can always understand based on context. However, just from the few transcription exercises with my Bai informants, it is clear that when there are several words in a row which do not match, the meaning is unclear and deserves a second or third listen.

Two songs were discovered as having a very low matching percentage. One is translated as a “carry salt tune,” which I am informed is a partner-style sad song. My initial analysis shows little to no intentional coordination between the linguistic tone of the word and the sung pitch; rather, it appears that the first singer chooses an appropriate melody and then the singer’s reply follows the melody of the first tune.

The other tune is classified as a “xiao diao” (ditty) in books written by Chinese scholars. The translated title is “The Bai woman under the white moon.” This text is known by almost everyone I have interacted with in Jianchuan, and everyone knows the tune. It may be a borrowed melody from Chinese, but the text follows Bai rhyming patterns, syllable count, and frequent poetic references (ie. the moon). For purpose of this study, which focused on spontaneously-composed melodies, I did not spend a lot of time examining these two tune styles. It is worth researching how these tunes came to the Bai culture, whether either can use spontaneously-composed texts, or whether they are traditional tunes and texts known by the whole community.
Recommendations and Implications

The interconnected relationship between linguistic tone and melody is something to look out for in the melodies of song tunes of similar languages. If new texts are put to old melodies, or if borrowed melodies are used, it is important to follow the linguistic tone heights of the language and to double-check that this is happening with new songs so that the meanings will be intelligible. Good songs also follow certain rhyme and syllable patterns as established by the culture. For the Bai, rhyme seems the most important when crafting song lyrics, though the syllable per line count is also standard.

Defining one genre or type of song from another is difficult just listening to the melody. Aside from a song which has a distinctly different melody, like “The Loach Song,” the only way to know the genre is to know the content of the text. In this analysis, I analyzed love songs, an anti-love song, and a life song, all of which would sound the same to the non-native speaker.

Surprisingly, Bai musicians do not think about the relationship between linguistic tone and melodic pitch. When asked directly if there was a relationship between text and melody, Li Bao Mei replied, “No, there is no relationship.” Also surprising was the way that musicians talk about Baizudiao as being one set melody. Close analysis shows that the melodies differ, sometimes greatly, from one another. It is unclear to me how these melodies can be defined as “the same” when the actual pitches are different. The research suggests an emic understanding of “tune” in the minds and hearts of Bai people which I have yet to uncover.

Learning to sing Baizudiao, for me, was a rather mechanical and technical process as I tried to emulate the sounds I heard in local recordings. But in actuality, Bai singing is less about technical skills and more about crafting meaningful lyrics from your heart, sung in your own personal style. Of course, having a voice gifted from heaven cannot hurt.
REFERENCES


*Baizu tongyao* [Popular Bai Children’s Songs]. 2010. DVD. Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi yinxiang chubanshe.


Shanhua lanman [Mountain Flowers are in full bloom]. 2007. VCD. Kunming: Yunnan yinxiang chubanshe.


Shi’er Yue Diao [12 Months Song]. n.d. DVD. Kunming: Yunnan yinxiang chubanshe.


APPENDIX A

List of Recorded Singers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male 1</th>
<th>Li Fu Yuan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male 2</td>
<td>Jiang Zhong De</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male 3</td>
<td>Li Fan Chang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male 4</td>
<td>Li Gen Fan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male 5</td>
<td>A Guo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female 1</td>
<td>Li Bao Mei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female 2</td>
<td>Yao Fu Hua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female 3</td>
<td>Si You Mei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female 4</td>
<td>Lisa Andrews (myself)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female 5</td>
<td>Duan Jian Ping</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

The Loach Song

Side-by-Side Comparison of Four Singers

Verse 1 and 2

Score

Verse 1

(A hei zi) Seit-qienl ngel ded gainx-de-gainx (yi yo) (li zo) Zex lap jia-p-del mox xuix-jiainx.

Male 1

(A hei - zi) Seit-qienl ngel ded gainx-de-gainx (yi yo) (li zo) Zex lap jia-p-del mox xuix-jiainx.

Male 2

(A hei - zi) Seit-qienl ngel ded gainx-de-gainx (yi yo) (yi yo) Zex lap jia-p-del mox xuix-jiainx.

Female 1

(A hei - zi) Seit-qienl ngel ded gainx-de-gainx (yi yo) (li ya) Zex lap jia-p-del mox xuix-jiainx.

Verse 2

(A hei zi) Tet bi-a-kex zex jienl qi daap (yi yo) (yi yo) Bei-qi meid ngvl mal gas-fainx.

M1.

(A hei - zi) Tet bi-a-kex zex jienl qi daap (yi oh) (yi yo) Bei-qi meid ngvl mal gas-fainx.

M2.

(A hei - la zi) Tet bi-a-kex zex (ma) jienl qi daap (yi oh) (yi yo) Bei-qi (zi) meid ngvl mal gas-fainx.

F1.

(A hei - zi) Tet bi-a-kex zex jienl qi daap (yi oh) (yi yo) Bei-qi meid ngvl mal gas-fainx.
Bai Text (4 verses)

Seitqienlngvl ded gainxdegainx
Zex lap jiaipdel mox xuixjianx
Zex lap xiuxjianx mox jiaipdel
Bai zaf cux quit hhaix.

But I couldn’t stay there forever,
When I came out, I was captured.
Thrown into a bamboo fish basket,
I was lively and energetic.

The husband wanted to sauté me
The wife wanted to eat me half-raw.
They set me out on the banquet table,
And treated one another during the meal.

The one who grabbed me didn’t see it coming,
He was completely penniless.
But still, I had no other option
I gave them a few bones to choke on!

English Translation
[I], the loach, was surprisingly eaten:
I was traveling here and there,
Couldn’t stay anywhere to save my life,
I hid in some grass.

But I couldn’t stay there forever,
When I came out, I was captured.
Thrown into a bamboo fish basket,
I was lively and energetic.

The husband wanted to sauté me
The wife wanted to eat me half-raw.
They set me out on the banquet table,
And treated one another during the meal.

The one who grabbed me didn’t see it coming,
He was completely penniless.
But still, I had no other option
I gave them a few bones to choke on!
APPENDIX C

Xinlganlpia

Second Half of Verse (Lines 5-8)

See page 66 for Text Translation
APPENDIX D

Mr. Li Fu Yuan's Shibaoshan Solos

See page 69-70 for Text Translations
My Two Shibaoshan Solos

Bai Text
Yolyolyi,
Gailsua hhef guainx zondbohui.
Zondbohui nox hhef canl cainl,
Zopgua nox batgei.

Silbol canl cainl ngot canl cainl,
Silbol dad zei ngot canl zei.
Cankqionl canlhai yanyl yaf gua,
Dathot ga weinlyin.

English Translation
Hey,
This year I’m wandering about Shibaoshan,
I have come to sing a line at Shibaoshan,
It really is fun!

Teacher sings one and I sing one [line],
He plays one and I sing one,
Whether we sing good or bad, we do not care,
We just sing to make everyone have a great time!
Yonltix ngot ga nal ngvl sua,  
Ngot saf Meit-guf pia alda.

Brothers and sisters, I’m here to tell you,
I’ve come here from America.

Ngot saf Meit-guf pia Jinpcuinl,  
Miail el Yanp jixhuax.

I’ve come from America to Jianchuan
My name is Yang Jin Hua.

Laidbol-dix zex ngel silbol,  
Ganl ngot Baipsvl yinl Baipkv.

Li Fu Yuan is my teacher,
He teaches me Bai script and Bai language

Hux svnlzvnx cv hux ditzix,  
Nal sua zainl zop mox.

A good teacher produces a good disciple,*
Don’t you all agree?

*NThe implied meaning is, “In a little while I’ll sing better than my teacher.”
Example of Recurring Musical Pattern in Line 7

**DVD Solo, Line 7-8. Female 1.**

**English Translation**
I’m just a poor villager,
You and I are not fit for one another.

**DVD Solo, Line 7-8. Female 2.**

**English Translation**
Today my heart is pounding terribly,
My heart is very anxious.

**English Translation**
If we break down, who will he have to rely on?

---

Xinlanlpia, Line 7.

**English Translation**
Today we met one another