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Singing Sinophone:
A Case Study of Teresa Teng, Leehom Wang, and Jay Chou

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Singing Sinophone:
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by

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Abstract

Singing Sinophone:
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This thesis provides an initial inquiry into the acoustics of Chinese identity, or Chineseness, in the emerging studies of Sinophone and Sinophonicity through the study of three well-known Sinophone musicians – Teresa Teng, Leehom Wang, and Jay Chou. As critics such as Ien Ang and Rey Chow have reminded us, it is becoming increasingly urgent to reexamine the plurality of Chineseness with the rise of China. Truly, the umbrella term "Chinese pop" or "Mandopop" has become an inadequate common denominator in terms of the multilinguistic and multicultural elements in popular music produced in overseas Chinese communities such as Hong Kong and Taiwan or what Shu-mei Shih calls the "Sinophone" communities. In short, Sinophone studies explore the relation between the Chinese mainland and these Sinophone communities in a set of conditions (geographic, ethnic, linguistic, political, etc.). This thesis will explore the ways in which Sinophone musicians exhibit and perform Chineseness, the reason for its manifestation, and the implications and consequences for these types of articulations.

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Introduction

In his discussion on "cultural China," scholar Tu Weiming asks, "While the overseas Chinese … may seem forever peripheral to the meaning of being Chinese, can they assume an effective role in creatively constructing a new vision of Chineseness that is more in tune with Chinese history and in sympathetic resonance with Chinese culture?"[1] His answer to this question is "yes." However, through the scope of Sinophone studies, which looks to decentralize the role of China and Chineseness, I would argue that Tu's question is one poorly asked. This question assumes that those on the "peripheries," i.e. those in the Sinophone community, must inherently desire to construct a new Chineseness and become more "in tune" and "resonant" with Chinese history and culture. This implies a sort of active appropriation of Chineseness to exert a Chinese identity. More importantly, this assumes a singular notion of Chineseness. As we will see from the examples of three Sinophone musicians – Teresa Teng 鄧麗君, Leehom Wang 王力宏, and Jay Chou 周杰倫 – this is not the case; there is no *one* Chineseness. While these three artists do actively use Chinese elements in their songs and performances, they are not used to actively reshape Chineseness, per se, but rather, they act as aesthetic markers. Especially when used in conjunction with other ethnomusical elements, they cast a new light on the diverse conceptions of Chineseness.

This thesis hopes to contribute to the ongoing discussion of Sinophone studies by looking at pop music as a Sinophone articulation through the case studies of three well known Sinophone pop singers, Teresa Teng, Leehom Wang, and Jay Chou. This thesis will explore the careers of these three musicians, with a special focus on their music, to explore the ways in which they convey their hybrid Sinophone identities.

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[1] Wei-ming Tu, "Cultural China: The Periphery as the Center," *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*, (Stanford University Press, 1995), 34.

PROBLEMS WITH CHINESENESS

Chineseness is often conceived of as a singular notion that binds something or someone to China, the semblance of a cultural China, or a universal understanding of an "authentic" Chinese culture. Stuart Hall describes this sort of cultural identity as, a "shared culture […] which reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning."[2] This can include language, ethnicity, and cultural background, or what Rey Chow calls a "conventional simplification and stereotyping of ethnic subjects".[3] As Chow and others have pointed out, this oversimplification is problematic, especially in considering the presence of overseas Chinese communities and even the 55 ethnic minority groups within mainland China. Although these groups of people are bound to the Mainland through language, ethnicity, and even politics, their conceptions of what it means to be Chinese are inevitably different because of their experiences and surrounding influences, both in space and time. Thus Ien Ang rightfully argues, "Being Chinese outside China cannot possibly mean the same thing as inside. It varies from place to place."[4]

For example, a Chinese American living in or near an urban Chinatown will inevitably have a radically different view of Chinese culture and language compared to a Chinese person from Beijing, and even a Chinese Taiwanese living in Taipei. Even the "Chinese" culture in an American Chinatown will be influenced by external factors, such as the English language, "American ideals," and other non-Chinese ethnic populations.

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2 Stuart Hall. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: a Reader,* ed. Patrick Williams and Chrisman (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994), 393.

3 Rey Chow, "Introduction: On Chineseness as a Theoretical Problem," introduction to *Modern Chinese Literary and Cultural Studies in the Age of Theory: Reimagining a Field*, ed. Rey Chow. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 3.

4 Ien Ang, "Can One Say Say No to Chineseness? Pushing the limits of the diasporic paradigms," in *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living Between Asia and the West*, ed. Ian Ang (London: Routeledge, 2001), 38.

Perhaps the greatest factor influencing a Chinatown is its people within. Despite the use of the homogenizing and encompassing term "Chinatown," the "Chinese" immigrant populations that make up the community all arrived at different times and from different parts of China. For instance, in New York's Chinatown, while earlier generations could communicate solely in Cantonese in Chinatowns, in recent years, it has become nearly impossible to escape the need to learn Mandarin or English.[5] Similarly, even though a Chinese Taiwanese may seemingly share many cultural and linguistic traits with their fellow Chinese in Beijing, language usage and customs have changed over time. Thus, the term "Chinese" becomes problematic when describing these diverse groups of people, their contributions, and their histories.

This becomes especially problematic in the realm of popular music, where many "Chinese" musicians converge from all over the world, and produce, promote, and attain popularity through their music outside of mainland China. Chinese popular music, or C-pop, can be separated by language and production locale into two main subgenres, Mandopop (Mandarin language pop) and Cantopop (Cantonese language pop).[6] Mandopop commands a greater market share and serves as a standard in many aspects for other subgenres under the umbrella category of C-pop, especially in terms of marketing, language, and performance. Mandopop's range of musicians is diverse, ranging from mainland China to Chinese-speaking, or Sinophone communities all over the world, including Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, and even the United States. Most importantly, the common denominator tying these musicians together is the use of the Mandarin dialect, otherwise known as *Putonghua*, or the "standard" dialect, as the

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5 Kirk Semple, "In Chinatown, Sound of the Future Is Mandarin," *NYTimes*, October 21, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/22/nyregion/22chinese.html.

6 Other subgenres include Hokkien pop, Hakka pop, and Mongolian pop (which features musicians from Inner Mongolia).

primary language of communication and marketing. In fact, a number of singers from other sub-genres will even release song in Mandarin, whether it is just a single or an entire studio album.[7] Compared to Cantopop and other subgenres, Mandopop has several locations of production, the main one being in Taipei, and others including Beijing, and Hong Kong. Musicians from these regions offer "outside" influences, linguistically and musically, in terms of accents, word usages, the inclusion of other languages, and ethnomusical idioms.[8] From this understanding, it becomes apparent that the term "Chinese" seems inadequate to describe the diverse inhabitants outside of the Han-centric Chinese communities, who have been clumsily named "overseas Chinese" and "ethnic minorities of China."

SINOPHONE

Sinophone studies,[9] as coined by Shu-mei Shih examines this disparity in the notion of Chineseness, which is based on ethnic politics and international relations, by rejecting the idea that "Chineseness" is singular, and connected to a central point of origin via cultural roots. Sinophone refers to the study of the proliferation and appropriation of Chinese culture outside of China proper. However, Sinophone studies rejects the idea of a Chinese "Diaspora" because a "Diaspora" infers a desire of returning

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7 This is especially prominent for Cantopop singers. Some example of Cantopop artists who release have released Cantonese-language albums with Mandarin tracks include Hins Cheung, Joyce Cheng, William Chan, Aarif Lee, Fiona Sit, Ivana Wang, and Ken Hung, just to name a few. Some examples of Cantonese artists who release full Mandarin-language albums include Hacken Lee, Kay Tse, Denise Ho, Bianca Wu, Raymond Lam, and Charmaine Fong. These lists are not mutually exclusive, but rather, a small sample.

8 While Cantopop is quite popular and also incorporates a number of external elements, the scope of production and national origins of musicians are relatively limited compared to Mandopop. The primary language used in Cantopop is the Cantonese dialect, a dialect largely used in the south, and is linguistically different from the *Putonghua* used in Mandopop. Moreover, most Cantopop singers hail mainly from Hong Kong; and although Hong Kong's colonial past offers a rich musical repertoire and channel to the modern West, the scope is far too small and restricted to make any generalizations for other Sinophone communities.

9 Shu-mei Shih, *Visuality and Identity: Sinophone Articulations Across the Pacific*. (Berkley: University of California Press), 2007.

to the "homeland," when in reality, those in the Sinophone community have little or no desire to "return." Rather, Sinophone embraces the idea of different Sinophone communities that are interconnected and influenced by one another, as well as by their local culture of the place of settlement. The term "Sinophone" literally means "Chinese sounds." Therefore, Sinophone communities can be defined as a Sinitic-language speaking community where Sinophone speakers are not necessarily Chinese by nationality, but are in some way connected to the continental China either by ancestry or in some cases by the imposition or adaptation of Mandarin, the "standard" Sinitic language. Sinophone communities can be found in such places as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, the United States, and even the various autonomous regions in China, such as Tibet, Xinjiang, and Mongolia. Even though the imposed Mandarin language connects these cultures, they each have different customs and cultures. Sinophone's emphasis on the unique characteristics of individual communities unravels Han-centric thinking, placing greater emphasis and validity on the local histories and trajectories of these Sinophone communities.

Therefore, in discussing the Sinophone, it becomes imperative to clarify the general ambiguities surrounding the term "Chinese," and to differentiate it from "Sinophone." In this thesis, the term "Chinese" will refer to music, culture, and people from mainland China, or the People's Republic of China (PRC). "Sinophone" will be used for the people and music from Sinophone communities. This encompasses those who would normally be called "overseas Chinese," as well as the ethnic minorities on the Mainland.

SINOPHONE MUSIC

The literal meaning of Sinophone as "Chinese sounds" lends to the discussion of music as an articulation. An articulation, as described by Shih, is "a practice [that] not only subverts fixed identities but also opens up the possibility for new identities."[10] Thus, even though the Mandarin language is what binds together Sinophone and Chinese musicians, the ways in which music their is created and expressed, which is inevitably influenced by locale, can create new meanings beyond the notion of a singular Chineseness. If the common denominator between Chinese music and Sinophone music is the Mandarin language, what, then, is the difference between the two? The biggest difference between the two is that Sinophone music is music produced in Sinopphone communities by Sinophone people, whereas Chinese music is produced in China by Chinese people. In this aspect, "Chinese music" is taken very literally, and becomes an important distinction; because after 1949, music in China developed in a different direction from what is presently recognized as C-pop. In fact, what is called "C-pop" is actually a Sinophone articulation. Present-day "Chinese pop" developed out of the pop influences prevalent in the cosmopolitan city of early 20[1st] century Shanghai. After the CCP takeover in 1949, "Chinese" music took one of two main trajectories: one continued to develop in the Mainland, existing, for a long time, only to serve as an educational tool for the masses[11] in the form of revolutionary marches and model plays.

The other path migrated the industry's main production hub to Hong Kong, which was still a British colony at the time, and continued on the path set in Shanghai. Of course, this "Chinese" music was also being produced in Taiwan, but the music styles were greatly influenced by those set in Hong Kong. Starting in the late 1970s and early

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10 Shih, *Visuality*, 35.

11 Music produced in mainland China followed the mantra proposed by Chairman Mao Zedong during his talks in Yan'an on literature and art, that music needed to serve the masses.

80s, however, contemporary music producers and record labels that produced and signed Mandarin-language singers shifted their attentions to the economically thriving Taiwan. This shift of the center from Hong Kong to Taiwan not only moved the hub for Mandarin-language music, but also created a distinct space for and equally thriving and still influential Cantopop scene in Hong Kong.[12] However, for our purposes, we will continue on the path of the Sinophone pop genre known as Mandopop.

The Mandopop industry, which is heavily centered in Taipei, and draws talents from all over the Sinophone and Chinese community, is the perfect location to explore music as a Sinophone articulation. Taiwan's Mandopop industry has signed a large number of musicians from all over the Chinese and Sinophone communities, such as Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, and the United States. Some examples include Faye Wong 王菲 (Beijing), Jolin Tsai 蔡依林 (Taiwan), Michael Wong 光亮 (a.k.a Guang Liang) (Malaysia), Stephanie Sun 孫燕姿 (Singapore), Nicholas Teo 張棟樑 (Malaysia), David Tao 陶喆 (Hong Kong), Khalil Fong 方大同 (United States), Wilber Pan 潘瑋柏 (United States), JJ Lin 林俊傑 (Singapore), Gary Chaw 曹格 (Malaysia), and Wakin Chau (a.k.a Emil Chau) 周華健 (Hong Kong).[13] Despite being from different Sinophone regions of the world, these artists have all released Mandarin-language albums, each bringing in individual differences, whether it is in language, singing style, or musical composition.

The Mandopop industry also continues to draw more Sinophone and Chinese competitors and talents with televised singing competitions, such as "One Million Star" (*Chaoji xingguang dadao* 超級星光大道) and "Super Idol" (*Chaoji ouxiang* 超級偶像).

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12 More information on Cantopop and music in Hong Kong can be found in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 2nd edition (New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2011), s.v. "Cantopop" and "Hong Kong."

13 These examples only take into consideration those are mainly active in the Mandopop industry. Incidentally, these musicians are based mainly in Taiwan.

Not only do the winners typically sign contracts with major labels, such as HIM Inc, Universal, and Sony, popular runner-ups and PK (Player Kill) contestants also have similar opportunities. Some examples from "One Million Star" include Hu Xia 胡夏 (Mainland), Jam Hsiao 蕭敬騰 (Taiwan), Jing Wong 黃靖倫 (Singapore), and Anthony Neely 倪安東 (U.S.). Some examples from "Super Idol" include Erica Chiang 江明娟 (Taiwan), Meeia 符瓊音 (Malaysia), and Li Yasha 李婭莎 (Mainland). Although these talents come from all different parts of the Sinophone and Chinese communities, they sing and communicate in Mandarin, and are generally in some way connected to the Chinese community, typically ethnically.

With this understanding of the Mandopop industry, the interpretation of "Sinophone" as "Chinese sounds" is appropriate for our exploration of identity through Mandopop, or what this thesis will also refer to as Sinophone pop music.[14] The "Chinese" sounds being analyzed can refer to one or all of the categories simultaneously: the language or dialects spoken, lyrics, musical composition, or even the performance of the song. These influences can be an indication of the influences of a Sinophone musician's nationality, or cultural background – be it a Mainlander Taiwanese who was educated in Mandarin Chinese and immersed in Chinese culture, listening to *Huangmei* opera recordings, or a Chinese American who grew up in their local Chinatown, listening to Boyz II Men, and speaking "Chinglish" only their parents can understand.[15]

Sinophone characteristics manifest in songs through the languages and dialects spoken in the song. While Sinophone pop music is largely sung in *Putonghua*, because of

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[14] While there are many different categories of Sinophone pop music, Mandopop is the largest category. In contemporary terminology, C-pop typically refers only to Mandopop. Moreover, because Sinophone emphasizes the imposition of the Mandarin language, labeling Mandopop as Sinophone pop becomes appropriate.

[15] Chinglish is a sort of pidgin Chinese that mixes English words. This can be considered a sort of code switching, but not necessarily a sign of bilingualism.

a musician's linguistic or cultural background, their pronunciation of *Putonghua* may deviate from the standard, revealing a local color. For example, a Hong Kong singer's Mandarin pronunciation may contain inflections from the Cantonese dialect, while an Asian American singer may be unable to fully pronounce the ü sound, and instead draws out a long "oo" sound.[16] Additionally, Sinophone singers may bring in words from their own dialects or other languages into the song. Most notably is the use of English words or phrases as song fillers, such using the words "baby" or "ya" or phrases such as "Baby, I love you," typically used in isolated instances.

While the term "'Chinese' music" conjures up the image of an *erhu* and *guzheng* playing a music piece that is scored using a pentatonic scale,[17] Sinophone pop often experiments with Western instruments and musical genres, most commonly, R&B, hip-hop, rock, and American or British-style pop. In fact, most Sinophone pop chart-toppers are generally easily consumable, karaoke-able R&B ballads, or disco hall-worthy dance tunes.[18] Of course, a number of Sinophone musicians also play with other less common genres, such as blues, ragtime, and even Latin tunes, such as tango, cha-cha, and bossa nova.

Of course, when talking about the aurality of music, the lyrics must not be overlooked. Like images wanting for their viewers to look at them,[19] lyrics want for their listeners to listen to them. The different lexicon used and allusions made throughout a song can point to the singer or songwriter's background. Unlike musical lyrics from the

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16 The Chinese ü sound falls in between an "ee" and an "oo" sound.

17 Pentatonic scales, sometimes known as the "Chinese scale," although not exclusive to China or East Asia, it has come to represent Asian traditional music.

18 Marc L. Moskowitz, *Cries of Joy, Songs of Sorrow: Chinese Pop Music and Its Cultural Connotations* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010).

19 W.J.T. Mitchell, "What do pictures want?," interviewed by Asbjørn Grønstad and Øyvind Vågnes, *Image & Narrative, Center for Visual Studies*, November 2006. http://www.visual-studies.com/interviews/mitchell.html

Mainland during the Cultural Revolution, Sinophone lyrics do not need to serve the masses, or even serve a purpose at all. In fact, a common theme throughout Sinophone pop songs is romance and broken-heartedness. There are, of course, Sinophone pop songs that also speak specifically to the singer or songwriter's cultural experiences and identity.

For that reason, the distinction between the musical composition and lyrics of a song becomes important and need to be separated. Most Sinophone singers do not compose their own melodies or pen their own lyrics. However, those who do take part in the creation of their songs typically only do one, and on rare occasions, both. For example, Jay Chou, who is known for having composed all of his own songs, as well as songs for many other well-known pop stars, does not pen many of his signature "Chinese Style" songs, ie. the songs that made him famous. In fact, over half of Chou's lyrics were written by good friend, business partner, and well-known lyricist, Vincent Fang 方文山. Fang composed the lyrics to nearly all of Chou's most well known tunes. Similarly Wang Leehom composes and arranges a majority of his songs. Like Chou, however, Wang did not write the lyrics for many of his signature "chinked-out" songs. Unlike Chou and Wang, Teresa Teng neither composed any of the songs on her discography, nor any of the lyrics she sang. The closest Teng came to penning the lyrics for songs was in her album *Dandan youqing* 淡淡幽情 [Light exquisite feelings], in which she chose which poems to adapt into song.[20] However, like Chou, many of her most well-known songs were penned by a well-known lyricist, Zhuang Nu 莊奴. In fact, many have argued, "Without Zhuang Nu, there would be no Teresa Teng."[21] Even though these musicians often did not write the lyrics for their songs, for musicians like Wang and Chou, they have greater

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20 Trong Shawn Ta, "Becoming Teresa Teng, Becoming-Taiwanese," MA thesis (University of Southern Calfornia, 2009).

21 沒有莊奴就沒有鄧麗君°

agency in choosing which lyrics to pair with the songs they composed and arranged. And at least in Chou's case, many times, he plays an indirect role in influencing the lyrics by providing Fang with a vivid imagery to accompany the instrumental track.[22] For Teng, although she did not compose her own songs or write her own lyrics, Teng expresses her own voice through the way she performs these songs.

The performance of the song, both aurally and visually (e.g. on stage, in a music video), then becomes a manifestation of their identity, reflecting the diverse influences in experiences as Sinophone peoples. This can be achieved through things like costuming, choreography, and singing styles. Therefore, while Teng only played a small role in composing her songs, her oral and visual performances proved to garner much popularity both on and off the Mainland.[23] In songs like "*Tian mimi* 甜蜜蜜 [Sweet like honey]" and "*Xiao cheng gushi* 小城故事 [Story of a small town]," her sweet voice and flawless pronunciation of Mandarin, paired with the soft instrumental background of traditional and western instruments, evoked an imagined sense of nostalgia for an idyllic unspecified past. Wang's blend of traditional Chinese elements with hip-hop and R&B, in both his songs and music videos, reinforces the hybridity of his musical creation, and more importantly, his identity. Chou's experimentation with different music genres, languages, and themes allows Chou to undertake different personas, reflecting his creative license, which has been highly influenced by his personal and musical background.

The translation of "Chinese sounds" can also be taken quite literally. Many times, Sinophone musicians will experiment with the "Chinese Style" (*Zhongguo feng* 中國風),

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22 Almost always, Fang pens the lyrics to Chou's songs after the tune has been composed. Sometimes Chou will provide a vivid imagery for the song, narrating how he would film a music video for the tune (Wang Pingping, *Chengdu Evening News*).

23 At one point, Teng's music was banned in the PRC because it was viewed as "decadent" and "yellow." However, because of her popularity, audiocassettes of her songs were widely pirated and distributed.

literally “Chinese Wind” style, which typically evokes a “traditional Chinese” feel via the language used, musical composition, lyrical content, and is many times enhanced by the visual performance of the song. “Chinese Style” is most typically evoked through the use of traditional Chinese instruments, such as the *erhu*, *dizi*, *pai*, or gong, or through the composition of a musical piece typically using the pentatonic scale, or pulling elements from well-known folk tunes. The “Chinese Style” may also be evoked through the use of classical or poetic language, and allusions to Chinese history, literary traditions, or important figures. The appropriation of Chinese elements also largely depends on one’s understanding of Chineseness, which can differ from person to person. Depending on the cultural and musical background of a certain Sinophone musician, this “Chinese Style” can manifest musically in varying degrees, both in music and lyrics. Songs may heavily incorporate the “Chinese Style” by utilizing primarily traditional Chinese instruments or composition styles, such as composing with a pentatonic scale, or evoking similar sentiments using traditionally Western instruments, such as piano or guitar. Sometimes, songs may opt to only have a gentle “Chinese Style” breeze by primarily using Western genres such as R&B or pop, with traditional Chinese instruments playing softly in the background, or by dedicating a short instrumental break to showcase this instrument. Equally important to the aural performance is the visual performance, especially in terms of props, costuming, and choreography. The performance, in conjunction with the music, can create differentiated and creolized conceptions of Chineseness.

Even though the “Chinese Style” places an emphasis on “Chineseness,” these elements can be viewed as just one more ethnomusicological influence under the musician’s belt. The degree and methods to which the “Chinese Style” manifests depends mainly on the musician’s interpretation of what “Chinese” culture and music, and their preference of these ethnomusical idioms. Of course, the knowledge of and inclination

towards these musical idioms can differ from person to person based on their experiences. Having been influenced by outside non-"Chinese" factors, "Chineseness" may carry only meaning as an empty aesthetic shell – which incidentally may be the only way for a third-generation overseas Chinese to understand his ancestral "motherland," China. Therefore, analyzing the Sinophone influences in music can be an exploration into the multiplicity of "Chineseness," as well as a Sinophone artist's way of renegotiating and sorting through their identity through the medium of music.

This "Chinese Style" has become quite popular throughout the Sinophone pop scene. Its exhibition and reception lends itself to the discussions of "imaginary nostalgia" and "primitive passions."

IMAGINARY NOSTALGIA

The topic of Sinophone studies also lends itself to David Der-wei Wang's discussion of "imaginary nostalgia." Wang applies this term to May Fourth writer Shen Congwen and his native soil literature; however, this concept of an "imaginary nostalgia" manifests itself in the music, lyrics, and performances of a number of Sinophone musicians.[24] This "imaginary nostalgia" evokes the Chinese utopian literary tradition, such as "Peach Blossom Spring" (*Taohuayuan ji* 桃花源記), which "evoke[s] a forgotten past and the ignored culture of the other [and] the disappearing homeland that enchants and tantalizes."[25] According to Wang, however, the word nostalgia "refers not so much to a representational effort to enliven the irretrievable past as to a creation of an imaginary past on behalf of the present."[26] In other words, in the absence of and desire

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24 For further discussion of "imaginary nostalgia," refer to Chapter 7 of Wang's book, *Fictional Realism in twentieth-century China: Mao Dun, Lao She, Shen Congwen*.

25 David Der-wei Wang, Fictional Realism in twentieth-century China: Mao Dun, Lao She, Shen Congwen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 248.

26 Wang , *Ficitional Realism*, 249.

for "Home and Origin" the writer "reconstruct[s] the past in terms of the present; and they see in the present a residue of the past," and in this way, time becomes "anachronized."[27]

The different degrees of the "Chinese Style" are a manifestation of this "imaginary nostalgia." "Chinese Style" music that is recreated through the use of traditionally Western music, such as a piano or violin, is an example of "imaginary nostalgia" at work. While a sense of nostalgia is being created through the tune, the instrumentation is only an approximation of what the tune would sound like with traditional Chinese instruments, such as the *guqin* or *erhu*. Moreover, while these tunes may be created using a pentatonic scale, they might not be traditional tunes found in early periods of Chinese history. These tunes, too, are loose translations of what traditional Chinese tunes might sound like.[28]

While readers may be drawn into a story via a sense of nostalgia, the "[u]topia reveals its imaginary quality because it is encased in a menacing reality that is anything but utopian."[29] In the case of music, listeners are self-aware of their indulging in the melody that draw them into an idyllic world, but when the music ends, listeners are then "shocked" back into reality. It is also this attraction of the past through music, which can contribute to the popularity and proliferation of this music, and continued support for the Sinophone singer, through the sales of CDs and concert performances.

Wang also argues that the creator of these pasts claim to derive "local color" from that which they are familiar, similar to a tour guide capitalizing on their knowledge of a

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27 Wang , *Ficitional Realism*, 251.

28 In fact, anyone can create a "Chinese" tune by simply playing only the black keys on a piano. While not knowing any traditional Chinese tunes, the black keys on a piano, which are arranged on a pentatonic scale, create the illusion of a Chinese tune, an imagined semblance of what traditional Chinese music sounds likes.

29 Wang , *Ficitional Realism*, 248.

place.[30] However, in talking about the "familiar," they effectively need to de-familiarize themselves from this setting to relearn and (re-)present the familiar. In doing so, this creates a "double view" of the image of homeland.[31]

However, while musicians play off this "imaginary nostalgia," they do not necessarily want to return to this fictional past, but rather are intrigued and drawn to this exotic past. Therefore, this recreation of a past based on the present suggests that the writer, or in this case musician "entertain[s] a secret alliance with exoticism."[32] In other words, this "imaginary nostalgia" is inevitably driven and inspired by a "primitive passion" for a lost or misplaced origin.

PRIMITIVE PASSIONS

Rey Chow's "primitive passions" is an "autoethnographic" articulation, driven by an attempt to find and reclaim an origin that has been lost or misplaced. Chow uses "primitive passions" in the context of film and visual culture; [33] however, I believe that it can be applied to the context of popular music, especially in the context of "Chinese Style" music, and the musicians' performances. These "primitive passions" arise during what Chow calls "moments of cultural crisis" in which "traditional culture no longer monopolize signification."[34] Similar to Wang's "imaginary nostalgia," the product of this "primitive passion" is the "fabrication of a *pre* [i.e. imagined nostalgia] [occurring] in the time of the *post*."[35] Because this image of a lost past is created in the present, these

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30 Wang , *Ficitional Realism*, 251.

31 Wang , *Ficitional Realism*, 251.

32 Wang , *Ficitional Realism*, 251.

33 For further discussion on "primitive passions," refer to Chow's Introduction in her book *Primitive Passsions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema*.

34 Chow, *Chineseness*, 22.

35 Chow, *Chineseness*, 22.

works of "primitive passions," Chow argues, becomes a "major place for the negotiation of cultural identity."[36]

However, these products derived from "primitive passions" becomes problematic because they are "autoethnographic," in other words, the artist creates his work based on what s/he believes her/his audience wants to see or hear. In this way, the singer becomes an unofficial musical "tour guide" for their listeners. For singers and songwriters, this can complicate the meanings and intentions behind the music, and even be conveyed as a marketing ploy and selling-out.

THE FIELD: TAIWAN

Sinophone pop music's main hubs in Taiwan and its wide array of Sinophone musicians and record labels make it the perfect field to explore popular music as a Sinophone articulation, and the complicated dynamics of Sinophone identity through its musicians. The term "field" is borrowed from Pierre Bourdieu's discussions in *The Field of Cultural Production*. Bourdieu calls the field a "field of forces" in which "agents" occupy positions on the field to either "conserve" or "transform" the "structure of relations," in other words, the rules of the game. [37] This use of field is apt in our discussion of Sinophone music and its musicians, or agents. In the case of sinophone, agents come from all over the Sinophone community to enter the field of popular music. Bringing in their unique differences, they either look to conform or conserve the meanings of Chinesness, or use these preconceptions to "transform" the "field."

As previously mentioned, the production of contemporary Sinophone pop music is currently centered in Taiwan. In fact, a number of international record labels, including

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36 Chow, *Chineseness*, 22.

37 Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Sony BMG, EMI (also known as Gold Typhoon in Taiwan), Warner Music, Universal, and Avex, have a Taiwan branch, with headquarters located in the capital city of Taipei. These labels host an array of Sinophone musicians, including A-Mei 張惠妹 (aborigines) from Taiwan (EMI/Gold Typhoon), JJ Lin 林俊傑 from Singapore (Warner Music), Wilber Pan 潘瑋柏 from the United States (Universal), and Shin from Taiwan (Avex). Taiwan is also the headquarters for a number of well-known homegrown record labels, which also represent a wide range of Sinophone musicians, both pop (Rock Records Co, HIM Inc., Linfair Records, Forward Music Co.) and indie (B'in Music, White Wabbit Records, and Seed Music). Some artists include, Fish Leong 梁靜茹 from Malaysia (Rock Records), Olivia Ong 王儷婷 from Singapore (HIM Inc), Harlem Yu 庾澄慶 from Taiwan (Linfair Records), Gigi Leung 梁詠琪 from Hong Kong (Forward Music Co.), Rene Liu 劉若英 from Taiwan (B'in Music), Aphasia 阿飛西雅 from Taiwan (White Wabbit Records[38]), and Michael Wong 王光亮 from Malaysia (Seed Music). Although more and more record labels are opening offices in mainland China, Taiwan remains a major hub for Mandopop, and many of the most well-known Sinophone pop musicians are based out of Taiwan.

THE AGENTS: TERESA TENG, LEEHOM WANG,[39] AND JAY CHOU

Because the Taiwanese Sinophone pop music scene represents Sinophone musicians from all over the Sinophone community, for the purpose of this study, I have

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38 Aphasia is a postrock band, White Wabbit Records mainly represnts rock bands, as opposed to indivudual artists.

39 For the purposes of consistency, this thesis has kept Wang's name in typical English order. While Taiwanese singers Teresa Teng and Jay Chou's name have been kept in the Western order, Wang Leehom's name have been inverted because this is the way Wang's name appears in official English correspondence (i.e. interviews with CNN's Talk Asia, Behind-the-Scenes interview with Wong Fu Productions, and #Kobe System YouTube campaign). Although Wang's official English name is "Leehom," the "Wang Leehom" can be seen as Wang's official stage name, which can become a marketing strategy that plays off his audience's "primitive passions."

selected three of the most well-known Sinophone artists who largely base(d) their career and activities in Taiwan and have a deep connection with Taiwan – Teresa Teng, Wang Leehom, and Jay Chou.

Teresa Teng 鄧麗君

Teresa Teng, a Mainlander Taiwanese singer, is one of the most well known, beloved, and prolific Sinophone singers in the Chinese and Sinophone community. Even after her death in 1995, Teng continues to be adored by her fans and her music continues to be popular in the Sinophone and Chinese community. Teng's music appeals to her listeners' "imaginary nostalgia" of a Chinese cultural past, especially to the generation of KMT soldiers who had fled to Taiwan after 1949. This nostalgia was not restricted to the Chinese or Sinophone communities, Teng's influence and popularity also reached a Japanese audience.

Leehom Wang 王力宏

Taiwanese American Wang Leehom is best known for his hybrid East-meets-West "chinked-out" music style. Wang's unique blend of Sinophone pop and audacious attempt to reclaim the racial slur "chink" is influenced by his experiences growing up in Rochester, New York. While not the first Asian American in the Sinophone pop scene, he is definitely one of the most influential, prolific, and recognized.[40] In fact, this recognition has brought him a number of endorsements, movie roles, music performances, and other activities, most notably his participation in the ceremonies for the 2008 Beijing Olympics. These activities only serve to emphasize his hybrid "chinked-out" persona. As a Taiwanese American in the Sinophone pop industry, Wang is

40 Some other well-known Asian Americans in the Chinese-language music scene include, Coco Lee (1993), MC Jin (1997), Vanness Wu (2000), Evonne Hsu (2002), Wilbur Pan (2003), Nicky Lee (2003), Jaycee Chan (2004), and Cindy Yen (2009).

gainfully conscious of his multicultural and multilinguistic background, playing off the "primitive passion" of traditional Chinese culture to create a style of music that caters to a wide audience. However, in doing so, he inevitably exoticizes himself to not only his Western audiences, but also to his Sinophone and Chinese audiences.

Jay Chou 周杰倫

A discussion of Sinophone pop music cannot exclude Taiwanese singer-songwriter Jay Chou, the "King of C-pop." Chou is best known for composing his own songs and experimenting with different genres and styles of music, especially KUSO and "Chinese Style." His influence and popularity throughout the Sinophone and Chinese communities can be seen through his many activities in the entertainment industry, from his endorsements, movie appearances, and public performances. With his most recent role as Kato, in the Hollywood film *The Green Hornet*, Chou has increased his visibility in the international market. However, with this, his identity also becomes increasingly ambiguous and complicated.

THE MISSION

Previous studies have looked at Sinophone through literature and visual media. This thesis hopes to contribute to this discussion through the analysis of popular music. In Shih's book *Visuality and Identity: Sinophone Articulations across the Pacific*, she touches upon the aural aspect of Sinophone in her analysis of Ang Lee's movie *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, pointing out the different accents and lack of a *Putonghua* dub.[41] But there have not been many works, if at all that specifically looks at sound, particularly popular music as a Sinophone articulation. My thesis looks to contribute the growing number of works in Sinophone studies by suggesting C-pop as a

41 Shih, *Visuality*, 2.

Sinophone articulation. The three Sinphone musicians cases presented in this thesis not only works to exemplify how their music can be viewed as a Sinophone articulation, but to also complement to the handful of academic papers and presentations dedicated to these individual artists,[42] which have explored these artists from different aspects, oftentimes, emphasizing at their "success" of using Chineseness in their music; whereas, this thesis, would like to look at the ways in which this Chineseness makes these musicians Sinophone.

Thus to explore these musicians' roles as Sinophone artists, I would like to rephrase the question posed by Tu earlier in the chapter. Rather than asking if these musicians can "creatively [construct] a new vision of Chineseness that is more in tune with Chinese history and in sympathetic resonance with Chinese culture," we should ask how Chineseness is appropriated to emphasize the hybrid upbringing of these Sinophone artists. In what ways have Sinophone artists reappropriated Chineseness in their music to reflect their hybrid identity, especially for those Sinophone musicians who are almost completely removed from this "Chinese" culture? And for those artists who actively employ Chineseness in their music and performances, to what degree are they embracing the Chineseness in their identity? Is this only a marketing strategy to rejuvenate their music style and to win the love of new and old fans alike by playing on their "primitive passions" for an imagined Chinese past and culture?

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42 There have been a number of works on these three artists, including papers by Anthony Fung, Trong Shawn Ta, Wu Zhiyan and Janet Boregerson, Han Le, and many others. And in recent years, there has been a proliferation of academic conferences related to Asian popular music.

Teresa Teng

In this chapter, I will use Teresa Teng to as an example to examine the role of "imaginary nostalgia" in Sinophone music. Teng's role in perpetuating this fictional past and self-identity as "Chinese" becomes an intriguing example into the complexities and hybrid nature of the Sinophone identity.

Teresa Teng (1953-1995) is one of the most influential singers to reach out to the Sinophone and Chinese community and make a lasting vocal and visual impression. In her prolific career of nearly 30 years (1967-1995), Teng produced over 70 albums and 40 singles in not only Mandarin, but also in Japanese, Cantonese, Taiwanese and English. In her music tours in Southeast Asia, Teng also picked up regional languages, incorporating those into her repertoire, such as Malay and Indonesian. Teng's discography is equally diversified. It included influences from traditional Chinese tunes[43], covers[44] of popular songs – from 1930s Shanghai to contemporary times – and even covers of her own Japanese songs. One of her most well-known songs, "*Tian mimi* 甜蜜蜜" [Sweet like honey] is actually an adaptation of the Indonesian folk song "*Dayung Sampan*". Even though its origins are a folk song, the tune is now heavily associated to Teng's Chinese adaptation. This demonstrates Teng's influence and appeal in the Sinophone community. Even though Teng was not from mainland China, her appeal in the Chinese community is comparable, if not greater than in the Sinophone community, despite early political disapproval of her music by the Chinese government. Teng's discography appealed to her listener's shared sense of "imaginary nostalgia" towards a homeland that no longer, if ever. existed. As a citizen and celebrity of the Republic of China (ROC), she boosted the

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43 Traditional Chinese tunes refers to well-known folk and opera tunes.

44 A cover is a new performance or recording of a previously recorded, commercially released song.

morale of Kuomingtang (KMT) soldiers, who still clung to memories of the Mainland, through her performances that played off these sentiments and images of an earlier, more peaceful time.

Despite Teng's endeavor to reclaim an authentic Chineseness through music and costume, Teng ironically, in her lifetime could never be officially recognized as such a cultural ambassador by the government of her "ancestral homeland." In fact, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) considered her music "yellow" and "decadent," banning her from the official market and airwaves. Although born to a Mainlander family (i.e. to a KMT soldier who fled to Taiwan after 1949), Teng had never set foot on the Chinese mainland, only learning about "Chinese" culture through the nostalgia of other Mainlanders who had fled to Taiwan and settled on the KMT military compound. How then, could Teng, continue to claim a "Chinese" identity, when the one she had obtained, was an imagined one, one she visualized through the memories of others on the military compound? And more interestingly, how could Teng become a sort of cultural ambassador for Chinese music and culture?

I argue that while much of her songs imagined a Chinese cultural past, this past was largely catered to her Sinophone audiences, who also held a similar (sometimes imagined) sense of nostalgia. This past, although visually and musically familiar, was never truly experienced by any of her listeners, including herself. Although Teng's music and performance acts as a guide to bring listeners into this imagined world with her music and performances, she too, is an outsider looking in, imagining what is on the inside. In this way, Teng's music is an "autoethnographic" articulation, driven by what Rey Chow calls "primitive passions," or an attempt to find and reclaim an origin that has been lost or misplaced. Teng's music arose during a time of continued contestation between the KMT and CCP governments on the legitimacy of the "real China." For her

Sinophone audiences, who might have left generations before, this split was perceived as what Chow would characterize, "a moment cultural crisis" in which "traditional cultural [could] no longer monopolize signification."[45] Thus, this "fabrication of a *pre* [i.e. imagined nostalgia] [occurring] in the time of the *post*" through Teng's music provided a ground to reconcile these mixed feelings, and "think about the unthinkable." In this way, Teng's music becomes a "major place for the negotiation of cultural identity" both culturally and politically.[46]

TOUR GUIDE OF THE IMAGINARY

Born into a Mainland Chinese family in Yunlin, Taiwan in 1953, Teresa Teng grew up in a KMT military compound, surrounded by other KMT Mainland soldiers who had fled with Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887-1875) to Taiwan. Influenced musically by the tastes of those around her, Teng learned a number of *Huangmei* opera tunes and participated in singing competitions to perform *Huangmei* tunes, such as "*Fang Yintai* 訪英台 [Visiting Ying-tai]" from *The Butterfly Lovers*. Teng launched her epic singing career by signing with Universal Records in 1967 at age 14, releasing her first vinyl album, *Fengyang huagu* 鳳陽花鼓 [*Fengyang Flower Drum*], which featured popular *Huangmei* opera tunes. Even signed under Polygram Records in Hong Kong in 1975, Teng's tracks contained songs with supposed Chinese elements and origins; one such album is *Dandan youqing* 淡淡幽情 [Light exquisite feelings][47], which adapts classical Chinese poetry to a modern melody. One such tune is "*Danyuan ren changjiu* 但願人長久 [Wish for an everlasting relationship]" (1983), which adapts Song dynasty poet Su

45 Chow, *Visuality*, 22.

46 Chow, *Visuality*, 22.

47 Although Teng actively participated in the making of this album through her selections of poems to be adapted into song, Teng never penned any of the lyrics for her songs. The lyrics for many of her popular songs were penned by lyricist Zhuang Nu 莊奴.

Shi's (1037-1101), "*Shui dia ge tou* 水調歌頭 [Prelude to the melody of water]." The classical Chinese lyrics are accompanied by melody of western instruments, namely piano and symphony orchestra. In the music video for this particular song, [48] Teng dons on a black standard wide-sleeved Tang dynasty robe[49] in the first half, and a pink short-sleeved Song dress[50] in the second half. This mixing and matching of dress, although anachronistic costuming – considering "Wish for an everlasting relationship" is adapted from a Song poem, plays to the idea of a shared cultural past. In this television special, which premiered songs from *Light exquisite feelings*, Teng spoke of her experiences with Tang and Song poetry, as well as her desire to contribute in the transmission of "Chinese" culture. Dressed in period clothing, Teng addresses her audience at the beginning of this television special:

> I have one small desire. I hope everyone will like these songs, and will learn these songs, so that the flourishing begonias within its [China's] ten million square kilometers and the treasures of this 5000-year-old culture can be handed down generation to generation through song. And through song, I hope our posterity will never forget the happiness, sadness, and glory of being a "Chinese" person.[51]

In this "mission statement," Teng brings the responsibility of embodying and passing down "Chinese" culture onto herself and her listeners. However, this "Chinese" culture is one created from a share and imagined past that emerged through literature, namely Tang and Song poetry. While Teng addresses herself and her audience as "*Zhongguo ren*中國人" [Chinese], this "Chinese" refers not to nationality, or necessarily ethnicity, but rather

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48 "MTV *Dandan youqing*3 MTV淡淡幽情3 [MTV Light Exquisite Feelings3]," YouTube video, 5:39, posted by "Theresagqp," http://youtu.be/Tht6sShUpPI.

49 "Costume in the Tang Dynasty," China Culture (*Zhongguo wenhua wang* 中国文化网), *Ministry of Culture, P.R.China*. n.d., http://www.chinaculture.org/gb/en_chinaway/2003-09/24/content_28399.htm.

50 "Costume in the Song Dynasty," China Culture (*Zhongguo wenhua wang* 中国文化网), *Ministry of Culture, P.R.China*, n.d., http://www.chinaculture.org/gb/en_chinaway/2003-09/24/content_28394.htm.

51 "MTV *Dandan youqing*1 MTV淡淡幽情1 [MTV Light Exquisite Feelings1]," YouTube video, 1:58, posted by "Theresagqp," http://youtu.be/Mb3yZgTkNgs.

to a shared culture, and a shared nostalgia via a literary tradition. However, this sense of community stems not from her own memories or interactions with others, but rather through her own interpretation of classical Chinese poetry.

In addition to her album *Light exquisite feelings*, which appeals to a Chinese literary past, many of Teng's songs reflects an "imagined nostalgia" of China, her "motherland." Examples include covers from 1930s and 1940s Shanghai, such as "*Heri jun zai lai* 何日君再來 [When will you return?]" (Zhou Xuan 周璇) (1938) and "*Yelai xiang* 夜來香 [Tuberose]" (Li Xianglan 李香蘭 aka Ri Koran, Shirley Yamaguchi) (1944), and original songs, such as "*Xiaocheng gushi* 小城故事 (Story of a small town)" (1975). Teng's covers of classics from 1930s and 1940s illustrate a nostalgia for a time even before her birth, more specifically of one from her father's generation, i.e. the generation of KMT soldiers from the Mainland – as well as that of her song composers' and lyricists' past, most famously Zhuang Nu 莊奴 (b. 1921).[52] Even though Teng never wrote any of her own lyrics, Teng's performance breathed new life into these songs and nostalgic feelings, causing people to associate this sentimentality with her, thereby making this nostalgia hers.

Teng undertook this feeling of nostalgia and became a propagandistic beacon of "home," especially for the KMT soldiers on the island. During her career, Teng paid a visit to Whampoa Military Academy 中國國民黨陸軍軍官學校 a number of times to sing for the soldiers there, and even visited the Kinmen military base. At Kinmen, she broadcasted her approval and support of democracy and the soldiers at Kinmen who

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[52] Zhuang Nu was born in Beijing, but fled with the KMT to Taiwan in 1949. He has penned the lyrics for a number of well-known songs including Teng's "Sweet like honey" and "Story of a small town."

stood at the front lines to protect it.[53] Teng's activities with KMT troops should be viewed as morale boosting, and not in a political sense. The "nostalgic" tunes Teng gave these troops capitalized on the KMT soldiers' longing for the homeland they had either left not too long ago, or perhaps, like Teng, had only learned through the stories and memories of others. In a pro-democracy rally in Hong Kong,[54] Teng sang "*Wojia zai shande na yibian* 家在山的那一邊 [Home is on the other side of the mountain]." This song tells the story of a utopia in which everything was perfect and no one had any worries. However, one day, a "rodent" emerged from a cave and ruined this paradise, changing everyone's circumstances. Though Teng's message is political ("Oppose military control"[55]), her listener's understanding of this song, again, relies on a sense of homesickness for a fictional utopia, one that was ruined by a metaphorical rodent.

Similarly, "Story of a small town" exemplifies nostalgia for a seemingly timeless paradise, which always "looks like a painting" and "sounds like a song." Teng becomes a tourist guide, encouraging listeners to "come be a guest" to this nameless dreamscape that is "good and beautiful." This song in some ways becomes a metaphor for Teng's discography. Through her music, Teng acts as a "tourism ambassador" inviting listeners to indulge in the imaginary sentimentality for China and Chineseness created through the tune and lyrics. Ironically, Teng extends a hand of hospitality, assuming her role as "host" to this seemingly imagined utopia built upon the memories of others. This

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53 "*1991nian nianjia 38sui Deng Lijun zai Jinmen xiang Dalu tongbao hanhuo* 1991年年届38岁邓丽君在金门向大陆同胞喊话 [1998, 38-year-old Teresa Teng speaks to Mainland compatriots from Kinmen]," YouTube video, 2:26, posted by "ABRAHAMA1225329，" http://youtu.be/npMzzKFmMcI.

54 "1989 *Deng lijun minzhu gequ xian Zhonghua* 1989邓丽君民主歌曲献中华 [1989 Teresa Teng offers song of democracy to China]," YouTube video, 5:07, posted by "wowumao," http://youtu.be/6u9_E8vUXZQ.

55 At the Hong Kong rally, Teng donned a short do, headband, sunglasses, and a handwritten sign around her neck reading, "Oppose military control (*Fandui junguan* 反對軍管)."

exemplifies Wang's notion of an "imaginary nostalgia" that recreates a past, riddled with traces of the present. The "present" becomes even more prominent in the instrumentation of these nostalgic pieces. While a number of Teng's songs uses traditional Chinese instruments such as *erhu*, *dizi*, and *guzheng*, the background instrumentals and musical interludes incorporates big band instruments used in jazz pieces, such as violins, double bass, saxophones, and drums. However, this blend of East and West was blindsided by the overwhelming sense of nostalgia felt by her listeners. This recreation of a shared imagined past shares many characteristics with Taiwanese American Wang Leehom's Sinophone articulation of a "chinked-out" style of music, which will be discussed in the next chapter. However, Wang's case differs slightly from Teng, in that he composes most of his "chinked-out" tunes.

HER SWEET, SWEET VOICE

In fact, Teng's claim to this Chineseness tended to overshadow the hybridity of the origins of her music. A number of Mandarin songs popularized by Teng, while not Chinese in origin, have gained fame in their Mandarin form. This popularization not only speaks to Teng's influence in Mandarin popular music, but also exemplifies the erasure of the song's origins. For example, Teng's "Sweet like honey" was originally an Indonesian folk song, "*Dayung sampan* [Row the boat]." While the basic melody (not necessarily instrumentation) share great similarities, the lyrics of the original Indonesian folk song differ greatly from the Chinese lyrics.

Indonesian lyrics:[56]	Chinese lyrics:
On board a wooden boat	As sweet as honey
The boat is being rowed	Your smile is sweet as honey

56 "(*cheommilmil*) 첨 밀 밀 Tian mi mi," *Sesog-e mudhyeo* 세 속 에 묻 혀 [Buried in secular], October 24, 2009, http://secular-textcube.blogspot.com/2009/10.

The boat is fast because of the fisherman
Heading to the blue beach
If you are looking for a love one
Be aware of the fisherman
Jealously abounds
Yes, yes, yes. yes
Be aware of your jealousy
Jealousy will falsify your heart
Row, row, row the boat
On board the boat to net fish
fish is caught because of the fisherman
In the middle of the river mouth
If you are looking for food
Food is being taken care of by the fisherman
Towards the voice of oneness
Yes, yes, yes, yes
Come towards the voice of oneness
Together in a voice of oneness
Row, row, row the boat

Just like the way flowers bloom
in the spring breeze
I wonder where
where I've seen you
Your smile is so familiar to me
But I still cannot remember!
Ah..... in my dreams!!!
In my dreams
… in my dreams I've met you.
So sweet,
… you smile so sweetly
It's you It is you
The one I saw in my dreams is you.
I wonder where
…where I've seen you?
Your smile is so familiar to me
but I still cannot remember!
Ah..... in my dreams!!!

The original Indonesian lyrics exhibit many characteristics of a traditional folk song, which Isabelle Mills describes as songs that give "poignant reminders of the universal timeless characteristics of mankind in their living, loving, toiling, and suffering."[57] Folk

57 Mills, Folk song.

songs typically use every occupation and "tasks common to family life," including fishing, to "sing of the expression of the spirit resulting in songs of […] the joys and burdens of love."[58] The Indonesian lyrics tell of love and jealousy, food, and community through the metaphor of a fisherman and his rowing of the boat. The Chinese lyrics, on the other hand, have very little to do with the original Indonesian lyrics. In fact, lyricist Zhuang Nu penned the lyrics for Teng and her "sweet honey"-like voice only through his impression of her through television.[59] Similar to "Story of a small town" (also penned by Zhuang), the narrator reminisces of an imagined past and indulges in a dreamscape, daydreaming only of a sweet, sweet smile. More importantly, despite recording this melody in Mandarin, Cantonese, and Indonesian, of the three, the Mandarin remains the most popular. In fact, some netizens have even assumed that this song is actually Taiwanese/Chinese in origin, rather than Indonesian. This sort of assumption bespeaks Teng's role as the ambassador of an idyllic dreamscape, one created by her sweet voice and flawless pronunciation of Mandarin.

There have also been a number of covers of "Sweet like honey", which simultaneously act to legitimize and create an origin of Chineseness, but add to the complex layers of hybridity. In addition to the aforementioned Cantonese version, this song has been remade into a rap ballad by Taiwanese American Andrew Chou 周立銘 and Korean American Mandopop singer Nicky Lee 李玖哲. The rap adds a modern twist to love, or perhaps in this case sweet "puppy love." The music video[60] invokes a type of

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58 Mills, Folk Song.

59 Dong Shu, "*Meiyou Zhuang Nu jiu meiyou Deng Lijun –"Zenme yiwang Deng Lijun" chuban hou ji wen* 沒有庄奴就沒有鄧麗君 -- 《怎麼遺忘鄧麗君》出版后記文 [Without Zhuang Nu, there would be no Teresa Teng. – published in postscript to "How do we forget Teresa Teng," December 29, 2005, http://chinese.people.com.cn/BIG5/42476/56994/56996/3984706.html.

60 "*Maji didi – Tian mimi (Rap version)* 麻吉弟弟 – 甜蜜蜜 (Rap版) [Machi didi – Sweet as honey (Rap version)]," YouTube video, 3:36, posted by "fhlew," http://youtu.be/eQ3yUo-eNtQ.

nostalgia with its sepia-filtered lens and Republican era clothing, backdrop, and props. In this context, the originally Indonesian song has been appropriated to simultaneously and paradoxically appeal to a contemporary audience, yet fit the memory of a Chinese past (more specifically of Republican China) via the voices of two Asian Americans, only one of whom with little prior contact with "Chineseness."[61]

Because of this "imaginary nostalgia" of a shared Chinese cultural past, Teng's appeal among her Chinese audience is equal, if not stronger than the one found in the Sinophone community. In 1983, all of Teng's music was officially banned from sanctioned airwaves in the PRC because they were deemed "yellow" and "decadent." Despite this, her fans continued to adore and support her through underground means, such as circulating bootleg cassettes of her songs. During that time, it was said "During the day, people would listen to Old Deng [referring to Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平], and during the night, people would listen to Little Deng [referring to Teresa Teng]."[62] While Teng is known for her Sinophone background as a Taiwanese singer, the imagined idyllic Chinese past found in her songs appealed equally to her mainland Chinese audience.

STAYING SINOPHONE IN JAPAN

Teng acted as a Sinophone icon, not only for those in the Sinophone community, but also to her audience in Japan. Signed to Polydor in 1974 and then to Taurus in1983, Teng had a lucrative career in Japan. Only one of a handful of Sinophone musicians in Japan, two others being Ouyang Feifei 歐陽菲菲 and Judy Ongg 翁倩玉, Teng appealed to her Japanese audience's "primitive passions" of what they imagined

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61 Korean American Nicky Lee debuted in 2003 as a member of the Taiwanese hip-hop group Machi 麻吉, of which Andrew Chou was also a member. Lee later launched a lucrative solo career as a Sinophone pop musician, releasing 5 Mandarin-language albums as of February 2012.

62 白天聽老鄧，晚上聽小鄧°

"Chinese" people and culture to be, or had been. Teng's most telling Sinophone quality was her pronunciation and intonation of the Japanese language. One example was Teng's pronunciation of "-u" endings, which emphasized the "u" sounds (pronounced like "oo"), rather than subtly tapering off at the end, as is typically done in standard Japanese. Her pronunciation of the "r" sound resembled more closely an "l" sound rather than a "r-l-d" sound.[63] These "glitches" in pronunciation, however, were reminiscent of the ways in which Taiwanese people spoke Japanese. These "Sinophone" qualities, although foreign to the Japanese audience, felt "culturally proximate," and promoted a sense of nostalgia for Taiwan.

Teng also visually stimulated this Japanese "imaginary nostalgia" of Chinese culture that reached as far back as the Tang Dynasty (618 CE – 907 CE). One such example was her 1985 performance at the 36th annual *Kōhaku Uta Gassen* 紅白歌合戦 [Red white song battle], in which she performed her hit single "*Aijin* 愛人" [Lover].[64] In the introduction of the show, Teng, who was dressed in a glittery white *qipao* was escorted by White team opponent Sen Masao 千 昌夫, who was wearing a tuxedo suit. Japanese singers before and after her were dressed in various styles of evening gowns and costumes. While the decision to wear a *qipao* as formal wear to the *Kōhaku* can be seen as a costume for her debut performance at the *Kohaku*, this decision has two very distinct yet similar autoethnic implications. First was Teng's desire to capitalize on her image as a foreigner, catering to her audience's tastes and expectations. Secondly, while Teng exercises her agency in displaying her foreign quality, this decision to emphasize her

63 The Japanese "r" sound is a combination of "r," "l," and "d" sounds, about 70% r, 20% l, and 10% d (KOICHI).

64 "*Deng lijun huojiang jijin* (5) 1985*nian hongbai geihui airen* 鄧麗君获奖集锦（5）1985年紅白歌合戦 愛人 [Collection of Teresa Teng receiving awards (5) 1985 Kōhaku Uta Gassen *Aijin*]," Tudou video, 6:02, posted by "xiaxi," http://www.tudou.com/programs/view/R-GF_SVOyEM.

foreignness, I would argue, is imposed by her Japanese audience, more specifically, a forced image of what they believe Chinese culture and people embody. For her actual performance during the *Kōhaku*, Teng dressed up in Tang garb as Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (or Imperial Consort Yang), known as Yōkihi in Japan. This particular reference plays off the story and cultural imaginary of the legend of Yōkihi's escape to Japan after the An Lushan Rebellion 安史之亂 (755 CE - 763 CE).[65] Most importantly, this story takes place during the Tang dynasty, a period of Chinese history from which Japan draws much inspiration. In fact, *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語), often credited as the world's first novel, is supposedly inspired by the story of Yang Guifei / Yōkihi.[66] Thus, in dressing up as Yōkihi, Teng was not only selling her sex appeal,[67] but also conjuring up multiple cultural imaginaries, and selling her performance via "primitive passions" for a Chinese and Japanese past.

Teng is also a Sinophone icon with many influences from Japan. In fact, many of Teng's songs that have become classics in Chinese popular music are Chinese covers of her own Japanese songs, such as "*Qingren de guanhuai* 情人的關懷 [The care of a lover]," "*Zaijian! Wode airen* 再見！我的愛人 [Goodbye! My love]," and "*Wo zhi zaihu ni* 我只在乎你 [I care only for you]."[68] This is especially true for "I care only for you," which has been continually covered by other musicians in their own albums, such as Gigi Leung 梁詠琪 (Liang Yongqi), Yu Quan 羽泉, and most famously Faye Wong

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65 Some believe that Yang Guifei did not die in Mawei Station (馬嵬驛) after the An Lushan Rebellion, but rather fled to Japan to live out the rest of her days (Yang Gui Fei).

66 "Yang Gui Fei, 杨贵妃as Yohiki." *Chinatownology*. http://www.chinatownology.com/yokihi.html.

67 Towards the end of her performance, Teng slowly took off the top layer of her costume, in the end revealing her bare shoulders.

68 These are covers of the Japanese songs "Kūkō 空港 [Airport]" (1974), "Goodbye, My love グッド・バイ・マイ・ラブ" (1975), and "*Tokinonagareni miwomakase* 時の流れに身をまかせ [Giving oneself to the flow of time]" (1986), respectively. Teng's version of "Goodbye, My love" is actually a cover of Japanese pop singer, Ann Lewis' 1974 single by the same name.

王菲. The continual coverage of the Chinese version of "I only care for you," essentially erases its Japanese origins in the Sinophone communities. Teng's coverage of her own Japanese songs points to the influence of the Japanese music scene in influencing the tastes of the Sinophone community. In fact, Teng's second Japanese single "Kūkō 空港 [Airport]" (1974), the original version of "*Qingren de guanhuai*" earned Teng the Rookie of the Year award at the 16th annual Japan Records Award[69] and a spot on NHK's prestigious annual Japanese New Year's music show *Kōhaku Uta Gassen*.[70] Her subsequent Japanese singles topped the Oricon charts as well,[71] including "Goodbye, My Love" and "*Tokino nagareni miwo makase*" (the original for "I care only for you").

Teng's discography also took cues from other linguistic and cultural influences both Sinophone and not, including Cantonese, Taiwanese, and English, namely in the form of covers. Some examples include "Soeng1 si1 leoi6 相思淚 [Tears of longing]" (Cantonese), "Sio bah-tsàng 燒肉粽 [Hot meat rice dumpling]" (Taiwanese), and George Michael's "Careless Whispers" (English).

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69 Lily. "Award List 受 賞 記 録." *Teresa Teng Database*. April 18 2010. http://www.ne.jp/asahi/lily/teresa/teresa2/data/prize.htm.

70 The *Kōhaku Uta Gassen* 紅白歌合戦 [Red white song battle], or *Kōhaku,* held by NHK (Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai 日本放送協会 [Japan Broadcasting Corporation]), is the most-viewed and highest-rated nationally televised annual music competition. Held during NHK's New Year's Eve celebration, it acts as an annual litmus test of popular culture. (Although viewership has declined in previous years, it is still the top-rated televised musical event each year. The viewership and production is akin to the popular program/tradition of Dick Clark's Rockin' New Years Eve in America.) The honor of performing at *Kōhaku* is strictly by invitation; therefore, only the most successful Japanese pop artists and *enka* singers can perform. Artist selection is based on record sales, demographic surveys that indicate the most popular singer for various demographics, audience preference, and the song's adaptability to the theme for that year's *Kōhaku*. The strict selection policies and widespread audience make the *Kōhaku* one of the most important indicators, as well as propeller of an artist's success in the Japanese music industry.

71 Japan's Oricon chart is equivalent to the American Billboard charts.

"I AM 'CHINESE'"

This image of Teng's hybrid identity is only deepened by her monologue to her Japanese audience during the televised broadcast of her 15th anniversary concert.

> I am *Chinese* [italics indicate words spoken in English]. No matter where I go in the world, no matter what I do in life, I am *Chinese*. Therefore, the events in China this year make my heart ache. What concerns me is where China's future will be. I want to be free. And I think that all people should be free. So when freedom is compromised, it is a very sad thing. But I think these feelings of hurt and sadness will be lifted one day. Anyone can understand this. I believe that this day will come and I will continue to sing.[72]

Teng's decision to describe herself as "Chinese" (indicating one's nationality/ethnicity) in English, rather than in Japanese *chūgokujin* ちゅうごくじん 中国人 or Mandarin *Zhōngguórén* 中國人,[73] illustrates the complex nature and confusion of her identity as a Sinophone person. In other words, Teng believes that her identity cannot be wrapped up by the confines of the characters 中國人/中国人, or in other words, a person from the country of China. In contrast to the characters 中國人/中国人, the English word "Chinese" carries multiple connotations and differentiations.

In fact in English, the term "Chinese" suffers from confusing complexities, which make it not only a noun and adjective, but also a realm for contestation, linguistically, culturally, and politically. As a noun, "Chinese" can refer to the people or the language. In referring to the language, while "Chinese" typically refers to the standard or Mandarin dialect, it may be modified with an adjective i.e. the name of a dialect, such as Cantonese or Shanghainese, for clarification. In referring to people, this typically refers to nationality, which stereotypically refers to the Han Chinese population. But in a

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72 "*Kanashii jiyū* (*Beishang de ziyou*) 1989*nian Deng Lijun,qing kan dubai* 悲しい自由 (悲傷的自由) 1989年鄧麗君，請看獨白 ["Sad freedom" 1989 Teresa Teng, please read description]." YouTube video, 3:37. Posted by "tnfdbmuifd." http://youtu.be/ad5LnXsO_jc.

73 Prior to her monologue, she had thanked her audience for their applause in Mandarin xièxie 謝謝.

population of over 1.3 billion people, one born in China can be nationally Chinese, but not be ethnically Chinese. This term is also used vaguely to encompass the overseas Chinese, or what this paper refers to as the Sinophone population. The adjective can be used culturally or politically. Culturally, this can refer to simultaneously and contradictorily to the traditional and modern, each drastically different in area and era, and is ever changing. Politically, Chinese is a realm of contestation and struggle between the CCP and the KMT to claim legitimacy as the true Chinese ruling party, the "real China."

Therefore, the use of this English term, "Chinese," points not only to an image of a seemingly timeless culture and community, but also to the politically and culturally ambiguous present, perhaps the same internal chaos faced by a Sinophone person. This confusion speaks to the conditions from which "primitive passions" arise, in which there is a "cultural crisis" where "traditional culture no longer monopolizes signification" and where "commonplace" no longer finds a "common place."[74] Therefore, the use of the term "Chinese" does not necessarily bind Teng to China and Chineseness, but rather describes an ambiguous state of mind. And because of the lack of a better word, she must resort to using a neutral, but equivocal term that means everything and nothing, all at once.

Therefore, even though Teng's songs often play upon an "imaginary nostalgia" of a homeland, this homeland is not necessarily China, but rather a nameless utopia and timeless past. In fact, this nostalgia was not necessarily even hers, but rather imposed upon her by those around her. For example, the influence of Shanghai classics and *Huangmei* opera tunes came from her childhood vocalist teacher, who was military

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74 Chow, *Visuality*, 23.

musical instructor, Li Chengqing 李成清.[75] Inevitably, Teng's teacher would instill a music repertoire of songs popular among the newly settled KMT soldiers, a repertoire of nostalgia for the Mainland. Furthermore, Teng's discography, which contained a great number of covers of songs from the heyday of Shanghai, inevitably conjured a feeling of nostalgia among her listeners. Additionally, the lyrics of many of her most well known, such as "Story of a small town," were written by Zhuang Nu, not Teng. Therefore, in many ways, Zhuang imposed his homesickness and hospitality on Teng, using her voice as a medium to convey this sense of longing. However, this voice appealed to a large audience, who had been quite recently displaced from their "homeland." Even though Teng selected the poems to be used in her album *Light exquisite feelings*, which featured Tang and Song poetry put to a modern "Chinese Style" tune, ultimately the decision in musical arrangement was made by someone else. Moreover, the popularity and acceptance of these songs would not work without the cooperation of listeners who related to these poems and musical styles.

The brief analysis of Teng's music and performance, we begin to understand the dimensions of Sinophonicity, and the influences that shape the way it is expressed. Growing up during a time of cultural and political struggle, Teng used her music repertoire to understand the world around her and her place in it. As seen from Teng's example, her discography pulled inspiration from the music she listened to as a child – from traditional Chinese tunes and classics from Shanghai to local Taiwanese songs that were sung in Mandarin to Japanese tunes, and even her own Japanese songs. Born in Taiwan, Teng was essentially removed from the Chinese culture, only obtaining bits and

75 Ta, *Becoming*, 32.

pieces in the form of songs and broken memories from the Mainlanders she interacted with throughout her life, from those at the KMT military compound, to her music teachers, and eventually Mainlander lyricist Zhuang Nu. With Teng's knowledge and instilled nostalgia for a homeland she had never been to, she was able to translate Zhuang's feelings of longing and images of a more idyllic time in China's past. Teng conveyance of this "imaginary nostalgia" for a cultural past through her sweet honey-like voice touched not only her Sinophone and Chinese audience, but also to her audience in Japan. This "universal" sense of nostalgia worked only with the cooperation of her audience's sentimentality.

Wang Leehom

Growing up as a first generation Taiwanese American in New York, Wang had very little contact with the Chinese culture and language. In fact, Wang did not learn to speak Mandarin Chinese until his freshman year at William College.[76] Even though Wang is now known for his fusion of traditional Chinese music with Western genres, Wang's early musical influences came mainly from Western musicians with diverse musical interests from pop and R&B to rock and hip-hop, and of course classical and jazz. Some examples include Prince, Alicia Keys, Outkast, Missy Elliot, Leonard Bernstein, Bartok, and Thelonious Monk.[77] These diverse influences can be seen in his equally diverse discography. Considering this mainly Western background, Wang's recognition and popularity as a Chinese pop star, who is seemingly well-versed in traditional Chinese music and culture is interesting. How is that a Taiwanese American, essentially three times removed from the Chiense culture – 1) Wang's ancestors moved from Zhejiang, China to Taiwan, 2) Wang's parents moved from Taiwan to the United States, 3) Wang's upbringing in the United States – is so intimately related with a Chinese culture he had previously known so little about? Wang's track record of successful albums, patented "chinked-out" style, and countless endorsement and appearances have made him one of the most successful and influential figures in the Chinese popular music scene, in and out of the Sinophone communities. Moreover, his role as a producer *and* performer in different entertainment fields lend us a better view of Wang's agency, and his audience's reception towards his performances. This chapter

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76 Record Staff, "Spring Streeter turns Chinese superstar," *The Williams Record*, April 16, 2008, http://lhthfc.4.forumer.com/index.php?showtopic=989.

77 Leehom Wang, interview by Lorraine Hahn. *CNN Talk Asia*. CNN. YouTube. June 16, 2006. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=khAydof07a0.

examines the case of Wang Leehom and his patented "chinked-out" style to understand the multiplicity of both Sinophone and Chineseness, as well as the interactions and tension between the two.

WHO IS WANG LEEHOM?

Wang Leehom, a New York-born Taiwanese American singer-songwriter, debuted in the Mandopop scene with his first album *Qingdi Beiduofen* 情敵貝多芬 [*Love rival, Beethoven*][78] in 1995. Since then, Wang has released a total of fourteen Mandarin-language studio albums, two Japanese-language releases,[79] four live albums, and four compilation albums. As a musician, Wang is most known for his patented "chinked-out" style, which blends traditional Chinese elements with hip-hop and rock. In addition to composing his own songs, Wang has also delved into a number of other activities, such as acting, directing, and audio production. Like many celebrities, Wang has received a number of major endorsements from corporations such as Sony Ericsson, McDonalds, and Nike. In conjunction with his music, these endorsements help boost and spread his celebrity image and popularity throughout the Chinese and Sinophone community. Combined with his "chinked-out" music, these images of Wang present a tug-of-war between the Chineseness and Sinophone in his identity. While Wang tries to utilize Chinese culture to appeal to a larger audience, he also tries to incorporate Western elements to play off his Westerness.

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78 Wang's albums did not have an official English title until his fifth studio album, *Revolution* (*Gongzhuan zizhuan* 公轉自傳). For a smoother reading flow, albums and songs that only have a Chinese title will have an English translation provided. After the initial reference, they will be referred to by their English translation.

79 Wang debuted in Japan in 2003with the single The Only One (ジ・オンリー・ワン).

PAVING THE WAY

Wang's discography marks several stages in the tug-of-war between Sinophone and Chineseness, which eventually led to his current "chinked-out" style of music, and paved the way for Wang to continually (re-)present himself and his Sinophone identity. Although Wang's first album contained a couple of English language tracks, Wang's singing style and tone quality highly resembled his Cantopop contemporaries. After switching to Decca Records in 1996, Wang's style increasingly incorporated more Western elements both in language, lyrics, and melody. Wang's fifth album *Revolution* (*Gongzhuan zizhuan* 公轉自傳) witnessed a dramatic shift, which increasingly emphasized his identity as more Western and more American in the Sinophone pop world. In 2000, the release of the track "*Long de chuanren* 龍的傳人 [Heirs of dragon]" marked an attempt to reconcile his hybrid Sinophone identity, as well as his first instance of dabbling into his current "chinked-out" style. Wang's "chinked-out" style represents his efforts to reclaim and reconcile his hybrid identity through the medium of music.

Wang's early music bore many similarities to his Cantopop and *Shilipai*[80] music contemporaries – from the musical compositions to the singing style and tone quality of his voice. While still a student at Williams College in New York, Wang signed with BMG Taiwan to release his first album *Love Rival, Beethoven*. After the flop of his first album with BMG Taiwan, Wang signed with Decca Records Taiwan and released his second album *Ruguo ni tingjian wo de ge* 如果你聽見我的歌 [*If you hear my song*], which featured a number of his own compositions and began to catch people's attention. While Wang did experiment with a variety of musical genres, for the most part, his singing style in these early albums strongly resembled other well-known Sinophone

80 *Shilipai* 實力派, or power singers, are noted for their singing abilities. They are typically differentiated from *Ouxiangpai* 偶像派, or idol singers, who gain celebrity status from their looks.

singers, such as Jacky Cheung 張學友 and Andy Lau 劉德華,[81] who were active mainly in the Cantopop industry. Save the few exceptions of English cover songs, Wang's songs were sung mainly in Mandarin, perfecting mimicking the accents and tone color of his contemporaries. Therefore, being neither from Hong Kong nor Taiwan, Wang's emulation of his contemporaries made his music both familiar and exotic. Wang's music was familiar, because of the similarity in Wang's voice to his Sinophone *Shilipai* contemporaries in the Cantopop scene, which had one of the largest influences on the early Mandopop industry. In this way, Wang's image played off an "imaginary nostalgia" of music from an earlier time. In a seemingly contradictory marketing strategy, early albums also capitalized on Wang's native English fluency by asking him to sing English covers and originals. However, the English language only appeared in these isolated incidences, never appearing in any of his Mandarin-language songs, and act that simultaneously segregated and melded the familiar and the foreign. Although the English language appeared in isolated tracks that only utilized English, its presence on the album track list presented a sort of cultural mix tape that was exotic, but proximate. This seemingly exotic mix played off a cultural condition that felt somewhat familiar, e.g. Britain's colonial presence in Hong Kong. Therefore, although Wang's early albums emulated Sinophone conditions familiar to himself (i.e. East meets West), they were not his own.

Gradually, Wang began to experiment with elements from different Western genres in his songs, including funk (e.g. "*Han wo yiqian bian* 喊我一千遍 [Call me one thousand times]," 1996), doo-wop (e.g. "*Buyao kai deng* 不要開燈 [Don't turn on the

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81 Jacky Cheung and Andy Lau are two of the four celebrities that comprise what the Chinese media called "The Four Heavenly Kings" (*Si da tianwang*). Along with Aaron Kwok and Leon Lai, these four were popular solo celebrities who dominated the music scene and popular media coverage.

lights]," 1997), and even cabaret or vaudeville (e.g. "*Si yue hai hui xia xue* 四月還會下雪 [It still snows in April]," 1997), and the use of English became less isolated. These music genres originate from the United States, and with the exception of cabaret, funk and doo-wap emerged from the African American community.[82] This gradual inclusion speaks to a formation of a Sinophone identity that moves slightly away from the notion of the necessary of Chineseness, and more towards the creolization of local and global elements.

In 1998, Wang made the switch over to Sony Music Entertainment and released his fifth studio album *Revolution*, which incidentally revolutionized his career and music. This album won him the awards for Best Producer and Best Male Vocalist[83] at the Golden Melody Awards in Taiwan,[84] making him the youngest to win in either category.[85] But most importantly, this switch in music labels marked a dramatic change in his identification as a Sinophone musician, a change that can be seen through his language usage, lyrics, and musical composition. In this album, the pronunciation of his Chinese words more closely reflected the image of a Sinophone person from a primarily English-speaking country, such as the United States.[86] *Revolution* was also the first of Wang's Mandarin albums to include an official English-language title on the cover.

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82 Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001) s.v. "Doo-wap," "funk," and "caberet."

83 "Liqu jinqu jian de ruwei mingdan 歷屆金曲獎得獎入圍名單 [Past Golden Melody Award finalists]," Government Information Office, Republic of China (Taiwan), June 28, 2010, http://info.gio.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=25585&CtNode=2774&mp=1.

84 The Golden Melody award is the Chinese equivalent of the American Grammy award.

85 Yujun Feng. "Wang lihong 10 yue 21 ri bendi juban yanchanghui 王力宏10月21日本地举办演唱会 [Wang Leehom to have a concert here on October 21]," *Lianhe Zaobao*, August 24, 2006, http://stars.zaobao.com/pages3/wanglihong060824.html.

86 Typically English speakers learning Chinese will over-enunciate many aspirated and voiced sounds such as "t" and "r".

In the introduction of his song "Impossible to Miss You" (*Bu keneng cuoguo ni* 不可能錯過你), from the same-name album (1999), Wang made an explicit effort to point out his foreignness in heavily accented Chinese.

Hey there, how you doin'

You speak English?

Oh, then let's speak in Chinese.[87]

But my Chinese isn't very good.

Yeah, and to be honest, I don't really understand your jokes either.

Sorry about that.[88]

Here Wang presents himself as being able to communicate in both English and Mandarin, but never quite able to fully comprehend the Chinese cultural or linguistic context, expressing a very Sinophone reality. Even though Wang's ancestors come from China and he is able to speak Chinese, being a Taiwanese American, he is detached by at least two degrees of separation from the Chinese linguistic and cultural context, speaking to the notion of Sinophone, in which Chineseness is but only one part of their heterogeneous identity.

HEIRS OF DRAGON

Wang's cover of "Heirs of dragon" (2000) is one of his first major efforts, before the official introduction of his "chinked-out" style, to renegotiate his Sinophone identity and contesting the notion of a single Chineseness. "Heirs of dragon" (1978) was originally composed and penned by singer/songwriter Hou Dejian 侯德健, and first recorded by Taiwanese singer Li Chien-Fu 李建復 in 1978, as an expression of

87 The *italicized* portions indicate that it was spoken in Chinese.

88 Leehom Wang, "*Impossible to Miss You (Bu Keneng Shiqu Ni 不可能錯過你)*." *Impossible to Miss You (Bu Keneng Shiqu Ni 不可能錯過你)*. Sony Music Taiwan SDD 9919, 1999, compact disc.

frustration towards the U.S.'s decision to break diplomatic ties with the Republic of China (Taiwan). This frustration is expressed in the last verse, which alludes to another "national humiliation," the "unfair treaties" after China's defeat in the Opium Wars. The song lyrics also romanticize the experience of "growing up under the claw of the dragon" and the feelings of pride and longing for a shared cultural past, despite having never been to mainland China. This melancholy tune quickly spread throughout Taiwan as a patriotic anthem.[89]

In 2000, Wang covered Li's version using a proto-"chinked-out" style, which adapted the lyrics of the song with a hip-hop beat and an added English-language rap at the end. By replacing the original song's reference to the "national humiliation" with the narrative of the Taiwanese American, or Sinophone experience, Wang's version looked to redefine the idea of being Chinese and Chineseness, one not necessarily connected to experiences on the Mainland. This song contains feelings of nostalgia and longing for an "imagined" shared cultural past. This feeling of "imaginary nostalgia" is explicitly stated in his lyrics documenting the Taiwanese American immigrant experience.

Many years ago on a tranquil night
Our whole family arrived in New York
Nothing can destroy what's in our hearts
Every night, every day longing for home
I grew up in someone else's land
After I grew up I became an heir of the dragon.[90]

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89 Meredith Oyen, "*Long de chuanren* Heirs of the Dragon" 龍的傳人 Heirs of the Dragon, http://www.onedayinmay.net/Other/Leehom/HeirsDragon.html.
90 Oyen, Heirs of Dragon.

These lyrics imply that even though being in Taiwan was already a great distance from China, when being somewhere as far away as New York, there is still a longing for the Chinese "homeland." And despite being so far away, after growing up, he, a Taiwanese American, "became an heir of the dragon." Wang's English rap makes an even bolder statement in the redefinition of Chineseness through the insertion of the Taiwanese American experience into the narrative of Chineseness.

The inclusion of this narrative makes several assumptions. First, Taiwanese, and by extension the "heirs of the dragon" are all Chinese. Secondly, this Chinese experience can even be expressed in non-Sinitic sounds, such as English. Thirdly, this looks to redefine the notions of Chinese traditions and beliefs to include outside influences, such as Christianity, by consummating marriages under "GOD." Wang's version expresses that despite the fact that the Taiwanese American experience is greatly different from the experiences of the songwriter Hou Dejian and even Wang's second cousin[91], Li Chien-Fu, these experiences still fall under the same continuous narrative, the narrative of the "heirs of the dragon." These superficial connections to China illustrate the same Sinophone desire that these three share, an "imagined nostalgia" for a homeland that no longer, if it ever, existed.

CHINKED-OUT

Wang's debut of his self-proclaimed "chinked-out" style in 2004, illustrates his attempt to express his feelings of "imaginary nostalgia," by tapping into his "primitive passions." In 2004, Wang introduced his patented "chinked-out" style, in his tenth album *Shangri-La* (*Xinzhong de riyue* 心中的日月) and continued it into his eleventh album *Heroes of Earth* (*Gaishi yingxiong* 蓋世英雄), and again in his thirteenth and fourteenth

91 Li Chien-Fu is Wang's *biaoshu* 表叔, or his mother's younger cousin, making him Wang's second cousin, once removed.

albums *Heart. Beat (Xin. Tiao* 心。跳) and *The 18 Martial Arts* (*Shibaban Wuyi* 十八般武藝). With his "chinked-out" style of music, Wang sought to revolutionize hip-hop, R&B, and eventually rock, through its use of traditional Chinese musical elements. The "chinked-out" style is a "Chinese Style" of music that features a fusion of traditional Chinese elements – such as Peking opera, Kunqu, and even the tribal sounds of Chinese ethnic minorities – with Western musical genres – namely hip-hop, and more recently rock. The use of the "Chinese Style" taps into a "primitive passion" for a lost or misplaced "Chinese" past. This "primitive passions" arises from "a culture caught between the forces of "first world" imperialism and "third world" nationalism."[92] Thus, Wang's "chinked-out" style can be seen as a manifestation of his complex Taiwanese American (Sinophone) identity, which was caught between "two forces."

This "chinked-out" style manifested in not only the melody, but also through lyrics and language. In his "chinked-out" compositions, Wang penned lyrics that expressed his dynamic Sinophone experiences, frequently via rap. These raps conveyed his thoughts, feelings, and experiences, as well as of other Sinophone peoples like him. Moreover, his background as a Taiwanese American singer based in Taipei, introduced a repertoire of languages that spoke to his Sinophone experiences, and manifested in his music. Some possible sounds included American English, Black English, English-inflected Chinese, Cantonese, Taiwanese, and even Japanese.

The term "chinked-out" is itself a Sinophone construction. The term "chinked-out" derives from the derogatory English-language racial slur "chink," which is directed towards those of Chinese descent, but can generally be used towards those with East Asian facial features.[93] In a CNN interview with Lorraine Hanh, Wang explained, "I

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92 Chow, *Visuality*, 23.

93 This racial slur is most commonly used in the United States.

don't want to offend anybody. I want to repossess the word, and this is a word I heard growing up in New York. It was derogatory at the time … I hope I can make it cool."[94] Though the term "chinked-out" invokes the notion of "Chineseness," this idea is a construction based on the English-language racial slur, "chink," which is used to refer to people who are or appear to be of Chinese descent. Even Wang's desire to reclaim this derogatory term can be conceived of as a Sinophone desire, something that exists only because of his "American" experience, something untranslatable into Chinese, something completely unfamiliar to his Chinese-speaking audiences. This Sinophone desire to reclaim the victimizing term, "chink," through the use of traditional Chinese elements as a central component points to what Chow calls a "paradox of a *primitivism that sees China as simultaneously victim and empire*."[95] And this paradox "leads modern Chinese intellectuals to their so-called obsession with China."[96] Therefore, even though Wang was previously a target to this racial slur, his appropriation of the derogatory term "chink" through elements from an "ancient culture" which gives "a sense of primordial, rural rootedness" (i.e. being there way before any others) becomes empowering.

Although his chinked-out style relies on Chinese elements, it looks to debunk the notion of a singular Chineseness by incorporating sounds from ethnic minorities, as well as western genres. This is most evident in his debut "chinked-out" album, *Shangri-La*, in which he incorporated the tribal sounds of ethnic minorities. *Shangri-La* featured the tribal sounds of ethnic minorities from Tibet, Mongolia, and Taiwan sampled with hip-hop and R&B tunes. Seven of the eleven tracks on this album featured this hip-hop fusion "chinked-out" style. Track 3 "Shangri-La (*Xinzhong de ri yue* 心中的日月)", track 4

94 Wang, CNN interview, 2006.
95 Chow, *Visuality*, 23.
96 Chow, *Visuality*, 23.

"Zhulin shenchu 竹林深處 [In the bamboo forest]," and track 6 "*Zai na yaoyuan de difang* 在那遙遠的地方 [In that faraway place]" featured sounds or songs from ethnic minority groups in Tibet, Yunnan, and Xinjiang, respectively. These sounds were fused into the background harmony and featured interchangeably with the hip-hop melody.

For example, in "In that faraway place," Wang pulled melodic and lyrical inspiration from the famous Chinese song of the same name – which was inspired by a Kazakh folk tune – and added a hip-hop dance beat, reinterpreting this song about love and nostalgia in his own way. Wang pays tribute to the original melody by the singing parts of the song in the chorus between his raps, which pulls inspiration from his own journeys to "places faraway" and longing for his own home. "In the bamboo forest" begins with tribal chants from ethnic minority groups in Yunnan, only to be quickly interrupted by the beating of Wang's steel drums and hip-hop beat. Similarly, in "Shangri-La" – whose title refers to the paradise believed to lie somewhere in Tibet – Wang fuses together instruments typically found in Tibetan music with a soft hip-hop beat. In using sounds from ethnic minorities in his "chinked-out" album, Wang highlights the different Sinophone communities that so-often lumped into the singular category of "Chineseness," causing it to lose its unique and defining charactersistics. Thus, his inclusion of ethnic minority sounds foregrounds the multiplicity of a Chinese identity that includes those who are not necessarily ethnically Chinese.

This emphasis on Wang's diverse and hybrid background can also be heard through the blending of traditional singing styles with a hodgepodge of both Chinese and Western elements in several of the tracks in his eleventh studio album *Heroes of Earth*. Wang continues his "chinked-out" style through the incorporation of elements from Peking opera and Kunqu, both considered traditional operatic genres native to China. In this album, five out of the ten tracks contain "chinked-out" themes, which are manifested

in similar ways, musically, lyrically, or both. For example, lyrically "*Huatian cuo* 花田錯 [Mistake in the flower fields]," references a well-known Peking opera.[97] Musically, Wang samples sounds and styles from Peking opera with modern R&B. In an R&B style, Wang performs the chorus using an elongated singing style, often found in Peking opera. This singing style is prefaced by an *erhu* solo, which leads into a harmony of consisting of a piano accompaniment, soft snare drum beat, which are accompanied by faint synthesizer sounds. The intermingling of Chinese and Western elements is yet another example of Wang's knowledge of traditional Chinese music and culture, as well as the American musical culture, namely the African American music scene.

Wang's *"Zai meibian* 在梅邊*"* [Beside the plum blossoms] illustrates an integration of Eastern and Western beats. Moreover, Wang assumes a collective voice that "shares" a cultural understanding of "The Peony Pavilion," woes of modern life, and the desire to return to a simpler time. In the ending rap, Wang appropriates a traditional operatic instrumental selection – typically a purely instrumental selection to accompany operatic demonstrations of martial arts or acrobatics – in conjunction with his Western rapping style. In this last 50 seconds, Wang raps 259 words to the increasing rhythm and tempo of the cymbals and drums. The integration of the modern rap on the traditionally wordless beat embodies the essence of the "chinked-out" style looking to blend together two very similar styles with very distinct functions. Additionally, the added lyrics to a typically instrumental piece can be seen as Wang showing off his "acrobatic" feat, displaying Wang's "martial arts" specialty of a flexible, yet sharp tongue, that can not only rap with the flow of the beat, but also be clearly understood. This sort of reference is

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97 This story is an operatic adaptation of the fifth chapter of *The Water Margin* (*Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳). More information about the story can be found regarding the story of "The Bride Napping" here: http://hksan.net/smsifc/lediweb/HTC_E.html.

only fully possible with the listener's full understanding of the context. On the one hand, this appropriation of modern rap lyrics to a typically traditional wordless beat embodies the essence of this "chinked-out" / Sinophone style. On the other hand, this integration of East and West makes the assumption that Wang relates to the same experiences of his Chinese and Sinophone audiences who may have sat through a significant portion of the 19-hour play, or recognize the simple love story presented in "The Peony Pavillion."

In his title track "Heroes of Earth" Wang uses the "chinked-out" style to recognize the hybrid identities of "Chinese" people, but at the same time tries to reconcile the reality of a fragmented and hybrid Chinese identity. Like in "Heirs of dragon," Wang does so by introducing experiences of marginalized populations not fully considered "Chinese," such as Chinese Americans. For "Heroes of Earth", Wang collaborated with MC Jin, a Chinese American, Hong Kong-based hip-hop rapper, blending together not only various musical genres, such as hip-hop, rap, rock, and Peking opera, but also a number of languages including Mandarin (both modern and classical), English, and Cantonese. Most interestingly, MC Jin's rap serves as an interesting image of the reception of Chinese culture and interpretation of the Sinophone identity. He says:

Yo it's Jin and Leehom
It feels go to be home
I got the skills to be known
So I'm a chill on my throne
Yes I keeps it blazing
From Shanghai out to Beijing
Stop in Taiwan back to Hong Kong
Where they stay doin' their thing
This is something special

My culture's so contagious

They wanna know about **us**

We been around for ages

A couple thousand years

A bunch of pioneers

Just artists and scholars making noise

It was loud and clear[98]

[emphasis added by me]

This English rap makes claims to a wider Sinophone community, but also assumes a "shared" cultural past and a "primitive passion" for a the Chinese culture that has "been around for ages." This wider Sinophone community includes places like Taiwan and Hong Kong, which are both "doin' their thing" that is unique from the Chinese communities in Shanghai and Beijing. In this rap, MC Jin, and by extension Wang assumes the voice of all Sinophone people. The plural "us / we" refers to the term *Huaren* 華人, which Wang used earlier in his "hope[s] to sing what is in the hearts of all the *Huaren* in the world, to voice what is in every *Huaren's* heart."[99] Wang's choice[100] to use the term *Huaren* bespeaks not only Wang's preference towards his Sinophone identity, but also a more "primitive" connection with other *Huaren*. The term *Huaren* is typically translated in English as "Chinese." However, this translation of "Chinese" is ambiguous at best. The *Hua* in *Huaren* refers to the historical terminology *Huaxia* 華夏,

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98 Wang, Leehom, "Heroes of Earth," *Heroes of Earth (Gaishi yingxiong* 蓋世英雄), Sony BMG Taiwan 82876782262, 2005, compact disc.

99 希望幫助全世界的華人 唱出大家的心聲: Hope to help the *Huaren* of the world, to sing what is in their hearts.

100 The lyrics are credited to Wang and Taiwanese music producer Chen Zhenchuan 陳鎮川. Even though not all the lyrics were penned by Wang, he inevitably did have some say in the lyrics used for a song which he composed.

which refers to not so much to contemporary political or ethnic affiliations, but rather to a distant cultural past. Of course, while Wang's claim to speak for every *Huaren*'s heart seems noble, it is problematic. Although he is a "*Huaren*," his experiences as a Taiwanese American do not and can not encompass the experiences of others in the Sinophone community. And even with MC Jin, who is Cantonese American, this duo still falls short of "*all Huaren*."

This relationship between Sinophone and the "chinked-out" style is a complicated one that involves the even more complex notion of "Chineseness," one that Sinophone looks to de-emphasize. In general, Sinophone looks to highlight the unique qualities a certain Sinophone community has acquired over time. These qualities set the Sinophone community apart from the conception of Chinese and Chineseness. This can include the introduction of languages or dialects found in a certain community. Of course, in the case of music, this can manifest in the sampling of genres, musical instruments, and composition styles. As illustrated in the examples above, Wang's "chinked-out" style is very much Sinophone in its interpretation of the "Chinese Style" of music, Especially in his sampling of sounds from Chinese ethnic minorities in his album *Shangri-La*, Wang looks to acknowledge the diversity among Sinophone communities.

However, despite its Sinophonic construction and qualities, in many ways the "chinked-out" style places great emphasis on the Chinese culture, especially that of an imagined cultural past – something Sinophone studies looks to de-emphasize. While his desire to emphasize a multifarious definition of Chineseness, there is an even stronger driven "imaginary nostalgia" for a "shared" cultural "Chinese" past. This is especially obvious in songs such as "Heirs of dragon" and "Beside the plum blossoms." Moreover, the use of musical elements from Peking opera and Kunqu, two operatic genres associated with Chineseness further drive home this desire to appeal to the likes of his

Chinese-speaking audiences. Another pronounced example of Wang's self-contradictory "chinked-out" style is in the selection of the Chinese name for his first "chinked-out" album, *Shangri-La*. While this album sought to feature the many sounds of China and its ethnic minorities, Wang's Chinese title "*Xinzhong de riyue*", or roughly translated "The heart's sun and moon," is the rough meaning of the word "*shangrila*". The use of a Chinese translation, rather than a transliteration (into something like "*xiang ge li la*") presents a contradictory message, one that both emphasizes and de-emphasizes the importance of the Chinese language.

"CHINKED-OUT" OR SELL-OUT?

A problematic aspect of the "chinked-out" style is its appropriation of cultures not native to it. For example, the term "chinked-out" is derived from a term not used by Sinophone people, but rather from a term used against a Sinophone population. The mix of traditional Chinese elements with Western genres only create an approximation of what Wang and his listeners believe to be "traditional Chinese" sounds. This "shared" cultural understanding itself is problematic because of its basis in an assumed cultural connection. Most illustrative of Wang's appropriation of outside cultures is the use of hip-hop, R&B, and rock. Although these genres are not uncommon in the United States, where Wang grew up, these genres inevitably started off as very niche categories of music, each derived from the African American community. While it can be argued that Wang appropriated hip-hop to "chinked-out" to address and reappropriate the racial term "chink," these genres inevitably became an aesthetic marker of commercialization than a medium for social change.

This returns us to our "wrongly asked" question, as posed by Tu Weiming. This discussion of Wang's "chinked-out" style brings to mind a question posed by scholar Tu

Weiming in his discussion on "cultural China," in particular, his question regarding Chineseness and Chinese identity. Tu asks, "While the overseas Chinese … may seem forever peripheral to the meaning of being Chinese, can they assume an effective role in creatively constructing a new vision of Chineseness that is more in tune with Chinese history and in sympathetic resonance with Chinese culture?"[101] His answer to this question is "yes." However, his answer begs the question of what aspects of Chinese culture must it resonate with; and to push even further, to what extent does this become too foreign, and even exotic? To what extent is his work a renegotiation and redefinition of identity, and at what point does it become a sort of self-exoticization for market purposes? This can partially be answered by this style's reception and Wang's reinterpretation and implementation of this style.

Thinking about this brings to mind the question of whether "chinked-out" indeed served its purpose of social change to reappropriate the racial slur "chink" to become something cool, or if it was just a marketing strategy. To what point is Wang's "chinked-out" a Sinophone articulation, and to what point has he crossed this line and exoticized not only traditional Chinese, but also Western culture, in essence, "selling out." This very fine line between his "mission" and commercial aesthetics can been seen in the sales of his "chinked-out" albums. Both *Shangri-La* and *Heroes of Earth* contained 5 "chinked-out" songs each, about half of each album. According to G-Music charts,[102] both albums debuted as the number 1 record on the week of their debut, and remained on the board for many weeks.[103] And in Hit FM's annual "Hito Top 100 Singles" list, songs from both

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101 Tu, Cultural China, 34.

102 The G-Music Charts tracks the sales of music albums in Taiwan, and posts a weekly Top 20 list, tracking the placement of each album in the Weekly Top 20.

103 G-Music, "G-Music Weekly Top 20 Mandarin Chart, 2005," December 2, 2011, accessed December 4, 2011, http://www.g-music.com.tw/GMusicBillboard1.aspx.

albums appeared on the list.[104] In 2005's Top 100,[105] "Shangri-La," "FOREVER LOVE," and "*Yi shou jiandan de ge* 一首簡單的歌 [A Simple Song]" topped charts at number 4, 59, and 72, respectively.[106] In 2006's Top 100,[107] "KISS GOODBYE," "*Da cheng xiao ai* 大城小愛 [Big town small love]," and "Heroes of Earth" topped charts at number 4, 22, and 75, respectively.[108] Of these songs, only "Shangri-La" and "Heroes of Earth" are "chinked-out," and "Big city, small love" contains minimal elements of the "chinked-out" style. The other three songs are Chinese-language ballads, or what Marc Moskowitz would probably refer to as "karaoke-able" songs, or songs that are commercially successful because the singing is easy to imitate in such venues as KTV, makings its resale value and popularity quite high.[109] As these chart results shows, his "chinked-out" songs generally occupied a lower ranking in the Top 100 chart compared to his Chinese-language pop ballads.

From these observations, which are by no means comprehensive, it would be compelling to argue that Wang's "chinked-out" style is a marketing strategy to rejuvenate his music style, and commemorate his move from Decca to Sony Music. More importantly, the commercial successful of his albums are in part thanks to his large and loyal fan base. Moreover, the use of "chinked-out" elements, especially in *Shangri-La*, serves to make foreign those already marginalized ethnic minority populations. Similarly, the label of "chinked-out" may only serve to exoticize and alienate Wang from his

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104 HitFM's top 100 list was chosen because HitFM is the highest-rated Top Ten radio station in Taiwan, and airs in Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung. Their annual "Hito Top 100 Singles" list is selected by means of vote, meaning its listenership can be seen as a reflective sample of Mandopop audiences in Taiwan.

105 *Shangri-La* debuted on December 30, 2004, so its run would be in 2005.

106 Hit.FM, "2005 *Niandu bai shou dan qu* 年度百首單曲" [Annual Top 100 Singles], accessed November 30, 2011. http://www.hitoradio.com/newweb/chart_2.php.

107 *Heroes of Earth* debuted on December 31, 2005, so its run would be in 2006.

108 HitFM, 2006.

109 Moskowitz, *Cries of Joy,* 2010.

listeners, both Chinese- and English-speaking. To his English-speaking audiences, the use of Chinese language pop, fused with seemingly stereotypical Chinese features to reclaim a racially-charged term like "chink" seems contradictory and counterproductive. To his Chinese and Sinophone listeners, the term "chinked-out" means very little, and if anything only adds appeal to the marketing of his albums.

TUG-OF-WAR

This "tug-of-war" between Chinesness and Sinophone can be seen in Wang's other activities, such as acting, directing, and endorsements. Although a Sinophone person, Wang's major movie personas place him in the heart of Chinese history. For example, in Ang Lee's *Lust, Caution* (*Se, jie* 色，戒) (2007), Wang played patriotic KMT agent Kuang Yumin 鄺裕民, who served during the Japanese occupation of Shanghai (1937-45). Although the KMT is currently associated with the government on the Republic of China (Taiwan), Wang's role as a Nationalist in this historical fiction places him squarely in a Chinese role – one who can combat secret agents for the Japanese puppet government (e.g. Mr. Yee 易先生as played by Tony Leung 梁朝偉). Similarly, in *Little Big Soldier* (*Dabing xiaojiang* 大兵小將) (2010), Wang acted alongside international superstar Jackie Chan 成龍, as a general from the country of Wei during the Warring States Period 戰國時代 (475 BC-221 BC). Again Wang is placed in the middle of a Chinese history. Most prominently, in *The Founding of a Party* (*Jian dang weiye* 建黨偉業) (2011), which marked the 90th anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party, Wang played Luo Jialun 羅家倫, one of the leaders of the May Four Movement (1919).[110] Wang's character's role in paving the way to a modern

110 The May Fourth Movement (1919) was an intellectual and cultural movement, akin to the Enlightenment in Europe, whose goal was the betterment of China through the principles of democracy and science, in other words, modernization and Westernization. This period saw a flourishing of new culture and literary styles. Intellectuals during this time were extremely unsatisfied with traditional culture, and

China, again, placed Wang in the middle of making Chinese history – a history in which Wang had never experienced.

As evidenced above, despite not having been born or raised in China, Wang's music and film roles have slowly placed him as a quintessential representative for China and Chineseness. In 2006, Wang attended and performed at the Torino Winter Olympics as the only Asian star to be invited.[111] For the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Wang was selected to be one of the torchbearers in Greece[112] and was one of the performers for the Opening and Closing ceremonies and the Hundred-day countdown celebration.[113] This can also be seen in his endorsements with big corporations such as McDonalds, Sony Ericsson, Nikon, and most recently Nike (both in Asia and the United States).

Most recently, Nike selected Wang to be a spokesperson in Asia for their #KobeSystem[114] campaign, along with megastars Tony Leung, Takeshi Kaneshiro, and Zhang Ziyi.[115] Of all his Nike Asia peers, Wang was the only one to be invited to and featured in the string of viral videos with basketball star Kobe Bryant, which were produced and uploaded by Nike onto their YouTube page for the promotion of their new

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sought to completely overthrow these old ideas such as Confucianism. In this way, the movement was sometimes viewed as radical because despite the forward thinking of these concepts, they were neither practical nor applicable to the intellectuals at the time.

111 Singerchick, "Wang Leehom Attends at the Winter Olympics in Italy," AsianFanatics Forum, February 11, 2006, accessed October 12, 2001, http://asianfanatics.net/forum/topic/206535-wang-leehom-attends-at-the-winter-olympics-in-italy.

112 Richard Tedesco, "Coke Recruits Pro-Green Olympic Torchbearers," *PROMO,* March 26, 2008, accessed November 27, 2011, http://promomagazine.com/news/coke_goes_green_olympics_0326/.

113 "Beijing Huan ying Ni Live," YouTube video, 6:28, posted by Ivoreth, July 29, 2008, http://youtu.be/3V9aGnW-vlo.

114 The YouTube videos for the series of #KobeSystem campaigns include a hash tag (#), which is typically used as a tag to mark and gather related posts on large social media websites, such as Twitter and Facebook. The inclusion of a hash tag points to Nike's intention to create a viral marketing campaign, to stir publicity.

115 Fufu, "Leehom Wang films new Nike commercial with Kanye West," CpopAccess.com, January 18, 2012, Accessed February 1, 2012, http://www.cpopaccess.com/2012/01/leehom-wang-films-new-nike-commercial.html.

product.[116] Sitting among others at the "top of [their] game," such as American rapper Kanye West, Indian-Pakistani American comedian and writer Aziz Ansari, and African American professional tennis player Serena Williams, Bryant identified Wang as a "Chinese megastar,"[117] despite Wang's American nationality.[118] Moreover, Wang was the only among his ethnic peers to be speaking in a language other than English, further marking his non-American-ness, and emphasizing his Chineseness.[119] However, this association of Wang with China and Chineseness is problematic because Wang is *not* from China. In fact, he was born and raised in New York. This frustrating situation exemplifies the idea that Asians/Asian Americans are viewed as a homogenous group, a notion that scholars like Lisa Lowe try to argue against.[120] In fact, this exasperating situation sets Wang back in his mission to carve out a "chinked-out" identity.

Wang, however, has used the medium of YouTube to deconstruct his Chineseness, and emphasize his hybrid Sinophone identity. In a behind-the-scenes chat with Wong Fu Productions[121] after the shooting of the music video for Wang's "Still In Love With You" (*Yiran ai ni* 依然愛你),[122] Wang speaks in English, Mandarin, and

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116 NikeBasketball, nikebasketball's Channel, accessed February 1, 2012, http://www.youtube.com/nikebasketball.

117 It can be argued that Wang was selected as the mega "Chinese" representative, not for his fame in China and Chinese-speaking areas, but because Wang has the largest Weibo (Chinese equivalent of Twitter) account among all Chinese celebrities, with 12 million followers. However, this does not negate the image of Wang as representing the popular in China or Chinese.

118 NikeBasketball, "NIKE: Welcome to the #KobeSystem," YouTube, January 12, 2012, accessed February 1, 2 012, http://youtu.be/_MwwHJXLjg4.

119 NikeBasketball, #KobeSystem.

120 Lisa Lowe, "Heterogeneity,Hybridity, Multiplicity: Marking Asian American Differences," in *A Companion to Asian American Studies*, ed. Kent A. Ono, (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008).

121 Cindyying0529. "Leehom 王力宏 n Wongfu Pro share their experience on Still in Love With You 依然愛你MV." YouTube. October 10, 2011. Accessed October 15, 2011. http://youtu.be/eELsp2qjvTE.

122 Wang's team commissioned Wong Fu Productions, a trio of Asian American video producers, to shoot and produce the music video for this song.

even Cantonese. Wang even jokingly lets it "slip" that he is an "ABC,"[123] as if this were supposed to be a well-kept secret. Wang even acts as an ambassador of sorts, "schooling"[124] Wong Fu on the correct way to deliver a "Taiwanese ID."[125] Wang's casual conversation in his native English tongue with Wong Fu highlights his identity as an Asian American. Despite being in Wang's "hood" – Taiwan – Wang still maintains his Asian American roots, and as Wong Fu Production's Philip Wang says, "bridging both continents together."[126] Of course, this display of Asian American-ness begs the question of how much this presentation of a hybrid identity is a marketing tactic to not only reach out to Sinophone fans in America, but also to capitalize on Wang's exotic Western persona among his Chinese and Sinophone fans in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and other Sinophone countries.

The evolution of Wang's music style reflects the tug-of-war in Wang's attempt to reconcile his identity as a Taiwanese American in the Sinophone music scene. Wang's transformation in musical style illustrates his trajectory in redefining his understanding of both his Taiwanese/Chinese background and American upbringing. His transition from resembling the singing style of his Cantopop contemporaries to one that gradually incorporated Western elements to his full-blown hybrid "chinked-out" style tracks his struggle in trying to understand his own relationship with Chineseness – a struggle that Sinophone studies looks to explore as well. The popularity of his "chinked-out" style

123 ABC is an initialism that stands for American Born Chinese.

124 "To school" is slang for teaching someone something.

125 "Taiwanese ID" here refers to the way in which bands in Taiwan will typically initially introduce themselves to their audience. Usually one person leads with "Hello everyone, we are…"; s/he will then be joined in by other group members to announce their group name. Afterwards, each individual member will introduce their name, and in some cases their role in the group.

126 Cindyying0529. "Leehom 王力宏 n Wongfu Pro share their experience on Still in Love With You 依然爱你MV." YouTube. October 10, 2011. Accessed October 15, 2011. http://youtu.be/eELsp2qjvTE.

demonstrates his listeners' gradual acceptance of Chineseness being redefined by those not from or in China. However, the execution of this "chinked-out" style has only exoticized Wang and his music, creating a marketable product, and even hindering Wang's claim to repossess the term "chink." Whether Wang's efforts will be futile or revolutionize the way in which members in Sinophone communities conceive of Chineseness, and if the term "chink" will be "reclaimed," are yet to be seen.

Jay Chou

Jay Chou by definition is a Sinophone person who lives in the Sinophone community of Taiwan. Despite being dubbed as the "King of C-pop" (Chinese pop) and his signature "Chinese Style" music, I argue that his music, especially his "Chinese Style" music should be read as a Sinophone articulation. And in fact, his other activities in the entertainment community only serve to reinforce Chou's image as Sinophone artist. I selected picked Chou, because of his popularity and the recognition he has received for not only his music career (in terms of singing, composing, and production), but also his other activities, both locally and internationally such as acting, directing, hosting, endorsements, and other performances. This wide exposure has not only increased his popular in Sinophone and non-Sinphone communities, but has also come to define him, and set a path for other Sinphone artists to follow.

WHO IS JAY CHOU AND WHY IS HE SINOPHONE?

Jay Chou, dubbed as the "King of C-pop," is a Taiwanese singer-songwriter, known not only for his unique pop and "Chinese Style" of music, but also his other activities in the entertainment industry, most notably his movie career. After playing the piano accompaniment for his musically-challenged friend in a local singing competition, Chou began working as a music producer for Alfa Music, writing songs for well-known singers from a number of different Sinophone pop artists, such as Landy Wen 溫嵐 and Jacky Wu 吳宗憲 (Mandopop), Andy Lau 劉德華 and Leo Ku 古巨基 (Cantopop), and Kan Kan 康康 and Jody Chiang 江蕙 (Taiyupop). Eventually debuting in 2000 with his own songs under Alfa Music, under his self-titled album *Jay*, as of Feb 2012, Chou has released 11 studio albums, 4 EPs, 4 live CDs, one full soundtrack, and two compilation albums. Additionally, Chou has acted in 9 movies directing one of them, as

well as directing and hosting TV shows. Born and raised in Linkou (in Taipei county) and classically trained in piano starting from the age of 4 (eventually picking up the guitar and cello), Chou brings in all his personal, musical, cultural and occupational experiences and influences to create a hybrid style of music, a style of Sinophne pop music. This is manifested in his songs through the language, lyrics, music, and performance.

Before analyzing, there are some things to keep in mind about Chou's music. Chou is known for composing all his own songs, but not necessarily for its arrangement; although many times, Chou is often both the composer and the arranger.[127] Similarly, language and lyrics seem to go hand-in-hand, making it difficult to discuss separately. However, both the language and lyrics of the songs have its own merits and semiotic meaning in the construction of a song, and thus should be discussed separately. Many of Chou's most popular works, most notably his "Chinese Style" songs are penned by long-time friend, business partner, and well-known lyricist, Vincent Fang. While these lyrics represent Fang's artistic license, this creativity stems from Fang's interpretation of Chou's vision for the song. In an interview, Fang stated that oftentimes, the lyrics are written after the tune is created. Sometimes before writing the lyrics, Chou would provide a vivid imagery for the song, narrating how he would film a music video for the tune.[128] Chou ultimately has the final say as to what lyrics may accompany his compositions, and the image and message this song conveys.

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127 A composer writes the music for the song, but the arranger selects the instruments and implementation of the instruments in a selected piece. Sometimes, the composer and arranger are the same person.

128 Pingping Wang, "*Fang Wenshan dong qu jing chui* 方文山东区劲吹 [Vincent Fang blows into the east side," *Chengdu Evening News*, December 24, 2012， http://www.cdwb.com.cn/html/2012-01/12/content_1478709.htm.

HOW DO YOU SPEAK: LANGUAGE

While Chou's songs are mainly sung in Mandarin, he does incorporate other languages and dialects; however, the use of these languages is used mainly to enhance the aesthetic quality of the song, such as lyrical rhyme or creating a sense of nostalgia. Although the use of these languages illustrates the influences of Chou's surroundings, they are used at the expense of stereotyping and exoticizing these languages.

One such example is Chou's use of Taiwanese, or the Hokkien dialect. In many instances, Chou uses the Taiwanese dialect to create a sense of longing and nostalgia. For example the Taiwanese dialect is be used to talk about the forgotten, nostalgic past in "*Huoche dao wei qu* 火車叨位去 [Where is the train going]."[129] Chou also uses Taiwanese to create vivid narratives in his songs. In "*Ba, wo huilai le* 爸，我回來了 [Dad, I'm Home]," Chou intersperses Taiwanese with Mandarin to create the stereotypical image of a Taiwanese youth who can only speak very limited Taiwanese to a father who can only speak very limited Mandarin. The Taiwanese projects the song narrator's anger and frustrations towards his father. This is perhaps because Taiwanese is a more effective mode of communication than Mandarin. The use dialect in this case becomes a marker with which his younger listeners can identify. It reflects the present generational gap in Taiwan, in which much of the older generation, especially in the southern regions speaks, very little Mandarin.

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[129] In his lyrics, Chou uses both Chinese characters and *zhuyin fuhao* symbols. The written lyrics could be seen as another layer in the complex structure of Sinophone music. Not only do the lyrics use traditional or complex characters, slightly different from that of the simplified characters used in the mainland. Moreover, the usage of the characters helps to set them apart from its "orthodox" usage. Although the traditional characters used in the song correspond to its intended meaning, a number of characters correspond to the approximate pronunciation of the Taiwanese word. The use of *zhuyin fuhao* indicates the mark of the Sinophone Taiwanese community, which at present is the only Sinophone country to still teach using *zhuyin fuhao*.

Original Characters	Song Pronunciation[130]	Mandarin Pronunciation
不要再這樣打我媽媽	*Mai koh an-ne pa* wǒ mā mā	Bù yào zài zhèyàng dǎ wǒ mā mā
我說的話　你甘會聽	Wǒ shuō de huà　*li gam e thiann*	Wǒ shuō de huà　nǐ gān huì tīng
何必讓酒牽鼻子走　瞎	Hé bì ràng jiǔ qiān bí zi zǒu　xiā	Hé bì ràng jiǔ qiān bí zi zǒu　xiā
說都說不聽　聽	*Kong to kong em thiann*　*thiann*	Shuō dōu shuō bu tīng　tīng
痛是我們在痛　痛	*Thiann shi guan de thiann*　*thiann*	Tòng shì wǒ men zài tòng　tòng

English Translation:

Stop hitting my mom

Are you willing to listen to what I say?

Why let alcohol string you along?

You won't listen

The ones who hurt is us

130 "*Taiwan Minnanyu changyongci cidian* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 [Dictionary of common words in Taiwanese Minnan dialect]," Ministry of Education: Republic of China (Taiwan), last modified September 27, 2011, http://twblg.dict.edu.tw/holodict_new/index.html.

The use of Taiwanese may also be seen as an aesthetic device to facilitate a better rhyming scheme. As can be seen in the above example, each line ends with a short "a" vowel sound. The Taiwanese lines contain a velar nasal "a" sound. Although an imperfect or oblique rhyme, the flow of the chorus contains an "a" ending vowel sound. If Chou were to convey the same message pronouncing the characters in Mandarin, the lyrics would neither flow, nor rhyme. Even if Chou were to try to find a way to convey the same message entirely in Mandarin, using the same lyric scheme, it might not be easy for him to create a lyrical flow. Therefore, it is with Chou's knowledge of the Taiwanese language that he is able to create such a rhyme, rhythm, and flow.

In general, foreign languages, such as Japanese, Korean, and English, do not typically play a large role in Chou's music. Similar to the use of Taiwanese, they only serve to complement the story he is trying to tell through his music. For example, in his song "*Renzhe* 忍者 [Ninja]," which narrates the thoughts and habits of a ninja, intersperses short Japanese phrases, such as "*Hai hai hai wakarimashita* はい、はい。はい。わかりました。" (lit. "Yes yes yes, I understand"), to transition from a verse to the chorus. Also, in the chorus, Chou alternates counting from one to four (ichi いち, ni に, san さん, shi し) in Japanese with mainly Mandarin lyrics. In his song, "*Simian chu ge* 四面楚歌 [Surrounded on all sides]," Chou inserts a Korean rap interlude about two and a half minutes into the song, expressing his frustrations towards his subject, the paparazzi. This seems to be the only instance of the song that Chou does not outright attack or lecture the paparazzi, but rather express his personal frustrations towards them. The use of Korean in this instance can be seen as a personal rant, and alternative means to communicate his frustrations, because no matter what he says in any language, his pursuers will be forever persistent.

In his most recent album *Jingtanhao* 驚嘆號 [Exclamation point], "Mine Mine" marks Chou's first, albeit brief, experimentation with English lyrics. Chou includes two English lines in the Mandarin-dominant lyrics; he sings, "Cuz baby you are mine mine. Mine mine … You say bye bye. Oh bye bye."[131] These two short lines of English demonstrate the impact of his activities for his Hollywood debut. In an interview with Momo Chang, a writer and blogger for *Hyphen* magazine, Chou expressed "I want people to know what I'm singing about, so yea, I will put some English in *[Exclamation point* (2011)]".[132] In the case of "Mine Mine," the embedded assumptions in this statement refer more to the music style rather than the language itself. Therefore songs with a more Western, in the case of "Mine Mine," American style, should adopt certain ethnomusical idioms. For example, "Mine Mine," which is reminiscent of American singer-songwriter, T-Pain's brand of auto-tuned R&B melody,[133] inevitably would need some lines of English to accompany its already American-like sounds. One interesting thing to note is Chou's use of auto-tune in this piece. Auto-tuning is a digital audio processing technique with corrects pitch, and the greater the discrepancy in pitches, the more obvious a distortion becomes in the final product. Although auto-tuning is used as an aesthetic tool, the use of auto-tuning, especially for the English words, can be read as a device to cover any imperfections in Chou's pronunciation. Additionally, it can be used to distort the pronunciation of the English word "mine" to be more nasally, mimicking the Taiwanese

131 "Mine Mine." *Jingtanhao* 驚嘆號 [*Exclamation Point*]. Sony Music 88691903732, 2011, compact disc.

132 Chang, Momo. "Jay Chou: 'The Green Hornet's Kato, in His Own Words." *Hyphen Magazine*. www.hyphenmagazine.com/node/3003.

133 American singer-songwriter, T-Pain pioneered the subgenre of "Hard & B" which is an auto-tuned R&B melody. This style uses this audio distortion for aesthetic purposes

pronunciation of the word 嗨 (mai),[134] which leads into the remainder of the song, which is in Taiwanese.

Prior to *Exclamation point*, Chou also used Western foreign languages for aesthetic purposes. In Chou's "*Yi fu zhi ming* 以父之名 [In the name of father]," the song opens with a shortened version of the Lord's Prayer, spoken in Italian by a male voice. This serves as an aesthetic compliment to the melody that aims to evoke a sense of *The Godfather*. Therefore, while the language in a song can convey a certain message, typically, Chou uses different languages to create a certain aesthetic effect, one that will complement his compositions. However, only using the language in brief instances inevitably stereotypes, exoticizes, and essentializes these languages.

GETTING A MESSAGE ACROSS: LYRICS

Other than Chou's "Chinese Style" songs, Chou's songs typically do not talk about "Chinese" things in a "Chinese" way, i.e. they have very little to do with Chinese culture or things, and do not serve any purpose, especially not to educate the masses.[135] The content of Chou's songs range from relatively "safe" topics, such as love and romance to serious topics such as filial piety and domestic violence, and even KUSO topics with no purpose at all.

Like many Sinophone artists, many of Chou's lyrics discuss love and heartbreak, even branching into "sexier" topics; however, he also uses his lyrics to address a number of different issues. Although these topics are not typically found in Chinese music, its relatable, albeit atypical, content has won the respect and attention of many listeners. Of

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134 This is an approximation by Chou in what character should be used to stand for the pronuncation of the Taiwanese word for "don't."

135 Mao, Zedong. "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art." In *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*: Writings on Literature, 1893-1945." Edited by Kirk A. Denton.458-484. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996.

course, as a pop artist, Chou use safe topics such as love and heartbreak in songs such as "*Jiandan ai* 簡單愛 [Simple love]" and "*Anjing* 安靜 [Silence]." However, Chou does not fear to venture into sexier topics, like in his song "*Xiha kongjie* 嘻哈空姐 [Hip-hop stewardess]." The song describes a traveler's dreams of an enticing stewardess. In his dreams, the traveler becomes "momentarily paralyzed" and "out of breath" in awe of another's attractiveness, staring at the "arch of [the stewardess'] butt" in her "short skirt." The stewardess even makes an advance towards the traveler by asking "Coffee, tea, or me." These sorts of steamy situations rarely find themselves in the "innocent" lyrics of Sinophone songs about love and heartbreak.

Of course, this is not to say that Chou's lyrics do not touch upon serious and educational topics, such as filial piety and perseverance. In "*Ting mama de hua* 聽媽媽的話 [Listen to mother's words]," Chou addresses the value of filial piety by encouraging the audience to "listen to mother's words." The chorus urge listeners with these words: "Listen to mother's words; don't let her get hurt. Want to grow up quickly, so that you can protect her." As a result of one's filial piety, in the future the hardships experienced by mother "which she doesn't let anyone see" will allow you to one day "run faster … [and] fly higher than other people." Though concept of filial piety is a highly held Confucian value, it is one that is not frequently discussed by others in song lyrics. Another motivational piece is "*Woniu* 蝸牛 [Snail]," which is a song that tells the story of a snail's doubts and perseverance in achieving its goal of reaching the sky despite all obstacles. Despite being slow and scared to shed its shell, the snail is determined to "climb up one step at a time to the highest point, and ride on a leaf as it drifts forward, letting the wind dry its tears and sweat."[136] Because of their educational and motivational

136 - - -. "*Ting mama de hua* 聽媽媽的話 [Listen to mother's words]," *Still Fantasy (Yiran fantexi 依然范特西)*, Alfa Music 88697003022, 2006, compact disc.

lyrics, both "Listen to your mother's words" and "Snail" has been used as teaching materials in Taiwanese primary schools and Shanghai middle schools, respectively.[137] "Snail" was approved in 2005 by the Shanghai government as a song suitable to incorporate into the curriculum of middle school music classes because "the lyrics of these songs are inspiring."[138] A satisfied student commented, "We are always asked to sing *monotonous revolution songs* [emphasis added]. Finally we can sing something of our own."[139] The comment offered by the Shanghainese student implies that Chou's lyrics[140] were on the same level of importance as these "monotonous revolution songs, and although Chou's songs did not have an explicit purpose to "educate the masses," they were still inspirational and educational.

Chou's lyrics also address the issue of filial piety by way of domestic violence, as illustrated by "Dad, I'm home." This songs alludes to the issue of domestic violence, a topic rarely talked about in society, much less in pop songs. Not only does the song discuss a sensitive subject, the song narrator's voice is aggressive and defiant, showing very little respect for his father, a non-filial display to a male figure, in a predominantly patriarchal society.

There is always a reason for violence

But [what's your excuse]

Mom and I are not in the wrong; I'm ashamed to call you Dad

[…]

You've told me since I was young to look to you as a role model

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137 "Pop songs approved for classes." *Shanghai Daily News*. March 16, 2005. http://english.eastday.com/eastday/englishedition/metro/userobject1ai939208.html.

138 "Pop Songs," Shanghai Daily News.

139 "Pop Songs," Shanghai Daily News.

140 Chou wrote the lyrics for both songs.

What a façade

Mom often said ~ *Be good, listen to your dad*.

How can I be like you!

[…]

Stop hitting my mom

Will you listen to my words?

Stop hitting my mom

Do your hands not hurt?

In the Confucian tradition where filial piety is highly regarded, and in a patriarchal society where fathers are highly respected, Chou's song narrator proves to be that exception. The son is clearly aggressive and defiant, criticizing his father's actions, and even "ashamed" to call him his father. The sentiment expressed in this song is clearly different from the ones in "Listen to your mother."

CHOU'S KUSO[141] STYLE

Sometimes, Chou's lyrics are purely for one's own entertainment or amusement, serving no clear purpose, except to let Chou exercise his creative muscles in experimenting with different subjects and musical styles. Chou has experimented with this KUSO style since his eighth album *On the Run* (我很忙). KUSO, originating from the Japanese slang *kuso*, which is used to scold others, as a term has evolved in Taiwan to mean a parody or comedy version of something. Examples of his experiment with KUSO style include "*Niuzai hen mang* 牛仔很忙 [Cowboy is very busy]," "*Moshu xiansheng* 魔術先生 [Mr. Magic]," "*Mianfei jiaoxue luyingdai* 免費教學錄影帶 [Free instructional video]," and "*Shuishou pa shui* 水手怕水 [Sailor scared of water]." In

141 More information about the KUSO style and subculture may be found under Richy Li (2003) and Brad (2011).

these songs, Chou often uses atypical genres, such as country and ragtime. In addition to playing with the music and content, Chou's songs also plays with the lyrics. For example, in the KUSO song "Sailor scared of water," the logic is jumpy, allowing for creative word play in both Mandarin and Taiwanese. In one instance, Chou uses the characters 鈴不鈴 (ling bu ling), literally meaning "bell, no bell" to emulate the onomatopoeia for a ringing bell or alarm clock. In the next verse, Chou mixes the Taiwanese and Mandarin pronunciation 喝不喝,[142] meaning "drink or don't drink," to be pronounced *lim bu lim* in the song, creating an imperfect rhyme. One of the cleverest word plays is this passage:

這些海鮮	Zhè xiē hǎi xiān
捕吃可吃	bǔ chī kě chī
知不可吃	zhī bùkě chī
捕吃可吃	bǔ chī kě chī
知不可吃	zhī bù kě chī
可不吃不吃不吃	kě bù chī bù chī bù chī
克制不吃土司	kè zhì bù chī tǔsī

The passage, when sped up, is transformed to create a beatboxing[143] solo. Although these songs often play on Western music genres, the KUSO music form is Sinophone in that it exemplifies a different way in which the Sinophone culture has managed to blend and localize foreign influences.

MIX AND MATCH: MUSIC

Influenced by his training in classical music, surroundings, and experiences behind-the-scenes in the pop music industry, Chou creates tunes that not only appeal to consumers, but also transform and push the boundaries of popular music.

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142 The character 喝 is pronounced hē in Mandarin and lim in Taiwanese.

143 Beatboxing is a form of vocal percussion.

As a veteran of the pop music industry, Chou of course composes easily consumable songs, i.e. songs that will generate high traffic and revenue. This includes karaoke-able pop songs and ballads, such as "*Ke'ai nüren* 可愛女人 [Adorable woman]," "*Jiandan ai* 簡單愛 [Simple love]," "*Langman shouji* 浪漫手機 [Romantic cellpphone]," "*Qing tian* 晴天 [Clear day]," "*Caihong* 彩虹 [Rainbow]," and "*Chaoren buhui fei* 超人不會飛 [Superman doesn't know how to fly]." All these songs are slow to moderate pop songs and ballads that ranked relatively high on Top 100 charts,[144] speaking to the popularity of the formulaic genre.

However, Chou also produces a number of tracks that experiment with different Western genres and composition techniques that are atypical of these profitable pop tunes. Some different genres that Chou has used include, bossa nova ("*Midiexiang* 迷迭香 [Rosemary]"), country ("Cowboy is very busy"), and ragtime ("Sailor scared of water"). Sometimes Chou will even mix different genres together; examples include "*Fan fangxiang de zhong* 反方向的鐘 [The backwards clock]" (R&B, hip hop), "Free instructional video" (rap, blues), "*Liulang shiren* 流浪詩人 [Wandering poet]" (rock, country, R&B), "Listen to your mother" (lullaby, hip hop), "*Ni lin* 逆鱗 [Reverse scale]" (hip hop, classical), and "*Huangjin jia* 黃金甲 [Golden Armor]" (rock, hip hop). Because of his classical training, Chou also composes complex and layered pieces using different music techniques, such as polyphony and counterpoint, [145] which can be found in pieces such as "*Zhizhan zhi shang* 止戰之殤 [The elegy that ends wars]" and

144 The Top 100 charts refers to HitFM's annual Top 100 Singles chart. HitFM's top 100 list was chosen because HitFM is the highest-rated Top Ten radio station in Taiwan, and airs in Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung. Their annual "Hito Top 100 Singles" list is selected by means of vote, meaning its listenership can be seen as a reflective sample of Mandopop audiences in Taiwan.

145 Polyphony is when there are two or more independent melodies, that carry equal importance, as opposed to a song containing a melody and harmony, and work together in harmony. Counterpoint is similar to polyphony, but the two or more voices may have an independent contour and rhythm.

"*Duibuqi* 對不起 [Sorry]," respectively. This remixing of genres and experimentation with new modes of expression breaks conventional molds and reflects his creativity and classical training in composition.

In terms of musical composition, Chou will typically employ the use of Western instruments, such as the piano, cello, and guitar. However, many times, Chou uses his knowledge of "the rules" of music in order to break the rules and experiment with digital and even diegetic sounds to create a different dimension to his songs, something few others had really done before. For his upbeat hip-hop songs, synthesizers and other digital clips are typically used. In some instances, Chou will include diegetic sounds, such as dialogue, nature, or other real-life sounds. In the song "*Piaoyi* 飄移 [Drifting]," which was used in the film *Initial D*, Chou inserted the sound of revving engines and even incorporated dialogue from the film. In his promotional song for the Chinese release of the online real-time strategy game Warcraft III, "*Ban shou ren* 半獸人 [The Orcs]," Chou incorporated sounds from the game in the introduction. Chou's pop-ballad "*Xing qing* 星晴 [Clear stars]" includes sounds of chirping birds and passing cars. The use of these sounds at the beginning give a rough, yet recognizable edge to these otherwise one-dimensional songs.

As mentioned previously, Chou experiments with different genres, especially with his KUSO style. This sort of experimentation creates different images for Chou's stage persona. Chou's experimentation with different sounds and subjects creates different images, such as lover, warrior, martial artist, ninja, godfather, magician, sailor, and even cowboy. This already complex image is even more complicated with Chou's "Chinese Style" of music.

CHOU'S "CHINESE STYLE" OF MUSIC AS SINOPHONE

Chou's "Chinese Style" is one of the most prominent examples of the appropriation of Chinese music in the Sinophone context. Although called "Chinese Style," Chou's interpretation of "Chinese" is quite loose, and in fact, his "Chinese Style" music reflects more his Sinophone experiences. Chou's "Chinese Style" songs always uses Mandarin Chinese, and are almost always in very poetic, even classical language, thanks to Fang's influence. The lyrics often use "Chinese" topics, from objects (e.g. porcelain) and people (e.g. Huo Yuanjia) to activities and symbolic references (chrysanthemums). The songs will typically be in the form of a ballad; however, Chou has used other genres such as rock and hip-hop. Oftentimes "Chinese Style" songs will be composed using a pentatonic scale and traditional Chinese instruments, such as the *erhu*, *guzheng*, and *pipa*. However, this is not always the case; sometimes, Western instruments will be used to accompany or in lieu of Chinese instruments. Sometimes, these Chinese sounds are created not by the lyrics, but by the singer. In other words, sometimes, only the melody is in "Chinese Style"; however, the melody can only be heard via the singer's voice because the accompaniment neither uses Chinese instruments nor is dynamic enough to determine the scale or register used. More importantly, these "Chinese" elements do not need to manifest simultaneously in one song, although they often do. This section will look at four examples in which Chou utilizes the "Chinese Style."

In "*Qinghuaci* 青花瓷" [Blue and white porcelain], the poetically written lyrics combined with the integration of traditional Chinese and Western instruments convey a message of longing through the motifs commonly found on blue and white porcelain. Fang's use of blue and white porcelain plays off the idea of using china to refer to China and Chineseness. Similarly, the rock-infused "Chinese Style" song "*Huo Yuanjia* 霍元甲" makes reference to the well-known martial artist, Huo Yuanjia (1868-1910). In this

upbeat song, Chou plays with the character *huo* 霍, which is the character of the protagonist's surname to recreate the call made during a strike in martial arts practice. Chou created the song "*Huo Yuanjia*" to be used as the title song for the movie *Fearless*, starring Jet Li, which followed the life of Huo Yuanjia. In 2006, Chou starred as the filial Prince Jai in the movie *Curse of the Golden Flower*, alongside international stars Chow Yun-fat and Gong Li. For this film, Chou composed two "Chinese Style" songs, "*Juhua tai* 菊花台 [Chrysanthemum flower bed.]" and "Golden armor." In "Chrysanthemum flower bed," the "Chinese Style" music is recreated mainly through the use of Western instruments, namely violin and cello, with a symphonic accompaniment. The *guzheng* and *hulusi* are used, but only as dedicated instrumental solos. Fang uses the shared knowledge of the symbolic meaning of chrysanthemum flowers to create a tragic image that mimics the equally depressing fate of the noble family in the film. The chrysanthemum, which is known as one or the "Four Gentlemen"[146] in Chinese culture, symbolizes autumn and carries a meaning of elegance, righteousness, and longevity.[147] Therefore, when Fang writes, "the chrysanthemum flowers have been ruined, and the ground is covered in wounds [wounded people]," the ruining of these flowers symbolizes the ruins of life, elegance, and righteousness, and by extension, the royal family in the film.

"*Lanting xu* 蘭亭序 [Lanting preface]" is a ballad that integrates Western and traditional Chinese instruments to create a "Chinese" sound. The ballad expresses a sense of longing and waiting for a lover by way of writing the "Lanting preface," and

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146 The "Four Gentleman" refer to the four plants that are commonly used to learn calligraphy style painting. Each flower represents a different season: orchid (spring), bamboo (summer), chrysanthemum (autumn), and plum blossom (winter)

147 China Tour Packages. "Discover Traditional Chinese Paintings." *Chinatown Connection.com*. http://www.chinatownconnection.com/chinese-traditional-paintings.htm

calligraphy writing in general. The "Lanting preface" is the most famous and well-copied piece of Chinese calligraphy.[148] More interestingly, Chou performed this piece during the 2011 CCTV Spring Festival Gala.[149] The performance emulated the "Chinese Style" of the song, a hybrid between Chineseness and Western elements. At the Gala, Chou emerged from behind a Chinese screen, dressed in a black and gold suit and holding a folding fan with calligraphy – the only Chinese thing on his person. In the background, an image of a calligraphic copy of the "Lanting preface" scrolled by on the screen, eventually transitioning into an image of the Great Wall. Flanked by eight dancers air-playing the *pipa*, Chou sings the song, occasionally opening and closing the folding fan, showing the calligraphy on the fan. Chou also performed the cello solo of the main "Chinese Style" melody on stage, followed by a magic trick, which made Taiwanese supermodel Lin Chi-ling 林志玲 appear from behind a red curtain. Lin who is dressed in a copper-colored evening gown begins to perform a ribbon dance. Chou's invitation to and performance at the 2011 CCTV Spring Festival Gala, as well as his activities in the entertainment industry, question of what image his music, more specifically his "Chinese Style" music creates, and its implications for his identity in the international market.

SINOPHONE OUTSIDE OF MUSIC

Chou's theatrical performances also highlight his Sinophonicity, almost to the point of ambiguity, especially in terms of nationality and/or ethnicity. His movie roles depict him on a range of Chineseness, from a filial prince of ancient China to a Cantonese-speaking tofu-delivery guy in Japan, but most definitely always Sinophone. In

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148 David, "Lanting Xu (Preface to the Orchid Pavlion)," *Seeraa International*, http://www.seeraa.com/china-literature/lantingxu.html.

149 "2011 CCTV Spring Festival Evening Rabbit Jay Chou Lin Chi-ling "Lanting Xu," YouTube video, 4:04, February 2, 2011, posted by "enxiaoqi," http://youtu.be/j9URTbEVIFM.

Zhang Yimou's *Curse of the Golden Flower*, set in Tang Dynasty China, Chou plays the filial Prince Jai. This Chinese production, set in an imaginary ancient China, its fantastical qualities only emphasized by the vivid use of bright golden colors. While *Curse* and Chou's character were very China-centric, Chou has also taken on movie roles that blur the contours of Chou's identity. For example, Chou starred in the 2005 film *Initial D*, a Hong Kong adaptation of the Japanese manga and anime of the same name. Set in Japan, Chou plays Takumi Fujiwara 藤原 拓海, a tofu-delivery guy, who happens to be a talented driver. The complex layers – Cantonese adaptation, Japanese names, Taiwanese star – exemplify the hybrid production of this film and Chou's character. Similarly, Chou's Hollywood debut as Kato in *The Green Hornet* only adds to the ambiguity of his identity, especially in the international market. Originally a Japanese character, *The Green Hornet* character Kato has undergone a number of transformations since his introduction – from Japanese to Korean to Filipino, and at some point acted by Chinese American Hong Kong actor Bruce Lee – only adds to the complexity and confusion of Chou's real identity in the international spotlight. In this film adaptation Kato is now Shanghainese, and played by Chou, a Taiwanese Sinophone pop star. Chou's addition to the convoluted background of Kato is only further complicated by the Chou's self-endorsement through the inclusion of his Mandarin-language "Chinese Style" rap song, "*Shuangjiegun* 雙截棍 [Nun-chucks]." This fluidity in and out of the music scene can be seen as marketing strategies to make money. Essentially, these various theatrical appearances and songs equate to exposure and publicity.

Ultimately, in not asserting any sort of concrete identity, Chou seamlessly traverses international boundaries, essentially increasing his own exposure, not only exposing more people to his hybrid style of music, but also to try and turn a profit while doing so. This is especially apparent in his endorsements. One such is example is the

song "*Tiandi yidou* 天地一鬥 [Battle of heaven and earth]," which Chou composed for a Sprite campaign with Kobe Bryant. In this hip-hop selection, Chou acts as the main singer with Bryant provided supporting vocals in the chorus.

> Kobe: Do you know how to play B-ball, Jay Chou?
> Jay: Hmph[150] Of course!
>
> […]
>
> Kobe: So you wanna play ball or sing first?
> Jay: What-What-What-What-Whatever, What-What-What-What-Whatever
> What-What-What-What-Whatever, What-What-What-What Whatever
>
> *Cool*[151] You're heaven *Cool* I'm earth *Cool* Together, we're unstoppable *Of course*
> You must remember *Cool* My name *Jay Chou* Walking with confidence; this is called self-confidence[152]
>
> […]
>
> Kobe: My man
> Jay: I'm not your man
>
> […]
>
> Kobe: Ha Ha Ha You got spark!

While Chou sings the song mainly in Mandarin, his interactions with Bryant are a combination of English and Mandarin, creating the illusion of a conversation between the two, giving Chou a transnational color.

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150 哼 (Heng)

151 The highlighted parts are Bryant's interjections during this section of the song.

152 *Cool* 你是天 *Cool* 我是地 *Cool* 合而為一我們天下無敵 *Of course*
你要記 *Cool* 我的名 *Jay Chou* 走路有風這叫做自信

Through a brief analysis of Chou's extensive discography and activities, one finds that the term "Chinese" suddenly becomes inadequate to describe Chou's music and person. Although sung mainly in the Mandarin dialect and occasionally incorporating "Chinese" elements – such as instruments, singing and musical styles, lyrics related to Chinese culture – one finds that these conventions appear only as such, aesthetic conventions. The conveyance of a "Chinese" feeling relies not only on the lyrics, musical composition, and performance, but also his audience's stereotype of what traditional Chinese music should sound like. This seamless integration of these traditional Chinese elements with Western elements has caught the attention of many, and provided a model of what this paper calls Sinophone music. Moreover, Chou's Sinophone qualities shine through in his cleverly engineered KUSO style, which manipulates conventional genres and languages to create an experimental musical form. This form falls out of the convention of such terms as "Chinese" and "Western," which becomes inadequate to describe these hybrid musical creations. This becomes even more apparent in Chou's other activities in the entertainment industry, such as his roles in movies and commercial endorsements. As the "King of C-pop," Chou's influence and popularity has set a trajectory for which others in the Sinophone communities follow.

Conclusion

Through the close analysis of three well-known Sinophone musicians – Teresa Teng, Leehom Wang, and Jay Chou, this thesis hopes to contribute to the ongoing dialogue of Sinophone studies by way of popular music. Sinophone studies looks to make sense of the appropriation of Chineseness by those outside of China who are linked to China by the imposition of the Chinese (Mandarin) language, i.e. "overseas Chinese" or "ethnic minorities" or China. Sinophone emphasizes the creolization of Chineseness with the local culture of settlement, emphasizing the unique characteristics that emerge. This focus on the unique qualities deemphasizes the importance placed on Chineseness; although, that is not to say that Chineseness does not play a part in Sinophone studies.

To understand how these musicians and their music could be called "Sinophone," I posed three interrelated questions. In what ways have Sinophone artists reappropriated Chineseness in their music to reflect their hybrid identity and upbringing, especially for those Sinophone musicians who are almost completely removed from this "Chinese" culture? For those artists who actively employ Chineseness in their music and performances, to what degree are they embracing the Chineseness in their identity? What are the implications and consequences of this appropriation?

Through the examples of Teng, Wang and Chou, we see that the ties between Sinophone artists is the use of Sinitic languages namely, Mandarin. However, Sinophone, by nature, is polyphonic and multilingual. The term "Chinese sounds" should encompass the many different "dialects" within China, as well as the influences of non-Sinitic languages, such as English, Japanese, Spanish, and most importantly, the languages of the minority populations, of which some Sinophone musicians are a part. Similarly, musical styles can vary and encompass a wide range of global influences. The lyrics for

songs typically speak of love and romance, but can include atypical topics or strong and "dangerous" language. But most importantly, Sinophone songs do not need to serve any purpose or educate the masses.

And because of this release from responsibilities, Sinophone musicians can freely create songs that reflect their own experiences as a "Chinese" person outside of China. Doing so, constructs a different light on the "Chinese experience" and more importantly emphasizes the multiplicity of Chineseness. This is most evident in the "Chinese Style" of music, in which musicians make explicit efforts to perform Chineseness. Their demonstrations of Chineseness vary greatly in its execution. However, underlying these differences is the reliance on audience participation of indulging in an "imaginary nostalgia" that stems from their "primitive passion" of an unspecified idyllic past, an image that is based on one's personal experiences. Therefore, despite the range of Chinese elements used in their "Chinese Style" of music, this style is often mixed with other musical and linguistic elements.

With Wang's and Chou's increasing exposure in the Chinese and international market, one wonder whether their (and other Sinophone musicians') "Chinese Style" articulations are tools to reconcile and represent their complex identities, or a marketing tool to stake their claim in the Mandopop industry. This is complicated even more by their Chinese activities, such as their participation in CCTV's annual Spring Gala and the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Their participation in these sorts of events also begs the question of the futility of their efforts. Despite displaying such differentiated perspectives in ways of highlighting Chinese qualities outside of China, it is possible that these efforts may be easily co-opted by the larger Chinese sociopolitical entity, especially in the eyes of the international market.

This thesis has largely focused its attention on the cultural and linguistic aspects, providing an initial inquiry into the acoustics of Sinophone music, leaving many areas unexplored. Future projects can look to the larger political economy of Sinophone music, as well as its increasing influence in Chinese pop music. As China becomes a larger international force, it will be interesting to see the trajectory of Chinese-language music, whether Chinese musicians will take more cues from their Sinophone counterparts, and the collaborations between Chinese and Sinophone that will inevitably occur. With China's increasing focus on creating "One China," whether Sinophone musicians' multifarious efforts to demonstrate their creolized background will be deemed futile, is yet to be seen.

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