Place Names on Taiwan's Tombstones:
Facts, Figures, Theories

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Abstract

This paper presents a corpus-based study on 8,500 place names inscribed on Taiwan's tombstones. Research on place names on Taiwan's tombstones is promising new perspectives in the research on migration, identity, local customs, or Han culture in general. But how much 'identity' or 'migration' are actually coded in the location names? How can such dimensions reliably be identified? Using the place names, their geographic references, their linguistic features, together with other inscriptions, symbols or images on the tomb, we show how place names can be successfully analyzed. Dimensions encoded in the places names are the religious orientation, ethnic identity, social identity, local identity and historical migrations. New, never published data on Taiwanese tombstones are revealed during our analysis, for some of which the explanation pose new challenges.

Keywords: Corpus-based study, Taiwan’s tombstone, migration, identity, local custom, Han culture

1. Introduction

1.1 From Cultural Features to Corpus

Tombs and tombstones are important artifacts of a culture which allow analyzing and understanding concepts that are fundamental in a culture. Tombs and tombstones are part of a larger complex of death rituals, which as a rite of transition, is expected to illuminate our understanding of a culture.
A systematic investigation of the cultural concepts related to death rituals, in time and space, is possible through an electronic corpus that combines qualitative data with objective criteria for comparison and generation. With Thakbong, a first large-scale corpus of this type, a corpus of tombs and tombstones is being developed, cf. Streiter, Goudin, Lin (2008). This corpus contains multimedia sources, mainly photos, which are linked to a formal model of tombs and tombstones as approximate representation of the reality. At the time of writing, the corpus contains 36000 photos of 13600 tombstones and 13300 tombs in 142 graveyards in Taiwan, 5 graveyards in Mainland China and 1 graveyard in Hong Kong (status 2009-02-10). The final corpus, to be publicly released in 2011, will contain about 60,000 photos of 20,000 tombs. For more, up-to-date statistics see http://140.127.211.213/cgi-bin/thakbong/stats.py.

Different from linguistic corpora, where annotations only cover linguistic classes and where conclusions thus remain within the domain a linguistics theory, a corpus in the cultural domain should handle references, cf. Streiter, Voltmer, Goudin (2007). References are those entities of real or imagined worlds that are referred to through objects of the reality, included through qualitative representations in the corpus. If references are included in the corpus, the properties of real or imagined worlds and their relation to the object under study can contribute in objective ways to the analysis. In the annotation of the corpus and the subsequent analysis, we thus make use of what we call the referential grid, a grid of interlinked concepts describing the system of references. This referential grid includes the following elements.

- the referring object, e.g. the word '墓' (tomb),
- the reference (the respective tomb),
- the real or imagined world the reference is part of (geographic, administrative, religious),
- the reference class, representing a classification of the references in their respective worlds,
- the reference type, or Sinn (Meaning) in terms of Frege (1892/1962), distinguishing variants through which the same reference can be
achieved, e.g. through the words 墓 (tomb) compared to alternatives such as ‘城’ (city) or ‘塋’ (grave),

- the predicate that describes the quality of the link between the referring object and the reference. In the example of ‘墓’ (tomb) the predicate is a simple deictic pointer, something like 'this tomb'. Examples of other predicates will be given below.
- Finally, predicates can be described as implicit or explicit. Explicit predicates are easy to interpret. Implicit predicates however are more revealing for a culture as they represent common assumptions, beliefs and conceptualizations.

For the developers of the corpus, as well as potential future users of the corpus, a number of important questions with respect to the corpus-based research methodology arise. A corpus-analysis of a culture, where corpus refers to public corpus as defined in Streiter, Goudin, Lin (2008), is basically new. It does neither represent the classical anthropological methodology, the participant-observation, cf. Duranti (1997), nor sociological research methodology, even its empirical branch. The difference is that in a corpus-based analysis, a representational level, a model, which is independent from the research question, is created between the reality and the observer and that this model can be questioned repeatedly and across dimensions which cannot be accessed in the reality. Our method is also different from the classical corpus-linguistic analysis that operates without the referential grid. The corpus-based method that we propose, thus might have, if successful, as additional research method, influence on the entire research field. Questions with respect to the methodology thus are:

- Does a corpus-based analysis of cultural concepts reveal new facts that cannot, or only with difficulty be known without a corpus?
- Do we find variations in the corpus that motivate the complexity and labor-intensiveness of a corpus-based analysis, i.e. annotations of time and place, transcriptions of textual elements and description of images and symbols?
- Third, can we distinguish with the help of the corpus meaningful from meaningless variations?
Fourth, does the corpus help us in finding explanations for the variations?

1.2. A Case for Place

In order to tackle these theoretical questions we look in this study into one specific type of the corpus data, i.e. the place name on the tombstone. On most tombstones in Taiwan, a place name is written on the upper part of the tombstone, mostly with two characters from right to left. As the location name is replaced on different tombs by either a generation maker, a marker of a religion, a marker of a profession, a marker of a dynasty/ethnicity or a political party, we refer to this marker, in a generalized way, as marker of affiliation. As, however, in some cases, a place name might be present, but relegated by a more central field, e.g. the dynasty/ethnicity, to a less central position, the affiliation field, as a structural field, is different from the location field, a semantically defined field. Place names might be understood as each of the points below, but the understanding of when and how they are used for the different purposes, requires a deeper analysis:

- an expression of a social or local identity if cooccurring with the affiliation field,
- a trace of migration, from China to Taiwan (韋 & 林 2008) or
- a trace of migration within Taiwan,
- part of a 'narrative of unfolding' (Brown 2004),
- a local custom (魏 & 陳 2005) or
- expression of religious concepts (Tong 2004).

Place names are grouped preliminarily into four classes. We distinguish, first, the origin of the family in Mainland China, called the Tanghao (堂號), which belongs to the legendary world. Stories of origins from these places go back 1000-2000 years. The concept of Tanghao itself is vague and can be flexibly used. The Tanghao might be (a) the place of origin of a family name, (b) a place where an ancestor worked as high government official, or (c) an otherwise motivated relation between family and the place that is used according to specific family traditions. Not only different printed sources give different combinations of family name and possible Tanghaos, but the
combinations actually found on tombstones still deviate from these printed lists.

The second group is place names referring to China. Place names in China belong to the geographic world, as do place names in Taiwan. Through our analysis we will see that place names in China are used by a heterogeneous groups, such as Hakka, Holo, military Mainlanders and other civilian Mainlanders. We will therefore very early try to distinguish different subgroups of these place names.

The third group is place names referring to Taiwan. Finally, there is a group of absent place names. Tombs without place names, although representing a very heterogeneous group, allow for interesting contrasts with the other groups.

Place names can be ambiguous with respect to their geographic reference. For our analysis, we use thus a maybe arbitrary but unambiguous mapping from tombstone to a geographic reference. To map ambiguous place name onto a geographic reference, we use the following strategy. First, if the place name matches a name of a Tanghao, the Tanghao is chosen as reference. For all other place names of the geographic world we estimate the probability of each reference as a place of origin, using the population and the square of the distance between tomb and place name reference as parameters. This means, the further away the reference, the less likely it is as a reference intended on this tombstone. The larger the population of the reference, the more likely this reference becomes. More precisely, the reference that yields the maximum of \((\text{population}/\text{distance}^2)\) is assumed to be the geographic reference.

1.3. Terms, Data, Tools

Before starting with the analysis of the place names, we have to clarify our terminology. First we show how the notions of the referential grid apply to place names: The reference of the place name is the location referred to by the name, e.g. a city or village. These references are coded in the corpus together with their longitude and latitude in the form of WGS 84 data (NIMA 2000).
The worlds of the references can be geographic, historical or legendary. A world may provide classes. The geographic world, for example, provides a hierarchical administrative classification. The reference type provides a classification for different ways the same reference is achieved, e.g. through 苗栗 (Miaoli), 苗栗市 (Miaolishi), 台灣苗栗 (Taiwan Miaoli), or 苗邑 (Miaoyi). The predicate, which with most place names is implicit, expresses the relation between the geographic reference and the person referenced in other parts of the tombstone, i.e. the deceased. The implicit predicate might be any of 'X was born in Y', 'X comes from Y', 'X has hometown in Y', 'X lived in Y', 'X died in Y', 'X's ancestors come from Y' etc. Each of the features of this referential grid might show a specific pattern of cooccurrence with other features of the tomb or tombstone, including their temporal or geographic properties. The pattern of cooccurrence then provides keys for the interpretation of the individual features.

Some more terms need to be specified as with respect to the meaning they have in this article. 'China' refers to the territory currently under administration of the People's Republic of China. 'Taiwan' refers to the territory currently under administration of the Republic of China. 'Han-people' or simply 'Han', refers to the people that refer to themselves as 唐人 (Tangren), 漢人 (Hanren) or 華人 (Huaren). Three Han subgroups are distinguished: Mainlanders, Hakka and Holo. Mainlander (外省人/Waishengren) is a cover term applied to those Han that came after 1945 with the Kuomintang exodus to Taiwan. Hakka-people (客家/Kejia) came mainly from Guangdong (廣東省), but also Fujian Province (福建省) to Taiwan before 1895. The Holo-people came from Fujian Province before 1895 to Taiwan and speak mainly dialects of Minnanhua (閩南話). As 'Aborigines of Taiwan', or simply aborigines 'Aborigines', we define those people of Taiwan that seem themselves not as Han, but as belonging to one of the Austronesian groups living in Taiwan.

For the analysis we use the partially annotated corpus of tombs and tombstones of Taiwan. This corpus, called Thakbong is a multimedia, geo-referenced corpus of approximately 15,000 tombstones and tombs that is constructed as a resource for research in linguistics, anthropology and related research fields (Streiter and Goudin 2007, Streiter, Goudin and Lin 2008).
this corpus, about 10,000 affiliation fields have been annotated till now. About 8,500 of them are occupied by a location field. The remaining 1,500 affiliation fields are occupied by markers of religion, generation or ethnicity. From these references of the location names, about 4,600 have been geo-referenced with WGS 84 data. In addition, the corpus provides the geo-references of each tomb, tombstone and graveyard.

Maps are drawn with Mapserver (McKenna, Fawcett & Butler 2009). Statistical analysis and graphs are made with the help of the R (R Development Core Team 2006). In most statistical test, data on marginal groups are excluded. Thus in most test, Muslim tombs, Christian tombs or Hakka tombs are excluded if they can be unambiguously identified as such and if they are not relevant to the particular test.

2. Tomb References: Times and Places of Place Names

2.1. Places of Place Names

Taiwan is all but a culturally homogeneous space. Different ethnicities, different local histories, different economic situations, different religions create regionally enormous cultural differences. Table 2.1.1. gives a first overview over the regional differences in the usage of place names on tombstones. Place names referring to Taiwan are found mainly in the South-West of Taiwan, where Han-people settled first. The Tanghao is used mainly in areas of later settling, to the North, East and South of the region where place names referring to Taiwan are used. Place names referring to China are found mainly, but not exclusively near military areas, in Taibei City and Taibei County or in specifically elitarian graveyards, e.g. Daya, Taizhong County. No place names are found in smaller number spread all over the island. Most of them are clearly marked as Christian tombs, some of them are Hakka tombs, some of them are Japanese-style tombs. The majority of the rest are very simple tombs with no or minimal inscriptions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taiwan</th>
<th>Tanghao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Map of Taiwan" /></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Map of Tanghao" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Map of China" /></td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Map of No Place Name" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image5" alt="Map of No Place Name, Not Christian Tomb" /></td>
<td><img src="image6" alt="Map of No Place Name, Not Christian, Not Hakka" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1.1: Regional differences in the usage of place names.
Figure 2.1.1. shows the usage of the place name in the North-South dimension. Place names referring to Taiwan are most frequent in and around Tainan. Further to the South, the Tanghao is most popular, especially in Pingdong County (屏東縣). Further to the North, place names referring to China are most popular, especially in the Taizhong and Taibe area. A similar graph will then be shown in the West-East dimension.

**Figure 2.1.1:** The North-South distribution of different place name references. The number of tombstones is calculated relative to the latitude. Some place names in Taiwan are added to facilitate the reading.
Figure 2.1.2: The West-East distribution of different place name references. The number of tombstones is calculated relative to the longitude. Some place names in Taiwan are added to facilitate the reading.

Although these graphs show interesting regional patterns in the use of place names, it is not the case that this use of place names is fixed and completely determined by the region. In addition to this regional influence on the usage of place names, there is a strong temporal influence on the use of place names, as shown in the following subsection.
2.2. Times of Place Names

When plotting the different place name references on the time axis, we obtain data as in Figure 2.2.1. Figure 2.2.1 reproduces absolute numbers; Figure 2.2.2 shows relative numbers per year.

Figure 2.2.1: Place names referring to Taiwan, China and Tanghao through time in absolute numbers. The relative increase in numbers is mainly due to the fact that older tombs have been lost. The climax of place names referring to Taiwan is in 1987, the year the Martial law was lifted by Chiang Ching-kuo.
Figure 2.2.2: Place names referring to Taiwan, Chin and Tanghao through time in relative numbers. Remarkable is the usage of the Tanghao, that started relatively late in the 1950 and has become more popular ever since.

As Figure 2.2.2 shows, during the time of the Japanese occupation (1895-1945), place names in China have been most common but became gradually replaced by place names in Taiwan. After the arrival of the Kuomintang, place names in China had a sad revival, with wounded and displaced Mainlanders dying young. Contributed to this might have also the Kuomintang-internal purge that eliminated suspected communists (Brown 2004). Place names in Taiwan have been popular ever since, with the climax in the late 1970ies and early 1980ies. The Tanghao, which was completely absent between 1936 and 1945 has become more and more popular and compensates for the relative loss of place names in China.

These data allow for a number of interesting conclusions. First, the place name referring to Taiwan must be seen as a local, social or national identity claim, the claim of a Taiwanese identity, first opposed to the Japanese
occupation and later to the Kuomintang dictatorship. This identity is the backbone of the Taiwanization movement, such as the DPP or the Taiwanese Romanization Movement, which has their strongholds in the same area. Second, it seems that we must distinguish two kinds of place names referring to China. The red line in Figure 2.2.2 falling till 1940 represents probably another population, i.e. Holo-people from Fujian, than the red line rising between 1940 and 1960, i.e. Mainlanders’ arriving after 1945.

2.3. A References Type as Claim of Mainlander Identity

Two reference types, two ways to potentially refer to the same place name, can be manipulated at least by one group to set itself apart from another group. As we will show, the Mainlanders upon their arrival used a specific reference type to mark their distinctiveness. Figure 4 makes the distinction between place names in China with 2 characters, as shown in Annex 11, and place names in China with 4 or more characters, as shown above in Annex 2 and Annex 12.

![Graph showing place names in Taiwan, China with 2 characters, in China with 4 or more characters and Tanghao over time.]

**Figure 2.3.1**: Place names in Taiwan, place names in China with 2 characters, in China with 4 or more characters and Tanghao
through time in relative numbers. Place names with 4 and more characters appear only after 1945.

The same data are presented slightly different, showing that the first 4-character place name referring to China is found in 1946. The first 6-character place name referring to China is found in 1951.

Figure 2.3.2: 4-character place referring to China appear for the first time in 1946. 6-character place names referring to China appear the first time in 1951. The table also shows clearly the absence of the Tanghao between 1936 and 1945. In addition, the table shows the economic crisis in Taiwan after World-War II. Many tombs that probably date from that time cannot be dated as no tombstone was set.

The data in Figure 2.3.2 match our hypothesis, developed during the field work, that place names in China with 4 or more characters are an almost
perfect indicator of a Mainlander. This can be further confirmed through photos on the tombs, the fact that most long place names are found on military graveyards and the gender distribution, as show in Table 2.3.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place name</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male/Female Ratio</th>
<th>Sum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta-nghao</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China (2 characters)</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>1208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China (&gt;2 characters)</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>1430</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>2630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>3545</td>
<td>2680</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>6225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.3.1:** Place names referring to China with 4 and more characters are typical for a male population that arrived after 1945 in Taiwan. These have been manly soldiers from different parts of Mainland China.

Table 2.3.2 confirms in addition, that 2-character place names before 1945 referring to China and 4-character place names referring to China after 1950 are fundamentally different, with respect to where the migration comes from and where it goes to. Tombs with 2-character place names after 1950 are a mixture of both and cannot be distinguished on the basis of the place name alone.
Table 2.3.2: Place names referring to China with 2 or more characters before 1945 or after 1949. Long place names do not refer to references in Fujian Province and only in a few cases to references in Guangdong Province.
As Table 2.3.2 shows, early migration is basically from Fujian, and a few neighbor provinces, to the South of Taiwan. Short Chinese place name after 1949 refer to migrations from Fujian and Guangdong and to migrations of Mainlanders from other regions. The two character name referring to China is thus used by different groups in Taiwan. Long Chinese place names after 1949 show less migration from Fujian and Guangdong, and relatively more migration from other provinces. The Taibei area is more focused as target of this migration. To sum up, long place names referring to China have been unambiguously identified as belonging to the group of Mainlanders, mainly military Mainlanders that use these longer names to mark their difference from Holo tombs. Simply writing a place name in China is not sufficient, as on Holo tombs we find also place names referring to China. In most long place names, the first 2 or 3 characters refer to the province, the second 2 or 3 characters to a more restricted place. If Mainlanders use a 2 character place names referring to China, this can also be just the province name, like 山東 (Shandong). This focus on the province reflects the different perceptions of Mainlanders in Taiwan. While the individual Mainlanders see themselves as associated with a specific Province of China, the body of Mainlanders in general is perceived in Taiwan as related to the, on the tombstone, unpronounced concept of 'China'. Mainlanders, however, also use a Tanghao, and sometimes even a place name in Taiwan. In the latter case, however, many times introduced by 'Taiwan Province' (台灣省/Taiwansheng), thus using the province to obtain uniformity in the way of expression among Mainlanders and, secondly, claim, for a last time, the belonging of Taiwan to China. The long character reference type is nowadays disappearing as most soldiers of the Kuomintang have been 60 years or older in 2000.

2.4. Family Names and Place Names

Another way to look at place names on tombstones is to look at them through the names of families. Chinese Family name show pronounced regional differences. These regional differences are partially due to massive assimilation of Chinese Family names by non-Han tribes. The massive assimilation of the family name 張 (Zhang) by the Manchu contributed to the fact that this family name is now very popular in the North of China. Using the 10 most frequent family names in Taiwan, we can describe the different place
name references in terms of relations between family names found with each place name reference. Mathematically speaking, we create a 10-dimensional space in which we can localize the different place names and measure their respective differences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No place name</th>
<th>China, 2 characters</th>
<th>China, &gt; 2 characters</th>
<th>Tanghao</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>蔡 (Cai)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>陳 (Chen)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>郭 (Guo)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>黃 (Huang)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>賴 (Lai)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>李 (Li)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>林 (Lin)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>劉 (Liu)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>邱 (Qiu)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>王 (Wang)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>呉 (Wu)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>許 (Xu)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>楊 (Yang)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>張 (Zhang)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鄭 (Zheng)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2:4.1: Localizing place name references in a 10-dimensional space of family names. On the Chen-dimension place names referring to Taiwan and Tanghao are similar. On the Zhang-dimension, however they are quite different.

By calculating the correlation of the different place name references on these 10 dimensions, we obtain a correlation matrix from which we can gauge the similarity of place name references in terms of the population.
Table 2.4.2: The correlation matrix of place name references in a 10-dimensional space of family names. The tombstones with a Tanghao and without a place name are quite similar with respect to the family names. Tombstones with a place name referring to Taiwan and tombstones with place names referring to China with more than 2 characters are negatively correlated, meaning that the family name popular in the one is unpopular in the other.

The data in Table 2.4.2 show once again that the population using a 2-character place name referring to China and a 4 or 6-character place name referring to China are different, but more similar to each other than to place names referring to Taiwan. Remarkable is the very high correlation between the population using no place names and the population using a Tanghao. Very probably, these two populations are actually one and the same.

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1. Christian and Hakka tombs excluded.
3. Reference Class: Place Names between Joss and Cross

Tombs and tombstones are inherently connected to people’s conception of life and death. Such conceptions are either canonized in institutionalized religions such as Catholicism or are traded informally as in the Chinese Folk Religion. In either case, tombs reflect of course basic religious concepts related to death and life, but also the social component of being a member of this or that religious group, especially there where different religious groups live together. Do place names represent or interfere with these conceptual or social components of religions? To answer this question, we first have to establish the religious orientation of the deceased or his or her family. This is not directly measurable, but can be guessed if the tomb is sufficiently adorned with symbols, inscriptions or images. Using such adorned tombs, we label tombstones or a tomb

- as 'Christian' if they show
  - a cross, c.f. Annex 9,
  - a Christian formula or citation, e.g. Annex 10, or
  - a date expressed, similar to the Latin inscription 'anno domini', as 王後 (Zhuhou);
- as 'Buddhist' if they show
  - a swastika;
- as 'Islamic' if they show
  - Arabic inscriptions or
  - images of a mosque;
- as 'Chinese Folk Religion' if they show
  - the Earth God Tudi Gong (土地公),
  - the two servants, e.g. Example 1, or
  - the Three Star Gods Fu Lu Shou (福祿壽).
3.1. Basic Data: Place Name and Religions Orientation

In a first analysis, we compare the threefold classification of place names, plus the underspecified class 'No place name', to the religion as indicated by features of the tombs. Hakka tombstones are not included in the analysis. The results are shown in Table 3.1.1 and Figure 3.1.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place name</th>
<th>Buddhism</th>
<th>Chinese Folk Religion</th>
<th>Christianity</th>
<th>Islam</th>
<th>Sum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No place name</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>1471</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanghao</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2026</td>
<td>1675</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1.1: Place name versus religion. Place names are generally incompatible with Christianity, the Tanghao is almost only compatible with Chinese Folk Religion. ²

Although we can include in this analysis only tombs that have markers of their respective religious orientation, some relations between religion and place name become visible: First, the usage of the Tanghao is fairly restricted to Chinese Folk Religion. Second, there is a negative correlation between

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² Pvalue for chi-square < 2.2e-16.
markers of Christianity and the presence of place names in general. Third, geographic place names, but not the Tanghao are compatible with indices of Islam\textsuperscript{3} and Buddhism\textsuperscript{4}.

\textbf{Figure 3.1.1:} Place name versus religion. Place names in general and Tanghao especially are incompatible with Christianity (third column from left). The Tanghao is compatible only with Chinese Folk Religion. The data on Buddhism (first columns) and Islam (fourth column) show if anything, a compatibility with place names in China and Taiwan.

\textsuperscript{3}The Islamic population of Taiwan consists mainly of Mainlanders, as 20,000 Muslim families, mainly soldier families came in 1949 to Taiwan. 88\% of the Islamic tombs show a place name (38/43), all except one, place names in China.

\textsuperscript{4}In Taiwan, most Buddhists practice cremation (火化/huohua, 火葬/huozang) and the storage of the urn (金塔/Jinta) in a temple (魏 & 陈 2005). These urns are not accessible to research in the way that tombstones are.
How can we interpret these data? First, we have to acknowledge that these findings don’t show a principled relation between a religion and the usage of place names. Thus, the codex of most religions does neither require nor reject the writing of a place name on a tombstone. Place names are common on Christian tombs elsewhere in the world or place names are absent on Islamic tombs elsewhere in the world. The overall usage or rejection of place names thus reflects the perception of the people of Taiwan with respect to this feature. As the data show, these perceptions are different in different groups. While the Christian people of Taiwan avoid place names, as we assume, as they link it to Chinese Folk Religion, the Muslim people of Taiwan embrace this feature of tombstones. Either they do not perceive the relation between the place name and the Chinese Folk Religion, or they succeed in detaching these notions.

The perception of a tombstone feature, such as a place name, might be identical to the motivation behind the usage of a tombstone feature. For example, an informant, replacing a tombstone written top-to-bottom right-to-left with Chinese characters by a tombstone with a left-to-right top-to-bottom Chinese writing, explained that this would "feel more comfortable". This relation between perception and motivation, however, must not always be the case and we can equally assume that the usage of a feature, triggered or motivated by external facts, determines its perception.

5. e.g. "*Born Aug 7, 1870 in Carroll county, Ark. died Sep 30, 1945 in Cottonwood -- *Ailor, (Anglen 2004)."
3.2. Tanghao and Ancestor Cult

The Tanghao, as data in Table 3.2.1 suggest, are perceived differently from other place names. What makes the Tanghao in the eyes of the people of Taiwan different? We hypothesize, that the Tanghao is directly associated with the notions of ancestors and family. The ancestors are the only logical link that through the family line connects the deceased and the Tanghao, a place name of a time 1000-2000 years ago. As a consequence, the Tanghao is indirectly also associated with the notion of Ancestor Cult (祭祖/jizu), a central element of the Chinese Folk Religion. The Ancestor Cult is so common and so visible in Taiwan, that a representation of Ancestors must be seen as conditioned by the Ancestor Cult, in the same way as a wet street is linked to rain. Table 2, shows, that this hypothesized perception matches the actual usage of the Tanghao partially. The hypothesized reference to the family can be confirmed by the relatively high number of references to the family.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tombstone Inscription</th>
<th>No Place Name</th>
<th>Tanghao</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
<th>p-value (chi-square)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>家歷代 (jialidai)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0.0002702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[previous generations of the Family]</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>家祖 (jiazu)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.008472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[family ancestor(s)]</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>家 (jia)</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>&lt; 2.2e-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[family]</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>祖先 (zuxian)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.160e-06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ancestor(s)]</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>附 (fu)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1.779e-06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[another deceased added to the tomb]</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>合葬 two persons</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>2.2e-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[as opposed to one person]</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2.1: Place name and inscriptions mentioning ancestors or the family. In all of these cases, the Tanghao has the highest percentage, tombstones without place names have the lowest percentage. The marker 附 (fu) and the numbers of persons indicate that these tombs are in fact more likely to be actually family tombs. In these family tombs, the percentage of tombstone without place names is relatively high.

7. Christian and Hakka tombs are not included.
Table 3.2.1 shows the relation between place names and inscriptions referring to ancestors and family on the one hand and inscriptions detailing the number of persons in a tomb. From these data, it is obvious and statistically significant, that tombs using the Tanghao are more likely to make references to the family or ancestors and that they are also more likely to serve in fact as family tombs instead of single-person tombs. Interestingly, although tombs without place names are the least likely to mention the family or the ancestors, they are somehow similar in their relative high usage as family tombs. The Tanghao thus cannot be equated with the practical aspect of a family tomb, but with the elevation of this practical aspect into a mythological world. The Tanghao, as the other references to the family, index a frequently imagined line of ancestors, fixed by its two extreme points, the deceased at the lowest level and the Tanghao at the highest level.

However, the idea that the reference to the family is directly linked to the Ancestor Cult cannot be confirmed by the tombs and tombstones. It is not the case that tombs referring to a Tanghao are 'more' Chinese Folk Religion than other tombs. Table 3.2.2 shows this, or even the contrary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>place name</th>
<th>Fu Lu Shou (福祿壽)</th>
<th>Two servants (金童玉女)</th>
<th>Tudi Gong (土地公)</th>
<th>Jinlu (金爐)</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No place name</td>
<td>57 (16%)</td>
<td>83 (15%)</td>
<td>676 (35%)</td>
<td>210 (39%)</td>
<td>1026 (105%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanghao</td>
<td>83 (23%)</td>
<td>69 (12%)</td>
<td>305 (16%)</td>
<td>85 (16%)</td>
<td>542 (67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>86 (24%)</td>
<td>127 (22%)</td>
<td>476 (25%)</td>
<td>125 (23%)</td>
<td>814 (95%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>132 (36%)</td>
<td>292 (51%)</td>
<td>422 (22%)</td>
<td>532 (22%)</td>
<td>958 (132%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sum</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>3340</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2.2: The percentage of tombs, showing features of the Chinese Folk Religion. Tombs with a Tanghao have the least religious features.

8. Christian and Hakka tombs excluded
10. Pvalue of chi-square = 2.2e-16.
As visible from Table 3.2.2, tombs with a Tanghao have the lowest overall percentage of indicators of Chinese Folk Religion, i.e. 67%¹. Even more, tombs with a Tanghao shows especially low values on those features, which should benefit the deceased: The Two Servants should make life in the Otherworld comfortable, the Earth god Tudi Gong watches over the graveside and the Joss money stove, the Jinlu, allows transferring gifts from this world into the Otherworld. As these statistical data are highly significant, the Tanghao, contrary to its promise, does not necessarily index the Chinese Folk Religion in addition to the family. The usage of the Tanghao might thus be motivated by a) the need to find a unified location name for different people within one tomb, b) the need to find a unified location name for people sharing the same family name, or c) the need to find a place name that in the absence of any other place name, acceptable for the wider community, might be used as stopgap.

Theory a) can be motivated by the data in Table 3.2.2, i.e. the similarly high tendency of tombs without a place name and tombs referring to a Tanghao to serve as family tombs. With such tombs it might either be simplest to use no place name at all or to fall back on a very general place name, the Tanghao. Theory b) can probably be supported by the data shown in Figure 3.2.1: The more frequent a family name¹², the more likely it is to cooccur with a Tanghao¹³. There is only one comparable correlation between the frequency of a family name and the usage of a place name, which of a place name in Taiwan¹⁴. Thus, if a family name is frequent in Taiwan, probably a typical Holo name, a place name referring to Taiwan or a Tanghao is thus much more likely than a place name referring to China or no place name at all.

11. 67% here mean that statistically, 3 tombs have two markers of Chinese Folk religion.
12. The frequency is measured in terms of deceased in the Thakong Corpus.
13. Kendall’s rank correlation tau = 0.33, p-value 2.174e-09.
14. Tanghao: correlation 0.33, pvalue 2.172e-09; China: correlation -0.09175983 p-value = 0.08576, Taiwan: correlation 0.2701690 p-value = 8.23e-07; No location -0.1003478 p-value = 0.06234
Figure 3.2.1: The size of the family and the references of location names. Frequent family names tend to cooccur with references to a Tanghao. This is similar to the references to Taiwan and unlike references to China or without place names.

3.3. The Missing Place Name, Expression of Religious Identity

The general avoidance of the place name on Christian tombs can be understood as avoidance of elements that index the Chinese Folk Religion. The perception of the location name by the Taiwan's Christians is thus different from the Muslim population, which uses a place name in 88% of the tombstones. The avoidance of the place name by the Christians, the data suggest, is targeting mainly the Tanghao, but, probably through an over-avoidance, extends to the avoidance of geographical place names in general.

To illustrate this over-avoidance, we compare the tombs of two graveyards: A Christian Han graveyard in Tainan City and an aboriginal graveyard, the
graveyard of the Tsou-people in Laiji, Alishan County (阿里山鄉來吉村 /Alishanxiang Laijicun). While the Christian Han of Tainan use a place name in 0.6% (3/526) of the tombs, the Christian Tsou-people of Laiji are more nonchalant about place names and use them in 26% (24/97) of the tombs. Thus, the Christian Tainan city dwellers, who are in everyday contact with Chinese people that practice the Ancestor cult, are very keen to mark the out-group difference and an in-group similarity. Dropping the place name on the tombstone restructures the entire tombstone and gives it anther appearance than the classical form shown in Annex 1. The difference is clearly marked.

The Tsou-people of Laiji, differently for the Tainan citizens are not suspected to practice Ancestor Cult and thus are free to use the place name differently: 96% (23/24) of the place names on the Christian Tsou tombstones of Laiji, are '來吉' (Laiji). The place name refers to their own village and thus creates an in-group similarity for Laiji and an out-group dissimilarity for people not from Laiji. Basically, the tombs and tombstones in Laiji are very similar to other Aboriginal tombs, Han Christian tombs and geographically near Han tombs. Therefore, the in-group similarity and out-group dissimilarity cannot be marked by the tomb or tombstone alone. It is only the inscription referring to Laiji that marks them as different from other tombs. The map in Figure 3.3.1 illustrates this fact. This map shows where tombs similar to those in Laiji can be found, and as a consequence, where tombs cannot mark an out-group dissimilarity. Each tomb-type, represented by a different color, can be found outside Laiji, if we ignore the place name in the definition of the tomb-type.
Figure 3.3.1: Tomb-types of Laiji, not including the place name in the tomb-type definition. The distribution of different tomb-types used by the Christian Tsou of Laiji are represented by colored fields. The tombs of Laiji are quite heterogeneous and not distinctive and cannot mark an out-group dissimilarity. Tombs share features with other Tsou-tombs from Chashan (茶山), with Bunun and Paiwan tombs, but also with Christian Han tombs and Min-nan tombs of Jaiyi, Tainan and Kaohsiung County.

Figure 3.3.2: Tomb-types of Laiji, including the place name in the tomb-type definition. Adding a place name referring to Taiwan does not change the out-group dissimilarity significantly. The geographic distribution of different tomb-types is similar to that in Figure 3.3.2. 85% of the graveyards overlap in Figure 3.3.1 and Figure 3.3.2. It is only by the specific place name that the tombs become distinctive.
The out-group dissimilarity of tombs from Laiji is not changed fundamentally by the presence or absence of a place name referring to Taiwan, as shown in Figure 3.3.2. 85% of the graveyards are the same, when the place name is or is not included in the tomb-type definition. This shows that the Tsou people, contrary to the Han people, can freely manipulate the presence or absence of the place name without changing their out-group dissimilarity (the difference between Figure 3.3.1 and Figure 3.3.2). The usage of the place name with the reference to Laiji, however, allows for a more narrow delimitation of the in-group to Laiji.

Thus, the general properties of the tombs and tombstones can be taken as a representation of the complex structure of a social identity. When people perceived similarities between their tombs and other tombs, they might either change their tombs, make them more specific or different, or they ignore that difference, as they don't perceive this similarity as uncomfortable. From the distribution of tomb-types and the respective 'owners' of these tomb types in other regions we thus can estimate, with which 'owners' the people of a place can potentially identify with. This can possibly be represented as in Figure 3.3.3, where localize the properties of tomb-type-owners and the tomb-type overlaps. Applying this to the Tsou people of Laiji, we use the blue color to represent the identity created through the tomb, disregarding the place name 'Laiji'. As shown in Figure 3.3.3, it is only the reference to Laiji that creates an in-group similarity for the place itself and the very axis of a local, ethnic and religious identity.¹⁵

¹⁵. Note, Figure 3.3.3 has been manually created and thus does not proof anything. In the Future however, images like in Figure 3.3.3 will be derived automatically from data that created Figure 3.3.1 and 3.3.2.
Interestingly, the data suggest that place names do not have one specific meaning, but that different ethnic, local or religions groups in Taiwan assign different meanings to this component of tombstones and thus embrace or avoid this feature for their purpose. The collective avoidance or the collective use of the place name in a specific way might be an expression of a religious, ethnic or social identity, either through the common reference as in the case of the Tsou people of Laiji, or, notwithstanding the reference, through the uniform behavior of the group with respect to this feature, either expressed as a common reference class, such as place names referring to Taiwan or a common reference type, as the long name used by many Mainlanders to unambiguously mark their identity.

4. Reference Predicate: The Color of Place Names

Colors have symbolic meanings in the Chinese mythological world and colors might help us to understand the place names on tombstones. However, in Taiwan, most tombs have only one character color, with gold being used most frequently (about 49% of all tombstones). If there is only one color, we can
relate the color to tombstone external factors such as social status, profession, regionalism or others. Only if more than one color is used and this game of colors marks the place name in the same color as another field, e.g. the name of the deceased, and if this patterning occurs sufficiently frequently, we can draw conclusions from the game of colors about the relation between the place name and the person. Similar colors might thus be understood as expressing and otherwise implicit predicate, e.g. 'place of the ancestors'. Aside from this relative meaning of colors, there might be a conventionalized, absolute meaning of colors. According to Eberhard (1994) and Tong (2004), red represents 'life' in Chinese symbolism and thus red is used for the living. The color green, according to Tong (2004) represent on the tombstone 'death'. For Eberhard (1994) green can signify as well 'life' as 'evil' and its combination with red is particularly meaningful (Eberhard, 1994, pg. 249).

Tong (2004) reports a systematic usage of the colors red and green on Han tombstones in Singapore. In addition, the Thakbong corpus comprises about 50 tombs from Ningbo, China (寧波) where the colors red and black are used in a systematic way on tombstones, cf. Annex 14. However, place names are absent on most of these tombs from Ningbo, so that colors cannot be related to place names. Only about 2% of a sample of 12,000 tombstones in Taiwan uses more than one color. Although the generalization of any finding based on such small numbers might be suspicious, we can try to understand which hints the colors might give us for our understanding of place names, once more data will become available. Table 4.1 shows the most frequent color combinations on Taiwan’s tombstones.
Table 4.1: Tomb stones with place names referring to China or a Tanghao have basically red and gold characters. In these cases gold is the preferred color for the place name. Tombstones with place names referring to Taiwan use the combination of red and green, or the combination of red, gold (or yellow) and green. On red-green tombstones, red is the preferred color for the place name. On red-green-gold tombstones, the preferred color for the place name is gold.

Thus, those who use a place name referring to Taiwan use different colors and symbolize something different than those who use a place names referring to China or a Tanghao. On the tombstones with references to China or a Tanghao, the main concern is to distinguish the living from deceased family members through the colors gold (deceased) and red (living), cf. Annex 5 and 7. In this color game, gold is the standard color which applies to everything, including the place name, except living people. In Singapore, according to Tong (2004), the family name is painted red, as the family line is continued. The characters referring to the deceased are green. One can thus be curious, whether this symbolism of Singapore is used also in Taiwan of if some other correspondences in colors can be observed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>place name</th>
<th>gold (red)</th>
<th>gold (green, red)</th>
<th>red (gold)</th>
<th>red (green)</th>
<th>Sum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanghao</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>place name</th>
<th>gold (red)</th>
<th>gold (green, red)</th>
<th>red (gold)</th>
<th>red (green)</th>
<th>Sum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanghao</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Tomb stones with place names referring to China or a Tanghao have basically red and gold characters. In these cases gold is the preferred color for the place name. Tombstones with place names referring to Taiwan use the combination of red and green, or the combination of red, gold (or yellow) and green. On red-green tombstones, red is the preferred color for the place name. On red-green-gold tombstones, the preferred color for the place name is gold.

Thus, those who use a place name referring to Taiwan use different colors and symbolize something different than those who use a place names referring to China or a Tanghao. On the tombstones with references to China or a Tanghao, the main concern is to distinguish the living from deceased family members through the colors gold (deceased) and red (living), cf. Annex 5 and 7. In this color game, gold is the standard color which applies to everything, including the place name, except living people. In Singapore, according to Tong (2004), the family name is painted red, as the family line is continued. The characters referring to the deceased are green. One can thus be curious, whether this symbolism of Singapore is used also in Taiwan of if some other correspondences in colors can be observed.
Table 4.2: *The color for the location name and the color of the family are basically the same, for all combinations involving red-gold. In most of these cases gold is used for the place name. As for the Taiwanese green-red tombstones, while red is the preferred color for the location, green is the preferred color for the family.*

The findings in Table 4.2 for Taiwan are thus different from observations made in Tong (2004) for Singapore, where red would be the preferred color for the family name. If there is a relative color symbolism for the tombstones with place names referring to Taiwan, the red-green tombstones in Taiwan would suggest that the identification of family and place name is less strong in Taiwan. This would not be surprising as we already identified the place name referring to Taiwan with a claim of local, social or national identity and not with the identification of agnatic or nonagnatic ancestors. To test this, we can map the color of the place name against the color of the given name of the deceased.
Table 4.3: The color for the location name and the color of the given name are basically the same, for all combinations involving red-gold. As for the Taiwanese green-red tombstones, while red is the preferred color for the location, green is the preferred color for the given name.

Comparing the data in Table 4.2. and 4.3., it seems that the correlation between place name and family is the same as the correlation between place name and given name. A general identification of person and place name through colors thus cannot be observed. There is also no dissociation of family name and given name as suggested in Tong (2004). Thus, it does not seem as if similar colors would allow reconstructing implicit predicates. Instead, the absolute color symbolism might be more revealing, describing the person as dead and the place name as living, with no distinction made between the family name and the given name. Data however are too sparse in order to allow for final conclusions.
5. Summary and Discussion

In this paper we presented the corpus-based approach to the research of culture. We started by asking the following question with respect to the corpus-based approach in the domain of cultural studies.

1. Does a corpus-based analysis of cultural concepts reveal new facts that cannot, or only with difficulty be known without a corpus?
2. Do we find variations in the corpus that motivate the complexity and labor-intensiveness of a corpus-based analysis, i.e. annotations of time and place, transcriptions of textual elements and description of images and symbols?
3. Third, can we distinguish with the help of the corpus meaningful from meaningless variations?
4. Fourth, does the corpus help us in finding explanations for the variations?

The answers we can give through this study are:

1. Large amounts of data and regularities would go unobserved without the systematic collection in a corpus. All observations regarding a tomb or tombstones that are not material, e.g. ethnicity or religion, dispersed over large areas, e.g. the distribution of Tanghao, or localized in different dimensions such as time, space, religiosity, could not be managed without the representational level offered by the corpus. In a corpus such notions can be re-constructed and then re-enter the corpus in the form of an annotation and allow for further observation.

2. The corpus shows a great variation of tombs and tombstones. Each common form has exceptions, regional variations and a certain development through time. We have shown this, e.g. for the distribution and temporal development of the Tanghao. Even within ethnically and religiously homogeneous villages, varieties as shown in Figure 3.2.1 can be observed.

3. Although the variation increases with the depth of annotation, and thus might seem arbitrary, statistics can quite reliably distinguish
meaningful from meaningless variations, as shown in the comparison of Figure 3.2.1 and Figure 3.2.2. Thus, if two variations refer to the same space (geographical or other space), the variation is meaningless with respect to this space. To turn the argumentation round, if a group of objects shows differences in its surface features, e.g. the kind of a stone, and these surface features do not scatter randomly through all dimensions such as space, time, religion, ethnicity, region etc, this feature merits to be systematically annotated and subjected to an analysis.

5. Explanations for variations can be found through statistical analyses, if the annotation is rich and covers notions even if they are not visible, such as the religious orientation of the deceased. Explanations can be reconstructed at different levels, e.g. that relevant for the creator of the tomb, e.g. the Tanghao used as last resort before writing no place name, how something is perceived by different communities, e.g. the Tanghao as an expression of the Ancestor cult, and the regularity understood by the researcher. Our data clearly show a relation between temporal, political, regional and socio-economic factors on the one hand and tombs and tombstones on the other, e.g. through a temporal gap of tombstones after 1945, the relative increase of the Tanghao through time, the geographically very different distribution of Tanghao and place names referring to Taiwan or China, as well as the increase of place names referring to Taiwan under Japanese Occupation. The corpus can represent such relations, however cannot establish a causal relation between these facts.

We argued in addition, that the inclusion of the referential grid as heuristic device yields interesting material for an analysis of the data in the corpus. We could substantiate this claim with an analysis of references, related to the tomb, the place name and the time. The interest of the reference type could be illustrated through the analysis of long place names (as an expression of a claimed Mainlander identity). The search for implicit predicates brought us to look into color symbolism, but this was not very successful. Colors seem to be used in a fixed meaning and not as a device to group different notions. Linguistic expressions on tombstones referring to a Tanghao however could be shown to find the implicit predicate that links the deceased to the place name. References to the geographical world (place names referring to Taiwan and
Place names referring to China) have been linked to claims of a national identity, while the reference to the mythological world of the Tanghao has been linked to a religious identification and thus not a national identification, at least through the perception of the people of Taiwan. Reference classes are interesting in the way social and national identities are constructed. As in 4 or 6-character place names, we have the lowest bound, presumably as expression of local identity, the highest pronounced bound, e.g. the province, as a more inclusive expression of a social identity, and the highest unpronounced bound, e.g. China, which delimits the horizon of expected differences, the national identity.

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地名於台灣墓碑: 真相，數據，理論

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摘要

本篇報告將主要呈現一個以八千五百筆刻於台灣墓碑上的地名資料之語料庫；此語料庫之研究將對台灣社會移民遷移，認同，地方文化以及中華文化等議題提出新的觀點。然而實際上我們能從這些地方名稱提出多少有關社會認同或遷移的實際證據?又如何證實我們所提出的應用方向是可信的?我們將著手於地方名稱，地理關聯性，語言學的特性，再配合上墓碑上的刻文，圖像，來進一步證實這些地方名稱是可被分析，並證實我們所提出的論點。此地名語料庫的建檔將以宗教信仰，種族認同，社會認同，地方認同以及歷史上的遷移為原則。在我們分析過程中也顯示諸多有關台灣墳墓而尚未發表的資訊，其中一些解釋又將會引起新的且具挑戰性的議題。

關鍵字: 語料庫研究，台灣墳墓，移民，認同，地方文化，漢文化
Annex

A.1

Annex 1 is a typical instance of a tombstone with a two-character place name of a village in Taiwan, 大社 (Dashe). 大社 (Dashe) as place name is highly ambiguous in Taiwan, with 社 (she) being used since the Qing Dynasty as the established term to refer to an aboriginal settlement, cf. Teng (2004). Overall, the ambiguity of place names in Taiwan is an interesting topic. Is the ambiguity experienced by those design the tombstone and in which geographical area the place names are unambiguous?

The reference of this tombstone is most probably is 大社村, 路竹鄉, 高雄縣 (Dashecun, Luzhuixiang, Gaoxiongxian), since the photo has been taken in Luzhuixiang, although not directly in Dashecun. The inhabitants of Dashecun, probably sinicized (漢化/hanhua) Flatland Aborigines (平埔族/Pingpu zu), are not aware that the place name points to an aboriginal place name. There is no reluctance to use this place name. Whether other place names, that more obviously point to an Aboriginal history, such as Fantian (番田) or Fanlu (番路), are also used on tombstone is not yet known.

Right and left of the tombstones are two servants, which, according to the Chinese Folk Religion, will serve the deceased in the Otherworld, so that he or she will have a comfortable life. The usage of colorful ceramics for figurative work is very common in rural areas of Taiwan. On many of these ceramics abstract ornaments frame the image.

In Tainan County (台南縣) and Gaoxiongxian (高雄縣), many tombstones, like this, have not special color like red or gold for the characters of the tombstone, in addition, many tombs of that region use in parallel two calendars, the Republican Calendar starting from 1911 and the Traditional Chinese Calendar.
Annex 2 shows a typical tomb of a Mainlander (外省人/Waishengren) in Taipei. The place name 浙江定海 (Zhejiang Dinghai) refers, most probably to the Dinghai District (定海区/Dinghaiqu) in Zhoushan City (舟山市/Zhoushanshi), Zhejiang Province (浙江省/Zhejiangsheng). This is a typical 4-character place name, with the two first characters referring to the province.

As on this tombstone, many tombstones of Mainlanders in Taipei mark the date of birth and death, while non-Christian Holo tombstones more frequently mark the data of the burial or the erection of the tombstone. Mainlanders in Taipei also frequently write the names of female mourners (e.g. dathers) on the tombstones, while traditional Holo tombstones only write the male offspring as principal mourners on the tombstone. Another difference with respect to Holo tombs is that fact that the coffin is above the ground and not in the ground.

The preferred character color of soldiers from Mainland China is red. This marks a pronounced difference to gold as the island-wide preferred color, or as the color used by the Mainlander elite in Taipei or Taizhong.

Annex 3 shows a tombstone using the preferred golden characters as only color. The place name refers to a Tanghao (堂號). The Tanghao Xihe (西河) is the most popular Tanghao of the Lin (林) Family, located in what today is Shanxi Province, Lishi District (山西省離石區/Shanxisheng, Lishiqu).
Left and right to the tombstone, again the two servants, and two bats (蝙蝠/bianfu). Bats, according to Chinese symbolism, are a symbol for good luck and happiness, cf. Eberhard (1994). This symbolism, however, cannot be due to the homophony of the Mandarin Chinese reading of the character 福 (fu), the character for luck. Speakers of Taiwanese or other Chinese languages equally use the symbol so that homophony of an older reading must be assumed. Bianfu (蝙蝠) in Mandarin is a synonym compound, with each part, 蝙 and 蝠 meaning 'bat'. Homophony thus existed, most probably, between the classical reading of 福 and 蝠.

A.4  
Annex 4 shows a tombstone with two character colors. Here place name (top) and person (middle) are green, the data (right) and the names of mourners (left) are red. Colors can be highly symbolic. According to Eberhard (1994) and Tong (2004), red represents 'life'. The color green, according to Tong (2004) represent on the tombstone 'death'. For Eberhard (1994) green can signify as well 'life' as 'evil' and its combination with red is particularly meaningful (Eberhard, 1994, pg. 249).

Unfortunately, Chinese are also very pragmatic and the colors on the tombstone can, according to one informant, also merely show which color pot was open on Tomb Sweeping Day (清明節/Qingmingjie), when a family decided that the stone has to be repainted. Thus, statistical analyses will be required to analyze the meaning of colors on tombstones.

A.5
Annex 5, once again, shows the symbolic meaning of red as the color of life. The tombstones of people who prepare for their death are covered with red paper or plastic. If the husband dies before his wife, the family name is gold and the name of the deceased is gold, his wife's name is then also written on the tombstone and covered with red paper. In other cases the names of the living are painted simply in red while those of the deceased are painted in gold. If his wife dies first, the family name is, as the name of the husband, red.

Tombs like this illustrate the preoccupation of Han with death and the correct execution of all necessary death ceremonies, cf. Tong (2004), Watson (1988): The tomb is perfectly prepared even long before the person dies. This tomb also confirms information given by informants, i.e. that the design of tomb and tombstone is, if possible, determined by the person that will be buried in the tomb. This way the person can assure the correctness of the arrangements and does not depend on how the mourners negotiate the arrangement of the tomb. And aside the tombstone has peony flowers. In Chinese tradition, it symbolizes thriving and greatly rich. So, it hopes the descents would be peaceful and rich.

A.6
Annex 6 shows a Tanghao, i.e. 太原 (Taiyuan), written in red, the color of life, while all persons are written in gold. These persons are the deceased, a second person added (附/fu) and the main mourner. One might wonder whether this color symbolism can be coherent. If the Tanghao (red) represents the agnatic ancestors, i.e. those ancestors (祖先/zuxian) that are personally unknown because they are older than five generations (上五代祖/shang wu dai zu) and the deceased has become a nonagnatic ancestor (gold), why then the son is also written in gold? And why is the date written in red color? Sometimes the analysis of colors is even more difficult since different colors may have been applied in different times. Many of the tombs that are nowadays painted gold have been red before, as can be seen when the color crumbles away. Colors are thus not only determined by a fixed symbolism but also by changing times. The form of the tomb is similar to that of many Mainlanders. The family name 王 (Wang) is also more likely with Mainlanders, so that, very likely, we have here a tomb of a Mainlander with a Tanghao.
Example 7 shows a possibly orthodox color game, where Family name of the husband, the family name of the wife, and mourners' names and the Tanghao are painted in red, the color of life. The date in red can only be understood as date when the deceased has been transformed into an ancestor. If the color-symbolism of this tomb is coherent, there is no distinction between agnatic ancestors (the Tanghao) and nonagnatic ancestors (the deceased). However, our analysis has shown that colors are not used to mark two units as being the same or different. Colors simply represent their pre-determined symbolism.

A.8

The same Tanghao as in Example 7, here with the generation as binding link between the Tanghao and the deceased person. This Tanghao, Yingcuan (穎川) is one of many Tanghaos of the Chen (陳) family but the only Tanghao of the Zhong (鍾) family. Zhong is a frequent Hakka name. In addition, marking the generation number of the deceased on the tombstone is also something typical for the Hakka in the South of Taiwan.

As this tombstone clearly represent, we have at the top the Yang elements, e.g. the ancestors, which is joined by the Hun-part (魂/hun) of the soul (靈魂/linghun).

Compare this to the Jiguan (籍貫) in Example 12, the place of origin, which is a geographic place name and thus much less mythological charged. This Jiguan is not marked on the top. Instead it is written with small characters in a marginal position. The Yin elements are at the bottom, i.e. the tomb where the decaying flesh, which is considered Yin, is deposed.
Annex 9 shows a very rare example of a Tanghao combined with a Christian symbol. But the Tanghao is not the only element of this tomb in contradiction to a pure Christian believe. Notice also the table for the offerings, the Three Star-gods Fu Lu Shou, the incense urn and the lanterns that light the way for the spirit. All this shows that in this case, Christianity and Chinese Folk Religion have been mixed, either by the deceased, his family or the craftsman.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Gu (故)</th>
<th>Xian (顯)</th>
<th>Zu (祖)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Folk Religion</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.9.1: The Christian honorific 'Gu' and the avoidance of the term 'Zu'.
A religious formula on a Christian tomb occupies the top position, normally occupied by a place name. On other Christian tomb stones, the cross occupies the central top position of the place name. Christians might use the honorific Gu (故), and to a lesser extend words like Xian (顯), meaning 'illustrious' and certainly not the word Zu (祖), i.e. ancestor.

A.11

Frequently, but not exclusively, used by Hakka, are place names ending in the character '邑' (yi). Either the place name in 'yi' has been conventionalized and is known by that name, as in 昌邑 (Changyi), or the second syllable of a place name is creatively replaced by the character '邑', which simply means 'area', 'district', 'city' or 'state'. Through the replacement of the second character, a much greater ambiguity is created. Only the first character is distinctive so that the hypothetical name 台邑 (Taiyi) might refer to 台北 (Taibei), 台東 (Taidong), 台西 (Taixi), 台南 (Tainan), 台山 (Taishan). Practically, however, within the community that uses place names in 'yi', the references are unambiguous, given the shared assumptions and knowledge of the community. Sometimes, the second character is preserved as in 大埔 (Dabu) = 埔邑 (Puyi).

In this particular case, the references is probably 漳浦 (Zhangpu) = 浦邑 (Puyi), also marked on tombstones as 金浦 (Jinpu). In this case we have to read the place
A place name with an *explicit predicate*. The 原籍 (Yuanji) is an explicit predicate. 原籍 is the original籍貫 (Jiguan), thus the original place of residence, something what more commonly is called '老家' (Laojia). The choice of the predicate 原籍 must be seen in contrast to possibly alternative names, such as 祖籍 (Zuji) or the place of the ancestors, or the 老家 (Laojia), the hometown. While the difference between 原籍 and 祖籍 most probable distinguishes nonagnatic from agnatic ancestors, 原籍 versus 老家 is a difference of register.

Notice, that the place name has been expressed through 9 characters and not two or four as seen above. We might hypothesize that the longer the place name is, the less it is mythological charged. Another hypothesis might be that the length of the place name reflects the administrative class of the reference, with longer place names referring to place names at a lower hierarchical level. Finally, one might assume that longer place names reflect the distance between the tomb and the reference. The further it is away, the more information is needed in order to communicate successfully the location of the reference. This possibility however would require postulating a communicative act realized in the tombstone, between the deceased or he mourners on his or her behalf and a reader. If there is a communicative act, it would tell us also about the intended reader, as each text contains an implicit characterization of the reader (1979).
A.13 Christian tomb, using the Chinese color-symbolism possibly more systematically than non-Christian tombs. From a Christian point of view, however the play of colors does not make sense. The family has no specific status and the data of the burial, unlike Chinese Folk Religion cannot be associated with life. In Chinese Folk Religion, the burial is the completion of the death ritual and through these rituals the spirit of the deceased has been transformed into an ancestor. In Christian belief, eternal life is gained not through rituals, but through the mercy of God, at the day of the Last Judgment, which for all humans is the same.

A.14 From Annex 13, a tomb in Mainland China, we can see that the location at the top is a specific case of a more general field, that we might all 'affiliation' field. The usage of this field has become quite standard in the Chinese world, probably in the attempt to impose a uniform practice on its subject and thus push them into a uniform Han-identity. These affiliation fields, however, show a great variability. The different types of affiliation that we observed on tombstones are.

* A reference to an ethnicity or dynasty, found till now in China only, e.g. 'Han' or
'Qing'
* an almost precise address in China, found in Indonesia and with some Mainlanders in Taiwan,
* a name of a region in China, mostly of 2 or 4 characters,
* a Tanghao,
* a place name in Taiwan, mostly of villages or city districts,
* a historical place name in China,
* a marker of a religion,
* a reference to a military division,
* a generation number,
* a symbol for a political party, either the Kuomintang in Taiwan or the Chinese Communist Party in Mainland China or
* an empty field.