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# A Study of Lâm Bō-seng’s “Kèng-tiàu Liāu Sam-tiōng kun.” and Lâm Iàn-sîn’s “Tui-tō-toān.”

Hongtin TENG

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## Abstract

This paper studies Lâm Bō-seng’s “Kèng-tiàu Liāu Sam-tiōng kun.” and Lâm Iàn-sîn’s “Tui-tō-toān.” in 1914, in particular, how Lâm Iàn-sîn and Lâm Bō-seng discuss the life of Liāu Sam-tiōng. Liāu Sam-tiōng was from Hûn-lîm Sai-lê, born in 1886 and died in 1914 at the age of 29. Lâm Bō-seng explores the educational environment of Taiwanese youth through the experience of Liāu Sam-tiōng. This shows why Lâm Bō-seng became the number one educator in Taiwan. I hope this paper can help today’s young people in Taiwan understand the value of Pêh-ōe-jī literature and gain strength and wisdom from Lâm Bō-seng’s words.

Keywords: Lâm Bō-seng, Lâm Iàn-sîn, Liāu Sam-tiōng, Taiwanese literature,  
Pêh-ōe-jī

# 林茂生〈敬弔廖三重君〉kap 林燕臣〈追悼傳〉研究

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## 摘要

Chit篇論文研究1914年ēng台語白話字寫ê追悼文：林茂生ê〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉（敬弔廖三重君）kap林燕臣ê〈Tui-tō-toān.〉（追悼傳）。探討林燕臣、林茂生án-nóa論述廖三重ê一生。廖三重，字道修，雲林西螺人，1886年出sì，神學校（今台南神學院）出業liáu後，留學東京明治學院kap早稻田大學，1914年29歲因病過身。林茂生透過廖三重ê境遇，討論台灣青年受教育ê處境，暗中評判日治時期ê台灣殖民教育，為好學勤讀soah矢志tiòh磨ê台灣青年哀嘆。咱thang看tiòh林茂生chiâ<sup>n</sup>做台灣教育家第一人ê因緣。Ng-bāng chit篇論文ē-sái hō現此時ê台灣青年koh-khah知bat白話字文獻ê價值，mā àn林茂生ê論述當中得tiòh奮發ê khùi-lát kap智慧。

關鍵詞：林茂生、林燕臣、廖三重、台語文學、白話字

## 1. 話頭

### 1.1. 研究動機kap文本簡介

1914年10月Lîm Bō-seng (林茂生) tiàm《TÂI-OÂN KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》(台灣教會報)<sup>1</sup>第355卷發表〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉<sup>2</sup>(敬弔廖三重君)，有1838字；kàng年11月Lîm Iàn-sîn (林燕臣) tī kàng刊物第356卷發表〈Tui-tō-toān.〉(追悼傳)，有581字。Chit n̄ng篇散文lóng ēng台語 Pèh-ōe-jī (白話字、台灣字) 書寫，內容lóng是leh弔喪hit年8月tī日本過往 ê Liâu Sam-tiōng (廖三重)，文筆súi-khùi、真情實意，是台語文學史--lî lán ài pó-sioh ê追悼文，mā是chin好ê台語文教材，無論是ēng tī中學台語課ah是大學ê台語文課程；m-kú kàu-ta<sup>n</sup> íá無詳細ê論述來分thiah chit n̄ng篇珍貴ê散文，所以筆者寫chit篇論文。

Liâu Sam-tiōng廖三重，字道修，雲林西螺人，1886年出sì，台南神學校(台南神學院)<sup>3</sup>出業liáu後，留學日本東京明治學院kap早稻田大學文科，1914年29歲8月12因為破病tī日本過身。林燕臣是廖三重讀長老教會中學(新樓中學、長榮中學)<sup>4</sup> hit時ê先生，是林茂生ê老pē；林茂生減廖三重1歲，是

<sup>1</sup> 1914年10月刊tī《TÂI-OÂN KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》(台灣教會報) 355 koàn (355卷) 第3-4頁，原刊ê頁眉第3頁寫「KÀU-HŌE-PÒ」、第4頁寫「TÂI-OÂN」。國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」記載出處是「Tâi-lâm Hú-siân Kàu-hōe-pò 臺南府城教會報」，m-tiòh。Chit份報紙1885年7月(光緒11年6月)創刊時號名《TÂI-OÂN-HŪ-SIÂN KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》(台灣府城教會報)，1892年正月換名《TÂI-LÂM-HŪ KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》(台南府教會報)，1893年正月換名《TÂI-LÂM-HŪ-SIÂN KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》(台南府城教會報)，1906年正月250 koàn (250卷)換名《TÂI-LÂM KÀU-HŌE-PÒ 台南教會報》，1913年7月340 koàn (340卷)換名《TÂI-OÂN KÀU-HŌE-PÒ 台灣教會報》，1932年5月566 koàn (566卷)換名《TÂI-OÂN KÀU-HŌE KONG-PÒ 台灣教會公報》。

<sup>2</sup> 原刊白話字原版ê題目後壁lóng有烏色句點「。」。

<sup>3</sup> 1865年英國長老教會差遣Má Ngá-kok醫生(Dr. James Maxwell, 馬雅各)來台佈道，1876年創辦「台南大學」，1913年校名改做「台南神學校」，1948年改名「台南神學院」，簡稱南神。Pa Khek-lé (Rev. Dr. Thomas Barclay, 巴克禮) 牧師tī 1876 kàu 1925年做南神校長。(張妙娟2005: 233-239; 台南神學院2024) Pa Khek-lé、Má Ngá-kok ê紹介ê-tàng看賴永祥ê《教會史話(一)》。(賴永祥1990: 51-64、73-75、277-280)

<sup>4</sup> Tī長榮中學網站ê〈長榮沿革：長榮高級中學〉指出校名改過kúi pái，1885校名是「長老教會中學」，1906改名「私立台南長老教會高等學校」，1908改名「基督教萃英中學」，1912改名做「長老教中學校」。M-kú，tiàm 1張明治43 (1910) 年ê長榮中學學生成績單頂頭phah字ê校名是Pèh-ōe-jī「TÂI-LÂM TIŪ<sup>n</sup>-LÓ-KÀU TIONG-HÀK-HĀU」，koh有tng漢字「台南長老教中學校」ê大印(蔣為文、周定邦、楊蕙如主編2016: 158-159)。「新樓中學」是俗稱。

廖三重長老教會中學ê學弟，1914年hit時林茂生讀東京帝國大學文學部哲學科。

## 1.2. 林燕臣Lâm làn-sîn (林宴臣)、林茂生Lâm Bō-seng簡介

Lâm làn-sîn林燕臣，原名林宴臣，1859年（清國咸豐9年）11月15 tī府城台南出sì，1944年（日本國昭和19年）2月27過身，享壽86（lán ê歲）。清國秀才。1898年chia<sup>n</sup>月林燕臣受聘tiàm府城醫館（新樓醫院ê前身）教長老教會ê宣教師讀漢文kap台語，1898年8月受聘做長老教會中學專任教員17冬，教漢文kap台語，做「教頭」（教導主任）。1898年9月tī亭仔腳禮拜堂（太平境教會ê前身）由Pa Khek-lé（Rev. Dr. Thomas Barclay，巴克禮）牧師領洗入教，1899年12月擔任台南教會（太平境教會）ê長老，1914年5月chiâ<sup>n</sup>做高雄州東港教會牧師，1925年受聘台南神學院教授10冬。<sup>5</sup>

Lâm Bō-seng林茂生，字維屏，號耕南。1887年（清國光緒13年）10月30 tī府城台南出sì，1947（中華民國36年）3月11 tī台北市khiā-ke hō中國國民黨政府liáh--去，hit時iá未滿60歲，lán ê歲算61，失蹤kàu-ta<sup>n</sup> chhōe無身屍。

林茂生是林燕臣kap郭寬ê大kiá<sup>n</sup>，外公是清國舉人。林茂生gâu寫漢詩，大字（毛筆字）寫kah真súi。1903年林茂生讀長老教會中學，1905年chia<sup>n</sup>月出業。1908年chia<sup>n</sup>月教會資助林茂生去讀京都ê基督教會學校同志社中學4年級，1909年考tiâu京都第三高等學校文科，出業liáu後考tiâu東京帝國大學文學部哲學科，主修東方哲學，1915年留學東京ê台灣留學生成立「Ko-sa Chheng-liân-hōe高砂青年會」（東京台灣青年會ê前身），林茂生hō人推選做創會會長，1916年出業。

1917年林茂生kap Ông Chhái-hoân王采繫（1897.7.27-1976.9.7）結婚。王采繫是嘉義人，清國太子太保王得祿ê後代kiá<sup>n</sup>孫，1916年日本岡山縣津山高等女學校出業，是頭一位留學日本ê台灣女學生。

<sup>5</sup> 林燕臣kiah詳細ê生平資料，參見楊士養編1966《台灣信仰名人略傳 第1集》（頁89-93），koh有楊士養編、林信堅修訂1989《信仰偉人列傳》（頁89-92，有kah年表），chit n̄ng份史料原文掃圖有khng tiàm「賴永祥長老史料庫」ê「本土信徒」chit區。因為林宴臣/林燕臣tī長老教中學教冊17冬，所以tī張厚基總編輯1991《長榮中學百年史》（1885-1985）chit本冊內底有chit-kóa伊ê資料chham相片，tī日本時代ê《Tâi-oân Kàu-hōe Kong-pò台灣教會公報》（台南府城教會報、台南教會報、台灣教會報）ê-tàng看tiòh伊ê作品kap消息。



1927年林茂生受台灣總督府kap文部省選做「在外研究員」，去紐約ê Columbia University（哥倫比亞大學）ê Teachers College（教育學院）讀冊，tòe John Dewey（杜威）kap Paul Monroe（門羅）教授學習，1928年熱天thèh-tiòh文學碩士學位，繼續讀博士，1929年11月thèh-tiòh教育學院博士學位（主修教育哲學），博士論文是《*Public Education in Formosa under the Japanese Administration-A Historical and Analytical Study of the Development and the Cultural Problems*》（日本統治下台灣ê學校教育—其發展以及有關文化ê歷史分析kap探討）<sup>6</sup>。是頭1位tī美國thèh-tiòh哲學博士ê台灣人，mā是頭1位關心台灣教育議題來thèh-tiòh博士學位ê台灣人。

1916年9月kàu 1927年林茂生去美國chìn-chêng，林茂生主要tī長老教中學校（1922改名私立台南長老教中學）教冊，做「教頭」（教導主任）。1918年兼去台南師範學校教冊，1920年兼去台南高等商業學校教冊。1921年10月17號台灣文化協會成立，林茂生hō人推選做評議員，擔任講演會ê講師。1924年～1926年台灣文化協會tī霧峰林家花園舉辦「夏季學校」，林茂生講ê課有哲學kap西洋文明史。

1930年chia<sup>n</sup>月林茂生tńg來台南長老教中學教冊，1930年5月奉派去台北高等商業學校（台灣大學管理學院ê前身）教冊，1935年奉派去台南高等工業學校（成功大學ê前身），做英語德語科主任，兼任圖書課長（圖書館館長）。

根據張妙娟統計，林茂生日治時期tī《台南教會報》、《台灣教會報》、《台灣教會公報》發表ê台語白話字（台灣字）作品，自1908年9月kàu 1935年3月，lóng總有51篇，主題分做京都見聞、時勢kap人物感懷、劇本編寫、語文教育、基督教文明史等五大項。（張妙娟2004：47；張妙娟2006：7）1911.11譯述〈Soat-chú kiù lāng〉（雪子救人）。1914.10〈Kèng-tiàu Liāu

<sup>6</sup> 林茂生ê博士論文是ēng英文寫--ê，2000年伊ê cha-bó-kiá<sup>n</sup>林詠梅中文譯版《日本統治下台灣的學校教育：其發展及有關文化之歷史分析與探討》tī台灣出版（台北：林茂生愛鄉文化基金會，台北：新自然主義）。2004年古谷昇、陳燕南日文譯版《日本統治下の台湾の学校教育開発と文化問題の歴史分析》（東京：拓殖大学海外事情研究所）出版。2017年林俊育翻譯ê台語羅漢版《日本統治下台灣ê學校教育—其發展以及有關文化ê歷史分析kah探討》線頂發表tī「台語信望愛」。林俊育後來有繼續修改台文譯版，按算beh出版紙本冊。

Sam-tiōng kun〉(敬弔廖三重君)。1924.11~1925.2〈Hì-chhut: Lō-tek Kái-kàu〉(戲齣：路得改教)。1932.6連載14期〈Ki-tok-kàu Bùn-bêng Sú-koan〉(基督教文明史觀)。1933.12起kàu 1935年3月連載15期新專欄「Sin Tâi-oân-ōe ê Tân-liát-koán」(新台灣話陳列館)。1934.11連sòa 3期「Eng Tâi Siók-gí Tui-chiàu」(英台俗語對照)。

1945年8月日本降伏，林茂生受聘做台灣大學教授，兼校務委員kap接收委員，kui-ke搬去台北，12月開始擔任台灣大學先修班主任，後來mā代理台大文學院院長職務。1945年底林茂生kap日治時期《興南新聞》ê台灣工作人員 tiàm台北創辦《民報》，koh擔任社長，《民報》勇敢報導中國國民黨政府ê烏暗面，得失政府。1946年因為得失中國國民黨政府soah被逼辭檢察官ê王育霖 mā受聘做《民報》ê法律顧問。

林茂生thang講是台灣教育家第一人，m̄-nā精通日文、英文、德文等外文，mā精通台語白話字(台灣字)，koh支持mā實踐台灣語文ê現代化、標準化，iā建構kō台灣母語做基礎ê「台灣學」教育。Chiah-nī優秀ê台灣教育家 soah tī 1947年3月11 hō中國國民黨特務非法逮捕koh殺人滅屍，消失tī人世間，冤屈慘死tī中華民國1947年228大屠殺<sup>7</sup>。2022年chia<sup>1</sup>月23，台灣羅馬字協會tī年度會員大會通過修改章程，kā 3月11林茂生教授受難日訂做「Tâi-oân Kàu-su Cheh台灣教師節」，tāk年舉辦紀念活動，凸顯台灣主體性。<sup>8</sup>

### 1.3. 研究重點chham ñg-bāng

因為〈Kèng-tiàu Liāu Sam-tiōng kun.〉ê字數有〈Tui-tō-toān〉ê 3倍 khah ke，內容重點有khah chōe ē-tàng討論ê所在，所以，chit篇論文主要 beh討論林茂生ê〈Kèng-tiàu Liāu Sam-tiōng kun〉，有時mā ē thèh林燕臣ê〈Tui-tō-toān〉tàng-chê討論。Tâi-seng kā本底ê白話字文本做校對kap

<sup>7</sup> 2024年林茂生ê cha-bó-kiá<sup>n</sup>林詠梅接受蔣為文、呂越雄採訪，tī電台放送，有想起1947年3月11林茂生被liáh ê經過。詳情見林詠梅口述、林貞佑文字整理2024〈林詠梅女士記持中的茂生教授〉。

<sup>8</sup> 台文筆會2024「311台灣教師節活動網頁」有林茂生詳細ê紹介，點出林茂生有8項世界第一ê紀錄。Koh，因為林茂生tī長老教中學讀冊kap教冊，tī張厚基總編輯1991《長榮中學百年史》(1885-1985) chit本冊內底有bōe-chió伊ê資料chham相片，tī日本時代ê《Tâi-oân Kàu-hōe Kong-pò台灣教會公報》(台南府城教會報、台南教會報、台灣教會報) ē-tàng看tiòh伊ê作品kap消息。

簡單註解，koh改寫做台語漢羅文；koh來整理相關文獻，整理廖三重ê生平事蹟，mā討論林燕臣kap林茂生án-nóa評價廖三重ê一生；lō尾討論〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉ê特色kap觀點，分thiah林茂生án-nóa去看日治時期台灣青年ê教育問題，以及「Chhut-sí-jip-oáh」（出死入活）ê性命思考。N̄g-bāng hō當今ê台灣人thang知bat〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉ê價值，iā幫chān現時ê台灣青年thang àn林茂生chit篇散文得tiòh khùi-lát kap智慧。

## 2. “Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.” kap “Tui-tō-toān.” ê 文獻、校對kap語詞註解

### 2.1. 相關文獻討論：線頂資料庫kap台灣教會公報社資料

林茂生ê〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉kap林燕臣ê〈Tui-tō-toān.〉發表tī 1914年《TÂI-OÂN KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》（台灣教會報），離2024年已經有110冬。因為台灣語言khám-khiat ê命運，koh台灣hō外來政權「文化殖民」兼實施壓霸ê「國語政策」，致使早前chōe-chōe台語文獻pha-hng失落。Ka-chài 1987年中華民國解除tī台灣38冬ê戒嚴，koh過32冬後，2019年正月文化部公布《國家語言發展法》<sup>9</sup>。自解嚴kàu ta<sup>10</sup>，有lú來lú濟ê台語文獻têng出土koh整理。

2004年台灣教會公報社出版《台灣教會公報全覽》（1885-2002）<sup>10</sup>，1885年kàu 1968年刊物ê文字是台語白話字，chit套全覽利便咱chhiau-chhōe éng過ê白話字文獻，內底包含林燕臣、林茂生、廖三重ê文章。紙本ē-tàng tī台灣基督長老教會歷史檔案館ah是各地有收藏ê圖書館掀看（國立成功大學圖書館、國立台中教育大學圖書館……）。

<sup>9</sup> 有關台灣語文教育簡史，ē-tàng參考丁鳳珍2022〈台語文教育簡史kap未來ê公義〉ê「第二節 含水bóng過冬ê田螺——12年國民義務教育ê台語文教育」。

<sup>10</sup> 台灣教會公報社2004年出版《台灣教會公報全覽》（1885-2002），有賴永祥（1922-2024）長老寫ê序文。後來koh有繼續增補，tī台灣教會公報社網站「線上閱覽《台灣教會公報》」chia，有講：1885年kàu 2007年《台灣教會公報全覽》有80冊，chit套冊kui套已經完售，koh有chit-kóa單冊thang買。紙本ē-tàng tī台灣基督長老教會歷史檔案館ah是各地有收藏ê圖書館掀看。

除liáu紙本ê文獻têng複印出版，網路有幾ê台語白話字文獻整理ê資料庫，mā有收chit-kóa文獻。

國立台灣文學館有nng ê台語白話字ê線頂資料庫：「台語文數位典藏資料庫」、「白話字數位典藏博物館」<sup>11</sup>。「白話字數位典藏博物館」2010年chiū<sup>n</sup>線，是廖瑞銘（1955-2016）主持ê計畫，以專冊出版ê白話字文獻爲範圍，m-kú林燕臣、林茂生、廖三重並無台語文專冊出版。「台語文數位典藏資料庫」2006年chiū<sup>n</sup>線，先是2001年kàu 2004年由台灣文學館委託呂興昌執行ê「台灣白話字文學資料蒐集整理計畫」，chhiau-chhōe白話字書刊，kā chit-kóa有文學性ê作品phah字建檔。2006年委託楊允言主持、張學謙共同主持，「台語文數位典藏資料庫(第二階段)—台語文學線上博物館」，kā已經phah字建檔koh授權完成ê資料chiū<sup>n</sup>網，ēng全羅kap漢羅對照ê方式呈現，提供查詢介面<sup>12</sup>。「台語文數位典藏資料庫」ê文獻主要來自1885 kàu 1968年ê《台灣教會公報》，內中包含林茂生ê〈Kèng-tiàu Liāu Sam-tiōng kun.〉kap林燕臣ê〈Tui-tō-toān.〉。Chit ê資料庫收錄林燕臣6篇詩文：〈Iū-lék Chiang-choân Kàu-hōe〉（遊歷漳泉教會）、〈Tui-tō-toān〉、〈Lūn Kè-chhōa〉（論嫁娶）、〈Lōng-kháu hoán-choat〉（弄巧反拙）、〈Līm Liông Sio-toān〉（林良小傳）、〈Sòng-piāt-hōe〉（送別會）。收錄林茂生3篇文章：〈Soat-chú kiù lāng〉（雪子救人）、〈Kèng-tiàu Liāu Sam-tiōng kun〉（敬弔廖三仲君，chit ê資料庫kā廖三重ê漢字phah m-tiòh字）、〈Hì-chhut: Lō-tek Kái-kàu〉（戲齣：路得改教）。收錄廖三重（資料庫寫m-tiòh字，寫做廖三仲）2篇文章：〈Chū-chīn〉（自盡）、〈Ki-tok kàu ê Úi-tāi〉（基督教ê偉大）。

李勤岸主持ê「台灣白話字文獻館」2008年chiū<sup>n</sup>線，版權屬ti國立台灣師範大學台灣文化及語言文學研究所（chit-má ê台灣語文學系）。揀選《台灣教會公報》內容phah字、翻譯、校對、上稿，koh kā 2007年出土ê「北部台灣教會公報」《芥菜子》第1-22期，以及戰前白話字相關出版品數位化。內中包含林茂生ê〈Kèng-tiàu Liāu Sam-tiōng kun.〉（Chia kā廖三重ê漢字phah m-tiòh

<sup>11</sup> 國立台灣文學館建置ê台語白話字資料庫，詳細ê紹介ê-tàng參見周定邦2010〈台語文ê天兵天將：白話字數位典藏博物館建置計畫簡介〉。

<sup>12</sup> 有關台灣語文教育簡史，ê-tàng參考丁鳳珍2022〈台語文教育簡史kap未來ê公義〉ê「第二節 含水bóng過冬ê田螺——12年國民義務教育ê台語文教育」。

字，寫做廖三仲) kap 林燕臣ê<Tui-tō-toān.>。收錄林燕臣10篇詩文。收錄林茂生23篇文章，包含14篇<Sin Tâi-oân-oē ê Tân-liát-koán> (新台灣話的陳列館)。收錄廖三重1篇：<Ki-tok kàu ê Úi-tâi> (基督教ê偉大，chia ê作者漢字寫做廖三重)，koh有廖道修1篇：<Khì-ok Kui-siān> (棄惡歸善)。

線頂ê相關資料koh有台灣基督長老教會「賴永祥長老史料庫」，tī「本土信徒」「廖三重」hia，有林茂生<弔廖三重君>kap 林燕臣<追悼廖三重君><sup>13</sup> (chia kā<Tui-tō-toān.>改題名) chit n̄ng篇文章ê漢羅文改寫版。Tī林茂生<弔廖三重君>頭前增加ēng中文寫ê廖三重生平簡介。

除liáu頂懸所講ê文獻資料，林茂生ê<Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.> kap 林燕臣ê<Tui-tō-toān.>iáu無詳細ê討論kap研究。

## 2.2. 羅馬字校對，1914白話字kàu 2024台灣字

林茂生ê<Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.>kap 林燕臣ê<Tui-tō-toān.> 1914年發表kàu ta<sup>n</sup>已經有110冬。2000年台灣字雜誌《TÂIOÂNJĪ》創刊<sup>14</sup>，2001年社團法人台灣羅馬字協會成立<sup>15</sup>，2023年《TÂIOÂNJĪ》復刊。早前ê白話字，自2000年開始lú來lú chōe台語人叫做「台灣羅馬字」(Tâi-oân Lô-má-jī)，簡稱「台灣字」(Tâi-oân-jī，簡寫TOJ)、「台羅」。

Tī 110冬ê歷史tang中，白話字ê書寫慣勢有sió-khóa-á kóe-piàn，筆者校對<Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.>kap<Tui-tō-toān.>ê文字，有ē-kha ê發見：

1. 文章ê題目尾後會有句點「。」。Chit份報紙1885年7月(光緒11年6月)創刊時號名《TÂI-OÂN-HÚ-SIÂN KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》(台灣府城教會報)，中間

<sup>13</sup> Chit-tah寫出處是1914年11月《台南教會報》356卷，應該是《Tâi-oân kàu-hōe-pò 台灣教會報》chiah tiòh。

<sup>14</sup> 《TÂI-OÂN-JĪ》第1期kàu第19期由「高雄台語羅馬字研習會」(簡稱「高羅會」、「KLH」，鄭兒玉牧師ê台語文學生所組成)發行，總編輯Tē<sup>n</sup> Si-chong鄭詩宗，2000年5月20創刊，本底是雙月刊，自第15期開始無法度準時出刊，kàu 2007年正月20發行第19期liáu後停刊。2023年正月復刊，雙月刊，kàu 2024年5月已經發刊9期，發行單位改做台灣羅馬字協會kap台文筆會，總編輯是Tân Bêng-jîn陳明仁。丁鳳珍2006 bat發表<台文雜誌《Tâi-oân-jī》(台灣字)ê台灣母語教育主張ê探討>，有紹介舊刊第1期kàu第18期ê內容。

<sup>15</sup> 社團法人台灣羅馬字協會簡稱「台羅會」、「TLH」，詳細紹介ê-tàng看張復聚總編輯2022《Tâi-oân Lô-má-jī Hiáp-hōe 20 tang Kì-liām-khan 台灣羅馬字協會20冬紀念專刊》kap台灣羅馬字協會ê網站。

改過幾pái刊名，一直kàu 1922年12月《TÂI-OÂN KÀU-HŌE KONG-PÒ 台灣教會公報》第453 koàn爲止，文章題目尾後lóng有khng句點「.」。M-kú，chêng 1923年正月第454 koàn開始kàu 1968年12月《台灣教會公報》第1043、1044號合刊，lóng無koh tiàm題目ê尾後khng句點「.」，chit-má ê台灣字書寫mā是án-ni。

2. 好學ê「好」，原文寫做「hò<sup>n</sup>」；m-kú，書寫白話字ê時，「好學」ê「好」mā有寫做「hò<sup>n</sup>」ê koàn-sì。台灣基督長老教會總會台灣母語推行委員會2003編著發行ê《白話字基礎教材》講：「因爲無o的鼻音，o的鼻音寫做o<sup>n</sup>。」（第4頁）姚正道1998《台語發音入門》第二章鼻音，寫「o<sup>n</sup>」（台南：人光，頁5）。鄭兒玉2013《台語白話字新教科書》（台南：台灣基督長老教會台灣教會公報社）寫做「ó<sup>n</sup>」、「ò<sup>n</sup>」、「ô<sup>n</sup>」、「ō<sup>n</sup>」（頁10）。教育部ê羅馬字拼音寫做「onn」、「ònn惡」（教育部編印2008《臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案使用手冊》，頁31），無寫做「oonn」。

3. 原文寫「poà<sup>n</sup>-sì」，筆者換做「pòa<sup>n</sup>-sì」，原文其他所在「oa<sup>n</sup>」ê聲調符號khng tī「o」頂頭，chhiū<sup>n</sup>「khòa<sup>n</sup>」。原文寫「aū-sin」，筆者換做「āu-sin」，原文其他所在「au」ê聲調符號khng tī「a」頂頭，chhiū<sup>n</sup>「náu」、「cháu」。姚正道1998《台語發音入門》（頁16）第七章掛音，講tī chit ê單語有nng ê母音（複母音）ê時，聲調符號ài掛tī ùi語尾（chià<sup>n</sup>手pêng）sng--kòe-lâi第2 ê字母頂頭，chhiū<sup>n</sup>「góa」、「goán」、「oân」。

4. 字姓「黃」ê白話字，原文kā聲調符號寫tī後壁ê「g」，白話字koàn-sì án-ni寫，che是因爲chit-tah ê「N」是大寫字母。姚正道1998《台語發音入門》（頁16）第七章掛音有寫聲調符號ê位置，若是tú-tiòh頭字母大寫，聲調符號ē sóa去後尾ê字母，chhiū<sup>n</sup>「àm」、「Àm」、「ông」、「Ong」。鄭兒玉2013《台語白話字新教科書》mā是án-ni寫，chhiū<sup>n</sup>「ûi」、「Uî」、「ùì」、「Uì」（頁4-5）。Tī chia，筆者換做「Ŋg」，原因有二：（1）Éng過tú-tiòh頭字大寫掛音位置sóa後ê koàn-sì，現時已經無án-ni要求，chhiū<sup>n</sup> 2023年創刊ê《Tâioânjī台灣字》雜誌tiō寫「Ûi」、「Ùi」（目錄頁），2023年9月第5期第2頁作者ê字姓寫「Ŋg」。（2）用「台客語信望愛輸入法」phah字「g5」無法度出現聲調符號。

5. 其他古今無kâng ê所在，主要是連字符（-、--）ê有ah無，ah是頭字ê

字母大小寫。Chhan-chhiū<sup>n</sup>原文寫「bô-khì」(無去)，筆者換做「bô--khì」(無--去)；原文寫「kòe-choa khì」，筆者換做「kòe-choa--khì」；原文寫「tông chêng」，筆者換做「tông-chêng」(同情)，n̄ng字中間ke「-」。原文寫「só thia<sup>n</sup>-ki<sup>n</sup> ê」，筆者換做「só thia<sup>n</sup>-ki<sup>n</sup>--ê」。

6. 國立台灣文學館2006年chiū<sup>n</sup>網ê「台語文數位典藏資料庫」，內中ê白話字phah字有chit-kóa字phah m̄-tiōh。若是beh引用chit ê版本ê白話字à注意一下。可比講：原文「in-üi」tī資料庫phah字做「in üi」；原文「liû-hák--ê」tī資料庫phah字做「liû-hák-ê」；原文「tông-pau」(同胞) tī資料庫phah字做「tong-pan」(同班)；原文「pē<sup>n</sup>-chêng」(病症) tī資料庫phah字做「pē<sup>n</sup>-chêng」(病情)；原文「chiâ<sup>n</sup>」tī資料庫phah字做「chiân」；原文「Thiam-teng」tī資料庫phah字做「thiam-teng」；原文「Lessing」tī資料庫phah字做「Lesseng」；原文「chháu-chhì-á ê」tī資料庫phah字做「chháu-chhì-áe」；原文「khui-lō」tī資料庫phah字做「khui lō」；原文「chiâu-pī」tī資料庫phah字做「chiâu-pē」。

### 2.3. 語詞註解、漢羅文改寫kap林茂生ê德語

參考線頂已經有ê台語漢羅文改寫，筆者kā林茂生ê〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉kap林燕臣ê〈Tui-tō-toān.〉têng改寫做台語漢羅文，koh註解語詞，除liáu頂頭所列出ê線頂資料，杜謙遜2004年發表ê〈廖文毅家族信仰史〉提供有關廖三重家族ê重要資訊。

關係〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉ê語詞註解，有ē-kha幾點討論：

1. 「jū-miâ Tō-siu」ê「jū-miâ」：漢字寫做「字名」，mā講做「chū-miâ」，字名簡稱「字」，廖三重ê字是「道修」。Tiàm「ChhoeTaigi台語辭典+」chhōe「jū-miâ」，1932《臺日大辭典》有「jū-miâ」kap「chū-miâ」chit n̄ng ê詞，漢字寫做「字名」。解說是：「成長後に付ける名。讀書名。」Tiō是大漢liáu後號ê字。「賴永祥長老史料庫」kā「jū-miâ」ê漢字寫做「儒名」，應該是誤寫。

2. 新樓中學tiō是chit-má ê「長榮中學」，校名ū改換過幾pái，校地mā有遷sóa過，bat tī新樓醫館hia，所以叫做新樓中學。見《長榮中學百年史》。「新樓福音書院」應該chit-má ê台南神學院。林燕臣1914〈Tui-tō-toān〉(追悼傳)講廖三重中學卒業liáu後ū去讀「神學校」，台南神學院ê南神簡史講：

1913年校名改做「台南神學校」。

3. 「ē thang得志mā kú-ká<sup>n</sup>」ê「kú-ká<sup>n</sup>」：漢字寫做「拘敢」，意思是可能。Tiàm「ChhoeTaigi台語辭典+」chhōe「\*kú-ká<sup>n</sup>」（kéng相關--ê），chhōe-tiōh 3份日治時期ê文獻有收chit ê語詞：(1) 1931《臺日新辭書》有「iā-kú-ká<sup>n</sup>亦拘敢」。(2) 1932《臺日大辭典》：「iā-kú-ká<sup>n</sup>亦拘敢：可能。」、「mā-kú-ká<sup>n</sup>亦拘敢」、「iā-kó-ká<sup>n</sup>亦拘敢」。(3) Tē<sup>n</sup> Khe-phòan鄭溪泮1926年小說《Chhut Sí-sò<sup>a</sup> 出死線》第85頁第3 pha第3 chōa有「mā-kú-ká<sup>n</sup>」chit詞。Chit ê詞tī筆者成長過程無印象bat聽--過，透過林茂生ê文章，chit ê語詞ê語用thang保存kàu ta<sup>n</sup>。

4. 「sa<sup>n</sup>-tī<sup>n</sup> sì-tī<sup>n</sup> sī-chūn kòe-choa--khi」ê「kòe-choa」：漢字有寫做「過抓」、「過遭」，意思是時機已經過去。Tiàm「ChhoeTaigi台語辭典+」Chhōe「kòe-choa」，chhōe-tiōh「2002+ 台華線頂辭典」有2條：「kòe-choa過抓：時機已過。」、「kòe-choa過抓：錯失良機。」Chhōe「choa」，得tiōh「1913甘爲霖台語字典」（廈門音新字典）有：「choa遭：kè-choa, chiū-sī kè-sī ê ì-sù.（過遭，就是過時ê意思。）」Chit ê詞tī筆者成長過程m-bat聽--過，透過林茂生ê文章，chit ê語詞ê語用thang保存kàu ta<sup>n</sup>。

5. Chit篇文章內中舉4位德國名人ê話語ah是事蹟做例證，包含：Gotthold Ephraim Lessing（德文），1729.1.22-1781.2.15，德國啟蒙運動時期重要ê作家chham文藝理論家。Bernd Heinrich Wilhelm von Kleist（德文），1777.10.18-1811.11.21，德國詩人、戲劇家、小說家。Johann Wolfgang von Goethe，mā寫做Göthe，中文翻譯做『歌德』，1749.8.28-1832.3.22，偉大ê德國作家，2005年德國電視二台票選siōng偉大ê德國人活動，排名第7。Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche（德文），中文翻譯做『尼采』，1844.10.15-1900.8.25，出身德國ê哲學家、詩人、文化批評家、古典語言學家kap作曲家。對現代哲學影響chiá<sup>n</sup>深。1869年sóa去瑞士tòa<sup>16</sup>。Chit 4位德國名人是18世紀中葉kàu 19世紀ê人。1914年寫chit篇文章ê時，林茂生tng leh讀東京帝國大學文學部哲學科，1916年出業，林茂生ê德語kap德國文藝哲學學問真有可能tī chit時精進。根據林茂生ê牽手王采繫ê記tī，林茂生

<sup>16</sup> Chit 4位德國名人ê生平事蹟，lóng ē-tàng tī「維基百科」chhōe--tiōh。



1929年11月thêh-tiòh美國紐約Columbia University（哥倫比亞大學）教育學院ê哲學博士學位liáu後，先去歐洲chiah tng來台灣，hit時bat tī德國ê柏林大學演講過。（張炎憲總編輯2015：31）Koh，林茂生1935年奉派去台南高等工業學校（成功大學ê前身），做英語德語科主任。可見林茂生m-nā台語、中文、英語、日語真厲害，德語mā是chin熟手，是chiá<sup>n</sup>難得ê語言人才。

### 3. 林燕臣、林茂生論述廖三重ê生平事蹟

#### 3.1. 廖三重ê生kap死、信仰、學習kap著作

Ē-kha ēng林茂生ê〈Kèng-tiàu Liáu Sam-tiōng kun.〉kap林燕臣ê〈Tui-tō-toān.〉做主，koh參考杜謙遜ê〈廖文毅家族信仰史〉、賴永祥長老史料庫、《長榮中學百年史》kap《台灣教會公報》相關ê文獻資料，整理廖三重ê生平事蹟。

廖三重，字道修，1886年（清國光緒12年）出sì tī雲林西螺，1914年（日本國大正3年）8月12過身，享年29歲。老pē廖龍院（1835-1893）chhōa老母程笑（程英，1851-1899，1894年由甘爲霖牧師施洗）liáu後，建立基督教家庭。廖三重8歲ê時老pē過身，1899年14歲hit年老母過身（林茂生講是15歲）。廖三重ê大兄廖承丕（1871-1939）擔任西螺教會長老35年，ke廖三重15歲，廖三重是廖承丕ê第3小弟，廖三重過身hit年大兄44歲。

廖三重12歲入新樓中學，考試優等，讀中學hit時，1899年由梅監霧牧師（Rev. Cambell N. Moody）施洗。林燕臣是廖三重中學ê老師，伊o-ló廖三重資質聰明、奮志勤讀。廖三重16歲中學出業。林燕臣講廖三重中學出業liáu後，費仁純先生（E R Johnson）請伊做1年久ê中學助教。1902年廖三重17歲讀神學校（新樓福音書院、台南神學院），準備做傳道，讀神學校第3年致腦病。

神學校出業liáu後，去東京讀明治學院，是台灣神學ê學生頭chit ê來留學ê，1910年（明治43年）3月明治學院普通部出業。1911年4月入早稻田（Waseda）大學文科。廖三重tī東京4年久，參與設立高砂基督教青年會。1912年（明治45年）春天廖三重ê舊症頭koh giâ--起來，休學tng來台灣調養，liáu後病症反起反倒，koh去九州福岡（Fukuoka）大學病院治療，直到

過身。林燕臣講，廖三重是去大阪（Osaka）ê海面洗浴，「ká<sup>n</sup>是無力thang  
泗，chia<sup>n</sup> hō<sup>n</sup>水tū<sup>n</sup>死」。林茂生kan-na講，「不幸食藥無應效」，「孤身過往tī  
做人客ê所在」。

1914年9月《TĀI-OĀN KÀU-HŌE-PÒ 台灣教會報》第354卷刊出〈Song-  
sū.〉（喪事）（頁12），寫講：「Peh goèh 12 (6: 21) siók Sai-lê ê kàu-hōe,  
Liâu Sam-tiōng, 29 hòe, tī Lōe-tē kòe-óng.」（8月12，舊曆6月21，屬西  
螺ê教會，廖三重，29歲，tī內地過往。）10月刊出林茂生ê〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu  
Sam-tiōng kun.〉，11月刊出林燕臣ê〈Tui-tō-toān.〉。林燕臣大廖三重27  
歲，林茂生減廖三重1歲，廖三重過身hit年，林燕臣56歲、林茂生28歲。林  
燕臣總結廖三重有3項值得青年學習ê所在：「1.有謙遜ê德行。2.愛獻身做主ê  
工。3. Chhang-miâ koh興讀。」

根據筆者初步巡過，廖三重tī《台南教會報》kap《台灣教會報》發表ê台語白  
話字文章上無有9篇<sup>17</sup>，作者名稱主要是「Liâu Sam-tiōng」，m̄-kú有1篇ēng  
「Liâu Tō-siu」（廖道修）。

Ē-kha列出chit 9篇文章ê資訊：廖三重18歲1903.6〈Chū-chīn.〉（自  
盡）、23歲1908.9〈Liâu Sam-tiōng ê phoe.〉（廖三重ê批）、25歲1910.3  
〈Khì-ok Kui-siān.〉（Liâu Tō-siu〈棄惡歸善〉）、1910.5-7〈Ki-tok-kàu ê  
Úi-tāi.〉（基督教ê偉大）<sup>18</sup>、1910.10〈Jit-pún Chú-chai.〉（日本水災）、  
26歲1911.1〈Ko-sa Ki-tok Chheng-liân-hōe.〉（高砂基督青年會）、1911.7  
〈Tang-kia<sup>n</sup> Ko-sa Chheng-liân-hōe.〉（東京高砂青年會）、1911.12〈Ko-sa  
Ki-tok Chheng-liân-hōe.〉（高砂基督青年會）、27歲1912.2〈Ko-sa Ki-tok  
Chheng-liân-hōe.〉（高砂基督青年會）。廖三重是優秀ê台灣青年，chiá<sup>n</sup>有見  
解，tùi性命mā充滿熱情kap思考，未來咱tiōh-ài來研究kap研讀廖三重ê台  
語文著作。

<sup>17</sup> 因為教會報ê資料chin chōe，恐驚筆者chhiau-chhōe ê時，iá有làu-kau。未來ài koh chim-  
chiok chhiau-chhōe--kòe，thang來研究廖三重ê台語文著作。

<sup>18</sup> 〈Ki-tok-kàu ê Úi-tāi.〉（基督教ê偉大）lóng總分3卷刊出，是廖三重翻譯ê文章，tī文章頭句  
寫講：「Sîn-hák phok-sū Thè-kì (Uzaki) kóng:」，表明chit篇文章ê原作者是「神學博士Thè-kì  
(Uzaki)」。國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」ê漢羅文寫做「Thè-kì (Uzaki)」，李  
勤岸主持ê「台灣白話字文獻館」ê漢羅文寫做「鵜崎 (Uzaki)」。Chit-tah ê「Thè-kì (Uzaki)」  
應該tiō是「鵜崎 庚午郎」（1870-1930），是日本明治時代kàu昭和時代初期ê牧師kap神學教  
授。

### 3.2. 林茂生kap林燕臣論廖三重

Chit-tah咱à林茂生ê〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiông kun.〉kap林燕臣ê〈Tui-tō-toān.〉，來看林茂生kap林燕臣án-nóa評論廖三重：

1. 廖三重看信主做chèng智識ê源頭，chit道ê靈火不時tī心內teh tòh。廖三重對基督教有正知正見，信仰堅實，伊自細接受基督教信仰家庭教育，讀教會設ê中學、神學校，立志學習神學ê智識kap骨力做傳教ê khang-khòe。廖三重「chai ài拯救同胞、振興文化」，林茂生肯定廖三重pià<sup>n</sup>-sì學習，立志栽培ka-kī，廖三重kā爲信仰奉獻kap奉獻台灣同胞kat chòe-hóe。林燕臣想起廖三重讀神學校hit時，m̄-nā勤學tāk項學問，koh熱心佈道。廖三重tī東京留學4冬外，kap牧師創立「高砂基督教青年會」，熱情傳播基督信仰，引chhōa台灣胞知bat真理。1910年林茂生去東京探問廖三重，親目看見「高砂基督教青年會」ê聚會，林茂生o-ló講：「Sī kun pêng-seng khò<sup>n</sup> sìn Chú chò chèng tì-sek ê goân-thâu chit tō ê lêng-hóe put-sī tī sim lâi teh tòh。」（是君平生看信主做衆智識ê源頭，一道ê靈火不時tī心內teh tòh。）

2. 廖三重天資chhang-miâ、明敏、奮志勤讀、議論縱橫。林茂生kap林燕臣lóng o-ló廖三重天資chhang-miâ，講伊tī新樓中學ê學習表現名列優等。Che tī教會報ê報導ê-sái看tiòh，tāk學期結束，教會報會有「Tiong-òh.」ê報導，內底會列出chit學期表現優良前幾ê排名ê學生名單，1897年8月《TÂI-LÂM-HŪ-SIÂ<sup>n</sup> KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》（台南府城教會報）第149卷（頁60）tiō有Liâu Sam-tiông ê名字出現，後來koh有幾卷有Liâu Sam-tiông，tī《長榮中學百年史》（頁39、40、42、43、44、45）lóng有廖三重名列優等ê資料。<sup>19</sup>林燕臣講廖三重ê口才chiâ<sup>n</sup>好，林茂生o-ló廖三重「議論縱橫」，受師友器重。林燕臣講伊kap廖三重亦師亦友，講廖三重是伊ê「賢友」。林茂生減廖三重1歲，廖三重khah早讀中學，林茂生講in n̄ng人是「知己」，林茂生m̄-nā thià<sup>n</sup>惜廖三重ê才情，也chin敬服廖三重ê做人。

3. Ê ê人kâu tiòh磨，上主憐憫廖三重ê腦病，ài soah廖三重ê艱苦。關係廖三重tiòh病，林茂生講是tī廖三重讀神學校ê時，hit時廖三重已經決意神學校出業liáu後beh去日本內地留學，tī神學第3年致腦病，tng去厝--lí療養

<sup>19</sup> 《長榮中學百年史》內中ê廖三重名列優等資訊來自教會報tāk學期「Tiong-òh.」ê報導。林茂生讀中學hit時，m̄是名列優等，教會報m̄ lóng有報導。

chit段時間。廖三重無失志，liáu後koh繼續學業。1908年23歲ê廖三重ùi東京寫批hō tī京都讀冊ê林茂生，批文講：「我ê心願雖然足，若是我ê siāng好ê時陣已經teh-beh過。」可見廖三重受病thià<sup>n</sup> tak-tī<sup>n</sup>。林茂生哀嘆講：「Ē ê人kāu tiòh磨」，1912年春天廖三重病情ná來ná害，休學治療，1914年8月過身。因為廖三重m̄-nā有大志氣，koh pià<sup>n</sup>-sì學習，結局soah破病早死，林茂生哀嘆：「Hák tú-tú chiâ<sup>n</sup>, seng-khu í-keng hòe。」（學挂挂chiâ<sup>n</sup>，身軀已經廢。）台灣教會thòng失英才。林燕臣安慰傷心ê會友信眾，講廖三重會早死，可能是上主thià<sup>n</sup>惜廖三重ê艱苦，m̄-kam廖三重受病thià<sup>n</sup>拖磨，chiah「早早召伊tng去hō伊享受永遠ê khòa<sup>n</sup>-oah」。

## 4. 林茂生〈敬弔廖三重君〉ê特色論點

### 4.1. 林茂生論追求學問ê台灣青年ê境遇，時bōe kàu志bōe chiâ<sup>n</sup>

林茂生tī〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉內中，m̄-kam廖三重tiòh磨，進一步討論hit時台灣青年ê境遇，主要是leh講興讀勤學，ài beh追求學問智識ê台灣青年，tī殖民地台灣ê艱難處境。Chit篇文章寫tī 1914年，chit年林茂生28歲。13冬後，1927年林茂生去紐約ê Columbia University（哥倫比亞大學）ê Teachers College（教育學院）讀冊，1929年11月thèh-tiòh教育學院博士學位，chiâ<sup>n</sup>做頭1位關心台灣教育議題來thèh-tiòh博士學位ê台灣人。Àn chia咱thang看tiòh林茂生chiâ<sup>n</sup>做台灣教育家第一人ê因緣。

林茂生認為廖三重個人ê境遇，thang代表hit時台灣青年ê境遇。伊指出：

#### 4.1.1. 看學問chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>海洋無船thang過ê台灣青年

林茂生指出1914年hit時，時勢tùi青年不利，有人無錢thang讀冊，有人受家庭ah是社會阻礙，求學ê路途khám-khiat，好學ê台灣青年「chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>活馬pák tī死樹」、「khang-khang khng大志氣ún-bat tī山林」。廖三重ê犧牲，hō咱看見台灣青年ê命運，因為不幸出sì tī 1914年ê台灣，錯失好時期。Koh，日治時期台灣青年ài學習ê東西洋ê學問ná煩雜，m̄-kú研究ê時間siu<sup>n</sup> chió，致使才情kap志氣難伸，ut-chut kàu死。Tī chia林茂生koh舉廖三重ê好友黃惠我、張添丁，m̄-kam in來死，也為hit時ê台灣青年ê困境流目sái。

#### 4.1.2. 50冬前ê台灣、50冬後ê台灣kap好學ê台灣青年

因爲m̄-kam日治時期ê台灣青年，林茂生舉50冬前ê台灣kap 50冬後ê台灣來kap hit時做比較。林茂生認爲50冬前ê台灣kap 50冬後ê台灣lóng phêng 1910年代ê台灣，有koh-khah好ê時機，tùi好學ê台灣青年koh-khah友善。

林茂生1887年（清國光緒13年）tī府城台南出sì，伊bat做過清國人，伊ê老pē林燕臣是清國秀才，外公是清國舉人，林茂生受過嚴格ê清國科舉考試hit款ê漢學教育。<sup>20</sup>

林茂生tī〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉內中，認爲50冬chìn-chêng ê台灣，無受tiòh外國文明ê壓迫，chin有才情ê廖三重ē-sái「專心tī詩文漢學」，tiō ē-sái「踏青ê雲直直chiū<sup>n</sup>」。Àn chia thang看出林茂生tùi清國時代ê漢學課程kap科舉制度，有bōe-bái ê印象，伊雖然無直接批評hit當時日本殖民教育，m̄-kú，o-ló 50冬前ê清國教育，ē-tàng看出林茂生tùi hit時教育chin無滿意。

M̄-kú，咱khiā tī 2024年ê台灣來看日本時代kap清國時代ê台灣教育，其實lóng是文化殖民教育。清國時代ê教育koh-khah是有錢有勢ê人ê教育，艱苦sàn-chhiah ê台灣人是無錢無時間接受科舉hit款ê漢學教育，koh所學習ê學問主要是封建君王制度允准ê智識；顛倒是日本時代ê教育，雖bóng有文化殖民ê教育，m̄-kú，受明治維新致蔭，台灣青年透過日文，看tiòh全世界多元chōe款ê文明kap學問，hō台灣人本質上產生kóe-piàn，chham中國人ná來ná無sio-siâng。Ah chit款ê無kâng，mā tī 1947年中華民國tī台灣進行ê 228大屠殺hit時展現出來，林茂生mā tī 1947年3月11 hō中華民國政府liah去soah失蹤kàu ta<sup>n</sup>。

林茂生tī〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉內中，ng-bāng 50冬liáu後ê台灣，hit時台灣ê教育環境應該會khah好，讀冊ê機會khah順利，「thang順志氣、順年歲ēng kang」，台灣青年可能bōe有chhiū<sup>n</sup> 1910年代ê台灣有hiah-nī chōe ê障礙kap koh-iū<sup>n</sup>。50冬後ê台灣是1964年，若是林茂生iá在

<sup>20</sup> 王育德tī日治時期bat hō in老pē強迫去「書學仔su-òh-á」讀漢學，內底有講tiòh hit時台灣人讀書學仔ê情形。（詳情看王育德日文原著、黃國彥中譯2000《王育德全集3：台灣話講座》第十講談「書房」，頁105-113）Tiō算是日治時期，台灣人ê序大，iu-goân想講日本人有chit日會離開台灣，台灣人可能會koh ài準備科舉考試，mā有序大tī感情上認爲台灣人tiòh讀漢學，mā有其他ê理由。

世，是78歲；不幸林茂生tī 1947年咱人歲61 tiō失蹤去。

林茂生ê hāu-si<sup>n</sup>林宗義講，1945年8月日本降伏，hit年10月25「台灣光復節」林茂生tī公會堂ê慶祝暗會歡喜講：咱做ka-kī主人ê時代已經來--ah。林茂生kā林宗義講，hit工是伊一生當中siōng得意siōng歡喜ê日子。（張炎憲總編輯2015：19）結局，1949年5月台灣人迎來38冬ê戒嚴時期，林茂生講50冬後ê台灣青年「ē thang tek-chì mā kú-ká<sup>n</sup>」（會thang得志mā拘敢），結局soah iu-goân是「時bōe kàu志bōe chiá<sup>n</sup>」。

Ka-chài，2023年ê台灣已經是全球民主指數（Democracy Index）排名第10，亞洲頭名。（陳韻聿2024）110冬後，2024年好學ê台灣青年ê境遇tng tiòh時，林茂生ê òng-bāng總算實現，咱台灣青年的確tiòh-ài寶惜chit時珍貴ê好時期，pià<sup>n</sup>-sì栽培ka-kī，互相牽成phah-pià<sup>n</sup>爲台灣。

#### 4.2. 道修君ê死，會koh生出chē-chē ê道修。Chhut-sí Jip-oáh 出死入活。

林茂生tī〈Kèng-tiàu Liāu Sam-tiōng kun.〉內中，舉18世紀中葉德國名人Lê-sìn（Lessing）ê論述，講世間有3等人，頭等號人是天資明敏koh機會chiâu-chng；二等號人雖bóng天資明敏，m-kú境遇無順ah是身體無好，是開路ê人；三等號人雖bóng才調普通，m-kú境遇好，koh有前人開路。廖三重屬tī第2等人，林茂生講：「雖然開路ê人死，是beh勉勵後身ê人；道修君ê死，會koh生出chē-chē ê道修，che是chhó chit篇文ê時，傷悲中生出chit種ê òng-bāng。道修君ê死m是無意思。」

林茂生kap林燕臣tùi廖三重ê死kap生ê思考，hō咱想tiòh「chhut-sí jip-oáh」（出死入活）<sup>21</sup> chit ê基督教ê核心教義。廖瑞銘bat kóe-seh「出死入活」講：「出死入活」有nng款意思，一款是「耶穌釘十字架受死，救贖世間人」、「信耶穌得永生」；koh一款是，基督徒tú-tiòh任何ê困境，包括肉體ê身苦病thià<sup>n</sup>，lóng是透過祈禱來祈求上帝ê旨意，chhōe-tiòh活路，得tiòh tháu

<sup>21</sup> 1910年廖三重ê文章〈Khì-ok Kui-siān〉（棄惡歸善）mā有講tiòh「chhut-sí jip-oáh」（出死入活），chit-tah主要是leh講基督教感化人棄惡歸善做重頭生ê人，是hō咱人得救ê真道，會hō歹人變做好人，出死入活。（Liāu Tō-siu 1910）

放。(廖瑞銘2011:33)<sup>22</sup>

咱chit-má來看林茂生一生ê境遇，mā thang講1947年失蹤ê林茂生，伊ê悲劇m̄是無意義ê，因為林茂生ê失蹤，會koh生出koh-khah chōe ê林茂生。

## 5. 話尾kap ng-bāng

Chit篇論文研究1914年n̄ng篇台語白話字ê追悼文：Lîm Bō-seng (林茂生) ê〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉(敬弔廖三重君) kap Lîm Iàn-sîn (林燕臣) ê〈Tui-tō-toān.〉(追悼傳)。探討林燕臣、林茂生pē-á-kiá<sup>n</sup> án-nóa來論述、評價Liâu Tō-siu (廖三重、廖道修) ê一生。Chit n̄ng篇散文理路清明、文筆súi-khùi，是lán ài pó-sioh ê台語追悼文，mā是chin好ê台語文教材。〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉ê字數有〈Tui-tō-toān〉ê 3倍khah ke，內容ke真多元，所以chit篇論文討論重點khng̃ tī〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun〉。

林茂生kap林燕臣tùi廖三重chin敬服，認為廖三重看信主做chhng̃智識ê源頭，chit道ê靈火不時tī心內teh tòh，o-ló廖三重天資chhang-miâ、明敏、奮志勤讀、議論縱橫，哀嘆Ē ê人kāu tiòh磨，講上主憐憫廖三重ê腦病，ài soah廖三重ê艱苦，廖三重chiah會29歲tiō過身。廖三重ê死hō林燕臣kap林茂生思考基督徒「出死入活」ê深意。

林茂生〈Kèng-tiàu Liâu Sam-tiōng kun.〉ê特點是，透過廖三重ê境遇，討論台灣青年受教育ê處境，thèh 50冬chìn-chêng ê台灣kap 50冬liáu後ê台灣教育環境，來暗中評判日治時期ê台灣殖民教育，為好學勤讀soah矢志tiòh磨ê台灣青年哀嘆，1914年28歲ê林茂生tiō已經展現伊tùi台灣教育深刻ê思考kap thià<sup>n</sup>-thàng。咱thang看tiòh林茂生chià<sup>n</sup>做台灣教育家第一人ê因緣。

Chhang-miâ好學ê廖三重tī教會報bat發表chit-kóa台語白話字ê著作kap翻譯，未來咱tiòh-ài繼續來整理kap研究廖三重、林茂生、林燕臣in ê台語文

<sup>22</sup> Kāng-khoán是台灣基督長老教會ê會友ê Chhòa Pōe-hóe (蔡培火) tī 1925年mā bat寫台語Peh-ōe-jī散文〈Lūn Oáh-miā〉(論活命)，是伊ê專著《CHÁP-HĀNG KOÁN-KIĀN》(十項管見) 內底ê第7項。〈Lūn Oáh-miā〉àn基督教ê死kap活命開始思考，lòh尾講：「Āi--ah! Ta<sup>n</sup> lán beh cháí<sup>n</sup>-iū<sup>n</sup> chiah hó, neh? Tâi-oân ta<sup>n</sup> tiòh cháí<sup>n</sup>-iū<sup>n</sup> chiah ē thang tùi tī beh sí, koh lâi oáh?» (Āi--ah! Ta<sup>n</sup>咱beh怎樣chiah好neh? 台灣ta<sup>n</sup> tiòh怎樣chiah會thang tùi tī beh死, koh來活?)

章，thang豐富台語文學史ê內涵，mā thang提供新時代ê台語文教材，包含中學kap大學。

Ng-bāng chit篇論文ē-sái hō現此時ê台灣青年koh-khah知bat白話字文獻ê價值，mā àn林茂生ê論述當中得tiōh奮發ê khùi-lát kap智慧。

### 讀者回應

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## 附錄1. Lâm Bō-seng “Kèng-tiàu Liāu Sam-tiōng kun.” 白話字校對版

Teng Hongtin 丁鳳珍 校對

# Kèng-tiàu Liāu Sam-tiōng kun.<sup>23</sup>

Lâm Bō-seng kì

Liāu kun Sam-tiōng, jū-miâ Tō-siu, sī Ka-gī thia<sup>n</sup> Sai-lê kàu-hōe Liāu Sêng-phi Tiú<sup>n</sup>-ló ê tē-sa<sup>n</sup> sió-tī. Kun chū-sè bô pē, siū kóa<sup>n</sup>-bó kap tōa-hia<sup>n</sup> ēng Ki-tok-kàu ke-têng ê kàu-iók. Cháp-jī hòe chiū jip Sin-lâu Tiong-òh, lèk-nî khó-chhì lóng liát iu-téng. Chāi òh-tiong siū sé-lé. Kun thian-chu bêng-bín, gī-lūn chhiòng-hêng, hō tong-sí ê sian-si<sup>n</sup> kap pêng-iú só khi-tiōng. Put-chāi kap kun tông-chhong nng-nî kú, siū-tiòh bô khi-hiâm khòa<sup>n</sup> chò ti-kí; m̄-nā thià<sup>n</sup>-sioh kun ê chāi-chêng, iā it-hoat kèng-hók kun ê chò-lâng. Kun 15 hòe sit-lòh tē-it thià<sup>n</sup> ê kóa<sup>n</sup>-bó. Cháp-lák hòe chut-giap Tiong-òh. Hit-tiap sim ũ só kám-tōng, khòa<sup>n</sup>-phò sè-chêng, koat-ì jip Sin-lâu Hok-im-chu-ī<sup>n</sup> káng-kiù sîn-hák beh pī-pān chò thoân-kàu ê kang. Sī chai ài chín-kiù tông-pau, chín-heng bûn-hòa, bô m̄-sī beh kó-bú Ki-tok-kàu ê cheng-sîn; kun ê sim-chì tui án-ne hián-bêng.

Kun chāi Sîn-hák tiong ka-tī chai iáu-bōe ũ kàu-giáh, chin tì-ì ài koh liú-hák Lōe-tē; bat kúi-nā pái tui góa kóng-chhut chit hō chì-khì. Khó-sioh sui-jiân hák-chu jiâu-jī, nā-sī sî-pi<sup>n</sup> ê kóng-gū m̄ ín, sī bōe kàu

<sup>23</sup> Chit篇文章ê題目尾後ū句點「.」，題目「kun」ê頭字母k小寫。1914年10月刊tī《TÂI-OÂN KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》(台灣教會報) 355 koàn (355卷) 第3-4頁，原刊ê頁眉第3頁寫「KÀU-HŌE-PÒ」、第4頁寫「TÂI-OÂN」。國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」記載出處是「Tâi-lâm Hú-siâ<sup>n</sup> Kàu-hōe-pò 臺南府城教會報」，m̄-tiòh。Chit份報紙1885年7月(光緒11年6月)創刊時號名《TÂI-OÂN-HÚ-SIÂ<sup>n</sup> KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》(台灣府城教會報)，1892年正月換名《TÂI-LÂM-HÚ KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》(台南府教會報)，1893年正月換名《TÂI-LÂM-HÚ-SIÂ<sup>n</sup> KÀU-HŌE-PÒ》(台南府城教會報)，1906年正月250 koàn (250卷)換名《TÂI-LÂM KÀU-HŌE-PÒ 台灣教會報》，1913年7月340 koàn (340卷)換名《TÂI-OÂN KÀU-HŌE-PÒ 台灣教會報》，1932年5月566 koàn (566卷)換名《TÂI-OÂN KÀU-HŌE KONG-PÒ 台灣教會公報》。

chì bōe chiâ<sup>n</sup>. M̄-chai sī in-ūi khîn-thak siu<sup>n</sup> kòe-thâu, á-sī in-ūi<sup>24</sup> sit-ì bô chhun-chhóa; chāi sîn-hák ê tē-sa<sup>n</sup> nî tì náu-pē<sup>n</sup>, kòe Phê<sup>n</sup>-ô iā koh tng-khì chhù--nih tiâu-ióng. Kòe-nî pē<sup>n</sup> khah hó chiah koh lâi Tâi-lâm chiap-sòa thak-chheh. Chut-giap āu, kun bô sit-lòh éng-jit ê chì-khì, tit-tiòh tōa-hia<sup>n</sup> kap Kàu-sū-hōe ê ín-chún lâi Tang-kia<sup>n</sup> thak Bêng-tī-hák-ī<sup>n</sup>. Kun sī Tâi-oân sîn-hák ê hák-seng thâu chit ê lâi liú-hák--ê.<sup>25</sup>

Bêng-tī 41 nî 2 goeh 11 hō Kí-goân-cheh, chiū-sī kun Sîn-hō (Kobe) chiū<sup>n</sup>-hōa<sup>n</sup> ê kì-liām-jit. Hit sī kun 23 hòe. Kun kàu Tang-kia<sup>n</sup> liáu-āu kòe nng lé-pài góa iā lâi Kia<sup>n</sup>-tō,<sup>26</sup> chiap-tiòh kun ê phoe kóng, “Góa ê sim-goân sui-jiân chiok, nā-sī góa ê siāng hó ê sī-chūn í-keng teh-beh kòe.” O-hō! Kun ê khó-sim thang chai. Bêng-tī 43 nî 3 goeh chiū chut-giap Bêng-tī-hák-ī<sup>n</sup> ê Phó-thong-pō. Hoan-tng nî 4 goeh jip Chó-tiū-tiân (Waseda) Tâi-hák bûn-kho. Kun chāi Tang-kia<sup>n</sup> 4 nî kú bô bē-kì-tit ín-chhōa hia ê tông-pau<sup>27</sup> lâi chiū-kîn tō-lí, chiū kap Tân Bók-su sa<sup>n</sup>-kap siat-chiâ<sup>n</sup> Ko-sa Ki-tok-kàu Chheng-liân-hōe. Tàk lé-pài hōe-oân chū-chip tī Hù-sū-kiàn-teng ê kàu-hōe. Góa 43 nî chhun-thi<sup>n</sup> lâi Tang-kia<sup>n</sup> thàm-mng kun, ū chhin-bak khòa<sup>n</sup>-kì<sup>n</sup> chit ê hōe<sup>28</sup> ê oah-tāng. Kàu ta<sup>n</sup> hōe ê hêng-sek sui-jiân ké-ōa<sup>n</sup>, nā-sī cheng-sîn iáu tī-teh; kun só chò ê kang bē bô--khì<sup>29</sup>. Sī kun pêng-seng khòa<sup>n</sup> sìn Chú chò cheng tì-sek ê goân-thâu chit tō ê lêng-hóe put-sī tī sim lâi teh tóh. Khó-sioh ē ē lāng kâu tiòh-bôa; 45 nî chhun-thi<sup>n</sup> kù-pē<sup>n</sup> koh hoat-choh, kō-put-chiong tiòh hui-hák tng-lâi Tâi-oân tiâu-ióng. Liáu-āu pē<sup>n</sup>-chêng<sup>30</sup> hoán-khí hoán-tó, koh lâi Kiú-chiu Hok-kong (Fukuoka) chhī jip Tâi-hák pē<sup>n</sup>-ī<sup>n</sup>

<sup>24</sup> 原文「in-ūi」ti國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」phah字做「in ūi」, m̄-tiòh。

<sup>25</sup> 原文「liú-hák--ê」ti國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」phah字做「liú-hák-ê」, m̄-tiòh。

<sup>26</sup> Chit-tah原文無「,」, Teng Hongtin ke「,」。

<sup>27</sup> 原文「tông-pau」(同胞) ti國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」phah字做「tong-pan」(同班), m̄-tiòh。

<sup>28</sup> 原文寫「chit-ê hōe」, Teng Hongtin換做「chit ê hōe」。

<sup>29</sup> 原文寫「bô-khì」(無去), Teng Hongtin換做「bô--khì」(無--去)。

<sup>30</sup> 原文「pē<sup>n</sup>-chêng」(病症) ti國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」phah字做「pē<sup>n</sup>-chêng」(病情), m̄-tiòh。

tá<sup>n</sup>-tiáp. Put-hēng chiáh ióh bô èng-hâu. Tâi-chèng 3 nî 8 goeh 12 hō  
kơ-sin kòe-óng tī chò lāng-kheh ê só-chāi, hióng-siū 29 hòe. O-ho! Ai-  
chài! Kun ê sí ún-tàng m̄-tān-nā kun ê hia<sup>n</sup>-tī, ke-koàn, chhin-chhek  
teh siong-pi. Sa<sup>n</sup>-cháp hòe<sup>31</sup> hō-chò chòng, pàng-sak pò<sup>n</sup>-sì ê seng-gâi  
khin-khó ēng kang, pōe chheh-siu<sup>n</sup> tang phun sai cháu, iā ñg-bāng beh  
thang chiong só tit-tiòh móa-pak ê keng-lùn lâi hiàn chò Siōng-chú  
chín-heng pún-tó bûn-hòa ê lō-ēng; nā-sī beh-thài ũ phah-sng "Chhut-  
su bī chiát sin sian sòng, tiông sú êng-hiông lē tiám khim." (Chhut-  
cheng bōe iā<sup>n</sup> seng-khu tãi-seng sí, kú-kú hō eng-hiông ê lāng bák-sái  
lâu kàu móa heng-chêng). O-ho! Ai--chài! Hák tú-tú chiá<sup>n32</sup>, seng-khu  
í-keng hòe. Kun ê sí sī Tâi-oân sèng-hōe ê tōa sng-sit.

Khòa<sup>n</sup> kun sui-jiân hák-bûn tú-chiah chiá<sup>n</sup> iáu-bōe chhut-lâi tōa  
keng-ēng tī siā-hōe; m̄-kú kun ê it-seng thang kóng sī tãi-piáu hiān-  
tãi Tâi-oân Chheng-liân ê kég-gū. Sī-sè ê hoán-tōng, hò<sup>n</sup>-hák<sup>33</sup> bô ki-  
hōe; ũ lāng ũ-tiòh hák-chu ê chớ-tòng, ũ lāng ũ-tiòh ke-tēng siā-hōe  
ê m̄ ún-chún, tì-kàu pò<sup>n</sup>-sì<sup>34</sup> khám-khó, khòa<sup>n</sup> hák-bûn chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>  
hái-iū<sup>n</sup> bô chûn thang kòe, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> oáh-bé pák tī sí-chhiū; tui  
án-ne kang-khang khng tōa chì-khì ún-bát tī san-lím; che kiám m̄-sī  
hiān-tãi Tâi-oân chheng-liân ê kég-gū mah? Tō-siu kun ê sí sī kég-

<sup>31</sup> 原文寫「Sa<sup>n</sup>-cháp-hòe」(30歲), Teng Hongtin換做「Sa<sup>n</sup>-cháp hòe」, ká數字kap量詞「hòe」拆開, tī原文ū幾tah是án-ni寫。

<sup>32</sup> 原文「chiá<sup>n</sup>」tī國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」phah字做「chiân」, m̄-tiòh。

<sup>33</sup> 「好學」ê「好」, 原文寫做「hò<sup>n</sup>」; m̄-koh, 書寫白話字ê時, 「好學」ê「好」mā ũ寫做「hò<sup>n</sup>」ê koàn-sì。台灣基督長老教會總會台灣母語推行委員會2003編著發行ê「白話字基礎教材」講: 「因爲無o的鼻音, o的鼻音寫做o<sup>n</sup>。」(第4頁) 姚正道1998《台語發音入門》第二章鼻音, 寫「o<sup>n</sup>」(台南市: 人光, 第5頁)。鄭兒玉2013《台語白話字新教科書》(台南市: 台灣基督長老教會台灣教會公報社) 寫做「ó<sup>n</sup>」、「ò<sup>n</sup>」、「ô<sup>n</sup>」、「ō<sup>n</sup>」(第10頁)。教育部ê羅馬字拼音寫做「onn」、「onn惡」(教育部編印2008《臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案使用手冊》, 第31頁), 無寫做「oonn」。

<sup>34</sup> 原文寫「pò<sup>n</sup>-sì」, Teng Hongtin換做「pò<sup>n</sup>-sì」, 原文其他所在「oa<sup>n</sup>」ê聲調符號khng tī「o」頂頭, chhiū<sup>n</sup>「khò<sup>n</sup>」。姚正道1998《台語發音入門》(台南市: 人光, 第16頁) 第七章掛音, 講tī chit ê單語ū nng ê母音(複母音) ê時, 聲調符號ài掛tī ù語尾(chià<sup>n</sup>手pēng) sng-kòe-lâi第2 ê字母頂頭, chhiū<sup>n</sup>「góa」、「góan」、「oân」。

gū ê hi-seng ê chit-ê. O-ho! Ēng<sup>35</sup> kun ê chài lâi chhut-sì tī 50 nî í-chêng ê Tâi-oân, bô hō gōa-kok bûn-bêng ê ap-pek, choan-sim tī si-bûn hàn-hak, tek-khak sī táh chhe<sup>n</sup> ê hûn tit-tit chiū<sup>n</sup>. Ēng kun ê chài lâi chhut-sì tī 50 nî í-âu ê Tâi-oân, hit-sî pún-tó ê kàu-iók kiám-chhái khah chín-heng, thak chheh ê m̄ng kiám-chhái khah khui, thang sūn chî-khî sūn nî-hòe ēng kang; kiám-chhái bô koh-iū<sup>n</sup> lâi chng-á chhut phoe-lông gōa ē thang tek-chî mā kú-ká<sup>n</sup>. O-ho! Kun<sup>36</sup> chhoàn-chhoàn chhut-sì tī chit-tiáp ê Tâi-oân, sa<sup>n</sup>-tī<sup>n</sup> sì-tī<sup>n</sup> sî-chūn kòe-choa--khì<sup>37</sup>. Hòng-kiam tang-sai-iū<sup>n</sup> ê hâk-bûn ná hoân-cháp, ài gián-kiù chió sî-chūn; kang-khang phāu iú-ûi ê chài khng óan-tāi ê chî, ut-chhut kòe chit-sì-lâng, O-ho! Góa<sup>38</sup> chhim-chhim ūi-tiòh kun ê sí sioh, sòa ūi-tiòh kun chî-ài ê pêng-iú Ņg<sup>39</sup> kun Hūi-ngó, Tiu<sup>n</sup> kun Thiam-teng<sup>40</sup> ê sí sioh, sòa ūi-tiòh hiân-tāi Tâi-oân ê chheng-liân lâu chit phóng tông-chêng<sup>41</sup> ê bák-sái.

Tē cháp-peh sè-kí ê tióng-iáp Tek-kok ū chit ê chhut-miâ ê sian-se<sup>n</sup> miâ-kiò Lê-sìn (Lessing)<sup>42</sup> tù chhut-miâ ê si-jîn Kó-lâi-su-tek (Kleist) ê toân-kì, tióng-kan ū chit chām teh kóng, lâng tī sè-kan ū sa<sup>n</sup> téng-

<sup>35</sup> 原文寫「ēng」，Teng Hongtin換做「Ēng」，kā頭字母大寫。

<sup>36</sup> 原文寫「kun」，Teng Hongtin換做「Kun」，kā頭字母大寫。

<sup>37</sup> 原文寫「kòe-choa khì」，Teng Hongtin換做「kòe-choa--khì」。

<sup>38</sup> 原文寫「góa」，Teng Hongtin換做「Góa」，kā頭字母大寫。

<sup>39</sup> 字姓「黃」ê白話字，原文kā聲調符號寫tī後壁ê「g」，白話字koàn-sì án-ni寫，che是因爲chit-tah ê「N」是大寫字母。姚正道1998《台語發音入門》（台南市：人光，第16頁）第七章掛音ū寫聲調符號ê位置，若是tú-tiòh頭字母大寫，聲調符號ê sóa去後尾ê字母，chhiū<sup>n</sup>「àm」、「Àm」、「ông」、「Ong」。鄭兒玉2013《台語白話字新教科書》（台南市：台灣基督長老教會台灣教會公報社）mā是án-ni寫，chhiū<sup>n</sup>「ûi」、「Uî」、「ùi」、「Uî」（第4-5頁）。Tī chia，Teng Hongtin換做「Ņg」，原因ū二：1. Éng過tú-tiòh頭字大寫掛音位置sóa後ê koàn-sì，現時已經無án-ni要求，chhiū<sup>n</sup> 2023年創刊ê《Tâioânjī台灣字》雜誌tiō寫「Uî」、「Uî」（目錄頁），2023.9第5期第2頁作者ê字姓寫「Ņg」。2.用「台客語信望愛輸入法」phah字「g5」無法度出現聲調符號。

<sup>40</sup> 原文「Thiam-teng」tī國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」phah字做「thiam-teng」，m̄-tiòh。

<sup>41</sup> 原文寫「tông chêng」，Teng Hongtin換做「tông-chêng」（同情），兩字中間ke「-」。

<sup>42</sup> 原文「Lessing」tī國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」phah字做「Lesseng」，m̄-tiòh。

hō: Thâu<sup>43</sup> chit téng-hō sī thian-chu chin hó, koh ũ chiâu-chng ê ki-hōe thang pōe-iú<sup>n</sup> kàu chiâ<sup>n</sup>-mih, kàu-bóe kiàn-lip bē hiú-nōa ê kang-tiâ<sup>n</sup> tī tē-bīn chiū<sup>n</sup>; chit hō lāng hán-tit ũ; Gi-sèng (Goethe) chiū-sī chit khoán ê lāng. Tē-jī téng-hō sī sui-jiân ũ chin hó ê chài, iáu-kú kèng-gū bô sūn-liū, sin-thé m̄ chò chú, kàu bóe bô thang chhun-chhóa i ê chài-tiâu; put-kò só bōe bat kiâ<sup>n</sup> ê lō hō i tǎh kòe khui chit tiâu-á lō-hūn-á; chit hō ê lāng khah chē; Nietzsche, á-sī Kleist sī chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> chit khoán. Tē-sa<sup>n</sup> téng-hō sī sui-jiân chài-tiâu khah pèng-siōng iáu-kú ũ chin hó ê kèng-gū thang pang-chān i tǎh thau-chèng ê lāng ê lō hō i khah tōa tiâu; hiân-sī ê hāk-chiá tú-tú sī án-ne. Liâu kun Sam-tiōng ê kèng-gū thang kóng sī siòk tī téng-bīn só kóng tē-jī téng-hō. Sím-mih lāng ē phah bô tī chháu-chhì-á ê<sup>44</sup> tiōng-kan khui lō-hūn ê lāng ê kong-lô? Tòe āu-piah kiâ<sup>n</sup> lō ê lāng bô hiah khoài, chò thau-chèng khui lō ê koh-khah oh. Nā chiong Tâi-oân hiân-sī cheng-sîn-kài ê hoán-tōng pí-phèng chiàn-cheng. Liâu kun ê sí bô koh-iū<sup>n</sup> Soa<sup>n</sup>-tang Poàn-tó chiū<sup>n</sup>-liòk-āu ũ-tiòh khi thàm khe-lâu chit ê siōng-téng peng<sup>45</sup> tú-tiòh bēng-ū chiàn-sí. Sui-jiân khui-lō<sup>46</sup> ê lāng sí, sī beh bián-lē āu-sin<sup>47</sup> ê lāng; Tō-siu kun ê sí ē koh se<sup>n</sup>-chhut chē-chē ê Tō-siu. Che sī chhó chit phi<sup>n</sup> bûn ê sí, siōng-pi tiōng se<sup>n</sup>-chhut chit chióng ê òng-bāng. Tō-siu kun ê sí m̄-sī bô ì-sù. Goān Thi<sup>n</sup>-pē an-ùi chiok hok-khì hō Liâu kun Sam-tiōng ê hia<sup>n</sup>-tī ke-koàn kap chhin-chhek.

Téng-bīn só kì Liâu kun ê lí-lék sī chiàu góa sè-hàn kap i chò-

<sup>43</sup> 原文寫「thâu」, Teng Hongtin換做「Thâu」, kā頭字母大寫。

<sup>44</sup> 原文「chháu-chhì-á ê」tī國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」phah字做「chháu-chhì-áe」, m̄-tiòh。

<sup>45</sup> 原文寫「só thia<sup>n</sup>-kì<sup>n</sup> ê」, Teng Hongtin換做「só thia<sup>n</sup>-kì<sup>n</sup>--ê」。

<sup>46</sup> 原文「khui-lō」tī國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」phah字做「khui lō」, 兩字中間欠「-」。

<sup>47</sup> 原文寫「āu-sin」, Teng Hongtin換做「āu-sin」, 原文其他所在「au」ê聲調符號khng tī「a」頂頭, chhiū<sup>n</sup>「nú」、「cháu」。姚正道1998《台語發音入門》(台南市:人光,第16頁)第七章掛音,講tī chit ê單語ū nng ê母音(複母音)ê時,聲調符號ài掛tī ùi語尾(chià<sup>n</sup>手pèng) sng-kòe-lâi第2 ê字母頂頭, chhiū<sup>n</sup>「góa」、「goán」、「oân」。



hóe só thia<sup>n</sup>-kì<sup>n</sup>--ê<sup>48</sup> lâi siá, kiám-chhái ũ bô chiâu-pī<sup>49</sup> ê só-chāi, bāng khòa<sup>n</sup> Pò ê liát-ūi khoan-iông.

*Chāi Tang-kiá<sup>n</sup>,*

*Tè-kok Tāi-hák siá--ê.*



<sup>48</sup> 原文寫「chit-ê siông-téng peng」，Teng Hongtin換做「chit ê siông-téng peng」。

<sup>49</sup> 原文「chiâu-pī」tī國立台灣文學館「台語文數位典藏資料庫」phah字做「chiâu-pē」，m̄-tiòh。

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附錄2. 林茂生〈敬弔廖三重君〉漢羅文改寫版

Teng Hongtin 丁鳳珍 改寫註解

# Kèng-tiàu Liāu Sam-tiōng kun

## 敬弔廖三重君

Lîm Bō-seng kî 林茂生 記

廖君三重，字名<sup>50</sup>道修<sup>51</sup>，是嘉義廳西螺教會廖承丕<sup>52</sup>長老ê第3小弟。君自細無pē，受寡母kap大兄ēng基督教ke庭ê教育。12歲就入新樓中學<sup>53</sup>，歷年考試lóng列優等。在òh中受洗禮。君天資明敏，議論縱橫，hō當時ê先生kap朋友所器重。不才kap君同窗nng年久，受tiòh無棄嫌看做知己，m-nā thià<sup>n</sup>惜君ê才情，也it-hoat敬服君ê做人。君15歲失lòh第一thià<sup>n</sup>ê寡母，16歲卒業中學。Hit-tiáp心ū所感動，看破世情，決意入新樓福音書院<sup>54</sup>，講究神學beh備辦做傳教ê工。是chai ài拯救同胞、振興文化，無m是beh鼓舞基督教ê精神；君ê心志對án-ne顯明。

君在神學中ka-tī chai iáu-bōe ū夠額，chin致意ài koh留學內地；bat kúi-nā pái對我講出chit號志氣。可惜雖然學資饒裕，若是sì-pi<sup>n</sup>ê境遇m允，時bōe kàu志bōe chiâ<sup>n</sup>。M-chai是因爲勤讀siu<sup>n</sup>過頭，á是因爲失意無chhun-chhóa；在神學ê第3年致腦病，過澎湖iā koh tng去厝--nih調養。過年病khah好chiah koh來台南接sòa讀冊。卒業後，君無失lòh éng日ê志氣，

<sup>50</sup> 原文「jū-miâ」漢字是「字名」，1932《臺日大辭典》ū收chit ê詞。（ChhoeTaigi台語辭典+）

<sup>51</sup> 賴永祥長老史料庫ê本土信徒生平紹介「廖三重」，收林燕臣kap林茂生pē-á-kiá<sup>n</sup> tui-tō廖三重ê nng篇文章，chit ê史料庫kā in改寫做台語漢羅文。廖三重ê字是「道修」。1886年（光緒12年）出sì，1914年（大正3年）過身。

<sup>52</sup> 賴永祥長老史料庫ê漢字寫「廖承丕」。杜謙遜ê〈廖文毅家族信仰史〉mā án-ni寫。廖承丕是廖三重ê大兄，mā是台灣獨立運動者廖文毅（本名廖溫義，1910-1986）ê老pē（杜謙遜2004）。

<sup>53</sup> 新樓中學tiō是chit-má ê「長榮中學」，校名ū改換過kúi pái，校地mā ū遷sóa過，bat tī新樓醫館hia，所以叫做新樓中學。見《長榮中學百年史》。

<sup>54</sup> 「新樓福音書院」應該chit-má ê台南神學院。林燕臣1914〈Tui-tō-toān〉〈追悼傳〉講廖三重中學卒業liáu後ū去讀「神學校」，台南神學院ê南神簡史講：1913年校名改做「台南神學校」。

tit-tiòh大兄kap教士會ê允准來東京讀明治學院。君是台灣神學ê學生頭chit ê來留學--ê。

明治41年（1908年）2月11號紀元節，就是君神戶（Kobe）chiū<sup>n</sup>岸ê紀念日。Hit時君23歲。君kàu東京liáu後過nng禮拜我iā來京都，接tiòh君ê批講：「我ê心願雖然足，若是我ê siāng好ê時陣已經teh-beh過。」O-hō！君ê苦心thang chai。明治43年（1910年）3月chiū卒業明治學院ê普通部。翻tng年4月入早稻田（Waseda）大學文科。君在東京4年久無bē記tit引|chhōa hia ê同胞來chiū近道理，chiū kap陳牧師sa<sup>n</sup>-kap設chiâ<sup>n</sup>高砂基督教青年會。Tàk禮拜會員聚集tī富士見町ê教會。我43年（明治43年）春天來東京探問君，ū親目看ki<sup>n</sup> chit ê會ê活動。Kàu ta<sup>n</sup>會ê形式雖然ké換，若是精神iáu tī-teh；君所做ê工bē無--去。是君平生看信主做chèng智識ê源頭，chit道ê靈火不時tī心內teh tòh。可惜ê ê人kāu tiòh磨；45年（明治45年，公元1912年）春天舊病koh發choh，kō-put-chiong tiòh休學tng來台灣調養。Liáu後病症反起反倒，koh來九州福岡（Fukuoka）試入大學病院tá<sup>n</sup>-tiáp。不幸食藥無應效。大正3年（1914年）8月12號孤身過往tī做人客ê所在，享壽29歲。O-hō！Ai--chài！君ê死ún-tàng m̄-tān-nā君ê兄弟、ke眷、親戚teh傷悲。30歲號做壯，pàng-sak半sì ê生涯勤苦ēng工。背冊箱東奔西走，iā òng-bāng beh thang將所tit--tiòh滿腹ê經綸來獻做上主振興本島文化ê路ēng。若是beh-thài ū phah-sng「出師未捷身先喪，長使英雄淚點襟。」<sup>55</sup>（出征bōe贏身軀tāi-seng死，久久hō英雄ê人目sái流kàu滿胸前）。O-hō！Ai--chài！學tú-tú chiâ<sup>n</sup>，身軀已經hòe。君ê死是台灣聖會ê大sng失。

看君雖然學問tú-chiah chiâ<sup>n</sup> iáu-bōe出來大經營tī社會；m̄-kú君ê一生thang講是代表現代台灣青年ê境遇。時勢ê反動，好學無機會；ū人爲tiòh學資ê阻擋，ū人爲tiòh ke庭、社會ê m̄允准，致kàu半sì khám-khó，看學問chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>海洋無船thang過，chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>活馬pák tī死樹，對án-ne khang-khang khng大志氣ún-bát tī山林，che kiám m̄是現代台灣青年ê境遇mah？道修君ê死是境遇ê犧牲ê chit-ê。O-hō！Ēng君ê才來出sì tī 50年以前ê台灣，無hō外國文明ê壓迫，專心tī詩文漢學，的確是踏青ê

<sup>55</sup> Chit nng句詩出自唐國詩人杜甫ê〈蜀相〉，原詩寫做：「出師未捷身先死，長使英雄淚滿襟。」  
「淚滿襟」林茂生寫做「lē tiám khim」（淚點襟）。

雲直直chiū<sup>n</sup>。Ēng君ê才來出sì tī 50年以後ê台灣，hit時本島ê教育kiám-chhái khah振興，讀冊ê門kiám-chhái khah開，thang順志氣、順年歲ēng kang；kiám-chhái無koh-iū<sup>n</sup> lâi chhng-á出皮囊外ē thang得志mā kú-ká<sup>n56</sup>。O-hơ！君chhoàn-chhoàn出sì tī chit-tiáp ê台灣，sa<sup>n</sup>纏sì纏時chūn過choa<sup>57</sup>去。況兼東西洋ê學問ná煩雜，ài研究chió時chūn，khang-khang抱有爲ê才、khng遠大ê志，ut-chut過chit-sì人。O-hơ！我深深爲tiòh君ê死惜，sòa爲tiòh君至愛ê朋友黃君惠我、張君添丁<sup>58</sup> ê死惜，sòa爲tiòh現代台灣ê青年流chit phóng同情ê目sái。

第18世紀ê中葉德國ū chit ê出名ê先生名叫Lê-sìn (Lessing) <sup>59</sup>著出名ê詩jîn Kó-lâi-su-tek (Kleist) <sup>60</sup> ê傳記，中間ū chit chām teh講：人tī世間ū 3等號，頭1等號是天資chin好，koh ū chiâu-chhng ê機會thang培iū<sup>n</sup> kàu chiâ<sup>n</sup>-mih，kàu尾建立bē朽爛ê工tiâ<sup>n</sup> tī地面chiū<sup>n</sup>；chit號人罕tit ū；Gi-sèng (Goethe) <sup>61</sup> chiū是chit款ê人。第2等號是雖然ū chin好ê才，iáu-kú境遇無順liū，身體m̄做主，kàu尾無thang chhun-chhóa伊ê才調，不過所bōe bat kiâ<sup>n</sup> ê路hō伊踏過，開chit條á路痕á；chit號ê人khah chē；Nietzsche (『尼采』) <sup>62</sup> á是Kó-lâi-su-tek (Kleist) 是chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> chit款。第3等號是雖然才調khah平常iáu-kú ū chin好ê境遇thang幫chān伊踏

<sup>56</sup> 用「ChhoeTaigi台語辭典+」，chhōe「\*kú-ká<sup>n</sup>」(kéng相關--ê)：「1932《臺日大辭典》ū：「iā-kú-ká<sup>n</sup>亦拘敢：可能。」「mā-kú-ká<sup>n</sup>亦拘敢。」Koh-ū Tē<sup>n</sup> Khe-phòan鄭溪泮《Chhut Sí-sòa<sup>n</sup> (出死線)》第85頁第3 pha第3 chōa ū「mā-kú-ká<sup>n</sup>」chit詞。Koh chhōe「拘敢」：「1932《臺日大辭典》ū「iā-kú-ká<sup>n</sup>亦拘敢：可能。」「khu-ká<sup>n</sup>拘敢：可能。」「mā-kú-ká<sup>n</sup>亦拘敢。」

<sup>57</sup> 用「ChhoeTaigi台語辭典+」：Chhōe「kòe-choa」，得tiòh「2002+ 台華線頂辭典」ū 2條：「kòe-choa過抓：時機已過。」「kòe-choa過抓：錯失良機。」Chhōe「choa」，得tiòh「1913甘爲霖台語字典」(廈門音新字典) ū：「choa遭：kè-choa, chiū-si kè-sî ê-ì-sù。(過遭，就是過時ê意思。)」

<sup>58</sup> 賴永祥長老史料庫ê漢字寫「黃惠我」、「張添丁」。

<sup>59</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (德文)，1729.1.22-1781.2.15，德國啟蒙運動時期重要ê作家 chham文藝理論家。(維基百科)

<sup>60</sup> Bernd Heinrich Wilhelm von Kleist (德文)，1777.10.18-1811.11.21，德國詩人、戲劇家、小說家。(維基百科)

<sup>61</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe，mā寫做Göthe，『歌德』，1749.8.28-1832.3.22，偉大ê德國作家，2005年德國電視二台票選siōng偉大ê德國人活動，排名第7。(維基百科)

<sup>62</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (德文)，『尼采』，1844.10.15-1900.8.25，出身德國ê哲學家、詩人、文化批評家、古典語言學家kap作曲家。對現代哲學影響chiâ<sup>n</sup>深。1869年sóa去瑞士tòa。(維基百科)

頭前ê人ê路hō伊khah大條；現時ê學者tú-tú是án-ne。廖君三重ê境遇thang講是屬tī頂面所講ê第2等號。Sím-mih人會phah無tī草刺á ê中間開路痕ê人ê功勞？Tòe後壁kiâ<sup>n</sup>路ê人無hiah快，做頭前開路ê koh-khah oh。若將台灣現時精神界ê反動比phēng戰爭，廖君ê死無koh-iū<sup>n</sup>山東半島chiū<sup>n</sup>陸後爲tiòh去探溪流chit ê上等兵tú-tiòh名譽戰死，雖然開路ê人死，是beh勉勵後身ê人；道修君ê死，會koh生出chē-chē ê道修，che是chhó chit篇文ê時，傷悲中生出chit種ê ñg-bāng。道修君ê死m̄是無意思。願天pē安慰chiok福氣hō廖君三重ê兄弟ke眷kap親戚。

頂面所記廖君ê履歷是照我細hàn kap伊做伙所聽kì<sup>n</sup>--ê來寫，kiám-chhái ū無chiâu備ê所在，望看報ê列位寬容。

在東京，  
帝國大學寫--ê。



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附錄3. Lâm làn-sîn. "Tui-tō-toān." 白話字校對版

## Tui-tō-toān.

### Lâm làn-sîn kì

Liâu kun Sam-tiōng, jū-miâ Tō-siu, chiū-sī góa só òng-bāng ê hiân-iú. "Gú ûn ti tē bók jiók su," ké-soeh kóng, Chai hák-seng ê khoán-sit, tók-tók sī sian-si<sup>n</sup>. Tùi Bêng-tī 30 nî, Kàu-sū-hōe chhiá<sup>n</sup> góa jip Tiong-òh chō-kàu, i chiū siók tī jī-liân-seng, hit-sī chha-put-to 13 hòe, chu-chit chhang-miâ, iā hùn-chì khîn-thák, chin him-bō Hàn-hák, kì<sup>n</sup>-nā só khó--ê<sup>63</sup> lóng sī sa<sup>n</sup>-miâ-lāi.

Tī Tiong-òh thák kàu chut-giap, hit-sī Hùi Sian-si<sup>n</sup> ũ chhiá<sup>n</sup> i pang-chān kà chit nî kú, āu-lāi lip-chì beh chò thoân-kàu ê kang, chiū jip Sîn-hák-hāu, sī-kan-lāi khîn-khîn káng-kiù ták hāng ê hák-būn, sī-kan-gōa chin jiát-sim pò-tō, chin hó kháu-châi, thák kàu chut-giap jiân-āu koh khi Tang-kia<sup>n</sup> jip Bêng-tī-hák-ī<sup>n</sup> chò sì-liân-seng, chut-giap liáu koh jip Chó-tiū-tiân Tāi-hák, khó-sioh thák bô lōa-kú kũ-sī ê náu-pē<sup>n</sup> koh khi, chiū tng-lāi Tāi-oân hioh-khùn. Kàu chit pang koh khi Jit-pún tiâu-ióng, bô phah-sng khi Tāi-pán ê hái-bīn sé-ék, ká<sup>n</sup>-sī bô lát thang siū, chiah hō chíu tū--sí, kin-nî 29 hòe.

Chiàu lāng teh khó-liân i tùi sè-hàn thák-chheh kàu-ta<sup>n</sup>, teh pī-pān beh chò kàu-hōe ê lō-ēng, ta<sup>n</sup> kap sè-kan soah, chiū i ê châi-tiâu hák-būn lóng tòe chíu lâu khi; kàu-hōe iā khiàm chit-ê jîn-châi, án-ne khiok ũ-ia<sup>n</sup>, m̄-kú Siōng-chú ê chí-ì chin ò-biâu, hō lán bē-ē chhek-tók-tit. Kiám-chhái Siōng-chú lín-bín i ê náu-pē<sup>n</sup>, ài soah i ê kan-khó, só-í chá-chá tiâu i tng-khi hō i hióng-siū éng-oán ê khòa<sup>n</sup>-oáh, án-ne khiok iáu khah hó, tiòh o-ló Siōng-chú ê hó ì-sù. Chá-chêng Khóng-chú ũ

<sup>63</sup> 原文寫「só khó ê」, Teng Hongtin換做「só khó--ê」。

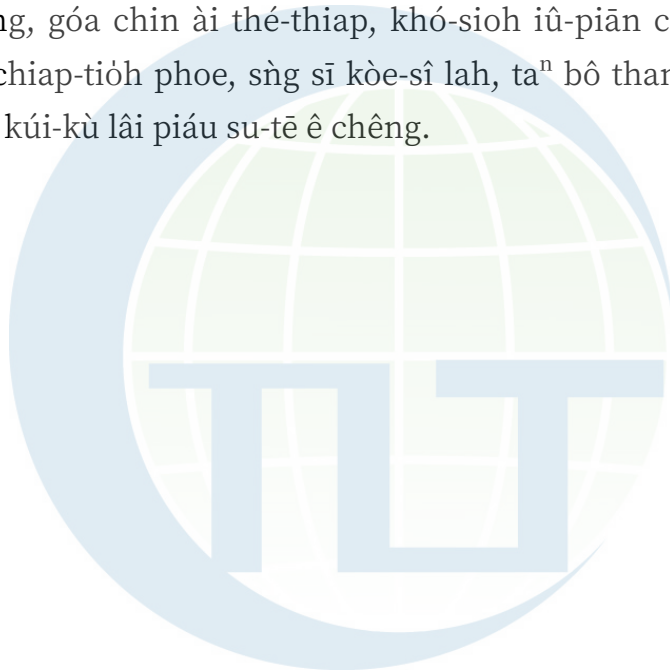


chit ê hâk-seng sè<sup>n</sup> Gân miâ Hôe; Khóng-chú o-ló i tek-hēng chin hó, kài thong-òh ê gâu thak-chheh, ũ pang-chān ông ê chái-tiâu. Put-hēng chiáh kàu 32 hòe chiū kòe-sin, che iā sī hō lāng siū<sup>n</sup> bē hiáu-tit. Liâu kun Sam-tiōng ê chō-gū iā sī chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> án-ne.

Chóng-kóng Liâu kun ũ 3 hāng thang chò chheng-liân ê bô-iū<sup>n</sup>:

1. Ū khiam-sùn ê tek-hēng. 2. Ài hiàn-sin chò Chú ê kang. 3. Chhang-miâ koh hēng-thak.

Phí-jîn ũ chih-tiòh i ê lēng-heng ê phoe ài góa khi Sai-lê hù chhe-jī sàng-chòng, góa chin ài thé-thiap, khó-sioh iū-piān chó-tòng, kàu chhe-jī mê chiap-tiòh phoe, sng sī kòe-sī lah, ta<sup>n</sup> bô thang koh kì<sup>n</sup> i ê bīn, tiòh siá kúi-kù lâi piáu su-tē ê chēng.



## 附錄4. 林燕臣〈追悼傳〉漢羅文改寫版

Teng Hongtin 丁鳳珍 改寫

# Tui-tō-toān. 追悼傳

Lâm Iàn-sîn kì 林燕臣 記

廖君三重，字名道修，chiū是我所ng-bāng ê賢友。「語云知弟莫若師」，ké-soeh講：Chai學生ê款式，獨獨是先生。Tùi明治30年（1897），教士會請我入中學助教，伊chiū屬tī 2年生，hit時差不多13歲，資質chhang-miâ，iā奮志勤讀，chin欣慕漢學，kì<sup>n</sup>-nā所考ê lóng是3名內。

Tī中學讀kàu卒業，hit時費先生（費仁純 Frederick R. Johnson）ū請伊幫chān kà 1年久，後來立志beh做傳教ê工，chiū入神學校，時間內勤勤講究tāk項ê學問，時間外chin熱心佈道，chin好口才，讀kàu卒業然後koh去東京入明治學院做4年生，卒業liáu koh入早稻田大學，可惜讀無lōa久舊時ê腦病koh起，chiū tng來台灣歇暍。Kàu chit pang koh去日本調養，無phah-sng去大阪ê海面洗浴，ka<sup>n</sup>是無lāt thang泅，chiah hō水tū--死，今年29歲。

照人teh可憐伊tùi細hàn讀冊kàu-ta<sup>n</sup>，teh備辦beh做教會ê路ēng，ta<sup>n</sup> kap世間soah，chiū伊ê才調學問lóng tòe水流去；教會iā欠chit ê jîn才，án-ne khiok ū影，m̄-kú上主ê旨意chin奧妙，hō咱bē-ē測tòk--tit。Kiám-chhái上主憐憫伊ê腦病，ài soah伊ê艱苦，所以早早召伊tng去hō伊享受永遠ê khòa<sup>n</sup>-oah，án-ne khiok iáu khah好，tiòh o-ló上主ê好意思。早前孔子ū chit ê學生姓顏名回；孔子o-ló伊德行chin好，kài thong-òh ê gâu讀冊，ū幫chān王ê才調。不幸食kàu 32歲chiū過身，che iā是hō人siū<sup>n</sup> bē hiáu-tit。廖君三重ê遭遇iā是chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> án-ne。

總講廖君ū 3項thang做青年ê模樣：

1. Ū謙遜ê德行。
2. 愛獻身做主ê工。
3. Chhang-miâ koh興讀。

鄙jîn ū chih-tiòh伊ê令兄ê批愛我去西螺赴初二送葬，我chin愛體貼，可惜郵便阻擋，kàu初二暝接tiòh批，算是過時lah，ta<sup>n</sup>無thang koh kì<sup>n</sup>伊ê面，tiòh寫幾句來表師弟ê情。

# Comparison of Vietnamese, Chinese, and Taiwanese animal-specific classifiers

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## Abstract

Vietnamese, Chinese, and Taiwanese are isolating languages with many classifiers. These three languages use animal-specific classifiers: *con* in Vietnamese, 隻 in Chinese, and *chiah* in Taiwanese. Only Vietnamese *con* can be used for all types of animals, such as humans, footed, and land animals. This is not the case with the other two languages. Animal-specific classifiers in these three languages can be merged with various noun objects, such as *một con dao* (a knife) in Vietnamese, 一隻手錶 (a watch) in Chinese, and *chit chiah toh-á* (a table) in Taiwanese.

This study examines the definitions and classifications of classifiers in three languages before delving into the underlying semantics of classifiers for indicating animals in Vietnamese, Chinese, and Taiwanese, as well as their usage and association. Finally, we examine the similarities and variations in animal classifiers amongst the three languages. This study discovered that animal classifiers in Vietnamese, Chinese, and Taiwanese can all be connected with: 1. land animals with legs; 2. boats; and 3. monsters. Typical nouns in Vietnamese and Chinese include: 1. objects that resemble people or animals; and 2. a single part of a pair of objects that moves when utilized.

Keywords: animal-specific classifiers, Vietnamese, Chinese, Taiwanese, comparison

# Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí kap Tâi-gí tông-bút liông-sû ê tùi-pí

Boi Thien LU

Kok-lip Sêng-kong Tâi-hák Tâi-oân Bûn-hák-só

Tì-têng TĒ<sup>n</sup>

Kok-lip Sêng-kong Tâi-hák Tâi-oân Bûn-hák-só

## Tiah-iàu

Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí kap Tâi-gí lóng siók kơ-lip-gí, jî-chhiá<sup>n</sup> lóng sī ũ chiok chē liông-sû ê gí-giân. Chit sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân lâi-té lóng ũ chit-ê choan-mîng kap tông-bút kap chò-hóe sú-iông ê liông-sû. Tiòh-sī Oát-lâm-gí ê *con*, Hôa-gí ê 隻 kap Tâi-gí ê *chiah*. M̄-koh, chit sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân lâi-té, kan-na Oát-lâm-gí ê *con* ē-sái kap só-ū bô-kâng ê tông-bút kap chò-hóe sú-iông. Kî-tha<sup>n</sup> n̄ng-chióng lóng bē-sái. Lēng-gōa, chit sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân ê tông-bút liông-sû koh ē-sái kap bô-kâng ê bēng-sû kap chò-hóe sú-iông. Chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> Oát-lâm-gí ê một *con* dao (chit ki to), Hôa-gí ê 一隻手錶 (chit ki pió-á) kap Tâi-gí ê *chit chiah toh-á*. Pún giân-kiù chí-chhut sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân chi-kan, thēng-hiān chhut sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng kâng-khoán ê iông-hoat: 1. Tī liók-tē téng (pau-hâm thi<sup>n</sup>-téng kap lióng-chhe) ũ kha ê tông-bút, pí-jū niáu-chhí, chiáu-á, chîm-á ê liông-sû, 2. Kap chûn-chiah chò-hóe, 3. Iau-mô kúi-koài. Oát-lâm-gí kap Hôa-gí kâng-khoán ê iông-hoat sī “sin-khu pō-ūi sēng-tù ê tan-it pō-hūn” kap “gōa-piáu khòa<sup>n</sup>--khi-lâi chhiū<sup>n</sup> lāng iáh-sī tông-bút ê bút-thé”. Tâi-gí m̄-koán sī kap Oát-lâm-gí iáh-sī Hôa-gí, tū-liáu téng-thâu kóng-tiòh ê sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng iông-hoat kâng-khoán í-góa, tiòh bô kî-tha<sup>n</sup> kâng-khoán ê iông-hoat.

Koan-kiān-sû: tông-bút, liông-sû, Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí, Tâi-gí

## 1. Tâh òe-thâu

Kap kî-tha sù-lūi (bêng-sù, tōng-sù) bô-kâng, liōng-sù sī chit-ê hông phî<sup>n</sup>-siu<sup>n</sup> ê sù-lūi. Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí kap Tâi-gí lóng sī ũ chin chē liōng-sù ê gí-giân, Dixon (1982) chí-chhut ũ liōng-sù ê gí-giân pêng-kun ũ 50 kàu 100 ê liōng-sù. Tī ũ liōng-sù ê gí-giân lâi-té, bô-kâng ê bêng-sù ē kap bô-kâng ê liōng-sù chò-hóe sú-iōng, nā kâng chit-ê bêng-sù kap bô-kâng liōng-sù kap chò-hóe sú-iōng tiòh ē ũ bô-kâng ê ì-gī.

Chiam-tùi Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí kap Tâi-gí sī tē-it gí-giân ê sú-iōng-chiá lâi-kóng, liōng-sù ê pōe-kéng tì-sek tī òh lêng-gōa chit-chióng ũ liōng-sù ê gí-giân lâi kóng ũ sī sī chiá<sup>n</sup> chhian-î (positive transfer) ê hiân-siōng. Í Hôa-gí kap Tâi-gí chò tē-it gí-giân ê sú-iōng-chiá lâi khòa<sup>n</sup>, in tī soán-ték Oát-lâm-gí tōng-bút liōng-sù ê sī, sī khah kán-tan--ê. In-ūi só-ū tōng-bút lóng ē-sái iōng *con* chit-ê liōng-sù. M̄-koh, nā í Oát-lâm-gí chò tē-it gí-giân ê sú-iōng-chiá lâi kóng, tiòh-sī hū chhian-î (negative transfer) ê hiân-siōng. In-ūi m̄-sī só-ū ê *con* lóng ē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup> chò Hôa-gí ê 隻, iah-sī Tâi-gí ê *chiah*.

Tī Oát-lâm-gí lâi-té, só-ū tōng-bút ê liōng-sù lóng sī *con*. M̄-koh tī Hôa-gí, Tâi-gí kap Kín-tang-òe lâi-té, bô-kâng ê tōng-bút ē sú-iōng bô-kâng ê liōng-sù. Chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> Hôa-gí, tū-liáu 隻, koh ũ 條, 尾, 匹, 頭, téng. Tâi-gí tū-liáu siōng chiáp thia<sup>n</sup>--tiòh ê *chiah* koh ũ *bóe*, *liáp*, *mi*, téng. Chiam-tùi seng-oáh tī liók-tē, bô kha ê tōng-bút. Pí-jû chōa, Oát-lâm-gí lóng iōng *con*, Hôa-gí iōng 條, Tâi-gí sī iōng *bóe*. Ē-sái kóng Oát-lâm-gí khah chù-tiōng bút-thé ê siók-sèng. Kî-tha<sup>n</sup> nng chióng gí-giân chù-tiōng bút-thé ê gōa-hêng (kám ũ kha, tng-tiâu). Tai (1994) chí-chhut, *con* ē-sái kap só-ū ê tōng-bút khng chò-hóe sú-iōng. Chit-kóa tōng-bút tī Hôa-gí lâi-té ē-sái hun-chò gō lūi: 隻 iōng tī sî-ki kha ê tōng-bút (niau-á, káu-á) kap thâng-thōa. 頭 iōng tī khah tōa-khō ê sî-kha tōng-bút (gū, hó). 條 iōng tī tng-tiâu-hêng ê tōng-bút (chōa, hī), 匹 kan-na iōng tī bé-á. 尾 ē iōng tī hī-á (chú-iàu sī iōng tī Tâi-gí) (Tai 1994, cf. Le & Chen 2023).

Lēng-gōa, choan-m̄ng kap tōng-bút chò-hóe sú-iōng ê liōng-sû (Oát-lâm-gí ê *con*, Hôa-gí ê 隻 kap Tâi-gí ê *chiah*) koh ē-sái kap bô-kâng ê bēng-sû kap chò-hóe sú-iōng. Chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> *một con tem* (chit tiu<sup>n</sup> iū-phiò), 一隻手錶 (chit ki pió-á), chit chiah chùn, chit-kóa bēng-sû lóng m̄-sī tōng-bút, m̄-koh lóng ē-tàng kap tōng-bút liōng-sû kap chò-hóe sú-iōng. Jî-chhiá<sup>n</sup> tī chit sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân lâi-té, Oát-lâm-gí ê *con* m̄-nā ē-sái kap só-ū ê tōng-bút kap chò-hóe sú-iōng, mā ē-sái kap chin chē bút-thé kap chò-hóe sú-iōng, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> sin-thé ê pō-ūi, seng-oah iōng-phín, kiàn-tiòk, kau-thong kang-khū téng.

Pún lūn-būn ê gián-kiù būn-tê ū sa<sup>n</sup>--ê: 1. Chit sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân ē kap tōng-bút chò-hóe sú-iōng ê liōng-sû ê tèk-tiám kap iōng-hoat sī siá<sup>n</sup>-mih? 2. Chit sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân ē kap tōng-bút chò-hóe sú-iōng ê liōng-sû, iōng-hoat téng-thâu ū siá<sup>n</sup>-mih kiōng-tōng kap bô-kâng ê só-chāi? 3. Chit-kóa kiōng-tōng kap bô-kâng tī tui-gōa gí-giân kàu-hák lâi kóng ê ì-gī kap án-chóa<sup>n</sup> èng-iōng?

Chit phi<sup>n</sup> lūn-būn ē seng siāu-kài sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân ê liōng-sû, koh chiam-tui múi chit-chióng gí-giân lâi-té choan-m̄ng kap tōng-bút kap chò-hóe sú-iōng ê liōng-sû lâi siāu-kài i ê ki-pún gí-ì kap iōng-hoat, koh hun-sek gí-ì kap iōng-hoat ê koan-liân-seng. Siōng-bóe ē chiam-tui chit sa<sup>n</sup>-ê liōng-sû chò pí-kàu. Thè Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí kap Tâi-gí hák-sip-chiá thê-kiōng tui-pí ê chu-liâu.

## 2. Liōng-sû ê tēng-gī kap hun-lūi

### 2.1. Oát-lâm-gí liōng-sû ê siōng-koan gián-kiù

Nguyễn Đình Hòa (1957) chí chhut Oát-lâm-gí pau-hâm tãi-khai 200 ê liōng-sû, iú-koan Oát-lâm-gí ê gián-kiù ū hui-siōng chē (Nguyễn Đình Hòa 1957; Lê Biên 1998; Hui 2005; Simpson & Ngo 2018; Phan 2019). Koh ū liōng-sû ê tui-pí (Pham 2008, pí-kàu *con* kap *cái*), Oát-lâm-gí liōng-sû ê gí-hoat kiat-kò (Simpson & Ngo 2018), Oát-lâm-gí liōng-sû tui gōa-kok hák-seng

hák-sip khùn-lân ê gián-kiù, (Nguyễn Thiện Nam 2004; Nguyễn Thị Hai 2006; Tran 2011; Trịnh Thị Mai 2019).

Chiam-tùi Oát-lâm-gí liông-sû ê hun-lūi, Nguyễn Đình Hòa (1957) kā liông-sû hun-chò sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng: jîn-lūi, hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bít-thé kap bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê. Jîn-lūi koh thiah hun-chò it-poa<sup>n</sup>--ê (chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: *người, kẻ*) kap tэк-sû--ê, tэк-sû--ê koh iù hun-chò kám ũ chhin-chiā<sup>n</sup> koan-hē ê sū-lūi.

Nā-sī í liông-sû lâi khòa<sup>n</sup> bít-lí sè-kài hoān-ûi-hòa, ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh Oát-lâm-lâng ē hun-chò nng--ê, tiòh-sī tōng-bút ê *con* (*con chim*, chiáu-á) kap hui tōng-bút ê *cái* (*cái ghế, í-á*) (Lý Toàn Thắng 1996), m̄-koh *con* ũ sī mā ē kap hui tōng-bút ê bēng-sû kap chò-hóe sú-iōng.

Oát-lâm-gí ê liông-sû ũ kò-thé-hòa chit-ê bēng-sû, tiòh-sī kóng *con bò* (chiah gū), *bò* (gū), *bò Hà Lan* (Hô-lân-gū) sī bô-kâng--ê. *Bò* (gū) tan-tók sú-iōng sī bô piáu-sī kò-thé ê iōng-hoat, tū-liáu ũ tэк-piát ê jí-kéng (Lý Toàn Thắng 1996).

Ūi jí-hoat ê hong-bīn lâi khòa<sup>n</sup>, Oát-lâm-gí ê liông-sû ē kap bēng-sû kap chò-hóe sú-iōng, ē-tàng hun-chò ē-té sa<sup>n</sup> lūi: 1. It-tēng ài ũ liông-sû (obligatory-classifier nouns), chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: *một con mèo* (chit chiah niau-á); 2. Liông-sû ē-sái ũ, mā ē-sái bô (optional-classifier nouns), chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: *hai phòng, hai cái phòng* (nng keng pâng-keng), 3. Bô sú-iōng liông-sû (non-classified nouns), chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: *ba nước* (sa<sup>n</sup> kok) (Ngô & Simpson 2018).

Pō-hūn hák-chiá koh chìn chít-pō thó-lūn sò-liông-sû, liông-sû kap bēng-sû chi-kan ê koan-hē. Hun-piát sī [[Num Cl] N] iáh-sī [Num [Cl N]] ê chơ-háp (Ngô & Simpson 2018; Phan 2019). Chàn-sēng thâu chit-ê ê goân-in sī in-ūi chít-kóa jí-giân nā-sī sò-liông-sû kap liông-sû kiát-háp tiòh ē kái-piàn i ê thák-im. Chàn-sēng āu chit-ê ê goân-in sī in-ūi bô-kâng ê bēng-sû ài kap bô-kâng ê liông-sû kap chò-hóe sú-iōng.

Tùi liông-sû tùi-pí lâi khòa<sup>n</sup>, Pham (2008) pí-kàu *con* kap *cái*, che mā-sī Oát-lâm-gí siōng chiáp iōng tiòh ê liông-sû. It-poa<sup>n</sup> jīn-ūi thâu chit-ê sī iōng tī ũ sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê, āu chit-ê sī iōng tī bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê, m̄-koh mā sī koh-ū chìn

chê lē-gōa ê chêng-hóng (Dang 2022).

## 2.2. Hôa-gí liōng-sû ê siong-koan gián-kiù

Hô Bân-sūn kap Chiā Cheng-tiân (2010: 551) pí-kàu liōng-sû kap hun-lūi-sû, in kóng “in-ūi liōng-sû ū sit-chit ê gí-ì, só-í chór-tòng sò-sû kap hêng-iông-sû tùi bêng-sû ê siu-sek. Lēng-gōa chit hong-bīn, hun-lūi-sû kan-ta thêng-hiān bêng-sû pún-sin ê tēk-teng, bô kòng-hiān jīm-hô kī-tha<sup>n</sup> ê gí-ì. Só-pái, sò-sû kap hêng-iông-sû ē-sái thàu-kòe hun-lūi-sû lâi siu-sek bêng-sû.” Nā-sī kin-kì téng-thâu ê tēng-gī lâi khòa<sup>n</sup>, tōng-bút ê liōng-sû eng-kai sī hun-lūi-sû chia<sup>n</sup> tiòh.

Tai (1992, 1994), Tân (2000) chí-chhut Hôa-gí liōng-sû siāng-sī pau-hâm nng-ê bô-kāng ê siók-sèng. Tiòh-sī kè-liōng (measure word) kap hun-lūi (classifier). Ailen (1977) koh chí-chhut, kè-liōng ê sū chún-chāi tī tãi-to-sò ê gí-giān lâi-té, m̄-koh hun-lūi kan-na chhut-hiān tī chit-kóa gí-giān lâi-té (ùì Lín Ngá-iông 2012 ín-iông).

Chiam-tùi Hôa-gí liōng-sû ê hun-lūi, Mandarin Chinese Daily News Dictionary of Measure Words (Hoang et al 1997; cf. Chiā Kiān-hiông 2003: 74) kā Hôa-gí liōng-sû hun-chò chhit-chióng:

1. It-poa<sup>n</sup> liōng-sû (General measure words), chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>:  
本 (pún), 支 (kì), 群 (kùn), 束 (sok);
2. Sū-kiā<sup>n</sup> liōng-sû (Event measure words), chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>:  
場 (tiū<sup>n</sup>), 椿 (khit), 頓 (tng), 記 (kì);
3. Hun-lūi liōng-sû (Categorical measure words), chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>:  
種 (chióng), 類 (lūi), 樣 (iū<sup>n</sup>), 式 (sek);
4. Kīn-sū-tit liōng-sû (Approximation measure words), chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>:  
絲 (si), 股 (kó), 干 (kan), 身 (sin);
5. Iông-khì liōng-sû (Container measure words), chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>:  
包 (pau), 箱 (siu<sup>n</sup>), 桶 (tháng), 籃 (nâ);
6. Phiau-chún liōng-sû (Standard measure words), chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>:  
磅 (pōng), 公尺 (kong-chhioh), 打 (tá), 美金 (Bí-kim);



7. Oáh-tâng liông-sû (Activity measure words), chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>:  
拳 (kûn), 圈 (khian), 下 (hā), 遍 (piàn).

Nā kin-kì téng-thâu ê hun-lūi, 隻 siòk it-poa<sup>n</sup> ê liông-sû. Pún lūn-bûn thó-lūn ê tōng-bút liông-sû mā sī í it-poa<sup>n</sup> liông-sû ùi chú. Mã kin-kì chit-ê hun-lūi hong-hoat, pún gián-kiù ē sú-iōng liông-sû chit-ê sū, m̄-sī hun-lūi-sû. Kap Oát-lâm-gí kâng-khoán, pō-hūn hák-chiá mā chiam-tùi Hôa-gí lâi-té [[Num Cl] N] iáh-sī [Num [Cl N]] chơ-háp kiát-kòe lâi hun-sek.

### 2.3. Tâi-gí liông-sû ê siong-koan gián-kiù

Iú-koan Tâi-gí liông-sû ê gián-kiù mā-ū chin chē, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> Iū<sup>n</sup> Siù-hong (1991), Ông Iòk-tek (1993, 2000), Ô Him-lín (1994), Iâu Êng-siōng, Tân Hián-kok (2003), Tiu<sup>n</sup> Pêng-seng (2007), Iú Siok-jú (2014), Tân Bêng-eng (2020), Tè Hō-it (1998:11) téng. Thó-lūn 24 ê liông-sû, hun-chò 4 lūi: Chéng-thé ê pō-hūn (*bóe/ bé, lúí*), hêng-chōng (*ki, liáp*), pài-liát hong-sek (*ngeh, koān*) kap kī-tha<sup>n</sup> (*ê, kha*). Lí Bí-lêng (1998) siu-lòk 57 ê kò-thé liông-sû, koh hun-chò 4 lūi: 1. tōng-bút (animacy) ê kò-thé liông-sû, 2. hêng-chōng (shape) ê kò-thé liông-sû, 3. bút-thé hián-tù ê pō-ūi tòng-chò hun-lūi kin-kì ê kò-thé liông-sû, 4. tū-liáu í-siōng ê kò-thé liông-sû í-gōa ê kī-tha<sup>n</sup> Tâi-gí kò-thé liông-sû. Tân Bêng-eng (2020) kiàn-lip 83 ê Tâi-gí hun-lūi-sû chheng-toa<sup>n</sup>, kī-tiong 65 ê sī hun-lūi-sû, 18 ê sī hun-lūi-sû kiam liông-sû. Hun-lūi-sû (classifiers, C) tiòh chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> “chit liáp kam-á”. Liông-sû (measure words, M) tiòh chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> “chit siu<sup>n</sup> kam-á”.

Lēng-gōa, koh ū ùi to gí-giân ê kak-tōe lâi hun-sek, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> Khu Siong-hūn (2007) chiam-tùi Bân-lâm-gí, Kheh-gí ê liông-sû kap Kok-gí pí-kàu; Lâm Ngá-iōng (2012) ê Hàn-Thài-gí bêng-liông-sû tùi-pí hun-sek kap kàu-hák èng-iōng; Lâu Chēng-gí (2020) chiam-tùi lióng-hōa<sup>n</sup> Hôa-gí kàu-châi liông-sû pí-kàu, í 木 (bók) pō-kiá<sup>n</sup> chòe-lē, téng-téng.

### 3. Bô-kâng jí-giân ê tōng-bút liōng-sû pí-kàu kap hun-sek

#### 3.1. Bô-kâng jí-giân ê tōng-bút liōng-sû

Kheh-gí (Hái-liòk Kheh-gí) sī iōng *zhag* (*chiah*) lâi tòng-chò “bân-lêng liōng-sû”, *zhag* ē-sái kap ũ sè<sup>n</sup>-miā ê bêng-sû chò-hóe sú-iōng, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: chiáu-á, siū-lūi, jîn-lūi ê liōng-sû, mā ē-sái kap bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā ê bêng-sû kap chò-hóe sú-iōng, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> kóe-chí, í-á, pió-á, chûn, chí<sup>n</sup>, jī. Nā-sī bô khak-têng liōng-sû, tiòh ē-sái iōng *zhag*, só-í ē-sái kóng *zhag* sī “bân-lêng liōng-sû” (Khu Siong-hún 2007: 21). Kheh-gí Gáng-gí (Gan Chinese) jí-hē ê lêng, chheh-pau, siu<sup>n</sup>-á, phōng-kó, chheh-kè, óa<sup>n</sup>, gîn-chi<sup>n</sup>, tī tōng-bút hong-bīn, tū-liáu sī ki kha, chit ki bóe ê tōng-bút, kī-tha<sup>n</sup> lóng-sī iōng *zhag*<sup>1</sup> (Lâu Tìn-hoat, nd). Pō-hūn Kheh-gí ê hong-giân *zhag* ē-sái kap lêng chò-hóe sú-iōng, m̄-koh sī iōng tī hū-bīn ê ì-sù. Chit-ê iōng-hoat kap Oát-lâm-gí ũ sio-kâng, mā ũ bô sio-kâng ê só-chāi. Oát-lâm-gí ê *con* āu-piah ē-sái ka-siōng lêng, piáu-sī lêng niâ, bô jīm-hô hū-bīn ê ì-sù. M̄-koh mā ē-sái ka it-poa<sup>n</sup> bêng-sû piáu-sī hū-bīn, iah-sī ka hū-bīn bêng-sû piáu-sī hū-bīn.

Lêng-gōa, Kng-tang-ōe mā-sī iōng *zek* (*chiah*) kap tōng-bút bêng-sû háp chò-hóe sú-iōng. M̄-koh tū-liáu kap tōng-bút bêng-sû chò-hóe sú-iōng í-gōa, koh-ū kī-tha<sup>n</sup> ê iōng-hoat, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: 1. kè-sng sêng-tùi lâi-té ê chit-ê (bák-chiu), 2. chí chit-lūi iah-sī chit-chióng (gân-sek, jí-giân), 3. kè-sng jīm-hô chûn-lūi ê mih-kiā<sup>n</sup> (chûn), 4. kè-sng koa, 5. kè-sng kī-tha<sup>n</sup> tèk-piát ê mih-kiā<sup>n</sup> (pió-á)<sup>2</sup>.

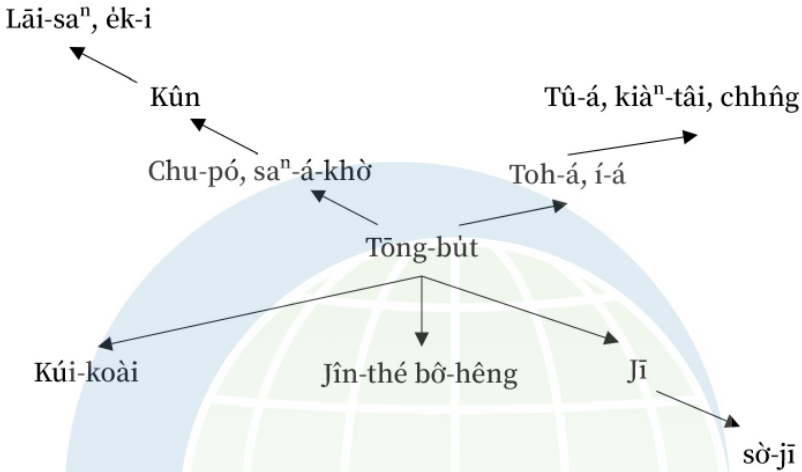
Thài-gí *tua* sī tōng-bút ê liōng-sû, ē iōng tī ũ sī-ki kha ê mih-kiā<sup>n</sup>, iah-sī khò<sup>n</sup>--khì-lâi ũ sī-ki kha ê mih-kiā<sup>n</sup>, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: toh-á, í-á, phōng-í, khò, sa<sup>n</sup> téng-téng. Lêng-gōa, Tī sit-chè ê èng-iōng téng-thâu, *tua* sek-iōng hoân-úi mā ũ iōng tī kap sī-ki kha bô koan-hē ê mih-kiā<sup>n</sup> téng-koân, tì-sú i piàn-chò sī sú-iōng pîn-lút hui-siōng koân, tē jī thong-iōng ê liōng-sû. Chhin-

<sup>1</sup> Pún-thó jí-giân chu-goân bāng-chām (本土語言資源網): <<https://mhi.moe.edu.tw/resource/TSMhiResource-000742/?lang=/004/05/>>

<sup>2</sup> Oát-tiám (粵典): <<https://words.hk/zidin/%E9%9A%BB#w87739>>

chhiū<sup>n</sup>: lók-im-ki, sò-jī, gih-thah, hám-kià<sup>n</sup>, hip-siòng-ki (Tiu<sup>n</sup> Cheng & Ông Hiáu-thiat 2014: 256). Ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh, Tâi-gí kap Oát-lâm-gí tī tōng-bút liōng-sû kap bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miã ê bêng-sû mã ũ kâng-khoán ê iōng-hoat, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> jī, sò-jī (Oát-lâm-gí), toh-á, í-á (Tâi-gí).

Tô-pió 1. Thài-gí tua liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat (Aikhenvald: 469)



Pún chat hun-piát siâu-kài múi chióng jí-giân tōng-bút liōng-sû ê jí-ì, koh siâu-kài liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat, chòe-âu sī jí-ì kap iōng-hoat chi-kan ê koan-liân-sèng. Pún lūn-būn kóng-tiòh lūi-hêng ê lē, tãi-piáu kóng hit-ê lūi-hêng ũ tōng-bút liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat, bô tãi-piáu hit-ê lūi-hêng lâi-té oân-choân lóng-sī iōng tōng-bút liōng-sû.

### 3.2. Oát-lâm-gí tōng-bút liōng-sû con ê hun-sek

#### 3.2.1. Con ê ki-pún jí-gī

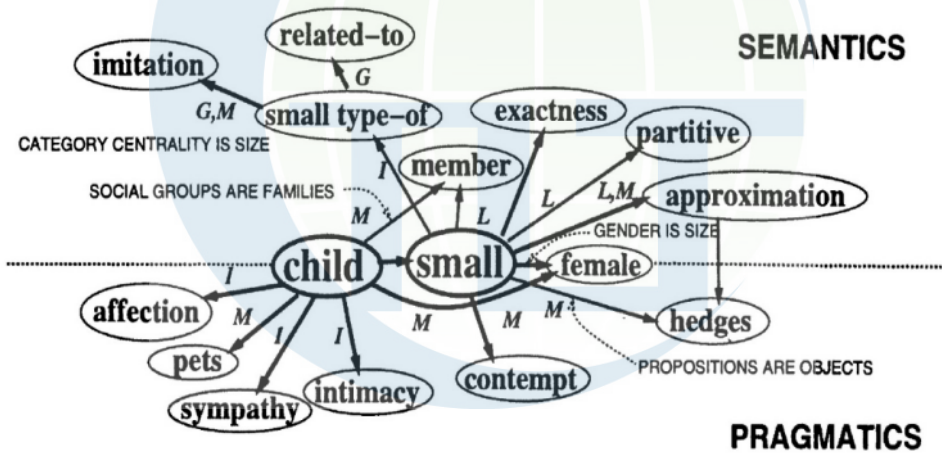
Kin-kì sòa<sup>n</sup>-téng sū-tián “con” ê ì-sù kái-soeh: 1. Siók āu-tâi ê lāng iáh-sī tōng-bút, ũ sè<sup>n</sup>-miã ê lāng iáh-sī tōng-bút (*cha con* (a-pa kap gín-á)), chò bêng-sû sú-iōng; 2. Chí tōng-bút ê kò-thé (*một con mèo* (chit chiah niau-á)), chò liōng-sû sú-iōng; 3. Hêng-iōng sè--ê, hù-siók--ê (*bát con* (sè-óa<sup>n</sup>)), chò hêng-iōng-sû sú-iōng; 4. Chí kap tōng-bút gōa-hêng khah sio-kâng ê mih-kiã<sup>n</sup> (*con đường* (Chit tiâu lō)), chò liōng-sû sú-iōng (ē-sái kap sò-sû chò-hóe sú-iōng); 4. Chí ũ hū-bīn ì-gī ê lú-sèng chheng-hor (*con em* (sió-mōe)), chò liōng-sû sú-iōng (bē-sái kap sò-sû chò-hóe sú-iōng), 5. Chí lāng ê gōa-

hêng, kháu-gí iōng-hoat (to *con* (tōa-kho)), chò hêng-iōng-sû sú-iōng.

Pham (2008) thêh-chhut, *con* ê lāk-chióng iōng-hoat, hun-piát sī: 1. Gín-á, 2. Ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê; 3. Hók-háp bêng-sû, 4. Chhin-chiâ<sup>n</sup> koan-hē; 5. Sè-hāng ê mih-kiā<sup>n</sup>; 6. Kî-tha<sup>n</sup> (liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat). Koh chí-chhut kóng iōng lâi chí ũ sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê, chit-khoán iōng-hoat siōng chē (23.97%, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> *con gấu* (chit chiah hîm)), chit-chióng iōng-hoat kap liōng-sû kâng-khoán, tē jī miā sī piáu-sī chhin-chiâ<sup>n</sup> ê koan-hē (19.39%, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> *bà con* (chhin-chiâ<sup>n</sup>)).

Tùi gí-ì lâi kóng, Oát-lâm-gí *con* ē-sái kin-kì Jurafsky (1996) thê-chhut ê *diminutive* lâi chìn-hêng thó-lūn, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> tô -pió 2:

Tô-pió 2. Diminutive ê gí-gī (Jurafsky 1996: 542)



Tī tô-pió 2 ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh ùi “child” ián-seng chhut bô-kâng ê ì-sù, kî-tiong pau-hâm siōng tit-chiap koan-hē ê sī sió, kám-chêng, tōng-bút-phôa<sup>n</sup>, tōng-chêng, chhin-bit-kám, lú-sèng, sêng-oân. Chiam-tùi Oát-lâm-gí lâi kóng, *con* ki-pún ê ì-sù tiòh-sī ùi gín-á (child) ián-seng chhut-lâi ê. Kâng-khoán mā ũ sió, lú-sèng, sêng-oân ê ì-sù, jî-chhiá<sup>n</sup> ũ chit-kóa ì-sù ũ bô-kâng gí-hoat kong-lêng, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> kóng:

1. Anh ấy có hai đứa con.

I ũ n̄ng liōng-sû gín-á

I ũ n̄ng ê gín-á. (bêng-sû)

2. Con sẽ đi mua giúp mẹ ạ.

Gín-á ē khì bé tàu-sa<sup>n</sup>-kāng a-bú gí-khì-sû

Góa ē khì kā lí bé. (tâi-bêng-sû)

3. Em ấy rất thích cún con.

I chiok kah-ì káu-á-kiá<sup>n</sup>

I chiok kah-ì káu-á-kiá<sup>n</sup>. (hêng-iōng-sû)

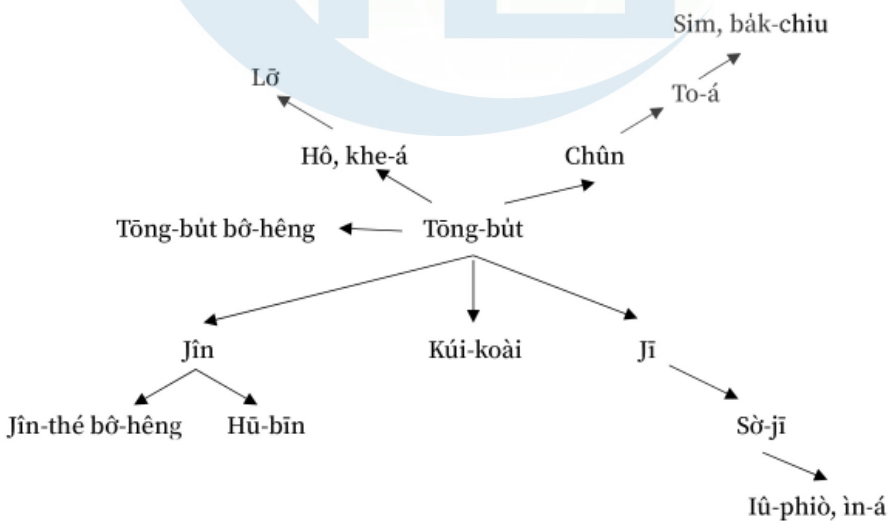
4. Tôi mới nhận nuôi một con mèo.

Góa tú-chiah jīn chhī chit liōng-sû niau-á

Góa tú jīn-iōng chit chiah niau-á. (liōng-sû)

Lēng-gōa, *con* ê thâu-chêng nā-sī ka *cái*, āu-piah koh ka iú-tēng (definite), tiòh-sī *cái con ấy*, thong-siōng lóng sī iōng lâi chí lú-sèng, jī-chhiá<sup>n</sup> ũ hū-bīn ê ì-sù, sī bô kai chun-tiōng ê kóng-hoat. Chit-chióng iōng-hoat tiòh bē koh ka sò-sû.

Tô-pió 3. Oát-lâm-gí *con* liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat



### 3.2.2. Con ê liōng-sū iōng-hoat

Oát-lâm-gí ê *con* tī Oát-lâm-gí (Hoàng Phê 2003: 198) ê kái-soeh sī 1. Iōng lâi chí chit-kóa tōng-bút kò-thé ê tan-ūi; 2. Iōng lâi chí chit-kóa ē tít-tāng iáh-sī gōa-hêng sêng tōng-bút, mih-kiā<sup>n</sup> ê tan-ūi; 3. Iōng lâi chí it-poa<sup>n</sup> iáh-sī chhin-bit ê hū-lú, cha-bó kò-jîn 4. (Kháu-gí, khng tī hêng-iōng-sū āu-piah) hêng-thé (thong-siōng leh chí lāng), sin-châi.

Pún gián-kiù chham-khó Nguyễn Đình Hòa (1957) tùi *con* ê sa<sup>n</sup> ê hun-lūi. 1. Ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê (lāng, tōng-bút), 2. Bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê, 3. M̄-sī jîn-lūi ê chūn-châi bít-thé (kúi). Kin-kì Nguyễn Đình Hòa (1957), tē-it-chióng sī jîn-lūi, m̄-koh pún gián-kiù kā tē-it-chióng hō-chò ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê, koh ka-siōng ē tít-tāng--ê. In-ūi Oát-lâm-gí ê sit-bút m̄-sī iōng *con* lâi chò liōng-sū. Pún gián-kiù siu-chip 51 ê bêng-sū/ chióng-lūi sú-iōng *con* lâi chò liōng-sū, kī-tiong số-ū ê tōng-bút tòng-chò chit-lūi. Chit 51 chióng ē hun-chò 3 lūi, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> tô-pió 4:

Tô-pió 4. Oát-lâm-gí liōng-sū *con* ê hun-lūi

Hun-lūi	Lâi-iōng		Kí-lē	
Ū sè <sup>n</sup> -miā--ê	lāng	it-poa <sup>n</sup>	Con người (lāng)	
		Hū-bīn ê ì-sù	Con bạc (kiáu-tô)	
	tōng-bút	liók-tē (hâm thi <sup>n</sup> -téng--ê)	ū kha	Con gà (ke-á)
			bô kha	Con rắn (chôa)
		chúi--nih	ū kha	Con cua (chîm-á)
			bô kha	Con cá (hî-á)
	bī sêng-bút		Con vi khuẩn (sè-khún)	

(Āu 1 iáh koh ū)

(Téng 1 iáh koh ũ)

Hun-lūi	Lāi-iông		Kí-lē	
Bô sè <sup>n</sup> -miā--ê	ē tín-tāng	sin-thé pō-ūi		Con tim (sim)
		iông-phín (khò gōa-lék hō bût-thé tín-tāng)	tōa-hêng	Con thuyền (chûn)
			sè-hêng	Con quay (kan-lòk)
	bē tín-tāng	gōa-hêng sêng tōng-bút ték-sek		Con búp bê (ang-á)
		Oan-oan khiau-khiau ê mih-kiā <sup>n</sup>	tōa-hêng	Con sông (hō)
			sè-hêng	Con số (sò-jī)
		kí-tha <sup>n</sup>	Con tem (iû-phiò)	
M̄-sī jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bût-thé	iau-mô kúi-koài		Con ma (kúi)	

Tī ũ sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê ê hun-lūi lāi-té, ē-sái hun-chò jîn-lūi kap tōng-bút. Chiam-tùi jîn-lūi, koh ē-sái hun-chò thong-chheng--ê, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> *con người* (lâng), mā ē-sái sī kù-thé chheng-hō, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> *con rế* (kiá<sup>n</sup>-sài), *con dâu* (sin-pū). Chit lūi bêng-sū ê *con* thâu-chêng bē-sái ka sò-sū. Nā-sī beh ka sò-sū, tiòh ài lêng-gōa seng koh ka chit-ê liông-sū, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> *một người con dâu* (chit-ūi sin-pū), *một thặng con rế* (chit-ê kiá<sup>n</sup>-sài). Lêng-gōa, chit-chióng sī ũ hū-bîn ê sū, pí-jû kóng siáu-jîn, kiáu-tô, chit lūi sū ē-sái tit-chiap ka sò-sū khí-lih, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> *hai con diên* (nng ê siáu-jîn), *một con bạc* (chit ê kiáu-tô). Chiam-tùi tōng-bút ê pō-hūn, só-ū ê tōng-bút lóng ē-sái kap *con* chò-hóe sú-iông. M̄-koh, ũ-tiòh beh ē-tàng hun-piát Hôa-gí kap Tâi-gí lāi-té bô-kâng ê tōng-bút ũ khó-lêng sú-iông bô-kâng ê liông-sū. Só-í, pún-bún tī chia kâ tōng-bút kin-kù bô-kâng ê seng-oáh só-chāi, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> kám-sī tī liók-tē (pau-hâm thi<sup>n</sup>-téng poe ê tōng-bút) kap kám ũ kha lāi hun-lūi, pí-jû gū sī [+liók-tē] [+ū kha], hī sī [-liók-tē] [-ū kha].

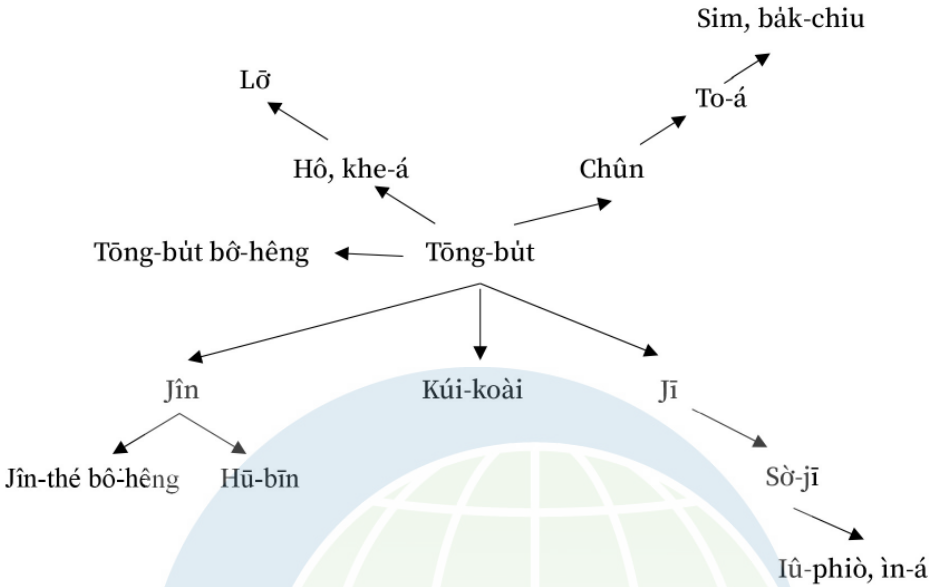
Tē jī lūi hun-lūi sī bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā ê bût-thé, chit lūi hun-chò ē-sái tín-tāng

kap bē-sái tín-tăng--ê. [+tín-tăng] hun-chò sin-thé pō-ūi, pí-jû *tím* (sim) iáh-sī *mắt* (bàk-chiu). Sui-jiân sī sin-thé pō-ūi, m̄-koh in-ūi bô-hoat-tō tan-tòk chûn-châi, só-í ê kui-lūi tī bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā ê bút-thé. [+tín-tăng] ê lêng-gōa chít-chióng sī iông-phín, chít-kóa iông-phín sī thong-kòe gōa-pō ê lèk-liông chiah ē-sái tín-tăng, koh ē-sái hun-chò tōa-hêng kap sè-hêng, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> *bốn con dao* (sì ki to) sī [-sè<sup>n</sup>-miā][+tín-tăng] [-tōa-hêng], *sáu con thuyền* (lák chiah chûn) sī [-sè<sup>n</sup>-miā][+tín-tăng] [+tōa-hêng]. Nā-sī [-tín-tăng], mā ē-sái hun-chò [+tōa-hêng] kap [-tōa-hêng], kí-tiong [-sè<sup>n</sup>-miā] [-tín-tăng] [+tōa-hêng] ê ũ *một con sông* (chít tiâu hô), [-sè<sup>n</sup>-miā] [-tín-tăng] [-tōa-hêng] chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> *một con số* (chít ê sò-jī). [-sè<sup>n</sup>-miā] [-tín-tăng] ê mih-kiā<sup>n</sup> thong-siông lóng ũ oan-oan khiau-khiâu ê tèk-tiám, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> téng-thâu kóng ê hô, sò-jī, iáh-sī kóng thê-hông, bûn-jī. Lêng-gōa, tī Oát-lâm-gí káu-gí lâi-té, chiam-tùi chít-kóa tiân-chú sán-phín mā ē iông *con* lâi tòng-chò liông-sû, m̄-koh che sī chít-ê bô chêng-sek ê kóng-hoat. Chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>, ũ chít-ê lêng leh kóng tiân-náu, chhiú-ki-á, chia, ē-sái kóng *Tôi muốn mua con này* (Góa beh bé chít chiah). Bē-sái kóng *\*1 con vi tính, \*1 con xe, \*1 con điện thoại*.

Tē sa<sup>n</sup> lūi sī hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-châi bút-thé, chít lūi tōa-pō-hûn sī chí ũ hū-bīn ì-sù ê bút-thé, pí-jû kóng *ba con ma* (sa<sup>n</sup> chiah kúi), *năm con quái vật* (gō chiah koài-bút). Chít lūi-hêng kap *con điên* (siáu-jîn), *con bạc* (kiáu-tô) bô-kâng, sī in-ūi bô chûn-châi tī hiân-sit seng-oah lâi-té, jī-chhiá<sup>n</sup> it-poa<sup>n</sup> kan-na sī chí kúi-koài, nā-sī piáu-sī sîn-bêng, thong-siông sī iông *vị* (ūi), chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> kóng *một vị thần tiên* (chít ũi sîn-bêng).



Tô-pió 5. Oát-lâm-gí *con* liông-sû ê iông-hoat



3.2.3. *Con* ê gí-ì kap liông-sû iông-hoat ê koan-liân-sèng

*Con* kap *kî-tha*<sup>n</sup> n̄ng chióng gí-giân bô-kâng ê só-chāi sī *con* pún-sin tan-tòk chún-chāi chiū í-keng sī bêng-sû, ũ gín-á ê ì-sù. Nā-sī *con* sī bêng-sû, *con* ê liông-sû tiòh sī “đứa” iah-sī “người”, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> “môt đứa con”, “môt người con”. Koh in-ūi *con* sī gín-á, ũ sè<sup>n</sup>-miā, só-í mā ē-sái kap ũ sè<sup>n</sup>-miā ê bêng-sû khng chò-hóe sú-iông. Lêng-gōa, in-ūi gín-á sī ē tín-tāng ê bít-thé. Só-í mā ē-sái kap ē tín-tāng iah-sī khòa<sup>n</sup>--khì-lái ē tín-tāng ê bít-thé khng chò-hóe sú-iông.

3.3. Hôa-gí tông-bút liông-sû *chiah* ê hun-sek

3.3.1. 隻 ê ki-pún gí-ì

Kin-kì “Soat-bùn kái-jī”, *chiah* ê kái-soeh sī “鳥一枚也。从又持隹。持一隹曰隻，二隹曰雙。之石切”。 Nā kin-kì Hàn-tián, *chiah* ê kái-sek sī “liông-sû: chit ~ ke; tan-tòk--ê, khah chió--ê: ~ sin. Phì<sup>n</sup> chóa ~ *chiah* (片紙~字)”. Kin-kì kàu-iók-pō “Têng-pian Kok-gí Sû-tián Siu-têng-pún” (重編國語辭典修訂本, 2021), *chiah* pau-hâm sa<sup>n</sup> ê gí-ì, 1. Kơ-toa<sup>n</sup>--ê, tan-tòk--ê, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> hêng-toa<sup>n</sup>-iá<sup>n</sup>-*chiah*, 2. Khia-sò, tan-tòk--ê, 3. Tòk-ték--ê, tèk-sû--ê.

### 3.3.2. 隻 liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat

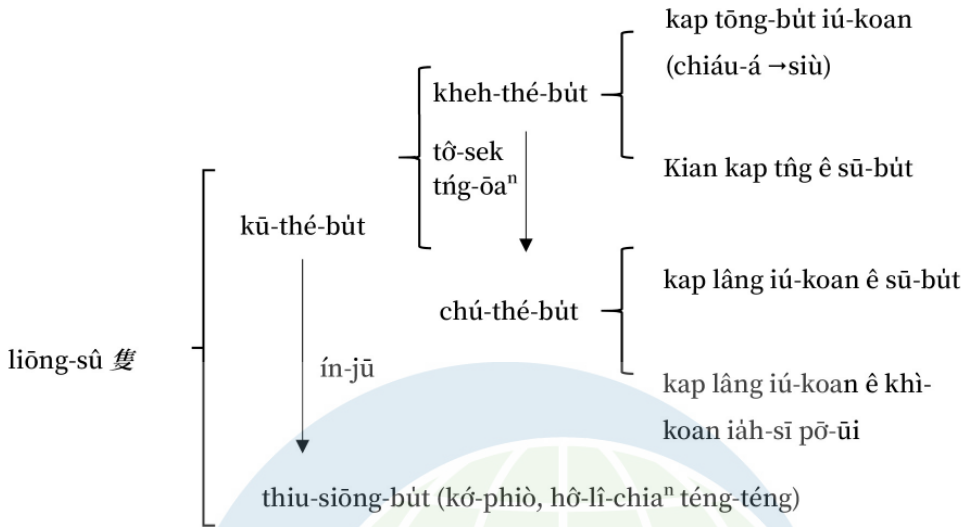
Hôa-gí *chiah* ê iōng-hoat àn-chiàu Kàu-iòk-pō “Têng-pian Kok-gí Sû-tián Siu-tēng-pún”, hun-chò gō chióng iōng-hoat:

1. Kè-sng̃ poe-khîm, ũ-kha ê liòk-tē tōng-bút, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: chit chiah ke-á, n̄ng chiah thờ-á
2. Kè-sng̃ sêng-tùi bút-phín lâi-té ê kî-tiong chit-ê, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: chit chiah bēh-á, 睜一隻眼, 閉一隻眼
3. Kè-sng̃ chûn-chiah ê tan-ūi, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: chit chiah sió chûn
4. Kè-sng̃ gák-khek ê tan-ūi
5. Kè-sng̃ bút-thé kiā<sup>n</sup>-sò ê tan-ūi, kap 只 kāng-khoán, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: chit chiah siu<sup>n</sup>-á, chit chiah chhiú-pió, chit chiah giòk-khoân

Sui-jiân Kàu-iòk-pō ê “Têng-pian Kok-gí Sû-tián Siu-tēng-pún” kan-na kóng poe-khîm cháu-siù tōng-bút ê liōng-sû sī chiah. M̄-koh, kin-kì Tìong-gián-ī<sup>n</sup> Pêng-hêng Gí-liâu-khò ē-sái khò<sup>n</sup>-tiòh chit-kóa seng-oáh tī hái-té ê tōng-bút mā ē-sái iōng chiah lâi tòng-chò liōng-sû, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> chîm-á, gòk-hî, hái-chhe<sup>n</sup>. M̄-koh lán mā ē-sái hoat-hiân chit-kóa tōng-bút siòk lióng-chhe--ê, só-í mā hū-háp téng-thâu sū-tián ê kui-lūi. Sò-pái, pún gián-kiù jīn-ūi lióng-chhe ê tōng-bút mā sī ē-sái kap liōng-sû “chiah” kap chò-hóe sú-iōng.

Chiam-tùi Hôa-gí ê pō-hūn, bē-tàng hut-liòk Tâi-oân kap Tìong-kok tī liōng-sû sú-iōng téng-thâu ê bô-kâng, m̄-koh chit-kóa bô-kâng ê só-chāi mā sī ē-sái liáu-kái, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> tô-pió 6 só hián-sī:

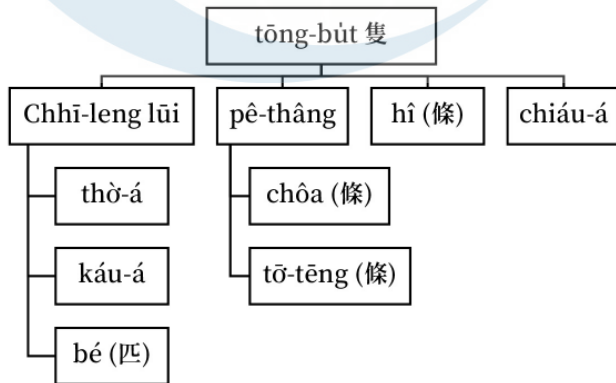
Tô-pió 6. Liông-sû ê ián-piàn (Sú Thian-koan 2016: 10)



Tī thâu-chêng ê tô, 雙 ê liông-sû iōng-hoat sī ùi kū-thé ê bút-thé, thàu-kòe ín-jū ê hong-sek kái-chò thiu-siōng ê bút-thé.

Chiam-tùi tōng-bút ê pō-hūn, nā-sī téng-thâu Oát-lâm-gí ê só-ū tōng-bút lóng sú-iōng kāng-khoán ê liông-sû, Hôa-gí sī ũ hun-piát-ê, chhin-chhiū^n tô-pió 7:

Tô-pió 7. Ting & Bond (2012, chok-chiá hoan-ék)



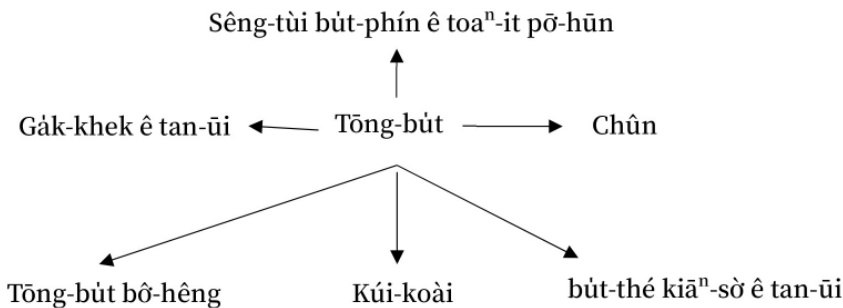
Pún lūn-būn ē chong-háp kàu-iòk-pō kap Pêng-hêng Gí-liâu-khò (hù-kiā^n 2) lâi thàm-thó 雙 ê iōng-hoat. Pún chat mā iōng Oát-lâm-gí con ê hun-lūi hoat, hun-chò sa^n lūi, chhin-chhiū^n tô-pió 8:

Tô-pió 8. Hôa-gí 隻 ê hun-sek

Ū sè <sup>n</sup> -miā--ê	Tōng-bút	Poe-khîm	Ū kha	chiáu-á
		Cháu-siù		ke-á, ah-á
		Chúi-sán		chîm-á, hê-á
Bô sè <sup>n</sup> -miā--ê	sêng-tùi bút-phín ê toa <sup>n</sup> -it pō-hūn			boéh-á
	chûn-chiah ê tan-ūi			chûn
	gák-khek ê tan-ūi			gák-khek
	bút-thé kiā <sup>n</sup> -sò ê tan-ūi			chhiú-pió
Hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bút-thé	iau-mô kúi-koài			kúi

Lêng-gōa, Hôa-gí lâi-té ũ nng ê liōng-sû kap 隻 kâng-im, tiòh-sī 支 kap 只。Chiam-tùi 支 ê iōng-hoat, Kàu-iók-pō sòa<sup>n</sup>-téng sū-tián chí-chhut gō ê iōng-hoat, hun-piát sī: 1. Kè-sng tui-ngó ê tan-ūi, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> 一支強有力的軍隊; 2. Kè-sng koa-khek, gák-khek ê tan-ūi, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> 兩支歌曲; 3. Kè-sng pháng-se sok-tō ê tan-ūi, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> 八十支紗; kè-sng teng-kng kiông-tō ê tan-ūi, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> 四十支光; 5. Kè-sng bút-thé ê tan-ūi, iōng tī koái<sup>n</sup>-chiōng iáh-sī iū koh tng ê bút-thé, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: 一支手機, 一支口紅。Ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh 隻 kap 支 ũ nng chióng kâng-khoán ê iōng-hoat, hun-piát sī “kè-sng koa-khek, gák-khek ê tan-ūi” kap “kè-sng bút-thé ê tan-ūi” (chhiú-ki-á). Nā chiam-tùi 只 ê iōng-hoat, Kàu-iók-pō sòa<sup>n</sup>-téng sū-tián ê kái-soeh sī kâng 隻, iōng-hoat pau-hâm “1. Kè-sng sêng-tùi bút-phín ê toa<sup>n</sup>-it pō-hūn; 2. Kè-sng chûn-chiah ê tan-ūi; 3. Kè-sng bút-thé kiā<sup>n</sup>-sò ê tan-ūi”, m̄-koh bô “kè-sng poe-khîm cháu-siù ê tōng-bút” kap “kè-sng gák-khek ê tan-ūi” ê iōng-hoat.

Tô-pió 9. Hôa-gí 隻 liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat



### 3.3.3. 隻 ê jí-ì kap liông-sû iông-hoat ê koan-liân-sèng

Ừi jí-ì lâi kóng, 隻 piáu-sī kơ-toa<sup>n</sup>, tan-tòk, khia-sò, tan-it-ê. Ừi soat-bùn kái-jī lâi kóng 隻 pún-sin mā sī chiáu-á, mā sī ùi tōng-bút ián-seng--ê, só-pái mā ē-tàng iông lâi tòng-chò tōng-bút ê liông-sû. Nā hun-sek chiáu-á ê tèk-chit, ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh chiáu-á sī [+liòk-tê][+ū kha] ê tōng-bút, só-í tōa-pō-hūn ũ chit-chióng tèk-teng ê tōng-bút lóng ē-tàng iông chit ê liông-sû. Lêng-gōa tan-it ê ì-sù mā hū-háp tòng-chò liông-sû ê kong-lêng, ũ tiám sò-liông ê kong-lêng.

## 3.4. Tâi-gí tōng-bút liông-sû *chiah* ê hun-sek

### 3.4.1. Chiah ê kin-pún jí-ì

Kin-kì Kàu-iók-pō Bân-lâm-gí Sòa<sup>n</sup>-téng Sû-tián, chiah ũ nng ê ì-sù: Bêng-sû âu-tòe, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>: chiáu-chiah, chûn-chiah kap liông-sû ê iông-hoat. Nā tī Chhoe Taigi ê bāng-chām ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh tī bô-kāng nī-hūn ê sū-tián lóng ũ liông-sû ê iông-hoat (chiam-tùi liông-sû ê iông-hoat âu chit chat ē koh siāu-kài). Lêng-gōa, “TJ Pêh-ōe Sió Sû-tián” chí-chhut chit-ê khah tèk-piát ê iông-hoat tiòh-sī “kè-sng hō lāng put-boán ê lāng ê jí-sú, bē-sái kap sò-jī chò-hóe, ~kâi<sup>n</sup>, Lí chit ~”. Sui-jiân ũ kè-sng ê jí-ì, m̄-koh bē kap sò-jī chò-hóe. 1973 Embree Tâi-Eng sū-tián mā chí-chhut *chiah* iông tī lâm-sèng, jī-chhiá<sup>n</sup> sī ũ hū-bīn ì-sù ê káu-gí iông-hoat.

### 3.4.2. *Chiah* ê liông-sû iông-hoat

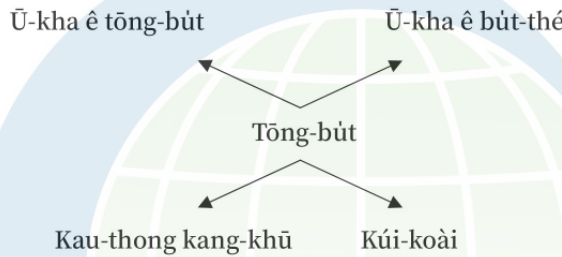
Tâi-gí lâi-té koan-î *chiah* liông-sû ê iông-hoat ũ chin chē. Chhoe Taigi téng-thâu ê sū-tián, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> “1913 Kam Ūi-lim Tâi-gí Jī-tián”, “1932 Tâi-jit Tōa Sû-tián”, “1957 Tâi-oân-gí Siông-iông Gí-lūi”, “1973 Embree Tâi-Eng Sû-tián”, “2002<sup>+</sup> Tâi-Hòa Sòa<sup>n</sup>-téng Sû-tián”, “TJ Pêh-ōe Sió Sû-tián” tùi *chiah* liông-sû iông-hoat ê kái-soeh lóng sī iông lâi kè-sng ũ kha ê seng-bút iah-sī bít-thé, chûn-chiah. Kàu-iók-pō Bân-lâm-gí Sòa<sup>n</sup>-téng Sû-tián mā chí-chhut *chiah* liông-sû ê iông-hoat sī kè-sng pō-hūn ê tōng-bút kap chûn-chiah ê tan-ūi, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> chit chiah niau-á, sa<sup>n</sup> chiah chûn.

Kap Hôa-gí khah kâng ê pō-hūn sī nā sī ū kha ê lióng-chhe tōng-bút, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> chīm-á, gòk-hî téng-téng, mā ē-sái kap *chiah* chò-hóe sú-iōng. Àn-chiàu Oát-lâm-gí ê hun-lūi, *chiah* ê hun-lūi chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> tô -pió 10.

Tô-pió 10. Tâi-gí *chiah* ê hun-lūi

Ū sè <sup>n</sup> -miā--ê	Ū-kha	ke, gû, chīm-á
Bô sè <sup>n</sup> -miā--ê	Ū-kha ê bút-thé	toh-á
	Kau-thong kang-khū	chûn
Hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bút-thé	lau-mô-kúi-koài	kúi

Tô-pió 11. Tâi-gí *chiah* liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat



### 3.4.3. *Chiah* ê jí-ì kap liōng-sû iōng-hoat ê koan-liân-sèng

Nā kap lêng-gōa nŋg chióng jí-giân pí-kàu, ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh Tâi-gí *chiah* ê ki-pún ì-sù phian liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat. Tû-liáu khng tī bêng-sû āu-piah, tōa-pō-hūn ê sū-tián lóng chí-chhut *chiah* liōng-sû iōng-hoat niā-niā. Jī-chhiá<sup>n</sup> khng tī bêng-sû āu-piah mā sī ū tan-tók ê ì-sù, só-í mā ū tiám sò-liōng.

## 4. Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí, Tâi-gí tōng-bút liōng-sû ê tùi-pí

### 4.1. Tâi-gí, Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí tōng-bút liōng-sû ê tùi-èng

Nā kap lêng-gōa nŋg chióng jí-giân pí-kàu, ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh Tâi-gí *chiah* ê ki-pún ì-sù phian liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat. Tû-liáu khng tī bêng-sû āu-piah. Tōa-pō-hūn ê sū-tián lóng kóng *chiah* kan-ta<sup>n</sup> ū liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat niā-niā. Jī-chhiá<sup>n</sup> khng tī bêng-sû āu-piah mā sī ū tan-tók ê ì-sù, só-í mā ū tiám sò-liōng.

4.1.1. Oát-lâm-gí *Con* tùi-èng Hôa-gí kap Tâi-gí ê liông-sû

Tô-pió 12. Sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân tōng-bút liông-sû ê tùi-pí  
(í Oát-lâm-gí chò pí-kàu ê phiau-chún)

			Oát-lâm-gí	Hôa-gí	Tâi-gí	Ì-sù	
Ū sè <sup>n</sup> - miā--ê	lâng	it-poa <sup>n</sup>		<i>Con người</i>	個	ê	lâng
		hū-bīn ì-sù--ê		<i>Con bạc</i>	個/名	ê	kiáu-tô
	tōng- bút	liók-tē	ū kha	<i>Con gà</i>	隻/匹/頭	<i>Chiah</i>	ke
			bô kha	<i>Con rắn</i>	條	<i>Bóe</i>	chôa
		chúi-té	ū kha	<i>Con cua</i>	隻	<i>Chiah</i>	chîm-á
			bô kha	<i>Con cá, con nghêu</i>	條/隻/尾	<i>Bóe/ Liáp/ Mi</i>	hî, ham-á
bô sè <sup>n</sup> - miā--ê	ē tín- tāng	sin-khu pō-ūi		<i>Con tim</i>	顆	<i>Lúi/ Liáp</i>	sim
		iōng-phín (gōa-lék)		<i>Con quay</i>	個	<i>Liáp</i>	kan- lòk
	bē tín- tāng	gōa-piáu chhiū <sup>n</sup> lâng/tōng-bút		<i>Con búp bê</i>	隻	<i>Chiah</i>	ang-á
		oan-oan khiau- khiau ê bút-thé	tōa-hêng	<i>Con sông</i>	條	<i>Tiâu, chōa</i>	hō
			sè-hêng	<i>Con số</i>	個	<i>Jī</i>	sò-jī
		iōng-phín		<i>Con tem</i>	張	<i>Tiun</i>	iū-phiò
hui jîn-lūi ê chûn- chāi bút- thé	iau-mô kúi-koài		<i>Con ma</i>	隻/個	<i>Chiah, sian</i>	kúi	

Tùi tô-pió 12 ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup> tiòh con tùi-èng 9 ê Hôa-gí liông sū, hun-piát sī 名, 尾, 個, 隻, 匹, 頭, 張, 條, 顆. Nā àn-chiàu téng-thâu ê hun-lūi, tùi-èng ê liông-sû sī:

1. Ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: 個, 名, 隻, 條, 尾, 匹, 頭;
2. Bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: 顆, 個, 隻, 條, 個, 張;
3. Hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bút-thé: 隻.

Tùi tô-pió 12 ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup> tiòh con tùi-èng 9 ê Tâi-gí liông sū, hun-piát sī *bóe, chiah, chōa, ê, jī, ki, liáp, lúi, mi, sian, tiâu, tiu<sup>n</sup>, ūi*. Nā àn-chiàu téng-thâu ê hun-lūi, tùi-èng ê liông-sû sī:

Ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: ê, ūi, bóa, chiah, liáp, lúi, mi, sian, tiâu;

Bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: chiah, chōa, ê, jī, ki, liáp, lúi, mi, tiâu, tiu<sup>n</sup>;

Hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bít-thé: chiah, sian.

Ūi téng-thâu ê tùi-pí ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup> tiòh Oát-lâm-gí ê *con* ē-sái kap khah chē bêng-sû kap chò-hóa sú-iōng, pít-kèng con sī tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiā<sup>n</sup> iōng tiòh ê liōng-sû (sú-iōng pîn-lút kan-na tī cái āu-piah).

#### 4.1.2. Hôa-gí 隻 tùi-èng Oát-lâm-gí kap Tâi-gí ê liōng-sû

Tô-pió 13. Sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân tōng-bút liōng-sû ê tùi-pí  
 (í Hôa-gí chò tùi-pí ê phiau-chún)

				Hôa-gí	Oát-lâm-gí	Tâi-gí	Ì-sù
Ū sè <sup>n</sup> -miā	Tōng-bút	Poe-khîm	ū kha	鳥	<i>Con</i>	<i>chiah</i>	chiáu-á
		Cháu-siù		雞、牛	<i>Con</i>	<i>chiah/phit</i>	ke, gū
		Hái-té		螃蟹	<i>Con</i>	<i>chiah</i>	chîm-á
Bô sè <sup>n</sup> -miā	Sêng-tùi bít-phín ê tan-it pō-hûn		襪子、眼睛、手	<i>Chiéc/con/cái</i>	<i>kha/ki/lúi</i>	boèh-á, bák-chiu, chiú	
	Chûn-chiah ê tan-ūi		船	<i>Chiéc/con</i>	<i>chiah</i>	chûn	
	Gák-khek ê tan-ūi		曲子	<i>Bản</i>	<i>tiâu</i>	gák-khek	
	Bít-thé kiā <sup>n</sup> -sò ê tan-ūi		手錶、箱子	<i>Chiéc/cái</i>	<i>ki</i>	pió-á, siu <sup>n</sup> -á	
hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bít-thé				妖魔鬼怪	<i>Con</i>	<i>chiah/sian</i>	iau-mô kúi-koài

Tùi tô-pió 13 ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh 隻 tùi-èng 4 ê Oát-lâm-gí liōng sù, hun-piát sī *con*, *cái*, *chiéc*, *bản*. Nā àn-chiàu téng-thâu ê hun-lūi, tùi-èng ê liōng-sû sī:

1. Ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: con;
2. Bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: con, cái, chiéc, bản;
3. Hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bít-thé: con.

Hôa-gí lâi-té kóng tiòh ê “sêng-tùi bít-phín ê tan-it pō-hûn” ē-sái sú-iōng 隻 chò liōng-sù, pí-jú boèh-á, bák-chiu. Tī Oát-lâm-gí lâi-té, thâu chit ê bē-sái iōng “*con*”, ài iōng “*chiéc*”, m̄-koh āu chit ê ē-sái iōng “*con*”, tiòh-sī “*I con mắt*”.



Tùi tô-pió 13 ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh 隻 tùi-èng 6 ê Tâi-gí liông sū, hun-piát sī *kha, chiah, tiâu, ki, sian, lúi*. Nā àn-chiàu téng-thâu ê hun-lūi, tùi-èng ê liông-sū sī:

1. Ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: *chiah*;
2. Bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: *kha, chiah, tiâu, ki, lúi*;
3. Hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bût-thé: *chiah, sian*.

Ūi téng-thâu ê tùi-pí ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup> tiòh Hôa-gí ê liông-sū 隻 tùi-èng kî-tha<sup>n</sup> n̄ng chióng gí-giân ê hun-hoat bô Oát-lâm-gí *chiah* chē. Tùi-èng ê liông-sū chha-put-to sī Oát-lâm-gí ê chit-pòà<sup>n</sup>, kî-tiong ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê kap hui jîn-lūi chûn-chāi ê bût-thé khah tan-sûn.

#### 4.1.3. Tâi-gí *chiah* tùi-èng Oát-lâm-gí kap Hôa-gí ê liông-sū

Tô-pió 14. Sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân tōng-bût liông-sū ê tùi-pí  
(í Tâi-gí chò tùi-pí ê phiau-chún)

		Tâi-gí	Oát-lâm-gí	Hôa-gí
Ū sè <sup>n</sup> -miā--ê	Ū kha	ke, gû, chîm-á	<i>Con</i>	隻/匹/頭
Bô sè <sup>n</sup> -miā--ê	ū kha ê bût-thé	toh-á	<i>Cái/chiéc</i>	張
	kau-thong kang-khū	chûn, chhia	<i>Chiéc/con</i>	台/條/隻
hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bût-thé	iau-mô kúi-koài		<i>Con</i>	隻/個

Tùi tô-pió 14 ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh *chiah* tùi-èng 3 ê Oát-lâm-gí liông-sū, hun-piát sī *con, cái, chiéc*. Nā àn-chiàu téng-thâu ê hun-lūi, tùi-èng ê liông-sū sī:

1. Ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: *con*;
2. Bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: *con, cái, chiéc*;
3. Hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bût-thé: *con*.

Tùi tô-pió 14 ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh *chiah* tùi-èng 7 ê Hôa-gí liông sū, hun-piát sī 隻, 匹, 頭, 張, 台, 條, 個. Nā àn-chiàu téng-thâu ê hun-lūi, tùi-èng ê liông-sū sī:

1. Ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: 隻, 匹, 頭;
2. Bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê: 張, 台, 條, 隻;
3. Hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bût-thé: 隻, 個.

Ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh, nā í Tâi-gí *chiah* liōng-sû lâi tùi-pí, tùi-èng ê Oát-lâm-gí liōng-sû khah chió, tùi-èng ê Hôa-gí liōng-sû khah chē, chú-iàu sī in-ūi Hôa-gí chiam-tùi ū kha ê tōng-bút sú-iōng ê liōng-sû khah chē.

#### 4.2. Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí, Tâi-gí tōng-bút liōng-sû ê kiōng-tōng-tiám

Chit chat ē pí-kàu sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân tōng-bút liōng-sû ê kiōng-tōng-tiám. Tū-liáu “hui jîn-lūi ê chûn-chāi bût-thé” khah tan-sún, kî-tha<sup>n</sup> nŋg chióng hun-lūi “ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê” kap “bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê” khah hòk-cháp, só-í ē hun-chò sa<sup>n</sup> ê pō-hūn lâi thó-lūn.

##### 4.2.1. Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí, Tâi-gí tōng-bút liōng-sû tùi-pí (Ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê)

Tô-pió 15. Tōng-bút liōng-sû tùi-pí (Ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê)

		Oát-lâm-gí	Hôa-gí	Tâi-gí
Lâng	ít-poa <sup>n</sup>	+	–	–
	ū hū-bīn ì-sù	+	–	–
Tōng-bút	liók-tē	ū kha	+	+
		bô kha	+	–
	lióng-chhe	ū kha	+	+
	chúi-té	ū kha	+	–
		bô kha	+	–

Nā-sī liōng-sû kap ū sè<sup>n</sup>-miā ê bût-thé chò-hóe sú-iōng, sa<sup>n</sup> chióng gí-giân lóng ē-sái kap liók-tē, lióng-chhe ū kha ê tōng-bút chò-hóe sú-iōng. M̄-koh kan-ta<sup>n</sup> Oát-lâm-gí ē-sái ká *con* iōng tī só-ū ê tōng-bút thâu-chêng, kî-tha<sup>n</sup> nŋg chióng gí-giân ū bô-kâng ê iōng-hoat, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> bé chit-chióng tōng-bút, Hôa-gí iōng 匹, Tâi-gí iōng *phit*.

##### 4.2.2. Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí, Tâi-gí tōng-bút liōng-sû tùi-pí (Bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê)

Tô -pió 16 kui-láp bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā ê tōng-bút liōng-sû sú-iōng ê hong-sek. Mā ài kóng ē-té ê bêng-sû ū-sī mā ē-sái kap pát-ê liōng-sû chò-hóe. Chhin-

chhiū<sup>n</sup> chóa-pâi, Oát-lâm-gí sú-iōng ê liōng-sû ē-sái sī *con, quân, lá téng-téng*.

Tô-pió 16. Tông-bút liōng-sû tùi-pí (Bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā--ê)

			Oát-lâm-gí	Hôa-gí	Tâi-gí	Ì-sù
Sú-iōng ê sī ē tín-tāng	sin-khu pō-ūi	it-poa <sup>n</sup>	+	-	-	sim
		sêng-tùi ê tan-it pō-hūn	+	+	-	bák-chiu, ang-á-thâu
	iōng-phín (gōa-lék hō i tín-tāng)	chûn-chiah	+	+	+	
		hoe-ki	-	-	+	
		sè-hêng	+	-	-	to, kan-lók, tâu-á
Sú-iōng ê sī bē tín-tāng	Gōa-piáu chhiū <sup>n</sup> lāng iáh-sī tông-bút		+	+	-	ang-á, a-put-tó
	Oan-oan khiau-khiau ê bút-thé	tōa-hêng	+	-	-	hō, khe, lō, thê-hông
		sè-hêng	+	-	-	jī, sò-jī, chóa-pâi
	sêng-tùi bút-thé ê tan-it pō-hūn		-	+	-	boéh-á
	gák-khek ê tan-ūi		-	+	-	gák-khek
	ū kha ê bút-thé		-	-	+	toh-á
	kī-tha <sup>n</sup> bút-thé		-	+	-	pió-á, siu <sup>n</sup> -á

Chiam-tùi bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā ê hun-lūi, pún gián-kiù hun-chò: 1. Sú-iōng ê sī ē tín-tāng, 2. Sú-iōng ê sī bē tín-tāng. Sú-iōng sī ē tín-tāng pau-hâm sin-khu pō-ūi kap bút-phín (thàu-kòe gōa-lék hō i tín-tāng). Í sin-khu pō-ūi lâi kóng, Hôa-gí mā ē-sái sú-iōng 隻 lâi tông-chò liōng-sû. In-ūi sin-khu pō-ūi ū chit-kóa sī sêng-tùi--ê, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> bák-chiu, hī<sup>n</sup>-khang, chhiú, kha, téng-téng. Oát-lâm-gí mā kan-na tī chit-kóa sin-khu pō-ūi ē-sái kap *con* khng chò-hóe sú-iōng, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> *con tim* (sim), *con mắt* (bák-chiu), téng-téng.

Í sè-hêng ê iōng-phín lâi kóng, pún gián-kiù tī Pêng-hêng Gí-liâu-khò chhōe tiòh n̄ng-chióng kap Oát-lâm-gí káng-khoán ê iōng-hoat, tiòh-sī kî-á kap kan-lòk. M̄-koh, ũ n̄ng-tiám ài chù-ì ê sī: 1. Chit n̄ng-chióng iōng-hoat tī Hôa-gí lâi-té chhut-hiān bô chē, kî-tiong kî-jí chhut-hiān n̄ng pái (馬上動車吃了我一隻炮), kan-lòk kan-na chhut-hiān 1 pái (我常覺得自己是隻陀螺), 2. Hôa-gí ê kî-jí thóng-chheng m̄-sī iōng 隻 lâi chò liōng-sû (\*一隻棋子, 一顆棋子). Chit-chióng iōng-hoat sī tèk-piát chí pí-jû chia, phàu ê kî-jí. Oát-lâm-gí lâi-té *con* ē-sái tit-chiap kap thóng-chheng ê kî-jí chò-hóe sú-iōng (*con cờ*) iah-sī kap tan-tòk bók-mih lūi ê kî-jí (*con xe*), m̄-koh mā ē-sái kái-soeh sī in-ūi kî-pôa<sup>n</sup> téng lóng ũ n̄ng-ê chia, phàu, só-í mā hū-háp “sêng-tùi bít-phín ê tan-it pō-hūn” ê hun-lūi.

Í sú-iōng ê sī bē tín-tāng ê iōng-phín lâi kóng, chiam-tùi gōa-piáu khò<sup>n</sup>-khì-lâi chhiū<sup>n</sup> lāng iah-sī tōng-bút-ê, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> ang-á, a-put-tó téng-téng, Oát-lâm-gí kap Hôa-gí lóng ũ án-ne ê iōng-hoat, m̄-koh Tâi-gí sī iōng sian. Kî-tha ê iōng-hoat lóng sī kan-na chit-chióng gí-giân ũ hit-chióng iōng-hoat.

Nā-sī chiam-tùi “sú-iōng ê sī bē tín-tāng thiāu-á-hêng ê bít-thé”, put-koán sī tōa, sè hêng ê lóng kan-na Oát-lâm-gí ũ chit-chióng iōng-hoat, chiam-tùi “sú-iōng ê sī bē tín-tāng sêng-tùi bít-phín ê tan-it pō-hūn”, “gák-khek ê tan-ūi”, kan-na Hôa-gí ũ chit-chióng iōng-hoat, chiam-tùi “ū kha ê bít-thé” kan-na Tâi-gí ũ chit-chióng iōng-hoat.

Chiam-tùi kî-tha bít-thé, in-ūi Kàu-iók-pō bô tèk-piát kóng tó chit-chióng iōng-phín ē-sái kap 隻 khng chò-hóe sú-iōng, kan-na thê-kiong chit-kóa lē, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> pió-á, siu<sup>n</sup>-á. Kî-tiong, pió-á mā ē-sái kái-soeh kóng, in-ūi chhiú sī sêng-tùi bít-phín ê tan-it pō-hūn, só-í tī chhiú téng ê mih-kiā<sup>n</sup> mā ē-sái ũ án-ne ê iōng-hoat.

4.2.3. Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí, Tâi-gí tōng-bút liōng-sû tùi-pí  
(Hui jîn-lūi ê chùn-chāi bút-thé)

Tô-pió 17. Tōng-bút liōng-sû tùi-pí (Hui jîn-lūi ê chùn-chāi bút-thé)

	Oát-lâm-gí	Hôa-gí	Tâi-gí
Iau-mô kúi-koài	+	+	+

Tī “Hui jîn-lūi ê chùn-chāi bút-thé” chit lūi-hêng lâi-té, sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng jí-giân lóng ē-sái kap tōng-bút liōng-sû khng chò-hóe sú-iōng. M̄-koh, kan-na Oát-lâm-gí ē-sái tan-sún kap *con* chò-hóe. Hôa-gí kap Tâi-gí chiam-tùi “Hui jîn-lūi ê chùn-chāi bút-thé” khah chē ē soán-ték séng-liòk liōng-sū ē sú-iōng, nā-sī ũ khng liōng-sū mā bô it-tēng sī iōng tó chit-ê, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> Hôa-gí koh ē-sái iōng 𠵼, Tâi-gí koh ē-sái iōng sian, mā ũ lāng tit-chiap iōng ê.

Tùi pí-kàu khòa<sup>n</sup> ē chhut-lâi sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng jí-giân ê tōng-bút liōng-sū, lóng ē-tàng kap ē-té sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng bēng-sū kap chò-hóe sú-iōng: 1. Tī liòk-tē téng (pau-hâm thi<sup>n</sup>-téng kap lióng-chhe) ũ kha ê tōng-bút, pí-jū niáu-chhí, chiáu-á, chîm-á ê liōng-sū, 2. Kap chùn-chiah chò-hóe, 3. Iau-mô kúi-koài. Oát-lâm-gí kap Hôa-gí káng-khoán ê iōng-hoat sī “sin-khu pō-ūi sēng-tùi ê tan-it pō-hūn” kap “gōa-piáu khòa<sup>n</sup>--khì-lâi chhiū<sup>n</sup> lāng iáh-sī tōng-bút ê bút-thé”. Tâi-gí put-koán sī kap Oát-lâm-gí iáh-sī Hôa-gí, tū-liáu téng-thâu kóng tiòh ê sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng iōng-hoat í-góa, chiū bô kî-tha<sup>n</sup> káng-khoán ê iōng-hoat. Ê-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh Tâi-gí kap Hôa-gí nng chióng jí-giân ê liōng-sū káng-khoán thēng-tō bô hiah-nih koân.

5. Èng-iōng tī tùi-gōa jí-giân kàu-hàk

5.1. Chiam-tùi Oát-lâm-gí pōe-kéng ê hàk-sip-chiá

Chiam-tùi Oát-lâm-gí sī tē-it jí-giân ê sú-iōng-chiá lâi kóng, òh Hôa-gí liōng-sū ê sī, khah tōa pō-hūn sī siòk hū chhian-î. In-ūi chiam-tùi bô-kāng ê tōng-bút, Oát-lâm-gí lâi-té sī iōng káng-khoán ê liōng-sū, m̄-koh, Hôa-gí

lâi-té sú-iông ê liông-sû sī bô-kâng ê, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> [+liòk-tē][+ū kha], ē sú-iông bô-kâng ê liông-sû. Jī-chhiá<sup>n</sup>, mā khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh chiam-tùi bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā ê bùt-thé, tōa pō-hūn (tū-liáu gōa-hêng kap lāng iáh-sī tông-bút kâng-khoán ê bùt-thé, chhūn-chiah) lóng bē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup>-chò 隻, ē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup>-chò 隻 ê chêng-hêng ū:

1. Tī liòk-tē téng (pau-hâm thi<sup>n</sup>-téng kap lióng-chhe) ū kha ê tông-bút;
2. Chhūn-chiah;
3. Iau-mô kúi-koài;
4. Sin-khu pō-ūi sêng-tùi ê tan-it pō-hūn (bô it-tēng sī bák-chiu, kī-tha chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> chhiú, kha mā ē-sái);
5. Gōa-piáu khòa<sup>n</sup>--khì-lâi chhiū<sup>n</sup> lāng iáh-sī tông-bút ê bùt-thé.

Iau-mô kúi-koài mā ē-sái khòa<sup>n</sup>-chò sī gōa-hêng kap lāng, iáh-sī tông-bút kâng-khoán ê bùt-thé ê kī-tiong chit-chióng.

Chiam-tùi Oát-lâm-gí sī tē-it gí-giân ê sú-iông-chiá lâi kóng, òh Tâi-gí liông-sû ê sī, khah tōa pō-hūn sī siók hū chhian-î. In-ūi chiam-tùi bô-kâng ê tông-bút, Oát-lâm-gí lâi-té sī iông kâng-khoán ê liông-sû. M̄-koh, Tâi-gí lâi-té sú-iông ê liông-sû sī bô-kâng ê, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> [+liòk-tē][+ū kha], ē sú-iông bô-kâng ê liông-sû. Jī-chhiá<sup>n</sup>, mā khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh chiam-tùi bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā ê bùt-thé, tōa pō-hūn (tū-liáu chhūn-chiah) lóng bē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup>-chò chiah, ē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup>-chò chiah ê chêng-hêng ū:

1. Tī liòk-tē téng (pau-hâm thi<sup>n</sup>-téng kap lióng-chhe) ū kha ê tông-bút;
2. Chhūn-chiah;
3. Iau-mô kúi-koài.

## 5.2. Chiam-tùi Hôa-gí pōe-kéng ê hák-sip-chiá

Chiam-tùi Hôa-gí sī tē-it gí-giân ê sú-iông-chiá lâi kóng, òh Oát-lâm-gí liông-sû ê sī, khah tōa pō-hūn sī siók chiá<sup>n</sup> chhian-î, in-ūi só-ū tī Hôa-gí lâi-té kap 隻 chò-hóe ê tông-bút (mā ē-sái kóng sī só-ū ê tông-bút) lóng ē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup>-chò *con*, lēng-gōa koh ū khah chē ê chêng-hêng ē-sái tit-chiap

ōa<sup>n</sup>, chē mā-sī ē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup> siōng chē ê jí-giân, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup>:

1. Só-ū ê tōng-bút (pau-hâm thóng-chheng ê lâng, pián-ì--ê);
2. Kap chûn-chiah chò-hóe;
3. Iau-mô kúi-koài;
4. Sin-khu pō-ūi sêng-tùi ê tan-it pō-hūn (kap bak-chiu iú-koan ê pō-ūi);
5. Gōa-piáu khòa<sup>n</sup>--khì-lâi chhiū<sup>n</sup> lâng iah-sī tōng-bút ê bít-thé.

Chiam-tùi Hōa-gí sī tē-it jí-giân ê sú-iōng-chiá lâi kóng, òh Tâi-gí liōng-sū ê sī, khah tōa pō-hūn sī siòk hū chhian-ì, in-ūi nng chióng jí-giân chiam-tùi bô-kâng ê tōng-bút soán-ték ê liōng-sū bô-kâng, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> hī, ô-á. Jī-chhiá<sup>n</sup>, mā khòa<sup>n</sup>-tiòh chiam-tùi bô sè<sup>n</sup>-miā ê bít-thé, tōa pō-hūn (tū-liáu chûn-chiah) lóng bē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup>-chò *chiah*, ē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup> ê chêng-hêng ū:

1. Tī liók-tē téng (pau-hâm thi<sup>n</sup>-téng kap lióng-chhe);
2. Kap chûn-chiah chò-hóe;
3. Iau-mô kúi-koài.

### 5.3. Chiam-tùi Tâi-gí pōe-kéng ê hák-síp-chiá

Chiam-tùi Tâi-gí sī tē-it jí-giân ê sú-iōng-chiá lâi kóng, òh Oát-lâm-gí liōng-sū ê sī, khah tōa pō-hūn sī siòk chiá<sup>n</sup> chhian-ì, in-ūi só-ū tī Tâi-gí lâi-té kap *chiah* chò-hóe ê tōng-bút (mā ē-sái kóng sī só-ū ê tōng-bút) lóng ē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup>-chò *con*, ē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup> ê chêng-hêng ū:

1. Só-ū ê tōng-bút (pau-hâm thóng-chheng ê lâng, pián-ì--ê);
2. Kap chûn-chiah chò-hóe;
3. Iau-mô kúi-koài.

Chiam-tùi Tâi-gí sī tē-it jí-giân ê sú-iōng-chiá lâi kóng, òh Hōa-gí liōng-sū ê sī, khah tōa pō-hūn sī siòk hū chhian-ì, in-ūi nng chióng jí-giân chiam-tùi bô-kâng ê tōng-bút soán-ték ê liōng-sū bô-kâng, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> hī, ô-á, ē-sái tit-chiap ōa<sup>n</sup> ê chêng-hêng ū:

1. Tī liók-tē téng (pau-hâm thi<sup>n</sup>-téng kap lióng-chhe);

2. Kap chûn-chiah chò-hóe;
3. Iau-mô kúi-koài.

## 6. Kiat-lūn

Put-koán sī Oát-lâm-gí, Hôa-gí iah-sī Tâi-gí lóng ũ tōng-bút choan-iōng ê liōng-sū. Bô-kâng ê sī Oát-lâm-gí ê só-ū tōng-bút lóng ē-sái iōng *con*, bô lē-gōa. Hôa-gí kap Tâi-gí, tū-liáu 隻 *chiah*, koh ē-sái kin-kì tōng-bút, sú-iōng bô kâng ê liōng-sū. Chit sa<sup>n</sup> ê gí-giân lâi-té, Oát-lâm-gí ê *con* ē-sái kap siōng chē ê bêng-sú kap chò-hóe sú-iōng, soah--lòh-lâi sī Hôa-gí ê 隻, siōng bóe chiah sī Tâi-gí ê *chiah*, jî-chhiá<sup>n</sup> che mā hū-háp tōng-bút liōng-sū ê ki-pún gí-ì gōa-chē ê pài-liát.

Sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng gí-giân thêng-hiān sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng kâng-khoán ê iōng-hoat: 1. Tī liók-tē téng (pau-hâm thi<sup>n</sup>-téng kap líong-chhe) ũ kha ê tōng-bút, pí-jû niáu-chhiá, chiáu-á, chîm-á ê liōng-sū, 2. Kap chûn-chiah chò-hóe, 3. Iau-mô kúi-koài. Oát-lâm-gí kap Hôa-gí kâng-khoán ê iōng-hoat sī “sin-khu pō-ūi sêng-tùi ê tan-it pō-hūn” kap “gōa-piáu khò<sup>n</sup>--khì-lâi chhiū<sup>n</sup> lāng iah-sī tōng-bút ê bít-thé”. Tâi-gí put-koán sī kap Oát-lâm-gí iah-sī Hôa-gí, tū-liáu téng-thâu kóng-tiòh ê sa<sup>n</sup>-chióng iōng-hoat kâng-khoán í-góa, tiòh bô kî-tha<sup>n</sup> kâng-khoán ê iōng-hoat. Chit sa<sup>n</sup> chióng gí-giân chiam-tùi tōng-bút liōng-sū ê kiōng-tōng-tiám ē-sái chò tùi-gōa gí-giân kàu-hák ê kin-kì, ē-sái siōng tōa hòa hák-sip-chiá ê chià<sup>n</sup> chhian-î.

### Thók-chiá hōe-èng

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## Appendix 1: *Con liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat*

1. bạc	21. lật đật	41. tem
2. bài	22. ma/quỷ	42. thò lò
3. buôn	23. ma-nơ-canh	43. thoi
4. búp bê	24. mắt	44. thú nhồi bông
5. chèo	25. nǎng	45. tim
6. chữ	26. người	46. tin
7. cờ	27. người	47. tơ
8. dao	28. nợ	48. trắng
9. dâu	29. nước	49. vi khuẩn
10. dẫu	30. ở	50. vi rút
11. đê	31. quái	51. xúc xắc
12. đề	32. quay	
13. điểm/đĩ	33. rạch	
14. diên	34. rẻ	
15. động vật	35. sào	
16. đường	36. sen	
17. gió	37. số	
18. hát	38. sông	
19. kênh	39. suối	
20. lắc	40. tàu/thuyền	

## Appendix 2: 隻 liōng-sû ê iōng-hoat

1. 我常覺得自己是隻陀螺：好似很忙碌地轉啊轉，沒有方向，也沒目標。
2. 資訊安全業者昨（二十六）日發佈駭客型病毒警訊，這一隻WORM\_SQLP1434.A病毒，特別針對微軟資料庫伺服器（MicrosoftSQLServer）。
3. 要預備一支溫度計（最好是能夠插入沖罐軸心內的一種）、一隻沖片罐（塑膠製的較便宜，不鏽鋼的耐用）和一隻十六安士的量杯。顯影藥可買國產的微粒顯影粉。
4. 要預備一支溫度計（最好是能夠插入沖罐軸心內的一種）、一隻沖片罐（塑膠製的較便宜，不鏽鋼的耐用）和一隻十六安士的量杯。顯影藥可買國產的微粒顯影粉。
5. 今天已成爲一隻廣受觀衆歡迎，具代表性的古典西班牙舞蹈。
6. 一齣戲「鎖麟囊」結構謹嚴，場次明快，戲的大要是：「薛湘靈爲富家千金，出嫁時，其母令傭人往市上，買來一隻鏽工不太精緻的鎖麟囊，囊中，暗藏各種黃金及珍貴珠寶。
7. 文章裡說，爲了買這隻戒指，在那個全民皆窮的年代。
8. 她很失望地發現它看起來完全像一隻浸過爛泥的迷你拖把。
9. 找來一隻短圓棍桿麵團似的把泥團攤平，再用鉛筆刀把它切成幾段。
10. 一年前的他還有一點瀟灑的風姿，削瘦得像隻白金鋼筆，習慣把左手插在西裝外套下的褲袋裡。
11. 再往上一看，只見對面兩隻寬大的卡其褲管空蕩蕩地懸在椅上，不由得呆住了。
12. 她是合眼未眠的默禱者嗎，被文明驅逐過的車輪留下幾隻深刻的印記，人們便在印記裡找祖先的遺訓。
13. 他說她的綠色玻璃雨衣像一隻藥瓶。
14. 賀一騎從口袋裡掏出兩張二十斤的糧票，投在那隻木盆裡。
15. 但是轉頭之後又什麼都沒有看見。天空有幾隻飛翔的詩句，他想要捕獲牠們，但是在返國數週後的照。
16. 真讓人急著想脫下它，想必，胸罩下的兩隻乳房一定很……。

17. 而且招式更能活用咧，化學閹割？頂多……多了兩隻小奶奶。
18. 然後我放下她，在那隻床上。我的手仍然不聽指使地，不，似乎是它。
19. 我只有暫時割愛那芬芳，把面孔移到她胸前那隻活生生的肉塊。
20. 我輕輕地啣住了那隻乳頭。
21. 「那又怎樣？」Tony又點了一隻煙。
22. 我白了Tony一眼，也點起了一隻煙。
23. 情緒往往把我的內心撐得特別漲滿，就像一隻在強風中鼓起翅膀的風箏。
24. 把他猛力一推，他撞到桌子上，一隻茶碗跌到地下砸得粉碎。
25. 他把剩下來的兩隻茶葉蛋拿到飯桌上。
26. 或是斷了線只剩一隻孤單的影子在燈下悠悠晃晃。
27. 麥芽討到手，是一小隻竹棒子，黏著軟軟的一團，貞觀怕它流掉到地上。
28. 而且常感覺眉稜骨往下壓擠，兩隻眼球像隨時被尖針穿透。
29. 他說，這隻球棒彈性較佳、同時握把比較合用、揮棒速度較快。
30. 主辦單位為樂團安裝了多隻麥克風和擴音器。
31. 一個戲偶通常裝置兩隻操縱桿。
32. 就好像是一隻遊艇在平滑的波浪上浮沈。
33. 上百隻白色身影便從天而降，降落在不遠處的沙洲上。
34. 他畫過一張畫，水墨的一顆大白菜和鮮紅的兩隻辣椒（插圖二）。
35. 登時粉碎，卻原來是一隻茶碗，一定神，才看清楚用茶碗擲他的卻是李文秀。
36. 趕明兒我給你縫一隻好看的荷包，給你掛在身上。
37. 過了幾天，李文秀做了一隻小小的荷包，裝滿了麥糖。
38. 在遺骸裝龕時，要帶四隻小碗準備墊在龕的上面。
39. 他的身體失去靈動，只有兩隻指頭能動。
40. 可是沒有經驗，被抓住了，還丟了一隻帽子。
41. 說罷拿起一隻碗，也盛了一碗紅薯葉。

42. 其中一人手托一隻包裹，跪在地上說：「這是解放軍的救命糧」。
43. 我手拿兩隻麥芽糖，竟不知如何護腿。
44. 蜂炮是用無數隻冲天炮做成的，只要點燃一枝。
45. 她要從一隻裝滿花朵的花籃裡，把花朵都拿出來。
46. 大約每一隻貨櫃需要二千四百美元。
47. 我有四本書，我有三隻筆。
48. 孔明把那一萬多隻箭交給周瑜。
49. 她指著身邊一隻大簍子，簍子裡滿滿一簍柴火。
50. 在瀾滄過來不遠的地方，勘災人員發現了一隻手電筒。
51. 兩隻故事都是自宗教信仰角度。
52. 拿起一隻玻璃汽水瓶，啪的一聲敲斷了底。
53. 花四千餘萬買一隻才成雙的圓竹壺。
54. 去年是一個三十公尺長的熱飛行船，前年是一隻全世界最大的牙刷。
55. 不管有多少隻籤，一定要確定全數都在籤筒裡才準。
56. 不知道該把那隻要命的茶匙放進杯裡以示到此為止。
57. 殷勤曾搖過一隻搖籃那嬰孩的乳名叫做五四，那嬰孩洪亮的哭聲。
58. 兩隻拐杖先探出著地，接著再把兩隻腿甩出去。
59. 對他來說，一隻青花柳葉盤，幾乎就是中國瓷器西傳史。
60. 拍那隻廣告到現在，我的感覺還是滿肯定的。
61. 而是煮兩隻熟蛋，在壓碎的蛋白裡放進一枚銅板。
62. 從喝茶到飲酒都用同樣幾隻汽水商贈送的玻璃杯，沒有筷墊。
63. 我把家安置一番，提隻小衣箱，便上了路。
64. 防毒程式作者多半處於被動地位，解一隻病毒需要花兩、三天的時間。
65. 而只要改變一隻原有病毒程式碼，它就變成更厲害的病毒。
66. 一隻斷裂的矛刺在傭兵身上。

67. 有世界上第一架照像機、第一隻有線電話、第一座發電機、甚至第一輛電動汽車。
68. 起初，我先以馬抽了爸爸一隻車，爸爸仍然面不改色，可能是嚇呆了。
69. 馬上動車吃了我一隻炮，我也不甘示弱，把車移上來吃爸爸的馬。
70. 看到一隻玩具熊，就停下來，伸出兩隻小手，去摸一摸玩具熊。
71. 廟的門前有兩隻巨大的石獅子。
72. 每班多發一隻掃把，也需好多萬（本校一百五十多班）。
73. 東尼點了一隻蠟燭，光線照到壁上，照出了一幅觸目的畫。
74. 凱洛琳與秀子已在這裡燃起了一隻蠟燭，放在中央，兩個人則盤膝對坐在地上。
75. 突然，一隻煙由左方遞了過來，我吸了一口。
76. 然後叨著一隻煙斗，坐在屋子中央。
77. 頂上居然還撐著一隻破傘，四周則蓋了一些已經濕透了的報紙。
78. 我把剩下的兩隻雪糕遞給她。
79. 阿眉舔著正在融化的雪糕，拿起一隻暖瓶搖了搖。
80. 我感到那衝鏡頭滑來的飛機的數十隻輪子如同從我心上軋軋駛過。
81. 我們在乎的是把線路修好，而不是增加幾隻受理電話。
82. 墓葬區竟然一隻細菌都沒有。
83. 考古學家在這初期的農業文化遺址中，發現了一隻漆碗。
84. 珍藏版圖案為一組四隻不同色彩的鑽石頭型牙刷。
85. 我現在有一隻雄的標本，一隻雌的標本。
86. 拿著一隻蠟筆塗塗抹抹，滿手顏料。



# 台語包含性代名詞「lán / 咱」ê流失 —衛生教育溝通情境ê語法判斷實驗ê證據

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## 摘要

台語代名詞第一人稱複數「lán / 咱」佻「gún / 阮」兩個用法無全款，「lán / 咱」有包含聽者，「gún / 阮」無包含聽者。佇現此時ê台語，這兩種用法已經產生變化，變化路線是：「非包含聽者ê gún 取代包含式lán」，這種改變ê路線並無四常，因為佇世界其他語言看著ê變化是「包含式取代非包含式」。佇衛生教育溝通ê情境定定會用著lán 佻gún 這兩個代名詞，所以佇這篇論文研究人員欲以醫療溝通ê情境來探討這條變化路線ê狀況。這個研究招三個年齡層ê台語使用者，包括醫療相關ê大學生、一般中年人、佻老年組。阮採用語法判斷實驗來了解年齡佻教育這兩ê因素對這ê變化路線ê影響。因為少年人台語能力流失嚴重，咱一般會認為年齡較大抑是教育較低ê人較有法度判斷gún 取代lán 毋是端的ê用法，毋閣阮ê研究結果，干焦佇青年組佻中年組有符合這個趨勢，也就是講中年組ê正確辨識率比青年組較懸 ( $p < .05$ )。但是老年組抑是低教組ê正確辨識率並無比中年組抑是高教組較懸 ( $p < .05$ )。阮ê結論是：年齡佻教育對語言變遷ê影響需要有閣較縝密ê考慮，台語gún 取代lán 的變遷ê現況，屬於早期ê階段。這個研究會當提升學界對代名詞包含性標記流失ê進一步認捌。

關鍵詞：包含性佻非包含性代名詞標記ê流失、語法判斷實驗、衛生教育溝通、語言變遷

# Language attrition of inclusive pronoun “*lán/we*” in Taiwanese – evidence from grammaticality judgement task in health-care context

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## Abstract

Using a grammaticality judgement task, this study explores how age and education affect an unusual language change pattern in Taiwanese—the exclusive pronoun “*gún/we*” is replacing the inclusive “*lán/we*”. Since the use of “*gún*” and “*lán*” are common in health-care education context, this study recruits Taiwanese speakers from three groups to participate in the judgement task: college students from health-care related departments, middle-aged group, and old group. While the tremendous loss of Taiwanese young speakers would predict a higher accuracy rate among the older or less-educated subjects in detecting the non-authentic use of “*gún/we*”, our results show otherwise. While our results predictably show lower accuracy from the young group than from the middle-aged group ( $p < .05$ ), it does not predict higher accuracy from the middle-aged or the more-educated groups than from the old or less-educated ones ( $p < .05$ ). We conclude that age and education as factors should be examined delicately and the ongoing change of “exclusive *gún/we* replacing inclusive *lán/we*” is located in a relatively earlier stage of the process. This study furthers our understanding of the loss of clusivity distinction in pronominal systems of languages around the world.

**Keywords:** Inclusive first-person plural pronoun, loss of inclusive/exclusive distinction, grammaticality judgement task, health education discourse, language change

## 1. Introduction

In most languages, the first-person plural pronoun usually conveys two meanings in terms of the clusivity it covers: including versus excluding the hearer. Among the 200 or 293 languages investigated by linguists, about 32% or 40% of them operate in a two-form parameter (Bickel & Nichols 2005:53; Cysouw 2013), i.e., the inclusive “we” and exclusive “we” are represented in two forms or in distinctive forms, and others in a one-form parameter, i.e., the inclusive and exclusive “we” share the same form. Taiwanese, an ethnic language spoken in Taiwan, is an example of the two-form parameter, in which the inclusive “we” is represented by *lán* and the exclusive by *gún*. Mandarin Chinese, the official language, works in the one-form parameter since the referent of *wo-men* can either include or exclude the hearer.<sup>1</sup>

As a closed category in the lexical system, pronouns are said to be more resistant to language change (Dixon 1997:22). Studies in historical linguistics, however, had identified rich examples of the change or loss of clusivity distinction as a consequence of language contact, mainly among Austronesian languages and their neighboring ones (Bickel & Nichols 2005:67-68; van den Berg 2015). With close contact with Mandarin and being banned in public domains during 1956 to 1987, Taiwanese not only suffers from a great loss of native speakers, its dual-form parameter has been undergoing unstable change recently. In most languages where the inclusive/exclusive is no longer differentiated, it is usually the inclusive one in the pair that has been retained (Lichtenberk 2005: 263). The above strong tendency and the observation that the inclusive pronoun serves

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<sup>1</sup> Readers should be reminded that, according to Mei (1988:141) and Cysouw (2013), Mandarin spoken in China is a TWO-form system (“*za-men/we*” as the inclusive and “*wo-men/we*” as the exclusive. Although no relevant information regarding their counterparts in Taiwan Mandarin was documented, in my observation as a native speaker, the inclusive *za-men* is rarely used in Taiwan Mandarin. Instead, inclusivity is conveyed by the supposedly exclusive form, i.e., the referent of “*wo-men/we*” can either include or exclude the addressee.

additional pragmatic functions besides referential inclusivity, further lead to scholars’ claim (Lichtenberk 2005: 262; Daniel 2005:3) that inclusive pronouns is best analyzed not as a subtype of the first person pronoun system, but as a separate category.

Although the Taiwanese inclusive *lán* also serves a rich variety of pragmatic functions and its rhetoric effect in establishing rapport is well-recognized, such as in dietary supplement advertisements (Liao & Tsai 2015), our initial observation show that it is the exclusive *gún* on its way to take over the inclusive *lán* (hereafter “exclusive *gún*/we replacing inclusive *lán*/we”). This contradicts Lichtenberk’s and Daniel’s claims. While this direction of change is typologically striking (considering that neighboring languages, such as Hakka or Austronesian, are also inclusive/exclusive in dual forms) and deserves further academic scrutiny in its own right, it is equally important to document how social factors, such as age and education, contribute to this change and how strong this trend is. Is the “exclusive *gún*/we replacing inclusive *lán*/we” change in its burgeoning stage, a merger-in-progress, or an almost complete change? In the context of an endangered ethnic language (such as Taiwanese), the age factor usually predicts a new variant (such as “*gún* for *lán*”) to be more acceptable among the young generation due to their lower exposure to the authentic old form. The education factor, on the other hand, may assume the new variant’s higher popularity among the more-educated speakers since in a diglossia context, the endangered status of an ethnic language is usually the consequence of socio-economic oppression, e.g., Taiwanese being banned in school. Such oppression thus decreases the more-educated group’s exposure to the language and usage of its authentic old variant (Chan 1994:124-125; Tsai 2022).

While previous research on the attrition of inclusive/exclusive distinction has been based on language typology and geographical distribution (Lichtenberk 2005; Daniel 2005; van den Berg 2015), the

current study furthers this line of inquiry with an experimental approach by using a grammaticality judgement task. Although a cognition-based approach such as a grammaticality judgement task might confine speakers' linguistic behavior to limited contexts, it offers researchers a systematic and quantitative overview of the loss of a target linguistic form (cf. Section 3.1).

As part of a series study of pronouns used in Taiwanese health-care communication, we designed a grammaticality judgement task involving health education discourse and subjects from three age groups, i.e., medicine-related students, and middle-aged and old age speakers with different education levels. Our research questions are: How do age and education factors affect Taiwanese speakers' detection rate in identifying an ungrammatical use of *gún* in health-care communication? What is the estimated status of the “*gún*/we replacing *lán*/we” phenomenon in the language change process.

In what follows, we demonstrate that the hypothesized relation between age/education and speakers' perception in cognition-based study on language change cannot fully account for all groups' performance, especially when the experiment subjects involve old subjects (65-93 years old) who are also the less-educated group. Compared to findings from our series study, the current ones will also show that the ongoing phenomenon of “exclusive replacing inclusive” is located in a relatively earlier stage of the language change process.

This study is important in two ways. A quantitative approach provides a systematic overview of the loss a target linguistic form and adds alternative perspectives to the study of language change. In the context of preserving an endangered ethnic language (such as Taiwanese) and documenting a unique language change path (the loss of inclusive pronoun rather than the exclusive pronoun), we expect our findings to shed light on pedagogical efforts in preserving a pragmatically powerful form (i.e.,

the inclusive *lán* in Taiwanese) and to further our understanding of the ongoing interest in the loss of clusivity distinction in pronominal systems of languages around the world.

## 2. Literature Review

Although language change may be initiated or accelerated by multiple factors, a shared controlling mechanism is “language contact/exposure”. Language contact effect on the loss of clusivity distinction in the pronoun system in Austronesian languages was well documented (Bickel & Nichols 2005; Lichtenberk 2005; van den Berg 2015). This section reviews sociolinguistic or experimental studies which involve age and education factors and support the effect of language contact or exposure on language change. After close contact with Taiwanese ethnic language since 1945, Mandarin had developed into a Taiwanese-accented variety. One of its phonological features is the /*kwo y*/ variation (as occurred in the phrase “*guoyu*/official language”), which develops two new variants, the merge of /w/ and /o/, and the delabialization of /y/. By analyzing the acoustic feature of more than 7,000 tokens that emerged in the researcher’s face-to-face interviews with 1,159 speakers, Tseng (2016:393-400) concluded that education, age, and Taiwanese exposure are significant factors related to speakers’ choice of the two variants versus the standard form. That is, younger informants and subjects with a higher education level, and informants with less exposure to Taiwanese or with a childhood residence in a metropolitan city use the standard varieties more frequently. The above findings led to Tseng’s conclusion that the progress of mixing Taiwanese with Taiwan Mandarin is ongoing but not yet stabilized.

Based on Tseng’s findings, we can reasonably correlate the age and education factors with “exposure to Taiwanese”. Given the highly stigmatized status of Taiwanese, which was banned in public domains, especially in schools, and whose speakers were tagged with a

discriminatory stigma “*bô-chúi-chún/no-class*” and “*bô-thák-chheh/no-education*”, the younger generation, the more educated, and those who grew up in a metropolis are more likely to use Mandarin and to have a lower exposure to Taiwanese. Therefore, they are less likely to use the Taiwanese-accented feature in their Mandarin. The younger or the more-educated speakers’ lower use of Taiwanese is also confirmed in several sociolinguistic surveys in Taiwan (e.g., Chan 1994:82-83; Tsai 2022).

Similarly, effects of exposure of language A on the structural change of language B explains findings in the following studies. By asking college students to perform a production task and perception judgement task, Fon, Hung, Huang and Hsu (2011) investigated syllable-final nasal mergers in Taiwan Mandarin, e.g., /iŋ/ → [in]. They found that the /iŋ/ → [in] merger is found only in students who grew up in southern Taiwan (p. 290), where Taiwanese is more frequently used than in the north. The researchers concluded that this merger is a negative transfer from Taiwanese. Montrul’s (2013) study examined gender agreement in Spanish, a challenging grammatical feature to master for both non-native speakers and heritage speakers, i.e., near-natives who experienced input disruption of their first language when forced to become native speakers of a second language. By conducting a production task on three groups, including native speakers, heritage speakers, and L2 learners of Spanish, Montrul found that while none of the native speakers made gender agreement errors, 35% of the heritage speakers and all the L2 learners did. The researcher accounted for the contrasting results between the latter two groups by the idea of early childhood Spanish exposure. Unlike the heritage speakers, L2 learners were not exposed to Spanish from birth, especially gender agreement usage through Child Directed Speech. Viñas-de-Puig’s (2019) interview project investigated the double object marking constructions in Spanish used by 17 Spanish immigrants lived in North Carolina (ranging from 22 to 50 years old). The finding showed

that only the extent of the speaker’s usage of English in their daily life (i.e., exposure to L2) displayed a significant negative correlation with the subjects’ use of the double object construction in Spanish.

Based on the above review, we hypothesize that, in the case of language attrition of an endangered ethnic language such as Taiwanese, the older generation or the less-educated groups is less likely to miss errors in grammaticality judgement task than their younger counterparts. Will younger or more-educated speakers perform worse in the grammaticality judgement task of detecting the ungrammatical use of *gún*? The education and age factors are the focus of our research.

### 3. Methodology

This section introduces “grammaticality judgement task”, our rationale in taking this approach, and the research design.

#### 3.1. Grammaticality Judgement Task

Grammaticality judgement task, alternatively referred to as “acceptability judgment task”, is a type of linguistic experiment designed to solicit speaker’s reaction to, judgement on, or acceptance toward certain linguistic input (Schmid 2011). In the task, subjects are presented with a set of stimuli and asked to make a judgement by filling a blank, answering a yes/no, multiple-choice (e.g., 7-point Likert scale), or open question. This method is widely adopted to explore speakers’ explicit or implicit knowledge in the process of second language acquisition or first language attrition (Schmid 2011:151). Since speakers’ linguistic knowledge are usually unconscious and tacit, two cognitive processes are involved in the task (Lust & Blume 2016:156). First, the subject registers the sentence (either via listening or reading), comprehends the sentence, and then make a metalinguistic judgement, i.e., reconstructing or mapping the sentence to his/her mental knowledge and judging whether the sentence



could be used in various “possible pragmatic contexts other than in the immediate situation” (Lust & Blume 2016:159). The knowledge focus in such an experiment task has been widely extended from grammaticality to any other structural or pragmatic aspects of language use, e.g., the English speaker’s judgement on the semantic scope of indefinite article “a” and “a certain” (Ionin 2010) or gender-neutral but might be “ungrammatical” use of singular “they” (Bradley 2020). Through the application of grammaticality judgement task, researchers hope to access the informants’ intuition about the knowledge or the norm of their native or non-native language (Lust & Blume 2016:158). In the case of language attrition, it shows researchers what is lost and retained (Altenberg & Vago 2004:105).

Although the design of a grammaticality judgement task confines speakers’ linguistic responses to a specific discourse context, in the context of language change, it can offer a systematic and quantitative overview of the loss of a target linguistic form and inform researchers of new insights into language change, especially in measuring the prevalence of a new variant and its status in the language change process. Thus, the current study adopts a grammaticality judgement task via audio stimuli to explore Taiwanese speakers’ judgement of the inclusive/exclusive distinction, their acceptability of the “exclusive *gún*/we replacing inclusive *lán*/we” phenomenon, and the prevalence of this new trend.

As previous studies on inclusive/exclusive pronouns focus mainly on their diachronic development and typological distribution, no relevant linguistic experiment was designed before. Our experiment design follows general principles in conducting grammaticality judgement tasks and sociolinguistic surveys (Labov 1972; Trudgill 1974; Schmid 2011; Lust & Blume 2016).

Following Labov’s study of sound variation in New York City (1972) and Trudgill’s in Norwich (1974), our test stimuli are composed in two

forms: “passage pairs” and “minimal pairs”. To test his hypothesis that speakers’ choices of phonological variants are related to social contexts, such as the preservation vs. deletion of post-vocalic [r] or the use of [n] vs. [ŋ], Labov observed informants’ language behaviors in four contexts involving different formality and attention degrees in the following order: casual speech outside an interview context, formal interview, reading passages, reading word lists (1972:79-99). Among them, the casual one (such as sharing a near death experience) is the least formal context where speakers usually pay least attention to their language behavior; whereas, reading word lists (such as minimal pairs) is the most formal since speakers become more aware of the subtle linguistic variants and make greatest effort to mark the distinction (Labov 1972:85). Both studies by Labov (1972:141) and Trudgill (1974) indeed showed that the more formal a context is the higher the instance of the standard variety is used. Accordingly, we design two types of stimuli, “passage pairs” and “minimal pairs”, and ask subjects to choose a “non-acceptable” one from the pair.

## 3.2. Stimuli

In our series study of pronoun use, we focus on health-care education talks which aim to inform the public of health knowledge and alter their attitude and behavior toward a healthier lifestyle (Glanz, Rimer & Lewis 2002). Such advice-giving discourse makes prevalent use of inclusive pronouns to build rapport with patients (Brown & Levinson 1987:118; Liao & Tsai 2015:93), and thus is a relevant context for our stimuli design.

### 3.2.1. Passage Pairs (“PSP”)

The contrastive target pronouns are juxtaposed in two short paragraphs, e.g., three *lán* and *gún* in Passage-01 and Passage-02\* respectively. The star “\*” indicates an ungrammatical use. The target pronouns are underlined. To minimize effects of random factors on subjects’ judgement, the two passages in each pair are constructed in

parallel. For example, the proposition content and sentence structures in Passage-01 and Passage-02\* are similar—the former describes a long-term treatment plan for a malignant tumor and the latter that for diabetes.

### Passage-01-Grammatical use of inclusive *lán*

*Hó, góa lâi kóng chit-má lán beh án-chóa<sup>n</sup> chhú-lí, chit-chióng phái<sup>n</sup>-mih-á ē-tàng khui-to kā thêh-tiāu, khui-to liáu-āu, lán ài tng-kí tng-lái mng-chín chò kiám-cha, sui-jiân thia<sup>n</sup>--khí-lâi chin mâ-hoân, m̄-koh, ài ũ nāi-sim, lán chò-hóe lâi phah-pià<sup>n</sup>, hó-bô?*

好，我來講…這馬…咱欲按怎處理，這種歹物仔會當開刀共提掉，開刀了後，咱愛長期轉來門診…做檢查，雖然聽起來真麻煩，毋過，愛有耐心，咱做伙來拍拚，好無？

OK, now, I'm going to talk about what we(incl) can do. This type of bad tumor can be removed by surgery, and then, we(incl) need to have a long-term follow-up check. Although this sounds very troublesome, but, be patient, we(incl) will work together, ok?

Open question:

Is there anything that sounds “strange” or “inappropriate” to you?

### Passage-02\*-Ungrammatical use of exclusive *gún* when the context calls for an inclusive *lán*.

*Hó, góa lâi kóng chit-má gún\* beh án-chóa<sup>n</sup> chhú-lí, thng-jiō-pē<sup>n</sup> su-iàu tng-kí chiáh iòh-á khòng-chè, a gún\* chiáh-sit ài phòe-háp chò tiâu-chéng, sa<sup>n</sup>-tng thng-hun mā-ài chù-ì, sui-jiân thia<sup>n</sup>--khí-lâi chiá<sup>n</sup> lo-so, m̄-koh ài ũ nāi-sim, gún\* chò-hóe lâi phah-pià<sup>n</sup>, hó-bô?*

好，我來講…這馬…阮\*欲按怎處理，糖尿病…需要…長期食藥仔控制，啊阮\*食食…愛配合做調整，三頓糖分…嘛愛注意，雖然聽起來誠囉嗦，毋過愛有耐心，阮\*做伙來拍拚，好無？

OK, now, I'm going to talk about what we(excl)\* can do. The control for diabetes requires a long-term medication. We(excl)\* should follow the dietary advice for adjustment. Pay attention to the sugar intake in the daily three meals. Although this sounds very troublesome, but, be patient, we(excl)\* will work together, ok?

Open question:

Is there anything that sounds “strange” or “inappropriate” to you?

### 3.2.2. Minimal Pairs (“MNP”)

The target words are embedded in two short sentences extracted from their corresponding passages. Everything in the two MNP sentences is the same except for the target pronouns, for example, sentences (a) and (b) in MNP-021 and 025 are generated based on Passages 01 and 02 with the underlined pronoun as the sole difference in each pair.

#### Minimal pair 021 and 025

· MNP-021a. *Chit-má khai-sí lán chiáh-sit ài phòe-háp chò tiâu-chéng.*  
這馬開始咱食食…愛配合做調整

From now on we(incl) should follow the dietary advice for adjustment.

· MNP-021b\*. *Chit-má khai-sí gún\* chiáh-sit ài phòe-háp chò tiâu-chéng.*

這馬開始阮\*食食…愛配合做調整

From now on we(excl)\* should follow the dietary advice for adjustment.

Multiple choice question:

- (1) \_\_ (a) is “strange” or “inappropriate”
- (2) \_\_ (b) is “strange” or “inappropriate”
- (3) \_\_ no difference

· MNP-025a(lán)/MNP-025b(gún\*).

*Sui-jiân chit-chióng tī-liâu thia<sup>n</sup>--khí-lâi chin mâ-hoân, lán/gún\* chò-hóe lái phah-pià<sup>n</sup>, hó-bô?*

雖然這種治療聽起來真麻煩，咱/阮\*做伙來拍拚，好無？

Although this treatment sounds very troublesome, we(incl)/we(excl)\* will work together, ok?

Multiple choice question:

- (1) \_\_ (a) is “strange” or “inappropriate”
- (2) \_\_ (b) is “strange” or “inappropriate”
- (3) \_\_ no difference

Our rationale for using both PSP and MNP is as the following. To examine speakers’ grammatical judgement, (1) subjects must be aware

of the existence of the target pronouns, and (2) their existence should be situated in a context as close as the real-life ones. The design of a passage composed of 4 to 6 sentences is to meet the second criterion—to resemble a discourse context where the target pronouns usually occur. However, such a goal inherently jeopardizes the first since the wide context in a passage might divert subjects' attention to other linguistic or discourse factors. In other words, the existence of the target pronouns in the passage form may not be registered in the subject's cognition process and thus fails to trigger any relevant comments from subjects. Such unreflecting contrast in PSP stimuli can be solved by using minimal pair stimuli since the sole difference in MNP is the target pronoun and will receive greater attention (Labov 1972:85).

In our design, the target pronouns occur in four types of sentence structure (negative description, imperative statement, tag questions, and yes/no questions). The design of imperative statement and question has an important consideration—both are inherently “inclusive” (Dobrushina & Goussev 2005:179). Imperatives, be it in positive or negative (“you should” or “you should not”), are to call for the addressee's actions toward a healthy lifestyle and are frequently used in health education. Such a “request” is addressee-oriented and thus frees a first-person plural pronoun from the exclusive reading. In other words, when a first-person plural pronoun occurs in an imperative statement, it is bound to be inclusive. Similarly, a question formation is also addressee-oriented since the sheer design of a question is to seek for the addressee's response. Thus it invokes an inclusive reading from a collocated first-person plural pronoun, e.g., “We will work together, ok?” (in MNP-025) or “Is that something we want?” (in MNP-095, meaning that the addressee can avoid a poor consequence of walking with a cane if the patient does take treatment for his/her degenerative joints). The construction of negative description depicts some negative health-related situations, behaviors, or events which lead

to undesirable consequence. Since health education is to ward people off poor consequences, the first-person plural pronoun that refers to the agent or experiencer in these negative statements can be reasonably interpreted as inclusive as well.

A total of 10 pairs (4 PSP and 6 MNP) are designed as the primary stimuli to test subjects' knowledge in detecting the ungrammatical use of an exclusive *gún* when the context calls for an inclusive *lán*. To avoid bias emerging from limited linguistic and discourse context, our design of pronoun stimuli in the four PSP covers eight health topics, including malignant tumor, diabetes, degenerative joints, chronic coughing, cataracts, blurred vision, and photophobia. The six MNP generated from the four PSP are as the following.

#### MNP stimuli for grammaticality judgement

##### 1. MNP-021

*Chit-má khai-sí lán/gún\* chiáh-sit ài phòe-háp chò tiâu-chéng.*

這馬開始咱/阮\* 食食…愛配合做調整

From now on, we(inc)/we(excl)\* should follow the dietary advice for adjustment.

##### 2. MNP-025

*Lán/Gún\* chò-hóe phah-pià<sup>n</sup>, hó-bô?*

咱/阮\* 做伙拍拚, 好無?

We(inc)/We(excl)\* will work together, OK?

##### 3. MNP-091

*Lán/Gún\* che koan-chat thè-hòa nā bô-siū<sup>n</sup>-beh chú-lí.*

If we(inc)/we(excl)\* forgo treatments for the degenerative joints

咱/阮\* 這關節退化若無想欲處理

##### 4. MNP-095

*Í-āu lán/gún\* kiá<sup>n</sup>-lō tō ài giáh koái-á, án-ne kám-hó?*

以後咱/阮\* 行路…就愛攆柺仔, 按呢…敢好?

Walking with a cane, is that something we(inc)/we(excl)\* want in the future?

5. MNP-121

*Tē-it-chióng thng-jjō-pē<sup>n</sup> sī lán/gún\* sè-hàn chhut-sì sin-thé tō ū bün-tê.*

第一種糖尿病是，咱/阮\*細漢出世身體就有問題

Type I diabetes is a genetic condition that occurs in our(incl)/our(excl)\* early life.

6. MNP-142

*Che bák-chiu kia<sup>n</sup>-kng ê bün-tê lán/gún\* m̄-thang koh thoa--lòh-khì.*

這目睷驚光ê問題，咱/阮\*毋通閣拖落去矣

We(inc)/We(excl)\* should not further delay the problem of photophobia.

To prepare subjects for our research goal and to avoid their suspicion of the research focus, three PSP and six MNP unrelated to pronouns are also created as the distractors. A total of 11 PSP and 40 MNP are designed in this study. The average character count in PSP and MSP are 70 and 18 words respectively. The texts are read by a young male native speaker (aged 22). The speaker is trained to avoid any other deviants commonly observed in young Taiwanese speakers, such as the loss of voiced /g/ and final unreleased stop sounds (Hsu 2014).

### 3.2. Task Procedures and Coding of Responses

1. In the experiment, subjects by groups are gathered in an auditorium room. After they fill in a basic information sheet, the researcher gives the instructions. Subjects are asked to listen to the first passage in a PSP (e.g., Passage-01) and are given 30 to 45 seconds to respond to an open question: “Is there anything that sounds “strange” or “inappropriate” to you?” The researcher went on explaining: “For example, does the speaker use a word in a way different from yours or an expression that does not sound right or appropriate for the context?”
2. About one third of the old group preferred to take the experiment with a researcher’s technical assistance. One researcher paired up with one subject, played the audio stimuli with earbuds inserted to

subjects’ ears, read the task questions, and wrote down the subject’s response. Each of these pairs work individually in a separate space without interference from other pairs.

3. Then, the researcher plays the second passage (e.g., Passage-02) and gives another 30 to 45 seconds to respond to the open question. Upon that, the sheet is collected to avoid any subsequent change of the responses. Subjects then listen to the corresponding MNP (e.g., MNP-021, 022 etc.) and answer a multiple-choice question:
  - (1) \_\_ (a) is “strange” or “inappropriate”
  - (2) \_\_ (b) is “strange” or “inappropriate”
  - (3) \_\_ no difference.
4. A practice trial was placed before the actual experiment to make sure that subjects understand the procedure.
5. To reduce experiment fatigue (Lust & Blume 2016:159), the target stimuli and distractor stimuli are arranged into 4 groups (A, B, C, D), with each group containing 6 PSP and 10 MNP. The experiment time to run each stimulus group takes around 30 minutes.

### 3.3. Subjects

Between 2021 and 2022, a total of 600 subjects in three age groups participated in this study: (1) young group (15-29 years old, average 19.2), (2) middle-aged group (30-64 years old, average 52.7), and (3) old group (65-93 years old, average 74.4). All the middle-aged and old subjects are locals in Southern Taiwan. The young group are mainly health-care-related students in southern Taiwan (205 from a medical school and 166 from a junior college of nursing). The majority of the young and middle-aged subjects are recruited in response to an advertisement posted in social media and most subjects in the old group join the study via community leader or personal contact by the researcher. No communication or cognition difficulties were apparent in the elderly subjects upon observation. The recruiting criterion is speakers’ self-report of their



Taiwanese proficiency at a minimal level of “able to understand but cannot communicate with others”<sup>2</sup>. The above methodology is approved by the NCKU Research Ethics Committee.

**Table 1. Subjects by age and gender**

	Age range	Average age	Male (N)	Female (N)	Total (N)	%
Young	15-29	19.2	99	272	371	61.8%
Middle-aged	30-64	52.7	35	103	138	23%
Old	65-93	74.4	30	61	91	15.2%
Total					600	100%

Regarding the education factor, since the education level of the young group ranges from high school to university, to avoid a biased result, education as a factor is applied only to the middle-aged and old groups. Their education levels are divided into the low group (junior high or lower) versus the high group (high school or higher). This binary system, instead of a finer one (such as low, mid, high) is a compromise of two situations: the smaller number of old subjects we were able to recruit during the COVID-19 pandemic and the minimal expected count of “5” to run statistically significant results. Table 2 shows the educational background between the two groups differs significantly ( $p<.000$ ), with the middle-aged group mainly at high school level or higher (94.2%) and the old group at junior high school level or lower (68.5%). Consequently, the less-educated group has only 46 members.

<sup>2</sup> The self-report of Taiwanese proficiency is a 9 point scale in which 1 is “not understanding what was said at all”, 3 “understand what was said but cannot communicate with others”, 5 “able to communicate with others but with difficulty”, 7 “able to communicate with others”, and 9 “very fluent”.

## 4. Results and discussion

Table 2. Subjects by education and Chi-square test

	Less (Junior high or lower)		More (Senior high or higher)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Middle-aged	7	5.1%	130	94.9%	137	100%
Old	39	43.8%	50	56.2%	89	100%
	46	20.4%	180	79.6%	226	100%
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)			
Pearson Chi-Square	49.871 <sup>a</sup>	1	0**			
N of Valid Cases	1217					

<sup>a</sup> 0 cells (0.0%) have an expected count of less than 5. The minimum expected count is 18.12

\*\* $p < .001$

### 4.1. Stimuli Type

Across all age groups, subjects' accuracy rate in identifying the ungrammatical use of *gún* in all passage pairs is significantly lower than that in minimal pairs (Table 3). The average of accuracy rates for their corresponding minimal pairs increases twice or thrice (e.g., 23.9% for PSP-02 vs. 76.1% for MNP-025; 33.5% for PSP-14 and 66.5% for MNP-14,  $p < .001$ )

Table 3. PSP vs. MNP (Chi-square test)

Stimuli		Accurate responses	Total responses	Total respondents	Chi-square test		
					Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
PSP-02 vs. MNP-025 (Tag question)	PSP	47 (23.9%)	325 (50.1%)	649	77.781	1	.000***
	MNP	150 (76.1%)	324 (49.9%)				

Table 3.--Continued.

Stimuli		Accurate responses	Total responses	Total respondents	Chi-square test		
PSP-07 vs MNP-071 (Imperative statement)	PSP	26 (25.2%)	224 (55.4%)	404	51.049	1	.000***
	MNP	77 (74.8%)	180 (44.6%)				
PSP-09 vs. MNP-095 (Yes/no question)	PSP	53 (27.7%)	275 (50%)	550	57.953	1	.000***
	MNP	138 (72.3%)	275 (50%)				
PSP-12 vs. MNP-121 (Negative description)	PSP	45 (23.6%)	279 (50.1%)	557	81.833	1	.000***
	MNP	146 (76.4%)	278 (49.9%)				
PSP-14 vs. MNP-141 (Imperative statement)	PSP	117 (33.5%)	600 (64.4%)	931	232.981	1	.000***
	MNP	232 (66.5%)	331 (35.6%)				

\*\*\* $p < .001$

The above findings support Labov’s hypothesis (1972) that speakers’ choice of linguistic varieties, or speaker’s perception in this study, changes in accordance with the attention degree engaged in a speech event. The rich context and multi-level complexity of passage pairs divert subjects’ attention and blur their judgement on function words such as pronouns. Such unawareness was efficiently improved when their attention was brought to focus on the target pronouns in the contrastive minimal pairs. The above finding also shows how minimal pairs is a powerful tool in a grammaticality judgement test.

#### 4.2. Age

Regarding age factor on speakers’ detection of the ungrammatical use of exclusive *gún*, the means of accuracy rates by each age group show a pattern of “middle-aged > old > young” (53.8%>37.8%>32% in Table 4). Chi-square tests reveal two significant differences. (1) The middle-aged group scored higher than the young or old groups in eight pairs (PSP-02,

MNP-025, PSP-09, MNP-095, PSP-12, MNP-121, PSP-14, MNP-142,  $p < .05$ ).

(2) In contrast to our expectation, the old group did not do better than the middle-aged group or young group (except in PSP-09) and even yielded to the young group in MNP-121.

The tendency for the middle-aged group to score higher than the young group confirms our hypothesis. Since the middle-aged group consists of Taiwanese speakers who are more fluent than the young one (cf. Table 5, mean score 7.85 vs. 6.5,  $p < .001$ ), their accuracy rate is higher. The old group’s tendency to perform worse in detecting the ungrammatical usage of *gún*, despite being significantly more fluent in Taiwanese than the middle aged and young groups, might be partially related to their lower education background (sections 4.3) and cognition decline in normal aging (section 4.4).

**Table 4. Grammaticality judgement: age (Chi-square test)**

Stimuli	Accuracy rate			Chi-square test				
	Young	Middle-aged	Old			Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
PSP-02	12.4%	29.8%	9.8%	M>Y		8.86	1	.003**
					M>O	7.003	1	.008**
MNP-025	38.7%	74.5%	51.7%	M>Y		19.953	1	.000***
					M>O	5.797	1	.016*
PSP-09	8.4%	36.3%	23.3%	M>Y		29.034	1	.000***
					O>Y	5.747	1	.017*
MNP-091	43.2%	56.8%	64.7%					
MNP-095	37.7%	72.5%	46.7%	M>Y		27.817	1	.000***
					M>O	6.735	1	.009**
PSP-12	15.5%	29.4%	10.9%		M>O	5.285	1	.022*

Table 4.--Continued.

Stimuli	Accuracy rate			Chi-square test					
MNP-121	54.7%	64.7%	39.7%		M>O		5.536	1	.019*
						Y>O	4.215	1	.040*
PSP-14	14.8%	33.3%	17.6%	M>Y			21.664	1	.000***
					M>O		6.891	1	.009**
MNP-142	62.9%	87.2%	76.2%	M>Y			17.315	1	.000***
Mean of accuracy rates (PSP+MNP)	32.0%	53.8	37.8%						
Mean of accuracy rates (PSP)	12.8%	32.2%	15.4%						
Mean of accuracy rates (MNP)	47.4%	71.1%	55.8%						

\*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 5. Taiwanese proficiency among three age groups (ANOVA)

	N	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean difference	Bonferroni	
Young	370	6.5	1.527	-1.346*	Y<M	.000***
Middle-aged	136	7.85	1.293	-.683*	M<O	.001**
Old	89	8.53	0.88	2.028*	Y<O	.000***
Total	595					

\*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

### 4.3. Education

As stated earlier, the two education groups in our study, less versus more educated, do not cover subjects from the young group since all of them are high school level or higher. In contrast to our expectation, the more-educated members in the middle-aged and old groups scored better

than the less-educated ones in eight stimuli, and four among these stimuli reach a significant level (PSP-02, PSP-12, MNP-121, PSP-14, Table 6,  $p < .001$ ). The four stimuli are also where the middle-aged scored significantly better than the old one (Table 4).

As we showed earlier in Table 2 that the education level of the old generation is significantly lower than the middle-aged (Table 3,  $p < .001$ ), we suspect that the old group’s lower education level might partially contribute to their poorer performance in the grammaticality judgement task. Before an elaboration in section 4.4, readers should be reminded of the small number of less-educated subjects we were able to recruit in this study, a total of only 46 (Table 2), who made up the four test groups with each test group containing an even smaller size of 7 to 20 subjects. As indicated in our finding, the less-educated group is also likely to have a lower accuracy rate in the task. As a result, the number of accurate responses from this group is usually lower than the minimal expected count of “5” to run a significant test. This accounts for the situation in PSP 09, MNP-091, 095, and 142 (Table 6)

**Table 6. Grammaticality judgement: education (Chi-square test)**

Stimulus	Accuracy rate		Chi-square test			
	Less-educated	More-educated		Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
PSP-02	2.6%	27.3%	M>L	10.098	1	.001**
MNP-025	52.6%	66.7%				
PSP-09	25%	33.9%				
MNP-091	57.1%	59.6%				
MNP-095	41.7%	68.8%				
PSP-12	5%	26.8%	M>L	7.6	1	.006**
MNP-121	30%	61.8%	M>L	9.387	1	.002**

Table 6.--Continued.

Stimulus	Accuracy rate		Chi-square test			
PSP-14	11.8%	31.4%	M>L	7.749	1	.005**
MNP-142	71.4%	85.7%				
Mean of accuracy rates by each group	33%	51.3%				

\*\* $p < .01$

#### 4.4. Grammaticality Judgement Task Across Age and Education

Despite of their better fluency in Taiwanese, the old subjects' accuracy rate in identifying the ungrammatical use of exclusive *gún* is significantly lower than their younger counterparts. In this section, we will discuss how low education and aging might lead to the above age difference and the unexpected discrepancy between the old group's Taiwanese proficiency and their perception.

First of all, Table 2 had showed that the education level of the old generation is lower than the middle-aged (Table 3,  $p < .001$ ). Among the 46 subjects in the less-educated group, 39 are from the old group and 13 of the old subjects are “illiterate” or “lower than primary education”. Even though 14 of the 39 old subjects receive full primary education, such formal literacy may not be equal to functional literacy, i.e. sufficient mastery of reading and writing for professional and social use (Eme, Lacroix & Almecija 2010:1349). We suspect that due to the lack of long-term and intensive cognitive training before adulthood, the old group may not be used to registering the subtle linguistic signals in these hypothetical and experimental contexts at all. Some evidence from our field observation supports the above. First of all, the young and middle-aged groups mainly consist of volunteers who signed up in response to our solicitation posted in social media and their experiments were doable in group form, i.e., 20 to 50 subjects taking the task simultaneously. In contrast, about one third

of the old group was approached individually in some community centers or parks. Some cannot or are not used to write and most of them preferred to take the experiment with researcher’s technical assistance (cf. section 3.2).

Secondly, it would be fair to say that the middle-aged and young groups have more exposure to surveys or experiments, especially students, and are more ready to situate themselves in the experiment scenario. Some of the elderly subjects, in contrast, appeared to be resistant to the hypothetical scenario designed in the experiment, or felt confused or annoyed about the triviality they had to go through. Some would complain about listening to similar sentences over and over again or downplay the difference of pronouns in most minimal pairs (“*Góa kám-kak he lóng bô-chha lah* / I really don’t think they make any difference”) even when the target pronouns were highlighted by the researcher verbally. Some informants tended to respond to the advice content instead of the target pronouns in minimal pairs, e.g., showing agreement with what the doctor said, which is a common phenomenon also reported in judgement tasks involving children (de Villiers & de Villiers 1972:309; Lust & Blume 2016:156-158). In some cases, the old subjects’ responses did not truthfully reflect their spontaneous linguistic performance. For example, they might give a “no difference” response between *gún* and *lán* in minimal pairs and claimed that it is okay to use either one although they themselves consistently choose the inclusive *lán* correctly when chatting with the researcher, such as “*Lán chò pē<sup>n</sup>-lâng--ê, tiòh-sī ài thia<sup>n</sup> i-seng ê òe* / We (inclusive) as the patients should always adhere to what doctors say”.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Readers should be reminded that the above description of our old subjects would have been readily observable in the case of the two younger subjects if the part of their experiment were done in the same face-to-face and one-on-one interview.



Thirdly, although none of the old subjects appears to have obvious cognitive dysfunction, we think aging itself is also a possible factor to account for the cross-generation difference. The mean ages of the three groups in our study are 19.2, 52.7, and 74.4 years old. The effect of normal aging on cognition decline has been reported elsewhere in linguistic experiments. For example, elderly subjects displayed decreased working memory required for language processing and had more comprehension errors and were slower in word recognition and sentence parsing (DeDe & Knilans 2016). When compared to younger subjects, the elderly subjects are more likely to miss linguistic cues (such as word order or verbal agreement) in online sentence comprehension tasks (aged 23 vs. 77, Kail, Lemaire & Lecacheur 2012), and displayed lower discriminability and greater bias in lexical decision tasks (aged 22.4 vs. 60 or older, Stine-Morrow, Miller & Nevin 1999).

As mentioned earlier, an online grammaticality judgement task is a high demand task in and of itself (Lust & Blume 2016:159). Participants not only need to comprehend the audio signals, but they must also make a metalinguistic judgement in the micro-linguistic components. To solicit informants' intuitive responses, the two keywords in our repeated instruction "strange or inappropriate" (as in "pay attention to anything which sounds strange or inappropriate") which correspond to "ungrammatical" in our coding, cannot be too revealing. This vagueness and generalness, on top of the possible cognition decline, may lead the elderly subjects to a clueless end. Consequently, rather than commenting on the grammar which the old subjects may not have registered at all, their impromptu response under the time and interactional pressure is to invoke comments on the propositional content, i.e., the health-care advice itself, or to choose a "no-difference" response.

#### 4.5. Methodological Concern

The above findings of and accounts for the elderly group’s lower accuracy rate than their younger counterparts lead to our following methodological concern and suggestion for future study. Although a cognition-based approach, such as a grammaticality judgement task, can offer a systematic and quantitative overview of the loss of linguistic features in an endangered ethnic language, it needs to be designed more delicately, especially when it involves elderly or less-educated subjects. Speakers’ cognitive process in response to linguistic stimuli could be greatly subjected to their personal experience and access to education. In a diglossia context where the ethnic language is the low code and at risk of extinction, its elderly cohort is likely to be both the monolingual and less-educated speakers as well. The lower education background creates a methodological obstacle to revealing their full knowledge of their sole language. Therefore, the experiment needs to be designed in a way that requires the lowest possible threshold so as to increase the researchers’ chance of receiving valid or reflective responses. For example, auditory stimuli might be more revealing if some situational context is added, such as a visual image of a doctor talking to a patient in a clinic.

Secondly, when the subjects’ education background is relevant to their ethnic language exposure or use in daily life, a balanced number of subjects of each education level is critical. In this study, the more-educated members are mainly from the middle-age group and the less-educated from the old. The unequal distribution of educational levels among the subjects is an unavoidable concession to the reality of subject recruitment during a pandemic and the generally low education of the old cohort (those born between 1928 and 1957), who grew up when Taiwan’s economy was underdeveloped. Therefore, readers should be reminded that these unbalanced subject numbers may not truly reveal how education affects the subjects’ linguistic knowledge.

As readers may also recall, subjects in previous studies adopting grammaticality judgement task with a focus on language change or attrition are more homogeneous. They are from a similar age group or have similar education backgrounds but differ from each other in terms of exposure to the language under investigation (e.g., Fon et al. 2011; Montrul 2013); and when cross-generation subjects are involved, they are restricted to similar educational levels, e.g., subjects who participated in the linguistic experiments by Glosser and Deser (1992) and Cooper (1990). Although these subject criteria adopted in previous studies do not suggest that cognition-based approach to language change cannot be done across age and education groups, it implies that a more cautious design is needed.

Therefore, we conclude this section with three possible methodological directions for future quantitative and cognition-based approach to language change. The design of experiment stimuli requires the lowest possible threshold that will maximize the chance of soliciting valid or reflective responses from all subjects, especially the old or the less-educated groups. When a balanced subject number of education levels from all age groups is not possible, a focus on one age group alone, such as the middle-age group, can be a feasible alternative. Furthermore, the exploration of the age factor should be adjusted to recruit subjects from the same education level.

#### 4.6. Stage of Language Change

In the study of language change, a gradually spreading new feature adopted by the oldest generation can be a solid sign of the completion stage; however, such data might not be reliably attained via cognition-based experiments, as we described in the previous section. Data of spontaneous production such as interview conversation, on the other hand, may run the risk of non-comparable data since many contextual factors other than age itself may lead to a cross-generation difference as well.

Under this constraint, our following discussion on the stage of the “exclusive *gún/we* replacing inclusive *lán/we*” phenomenon will be based on a comparison with findings from other linguistic variants obtained in our series of grammaticality judgement studies—yes/no markers and negation markers.

#### 4.6.1. Yes/no Question and Negation Markers

In forming a yes/no question in Taiwanese, there are three syntactical constructions, the use of the coupla *sī* as in (1) *kám-sī* or (2) the be-not-be structure *sī-m̄-sī*, or (3) the sentential final marker *hioh*. Among them, (2) and (3) share the same construction in Mandarin, i.e., *shi-bu-shi* and *ma*. This structural similarity likely leads to a transfer effect—more and more Taiwanese speakers are found to adopt the Mandarin yes/no marker *ma* for the Taiwanese counterpart *hioh*, as shown in the following stimuli (MNP-16B2a vs MNP-16B2b).

MNP-16B2a.

*Siōng sè-hàn sī cha-pō ē hioh?*

上細漢是查甫ê hioh?

Is the youngest (child) a male?

MNP-16B2b.

*Siōng sè-hàn sī cha-pō ē ma\*?*

上細漢是查甫ê嗎\*?

Is the youngest (child) a male?

The result in Table 7 shows that the accuracy rate in identifying the ungrammatical use of the Mandarin *ma* is consistently low among the three age groups and no significant difference is observed, either in passage pairs (9.5%, 8.7%, and 7.7% in 16B) or minimal sentence pairs (15.4%, 20.6%, 14.9% in 16B2)

Compared to the negation markers in spoken Mandarin, Taiwanese has a relatively complex system—six negation markers used in different

contexts, *m̄*, *bô*, *bōe*, *bē*, *bián*, and *mài* (Yang 2017). Among them, *m̄* and *bô* are considered as the most common and frequently used ones. This complexity, however, might have led to a levelling effect (McWhorter 2003:280-281) among new or non-fluent speakers. For example, when *bōe* negates an adjective (such as “*bōe chheng-chhó/not clear*”), it tends to be ungrammatically replaced by the common negators *m̄* (as in stimuli PSP-14A, MNP-14A1). Our results show that a significant difference of accuracy rates is observed among the three age groups—both the middle-aged group and old group scored better than the young group in MNP-14A1 or PSP-14B ( $p < .01$ ).

MNP-14A1a

*Bák-chiu kia<sup>n</sup>-kng, àm-sî-á sái-chhia lō tō khò<sup>n</sup> bōe chheng-chhó.*

目矚驚光，暗時仔駛車，路就看袂清楚

With the problem of photophobia, you will not be able to see clearly when driving at night

MNP-14A1b

*Bák-chiu kia<sup>n</sup>-kng, àm-sî-á sái-chhia lō tō khò<sup>n</sup> m̄\* chheng-chhó.*

目矚驚光，暗時仔駛車，路就看毋\*清楚

With the problem of photophobia, you will not\* be able to see clearly when driving at night.

Table 7. Grammaticality judgement on yes/no and negation markers: age (Chi-square test)

Stimulus	Accuracy rate			Chi-square test					
	Young	Middle aged	Old				Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
PSP-16B (Yes/no question marker <i>hiōh/ma</i> )	9.5%	8.7%	7.7%						
MNP-16B2 (Yes/no question marker <i>hiōh/ma</i> )	15.4%	20.6%	14.9%						

Table 7.--Continued.

Stimulus	Accuracy rate			Chi-square test					
PSP-14A (Negation marker bōe/m̃)	25.3%	36.2%	23%						
MNP-14A1 (Negation marker bōe/m̃)	66.4%	100.0%	84.2%	M>Y		21.854a	1	.000***	
					M>O	8.124a	1	.004**	
						O>Y	6.860a	1	.009**

#### 4.6.2. Framework of Stages in Language Change

In the following, we will first discuss the framework related to language change stages. Since language change is a natural and on-going process and takes decades for a new form to completely replace an old form, it is difficult to draw a set of clear-cut stages for the process. Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968:185) described the process in three stages: (1) a speaker learns an alternative form; (2) old and new forms exist side by side within his/her competence; and (3) the older form becomes obsolete. Aitchison (2013:67) divided the spread of a change into a series of four overlapping stages. In his “Key to the Language-change Index”, Garner (2009:xxxv) proposed five finely defined stages, which will be the basis of our discussion. Given his background as an English lexicographer, his description below might be more applicable to lexical change in widely-used languages, instead of that in endangered languages. Expressions within the parenthesis are provided (also by Garner) to illustrate the levels of acceptability conveyed by each stage.

Stage 1 (rejected): A new form emerges as an innovation among a small minority of the language community, perhaps displacing a traditional usage.

Stage 2 (Widely shunned): The form spreads to a significant fraction of the language community but remains unacceptable in standard usage.

Stage 3 (Widespread but): The form becomes commonplace even among many well-educated people but is still avoided in careful usage.

Stage 4 (Ubiquitous but): The form becomes virtually universal but is opposed on cogent grounds by a few linguistic stalwarts.

Stage 5 (Fully accepted): The form is universally accepted.

Table 8. Average of accuracy rates in minimal sentence pairs stimuli

Detecting ungrammatical/ new use of		Young	Middle-aged	Old	Significant difference
Yes/no marker	<i>ma*</i> for <i>hioh</i>	15.4%	20.6%	14.9%	
Inclusive pronoun	<i>gún*</i> for <i>lán</i>	47.4%	71.1%	55.8%	M>Y (4 in 5 MNP)
Negation marker	<i>m̄*</i> for <i>bōe</i>	66.4%	100%	84.2%	M>Y; O>Y

Table 8 is a comparison of the three age groups' average accuracy rates in the the minimal pair stimuli of the yes/no markers, inclusive pronouns and negation markers. The above results show that the mean accuracy rates of the yes/no marker are the lowest among the three varieties and display no significant age difference. This suggests that the use of Mandarin marker *ma* in replacing the Taiwanese *hioh* in yes/no question is close to stage four (in Garner's framework)—“the form becomes virtually universal but is opposed on cogent grounds by a few linguistic stalwarts”. Only trained ears of prescriptivism, such as Taiwanese language teachers or linguists, might protest against this ubiquitously-accepted but ungrammatical usage. In contrast, the use of the widely applied negation marker *m̄* in place of *bōe* whose negating scope is limited to future action, habitual status, ability, or permission, appears to be a typical error by young speakers and are universally and significantly rejected by most middle-aged and old groups (100% and 84.2%), which suggests a stage of beginning of this new variety—stage one.

Compared to the accuracy rates of yes/no and negation markers, the usage of exclusive *gún* for inclusive *lán* is located somewhat in between, i.e., stage two or three—commonly used by the young generation but remains unacceptable or still avoided in careful usage by the middle-aged group.

## 5. Conclusion

In light of the ongoing change of the inclusive *lán* in Taiwanese, we designed a grammaticality judgement task to investigate how age and education have an impact on this trend of “exclusive *gún*/we replacing inclusive *lán*/we”, and how prevalent this trend is in the language change process. Grounded on previous sociolinguistic surveys in Taiwan, we hypothesized that speakers with lower exposure to Taiwanese, e.g., the younger or more-educated ones will be more likely to fail in detecting the ungrammatical use of *gún* in place of *lán*. Our main findings and implications include the following.

1. As we had predicted, the young group scored significantly lower than the middle-aged group ( $p < .01$ ) in detecting the ungrammatical use of *gún* and this contrast reflects the former’s gradual loss of Taiwanese fluency and poorer command in the language than their older counterparts ( $p < .001$ ).
2. In contrast to our expectation, the old group, whose Taiwanese proficiency outperform their younger counterparts ( $p < .01$  or  $p < .001$ ), did not do better than their younger counterparts in the task. This unexpected finding might be partially related to the old subjects’ lower education background, less exposure to experimental settings, and impact of aging on general cognitive activities.
3. Subjects with more education background, mainly the middle-aged group in this study, also performed better than the lower



education group in the grammaticality judgement task.

4. While the tendency of using Mandarin yes/no question marker *ma* in place of the Taiwanese *hioh* is close to stage four (being universally acceptable except for prescriptivists, and the use of the general negation marker *m̄* for *bōe* is located in stage one (being a typical error by non-fluent speakers), the tendency of “*gún*/we replacing *lán*/we” is located in between, i.e., stage two or three (being commonly used by the young generation but remains unacceptable or still avoided by older group). In other words, this language change of using the exclusive *gún* for the inclusive *lán* is unstable or has not yet penetrated to all age groups.

Unlike the mainstream approaches of diachronic development and typological distribution in exploring the attrition of inclusive/exclusive distinction, the current study enriches this line of inquiry with an experimental approach by using a grammaticality judgement task. Our quantitative results identify an unusual change direction of “exclusive *gún*/we replacing inclusive *lán*/we”, instead of the commonly observed pattern of “inclusive ‘we’ replacing exclusive ‘we’” among many Austronesian languages and its neighboring ones (Lichtenberk 2005).

Although this marked direction of “exclusive *gún* replacing inclusive *lán*” deserves further scrutiny, we conclude that this path might locate at a “possibly reversible” early stage--being commonly used by the young generation but remains unacceptable by older groups. Given the powerful pragmatic function achieved by the inclusive “*lán*/we” especially in health-related communication (Liao & Tsai 2015), we consider active pedagogical efforts might reverse this trend before it is too late.

Finally, we acknowledge the unbalanced but unavoidable number of subjects in recruiting the old and the less-educated subjects and conclude that cognition-based studies that examine age and education effects on language change should be designed more delicately. Specifically,

we propose three possible methodological revision for future study in the Taiwanese context. When age and education are critical factors of language change, the experiment could be adjusted in a way that it requires the lowest threshold to solicit valid or reflective responses from all subjects, especially from the old or less-educated ones. The exploration of education effects can be set to one age group alone, e.g., the middle-aged group, to maximize the chance for balanced subject numbers from all levels. Finally, to reach a valid test of the age effect on language change, relevant factors such as subjects' education level should be limited to the same one.

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