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# Tâi-gí Gián-kiù 台語研究

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# **The Post-colonial Counterstroke of Taiwanese Literature: The Contribution of Kuann-bang-hue Association of Taiwanese Language and Literature**

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## **Abstract**

The paper mainly focuses on the Kuann-bang-hue Association of Taiwanese Language and Literature, an important organization in the history of Taiwanese movement in the late 90s. Through the studies of the activities it engages in, and the two magazines it publishes, Kuann-bang-hue Poetry Magazine, Kuann-bang-hue Taiwanese Literature, I look up how it take the post-colonial fightback, and induce its meaning and contribution in the history of Taiwanese literature.

**Keywords:** Kuann-bang-hue Association of Taiwanese Language and Literature, Kuann-bang-hue Poetry Magazine, Kuann-bang-hue Taiwanese Literature, Taiwanese literature

# 台語文學ê後殖民回擊： 菅芒花台語文學會tī台語文學運動上ê貢獻\*

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## 摘要

菅芒花台語文學會 tī 1990 年代尾期kàu 21世紀初 ê 10 年，透過自助式小組織（社團）游擊隊 ê 「邊緣戰鬥」，抵抗家己 ê 傳統、民族被發明，甚至透過發行雜誌ng-bāng家己來發明家己 ê 傳統、民族。伊tī 90年代培養上濟台語詩人羣，也舉辦大量 ê 研習、歌詩表演ê活動，而且發行2份台文刊物，是一個真有代表性 ê 社團。本文主要beh聚焦tī菅芒花台語文學會kah《菅芒花詩刊》、《菅芒花台語文學》兩份台語文學雜誌，將in ê 運動過程kah資料做一個整理，而且分析tsia ê 資料歸納出 in án-tsuánn 展開後殖民回擊，以及tī台語文運動過程當中in 所呈現 ê 意義kah貢獻。

關鍵詞：菅芒花台語文學會、《菅芒花詩刊》、《菅芒花台語文學》、台語文學

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## 1. 話頭

論真講，到目前為止，台語文學運動猶是khia̍ tī邊緣戰鬥kah後殖民回擊ê階段。2000年進前，台語文學運動一直khia̍ tī個人kah社團ê游擊戰階段，kaù tsit-má才漸漸過度kàu商業再生產、教育再生產、kah學術再生產ê階段。期間，雖然漸漸有累積一寡文化資本（cultural capital），m̄-koh主流ê生產場域（production field）所壟斷ê文化資本猶原繼續施展象徵暴力（symbolic violence），排除台語文學生產kah再生產ê機會。

Tse uì日治時期kah中華民國時期ê國小教科書ê內容就ē-tàng十分了解：前者透過教科書ê「教示」（displine），生產出對殖民宗主國（日本）ê欣羨、認同<sup>1</sup>；後者全款透過教科書ê「教示」，生產對中國國族ê認同（m̄管是政治中國抑是文化中國）。<sup>2</sup>兩者ê歷史教育，tī「國史」ê框仔內，hōo台灣人無法度uì教科書了解家己生長ê所在，形成斷裂ê歷史觀；「國語」教育，hōo台灣人無法度滑溜應用家己ê母語。Tī tsit種情形之下，前後兩個時期ê台語文學運動著à借用游擊隊ê「邊緣戰鬥」模式kah正規部隊ê「維和殲滅戰」模式對抗，抵抗歷史記持hông拭掉、hông改寫ê命運。Eric J. Hobsbawm（1992:91-92）對國家án-tsuánn透過國家ê行政機器塑造國家意識ê看法，筆者認為徒用tī對殖民台灣ê政權塑造宗主國意識ê看法也是真對tàng：

國家會運用愈來愈強勢ê政府機器來灌輸國民應該有ê國家意識，特別是會透過小學教育，來傳播民族ê意象kah傳統，要求人民認同tsit個國家、國旗，而且將一切奉獻hōo國家、國旗，m̄-nā án-ne，koh靠「發明傳統」（inventing traditions），甚至發明民族，來達成國家整合ê目的。

Tsia 所謂ê游擊隊ê「邊緣戰鬥」有ê是透過自助式小組織（社團kah雜誌社）、有ê透過個人式單兵作戰（作者kah文本），目的就是

1 有關日治時期小學教育ê國族意識型塑，會使參考許佩賢（1994）未出版碩士論文。

2 有關中華民國時期小學教育ê國族意識型塑，會使參考陳盈宏（2006）未出版碩士論文。

beh抵抗家己ê傳統、民族「hông發明」，甚至ng-bāng家己來發明家己ê傳統、民族。Beh án-tsuánn抵抗家己ê傳統、民族「hông發明」，甚至beh án-tsuánn發明家己ê傳統、民族？Tse是台語文學運動者kah創作者ê大課題。所以，戰後ê台文社團、台文雜誌、台文作家是án-tsuánn從事邊緣戰鬥kah後殖民回擊，in所行過ê痕跡kah貢獻是啥，也就是實踐ê部分有留落啥mih，一塊一塊kā伊khioh起--來，kā伊整理起--來，tse lóng是重要--ê。呂興昌tī一篇訪問稿--lin講「伊ê存在tō有真大ê意義」，雖罔tsiaê邊緣戰鬥kah後殖民回擊若親像無蓋濟人知，主流學界kah文化界mā無tsùn-būn著，「只要物件tī hia，一段時間tòh會發生作用，這tòh是文學史teh講ê影響，mā是文學史ê痕跡」。（楊允言等 2008: 263）Tse是一個bat真正踏實做過文學田野調查ê學者ê箴言。筆者相信Edward Norton Lorenz ê蝴蝶效應（Butterfly Effect）<sup>3</sup> tī咱想bē kàuê時陣可能會有靈聖，影響愈濟人投入台語文運動kah台語文學書寫，產生連鎖反應。Tsia tī邊緣地帶teh戰鬥ê每一個人、社團、kah雜誌就是巴西ê hit隻蝴蝶。

本文主要beh聚焦tī菅芒花台語文學會kah伊ê兩份機關雜誌《菅芒花詩刊》、《菅芒花台語文學》，將inê運動過程kah資料做一個整理，而且分析tsiaê資料歸納出in án-tsuánn展開後殖民回擊，以及tī台語文運動過程當中in所呈現ê意義kah貢獻。另外，筆者tītsia欲特別說明--ê是本文主要beh探討--ê是台語文學運動，所以有關台語語言學、文字學kah書寫系統、語音學以及拼音符號等等議題，除了kah台語文學有相關，tītsia就無beh討論。

## 2. 菅芒花台語文學會：推動台語文學ê重鎮

1987年以後，台語文學出現更加多元ê主題kah更加精進ê書寫技巧，質kah量ê發展lóng加真可觀。Tse kah真濟母語社團相連suà成立kah台語文學雜誌創刊有真大ê關係。解嚴了後，台灣島內所創辦ê台語文刊物大多數是kah社團結合，譬論講台語社kah《台語文摘》、《掖種》、蕃薯詩社kah《蕃薯詩刊》、台灣語文促進會kah《台語風》、台語文推展協會kah《茄苳台文月刊》、李江卻台語文教基金會kah《台

<sup>3</sup> Edward Norton Lorenz ê蝴蝶效應（Butterfly Effect）是一種混沌（chaos）現象，指tī一個動力系統當中，初始條件之下，小小ê變化會帶動kui個系統長期ê大連鎖反應。



文Bong報》、菅芒花台語文學會kah《菅芒花詩刊》、《菅芒花台語文學》、時行台語文會kah《時行台灣文月刊》、台文戰線雜誌社kah《台文戰線》，以及《台語世界》、《台灣語文研究通訊》、《島鄉台語文學》、《蓮蕉花台文雜誌》、《海翁台語文學》、《TGB通訊》、《Tâi-ôan-jī》、《淚根》、《首都詩報》等。除了以上ê社會團體以外，各大學學生成立真濟台語文相關社團，譬論講成大台語社、台大台灣語文社、交大台研社、淡江台灣語言文化研習社、清華台語社等。後來tsia ê社團跨校串聯成立學生台灣語文促進會，並且發行《台語學生》。Tsia ê社團kah刊物有純文學性--ê、有語文教育性--ê、有語文運動性--ê、有綜合前三類--ê，各自扮演無仝ê角色，m̄-koh tī台語文ê推動lóng發揮關鍵性ê作用。19世紀尾以來發行過ê台語文雜誌有50種以上<sup>4</sup>，大部分tī 1990年以後出刊。其中khah屬文學性ê台文雜誌有：《蕃薯詩刊》、《茄苳》、《台文Bong報》、《菅芒花詩刊》、《島鄉台語文學》、《菅芒花台語文學》、《海翁台語文學》、《台文戰線》等8種。<sup>5</sup>

本節先就台南市菅芒花台語文學會創會宗旨、推動ê工課做介紹，才轉入討論伊ê機關刊物《菅芒花詩刊》、《菅芒花台語文學》。

台南市菅芒花台語文學會tī 1998年5月初9 tī台南市裕農路375號地下1樓鄉城學苑（附屬佇鄉城文教基金會）成立。歷任理事長有黃勁連、施炳華、方耀乾、周定邦、藍淑貞，創會宗旨是：

本會以「結合關懷台語文人士，維護台灣語文的延續發展，為台灣建立多語言、多文化共存的新社會基礎，促進無仝語言族群的相互了解、尊重恰和諧；繼承1930年黃石輝、郭秋生提倡的『台灣話文運動』，鼓吹『喙講父母話，手寫台灣文』，建立有尊嚴的台灣文學」為宗旨。（編輯部 2000:177）

<sup>4</sup> 詳細資料請參見方耀乾（2008）ê博士論文附錄一。

<sup>5</sup> 其他猶有《淚根》、《府城詩刊》、《首都詩報》，因為前2者出無幾期就停刊，後者2009年11月15日才創刊，才出刊3期。In lóng是報紙型ê小刊物，in ê貢獻需要koh進一步觀察研究，所以暫時無列入。

菅芒花台語文學會 ê 前身是黃勁連kah施炳華指導 ê 鄉城台語讀書會，tī 1996年4月成立，是附屬鄉城生活學苑 ê 一个讀冊會。會員一禮拜聚會一páinn，研讀台語文，互相觀摩作品。會員有4、50个，會員有大學、高中、國中、國小 ê 老師，也有家庭主婦、計程車司機、廣播電台主持人、文史工作者、生理人，各階層ê人lóng有。因爲有一部分成員開始創作，爲著延續tsit个火種，才思考tī 1997年6月創設菅芒花詩社<sup>6</sup>，kah同時創辦刊物，tse就是全年6月15日創刊 ê 《菅芒花詩刊》kah 後來tī 1999年正月初1創刊《菅芒花台語文學》 ê 原因。鄉城台語讀書會歷任 ê 會長有董峰政、陳泰然、藍淑貞、方耀乾、周定邦等，到2001年3月，因爲鄉城文教基金會接辦台南市社區大學，基金會徙去台南市延平國中，鄉城台語讀書會才停辦。<sup>7</sup> 1998年5月初9鄉城台語讀書會 ê 成員成立文學會以後，對外 ê 活動就lóng使用台南市菅芒花台語文學會ê名義。

Tsit個學會本身m是kan-na teh推動台語文學創作niā-niā。伊kah其他濟濟 ê 台文社團全款，伊同時負擔母語運動、母語教學 ê 事工。所以伊所辦 ê 活動非常多元，相對也較屬通俗性 ê 文化活動，抑是初級 ê 語文研習活動。下面是菅芒花台語文學會主辦、承辦、協辦過 ê 主要活動，筆者ka 伊整理如下：<sup>8</sup>

1. 主辦台語開講：有1998年「吳園台語開講」、1999年「府城台語開講」、2000年「府城台語開講」、2001「府城台語開講」、2006「台語歌謠講座」、2007「台語戲曲系列講座」、2007「發現台語之美講座」、2008「台語說書系列講座」等。
2. 承辦台語文研習班：有1999年台南市立圖書館「趣味台語研習班」、台南市民眾服務社「台語文研習班」、台南高商「教師台語文研習班」、國立台南社教館「台語文學研習班」（1999-2001）、復興國中「台南市第十期中小學雙語師資研習

<sup>6</sup> 有關菅芒花詩社ê資料kan-na tī《菅芒花詩刊》第1期ê「歡喜佻感謝」（1997.6.15）看會著。以後真罕得看著菅芒花台語文學會kah《菅芒花詩刊》使用菅芒花詩社tsit ê名稱。

<sup>7</sup> 2001年以後，讀冊會徙去台南社教館（tsit-má 名稱改做台南生活美學館），名稱就改做府城台語文讀書會，成立日期是2001年3月2日。

<sup>8</sup> 因爲筆者長期做《菅芒花詩刊》佻《菅芒花台語文學》ê總編輯kah理事長，所以筆者本身收有真濟菅芒花台語文學會的資料。除了筆者收ê資料以外，詳細介紹也請參考周定邦寫ê紹介文章，〈風佇秋天掖種—介紹《菅芒花詩刊》佻《菅芒花台語文學》〉，《菅芒花詩刊》，革新4（2005.7）：96-129；以及編輯部，〈菅芒花2006.05-2008.05活動〉，《菅芒花詩刊》，12（2008.6）：261-262。

班」、國民黨台南市安南區民眾服務社「台語文學研習班」、台南市社區大學台語文學學程(2000- )、各地kah各機關學校ê台語文研習班kah寫作班等等。

3. 主辦、承辦台灣歌謠歌詩演唱會：有1997年《菅芒花詩刊》第二集發表會、「菅芒花台灣歌謠歌詩之夜」、1998年「運河詩情之夜」、台南市崇學國小「菅芒花詩宴—台灣歌謠歌詩吟唱會」、《菅芒花詩刊》第三集發表會、台南高商「台灣歌謠歌詩之宴」；1999年「台灣褒歌之夜」、吳園「台灣現代歌詩之宴」、張國堂文教基金會「台灣歌謠歌詩之夜」、公共電視台錄製「菅芒花台灣歌謠歌詩之宴」kah「台灣褒歌」、嘉義縣瑞里若蘭山莊「台灣歌謠歌詩之宴」kah「台灣褒歌之夜」、新化高中「台灣歌謠歌詩之宴」、台南市誠品書局「台灣歌謠歌詩之宴」kah「台灣褒歌之夜」、台南市土城正統鹿耳門聖母廟第一屆台灣文史營暗會「台灣歌謠歌詩之夜」、「台南市八十八學年度台語之美到校巡迴演出」、遠東百貨公司公園店「紋化遠百」ê「台語之美」暗會；2000年聖功女中「台語詩歌的天地」、「第六屆世界台語文化營」ê「台語文化之夜」、台南市古蹟夜間藝文沙龍ê南門秋語、「菅芒花詩刊革新號」創刊發表會ê「菅芒花歌詩饗宴」、2001年崇學苑社區「元宵暝，臆燈謎」、府城媽祖文化節、台南土城鹿耳門聖母廟「第三屆台灣文史營」暗會；2004年國家台灣文學館「再現菅芒風華：2004年紀念許丙丁先生台語歌詩歌謠之宴」、百達文教中心「菅芒花台語歌謠歌詩之夜」；2003年開始到今已經辦8屆ê「台灣詩路花季音樂會」。
4. 承辦台語文學營：有1998年台南市南區明興社區「兒童台語夏令營」、1999年鄉城文教基金會「兒童台語文學營」、台南市鹿耳門天后宮「第三屆鹿耳門台灣文學營」、2000年「第六屆世界台語文化營」。
5. 協助成立學校台語社團：有南英商工台語社、台南師範學院台語社、國立台南一中台灣文化社、台南女子技術學院台語社。
6. 主辦抑是承辦研討會：有
  - (1) 1999年6月19協辦「台灣母語文化重生與再建學術研討會」(台南市文化基金會主辦)。
  - (2) 1999年9月15 kah台南市文化基金會舉辦「台灣語言音標討論

會」。

- (3) 1999年12月12日 台灣大學理學院思亮館國際會議廳，kah台南市文化基金會、教改會、民視電視公司主辦「台灣語文政策研討會」。

7. 出版台語文學刊物《菅芒花詩刊》kah《菅芒花台語文學》。

以上所列tsiah濟的活動其實是由一個實際kan-ta 10個左右真正有參與的會員（雖然名錄lín有數十名會員）所完成--ê。咱理解一般台灣民間社團是無啥經費、嘛無啥跤手、閣無津貼，又閣需要去靠表演、承辦研習班khîng活動經費從事台文運動、辦台語文學雜誌，其中有足濟活動是完全義務策劃、承辦--ê，而且菅芒花台語文學會根本m是一個表演團體，竟然kā無可能化為可能，tī短短ê 10冬左右，竟然有法度主辦 / 承辦tsiah濟教育性、推廣性kah表演性的活動，tsit種草根性的動能是難能可貴--ê，也產生一定ê蝴蝶效應。

Uì以上整理出來的活動項目，菅芒花台語文學會就是透過tsit種自助式小組織的社團、靠表演、辦研習班、演講khîng活動經費來推動台語文的變形蟲作戰方式，目的就是beh抵抗家己的傳統、民族去「hông發明」去，抑是去hông掩蓋去。In透過實踐的方式，kā一塊一塊失落ê台語文化的碎磚仔角khioh轉--來，kā伊整理起--來閣黏予伊好勢。Tī正式的教育體制無欲傳承台語文化的階段，菅芒花台語文學會聚集民間的點點滴滴的氣力鑽活縫，走tshuē話語霸權的孔縫，徒用破窗理論（Broken Windows）解構主流論述做後殖民的回擊。菅芒花台語文學會的會員ng-bāng蝴蝶效應會有靈聖，產生連鎖反應，影響愈濟人投入台語文運動kah台語文學書寫。

### 3. 《菅芒花詩刊》：台語詩人的搖籃

菅芒花台語文學會，除了辦各種活動，推動台語文，來抵抗家己的傳統、民族去「hông發明」去，抑是去hông掩蓋去，同時in也有知覺着kan-ta按呢猶是無夠，更加有需要像Eric J. Hobsbawm（1992: 91-92）所講--ê，ài koh靠「發明傳統」，甚至「發明民族」，來達成台語文的文藝復興。所以in透過發行刊物，m-nā整理文獻、資料，上主要--ê是透過鼓舞寫作，創作新的文本，「發明」新的文化。菅芒花台語文學會發行2個刊物：《菅芒花詩刊》kah《菅芒花台語文學》。Tī台語文學運動上

有留下一定 ê 意義 kah 貢獻。咱先來討論《菅芒花詩刊》。

《菅芒花詩刊》是台語詩人 ê 搖籃，是1990年代培養上濟台語詩人 ê 刊物。（方耀乾 2005:38）《菅芒花詩刊》tī 1997年6月15日創刊，發行3期，2000年9月30日開始出革新號第1期。Tsit份刊物堅持文學 ê 路線，主要文類是詩，也有一寡散文、評論 kah 作家之間 ê 通批，發行革新號了後，伊 ê 定位就更加清楚：刊登koh-khah濟ê詩kah詩論。翻譯稿除外，論文31篇、詩456首、散文40篇、小說2篇、作家專訪6 kah一寡批信，主要作家有黃勁連、施炳華、方耀乾、藍淑貞、陳正雄、周定邦、董峰政、許正勳、曾明泉等（以上是會員）、胡民祥、莊柏林、王貞文、李勤岸、林宗源、胡長松、陳金順、王宗傑、陳潔民等（以上是非會員）。Tī 90年代下半期，菅芒花台語文學會是培養真濟新生代台語詩人 ê 台文團體，譬論講方耀乾、藍淑貞、陳正雄、周定邦、許正勳等詩人，tī台語文壇lóng有一定 ê 位置。同時也是刊登上濟台語詩 ê 刊物，像頂面 ê 統計所講 ê 詩456首，而且詩 ê 文學性也超越同時期 ê 其他台語文雜誌，每一期刊登 ê 詩人數量也超越同階段 ê 其他台文雜誌。這已經會看出經過10幾冬 ê 台文運動 ê 推動，台語詩也漸漸有提昇文學素質。菅芒花台語文學會透過發行刊物，「發明」新 ê 台語文化。有關《菅芒花詩刊》ê 出版基本資料請參閱表一。<sup>9</sup>

若客觀來觀察，雖罔《菅芒花詩刊》標榜是文學性 ê 刊物，m̄-koh，相對來講，伊 ê 語言運動性猶是超越文學性--ê。也就是講做一個文學性ê刊物，雖然頂面有講「Tī 90年代下半期，菅芒花台語文學會 是培養上濟新生代台語詩人 ê 台文團體」，tse是kah其他--ê台文團體比較來看--ê，m̄是kah全台灣 ê 文學團體（特別是華文團體）做比較--ê。嚴格來講，菅芒花台語文學會會員 ê 文學素養猶是無夠--ê。Tse ē-sái講是所有 ê 台文刊物共同 ê 致命傷，也是ài思考克服--ê。除了黃勁連是前行代 ê 詩人以外，施俊州（2006: 78）特別指出伊 ê 看法，tse值得台語文學界思考：

《菅芒花》核心成員的語言運動性攏比創作性khah懸，除了方耀乾具備實腹的學者、語言運動者、創作者的身分kah視野（horizons），成員之間比較khah欠缺文學創作

<sup>9</sup> 有關《菅芒花詩刊》ê 書寫主題探討，請參考關向君（2009:75-131）的碩士論文。

觀念的共識抑是全性 (identity)。雖然個個攏認為伊寫的詩篇是不可等閒看待的創作版本。

當然，這是一種khah嚴硬的判斷，就文學事論文學事的一種看法；《菅芒花》核心成員作為漸漸成樣的創作者，彼此的文學見解容有無全的所在，可是ti運動實踐頂表現出的往往是語言運動性的面向——比如講《通用出發、母語起飛》chit本冊型刊物<sup>10</sup>的創刊toh是例；有時也以文學「創作」做偽裝——如果m是自覺性的偽裝，an-ne toh表示《菅芒花》詩刊的文學教育是失敗的，久年來大多數成員猶是欠缺文學創作概念的認捩，這toh比標音之爭koh khah予人操煩的代誌。

《菅芒花詩刊》另外值得注意ê貢獻是專號ê企劃。Ui革新號第2期開始推出林宗源專號（第2期，2002.12）、林央敏專號（第3期，2004.4）、莊柏林專號kah台語文學雜誌專輯（第4期，2005.7）、菅芒花詩人群專號（第5期，2006.5）。各詩人專號--lín lóng各有一篇由筆者訪問非常詳細ê訪問稿kah詩人評論；菅芒花詩人群專號有6篇論文，一篇是施俊州寫有關《菅芒花詩刊》總論ê論文〈寂寞，或是鬧熱的花園：《菅芒花》詩刊的文學實踐kah內涵試論〉kah由筆者、許獻平寫菅芒花社群6個主要詩人（黃勁連、藍淑貞、許正勳、周定邦、方耀乾、陳正雄）ê6篇論文；台語文學雜誌專輯刊載5篇介紹《蕃薯詩刊》、《茄苳台文月刊》、《台文Bong報》、《菅芒花詩刊》kah《菅芒花台語文學》、《島鄉台語文學》ê論文。Tse是台文雜誌第一páinn tsiah-nī詳細、密集推出專號ê例，對台語文學ê研究kah資料整理是真好ê示範作用。Tsia ê論文雖罔m是蓋嚴密ê學術論文，M-koh tī 2000年進前kah腳兜，台語文學研究猶真少學者致意ê年代，《菅芒花詩刊》ê專號企劃對台語文學作家論kah台語文學論述真有歷史意義，同時也提供建構文學史ê基本資料。對被邊緣化ê台語文學，《菅芒花詩刊》用自主自足ê方式來回擊被殖民、被掩蓋ê歷史情境。

<sup>10</sup> 《通用出發、母語起飛》是一本冊型刊物，由原菅芒花台語文學成員董峰政、許正勳、黃金汾等人發起創刊（2004.07），成作台南市台灣語通用協會（2003.06.20-）ê機關報，由創會會長許正勳主編，語言運動性真kuân除外，tshit本刊物ê創作面腔愛koh繼續觀察。以上是施俊州ê註解。

《菅芒花詩刊》ê 專號企劃後來有影響着《台文戰線》ê 編輯路線。到目前為止，《台文戰線》出版19期，每一期lóng有做專輯、抑是雙專輯。這是到目前為止，有長期做專輯ê 兩個台語文學刊物。這對未來台語文學ê 研究提供真好ê 基礎，對台語文學資料ê 整理、保存也提供真好ê 示範。有關《台文戰線》ê 研究筆者會tī另外一篇論文處理。

#### 4. 《菅芒花台語文學》：鼓舞同仁寫作ê 園地

《菅芒花台語文學》也是菅芒花台語文學會發行ê 同仁刊物，tī 1999年正月初1創刊，tī 2001年10月初1發行第4期了停刊。第1 kàu 第3期由筆者主編，第4期由周定邦主編，總共出刊4期。原本設定ê 是季刊，刊登2期了後，第3期就變成半年後才koh出刊，到第4期koh等1冬10個月才出刊。基本tik，《菅芒花台語文學》ê 同仁刊物性質比《菅芒花詩刊》koh-khah kuân。會發行《菅芒花台語文學》其中一個足大ê 原因是菅芒花台語文學會內有一部分同仁無寫詩，有ê 同仁是新手，成做一個「學習團體」ê 菅芒花台語文學會有必要為tsia ê 同仁提供發表ê 園地，當然《菅芒花台語文學》也加減有刊登外稿。第3期出刊了後，方耀乾思考應該培養新人接棒，所以就由其他ê 人接suà落去編。結果《菅芒花台語文學》出刊到第4期就來停刊。

《菅芒花台語文學》ê 文類khah tshap-tsáp，水準也khah無齊，真大部文章是寫作新手所寫--ê，也就是有一部分作者欠缺文學創作觀念。M̄-koh就鼓舞新手用母語來書寫，就是咧鼓舞新世代「發明家己ê 傳統」tsit點來講，是真有意義--ê。Tse 4期當中，詩（包含七字仔、囡仔詩）有94首、散文30篇、小說1篇、評論（包含賞析、導讀）20篇、民間文學整理3篇、訪問稿1篇。主要作家有施炳華、方耀乾、周定邦、陳正雄、藍淑貞、許正勳、董峰政、曾明泉（以上會員）、陳金順、陳潔民、洪錦田等人。雖然是普遍tik作品ê 文學性koh有進步空間，m̄-koh有幾篇文章猶是值得注意，譬論講筆者（方耀乾 1999）ê 〈阮兮四個宗旨恰四個主張〉、胡民祥ê 〈賴和文學語言的辯證〉（1999）、黃彩如等（2001）ê 專訪〈專訪方耀乾老師—台語文學的疊磚仔師〉、周定邦（2000）採錄朱丁順ê 〈楊榮失妻記〉等。<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> 有關《菅芒花台語文學》ê 書寫主題探討，請參考關向君（2009:75-131）的碩士論文。

筆者（方耀乾 1999:6）tī《菅芒花台語文學》ê創刊號發表〈阮兮四個宗旨恰四個主張〉提出：

阮兮宗旨是：

- (一)繼承1930年黃石輝、郭秋生提倡兮「台灣語文運動」，鼓吹「喙講父母話，手寫台灣文」，建立有尊嚴、有水準兮台灣文學。
- (二)探討台灣文學兮源頭、歷史兮發展、現此時兮狀況恰未來兮走向。
- (三)創造有主體性、有本土觀、有世界觀兮現代文學。
- (四)聯絡疼惜台灣本土語言、文學恰關心台灣本土文化兮友志，共同拍拚、奮鬥。

阮兮主張是：

- (一)講母語、用母語寫作是天賦兮人權，亦是袂使閃避兮義務。
- (二)未來兮台灣文學是用台灣語文書寫兮文學。
- (三)文學創作會使是橫兮移植、縱兮傳承，不過，一定是釘根佇現此時兮土地、人民恰社會兮文學。
- (四)文學應該包容所有兮創作形式恰內容，不過，無贊成無病烏白哼、chit-thô物、應酬、相扶相褒、故弄玄虛兮文學。

真明顯，所講ê宗旨kah主張tī tsit本kan-na維持4期ê刊物是無法度達成--ê。重點是tse也ē-sái講是《菅芒花詩刊》ê宗旨kah主張，只是tī《菅芒花詩刊》--lín無特別唱明。Ui頂面ê宗旨ē-tàng看出是tsit兩份雜誌kah黃勁連ê淵源，也就是台南地區ê新生代台語文學系譜是ui黃勁連一路編輯《蕃薯詩刊》、策劃南鯤鯓台語文學營、鹿耳門台灣文學營kàu菅芒花台語文學會是一脈相承--ê。另外tsit 4个主張凸顯新世代對台語文學未來 koh-khah多元、koh-khah開放、koh-khah有遠見ê文學史觀意義。後--來，菅芒花ê新世代主力，方耀乾、周定邦、陳正雄3人koh參與《台灣e文藝》、《台文戰線》ê創立，也ē-sái看做tsit 4个主張ê持續。施俊州（2006:66）ê講法值得思考：



個人認為將「台灣文學就是台語文學」的命題定位在「未來」、強調「橫兮移植」kah「縱兮繼承」、包容多元創作，會使講凸顯了台語文學運動的「建構論」策略kah新的文學史識意義。Tsit部分是方耀乾個人的創見，亦是《菅芒花》詩刊tī未來的台灣文學史應該予人提出討論、定位的。

## 5. 話尾

「台語文學」運動uì 1930年就開始（若講是「台語文書寫」運動，就ài提早kàu 1880年代《台灣府城教會報》創刊開始），也就是tī日治時期ê 20年代、30年代轟轟烈烈ê台語文提倡／論爭kah鄉土文學論戰。<sup>12</sup> M̄-koh 1937年以後，台灣進入戰爭時期，日治政權為著強化國民意識，透過國家機器kah教育體制精神總動員，宣傳皇民思想，實施皇民化運動（the Kominka Movement），致使台語文運動無法度持續。<sup>13</sup> 戰後初期，雖然台語文書寫有透過劇本kah台灣歌謠做一部分ê實踐<sup>14</sup>，m̄-koh經過228事件了後ê高壓統治，kah 1949年以後ê白色恐怖、國語政策ê實施，台語文學kan-na敢bih tiàm常民生活領域ê台灣歌謠傳唱kah廣播、戲劇表演--lìn。真正透過智識份子有意識tik beh推動台語文學ê運動ài kàu 80年代才koh開始起磅。

菅芒花台語文學會tī戰後ê台語文運動史上，對抵抗傳統「hông發明」，甚至拍拚「發明」家己ê傳統有伊一定ê意義。菅芒花台語文學會是由黃勁連kah施炳華tshua̍頭，培養一批台語文學運動重要ê新世代（以現此時來講，tsia ê新世代已經變成中生代）。Tī刊物編輯、史料整理kah論述方面，出力上濟ê靈魂人物是方耀乾。Tī會內，伊做過理事長、發行人、總編輯、主編、常務理事、讀書會會長等等職務，會內ê刊物差不多lóng是伊咧主編。以文獻保存kah論述ê意義來講，tsit部

<sup>12</sup> Tsit部分已經有濟濟學者做過誠詳細ê研究。Kàu目前為止，上詳細kah深入ê研究是陳淑容（2004）ê《1930年代鄉土文學／台灣話文論爭及其餘波》。

<sup>13</sup> 台語文學運動無成功koh有其他ê原因，譬論講書寫系統、無政權支持、無教育系統支持、使用中國話文抑是台灣話文爭論等等問題。

<sup>14</sup> 有關戰後初期ê戲劇kah歌謠ē-sái參考下面幾本冊kah文章。吳國禎（2003）ê《吟唱台灣史》，楊克隆（2007）ê《台灣歌謠欣賞》，焦桐（1990）ê《台灣戰後初期的戲劇》，邱坤良（1996:157-168）ê〈戰後台灣劇場的興衰起落〉。

分才是會久遠ê所在。另外，tī歌詩表演、研習班、演講會等等活動ê舉辦，菅芒花台語文學會對推sak台語文學運動也有真大ê貢獻。Tsit部分，董峰政、藍淑貞、許正勳、黃金汾、周定邦、劉珠、程鐵翼等人出真濟力，in tī台語文學運動上lóng留落重要ê腳跡。菅芒花台語文學會已經透過自助式ê小組織（社團）游擊隊ê「邊緣戰鬥」，抵抗家己ê傳統、民族「hông發明」，甚至透過發行雜誌「發明」家己ê傳統、民族。

### 讀者回應

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附錄：

表一：《菅芒花詩刊》出刊資料kah作家群

期別	出刊日期	總編輯	作品篇數	作家
1	1997.6.15	蔡享哲等著 (無編者)	發刊詞 2 詩 36 散文 8 批 2 翻譯詩 7	施炳華、王寶星、蔡享哲、吳新榮、黃勁連、莊柏林、林玉山、藍淑貞、陳太平、董峰政、胡民祥、清河、黃湘雅、王宗傑、陳泰然、林央敏、秀姑巒、謝安通、鹿耳門漁夫、李惠玲、棕色果、林宗源、陳勁之、洪惟仁
2	1997.12.30	黃勁連等著 (無編者)	論文 2 詩 45 散文 6 批 2 翻譯詩 1	黃勁連、莊柏林、龔顯榮、陳泰然、王宗傑、清河、藍淑貞、蔡享哲、許正勳、賴和、黃金汾、胡民祥、吳鳳珠、周東和、施炳華
3	1998.7	陳泰然等著 (無編者)	論文 3 詩 54 散文 5 批 2 翻譯詩 4	董峰政、陳泰然、莊柏林、黃勁連、藍淑貞、許正勳、王宗傑、方耀乾、蔡享哲、周定邦、張清河、黃金汾、郭水潭、鄭妹珠、張濡月、陳正雄、林龍山、蔡玉仙、黃文政、黃宜洽、胡民祥
革新號 1	2000.9.30	方耀乾	論文 3 詩 101	董峰政、方耀乾、張春風、柯旗化、林宗源、藍淑貞、許正勳、黃金汾、謝安通、洪錦田、陳昭誠、李勤岸、楊照陽、曾明泉、周定邦、陳正雄、陳金順、陳潔民

(後一頁koh有)

革新號 2	2002.12	方耀乾	專訪 1 論文 2 序 2 詩 79 翻譯詩 3	方耀乾、江天、林宗源、郭楓、董峰政、胡長松、吳麗卿、呂絹鳳、程鐵翼、胡明珠、曾譯瑤、陳惠芬、林淑鈴、米洛茲、莊柏林、吳鈞、胡民祥、藍淑貞、黃金汾、許正勳、宜美麗、洪錦田、楊照陽、林央敏、周定邦、陳正雄、鄭雅怡、王貞文、陳金順、林姿玲、陳潔民、李長青
革新號 3	2004.4	方耀乾	訪問稿 1 論文 2 詩 31 散文 11 囚仔歌 6 散文翻譯 1	方耀乾、呂美親、林央敏、陳潔民、程鐵翼、張碧霞、胡長松、福爾卡庫、藍淑貞、莊柏林、林龍山、李勤岸、A-hi、陳正雄、周定邦、吳惠燕、楊照陽、黃勁連、陳昭誠、吳嘉芬、林宗源、胡民祥、陳金順、李南衡、Jaroslav Seifert、朱奕爵、黃阿惠、黃文政
革新號 4	2005.7	方耀乾	專訪 2 論文 8 詩 47 散文 4 小說 2 詩翻譯 1	方耀乾、莊柏林、林芷琪、林央敏、廖瑞銘、周定邦、陳金順、周華斌、李勤岸、藍淑貞、陳雷、林文平、楸庵、葉國基、張秀滿、林淑美、康原、程鐵翼、黃盈華、For-khakhuh、A-hi、李長青、陳正雄、劉克全、林龍山、胡長松、T. S. Eliot、李南衡、黃文政
革新號 5	2006.5	方耀乾	論文 7	施俊州、許猷平、方耀乾

(後一頁koh有)

(頂一頁koh有)

12 <sup>15</sup>	2008.6	藍淑貞	論文 4 詩 63 散文 6 客語詩 2 囡仔歌 14	胡民祥、藍淑貞、施炳華、林央敏、黃勁連、曾明泉、黃文博、江嵐、張翠玲、劉克全、程鐵翼、許立昌、吳嘉芬、林滿足、林淑美、黃阿惠、莊桂英、薛錦燕、黃榮泰、吳炎坤、王瑞珠、王錦芬、潘雪惠、黃憶萱、陳佩芳、陳爲信、許維民、許維權、吳明治、薛素蓮、蔡珊珊、張玲芳、許美玲、康原、蔡清林、周鳳珠、黃彩戀、陳秋桂、張彩雲
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表二：《菅芒花台語文學》出刊資料kah作家群

期別	出刊日期	主編	作品篇數	作家
1	1999.1.1	方耀乾	創刊詞 1 創刊賀詞 1 宗旨 1 雜論 2 詩 9 散文 2 民間文學 2 學生講稿 1	顏惠山、施炳華、方耀乾、董峰政、王宗傑、藍淑貞、許正勳、周定邦、林龍山、黃金汾、陳正雄、黃阿惠、黃文政
2	1999.4.1	方耀乾	論文 2 雜論 2 詩 18 散文 5 文學導讀 2	胡民祥、方耀乾、施炳華、周定邦、林文平、陳明雄、陳昭誠、陳正雄、黃金汾、戴錦綢、林龍山、張清河、陳敏、陳潔民、吳仲堯、董峰政、許正勳、藍淑貞、黃文政、陳金順、楊照陽、黃阿惠

(後一頁koh有)

<sup>15</sup> Tsit期ê期別應該是革新號6，也就是總號9號。總編輯藍淑貞疏忽，致使跳幾佻期，其實中間並無出革新號6-II期。

(頂一頁koh有)

3	2000.1.1	方耀乾	講稿 1 序 1 論文 4 詩 26 散文 11 文學導讀 5 民間文學 1 笑話 1	周常楫、葉笛、施炳華、董峰政、許正勳、蔡享哲、藍淑貞、林龍山、黃金汾、葉秀惠、曾明泉、周定邦、方耀乾、李清澤、陳金順、張清河、黃文政、黃阿惠、蔡玉仙、林文平、陳潔民、粘家財、蔡洧君、吳仲堯、蔡孟宗、陳正雄、吳炎坤、莊錦秀、洪淑瑗、劉英孜
4	2001.10.1	周定邦	詩 31 散文 12 小說 1 七字仔 5 雜論 2 歌謠創作 2 專訪 1 答喙鼓 1	方耀乾、林文平、陳潔民、陳正雄、陳金順、洪錦田、胡長松、黃金汾、許正勳、李國肇、林明堃、一七絃、曾明泉、林芳仕、陳義雄、阿芬、胡明珠、陳麗珍、董峰政、周定邦、黃阿惠、黃文政、洞天、楊照陽、阿俊、林滿足、劉克全、玉君兒、張美燕、念台、林三桂、洪錦田、吳現山、郭昭旻、張浚欽、黃彩如





# An Analysis of Taiwanese Folksongs Collection (1895~2001)

Tēng-pang CHIU

National Museum of Taiwan Literature

## Abstract

Folk literature is an important conveyer of common people's culture. In folk literature, there is not only the literature itself, but also custom, beliefs and languages, all of which are preserved through careful and faithful record keeping. No matter which historical period people are in, there has always been someone who undertook to collect works of folk literature. For example during the Japanese Colonial period, 平澤丁東, 片岡巖, 稻田尹, Tenn Khun-ngo, Li Hian-chiong, and people who put out numerous literary and arts magazines were some of the people who made an effort to collect Taiwanese literary works and expressions of culture. In the post Second World War period there were people like Go Eng-to (吳瀛濤), Kho Siong-hui (許常惠), Su Ui-liang (史惟亮) and O Ban-chhoan (胡萬川). However, until now no one has made a systematic study of the process of literary collecting. Therefore in this paper, as a start we will take a look at folk song collections in Taiwanese literature as one element of culture in Taiwanese literature. A vertical timeline is used, with the people involved in the collection process represented on intersecting horizontal lines. The methods we use include collection, reading and interviewing. Afterwards we will study and analyze the data to make some sense of the process of literary collection during different time periods. We hope this paper may serve as a guide and inspiration to other scholars who want to study and construct the history of the Taiwanese literature collection movement.

Keywords: Taiwanese folksongs, folk literature, folksong collections

# 台語歌謠採集成果分析（1895~2001）

周定邦

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## 摘要

民間文學是民間文化的重要載體，呈現--ê m̄-nā是文學性ê部份niā-niā，koh有風俗、信仰、語言等各方面ê內容，tō ài借重忠實ê記錄tsiah ē-tàng保存--lòh-來。民間文學tī台灣，uì日治時期到kah戰後，甚至是現此時，m̄管是khia̍ tī sia̍<sup>n</sup>-mih立場，為著sia̍<sup>n</sup>-mih目的，差不多每tsit khám-tsām lóng加加減減有人leh做採集ê khang-khuè，親像日治時期ê平澤丁東、片岡巖、稻田尹、鄭坤五、李獻章kap tsē-tsē hiàng時ê文藝雜誌，戰後ê吳瀛濤、許常惠kap史惟亮、胡萬川等等，m̄-koh目前iáu無人kā tsia-ê採集過程做khah有系統tik ê整理，所以本文tō以民間文學內底ê台語歌謠做主體來起1個頭，liáh時間做直線，採集行動ê主事者做橫線，運用收集、閱讀、ah是採訪ê方法，來探討無kàng時期民間文學tī台灣hông採集ê過程kap成果，做系統tik ê整理kap資料ê分析，寄望tsit 篇論文ē-tàng tī民間文學ê領域，hō後iân ê研究者tsit-kuá啓發，ē-tàng kā台灣民間文學運動做全面tik ê研究，來建構台灣民間文學採集運動ê歷史。

關鍵詞：台語歌謠、民間文學、歌謠採集

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## 1. 話頭

全世界每1个民族tī in ê民間，lóng有靠嘴tú嘴leh流傳，代表當地風土民俗、語言音韻、人文特質kap土地感情ê民間文學，親像神話、傳說、民間故事、歌謠、諺語、bī猜等等，tī tsiah phong-phài ê文化資產內底，咱ē-tàng講in是紀錄每1个民族，tī無kāng ê時代所留--lòh-來ê 1面反映時代背景ê鏡，mā ē-sái講伊是tī每1个民族ê人ê血--nih leh走跳ê旋律，有溫暖可貴ê民族感情；in mā是民俗文學ê寶庫，保存著民間文化ê精華；in koh-khah是創作現代藝術ê源泉，因為in有每1个民族ê特殊風格，有每1个民族ê智慧結晶；無論àn語言、歷史、文學、民族、音樂來講，民間文學lóng有伊特別ê意義kap價值，所以賴和tī 1936年李獻璋編著ê《台灣民間文學集》ê序文內底án-ne講：

Tsia hō 1-kuá士君子所看無hiān ê民間故事kap歌謠，到tsit-má，iáu有法tō tī民眾ê嘴--nih傳leh講leh唱，tsit款無停leh phún-liòng ê性命力，咱是m̄敢看伊無--ê；是án-tsuá<sup>n</sup>？因為每1篇ah是1首故事kap歌謠，lóng ē-tàng表現hiàng時ê民情，風俗，政治，制度；mā lóng ē-tàng表示hiàng時民眾真實ê思想kap感情，所以m̄管是uì民俗學，文學，甚至uì語言學頂頭來kā看，lóng有伊保存ê價值。（李獻璋 1936：賴序1）<sup>1</sup>

所以林瑞明講「民間文學tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiā<sup>n</sup>是作家靈感ê源泉。」（國立清華大學臺灣文學研究所2004：序i）Mā是文學家創作ê營養分。Tse tō是leh kā咱講世界每1個所在ê作家文學（literature）差不多lóng是thèh民間文學（folk literature）做肥底，經過作家吸收了後，tsiah發展--出-來-ê。文學án-ne，別種現代藝術作品ê創作mā sio-siāng，m̄-tsiah李獻璋會tī伊編著ê《台灣民間文學集》ê序文內底講：

口碑文學<sup>2</sup> ……民眾每1-kái若繼承1份先人ê遺產，白白來

<sup>1</sup> 原文是華語書寫，筆者kā伊翻譯做台語文。本論文所有ê引文lóng是án-ne處理，因為篇幅ê關係，筆者無beh kā原文koh抄錄1遍，請ka-tī參閱。

<sup>2</sup> lách叫做口頭文學（oral literature）。

享受--ê真少，in一定kā伊蓮花化身tsham落ka-tī ê靈魂，  
koh sa<sup>n</sup>添地方ê色彩hâm時代ê思潮，hō伊tsiā<sup>n</sup>做ka-tī ê文  
學，故事án-ne，民歌án-ne，童謠bī猜mā是sio-kâng。  
(李獻璋1936：自序5)

M̄-nā án-ne，李獻璋koh講「台灣民間文學iah tō是原始ê歌謠，傳說，tī咱ê文學史頂頭應該ài佔tī siōng精彩ê 1頁。」(李獻璋1936：自序3) 雖然tsia-ê民間文學是tsiah-nih-á寶貝，m̄-koh tī傳統社會hia借文字ê力量主導文化傳統ê傳承kap發展ê文人階級，tshim頭in看tsit種「口傳」ê物件，是看無tsiū<sup>n</sup>目--ê，因為ká是口傳，tō無文字，無文字tō是「不文」(illiterate)階層、無文明、落伍、粗俗、kē-lō--ê。Lō尾，因為社會環境ê演變，民間文學tsia-ê物件táuh-táuh-á hō文人階級看tsiū<sup>n</sup>目，tsiah漸漸發展做一門研究ê學科。M̄-koh tī伊tsiā<sup>n</sup>做一門學科tsin前，伊kap大多數ê文史學科sio-siàng，lóng ài經過史料ê採集、整理、研究kap理論ê建構等等ê歷程，tī外國án-ne，tī台灣mā kāng款。

翻頭看咱台灣民間文學ê採集，黃得時tī伊《臺灣歌謠之研究》(黃得時1967) hit本手稿lāi-té有1章專門leh講「臺灣歌謠的搜集」，伊kā清國kàu日本時代有關台灣歌謠採集ê情形，整理tsiā<sup>n</sup>做1篇「小史」，用年koh ê鋪排來介紹hit段時期歌謠採集ê內容，有「山地同胞」ê歌謠、「原住種族」ê歌謠kap「台灣歌謠」，親像「番歌」、歌á冊、竹枝詞、台灣國風、臺灣情歌、gín-á歌、民間故事、bī猜等等，內容tsiā<sup>n</sup>實phong-phài。

另外，Tī楊麗祝寫--ê《歌謠與生活：日治時期臺灣的歌謠採集及其時代意義》tsit本冊lāi-té，作者tuì歌謠ê採集kap整理ê角度出發，來探討殖民統治期間台灣人kap日本人做歌謠採集ê動機，同時了解採集ê人對民間文化ê認知，kap hiàng時採集ê成果，thang了解日本時代台灣民間文化，尤其是歌謠，伊保存kap流傳ê情形。M̄-nā án-ne，作者koh beh kō hiàng時採集--tiòh ê台語歌謠做素材，來探討殖民統治ê時大眾ê生活，thang beh理解民間集體ê經驗kap感情，來呈現殖民社會ê風貌kap公眾ê心理狀態。(楊麗祝2003:10) 因為頂頭所講ê目的，tī tsit本冊--nih作者kā日本時代台灣人kap日本人採集ê歌謠分開介紹，介紹ê時，日本人ê部份tuì政府ê舊慣調查講kàu個人採集ê成果，lāi-té有平澤丁東、片岡巖kap伊能嘉矩，尾tsat介紹原住民歌謠ê採集做收suah。台

灣人ê部份，àn《臺灣新民報》、《三六九小報》紹介kàu tsē-tsē新文學雜誌ê歌謠采集，像《臺灣藝苑》、《南音》、《フォルモサ》、《第一線》、《先發部隊》等等，siōng lō尾kō李獻璋ê《臺灣民間文學集》結束。

2006年李進益tī《2006民俗暨民間文學學術研討會論文集》lāi-té，發表1篇學術論文--〈日治時期臺灣民間文學資料考索〉，tsit篇論文主要目的是beh kā日本時代所有民間文學ê資料整理--出--來，提供原始史料hō學術界參考，hō咱研究台灣民間文學koh-khah有深度，ē-tàng tī教育頂頭加強認bat kap研究台灣文化ê淵源、傳承hâm流變，來建立台灣文化ê主體性，深化台灣文學ê研究，thang tī建構台灣文化主體性ê時有正面ê貢獻。因為頂kuân ê因tua<sup>n</sup>，作者phah算全面整理日治時期漢族方面ê台灣民間故事ê補充、台灣各地流傳ê地名傳說、物產源起、俚諺、笑話、歌謠kap歌á冊等等民間文學ê資料，thang出版《日治時期臺灣歌謠資料彙集》；tī原住民ê文獻tsit pîng，作者mā beh kā日本時代各種報紙雜誌刊--ê原住民文獻資料，包含原住民神話傳說、歌謠等等，kā伊整理編做《日治時期臺灣原住民文學資料彙編》。（李進益2006）

頂kuân所講--ê m管是黃得時、楊麗祝ah是李進益所紹介ê歌謠采集，lóng是tui歌詞ê角度出發--ê，若是ui歌曲ê角度來從事采集--ê，戰前--ê有張福興、田邊尙雄、一條慎三郎、黑澤隆朝等4個人，戰後頭20冬有呂泉生、呂訴上、許石、吳燕和、張人模tsia ê人ê lân-san采集，kàu kah 1966年史惟亮kap許常惠發起「中國人tī本省<sup>3</sup>所作，siōng大規模kap siōng有系統ê民間音樂ê採集工作。」（許常惠1992:4）留落真tsē台灣各族群ê民謠，tsiā<sup>n</sup>做後--來研究台灣民謠ê重要資料。戰後70年代kàu ta<sup>n</sup>，針對台灣各族群歌謠ê詞ah是曲做采集、編冊、出版--ê mā bē少，親像吳瀛濤、黃勁連、洪惟仁、吳榮順、金榮華、顏美娟等等，若是大規模tī台灣采集民間文學--ê，ē-sái講90年代以後胡萬川tshuā頭ê團隊成績siōng tshia<sup>n</sup>-iā<sup>n</sup>，in采集整理--出--來ê台灣民間文學ê冊有百guā本，lāi-té呈現民間文學hit款真實、phong-phài、多變ê面貌mā真tsiâu-ûn，hō民間文學tī台灣tsiā<sup>n</sup>做1門獨立ê學科，ē-tàng建立1套屬台灣民間文學ê理論。（林培雅2006:51）

綜合頂kuân ê回顧，台灣民間文學ê采集tsīng清國時代kàu ta<sup>n</sup> lóng

<sup>3</sup> Tī tsia是指台灣。

有人陸陸續續leh做，採集ê人有清國人、日本人，mā有台灣人，資料mā真phong-phài，值得咱寶惜，m̄-koh若是針對採集ê目的kap內容來分析--ê khah少看--tiòh，目前iáu是等待人去開發tsit-ê主題，tse tō是筆者做tsit項研究ê動機kap目的。雖bóng tse是1項真有意義ê研究，m̄-koh因為考慮下面幾個因素，tī tsia phah算用民間文學lāi-té ê台語歌謠ê歌詞做主體，來針對採集ê目的kap內容做分析：

- (1) 咱lóng知liá<sup>n</sup>民間文學ê範圍真闊，為著beh達kàu深入研究ê目標，筆者liáh台語歌謠ê歌詞孤項來做研究分析。
- (2) 台灣是族群多元ê社會，每1个族群lóng有in特殊ê歌謠，beh了解 tsiah-tse無kâng族群ê歌謠ài有ē-hiáu各族族語ê能力，tse對筆者個人來講有能力上ê限制，koh-tsai講歌謠本身tō是一項專門的學問，對hia-ê族群ê宗教、民俗、勞動、生活若m̄是有基本tik ê了解，beh做相關ê研究tō可能會誤ta<sup>n</sup>，因為台語本身是筆者ê母語，使用tsit項能力來探討分析ka-tī族群ê歌謠已經有基本ê tsai-tiāu。
- (3) Tī台灣，母語是台語ê人口佔beh kah 75 pha，ē-sai講佔大多數，台語族群ê歌謠內涵非常phong-phài、多采多姿，所以用台語唱ê台灣歌謠，真自然會tsiá<sup>n</sup>做台灣所有族群ê歌謠ê主流，m̄-koh經過tsiá<sup>n</sup>世紀，2个外來政權ê thún-tàh，hō伊mā tsiá<sup>n</sup>做ài趕緊搶救ê文化資產之一，khiā tī寶惜ka-tī ê母語文化ê感情立場，tse是筆者用台語歌謠ê歌詞做研究主體ê原因之一。
- (4) 歌謠ê內容主要tī歌詞，有ê謠有曲，曲ê採集研究牽涉個人ê音樂能力，tsit方面筆者是外行人，所以kan-na有tsai-tiāu tī歌詞頂頭做分析研究，tse mā是筆者用台語歌謠ê歌詞做研究主體ê原因之一。

民間文學是民間文化ê重要載體，呈現--ê m̄-nā是文學性ê部份niā-niā，koh有風俗、信仰、語言等各方面ê內容，tō ài借重忠實ê記錄tsiah ē-tàng保存--lòh-來。民間文學tī台灣，uì日治時期到kah戰後，甚至是現此時，m̄管是khiā tī siá<sup>n</sup>-mih立場，為著siá<sup>n</sup>-mih目的，差不多每tsit khám-tsām lóng加加減減有人leh做採集ê khang-khuè，親像日治時期ê平澤丁東、片岡巖、稻田尹、鄭坤五、李獻章kap tsē-tsē hiàng時ê文藝雜誌，戰後ê吳瀛濤、許常惠kap史惟亮、胡萬川等等，m̄-koh目前iáu無人kā tsia-ê採集過程做khah有系統tik ê整理，所以本文tō以民間文學內

底ê台語歌謠做主體來起1個頭，liáh時間做直線，采集行動ê主事者做橫線，運用收集、閱讀、ah是採訪ê方法，來探討無kàng時期民間文學tī台灣hông采集ê過程kap成果，做系統tik ê整理kap資料ê分析，寄望tsit篇論文ē-tàng tī民間文學ê領域，hō後iân ê研究者tsit-kuá啓發，ē-tàng kā台灣民間文學運動做全面tik ê研究，來建構台灣民間文學采集運動ê歷史。

## 2. 台語歌謠概論

Ui文獻資料咱ē-tàng知iá<sup>n</sup> 1項事實，tsīng古早到ta<sup>n</sup>，有真tsē歌謠tī台灣民間leh流傳，咱頂頭mā有講--過，伊是民間文學lāi-té 1項真重要ê文化寶貝，因為伊有先民ê心聲，有民族ê感情，是1面反應時代背景ê鏡，ē-tàng牽挽歷史ê情懷，建立民族ê信心kap尊嚴，khor-uá族群ê民族意識，抵抗外來文化霸權ê侵略。所以簡上仁講：

民間歌謠是反映時代背景ê鏡，àn 1個所在ê民謠ē-tàng了解tsit-ê所在ê人ê生活歷程。Tò-píng來講，tsit-ê所在in ê民族生活過程ê內涵，tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiā<sup>n</sup>是影響in民間歌謠ê風味kap性格ê主要因素。所以，l-phō台灣人ê生活開拓史iáh tō是台灣民間歌謠發展ê過程kap風格演化ê寫照。（簡上仁1992:13）

咱ê老祖先khiā tī台灣tsit-tè福地，長久來靠討liáh過著無煩無惱ê日子，到kah漢族人大量移民來tsia，tuè tiòh歷史ê演變，社會結構無停ê改變，咱平埔族ê文化、語言受著漢文化強勢、徹底ê同化，致使咱ê族語消失tī咱tuà ê土地，tsiā<sup>n</sup>做失聲ê族群，今á日，咱ê母語--台語，經過百guā年外來政權ê殖民統治thún-táh，mā táuh-táuh-á行入死亡ê邊緣，回想tsit段歷史，看著咱ê族語、母語ê命運咱會心疼，ka-tsài咱先民為著生存留--lòh-來ê腳跡，lóng iáu-koh ē-tàng tī代代流傳ê民間歌謠--nih tshuē tiòh線索，hō咱ē-tàng藉著tsia-ê歌謠了解先民ê生活情景、社會現象kap in豪爽ê性格、樂天知命ê人生觀kiau in心肝內對咱ê ñg望。Tse咱uì目前iáu流傳tī民間ê台語歌謠tō ē-tàng真清楚來了解，親像：

「Lim酒歌」是leh kā咱講先民tī開荒作sit suah，l-kuá好朋友sio招huah拳lim酒hit款豪爽ê心境。「天烏烏」uì天氣ê景象講著阿公、阿媽為著煮鹹煮tsiá<sup>n</sup>冤家kah lòn<sup>n</sup>破鍋á鼎ê sim-sik tãì，lāi-té隱含合作sa<sup>n</sup>-kāng tsiah ē-tàng成事ê意義。「牛犁á歌」是sit íng ê時ê歌舞小戲。「台東調」是描寫恆春人去台東phah-pià<sup>n</sup>開拓前程ê故事。「搖gín-á歌」是老母á<sup>n</sup> gín-á<sup>n</sup>暎ê時，l款呈現母愛偉大親情ê柔美ê歌謠。「Tiu<sup>n</sup>-tiu<sup>n</sup>-tàng-á」描寫火車nng過pōng-khang到蘭陽平原ê情景。「勸世歌」勸人做好tãì，反映先民生活kap體驗ê心聲。「草mé á lāng雞公」、「桃花過渡」表現先民藉著sio褒sio kik ê形式，解說男女愛情ê奧妙。「病困歌」描寫翁bó恩愛ê感情。「五更鼓」是hō人意亂情迷，非常纏綿ê情歌。（簡上仁1992:13-14）

總講l句，咱uì台語歌謠ê內容ē-tàng了解咱老祖先in hit款豪爽ê特色kap溫和ê氣質，hām勤儉刻苦、樂觀冒險ê精神。In kō tsit款樂觀ê心態面對現實生活kap大自然tshia-pià<sup>n</sup> ê精神kiau特質，tshiá<sup>n</sup>-iú<sup>n</sup>台語歌謠大hàn，hō台語歌謠ê旋律精神hām歌詞ê意境，lóng tsham tiòh厚厚ê台灣風格：樂觀、明朗、phah-pià<sup>n</sup>、溫和、柔美。

## 2.1. 台語歌謠 ê 定義kap起源

陳君玉tī 1934年臺灣文藝協會出版發行ê《先發部隊》第1號tsit本雜誌--nih，發表l篇叫做〈臺灣歌謠的展望〉ê文章，lāi-té伊講：「有章有曲叫做歌，無章無曲叫做謠。」（君玉1934:11）曾子良mā講：「歌謠，就伊ê音樂性來講，ē-tàng分做háp樂ê歌kap無háp樂ê謠。」（曾子良2004:134）簡上仁kā歌謠定義做「Àì是ē-tàng唱ê歌，ah是ē-tàng唸ê謠。」（簡上仁1992:2）胡萬川講：「Ē-tàng唱--ê叫做歌，ē-tàng唸--ê叫做謠。『歌謠』hông當做l個學術ê概念，確定專門用來指民間ê歌謠。」（胡萬川2004:156-157）綜合頂kuán ê講法，咱ē-tàng講有詞kap曲配合--ê叫做「歌」，無詞kap曲配合--ê叫做「謠」，歌謠tō是歌kap謠ê總稱。

楊麗祝tī伊ê著作《歌謠與生活：日治時期臺灣的歌謠採集及其時代



意義》lāi-té kā「歌謠」tsit-ê詞做定義ê時講：

歌謠kap民歌、民謠tsia-ê名詞tshiàng-tsāi thàu-lām leh用，m̄-koh伊主要ê概念是àn西方ê語言來--ê，親像英文--nih ê folksong、ballad等等。……ballad tsit-ê名詞tī英國sù-siông是用來表示「kō韻文來講簡單ê故事」ê意思。若是Folksong（民歌）tsit-ê詞，根據Frank Kidson ê《英國民歌論》（English Folksong），是講伊是1種歌曲（song and melody）「出世tī民間，民間用來表達情緒，ah是抒情ê敘述者。……就伊ê曲調來講，伊liōng-kī-iok是傳說--ê，ah tse tō kap一切ê傳說sio-siāng，真簡單hông傳走tsing--去ah是改變--去；伊ê起源無法tō確實知iá<sup>n</sup>，伊ê年代，mā kan-na liōng-kī-iok-á知iá<sup>n</sup> niā-niā」，若是「民間」ê範圍，是指「無siá<sup>n</sup>受著文雅教育ê社會階層來講--ê」；Á Louise Pound tī《詩ê起源kap敘事歌》（Poetic Origins and the Ballad）--nih mā指出，所謂ê民歌ài滿足ē-té 2個條件：第一，Tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiòh ài民眾kah意tsia-ê歌，koh唱tsia-ê歌，in tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiòh「ài活tī民眾ê嘴--nih」；第二，Tsia-ê歌ài經過真久用嘴流傳koh ē-tàng留--lòh-來，in m̄免靠印冊tō ē-tàng留--lòh-來-ê。……對照《哈佛音樂辭典》（Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music）--nih對Folk music、Folksong ê解說，「伊是音樂ê寶藏kap公眾ê傳統（特別是指鄉村），……伊ê作者sù-siông是m̄知人名--ê，產生tī中下階層--ê khah tsē，伊主要kō口頭ê方式leh傳播，所以tī口傳ê過程會hông修正」，……。（楊麗祝2003:16-17）

Àn楊麗祝tsit段話，咱ē-tàng了解歌謠tō是：第一，伊是用口頭創作，用口頭流傳--ê。第二，Tī長期流傳ê時，因為伊是kō口頭流傳，所以真oh定型，tsiá<sup>n</sup>做1個固定ê版本，koh-tsài因為tī流傳ê時無停leh改變，所以伊一直是khiā tī變動ê狀態--nih-ê。第三，大部份ê民間歌謠，無法tō確定siāng是作者，án-ne講m̄是講伊無作者，是因為長期流傳ê時，民眾無停參與修改、增加、減少，tì kah m̄知siāng是本來ê作者，所以作品經過1段時期了後tō tsiá<sup>n</sup>做集體ê作品。第四，民間歌謠tī流傳ê過程，雖bóng無停leh改變，m̄-koh伊主要ê結構有1個穩定ê模式是tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiòh--ê，bē

變--ê。Tse kap蘇維熊ê講法是kâng款--ê：

「臺灣歌謠」tō是由臺灣一般民眾1人ah是數人創作，後--來流傳到民間，題材以平民生活ê苦樂種種面相，ah是in直接觀察著，種種社會現象為主ê詩歌。（蘇維熊1933）<sup>4</sup>

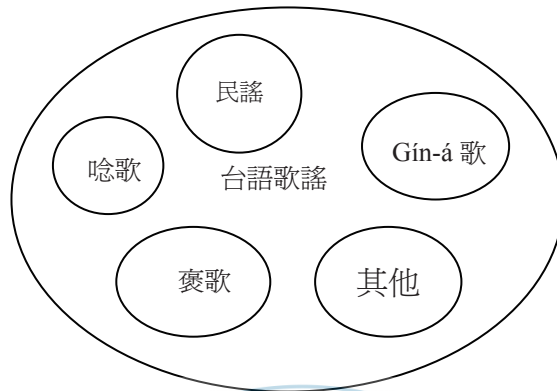
M̄-koh, tī台灣各界歌謠kap民謠tsit 2个詞，tshiāng-tsāi有借用、合用ê混亂情形發生，親像鄭恒隆kap郭麗娟合著ê《台灣歌謠臉譜》，kā周添旺、李臨秋、陳達儒in作詞ê流行歌號做「創作歌謠」（鄭恒隆、郭麗娟2002：目次）；莊永明kap孫德銘編ê《台灣歌謠鄉土情》in kā傳統民謠叫做「自然民謠」，kā相對傳統民謠--ê號做「創作歌謠」（莊永明、孫德銘1994:10-11），kap鄭恒隆in ê講法sio-siāng；杜文靖（2005:44）、簡上仁（1992:2）、楊克隆（2007：自序）in mā lóng kā創作ê流行歌（曲）叫做「創作歌謠」。Tse kap胡萬川ê看法tsing-tsha真tsē，伊講：

以學術ê觀點來講，「歌謠」是指傳統--ê、代代流傳--ê、無分（ah是無計較）作者是siāng ê歌ah謠，kap近代有著作權觀念ê創作歌曲，m̄管是流行歌曲ah是藝術歌曲，lóng是無kâng-ê。（胡萬川2004:150）

Tī tsia筆者認為胡萬川ê定義真正確，符合民間文學對歌謠ê定義，á咱ká是leh討論學術，應該tō ài kā歌謠kap流行歌曲、藝術歌曲pué hō清楚。Tsit-má咱tō kā歌謠kap民謠（音樂學者叫做民歌）ê關係用ē-té ê圖表1 ê「台語歌謠內涵圖」來表示，án-ne tō ē-tàng tsiān清楚了解。

<sup>4</sup> 本文筆者是參考甘文芳等著，黃英哲主編2006，《日治時期臺灣文藝評論集·雜誌篇·第一冊》，台南市：國家台灣文學館籌備處，54頁，蘇維熊著、涂翠花譯ê〈試論臺灣歌謠〉。

圖表1. 台語歌謠內涵圖



咱ui頂頭ê說明知ia<sup>n</sup>歌謠ê定義了，án-ne咱tō ē-tàng講，台語歌謠tō是用台語做語言ê歌謠。台語mā叫做台灣話，是台灣長年來tuà tī tsia ê人ê共同語，到ta<sup>n</sup> iáu是台灣siōng-tsē人leh使用ê語言。

若講著歌謠ê起源，ē-sai講suī人講ê lóng無sio-siāng，所以mā無定論，m̄-koh咱加減ē-tàng參考l-kuá學說來說明台語歌謠伊產生ê可能。咱ê先民冒險來到台灣，tī in奮鬥phah-pià<sup>n</sup> ê過程，in心肝內ê喜怒哀樂kan-na ē-tàng藉著歌聲來tháu放。親像音樂家in認為，音樂ê起源可能是「爲著tháu放感情--ê」、「勞動產生節奏、歌聲--ê」、「大聲講話產生--ê」、「表達語言產生--ê」、「唸咒ê聲sàu刺激產生--ê」、「吸引異性產生--ê」等等。咱ê祖先tī in ê生活--nih，作sit ê時，可能會藉著歌聲來消tháu疲勞；tī歡喜、悲傷ê時，爲著tháu放感情，發自內心ê聲音，可能演變做歌謠；爲著kap山hit頭ah是溪hit pīng ê人講話ê時，有可能tsiā<sup>n</sup>自然發展出歌謠；爲著吸引異性，可能會創造優美ê韻調tsiā<sup>n</sup>做情歌；運用語言表達世間ê事物、景象、人文ê時，爲著強調表情ê需要，有可能發展出某l款歌謠；因爲宗教活動ê需要，唸經、誦文有可能tsiā<sup>n</sup>做曲調；所以in有tsē種可能，táuh-táuh-á形成充滿鄉土phang味，滿腹情感，純真樸素ê台語歌謠，án-ne台語歌謠ê起源簡單講tō是咱台灣人ê祖先tī in ê生活--nih經過長期ê演變táuh-táuh-á產生--ê。

## 2.2. 台語歌謠ê範圍kap分類

咱頂頭有講--過，台語歌謠tō是用台語發聲ê歌ah是謠，所以伊ê範

圍真闊，若是háh tsit-ê條件ê歌ah是謠，lóng是台語歌謠涵蓋ê範圍，具體tik來講，咱ē-sái uì台語歌謠ê分類來說明台語歌謠ê範圍。

台語歌謠，李獻璋kā伊分做「民歌」、「童謠」kap「Bī猜」3款。（李獻璋1936:目次1-2）黃得時kā台語歌謠<sup>5</sup> uì形態本位kap內容本位去分類，請看筆者整理ê「圖表2：台語歌謠分類整理表」tō ē-tàng清楚了解。（黃得時1967:5-8）吳瀛濤kā台語歌謠<sup>6</sup> 分做「歌á」、「民歌」、「民謠」、「童謠」kap「流行歌」5款。（吳瀛濤1975:350）許常惠kā伊台語歌謠分做「歌謠類」、「戲劇類」、「說唱類」、「歌舞類」kap「Gín-á歌類」5款。（許常惠1992:14-15）<sup>7</sup> 簡上仁根據研究者立場ê無kâng，kā台語歌謠<sup>8</sup> àn「歌詞內容」、「分佈地區」kap「音樂特質kiau使用形式」拆開去分類，詳細請看筆者整理ê「圖表2：台語歌謠分類整理表」。（簡上仁1992:18-21）Khioh去頂kuân ê分類方式liáh外，陳瑞貴kā台灣歌謠（縮小範圍tō kap筆者定義ê台語歌謠sio-siàng）分做「移民tsah來ê台灣歌謠」kap「新創ê歌謠」2款，（陳瑞貴1978:193-194）算是kap人khah無kâng--ê。Suà--lòh，咱tō kā頂kuân無kâng ê人in對台語歌謠ê分類整理做下面ê表：

圖表2. 台語歌謠分類整理表

分類者	第1階類	第2階類	第3階類
李獻璋 (1936:目次1-2)		民歌	
		童謠	
		Bī猜	

(後一頁koh有)

<sup>5</sup> 黃得時m是用「台語歌謠」，是用「台灣的歌謠」來稱呼筆者定義ê台語歌謠。

<sup>6</sup> 吳瀛濤m是用「台語歌謠」，是用「台灣民謠」來稱呼筆者定義ê台語歌謠。

<sup>7</sup> 許常惠kā民謠定義做：「以歌唱為主ê民俗音樂」，伊講：「台灣漢族ê民謠ē-tàng uì伊ê用途分做5大類：1.歌謠，2.戲劇，3.說唱，4.歌舞，5.Gín-á歌。」Tse kap胡萬川ê講法無sio-siàng，胡萬川kā「歌謠」、「民謠」、「創作民謠（流行歌）」分kah真清楚，筆者認為胡萬川ê定義tsiah合理、有系統，請參考胡萬川2004，〈從歌謠到流行歌曲：一個文化定位的正名〉，《民間文學的理論與實際》（初版二刷：2005.6），新竹市：清大出版社，p145-167。

<sup>8</sup> 簡上仁m是用「台語歌謠」，是用「台灣民謠」來稱呼筆者定義ê台語歌謠。

黃得時 (1967:5-8)	形態本位	七字仔	山歌調			
			五更鼓調			
			十二月調			
			數目調			
			名物調			
			嵌字調	干支系		
				上大人系		
				三字經系		
			臺日語調			
			相褒調			
			雜念仔	內容本位	七字仔	十二月調
						數目調
						問答調
	名產調					
	聯鎖調					
	急口令					
	政治歌謠					
	敘情歌謠					
	生活歌謠	懷胎				
		生子				
		結婚				
		治家				
		蓋棺				
職業歌謠						
滑稽歌謠		嘲笑的				
		顛倒的				
		趁韻的				
		好笑的				
儀式歌謠						
猥褻歌謠		關於性交的				
		關於肢體的				
		關於排泄的				

(後一頁koh有)

		勸戒歌謠	
		敘事歌謠	事物 故事
		兒歌	催眠止哭
			練習學語
			配合遊戲
			學習數目
			認識品物
		流行歌曲	創造時期
			模倣時期
			翻譯時期
復興時期			
吳瀛濤 (1975:350)		歌仔	
		民歌	
		民謠	
		童謠	
		流行歌	
許常惠 (1992:14-15)		歌謠	
		戲劇	
		說唱	
		歌舞	
		Gín-á 歌	
簡上仁 (1992:18-21)	歌詞內容	家庭倫理	
		工作	
		愛情	
		祭祀	
		敘述	
		趣味	
		童謠	
		分佈地區	嘉南平原
	恆春地區		
	蘭陽地區		
	其他地區		

(後一頁koh有)

(頂一頁koh有)

音樂特質 kiau 使用形式	一般民謠	
	戲曲	南北管戲曲音樂 歌仔戲 歌舞小劇
	說唱	
	宗教（信仰）歌謠	
	兒童歌謠	
	民間唸謠	

咱uì頂kuân整理ê表，真清楚了解，用文學ê角度kap用音樂ê角度來研究台語歌謠ê人，in對台語歌謠ê分類，有真大ê無kàng，tse是ē-tàng理解--ê，譬論講，uì歌詞內容ē-tàng研究先民ê生活、時代ê背景kap民眾ê思想，所以tse tī「社會學」ê研究tō真有意義；sio-siâng ê道理，beh了解台語歌謠ê風格kap精神，tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiòh ài uì「音樂學」lòh手，伊ê分類tō-koh無kàng；總講1句，台語歌謠ê分類看研究者ê需要會有無siâng ê分類方式，mā tiòh ài án-ne tsiah ē-tàng充份掌握研究ê成果，hō歌謠ê價值加倍。

### 3. 台語歌謠采集探討、分析

格林兄弟（Jacob Grimm & Wihelm Grimm）認為民歌反映--ê是民眾ê集體精神，是民族ê心聲，所以是神聖--ê。（胡萬川2004:77）

民間文學tī歐洲因為知識份子階級受著盧梭（Jean Rousseau）代表ê浪漫主義思潮kap赫爾德（Johann G. Herder）代表ê民族主義思想ê影響，hia ê知識份子tsiah開始行入民間，采集ka-tī ê歌謠、故事、神話、傳說，用來走tshuē in ê民族感情，建立in ê民族精神kap建構in ê民族認同，所以胡萬川講：

「民間文學」tsiâ<sup>n</sup>做1種文化kap學術ê範疇，後來tī歐

洲ê發展hām產生ê作用，m̄-nā超出「文學」2字所包含ê意涵tsiok-tsē，sù-siōng是koh thàu-lām tiòh民族認同（政治對抗）kap語言、文字做夥ko纏來--ê。（胡萬川2004:71-72）

Tsia歐洲ê知識份子kā in採集--tiòh ê歌謠、故事、神話、傳說thèh來教育民眾，啓發民眾ê民族意識，親像德國ê Grimm（格林）兄弟，in積極發起民間文學ê採集kap整理ê運動，kā採集--tiòh ê民間文學作品再整理，再創作，寫出屬in ka-tī民族傳統ê文學作品，來huah醒德國ê民族精神，影響到後來ê德國統一。Tī Finland（芬蘭）kap Irish（愛爾蘭）mā因爲in ê知識份子爲著增強in民族ê認同kiau自信，ká起l-káng採集、整理民間文學ê風潮，因爲án-ne，in tī異族統治ê環境--nih借民間文學ê力量重新建構ka-tī民族ê語言、文字kap文學傳統，甚至像Elias Lonnrot（龍諾）編出Finland有史以來siōng重要ê文獻：“Kalevala”，tsiâ<sup>n</sup>做Finland人心目中文化ê源頭，kho-uá in Finland人ê民族意識，來反抗異族ê同化，建立獨立ê國家。（胡萬川2004:73-88）

翻頭看咱台灣民間文學ê採集，黃得時tī伊《臺灣歌謠之研究》hit本手稿lāi-té ê第一章專門leh講「臺灣歌謠的搜集」，伊kā清國kàu日本時代有關台灣歌謠採集ê情形，整理tsiâ<sup>n</sup>做1篇「小史」，伊àn清國講kàu日本時代，內容有：

- (一) 黃叔瓚ê「番俗六考」
- (二) 道光kàu光緒年間ê搜集
- (三) 日本據臺當時
- (四) 梁啓超ê「臺灣竹枝詞」
- (五) 平澤氏kap片岡氏ê搜集
- (六) 「臺灣國風」kap「臺灣情歌集」
- (七) 臺灣新民報社ê徵集
- (八) 李獻璋氏ê「臺灣民間文學集」
- (九) 稻田氏ê搜集
- (十) 呂泉生氏ê採譜
- (十一) 佐藤文一氏ê「原始藝術研究」
- (十二) 臺灣省立臺北圖書館ê收藏
- (十三) 英國牛津Bodleian Library ê收藏（黃得時1967）



Lāi-té黃叔璥是台灣siōng早搜集歌謠ê人，「番俗六考」采集--tiòh-ê是北路諸羅kap南路鳳山ê原住民ê風俗hâm in生活ê情形，每1社ê記錄lóng附1首「番á歌」，tsia ê歌謠lóng總有34首，tsit 34首歌謠lō尾tsiâ<sup>n</sup>做歷史學kap民俗學頂頭真有價值ê史料。

Suà--lòh，清國道光kàu光緒hit段期間，由廈門世文堂、崇經堂等等ê冊店出版ê歌á冊，親像《新傳桃花過渡歌》、《新刊神姐歌》、《新傳離某歌》、《新刊勸人莫過臺灣歌》、《新刻手抄臺灣民主國歌》等，mā是hiàng時tī台灣tsiok時行ê民間歌謠。

Koh來講kàu日本tú來台灣統治ê初期，1902年tī台北出版ê雜誌《臺灣慣習記事》第二卷第七號lāi-té，有刊1篇名叫「採訪生」ê日本人寫ê〈臺灣人的俗歌〉tsit篇文章，tī tsit篇文章--nih，作者kā搜集tiòh hiàng時真時行koh tsiâ<sup>n</sup>有歷史意義ê 3首歌謠發表--出-來。

第4 tsat黃得時紹介梁啓超tī 1911年來台灣tshit-thô ê時，採錄--tiòh ê 10首梁氏kā號做「臺灣竹枝詞」ê台灣歌謠。

第5 tsat講著1917年台北晃文館發行，搜集2百幾首台灣歌謠，日本人平澤丁東編著ê頭1本歌謠專門冊--《台灣の歌謠と名著物語》kap日本人片岡巖著，搜集範圍koh-khah闊，內容koh-khah多采多姿，tī 1921年出版ê《臺灣風俗誌》。

Suà--lòh，黃得時tī第6 tsat講著3項台語歌謠采集ê情形。頭1項，講著1927年4--月，鳳山鄭坤五創刊《臺灣藝苑》雜誌，kāng hit冬6--月開始，伊tī雜誌設「臺灣國風」專欄，專門搜集台灣歌謠，giáh著文藝雜誌刊登歌謠ê頭旗。Tī tsia鄭坤五kā台灣褒歌號做「台灣國風」提昇台灣歌謠ê文學地位，「tse是伊tī文學史頂kuân siōng有意義ê貢獻，hō伊tī台灣文學史（特別是台語文學史）頂頭khia tī真重要ê地位。」（呂興昌1998：5）M-nā án-ne，koh「Tī『國風』頂kuân加『台灣』2字，有被殖民者走tshuē解脫外力支配ê自主性文化想像。」（施懿林2001：摘要）第2項，Tī tsit tsat另外koh介紹1928年廈門同文中學ê謝雲聲，收入200首台灣情歌編做《臺灣情歌集》，tī tsia khah特別--ê是，黃得時認為謝雲聲講「臺灣ê居民，本té是咱福建人徙--過-去-ê，莫怪hit-ê所在ê歌謠，會流傳tng來咱福建。」（謝雲聲1928:11-12）ê講法是「可能有『倒因為果』（鍾敬文之評語）之嫌。」（黃得時1967:17）黃得時講--ê「倒因為果」是leh指謝雲聲講tī福建leh流傳ê台灣情歌，是àn台灣流傳去--ê，

m̄-koh, tsim-tsiok想tse m̄是無可能--ê, 因為台灣ê歌á戲tō是1個真好ê例。黃得時會án-ne講, kap tsit-má真tsē人認為台灣ê文化lóng是uì中國傳--過-來-ê kàng款, 是tiòh tiòh國民黨大中國思想ê毒siu"深, 看台灣文化lóng用漢人做中心ê角度, 看無hiān ka-tī台灣ê傳統文化tsiah會án-ne; khah hám--ê是黃得時伊本身是台灣大學ê教授, 連證據to無tō lòh結論, 就學術來講, 是m̄ tiòh--ê。第3項講著1930年9月tī台南刊行ê《三六九小報》開闢「黛山樵唱」專欄, 陸陸續續刊100 guā首歌謠。

第7 tsat, 介紹《台灣新民報》uì 1931年開始「有意」大量徵集歌謠ê過程。

第8 tsat, 講著李獻璋ê《臺灣民間文學集》, 黃得時講「昭和11年(西元1936) 6--月, 大溪李獻璋氏kā過去真tsē人搜集ê歌謠, koh加李氏本人所搜集--ê, 合併--起-來, 編著『臺灣民間文學』1冊, lai-té歌謠beh kah 1000首, ē-sái講是臺灣歌謠ê集大成。」Tī tsia伊贊同李獻璋看重民間文學ê主張, m̄-koh伊認為李獻璋tī tsit本文學集--nih無搜集tiòh故事歌謠, 感覺khah無tshái。

第9 tsat, 介紹1942年hiàng時tī台北帝國大學文政學部東洋文學科擔任助手ê稻田尹收錄120首台灣歌謠, 編成《臺灣歌謠集》ê過程。

第10 tsat, 介紹1944年呂泉生採集〈六月田水〉kap〈丟丟銅á〉tsit 2首民謠ê歌詞hām樂譜ê經過。另外mā講著嘉義玉珍漢書部、捷發漢書部、瑞成書局、台北周協隆書店kap上海開文書局, 排印數百種演唱故事歌謠ê歌á簿ê tai-tsi。

第11 tsat, 介紹1944年5月hit-tang-tsūn擔任台北帝國大學豫科教授ê佐藤文一, 收集原住民歌謠出版《臺灣原住種族の原始藝術研究》tsit本冊ê過程。

Lō尾第12 tsat, 介紹臺灣省立臺北圖書館kap英國牛津Bodleian Library收藏有關台灣歌謠ê詳細內容。

頂頭說明--ê是黃得時tī伊《臺灣歌謠之研究》hit本手稿lai-té, 講著清國kàu日本時代有關台灣歌謠採集ê情形, 算做是1-ê大概tik ê介紹, suà-lòh, kō楊麗祝ê《歌謠與生活：日治時期臺灣的歌謠採集及其時代意義》kiau李進益ê〈日治時期臺灣民間文學資料考索〉做地基, 來分析、探討台語歌謠採集ê情形。

### 3.1. 日治時期台語歌謠採集分析

Beh了解台語歌謠tī台灣採集ê歷史過程，siōng好ê方法是ui時間ê角度落手，咱lóng知iá<sup>n</sup>，台灣tī 1895年hō日本殖民統治，1945年日本戰敗，國民黨政權來到台灣，威權統治台灣55年，到kah 2000年台灣第1 kái換朝代，tī tsia-ê歷史過程--nih，台灣歌謠因為政治環境、社會結構、消費型態ê改變，受著真大ê影響，所以咱phah算théh 2次世界大戰結束，iáh tō是1945年，做咱分析探討ê切割點，ē-té咱tō kā分做日治時期kap戰後2个khám-tsām來討論。

頭起先，咱kā日治時期台語歌謠採集ê成果kap目的整理做ē-té ê圖表3：

圖表3. 日治時期台語歌謠採集成果表

年 koh	採集者或機關 社團、雜誌名稱	採集 (áh 是研究) ê 成果	採集 (áh 是研究) ê 目的
1901~1907	臺灣慣習研究會	出版《臺灣慣習記事》7卷，kan-na 採錄幾篇歌謠，tshun-ê lóng 是台灣人生活習慣各方面ê 採錄。(楊麗祝 2003：67-78)	日本政府為著了解台灣人ê 生活慣 si、風俗，來達著統治ê 目的。
1917	平澤丁東	出版《臺灣の歌謠と名著物語》1冊，收錄褒歌 191 首，Gín-á 歌 63 首，kap 民間故事等等。(平澤丁東 1917：1-142)	Kah 意南方ê 異國情調。(平澤丁東 1917：序文)
1921	片岡巖	出版《臺灣風俗志》，有收錄1章「臺灣ê 雜念」，lāi-té 收錄二十四送、十二按、三十二呵、十八摸、時代流	1. 了解台灣人家庭起居 kap 社會生活。(片岡巖著、陳金田譯 1990：黃得時〈光復前之台

(後一頁koh有)

		行歌、挽茶歌各 1 首，另外介紹駛犁歌（無附歌詞），kap 擗歌（褒歌）66 首，病囡歌、僧侶歌、勸解纏足歌各 1 首，長歌（歌 á）〈新編歐洲大戰歌〉1 篇，日本據台歌、朱一貴之亂歌各 1 首，gín-á 歌 23 首，乞食歌 1 首，原住民歌謠 19 首等等。（片岡巖 1990：257-308）	灣研究〉（代序）第 8 頁） 2. 同化是殖民當局既定 ê 政策，m̄-koh beh 台灣人服，ài 先了解 in ê 心理，所以探討台灣人 ê 風俗習慣是必要--ê，目的是 beh 矯正風俗。（楊麗祝 2003:81）
1927	鄭坤五創辦 ê 《臺灣藝苑》	目前筆者手頭 ê 資料顯示有 2 種無 kâng ê 講法：1. 刊佈歌謠 32 篇。（呂興昌 1998：7） 2. 收四季春 40 guā 首，tāk 首 lóng 有附評釋。（李獻璋 1936：自序 2）	伊主要 ê 目的 m̄ 是 beh 展現「蒐集」ê 豐富，是 kā 蒐集--著--ê 揀 tsán--ê 來評述，beh 提昇歌謠 ê 文學地位，koh 暗示 tī 伊建構台灣文學自主性 tsit 方面 ê 價值。（呂興昌 1998:7）
1927	謝雲聲	出版《臺灣情歌集》 <sup>9</sup> 1 冊，收錄褒歌 200 首。	謝雲聲感覺台灣流行 ê 歌謠，大部份 lóng 是 kiau 愛情有關係，tsiah 想 beh 編集台灣情歌。（謝雲聲 1928:11）

（後一頁 koh 有）

<sup>9</sup> 1928年謝雲聲編 ê 《台灣情歌集》，根據李獻璋 ê 講法：「廈門謝雲聲氏 suah kā 泉州綺文堂刻 ê 『臺灣採茶歌』，kan-na kā 內容 ê 順序 sio-khuá tshiâu-suá，題做『臺灣情歌集』，作廣大 ê 民俗學會叢書刊行--a。」請看李獻璋 1936，《台灣民間文學集》，台北市：台灣文藝協會，自序 2。

<p>1928</p>	<p>伊能嘉矩</p>	<p>伊能嘉矩過身了後，因為伊 ê 學生走 tsông，1928 年出版《臺灣文化志》3 大冊。Tī 第 6 章附錄講古、演戲 kap 歌謠 1 節，文尾有《新刊鴉片歌》、《新刊臺灣十八呵奇樣歌》、《新刊臺灣奇樣鬧蔥蔥相思歌》3 本歌謠集 ê 冊皮相片。(伊能嘉矩 1928 : 210-211) Kâng 冬出版 ê 《臺灣俗曲集》，收錄台語歌謠 25 本，包括《彩刊神姐歌》、《桃花過渡》、《臺灣十八呵奇樣歌》等 33 種歌謠。(李獻璋 1982 : 252)</p>	<p>日本政府為著全面收集台灣史料，了解台灣風物，聘請伊能嘉矩 kap 尾崎秀真擔任收集 khang-khuè ê 負責人，thang hō 日本政府統治需要。(楊麗祝 2003:83)</p>
<p>1931</p>	<p>《臺灣新民報》</p>	<p>1931.1.10 開闢「歌謠」專欄，到 1931.5.23 為止，徵集著百 guā 首歌謠，lāi-té gín-á 歌 khah tsē。(楊麗祝 2003:109)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 收集各地流傳 ê 歌謠，保存台灣人 ê 民族文化。</li> <li>2. 吸收民間文學 ê 養分，創作有本土特色 ê 文學。</li> <li>3. 用歌謠做台灣話文 ê 基礎，ka 台灣話文字化，建設台灣新文學，達到保存台語 ê 目的。(楊麗祝 2003:105-115)</li> </ol>

(後一頁 koh 有)

<p>1930-1935 (施懿琳 2001)</p>	<p>《三六九小報》</p>	<p>開闢「黛山樵唱」欄，由懺紅輯錄民間歌謠，另外古圓（蕭永東）採集模仿創作文人歌謠「消夏小唱」、「迎秋小唱」、「消寒小唱」、「迎春小唱」等等，刊有百 guā 首歌謠。(李獻璋 1936:自序 2；施懿琳 2001。)</p>	<p>採集目的 kiau 《臺灣新民報》sio-siāng。</p>
<p>1932</p>	<p>《南音》雜誌</p>	<p>Lóng 總發行 12 期，收錄 bē 少歌謠，以 gín-á 歌 kap 褒歌爲主，每 1 期收錄 gín-á 歌、褒歌各 3、4 首。(東方文化書局復刻本，《台灣新文學雜誌叢刊：南音》)</p>	<p>1. 《南音》雜誌由郭秋生主導開闢「台灣話文嘗試欄」大量發表採集--著 ê 民間文學作品(尤其是歌謠)，tsià<sup>n</sup> 做建設「台灣話文」ê 先期基礎 khang-khuè。(呂興昌 1998：2-3)                  2. 建立大眾 ê 文藝。(楊麗祝 2003:124)</p>
<p>1933-1934</p>	<p>《フォルモサ》 (福爾摩沙)</p>	<p>Lóng 總發行 3 期，創刊號有刊 1 篇蘇維熊寫 ê 歌謠研究 ê 文章：〈臺灣歌謠に對する一試論〉，是 30 年代歌謠研究方面 1 篇真重要 ê 文章。                  無實際採集歌謠 ê 成果。(東方文化書局復刻本，《台灣新文學雜誌叢刊：フォルモサ》)</p>	

(後一頁koh有)

<p>1935</p>	<p>《第一線》</p>	<p>1935 年 1--月發行，前身是《先發部隊》，kan-na 發行 1 期。以民間文學做主題，出版「臺灣民間故事特輯」，收錄 15 篇李獻璋等改寫 ê 民間故事、黃得時寫--ê〈民間文學的認識〉、陳君玉寫--ê〈臺灣歌謠 ê 展望〉、茉莉寫--ê〈民謠に就いての管見〉kap 幾首 á 文人 ê 創作新歌，無歌謠採集 ê 成果。(東方文化書局復刻本，《台灣新文學雜誌叢刊：第一線》)</p>	<p>Khiā tī 整理先人文化遺產 ê 角度，kā 採集歌謠當做文人創作新時代文學 ê 參考資料。</p>
<p>1934-1937</p>	<p>《臺灣文藝》kap 《臺灣新文學》</p>	<p>《臺灣文藝》tī 1934 年 11--月創刊，lóng 總發行 16 號(林瑞明編，1987:246)，收錄劉捷寫 ê 〈民間文學の整理びその方法論〉，無歌謠採集 ê 成果。《臺灣新文學》1935 年 12--月創刊，lóng 總發行 15 期，收錄長篇歌 á 《辛酉一歌詩》，無歌謠採集 ê 成果。</p>	<p>Khiā tī 整理先人文化遺產 ê 角度，kā 採集歌謠當做文人創作新時代文學 ê 參考資料。</p>

(後一頁koh有)

(頂一頁koh有)

1936	李獻璋	出版《臺灣民間文學集》1冊，收錄歌謠 tsia <sup>n</sup> 千首、民間故事 23 篇。歌謠包含民歌、童謠 kap bī猜。	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 受著鄉土話文提倡者 ê 鼓舞 kap 反對者 ê phi-siù<sup>n</sup>。</li> <li>2. 呼籲文人學者看重 ka-tī ê 民族文學。(李獻璋 1936: 自序 1-6)</li> </ol>
1941-1945	金關丈夫主編 《民俗臺灣》	刊行《民俗臺灣》43 期，內容針對台灣 ê 民俗全面採集，有小部份歌謠。	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 保存民族文化。</li> <li>2. 為日本政府 ê 皇民化政策服務。(楊麗祝 2003:199-212)</li> </ol>
1942	東方孝義	出版《臺灣習俗》1 冊，有專門介紹台灣歌謠 ê 章節，收錄童謠、民謠、民謠--nih ê 勞動歌、民謠--nih ê 祝賀歌、民謠--nih ê 雜歌、山歌、俗歌、採茶歌、流行歌、南北管、隨唱歌、唱本等等。(楊麗祝 2003:213)	<p>希望內地人(日本人) kap 台灣人 ē-tàng sio 理解，án-ne tsiah 有可能實現內台人一體。(楊麗祝 2003:213)</p>
1943	稻田尹	出版《臺灣歌謠集》第一集 1 冊，收錄歌謠 124 首。(稻田尹 1943: 目次 1-4)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 肯定歌謠 ê 價值，對台灣歌謠 ê 研究真有趣味。</li> <li>2. 為殖民政府皇民化政策服務。(楊麗祝 2003:188- 192)</li> </ol>

Khioh去頂頭ê圖表3講--著-ê liáh外，台語歌謠ê採集tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiòh koh有 làu-kau--去-ê，親像台灣教育彙編ê《台灣歌謠曲集》、刊tī《台灣時報》--ê、《台灣歌謠書目》kap〈台灣歌謠に就て〉記載，流傳tī民間ê 700幾種歌á冊等等。(李進益2006:141-150) Tsia tsē-tsē ê寶貴歌謠資料 uì清國黃叔璥採集ê「番俗六考」起鼓，到kah日本敗戰，m̄管是代表統



治者ê官員、學者ah是台灣人，in陸陸續續tī台灣從事民間文學采集收--著ê資料實在非常phong-phài，尤其是歌謠tsit部份，hō咱了解先民ê人生觀、德道觀、愛情觀kap文明觀，tsia-ê歌謠無停tuè時代leh變化，lāi-té充滿著厚厚ê傳統性kap現代性，hō咱ē-tàng真知先民開墾ê艱難，kap in phah-pià"留--落--來ê腳跡，á tse tō是建構台灣民族siōng好ê精神武器。

### 3.2. 戰後時期台語歌謠采集分析

戰後國民黨政權統治台灣，實施強勢ê國語政策，打壓台灣各族語言，牽連著台灣民間文學研究發展嚴重停腳，m̄-koh 60年代尾，許常惠 kap 史惟亮發起民歌采集行動，tuè tiòh時代變遷ê潮流，80年代台灣意識 tàuh-tàuh-á puh-i<sup>n</sup>，從事民間文學采集、整理ê人lú來lú tsē，尤其解嚴了後，政治環境大轉變，胡萬川開始tī全國各地區做全面性ê民間文學采集，hō流浪tī台灣民間ê民間文學tshuē tiòh伊ê siū。Ē-té咱sio-siāng kā戰後ê民間文學采集做1个表kā整理、分析：

圖表4. 戰後民間文學采集成果表

年 koh	采集者或機關社 團、雜誌名稱	采集 (áh 是研究) ê 成果	采集 (áh 是研究) ê 目的
1967	黃得時	編寫《臺灣歌謠之研究》1冊，tī緒言--nih 分析臺灣歌謠 ê 特色；第一章介紹臺灣歌謠收集 ê 簡史；第二章 kap 第三章、第四章介紹歌謠 ê 分類、第五章講歌謠 kap 詩經、樂府 ê 比較。第1 ê 用學術 ê 方法研究臺灣歌謠。	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 個人對台灣歌謠 ê 興趣。</li> <li>2. 提升歌謠 ê 文學地位。</li> <li>3. 保存台灣民族文化。</li> <li>4. 了解先民 ê 生活、風俗習慣。</li> </ol>
1965-1967	許常惠、史惟亮	許常惠 kap 史惟亮 tī 1967 年發起民歌采集行動，採錄台灣各族群民歌 3000 幾首；采集行動發現恆春民謠宗師陳達，1971 年出版《民族樂手—陳達和他的歌》。(史惟亮 1977)	Kā 采集資料做學術研究用。

(後一頁koh有)

1968	吳瀛濤	出版《臺灣諺語》1冊，收錄諺語、歌謠、民謠、情歌、相褒歌、童謠、Gín-á 歌、盤嘴 gim、民俗歌、歷史故事歌等等。(吳瀛濤 1975：目錄 1-12)	Kā 採集資料做學術研究用。
1980	張裕宏	出版《台灣風》1冊，收錄情歌 100 首，每 1 首 lóng 有注解，khah phá <sup>n</sup> bat ê 字句 koh kā 標音。(張裕宏 1980)	Kā 情歌原形交 hō 讀者，hō 讀者 ē-tàng 全部了解 thang 來欣賞。
1992	胡萬川	1992 年開始胡萬川主持「臺灣地區民間文學調查、採集、整理、研究」計畫，tī 台灣各縣市培訓負責採集 ê 人員，到各鄉鎮從事民間文學採集，到 ta <sup>n</sup> 已經採集出版 100 guā 本民間文學集，是台灣 siōng 大規模、siōng 有科學性 ê 民間文學採集運動。	因為台灣民間文學受著政治影響，koh 無受學術界重視，流失真緊，為著搶救台灣各地 ê 民間文學，tsiah 來主持 tsit-ê 計畫。
1995-1997	黃勁連	1995 年出版《台灣國風》1 冊，1997 年出版《台灣褒歌》上、下 2 冊，lóng 總收錄褒歌 603 首。	走 tshuē 台語文學 ê 肥底，tsiá <sup>n</sup> 做創作 ê 養分，吸收台語 ê 民間文學，koh kā 伊發揚光大。
1998	洪惟仁	1998 年開始洪惟仁 tī 台北縣進行民間文學調查，到 2000 年年底，採集整理坪林、平溪、雙溪、汐止、石碇、深坑等等所在 ê 褒歌，超過 1000 首。2001 年 7--月到	搶救褒歌文化。

(後一頁koh有)

		2003 年 koh-tsài 采集著 3000 首褒歌，目前已經出版《金山相褒歌》、《平溪相褒歌》、《雙溪相褒歌》3 冊 <sup>10</sup> 。（謝淑珠 2005:41-42）	
1997-1999	吳榮順	1997 年吳榮順 tshuā 隊 tī 恆春、車城、滿州 3 個所在，採錄當地 ê 恆春民謠，kap 60 年代許常惠採錄 ê 部份恆春民謠集做《恆春半島民歌紀實》出版，lāi-té 3 tè CD 是 in tī 1 冬 guā 采集著 ê 選集。 <sup>11</sup>	為著 beh kā 恆春人 ê 歌留--落--來兼做學術研究用。
1999	王順隆	1999 年開始王順隆 kā 伊收集 ê 歌 á 冊建立資料庫，號做「閩南語俗曲唱本『歌仔冊』全文資料庫」，lāi-té 收錄 662 種歌 á 冊，超過 1000 本，是目前 siōng 大 ê 歌 á 冊資料庫。（閩南語俗曲唱本「歌仔冊」全文資料庫 2008）	1. 個人興趣 kap 研究。 2. 保存歌 á 冊文學 ê 重要文獻資料。
2001	屏東縣滿州鄉民謠協進會	屏東縣滿州鄉民謠協進會出版《屏東縣滿州鄉歌謠 CD 專輯》CD 2 片，VCD 2 片。	保存傳統民謠。

(頂一頁koh有)

<sup>10</sup> 《金山相褒歌》、《平溪相褒歌》、《雙溪相褒歌》tsit 3本冊是林金城出版--ê。

<sup>11</sup> 恆春半島民歌紀實（贊助單位：財團法人國家文化藝術基金會；出版發行：風潮有聲出版有限公司；共CD 4片，小冊二本）。

#### 4. 話尾

民間文學是民間文化ê重要載體，呈現--ê m̄-nā是文學性ê部份niā-niā，koh有風俗、信仰、語言等各方面ê內容，tō ài借重忠實ê記錄tsiah ē-tàng保存--lòh-來。民間文學tī台灣，uì日治時期到kah戰後，甚至是現此時，差不多每tsit khám-tsām lóng加加減減有人leh做採集ê khangkhuè，親像日治時期ê臺灣慣習研究會、平澤丁東、片岡巖、稻田尹、鄭坤五、伊能嘉矩、李獻章、金關丈夫、東方孝義kap tsē-tsē hiàng時ê文藝雜誌，親像，《臺灣新民報》、《三六九小報》、《南音》、《フォルモサ》、《第一線》、《臺灣文藝》kap《臺灣新文學》等等，ah是戰後ê黃得時、吳瀛濤、許常惠kap史惟亮、張裕宏、胡萬川、黃勁連、洪惟仁、吳榮順、王順隆kiau屏東縣滿州鄉民謠協進會ê phah-pià<sup>n</sup>採集，尤其是《臺灣風物》長年來報導bē少kap歌謠甚至是民間文學有關ê單篇採集，ah是論述等等。（高賢治1991）Tsia tsē-tsē ê採集kap研究論述hō咱民間歌謠ê面tshiu<sup>n</sup>漸漸浮現，hō咱koh-khah thang了解先民ê生活。

雖bóng uì日治時期開始tòh有真tsē人tī台灣從事歌謠ah是民間文學ê採集，m̄-koh咱若tsim-tsiok kā深想，其實ē-sái uì 2 ê面向來觀察in採集ê目的，頭起先咱就日治時期ê採集者來講，有台灣人kap日本人，2種無kāng ê民族，in有無kāng ê政治地位，1種是統治者，1種是被統治者，所以in ê採集目的tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiòh無kāng。台灣人採集ê目的，鄭坤五是為著beh提昇歌謠ê文學地位，koh暗示tī伊建構台灣文學自主性tsit方面ê價值；李獻璋做民間文學採集ê目的，tī伊出版ê《臺灣民間文學集》講真清楚，tòh是受著鄉土話文提倡者ê鼓舞kap反對者ê phì-siù<sup>n</sup>，kiau呼籲文人學者看重ka-tī ê民族文學。M̄管是鄭坤五ah是李獻璋lóng是看重ka-tī ê文化tsiah來採集、研究、呼籲--ê，tse kap hiàng時台灣人辦ê文藝刊物《臺灣新民報》、《三六九小報》、《南音》、《フォルモサ》、《第一線》、《臺灣文藝》kap《臺灣新文學》等等，in採集ê目的lóng有部份sio-siàng--ê，當然頂頭咱講--tiòh ê刊物khiòh去鄭坤五、李獻璋in採集ê目的liáh外，koh有像《臺灣新民報》、《三六九小報》in是為著收集各地流傳ê歌謠，保存台灣人ê民族文化，吸收民間文學ê養分，創作有本土特色ê文學，用歌謠做台灣話文ê基礎，kā台灣話文字化，建設台灣新文學，達到保存台語等等ê目的；《南音》雜誌由郭秋生主導

開闢「台灣話文嘗試欄」大量發表採集--著ê民間文學作品（尤其是歌謠），主要是beh建設「台灣話文」ê先期基礎，kiau建立大眾ê文藝；《第一線》、《臺灣文藝》kap《臺灣新文學》是khia tī整理先人文化遺產ê角度，kā採集歌謠當做文人創作新時代文學ê參考資料。Ui頂kuân ê綜合回顧咱ê-tàng知iá<sup>n</sup>，m̄管是台灣人本身ah是in辦ê文藝雜誌lóng是khia tī台灣人主體性ê思考，為著保留台灣文化tsiah來從事民間文學ê採集--ê。

日治時期日本人對台灣民間文學ê採集bē phīng台灣人khah輸，初期in是為著beh了解台灣人ê生活慣si、風俗、家庭起居kap社會生活，來達到in統治ê目的，thang好實施同化政策tsiah來採集--ê，親像1901年到1907年臺灣慣習研究會tòh針對台灣人ê生活習慣各方面進行採錄，到kah 1921年，hiàng時擔任台南地方法院檢察局通譯官ê片岡巖為著beh改變台灣風俗ê目的，採集出版《臺灣風俗志》，伊採集ê範圍真闊，ē-sái講大眾生活ê每1個面向lóng觀照--tiòh。1928年進入日治時期ê中期，擔任總督府史料編纂委員會囑託ê伊能嘉矩tī台灣si-kè從事調查研究ê khang-khuè，伊採集ê資料m̄-nā以總督府ê名義出版《臺灣志》kap《臺灣蕃政志》，後--來伊過身了，伊ê學生koh kā伊採集ê成果出版做《臺灣文化志》3大冊kap《臺灣俗曲集》1本，ah tsia-ê採集lóng是為著日本政府統治ê需要，beh同化台灣人ê目的tsiah來做--ê。後期日本政府為著達成皇民化ê政策目標，koh有1-kuá學者ê配合，mā採集著bē少台灣民間文學ê資料，親像1941年到1945年期間金關丈夫主編ê《民俗臺灣》、1942年東方孝義採集出版ê《臺灣習俗》、1943年稻田尹採集出版ê《臺灣歌謠集》等等，tsia sio連suà ê採集--nih，lóng有專門紹介台灣歌謠ê章節，收錄童謠、民謠、民謠--nih ê勞動歌、民謠--nih ê祝賀歌、民謠--nih ê雜歌、山歌、俗歌、採茶歌、流行歌、南北管、隨唱歌、唱本等等。當然m̄管是1917年平澤丁東因為kah意南方ê異國情調，來採集出版《臺灣の歌謠と名著物語》ah是像後期ê伊能嘉矩、金關丈夫kap稻田尹，in mā lóng因為肯定歌謠ê價值，對台灣歌謠ê研究真有趣味，tsiah tī為殖民政府皇民化政策服務ê目的之下來從事對台灣民間文學ê採集khang-khuè--ê。

頂kuân咱分析--ê是針對日治時期台灣民間文學採集ê成果，suà--lòh，咱來分析戰後台灣民間文學採集ê情形。1967年黃得時因為個人對台灣歌謠ê興趣，beh提升歌謠ê文學地位、保存台灣民族文化、了解先民ê生活kiau風俗習慣，編寫《臺灣歌謠之研究》tsit本冊；1968年吳瀛濤為

著beh做學術研究，採集出版《臺灣諺語》1本，內té收錄諺語、歌謠、民謠、情歌、相褒歌、童謠、gín-á歌、盤嘴gím、民俗歌、歷史故事歌等等。1980年張裕宏為著beh kā台灣情歌原形交hō讀者，hō讀者ē-tàng全部了解thang來欣賞，伊採集出版《台灣風》1冊，收錄台灣情歌（褒歌）100首。1992年開始胡萬川主持「臺灣地區民間文學調查、採集、整理、研究」計畫，tī台灣各縣市培訓負責採集ê人員，到各鄉鎮從事民間文學採集，到ta<sup>n</sup>已經採集出版100 guā本民間文學集，是台灣siōng大規模、siōng有科學性ê民間文學採集運動，因為台灣民間文學受著政治影響，koh無受學術界重視，流失真緊，為著搶救台灣各地ê民間文學，tsiah來主持tsit-ê計畫。黃勁連tī 1995年出版《台灣國風》1冊，1997年出版《台灣褒歌》上、下2冊，lóng總收錄褒歌603首，he是為著走tshuē台語文學ê肥底，thēh伊tsiā<sup>n</sup>做台語現代文學創作ê養分，達到「嘴講父母話，手寫台灣文」ê台語文學運動目標，來創作原汁ê台灣文學，tsiah來採集出版--ê。1998年洪惟仁為著搶救褒歌文化，tī台北縣進行民間文學調查，到2000年年底，採集整理坪林、平溪、雙溪、汐止、石碇、深坑等等所在ê褒歌，超過1000首，2001年7--月到2003年koh-tsai採集著3000首褒歌，目前林金城已經出版《金山相褒歌》、《平溪相褒歌》、《雙溪相褒歌》3冊。1997年吳榮順為著beh kā恆春人ê歌留--落--來兼做學術研究用，tshua<sup>n</sup>隊tī恆春、車城、滿州3個所在，採錄當地ê恆春民謠，kap 60年代許常惠採錄ê部份恆春民謠集做《恆春半島民歌紀實》出版，lāi-té 3 tē CD是in tī 1冬guā採集著ê選集。1999年開始王順隆因為個人ê興趣kap研究ê需要kiau保存歌á冊文學ê重要文獻資料ê目的，伊kā收集--tiōh ê歌á冊建立資料庫，號做「閩南語俗曲唱本『歌仔冊』全文資料庫」，lāi-té收錄662種歌á冊，超過1000本，是目前siōng大ê歌á冊資料庫。2001年屏東縣滿州鄉民謠協進會為著保存in ka-tī ê傳統民謠，tī滿州鄉採集出版《屏東縣滿州鄉歌謠CD專輯》。另外，許常惠kap史惟亮為著走tshuē中國人ê心靈ê民歌，thang kā挽救、復興，tī 1967年發起民歌採集行動，採錄台灣各族群民歌3000幾首，tī採集ê時發現恆春民謠宗師陳達，koh tī 1971年出版《民族樂手--陳達和他的歌》紹介陳達kap恆春民謠。

講到tsia，m̄管是tī siá<sup>n</sup>-mih時期，若是khiā tī台灣主體立場來從事民間文學採集--ê，lóng是因為in重視台灣文化，堅持民族主義ê立場，hō咱ê民間文學得tiōh重建、復振、傳承ê場域kap機會，來挽救嚴重流失

ê文化資產。若是khiā tī統治者立場--ê，in從事民間文學採集ê目的，khioh去是個人ê興趣、beh做學術研究liáh外，tòh是爲著統治者服務tsiah來採集--ê。

### 讀者回應

任何批評指教，歡迎email: apang.chiu@gmail.com，周定邦收

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## 台語諺語ê句法結構

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### 摘要

本研究分析一千條收錄tī台語諺語典ê諺語，來探討台語諺語ê句法結構。語料分析顯示，tī主詞、受詞、ia是動詞省略ê諺語內，以主詞省略上普遍。省略ê主詞可以tī前後文ia是語境找到指稱對象。雖然非諺語有真濟受詞前置句kap主題句，m-koh諺語內這兩種句型並無濟。諺語tī形式上真簡短，但是表達ê語意真豐富，所以諺語常使用複雜ê句型。

關鍵字：諺語、句法、台語

# Syntactic Structures of Proverbs in Taiwan Southern Min\*

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## Abstract

This paper discusses the syntactic structures of proverbs in Taiwan Southern Min by analyzing one thousand proverbs collected in a proverb dictionary. The data analyses reveal that among the sentence patterns involving omission of components such as subject, object, or verb, subjectless clauses are most commonly found in proverbs and the reference of the omitted subject can be found in either the linguistic or situational context. Object preposing or topicalization sentence patterns do not occur frequently in proverbs, even though they are common in non-proverbs. To express rich meaning in short forms, proverbs often contain complex structures.

Keywords: proverb, syntax, Taiwan Southern Min

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## 1. Introduction

Proverbs are phrases or sayings that are passed down from generation to generation. Their forms are often short and in rhyme so that they can be easily memorized. For instance, in example (1), a proverb in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM), *to2* rimes with *bo2*. In vivid and humorous language forms, proverbs are used to give advice or to say something that is generally true. For example, in examples (1) and (2), the use of *kim1 ke1-bo2* ‘golden hen’ and *hoo5-sin5* ‘fly’ make the two expressions more vivid, and the two proverbs are used to mean ‘to get good out of misfortune’ and ‘to earn one’s own living’, respectively.

- (1) 跋一倒，拾一隻金雞母<sup>1</sup>  
 puah8 tsit8 to2, khioh4 tsit8 tsiah4 kim1 ke1-bo2.<sup>2</sup>  
 fall one CL<sup>3</sup> pick one CL golden hen  
 ‘After one falls, he/she picks up one golden hen.’
- (2) 欲食胡蠅家己揸  
 beh4 tsiah8 hoo5-sin5 ka1-ki7 hap4.  
 want eat fly self catch  
 ‘If you want to eat flies, you have to catch them yourself.’

Proverbs are often taken to be words from elders, words of wisdom. As such, the history of proverbs is often the foci in previous literature on proverbs (Mieder 2003, Taylor 2006). The metaphorical meaning that the proverbs are meant

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese characters in the proverbs and examples containing those proverbs cited in this paper are the exact words as they occur in *Practical Proverbs in Taiwan* (Chen & Chiu 1999).

<sup>2</sup> Romanization used in this paper for Taiwan Southern Min is according to the Taiwan Language Romanization Symbol, which was promulgated by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan in 1996.

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviations used in this paper are listed below:  
 ASSOC: associative, CL: classifier, PASS: passive, PRT: particle

to express has also drawn much attention from researchers (Gibbs, Johnson, and Colston 1996, Herzfeld 1990, Honeck 1997, Mieder 2005, Ntshinga 1999, Osoba 2005). Syntactic study of proverbs, on the contrary, has not been the foci of previous researches. Bergman (1992, 1996) and Ghaly (2000) are the few scholars who worked on this topic. Proverbs and non-proverbs may be taken to have similar syntactic structures; however, Bergman's (1992, 1996) study has shown that proverbs and non-proverbs in Arabic do differ in several aspects in terms of their syntax. In this study, the aim is to examine proverbs in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM). Regarding proverbs in TSM, two theses (Lu 2002, Hong 2007) are devoted to the phonological, morphological, and syntactic analyses of the proverbs in TSM. The research purpose of the two theses is mainly educational, and thus they focus on the regularity demonstrated in proverbs. The current study, however, focuses on the language itself, and the goal is to figure out the syntactic features of proverbs in TSM and further compare the syntactic structures of proverbs with those of non-proverbs.

## 2. Data Analysis

The data analyzed in this study are taken from *Practical Proverbs in Taiwan* (Chen & Chiu 1999). Five thousand items of proverbs are listed in this proverb dictionary. For every ten items, the first two items are chosen to be analyzed. In total, out of the five thousand items, one thousand proverbs are analyzed.<sup>4</sup> The abbreviations for syntactic components adopted in the data analysis are as follows: SN: subject noun; ON: object noun; V: verb; D: adverbial; C: complement; T: topic. The analyzed data take the formats as demonstrated in (3-5).

<sup>4</sup> Since the purpose of this study is to analyze the structures of proverbs collected in a proverb dictionary, the proverbs randomly chosen to be analyzed are not further examined to check whether they are commonly accepted to be proverbs. Therefore, it is possible that there exist some proverbs which are controversial in terms of their status of being proverbs. However, taking those few controversial proverbs into consideration will not affect the credibility of the findings of this paper.

(3) contains a simple clause, where *e2-kau2* ‘mute’ is SN, *tsiah8* ‘eat’ is V, and *ng5-ni5* ‘gentian’ is ON. (4) contains a complex sentence, where the first clause, *hue2-chia1 kui3-liau2* ‘after the train passes’, is a subordinate clause, marked with round brackets, while the second clause, *tsiah4 pun3 pi1-a2* ‘then blow the whistle’, is the main clause. (5) is another complex sentence, which contains two coordinate clauses, *bin7 peh8* ‘face is white’ and *sim1-kuann1 ool* ‘heart is black’, each marked with squared brackets to show that they are parallel.

(3) SN+V+ON

啞口食黃連

*e2-kau2 tsiah8 ng5-ni5*

mute eat gentian

‘The mute eats gentian, (which is very bitter).’

(4) (SN+V), D+V+ON

火車過了才歎嗶仔

*hue2-tshia1 kui3-liau2 tsiah4 pun3 pi1-a2*

train pass-finished then blow whistle

‘(One) blows the whistle after the train has passed.’

(5) [SN+V], [SN+V]

面白心肝烏

*bin7 peh8 sim1-kuann1 ool*

face white heart black

‘The face is white (kind), while the heart is black (evil).’

When analyzing the syntactic patterns of Lukang proverbs, Lu (2002) classifies proverbs into simple and complex sentences. The basic pattern of a simple sentence is SVO; based on SVO pattern, six other patterns are further categorized: SV, SO, VO, V, O, S. Extended from SVO basic pattern are five more sentence patterns: pivotal construction, passive construction, comparative construction, serial verb construction, and double predicate construction. As to

complex sentences, they are even further broken into seventeen patterns. Hong (2007) adopts Lu's (2002) categorization but only discusses simple sentences; that is, she analyzes the following seven patterns only: SVO, SV, SO, VO, V, O, S.

This study, however, excludes sentence patterns that demonstrate simple standard SVO word order because the purpose of this study is to find out what peculiar syntactic properties proverbs in TSM may demonstrate. This paper takes the following factors into consideration when categorizing the rest of the proverbs: omission of a major component, non-canonical word order, complexity of sentence patterns. As a result, the following six sentence patterns are analyzed in this paper:

Pattern I: subjectless clauses

Pattern II: objectless clauses

Pattern III: verbless clauses

Pattern IV: object-preposing clauses

Pattern V: topicalization clauses

Pattern VI: complex sentences

The first three patterns involve a missing element, subject, object, or verb. Patterns IV and V contain non-canonical word orders. The last pattern includes complex sentence patterns. The six patterns are categorized under the consideration of different parameters; as a result, they do not mutually exclude each other. To illustrate, Pattern I may involve a subjectless clause in a complex sentence pattern. Moreover, only the proverb itself is taken into consideration when analyzed; that is, even if an object can be identified in the context excluding the proverb, as long as the proverb itself does not contain an object, it is taken to be objectless. It should be noted that the categorization principles adopted in this study differ from those in Lu's (2002) and Hong's (2007) study. For instance, SO pattern in their study is considered only when it occurs in simple sentences; however, in this study, a clause with a missing verb is categorized as verbless no matter if it occurs in a simple sentence or complex sentence.

After the analysis of the sentence patterns of the collected data, the



frequency of each pattern is then calculated. Since each pattern is independently considered, the number of its occurrence is calculated against the number of the collected data, i.e. 1000, except for Patterns II and IV. Patterns II and IV involve objects; therefore, the number of occurrence of each of the two patterns is calculated against the number of proverbs containing a transitive verb, i.e. 800. Patterns I and II are further analyzed to understand the reference of the omitted subject and object. Each pattern is further compared with that of non-proverbs.

### 3. Results and Discussion

#### 3.1. Subjectless Clauses

Among the one thousand proverbs analyzed, about five hundred of them (50%) are without subjects.<sup>5</sup> As to the reference of the omitted subject, it may refer to anyone applicable, as in (6). In the example of (6), the omitted subject refers to anyone who goes to the mountain area.

- (6) (V), V+ON  
 細膩餓家己  
 se3-ji7 go7 ka1-ki7  
 very-polite starve self  
 ‘If (one) is too polite, (he/she) will starve himself/herself.’

<sup>5</sup> So-called subjectless clauses can be further classified into two types. One type involves a missing subject as shown in (i); the other does not require a subject as in (ii). The two types are not distinguished in Tang (2000). This study also does not further distinguish these two types because the subjectless clauses found in the proverbs are mainly those involving a missing subject.

- (i) 李先生說[e不去了]  
 Li xiansheng shuo [e bu qu le]. (Tang 2000: 195 (10c))  
 Li Mr. say not go PRT  
 ‘Mr. Li said that (he) would not go.’
- (ii) 下雨了  
 xia-yu le. (Tang 2000: 195 (10a))  
 rain PRT  
 ‘It rained.’

Example:

到山區若有人叫食著愛食，

kau3 suann1-khu1 na7 u7 lang5 kio3 tsiah8 tioh8 ai3 tsiah8,

go mountain-area if have people ask eat then will eat

毋通到時細膩餓家己，無塊食去枵腹肚。

m7-thang1 kau3-si5 se3-ji7 go7 ka1-ki7 bo5 te3 tsiah8 khi3 iah1

not by-then very-polite starve self no place eat go starve

pak4-too2.

stomach

‘When going to the mountain area, if one is asked to eat, he/she should eat it. If he/she is too polite, he/she will starve himself/herself. He/she will not find any place for eating and will starve.’

In some cases, the proverb functions as predicate, and the subject is not part of the proverb, but instead occurs in the linguistic context, as in (7). In the example of (7), the proverb *tsiah8 ho2 tau3 sio1 po3* functions as predicate and the subject *li2* ‘you’ is not part of the proverb.<sup>6</sup>

(7) (V+ON), D+D+V

食好鬥相報

tsiah8 ho2 tau3 sio1 po3

eat good very mutually notify

‘When people eat something delicious, they should tell each other about it.’

<sup>6</sup> The function of a proverb as a predicate is discussed here to help identify the reference of the missing subject. In the following sub-sections, since the focus is not on identifying a missing subject, functions of proverbs in discourse are not discussed. As mentioned earlier, the patterns classified in this paper do not mutually exclude each other; therefore, some proverbs of the other patterns may also involve a missing subject, and the analysis proposed here for subjectless proverbs can also apply to those instances to identify the reference of the missing subject.

Example:

聽講彼間公司食好做輕可，

thiann1-kong2 hit4 king1 kong1-si1 tsiah8 ho2 tso3 khin1-kho2,

hear-of that CL company eat good do light

你入去做看覓，若是有影，

li2 jip8-khi0 tso3 khuann3-mai7, na7-si7 u7-iann2,

you enter do try if true

你才食好鬥相報，

li2 tsiah4 tsiah8 ho2 tau3 sio1 po3,

you then eat good very mutually notify

大家相招入去。

tak8-ke1 sio1 tsio1 jip8-khi0.

everybody mutually invite enter

‘It’s said that that company offers good benefits while the work load is light.

You give that company a try. If the rumor is true, you then tell everybody about it, and we will invite each other to get into that company.’

In some proverbs with complex structures, the omitted subject in the second clause refers to the subject in the first clause as in (8), where the subject of the second clause *ia7 e7 tuh4-bin5* refers to the subject of the first clause *hoo2 kiann5-loo7*, that is, *hoo2* ‘tiger’.

(8) (SN+V), D+D+V

虎行路也會拄眠

hoo2 kiann5-loo7 ia7 e7 tuh4-bin5

tiger walk also will doze-off

‘When a tiger walks, it may also doze off.’

Example:

生理人上介精，所以愈趁愈濟錢，

sing1-li2 lang5 siong7-kai3 tsing1, soo2-i2 lu2 than3 lu2 tse7-tsin5,  
 business people most astute so more earn more rich  
 毋閣虎行路也會拄眠，有人趁大錢，  
 m7-ko1 hoo2 kiann5-loo7 ia7 e7 tuh4-bin5, u7 lang5 than3 tua7 tsinn5,  
 but tiger walk also will doze-off have people earn big money  
 嘛有人作一時家伙清楚，化作烏有去。  
 ma7 u7 lang5 tso3-tsit8-si5 ke1-hue2 tshing1-tsho2, hua3-tso3 oo1-iu2-khi0.  
 also have people once fortune empty become empty  
 ‘Business persons are most astute, so they make more and more money.  
 However, a tiger may also doze off when walking. Some make lots of  
 money, but there are also others who lose their fortunes in one blink.’

Subjectless clauses are also very common in non-proverb clauses as in (9), which is taken from a Southern Min story book.

- (9) 攏共搬來這頂用安呢呼（大安鄉閩南語故事集(一)）  
 long2 ka7 puann1 lai5 tsit4 ting2 ing7 an3-ne1-honnh4.  
 all KA move come this top use PRT  
 ‘Move all here to use.’  
 (Da-An County Southern Min Story Book I)

### 3.2. Objectless Clauses

It is common to omit objects in Chinese, especially in spoken Chinese (Huang 1989, 1991), as demonstrated in (10).

- (10) 提去甘蔗園呼，偷偷提去予食（雲林縣閩南語故事集(二)）  
 theh8 khi3 kam1-tsia3 hng5 honnh4, thau1-thau1 theh8 khi3 hoo7  
 take go sugar-cane farm PRT stealthily take go give  
 tsiah8.  
 eat  
 ‘Take (it) to the sugar-cane farm. Stealthily take (it) to (someone) to eat.’  
 (Yun-Lin County Southern Min Story Book II)

Proverbs with objects omitted, however, are not common. Among the eight hundred proverbs which have a transitive verb, only about 30 proverbs (4%) have objects omitted, as shown in (11), where the object of the transitive verb *than3* ‘earn’ is omitted.

(11) (D+V), D+V

加減趁，卡袂散

ke1-kiam2 than3, khah4 be7 san3

more-less earn more not poor

‘Take every opportunity to earn (money); then (one) will not become poor.’

Example:

時機穰穰也，加減趁，卡袂散，

si5-ki1 bai2-bai2-a0, ke1-kiam2 than3, khah4 be7 san3,

time bad-PRT more-less earn more not poor

大細百嘛罔去做，嘛是頭路。

tua7 se3 pah4 ma7 bong2 khi3 tso3, ma7 si7 thau5-loo7.

big small hundred also might-as-well go do also be work

‘Times are bad. Take every opportunity to earn (money); then (one) will not become poor. Both small and big jobs are worth doing. They are all jobs.’

The reference of the omitted object can often be inferred through s-selection of the transitive verb. For instance, in (11) the transitive verb *than3* ‘earn’ s-selects money as its object; thus, it can be inferred that the omitted object refers to money. In some cases, the omitted object occurs in the linguistic context, and thus can be easily recovered. For example, in the example of (12) the omitted object of the verb *kong2* ‘tell’ refers to the love story of Tsi-bing and Tshun-kiau,

which occurs earlier in the context.<sup>7</sup>

(12) D+V+D+V

三暝三日講袂完

sann1 me5 sann1 jit8 kong2 be2 uan5

three night three day tell not finished

‘(One) cannot finish telling (the story) in three days and three nights.’

Example:

若講著志明佻春嬌个戀愛古，

na7 kong2-tioh8 Tsi3-bing5 kah4 Tshun1-kiau1 e5 luan5-ai3 koo2,

if speak-arrive Tsi-bing and Tshun-kiau ASSOC love story

會使講是轟動武林、

e7-sai2 kong2 si7 hong1-tong7 bu2-lim5,

can say be cause-a-great-sensation martial-arts-world

驚動萬教，三暝三日講袂完。

kiann1-tong7 ban7-kau3, sann1 me5 sann1 jit8 kong2 be2 uan5.

disturb ten-thousand religion three night three day tell not finished

‘When speaking of the love story of Ci-bing and Chun-kiau, it is so shocking that it cannot be finished telling in three days and three nights.’

In proverbs with complex structures, the omitted object of the second clause may refer to the object of the first clause, as shown in (2), where the object of the second verb *hap4* ‘catch’ is the same as the object of the first verb *tsiah8* ‘eat’, that is, *hoo5-sin5* ‘fly’.

<sup>7</sup> Even though the omitted object of the verb *kong2* ‘tell’ refers to the love story of Tsi-bing and Tshun-kiau, which occurs earlier in the context and may be taken to be preposed from the object of *kong2*, when only the proverb itself is considered, no object can be identified inside the proverb; therefore, the proverb in (12) is analyzed as an objectless proverb.

- (2) (D+V+ON), SN+V

欲食胡蠅家己揸

beh4 tsiah8 hoo5-sin5 ka1-ki7 hap4.

want eat fly self catch

‘If you want to eat flies, you have to catch them yourself.’

### 3.3. Verbless Clauses

Verbless clauses are not common. Among the data analyzed, only about 30 items (3%) are without verbs, as shown in (13). The omitted verb in (13) is understood to be *si7* ‘be’. In another example (14), the omitted verb can be understood to be *co7-sing5* ‘lead to’.

- (13) [SN+C], [SN+C]

你鬼我閻羅

li2 kui2 gua2 giam5-lo5<sup>8</sup>

you ghost I King-of-Hell

‘You are a ghost; I am the king of Hell.’

Example:

兩人本領差不多，又閻攏興事，

nng7 lang5 pun2-ling2 tsha1-put4-to1, iu7-koh4 long2 hing3-su7,

two people ability about-the-same also both like-accident

所以著你鬼我閻羅，戰袂煞。

soo2-i2 tio7 li2 kui2 gua2 giam5-lo5, tsian3 be7 suah4.

so then you ghost I King-of-Hell fight not finish

‘Their abilities are about the same and they both enjoy fighting, so neither of them considering himself/herself inferior, they just keep fighting with each other.’

<sup>8</sup> (13) may be analyzed as [subject + predicate]; that is, the phrase after the subject is simply taken to be a predicate. Under that analysis, whether there is a verb or object present will not be an issue. However, this paper chooses to further look into the structure of the predicate to understand what can be missing in a predicate/sentence.

(14) N, N

久長病，不孝子

ku2-tng5 penn7, put4-hau3 tsu2<sup>9</sup>

long illness unfilial son

‘Long illness leads to the son’s being unfilial.’

Example:

阿伯仔倒佇眠床十外冬，

a0-peh4-a0 to3 ti7 bin5-tshng5 tsap8-gua7 tang1,

old-man lie at bed ten-more year

頭起先個囡新婦攏真盡心奉養，

thau5-khi2-sing1 in1 kiann2 sin1-pu7 long2 tsin1 tsin7-sim1 hong7-iong2,

at-first his son daughter-in-law both very devoted take-care

毋過久長病，不孝子，這幾年來

m7-ko1 ku2-tng5 penn7, put4 -hau3 tsu2, tsit4 kui2 ni5 lai5

but long illness unfilial son this some year come

就真無照四序，予阿伯足艱苦過日。

to7 tsin1 bo0 tsiau3 su3-si7, hoo7 a0-peh4-a0 tsiok4 kan1-khoo2 kue3-jit8.

then very not follow comfortable let old-man very hard pass-day

‘The old man has been confined to bed for more than ten years. At first, his son and daughter-in-law devoted themselves to taking care of him. However, long illness leads to the son’s being unfilial. In the past few years, they did not make the old man as comfortable as they used to, and the old man suffered greatly every day.’

<sup>9</sup> Another version of proverb (14) is as shown in (i), which has a meaning similar to that of (14) but the structure is not the same. (i) is a proverb that contains a verb *bo5* ‘not have’.

(i) 久長病，無孝子

ku2-tng5 penn7, bo5 hau3 tsu2

long illness not-have filial son

‘Long illness leads to the son’s being unfilial.’



Verbs are the most important element in a sentence, which determines the arguments of the sentence and contributes the main meaning of the sentence. Therefore, in proverbs and non-proverbs alike, the omission of the verb may cause ambiguity, as demonstrated in (15). With the verb omitted, (15) could mean either ‘it takes thirty years to make money by business; it takes thousands of years to make money by farming’ or ‘it takes thirty years to spend the money made by business; it takes thousands of years to spend the money made by farming.’

- (15) [N, D], [N, D]  
 生理錢，三十年，流汗錢，萬萬年  
 sing1-li2 tsinn5, sann1-tsap8 ni5, lau5-kuann7 tsinn5, ban7-ban7  
 business money thirty year sweat money thousand-thousand  
 ni5.  
 year

Example:

古早人勸人做穡趁錢，  
 koo2-tsa2-lang5 khng3 lang5 tso3-sit4 than3-tsinn5,  
 older-generation-people persuade people farm make-money  
 儉食儉用，雖然趁錢有數，  
 khiam7 tsiah8 khiam7 ing7, sui1-jian5 than3-tsinn5 iu2-soo3,  
 frugal eat frugal use although make-money limited  
 毋閣收入固定，生活平順，另外，  
 m7-ko1 siu1-jip8 koo3-ting7, sing1-uah8 ping5-sun7, ling7-gua7,  
 but income stable life smooth moreover  
 生理錢溢來溢去，顛倒風險卡大，  
 sing1-li2 tsinn5 ik4 lai5 ik4 khi3, tian7-to3 hong1-hiam2  
 business money overflow come overflow go on-the-contrary risk  
 khah4 tua7,  
 more big

所以講生理錢，三十年，

soo2-i2 kong2 sing1-li2 tsinn5, sann1-tsap8 ni5,

so say business money thirty year

流汗錢，萬萬年，

lau5-kuann7 tsinn5, ban7-ban7 ni5,

sweat money thousand-thousand year

恰現代人个觀念差真濟。

kah4 hian7-tai7 lang5 e5 kuan1-liam7 tsha1 tsin1 tse7.

with modern people ASSOC concept differ very much

‘People of the older generation persuaded people to make money by farming. Farmers are frugal in eating and using things, and although the money they make is limited, the income is stable and the life is peaceful. Moreover, business money comes and goes. Business people take greater risks. That’s why they say that it takes thirty years to spend the money made by business and it takes thousands of years to spend the money made by farming. Their (people of the older generation) concept differs greatly from that of modern people.’

### 3.4. Object Preposing Clauses

Only about 80 proverbs (10%) out of 800 proverbs containing a transitive verb contain preposed objects as shown in (16). This differs greatly from non-proverbs as it is common to find preposed objects in non-proverbs, especially in oral non-proverbs, as demonstrated in (17), an oral example taken from a collection of classic jokes (Hong 1994).

(16) ON+D+D+V

王爺馬也敢騎

ong5-ia5 be2 ia7 kann2 khia5

deity horse also dare ride

‘(One) even dares to ride the horse of the deity.’

Example:

現代賊仔愈來愈好膽，王爺馬也敢騎，

hian7-tai7 tshat8-a2 lu2 lai5 lu2 ho2-tann2, ong5-ia5 be2 ia7 kann2 khia5,

modern thief more come more bold deity horse also dare ride

連警察局嘛敢去偷提。

lian5 king3-tshat4-kiok8 ma7 kann2 khi3 thau1-theh8.

even police-station also dare go steal

‘Today’s thieves are getting bolder. Metaphorically speaking, they even dare to ride the horse of the deity. That is, they even steal from a police station.’

(17) 有一个囡仔，某娶了（台語經典笑話）

u7 tsit8 e5 kiann2-a2, boo2 tshu7-liau2

have one ASSOC son wife marry-finished

‘There was a son. After he married a wife...’

(Classic Jokes of Taiwanese)

### 3.5. Topicalization Clauses

Narrowly defined, topicalization clauses involve base-generated topics only; broadly defined, preposed objects can also be taken to be topics. Chinese is often taken to be a topic-prominent language (Li & Thompson 1981). However, in proverbs topicalization structures are not common. If only sentences involving base-generated topics are considered, among the one thousand proverbs analyzed, only about 40 items (4%) contain topicalization structures, as shown in (18). Even if we adopt the broad view and also include clauses containing preposed objects, still there are about only one hundred and twenty proverbs (12%) containing topicalization clauses.

(18) T, SN+V

手巾雙頭澹

tshiu2-kun1 siang1 thau5 tam5

handkerchief both end wet

‘Regarding the handkerchief, both ends are wet.’

Example:

阿福伯仔個查某囡予人過訂，

A1-hok4-peh4-a0 in1 tsa1-boo2-kiann2 hoo7 lang5 kue3-tiann7,

Uncle-A-hok his daughter PASS people engage

通庄仔貺大餅，眾人食到

thong1 tsng1-a2 hing7 tua7-piann2, tsiong3-lang5 si7 tsiah8-kau3

whole village send cake everyone be eat-arrive

喙笑目笑，毋閣**手中雙頭澹**，

tshui3 tshio3 bak8 tshio3, m7-ko1 tshiu2-kun1 siang1 thau5 tam5,

mouth smile eye smile but handkerchief both end wet

食人個餅愛共人添粧，

tsiah8 lang5 e5 piann2 ai3 ka7 lang5 thiam1-tsng1,

eat people ASSOC cake must KA people send-gift

到時又吐倒出來。

kau3-si5 iu7 thoo3 to3-tshut4-lai5.

by-then again throw-up out

‘Uncle A-hok’s daughter got engaged, and people of the whole village were given cakes. Eating the cakes, everyone was all smiles. However, courtesy demands reciprocity. Those who receive the cakes must pay back by sending gifts.’

### 3.6. Complex Sentences

Even though most of the proverbs take the form of simple sentence, still complex sentences are commonly adopted in proverbs. Among the one thousand proverbs analyzed, about two hundred and seventy items (27%) contain subordinate clauses, as shown in (19). About three hundred items (30%) contain coordinate clauses, as shown in (20).

(19) (SN+V), SN+V

人濟是非濟

lang5 tse7 su7-hui1 tse7

people many dispute more

‘More people incur more disputes.’

Example:

做頭个人喝起喝倒，

tso3 thau5 e5 lang5 huah4 khi2 huah4 to3,

be head ASSOC people yell up yell down

看起來真威風，

khuann3-khi2-lai5 tsin2 ui1-hong1,

look very powerful

毋閣人濟是非濟，干礁做公親，

m7-ko1 lang5 tse7 su7-hui1 tse7, kan1-ta1 tso3 kong1-tshin1,

but people many dispute more only be moderator

辦眾人个是非，就毋是輕可个空課。

pan7 tsiong3-lang5 e5 su7-hui1, to7 m7 si7 khin1-kho2 e5 khang1-khue3.

deal everyone ASSOC dispute then not be light ASSOC task

‘A leader looks powerful, giving orders all the time. However, the more people there are, the more disputes are incurred. It is not an easy task to be the one to handle all the disputes.’

(20) [D+V], [D+V]

正手入，倒手出

tsiann3 tshiu2 jip8, to3 tshiu2 tshut4

right hand enter left hand out

‘(Money) enters through the right hand and leaves through the left hand.’

Example:

這個人用錢真有手，

tsit4 e5 lang5 iong7 tsinn5 tsin2 phann3-tshiu2,

this ASSOC people spend money very at-will

錢財到伊个手，

tsinn5-tsai5 kau3 i1 e5 tshiu2,

money arrive he ASSOC hand

著是正手入，倒手出，

to7-si7 tsiann3 tshiu2 jip8, to3 tshiu2 tshut4,

then right hand enter left hand out

所以伊一直無儂錢，

soo2-i2 i1 it4-tit8 bo5 tsun5 tsinn5,

so he all-the-time not save money

到這陣猶是一个散鬼。

kau3 tsit4-tsun7 ia2-si7 tsit8 e5 san3-kui2.

by now still one ASSOC poor-guy

‘This person spends money at will. (Money) enters through the right hand and leaves through the left hand. Therefore, he hasn’t saved any money.

Until now he is still poor.’

Different from non-proverbs, proverbs often contain coordinate clauses as in (20) because they are easier to memorize. The coordinate clauses in proverbs do not necessarily involve parallel structures. Under the consideration of rhyming, coordinate clauses in proverbs may contain clauses that rhyme but are not in parallel syntactic structure. For example, in (21) *ke1 tsiu2 phang1* ‘stewed chicken fragrant’ rhymes with *si3 te3 pang1* ‘four pieces of wooden board’; however, in the first clause *ke1 ciu2 phang1* has the structure of subject plus verb, while in the second clause *si3 te3 pang1* is only a noun.

(21) [(V), SN+V], [(V), N]

生贏雞酒芳，生輸四塊枋

senn1 iann5 ke1 tsiu2 phang1, senn1 su1 si3 te3 pang1

give-birth win chicken wine fragrant give-birth lose four CL wooden-board

‘If (a woman) gives birth successfully, she will taste the fragrant stewed chicken. If (a woman) fails at giving birth, she will be buried in a coffin.’

Example:

古早醫術卡無發達，

koo2-tsa2 i1-sut8 khah4 bo5 huat4-tat8,

old-time medical-skill more not developed

查某人生罔是真危險，

tsa1-boo2-lang5 senn1-kiann2 si7 tsin1 hui5-hiam2,

woman give-birth be very dangerous

不時會出人命，人講

put4-si5 e7 tshut4-lang5-mia7, lang5 kong2

often will people-die people say

生贏雞酒芳，生輸四塊枋。

**senn1 iann5 ke1 tsiu2 phang1, senn1 su1 si3 te3 pang1.**

give-birth win chicken wine fragrant give-birth lose four CL wooden-board

‘In the old days, medical skills were not very developed. It was very dangerous for women to give birth. Very often women died after/during giving birth. People say if a woman gives birth successfully, she will taste the fragrant stewed chicken, but if a woman fails at giving birth, she will be buried in a coffin.’

## 4. Concluding Remarks

Even though proverbs are often short, the syntactic structures involved are not necessarily simple. More than half of the one thousand proverbs analyzed in

this study involve complex structures. Exactly because of the succinctness, not many syntactic clues such as conjunctions are available to facilitate the analysis of syntactic structures, which increases the difficulty of data analysis.

The proverbs analyzed in this paper are collected from a proverb dictionary and the proverbs are already listed item by item. Therefore, after data analysis, it is possible to calculate the frequency of each type of sentence pattern. However, for oral non-proverbs, it is not possible to calculate the number of sentence patterns or clauses found in a storybook. Therefore, no frequency count is provided for sentence patterns in non-proverbs. This, however, does not devalue this paper because the main focus of this paper is proverbs, not non-proverbs. When making comparison with non-proverbs, as a native speaker of TSM, the author relies on intuition to judge the commonness, not exact frequency, of each type of sentence pattern in non-proverbs.

To sum up, the analyses of one thousand items of proverbs in TSM reveal that among the sentence patterns lacking components such as subject, object, or verb, only subjectless clauses are commonly found in proverbs and the omitted subject can find its reference in either the linguistic context or situational context. The patterns involving object preposing or topicalization do not occur frequently in proverbs, even though these two patterns are common in non-proverbs. Being short in form but abounding with meaning, proverbs often occur in complex forms so that the rich meaning can be properly expressed through the complexity of the structure.

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# 台語能力測驗發展現況

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## 摘要

台語能力測驗是為tiòh教育目的所開發 ê 新 ê 語言測驗系統。成大辦理台語能力測驗 ê 正式名稱號做全民台語認證，伊是經過kuí擺 ê 預試了tsiah正式開辦 ê 考試。本文以2008年11月所做 ê 預試資料做信、效度分析。Tī全民台語認證，考生會根據in得tiòh ê 分數來決定in ê 台語能力級數。成績kap能力 ê 對照關係是根據預試ê 160名樣本考生做模型tsiah推算出來。根據預試結果，預測ê 正確率達到0.68。

關鍵詞：台語、GTPT、CTLT、能力測驗、語言測驗

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# The Development of the Taiwanese Proficiency Test

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## Abstract

The Taiwanese Proficiency Test (TPT) is a newly developed language testing scheme for educational purposes in Taiwan. Several preliminary tests were conducted and the latest one was held in November of 2008. In the test, the test-takers were assigned a language level according to the scores they received. The relationship between language levels and scores is calculated based on the statistical results of 160 sampled test-takers by using ordinal logistic regression. Its accuracy for predicting test-takers' language levels reaches as high as 0.68.

Keywords: Taiwanese, TPT, CTLT, proficiency, language test

## 1. Introduction

Taiwan is a multilingual and multi-ethnic society. Traditionally, it is divided into four primary ethnic groups. Because nation-wide linguistic census have not been conducted in recent decades, no accurate ethnolinguistic demographics are available. However, according to frequently cited data, the speakers of each ethnic group were estimated as follows: indigenous peoples (1.7%), Hakka (12%), Taigi or Taiwanese (73.3%), and Mainlanders <sup>1</sup> (13%) (Huang, 1993:21). In addition, as mixed-cultural marriages have become more common in the globalization era and Taiwan being no exception, according to the statistics of Taiwan's Ministry of Interior (2009), there were a total of 414,699 foreign spouses in Taiwan by January 2009 and they constitute the fifth ethnic group in Taiwan.

In addition to being a multi-ethnic society, Taiwan has been colonized by several foreign regimes since the seventeenth century. Two centuries later, the sovereignty of Taiwan was transferred from China to Japan in 1895 as a consequence of the Sino-Japanese War. At the end of the World War II, Japanese forces surrendered to the Allied Forces. Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the Chinese Nationalist (KMT <sup>2</sup> or Kuomintang) took over Taiwan on behalf of the Allied Powers under General Order No.1 of September 2, 1945 (Peng, 1995:60-61). At the time, Chiang Kai-shek was fighting against the Chinese Communist Party in Mainland China. In 1949, Chiang's troops were completely defeated and then pursued by the Chinese Communists. At that time, Taiwan's national status was supposed to be dealt with by a peace treaty among the fighting nations. However, because of Chiang's defeat in China, Chiang decided

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<sup>1</sup> Mainly the immigrants came to Taiwan with the Chiang Kai-shek's KMT regime around 1945.

<sup>2</sup> KMT was the ruling party in Taiwan since 1945 until 2000, in which year Chen Shui-bian, the presidential candidate of opposition party Democratic Progressive Party was elected the new president. Thereafter, the KMT won the presidential election again in 2008, and has become the ruling party again since 2008.

to occupy Taiwan as a base from which he would fight back and retake Mainland China (Kerr, 1992; Ong, 1993; Peng, 1995; Su, 1980). Consequently, Chiang's political regime the Republic of China (R.O.C) was relocated and resurrected in Taiwan and has remained there since 1949.

The National Language Policy<sup>3</sup>, or monolingual policy, was adopted both during the Japanese and the KMT occupations of Taiwan. In the case of the KMT's monolingual policy, the Taiwanese people were not allowed to speak their vernaculars in school and in public. Moreover, they were forced to learn Mandarin Chinese and to identify themselves as Chinese through the national education system (Cheng, 1996; Tiun, 1996). As Hsiao (1997:307) has pointed out, "the usage of Mandarin as a national language became a testimony of the Chineseness of the KMT state." Consequently, researches such as Chan (1994) and Young (1988) have revealed that a language shift toward Mandarin is in progress. Huang (1993:160) goes so far as to suggest that the indigenous languages of Taiwan are all endangered.

Mother tongue education was not implemented nation-wide until 2001, the year after the KMT lost the presidential election for the first time in Taiwan. Since then, all elementary school classes are required to have a class called "local language", lasting 40 minutes, once a week in school. The schools may choose which local language to teach in accordance with the demands of the student population order to ensure that all local language teachers have a certain level of local language proficiency, proficiency tests in local languages had been planned and administered. Three language tests were prepared. The indigenous languages test has been planned and executed by the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, since 2001. The Hakka language test was prepared by the Council for Hakka Affairs, Executive Yuan, and the first official test was conducted in 2005. As for Tai-gi or the Taiwanese language, since there is no special council for Tai-gi speakers, the task for Taiwanese proficiency test was

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<sup>3</sup> For details, see Huang 1993.

taken over by the National Languages Committee (NLC) of the Ministry of Education (MOE).

## 2. Historical background of Taiwanese language testing

Although mother tongue education has been officially included in elementary schools starting from the 2001 academic year, there was no Taiwanese proficiency test held for teachers to teach Taiwanese in classrooms. Because most elementary teachers were neither fluent in spoken Taiwanese nor educated in written Taiwanese as a consequence of monolingual policy, they faced problems in teaching Taiwanese. To overcome this predicament, several proposals were put forward. Among the proposals, a policy for teaching assistants was adopted. That is, a teaching assistant who does not have a teacher's certificate but has a good knowledge of the Taiwanese language will be in charge of language teaching along with the classroom teacher. To find linguistically qualified assistants, a hastily-held proficiency test in Taiwanese took place nationally in March of 2002. The persons who passed the test had to take a 36-hour training course before he or she can teach in the classroom. Because the test was given in a rush, no preliminary trials were conducted. In other words, neither reliability nor validity was analyzed. After that, Taiwan's Ministry of Education (MOE) gave authority to local governments to hold language tests in local languages. As a result, some local governments, such as Tainan county, Tainan city and Kaohsiung city, held their versions of the Taiwanese proficiency tests. However, due limited budgets and professional resources, the tests were not well planned and conducted. The criteria of proficiency varied from place to place.

A professional Taiwanese test was not well planned until 2006, when the General Taiwanese Proficiency Test League (GTPTL) was founded. GTPTL was first convened at Tainan Theological College and Seminary on December 4, 2005. The league consisted of academic institutions and Taiwanese language associations, such as Tainan Theological College and Seminary, Department

of Taiwanese Literature of National Cheng Kung University, Department of Taiwanese Languages of Chung Shan Medical University, and Taiwanese Romanization Association (Teng, 2006). After several months of preparations, the first preliminary test was conducted with a total of 253 subjects on September 23, 2006. Its statistical results were presented at the first conference on Taiwanese proficiency test held by Tainan Theological College and Seminary on December 2, 2006 (Chiang, 2006). Thereafter, a second pilot test was arranged with a total of 66 subjects on April 2007. An official Taiwanese proficiency test was proposed by the GTPTL to be conducted in 2008. However, the test was postponed because major members of GTPTL were commissioned by the Ministry of Education to work on a research project to develop a new national level test in Taiwanese.

It turned out that while the GTPTL was working on the Taiwanese test, the National Languages Committee (NLC) of the MOE decided to develop a Taiwanese test, too. Its first meeting on the planning of the test was convened on April 19, 2007, and finally an Operating Guideline for Language Proficiency Test in Taiwanese Southern Min was promulgated on November 21, 2007. According to the resolution of the meetings, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (Thereafter, CEF) was adopted as a guideline for the proposed Taiwanese test. Preliminary tests were scheduled for 2008 and an official nationwide test in 2009.

In accordance with results of public biddings, National Cheng Kung University was given charge of the research project for 2008, and National Taiwan Normal University administrative duty of executing the test in 2009. The members of GTPTL became the major constituents of the research team. During the research periods, two preliminary tests were conducted on August 23 and November 29, 2008, respectively. Each test contained 500 subjects. Although the preliminary tests were done well and the official test was expected to be conducted in August 2009, the budget for administrative affairs was suddenly canceled by the KMT legislators in early January 2009. Consequently, the official nation-wide test that was originally scheduled to take place in 2009 was forced to



be terminated. In response, more than twenty grassroots organizations protested against the KMT legislators on February 27, 2009.<sup>4</sup> Under the pressure of the grassroots organizations, the MOE promised to subsidize local governments as a remedy for canceling the budget for the test. In other words, Taiwanese tests will be conducted by counties/cities, rather than by the central government. According to the meeting convened by MOE's Department of Elementary Education on May 26, 2009, there were 13 counties/cities willing to hold the Taiwanese test. All the counties/cities agreed to appoint the research team of National Cheng Kung University (NCKU) as the planner to carry out the test. The first official test was co-organized by Tainan City, Tainan County, Chiayi City, Chiayi County, and Pingtung County. It was scheduled for November 14, 2009, and 793 test-takers were registered.<sup>5</sup>

### 3. Formats of the current Taiwanese proficiency test

The Taiwanese Proficiency Test (TPT) described in this paper was designed by the Center for Taiwanese Languages Testing (CTLT), National Cheng Kung University. The initial purpose for developing TPT was to measure Taiwanese language proficiency of elementary school teachers and language teaching assistants to ensure that they fulfill the requirement of minimal language ability. Later it was expanded to include college students majoring in Taiwanese and to all members of the public (adults only). The current format, which was adjusted and revised based on 4 preliminary tests, was carried out for the first official test in November 2009. Table 1 presents the format of the current Taiwanese proficiency test designed by the CTLT.

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<sup>4</sup> For more information on the demonstration, visit <<http://www.TLH.org.tw>>

<sup>5</sup> For details on the test, visit <<http://ctl.twl.ncku.edu.tw>>

Table 1. Format of the Taiwanese Proficiency Test by CTLT

Sections	Time	Scores	
<b>Reading</b> (a) Vocabulary and grammar (36 questions) 1. Vocabulary (24 questions) 2. Grammar (12 questions) (b) Reading comprehension (24 questions)	70 mins.	(a) 108	(b) 72
		subtotal: 180	
<b>Listening</b> (a) Conversations (24 questions) (b) Talks and lectures (16 questions)	40 mins.	(a) 72	(b) 48
		subtotal: 120	
<b>Dictation</b> Word dictation in Tai-lo Pheng-im (40 words)	20 mins.	80	
<b>Speaking</b> (a) Using picture prompts for storytelling (2 questions) (b) Oral readings (2 questions) (c) Oral expressions (2 questions)	30 mins.	20 for each	
		subtotal: 120	
<b>Total</b>	<b>160 mins.</b>	<b>500</b>	

Generally speaking, norm-referenced and criterion-referenced tests are the major approaches in language testing (McNamara, 2000, pp.62). Criterion-referenced measurement was adopted by the CTLT for the TPT. The major reasons are as follows: 1) The TPT was initially designed for examining Taiwanese teacher's Taiwanese language proficiency level. The criteria for language levels were set in advance. The purpose of the TPT is to locate teachers' standardized language level in accordance with the criteria, rather than finding a teacher's relative level among all the teachers. 2) The number of test-takers was not expected to be high.

The TPT consists of 4 sections: reading, listening, dictation, and speaking tests. The total score is 500 points. The TPT divides Taiwanese language

proficiency into 6 levels in accordance with the CEF criteria, that is, A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2. Test items of an individual TPT test comprise all six language levels. In other words, a test-taker does not have to take six tests, from the most basic to the most advanced level to locate his/her level. Instead, a test-taker needs to take only one test and s/he will be assigned a language proficiency level depending on the score s/he gets, as shown in TABLE 9. The main reasons for not creating tests in different proficiency levels are: 1) the budget and resources for the TPT are not sufficient to hold 6 individual tests of different language levels in a year. It can only hold tests once or twice a year under the current conditions. 2) The test needs to be done as quickly and efficiently as possible to find out the Taiwanese teachers' language ability. It is an economic way to include all test-takers of different language levels in one test.

The first issue that needed to be solved was the selection of a Taiwanese writing system that will be used consistently throughout the test. Taiwanese writing systems are either in Han characters, Roman alphabet or a mixed system combining the two systems. Currently, the dominant writing system is called Han-lo, or literarily Han characters plus Roman scripts. However, different users may have different opinions on choosing the Han characters or the Romanization schemes (Chiung 2001). To standardize Romanization, Tai-lo Pheng-im, a Romanization scheme for Taiwanese, was promulgated by the MOE in October 14, 2006. Han characters with MOE's Tai-lo Pheng-im are adopted by the CTLT for tests.

The TPT reading tests are divided into two parts: a) vocabulary and grammar and b) reading comprehensions. Readings are arranged in Han-lo style. There are a total of 60 multiple-choice questions. Each question has 4 answer choices, and only one choice is correct. A test-taker will get 3 points if s/he gets a correct answer. In contrast, s/he will be deducted 1 point if s/he gets a wrong answer. No point will be added or deducted if s/he does not answer the questions. The test items of vocabulary and grammar comprise A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2 levels. As for the reading comprehension questions, they comprise B1, B2, C1, and C2

levels.

The listening tests are divided into two parts too: a) conversations and b) talks and lectures. There are a total of 40 multiple-choice questions. The calculation of the score is the same as for the reading test. Conversations refer to dialogues between two or more people. They comprise A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2 levels. Talks and lectures refer to individual talks and lectures on some topics (such as weather reports, story telling, class lectures, and professional speeches). They are expected to be at intermediate and higher levels, so they comprise B1, B2, C1, and C2 levels.

Instead of writing tests, dictation tests in Tai-lo Pheng-im are arranged specifically for the Taiwanese language. The major reasons are: 1) written Taiwanese is currently neither widespread nor standardized. There are several ways to write in Taiwanese. To avoid disagreements over the writing criteria, it is better to exclude composition. 2) Tai-lo Pheng-im is taught in Taiwanese classes. Besides, Tai-lo Pheng-im is a fundamental tool to writing in Taiwanese.

There are 40 Taiwanese words in the dictation tests. The words consists of all consonants, simple vowels, and tones in Taiwanese. They are all tape recorded in advance. Test-takers are asked to write down what they hear in Tai-lo Pheng-im. Each word is repeated three times, and then 3 seconds are left for writing. Scores are calculated in accordance with the percentage of correct phonemes and tonemes the test-taker perceives. For example, assuming that there are a total of 350 phonemes and tonemes in the word list. A test-taker will get 68.6 points ( $=80 \times (300/350)$ ) if s/he get 300 correct phonemes and tonemes.

The speaking tests consist of 3 parts: a) Using picture prompts for storytelling, b) oral readings, and c) oral expressions. There are 2 types of storytelling. The first type is a single picture with some concrete objects. The test-taker is told to describe the contents in simple words. This type of storytelling is classified as an A1 level question. The second type of storytelling comprises 4 pictures in series. Test-takers have to give a short talk in simple ways on the pictures. This type is classified as an A2 level question. For each question in both

types, test-takers have 30 seconds to prepare and 1 minute to record.

For oral readings, there are 2 prepared paragraphs (B1 and B2 levels). Each paragraph is written in Han-lo style and about 300 words long. Test-takers are told to read the paragraphs aloud as fluently as they can. They have 30 seconds to prepare and 2 minutes to record.

As for oral expressions, there are 2 prepared questions (C1 and C2 levels) requesting the test-taker's opinions and ideas on some issues. Test-takers have to express their opinions and ideas fluently. They have 1 minute to prepare and 2 minutes to record.

#### 4. Statistic results of preliminary tests

There were several preliminary tests, and the latest test was held on November 29, 2008. In the latest test, a total of 462 volunteers registered and their actual attendance was 82.3% (380). They were divided into 3 groups and were tested in Tainan, Taichung, and Taipei, respectively. The backgrounds and scores of the subjects are as follows:

Table 2.

Background of preliminary test volunteers (n = 462)

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Elementary school teachers	125	27.1%
Teaching assistants in elementary schools	151	32.7%
General publics	69	14.9%
Professional in Taiwanese (e.g. writers)	14	3.0%
Students	75	16.2%
Others	28	6.1%
Total	462	100%

Table 3. Mean scores of the preliminary test-takers (n = 380)

Sections	N*	Means	Max.	s.d.
Reading	378	109.25	180	24.81
(a) Vocabulary and grammar	378	69.50	108	16.55
(b) Reading comprehension	378	39.75	72	12.71
Listening	380	79.29	120	17.89
(a) Conversations	380	52.29	72	11.15
(b) Talks and lectures	380	27.01	48	9.45
Dictation	380	54.30	80	23.27
Speaking	365	82.89	120	18.80
(a) Picture telling	365	30.25	40	6.45
(b) Oral readings	365	25.00	40	7.59
(c) Oral expressions	365	27.64	40	7.43
Total	363	327.99	500	61.30

\* N is the actual number completed for each section.

As mentioned earlier, the TPT is a criterion-reference test (CRT). Therefore, CRT statistical approach should be employed for the TPT. However, the subjects for the preliminary tests were not from the same group. In addition, there was no course given to the subjects to distinguish pre-test and post-test scores. Consequently, norm-referenced (NRT) statistic approach was adopted for the researchers' reference. Readers should be cautious of the statistical differences between CRT and NRT.<sup>6</sup>

The reliability of test was calculated according to Cronbach's  $\alpha$ . The results show that internal consistency of the reading section is 0.827, and listening section is 0.771. The overall Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for both reading and listening tests is 0.873. These figures show that the items in the TPT listening and reading tests were highly reliable and consistent.

Item facility (IF), also called item difficulty, was calculated according the following formulas:

$$IF = N_{\text{correct}} / N_{\text{total}}$$

$N_{\text{correct}}$  = number of subjects who answered correctly

$N_{\text{total}}$  = number of subjects taking the test

A P value was further calculated and adapted as an item facility index based on the following formulas:

<sup>6</sup> For the differences, readers may refer to Brown & Hudson (2002).

$$P = (IF_{upper} + IF_{lower})/2$$

IF<sub>upper</sub> = item facility for the upper group (1/3 of the total) on the whole test

IF<sub>lower</sub> = item facility for the lower group (1/3 of the total) on the whole test

In addition to P value, Δ value was also calculated in accordance with Fan's item analysis table for readers' reference (Fan, 1952).

As for the item discrimination (ID) index, it was calculated by subtracting the IF for the lower group from the IF for the upper group as follows (Brown & Hudson, 2002, pp.116-118):

$$ID = IF_{upper} - IF_{lower}$$

Item facility and discrimination statistics are listed in TABLE 4, TABLE 5 and TABLE 6. Values in TABLE 4 were calculated for both reading and listening tests for readers' overall view of the TPT. For the p value, the smaller the value the more difficult it is. As for the Δ value, the higher the value the more difficult it is. So, it is expected that the p value should decrease and the Δ value should increase, from A1 to C2. However, the results showed some exceptions. For example, in TABLE 4, the p value of B2 is unexpectedly higher than B1. Nevertheless, if we reduce the levels to only three, the p value will decrease from A to C. The results reveal some possibilities: 1) the test items in the preliminary test were good enough to distinguish three rather than six levels, or 2) it was the results of statistical errors since the average number of test items in each level was only sixteen. The statistical results might be improved if the number of test items was increased. Further investigation is needed to find the answer.

Item discrimination (ID) index and difference index<sup>7</sup> (DI) are usually calculated for norm-referenced tests and criterion-referenced tests, respectively (Brown et al., 2002). In TABLE 4, the ID values range from 0.16 to 0.30, with an average of 0.22. The reason for not having a high ID could be that the Taiwanese language ability of the preliminary test volunteers was rather even. According to my observation, only persons who possess a sufficient level of

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<sup>7</sup> The difference index is calculated by subtracting the proportion of the non-mastery group answering the item correctly from the proportion of the mastery group answering the item correctly (Brown et al., 2002, p.120). Difference index of 0.20 and above is considered acceptable (Brown et al., 2002, p.122).

ability in Taiwanese were willing to take the test. Although the ID values are not considered high, it does not mean that the test items were invalid. If we regard the upper group (1/3 of the total) as mastery-level speakers, and the lower group (1/3 of the total) as non-mastery-level speakers, the DI value could be the same as ID value. If so, most ID values of TABLE 4 are higher than 0.20, which are considered acceptable.

Table 4. Item facility and discrimination statistics on both reading and listening tests

Levels	Item facility index		Item discrimination index
	P	$\Delta$	ID
C2	0.48	13.21	0.26
C1	0.63	11.63	0.30
<b>B2</b>	0.80	9.63	0.26
B1	0.74	10.49	0.22
<b>A2</b>	0.92	7.35	0.13
A1	0.89	8.06	0.16

Table 5. Item facility and discrimination statistics on reading tests

Levels	Item facility index		Item discrimination index
	P	$\Delta$	ID
C2	0.47	13.32	0.30
C1	0.64	11.59	0.30
B2	0.77	10.09	0.33
B1	0.67	11.19	0.25
A2	0.91	7.75	0.17
A1	0.88	8.26	0.17

Table 6. Item facility and discrimination statistics on listening tests

Levels	Item facility index		Item discrimination index
	P	$\Delta$	ID
C2	0.50	13.03	0.19
C1	0.63	11.71	0.30
<b>B2</b>	0.86	8.73	0.15
B1	0.84	9.04	0.17
<b>A2</b>	0.93	6.88	0.08
A1	0.90	7.85	0.15



In the design of TPT, test-takers take the test once and they are assigned a language level according to their scores. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the relationship between scores and language levels. The relationship was calculated by our team by running ordinal logistic regression based on the testing results of sampled test-takers (Chang, Tu, and Chang, 2009).

For this analysis, data were taken from 160 sampled test-takers, who were included in the 462 volunteers and participated in the preliminary test. Prior to the preliminary test, the sampled test-takers were interviewed by five researchers of the research team and assigned language levels in accordance with the CEF criteria. It would be much better if all 462 volunteers were interviewed. However, due to the project's time limitation, only 160 were interviewed. The sampled test-takers play an important role in running the ordinal logistic regression. We need to use the scores of test-takers to double check whether or not the test items are valid for differentiating language levels.

The number of these sampled test-takers who are at different proficiency levels is listed in TABLE 7. Their mean scores are listed in TABLE 8 and shown in FIGURE 1. FIGURE 1 shows our expectation that the scores in all sections significantly increase from A1 to C2. Among the four sections, the listening has the feature of low slope. After rechecking the testing procedure and test-takers' background, we found the potential factors as follows: In the listening test, the test-takers were told to listen to the recorded passage and then mark their answers on a computer formatted answer sheet with a B2 pencil. No extra writing paper of the answer choices was provided. It was not an easy job for the elderly test-takers to complete the listening test in such conditions.<sup>8</sup> We further checked their scores and found that the older the test-taker, the more likely for her/him to have lower listening scores than reading scores. In contrast, the collegian test-takers who are familiar with testing skills are more likely to have better listening scores. To solve this problem, an extra sheet of writing paper for working out answer

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<sup>8</sup> Among the test-takers, their age ranges from 77 to 10, and the average age is 42.

choices was provided and the test-takers were allowed to make any notes on it in the first official test in November 2009.

Table 7. Sampled test-takers of different levels

levels	C2	C1	B2	B1	A2	A1	Total
N	8	23	38	39	20	32	160*

\* The actual number attended and completed the test is 130

Table 8. Mean scores of sampled test-takers

Levels		Reading	Listening	Dictation	Speaking	Total
C2	mean	148.60	102.40	76.18	101.20	428.38
	s.d.	9.53	3.58	2.70	6.53	13.56
C1	mean	136.81	92.76	71.00	97.95	398.53
	s.d.	8.42	13.62	9.10	9.92	18.89
B2	mean	121.18	79.89	67.39	91.68	360.14
	s.d.	7.96	14.81	11.60	12.80	18.92
B1	mean	105.56	76.22	51.17	80.82	313.77
	s.d.	14.03	21.67	21.93	15.44	26.84
A2	mean	84.37	72.70	41.34	67.11	265.51
	s.d.	20.57	18.90	21.41	17.65	34.38
A1	mean	71.29	64	23.08	41.43	199.79
	s.d.	21.87	12.82	16.81	13.88	43.57
Total	mean	107.05	78.56	53.53	79.30	318.45
	s.d.	27.04	19.30	23.15	22.29	69.58

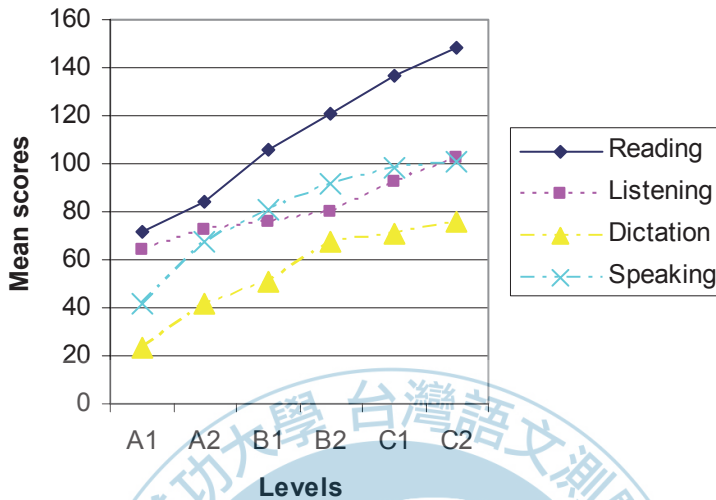


Figure 1. Mean scores of sampled test-takers.

The probabilities of the sampled test-takers' language levels were calculated according to their scores by using ordinal logistic regression as shown in FIGURE 2. For example, the node of the two left-most curves is 220. If a sampled test-taker receives a grade less than 220, s/he is more likely to be regarded as A1 level. In contrast, if s/he receives a score between 220 and 290 (the node between the second and third curve), s/he is more likely to be A2 level.

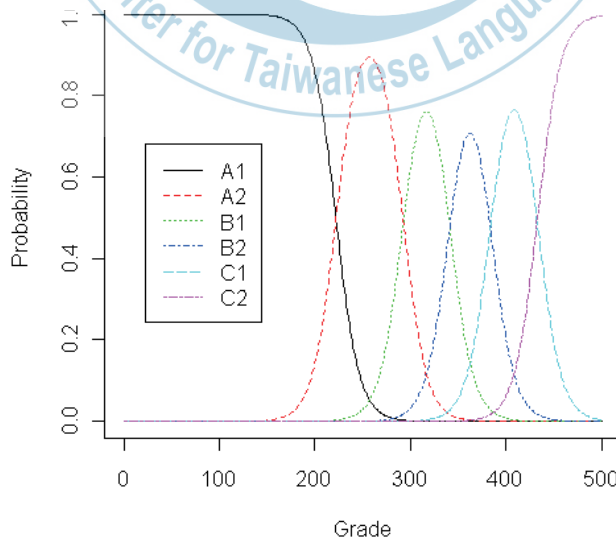


Figure 2. Probability of sampled test-takers' language levels.

According to the results of ordinal logistic regression, the nodes made by the curves are at 220, 290, 340, 380, and 430, respectively. They are treated as the boundary scores between different language levels, as shown in TABLE 9.

As for the minimum scores of A1, the range (70=290-220) between A2 and A1 is treated as the range between A1 and zero levels. Therefore, the minimum scores of A1 is 150 (=220-70).

Table 9.  
Contrasts between scores and language levels

Levels	Scores
C2 Mastery	$430 < \text{scores} \leq 500$
C1 Effective Operational Proficiency	$380 < \text{scores} \leq 430$
B2 Vantage	$340 < \text{scores} \leq 380$
B1 Threshold	$290 < \text{scores} \leq 340$
A2 Waystage	$220 < \text{scores} \leq 290$
A1 Breakthrough	$150 < \text{scores} \leq 220$

The accuracy of rating scale of language levels on scores was calculated and obtained as 0.68 (= (9+18+21+22+15+3)/130), as shown in TABLE 10. The number of sampled test-takers of different language levels assigned in advance by the researchers was listed in the column as “total.” The row “total” is the forecasted number of different language levels according to the scores after test of sampled test-takers. For example, in the column of A1, 4 subjects who were evaluated as A2 level before test, were forecasted to be in the A1 level according

to their scores after test. In the same column, 9 subjects were graded as A1 both before and after test. The results reveal that TPT's judgment on subjects' language levels reach a 0.68 accuracy, which is much higher than the probability 0.17 (=1/6) by guessing.

Table 10. Cross table of assigned and forecasted language levels

assigned \	Forecasted levels by actual scores						total
	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2	
C2	0	0	0	0	2	3	5
C1	0	0	0	6	15	0	21
B2	0	0	4	22	2	0	28
B1	0	8	21	3	0	0	32
A2	4	18	8	0	0	0	30
A1	9	5	0	0	0	0	14
total	13	31	33	31	19	3	130

In the TPT, a test-taker will be assigned a language level only if s/he completed all four sections of the tests. When the same scoring scheme was applied to all the subjects who participated in the preliminary test in November 2008, the results reveal that 46.32% of the subjects received level B2 or higher (see TABLE 11). This result meets the expectation as B2 is the recommended level by CTLT as the minimum Taiwanese ability requirement for teaching Taiwanese in elementary schools.

Table 11. Levels obtained by all subjects

Levels	N	%	Accumulated %
C2	6	1.58	1.58
C1	62	16.32	17.90
B2	108	28.42	46.32
B1	98	25.79	72.11
A2	73	19.21	91.32
A1	26	6.84	98.16
Less than A1	7	1.84	100
total	380	100	

## 5. Conclusion

The Taiwanese Proficiency Test (TPT) is a newly developed language testing scheme for educational purpose. In the test, test-takers are assigned a language level according to the scores they receive. The relationship between language proficiency levels and scores is calculated based on the statistical results of 160 sampled test-takers by using ordinal logistic regression. Its accuracy for predicting test-takers' language levels reaches as high as 0.68. The accuracy may not be perfect. However, it probably is the best that can be obtained under time and resource constraints. The first official TPT was held by the CTLT with a total of 793 test-takers on November 14, 2009. In addition, more trial tests are proposed to be conducted later. Accuracy is expected to improve gradually with the employment of official and trial tests in the near future. Hopefully, the TPT will benefit the teaching of Taiwanese language, and will further empower the revival of Taiwanese.

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# 台語 ê *kám* 與分裂句

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## 摘要

本論文明確tik *kā kám* ê句法位置做分析。事實上，*kám*除了出現tī leh主語hām述語中間，mā ē-tàng用tiàm主詞 ê頭前iah動詞複合詞內底，總--是伊bē用得出現tī非限定分句--nih。為著beh解說*kám*是按怎ē-tàng tī句中相對khah kuân ê位置出現，suah無法度kap屈折短語倒片墘 ê副詞tàu陣使用ê問題（參考Cinque 1999），本論文參考Jackendoff（1972），指出tsit个不相容有伊語義頂kuân ê起致，bē-sái用tse來做*kám*句法位置 ê參考，tse liáh外，tsit篇論文就利用*kám* kap焦點標誌sī之間 ê固定順序，用sī代替*kám*來做句法位置 ê檢定，證明*kám* ê句法位置tik實是比以早 ê文獻所分析--ê koh ke真kuân，我主張*kám*是tī leh標句語短語內底 ê疑問詞短語ē-kha（Rizzi 1997, 2001）。若關係*kám* thang插入去動詞複合詞 ê部份，本論文參考王乾安（2010）kap Koopman（2010）等學者 ê主張，採用雙標句語短語結構 ê分析，結果thang知tsit个現象並m是例外；另外*kám*無法度用tī非限定分句 ê部份，本論文以非限定句 ê投射無齊全來提出說明，tsit个現象koh全時進一步證明*kám* ê句法位置是tī標句語短語 ê主張。Tsit篇論文 ê分析，對主題顯著 ê語言利用主題化來助贊焦點 ê句法運作thang取得範域 ê運作模式，有提供一個實例。

關鍵字：敢問句、焦點、主題化

# The Taiwanese *kám* and the Cleft Construction

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## Abstract

In this paper I explicitly identify the highest and lowest possible positions of *kám* in a sentence. Apart from its occurrence between the subject and the predicate, *kám* can also appear before the subject, or be inserted into a verb compound. However, it is not acceptable to have *kám* in a non-finite clause. In order to explain how *kám* can occur in a relatively high position but it is incompatible with some high adverbs in the left periphery (Cinque 1999), I suggest that this incompatibility is due to independent semantic reasons (à la Jackendoff 1972). Moreover, with the observation that *kám* always precedes *sī*, I inspect the relative positions of *sī* and speaker-oriented adverbs to circumvent the said semantic incompatibility. Consequently, I point out indirectly that *kám* is under the interrogative phrase in the CP domain (Rizzi 1997, 2001). On the lower side, it is suggested that *kám*'s insertion into a verb compound is not problematic under the bi-clausal structure following Wang (2010) and Koopman (2010), among others. Its non-occurrence in a non-finite clause is then explained away with the imperfect projection of subordinate clauses in the control construction and constitutes another piece of evidence that *kám* is at a relatively high syntactic position. In general, this study demonstrates the role of topicalization in focus operation in topic-prominent languages.

Keywords: *kám*, focus, topicalization

## 1. Introduction

In the literature, Taiwanese *kám* is analyzed as an adverb (Zhu 1985, 1990, 1991, among the others), an I0 with a strong [+Q] (or [+wh]) feature (C.-T. James Huang 1988b, 1991), a particle (Chu-Ren Huang 1988; Robert L. Cheng 1997), a raising verb (Shen 1997; Chen and Shen 1998), or an item sitting under T (Hsieh 2001). To my knowledge, some of these analyses lack a specific description of *kám*'s distribution, and some cannot explain the widespread distribution of *kám*.

In certain contexts, *kám* occurs between the two elements of a verbal compound. For example:

(1) 你干焦顧耍，按呢考敢會過？ (Taiwanese)

Lí kan-ta kòo sng, án-ne khó kám ē kuè?

you just care play, like-this take-exam KAM can pass”

“All you care about is playing. How can you pass the exam this way?”

On the other hand, *kám* may occur in a relatively high position. See the example below.

(2) 敢阿明咧搥門？ (Taiwanese)

**Kám** A-bing teh lòng mŋ?

KAM A-bing Asp knock door

“Is it A-bing who is knocking at the door?”

In (2), *kám* occurs in the beginning of a sentence. The occurrence in such a high position incurs problems for the previous analyses. In the following sections, I will examine the distribution of *kám* in a sentence and bring up my analysis to explicate it.

## 2. The Highest and Lowest Possible Positions of *Kám*

In this section, I discuss how high and low *kám* can occur in a sentence at the surface structure. By showing that *kám* always precedes *sī* and, on the other

hand, that *sī* appears higher than speech act adverbs, the outmost projection in the IP left periphery (Cinque 1999), I propose that *kám* actually occurs in a relatively high position. In addition, I observe that *kám* can be inserted into a verb compound, but cannot occur in some subordinate clauses. I intend to offer a descriptive generalization in this section before a theoretical analysis is put forward.

## 2.1. The upper occurrence of *kám*

*kám* is described as a predicate-initial particle (Cheng 1997:234, 262). Since *kám* precedes the predicate, it is reasonable to surmise that the highest possible position of *kám* is within the left periphery. Therefore, it seems practical to find the relatively positional relationship between *kám* and other elements in the left periphery.

### 2.1.1. *Kám* and speaker-oriented adverbs

Based on the studies of Rizzi (1997) and Cinque (1999, 2006) on left peripheral structure, we now have a better understanding of how functional categories are lined up. The following universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections is given in Cinque 2006:12(3) (also in Cinque 1999:106(92), with some minor differences).

- (3) MoodP<sub>speech act</sub>>MoodP<sub>evaluative</sub>>MoodP<sub>evidential</sub>>ModP<sub>epistemic</sub>>TP(Past)>  
TP(Future)>MoodP<sub>irrealis</sub>>ModP<sub>alethic</sub>>AspP<sub>habitual</sub>>AspP<sub>repetitive(I)</sub>>  
AspP<sub>frequentative(I)</sub>>ModP<sub>volitional</sub>>AspP<sub>celerative(I)</sub>>TP(Anterior)>AspP<sub>terminative</sub>  
>AspP<sub>continuative</sub>>AspP<sub>retrospective</sub>>AspP<sub>proximative</sub>>AspP<sub>durative</sub>  
>AspP<sub>generic/progressive</sub>>AspP<sub>prospective</sub>>ModP<sub>obligation</sub>>ModP<sub>permission/ability</sub>  
>AspP<sub>completive</sub>>VoiceP>AspP<sub>celerative(II)</sub>>AspP<sub>repetitive(II)</sub>>AspP<sub>frequentative(II)</sub>

I will refer to the hierarchical structure in (3) to study the interaction between *kám* and adverbs to find the highest possible position of *kám*.

Let us take ModP<sub>epistemic</sub>, the projection immediately to the left of TP (Past), as a point of departure. The epistemic modality, according to Cinque, expresses

the speaker's degree of confidence about the truth of the proposition (1999:86). See the following sentences.<sup>1</sup>

(4) a.\* 敢 必然 五 點--矣? (Taiwanese)

Kám pit-jiân gōo-tiám--a?

KAM definitely five o'clock Asp

(Intended reading) "Is it five o'clock? Are you sure?"

b.\* 阿明 敢 凡 勢 拍 贏--矣? (Taiwanese)

A-bîng kám huân-sè phah-iân--a?

A-bing KAM probably beat-win Asp?

(Intended reading) "Is it possible that A-bing has beaten him?"

Both (4a) and (4b) are inappropriate. Nonetheless, this is not surprising. As Jackendoff (1972) notes, neither epistemic modals nor epistemic adverbs occur with questions. He concludes that if epistemic modals are treated like speaker-oriented adverbs by the semantic component, this restriction will follow automatically (1972:103). However, there seems to be an exception, as Brennan points out in her dissertation (1993:69, repeated in (5a); the same example is cited by Cinque (1999:86)).

(5) a. Must anyone who registered be a sophomore? (English)

b. 阿明 敢 一定會來? (Taiwanese)

A-bîng kám it-tīng ē lâi?

A-bing KAM surely will come?

"Is it certain A-bing will come?"

Despite this, Cinque does not consider sentences like (5a) as instances of epistemic modality. Instead, he suggests these ostensibly epistemic modals/adverbs in question express alethic necessity. I agree with Cinque that isomorphic

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the studies of adverbs in Taiwanese and Mandarin, readers may refer to Ernst (2008); Zhang (2004, 2000a 2000b); Hsieh (2006); and the references in them.

adverbs may belong to different semantic categories and, therefore, are supposed to be located in distinct syntactic positions. In the same vein, I suggest that (5b) should not be taken as an example of an epistemic adverb co-occurring with *kám*.

Since *kám* definitely occurs in a question, it is impossible to avoid the incompatibility of questions and speaker-oriented modals/adverbs when testing *kám* with these adverbs. Since this incompatibility may arise from independent semantic reasons, the ungrammatical sentences resulting from the test does not constitute a proof of *kám*'s syntactic position relative to ModPepistemic.

The semantic incompatibility is also observed between *kám* and other adverbs higher than ModPepistemic in Cinque's hierarchical structure. These adverbs include speech act adverbs (viz. discourse-oriented adverbs in Ernst 2009), evaluative adverbs, evidential adverbs, and epistemic adverbs. Because of space limitation, I will not demonstrate them here.

It is worth noting that when locating these functional projections, Cinque (1999) does not draw conclusions simply from their relative positions on the surface. For instance, he proposes that the Italian passive past participle moves to check the marked feature of the AspPgeneric/progressive head when a specific time reference is involved. Therefore, the Italian passive past participle can remain in Voiceo, when no specific time reference is involved, or raise to AspPgeneric/progressive (1999:102-3). In addition to this, Cinque (1999:84) argues that the speech act adverbs, which mark the basic illocutionary force of a sentence and are generally the outermost in respect to the order in a word string, are not identical to Rizzi's Force0. His argumentation is based on the interactions between the two said projections with other two functional projections, topicalized and focalized phrases.

In the same vein, although it is impossible to test *kám* with some adverbs in a sentence, I can still investigate *kám*'s position indirectly. To do so, I will begin by introducing the reason why Cinque suggests that speech act adverbs/mood should not be identified with Force0.

### 2.1.2. *Kám* and *sī*

To support his proposition, Cinque points out that the illocutionary force  $C^0$  precedes topicalized and focalized phrases (see (6a)) and the speech act adverbs seem to be able to follow them ((6b), from Cinque 1999:84(15)).

(6)a. Force(Top\*)Int(Top\*)Foc(Top\*)Fin IP

b. Di questo, A NESSUNO francamente potrei parlare.(Italian)

“About this, to nobody (focus) frankly I could talk.”

The prepositional phrase *a nessuno* is focused and precedes the speech act adverb *francamente* in (6b).<sup>2</sup> If this is possible, then locating the speech act adverb at ForceP, the foremost projection of the whole sentence, would simply leave the focused constituent with nowhere to go. By this juxtaposition, Cinque suggests that ForceP and MoodPspeech act are two independent projections.

Although a preposing focused constituent is not common in Taiwanese, it is quite common for a topicalized constituent to precede a speech act adverb in a sentence.

(7) a. 老實講伊對你的印象真bái。(Taiwanese)

Láu-sit-kóng i tui lí ê ìn-siōng tsin bái.

Frankly he to you impression very bad

“Frankly speaking, he has a bad impression of you.”

b. [TopP [[Spec伊][Spec對你] Top $\emptyset$ ] 老實講印象真 bái。(Taiwanese)<sup>3</sup>

[TopP [[I] [tui lí] Top $\emptyset$ ] láu-sit-kóng ìn-siōng tsin bái.

He to you frankly impression very bad

“Frankly speaking, he has a bad impression about you.”

Following the hierarchical structure in Cinque (1999), I suggest that it is topicalization that renders the relatively low position of the speech act adverb

<sup>2</sup> According to (6a), *di questo* (“about this”) in (6b) is topicalized.

<sup>3</sup> I assume multiple-specifier positions under TopP.

in a word string (see (7b)). Some may wonder whether *láu-sit-kóng* “frankly” is inserted interjacently. Since there is no necessary or evident pause before and after the adverb, this possibility is excluded. Furthermore, it is possible to have *sī* in a sentence with the speech act adverb (see (8a)). And what is more, *kám* and *sī* can both occur in one sentence (e.g. (8b)).

- (8) a. [TopP 伊] 是 對 你 老 實 講 印 象 真 壞 。 (Taiwanese)<sup>4</sup>  
[TopP I] *sī tui lí láu-sit-kóng ìn-siōng tsin hái.*  
he FM to you frankly impression very bad  
“Frankly speaking, you are the one he has a bad impression of.”
- b. [TopP 伊] 敢 是 對 你 印 象 真 壞 ？ (Taiwanese)  
[TopP I] *kám sī tui lí ìn-siōng tsin hái?*  
he KAM FM to you impression very bad  
“Is it you that he has a bad impression of?”

(8b) differs from (8a) only in the presence or absence of *kám*. Crucially, *kám* only precedes *sī*. Consider the following examples.

- (9) a. 伊 是 學 生 。 (Taiwanese)<sup>5</sup>  
I *sī hák-sing.*  
he be student  
“He is a student.”

<sup>4</sup> An intriguing question is whether the constituent *sī tui lí* is focused or expresses only contrastive topic. The answer hinges on the definition of contrastive topic. Research on contrastive topics, aside from controversy, converges on a number of points: contrastive topics relate more to focus and less to topic; contrastive topics associate with the notion of an implicit set of alternatives and induce some weak exclusions of the possible alternatives introduced; contrastive topics denote a property, as opposed to topics, that denote an individual (refer to Molnár 1998; Büring 1999; Gyuris 2002; and the references in them). Since this constituent in (8a) does not meet all these characteristics, I suggest that it expresses focus. I have to admit that this is a complicated issue that needs further investigation, but I will not go into this further.

<sup>5</sup> This *sī* in (9a) is a copula, which is quite different from its homonyms of focus markers in other sentences.



b. 是伊欲去 ( , 毋是我欲去 ) 。 (Taiwanese)

Sī i beh khi ( , m̄-sī guá beh khi).

FM s/he will go ( not-FM I will go)

“It is s/he who will go ( but not me).”

c. 伊是有影明仔載欲去 。 (Taiwanese)

I sī ū-iánn bîn-á-tsài beh khi.

s/he FM really (tomorrow) will go

“It is true that he will go TOMORROW.”

d. 伊有影是明仔載欲去 。 (Taiwanese)

I ū-iánn sī bîn-á-tsài beh khi.

s/he really FM tomorrow will go

“It is true that he will go tomorrow.”

e. ??伊是有影是明仔載欲去 。 (Taiwanese)

??I sī ū-iánn sī bîn-á-tsài beh khi.

s/he FM really FM tomorrow will go

(Intended reading) “S/He really will go TOMORROW.”

The inappropriate (9e) indicates that *sī* is not repeatable in a single sentence.<sup>6</sup> Now let us insert *kám* into the grammatical sentences.

(10)a. 敢<sub>1</sub> 伊 (敢<sub>2</sub>) 是 (\*敢<sub>3</sub>) 學生 ? (Taiwanese)

Kám<sub>1</sub> i (kám<sub>2</sub>) sī (\*kám<sub>3</sub>) hák-sing?

KAM he (KAM) be (KAM) student

(1) “Is it he who is a student?”

(2) “Is he a student?”

<sup>6</sup> The only exception is found in sentences in which there is the copula *sī*. For example: Sī A-bîng sī hák-sing, m̄-sī guá. (It is A-bîng who is a student, not me.)

b. 敢<sub>1</sub> 是 (\*敢<sub>2</sub>) 伊 欲 去 ? (Taiwanese)

Kám<sub>1</sub> sī (\*kám<sub>2</sub>) i beh khi?

KAM FM (KAM) s/he will go

“Is it s/he who will go?”

c. 伊 敢<sub>1</sub> 是 (\*敢<sub>2</sub>) 有 影 (\*敢<sub>3</sub>) 明 仔 載 欲 去 ? (Taiwanese)

I kám<sub>1</sub> sī (\*kám<sub>2</sub>) ū-iánn (\*kám<sub>3</sub>) bîn-á-tsài beh khi?

s/he KAM FM (KAM) really (KAM) tomorrow will go

“Is it true that TOMORROW he will go?” or

“Is it true that he will go tomorrow?”

d. 伊 敢<sub>1</sub> 有 影 (敢<sub>2</sub>) 是 (\*敢<sub>3</sub>) 明 仔 載 欲 去 ? (Taiwanese)

I kám<sub>1</sub> ū-iánn (kám<sub>2</sub>) sī (\*kám<sub>3</sub>) bîn-á-tsài beh khi?

s/he KAM really (KAM) FM (\*KAM) tomorrow will go

“Is it true that he will go tomorrow?”

As we observe in (10), *kám* can be inserted only in a position higher than *sī*. Whenever there is *sī* preceding *kám* in a sentence, the sentence would without exception be ungrammatical.

On the basis of the rigid order between *kám* and *sī*, we can test *sī* with the relevant adverbs instead of *kám* to eschew the aforementioned problems of semantic incompatibility. See what follows.

First, let us test epistemic adverbs.

(11)a. 九--月-矣, 學校 是 必然 開學--矣。(Taiwanese)

Káu--guèh--a, hák-hāu sī pit-jînn khi-òh--a.

September Asp school FM definitely term-begin Asp

“It’s already September. The new semester definitely has begun.”

b. 阿明 是 凡 勢 袂 記得 這 件 代 誌--矣。(Taiwanese)

A-bîng sī huān-sè bē-kì-tit tsit kiānn tāi-tsi--a.

A-bing FM probably forget this CL thing Asp

“A-bing has probably forgotten this thing.”

The adverbs, *pit-jiân* and *huân-sè*, are epistemic ones that occur, according to Cinque, at specifier of the epistemic modality, which expresses the speaker's degree of confidence about the truth of the proposition (1999:86). (11a) and (11b) indicate that it is not a problem for *sī* to precede them in a sentence.

Below, the evidential adverbs are tested with *sī*.

(12)a. 伊是明明知影這件代誌，煞佢毋知。(Taiwanese)

I *sī* bîng-bîng tsai-íann tsit kiänn tãi-tsi, suah tenn m̄-t sai.

s/he FM obviously know this CL thing. to-our-surprise pretend not-know

“She obviously knows this thing. But, to our surprise, she pretends that she knows nothing about it.”

b. 阿明是表面上尊重--你，尻脊後批評--你。(Taiwanese)

A-bîng *sī* piáu-bîn-siōng tsun-tiōng--lí, kha-tsiah-âu phue-phîng--lí.

A-bing FM ostensibly respect you behind-your-back criticize you

“Ostensibly, A-bing respects you, but he criticizes you behind your back.”

In (12), we have two sentences in which *sī* co-occurs with evidential adverbs, which in Cinque's words are “used to express the type of evidence the speaker has for his/her assertion” (1999:85). Evidential adverbs convey certainty based on some kind of evidence that is there for everyone to see (Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer 2007). As (12a) and (12b) show, *sī* can precede evidential adverbs.

Now let us turn to the evaluative adverbs.

(13)a. 若是講著番仔薑，細本--的是顛倒較齏。

Nā-sī kóng-tiōh huan-á-kiunn, sè-pún--ê kám tian-tó khah hiam?

if say capsicum small-CL--PRT FM unexpectedly more spicy

“Unexpectedly, when it comes to capsicums, the small ones are more spicy (than the big ones).”

b. 阿明是好佳哉有紮雨傘，若無，一定會予雨沃甲澹糊糊。

A-bîng *sī* hó-ka-tsài ū tsah hōo-suann, bô it-tīng ē hōo hōo ak kah tâm-kôo-kôo.

A-bîng FM fortunately Asp bring umbrella if not definitely will HOO rain sprinkle to-an-extent soaking

“A-bing is fortunate that he brought an umbrella. If he didn’t, he would definitely get soaking wet in the rain.”

In (13a) and (13b), *sī* precedes an evaluative adverb. As Cinque described it (Cinque 1999:84), evaluative modalities do not affect the truth of the proposition, but rather express the speaker’s evaluation, positive, negative, or otherwise, of the state of affairs. They have no problem following *sī*, as (13) shows.

Lastly, let us test the speech act adverbs below.

(14)a. 伊是對你老實講印象真 bái。(Taiwanese)

I *sī* tui lí láu-sit-kóng in-siōng tsin bái.

he FM to you frankly impression very bad

“Frankly speaking, you are the one he has a bad impression of.”

b. 阿明是正經講已經反悔--矣。

A-bîng *sī* tsing-king-kóng í-king huán-hué--a.

A-bîng FM seriously-speaking already repent Asp

“Seriously speaking, A-bing has repented.”

In these two sentences, *sī* occurs before a speech act adverb. The speech act mood is the foremost functional projection of IP and marks the basic illocutionary force of a sentence (Cinque 1999:84). If Cinque’s analysis is correct, then it is natural to assume that *sī* is base-generated higher than IP.

To sum up, based on the observations that *kám* always precedes *sī* and *sī* can occur higher than the speech act mood, I then suggest that *kám* is located higher than the speech act mood. The reason we cannot find *kám* preceding the speaker-oriented adverbs is not syntactically oriented, but is due to the semantic incompatibility of questions and these adverbs. Therefore, this should not prevent us from maintaining that, syntactically, *kám* occurs much higher than what has been mentioned in the literature. In section 3, I will investigate the position of *sī* to find out where *kám* is in the syntactic structure. Before I do so, I will detect the lowest possible position of *kám*.

## 2.2. The lower occurrence of *kám*

*Kám*, a commonly described predicate-initial item, sometimes ostensibly occurs lower than the presumed left boundary of a predicate. In this subsection, I will look into two phenomena. The first is that *kám* can be inserted into some compounds, and the other is the constraints on *kám*'s occurrence in a subordinate clause.

### 2.2.1. Compound insertion

The following sentences reveal that *kám* can occur in a position in between the two elements of a verbal compound.

- (15) a. 逐个攏氣力用盡磅--矣，結果拍敢贏--矣？ (Taiwanese)

Ták-ê lóng khui-lát iōng tsīn-pōng--a, kiat-kò phah kám iánn--a?

everyone all strength use totally Asp result beat KAM win Asp

“We spared no effort. Have we won?”

- b. 您起身都也兩點外鐘--矣，你想您行敢到--矣？ (Taiwanese)

In khí-sin to iā nñg tiám-guā-tsing--a, lí siūnn in kiánn kám kàu--a?

they set-out already also two-more-hour A you think they proceed KAM arrive Asp

“They set out more than two hours ago. Do you think they have arrived?”

- c. 四五个人做伙去揀，彼欖樹揀敢倒--矣？ (Taiwanese)

Sì gōo ê lâng tsò-hué khi sak, hit tsāng tshiū sak kám tó--a?

four five CL person together go push that CL tree push KAM fall Asp

“With four or five people pushing together, have they pushed the tree over?”

In these sentences, *kám* appears after a verb, the first item of the compound, and it looks like *kám* is inserted into the verbal compounds.<sup>7,8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> There are some compounds that are not possible to be inserted with *kám* (see sentences in (i)). These are also the ones in which the second element cannot be negated (see sentences in (ii)). For example:

i) c-1. 天反寒--矣。 (Taiwanese)

Thinn huán kuānn--a.

In this kind of sentences, there is a subtle difference with respect to their reading. The first verb of the compound is perceived as out of the inquired scope. Instead, it is the second element of the compound under query.

I will revisit the derivation of this configuration in section 4. Now let us turn to the position issue in subordinate clauses.

### 2.2.2. *kám* in subordinate clauses

Apart from compound insertion, it is observed that *kám* cannot occur in some subordinate clauses. For example:

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weather shift cold Asp  
“It has become cold.”

c-2. 天敢反寒--矣? (Taiwanese)

Thinn kám huán kuànn--a?

weather KAM shift cold Asp

“Has the weather become cold?”

c-3. \*天反敢寒矣? (Taiwanese)

\*Thinn huán kám kuànn--a?

weather shift KAM cold Asp

(Intended reading) “The weather has changed. Has it become cold?”

Compare i) with ii):

ii) \*天反袂寒--矣。(Taiwanese)

\*Thinn huán kuànn--a.

weather shift not cold Asp

(Intended reading) “It has become not cold.”

I posit that these compounds are real compounds in the sense that they are a single lexical item. Moreover, some compounds may get judgment varied among speakers. I surmise that dialectal variation exists. Further research is needed.

<sup>8</sup> An additional observation is that, in Taiwanese, the object cannot be left behind some specific verbal compound. For example:

ii)a. \*阿明敢食了餅--矣? (Taiwanese)

\*A-bing kám tsiáh-liáu piánn--a?

A-bing KAM eat-finish cookie Asp

(Intended reading) “Has A-bing finished eating cookies?”

b. 阿明餅敢食了--矣? (Taiwanese)

A-bing piánn kám tsiáh-liáu--a?

A-bing cookie KAM eat-finish Asp

“Has A-bing finished eating cookies?”

(16)a. \*阿明<sub>i</sub> 有 想欲 [PRO<sub>i</sub> 敢 暗靜仔 逃走] ? (Taiwanese)

\*A-bîngi ū siūnn-beh [PRO<sub>i</sub> kám àm-tsīnn-á tô-tsáu]?

A-bing Asp want PRO KAM secretly escape

(Intended reading) “Is escaping secretly the thing that A-bing wants to do?”

b. \*阿明 說服 阿娟<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> 敢 去 台北 上班] ? (Taiwanese)

\*A-bîng sueh-hók A-kuan<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> kám khi Tâi-pak siōng-pan]?

A-bing persuade A-kuan PRO KAM go Taipei work

(Intended reading) “Is working in Taipei the thing that A-bing persuaded A-kuan to do?”

c. \*阿明 會 去 [敢 食 晝] ? (Taiwanese)

\*A-bîng ē khi [kám tsiáh-tàu]?

A-bing will go KAM eat-lunch

(Intended reading) “Is having lunch the thing that A-bing will go to do?”

d. \*阿娟 走 去 [台北 敢 上班] ? (Taiwanese)

\*A-kuan tsáu-khi [Tâi-pak kám siōng-pan]?

A-kuan run to Taipei KAM work

(Intended reading) “Is working in Taipei the thing that A-kuan went to do?”

It is obvious that the subordinate clauses in (16a) and (16b) are control constructions. (16a) is a subject control case in which PRO is co-indexed with A-bîng, the matrix subject; (16b) is an object control case in which PRO is co-indexed with A-kuan, the object in the matrix clause. On the other hand, (16c) and (16d) carry a non-finite subordinate clause. Although kám is forbidden from occurring in the subordinate clauses above, it is possible to find kám in some other subordinate clauses. See (17).

(17)a. 我 無 確定 [我 敢 著 離開 遮] 。

Guá bô khak-tīng [guá kám tiōh lī-khui tsia].

I not sure I KAM have-to leave here

“I am not sure whether to leave here.”

- b. 阿明 懷疑 [阿娟 敢 有 來]。  
A-bing huài-gî [A-kuan kám ū lâi].  
A-bing doubt A-kuan KAM Asp come  
“A-bing doubts if A-kuan has come.”

From (17), we can see that *kám* can appear in other kinds of subordinate clauses, especially the finite ones. I will consider this in detail in section 4.

### 2.3. Interim Summary

Up until now, I have presented the possible highest and lowest positions of *kám*. The highest possible position of *kám* indicates that *kám* is at the CP domain. We also find that *kám* can occur as low as the position between the two parts of a verbal compound. This observation indicates the relatively extensive distribution of *kám*, and it is quite different from analyzing it under INFL or T, as suggested in the literature.<sup>9</sup>

## 3. Revisiting *sī*

Based on the observations in the previous section, it is obvious that *sī* can be an appropriate delimitator since *kám* and *sī* always appear in a rigid order. Therefore, in this section, I will try to pinpoint *sī* in order to represent *kám* in the syntactic structure later.

### 3.1. The focus marker as the head of the focus phrase

In their studies of foci, Brody (1990) and É. Kiss (1998, 1999) put forward a structural analysis of cleft sentences by connecting the focus implication to the focus phrase. É. Kiss (1999:224) argues that in English, the realization of the FP

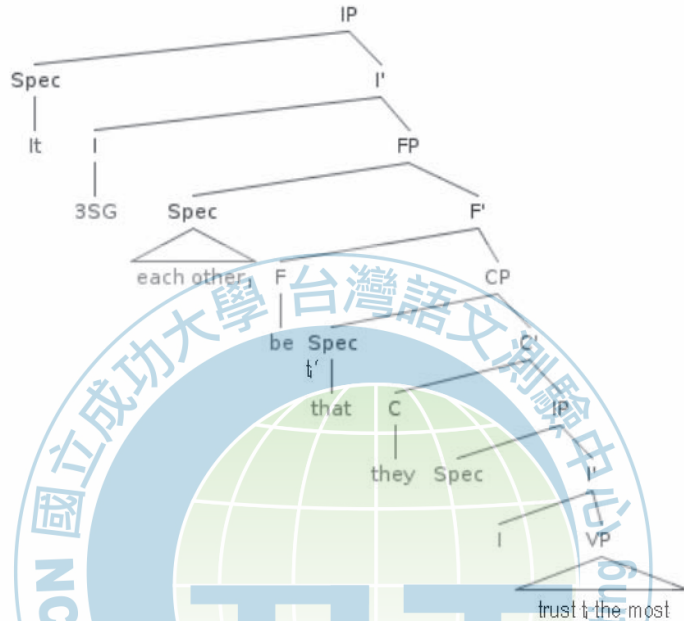
<sup>9</sup> As a result, it is dubious to follow the proposal in the literature to analyze *kám* as a counterpart of *ke* in Mandarin. For example, it is impossible to find *ke* occurring in a high position like the sentence-initial one. On the other hand, it is not problematic for *kám* to appear sentence-initially. Moreover, inserting *ke* into a verb compound would render a sentence ungrammatical.



projection is the cleft construction in which the F head takes a CP complement (É. Kiss 1999:217 (1a) cited as (18a); (18b) from É. Kiss 1999:224 (27)).

(18)a. It is each otheri that theyi trust the most. (English)

b.



É. Kiss (1999:225) proposes that the cleft constituent is preposed into [Spec, FP] and the head position of FP must be lexicalized by a verb. Since the embedded verb is not available (blocking by the intervening complementizer), F is lexicalized by the dummy *be*. And the morpheme *be* raises to I for combining with tense and agreement. Finally, a dummy *it* is filled in as the subject required by Extended Projection Principle.<sup>10 11</sup>

Following É. Kiss (1988, 1999), researchers like H. Tsai (2009) and Lee (2005) analyze the subject-focus and adjunct-focus in Taiwanese and Mandarin in a similar fashion. In their analyses, Taiwanese and Mandarin differ from English

<sup>10</sup> É. Kiss proposes the possible analyses of a cleft construction in which the [Spec, CP] of the embedded clause is filled by a *wh*-pronoun or the complementizer *that*. It is argued that in the former, the cleft constituent is base-generated in [Spec, FP] and in the latter, both focus movement and base-generation are possible. Please refer to É. Kiss (1999:225).

<sup>11</sup> Due to the space limit, I cannot introduce the definition of identificational focus from É. Kiss in detail and illustrate the exhaustiveness of Taiwanese cleft sentences with *sī* here. Please refer to Lau (2010).

and Hungarian in that the focused constituent moves covertly. Furthermore, Lee (2005) suggests that predicate focus should not be explicated likewise. Contrary to Lee, I propose that all the focus types in Taiwanese, including subject-focus, adjunct-focus and predicate-focus, are advisably analyzed in the same scheme.<sup>12</sup>

### 3.2. Topicalization in focus construction

In this subsection, I will demonstrate that the syntactic operation of focus in topic-prominent languages like Taiwanese hinges on the outcome of topicalization.

Based on previous discussions, a question emerges: What causes the contrast on the surface structure between the absence of focus movement in Taiwanese and Mandarin and the presence of the movement in Hungarian and English (É. Kiss 1998, 1999)? In É. Kiss' opinion, the answer lies in the strength of the features (Chomsky 1995). According to her, the identificational foci of different languages are specified for the positive value of either or both the features: [ $\pm$ exhaustive] and [ $\pm$ contrastive] (1998:267-270).<sup>13</sup> The feature complex associated with the identificational focus can be strong, triggering obligatory focus movement at PF, or can be either strong or weak, allowing the movement to be overt or covert.

This can be put in this way: Since the Sinitic languages are topic-prominent (Li and Thompson 1981; also cf. Tsao 1979), it is most natural for these languages to be endowed with weak focus features. And because of the weak focus feature in Taiwanese and Mandarin, there is no overt movement of focus in these two languages. It is also in this vein that the operation of topic plays a relatively more important role in the grammatical organization of a sentence. As pointed out by Robert L. Cheng (1983:63-64), topicalization is one of the major focus devices in Mandarin Chinese. In other words, to focus something usually amounts to topicalizing unfocused elements in a sentence. Following this thread, I suggest that it is this parametric difference that makes Taiwanese and Mandarin

<sup>12</sup> Please refer to Lau (2010) for the details.

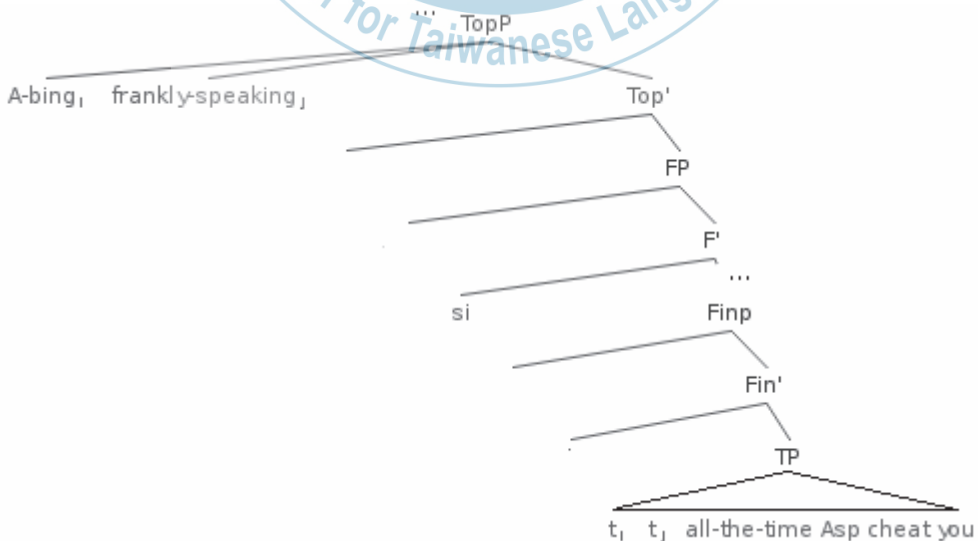
<sup>13</sup> An identificational focus is [ $+$ contrastive] if it operates on a closed set of entities whose members are known to the participants of the discourse (É. Kiss 1998:267; cf. Szabolcsi & Zwarts 1993).

employ topicalization as the device to bring about focus,<sup>14</sup> rather than move the focused constituent to [Spec, FP] overtly. For instance:

- (19) (是<sub>1</sub>) 阿明 (是<sub>2</sub>) 老實講 (是<sub>3</sub>) 一直 (是<sub>4</sub>) 咧騙--你。(Taiwanese)  
 (S<sub>1</sub>) A-bîng (S<sub>2</sub>) láu-sit-kóng (S<sub>3</sub>) it-tit (S<sub>4</sub>) teh phiàn--lí.  
 (FM) A-bîng (FM) frankly-speaking (FM) all-the-time (FM) Asp cheat you

In (19), the focus marker *sī* can occur in at least four different positions: subject-focus (position 1), adjunction-focus (position 2, 3) and predicate-focus (position 4). Among them, positions 1 and 2 are evidently higher than the speech act adverb *láu-sit-kóng* (“frankly speaking”). Therefore, it is obvious that positions 1 and 2 are higher than IP (for these positions are higher than MoodPspeech act à la Rizzi (1997, 2001) and Cinque (1999)). Taking the sentences derived with *sī* appearing in position 3 as examples of focus by defocusing, I suggest that both the subject, *A-bîng*, and *láu-s...t-kóng* (“frankly-speaking”) have been topicalized to leave the scope of *sī*. See (20) (based on the structure in Lee (2005)):

- (20) 阿明 老實講 是一直咧騙--你。(Taiwanese)  
 A-bîng láu-sit-kóng sī it-tit teh phiàn--lí.  
 A-bîng frankly-speaking (FM) all-the-time Asp cheat you



<sup>14</sup> Readers may refer to the notion of defocusing in Simpson (2001) and Simpson and Wu (2002).

The constituents *A-bîng* and *láu-sit-kóng* (“frankly-speaking”) under [Spec, TopP] are topicalized by moving cyclically and squeezing in (à la Richards 1999). As for the focused part in this sentence, there are two possibilities. The first is that the focus is on the adverb *it-tit* (“all the time”); the second is that the truth value of the proposition is focused (refer to Lee 2005:136)<sup>15</sup>

By suggesting topicalization as the main mechanism in focus constructions in Taiwanese, we can explain why the focus marker can occur in various positions in a sentence and the topological difference that there is no overt focus movement in Taiwanese and Mandarin.

Let us take this as a point of departure to propose the syntactic position of *kám*.

## 4. Representing *Kám*

Based on what have been observed previously, I will pinpoint *kám* in this section.

### 4.1. Pinpointing *kám* referring to the focus marker

Recall the observation that *kám* can only occur in a position higher than *sī*. Whenever there is a *sī* preceding *kám* in a sentence, the sentence would be ungrammatical. Additionally, we have seen in the preceding sections that *sī* can appear in a position higher than the speech act adverb, in other words, a position higher than IP (à la Rizzi 1997, 2001 and Cinque 1999). Following Lee (2005) and H. Tsai (2009), I suggest that focus marker *sī* is in the CP domain and, therefore, the syntactic position of *kám* must be higher than *sī*, for *kám* never follows *sī* no matter where *sī* occurs. Based on these observations, compare the two sentences below:

(21)a. 是阿明今仔日當值？ (Taiwanese)

Sī A-bîng kin-á-jit tong-tit?

FM A-bing today on-duty

“Is it A-bing who is on duty today?”

<sup>15</sup> Readers may find that in this structure the ECP would be violated when the truth value of the proposition is focused and moves to [Spec, FP] covertly at LF (assuming that the TP moves up). To solve this problem, I propose an operator binding strategy instead of movement. See the discussion in 4.1.

b. 敢是阿明今仔日 當值？ (Taiwanese)

Kám sī A-bîng kin-á-jit tong-tit?

KAM FM A-bing today on-duty

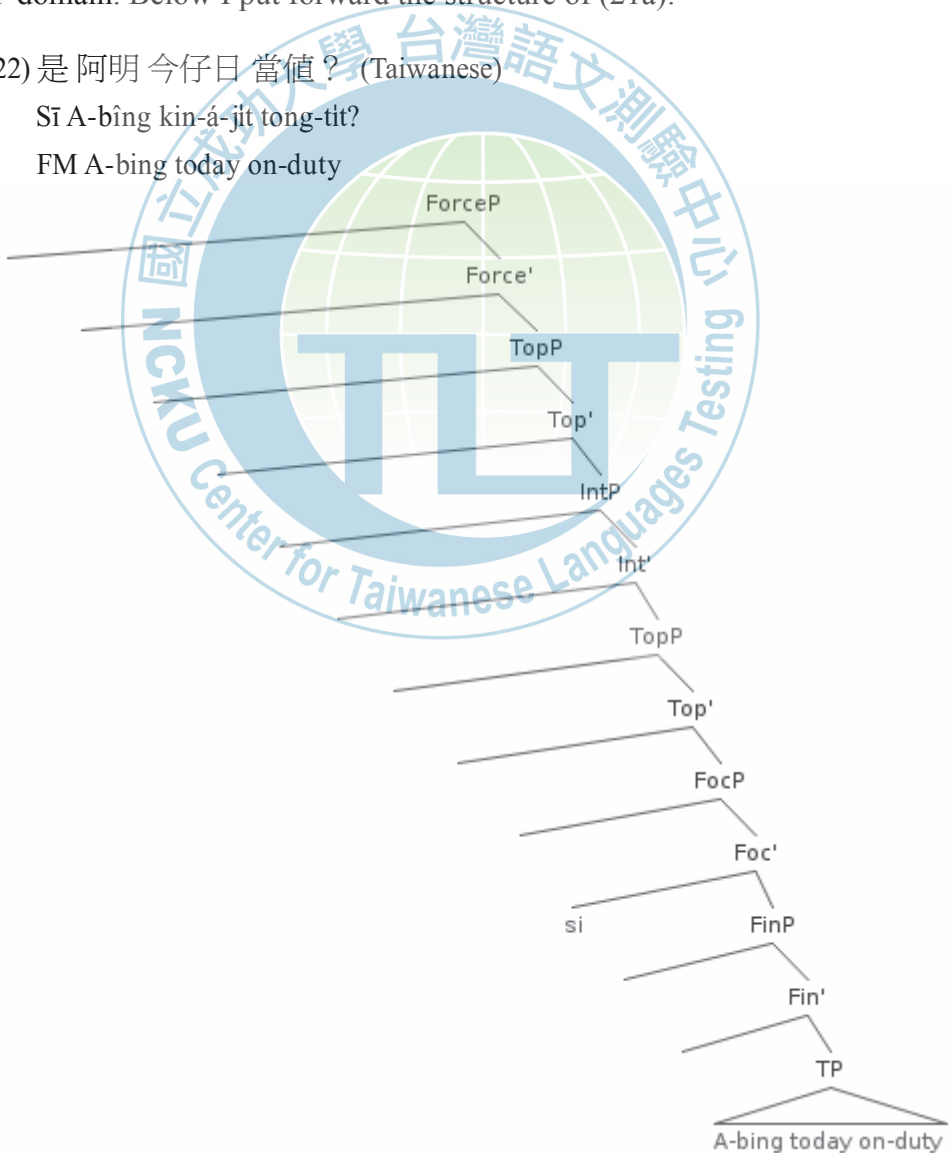
“Is it A-bing who is on duty today?”

(21a) has a declarative form, with its subject being focused. However, it is used here as a question with a rising intonation at the end. As for (21b), it is definitely a question that differs only in the occurrence of sentence-initial *kám*. According to the analysis in previous section, I suggest that both *sī*s in (21) are in the CP domain. Below I put forward the structure of (21a):

(22) 是阿明今仔日 當值？ (Taiwanese)

Sī A-bîng kin-á-jit tong-tit?

FM A-bing today on-duty



According to (22), I then propose that *kám*, an interrogative item always preceding *sī*, is under the IntP (interrogative phrase in, Rizzi (2001)). This proposal follows Rizzi's proposal that Int is the merge site for the Italian yes-no question particle *se* ("if"). In addition, W. Tsai (2008:108) also claims that *shifuo* ("if"), the yes-no question morpheme in Mandarin, occupies the Int position.<sup>16</sup> The head position is also argued by Rizzi to host causal *how* and reason *why* in Italian. W. Tsai suggests that causal *zenme* and reason *why* in Mandarin are at Int, too (2008:107-8). Furthermore, all the mentioned interrogative items must appear higher than a focus projection, an observation exactly conforming to *kám*'s position.

If it is on the right track that *kám* is under IntP in CP, then why do we usually find elements preceding *kám* in a sentence? As I suggested in section 3, in topic-prominent languages like Taiwanese, the operation of topic plays the main role in the grammatical organization of a sentence. In this sense, I suggest that Taiwanese also employs topicalization in questions to mark the interrogative scope. For example:

(23)a. 敢(是)阿明今仔日當值? (Taiwanese)

Kám (sī) A-bīng kin-á-jit tong-tit?

KAM (FM) A-bing today on-duty

"Is it A-bing who is on duty today?"

b. 阿明敢(是)今仔日當值? (Taiwanese)

A-bīng kám (sī) kin-á-jit tong-tit?

A-bing KAM (FM) today on-duty

"Is it today that A-bing is on duty?"

c. 阿明今仔日敢(是)(有)當值? (Taiwanese)

A-bīng kin-á-jit kám (sī) (ū) tong-tit?

A-bing today KAM (FM) (have) on-duty

"Is A-bing on duty today?"

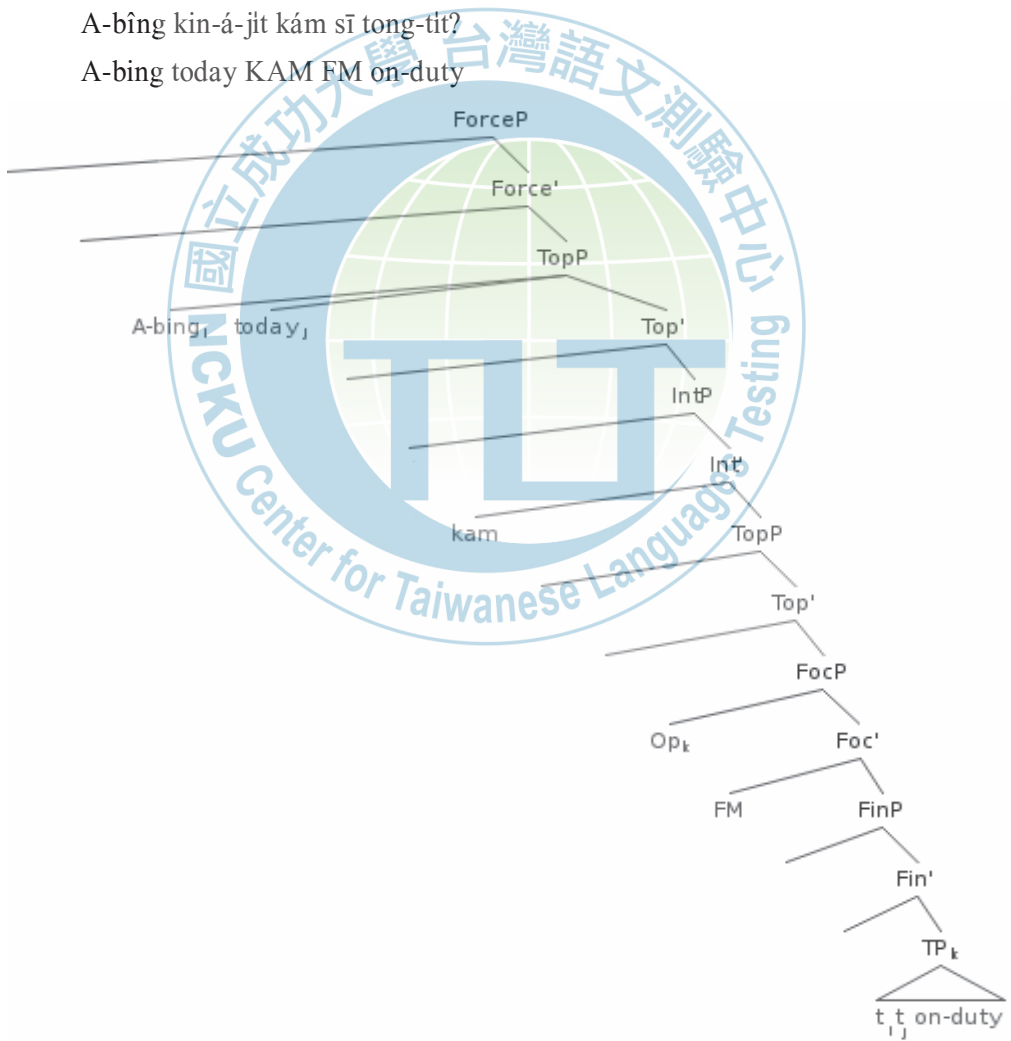
<sup>16</sup> In this sense, Taiwanese *kám* corresponds better to Mandarin *shifuo* than to *ma* or other Mandarin lexical items.

The three questions in (23) differ in what is being asked. In (23a), it is the subject of the proposition being questioned. In (23b), the subject *A-bîng* escapes the interrogative scope, and in turn the temporal adverb is inquired. If the temporal adverb is also topicalized to precede *kám*, as we see in (23c), then the interrogative scope would be on the predicate immediately following *kám*. When this happens, the same scope reading is obtained as Lee (2005) finds in predicate-focus: it is the truth value of the proposition that comes under the interrogative scope.<sup>17</sup> Below I depict the structure of (23c).

(24) 阿明 今仔日 敢 是 當值?

A-bîng kin-á-jit kám sī tong-tit?

A-bing today KAM FM on-duty



<sup>17</sup> Considering this with the observation that *kám* can always followed by *sī*, I suppose that *kám* collaborates with focus in some specific way. Please refer to Lau (2010).

In (23c), *kám* appears predicate-initially. This phenomenon has led researchers to suggest that it is a predicate-initial particle (Robert L. Cheng 1997) or a lexical realization of inflection head carrying a [+Q] feature (Huang 1988b, 1991). Nonetheless, based on (24), we can see that the word string order found in (23c) is merely a result of topicalization. I posit that the wide-ranging distribution of *kám* should be taken into consideration when investigating its syntactic position. That is to say that we should not ignore its diversified locations in a word string because *kám* can even appear in the very beginning of a sentence.

A question might be raised as to why the topicalized constituents skip the Topic positions between IntP and FocP. To offer a provisional answer, I surmise that the iterative Topic projections in CP domains serve as different positions for different kinds of Topics, to wit, non-contrastive topic and contrastive topic.

In fact, it is not impossible to find a topicalized constituent between *kám* and the focus marker *sī* in a word string. For example:

- (25)a. 明仔載的會我會準時出席。  
Bîn-á-tsài ê huē guá ē tsún-sī tshut-sik.  
tomorrow PRT meeting I will on-time attend  
“Regarding the meeting tomorrow, I will attend on time.”
- b. 你敢明仔載是早起欲開會？(As a question regarding (24a))  
Lí kám bîn-á-tsài sī tsái-khí beh khui-huē?  
you KAM tomorrow SI morning will attend-meeting  
“Tomorrow, is it in the morning that you will attend a meeting?”

In (25b), *bîn-á-tsài* (“tomorrow”) occurs between *kám* and *sī*, presumably the Topic position in Rizzi (2001). In a circumstance that (25b) is a reply to (25a), “tomorrow” is presupposed to be not new in the discourse, presumably a piece of topic information. Nonetheless, it is in contrast to the subject NP *lí* (“you”), which is both old and non-contrastive in the reply.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> With only a preliminary conjecture, I admit that the differences of topic positions in the structure still need further research.



Moreover, the proposal with respect to (24) differs from É. Kiss (1999) and Lee (2005) on one point. If we follow É. Kiss (1999) and Lee (2005) to assume movement at LF for focus feature checking, then in the case of the truth value of a proposition under the interrogative scope (e.g., (23c)), the TP would have to move covertly to [Spec, FP], and ECP would be violated. To eschew the ECP problem incurred by the movement approach of focus, we need to introduce an alternative way of feature checking. The alternative approach is as follows. For languages employing topicalization as their main strategy of generating focus reading, a different strategy on focus feature checking is implemented. Assume that, instead of moving focused constituent to [Spec, FP], feature checking is accomplished by an operator sitting at [Spec, FP] to bind the focused constituent. In (24), I then propose that the TP is bound by the operator at [Spec, FP]. In this way, we can explain why it is the truth value of the whole proposition that comes under the interrogative scope.

The operator binding approach is reminiscent of the discussion of *wh*-in-situ in the literature (Aoun and Li 1993a, b; Tsai 1994). Nonetheless, at this stage I do not know how extensively the operator binding (or unselective binding à la Heim (1982) and Pesetsky (1987)) is employed, instead of movement, in the syntactic operations in Sinitic languages.

## 4.2. Revisiting the Lower Occurrence of *Kám*

Now let us return to the questions: why *kám* can appear in a verbal compound but not in a non-finite clause.

### 4.2.1. *Kám*'s insertion into compounds

In the beginning of this paper, we observed that *kám* can be inserted into a verbal compound. This phenomenon seems to cause a problem for the scheme that I propose, since insertion into a verbal compound in a mono-clausal structure implies a verb topicalized, which is a contradiction to the definition of topic.

Below, I will review the analyses of compounds in the literature. After the review, I would adopt Chyan-an A. Wang's (2010) bi-clausal analysis of compounds to explicate the insertion phenomenon.

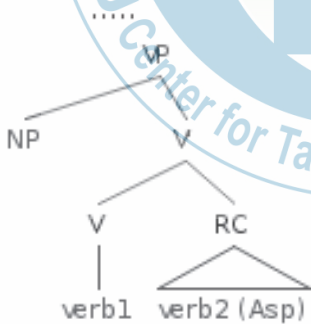
#### 4.2.1.1. Reviewing the mono-clausal proposals in the literature

Regarding compounds, most researchers analyze them with a mono-clausal structure. Some propose a lexical approach, some a syntactic approach, and some a combination of both. Aside from the details, the three kinds of approaches are briefed as follows.

In a lexical approach, for example Ya-fei Li (1990), compounding is taken as an incorporation of two lexical items. Their theta-roles are “identified,” and only the prominent theta-roles are maintained. In other words, each compound is considered a single word, and further insertion into syntax would run into problems.

Huang (1992), in an example of the syntactic approach, claims that compounds are relevant to a theory of Control. Furthermore, he posits that the resultative compounds are on a par with resultative predicates; transitive versus intransitive compounds are on a par with subject-control versus object-control; and causative compounds is derived with a causer as an “added argument.” All these compounds share the same lower part of the structure, as shown below:

(26)<sup>19</sup>



From (26), we can see that a compound is analyzed as two elements under an identical VP. Since RC is not a comprehensively projected CP, there is still only one clause involved in the syntactic structure. In other words, the corresponding position for *kám* to be base-generated is not available under RC. If I follow

<sup>19</sup> The NP in [Spec, VP] is either base-generated there or extracted from RC, depending on the kind of the compound in question.

the topicalization scheme that I proposed for *kám*, inserting *kám* between the two items would imply that the first item of the compound is topicalized. To topicalize a verb or (part of) a predicate is not proper pertaining to the definition of topicalization.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the lexical and the syntactic approaches, Lisa L. Cheng (1997) proposes a combined approach, in which she claims that there are two ways of forming compounds, syntactic and lexical. Lexical compounding in Mandarin Chinese, according to Cheng, is similar to conflation in English (based on Hale and Keyser 1991). As for the syntactic operation, it works to put an intransitive compound under the CAUSE verb, which provides an extra argument and converts said compound into a transitive one. In short, Cheng's proposal is essentially a lexicalist one, in which the incorporation process takes place in lexical syntax (the morphological operation before syntax). Consequently the compounds would appear in syntax (the syntactic operation) as a single lexical item. To insert *kám*, another lexical item, into the compound seems problematic, just as we found in the lexical approach.

To sum up, *kám*'s insertion into compounds constitutes not only a problem to the previous studies of compounds, but also to my analysis, which employs topicalization as the main vehicle in *kám* questions' derivation. Below I will adopt a bi-clausal analysis of compounds (Wang 2010) as a rescue.

#### 4.2.1.2. *Kám* insertion and the bi-clausal structure of compounds

Unlike the analyses of compound in the literature, Wang (2010) claims that the resultative compounds are derived from a bi-clausal structure. See (27) (from Wang 2010:54 (56)).

(27)……打死 蟑螂。 (Mandarin)

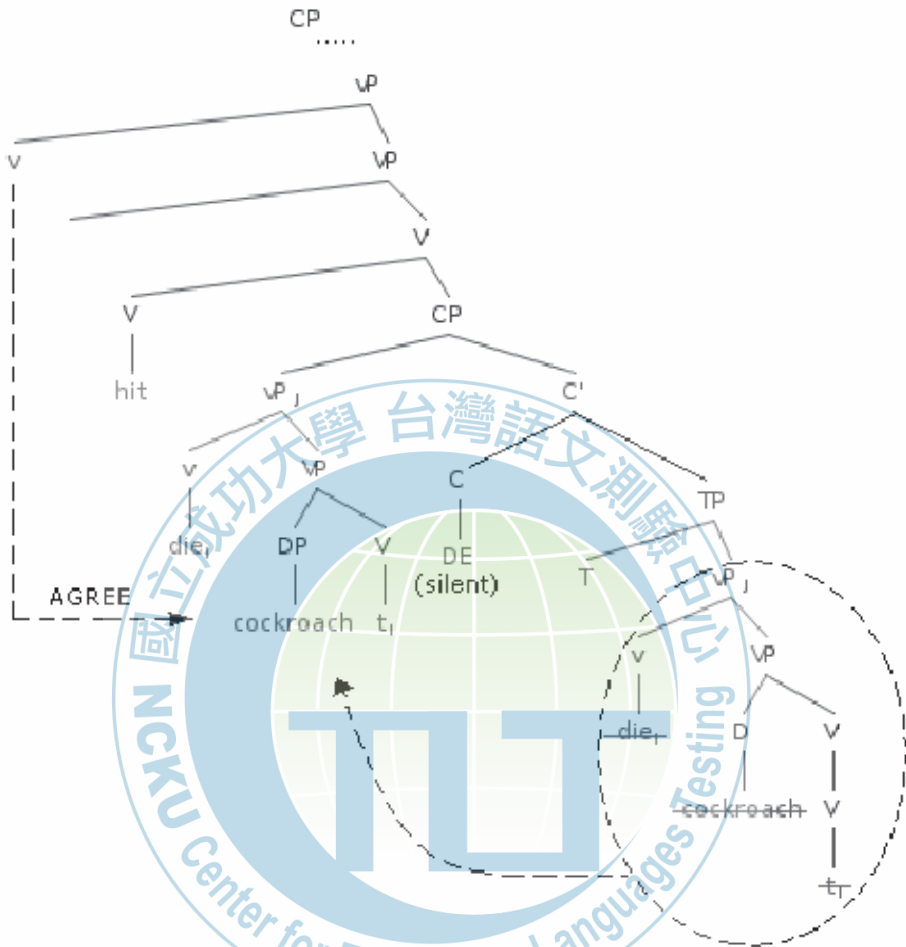
.....da-si zhanglang

.....hit-dead cockroach

.....hit the cockroach to death.”

<sup>20</sup> Readers may refer to É. Kiss (2002:9), Hockett (1958), Gundel (1988), Chafe (1976:51), Molnár (2006) for the definition of topic/topicalization. Also refer to Lau (2010) for the relevant discussions.

b.<sup>21</sup>



In Wang’s analysis, the verbs in a resultative compound actually belong to two different clauses. The first verb selects a CP that contains a vP in which the second verb raises from  $V^0$  to  $v^0$ . The vP then moves to [Spec, CP] to carry the internal argument of the second verb to an Edge position so as to be properly case licensed by the functional domain of the matrix V (based on the Theory of Smuggling in Collins 2005a, b).

Leaving aside the details of Wang’s analysis, his proposal explains why *kám* can be inserted into a compound. Although Wang does not specify the position to

<sup>21</sup> According to Wang, the DP *zhanglang* (“cockroach”) is Case licensed by AGREE, an apparatus I do not adopt in this paper. Since this is not in the core of my argument, I will just set it aside.

which the vP, including the second verb, moves, the insertion becomes possible as long as the landing site is lower than the focus phrase that collaborates with *kám*.<sup>22</sup>

In short, I claim that the bi-clausal structure is cogent. The second verbal element in the compound is in a CP that serves as the complement of the first verbal element. Following this thread, *kám* is not inserted in a single verb but merged in the second CP. This proposal also explains why in this kind of sentence, we have a reading of inquiring about the second verbal element that expresses the result (the complement) of the first element rather than inquiring about the whole compound.

#### 4.2.2. The inadmissibility in some subordinate clauses

Remember that we observed that *kám* cannot occur in some subordinate clauses. These observations cannot be easily explained by [+Q] feature checking, intervention effects, or island effects, for some other question words have no problem occurring in similar structures. See (28):

(28)a. 阿明有想欲[暗靜仔逃走去 **佗位**]?(Taiwanese)

A-bîng ū siūnn-beh [àm-tsīnn-á tô-tsáu khi **tó-uī**]?

A-bing Asp want secretly escape to **where**

“Where does A-bing want to escape to?”

b. 阿明有想欲[**按怎**暗靜仔逃走]?(Taiwanese)

A-bîng ū siūnn-beh [**án-tsuánn** àm-tsīnn-á tô-tsáu]?

A-bing Asp want **how** secretly escape

“In what way does A-bing want to escape secretly?”

<sup>22</sup> Please also refer to Koopman (2010). Furthermore, the bi-clausal structure is evidenced by the object position, too. In Taiwanese, objects are usually preposed to the position between the two verbal elements of a compound or to the position before the whole compound. Please refer to Lau (2010).

- c. 阿明有想欲 [佢 哈人 暗靜仔 逃走]? (Taiwanese)  
A-bîng ū siūnn-beh [kap **siánn-lâng** àm-tsīnn-á tō-tsáu]?  
A-bing Asp want with **who** secretly escape  
“Whom does A-bing want to escape with?”
- d. \*阿明有想欲 [是 按怎 暗靜仔 逃走]? (Taiwanese)  
\*A-bîng ū siūnn-beh [**sī-án-tsuánn** àm-tsīnn-á tō-tsáu]?  
A-bing Asp want **why** secretly escape  
(Intended reading) “What is in A-bing’s mind that he takes it as a reason to escape secretly?”
- e. \*阿明 想要 [暗中 逃不逃走]? (Mandarin)<sup>23</sup>  
\*A-bîng xiangyao [anzhong **tao-bu-taozou**]?  
A-bing want secretly escape-not escape  
(Intended reading) “Does A-bing want to escape secretly or not?”

According to these sentences, not only do wh-arguments have no problem occurring in a control subordinate clause (see (28a), (28c)), but the instrumental how, a wh-adjunct, has no problems either (see (28b)). Only the reason why (see (28d)) and A-not-A form (see (28e)) are banned from occurring in a control subordinate clause. Similar effects can be observed in non-finite subordinate clauses.

This is reminiscent of W. Tsai’s (2008) analysis in which he pinpoints wh-elements in Mandarin: (from Tsai 2008:107 (93)).

(29) **Force** Top\* **Int** Top\* **Focus** Mod\* Top\* **Fin** [TP **Tense** Mod\* [vP

zenme	zenme	weishenme modal	wei(-le)shenme
	weishenme		zhenme(-yang)

According to Tsai, Mandarin cause how (zenme) is at Int; reason why (weisheme) has the option of merging either as an IP adjunct or as the head of

<sup>23</sup> We have an A-not-A question in Mandarin here because an A-not-A question such as this in Taiwanese is not allowed.

IntP; and instrumental how and purpose why are in the vP periphery. On the basis of (29), the uneven occurrence of *wh*-elements in a control subordinate / non-finite clause is accounted for naturally if we assume that some positions of some elements are not available in these clauses.

It is not an original idea to propose that there are clauses not fully projected. In the convention of Government and Binding Theory, CPs are considered normal clauses. A clause that only has an IP status, i.e., a non-finite clause, is deemed an exception (known as an exceptional clause) because it projects imperfectly. In other words, researchers assume that non-finite clauses are not equipped with all the projections that a normal clause is supposed to contain. Following this thread, I would like to suggest that *kám* cannot occur in a non-finite clause because its position from the corresponding projection is absent.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, to suggest that the control subordinate clauses do not project a full CP is not novel, either. In Government and Binding Theory, these subordinate clauses are presumed to be CPs in order to keep PRO in them ungoverned (PRO Theorem). In light of the CP-split theory and the analyses of Control in Minimalist Program, it is common to find researchers who suggest these subordinate clauses are not CP (e.g. Hornstein 1999; Koizumi 1995). Moreover, the non-occurrence of focus marker also provides us with another piece of evidence.

(30)a. \*阿明; 有 想欲 [PRO<sub>i</sub> 是 明仔載 暗靜仔 逃走]。(Taiwanese)

\*A-bîngi ū siūnn-beh [PRO<sub>i</sub> sī bîn-á-tsài àm-tsīnn-á tô-tsáu]?

A-bing Asp want PRO FM tomorrow secretly escape

(Intended reading) “Escaping secretly TOMORROW is the thing that A-bing wants to do.”

<sup>24</sup> As a sidenote, since *kám* always collaborates with the focus marker, the absence of FocP projection would be sufficient to prevent *kám* from occurring in a nonfinite clause. This is another possible answer. Moreover, with my proposal of *kám* under IntP in CP that provides a relatively natural answer to the question here, researchers who claim that *kám* is realized under Infl or categorized as an adverb (presumed in the IP periphery) are responsible for explaining *kám*'s absence in non-finite clauses.

- b. \*阿明說服阿娟<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> 是明年去台北上班]。(Taiwanese)  
\*A-bîng sueh-hók A-kuan<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> sī mê-nī khi Tâi-pak siōng-pan].  
A-bing persuade A-kuan PRO FM next-year go Taipei work  
(Intended reading) “It is working in Taipei NEXT YEAR that A-bing persuaded A-kuan to do.”

In (30), no focus marker is allowed in the embedded clauses. Following Rizzi (1997, 2001) and Lee (2005), I suggest that it is the defectively projected embedded clauses in which no corresponding position of focus is available that renders them (30) ungrammatical.

## 5. Concluding Remarks and Two Relevant Issues

In this paper, I have explicitly identified the restriction of the distribution of *kám*. Unlike what has been suggested in the literature, I argue that *kám* is under IntP in the CP domain, a relatively high position. Based on the hierarchical structure of Cinque (1999), I observed the relative positions of *sī* and speaker-oriented adverbs to circumvent the semantic incompatibility of *kám* and the high adverbs. Consequently, I demonstrated indirectly that *kám* is under CP. On the lower side, I adopt the bi-clausal structure for compounding (Wang 2010) to explicate the compound insertion of *kám*. Furthermore, my proposal for *kám* provides a natural answer for why *kám* cannot occur in a non-finite clause (following Tsai’s (2008) *wh*-adjunct locating project in the left periphery).

This analysis not only demonstrates the topological differences of the syntactic operation of focus in topic-prominent languages, but also indicates an alternative possibility of feature checking of focus by operator binding.

Apart from the conclusion herein, at least two issues remain as matters to be discussed further. First, there is room for reconsidering the attributes of IntP. Although Rizzi argues for a distinction of two functional projections, force projection and interrogative projection, according to his observations



on Italian and Spanish (2001:289-90), he does not offer detailed information on the relationship between the two. Moreover, it seems that the position accommodating *kám* also accommodate non-interrogative items. Some researchers like Tang (1998:188) claim that *kám* is equivalent to *nandao* in Mandarin semantically and pragmatically. Assuming Tang is right, we then have reason to postulate that *nandao* is at the same position as *kám*. However, see the following example.

(31) 他難道來了嗎？ (Mandarin)

Ta nandao lai le ma?

he NANDAO come Asp PRT

“Is it true that he has come?”

According to the prevalent analyses, the SFP *ma* is [+Q]. Following this claim, (31) implies that, contrary to *kám*, *nandao* has no problem co-occurring with an interrogative element and it carries no strong interrogative feature. If *nandao* is at the same position as *kám*, the said position would accommodate items with no strong interrogative feature. One of the possible solutions is to replace the pure interrogative IntP with a multi-functional MoodP specifying the “clausal typing” information (refer to Boya Li 2006).

Secondly, *kám* exhibits a strong relationship with focus that is not observed on its plausible counterpart.

(32)a. 難道他要來？ (Mandarin)

Nandao ta yao lai?

NANDAO he will come

“Is it true that he will come?”

b. 敢伊欲來？ (Taiwanese)

Kám i beh lâi?

KAM he will come

“Is it he that will come?”

Compare (32a) and (32b), it is obvious that only *kám* narrows down the inquired scope on the constituent following it immediately. This observation suggests that *kám* retains a specific link with focus phrase. Although *kám* is at a higher position than the focus marker in a word string, it is possible that *kám* is not base-generated where it is observed, but under focus phrase as the operator mentioned in subsection 4.1. If this is the case, *kám* would not be under Int<sup>0</sup> but under the spec of IntP after its movement.

Due to space limitations, I will not go further into these here.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Readers who are interested in them, please refer to Lau (2010).

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〈重新書寫台灣 ê 語言〉 ê 評介

**Book Review:**

**Klöter, Henning, “Re-writing language in Taiwan,”**

**in Fang-Long Shih, Stuart Thompson,**

**Paul Tremlett, eds.,**

*Re-writing Culture in Taiwan*

**(London: Routledge, 2009)**

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Two independent scholars, the sociologist Stephen O. Murray and, a bit academically unusual, the Berkeley-trained chemist Keelung Hong, published in 1994 the book *Taiwanese Culture, Taiwanese Society*, which aimed to offer a critical review on social science research done in Taiwan during the Cold War era (Murray and Hong 1994). Their second book, *Looking Through Taiwan: American Anthropologists' Collusion with Ethnic Domination*, went further to examine how Taiwanese realities have been represented—and misrepresented—in American social science literature, especially in anthropology, in the immediate postwar era. Hong and Murray argued that the mutual interests and goals of the Republic of China (ROC)'s military government and American social scientists were responsible for mischaracterizing Taiwan as representative of traditional Chinese culture. American anthropologists, eager to study China but denied access to it by its communist government, turned instead to conducting fieldwork

on the territory controlled by the ROC, in the process incorrectly and disingenuously interpreted their subject to reflect traditional Chinese society on mainland China by overlooking the cultural and historical differences between Taiwan and China (Hong and Murray 2008).<sup>1</sup>

Hong and Murray's argument critically reflected how postwar Taiwan Studies were constructed, and left new points of departure for reconsidering how the island might be re-configured in the future. Their argument, however, did not evoke significant academic feedback until Paul-François Tremlett wrote the introduction for the inter-disciplinary volume of essays -- *Re-writing Culture in Taiwan*—a book aiming at stimulating reflections on how Taiwan has been studied and represented in the current state (Tremlett 2009: 4).

For those interested in the issues of Taiwanese languages, Henning Klöter's "Re-writing language in Taiwan" is the article that one would definitely not want to miss (Klöter 2009: 102-122). Unlike most scholars who employ terms like Hokkienese, the Amoy dialect, the Southern Min dialect, or southern Fujianese to represent the once widespread lingua franca in pre-colonial Taiwan, Klöter, following Todd L. Sandel's usage, employed the native term Taigi in his article. The term is not only supported by users of the language but was once also regarded as a commonly accepted term before Chinese Nationalists (KMT) stigmatized it into a symbol of ethno-chauvinism after the Second World War.

Klöter started with George Psalmanazar's invention of the Formosan alphabet, an 18th-century hoax that once bamboozled its contemporary European royalty and academia for a while, and used it as a metaphor for today's debates on Taiwan's languages – that is – the identification of Taiwanese languages is never merely an linguistic issue but a matter of political power play. He argued that the production and representation of language with a script is the outcome

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<sup>1</sup> The misrepresentation of traditional Chinese culture does have its precedent. For instance, the Bai, the descendants of a powerful kingdom Nanzhao in the 8th century and now the second largest minority group in Yunnan province of China, was anthropologically famous for their being studied as a community being the ideal representation of Chinese society and culture from the late 1940s through the early 1970s. See David Wu's discussion on the works by Charles Patrick Fitzgerald and Francis L. K. Hsu (Wu 1991: 166-171).



of political ideology. Following Pierre Bourdieu's idea on linguistic hierarchies, which emphasized the historical process related to political power struggles and state formation, Klöter regarded the constitution of a Taiwanese language as something associated with the power struggles between foreign elites (the Japanese and the KMT regime) and local counter-elites on the one hand and the conceptualization of Taiwan's statehood on the other hand. Thus, the contemporary debates on the ideological dimension of language would rely heavily on political and cultural demarcation from China.

Klöter went on to review why and how foreign elites marginalized local languages in Taiwan by programmed internalization of stigmatization, and how the collective identity of the islanders and the label for the island-wide lingua franca developed. However, the orthography of Taigi proves problematic in today's reality since the establishment of a written standard goes beyond the linguistic task and is intertwined with political reality. In addition to the enduring dilemma of facing its linguistic kin in southern Fujian of China and parts of Southeast Asia, and the popular acceptance of Chinese Mandarin in today's Taiwan, Taigi, being associated with the less refined class, in general still faces tremendous obstacles on its way to achieving the status of a widespread Taiwanese language, as one of the book editors pointed out (Feuchtwang 2009: 204). By offering a lot of arguments from other scholars and a variety of cases from other part of the world, Klöter presented a vivid picture showing the frustration and challenges the ongoing *Taigi* movement faces.

Most of the articles in *Re-writing Culture in Taiwan*, including the one by Klöter, are based on papers presented at "the international conference on re-writing culture: perspectives via Taiwan" at Academia Sinica between 30 July and 1 August 2006. For those concerned about how the current state of Taiwan Studies is shifting from a provincial backwater of Sinology to an emerging field of its own, the critical points offered in the book should not be missed.

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1. Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular is a professional journal dedicated to the study of Taigi or the Taiwanese language. The journal encourages two types of submissions. First, research related to Taigi on any aspects, such as linguistics, literature, and culture. Second, comparative works between Taigi and other languages. Works on languages other than Taigi are also welcome if they are helpful to the study or revival of Taigi.
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## 《台語研究》徵稿啟事

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